The historie of the world. In five bookes. Intreating of the beginning and first ages of the same, from the creation unto Abraham. 2 Of the times from the birth of Abraham to the destruction of the Temple of Salomon. 3 From the destruction of Jerusalem, to the time of Philip of Macedon. 4 From the Raigne of Philip of Macedon, to the establishing of that Kingdome in the Race of Antigonus. 5 From the settled rule of Alexanders Sucessors in the East, untill the Romans (prevailing over all) made conquest of Asia and Macedon / By Sir Walter Ralegh, Knight.

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HISTORY
OF
THE WORLD

42872 / D

A 21 Charles Cæsars. 1652.

The famous Historie of the worlds printed at London 1652.
Ex Dono Pri Caroli Cæsaris Scholæ hujus Stortfordiensis
quondam Discipuli, & collegij Christi Cantab. com:
= mensalis. Anno Dñi. 1652.

F 69. Scholæ Stortfordianæ hanc clariss. Ralegi Historiã unà cum Rossi Continuatione largitus est Ejusdem Alumnus Carolus Cesar Gen Hartfordiensis.

H. 6. 1.

THE MINDE OF THE FRONT.

FRom Death *and darke* Oblivion (*neer the same*)
The Mistresse of Mans life, *grave* HISTORIE,
Raising the VVorld *to good, or evill* FAME,
Doth vindicate it to ETERNITIE.

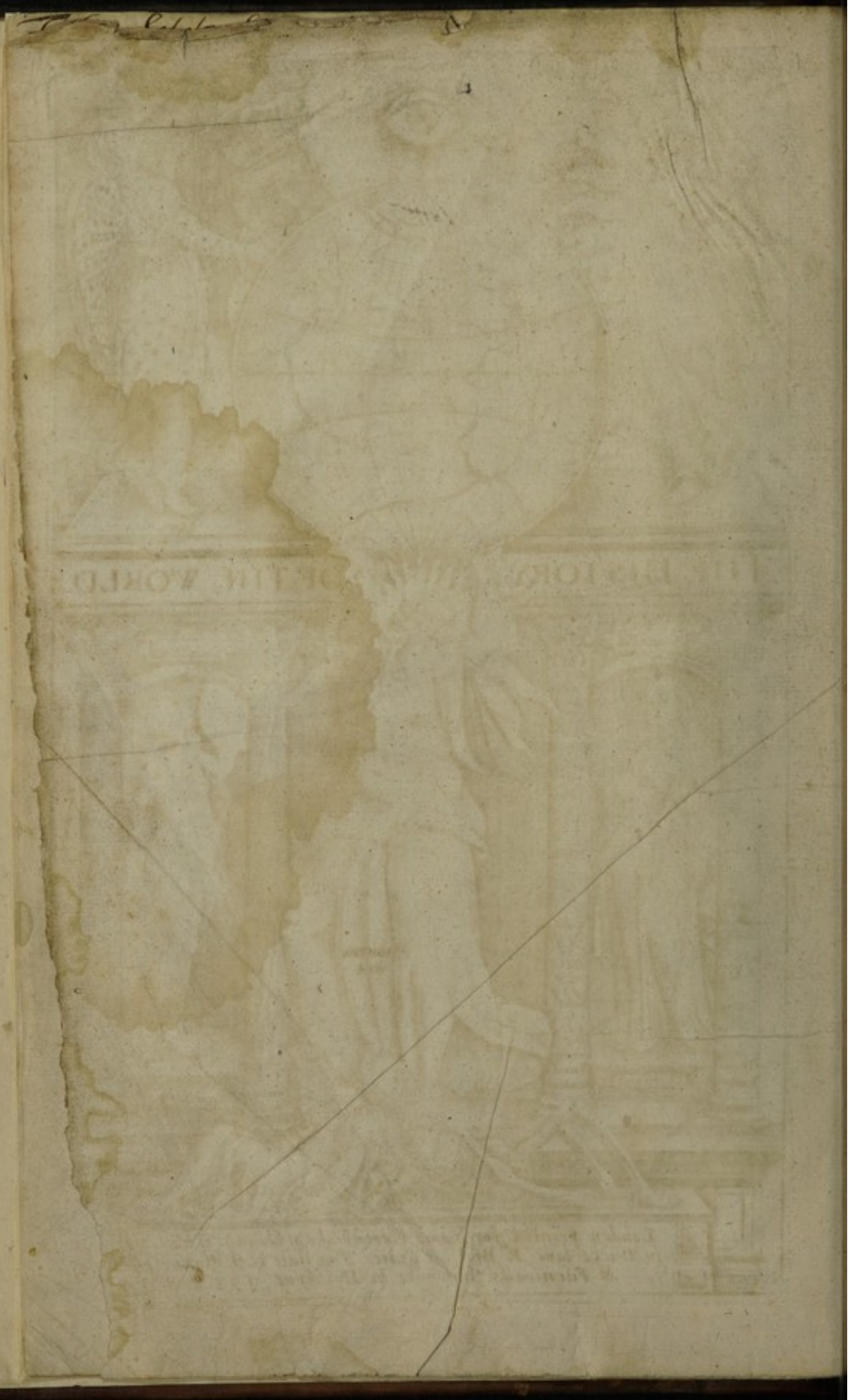
High PROVIDENCE *would so: that nor the Good*
Might be defrauded, nor the Great secur'd,
But both might know their wayes are understood,
And the reward and punishment assur'd.

This makes, that lighted by the beamie hand
Of TRUTH, *which searcheth the most hidden springs,*
And guided by EXPERIENCE; *whose straight* VVand
Doth mete, whose Line *doth sound the depth of things;*

Shee cheerfully supporteth what shee reares:
Assisted by no strengths, but are her owne.
Some note of which each varied Pillar *beares,*
By which, as proper Titles, shee is knowne,

Times Witnesse, Herald of Antiquitie,
The Light of Truth, & Life of Memory.

London printed for Sam: Cartwright at ye hand & Bible in Ducke lane R. Best at Graies Inn Gate & I. Place at Furnivalls Inn gate in Holborne. 1652.



77599

THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD

IN FIVE BOOKES.

1 *Entreating of the Beginning and first Ages of the same, from the Creation unto* Abraham.

2 *Of the Times from the Birth of* Abraham *to the destruction of the Temple of* Salomon.

3 *From the destruction of* Jerusalem, *to the time of* Philip *of* Macedon.

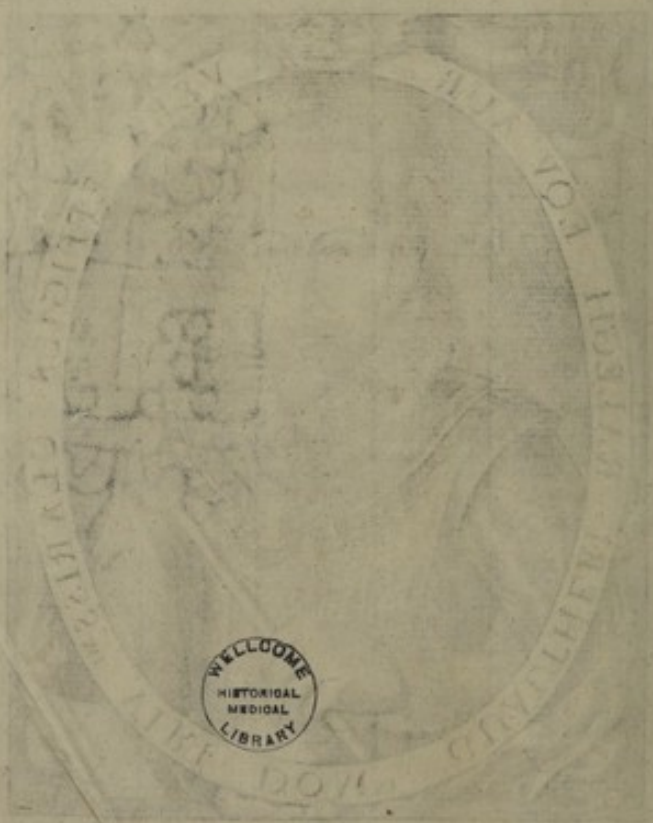
4 *From the Raigne of* Philip *of* Macedon, *to the establishing of that Kingdome in the Race of* Antigonus.

5 *From the settled rule of* Alexanders *Successors in the East, untill the* Romans *(prevailing over all) made Conquest of* Asia *and* Macedon.

By Sir WALTER RALEGH, Knight.

The true and lively portraiture
of the honorable and learned Knight
Sr. Walter Ralegh.

1652



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THE PREFACE.

HOw unfit and how unworthy a choice I have made of my ſelf, to undertake a work of this mixture; mine own reaſon, though exceeding weak, hath ſufficiently reſolved me. For had it been begotten then with my firſt dawn of day, when the light of common knowledge began to open it ſelf to my younger yeers, and before any wound received, either from Fortune or Time: I might yet well have doubted that the darkneſſe of Age and Death would have covered over both It and Mee, long before the performance. For, beginning with the Creation, I have proceeded with the Hiſtory of the World; and laſtly purpoſed (ſome few ſallies excepted) to confine my Diſcourſe, with this our renowned Iſland of Great Britain. *I confeſſe that it had better ſorted with my diſability, the better part of whoſe times are run out in other travells, to have ſet together (as I could) the unjoynted and ſcattered frame of our Engliſh affaires, than of the univerſall: in whom, had there been no other defect (who am all defect) than the time of the day, it were enough; the day of a tempeſtuous life, drawn on to the very evening ere I began. But thoſe inmoſt and ſoule-piercing wounds, which are ever aking while uncured: with the deſire to ſatisfie thoſe few friends, which I have tried by the fire of Adverſity, the former enforcing, the later perſwading; have cauſed me to make my thoughts legible, and my ſelf the ſubject of every opinion; wiſe or weak.*

To the World I preſent them, to which I am nothing indebted: neither have others that were, (Fortune changing) ſped much better in any age. For Proſperity and Adverſity have evermore tyed and untyed vulgar affections. And as we ſee it in experience, That dogs do alwayes bark at thoſe they know not, and that it is their nature to accompany one another in thoſe clamours: ſo it is with the inconſiderate multitude; who wanting that vertue which we call Honeſty in all men, and that eſpeciall gift of GOD, which we call Charity in Chriſtian men; condemn without hearing, and wound without offence given: led thereunto by uncertain report onely; which His Majeſty *truely acknowledgeth for the Author of all lies.* Blame no man (*ſaith Siracides*) before thou have enquired the matter: underſtand firſt, and then reforme righteouſly. *Rumor, res ſine teſte, ſine judice, maligna, fallax*; Rumour is without witneſſe, without judge, malicious and deceivable. *This vanity of vulgar opinion it was, that gave Saint* Auguſtine *Argument to affirm, That he feared the praiſe of good men, and deteſted that of the evill. And herein no man hath given a better rule, than this of* Seneca; Conſcientiæ ſatisfaciamus: nihil in famam laboremus, ſequatur vel mala, dum bene merearis; Let us ſatisfie our own conſciences, and not trouble our ſelves

Damonolog. l.3.c.1. Eccleſ.11.7.

Laudari à bonis timeo, & amari à malis deteſtor. Sen. de ira, l.3. c.22.

with

with fame: be it never ſo ill, it is to be deſpiſed, ſo we deſerve well.

For my ſelf, if I have in any thing ſerved my Country, and prized it before my private: the generall acceptation can yeeld me no other profit at this time, than doth a fair ſun-ſhine day to a Sea-man after ſhipwrack; and the contrary no other harm, than an outragious tempeſt after the Port attained. I know that I loſt the love of many, for my fidelity towards Her, whom I muſt ſtill honour in the duſt; though further than the defence of her excellent perſon, I never perſecuted any man. Of thoſe that did it, and by what device they did it, He that is the Supreme Judge of all the world, hath taken the accompt: ſo as for this kinde of ſuffering, I muſt ſay with Seneca, Mala opinio, bene parta, delectat.

As for other men; if there be any that have made themſelves Fathers of that fame, which hath been begotten for them: I can neither envie at ſuch their purchaſed glory, nor much lament mine own miſhap in that kinde; but content my ſelf to ſay with Virgil, Sic vos non vobis, *in many particulars. To labour other ſatisfaction, were an effect of phrenzie, not of hope, ſeeing it is not Truth, but Opinion, that can travell the World without a paſs-port. For were it otherwiſe; and were there not as many internall forms of the minde, as there are externall figures of men; there were then ſome poſſibility to perſwade by the mouth of one Advocate, even Equity alone.*

But ſuch is the multiplying and extenſive vertue of dead Earth, and of that breath-giving life which God hath caſt upon ſlime and duſt, as that among thoſe that were, of whom we reade and hear; and among thoſe that are, whom we ſee and converſe with; every one hath received a ſeverall picture of face, and every one a divers picture of minde; every one a form apart, every one a fancy and cogitation differing: there being nothing wherein Nature ſo much triumpheth as in diſſimilitude. From whence it cometh that there is found ſo great diverſity of opinions; ſo ſtrong a contrariety of inclinations; ſo many naturall and unnaturall; wiſe, fooliſh, manly, and childiſh affections and paſſions in mortall men. For it is not the viſible faſhion and ſhape of plants, and of reaſonable Creatures, that makes the difference of working in the one, and of condition in the other; but the form internall.

And though it hath pleaſed God to reſerve the Art of reading mens thoughts to himſelf: yet, as the fruit tells the name of the Tree; ſo do the outward works of men (ſo far as their cogitations are acted) give us whereof to gheſſe at the reſt. Nay, it were not hard to expreſſe the one by the other, very neer the life, did not craft in many, fear in the moſt, and the Worlds love in all, teach every capacity, according to the compaſſe it hath, to qualifie and maske over their inward deformities for a time. Though it be alſo true, Nemo poteſt diu perſonam ferre fictam: cito in naturam ſuam reſidunt, quibus veritas non ſubeſt: No man can long continue masked in a counterfeit behaviour: the things that are forced for pretences, having no ground of truth, cannot long diſſemble their own natures. *Neither can any man (ſaith* Plutarch) *ſo change himſelf, but that his heart may be ſometimes ſeen at his tongues end.*

In this great diſcord and diſſimilitude of reaſonable Creatures, if we direct our ſelves to the Multitude; Omnis honeſtæ rei malus judex eſt vulgus: The common people are evill Judges of honeſt things, *and* whoſe Wiſdome *(ſaith Eccleſiaſtes)* is to be deſpiſed: *if to the better ſort; every underſtanding*

hath

hath a peculiar judgement, by which it both cenſureth other men, and valueth it ſelf. And therefore unto me it will not ſeem ſtrange, though I finde theſe my worthleſſe papers torn with Rats: ſeeing the ſlothfull Cenſurers of all ages have not ſpared to taxe the Reverend Fathers of the Church, with Ambition, the ſevereſt men to themſelves, with Hypocriſie; the greateſt lovers of Juſtice, with Popularity; and thoſe of the trueſt Valour and Fortitude, with Vain-glory. But of theſe natures which lie in wait to finde fault, and to turn good into evill, ſeeing Solomon complained long ſince: and that the very age of the world renders it every day after other more malicious; I muſt leave the profeſſors to their eaſie wayes of reprehenſion, than which there is nothing of more facility.

Eccleſ. c. 11. Nihil facilius quàm reprehendere alium.

To me it belongs in the firſt part of this Preface, following the common and approved cuſtome of thoſe, who have left the memories of time paſt to after-ages; to give, as neer as I can, the ſame right to Hiſtory which they have done. Yet ſeeing therein I ſhould but borrow other mens words; I will not trouble the Reader with the repetition. True it is that among many other benefits, for which it hath been honoured; in this one it triumpheth over all humane knowledge, That it hath given us life in our underſtanding, ſince the world it ſelf had life and beginning, even to this day: yea; it hath triumphed over time, which beſides it nothing but eternity hath triumphed over: for it hath carried our knowledge over the vaſt and devouring ſpace of many thouſands of yeers, and given ſo fair and piercing eyes to our mind; that we plainly behold living now (as if we had lived then) that great world, Magni Dei ſapiens opus, The wiſe work (ſaith Hermes) of a great God, as it was then, when but new to it ſelf. By it (I ſay) it is, that we live in the very time when it was created: we behold how it was governed: how it was covered with waters, and again re-peopled: How Kings and Kingdoms have flouriſhed and fallen, and for what vertue and piety God made proſperous; and for what vice and deformity he made wretched, both the one and the other. And it is not the leaſt debt which we owe unto Hiſtory, that it hath made us acquainted with our dead Anceſtors; and, out of the depth and darkneſſe of the earth, delivered us their memory and fame. In a word, we may gather out of Hiſtory a policy no leſſe wiſe than eternall; by the compariſon and application of other mens fore-paſſed miſeries with our own like errours and ill deſervings. But it is neither of Examples the moſt lively inſtruction, nor the words of the wiſeſt men, nor the terrour of future torments, that hath yet ſo wrought in our blinde and ſtupified mindes, as to make us remember, That the infinite eye and wiſdom of God doth pierce thorow all our pretences, as to make us remember, That the juſtice of God doth require none other accuſer, than our own conſciences: which neither the falſe beauty of our apparent actions, nor all the formality, which (to pacifie the opinions of men) we put on; can in any, or the leaſt kinde, cover from his knowledge. And ſo much did that heathen wiſdome confeſſe, no way as yet qualified by the knowledge of a true God. If any (ſaith Euripides) having in his life committed wickedneſſe, think he can hide it from the everlaſting gods, he thinks not well.

To repeat GODS judgements in particular, upon thoſe of all degrees, which have played with his mercies; would require a volume apart: for the Sea of examples hath no bottome. The marks, ſet on private men, are with their bodies caſt into the earth; and their fortunes, written onely in the memories of thoſe that lived with them: ſo as they who ſucceed, and have not ſeen the fall of others,

doe not fear their own faults. GODS judgements upon the greater and greateſt have been left to poſterity; firſt, by thoſe happy hands which the holy Ghoſt hath guided; and ſecondly, by their vertue, who have gathered the acts and ends of men mighty and remarkable in the world. Now to point far off, and to ſpeak of the converſion of Angels into Divels, for Ambition: Or of the greateſt and moſt glorious Kings, who have gnawn the graſſe of the earth with beaſts for pride and ingratitude towards GOD: Or of that wiſe working of Pharaoh, *when he ſlew the Infants of* Iſrael, *ere they had recovered their Cradles: Or of the policy of* Jezabel, *in covering the murther of* Naboth *by a triall of the* Elders, *according to the law, with many thouſands of the like: what were it other, than to make an hopeleſſe proofe, that far-off examples would not be left to the ſame far-off reſpects, as heretofore? For who hath not obſerved, what labour, practice, perill, bloodſhed, and cruelty, the Kings and Princes of the world have undergone, exerciſed, taken on them, and committed; to make themſelves and their iſſues maſters of the world? And yet hath* Babylon, Perſia, Egypt, Syria, Macedon, Carthage, Rome, *and the reſt, no fruit, no flower, graſſe, nor leaf, ſpringing upon the face of the earth, of thoſe ſeeds: No, their very roots and ruines doe hardly remain.* Omnia quæ manu hominum facta ſunt, vel manu hominum evertuntur, vel ſtando & durando deficiunt: All that the hand of man can make, is either overturned by the hand of man, or at length by ſtanding and continuing conſumed. *The reaſons of whoſe ruines, are diverſly given by thoſe that ground their opinions on ſecond cauſes. All Kingdomes and States have fallen (ſay the Politicians) by outward and forraign force, or by inward negligence and diſſention, or by a third cauſe ariſing from both. Others obſerve, That the greateſt have ſunk down under their own weight: of which* Livie *hath a touch:* eo crevit, ut magnitudine laboret ſua: *Others, That the divine Providence (which* Cratippus *objected to* Pompey) *hath ſet down the date and period of every Eſtate, before their firſt foundation and erection. But hereof I will give my ſelf a a day over to reſolve.*

For ſeeing the firſt books of the following ſtory, have undertaken the diſcourſe of the firſt Kings and Kingdomes: and that it is impoſſible for the ſhort life of a Preface to travell after, and over-take far-off Antiquity, and to judge of it; I will, for the preſent, examine what profit hath been gathered by our own Kings, and their Neighbour Princes: who having beheld, both in divine and humane letters, the ſucceſſe of infidelity, injuſtice, and cruelty; have (notwithſtanding) planted after the ſame pattern.

True it is, that the judgements of all men are not agreeable; nor (which is more ſtrange) the affection of any one man ſtirred up alike with examples of like nature: But every one is touched moſt with that which moſt neerly ſeemeth to touch his own private; Or otherwiſe beſt ſuteth with his apprehenſion. But the judgements of GOD are for ever unchangeable; neither is he wearied by the long proceſſe of time, and won to give his bleſſing in one age, to that which he hath curſed in another. Wherefore thoſe that are wiſe, or whoſe wiſdome of it be not great, yet is true and well grounded; will be able to diſcern the bitter fruits of irreligious policy, as well among thoſe examples that are found in ages removed far from the preſent, as in thoſe of later times. And that it may no leſſe

appear

appear by evident proofe, than by asseveration, That ill doing hath alwayes been attended with ill successe; I will here, by way of Preface, run over some examples, which the work ensuing hath not reached.

Among our Kings of the Norman *race, we have no sooner passed over the violence of the* Norman *Conqueſt, than we encounter with a singular and most remarkable example of Gods Justice, upon the children of* Henry *the first. For that King, when both by force, craft and cruelty, he had dispossest, over-reacht, and lastly made blinde and destroyed his elder brother* Robert *Duke of* Normandy, *to make his own sons Lords of this Land: GOD cast them all, Male and Female, Nephews and Neeces (*Maud *excepted) into the bottome of the* Sea, *with above a hundred and fifty others that attended them; whereof a great many were Noble, and of the King dearly beloved.*

To passe over the rest, till we come to Edward *the second; it is certain, that after the murder of that King, the issue of blood then made, though it had some times of stay and stopping, did again break out; and that so often and in such abundance, as all our Princes of the Masculine race (very few excepted) died of the same disease. And although the young yeers of* Edward *the third, made his knowledge of that horrible fact no more than suspicious: yet in that he afterwards caused his own Uncle the Earle of Kent to die, for no other offence than the desire of his brothers redemption, whom the Earle as then supposed to be living; the King making that to be treason in his Uncle, which was indeed treason in himself, (had his Uncles intelligence been true) this I say made it manifest, that he was not ignorant of what had past, nor greatly desirous to have had it otherwise; though he caused* Mortimer *to die for the same.*

This cruelty the secret and unsearchable judgement of GOD revenged on the Grand-childe of Edward *the third: and so it fell out, even to the last of that line, that in the second or third descent they were all buried under the ruines of those buildings, of which the Mortar had been tempered with innocent blood. For* Richard *the second, who saw both his* Treasurers, *his* Chancellour, *and his* Steward, *with divers others of his Counsellors, some of them slaughtered by the people, others in his absence executed by his enemies; yet he alwayes took himself for over-wise, to be taught by examples. The Earles of* Huntingdon *and* Kent, Montagu *and* Spencer, *who thought themselves as great Politicians in those dayes, as others have done in these: hoping to please the King, and to secure themselves by the murther of* Glouceſter; *died soon after, with many other their adherents, by the like violent hands; and far more shamefully than did that Duke. And as for the King himself (who in regard of many deeds, unworthy of his Greatnesse, cannot be excused, as the disavowing himself by breach of Faith, Charters, Pardons and Patents:) He was in the prime of his youth deposed, and murdered by his Cousin-Germane and Vassall,* Henry *of* Lancaſter, *afterwards* Henry *the fourth.*

This King, whose Title was weak, and his obtaining the Crown traiterous: who brake faith with the Lords at his Landing, protesting to intend onely the recovery of his proper inheritance, brake faith with Richard *himself; and brake faith with all the Kingdome in Parliament, to whom he swore that the deposed King should live. After that he had enjoyed this Realme some few yeers, and in that time had been set upon on all sides by his Subjects, and never free from*

 conspiracies

conſpiracies and rebellions: he ſaw (if ſouls immortall ſee and diſcern any things after the bodies death) his Grand-childe Henry *the ſixth, and his ſon the Prince, ſuddenly and without mercy, murdered; the poſſeſſion of the Crown (for which he had cauſed ſo much blood to be poured out) transferred from his race, and by the Iſſues of his enemies worn and enjoy'd: enemies, whom by his own practice he ſuppoſed that he had left no leſſe powerleſſe, than the ſucceſſion of the Kingdome queſtionleſſe, by entailing the ſame upon his own Iſſues by Parliament. And out of doubt, humane reaſon could have judged no otherwiſe, but that theſe cautious proviſions of the father, ſeconded by the valour and ſignall victories of his ſon* Henry *the fifth, had buried the hopes of every Competitor, under the deſpaire of all reconqueſt and recovery. I ſay, that humane reaſon might ſo have judged, were not this paſſage of* Cauſabon *alſo true*; Dies, hora, momentum, evertendis dominationibus ſufficit, quæ Adamantinis credebantur radicibus eſſe fundatæ; A day, an hour, a moment is enough to overturn the things that ſeemed to have been founded and rooted in Adamant.

Now for Henry *the ſixth, upon whom the great ſtorm of his Grand-fathers grievous faults fell, as it formerly had done upon* Richard *the Grand-childe of* Edward: *although he was generally eſteemed for a gentle and innocent Prince, yet as he refuſed the daughter of* Armaignac, *of the Houſe of* Navarre, *the greateſt of the Princes of* France, *to whom he was affianced (by which match he might have defended his inheritance in* France) *and married the daughter of* Anjou, *(by which he loſt all that he had in* France) *ſo in condeſcending to the unworthy death of his Uncle of* Gloceſter, *the main and ſtrong Pillar of the Houſe of* Lancaſter; *He drew on himſelf and his Kingdome the greateſt joynt-loſſe and diſhonour, that ever it ſuſtained ſince the* Norman *Conqueſt. Of whom it may truly be ſaid which a Counſellor of his own ſpake of* Henry *the third of* France, Qu'il eſtoit une fort gentile Prince; mais ſon reigne eſt advenu en une fort mauvois temps: That he was a very gentle Prince; but his reign happened in a very unfortunate ſeaſon.

It is true that Buckingham *and* Suffolk *were the practiſers and contrivers of the Dukes death:* Buckingham *and* Suffolk, *becauſe the Duke gave inſtructions to their authority, which otherwiſe under the* Queen *had been abſolute; the* Queen *in reſpect of her perſonall wound,* ſpretæque injuria formæ, *becauſe* Glouceſter *diſſwaded her marriage. But the fruit was anſwerable to the ſeed; the ſucceſſe to the counſell. For after the cutting down of* Glouceſter, York *grew up ſo faſt, as he dared to diſpute his right both by arguments and arms; in which quarrell,* Suffolk *and* Buckingham, *with the greateſt number of their adherents, were diſſolved. And although for his breach of Oath by Sacrament, it pleaſed God to ſtrike down* York: *yet his ſon the Earle of* March, *following the plain path which his father had troden out, deſpoiled* Henry *the father, and* Edward *the ſon, both of their lives and Kingdome. And what was the end now of that politick* Lady *the* Queen, *other than this, That ſhe lived to behold the wretched ends of all her partakers: that ſhe lived to look on, while her husband the King, and her only ſon the Prince, were hewen in ſunder; while the Crown was ſet on his head that did it? She lived to ſee her ſelf deſpoiled of her eſtate, and of her moveables: and laſtly, her father, by rendring up to the Crown of France, the Earldome of* Provence, *and other places, for the payment of* 50000. *crowns for her Ranſome, to become a ſtark*

Beggar.

Beggar. And this was the end of that ſubtlety, which Siracides *calleth* fine; *but* unrighteous: *for other fruit hath it never yeelded ſince the world was.* Sirach. 19.

And now it came to Edward *the fourths turn (though after many difficulties) to triumph. For all the plants of* Lancaſter *were rooted up, one onely Earl of* Richmond *excepted: whom alſo he had once bought of the Duke of Britain, but could not hold him. And yet was not this of* Edward *ſuch a Plantation, as could any way promiſe it ſelf ſtability. For this* Edward *the King (to omit more than many of his other cruelties) beheld and allowed the ſlaughter which* Glouceſter, Dorſet, Haſtings, *and others, made of* Edward *the Prince in his own preſence: of which tragicall Actors, there was not one that eſcaped the judgement of GOD in the ſame kinde. And he, which (beſides the execution of his brother* Clarence, *for none other offence than he himſelf had formed in his own imagination) inſtructed* Glouceſter *to kill* Henry *the ſixth, his Predeceſſor; taught him alſo by the ſame art to kill his own ſons and ſucceſſors,* Edward *and* Richard. For thoſe Kings which have ſold the blood of others at a low rate; have but made the market for their own enemies, to buy of theirs at the ſame price.

To Edward *the fourth ſucceeded* Richard *the third, the greateſt Maſter in miſchief of all that fore-went him: who although, for the neceſſity of his Tragedy, he had more parts to play, and more to perform in his own perſon, than all the reſt; yet he ſo well fitted every affection that plaid with him, as if each of them had but acted his own intereſt. For he wrought ſo cunningly upon the affections of* Haſtings *and* Buckingham, *enemies to the* Queen, *and to all her kinred, as he eaſily allured them to condeſcend, that* Rivers *and* Grey, *the Kings Maternall Uncle and halfe brother, ſhould (for the firſt) be ſevered from him: ſecondly, he wrought their conſent to have them impriſoned: and laſtly (for the avoiding of future inconvenience) to have their heads ſevered from their bodies. And having now brought thoſe his chief inſtruments to exerciſe that common precept which the Devill hath written upon every poſt, namely, To depreſſe thoſe whom they had grieved, and to deſtroy thoſe whom they had depreſt; He urged that argument ſo far and ſo forcibly; as nothing but the death of the young King himſelf, and of his brother, could faſhion the concluſion. For he cauſed it to be hammered into* Buckinghams *head, That, whenſoever the King or his Brother, ſhould have able yeers to exerciſe their power, they would take a moſt ſevere revenge of that cureleſſe wrong offered to their Uncle and Brother;* Rivers *and* Grey. Sceleta ſceleribus tuenda. Sen. de clem.

But this was not his manner of reaſoning with Haſtings, *whoſe fidelity to his Maſters Sons was without ſuſpect: and yet the Devill, who never diſſwades by impoſſibility, taught him to try him. And ſo he did. But when he found by* Catesby, *who ſounded him, that he was not fordable, he firſt reſolved to kill him ſitting in councell: wherein having failed with his ſword, he ſet the Hangman upon him, with a weapon of more weight. And becauſe nothing elſe could move his appetite, he cauſed his head to be ſtricken off, before he eat his dinner. A greater judgement of God, than this upon* Haſtings, *I have never obſerved in any ſtory. For the ſelf ſame day that the Earle* Rivers, Grey, *and others, were (without triall of law, or offence given) by* Haſtings *advice executed at* Pomfret: *I ſay* Haſtings *himſelf in the ſame day, and (as I take it) in the ſame houre, in the ſame lawleſſe manner had his head ſtricken off in the Tower of* London. *But* Buckingham *lived a while longer; and with an eloquent oration perſwaded*

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the Londoners to elect Richard for their King. And having received the Earledome of Hereford for reward, besides the high hope of marrying his daughter to the Kings onely son; after many grievous vexations of minde, and unfortunate attempts, being in the end betrayed and delivered up by his trustiest servant; he had his head severed from his body at Salisbury, without the trouble of any of his Peers. And what successe had Richard himself after all these mischieves and murders, policies, and counter-policies to Christian Religion: and after such time as with a most mercilesse hand he had pressed out the breath of his Nephews and Naturall Lords, other than the prosperity of so short a life, as it took end, ere himself could well look over and discern it? the great out-cry of innocent blood, obtained at GODS hands the effusion of his; who became a spectacle of shame and dishonour, both to his friends and enemies.

This cruell King, Henry the seventh cut off; and was therein (no doubt) the immediate instrument of Gods Justice. A polick Prince he was, if ever there were any, who by the engine of his wisdome, beat down and overturned as many strong oppositions both before and after he wore the Crown, as ever King of England did: I say by his wisdom, because as he ever left the rains of his affections in the hands of his profit, so he alwayes weighed his undertakings by his abilities, leaving nothing more to hazzard than so much as cannot be denied it in all humane actions. He had well observed the proceedings of Loys the eleventh, whom he followed in all that was royall or royall-like; but he was far more just; and begun not their processes whom he hated or feared by the execution, as Loys did.

He could never endure any mediation in rewarding his servants, and therein exceeding wise; for whatsoever himself gave, he himself received back the thanks and the love, knowing it well that the affections of men (purchased by nothing so readily as by benefits) were trains that better became great Kings, than great subjects. On the contrary, in whatsoever he grieved his subjects, he wisely put it off on those, that he found fit ministers for such actions. Howsoever the taking off of Stanlies head, who set the Crown on his, and the death of the young Earl of Warwick, son to George Duke of Clarence, shews, as the successe also did, that he held somewhat of the errors of his Ancestors; for his possession in the first line ended in his grand-children, as that of Edward the third, and Henry the fourth had done.

Now for King Henry the eighth, if all the pictures & patterns of a mercilesse Prince were lost in the World, they might all again be painted to the life, out of the story of this King. For how many servants did he advance in haste (but for what vertue no man could suspect) and with the change of his fancy ruined again; no man knowing for what offence? To how many others of more desert gave he abundant flowers from whence to gather hony, and in the end of harvest burnt them in the Hive? How many wives did he cut off, and cast off, as his fancy and affection changed? How many Princes of the blood (whereof some of them for age could hardly crawle towards the block) with a world of others of all degrees (of whom our common Chronicles have kept the accompt) did he execute? yea, in his very death-bed, and when he was at the point to have given his accompt to GOD for the abundance of blood already spilt: He imprisoned the Duke of Norfolk the father; and executed the Earle of Surry the son; the one, whose deservings he knew not how to value, having never omitted any thing that concerned his own ho-

nour,

nour, and the Kings ſervice; the other never having committed any thing worthy of his leaſt diſpleaſure: the one exceeding valiant and adviſed; the other no leſſe valiant than learned, & of excellent hope. But beſides the ſorrows which he heaped upon the Fatherleſſe and Widows at home: and beſides the vain enterpriſes abroad, wherein it is thought that he conſumed more treaſure, than all our victorious Kings did in their ſeverall Conqueſts: what cauſleſſe and cruell wars did he make upon his own Nephew King James the fifth? What Laws and Wills did he deviſe to eſtabliſh this Kingdom in his own Iſſues? uſing his ſharpeſt weapons to cut off, and cut down thoſe branches, which ſprang from the ſame root that himſelf did. And in the end (notwithſtanding theſe his ſo many irreligious proviſions) it pleaſed God to take away all his own, without increaſe; though, for themſelves in their ſeverall kindes, all Princes of eminent vertue. For theſe words of Samuel to Agag King of the Amalekites, have been verified upon many others: As thy ſword hath made other women childleſſe, ſo ſhall thy mother be childleſſe among other women. And that blond which the ſame King Henry affirmed, that the cold aire of Scotland had frozen up in the North, God hath diffuſed by the ſun-ſhine of his grace: from whence His Majeſty now living, and long to live, is deſcended. Of whom I may ſay it truly, That if all the malice of the world were infuſed into one eye: yet could it not diſcern in his life, even to this day, any one of thoſe foul ſpots, by which the conſciences of all the fore-named Princes (in effect) have been defiled; nor any drop of that innocent blood on the ſword of his juſtice, with which the moſt that fore-went him have ſtained both their hands and fame. And for this Crown of England, it may truly be avowed: That he hath received it even from the hand of God, & hath ſtaied the time of putting it on, howſoever he were provoked to haſten it: That he never took revenge of any man, that ſought to put him beſide it: That he refuſed the aſſiſtance of Her enemies, that wore it long, with as great glory as ever Princeſſe did: That His Majeſty entered not by a breach, nor by blood; but by the Ordinary gate, which his own right ſet open; and into which, by a generall love and obedience, He was received. And howſoever His Majeſties preceding title to this Kingdom, was preferred by many Princes (witneſſe the Treaty at Cambray in the yeer 1559.) yet he never pleaſed to diſpute it, during the life of that renowned Lady his Predeceſſor; no, notwithſtanding the injury of not being declared Heir, in all the time of Her long reign.

Neither ought we to forget, or neglect our thankfulneſſe to GOD for the uniting of the Northen parts of Britany to the South, to wit, of Scotland to England, which though they were ſevered but by ſmall brooks and banks, yet by reaſon of the long continued war, and the cruelties exerciſed upon each other, in the affection of the Nations, they were infinitely ſevered. This, I ſay, is not the leaſt of Gods bleſſings which His Majeſty hath brought with him unto this Land: No, put all our petty grievances together, and heap them up to their height, they will appear but as a Mole-hill, compared with the Mountain of this concord. And if all the Hiſtorians ſince then have acknowledged the uniting of the Red-Roſe and the White, for the greateſt happineſſe (Chriſtian Religion excepted) that ever this Kingdome received from GOD, certainly the peace between the two Lions of gold and gules, and the making them one, doth by many degrees exceed the former; for by it, beſides the ſparing of our Britiſh blood, heretofore & during the difference, ſo often and abundantly ſhed, the ſtate of England is more aſſured, the Kingdome more

enabled

enabled to recover her ancient honour and rights, and by it made more invincible, than by all our former alliances, practices, policies, and conquests. It is true, that hereof we do not yet find the effect. But had the Duke of Parma *in the yeer* 1588. *joyned the Army which he commanded, with that of* Spain, *and landed it on the South coast; and had* His Majesty *at the same time declared himself against us in the North, it is easie to divine what had become of the liberty of* England: *certainly, we would then without murmure have brought this union a far greater praise than it hath since cost us. It is true, that there was never any Common-weal or Kingdome in the world, wherein no man had cause to lament. Kings live in the world, and not above it. They are not infinite to examine every mans cause, or to relieve every mans wants. And yet in the later, (though to his own prejudice)* His Majesty *hath had more compassion of other mens necessities, than of his own Coffers. Of whom it may be said, as of* Solomon, Dedit Deus Solomoni latitudinem cordis: *Which if other men do not understand with* Pineda, *to be meant by* Liberality, *but by* Latitude of knowledge; *yet may it be better spoken of* His Majesty, *than of any King that ever* England *had; who as well in divine, as humane understanding hath exceeded all that fore-went him, by many degrees.*

Fin. comment. in Sal. 1. K. 4.

I could say much more of the Kings Majesty, *without flattery: did I not fear the imputation of presumption, and withall suspect, that it might befall these papers of mine, (though the losse were little) as it did the Pictures of* Queen Elizabeth, *made by unskilfull and common Painters, which by her own commandment were knockt in pieces, and cast into the fire. For ill* Artists, *in setting out the beauty of the externall; and weak writers, in describing the vertues of the internall; do often leave to posterity, of well formed faces a deformed memory; and of the most Perfect and Princely mindes, a most defective representation. It may suffice, and there needs no other discourse; if the honest* Reader *but compare the cruell and turbulent passages of our former Kings, and of other their Neighbour-Princes (of whom for that purpose I have inserted this brief discourse) with* His Majesties *temperate, revengelesse, and liberall disposition: I say, that if the honest* Reader *weigh them justly, and with an even hand: and withall but bestow every deformed childe on his true Parent; He shall finde, that there is no man that hath so just cause to complain, as the King himself hath. Now as we have told the successe of the trumperies and cruelties of our own Kings, and other great Personages: so we find, that* GOD *is every-where the same God. And as it pleased him to punish the usurpation and unnaturall cruelty of* Henry *the first, and of our third* Edward, *in their Children for many generations; so dealt he with the sons of* Loys Debonaire, *the son of* Charles *the Great, or* Charlemaine. *For after such time as* Debonaire *of* France, *had torn out the eyes of* Bernard *his Nephew, the son of* Pepin *the eldest son of* Charlemaine, *and Heire of the Empire, and then caused him to die in prison, as did our* Henry *to* Robert *his eldest brother: there followed nothing but murders upon murders, poysoning, imprisonments, and civill war; till the whole race of that famous Emperour was extinguished. And though* Debonaire, *after he had rid himself of his Nephew by a violent death; and of his bastard brothers by a civill death (having inclosed them with sure guard all the dayes of their lives, within a Monastery) held himself secure from all opposition: Yet God raised up against him (which he suspected not) his own sons, to vex him, to invade him, to take him prisoner, and to depose him; his own sons, with whom*

(to

(to satisfie their ambition) he had shared his estate, and given them Crowns to wear, and Kingdoms to govern, during his own life. Yea, his eldest son Lothaire *(for he had four, three by his first wife, and one by his second; to wit,* Lothaire, Pepin, Loys, *and* Charles) *made it the cause of his deposition, That he had used violence towards his brothers and kinsmen; and that he had suffered his Nephew (whom he might have delivered) to be slain.* Eo quod, *saith the Text,* fratribus, & propinquis violentiam intulerit, & nepotem suum, quem ipse liberare poterat, interfici permiserit; Because he used violence to his brothers and kinsmen, and suffered his nephew to be slain, whom he might have delivered. *Step. Pasquier recher. l. 5. c. 1.*

Yet did he that which few Kings doe; namely, repent him of his cruelty. For, among many other things which he performed in the Generall Assembly of the States, it follows: Post hæc autem palam se errasse confessus, & imitatus Imperatoris *Theodosii* exemplum, pœnitentiam spontaneam suscepit, tam de his, quam quæ in *Bernardum* proprium nepotem gesserat: After this he did openly confesse himself to have erred, and following the example of the Emperour *Theodosius*, he underwent voluntary penance, as well for his other offences, as for that which he had done against *Bernard* his own Nephew. *Pasq. Ibidem.*

This he did, and it was praise-worthy. But the blood that is unjustly spilt, is not again gathered up from the ground by repentance. These Medicines, ministred to the dead, have but dead rewards.

This King, as I have said, had foure sons. To Lothaire *his eldest he gave the Kingdom of* Italy, *as* Charlemaine *his father had done to* Pepin *the father of* Bernard, *who was to succeed him in the Empire. To* Pepin *the second son he gave the Kingdome of* Aquitaine: *to* Loys, *the Kingdome of* Bavier: *and to* Charles, *whom he had by a second wife, called* Judith, *the remainder of the Kingdome of* France. *But this second wife, being a mother-in-law to the rest, perswaded* Debonaire *to cast his son* Pepin *out of* Aquitain; *thereby to greaten* Charles, *which, after the death of his son* Pepin, *he prosecuted to effect against his Grand-childe bearing the same name. In the mean while, being invaded by his son* Loys *of* Bavier, *he dies for grief.*

Debonaire *dead,* Loys *of* Bavier, *and* Charles *afterwards called the* bald, *and their Nephew* Pepin *of* Aquitaine, *joyne in league against the Emperour* Lothaire *their eldest brother. They fight neer to* Auxerre *the most bloody battell that ever was strucken in* France: *in which, the marvellous losse of Nobility, and men of war, gave courage to the* Saracens *to invade* Italy; *to the* Hunnes *to fall upon* Almaine; *and the* Danes *to enter upon* Normandy. Charles *the* bald *by treason seizeth upon his Nephew* Pepin, *kills him in a* Cloyster: Carloman *rebells against his father* Charles *the* bald, *the father burns out the eyes of his son* Carloman; Bavier *invades the Emperour* Lothaire *his brother*, Lothaire *quits the Empire, He is assailed and wounded to the heart by his own conscience, for his Rebellion against his father, and for his other cruelties, and dies in a Monastery.* Charles *the* bald *the Uncle oppresseth his Nephews the Sons of* Lothaire, *he usurpeth the Empire to the prejudice of* Loys *of* Bavier *his elder brother*; Baviers *Armies and his son* Carloman *are beaten, he dies of grief, and the Usurper* Charles *is poysoned by* Zedechias *a* Jew, *his Physician, his son* Loys le Beque *dies of the same drink.* Beque *had* Charles *the* simple,

and

and two Baſtards, Loys *and* Carloman ; *they rebell againſt their Brother, but the eldeſt breaks his neck, the younger is ſlain by a wilde Bore ; the ſon of* Bavier *had the ſame ill deſtiny, and brake his neck by a fall out of a window in ſporting with his companions.* Charles *the* groſſe *becomes Lord of all that the ſons of* Debonaire *held in* Germany ; *wherewith not contented, he invades* Charles *the* ſimple : *but being forſaken of his Nobility, of his wife, and of his underſtanding; he dies a diſtracted Beggar.* Charles *the* ſimple *is held in Wardſhip by* Eudes Maior *of the Pallace, then by* Robert *the brother of* Eudes : *and laſtly, being taken by the Earle of* Vermandois, *he is forced to dye in the priſon of* Peron. Loys *the ſon of* Charles *the* ſimple *breaks his neck in chaſing a Wolfe, and of the two ſons of this* Loys, *the one dies of poyſon ; the other dies in the priſon of* Orleans ; *after whom* Hugh Capet, *of another race, and a ſtranger to the* French, *makes himſelf King.*

Theſe miſerable ends had the iſſues of Debonaire ; *who after he had once apparrelled injuſtice with authority, his ſons and ſucceſſours took up the faſhion, and wore that Garment ſo long without other proviſion, as when the ſame was torn from their ſhoulders, every man deſpiſed them as miſerable and naked Beggars. The wretched ſucceſſe they had, (ſaith a learned* French-man) *ſhewes,* que en ceſte mort il y avoit plus du fait des hommes que de Dieu, ou de la juſtice : That in the death of that Prince; to wit, of *Bernard* the ſon of *Pepin*, the true heir of *Charlemaine*, men had more medling than either *God*, or Juſtice had.

But to come neerer home ; it is certain that Francis *the firſt, one of the worthieſt Kings (except for that fact) that ever the* French-men *had, did never enjoy himſelf, after he had commended the deſtruction of the Proteſtants of* Mirandol *and* Cabrieres, *to the Parliament of* Provence, *which poor people were thereupon burnt and murdered ; men, women, and children. It is true that the ſaid King* Francis *repented himſelf of the fact, and gave charge to* Henry *his ſon, to doe juſtice upon the Murderers, threatning his ſon with GODS judgements, if he neglected it. But this unſeaſonable care of his, GOD was not pleaſed to accept for payment. For after* Henry *himſelf was ſlain in ſport by* Montgomery, *we all may remember what became of his foure ſons,* Francis, Charles, Henry, *and* Hercules. *Of which, although three of them became Kings, and were married to beautifull and vertuous Ladies : yet were they, one after another, caſt out of the world, without ſtock or ſeed. And notwithſtanding their ſubtlety, and breach of faith ; with all their Maſſacres upon thoſe of the religion, and great effuſion of blood, the Crown was ſet on his head, whom they all laboured to diſſolve ; the Proteſtants remain more in number than ever they were, and hold to this day more ſtrong Cities than ever they had.*

Let us now ſee if God be not the ſame God in Spain, *as in* England *and* France. *Towards whom we will look no further back than to* Don Pedro *of* Caſtile : *in reſpect of which Prince, all the Tyrants of* Sicil, *our* Richard *the third, and the great* Evan Vaſilowick *of* Moſcovia, *were but petty ones : this* Caſtilian, *of all Chriſtian and Heathen Kings, having been the moſt mercileſſe. For, beſides thoſe of his own Blood and Nobility, which he cauſed to be ſlain in his own Court and Chamber, as* Sancho Ruis, *the great Maſter of* Calatrava, Ruis Gonſales, Alphonſo Tello, *and* Don John *of* Arragon, *whom he cut in pieces, and caſt into the ſtreet, denying him Chriſtian buriall: I ſay, beſides theſe, and the ſlaughter*

of

of Gomes Mauriques, Diego Peres, Alphonso Gomes, *and the great Commander of* Castile; *he made away the two Infants of* Arragon *his Cousin-germans, his brother* Don Frederick, Don John de la Cerde, Albuquergues, Nugnes de Guzman, Cornel, Cabrera, Tenorio, Mendes de Toledo, Guttiere *his great Treasurer, and all his kinred; and a world of others. Neither did he spare his two youngest brothers, innocent Princes: whom after he had kept in close prison from their Cradles, till one of them had lived sixteen yeers, and the other fourteen; he murdered them there. Nay, he spared not his Mother, nor his Wife the Lady* Blanch *of* Bourbon. *Lastly, as he caused the Archbishop of* Toledo, *and the Dean to be killed of purpose to enjoy their treasures; so did he put to death* Mahomet Aben Alhamar *King of* Barbary, *with* 37. *of his Nobility, that came unto him for succour, with a great summe of monye, to levie (by his favour) some companies of souldiers to return withall. Yea, he would needs assist the Hangman with his own hand, in the execution of the old King; insomuch as Pope* Urban *declareth him an enemy both to God & Man. But what was his end? Having been formerly beaten out of his Kingdome, and re-established by the valour of the* English Nation, *led by the famous Duke of* Lancaster: *He was stabbed to death by his younger brother the Earle of* Astramara, *who dispossest all his Children of their inheritance; which, but for the Fathers injustice and cruelty, had never been in danger of any such thing.* Hist. of Spain.

If we can parallel any man with this King, it must be Duke John *of* Burgoign, *who, after his traiterous murder of the Duke of* Orleans, *caused the Constable of* Armagnac, *the Chancellor of* France, *the Bishops of* Constance, Bayeux, Eureux, Senlis, Saintes, *and other religious and reverend Church-men, the Earle of* gran Pre, Hector *of* Chartres, *and (in effect) all the Officers of justice of the Chamber of Accompts, Treasury, and Request, (with sixteen hundred others to accompany them) to be suddenly and violently slain. Hereby, while he hoped to govern, and to have mastred* France: *He was soon after strucken with an axe in the face, in the presence of the* Dauphin; *and, without any leisure to repent his misdeeds, presently slain.* These were the Lovers of other mens miseries: and misery found them out. French invent. in anno 1418.

Now for the Kings of Spain, *which lived both with* Henry *the seventh,* Henry *the eighth,* Queen Mary, *and* Queen Elizabeth; Ferdinand *of* Arragon *was the first: and the first that laid the foundation of the present* Austrian *greatnesse. For this King did not content himself to hold* Arragon *by the usurpation of his Ancestor; and to fasten thereunto the Kingdome of* Castile *and* Leon, *which* Isabel *his wife held by strong hand, and his assistance, from her own Neece the Daughter of the last* Henry: *but most cruelly and craftily, without all colour or pretence of right, he also cast his own Neece out of the Kingdome of* Navarre: *and, contrary to faith, and the promise that he made to restore it, fortified the best places, and so wasted the rest, as there was no means left for any Army to invade it. This King, I say, that betrayed also* Ferdinand *and* Frederick *Kings of* Naples, *Princes of his own blood, and by double alliance tied unto him; sold them to the* French: *and with the same Army, sent for their succour under* Gonsalvo, *cast them out; and shared their Kingdome with the* French, *whom afterwards he most shamefully betrayed.*

This wise and politick King, who sold Heaven and his own Honour, to make

his ſon the Prince of Spain, *the greateſt Monarch of the world: ſaw him die in the flower of his yeers; and his wife great with childe, with her untimely birth, at once and together buried. His eldeſt daughter married unto* Don Alphonſo, *Prince of* Portugal, *beheld her firſt husband break his neck in her preſence; and being with childe by her ſecond, died with it. A juſt judgement of God upon the race of* John, *father to* Alphonſo, *now wholly extinguiſhed: who had not onely left many diſconſolate Mothers in* Portugal, *by the ſlaughter of their children; but had formerly ſlain with his own hand, the ſon and onely comfort of his Aunt the Lady* Beatrix, *Dutcheſſe of* Viſeo. *The ſecond daughter of* Ferdinand, *married to the Arch-Duke* Philip, *turned fool, and died mad and deprived. His third daughter, beſtowed on King* Henry *the eighth, he ſaw caſt off by the King: the mother of many troubles in* England; *and the mother of a daughter, that in her unhappy zeal ſhed a world of innocent blood; loſt* Calice *to the* French; *and died heart-broken without increaſe. To conclude, all thoſe Kingdoms of* Ferdinand *have maſters of a new name; and by a ſtrange family are governed and poſſeſt.*

Charles *the fifth, ſon to the Arch-Duke* Philip, *in whoſe vain enterpriſes upon the* French, *upon the* Almans, *and other Princes and States; ſo many multitudes of Chriſtian Souldiers, and renowned Captains were conſumed: who gave the while a moſt perillous entrance to the Turks, and ſuffered* Rhodes, *the Key of Chriſtendom, to be taken; was in concluſion chaced out of* France, *and in a ſort out of* Germany; *and left to the* French, Mentz, Toule, *and* Verdun, *places belonging to the Empire, ſtole away from* Inſpurg; *and ſcaled the* Alpes *by torch-light, purſued by Duke* Maurice; *having hoped to ſwallow up all thoſe Dominions, wherein he concocted nothing ſave his own diſgraces. And having, after the ſlaughter of ſo many Millions of men, no one foot of ground in either: He crept into a Cloiſter, and made himſelf a Penſioner of an hundred thouſand Duckets by the yeer, to his ſon* Philip, *from whom he very ſlowly received his mean and ordinary maintenance.*

Nather. hiſt. l. 7. fo. 313.

His ſon again King Philip *the ſecond, not ſatisfied to hold* Holland & Zeland, *(wreſted by his anceſtors from* Jaqueline *their lawfull Princeſſe) and to poſſeſſe in peace many other Provinces of the* Netherlands: *perſwaded by that miſchievous* Cardinall *of* Granvile, *and other* Romiſh *Tyrants; not onely forgot the moſt remarkable ſervices, done to his Father the Emperour, by the Nobility of thoſe Countries, not onely forgot the Preſent made him upon his entry, of fourty Millions of* Florens, *called the* Novaile aide; *nor onely forgot that he had twice moſt ſolemnly ſworn to the Generall States, to maintain & preſerve their ancient rights, priviledges, and cuſtomes, which they had enjoyed under their thirty and five Earles before him, Conditionall Princes of thoſe Provinces: but beginning firſt to conſtrain them, and enthrall them by the* Spaniſh Inquiſition, *and then to impoveriſh them by many new deviſed and intollerable impoſitions, he laſtly, by ſtrong hand and main force, attempted to make himſelf not onely an abſolute* Monarch *over them, like unto the Kings and Soveraignes of* England *and* France; *but* Turk-like, *to tread under his feet all their Naturall and Fundamentall Laws, Priviledges, and ancient Rights. To effect which, after he had eaſily obtained from the Pope a Diſpenſation of his former Oaths (which Diſpenſation was the true cauſe of the War and Bloudſhed ſince then;) and after he had tried what he could perform, by dividing of their own Nobility, under the govern-*

Hiſt of the Netherlands.

ment

ment of his baſe ſiſter, Margaret *of* Auſtria, *and the* Cardinall Granvile; *He imployed that moſt mercileſſe* Spaniard, Don Ferdinand Alvarez *of* Toledo, *Duke of* Alva, *followed with a powerfull Army of ſtrange Nations: by whom he firſt ſlaughtered that renowned Captain the Earl of* Egmont, *Prince of* Gavare: *and* Philip Montmorency *Earl of* Horn: *made away* Montigue, *and the Marqueſſe of* Bergues, *and cut off in thoſe ſix yeers (that* Alva *governed) of Gentlemen and others, eighteen thouſand and ſix hundred, by the hands of the Hangman, beſides all his other barbarous murders and maſſacres. By whoſe miniſtry when he could not yet bring his affairs to their wiſhed ends, having it in his hope to work that by ſubtilty, which he had failed to perform by force: He ſent for Governour his baſtard brother* Don John *of* Auſtria; *a Prince of great hope, and very gracious to thoſe people. But he, uſing the ſame Papall advantage that his Predeceſſors had done, made no ſcruple to take Oath upon the holy Evangeliſts, to obſerve the Treaty made with the Generall States; and to diſcharge the* Low-Countries *of all* Spaniards, *& other ſtrangers therein garriſon'd: Towards whoſe Pay & Paſport, the* Netherlands *ſtrained themſelves to make payment of* 600000. *pounds. Which monies received, he ſuddenly ſurpriſed the Citadels of* Antwerp *and* Nemures: *not doubting (being unſuſpected by the States) to have poſſeſt himſelf of all the maſtring places of thoſe Provinces. For whatſoever he overtly pretended, he held in ſecret a contrary counſell with the Secretary* Eſcovedo, Rhodus, Barlemont, *and others, Miniſters of the* Spaniſh *tyranny formerly practiſed, and now again intended. But let us now ſee the effect and end of this perjury, and of all other the Dukes cruelties. Firſt, for himſelf; after he had murdered ſo many of the Nobility; executed (as aforeſaid) eighteen thouſand ſix hundred in ſix yeers, and moſt cruelly ſlain Man, Woman, and Childe in* Mecklin, Zutphen, Naerden, *and other places: and after he had conſumed ſix and thirty millions of treaſure in ſix yeers: notwithſtanding his Spaniſh vaunt, That he would ſuffocate the* Hollanders *in their own Butter-barrels, and Milk-tubs: He departed the Country no otherwiſe accompanied, than with the curſe and deteſtation of the whole Nation; leaving his Maſters affaires in a tenfold worſe eſtate, than he found them at his firſt arrivall. For* Don John, *whoſe haughty conceit of himſelf overcame the greateſt difficulties; though his judgment were over-weak to manage the leaſt: what wonders did his fearfull breach of faith bring forth, other than the King his brothers jealouſie & diſtruſt, with the untimely death that ſeized him, even in the flower of his youth? And for* Eſcovedo *his ſharp-witted Secretary, who in his own imagination had conquered for his Maſter both* England *and the* Netherlands; *being ſent into* Spain *upon ſome new project, he was at the firſt arrivall, and before any acceſſe to the King, by certain Ruffians appointed by* Anthony Peres (*though by better warrant than his*) *rudely murdered in his own lodging. Laſtly, if we conſider the King of* Spains *carriage, his counſell and ſucceſſe in this buſineſſe, there is nothing left to the memory of man more remarkable. For he hath paid above an hundred Millions, and the lives of above foure hundred thouſand Chriſtians, for the loſſe of all thoſe Countries, which, for beauty, gave place to none; and for revenue, did equall his* Weſt-Indies: *for the loſſe of a Nation which moſt willingly obeyed him; and who at this day, after forty yeers war, are in deſpight of all his forces become a free Eſtate, and far more rich and powerfull than they were, when he firſt began to impoveriſh and oppreſſe them.*

Oh by what plots, by what forſwearings, betrayings, oppreſſions, impriſonments, tortures, poyſonings, and under what reaſons of State, and politick ſubtlety, have theſe fore-named Kings, both ſtrangers, and of our own Nation, pulled the vengeance of GOD upon themſelves, upon theirs, and upon their prudent miniſters! and in the end have brought thoſe things to paſſe for their enemies, and ſeen an effect ſo directly contrary to all their own counſels and cruelties; as the one could never have hoped for themſelves, and the other never have ſucceeded; if no ſuch oppoſition had ever been made. GOD hath ſaid it, and performed it ever: Perdam ſapientiam ſapientum; I will deſtroy the wiſdome of the wiſe.

But what of all this? and to what end do we lay before the eyes of the living, the fall and fortunes of the dead: ſeeing the world is the ſame that it hath been; and the children of the preſent time, will ſtill obey their parents? It is in the preſent time, that all the wits of the world are exerciſed. To hold the times we have, we hold all things lawfull: and either we hope to hold them for ever; or at leaſt we hope, that there is nothing after them to be hoped for. For as we are content to forget our own experience, and to counterfeit the ignorance of our own knowledge, in all things that concern our ſelves; or perſwade our ſelves, that GOD hath given us letters patents to purſue all our irreligious affections, with a non obſtante: *ſo we neither look behinde us what hath been, nor before us what ſhall be. It is true, that the quantity which we have, is of the body: we are by it joyned to the earth: we are compounded of earth; and we inhabit it. The Heavens are high, far off, and unſearchable: we have ſenſe and feeling of corporall things; and of eternall grace, but by revelation. No marvell then that our thoughts are alſo earthly: and it is leſſe to be wondred at, that the words of worthleſſe men cannot cleanſe them: ſeeing their doctrine and inſtruction, whoſe underſtanding the Holy Ghoſt vouchſafed to inhabit, have not performed it. For as the Prophet* Eſay *cried out long agone,* Lord, who hath beleeved our reports? *And out of doubt, as* Eſay *complained then for himſelf and others: ſo are they leſſe beleeved, every day after other. For although Religion, and the truth thereof be in every mans mouth, yea, in the diſcourſe of every woman, who for the greateſt number are but* Idols of vanity: *what is it other than an univerſall diſſimulation? We profeſſe that we know GOD: but by works we deny him. For Beatitude doth not conſiſt in the knowledge of divine things, but in a divine life: for the Divels know them better than men.* Beatitudo non eſt divinorum cognitio, ſed vita divina. *And certainly there is nothing more to be admired, and more to be lamented, than the private contention, the paſſionate diſpute, the perſonall hatred, and the perpetuall war, maſſacres, and murthers, for Religion among* Chriſtians: *the diſcourſe whereof hath ſo occupied the World, as it hath well neer driven the practice thereof out of the World. Who would not ſoon reſolve, that took knowledge but of the religious diſputations among men, and not of their lives which diſpute, that there were no other thing in their deſires, than the purchaſe of Heaven; and that the World it ſelf were but uſed as it ought, and as an Inne, or place wherein to repoſe our ſelves in paſſing on towards our celeſtiall habitation? when on the contrary, beſides the diſcourſe and outward profeſſion, the ſoule hath nothing but hypocriſie. We are all (in effect) become Comedians in Religion: and while we act in geſture and voice, divine vertues, in all the courſe of our lives we renounce our Perſons, and the parts we play. For Charity, Juſtice, and Truth,*

Paul to Titus, cō. 1. v. 10.

have

have but their being in terms, *like the Philosophers* Materia prima.

Neither is it that wisdome, which Solomon *defineth to be the* School-Mistresse of the knowledge of God, *that hath valuation in the world: it is enough that we give it our good word: but the same which is altogether exercised in the service of the World, as the gathering of riches chiefly, by which we purchase and obtaine honour, with the many respects which attend it. These indeed be the marks, which (when we have bent our consciences to the highest) we all shoot at. For the obtaining whereof it is true, that the care is our own; the care our own in this life, the perill our own in the future: and yet when we have gathered the greatest abundance, we our selves enjoy no more thereof, than so much as belongs to one man. For the rest, He that had the greatest wisdome, and the greatest ability that ever man had, hath told us, that this is the use:* When goods increase *(saith Solomon)* they also increase that eat them; and what *Eccles.5.10.* good cometh to the Owners, but the beholding thereof with their eyes? *As for those that devoure the rest, and follow us in faire weather: they again forsake us in the first tempest of misfortune, and steere away before the Sea and Winde; leaving us to the malice of our destinies. Of these, among a thousand examples, I will take but one out of Master* Dannet, *and use his own words:* Whilest the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, after the resignation of his estates, stayed at Ulosshing for winde, to carry him his last journey into Spain; He conferred on a time with *Seldius*, his brother *Ferdinands* Embassadour, till the deep of the night. And when *Seldius* should depart: the Emperour calling for some of his servants, and no body answering him, (for those that attended upon him, were some gone to their lodgings, and all the rest asleep) the Emperour took up the candle himself, and went before *Seldius* to light him down the staires; and so did, notwithstanding all the resistance that *Seldius* could make. And when he was come to the staires foot, he said thus unto him: *Seldius*, remember this of *Charles* the Emperour, when he shall be dead and gone, That Him, whom thou hast known in thy time environed with so many mighty Armies and Guards of Souldiers, thou hast also seen alone, abandoned, and forsaken, yea even of his own domesticall servants, &c. I acknowledge this change of Fortune to proceed from the mighty hand of GOD, which I will by no means go about to withstand.

But you will say, that there are some things else, and of greater regard than the former. The first is, the reverend respect that is held of great men, and the Honour done unto them by all sorts of people. And it is true indeed: provided, that an inward love for their justice and piety, accompany the outward worship given to their places and power; without which what is the applause of the Multitude, but as the out-cry of an Herd of Animals, *who without the knowledge of any true cause, please themselves with the noise they make? For seeing it is a thing exceeding rare to distinguish Vertue and Fortune: the most impious (if prosperous) have ever been applauded; the most vertuous (if unprosperous) have ever been despised. For as Fortunes man rides the Horse, so Fortune her self rides the Man. Who, when he is descended and on foot: the Man taken from his Beast, and Fortune from the Man; a base groom beats the one, and a bitter contempt spurnes at the other, with equall liberty.*

The ſecond is the greatning of our poſterity, and the contemplation of their glory whom we leave behinde us. Certainly, of thoſe which conceive that their ſouls departed take any comfort therein, it may truly be ſaid of them, which Lactantius *ſpake of certain Heathen Philoſophers,* quod ſapientes ſunt in re ſtulta. *For when our ſpirits immortall ſhall be once ſeparate from our mortall bodies, and diſpoſed by* GOD *: there remaineth in them no other joy of their poſterity which ſucceed, than there doth of pride in that ſtone, which ſleepeth in the Wall of a Kings Palace, nor any other ſorrow for their poverty, than there doth of ſhame in that, which beareth up a Beggars cottage.* Neſciunt mortui, etiam ſancti, quid agunt vivi, etiam eorum filii, quia animæ mortuorum rebus viventium non interſunt: The dead, though holy, know nothing of the living, no, not of their own children: for the ſouls of thoſe departed, are not converſant with their affaires that remain. *And if we doubt of Saint* Auguſtine, *we cannot of* Job; *who tells us,* That we know not if our ſons ſhall be honourable: neither ſhall we underſtand concerning them, whether they ſhall be of low degree. *Which* Eccleſiaſtes *alſo confirmeth:* Man walketh in a ſhadow, and diſquieteth himſelf in vain: he heapeth up riches, and cannot tell who ſhall gather them. The living *(ſaith he)* know that they ſhall die, but the dead know nothing at all: for who can ſhew unto man what ſhall be after him under the Sunne? *He therefore accounteth it among the reſt of worldly vanities, to labour and travell in the world; not knowing after death, whether a foole or a wiſe man ſhould enjoy the fruits thereof:* which made me *(ſaith he)* endeavour even to abhorre mine own labour. *And what can other men hope, whoſe bleſſed or ſorrowfull eſtates after death God hath reſerved? mans knowledge lying but in his hope, ſeeing the Prophet* Eſay *confeſſeth of the Elect, That* Abraham is ignorant of us, and Iſrael knows us not. *But hereof we are aſſured, that the long and dark night of death, (of whoſe following day we ſhall never behold the dawn till his return that hath triumphed over it) ſhall cover us over till the world be no more. After which, and when we ſhall again receive Organs glorified and incorruptible, the ſeats of Angelicall affections: in ſo great admiration ſhall the ſoules of the bleſſed be exerciſed, as they cannot admit the mixture of any ſecond or leſſe joy; nor any return of forgone and mortall affection towards friends, kinred, or children. Of whom whether we ſhall retain any particular knowledge, or in any ſort diſtinguiſh them, no man can aſſure us; and the wiſeſt men doubt. But on the contrary; If a divine life retain any of thoſe faculties, which the ſoule exerciſed in a mortall body; we ſhall not at that time ſo divide the joyes of Heaven, as to caſt any part thereof on the memory of their felicities which remaine in the World. No, be their eſtates greater than ever the World gave, we ſhall (by the difference known unto us) even deteſt their conſideration. And whatſoever comfort ſhall remain of all forepaſt, the ſame will conſiſt in the charity, which we exerciſed living: and in that Piety, Juſtice, and firm Faith, for which it pleaſed the infinite mercy of God to accept of us, and receive us. Shall we therefore value honour and riches at nothing? and neglect them, as unneceſſary and vain? Certainly no. For that infinite wiſdome of God, which hath diſtinguiſhed his Angels by degrees: which hath given greater and leſſe light and beauty to heavenly bodies: which hath made differences between beaſts and birds: created the Eagle and*

Lact. de falſa ſap. l. 3. c. 29.

S. Aug. de cura pro mort.

Job 14. 21.

Pſal. 39.

Eccl. 9. 5. & 1. 2.

Eſay 63. 16.

and the Flie, the Cedar and the Shrub; and among ſtones, given the faireſt tincture to the Ruby, and the quickeſt light to the Diamond; hath alſo ordained Kings, Dukes, or Leaders of the people, Magiſtrates, Judges, and other degrees among men. And as honour is left to poſterity, for a mark and enſigne of the vertue and underſtanding of their Anceſtors; ſo (ſeeing Siracides *preferreth* Sira.c.40.v.28. *Death before Beggary: and that titles, without proportionable eſtates, fall under the miſerable ſuccour of other mens pity;) I account it fooliſhneſſe to condemn ſuch a care: Provided, that worldly goods be well gotten; and that we raiſe not our own buildings out of other mens ruines. For, as* Plato *doth firſt* Plat. de leg. 1. 2. & 6. & in Georgo *preferre the perfection of bodily health; ſecondly, the forme and beauty, and thirdly,* Divitias nulla fraude quæſitas: *ſo Jeremy cries,* Woe unto them that Jer. 22. 13. erect their houſes by unrighteouſneſſe, and their chambers without equity: *And Eſay the ſame,* Woe to thoſe that ſpoile, and were not ſpoiled. *And it* Eſay 33. *was out of the true wiſdome of* Solomon, *that he commandeth us,* not to drink Pro. 1. 18. 12. the wine of violence; not to lie in wait for blood, and not to ſwallow them Pro. 23. 1, 2, 8, 9 & 25. 9, 8. up alive, whoſe riches we covet: for ſuch are the wayes *(ſaith he)* of every one that is greedy of gain.

And if we could afford our ſelves but ſo much leiſure as to conſider, That he which hath moſt in the world, hath, in reſpect of the world, nothing in it: and that he which hath the longeſt time lent him to live in it, hath yet no proportion at all therein, ſetting it either by that which is paſt, when we were not, or by that time which is to come, in which we ſhall abide for ever: I ſay, if both, to wit, our proportion in the world, and our time in the world, differ not much from that which is nothing, it is not out of any excellency of underſtanding, that we ſo much priſe the one, which hath (in effect) no being: and ſo much neglect the other, which hath no ending: coveting thoſe mortall things of the world, as if our ſoules were therein immortall, and neglecting thoſe things which are immortall, as if our ſelves after the world were but mortall.

But let every man value his own wiſdome, as he pleaſeth. Let the Rich man think all fools, that cannot equall his abundance; the Revenger eſteem all negligent, that have not trodden down their oppoſites; the Politician all groſs, that cannot merchandize their faith: Yet when we once come in ſight of the Port of death, to which all winds drive us, & when by letting fall that fatal Anchor, which can never be weighed again, the navigation of this life takes end: Then it is, I ſay, that our own cogitations (thoſe ſad & ſevere cogitations, formerly beaten from us by our Health & Felicity) return again, & pay us to the uttermoſt for all the pleaſing paſſages of our lives paſt. It is then that we cry out to God for mercy; then, when our ſelves can no longer exerciſe cruelty to others: and it is onely then, that we are ſtrucken through the ſoul with this terrible ſentence, That God will not Gal. 6. 7. be mock't. *For if according to* S. Peter, The righteous ſcarcely be ſaved: and 1 Pet. 4. that *God* ſpared not his Angels: *where ſhall thoſe appear, who, having ſerved their appetites all their lives, preſume to think, that the ſevere Commandments of the All-powerfull God were given but in ſport; & that the ſhort breath, which we draw when death preſſeth us, if we can but faſhion it to the ſound of* Mercy (*without any kind of ſatisfaction or amends*) *is ſufficient?* O quam multi, *ſaith a reverend Father,* cum hac ſpe ad æternos labores & bella deſcendunt! *I confeſſe that it is a great comfort to our friends, to have it ſaid, that we ended well; for we all*

deſire

desire (*as* Balaam *did*) to die the death of the righteous. *But what shall we call a dis-esteeming, an opposing, or* (*indeed*) *a mocking of God: if those men do not oppose him, dis-esteem him, and mock him, that think it enough for God, to ask him forgiveneſſe at leiſure, with the remainder & laſt drawing of a malicious breath? For what do they otherwiſe, that die this kinde of well-dying, but ſay unto God as followeth? We beſeech thee, O God, that all the falſhoods, forſwearings, and treacheries of our lives paſt, may be pleaſing unto thee; that thou wilt for our ſakes* (*that have had no leiſure to do any thing for thine*) *change thy nature* (*though impoſſible*) *and forget to be a juſt God; that thou wilt love injuries and oppreſſions, call ambition wiſdome, and charity fooliſhneſſe. For I ſhall prejudice my ſon,* (*which I am reſolved not to do*) *if I make reſtitution; and confeſſe my ſelf to have been unjuſt,* (*which I am too proud to do*) *if I deliver the oppreſſed. Certainly, theſe wiſe worldlings have either found out a new God, or made One; and in all likelihood ſuch a Leaden One, as* Lewis *the eleventh ware in his Cap; which when he had cauſed any that he feared or hated, to be killed, he would take it from his head and kiſſe it: beſeeching it to pardon him this one evill act more, and it ſhould be the laſt; which* (*as at other times*) *he did, when by the practice of a* Cardinall *and a falſified Sacrament, he cauſed the* Earl *of* Armagnac *to be ſtabbed to death: mockeries indeed fit to be uſed towards a Leaden, but not towards the Everliving God. But of this compoſition are all devout lovers of the World, that they fear all that is dureleſſe and ridiculous: they fear the plots and practices of their oppoſites, and their very whiſperings: they fear the opinions of men, which beat but upon ſhadowes: they flatter and forſake the proſperous and unproſperous, be they friends or Kings: yea, they dive under water, like Ducks, at every pebble ſtone, that is but thrown towards them by a powerfull hand: and on the contrary, they ſhew an obſtinate and Giant-like valour, againſt the terrible judgements of the All-powerfull God: yea, they ſhew themſelves gods againſt God, and ſlaves towards men; towards men whoſe bodies and conſciences are alike rotten.*

Now for the reſt: If we truly examine the difference of both conditions; to wit, of the rich and mighty, whom we call fortunate; and of the poor & oppreſſed, whom we account wretched: we ſhall finde the happineſſe of the one, and the miſerable eſtate of the other, ſo tied by God to the very inſtant, and both ſo ſubject to enterchange (*witneſſe the ſudden downfall of the greateſt Princes, and the ſpeedy uprising of the meaneſt perſons*) *as the one hath nothing ſo certain, whereof to boaſt; nor the other ſo uncertain, whereof to bewail it ſelf. For there is no man ſo aſſured of his honour, of his riches, health, or life; but that he may be deprived of either, or all, the very next houre or day to come.* Quid veſper vehat, incertum eſt; What the evening will bring with it, it is uncertaine. And yet ye cannot tell (*ſaith S. James*) what ſhall be to morrow. To day he is ſet up, and to morrow he ſhall not be found; for he is turned into duſt, and his purpoſe periſheth. *And although the aire which compaſſeth adverſity, be very obſcure: yet therein we better diſcern God, than in that ſhining light which environeth worldly glory; through which, for the cleerneſſe thereof, there is no vanity which eſcapeth our ſight. And let adverſity ſeem what it will; to happy men ridiculous, who make themſelves merry at other mens misfortunes; and to thoſe under the* croſſe, *grievous: yet this is true, That for all that is paſt, to the very inſtant, the portions remaining are equall to either. For be it that we*

have

have lived many yeers, and (*according to* Solomon) in them all we have rejoyced; *or be it that we have measured the same length of dayes, and therein have evermore sorrowed: yet looking back from our present being, we finde both the one and the other, to wit, the joy and the woe, sailed out of sight; and death, which doth pursue us, and hold us in chace, from our infancy, hath gathered it.* Quicquid ætatis retro est, mors tenet: Whatsoever of our age is past, death holds it. *So as whosoever he be, to whom Fortune hath been a servant; and the Time a friend: let him but take the accompt of his memory (for we have no other keeper of our pleasures past) and truly examine what it hath reserved either of beauty and youth, or fore-gone delights; what it hath saved, that it might last, of his deareſt affections, or of whatever else the amorous Spring-time gave his thoughts of contentment, then unvaluable; and he shall finde that all the Art which his elder yeers have, can draw no other vapour out of these dissolutions, than heavie, secret, and sad sighes. He shall finde nothing remaining, but those sorrows, which grow up after our fast-springing youth, over-take it, when it is at a stand; and over-top it utterly, when it begins to wither: insomuch as looking back from the very instant time, and from our now being, the poor, diseased, and captive creature, hath as little sense of all his former miseries and pains, as he, that is most blest in common opinion, hath of his fore-passed pleasure and delights. For whatsoever is cast behinde us, is just nothing: and what is to come, deceitfull hope hath it:* Omnia quæ eventura sunt, in incerto jacent. *Onely those few black Swans I must except: who having had the grace to value worldly vanities at no more than their own price; do, by retaining the comfortable memory of a well-acted life, behold death without dread, and the grave without fear; and embrace both, as necessary guides to endlesse glory.*

For my self, this is my consolation, and all that I can offer to others, that the sorrows of this life are but of two sorts: whereof the one hath respect to GOD; the other to the World. In the first we complain to GOD against our selves, for our offences against him; and confesse, Et tu justus es in omnibus quæ venerunt super nos; And thou, O Lord, art just in all that hath befallen us. *In the second we complain to our selves against GOD: as if he had done us wrong, either in not giving us worldly goods and honours, answering our appetites: or for taking them again from us having had them; forgetting that humble and just acknowledgement of* Job, The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken. *To the first of which S.* Paul *hath promised blessednesse; to the second, death. And out of doubt he is either a fool, or ungratefull to GOD, or both, that doth not acknowledge, how mean soever his estate be, that the same is yet far greater, than that which God oweth him: or doth not acknowledge, how sharp soever his afflictions be, that the same are yet far lesse, than those which are due unto him. And if an Heathen wise man call the adversities of the world but* tributa vivendi; the tributes of living: *a wise Christian man ought to know them, and bear them but as the tributes of offending. He ought to bear them man-like, and resolvedly, and not as those whining Souldiers do,* qui gementes sequuntur Imperatorem.

For seeing God, who is the Author of all our tragedies, hath written out for us, and appointed us all the parts we are to play: and hath not, in their distribution, been partiall to the most mighty Princes of the World; That gave unto Darius *the part of the greatest Emperour, and the part of the most miserable beggar,*

a beggar

a beggar begging water of an Enemy, to quench the great drought of death; That appointed Bajazet *to play the* Grand Signior *of the* Turks *in the morning, & in the same day the* Footstool *of* Tamerlane *(both which parts* Valerian *had also plaid, being taken by* Sapores:) *that made* Belisarius *play the most victorious Captain, and lastly the part of a blind beggar; of which examples many thousands may be produced: why should other men, who are but as the least worms, complain of wrongs? Certainly there is no other account to be made of this ridiculous world, than to resolve, That the change of fortune on the great Theater, is but as the change of garments on the lesse. For when on the one and the other, every man wears but his own skin, the Players are all alike. Now if any man out of weaknes prize the passages of this world otherwise (for saith* Petrarch, Magni ingenii est revocare mentem a sensibus) *it is by reason of that unhappy fantasie of ours, which forgeth in the brains of Man all the miseries (the corporall excepted) whereunto he is subject. Therein it is, that Misfortune and Adversity work all that they work. For seeing Death, in the end of the Play, takes from all, whatsoever Fortune or Force takes from any one; it were a foolish madnesse in the shipwrack of worldly things, where all sinks but the Sorrow, to save it. That were, as* Seneca *saith,* Fortunæ succumbere, quod tristius est omni fato: To fall under Fortune, of all other the most miserable destinie.

But it is now time to sound a retrait, and to desire to be excused of this long pursuit: and withall, that the good intent, which hath moved me to draw the picture of time past (which we call History) *in so large a Table, may also be accepted in place of a better reason.*

The examples of divine Providence, every where found (the first divine Histories being nothing els but a continuation of such examples) have perswaded me to fetch my beginning from the beginning of all things; to wit, Creation. For though these two glorious actions of the Almighty be so neer, and (as it were) linked together, that the one necessarily implieth the other: Creation inferring Providence (for what father forsaketh the childe that he hath begotten?) & Providence presupposing Creation: Yet many of those that have seemed to excell in worldly wisdome, have gone about to dis-joyn this coherence; the Epicure *denying both Creation and Providence, but granting that the World had a Beginning; the* Aristotelian *granting Providence, but denying both the Creation and the Beginning.*

Now although this doctrine of Faith, touching the Creation in time (for by faith we understand, that the world was made by the word of God) *be too weighty a work for* Aristotles *rotten ground to bear up, upon which he hath (notwithstanding) founded the Defences and Fortresses of all his* Verball *Doctrine: Yet that the necessity of infinite power, and the Worlds beginning, and the impossibility of the contrary, even in the judgement of Naturall reason, wherein he beleeved, had not better informed him; it is greatly to be marvelled at. And it is no lesse strange, that those men which are desirous of knowledge (seeing* Aristotle *hath failed in this main point; and taught little other than* terms *in the rest) have so retrencht their mindes from the following and overtaking of truth, and so absolutely subjected themselves to the law of those Philosophicall principles; as all contrary kinde of teaching, in the search of causes, they have condemned either for phantasticall, or curious. But doth it follow, that the Positions of Heathen Philosophers are undoubted grounds and principles*

indeed

indeed, because so called? Or that ipsi dixerunt, *doth make them to be such? Certainly no. But this is true, That where naturall reason hath built any thing so strong against it self, as the same reason can hardly assail it, much lesse batter it down: the same in every question of Nature, and infinite power, may be approved for a fundamentall law of humane knowledge. For saith* Charron *in his Book of Wisdome,* Tout proposition humaine a autant d' authorite quel' autre, si la raison n' on fait la difference; Every humane proposition hath equall authority, if reason make not a difference; *the rest being but the fables of principles. But hereof how shall the upright and unpartiall judgement of man give a sentence, where opposition and examination are not admitted to give in evidence? And to this purpose it was well said of* Lactantius, Sapientiam sibi adimunt, qui sine ullo judicio inventa majorum probant, & ab aliis pecudum more ducuntur: They neglect their owne wisdome, who without any judgement approve the invention of those that fore-went them; and suffer themselves, after the manner of beasts, to be led by them. *By the advantage of which sloth and dulnesse, ignorance is now become so powerfull a Tyrant, as it hath set true Philosophy, Physick, and Divinity in a Pillory; and written over the first,* Contra negantem Principia; *over the second,* Virtus specifica; *and over the third,* Ecclesia Romana.

Charron de Sagesse.

Lact. de orig. Erroris, l. 2. c. 8.

But for my self, I shall never be perswaded, that God hath shut up all light of Learning within the lanthorn of Aristotles *brains: or that it was ever said unto him, as unto* Esdras, Accendam in Corde tuo Lucernam intellectus: *that God hath given invention but to the Heathen, and that they onely invaded Nature, and found the strength and bottome thereof; the same Nature having consumed all her store, and left nothing of price to after-ages. That these and these be the causes of these and these effects, Time hath taught us; and not reason: and so hath experience without Art. The Cheese-wife knoweth it as well as the Philosopher, that sowre Rennet doth coagulate her milk into a curd. But if we aske a reason of this cause, why the sowrenesse doth it? whereby it doth it? and the manner how? I think that there is nothing to be found in vulgar Philosophy, to satisfie this and many other like vulgar questions. But man to cover his ignorance in the least things, who cannot give a true reason for the Grasse under his feet, why it should be green rather than red, or of any other colour; that could never yet discover the way and reason of Natures working, in those which are far lesse noble creatures than himself; who is far more noble than the Heavens themselves:* Man (*saith* Solomon) that can hardly discern the things that are upon the Earth, and with great labour finde out the things that are before us; *that hath so short a time in the world, as he no sooner begins to learn, than to die; that hath in his memory but borrowed knowledge; in his understanding nothing truly; that is ignorant of the Essence of his own soul, and which the wisest of the Naturalists (if* Aristotle *be he) could never so much as define, but by the Action and Effect, telling us what it works (which all men know as well as he) but not what it is, which neither he, nor any else doth know, but* GOD *that created it;* (For though I were perfect, yet I know not my soule, *saith* Job.) *Man, I say, that is but an idiot in the next cause of his own life, and in the cause of all actions of his life: will (notwithstanding) examine the Art of* GOD *in creating the World; of* GOD, *who (saith* Job) *is so excellent as we know him not;*

Wisd. 1. 9.

Job 26.

and

and examine the beginning of the worke, which had end before Mankinde had a beginning of being. He will disable Gods power to make a world, without matter to make it of. He will rather give the motes of the Aire for a cause; cast the work on necessity or chance; bestow the honour thereof on Nature; make two powers, the one to be the Author of the Matter, *the other of the* Forme; *and lastly, for want of a work-man, have it Eternall: which latter opinion* Aristotle, *to make himself the Author of a new Doctrine, brought into the World: and his Sectatours have maintained it*; parati ac conjurati, quos sequuntur Philosophorum animis invictis opiniones tueri. *For* Hermes, *who lived at once with, or soon after* Moses, Zoroaster, Musæus, Orpheus, Linus, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Melissus, Pherecydes, Thales, Cleanthes, Pythagoras, Plato, *and many others (whose opinions are exquisitely gathered by* Steuchius Eugubinus) *found in the necessity of invincible reason,* One eternall and infinite Being, *to be the Parent of the universall.* Horum omnium sententia quamvis sit incerta, eodem tamen spectat, ut Providentiam unam esse consentiant: sive enim Natura, sive Æther, sive Ratio, sive Mens, sive fatalis Necessitas, sive divina Lex, idem est quod a nobis dicitur Deus: All these mens opinions, (*saith Lactantius*) though uncertain, come to this; That they agree upon one Providence, whether the same be Nature, or Light, or Reason, or Understanding, or Destinie, or divine Ordinance, that it is the same which we call *GOD. Certainly, as all the Rivers in the world, though they have divers risings, and divers runnings; though they sometimes hide themselves for a while under ground, and seem to be lost in Sea-like Lakes; do at last finde, and fall into the great* Ocean: *so after all the searches that humane capacity hath; and after all Philosophicall contemplation and curiosity, in the necessity of this infinite power, all the reason of man ends and dissolves it self.*

Lact. 5.

As for others; and first touching those which conceive the matter *of the World to have been* eternall, *and that God did not create the World* ex nihilo, *but* ex materia præexistente; *the Supposition is so weak, as is hardly worth the answering. For* (*saith* Eusebius) Mihi videntur qui hoc dicunt, fortunam quoq; Deo annectere; They seem unto me, which affirm this, to give part of the work to God, and part to Fortune: *insomuch as if God had not found this* first matter *by chance, He had neither been Authour, nor Father, nor Creatour, nor Lord of the Universall. For were the* Matter *or* Chaos *eternall: it then follows, That either this supposed* Matter *did fit it self to God, or God accommodate himself to the* matter. *For the first; it is impossible, that things without sense could proportion themselves to the Work-mans will. For the second; it were horrible to conceive of God, That as an Artificer he applied himself, according to the proportion of* matter *which he lighted upon.*

Euseb. de præp. Evang. l. 7. c. 8.

But let it be supposed, That this matter *hath been made by any Power, not Omnipotent, & infinitely wise: I would gladly learn how it came to passe, that the same was proportionable to his intention, that was Omnipotent & infinitely wise; and no more, nor no lesse, than served to receive the form of the Universall. For had it wanted any thing of what was sufficient; then must it be granted, That God created* out of nothing *so much of new* matter, *as served to finish the work of the World: Or had there been more of this matter than sufficed, then God did dissolve and annihilate whatsoever remained and was superfluous. And this must every reasonable*

ſonable ſoul confeſſe, That it is the ſame work of God alone, to create any thing out of nothing, And by the ſame art and power, and by none other, can thoſe things, or any part of that eternall matter, be again changed into Nothing; by which thoſe things, that once were nothing, obtained a beginning of being.

Again, to ſay that this matter was the cauſe of it ſelf; this, of all other, were the greateſt Idiotiſm. For, if it were the cauſe of it ſelf at any time; then there was alſo a time when it ſelf was not; at which time of not being, it is eaſie enough to conceive, that it could neither procure it ſelf, nor any thing elſe. For to be, and not to be, at once, is impoſſible. Nihil autem ſeipſum præcedit, neque ſeipſum componit corpus: There is nothing that doth precede it ſelf, neither do bodies compound themſelves.

For the reſt, Thoſe that feign this matter to be eternall, muſt of neceſſity confeſſe, that Infinite cannot be ſeparate from Eternity. And then had infinite matter left no place for infinite form; but that the firſt matter was finite, the form which it received proves it. For concluſion of this part, whoſoever will make choice, rather to beleeve in eternall deformity, or in eternall dead matter, than in eternall light and eternall life; let eternall death be his reward. For it is a madneſſe of that kind, as wanteth terms to expreſſe it. For what reaſon of man (whom the curſe of preſumption hath not ſtupified) hath doubted, That infinite power (of which we can comprehend but a kind of ſhadow, quia comprehenſio eſt intra terminos, qui infinito repugnant) hath any thing wanting in it ſelf, either for matter or form; yea for as many worlds (if ſuch had been Gods will) as the Sea hath ſands? For where the power is without limitation, the work hath no other limitation, than the workmans will. Yea, Reaſon it ſelf finds it more eaſie for infinite power, to deliver from it ſelf a finite world, without the help of matter prepared; than for a finite man, a fool and duſt, to change the form of matter made to his hands. They are Dionyſius his words, Deus in una exiſtentia omnia præhabet: and again, Eſſe omnium eſt ipſa Divinitas, omne quod vides, & quod non vides; to wit, cauſaliter, or in better terms, non tanquam forma, ſed tanquam cauſa univerſalis. Neither hath the World univerſall cloſed up all of GOD: For the moſt part of his works (ſaith Siracides) are hid. Neither can the depth of his wiſdome be opened by the glorious work of the World: which never brought to knowledge all it can; for then were his infinite power bounded, and made finite. And hereof it comes, That we ſeldome entitle GOD the all-ſhewing, or the all-willing; but the Almighty, that is, infinitely able. Cap. 16. v. 21.

But now for thoſe, who from that ground, That out of nothing, nothing is made, inferre the Worlds eternity; and yet not ſo ſalvage therein, as thoſe are, which give an eternall being to dead matter: It is true, if the word [Nothing] be taken in the affirmative; and the making, impoſed upon Naturall Agents and finite power; That out of nothing, nothing is made. But ſeeing their great Doctor Ariſtotle himſelf confeſſeth, quod omnes Antiqui decreverunt quaſi quoddam rerum principium, ipſumque infinitum: That all the Ancient decree a kind of beginning, and the ſame to be infinite: and a little after, more largely and plainly, Principium ejus eſt nullum, ſed ipſum omnium cernitur eſſe principium, ac omnia complecti ac regere: it is ſtrange, that this Philoſopher, with his followers, ſt ould rather make choice out of falſhood, to conclude falſly; than out of truth, to reſolve truly. For if we compare the World Univerſall, and all the unmeaſura- Simpl. Eng. l. 3. c. 9. ex Ariſt. Phyſ. 3. 20.

ble Orbs of Heaven, and thoſe marvellous bodies of the Sun, Moon, *and* Stars, *with* ipſum Infinitum: *it may truly be ſaid of them all, which himſelf affirms of his imaginary* Materia prima, *That they are neither* quid, quale, *nor* quantum; *and therefore to bring finite (which hath no proportion with infinite) out of infinite* (qui deſtruit omnem proportionem) *is no wonder in Gods power. And therefore* Anaximander, Meliſſus, *and* Empedocles, *call the world univerſall, but* particulam Univerſitatis & infinitatis; a parcell of that which is the univerſality and the infinity it ſelf: *And* Plato, *but* a ſhadow *of God. But the other* to prove *the worlds eternity, urgeth this* Maxime, *That*, A ſufficient and effectuall cauſe being granted, an anſwerable effect thereof is alſo granted. *Inferring, that God being for ever a ſufficient and effectuall cauſe of the world, the effect of the cauſe ſhould alſo have been for ever; to wit, the world univerſall. But what a ſtrange mockery is this in ſo great a Maſter, to confeſſe a ſufficient and effectuall cauſe of the world (to wit, an almighty God) in his Antecedent; and the ſame God to be a God reſtrained in his Concluſion; to make God free in power, and bound in will; able to effect, unable to determine; able to make all things, and yet unable to make choice of the time when? For this were impiouſly to reſolve of God, as of naturall neceſſity; which hath neither choice, nor will, nor underſtanding; which cannot but work matter being preſent: as fire, to burn things combuſtible. Again he thus diſputeth, That every Agent which can work, and doth not work, if it afterward work, it is either thereto moved by it ſelf, or by ſomwhat elſe: & ſo it paſſeth from power to act: But God (ſaith he) is immoveable, and is neither moved by himſelf, nor by any other: but being alwayes the ſame, doth alwayes work. Whence he concludeth, If the world were cauſed by God, that he was for ever the cauſe thereof: and therefore eternall. The anſwer to this is very eaſie, For that Gods performing in due time that, which he ever determined at length to perform, doth not argue any alteration or change, but rather conſtancy in him. For the ſame action of his will, which made the world for ever, did alſo withhold the effect to the time ordained. To this anſwer, in it ſelf ſufficient, others adde further, that the Pattern or Image of the world may be ſaid to be eternall: which the* Platonicks *call,* ſpiritualem mundum; *and do in this ſort diſtinguiſh the* Idæa *and* Creation in time. Spiritualis ille mundus, mundi hujus exemplar, primumque Dei opus, vita æquali eſt Architecto, fuit ſemper cum illo, eritque ſemper. Mundus autem corporalis, quod ſecundum opus eſt Dei, decedit jam ab opifice ex parte una, quia non fuit ſemper: retinet alteram, quia ſit ſemper futurus: That repreſentative, or the intentionall word (*ſay they*) the ſampler of this viſible world, the firſt work of *GOD*, was equally ancient with the Architect; for it was for ever with him, and ever ſhall be. This materiall world, the ſecond work or creature of *GOD*, doth differ from the worker in this, That it was not from everlaſting, and in this it doth agree, that it ſhall be for ever to come, *The firſt point, That it was not for ever, all Chriſtians confeſſe: The other they underſtand no otherwiſe, than that after the conſummation of this world, there ſhall be* a new Heaven and a new Earth, without any new creation of matter. *But of theſe things we need not here ſtand to argue: though ſuch opinions be not unworthy the propounding, in this conſideration, of an eternall and unchangeable cauſe, producing a changeable and temporall effect, Touching which point* Proclus *the* Platoniſt *diſputeth, That the compounded eſſence of the World (and becauſe compounded,*

Mer. Ficin. de immort. Animæ, l. 12. c. 1.

pounded, therefore dissipable) is continued, & knit to the Divine Being, by an individuall & inseparable power, flowing from Divine unity; and that the Worlds naturall appetite of God sheweth, that the same proceedeth from a good & understanding divine; and that this vertue, by which the World is continued and knit together, must be infinite, that it may infinitely and everlastingly continue & preserve the same. Which infinite Vertue, the finite World (saith he) is not capable of, but receiveth it from the divine infinite, according to the temporall Nature it hath, successively every moment by little and little; even as the whole materiall World is not altogether: but the abolished parts are departed by small degrees, and the parts yet to come, do by the same small degrees succeed, as the shadow of a tree in a River, seemeth to have continued the same a long time in the water, but it is perpetually renewed, in the continuall ebbing and flowing thereof.

But to return to them, which denying that ever the World had any beginning, withall deny that ever it shall have any end, & to this purpose affirm, That it was never heard, never read, never seen, no not by any reason perceived, that the Heavens have ever suffered corruption; or that they appear any way the older by continuance; or in any sort otherwise than they were; which had they been subject to finall corruption, some change would have been discerned in so long a time. To this it is answered, That the little change as yet perceived, doth rather prove their newnesse, & that they have not continued so long, than that they will continue for ever as they are. And if conjecturall arguments may receive answer by conjectures: it then seemeth that some alteration may be found. For either Aristotle, Plinie, Strabo, Beda, Aquinas, *and others, were grosly mistaken: or else those parts of the World, lying within the burnt* Zone, *were not in elder times habitable, by reason of the Suns heat, neither were the* Seas *under the Equinoctiall navigable. But we know by experience, that those Regions so situate, are filled with people, and exceeding temperate; and the* Sea, *over which we navigate, passable enough. We reade also many Histories of Deluges: and how that in the time of* Phaeton, *divers places in the World were burnt up, by the Suns violent heat.*

Arist. Met 2.
Plin. l.2.c.8.
Strab. l.3.
Beda de ratione tem. 11.c.32.
Thom p.1. q.102.art.2.

But in a word, this observation is exceeding feeble. For we know it for certain, That stone-walls, of matter moldring and friable, have stood two or three thousand yeers: that many things have been digged up out of the earth, of that depth, as supposed to have been buried by the generall Flood; without any alteration either of substance or figure: yea, it is beleeved, and it is very probable, that the gold which is daily found in Mines, and Rocks, under ground, was created together with the Earth.

And if bodies elementary, and compounded, the eldest times have not invaded and corrupted: what great alteration should we look for in celestiall and quintessentiall bodies? And yet we have reason to think, that the Sun, by whose help all creatures are generate, doth not in these later Ages assist Nature, as heretofore. We have neither Giants, such as the eldest world had, nor mighty men, such as the elder world had; but all things in generall are reputed of lesse vertue which from the Heavens receive vertue. Whence, if the nature of a Preface would permit a larger discourse, we might easily fetch store of proofe; as that this world shall at length have end, as that once it had beginning.

And I see no good answer that can be made to this objection: if the World were eternall; why not all things in the World eternall? If there were no first,

no cauſe, *no* Father, *no* Creator, *no* incomprehenſible wiſdome, *but that every* Nature *had been alike eternall* ; *and Man more rationall than every other* Nature : *Why had not the eternall reaſon of Man, provided for his eternall being in the World? For if all were equall, why not equall conditions to all ? why ſhould heavenly bodies live for ever , and the bodies of Men rot and die ?*

Again, who was it that appointed the Earth to keep the centre, and gave order that it ſhould hang in the Air : that the Sun *ſhould travell between the Tropicks, and never exceed thoſe bounds , nor fail to perform that Progreſſe once in every yeer : the* Moon *to live by borrowed light : the fixed* Stars *(according to common opinion) to be faſtned like nails in a Cart-wheel ; and the* Planets *to wander at their pleaſure ? Or if none of theſe had power over other : was it out of Charity and Love, that the* Sun *by his perpetuall travell within thoſe two Cireles , hath viſited, given light unto, and relieved all parts of the Earth , and the Creatures therein, by turns and times ? Out of doubt, if the* Sun *have of his own accord kept this courſe in all eternity : He may juſtly be called eternall Charity, and everlaſting Love. The ſame may be ſaid of all the Stars: who being all of them moſt large and cleer fountains of vertue and operation, may alſo be called eternall Vertues : the Earth may be called eternall Patience , the Moon, an eternall Borrower and Beggar ; and Man of all other the moſt miſerable, eternally Mortall. And what were this, but to beleeve again in the old Play of the gods ? Yea, in more gods by millions, than ever* Heſiodus *dream'd of. But inſtead of this mad folly, we ſee it well enough with our feeble and mortall eyes : and the eyes of our reaſon diſcern it better , That the Sun, Moon, Stars, and the Earth, are limited, bounded, and conſtrained : themſelves they have not conſtrained, nor could.* Omne determinatum cauſam habet aliquam efficientem , quæ illud determinaverit : Every thing bounded hath ſome efficient cauſe, by which it is bounded.

Now for Nature ; *As by the ambiguity of this name, the ſchool of* Ariſtotle *hath both commended many errours unto us, and ſought alſo thereby to obſcure the glory of the high Moderatour of all things, ſhining in the Creation, and in the governing of the World : ſo if the beſt definition be taken out of the ſecond of* Ariſtotles Phyſicks, *or* primo de Cœlo, *or out of the fifth of his* Metaphyſicks , *I* Ficin. *ſay that the beſt is but nominall, and ſerving onely to difference the beginning of Naturall motion from Artificiall : which yet the* Academicks *open better; when they call it,* A Seminary ſtrength, infuſed into matter by the Soule of the World : *who give the firſt place to* Providence, *the ſecond to* Fate, *and but the third to* Nature. Providentia *(by which they underſtand G O D)* dux & caput ; Fatum, medium ex providentia prodiens ; Natura poſtremum. *But be it what he will, or be it any of theſe (God excepted) or participating of all : yet that it hath choice or underſtanding (both which are neceſſarily in the cauſe of all things) no man hath avowed. For this is unanſwerable of* Lactantius, Is autem facit aliquid, qui aut voluntatem faciendi habet, aut ſcientiam : He onely can be ſaid to be the doer of a thing, that hath either will or knowledge in the doing it.

Ficin. de Plat. *But the will and ſcience of Nature, are in theſe words truly expreſt by* Ficinus: Poteſt ubique Natura, vel per diverſa media, vel ex diverſis materiis, diverſa facere : ſublata vero mediorum materiarumque diverſitate, vel unicum, vel ſimilimum operatur, neque poteſt quando adeſt materia non operari ; It is the

power of Nature by diverſity of meanes, or out of diverſity of matter, to produce divers things: but taking away the diverſity of meanes, and the diverſity of matter, it then works but one or the like work; neither can it but work, matter being preſent. *Now if* Nature *made choice of diverſity of matter, to work all theſe variable works of Heaven and Earth, it had then both underſtanding and will; it had counſell to begin; reaſon to diſpoſe; vertue and knowledge to finiſh, and power to govern: without which all things had been but one and the ſame: all of the matter of Heaven; or all of the matter of Earth. And if we grant* Nature *this will, and this underſtanding, this counſell, reaſon, and power*: Cur Natura potius quam Deus nominetur? *Why ſhould we then call ſuch a cauſe rather Nature, than God? God, of whom all men have notion, and give the firſt and higheſt place to Divine power:* Omnes homines notionem deorum habent, omnetque ſummum locum divino cuidam numini aſſignant. *And this I ſay in ſhort, that it is a true effect of true reaſon in man (were there no authority more binding than reaſon) to acknowledge and adore the firſt and moſt ſublime power.* Vera Philoſophia, eſt aſcenſus ab his quæ fluunt, & oriuntur, & occidunt, ad ea quæ vere ſunt, & ſemper eadem: True Philoſophy is an aſcending from the things which flow, and ariſe, and fall, to the things that are for ever the ſame.

Lact. de ira Dei l. 1. c. 10.

Arist. l. 1. de Cœlo. c. 3. T. 22.

For the reſt; I do alſo account it not the meaneſt, but an impiety monſtrous, to confound God and Nature: be it but in terms. For it is God, that onely diſpoſeth of all things according to his own will, and maketh of one Earth, Veſſels of honour and diſhonour. *It is Nature that can diſpoſe of nothing, but according to the will of the matter wherein it worketh. It is God that commandeth all: it is Nature that is obedient to all. It is God that doth good unto all, knowing and loving the good he doth. It is Nature, that ſecondarily doth alſo good, but it neither knoweth nor loveth the good it doth. It is God, that hath all things in himſelf: Nature, nothing in it ſelf. It is God, which is the Father, and hath begotten all things: It is Nature, which is begotten by all things, in which it liveth and laboureth, for by it ſelfe it exiſteth not. For ſhall we ſay, that it is out of affection to the Earth, that heavie things fall towards it? Shall we call it Reaſon, which doth conduct every River into the ſalt Sea? Shall we term it knowledge in fire, that makes it to conſume combuſtible matter? If it be Affection,* Reaſon, *and Knowledge in theſe: by the ſame Affection, Reaſon, and Knowledge it is, that Nature worketh. And therefore ſeeing all things work as they do, (call it by* Form, *or* Nature, *or by what you pleaſe) yet becauſe they work by an impulſion, which they cannot reſiſt; or by a faculty, infuſed by the ſupremeſt power: we are neither to wonder at, nor to worſhip, the faculty that worketh, nor the Creature wherein it worketh. But herein lies the wonder: and to him is the worſhip due, who hath created ſuch a Nature in things, and ſuch a faculty, as neither knowing it ſelfe, the matter, wherein it worketh, nor the vertue and power which it hath; do yet work all things to their laſt and uttermoſt perfection. And therefore every reaſonable man, taking to himſelf for a ground that which is granted by all Antiquity, and by all men truly learned that ever the World had, to wit; That there is a power infinite, and eternall (which alſo neceſſity doth prove unto us, without the help of Faith, and Reaſon; without the force of Authority) all things do as eaſily follow which have been delivered by divine letters, as the waters of a running River do ſucceſſively*

ceſſively purſue each other from the firſt fountaines.

Thus much I ſay it is, that Reaſon it ſelf hath taught us: and this is the beginning of knowledge. Sapientia præcedit, Religio ſequitur: quia prius eſt Deum ſcire, conſequens colere; *Sapience goes before, Religion follows: becauſe it is firſt to know God, and then to worſhip him. This Sapience* Plato *calleth* abſoluti boni ſcientiam, *The ſcience of the abſolute good: And another,* Scientiam rerum primarum, ſempiternarum, perpetuarum. *For Faith (ſaith* Iſidore) *is not extorted by violence; but by reaſon and examples perſwaded:* Fides nequaquam vi extorquetur, ſed ratione & exemplis ſuadetur. *I confeſſe it, That to enquire further, as of the Eſſence of God, of his power, of his Art, and by what mean he created the world: Or of his ſecret judgement, and the cauſes, is not an affect of Reaſon:* Sed cum ratione inſaniunt; *but they grow mad with reaſon, that enquire after it: For as it is no ſhame nor diſhonour (ſaith a French Author)* de faire arreſt au but qu'on naſceu ſurpaſſer; *For a man to reſt himſelf there, where he findes it impoſſible to paſſe on further: ſo whatſoever is beyond, and out of the reach of true reaſon, it acknowledgeth it to be ſo; as underſtanding it ſelf not to be infinite, but according to the Name and Nature it hath, to be a Teacher, that beſt knows the end of his own Art. For ſeeing both Reaſon and Neceſſity teach us (Reaſon, which is* pars divini ſpiritus in corpus humanum merſi) *that the world was made by a power infinite; and yet how it was made, it cannot teach us: and ſeeing the ſame Reaſon and Neceſſity make us know, that the ſame infinite power is every where in the world; and yet how every where, it cannot inform us: our belief hereof is not weakned, but greatly ſtrengthened by our ignorance, becauſe it is the ſame Reaſon that tells us, That ſuch a Nature cannot be ſaid to be God, that can be in all conceived by man.*

Lact. l. 4. c. 4. de vera ſapientia.

Lact. de deſin.

Quod eſt infinitum, & non ſecundum naturam terminatum non continetur à ſcientia. Ariſt. poſter.

I have been already over-long, to make any large diſcourſe either of the parts of the following Story, or in mine own excuſe: eſpecially in the excuſe of this or that paſſage; ſeeing the whole is exceeding weak and defective. Among the groſſeſt, the unſutable diviſion of the books, I could not know how to excuſe, had I not been directed to enlarge the building after the foundation was laid, and the firſt part finiſhed. All men know that there is no great Art in the dividing evenly of thoſe things, which are ſubject to number and meaſure. For the reſt, it ſutes well enough with a great many Books of this Age, which ſpeak too much, and yet ſay little; Ipſi nobis furto ſubducimur; *We are ſtollen away from our ſelves, ſetting a high price on all that is our own. But hereof, though a late good Writer make complaint, yet ſhall it not lay hold on me, becauſe I beleeve as he doth; That who ſo thinks himſelf the wiſeſt man, is but a poor and miſerable ignorant. Thoſe that are the beſt men of war, againſt all the vanities and fooleries of the World, do alwayes keep the ſtrongeſt guards againſt themſelves, to defend them from themſelves; from ſelf love, ſelf eſtimation, and ſelf opinion.*

Generally concerning the order of the Worke, I have onely taken counſell from the Argument. For of the Aſſyrians, *which after the down-fall of* Babel *take up the firſt part, and were the firſt great Kings of the World, there came little to the view of poſterity: ſome few enterpriſes, greater in fame than faith, of* Ninus *and* Semiramis, *excepted.*

It was the ſtory of the Hebrews, *of all before the* Olympiads, *that overcame the conſuming diſeaſe of time, and preſerved it ſelf from the very cradle and beginning*

ginning to this day : and yet not so entire, but that the large discourses thereof (to which in many Scriptures we are referred) are no where found. The Fragments of other Stories, with the actions of those Kings and Princes which shot up here and there in the same time, I am driven to relate by way of digression : of which we may say with Virgil :

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto ;

They appear here and there floting in the great gulf of time.

To the same first Ages do belong the report of many Inventions therein found, and from them derived to us ; though most of the Authors Names have perished in so long a Navigation. For those Ages had their Laws ; they had diversity of Government; they had Kingly rule; Nobility; Policy in war ; Navigation, and all, or the most of needfull Trades. To speak therfore of these (seeing in a generall History we should have left a great deal of Nakednes, by their omission) it cannot properly be called a digression. True it is, that I have made also many others : which if they shalbe laid to my charge, I must cast the fault into the great heap of humane errour. For seeing we digresse in all the waies of our lives : yea, seeing the life of man is nothing else but digression ; I may the better be excused, in writing their lives and actions. I am not altogether ignorant in the Laws of History, and of the Kindes. The same hath been taught by many, but by no man better, and with greater brevity, than by that excellent learned Gentleman Sir Francis Bacon. Christian laws are also taught us by the Prophets and Apostles ; and every day preach't unto us. But we still make large digressions : yea, the Teachers themselves do not (in all) keep the path which they point out to others.

For the rest, after such time as the Persians had wrested the Empire from the Chaldæans, & had raised a great Monarchy, producing actions of more importance than were elsewhere to be found : it was agreeable to the Order of Story, to attend this Empire ; whilst it so flourished, that the affairs of the Nations adjoyning had reference thereunto. The like observance was to be used towards the fortunes of Greece, when they again began to get ground upon the Persians ; as also towards the affairs of Rome, when the Romans grew more mighty than the Greeks.

As for the Medes, the Macedonians, the Sicilians, the Carthaginians, and other Nations who resisted the beginnings of the former Empires, and afterwards became but parts of their composition and enlargement : it seemed best to remember what was known of them from their several beginnings, in such times and places as they in their flourishing estates opposed those Monarchies, which in the end swallowed them up. And herein I have followed the best Geographers : who seldome give names to those small brooks, whereof many, joyned together, make great Rivers ; till such time as they become united, and run in main stream to the Ocean Sea. If the Phrase be weak, and the Stile not every-where like it self ; the first shews their legitimation and true Parent ; the second will excuse it self upon the Variety of Matter. For Virgil, who wrote his Eclogues, graeili avena, used stronger pipes, when he sounded the wars of Æneas. It may also be laid to my charge, that I use divers Hebrew words in my first book, and elsewhere, in which language others may think, and I my self acknowledge it, that I am altogether ignorant : but it is true, that some of them I finde in Montanus, others in Latine Character in S. Senensis; & of the rest I have borrowed the interpretation of some of my friends. But say I had been beholding to neither, yet were it not to be wondred at, having had

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an eleven yeers leasure, to attain the knowledge of that, or of any other tongue; Howsoever, I know that it will be said by many, That I might have been more pleasing to the Reader, if I had written the Story of mine own times, having been permitted to draw water as neer the Well-head as another. To this I answer, that who soever in writing a modern History, shall follow truth too neer the heels, it may haply strike out his teeth. There is no Mistresse or Guide, that hath led her followers and servants into greater miseries. He that goes after her too far off, loseth her sight, and loseth himself: and he that walks after her at a middle distance; I know not whether I should call that kinde of course, Temper, or Baseness. It is true, that I never travelled after mens opinions, when I might have made the best use of them: and I have now too few dayes remaining, to imitate those, that either out of extreme ambition, or extreme cowardise, or both, do yet (when death hath them on his shoulders) flatter the world, between the bed and the grave. It is enough for me (being in that state I am) to write of the eldest times: wherein also why may it not be said, that in speaking of the past, I point at the present, and taxe the vices of those that are yet living, in their persons that are long since dead; and have it laid to my charge? But this I cannot help, though innocent. And certainly if there be any, that finding themselves spotted like the Tigers of old time, shall finde fault with me for painting them over anew, they shall therein accuse themselves justly, and me falsly.

For I protest before the Majesty of God, That I malice no man under the Sun. Impossible I know it is to please all: seeing few or none are so pleased with themselves, or so assured of themselves, by reason of their subjection to their private passions, but that they seem divers persons in one and the same day. Seneca *hath said it, and so do I:* Unus mihi pro populo erat: *and to the same effect* Epicurus, Hoc ego non multis, sed tibi; *(or as it hath since lamentably fallen out) I may borrow the resolution of an ancient Philosopher,* Satis est unus, Satis est nullus. *For it was for the service of that inestimable Prince* Henry; *the successive hope, and one of the greatest of the Christian World, that I undertook this Work. It pleased him to peruse some part thereof, and to pardon what was amisse. It is now left to the World without a Master: from which all that is presented, hath received both blows and thanks:* Eadem probamus, eadem reprehendimus: hic exitus est omnis judicii, in quo lis secundum plures datur. *But these discourses are idle. I know that as the charitable will judge charitably; so against those,* qui gloriantur in malitia, *my present adversity hath disarmed me. I am on the ground already; and therefore have not far to fall: and for rising again, as in the Naturall privation, there is no recession to habit; so it is seldome seen in the privation politick. I do therefore forbear to stile my Readers* Gentle, Courteous, *and* Friendly, *thereby to beg their good opinions, or to promise a second and third volume (which I also intend) if the first receive grace and good acceptance. For that which is already done, may be thought enough; and too much: and it is certain, let us claw the Reader with never so many courteous phrases, yet shall we evermore be thought fools that write foolishly. For conclusion, all the hope I have lies in this, That I have already found more ungentle and uncourteous Readers of my Love towards them, and well-deserving of them, than ever I shall do again. For had it been otherwise; I should hardly have had this leisure to have made my self a fool in print.*

THE

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§. X.

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§. X.

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FINIS.

FINIS

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE BEGINNING AND first Ages of the same, from the Creation unto ABRAHAM.

THE FIRST BOOK.

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§ I.

That the Invisible God is seen in his Creatures.

GOD, whom the wisest men acknowledge to be a Power uneffable, and Vertue infinite, a Light by abundant claritie invisible; and Understanding which it self can onely comprehend, an Essence eternall and spirituall, of absolute purenesse and simplicity; was, and is pleased to make himself known by the work of the World: in the wonderfull magnitude wherof, (all which he imbraceth, filleth and sustaineth) we behold the Image of that glory which cannot be measured, and withall that one, and yet universall Nature, which cannot be defined. In the glorious Lights of Heaven, we perceive a shadow of his divine Countenance; in his mercifull provision for all that live, his manifold goodness: and lastly, in creating and making existent the World universall, by the absolute Art of his own Word, his Power and Almightiness; which Power, Light, Vertue, Wisedome, and Goodness, being all but Attributes of one simple Essence, and one God, we in all admire, and in part discern *per speculum creaturarum*, that is, in the disposition, order, and variety of Celestiall and Terrestriall bodies: Terrestriall, in their strange and manifold diversities; Celestiall, in their beauty and magnitude; which in their continuall and contrary motions, are neither repugnant, intermixt, nor confounded. By these potent effects, we approach to the knowledge of the omnipotent cause, and by these motions, their Almighty Maker.

In these more than wonderfull works, God (saith * *Hugo* speaketh unto man, and it is true, that these be those discourses of God, whose effects, those that live, witness in themselves; the sensible, in their sensible natures; the reasonable, in their reasonable souls: for according to S. * *Gregory*; *Omnis homo eo ipso quòd rationalis conditus est, ex ipsa ratione, illum qui se condidit, Deum esse colligere debet*; Every man, in that he is reasonable, out of the same reason may know, that he which made him, is God. This God all men behold (saith *Job*) which is according to the Fathers, *Dominationem illius conspicere in Creaturis, To discern him in his providence by his creatures.* That God hath been otherwise seen, to wit, with corporal eyes, exceedeth the small proportion of my understan-

* Hugo *super Eccles. Homil. 8*
* *Greg. in Mor. Herm. ad fil. Tat. l. 5. Unus vero ingenitus, & non apparens & immanifestus, omnia autem manifestant per omnia apparet, & in omnibus. A parentia solùm generatorum est, nihil apparitio quàm generatio.*

Joh 5. 3. 1 Tim. 6. 16. Origen l. 2. περὶ ἀρχῶν, c. 22. Cyril. & Chrisin Joh. hom. 14. Greg. Naz. l. 2. Theolog. Hier. in Esaiam. Aug. l. 2 de Trin. c. 12. et 13. Greg. Mag. l. 18. Mor. Evar. epist. 1. Decret. Alcuin l. 2. de Trin. c. 16. D. Aquin. cap. 4. Col. Hierar. Thom. p. 2. q. 12. art. 11. & alibi. Deus qui naturâ invisibilis est, ut à visibilibus posset sciri, opus fecit quod Opificem sui visibiliter manifestaret, ut per certum incertum sciretur, & ille Deus omnium esse crederetur, Ambr. in epist. ad Rom. c. 1. Cusan de gen. illialog. Rom. 1. 20.

ding, grounded on these places of S. *John* and S. *Paul*, *Ye have not heard his voice at any time, neither have ye seen his shape.* And again, *Whom never man saw, nor can see.*

And this I am sure agreeth with the nature of Gods simplicity, of which S. *Augustine*, *Ipsa enim natura, vel substantia, vel quolibet alio nomine appellandum est, id ipsum quod Deus est, corporaliter videri non potest*; That nature, or that substance, or by whatsoever name that is to be called which is God, whatsoever that be, the same cannot be corporally perceived. And of this opinion were *Origen*, *Cyril*, *Chrisostome*, *Gregory Nazianzenus*, *Hierome*, *Augustine*, *Gregory* the great, *Evaristus*, *Alcuinus*, *Dionysius Areopagita*, *Aquinas*, and all others of authority. But by his own Word, and by this visible World, is God perceived of men; which is also the understood language of the Almighty, vouchsafed to all his Creatures, whose Hieroglyphicall Characters are the unnumbred Stars, the Sun and Moon; written on these large Volumes of the Firmament: written also on the Earth and the Seas, by the letters of all those living creatures, and plants, which inhabite and reside therein. Therefore said that learned CUSANUS, *Mundus universus nihil aliud est, quàm Deus explicatus*; The World universall is nothing else but God expresst. And the invisible things of God (saith S. *Paul*) are seen by creation of the World, being considered in his creatures. Of all which, there was no other cause preceding, than his own Will, no other matter than his own Power, no other Workman than his own Word, no other consideration than his own infinite goodnesse. The example and pattern of these his Creatures, as he beheld the same in all eternity in the abundance of his own love, so was it at length in the most wise order, by his unchanged Will moved, by his high Wisedome disposed, and by his Almighty Power perfected, and made visible. And therefore (saith *Mirandula*) wee ought to love God, *ex fide, & ex effectibus*, (that is) both perswaded by his Word, and by the effects of the Worlds Creation: *Neq; enim qui causa caret, ex causa & origine sciri, cognosciq; potest, sed vel ex rerum, quæ factæ sunt, quæq; fiunt & gubernantur observatione & collatione, vel ex ipsius Dei verbo:* For he of whom there is no higher cause, cannot be known by any knowledg of cause or beginning (saith *Montanus*) but either by the observing and conferring of things, which he hath, or doth create and govern, or else by the word of God himself.

A Mont. Nat. Hist. fol. 7.

§. II.

That the wisest of the Heathen, whose authoritie is not to bee despised, have acknowledged the World to have been created by God.

THis work and creation of the World, did most of the ancient and learned Philosophers acknowledg, though by divers terms, and in a different manner expresst, I mean all those who are intitled by S. *Augustine*, *Summi Philosophi*, Philosophers of highest judgment and understanding. *Mercurius Trismegistus* calleth God, *Principium universorum*; The originall of the universall: to whom hee giveth also the attributes of *Mens*, *Natura*, *Actus*, *Necessitas*, *Finis*, & *Renovatio*. And wherein hee truely with S. *Paul*, casteth upon God all power; confessing also, that the World was made by Gods Almighty Word, and not by hands: *Verbo, non manibus fabricatus est mundus.* *Zoroaster* (whom *Heroclitus* followed in opinion) took the word *Fire*, to expres God by (as in *Deuteronomy*, and in S. *Paul* it is used) *Omnia ex uno igne genita sunt*; *All things* (saith he) *are caused or produced out of one fire.*

Hierm. in Pœmandro, & in sermone sacro.

Deut. 4. 24. Heb. 12. 29.

So did *Orpheus* plainly teach, that the World had beginning in time, from the Will of the most High God; whose remarkable words are thus converted: *Cùm abscondisset omnia Jupiter summus, deindè in lumen gratum emisit, ex sacro corde operans cogitata & mirabilia:* Of which I conceive this sense; *When great Jupiter had hidden all things in himself, working out of the love of his sacred heart, he sent thence*, or brought forth *into gratefull light, the admirable works which he had fore-thought.*

Pindarus the Poet, and one of the wisest, acknowledged also one God, the most High, to be the Father and Creator of all things; *Unus Deus, Pater, Creator summus.* PLATO calleth God the cause and original, the nature and reason of the universall; *Totius rerum natura, causa, & origo Deus.* But hereof more at large hereafter.

Vid. cap. 6.

Now, although the curiosity of some men have found it superfluous, to remember the opinions of Philosophers in matters of Divinity: (it being true, that the Scripture hath

hath not want of any forrain testimony) yet as the *Fathers*, with others excellently learned are my examples herein; so S. *Paul* himself did not despise, but thought it lawful and profitable, to remember whatsoever he found agreeable to the word of God among the Heathen, that he might thereby take from them all escape, by way of ignorance, God rendring vengeance to them that know him not: as in the Epistle to *Titus* he cryeth *Epimenides* against the *Cretians*, and to the *Corinthians*, *Menander*; and in the seventeenth of the *Acts*, *Aratus* &c. For, Truth (saith S. *Ambrose* by whomsoever uttered is of the holy Ghost; *Veritas à quocunq; dicatur, à Spiritu sancto est*: and lastly, let those kind of men learne this rule; *Quæ sacris serviunt, prophana non sunt*; *Nothing is prophane that serveth to the use of holy things.*

§. III.

Of the meaning of In Principio, *Genes.* 1.1.

THis visible world of which *Moses* writeth, God created in the beginning, or, first of all: in which (saith *Tertullian*) things began to be. This word *Beginning* (in which the *Hebrews* seeke some hidden mysterie, and which in the *Jewes Targum* is converted by the word *Sapientia*) cannot be referred to succession of time, nor to order, as some men have conceived, both which are subsequent: but only to Creation then. For before that Beginning, there was neither primarie matter to be informed, nor forme to informe, nor any being, but the Eternall. Nature was not, nor the next Parent of Time begotten, Time properly and naturally taken: for if God had but disposed of Matter already in being, then as the word *Beginning* could not be referred to all things, so must it follow, that the institution of Matter proceeded from a greater power, than that of God. And by what name shall wee then call such an One (saith *Lactantius*) as exceedeth God in potency: for it is an act of more excellencie to make, than to dispose of things made? whereupon it may be concluded, that Matter could not be before this Beginning: except we fain a double creation, or allow of two powers, and both infinite, the impossibility whereof scorneth defence. *Nam impossibile plura esse infinita: quoniam alterum esset in altro finitum*; *There cannot be more infinites than one: for one of them would limit the other.* *Cusan de Mente lib. 3.*

§. IV.

Of the meaning of the words Heaven *and* Earth, *Genes.* 2.1.

THe Universal matter of the world (which *Moses* comprehendeth under the names of *Heaven* and *Earth*) is by divers diversly understood: for there are that conceive, that by those words was meant the first matter, as the Peripatetickes understand it; to which S. *Augustine* and *Isidore* seeme to adhere. *Feciſti mundum* (saith S. *Augustine*) *de materia informi, quam feciſti de nulla re, penè nullam rem*: that is, *Thou hast made the world of a matter without forme*; *which matter thou madest of nothing, and being made, it was little other than nothing.*

But this potentiall and imaginarie *materia prima*, cannot exist without forme. *Peter Lombard*, *the Schoolemen*, *Beda*, *Lyranus*, *Comestor*, *Tostatus*, and others affirme that it pleased God first of all to create the Empyrean Heaven: which at the succeeding instant (saith *Beda* and *Strabo*) he filled with *Angels*. This Empyran Heaven *Stenchius Eugubynus* calleth *Divine clarity, and uncreated*: an errour, for which he is sharpely charged by *Pererius*, though (as I conceive) he rather failed in the subsequent, when he made it to be a place, and the seate of Angels and just soules, than in the former affirmation: for of the first, That God liveth in eternall Light, it is written; *My soule, praise thou the Lord that covereth himselfe with light*: and in thn Revelation; *and the City hath no need of the Sun, neither of the Moon to shine in it: for the glory of God did light it.* And herein also *John Mercer* upon Genesis, differeth not in opinion from *Eugubinus*: for as by Heaven created in the beginning, was not meant the invisible or supercelestial, so in his judgement, because it was in all eternitie the glorious seat of God himselfe, it was not necessarie to be created; *Quem mundum super cœlestem meo judicio creari* (saith *Mercer*) *non erat necesse.* *Beda Hex. Strabo super Gen. Eug. Cos. &c. de nat. in corp.* *Psal.* 104.12. *Claritas divina non est lux ista, sed sapientia Dei, non creata, sed nata, Apoc.* 21.23. *Mercer. in Gen. cap.* 7. *v.* 7.

But as *Moses* forbare to speake of Angels, and of things invisible and incorporate, for the

the weakneſs of their capacities, whom he then cared to informe of thoſe things which were more manifeſt, (to wit) that God did not only by a ſtrong hand deliver them from the bondage of *Egypt*, according to his promiſe made to their forefathers; but alſo that he created, and was the ſole cauſe of this aſpectable, and perceiveable Univerſal: ſo on the other ſide I dare not thinke, that any ſuperceleſtial Heaven, or whatſoever elſe (not himſelfe) was increate and eternal: and as for the place of God before the world created, the finite wiſdome of mortal men hath no perception of it, neither can it limit the ſeat of infinite power, no more than infinite power it ſelf can be limited: for his place is in himſelfe, whom no magnitude elſe can containe: *How great is the houſe of God* (ſaith *Baruch*) *how large is the place of his poſſeſſion; it is great, and hath no end, it is high and unmeaſurable.*

Bar. 3. 24, 25.

But leaving multiplicity of opinion, it is more probable and allowed, that by the words *Heaven* and *Earth*, was meant the ſolid matter and ſubſtance, aſwel of all the Heavens, and Orbs ſupernal, as of the Globe of the Earth and Waters, which covered it over, (to wit) that very matter of all things, *materia, Chaos, poſſibilitas, ſive poſſe fieri.* Which matter (ſaith *Calvin* was ſo called, *quod totius mundi ſemen fuerit*; *Becauſe it was the ſeed of the Univerſal:* an opinion of ancient Philoſophers long before.

Euſan. in Compend. fol. 224. Operis.

Calvin in Gen.

§. V.

That the ſubſtance of the waters, as mixt in the body of the earth, is by Moſes *underſtood in the word Earth: and that the Earth, by the attributes of unformed and void, is diſcribed as the Chaos of the ancient Heathen.*

Moſes firſt nameth Heaven and Earth (putting waters but in the third place) as comprehending waters in the word Earth; but afterwards he nameth them apart, when God by his Spirit began to diſtinguiſh the confuſed Maſſe, and (as *Baſil* ſaith) *præparare naturam aquæ ad fœcunditatem vitalem*; *to prepare the nature of water to a vital fruitfulneſſe.*

For under the word *Heaven*, was the matter of al heavenly bodies, & natures expreſt: and by the name of *Earth* and *Waters*, all was meant, whatſoever is under the Moon, and ſubject to alteration. Corrupt ſeeds bring forth corrupt plants; to which the pure heavens are not ſubject, though ſubject to periſhing. *They ſhal periſh* (ſaith *David*) *and the heavens ſhall vaniſh away like ſmoake*, ſaith *Eſay*. Neither were the waters the matter of Earth: for it is written, *Let the waters under the heavens be gathered into one place, and let the dry land appear:* which proveth, that the dry land was mixt and covered with the waters and not yet diſtinguiſhed; but no way, that the waters were the matter or ſeed of the Earth, much leſſe of the Univerſal. *Initio tu Domine terram fundiſti, Thou, O Lord, in the beginning haſt founded the Earth:* and againe, *The Earth was covered with the Deep*) meaning with waters) *as with a garment*; ſaith *David*. And if by natural arguments it may be proved, that water by condenſation may become earth, the ſame reaſon teacheth us alſo, that earth rarified may become water: water, aire: aire, fire; and ſo on the contrarie. *Deus ignis ſubſtantiam per aërem in aquam convertit, God turneth the ſubſtance of fire by aire into water.* For the Heavens and the Earth remained in the ſame ſtate, in which they were created, as touching their ſubſtance, though there was afterwards added multiplicitie of perfection, in reſpect of beauty and ornament. *Cœlum verò & terra in ſtatu creationis remanſerunt quantum ad ſubſtantiam, licet multiplex perfectio decoris & ornatus eis poſtmodùm ſuperaddita eſt.* And the word which the Hebrews call *Maim*, is not to be underſtood according to the Latine tranſlation ſimply, and as ſpecifical water; but the ſame more properly ſignifieth liquor. For (according to *Montanus*) *Eſt autem Maim liquor geminus, & hoc nomen propter verborum penuriam, Latina lingua plurali numero aquas fecit. For Maim* (ſaith he) *is a double liquor* (that is, of divers natures) *and this name or word the Latines, wanting a voyce to expreſſe it, call it in the Plural*, Aquas, *Waters.*

Pſal. 102. 26. Eſay 51.

Gen. 1. v. 9.

Pſal. 104. 6.

Zent.

Gul. Pariſ. 600.

A Mont. de nat.

This Maſſe, or indigeſted matter, or Chaos created in the beginning, was without forme, that is, without the proper forme, which it afterwards acquired, when the Spirit of God had ſeparated the Earth, and digeſted it from the waters. *And the Earth was voide*: that is, not producing any creatures, or adorned with any plants, fruits, or flowers. But after *the Spirit of God had moved upon the waters*, and wrought this indigeſted matter into that form, which it now retaineth, then did *the earth bud forth the herb, which ſeedeth ſeed, and the fruitful tree according to his kinde, and God ſaw that it was good*; which

Gen. 1. 2.

2.

attribute

attribute was not given to the Earth, while it was confused; nor to the Heavens, before they had motion, and adornment. *God saw that it was good*; that is, made perfect: for perfection is that to which nothing is wanting. *Et perfecti Dei perfecta sunt opera; The works of the perfect God, are perfect.*

From this lump of imperfect Matter had the ancient Poets their invention of *Demogorgon*: *Hesiodus* and *Anaxagoras* the knowledge of that Chaos: of which *Ovid*;

Ante Mare, & Terras, & (quod tegit omnia) Cœlum, *Ovid in Meta. lib.1.*
Unus erat toto naturæ vultus in Orbe,
Quem dixêre Chaos, rudis indigestaq; moles.
Before the Sea and Land was made, and Heaven, that all doth hide,
In all the World one onely face of Nature did abide:
Which Chaos hight, a huge rude heap.

§. VI.

How it is to be understood, that the Spirit of God moved upon the waters, and that this is not to be searched curiously.

AFter the Creation of Heaven and Earth, then void and without form, the Spirit of God moved upon the Waters. The *Seventy Interpreters* use the word *superferebatur*, moved upon or over: *incubabat*, or *fovebat* (saith *Hierome*) out of *Basil*; and *Basil* out of a Syrian Doctor; *Equidem non meam tibi, sed viri cujusdam Syri sententiam recensebo* (saith *Basil*:) which words *incubare* or *fovere*, importing warmth, hatching, or quickning, have a special likeness. *Verbum translatum est ab avibus pullitici suæ incubantibus, quamvis spirituali, & planè inenarrabili, non autem corporali modo; The word is taken of birds hatching their young, not corporally, but in a spiritual and unexpressible manner.* *Basil Hexam.* *Junius.*

Some of the Hebrews convert it to this effect,, *Spiritus Dei volitabat; The Spirit of God did flutter*: the Chaldæan Paraphrast in this sense. *Ventus à conspectu Dei sufflabat*: or as other understand the Chaldæan, *Flabat, pellebat, removebat: The wind from the face of God did blow under, drive, or remove*, or *did blow upon*; according to the 147 *Psalme*, *He caused his winde to blow, and the waters increase: but there was yet no winde nor exhalation. Arias Montanus* in these words, *Et Spiritus Elohim Meracheset, id est, efficaciter motitans, confovens, ac agitans super facies gemini liquoris; The Spirit of God effectually and often moving, keeping warm, and cherishing, quickning and stirring upon the face of this double liquor.* For he maketh four originals, whereof three are agents, and the last passive and material, to wit, *Causa*, which is the divine goodness: *Jehi*, which is, *fiat, sive erit, Let it be*, or *it shall be. Quæ vox verbo Dei prima prolata fuit: Which voice* (saith he) *was the first that was uttered by the Word of God.* The third, *Spiritus Elohim*, the Spirit of God, *id est, vis quædam divina, agilis ac præsens, per omnia pertingens, omnia complens*; that is, *A certain divine power, or strength every where, active and extending, and stretching through all, filling and finishing all things.* The fourth he calleth *Maim, id est, materies ad omnem rem conficiendam habilis; Matter apt to become every thing.* For my self, I am resolved (*Cùm Deus sit super rationale omni ratione; Seeing God is in all reason above reason*) that although the effects which follow his wonderful waies of working, may in a measure be perceived by mans understanding, yet the manner and first operation of his divine power, cannot be conceived by any minde, or spirit, compassed with a mortal body. *Animalis homo quæ Dei sunt, non percipit: For my thoughts* (saith the Lord in *Esay*) *are not your thoughts, neither are your waies my waies.* And as the world hath not known God himself: so are his waies (according to *S. Paul*) *past finding out. O righteous Father, the world hath not known thee*, saith Christ. And therefore, whether that motion, vitality and operation, were by incubation or how else, the manner is onely known to God. *Quomodo in omnibus sit rebus vel per essentiam, vel per potentiam, intellectus noster non capit; For, how God* (saith *S. Augustine*, speaking of his Ubiquity) *is in all things, either by essence, presence, or power, our understanding cannot comprehend. Nihil inter Deum hominemque distaret, si consilia, & dispositiones illius Majestatis æternæ, cogitatio assequeretur humana: There would be no difference between God and man, if man's understanding could conceive the counsels and disposing of that eternal Majesty*; and therefore to be over-curious in searching how the all-powerful Word of God wrought in the Creation of the World, or his all-piercing and operative spirit distinguishing, gaue form to the Matter

Psal.147.18. *Ar. Mont. ut sup. Eugub. in Cos. fol.13.* *Ar. Mont. natura, pag.145.* *Esa.55.8.* *Aug.Tract.10. in John 17.25.* *Lact.in Præfat.*

of the Universal, is a labour and search like unto his, who not contented with a known and safe Foord, will presume to pass over the greatest River in all parts, where he is ignorant of their depths: for so doth the one lose his life, and the other his understanding. We behold the Sun, and enjoy his light, as long as we look towards it, but tenderly, and circumspectly: we warm our selves safely, while we stand neer the fire; but if we seek to out-face the one, to enter into the other, we forthwith become blind or burnt.

But to eschew curiosity: this is true, that the English word (*moved*) is most proper and significant: for of motion proceedeth all production, and all whatsoever is effected. And this omnipotent Spirit of God, which may indeed be truly called, *Principium motus*, and with *Mirandula*, *Vis causæ efficientis*, *The force of the efficient cause*; S. *Augustine* sometimes taketh for the holy Ghost; sometimes for a winde or breath, *Sub nomine Spiritus*, *under the name of a Spirit*, which is sometimes so taken: or for *virtualis creatura*, *For a created virtuality*: *Tertullian* and *Theodoret* call it also a breath or winde: *Mercurius* nameth it, *Spiritum tenuem intelligibilem*, *A pure or thin intelligible Spirit*: Anaxagoras, *Mentem*: Tostatus, *Voluntatem & mentem Dei*; *The will and minde of God*; which *mens*, *Plato in Timæo*, maketh *Animam mundi*, *The soule of the world*: and in his sixth Book *de Republica*, he calleth it *the Law of Heaven*; in his Epistles, *The Leader of things to come, and the presence of things past*. But as *Cyprian* wrote of the incarnation of Christ our Saviour, *Mens deficit, vox silet, & non mea tantùm, sed etiam Angelorum*; *My minde faileth, my voice is silent, and not mine onely, but even the voice of Angels*: so may all men else say in the understanding and utterance of the waies and works of the Creation; for to him (saith *Nazianzenus*) there is not one substance by which he is, and another, by which he can, *Sed consubstantiale illi est, quicquid ejus est, & quicquid est*; *Whatsoever attribute of him there is, and whatsoever he is, it is the very same substance that himself is.*

Nazian. lib. 2. Theol.

But the Spirit of God which moved upon the waters, cannot be taken for a breath or winde, nor for any other creature, separate from the infinite active power of God, which then formed and distinguished, and which now sustaineth, and giveth continuance to the Universal. For the Spirit of the Lord filleth all the world; and the same is it *which maintaineth all things*, saith *Solomon*. *If thou send forth thy Spirit* (saith *David*) *they are created*: And *Gregory*, *Deus suo præsentiali esse, dat omnibus rebus esse, ita quòd si se rebus subtraheret, sicut de nihilo facta sunt omnia, sic in nihilum defluerent universa*; *God giveth being to all things, by being present with all things, so as if he should withdraw himself from them, then as of nothing the world was made, it would again fall away and vanish into nothing.* And this working of Gods Spirit in all things, *Virgil* hath expresst excellently:

Wisd. 1. v. 7.

Virg. Æneid. lib. 8. 724.

Principio Cœlum ac Terras, camposque liquentes,
Lucentemq; globum Lunæ, Titaniaq; astra,
Spiritus intus alit: totamq; infusa per artus,
Mens agitat molem, & magno se corpore miscet.

The Heaven, and Earth, and all the liquid Mayn,
The Moons bright Globe, and Stars Titanian,
A Spirit within maintains: and their whole mass,
A mind, which through each part infus'd doth pass,
Fashions, and works, and wholly doth transpierce
All this great Body of the Universe.

And this was the same Spirit, which moved in the Universal, and thereby both distinguished and adorned it. *His Spirit hath garnished the Heavens*, saith *Job*. So then the Spirit of God moved upon the waters, and created in them their spirituality, and natural motion; motion brought forth heat; and heat rarifaction, and subtilty of parts. By this Spirit (which gave heat and motion, and thereby, operation to every nature, while it moved upon the waters, which were in one indigested lump, and Chaos, disposed to all forms alike) was begotten Aire: an element superiour, as lighter than the waters, through whose vast, open, subtile, Diaphanick, or transparent body, the light afterwards created, might easily transpierce: Light for the excellency thereof being the first creature which God called good, whose creation immediately followed. This Spirit *Chrysostome* calleth a vital Operation. *Aquis à Deo insitam, ex qua aquæ non solùm motionem, sed & vim procreandi animalia habuerint.* He calleth it, *A vital Operation given by God unto the waters, whereby the waters had not onely motion, but also power to procreate or bring forth living Creatures.*

Job c. 26. v. 13.

Gen. 1. 5.

§. VII.

§. VII.

Of the light created, as the material ſubſtance of the Sun, and of the nature of it, and difficulty of knowledge of it: and of the excellency and uſe of it: and of motion, and heat annexed unto it.

THeſe waters were afterwards congregated, and called the Sea: and this Light afterwards (in the fourth day) gathered and united, and called the Sun, the Organ and Inſtrument of created light. For this firſt and diſperſed light did not (as I conceive) diſtinguiſh the night from the day, but with a reference to the Suns creation, and the uniting of the diſperſed light therein. This is proved by theſe words, *Let there be lights in the Firmament, to ſeparate the day from the night:* which lights in the Firmament of Heaven, were alſo made for ſignes, and for ſeaſons, and for daies, and for years, implying a motion inſtantly to follow, by which, daies and years are diſtinguiſhed; after which ſucceeded time, or together with which, that Time (which was the meaſure of motion) began. For that ſpace of the firſt three daies which preceded the Suns creation, or formal perfection, when as yet there was not any motion to be meaſured, and the day named in the fifth Verſe; was but ſuch a ſpace, as afterwards by the Suns motion made a civil or natural day. And as Waters were the matter of Aire, of the firmament, and of the lower and upper waters, and of the Seas, and Creatures therein: Earth, the matter of Beaſts, Plants, Minerals, and Mans body: ſo may Light (for expreſſion ſake) be called the Chaos, or material ſubſtance of the Sun, and other lights of heaven: Howbeit, neither the Sun, nor any thing ſenſible, is that light it ſelf, *Quæ cauſa eſt lucidorum, which is the cauſe that things are lightſome* (though it make it ſelf and all things elſe viſible): but a body moſt illightned, which illuminateth the Moon, by whom the neighbouring Region (which the *Greeks* call *Æther*, the place of the ſuppoſed Element of fire) is affected and qualified, and by it all bodies living in this our aire. For this light *Avicenna* calleth *vehiculum & fomentum omnium cæleſtium virtutum, & impreſſionum: The conducter, and preſerver, or nouriſher of all celeſtial virtues and impreſſions*, nothing deſcending of heavenly influences, but by the *medium*, or means of light. *Ariſtotle* calleth light a quality, inherent, or cleaving to a Diaphanous body, *Lumen eſt qualitas inhærens Diaphano:* but this may be better avouched of the heat, which it tranſporteth and bringeth with it, or conducteth: which heat (ſay the Platonicks) *Abeunte lumine reſidet in ſubjecto, The light being departed, doth reſide in the ſubject*, as warmh in the air, though the ſame be deprived of light. This light *Plotinus* and all the *Academicks* make incorporal, and ſo doth *Montanus, Cui nec duritia reſiſtit, nec ſpatium; Which neither hardneſs reſiſteth, nor ſpace leaveth.*

Lux dicitur, quæ ſe, & omnia viſibilia facit. Cuſan. in Compend. cap. 7. & exercit. lib. 5

Ficin. lib. lumine, cap. 11.

Ariſtotle findeth corporality in the beams of light; but it is but by way of repetition of other mens opinions, ſaith *Picolomineus. Democritus, Leucippus*, and *Epicurus*, give materiality to light it ſelf, but improperly: for it paſſeth at an inſtant from the Heaven to the Earth, nor is it reſiſted by any hardneſs, becauſe it pierceth through the ſolid body of glaſs, or other Cryſtalline matter; and whereas it is withſtood by unclean and unpure earthy ſubſtances, leſs hard, and more eaſie to invade then the former, the ſame is, *Quòd obſtaculum naturâ terreum atq; ſordidum, non capit candidam luminis puritatem: Becauſe an obſtacle by nature earthy and foule, doth not receive the pure clearneſs of light:* alluding to that moſt divine Light, which onely ſhineth on thoſe minds, which are purged from all worldly droſs, and humane uncleanneſs.

Pic. de ſui.

Plain.

But of this created light, there is no agreement in opinion; neither do I marvail at it, for it cannot be found either in the Fathers, Philoſophers, or School-men, or other ancient or later Writers, that any of them underſtood either it or themſelves therein: all men (to caſt off ignorance) have diſputed thereof, but there is no man that hath been taught thereby. *Thomas Aquinas* (not inferiour to any in wit) as he hath ſhewed little ſtrength of argument in refuting the opinions of *Beda, Hugo, Lombard, Lyranus*, and others: ſo is his own judgement herein, as weak as any mans; and moſt of the School-men were rather curious in the nature of terms, and more ſubtile in diſtinguiſhing upon the parts of doctrine already laid down, than diſcoverers of any thing hidden, either in Philoſophy or Divinity: of whom it may be truly ſaid, *Nihil ſapientiæ odioſius acumine nimio; Nothing is more odious to true wiſdom, than too accute ſharpneſs.* Neither hath the length of time, and the ſearch of many learned men, (which the ſame time hath brought

brought forth and devoured) resolved us, whether this light be substantial, corporal, or incorporal: Corporal they say it cannot be, because then it could neither pierce the aire, nor those hard, solid, and Diaphanous bodies; which it doth, and yet every day we see the aire illightned: incorporal it cannot be, because it sometime affecteth the sight of the eye with offence, and therefore by most of the Fathers so esteemed. Others say (as *Patricius*) that it cannot be matter, because no form so excellent as it self to inform it: neither can it be any accident, which is not separable without the destruction of the subiect: for light being taken from the Sun, the Sun is no more the Sun in existence. Secondly, if light were proceeding from matter and forme, then either, or both must be one of these, lucide or bright, darke or opake, Diaphanous or transparent; but darkenesse cannot be parent of light; and things Diaphanous (being neither light, nor darkenesse, but capable of either) cannot be the cause of either, and therefore must the matter, or form, or both, be lucide and shining. Lucide and shining obtaine their so being of the light; and therefore, if wee derive this being of light from a former, then would the progresse goe on infinitely and against nature; and therefore he concludeth that light in the Sun hath his being primarily, and immediately of it selfe, and is therefore the Suns form, and the form of all lucide and shining bodies: but what is taught hereby, let others judge.

Lucida corpora sunt plena sua luce, alienis tenebris impervia. Opaca sunt plena suis tenebris alieno lumine. Transparentia seu Diaphana carent suis & lumine & tenebris: alienis & lumine & tenebris permeantur. Scal. sub. ex. 71.

But in my understanding, *Lumen* (which may be Englished by the word *Shine*) is an intentional Species of that, which may be Englished by Light, and so, this shining which proceedeth from the Sun, or other lights of Heaven, or from any other light, is an Image, or intentional Species thereof; and an intentional Species may be understood by example of a red, or green colour, occasioned by the shining of the Sun through red or green glasse: for then we perceive the same colour cast upon any thing opposite; which redness or other colour, we call the *intentional Species* of the colour in that glass. And again, as this light, touching his simple nature, is no way yet understood: so it is disputed, whether this light first created, be the same which the Sun inholdeth and casteth forth, or whether it had continuance any longer than til the Suns creation.

But by the most wise and unchanged order, which God observed in the works of the World, I gather, that the Light, in the first day created, was the substance of the Sun: for *Moses* repeateth twice the maine parts of the Universal: first, as they were created in matter; secondly, as they were adorned with forme: first, naming the Heavens, the Earth, the Waters, all confused; and afterward, the Waters congregated, the Earth made drie Land, and the Heavens distinguished from both, and beautified. And therefore the Earth, as it was earth, before it was uncovered, and before it was called *Arida*, or drie Land; and the Waters were waters, before they were congregated and called the Sea, though neither of them perfect, or inriched with their vertual formes: So the Sun although it had not his formal prefection, his circle, beauty, and bounded magnitude, till the fourth day, yet was the substance thereof in the first day (under the name of Light) created; and this Light formerly dispersed, was in the same fourth day united, and set in the Firmament of Heaven: for, to Light created in the first day God gave no proper place or fixation; and therefore the effects named by *Anticipation*, (which was to separate day from night) were precisely performed, after this Light was congregated and had obtained life and motion. Neither did the wisedom of God finde cause why it should move (by which motion, days and nights are distinguished) till then: because there was not yet any Creature produced, to which, by moving, the Sun might give light, heate and operation.

But after the Earth (disttinguished from Waters) began to bud forth the bud of the herbe, &c. God caused the Sun to move, and (by enterchange of time) to visite every part of the inferiour world; by his heate to stir up the fire of generation, and to give activity to the seeds of all natures: For, as a King, which commandeth some goodly building to be erected, doth accommodate the same to that use and end, to which it was ordained; so it pleased God (saith *Procopius*) to command the Light to be; which by his all-powerful Word he approved, and approving it, disposed thereof, to the use and comfort of his future Creatures.

Quemadmodum Rex aliquis, &c. Procop. in Gen. 1.

Job 38. 24. 9.

But in that it pleased God to aske of *Job*, *By what way is the light parted, and where is the way where light dwelleth?* we thereby know, that the nature thereof falleth not under man's understanding; and therefore let it suffice, that by God's grace we enjoy the effects

fects thereof. *For this light is of the treaſure of God* (ſaith Esdras:) *And thoſe which inhabite the Heavens, do onely know the Eſſence thereof. Nihil ignotum in cælo, nihil notum in terra: Nothing unknowne in Heaven, nothing perfectly known on earth. Res veræ ſunt in mundo inviſibili; in mundo viſibili umbræ rerum: Things themſelves are in the inviſible world; in the world viſible, but their ſhadowes.* Surely, if this Light be not ſpirituall, yet it approacheth neereſt unto ſpiritualitie; and if it have any corporalitie, then of all other the moſt ſubtile and pure; for howſoever, it is of all things ſeen, the moſt beautifull, and of the ſwifteſt motion, of all other the moſt neceſſary and beneficiall. For it miniſtreth to men, and other cratures, all celeſtial influences; it diſſipateth thoſe ſad thoughts and ſorrowes, which the darkneſſe both begetteth and maintaineth; it diſcovereth unto us the glorious works of God, and carrieth up with an Angelical ſwiftneſs, our eyes unto Heaven, that by the ſight thereof, our minds being informed of his viſible marvails, may continually travail to ſurmount theſe perceived Heavens, and to finde out their omnipotent Cauſe and Creator. *Cognitio non quieſcit in rebus creatis; Our knowledge doth not quiet it ſelfe in things created. Et ipſa lux facit, ut cætera mundi membra digna ſint laudibus, cùm ſuam bonitatem & decorem omnibus communicet; It is the Light* (ſaith Saint Ambroſe) *that maketh the other parts of the world ſo worthy of praiſe, ſeeing that it ſelfe communicateth its goodneſſe and beauty unto all.* Of which *Ovid* out of *Orpheus*:

Esd.l.2.c.6.40. *Herm.* *Ficin.*

Ille ego ſum, qui longum metior annum,
Omnia qui video, per quem videt omnia mundus,
Mundi oculus.

Ovid. Met. lib. 1

The World diſcerns it ſelf, while I the World behold,
By me the longeſt years, and other times are told,
I the worlds eye.

Laſtly, if we may behold in any creature, any one ſparke of that eternall fire, or any far-off dawning of Gods glorious brightneſs, the ſame in the beauty, motion, and virtue of this Light, may be perceived. Therefore was God called *Lux ipſa*, and the Light, by *Hermes* named *Lux ſancta*, and *Chriſt* our Saviour ſaid to be *that Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.* Yet in reſpect of Gods incomprehenſible ſublimitie, and puritie, this is alſo true, that God is neither a minde, nor a Spirit of the nature of other ſpirits; nor a light, ſuch as can be diſcerned. *Deus profectò non mens eſt, at verò ut ſit mens cauſa eſt; nec ſpiritus, ſed cauſa quâ ſpiritus extat; nec lumen, ſed cauſa quâ lumen exiſtit: God* (ſaith *Hermes* in Pœmandro) *certainly is not a minde, but the cauſe that the minde hath his being; nor ſpirit, but the cauſe by which every ſpirit is; nor light, but the cauſe by which the light exiſteth.*

Joh 1.9. & 14. 16.

So then the *Maſs* and *Chaos* being firſt created, void, dark, and unformed, was by the operative Spirit of God, pierced and quickned; and the Waters, having now received Spirit and motion, reſolved their thinner parts into Aire, which God illightned: the Earth alſo by being contiguat, and mixt with waters (participating the ſame divine virtue) brought forth the bud of the hearb that ſeedeth ſeed &c. and for a mean and organ, by which this operative virtue might be continued, God appointed the Light to be united, and gave it alſo motion and heat, which heat cauſed a continuance of thoſe ſeverall *ſpecies*, which the Earth (being made fruitfull by the Spirit) produced, and with motion begat the time and times ſucceeding.

Gen. 1. 10.

§. VIII.

Of the Firmament, and of the waters above the Firmament: and whether there be any Cryſtalline Heaven, or any Primum mobile.

After that the Spirit of God had moved upon the waters, and light was created, God ſaid, *Let there be a Firmament in the middeſt of the waters, and let it ſeparate the waters from the waters:* that is, thoſe waters which by rarifaction and evaporation were aſcended, and thoſe of the Earth and Sea.

But theſe waters ſeparate above this extenſion, which the Latine Tranſlation calleth *firmamentum*, or *expanſum* (for ſo *Vatablus*, *Pagninus*, and *Junius* turne it) are not the Cryſtalline Heavens created in the imaginations of men; which opinion *Baſilius Magnus* calleth a childiſh ſuppoſition, making in the ſame place many learned arguments againſt

againſt this infancie. For the waters above the firmament, are the waters in the ayre above us, where the ſame is more ſolid and condenſe, which God ſeparated from the neather waters by a firmament, that is, by an extended diſtance and vaſt ſpace: the words *Raquia*, which *Montanus* writeth *Rakiagh*, and *Shamajim*, being indifferently taken for the heaven and for ayre, and more properly for the ayre and *Æther*, than for the heavens, as the beſt Hebricians underſtand them, *Quo ſuprema ac tenuia ab infimis craſſis diducta, interſectaq; diſtarent*, for that *whereby the ſupreme and thin bodies were placed in diſtance, being ſevered and cut off from low and groſſe matters*: and the waters above the firmament, expreſt in the word *Majim*, are in that tongue taken properly for the waters above the ayre, or in the uppermoſt region of the ſame.

Mon. Nat. hiſt. fol. 152.

Gen. 49. 25. * *Pſal.* 104. 12. 2 Gen. 19. 24. *Cap.* 27. 28. *Deut.* 11. 11. *Job* 38. 29. *Matth.* 6. 26.

And that the word Heaven is uſed for the Ayr, the Scriptures every where witneſs: as in the bleſſings of *Joſeph*, and in the 104 Pſalm: * *By theſe Springs ſhal the fowle of the Heaven dwell*; and *upon Sodome and Gomorrah it rained brimſtone and fire out of the Heaven*; *and in Iſaacs* bleſſing to *Jacob*; *God give thee therefore of the dew of Heaven*: and in *Deuteronomy* the 11. *But the land whither you go to poſſeſſe it, is a land that drinketh water of the rayne of Heaven*; and in *Job*, *Who hath ingendred the froſts of Heaven*; and in S. *Matthew*, *Behold the Fowles of Heaven, for they ſow not*. So as in all the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament throughout, is the word Heaven very often uſed for Ayre, and taken alſo hyperbolically for any great height, as, *Let us build us a Tower, whoſe top may reach to Heaven &c.*

Gen. 11. 4.

And in this very place *Baſil* avoucheth, that this appellation of Heaven for the Firmament, is but by way of ſimilitude: his owne words be theſe; *Et vocavit Deus firmamentum cœlum. Hæc appellatio alii quidem propriè accommodatur, huic autem nunc ad ſimilitudinem*; *And God called the firmament Heaven: This appellation* (ſaith *Baſil*) *is properly applied to another* (that is to the Starrie Heaven) *but to this* (that is, to the Firmament dividing the waters) *it is impoſed by ſimilitude*. And if there were no other proofe, that by the firmament was meant the Ayre, and not the Heaven, the words of *Moſes* in the eighth verſe, conferred with the ſame word *Firmament* in the twentieth verſe, make it manifeſt: for in the eighth verſe it is written, that God called the Firmament, which divided waters from waters, Heaven; and in the twentieth verſe he calleth the Firmament of Heaven, Ayre in theſe words: *And let the Foule flye upon the earth in the open firmament of Heaven*. And what uſe there ſhould be of this ycie or cryſtalline, or waterie Heaven, I conceive not, except it be to moderate and temper the heate, which the *primum mobile* would otherwiſe gather and increaſe: though in very truth, inſtead of this help, it would add an unmeaſurable greatnes of circle, wherby the ſwiftneſſe of that firſt Moveable would exceed all poſſibilitie of belief. *Sed nemo tenetur ad impoſſibilia*; *but no man ought to be held to impoſſibilities*: and faith it ſelf (which ſurmounteth the height of all humane reaſon) hath for a forcible conducter, the Word of Truth, which alſo may be called *lumen omnis rationis & intellectus*; *the light of all reaſon and underſtanding*. Now that this ſuppoſed firſt Moveable, turneth it ſelfe ſo many hundred thouſand miles in an inſtant (ſeeing the Scriptures teach it not) let thoſe that can beleeve mens imagination, apprehend it, for I cannot. But of theſe many Heavens, let the Reader that deſireth ſatisfaction, ſearch *Orontius*, and of this waterie Heaven, *Baſilius Magnus*, in his *Hexam. fol.* 40, 41 *&c.* and *Matth. Beroaldus*, his ſecond Book and ſixt chapter. For my ſelfe, I am perſwaded, that the waters called, The waters above the Heavens, are but the clouds and waters engendred in the uppermoſt ayre.

§. IX.

A concluſion, repeating the ſumme of the workes in the Creation, which are reduced to three heads: The creation of matter, The forming of it, The finiſhing of it.

TO conclude, it may be gathered out of the firſt Chapter of *Geneſis*, that this was the order of the moſt wiſe God in the beginning, and when there was no other nature, or being, but Gods incomprehenſible eternitie. Firſt, hee created the matter of all things: and in the firſt three dayes he diſtinguiſhed and gave to every nature his proper forme; the forme of levitie to that which aſcended; to that which deſcended, the form of gravitie: for he ſeparated light from darkeneſſe, divided waters from waters, and gathered the waters under the firmament into one place. In the laſt three

three dayes, God adorned, beautified, and repleniſhed the World: he ſet in the Firmament of Heaven, the Sun, Moone, and Stars; filled the Earth with Beaſts, the Aire with Fowle, and the Sea with Fiſh, giving to all that have life a power generative, thereby to continue their Species and kindes; to Creatures vegetative and growing, their ſeeds in themſelves; for *he created all things, that they might have their being: and the generations of the world are preſerved.* *Wiſd. Sal. c. 1. 14.*

§. X.

That Nature is no Principium per ſe; *nor Forme the giver of being: and of our ignorance how ſecond cauſes ſhould have any proportion with their effects.*

AND for this working power, which we call Nature, the beginning of motion and reſt, according to *Ariſtotle*, the ſame is nothing elſe, but the ſtrength and faculty, which God hath infuſed into every creature, having no other ſelfe-ability, than a Clocke, after it is wounde up by a mans hand, hath. Theſe therefore that attribute unto this faculty, any firſt or ſole power, have therein no other underſtanding, than ſuch a one hath, who looking into the Stern of a Ship, and finding it guided by the Helme and Rudder, doth aſcribe ſome abſolute vertue to the peece of wood, without all conſideration of the hand that guides it, or of the judgement, which alſo directeth and commandeth that hand: forgetting in this and in all elſe, that by the vertue of the firſt act, all Agents worke whatſoever they worke: *Virtute primi actus agunt agentia omnia quicquid agunt:* for as the minde of man ſeeth by the Organ of the eye, heareth by the eares, and maketh choyce by the will: and therefore we attribute ſight to the eye, and hearing to the eares, &c. and yet it is the minde only, that giveth ability, life, and motion to all theſe his inſtruments and Organs; ſo God worketh by Angels, by the Sun, by the Starres, by Nature, or infuſed properties, and by men as by ſeverall Organs, ſeverall effects; all ſecond cauſes whatſoever, being but inſtruments, conduites, and pipes, which carry and diſperſe what they have received from the head and fountaine of the Univerſall. For as it is Gods infinite power, and everiewhere-preſence (compaſſing, embracing, and piercing all things) that giveth to the Sun power to draw up vapours, to vapours to be made clouds, cloudes to containe rain, and raine to fall: ſo all ſecond and inſtrumentall cauſes, together with Nature it ſelfe, without that operative faculty which God gave them, would becom altogether ſilent, vertueleſſe, and dead: of which excellently ORPHEUS; *Per te vireſcunt omnia, All things by thee ſpring forth in youthfull greene.* I enforce not theſe things, thereby to annihilate thoſe variable vertues which God hath given to his creatures, animate and inanimate, to heavenly and earthly bodies, &c. for all his workes in their vertues prayſe him: but of the manner how God worketh in them, or they in, or with each other, which the Heathen Philoſophers, and thoſe that follow them have taken on them to teach: I ſay, there is not any one among them, nor any one among us, that could ever yet conceive it, or expreſſe it, ever enrich his owne underſtanding with any certaine truth, or ever edifie others (not fooliſh by ſelfe-flattery) therein. For (ſaith *Lactantius*, ſpeaking of the wiſdom of the Philoſophers) *Si facultas inveniendæ veritatis huic ſtudio ſubjaceret, aliquando eſſet inventa; cum verò tot temporibus, tot ingeniis in ejus inquiſitione contritis, non ſit comprehenſa, apparet nullam ibi eſſe ſapientiam; If in this ſtudie* (ſaith he) *were meanes to find out the truth, it had ere this bin found out: but ſeeing it is not yet comprehended, after that ſo much time, and ſo many wits have been worn out in the inquiry of it, it appeareth, that there is no wiſdom there to be had. Nam ſi de unâ re præcipua ſcientia haberetur, omnium rerum ſcientia neceſſariò haberetur: If the preciſe knowledge of any one thing were to be had, it ſhould neceſſarily follow, that the knowledge of all things were to be had.* And as the Philoſophers were ignorant in Nature, and the waies of her working: ſo were they more curious, than knowing, in their firſt matter and Phyſical form. For if their firſt matter had any being, it were not then the firſt matter: for, as it is the firſt matter, it hath onely a power of being, which it altogether leaveth, when it doth ſubſiſt. And ſeeing it is neither a ſubſtance perfect, nor a ſubſtance inchoate, or in the way of perfection, how any other ſubſtance ſhould thence take concreſcence, it hath not been taught, neither are theſe formes (ſaith a learned Authour) any thing, *ſi ex ea exprimatur potentia, quæ nihil eſt.* Againe, how this firſt matter ſhould be *ſubjectum*

Natura enim remota providentia & potestate divina, prorſus nihil eſt. Lact. de falſ. Sapientia. l. 3. c. 28

Cypr. de mente l. 3.

jectum formarum, and passive, which is understood to precede the forme, it is hard to conceive: for to make form, which is the cause, to be subsequent to the thing caused (to wit, to the first matter) is contrary to all reason, divine and humane: only it may be said, that originally there is no other difference between matter and forme, than between heate and fire, of which the one cannot subsist without the other, but in a kinde of rationall consideration. Leaving therefore these Riddles to their Lovers, who by certaine scholasticall distinctions wrest and pervert the truth of all things, and by which *Aristotle* hath laboured to prove a false eternitie of the World, I thinke it farre safer to affirme with Saint AUGUSTINE, *That all species and kindes are from God, from whom, whatsoever is naturall proceedeth, of what kinde or estimation soever, from whence are the seedes of all formes, and the formes of all seedes and their motions*; *A quo est omnis species, à quo est quicquid naturaliter est, cujuscunq; generis est, cujuscunq; æstimationis est, à quo sunt semina formarum, formæ seminum, motus seminum atq; formarum.* And thus much *Averrois* is forced to confesse. *For all forms* (saith he) *are in primo motore*; which is also the opinion of *Aristotle* in the twelfth of his *Metaph.* and of *Albertus* upon *Dionysius*.

12. *Metaph.*

§. XI.

Of Fate; and that the Starres have great influence: and that their operations may diversly be prevented or furthered.

AND, as of Nature, such is the dispute and contention concerning Fate or Destinie, of which the opinions of those learned men that have written thereof, may be safely received, had they not thereunto annexed and fastened an inevitable necessity, and made it more generall, and universally powerfull than it is, by giving it Dominion over the mind of man, and over his will, of which *Ovid* and *Juvenal*:

Juven. sat. 7. 201.

Ratio fatum vincere nulla valet.
Servis regna dabunt, captivis Fata triumphos.

'Gainst Fate no counsell can prevaile.
Kingdomes to Slaves by Destinie,
To Captives triumphs given be.

Basil. Hexa. 4. Aug. de heres. 70. c. 35. Tho. cont. Gent. 3. cap. 8. 3. Ficin. in 12. de leg. Cic. de fat.

An errour of the Chaldæans, and after them of the Stoicks, the Pharisees, Priscillianists, the Bardisanists, and others, as *Basil*, *Augustine*, and *Thomas* have observed: but that Fate is an obedience of second causes to the first, was well conceived of *Hermes*, and *Apuleius* the Platonist. *Plotinus* out of the Astronomers calleth it a disposition from the acts of celestiall Orbs, unchangeably working in inferiour bodies, the same being also true enough, in respect of all those things which a rational minde doth not order nor direct. *Ptolomie*, *Seneca*, *Democritus*, *Epicurus*, *Chrysippus*, *Empedocles*, and the Stoicks, some of them more largely, others more strictly, ascribe to Fate a binding and inevitable necessity; and that it is the same which is spoken and determined by God (*quod de unoquoq; nostrum fatus est Deus*) and the definite lot of all living. And certainly it cannot be doubted, but the Stars are instruments of far greater use, than to give an obscure light, and for men to gaze on after Sun-set: it being manifest, that the diversity of seasons, the Winters, and Summers, more hot and cold, are not so uncertained by the Sun and Moon alone, who alway keep one and the same course, but that the Stars have also their working therein.

And if we cannot deny, but that God hath given vertues to Springs and Fountains, to cold earth, to plants and stones, Mineralls, and to the excrementall parts of the basest living creatures, why should we robbe the beautiful Starres of their working powers? for seeing they are many in number, and of eminent beauty and magnitude, we may not thinke, that in the treasury of his wisedom, who is infinite, there can be wanting (even for every Starre) a peculiar vertue and operation; as every herbe, plant, fruit, and flower adorning the face of the Earth, hath the like. For as these were not created to beautifie the earth alone, and to cover and shadow her dustie face, but otherwise for the use of man and beast, to feed them and cure them; so were not those uncountable glorious bodies set in the Firmament, to no other end, than to adorne it, but for instruments and Organs of his divine providence, so farre as it hath pleased his just will

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to determine. *Origen* upon this place of *Genesis*, *Let there be light in the Firmament*, &c. affirmeth, that the Stars are not causes (meaning perchance binding causes; but are as open Books, wherein are contained and set down all things whatsoever to come; but not to be read by the eyes of humane wisedom: which latter part I beleeve well, and this saying of *Syracides* withall: *That there are hid yet greater things than these be, and we have seene but a few of his workes.* And though, for the capacity of men, we know somewhat, yet in the true and uttermost vertues of hearbs and plants, which our selves sow and set, and which grow under our feet, we are in effect ignorant; much more in the powers and working of celestial bodies. For *hardly* (saith Solomon) *can we discerne the things that are upon the Earth, and with great labour finde we out those things that are before us: who can then investigate the things that are in Heaven? Multum est de rebus cœlestibus aliquid cognoscere: It is much to know a little of heavenly things.* But in this question of Fate, the middle course is to be followed, that as with the Heathen wee doe not binde God to his creatures, in this supposed necessity of destiny; so on the contrary, we do not rob those beautiful creatures of their powers and offices. For had any of these second causes despoyled God of his prerogative, or had God himselfe constrained the minde and will of man to impious acts by any celestiall inforcements, then sure the impious excuse of some, were justifiable; of whom S. *Augustine: Impiâ perversitate in malis factis rectissimè reprehendendis ingerunt accusandum potius auctorem syderum, quàm commissorem scelerum. Where we reprehend them of evill deeds, they againe with wicked perverseese urge, that rather the Author and Creator of the Stars, than the doer of the evill, is to be accused.* Gen. 1.15. Eccl. 42. c. 32. Wis. 9.16. Aristotle. Aug. 20. super Gen. ad lit.

But that the Stars and other celestial bodies incline the will by mediation of the sensitive appetite, which is also stirred by the constitution and complexion, it cannot be doubted. *Corpora cœlestia* (saith DAMASCENE) *constituunt in nobis habitus, complexiones, & dispositiones. The heavenly bodies* (saith he) *make in us habits, complexions, and dispositions:* for the body (though *Galen* inforce it further) hath undoubtedly a kinde of drawing after it the affections of the minde, especially bodies strong in humour, and weak in vertues: for those of cholericke complexions are subject to anger, and the furious effects thereof; by which they suffer themselves to bee transported, where the mind hath not reason to remember, that passions ought to be her Vassals, not her Masters. And that they wholly direct the reasonlesse minde, I am resolved: For all those which were created mortall, as birds, beasts, and the like, are left to their natural appetites; over all which, celestiall bodies (as instruments and executioners of Gods providence) have absolute dominion. What we should judge of men, who little differ from beasts, I cannot tell: for as he that contendeth against those inforcements, may easily master or resist them; so whosoever shall neglect the remedies by vertue and piety prepared, putteth himself altogether under the power of his sensuall appetite; *Vincitur fatum si resistas, vincit si contempseris: Fate will be overcome, if thou resist it; if thou neglect, it conquereth.* Gal. 1. tuer. an. seq. temp. Quint.

But that either the Stars or the Sun have any power over the mindes of men immediately, it is absurd to thinke, other than as aforesaid, as the same by the bodies temper may be effected. *Lumen solis ad generationem sensibilium corporum confert, & ad vitam ipsam movet, & nutrit, & auget, & perficit: The light of the Sun* (saith S. AUGUSTINE) *helpeth the generation of sensible bodies, moveth them to life, and nourisheth, augmenteth and perfecteth them:* yet still as a Minister, not as a Master: *Bonus quidem est Sol, in ministerio, non imperio; The Sun is good to serve, not to sway* (saith S. *Ambrose*.) And Saint AUGUSTINE: *Deis regit inferiora corpora per superiora; God ruleth the bodies below by those above;* but he avoucheth not, that superiour bodies have rule over mens minds, which are incorporall. Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. 5. Hex. lib. 4. de term. 3.

But howsoever we are by the Stars inclined at our birth, yet there are many things both in Nature and Art, that encounter the same, and weaken their operation; and *Aristotle* himselfe confesseth, that the Heavens do not alwaies worke their effects in inferiour bodies no more than the signes of raine and winde do alwayes come to passe. And it is divers times seene, that paternall vertue and vice hath his counter-working to these inclinations. *Est in Juvencis patrum virtus; In the young off-spring the Fathers vertue is,* and so the contrary, *patrum vitia:* and herein also there is often found an enterchange; the Sons of vertuous men, by an ill constellation become inclinable to vice, and of vicious men, to vertue. Hor. lib. 4. Od. 30.

Egregia eſt ſoboles ſcelerato nata parente:
A worthy ſon is borne of a wicked father.

But there is nothing (after Gods reſerved power) that ſo much ſetteth this art of influence out of ſquare and rule, as education doth: for there are none in the World ſo wickedly inclined, but that a religious inſtruction and bringing up may faſhion anew and reforme them; nor any ſo well diſpoſed, whom (the reines being let looſe) the continuall fellowſhip and familiarity, and the examples of diſſolute men may not corrupt and deforme. Veſſels will ever retain a ſavour of their firſt liquor: it being equally difficult either to cleanſe the minde once corrupted, or to extinguiſh the ſweet ſavour of vertue firſt received, when the minde was yet tender, open, and eaſily ſeaſoned; but where a favourable conſtellation (allowing that the Stars incline the will) and a vertuous education doe happily arrive, or the contrary in both, thereby it is that men are found ſo exceeding vertuous or vicious, Heaven and Earth (as it were) running together and agreeing in one: for as the ſeeds of vertue may by the art and huſbandry of Chriſtian counſaile produce better and more beautiful fruit, than the ſtrength of ſelf-nature and Kind could have yeelded them; ſo the plants apt to grow wilde, and to change themſelves into weeds, by being ſet in a ſoyle ſutable, and like themſelves, are made more unſavoury and filled with poyſon. It was therefore truly affirmed, *Sapiens adjuvabit opus aſtrorum, quemadmodùm agricola terræ naturam; A wiſe man aſſiſteth the work of the Stars as the Huſbandman helpeth the nature of the ſoyle.* And *Ptolemie* himſelfe confeſſeth thus much, *Sapiens, & omina ſapientis medici dominabuntur aſtris; A wiſe man, and the ominous art of a wiſe Phyſician ſhall prevaile againſt the Stars.* Laſtly, we ought all to know, that God created the Stars, as he did the reſt of the Univerſal, whoſe influences may be called his reſerved and unwritten Lawes. But let us conſider how they bind: even as the Lawes of men doe; for although the Kings and Princes of the World have by their Lawes decreed, that a Thiefe and a Murderer ſhall ſuffer death; and though their Ordinances are daily by Judges and Magiſtrates (the Stars of Kings) executed accordingly; yet theſe Lawes doe not deprive Kings of their naturall or religious compaſſion, or binde them without prerogative, to ſuch a ſevere execution, as that there ſhould be nothing left of liberty to judgment, power, or conſcience: the Law in his owne nature, being no other than a deafe Tyrant. But ſeeing that it is otherwiſe, and that Princes (who ought to imitate God in all they can) doe ſometimes for cauſes to themſelves knowne, and by mediation, pardon offences both againſt others and themſelves, it were then impious to take that power and liberty from God himſelfe, which his Subſtitutes injoy; God being mercy, goodneſſe, and charity it ſelf. Otherwiſe that example of Prayer by our Saviour taught; *And let us not be led into temptation, but deliver us from evill*, had been no other but an expence of words and time; but that God (which only knoweth the operation of his owne creatures truly) hath aſſured us, that there is no inclination or temptation ſo forcible, which our humble Prayers and Deſires may not make fruſtrate and breake aſunder: for were it (as the Stoicks conceive) that Fate or Deſtiny, though depending upon eternall power, yet being once ordered and diſpoſed, had ſuch a connexion and immutable dependency, that God himſelf ſhould in a kinde have ſhut up himſelfe therein: *How miſerable then were the condition of men* (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) *left altogether without hope.*

Mat. 6. 13.

And if this ſtrength of the Stars were ſo transferred, as that God had quitted unto them all dominion over his creatures; be he Pagan or Chriſtian that ſo beleeveth, the only true God of the one, and the imaginary gods of the other, would thereby be deſpoyled of all worſhip, reverence, or reſpect.

John 17. 4.

And certainly, God which hath promiſed us the reward of well-doing, which Chriſt himſelf claimed at the hands of the Father, (*I have finiſhed the worke which thou gaveſt mee to doe:*) and the ſame God, who hath threatned unto us the ſorrow and torment of offences, could not, contrary to his merciful nature, be ſo unjuſt, as to bind us inevitably to the Deſtinies or influences of the Stars, or ſubject our ſoules to any impoſed neceſſity. But it was well ſaid of *Plotinus*, that the Stars were ſignificant, but not efficient, giving them yet ſomething leſſe than their due: and therefore as I doe not conſent with them, who would make thoſe glorious creatures of God vertueleſſe: ſo I thinke that wee derogate from his eternall and abſolute power and providence, to aſcribe to them

them the same dominion over our immortal soules, which they have over all bodily substances, and perishable natures: for the souls of men, loving and fearing God, receive influence from that divine light it self, whereof the Suns clarity, and that of the Stars, is by *Plato* called but a shadow. *Lumen est umbra Dei, Deus est lumen luminis*; *Light is the shadow of Gods brightness, who is the light of light*: But to end this question, because this Destiny, together with Providence, Prescience, and Predestination, are often confounded, I think it not impertinent to touch the difference in a word or two; for every man hath not observed it, though all learned men have. *Plat. pol. 6. Ficin. in 7. pol.*

§. XII.
Of Prescience.

PRescience, or fore-knowledge (which the Greeks call *Prognosis*, the Latines *præcognitio*, or *præscientia*) considered in order and nature (if we may speak of God after the manner of men) goeth before Providence: for God fore-knew all things, before he had created them, or before they had being to be cared for; and Prescience is no other than an infallible fore-knowledge. For whatsoever our selves fore-know, except the same be to succeed accordingly, it cannot be true that we fore-know it. But this Prescience of God (as it is Prescience onely) is not the cause of any thing futurely succeeding: neither doth Gods fore-knowledge impose any necessity, or binde. For in that we fore-know that the Sun will rise, and set; that all men born in the World shall die again; that after Winter, the Spring shall come; after the Spring, Sommer and Harvest; and that according to the several seeds that we sow, we shall reap several sorts of grain; yet is not our fore-knowledge the cause of this, or any of these: neither doth the knowledge in us binde or constrain the Sun to rise and set, or men to die; for the causes (as men perswade themselves) are otherwise manifest and known to all. *The eye of man* (saith *Boetius*) *beholdeth those things subject to sense, as they are; the eye seeth that such a beast is an horse, it seeth men, trees, and houses, &c. but our seeing of them (as they are) is not the cause of their so being, for such they be in their own natures.* And again our of the same Author; *Divina providentia rebus generandis non ipsonit necessitatem, quia si omnia evenirent ex necessitate, præmia bonorum, & pœna malorum periret*; *Divine Providence* (saith he) *imposeth no necessity upon things that are to exist; for if all come to pass of necessity, there should neither be reward of good, nor punishment of evil.* *Boetius de consol.*

§. XIII.
Of Providence.

NOw Providence (which the *Greeks* call *Pronoia*) is an intellectual knowledge, both fore-seeing, caring for, and ordering all things, and doth not onely behold all past, all present, and all to come, but is the cause of their so being, which Prescience (simply taken) is not: and therefore Providence by the Philosophers (saith S. *Augustine*) is divided into Memory, Knowledge, and Care: Memory of the past, Knowledge of the present, and Care of the future: and we our selves account such a man for provident, as, remembring things past, and observing things present, can by judgement, and comparing the one with the other, provide for the future, and times succeeding. That such a thing there is as Providence, the Scriptures every where teach us; *Moses* in many places, the Prophets in their Predictions, Christ himself and his Apostles assure us hereof: and besides the Scriptures, *Hermes, Orpheus, Euripides, Pythagoras, Plato, Plotinus*, and (in effect) all learned men acknowledge the Providence of God: yea the *Turks* themselves are so confident therein, as they refuse not to accompany and visit each other in the most pestilent diseases, nor shun any peril whatsoever, though death therein do manifestly present it self.

The places of Scripture proving providence, are so many, both in general and particular, as I shall need to repeat but a few of them in this place: *Sing unto God* (saith *David*) *which covereth the Heavens with clouds, and prepareth rain for the earth, and maketh the grass to grow upon the Mountains, which giveth the beasts their food, and feedeth the young Raven that cries: All these wait upon thee, that thou mayest give them food in due season: And thou shalt drink of the River Chearet* (saith God to *Elias*) *and I have com-* *Psal. 147. 8. Psal. 104. 27, 9. & 145. 15.*

1 Reg. 17.4. Matth. 6.26. Luke 12.6,7. 1 Pet. 5.7. Psal. 36.6. Jer. 23.24. Esay 42.8.

commanded the Ravens to feed thee there. Behold, the Fowles of the Ayre, they sow not, nor reap, and yet your heavenly Father feedeth them: Again, *are not two Sparrowes sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father: yea all the hayres of your head are numbred:* And S. Peter, *Cast all your care on him, for he careth for you: And his judgements are written,* saith *David.*

God therefore, who is every where present, *who filleth the Heavens and the Earth, whose eyes are upon the Righteous, and his countenance against them that do evill,* was therefore by *Orpheus* called *oculus infinitus, an infinit eye,* beholding all things; and cannot therefore be esteemed as an idle looker on, as if he had transferred his power to any other: for it is contrary to his own word: *Gloriam meam alteri non dabo: I will not give my glory to another.* No man commandeth in the Kings presence, but by the Kings direction; but God is every-where present, and King of kings. The example of Gods universall Providence is seen in his creatures. The Father provideth for his children: beasts and birds and all livings for their young ones. If Providence be found in second Fathers, much more in the first and Universall: and if there be a naturall loving care in men, and beasts much more in God, who hath formed this nature, and whose Divine love was the beginning, and is the bond of the Universall: *Amor divinus rerum omnium est principium, & vinculum universi* (saith *Plato*) *Amor Dei est nodus perpetuus, mundi copula, partiumq; ejus immobile sustentaculum, ac universæ machinæ fundamentum; The love of God is the perpetuall knot, and link or chain of the world, and the immovable pillar of every part thereof, and the Basis and foundation of the universall.* God therefore who could onely be the cause of all, can onely provide for all, and sustain all; so as to absolute power; to every-where presence; to perfect goodness; to pure and divine love; this attribute transcendent hability of Providence is onely proper and belonging.

Esay 42.8. 10

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Joh. 17.1. c.4. ver. 8. God is love.

§. XIV.

Of Predestination.

NOw for Predestination, we can difference it no otherwise, from Providence and Prescience, than in this, that Prescience onely fore-seeth; Providence fore-seeth and careth for, and hath respect to all creatures, even from the brightest Angels of Heaven, to the unworthiest Worms of the Earth: and Predestination (as it is used specially by Divines) is onely of men, and yet not of all to men belonging, but of their salvation properly, in the common use of Divines, or perdition, as some have used it. Yet *Peter Lombard, Thomas, Bernensis Theologus,* and others, take the word Predestination more strictly, and for a preparation to felicity: divers of the Fathers take it more largely sometimes: among whom Saint *Augustine* speaking of two Cities, and two Societies, useth these words, *Quarum est una, quæ prædestinata est in æternum regnare cum Deo, altera æternum supplicium subire cum Diabolo; Whereof one is it, which is predestinated to reign for ever with God, but the other is to undergo everlasting torment with the Devill:* for according to *Nonius Marcellus, destinare, est præparare;* and of the same opinion are many Protestant Writers, as *Calvin, Beza, Buchanus, Danæus,* and such like: and as for the manifold questions hereof arising, I leave them to the Divines; and why it hath pleased God to create some vessels of honour, and some of dishonour, I will answer with *Gregory,* who saith, *Qui in factis Dei rationem non videt, infirmitatem suam considerans, cur non videat, rationem videt; He that seeth no reason in the actions of God, by consideration of his own infirmity, perceiveth the reason of his blindness.* And again with S. Augustine, *Occulta esse causa potest, injusta esse non potest; Hidden the cause of his Predestination may be, unjust it cannot be.*

Lomb. l. 1. dist. 39. Thom. part. 1. dist. 23. Bern. de Probl. de p.d. Aug. l. 15. c. 1. de Civit Dei. Cal. in cap. 9. ad Rom. v. 11. Bez. in magn. annot. in cap. 9. ad Rom. Danæus, l. 3. de Salut. Greg. Magn. Job. 9. Aug. ad Polin. q. 59.

Rom. 8. & 9.

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§. XV.

Of Fortune: and of the reason of some things that seem to be by fortune, and against Reason and Providence.

LAstly, seeing Destiny or Necessity is subsequent to Gods Providence, and seeing that the Stars have no other dominion, than is before spoken, and that Nature is nothing, but as *Plato* calleth it, *Dei artem, vel artificiosum Dei organum; The art, or artificiall Organ of God:* and *Cusanus, Divini præcepti instrumentum;*

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The art, or artificiall Organ of God: and *Cusanus, Divini præcepti instrumentum; The instrument of the divine precept:* we may then with better reason reject that kind of Idolatry, or God of fools, called *Fortune* or Chance: a Goddess, the most reverenced, and the most reviled of all other, but not ancient; for *Homer* maketh her the Daughter of *Oceanus*, as *Pausanias* witnesseth in his *Messeniacks*. The *Greekes* call her τυχὴν, signifying a relative being, or betiding, so as before *Homers* time this great Lady was scarce heard of; and *Hesiodus*, who hath taught the birth and beginning of all these counterfeit gods, hath not a word of *Fortune:* yet afterward she grew so great and omnipotent, as from Kings and Kingdoms, to Beggars and Cottages, she ordered all things, resisting the wisedom of the wisest, by making the Possessor thereof miserable: valuing the folly of the most foolish, by making the success prosperous; insomuch as the actions of men were said to be but the sports of Fortune, and the variable accidents happening in mens lives, but her pastimes: of which *Palladius, Vita hominum ludus fortunæ est; The life of man is the play of Fortune:* and because it often falleth out, that enterprises guided by ill counsels, have equal success to those by the best judgment conducted, therefore had Fortune the same externall figure with Sapience; whereof *Athenæus:*

Sen. ep. 91. Aur. vict. de pertinace. Sen. ep. 74. Demetrius Poliorcetes in the great and often changes of his Fortune, is said to have used to cry out upon *Fortune*, applying to her a Verse of Æschilus, *Tu me extulisti eadem meis (sentio) perditum.*

Longissimè à Sapientia Fors dissidet,
Sed multa perficit tamen simillima:

From Wisedome Fortune differs far,
And yet in works most like they are.

But I will forbear to be curious in that, which (as it is commonly understood) is nothing else but a power imaginary, to which the success of humane actions and endeavours were for their variety ascribed; for when a manifest cause could not be given, then was it attributed to fortune, as if there were no cause of those things, of which most men are ignorant; contrary to this true ground of *Plato: Nihil est ortum sub Sole; cujus causa legitima non præcesserit; Nothing ever came to pass under the Sun, of which there was not a just preceding cause.* But *Aquinas* hath herein answered in one distinction, whatsoever may be objected; for many things there are (saith he) which happen, *besides the intention of the Inferior, but not besides the intention of the Superior; Præter intentionem Inferioris, sed non præter intentionem Superioris,* (to wit, the ordinance of God;) and therefore (saith *Melanchton*) *Quod Poetæ fortunam, nos Deum appellamus; whom the Poets call Fortune, we know to be God.* And that this is true, the Scripture in many places teacheth us; as in the Law of Murder, *He that smiteth a man, and he dye, shall dye the death; and if a man hath not laid wait, but God hath offered him into his hands, then I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee.* Now, where the Scripture hath these words, *God hath offered him into his hands*, we say, If he hurt him by Chance: and in *Deuteronomy* the nineteenth, where the slipping of an Axe from the helve, whereby another is slain, was the work of God himself, we in our phrase attribute this accident, to Chance or Fortune: and in the *Proverbs* the sixteenth, *The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition thereof is of the Lord:* so as that which seemeth most casuall and subject to Fortune, is yet disposed by the ordinance of God, as all things else; and hereof the wiser sort, and the best learned of the Philosophers were not ignorant, as *Cicero* witnesseth for them, gathering the opinion of *Aristotle* and his Sectators, with those of *Plato*, and the *Academicks*, to this effect, That the same power which they called *animam mundi; The soul of the World*, was no other then that incomprehensible wisedom, which we express by the name of God, governing every being aswell in heaven as in earth; to which wisedom and power they sometime gave the title of Necessity or Fate, because it bindeth by inevitable ordinance: sometime, the style of Fortune, because of many effects there appear unto us no certain causes. To this effect speaketh S. *Augustine* in his questions upon *Genesis* the first Book: the same hath *Seneca* in his fourth of *Benefits*; which was also the doctrine of the *Stoicks*, of which Sect he was: *For whatsoever* (saith he) *thou callest God, be it Nature, Fate, or Fortune, all are but one and the same differenced by divers termes, according as he useth, and exerciseth his power diversly.*

Te facimus Fortuna Deam, cœloq; locamus. Sat. 10. 366. Exod. 21. 12, 13

Vers. 5.

Vers. 33.

Cic. ac quæst. l. 1

Senec. l. 4. c. 7.

But it may be objected, That if Fortune and Chance were not sometimes the causes of good and evill in men, but an idle voice, whereby we express success; how comes it then, that so many worthy and wise men depended upon so many unworthy and empty-headed fooles; that riches and honour are given to external men, and without kernell

nell: and so many learned, vertuous, and valiant men weare out their lives in poore and dejected estates. In a word, there is no other inferiour, or apparent cause, beside the partiality of mans affection, but the fashioning and not fashioning of our selves according to the nature of the time wherein we live: for whosoever is most able, and best sufficient to discern, and hath withal an honest and open heart and loving truth; if Princes, or those that governe, endure no other discourse than their owne flatteries, then I say such an one, whose vertue and courage forbiddeth him to be base and a dissembler, shall evermore hang under the wheele; which kinde of deserving well and receiving ill, we alwayes fallsly charge Fortune withal. For whosoever shall tell any great Man or Magistrate, that he is not Just; the General of an Army, that he is not valiant, and great Ladies that they are not faire; shall never be made a Counseller, a Captaine, or a Courtier. Neither is it sufficient to be wise with a wise Prince, valiant with a valiant, and just with him that is just, for such a one hath no estate in his prosperity; but he must also change with the successor, if he be of contrary qualities; saile with the tyde of the time, and alter forme and condition, as the Estate or the Estates Master changeth: Otherwise how were it possible, that the most base men, and separate from all imitable qualities, could so often attaine to honour and riches, but by such an observant slavish course? These men having nothing else to value themselves by, but a counterfeit kinde of wondring at other men, and by making them believe that all their vices are vertues, and all their dusty actions crystalline, have yet in all ages prospered equally with the most vertuous, if not exceeded them. For according to Menander, *Omnis insipiens arrogantia & plausibus capitur*; *Every foole is wonne with his owne pride, and others flattering applause*: so as whosoever will live altogether out of himselfe, and study other mens humours, and observe them, shall never be unfortunate; and on the contrary, that man which prizeth truth and vertue (except the season wherein he liveth be of all these, and of all sorts of goodnesse fruitful) shall never prosper by the possession or profession thereof. It is also a token of a worldly wise man, not to warre or contend in vaine against the nature of times wherein he liveth: for such a one is often the authour of his own misery; but best it were to follow the advice, which the Pope gave the Bishops of that age, out of *Ovid*, while the Arian Heresie raged:

Ovid. Metam. lib. 1.

Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori.

While fury gallops on the way,
Let no man furies gallop stay.

And if *Cicero* (than whom that world begat not a man of more reputed Judgement had followed the counsell of his brother Quintus, *Potuisset* (saith Petrarch *in lectulo suo mori, potuisset integro condavere sepeliri*; *He might then have died the death of nature, and beene with an untorne and undissevered body buried*; for as *Petrarch* in the same place noteth: *Quid stultius quàm desperantem præsertim de effectu) litibus perpetuis implicari? What more fooliſh than for him that despaires (especially of the effect) to be intangled with endlesse contentions*; Whosoever therefore will set before him Machiavels *two markes to shoot at* (to wit) Riches, and Glory, must set on and take off a back of yron to a weak woodden Bow, that it may fit both the strong and the feeble; for as he that first devised to adde sayls to rowing vessels, did either so proportion them as being fastened aloft, and towards the head of his Mast, he might abide all windes and stormes, or else he sometime or other perished by his owne invention: so that man which prizeth vertue for it selfe, and cannot endure to hoise and strike his sailes, as the divers natures of calmes and stormes require, must cut his sailes and his cloth of meane length and breadth, and content himselfe with a slow and sure navigation, (to wit) a meane and free estate. But of this dispute of Fortune, and the rest, or of whatsoever Lords or Gods, imaginary powers, or causes, the wit (or rather fooliſhnesse) of man hath found out: let us resolve with S. *Paul*, who hath taught us, that there is *but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him*; *and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him*; there are diversities of operations, but God is the same which worketh all in all.

1 Cor. c. 8. v. 6. Cap. 12. v. 6.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of man's estate in his first Creation, and of God's rest.

§. 1.

Of the Image of God, according to which man was first created.

THe creation of all other creatures being finished, the heavens adorned, and the earth replenished, God said, *Let us make man in our owne Image, according to our likeness.* Gen. 1. 26.

Man is the last and most admirable of Gods works to us known: *ingens miraculum homo*; *Man is the greatest wonder* (saith *Plato* out of *Mercurius*:) *Naturæ ardentissimæ artificium*, *The artificial work of the most ardent or fire-like nature* (as saith *Zoroaster*) though the same be meant, not for any excellency externall, but in respect of his internall forme, both in the nature, qualities, and other attributes thereof: in nature, because it hath an essence, immortal, and spirituall; in qualities, because the same was by God created holy and righteous in truth; in other attributes, because Man was made Lord of the world, and of the creatures therein. *Trif. Asel. 2. & de volunt. Dei. Plat. leg. l. 1.*

Sanctius his animal mentisq; capacius altæ
Deerat adhuc: & quod dominari in cætera posset,
Natus homo est.
More holy than the rest, and understanding more,
A living creature wants, to rule all made before:
So man began to be.

Sanctius, quia pars potior immortalis, anima, quia in mortali. In locum Ovid. Met. l. 1. 76.

Of this Image and Similitude of God, there is much dispute among the Fathers, Schoole-men, and late Writers: Some of the Fathers conceive, that man was made after the Image of God, in respect chiefly of Empire and Dominion, as S. *Chrysostome*, *Ambrose*, and some others: which S. *Ambrose* denieth to the woman in these words, *Ut sicut Deus unus, ab eo fieret homo unus, & quomodo ex Deo uno omnia, ita ex uno homine omne genus esset super faciem totius terræ: unus igitur, unum fecit, qui unitatis ejus haberet imaginem*; *That as God is one, one man might be made by him, and that in what manner all things are of one God, likewise of one man the whole kinde should be upon the face of the whole earth: Therefore he being one, made one, that should have the Image of his unity.* But whereas it is gathered out of the following words of the same Verse; that man was after the Image of God in respect of rule and power, it is written *Dominamini* in the plurall number, *and let them rule over the fish in the Sea, &c.* and therefore cannot the woman be excluded. Others conceive, that man is said to be after the Image of God in respect of his immortal soule onely, because as God is invisible, so the soule of man is invisible; as God is immortal and incorporall, so is the soule of man immortal and incorporal; and as there is but one God which governeth the world; so but one soul which governeth the body of man; and as God is wholly in every part of the world, so is the soule of man wholly in every part of the body: *Anima est tota in toto, & tota in qualibet parte*; *The soule is wholly in the whole body, and wholly in every part thereof*, according to *Aristotle*; though *Chalcidius*, and other learned men deny that doctrine; which that it is otherwise than potentially true, all the Aristotelians in the world shall never prove. These and the like arguments do the *Jewes* make (saith *Tostatus*) and these resemblances, between the infinite God, and the finite Man.

The Schoole-men resemble the Minde or Soule of Man to God, in this respect especially; because that as in the Minde there are three distinct powers, or faculties (to wit) Memory, Understanding and Will; and yet all these, being of reall differences, are but one minde: so in God there are three distinct persons, the Father, Son, the holy Ghost, and yet but one God. They also make the Image and Similitude divers; and againe, they distinguish between *Imaginem Dei*, and *ad Imaginem Dei*, and spinne into small threds with subtile distinctions, many times the plainenesse and sincerity of the Scriptures: their wits being like that strong water, that eateth thorow and dissolveth the purest gold. *Victorinus* also maketh the Image of God to bee substantiall, but not the

the similitude: *sed in substantia nomen qualitatis declarativum*; *A word declaring qualitie in the substance.* Out of which words, and that which followeth, it is inferred, that as the image and similitude doe greatly differ, so the sinful soule doth not therefore leave to be the image of God; but it hath not his similitude, except it be holy and righteous. S. *Augustine* also against *Adimantus* the *Manichee* affirmeth, that by sinne, the perfection of this image is lost in man; and in his Retractations maintaineth the same opinion, and also affirmeth that the similitude is more largely taken, than the Image.

But howsoever the Schoolmen and others distinguish, or whatsoever the Fathers conceive, sure I am that S. *Paul* maketh the same sense of the Image, which *Victorinus* doth of the similitude, who saith: *As we have borne the image of the earthly, so shall we bear* 10
1 Cor. 15. 49. *the image of the heavenly*; and it cannot be gathered out of the Scriptures, that the words *Image* and *Similitude* were used but in one sense, and in this place the better to express each other; whatsoever *Lombard* hath said to the contrary. For God knows, what a multitude of meanings the wit of man imagineth to himself in the Scriptures, which neither *Moses*, the *Prophets*, or *Apostles*, ever conceived. Now as *S. Paul* useth the word (Image) for both: so Saint *James* useth the word (Similitude) for both in these
Jam. 3. 9. words: *Therewith bless we God even the Father, and therewith curse we Men, which are made after the similitude of God.* Howsoever therefore S. *Augustine* seemeth, out of a kind of
Ut supra. elegancy in writing, to make some difference: as where he writeth, *Confitemur imaginem in æternitate, similitudinem in moribus inveniri*; *we confesse that this image is found in* 20
Aug. ut sapr. *eternity, but his similitude in manners*, that is, in the spiritual dispositions and qualities of the minde; yet thus he elsewhere speaketh plainly: *Quasi verò possit esse imago aliqua, in qua similitudo non sit: si enim omnino similis non est, procul dubio nec imago est*; *As if* (saith he) *there could be any image, where the similitude is not? no, out of doubt, where there is no likenesse, there is no image.* The very words of the Text make this most manifest, as *Let us make man in our image, according to our likenesse:* which is, Let us make man in our image, that he may be like us: and in the next Verse following, God himselfe maketh it plaine; for there he useth the word (Image) only as thus: *God created the man in his image, in the image of God created he him.* And to take away all dispute or ambiguity, in the first Verse of the fift Chapter, the word (Similitude) is used againe 30
by it selfe, as, *In the day that God created* Adam, *in the likenesse of God made he him.* And
Vers. 10. this similitude S. *Paul Colos.* the third, calleth the Image. *Put on* (saith he) *the new man which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him.* And in *Syracides* it is written, *He made them according to his image.* Now if we may beleeve Saint *Paul* before *Peter Lombard* and other Schoolemen, then it is as manifest as words can make it, that the image and similitude is but the same; for S. *Paul* useth both the words directly
Rom. 1. 23. in one sense. *For they turned the glory of the incorruptible God, to the similitude of the image of a corruptible man.*

Zanch. de op. Dei. l. 3. c. 1. *Zanchius* labours to prove, that man was formed after the image of God, both in body and mind: *Nulla pars in homine quæ non fuerit hujusce imaginis particeps*; *No part in* 40
a man (saith he) *which was not participating Gods image: for God said, Let us make man according to our owne image.* But the soule alone is not man, but the *Hypostasis* or whole Man compounded of body and soule. The body of man (saith he) *is the image of the world, and called therefore Microcosmus*; but the *Idæa* and exemplar of the world was first in God, so that man, according to his body, must needs be the image of God. Against which opinion of this learned man, his owne objection seemeth to me sufficient, where he alleged that it may be said, that *Moses* spake by the figure *Synecdoche*, as when a man is called a mortall man, yet is not the whole man mortall, but the body only: so when God said, Let us make man after our image, he meant the soule of man, and not the body of earth and dust: *Maledictus qui Deitatem ad hominis lineamenta refert* 50
In Gen. (saith Saint *Augustine*:) *Cursed is he that referreth the Deity of God to the lineaments of mans body: Deus enim non est humanæ formæ particeps, neque corpus humanum divinæ* (saith *Philo*;) *God is not partaker of humane form, nor humane body of the forme divine.* The *Hebrew* word for image, is *Tselem*, which signifieth a shadow or obscure resemblance: *In imagine pertransit homo*; *Man passeth away in a shadow*: Let us then know and consider, that God, who is eternall and infinite, hath not any bodily shape or composition; for it is both against his Nature and his Word; an error of the *Anthropomorphitæ*, against the very essence and Majesty of God.

Surely

Surely *Cicero*, who was but a *Heathen*, had yet a more divine underſtanding than theſe groſs Hereticks: *Ad ſimilitudinem Dei propriùs accedebat humana virtus, quàm figura; The vertue which is in man* (ſaith he) *came neerer the ſimilitude of God, than the figure.* For God is a ſpirituall ſubſtance, inviſible, and moſt ſimple; God is a juſt God: God is Mercifull: God is Charity it ſelf, and (in a word) Goodneſs it ſelf, and none elſe ſimply good. And thus much it hath pleaſed God himſelf to teach us, and to make us know of himſelf. What then can be the ſhadow of ſuch a ſubſtance, the image of ſuch a nature, or wherein can man be ſaid to reſemble his unexcogitable power and perfectneſs? certainly, not in Dominion alone: for the Devil is ſaid to be the Prince of this World, and the Kingdom of Chriſt was not thereof, who was the true and perfect image of his Father; neither becauſe man hath an immortall ſoul, and therein the faculties of Memory, Underſtanding, and Will; for the Devils are alſo immortall, and participate thoſe faculties, being called *Dæmones*, becauſe *ſcientes* of Knowledge, and ſubtilty; neither becauſe we are reaſonable creatures, by which we are diſtinguiſhed from beaſts: for who have rebelled againſt God? who have made gods of the vileſt beaſts, of Serpents, of Cats, of Owles, yea, even of ſhamefull parts, of luſts and pleaſures, but reaſonable men? yet do I not condemn the opinion of Saint *Chryſoſtome* and *Ambroſe*, as touching dominion, but that, in reſpect thereof, man was in ſome ſort after the image of God, if we take Dominion, ſuch as it ought to be, that is, accompanied with Juſtice and Piety: for God did not onely make man a Ruler and Governour over the Fiſhes of the Sea, the Fowles of Heaven (or of the aire) and over the Beaſts of the Field; But God gave unto man a dominion over men, he appointed Kings to govern them; and Judges to judge them in equity. Neither do I exclude Reaſon, as it is the ability of Underſtanding. For I do not conceive, that *Irenæus* did therefore call man, the image of God, becauſe he was *animal rationale* onely; but that he underſtood it better, with *Sybilla: Imago mea eſt homo, rectam rationem habens: Man that is endued with right reaſon is ſaid to reſemble God*, (that is) by right reaſon to know and confeſs God his Creatour, and the ſame God to ſerve, love, and obey: and therefore ſaid S. *Auguſtine* (who herein came neerer the Truth) *Fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem & ſimilitudinem ſuam in mente; God made man, in reſpect of the intellect, after his own Image and ſimilitude*; and Reynerius; *Homo, quòd habet mentem, factus eſt ad imaginem Dei; Man was made after the Image of God, in minde*, or *in that he had a minde.*

Eph. 6. 12. Joh. 18. 36. Plat. in Cratol. Oſorius de Juſt. lib. 5. Reyn. de ment.

§. II.

Of the intellectuall minde of man, in which there is much of the Image of God: and that this Image is much deformed by Sin.

BUt *Mens* is not taken here for *anima phyſica*, according to *Ariſtotle*, which is *forma, vel natura hominis: The form or nature of man*; but this faculty or gift of God, called *Mens*, is taken for *prima vis animi, the principall ſtrength of the minde*, or ſoul, *cujus actus eſt perpetua veritatis contemplatio; whoſe act*, exerciſe, or office, *is the perpetuall contemplation of truth*; and therefore it is alſo called *intellectus divinus*, *intellectus contemplativus, & anima contemplativa. A divine underſtanding, and an intellect or minde contemplative. Eſt autem mens noſtra* (ſaith *Cuſanus*) *vis comprehendendi, & totum virtuale ex omnibus comprehendendi virtutibus compoſitum: Our intellectuall minde* (ſaith he) *is a power of comprehending, even the whole, that is in this kinde powerfull, compounded of all the powers of comprehenſion:* unto which *Mercurius* attributeth ſo much (if his meaning accompany his words) that he eſteemeth it to be the very eſſence of God (which was alſo the errour of the *Manichees*, and others) and no otherwiſe ſeparate from God (ſaith he) than the light from the Sun: for this *Mens* or underſtanding (ſaith *Mercurius*) *eſt Deus in hominibus: Is God in men*, or rather (and which I take to be his meaning) is the image of God in man. For, as the Sun is not of the ſame eſſence or nature with the divine light, but a body illightned, and an illumination created; ſo is this *Mens* or underſtanding in men, not of the eſſence of Gods infinite underſtanding, but a power and faculty of our ſoules the pureſt; or the *lumen animæ rationalis*, by the true and eternall light illightned. And this *Mens*, others call *animam animæ*, *The ſoul of the ſoul*, or with Saint *Auguſtine*, the eye of the ſoul, or receptacle of Sapience and divine knowledge, *quæ amorem ſapientiæ tanquam ducem ſequitur, Which followeth*

Pamander. De mente. Idiota. l. 3. Sen. ep. 65. f. & 31. f.

after

after the love of sapience as her guide (saith *Philo*) between which and reason, between which and the mind, called *anima*, between which and that power which the Latines call *animus*, there is this difference. Reason is that faculty by which we judge and discourse; *Anima*, by which we live. Hereof it is said, *Anima corpus animat, id est, vivificat*; *or the soul is that which doth animate the body, that is, giveth it life*: for death is the separation of body and soul; and the same strength (saith *Philo*) which God the great Director hath in the World, the same hath this *Anima*, or mind, or soul in man. *Animus*, is that, by which we will and make election; and to this *Basil* agreeth, which called this *Mens*, or divine understanding, *perspicacem animæ partem, the perceiving part of the mind*, or the light by which the soul discerneth: *dormientium mens, non anima, sopitur, & in furiosis mens extinguitur, anima manet: In men that sleep it is this (mens) or understanding, and not the mind or soul, which resteth*, during which time it is but habitual in wise men, *and in mad men this (Mens) is extinguished, and not the soul*: for mad men do live, though distract.

Therefore this word being often used for the soule giving life, is attributed abusively to mad men, when we say that they are of a distract minde, in stead of a broken understanding: which word (Minde) we use also for opinion, as, I am of this minde, or that minde: and sometimes for mens conditions or virtues, as, He is of an honest minde, or, a man of a just minde: sometimes for affection, as, I do this for my mind's sake; and *Aristotle* sometimes useth this word (*Mens*) for the phantasie, which is the strength of the imagination: sometimes for the knowledge of principles, which we have without discourse: oftentimes for Spirits, Angels and Intelligences: but as it is used in the proper signification, including both the understanding agent and possible, it is described to be a pure, simple, substantial act, not depending upon matter, but having relation to that which is intelligible, as to his first object: or more at large thus; A part or particle of the Soul, whereby it doth understand, not depending upon matter, nor needing any organ, free from passion coming from without, and apt to be dissevered, as, eternall from that which is mortal. Hereof excellently *Mercurius: Anima est imago mentis, mens imago Dei. Deus menti præest, mens animæ, anima corpori*; *The Soul* (meaning that which giveth life) *is the Image of this understanding*, or *Mens*, *and this* (*Mens*) or *understanding is the Image of God. God is President or Ruler over this understanding, this understanding over the Soule, and this Soule over the Body.* This division and distinction out of the *Platonicks* and *Peripateticks*, I leave to the reader to judge of. That, *Mens humana* hath no need of any organ, *Marsilius Ficinus* in his ninth Book of the Soul's immortality, laboureth to prove. *Zanchius* doth not differ from *Ficinus* in words: for (saith he) *Ad facultatem intelligentem exercendam non eget Mens organo*; *tanquam medio, per quod intelligat: quanquam eget objecto in quod intuatur, & ex quo intellectionem concipiat: hoc autem objectum sunt phantasmata, seu rerum à sensibus perceptarum simulachra ad phantasiam prolata: To exercise the faculty of understanding, the minde of man* (saith he) *needeth no instrument, as a meane, by which it may understand: but it needeth an object, whereon to look, and whence to conceive the act of understanding. This object are the phantasmes, or the resemblances of things received from the sense, and carried to the phantasie.* But in effect, his conclusion seemeth to carry a contrary sense, when he maketh the Phantasie, in representing the object to the understanding, to be a corporal *Organum*; neither can it be understood to be an *Organum* of any thing, but of the understanding. And he addeth, that the resemblance of things in mans imagination, are to his understanding and minde, as colours are to the sight: whence it so followeth, that the imagination or phantasie it self is to the faculty of understanding, as the eye is to the faculty of seeing; and as this is an *organum*, so that. Of this question, How the mind in all her actions maketh use of the body, and hath communion with the body, I refer the Reader to a most grave and learned Discourse in the last Reply of M.D. *Bilson*, late Bishop of *Winchester*, unto *Henry Jacob*. However the Truth be determined, we must conclude, that it is neither in respect of reason alone, by which we discourse, nor in respect of the minde it self, by which we live, nor in respect of our souls simply, by which we are immortal, that we are made after the Image of God. But most safely may we resemble our selves to God *in mente*, and in respect of that pure faculty, which is never separate from the contemplation and love of God. Yet this is not all; For Saint *Bernard* maketh a true difference between the nature and faculties of the Minde or Soule, and betweene the infusion of qualities, endowments and gifts of grace, wherewith it is adorned and enriched, which, being

Lib. 5. cap. 5. Zanch. de oper. Dei, part. 3. l. cap. 2.

Pag. 185. & sequent. Ad imaginem Dei creavit illam, id est, sapientia, virtutis, ac bonitatis compotem, qui sese intuitus Creatorem agnosceret sicum, atq; maiorisprogs ingenii, progs; auctoritatis, sibi concessa ratione fruderet. Exam.

being added to the nature, eſſence, and faculties, maketh it altogether to be after the Image of God, whoſe words are theſe: *Non propterea imago Dei eſt, quia ſui meminit Mens, ſeq; intelligit & diligit* (which alſo was the opinion of Saint AUGUSTINE) *ſed quia poteſt meminiſſe, intelligere ac diligere eum à quo facta eſt*, (that is) *The Minde* (or *Mens*) *was not therefore the Image of God, becauſe it remembreth, underſtandeth, and loveth it ſelf, but becauſe it can remember, underſtand, and love God, who created it.* And that this Image may be deformed and made unprofitable, hear BASIL: *Homo ad imaginem & ſimilitudinem Dei factus eſt, peccatum verò imaginis hujus pulchritudinem deformavit, & inutilem reddidit, dum animam corruptis concupiſcentiæ affectibus immerſit: Man was made after the Image and ſimilitude of* GOD, *but ſin hath deformed the beauty of this Image, and made it unprofitable, by drawing our minds into corrupt concupiſcence.*

It is not therefore (as aforeſaid) by reaſon of Immortality, nor in Reaſon, nor in Dominion, nor in any one of theſe by it ſelf, nor in all theſe joyned, by any of which, or by all which we reſemble, or may be called the ſhadow of God, though by reaſon and underſtanding, with the other faculties of the Soule, we are made capable of this print; but chiefly, in reſpect of the habit of Original righteouſneſs, moſt perfectly infuſed by God into the Mind and Soule of man in his firſt Creation. For it is not by nature, nor by her liberality, that we were printed with the ſeale of Gods Image (though Reaſon may be ſaid to be of her gift, which joyned to the ſoul, is a part of the Eſſential Conſtitution of our proper *Species*) but from the bountiful grace of the Lord of all goodneſs, who breathed life into Earth, and contrived within the Trunk of Duſt and Clay, the inimitable hability of his own Piety and righteouſneſs.

So long therefore (for that reſemblance which Dominion hath) do thoſe that are powerful retain the Image of God, as according to his Commandments they exerciſe the Office or Magiſtracy to which they are called, and ſincerely walk in the wayes of God, which in the Scriptures is called, *walking with God*; and all other men ſo long retain this Image, as they feare, love and ſerve God truly, that is, for the love of God alone, and do not bruiſe and deface his Seal by the weight of manifold and voluntary offences, and obſtinate ſins. For the unjuſt minde cannot be after the Image of God, ſeeing God is Juſtice it ſelf; The blood-thirſty hath it not; for God is Charity, and Mercy it ſelf: Falſhood, cunning practice, and ambition, are properties of Satan; and therefore cannot dwell in one ſoul, together with GOD: and to be ſhort, there is no likelihood between pure light and black darkneſs, between beauty and deformity, or between righteouſneſs and reprobation. And though Nature, according to common underſtanding, have made us capable by the power of reaſon, and apt enough to receive this Image of Gods goodneſs, which the ſenſual ſouls of Beaſts cannot perceive; yet were that aptitude natural more inclinable to follow and imbrace the falſe and dure-leſs pleaſures of this Stage-play World, than to become the ſhadow of God by walking after him, had not the exceeding workmanſhip of GOD's Wiſedom, and the liberality of his Mercy, formed eyes to our ſouls, as to our bodies, which, piercing through the impurity of our fleſh, behold the higheſt Heavens, and thence bring Knowledge and Object to the Minde and Soule, to contemplate the ever-during Glory, and termleſs Joy, prepared for thoſe which retain the Image and ſimilitude of their Creator, preſerving undefiled and unrent the garment of the new man, which, after the Image of GOD, is created in Righteouſneſs, and Holineſs, as ſaith Saint *Paul*. Now whereas it is thought by ſome of the Fathers, as by S. *Auguſtine*, with whom S. *Ambroſe* joyneth, that by ſin, the perfection of the Image is loſt, and not the Image it ſelf; both opinions by this diſtinction may be well reconciled (to wit) that the Image of God, in man, may be taken two wayes; for either it is conſidered, according to natural gifts, and conſiſteth therein: namely, to have a reaſonable and underſtanding nature, &c. and in this ſenſe, the Image of God is more loſt by ſin, than the very reaſonable or underſtanding nature &c. is loſt, (or ſin doth not aboliſh and take away theſe natural gifts:) or, the Image of God is conſidered, according to ſupernatural gifts, namely, of Divine grace and heavenly Glory, which is indeed the perfection and accompliſhment of the natural Image; and this manner of ſimilitude and Image of God is wholly blotted out and deſtroyed by ſin.

Gen. 5. 22.

2 Cor. 6. 14.

2 Cor. 3. 9.

S. Ambroſe.

§. III.

§. III.

Of our base and fraile bodies: and that the care thereof shou'd yeeld to the immortall Soule.

THe externall man God formed out of the dust of the Earth, or according to the signification of the word, *Adam*, of *Adamath*, of red Earth, or *ex limo terræ*, out of the slime of the Earth, or a mixed matter of Earth and Water. *Non ex qualibet humo, sed ex ghaphar adamath (id est) ex pinguissima & mollissima: Not that God made an Image or Statue of Clay, but out of Clay, Earth or dust God formed and made flesh, blood, and bone, with all parts of man.*

Arias Mont. de nat. f. 156.

That man was formed of Earth and Dust did *Abraham* acknowledge, when in humble fear he called unto God, to save *Sodome: Let not my Lord now be angry, if I speak, I that am but dust and ashes:* And, *In these Houses of Clay, whose foundation is in the dust, do our souls inhabite*, according to *Job*. And though our own eyes do every where behold the sudden and resistless assaults of death, and Nature assureth us by never-failing experience, and Reason by infallible demonstration, that our times upon the Earth have neither certainty nor durability; that our Bodies are but the Anviles of pain and diseases, and our Minds the Hives of unnumbred cares, sorrows and passions: and that (when we are most glorified) we are but those painted posts, against which Envie and Fortune direct their darts; yet such is the true unhappiness of our condition, and the dark ignorance which covereth the eyes of our understanding, that we onely prize, pamper, and exalt this Vassall and Slave of death, and forget altogether (or onely remember at our cast-away leisure) the imprisoned immortal Soule, which can neither die with the Reprobate, nor perish with the mortal parts of virtuous men: seeing Gods justice in the one, and his goodness in the other is exercised for evermore, as the ever-living subjects of his reward and punishment. But when is it that we examine this great account? Never while we have one vanity left us to spend: we pleade for Titles, till our breath fail us; dig for Riches, while our strength inableth us; exercise malice, while we can revenge; and then when time hath beaten from us both youth, pleasure, and health, and that Nature it self hateth the house of old age, we remember with *Job*, that *we must go the way from whence we shall not return, and that our bed is made ready for us in the dark*; And then, I say, looking over-late into the bottome of our conscience (which Pleasure and Ambition had locked up from us all our lives,) we behold therein the fearful Images of our actions past, and withal this terrible Inscription: *That God will bring every work into judgement, that man hath done under the Sun.*

Gen. 18. 27. Job 4. 27.

Job 10. 21. & 17. 13.

Eccl. 12. 14.

But what examples have ever moved us? what perswasions reformed us? or what threatnings made us afraid? we behold other men's Tragedies plaid before us, we hear what is promised and threatned: but the World's bright glory hath put out the eyes of our minds, and these betraying lights, (with which we onely see) do neither looke up towards termless joyes, nor down towards endless sorrowes, till we neither know, nor can look for any thing else at the World's hands. Of which excellently *Marius Victor:*

Nil hostes, nil dira fames, nil deniq; morbi
Egerunt, fuimus, qui nunc sumus, iisq; periclis
Tentati, nihilo meliores reddimur unquam,
Sub vitiis nullo culparum fine manentes.

Diseases, Famine, Enemies, in us no change have wrought,
What erst we were, we are; still in the same snare caught:
No time can our corrupted manners mend;
In Vice we dwell, in Sin that hath no end.

But let us not flatter our immortal souls herein: for to neglect God all our lives, and know that we neglect him; to offend God voluntarily, and know that we offend him, casting our hopes on the Peace, which we trust to make at parting, is no other than a rebellious presumption, and (that which is the worst of all) even a contemptuous laughing to scorn, and deriding of God, his Laws and Precepts. *Frustra sperant qui sic de misericordia Dei sibi blandiuntur; They hope in vain*, saith BERNARD, *which in this sort flatter themselves with Gods mercy.*

Bern. in Psal. qui habitat.

§. IV.

§. IV.

Of the Spirit of Life, which God breathed into man in his Creation.

IN this frame and carcass God breathed the breath of life; and the man was a living Soul: (that is) God gave a body of Earth and of corruptible matter, a Soul spirituall and incorruptible; not that God had any such bodily instruments as men use, but God breathed the Spirit of Life and Immortality into man, as he breathed his grace daily into such as love and fear him. *The Spirit of God* (saith ELIHU in JOB) *hath made me, and the breath of the Almighty hath given me life: In qua sententia* (saith RABANUS) *vitanda est paupertas sensus carnalis, ne forte putemus Deum, vel manibus corporeis de limo formâsse corpus hominis, vel faucibus aut labiis suis inspirâsse in faciem formati, ut vivere possit & spiraculum vitæ habere: Nam & Propheta cum ait, Manus tuæ fecerunt me, &c. Tropica hac locutione magis quàm propria, (id est) juxta consuetudinem, qua solent homines operari, loquutus est: In which sentence* (saith he) *the beggarliness of carnal sense is to be avoided, least perhaps we should think, either that God with bodily hands made mans body of slime, or breathed with jaws or lips upon his face (being formed) that he might live, and have the Spirit of life: for the Prophet also when he saith; Thy hands have made me, spake this Tropically, rather than properly (that is) according to the custome which men use in working. Quantum est periculi his, qui Scripturas sensu corporeo legunt? In what danger are they that reade the Scriptures in a carnal sense?* By this breath was infused into man, both life and soule, and therefore this (Soule) the Philosophers call *Animam, quæ vivificat corpus, & animat; Which doth animate and give life to the body. The inspiration of the Almighty giveth understanding,* saith JOB; and this spirit, which God breathed into man, which is the reasonable soule of man, returneth againe to God that gave it, as the body returneth unto the Earth, out of which it was taken; according to *Ecclesiastes: And dust shall returne to the Earth, out of which it was taken, and the spirit shall return to God that gave it.* Neither is this word (Spirit) usually otherwise taken in the Scriptures, than for the soule; as when *Stephen* cried unto God: *Domine, suscipe spiritum meum; Lord Jesus receive my spirit:* and in S. JOHN, *And Jesus bowed his head and gave up the Ghost,* or Spirit; (which was) that his life and soule left his body dead. And that the immortall soule of man differeth from the Soules of beasts, the manner of creation maketh it manifest: for it is written, *Let the waters bring forth in abundance every creeping thing, and let the Earth bring forth the living thing, according to his kinde, the beast of the Earth, &c.* But of man it is written, *Let us make man in our owne Image, &c.* and further, that *the Lord breathed in his face the breath of life.* Wherefore, as from the Water and Earth were those creatures brought forth, and thence received life; so shall they again be dissolved into the same first matter, whence they were taken: but the life of breath everlasting, which God breathed into man, shall according to *Ecclesiastes, return again to God that gave it.*

Job 33.4.
Eccles. 12.7.
Acts 7.50.
John 9.30.
Gen. 1.20. 24.26.
Gen. 2.7.
Eccl. 12.7.

§. V.

That man is (as it were) a little World: with a digression touching our mortality.

MAN, thus compounded and formed by God, was an abstract or model, or brief Story of the Universal: in whom God concluded the Creation, and work of the World, and whom he made the last and most excellent of his Creatures, being internally endued with a divine understanding, by which he might contemplate and serve his Creator, after whose image he was formed, and endued with the powers and faculties of Reason and other abilities, that thereby also he might govern and rule the World, and all other God's creatures therein. And whereas God created three sorts of living natures, (to wit) Angelical, Rational, and Brutal; giving to Angels an intellectual, and to Beasts a sensual nature, he vouchsafed unto Man, both the intellectual of Angels, the sensitive of Beasts, and the proper rational belonging unto man: and therefore (saith GREGORY NAZIANZENE,) *Homo est utriusque naturæ vinculum, Man is the bond and chaine which tieth together both Natures:* and because in the little frame of man's bodie there is a representation of the Universal, and (by allusion) a kinde of participation of all the parts there, therefore was man called *Microcosmos,* or the little World. *Deus igitur hominem factum, velut alterum quendam mundum,*

Ar. Phys. l. 8. c. 2. 1. 17. f.
Greg. Naz. Epist. Omnis in homine creatura, & cælum & terra.
Aug. l. qu. 83. 4. 67. retr. l. 1. c. 2.

dum, in brevi magnum, atq; exiguo totum, in terris ſtatuit; God therefore placed in the Earth the man whom he had made, as it were another World; the great and large World in the ſmall and little World: for out of the Earth and Duſt was formed the fleſh of man, and therefore heavie and lumpiſh: the bones of his body we may compare to the hard Rockes and Stones, and therefore ſtrong and durable; of which OVID:

Ovid. Met. l. 1.

Inde genus durum ſumus, experienſq; laborum,
Et documenta damus qua ſimus origine nati:

From thence our Kind hard-hearted is, enduring pain and care,
Approving, that our bodies of a ſtony nature are.

His bloud, which diſperſeth it ſelf by the branches of veines through all the body, may be reſembled to thoſe waters, which are carryed by Brooks and Rivers over all the Earth; his breath to the Aire, his naturall heat to the incloſed warmth which the Earth hath in it ſelf, which, ſtirred up by the heat of the Sun, aſſiſteth Nature in the ſpeedier procreation of thoſe varieties, which the Earth bringeth forth; Our radicall moiſture, Oyl, or Balſamum (whereon the naturall heat feedeth and is maintained) is reſembled to the fat and fertility of the Earth; the hairs of mans body, which adornes or over-ſhadowes it, to the graſs, which covereth the upper face and skin of the Earth; our generative power, to Nature, which produceth all things; our determinations, to the light, wandering and unſtable clouds, carryed every where with uncertain winds; our eyes, to the light of the Sun and Moon; and the beauty of our youth, to the flowers of the Spring, which, either in a very ſhort time, or with the Suns heat, dry up and wither away, or the fierce puffes of wind blow them from the ſtalkes; the thoughts of our mind, to the motion of Angels; and our pure underſtanding (formerly called *Mens*, and that which alwayes looketh upwards) to thoſe intellectuall natures, which are alwayes preſent with God; and laſtly our immortall ſoules (while they are righteous) are by God himſelf beautified with the title of his own Image and ſimilitude. And although, in reſpect of God, there is no man juſt, or good, or righteous: for *in Angelis deprehenſa eſt ſtultitia, Behold, he found folly in his Angels* (ſaith *Job*) yet with ſuch a kind of difference, as there is between the ſubſtance and the ſhadow, there may be found a goodneſs in man: which God being pleaſed to accept, hath therefore called man, the image and ſimilitude of his own righteouſneſs. In this alſo is the little World of man compared, and made more like the univerſall (man being the meaſure of all things; *Homo eſt menſura omnium rerum*, ſaith *Ariſtotle* and *Pythagoras*) that the four Complections reſemble the four Elements, and the ſeven Ages of man the ſeven Planets: Whereof our infancie is compared to the *Moon*, in which we ſeem onely to live and grow, as Plants; the ſecond Age to *Mercurie*, wherein we are taught and inſtructed; our third Age to *Venus*, the dayes of Love, Deſire, and Vanity; the fourth to the *Sun*, the ſtrong, flouriſhing, and beautifull age of mans life; the fifth to *Mars*, in which we ſeek honour and victory, and in which our thoughts travail to ambitious ends; the ſixth Age is aſcribed to *Jupiter*, in which we begin to take accompt of our times, judge of our ſelves, and grow to the perfection of our underſtanding; the laſt and ſeventh to *Saturn*, wherein our dayes are ſad and over-caſt, and in which we find by dear and lamentable experience, and by the loſs which can never be repaired, that of all our vain paſſions and affections paſt, the ſorrow onely abideth: Our attendants are ſickneſſes, and variable infirmities, and by how much the more we are accompanied with plenty, by ſo much the more greedily is our end deſired, whom when *Time* hath made unſociable to others, we become a burthen to our ſelves: being of no other uſe, than to hold the riches we have from our Succeſſors. In this time it is, when (as aforeſaid) we, for the moſt part, and never before, prepare for our eternall habitation, which we paſſe on unto with many ſighes, grones, and ſad thoughts, and in the end, by the workmanſhip of death, finiſh the ſorrowfull buſineſs of a wretched life; towards which we alwayes travell both ſleeping and waking: neither have thoſe beloved companions of honour and riches any power at all to hold us any one day, by the glorious promiſe of entertainments; but by what crooked path ſoever we walk, the ſame leadeth on directly to the houſe of death, whoſe doors lye open at all hours, and to all perſons. For this tyde of mans life, after it once turneth and declineth, ever runneth with a perpetuall Ebbe and falling Stream, but never floweth again: our Leaf once fallen, ſpringeth no more, neither

Job 4. 18.

Ariſt. 10. Met. c. 1. f.

neither doth the Sun or the Summer adorn us again, with the garments of new Leaves and Flowers.

Redditur arboribus florens revirentibus ætas,
Ergo non homini, quod fuit antè, redit.

To which I give this ſenſe.

The Plants and Trees made poor and old
By Winter envious,
The Spring-time bounteous
Covers again from ſhame and cold:
But never man repair'd again
His youth and beauty loſt,
Though Art, and care, and coſt,
Doe promiſe Natures help in vain.

And of which,

CATULLUS EPIGRAM. 53.
Soles occidere & redire poſſunt:
Nobis cùm ſemel occidit brevis lux,
Nox eſt perpetua una dormienda.

The Sun may ſet and riſe:
But we contrariwiſe
Sleep after our ſhort light
One everlaſting night.

For if there were any baiting place, or reſt, in the courſe or race of mans life, then according to the doctrine of the *Academicks*, the ſame might alſo perpetually be maintained; but as there is a continuance of motion in naturall living things, and as the ſap and juyce, wherein the life of Plants is preſerved, doth evermore aſcend or deſcend; ſo is it with the life of man, which is alwayes either increaſing towards ripeneſſe and perfection, or declining and decreaſing towards rottenneſs and diſſolution.

§. VI.

Of the free power, which man had in his firſt Creation, to diſpoſe of himſelf.

THeſe be the miſeries which our firſt Parents brought on all Mankind, unto whom God in his creation gave a free and unconſtrained will, and on whom he beſtowed the liberall choice of all things, with one onely prohibition, to try his gratitude and obedience. God ſet before him, a mortall and immortall Life, a nature celeſtiall and terrene, and (indeed) God gave man to himſelf, to be his own Guide, his own Workman, and his own Painter, that he might frame or deſcribe unto himſelf what he pleaſed, and make election of his own form. *God made man in the beginning* (ſaith SIRACIDES) *and left him in the hands of his own counſel.* Such was the liberality of God, and mans felicity: whereas beaſts, and all other creatures reaſonleſs, brought with them into the World (ſaith *Lucilius*) and that even when they firſt fell from the bodies of their Dams, the nature, which they could not change; and the ſupernall Spirits or Angels were from the beginning, or ſoon after, of that condition, in which they remain in perpetuall eternity. But (as aforeſaid) God gave unto man all kind of Seeds and Grafts of life (to wit) the vegative life of Plants, the ſenſuall of Beaſts, the rationall of Man, and the intellectuall of Angels; whereof which ſoever he took pleaſure to plant and cultive, the ſame ſhould futurely grow in him, and bring forth fruit, agreeable to his own choice and plantation. This freedom of the firſt man *Adam*, and our firſt Father, was ænigmatically deſcribed by *Aſclepius Athenienſis* (ſaith *Mirandula*) in the perſon and Fable of *Proteus*, who was ſaid, as often as he pleaſed, to change his ſhape. To the ſame end were all thoſe celebrated *Metamorphoſes* among the Pythagorians, and ancient Poets, wherein it was fained, that men were transformed into divers ſhapes of beaſts, thereby to ſhew the change of mens conditions, from Reaſon to Brutality, from Vertue to Vice, from Meekneſs to Cruelty, and from Juſtice to Oppreſſion. For by the lively Image of other creatures did thoſe *Ancients* repreſent the variable paſſions, and affections of mortall men; as by Serpents were ſignified Deceivers; by Lyons, Oppreſſors, and cruell men; by Swine, Men given over to luſt and ſenſuality; by Wolves, ravening, and greedy men; which alſo Saint *Matthew* reſembleth to falſe Prophets, *which come to you in ſheepes clothing, but inwardly they are ravening Wolves:* by the images of ſtones and ſtocks, fooliſh and ignorant Men; by Vipers, ungratefull Men: of which St. JOHN BAPTIST, *O ye generation of Vipers, &c.*

Eccl. 15. 14.

Matth. 7. 15.

Matth. 3. 7.

§. VII.

Of Gods ceasing to create any more: and of the cause thereof, because the Universall created was exceeding good.

IN this work of Man, God finished the Creation; not that God laboured as a man, and therefore rested: for God commanded, and it was finished, *Cui voluisse est fecisse; With whom, to will is to make,* saith *Beda.* Neither did God so rest, that he left the World made, and the Creatures therein to themselves: for *my Father worketh to this day* (saith *Christ*) *and I work*; but God rested (that is) he created no new *species* or kinds of creatures, but (as aforesaid) gave unto man a power generative, and so to the rest of living creatures, and to Plants and Flowers their seeds in themselves; and commanded man to multiply and fill the Earth, and the Earth and Sea to bring forth creatures according to their severall kinds: all which being finished, God saw that his workes were good; not that he foreknew not, and comprehended not the beginning and end before they were; for God made every Plant of the field before it was in the Earth; but he gave to all things which he had created the name of good, thereby to teach men, that from so good a God there was nothing made, but that which was perfect good, and from whose simple purity and from so excellent a cause there could proceed no impure or imperfect effect. For man having a free will and liberall choice, purchased by disobedience his own death and mortality, and for the cruelty of mans heart, was the Earth afterward cursed, and all creatures of the first Age destroyed, but the righteous man *Noah* and his Family, with those creatures which the Ark contained, reserved by God to repleniſh the Earth.

Joh. 5. 17.

Gen. 1. 28. 22. 24.

CHAP. III.

Of the place of Paradise.

§. I.

That the seat of Paradise is greatly mistaken: and that it is no marvell that men should erre.

CONcerning the first Habitation of man, we reade, that *the Lord God planted a Garden Eastward in Eden, and there he put the man whom he made,* GEN. 2. 6. Of this seat and place of *Paradise*, all Ages have held dispute; and the opinions and judgments have been in effect, as divers, among those that have written upon this part of *Genesis*, as upon any one place therein, seeming most obscure: some there are, that have conceived the being of the terrestriall *Paradise*, without all regard of the Worlds Geographie, and without any respect of the East and West, or any consideration of the place where *Moses* wrote, and from whence he directed (by the quarters of the Heavens) the way how to find out and judge, in what Region of the World this Garden was by God planted, wherein he was exceeding respective and precise. Others, by being themselves ignorant in the *Hebrew*, followed the first Interpretation, or trusting to their own judgments, understood one place for another; and one Errour is so fruitfull, as it begetteth a thousand Children, if the licentiousnesse thereof be not timely restrained. And thirdly, those Writers which gave themselves to follow and imitate others, were in all things so observant Sectators of those Masters, whom they admired and beleeved in, as they thought it safer to condemn their own understanding, than to examine theirs. For (saith *Vadianus* in his Epistle of *Paradise*) *Magnos errores, magnorum virorum authoritate persuasi, transmittimus; We passe over many grosse errours, by the authority of great men led and and perswaded.* And it is true, that many of the Fathers were far wide from the understanding of this place. I speak it not, that I my self dare presume to censure them, for I reverence both their Learning and their Pietie, and yet not bound to follow them any further, then they are guided by truth: for they were men; *Et humanum est errare.* And to the end that no man should be proud of himself, GOD hath distributed unto men such a proportion of Knowledge, as the wisest may behold in themselves their own weakenesse:

Nulli

Nulli unquam dedit omnia Deus; *God never gave the knowledge of all things to any one.* Saint *Paul* confeſt that he knew not, whether he were taken up into the third Heaven in the fleſh, or out of the fleſh; and Chriſt himſelf acknowledgeth thus much, that neither Men, nor Angels knew of the latter day; and therefore, ſeeing knowledge is infinite, it is God (according to S. *Jude*) who is only wiſe. *Sapientia ubi invenitur*, (ſaith JOB) *but where is wiſdom found? and where is the place of underſtanding? man knoweth not the price thereof, for it is not found in the Land of the living.* And therefore ſeeing GOD found folly in his Angels, mens judgements (which inhabit in houſes of Clay) cannot be without their miſtakings: and ſo the Fathers, and other learned men, excuſable in particulars, eſpecially in thoſe whereupon our ſalvation dependeth not.

2 *Cor.* 12. 2. *Mat.* 24. 36. *Jude Ep. v.* 27. *Job* 28. 12, 13. 4. 18.

§. II.

A recitall of ſtrange opinions touching Paradiſe.

NOw touching *Paradiſe*, firſt it is to be enquired, whether there were a *Paradiſe*, or no? or whether *Moſes* deſcription were altogether myſtical, and allegorical? as *Origen*, *Philo*, *Fran. Georgius*, with others have affirmed; and that under the names of thoſe four Rivers, *Piſon*, *Gehon*, *Hiddekel*, and *Perath*, *the Tree of Life*, *and the Tree of Knowledge*, there were delivered unto us other myſteries and ſignifications; as, that by the four Rivers were meant the four Cardinal vertues, *Juſtice*, *Temperance*, *Fortitude*, and *Prudence*; or (by other) *Oyl*, *Wine*, *Milke* and *Hony*. This Allegorical underſtanding of *Paradiſe* by *Origen* divulged, was again by *Franciſcus Georgius* received (ſaith *Sixtus Senenſis*;) whoſe frivilous imaginations *Sixtus* himſelf doth fully and learnedly anſwer, in the 34. Annotation of his fift Book, *fol.* 338. the laſt Edition. *Bartaſ. ſem. 2. l.* 1. 143.

S. *Ambroſe* alſo leaned wholly to the Allegoricall conſtruction, and ſet *Paradiſe* in the third Heaven, and in the vertues of the mind, *& in noſtro principali*, which is, as I conceive it, *in mente*, or in our ſoules: to the particulars whereof he alludeth in this ſort. By the place or garden of *Paradiſe*, was meant the ſoul or mind; by *Adam*, *Mens*, or Underſtanding: by *Eve*, the Senſe: by the *Serpent*, Delectation; by the *Tree* of good and evil, Sapience; & by the reſt of the Trees, the vertues of the mind, or in the mind planted, or from thence ſpringing. Notwithſtanding all which, upon the firſt of the *Corin. c.* 6. he in direct words alloweth both of a celeſtiall and terreſtriall *Paradiſe*; the one into which S. *Paul* was wrapt; the other, into which *Adam* was put by God. *Aug. Chryſamenſis* was of opinion, that a *Paradiſe* had been, but that there was not now any mark thereof on the earth: the ſame being not only defaced, but withall the places now not ſo much as exiſting. To which *Luther* ſeemeth to adhere. *Amb. de Parad.*

The *Manichees* alſo underſtood, that by *Paradiſe* was meant the whole Earth; to which opinion, *Vadianus* inclineth, as I conceive his words, in two ſeverall places. Firſt, upon this: *Fill the earth*, Gen. 10. Of which he gives this judgment. *Hoc ipſo etiam quod dixit, Replete terram, dominamini univerſis animantibus, ſubjicite terram, clariſſimè docet, totam terram extantem, & omnigenis (ut tum erat) fructibus conſitam, ſedem & hortum illum* Adæ, *& poſteritatis futuræ fuiſſe*; *These words* (ſaith he) *in which God ſaid, Bring forth fruit and multiply, and fill the earth, and ſubdue it, and rule over every creature, do cleerly ſhew, that the Univerſall earth ſet or filled with all ſorts of fruits (as then it was) was the garden and ſeat of* ADAM, *and of his future poſterity.* And afterward he acknowledgeth the place, out of the *Acts Cap.* 17. *Apoſtolus ex uno ſanguine omne genus humanum ideo factum docet, ut habitarent ſuper univerſam faciem terræ: tota igitur terra Paradiſus ille erat*; *The Apoſtle* (ſaith he) *teacheth, that God hath made of one bloud all mankind, to dwell over all the face of the earth: and therefore all the earth* (ſaith he) *was that Paradiſe.* Which conjectures I will anſwer in order. *Goropius Becanus* differeth not much from this opinion, but yet he acknowledgeth that *Adam* was firſt planted by God in one certain place, and peculiar Garden; which place *Goropius* findeth neer the River of Aceſines, in the confines of India. *Verſ.* 25.

Tertullian, *Bonaventure*, and *Durandus*, make *Paradiſe* under the Equinoctiall, and *Poſtellus*, quite contrary, under the North pole: the Chaldæans alſo for the moſt part, and all their Sectators, followed the opinion of *Origen*, or rather *Origen* theirs, who would either make *Paradiſe* a figure, or Sacrament only, or elſe would have it ſeated out of this ſenſible world, or raiſed into ſome high and remote Region of the Ayr. *Strabus*, and *Rabanus* *Bart.* 16. 126.

Bed. in Gen. Pet. Comeſt. l. 1. cap. 3. Moſes Barc. de Par.

Rabanus, were both ſick of this vanity, with *Origen*, and *Philo*: ſo was our venerable *Beda*, and *Peter Comeſtor*, and *Moſes Barcephas* the Syrian, tranſlated by *Maſius*. But as *Hopkins* ſayes of *Philo Judeus*, that he wondred, *Quo malo genio afflatus*; *By what evil Angel he was blown up into this errour*: ſo can I not but greatly marvel at the learned men, who ſo groſſely and blindly wandred; ſeeing *Moſes*, and after him the Prophets, do ſo plainly deſcribe this place, by the Region in which it was planted, by the Kingdoms and Provinces bordering it, by the Rivers which watered it, and by the points of the Compaſſe upon which it lay, in reſpect of *Judæa*, or *Canaan*.

Noviomagus alſo upon *Beda*, *De naturâ rerum*, beleeveth that all the Earth was taken for *Paradiſe*,, and not any one place. For the whole Earth (ſaith he) hath the ſame beauty aſcribed to *Paradiſe*. He addeth, that the Ocean was that Fountain, from whence the four Rivers, *Piſon*, *Gehon*, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*, had their beginning: for he could not think it poſſible, that theſe Rivers of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Tigris*, and *Euphrates* (whereof the one ran through *India*, the other through *Egypt*, and the other through *Meſopotamia*, and *Armenia*) could riſe out of one Fountain, were it not out of the Fountain of the Ocean.

§. III.

That there was a true locall Paradiſe Eaſtward, in the Countrey of Eden.

Gen. cap. 2.

TO the firſt therefore, that ſuch a place there was upon the earth, the words of *Moſes* make it manifeſt, where it is written, *And the Lord God planted a Garden Eaſtward in Eden, and there he put the man whom he had made*: and howſoever the vulgar tranſlation, called *Jeromes* tranſlation, hath converted this place thus, *Plantaverat Dominus Deus Paradiſum voluptatis à principio*; *The Lord God planted a Paradiſe of pleaſure from the beginning*; putting the word (*pleaſure*) for *Eden*, and (*from the beginning*) for *Eaſtward*: it is manifeſt, that in this place *Eden* is the proper name of a Region. For what ſenſe hath this tranſlation (ſaith our *Hopkins*, in his Treatiſe of *Paradiſe*) that he planted a Garden in pleaſure, or that a River went out of pleaſure to water the Garden: But the ſeventy Interpreters call it *Paradiſum Edenis*, *the Paradiſe of Eden*, and ſo doth the *Chaldæan* Paraphraſt truly take it for the proper name of a place, and for a Noune appellative; which Region, in reſpect of the fertility of the ſoyle, of the many beautiful Rivers & goodly Woods, and that the Trees (as in the *Indies*) do alwayes keep their leaves, was called *Eden*, which ſignifieth in the *Hebrew*, pleaſantneſs, or delicacie, as the *Spaniards* call the Country, oppoſite to the Iſle of *Cuba*, *Florida*: and this is the miſtaking, which may end the diſpute, as touching the double ſence of the word, that as *Florida* was a Countrey, ſo called for the flouriſhing beauty thereof; ſo was *Eden* a *Region* called pleaſure, or delicacy, for its pleaſure, or delicacy: and as *Florida* ſignifieth flouriſhing; ſo *Eden* ſignifieth pleaſure: and yet both are the proper names of Countries; for *Eden* being the proper name of a Region, (called pleaſure in the *Hebrew*) and *Paradiſe* being the choiſe ſeate of all that Region, *Paradiſe* was truly the Garden of *Eden*, and truly the Garden of pleaſure.

Now, for *Eaſtward*, to tranſlate it, *from the beginning*, it is alſo contrary to the tranſlation of the Seventy; to the ancient Greek Fathers, as *Baſil*, *Chryſoſtome*, *Theodoret*, *Gregorie*; and to the *Rabines*, as *Ramban*, *Rabbi Salomon*, *R. Abraham*, and *Chimchi*; and of the Latines, *Severinus*, *Damaſcenus*, *&c.* who plainly take *Eden* for the proper name of a Region, and ſet the word (*Eaſtward*) for *ab initio*: for *Damaſcens* own words are theſe, *Paradiſus eſt locus Dei manibus in Eden ad Orientem mirabiliter conſitus*; *Paradiſe is a place, marvellouſly planted by the hands of God, in Eden, toward the Eaſt.*

And after all theſe Fathers, *Guilhelmus Pariſienſis*, a great learned man, and *Sixtus Senenſis*, of latter times, do both underſtand theſe words of *Eden* and of the *Eaſt*, contrary to the vulgar Tranſlation; *Pariſienſis*, as indifferent to both, and *Sixtus Senenſis*, directly againſt the vulgar: of which theſe are their own words: *After this I will begin to ſpeak of Paradiſe terreſtrial, which God planted from the beginning, or Eaſtward, &c. Poſt hæc incipiam loqui de Paradiſo terreſtri, quem plantâſſe Deum ab initio vel ad Orientem &c.* And then *Senenſis*; MOSES *enim clariſſimè prodit, Paradiſum à Deo conſitum in regione terræ Orientalis, quæ dicitur Heden: Heden autem eſſe proprium nomen apparet ex quarto capite Gen. ubi legimus* CHAM *habitâſſe ad Orientalem plagam Heden*; For MOSES (ſaith

(saith he) *doth shew most clearly, that Paradise was planted of God in a Region of the East Countrie, which is called Heden: but that Heden is a proper name, it appeareth by the fourth Chapter of Genesis, where we reade, that* CHAM *dwelt on the East border of Heden.* PERERIUS endeavoureth to qualifie this Translation; for this particle (saith he) *ab initio*, is referred to all the time of the Creation, and not to the very first day; alledging this place of Christ, that although the Devil was said to be a Man-slayer from the beginning, yet that was meant but after the sixth day. But surely, as I think (referring my self to better judgement) the Devill was from the instant of his fall a Man-slayer in disposition, though he had not whereon to practise till mans Creation. And for conclusion, S. *Hierome* (if that be his translation) adviseth himself better in the end of the third Chapter of *Genesis*, converting the word (*Eden*) by (*antè*) and not (*à principio*) as, *God did set a Cherubin before the Garden of Eden*; *Collocavit Deus ante Paradisum voluptatis Cherubin*; and *Pererius* himself acknowledgeth, that this is the true sense of this place, precisely taken, according to the Hebrew. *Posuit à parte Orientali horti Heden, Cherubin*; *He set on the East-side of the Garden of Heden, a Cherubin.* BECANUS affirmeth, that the *Hebrew* word (*Be*) signifieth (with) as well as (in) and so the Text beareth this sense; That God planted a Garden with pleasure (that is to say) full of pleasure. But *Becanus* followeth this construction, onely to the end, to find *Paradise* upon the River of *Asecines*: for there he hath heard of the *Indian* Fig-tree in great abundance, which he supposeth to be the Tree of knowledge, of good and evil, and would therefore draw *Paradise* to the Fig-Tree: which conceit of his I will answer hereafter.

Verse. 16.

John 8. 44.

Gen. 3. 24.

Now, because *Paradise* was seated by *Moses* toward the East, thence came the custom of praying toward the East, and not by imitation of the *Chaldæans*: and therefore all our Churches are built East and West, as to the point where the Sun riseth in *March*, which is directly over *Paradise* (saith *Damascenus*:) affirming, that we alwayes pray towards the East, as looking towards *Paradise*, whence we were cast out; and yet the Temple of *Solomon* had their Priests and Sacrifices, which turned themselves in their service and divine ceremonies, alwayes towards the West, thereby to avoid the superstition of the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans*.

But because East and West are but in respect of places; (for although *Paradise* were East from *Judea*, yet it was West from *Persia*) and the serving of God is every where in the world; the matter is not great which way we turn our faces, so our hearts stand right, other than this, that we who dwell West from *Paradise*, and pray turning our selves towards the East, may remember thereby to beseech God, that as by *Adams* fall we have lost the *Paradise* on earth; so by Christs death and passion we may be made partakers of the *Paradise* celestial, & the Kingdom of Heaven. To conclude, I conceive, that there was no other mystery in adding the word (East) to *Eden* by *Moses*, than to shew, that the Region of *Eden*, in which *Paradise* was, lay Eastward from *Judea* and *Canaan*: for the Scriptures alwayes called the people of those Nations, the Sons of the East which inhabited *Arabia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Chaldea*, and *Persia*: of which *Ovid*.

Eurus ad Auroram, Nabataeaq; regna recessit,
Persidaq; & radiis juga subdita matutinis

The East wind with *Aurora* hath a biding
Among th' *Arabian* and the *Persian* Hills,
Whom *Phœbus* first salutes at his first rising.

And if it be objected, that *Hieremy* the Prophet, threatning the destruction of *Hierusalem*, doth often make mention of *Northern* Nations, it is to be noted, that the *North* is there named, in respect of those Nations that followed *Nabuchodonozer*, and of whom the greatest part of his Army was compounded; not that *Babylon* it self stood *North* from *Hierusalem*, though inclining from the *East* towards the *North*.

Now to the difference of this Translation, *Peter Comestor* giveth best satisfaction: for he useth the word, *From the beginning, that is, from the first part of the World*, (*à principio*) *id est*, (saith he) *à prima orbis parte*; and afterward he affirmeth, that *à principio*, and *ad Orientem*, have the same signification: *From the beginning and East-ward is all one*; *à principio idem est quod ad Orientem*.

But to return to the proof of this place, and that this story of Mankind was not Allegorical, it followeth in the Text of the 2. Chap. & 9. Verse, in these words: *For out of the ground made the Lord God to growe every Tree pleasant to the sight; and good for meat &c.* so as first it appeared that God created *Adam* else-where as in the World at large; and then *put him into the Garden*; and the end why, is expresst: *that he might dress it and keepe*

Vers. 18. *keep it*; *Paradise* being a Garden or Orchard filled with Plants, and Trees, of the most excellent kinds, pleasant to behold, and (withal) good for meat: which proveth that *Paradise* was a terrestrial Garden, garnished with Fruits, delighting both the eye and taste. And to make it more plain, and to take away all opinion of Allegorical construction, he affirmeth that it was watered and beautified with a River; expressing also the Region, out of which this River sprang, which he calleth *Heden*; and that *Heden* is also a Country neer unto *Charon* in *Mesopotamia*, *Ezekiel* witnesseth.

Vers. 10. Ezek. 27. 23.

But to all these Cabalists, which draw the Truth and Story of the Scriptures into Allegories, *Epiphanius* answereth in these words: *Si Paradisus non est sensibilis, non est etiam fons, si non est fons, non est flumen, si non est flumen, non sunt quatuor principia, non Pison, non Gehon, non Tigris, nec Euphrates, non est ficus, non folia, non comedit* EVA *de arbore, non est* ADAM, *non sunt homines, sed veritas jam fabula est, & omnia ad Allegorias revocantur*; *If Paradise be not sensible, then there was no fountain, and then no river; if no river, then no such four heads or branches, and then not any such river, as Prison, or Gehon, Tigris, or Euphrates, no such fig-tree, or fruit, or leaves;* EVE *then did not eat of the fruit, neither was there any* ADAM, *or any man, the truth was but a fable, and all things esteemed are called back into Allegories.* Words to the same effect hath S. *Hierome* upon DANIEL: *Contitescant eorum deliramenta, qui umbras & imagines in veritate sequentes, ipsam conantur evertere veritatem, ut Paradisum & flumina, & arbores putent Allegoriæ Legibus se debere subruere: Let the dotage of them be silent, who following shadows and images in the Truth, endeavour to subvert the Truth it self, and think that they ought to bring Paradise, and the Rivers, & the Trees under the Rules of Allegory.*

Furthermore, by the continuation and order of the Story, is the place made more manifest. For, God gave *Adam* free liberty to eat of every Tree of the Garden, (the Tree of knowledge excepted) which Trees *Moses* in the ninth verse saith that they were good to eat; meaning the fruit which they bare. Besides, God left all beasts to ADAM to be named, which he had formerly made; and these beasts were neither in the third heaven, nor neer the circle of the Moon, nor beasts in imagination: for if all these things were Enigmaticall or mystical, the same might also be said of the creation of all things. And *Ezechiel*, speaking of the glory of the Assyrian Kings, useth this speech: *All the Trees of Eden, which were in the Garden of God, envied him*; which proveth both *Eden*, and *Paradise* therein seated, to be terrestrial: for the Prophets made no imaginary comparisons. But *Moses* wrote plainly, and in a simple stile, fit for the capacities of ignorant men, and he was more large and precise in the description of *Paradise*, than in any other place of Scripture; of purpose to take away all scruple from the incredulity of future ages, whom he knew (out of the gift of Prophecy) to be apt to fabulous inventions, and that if he had not described both the Region and the Rivers, and how it stood from *Canaan*, many of the unbelieving Israelites, and others after them, would have misconstrued this Story of Mankinde. And is it likely, there would have been so often mention made of *Paradise* in the Scriptures, if the same had been an *Utopia*? For we finde that the Valley, wherein *Sodome* and *Gomorrah* stood, (sometimes called Pentapolis, of the five principal Cities therein) was before the destruction (which their unnatural sin purchased) compared to the *Paradise* of the Lord, and like to the Land of Egypt toward Zoar: In like manner was Israel resembled to the *Paradise* of GOD, before the Babylonians wasted it: which proveth plainly, that *Paradise* it self exceeded in beauty and fertility, and that these places had but a resemblance thereof: being compared to a seat and soyle of far exceeding excellency.

Ezek. 31. 9.

Gen. 13. 10.

Besides, whence had *Homer* his invention of *Alcinous* Gardens, as *Justin Martyr* noteth, but out of *Moses* his description of *Paradise*? *Gen.* 2. and whence are their praises of the Elizian fields, but out of the story of *Paradise*? to which also appertain those Verses of the Golden Age in *Ovid*:

Ovid. Metam. l. 2.

Ver erat æternum, placidiq; tepentibus auris
Mulcebant Zephyrinatus sine semine flores.

The joyful Spring did ever last, | Sweet flowers by his gentle blast,
And Zephyrus did breed | Without the help of Seed.

And it is manifest, that *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Pindarus*, *Hesiodus*, and *Homer*, and after him, *Ovid*, one out of another, and all these together with *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, and their Secta-

Sectatours, did greatly enrich their inventions, by venting the stolne Treasures of Divine Letters, altered by prophane additions, and disguised by poetical conversions, as if they had bin conceived out of their owne speculations and contemplations.

But besides all these testimonies, if wee finde what Region *Heden* or *Eden* was; if we prove the River that ran out of it, and that the same afterwards was divided into foure Branches; together with the kingdomes of *Havila* and *Cush*, and that all these are Eastward from *Canaan*, or the Desarts of the *Amorites*, where *Moses* wrote; I then conceive that there is no man that will doubt, but that such a place there was. And yet I doe not exclude the Allegorical sense of the Scripture; for as well in this there were many figures of Christ, as in all the old Testament throughout: the Storie being directly true notwithstanding. And to this purpose (saith Saint *Augustine*) *Tres sunt de Paradiso generales sententiæ: una est eorum, qui tantummodo corporaliter Paradisum intelligi volunt: alia eorum, qui spiritualiter tantùm (id est) Ecclesiam: tertia eorum, qui utroq; modo Paradisum accipiunt*, (that is) *There are three opinions of Paradise: the one of those men, which will have it altogether corporall: a second of those, which conceive it altogether spirituall, and to be a figure of the Church: the third of those which take it in both senses*; which third opinion S. *Augustine* approveth, and of which *Suidas* giveth this allowable judgement: *Quemadmodum homo sensibilis, & intelligibilis simul conditus erat: sic & hujus sanctissimum nemus sensibile simul & intelligibile, & duplici specie est præditum*; (that is) *As man was created at one time both sensible and intelligible, so was this holy Grove or Garden to be taken both wayes, and endued with a double forme.*

Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 13. c. 21.
Suidas in verbo Paradisus.

§. IV.

Why it should be needful to intreat diligently of the place of Paradise.

BUt it may be objected, that it is needlesse, and a kind of curiositie to enquire so diligently after this place of *Paradise*, and that the knowledge thereof is of little or no use. To which I answer, that there is nothing written in the Scripture, but for our instruction; and if the truth of the Storie be necessarie, then by the place proved, the same is also made more apparent. For if we should conceive that *Paradise* were not on the Earth, but lifted up as high as the Moone; or that it were beyond all the *Ocean*, and in no part of the known World, from whence *Adam* was said to wade through the Sea, and thence to have come into *Judea*, (out of doubt) there would be few men in the World, that would give any credit unto it. For what could seeme more ridiculous than the report of such a place? and besides, what maketh this seate of *Paradise* so much disputed and doubted of, but the conceit that *Pison* should be *Ganges*, which watereth the East *India*, and *Gehon*, *Nilus*, which enricheth *Egypt*, and these two Rivers so farre distant, as (except all the World were *Paradise*) these streames can no way be comprised therein?

Secondly, if the birth and works, and death of our Saviour, were said to have beene in some such Countrey, of which no man ever heard tell, and that his Miracles had bin performed in the Ayre, or no place certainly knowne: I assure my selfe, that the Christian Religion would have taken but a slender root in the minds of men: for times and places are approved witnesses of worldly actions.

Thirdly, if we should rely, or give place to the judgement of some Writers upon this place of *Genesis* (though otherwise for their doctrine in generall, they are worthy of honour and reverence) I say that there is no fable among the *Greeians* or *Egyptians* more ridiculous: for who would beleeve that there were a piece of the World so set by it selfe and separated as to hang in the Ayre under the circle of the Moone? or who so doltish to conceive, that from thence the foure Rivers of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Euphrates*, and *Tygris*, should fall down, and run under all the Ocean, and rise up againe in this our habitable world, and in those places where they are now found? Which lest any man think that I enforce or strain to the worst, these are *Peter Comestors* own words. *Est autem locus amœnissimus, longo terræ & maris tractu à nostra habitabili Zona secretus, adeò elevatus, ut usq; ad lunarem globum attingat, &c.* (that is) *It is a most pleasant place, severed from our habitable Zone by a long tract of Land and Sea, elevated so that it reacheth to the globe of the Moone.*

And *Moses Barcephas* upon this place writeth in this manner: *Deinde hoc quoq; responsum volumus* Bar. converted by *Masius*.

volumus, Paradiſum multò ſublimiore poſitum eſſe regione, atq; hæc noſtra extet terra, eoq; ſi-eriut illinc per præcipitium delabantur fluvii tanto cum impetu, quantum verbis exprimere non poſſis; eoq; impetu impulſi preſſiq; ſub Oceani vado rapiuntur, unde rurſus proſiliant ebullianteq; in hoc à nobis culto orbe: which have this ſenſe: *Furthermore* (ſaith he) *we give this for an anſwer, that Paradiſe is ſet in a Region farre raiſed above this part which wee inhabite; whereby it comes to paſſe, that from thence theſe rivers fall downe with ſuch a headlong violence, as words cannot expreſſe; and with that force ſo impulſed and preſt, they are carried under the deep Ocean, and do again riſe and boyle up in this our habitable World:* and to this he addeth the opinion of *Ephram*, which is this. *Ephram dicit Paradiſum ambire terram, atq; ultra Oceanum ita poſitum eſſe, ut totum terrarum orbem ab omni circumdet regione, non aliter atq; Lunæ orbis Lunam cingit;* (which is) *That Paradiſe doth compaſſe or embrace the whole Earth, and is ſo ſet beyond the Ocean Sea, as it environeth the whole Orbe of the Earth on every ſide, as the Orbe of the Moone doth embrace the Moone.* To the end therefore that theſe ridiculous expoſitions and opinions doe not bring queſtion unto Truth it ſelfe, or make the ſame ſubject to doubts or diſputes, it is neceſſary to diſcover the true place of *Paradiſe, which God in his wiſedome* appointed in the very Navell of this our World, and (as *Melanchon* ſaies) *in parte Terræ meliore, in the beſt part thereof*, that from thence, as from a Center, the Univerſall might be filled with people and planted; and by knowing this place, we ſhall the better judge of the beginning of Nations, and of the worlds inhabitation: for neere unto this did the Sons of *Noah* alſo diſperſe themſelves after the floud into all other remote regions and countries. And if it be a generous deſire in men, to know from whence their owne forefathers have come, and out of what regions and Nations, it cannot be diſpleaſing to underſtand the place of our firſt Anceſtor, from whence all the ſtreames and branches of Mankind have followed and bin deduced. If then it doe appeare by the former, that ſuch a place there was *as Paradiſe*, and that the knowledge of this place cannot be unprofitable, it followeth in order to examine ſeveral opinions before remembred, by the Truth it ſelf; and to ſee how they agree with the ſenſe of the Scripture, and with common reaſon, and afterward to prove directly, and to delineate the Region in which God firſt planted this delightful Garden.

§. V.

That the Flood hath not utterly defaced the markes of Paradiſe, nor cauſed Hils in the Earth.

AND firſt, whereas it is ſuppoſed by *Aug. Chyſamenſis*, that the Flood hath altered, deformed, or rather annihilated this place, in ſuch ſort, as no man can find any marke or memorie thereof: (of which opinion there were others alſo, aſcribing to the Flood the cauſe of thoſe high Mountaines, which are found on all the Earth over, with many other ſtrange effects) for mine own opinion, I think neither the one nor the other to be true. For although I cannot deny, but that the face of *Paradiſe* was after the Flood withered, and grown old, in reſpect of the firſt beautie: (for both the ages of men, and the nature of all things Time hath changed) yet if there had beene no ſigne of any ſuch place, or if the ſoile and ſeate had not remained, then would not *Moſes*, who wrote of *Paradiſe* about 850. yeares after the Flood, have deſcribed it ſo particularly, and the Prophets long after *Moſes* would not have made ſo often mention thereof. And though the very Garden it ſelfe were not then to be found, but that the Flood, and other accidents of time made it one common field and paſture with the Land of *Eden*, yet the place is ſtill the ſame, and the Rivers ſtill remaine the ſame Rivers. By two of which (never doubted of) to wit *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, we are ſure to finde in what longitude *Paradiſe* lay; and learning out one of theſe Rivers, which afterward doth divide it ſelf into foure branches, wee are ſure that the partition is at the very border of the Garden it ſelf. For it is written, that out of *Eden* went a River to water the Garden, and from thence it was divided and became into foure heads; Now whether the word in the Latine Tranſlation (*Inde*) *from thence*, be referred to *Eden* it ſelf, or to Paradiſe, yet the diviſion and branching of thoſe rivers muſt be in the North or South ſide of the very Garden (if the rivers run as they doe, North and South) & therfore theſe rivers yet remaining, & *Eden* manifeſtly known, there could be no ſuch defacing by the flood, as is ſuppoſed. Furthermore, as there is no likelihood,

Gen. 2. 10.

that

that the place could be so altered as future ages knew it not, so is there no probability that either these Rivers were turned out of their courses, or new rivers created by the Floud which were not, or that the Floud (as aforesaid) by a violent motion, when it began to decrease, was the cause of high Hils or deep Valleys. For what descent of waters could there be in a Spherical and round body, wherein there is nor high nor low? seeing that all violent force of waters is either by the strength of winde, by descent from a higher to a lower, or by the ebb or floud of the Sea. But that there was any wind (whereby the Seas are most enraged) it appeareth not, rather the contrary is probable: for it is written, *Therefore God made a winde to pass upon the Earth, and the waters ceased.* Gen. 8. 1.
So as it appeareth not, that, until the waters sank, there was any winde at all, but that God afterward, out of his goodness, caused the winde to blow, to dry up the abundant slime and mud of the Earth, and make the Land more firm, and to cleanse the Aire of thick vapours, and unwholsom mists: and this we know by experience, that all downright rains do evermore dissever the violence of outragious winds, and beat down, and level the swelling and mountainous billow of the Sea: for any ebbs and floods there could be none, when the waters were equall and of one height over all the face of the Earth, and when there were no Indraughs, Bayes, or Gulfs to receive a Floud, or any descent, or violent falling of waters in the round form of the Earth and Waters, as aforesaid: and therefore it seemeth most agreeable to reason, that the waters rather stood in a quiet calm, than that they moved with any raging or overbearing violence. And for a more direct proofe that the Flood made no such destroying alteration, *Josephus* avoweth that one of those pillars erected by *Seth*, the third from *Adam*, was to be seen in his daies; which pillars were set up above 1426. years before the Flood, counting *Seth* to be an hundred years old at the erection of them; and *Joseph* himself to have lived some forty or fifty years after Christ: of whom although there be no cause to believe all that he wrote, yet that which he avouched of his own time, cannot (without great derogation) be called in question. And therefore it may be possible, that some foundation or ruine thereof might then be seen. Now that such pillars were raised by *Seth*, all Antiquity hath avowed. It is also written in *Berosus* (to whom although I give little credit, yet I cannot condemn him in all) that the city of Enoch, built by *Cain* about the mountains of *Libanus*, was not defaced by length of time: yea the ruines thereof *Annius* (who commented upon that invented fragment) saith, were to be seen in his daies, who lived in the reign of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* of Castile. And if these his words be not true, then was he exceeding impudent: for, speaking of this City of *Enoch*, he concludeth in this sort: *Cujus maxima & ingentis molis fundamenta visuntur, & vocatur ab incolis regionis, Civitas Cain, ut nostri mercatores, & peregrini referunt; The foundation of which huge Mass is now to be seen, and the place is called by the people of that Region, the City of Cain, as both our strangers and Merchants report.* It is also avowed by *Pomponius Mela* (to whom I give more credit in these things) that the City of Joppa was built before the Flood, over which *Cepha* was King: whose name, with his brother *Phineus*, together with the grounds and principles of their Religion, was found graven upon certain altars of stone. And it is not impossible, that the ruines of this other Citie, called Enoch by *Annius*, might be seen, though founded in the first Age: but it could not be of the first City of the World, built by *Cain*, the place rather than the time denying it.

And to prove directly that the Flood was not the cause of mountains, but that there were mountains from the Creation, it is written, that *the waters of the Floud overflowed by fifteen Cubits the highest Mountains.* Gen. 4. 17. And *Masius Damascenus*, speaking of the floud, writeth in this manner: *Est supra Minyadam excelsus mons in Armenia (qui Baris appellatur) in quo confugientes multos servo est diluvii tempore liberatos. And upon Minyada there is an high Mountain in Armenia (called Baris) unto which (as it is said) that many fled in the time of the Deluge, and that they saved themselves thereon.* Now although it is contrary to Gods Word, that any more were saved than eight persons (which *Masius* doth not avouch, but by report) yet it is a testimony, that such Mountains were before the Flood, which were afterwards, and ever since, knowne by the same names; and on which Mountains it is generally received that the Arke rested: but untruly, as I shall prove hereafter. And again it appeareth, that the Mount *Sion* (though by another name) was known before the Floud; on which the Thalmudists report, that many Giants saved

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themselves also; but, as *Annius* saith, without all authority, either divine or humane.

Lastly, it appeareth that the Floud did not so turn upside down the face of the Earth, as thereby it was made past knowledge, after the waters were decreased, by this, that *when* NOAH *sent out the Dove the second time, she returned with an Olive leaf in her mouth,* Gen. 8. 11. which she had pluckt, and which (until the Trees were discovered) she found not: for otherwise she might have found them floting on the water; a manifest proof, that the Trees were not torn up by the roots, nor swam upon the waters, for it is written: *folium Olivæ, raptum* or *decerptum, a leaf pluckt*, (which is) to take from a Tree, or to tear off. By this it is apparent, (there being nothing written to the contrary) that the Floud made no such alteration, as was supposed, but that the place of Paradise might be seen to succeeding Ages, especially unto *Moses*, by whom it pleased God to teach the truth of the Worlds Creation, and unto the Prophets which succeeded him: both which I take for my warrant, and to guide me in this Discovery.

§. VI.

That Paradise was not the whole Earth, as some have thought: making the Ocean to be the fountain of those four Rivers.

THis conceit of *Aug. Chysamensis* being answered, who onely giveth *his opinion* for *reason*, I will in a few words examine that of the Manichees, of *Noviomagus*, *Vadianus*, *Goropius*, *Becanus*, and all those that understood, that by Paradise was meant the whole Earth. But in this I shall not trouble the Reader with many words, because by those places of Scripture formerly remembred, this Universality will appear altogether improper. The places which *Vadianus* alledgeth, *Bring forth fruit and multiply, fill the Earth and subdue it, rule over every Creature, &c.* Gen. 1. 28. with this of the *Acts*, *and hath made of one blood all Mankinde, to dwell on all the face of the Earth*, Acts 17. 26. do no way prove such a generality: for the World was made for man, of which he was Lord and Governour, and all things therein were ordained of God for his use. Now although all men were of one and the same fountain of blood originally; and *Adam's* posterity inhabited in process of time over all the face of the earth; yet it disproveth in nothing the particular Garden, assigned to *Adam*, to dress and cultive, in which he lived in so blessed an estate before his transgression. For if there had been no other choyce, but that *Adam* had bin left to the Universal; *Moses* would not then have said, *Eastward in Eden*, Gen. 2. 8. 3. 24. seeing the World hath not East nor West but respectively. And to what end had the Angel of God been set to keep the East-side, and entrance into Paradise after *Adam's* expulsion, if the Universal had been Paradise? for then must *Adam* have been chased also out of the World. For if all the earth were Paradise, that place can receive no better construction than this, That *Adam* was driven out of the World into the World, and out of Paradise into Paradise, except we should believe with *Metrodorus*, that there were infinite Worlds. Which to deny, he thinks all one, as to affirm, *That in so large a field, as the Universal, there should grow but one Thistle.* NOVIOMAGUS upon *Beda*, seemeth to be led by this, that it was impossible for those three Rivers, Ganges, Nilus, and Euphrates (which water three portions of the World so far distant) to rise out of one Fountaine, except the Ocean be taken for the Well, and the World for the Garden.

And it is true, that those four Rivers, being so understood, there could be no conjecture more probable; but it shall plainly appear, that Pison was falsly taken for Ganges, and Gehon falsly for Nilus, although Ganges be a River by Havilah in India, and Nilus run through Ethiopia. The *Seventy* write Chus for Ethiopia, and thereby the errors of the Manichees, and the mistakings of *Noviomagus*, *Goropius*, and *Vadianus*, with others, are made manifest. Yet was their conjecture far more probable, than that of *Ephrem*, *Cyrillus*, and *Athanasius*: That Paradise was seated far beyond the Ocean Sea, and that *Adam* waded through it, and at last came toward the Country in which he was created, and was buried at Mount Calvary in Hierusalem. And certainly, though all those of the first Age were of great stature, and so continued many years after the Floud, yet *Adams* shin-bones must have contained a thousand fadome, and much more, if he had foorded the Ocean; but this opinion is so ridiculous, as it needs no argument to disprove it.

§. VII.

§. VII.

Of their opinion which make Paradise as high as the Moon: and of others, which make it higher than the Middle Region of the Ayre.

THirdly, whereas *Beda* saith, and as the Schoolemen affirme, *Paradise* to be a Place altogether removed from the knowledge of men, (*locus à cognitione hominum remotissimus*) and *Barcephas* conceived, that *Paradise* was far in the East, but mounted above the Ocean, and all the Earth, and neer the Orbe of the Moone (which opinion, though the Schoolemen charge *Beda* withall, yet *Pererius* layes it off from *Beda* upon *Strabus*, and his Master *Rabanus*:) and whereas *Rupertus*, in his Geographie of *Paradise*, doth not much differ from the rest, but findes it seated next or neerest heaven; It may seeme, that all these borrowed this doctrine out of *Plato*, and *Plato* out of *Socrates*: but neither of them (as I conceive) well understood; who (undoubtedly) tooke this place for Heaven it selfe, into which the Soules of the blessed were carried after death.

True it is, that these Philosophers durst not for feare of the Areopagites (in this and many other divine apprehensions) set downe what they beleeved in plain termes, especially *Plato*: though *Socrates* in the end suffered death for acknowledging one onely powerfull God; and therefore did the Devill himselfe doe him that right, as by an Oracle, to pronounce him the wisest man. *Justine Martyr* affirmeth, that *Plato* had read the Scriptures; and S. *Augustine* gave this judgement of him, as his opinion, that (few things changed) he might be counted a Christian. And it seemeth to me, that both *Tertullian* and *Eusebius* conceive, that *Socrates*, by that place aforesaid, meant the celestiall *Paradise*, and not this of Eden. *Solinus*, I grant, reporteth, that there is a place exceeding delightfull, and healthfull upon the top of Mount Atho (called *Acrothonos*) which being above all Clouds of Raine, or other inconvenience, the people (by reason of their so many yeeres) are called *Macrobici* (that is) *Long-lived*. A further Argument is used, for proofe of the height of this place, because therein was *Enoch* preserved from the violence of the Flood: approved by *Isidore*, and *Peter Lombard*: in which place also *Tertullian* conceived, that the blessed Soules were preserved till the last judgement; which *Irenæus* and *Justin Martyr* also beleeved. But this opinion was of all *Catholique Divines* reproved, and in the *Florentine Councell* damned; of which Saint *Augustine* more modestly gave this judgment: *Sicut certum est*, ENOCH *and* ELIAM *nunc vivere: ita ubi nunc sunt: an in Paradiso an alibi, incertum est*; (that is) *As it is certaine that* ENOCH *and* ELIAS *doe now live, so where they live, in Paradise or elsewhere it is uncertaine.* But *Barcephas* gives a third cause, though of all other the weakest. For (saith he) it was necessary that *Paradise* should be set at such a distance and height, because the foure Rivers (had they not fallen so precipitate) could not have had sufficient force to have thrust themselves under the great Ocean, and afterward have forced their passage through the earth, and have risen again in the farre distant Regions of India, Egypt, and Armenia.

Diog. Laert. Soc.

Justin. Mart. adm. ad Gent. Aug.

These strange fancies and dreams have been answered by divers learned men long since, and lately by *Hopkins*, and *Pererius*, writing upon this subject; of whose arguments I will repeate these few: for to use long discourse against those things, which are both against Scripture and Reason, might rightly be judged a vanity in the Answerer, not much inferiour to that of the Inventer.

It is first therefore alledged, that such a place cannot be commodious to live in: for being set so neere the Moone, it had beene too neer the Sun, and other heavenly bodies. Secondly, because it must have been too joynct a Neighbour to the Element of fire. Thirdly, because the ayre in that Region is so violently moved, and carried about with such swiftnes, as nothing in that place can consist or have abiding. Fourthly, because the place between the Earth and the Moon (according to *Ptolomie* and *Alfraganus*) is seventeen times the *Diameter* of the Earth, which makes in a gross account about one hundred and twenty thousand miles. Hereupon it must follow, that *Paradise*, being raised to this height, must have the compasse of the whole earth for a *Basis* and foundation. But had it beene so raised, it could hardly be hidden from the knowledge, or eyes of men: seeing it would deprive us of the Suns light, all the fore-part

of the day, being seated in the East, as they suppose. Now, to fortifie the former opinions, *Tostatus* addeth this, that those people which dwell neer those fals of waters, are deaf from their infancy, like those that dwell neer the *Catadupæ*, or over-fals of Nilus. But this I hold as feigned. For I have seen in the Indies, far greater water-fals, than those of Nilus, and yet the people dwelling neer them are not deaf at all. *Tostatus* (the better to strengthen himself) citeth *Basil* and *Ambrose* together: to which *Pererius*, *Sed ego hæc apud Basilium & Ambrosium in eorum scriptis, quæ nunc extant, nusquam me legere memini*; *But I do not remember* (saith he) *that I ever read those things either in* BASIL *or* AMBROSE.

Cicero Somn. Scip.

But for the bodies of *Enoch* and *Elias*, God hath disposed of them according to his wisdom. Their taking up might be into the celestial *Paradise*, for ought we know. For although flesh and bloud, subject to corruption, cannot inherit the Kingdom of heaven, and the seed must rot in the ground before it grow, yet we shall not all die (saith Saint *Paul*) *but all shalbe changed:* which change in *Enoch* and *Elias*, was easie to him that is Almighty. But for the rest, the Scriptures are manifest, that by the Floud all perished on the earth, saving 8 persons; and therefore in the terrestrial *Paradise* they could not be.

1 Cor. 15. 36. 51

1 Pet. 3. 20.

For *Tostatus* his own opinion, who soared not altogether so high as the rest, but believed that *Paradise* was raised above the middle Region of the Aire, and twenty cubits above all Mountains, that the Floud did not therefore reach it: (which *Scotus* and other latter School-men also believed; for, say they, there were no sinners in *Paradise*, and therefore no cause to over-whelm it:) this is also contrary to the expres letter of the Scripture, which directly, and without admitting of any distinction, teacheth us, that *the waters over-flowed all the mountains under heaven*. And were it otherwise, then might we aswell give credit to *Masius*, *Damascenus*, and the Thalmudists, who affirme, that there were of the Giants that saved themselves on the Mountain Baris, and on Sion. But to help this, *Scotus*, being (as the rest of the Schoolmen are) full of distinction, saith; That the waters stood at *Paradise*, as they did in the Red Sea, and at Jordan; and as the Floud was not natural, so was *Paradise* saved by miracle. And *Thomas Aquinas* qualifieth this high conceit with this supposition, That it was not believed, that *Paradise* was so seated, as *Beda* and others seem to affirme in words, but by *Hyperbole* and comparatively, for the delicacy and beauty so resembled. But this I dare avow of all those School-men, that though they were exceeding witty, yet they better teach all their Followers to shift, than to resolve by their distinctions. Wherefore not to stay long in answering this opinion of *Tostatus*, I confess that it is written, that the Mountains of Olympus, Atho, and Atlas, over-reach and surmount all windes and clouds, and that (notwithstanding) there is found on the heads of the Hils both springs and fruits; and the Pagan Priests, sacrificing on these mountain tops, do not find the ashes (remaining of their sacrifices) blown thence, nor thence washt off by rains, when they returne: yet experience hath resolved us, that these reports are fabulous; and *Pliny* himself (who was not sparing in the report of wonders) avoweth the contrary. But were it granted, yet the height of these Mountains is far under the supposed place of *Paradise*; and on these self Hils the aire is so thin (saith S. *Augustine*, whom herein I mistrust) that it is not sufficient to bear up the body of a bird, having therein no feeling of her wings, or any sensible resistance of aire to mount her self by.

Gen. 7. 19.

Exod. 14. 21.

§. VIII.

Of their opinion that seat Paradise under the Æquinoctial: and of the pleasant habitation under those Climats.

THose which come neerer unto Reason, finde *Paradise* under the *Æquinoctial line*, as *Tertullian*, *Bonaventure*, and *Durandus*: judging, that thereunder might be found most pleasure, and the greatest fertility of soile: but against it *Thomas Aquinas* objecteth the distemperate heat, which he supposeth to be in all places so directly under the Sunne; but this is (*non causa pro causa*,) for although *Paradise* could not be under the Line, because Eden is far from it, in which *Paradise* was; and because there is no part of Euphrates, Tygris, or Ganges under it, (Ganges being one of the foure rivers, as they suppose) yet this conceit of distemper, (being but an old opinion) is found to be very untrue, though for the conjecture not to be condemned, considering the age when those Fathers wrote, grounded chiefly on this: that whereas

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it appeared, that every Country, as it lay by degrees neerer the Tropick, and so toward the *Æquinoctial*, did so much the more exceed in heat; it was therefore a reasonable conjecture, that those Countries which were situated directly under it, were of a distemper uninhabitable: but it seemeth that *Tertullian* conceived better, and so did *Avicenne*, for they both thought them habitable enough; and though (perchance) in those daies it might be thought a fantastical opinion (as all are which go against the vulgar) yet we now finde, that if there be any place upon the earth of that nature, beauty, and delight that *Paradise* had, the same must be found within that supposed uninhabitable burnt Zone, or within the Tropicks, and neerest to the line it self. For here-of Experience hath informed Reason, and Time hath made those things apparent, which were hidden and could not by any contemplation be discovered. Indeed it hath so pleased God to provide for all living creatures, wherewith he hath filled the world, that such inconveniences which we contemplate a far off, are found by trial and the witness of men's travails, to be so qualified, as there is no portion of the earth made in vain, or as a fruitless lump to fashion out the rest. For *God himself* (saith ISAY) *that formed the earth and made it, he that prepared it, he created it not in vain, he formed it to be inhabited.* Now we finde that these hottest Regions of the world, seated under the *Æquinoctial line*, or neer it, are so refreshed with a daily gale of Easterly winde (which the *Spaniards* call the *Erize*) that doth evermore blow strongest in the heat of the day, as the down-right beams of the Sun cannot so much master it, that there is any inconvenience or distemperate heat found thereby. Secondly, the nights are so cold, fresh, and equal, by reason of the entire interposition of the earth, as (for those places which my self have seen, neer the Line and under it) I know no other part of the World of better, or equal temper: Only there are some tracts, which by accident of high Mountains are barr'd from this ayre and fresh winde, and some few sandy parts without trees, which are not therefore so well inhabited as the rest; and such difference of soils we finde also in all other parts of the world. But (for the greatest part) those Regions have so many goodly Rivers, Fountains, and little Brookes, abundance of high Cedars, and other stately trees, casting shade, so many sorts of delicate fruits, ever bearing, and at all times beautified with blossom and fruit both green and ripe, as it may of all other parts be best compared to the *Paradise* of *Eden*: the boughs and branches are never unclothed and left naked, their sap creepeth not under ground into the root, fearing the injury of the frost: neither doth *Pomona* any time despise her withered Husband *Vertumnus*, in his winter quarters and old age. Therefore are these Countries called *Terræ vitiosæ*, *Vicious Countries*: for Nature being liberal to all without labour, necessity imposing no industry or travel, idleness bringeth forth no other fruits than vain thoughts, and licentious pleasures. So that to conclude this part, *Tertullian* and those of his opinion, were not deceived in the nature of the place: but *Aquinas*, who misliked this opinion, and followed a worse. And (to say the truth) all the Schoolmen were grosse in this particular.

Isay 45.1.

§. IX.

Of the change of the names of places: and that besides that Eden *in Cœlosyria, there is a Country in Babylon, once of this name, as is proved out of* ESA. 37. *and* EZEK. 27.

THese opinions answered, and the region of *Eden* not found in any of those imaginary worlds, nor under *Torrida Zona*; it followeth that now we discover and find out the seat thereof, for in it was *Paradise* by God planted. The difficulty of which search resteth chiefly in this, That as all Nations have often changed names with their Masters; so are most of these places, by *Moses* remembred, forgotten by those names of all Historians and Geographers, as well ancient as modern.

Besides, we finde that the *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes* and *Persians* (*Cyrus* onely and a few other excepted) sought to extinguish the *Hebrews*. The *Grecians* hated both their Nation and their Religion; and the *Romanes* despised once to remember them in any of their Stories. And as those three Monarchies succeeded each other: so did they transform the names of all those principal Places and Cities in the East: and after them, the *Turk* hath sought (what he could) to extinguish in all things, the ancient memory of those people; which he hath subjected and inthralled.

Now besides those notable marks, *Euphrates* and *Tygris*, the better to finde the way which leadeth to the Country of *Eden*, we are to take for guides these two considerations (to wit) That it lay Eastward from *Canaan* and *Judea*; and that it was of all other the most beautiful and fertile. First then in respect of situation, the next Country to *Judea* Eastward was *Arabia Petræa*; but in this Region was *Moses* himself when he wrote: and the next unto it Eastward also was *Arabia* the *Desart*, both which in respect of the infertility could not be *Eden*; neither have any of the *Arabians* any such Rivers, as are expresst to run out of it: So as it followeth of necessity, that *Eden* must be Eastward, and beyond both *Arabia Petræa*, and *Deserta*. But because *Eden* is by *Moses* named by it self, and by the fertility, and the rivers onely described, we must seek it in other Scriptures, and where it is by the additions of the neighbour Nations better described. In the Prophet *Isay* I find it coupled and accompanied with other adjacent Countries, in
Isa. 37. v. 12. these words, spoken in the person of *Senacherib* by RABSAKEH: *Have the gods of the Nations delivered them, which my Fathers have destroyed, as* GOSAN, *and* HARAN, *and* RESEPH, *and the children of* EDEN, *which were at Telassar?* and in *Ezechiel*, where he pro-
Cap. 27. *ver.* 23. phecieth against the *Tyrians*: *They of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Assur, and Chilmad, were thy merchants, &c.*

But to avoid confusion, we must understand that there were two *Edens*, one of which the Prophet *Amos* remembreth, where he divideth *Syria* into three Provinces, whereof,
Cap. 1. *vers.* 1. the first he maketh *Syria Damascene*, or *Decapolitan*: the second part is that Valley called *Avenis*, otherwise *Convallis*, or the tract of *Chamath*, where *Assyria* is joyned to *Arabia* the *Desart*, and where *Ptolomie* placeth the City of *Averia*: and the third is knowne
Strabo. by the name of *Domus Edenis*, or *Cœlosyria*, otherwise *Vallis cava*, or *the hollow Valley*, because the mountains of *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, take all the length of it on both sides, and border it: for *Coele* in *Greek* is *Cava* in *Latine*. But this is not that Eden, which we seek: neither doth this Province lie East from *Canaan*, but North, and so joyneth unto it, as it could not be unknown to the *Hebrews*. Yet, because there is a little City therein called *Paradise*, the *Jewes* believed this *Cœlosyria* to be the same which *Moses* describeth. For the same cause doth *Hopkins* in his Treatise of *Paradise* reprehend *Beroaldus*, in that he confoundeth this *Eden*, with the other *Eden* of *Paradise*, though, to give *Beroldus* his right, I conceive that he led the way to *Hopkins*, and to all other later Writers, saying, That he failed in distinguishing these two Regions, both called *Eden*: and that he altogether mis-understood two of the four Rivers (to wit) *Pison* and *Gehon*, as shall appear hereafter. Now to finde out *Eden*, which (as *Moses* teacheth us) lay Eastward from the Desarts, where he wrote, after he had passed the Red Sea; we must consider where those other Countries are found, which the Prophet *Isay* and *Ezechiel* joyneth with it. For (saith ESAIAH) *Gosan, Haran, and Reseph, and the chil-*
Ezech. 27. v. 23 *dren of* Eden, *which were at Telassar.* Also Ezechiel joyneth *Haran* with *Eden*, who together with those of *Sheba*, *Assur*, and *Chilmad*, were the Merchants that traded with the City of *Tyre*, which was then (saith EZECHIEL) *The Mart of the people for many Iles.* And it hath ever been the custome, that the *Persians* conveyed their Merchandise to *Babylon*, and to those Cities upon *Euphrates*, and *Tygris*, and from thence transported them into *Syria*, now *Soria*, and to the Port of the *Mediterane* Sea: as in ancient times to the City of *Tyre*, afterward to *Tripoly*, and now to *Aleppo*, from whence they imbarque them at the Port of *Alexandretta*, in the *Bay* of *Issicus*, now *Lajazzo*. Ezechiel in the description of the magnificence of *Tyre*, and of the exceeding trade that it had with all the Nations of the East, as the onely Mart-towne of that part of the World, reciteth both the people, with whom they had commerce, and also what commodities every Countrie yeelded; and having counted the several People and Countries, he addeth the particular trade, which each of them exercised: *They*
Vers. 24. *were thy merchants* (saith the Prophet) *in all sorts of things, in rayments of blue silke, and of broydered workes, fine linnen, corral, and pearle:* and afterwards speaking of the Merchants of *Sheba* and *Raamah*, and what kinds they traded, he hath these words: *The merchants of Sheba, and Raamah were thy merchants, they occupied in thy Fairs, with the chief of all Spices, and with all precious stones, and gold.* Now these be indeed the riches which *Persia* & *Arabia Fœlix* yeeld: and because *Sheba* and *Raamah* are those parts of *Arabia*, which border the Sea, called the *Persian Gulfe*, therefore did those Nations both vent such Spice, sweet Gummes, and Pearls, as their owne Countries yeelded:

and

and (withal) having trade with their Neighbours of India, had from them alſo all ſorts of ſpices, and plenty of gold. The better to convey theſe commodities to that great Mart of Tyre, the Shebans or Arabians entred by the mouth of Tygris, and from the City of Terredon (built or enlarged by *Nebuchodonozor*, now called *Balſara*) thence ſent up all theſe rich merchandiſes by boat to Babylon, from whence by the body of Euphrates, as far as it bended Weſtward, and afterward by a branch thereof, which reacheth within three daies journey of Alleppo, and then over Land they paſt to Tyre, as they did afterward to Tripoly, (formerly Hieropolis) and thence to Alexandretta, as aforeſaid. Now the Merchants of Canneh, which *Ezechiel* joyneth with Eden, inhabited far up the River, and received this trade from Arabia and India, beſides thoſe proper commodities which themſelves had, and which they received out of Perſia, which bordered them. Saint *Hierome* underſtandeth by Canneh, Seleucia, which is ſeated upon Euphrates, *where it breaketh into four heads*, and which took that name from *Seleucus*, who made thereof a magnificent City. *Hieroſolymitanus* thinks it to be Cteſiphon: but Cteſiphon is ſeated down low upon Tygris, and Canneh cannot be on that ſide. I mean on the Eaſt-ſide of Tygris; for then were it out of the Valley of Shinar. *Plin. l. 6. c. 26.* *Plinie* placeth the *Schenitæ* upon Euphrates, where the ſame beginneth to be foordable, which is toward the border of Syria, after it leaveth to be the bound of Arabia the Deſart, and where the River of Euphrates reflecteth from the Deſart of Palmirena: for theſe people of Canneh (afterward *Schenitæ*) inhabited both borders of Euphrates, ſtretching themſelves, from their own City of Canneth in Shinar Weſtward along the banks of Euphrates, as farre as the City of Thapſacus, where *Ptolomy* appointed the Foords of Euphrates: which alſo agreeth with the deſcription of the *Schenitæ* by *Strabo*, whoſe words are theſe: *Mercatoribus ex Syria Seleuciam & Babyloniam euntibus, iter eſt per Schenitas*; *The Merchants which travail from Syria to Seleucia and Babylon, take their way by the Schenites.* Therefore thoſe which take Canneh for Charran, do much miſtake it. For Charran, to which *Abraham* came from Ur in Chaldæa (called by God) ſtandeth alſo in Meſopotamia; not upon Euphrates it ſelf, but upon the River of Chaboras, which falleth into Euphrates: and the Merchants of Charran are diſtinctly named with thoſe of Canneh in *Ezechiel* (as) *They of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the Merchants of Sheba, Aſſur and Chilmad were thy merchants.* Wherefore Charran, which is ſometime called Charre, and Haran, and Aran, is but the ſame Charran of Meſopotamia: and when it is written Aran, then it is taken for the region of Meſopotamia: or *Aran fluviorum*, the Greek word (Meſopotamia) importing, a country between rivers: for *Meſos* in Greek, is *Medius* in Latine, and *Potamos*, *fluvius*; and when it is written Haran or Aran, it is then taken for the City it ſelf, to which *Abraham* came from Ur (as aforeſaid.) For *Strabo* in the deſcription of Arabia, giveth that tract of land from the borders of Cœloſyria, to the edge of Meſopotamia, to the *Schenitæ*, who alſo inhabited on both ſides of Euphrates, and were in after-ages accounted of theſe Arabians which inhabite Batanea, and the North part of the Deſarts, ſtretching themſelves toward the unhabited ſolitude of Palmirena, which lieth between Syria, and Arabia the Deſart. So as theſe of Canneh lay in the very high-way from Babylon to Tyre, and were neighbours (indifferent) to Charran and to Eden: and therefore they are by the Prophet *Ezechiel* coupled together, *They of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, &c.* But Saint *Hierome* made a good interpretation of Canneh, or Chalne, by Seleucia: for Seleucia was anciently called Chalanne (witneſs *Appian*) and ſo *Rabanus Maurus* calleth it in his Commentaries upon *Geneſis*; the name by time and mixture of languages being changed from Chalne or Canneh, to Chalanne: of which name there are two other Cities, ſtanding in Triangle with Seleucia, and almoſt the next unto it, (as) Thelbe-canne, and Mann-canne, the one a little to the Weſt of Seleucia, and the other oppoſite unto it; where theſe rivers of Tygris and Euphrates are ready to joine. Therefore, which of theſe the ancient Canne was, (being all three within the bound of the Valley Shinar) it is uncertain: but it is a note as well of the importance of the place, as of the certain ſeat thereof, that ſo many other cities did retain a part of the name in ſo many ages after. Neither is it unlikely, that theſe additions of Thelbe and Man to the word Canne, were but to make difference between the Eaſt and the Weſt, or the greater and the leſs Canne, or between Canne the old and the new: which additions to diſtinguiſh cities by, are ordinary in all the Regions of the World.

Strabo l. 16.

Gen. 11. 31.

Jud. 1. Now of the other city joyned with Eden, as Haran or Charran, S. *Hierome* on the *Judges* speaketh thereof in these words: *Cumq; reverterentur, pervenerunt ad Charran, quæ est in medio itinere contra Nineven, undecimo die*; *When they returned, they came to Charran (which is the mid-way against Nineve) the eleventh day.*

This city is by the Martyr *Stephen* named Charran (speaking to the high Priest:) *Acts* 7.1. *Yee Men, Brethren, and Fathers, hearken: The God of glory appeared to our Father* ABRAHAM, *while he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran.* But the seate of this city is not doubted of: for it is not onely remembred in many Scriptures, but, withal, exceeding famous for the death and overthrow of *Crassus* the Romane, who for his unsatiable greedinesse was called *Curges avaritiæ*; *the Gulf of avirice.* Whereof *Lucan:* *Lucan. l.* 1. 105.

Assyrias Latio maculavit sanguine Carras.
With Roman bloud th' Assyrian Carre he defil'd.

But this city Canne or Chalne is made manifest by *Moses* himself, where it is written of NIMROD: *Gen.* 10. 10. *And the beginning of his Kingdoms was Babel, and Erech, and Acad, and Chalne, in the land of Sinaar* or *Shinar:* where *Moses* sheweth the first composition of the Babylonian Empire, and what cities and people were subject unto *Nimrod*, all which lay in the said Valley of Shinar, or neer it; and this Valley of Shinar is that Tract afterwards called Babylonia and Chaldæa, into which also Eden stretcheth it self. *Chaldæa, Babylonia, Sinaar, idem sunt* (saith COMESTOR.) *Three names of one Country:* which Region of Babylonia took name of the Tower Babel; and the Tower of the confusion of tongues. And that Shinar was Babylonia, it is proved in the eleventh chapter of *Genesis*, in these words: *And as they went from the East, they found a Plain in the Land of Shinar, and there* *Vers.* 2. *they abode:* in which Plain Babylon was built (as aforesaid.)

Now Shinar being Babylonia, and Canneh, in the first beginning of *Nimrod*'s greatness, and before he had subdued any strange, or far-off Nations, being one part of his Dominion, and also named by *Moses* to be in Shinar, it proveth that Canneh joyneth to Babylonia; which also *Ezechiel* coupleth with Eden, and (further) affirmeth that those of Eden were also the Merchants which traded with the Tyrians: and *Esay* in the threats of *Senacherib* against Jerusalem (with other Nations that *Senacherib* vaunted that his Fathers had destroyed) nameth the children of Eden which were at Telassar. *Vers.* 7. But before I conclude where Eden it self lieth, it is necessary to describe those other Countries, which *Ezechiel* joyneth therewith, in the places before remembred, as, those of Sheba and Raamah. It is written in *Genesis* the tenth: *Moreover the sons of* HAM *were* CUSH, *&c. And the sons of* CUSH *were* SEBA, *and* HAVILAH, *and* SABTAH, *and* RAAMAH, *&c. And the sons of* RAAMAH *were* SHEBA, *&c.* and anon after; CUSH *begat* NIMROD: so as *Sheba* was the grand-child of *Cush*, and *Nimrod* the son of *Cush*, whose elder brother was *Sebah:* though some there are that conceive to the contrary, that *Nimrod* was the elder in valour and understanding, though not in time and precedence of birth; who inhabited that part of Shinar, where Babel was built, afterwards Babylonia. His brother *Raamah* or *Regma* took that part adjoyning to Shinar, toward the Sea side and Persian gulf (called afterwards *Raama* and *Sheba*, by the Father and his Sons, which possessed it.) *For* (saith EZECHIEL) *the merchants of Raamah and Sheba were thy merchants, they occupied in thy Fairs with the chief of all spices, and all precious stones, and gold.* So as Sheba was that Tract of Country, which parteth *Arabia Deserta* from *Arabia Fælix*, and which joyneth to the Sea where Tygris and Euphrates fall out, and render *Strabo* l. 16. themselves to the Ocean. This part, and the confining Countrey, *Strabo* calleth Catabria, where the best Myrrhe and Frankincense is gathered; which people have an interchange or trade with Elana, lying on the East side of the Persian gulf. By this it appeareth who were the Shebeans, spoken of by *Ezechiel*, and said to have been the Merchants of Tyre, for gold, spices, and precious stones: of which they had not only plenty of their own, but were also furnished from that part of India (called Elana, according to *Strabo*) for exchange of their Aromatiques, and other proper commodities. For as *Strabo* reporteth out of ERATOSTHENES: *In Persicæ oræ initio Insula est, in qua multi & pretiosi uniones gignantur: in altis vero, clari & perlucidi lapilli.* ERATOSTHENES (saith *Strabo*) affirmeth, that in the *beginning of the Persian gulf, there is an Island, in which there are many precious pearls bred: and in other, very clear and shining stones.* Now, the difference between *Sheba*, the son of *Raamah*, and *Seba* the son of *Cush*, is in this, That *Seba* is written with the Hebrew (*Samech*;) and *Sheba* with (*Schin:*)

but

but whatsoever the difference may be in the Hebrew Orthography, their Countries and Habitations are divers. For Sheba is that which bordereth the Persian Sea, and Saba (whence the Queene of Saba) neighboured the Red Sea; and so that place of the 72 *Psalm* expounded *Reges Arabum & Sabæ*, hath in the Hebrew this sense: *Reges Shebæ & Sabæ.*

The Shebans, *Ezechiel* nameth together with the Edenites, because they inhabited upon the Out-let of the same River, upon which the Edenites were seated: and so those of Sheba, towards the Sea-coast, and upon it past up the Countrey, by Tygris and Euphrates, being joyned in one maine streame, and so through the Region of Eden, which Tygris boundeth, thereby the better to convey their merchandise toward Tyre. And as the Cities of Charran, and Channeh, border Eden on the West and North-west: so doth Sheba on the South, and Chilmad on the North-east: Chilmad being a Region of the higher Media, as appeareth in the Chaldæan Paraphrast; which Countrey by the Geographers is called *Coromitena*, (*L*) placed by exchange for (*R.*) which change the Hebrewes also often use.

Thus much of those Countries which border Eden, and who altogether traded with the Tyrians: of which, the chief were the Edenites, inhabiting Telassar: for these *Senacherib* vaunted, that his Fathers had destroyed; and this place of Telassar lay most convenient, both to receive the Trade from Sheba & Arabia, and also to convey it over into Syria, and to Tyrus. Now to make these things the more plaine, we must remember, that before the death of *Senacherib*, many parts of the Babylonian Empire fell from his obedience, and after his death these Monarchies were utterly dis-joyned.

For it appeareth both in *Esay* the 37. and in the second of *Kings*, by the threats of *Rabsache*, the while the Army of Assyria lay before Jerusalem, that the Cities of Gosan, Haran, Reseph, and the Edenites at Telassar, had resisted the Assyrians: though by them (in a sort) mastered and recovered. *Have the gods of the Nations delivered them whom my Fathers have destroyed as Gosan, and Haran, Reseph, & the children of Eden, which were at Telassar?* But it appeared manifestly after *Senacherib*'s death, that these Nations formerly contending, were then freed from the others subjection: for *Esar-Haddon* held Assyria, and *Merodach Baladan*, Babylonia. And after that the Army of *Senacherib*, commanded by *Rabsache* which lay before Jerusalem (*Ezechias* then reigning) while *Senacherib* was in Egypt, was by the Angel of God destroyed; the King of Babel sent to *Ezechias*, both to congratulate the recovery of his health, and his victory obtained over the Assyrians. After which overthrow, *Senacherib* himselfe was slaine by his own sonnes in the Temple of his Idols, *Esar-Haddon* succeeding him in Assyria. To the Babylonian Ambassadours sent by *Merodach*, *Ezechias* shewed all his treasures, aswell proper as consecrate, which invited the Kings of Babylon afterward to undertake their conquest and subversion. So as, the suspition of warre encreasing between Babylon and Assyria, the Edenites which inhabited the borders of Shinar towards the North, and towards Assyria, were imployed to beare off the incursions of the Assyrians; and their Garrison-place was at Telassar: and the very word (*Telassar*) saith *Junius*, signifying as much as a bulwork against the Assyrians. This place *Hierosolymitanus* takes for Resem, others for Seleucia: but this Telassar is the same, which *Am. Marcellinus* in the History of *Julian* (whom he followed in the enterprize of Persia) calleth Thilutha in stead of Telassar, who describeth the exceeding strength thereof in his 24. Booke: it is seated in an Iland of Euphrates upon a steep and unassaultable Rocke, in so much as tht Emperour *Julian* durst not attempt it; and therefore it was a convenient place for a Garrison against the Assyrians, being also a passage out of Mesopotamia into Babylonia, and in which the Edenites of the Countrey adjoyning were lodged to defend the same. This place *Ptolomy* calleth Teridata, having Reseph (which he calleth Resepha) on the left hand; and Canneh, (which he calleth Thelbe-canne) on the right hand; not far from whence is also found the City of Mann-canne) upon Tygris; and all these seated together, as *Esay* and *Ezechiel* have sorted them. But the understanding of these places is the more difficult, because Assyria (which the Chaldæans call Atturia) and Mesopotamia, were so often confounded; the one taken for the other by interchange of Dominion. *Assyria & Mesopotamia in Babylonia nomen transierunt* (saith NIGER,) *Assyria and Mesopotamia tooke the name of Babylonia.* Lastly, it appeareth by those adjacent Regions by the Prophets named, in what part of the World Eden is seated

Esay 37. v. 12.

2 *Kings* 19.35.

Esay 39.1.

Esay 37.38.

Esay 39.1.

Asia Tab. 4.

Cosmog. Asiæ.

seated, as, by *Charran* or *Haran* in Mesopotamia: also by *Cannch* and *Reseph*, according to the opinion of *Vatablus*, who in these words translateth this place: *Plantaverat autem* IEHOVAH *Deus hortum in Eden, ab Oriente*; *The Lord God planted a Garden in Eden, Eastward:* that is (saith he in his Annotations) *Jusserat nasci arbores in Eden, Regione Orientali, in finibus Arabiæ & Mesopotamiæ*; *He commanded Trees to grow in Eden, an Easterne Region in the borders of Arabia and Mesopotamia.*

§. X.

Of divers other testimonies of the Land of Eden; and that this is the Eden of Paradise.

AND for a more particular pointing out of this Eden, it seemes by the two Epistles of the Nestorian Christians, that inhabit Mesopotamia: which Epistles in the yeare 1552. they sent to the Pope about the confirming of their Patriarch, & *Andræas Masius* hath published them, translated out of Syriac into Latine. By these Epistles (I say) it seemes we may have some farther light for the proofe of that, which we have said about the Region of Eden in those parts. For in them both there is mention of the Island of Eden in the River Tigris, or at least, Tigris in both these Epistles is called the River of Eden. This Island, as *Masius* in his Preface to these Epistles saith, is commonly called *Gozoria* (as it were, the Island, by an eminency.) It hath (saith he) ten miles in circuit, and was sometimes walled round about, which name of the Island Eden may (doubtlesse) remaine to this day; though in the rest of the Region so called, this name be swallowed up with the fame of those flourishing kingdomes of Mesopotamia, Assyria, Babylonia, and Chaldæa. This Island of Eden hath up the River, and not far beyond it, the City of Hasan-Cepha, otherwise *Fortis Petra*: below it, it hath Mosal or Mosel, from which (as in that which followeth it shall appeare out of *Masius*) it is not above twelve miles distant. Neither is it to trouble us, that Mosal or Mosel, by *Marius Niger* is remembred among the Cities higher up Tigris, in these words, *Juxta autem Tigrim, Civitates sunt Dorbeta prope Taurum montem, quæ nunc Mosel dicitur; magna sanè, &c.* (that is) *By Tigris are these Cities, Dorbeta neere unto mount Taurus (which is now called Mosel) which is a great one, &c.* This opinion of *Niger*, displacing Mosel, and making it to be Dorbeta (I say) needs not here to trouble us: seeing for this matter, the testimony of *Masius*, informed by the Christians that dwelt there (the Seat of whose Patriach it is) ought to be of credit, avowing that this Mosal (or Mozal) is in the Confines of Mesopotamia and Assyria, seated upon Tigris, and in the neighbour-hood of Nineve; and that it is the famous *Seleucia Parthorum*. The Nestorian Christians in their former Epistle, call it Attur, in these words: *Ex omnibus Civitatibus & pagis quæ sunt circum Civitatem Mosal (hoc est) Attur in vicinia Nineves; Of all the Cities and Townes which are about the Citie of Mozal (that is) Attur in the neighbour-hood of Nineve.* As also *Niger* acknowledgeth Ctesiphon, a City thereabout to be called Assur, (which is the same as Attur, after the Dialect of those Nations, which change *Sh* into *T*.) Neither is it much that he should mistake Ctesiphon, (which is not farre off Seleucia) for Seleucia, to be Assur. By this then we may come somewhat neere the end of our purpose. For the Isle of Eden, which lieth in the brest of Tigris, is but twelve miles from Mosal, & that ancient City, which *Ptolomy* and *Tacitus* call Ninus, and the Scriptures Nineve; *Philostratus*, and *Simeon Sethi*, Mosula, and *John Lean*, Mosal, others Mosse, (though it be not the same with Mosal) is set but a little higher upon the same River of Tigris, neere Mosal: so that we are like to finde this Isle of Eden hereabout. For the same *Andræas Masius*, which placeth it above Mosal, makes it to be below Hasan-cepha, which is upon the same River of Tigris,

Vt supra.

The only difficulty is this, that some perhaps may thinke, that the words of the Nestorians in both their Epistles, speak not of any Isle in Tigris, called the Isle of Eden, but of an Isle in Tigris, a River of Eden. But this sense of their words in my opinion seemeth the more unprobable. And yet if this were the meaning here, we have a testimonie from the Learned of those parts, that not only Euphrates, but also Tigris was a River of Eden, and that the name of Eden in those parts is not yet quite worn out, though the Region hath been subject to the same change, that all other Kingdoms of the world have beene, and hath by conquest and corruption of other Languages, received new and differing names. For the South part of Eden, which stretcheth over Euphrates, was

after

after the floud called *Shiver*, and then of the Tower of *Babel*, *Babylonia*; and the North part of *Eden* is that Tract of *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria* and *Armenia*, which imbraceth both the bankes of *Tigris* betweene Mount *Taurus*, and *Seleucia*. And of this Region of *Eden* that ancient *Æthicus* maketh mention, (not that latter *Æthicus*, Disciple of *Gallinicus*, otherwise by *Plutarch* and *Athenæus* called *Istri*, who liveth in Egypt in the Reigne of *Philadelphus*; but another of a farre higher and remote time) the same being made Latine out of the Greeke by Saint *Hierome*. And though by corruption of the ancient Copie it be written in *Aethicus*, *Adonis* for *Edenis*; yet *Adonis* being a River of *Phœnicia*, cannot be understood to be the Region named by *Æthicus*. For *Æthicus* makes it a Countrey, and not a River, and joyneth it with *Mesopotamia* and *Æthiopia*, calling the land of *Chus Aethiopia*, after the Vulgar, an Septuagint. And lastly, the River which watereth the Regions; (saith *Aethicus*) falleth into the Gulfe of *Persia*: which River he called *Armodius*, for *Tigris*; *Tigris* being but a name imposed for the swiftnesse thereof. And out of *Armenia* both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* have their originall: for out of *Eden* came a River, or Rivers, to water the Garden, both which Rivers (to wit *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, come out of *Armenia*, and both of them traverse *Mesopotamia*, Regions first of all knowne by the name of *Eden* for their beautie and fertilitie. And it is very probable, that *Eden* contained also some part of *Armenia*; and the excellent fertilitie thereof in divers places, is not unworthy the name of *Eden*. For in some part thereof (saith *Strabo*) the leaves are alway green, & therefore therein a perpetuall Spring. Also STEPHANUS *de urbibus*, mentioneth the Citie of *Adana* upon *Euphrates*: and the name of *Eden* was in use in *Amos* time, though he speak not of *Eden* in the East, but of *Eden* in *Cœlosyria*. But to the end I may not burden the Readers patience with too long a Discourse, it may suffice to know, that *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (once joyned together; and afterward separate) are two of those foure heads, into which these Rivers which are said to water the Garden of *Paradise* were divided: whose courses being knowne, *Eden* (out of which they are said to come) cannot be unknowne. Now that *Hiddekel* and *Perath* were *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, it is agreed by all: for the Seventie and all others convert *Perath* by *Euphrates*: *& Hiddekel Tigrim omnes exponunt: and all men understand Hiddekel by Tigris* (saith *Vatablus*.) And because that which I have said of the Ille of *Eden* shall not be subject to the censure of selfe-invention, I have here-under set downe the words out of the two generall Epistles of the *Nestorians*, as MASIUS (*ad verbum*) hath converted them into Latine. The occasion of those Letters and Supplications to the Pope, were, that the *Nestorian* Christians, which inhabit *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, *Persia*, *Babylonia*, and have to this day (at least in Queen *Maries* time they had fifteen Churches in one Citie called *Seleucia Parthorum*, or *Mosel* upon the River of *Tygris*; having no sufficient authoritie to choose themselves a Patriarch (which cannot be done without foure or three Metropolitane Bishops at least) sent to the Bishop of *Rome*, in the yeare of Christ 1552. (as afore-said) a Petition to obtain allowance unto such an Election as themselves had made: having three hundred yeare before that upon the like defect, sent one *Marius* thither to be confirmed; and in this negotiation they made knowne to the Bishop of *Rome* the state of the Christian Church in those parts: for upon the death of their Patriarch (who of a covetous desire to enrich himselfe, had forborn to institute Metropolitane Bishops, when the places fell voide) they all assembled themselves together to consult of the Church-government. And because all the Patriarchs for an hundred yeares had been of one House and Family to the prejudice of the Church, and that there yet remained one Bishop of the same Stocke and Kindred, who aspired to the same dignitie which his Predecessors had held; the rest of the Professors refused to allow him. Upon which occasion, and for the choice of a Governour more sufficient, the Teachers in all the Churches assembled themselves. The words of the generall Epistle to the Pope are these, about the middle of the said Epistle; *Verùm nos non acceptavimus, neq; proclamavimus ipsum; sed subitò convenimus ex omnibus locis Orientalibus, & ex omnibus Civitatibus & Pagis quæ sunt circum Civitatem Mosel (hoc est) Attur, in vicinia Nineves, ex Babyloniâ, ex Charrâ, ex Arbellâ, ex Insulâ quæ est in medio Tygris, fluminis Eden, ex Tauris Persiæ, ex Nisibi, &c.* which is: *But we did neither accept of this man, neither pronounced him: but suddenly we assembled our selves out of all parts of the East, and out of all the Cities and Villages which are about Mosel (or Attur) neighbouring Nineve, & out of Babylon, Carrha, Arbella, and out of the Island which lyeth in the middle of Tygris:*

gris, a River of Eden, or rather, *out of the Isle of Eden, which lyeth in the River Tygris*. And in a second Epistle at the same time sent, they use these words: *Neq; super sunt apud nos Metropolitæ, quorum est ordinare Catholicum, sed soli pauci, Episcopi, Episcopus Arbelæ, Episcopus Salmasti, Episcopus Adurbeigan; en è vestigio convenimus in Insulam, quæ est, intra Tigrim flumen, Eden, fecimusq; compactum inter nos, &c.* (which is) *Neither are there remaining among us any Metropolitan Bishops, to whom it belongs to ordaine a Patriarch, but onely a few Bishops, as the Bishop of Arbela, the Bishop of Salmastus, and the Bishop of Adurbeigan: but lo, we assembled speedily in the Island Eden, which is in Tygris, and agreed betweene our selves, &c.*

Now this Island of *Eden Masius* describeth with other places; which being well conceived, the *Nestorian* Epistles, and the state of the Church may be in those parts (saith he) the better understood. And after he hath distinguished the foure sorts of Christians in those parts of the World, and in the South part of *Africa*, which he calleth *Nestorians Jacobites, Maronitæ*, and *Cophtie* he goeth on in these words: *Mox audita illius morte, concurrisse aiebant tumultuariò in illam quam modò dixi Tygris Insulam, quæ duodecim circiter passuum millibus supra Mosal posita, decem ferè millia passuum suo ambitu continet, muris undiq; cincta, & à paucis aliis quam Christianis hominibus habitata:* which is, *Now hearing of the death of the Patriarch*, (as those that came to *Rome* reported) *they ran tumultuously together into that Island of Tygris* or Eden *before spoken of, which Island is situated about twelve miles above Mosal, containing very neer ten miles in compasse, and every where invironed with a wall, inhabited by few other men than Christians*. And afterward he maketh a recapitulation of the Christian Churches; among the rest he addeth the Isle of Eden by the name of *Geserta, Insula Tygris: sive Geserta*. Furthermore, describing the City of *Hosan-cepha*, or *Fortis Petra*, he placeth it *supra prædictum Tygris, Insulam rupi asperæ impositam; Above the aforesaid Island of Tygris, being seated on a steepe Rocke*. Of this Island of *Geserta*, *Andrew Thevet* maketh mention in his tenth Booke of his generall Cosmographie in these words: *Geserta ou Gesire est au milieu de la Riviere du Tygre, & pense que c'est une terre des plus fertiles de toute l' Asie; Geserta or Gesire is in the middle of Tygris, the soyle the most fertile of all Asia.*

By this we see that the ancient name of *Eden* liveth, and of that *Eden* which lyeth Eastward from *Arabia Petræa*, and the Desart where *Moses* wrote, and that *Eden* which bordereth *Charran* according to *Ezechiel*, and that *Eden* which is seated according to the assertion of the said Prophet, and joyned with those Nations of *Reseph, Canneh* and *Charran*, and the rest which traded with the *Tyrians*, and is found at this day in the parting of the two Regions of *Assyria*, and *Babylonia*, where the *Edenites* in *Thelassar* were garrisoned to resist the *Assyrians*, whose displantation *Senacherib* vaunted of (as above written;) and lastly, the same *Eden*, which embraceth *Tygris*, and looketh on *Euphrates*, two of the knowne Rivers of those four, which are by all men ascribed to Paradise.

§. XI.

Of the difficultie in the Text, which seemeth to make the foure Rivers to rise from one streame.

BUt it may be objected, that it is written in the Text *That a River went out of* Eden, and not Rivers in the plurall; which scruple *Matthew Beroaldus* hath thus answered in his Chronologie: The Latine Translation, saith hee, hath these words: *Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis ad irrigandum Paradisum, qui inde dividebatur in quatuor capita: Quæ verba melius consentient cum rei narratione, & ejusdem explicatione, si ita reddantur. Et fluvius erat egrediens ex* Edene, (*hoc est*) *fluvii procedebant ex* Edene *regione ad regandum pomarium; & inde dividebatur, & erat in quatuor capita:* which is, *And a River went out of the place of pleasure to water Paradise, and thence was divided into foure heads:* Which words (saith *Beroaldus*) do better agree with the narration and explication of the place, if they be thus translated: *And a River was going forth of* Eden (*that is*) *Rivers went forth, and ran out of the Region of* Eden *to water the Orchard; and from thence it was divided, and they became foure heads.* The *Tygurine* differs from the Vulgar or Latine; for it converts it thus *Et fluvius egrediebatur de deliciis; And a River went out of pleasure*, in stead of *Eden*; and the Latine addeth the word *locus*, or place, *Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis; And a River went out of the place*

of

of pleaſure: and ſo the word (place) may rightly be referred to Eden, which was (of all other) a Region moſt delightful and fertile; and ſo alſo the word (*inde*) and *thence*, was divided, hath reference to the Countrey of Eden, and not to the Garden it ſelf.

And for the word (*River*) for Rivers, it is uſual among the Hebrews: for it is written: *Let the Earth bud forth the bud of the Herbe that ſeedeth Seede, the fruitfull Tree, &c.* Gen. 1. 11. Here the Hebrew uſeth the Singular for the Plural, *Herbe and Tree, for Herbs and Trees*; 3. 2. and againe, We eate of the fruit of the Tree, in ſtead of (Trees:) And thirdly, *The man and his wife hid themſelves from the preſence of God*; *In medio ligni Paradiſi*; *In the middle of the tree of the Garden*, for (*Trees.*) And of this opinion is *David Kimchi*, and *Vatablus*, who upon this place of *Geneſis* ſay, that the Hebrewes doe often put the Singular for the Plurall, as *illud*, for *unumquodq*; *illorum*, and he giveth an inſtance in this queſtion it ſelfe, as, *A River* (for *Rivers*) *went out of Eden.* 8.

And this anſwer out of divers of the Learned, may, not without good reaſon, be given to the objection, That *Moſes* ſpeaketh but of one River, from which the heads ſhould divide themſelves. Howbeit I deny not, but with as good (and perhaps better) reaſon, we may expound the foure heads, to be foure notable paſſages into famous Countries. And ſo we may take the word (River) Verſe the tenth for one River, (to wit) Euphrates, as this name comprehendeth all the branches thereof. For this River, (after he is paſt the place, where we ſuppoſe Paradiſe to have beene,) divides it ſelfe, and ere long yeeldeth foure notable paſſages into ſeverall Countries, though not all the way down ſtreame, (for this is no where in the Text) where it is noted, that following the River downward, there is conveyance into the Countries named in the Text, though part of the way to one of the Countries (to wit, to Aſſyria) were up Tygris.

To this end the Text ſpeaking of Hiddekel, as it riſeth from the River of Eden, doth not ſay it compaſſeth or waſheth the whole Region of Aſſyria, (as it had uſed this phraſe of Piſon and Gehon) but that it runneth toward Aſſyria. The firſt branch Piſon, is Nahar-malcha, (by interpretation) *Baſilius*, or *flumen regium*, which runneth into Tygris under Apamia; whence ariſeth the name of *Paſi-tygris*, as it were *Piſo-tygris*. This leadeth to the Land of *Havila* or *Suſiana*. The ſecond branch *Gehon*, is that which in Hiſtorians is *Nabarſares* or *Narragas*; for *Nahar-ragas*: both which names ſignifie *flumen derivatum* (a River derived,) alſo *Acracanus*, *quaſi Ranoſus*, by reaſon of the froggie Fens which it maketh: this Gehon leadeth to the firſt ſeate of Chus, about the borders of Chaldæa and Arabia, and it is loſt at length in the Lakes of Chaldæa. The third branch Hiddekel, may be expounded the upper ſtream of Piſon, or Baſilius which runneth into Hiddekel, properly ſo called (that is, into Tygris) above Seleucia, where it ſheweth a paſſage up Tygris into Aſſyria: where, becauſe at length it is called Hiddekel or Tygris, having before no knowne proper name, the Text in this place calleth it Hiddekel from the beginning. The fourth Perath, or Euphrates, ſo called *per excellentiam*, being the body of the River Euphrates, which runneth through Babylon and Otris. But, be it a River or Rivers, that come out of Eden, ſeeing that Tygris and Euphrates are noted in the Text, there can be no doubt, but that Paradiſe was not farre from theſe Rivers: for that Perath in *Moſes* is Euphrates, there can be no queſtion; and (indeed) as plaine it is that Hiddekel is Tygris. For Hiddekel goeth (ſaith *Moſes*) Eaſtward towards Aſſur, as we find, that Tygris is the River of *Aſſyria propriè dicta*, whoſe chiefe City was Nineve, as in *Geneſis* the tenth it is written: That out of that Land (to wit) Babylonia, *Nimrod* went into Aſſur, and builded Nineve, which was the chief City of Aſſyria.

And as for the kind of ſpeech here uſed in the Text, ſpeaking of four heads; though the heads of Rivers be (properly) their Fountains, yet here are they to be underſtood, to be ſpoken of the beginning of their diviſion from the firſt ſtream. *Caput aquæ* (ſaith ULPIANUS) *illud eſt, unde aqua noſcitur, ſi ex fonte naſcatur, fons*; *ſi ex flumine, vel ex lacu, prima initia, &c. If the beginning of the water be out of a Fountain, then is the Fountain taken for the head: if out of a Lake, then the Lake*; and if from a main River any branch be ſeparate and divided, then where that branch doth firſt bound it ſelf with new banks, there is that part of the River, where the branch forſaketh the main ſtream, called the head of the River.

§. XII.

§. XII.

Of the strange fertility and happiness of the Babylonian Soyle, as it is certaine that Eden was such.

IT may also be demanded, whether this Region of Eden, by us described, be of such fertility and beauty, as Eden the seat of Paradise was: which, if it be denied, then must we also consider, that there was no part of the Earth, that retained that fertility and pleasure, that it had before the curse: neither can we ascribe the same fruitfulness to any part of the Earth, nor the same virtue to any plant thereon growing, that they had before the flood; and therefore this Region of Eden may be now no such flourishing Countrey, as it was when it was first created in his perfection.

Herod. Clia. 1. Yet this I finde written of it: First, in *Herodotus*, who was an eye-witness, and speaketh of the very place it self; for the Isle of Eden is but twelve miles or thereabout from Nineve, and so from Mosal. *Ex Euphrate exiens in Tygrim, alterum flumen, juxta quod Urbs Ninus sita erat. Hæc regio, omnium quas nos vidimus, optima est, &c.* *Where Euphrates runneth out into Tygris, not far from the place where Ninus is seated. This Region, of all that we have seen, is most excellent:* and he addeth afterward; *Cereris autem fructu procreando adeo ferax est, ut nunquam non ferè ducenta reddat, &c.* (that is) *It is so fruitfull in bringing forth Corne, that it yeeldeth two hundred fold: The leaves of Wheat and Barley being almost foure fingers broad. As for the height of Millet and Sesame, they are even in length like unto Trees; which although I know to be true, yet I forbeare to speake hereof, well knowing, that those things which are reported of this fruitfulness, will seeme very incredible to those, which never were in the Country of Babylon. They have commonly in all the Country Palm-Trees growing of their own accord, the most of them bearing fruit, out of which they make both Meats, and Wine, and Honey, ordering them as the Fig Trees.* Thus far *Herodotus*.

To this Palm-tree, so much admired in the East India, *Strabo* and *Niger* adde a fourth excellency, which is, that *it yeeldeth bread; Ex quibus panem, & mel, & vinum, & acetum conficiunt; Of which these people make Bread, Wine, Honey, and Vineger.* But *Antonius* the Eremite findeth a fift commodity, not inferiour to any of those foure, which is, that from this self-same Tree there is drawn a kinde of fine Flax, of which people make their garments, and with which in East India they prepare the cordage for their ships. And that this is true, *Athanasius* in the life of *Antonius* the eremite, confesseth, saying: *That he received a Garment made thereof from the Eremite himself, which he brought with him out of this Region.* So therefore those Trees, which the East Indies so highly esteem and so much admire (as indeed the Earth yeelded no plant comparable to this) those Trees (I say) are in this upper Babylon, or Region of Eden, as common as any trees of the Field. *Sunt etiam* (saith STRABO) *passim per omnem Regionem palmæ sua sponte nascentes; There are of palms over all the whole Region, growing of their own accord.* Of this place *Quintus Curtius* maketh this report: *Euntibus à parte læva Arabiæ (odorum fertilitate nobilis) regio campestris interest inter Tygrim & Euphratem, jacens tam ubere & pingui solo, ut à pastu repelli pecora dicantur, ne satietas perimat;* (that is) *As you travail on the left hand of Arabia (famous for plenty of sweet Odours) there lieth a Champain Country placed between Tygris and Euphrates, and so fruitful and fat a soile, that they are said to drive their Cattel from pasture, least they should perish by satiety. Bis in anno segetes Babylonii secant; The Babylonians cut their Corn twice a year* (saith *Niger*.) And as Countries generally are more fruitful to the Southward, than in the Northern parts: so we may judg the excellency of this by that report which *Strabo* maketh of the South parts of America, which is the North border of Eden, or a part thereof. His words be these in the Latine: *Tota enim hæc regio frugibus & arboribus abundat mansuetis, itemque semper virentibus; This Region aboundeth with pleasant fruits, and Trees alwaies greene:* which witnesseth a perpetual Spring, not found elsewhere but in the Indies onely, by reason of the Suns neighbourhood, the life and stirrer up of Nature in a perpetuall activity. In brief, so great is the fertility of the ground, that the people are constrained twice to mow down their Corn fields, and a third time to eat them up with Sheep: which husbandry the Spaniards wanting in the Valley of Mexico, for the first forty years, could not make our kinde of Wheate beare seed, but it grew up as high as the Trees, and was fruitless. Besides, those fields are altogether without weeds

saith

(saith *Pliny*) who addeth this singularitie to that soyle, That the second yeare the very stubble (or rather falling downe of the seedes again) yeeldeth them a harvest of corne without any further labour: his words are these, *Ubertatis tantæ sunt, ut sequenti anno sponte restibilis fiat seges.* *Plin. Nat. hist. l.18.c.17.*

§. XIII.

Of the River Pison, and the land of Havilah.

After the discoverie of Eden, and the testimonies of the fertilitie thereof, it resteth to prove that *Pison* and *Gehon* are branches of *Tygris* and *Euphrates*: For, that the knowledge and certaintie of these two Rivers should trouble so many wise men, it is strange to me, seeing necessitie it selfe (*Tygris* and *Euphrates* being knowne) findeth them out: for *Euphrates*, or *Tygris*, or both, be that River or Rivers of Eden, which water Paradise; which river or rivers *Moses* witnesseth afterward divided into four heads, whereof the one is called *Pison*, the other *Gehon* &c. Could there be a stranger fancie in the world, than when we find both these (namely) Tygris and Euphrates in Assyria and Mesopotamia, to seeke the other two in India and Egypt, making the one Ganges, and the other Nilus? Two rivers as far distant as any of fame knowne or discovered in the world: the Scriptures making it so plain, that these Rivers were divided into foure branches, and with the Scriptures, Nature, reason, and Experience bearing witnesse. There is no errour, which hath not some slipperie and bad foundation, or some appearance of probabilitie, resembling truth, which when men (who studie to be singular) finde out, (straining reason according to their fancies) they then publish to the world matter of contention and jangling; not doubting but in the variable deformitie of mens minds, to find some partakers or sectators, the better by their helpe to nurse and cherish such weake babes, as their own inventions have begotten.

But this mistaking (and first for the River of *Pison*) seemeth to have grown out of the not-distinguishing of that Region in India, called Havilah, from Havilah which adjoyneth to Babylonia, afterward knowne by the name of Susiana. For Havilah upon Tygris tooke name from *Havilah* the son of *Cush*; and Havilah in India, from *Havilah* the son of *Joctan*; the one remembred by *Moses* in the description of Paradise, the other where *Moses* setteth downe the generations of *Noah*, and his sons after the Flood. For the sons of *Cush* were *Seba*, *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, and *Raamah*; and the sons of *Joctan* were *Ophir*, and *Havilah* &c. of which latter (to wit) of *Ophir* and *Havilah* the sonnes of *Joctan*, that Island of Ophir, (whence *Salomon* had gold) and Havilah adjoyning, had their names. Now because *Ganges* is a great and a famous river of the East India, and Havilah a Country of the same, and is situated upon *Ganges*, hence it came that *Ganges* was taken for *Pison*, which river is said by *Moses* to water the land of Havilah. Or perhaps it was supposed that those foure rivers named by *Moses* must of necessitie be foure of the greatest in the world; whence (supposing that *Ganges* was the next great and famous river after Tygris and Euphrates) they chose out this river to make one of the foure. And yet certainly there is another river, whom in these respects they should rather have chosen than *Ganges*: for the river *Indus* on this side India, for beauty, for neerenesse, and for ability, giveth no way place to *Ganges*, but exceedeth it in all. And how can any reasonable man conceive, that *Ganges* can be one of the four heads, seeing *Indus* commeth between it and *Tygris*? and between *Tygris* and *Indus* is all that large Empire of *Persia*, consisting of many Kingdomes. And againe, farther towards the East, and beyond *Indus*, are all those ample Dominions of *India intra Gangem*, which lie between those two proud rivers of *Indus* and *Ganges*, now called the Kingdome of *Mogor*. So as if *Indus* be not accounted for any of the foure, because it is removed from *Tygris* by all the breadth of *Persia*, then how much lesse *Ganges*, which falleth into the Ocean, little lesse than fortie degrees to the Eastward of *Indus*? Surely, whosoever readeth the Storie of *Alexander*, shall finde, that there is no river in *Asia*, that can exceede *Indus*. For *Hydaspis* was of that breadth and depth, as *Alexander* thereon in great *Gallies* transpotted himselfe, and the greatest part of his armie, and in sayling down that branch of *Indus*, found it so large and deepe; and by reason thereof so great a billow, as it endangered his whole Fleet, which was ready to be swallowed up therein: *Hydaspis* (as aforesaid) being but one of many branches of *Indus*, comparable to it and as

Gen.10.7. 10.29. 2.11.

great as it, having beſides this, the Rivers of *Coas*, of *Suaſtus*, *Aceſines*, *Adris* (otherwiſe) *Hirotis*, *Hiſpalis*, and *Zaradus*, all which make but one *Indus*, and by it are ſwallowed up with all their children and companions, which being all incorporated and made one ſtream, it croſſeth athward *Aſia*, and then at *Cambaia* viſiteth the Ocean Sea.

Gen. 2. 15. But becauſe *Piſon*, which compaſſeth *Havilah*, as alſo *Gehon*, which watereth *Cuſh*, muſt ſome-where be joyned with the reſt in one body, or at leaſt be found to proceed out of the ſame Country of *Eden*, out of which the other two heads doe proceed; out of doubt they cannot either the one or the other, be *Ganges*, or *Nilus*: for *Nilus* riſeth in the uttermoſt of the South, and runneth Northward into the *Mediterran* Sea; and the River *Ganges* riſeth out of the mountain *Imaus*, or (as others will have it) *Caucaſus*, which divides the Northern *Scythia* from *India*, and runneth from North to South into the *Indian Ocean*. And as for *Perath* and *Hiddekel* (that is, *Euphrates* and *Tygris*) the one of them is begotten in *Armenia*, neer *Georgiana* or *Iberia*, the other is not far off in the ſame *Armenia*, by the *Gorgiæan* mountains; ſo as *Ganges*, who only travaileth in her own *India*, and *Nilus* through *Æthiopia* and *Egypt*, never ſaw the land of *Eden*, or joyned themſelves in one channell, either with themſelves, or with either of the other; and therefore could not at any time from thence be ſeparated, or divided into four heads or branches, according to *Moſes*,

Gen. 2. v. 12. Therefore the River *Piſon*, which inricheth *Havilah*, is the ſame which by joyning it ſelf with *Tygris*, was therefore called *Piſi-Tygris*, or *Piſo-Tygris*, of *Piſon* and *Tygris*, which River watereth that *Havilah*, which *Havilah* the ſonne of *Cuſh* gave name unto, and not *Havilah* of *India*, ſo called of *Havilah* the ſonne of *Joctan*, who inhabited with his brother *Ophir* in the Eaſt. And this *Havilah* of the *Cuſhites* had alſo Gold, Bdellium, and the Onyx ſtone. This Bdellium is a Tree of the bigneſſe of an Olive, whereof *Arabia* hath great plenty, which yeeldeth a certaine Gum ſweet to ſmell to, but bitter in taſte, called alſo Bdellium. The Hebrews take the Load-ſtone for Bdellium. *Beroaldus* affirmeth, that *Bdela* in Hebrew ſignifieth pearl: ſo doth *Eugubinus*; and *Hierom* calls it *Oleaſter*: be it what it will, a tree bearing Gum or Pearle: *Havilah* or *Suſiana* hath plenty of both. Now this Country of *Suſiana* or *Havilah* ſtretcheth it ſelf towards the North as far as the Altars of *Hercules*, and from thence imbraceth all the Tract of Land Southward, as far as the *Perſian Gulfe*, on the Eaſt ſide thereof: from which Eaſt ſide had the *Shebans* (which traded with the City of *Tyre* according to *Ezechiel*) their great plenty of gold; which *Strabo* alſo witneſſeth, as was ſhewed before.

Strab. Hopk. de Par. The Greeks had a conceit, that *Piſon* was *Danubius*: the *Rabbins* take it for *Nilus*. *Aben-Ezra* (ſaith *Hopkins*) out of *Rabbi Saadia*, tranſlateth *Piſon* into *Nilus*: But *Nilus* findeth the ſame impoſſibility that *Ganges* doth: and *Danubius* hath the Sea of *Helleſpont* and all *Aſia* the leſſe between it and *Tygris*. Now *Piſon*, which runneth through *Havilah* or *Suſiana*, doth to this day retain ſome ſigne of this name; for where it and *Tygris* embraceth each other under the City of *Apamia*, there doe they agree of a joynt and compounded name, and are called *Piſo-tygris*. And it is ſtrange unto me, that from ſo great antiquitie there ſhould be found remaining any reſembling ſound of the firſt name: for Babylon it ſelf, which dwelleth ſo neer theſe Rivers, is by ſome writers known by the name of *Bandar*, as, by *Poſtellus*: by *Caſtaldus*, of *Balduch*: by *Barius*, of *Bagdad*; and of *Boughedor*, by *Andrew Thevet*; and yet all thoſe that have lately ſeene it, call it *Bagdet*. To this River of *Piſon*, *Ptolomie* indeed with many others give the name of *Baſilius* or *Regius*, and *Gehon* they term *Mahar-ſares*, and *Marſias*, and *Baarſares*. So is *Euphrates*, neer the Spring and Fountain, by *Strabo* and *Plinie* called *Pixirates*: by *Junius*, *Puckperah*, out of the Hebrew (that is) The profuſion, or comming forth of *Euphrates*: where it bre aketh through the mountain *Taurus*, it takes the name of *Omyra*. *Plutarch* calls it *Medus* and *Zaranda*: the Hebrews *Parath*, (ſaith *Ar. Montanus*:) *Pagninus*, *Perath*: *Joſephus*, *Phorah*; *Euſebius*, *Zozimus*: *Ammianus*, *Chalymicus*: *Giſtilanus* and *Colinutius* term it *Cobar*: which *Ezechiel* calleth *Chebar*; but this is but a branch of *Euphrates*. The *Aſſyrians* know it by the name of *Armalchar*, or *Nahor Malcha*: but now commonly it is called *Frat*.

Poſt Coſmog. Thevet. Coſmog.

Aſia tab. 4.

Plin. lib. 5. c. 24

The ſame confuſion of names hath *Tygris*, as *Diglito*, and *Diglath*, *Seilax*, and *Sollax*: of the Hebrews it was called *Hiddekel*: now of the inhabitants *Tegil*.

But *Mercer* upon *Geneſis* conceiveth rightly of theſe Rivers: for *Euphrates* and *Tygris* (ſaith he) ſtream into foure branches; two of which keep their ancient names, and the other

other two are called Pison and Gehon. The reason why these two Rivers joyned in one (below Apamia) lose their names and are called *Pisi-tigris*, and the memory of Euphrates extinguished is, because the best part of Euphrates running through the channell of *Gehon*, sinketh into the lakes of Chaldæa, not far from Ur, the City of *Abraham*, and fall not entirely into the Persian Sea, as Tigris, accompanied with Pison, doth.

This errour that Pison was Ganges, was first broched by *Josephus*, (whose fields, though they be fertile, yet are they exceeding full of weeds) and other men (who take his authority to be sufficient in matter of description, whereupon depended no other important consequence) were not curious in the examination thereof. For, *Epiphanius*, *Augustine*, and *Hierome*, take this for currant; whereof it followed, that as Pison was transported into the East India to finde out Havilah: so was Gehon drawn into Africa to compasse Æthiopia. But if Havilah, whereof *Moses* speaketh in the description of Paradise, be found to be a Region, adjoyning to Babylon on the one side, and Cush (which is falsly interpreted Æthiopia) fastned to it on the other side, we shall not need then to work wonders (that is) to impose upon men the transportation of Rivers, from one end of the World to the other, which (among other uses) were made to transport men. Now it was in the valley of Shinar, where *Cush* the sonne of *Ham* first sate down with his sonnes *Shelah*, *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, *Nimrod*, *&c.* and of *Havilah*, the sonne of *Cush*, did that Region take name, which Pison compasseth; and the land (called Cush) which Gehon watereth, took name of *Cush* himself. For as the sonnes of *Joctan*, *Ophir*, and *Havilah*, seated themselves as near together as they could in India, so did the sons of *Cush* in Shinar, or Babylonia, where *Nimrod* built Babel: for *Havilah*, or *Chavilah*, was first *Chusea* of *Cush*; then *Chusa*, *Susa*, and *Susiana*.

From this Havilah unto the Desarts of Sur, did the Israelites and Amalekites possess all the interjacent Countries: for *Saul* smote the Amalekites from Havilah to Sur: which Sur, the Chaldæan Paraphrast converteth Hagra, and Hagra bordereth the Red Sea. But this was not meant from Sur upon the Red Sea, to Havilah in the East India, for *Saul* was no such Travailer or Conquerour, and therefore Havilah must be found neerer home, where the sonnes of *Ismael* inhabited, and which Countrey *Saul* wasted: for *Amalek* and the Amalekites possest that neck of Countrey, between the Persian Sea, and the Red Sea; Havilah being the extream of the one, towards the East, and Sur of the other, towards Egypt and the West, leaving that great body of *Arabia felix* towards the South, and they spread themselves with the Midianites and Edumæans, from the East part, or backside of the Holy Land, to the banks of Euphrates, comprising the best part of *Arabia Petræa* and *Deserta*.

1 *Sam.* 15. 7.

§. XIIII.

Of the River Gehon, and the Land of Cush, and of the ill translating of Æthiopia for Cush, 2 CHRON. 21. 16.

NOw, as Havilah in the East India drew Pison so far out of his way thither, so I say did Cush (being by the Seventy translated Æthiopia) force Gehon into Africa. For Cush being taken for Æthiopia by the Greekes, whom the Latines followed, Gehon consequently was esteemed for Nilus. But Æthiopians are, as much as *black or burnt faces*, whose proper Country called Thebaides, lyeth to the Southward of all Egypt. And although there be many other Regions of Æthiopians, and far South in Africa, yet those of Thebaides are those so often remembred in the Egyptian stories, and out of which Nation they had many times their Kings of Egypt: all which Æthiopians are very neer, or else directly under the Equinoctiall line, which is very far from that Land inhabited by the Chusites, who are neither black of colour, nor in any sort neighbouring *Torrida Zona*. But this translation of the Septuagint, *Pererius* doth qualifie in this manner: There are (saith he) two Æthiopia's, the East, and the West: and this division he findeth in *Strabo*, out of *Homer*. Now because there is no colour to make Chus Æthiopia in Africa, *Pererius* will make Chush and the land of the Chusites (which is *Arabia Petræa*, and a part of Arabia the Happy, with the Region of Madian) to be the East Æthiopia.

See more of this point, c. 7. Sect. 10.

Now if it be granted, that Chush and the land of the Chusites be that tract from Sur to Havilah, according to the Scriptures: *Habitavit* ISMAEL *ab Havilah usq; Sur, quæ respicit Ægyptum* Gen. 25. 18.

Egyptum introcuntibus Assyrios, Ismael dwelt from Havilah *unto* Sur, *that is, towards Egypt, as thou goest toward* Assyria. The same sufficeth to prove that Gehon cannot be Nilus, but a River which watereth Cush, and not Æthiopia. But this place of Scripture, *Habitavit Ismael, &c.* hath this sense: *Ismael* dwelt from Havilah, which is the way of Assyria, or the Countrey bordering Assyria; and Sur, which lyeth toward Egypt, which is as much to say, as, The issues of *Ismael* (whereof there were twelve Princes) whom God had promised to make a great people, inhabited all those Regions between the border of Egypt and Assyria. And that they were (according to the word of God) so increased and multiplyed, it well appeared, when *Zerah* the Chusite, which others call *Tharantha*, brought an Armie of ten hundred thousand against *Asa* King of Judah. Which Armie came not out of Æthiopia beyond Egypt; for that had been a strange progresse for such a multitude, as ten hundred thousand, having so mighty a King as the King of Egypt, between Palæstina and Æthiopia. But these were the Chusites, Amalekites, Madianites, Ismaelites, and Arabians. For it is written, that after *Asa* (strengthened by God) had defeated this world of an Armie, he in following his victory took some of the Cities of King *Zerah* round about, as Gerar. Now that Gerar is a Citie of the Æthiopians, it cannot be suspected: for these be the words of the scripture disproving it: *And* ABRAHAM *departed thence toward the South Countrey, and dwelt between* Kadesh *and* Sur, *and sojourned in* Gerar: Now Sur is that part upon which *Moses* and the Israelites first set their feet after they passed the Red Sea, where the Amalekites in *Rephidim* set on them, supposing that they had been weary, and unable to resist. Again, in the story of *Isaac* it is written: *Wherefore* ISAAC *went to* ABIMELECH, *and the* Philistines *unto* Gerar: and I am sure *Abimelech* and the Philistines were no Æthiopians. And lastly, *Moses* himselfe, where he describeth the bounds of Canaan, hath these words: *Then the border of the* Canaanites *was from* Sydon, *as thou commest to* Gerar: for Sydon was the Frontier of Canaan towards the North, and Gerar by Gaza towards the South. But indeed, howsoever *Pererius* doth with an honest excuse salve his translation of Chus for Æthiopia, yet it appeareth plainly, that the Septuagint and *Josephus* did altogether mis-understand this place. And first, for *Homers* East and West Æthiopia, they are both found elsewhere: For *Plinie* in his fift Book and eight Chapter, citeth *Homer* for an Author of these two Æthiopia's. But the East Æthiopia is that which compasseth Nilus to the South of Egypt, and is the South border thereof; now a part of the Empyre of the Abyssines under *Prestor John*; And the West Æthiopia is that which joyneth it self with the River Niger, which we call Senega and Gambra: for thereabouts are these Æthiopians called Perorsi, Dararites, with divers other names, which *Plinie* numbreth. But all these are in Africa, and beyond the Desarts thereof, saith *Plinie* out of *Homer*, *Agrippa*, and *Juba*; which Regions indeed (I mean that of Niger, and that of *Prestor John*, and the Troglodites) lye due East and West. But as for Cush, and the Region of the Ismaelites, &c. they are extended directly North from that Æthiopia, which is beyond Egypt. Now, that *Josephus* was exceeding grosse herein, it appeareth by that fiction which he hath of *Moses* when he served *Pharao*, in the Warres against the Æthiopians: for in that (to make Chus, Æthiopia) he transporteth Madian by miracle over the Red Sea, and beyond all Egypt, and setteth it in Æthiopia, as shall bee shewed more at large in the Chapter of the Worlds Plantation. Againe, that Gehon was improperly translated Nilus, *Pererius* confesseth, and layeth it rather to the corruption of the Greek Copie, than otherwise. And whereas the Septuagint have converted this place of the Prophet *Hieremie*; *And what hast thou now to doe in the way of Egypt, to drinke the water of* Nilus? *Quid tibi vis in via Egypti, ut bibis aquam Gehon?* To this saith *Pererius*, *profectò hebraicè ibi non est vox Gehon, sed Sichor, quæ significat nigrum & turbidum*: Truely (saith *Pererius*) *the word Gehon in this place, is not found in the Hebrew, but Sichor, which signifieth black and troubled water.*

Vers. 16.

2 Chron. 14.9

Gen. 10.v.11. Exod. 17.8.

10.19.

Plin. l.5.c.8.

C.2.v.18.

Furthermore, this is a manifest and unanswerrble argument, that Chus was ill taken for Æthiopia. *Moses* married the daughter of *Jethro*, Prince and Priest of Madian, whom both the Greek and Latine call a Madianite, and not *Æthiopissam*, as (with *Josephus*) the Geneva converts it, though it help it a little with a marginall note. Now it is without dispute, that *Zipporah* was of the Countrey of Madian, which is that part of Arabia

Ex.2.21.& 3.1. Num.12.1.

Arabia Petræa, bordering the Red Sea; for it is written in the second of *Exodus*, that MOSES *fled from* PHARAO *into the Land of Midian, and sate down by a Well, &c.* and again in the third of *Exodus*; *When* MOSES *kept the sheep of* JETHRO, *his Father in Law, Priest of* Madian, *&c.* Indeed these four Nations are every where mixt in the Scriptures, because they dwell confusedly together (to wit) the Madianites, the Ismaelites, the Amalekites, and the Chusites, which were all in one generall word, Arabians, and in the Scriptures sometimes called by one of these names, and sometimes by another; as in *Gen.* 37. *v.* 25. 27. *&* 28. that *Joseph* was sold to the Ismaelites; and in the same Chapter, *v.* 36. it is written, that the Madianites sold *Joseph* to *Potiphar*, *Pharao*'s Steward. The Genevians, in a marginall note (to avoid this confounding of the Nations) say, that *Moses* wrote according to their opinion, who took the Madianites and Ismaelites to be all one. But *Moses* wrote not after any mans opinion, he wrote the truth; and these were all Arabians: & so in this very place it appeareth by their merchandise, which they brought with them, when they bought *Joseph*: for their Camels were loaden with Spicery, and Balm, and Myrrhe, which are the trades of *Arabia fœlix*: from whence chiefly, and from the East India, all the World is served with Myrrhe and Frankinsence; and their spices they received from the East side of the Arabian Gulf, as aforesaid. And in the 39. Chap. it is said: That *Potiphar* bought *Joseph* of the Ismaelites, which the Chaldæan *Paraphrast* in the same place calleth Arabians. Now, to make this the more manifest, it is written in the sixt of *Judges*, That when Israel had sown, then came up the Madianites, and the Amalekites, and they of the East, and came upon them: they of the East, were Arabians of the Desart; so as where before in the buying of *Joseph*, the Madianites and the Ismaelites were confused, here the Madianites and Amalekites are made one Nation. For in the prosecution of the Story of *Gedeon*, the Madianites only are named, as comprehending both Nations; and in the eight Chapter, *v.* 24. these Nations are all called Ismaelites, and neither Madianites nor Amalekites. As when *Gedeon* desired that every man would give him the golden ear-rings, which they had taken after the victory against *Zeba* and *Zolmunna*, Kings of Arabia, amounting to 1700. shekles of gold, it is written: *For they had golden ear-rings, because they were* Ismaelites. And these Ismaelites were a great and valiant Nation, and ever in action of War. *Manus ejus contra omnes, & manus omnium contra eum*; *His hand* (saith God of ISMAEL) *shall be against all men, and every mans hand against him.* Of these Ismaelites come the *Mahometon Arabians*, though some Writers think *Mahomet* to be of the *Schenitæ*. And these Ismaelites, which inhabite chiefly in Cedar, and the Desarts of Sur and Pharan (saith *Josephus*) use poyson upon their Arrowes, as the Indians doe. Towards the South-east are the Madianites, and Chusites: and beyond them, towards the Desarts of Arabia, the Amalekites; and all are one Nation, and all Arabians.

Verſ. 15. Verſ. 1. Gen. 37. 25. Verſ. 10. Verſ. 3. Cap. 7. C. 8. v. 24. Gen. 16. 12.

Lastly, the ill translation of Æthiopia for Chus, is among other places, made most apparent in the second of *Chronicles*, in these words: *So the Lord stirred up against* JEHORAM *the spirit of the* Philistines, *and the* Arabians, *which confine the* Æthiopians; so *Hierome* reads it: the Geneva translation hath it, *which were besides the* Æthiopians. Now how far it is off between the Philistines and the Negro's, or the Æthiopians, every man that looketh in a Map may judge. For the Philistines and Arabians do mixe and joyn with the Land of the Chusites, and are distant from Æthiopia about two and thirty, or three and thirtie degrees; and therefore not their next neighbours; but all Egypt, and the Desart of Sur and Pharan are between them. So as this place of the second of *Chronicles*, should have been translated in these words: *So the Lord stirred up against Jehoram, the spirits of the* Philistins, *and the* Arabians, *which confine and border upon the* Chusites, who indeed are their next neighbours. * *Nulla superest dubitatio quin Æthiopia in sacris literis sit Arabia propinqua*; *There remaineth no doubt* (saith *Steuchius*) *but* Æthiopia *in the Scriptures, is taken for that Country which joyneth to* Arabia.

2 Chro. 21. 16. * Steuch. Eugub. in Gen. c. 2.

Now, may we think, is it probable, or possible, that *Moses* could be ignorant of *Nilus*? No, he knew it, no living man so well, and therefore would never have named Gehon, for Nilus, or Nilus for Gehon. Surely, if *Moses* had meant Nilus, when he named Gehon, he would have called the River (into which he was cast upon reeds, and preserved by God, working compassion in the daughter of *Pharao*) a River of Egypt, wherein he was born and bred, and wrought so many miracles. Besides, the River of Nilus is often named in the Scriptures, but never by the name of *Gehon*. And if *Moses* had told the

Exod. 2.

Israelites, that Nilus had been a River of Paradise, they might justly have thought, that he had derided them: for they had lived there all daies of their lives, and found no such Paradise at all, nor any memory, or speech thereof, except we shall believe the paradise of Hesperides, where (saith *Plinie*) there was nothing found in his time, but wilde Olives in stead of golden Apples. But Nilus is twice called Sichor, once in *Isay*, and once in the Prophet *Jeremie*, and yet in those places it is not said to be a River of Æthiopia, but of Egypt. For in a word, the Israelites had never any communion or affairs with the Æthiopians, nor any intelligence, or trade, beyond Egypt, to the South; but the enemies which they had on the South, and East parts, were these Nations of the Chusites, Philistines, Ismaelites, Amalekites, and Madianites: who being often governed by many little Kings, or *Reguli*, were distinguished in names, according to the Fathers or heads of those Nations; but in one generall name were all *Arabians*. On the North side of Canaan, they were afflicted with the Cœlosyrians, with the Magogians, Tubalites, and others their adherents. And thirdly within themselves, the Nations, which remained of the ancient Canaanites, held the strongest Cities upon the Sea-coast (as Tyre, Sidon, Acon, Gaza, and many others: yea, Jerusalem it self was withheld from Israel (from the daies of *Moses*, even unto the time of *David*) by the *Jebusites*.

Plin. l. 5. c. 1. c. 23. c. 3. c. 2. v. 18.

That which now remaineth of most difficultie, is, that it doth not appear that any part of Gehon watereth that part of Arabia the stony, which the Chusites inhabited in the times of the Kings of Israel: and in this *Desart* it was that *Matt: Beroaldus* lost himself in seeking out Paradise: for he was driven (to my understanding) to create two Rivers, and call them Gehon and Pison; to the end that the one might water Chus, and the other Havilah; for I finde none such *in rerum natura*, as he hath described: by which Rivers he also includeth within Paradise, even Arabia the Desart,

And as he well proved that Pison was not Ganges, nor Gehon, Nilus; so where to find them else-where it seemeth he knew not. Certainly this River of Gehon, which he maketh to fall into the Mediterran at Gaza, and whose Springs he findeth farre East in Arabia, is but imaginary; for the Current by Gaza is but a small stream, rising between it and the Red Sea, whose head from Gaza it selfe is little more than twentie English miles, as shall appear hereafter. But questionless, hence it comes that many were mistaken. They all considered of the habitations of the Chusites, as they were planted when the state of Israel stood, and when it flourished, being then their near neighbours, and never looked back to the first seats and plantation of *Chus*. For after the Floud, *Chus* and his Children never rested, till they found the Valley of Shinar, in which, and near which himself, with his sons, first inhabited. *Havilah* took the River-side of Tygris chiefly on the East, which after his own name he called *Havilah*, (now *Susiana:*) *Raamah*, and *Sheba* farther down the River, in the entrance of Arabia fœlix. NIMROD seated himself in the best of the Valley, where he built Babel, whereof that Region had afterwards the name of Babylonia. *Chus* himself and his brother *Mizraim* first kept upon *Gehon*, which falleth into the Lakes of Chaldæa, and in process of time, and as their people increased, they drew themselves more westerly towards the Red or Arabian Sea: from whence *Mizraim* past over into Egypt, in which Tract the *Chusites* remained for many years after. Now because there could be no such River found in Arabia the stonie, which they might entitle *Gehon*, they translated *Chus*, *Æthiopia*; and *Gehon*, *Nilus*. And if we doe examine this mistaking by example, we shall the better perceive it as it was. For let us suppose, that *Brute*, or whosoever else that first peopled this Island, had arrived upon the River of Thames, and called the Island after his name *Britannia*, it might be said that Thames or Tems was a River that watered *Britannia*: and when afterwards in processe of time, the same *Brute* had also discovered and conquered Scotland, which he also intituled by the same name of *Britannia*, after ages might conclude that Scotland was no part thereof, because the River of Tems is not found therein. Or let us suppose that *Europa*, the Daughter of the King of Tyre in *Phœnicia*, gave the name to Europe, according to *Herodotus*, and that the first discoverers thereof arrived in the mouth of the River in Thrace, which then watered as much of Europe, as he first discovered, shall we in like sort resolve that France, Spaine, and Italie, &c. are no parts of Europe, because that River is not found in them, or any of them: in like manner was it said by *Moses* in his description of *Gehon*, that it watered the whole Land of *Chus*; but not the whole Land

Herod. l. 1. & 4.

which

which the *Chuſites* ſhould, or might in future time conquer people, and inhabit, ſeeing in after-ages they became Lords of many Nations, and they might (perchance) have beene Maſters in time, (as the Saracens, which came of them, were) of a great part of the world. For, though the Babylonian Empire which tooke beginning in *Nimrod* the ſonne of *Chus*, conſiſted at the firſt but of foure Cities, (to wit) *Babel*, *Erech*, *Acad*, and *Chalne*; yet we finde, that his Succeſſours within a few yeares after, commanded all the whole World in effect: and the fame of Babel conſumed the memorie of Chuſea. For of this *Tower of Confuſion* did all that Land take the name of Babylonia: and the greatneſſe of that Empire, founded by *Nimrod* a younger ſon, obſcured the name and nation of his father *Cuſh* in thoſe parts untill they crept farther off, and in places not yet entituled, and farther from the Babylonian Empire, where the Chuſites retained their names, which alſo they faſtned to the Soile and Territorie by themſelves afterwards inhabited and held. And we may not thinke, that *Chus* or any of his, could in haſte creepe through thoſe deſart Regions, which the length of 130. yeares after the Floud had (as it were) fortified with Thickets, and permitted every Buſh and Bryar, Reede and Tree to joyne themſelves (as it were) into one maine body and Forreſt. For if we look with judgement and reaſon into the Worlds plantation, we ſhall finde, that every Family ſeated themſelves as neare together as poſſibly they could; and though neceſſitie enforced them, after they grew full of people, to ſpread themſelves, and creepe out of Shinar or Babylonia; yet did they it with this advice, as that they might at all times reſort and ſuccour one another by River, the fields being then (without all doubt) impaſſable. So *Nimrod*, who out of wit and ſtrength uſurped dominion over the reſt, ſate down in the very confluence of all thoſe Rivers, which watered Paradiſe: for thither it was to which the greateſt troups of *Noah*'s children repaired; and from the ſame place whence Mankind had his beginning, from thence had they again their increaſe. The firſt Father of men *Adam*, had therein his former habitation. The ſecond Father of Mankind *Noah*, began from thence his diſperſion.

Now as *Nimrod* the youngeſt, yet ſtrongeſt, made his choice of Babel (as aforeſaid) which both *Tygris* and *Euphrates* cleanſed and enriched; ſo did *Havilah* place himſelfe upon *Piſo-Tygris*, *Raamah* and his ſon *Sheba* farther downe upon the ſame River, on the Sea coaſt of Arabia: *Chus* himſelf upon *Gehon*, the faireſt branch of *Euphrates*. And when they began to ſpread themſelves farther off, yet they alwaies faſtened themſelves to the Rivers ſides: for *Ninive*, *Charran*, *Reſeph*, *Canneh*, *Ur* in *Chaldæa*, and the other firſt-peopled Cities, were all founded upon theſe navigable Rivers, or their branches, by which the one might give ſuccour and aſſiſtance to the other, as is already often remembred.

§. XV.

A concluſion by way of repetition of ſomething ſpoken of before.

BUt now to conclude this diſpute, it appeareth to me by the teſtimonies of the Scriptures, that Paradiſe was a place created by God, and a part of this our Earth and habitable World, ſeated in the lower part of the Region of Eden, afterward called *Aram fluviorum*, or *Meſopotamia*, which taketh into it alſo a portion of *Shinar* and *Armenia*: this Region ſtanding in the moſt excellent temper of all other, (to wit) 35 degrees from the *Æquinoctial*, and 55 from the North-pole: in which climate the moſt excellent Wines, Fruits, Oyle, Graine of all ſorts, are to this day found in abundance. And there is nothing that better proveth the excellency of this ſaid ſoile and temper, than the abundant growing of the Palm-trees, without the care and labour of man. For wherein ſoever the Earth, Nature, and the Sun can moſt vaunt that they have excelled, yet ſhall this Plant be the greateſt wonder of all their works: This Tree alone giveth unto man whatſoever his life beggeth at Natures hand. And though it may be ſaid, that theſe Trees are found both in the Eaſt and Weſt *Indies*, which Countries are alſo bleſſed with a perpetual Spring and Summer, yet, lay downe by thoſe pleaſures and benefits the fearful and dangerous Thunders and Lightnings, the horrible and frequent Earthquakes, the dangerous diſeaſes, the multitude of venimous Beaſts and Worms, with other inconveniences; and then there will be found no compariſon between one and the other.

What

What other excellencies this Garden of Paradiſe had, before God (for mans ingratitude and crueltie) curſed the Earth, we cannot judge; but I may ſafely think, that by how much *Adam* exceeded all living men in perfection, by being the immediate workmanſhip of God, by ſo much did that choſen and particular Garden exceed all parts of the Univerſal World, in which God had planted (that is) made to grow the Trees of Life, of Knowledge; Plants onely proper, and becomming the Paradiſe, and garden of ſo great a Lord.

The ſum of all this is; That whereas the eyes of men in this Scripture have been dim-ſighted (ſome of them finding Paradiſe beyond our known World: ſome, above the middle region of the ayre: ſome, elevated neer the Moon: others, as far South as the Line, or as far North as the Pole, &c.) I hope that the reader will be ſufficiently ſatisfied, that theſe were but like Caſtles in the aire, and in mens fancies, vainly imagined. For it was Eaſtward in Eden (ſaith *Moſes*) Eaſtward, in reſpect of Judæa, that God planted this Garden; which Eden we finde in the Prophets where it was, and whereof the name (in ſome part) remaineth to this day. A river went out of Eden to water this Garden, and from thence divided it ſelfe into foure branches; and we finde that both *Tygris* and *Euphrates* ſwimming through Eden, do joyne in one, and afterward taking waies apart, do water *Chus* and *Havilah*, according to *Moſes*, the true ſeats of *Chus* and his Sons being then in the Valley of Shinar, in which *Nimrod* built Babel. That *Piſon* was *Ganges*, the Scripture, reaſon, and experience teach the contrary: for that which was never joyned, cannot be divided; *Ganges*, which inhabiteth India, cannot be a branch of the rivers of Eden; That *Gehon* was *Nilus*, the ſame diſtance maketh the ſame impoſſibility; and this river is a greater ſtranger to *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, than *Ganges* is: for although there are between *Tygris* and *Ganges* above four thouſand miles, yet they both riſe in the ſame quarter of the World; but *Nilus* is begotten in the Mountains of the Moon, almoſt as far off as the *Cape of good hope*, and falleth into the Mediterran Sea: and *Euphrates* diſtilleth out of the Mountains of Armenia, and falleth into the *Gulf of Perſia:* the one riſeth in the South, and travaileth North: the other riſeth in the North, and runneth South, threeſcore and three degrees the one from the other. In this leafe following, I have added a *Chorographical* deſcription of this terreſtrial Paradiſe, that the reader may thereby the better conceive the preceding Diſcourſe; and this is the reward I looke for, that my labour may but receive an allowance ſuſpended, until ſuch time as this deſcription of mine be reproved by a better.

CHAP. IV.

Of the two chief Trees in the Garden of Paradiſe.

§. I.

That the tree of Life was a material tree; and in what ſenſe it is to be taken, that man by his eating the forbidden fruit, is made ſubject to death.

FOr eating the forbidden fruit of the tree of Knowledge was *Adam* driven out of Paradiſe, *in exilium vitæ temporalis, into the baniſhment of temporal life*, ſaith *Beda*.

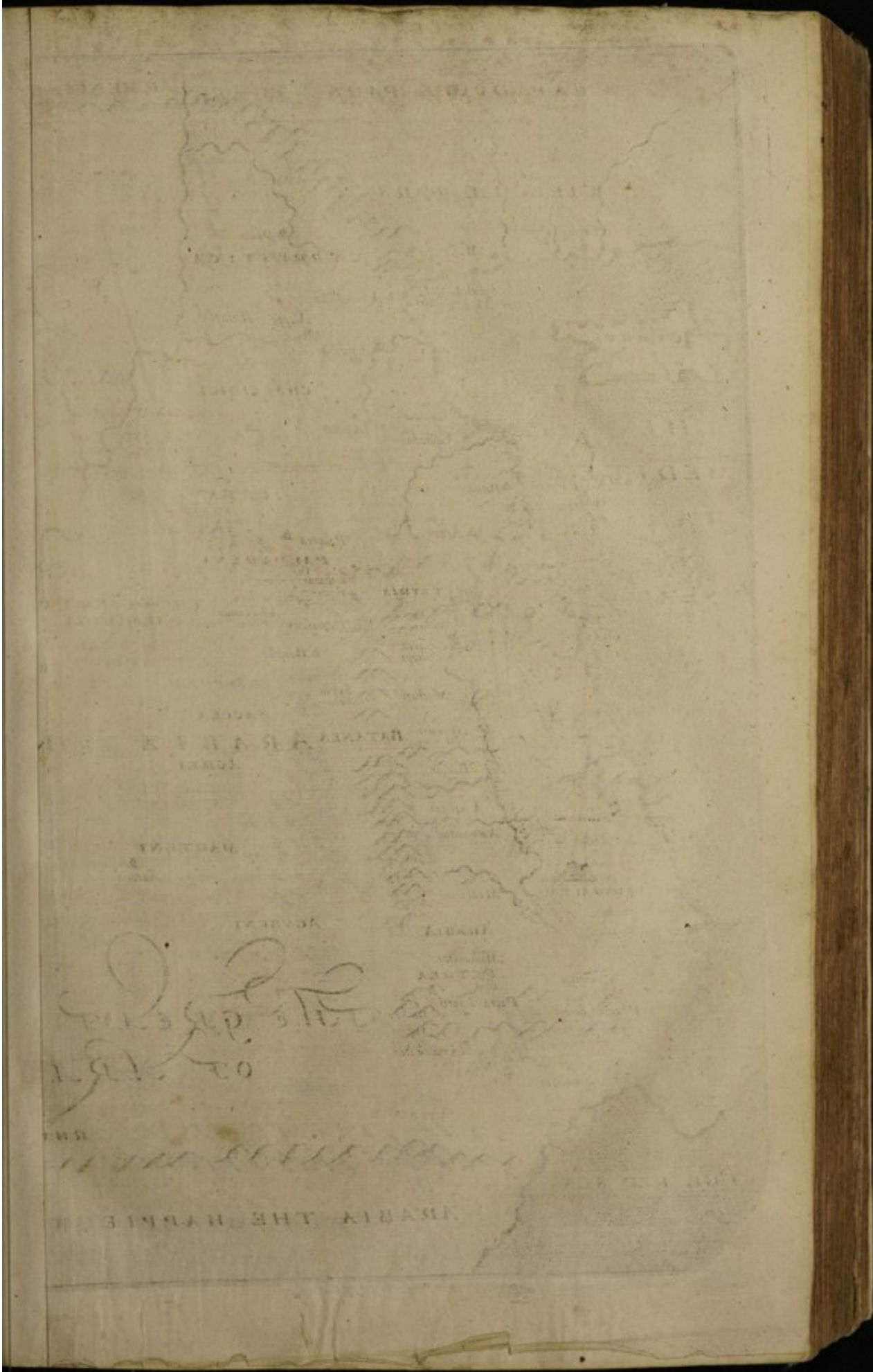
That theſe Trees of Life and Knowledge were material Trees (though Figures of the Law and of the Goſpel) it is not doubted by the moſt religious and learned Writers: although the wits of men, which are ſo volatile, as nothing can fix them, and ſo ſlippery, as nothing can faſten them, have in this alſo delivered to the World an imaginary doctrine.

The Tree of Life (ſay the *Hebrews*) hath a plural conſtruction, and is to be underſtood, *Lignum vitarum, The tree of lives*, becauſe the fruit thereof had a property, to preſerve both the growing, ſenſitive, and rational life of man; and not onely (but for *Adam's* tranſgreſſion) had prolonged his own daies, but alſo given a dureful continuance to all poſterity; and that, ſo long, as a body compounded of Elements could laſt.

Sum. ſcpt. 2. l. 1. 374.

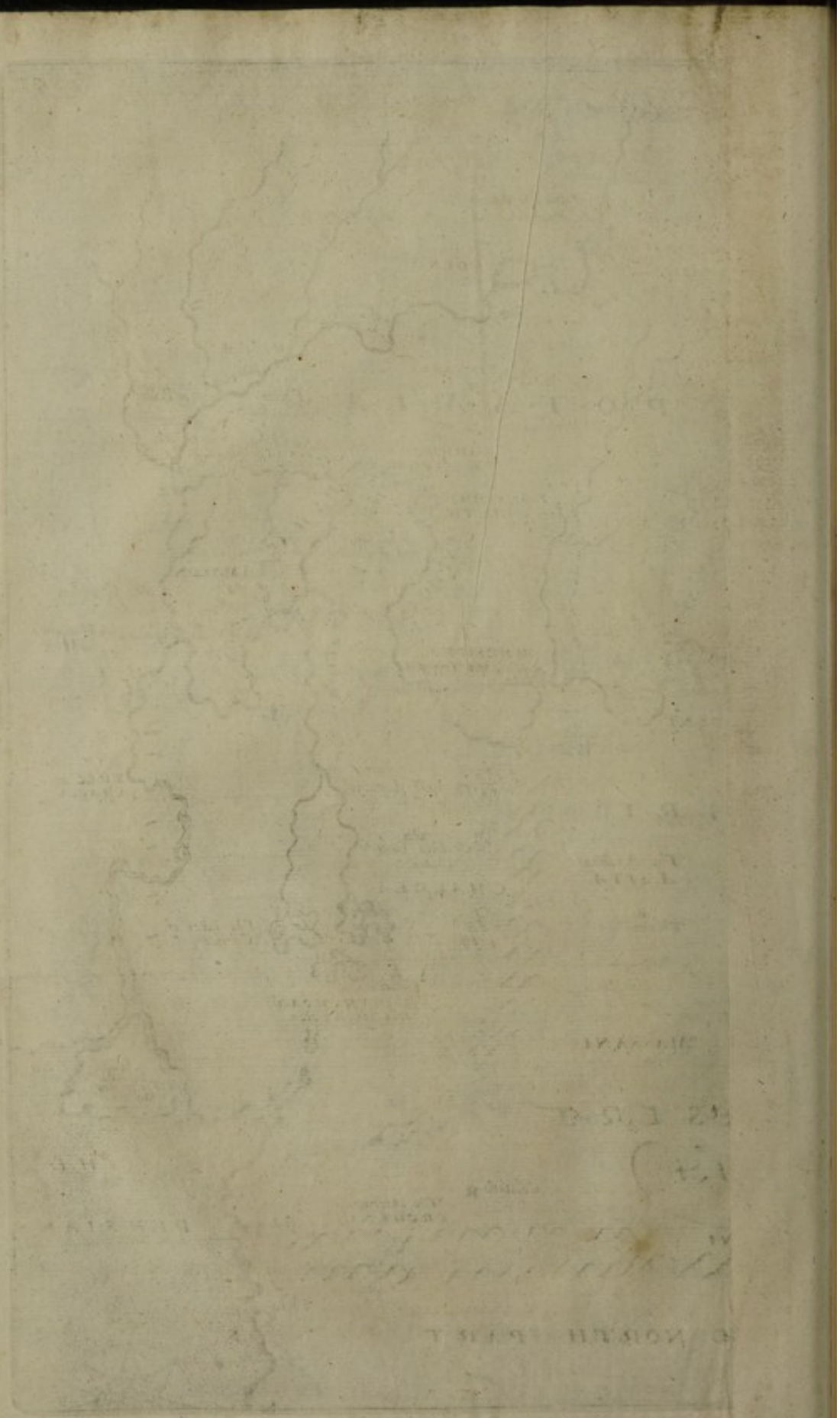
And although it is hard to think, that fleſh and blood could be immortal, but that it muſt once periſh and rot, by the unchanged Law of God impoſed on his creatures,

Man



CAPADOCIÆ PARS
ARMENIÆ PARS
CILICIÆ PARS
Edessa
Tarsus
Adana
Mallus
Mara
CYRRESTICA
Masius
Issus
Sinus Issicus or Alexandretta
Alexandretta
Aleppo or Hierapolis
CYPRVS
Antiochia
CHALCIDICI
Laodicia
Apamia
Adada
THE MEDITERRAN SEA
Aradus
Antaradus
Tripolis
Byblus
Berytus
Botris
Archis
CATANY
Palmyra
PALMYRENA
Sidon
Libanus
COELESYRIA
Tyre
Antelibanum
Damascus
Alsadamus
THE DESERT OF PALMERINA
Cæsaria philippi
Berathi
Machati
Syria Soba
Saue or Saba
SACCEA
Gesauri
BATANEA
ARABIA DESE
AGREI
Bassan
Cæsaria
Amorites
Ammonites
Bethel
Ioppe
MARTENI
Aurana
IERVSALEM
Moabites
ARABIA
AGVBENI
Ascalon
Midianites
PETREA
Idumites
Petra deserti
Pharan desart
Amalekites
Ismalites
THE GREAT DES
OF ARABIS
RHAMBENI
THE RED SEA
ARABIA THE HAPPIE
THE

PARS
Derbeta
DORBETA or MOSEL
Hasansepha
HASANSEPHA
NISIBIS
The Isle of EDEN or Gozerta
Tyrus fl.
Caprus fl.
Gorous fl.
Rechoboth
SINGARVS
MESOPOTAMIA
Thelbe Mancane
or Baldac
Chalne or Selema
SIPPHARA or SEPHAR
Hiddekel
TELASER or THILVTHA
Achad after ward Auchanites
PARADISE
BABYLON
Ctesiphon
Apamia
Herculis Ara
EVPHRATES
PISON
GEHON
RHESIPHA
RETSEPH
The Arabians called CAVCHABENI
TIGRIS
EREC or ARACCA
The first plantation of Chus
DESERT
Chuduca sumetime Chusca
The Arabians ÆSITÆ
Gabara
CHALDEA
Themna
The lakes of Chaldea
VR or VRCHOA the habitation of Abraham
MASSANI
Teredon now Balsara
DESERT
RABIA
Calathua
The Arabians ORCHENI
Raama
THE PERSIAN SEA
RHABENI
Sheba
THE NORTH PART



Man notwithſtanding) ſhould have enjoyed thereby a long, beautiful, and ungrieved life: after which (according to the opinion of moſt Divines) he ſhould have been tranſlated, as *Enoch* was. And as before the Floud, the daies of men had the long meaſure of eight hundred or nine hundred years; and ſoon after the floud, of two hundred years and upwards, even to five hundred: ſo if *Adam* had not diſobeyed Gods firſt and eaſie Commandment, the lives of men on earth might have continued double, treble, or quadruple to any of the longeſt times of the firſt age, as many learned men have conceived. *Chryſoſtome*, *Rupertus Toſtatus*, and others were of belief, that (but for *Adams* fall and tranſgreſſion) *Adam* and his Poſterity had been immortal. But ſuch is the infinite Wiſdom of God, as he foreſaw that the earth could not have contained Mankind; or elſe, that millions of ſouls muſt have been ungenerated, and have had no being, if the firſt number, wherewith the Earth was repleniſhed, had abode thereon for ever: and therefore that of *Chryſoſtome* muſt be underſtood of immortality of bodies, which ſhould have been tranſlated and glorified.

But of what kinde or *Species* this Tree of Life was, no man hath taken on him to teach: in which reſpect many have conceived, that the ſame was not material, but a meer *Allegorie*, taking their ſtrength out of *Solomon*, where Wiſdom is compared to the Tree of Life, and from other places, where alſo *Chriſt* is called the Tree of Life; and out of the *Apocalypſis*, *I will give to him that overcommeth, to eat of the Tree of Life which is in the Paradiſe of God.* But to this place Saint *Auguſtine*'s anſwer may ſuffice, (which is) That the one doth not exclude the other, but that, as there was a terreſtrial Paradiſe, ſo there was a cœleſtial. For although *Agar* and *Sara* were Figures of the *Old*, and *New Teſtament*, yet to think that they were not Women, and the Maid and Wife of *Abraham*, were meer fooliſhneſs. And ſo in this place the ſenſe of the Scripture is manifeſt. *For God brought out of the earth every Tree faire to the ſight, and ſweet to taſte; the Tree alſo of Life in the midſt of the Garden:* which ſheweth, that among the trees, which the Earth by God's commandment produced, the tree of Life was one, and that the fruit thereof was alſo to be eaten. The report of this Tree was alſo brought to the ancient Poets: for as from the indigeſted matter or *Chaos*, *Heſiodus*, *Homer*, *Ovid*, and others, ſteale the invention of the created World; ſo from the Garden of Paradiſe they took the Plat-form of the Orchard of *Alcinous*, and another of the *Heſperides*: and from the Tree of *Life*, their *Nectar* and *Ambroſia*; for *Nectar*, according to *Suidas*, ſignifieth *making young*, and *Ambroſia*, *immortality*; and therefore ſaid to be the meat and drinke of the gods. Apocal. 2. 7.

§. II.

Of BECANUS *his opinion, that the Tree of knowledge was* Ficus Indica.

NOw for the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil, ſome men have preſumed farther, eſpecially *Goropius Becanus*, who giveth himſelfe the honour to have found out the kind of this Tree, which none of the Writers of former times could ever gueſs at, whereat *Goropius* much marvailed. But as he had an inventive brain, ſo there never lived any man, that believed better thereof, and of himſelf. Surely, howſoever his opinion may be valued, yet he uſurpeth the praiſe due to others, at leaſt if the invention be at that price at which he ſetteth it. For *Moſes Bar-Cephas* faſtened on this conjecture above ſix hundred yeers before *Becanus* was born: and *Bar-Cephas* himſelfe referreth the invention to an antiquity more remote, citing for his Author *Philoxenus Maburgenſis*, and others, whoſe very words *Goropius* uſeth, both concerning the Tree, and the reaſons wherewith he would induce other men to that beliefe. For *Moſes Bar-Cephas* in his Treatiſe of Paradiſe (the firſt Part and *fol.* 48.) ſaith, That the Tree of Knowledge was *Ficus Indica*, *The Indian Fig-Tree*; of which the greateſt plenty (ſaith *Becanus*) are found upon the banks of Aceſines, one of the Rivers which falleth into Indus, where *Alexander* built his Fleet of Gallies, in or neer the Kingdom of Porus.

This Tree beareth a fruit of the bigneſs of a great Peaze, or (as *Plinie* reporteth) ſomewhat bigger; and that it is a tree, *ſe ſemper ſerens*; *alwaies planting it ſelf*; that it ſpreadeth it ſelf ſo far abroad, as that a troupe of horſemen may hide themſelves under it. *Strabo* ſaith, that it hath branches bending downwards, and leaves no leſs than a ſhield. *Plin. l. 12. c. 3.* *Lib. 15. cap. 2.*

Ariſtobulus

Aristobulus affirmeth, that fifty Horsemen may shadow themselves under one of these Trees. *Onesicritus* raiseth this number to foure hundred. This tree (saith *Theophrastus*) exceeded all other in bignes, which also *Plinie* and *Onesicritus* confirm: to the trunk of which, these Authors give such a magnitude, as I shame to repeat. But it may be, they all speak by an ill-understood report. For this Indian Fig-tree is not so rare a plant, as *Becanus* conceiveth, who because he found it no where else, would needs draw the Garden of Paradise to the Tree, and set it by the River Acesines. But many parts of the world have them, and I my self have seen twenty thousand of them in one Valley, not far from Paria in America. They grow in moist grounds, and in this manner: After they are first shot up some twenty or thirty foot in length (some more, some les, according to the soile) they spread a very large top, having no bough nor twig in the trunk or stem: for from the utmost end of the head branches there issueth out a gummy juyce, which hangeth downward like a cord or sinew, and within a few moneths reacheth the ground; which it no sooner toucheth but it taketh root, and then being filled both from the top boughs, and from his own proper roote, this cord maketh it self a Tree exceeding hastily. From the utmost boughs of these young Trees there fall again the like cords, which in one year and les (in that World of a perpetual Spring) become also trees of the bigness of the neather part of a Lance, and as straight as art or nature can make any thing, casting such a shade, and making such a kinde of Grove, as no other Tree in the world can do. Now, one of these Trees considered with all his young ones, may (indeed) shrowd foure hundred or foure thousand Horsmen, if they please; for they cover whole Vallies of ground where these Trees grow near the Sea-bank, as they do by thousands in the inner parts of Trinidado. The cords which fall down over the banks into the Sea, shooting alway downward to find root under water, are in those Seas of the Indies, where Oysters breed, intangled in their beds, so as by pulling up one of these cords out of the Sea, I have seen five hundred Oysters hanging in a heap thereon; whereof the report came, That Oysters grew on Trees in India. But that they beare any such huge leaves, or any such delicate fruit, I could never finde, and yet I have travailed a dozen miles together under them: but to returne to *Goropius Becanus*. This Tree (saith he) was good for meat and pleasing to the sight, as the Tree of knowledge of good and evil is described to be.

Secondly, This Tree having so huge a trunk (as the former Authours report, and *Becanus* believeth) it was in this Tree that *Adam* and *Eve* hid themselves from the presence of God; for no other tree (saith he) could contain them. But first it is certaine, that this Tree hath no extraordinary magnitude, as touching the trunke or stem, for among ten thousand of them it is hard to finde any one bigger than the rest, and these are all but of a mean size. Secondly, the words of *Moses* translated, *in medio ligni*, are by all the Interpreters understood in the plurall number (that is) *in the middest of the Trees*. But his third argument (or rather the argument of *Moses Bar-Cephas*, word for word) is, That when *Adam* and *Eve* found themselves naked, they made them breeches of Fig-leaves; which proveth (indeed) that either the tree it selfe was a Fig-tree, or that a Fig-tree grew neare it: because *Adam* being possest with shame, did not run up and downe the Garden to seeke out leaves to cover him, but found them in the place it selfe; and these leaves of all other were most commodious by reason of their largenesse; which *Plinie* avoweth in these words; *Latitudo foliorum peltæ effigiem Amazoniæ habet*; *The breadth of the leaves hath the shape of Amazonian shield*: which also *Theophrast* confirmeth; the form of which Targets *Virgil* toucheth:

Gen. 3. 7.

Plin. l. 12. c. 5.

Virg. Aen. l. 1. 494.

Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
PENTHESILAEA *furens.*

The *Amazons* with Crescent-formed shield
PENTHESILAEA leads into the field.

Here *Becanus* desireth to be believed, or rather threatneth us all that reade him, to give credit to this his borrowed discovery, using this confident (or rather cholerick) speech: *Quis erit tam impudenter obstinatus, si hæc à nobis de ficu hac ex antiquis scriptoribus cum* MOISIS *narratione comparet, ut audeat dicere aliam arborem inveniri posse, quæ cum illa magis quadret? Who will be so impudently obstinate, if he compare these things which*

we

we have reported of this Fig-tree, and out of ancient Writers delivered, with the narration of MOSES, *as to dare to avow, that any other Tree can be found, which doth more properly anſwer, or agree therewith?* But for my ſelf, becauſe I neither finde this Tree, ſorting in body, in largeneſs of leaves, nor in fruit to this report, I rather incline to the opinion of *Philo*. That the Earth never brought forth any of theſe trees neither before nor after; but I leave every man to his owne belief, for the matter is of no great weight as touching his kinde; onely thereby, and by the eaſie Commandment by God given to *Adam*, to forbeare to feed thereon, it pleaſed God to make trial of his obedience: *Prohibita, non propter aliud, quàm ad commendandum puræ ac ſimplicis Obedientiæ bonum;* *Being forbidden, not for any other reſpect, than thereby to commend the goodneſs of pure and ſimple Obedience.* *Auguſt. de Civit. Dei, l. 13. c. 20.*

§. III.

Of BECANUS *his not unwitty allegorizing of the ſtory of his* Ficus Indica.

BUt in this I muſt do *Becanus* right, that he hath very wittily allegorized this Tree, allowing his ſuppoſition of the Tree it ſelf to be true. The effects whereof, becauſe his diſcourſes are exceeding ample, I have gathered in theſe few words. As this Tree (ſaith he) ſo did Man grow ſtraight and upright towards God, until ſuch time as he had tranſgreſſed and broken the Commandment of his Creator; and then like unto the boughs of this tree, he began to bend downward, and ſtooped toward the earth, which all the reſt of *Adam*'s poſterity after him have done, rooting themſelves therein, and faſtning themſelves to this corrupt world. The exceeding umbragiouſneſs of this tree, he compareth to the dark and ſhadowed life of man, through which the Sun of juſtice being not able to pierce, we have all remained in the ſhadow of death, till it pleaſed *Chriſt* to climbe the tree of the Croſs for our enlightning and redemption. The little fruit which it beareth, and which is hard to finde among ſo many large leaves, may be compared (ſaith he) to the little virtue, and unperceived knowledge among ſo large vanities, which obſcure and ſhadow it over. And as this fruit is exceeding ſweet, and delicate to the taſte and palate: ſo are the delights and pleaſures of the world moſt pleaſing, while they dure. But as all thoſe things which are moſt mellifluous, are ſooneſt changed into choler and bitterneſs: ſo are our vanities and pleaſures converted into the biterreſt ſorrows and repentances. That the leaves are ſo exceeding large, the fruit (for ſuch leaves) exceeding little, in this, by compariſon we behold (ſaith he) the many cares and great labours of worldly men, their ſollicitude, their outward ſhews, and publike oſtentation, their apparent pride and large vanities; and if we ſeek for the fruit, which ought to be their virtuous and pious actions, we finde it of the bigneſs of the ſmalleſt peaze; glory, to all the world apparent; goodneſs, to all the world inviſible. And furthermore, as the leaves, body and boughs of this Tree, by ſo much exceed all other Plants, as the greateſt men of power and worldly abilitie ſurpaſs the meaneſt: ſo is the little fruit of ſuch men, and ſuch trees, rather fitting and becomming the unworthieſt Shrub, and humbleſt Bryar, or the pooreſt and baſeſt Man, than ſuch a flouriſhing ſtatelineſs, and magnitude. Laſtly, whereas *Adam*, after he had diſobeyed God, and beheld his own nakedneſs and ſhame, ſought for leaves to cover himſelf withal: this may ſerve to put us in minde of his and our ſins, as often as we put on our garments, to cover and adorne our rotten and mortal bodies: to pamper and maintain which, we uſe ſo many uncharitable and cruel practices in this world.

§. IV.

Of the names of the tree of Knowledge of good and evil: with ſome other notes touching the ſtory of ADAM'S *ſin.*

NOw, as touching the ſenſe of this tree of Knowledge of good and evil, and what operation the fruit thereof had, and as touching the propertie of the Tree it ſelfe, *Moſes Bar-Cephas* an ancient Syrian Doctor (tranſlated by *Moſius*) giveth this judgement: That the fruit of this Tree had no ſuch virtue or quality,

as

as that by the tasting thereof, there was any such knowledge created in *Adam*, as if he had beene ignorant before; but as *Junius* also noteth: *Arbor scientiæ boni & mali (id est) experientiæ boni & mali ab eventu. The Tree of knowledge of good and evill (that is) the experience of good and evill by the event.* For thus much we may conceive, that *Adam* being made (according to the Hebrew phrase) by the workmanship of Gods owne hand, in greater perfection than ever any man was produced by generation, being (as it were) the created Plant, out of whose seed, all men living have growne up; and having received immortalitie from the breath or spirit of God; he could not (for these respects) be ignorant, that the disobeying of Gods commandement was the fearefullest evill, and the observation of his precepts the happiest good. But as men in perfect health do (notwithstanding) conceive, that sicknes is grievous, and yet in no such degree of torment, as by the suffering and experience in themselves they afterwards witnes: so was it with *Adam*, who could not be ignorant of the punishments, due to neglect and disobedience; and yet felt by the proofe thereof in himselfe another terror than he had fore-thought, or could imagine. For looking into the glasse of his own guiltie soule, he beheld therein the horror of Gods judgements, so as he then knew, he feelingly knew, and had triall of the late good, which could not be prized, and of the new purchased evill, which could not be expreſt. He then saw himselfe naked both in Body and mind; that is, deprived of Gods grace and former felicitie: and therefore was this tree called the tree of Knowledge, and not because the fruit thereof had any such operation by any selfe qualitie or effect: for the same phrase is used in many places of the Scriptures, and names are given to Signes and Sacraments, as to acts performed, and things done. In such sort, as this tree was called the tree of Knowledge, because of the event, as is aforesaid: so was the Well of contention therefore called *Esek*, and the Well of hatred *Sitnath*, because the Heardsmen of *Isaac* and *Gerar* contended for them: and the heape of Stones called the *heape of witnesse*, between *Jacob* and *Laban*; not that the stones bare witnesse, but for a memorie of the covenant. So *Jacob* called the house of God *Bethel*; and *Hagar*, the Well in the Desart, *Viventis, & videntis.*

Num. 20. 13. *Gen.* 26. 20, 21. *Cap.* 31. 48. *Cap* 28. 19. *Cap.* 16. 14.

But *Adam* being both betrayed and mastered by his affections, ambitious of a farther knowledge than he had perceived in himselfe, and looking but slightly (as all his issues doe) into the miseries and sorrowes incident, and greatly affecting the supposed glory which he might obtaine by tasting the fruit forbidden, he was transported and blowne forward, by the gentle winde of pleasing perswasions, unawares; his progression being strengthened by the subtile arguments of Sathan, who laboured to poyson mankind in the very root, which he moistened with the liquor of the same ambition, by which himselfe perished for ever.

Ben. Jon. 2. l. 2. But what meanes did the Divell find out, or what instruments did his owne subtilty present him, as fittest and aptest to work this michiefe by? even the unquiet vanity of the woman; so as by *Adams* hearkning to the voice of his wife, contrarie to the expres commandement of the living God, Mankind by that her incantation became the subject of labour, sorrow, and death: the woman being given to man for a comforter and companion, but not for a counsellor. *But because thou hast obeyed the voyce of thy wife &c.* (said God himselfe) *Cursed it the earth for thy sake, in sorrow shalt thou eate of it all thy life.* *Gen.* 3. 17. It is also to be noted, by whom the woman was tempted? even by the most ugly and unworthy of all beasts, into whom the Divell entred and perswaded.

Secondly, what was the motive of her disobedience? even a desire to know what was most unfitting her knowledge; an affection which hath ever since remained in all the posterity of her sex. Thirdly, what was it that moved the man to yeild to her perswasions? even the same cause which hath moved all men since to the like consent; namly, an unwillingnesse to grieve her and make her sad, lest she should pine and be overcome with sorrow. But if *Adam* in the state of perfection, and *Solomon* the son of *David*, Gods chosen servant, and himselfe a man endued with the greatest wisedome, did both of them disobey their Creator, by the perswasion and for the love they bare to a woman, it is not so wonderfull as lamentable, that other men in succeeding ages have been allured to so many inconvenient and wicked practices by the perswasions of their wives, or other beloved darlings, who cover over and shadow many malicious purposes with a counterfeit passion of dissimulate sorrow and unquietnesse.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of divers memorable things betweene the fall of ADAM, *and the Floud of* NOAH.

§. I.

Of the cauſe and the revenge of CAINS *ſinne: and of his going out from God.*

THe ſame Pride and Ambition which began in Angels, and afterward poſſeſt *Adam*, *Cain* alſo inherited: for *Cain* (envious of the acceptation of his Brothers Prayer and Sacrifice) ſlew him, making himſelfe the firſt Manſlayer, and his Brother the firſt Martyr: the revenge of which unnaturall Murther, although it pleaſed God to mitigate, when *Cain* cried out that his puniſhment was greater than he could beare. For the ſame offence chiefely (wherwith the Sons of *Adam*, as it were, urged and provoked God) he deſtroyed all Mankind, but *Noah* and his Family: for it is written, *The Earth alſo was corrupt before God:* of which *Gen.6.v.11,13.* in the ſame place *Moſes* giveth a reaſon; for ſaith he, *The Earth was filled with cruelty:* and anon after, God himſelfe made the cauſe knowne unto *Noah*, ſaying; *An end of all fleſh is come before me, for the Earth is filled with cruelty through them, and behold, I will deſtroy them with the Earth*, or *from the Earth*. Neither was this cruelty meant to have been in takeing away the lives of men onely, but in all ſorts of Injuſtice and Oppreſſion. After this Murther of ABEL, CAIN *went out from the preſence of the Lord, and dwelt in the Land of Nod, towards the Eaſt-ſide of Eden:* in which words, The going out of *Cain* from the preſence of the Lord, is not to be underſtood after the literall ſenſe, God being wholly in all parts of the World,: *Totus in cœlo eſt, totus in terra, non alternis temporibus, ſed utrumq; ſimul*; *God* (ſaith S. AUGUSTINE) *is wholly in Heaven, and wholly in Earth, not by enterchanged times, but all at once*; And that this is true, *David* witneſſeth: *If I be in Heaven* (ſaith DAVID) *thou art there*; *in Hell, thou art there alſo*. But what is meant thereby? *Exiit à facie Dei* (ſaith CHRYSOSTOME) CAIN *went out from the preſence of the Lord* (that is) *he was left of God, diſfavoured and bereaved of his protection.*

Gen.4.16.

Aug. de Civit. Dei.l.12.c.19.
Pſal.130.81.
Chryſoſt. in Gen. Hom.2.

§. II.

Of CAINS *dwelling in the Land of Nod: and of his City Enoch.*

THis word Nod or Naid, S. *Hierome* and many others underſtand to ſignifie wandring or uncertaine habitation: vexation or agitation, ſaith *Junius*; but the Seventy convert it otherwiſe, and take Nod for the proper name of a Countrey, and ſo doth *Joſephus*. But it ſeemeth to me, that *Cain* was rather a Vagabond or Wanderer in his cogitations, than any thing elſe, and that his thoughts and conſcience had no quiet or reſt, in regard of the Murther committed, juſtly fearing (by his own words) the like violence: *And whoſoever findeth me* (ſaith CAIN) *ſhall ſlay me*. Now that Nod or Naid was a Region wherin *Cain* inhabited, appeareth by the word (*dwelt*) for dwelling ſignifieth an abiding: and we call thoſe people Wanderers and Vagabonds that have no dwelling place. And to make this dwelling and abiding more manifeſt, *Moſes* teacheth in what part of the Earth this his habitation was, which he affirmeth towards the Eaſt-ſide of Eden. Secondly it is ſaid by *Moſes*, that after *Cain* departed from the preſence or favour of God, he built a City, and called it by the name of his firſt-born, *Enoch*; which ſheweth that he feared to wander, and rather ſought to fortifie himſelf againſt revenge. *Cyrillus* ſaith, that *Cain* and *Abel* were figures of Chriſt, and of the Jewes; and that as *Cain* after that he had ſlain *Abel* unjuſtly, had thence-forth no certain abiding in the World: ſo the Jews after they had crucified the Son of God, became Runnagates: and it is true, that the Jews had never ſince any certain Eſtate, Common-weale, or Prince of their owne upon the Earth. Now this Land of Nod, *Junius* taketh to be in *Arabia Deſerta*, a Region of Nomades; but Arabia the Deſart is not Eaſtward, or on the Eaſt part of Eden, neither are theſe Nomades any particular People or Nation. For all theſe, in what part of the World ſoever, which in old time lived by Paſtorage, and fed (as

Hier. rad. Heb.

Joſeph. l.1.c.3.

Gen.4.14.

Gen.4.16.

17.

we call it in Ireland) upon white meat, without tilling of the ground, are called by the Greeks *Nomades*, and by the Latines *Pastores vagi*, as the Northerne Tartarians, the Getulians, and Numidians in Africa, the ancient Britans, and the Northern Irish: yea, such were the Inhabitants of Italy it self, till such time as *Italus* (who gave them that name) taught them the husbandry of tillage, used at this day. But the Region Eastward from Eden is that part of Assyria, called by *Ptolomy* Calena, which also might be derived of *Carena*, the country of *Cain*. And that *Cain* inhabited in those parts, it may be gathered by the first possession of his Father *Adam*; for thus it is written, *Genes.* 3. *Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the Garden of Eden to till the Earth whence hee was taken*: and in the Verse following: *Thus he cast out man, &c. and at the East side of the Garden of Eden he set the Cherubins*: which sheweth that the entry into Paradise was from the East, by which entrance *Adam* was cast out, and therefore inhabiting on that side of Paradise which was Eastward, according to the Text. *Cain* also in the same Region sought his dwelling place. Now, if the word *Nod* or *Naid* doe signifie *profugus*, that is, a fugitive, we can give no longer time to this uncertain habitation of *Cain*, than till hee built the City of Enoch, the first of the World, which he inclosed, either for his owne defence, or (as *Josephus* writeth) to oppress others thereby. So as for mine own opinion, I am resolved with the *Septuagint*, that Nod was the proper name of a Region; and for the word (Vagabond) which *Cain* useth of himselfe, it seemeth by the perclose of the same Verse, that (Vagabond) is therein understood for such an one as travaileth in fear of revengement: *For whosoever findeth me* (saith CAIN) *shall slay me*; or else (Vagabond is taken for a man without protection, and cast out from the favour of God.

Verse 23. 24.

And becaus these Henochians, so called of the City of Henoch, were the first society & civill assembly of all other, it is likely that the fame of these people (either for cruelty, strength, or other actions) lived in the memory of *Noah* and his Sons: so that after the Floud (as there were of all sorts of natures, some vertuously, some impiously disposed, and every active mind setting before it whom to follow or imitate) those people, which delighted in cruelty and oppression, took on them their names whose natures they most liked and allowed; of whom these Henochians were not the least. Perchance the place it self where Henoch stood before the Floud, and whereof the Monuments might remain (as the pillars or the foundation of Joppe did) gave occasion to the Planters of that place to call themselves by the same name: for of those Henochians there were many Nations in the borders of Pontus, & Colchis in Iberia, Segdiana, & Bactria; of the same name many mountains, as those which are otherwise called Coraxici. And seeing that it is hard to finde out the truth of these things, which the most aged Time hath covered over or defaced, we may (according to the counsel of *Plato*) exceedingly rejoice, and therewith satisfie our selves, if of so great & almost worn-out antiquity, if of the eldest peoples names & nations, there remain any print or footsteps to posterity.

Quocirca aliquid in hac magna urbe mutatur, novæ urbium fundamenta jaciuntur, nova Gentium nomina (extinctis nominibus priscis) oriuntur. Seneca ad Albinum.

In * *Pliny*, *P. Mela*, *Strabo*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Lucan*, *Stephanus*, we finde those *Henochei* described, though diversly written; as in *Pliny*, sometimes *Heniochi*, in *Mela*, *Eniochi*, in *Flaccus*, *Heniochi*: In *Lucan*, *Eniochi*, all which inhabite upon the Sea Euxinus, but yet none of these are on the East side of Eden, or (according to *Moses* words) Eastward from Eden. For *Moses* in all places where he describeth any Region, was so exceeding precise as sometime he useth the word East or South without borrowing or addition, at other times with a borrowing, as Eastward, or Southward, or towards the East or South. In the place of *Genesis* the eleventh, he writeth the word (East) simply and directly. *And as they went from the East, they found a Plaine in the Land of Shinar*; but in this of *Cain* he addeth the word (towards) as, *in the Land of Nod, towards the East side of Eden*; which may be taken, as inclining some one point or two either to the North or to the South of the East.

* *Plin. l. 6. c. 9. 11. & 16. Mel. l. 1. c. 8. Strabo lib 11. Val Flacc. l. 6. Lucan. l. 3. v. 37 V. 2.*

But as we may conjecture that these Nations took name of Henoch the City of *Cain*; or of the Region wherin it stood, when the same was repeopled after the Floud: so it is probable that these *Henochis* of Colchis, and other parts adjoyning, were not the first of that name after the Sons of *Noah* began to fill the World again: becaus, had this Henoch the City of *Cain* stood in any of these parts, it had then bin seated North, and not East or Eastward from Eden. But as *Pliny* findeth their habitation towards *Pontus*, so afterwards he goeth on Eastward, till he track them or trace them out to their original. For he calleth these of *Colchis* (now *Mengrelia*) *Sanni Heniochi*; *Ptolomy*, *Zani*; beyond wch

Plin. l. 6. c. 4, 5. Ptol. tab. Asæ. 3

an

an hundred and fifty mile Eastward hee findeth another Nation of them about Iberia and Albania; & beyond these he again discovereth a third Nation, from whence all the rest took beginning, which inhabited on the West side of the mountains of Paro-panisus; between them and the great River of Oxus, which bordereth Bactria on the North side; and these Henochii are due East from the Region of Eden, and Eastward from the very Garden it self.

And although we cannot be assured that these Henochii took name from the memory of the City of *Enoch* directly; yet because they inhabited due East from Paradise, and afterwards spread themselves Westward (as all *Noah*'s Sons did that came into Shinar) the conjecture is far more probable than that of *Annius* the Frier, who sets *Henoch* in Phœnicia, quite contrary to *Moses* word: Phœnicia from all parts of Eden being directly west.

And besides these severall Nations of the Henochii, *Stephanus* findeth a Region called Henochia, and the same also in the East, with divers mountains about Bactria and Sogdiana, of the same name. Only the Grecians (according to their fabulous inventions of all things else) out of the word (*Heniochi*) which signifieth Carts or Coach-men, make these Nations to have sprung from the Waggoners of *Castor* and *Pollux* (to wit) *Amphites* and *Telchius*, who attended them in the enterprise of *Jason* into Colchis. And though I doe not deny, but that *Jason* with other Greeks ranged the coasts of Asia the less in an open Boat or kind of small Galley, * of whom I shall speak in his own time: yet no man doubteth but that the Tale of the Golden Fleece was for the most part Poeticall; and withall that in such an open Boat, which could hardly carry their owne Rowers, being 54. there was no place, and less use of Coach-horses or Waggoners.

Steph. de Urb.

Nat. Comes. alleth them Rhecas. Nat. Com. l. 2. c. 9.

Strab. l. 11.

* In the second Book of this first part, Cap. 13. Sect. 5

§. III.

Of MOSES *his omitting sundry things concerning* CAINS *Generation.*

BUt of the remembrance and testimonies of the name of the City of Henoch in prophane Story, thus much may suffice: Now it followeth to answer some few Objections against certaine particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of *Genesis*: against which for the first it is demanded, how it was possible for *Cain* (having no other assistance than his Son *Henoch*) to performe such a Work as the building of a City, seeing there is thereto required so many hands, and so great a mass of all sorts of materials? To which it is answered, that we are first to consider, That of *Cain* (because he was the Parent of an impious Race) *Moses* useth no ample declaration; and so it best agreeth with his divine Reason, seeing that he containeth the whole Story of the first Race, which wasted by the least account, 1656. years, in five short Chapters. Yet thus much may every man borrow of his own weakest reason, That seeing it pleased God to bestow on the first generations of mens lives so long a measure as 800. & 900. years, that in such a space *Cain* had not want of leisure and means to build many such Cities as Henoch, be the capacity answering to what other of the World soever: for in what Age of *Cain*'s life he built it, the Scriptures are silent: as of whose times, and the times of his issues *Moses* had the least care. And, as it was said of *Cain*, that he built a City: so it was said of *Noah*, that his three Sons peopled all the World; but in both, the process of time required to be understood: which advice, seeing *Moses* useth where the space less requireth it, as knowing that he writ the Scriptures to reasonable men, wee may easily understand, that such was his meaning also in all reports of like nature. For in making but a difference between the birth of *Abel*, and the oblation of *Cain*, he spake it in this sort, *Fuit autem post dies multos* or *à fine dierum* (that is) in process of time, *it came to passe that* CAIN *brought an oblation.* And therefore it is in like sort to be understood of *Cain*, that many years fore-gone, and when his people were increased, hee built the City of Enoch or Henoch.

And where it is written, as of *Cain*, that he built Enoch, so of *Solomon*, that hee built the Temple of Jerusalem; yet it is well known of *Solomon*, that he imployed in that Work 150000. labourers: for this phrase or speech is common with our selves to say, the King invaded, when he caused an invasion to be made: & he built, when he comanded such a building. And therefore seeing that we find that *Moses* had no regard to the ages, birth, or death of any of *Cain*'s issues, it is not to be marvailed at, why hee also

2 Kin. 16.

passeth over in a word the building of *Enoch*, without addition of any circumstance: for
Gen. 4. 17. of *Cain*, *Moses* writeth in this manner: CAIN *also knew his Wife, who conceived and bare*
HENOCH, *and he built a City, and called the name of the Citie after the name of his Sonne*
18. HENOCH. *And to* HENOCH *was borne* IRAD, *and* IRAD *begat* MEHUJAEL, *and* MEHUJAEL *begat* METHUSAEL, *and* METHUSAEL LAMECH.

C. 5. v. 5. Now of *Seth*, *Moses* writeth far otherwise, and in this manner. *And* SETH *lived an hundred and five yeares, and begat* ENOCH, *and* SETH *lived after he begat* ENOCH 807. *yeares, and begat sonnes and daughters: so as all the daies of* SETH *were* 912. *yeares, and he dyed*: as for the years and times of the wicked, they were not numbred in *libro viventium*, saith *Cyril*. But in *Seth* was the Church of God establisht; from whom Christ descended, as touching his manhood: and therfore this way and work *Moses* walked in, and finisht it with care, passing over the reprobate Generation (as aforesaid.) Of the Line of *Adam* by *Cain*, *Moses* remembreth but eight Generations, reckoning *Adam* for one; and of the Line of *Adam* by *Seth* ten, counting *Adam* also therein, as followeth.

I. ADAM.

2	*Cain*	7	*Lamech*, who by	2	*Seth.*	7	*Henoch.*
3	*Henoch.*		*Adah* had	3	*Enosh.*	8	*Methusalem.*
4	*Irad.*	8	*Jubal* & *Tubal*, &	4	*Cainan.*	9	*Lamech*, and
5	*Mehujael.*		by *Silla*, *Tubal-Cain*	5	*Mahaleel.*	10	*Noah.*
6	*Methusael.*		and *Noema.*	6	*Jared.*		

These be the Generations of *Adam* by *Cain*, which the Scriptures mention: but *Josephus* giveth unto *Lamech* threescore and seventeen Sonnes and Daughters, by his two Wives *Ada* and *Sylla*: and to these three sons of *Lamech*, *Moses* ascribeth the invention of Pastorage, of Musick, and the working in Metall; for it seemeth that *Jubal* first gathered together, and made familiar those beasts which formerly were untamed, & brought
Gen. 4. 20, 21, 22 them into Heards and Droves: *Tubal* invented musick, and *Tubalcain* the working in Brasse and Iron: the one being addicted to Husbandry, the other was Mechanicall, the third given to idleness and pleasure. In whom began these three meaner degrees of Shepherds, Handy-crafts-men, and Musicians. And in the issues of *Seth* began the Services of God, Divinity, Prophecie, and Astronomy: the Children of the one beheld the Heavens, the other the Earth.

§. IV.

Of the diversities in the Ages of the Patriarchs when they begat their Chilren.

A Second Scruple hath been made, How it came to passe that the Patriarchs begat their children at so divers Ages, as *Cainan* or *Cenan* at seventy yeares, *Mahaleel* and *Enoch* at threescore and five yeares, whereas *Jared* begat not any of his untill he was 162. years old: *Methusalem* begat at 187. *Lamech* at 182. and *Noah* at 500. yeares. Now this difference hath been the more enforced, because it cannot be conjectured, that either *Jared*, *Methusalem*, or *Lamech* abstained from Marriage out of the religion of Abstinence, seeing that *Enoch*, who was translated by God for his singular Sanctities, begat children before he was threescore and ten years old.

The apparent difference hereof ariseth in this, that *Moses* did not number the Generations before the Floud precisely, according to the first begotten and eldest sons of the Patriarchs, but he drew down the Line of *Noah* from *Seth*, and afterward from *Noah* to *Abraham*, by their true Ancestors, were they elder or younger, as he found them: for it is likely that *Henoch* was not the eldest of *Jared*, nor *Lamech* the first-born of *Methusalem*, nor *Noah* of *Lamech*; neither is there any thing known to the contrary, but that *Noah* might have had many Sons before *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, though these three were only named, and surviving, & which by God were reserved to bee the Fathers of mankind after the Floud; and therefore when we find *Mahaleel* to be begotten by *Kenan* at threescore and ten years, who was the first Son of *Kenan*, and then reckon that *Methusalem* begat *Lamech* in the 187. year of his life, the difference seemeth strange, where *Lamech* is taken for the eldest. But *Moses* rejecteth all the other sons of *Methusalem* but *Lamech* only, because he was the Father of *Noah*, as aforesaid. Of this

Saint

Saint *Augustine* hath somewhat else in his twentieth, and one and twentieth Chapters, *De Civitate Dei.*

But as *Moses* counted the Generations of the first Age, and so to *Abraham*, and the children of the promise after him; so doth S. *Matthew* recite the Geneology of Christ, not by the eldest sons, but from those whom God had chosen and blessed, without respect of the first-born, who have hereby the prerogative in Estates, worldly and transitory only; and therefore the Evangelist nameth *Isaac*, and not *Ismael*, though *Ismael* were first in time: so doth he take *Jacob* the younger, and not *Esau* the Elder; neither is Christ derived from any of the three eldest Patriarchs, *Reuben*, *Simeon*, or *Levi*, but from *Juda* a fourth Brother, and so from *David* a younger son of *Jessai*; and lastly, we finde, that the Kingdome it self of *Juda* was not given to the Heir in nature, but to the Heire of Grace, namely *Solomon*. *Mat.* 1. 2. 1 *Kings* 2.

§ V.

Of the long lives of the Patriarchs, and some of late memory.

THe third Objection is, that the great difference of years between those of the first Age, whereof some of them had well neer seen a thousand years, makes it disputable, whether the account of times were of the same measure as in after-Ages, seeing that soon after the Floud, men lived not a third part of that time, and in succeeding Ages, and to this day, not the tenth.

They that have hereon resolved that those years were but Lunary years, (to wit) of a moneth or thereabouts, or Egyptian years, are easily confuted. For whereas *Seth* begat *Enosh* in the yeare of his life an hundred and five, if those yeares be taken but for moneths, then had *Seth* lived but eight years and one moneth when he begat *Enosh*: and if the time of *Enosh* have the same allowance when he begat *Kenan*, then could *Enosh* at that time have been but six years and forty eight weeks old; and so it may be gathered of the rest, excepting only *Adam*, who was created perfect in his kinde, as were the trees in their kinde, bearing fruit and seed. But this were too ridiculous to imagine. For to give an ability of generation at six, seven, or eight years, agreeth with the short lives of the Pigmies, and not with the constitutions of our first Fathers, who being descended from *Adam*, the workmanship of Gods hands, and begotten and born in the strong youth of the World, and length of daies, and ability of body agreeable. Again, if we allow this idle conceit of the lunary years, then there would follow this extremity, that those which lived longest, and upwards of nine hundred yeares, had by that account but the time of fourscore and ten and odd years, which were not only lesse by far than the Patriarchs lived after the Floud, but short of many mens lives in this decrepit Age of the World, wherein many exceed fourscore, and some a hundred years. Further (if need be) to disprove this reckoning, whereas it it is written, *Gen.* 25. That *Abraham* died in a good Age, an old man, and of great years: all which (if the former account were of Lunary years) makes but seventeen and an half of our years. *Sol. Pol. hist. c. 3 Macrob. Satur. lib. 1. cap. 8. Plin. l. 7. c. 48.*

And if we seek for a cause of this long life in nature, then is it reasonable, that the first man, created in highest perfection, should also beget children of equal strength or little differing: for of the first and purest seed there must of necessity spring up the fairest and fruitfullest plants. Secondly, the Earth it self was then much less corrupt, which yeelded her increase, and brought forth fruit and food for man, without any such mixture of harmfull quality, as since that time the curse of God, for the cruelty of mans heart, brought on it and mankinde: Neither had the waters of the Floud infused such an impurity, as thereby the naturall and powerfull operation of all Plants, Herbs, and Fruits upon the Earth received a qualification and harmfull change. And as all things under the Sun have one time of strength, and another of weaknesse, a youth and beauty, and then age and deformity: so time it self (under the deathfull shade of whose wings all things decay and wither) hath wasted and worn out that lively vertue of Nature in Man, and Beasts, and Plants; yea, the Heavens themselves, being of a most pure and cleansed matter, shall wax old as a garment; and then much more the power generative in inferiour Creatures, who by the ordinance of God receive operative Vertue from the superiour. *Psal.* 102. v. 26

But besides the old Age of the World, how far doth our education and simplicity of

of living differ from that old time? the tender bringing up of Children, first fed and nouriſhed with the Milk of a ſtrange Dugge; an unnatural curioſity having taught all Women (but the Beggar) to finde out Nurſes, which neceſſity onely ought to commend unto them: The haſty Marriages in tender years, wherein, Nature being but yet green and growing, we rent from her and replant her branches, while her ſelf hath not yet any root ſufficient to maintain her own top; and ſuch half-ripe ſeeds (for the moſt part) in their growing up wither in the bud, and wax old even in their Infancy. But above all things, the exceeding luxurioufneſs of this gluttonous age, wherein we preſs Nature with over-weighty burdens, and finding her ſtrength defective, we take the work out of her hands, and commit it to the artificial help of ſtrong Waters, hot Spices, and provoking Sawces; of which *Lucan* hath theſe elegant Verſes:

Pharſal. 4.

------*O Prodiga rerum*	*Diſcite quàm parvo liceat producere vitam:*
Luxories nunquam parvo contenta paratu:	*Et quantum Natura petat.*
Et quæſitorum terra pelagoq; ciborum	*Non auro myrrhâq; bibunt: ſed gurgite puro*
Ambitioſa fames, & lautæ gloria menſæ,	*Vita redit: ſatis eſt populis fluviuſq; Cereſque.*

O waſtful Riot never well content
With low-priz'd fare; hunger ambitious
Of Cates by Land and Sea far fetcht and ſent:
Vain glory of a Table ſumptuous,
Learn with how little life may be preſerved.
In Gold and Myrrhe they need not to carouſe,
But with the Brook the peoples thirſt is ſerved:
Who fed with Bread and Water are not ſterved.

Pier. Hierog. l. 2. The Egyptians affirm, that the longeſt time of man's life is a hundred years, becauſe the heart in a perfect body waxeth and groweth to ſtrength fifty years, and afterwards by the ſame degree decayeth and withered. *Epigenes* findeth in his Philoſophy, that the life of man may reach to the period of an hundred and twenty years, and *Beroſus* to a hundred and ſeventeen years. Theſe opinions *Plinie* repeateth and reproveth, producing many examples to the contrary. In the laſt taxation, number and review of the eighth region of Italy, there were found in the Roll (ſaith *Plinie*) foure and fifty perſons of an hundred years of age: ſeven and fifty of an hundred and ten: two, of an hundred and five and twenty: foure, of an hundred and thirty: as many that were an hundred and five and thirty, or a hundred and ſeven and thirty years old: and laſt of all, three men of an hundred and forty: and this ſearch was made in the times of *Veſpatian* the Father and the Son.

Plin. l. 7. c. 29.

The ſimple dyet and temperate life of the Eſſæans gave them long account of many years: ſo did it to the Secretaries of Egyptian Ceremonies, to the Perſians Magicians, and Indian Brachmans. The Greeks affirme out of *Homer*, that *Neſtor* lived three Ages, and *Tireſias* ſix, *Sybilla* three hundred years, *Endymion* of the leſs Aſia, little leſs: Alſo *Maſaniſſa* of Numidia lived very long, and *Dando* of Illyria. Among the kings of Arcadia many lived three hundred years (ſaith *Ephorus*.) *Hellanicus* affirmeth of the Epeians, that ſome of them lived full two hundred years; and ſo doth *Diodorus Siculus* of the Egyptians: and that theſe reports are not fabulous, *Joſephus* bringeth many witneſſes with himſelf; as *Marethon*, *Beroſus*, *Mochus*, *Eſtius*, *Hieronymus*, *Ægyptius*, *Hecataus*, *Ephorus*, and others. And *Anthony Fume*, an Hiſtorian of good reputation reporteth, that in the yeare 1570. there was an Indian preſented to *Solyman*, General of the Turks Army, who had outlived three hundred years. I my ſelf knew the old Counteſs of Deſmond of Inchiquin in Munſter, who lived in the year 1589. and many years ſince, who was married in *Edward* the Fourth's time, and held her Joynture from all the Earles of Deſmond ſince then; and that this is true, all the Noblemen and Gentlemen of Munſter can witneſs: *Strozzius Cicogna*, out of *Torquemada Maffæus*, and the like Authours, telleth of ſome that have not only far exceeded the term preſcribed by *Epigenes*; but been repaired from the withered eſtate of decrepit age to freſh youth. But for length of life, if we note but the difference between the ability of men in thoſe daies wherein *Galen* the Phyſician lived, it may eaſily prove unto us what Reeds we are in reſpect of thoſe Cedars of the firſt age. For *Galen* did ordinarily let bloud ſix pound weight, whereas we (for the moſt part) ſtop at ſix ounces. But to conclude this part, there are three things (not counting Conſtellations) which are the natural cauſes of a long and healthful life; (to wit) ſtrong

Joſ. ant. l. 13. c. 8. Plin. l. 7. c. 48.

Parents,

Parents, a pure and thin ayre, and temperate use of dyet, pleasure, and rest: for those which are built of rotten timber, or mouldring stone, cannot stand long upright; on ayre we feed alwaies and in every instant, and on meats but at times: and yet the heavy load of abundance, wherewith we oppress and overcharge Nature, maketh her to sink unawares in the midway; and therefore with a good constitution, a pure ayre, and a temperate use of those things which nature wanteth, are the onely friends and companions of a long life.

§. VI.

Of the Patriarchs delivering their knowledge by Tradition: and that ENOCH *writ before the Floud.*

A Fourth scruple hath bin made, How the certain knowledge of the Creation came to *Moses*, seeing there was no Story thereof written; and if any such had been, yet it is conceived, that all memory of Antiquity perished in the Universal Floud.

But if we consider the curiosity and policy of elder ages, we shall finde, that knowledge was the greatest treasure that men sought for, and which they also covered and hid from the vulgar sort, as Jewels of inestimable price, fearing the irreverent construction of the ignorant and irreligious: so as whatsoever was attained unto concerning God, and his working in nature, the same was not left to publike dispute, but delivered over by heart and tradition from wise men to a posterity equally zealous; *Ex animo in animum sine literis medio intercedente verbo: From minde to minde without Letters, by way of Tradition or word of mouth.* And it was thought by *Esdras*, *Origen*, and *Hilarius* (as *Mirandula* conceiveth) that *Moses* did not onely upon the Mount receive the Law from God, but withal, *secretiorem & veram legis enarrationem; a more secret and true explanation of the Law*; which (saith he, out of the same Authors,) he delivered by mouth to *Joshuah*, and *Joshuah* to the Elders: for to teach these mysteries, which he called *secretiora*, to the rude multitude, were no other *quàm dare sanctum canibus, & inter porcos spargere Margaritas; than to give holy things to Dogs, and to cast Pearls before Swine.* In succeeding times this understanding and wisdom began to be written in Ciphers and Characters, and Letters bearing the form of beasts, birds, and other creatures; and to be taught onely to such as served in their Temples, and to their Kings and Priests. Of the first the *Cabala* of the Jews was an imitation: the invention of the other is ascribed to *Zoroaster*, *Mercurius*, *Cadmus*, and others; but falsely.

Dion. Areop. Fol. 18.

This *Cabala* importeth a Law, received by tradition and unwritten. *Cabala* in Hebrew is *receptio* in Latine, and a *receiving* in English. And this custome was also held by the Druids and Bards of our ancient Brittans, and of latter times by the Irish Chronicles called Rimers. If then such as would seem wisest in the use of reason, will not acknowledge, that the story of the Creation, or beginning of all things, was written by inspiration, the holy Ghost guiding the hand of *Moses*; yet it is manifest, that the knowledge thereof might by tradition (then used) be delivered unto him by a more certain presumption, than any or all the testimonies which prophane antiquity had preserved and left to their successors: which their wise men (as they terme them) did lay up and defend from the injury of the time and other hazards. For, leaving to remember that *Adam* instructed *Seth*, and *Seth* his children and successors, which cannot be doubted of, it is manifest, that *Methusalem* lived together with *Adam* himself two hundred forty and three years, and *Noah* with *Methusalem* no less than five hundred years: and before *Noah* died, *Abrahams* was fifty and eight years old: from whence this knowledge by an easie and ordinary way might come to Israel, and so to *Moses*.

Cabala est scientia Theologia non revelata. P. M. 82. Miran. 110. fol.

But besides this tradition, it is questionless, that the use of letters was found out in the very infancy of the world, proved by those prophecies written on pillars of stone and brick by *Enoch*: of which *Josephus* affirmeth, that one of them remained even in his time (meaning belike some ruine or foundation thereof) which pillars by others are ascribed to *Seth*. But of these prophecies of *Enoch*, S. *Jude* testifieth; and some part of his Books (which contained the course of the Stars, their names and motions) were afterward found in *Arabia fœlix*, in the Dominion of the Queen of Saba (saith *Origen*) of which *Tertullian* affirmeth, that he had seen, and read some whole Pages. It is not therefore strange, that *Moses* came to the knowledge of the Creation, and story

Jos. l. 1. *Jud. Ep. v. 14.* *Origen. Homil. 1. in Num.*

of

of the first Age, seeing he might receive it both by tradition and letters, had not the spirit of God instructed and inspired him as it did: which also his many and strange miracles (performed before he wrote the Scriptures) make more manifest.

Origen. Hel. 28. in Num. & comment in Evang. Johan. *Gelas. dist. 15.* Now for the Books of *Enoch*, howsoever some men make mention of them, sure I am that *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Augustine*, *Beda*, *Procopius*, *Gazeus* (with others) cite them in their writings: although *Medina*, for an argument to prove them unwritten traditions, alledgeth that Pope *Gelasius* among other the Apochryphal Scriptures (which he rejecteth) named not these of *Enoch*; but that whatsoever was remembred out of them, the same was delivered by Tradition from the Jews. But I rather think with *Pererius*, that such a Book there was, and that the same was corrupted after the death of the Apostles, and many things added thereunto by Hereticks, who took occasion upon the antiquity thereof, and out of that place of *Michael* contending with the Devil about the body of *Moses*, to frame and add thereunto many inventions of their own. One of the greatest arguments against these Books, is, that neither *Philo* nor *Josephus* (the most diligent searchers of Antiquity) make mention thereof. But against it I will set this opinion of S. *Augustine*, *Scripsisse quidem nonnulla divina* Enoch, *illum septimum ab* Adam, *negare non possumus: That* Enoch *the seventh from* Adam, *did write divers divine things, we cannot deny.* Now his writings which came afterwards to light, were suspected because of the antiquity, and of fables of Giants, supposed to be begotten of Angels, and others; and by so much the more, because no such Book was found amongst those Canonical Scriptures, kept by the diligence of the Hebrew Priests in *Armario Judaico* (saith *Tertullian*) who yet affirmeth that this Book might be preserved by *Noah*. Surely, that *Enoch* wrote the prophecies remembred by *Jude*, no man can deny; how they were delivered to posterity, I know not; whether by the Jews *Cabala*, or by what other means, the same is but mans conjecture. And (certainly) by the knowledge ascribed to *Noah* of the motions of the Heavens, and of the natures and conjunctions of the Stars; and afterwards to some of his sons, to *Zoroaster*, and then to *Abraham*, it is very probable that *Noah* had seen and might preserve this Book. For it is not likely, that so exquisite knowledge therein (as these men had) was suddenly invented and found out, but left by *Seth* to *Enoch*, and by *Enoch* to *Noah*, as hath been said before. And therefore if letters and arts were known from the time of *Seth* to *Enoch*, and that *Noah* lived with *Methusalem*, who lived with *Adam*, and *Abraham* lived with *Noah*, it is not strange (I say) to conceive how *Moses* came to the knowledge of the first Age, be it by letters, or by *Cabala* and tradition, had the undoubted word of God need of any other proof than self-authority.

Tert. de habit. mulierum. *Heb. 11. 15.*

§. VII.

Of the men of renown before the Floud.

NOw let us consider the relation of *Moses*, who nameth seven descents of *Cains* children: and of *Adam* by *Seth* ten; *Seth* being given by God in stead of *Abel*: and of *Seth* was *Enosh* begotten, in whose time men began to profess Religion, and to offer sacrifice in publique. For although *Adam* instructed his children in the knowledge of God their Creator, as appeared by the sacrifice offered by *Cain* and *Abel*; yet it seemeth that after the birth of *Enosh*, men began publiquely to call on the Name of the Lord, that is, they served and praised God by Communion and in publique manner, or calling upon the Name of the Lord; and thereby were the sons of God, or the godly, distinguished from the wicked. From the birth of *Enosh* the son of *Seth*, to the time of *Henoch* the son of *Jared*, there is nothing remembred by *Moses*, but their owne births, the births of their sons, the length of their lives, and deaths. But of *Henoch* it is written: *That he walked with God, and he was no more seene:* For God tooke him away. By that, *that he walked with God*, was meant, that he was a just and upright man, and that he feared, loved, and obeyed God. For the same phrase *Moses* useth of *Noah*; Noah *was a just and upright man in his time, and* Noah *walked with God.* The seventy convert it, Enoch *placuit Deo*; Enoch *pleased God.* And although *Aben-Ezra* and others understand this place, (*tulit eum Deus*) *scilicet, mortuus est*; *God tooke him away*, (*that is*) *he dyed*, which (indeed) agreeth both with the phrase of the Scripture, and with our manner of speech to this day, to say, God tooke him away when he died; yet the difference which *Moses* maketh between the piety of *Henoch*, and the rest of the Patriarchs

Gen. 5. 24. *6. 9.*

triarchs, and by omitting the word (death) which he useth to all else, makes it manifest, that *Henoch* was not dissolved as the rest. For to all the rest of the Patriarchs, *Moses* useth these words, *And he dyed*; but of *Henoch* he spake otherwise, saying onely, *He was missing*, or *he was not seene. Et non inveniebatur* (saith the Apostle to the Hebrewes) *quia Deus eum transtulit*; *And he was not found, for the Lord tooke him away.* In the same place it is expresly added, *that he saw not death.*

But whether this taking away of *Henoch* were not with the same kinde of changing, which S. *Paul* promiseth, when he saith, that, *when the end shall come, we shall not all dye,* 1 Cor. 15. 51. *but all shall be changed*, I leave it to the learned Divines.

After *Henoch*, *Moses* passeth over to *Methusalem* and *Lamech*, remembring (as of the rest) the times of their birth and death: saving that *Lamech* propheſied of his son *Noah*, saying, *This same shall comfort us concerning our worke, and sorrow of our hands, as touching the earth which the Lord hath cursed.* Of *Noah*, *Moses* writeth more amply than of any of the rest of *Adams* children by *Seth*, being the last of the ten generations of the first Age, whom God (with his Family) preserved, because he was an upright man in his time, and feared God. Gen. 5. 29. Gen. 6. 9.

But of the warre, peace, governement, and policy of those strong and mighty men, so able both in body and wit, there is no memory remaining: whose stories if they had bin preserved, and what else was then performed in that newnesse of the world, there could nothing of more delight have been left to posterity. For the exceeding long lives of men (who to their strength of body and naturall wits, had the experience added of 800 and 900 years) how much of necessity must the same adde of wisedom and undertakings? Likely it is, that their works excelled all whatsoever can be told of aftertimes, especially in respect of this old age of the World, when we no sooner begin to know, but we begin to die; according to HIPPOCRATES: *Vita brevis, ars longa, tempus præceps*; (which is) *Life is short, art is long, and time is headlong.* And that those people of the first age performed many things worthy admiration, it may be gathered out of these words of MOSES; *These were mighty men, which in old time were men of renowne.* But these men of renown (whom the Scripture afterwards calleth Giants, both for strength of body, and cruelty of mind) trusted so much to their owne abilities, as they forgat altogether the piety of *Seth*, and the waies wherein *Henoch* walked: *for all the imaginations of their hearts were evil, only evill, and continually evill.* And this wickednesse was not only found in the issues of *Cain*, but it was then universall, when the children and sons of God (or of the godly) were corrupted and mis-led by their idolatrous wives, the daughters of *Cain*, or of those other men, loving themselves and the world only. Aphor. 1. Gen. 6. 4. Verse 5.

That these *sons of God* were Angels, which being taken with the beauty of women, accompanied them and begat Giants, some of the Fathers supposed; namly, *Lactantius*, and *Eusebius*, mis-led by *Josephus*: of whom I cannot doubt, but that they afterward changed their former opinions. And of this mistaking many Writers have taken great advantage, and have troubled themselves with large answers, and very needlesse: the question being uncapable of dispute, especially since S. *Chrysostom* and S. *Augustine* have answered it largely long agoe. For, that good and godly men were honoured with the title of Gods children, it doth every where appear in the Scriptures; and on the contrary, to thinke that Angels, who (as Christ witnesseth) behold the face of God, (that is) alwaies attend his commandements, should after a separation from the rest which fell with *Lucifer*, forsake the glorious presence of their Creatour, and become *Incubi*, or *Succubi*, contrary both to Nature and Grace, were more than madnesse to imagine. Gen. 6. v. 4.

§. VIII.

That the Giants by MOSES *so called, were indeed men of huge bodies: as also divers in later times.*

OF these Giants which *Moses* calleth mighty men, *Goropius Becanus* an *Antuerpian* (who thought his owne wit more Giganticall than the bodies of *Nimrod* or *Hercules*) hath written a large discourse, intituled *Gigantomachia*, and strayned his braines to prove, that there were never any such men: his reasons (whosoever desires to lose time) he may find them in the Treatises before named. It is true that *Cyrillus* reproves the Grecian Poets for their monstrous fictions: who affirme shamelesly,

That

That the Giants have in elder times not only cast up Mountains upon Mountains, but removed Islands out of the Sea, with like fooleries. And for that invention of casting up Hils, and making war with the gods, no doubt but that the same was borrowed out of the story of *Nimrod*, as before remembred; and even out of this Scripture: That the Sons of God saw the Daughters of Men, of whom the first Giants were begotten, was that conceit taken of *Orpheus* and *Hesiodus*. That Giants were the sons of the Heaven and the Earth; meaning by the Heavens the sons of God, and by the Earth the daughters of Men: which verses of *Orpheus* are by *John Cassam* (who hath written a witty discourse of this subject) thus changed into Latine:

Nomine cœlestes illos dixêre Gigantes,
Orti quòd terrâ fuerint & sanguine cœli.

From the Earth, and from thy bloud, O heaven, they came,
Whom thereupon the gods did Giants name.

But what will not Opiniators and selfe-beleeving men dispute of, and make doubt of, if they cannot conceive that there were in the first Age such kind of men; and of which there have been in all times since; seeing the Scriptures avow the one manifestly, and common experience the other?

And for that superlative straining of words, and the meaning of them, that the name of Giants was given to Oppressors and Tyrants, and not to strength of body and eminent stature: such men might with better reason call them Oppressors, because they were Giants; and therefore had ability to oppresse, than say, That they were called Giants only, because Oppressors. For first, *Moses* himself calleth them mighty men; which sheweth a strength surpassing others: and afterwards men of renowne, (that is) of great undertaking and adventurous action. And if the same stature of body, and ability had not beene found among divers Nations after the generall floud, then might this place of *Moses* have more willingly hearkened to a dispute, and yeelded to interpretation.

But besides all these famous Giants found in prophane Histories (which I wil reserve to acompany the Giants of Albion, in the story of Britanie) the Scriptures doe cleerly and without all allegoricall construction avow, That, besides *Nimrod*, there were found
Gen. 14. 5. of these Giants in the time of *Abraham*, of *Moses*, of *Josuah*, and of *David*; namly, the Re-
Num. 15. 34. phaims in Asteroth; the Zuzæi or Zanzummims in Ham, and the Emims which dwelt
Deut. 2. v. 21. anciently in the Land of Moab: whom *Moses* (for stature) compareth with the Anakims
20. which dwelt in Hebron; for they also were taken for Giants as the Anakims. Likewise
Vers. 21. where *Moses* speaketh of the Land of *Ammon* he useth these words: *That also was taken for a land of Giants, for Giants dwelt therein afore-times: &, whom the Ammonites call Zanzummims: a people that was great, and many, and tall as the Anakims.* And these Giants called Rephaims in Asteroth and Karnaim, and the Zuzæi or Zanzummims, *Chedorlaomer*
Amos 1. king of Elam overthrew, assisted by other kings his associates. Also the Prophet *Amos* found among the Ammonies men of giant-like stature, whom he compareth to the Ce-
Bar. 3. v. 26. dar, and whose strength to the Okes: and the Prophet BARUCH, *These were the Giants famous from the beginning, that were of so great stature, and so expert in war.* Particularly it is
Deut. 3. v. 11. written of *Og*, K. of Basan, that his bed of yron was 9 cubits long, and four cubits broad: for only *Og* king of Basan remained of the remnant of the Giants, who commanded the Kingdome of Basan, foure hundred yeares after the Expedition of *Chedorlaomer*. Moreover, those Discoverers and Searchers of the Land of Promise (sent by *Moses* from Cadesbarne in Paran) made reporte at their returne of the great stature of those
Num. 13. v. 34. people in general, and especially of the sons of *Anak*, in these words: *All the people which we saw in it are men of great stature: for there we saw Giants, the sons of* ANAK, *which come of the Giants, so that we seemed in our sights like Grasse-hoppers, and so we were in their sight,* (that is) the Searchers found in their owne judgements a marvellous difference between the Anakims and themselves: insomuch that the Israelites were so stricken with
Cap. 14. 4. fear, as they rather sought and desired to return againe into Egypt, and were more willing to endure their former slavery, than to fall by the strokes of those fearful Nations.
1 Sam. 17. 4. Furthermore, the Scriptures put us out of doubt, that *Goliah* the Philistine of *Gath*, was a *Giant* of six cubits and a span long: the Armour which he wore weighed five thousand shekles of brasse: the shaft of his speare was like a Weavers beame, and his speare-head
2 Sam. 21. v. 19 weighed six hundred shekles of yron. Also in *Samuel* there is mention of another *Goliab*

of another *Goliah*, ſurnamed *Getheus*, becauſe he was of *Gath*: and of three other Giants; of which the firſt was ſlain by *Jonathan*, *David*'s Nephew, who had twelve fingers, and as many toes: a man of great ſtature, and his fingers were by ſixes, even four and twenty. 1 Chron. 20. 7.

Alſo that *Sampſon* was of ſurpaſſing ſtrength, no man doubteth, who tore a Lion as it had been a Kid, and after ſlue thirty of the Philiſtines, and (after that) a thouſand more of them with a Jaw-bone of an Aſs: And laſtly, he took the gates of Azzah, and the two Poſts, and lifted them away with the bars, and put them upon his ſhoulders, and carried them to the top of the Mountain before Ebron. If then it be approved by every judgement, that both Nature and the Heavens wax old, and that the great age of Time hath (with it ſelf) infeebled and almoſt worn out the virtue of all things, then, I ſay, That as in all other kinds the Earth (before that Sin had increaſed the curſe and corruption) brought forth her young ones more ſtrong and beautiful, than it did in after ages: ſo alſo thoſe Giants, thoſe mighty men, and men of renown, as far exceeded the proportion, nature, and ſtrength of thoſe Giants, remembred by *Moſes* of his own time, and after him their ſucceſſors, as the ordinary proportion of all men in general, ſoon after the floud and in times far off, exceeded the bulks and bodies of men which are now born in the withered quarter and Winter of the World. If therefore Giants were common in the third and fourth age, much more in the firſt flouriſhing youth and newneſs of the world. *Jud.* 14. 6. 14. 19. 16. 3.

But the wickedneſs (eſpecially in cruelty and oppreſſion) of theſe men was ſuch, as God therefore by the floud gave end to all fleſh, but to the juſt *Noah* and his Family. *And God repented him that he had made man:* which S. *Auguſtine* thus expoundeth; *Neq; enim ſicut hominem, ita Deum facti ſui pœnitet, cujus eſt de omnibus omnino rebus tam fixa ſententia, quam certa præſcientia. Sed ſi non utatur Scriptura talibus verbis, non ſe quodammodo familiarius inſinuabit omni generi hominum, quibus vult eſſe conſultum: ut & perterreat ſuperbientes, & excitet negligentes, & exerceat quærentes, & alat intelligentes;* God (ſaith he) *doth not repent him of any thing which he hath done (as men uſe to do): but if the Scripture did not uſe thoſe words or the like, it ſhould not (in a ſort) inſinuate it ſelf familiarly to all ſorts of men, for whom it would provide: that it might terrifie the proud, ſtir up the negligent, exerciſe the ſearchers of the truth, and nouriſh thoſe that underſtand.* Gen. 6. 6. De Civit. Dei. l. 15. c. 15.

CHAP. VI.

Of idolatrous corruptions, quickly riſing, and hardly at length vaniſhing in the world: and of the Reliques of Truth touching theſe ancient times, obſcurely appearing in Fables and old Legends.

§ I.

That in old corruptions we may finde ſome ſigns of more ancient truth.

HEre, before we proceed any further, the occaſion offereth it ſelf for us to conſider how the Greeks and other more ancient Nations, by fabulous inventions, and by breaking into parts the ſtory of the Creation, and by delivering it over in a myſtical ſenſe, wrapping it up mixed with other their own trumpery, have ſought to obſcure the truth thereof; and have hoped, that after-ages, being thereby brought into many doubts, might receive thoſe inter-mixt diſcourſes of God and Nature, for the inventions of Poets and Philoſophers, and not as any thing borrowed or ſtolne out of the Books of God. But as a skilful and learned Chymiſt can aſwel by ſeparation of viſible elements draw helpful medicines out of poyſon, as poyſon out of the moſt healthful hearbs and plants (all things having in themſelves both life and death): ſo, contrary to the purpoſes and hopes of the Heathen, may thoſe which ſeek after God and Truth, find out every-where, and in all the ancient Poets and Philoſophers, the Story of the firſt Age, with all the works and marvels thereof, amply and lively expreſt.

§. II.

§. II.

That the corruptions themselves were very ancient; as in the Family of NOAH, *and in the old Egyptians.*

BUt this defection and falling away from God, which was first found in Angels, and afterwards in men (the one having erred but once, the other ever) as concerning Mankinde it tooke such effect, that thereby (the liberal grace of God being withdrawn) all the posterity of our first Parents were afterwards born and bred in a world, suffering a perpetual Eclipse of spiritual light. Hence it was that it produced plants of such imperfection and harmful quality, as the waters of the general floud could not so wash out or depure, but that the same defection hath had continuance in the very generation and nature of mankind. Yea, even among the few sons of *Noah*, there were found strong effects of the former poyson. For as the children of *Sem* did inherit the virtues of *Seth*, *Enoch*, and *Noah*; so the sons of *Cham* did possess the vices of the sons of *Cain*, and of those wicked Giants of the first Age. Whence the Chaldæans began soon after the Floud to ascribe divine power and honour to the Creature, which was onely due to the Creatour. First, they worshipped the Sun, and then the Fire. So the Egyptians and Phœnicians did not onely learn to leave the true God, but created twelve several gods, and divine powers, whom they worshipped, and unto whom they built Altars and Temples. For *Herodotus* saith, *Duodecim Deorum nomina primos Ægyptios in usu habuisse, atque Græcos ab illis cepisse mutuatos, eosque prius Aras, & Imagines, & Templa Diis sibi erexisse*; *The Egyptians* (saith he) *first devised the names of the twelve gods, which the Greeks received from them, who first erected unto themselves Altars, Images, and Temples for the gods.*

Herod. in Euterpe.

§. III.

That in process of time these lesser errours drew on greater: as appeareth in the gross Superstitions of the Egyptians.

BUt as men once fallen away from undoubted truth, do then after wander for evermore in vices unknown, and daily travail towards their eternal perdition: so did these gross and blinde Idolaters every Age after other, descend lower and lower, and shrink and slide downwards from the knowledge of one true and very God; and did not thereby erre in worshipping mortal men onely, but they gave divine reverence, and had the same respect to Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Fowls, Winds, Earth, Water, Ayre, Fire, to the Morning, to the Evening, to Plants, Trees, and Roots, to Passions and Affections of the Minde, to Paleness, Sickness, Sorrows, yea to the most unworthy and basest of all these. Which barbarous blasphemy, *Rhodius Anaxandrides* derideth in this manner:

Nat. Com. l.1. cap.7.

Bovem colis, ego Deis macto bovem.
Tu maximum Anguillam Deum putas: ego
Obsoniorum credidi suavissimum.
Carnes suillas tu caves, at gaudeo
His maximè: canem colis, quem verbero
Edentem ubi deprehendo fortè obsonium.

I sacrifice to God the Beef, which you adore.
I broyle th' *Egyptian* Eeles, which you (as god) implore:
You fear to eat the flesh of Swine, I finde it sweet.
You worship Dogs; to beat them I think meet,
When they my store devoure.

And in this manner JUVENAL.

Porrum aut cæpe nefas violare aut frangere morsu:
O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis
Numina!

The *Egyptians* think it sin to root up, or to bite
Their Leeks or Onyons, which they serve with holy rite:
O happy Nations, which of their own sowing
Have store of gods in every Garden growing!

§. IV.

§. IV.

That from the relicks of ancient Records among the Egyptians and others, the first Idols and Fables were invented: and the first Jupiter *was* Cain, Vulcan, Tubalcain, *&c.*

BUt in so great a confusion of vanities, where among the Heathens themselves there is no agreement or certainty, it were hard to finde out from what example the beginnings of these inventions were borrowed, or after what ancient pattern they erected their building, were it not certain that the Egyptians had knowledge of the first Age, and of whatsoever was done therein, partly from some inscriptions upon stone or metall remaining after the Floud; and partly from *Mizraim* the son of *Cham*, who had learnt the same of *Cham*, and *Cham* of his Father *Noah*: for all that the Egyptians write of their ancient Kings, and date of times, cannot be fained, and though other Nations after them had by imitation their *Jupiters* also, their *Saturnes*, *Vulcans*, and *Mercuries*, with the rest, which S. *Augustine* out of *Varro*; *Eusebius* out of many prophane Histories; *Cicero*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Arnobius*, and many more have observed, to wit, the *Phœnicians*, *Phrygians*, *Cretians*, *Greeks*, and other Nations; yet was *Cain* the Sonne of *Adam* (as some very learned men conceive) called and reputed for the first and ancient *Jupiter*; and *Adam* for the first *Saturne*: for *Jupiter* was said to have invented the founding of Cities; and the first City of the World was built by *Cain*, which he called *Enoch*, of whom were the *Henochii* before remembred. And so much may be gathered out of *Plato* in *Protagoras*, which also *Higinus* in his 275. Chapter confirmeth. For besides that many Cities were founded by divers men; *Tamen primam latissimam à primo & antiquissimo* Jove *ædificatam*: *yet the first and largest was built by the first and most ancient* Jupiter, seated in the East parts, or in India, according to that of *Moses*: *And* Cain *dwelt towards the East side of* Eden, *&c.* where also the *Henochii* were found after the Floud. And therefore was *Jupiter* by the Athenians called *Polieus*, a Founder of Cities, and *Herceios*, an incloser or strengthener of Cities (say *Phornutus* and *Pausanias*) and that to *Jupiter Herceios* there were in very many places Altars and Temples erected. And that there were Cities built before the Floud, *Plato* also witnesseth, as may be gathered in this his affirming, that soon after mankinde began to increase, they built many Cities; which, as his meaning, he delivereth in plaine termes, in his third Book of Lawes: for he saith that Cities were built an exceeding space of time before the destruction by the great Floud.

Aug. l. 19. c. 22. De civit. Dei. Euseb. l. 1. Præp. Evang. c. 7. & l. 2. c. 23. Cic. l. 2. de nat. Deorum. Arnob. 4. contra Gent.

Gen. 4. 16.

Phorn. l. de natura Deorum. Pausan. l. 4, 5. & 10. in Phocaïc.

This first *Jupiter* of the Ethnicks was then the same *Cain*, the sonne of *Adam*, who marrying his own Sister (as also *Jupiter* is said to have done) inhabited the East, where *Stephanus de Urbibus* placeth the City *Henochia*. And besides this City of *Henoch*, *Philo Judæus* conceiveth that *Cain* built six others, as *Maich*, *Iared*, *Tebe*, *Iesca*, *Selet*, and *Gebat*: but where *Philo* had this, I know not. Now as *Cain* was the first *Jupiter*, and from whom also the Ethnicks had the invention of Sacrifice: so were *Iubal*, *Tubal*, and *Tubalcain* (inventors of Pastorage, Smiths-craft, and Musick) the same which were called by the ancient prophane Writers, *Mercurius*, *Vulcan*, and *Apollo*; and as there is a likelihood of name between *Tubalcain* and *Vulcan*: so doth *Augustine* expound the name of *Noëma*, or *Naamath*, the sister of *Tubalcain*, to signifie *Venusta* or beautifull, *Voluptas* or pleasure; as the Wife of *Vulcan* is said to be *Venus*, the Lady of pleasure and beauty. And as *Adam* was the ancient and first *Saturne*, *Cain* the eldest *Jupiter*; *Eva*, *Rhea*, and *Nomea* or *Naamath* the first *Venus*: so did the Fable of the dividing of the World between the three Brethren the Sons of *Saturne*, arise from the true Story of the dividing of the Earth between the three Brethren the Sonnes of *Noah*: so also was the fiction of those Golden Apples kept by a Dragon, taken from the Serpent which tempted *Evah*: so was *Paradise* it self transported out of Asia into Africa, and made the Garden of the Hesperides: the Prophecies, that *Christ* should break the serpents head, and conquer the power of Hel, occasioned the fables of *Hercules* killing the Serpent of *Hesperides*, and descending into Hel, and captivating *Cerberus*: so out of the taking up of *Henoch* by God, was borrowed the conversion of their *Heroës* (the inventors of Religion, and such Arts as the life of man had profit by) into Stars and Heavenly signes, and (withall) that leaving of the World, and ascension of *Astræa*: of which *Ovid*:

Gen. 4. 20, 21, 22

Lact. l. 4. c. 27.

Ovid. Met. l. 1.

Ultima cœlestum terras Astræa reliquit.
Astræa last of heavenly Wights the Earth did leave.

For although thereby the *Ethnicks* would understand Justice it selfe to have failed,
Nat.com.l.2.c.2 as is is a vertue abstract, and may be considered without a person, yet as it is usuall among the ancient Poets to describe Vertues and Vices by the persons of men and women, as Desire by *Cupid*, Valour by *Mars*, Beauty or Lust by *Venus*; so doe they also the persons of men by like Vertues and Vices: and therefore by justice and *Astræa*, *Enoch*; the justice and piety of *Enoch* being in the same manner expresst, as that of *Noah*
Gen.7. *Gen.5.22,24.* was by *Moses*: for *Noah* was said to be a just man; *And* Noah *walked with God.* And of *Enoch* it is written, *That he walked with God, and he was no more seen: for God took him away.*

From this Story also of the first Age, and from that part where *Moses* remembreth the Giants begotten by the sonnes of good men upon the daughters of the wicked (whom *Moses* calleth mighty men, and men of renowne) did they steale those wondrous great acts of their ancient Kings, and powerfull Giants; and again their war undertaken against the Gods, from the building of the Tower of *Babel* by the Giant *Nim-*
L.de civit. Dei *rod*, as S. *Augustine* termeth him. Which warre of their Giants, *Cornelius Severus* thus describeth.

Tentavere (nefas) olim detrudere mundo
Sydera, captiviq; Jovis transferre Gigantes
Imperium, & victo leges imponere cœlo.
The Giants did advance their wicked hand
Against the Stars to thrust them headlong down;
And robbing *Jove* of his Imperiall Crown,
On conquer'd Heavens to lay their proud command.

Whereby was meant that *Nimrod* purposed to raise the building of *Babel* to that height, as God neither by drawing waters from the deep, nor by any conjunction of the Stars, should bury them under the moisture of a second Floud, but that by this building (if they had been herein victorious) they would have given the Law to Heaven it self. Also the making of leagues, peace and covenants among Heathen Nations and Kings, confirmed by sacrifice, whereof *Virgil* both in the eighth and twelfth of his *Æneides* hath a touch, was (as it seemeth) borrowed from *Moses*, *Exod.* 24. who when he read the Book of the Covenant, sprinkled the people with bloud.

Joseph.l.1. contra Appian. We finde also many remembrances of *Seth*, the paternall Ancestor of *Henoch* and *Noah*: for *Amenophis*, the same King of *Egypt* which reigned at such time as *Moses* carried thence the children of Israel (as of late some learned men, mistaking his time, supposed) called his Sonne and Successour *Setho*, of *Seth*: and of the same *Seth* (as many men of good judgment have granted) were the Princes of *Thrace*, called *Seuthes*, where-
Plut. in Isid. of there were many very famous. But herein was the memory of *Seth* most manifestly preserved, that the Egyptians worshipped *Seth*, as their most ancient parent, and of the first tradition: in honour of whom they called a principal Province *Sethetica*. We
Strab.l.17. also finde in *Bithynia* the City of *Sethia*, and others of the same name elsewhere. And sure, from the Egyptians did the Grecians borrow this kinde of Theologie, though they scorned to acknowledge any antiquity preceding their own: and that they might not seem to learn elsewhere, they gave the same names to their own Idols, which the *Egyptians* did to theirs.

§. V.

Of the three chiefest Jupiters, *and the strange story of the third.*

BUt of all those Armies of *Jupiters* remembred by the Ancients, *Cicero* maketh but three, because those were of most fame: which other Writers have also done, who sought out, and laboured in their originals.

The first was *Jupiter*, the sonne of *Aether* and *Dies*, so called because the one had reference to his celestial conditions (for *æther* is as much as shining or pure fire): the other discovered his naturall vertues, which daies and times make more perfect, and are the witnesses of mens actions.

The second was said to be the son of *Cœlum* or Heaven, for the same former respect, and this *Jupiter* was an *Arcadian*, and King of *Athens*.

The

The third, of whom all the Grecian fables were deviſed, was of *Crete* (now *Candie*) the Son of *Saturne* and *Ops*. The name derived from the Latine is taken of *juvans pater*, from the Greek word *Zeus*, it ſignifieth life, but ſomewhat ſtrained. *Boccas* in his Genealogie of the Gods, conceiveth, that his name was borrowed from *Jupiter* the Planet; but whether that Star had ſuch a name before the ſame was given to men, I know not. *Jupiter* is hot and moiſt, temperate, modeſt, honeſt, adventurous, liberall, mercifull, loving, and faithfull (that is) giving theſe inclinations. And therefore thoſe ancient Kings beautified with theſe conditions, might be called thereafter *Jupiter*: but howſoever they were, or were not with thoſe vertues inriched, yet by imitation, all Kings in the eldeſt times aſſumed thoſe Titles and Sir-names: great Princes affecting as high Titles of honour and reputation in the world (howſoever deſerved) as the worthieſt, that ever were, acquired by their well deſervings. *Joves omnes Reges vocârunt antiqui*, *The ancients called all Kings Jupiters*, as *Tzetzes* in his *varia hiſtoria* confirmeth; *Reges olim Joves vocârunt omnes*; *In old times all Nations called their Kings Jupiters*. But where this laſt and moſt remembred *Jupiter* was borne, it is uncertain. Some there are that make him of *Crete*: others that he was but ſent thither by his Mother *Ops*, or *Opis*, to be foſtered and hidden from the fury of *Titan* his Uncle: becauſe it was conditioned between *Saturne* and *Titan*, that *Saturne* being a younger Brother, and reigning (for his own life) by *Titans* permiſſion, he ſhould put to death all his male children, leſt the Titans might be interrupted by any of them in their ſucceſſion; which agreement, becauſe *Saturne* performed in his firſt borne, it is feigned that *Saturne* devoured his own children. Hereof *Lycophron* thus turned into Latine: *Nat. com. l. 1. c. 7*

Haud ſit pinguior, | *Saturne* to be the fatter is not known,
Crudis ſepulchrum quòd ſit ipſe filiis. | By being the grave and buriall of his own.

This compoſition between *Titan* and *Saturne*, *Sybilla* alſo witneſſeth in theſe words;

Conceptis verbis, Titan *jurare coëgit*
Saturnum, *de ſe natum ne nutriat ullum*,
Qui poſſint regnare ſenis poſt fata Nepotes.
Things thus agreed; *Titan* made *Saturne* ſweare
No Son to nouriſh, which by reigning might
Uſurp the right of *Titans* lawfull heire.

But *Opis* the mother of *Jupiter*, being delivered at once both of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, conveyed *Jupiter* (firſt called *Lyſanias*) into *Crete*, as ſhe did afterwards his two Brothers, *Neptune* and *Pluto*: where he was brought up in Gnoſſus, the chief City of that Iſland, by *Creſta* the King, or by the *Curetes*, a people and nation thereof. *Euſeb. in Tim.*

Others challenge him to be of Thebes and a Thebane: others call him an Arcadian: Others make him of Meſſena. The like contention is found among the Greeks touching his education and firſt foſtering. Some affirm that he was fed by Honey-bees: in recompence whereof he changed their black coats and ſkins into yellow; a reward wel fitting ſuch a God; other, that he was nouriſhed by Bears: others, by Goats: and of all theſe the idle Greeks have many pretty tales. But in the end when *Titan* had knowledge that *Saturne* had broken his faith, he ſet on him, and took him and his wife priſoners, whom *Jupiter* again reſcued and delivered.

But laſtly, the Father and the Son equally ambitious, the one doubted the other. *Saturne* being the leſs powerfull, fled into Italy, and left his Kingdoms in Greece to his ſonne. And although this Prince at the firſt purchaſed great honour, and for his many vertues, the name of *Jupiter* was given him: yet after he was once ſetled, and became potent, he gave himſelf over wholly to palliardize and adultery, without all reſpect of Honour, Law, or Religion. And it is reported by ſuch as doe aſcribe the actions of many to one *Jupiter*, that not therewith ſatisfied, he was afterwards known to offend in the ſinne of Sodom with *Ganimedes* and others: and did not only begin with inceſt, marrying his owne Siſter *Juno*, but he raviſhed, betrayed, ſtole away, and took by ſtrong hand all the beautifull women borne in his time, within the limits of his owne Kingdomes, or bordering them. Among whom theſe hereafter written were of greateſt fame; *Niobe*, *Laodemia*, and *Alcmena*, the Wife of *Amphitrion*, by whom he had *Pelaſgus*, *Sarpedon*, *Argus*, and *Hercules*: by *Taygete* he had *Taygetus*, of whom the Mountain *Taygetus* took name, with another Sonne called *Saon*, of whom *Saonia*

by *Antiope* he had *Amphion and Zetus*: by *Læda*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, *Hellen* and *Clytemnestra*: by *Danae*, *Perseus*; by *Jordana*, *Deucalion*: by *Charme* (the daughter of *Eubulus*) *Britomartis*: by *Protogenia*, he had *Athlius* the Father of *Endymion*: and by *Iö* (the daughter of *Inachus*) *Epaphus*, the founder of *Memphis* in *Egypt*: which *Epaphus* married *Libya*, of whom that Countrey tooke name, for so the Greeks afterward called *Africa*. He raviſhed *Aegina* the daughter of *Aesopus*, and carried her into the Iſland *Oenopia* or *Oenotria*, afterward called *Aegina*, on whom he begate *Aecus*: by *Torrhebia* he had *Archesilaus* and *Carbius*: by *Ora*, *Colaxes*: he had alſo *Dardanus* by *Electra*, who built *Dardanium*, afterward *Ilium* or *Troy*. He begate the brothers *Talici*, on *Thalia*, and on *Garamantis*, *Hiarbas*. He had beſides theſe (if they belye not their chief God) *Philcus* and *Pilumnus*, inventers of the Bakers craft; and I know not how many more; but I know well that he could not be father to all theſe, who were borne in ages ſo farre differing. And of theſe his ſeverall raviſhments, betrayings, ſtealing away of mens wives, daughters, and ſons, buying of virgins, and the like, came in all thoſe ancient fables of his transformations into ſhowers of gold, eagles, bulls, birds, and beaſts; and of him, and by him (in effect) all that rabble of Grecian forgeries. And yet did not the *Greeks* and *Romanes* fear to entitle this monſter, *Optimus Maximus*, though *Cicero* in his ſecond Booke, *de natura Deorum*, affirme, that he deſerved nothing leſſe; and in his Oration, *pro domo ſua*, reprocheth *Clodius* for his inceſt, by the name of *Jupiter*. His buriall was in

Lus. in Sacrif. *Crete* (ſaith *Lucian.*) *Cretenſes non ſolùm natum apud ſe, & ſepultum Jovem teſtantur, ſed etiam ſepulchrum ejus oſtendunt*; *The Cretians or Candians doe not onely avow that Jupiter was borne and buried among them, but they ſhew his grave and ſepulchre*: which *Epiphanius* alſo confirmeth; for in his time there remained the monuments of his tombe in the Mountain *Jaſius*. This *Callimachus* in his hymnes alſo witneſſeth, but, as offended thereat, ſaith thus:

> The *Cretians* ever lyars were, they care not what they ſay:
> For they a tombe have built for thee, O King, that liv'ſt alway.

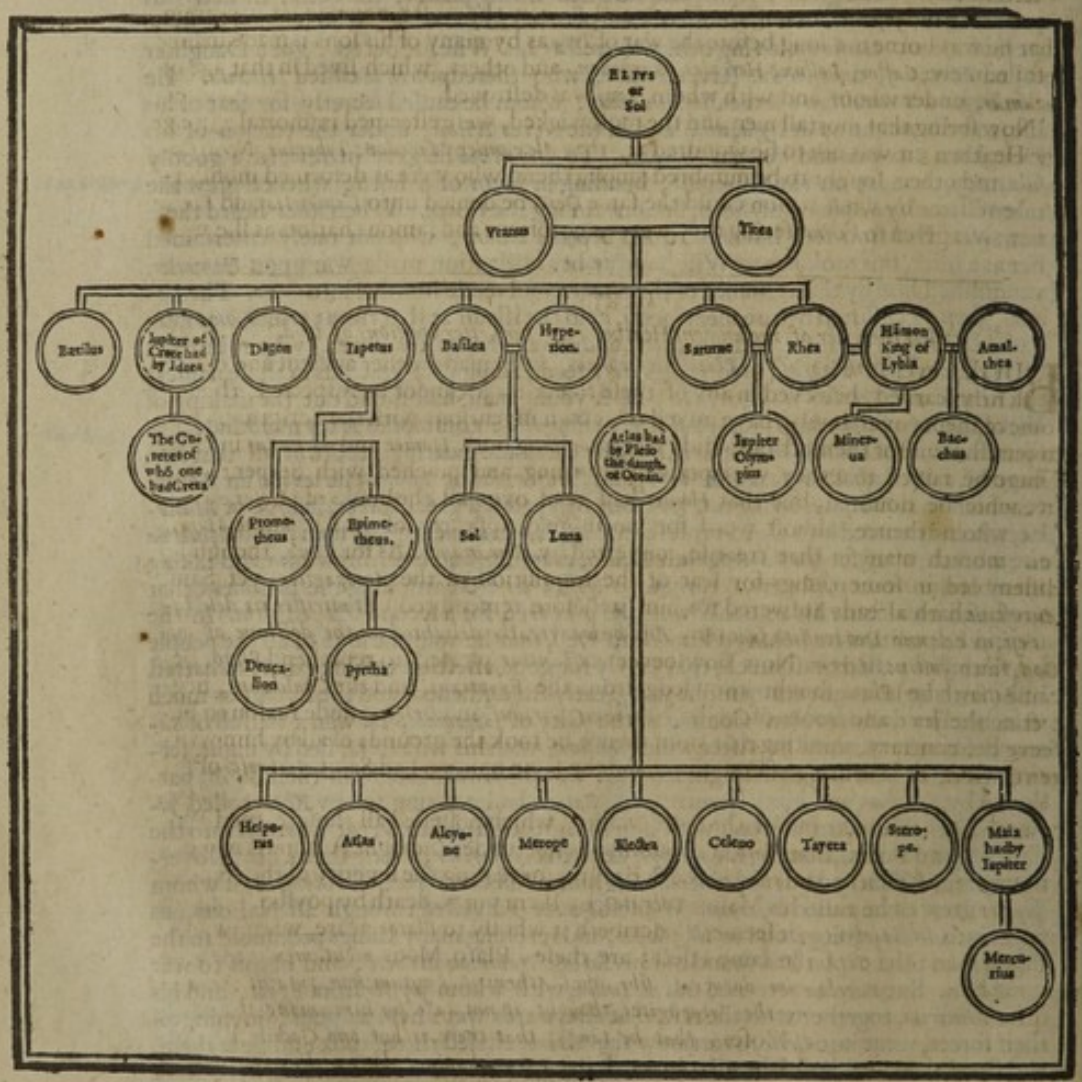
Diod. l. 2. c. 5. *Diodorus Siculus* tels by way of report from the *Libyan* fables, confirmed (as he ſaith) by ſome *Greek* Writers, that the original of theſe gods was from the Weſtern parts of *Africa*. For there among the *Atlantidæ* reigned one *Uranus* (which ſignifieth Heaven) called ſo for his great ſkill in *Aſtrology*; and for his knowledge, and benefits to the people, honoured by them as a god after his death. He had by many wives 45 ſons; but by his principal wife *Titea*, he had ſeventeen ſons and two daughters, all which were called after their mothers name, the *Titanes*. Of *Titea*, likewiſe it is ſaid, that ſhe for her goodneſs was canonized as a goddeſs, being dead, and called the Earth, as her huſband was ſtiled Heaven. But of all the children of *Titea*, her daughter *Basilea* (which name ſounding as Queen in *Engliſh*, ſhe is by the Latine tranſlatour of *Diodorus* called *Regina*) excelling the reſt as far in virtue as in yeers, was by generall conſent of her brethren, and of the people, appointed to rule as Queen after her father's death, being as yet a Virgin. She took to huſband her brother *Hyperion*, to whom ſhe bare a ſon and a daughter, called *Sunne* and *Moone*. The beauty and towardlineſs of theſe children moved her brethren to envie, and bred in them a fear of being excluded from the ſucceſſion: wherefore they took the boy and drowned him in the River *Eridanus*, now called *Poe*. The loſs of this childe cauſed his ſiſter to break her own neck; and the loſs of both her children made the mother to play many mad prancks, dauncing with Cymbals, after a wilde faſhion, in ſight of all the people, before whom ſhe is ſaid to have vaniſhed away. Ere ſhe died, her ſon (as the fable hath it) ſignified unto her in a dreame, that he and his ſiſter, by the providence of God, ſhould become immortal, that alſo the *Sunne* and *Moone* ſhould be called by their names, and that their death ſhould be revenged upon the Murderers. According to which it is ſaid, that the people did ſo call thoſe two Planets, and withal held her ſelfe as a goddeſs; and termed her the great Mother, which name they had formerly given to her, for her motherly care in cheriſhing her brethren whileſt they were young. *Hyperion* and his race being extinguiſhed, the other ſons of *Æranus* divided the Kingdome. Of theſe *Atlas* and *Saturne* were chief. *Atlas* reigned over the Countries lying about the Mountains, which afterward bare his name; a juſt and wiſe Prince, deeply skilful in *Aſtrologie*, and for invention of the *Spheare*, ſaid to have ſupported Heaven.

He

He had many ſons; but the principall of them called *Heſperus*, being of his fathers qualities and ſtudies, was ſaid to have been carried away by the winde, from the top of an high Hill in the middeſt of his contemplations; and his name in honour of him, impoſed by the people upon the morning Star. The ſeven Daughters of *Atlas* were alſo ſaid to have been excellent Ladies, who accompanying ſuch as came to be Deified, or regiſtred among the Worthies, brought forth children, anſwerable in quality to thoſe that begat them. Of theſe it is held, that the ſeven Stars, called *Pleiades*, took name. *Saturn*, the brother of *Atlas*, reigned in *Sicilia*, part of *Africk*, and *Italy*. *Jupiter*, another of the ſons of *Uranus*, reigned in *Crete*; who had ten ſons, which he called *Curetes*: he called that *Iſland* after his Wives name, *Idea*; in which Iſle he died, and was buried. But this *Jupiter* muſt not have been that great one, but Uncle to the great *Jupiter*, if theſe Fables of the *Lybians* were true. *Saturn* (as theſe *Lybians* tell the tale) was a great Tyrant, and fortified ſtrong places, the better to keep his people in ſubjection. His ſiſter *Rhea* was married to *Hammon*, who reigned in ſome part of *Africk*. *Hammon* loving others as well as his Wife, or better, got a Daughter called *Minerva*, neer to the River *Triton*, who thereupon was called *Tritonia*. He alſo begat on *Amalthea* a ſon called *Bacchus*, whom he cauſed ſecretly, for fear of his life, to be brought up at *Nyſa*, an Iſland in the River *Triton*, under the tuition of his Daughter *Minerva* and certain *Nimphs*. To *Amalthea* he gave in reward a goodly Country, that lay on the Sea-coaſt, bending in form of a horn, whence grew the tale of *Amalthea's* plentifull horn, famous among the Poets. When *Rhea* heard theſe news, ſhe fled from her huſband to her brother *Saturn*, who not onely entertained her as a ſiſter, but took her to Wife, and at her inſtigation made war upon *Hammon*, vanquiſhed him by the aſſiſtance of the *Titanes*, and made him flee into *Crete*. The *Curetes*, *Jupiters* children before mentioned, held the Iſland at that time; which was new named *Crete* by *Hammon*, after the name of *Creta* the Kings daughter, whom he took to Wife, and had with her (women, as may ſeem, being very gracious in thoſe names) the Kingdom. *Bacchus* was grown a proper young man, had found out the making of Wine, the art of planting Trees, and many things elſe commodious for mankinde, before the flight of his Mother-in-law. Now therefore hearing report of all that had hapned, and that *Saturn* was coming againſt him with the *Titans*; he levied an Army, to which the *Amazons*, living not far from *Nyſa*, added great forces, in love of *Minerva*, who was entred into their profeſſion. So *Bacchus* leading the men, and *Minerva* the women, they ſet forward againſt *Saturn*, met him, and overthrew him, and taking many of the *Titans* priſoners, returned to *Nyſa*; where pardoning the priſoners, that promiſed to become his true followers, he prepared for a ſecond Expedition. In the ſecond Expedition he behaved himſelf ſo well, that he wan the love of all the people by whom he paſſed: inſomuch, that partly for good affection to him, partly in hatred of *Saturns* rigorous government, he was greatly ſtrengthened, and the Enemy as much enfeebled by daily revolts. Coming to the City of *Hammon*, he wan a battell of *Saturn* before the very walls. After which *Saturn*, with his wife *Rhea*, fled by night, ſetting the Town on fire, to deſpight *Bacchus*. But they were caught in their flight, pardoned by *Bacchus*, and kindely entreated. *Saturn* had a young ſon by *Rhea*, called *Jupiter*. This childe *Bacchus* took with him in a great Expedition that he made into the Eaſt Countries: and coming into *Egypt*, he left this *Jupiter*, being then a boy, Governour of the Country; but appointed unto him, as an Over-ſeer, one *Olympus*, of whom *Jupiter* grew to be called *Olympus*. Whileſt *Bacchus* travelled through all Nations, as far as into *India*, doing good in all places, and teaching many things profitable to the life of man; the *Titans* had found out his father *Hammon* in *Crete*, and began to war upon him. But *Bacchus* returned out of *India*, with whom *Jupiter* from *Egypt*, and his ſiſter *Minerva*, together with the reſt, that afterwards were held as gods, joyning all their forces, went into *Crete*, overthrew the *Titans*, chaſed them, took and ſlew them, and freed the World of them all. After all this, when *Hammon* and *Bacchus* were dead, they were deified; and the great *Jupiter*, the ſon of *Saturn*, ſucceeding them, reigned Lord alone over all the World, having none of the *Titans* left alive, nor any other to diſturb him. Between this tale of the *Libyan* gods, and the *Egyptian* fables of *Oſiris*, there is a rude reſemblance, that may cauſe them both to be taken for the crooked Images of ſome one true Hiſtory. For the Expeditions of *Oſiris*, and of *Bacchus*; the

wars of the Giants in the one ſtory, of the *Titans* in the other; the Kingdom of *Egypt* given by *Hercules Libycus* to *Orus*, by *Bacchus* to *Jupiter*, the rattles of *Iſis*, and the cymballs of *Baſilea*, with many petty circumſtances, neerely enough reſemble each other, howſoever not alike fitted to the right perſons. *Sanchoniato* (as *Euſebius* cites him) would have all theſe to be *Phœnicians*, and is earneſt in ſaying, That it is a true ſtorie, and no allegorie. Yet he makes it ſeem the more allegoricall, by giving to *Uranus* or Heaven for daughters, *Fate*, and *Beauty*, and the like, with addition of much fabulous matter, omitted by *Diodorus*, though *Diodorus* have enough. To the Genealogie he addes *Elius*, or the *Sun*, as father of *Uranus*, and among the children of *Uranus*, *Japetus*, *Bætilus*, and *Dagon* (whom *Diodorus* doth not mention by their names) giving withall to *Uranus* the proper name of *Terrenus*, or *Indigena*, and of *Illus* to *Saturn*, but omitting *Jupiter* of *Crete*. The pedigree of them is this:

Euſeb. l.1.c.7.



§. VI.

§. VI.

Of Cham, *and other wicked ones, whereof some gate, some affected the name of Gods.*

OF *Jupiter Belus*, the son of *Saturnus Babylonicus*, otherwise *Nimrod*, it seemeth that *Cicero* had not heard, (at least by that name) who was more ancient than any of the former three by him remembred: for long after these times were the *Greeks* but Salvages, if they seek no farther off for their gods.

But the *Egyptians*, even after the floud, began (somewhat before this *Chaldæan Jupiter*) to intitle *Cham*, the parent of their own *Mizraim*, *Jupiter Chammon*, or *Hammon*. For the Etymology of this word (*Hammon*) which the *Greeks* deduce *ab arenis*, *from the sands*, is ridiculous (saith *Peucer*;) neither yet is his own much better, who brings it from *Hammath*, which signifieth heat: because the said Temple of *Jupiter Hammon* was seated in *Libya*, where the aire is exceeding hot and scorching. And as for the antiquity of the latter *Jupiter* (among the *Greeks* and *Romans* the most renowned) it is certain that he was borne not long before the war of *Troy* as by many of his sons is made manifest; namely, *Castor*, *Pollux*, *Hercules*, *Sarpedon*, and others, which lived in that age of *Priamus*, under whom, and with whom, *Troy* was destroyed.

Peucer de Oracuis.

Now seeing that mortall men, and the most wicked, were esteemed immortal among the Heathen; it was not to be wondred at, that *Alexander Macedon*, *Tyberius*, *Nero*, *Caligula*, and others, sought to be numbred among them, who were as deformed monsters as the rest: for by what reason could the same *Deity* be denied unto *Laurentia* and *Flora* which was given to *Venus*? seeing they were as notorious and famous harlots as she was.

§. VII.

That the wiser of the ancient Heathen had far better opinions of God.

BUt that ever *Pythagoras*, or *Plato*, or *Orpheus*, with many other ancient and excellently learned, beleeved in any of these fooleries, it cannot be suspected, though some of them (over-busily) have mixed their own inventions with the Scriptures: for, in punishment for their fictions, did *Pythagoras* hang both *Homer* and *Hesiodus* in Hell, where he fained that they were perpetually stung and pinched with Serpents. Yet it cannot be doubted, but that *Homer* had read over all the books of *Moses*, as by places stolne thence, almost word for word, may appeare; of which *Justine Martyr* remembreth many in that treatise converted by *Mirandula*. As for *Plato*, though he dissembled in some things for fear of the Inquisition of the *Areopagites*, yet Saint *Augustine* hath already answered for him (as before remembred) *Et mirifice iis delectatus est, quæ de uno Deo tradita fuerant*; *And he was greatly delighted in the doctrine of one God*, saith *Justine Martyr*. Now howsoever *Lactantius* pleased to reprehend *Plato*, because (saith he) *Plato* sought knowledg from the *Egyptians*, and the *Chaldæans*, neglecting the *Jews*, and books of *Moses*; * *Eusebius*, *Cyrillus*, and *Origen*, finde reason to beleeve the contrary, thinking that from thence he took the grounds of all by him written of God, or savouring of Divinity: and the same opinion had Saint *Ambrose* of *Pythagoras*.

* *Eus. præp. Evan. lib. 11. Cyril. cont. Julian. Origen. cont. Celsum. Ambr. ad Iren. Ep. 6 lib. 1.*

But whether it were out of the same vanity, which possessed all those learned Philosophers and Poets, that *Plato* also published (not under the right Authours names) those things which he had read in the Scriptures; or fearing the severity of the *Areopagites*, and the example of his Master *Socrates*, by them put to death by poyson, I cannot judge. *Justine Martyr* (as it seemeth) ascribeth it wholly to *Platoes* feare, whose words, among many other of the same effect; are these, Plato Mosis *mentionem facere, ob id, quod unum solumque Deum docuerat, sibi aqud Athenienses tutum non putavit, veritus Areopagum*; Plato *fearing the Areopagites, thought it not safe for him among the Athenians to make mention of* Moses, *that he taught that there is but one God*. But for that Divinity which he hath written in TIMÆO; *id ipsum de Deo disseruit quod & Moses*; *He discoursed and taught the same of God* (saith *Justine Martyr*) *which Moses did*. For where it pleased God by his Angell to answere *Moses*, *Ego sum existens* (which is) *I am*; and, *existens misit me ad vos*; *I am hath sent mee unto you*; herein did *Plato* (saith *Justine Martyr*) no otherwise differ than that *Moses* used the word (*qui*) and *Plato* the word *quod*: Moses *enim qui existit* (*inquit*,) Plato *quod existit*; *for* Moses *saith*,

Areopagus or *domus sen mons Martis*, *Mars* his hill: a house wherein capitall matters were tryed: so called at first, because *Mars* therein first pleaded his cause for the murder of *Halirrhothos Pausan. in Attic. Nat. Com. l. 2. c. 7. Just. Mart. adm. Gen. fol. 8. 14. ut sup. Exod. 3. 14.*

He

He who is; Plato, *That which is*. Now of Gods incomprehensible nature, and of the difficulty either to conceive, or expresse the same, he giveth this testimony: *Genitorem Universitatis tam difficile est invenire, quàm inventum impossibile dignè profari*; *It is as hard to finde out the Creatour of the Universall, as it is impossible, if he were found, to speak of him worthily*. And what can be more agreeable to the Majesty of Gods Nature, than this property by *Plato* acknowledged? *Deus bonus, & quidem, Deus causa bonorum: malorum autem omnium non causa*; *God is absolutely good, and so (assuredly) the cause of all that is good: but of any thing that is evill, he is no cause at all*. And again, *Charitas Dei fuit causa factionis mundi, & originis omnium rerum*; *The love of God was the cause of the worlds creating, and the originall of all things*. *Apuleius* the Platonist; *Summus Deus infinitus est, non solùm loci exclusione, sed etiam naturæ dignitate: & nihil est Deo similius & gratius, quàm vir animo perfecto bonus*; *The most high God is also an infinite God, not onely by exclusion of place, but by the dignity of nature: neither is there any thing more like or more acceptable to God, than a man of a perfect heart*. THALES affirmed, that God comprehended all things, and that God was of all things the most ancient: *Quia nunquam esse cœpit*; *Because he never had any beginning*. ZENO, that God beheld even the thoughts of men. *Athenodorus*, that therefore all men ought to be carefull in the actions of their life, because God was every where present, and beheld all done. But what can be more agreeable to *Moses* story of the Creation, than this opinion and description of the Worlds beginning in *Euripides*, Scholar of *Anaxagoras*?

In Timæo. De legib. l. 10. Latium.

Cœlum terraque unius formæ fuit:
Sed cum fuissent abjuncta amplexu mutuo,
Emersit omnis in lucem res progenita;
Arbores, aves, feræ, quasque affert mare,
Genusque mortalium.

Heaven and Earth one form did bear:
But when dis-joyned once they were
From mutuall embraces,
All things to light appeared then;
Of trees, birds, beasts, fishes, and men
The still-remaining races.

And as in *Pythagoras*, in *Socrates*, and in *Plato*; so we finde the same excellent understanding in *Orpheus*, who every-where expressed the infinite and sole power of one God; though he use the name of *Jupiter*, thereby to avoid the envie and danger of the time: but that he could attribute those things to the sons of men, and mortall creatures, which he doth to this *Jupiter*, there is no man, who hath ever heard of God, that can imagine.

Nomina Deorum (saith MIRANDULA) *quos* ORPHEUS *canit, non decipientium dæmonum, à quibus malum & non bonum provenit; sed naturalium virtutum divinarumque sunt nomina*; *The names of those Gods whom* Orpheus *doth sing, are not of deceiving devils, from whom evill comes, and not goodnesse; but they are the names of naturall and divine vertues*. Yea, that he reacheth higher, and speaketh of God himself, this his instruction to *Musæus*, and the *Hymn* following, teach us: *Respiciens verò ad divinum hunc sermonem ei diligenter animum adverte, intendens cordis rationis capax conceptaculum: rectam autem ascende viam, & solum aspice mundi regem. Unus est ex se genitus, ex eo omnia nata sunt: ipse verò in illis versatur, nec quisquam eum intueri potest mortalium, sed ipse nihilominus omnes intuetur.*

Then marking this my sacred speech, but truely lend
Thy heart, that's reasons sphere, and the right way ascend,
And see the worlds sole King. First, he is simply one,
Begotten of himself, from whom is born alone
All else; in which hee's still: nor could it ere befall
A mortall eye to see him once, yet he sees all.

And again the same Author,

Jupiter *omnipotens, & primus, & ultimus idem*;
Jupiter *est caput & medium*: Jovis *omnia munus.*
Jupiter *est fundamen humi, & stellantis Olympi.*
Jupiter *& mas est, & fœmina nescia mortis.*
Spiritus est cunctis, validi vis Jupiter *ignis.*
Et pelagi radix, Sol, Luna *est* Jupiter *ipse.*
Rex & origo simul rerum est, & terminus idem.
Nam prius occuluit, magno post numine, sacrum
Cor reserans bonus in dulcem dedit omnia lucem.

The

The first of all is God, and the same last is he.
God is the head and midst, yea from him all things be,
God is the Base of earth and of the starred skie.
He is the male and female too, shall never die.
The spirit of all is God, the Sun and Moone, and what is higher.
The King, th' originall of all, of all the end.
For close in holy breast he all did comprehend,
Whence all to blessed light, his wondrous power did send.

Now besides these former testimonies, that all the learned men of ancient times were not so stupid and ignorant, as the Egyptians, Græcians, and other Nations by them infected were, I will only repeat two or three other opinions, and leave the Reader to those large and learned Collections of *Justine Martyr, Clemens, Lactantius, Eusebius, Engubinus, Pencer, Plessis, Danæus*, and others. For *Cleanthes* the *Stoick*, being demanded of what nature God was, described him by these attributes and properties: *Bonus, justus, sanctus, sei ipsum possidens, utilis, splendidus, optimus, severus, liber, semper commodus, tutus, gloriosus, charitas, &c. Good, just, holy, possessing himself, profitable, beautifull, best, severe, free, alwaies doing good, safe without feare, glorious, and self-charity. Epicharmus* affirmed, that God who beheld all things, and pierced every nature, was onely and every where powerful: agreeing with *Democritus: Rex omnium ipse solus; He is the onely King of kings:* and with *Pindarus* the Poet, *Deus unus, Pater, creator summus, atque optimus artifex, qui progressus singulis diversos secundum merita præbet; One God, the Father, the most high Creator, and best artificer, who giveth to every thing divers proceedings according to their deserts. This God* (saith *Antisthenes*) *cannot be resembled to any thing, and therefore not elsewhere known; Nisi in patria illa perenni, cujus imaginem nullam habes: Save onely in that everlasting Country, whose image thou hast none at all.* Hereof also *Xenophanes Colophonius: Unus Deus inter deos & homines maximus, nec corpore, nec mente mortalibus similis; There is one God among gods and men most powerful, neither corporally, nor mentally like unto mortals:* and *Xenophon, Deus qui omnia quatit, & omnia quiescere facit, magnus potensque quod omnibus patet: qualis autem forma sit, nemini patet, nisi ipsi soli, qui luce sua omnia perlustrat; God who shaketh all things, and setteth all things at rest, is great and mighty; as is manifest to all: but of what forme he is, it is manifest to none, save onely to himself, who illuminateth all things with his own light.* Finally, *Plato* saith, *Totius rerum naturæ causa, & ratio, & origo Deus, summus animi genitor, æternus animantium sospitator, assiduus mundi sui opifex, sine propagatione genitor, neque loco, neq; tempore ullo comprehensus, eoq; paucis cogitabilis, nemini effabilis; God is the cause, ground, and original of the whole nature of things, the most high Father of the soule, the eternal preserver of living creatures, the continual framer of his world, a begetter without any propagation, comprehended neither in any place, nor time; therefore few can conceive him in thought, none can express what he is.* Therefore was it said by Saint *Hierome, Si enim cunctos Philosophorum revolvas libros, necesse est ut in eis reperias aliquam partem vasorum Dei, ut apud* Platonem, *fabricatorem mundi Deum: apud* Zenonem, *Stoicorum Principem, in eros & immortales animas, &c. If thou consider all the books of the Philosophers, thou canst not but finde in them some part of the Vessels of God, as in* Plato, *God the Creatour of the world: in* Zeno, *Prince of the Stoicks, Hell and immortal souls, &c.* And this is certain, that if we look into the wisdom of all Ages, we shall finde that there never was man of solid understanding or excellent judgement: never any man whose minde the Art of education hath not bended; whose eyes a foolish superstition hath not afterward blinded; whose apprehensions are sober, and by a pensive inspection advised; but that he hath found by an unresistable necessity, one true God, and everlasting being, all for ever causing, and all for ever sustaining; which no man among the Heathen hath with more reverence acknowledged, or more learnedly exprest, than that Egyptian Hermes, howsoever it failed afterward in his posterity: all being at length by divellish policy of the Egyptian Priests purposely obscured; who invented new gods, and those innumerable, best sorting (as the Devil perswaded them) with vulgar capacities, and fittest to keep in awe and order their common people.

Hieron. in Com. in Dan. in princip.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

That Heathenisme and Judaisme, after many wounds, were at length about the same time under Julian miraculously confounded.

BUt these are again vanished: for the inventions of mortal men are no less mortal than themselves. The Fire, which the Chaldæans worshipped for a god, is crept into every mans chimney, which the lack of fuel starveth, water quencheth, and want of ayre suffocateth: *Jupiter* is no more vexed with *Juno's* Jealousies; *Death* hath perswaded him to chastity, and her to patience; and that time which hath devoured it self, hath also eaten up both the Bodies and Images of him and his: yea their stately Temples of Stone and dureful Marble. The houses and sumptuous buildings erected to *Baal*, can no where be found upon the earth, nor any monument of that glorious Temple consecrated to *Diana*. There are none now in Phœnicia that lament the death of *Adonis*; nor any in Lybia, Creta, Thessalia, or elsewhere, that can ask counsel or help from *Jupiter*. The great god *Pan* hath broken his Pipes, *Apolloes* Priests are become speechless, and the trade of riddles in Oracles, with the Devils telling men's fortunes therein, is taken up by counterfeit Egyptians, and couzening Astrologers.

But it was long ere the Devil gave way to these his over-throws and dishonours: for after the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos* (one of his chief mansions) was many times robbed, burnt, and destroyed; yet by his diligence the same was often enriched, repaired, and re-edified again, till by the hand of God himself it received the last and utter subversion. For it was first robbed of all the Idols and Ornaments therein by the Eubæan Pyrates: Secondly, by the Phlegians utterly sackt: Thirdly, by *Pyrrhus* the son of *Achilles*: Fourthly, by the Army of *Xerxes*: Fiftly, by the Captaines of the *Phocences*: Sixtly, by *Nero*: who carried thence five hundred brazen Images: all which were new made, and therein again set up at the common charge. But whatsoever was gathered between the time of *Nero* and *Constantine*, the Christian Army made spoile of, defacing as much as the time permitted them: notwithstanding all this, it was again gloriously re-built, and so remained till such time as *Julian* the *Apostata* sent thither to know the success of his Parthian enterprise, at which time it was utterly burnt and consumed with fire from Heaven, and the Image of *Apollo* himself, and all the rest of the Idols therein, molten down, and lost in the earth.

The like success had the Jewes in the same *Julians* time, when by his permission they assembled themselves to rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem: for while they were busied to lay the foundations, their buildings were overthrown by an earthquake, and many thousands of the Jews were overwhelmed with the ruines, and others slain, and scattered by Tempest and thunder: though *Am. Marcellinus* report it more favourably for the Jews, ascribing this to the nature of that Element. For, saith he, *Allypius* and the Ruler of the province of Judæa, being by *Julian* busied in the re-edifying of this Temple, flaming Balls of fire issuing neer the foundation, and oft consuming the Work-men, made the enterprize frustrate.

Am. Mar l.13. cap.1.

§. IX.

Of the last refuges of the Devil to maintain his Kingdom.

NOw the Devil, because he cannot play upon the open stage of this World, (as in those daies) and being still as industrious as ever, finds it more for his advantage to creep into the minds of men; and inhabiting in the Temples of their hearts, works them to a more effectual adoration of himself than ever. For whereas he first taught them to sacrifice to Monsters, to dead stones cut into faces of Beasts, Birds, and other mixt Natures; he now sets before them the high and shining Idol of glory, the All-commanding Image of bright Gold. He tels them that truth is the Goddess of dangers and oppressions, that chastity is the enemy of Nature, and lastly, that as all vertue (in general) is without taste; so pleasure satisfieth and delighteth every sense: for true wisdom (saith he) is exercised in nothing else, than in the obtayning of power to oppress, and of riches to maintaine plentifully our worldly delights. And if this *Arch-Politician* finde in his pupils any remorse, any feeling or feare of God's future judgement, he perswades them that God hath so great need of men's souls, that he

he will accept them at any time, and upon any condition: interrupting by his vigilant endeavours all offer of timefull returne towards God, by laying those great blockes of rugged poverty and despised contempt in the narrow passage leading to his divine presence. But as the minde of man hath two Ports, the one alwaies frequented by the entrance of manifold vanities; the other desolate and over-growne with grasse, by which enter our charitable thoughts & divine contemplations: so hath that of death a double and twofold opening, worldly misery passing by the one, worldly prosperity by the other: at the entrance of the one we finde our sufferings and patience to attend us: (all which have gone before us to prepare our joies) at the other our cruelties, covetousnes, licentiousnesse, injustice, and oppressions (the Harbingers of most fearefull and terrible sorrow) staying for us. And as the Devil our most industrious enemy was ever most diligent: so is he now more laborious than ever, the long day of Mankind drawing fast towards an evening, and the Worlds Tragedy and time neere at an end.

CHAP. VII.
Of NOAHS Floud.

§ I.

Of God's fore-warning: and some humane testimonies: and some doubting touching the truth of Noah's *Floud.*

OF this distruction it pleased God to give warning unto *Noah*: who (saith *Iosephus*) fearing to perish among the rest, *Cecedens cum suis in aliam regionem migravit: He departed with his children, and travailed into another region.* *Ioseph. l. 1. c. 4.* And of these Giants from whom *Noah* withdrew himself, *Berosus* writeth in this manner; *That they exceeded in all sorts of inhumane and unnatural wickednes*, and that they were *contemptores & religionis & deorum; contemners of religion and of the Gods*: among which mighty men (saith *Berosus*) *unus erat qui deorum venerantior, & prudentior cunctis, &c. huic nomen erat* Noah: *There was one more wise and reverencing the Gods than the rest, whose name was* Noah: who with his three sons, *Sem*, *Iaphetus*, and *Cham*, and with their Wives, and the Wife of *Noah*, (namely, *Titea* the great, *Pandora*, *Neela*, and *Noegla*) preserved themselves in the *Arke*. This *Arke* God commanded *Noah* to prepare: *And God said unto* Noah, *Make thee an Arke of Pinetrees: thou shalt make cabines in the Arke, and shalt pitch it within and without with pitch.* For God made *Noah* to know, that an end of all flesh was at hand, and that the graves of the rebellious and cruel Generations were already fashioned in the Clouds, which soon after should swallow up and cover all living creatures which breathed in the aire, *Noah* and his family excepted. *Gen. 6. 14. v. 13.*

But this universal grave of waters, and general Deluge hath not been received by all: for divine testimonies do not perswade all natural men to those things to which their own reason cannot reach: *Dum obvoluta in obscuro veritas latet: Whilst the truth lieth wrapt up in obscurity.* Many there are who have disputed against the universality of this overflowing, and have judged that this floud of *Noah* fell but in some particular places and kingdomes: moved so to think, because in elder ages there have been many other flouds (as they suppose) of that nature. Hereof *Nicholas Damascenus* writeth in this manner, as his words are cited by *Iosephus*. *Est super Minyadam excelsus mons in Armenia, qui Baris appellatur, in quo multos confugientes sermo est diluvii tempore liberatos, & quendam simul in Arca devectum in hujus vertice hæsisse, lignorumq; reliquias multo tempore conservatas, qui fortasse is fuit de quo etiam* Moses *Iudæorum legislator scribit*: thus far this Authour. *There it* (saith he) *above Minyada* (or the country of *Minyæ*) *an exceeding high mountain in Armenia, called Baris: on which it is reported, that many having fled thither, were saved in the time of the deluge: and that one was carried in an arke, and rested upon the top of the mountain, whereon there remained a long time after certain pieces thereof; and this might be the same of which* Moses *the Law-giver of the Iews makes mention.* And of this opinion *Lact. impress. de falsa relig.* *Ios. ant. l. 1. c. 4. Euseb. de præp. l. 9. c. 4.*

were

were the *Thalmudists* (saith *Annius*) that many Giants saved themselves upon Mount Sion.

But *Berosus* (who, after *Moses*, was one of the most antient, howsoever he hath been since deformed & corrupted) doth in the substance of all agree with *Moses* as touching the generall Floud, taking from thence the beginning of his History in these words: *Ante aquarum cladem famosam, qua universus periit Orbis, &c. Before that famous destruction of Waters, by which the World universall perished*: witnessing withall, that *Noah* with his wife *Titea*, and his three sons with their wives (in all eight persons) were only saved

§. II.

Of the Floud in the time of Ogyges: *and that this was not* Noahs *Floud.*

BUt from the vanity of the Greekes, the Corrupters of all truth (saith *Lactantius*) who without all ground of certainty vaunt their Antiquity, came the errour first of all: who therein flattering themselves also, sought to perswade the world that there was no Floud preceeded the Flond of *Ogyges*, King of the Thebans in Bæotia, or rather of *Attica*; and therefore (saith *Rhodiginus*) *Ogygum id appellant Poetæ, tanquam pervetus dixeris, ab Ogyge vetustissimo: The Poets gave the name of Ogygia to things exxceeding ancient, as of Ogyges the most ancient.*

Rho. l. 15. c. 33.

But let *Ogyges* be as ancient as those men can make him, yet it is manifest that he lived but in *Jacobs* time (though *Eusebius* makes him later, and in *Moses* time) and was born 67. yeers after him. There is also an opinion that *Ogyges* was *Cadmus* (and then was he farre later) as *Rhodiginus* in the ninth booke of his Antiquities remembreth: *Sunt tamen qui in Aegypto regnasse autumant hunc: unde sit* Cadmus *qui in Græciam profectus Thebas condidit, à bove jugulato sic nuncupatas; quoniam Syrorum lingua Bos dicitur Thebe. There are* (saith he) *who thinke that this Ogyges did reigne in Egypt, whereby he should be* Cadmus, *who travailing into Greece built Thebes, so named of a Beefe slaine: because in the Syrian Language, a Beefe is called Thebe.*

Euseb. de prap. Evang. l. 10. c. 3. Ca. 22.

But this Floud of *Ogyges* fell in the yeere of the World, 3440. according to *Eusebius*, who followed the account of the Septuagint: and the Floud of *Noah* in the year 2242. after the same account: and so there came 1200. between these Flouds, wanting but two, though herein *Eusebius* was much mistaken, and corrected this opinion in his *Chronologie*. Now although the very yeare and time of this overflowing in *Achaia*, or rather *Attica*, be not precisely set downe, but that there is a great difference among Writers; yet whosoever makes it most ancient, findes above 500. yeeres difference between that and the generall floud.

For *Paulus Orosius* affirmes that this tempest fell upon the Athenians, but 1040. years before Rome was built. *Bucholzerus* saith, it was 1043. elder than Rome; which was founded (according to the same *Bucholzerus*) in the worlds yeare 3219. though after the account which I follow (and whereof I will give my reasons in the Story of *Abraham*) it was built in the Worlds year, 3280. Now the generall Floud preceded the building of Rome (saith *Bucholzerus*) 1563. yeares: and the Floud of *Ogyges* (as before) 1043. Hence it followeth by easie calculation, that (if he place *Ogyges* in his true age) the difference between these two Flouds must be 520. yeares, to which wee (allowing 60. more) find 580. And that this of *Ogyges* was not the same of *Noah* (except we call *Noah*, *Ogyges Priscus*, as some doe) it appeares by this, that the Floud of *Ogyges* then King of *Attica* or *Ogygia*, did not extend it selfe any farther than the bankes of *Archi-pelago*, or the *Aegæan* Sea. For whereas *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus* witnesse, that the City of Joppe in Judæa was founded before the Floud; and that (notwithstanding the weight of Waters) there remained on certaine Altars of stone, the Title of the King, and of his Brother *Phineus*, with many of the grounds of their Religion: sure it is no where found among prophane Historians, nor in the Scriptures, that ever the Floud of *Ogyges* spred it selfe over any part of Syria, much lesse over all the earth. But that it drowned both the Regions of *Attica* about *Athens*, and that of *Achaia* in *Peloponnesus*, it is very probable. For it seemeth that at that time it was, when *Helice* and *Bura* were swallowed up (Cities seated on the North part of *Peloponnesus*): of which *Ovid*:

Lib. 1. c. 7.

Xenophon anniaeus.

Mela. lib. 3. Plin. lib. 5. Sol. cap. 47. Joppe opidum antiquissimum orbe toto utpote ante inundationem terrarum conditum. Sol. ibid. Ovid. Metam. l. 15. 30. 3.

Si

Si quæras Helicæn, & Buran, Achaidos urbes,
Invenies sub aquis. Ovid. Metam. lib. 15. 303.

Bura and *Helice*, on *Achaian* ground
Are sought in vaine, but under Sea are found.

Of this Floud of *Ogyges* was invented the Fable of *Apollo* and *Diana*. For *Latona*, the daughter of *Cœus*, the son of *Titan*, being beloved and forced by *Jupiter*, and by him gotten with child, *Juno* thereat enraged, permitted her (as they say) no part of the Earth to be delivered on; and withall, caused the monstrous Serpent *Python* to follow and affright her, whersoever she travelled: till at length ariving at the Isle of *Ortygia*, she was there received; in which she was delivered, first of *Diana*, and then of *Apollo*, being Twins; whereof *Barlaam* makes this exposition: That at such time as the Deluge (which happened in *Ogyges* his reigne) ceased, out of the aboundant moisture of the Earth (heat by putrefaction being thereto mixed) there were exhaled such thicke mists and fogges, that in *Attica*, and along the coasts of the *Aegean* Sea, neither the beames of the Sun by day, nor of the Moone by night, could pierce the ayre, or be perceived by the inhabitants: so as when at length (the Earth being dryed, and these vapours dissipated) the ayre began to be cleare, the people of *Ortygia* espyed the light of the Moone somewhat before day, and in the same morning the Sun also appeared; fabulously (because *Diana* represented the Moone, and *Apollo* the Sun) they were reported to be borne in the Isle of *Ortygia*, thereof afterwards called *Delos*; which signifieth manifestation. Nat. Com. l. 1. c. 6. Plin. l. 4. c. 11.

And surely it is not improbable, that the Floud of *Ogyges*, being so great, as Histories have reported it, was accompanied with much alteration of the ayre, sensibly discerned in those parts, and some unusuall face of the Skyes. *Varro* in his Bookes *de gente populi Romani* (as he is cited by Saint *Augustine*) reporteth out of *Castor*, that so great a miracle happened in the Star of *Venus*, as never was seene before, nor in after-times: For the colour, the greatnesse, the figure, and the course of it, were changed. This fell out, as *Adrastus Cyzicenus*, and *Dion Neapolites*, famous Mathematicians, affirmed, in the time of *Ogyges*. Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 21. cap. 8.

Now concerning the course of that or any other Planet, I do not remember, that I have any where read of so good Astrologers, flourishing among the *Greeks*, or elsewhere in those dayes as were likely to make any calculation of the revolutions of the Planets, so exact, that it should neede no reformation: Of the colour and magnitudes I see no reason, why the difference found in the Starre of *Venus*, should be held miraculous; considering, that lesser mists and fogges than those which covered Greece with so long darknesse, do familiarly present our senses with as great alterations in the Sun and Moone. That the figure should varie, questionlesse it was very strange: Yet I cannot hold it any prodigie: for it stands well with good reason, that the side of *Venus* which the Sun beholds, being enlightned by him, the opposite halfe should remain shadowed; whereby that Planet would, unto our eyes, deserying only that part whereon the light falleth, appeare to be horned, as the Moone doth seeme; if distance (as in other things) did not hinder the apprehension of our senses.

A worthy Astrologer now living, who by the helpe of perspective Glasses hath found in the Starres many things unknowne to the Ancients, affirmeth so much to have beene discovered in *Venus*, by his late observations. Whether some watrie disposition of the ayre might present as much to them that lived with *Ogyges*, as *Galilæus* hath seen through his Instrument; I cannot tell: sure I am, that the discoverie of a truth formerly unknown, doth rather convince Man of ignorance, than Nature of error. One thing herein is worthy to be noted, that this great, but particular Floud of *Ogyges*, was (as appeareth by this of Saint *Augustine*) accompanied with such unusuall (and therefore the more dreadfull, though naturall) signes, testifying the concurrence of causes with effects in that inundation; whereas the Floud of *Noah*, which was generall, and altogether miraculous, may seeme to have had no other token, or fore-shewing, than the long preaching of *Noah* himselfe, which was not regarded: for they were eating and drinking, when the Floud came suddenly, and tooke them all away. Luke 17. v. 27.

§. III.

Of DEUCALIONS *Floud: and that this was not* NOAHS *Floud: nor the Umbri in Italy a remnant of any universall Floud.*

A Second Floud of great fame, and of which the time is more certain, was that of *Deucalion* in *Thessalia*; of which S. *Augustine* out of *Varro*: *His temporibus* (*ut* VARRO *scribit*) *regnante Athenien sibus* CRANAO, *successore* CECROPIS (*ut autem nostri*, EUSEBIUS & HIERONYMUS) *adhuc eodem* CECROPE *permanente, diluvium fuit, quod appellatum est* DEUCALIONIS: (that is) *in these times* (*as* VARRO *reporteth*) CRANAUS *the successour of* CECROPS *governing the* Athenians, *or* (*as our* EUSEBIUS *and* HIEROME *say*) CECROPS *yet living, that Floud* (*called* DEUCALIONS) *happened.*

And in the beginning of the eleventh Chapter of the same eighteenth Book, he useth these words: *Eduxit ergo* MOSES *ex Egypto populum Dei novissimo tempore* Cecropis *Athenien sium Regis, cum apud Assyrios regnaret* Ascatades, *apud Sicyonios* Marathus, *apud Argivos* Tripas: MOSES *led the people of God out of Egypt about the later time of* CECROPS *King of the Athenians*, Ascatades *reigning over the Assyrians, over the Sicyonians* Marathus, *and over the Argives* Triopas. So as leaving the curiosity of a few years, more or lesse, it appeareth, that this Floud of *Deucalion* was either at the egression of the children of Israel out of Egypt, or near it: and then after *Noah* 753. yeares, according to *Functius*, who makes *Cecrops* to live in the year of the World 2409. or if we follow *Mercator*, then 739. years after *Noah*, and in the yeare of the World 2395. But if *Deucalion* were borne in the age of the World 2356. according to *Codoman*; then giving unto *Deucalion* 40. yeares of age when this Floud happened, it falleth within one yeare of *Mercators* account. But *Deucalion* by all approved Historians is said to have been 82. years old at that time. Now *Clements Alexandrinus* dates the time of this Floud of *Deucalion*, and the conflagration and burning in *Phaëtons* time, by the Reign of *Crotopus*, King of the *Argives*; but *Crotopus* lived King of the *Argives* sixe years after Israel departed Egypt, which makes twenty years difference, according to *Functius*, who will have this Floud and Burning to have fallen 14. yeares before *Moses* left Egypt: for he gave of the Worlds years to the Floud and burning the year 2440. and to *Moses* his egression the year 2454. And yet *Cedrenus* thinkes that *Moses* was more ancient, and lived with *Inachus*; but that cannot be true: for then had the Floud of *Deucalion*, and the burning of *Phaëton*, preceded the *Floud* of *Ogyges*, which is denied by all: for that of *Thessaly* (called *Deucalions*) followed that of *Attica* (called *Ogygia*) at least 250. years, or thereabouts. *Eusebius* in his Chronologie makes it 230. & so doth *P. Orosius*: *Eusebius* about the 50. yeare of *Moses* life, and *Cyrillus* about the 67. and both after *Noahs* Floud 770. years: for these be *Clements Alexandrinus* his words: *Fuit autem in Græcia tempore quidem* Phornei, *qui fuit post* Inachum, *inundatio quæ fuit tempore Ogygis*: *There happened in Greece in the time of* Phorneus, *who lived after* Inachus, *the Floud of Ogyges*. Now if the Floud of *Ogyges* in *Attica* were 1020. or 1016. years before the first *Olympiad*, according to *Eusebius* and *Orosius* (as before) then is it manifest, that taking 763. out of this number of 1020. it fals out, that *Ogyges* floud happened before the Hebrews left Egypt 250. years, or 260. years, according to the difference between the opinions of *Eusebius* and *Orosius*. And for my selfe (who rather follow those Chronologers, which give 60. yeares more to *Abraham* after the Floud, than the rest) I reckon the times which come between these Flouds in this sort. The generall Floud was in the year of the World 1656. *Jacob* was borne in the year of the World 2169. so as from the beginning of the floud to *Jacobs* birth, there were consumed 513. years. *Ogyges* floud happened 100. years after *Jacob* was borne; and therefore after the generall floud 613. years. Now *Deucalion* was borne in the yeare of the World 2356. and had lived 82. years when his Kingdome of *Thessalie* was overwhelmed; (which added to 2356. make 2438.) his floud was after *Noahs* floud ended, 782. years. And hereto *Annius* his *Xenophon* agreeth, who makes 700. yeares between the generall floud and *Deucalions* birth; to which adde 82. yeares of his Age (as before) and then the floud of *Thessaly* followed the generall 782. yeares. The words of that *Xenophon* are these: *Ab inundatione terrarum ad ortum Deucalionis, secundo anno Sphaeri, septingenti supputantur anni, qui natus annos duos & octoginta Thessaliam vidit inundatam*: *From the drowning of the World to the birth of* Deucalion, *in the second yeare*

Cedren. l. 1. f. 34

Clem. Alex. 1. stro ex Cteſ.

Euſeb. in Chron.

year of SPHÆRUS, *are numbred* 700. *yeares, and when* DEUCALION *was* 82. *yeares old, he saw Thessalia drowned.* This Floud happened in the Winter time about *Parnassus:* witnesse *Aristotle* in the first of his *Meteors.* And *Varro* (whom Saint *Augustine* so often citeth for his excellent Learning, especially in Antiquities) findeth this Floud of *Deucalion* to have happened in the time of *Cranaus*, who succeeded *Cecrops: Orosius* thinks it somewhat later, *Amphytrion* reigning in *Athens*, the third from *Cecrops:* Onely this of *Deucalion* was very great, and reached not only over *Thessaly* it self, and the Regions adjoyning Westward, but it covered the greatest part of *Italy:* and either the same, or some other particular Floud then happening, oppresst Egypt, saith *Eusebius.* And therefore did the Greeks either think it, or feigne it to be universall; and *Deucalion* then King, saving himself and some others on the Mountain of *Thessalie* (of all other the highest, saith *Solinus*) was by reason thereof (as *Strabo* witnesseth) said to bee the preserver of mankinde. That this Floud covered a great part of *Italy*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus* make it probable, who affirm, that the people then inhabiting *Italy*, were therefore called Ὀμβρικοὶ: *quia ab imbribus diluvii superfuissent*; and therefore also were they esteemed the most ancient Nation, as *Strabo* confirmeth in his first Booke, and *Trezenius* in his second: which *Umbri* these Authors make the Parents of the *Sabines*, and the *Sabines* to be the Parents of the *Samnites*, *Picens*, *Lucani*, *Brutii*, and all others inhabiting anciently the banks of the *Mediterrane* Sea. But that these *Umbri* were not the Inhabiters of *Italie* before the Floud of *Noah*, and so took name by saving themselves upon the *Appenine* Mountaines, the Scriptures teach us; shewing who, and who only then were preserved, which is sufficient. Report hath adventured further, telling us, that the first people which after the generall Floud inhabited *Italy*, were the *Camesenes*; (so named from *Camese*, whom CATO *in originibus*, another of *Annius* his Authors, names for a consort of *Janus*) which people lived altogether a savage life; till such time as *Saturne* arriving on those Coasts, devised Lawes to govern them by: the memorie of whose Acts in that Region, *Diodor* and *Thallus* among the *Greeks*, *Nepos Cassius* and *Varro* among the Latines, have preserved; and of whom *Virgil:*

C. 1.

Solin. l. 14.
Strab. l. 9.
Plin. l. 3. c. 14.
Sol. c. 7.
Plin. ibid.

Athenæus disp. nosoph. l. 15. out of Draco Cercyræus saith, that Camese was the wife and sister of Janus.
Lact. l. 1. c. 13.

Æn. l. 8. 319.

Primus ab æthereo venit SATURNUS *Olympo,*
Arma JOVIS *fugiens, & regnis exul ademptis,*
Is genus indocile, ac dispersum montibus altis
Composuit, Legesq; dedit; Latiumq; vocari
Maluit.

SATURNE descending from the Heavens high,
Fearing the Armes of JUPITER his Son,
His Kingdome lost, and banisht thence, doth fly,
Rude people on the Mountain tops he won
To live together, and by Lawes: which done,
He chose to call it *Latium.*

And afterward in the Verses following he speaketh of the *Ausones*, and after them, of the *Sicani:* Nations, which again sought to dis-plant the ancient Inhabiters:

Tum manus Ausonia, & gentes venêre Sicani. *Virg. l. 8. Æn.*
Then came th' *Ausonian* Bands, and the *Sicanian* Tribes.

Of these *Sicani* (which left *Spaine*, and sate down in *Italy*) *Thucidides* and *Pliny* give testimony: who were again expelled by the *Ligii*, saith *Thucydides.* After all these plantations & replantations, came the *Umbri*, descended of the *Gauls* (saith *Annius*) not of those *Gauls* of *France*, but of those of *Scythia*, who commanded a great part of *Italy*, even all *Hetruria* and *Campania*; as *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, and *Dionysius* have assured us: and therefore this floud of *Deucalion* was long after that of *Noah.* For all those Nations were planted in *Italy*, & dispossest of *Italy* again, before the *Umbri* were ever heard of, or had being. So that Kingdom was first called *Camasene*, then *Latium* or *Saturnia*, then *Ausonia*, then *Sicania*; before the *Umbri* (in whose time *Deucalions* floud happened) possest the same, about 306. years before the war of *Troy*; *Lycaon* then governing *Arcadia:* who being the father of two and twenty sons, the youngest called *Oenotrius* invaded *Italy*, who gave it the name of *Oenotria.* This name it held until *Italus* of the same Nation changed it into *Italy*, after his own name, about 250. years before the fall of *Troy.* After these, came

Thucyd. l. 6.
Plin. l. 3. c. 5.
Annius ex Stucle Thalmudista.
Herod. l. 1.
Plin. l. 3. c. 5.
Dion. l. 1. & 2.
Pausan. Arcad. lib. 8.
Arist. Pol. 7. c. 10.

came the *Pelasgi*, of whom *Pliny* in his third Book and fifth Chapter, and *Strabo* in his fifth, *Thucydides* in his sixt, speak at large: and after them the *Lydi*, under *Tyrrhenus* their Captain, that gave name to the *Tyrrheni*; who casting thence the *Umbri*, tooke from them three hundred Castles, and built therein twelve Cities; to which (after they had possest and past over the *Appenine* Mountains) they added divers others, whereof *Telsina* (afterward *Bononia*) was one.

Herod. l. 2.
Plin. l. 3. c. 4.

Now that there was not anciently such a Nation as these *Umbri* in those parts, I doe not affirm; having respect to the testimonies before repeated. And *Stephanus* thinks, that the name was derived from the Greek word *Ombros*; but that these *Umbri* of *Italy* were descended of the Nation of *Scythians* (called *Galli*) it shall be shewed hereafter.

§. IV.

Of some other Records testifying the universall Floud: and of two ancient Deluges in Egypt: and of some elsewhere.

SAint *Augustine* out of *Varro* affirmeth, that the *Greeks* and *Latines* made not any mention of the Universall Floud, because they had nothing of Antiquity foregoing that of *Ogyges*; and therefore (according to *Rhodoginus*, before remembred) were all things among the *Greeks* (which antiquity had worn out of knowledg) called *Ogygia*, which we in *English* commonly call (worm-eaten) or of defaced date. But as all the parts of the Earth were successively planted and peopled; and as all Nations had their proper times, and not their beginning at once and at the instant: so did every Family, which afterward became a great people, with whom the knowledge of divine letters was not received, finde no Parent of more antiquity, than such as they had themselves, nor allow of any before their own; and as the *Grecians*, so did others vaunt themselves to be *Indigenæ*, & growing out of the Earth, or invent some other prophane or ridiculous beginning. But the *Chaldæans* had certain knowledge of *Noah's* Floud, as *Berosus* witnesseth; and *Nicolaus Damascenus* maketh particular mention thereof (as is aforesaid) though he also affirm by hear-say, that some Giants saved themselves upon the Mountains *Baris* in *Armenia*, but speaketh not thereof as from any authority approved: using the word *Sermo est*; *That such a speech there was*. And *Eusebius* remembreth a place out of the ancient Historian *Abydenus*: who writeth that *Sisithrus*, to preserve himself from a Floud fore-told him by *Saturnus*, fled to the hills of *Armenia* by ship *ad Armeniam navigio confugiebat*: who the third day (after the waters were fallen) sent forth birds, that finding no land to rest on, returned again; which he also did a second time; but at the third return the birds feet were covered with mud and slime. To this effect are *Eusebius* words out of *Abydenus*, which may seem a true description (though in other terms) of *Noahs* Floud.

Euseb. de præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 4.

Cyrillus also affirmeth, that *Alex. Polyhistor* maketh mention of this generall Floud. And *Plato* in *Timæo* produceth an *Egyptian* Priest, who recounted to *Solon* out of the holy Books of *Egypt*, the story of the Floud universal, which (saith he) happened long before the *Grecian* Inundations. Frier *Annius* his *Xenophon* remembreth a third Floud, which also *Diodorus Siculus* confirmeth, somewhat more ancient than that of *Ogyges* in *Attica*. For he named the generall Floud for the first, which happened (saith he) under the old OGYGES: *Sub prisco Ogyge*, which was *Noah*, he calleth the second *Niliaca*: *Hercules* and *Prometheus* then living, 44. years before that of *Attica*, in the 34. year of *Belochus* King of the *Assyrians*, though I doe not believe him as touching the time. But this Floud covered a great part of the nether *Egypt*, especially all the Region subject to *Prometheus*; and hereof came the fable of the *Vulture* on *Prometheus* his liver, afterward slain by *Hercules* of *Egypt*: which fiction *Diod. Siculus* delivereth in these words: *Fluvium propter cursus velocitatem, profunditatemq; aquarum, Aquilam tunc appellatum*, HERCULEM *tum consilii magnitudine, tum virtute, volunt è vestigio compressisse, & aquarum impetum ad priorem cursum convertisse: Unde & Græci quidam Poetæ rem gestam in fabulam vertentes*, HERCULEM *tradunt Aquilam* PROMETHEI *jecur depascentem occidisse: This Floud* (meaning of *Nilus*) *for the swiftnesse of his course, as also for the depth, was in those dayes called the Eagle: but* HERCULES *by his great judgment and vertue did againe compresse and straighten this River, so far extended and over-spread, turning it into the old channels: Whence certain Greek poets* (*converting this labour and work of* HERCULES *into a fable*)

Diod. l. 1.

Nat. com. l. 4. c. 6.

fable) devised, that HERCULES *slew the Eagle which fed on* PROMETHEUS *liver*; meaning that he delivered *Prometheus* of that sorrow and torment, which for the loss of his people and Country (by the Waters destroyed and covered over) he suffered.

A fourth Floud chanced about *Pharus* in *Egypt*, where *Alexander Macedon* built *Alexandria*, as *Annius* conceiveth out of his *Xenophon*, who in this briefe sort writeth of all these Inundations: *Inundationes plures fuere: prima novimestris inundatio terrarum sub prisco* OGYGE: *secunda Niliaca, &c. There were many Inundations* (saith the same *Xenophon*:) *the first, which was universall, of nine moneths; and this happened under the first* OGYGES: *the second was Niliaca*, and of one moneths continuance, in the time of *Hercules* and *Prometheus*, Egyptians: a third of two moneths, under *Ogyges Atticus*: the fourth of three moneths, in *Thessalia*, under *Deucalion*: and a fifth of the lik continuance (called *Pharonica*) under *Proteus* of *Egypt*, about the time of *Helens* rape. *Diodorus* in his fifth Book and eleventh Chapter, taking the *Samothraces* for his Authors, remembreth a Floud in *Asia* the less, and elsewhere, of no less destruction than any of the other particular Inundations, saying, that the same happened before that of *Deucalion*; the Sea of *Pontus* and *Hellespont* breaking in over the Land.

Xen. de aquin Comm. per Annium, fol. 37.

But there have bin many flouds in divers times and ages, not inferiour to any of these two last remembred, *Niliaca* and *Pharonica* in *Egypt*: as in the year of our Redemption 590. when in *October* of the same year, *Gregory* then being Bishop of *Rome*, there happened a marvellous overflowing in *Italy*, and especially in the *Venetian* Territory, and in *Liguria*; accompanied with a most fearfull storm of thunder and lightning: after which followed the great plague at *Rome*, by reason of the many dead Serpents cast up and left upon the land after the waters decreased and returned. And in the year 1446. there perished 10000. people, by the breaking in of the Sea at *Dordroch* in *Holland*: of which kind I take that Floud to be of *Achaia* or *Attica*. Before that, and in the year 1238. *Trithemius* speaketh of an Earthquake, which swallowed many thousands: and after that of a Floud in *Friseland*, in which there perished 100000. persons. *Strozius Sigog*, in his *Magia omnifaria*, telleth of an Inundation in *Italy*, in the time of Pope *Damasus*, in which also many Cities of *Sicil* were swallowed: another in the Papacie of *Alexander* the sixt: also in the year 1515. *Maximilian* being Emperor. He also remembreth a perilous over-flowing in *Polonia*, about *Cracovia*, by which many people perished. Likewise *Viginier* a *French* Historian speaketh of a great Floud in the South part of *Languedoc*, which fell in the year of our Lord 1557. with so dreadfull a tempest, as all the people attended therein the very end of the World, and judgment day; saying, That by the violent descent of the Waters from the Mountains, about *Nismes* there were removed divers old heaps and mountures of ground, and many other places torne up and rent: by which accident there was found both coyn of silver and gold, divers pieces of plate and vessels of other mettall, supposed to be hidden at such time as the *Goths* invaded that Province, in the year 1156.

Munster.

Eclypsis, & terræ motus continuas multa hominum millia oppresserunt. Fritis quoq; per maximos fluctus tota pene submersa fuit, & perierunt plusquam 100000.

§ V.

That the Floud of NOAH *was supernaturall, though some say it might have been foreseene by the Starres.*

NOw howsoever all these Flouds, and many other, which have covered at severall times severall Regions, not only in these parts of the World, but in *America* also, (as I have learned of some ancient Southsayers among them) may be ascribed to naturall causes and accidents; yet that universall Floud (in the time of *Noah*) was poured over the whole face of the Earth by a power above Nature, and by the especiall commandement of God himselfe, who at that time gave strength of influence to the Stars, and abundance to the Fountaines of the deep: whereby the irruption of Waters was made more forcible than any ability of nature could effect, or any second causes, by whatsoever union, could performe, without receiving from the Fountain of all power, strength, & faculties supernatural. *Henricus Mechlinienſis*, a Scholler of *Albertus Magnus* in his Commentaries upon the great conjunctions of *Albu Masar*, observeth, that before the Floud of *Noah*, the like conjunction of *Jupiter* and *Saturne* happened in the last degree of *Cancer*, against that constellation since called the *Ship of Argos*; by which the Floud of *Noah* might be fore-told, because *Cancer* is both a watry Signe, and the House

of the *Moon*, which is the Lady of the Sea, and of moysture, according to the rules of *Astronomy*, and common experience. And this opinion *Petrus de Aliaco* upon *Genesis* confirmeth, affirming, that although *Noah* did well know this Floud by divine revelation, (yet this conjunction being notorious) he could not be ignorant of the second causes thereof: for those were not only signes, but also working causes, by strength received from the first cause, which is God himself: and further, that by* *Catarractæ cœli*, Englished the Windows of Heaven) *Moses* meant this great and watry conjunction; the word *Catarractæ*) signifying flowing down, or coming down. Now (saith *P. de Aliaco*) it pleased God to ordain by the course of the Heavens such a constellation, by which all men might behold therein their destruction towards, and thereby forsake those wicked wayes wherein they walked, and call unto God for mercy.

Also *de Concordia Theolog. & Astrolog. Gen. 7. 11.*

* The word καταῤῥάκτης properly signifieth any place of stoppage, against which the force of the water being naturally carried downwards, dasneth and breaketh; of ἀρρήσσω, *allido*, or *frango*. Hence because Windowes do not only open, but also shut, the word hath been expounded (*Windows*) for Bars or Floud-gates

Of this judgment was *Gul. Parisiensis*, who understood, that the words *Catarractæ Cœli*, or Windows of Heaven, were to be taken for the former conjunction, or for these watry signes, *Cancer*, *Pisces*, *Pleides Hyades*, and *Orion*; and of the Planets, *Mars*, *Venus*, and the *Moon*: which are the forcible causes of the greatest Inundations. His owne words are these: *Nondum intelligo Prophetam Hebræorum Catarractas Cœli vocasse, nisi partes illas cœli, quæ generativæ sunt Pluviarum & Inundationum Aquarum, quales sunt signa aquatica, ut Cancer, &c.* as aforesaid. As yet (saith he) *I perceive not what the Prophet of the Hebrewes meaneth by those words* (*Catarractæ Cœli*, or Windows of Heaven) *unlesse he thereby understanding those celestiall powers, by whose influences are engendred the rain, and inundations of waters, such as are the watry signs of Cancer, &c.*

But in a word, as it might please God, that in the course of his unsearchable wisdome this conjunction should at such time be: so did he (as aforesaid) adde vigour and faculty, and gave to every operation increase of vertues, violent eruptions to Springs and Fountains, commanding them to cast out the whole treasure and heap of their waters; taking retention from the clouds, and condensing aire into water by the ministery of his Angels, or whosoever else best pleased his All-powerfulness.

§. VI.

That there was no need of any new Creation of matter to make the universall Floud: And what are Catarractæ Cœli.

GEN. 7. VERS. 11.

NOw if it be objected, that God doth not create any thing of new; (for God resteth the seventh day: (that is) he did not then after create any new *species*) which granted, it may seem that then all the Earth and Aire had not waters sufficient to cover the habitable World fifteen cubits above the highest mountaines. Of this proposition, whether God hath so restrained himself, or no, I will not dispute; but for the consequent (which is) that the World had want of water to over-cover the highest mountaines, I take that conceit to be unlearned and foolish: for it is written, that *the Fountains of the great deep were broken up* (that is) the waters forsook the very bowels of the Earth; and all whatsoever was disperst therein, pierced and brake through the face thereof. Then let us consider, that the Earth had above one and twenty thousand miles, the *Diameter* of the Earth, according to that circle, seven thousand mile, and then from the *Superficies* to the *center*, some three thousand five hundred miles. Take then the highest mountain of the World, *Caucasus*, *Taurus*, *Olympus*, or *Atlas*, the mountains of *Armenia* or *Scythia*, or that (of all other the highest) in *Tenuerif*, and I doe not finde, that he that looketh highest, stretcheth above thirty miles upright. It is not then impossible, answering reason with reason, that all those waters mixed within the Earth three thousand five hundred miles deep, should not well help to cover the space of thirty miles in height, this thirty miles upright being found in the depths of the Earth one hundred and sixteen times: for *the Fountaines of the great deep were broken up*, and the waters drawn out of the bowels of the Earth. Secondly, if we consider what proportion the Earth beareth to the extension of the Aire over and above it, we shall finde the difference exceeding great. If then it pleased God to condense but so much of this Aire, as every where compasseth and imbraceth the Earth, which condensation is a conversion of Aire into Water, a change familiar in those Elements; it will not seem strange to men of judgment, yea but of ordinary understanding, that the Earth (God so pleasing) was covered over with Waters, without any new Creation.

Lastly,

Lastly, for the opinions of *Gulielmus Parisiensis*, and *Aliacensis*, to which I may adde *Berosus* and others, That such a conjunction there was, fore-shewing that destruction by Waters which followed; and that by the word *Catarractæ Cœli*, or Windowes of Heaven, was meant this conjunction; there needs no other answer than that observation of *Ludovicus Vives*, who affirmeth, That by the graveſt *Astrologian* it was observed, that in the yeer 1524. there should happen the like conjunction as at *Noah*'s Floud; than which (saith he) there was never a more faire, dry, and seasonable yeer: the like destruction was prophecied of the yeer 1588. But *Picus* Earle of *Mirandula* proveth, that there could not be any such conjunction at that time.

To conclude, I find no other mysterie in the word *Catarractæ Cœli*, than that the clouds were meant thereby: *Moses* using the Word *Windows of Heaven* (if that be the sense of the word) to expresse the violence of the rains, and Pouring down of Waters. For whosoever hath seen those fallings of water, which sometimes happen in the *Indies*, which are called the Spouts, (where clouds do not break into drops, but fall with a resistlesse violence in one body) may properly use that manner of speech which *Moses* did; That the Windows or Floud-gates of Heaven opened: (which is) That waters fell contrary to custom, and that order which we call natural. God then loosened the power retentive in the uppermost ayre, and the waters fell in aboundance: *Behold* (saies JOB) *he withholdeth the Waters, and they drie up* (or better in Latine, *Et omnia siccantur*; *And all things are dried up*) *but when he sendeth them not, they destroy the Earth*: And in the 26 Chapter: *He bindeth the waters in the clouds.* But these Bonds God loosed at that time of the general Floud, and called up the Waters which slept in the great Deep; and these joyning together, covered the Earth, till they performed the work of his will: which done, he then commanded them to return into their dark and vast Caves, and the rest (by a winde) rarified again into ayre, formerly condensed into drops. *Job c. 12. v. 15.* *Gen. 8. 1.*

§. VII.

Of some remainder of the memory of NOAH *among the Heathen.*

NOAH, commanded by God, before the fall of those Waters, entred the Ark which he had built, with his own wife, and his Sons, and his Sons Wives, taking with them of every creature which took life by generation, seven of the clean, and of the unclean, two. *Noah*, according to *Philo*, signifieth quietnesse: after others, and according to the prophecy of his Father *Lamech*, cessation; to whom aftertimes gave many Names, answering his antiquity, zeale, virtue, and other qualities: as, *The first Ogyges*, because in the time of the *Grecian Ogyges* there was also a great Floud of *Achaia*: *Saturn* they called him, because he was the Father of Nations: Others gave him the Name of *Prometheus*, who was said to steale away *Jupiters* fire; fire in that place being taken and understood for the knowledge of God and heavenly things. Others thinke, that he was so called for his excellent wisedome and foresight. He had also the Name of *Janus*, (*id est*) *vinosus*, because *Jain* signifieth Wine in the *Hebrew*. And so *Tertullian* findes him written *in Libris Ritualibus, in the Bookes of Ceremonies*, preceeding both *Saturne*, *Uranus*, and *Jove*: which three enjoyed an elder time than all the other ancientest feigned gods. And this Name *Jain* is taken from the *Hebrew* and *Syrian*, and not from the *Latine*: for it was in use before there was any *Latine* Nation, or any Kingdome by that Name knowne. Of the antiquitie of *Janus*, *Fabius Victor* giveth this testimony: JANI *ætate nulla erat Monarchia, quia mortalibus pectoribus nondum hæserat ulla regnandi cupiditas, &c. Vinum & Far primus populus docuit* JANUS *ad sacrificia: primus enim Aras & Pomœria & sacra docuit; In the time of* JANUS (saith he) *there was no Monarchie: for the desire of rule had not then folded it selfe about the hearts of men.* JANUS *first taught the people to sacrifice Wine and Meale: he first set up Altars, instituted Gardens and solitarie Groves, wherein they used to pray; with other holy Rites and Ceremonies.* A greater testimonie than this there cannot be found among the Heathen, which in all agreeth so well with the Scriptures. For first, whilest *Noah* flourished, there was not any King, or Monarch; *Nimrod* being the first that tooke on him soveraigne authority. Secondly, *Noah* after the Flood was the first that planted the Vine, and became a Husbandman; and therefore offered the first-fruits of both (to wit) Wine and Meale. Thirdly, he was the first that raysed an Altar, and offered sacrifice to God a thanksgiving for *Gen. 9. 20.* *Gen. 8. 20.*

for his merciful goodneſs towards him. *Noah* was alſo ſignified in the Name of *Biſrons* (which was given to *Janus*) becauſe he beheld the times both before and after the Floud. *Quia præterita noverit, & futura proſpexerit*, ſaith ARNOBIUS: *Becauſe he knew what was paſt, and provided for what was to come.* He was alſo in the perſon of *Janus* ſhadowed by the Name of *Chaos*, and *Semen Orbis, The ſeed of the World:* becauſe as out of that confuſed Heap was drawn all the kinds of beaſts and Plants; ſo from *Noah* came all Mankind. Whereof *Ovid* in the perſon of *Janus:*

Arn. cont. Gent. lib. 6.

Ovid. de Faſtis. lib. 1.

Me Chaos antiqui (nam ſum res priſca) vocabant,
Aſpice quàm longi temporis acta cano.
The Ancient call'd me *Chaos:* my great yeers
By thoſe old times, of which I ſing, appears.

He was alſo intituled *Cœlum* and *Sol*, *Heaven and the Sun*, for his excellent knowledg in Aſtronomy: *Vertumnus*, *Bacchus*, and *Liber Pater*; not that latter, which *Diod. Siculus* and *Alex. Aphrodiſius* ſo call, becauſe he was the reſtorer of the *Greeks* to their former liberty, but in reſpect of the Floud. For the *Greeks* called *Liber* Ὑετὸν, and his Nurſes *Hyades*, of Raine, becauſe *Noah* entred the Ark when the Sun joyned with the Stars *Hyades*, a conſtellation in the Brow or Neck of *Taurus*, and ever after a Monument of *Noah's* Floud. He was alſo by others ſurnamed *Triton*, a Marine god, the Son of *Neptune*; becauſe he lived in ſafety on the Waters. So was he known by the name of *Dionyſius*, *quaſi* διανύσσων, *mentem pungens*, *Bite-brain*, or *Wit-ſtinger*; though *Diodorus* conceive otherwiſe, and derive that name *à Patre & Loco*; *Of his Father, and the place of his Birth*, (to wit) of *Jove*, and *Niſa*, a Towne of *Arabia fœlix*, ſaith *Suidas* out of *Orpheus*. He had alſo the by-name of *Taurus*, or *Taurophagus*; becauſe he firſt yoked Oxen, and tilled the ground: according to that of *Moſes*; *and* NOAH *became an Huſbandman.* Now howſoever the *Grecians* vaunt of their *Theban Bacchus*, otherwiſe *Dionyſius*) it is certain, that the Name was borrowed, and the Invention ſtolen from *Noah*. But this Name of *Bacchus*, more anciently *Boäcus*, was taken (ſaith *Cul. Stuckius*, and out of him *Danæus.*) from *Noachus*, (*N*) being changed into (*B*); and it is the more probable, becauſe it cannot be doubted but that *Noah* was the firſt planter of the Vine after the Floud: and of *Noah* (the firſt and ancient *Bacchus*) were all thoſe fables deviſed, of which *Diodorus* complaineth in his fourth Book and fifth Chapter. This firſt *Bacchus* (to wit) *Noah*, was ſurnamed *Nyſius*, of the Mountain *Nyſa* in *India*; where the *Grecian Bacchus* never came, whatſoever themſelves feign of his enterpriſes: and theſe Mountains of *Nyſa* joyne with thoſe of *Paropaniſus*, and thoſe other *Eaſterne* Mountains, on which the Ark of *Noah* reſted after the Floud.

Nat. Com. l. 5. c. 13.

Calius.

Gen. 9. 20.

Stuck. in libris convivalibus, & Danæus de prima mundi ætate

Furthermore, to the end that the memory of this ſecond Parent of Mankinde might the better be preſerved, there were founded by his Iſſues many great Cities, which bare his Name, with many Rivers and Mountains; which oftentimes forgat that it was done in his regard, becauſe the many Names given him brought the ſame confuſion to places as to himſelf. Notwithſtanding all which, we finde the City of *Noah* upon the banks of the red Sea, and elſewhere: the River of *Noas* in *Thrace*, which *Strabo* calleth *Noarus*; *Ptolomy*, *Danus*; dividing *Illyria* from *Panonia*. Thus much for the Name.

Plin. l. 6 Steph. de Urb. Herod. l. 4. Strabo l. 7.

§. VIII.

Of ſundry particulars touching the Ark: as the place where it was made, the matter, faſhion, and name.

NOw in what part of the World *Noah* built the *Ark*, it doth not appear in the Scriptures, neither do I find any approved Authour that hath written thereof; onely *Goropius Becanus* in his *Indo. Scythia* conceiveth, that *Noah* built his *Ark* neer the Mountains of *Caucaſus*, becauſe on thoſe hils are found the goodlieſt Cedars: for when *Alex. Macedon* made the war among the people, called *Nyſæi*, inhabiting the other ſide of *Caucaſus*, he found all their Burials and Sepulchres wrought over with Cedar. To this place (ſaith *Becanus*) *Noah* repaired, both to ſeparate himſelf from the reprobate Giants, who rebelled againſt God and Nature, as alſo becauſe he would not be interrupted in the building of the *Ark*; to which alſo he addeth the conveniency of Rivers, to tranſport the Timber which he uſed, without troubling any other Carriages.

Onely

Onely this we are sure of, that the Ark was built in some part of the Eastern World; and to my understanding, not far from the place where it rested after the Floud. For *Noah* did not use any Mast or Sayle (as in other Ships) and therefore did the *Arke* no otherwise move, than the Hulk or body of a Ship doth in a calme Sea. Also, because it is not probable, that during these continuall and downe-right Raines there were any Windes at all, therefore was the *Arke* little moved from the place where it was fashioned and set together: for it is written, *God made a Wind to passe upon the Earth, and the Waters ceased.* And therefore it may be gathered, that during the fall of the Waters, there was not any Storme or forcible winde at all, which could drive the *Arke* any great distance from the place where it was first by the Waters lifted up. This is also the more probable, if that ancient opinion be true, as it is very likely, that the *Arke* had *fundum planum, a flat bottom*, and not raysed in forme of a Ship, with a sharpenesse forward, to cut the waves, for the better speed. Gen. 8. 1.

This kind of Vessell the *Hebrewes* call *Thebet*, and the *Greeks Larnax*, for so they termed *Deucalions* Ship: and some say, that the Hill *Parnassus*, to which in eight dayes he arrived, was first called *Larnassus, and by the change* of (*L*) into (*P*) *Parnassus*; but *Pausanias* thinkes that it took name of a Son of the Nimph *Cleodora*, called *Parnassus, the* Inventor of *Auguration*. Steph. de Urb. fol. 227.

Peucerus finds the word (*Parnassus*) to have no affinitie with the *Greeke*, but thinks it derived from the *Hebrew* word *Nahas*, which signifieth *Auguration* and *Divination*; or from *Har* or *Parai*, as in his Chapter of Oracles in the Leafe before cited. De Oracul. fol. 94.

Josephus calls the *Arke Machina*, by the generall name of a huge Fram; and *Epiphanius* out of the *Hebrew*, *Aron*: but herein lieth the difference between *Aron* and *Thebet*, That *Aron* signifieth properly the *Arke* of the *Sanctuarie*, but *Thebet* such a Vessell, as swimmeth, and beareth it self upon the Waters. Epiph. in Ancor.

Lastly, this *Arke* of *Noah* differed from the fashion of a ship in this, that it had a Cover and Roofe, with a Crest in the middest thereof, and the sides declining like the Roofe of an House; to the end, both to cast off the Waters, and that thereunder *Noah* himselfe and his children might shelter, and separate themselves from the noysomnesse of the many Beasts, which filled the other roomes and parts of the *Arke*. Gen. 6. 4.

Of what Wood the *Ark* was built, it is uncertain. The *Hebrew* word *Gopher* once, and in this place only used, is diversly understood: & though the matter be of little importance, yet this difference there is, That the *Geneva* Translation calls it Pine-tree; the *Rabbine*, Cedar; the *Seventie*, square Timber; the *Latine*, smooth Timber. Other will have it Cypres Trees, as dedicated to the dead, because Cypres is worn at Funerals. But out of doubt, if the word *Gopher* signifie any special kind of Timber, *Noah* obeyed the voice of God therein; If not, he was not then curious as touching the kind or nature of the wood, having the promise of God, and his Grace and mercie for his defence. For with *Noah* God promised *to establish his covenant: Plinie* affirmeth, that in *Egypt* it was the use to build ships of Cedar, which the worms eate not; and he avoweth, that he saw in *Utica*, in the Temple of *Apollo*, Cedar beams, laid in the time of the foundation of the Citie, and that they were still found in his time, which was about 1188. years after: proving thereby, that this kind of wood was not subject to putrefying or mouldring in a very long time. But in that it is easie to cut, light to carrie, and of a sweete savour, lasting also better than any other wood, and because neer the place where the *Ark* rested, there are found great store of these Cedar trees, as also in all the Mountains of the East, besides those of *Libanus*; it is probable enough that the *Ark* might be of that wood: which hath, besides the other commodities, the greatest length of Timber, and therefore fittest to build ships withall. *Pererius* conceiveth, that the *Ark* had divers sortes of Timber, & that the bottom had of one sort, the deck & partition of another; all which may be true or false, if *Gopher* may be taken for Timber in general. True it is, that Cedar will serve for all parts of a Ship, as well for the body, as for Masts and Yards. But *Noah* had most respect to the direction received from God: to the length, breadth, and height, and to the partitions of the *Ark*; and to pitch it, and to divide it into Cabines; thereby to sever the clean beasts from the unclean, and to preserve their several sorts of food; and that it might be capable of all kind of living creatures, according to the numbers by God appointed. All which when *Noah* had gathered together, he cast his confidence wholly on God; who by his Angels steered this Ship without a Rudder, and directed it V. 18. Plin. l. 16. 6. 80.

without

without the helpe of a Compasse or the North starr. The Pitch which *Noah* used, is by some supposed to have bin a kind of *Bitumen*, whereof there is great quantity about the Valley of *Sodome* and *Gomorah*, now the dead Sea, or *Asphaltes*, and in the Region of *Babylon*, and in the West *India*: and herein it exceedeth other Pitch, that it melts not with the Sun, but by the fire onely, after the manner of hard Waxe.

Petrius.

§. IX.

That the Arke was of sufficient capacitie.

THe *Arke*, according to Gods commandement, had of length three hundred Cubites, fifty of bredth, and thirtie deepe or high: by which proportion, it had sixe parts of length to one of bredth, and ten times in length to one of depth; of which S. AUGUSTINE: *Proculdubio figura est peregrinantis in hoc seculo Civitatis Dei, (hoc est) Ecclesiæ, quæ sit salva per lignum, in quo pependit Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Jesus Christus: nam & mensura ipsa longitudinis, altitudinis, latitudinisq; ejus significat corpus humanum, in cujus veritate ad homines prænunciatus est venturus, & venit, &c. Without doubt* (saith he) *it is a figure of the City of God travailing in this World as a stranger, (that is) of the Church, saved by the Tree, whereupon the Mediator betweene God and Man, the Man Jesus Christ did hang: for even the very measure of the length, height and breadth, answereth the shape of Mans body, in the truth whereof the comming of Christ was fore-told and performed.*

De Civit. Dei. l.15.c.26.

By what kinde of Cubite the *Arke* was measured, it hath bin a disputed question among the Fathers, and others; and the differences are in effect these: The first kind of Cubit (called the common) containeth one foot and a halfe, measured from the sharpe of the elbow to the point of the middle finger. The second (the Palm-Cubit) which taketh one handful more than the common. The third is called *Regius Cubitus*, or the *Persian* Cubit, which exceedeth the common Cubit three inches. The fourth is the sacred cubit, which containeth the common or vulgar cubit double, wanting but a quarter or fourth part. Lastly, there is a fift Cubit, called Geometricall, which containeth six common Cubits. But of all these sorts, which were commonly measured by the vulgar cubit, the alteration and diminution of mens statures hath made the difference. For as there is now a lesse proportion of bodies, so is the common Cubit, from the sharpe of the elbow to the point of the middle finger, of lesse length than it was in elder times.

S. *Augustine* considering the many sorts of Beasts and Birds which the *Arke* held, with their food and water, was sometimes of opinion, that the *Arke* had proportion after the Geometricall Cubit, which containeth almost sixe of the Common: For, measuring the *Arke* by the vulgar Cubit, it did not exceed the capacitie of that Vessell built by *Hiero* of *Syracuse*, or the Ship of *Ptolomie Philo-pater*. But S. *Augustine* (who at the first was led by *Origen*) changed his judgement as touching the Geometricall Cubit; and found, upon better consideration, that there needed not so huge a Body to preserve all sorts of Creatures, by God appointed to be reserved. For it was not needfull to take any kindes of Fishes into the *Ark*, because they were kept living (saith S. *Augustine*) in their own element. *Non fuit necesse conservare in Arca quæ possent in aquis vivere, non solùm mersa sicut Pisces, verùm super natantia, sicut multæ alites: It was not needfull to conserve those Creatures in the Arke, which could live in the Waters; and not onely Fishes which can live under water, but also those Fowles which sit and swim on them.* And againe, *Terra, non aqua, maledicta, quia* ADAM *non hujus, sed illius fructum vetitum comedit: It was the Earth, and not the Waters which God cursed; for of the forbidden fruit of the Earth, and not of the Sea, did* ADAM *eat.* So as S. *Augustine* gathereth hereupon (as aforesaid) that so huge a Frame needed not.

Athen. dipnos. lib.4.
Plater. in vita Demetrii.
Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib.5.c.27.

And if we looke with the eyes of judgement hereunto, we shall find nothing monstrous therein; although the imaginations of men, who (for the most part) have more of mischefe and of ignorance, than of any reverend reason, found many impossibilities in this worke of God. But it is manifest, and undoubtedly true, that many of the *Species*, which now seeme differing, and of severall kinds, were not then *in rerum natura*. For those Beasts which are of mixt natures, either they were not in that age, or else it was not needfull to preserve them, seeing they might be generated againe by others; as the Mules, the *Hyæna's*, & the like; the one begotten by Asses & Mares, and the other by

by Foxes and Wolves. And whereas by diſcovering of ſtrange Lands, wherein there are found divers Beaſts and Birds, differing in colour or ſtature from thoſe of theſe Northern parts; it may be ſuppoſed by a ſuperficial conſideration, that all thoſe which wear red and pied ſkins, or feathers, are differing from thoſe that are leſs painted, and wear plain ruſſet or black; they are much miſtaken that ſo think. And for my owne opinion, I find no difference, but only in magnitude, between the Cat of Europe, and the Ownce of India; and even thoſe Dogs which are become wilde in *Hiſpagniola*, with which the Spaniards uſed to devoure the naked Indians, are now changed to Wolves, and begin to deſtroy the breed of their Cattel, and do alſo oftentimes teare aſunder their own Children. The common Crow and Rook of India is full of red feathers in the drowned and low Iſlands of Caribana; and the Black-bird and Thruſh hath his feathers mixt with black and carnation in the North parts of Virginia. The Dog-fiſh of England is the Shark of the South Ocean: For if colour or magnitude made a difference of *Species*, then were the Nigro's, which we call the Black-Mores, *non animalia rationalia*, not Men, but ſome kind of ſtrange Beaſts: and ſo the Giants of the South America ſhould be of another kind, than the people of this part of the World. Wee alſo ſee it daily, that the natures of Fruits are changed by tranſplantation, ſome to better, ſome to worſe, eſpecially with the change of Clymate. Crabs may be made good Fruit by often grafting, and the beſt Melons will change in a year or two to common Cowcummers, by being ſet in a barren Soyle. Therefore, taking the kinds preciſely of all Creatures, as they were by God created, or out of the Earth by his Ordinance produced; the Ark, after the meaſure of the common Cubit, was ſufficiently capacious to contain of all, according to the number by God appointed: For if we adde but half a foot of meaſure to the common Cubit, which had a foot and a halfe of Giantly ſtature (and leſs allowance we cannot give to the difference between them and us) then did the Arke contain 600. foot in length, and 100. foot in bredth, and 60. foot deep. *Acoſt. hiſt. Indi.*

But firſt of all, to make it manifeſt that the Geometrical Cubit is not uſed in the Scripture, the ſtature of the Giants therein named may ſuffice. For if the bed of *Og*, King of Baſan, had been nine Geometrical Cubits long, it had taken 54. Cubits of the common, which make 80. foot: and *Goliah*, who had the length of ſix Cubits and a handful, which makes nine foot and a handful (a proportion credible) if theſe Cubits had been Geometrical, then had been 54. foot in height, and upwards, which were monſtrous and moſt incredible: for (according to this proportion) had the head of *Goliah* been nine foot long, and far weightier and bigger than all *David's* body, who carried it away. *Deut. 3. 11.* *1 Sam. 17. 4.*

Againe, if the Geometrical Cubit had been uſed for a Meaſure in the Scripture, as many Commenters have obſerved, then had the Altar (appointed to contain five Cubits of length, five of bredth, and three of height) have reached the length of 27. foot upright, and ſo muſt their Prieſts have aſcended by ſteps or Ladders to have performed their Sacrifices thereon, which was contrary to Gods Commandment given in theſe words: *Thou ſhalt not go up with ſteps unto mine Altar, that thy ſhame be not diſcovered thereon*; and therefore was the Altar but three common Cubits high, which make four foot, that their Prieſts ſtanding thereby might execute their Office. Wherefore I may conclude, that the Cubit mentioned in the Scriptures was not the Geometrical, but the ordinary Cubit of one foot and a half, according to the meaſure of Giantly ſtature; which meaſure (doubtleſs) might give much the more capacity to the Ark; although it be alſo probable, that as the Men were, ſo were the Horſes whereon they rode, and all other creatures of a correſpondent ſize. And yet (as I take it) though by this means there were not any whit the more room in the Arke, it were not hard to conceive, how all the diſtinct *ſpecies* of Animals, whoſe lives cannot be preſerved in the Waters, might according to their preſent quantities be contained in a Veſſel of thoſe dimenſions which the Ark had; allowing to the Cubit one foot and a half of our now uſual meaſure: whence it followeth of neceſſity, that thoſe large bodies which were in the daies of *Noah* might have room ſufficient in the Ark, which was meaſured by a Cubit of length proportionable. *Exod. 20. 26.*

How the appointed number of creatures to be ſaved, (that is, ſeven of the clean, two of the unclean (with neceſſary food) might have place in the Arke; *Buteo* hath very lear-

learnedly declared: the brief sum of whose discourse to that purpose, is this. *The length of the ark was three hundred Cubits, which multiplied by the breadth, namely fifty cubits, and the product by the height of thirty cubits, sheweth the whole Concavity to have been* 450000. Now whereas the posts, walls, and other partitions of Lodgings may seem to have taken up a great part of the hallow: the height of the roof, which (the perpendicular being one Cubit) contained 7500 cupicall Cubes was a sufficient recompence: If therefore in a Ship of such greatness we seek room for 89 distinct *Species* of Beasts, or (least any should be omitted) for 100. several kinds, we shall easily finde place both for them, and for the Birds, which in bigness are no way answerable to them, and for meat to sustain them all. For there are three sorts of Beasts, whose bodies are of a quantity best known; the Beef, the Sheep, and the Wolf: to which the rest may be reduced, by saying, (according to *Aristotle*) that one Elephant is answerable to four Beeves, one Lyon to two Wolves, and so of the rest. Of Beasts, some feed on vegetables, others on flesh. There are one and thirty kinds of the greater sort, feeding on vegetables: of which number, onely three are clean, according to the Law of *Moses*, whereof seven of a kinde entred into the *Ark*, namely, three couples for breed, and one odde one for sacrifice: the other eight and twenty kinds were taken by two of each kinde, so that in all there were in the *Ark* one and twenty great Beasts clean, and six and fifty unclean, estimable for largeness as ninety one Beeves; yet for a supplement (lest perhaps any *Species* be omitted) let them be valued as a hundred and twenty Beeves. Of the lesser sort feeding on vegetables, were in the *Ark* six and twenty kinds, estimable with good allowance for supply, as fourscore Sheep. Of those which devoure flesh were two and thirty kinds, answerable to threescore and foure Wolves. All these two hundred and eighty Beasts might be kept in one story or room of the *Ark*, in their several Cabines; their meat in a second: the Birds and their provision in a third, with place to spare for NOAH and his family, and all their necessaries.

§. X.

That the Ark rested upon part of the hill Taurus (or Caucasus) between the East Indies, and Scythia.

‖. I.

A preterition of some questions less material: with a note of the use of this question to finde out the Metropolis of Nations.

WHat time NOAH took to build the *Ark*, I leave to others to dispute: but he received the Commandment from God a hundred yeers before the waters fell; and had therefore choice of time and leisure sufficient. As for the number of Decks and Partitions, which *Origen* divides into foure, S. *Augustine* into three, I will not trouble the Reader with the controversie: or whether those creatures which sometimes rest on the Land, other times in the Waters, as the Crocodiles (now called *Alegartos*) the Sea-Cowes or Sea-Horses, were kept in the *Arke*, or no, I thinke it a needless curiosity; and yet to this saith *Pererius*, and others before him, that a Fishpoole might be made as well within the Ark, as in *Hiero* his Ship of *Syracuse*. Lastly, to consider or labour to disprove the foolery of the *Hebrews*, who suppose that the Ark was lightened by a Carbuncle, or had Windows of Crystal to receive in Light, and keep out Water, were but to revive the buried vanities of former times. But that which I seek most to satisfie my self and others in, is, in what part of the World the Ark rested after the Floud: because the true understanding of some of these places (as the seat of the terrestrial *Paradise*, and the resting of the Ark) do onely and truly teach the Worlds Plantation, and the beginning of Nations, before and after the Floud; and all story, as well general as particular, thereby may be the better understood.

‖. II.

A proposal of the common opinion, that the Ark rested upon some of the Hils of Armenia.

AND first, for the true place where the Ark rested after the Floud, and from what part of the World the Children of *Noah* travailed to their first settlement and plan-

plantation, I am resolved (without any presumption) that therein the most Writers were utterly mistaken. And I am not led so to thinke out of my Humour or newnesse of opinion, or singularitie; but doe herein ground my selfe on the originall & first truth, which is the word of God, and after that upon reason, and the most probable circumstances thereon depending. For whereas it is written, *that the Arke stayed upon one of the mountaines of Ararat*, which the *Chaldean Paraphrast* hath converted *Kardu*, meaning the hils *Gordæi* or *Gordiæi* in *Armenia* the greater: (as the words *Gordæi* and *Kardu*, seem to be one and the same) of which opinion also the most of our Interpreters are; I finde neither Scripture nor reason which teacheth any such thing: (to wit) that it rested on that part of *Ararat*, which is in the greater *Armenia*. *Nicolaus Damascenus* cals this mountain of *Ararat*, *Baris*; being the same which the *Chaldæan* nameth *Kardu*, to which mountain the Fryer *Annius* (citing this place out of *Josephus*) makes him finde another adjoyning, called *Ocila*, and to say that the *Arke* (of which *Moses* the Lawgiver of the Hebrewes wrote) did first take ground on this *Ocila*. But I doe not finde any such mountaine in being, as this *Ocila*, neither is there any mention of it in the place of *Josephus*. *Strabo* remembreth a Promontorie in *Arabia fœlix* of that name; and *Plinie* findes a Mart-towne so called in the same, which *Ptolomie* cals *Ocilis*, *Pinetus Acyla*, and *Niger Zidon*. But this *Ocila* of *Damascenus*, or rather of *Annius*, seemeth to be one and a part of the *Armenian* mountains. *Berosus* calleth those mountains of *Armenia Gordiæi*, and *Curtius Cordæi*: *Ptolomie Gordæi* and *Gordiæi*: of which the Countrie next adjoyning is by this *Nicolaus Damascenus* called *Ninyada*, perhaps (as *Becanus* conjectures) for *Milyada* or rather *Minni*: which word is used for *Armenia Minor*. And the very word of *Armenia* seemes to be compounded of this word *Minni*, and *Aram*: as if we should say *Minni* of *Syria*; for that *Armenia* also was a part of *Syria*, *Plinie* witnesseth. *Epiphanius* placeth the *Cardyes* about these mountains, whom others call *Gordieni* or *Gordeni*. The mountaines are seated apart from all other to the North of that Ledge of the mountains called *Taurus*, or *Niphates* in the plaines of *Armenia* the great, neere the Lake *Thospitis*: whence the River of *Tygris* floweth in 75. degrees of longitude, and 41. and 52. degrees of latitude. One of the mountains *Gordiæi* (that which surmounteth the rest) *Epiphanius* cals *Lubar*, which in the *Armenian* signifieth a place of descent: but this out of *Josephus*; which name (saith *Junius*) was of the event, because of *Noahs* comming downe with his children. But this also I take to be a supposed event; seeing any hill from whence on every side we must descend, may thus be called: as *Junius* corrects the place in *Josephus* λούβαρις (*Kubaris*.) That the place is thus to be read, he conjectureth, because *Josp. l.* 1. *c.* 4. sayes, the place is called ἀκεβατήριον (as it were the descent or comming downe) and *Epiphan. l.* 1. *contr. Hæres.* cals it λόφαρ which word in the *Armenian* and *Ægyptian* tongue signifieth descent, of *Lubar*, which is to descend; whence also *Lubra* is a *Synagogue*, because it was commonly built on som high place: whereof also the Latine *Delubrum* may seem to be derived; and *Act.* 6. 9. they that belonged to the *Synagogue* of the *Ægyptians* are called *Libertini*, for *Lubra tenu*. Yet this opinion hath beene embraced from age to age, receiving a habit of strength by time, and allowance without any farther examination; although the name of *Lubar* might otherwise rightly be given, especially to that mountain, by reason that the passage was more faire, up and downe unto it, than to any of the rest adjoyning.

Gen. 8. 4.

Hiero. 51. 27.

Nat. hist. l. 5. cap. 12.

Joseph. de Antiq. l. 1. c. 4.

‖. III.

The first argument against the common opinion. They that came to build Babel, would have come sooner, had they come from so neere a place as Armenia.

BUt there are many arguments to perswade me, that the *Arke* of *Noah* did not rest it selfe in any part of *Armenia*, and that the mountaine *Ararat* was not *Baris*, nor any one of the *Gordiæan* mountaines.

For the first, it is agreed by all which follow *Berosus*, that it was in the 130. yeer, or in the yeer 131. after the floud, when *Nimrod* came into the valley of *Shinar*, which valley was afterward called *Babylonia*, *Chush*, and *Chaldæa*. If then the *Arke* had first found land in *Armenia*, it is very unprobable, that the children of *Noah* which came into that valley could have spent so many yeers in so short a passage: seeing the Region of *Mesopotamia* was onely interjacent, which might by easie journeyes have beene past over in

Beros. l. 1.

twenty dayes; and to haſten and help which paſſage, the navigable River of *Tygris* offered it ſelfe, which is every where tranſpaſſable by boats of great burden: ſo as where the Deſart on the one ſide reſiſted their expedition, the River on the contrary ſide ſerved to advance it; the River riſing out of the ſame ledge of mountains, or at the foot of them, where the Ark of *Noah* was firſt ſuppoſed to ſettle it ſelfe; Then if the Nations which followed *Nimrod* ſtill doubted the ſurpriſe of a ſecond floud (according to the opinions of the ancient Hebrews) it ſoundeth ill to the eare of reaſon, that they would have ſpent many years in that low and overflown Valley of *Meſopotamia*, ſo called of the many rivers which imbroyder or compaſs it: for the effects witneſſed their affections, and the works which they undertook, their unbelief; being no ſooner arrived in *Shinar*, but they began to provide themſelves of a defence (by erecting *Babel*) againſt any future or feared inundation. Now at *Babel* it was that *Nimrod* began his Kingdome, the firſt known City of the World, founded after the floud about 131. years, or (as others ſuppoſe) ten years later: though (for my ſelfe) I rather think, that they undertook that work in two reſpects; firſt, to make themſelves famous, *To get us a name* (ſaith the Text:) Secondly, thereby to uſurp dominion over the reſt.

Gen. 10. 10. Beroſ. l. 1.

‖. IIII.

The ſecond Argument, That the Eaſtern people were moſt ancient in populoſitie, and in all humane glory.

FOr a ſecond Argument: The civility, magnificence, and multitude of people (wherein the Eaſt parts of the World firſt abounded) hath more weight than any thing which hath been, or can be ſaid for *Armenia*, and for *Noahs* taking land there. And that this is true, the uſe of Printing and Artillery (among many other things which the Eaſt had) may eaſily perſwade us, that thoſe Sun-riſing Nations were the moſt ancient. The certainty of this report, that the Eaſt *Indians* (time out of mind) have had Guns and Ordnance of battery, confirmed by the *Portugals* and others, make us now to underſtand, That the place of *Philoſtratus in vita Apollonii Tianæi, l. 2. c. 14.* is no fable, though expreſt in fabulous words: when he ſaith, that the wiſe men, which dwell between *Hyphaſis* and *Ganges*, uſe not themſelves to go forth into battaile: but that they drive away their enemies with thunder and lightning ſent from *Jupiter*. By which meanes there it is ſaid, that *Hercules Ægyptius* and *Bacchus*, joyning their forces, were defeated there; and that this *Hercules* there caſt away his golden ſhield. For the invention of letters was ignorantly aſcribed to *Cadmus*, becauſe he brought them firſt into Greece: of which the people (then rude and ſavage) had reaſon to give him the honour, from whom they received the benefit. But it is true, that letters are no leſſe ancient than *Seth* or *Henoch* were: for they are ſaid to have written on pillars of ſtone (as before remembred) long before the floud. But from the Eaſtern world it was that *John Guthenberg a Germane*, brought the device of Printing: by whom *Conradus* being inſtructed, brought the practiſe thereof to *Rome*: and after that *Nicholaus Gerſon* a *Frenchman*, bettered both the letters and invention. And notwithſtanding that this myſtery was then ſuppoſed to be but newly borne, the *Chinaos* had letters long before either the *Egyptians* or *Phœnicians*; and alſo the Art of Printing, when as the Greeks had neither any civill knowledge, or any letters among them.

And, that this is true, both the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* have witneſſed, who about an hundred years ſince diſcovered thoſe Kingdomes, and doe now enjoy their rich trades therein: for the *Chinaos* account all other nations but ſalvages in reſpect of themſelves.

And to adde ſtrength to this argument, the conqueſt and ſtory of *Alex. Macedon* may juſtly be called to witneſs, who found more Cities and ſumptuoſity in that little Kingdome of *Porus*, which lay ſide by ſide to the Eaſt *India*, than in all his other travails and undertakings. For in *Alexanders* time, learning and greatneſs had not travailed ſo far to the Weſt as *Rome*. *Alexander* eſteeming of *Italy* but as a barbarous Country, and of *Rome* as of a Village. But it was *Babylon* that ſtood in his eye, and the fame of the Eaſt pierced his ears. And if we look as far as the Sun-riſing, and hear *Paulus Venetus* what he reporteth of the uttermoſt Angle and *Iſland* thereof, we ſhall finde that thoſe Nations have ſent out, and not received; lent knowledge, and not borrowed it from the Weſt. For the farther Eaſt (to this day) the more civill, the farther Weſt, the more Salvage.

And

and of the Isle of *Japan* (now *Zipingari*) *Venetus* maketh this report: *Incolæ religioni, literis, & sapientiæ sunt addictissimi, & veritatis indagatores acerrimi; nihil illis frequentius oratione, quam (more nostro) sacris in delubris exercent: unum cognoscunt Principem, unum Deum adorant:* The Islanders are exceedingly addicted to religion, letters, and philosophy, and most diligent searchers out of truth: there is nothing among them more frequent than prayer, which they use in their Churches, after the manner of Christians: They acknowledge one King, and worship one God. The antiquity, magnificence, civility, riches, sumptuous buildings, and policie in government, is reported to be such by those who have bin imployed into those parts, as it seemeth to exceed (in those formerly named, and divers other particulars) all other Kingdomes of the World.

‖. V.

The third Argument, from the wonderfull resistance which SEMIRAMIS *found in the East Indies.*

BUt for a third argument, and also of a treble strength to the rest, I lay the invasion of *Semiramis* before the indifferent and advised Reader: who may consider in what age she lived, and how soon after the Worlds new birth she gathered her Army (as *Diodorus Siculus* out of *Ctesias* reporteth) of more than three millions to invade *India*, to which he adjoyned also 500000. Horse; and 100000. Waggons: whereof if we believe but a third part, it shall suffice to prove that *India* was the first planted and peopled Country after the floud. Now as touching the time wherein she lived: All Historians consent that she was the Wife of *Ninus*, and the most approved Writers agree, that *Ninus* was the Son of *Belus*, and *Belus* of *Nimrod*, that *Nimrod* was the Son of *Cush*, *Cush* of *Cham*, and *Cham* of *Noah*. And at such time as *Nimrod* came to *Shinaar*, he was then a great Nation, as by the building of the City and Tower of Babel may appeare; and being then so multiplied and increased, the two descents cast betweene *Nimrod* and *Semiramis*, brought forth in that time those multitudes, whereof her Army was composed. Let us then see with whom she encountred in that War with this her powerfull Army: even with a multitude, rather exceeding, than equalling her own conducted by *Staurobates* King of *India* beyond *Indus*; of whose multitudes this is the witnesse of *Diod. Siculus*. STAUROBATES *avitis majoribus, quàm quæ erant* SEMIRAMIDIS *copiis*: STAUROBATES *gathering together greater Troops than those of* SEMIRAMIS. If then these numbers of *Indians* had beene increased but by a *Colonie* sent out from *Shinaar* (and that also after *Babel* was built, which no doubt took some time in the performance) this increase in the East, and this Army of *Staurobates* must have been made of stone, or somewhat else by miracle. For as the numbers which *Semiramis* gathered might easily grow up in that time, from so great a Troop as *Nimrod* brought with him into Babylonia (as shall bee demonstrated hereafter in the Story of *Israel*) so could not any such time, by any multiplication natural, produce so many bodies of men as were in the *Indian* Army victorious over *Semiramis*, if the *Colonies* sent thither had been so late as *Babel* overturned, and the confusion of Languages. For if wee allow 65. years time after the Floud, before *Nimrod* was borne: of which, thirty yeares to *Cush* ere he begat *Seba*, after whom hee had *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, and *Sabtecha*: and then thirty yeares to *Raamah*, ere he begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, both which were borne before *Nimrod*: and five yeares to his five elder brothers, which make sixty five, and then twice thirty yeares for two Generations more, as for *Nimrod*, *Sheba* and *Dedan* with others, to beget their sonnes; and that a third Generation might grow up, which makes in all an hundred twenty five yeares; there will then remaine six years to have been spent in travailing from the East, ere they arrived in *Shinaar*, in the year after the Floud 131. And so the followers of *Nimrod* might be of sufficient multitude. But as for those which make him to have arrived at *Shinaar* in the year 101. and the confusion to have been at *Pelegs* birth, these men doe all by miracle: they beget whole Nations without the help of time; and build *Nimrods* Tower in the Ayre; and not on those low and marish grounds (which require sound foundations) in the Plaines of *Shinaar*. For except that huge Tower were built in a day, there could be no confusion in that yeare 101. or at *Pelegs* birth. And therefore it is farre more probable, that *Nimrod* usurped Regall authority in the 131. yeare

Gen. 10. 7.

Glyc. in Gen. & de Turris extructione fol. 173.

after the Floud, (according to *Berosus*) and that the work of *Babel* lasted forty yeares (according to GLYCAS) *Hominibus in ea perficienda totis 40. annis incassum laborantibus; Men labouring in vain 40. years to finish it.* By which account it falls out that it was 170. years after the Floud, ere a *Colonie* was sent into *East India*; which granted (the one being the main Body, and the other but a Troop taken thence) it can hardly be believed that *Staurobates* could have exceeded *Semiramis* in numbers: who being then Empress of all the part of that world, gathered the most of Nations into one body.

§. VI.

The fourth Argument from divers considerations in the person of NOAH.

FOurthly, it is no way probable, that *Noah*, who knew the world before the Floud, and had lived therein the long time of 600. years, was all that space 130. years after the floud without any certain habitation: No, it will fall out, and better agree with reason, that *Nimrod* was but the conducter of those people, by *Noah* destined & appointed to fill and inhabit that middle part of the earth and the Westerne World; (which travailes *Noah* put over to young and able bodies) and that *Noah* himself then covered with many years, planted himselfe in the same place which God had assigned him; which was, where he first came down out of the Ark from the waters: for it is written, that after *Noah* came downe out of the Arke, he planted a Vineyard, and became a Husbandman, whose businesse was to dress and manure the Earth; and not to range over so many parts of the world, as from *Armenia* into *Arabia fœlix*, where he should (if the tradition be sound) have left certain *Colonies:* thence into *Africa* towards *Triton*, then into *Spaine*, where they say he setled other companies, and built Cities after the names of *Noela* and *Noegla* his Sons Wives: from thence into *Italy*, where they say he found his Sonne *Cham* the *Saturne* of *Egypt*, who had corrupted the people and subjects of *Gomer* in his absence: with whom *Noah* (as they make the story) had patience for three years; but then finding no amendment, they say he banisht him out of *Italy*. These be but the fancies of *Berosus Annianus*, a plain imitation of the Grecian fables. For let every reasonable man conceive, what it was to travaile far in such a forrest as the World was, when after so great a rotting of the Earth by the Floud, the same lay waste and over-grown for 130. or 140. yeares, and wherein there could hardly bee found either part or passage through which men were able to creep for woods, bushes, and bryars that in those years were grown up.

And there are so many reasons, proving that *Noah* never came into the valley of *Shinaar*, as we need not suspect his passage into *Italy* or *Spaine:* For *Noah*, who was Father of all those Nations, a man reverenced both for his authority, knowledge, experience and piety, would never have permitted his children and issues to have undertaken that unbeleeving presumptuous work of *Babel*. Rather by his presence and prevalent perswasions he would have bound their hands from so vain labours, & by the authority which he received even from God himselfe, he would have held them in that awfull subjection, as whatsoever they had vainly conceived or feared, yet they durst not have disobeyed the personall commandement of him, who in the beginning had a kinde of Regall authority over his children and people. Certainly, *Noah* knew right well, that the former destruction of mankinde was by themseves purchased through cruelty and disobedience; and that to distrust God, and to raise up building against his Almighty power, was as much as in them lay, a provocation of God to lay on them the same, if not a more sharp affliction. Wherefore, there is no probabilty, that ever he came so far West as *Babylonia*; but rather, that he sent those numbers which came into *Shinaar* (being the greatest troop, because they had the greatest part of the world to plant) under *Nimrod*, or those upon whom he usurped. *Nauclerus* and *Cœlestinus* take the testimony of *Methodius* Bishop of *Tyre* for currant, that there were three Leaders of the people after their increase (to wit) *Nimrod*, *Suphene*, and *Joctan:* of which *Nimrod* commanded the issues of *Cham*, *Joctan* of *Sem*, and *Suphene* of *Japhet*. This opinion I cannot judge of, although I will not doubt, but that so great a work as the Worlds plantation, could not be effected without order and conduction.

Of the sonnes of *Sem: Joctan*, *Havilah*, and *Ophir*, are especially noted to have dwelt in the *East India*. The rest of *Sem*'s issues had also the Regions of *Persia* and the other adjoyning

adjoyning to *Indus*, and held alſo a part of *Chaldæa* for a time: for *Abraham* inhabited *Vr*, till he was thence called by God; and whether they were of the ſons of *Joctan*, or of all the reſt a certain number (*Cham* and his iſſue only excepted) that *Noah* kept with himſelf, it cannot be known. Of which plantation I ſhall ſpeak at large in the Chapter following.

Now another reaſon which moves me to beleeve that *Noah* ſtayed in the Eaſt far away from all thoſe that came into *Shinaar*, is, that *Moſes* doth not in any word make mention of *Noah* in all the ſtory of the *Hebrewes*, or among any of thoſe Nations which contended with them. And *Noah* being the Father of all mankinde, and the choſen ſervant of God, was too principall a perſon, to be either forgotten or neglected, had he not (in reſpect of his age and wearieſome experience of the World) withdrawne himſelfe, and reſted a part with his beſt beloved, giving himſelf to the ſervice and contemplation of God and heavenly things, after he had directed his children to their deſtined portions. For he landed in a warm and fertile ſoile, where he planted his Vineyard, and dreſt the Earth; after which, and his thankſ-giving to God by ſacrifice, hee is not remembred in the Scriptures, becauſe he was ſo farre away from thoſe Nations of which *Moſes* wrote: which were the Hebrews chiefly, and their enemies and borderers.

‖§. VII.

Of the ſenſeleſſe opinion of ANNIUS *the Commentor upon* BEROSUS: *who findes divers places where the Ark reſted; as the Caſpian and Gordiæan hils which are three hundred miles aſunder; and alſo ſome places of* Scythia.

IT remaineth now that we examine the Arguments and Authorities of Frier *Annius*, who in his Commentaries upon *Beroſus* and others, laboureth marvailouſly to prove that the Arke of *Noah* reſted upon the Armenian Mountaines called *Caſpii*; which mountains ſeparate Armenia from the upper Media, & do equally belong to both. And becauſe all his Authors ſpeak of the mountains Gordiæi, he hath no other ſhift to unite theſe opinions, but by uniting thoſe far-diſtant mountains together. To effect which, he hath found no other invention, than to charge thoſe men with errour, which have carefully over-ſeen, printed, and publiſhed *Ptolomies* Geography, in which they are altogether diſſevered. For that laſt edition of *Mercators*, ſets theſe hills five degrees (which makes three hundred Engliſh miles) aſunder. And certainly, if we look into thoſe more ancient copies of *Villanovanus* and others, we ſhall finde nothing in them to help *Annius* withall: for in thoſe the mountains *Caſpii* ſtand ſeven degrees to the Eaſt of the Cordiæi, which maks 420. miles. And for thoſe Authors by whoſe authority *Annius* ſtrengtheneth himſelf, *Diodorus* whom he ſo much followeth, giveth this judgment upon them in the like diſpute. *Aberrarunt verò omnes, non negligentiâ, ſed regnorum ſitus ignorantiâ; They have all erred* (ſaith he) *not through negligence, but through ignorance of the ſituation of Kingdomes.* But for an induction, to prove that the Ark of *Noah* ſtood on the mountains of *Armenia*, he beginneth with the antiquity of the *Scythians*: and to prove the ſame he citeth *Marcus Portius Cato*, who avoweth that 250. years before *Ninus*, the earth was over-flown with waters, *& in Scythia Sagarenatum mortale genus; and that in Scythia the ſtock of mortall men was renewed.* The ſame Author alſo teacheth, that the *Umbri* before remembred (who were ſo called, becauſe ſaved from *Deucalions* Floud) were the ſonnes of the *Galli*, a Nation of the *Scythians*. *Ex his veniſſe* JANUM *cum* DYRIM, *& Gallis progenitoribus Umbrorum*; *From theſe Scythians*, he ſaith, *that* JANUS *came with* DYRIM, *and with the Galli the progenitours of the Umbri*: And againe, *Equidem principatus originis ſemper Scythis tribuitur; Certainely, the Prime Antiquity of Off-ſpring is alway given to the Scythians.* And herein truly I agree with *Annius*, that thoſe Regions called *Scythia*, and now *Tartaria*, and by ſome Writers *Sarmatia*, *Aſiatica*, were among the firſt peopled: and they held the greateſt part of *Aſia* under Tribute till *Ninus* time. Alſo *Plinie* called the *Umbri* which long ſince inhabited *Italy*, *Gens antiquiſſima*, *a moſt ancient Nation*, who deſcended of theſe *Scythians*. Now that which *Annius laboureth*, is to prove that theſe ancient *Scythians* (meaning the Nephewes of *Noah*) did firſt inhabite that Region of the mountains, on which the Ark reſted; and confeſſing that this great Ship was grounded in *Armenia*, he feigneth a nation of *Scythians* called *Araxea*, taking name of the mountain *Ararat*, near the River of *Araxes*. And becauſe his Author *Cato* helpeth him in part

Ptol. tab. Aſia 3

Diod. l. c. 3.

Cato de orig. pars prima.

Plin. l. 3. c. 14.

(to wit, That in Scythia mankind was restored after the great floud 250. years before *Ninus*) and in part utterly destroyeth his conceit of Armenia, by adding the word *Saga*;

Beros. l. 1. as, *In Scythia Sagæ renatum mortale genus*; *In Scythia Saga mankinde was restored*, he therefore in the *Proœme* of his Commentary upon *Berosus*, leaveth out the addition of Saga

Ptol. Asiæ tab. 7 altogether in the repetition of *Cato* his words, and writes, *homines in Scythia salvatos*. For Scythia Saga or Sacæ, is undoubtedly under the Mountaines of Paropanisus; on which, or near which it is most probable that the Arke first took ground: and from

Gen. 11. 2. those East parts (according to *Moses*) came all those companies which erected the Tower of Babel in Shinaar or Babylonia.

But now the best authority which *Annius* hath, is out of *Diodorus*: where he hath read that the Scythians were originally Armenians, taking name *à Scytha Rege eorum*, *from* Scyth *their King*. But (in a word) we may see his vanity, or rather (indeed) his falshood in citing this place. For *Diodorus*, a most approved and diligent Author, beginneth in that place with these words: *Fabulantur Scythæ*; *The Scythians fable*: and his Interpreter in the table of that work giveth this title to that very Chapter. *Scytharum origo & successus, fabula*; *The originall and succesſe of the Scythians, a fable*. And (indeed) there needs no great disproof hereof, since *Ptolomy* doth directly delineate Scythia Saga or Sacæ, and sets them in 130. degrees of longitude: and the *Persians* (saith *Herodotus* call all the *Scythians*, *Sacæ*; which *Pliny* confirmeth: for in respect that these Sacæ

L. 6. c. 17. (saith *Pliny*) are the next Scythians to the Persians, therefore they gave all the rest that name. Now that any Nation in Armenia can neighbour the Persians, there is no man believeth. But this supposed Scythia Araxea in Armenia lieth in 78. degrees of longitude (that is) 42. degrees distant from the Sacæ; and the Country about *Araxes Ptolomy* calleth Colthene and Soducene & Sacapene without any mention of Scythia at all: and yet all those which are or were reputed Scythians either within Imaus or without,

Tab. Asiæ 7. & 8 to the number of 100. severall Nations, are by *Ptolomy* precisely set down.

But to come to those latter Authors, whereof some have written, others have seen a great part of those North-East Regions, and searched their antiquities with great diligence: First, *Marius Niger* boundeth *Scythia* within *Imaus*, in this manner: for *Scythia* without these Mountains is also beyond our purpose) *Scythia inter Imaum montem ea est, quæ proprio vocabulo Gassaria hoc tempore dicitur: ab Occasu Sarmatia Asiatica: ab Oriente Imao monte: à Septentrione terra incognita: à Meridie Saccis, Sogdianis, Margianis, usque ostia Oxæ amnis in Hyrcanum mare exeuntis; & parte ipsius maris hinc usq; ad Rha fluminis ostia terminatur: Scythia within the mountaine Imaus is that part of the World which in their owne speech is at this time called Gassaria; and the same is bounded on the West side by Sarmatia Asiatica* (or of *Asia*:) *on the East by the Imaan Mountaines: on the North by unknown Lands: on the South by the Saccæ* (which are in the *Sacæ*) *the Sogdiani, and the Margiani, to the mouth of Oxus, falling into the Hyrcan Sea, and by a part of the same Sea as far as the mouth of Rha.*

Rha, now *Wolga.*

Now if *Niger* sets all *Sarmatia Asiatica* to the West of *Scythia*, *then Sarmatia* (*quæ magna sanè Regio est, & quæ innumeras nationes complectitur*) *Which is a great Region, comprehending innumerable nations* (saith *Niger*) much of it being between *Scythia* and *Armenia*, doth sufficiently warrant us, that *Armenia* can be no part of *Scythia*; and to make it more plain, he dissevereth *Sarmatia* it self from any part of *Armenia*, by the Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, which he leaveth on the right hand of *Sarmatia*, and yet makes *Sarmatia* but the West bound of *Scythia*.

Com. 2. Asiæ fol. 472.

Ad meridiem flexo Bosphoro pars septentionalis ponte Euxini usq; in ostium Ceracis fluvii: unde reliqua à parte dextra Colchis, Iberis, Albanisq; in littus Hyrcani maris provenit.

And for *Paulus Venetus*, he hath not a word of *Armenia* among the *Tartarian* or *Scythyan* Nations; neither doth his fellow Frier *John Plancarpio* (cited by *Vincentius* in his description of *Scythia*) make any mention of *Armenia*; neither doth *Haytonus*, an *Armenian* borne, of the bloud of those Kings (though afterward a Monk) ever acknowledge himself for a *Tartarian*, or of the *Scythian* Races descended: though he write that story at large, gathered by *Nicholaus Salcuni*, and (by the commandement of Pope *Clement* the fifth) in the year 1307. published.

Spec. hist. l. 30.

Neither doth *Matthias a Michon* (a Canon of *Cracovia* in *Polonia*) a *Sarmatian* borne, and that travailed a great part of *Sarmatia Asiatica*, finde *Armenia* any way within the compasse of *Tartaria*, *Scythia*, or *Sarmatia*; and yet no man (whose Travails are extant) hath observed so much of those Regions as he hath done: proving and disproving many things, heretofore subject to dispute. And among others he buriеth that ancient and

received

received opinion, That out of the Mountains, *Riphæi*, and *Hyperborei* in *Scythia*, spring the Rivers of *Tanais* or *Don*, *Volga* or *Edel*; providing by unanswerable experience, that there are no such Mountains *in rerum natura*; and (indeed) the Heads and Fountains of those famous Rivers are now by the Trade of *Muscovia* knowne to every Merchant, and that they arise out of Lakes, low, wooddie, and marish grounds. The River of *Tanois* or *Don*, ariseth to the South of the Citie *Tulla*, some twentie *English* miles, out of a Lake called *Iwanowesero*, in the great wood *Okenitzkilies* or *Jepiphanolies*. *Volga*, which *Ptolomie* calls *Rha*, and the *Tartars* call *Edel*, riseth out of a Lake called *Fronow*, in the great Wood *Vodkonzki*: from which Lake the two other famous Rivers flow of *Borysthenes* (now *Neyper*) and *Dsuina* or *Dividna*. And this learned *Polonian* doth in this sort bound the *Europæan Sarmatia*. *In Sarmatia of Europe are the Regions of Russians, Lithuanians, Muscovians*, and those adjoyning, bounded on the West by the River of *Vissa*, the Name perchance mis-printed *Vissa* for *Vistula*, a River which parts *Germania and Sarmatia*: and for the East border he nameth *Tanais*, or *Don*. *Sarmatia Asiatica* he cutteth from *Europe* by the same River of *Tanais*, and the *Caspian* Sea, to with-hold it from stretching farther East: this *Asian Sarmatia* being part of that *Scythia* which *Ptolomie* calleth *Scythia intra Imaum montem*: *Scythia within the Mountaine Imaus*. And the same *Mathias Michon* farther affirmeth, that the *Scythians* (which Frier *Annius* would make *Armenians*) came not into *Sarmatia Asiatica* it selfe above three hundred and a few odd yeeres before his owne time: these be his words: *Constat eam esse gentem novam, & adventitiam à partibus Orientis (mutatis sedibus) paulo plus abhinc trecentis annis Asiæ Sarmatiam ingressam: It it manifest* (saith he, speaking of the *Scythian* Nation) *that this is a late planted Nation, come fron the coasts of the East: from whence they entred into Asia, & gat new seates a little more than 300. yeers since:* For (indeed) before that time the *Gothes or Pouloci* inhabited *Sarmatia Asiatica*. And this *Mathias* lived in the yeer 1511. and this his Discourse of *Sarmatia* was printed at *Augusta* in the yeere 1506. as *Eucholzerus* in his *Chronologie* witnesseth. Now these *Scythians* (saith he) came from the East, for in the East it was that the *Ark* of *Noah* rested, and the *Scythæ Sacæ* were those people which lived at the North foot of those Mountains, of *Taurus* or *Ararat*, where they encounter or begin to mixe themselves with the great *Imaus*. And were there no other testimony than the general description of the Earth now extant, and the witnesse of *Ptolomie*, it is plaine, that betweene all parts of *Armenia*, and *Scythia*, there are not only those three Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, but the *Caspian* Sea: on the East shore of which Sea, but not on the West, or on that part which any way toucheth *Armenia*, there are (inded) a Nation of *Scythians* (called *Ariacæ*) between *Jaxartus* and *Jactus*; but what are these *Scythians* to any *Ariacæ*, or *Scythia Araxea*, which *Annius* placeth in *Armenia*, more than the *Scythians* of *Europe*?

Sig. Herbestem.

Crazæus calleth this River *Wistaus*, *Niger Dravamanza*, *Pom. Mele*, *Visulæ & Plin. Visullus.*

‖. VIII.

The fift Argument, The Vine must grow naturally neere the place where the Arke rested.

TO this if we adde the consideration of this part of the Text, *That* NOAH *planted a Vineyard*, we shall find that the fruit of the Vine or Raysin did not grow naturally in that part of *Armenia*, where this resting of the *Arke* was supposed: for if the Vine was a stranger in *Italie* and *France*, and brought from other Countries thither, it is not probable that it grew naturally in *Armenia*, being a farre colder Country. For *Tyrrhenus* first brought Vines into *France*, and *Saturnus* into *Latium*: yea at such times as *Brennus* and the *Gaules* invaded *Italie*, there were few or no Vines in *France*. For (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Camilus*) the *Gaules* remained betweene the *Pyrenæi* and the *Alpes*, neere unto the *Senones*, where they continued a long time, untill they drunke Wine, which was first brought them out of *Italie*; and after they tasted thereof, they hasted to inhabite that Country, which brought forth such pleasant fruit: so as it appeareth, that the Plant of the Vine was not naturall in *France*, but from *Italie* brought thither; as by *Saturne* from else where into *Italy*.

Gen. 9. 20.

Servius Aeneia Eutropius.

Now it is manifest, that *Noah* travailed not far to seeke out the Vine. For the Plantation thereof is remembred, before there was any counsaile how to dispose of the world among his children: and the first thing he did, was, to till the ground, & to plant a Vineyard, after the Sacrifice and Thanksgiving to God; and wheresoever the *Arke* rested, there

there did the Vine grow naturally. From whence it doth no where appear, that he travailed far: for the Scriptures teach us, that he was a Husband-man, and not a wanderer.

‖. IX.

An answer to an objection out of the words of the Text: The Lord scattered them from thence upon the face of the whole earth.

AND that all the children of *Noah* came together into *Shinaar*, it doth not appeare saving that it may be inferred out of these words (*from thence*) because it is written: *So that the Lord scattered them from thence upon all the Earth*; which hath no other sense, but that the Lord scattered them (to wit) those that built this Tower: for those were from thence dispersed into all the Regions of the North and South, and to the Westward. And by these words of *Sybilla* (as they be converted) it seemeth that all came not together into *Shinaar*; for they have this limitation: *Quidam eorum turrem ædificarunt altissimam, quasi per eam cœlum essent ascensuri: Certaine of them built a most high Tower, as if they meant thereby to have scaled the Heavens.*

‖. X.

An answer to the objection of the name of Ararat, taken for Armenia: and the height of the Hils there.

BUt before I conclude this part, it is necessarie to see and consider, what part of Scripture, and what reason may be found out, to make it true or probable, that the Arke of *Noah* was forsaken by the waters on the Mountains of *Armenia*. For the Text hath onely these words: *The Arke rested on* (or upon) *the Mountains of Ararat*, or *Armenia*, saith the marginall note of the *Geneva*: the *Chaldæan Paraphrast* cals it *Kardu*; of which, the highest hath the name of *Lubar*, saith *Epiphanius*. Now this *Ararat* (which the *Septuagint* do not convert at all, but keepe the same word) is taken to be a Mountain of *Armenia*; because *Armenia* it selfe had anciently that name: so as first out of the name, and secondly out of the heighth (which they suppose exceeded all other) is the opinion taken, That the *Arke* first sate thereon.

Gen. 8. 14.

Epiph. l. 1. contr. Hæres.

But these suppositions have no foundation: for neither is *Ararat* of *Armenia* alone, neither is any part, or any of those Mountains of equal stature to many other Mountaines of the World; and yet it doth not follow, that the *Arke* found the highest Mountaine of all other to rest on: for the Plains were also uncovered before *Noah* came out of the *Arke*. Now, if there were any agreement among Writers of this *Ararat*, and that they did not differ altogether therein, we might give more credit to the conceit. For in the Bookes of the *Sybils* it is written, that the Mountains of *Ararat* are in *Phrygia*, upon which it was supposed that the *Arke* stayed after the Floud. And the better to particularize the place and seate of these Mountains, and to prove them in *Phrygia*, and not *Armenia*; they are placed where the City of *Cælenes* was afterward built. Likewise in the same description she maketh mention of *Marsyas*, a River which runneth through part of *Phrygia* and afterward joyneth it selfe with the River *Mæander*, which is far from the *Gordiæan* Mountaines in *Armenia*. We may also finde a great mistaking in JOSEPHUS (though out of BEROSUS, who is in effect the Father of this opinion) that JOSEPHUS sets *Ararat* betweene ARMENIA and PARTHIA, toward ADIABENE, and affirmeth withall, that in the Province of *Cæron* (by others *Kairos* and *Arnos*, so called by reason that the waters have from thence no descent, nor issue out) the people vaunt that they had in those dayes reserved some peices of *Noahs Arke*. But *Parthia* toucheth no where upon *Armenia*; for *Armenia* bordereth *Adiabene*, a Province of *Assyria*: so that all *Media* and a part of *Assyria* is betweene *Parthia* and *Armenia*. Now whereas the discoverie of the Mountaines *Cordiæi* was first borrowed out of *Berosus* by *Josephus*; yet the Text which *Josephus* citeth out of *Berosus* differs far from the words of that *Berosus*, which wandereth up and downe in these dayes, set out by *Annius*. For *Berosus*, cited by *Josephus*, hath these words: *Fertur & navigii hujus pars in Armenia apud montem Cordiæorum superesse, & quosdam Bitumen inde abrasum secum reportare, quo vice amuleti loci hujus homines uti solent:* (which is) *It is reported also that a part of this ship is yet remaining in Armenia upon the Cordiæan Mountains; and that diverse do scrape from it the Bitumen or Pitch, and carrying it with them, they use it in stead of an amulet.* But *Annius* his

Edition

Edition of the Fragment of *Beroſus* uſeth theſe words: *Nam elevata ab aquis in Gordiæ montis vertice quievit, cujus adhuc dicitur aliqua pars eſſe, & homines ex illa Bitumen tollere quo maximè utuntur ad expiationem: For the whole Arke being lifted up by the waters, reſted on the top of the Gordiæan Mountaines, of which it is reported that ſome parts remaine, and that men doe carry thence of the Bitumen to purge by Sacrifice therewith:* ſo as in theſe two Texts (beſides the difference of words) the name is diverſly written. The ancient *Beroſus* writes *Cordiæi* with a (*C.*) and the Fragment *Gordiæi* with a (*G.*) the one that the *Bitumen* is uſed for a preſervative againſt Poyſon or Inchantment; the other in Sacrifice. And if it be ſaid that they agree in the generall, yet it is reported by neither from any certain knowledge, nor from any approved Authour: for one of them, uſeth the word (*fertur*) the other (*dicitur*) the one, that ſo it is *reported*, the other, *that ſo it is ſaid*; and both but by heare-ſay, and therefore of no authority nor credit. For common bruit is ſo infamous an Hiſtorian, as wiſe men neither report after it, nor give credit to any thing they receive from it.

Furthermore, theſe Mountaines which *Ptolomie* cals *Gordiæi*, are not thoſe Mountaines which himſelf giveth to *Armenia*, but he calleth the Mountains of *Armenia*, *Moſchici*. Theſe be his own words: *Montes Armeniæ nominantur ii, qui Moſchici appellantur, qui protenduntur uſq; ad ſuperjacentem partem Ponti Cappadocum; & mons qui Paryardes dicitur: The Mountaines of Armenia are they which are called Moſchici, ſtretcht along to the higher part of Pontus of the Cappadocians: alſo the Hill which is called Paryardes:* which Mountaines *Plinie* calleth *Pariedri*, and both which lye to the North of *Gordiæi* or *Baris*, in 43. and 44. and a halfe; and the *Gordiæan* Mountaines in 39. and a halfe: from the Northermoſt of which did the *Georgians* take their names, who were firſt *Gordians*, and then *Georgians*, who amidſt all the ſtrength of the greateſt Infidels of *Perſia* and *Turkie*, doe ſtill remaine *Chriſtians*. Concerning the other ſuppoſitions, that the Mountaines of *Gordiæi*, otherwiſe *Baris*, *Kardu* or *Lubar* (which *Ptolomie* calleth *Torgodiaion*) are the higheſt of the World, the ſame is abſolutely falſe.

Ptol. Aſia tab.

Plin. l. 6. c. 9.

‖. XI.

Of Caucaſus, and divers far higher hils than the Armenian.

FOr the beſt *Coſmographers* with other, that have ſeene the Mountaines of *Armenia*, find them far inferiour, and under-ſet to divers other Mountaines even in that part of the World, and elſe where: as the Mountaine *Athos* betweene *Macedon* and *Thrace*, which *Ptolomie* calls *Olympus*, now called *Lacas*, (ſaith *Caſtaldus*) is far ſurmounting any Mountain that ever hath beene ſeene in *Armenia*: for it caſteth ſhade three hundred furlongs, which is ſeven and thirtie miles and upwards: of which *Plutarch*; *Athos adumbrat latera Lemniæ bovis: Athos ſhadoweth the Cow of Lemnos.* Alſo the Mount of *Olympus* in *Theſſalie*, is ſaid to be of that height, as neither the Windes, Clouds or Raine overtop it. Againe, the Mountaine of *Antandrus* in *Myſia*, not farre from *Ida*, whence the River *Scamandrus* floweth, which runneth through *Troy*, is alſo of a farre more admiration than any in *Armenia*, and may be ſeene from *Conſtantinople*. There are alſo in *Mauritania* neere the Sea the famous Mountaines of *Atlas*, of which HERODOTUS: *Extat in hoc mari Mons cui nomen Atlas, ita ſublimis eſſe dicitur, ut ad illius verticem oculi mortalium pervenire non poſſint: Upon this Coaſt there is a Mountaine called Atlas, whoſe height is ſaid to be ſuch, as the eye of no mortall man can diſcerne the top thereof.* And if we may beleeve *Ariſtotle*, then are all theſe inferiour to *Caucaſus*, which he maketh the moſt notorious both for breadth and height: *Caucaſus Mons omnium maximus, qui æſtivum ad ortum ſunt, acumine atq; latitudine, cujus juga à Sole radiantur uſq; ad conticinium ab ortu: & iterum ab occaſu: Caucaſus* (ſaith ARISTOTLE) *is the greateſt Mountaine both for breadth and height of all thoſe in the North-eaſt, whoſe tops are lightned by the Sunbeams, uſq; ad conticinium* (which is, ſaith *Macrobius betweene the firſt crowing after midnight and the breake of day:* Others affirm, that the top of this Mountain holds the Sunbeames when it is darke in the Valley; but I cannot beleeve either, for the higheſt Mountaine of the World knowne, is that of *Teneriſe* in the *Canaria:* which although it hath nothing to the Weſtward of it for 1000. Leagues together but the Ocean Sea, yet doth it not enjoy the Sun's company at any ſuch late houres. Beſides theſe Mountaines which *Ariſtotle* calleth *Caucaſi*, are thoſe which ſeparate *Colchis* from *Iberia*;

Plut. Muſ. Coſm.

Ariſt. Met. cor. l. 1. c. 13.

Iberia; though (indeed) *Caucasus* doth divide both *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* from *Sarmatia*: for he acknowledgeth that the River of *Phasis* riseth in the same Mountaine, which himself calleth *Caucasus*, and that *Phasis* springeth from those Hils which sunder *Colchis* from *Iberia*, falling afterward into *Euxinus*: which River (it is manifest) yeeldeth it self to the Sea, two degrees to the North of *Trapezus* (now *Trabesunda*) howsoever *Mercator* bring it from *Paryardes*.

‖. XII.

Of divers incongruities if in this Story we should take Ararat for Armenia.

SO as it doth first appear, that there is no certainty what Mountain *Ararat* was: for the Books of the *Sybils* set it in *Phrygia*, and *Berosus* in *Armenia*: and as for *Berosus* authority, those men have great want of proofs that borrow from thence.

Secondly, that *Baris* was the highest Hill, and therefore most likely that the Arke grounded thereon, the assertion and supposition have equal credit: for there are many Hils which exceed all those of *Armenia*; and if they did not, yet it doth not follow (as is before written) that the Arke should sit on the highest.

Thirdly, it cannot be proved that there is any such Hill in *Armenia*, or *in rerum natura*, as *Baris*: for *Baris* (saith *Hierome*) signifieth high Towers: and so may all high Hils be called indifferently; and therefore we may better give the name of *Baris* to the Hils of *Caucasus* (out of which *Indus* riseth) than to any Hils of *Armenia*. For those of *Caucasus* in the East, are undoubtedly the highest of *Asia*.

Fourthly, the Authours themselves do not agree in what Region the Mountaines *Gordiæi* stand: for *Ptolomie* distinguisheth the Mountains of *Armenia* from the *Gordiæan*, and calleth those of *Armenia Moschici* and *Paryardes*, as aforesaid. Now *Paryardes* is seated neer the middle of *Armenia*, out of which on the West-side riseth, *Euphrates*, and out of the East-side, *Araxis*: and the Mountains *Moschici* are those Hils which disjoyn *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* (now the Country of the *Georgians*) from *Armenia*.

‖. XIII.

Of the contrary situation of Armenia, to the place noted in the Text: and that it is no marvaile that the same Ledge of Hils running from Armenia to India, should keep the same name all along: and even in India be called Ararat.

LAstly, we must blow up this Mountain *Ararat* it self, or else we must dig it downe, and carry it out of *Armenia*, or finde it elsewhere, and in a warmer Country, and (withal) set it East from *Shinaar*; or else we shall wound the Truth it self with the weapons of our own vain imaginations.

Therefore to make the mistaking open to every eye, we must understand, that *Ararat* (named by *Moses*) is not any one Hill, so called, no more than any one Hill among those Mountains which divide *Italy* from *France*, is called the *Alpes*: or any one among those which part *France* from *Spain* is the *Pyrenian*; but as these, being continuations of many Hils, keep one name in divers Countries: so all that long Ledge of Mountains, which *Plinie* calleth by one name *Taurus*, and *Ptolomie* both *Taurus*, *Niphates*, *Coatras*, *Coronus*, *Sariphi*, until they encounter and cross the Mountains of the great *Imaus*, are of one general name, and are called the Mountaines of *Ararat* or *Armenia*, because from thence or thereabout they seem to arise. So all these Mountaines of *Hyrcania*, *Armenia*, *Coraxis*, *Caspii*, *Moschici*, *Amazonici*, *Heniochi*, *Scythici*, (thus diversly called by *Plinie* and others) *Ptolomie* cals by one name *Caucasus*, lying between the Seas *Caspium* and *Euxinus*: as all those Mountaines which cut asunder *America*, even from the new Kingdome of *Granado*, to the streight of *Magellan*, are by one name called *Andes*. And as these Mountains of *Ararat* run East and West, so do those marvailous Mountaines of *Imaus* stretch themselves North and South; and being of like extent well-neer, are called by the name of *Imaus*, even as *Plinie* called these former Hills *Taurus*, and *Moses* the hils of *Ararat*. The reason of several names given by *Ptolomie*, was, thereby the better to distinguish the great Regions and Kingdoms, which these great Mountains bound and dissever; as *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, *Media*, *Susiana*, *Persia*, *Parthia*, *Caramania*, *Aria*, *Margiana*, *Bactria*, *Sogdiana*, and *Paropanisus*: having

Plinie in his description of *Lycia*. l. 5. c. 27.

ving all these Kingdoms either on the North or South side of them. For all the mountains of *Asia* (both the less and the greater) have three general names, (to wit) *Taurus*, *Imaus*, and *Caucasus*: and they receive other titles, as they sever and divide particular places and Regions. For these Mountains which sunder *Cilicia* from the rest of *Asia* the less on the North side, are called *Taurus*; and those Mountains which part it from *Comagena* (a Province of *Syria*) are called *Amanus*: the mountains called *Taurus* running East and West, as *Imaus* doth North and South. Through *Taurus* the River of *Euphrates* forceth her passage, leaving the name of *Amanus* to the Mountains on her West-bank, and on her East side the Mountains are sometimes known by the name of *Taurus*, (as in *Ptolomie*'s three Tables of *Asia*) and sometimes *Niphates*; (as in the fourth) retaining that uncertain appellation so long as they bound *Armenia* from *Mesopotamia*: and after the River of *Tygris* cutteth them asunder, they then take the name of *Niphates* altogether, until they separate *Assyria* and *Media*; but then they call themselves *Coatras*, though between the upper and nether *Media*, they do not appear, but altogether discontinue. For at *Mazada* in *Media* they are not found, but run through the Easterne *Media* by pieces: in the middle of which Region they call themselves *Orontes*, and towards the East part *Coronus*; out of the Southerne part whereof the River of *Bagradus* riseth, which divideth the ancient *Persian* from *Caramania*: and then continuing their course Eastward by the name of *Coronus*, they give to the *Parthians* and *Hyrcanians* their proper Countries. This done, they change themselves into the mountains of *Sariphi*, out of which riseth the River *Margus*, afterward yeelding her self to *Oxus* (now *Abia*): and drawing now neer their waies end, they first make themselves the South border of *Bactria*, and are then honoured with the Title of *Paropanisus*; and lastly of *Caucasia*, even where the famous River of *Indus*, with his principal companions *Hydaspis* and *Zaradrus*, spring forth and take beginning. And here do these Mountains build themselves exceeding high, to equal the strong Hils called *Imaus* of *Scythia*, which encounter each other in 35, 36, and 37. degrees of Latitude, and in 140. of Longitude: of the which the West parts are now called *Delamuer*, and the rest *Nagracot*; and these Mountains in this place onely are properly called *Caucasi* (saith *Ptolomie*) that is, between *Paropanisus* and *Imaus*: and improperly, between the two Seas of *Caspium* and *Pontus*. *Ptol. tab. Asiæ.*

‖. XIV.

Of the best Vine naturally growing on the South side of the Mountains Caucasi, and toward the East Indies: and of other excellencies of the soile.

NOw in this part of the World, it is where the Mountain and River *Janus*, and the Mountain *Nyseus* (so called of *Bacchus Niseus* or *Noah*) are found: and on these highest Mountains of that part of the world did *Goropius Becanus* conceive that the *Ark* of *Noah* grounded after the Floud; of all his conjectures the most probable, and by best reason approved. In his *Indoscythia* he hath many good Arguments, though mixt with other fantastical opinions of this subject. And as the same *Becanus* also noteth, that as in this part of the World are found the best Vines: so it is as true, that in the same Line, and in 34, 35, & 36. degrees of Septentrional Latitude, are the most delicate Wines of the World, namely, in *Judæa*, *Candia*, and other parts of *Greece*: and likewise in this Region of *Margiana*: and under these Mountains *Strabo* affirmeth, that the most excellent Vines of the World are found; the clusters of Grapes containing two Cubits of length: and it is the more probable, because this place agreeth in Climate with that part of *Palestina*, where the searchers of the land, by *Moses* direction, found bunches of equal bigness at *Escol*. *Num.* 13. 24.

The fruitfulnes of this place (to wit) on the South bottome of these Hils, *Curtius* witnesseth. For in *Margiana* neer the Mountains of *Meros* did *Alexander* feast himselfe and his Army ten daies together, finding the most delicate Wine of all other.

‖. XV.

The conclusion, with a brief repeating of divers chief points.

AND therefore to conclude this opinion of *Ararat*, it is true, that those Mountains do also traverse *Armenia*: yea, and *Armenia* it selfe sometime is knowne by the name

L. 5. c. 27. name of *Ararat*. But as *Plinie* giveth to this ledge of high Hils, even from *Cilicia* to *Paroponisus* and *Caucasus*, the name of *Taurus*: and as the Hils of *France* and *Germanie* are called the *Alpes*: and all between *France* and *Spain* the *Pyrenes*: and in *America* the continuation of Hils for 3000 miles together, the *Andes*: so was *Ararat* the general name which *Moses* gave them; the diversity of appellations no otherwise growing, than by their dividing and bordering divers Regions and divers Countries. For in the like case do we call the Sea, which entreth by *Gibraltar*, the *Mediterran* and inland Sea; and yet where it washeth the Coasts of *Carthage*, and over against it, it is called *Tyrrhenum*: between *Italy* and *Greece*, *Ionium*: from *Venice* to *Durazzo*, *Adriaticum*: between *Athens* and *Asia*, *Aegeum*: between *Sestus* and *Abydus*, *Hellespont*: and afterward *Pontus*, *Propontis*, and *Bosphorus*. And as in these, so is the Ocean to the North-east part of *Scotland* called *Deucaledonycum*: and on this side, the *Brittain* Sea: to the East, the *Germane* and *Baltick*, and then the *Frozen*.

For a final end of this question, we must appeal to that Judge, which cannot erre, even to the Word of Truth, which in this place is to be taken and followed according to the plain sense: seeing it can admit neither distinction, nor other construction than the words bear literally, because they are used to the very same plain purpose of a description, and the making of a true and precise difference of places. Surely, where the sense is plain (and being so understood, it bringeth with it no subsequent inconvenience or contrariety) we ought to be warie, how we fancie to our selves any new or strange exposition; And (withal) to resolve our selves, that every word (as aforesaid) hath his weight in Gods Book. And therefore we must respect and reverence the testimonies of the Scriptures throughout, in such sort as Saint *Augustine* hath taught us touching the Gospel of CHRIST JESUS (which is) *Nequis aliter accipiat (quod narrantibus Discipulis Christi) in Evangelio legerit, quàm si ipsam manum Dei, quam in proprio corpore gestabat, conspexerit*; *That no man otherwise take or understand that which he readeth in the Gospel (the Disciples of Christ having written it) than if he had seen the very hand of the Lord, which he bare in his own body, setting it down.*

Gen. c. 11. v. 2. The words then of *Moses* which end this dispute, are these: *And as they went from the East, they found a Playne in the land of Shinaar, and there they abode:* which proveth without controversie, that *Nimrod*, and all with him, came from the East into *Shinaar*; and therefore the *Arke* of *Noah* rested and tooke land to the East-ward thereof. For we must remember, that in all places whersoever *Moses* maketh a difference of Countries, he alwaies precisely nameth toward what quarter of the world the same were seated: as where he teacheth the plantation of *Joctan*, he nameth *Sephar*, a Mount in the East: where he remembreth *Cains* departure from the presence of God, he addeth; *And* CAIN *dwelt in the land of Nod towards the East-side of Eden:* And when he describeth the Tents and Habitations of *Abraham* after he departed from *Sechem*, he useth these words; *Afterwards removing thence unto a mountain East-ward from* Bethel, *he pitched his Tents: having Bethel on the West side, and Hai on the East:* and afterward in the ninth Verse of the same Chapter it is written; *And* ABRAHAM *went forth journying towards the South:* also when *Ezechiel* prophecieth of *Gog* and *Magog*, he sheweth that these Nations of *Togorma* were of the North quarters: and of the Queene of *Saba* it is written, that *she came from the South to visit* SOLOMON: And the *Magi* (*or wisemen*) *came out of the East to offer presents unto Christ*. And that all Regions, and these travailes were precisely set downe upon the points of the Compasse and quarters of the world, it is most manifest: for *Eden* was due East from *Judæa*; *Saba* South from *Hierusalem*: the way from *Bethel* to *Egypt* directly South; and the *Cælocyrians*, the *Tubalines* and *Magogians* inhabited the Regions directly North from *Palestina*, and so of the rest. But *Armenia* answereth not to this description of *Shinaar* by *Moses*. For to come out of *Armenia*, and to arrive in that Valley of *Babylonia*, is not a journying from the East, nor so neer unto the East as the North: for *Armenia* is to the West of the North it selfe; and we must not say of *Moses* (whose hands the holy Ghost directed) that he erred *toto cælo*, and that he knew not East from west. For the body of *Armenia* standeth in forty three degrees Septentrionall, and the North part thereof in forty five; and those *Gordiæan* Mountains, whereon it was supposed that the *Ark* rested, stand in fortie one. But *Babylonia*, and the valley of *Shinaar* are situated in thirtie five; and for the Longitude (which maketh the difference betweene East and West) the *Gordiæan* Mountaines stand in 75. degrees, and

Gen. 10. 30. Gen. 4. 16. Gen. 12. 8. Ezek. 38. 6. Matth. 12. 42. Matth. 2. v. 1.

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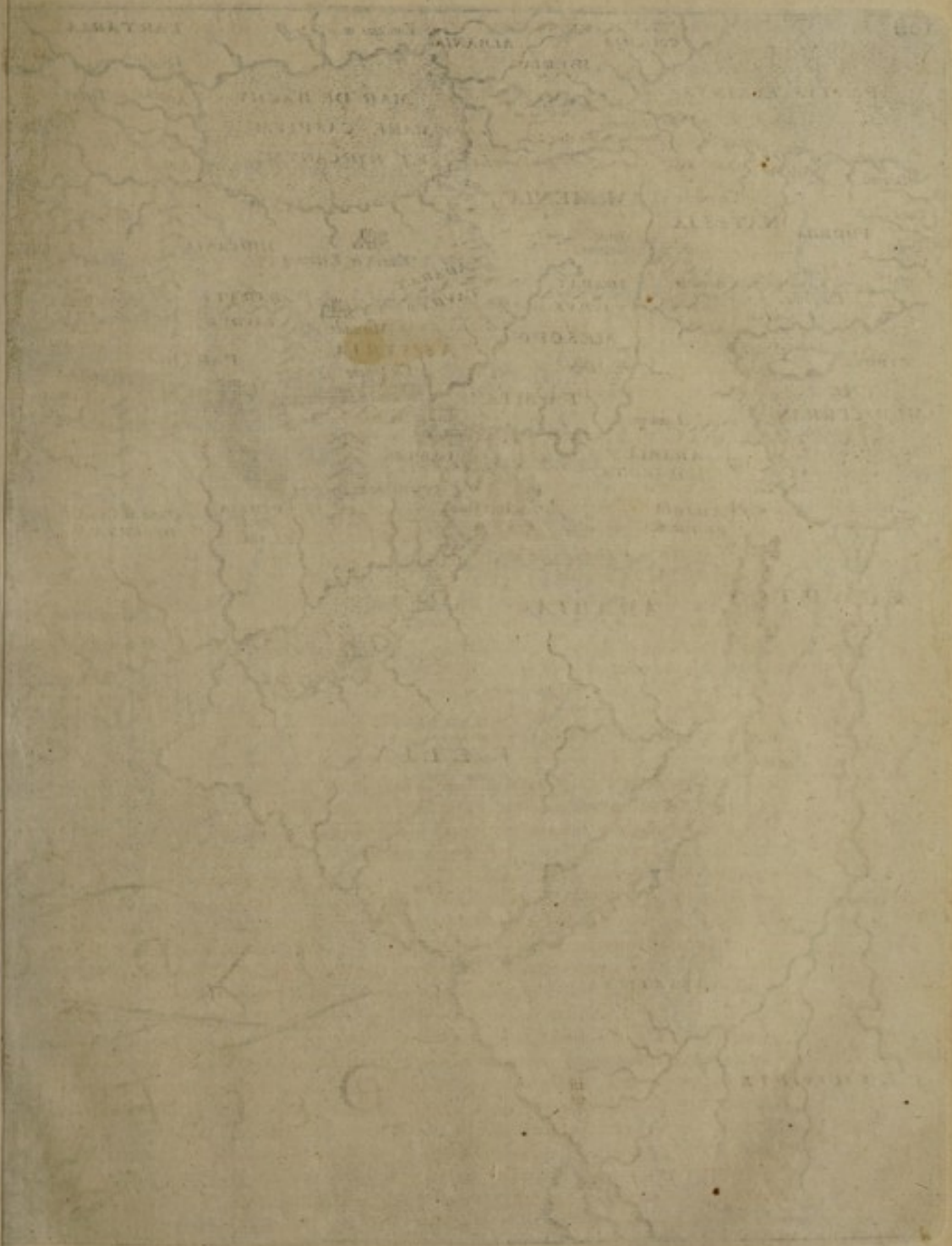

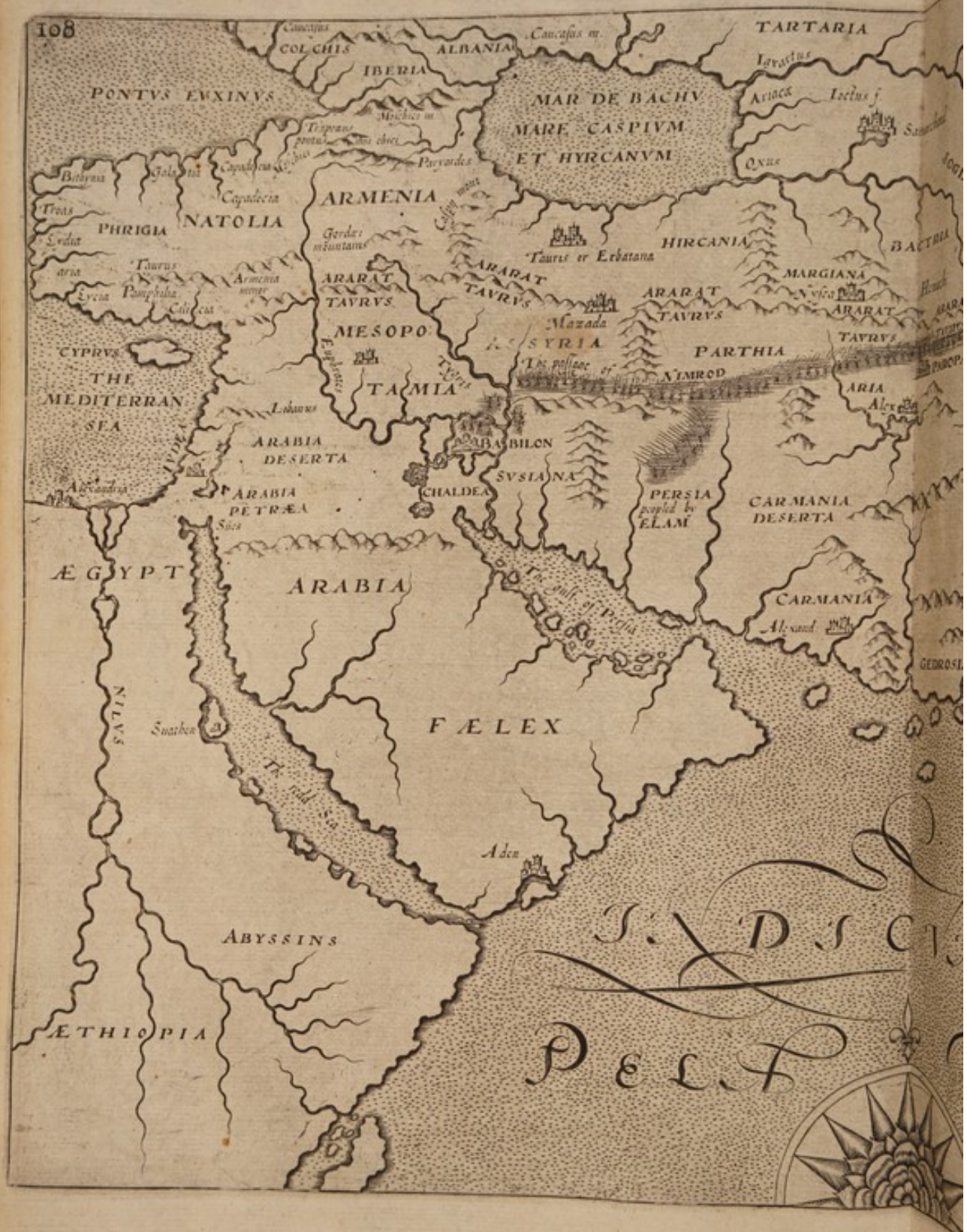
TARTARIA
Caucasus m.
COLCHIS
ALBANIA
IBERIA
PONTVS EVXINVS
MAR DE BACHV
MARE CASPIVM
ET HYRCANVM
Iaxartus
Ariaca
Oxus
Paryardes
Bithynia
Troas
PHRIGIA
NATOLIA
Capadocia
ARMENIA
Taurus
Lycia
Pamphilia
Armenia minor
ARARAT
TAVRVS
MESOPO
TAMIA
Tauris or Erbatana
HIRCANIA
MARGIANA
BACTRIA
Mazada
SYRIA
PARTHIA
NIMROD
ARIA
CYPRVS
THE
MEDITERRAN
SEA
Libanus
ARABIA
DESERTA
ARABIA
PETRÆA
BABILON
SVSIANA
CHALDEA
PERSIA
peopled by
ELAM
CARMANIA
DESERTA
CARMANIA
Alexand
ÆGYPT
ARABIA
FÆLEX
NILVS
Suathen
Aden
ABYSSINS
ÆTHIOPIA

TARTARIÆ
PARS
SIVE SCYTHIA IN
TRA IMAVM
IMAVS
SCYTHIA
EXTRA
IMAVM
Nagratet
SOGDIANA
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ARARAT
TAVRVS
CAVCASI
PAROPANISVS
Alex
Bucep
ARACAN
The passage of Ophir & Hauilah into India
INDIA INTRA
GANGEM
INDIA EXTRA
GANGEM
Alexandria
GANGES
GEDROSIA
CAMBAIA
BENGALA
NARSINGA
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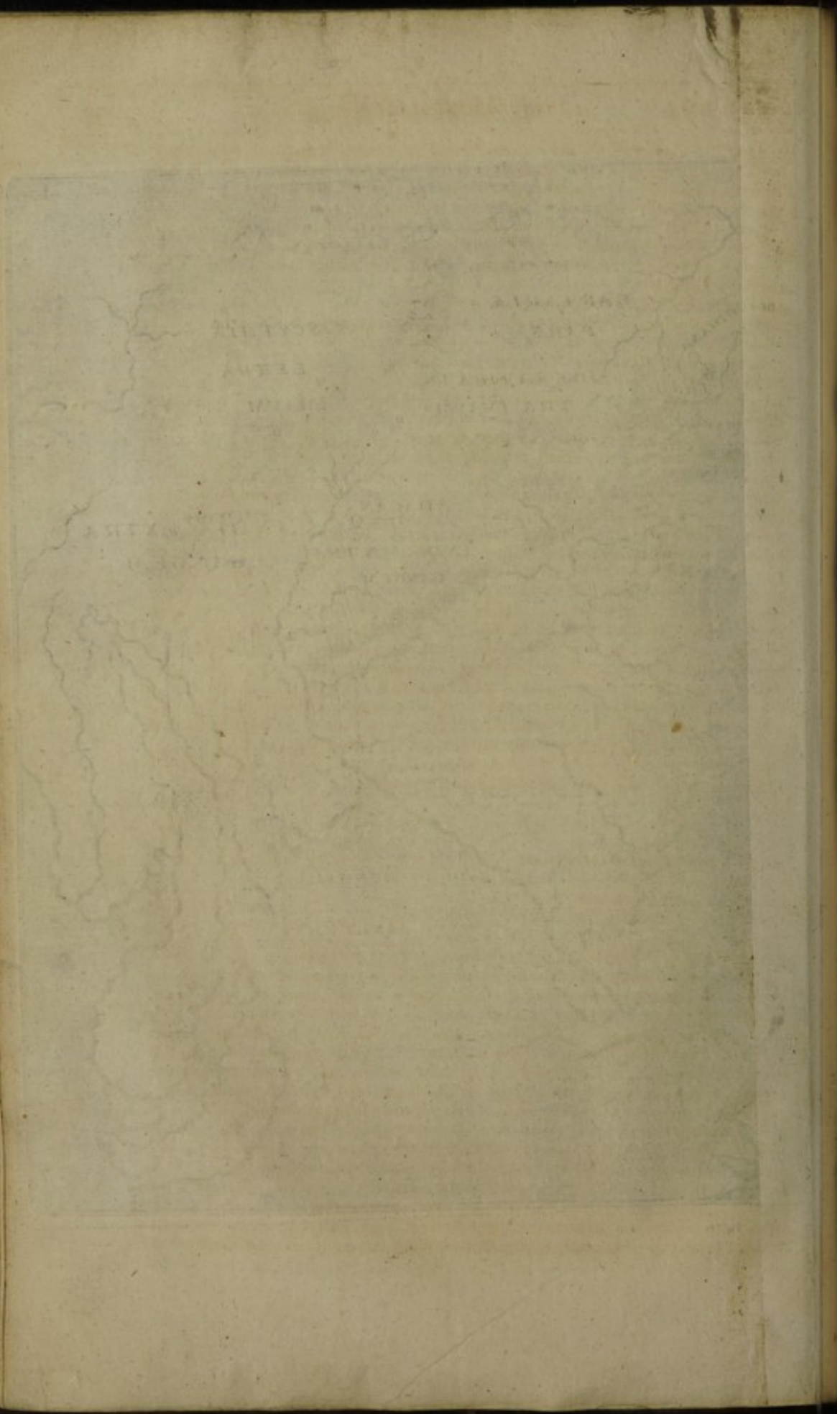

the valley of *Shinaar* in 79. and 80. And therefore *Armenia* lieth from *Shinaar* North-west, ninety five degrees from the East; and if *Armenia* had been but North, yet it had differed from the East one whole quarter of the compasse. But *Gregory* and *Hierome* warne us, *In Scripturis ne minima differentia omitti debet: nam singuli sermones, syllabæ, apices, & puncta in divina Scriptura plena sunt sensibus; In the Scriptures the least difference may not be omitted: for every speech, syllable, note, or accent, and point in divine Scriptures are replenished with their meanings.* And therefore seeing *Moses* teacheth us that the children of *Noah* came from the East, we may not believe Writers (of little authority) who also speak by hear-say and by report, *ut fertur, & ut dicitur*, as *Berosus* and *Nicolaus Damascenus*, determining herein without any examination of the Text, at all adventure. But this is infallibly true, that *Shinaar* lyeth West from the place where the *Ark* of *Noah* rested after the floud; and therefore it first found ground in the East, from whence came the first knowledge of all things. The East parts were first civill, which had *Noah* himself for an instructer: and directly East from *Shinaar* in the same degree of 35. are the greatest grapes, and the best wine. The great Armies also which overtopped in number those millions of *Semiramis*, prove, that those parts were first planted. And whereas the other opinion hath neither Scripture nor Reason sufficient: for my self I build on his words, who in plain terms hath told us, that the sons of *Noah* came out of the East into *Shinaar*, and there they abode. And therefore did the *Arke* rest on those Eastern mountains, called by one generall name *Taurus*, and by *Moses* the mountains of *Ararat*, and not on those mountaines of the North-west, as *Berosus* first feigned, whom most part of the Writers have followed therein. It was, I say, in the plentifull warm East where *Noah* rested, where he planted the Vine, where he tilled the ground and lived thereon. *Placuit vero* Noacho *agriculturæ studium, in qua tractanda ipse omnium peritissimus esse dicitur: ob eamq; rem sua ipsius lingua* Ish-Adamath (*hoc est*) *telluris vir appellatur celebratusq; est, The study of Husbandry pleased* Noah (saith the excellent learned man Arias Montanus) *in the knowledg and order of which, it is said that* Noah *excelled all men: and therefore was he called in his own language a man exercised in the earth.* Which also sheweth, that he was no wanderer; and that he troubled not himself with the contentions beginning again in the World, and among men, but stayed in his destined places, and in that part of the World where he was first delivered out of the prison of the *Arke*, whereinto God had committed him, to preserve him and mankind.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the first planting of Nations after the Floud; and of the Sonnes of NOAH, SHEM, HAM, *and* JAPHET, *by whom the Earth was re-peopled.*

§. I.

Whether SHEM *and* HAM *were elder than* JAPHET.

OF these Sons of *Noah*, which was the eldest, there is a question made. S. *Augustine* esteemed *Shem* for the eldest, *Ham* for the second, and *Japhet* for the youngest: and herein the opinions of Writers are divers. But this we finde every where in the Scriptures, and especially in *Moses*, that there was never any respect given to the eldest in years, but in vertue; as by the examples of *Henoch*, *Abraham*, *Jacob*, and *David*, is made manifest. In a few words, this is the ground of the controversie; The *Latine* translation, and so the *Geneva*, hath converted this Scripture of *Genesis* the 10. *v.* 21. in these words: *Unto* SHEM *also the Father of all the Sonnes of* HEBER, *and elder brother of* JAPHET, *were children born.* But *Junius* agreeing with the *Septuagint*, placeth the same words in this manner: *To* SHEM *also the Father of all the Sons of* HEBER, *and brother of* JAPHET *the eldest Sonne, were children borne:* So the transposition of the word (*elder*) made this difference. For if the word (*elder*) had followed after *Japhet*, as it is in the vulgar translation placed before it, then had it been as plain for *Japhet*, as it is by these translations for *Shem*. Now (the matter being otherwise indifferent) seeing Gods blessings are not tyed to first and last in

Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 16. c. 3

bloud, but to the eldest in piety, yet the arguments are stronger for *Japhet* than for *Shem*. And where the Scriptures are plainly understood without any danger or inconvenience, it seemeth strange why any man of judgment should make valuation of conjecturall arguments, or mens opinions. For it appeareth that *Noah* in the five hundreth year of his life, begat the first of his three Sons, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*: and in the six hundreth year (to wit) the hundreth year following, came the general floud; two years after which, *Shem* begat *Arphaxad*, which was in the year 602. of *Noahs* life, and in the year of *Shem's* life one hundred: so as *Shem* was but 100. years old, two years after the Floud: and *Noah* begat his first borne being 500. years old, and therefore were *Shem* the elder, he had then been an hundred years old at the floud, and in the six hundreth year of *Noahs* life, and not two years after. Which seeing the Scriptures before remembred hath denied him, and that it is also written: *Then* NOAH *awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger sonne had done unto him (to wit)* HAM; of necessity the first place doth belong to *Japhet*. This *younger son*, so converted by the vulgar and *Geneva*, *Junius* turns it *filius minimus*, *His youngest son*; but S. *Chrysostome* takes it otherwise, and finds *Cham* to be the middle or second brother, and *Japhet* the youngest sonne of all: which *Cham* for his disobedience and the contempt of his Father (whose nakednes he derided) was dis-inherited, and lost the preeminencie of his birth, as *Esau* and *Ruben* did. *Pererius* conceiveth that *Ham* was called the younger in respect of *Shem* the eldest, but avoweth withall, that the *Hebrew* hath not that precise difference of *younger* and *youngest*, because it wanteth the comparative degree. It is true that *Shem* himself was alwaies named in the first place, yet whereas in the first verse of the tenth Chapter of *Genesis*, *Shem* is accounted before *Iaphet*: in the second verse *Moses* leaveth to begin with the issue by *Shem*, and reciteth the children of *Iaphet* first. So the first place was given to *Shem* for his election and benediction, and for this weighty respect, that the *Hebrew* Nation, *Abraham*, the *Prophets*, *David*, and *Christ* our Saviour were descended of him. And therefore, whether we shall follow the vulgar *Pagninus*, and the *Geneva*, who agree in this conversion, SHEM *Frater* JAPHET *major*; or with the *Septuagint*, *Iunius* and *Tremelius*, SHEM *fratris* JAPHET *majoris*; or with *Pererius*, SHEM *frater* JAPHET *ille magnus*: inferring that *Shem* was the great and famous brother of *Iaphet*, let the Reader judge. But for ought that I have seen to the contrary, it appeareth to me that *Iaphet* was the eldest. For where *Pererius* qualifieth the strength of the former argument, That *Shem's* age at the time of the floud did not agree with the eldership (with a supposition that the Scriptures took no account of smaller numbers) I do not finde in the Scriptures any such neglect at all: for it is written, that SHEM *was an hundred years old, and begat* ARPHAXAD *two years after the floud*; and again in the 12. verse: *So* SHELA *lived after he begat* EBAR, *four hundred and three years, &c.* so as the number of two years, of three years, of five yeares, and afterward of two yeares, were alwayes precisely accounted.

Gen. 11. 10.

Gen. 9. v. 24.

In Gen.

Gen. 11. v. 16.

§. II.

Of divers things that in all reason are to be presumed, touching the first planting of the world; as that all Histories must yeeld to MOSES: *that the world was not planted all at once, nor without great direction: and that known great Lords of the first Ages were of the issue of* HAM.

BUt let us goe unto the Worlds plantation after the floud, which being rightly understood, we shall finde that many Nations have supposed or feigned themselves those Ancestors and Fathers, which never saw or approached the bounds of their Countries, and of whom they are by no way or branch descended. For it is plain in the Scriptures how the sons & issues of *Noah* were distributed, and what Regions were first planted by them, from whence by degrees the rest of the world was also peopled. And if any prophane Author may receive allowance herein, the same must be with this caution, that they take their beginning where the Scriptures end. For so far as the story of nations is therein handled, we must know, that both the truth & antiquity of the books of God find no companions equal, either in age or authority. All record, memory, & testimony of antiquity what soever, which hath come to the knowledg of men, the same hath

have bin borrowed thence, & therfore later than it, as all careful obſervers of time have noted: among which thus writeth *Euſebius* in the *Proeme* of his Chronology: MOSES *is found more ancient than all thoſe whom the Grecians make moſt ancient, as* HOMER, HESIOD, *and the Trojan Warre; and farre before* HERCULES, MUSÆUS, LINUS, CHIRON, ORPHEUS, CASTOR, POLLUX, ÆSCULAPIUS, BACCHUS, MERCURIUS, *and* APOLLO, *and the reſt of the Gods of the Nations, their Ceremonies, or holy Rites, or Prophets: and before all the deeds of* JUPITER, *whom the Greeks have ſeated in the top and higheſt Turret of their Divinity.*

For of the three *Jupiters* remembred by *Cicero*, the ancienteſt was the ſon of *Æther* whoſe three ſons begotten on *Proſerpina*, were borne at *Athens*, of which *Cecrops* was the firſt King: and in the end of *Cecrops* time did *Moſes* bring the children of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt: Eduxit* MOSES *populum Dei ex Egypto noviſſimo tempore* CECROPIS *Athenienſis Regis*; MOSES *brought the children of Iſrael out of Egypt in the laſt dayes of* CECROPS *King of the Athenians*, ſaith S. *Auguſtine:* and yet was not *Cecrops* the Founder of the Citie it ſelf, but *Theſeus* long after him. But becauſe the truth hereof is diverſly proved, and by many learned Authors, I will not cut aſunder the purpoſe in hand, by alledging many authorities in a needleſſe queſtion, but leave it to the proper place. *Cicero de Nat. Deorum l. 3.* *De civit. Dei l. 18. c. 11.*

The Sons of JAPHET were,
- *Gomer*,
  - The Sonnes of GOMER were,
    - *Askenaz*,
    - *Riphath*,
    - *Togorma*,
- *Magog*,
- *Madai*,
- *Javan*,
  - The Sonnes of JAVAN were,
    - *Eliſha*,
    - *Tarſhis*,
    - *Kittim*, and
    - *Dodanim*.
- *Tubal*,
- *Meſhach*, and
- *Tirus*.

First, we are to conſider, that the world after the floud was not planted by imagination, neither had the children of *Noah* wings to fly from *Shinaar* to the uttermoſt border of *Europe*, *Africa*, and *Aſia*, in haſte, but that theſe children were directed by a wiſe Father, who knew thoſe parts of the World before the floud, to which he diſpoſed his children after it, and ſent them not as diſcoverers, or at all-adventure, but aſſigned and allotted to every Son and their iſſues, their proper parts. And not to hearken to fabulous Authors, who have no other end than to flatter Princes (as *Virgil* did *Auguſtus* in the fiction of *Æneas*) or elſe to glorifie their own nations; Let us build herein upon the Scriptures themſelves, and after them upon Reaſon and Nature. First therefore we muſt call to mind and conſider, what manner of face the Earth every where had in the 130. year after the great inundation, and by comparing thoſe fruitfulleſt Vallies with our own barren and cold ground, inform our ſelves thereby, what wonderful Deſarts, what impaſſable faſtneſs of woods, reeds, bryars and rotten graſſe, what lakes and ſtanding pools, and what mariſhes, fens, and bogs, all the face of the Earth (excepting the mountains) was peſtered withall. For if in this our Climate (where the dead and deſtroying Winter depreſſeth all vegetative and growing Nature, for one halfe of the year in effect) yet in twenty or thirty years, theſe our grounds would all overgrow and be covered (according to the nature thereof) either with woods, or with other offenſive thickets and buſhments: much more did all ſorts of plants, reeds, and trees, proſper in the moſt fruitful Vallies, and in the Climate of a long and warm Summer, and having withall the ſtart of 130. years to raiſe themſelves without controlement.

This being conſidered, it will appear, that all theſe people which came into *Shinaar*, and over whom *Nimrod* either by order or ſtrength took the Dominion, did after the confuſion of Languages, and at ſuch time as they grew to be a mighty people, diſperſe themſelves into the Regions adjoyning to the ſaid Valley of *Shinaar*, which contained the beſt part of *Meſopotamia*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldæa*; and from the borders thereof in time they were propagated, ſome of them towards the South, others towards the Weſt and North. And although there were allotted to *Shem* many Regions, both Eaſt and Weſt from *Shinaar*, with the Dominion of *Paleſtina*, which the *Cananites* firſt poſſeſt; yet could he not enjoy the Lot of his Inheritance on the ſudden, but by time and degrees. For we finde, that *Abraham*, the true ſucceſſour of *Shem*, dwelt in

Chaldæa at *Ur*; and from thence (called by God) he rested at *Charran* in *Mesopotamia*: from whence after the death of *Thare* he travailed to *Sichem* in *Palestina*; and yet there had passed between *Shem* and *Abraham* (reckoning neither of themselves) seven Descents, before *Abraham* moved out of *Chaldæa*; where, and in Babylonia, all those people by *Nimrod* commanded, inhabited for many yeares, and whence *Nimrod* went out into *Assyria*, and founded *Ninive*. Indeed the great Masters of Nations (as far as we can know) were, in that Age of the issues of *Ham*; the blessing of God given by *Noah* to *Shem* and *Japhet* taking lesse effect, untill divers years were consumed; and untill the time arrived, which by the wisedome of God was appointed. For of *Chus*, *Mizraim*, and *Canaan*, came the people and Princes, which held the great Kingdomes of *Babylonia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt* for many Descents together.

§. III.

Of the Isles of the Gentiles in JAPHETS *portion: of* BEROSUS *his too speedy seating* GOMER *the sonne of* JAPHET *in Italy; and another of* JAPHETS *sons* TUBAL *in Spaine: and of the Antiquity of Longinque Navigation.*

TO begin therefore (where *Moses* beginneth) with the sonnes of *Japheth* among whom the Isles of the *Gentiles* were divided: which division, as well to *Japhets* sonnes as to the rest which came into *Shinaar*, was (if the division were made at *Phalegs* birth) in the year of the World 1757. or 1758. and (by that account) in the years after the Floud one hundred and one, of which question elsewhere.

The habitations proper to the sons of *Japhet* were the Isles of the *Gentiles*, which include all *Europe* with all the Islands adjoyning, and compassing it about: *Europe* being also taken for an Island, both in respect that the Sea *Hellespont* and *Ægeum*, *Bosphorus* and *Euxinus* cut it off from the great Continent of *Asia*, as also because *Europe* it self is (in effect) surrounded with water, saving that it is fastned to *Asia* by the North, for it hath those Seas before named to the East, the *Mediterran* to the South and Southwest, the Ocean to the West, and *Brittish*, *Germane*, and *Baltick* Sea, with that of *Glaciale* to the North North-east, and North-west. Besides, it hath about it all the *Cyclades* or Isles lying between *Greece* and the lesser *Asia*, and the Isles of *Rhodes*, *Cyprus*, *Crete*, or *Candia*, *Sicilia*, *Corsica*, *Sardinia*, *Malta*, the Isles of *Brittannie* and *Zealand*, with their young ones adjacent.

This partition and portion of *Japheth*, with the part which he held in *Asia*, and the North, which was also very great, answereth to that blessing of God by *Noah*, *Dilatet Deus* JAPHETH; *Let God spread abroad* (or increase the Posterity of) JAPHETH, *and let him dwell in the Tents of* SHEM. For though *Junius* here useth the word (*alliciat*) and not *dilatet:* and the *Geneva persuadeat*; yet the Septuagint have *dilatet* or *amplificet*; and such was the blessing given to our Fathers, which God promised to *Abraham* and his seed for ever. And the dwelling in the Tents or Tabernacles of *Shem* was a blessing by God to the Posterity of *Japheth:* noting not only an enlargement of Territories, but that thereby they should be made participant of Gods Church. But to come to *Japhets* sonnes, of whom *Gomer* is the eldest. This *Gomer* (if we may believe *Berosus* and *Annius*, whose authority the greatest number of all our late Writers have followed) did in the tenth year of *Nimrods* Reign depart from Babylonia, and planted *Italy:* which also *Functius* confirmeth in these words, *Anno decimo* NIMRODI, *&c. In the tenth year of* NIMRODS *Reigne*, GOMERUS GALLUS *planted a Colonie in that Land afterward called Italy: and in the twelfth yeare of the same* NIMRODS *Reigne* TUBAL *seated himselfe in Austuria in Spaine* (*now called* Biscay) *which was in the* 140. *and in the* 142. *yeares after the Floud, according to* BEROSUS. But this opinion is very ridiculous. For before the confusion of Tongues, the children of *Noah* did not separate themselves, at least so many of them as came with *Nimrod* into *Shinaar*. Let us therefore consider with reason, what time the building of such a City & Tower required, where there was no prepared matter, nor any ready meanes to performe such a work as *Nimrod* had erected (and as *Functius* himself out of his Author *Berosus* witnesseth) *ad altitudinem & magnitudinem montium; To the height and magnitude of the mountaines.* Sure that both this City and Tower was almost builded, the Scriptures witnesse: *but the*

Gen. 9. v. 27

Funct. Chronol.

the Lord came downe to ſee the Citie and Tower which the Sonnes of men had builded. Let us then but allot a time ſufficient for the making of brick to ſuch a Work, of the greateſt heighth (and therefore of circuit and foundation anſwerable) that ever was. For where the univerſall Floud covered the higheſt Mountains fifteen Cubits; *Let us build us a Citie and Tower* (ſaith NIMROD) *whoſe top may reach unto the Heaven:* meaning, that they would raiſe their work above fifteen Cubits higher than the higheſt Mountaine, otherwiſe they could not aſſure themſelves from the fear of a ſecond inundation: a great part whereof was finiſhed before it fell, and before they left the work. They alſo began this building upon a ground, the moſt oppreſſed with waters of all the world: as by the great ruine which theſe waters, forcibly over-bearing and over-flowing, made in the time of the ſucceeding Emperours, is made manifeſt, approved alſo by the Prophet *Jeremy*, ſpeaking of Babylon in theſe words: *Thou that dwelleſt upon many waters.* It cannot be doubted but that there needed a ſubſtantiall foundation for ſo high a raiſed building on a mariſh ground: and to which, *Glycas* upon *Geneſis* giveth forty years. For it ſeemeth, that the Tower was near finiſhed when God overthrew it: it being afterward written, *So the Lord ſcattered them from thence upon all the Earth, and they left to build the City.* Out of which place it may be gathered (becauſe the Tower is not then named) that they very near had performed the work of their ſuppoſed defence, which was the Tower: and that afterward they went on with the City adjoyning, wherein they inhabited. It is alſo to be noted, that till ſuch time as this confuſion ſeized them (whereupon the Tower was thrown down) theſe nations did not diſperſe themſelves: for *from thence the Lord ſcattered them upon all the Earth*, (that was) when they perceived not one anothers ſpeech. Now to think that this work in the newneſſe of the World (wanting all inſtruments and materials) could be performed in ten years; and that *Tubal* and *Gomer* in the ſame year could creep through 3000. miles of Deſart, with Women, Children, and Cattell: Let thoſe light believers, that neither tye themſelves to the Scripture, nor to reaſon, approve it, for I doe not. And if the Arke of *Noah* was 100. years in building, or but near ſuch a time, (and then) when the World had ſtood 1556. years, it were more than fooliſhneſſe and madneſſe it ſelf, to think that ſuch a work as this could be performed in ten; when the World (from the floud to the arrival at Babel, and beginning of this building there) had but 131. yeares, and whereof they had ſpent ſome part in travailing from the Eaſt. Againe, if all *Aſia* ſet to their helping hands in the building of the Temple of *Diana*, and yet they conſumed in that Work 400. years (or be it but halfe that time) and in ſuch an Age as when the World flouriſhed in all ſorts of Artificers, and with abundant plenty of materials & carriages: This work of the Tower of Babel could hardly (with all the former wants ſuppoſed) be erected in thoſe few years remembred. And for concluſion, let all men of judgment weigh with themſelves how impoſſible it was for a nation or family of men, with their Wives, and Children, and Cattell, to travaile 3000. miles through Woods, Bogs, and Deſarts, without any Guide or Conductor; and we ſhall finde it rather a work of 100. years than of 100. dayes. For in the Weſt *Indies*, of which the *Spaniards* have the experience, in thoſe places where they found neither path nor guide, they have not entred the Country ten miles in ten years. And if *Nimrods* people ſpent many yeares by the account before remembred in paſſing from the Eaſt *India*, or the higher part thereof, which ſtandeth in 115. degrees of Longitude, untill they came into *Shinaar*, which lyeth in 79. degrees (the diſtance between thoſe places containing 36. degrees, which makes 720. leagues, which is 2160. miles) and did all the way keep the mountains and hard ground; then the difference between *Babylon* and *Biſcay* is much more: for the body of *Biſcay* lyeth in ten degrees, and *Babylon* or *Shinaar*, (as aforeſaid) in 79. ſo the length of way from *Shinaar* to *Auſturia* or *Biſcay* is 69. degrees, which make 1380. leagues, or of miles 4140. And therefore if *Nimrod* took divers years to finde *Shinaar*, which was but 2160. miles: or (ſuppoſing that the Ark reſted in *Armenia*) little above 400. miles: there is no cauſe to the contrary, but to allow as many years to *Gomer* and *Tubal* to travaile 3000. miles, to Countries leſs known unto them by far, than the Land of *Shinaar* was to *Nimrod*. For *Paradiſe* was known to *Noah* before the Floud: and ſo was the Region of *Eden* by *Moſes* afterward remembred; but what he underſtood of moſt part of the World elſe it is unknowne. And therfore did *Annius* ill adviſe himſelfe to plant *Gomer* in *Italy*, and *Tubal* in *Spaine*, in the tenth and twelfth of *Nim-*

Gen. c. 11.

Gen. 11.

Plin.

Isa.66.v.8. rods Reigne: *Shall the Earth be brought forth in one day, or shall a Nation be borne at once?* But it may be objected, That the Sons of *Japheth* might come by Sea, and so save this great travail through Desarts by Land. But we never read of any Navigation in those dayes, nor long after. Surely he that knoweth what it is to imbark so great a people as we may justly suppose those Conducters carried with them, will not easily believe that there were any Vessels in those daies to transport Armies, and (withall) their cattell, by whose milk they lived and fed their children: For milk and fruit were the banquetting dishes of our Fore-Fathers. And in the eldest times, even the Kings and Fathers of Nations valued themselves by the Herds and numbers of their Cattell: who had Flocks of Sheep, and great Droves, and Herds of their owne, and their own Sheepherds and Herdsmen. Now if *Tubal* had past by Sea from any part of *Palæstina*, *Syria*, or *Cilicia*, he might have made good choice within the Streights, and not have overgone *Granado*, *Valentia*, and other Provinces in that Tract: past the Streights of *Gibralter*, disdained all *Andalusia* and *Portugal*, with all those goodly Ports and Countries; and have sought out the iron, woody, and barren Country of the world (called *Biscay*) by a long and dangerous Navigation. But before the journey of the *Argonautæ*, there were scarce any Vessels that durst cross the Seas in that part of the World: and yet that which *Jason* had (if the Tale be true) was but a Galley, and a poore one (God knows) and perchance such as they use this day in *Ireland:* which although it carried but four and fifty Passengers, yet it was far greater than any of the former times: *Erat enim antea parvarum navicularum usus: For in former times they used very small Vessels.* I deny not but that the *Tyrians* gave themselves of old to far-off Navigations, whence *Tibullus* ascribed the invention of Ships to them:

Diod.Sicul.l.4. c.4.fol.115.

Tibull. Eleg.7. Strabo.l.16.

Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyros.
Tyrus knew first how Ships might use the Wind.

Diod.Sicul.l.1. Plin.l.7.cap.56 And for those Boats called *longæ naves*, or Gallies, *Pliny* saith that *Ægesias* ascribeth the device to *Paralus:* and *Philostephanus* to *Jason: Ctesias* to *Samyras*; and *Saphanus* to *Semiramis: Archimachus* to *Ægeon:* to which invention the *Erythræi* are said to have added certain numbers of Oares: and then *Aminocles* the *Corinthian* to have increased them: the *Carthaginians* afterwards to have brought them to foure Banks: the *Quinq;* *Remi* first to have been used by *Nesichthon* the *Salaminian*, with which Vessels in those parts of the World, the *Romanes* served themselves in the *Punick* War. But these be perhaps but the partialities of Writers, or their ignorance. For there are that as constantly cast the devising of these Gallies on *Sesostris*, though *Semiramis* used them in the passage of her Atmy over *Indus* in *Abrahams* time. So it is said, that *Danaus* was the first that brought a Ship into *Greece:* and yet the *Samothracians* challenge the invention; and yet *Tertullian* (on the contrary) gives it to *Minerva:* others to *Neptune*; *Thucydides* to the *Corinthians*. And so ignorant were the people of those Ages, as the Egyptians used to coast the shores of the Red Sea upon raffes, devised by King *Erythrus*: and in the time of the *Romanes*, the *Britans* had a kinde of Boat (with which they crost the Seas) made of small twigs, and covered over with leather: of which kind I have seen at the *Dingle* in *Ireland*, and elsewhere. *Naves excorio circumsutæ in Oceano Britannico* (saith *Textor:*) of which *Lucan* the Poet:

Thucid.

Plin.l.7.c.56. Euseb. de præp. Evang. c.1. Tert.de Coron. mil.

Primum cana salix, madefacta vimine parvam
Texitur in puppim, cæsoq; induta juvenco,
Vectoris patiens tumidum superenatat amnem.
Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, fusoq; Britannus
Navigat Oceano.

The moistned Osyer of the hoary Willow
Is woven first into a little Boat:
Then cloath'd in Bullocks hide upon the billow
Of a proud River, lightly doth it float
Under the Waterman:
So on the Lakes of over-swelling *Poe*
Sailes the *Ventian:* and the *Britain* so
On th'out-spread Ocean.

And

And although it cannot be denyed, when *Noah* by Gods inſpiration was inſtructed in ſo many particulars concerning the *Arke*, that then many things concerning Navigation were firſt revealed; yet it appears that there was much difference between the *Ark* of *Noah*, and ſuch Ships as were for any long Navigation. Yea, ancient Stories ſhew, that it was long after theſe times, ere any durſt preſume upon any long voyages to Sea, at leaſt with multitudes of Women, and Children, and Cattell: as alſo common reaſon can tell us, that even now when this Art is come to her perfection, ſuch Voyages are very troubleſome and dangerous. So as it doth appeare, that there was not in that Age of *Nimrod* any Ship, or uſe of Ships fit for any long Navigation. For if *Gomer* and *Tubal* had paſſed themſelves and their people by Sea; the excerciſe of Navigation would not have beene dead for ſo many hundred yeares after. Leaving therefore the fabulous to their Fables, and all men elſe to their fancies, who have caſt Nations into Countries far off, I know not how, I will follow herein the Relation of *Moſes* and the Prophets: to which Truth there is joyned both Nature, Reaſon, Policie, and Neceſſitie: and to the reſt, neither probabilitie, nor poſſibilitie.

§. IV.

Of GOG *and* MAGOG, TUBAL, *and* MESHECH, *ſeated firſt about Aſia the leſſe; out of* EZECHIEL, CAP. 38. 39.

NOw although many learned and reverend men have formed (I know not where by led) a Plantation of the World, which alſo hath been and is received; yet I hope I may be excuſed, if I differ altogether from them in many particulars. Certainly, that great Learned man of this latter Age, *Arias Montanus* was alſo in ſome things much miſtaken: and for *Joſephus*, as he hath many good things, and is a Guide to many errours withall; ſo was he in the Plantation of the World very groſſe and fabulous; whereby both *Euſebius*, *Hieroſolymitanus*, *Epiphanius*, and others, that have taken his teſtimonies for currant, have beene by him farre miſſe-led. But the better to conceive what Regions of the World *Gomer* the firſt ſonne of *Japheth* poſſeſt, as alſo *Tubal*, it is needfull to begin with *Magog:* becauſe the Scriptures take moſt knowledge of *Gog* and *Magog*: which two names have troubled many Commentators, ſaith *Matth: Beroaldus*, who hath laboured herein with great diligence, and whom (of all that ever I read) I find moſt judicious in the examination of this Plantation. He takes authoritie from the Prophet *Ezechiel* chiefly, who in the 38. and 39. Chapters directeth us, what Nations the *Gomerians*, *Tubalines*, *and Togormians* were, together with the *Magogians:* of which *Gog* was Prince or Chiefe Conductor in their Attempts againſt *Iſrael*. For beſides the portions of *Europe*, and the North-eaſt parts of the greater *Aſia*, which *Japheths* Iſſues poſſeſt, all *Aſia* the leſſe was peopled by them. And that thoſe of the Iſſue of *Japheth* (whom *Ezechiel* ſpeakes of) were ſeated hereabout, it may beſt appeare, if we conſider the circumſtances of the place, and the dependencie upon the former Propheſie in the 37. Chapter. For in that 37. Chapter, *Ezechiel* propheſieth of the uniting of the two Kingdomes of *Iſrael* and *Juda*, after their deliverie from captivitie. c. 37. v. 19.

By which Propheſie of *Ezechiel*, it appeareth, that God purpoſed to gather together his people, to give life to dead bones, & to rule them by one Prince. For to that purpoſe it is written; *And* DAVID *my Servant ſhall be King over them, and they ſhall have one Sheepheard*, (that is) they ſhall be united as they were in *Davids* time. Hereupon in the 38. Chapter, *Ezechiel* propheſieth againſt thoſe Nations, which ſhould ſeeke to impeach this Union, and diſturbe the people of *Iſrael*, whom God purpoſed to receive to grace, and promiſed to reſtore. And ſo in the ſame Chapter are thoſe Nations coupled together, which infected the *Iſraelites* after their returne, and ſought to ſubject them: all which were the Subjects or Allies of *Gog*, Prince of the *Magogians*, or *Cœloſyrians*, next bordering *Paleſtina*, or the holy Land, followed alſo by the reſt of the Nations of *Aſia* the leſſe, which lay North from *Judea*. The words of *Ezechiel* are theſe: *Son of man, ſet thy face againſt* GOG, *and againſt the Land of* MAGOG, *the chiefe Princes of* MESHECH (or MOSOCH) *and* TUBAL: and afterward; *Behold, I come againſt the chiefe Prince of* MESHECH *and* TUBAL: and in the ſixth verſe; GOMER *and all his Bands, and the Houſe of* TOGORMA *of the North quarters.* Herein *Ezechiel* having firſt delivered c. 38. v. 2.

the

the purpose of his Prophecie, teacheth what Nations they were that should in vanitie assayle *Israel*. He joyneth them together under their Prince *Gog*, and sheweth that their habitations were on the North quarters of *Juda*, and how seated and joyned together. *Gog* signifieth in the *Hebrew* (saith Saint *Hierome*) *tectum* or *covering of a house*: and *Pintus* upon *Ezechiel* affirmeth, that by *Gog* is meant *Antichrist*: for (saith he) *Antichristus*
In Ezech. *erit Diaboli tegumentum sub specie humana*: *That Antichrist shall be the covering of the Devill under humane forme*. He addeth, that *Magog* is as much to say as *Gog*: the Letter (M) being an *Hebrew* Preposition, and importeth as much as *of*, or, *from*: so he taketh *Magog* for those people which follow *Antichrist*. So far *Pintus*; at least in this not amisse, that he expoundeth *Magog* not for any one person, but for a Nation: with which agreeeth this observation of *Beroaldus*, *Magog* (saith he) in *Hebrew* is written *Ham-Magog*, which sheweth *Magog* to be a Region or Nation: for the Letter (*He*) which is used but for an *Emphasis* (which the *Hebrewes* call *Heliajedia*) is never added to proper names of men, but often to place. So as *Gog* was Prince of that Nation (called either *Magog*, or, according to others, the people of *Gog*) also Prince of *Meshech*, (or *Mosoch*) and of *Tubal*: as by the first Verse of the 29 Chapter is made manifest: *Behold I come against thee* GOG *the chiefe Prince of* MESHECH *and* TUBAL. This must needes be meant by the Successours of *Seleucus Nicanor*, who did not (as other conquering Nations) seeke to make the *Jewes* their Tributaries only, but indeavoured by all means, and by all kinde of violence to extinguish the Religion it selfe (which the *Hebrewes* profest) and the acknowledging of one true God: and to force them to worship and serve the mortall and rotten gods of the Heathen; of which nothing remained but the very name, and dead
L. 2. de Fide. Images. Saint *Ambrose* and *Isidore* take *Gog* for the Nation of the *Goths*: belike, because they invaded *Europe*, and sacked *Rome*, and many other places and Cities thereabout. *Hermolaus Barbarus* out of *Pomp. Mela* drives the *Turkes* from the *Scythians*, esteemed *Magogians* of *Gog*. Many take *Gog* for the proper name of a Man: others of a Region: others for a Nation inhabiting a Region, as *Junius*, who sayes that *Gog* is the name of a Nation, denominated from him whom the *Greekes* Stories call *Gyges*: who in former time having slaine *Candaules* the *Lydian*, gave his owne name to that Nation, thence after called *Gygades*: and thereof also the *Gygean* Lake; which Lake *Strabo* also findeth
Strab. lib. 13. in *Lydia*, (of which *Gyges* was King) fortie Furlongs from *Sardis*. *Plinie* calleth it *Gygeum stagnum*. *Herodotus* and *Nicander* set it about the Rivers of *Hillus*, and *Mænander*; but the difference is not great. *Marius Niger* maketh mention of this *Gyges* King of *Lydia*: who after he had subdued the Gountrey about the River *Rhodius* which runneth into the *Hellespont*, called the Promontorie *Trapese* after his owne name *Gyges*.
Said. Col. 207. These Opinions doe also seeme to strengthen that of *Junius*. For *Magog*, saith he, is that part of *Asia* the lesse, which *Halyattes* obtained, and after him his Son *Crœsus*;
Jun. in Ezec. 38 who (as *Junius* further notes) having mastred all those Regions as farre South as *Libanus*, in that Border built the Citie *Gigarta* or *Gogkarta* (which in the *Syrian* signifieth the Citie of *Gog*) seated in *Cœlosyria*, whose people were the ancient Enemies of the *Jewes*.

Now that *Magog* is found in *Cœlosyria*, *Plinie* affirmeth, saying; *Cœlosyria habet Bambycen, quæ alio nomine Hierapolis vocatur*: *Syris verò, Magog*; *Cœlosyria hath in it Bambyce, which by another name is called Hierapolis, but of the Syrians, Magog*. He further telleth us that the monstrous Idoll *Atergatis*, called by the *Greekes Derceto*, was here worshipped. *Lucian* makes mention hereof, saying, that the Citie had anciently another name, which he yet expresseth not; forbearing perhaps the word *Magog*, as sounding nothing ele-
Strab. l. 16. gantly in the *Greeke*. But if we may beleeve *Strabo*, then was *Edessa* in *Mesopotamia* the same *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis*, where the same Idoll was worshipped. *Ortelius* is doubtfull whether one of these Authors did not mistake the place of this *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis*. It may well enough be, that the same name and Religion was common to them both. Certaine it is, that both of them lay due North from *Palæstina*, and were both subject unto the Kings of the Race of *Seleucus*. Now I do not condemne the Opinion of *Hermolaus Barbarus* following *Josephus*, but grant that perhaps *Magog* might also be the Father of the *Scythians*; notwithstanding that in this place, where *Gog* is made the Prince of *Magog*, the Nations of *Cœlosyria*, and the North parts adjoyning be meant by *Magog*: for by a latter Plantation from these parts they might bee propagated into *Scythia*. Yet it is not to be denyed, that the *Scythians*

in

in old times coming out of the North-eaſt waſted the better part of *Aſia* the leſs, and poſſeſt *Cœloſyria*, where they built both *Scythopolis* and *Hierapolis*, which the *Syrians* call *Magog*. And that to this *Magog* *Ezechiel* had reference, it is very plain: for this Citie *Hieropolis* or *Magog* ſtandeth due North from *Judæa*, according to the words of *Ezechiel*, that from the North quarters thoſe Nations ſhould come. For as the Kings of the South which infeſted the *Iſraelites* were the *Ptolomies*, Kings of *Egypt*: ſo thoſe of the North were the Kings of *Aſia* and *Syria*, the Succeſſors of *Seleucus*, the Succeſſors of *Alexander Macedon*. *Gulielmus Tyrius* thinks that this *Hierapolis* is that *Rages*, mentioned in the Storie of *Tobias*. *Plinie* takes it not onely to have been called *Bambyce*, as we have ſaid, but alſo *Edeſſa*: not that by *Euphrates*; but another of the ſame name: now the known name is *Aleppo*: for ſo *Bellonius* expounds this *Hierapolis*, or *Magog*. This Citie had the Title of Sacred, as the Sacred Citie, (for ſo the word *Hierapolis* ſignifieth) yet was it a place of moſt deteſted Idolatry, and wherein was worſhipped the Idol of the Mermayde *Atergatis*, or *Atergitis*, according to *Plinie*, which the *Greeks* call *Dercето*. *Lib. 4. cap. de bello Sacro.*

If then we confer the words of *Ezechiel* in the third verſe of the thirty eight Chapter, wherein he joyneth together *Gog*, *Meſhech* and *Tubal*; and withal remember that *Hierapolis* was the Citie of *Magog*, which alſo is ſeated directly North from *Judæa*: with whom alſo *Ezechiel* coupleth *Gomer*, and all his bands of the North quarters; we may (as I conceive) ſafely conclude, that theſe Followers and Vaſſals of *Gog* (which were Northern Nations in reſpect of *Judæa*) were not the *Gomerians* of *France*, nor the *Tubalines* of *Spain*, but a people of the leſſer *Aſia*, and *Cœloſyria*: and therefore that the opinions of *Beroſus*, *Ioſephus*, and whoſoever elſe hath followed them therein, are to be rejected. But if *Ioſephus* refer himſelf to later times, and think that ſome *Colonie* of the *Tubalines* might from *Iberia* and *Aſia* paſſe into *Spain* (to wit) from that piece of Land between *Colchis* (or *Mengrelia*) and *Albania*, (moſt part poſſeſt by the *Georgians*) then is his judgement of better allowance. For without any repugnancy of opinions, it may be granted, that in proceſs of time theſe people might from their firſt habitation, paſs into the Countries neer the *Euxine* Sea, and from thence in after-Ages into *Spain*.

Ioſephus makes mention of the *Iberi*, ſaying, that they were anciently called *Thobelos*; as of *Tubal*; from whence (ſaith *Iuſtine*) *they paſſed into Spaine to ſearch out the mines of that Region*: having belike underſtood that it was a Southerly Countrie, and Mountainous. For it ſeemeth that the *Tubalines* called *Chalybes* lived altogether by the exchange of Iron, and other Metals, as *Apollonius* witneſſeth in theſe following Verſes, telling how the *Argonautes* did viſit them:

Hæc gens tellurem rigido non vertit aratro,
Sed ferri venas ſcindit ſub montibus altis:
Mercibus hæc mutat, quæ vitæ alimenta miniſtrant.

The *Calybes* plough not their barren ſoyle,
But undermine high Hils for Iron Veins:
Changing the purchaſe of their endleſs toyle
For Merchandize, which their poor lives ſuſtains.

But it is more probable, that *Spain* was firſt peopled by the *Africans*, who had ever ſince an affection to return thither, and to re-people it anew. This appeared by the *Carthagimians* of old, who were eaſily drawn to paſs over the Streights into that Country: and after by the Moors who held *Granado*, and the South parts eight hundred yeers, till the time of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel*. And either of theſe opinions are more probable, than that in the twelfth yeere of *Nimrods* Reigne, *Tubal* paſt into *Spaine*, and therein built Saint *Uval*: a poor Town, and a poor device, God knowes. Certain it is, that we muſt finde *Moſhoch* or *Meſhech*, and *Tubal* Neighbours, and *Gomer* and *Togarma* not far off, or elſe we ſhall wrong *Ezechiel*: for he called *Gog* the Leader or Prince of *Meſhech* and *Tubal*, and maketh *Gomer* and *Togarma* their aſſiſtants. And that *Meſhech* inhabited *Aſia*, *Funckius* (though he followed *Beroſus*) confeſſeth, for theſe be his words: MESACUS, *qui à* MOSE MESECH, *priſcos Meſios ab Adula monte uſque ad Ponticam regionem poſuit: hæc regio poſteà Cappadocia dicta eſt, in qua urbs Mazaca, &c. hæc eſt terra* MAGOG *principalis*; MESACUS, *whom* MOSES *calleth* MESECH, *placed the ancient Meſians*

Mesians from the Mount Adulas, unto the Coasts of Pontus. This Region was afterward called Cappadocia, in which is the Towne Mazica, &c. this is the principall Countrey of MAGOG. And this doth *Annius* also avow, and yet forgets that *Gog* was Prince both of *Mesech* and *Tubal:* and therefore that the one was a Nation of *Spaniards*, the other of *Cappadocians*, is very ridiculous: *Spain* lying directly West, & not North from *Judæa*: Also *Ezechiel* in the 27. Chapter, where he prophecieth of the destruction of *Tyre*, nameth *Mesech* and *Tubal* joyntly. And for a finall proofe, that these Nations were of a Northern Neighbour Land (how farr soever stretched) *Ezechiel* in the 38. Chapter makes them all Horsemen. *Thou, and much people with thee, all shall ride upon Horses, even a great multitude and a mightie.* Then if any man beleeve that these troups came out of *Spain over the Pyrenes*, and first passed over a part of *France*, *Italie*, *Hungarie*, and *Sarmatia*, and imbarqued againe about the *Hellespont*, or else compassed all *Pontus*, and *Euxinus*, to come into the lesser *Asia*, which is halfe the length or compasse of the then known World; he may be called a strong beleever, but he shall never be justified thereby. But on the contrarie, it is knowne, that *Seleucis* was a Province neighbouring *Palæstina* or *Judæa*, and that *Hierapolis* (or *Magog*) joyned unto it: whose Princes commanded all *Syria*, and *Asia* the lesse, (namely; the *Seleucida*) and held it, till *Scipio Asiaticus* overthrew *Antiochus* the Great: after which they yet possest *Syria* till the time of *Tigranes:* and whether *Mesbech* be in *Cappadocia*, or under *Iberia*, yet is it of the *Tubalines*, and one and the same Dominion.

Of *Gomer* the like may be said. First, he seated himselfe with *Togorma*, not far from *Magog* and *Tubal*, in the borders of *Syria* and *Cilicia*. Afterward he proceeded further into *Asia* the lesse; and in long tract of time his valiant Issue filled all *Germanie*, rested long in *France* and *Brittanie*, and possessed the utmost borders of the earth, accomplishing (as *Melanthon* well notes) the signification of their parents name, which is *Utmost bordering*. But when these borderers wanted further place, wherein they might exonerate their swelling multitudes that were bounded in by the great *Ocean*, then did they returne upon the Nations occupying the Countries, through which they had formerly passed, oppressing first their Neighbours, afterwards the people more remote. Hereupon it was (as the worthy restorer of our Antiquities M. *Willian Cambden* hath noted) that they were called *Cimbri*, which in their old Language doth signifie Robbers; necessity inforcing them to spoyle their Neighbours, to whom in their originall they were as neere joyned, as afterwards in the feates which they possessed. For that the Warlike nations of *Germany* were in elder Ages accustomed to be beaten by the *Gaules*, the authoritie of *Cæsar* affirming it, is proofe sufficient. But in times following they persued richer Conquests, and more easie though further distant, by which (to omit their other enterprises not here to be spoken of) they were drawne at length into *Asia* the lesse, and occupyed those parts, which had formerly beene held by their Progenitours. I say not that they claymed those Lands as theirs by Descent; for likely it is, that they knew little of their owne Pedigree. Neyther can any man therefore deny, that they were of old seated in *Asia*, because in late Ages they returned thither; unless he will think, that all those Nations which from far parts have invaded and conquered the Land of *Shinaar*, may by that Argument be proved not to have issued from thence at the first.

Now concerning *Samothes*, for his excellent wisdome sirnamed *Dis*, whom *Annius* makes the Brother of *Gomer* and *Tubal* (which Brother, *Moses* never heard of, who spake his knowledge of *Japhets* sons) they must finde him in some old Poet: for *Functius*, a great *Berosian*, confesseth: *Quis hic* Samothes *fuerit incertum est*; *Who this* Samothes *was, it is uncertain*; neither is there any proof that he was that same *Dis*, whom *Cæsar* saith the *Gaules* suppose to be their Ancestor; yea, and *Vignier* confesseth with *Functius*: *Mays on ne scayt qui il estoit*; *No man knows who he was.*

In Chron. Cæsar. Comment Vigni. part. 1. Chron.

§. V.

Against the fabulous Berosus *his fiction, That the Italian* Janus *was* Noah.

BUt before I go on with *Noah* his Sonnes, I thinke it is necessarie to disprove the fiction which *Annius* hath of *Noah* himselfe; an invention (indeed) very ridiculous, though warranted (as hee hath wrested) by those Authors of whom him

himselfe hath Commented: as the Fragment of *Berosus*, *Fabius*, *Pictor*, *Cato*, *Lavinius* and others. For *Annius* seeks to perswade us, that *Noah* (surnamed *Janus*) was the same which founded *Genoa*, with other Cities in *Italie*, wherein he lived 92. yeeres. This to disprove, by *Moses* silence, is a sufficient argument to me, if there were nothing else to disprove it. For if he vouchsafed to remember the building of *Babel*, *Erec*, *Achad*, *Chalne* and *Nineve* by *Nimrod*, *Noah* was a man of too great marke to be forgotten, with all the acts he did in 92. yeeres. But it were a needlesse labour for me to disprove the authoritie of that *Berosus*, on whom *Annius* groundeth, seeing so many learned men have so demonstratively proved that Fragment to be counterfeit. Besides that, *Tatianus* the *Assyrian*, in his Oration against the *Greekes*, avoweth, that the ancient and true *Berosus* wrote onely three Bookes, dedicated to *Antiochus* the successor of *Seleucus Nicanor*: but *Annius* hath devised five Bookes, wherewith he honoureth *Berosus*. And whereas *Berosus* handled only the estate of the *Chaldæans* and *Assyrians*, *Annius* hath filled this Fragment with the businesse of all the World. And if we may beleeve *Eusebius* better than *Annius*, then all the Kings of the *Latines* (before *Æneas*) consumed but 150. yeeres: whereas no man hath doubted, but that from *Noah* to *Æneas* arrivall into *Italy* there past 1126. (after the least rate of the *Hebrew* account) and (after *Codoman*) 1291. For *Ianus* (who was the first of their Kings) lived at once with *Ruth*, who married *Booz* in the worlds yeare (as some reckon) 2717. after the Floud 1064. and *Noah* dyed 350. yeares after the Floud: and so there past betweene *Ianus* of *Italie* and *Noah* surnamed *Ianus* 704. yeeres. For *Saturnus* succeeded *Ianus*, *Picus* after *Saturnus*, *Fannus* after *Picus*, and *Latinus* followed *Fannus*; which *Latinus* lived at once with *Tautanes* the 27. King of *Assyria*; with *Pelasgus* of *Peloponnesus*; with *Demophoon* of *Athens*; and *Sampson* Judge of *Israel*. Now all these five Kings of the *Latines* having consumed but one hundred and fiftie yeares, and the last of them in the time of *Sampson*: then reckoning upwards for one hundred and fiftie years, and it reacheth *Ruth*, with whom *Ianus* lived.

Ann. de Hetrus. Pict. de aur. sæculo. Cato de origen. Lavin. illust. de Gall.

Joseph. l. 1.

True it is, that the *Greekes* had their *Ianus*; but this was not *Noah*: so had they *Ion* the son of *Xuthus*, the son of *Deucalion*, from whom they draw the *Iones*, who were indeed the children of *Iavan*, the fourth son of *Iapheth*. For the vulgar Translation (where the *Hebrew* word is *Iavan*) writes *Greece*, and the *Septuagint*, *Hellas*; *which is the* same. So had they *Medus* the son of *Madea*, whom they make the Parent of the *Medes* though they were descended of a farre more ancient Father, (to wit) *Madai* the third son of *Iapheth*.

Ezec. 27. 19, 13. and so the place of *Esay 66. 19.* (for *Javan*) *Hellada*: and (for the plural *Javamin*) *Hellenæ*.

Lastly, we see by a true experience, that the *Brittish* Language hath remained among us above 2000. yeeres, and the *English* speech ever since the invasion of the *Angles*, and the same continuance have all Nations observed among themselves, though with some corruption and alteration. Therefore it is strange if either *Noah* (by them called *Ianus*) had left in *Italie* his Grand-child *Gomer* after him, or *Tubal* in *Spaine*, that no plaine resemblance of the *Hebrew*, *Syrian*, or *Scythian* (which no time could have quite extinguished) should have beene found in the Languages of those Countries. For which reasons we doubt not but these personall Plantations of *Ianus*, *Gomer*, *Tubal*, *&c. in Italie*, *Spaine*, or *France*, are meerely fabulous. Let the *Italians* therefore content themselves with the *Græcian Ianus* which commanded them and planted them, and who preceded the fall of *Troy* but 150. yeeres (saith *Eusebius*) which was in the time of *Latinus*, the fift King: which also Saint *Augustine* and *Iustine* confirme: and this agreeth with reason, time, and possibilitie. And if this be not sufficient to disprove this vanity, I may out of themselves adde thus much: That whereas some of them make *Vesta* (*others Camasena*) the wife of this *Ianus*, who instituted the holy Fire of the *Vestal Virgins* in *Rome* (the *Latines* and *Romans* taking from *Ianus* all their Idolatrous and Heathenish Ceremonies) there is no man so impious, as to beleeve that *Noah* himselfe (who is said by *Moses* to *have walked with God*, to be a just man, and whom God of all Mankind made choice of) could be either ignorant of the true and only God, or so wicked and ungratefull, to set up or devise any Heathen, Salvage, or Idolatrous adoration, or have instituted any Ceremonie, contrary to that which he knew best pleasing to God himselfe.

§. VI.

§. VI.

That GOMER *also and his son* TOGORMA *of the Posterity of* JAPHETH, *were first seated about Asia the lesse: and that from thence they spred Westward into Europe, and Northward into Sarmatia.*

TO turne now to the sons of *Noah*, and the Worlds Plantation after the Floud: therein I observe, that as both reason and necessitie taught them; so, when they multiplyed in great numbers, and dispersed themselves into the next Countries bordering to their first habitations, and from thence sent forth *Colonies* elsewhere, it was in such a manner as that they might repaire to each other, and keepe intelligence by River: becaus the Land was yet Desart, and over-prest with Woods, Reeds, Bogs, and rotten Marishes. As when *Nimrod* seated in *Babylonia*, *Chus* took the South part of *Chaldæa*, downe the River of *Gehon*, by which he might passe to and fro from *Babylon* to his own Plantation: those also, which were of the race of *Shem*, inhabiting at *Ur* or *Orchoa* neer the Lakes of *Chaldæa*, might by the same river get up to *Babylon*, and receive succour from thence. All which Tract of Land upon *Gehon* Southward, *Moses* in the description of *Paradise* calleth the Land of *Chush*: becaus the Dominion and Empire, was then in the hands of *Nimrod* a *Chusite*, by whom the children of *Shem* (which came into that Valley and stayed not in the East) were for a while oppresst, till God afterward by the seed of *Abraham* made them his owne Nation and victorious. *Havilah*, the brother of *Nimrod*, and son of *Cush*, tooke both Bankes of *Tygris*, especially on the East side of the River: by which River his people might also passe to and fro to *Babel*.

The Imperiall seat of which Region of *Havilah* or *Susian*, was anciently called *Chusian* or *Chusan*, afterward *Susa*. *Cush* himselfe tooke the Bankes of *Gehon*, and planted those Countries Westward, and Southwest-ward towards *Arabia* the Stony, and the Desart, where *Ptolomie* placeth the Citie of *Chusidia*, first *Chusia*.

Ptol. Asia. Tab. 4.

Seba, and *Sheba*, with the rest that planted *Arabia fœlix*, had *Tygris*, to convey them into the *Persian gulfe*, which washeth the bankes of *Arabia fœlix* on the East side: so as those sons of *Cush* might take Land downe the River as they pleased. Also the Citie of *Ninive* was by *Nimrod* founded on the said river of *Tygris*, and from thence a *Colonie* past to *Charran*, standing also upon a navigable branch of *Euphrates*. In like manner did *Japheths* sons settle themselves together, and tooke their seates in *Asia* the lesse: from whence they might indifferently stretch themselves Northward, and Westward, into the next parts of *Europe*, called the Isles of the *Gentiles*. And it seemeth very agreeable to reason, that both *Gomer*, *Magog*, and *Tubal*, sate downe first of all in that part of *Syria*, to the North of *Palæstina* and *Phœnicia*: and from thence *Gomer* or his children past on into *Asia* the lesse, as those of *Magog* and *Tubal* did; from whence the *Tubalines* spred themselves into *Iberia*: and the *Magogians* more Northerly into *Sarmatian*. The first *Gomerians*, and first Planters in *Asia* the lesse, held the Country of the *Cymmerians* (witnesse *Herodotus*) the same Region which was afterward by the *Gallo-Greeks* called *Galatia*, to whom Saint *Paul* wrote his Epistle so intituled. This Nation of the *Cymmerians* (whom the invincible *Scythians* afterwards dispersed, and forced from their first Plantations) gave names to divers places, as to the Mountaines about *Albania* (called *Cymmerini*) and to the City of *Cymmeris* in *Phrygia*: also *Bosphorus Cymmerius* took appellation from this Nation, in the out-let whereof was also a City of that name, called *Cymmerian*: which *Plinie* saith (mistaking the place) had sometime the name of *Cerberion*, but *Cerberion* was a Towne in *Campania*, so called of the unhealthfull waters savouring of Brimstone, which *Augustus* caused to be cleansed by letting in the water of the Lake *Lucrinus*.

Lib. 4.

The children of *Tubal* ranged as far as *Iberia*, to whom the *Moschici* were Neighbours, which others write *Meshech*. The Prophet *Ezechiel* (coupling them together) calleth *Gog* the Prince of *Meschech* and *Tubal*. For these *Meschi* (which *Ptolomie* calleth *Moschi*) inhabit *Syracena* a Province of *Armenia*, directly South from the Mountaines *Moschici*, in the Valley betweene the Mountaines *Moschici*, and the Mountaines *Pariardes*: out of whose North part springeth the River *Phasis*; from the East part *Araxis*; and from the West *Euphrates*: and of this *Meschech* are descended also the *Moscovians* (saith *Melanæthon*) and it may be, that in processe of time some of them inhabited those Regions also: For *Meshech* (saith *Melanæthon*) signifieth *extendens*, *enlarging* or *stretching forth*.

forth. Togorma alſo at firſt did inhabit amongſt his parents and kindred: The *Togormians* were alſo called *Giblei*, a people neighbouring the *Sydonians* in *Gabala*, a *Tetrarchie* of *Phœnicia*, the ſame which *Plinie* calleth *Caben*: from whence *Solomon* had his moſt excellent Maſons, which hewed ſtones for the Temple of *Hieruſalem*. Thence the *Togormians* ſtretched into the leſſe *Armenia*, whoſe Kings were hence called *Tigranes*, and their Cities *Tigranokartæ*: of which Cities *Tigranes*, ſubdued by *Lucullus* the *Roman*, built one. *Hieroſolymitanus* hath planted the *Togormians* in *Barbary*; forgetting the propheſie of *Ezekiel* againſt the *Tyrians*: *They of the houſe of Togorma, brought to thy Faires, horſes, and horſe-men, and mules*; which could not well be driven over the whole length of the Mediterran Sea, but from the neighbour Countries by land. But *Ioſephus* takes them for the parents of the *Phrygians*; which I doe not deny, but they might be in the enſuing ages: and ſo might the *Tubalines* be of the *Spaniards*; but it was from *Iberia*, and many hundred yeeres after the twelfth of *Nimrods* reigne. The *Iews* conceive that the *Turkes* came of thoſe *Togormians*, becauſe their Emperor is called *Togor*. The *Chaldæans* make them the Fathers of the *Germanes*. But *Laonicus* affirmes, that the *Turks* deſcended of the *Crim Tartar*, which borders *Muſcovia*. But for theſe ſubderivations it were infinit to examine them. Onely of the firſt and ſecond plantation, and of the firſt Nations after the floud, is the matter which I labour to diſcover; and therein to open the ignorance of ſome, and the corruption of other fabulous Writers. And this we muſt *Note*, that thoſe grand-children of *Noah* which were of a more quiet, or (perchance) of leſſe underſtanding, and had not therefore the leading of *Colonies* ſent out, their proper habitations could be hardly knowne: onely reaſon hath taught us, that they dwelt among the reſt, and were covered with the fame of others, who tooke on them the Conduction and Dominion over the reſt.

1 *Kin.* 5. 18.

Jun. in Gen. 10. *verſ.* 3.

Ezek. 27. 14.

Note.

From *Madai* the third ſon of *Iapheth*, were the *Medes*. The *Grecians* bring them (as before) from *Medus* the ſon of *Medea*.

§. VII.

Of Javan *the forth ſon of* Japheth: *and of* Meſceh *of* Aram, *and* Meſhech *of* Japheth.

OF *Iavan* the fourth ſon of *Iapheth* came the *Iones*, which were afterwards called the *Greekes*: and ſo the *Latine* and *Greek* Interpreters for *Iavan* write *Greece*, as in *Eſay*: *Et mittam ex iis qui ſalvati fuerint ad gentes, in mare, in Italiam, & Græciam: And I will ſend thoſe that eſcape of them to Nations in the Sea, in Italie and in Greece.* The *Geneva* here uſeth the word (*Tarſhiſh*) for *Tarſus*, a City in *Cilicia*, though *Tarſis* in many places be taken for the Sea. The *Tigurine* and the *Geneva* uſe the names *Tubal* and *Iavan*, and not *Italy* and *Greece*: keeping the ſame *Hebrew* words. Of the *Iones* were the *Athenians*, though themſelves dreame that they were *Aborigines*, or men without Anceſters, and growing (as it were) out of the ſoile it ſelfe: who abounding in people, ſent Colonies into *Aſia* the leſſe, of whom came the *Iones* of thoſe parts. Others derive the *Athenians* from *Ion* the ſon of *Xuthus*, the ſon of *Deucalion*; but the antiquity of *Iavan* mars the faſhion of that ſuppoſition, who ſo many yeeres preceded *Xuthus*, *Ion* or *Deucalion*. *Pauſanias* tels us that *Xuthus* ſtole out of *Theſſaly* with all his Fathers treaſure, and his Brothers portions, and arriving at *Athens*, he was graciouſly received by *Erictheus*, who gave him his Daughter in marriage; of whom he received two ſons *Ion* and *Achæus*, the ſuppoſed Anceſters of the *Athenians*: (For *Attica* was called *Ionia*, ſaith *Plutarch* in the life of *Theſeus*;) who, when he had joyned *Megara* to *Attica*, erected a pillar in that *Iſthmos* or *Strait*, which faſteneth *Peloponneſus* to the other part of *Greece*: writing on that part which looketh towards the Eaſt, theſe words: *Hæc non ſunt Peloponneſus, ſed Ionia*; *Theſe Countries are not Peloponneſus, but of Ionia*: and on the other ſide which looked towards the South, and into *Peloponneſus*, this: *Theſe parts are Peloponneſus, and not Ionia.*

Touryd.

Strabo out of *Hecatæus* affirmeth that the *Iones* came out of *Aſia* into *Greece*, which is contrary to the former opinion: That the *Iones* of *Greece* tranſporting certaine companies into *Aſia* the leſs, the name of *Iones* was thereby therein retained. And though *Strabo* knew no more thereof than he learned of the *Greeks* themſelves, yet I find this conjecture of *Hecatæus* reaſonable enough. For though it were to him unknown, yet ſure I am that *Aſia* the leſs had people before *Greece* had any: and that *Iavan* did not flie from

Babylonia into *Greece*, but tooke *Asia* the lesse in his passage; and from thence past over the neereſt way, leaving his own name to some maritimate Province on that side, as he did to that part of *Greece* so called. But yet *Strabo* himselfe beleeved, that *Ionia* tooke the name from *Ion* the son of *Xanthus*: for so much he had learned from themselves; which was also the opinion of *Pausanias*. True it is, that the *Greekes* in after-times cast themselves into that part of *Asia* the lesse, opposite unto them, which they held for divers yeeres. And howsoever the *Greekes* vaunt themselves to be Fathers of Nations, and the most ancient; yet all approved Historians (not their owne) deride and disprove their pride, and vanity therein. For this dispute of Antiquity (among prophane Writers) rested betweene the *Scythians* and the *Egyptians*, as *Iustine* out of *Trogus*, in the warre between *Vexorus* of *Egypt*, *and Tanais* of *Scythia*, witnesseth: which preceded farre the reign of *Ninus*, and was long before the name of *Greece* was ever heard of. And it is also manifest, that in *Cecrops* time the *Greekes* were all salvages, without law or religion, living like brute beasts in all respects: and *Cecrops* (saith Saint *Augustine*) lived together with *Moses*.

Lib.18. de Civ. Dei, c.10.

The sixth son of *Iapheth* was *Meshech*, whom the *Septuagint* call *Mosech*: (a part of those Nations commanded by *Gog* the chiefe Prince of *Meshech* and *Tubal*.) But this we must remember, that betweene *Mesech* the son of *Aram*, and *Meshech* (or *Mosech*) *the* son of *Iapheth*, there is little difference in name, and both by divers Interpreters diversly written. *Montanus* with the Vulgar writeth *Mesech*, the son of *Aram*, *Mes*; the *Geneva*, *Mash*; *Iunius*, *Mesch*. But it may be gathered out of the 120. *Psalme*: that either *Meshech* the son of *Iapheth*, was the parent of those people, or gave the name to that Province wherein *David* hid himselfe: or else (which may rather seeme) that it tooke name from *Mesch* the son of *Aram*. For *David* bewayling his exile (while he lived among a barbarous and irreligious People) useth these words: *Woe is me that I remaine in Mesech, and dwell in the Tents of Kedar*: which *Iunius* converteth thus: *Hei mihi quia peregrinor tam diu: habito tanquam Scenitæ Kedareni:* The *Septuagint* gives it this sense: *Woe is me because my habitation* (or abode) *is prolonged, who dwell with the Inhabitants of Kedar*: with which this of the *Latine* agreeth; *Heu mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus est, habitavi cum habitantibus Kedar*: The *Chaldæan* otherwise, and in these words: *O me miserum, quia peregrinatus sum Asianis, habitavi cum tabernaculis Arabum*; *O wretch, that* I *am, for* I *have travailed among those of Asia*: I *have dwelt in the Tabernacles of the Arabians*. But howsoever or which soever conversion be taken for the best, yet all make mention of *Kedar*: which is a Province of *Arabia Petræa*; and the *Chaldæan* putteth *Asia* in stead of *Mesech*, but the *Hebrew* it selfe hath *Mesech*. And if it be to be taken for a Nation, (as it is most likely, because it answers to *Kedar*, the name of a Nation) seeing *Mesh* the son of *Aram*, 1 Chron. 17. is called *Meshech*, it is indifferent whether this Nation took name from *Meshech* or *Mesh*, both bordering *Judæa*, and like enough to be commanded by one Prince; for so *Ezechiel* makes *Mesech* and *Tubal*. But as for those that take *Mesech* out of the word *Mosoch* (given by the *Septuagint*) to be the *Muscovian*: sure they presume much upon the affinity of names, as aforesaid. Sure I am that *David* never travelled so far North; (for to him *Muscovia* was utterly unknown) but about the border of *Kedar* (it may be) he was often in all the time of his persecution: the same being a city on the mountains of *Sanir* or *Galaad*. And yet *Arias Montanus* makes *Mosoch* the Father of the *Muscovians*: and herein also *Melanchton* runs with the tide of common opinion, and sets *Mesech* in *Muscovia*, though with some better advice of judgment; as, first seated in *Cappadocia*, and from thence travailing Northward: expounding the places of the 120. *Psalme*, (*Hei mihi quòd exulo in Mesech*) to signifie, *Gentis ejus feritatem insignem esse*; *That the ferity of that Nation exceeded*: which fiercenesse or brutality of the *Muscovians*, *David* never proved, or (perchance) never heard of. But the same ferity or cruelty which those Northern *Muscovians* had, may aswell be ascribed to the *Arabians* and *Kedarens*. For this Country tooke name of *Kedar* the second sonne of *Ismael*, of whom a people of equall fiercenesse to any of the world were begotten, both in those times and long after, even to this day (if the *Arabians*, *Ismaelites*, and *Saracens*, may be accounted one people:) the same being foreshewed by the speech of the Angell to *Hagar*, *Gen.* 16. *v.*12. *And he shall be a wilde man: his hand shall be against every man, and every mans hand against him*. Now *Arabia* the *Desart* (saith *Pliny*) confronteth the *Arabians Cochlei* on the East, and the *Cedræi* Southward, both which joyne together upon the *Nabathæi*. So it appeareth (as before

Psal.120.v.5.

Gen.25.13.

before) that *Meſech*, *Tubal*, *Gomer*, *Togorma*, and Magog, neighboured *Canaan* and *Iſrael*, and that *Kedar* alſo did joyn to *Meſech*: all which were Regions of *Syria*, or of *Aſia* the leſs, commanded by the ſucceſſours of *Seleucus*, enemies of the re-eſtabliſhment of *Iſrael* and *Juda*. But (as I have already ſaid) it might well be, that long after the firſt plantation the iſſue of *Meſech* (or *Moſoch*) might paſs into *Cappadocia*, and thence into *Hyrcania*, and give names, both to Mazega in the one, and to the mountains *Moſchici* in the other, and from thence might ſend people more northerly into *Muſcovia*, and ſo all opinions ſaved. But all ſalvage nations over-grown & uncultivated, do (for the moſt part) ſhew a late plantation, even as civility, letters, and magnificent building, witneſſe antiquity.

Tyras, the ſeventh ſon of *Japheth*, which *Montanus* reckons among the ſons of *Gomer*, was the Father of the *Thracians*, as all Authors (worthy the examination) affirm. *Joſephus* was the firſt that determined hereof: and becauſe the Scriptures are altogether ſilent, what part of the world *Tyras* peopled, the conjectures are indifferent, and give no ground at all of diſpute. It followeth now to ſpeak of the Sonnes of *Gomer*, which were three,

Aſcanez, *Riphath*, and *Togorma*.

Mont. in Chr.

§ VIII.

of Aſcanez *and* Riphath, *the two elder Sonnes of* Gomer.

Aſcanez was the Father of thoſe which the *Greeks* call *Regini*, (ſaith *Joſephus*) but he gives no reaſon why.

Euſebius makes *Aſcanez* the Father of the *Goths*. The *Jewes* in their *Thargum* make him the root of the *Germane Nation*; but their expoſitions are commonly very idle. *Pliny* findeth *Aſcania* in *Phrygia*, near the Rivers of *Hilas* and *Cios*: *Melanchton* being of the ſame opinion, that the *Tuiſcones* were deſcended of the *Aſcanez*: (for *Tuiſcones*, ſaith he, is as much to ſay, as of the *Aſcanez*, *præpoſito articulo die Aſcanez*) and that the word ſignifieth a Religious Keeper of fire: it being an ancient ſuperſtition to pray at the fire of Sacrifices, as afterwards at the Tombs of Martyrs. Not far from *Phrygia* was the lake *Aſcania*, known by that name in the *Romanes* time. And among the Kings which came to the ſuccour of *Troy*, was *Aſcanius* (*Deo ſimilis*, ſaith *Homer*) *like unto God*: becauſe he was beautifull and ſtrong: for in the ſame manner doth *Virgil* grace *Æneas*, *Os humeroſq; Deo ſimilis*; *in face and body like one of the gods*: *Virgil* alſo remembreth ſuch a River, together with the Hils *Gargara*: as, *Illas ducit amor trans Gargara*, *tranſq; ſonantem* Aſcanium; *Appetite leads them both over the mountains* Gargara, *& the roaring* Aſcanius. But this *Pliny* maketh more plain in the deſcription of *Phrygia*. For he placeth the City of *Erillion* upon the River *Aſcanius*, which is adjoyning to *Myſia*, and is near the border of the *Trojan Empire*: and the lake *Aſcanez* he directs us to finde by the deſcription of *Pruſia*, founded by *Hannibal* at the foot of *Olympus*, which lyeth far within the Countries of *Bithynia*: and then from *Pruſia* to *Nicea* are accounted 25. miles, in which way this lake lieth, even between *Pruſia* and *Nicea*. And ſo *Iunius* (as I conceive him) takes them of *Aſcanez*, to be the inhabitants of *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, and thoſe North parts of *Aſia*. *Stephanus de Vrbibus* makes it a City of *Troas*, built by *Aſcanius* the ſon of *Æneas*: ſaying, that there was another of that name in *Myſia*. Of *Aſcania* a lake of *Bithynia*, *Ptolomy* witneſſeth: and *Strabo* giveth *Aſcania* both a Lake, a River, and a Town in *Myſia*, neer unto *Cio*; which alſo agreeth with *Pliny*. For *Pliny* findeth *Pruſia* (before ſpoken of) near *Cio*, and calleth the Iſlands before *Troy*, *Aſcanes*.

Melanch. in Car. lib. 1.

Hom. Iliad. 2

Virg. Georg. l. 3.

Now, whether theſe places took name of *Aſcanez* the ſon of *Gomer*, or of *Aſcanius* the ſon of *Æneas*, it might be queſtioned: ſure it is, that *Aſcanius* which brought ſuccour to the *Trojans*, could not take his name from *Æneas* ſonne, who was then either exceeding young, or rather unborn: and it ſeemeth that the Countries whence thoſe ſuccours came, were not out of any part of *Phrygia* or *Myſia*, but farther off, and from the North parts of all *Aſia* the leſs, which by *Hieremy* is called *Aſcanez*, by the figure *Synecdoche*, as *Iunius* thinketh. Out of thoſe teſtimonies therefore which deceive not, we may confidently determine. For of the Prophet *Hieremy* wee ſhall learne of what Nation the *Aſcanez* were, whoſe words are theſe: *Set up a Standard in the Land, blow the trumpet among the Nations againſt her, call up the Kings of Ararat, Minni, and Aſcanez,* *C. 51. v. 27.*

against her, &c. meaning against the *Babylonians*. *Ararat* was *Armenia* the greater, as most Interpreters consent, so called of the mountains of *Ararat* which runne through it: *Minni* the lesser *Armenia*: *Armenia* being compounded of *Aram* and *Minni*. For *Minni* was the ancient name, (saith *Junius* and others before him:) and *Aram* anciently taken for *Syria*, which contained all that Tract from *Euphrates* to the Sea-coasts of *Phœnicia*, and *Palæstina*; and therefore *Mesopotamia* being in elder times but a Province of *Syria*, the Scriptures difference it in the story of *Jacob* and *Esau*, and call it *Aram-Padan*. Then if these two Nations were of the *Armenians* and *Ascanez* joyned with them (who altogether united under *Cyrus* and *Darius*, came to the spoile of the *Babylonian Empire*) we shall erre much to call *Askenez Germany* or *Almaine*: for we hear of no swart *Ruttiers* at that siege. But the *Askenez* were of those Nations which were either subject or allied to the *Medes*: of which if any of them came afterward into *Phrygia*, I know not: for the dispersion of Nations was in after-times without account. But for the opinion of *Eusebius*, who makes them to be *Goths*; or that of *Josephus*, who cals them *Rhegini*; or of the *Iewes*, who will have them to be *Almaines*; when they confirm it either by Scriptures or Reason, I will think as they doe.

Of *Riphath* the second son of *Gomer* there is mention in the first of *Chronicles*. *Beroaldus* and *Pererius* think that he wandered far off from the rest of his Brothers, and therefore no memory of his Plantation. But I see nothing to the contrary, but that he might seat himself with the rest of his Family: for there wanted no room or soyle in those dayes for all the Sons and Grand-children of *Noah*. Therefore I take it to be well understood, that the *Riphei* were of *Riphath*, which the *Greeks* afterwards (according to *Iosephus*) called the *Paphlagones*: and *Riphei* (saith *Melanchton*) signifieth Giants. These people were very famous in the North parts, and in *Sarmatia*: the most of number and power among them, *Sarmatarum gens maxima Heneti*, *The greatest number of the Sarmatians were the Heneti*; who spake the ancient *Polae*: which being first called *Riphei* (for the love of some of their Leaders or Kings) changed their names and became *Heneti*, (a custome exceeding common in those times) and dwelt first in *Paphlagonia*, as *Homer* witnesseth, and so doth *Apollonius* in his *Argonauticks*: Now, when these *Riphei* (afterward *Heneti*) sought new Regions, they came along the shores of *Euxinus*, and filled the North-part of *Europe*, containing *Russia*, *Lituania*, and *Polonia*. From thence they crost thwart the Land, and peopled *Illyria*, desirous (saith *Melanchton*) of a warmer soyle of fruit and wine. These *Heneti* or *Veneti*, whom *Melanchton* taketh to be one people, filled all that Land between the *Baltick* and *Adriatick* Sea; and to this day the name of the Gulf *Venedicus* is found in *Russia*. This Nation, after they were possest of *Lituania* and *Polonia*, disturbed the plantation of the *Boii* and *Hermonduri*. Therefore it seemeth to me, that of *Riphath*, came the *Riphei*, afterward *Heneti*; and so thinketh *Arias Montanus*, first seated in *Paphlagonia*, but in course of time Lords of *Sarmatia*, and those other parts before remembred, chiefly between the Rivers of *Vistula* and *Albis*. The name (saith *Melanchton*) signifieth wandering or wanderers, or *Nomades*: a people which lived by white-meats and fruits, as (indeed) all Nations did in the first Ages.

Melanch. in Carion.

Of the third son of *Gomer*, *Togorma*, I have spoken already; now therefore of *Iavans* children, which were four:

Elisa, *Tharsis*, *Cethim*, *Dodanim*.

§. IX.

Of foure sonnes of Javan: *and of the double signification of Tharsis, either for a proper name, or for the Sea,*

OF *Elisa* or *Elipha*, came the *Æoles*: and of this *Elisa*, all the *Greekes* were called *Helenes*, saith *Montanus*. *Melanchton* makes *Elisa* the Father of the *Æoles* in *Asia* side: others of *Elis* in *Peloponnesus*; or of both. And seeing the *Greekes* were descended in generall of *Iavan*, it is probable that the *Æoles* and the *Elei* took name of *Elisa* his eldest son. *Ezechiel* in the 27. speaking of *Tyre*, nameth the Isles of *Elisa*, *Hyacinthus & purpura de insulis Elisæ facta sunt operimentum tuum: blue Silke and Purple, brought from the Isles of* Elisa, *was their covering*. The *Chaldæans* for *Elisa*, write *Italia*: but the *Vulgar*, the *Tigurine*, the *Geneva*, and *Junius*, keep the word *Elisa*: and so I think they might doe with reason. For there was not found any such Purple Dye in *Italy* in

V.7.

in those daies, nor since, that I can read of: but those Isles of *Elisa*, were by a better conjecture the Iles of *Greece*; and the best Purple was found afterward at *Tyre* it self: and before that, among the *Cyclades*, and on the Coast of *Getulia*.

Tharsis, the second Son of *Iavan*, inhabited *Cilicia*, of which *Tharsis* is the Metropolis. *Montanus* for *Tharsis* in *Cilicia*, understands *Carthage* in *Africa*; but (reserving the respect due to so learned a man) he was much mistaken in that conjecture. The *Chaldæan Paraphrast* puts *Carthage* for *Tharsis*, but it hath no authority nor warrant of reason therein. So likewise, where it is written, that the Ships of *Solomon* went every 3. yeares to *Tharsis*, and brought thence Gold, Silver, Elephants teeth, &c. the *Chaldæan Paraphrast* translates *Tharsis* (*Africa*.) But *Solomons* Ships were prepared in the Red Sea at *Esion-Gaber*, in the Bay of *Elana*, near unto *Madian*, where *Iethro* (*Moses* Father in Law) inhabited; a Province of *Arabia Petræa*, *Idumæa*, or of the *Chusites*; and they sailed to the higher part of the East *India*. For it had been a strange Navigation to have spent three years in the passage between *Iudæa* and *Carthage*, or any other part of *Africa*, which might have been sailed in six or ten dayes. And if so great riches might have bin found within the bounds of the *Mediterran* Sea, all the other neighbouring Princes would soon have entertained that trade also. But this enterprise of *Solomon* is in this sort written of in the 1. of *Kings*: *Also King* Solomon *made a Navy of Ships in Esion-Gaber, which is beside* Elath *and the brink of the Red Sea in the land of* Edom: *and* Hyram *sent with the Navy his servants, that were mariners, and had knowledge of the Sea, with the servants of* Solomon: *and they came to Ophir, and fet from thence 420. Talents of gold, &c.* But as the Nations about *Pontus* thought no Sea in the world like unto their own, and doubted whether there were any other Sea but that onely: (whereof it came, that *Pontus* was a word used for the Sea in general) so, because the *Israelites* and the *Phœnicians* knew no other Sea than that of the *Mediterran* in the beginning; and that the people of *Tharsis* had the greatest Ships, and were the first Navigators in those parts with such Vessels, they were therefore called men of the Sea: and the word *Tharsis* used often for the Sea. And whereas it is said that the Ships of *Solomon* went every three years to *Tharsis*, that phrase is not strange at all; for we use it ordinarily wheresoever we navigate, (namely) that the Kings Ships are gone to the Sea, or that they are set out every year, or every three year to the Sea, and therefore *Tharsis* was not therein named, either for *Carthage*, *Africa*, or *India*, but used for the Sea it self. But in this place, *Tharsis* is truly taken for *Tharsis*, the chief City in *Cilicia*, founded by *Tharsis* the second son of *Iavan*, or by his Successours in memory of their first Parent. To this City arrived *Alex. Macedon*, before he gave the first overthrow to *Darius*, and casting himself into the River to bathe and wash his body, he fell into an extream fever, and great danger of death: and in this City of *Tharsis* was S. *Paul* borne. Now this agreeth with the reason and nature of a Plantation. For (*Gomer* and his other sons inhabiting *Asia* the lesse, and that part of *Syria* adjoyning) *Iavan*, who was to pass over the Sea into *Greece*, took the edge of the same Coast, and first planted the *Iones* on that shore: gave the Islands between *Asia* the lesse and *Greece* to *Elisa*, and left *Tharsis* upon the Sea-side in *Cilicia*; of whom that City took name.

The third son of *Iavan* was *Cethim*, of whom were the *Romanes* and *Italians*, saith *Beroaldus*, but I allow better of *Melanchtons* opinion, who makes *Cethim* the Father of the *Macedonians*. *Cethim* is a voice plurall (saith he) and signifieth *percussores*, though in that respect it may be meant by either. But it seemeth more probable, that the place of *Esay* 23. (according to *Melanchton*) had relation to *Alexander* and the *Macedonians*: *Hæc calamitas ab Esai prædicta est, qui capite vicesimo tertio inquit, ventiros esse eversores Tyri ex terra Cittim*; This calamity (saith Melanchton) *was foreshewed by* Esai *the Prophet, who in the three and twentieth Chapter pronounced, that the destroyers of Tyre were come out of Cittim*. And although the children of *Israel* esteemed all men Islanders, which came to them by Sea, and separate from that Continent; (and so also *Cittim* might be taken for *Italy*, saith *Beroaldus*) yet we must take the first performance of the former Prophesie which took effect by the destruction of the *Tyrians* by *Alexander*, who after 7. moneths siege, entred that proud City, and cut in pieces seven thousand principall Citizens; strangled 2. thousand, and changed the freedom of 13. thousand others into bondage and slavery. Now, that *Macedon* was taken for *Cethim*, it doth appeare plainely in the first of the *Maccabees*, in these words: *After that* Alexander *the Macedonian*,

the son of Philip, *went forth of the Land of Cethim, and slew* Darius *King of the Persians, and Medes. Josephus* sets *Cethim* in the Isle of *Cyprus*, in which (saith he) there remaineth the City *Citium*, the Countrie of *Zeno* the Philosopher (witnesse *Laertius*;) which City *Pintus* upon *Ezechiel* affirmeth, that it stood in S. *Hieromes* time. So it may be that all the Islands in ancient times by the Hebrews were called the Islands of *Cethim*: and in that sense might *Cyprus* be so called also; and yet because *Tharsis* was the very next Port to *Cyprus*, and directly over against it, it is also very probable, that *Cethim* dwelt by his brother *Tharsis*: and finding that Island too straight for his people after they were increased, and that the rest of the Coasts, both on *Asia* side and *Greece*, were inhabited by his father and brothers, he sent *Colonies* over the *Ægean* Sea, & inhabited *Macedonia*.

Dodanim the fourth son of *Javan*, and the youngest brother (by the most opinions) sate down at *Rhodes*, as near *Cethim*, *Tharsis*, and *Elisa*, as he could. For *Dodanim* and *Rhodanim* are used indifferently by many Translators: the *Hebrew* (*D*) and the *Hebrew* (*R*) are so like, as the one may easily be taken for the other, as all *Hebricians* affirme. There is also found in *Epirus* the City of *Dodona*, in the Province of *Molossia*. And as *Cethim*, when he wanted soile in *Cyprus*: so *Dodanim* (seated in a far less Island) did of necessity send his people farther off; and keeping alongst the Coast, and finding *Peloponnesus* in the possession of *Elisa*, he passed a little further on the Westward, and planted in *Epyrus*. And though the City of *Dodona* was not then built, or (perchance not so ancient as *Dodanim* himself, yet his Posterity might give it that name in the memory of their first Parent, as it happened all the World over. For names were given to Cities, Mountains, Rivers, and Provinces, after the names of *Noahs* children and grand-children; not in all places by themselves, but by their successours many years after: every of their Families being desirous to retain among them by those memories, out of what branch themselves were taken and grafted elsewhere. And because great Kingdomes were often by new Conquerours newly named, and the greatest Cities often fired and demolished, therefore those that hoped better to perpetuate their memories, gave their own names, or the names of their Ancestours, to Mountains and Rivers, as to things (after their judgments) freest from any alteration.

Thus then did *Javan* settle himself and his children in the edge and frontier of *Asia* the less, towards the Sea-shore: and afterward in *Greece*, and the Islands and neighbour Provinces thereof, as *Japheth* their Father had done in the body of the lesser *Asia*, together with *Javans* brethren, *Gomer*, *Magog*, *Madai*, *Tubal*, *Mesech*, and the rest round about him. And in like sort did *Chush* (the son of *Cham*) people *Babylonia*, *Chaldæa*, and the borders thereof towards the West and South-west: and the sons of *Chush* (all but *Nimrod*, who held *Babylonia* it self) travailed Southward in *Arabia fælix*, & Southwestward into *Arabia Petræa*: the rest of his children holding the Regions adjoyning to *Nimrod*. *Mizraim* the brother of *Chus* in like manner took the way of *Egypt*: and his brother *Canaan* the Region of *Palæstina* adjoyning. The sons of *Canaan* had their portions in *Canaan*, of whom all those Nations came, which were afterward the Enemies both to the *Hebrews*, and to those of the sons of *Shem*, which spread themselves towards the West, and the borders of the *Mediterran* Sea: of which I shall speak hereafter. But first of the sons of *Cham* or *Ham*; which were four:

Chush, *Mizraim*, *Phut*, and *Canaan*.

§. X.

That the seat of Chush *the eldest son of* Ham, *was in Arabia, not in Æthiopia: and of strange Fables, and ill Translations of Scripture, grounded on the mistaking of this point.*

‖. I.

Of Josephus *his Tale of an Æthiopesse wife of* Moses, *grounded on the mistaking of the seat of* Chush.

THat *Ham* was the Father of the *Egyptians*, it is made manifest in many Scriptures, as in the 105. *Psalm*, *verse* 51. *Then* Israel *came to Egypt*, *and* Jacob *was a stranger in the Land of* Ham: and in the 78. *Psalme*, *Hee slew all the first-borne in Egypt*, *even the beginning of their strength*, *in the Tabernacles of* Ham. There is also

also found a great City in *Thebaida*, called *Cheranis*: (as it were the City of *Ham*) of which name *Herodotus* also discovers an Island in the same Region. But because *Chush* is the elder son of *Ham*, it agreeth with order to speak first of him. Now though I have already in the description of *Paradise* handled this question, and (I hope) proved that *Chush* could not be *Æthiopia*: yet seeing it cometh now to his turn to speak for himself, I will adde some farther proof to the former. For, the manifestation hereof sets many things straight, which had otherwise very crooked constructions, and senseless interpretations. Surely, howsoever the *Septuagint* and *Josephus* have herein failed, that *Chush* could not be *Æthiopia*, but *Arabia*: (to wit) both that *Arabia* called *Petræa*, and a part of *Arabia* the Happy and the Desart: which Regions *Chush* and the *Chusites* presently planted, after they left *Babylonia* to *Nimrod*, wherein they first sate down all together. And there is nothing which so well cleereth this Controversie, as the true interpretation of the place, *Num.* 12. *v.* 1. where *Moses* his Wife is called a *Chusite*; together with some places which speak of *Nabuchodonozor's* Conquests. For whereas *Josephus* and the *Septuagint* in the place *Num.* 12. *v.* 1. as also elsewhere, understand *Chush* for *Æthiopia*, we must give credit to *Moses* himself herein; and then it will appeare that *Josephus* was grosly mistaken, or vainly led by his own invention. For *Josephus* presuming that *Chush* was *Æthiopia*, and therefore that the wife of *Moses* (which in Scripture, *Num.* 12. *v.* 1. is called a woman of *Chush*) was a woman of the land of *Æthiopia*, feigneth that *Tharbis* the Daughter of the King of *Æthiopia*, fell in love with the person and fame of *Moses*, while he besieged *Saba* her Father's City; and to the end, to obtain *Moses* for her Husband, she practised to betray both her Parents, Country, and Friends, with the City it self, and to deliver it into *Moses* hands: The Tale (if it be worth the reciting) lieth thus in *Josephus*. After he hath described the strength of the *Æthiopian* City Meroe, which he saith at length *Cambyses* called so from the name of his Sister, (the old name being *Saba*) he goeth on in these words: *Hic cum* Moses *desidere exercitum otiosum ægrè ferret, hoste non audente manus conserere, tale quiddam accidit. Erat Æthiopum Regi filia nomine* Tharbis, *&c.* which tale hath this sense in English: *When* Moses *was grieved that his Army lay idle, because the Enemy besieged durst not sally and come to hand-strokes, there happened this accident in the mean while. The Æthiopian King had a Daughter called* Tharbis, *who at some assaults given, beheld the person of* Moses, *and withal admired his valour. And knowing that* Moses *had not onely up-held and restored the falling estate of the Egyptians, but had also brought the conquering Æthiopians to the very brink of subversion: these things working in her thoughts, together with her own affection, which daily increased, she made means to send unto him by one of her trustiest servants, to offer her self unto him, and become his Wife; Which* Moses *on this condition entertained, that she should first deliver the City into his possession; whereunto she condescending, and* Moses *having taken oath to perform this contract, both the one and the other were instantly performed.*

Herod. in Euterpe.

Antiq. l. 2. c. 5.

‖. 11.

A dispute against the tale of Josephus.

THis Tale (whereof *Moses* hath not a word) hath *Josephus* fashioned, and therein also utterly mistaken himself, in naming a City of *Arabia* for a City of *Æthiopia*: as he names *Æthiopia* it self to have been the Country of *Moses* his Wife, when (indeed) it was *Arabia*. For *Saba* is not in *Æthiopia*, but in *Arabia*, as both *Strabo* and all other Geographers, ancient and modern, teach us, saying, that the *Sabæans* are *Arabians*, and not *Æthiopians*; except *Josephus* can perswade us, that the Queen of *Saba* which came from the South to hear the wisdom of *Solomon*, were a *Negro*, or *Black-moor*. And though *Damianus à Goes* speak of certain Letters to the King of *Portugal* from *Prester John*, of the *Abissines*: wherein that Æthiopian King would perswade the Portugals, that he was descended of the Queen of *Saba* and of *Solomon*; yet it doth no where appeare in the Scriptures, that *Solomon* had any Son by that great Princess: which had it bin true, it is likely that when *Sishac* King of *Egypt* invaded *Roboam*, and sackt *Hierusalem* his Brother (the Son of *Saba* and *Solomon*) who joyned upon *Egypt*, would both have impeached that enterprize, as also given aid and succour to *Roboam* against *Jeroboam*, who drew from him ten of the twelve Tribes to his own obedience. Neither is it any thing against our opinion of *Moses* his Wife, to have bin an *Arabian*, that the Scriptures teach

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us, that *Moses* married the daughter of *Jethro* Priest of *Midian* or *Madian:* which standing on the North Coast of the Red Sea, over against the body of *Egypt*, and neer *Esion-Gaber*, where *Solomon* provided his Fleet for *India*, in the Region of *Edom*, may well be reckoned as a part of *Arabia*, as the Red Sea is called *Sinus Arabicus*. For *Edumæa* joyneth to the Tribe of *Juda* by the North, to *Arabia Petræa* by the East, to the Mediterran by the West, and to the Red Sea by the South-east. And if we mark the way which *Moses* took when he left *Egypt*, and conducted *Israel* thence, it will appear that he was no stranger in *Arabia:* in the border whereof, and in *Arabia* it self, he had formerly lived forty years; where it seemeth, that besides his careful bringing up in *Egypt*, he was instructed by *Jethro* in the Egyptians learning. For *Iosephus* confesseth, and Saint *Stephen* confirmeth, that he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. But on the other side, this Text makes much against *Iosephus*, where it is written in *Exod.* the second; *Therefore* Moses *fled from* Pharao, *and dwelt in the Land of Madian* or *Midian*, and not in *Æthiopia*. And in the third Chapter it is as plain as words can express, in what Region *Madian* was, where it is written, *When* Moses *kept the sheep of* Jethro *his Father in Law Priest of* Madian, *and drave the Flock to the Desart, and came to the mountain of God in Horeb*. Now that Mount *Horeb* is not in *Æthiopia*, every Infant knoweth. And if we may believe *Moses* himself, then was not the Wife of *Moses* purchased in that manner which *Iosephus* reporteth (which was for betraying her Countrie and friends) neither had she the name of *Tharbis*, but of *Sippora*, or, *Zippora:* neither was she a Negro, but a Madianites. And as God worketh the greatest things by the simplest means: so it pleased him from a Shepherd to call *Moses*, and after him *David*, and by them to deliver his people first and last. For *Moses*, sitting by a Well (as disconsolate and a stranger) defended the daughters of *Reguel* from the other Shepherds, and drew them Water to water their Sheep: upon which occasion (by God ordained) he was entertained by *Jethro*, whose daughter he married, and not for any betraying of Townes or Countries.

V. 15.

Exod. 2.

From hence also came *Iethro* to *Moses* at *Rephidim*, not far from *Idumæa*, and finding the insupportable government of such a multitude, he advised him to distribute this weighty charge, and to make Governours and Judges of every Tribe and Family. And if *Iethro* had been an Æthiopian, it had beene a farre progress for him to have passed through all *Egypt* with the Wife and Children of *Moses*, and to have found *Moses* in the border of *Idumæa:* the Egyptians hating *Moses* and all that favoured him. But the passing of *Moses* through *Arabia Petræa* (which joyneth to *Madian*) proveth that *Moses* was well acquainted in those parts, in which the second time he wandred forty years, and did by these late travails of his, seek to instruct the children of *Israel* in the knowledge of one true God, before he brought them to the Land of plenty and rest. For he found them nourished up with the milk of Idolatry, and obstinate in the Religion of the Heathen, and finding that those stiff plants could not be bowed or declined, either by perswasion or by miracle, he ware them out in the Desarts, as God directed, and grafted their branches anew, that from those he might receive fruit, agreeable to his own desire, and Gods Commandments.

Lastly, this opinion of *Iosephus* is condemned by *Augustinus Chrysamensis*, where also he reprehendeth *Apollinaris*, who avowed that *Moses* had married both *Tharbis* and *Zephora:* His own words have this beginning: *Mentitur etiam* Apollinaris *duas uxores habuisse* Moses, *&c.* Apollinaris *also lyeth, in affirming that* Moses *had two wives: and who doth not perceive these things feigned by them? for it is manifest that the Wife of* Moses *was* Zephora, *Daughter to the Priest or President of* Madian: *and that* Madian *cannot be taken for Æthiopia beyond* Egypt; *being the same that joyneth to Arabia:* So far *Chrysamensis*.

Sixt. Senens. Bibl.

||. III.

Chush ill expounded for Æthiopia. Ezech. 29. 10.

NOw as *Chush* is by the *Septuagint* converted *Æthiopia*, and the wife of *Moses* therefore called *Æthiopissa:* so in the conquest of *Nebuchodonosor* is *Æthiopia* written for *Arabia*. For by the words of *Ezechiel*, it is manifest that *Nebuchodonosor* was never in *Æthiopia*. *Behold* (saith *Ezechiel*, speaking of the person of this great Assyrian) *I come upon*

Ezech. 29. 10.

upon thee and upon thy Rivers, and I will make the Land of Egypt utterly waſte and deſolate, from the Tower of Seveneh, even to the borders of the blacke-Moores: which laſt words ſhould have beene thus converted: *From the Tower Seveneh to the borders of the Chuſites* or *Arabians* betweene which two is ſituated all *Egypt*. For to ſay, from the borders of *Seveneh* to the *Æthiopians*, hath no ſenſe at all, *Seveneh* it ſelfe being the border of *Egypt*, confronting and joyning to *Æthiopia*, or the Land of the blacke-Moores. So as if *Nabuchodonoſors* conqueſt had beene but betweene *Seveneh* and the border of *Æthiopia*, it were as much to ſay, and did expreſſe no other victory than the conqueſt of all that Land and Countrey, lying betweene *Middleſex* and *Buckingham*, where both the Countries joyne together; or all the North parts of *England* betweene *Barwick* and *Scotland*: for this hath the ſame ſenſe with the former, if any man ſought to expreſs by theſe two bounds, the Conqueſt of *England*: *Barwick* being the North border of *England*, as *Seveneh* or *Syena* is the South bound of *Egypt*, ſeated in *Thebaida*, which toucheth *Æthiopia*. But by the words of *Ezechiel* it appeareth, that *Nabuchodonoſor* never entred into any part of *Æthiopia*, although the *Septuagint*, the *Vulgar*, the *Geneva*, and all other (in effect) have written *Æthiopia* for *Chuſh*.

‖. IV.

Another place of Ezechiel, *cap.* 30. *verſ.* 9. *in the like manner miſtaken.*

AND as the former, ſo is this place of *Ezechiel* miſtaken, by being in this ſort converted: *In die illa egredientur nuncii à facie mea in trieribus ad conterendam Æthiopiæ confidentiam*: Which place is thus turned in *Engliſh* by the *Geneveans*: *In that day ſhall there Meſſengers goe forth from me in ſhips to make the careleſſe Moores affraid*. Now the *Latine* for (ſhips) hath the *Greeke* word *Trieres* for *Triremes*, which are Gallies of three bankes, and not ſhips. But that in this place the Tranſlation ſhould have been (as in the former) amended by uſing the word *Chuſh* or *Arabia* for *Æthiopia* or the black-Moores, every man may ſee which meanly underſtandeth the *Geography* of the world, knowing that to paſſe out of *Egypt* into *Æthiopia* there need no Gallies or Ships, no more than to paſſe out of *Northampton* into *Leiceſterſhire*: *Æthiopia* being the conterminate Region with *Egypt*, and not divided ſo much as by a River. Therefore in this place of *Ezechiel* it was meant, that from *Egypt*, *Nabuchodonoſor* ſhould ſend Gallies alongſt the coaſt of the Red Sea, by which an Army might be tranſported into *Arabia* the *Happy* and the *Stony* (ſparing the long wearifom march over all *Egypt*, and the Deſart of *Pharan*) which Army might thereby ſurpriſe them unawares in their ſecurity and confidence. For when *Nabuchodonoſor* was at *Seveneh* within a mile of *Æthiopia*, he needed neither Galley nor Ship to paſſe into it; being all one large and firme Land with *Egypt*, and no otherwiſe parted from it, than one In-land ſhire is parted from another: and if he had a fancy to have rowed up the River but for pleaſure, he could not have done it: for the fall of *Nilus* (tumbling over high and ſteepy Mountaines) called *Cataduрæ Nili*, were at hand.

Laſtly, as I have already obſerved, the ſons of every father ſeated themſelves as neer together as poſſibly they could, *Gomer* and his ſons in *Aſia* the leſſe; *Javen* and his ſons in *Greece*, and the Iſlands adjoyning; *Shem* in *Perſia* and Eaſtward. So the Sons and Grand-children of *Chuſh* from the River of *Gehon* (their Fathers firſt ſeate) inhabited upon the ſame, or upon ſome other contiguat unto it, as *Nimrod* and *Havilah* on the one ſide, and *Saba*, *Sheba*, and *Sabtecha* (with the reſt) did on the other ſide. And to conclude in a word, the *Hebrewes* had never acquaintance or fellowſhip, any warre, treaty of peace, or other intelligence with the *Æthiopian* black-Moores, as is already remembred in the Chapter of *Paradiſe*.

‖. V.

A place, Eſay 18. v. 1. *in like manner corrupted, by taking Chuſh for Æthiopia.*

AND as in theſe places before remembred, ſo in divers others is the word *Æthiopia* put for *Arabia* or *Chuſh*, which puts the ſtory (where it is ſo underſtood) quite out of ſquare; one Kingdom therby being taken for another. For what ſenſe hath this part of

of Scripture, *Esay* 18. *Væ terræ Cymbalorum alarum quæ est trans flumina Æthiopiæ*; or according to the *Septuagint* in these words: *Væ terræ navium alarum quæ est trans fluvios Æthiopiæ, Woe to the land shaddowing with wings, which is beyond the Rivers of Æthiopia, sending Embassadours by sea, even the vessels of reeds upon the waters. Væ terræ umbrosæ oræ; Woe to the Land of the shadie coast*, saith *Iunius*. The former Translators understand it in this sense; That the waters are shaddowed with the sails, which are significatively called the wings of the ships; the other, that the coast of the Sea was shaddowed by the height of the Land.

But to the purpose: That this Land here spoken of by the Prophet *Esay*, is *Egypt*, no Interpreter hath doubted. For they were the *Egyptians* that sent this message to the *Israelites* which *Esay* repeateth, and by the former translation every man may see the transposition of Kingdomes: for hereby *Egypt* is transported unto the other side of *Æthiopia*, and *Æthiopia* set next unto *Judæa*, when it is the Land of *Chush* and *Arabia* indeed that lyeth between *Judæa* and *Egypt*, and not *Æthiopia*, which is seated under the *Equinoctiall* Line. And of this, *Beroaldus* asketh a material question, (to wit) what Region that should be, of which the Prophet speaketh, & placeth it beyond the rivers of *Æthiopia*. *Nam de ignota agi regione dici nequit; For it cannot be said that he treateth of an unknown Region.* Now if *Æthiopia* it self be under the *Equinoctiall* line, with whom the *Jews* had never any acquaintance, why should any man dream that they had knowledg of Nations far beyond it again, and beyond the Rivers of *Æthiopia*? except we shall impiously think that the Prophet spake he knew not what, or used an impertinent discourse of those Nations, which were not discovered in 2000. years after, inhabiting as far South as the *Cape* of *Good Hope*, commonly knowne by the name of *Bona esperanza*.

||. VI.

That upon the like mistaking, both Terrhaca *in the story of* Senacherib, *and* Zera *in the story of* Asa *are unadvisedly made Æthiopians.*

AND by this translation is the story of *Senacherib* utterly mistaken in the cause of his retrait. For *Senacherib* was first repulsed at *Pelusium*, at the very entrance of *Egypt* from *Judæa*: when having certaine knowledge that *Thirrhaca*, (which all the Interpreters called King of *Æthiopia*) was on the way to set on him, he began to withdraw himselfe: and fearing to leave his Army in two parts, he sent threatning Messengers to *Ezechia* King of *Juda*, perswading him to submit himselfe: the Tenor whereof is set down in the second of *Kings* in these words: *Have any of the gods of the Nations delivered his Land out of the hands of the King of Assur? Where is the god of Hamah, &c.* By which proud Embassage, if he had obtained entrance into *Jerusalem*, he then meant to have united that great Army before *Jerusalem*, commanded by *Rabsekeh*, with the other which lay before *Pelusium*, a great City upon the branch of *Nilus* next *Arabia*. For *Senacherib* had already mastered the most part of all those cities in *Judæa* & *Benjamin* with a third Army, (which himself commanded) being then at the siege of *Lebna*. But upon the rumor of that *Arabian* Army led by the King *Thirrhakeh* (whom *Josephus* calls *Tharsices*) *Rabsakeh* hasted from the siege of *Hierusalem*, and found *Senacherib* departed from *Lachis*, and set downe before *Lebna*, which was afterwards called *Eleuthoropolis*, as some have supposed. But while he had ill success at *Pelusium* and feared *Thirrhakeh*, God himselfe, whom he least feared, strook his Army before *Jerusalem* by the Angel of his power, so as 158000. were found dead in the place, as in the life of *Ezechias* is hereafter more largly written. And that this Army of *Thirrhakeh* was from *Arabia*, *Iosephus* himselfe makes it plain. For he confesseth in the tenth Book, the first Chapter of the *Iews* Antiquities, that it was come to *Senacheribs* knowledge, that the Armie which was a foot (both to relieve the *Egyptians* and the *Iews*) marched towards him by the way of the *Desart*: Now the *Desart* which lay indifferent between *Hierusalem* and *Pelusium*, was that of *Pharan* or *Sur*, which also toucheth on the three *Arabia's*, to wit, the *Stony*, of which it is a part: the *Desart*, and the *Happy*; and by no other way indeed could the *Arabians* come on to succour either *Pelusium* or *Hierusalem*. But that there is any Desart between *Pelusium* and the South part of *Egypt*, hath never yet beene heard of, or described by any *Cosmographer* or *Historian*. So then this description of the second of *Kings*, ver. the ninth, hath the same mistaking as the rest. For here the word (*Chush*) is also translated *Æthiopia*; and in this sense have all the Interpreters, (but *Iunius*) expressed the beginning of the ninth Verse:

Joseph. l.10.c.1.

2 Kings 19.

Antiq.l.10.
2 Kings 19.

Lib.10.c.1.

He

He heard alſo men ſay of Thirrhakeh *King of Æthiopia &c.* whereas it ſhould have been thus converted with *Iunius* : *Audiens autem de* Thirrhakeh *Rege Chuſbi*; *He heard alſo of* Thirrhakeh *King of the Chuſhites*. For they were the *Chuſhites* and *Arabians*, whoſe houſes and Cities were next the fire, and upon whom the very ſmoake of *Iuda* flaming was blown, being their neereſt Neighbours : and ſo were not the Æthiopian Black-Moors under the *Equinoctial*, whom neither war nor peace (which diſcovereth all Regions) ever found out, ſaith *Plinie*. For this King was no more King of *Æthiopia* than *Zerah* was, who invaded *Aſa* King of *Iuda*, with an Army of a Million, and three thouſand Chariots. Indeed, how ſuch an Army and thoſe Chariots ſhould paſs through all *Egypt*, (the Kings of *Egypt* being mighty Kings) let all men that know how theſe Regions are ſeated, and how far diſtant, judge. For Princes do not eaſily permit Armies of a Million to run through them; neither was there ever ſuch ſtrength of Black-Moores heard of in that part of the World, or elſewhere. Neither are theſe Æthiopians ſuch travailers or Conquerors; and yet is this King *Zerah* alſo called King of Æthiopia. But the word *Chuſh* being firſt ſo converted for Æthiopia, the reſt of the Interpreters (not looking into the ſeats of Kingdoms, or the poſſibilities of attempts, or invaſions) followed one another in the former miſtakings.

Plin. l. 5. c. 91.

2 Chron. c. 14.

‖. VII.

A farther expoſition of the place, Eſay 18:1.

COncerning theſe words in that eighteenth Chapter of *Eſay*, *Navium alarum, Winged Ships*, (ſo the *Septuagint* turn it) or *Cymbalo alarum* (according to the *Latine*) *ſayls whiſtling in the winds*, or *terræ umbroſæ oræ* (after *Iunius*) *the Land of a ſhadowed coaſt*, or, *the Land ſhadowing with wings*, as our *Engliſh Geneva* hath it. The two firſt interpretations of the *Septuagint* and S. *Hierome*, have one ſenſe in effect. For the ſailes are commonly called the wings of a ſhip; and we uſe to ſay ordinarily when our ſhips ſaile ſlowly, that ſhe wanteth wings : (that is) when her ſails are either worn or too narrow: and we alſo uſe the ſame phraſe of the winde whiſtling in the ſails. And it may be that the *Egyptians* imployed ſo many of thoſe ſmall ſhips, as their ſails were ſaid to give a ſhadow over the Red Sea. But to make both interpretations good, *Pintus* (upon *Eſay*) affirmeth, that the word (*Sabal*) doth ſignifie both to ſhadow and to gingle (which is) to make a kinde of Cymbaline ſound : ſo as the meaning of this place (ſaith *Pintus*) is this : *Wo to thee, O Egypt, which doſt promiſe to others ſafeguard, under the ſhadow of thy wings*; which (indeed) ſeemeth to agree with the argument of the eighteenth Chapter of *Eſay* : and this phraſe is often elſewhere uſed, as in the ſixteenth Pſalm : *Sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me*; *Defend me under the ſhadow of thy wings*. The Boats of Reede ſpoken of are of two kinds; either of baſket-willow covered with hides (as anciently in *Brittain*) or a Tree made hollow in the bottome, and built upon both ſides with Canes. Of the one ſort I have ſeen in *Ireland*, of the other in the *Indies*.

§. XI.

Of the plantation and antiquities of Egypt.

‖. I.

That Mizraim *the chief planter of* Egypt : *and the reſt of the ſons of* Ham, *were ſeated in order one by another.*

THe ſecond ſon of *Ham* was *Mizraim*; (who according to the place of a ſecond brother) was ſent ſomewhat farther off to inhabite. For *Chuſh* firſt poſſeſt *Chaldæa* on the Weſt ſide of *Gehon* chiefly : and from thence, as he increaſed in people, ſo he entred *Arabia*, and by time came to the border of the Red Sea, and to the Southeaſt ſide of *Iudæa*. *Mizraim* his brother (with *Phut*) paſt over into *Africa*. *Mizraim* held *Egypt*; and *Phut* (as a third brother) was thruſt farther off into *Mauritania*. *Canaan* took the Sea-coaſt, and held the ſide of *Palæſtina* : and theſe foure brothers poſſeſt all that Tract of Land, from *Gehon* in *Chaldæa*, as far to the Weſt as the *Mediterran* Sea : comprehending all *Arabia Deſerta*, and *Petræa*, all *Canaan* which embraceth *Galilæa*, *Samaria*, and

and *Judæa*; with the two *Egypts*, whereof the neather is bounded by *Memphis* on the South, and by the *Mediterran* Sea on the North: and *Thebaida* (called the upper *Egypt*) stretcheth it self toward the South as far as *Syene*, the border of the *Æthiopians* or black *Moors*. All the rest of the coast of *Africa* Westward, *Phut* peopled; which brothers had not any other Nation or Family that dwelt between them. And in the same manner did all their sons again, and all the sons of the rest of *Noahs* children, sort themselves.

‖. II.

Of the time about which the name of Egypt began to be known: and of the Egyptians Lunarie yeers, which made their antiquities seem more fabulous.

THis flourishing Kingdom possest by *Mizraim*, changed her ancient name, and became *Egypt*, at such time as *Ægyptus* (otherwise *Rameses*, as some think) the son of *Belus*, chased thence his elder brother *Danaus*, shifting him into that part of *Greece* now called *Morea*, by whom the *Argives* were made *Danai*, abandoning their proper names: which happened 877. yeers after the Floud, in the time of *Josua*, as S. *Augustine* conjectureth out of *Eusebius*. But in *Homers Odysses* it appeareth that the *Egyptians* were so called at the time of the *Trojan* Warre. And before this, *Egypt* was knowne by divers other names, as *Oceana*, *Aria*, *Osiriana*, &c. And *Manethon* (whom *Iosephus* citeth in his first booke against *Appion*) numbreth all the Kings of *Egypt* after *Moses* departure, who consumed 393 yeers. By which other men conjecture, that the *Egyptians* took on them that name 330. yeeres after *Iosua*, and about 1000. yeeres after the Floud. But where *Iosephus* in the same booke taketh *Israel* to be those *Hycsos*, which he also calleth *Pastores* or Shepherds, which are said to have reigned in *Egypt* 511. yeeres: whom also he calleth his Ancestors, (meaning the Ancestors of the *Iewes*) in this I am sure he was grosly deceived, or that he vainly boasted: for the *Israelites* had no such Dominion as *Manethon* faineth, nor abode in *Egypt* so long a time by many yeeres.

Of the *Egyptian* Antiquities there are many fancies in *Trogus*, *Herodotus*, *Plato*, *Diod. Siculus*, *Mela*, and others. For they affirme (saith *Pomp. Mela*) that there had reigned in *Egypt* 330 Kings before *Amasis*, who was contemporary with *Cyrus*; and that they had memory and story of 13000. yeares; and that the Stars had foure times changed their course, and the Sun twice set in the East. These Riddles are also rife among the *Athenians* and *Arcadians*, who dare affirm, that they are more ancient than *Iupiter* and the *Moon*; whereof *Ovid*:

> *Ante* Jovem *genitum terras habuisse feruntur*
> *Arcades: &* Luna *gens prior illa fuit.*
>
> The Arcadians the earth inhabited
> Ere yet the *Moon* did shine, or *Iove* was bred.

But for those 13000. years it may well be true; seeing it is certain that the *Egyptians* reckon their yeers by Moneths, which makes after that account not above 1000. or 1100. yeers, whether we take their Moneths or Lunary yeers to have been of the first kinde of 27. daies and eight hours; or otherwise 29. daies and twelve hours; or after any other of those five diversities of their Lunary yeers.

‖. III.

Of certain vain assertions of the Antiquity of the Egyptians.

GErardus *Mercator* in his *Chronology*, reasoneth for the *Egyptians* Antiquity in this manner: That the sixteenth *Dynasty* (where *Eusebius* begins to reckon the *Egyptians* times) had beginning with the general Floud: and that therefore the first of the other fifteen reached the Creation, or soon after it. To which conjecture of *Mercator*, *Pererius* maketh this answer; That therein *Mercator* was first deceived, because he taketh it for granted, that the beginning of the sixteenth *Dynasty* was at once with the general Floud: which *Eusebius* maketh 292. yeers after, and in the time of *Abraham*. Secondly, *Mercator* maketh the beginning of the shepherds *Dynastia* (being in number 17.) in the time of their first King, *Saltis*, to have been in the yeare of the World 1846. which

Euse-

Euſebius findeth in the Worlds age 2140. For the 16. *Dynaſtia* was begun but in the 292 yeers after the Floud, as they account, and continued 190. yeeres. Thirdly, whereas *Mercator* maketh every *Dynaſtia* to endure 115. yeers, *Euſebius* reckoneth many of them at leſſe than 100. yeers: for the 28. had but ſixe yeers, the 29. but 20. and the 30. but 18. yeers.

Now *Annius* in his Supplement of *Manethon* affirmeth, That all theſe 15. *Dynaſties* laſted but 162. yeers: and that the firſt of the 15. began but in the 131. yeere after the floud: ſo as where *Mercator* makes all the 15. to precede the floud, and the 16. to have been then in being at the time of the floud, *Annius* makes them all after it. But the contrariety of falſhood cannot be hidden, though diſguiſed. For *Annius* had forgotten his former Opinion and aſſertion, that it was in the 131. yeere that *Nimrod*, with the ſons of *Noah*, came into the Valley of *Shinaar*: ſo he forgets the time which was conſumed in the building of Babel: and that before the confuſion of Speech there was no diſperſion, nor far-off plantation at all. And though he haſtily conveyed *Gomer* into *Italy*, and *Tubal* into Spaine, in the tenth yeere of *Nimrods* reigne: (which was ten yeeres after his arrival into Babilonia) yet herein he is more unadviſed. For he makes Egypt poſſeſt, and a government eſtabliſhed in the very firſt yeere of the arrival of *Nimrod* into *Shinaar*, before all partition, or any expedition far off or neere in queſtion: for *from thence* (that is, from Babel) *did the Lord ſcatter them upon all the earth.*

‖. IV.

Againſt Pererius: *that it is not unlikely, but that Egypt was peopled within* 200. *yeeres after the Creation; at leaſt, that both it, and the moſt parts of the World were peopled before the Floud.*

But whereas *Pererius* ſeeketh to overthrow this Antiquity of the Egyptians touching their *Dynaſties*, (which *Euſebius* doth not altogether deſtroy, but leſſen) I do not find any great ſtrength in this opinion of *Pererius*; (to wit) that it was either unlikely or impoſſible that Egypt ſhould be peopled within 100. or 200. yeeres after *Adam*, in the firſt Age. And whereas he ſuppoſeth that it was not inhabited at all before the generall Floud, I do verily beleeve the contrary: and that not onely of Egypt, but the better part of all World was then peopled: *Pererius* his words are theſe; *Quomodo enim priſtos mundi ducentos, vel etiam centum annos* Adami *proles adeo multiplicari potuit, ut ad Egyptum uſq; habitandum & complendum propagata ſit, &c. For how could the children of* Adam *be ſo multiplied in the firſt two hundred, or in the firſt hundred yeers of the World, and ſo propagated as to inhabite and fill Egypt?* for allowing this (ſaith *Pererius*) we muſt alſo confeſſe, that there were then both the Aſſyrians and other Nations.

Now ſeeing that the Scriptures are ſilent herein, and that it is no point of our ſaving beleefe, it is lawfull for every man to be guided in this and the like queſtions by the beſt reaſon, circumſtance, and likelyhood; and herein, as in the reſt, I proteſt that I do not gainſay any mans opinion out of any croſſing or cavilling humours: for I thinke it the part of every Chriſtian, rather to reconcile differences, where there is poſſibilty of of union, than out of froward ſubtlety, and prejudicate reſolvedneſſe, to maintaine factions needleſſe, and dangerous contentions.

Firſt therefore, for this opinion, that Egypt was not planted ſo ſoone after *Adam*, no, not at all before the Floud, I ſay, that there is no reaſon why we ſhould give a leſſe increaſe to the ſons of *Adam*, than to the ſons of *Noah*. For their length of life, which exceeded thoſe which came after the Floud double, and (after a few yeers) treble, is an infallible proof of their ſtrength and ability, to beget many Children: and at that time, they obſerved no degrees of kindred, nor conſanguinity. And that there was a ſpeedy increaſe of people, and in great numbers, it may in ſome ſort appeare by this, that *Cain*, who (being fearefull that the death of *Abel* would have beene revenged on him) withdrew himſelfe from the reſt, which were afterward begotten, and dwelt in the Land of *Nod*, and there, by the helpe of his owne iſſues, built a City, (called Enoch) after the name of his firſt-borne. Now if it be gathered that *Nimrod* came into the Valley of Shinaar with ſo many multitudes, as ſufficed to build the City and Tower of Babel: and that to this increaſe there was given but 130. yeeres by *Beroſus*, and after the account of the Scriptures (reckoning, as it is commonly underſtood, by the birth of *Arphaxad*,

Selah,*Heber*, and *Phalegh*) but one hundred and one year: I see no cause to doubt, but that in the infancie of the first age,when the bodies of men were most perfect, even within 130. years,the same (if not a greater)number might be increased;and so within 70.years after (that is,by such time as the World had stood 200.years) as well *Assyria*, *Syria*,and *Egypt* might be possest before the floud, as they were within the same or lesse time after it. Neither doth it agree with the circumstance or true story of the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian Empire*, that all those people, which were increased in the first 100. or 130. years after the floud,came into *Shinaar* and *Babylonia*. For that ever *Noah* himself came out of the East,as there is no Scripture or Authority to prove it, so all probable conjecture and reason it self denies it. Again,those multitudes and powerfull numbers which *Semiramis* (but the third from *Nimrod*) found in *India*,considered with her own Army of three millions,(and she left not all her Kingdomes empty) do well prove,that if the World had such plenty of people in so few years after the floud, it might also be as plentifully filled in like time before it. For after their own account,*Ninus* governed *Babylonia* and *Assyria* but 292. years after the floud of *Noah*.And these Troops of *Semiramis* were gathered out of all those Eastern Kingdomes,from *Media* to the *Mediterran* Sea;when there had now past from the floud to the time of this her invasion somewhat less or more than 360. years: for much more time the true *Chronologie* cannot allow; though I confess,that in respect of the strange greatness of *Semiramis* Army,and the incredible multitudes gathered,this is as short a time as can well be given.And if but one half be true of that which is said,That her Army consisted of 1300000. Footmen, and 500000. Horsemen, it must needs be, that long before *Semiramis* Reign, the greatest part of *Asia*(whence her huge Army was gathered)was full of people:yea *Arabia* it self (much part whereof is barren)must long before this time of *Semiramis* have been plentifully peopled;when *Ninus* having a determination to make himself Master of all Nations,entred(notwithstanding)in league with the King thereof:whom therefore he either feared,or sought his assistance.And if *Arabia* were then so well replenished, I see no cause but *Egypt* might also be peopled. Now if we may beleeve *Trogus Pompeius* (*Epitomiz'd* by *Justine*) *Egypt* was a most flourishing and magnificent nation before *Ninus* was born.For these be his own words,speaking of *Ninus*:*Fuere quidem temporibus antiquioribus* Vexoris *Rex Ægypti*,*&c*. *But there were in times more ancient* Vexoris *King of Egypt*, *and* Tanais *King of the Scythians*:of which the one invaded *Pontus*,the other *Egypt*.And how full of people all that part of the World was,the Conquests of *Ninus* witness, who subdued with no small force the *Armenians*, the *Medes*,and afterward the *Bactrians*; yea,all that whole body of *Asia* on this side *India*.For *Diodorus* out of *Ctesias* numbreth the Armies wherewith *Ninus* invaded *Zoroaster*,at 1700000. Footmen, and 200000. Horsemen:& the stories generally shew,that though *Zoroasters* Army was far short of this,yet it was greater than any that those parts of the world ever since beheld.But to what end should I seek for forreign authority? for no man doubteth but that *Egypt* was possest by *Mizraim*, the son of *Ham*; and that it was an established Kingdome, filled with many Cities in *Abrahams* time,the Scriptures tell us.And sure,to prepare and cultivea desolate and overgrown ground, to beautifie it with many Cities, Lawes, and Policies, cannot be esteemed a labour of a few daies:and therefore it must be inhabited in a less time than 200.years after the floud;and in the same time(if not in a shorter)before the floud. For if so many millions of men were found within 300. yeares after the generall floud;so as not onely *Babylon*,and *Assyria*,*Bactria*,*Armenia*,*Media*,*Arabia*,*Egypt*,*Palæstina*, yea the far-off *Lybia* on the one side, and *India* on the other,and *Scythia* (inferiour to neither) were all filled: into what small corners could then all those Nations be compresst,which 1656. years brought forth before the floud? even necessity, which cannot be resisted,cast the aboundance of mens bodies into all parts of the known world;especially where death forbare the father,and made no place for the son,till he had beheld living Nations of his own body.

§. V.

ll. V

Of ſome other reaſons againſt the opinion of Pererius.

FOr what a ſtrange increaſe did the long lives of the firſt Age make, when they continued 800. or 900. years? Surely we have reaſon to doubt, that the World could not containe them, rather than that they were not ſpread over the World. For let us now reckon the date of our lives in the Age of the World: wherein if one exceed 50. years, ten for one are cut off in that paſſage, and yet we finde no want of people; nay we know the multitude ſuch, as if by Wars or peſtilence they were not ſometimes taken off by many thouſands, the earth with all the induſtry of man could not give them food. What ſtrange heaps then of ſouls had the firſt Ages, who enjoyed 800. or 900. years, as aforeſaid? Theſe numbers, I ſay, cannot be counted nor conceived. For it would come to the ſame reckoning in effect, as if all thoſe which have been borne in *Brittaine* ſince 3. or 4. hundred years before the *Norman Conqueſt* (ſaving ſuch as by accident or by violence were cut off) were now alive; and if to theſe there were added as many as by *Polygamy* might have been increaſed. For (to omit, that the Gyants and mighty ones of the firſt Age obſerved no law of Matrimony) it is to be thought that thoſe lovers of the World and of pleaſure, when they knew the long and liberall time which nature had given them, would not willingly or haſtily preſent themſelves to any danger which they could fly from or eſchew. For what humane argument hath better perſwaſion to make men careleſs of life, and fearleſs of death, than the little time which keeps them aſunder, and that ſhort time alſo accompanied with ſo many pains and diſeaſes, which this envious old Age of the World mingleth together, and ſoweth with the ſeeds of mankinde?

Now if that *Beroſus* or *Annius* may be alledged for ſufficient Authours, whom *Pererius* himſelfe in this queſtion citeth, then is it by them affirmed, and by *Joſephus* confirmed, that the City of *Enoch* was ſeated near *Libanus* in *Syria*: and if other parts of *Syria* were peopled in *Cains* time, I ſee no cauſe why *Palæſtina* (which is alſo a Province of *Syria*) and *Egypt* (which neighboureth it) could be left deſolate both all the life time of *Cain*, and all thoſe times between his death and the Floud, which were by eſtimation 700. or 800. years. And ſure though this fragment of *Beroſus* with *Annius* his Comment be very ridiculous in many places (the ancient Copies being corrupted or loſt) yet all things in *Beroſus* are not to be rejected. Therefore Saint *Hierome*, for ſuch Authors gives a good rule: *Bona eorum eligamus, vitemus contraria; Let us chooſe what is good in them, and reject the reſt.* And certainly in the very beginning of the firſt Book, *Beroſus* agreeth (in effect) with *Moſes*, touching the generall Floud: and in that firſt part *Beroſus* affirmeth, that thoſe mighty men and Giants which inhabited *Enoch*, commanded over all Nations, and ſubjected the univerſal World: and though that phraſe (*of all the World*) be often uſed in the Scriptures for a part thereof; as in the ſecond of the *Acts*, *That there were dwelling at Hieruſalem Jewes, men that feared God of every Nation under Heaven*: yet by the words which follow in *Beroſus*, it is plain, that his words and ſenſe were the ſame: for he addeth, from the Suns riſing to the Suns ſetting; which cannot be taken for any ſmall part thereof. Again, we may ſafely conjecture that *Noah* did not part and proportion the World among his ſons at adventure, or left them as Diſcoverers, but directed them to thoſe Regions which he formerly knew had been inhabited. And it cannot be denied that the earth was more paſſable and eaſie to travail over before the floud, than after it. For *Pererius* himſelf confeſſeth, that *Attica* (by reaſon of mud and ſlime which the water left upon the earth) was uninhabited 200. years after *Ogyges* floud; whereby we may gather, that there was no great pleaſure in paſſing into far Countries, after the generall deluge, when the earth lay (as it were) incopſed for 100. or 130. years together. And therefore was the face thereof in all conjecture more beautifull, and leſs cumberſome to walk over, in the firſt Age, than after the generall overflowing.

‖. VI.

Of the words of Moses, Gen. 10. v. *ultimo, whereupon* Pererius *grounded his opinion.*

LAstly, whereas *Pererius* drawes this Argument out of the last Verse of the tenth of *Genesis*; *And out of these were the Nations divided after the Floud: Quo significatur talem divisionem non fuisse ante diluvium*; *By which it appeareth* (saith *Pererius*) *that there was no such division before the Floud*; which he also seeketh to confirm out of the eleventh of *Genesis*, because the division of tongues was the cause of the dispersion of the people. This consequence, *quo significatur, &c.* seemeth to me very weak: The Text it selfe rather teacheth the contrary: *For out of these* (saith *Moses*) *were the Nations divided in the earth after the floud*; inferring, that before the floud the nations were divided out of others, though after the floud out of these onely. But whatsoever sense may be gathered from this place, yet it can no way be drawn to the times before the floud, or to any plantation or division in that age: for if there were none else among whom the Earth could be divided after the floud, but *Noahs* sons, wherein doth that necessary division controul the planting of the World before it? And whereas it is alledged that the confusion of speech was the cause of this dispersion; it is true, that it was so for that present; but if *Babel* had never been built, nor any confusion of languages at all, yet increase of people and time would have enforced a farther-off and general plantation: as *Berosus* saies well, that when mankind were exceedingly multiplied, *Ad comparandas novas sedes necessitas compellebat*, *They were driven by necessity to seek new Habitations.* For we finde (as it is before said) that within 300. years after the Floud, there were gathered together into two Armies such multitudes, as the Valley about *Babylon* could not have sustained those numbers, with their increase, for any long time; all *Asia* the greater and the lesser; all *Scythia*, *Arabia*, *Palæstina*, and *Egypt*, with *Greece*, and the Islands thereof; *Mauritania* and *Lybia*, being also at that time fully peopled. And if we beleeve *Berosus*, then not onely those parts of the World, but (within 140. years after the floud) *Spain*, *Italy* and *France* were also planted: much more then may we think, that within 1656. years before the floud, in the time of the chief strength of mankinde, they were replenished with people. And certainly, seeing all the world was overflown, there were people in all the World which offended.

Lib. 3.

‖. VII.

A conclusion, resolving of that which is most likely, touching the Ægyptian antiquities: with somewhat of Phut (*another son of* Ham) *which peopled Lybia.*

THerefore, for the Antiquity of the *Egyptians*, as I doe not agree with *Mercator*, nor judge with the *Vulgar*, which give too much credit to the *Egyptians* Antiquities: so I doe not think the report of their Antiquities so fabulous, as either *Pererius* or other men conceive it. But I rather incline to this, that *Egypt* being peopled before the floud, and 200. or 300. years more or lesse after *Adam*, there might remaine unto the Sons of *Mizraim* some Monuments in Pillars or Altars (of stone or mettall) of their former Kings or Governours: which the *Egyptians* having added to the List and Roll of their Kings after the floud, in succeeding time (out of the vanity of glory, or by some corruption in their Priests) something beyond the truth might be inserted. And that the memory of antiquity was in such sort preserved, *Berosus* affirmeth it of the *Chaldæans*, and so doth *Epigenes*. For they both write, that the use of Letters and the Art of Astronomy was known to the *Babylonians* 3634. years before *Alexanders* Conquest: and this report *Annius* findeth to agree, and reach to the time of *Enoch*, who was born 1034. years before the floud, and wrote of the Worlds destruction, both by Water and Fire; as also of *Christ* his comming in judgment, as Saint *Jude* hath witnessed. But leaving these Antiquities to other mens judgments, and every man to his own reason, I will conclude this Plantation of *Egypt*. It is agreed by all, that it was peopled by *Mizraim*, and that it took the name of *Egypt* from *Egyptus* the sonne of *Belus*, as aforesaid. Being divided into two Regions, that part from *Memphis* or *Nicopolis* to the *Mediterran* Sea, was called the inferiour *Egypt*; surnamed also *Delta*: because the severall branches of *Nilus* breaking asunder from one body of the River, gave it the forme

of

of the *Greek* letter *Delta*, which is the form of a Triangle. That branch, which ran toward the North-eaſt and imbraced the Sea, next unto the Deſarts of *Sur* & *Pharan*, had on it the City of *Peluſium*, where *Senacherib* was repulſed: The other branch, which yeelded it ſelf to the Salt-water towards the North-eaſt, is beautified by that famous City of *Alexandria*: The upper part of *Egypt* is bounded between *Memphis* and *Syene* near *Æthiopia*, and had the name of *Thebaida*, of that ancient City of *Thebes*; which (according to *Homer*) was adorned with 100. Gates, and therefore called *Civitas centum portarum*; and by the *Greeks Dioſpolis*; in the Scriptures *No-hamon*, which ſignifieth multitudes of inhabitants, exceeding belief. *Joſephus* calls *Egypt Merſin* of *Mizraim*: and *Herodotus* affirms that it had once the name of *Thebais*. *Ioſ. l. 1. Ant. c. 7. Hiero. Epiſtle.*

Phut the third ſonne of *Ham* took the next portion of Land to his brother *Mizraim*, and inhabited *Lybia*: whoſe people were anciently called *Phutei*, (ſaith *Joſephus*) and *Pliny* mentioneth the River *Phut* in *Mauritania*: which River from the mountain *Atlas* (known to the inhabitants by the name of *Dyris*) he maketh to be diſtant the ſpace of two hundred miles. It alſo appeareth in the thirtieth Chapter of *Ezechiel*, that *Phut*, *Chuſh*, and *Lud* were *contermini* and aſſociates with the *Egyptians*. *L. 5. c. 1.*

§. XII.

Of the e'even Sons of Canaan, *the fourth Son of* Ham.

‖. I.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan: *with the names of his eleven Sonnes.*

CAnaan (the fourth ſon of *Ham*) poſſeſt all that Region called by the *Romanes Paleſtina*; in the Scriptures *Galilæa*, *Samaria*, and *Judæa*; in the later times knowne by the name of the Holy Land and *Jurie*: the limits whereof are preciſely ſet downe by *Moſes*, *Geneſis* the tenth, *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon as thou goeſt to Gerar untill Azzah, and as thou goeſt unto Sodom and Gomorrah, and Admah, and Zeboim, even unto Laſha.* Now howſoever theſe words of the *Hebrew* Text (*as thou goeſt*) be converted, *Moſes* meaning was that *Gerar* was the South bound of *Canaan*, and *Zidon* the North; *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* the Eaſt, and the other Cities named, ſtood on the Frontiers thereof. For *Gerar* ſtandeth in a right line from *Gaza* in the way of *Egypt*, the uttermoſt Territory of *Canaan* Southward: and this was properly the Land of *Canaan*.

Now the ſons of *Canaan* which poſſeſt this Country, and inhabited ſome part of the borders thereof, were in number eleven.

1. *Zidon*.
2. *Heth* or *Chethus*.
3. *Jebuſi* or *Jebuſæus*.
4. *Emori* or *Emoreus*, or *Amoreus*.
5. *Girgeſhi* or *Girgeſeus*.
6. *Hevi* or *Chiveus*.
7. *Arki* or *Harkeus*.
8. *Seni* or *Sinæus*.
9. *Arvadi* or *Arvadæus*.
10. *Zemari* or *Samareus*, or *Tzemareus*.
11. *Hamathi*, or *Hamatheus*, or *Chamathæus*.

Of which the moſt renowned were the *Hethites*, *Gergeſites*, *Amorites*, *Hevites*, *Iebuſites*, and *Perizzites*: which *Perizzites* were deſcended of *Zemari* or *Samareus*, or from ſome of his.

‖. II.

Of the Portions of Zidon *and* Heth.

ZIdon the firſt borne of *Canaan*, built the famous City of *Zidon* in *Phœnicia*, which afterward fell in partition to the Tribe of *Aſſer*: for *Aſſer*, *Zabulon*, and *Nepthali* had a great part of the ancient *Phœnicia* diſtributed among them; but the *Aſſerites* could never obtain *Zidon* it ſelf.

The second Son of *Canaan* was *Heth* or *Cethus*: of whom came the *Hethites*, or *Hittites*, one of those seven principal Nations (commanders of *Canaan*) appointed by God to be rooted out; namely, the *Gergesites*, the *Amorites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Perizzites*, the
Gen.10.19. *Hevites*, and the *Jebusites*. The *Hittites* inhabited about *Bersabe*, and towards *Hebron*, near the Torrent *Besor*, and about *Gerar*, which *Moses* maketh the uttermost limit of *Canaan*,
Gen.23. having the Desart of *Pharan* to the South: for about *Bersabe* (otherwise *Puteus juramenti*) four miles from *Gaza* dwelt *Heth* and his Posterity, as far to the North-east as *Hebron*, and *Mamre*; and of *Ephraim* the *Hittite* did *Abraham* buy the field of *Sarahs* buriall.
Gen.27.46. Of which Nation *Rebecca* bewailed her self to *Isaac*, saying, *That she was weary of her life for the daughters of* Heth. The Giants *Anakim* were of these *Hittites*, a strong and fierce
Kin.7.6. nation, whose entertainment by the Kings of *Israel* against them the *Syrians* greatly feared: as in the seventh of the *Kings*; *Israel hath hired against us the Kings of the Hittites.*

‖. III.
Of the Jebusites and Amorites.

Jebuseus, the third sonne of *Canaan*, of whom came the *Jebusites*, and whose principal seat was *Jebus*, (afterward *Hierusalem*) were also a valiant and stubborn Nation, and held their City and the Country near it, till such time as *David* by Gods assistance recovered both: yet were not the *Jebusites* extinguished, but were Tributaries to *Solomon.*

Amoreus was the fourth son of *Canaan*, of whom the *Amorites* took name, who inhabited that Land to the East of *Iordan* below the Sea of *Galilee*, having *Arnon* and the mountains of *Galaad* on the East, and *Iordan* on the West: of whom *Og* (King of *Basan*) and *Sihon* (overthrown by *Moses*) were Princes.

The *Amorites* had also many other habitations dispersed within the bounds of *Canaan*: as behind *Libanus* in the edge of *Cœlosyria*, or *Syria Libanica*. They had also their be-
Deut.1. Num.13. ing in the mountaines of *Iuda*, and in *Idumæa* near the *Metropolis* thereof, called *Duma*. And hereof it came that all the *Canaanites* were sometime called *Amorites*: as in *Genesis* the fifteenth: *For the wickednesse of the Amorites is not yet full.*
Amos 2. And that this was also a powerfull Nation, we finde in the Prophet *Amos*: *Yet destroyed I the Amorite before them, whose heighth was like the heighth of a Cedar, and hee was strong as the Oak.*

‖. IIII.
Of the Gergesites, Hevites, and Harkites.

THe fift son of *Canaan* was *Gergesius*, or *Gergeson*, (otherwise *Girgasi*) who inhabited on the East side of the Lake of *Tiberias*, or the Sea of *Galilee*, where *Ptolomy* sets the City *Gerasa*, which *Iosephus* calls *Gesera*, in the Territory of *Decapolis*. Here it was that Christ dispossest the possessed with devils; and the *Gergesites* desired him to depart their Coasts: becausse their swine, filled with the evill spirits, drowned themselves in the Sea of *Galilee*. *Gergeseus* also built *Beritus* (sometime *Geris*) afterward *Fælix Iulia*, three miles from the River *Adonis* in *Phœnicia*: in which the *Romans* held a Garrison: and to which *Augustus* gave many large priviledges.

Hevens the sixth son, and Father of the *Hevites*, inhabited under *Libanus* near *Emath*. These *Hevites*, howsoever the *Caphthorim* expelled a good part of them (as in *Deuteronomy* the second is remembred) yet many of them remained all the War of *Iosua*, and afterward to the time of *Solomon*. For God was not pleased utterly to root out these nations, but they were sometimes made Tributaries to the *Israelites*, and at other times served (in their falling away from the true worship of God) to afflict them: for as it is written, *Iudges* the third: *They remained to prove* Israel *by them, whether they would obey the commandements of God.*

The seventh sonne was *Araceus* or *Harki*, who between the foot of *Libanus* and the *Mediterran* Sea, (over against *Tripolis*) built the City of *Archas*, *Arce*, or *Arca*, afterwards *Arachis*.

‖. V.

‖. V.
Of Sini *and* Arvadi.

SIneus the eight son, *Hierosolymitanus* sets at *Caparorsa*, which *Ptolomy* finds in *Judæa*, not far from *Jebus*; to the South thereof, saith *Iunius*. But it is more probable, that *Sineus* founded *Sin*, which S. *Hierome* cals *Sim*: *Ptolomy*, *Simyra*: *Mela* and *Pliny*, *Simyrus*: *Brochard*, *Sycon*; (called *Synochis*) neer *Arca*. *Pererius* thinkes that *Sineus* inhabited the Desarts of *Sinai*, or thereabout; but hereof there is no other certainty than the report of *Brochard*, who took view of all these places, affirming, that *Sineus* built *Sinochis*, as *Zidon* built *Zidon*. There is also another Nation of *Cini* written with the letter *C*. (otherwise *Kenæi*) who descended of *Hobab* the son of *Raguel* the *Madianite*, who assisted the *Israelites* in their conduction through the wildernes of *Pharan*. But these *Cinæi* were admitted among the *Israelites*, and had a portion of Land with the *Nephtalims*, beside their habitations with the *Amalekites*: against these *Cinæi*, *Balaam* prophecied, that they should be destroyed by the *Assyrians*. *Judg.* 4. *Jos.* 19.33.

The ninth son was *Aradeus* or *Arvadeus*, who in the Isle of *Aradus* built the City *Arados*: opposite against which Island on the Maine of *Phœnicia*, they founded another City of that name, which for opposition was afterwards called *Antaradus*. To this City came S. *Peter* (saith *Clement*) and in this Isle preached the Gospel, and founded a Church in honour of our Lady: but we find no such worke of his in the *Acts* of the Apostles. Both these two were very famous, and places of Skilfull Sea-men: whom *Ezechiel* remembreth in his prophecies against the *Tyrians*: *The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were thy Mariners*. *Gal. Tyr. Vit.* *Cap.* 27. *v.* 8.

‖. VI.
Of Zemari.

OF *Samareus*, or *Zemari*, the tenth son, there are divers opinions. Some think that he inhabited in *Cœlosyria* at *Edessa*, and founded *Samarsim*, which in *Josua* is placed in the Tribe of *Benjamin*. There is also *Samarajim* (of the same orthography) upon the Mountaine of *Ephraim* (saith *Beroaldus*) mentioned in the second of *Chr. c.* 13. *v.* 4. which the *Latine* converteth amisse (saith he) by *Semeron*. The *Hierosolymitan Paraphrast* makes *Samareus* (of whom were the *Perizzites*) the parent of the *Emissani*, which *Pliny* cals the *Hemisseni*, in *Cœlosyria*; and it may be that it was their first habitation, and that they afterwards inhabited those other places before remembered. But that they founded *Samaria*, both the Hebrew Orthographie, and this place in the 1 of *Kings* (speaking of *Omri*) disproveth: *And he bought the Mountain Samaria or Shemeron of one* Shemar, *for two talents of Silver, and built in the Mountaine; and called the name of the City which he built, after the name of* Shemer, *Lord of the mountaine, Samaria*. But of all these places I shall speake more at large in the conquest of the holy Land, by the children of *Israel*. Of whomsoever the *Samaritanes* were descended, sure I am, that they were ever a perfidious Nation, and base: for as long as the state of the *Jewes* stood up, they alwayes called themselves *Jewes*: when it suffered or sanke, they then utterly denyed to be of that Nation or Family; for at such time as they were returned from their first captivitie, they became a mixt Nation; partly of the Colonies of the *Assyrians*, and partly of the Naturals. *Beroal. in Chro.* *l.* 4. 1 *Kin.* 16.28.

‖. VII.
Of Hamathi.

THe last of *Canaans* sons was *Hamatheus*, or (according to the *Hebrew*) *Hamathi*, of *Hamath*, (saith *Beroaldus*:) of which (the aspiration taken away) the same is pronounced *Emath*, whereof *Hamatheus* was present. *Josephus* and S. *Hierome* confound *Emath* with *Antioch*: not that *Antioch* which standeth on the River *Orontes*, on the frontier of *Comagena*, between the Mountaine *Cassius* and the Province of *Pieria*, and *Seleucis*, of which Saint *Peter* was Bishop, and in which Saint *Luke* and *Ignatius* were borne; but *Antioch*, surnamed *Epiphania*, as *Beroaldus* supposeth, which standeth betweene

Apamea

Apamea and *Emesa* in *Cassiotis*. Yet indeed, *Emath* cannot be taken for either: for both that *Antioch* upon *Orontes*, and that which neighboureth *Emesa*, are farther off seated from *Canaan*, than ever any of those Nations straggled. And whereas S. *Hierome* setteth *Emath*, which he confoundeth with *Epiphania*, in the Tribe of *Nephtali*; it is manifest, that *Epiphania*, which standeth to the North of *Emesa*, hath all the Province of *Laodicea* betweene it and any part of the Land divided. And if *Libanon* it selfe were not shared among the Tribes, then could not *Epiphania* belong unto them: for both the Provinces *Laodicea* and *Libanica*, are between *Epiphania* and any part of the holy Land: and therefore *Emath* so taken could not be a part of *Nephtali*, as in the thirteenth of *Josua* is directly proved. For *Josua* counting the lands that remained unpossest, reckoneth all Mount *Libanon* towards the Sun-rising, from *Baalgad* under Mount *Hermon*, until we come to *Hamath*. And this reason (among others) is used, that *Emath* was not in *Nephtalim*, or any way belonging to the children of *Israel*: because *David* accepted the pre-
2 *Sam.*8.9. sents of *Tohu* King of *Emath*, and (therewithall) conditions of peace: which he would not have done, if that Territory had ever belonged to the children of *Israel*, but would have recovered it without composition, and by strong hand, as he did the rest. But this Argument (as I take it) hath no great weight. For if the promise which God made, be
*Cap.*11.*v.*24. considered, as it is written in *Deuteronomy*, then might *Emath* be comprehended, though seated altogether without the bounds of the land promised, according to the description of *Moses* and *Josua*: for *Emath* is indeed situate on the other side of the Mountain of *Hermon*, which joyneth to *Libanus*: and is otherwise called *Iturea*. But whereas *Hamath* is named in *Josua* 19. *v.*35. and written in the *Latine* conversion *Emath*, therein (saith *Beroaldus*) was S. *Hierome* mistaken. *Emath* or *Iturea* is that over the Mountaines, and the City in *Nephtalim* should be written *Hamath*: and so the *Septuagint* (understanding the difference) write it *Ammath* and not *Emath*, the same which indeed belongeth to the *Nephtalims*, seated on the South side of *Libanus*, to the East of *Assedim*: which City S. *Hierome* writes *Emath*; *Josephus*, *Hamah*; others, *Emathin*, or *Amatheos*, and the people
*Cap.*18. *&* 19. *Amathein*; of which (as I take it) *Rabsakeh* vaunteth in the second of *Kings*. *Where is the god of Hamath?*

§. XIII.

Of the sons of Chush (*excepting* Nimrod) *of whom hereafter.*

The Sons of *Chush* were, { *Sheba*, *Havila*, *Sabta*, *Raama*, *Sabteca*, *Nimrod.* } And the Sons of *Raama* were, { *Sheba*, and *Dedan.* }

‖. I.

That most of the sons of Chush *were seated in Arabia the happy: and of the Sabæans that robbed* Job: *and of the Queene that came to* Solomon.

SEba or *Saba* was the eldest son of *Chush*, the eldest son of *Ham*; to make a difference betweene Him and his Nephew *Sheba*, the son of his brother *Raama* or *Regma*, (or *Ragma* after *Montanus*:) his name is written with a single (*S*) *Samech*, and *Sheba* the son of *Regma* with an (*S*) asperat, which is the *Hebrew Schin*. *Seba* the eldest son of *Chush*, *Regma* his brother, and *Sheba* the son of *Regma*, possest both the shores of *Arabia fœlix*. *Saba* tooke that part toward the Red Sea, as neerest his Father *Chush*, and the Land of the *Chushites*: *Regma* and *Sheba* the East coast of the same *Arabia*, which looketh into the Gulfe of *Persia*; of which *Pliny*: *Sabæi*, *Arabum populi*, *propter thura clarissimi ad utraq; maria porrectis gentibus habitant*; *The Sabæans*, *people of Arabia*, *famous for their Frankincense*, *extending their Nations*, *dwell along both the Seas*, (to wit) *the Persian*, *and the Arabian or Red Sea*. This Countrey was afterwards called *Arabia*, *à populi mixtione*, saith *Postellus*. To this agreeth *Ptolomy*, who setteth the City of *Saba* towards the *Arabian* or *Red Sea*, and the Citie *Rhegama* towards the *Persian*; with whom also we may leave *Sabta*: for so much *Montanus* gathereth out of *Ptolomy*, because

becauſe he remembreth a Nation (called *Stabæi*) neere the *Perſian* Sea; and *Maſſabathæ* which deſcended of them. But *Montanus* hath ſent *Regma*, or (as he cals him) *Rhama*, into *Carmania*, for which I ſee no reaſon. *Joſephus*, who onely attended his owne fancies, hath baniſhed *Saba* or *Seba* to the border of *Ethiopia*. But *Beroaldus* thinkes it ſtrange, that the *Sabæi*, which ſtole away *Jobs* Cattle, ſhould runne through all *Egypt*, and all *Arabia Petræa*, and finde out *Job* in *Traconitis*, betweene *Paleſtina* and *Cœloſyria*, 1200. miles off. Now, as this conjecture was more than ridiculous, ſo do I thinke, that neither the *Sabæi* on the Red Sea, nor thoſe toward the *Perſian* Sea, could by any meanes execute the ſtealth upon *Job*, which ſoever *Beroaldus* ſhall take for neereſt. But theſe were the *Sabæi* of *Arabia* the Deſart, where *Guilandinus Melchior* affirmeth out of his own experience, that the Citie *Saba* is ſeated: the ſame which *Ptolomy* calls *Save*, now *Semiſcaſac*: and from this *Saba* in *Arabia* the Deſart, came thoſe *Magi* or *Wiſe men*, which worſhipped *Chriſt*, ſaith *Melchior*, whoſe words are theſe: *The Magi came neither out of Meſopotamia* (as *Chryſoſtome*, *Hierome*, and *Ambroſe* ſuppoſed) *nor out of Arabia the Happy, as many wiſe men doe beleeve, but out of Saba in Arabia the Deſart: which City, when my ſelfe was there, was (as I judged it) called Semiſcaſac.* And to approve this opinion of *Guilandinus*, it appeareth that theſe *Sabæi* were neighbours to *Job*, and lay fit to invade and rob him. For both the other Nations (as well thoſe on the *Perſian* Sea, as thoſe on the Red Sea) are ſo diſ-joyned with large Deſarts, as there is no poſſibilitie for ſtrangers to paſſe them, eſpecially with any numbers of Cattell, both in reſpect of the mountains, of the ſands, and of the extreme want of water in thoſe parts: *Ubi nec homines, nec beſtiæ videntur, nec aves, imò nec arbores, nec gramen aliquod, ſed non niſi montes ſaxoſi, altiſſimi, aſperimi; Where there are found neither men, nor beaſts, no not ſo much as birds, or trees, nor any paſture or graſſe, but onely ſharpe, and high, ſtonie, and craggie mountaines.* *Beroaldus* and *Pererius* conceive, that the Queen of *Saba* which came to viſit *Solomon*, was of the *Sabæi* on the Eaſt ſide of *Arabia fœlix*; but the contrarie ſeemeth more probable, and that ſhe was Queen of *Saba* towards the Red Sea: for *Solomon* at that time commanding all that part of *Arabia Petræa*, betwixt *Idumæa* and the Red Sea, as far downe as *Midian* or *Madian*, and *Ezion Gaber*: and this Queene of *Saba*, which inhabited the Weſt part of *Arabia Fœlix*, being his neighbour, might without any far travell enter his Territories, free from all danger of ſurpriſe by any other Prince or Nation.

But to avoid tediouſneſs, it is manifeſt that *Seba* or *Saba*, *Sabta*, *Raama*, or *Regma*, with his Sons *Sheba* and *Dedan*, and *Sabteca*, were all the poſſeſſors of *Arabia* the *Happy*, and the Deſart: onely *Havilah* and *Nimrod* dwelt together on the Eaſt ſide of *Chuſh*, who held *Arabia Petræa*. Now for *Sabta*, there is found of his name the City of *Sabbatha* or *Sabota* in the ſame *Arabia*: of which both *Plinie* and *Ptolomy*; who withall nameth *Sabotale*, within the wals whereof there were ſometimes found ſixtie Temples. *Ezechiel* joyneth the Father and the ſon together, *The Merchants of Sheba and Raama were thy Merchants*. And that they were the Eaſtern *Arabians*, their merchandiſe witneſſeth, formerly repeated in the Chapter of *Paradiſe*. For *Joſephus* his fancies, that *Saba* was the Parent of the *Ethiopians* about *Meroe*, and *Sabta* of the *Ethiopians Aſtabari*, they be not worthy any farther anſwer than hath already beene given: eſpecially ſeeing theſe Cities, preſerving the memorie of the names of *Saba*, and of *Sabta* in *Arabia*, were yet remaining in *Ptolomies* time, though in ſome letters changed. As alſo in the coaſts adjoyning, the names of other of the brethren of the familie of *Cuſh*, with little alterations are preſerved. In *Arabia* the Deſart is found the City *Sabæ* or *Save*, (now *Semiſcaſac*) with the Citie of *Rhegana* for *Rhegma*; and the Nation by *Ptolomy* himſelf called *Raabeni* of *Raamah*. In *Arabia* the Happie is found the Citie of *Rhegama*, & *Rabana*; which alſo keepeth the ſound of *Rhegma*, the Citie of *Saptha* or *Saptah*, not far from the Eaſt-coaſt of *Arabia*: as alſo the *Metropolis* and chiefe Citie in the bodie of the South part of *Arabia*, called without difference or alteration *Sabatha*, and to the Weſt of *Sabatha* towards the Red Sea, the great Citie of *Saba*; and the Nation adjoyning, *Sabæi*; and to the South thereof againe toward the ſtreight enterance of the Red Sea, the Region of *Sabe*. To all theſe his brothers and nephewes which were ſea ed on the Eaſt ſide of *Arabia*, *Havilah* by the paſſage of *Tygris* was a neighbour, to whom he might paſſe by Boate even unto *Rhegma* the Citie of *Raama*, or *Rhegma*, ſet neere the River of *Lar* towards the mouth of the *Perſian* Sea, which ſtood in *Ptolomies* time.

Plin. l. 12. c. 14. Ptol. tab. 6. Aſia. Ezech. 27. 22.

‖. 11.

‖. II.

Josephus *his opinion of* Dedan, *one of the issue of* Chush, *to have beene seated in the West Æthiopia, disproved out of* Ezechiel *and* Hieremy.

AND whereas *Josephus* (whom in this S. *Hierome* followeth, as not curious herein) sent *Dedan* the son of *Raamah* into West *Æthiopia*, it is strange that *Ezech.* should couple *Sheba*, *Raamah*, and *Dedan* together; *Dedan* in the 15. Verse, and *Sheba*, and *Raamah* in the 22. Verse, to be the Merchants of *Tyre*, if *Dedan* had dwelt in West *Æthiopia*, which is distant from *Raamah* and *Sheba* (the habitation of his father and brother) above foure thousand miles. Besides which, the merchandise that the *Dedanites* brought to *Tyre* doth not make them naked Blacke-moores. For they of *Dedan* (saith *Ezechiel*) were thy Merchants in precious clothes for thy Chariots; and these Westerne *Æthiopians* never saw cloth, till the *Portugals*, seeking those Coasts, traded with them: the merchandise of the Countrie being Hides, Elephants teeth, some Gold and Amber, Civet Cats, and Rice, but nothing at all of any manufacture: and all these they exchanged for linnen, or iron chiefly.

But in those dayes, the West part of *Africa* within the body of the land was knowne onely by imagination: and, being under the burnt *Zone*, was held uninhabitable. And therefore that the *Negroes* of the West *Æthiopia*, which inhabite about *Serra Liona*, or *Niger*, could either passe by Sea or Land to *Tyre*, in the bottome of the *Mediterran* Sea, were a strange, or rather a foolish fancy. Now to put it out of dispute that *Dedan* also dwelt by the rest of the children of *Chush*, which seats they held by that name in the time of *Hieremy* the Prophet; let us heare *Hieremy* his owne words: *Fly, ye Inhabitants of Dedan, for I have brought the destruction of* Esau *upon him.* Hereby it appeareth, that *Dedan* was a Neighbour to the *Idumæans*: and *Idumæa* is a Province of *Arabia Petræa*: and *Dedan* which dwelt on the North part of *Arabia fœlix*, joyned in that part to *Petræa*, the seat of his Grand-father *Chush*; which neighbourhood and fellowship of *Dedan* and the *Idumæans*, is also confirmed by *Ezechiel*: *I will stretch out my hand upon Edom, and destroy Man and Beast out of it, and I will make it desolate from Teman: and they of Dedan shall fall by the sword.*

Ezech.15.15.

§. XIII.

Of the issue of Mizraim: *and of the place of* Hieremie, *Chap. 9. Vers. 7.*

AFter *Chush*, it followeth to speake of *Mizraims* sons, whose names (saith Saint *Augustine*) were plurall, to signifie the Nations, which came of them. *Ludim*, the elder son of *Mizraim*, was the Father of the *Lybians* in *Africa*: and the rest of his Brothers dispersed themselves into all the Regions adjoyning. Among the sons of *Shem* there is also *Lud*; but he is differenced from *Lud* the son of *Mizraim* by the singular number: the sonne of *Shem* being written *Lud*; the sonne of *Mizraim*, *Ludim*: and yet these Names and Nations are often confounded, notwithstanding the apparent difference both of Names and Nations. For, that *Ludim* the son of *Mizraim* was the Parent of the *Lybians* in *Africa*, and that he was seated not far from *Mizraim* his father, appeareth by the Prophet *Hieremy*, who joyned them in this sort together: *Come up yee Horses, and race ye Chariots, and let the valiant men come forth, the Blacke-moores, and the Lybians which beare the shield*: for those Nations assisted the *Egyptians*, being of one Parent descended. And in *Ezechiel*, *Phut* and *Lud* are joyned together. *Æthiopia* (or *Chush*) saith *Ezechiel*, c.30. v.3. *and Phut, and Lud, and all the common people, and the men of the Land that are in league, shall fall with them by the sword*: which is as much to say, as the sons of *Chush*, (which were the *Chusites*) the sons of *Mizraim*, (which were the *Egyptians*) and the *Lybians* (descended of his son *Lud*) with other the Inhabitants of *Egypt* and *Africa*, shall fall together. *Hierosolymitanus* finds also in *Africa* a Nation of the *Lydians*. And I beleeve it: because *Hieremy* joyneth the *Lybians*, and *Lydians* together in the place before remembred. But *Lybia* in *Africa* is by the *Hebrewes* called *Ludim* (saith *Arias Montanus*) though 2 *Chron.* 12. 3. they seeme to bee called *Lubim* or *Lubæi*, a name somewhat neere the word *Lybies*, and by which it may seeme that the truer writing

The termination *im* in the *Hebrew*, is commonly a signe of the plural number, as *eim*, of the *dual*.

Ezech.46.v.9.

writing is, not *Libyes*, but *Lybies*. Neither is it here to be omitted, that *Pintus* (upon the thirtieth of *Ezechiel*) underſtandeth that which is ſpoken in the third Verſe of *Lud*, not to be meant of the *Lybians* at all: for he will have this threatning to be meant againſt the people of *Lyda*, a City (ſaith he) between *Egypt* and *Palæſtina*, which opinion I could not miſlike, if the City of *Lyda* were ſo ſeated. But *Lyda* (which ſhould be written *Lydda* with a double *D*, and is the ſame City which was afterward *Doiſpolis*, in which S. *Peter* cured *Æneas* of the palſey) ſtandeth neere the Torrent *Gaas*, not far from *Joppe* the Port of *Hieruſalem*. Yet it is not impoſſible but that this City might have *Lud* for the Founder. For there are many Cities of one name founded in all the Regions of the World, and far aſunder; as after the names of *Alexander*, *Seleucus*, and *Antiochus*, many Cities called *Alexandria*, *Seleucia*, and *Antiochia*, ſo of divers others. S. *Hierome* maketh *Lehabim* to be the Father of *Libya*, who was the third ſon of *Mizraim*: and ſo doth *Poſtellus*; and either opinion may be true.

The reſt of *Mizraims* ſons have no proper Countries given them in the Scriptures, ſaving *Caſſuhim* and *Caphtorim*, of whom came the *Philiſtims*, whom the Scriptures call *Peleſet*.

Theſe *Caſſuhim* inhabited *Caſſiotis*, a Region lying in the enterence of *Egypt* from *Paleſtina*, in which the Lake *Sirbonis*, and the Mountain *Caſſius* are found, not far from whence *Pompey* was buried.

Caphtorim ſeated neer *Caſſuhim* in that Tract of *Egypt* called *Sethrotis*, not far from *Peluſium*. *Strabo* calls it *Sethrotis*; *Stephanus* and *Pliny*, *Sethroitis*, of the City *Sethron*: which *Ortelius* takes to be the ſame which *Ptolomy* calls *Hercules parva*. Of the *Caſſuhim* and *Caphtorim* came the *Philiſtims*, which are called by the *Septuagint Allophyli* (which is) *Alienigenæ*, Strangers, or of a ſtrange kindred. Theſe *Philiſtims* inhabtied the South part of the holy Land towards *Egypt*, of whom *Palæſtina* tooke name. For the *Hebrewes* (ſaith *Iſidore*) doe not uſe the letter (*P*) but in ſtead of it (*ph.*) Their principall Cities were *Gaza*, *Aſcalon*, *Azotus*, *Geth*, and *Accaron*: and the people of them called *Gaſæi*, *Aſcalonitæ*, *Azotii*, *Gethæi*, and *Accaronitæ*: *Iſidore* affirmes, that *Aſcalon* was firſt called *Philiſtim*: and of that City the Country adjoyning. But where *Iſidore* had it, I know not.

The firſt knowne King of the *Philiſtims*, was that *Abimelech*, who had a liking to *Abrahams* wife; with whom *Abraham* made a covenant and league. This *Abimelech* dwelt indeed at this time in *Gerar*; but it is written that he was alſo King of the *Philiſtims*, in theſe words: *Wherefore Iſaac went to Abimelech King of the Philiſtims unto Gerar*. Now in regard that this or ſome ancienter *Abimelech* governed the commonwealth greatly to his glory, the reſt of his ſucceſſors called themſelves by the ſame name. The *Philiſtims* commanded that Tract of Land upon the mediterran Sea to the Northward, from the Caſtle of *Pilgrims* (otherwiſe *Cæſarea Palæſtinæ*, or *Stratons* Tower) which was the South border of *Phœnicia*, to *Gaſa*, or to the River of *Egypt*. The *Anakims* or ſtrong Gyants were of theſe *Philiſtins*: and *Goliah* was of *Geth*, one of the five Cities above named. They had ſomtimes five Kings, ſaith *Lyranus*. They maſtered the *Iſraelites* at ſeverall times above 150. yeeres, and kept them Tributaries, till they were weakened by *Sampſon* and *Samuel*; but in the end, this yoke was taken off by *David*, and laid on themſelves.

Beſil upon the 33. Pſalm. *Hierome* upon the 29 of *Ezechi. l.*

It is objected, that becauſe theſe Cities and the Countries adjoyning, were held by the ſons of *Mizraim*, therefore did the *Iſraelites* diſpoſſeſſe the ſons of *Mizraim*, and not of *Canaan*, by forcing thoſe places.

To this ſaith *Pererius*, that although the *Palæſtines* or *Philiſtims* held it in the time of *Joſua*, yet at the time of the promiſe it was poſſeſt by the *Canaanites*; as in the ſecond of *Deuteronomy*. The *Hevites* dwelt in the Villages unto *Gaza*. And what marvell, if (the *Canaanites* being the greater part) the denomination were from them? For that the *Philiſtims* were of *Caphtor*, and ſo of *Mizraim*, and not of *Canaan*, beſides *Moſes*, the Prophet *Hieremy* witneſſeth: *The Lord will deſtroy the Philiſtims: the remnant of the iſſue of Caphtor*: and in like manner in the ninth of *Amos*, the *Philiſtims* are ſaid to be the reliques of *Caphtorim*: *Have not I brought up* Iſrael *out of the Land of Egypt, and the Philiſtimes from Caphtor, and* Aram *from Kir*? ſo I read this place with divers of the learned. For whereas the Vulgar hath, and *Palæſtinos de Cappadocia*, & *Syros de Cyrene*, this converſion *Beroaldus* condemneth; where *Caphtor* is taken for *Cappadocia*, and *Cyrene* for *Kir*. For *Cyrene* is a City directly Weſt from *Egypt*, betweene *Ptolomais* or *Barce* and *Apollonia*: but *Kir* in *Aſia* under the *Aſſyrians*: *Junius* hath it *Kir*, and not *Cyrene*: and ſo hath the *Geneva*.

Hier. l. 47. 4.

Amos c. 9. v. 7.

But

But *Pererius* calls Caphtorim Cappadocia, according to the Vulgar translation, to which he is bound: and yet it is not altogether improbable if he mean Cappadocia in Palæstina, and not that Cappadocia by the Sea Pontus in the North of Asia the lesse. For whether they inhabited Sethreites, or Cappadocia of Palæstina, it is not certainly knowne. And sure in this manner he may expound Cappadocia to be ambiguous, aswel as he doth Cyrene: taking it here not for Cyrene in Africa but for a place in Media. For it is written in the second of *Kings*, that *Teglatphalasser* King of the Assyrians carried away the inhabitants of Damascus into Kir: and so *Josephus* seemes to understand this Kir for Cyrene in Media, calling this Cyrene *Media superior*: for it was the manner and policy of the Assyrians to transplant the people conquered by them, as they did the Samaritans or Israelites, and other Nations. And hereof it came that Kir was called *Syro-Media*: because the Syrians by the Assyrians were therein captived.

Of which see in the second Book, Chap.7. Sect.3. ‖.5.

Cap.26.v.9.

§. XV.
Of the issue of Sem.

‖. I
Of Elam, Assur, Arphaxad, *and* Lud.

It remaineth lastly to speake of the Sons of *Sem*, who are these:

1. *Alam*, or *Elam*,
2. *Assur*,
3. *Arphaxad*,
4. *Lud*, and
5. *Aram*.

THe posterity of *Sem*, *Moses* recounteth after the rest: because from them he proceedeth in order with the Genealogie and Story of the Hebrewes: (For of *Sem* was *Abraham* descended.)

Of these five sons, the Scriptures remember the length of the life of *Arphaxad* onely, and only the children of him & *Aram*; the rest are barely spoken of by rehersal of their names, saving that it may be gathered, that *Assur* (who was supposed to found Ninive) was also said to be the Father of the Assyrians, whose issues, and the issues of *Cham*, instantly contended for the Empire of the East: which sometimes the Assyrians, somtimes the Babylonians obtained, according to the virtue of their Princes. This is the common opinion, which also teacheth us that all the East parts of the World were peopled by *Assur*, *Elam*, and *Lud* (saving India) which I beleeve *Noah* himselfe first inhabited: and to whom *Ophir* and *Havilah* the sons of *Joctan* afterward repaired, *Hi filii* Sem *ab Euphrate fluvio partem Asiæ usq; ad Oceanum Indicum tenuerunt*; *These sons of* Sem (saith S. Hierome) *held all those Regions from Euphrates to the Indian Ocean.*

Joseph. Ant.l.1.c.7

Of *Elam* came the Elamites, remembred, *Acts* 2.*v*.9. and the Princes of Persia; which name then began to be out of use and lost, when the Persians became Masters of Babylonia: the East Monarchy being established in them. Some prophane writers distinguish Elam from Persia, and make the Elamites a people apart. But Susa (which the Scriptures call Susan) in Elam was the Kings seate of Persia (witnesse *Daniel*: *And I saw* (saith he) *in a vision, and when I saw it, I was in the palace of Susan, which is in the Province of Elam*. This City is embraced by the River Euleus (according to *Ptolomy*) in *Daniel*, Ulai: and seated in the border of Susiana.

Cap.8. vers.2.

Ptol. Asiæ tab.5

Dan.8.2.

Assur (as most Historians beleeve) the second son of *Sem*, was Father of the Assyrians, who disdaining the pride of *Nimrod*, parted from Babel, and built Ninive, of equal beauty and magnitude with Babylon, or exceeding it. But we shal in due place disprove that opinion. Every mans hand hath beene in this Story, and therefore I shall not need herein to speake much: for the *Assyrians* so often invaded and spoiled the Israelites, destroyed their Cities, and led them Captives, as both in Divine and Humane letters there is large, and often mention of this Nation.

But howsoever *Herodotus* and *D. Siculus* extend this Empire, and honour this Nation with

with ample Dominion; yet was not the ſtate of the *Aſſyrians* of any ſuch power, after ſuch time as *Sardanapalus* loſt the Empire. For *Senacherib*, who was one of the powerfulleſt Princes among them, had yet the mountain *Taurus* for the utmoſt of his Dominion toward the North-eaſt, and *Syria* bounded him toward the Weſt, notwithſtanding theſe vaunts of *Senacherib* in *Eſay* the 37. *Have the Gods of the Nations delivered them whom my Fathers have deſtroyed: as* Gozan, *and* Haran, *and* Reſeph, *and the children of* Eden *which were at Telaſſar? Where is the King of Hamath, and the King of Arphad, and the King of the City Sepharuaim, Hena and Ivah?* All theſe were indeed but petty Kings of Cities, and ſmall Countries, as *Haran* in *Meſopotamia*: *Reſeph* in *Palmyrena*: *Hamath* or *Emath* in *Ituræa*, under *Libanus*: the Iſle of *Eden*: *Sephar*, and others of this ſort. Yea, *Nabuchodonoſor*, who was moſt powerfull, before the conqueſt of *Egypt*, had but *Chaldæa*, *Meſopotamia*, and *Syria*, with *Palæſtina*, and *Phœnicia*, parts thereof. But in this queſtion of *Aſſur*, I will ſpeak my opinion freely when I come to *Nimrod*, whoſe plantation I have omitted among the reſt of the *Chuſites*, becauſe he eſtabliſhed the firſt Empire: from whom the moſt memorable ſtory of the World taketh beginning. *Eſay* 37. *Verſ.* 11.

Of *Arphaxad* came the *Chaldæans*, ſaith Saint *Hierome* and *Joſephus*; but it muſt be thoſe *Chaldæans* about *Ur*: for the ſons of *Cham* poſſeſt the reſt. It is true that he was the father of the *Hebrewes*: for *Arphaxad* begat *Shela*, and *Shela*, *Heber*, of whom hereafter.

And that *Lud*, the fourth ſon of *Shem*, gave name to the *Lydians* in *Aſia* the leſs, is the common opinion, taken from *Joſephus* and S. *Hierome*; but I ſee not by what reaſon he was moved to ſtraggle thither from his friends.

§. II.
of Aram, *and his Sons.*

Aram the fift and laſt Son of *Shem* was the Parent of the *Syrians*: of which *Damaſcus* was head. Their name was changed from *Aram* or *Aramites* by *Syrus* (ſaith *Euſebius* out of *Joſephus*) which *Syrus* lived before *Moſes* was borne; the ſame which others call the ſon of *Apollo*. *Meſopotamia* alſo being but a Province of *Syria*, had the name of *Aram Naharajim*, which is as much to ſay; as *Syria duorum fluviorum*; *Syria compaſſed with two Rivers*, (to wit) *Tygris* and *Euphrates*. The Scriptures call it *Meſopotamia*, *Syria*, and *Padan Aram*: and the *Greeks Meſopotamia* ſimply. *Eſay* 7. 8. *Euſeb. p.* 10. *C.*

Ariſe and get thee to Padan Aram (ſaith *Iſaac* to *Iacob*) *to the houſe of Bethuel thy mothers father, and thence take thee a wife.* *Strabo* alſo remembreth it by the ancient name of *Aram*, or *Aramea*, as theſe his own words converted witneſſe: *Quos nos Syros vocamus, ipſi Syri Aramenios & Arameos vocant*; *Thoſe which we call Syrians* (ſaith he) *themſelves call Arameniens and Arameans.* *Gen.* 28. 2. ſee *Gen.* 25. 10. alſo *Deut.* 23. 4. *Judg.* 3. *Paral.* 1. 19. *Pſal.* 59. *Strab. l.* 1.

Againſt this opinion, that *Aram* the ſon of *Sem* was the Father and Denominator of the *Syrians* in general; (and not onely of thoſe in *Syria Inter-Amnis*, which is *Meſopotamia*) ſome read, *Geneſ.* 22. 21. *Kemuel*, the Father of the *Syrians*: where others out of the original read *Kemuel*, the ſon of *Aram*. Neither is it any inconvenience for us to underſtand the word (*Aram*) here, not for the Nation, but for the name of ſome one of note; the rather, becauſe in the hiſtory of *Abraham* and *Iſaac* (which was in time long before *Kemuels* Poſterity could be famous) we finde *Meſopotamia* called *Aram*; and that with an addition: ſometimes with *Naharajim*, and ſometimes of *Padan*, to diſtinguiſh it from another *Aram*, which (as it ſeemes) then alſo was called *Aram*. For whereas *Junius* thinks in his notes upon *Gen.* 25. 20. that *Padan Aram* ought to be reſtrained to ſome part of *Meſopotamia*, (to wit) to that part which *Ptolomy* calls *Ancobaritis* (ſo called from the River *Chaboras*, which dividing it, runneth into *Euphrates*) the promiſcuous uſe of *Padan Aram*, and *Aram Naharajim* (which latter appellation queſtionleſs comprehends the whole *Meſopotamia*) may ſeem to refute this opinion: eſpecially ſeeing the ſignification of this appellation agreeth with the whole Region. For it ſignifieth as much as the yoke of *Syria*, which name agreeth with this Region: becauſe the two Rivers, (as it were) yoked together goe along it. The Reliques of the name *Padan* appear in the name of two Cities in *Ptolomy*, called *Aphadana*: (as *Junius* hath well noted) the one upon *Chaboras*, the other upon *Euphrates*.

The sonnes of *Aram* were, { *Uz*, or *Hus*. *Hul*. *Gether*, and *Mesch* or *Mes*.

Hieron. in trad. Hebraic. *Uz* or *Hus* inhabited about *Damascus*, and built that City, saith *Josephus* and S. *Hierome*. But *Tostatus* mistaking this opinion, both in them and in *Lyra*, who also followeth *Josephus*, affirmeth that *Abrahams* Steward *Eliezer* was the Founder thereof; though it were likely that *Hus* the eldest son of *Aram* dwelt near unto his father, who inhabited the body of *Syria*. For *Hus* was a Region of the same, adjoyning to *Arabia* the Desart, & to *Batanea* or *Traconitis*, whereof the Prophet *Hieremy*: *Rejoyce and be glad O daughter of Edom that dwellest in the Land of Hus*. *Hus* therefore is seated beyond *Jordan*, in the East Region of *Traconitis*, adjoyning to *Basan*, having *Batanea Gaulonitis*, and the Mountain *Seir* to the East, *Edrai* to the South, *Damascus* North, and *Jordan* West: having in it many Cities and people, as may also be gathered out of *Hieremy*: *And all sorts of people and all the Kings of the Land of Hus*. In this Region dwelt *Job*, descended of *Hus*, the son of *Nahor*, the brother of *Abraham* (saith St. *Hierome*) and married *Dina* the daughter of *Jacob*, saith *Philo*.

Hieron. Lam. cap.4.ver.21. *Cap.25.v.20.*

Hul the second son of *Aram*, S. *Hierome* makes the Father of the *Armenians*, and *Gether* the third son, Parent to the *Acarnanians*, or *Carians*: which opinion, (because I finde not where to set him) I do not disprove, though I see no reason why *Gether* should leave the fellowship of his own brethren, and dwell among strangers in *Asia* the less. *Junius* gives *Hul* (whom he writes *Chul*) the Desart of *Palmyrena*, as far as *Euphrates*, where *Ptolomy* setteth the City of *Cholle*,

Gether (saith *Josephus*) founded the *Bactrians*: but *Josephus* gave all *Noahs* children feathers, to carry them far away in all hast. For mine own opinion, I alwaies keep the rule of Neighbourhood, and think with *Junius* (to wit) That *Gether* seated himself near his brothers, in the body of *Syria*, and in the Province of *Cassiotis*, and *Seleucis*, where *Ptolomy* placeth *Gindarus*, and the Nation by *Pliny* called *Gindareni*.

Junius also giveth to *Mes* or *Mesch* the North part of *Syria*, between *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia*, near the mountain *Masius*. The certainty of those Plantations can no otherwise be known than by this probability, that *Aram* the Father (of whom that great Region took name) planted his sons in the same Land about him: for he wanted no scope of Territory for himself and them; neither then when the World was newly planted, nor in many hundred years after: and therefore there is no reason to cast them in the desart parts of the World, so far asunder. And as necessity and policie held them together for a while; so ambition (which began together with Angels and Men) inhabiting the hearts of their children, set them asunder. For although these sons of *Aram*, and the sons of the rest of *Noahs* children, kept themselves within the bounds of some on large Kingdomes; yet therein every one also sought a Province apart, and to themselves; giving to the Cities therein built their own names, thereby to leave their memory to their Posterity: the use of letters being then rare, and known to few.

In this sort did the pride of the *Spaniards* in *America* cast them into so many Provinces: every one emulating and disdaining the greatness of other, as they are thereby to this day subject to invasion, expulsion, and destruction: so as (*Nova Hispania* and *Peru* excepted, because those Countries are unaccessible to strangers) an easie force will cast them out of all the rest.

Chap.8.Sect.7 *Mes* the fourth son is made the Parent of the *Mæonians*: of whom something hath bin spoken already. *Arphaxad* the third son of *Shem*, begat *Shelah*, and *Heber*. *Heber* had two sons, *Phaleg* and *Jectan*: and in *Phalegs* time was the Earth divided.

ll. III.

Of the division of the Earth in the time of Phaleg, *one of the sonnes of* Heber, *of the issue of* Sem.

THe many people which at the division (at *Phalegs* birth) were then living, and the through Plantation of all the East part of the World (at his death) hath made a doubt, whether the Earth were divided at either. The *Hebrewes* (saith *Pererius* out of

of *Sedar Holam*, one of their Chronicles) affirm that this partition happened at the death of *Phaleg*: and *Phaleg* was borne in the year after the floud 101. and lived in all 239. years, which numbers added, makes 340. And therefore was it ſo many yeares after the floud, ere the children of *Noah* ſevered themſelves. But to this opinion of the *Hebrews*, and the doubt they make how in ſo few years as 101. (the time of *Phalegs* birth) ſo many people could be increaſed, *Pererius* gives this anſwer, That if 70. perſons of the Family of *Jacob* increaſed to 600000. fighting men in 215. years, (beſides women, children, and impotent perſons) how much more is it likely, that ſo ſoon after the Floud the children of *Noah* might in a ſhorter time bring forth many multitudes, having received the bleſſing of God, *Increaſe and multiply, and fill the earth?* What ſtrength this anſwer hath, let others judge: for the children of *Iſrael* were 70. and had 215. yeares time: and the ſons of *Noah* were but three, and had but 101. years of time, to the birth of *Phaleg*.

Others conceive that *Phaleg* took that name after the diviſion, in memory thereof: as *Joſephus* and S. *Auguſtine*, who reaſon in this manner. If the diviſion were at *Phalegs* death (which happened in the year, which is commonly held to be the 48. of *Abraham*, but was by more likely computation 12. years before his birth) then was the diviſion 38. years after *Ninus*, who governed 52. years: in the 43. year of whoſe Reigne *Abraham* was borne. But when *Ninus* began to rule the *Aſſyrians*, 80. years before this diviſion (as this diviſion is placed by the *Hebrewes*, *Hierome* and *Chryſoſtome*) then was the earth ſo peopled in all the Eaſt and Northern parts, as greater numbers have not been found at any time ſince. For *Ninus* aſſociating to himſelf *Ariæus* King of *Arabia*, a people who at that time (ſaith *Diod. Siculus*) *plurimum opibus atq; armis præſtabant*, *Exceeded both in riches and bodies of men*, ſubdued many Cities in *Armenia*; received *Barzanis* into grace; then invaded *Media*, and crucified *Pharnus* the King thereof, with his Wife and ſeven Children; vanquiſhed all thoſe Regions between *Nilus* and *Tanais*, the *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, the Kingdomes of *Syria*, and all the Nations of *Perſia*, to the *Hyrcanian* Sea. For the numbers which followed *Ninus* (already remembred out of *Cteſias*) againſt *Zoroaſter* and others: and *Zoroaſter* on the other ſide, who made reſiſtance with 400000. prove it ſufficiently, that if the diviſion had not happened before the death of *Phaleg*, there had needed no diviſion at that time at all. For ſome of them were ſo ill ſatisfied with their partitions, as they ſought to be maſters of all, and greater Armies were there never gathered than by *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: wherefore in this opinion there is little appearance of the truth.

Joſeph. l. 1. Ant. Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 16. c. 11.

Per. in Gen. lib. 15. c. 10.

But for that conceit, that if the diviſion had been made at the birth of *Phaleg*, there were not then ſufficient numbers borne to fill the earth: It was never meant that the earth could be filled every where at the very inſtant, but by times & degrees. And ſurely whatſoever mens opinions have beene herein, yet it is certaine, that the diviſion of tongues and of men muſt goe neare together with the ceaſing of the work at *Babel*: and that the enterpriſe of *Babel* was left off inſtantly upon the confuſion of Languages, where followed the execution of the diviſion; and ſo neither at the birth nor death of *Phaleg*: for *Phaleg* was borne in the yeare 101. after the Floud, which was the year that *Nimrod* came into *Shinaar*, or ten years after he arrived, ſaith *Eroſus*.

Now if it be objected that *Phaleg* (the Etymology of whoſe name ſignifieth diviſion) muſt have lived without a name, except the name had bin given him at the time of this confuſion and partition: to this objection it may be anſwered, That the change of names upon divers accidents is not rare in the Scriptures: for *Jacob* was called *Iſrael* after he had wreſtled with the Angel; *Abraham* was firſt *Abram*; and *Edom*, *Eſau*; and that *Phaleg* being a principal man in this diviſion had his firſt name upon this accident changed, it is moſt probable.

And laſtly, whereas the *Hebrewes*, Saint *Hierome* and *Chryſoſtome* account *Heber* for a great Prophet, if that by giving his ſonne the name of *Phaleg*, he foretold the diviſion which followed: to this I ſay, I doe not finde that *Heber* deſerved any ſuch honour, if he had thereupon ſo called his ſonne: for diviſion and diſperſion followeth increaſe of people of neceſſity; and this Propheſie (if any ſuch had been) might alſo have reference to the diviſion, which afterwards fell amongſt the *Hebrewes* themſelves.

But if we give a reasonable time to the building of the Tower and City of *Babel*, in which time many people (by reason and by demonstrative proof) might be increased: and that upon the fall thereof the confusion and division followed (whereupon *Phaleg* took name) then in this opinion there is nothing either curious or monstrous.

‖. IV.

Of the sonnes of Joctan, *the other sonne of* Heber.

The sonnes of *Joctan* were,
1. *Elmodad.*
2. *Saleph*, or *Salep*, or *Sheleph.*
3. *Asamath*, or *Chatzar.*
4. *Jare*, or *Jaraah*, or *Jerath.*
5. *Hadoram.*
6. *Uzal*, or *Uxal.*
7. *Dicklach*, or *Dicla.*
8. *Obal*, or *Ebal*, or *Hobal.*
9. *Abimael.*
10. *Sheba*, or *Seba.*
11. *Ophir*, or *Opir.*
12. *Havilah*, or *Chavila*, and
13. *Jobab.*

ALl those sonnes of *Joctan* (according to Saint *Hierome*) dwelled in the East parts of the World, or *India*, even from the River *Cophe* or *Choas*, which is one of the branches or heads of *Indus*.

But the certain places of those thirteen sonnes cannot be gathered out of the Scriptures, the words of *Moses* being general: *And their dwelling was from Mesha as thou goest unto Separ a Mount in the East.* Of all these thirteen Sons, there were onely three memorable, (to wit) *Sheba*, *Ophir*, and *Havilah*. Concerning whose names, to avoid confusion, it is to be observed, that among the sons of *Chush*, two of them had also the names of *Sheba* and *Havilah*. *Abraham* had also a third *Saba*, or *Sheba*, his grand-childe by his wife *Ketura*. But *Seba* the son of *Chush*, and *Sheba* the sonne of *Rhegma* his Nephew, we have left in *Arabia felix*: and *Havilah* the son of *Chush* upon *Tygris*. *Saba* the grand-childe of *Abraham* was (as some have thought) the Father of the *Sabæans* in *Persia*: of which Nations *Dionysius de Orbis situ* maketh mention. *Primùm Sabæi; post hos sunt Passagardæ; prope verò hos sunt Tasci: The first are Sabæans; after these be Passagardæ; and neer these the Tasci.* And whereas it is written: *But unto the Sonnes of the Concubines which* Abraham *had*, Abraham *gave gifts, and sent them away from* Isaac *his sonne (while he yet lived) Eastward to the East-Country:* Hereupon it is supposed, that this *Saba* the son of *Abraham* wandered into *Persia*: for *Persia* was accounted the furthermost East-Country in respect of *Judæa*; which also *Ovid* setteth under the Sun-rising. Yet seeing the rest of *Abrahams* sons seated themselves on the borders of *Judæa*, I rather choose to leave *Saba* the sonne of *Abraham* in *Arabia* the Desart, where *Ptolomy* setteth a Citie of that name.

G a. 10. 30.

Gen. 25. 6.

Mirab. lib. 1.

But *Saba* the son of *Joctan*, the son of *Heber*, (as I conceive) inhabited *India* it selfe. For *Dionysius Afer* in his *Periegesis*, (or description of the World) which he wrote in *Greek* verse, among the Regions of *India* findeth a Nation called the *Sabæi*. *Taxilis hos inter medios habitatq; Sabæus; In the middest of these dwell the Sabæi, and the Taxili*, saith *Dionysius*.

τῶν Ἀμέτρων ναίων σαΒὰ ἠδὲ τάξιλος αὐδήσει.

‖. V.

Of Ophir *one of* Joctans *sons, and of Peru, and of that voyage of* Solomon.

OPhir also was an inhabitant of the East *India*, and (as S. *Hierome* understands it) in one of the Islands plentiful with gold, which are now known by the name of *Molucca*. *Josephus* understands *Ophir* to be one of those great head-lands in *India*, which by a general name are called *Chersonesi*, or *Peninsulæ*: of which there are two very notorious; *Callecut* and *Malacon*. *Pererius* takes it rightly for an Island, as S. *Hierome* doth, but

but he ſets it at the head-land of *Malacca*. But *Ophir* is found among the *Moluccas* farther Eaſt.

Arias Montanus out of the ſecond of *Chronicles*, the third Chapter and ſixth Verſe, gathers that *Ophir* was *Peru* in *America*, looking into the Weſt Ocean, commonly called *Mare del Sur*, or the South Sea; by others, *Mare pacificum*. The words in the ſecond of the *Chronicles* are theſe: *And he over-layed the houſe with precious ſtones for beauty; and the gold was gold of Parvaim.* *Junius* takes this gold to be the gold of *Havilah*, remembred by *Moſes* in the deſcription of *Paradiſe*: *And the gold of that Land is good*: finding a Town in *Characene* a Province of *Suſiana*, called *Barbatia*; ſo called (as he thinks) by corruption for *Parvaim*: from whence thoſe Kings ſubjected by *David*, brought this gold, with which they preſented him; and which *David* preſerved for the inriching of the Temple. *Gen.2.11.& 12 Plin.l.6.c.28.*

But this fancie of *Peru* hath deceived many men, before *Montanus*, and *Pleſſis*, who alſo took *Ophir* for *Peru*. And that this queſtion may be a ſubject of no further diſpute; it is very true that there is no Region in the world of that name: ſure I am, that at leaſt, *America* hath none, no not any City, Village, or Mountain ſo called. But when *Francis Piſarro* firſt diſcovered thoſe Lands to the South of *Panama*, arriving in that Region which *Atabaliba* commanded (a Prince of magnificence, riches, and dominion inferiour to none) ſome of the *Spaniards* utterly ignorant of that language, demanding by ſignes (as they could) the name of the Country, and pointing with their hand athwart a river or torrent, or brook that ran by, the *Indians* anſwered *Peru*, which was either the name of that brook, or of water in generall. The *Spaniards* thereupon conceiving that the people had rightly underſtood them, ſet it down in the *Diurnall* of their enterpriſe, and ſo in the firſt deſcription made, and ſent over to *Charles* the Emperor, all that weſt part of *America* to the South of *Panama* had the name of *Peru*, which hath continued ever ſince, as divers *Spaniards* in the *Indies* aſſured me; which alſo *Acoſta* the *Jeſuite* in his natural and moral Hiſtory of the *Indies* confirmeth. And whereas *Montanus* alſo findeth, that a part of the *Indies* (called *Jucatan*) took that name of *Jokan*, who as he ſuppoſeth navigated from the utmoſt Eaſt of *India* to *America*: it is moſt true, that *Jucatan* is nothing elſe in the language of that Country, but [*What is that?*] or [*What ſay you?*] For when the *Spaniards* ask'd the name of that place (no man conceiving their meaning) one of the ſalvages anſwered *Jucatan* (which is) *What ask you*, or *What ſay you?* The like happened touching *Paria*, a mountainous Country on the South ſide of *Trinidado*, and *Margarita*: for when the *Spaniards* inquiring (as all men doe) the names of thoſe new Regions which they diſcovered, pointed to the Hils afar off, one of the people anſwered, *Paria*, which is as much to ſay, as, *high Hils* or *Mountains*. For at *Paria* begins that marvellous ledge of mountains, which from thence are continued to the Strait of *Magellan*, from eight degrees of North latitude to the 52. of South: and ſo hath that Country ever ſince retained the name of *Paria*.

The ſame happened among the *Engliſh*, which I ſent under Sir *Richard Greenevile* to inhabite *Virginia*. For when ſome of my people aſked the name of that Country, one of the ſalvage anſwered, *Wingandacon*, which is as much to ſay, as *You weare good clothes*, or gay clothes. The ſame happened to the *Spaniard* in asking the name of the Iſland *Trinidado*: for a *Spaniard* demanding the name of that ſelf place which the Sea incompaſſed, they anſwered, *Caeri*, which ſignifieth an Iſland. And in this manner have many places, newly diſcovered, been intituled, of which *Peru* is one. And therefore we muſt leave *Ophir* among the *Moluccas*, whereabout ſuch an Iſland is credibly affirmed to be.

Now although there may be found gold in *Arabia* it ſelf (towards *Perſia*) in *Havilah*, now *Suſiana*, and all alongſt that Eaſt *Indian* ſhore; yet the greateſt plenty is taken up at the *Philippines*, certain Iſlands planted by the *Spaniards*, from the Eaſt *India*. And by the length of the paſſage which *Solomons* Ships made from the Red Sea (which was 3. years in going and comming) it ſeemeth they went to the uttermoſt Eaſt, as the *Moluccas* or *Philippines*. Indeed theſe that now goe from *Portugal*, or from hence, finiſh that navigation in two years, and ſometimes leſſe: and *Solomons* Ships went not above a tenth part of this our courſe from hence. But we muſt conſider, that they evermore kept the coaſt, and crept by the ſhores, which made the way exceeding long. For before the uſe of the compaſſe was known, it was impoſſible to navigate athwart the Ocean; and therefore *Solomons* Ships could not finde *Peru* in *America*. Neither was it needfull

for the *Spaniards* themselves (had it not been for the plenty of gold in the East *India* Islands, farre above the mines of any one place of *America*) to sail every year to the West part of *America* thither, and there to have strongly planted, and inhabited the richest of those Islands: wherein they have built a City called *Manilia*. *Solomon* therefore needed not to have gone farther off than *Ophir* in the East, to have sped worse: neither could he navigate from the East to the West in those dayes, whereas he had no coast to have guided him.

Tostatus also gathereth a fantastical opinion out of *Rabanus*, who makes *Ophir* to be a Country, whose mountains of gold are kept by *Griffins*: which mountaines *Solinus* affirmed to be in *Scythia Asiatica*, in these words: *Nam cum auro & gemmis affluant, Griphes tenent universa, alites ferocissimæ, Arimaspi cum his dimicant, &c. For whereas these Countries abound in gold and rich stones, the Griffins defend the one and the other: a kinde of Fowle the fiercest of all other; with which Griffins a nation of people called Arimaspi make War.* These *Arimaspi* are said to have been men with one eye onely, like unto the *Cyclopes* of *Sicilia*: of which *Cyclopes*, *Herodotus* and *Aristeus* make mention: and so doth *Lucan* in his third Book: and *Valerius Flaccus*: and *D. Siculus* in the story of *Alexander Macedon*. But (for mine own opinion) I beleeve none of them. And for these *Arimaspi*, I take it that this name signifying *one-eyed*, was first given them by reason that they used to wear a vizzard of defence, with one sight in the middle to serve both eies; and not that they had by nature any such defect. But *Solinus* borroweth these things out of *Pliny*, who speaks of such a nation in the extream North, at a place called *Gisolitron*, or the Cave of the North-east winde. For the rest, as all fables were commonly grounded upon some true stories, or other things done: so might these tales of the *Griffins* receive this moral: That if those men, which fight against so many dangerous passages for gold, or other riches of this World, had their perfect senses, and were not deprived of halfe their eye-sight (at least of the eye of right reason and understanding) they would content themselves with a quiet and moderate estate; and not subject themselves to famine, corrupt aire, violent heat, and cold, and to all sorts of miserable diseases. And though this fable be feigned in this place, yet if such a tale were told of some other places of the World, where wilde Beasts or Serpents defend mountains of gold, it might be avowed. For there are in many places of the World, especially in *America*, many high and impassable mountains, which are very rich and full of gold, inhabited onely with Tygers, Lions, and other ravenous and cruel beasts: unto which if any man ascend (except his strength be very great) he shall be sure to finde the same war which the *Arimaspi* make against the *Griffins*: not that the one or other had any sense of the gold, or seek to defend that mettall, but being disquieted, or made afraid of themselves or their young ones, they grow inraged and adventurous. In like sort it may be said that the *Alegartos*, (which the *Egyptians* call the *Crocodyles*) defend those pearls which lye in the Lakes of the Inland: for many times the poor *Indians* are eaten up by them, when they dive for the pearl. And though the *Alegartos* know not the pearl, yet they find savour in the flesh and bloud of the *Indians*, whom they devour.

Flaccus lib.6.
Diod. Sicul.l.16

ll. VI.

Of Havilah *the sonne of* Joctan, *who also passed into the East Indies: and of* Mesha *and* Sepher *named in the bordering of the Families of* Joctan: *with a conclusion of this discourse touching the plantation of the World.*

OF *Havilah* the sonne of *Joctan*, there is nothing else to be said, but that the generall opinion is, that he also inhabited in the East India in the Continent, from which *Ophir* past into the Islands adjoyning. And whereas *Ganges* is said to water *Havilah*, it is meant by *Havilah* in the East India, which took name of *Havilah* the son of *Joctan*: but *Havilah*, which *Pison* compasseth, was so called of *Havilah*, the son of *Chush*, as is formerly proved by this place of Scripture: *Saul smote the Amalekites from Havilah as thou commest to Shur, which is before Egypt.* But that *Saul* ever made War in the East India, no man hath suspected. For an end we may conclude, that of the thirteen sons of *Joctan*, these three, *Saba*, *Havilah*, and *Ophir*; though at the first seated by their brethren about the hill *Masius* or *Mesh*, *Gen.* 10.30. (to wit) between *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia*; yet at length either themseves or their issues removed into the East India, leaving the

1 Sam.15.7.

other

other Families of *Joktan*, to fill the Countries of their firſt plantation, which the Scripture defines to have been from *Meſh* unto *Sephar*. And although S. *Hierome* take *Meſh* to be a Region of the Eaſt India, and *Sephar* a Mountain of the ſame (which Mountain, *Montanus* would have to be the *Andes* in *America*) thoſe fancies are far beyond my underſtanding. For the word (*Eaſt*) in the Scriptures, where it hath reference to *Judæa*, is never farther extended than into *Perſia*. But *Meſech* is that part of the Mountaine of *Maſius* in the North of *Meſopotamia*, out of which the River *Chaboras* ſpringeth, which runneth by *Charran*: and in the ſame Region we alſo finde for *Sephar* (remembred by *Moſes*) *Sipphara* by *Ptolomy*, ſtanding to the Eaſt of the Mountain *Maſius*; from whence *Joktan* having many ſons, ſome of them might paſs into *India*, hearing of the beauty and riches thereof. But this was in proceſſe of time.

The other faſhion of planting I underſtand not, being grounded but upon mens imaginations, contrary to reaſon and poſſibility. And that this Mountain in the Eaſt was no farther off than in thoſe Regions before remembred, it appeareth by many places of the Scripture where the ſame phraſe is uſed: as in *Numbers* 23. Balac *the King of Moab hath brought me from Aram, out of the mountaine of the Eaſt*; which was from the Eaſt part of *Meſopotamia*. For *Balac* brought *Balaam* out of *Meſopotamia*, (witneſs this place of *Deuteronomie*:) *Becauſe they hired* Balaam *the ſonne of* Beor, *of Pethor in Aram Naharajim, to curſe thee*: for *Aram Naharajim* was *Syria fluviorum*, which is *Meſopotamia*, as aforeſaid. *Verſe 7.* *Cap. 23. ver. 4.*

This plantation of the World after the floud doth beſt agree (as to me it ſeems) with all the places of Scripture compared together. And theſe be the reports of reaſon and probable conjecture; the guides which I have followed herein, and which I have choſen to goe after; making no valuation of the opinions of men, conducted by their own fancies, be they ancient or moderne. Neither have I any end herein, private or publick, other than the diſcovery of truth. For as the partiality of man to himſelf hath diſguiſed all things: ſo the factious and hireling Hiſtorians of all Ages (eſpecially of theſe latter times) have by their many volumes of untrue reports left *Honour* without a monument, and *Vertue* without memory: and (in ſtead thereof) have erected *Statues* and *Trophies* to thoſe, whom the darkeſt forgetfulneſs ought to have buried, & covered over for evermore. And although the length & diſſolving nature of time hath worn out or changed the names and memory of the Worlds firſt planters after the floud (I mean the greateſt number and moſt part of them) yet all the footſteps of Antiquity (as appeares by that which hath been ſpoken) are not quite worn out nor over-grown: for *Babylon* hath to this day the ſound of *Babel*; *Phœnicia* hath *Zidon*, to which City the eldeſt ſon of *Canaan* gave name; ſo hath *Cilicia*, *Tharſis*; and the *Armenians*, *Medes*, *Hiberians*, *Cappadocians*, *Phrygians*, the *Syrians*, *Idumæans*, *Libyans*, *Moores*, and other Nations, have preſerved from the death of forgetfulneſs ſome ſignes of their firſt Founders and true Parents.

CHAP. IX.

Of the beginning and eſtabliſhing of Government.

§ I.

Of the proceeding from the firſt Government under the eldeſt of Families to Regall, and from Regall abſolute, to Regall tempered with Lawes.

IT followeth now to entreat how the World began to receive Rule and Government, which (while it had ſcarcitie of people) under-went no other Dominion than Paternity and Elderſhip. For the Fathers of Nations were then as Kings, and the eldeſt of Families as Princes. Hereof it came, that the word (*Elder*) was alwayes uſed both for the Magiſtrate, and for thoſe of Age and Gravity: the ſame bearing one ſignification almoſt in all Languages. For in the eleventh of *Numbers*, God commanded *Moſes* to gather together 70. of the Elders of the people, and Gover-

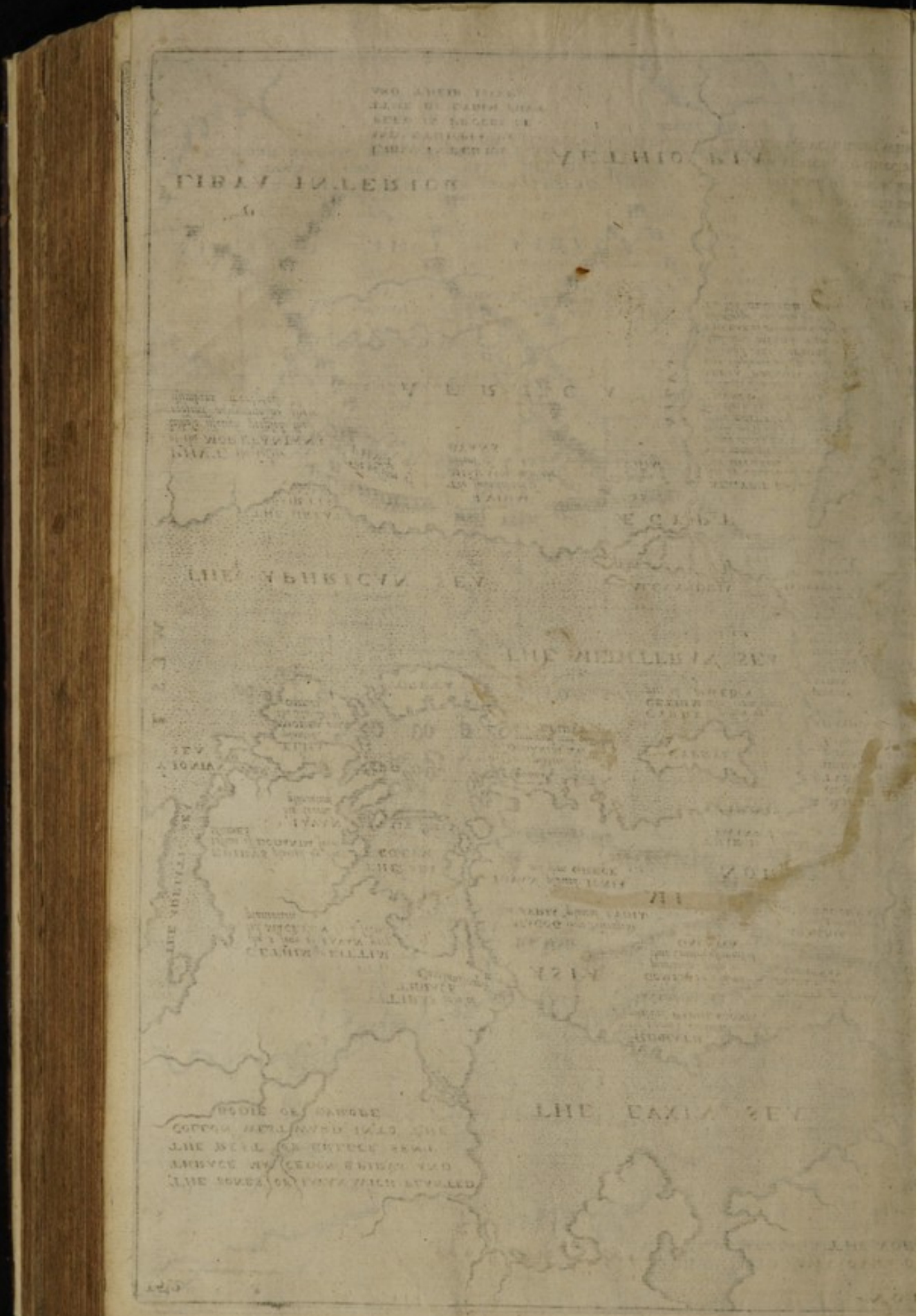
Governour over them: the *Hebrew* bearing the same sense which the *Latine* word *Senes* or *Seniores* doth. So it is written in *Susanna*, *Then the Assembly beleeved them as those that were the Elders and Judges of the people.* And so in the words of those false Judges and witnesses to *Daniel*, *Shew it unto us, seeing God hath given thee the office of an Elder. Demosthenes* useth the same word for the Magistrate among the *Grecians*. *Cicero* in *Cato* giveth two other reasons for this appellation: *Apud Lacedæmonios qui amplissimum Magistratum gerunt, ut sunt, sic etiam appellantur Senes; Among the Lacedæmonians the chiefe Magistrates, as they were, so they are called Eldermen:* and again, *Ratio & prudentia nisi essent in senibus, non summum Concilium Majores nostri appellassent Senatum; If reason and advisement were not in old men, our Ancestours had never called the highest Councell by the name of a Senate.*

But though these reasons may well be given, yet we doubt not but in this name of (*Elders*) for Governours or Counsellours of State, there is a sign that the first Governours were the Fathers of Families; and under them the eldest Sons. And from thence did the *French*, *Italian*, and *Spaniard* take the word (*Signor*) and out of it (*Seignourie*) for Lordship and Dominion: signifying (according to *Loyseau*) puissance in proprietie, or propet power. The kinds of this *Seignourie*, *Seneca* makes two: the one, *Potestas aut imperium*, *Power or command*: the other, *Proprietas aut dominium*; *Propriety or masterslip*: the correlative of the one is the subject, of the other the slave. *Ad Cæsarem* (saith he) *potestas omnium pertinet; ad singulos proprietas; Cæsar hath power over all, and every man propriety in his owne:* and again, *Cæsar omnia imperio possidet, singuli dominio; Cæsar holdeth all in his power, and every man possesseth his owne.* But as men and vice began aboundantly to increase: so obedience (the fruit of natural reverence, which but from excellent seed seldome ripeneth) being exceedingly over-shadowed with pride, and ill examples, utterly withered and fell away. And the soft weapons of paternal perswasions (after mankind began to neglect and forget the Original and first giver of life) became in all over-weak, either to resist the first inclination of evill, or after (when it became habitual) to constrain it. So that now, when the hearts of men were onely guided and steered by their own fancies, and tost to and fro on the tempestuous Seas of the World, while wisedome was severed from power, and strength from charity: Necessity (which bindeth every nature but the immortal) made both the wise and foolish understand at once, that the estate of reasonable men would become far more miserable than that of beasts, and that a general floud of confusion would a second time over-flow them, did they not, by a general obedience to order and dominion, prevent it. For the mighty, who trusted in their own strengths, found others again (by interchange of times) more mighty than themselves: the feeble fell under the forcible; and the equall from equall received equal harms. Insomuch that the licentious disorder (which seemed to promise a liberty upon the first acquaintance) proved upon a better triall, no less perillous than unindurable bondage.

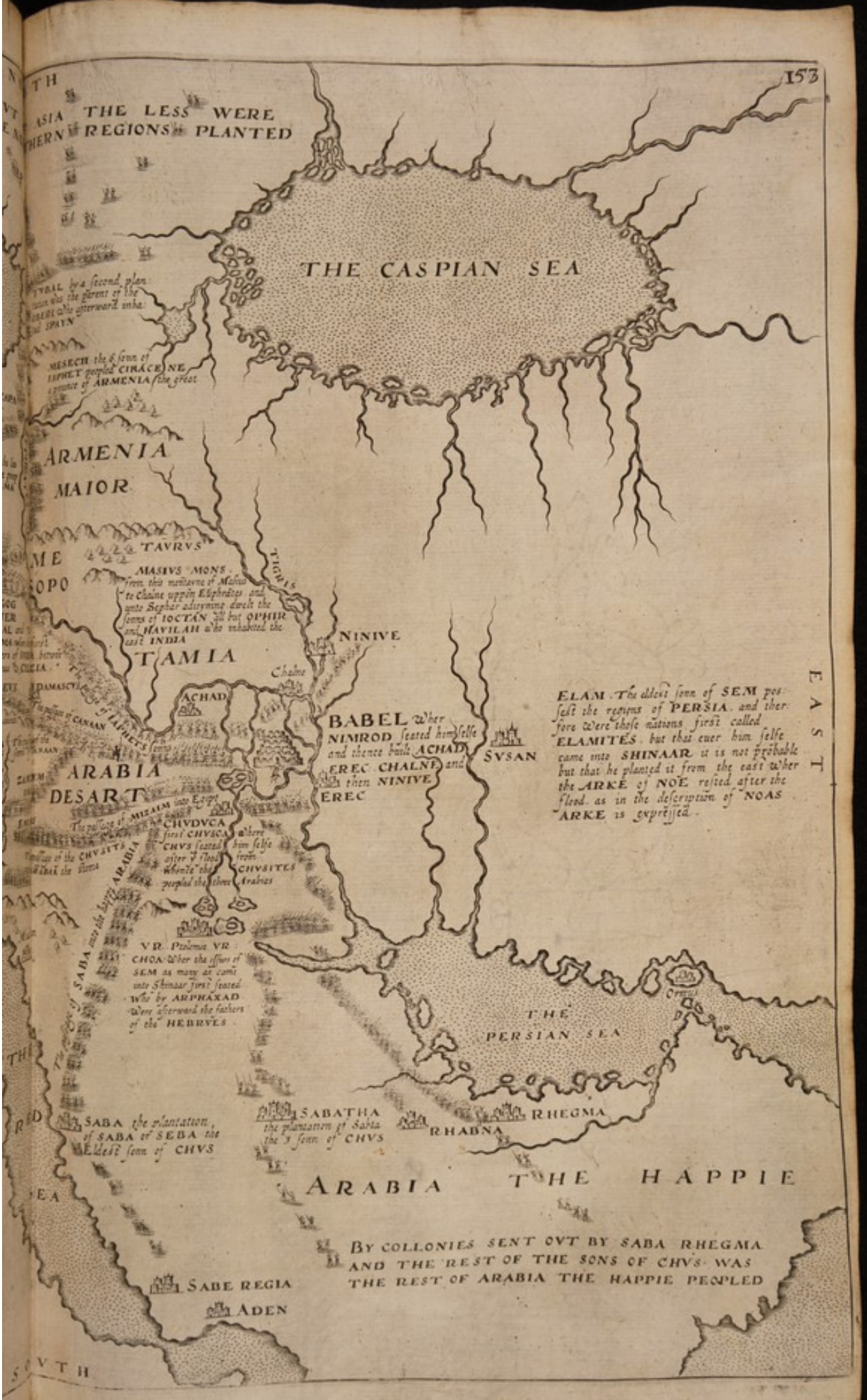
Necessitas est firmum judicium, & immutabilis providentiæ potestas.

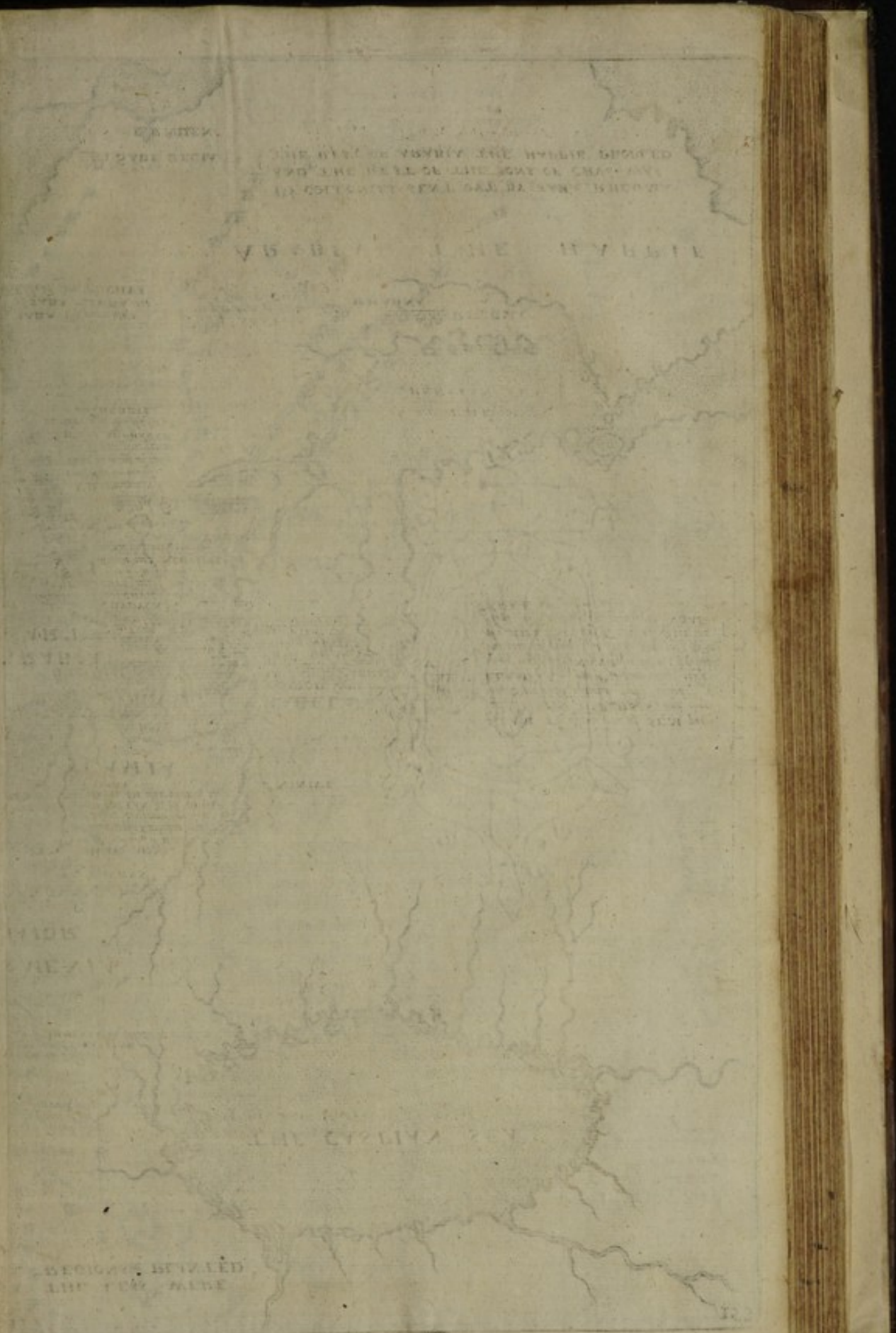
These Arguments by Necessity propounded, and by Reason maintained and confirmed, perswaded all nations which the Heavens cover, to subject themselves to a Master, & to Magistracy in some degree. Under which Government, as the change (which brought with it lesse evill, than the former mischiefs) was generally pleasing: so time (making all men wise that observe it) found some imperfection and corrosive in this cure. And therefore the same Necessity which invented, and the same Reason which approved soveraign power, bethought it self of certain equall rules, in which Dominion (in the beginning boundless) might also discern her own limits. For before the invention of Lawes, private affections in supream Rulers made their own fancies both their Treasurers and Hangmen: measuring by this yard, and waighing in this ballance, both good and evill.

For as wisedome in Eldership preceded the rule of Kings; so the will of Kings forewent the inventions of Lawes. *Populus nullis legibus tenebatur: arbitria principum pro legibus erant; The people were not governed by any other lawes than the wils of Princes.* Hereof it followed, that when Kings left to be good, neither did those mens vertues value them which were not fancied by their Kings, nor those mens vices deforme them that were. *Amor interdum nimis videt, interdum nihil videt; Love sees one while too much, another while stark nothing.* Hence it came to passe, that after a few yeares (for direction and restraint of Royal power) Lawes were established: and that Government which had



THE SONES OF IAVAN WICH PLANTED THRACE MACEDON EPIRVS AND THE REST OF GREECE SENT COLLONIES WESTWARD INTO THE BODIE OF EVROPE
THE EVXIN SEA
RIPHATH the 2 sonn of GOMER inhabited PAPHLAGONIA
TIRAS peopled THRACE Constantinople
ASIA
GOMER by a second plantation peopled that Countrie after called GALATIA
PONTVS and CAPADOCIA possest by ASCHENAZ
CETHIM or KITTIM the 5 sonn of IAVAN peopled MACEDON by a second plantation
MAGOG from Hierapolis in SYRIA planted LYDIA
ARMENIA the les by a second remove peopled by TOGORMA
THE ADRIATIC SEA
MI
NOR
IAVAN planted IONIA and then GRECE
THE SEA ÆGÆVM
EPIRVS planted by the Issues of DODANIM from RODES
THARSIS so called of IAVANS 2 sonn
IAVAN his second plantation
MAGOG GOMER TVBAL and TOGORMA were the first planters of SYRIA Libanus & CILICIA
Y IONIVN SEA
RODES first planted by DODANIM who afterward sent collonies into EPIRVS
CYPRVS
ELISA planted MOREA and the Islands of GRECE
CRETA
CYPRVS possest by CETHIM who from thens peopled MACEDON
ARADEVS
HEVEVS Libanus
ZIDON
HAMATHEVS
AMOREVS
CANAAN and his sonn of whom were also the BAZVMIMS and
THE MEDITERAN SEA
WEST
THE APHRICAN SEA
ALEXANDRIA
IEBVSEVS
HETHEVS
EDOM
THE GREAT SIRTIS
ÆGYPT
LVDIM The first borne of MISRAIM was the parent of the LYBYANS
The passage of PHVT
The passage of LVDIM
PHVT the father of the MORITANIANS whose issewes peopled the regions adioyning as their numbers increased
AEGYPT first possest by CHAM and his sonn MIZRAIM by both wich names the scriptures knowe it also plutarch in Oriside out of the holye bookes of the ÆGIPTIANS wisnesseth that it had the name of CHEMIA for CHAMIA it was in aftertymes called AERIA POTAMIA & OGYGIA Stephanus and Estatius intitled it MELAMPODES Apollodorus MYARA others THEBAE as Herodotus & Aristotle the Ægypt and now by the Turkes ELCHEBITES
NILVS
AFRICA
LIBYA INTERIOR
AETHIOPIA
LIBIA INTERIOR AND ÆTHIOPIA PEOPLED IN PROCES OF TYME BY LVDIM PHVT AND THEIR ISSVES


THE LESS WERE
REGIONS PLANTED
THE CASPIAN SEA
TYBAL by a second plan
SPAYN
MESECH the 6 sonn of
IAPHET peopled CIRACENE
a province of ARMENIA the great
ARMENIA
MAIOR
TAVRVS
MASIVS MONS
from this montayne of Masius
to Chalne uppon Euphrates and
unto Sephar adioyning dwelt the
sonns of IOCTAN all but OPHIR
and HAVILAH who inhabited the
east INDIA
TIGRIS
NINIVE
TAMIA
Chalne
ACHAD
BABEL Wher
NIMROD seated him selfe
and thence built ACHAD
EREC CHALNE and
then NINIVE
EREC
SVSAN
ELAM The eldest sonn of SEM pos-
sest the regions of PERSIA and ther-
fore were those nations first called
ELAMITES but that euer him selfe
came into SHINAAR it is not probable
but that he planted it from the east wher
the ARKE of NOE rested after the
flood as in the description of NOAS
ARKE is expressed
EAST
ARABIA
DESART
CHVDVCA
first CHVSCA where
CHVS seated him selfe
after y flood from
whence the CHVSITES
peopled the three Arabies
VR Ptolemie VR
CHOA Wher the issues of
SEM as many as came
into Shinaar first seated
Who by ARPHAXAD
were afterward the fathers
of the HEBRVES
THE
PERSIAN SEA
SABA the plantation
of SABA or SEBA the
Eldest sonn of CHVS
SABATHA
the plantation of Sabta
the 3 sonn of CHVS
RHABNA
RHEGMA
ARABIA THE HAPPIE
BY COLLONIES SENT OVT BY SABA RHEGMA
AND THE REST OF THE SONS OF CHVS WAS
THE REST OF ARABIA THE HAPPIE PEOPLED
SABE REGIA
ADEN



had this mixture of equality (holding in an even ballance supreme power and common right) acquired the title of Regall: the other (which had it not) was knowne for Tyrannicall: the one God established in favour of his people: the other he permitted for their affliction.

In the infancy of this Regall authority, Princes as they were chosen for their vertues onely, so did they measure their powers by a great deale of moderation. And therefore (saith *Fabius Pictor*) *Principes, quia justi erant, & religionibus dediti, jure habiti Dii & dicti; Princes because they were just and religious, were rightly accounted and called Gods.* De aureo saeculo part 1.

And though (speaking humanely) the beginning of Empire may be ascribed to Reason and Necessity; yet it was God himself that first kindled this light in the mindes of men, whereby they saw that they could not live and be preserved without a Ruler and Conducter: God himselfe by his eternall providence having ordained Kings; and the law of Nature Leaders, and Rulers over others. For the very Bees have their Prince; the Deere their Leaders; and Cranes (by order imposed) watch for their owne safety. *The most High beareth rule over the Kingdomes of Men; and appointeth over it whomsoever he pleaseth. By me* (saith *Wisedome*, spoken by the son of God) *Kings reigne; By me Princes rule*; and *it is God* (saith Daniel) *that setteth up Kings, and taketh away Kings.* And that this power is given from God, *Christ* himselfe witnesseth, speaking to *Pilate*; *Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above.* Dan. 5. 21. Prov. 8. 15. Dan. 2. 21. John 19. 21.

It was therefore by a threefold Justice that the World hath beene governed from the beginning, (to wit) by a Justice natural: by which the Parents and Elders of Families governed their Children, and Nephewes, and Families; in which government the Obedience was called naturall Piety: Againe, by a Justice divine drawne from the Lawes and Ordinances of God; and the Obedience hereunto was called Conscience: And lastly, by a Justice civill, begotten by both the former; and the Obedience to this we call Duty. That by these three those of the eldest times were commanded, and that the rule in generall was Paternall, it is most evident: for *Adam*, being Lord over his own Children, instructed them in the service of God his Creator; as we read, *Cain* and *Abel* brought Oblations before God, as they had beene taught by their Parent, the Father of Mankinde.

||. II.

Of the three commendable sorts of Government with their opposites: and of the degrees of humane society.

WHat other Policy was exercised, or State founded after such time as mankinde was greatly multiplied before the Floud, it cannot be certainly knowne, though it seeme by probable conjecture, that the same was not without Kings in that first Age: it being possible that many Princes of the *Egyptians* (remembred among their antiquities) were before the generall Floud: and very likely, that the cruell Oppressions in that Age proceeded from some tyranny in Government, or from some rougher forme of Rule, than the Paternall.

Berosus ascribeth the rule of the World in those dayes to the Gyants of *Libanus*, who mastred (saith he) all Nations from the Sun-rising to the Sun-set. But in the second Age of the World, and after such times as the rule of Eldership failed, three several sorts of Government were in severall times established among men, according to the divers natures of Places and People. Beros. lib. 1.

The first, the most ancient, most general, and most approved, was the Government of one, ruling by just Lawes, called *Monarchy*: to which *Tyranny* is opposed, being also a sole and obsolute Rule, excercised according to the will of the Commander, without respect or abservation of the Lawes of God, or Men. For a lawfull Prince or Magistrate (saith *Aristotle*) is the Keeper of Right and Equity: and of this condition ought every Magistrate to be, according to the rule of Gods word: *Judges and Officers shalt thou make thee in thy Cities: And these shall judge the people with righteous judgment.* Deut. 16. 18.

The second Government, is of divers principal Persons established by order, and ruling by Lawes, called *Aristocracy*, or *Optimatum potestas*; to which *Oligarchia* (or the particular faction and usurpation of a few great-ones) is opposed: as the *Decem viri*, or *Trium viri*, and the like.

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The third is a State popular, (or Government of the people) called *Democratia*, to which is opposed *Ochlocratia*, or the turbulent unjust ruling of the confused multitude, seditiously swaying the State, contrary to their own Lawes and Ordinances. These three kinds of Government are briefly expresst by *Tholosanus*; *unius, paucorum, & multorum*; *Of one, of few, of many.*

Now as touching the beginning and order of policy since the second increase of mankinde, the same grew in this sort: First of all, every Father, or eldest of the Family gave Lawes to his owne issues, and to the people from him and them increased. These, as they were multiplied into many housholds (man by nature loving society) joyned their Cottages together in one common Field or Village, which the Latins call *Vicus*; of the *Greek* οἶκος, which signifieth a House; or of the word (*Via*) becaus it hath divers waies and paths leading to it. And as the first House grew into a Village, so the Village into that which is called *Pagus*, (being a society of divers Villages) so called of the *Greeke* πήγη which signifieth a Fountaine: becaus many people (having their habitations not far asunder) dranke of one Spring or Streame of water. To this word the *English* Hundreds, or (as some thinke) Shires, answereth not unfitly.

But as men and impiety began to gather strength, and as emulation and pride between the Race of the one and the other daily increased: so both to defend themselves from out-rage, and to preserve such goods as they had gathered, they began to joyne and set together divers of their Villages, invironing them first with banks and ditches, and afterwards with wals: which, being so compassed, were then called *Oppida*; either *ab opponendo se hostibus, Becaus wals were opposed against Enemies*; or *ab opibus, becaus thither they gathered their riches for safety and defence:* as also they were called *Urbes, ab orbe*; becaus when they were to build a City, they made a Circle with a Plough (saith *Varro*) therewith measuring and compassing the ground which they went to inclose or fortifie. And although *Urbs* and *Civitas* be often confounded, yet the difference was anciently in this, that *Urbs* signified no other than the very wals and buildings, and *Civitas* was taken for the Citizens, inhabiting therein: so called of *Civis*, and that, *ab eo quòd multitudo coivit, of comming together.* But all inhabitants within these wals are not properly Citizens, but only such as are called Free-men: who bearing proportionably the charge of the City, may by turnes become Officers and Magistrates thereof: the rest goe under the name of Subjects, though Citizens by the same generall name of Subjects are also known. For every Citizen is also a Subject, but not every Subject a Citizen: perhaps also some Citizen (as the chiefe Magistrate, if he be to be termed one of the Citizens) is no Subject; but of this we neede not stand to inquire. The word (Magistrate) is taken *a Magistro, from a Master*, and the word (Master) from the Adverb *Magis* (as also *Magisteria, Precepts of Art*) or else from the *Greeke* word (*Megistos:*) and so the *Greekes* call them *Megistanes* whom the *Latines* call *Magnates*, or *Magistratus.*

Ethic. 5. The office and duty of every Magistrate *Aristotle* hath written in few words. *A Magistrate or Prince* (saith he) *is the keeper of right and equity*; but the same is best taught by Saint *Paul*, who expresseth both the cause efficient, and finall, (that is) by whom Magistrates and Princes are ordained, together with their duties and office. *A Magistrate is*
Rom. 13.4. *the Minister of God for thy wealth*; *but if thou doe evill, feare: for he beareth not the sword for nought. For he is the Minister of God, to take vengeance on him that doth evill.* He also
Ver. 1. 2. teacheth in the same place; *That every soule ought to be subject to the higher powers, becaus they are by God ordained*, and that *whosoever resisteth that power, resisteth God*, the giver and
Ibid. v. 5. fountaine thereof: and shall not onely be therefore subject to the judgment and condemnation of Man, but of God: *For ye must be subject* (saith he) *not becaus of wrath onely, but also for conscience sake.*

The examples are not to be numbred of Gods punishments upon those that have resisted Authority, by God ordained and established. Neither ought any subject therefore to resist the power of Kings, becaus they may be taxed with injustice or cruelty: for it pleaseth God sometimes to punish his people by a tyranous hand: and the Commandement of obedience is without distinction. The *Prophets* and *Christ* himselfe subjected themselves to the power of Magistracy. *Christ* commanded that all due to *Cæsar* should be given unto him: and he payed Tribute for himselfe and *Peter*. *Hieremy* commanded
Hierem. 29.7. Gen. 20. 17. & 27.10. the *Israelites* (even those that were Captives under Heathen Kings) to pray for them and for the peace of *Babylon*. So *Abraham* prayed for *Abimelech*; and *Jacob* blessed the King

of

of *Egypt*): And *it is acceptable in the ſight of our Saviour* (ſaith *Paul*) *that ye make Supplications and Prayers for Kings, and for all that are in authority*: and if for ſuch Kings as were Idolatrous, much more for Chriſtian Kings and Magiſtrates. And ſo much did Saint *Chryſoſtome* in his Homily to the people prefer *Monarchicall* Government, as he rather commended the rule of Kings (though Tyrants) than that they ſhould be wanting: *Præſtat Regem tyrannum habere, quàm nullum*; *Better a tyrannous King, than no King*: to which alſo *Tacitus* ſubſcribeth: *Præſtat* (ſaith *Tacitus* in the firſt of his Hiſtory) *ſub malo principe eſſe, quàm nullo*; *It is better to have a bad Prince than none at all*. And be they good Kings (which is generally preſuppoſed) then is there no liberty more ſafe, than to ſerve them: *Neq; enim libertas tutior ulla eſt* (ſaith *Claudian*) *quàm Domino ſervire bono*: *No liberty* (ſaith he) *more ſafe for us than to be ſervants to the vertuous*. And certainly howſoever it may be diſputed, yet is it ſafer to live under one Tyrant, than under 100000. Tyrants: under a wiſe man that is cruel, than under the fooliſh and barbarous cruelty of the multitude. For as *Ageſilaus* anſwered a Citizen of *Sparta* that deſired an alteration of the Government, That kinde of rule which a man would diſdaine in his owne houſe, were very unfit to governe great Regions by.

Laſtly, as many Fathers erected many Cotages for their many children: and as (for the reaſon before remembred) many Houſholds joyned themſelves together, and made Villages; many Villages made Cities: ſo when theſe Cities and Citizens joyned together, and eſtabliſhed Laws by conſent, aſſociating themſelves under one Governour, and Government; they ſo joyned, were called a Common-wealth: the ſame being ſometimes governed by Kings; ſometimes by Magiſtrates; ſometimes by the people themſelves.

§. III

Of the good Government of the firſt Kings.

NOw this firſt Age after the Floud, and after ſuch time as the people were increaſed, and Families became ſtrong, and the diſperſed into ſeveral parts of the world, was by ancient Hiſtorians called Golden: Ambition and Covetouſneſs being as then but green, and newly grown up, the ſeeds and effects whereof were as yet but potentiall, and in the blowth and bud. For while the Law of Nature was the rule of mans life, they then ſought for no larger Territory than themſelves could compaſs and manure: they erected no other magnificent buildings, than ſufficient to defend them from cold and tempeſt: they cared for no other delicacy of fare, or curioſitie of dyet, than to maintain life: nor for any other apparel, than to cover them from the cold, the raine and the Sun.

And ſure if we underſtand by that Age (which was called Golden) the ancient ſimplicity of our Fore-fathers, this name may then truly be caſt upon thoſe elder times: but if it be taken otherwiſe, then, whether the ſame may be attributed more to any one time than to another, (I mean to one limited time and none elſe) it may be doubted. For good and Golden Kings make good and Golden Ages: and all times have brought forth of both ſorts. And as the infancy of Empiry, (when Princes played their Prizes, and did then onely woo men to obedience) might be called the Golden Age; ſo may the beginning of all Princes times be truly called Golden. For be it that men affect honour, it is then beſt purchaſed; or if honour affect men, it is then that good deſervings have commonly the leaſt impediments: and if ever Liberality overflow her banks and bounds, the ſame is then beſt warranted both by policy and example. But Age and Time do not onely harden and ſhrink the openeſt and moſt *Jovial* hearts, but the experience which it bringeth with it, layeth Princes torne eſtates before their eyes, and (withal) perſwadeth them to compaſſionate themſelves. And although there be no Kings under the Sun whoſe means are anſwerable unto other mens deſires: yet ſuch as value all things by their own reſpects, do no ſooner finde their appetites unanſwered, but they complain of alteration, and account the times injurious and iron. And as this falleth out in the Reign of every King, ſo doth it in the life of every man, if his daies be many: for our younger years are our Golden Age; which being eaten up by time, we praiſe thoſe ſeaſons which our youth accompanied: and (indeed) the grievous alterations in our ſelves, and the pains and diſeaſes which never part from us but at the

grave

grave, make the times seem so differing and displeasing: especially the quality of mans nature being also such, as it adoreth and extolleth the passages of the former, and condemneth the present state how just soever: *Fit humanæ malignitatis vitio, ut semper vetera in laude, præsentia in fastidio sint*; *It comes to pass* (saith *Tacitus*) *by the vice of our malignity, that we alwaies extoll the time past, and hold the present fastidious*: For it is one of the errours of wayward Age: *Quod sint laudatores temporis acti*; *That they are praisers of fore-passed times*, forgetting this advice of *Solomon*: *Say not then, Why is it that the former daies were better then these? for thou doest not inquire wisely of this thing*: to which purpose *Seneca*; *Majores nostri questi sunt, & nos querimur posteri querentur, eversos, esse mores, regnare nequitiam, in deterius res hominum & in omne nefas labi*: *Our Ancestors have complained, we do complain, our children will complain, that good manners are gone, that wickedness doth reign, and all things grow worse and worse, and fall into all evil.* These are usually the discourses of Age and Misfortune. But hereof what can we adde to this of *Arnobius*? *Nova res quandoq; vetus fiet, & vetus temporibus*: *quibus cœpit nova fuit & repentina. Whatsoever is new, in time shall be made old*: *and the ancientest things when they took beginning were also new and sodain.* Wherefore not to stand in much admiration of these first times, which the discontentment of present times have made Golden, this we may set down for certain, That as it was the virtue of the first Kings, which (after God) gave them Crowns: so the love of their people thereby purchased, held the same Crowns on their heads. And as God gave the obedience of Subjects to Princes: so (relatively) he gave the care and justice of Kings to the Subjects; having respect, not onely to the Kings themselves, but even to the meanest of his Creatures: *Nunquam particulari bono servit omne bonum*; *The infinite goodness of God doth not attend any one onely*: for he that made the small and great, careth for all alike: and it is the care which Kings have of all theirs, which makes them beloved of all theirs; and by a general love it is, that Princes hold a general obedience: For, *Potestas humana radicatur in voluntatibus hominum*: *All humane power is rooted in the will or dispositions of men.*

Tacit. in Dial. de Orat.

Eccles. 7.

Arnob. lib. 2.

Wisd. 6. 7.

§. IV.

Of the beginning of Nobility: and of the vain vaunt thereof without virtue.

Verus nobilis non nascitur sed fit.

AND with this Supreme Rule and Kingly authority began also other degrees and differences among Subjects. For Princes made election of others by the same Rule, by which themselves were chosen; unto whom they gave place, trust, and power. From which imployments and Offices sprung those Titles, and those degrees of Honour, which have continued from Age to Age to these daies. But this Nobility, or difference from the vulgar, was not in the beginning given to the Succession of Bloud, but to Succession of Virtue, as hereafter may be proved. Though at length it was sufficient for those whose Parents were advanced, to be known for the Sons of such Fathers: and so there needed then no endeavour of well-doing at all, or any contention for them to excell, upon whom glory or worldly Nobility necessarily descended. Yet hereof had Nobility denomination in the beginning, That such as excelled others in virtue, were so called: *Hinc dictus Nobilis, quasi virtute præ aliis notabilis.* But after such time as the deserved Honour of the Father was given in reward to his Posterity, Saint *Hierome* judged of the Succession in this manner: *Nihil aliud video in Nobilitate appetendum, nisi quod Nobiles quadam necessitate constringantur, ne ab antiquorum probitate degenerent*; *I see no other thing to be affected in Nobility, than that Noblemen are by a kind of necessity bound, not to degenerate from the virtue of their Ancestors.* For if Nobility be *Virtus & antiquæ divitiæ*; *Virtue and ancient riches*, then to exceed in all those things which are *extra hominem*, as riches, power, glory, and the like, do no otherwise define Nobility, than the word (*animal*) alone doth define a reasonable man. Or if honour (according to *L. Vives*) be a witness of virtue and well-doing: and Nobility (after *Plutarch*) the continuance of virtue in a Race or Linage: then are those in whom Virtue is extinguished, but like unto painted and printed Papers, which ignorant men worship in stead of *Christ*, our *Lady*, and other *Saints*: men in whom there remain but the dregs and vices of ancient Virtue: Flowers, and Herbes, which by change of soile and want of manuring are turned to Weeds. For what is found praise-worthy in those waters, which had their beginning out of pure Fountains,

if

if in all the rest of their course they run foule, filthy, and defiled? *Ex terra fertili producitur aliquando Cicuta venenosa, & ex terra sterili pretiosum aurum; Out of fruitful ground ariseth sometimes poysoning Henbane, and out of barren soyle precious Gold.* For as all things consist of matter and form, so doth *Charron* (in his Chapter of Nobility) call the Race and Linage but the matter of Nobility: the form (which gives life and perfect being) he maketh to be Virtue, and Quality, profitable to the Common-weale. For he is truly and entirely Noble, who maketh a singular profession of publike Virtue, serving his Prince and Country, and being descended of Parents and Ancestors that have done the like. And although that Nobility, which the same Authour calleth personal, (the same which our selves acquire by our Virtue and well deservings) cannot be ballanced with that which is both natural by Descent, and also personal; yet if Vertue be wanting to the natural, then is the personal and acquired Nobility by many degrees to be preferred: For (saith *Charron*) this Honour (to wit) by Descent, may light upon such a one, as in his own nature is a true Villain. There is also a third Nobility which he calleth Nobility in Parchment, bought with Silver or Favour: and these be indeed but Honours of affection, which Kings with the change of their fancies wish they knew well how to wipe off again. But surely if we had as much sense of our degenerating in worthiness, as we have of vanity in deriving our selves of such and such Parents, we should rather know such Nobility (without Virtue) to be shame and dishonour, than Nobleness and glory to vaunt thereof. *What calamity is wanting* (saith *Bernard*) *to him that is born in sin, of a Potshare body and barren minde?* for (according to the same Father) *Dele fucum fugacis honoris hujus, & malè coronatæ nitorem gloriæ, &c. Wipe away the painting of this fleeting honour, and the glittering of the ill-crowned glory, that then thou mayest consider thy self nakedly: for thou camest naked out of thy Mothers wombe. Camest thou thence with thy Mytre, or glistering with Jewels, or garnished with Silks, or adorned with Feathers, or stuffed with Gold? If thou scatter and blow away all these by thy consideration as certain morning clouds, which do or will soon pass over, thou shalt meet with a naked, and poor, and wretched, and miserable man, and blushing, because he is naked, and weeping, because he is born, and repining, because he is born to labour, and not to honour.*

Pint. in Erech.

Bernar. l. 2. de Consider. ad Eugen. Pap.

For, as touching the matter of all men, there is no difference between it and dust: which if *thou dost not believe* (saith S. Chrysostome) *looke into the Sepulchres and Monuments of thy Ancestors, and they shall easily perswade thee by their own example, that thou art dust and dirt: so that if man seem more noble and beautiful than dust, this proceedeth not from the diversitie of his Nature, but from the cunning of his Creatour.*

Chrys. hom. 2. de incomposita Dei natura con. 5.

Phart.

For true Nobility standeth in the Trade
Of virtuous life; not in the fleshly Line:
For blood is brute, but Gentry is Divine.

And howsoever the custome of the World have made it good, that Honours be cast by birth upon unworthy Issues: yet *Solomon* (as wise as any King) reprehendeth the same in his fellow-Princes: *There is an evil* (saith he) *that I have seen under the Sun, as an errour that proceedeth from the face of him that ruleth: Folly is set in great excellency.*

Eccles. 10.

CHAP. X.

Of Nimrod, Belus, *and* Ninus: *and of memorable things about those times.*

§. I.

That Nimrod *was the first after the Floud that reigned like a Soveraigne Lord: and that his beginning seemeth to have been of just authority.*

THE first of all that reigned as Soveraigne Lord after the Floud was *Nimrod*, the Sonne of *Chush*, distinguished by *Moses* from the rest (according to Saint *Augustine*) in one of these two respects: either for his eminency, and because he was the first of fame, and that took on him to command others: or else

in that he was begotten by *Chuſh*, after his other children were alſo become Fathers; and of a later time than ſome of his Grand-children and Nephews. Howſoever, ſeeing *Moſes* in expreſs words calleth *Nimrod* the ſon of *Chuſh*, other mens conjectures to the contrary ought to have no reſpect.

This Empiry of *Nimrod*, both the Fathers and many later Writers call tyrannicall: the ſame beginning in *Babel*, (which is) confuſion. But it ſeemeth to mee that *Melanchton* conceived not amiſſe hereof: the ſame expoſition being alſo made by the Author of that work called *Onomaſticum Theologicum*, who affirmes that *Nimrod* was therefore called *Amarus Dominator*, *A bitter or ſevere Governour*, becauſe his forme of rule ſeemed at firſt farr more terrible than Paternal authority. And therefore is he in this reſpect alſo called *a mighty Hunter:* becauſe he took and deſtroyed both beaſts and Theeves. But Saint *Auguſtine* underſtands it otherwiſe, and converts the word (*ante*) by (*contra*) affirming therein, that *Nimrod* was a mighty Hunter againſt God: *Sic ergo intelligendus eſt Gigas ille, Venator contra Dominum; So is that Giant to be underſtood, a Hunter againſt the Lord.*

But howſoever this word (*a mighty Hunter*) be underſtood; yet it rather appeareth, that as *Nimrod* had the command of all thoſe which went with him from the Eaſt into *Shinaar:* ſo, this charge was rather given him, than by him uſurped. For it no where is found, that *Noah* himſelf, or any of the Sonnes of his own body came with this troop into *Babylon:* no mention at all being made of *Noah* (the years of his life excepted) in the ſucceeding ſtory of the *Hebrews*; nor that *Sem* was in this diſobedient troop, or among the builders of *Babel*.

The ſame is alſo confirmed by divers ancient Hiſtorians, that *Nimrod*, *Suphne*, and *Joſtan*, were the Captains and Leaders of all thoſe which came from the Eaſt. And though *Sem* came not himſelf ſo farre Weſt as *Shinaar* (his lot being caſt on the Eaſt parts) yet from his Sons Nephew *Heber*, the name and Nation of the *Hebrewes* (according to the general opinion) took beginning, who inhabited the Southermoſt parts of *Chaldæa*, about the City of *Ur*; from whence *Abraham* was by God called into *Charran*, and thence into *Canaan*.

And becauſe thoſe of the Race of *Sem* which came into *Chaldæa*, were no partners in the unbeleeving work of the Tower: therefore (as many of the Fathers conjecture) did they retaine the firſt and moſt ancient language, which the Fathers of the firſt Age had left to *Noah*; and *Noah* to *Sem* and his iſſues: *In familia* Heber *remanſit hæc lingua*; *In the family of* Heber *this language remained* (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine* out of *Epiphanius*;) and this Language *Abraham* uſed; yea, it was anciently, and before the Floud the generall ſpeech: and therefore firſt called (ſaith *Cœleſtinus*) *lingua humana: the humane tongue*.

We know that *Goropius Becanus* following *Theodoret*, *Rabbi Moſes*, *Ægyptius*, *Vergara*, and others, is of another opinion; but howſoever we determine of this point, we may with good probability reſolve, that none of the godly ſeed of *Sem* were the chiefe Leaders of this preſumptuous multitude. And ſeeing it is not likely, but that ſome one was by order appointed for this charge, we may imagine that *Nimrod* rather had it by juſt authority, than violence of uſurpation.

§ II.

That Nimrod, Belus, *and* Ninus *were three diſtinct perſons.*

Berzo, and out of him *Nauclerus*, with others, make many *Nimrods*, *Euſebius* confounds him with *Belus*, and ſo doth Saint *Hierome* upon *Oſe*; and theſe words of S. *Auguſtine* ſeem to make him of the ſame opinion: *Ibi autem* Ninus *regnabat poſt mortem patris ſui* Beli, *qui primus illic regnaverat* 65. *annos*; *There did* Ninus *reigne after the death of his father* Belus, *who firſt governed in Babylon ſixty five yeares*. But it could not be unknown to Saint *Auguſtine*, that *Nimrod* was the eſtabliſher of that Empire: *Moſes* being plain and direct therein. *For the beginning of* Nimrods *Kingdome* (ſaith he)

was

was Babel, Erec, Accad, and Chalne, in the Land of Shinaar; wherefore *Nimrod* was the first King of *Babel*. And certainly it best agreeth with reason, that *Ninus* was the third, and not one with *Nimrod*, as *Mercator* (led by *Clement*) supposed: for in *Ninus* time the World was marvellously replenished. And if S. *Augustine* had undoubtedly taken *Belus* for *Nimrod*, he would have given him the name which the Scriptures give him, rather than have borrowed any thing out of prophane Authors. And for those words of S. *Augustine* (*qui primus illic regnaverat*; *Who was the first that reigned there*) supposed to be meant by *Belus*: those words do not disprove that *Nimrod* was the founder of the *Babylonian* Empire. For although *Julius Cæsar* overthrew the liberty of the *Romane* commonwealth, making himselfe perpetuall *Dictator*, yet *Augustus* was the first established Emperour: and the first that reigned absolutely by soveraign authority over the *Romans*, as an Emperour.

The like may be said of *Nimrod*, that he first brake the rule of Eldership and Paternity, laying the foundation of soveraign rule, as *Cæsar* did; and yet *Belus* was the first, who peaceably, and with a generall allowance exercised such a power. *Pererius* is of opinion, that *Belus* and *Nimrod* were the same, because many things are said of them both agreeing in time: for it was about 200. yeares after the floud (as they account) that *Belus* reigned; but such agreement of times proves it not. For so *Edward* the third, and his grand-child *Richard* the second, were Kings both in one year: the one died; the other in the same year was crowned King.

And yet the opinion (that *Nimrod* and *Belus* were one) is far more probable than that of *Mercator*; who makes *Ninus* and *Nimrod* to be the same. For it is plaine that the beginning of *Nimrods* Kingdome was *Babel*, and the Towns adjoyning: but the first and most famous work of *Ninus* was the City of *Ninive*.

Now whereas *D. Siculus* affirmeth, that *Ninus* overcame and suppreſt the *Babylonians*, the same rather proveth the contrary, than that *Ninus* and *Nimrod* were one person. For *Ninus* established the seat of his Empire at *Ninive* in *Assyria*, whence the *Babylonians* might (perchance) in disdaine thereof fall from his obedience, whom hee recovered again by strong hand; which was easie: *Babylon* being not walled till *Semiramis* time.

——*Dicitur altam*
Coctilibus muris cinxisse Semiramis *Urbem.*

Semiramis with wals of brick the City did incloſe.

Further, where it is alledged, that as the Scriptures call *Nimrod* mighty; so *Justine* hath the same of *Ninus*, which is one of *Mercators* arguments; It may be answered, that such an addition might have been given to many other Kings aswell. For if we may beleeve *Justine*; then were *Vexoris* King of *Egypt*, and *Tanais* of *Scythia*, mighty Kings before *Ninus* was borne. And if we may compare the words of *Moses* (touching *Nimrod*) with the undertakings of *Ninus*, there will bee found great difference betweene them.

For whereas *Mercator* conceiveth, that it was too early for any that lived about the time of the confusion of languages, to have invaded & mastered those Cities so far removed from *Babel*, namely, *Erec*, *Accad*, and *Chalne*: which work he therefore ascribeth to *Ninus*, as a man of the greatest undertaking; and consequently would have *Nimrod* to have been long after the time; in which we suppose he flourished; and both those names of *Nimrod* and *Ninus* to belong to one person, to wit, to *Ninus*: to these things to make some answer. First, I doe not finde that supposition true, That ever *Nimrod* invaded any of these Cities; but that he founded them, and built them from the ground, being the first after the floud, that conducted the children of *Noah* into those parts: and therefore had nothing built or erected to his hands.

Besides, whereas these Cities in many mens opinions are found to stand far away from *Babylon*, I find no reason to bring me to that belief. The City of *Accad*, which the *Septuagint* cals *Archad*; & *Epiphanius*, *Arphal*; *Junius* takes it to be *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia*: for the Region thereabout, the Cosmographers (saith he) call *Accabene* for *Accadene*. Others under-

understand *Nisibis* and *Ninive* to be one City: so doe *Strabo* and *Stephanus* confound it with *Charran*, but all mistaken. For *Nisibis*, *Accad*, and *Charran* are distinct places. Though I cannot deny *Accedene* to be a Region of *Mesopotamia*, the same which *Arias Montanus* out of S. *Hierome* calls *Achad*: and so doe the *Hebrews* also call *Nisibis*, which seemeth to be the cause of this mistaking. As for the City of *Erec*, which the *Septuagint* call *Orech*; S. *Augustine*, *Oreg*, and *Pagninus*, *Erec*; this place *Junius* understands for *Aracca* in *Susiana*: but there is also a City in *Camagena*, called *Arace*: and indeed likelihood of name is no certain proof, without the assistance of other circumstances.

Concerning the third City (called *Chalneh*) some take it for *Calimisis*: of which *Am. Marcellinus*. S. *Hierome* takes it for *Seleucia*; *Hierosolymitanus* for *Ctesiphon*: others doe think it to be the *Agrani* upon *Euphrates*, destroyed and razed by the *Persians*. But let *Moses* be the Moderator and Judge of this dispute, who teacheth us directly, that these Cities are not seated in so divers and distant Regions; for these be his words: *And the beginning of his Kingdome* (speaking of *Nimrod*) *was Babel, Erech, Accad, and Chalneh in the Land of Shinaar*: so as in the Valley of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*, or *Chaldæa* (being all one) we must finde them. And therefore I could (rather of the two) think with *Viterbiensis*, that these four made but one *Babylon*, than that they were Cities farre removed, and in several Provinces, did not the Prophet *Amos* precisely distinguish *Chalne* from *Babylon*. *Goe you* (saith *Amos*) *to Chalne, and from thence goe you to Hamath, and then to Gath of the Philistims*. The *Geneva* translation favouring the former opinion, to set these Cities out of *Shinaar*, hath a marginal note expressing that *Shinaar* was here named, not that all these Cities were therein seated, but to distinguish *Babylon* of *Chaldæ*, from *Babylon* in *Egypt*: but I finde little substance in that conceit. For sure I am, that in the beginning of *Nimrods* Empire, there was no such *Babylon*, nor any City at all to be found in *Egypt*: *Babylon* of *Egypt* being all one with the great City of *Cairo*, which was built long after, not far from the place where stood *Memphis* the ancient City, but not so ancient as *Babylon* upon *Euphrates*. Now that *Chalne* is situate in the valley of *Shinaar*, it hath been formerly proved in the Chapter of *Paradise*. So as for any argument that may be brought to the contrary, from the remote situation of these three Cities from *Babylon*, we may continue in our opinion, That *Nimrod*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*, were distinct and successive Kings.

Lib. 23.

Cap. 6. v. 2.

§. III.

That Nimrod, *not* Assur, *built Ninive: and that it is probable out of* Esay 23.13. *that* Assur *built Ur of the Chaldees.*

NOw as of *Nimrod*; so are the opinions of Writers different touching *Assur*, and touching the beginning of that great state of *Babylon* and *Assyria*: a controversie wearisomely disputed without any direct proofe, conclusion, or certainty. But to me (of whom, where the Scriptures are silent, the voice of reason hath the best hearing) the interpretation of *Junius* is most agreeable; who, besides all necessary consequence, doth not dis-joyne the sense of the Scriptures therein, nor confuse the understanding thereof. For in this sort he converteth the *Hebrew* Text: *Erat enim principium Regni ejus* Babel, *& Erech, & Accad, & Chalneh, in terra Shinaaris: è terra hac processit in Assyriam, ubi ædificavit Ninivem*; (which is) *For the beginning of his Kingdome was* Babel, *and Erech, and Accad, and Chalneh, in the land of Shinaar: and he went forth of this land into Assyria, and built Ninive*. So as *Junius* takes *Assur* in this place, not for any person, but for the Region of *Assyria*: the Land being so called in *Moses* time, and before it. For certainly, the other construction, (where the word *Assur* is taken for *Assur* the sonne of *Sem*) doth not answer the order which *Moses* observeth through all the Books of *Genesis*, but is quite contrary unto it. For in the beginning of the tenth Chapter he setteth down the sonnes of *Noah*, in these words: *Now these are the Generations of the sonnes of* Noah: Sem, Ham, *and* Japheth, *unto whom, sonnes were borne after the Flood*: then it followeth immediately: *The sonnes of* Japheth *were* Gomer, *&c.* so as *Japheth* is last named among *Noahs* sonnes, be hee eldest or youngest: because he was first to bee spoken of: with whom (having last named him) he proceeds and sets downe his issue, and then the issue of his sonnes: first, the issue of *Gomer*, *Japhets* eldest sonne; and then speakes of *Javan* and his sonnes: for of the rest

reſt of that Familie he is ſilent. Anon after he numbreth the ſons of *Ham*, of which *Chuſh* was the eldeſt: and then the ſons of *Chuſh* and *Mizraim*; and afterward of *Canaan*; leaving *Shem* for the laſt, becauſe he would not diſ-joyn the Story of the *Hebrews*. But after he beginneth with *Shem*, he continueth from thence by *Arphaxad*, *Shela*, & *Heber*, unto *Abraham*, and ſo to *Jacob*, and the Fathers of that Nation. But to have brought in one of the ſons of *Shem* in the middle of the Generations of *Ham*, had been againſt order; neither would *Moſes* have paſt over ſo ſleightly the erection of the *Aſſyrian* Empire in one of the ſons of *Shem*, if he had had any ſuch meaning: it being the ſtorie of *Shems* ſons which he moſt attended. For he nameth *Nimrod* apart, after the reſt of the ſons of *Chuſh*, becauſe he founded the *Babylonian* and *Aſſyrian* Empire: and in the eleventh Chapter he returnes to ſpeake of the building of *Babel* in particular, having formerly named it in the tenth Chapter, with thoſe other Cities which *Nimrod* founded in *Shinaar*. And as he did in the tenth Chapter, ſo alſo in the eleventh he maketh no report of *Shem*, till ſuch time as he had finiſhed ſo much of *Nimrod* as he meant to touch: and then he beginneth with the iſſue of *Shem*, which he continueth to *Abraham* and *Iſrael*. And of *Junius* opinion touching *Aſſur*, was *Calvin*: to which I conceive that *P. Comeſtor*, *in hiſtoria Scholaſtica*, gave an entrance, who after he had delivered this place in ſome other ſenſe, he uſeth theſe words: *Vel intelligendum non eſt de* Aſſur, *filio* Sem, *&c. ſed* Aſſur (*id eſt*) *Regnum Aſſyriorum*) *inde egreſſum eſt, quod tempore* Sarug *proavi* Abrahami *factum eſt*; (which is) *Or elſe it is not to be underſtood of* Aſſur *the ſon of* Sem, *&c. but* Aſſur (*that is, the Kingdome of the Aſſyrians*) *came from thence* (*videlicet, from Babylon*) *or was made out of it: which happened in the time of* Sarug *the great Grand-father of* Abraham. After which he reconcileth the difference in this ſort: If you take the ancient *Belus* (meaning *Nimrod*) to be the firſt Erecter of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, or the firſt Founder thereof, it is true, *Quantum ad initium*; *Reſpecting the beginning*; but others conceive that it had beginning from *Ninus*, which is alſo true, *Quantum ad Regni ampliationem*; *Regarding the inlargement of the Empire*. To this I may adde the opinion of *Epiphanius*, confirmed by *Cedrenus*, who takes *Aſſur* to be the ſon of *Nimrod*: and ſo doth *Methodius*, and *Viterbienſis*, Saint *Hierome*, and *Cyrillus*, and now laſtly *Torniellus*: who (ſaith he) took upon him that name of *Aſſur* after he had beaten the *Aſſyrians*, as *Scipio* did of *Africanus*, after his Conqueſt in *Africa*: and that *Aſſur* was a common name to the Kings of *Aſſyria*, as it appeareth by many Scriptures, as *Pſalme* 81. *Eſay* 10. *Oſe.* 5. *&c.* But to help the matter, he makes *Nimrod* of the race of *Shem*, and the ſonne of *Irari*. But *Rabanus Maurus*, who was Archbiſhop of *Mentz* in the yeare of *Chriſt* 854. an ancient and learned Writer, underſtands this place with *Commeſtor*, or *Commeſtor* with him, agreeing in ſubſtance with that tranſlation of *Junius*: to which words of *Moſes* he giveth this ſenſe: *De hac terra Aſſyriorum pullulavit imperium, qui ex nomine* Nini, Beli *filii, Ninum condiderunt, urbem magnam, &c. Out of this Land grew the Empire of the Aſſyrians, who built Ninus the great Citie, ſo named of* Ninus *the ſonne of* Belus. On the contrary *Calvin* objecteth this place of *Eſay*: *Behold the Land of the Chaldæans, this was no people,* Aſſur *founded it by the inhabitants of the Wilderneſſe*; than which there is no one place in the Scriptures, that hath a greater diverſitie in the tranſlation and underſtandings; inſomuch as *Michael de Palatio* upon *Eſay* (though in all elſe very diligent) paſſeth it over. But *Calvin* ſeemeth hereby to infer, that becauſe *Aſſur* founded the ſtate of the *Chaldæans*, therefore alſo *Aſſur* rather than *Nimrod* eſtabliſhed the *Aſſyrian* Empire, and built *Ninive*: contrary to the former tranſlation of *Junius*, & to his own opinion. Now out of the *Vulgar* (called *Hieromes* tranſlation) it may be gathered, that *Aſſur* both founded and ruined this Eſtate or City of the *Chaldæans*, by *Eſay* remembred: unto which City, People, or State, he plainly telleth the *Tyrians* that they can-

Torniel. Annal. ſacr. in Gen. 10.

Eſay 23. 13.

not truſt, or hope for relief thence. Or rather it may be taken, that the Prophet maketh this City of *Chaldæa*, and that Eſtate, an example unto thoſe *Phœnicians*, whom in this place he fore-telleth of their ruine: which City of *Chaldæa* being of ſtrength, & carefully defended, was (notwithſtanding) by the *Aſſyrians* utterly waſted and deſtroyed: whereby he giveth them knowledge, and fore-telleth them, that their own City of *Tyre* (invincible, as themſelves thought) ſhould alſo ſoon after be over-turned by the ſame *Aſſyrians*: as (indeed) it was by *Nabuchodonoſor*. And theſe be the words after *Hierome*: *Ecce terra Chaldæorum, talis populus non fuit,* Aſſur *fundavit eam, in captivitatem traduxerunt robuſtos ejus, ſuffoderunt domos ejus, poſuerunt eam in ruinam*, (which is)

Behold the Land of the Chaldæans, such a people there were not (or, *this was no people*, after the *Geneva*) *Assur* (or the *Assyrians*) *founded it, they carried away their strong men captive, they undermined their houses, and ruined their Citie.* The *Septuagint* expresse it but in a part of another Verse, in these words: *Et in terra Chaldæorum, & hæc desolata est ab Assyriis, quoniam murus ejus corruit*, making the sense perfect by the preceding Verse, which all together may be thus understood: *If thou go over to Chittim* (which is *Macedon* or *Greece*) *yet then shalt not rest* (speaking to the *Tyrians*) *neither in the Land of the Chaldæans, for this is made desolate by the Assyrians, because their wals fell together to the ground. Pagninus* and *Vatablus* convert it thus: *Ecce terra Chasdiim, iste populus non erat illic olim; nam* Assur *fundavit eam navibus, erexerunt arces illius; contriverunt ædes ejus, posuit eam in ruinam:* which may be thus englished: *Behold the Land of the Chaldæans, this people was not once therein inhabiting: for* Assur *built it a harbour for ships, they erected the Towers thereof; and again brake down the houses thereof, and ruinated it. Junius* in the place of ships sets the word (*pro Barbaris*) that is, *for the Barbarians:* and the *Geneva, by the Barbarians.* But this is undoubted that the Prophet *Esay* (as may be gathered by all the sense of the Chapter) did therein assure the *Tyrians* of their future destruction, which (accordingly) fell on them: wherein (for the more terrour) he maketh choise to note the calamities of those places, Cities, and Regions, by whose trade the state and greatnes of the *Tyrians* was maintained; as by the *Cilicians from Tharsis*; from the *Macedonians*, and other *Grecians* under the name of *Cittim*; also by the *Egyptians*, the *Chaldæans*, and the rest. For *Tyre* was then the Mart Town of the World most renowned. And (as it appears in our discourse of *Paradise*) not the least part of her chief merchandize came in by the City *Ur*, or *Urchoa* in *Chaldæa*, where the body or chiefe stream of *Euphrates* (even that streame which runneth through *Babylon* & *Otris*, which now falleth into *Tygris*) had his passage into the *Persian Gulf:* though now it be stopped up. For (as we have heretofore noted) the *Arabians* (that descended from *Sheba* and *Raamah*) dwelling on the East banks of the *Persian Gulf*, trading with the *Tyrians* (as those of *Eden*, *Charran*, and *Chalne* did) transported their merchandize by the mouth of *Tygris*, that is, from *Teredon*; & of *Euphrates*, that is, from *Ur*, or *Urchoa:* and then by *Babylon*, and thence by River and over land they conveyed it into *Syria*, and so to *Tyre:* as they do this day to *Aleppo.* So then *Ur* of the *Chaldees* was a Port Town, and one of those Cities which had Intelligence, Trade, and Exchange with the *Tyrians:* for it stood by the great Lakes of *Chaldæa*, through which, that part of *Euphrates* ran, which passage is now stopt up. *Ejus cursum vetustas abolevit* (saith *Niger.*) And *Pliny: Locus ubi Euphratis ostium fuit, flumen salsum; Time hath worne away the channell of Euphrates: the place where the mouth thereof was, is a Bay of salt water.* These things being thus, certainly (not without good probability) we may expound the City of the *Chaldees*, whose calamities *Esay* here noteth for terrour of the *Tyrians*, to be the City anciently called *Ur*; and by (*Hecatæus*) *Camerina*; by *Ptolomy*, *Urchoa*; and by the *Greeks*, *Chaldæopolis*, *The Citie of Chaldæa:* which the sons of *Shem*, untill *Abrahams* time inhabited. And whereas in all the Translations it is said, that *Assur* both founded it and ruined it: it may be understood, that *Assur* the Founder was the son of *Shem*; and *Assur* the destroyers were the *Assyrians*, by whom those that inhabited *Ur* of *Chaldæa*, were at length oppressed and brought to ruine: which thing God fore-seeing, commanded *Abraham* thence to *Carran*, and so into *Canaan.* And if the *Hebrew* word by *Vatablus* and *Pagninus* converted (*by ships*) doe bear that sense, the same may be the better approved, because it was a Port Town: and the River so farre up as this City of *Ur* was in ancient time navigable, as both by *Pliny* and *Niger* appeareth. And if the word (*for the Barbarians*) or (*by the Barbarians*) be also in the *Hebrew* Text, it is no lesse manifest, that the most barbarous *Arabians* of the Desart were and are the confronting, and next people of all other unto it. For *Chaldæa* is now called *Arachaldar*, which signifieth desart Lands, because it joyneth to that part of *Arabia* so called: and *Cicero* (calling those *Arabians* by the name of *Ituræans*) addeth, that they are of all other people the most salvage; calling them, *Homines omnium maximè barbaros.*

So as this place of *Esay*, which breedeth some doubt in *Calvin*, proveth in nothing the contrary opinion, nor in any part weakeneth the former translation of *Junius*, nor the interpretation of *Comestor* and *Rabanus.* For though other men have not conceived (for any thing that I have read) that *Assur* is in this place diversly taken (as for the son

of

of *Sem*, when he is spoken of as a Builder of *Ur*; and when as a Destroyer thereof, then for the *Assyrian* Nation) yet certainely the evidence of the truth, and agreement of circumstances seeme to enforce it. And so this Founding of the Citie of the *Chaldees* by *Assur* (into which the most of the posterity of *Sem* that came into *Shinaar*, and were separate for the Idolatrie of the *Chusites* and *Nimrodians*, retired themselves) hath nothing in it to prove that the same *Assur* built *Ninive*, or that the same *Assur* was all one with *Ninus*; except we will make *Assur*, who was the son of *Shem*, both an Idolater, and the son of *Belus*. For (out of doubt) *Ninus* was the first notorious sacrificer to Idols; and the first that set up a Statue or Image to be honoured as God. Now if *Assur* must be of that Race, and not of the Family of *Sem*, as he must be if he founded *Ninive*, then all those which seeke to give him the honour thereof, do him by a thousand parts more injurie, by taking from him his true Parent and Religion.

Besides, if this supposed *Assur* whom they make the Founder of *Ninive* (and so the son of *Belus*) were any other, and not the same with *Ninus*; then what became of him? Certainely he was very unworthy and obscure, and not like to be the Founder of such an Empire and such a Citie, if no man have vouchsafed to leave to posterity his expulsion thence, and how he lost that Empire againe, or quitted it to *Ninus*: whose acts and conquests are so largely written, and (according to my apprehension) far differing from truth. It will therefore be found best agreeing to Scripture and to Reason, and best agreeing with the story of that age written by prophane Authors, that *Nimrod* founded *Babel*, *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Chalne*, the first works and beginnings of his Empire, according to *Moses*; and that these workes being finished within the Valley of *Shinaar*, he looked farther abroad, and set in hand the worke of *Ninus*, lying neere unto the same streame that *Babel* and *Chalne* did: which work his grand-child *Ninus* afterward amplified and finished, as *Semiramis* (this *Ninus* his wife) did *Babylon*. Hence it came to passe, that as *Semiramis* was counted the Foundresse of the City which she onely finished: so also *Ninus* of *Ninive*: *Quam quidem Babylonem potuit instaurare*; *She might repaire or renew Babylon*, saith S. *Augustine*. For so did *Nabuchodonosor* vaunt himselfe to be the Founder of *Babylon* also, because he built up againe some part of the wall, over-borne by the furie of the River: which work of his stood till *Alexanders* time, whereupon he vaunted thus: *Is not this great Babel which I have built?* Dan. 4. 27.

§ IV.

Of the Acts of Nimrod *and* Belus, *as far as now they are known.*

BUt to returne to the Storie, it is plaine in *Moses*, that *Nimrod* (whom *Philo* interpreteth *transfugium*; and *Julius Africanus* surnamed *Saturne*) was the establisher of the *Babylonian Monarchie*, of whom there is no other thing written, than that his Empire in the beginning consisted of those 4. Cities before remembered; *Babel*, *Erech*, *Accad*, and *Chalne*: and that from hence he propogated his Empire into *Assyria*, and in *Assyria* built foure more Cities (to wit) *Ninive*, *Rehoboth*, *Celah*, and *Resen*. And seeing that he spent much time in building *Babel* it selfe and those adjoyning, and that his travailes were many ere he came into *Shinaar*: that worke of *Babel* (such as it was) with the other three Cities, and the large foundation of *Ninive*, and the other Cities of *Assyria* which he builded (considered with the want of materials, and with other impediments) were of greater difficulty than any thing performed by his Successors in many years after: to whose undertakings time had given so great an increase of people; and the examples and patternes of his beginning so great advancement and encouragement: in whose time (saith *Glycas*) all these Nations were called *Meropes*, *à sermonis linguarum terræ motu divisione*; *By reason that the earth and the speech were then divided.*

Belus, or *Bel*, or *Jupiter Belus*, succeeded *Nimrod*, after he had reigned 114. yeares; of whose acts and undertakings there is little written. For it is thought that he spent much of his time in dis-burdening the low Lands of *Babylon*, and drying and making firme ground of all those great Fens and over-flowne Marishes which adjoyned unto it. For any of his Warres or conquests there is no report, other than of his begun enterprise against *Sabatius* King of *Armenia*, and those parts of *Scythia* which *Berosus* calls *Scythia Saga*, whose son and successor *Barzanes* became subject and Tributarie to *Ninus*, that followed the warre to effect, which was by his Father *Belus* begun.

§. V.

§. V.

That we are not to marvell how so many Kingdomes could be erected about these times: and of Vexoris *of Egypt, and* Tanais *of Scythia.*

THat so many Kingdomes were erected in all those Easterne parts of the World so soone after *Nimrod*, (as by the storie of *Ninus* is made manifest) the causes were threefold (namely) Opportunitie, Example, and Necessitie. For opportunitie being a Princesse liberall and powerfull, bestoweth on her first Entertainers many times more benefits, than either Fortune can, or Wisedom ought; by whose presence alone the understanding mindes of men receive all those helpes and supplies, which they either want or wish for: so as every Leader of a troupe (after the division of tongues and dispersion of People) finding these faire offers made unto them, held the power which they possest, and governed by discretion all those people, whom they conducted to their destined places. For it cannot be conceived, that when the Earth was first divided, mankinde straggled abroad like beasts in a Desart; but that by agreement they disposed themselves; and undertooke to inhabite all the known parts of the World, and by distinct Families and Nations: otherwise, those remote Regions from *Babylon* and *Shinaar*, which had Kings, and were peopled in *Ninus* time, would not have beene possest in many hundreds of yeeres after, as then they were; neither did those that were sent, and travailled far off (order being the true Parent of prosperous successe) undertake so difficult enterprises without a Conductor or Commander. Secondly, the Example of *Nimrod* with whom it succeeded well, strengthened every humor that aspired. Thirdly, Necessitie resolved all men by the arguments of common miseries, that without a Commander and Magistrate, neither could those that were laborious, and of honest dispositions, enjoy the harvest of their owne Travailes: nor those which were of little strength, secure themselves against forcible violence: nor those which sought after any proportion of greatnesse, either possesse the same in quiet, or rule and order their owne Ministers and Attendants.

That these causes had wrought these effects, the undertakings and Conquests of *Ninus* (the son of *Belus*) made it apparent; for he found every where Kings and Monarchies, what way soever his Ambition led him in the Wars.

But *Nimrod* (his Grand-father) had no companion King, to us known, when he first tooke on him Soveraigntie and sole commandement of all those the children of *Noah*, which came from the east into *Babylonia*: though in his life-time others also raised themselves to the same estate; of which hereafter. *Belus* (his son and Successor) found *Sabatius* King of *Armenia* and *Scythia*, sufficiently powerful to resist his attempts; which *Sabatius* I take to be the same, which *Justine* calls *Tanais*; and should conjecture, that *Mizraim* had beene his *Vexoris*, were it not that I vehemently suspect some error, (as *Justine* placeth him) in the time of that *Vexoris*, who by many circumstances seemes to me, rightly accounted by the Judicious and Learned *Reineccius*, all one with the great *Sesostris*, that lived certaine Ages after *Ninus*. This *Belus*, the second King of *Babylon*, reigned 65. yeeres, according to the common account.

See more of this, *l.* 2. of this first Part, *cap.* 2. *Sect.* 6.

§. VI.

Of the name of Belus, *and other names affines unto it.*

WHence this second King and Successour of *Nimrod* had the name of *Bell*, or *Belus*, question hath beene made; for it seemeth rather a name imposed, or (of addition) given by *Ninus*, than assumed by *Belus* himselfe.

Cyrillus against *Julian* calls the Father of *Ninus Arbelus*, affirming that he was the first of all men that caused himselfe to be called a god: which were it so, then might the name of *Belus* be thence derived. But *Bel*, as many Writers have observed, signifieth the Sun in the *Chaldæan* Tongue; and therefore did *Ninus* and *Semiramis* give that name to their Father, that he might be honoured as the Sun, which the *Babylonians* worshipped as a god. And as this Title was assumed in after-times by divers others of the *Chaldæan* Princes, and *Babylonian Satrapæ*: so was it used (in imitation) by the chiefe of the *Carthaginians* and other Nations, as some Historians have conceived.

To

To this *Bel*, or *Belus*, pertain (as in affinity) thoſe voyces of *Baal*, *Baalim*, *Belphegor*, *Beelphagor*, *Belſebub*, and *Beelſephon*. Thoſe that are learned in the *Hebrew* and *Cha'dæan*, convert the word *Baal* by the *Latine*, *Princeps militiæ*, *Chief in the War*; though *Daniel* was ſo called (ſaith *Suidas*) *Ob honorem explicationis arcanarum rerum*; *In honour of his expounding ſecrets*. Saint *Hierome* makes *Bel*, *Beel*, and *Baal*, to have the ſame ſignification: and ſaith, that the Idol of *Babylon* was ſo called, which *Ninus* in memory of his father ſet up to be worſhipped: to which that he might adde the more honour and reverence, he made it a Sanctuary and refuge for all offenders. Hence (ſaith *Lyranus*) came Idolatry, and the firſt uſe of Images into the World. *Iſidore* doth interpret *Bel* by *Vetus*, old or ancient; adding, that as among the *Aſſyrians* it is taken for *Saturne* and the *Sun*: ſo, in the *Punick* or *Carthaginian* Language, it ſignifieth God: *Glycas* makes it an *Aſſyrian* name properly: and *Joſephus* a *Tyrian*. He alſo affirmeth that the Idol which the *Moabites* worſhipped (by them erected on the Mountain *Phegor*, or *Peor*, and called *Baal*) is the ſame which the *Latines* call *Priapus*, the god of Gardens; which alſo was the opinion of S. *Hierome*. But that the word *Bel* or *Beel*, was as much to ſay as God, appeareth by the word *Beelzebub*, the Idol of *Accaron*. For *Bel*, or *Beel* ſoundeth (God) and *Sebub* (Flies or Hornets:) by which name (notwithſtanding) the *Jews* expreſs the Prince of Devils. But the Prophet *Oſe* teacheth us the proper ſignification of this word from the voice of God himſelf; *And at that day* (*ſaith the Lord*) *thou ſhalt call me* Iſhi, *and ſhalt call me no more* Baalim: *for I will take away the name of* Baalim *out of their mouths*. For although the name of *Baal* or *Bahal*, be juſtly to be uſed towards God; yet in reſpect that the ſame was given to Idols, God hath hated it, and forbad it. And the uſing of the word *Bel* among the *Chaldeans* for the Sun, was not becauſe it properly ſignifieth the Sun, but becauſe the Sun there was worſhipped as a God: as alſo the Fire was, *tanquam Solis particula*. As for the words compounded (before remembred) as *Belphegor*, and *Belſephon*, *Belſephon* is expounded out of *Facius*, *Dominus ſpeculæ vel cuſtodiæ*: *The Lord of the Watch-Tower, or of the Guard*: the other word noteth the Idoll, and the place wherein it was worſhipped. It is alſo written *Belpeor*, or *Baalpeor*: and *Peor* (they ſay) is as much as *Denudavit*; and therefore the word joyned, expreſſeth a naked Image. Some there are that call this *Belus* the ſon of *Saturne*: for it was uſed among the Ancients to name the Father *Saturne*, the ſon *Jupiter*, and the Grand-child *Hercules*. *Saturni dicuntur familiarum Nobilium, Regumq; qui urbes condiderunt ſeniſſimi; primogeniti eorum* Joves & Junones; Hercules *verò nepotes eorum fortiſſimi*; *The ancienteſt of Noble Families and Kings which founded Cities, are called* Saturnes; *their firſt-borne*, Jupiters *and* Junoes; *their valiant Nephewes*, Hercules. But this *Belus* (ſaith *L. Vives*) was famous by reaſon of his warlike ſon *Ninus*, who cauſed his father to be worſhipped as a God by the name of *Jupiter Babylonius*, whom the *Egyptians* (tranſported by the Dreames of their Antiquitie) make one of theirs. For *Neptune* (ſay they) upon *Lybia* the Daughter of *Epaphus* begat this *Jupiter Belus*, who was father to *Ægyptus*. They adde, that this *Belus*, carrying a Colonie to the River of *Euphrates*, there built a Citie, in which he ordained Prieſts after the *Egyptian* manner. But were there any *Belus* the ſon of *Epaphus* and *Iſis* or of *Neptune* and *Lybia*, or (with *Euſebius*) of *Teglonus*, who after the death of *Apis* married *Iſis*, (*Cecrops* then reigning in *Athens*) the ſame was not this *Babylonian Belus* of whom we ſpeake, but rather ſome other *Belus*, of whom the *Egyptians* ſo much vaunted.

Hier. in Oſe. C. 2

Lyr. in Sapien. Salom. c. 11.

Iſid. l. 8. c. 11.

Hieron. in Oſe. c. 4. & 9.

Aelio. de æquit. lib. 1.

Diod. l. 3.

§. VII.

Of the worſhipping of Images begun from Belus *in* Babel.

AS for the *Babylonian* Belus, he was the moſt ancient *Belus*, and the Inventor of *Aſtronomie*, if *Plinie ſay* true: from whence the *Egyptians* might borrow both the name and the Doctrine. Some part of the Temple, in which his *Statue* or Image was honoured as a God, the ſame Author affirmeth that it did remain in his time.

Of the Sepulchre of *Belus*, *Strabo* writeth thus: *Over the River*, ſaith he, *there are gardens, where they ſay the ruines of* Belus *his Tombe, which* Xerxes *brake up, are yet remaining. It was a ſquare Pyramis made of Brick, a furlong high, and on every ſide it had a furlong in breadth*. It appears by *Cyril* againſt *Julian*, that he obtained divine worſhip yet living:

Strabo l. 13. c. 3

L. 3. cont. Julian.

living: for so he writes of him (calling him *Arbelus.*) *Arbelus, vir superbus & arrogans, primus hominum dicitur à subditis Deitatis nomen accepisse: Perseverârunt igitur Assyrii, & finitimæ illis gentes sacrificantes ei.* Arbelus, *a man very proud and arrogant, is accounted to be the first of all men that was ever honored by their subjects with title of Deitie*; (or with the name of God.) *The Assyrians therefore, and the bordering nations have persevered, sacrificing to him.* Even *Arius* also, whom *Suidas* calls *Thuras*, who succeeded next after *Ninias*, was made an Idol-god among them, if we credit *Suidas*.

After *Ninus* (that is, after *Ninias*) *Thuras* reigned (saith *Suidas*) whom they called after the name of the Planet *Mars*; a man of sharpe and fierce disposition, who bidding battaile to *Caucasus* of the stocke of *Japheth*, slue him. The *Assyrians* worshipped him for their God, and called him *Baal* (that is) *Mars*; thus far *Suidas*. Neither is it unlikely but that many among Idolatrous nations were Deified in their life-times, or soone after: though I denie not but that the most of their Images and *Statuæ* were first erected without divine worship, onely in memorie of the glorious acts of Benefactors, as *Glycas* rightly conceiveth; and so afterward the Devil crept into those woodden and brazen carcasses, when Posteritie had lost the memorie of their first invention. Hereof *Isidore* speaketh in this manner: *Quos autem Pagani Deos asserunt, homines fuerunt, & pro uniuscujusq; vitæ meritis vel magnificentia, coli apud suos post mortem cœperunt: sed (Dæmonibus persuadentibus) quos illi pro sua memoria honoraverunt, minores Deos existimârunt: ad ista verò magis excolenda accesserunt Poetarum figmenta*; *They were men* (saith he) *whom the Pagans affirmed to be gods: and every one for his merits or magnificence began after his death to be honoured of his own: But at length (the Devils perswading) they accounted them lesser gods, whose memories they honoured: and the Fictions of the Poets made the opinions (concerning the honour of the dead) much more superstitious.*

And that the worshipping of Images was brought in by the *Pagans*, and *Heathen* Nations, it is not *Isidore* alone that witnesseth; but *Gregory: Gentilitas* (saith he) *inventrix & caput est Imaginum*; *Gentilisme is the inventresse and ground of Images*: and *Ambrose*, *Gentes lignum adorant, tanquam imaginem Dei*; *The Gentiles adore wood, as it were the Image of God.* *Euschius* also affirmeth as much, and calleth the worshiping of Images a custome borrowed of the Heathen. The like hath Saint *Augustine* against *Adimantus*. *Et verentur* (saith *Lactantius*) *ne religio vana sit, si nihil videant quod adorent*; *They feare their Religion would be vaine, should they not see that which they worship.*

Greg. Nyssen. Ambr. in Psal. 108.
Euseb. l. 7. c. 18. Aug. c. 13. Lact. lib. 2. c. 2.

And (out of doubt) the Schoolemen shift this fearefull custome very strangely. For seeing the very workemanship is forbidden, how can the heart of a wise Christian satisfie it selfe with the distinction of *Doulia* and *Hyperdoulia*, which can imply nothing but some difference of worshipping of those Images after they are made? And it is of all things the most strange, why religious & learned men should strain their wits to defend the use of those things, which the Scriptures have not onely no where warranted, but expresly in many places forbidden, and cursed the practisers thereof. Yet this doctrine of the Devil was so strongly and subtilly rooted, as neither the expres Commandement of God himselfe, *Thou shalt not make any graven Image*, nor all the threatnings of *Moses* and the Prophets after him, could remove, weed it, or by fear, or by any perswasions lead the hearts of men from it. For where shall we find words of greater weight, or of plainer instruction than these? *Take therefore good heed to your selves (for ye saw no Image in the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire) that ye corrupt not your selves, and make you a graven Image or representation of any Figure, whether it be the likenesse of Male or Female.*

And besides the expresse Commandement, *Thou shalt make thee no graven Image*, and the prohibition in many Scriptures, so it is written in the Booke of *Wisedome*, That, *the invention of Idols was the beginning of Whoredome: and the finding of them the corruption of life: for they were not from the beginning, neither shall they continue for ever.*

And whereas the Schoolemen affirme, that the Prophets spake against the Worshipping of the Heathen Idols, it is manifest that *Moses* spake of Images of the living God, and not of *Baal* and the rest of that nature, *For you saw no Image* (saith *Moses*) *that day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb.* Surely it was excellently said of *Basil*; *Noli aliquam in illo formam imaginari, ne circumscribah eum mente tua: Do not imagine any forme to be in God, least thou limit or circumscribe him in thy minde too.* Now, if the great *Basil* thought it a presumption unlawful to represent a pattern of the infinite God to our own

thoughts

thoughts and minds, how far do thoſe men preſume that put him under the greazie Penſil of a Painter, or the ruſty Axe or other Inſtrument of a Carpenter or Carver?

For as this diſhonour to the infinite and incomprehenſible God, began in Babel: ſo did the Devil tranſport and ſpread this invention into all the Regions adjoyning, and into *Egypt* and *Greece*.

The *Romanes* for a while reſiſted the erection of theſe Idols and Images, refuſing to ſet them in their Temples for 170 yeers; obſerving the Law of *Numa*, who thought it impiety to reſemble things moſt beautiful, by things moſt baſe. But *Tarquinius Priſcus* afterwards prevailing, and following the vanity of the *Grecians* (a Nation of all others under the Sun moſt deluded by Satan) ſet up the Images of their gods; which (as S. *Auguſtine* witneſſeth) that learned *Varro* both bewailed, and utterly condemned: and which *Seneca* thus derideth; *Simulachra deorum venerantur, illis ſupplicant, genu poſito illa adorant; & cùm hæc ſuſpiciant, fabros, qui illa fecere, contemnunt; The Images of the gods are worſhipped, thoſe they pray unto, with bended knees thoſe they adore; and while they ſo greatly admire them, they contemn the Handi-craftſmen that made them:* which alſo *Sedulius* the *Poet* in this ſort ſcoffed at: *Aug. de Civit. l. 4. c. 31.*

Heu miſeri qui vana colunt, qui corde ſiniſtro
Religioſa ſibi ſculpunt ſimulachra, ſuumq;
Factorem fugiunt, & quæ fecere, verentur.
Quis furor eſt? quæ tanta animos dementia ludit?
Vt volucrem, turpemq; bovem, torvumq; Draconem,
Semi-hominemq;-canem ſupplex homo pronus adoret.

Ah wretched they that worſhip vanities,
And conſecrate dumb Idols in their heart,
Who their own Maker (God on high) deſpiſe,
And feare the work of their own hands and art.
What furie? what great madneſs doth beguile
Mens minds? that man ſhould ugly ſhapes adore
Of Birds, or Buls, or Dragons, or the vile
Half-dog-half-man on knees for aid implore.

And though this device was barbarous, and firſt, and many yeers practiſed by Heathen Nations onely, till the *Jews* were corrupted in *Egypt*, yet it is not *Seneca* alone that laugheth to ſcorn the ignorant ſtupiditie of his Nation: but *Juſtin Martyr* remembreth how the *Sybils* inveighed againſt Images: and *Hoſpinian*, how *Sophocles* taught, that it was pernicious to the ſouls of men to erect and adore thoſe babels. *Strabo* and *Herodotus* witneſs, that the *Perſians* did not erect or ſet up any *Statue* of their Gods. *Lycurgus* never taught it the *Lacedæmonians*, but thought it impiety to repreſent immortal natures by mortal Figures. *Euſebius* alſo witneſſeth in his ſixt Book *de præparatione Evangelica*, that it was forbidden by a Law in *Serica*, or among the Brackmans in *India*, that Images ſhould be worſhipped. The ſame do *Tacitus* and *Crinitus* report of the ancient *Germans*. Many other Authours might be remembred, that witneſs the diſdain which the Heathen themſelves had of this childiſh Idolatry: of which *Hoſpinian* hath written at large in his Tract, *de origine imaginum*. And it was truly ſaid, *Omnia mala exempla bonis initiis orta ſunt, All ill examples have ſprung from good beginnings*. The Heathen at firſt made theſe *Statuæ* and Images, but in memory of ſuch remarkable men, as had deſerved beſt of their Countries and common-wealths: *Effigies hominum* (ſaith *Pliny*) *non ſolebant exprimi, niſi aliqua illuſtri cauſa perpetuitatem merentium: Men were not wont to make Pictures, but of men which merited for ſome notable cauſe to be perpetually remembred.* And though of the more ancient *Papiſts*, ſome have borrowed of the *Gentiles* (as appears in *Lactantius*) that defence for Images: That *Simulachra* are *pro elementis literarum, ut per ea diſcerent homines Deum inviſibilem cognoſcere: Images* ſay they, (and ſo before them the Heathen ſaid) *are inſtead of Letters, whereby men might learn to know the inviſible God:* in which underſtanding perhaps they no otherwiſe eſteemed them than pictures indeed; yet as that of *Baal* or *Bel* ſet up in memory of *Belus* the *Babylonian*, became afterward the moſt reverenced Idol of the World, by which ſo many Nations (and they which were appropriate to God himſelf) were miſled and caſt away: ſo thoſe very ſtocks & ſtones,

and

and painted canvases (called the pictures of *Christ*, our *Ladie*, and others) were by thousands of ignorant people, not onely adored, but esteemed to have life, motion, and understanding. *On these stocks we call* (saith the Book of *Wisdome*) *when we pass through the raging waves, on these stocks more rotten than the Ship that carrieth us.*

This Heathen invention of Images became so fruitful in after-times, breeding an infinite multitude of gods, that they were forced to distinguish them into degrees and orders; as *Dii consentes, seu majorum gentium, selecti, Patritii, insigniores, dii medii: Counselling gods, or gods of the mightiest Nobility, select gods, Patrian, gods of mark, and Common gods* (which the *Romanes* called *Mediocxum*) *dii infimi*, and terrestrial *Heroes*, and multitudes of other gods, of which Saint *Augustine* hath made large mention in his Booke *de Civitate Dei*. But (saith *Lactantius*) among all those miserable souls and rotten bodies, worshipped by men more like to their Idols, did *Epimenides Cretensis* (by what good Angel moved I know not) erect in the *Athenian* Fields, Altars to the unknown God, which stood with the same title and dedication, even to the times of S. *Paul*: who made them first know to whom these Altars belonged, and opened their eyes which were capable of grace, that they might discern the difference betwixt that light which lighteneth every man, and the obscure and stinking mist wherein the Devil had so many yeers led and mis-led them. And it sufficed not that the multitude of these gods was so great in general, or that every Nation had some one which took particular and singular care of them, as *Jupiter* in *Crete*, *Isis* in *Egypt*, in *Athens Minerva*, in *Samos Juno*, in *Paphos Venus*, and so of all other parts; but every Citie, and almost every Family had a god apart. For, as it is written in the second of *Kings*, the men of *Babel* made *Succoth Benoth*, and the men of *Cuth* made *Nergal*, and the men of *Hamath* made *Asshima*, and the *Avites* made *Nibhaz* and *Tartak*, and the *Sephervaims* burnt their children in the fire to *Adramelech*. All which how plainly hath the Prophet *Esay* derided? *Men cut down Trees, rinde them, burn a part of them, make readie their meat, and warm themselves by the fire thereof, and of the residue he maketh a god; an Idol, and prayeth unto it: but God hath shut their eyes from sight, and their heart from understanding.* It is therefore safest for a Christian to believe the Commandements of God so direct against Idolatry, to believe the Prophets, and to believe S. *Paul*: who speaketh thus plainly and feelingly, *My beloved, flye from Idolatry; I speak as unto them which have understanding, judge ye what I say.*

Lib. 14. Cap. 17. v. 18. 31. Cap. 44.

§. VIII.

Of the Wars of Ninus: *and lastly of his War against* Zoroaster.

UNto this *Belus* succeeded *Ninus*, the first that commanded the exercise of Idolatry, the first that injuriously invaded his Neighbour Princes, and the first that without shame or feare committed adultery in publique. But as of *Belus* there is no certain memory (as touching particulars:) so of this *Ninus* (whose Story is gathered out of profane Authors) I finde nothing so warrantable, but that the same may be disputed, and in the greatest part doubted. For although that piece of *Berosus* set out and commented upon by *Annius*, hath many good things in it, and giveth great light (as *Chrytæus* noteth) to the understanding of *Diodorus Siculus*, *Dion*, *Halicarnasseus*, and others: yet *Lodovicus vives*, *B. Rhenanus*, and others after them, have laid open the imperfection and defects of the Fragments; proving directly that it cannot be the same *Berosus* which lived in *Alexander*'s time, cited by *Athenæus* and *Josephus*: and whose *Statue* the *Athenians* erected, saith *Plinie*. Yet it is from him chiefly, that many have gathered the succession of the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian* Princes, even from *Nimrod* to the eighteenth King *Sceatades*, and to the times of *Josua*. For of *Metasthenes* an Historian, of the Race of the *Persian* Priests, there are found but certain Papers; or some few lines of the *Chaldæan* and *Assyrian Monarchies*: but he afterwards in the collection of the *Persian* Kings is not without his errours.

Athen. l. 14. Joseph. cont. Appian, l. 1. & 7.

Ctesias of *Cnidus* (a City joyning to *Halicarnasseus*) who lived together with *Cyrus* the younger, and with *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, gathered his History out of the *Persian* Records, and reacheth as far upwards as *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and though in the Story of *Cyrus* the younger, *Xenophon* approveth him in some things, and *Athenæus*, *Pausanias* and *Tertullian* cite him; yet so base and apparent are his flatteries of the times and Princes

ces with whom he lived, and so incredible are the numbers which he finds in the Armies of *Ninus*, and especially of *Semiramis*; as whatsoever his reports were, times have consumed his works, saving some very few excerptions lately published.

And therefore in things uncertain, seeing a long discourse cannot be pleasing to men of judgement, I will pass over the acts of this third *Assyrian*, in as few words as I can express them. S. *Augustine* affirms that *Ninus* mastered all *Asia*, *India* excepted. Others say that he wan it all, save *India*, *Bactria*, and *Arabia*. For he made *Aricus* of *Arabia* the companion of his Conquests, with whom he entered into a straight league of amity, because he commanded many people, and was his kinsman, and a *Chusite*, and the neerest Prince confronting *Babylonia*. His first enterprize was upon *Syria*, which he might easily subdue, both because he invaded it on the sodain, and because it lay next him: and also because the *Arabians* and their king *Aricus* (which bordered *Syria*) assisted him in the Conquest thereof.

The king of *Armenia*, *Barzanes*, he forced to acknowledge him, and to aid him in his War against *Zoroaster*: for from *Armenia* he bent himself that way toward the East; but that ever he commanded the lesser *Asia*, I do not believe, for none of his Successors had any possession therein.

His third War was against *Pharnus*, king of the *Medes*, whom it is said that he overthrew, and cruelly murthered with his seven Children, though others affirme, that they all died in one battaile against him. Whether he invaded *Zoroaster* before the building or amplifying of *Nineve*, or after, it is uncertain. It is said that he made two expeditions into *Bactria*: and that finding little or ill success in the first, he returned, and set the work of *Ninive* forward: and then a second time entred *Bactria* with 1700000 Foot, and 200000 Horse, and 100000 six hundred Chariots: being encountred by *Zoroaster* with four hundred thousand. But *Ninus* prevailing, and *Zoroaster* being slain, he entred farther into the Country, and besieged the chief City thereof, called *Bactra* or *Bactrion* (saith *Stephanus:*) which by a passage found, and an assault given by *Semiramis* (the wife of *Menon*) he entred and possest. Upon this occasion *Ninus* both admiring her judgment and valour, together with her person and external beauty, fancied her so strongly, as (neglecting all Princely respects) he took her from her husband, whose eyes he threatned to thrust out if he refused to consent. He therefore yeelding to the passion of love in *Ninus*, and to the passion of sorrow in himself, by the strong perswasions of shame and dishonour, cast himself headlong into the water, and died.

Aug. de Civit. Dei.

Steph. de Urb.

CHAP. XI.

of ZOROASTER, *supposed to have been the chief Author of Magick Arts: and of the divers kinds of Magick.*

§. I.

That Zoroaster *was not* Cham, *nor the first Inventer of Astrologie, or of Magick: and that there were divers great Magicians of this name.*

ZOroaster King of the *Bactrians*, *Vincentius* supposeth to be *Cham* the son of *Noah:* A fancy of little probability. For *Cham* was the Paternal Ancestor of *Ninus*, the Father of *Chus*, the Grand-father of *Nimrod*, whose son was *Belus*, the Father of *Ninus*. It may be that *Vincentius* had heard of that Book which was called *Scripturæ Cham*, devised by some wicked Knave, and so intituled: of which *Sixtus Senensis* hath made the due mention.

It is reported by *Cassianus*, that *Serenus Abbas* gave the invention of *Magick* to *Cham* the sonne of *Noah:* so did *Comestor* in his Scholastical Historie: which Art (saith he) with the seven liberal Sciences he writ in 14. Pillers: seven of which were made of brass, to resist the defacing by the Waters of the Floud; and seven of brick, against the injury of fire. There was also another devised discourse, which went under

Cassian. in Coll. Col. cap. 21.

the title of *Prophetia Cham*. *Cassianus* out of *Serenus* hath somewhat like to this of *Comestor*. These be *Cassianus* words: Cham (*filius* Noah) *qui superstitionibus istis & sacrilegis fuit artibus infectus, sciens nullum se posse super his memorialem librum in Arcam prorsus inferre, in qua erat cum patre justo, &c.* Cham (*the son of* Noah) *who was infected with these superstitions and sacrilegious Arts, knowing that he could not bring any book or memoriall of that nature into the Arke, wherein he was to remain with his godly Father, caused the Precepts and Rules thereof to be graven in metall and hard stone.*

S. *Augustine* noteth that *Zoroaster* was said to have laught at his birth, when all other children weep; which presaged the great knowledge which afterward he attained unto: being taken for the Inventer of naturall *Magicke* and other Arts; for the Corrupter, saith *Plinie* and *Justine*. But I do not think that *Zoroaster* invented the doctrine of the *Horoscopes* or *Nativities*: or first found out the nature of herbs, stones, and mineralls, or their Sympatheticall or Antipatheticall workings; of which, I know not what King of *Chaldæa* is also made the Inventer. I rather think that these knowledges were far more ancient, and left by *Noah* to his sons. For *Abraham* who had not any acquaintance with *Zoroaster*, (as *Josephus* reporteth) was no lesse learned herein than any other in that age, if he exceeded not all men then living: differing from the wisdome of aftertimes in this, that he knew and acknowledged the true cause, and giver of life and vertue to Nature and all Naturall things; whereas others (forgetting Gods infinite, dispersed, and universall power) admired the instruments, and did attribute proper strength to the things themselves, (from which the effects were sensible) which belonged to that wisdome, *Which being one, and remaining in it selfe, can doe all things, and reneweth all.* *Wisd. c. 7.*

Now whether this *Zoroaster* (overthrown by *Ninus*) were the same which was so excellent a Naturalist, it is doubted. For *Zoroaster* the *Magician*, *Ctesias* calls *Oxyartes*, whom *Plinie* findes of a later time. And if *Zoroaster* were taken away by a spirit (being in the middest of his Disciples) as some Authors report, then *Zoroaster*, slain by *Ninus*, was not the *Magician*: which is also the opinion of *Scaliger*.

Again, *Josephus* and *Cedrenus* affirm, that *Seth* first found out the Planets, or wandering Stars, and other motions of the Heavens: for if this Art had been invented by *Zoroaster*, he could not have attained to any such excellency therein, in his own life time; but being a man (as it seemeth) of singular judgement, he might adde somewhat to this kind of knowledge, and leave it by writing to posterity. *Scalig. in Euseb. Joseph. lib. 1. Antiq. c. 4.*

But of this *Zoroaster* there is much dispute: and no lesse jangling about the word and art of *Magick*. *Arnobius* remembreth foure, to whom the name of *Zoroaster*, or *Zoroastres* was given: which by *Hermodorus* and *Dinon* seemeth to be but a *cognomen*, or name of art, and was as much to say, as *astrorum cultor*. The first, *Arnobius* calleth the *Bactrian*, which may be the same that *Ninus* overthrew: the second, a *Chaldæan*, and the *Astronomer* of *Ninus*: the third, was *Zoroaster Pamphylius*, who lived in the time of *Cyrus* and his familiar: the fourth, *Zoroaster Armenius*, the Nephew of *Hostianes*, which followed *Xerxes* into *Greece*: between whom and *Cyrus* there past threescore and eighteen yeers. *Suidas* remembreth a fifth, called *Persomedus sapiens*: and *Plato* speaketh of *Zoroaster* the son of *Oromasdes*; which *Picus Mirandula* confirmeth.

Now of what Nation the first and chiefe *Zoroaster* was, it is doubted. *Plinie* and *Laertius* make him a *Persian*. *Gemisthius* or *Pletho*, *Ficinus* and *Steuchius*, make him a *Chaldæan*. But by those bookes of one *Zoroaster*, found by *Picus Mirandula*, it appeareth plainely, that the Author of them was a *Chaldæan* by Nation, though the word (*Chaldæan*) was as often given to the learned Priests peculiarly, as for any distinguishment of Nations. *Porphyrius* makes the *Chaldæi* and *Magi* divers; *Picus* the same. But that this *Zoroaster* was a *Chaldæan* both by Nation and Profession, it appeareth by his Bookes, which (saith *Picus*) were written in the *Chaldæan* tongue; and the Comment in the same language. Now that the *Magi* and they were not differing, it may be judged by the name of those bookes of *Zoroaster*, which in an Epistle of *Mirandula* to *Ficinus*, he saith, to be intituled, *Patris* Ezre Zoroastris, & Melchior *magorum oracula*.

§. 11

§ II.

Of the name of Magia: and that it was anciently far divers from Conjuring and Witchcraft.

NOw for Magick it selfe; which Art (saith *Mirandula*) *pauci intelligunt, multi reprehendunt; Few understand, and many reprehend; Et sicut Canes ignotos semper allatrant; As Dogs bark at those they know not:* so they condemn and hate the things they understand not: I think it not amisse (leaving *Ninus* for a while) to speak somewhat thereof. *Pic. Mir. fo. 81.*

It is true that many men abhorre the very name and word (*Magos*) because of *Simon Magus*, who being indeed, not *Magus*, but *Goes*, (that is) familiar with evil spirits, usurped that title. For Magick, Conjuring, and Witchery, are far differing Arts, whereof *Plinie* being ignorant scoffeth thereat. For *Nero* (saith *Plinie*) who had the most excellent Magicians of the East sent him by *Tyridates* King of Armenia, who held that Kingdome by his grace, found the art after long study and labour altogether ridiculous. *Plin. l. 30. [illegible] Nat.*

Magus is a Persian word primitively, whereby is exprest such a one as is altogether conversant in things divine. And (as *Plato* affirmeth) the Art of Magick is the Art of worshipping God. To which effect *Apollonius* in his Epistles expounding the word (μαγος) saith, that the Persians called their gods μάγος: whence he addeth, that *Magus* is either ἔκατα φύσιν θεὸς or θεραπεύτης θεῶν (that is) that *Magus* is a name sometime of him that is a God by nature; sometimes of him that is in the service of God: in which latter sense it is taken, *Mat.* 2. *v.* 1. And this is the first and highest kind: which *Piccolominie* calleth divine Magick: and these did the Latines newly intitle *Sapientes*, or *Wisemen: For, the fear and worship of God is the beginning of knowledge.* These Wisemen the Greeks call Philosophers: the Indians, Branchmans: which name they somewhat neerly retain to this day, calling their Priests Bramines; among the Egyptians they were termed Priests; with the Hebrews they were called Cabalists, Prophets, Scribes, and Pharisees: amongst the Babylonians they were differenced by the name of Chaldæans: and among the Persians, Magicians: of whom *Arnobius* (speaking of *Hostanes*, one of the ancient Magicians) useth these words: *Et verum Deum merita majestate prosequitur, & Angelos ministros Dei, sed veri, ejus venerationi novit assistere. Idem dæmonas prodit terrenos, vagos, humanitatis inimicos; Sosthenes* (for so *M. Felix* called him, not *Hostanes*) *ascribeth the due majestie to the true God, and acknowledgeth that his Angels are ministers and messengers which attend the worship of the true God. He also hath delivered that there are Devils earthly and wandering, and enemies to mankinde.* *Porphyr. & Apul. Plato in Alcil. Piccol. de Defin. Proverb. 1. 7. John Hug. Lins. hot. In octavio Minutii Felicis cum Arnobio. p. 360.*

His Majestie also in his first Book of *Demonologie*, *c.* 3. acknowledgeth, that in the Persian tongue the word (*Magus*) imports as much a contemplator of divine and heavenly sciences; but unjustly so called, because the *Chaldæans* were ignorant of the true divinity. And it is also right which *His Majestie* avoweth, that under the name of *Magick* all other unlawfull Arts are comprehended, and yet doth *His Majestie* distinguish it from Necromancie, Witchcraft, and the rest: of all which he hath written largely and most learnedly. For the Magick which *His Majestie* condemneth, is of that kind whereof the Devil is a party. *Daniel* in his second chapter nameth foure kindes of those *Wisemen: Arioli, Magi, Malefici*, and *Chaldæi. Arioli* the old *Latine* translation calleth *Sophistas: Vatablus* and *Pagninus Genethliacos*, or *Physicos*, or *Philosophers*, or (according to the note of *Vatablus*) *Naturalists: Nempe sunt Magi apud Barbaros, quod Philosophi apud Græcos (scilicet) divinarum humanarumque rerum scientiam profitentes; For the Magi are the same with the Barbarians, as the Philosophers are with the Græcians* (that is) *men that professe the knowledge of things both divine and humane.* The Greek and the English call them *Inchanters*; *Junius, Magicians*; *Castalion, Conjecturers:* in the *Syrian* they are all foure by one name called *Sapientes Babylonis*; *The Wisemen of Babel.* *Dæmonolog. l. 2. cap. 1.*

The second sort *Vatablus, Pagnin, Junius*, and our English, call Astrologers; *Hierome* and the *Septuagint*, Magicians.

The third kind are *Malefici*, or *Venefici*; in *Hierom, Pagnin*, and the *Septuagint*, Witches or Poysoners: in *Junius, Præstigiatores* of Sorcerers, as in English.

That Witches are also rightly so called *Venefici*, or *Poysoners*; and that indeed there is a kinde of *Malefici*, which without any Art of Magick or Necromancie use the help

of the Devil to do mischiefe, *His Majestie* confirmeth in the first Chapter of his second Book: speaking also in the fifth Chapter of their practice, to mixe the powder of dead bodies with other things by the Divell prepared; and at other times to make pictures of wax, or clay, or otherwise (as it were *Sacramentaliter*) to effect those things, which the Devill by other means bringeth to passe.

The fourth, all Translators call *Chaldæans:* who took upon them to foretell all things to come, as well naturall as humane, and their events: and this they vaunted to perform by the influences of the Stars by them observed, and understood.

Such were, and to this day partly (if not altogether) are the corruptions, which have made odious the very name of *Magicke*, having chiefly sought (as is the manner of all impostures) to counterfeit the highest and most noble part of it, yet so as they have also crept into the inferiour degrees.

A second kinde of *Magick* was that part of *Astrologie*, which had respect to sowing and planting, and all kindes of agriculture and husbandry: which was a knowledge of the motions and influences of the Stars into those lower Elements.

Philo Judæus goeth farther, affirming, that by this part of *Magick* or *Astrologie*, together with the motions of the Stars and other heavenly bodies, *Abraham* found out the knowledge of the true God, while he lived in *Chaldæa: Qui contemplatione creaturarum cognovit Creatorem*, (saith *Jo. Damascen*) *Who knew the Creator by the contemplation of the creature.* *Josephus* reporteth of *Abraham*, that *he instructed the Egyptians in Arithmetick and Astronomie, who before* Abrahams *coming unto them knew none of these sciences.*

De exit. sanct. Glyc. Annal. fol. 180.

And so doth *Archangelus de Burgo*, in defence of *Mirandula* against *Garsias:* Alexander & Eupolemon *dicunt, quod* Abraham *sanctitate & sapientiâ omnium præstantissimus, Chaldæos primùm, deinde Phœnices, demum Ægyptios sacerdotes Astrologiam & divina docuerit*; Alexander (saith he, *meaning* Alexander Polyhistor) *and* Eupolemon *affirme, that* Abraham *the holiest and wisest of men, did first teach the Chaldæans, then the Phenicians; lastly, the Egyptian priests, Astrologie and divine knowledge.*

See upon his Comment. in Aug. de civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 2.

The third kinde of *Magick* containeth the whole Philosophie of nature; not the brabblings of the *Aristotelians*, but that which bringeth to light the inmost vertues, and draweth them out of Natures hidden bosome to humane use: *Virtutes in centro centri latentes*; *Vertues hidden in the center of the center*, according to the *Chymists*. Of this sort were *Albertus, Arnoldus de villa nova, Raymond, Bacon*, and many others: and before these in elder times, and who better understood the power of Nature & how to apply things that work to things that suffer, were *Zoroaster* before spoken of: *Apollonius Tyanæus* remembred by S. *Hierome* to *Paulinus*; in some mens opinion *Numa Pompilius* among the *Romans:* among the *Indians, Thespian:* among the *Egyptians, Hermes:* among the *Babylonians, Budda:* the *Thracians* had *Zamolxis:* the *Hyperboreans* (as is supposed) *Abbaris:* and the *Italians, Petrus Aponensis*. The *Magick* which these men profest, is thus defined: *Magia est connexio à viro sapiente agentium per naturam cum patientibus, sibi congruenter respondentibus, ut inde opera prodeant, non sine eorum admiratione qui causam ignorant: Magick is the connexion of naturall agents and patients, answerable each to other, wrought by a wise man, to the bringing forth of such effects, as are wonderfull to those that know not their causes.* In all these three kindes, which other men divide into foure, it seemeth that *Zoroaster* was exceedingly learned; especially in the first and highest. For in his Oracles he confesseth God to be the creator of the Universall: he beleeveth of the * *Trinity*, which he could not investigate by any naturall knowledge: he speaketh of Angels, and of *Paradise:* approveth the immortality of the soule: teacheth Truth, Faith, Hope, and Love, discoursing of the Abstinence and Charity of the *Magi:* Which Oracles of his, *Psellus, Ficinus, Patritius*, and others have gathered and translated.

* *Toto in mundo lucet Trias, cujus Minus est princeps. Cuncta namq; perfecit pater, & menti tradidit secunda. Psel. & Ficin. de prap. Evang. l. 1. c. 7.*

Of this *Zoroaster*, *Eusebius* in the *Theologie* of the *Phœnicians*, using *Zoroasters* owne words: *Hæc ad verbum scribit* (saith *Eusebius*) *Deus primus incorruptibilium, sempiternus, ingenitus, expers partium, sibiipsi simillimus, bonorum omnium auriga, munera non expectans, optimus, prudentissimus, pater juris, sine doctrina justitiam perdoctus, naturâ perfectus, sapiens, sacræ naturæ unicus inventor, &c. Thus writeth* Zoroaster *word for word. God the first incorruptible, everlasting, unbegotten, without parts, most like himselfe, the guide of all good, expecting no reward, the best, the wisest, the father of right, having learned justice without teaching, perfect, wise by nature, the onely inventer thereof.*

Lib. 2. fol. 26.

Sixtus Senensis speaking of the wisdome of the *Chaldæans*, doth distinguish those wise men

men into five orders, (to wit) *Chaſcedim*, or *Chaldæans* : *Aſaphim*, or *Magicians* : *Chartumim* ; (which he tranſlates *Ariolie*, or *Sophiſts*) *Mechaſphim*, or *Malefici*, or *Venefici*, *Witches*, or *Poyſoners* ; and *Gazarim*, *Augures*, or *Aruſpices*, or *Diviners*.

Chaſcedim were thoſe which had the name of *Chaldæans*, which were *Aſtronomers* : *Hi cælorum motus diligentiſſimè ſpectârunt* ; *These did moſt diligently contemplate the motions of the heavens* : whom *Philo* in the life of *Abraham* deſcribeth.

Aſaphim were in the old *Latine* tranſlation called *Philoſophers* : of the *Septuagint* and of *Hierome*, *Magicians* : *Qui de omnium tam divinarum quàm humanarum rerum cauſis Philoſophati ſunt* ; *Who diſcourſed of the cauſes of all things, as well divine as humane* : of whom *Origen* makes *Balaam* (the ſon of *Beor*) to be the firſt : but *Laertius* aſcribeth the invention of this art to *Zoroaſtres* the *Perſian*. *Laert. l. 1.*

Chartumim, or *Inchanters*, the Diſciples (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*, *Plinie*, and *Juſtine*) of another *Zoroaſtres* : who corrupted the admirable wiſdome of the *Magi*, which he received from his Anceſters.

Mechaſphim, or *Venefici*, or *Witches*, are thoſe which we have ſpoken already out of *His Majeſties* book of *Dæmonologia*.

Gazarim, or *Aruſpices* (after Saint *Hierome*) which divine from the entrailes of beaſts ſlain for ſacrifices : or by *Gazarim* others underſtand *Augures*, who divine by the flying, ſinging, or feeding of birds.

By this diſtinction we may perceive the difference between thoſe wiſe men which the kings of *Babylon* entertained ; and that the name and profeſſion of the *Magi* among the ancient *Perſians* was moſt honeſt. For as *Peucer* truely obſerveth, *Præerant religioni Perſicæ, ut in populo Dei Levitæ, ſtudiiſque veræ Philoſophiæ dediti erant : nec quiſquam Rex Perſarum poterat eſſe, qui non antea Magorum diſciplinam ſcientiamque percepiſſet* ; *The Magi* (ſaith he) *were the chief Miniſters of the Perſian Religion, as the Levites among Gods people, and they were given to the ſtudies of true Philoſophie : neither could any be King of the Perſians, who had not firſt been exerciſed in the myſteries and knowledge of the Magi.* *Sixtus Senenſis*, in the defence of *Origen* againſt *Polychronius* and *Theophilus*, hath two kindes of *Magicke*, his own words are theſe : *Et ne quem moveant præmiſſa* Polychronii & Theophili *teſtimonia, ſciendum eſt duplicem eſſe Magiam* ; *alteram ubique ab* Origine *damnatam*, *quæ per fœdera cum dæmonibus inita aut verè aut apparenter operatur* ; *alteram ab* Origine *laudatam, quæ ad practicen naturalis philoſophiæ pertinet, docens admirabiles res operari ex applicatione mutua naturalium virtutum ad invicem agentium ac patientium* ; *That the teſtimonies of* Theophilus *and* Polychronius (*ſaith he*) *may not move any man, it is to be underſtood that Magick is of two ſorts, the one every where condemned by* Origen ; *which worketh (whether truely or ſeemingly) by covenants made with Devills* ; *the other commended by* Origen ; *which appertaineth to the practick part of naturall Philoſophie, teaching to work admirable things by the mutuall application of naturall vertues, agent and ſuffering reciprocally.* *Peucer. de Divinat. in c. de mag. fol. 135, 136.* *Bibl. l. 6. fo. 424*

This partition *Hierome* doth embrace in the firſt of his Commentaries upon *Daniel* : where conſidering of the difference which *Daniel* makes between theſe foure kindes of wiſe Men formerly remembered, he uſeth this diſtinction : *Quos nos hariolos* ; *cæteri ἐπαοιδοὺς* (*id eſt*) *incantatores interpretati ſunt*, *videntur mihi eſſe qui verbis rem peragunt* ; *Magi, qui de ſingulis philoſophantur* ; *malefici, qui ſanguine utuntur & victimis*, & *ſæpe contingunt corpora mortuorum : porro in Chaldæis Genethliacos ſignificari puto*, *quos vulgo Mathematicos vocant. Conſuetudo autem communis Magos pro maleficis accipit*, *qui aliter habentur apud gentem ſuam*, *eo quòd ſint Philoſophi Chaldæorum* : & *ad artis hujus ſcientiam, Reges quoque & Principes ejuſdem gentis omnia faciunt* ; *unde*, & *in nativitate Domini Salvatoris, ipſi primum ortum ejus intellexerunt*, & *venientes ſanctam Bethlehem, adoraverunt puerum, ſtella deſuper oſtendente* ; *They whom we call Sorcerers, and others interpret Inchanters, ſeem to me ſuch as performe things by words* ; *Magicians, ſuch as handle every thing philoſophically* ; *Witches, that uſe bloud and ſacrifices, and often lay hands on the body of the dead : further, among the Chaldæans I take them to be ſignified by the name of Conjecturers upon nativities, whom the vulgar call Mathematicians. But common cuſtome takes Magicians for Witches, who are otherwiſe reputed in their owne Nation : for they are the Philoſophers of the Chaldæans : yea, King and Princes of that Nation doe all that they doe according to the knowledge of this Art : whence, at the nativity of the Lord our Saviour, they firſt of all underſtood his birth, and coming unto holy Bethlehem, did worſhip the Childe : the Starre from above ſhewing him unto them.* By this therefore it appeareth that there is

great difference between the doctrine of a *Magician*, and the abuse of the word. For though some Writers affirme, that *Magus hodie dicitur, qui ex fœdere facto utitur diaboli opera ad rem quamcunq; That he is called a Magician now-adaies, who having entred league with the Divel, useth his help to any matter:* yet (as our Saviour said of *Divorce*) it was not so from the beginning. For the Art of *Magick* is of the wisedome of Nature; other Arts which undergoe that title, were invented by the falshood, subtilty, and envie of the Devil. In the latter there is no other doctrine, than the use of certain ceremonies, *Per malâ fidem; By an evill faith:* in the former no other ill, than the investigation of those vertues and hidden properties which God hath given to his creatures, and how fitly to apply things that work, to things that suffer. And though by the *Jewes* those excellent *Magicians, Philosophers*, and *Divines*, which came to worship our Saviour *Christ*, were termed *Mechaschephim*, or *Mecasphim*; yet had they no other reason than common custome therein. *Consuetudo autem communis Magos pro maleficis accipit; Common custome* (saith S. *Hierome*) *understandeth Witches under the name of Magicians: And antiquity* (saith *Peter Martyr*) by the word (*Magi*) *understood good and wise men. Quid igitur expaveſcis Magi nomen formidoloſe, nomen Evangelio gratioſum, quod non maleficum & veneficum, ſed ſapientem ſonat & Sacerdotem? O thou fearfull one* (saith *Ficinus*) *why doubtest thou to use the name of Magus, a name gracious in the Gospel, which doth not signifie a Witch, or Conjurer, but a wise man and a Priest?* For what brought this slander to that study and profession, but onely idle ignorance, the Parent of causeless admiration? *Causa fuit mirificentia quorundam operum, quæ (re vera) opera naturalia sunt: verumtamen quia procuratione dæmonum, naturas ipsas vel conjungentium, vel commiscentium, vel aliter ad operandum expedientium facta sunt, opera dæmonum credebantur ab ignorantibus hæc. De operibus hujsmodi est Magia naturalis, quam Necromantiam multi impropriè vocant: The marvellousnesse of some works, which (indeed) are naturall, hath been the cause of this slander: but because these works have been done by procurement of Divels, joyning the natures together, or mingling them, or howsoever fitting the natures to their working, they were thought the works of the Divels by the ignorant. Among these works is naturall Magick, which men call very improperly Necromancie.*

Mirandula in his Apologie goeth further; *For by understanding* (saith he) *the uttermost activity of naturall agents we are assisted to know the Divinity of Christ:* for otherwise (to use his own words) *ignoratis terminis potentiæ & virtutis rerum naturalium, stat nos dubitare illa eadem opera, quæ fecit Christus, posse fieri per media naturalia; The termes or limits of naturall power and vertue not understood, wee must needs doubt whether those very workes which Christ did, may not be done by naturall meanes:* after which he goeth on in this sort: *Ideo non hæreticè, non superstitiosè dixi, sed verissimè & Catholicè per talem Magiam adjuvari nos in cognoscenda divinitate Christi: Therefore I said not heretically, not superstitiously, but most truly and Catholikely, that by such Magick we are furthered in knowing the Divinity of Christ.* And seeing the *Jews* and others, the enemies of Christian Religion, do impudently and impiously object, that those Miracles which *Christ* wrought were not above nature, but by the exquisite knowledge thereof performed: *Mirandula*, a man for his years fuller of knowledge than any that this latter Age hath brought forth, might with good reason avow, that the uttermost of Natures workes being knowne, the workes which Christ did, and which (as himself witnesseth) no man could doe, doe manifestly testifie of themselves, that they were performed by that hand which held Nature herein but as a Pencill, and by a power infinitely supreame and divine; and thereby those that were faithless, were either converted or put to silence.

Hieron. in Daniel. Pet. Mar. Loc.

Mar. Ficin. per prim. fol. 73.

Gul. Parisien. de Leg. cap. 14.

Fol. 80.

§. III

That the good knowledge in the ancient Magick is not to be condemned: though the Divel here, as in other kinds, hath sought to obtrude evill things, under the name and colour of good things.

SEeing therefore it is confessed by all of understanding, that a *Magician* (according to the *Persian* word) is no other than, *Divinorum cultor & interpres: A studious observer and expounder of divine things:* and the Art of it selfe (I meane the Art of Naturall *Magick*) no other, *Quam naturalis Philosophiæ absoluta consummatio; Than the absolute perfection of naturall Philosophy:* Certainly then it proceeds from ignorance, and no

no way sorteth with wise and learned men, *promiscuè*, and without difference and distinction, to confound lawful and praise-worthy knowledge with that impious, and (to use S. *Pauls* words) *with those beggerly rudiments*, which the Divell hath shuffled, and by them bewitcheth and befooleth gracelesse men. For if we condemn natural *Magicke*, or the wisedome of Nature, because the Divell (who knowes more than any man) doth also teach witches and Poysoners the harmfull parts of Herbes, Drugges, Minerals, and Excrements: then may we by the same rule condemn the Physician, and the Art of healing. For the Divell also in the Oracles of *Amphiaraus*, *Amphilochus*, *Trophonius*, and the like, taught men in Dreames what Herbes and Drugges were proper for such and such diseases. Now no man of judgement is ignorant, that the Divell from the beginning hath sought to thrust himselfe into the same imployment among the Ministers and Servants of God, changing himselfe for that purpose into an Angel of Light. He hath led men to Idolatry as a Doctrine of Religion; he hath thrust in his Prophets among those of the true God; he hath corrupted the Art of *Astrologie*, by giving a divine power to the Starres, teaching men to esteeme them as gods, and not as instruments. And (as *Bunting* observeth) it is true, that judiciall *Astrologie* is corrupted with many superstitions: but the abuse of the thing takes not away the Art, considering that heavenly bodies (as even generall experience sheweth) have, and exercise their operation upon the inferiour. For the Sun, and the Star of *Mars* doe drie; the Moone doth moisten, and governe the Tides of the Sea. Againe, the Planets, as they have severall and proper names, so have they severall and proper vertues: the Starres doe also differ in beautie and in magnitude; and to all the Starres hath God given also their proper names, which (had they not influences and vertues different) needed not: *He counteth the number of the Starrs, and calleth them by their names.* But into the good and profitable knowledg of the celestial influences, the Divel ceaseth not to shuffle in his Superstitions: and so to the knowledge of the secret vertues of Nature hath he fastened his doctrine of *Characters*, Numbers and Incantations; and taught men to beleeve in the strength of words and Letters: (which without Faith in God are but Inke or common breath) thereby either to equal his owne with the All-powerful Word of God, or to diminish the glory of Gods creating Word, by whom are all things.

Bunt. in Chro.

Psal. 147.

Moreover, he was never ignorant, that both the wise and the simple observe when the Sea-birds forsake the shores and fly into the Land, that commonly some great storme followeth; that the high flying of the Kite and the Swallow, betoken faire weather; that the crying of Crowes and bating of Ducks, foreshew raine: for they feele the Ayre moistened in their Quils. And it is written in *Hieremie* the Prophet, *Euen the Stork in the ayre knoweth her appointed times, and the Turtle, and the Crane, and the Swallow.* Hereupon, this enemie of Mankind, working upon these as upon the rest of Gods creatures, long time abused the Heathen by teaching them to observe the flying of Fowles, and thereby to judge of good or ill successe in the War: and (withall) to looke into their entrailes for the same, as if God had written the secrets of unsearchable providence in the livers & bowels of birds and beasts. Again, because it pleased God somtimes by Dreams not onely to warne and teach his Prophets and Apostles, but Heathen Princes also; as *Abimelech* to restore *Sara* to *Abraham*; because he admonished *Joseph*, and by Dreame informed *Jacob*, *Laban*, *Pharao*, *Solomon*, *Paul*, *Annias*, the *Magi* of the East, and others. For as it is remembered in *Job*: *In Dreames and Visions of the night, when sleepe falleth upon men, &c. then God openeth the eares, that he might cause man to returne from his enterprise:* therefore, I say, doth the Divell also practise his Divinations by Dreames, or (after *Parisiensis*) *divinitatis imitationes, his mock-divinitie.* This in the end grew so common, as *Aristides* compiled an *Ephemerides* of his owne Dreames: *Mithridates* of those of his *Concubines*. Yea the *Romans* finding the inconvenience hereof, because all dreams (without distinction of cases) were drawne to Divination, forbad the same by a Law, as by the words of prohibition (*aut narrandis somniis occultam aliquam artem divinandi*) it may appeare. Likewise by the Law of God in *Deuteronomie, cap.* 13. seducing Dreamers were ordered to be slaine. Yet it is to be contemned, not that *Marcus Antonius* was told a remedie in his Dreame for two grievous diseases that oppreſt him; nor that of *Alexander Macedon* for the cure of *Ptolomies* poisoned wound; nor that which S. *Augustine* reporteth of a *Millanoise*; whose son (the Father dead) being demanded a debt already paid, was told by his Father in a dream where the Acquittance lay to discharge it: not that

Cap. 8. ver. 7.

Gen. 12. v. 17.

Job 33. 17.

G. Parisien. de leg. 24. cap.

Codex. de malefic. & Mathemat. leg. & si accepta.

Aug. de cura pro mortuis agenda.

that of *Astyages* of his Daughter, and many others of like nature. Of the reason of all which, for asmuch as the cause is not in our selves, this place denieth dispute.

§. IV.

That Daniels *misliking* Nabuchodonosors *condemning of the Magicians, doth not justifie all their practices.*

BUt it may be objected, that if such Divinations as the Heathens commonly used were to be condemned in them, who tooke on them very many and strange Revelations; how came it to passe that *Daniel* both condemned the hastie sentence of *Nabuchodonosor* against the *Magicians* of *Chaldæa*, and in a sort forbad it? especially consi-
Deut. 13. & 18. Levit. 20. dering that such kind of people God himselfe commanded to be slaine. To this, divers answers may be given. First, it seemeth that *Daniel* had respect to those *Chaldæans*, because they acknowledged that the Dreame of the king, which himselfe had forgotten, could not be knowne to any man by any Art either Natural or Diabolical: *For there is none other* (said the *Chaldæans*) *that can declare it before the king, except the Gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh:* and herein they confessed the power of the Ever-living God.

Secondly, it may be conjectured (and that with good reason) that among so many learned men, some of them did not exercise themselves in any evill or unlawfull Arts, but were meerely *Magicians* and *Naturalists*: and therefore when the king commanded to kill all, *Daniel* perswaded the contrary, and called it a hasty judgement, which proceeded with furie without examination. And that some of those mens studies and professions were lawfull, it may be gathered by *Daniels* instruction: for himselfe had bin taught by them, and was called chiefe of the Inchanters: of which some were termed *Soothsayers*, others *Astrologians*, others *Chaldæans*, others *Magi* or *Wise-men:* and therefore of distinct professions.

Thirdly, *Daniel* misliked and forbad the execution of that judgement, because it was unjust. For howsoever those men might deserve punishment for the practice of unlawfull arts (though not unlawful according to the law of that State) yet herein they were altogether guiltlesse. For it exceeded humane power to pierce the Kings thought, which the Divell himselfe could not know. So then in *Daniels* dislike, and hindering of the execution of sentence of death pronounced against the *Magicians*, there is no absolute justifying of their practice and profession.

§. V.

The abuse of things which may be found in all kinds, is not to condemne the right use of them.

NOtwithstanding this mixture every where, of good with evill, of falsehood with truth, of corruption with cleannesse and purity: The good, The truth, The puritie in every kind may well be embraced: As in the ancient worshipping of God by Sacrifice, there was no man knowing God among the Elders, that therefore forebare to offer Sacrifice to the God of all power, because the Divel in the Image of *Baal*, *Astaroth*, *Chemoth*, *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and the like was so adored.

Neither did the abuse of *Astrologie* terrifie *Abraham* (if we may beleeve the most an-
Euseb. ex Artemon. & Polybi. cient and religious Historians) from observing the motions and natures of heavenly bodies; neither can it dehort wise and learned men in these dayes from attributing those vertues, influences, and inclinations to the Starres and other lights of Heaven, which God hath given to those his glorious creatures.

The Sympatheticall and Antipatheticall working of Herbes, Plants, Stones, Minerals, with their other utmost vertues sometimes taught by the Divell, and applyed by his Ministers to harmefull and uncharitable ends, can never terrifie the honest and learned *Physician* or *Magician* from the using of them to the helpe and comfort of Mankind: neither can the illusions, whereby the Divell betrayeth such men as are fallen from God, make other men reject the observations of Dreames; so far as with a good Faith and a Religious caution they may make use of them.

Lastly, the prohibition to marke flying of Fowles (as signes of good or evill success) hath no reference at all to the crying of Crowes against Raine, or to any observation
Deut. 18. 10. not superstitious, and whereof a reason or cause may be given. For if we confound Arts with

with the abuſe of them, we ſhall not onely condemne all honeſt Trades and enterchange among men (for there are that deceive in all profeſſions) but we ſhall in a ſhort time bury in forgetfulneſſe all excellent knowledg and all learning, or obſcure and cover it over with a moſt ſcornefull and beggarly ignorance: and (as *Plinie* teacheth) we ſhould ſhew our ſelves *ingratos erga eos, qui labore curaq; lucem nobis aperuerunt in hac luce: Unthankfull we ſhould ſhew our ſelves towards thoſe, who with paines and care have diſcovered unto us light in this light.*

Indeed not onely theſe natural knowledges are condemned by thoſe that are ignorant; but the Mathematicks alſo and Profeſſers thereof: though thoſe, that are excellently learned, judge of it in this ſort: *In ſpeculo Mathematico verum illud, quod in omni ſcibili quæritur, elucet; non modò remota ſimilitudine, ſed fulgida quadam propinquitate; In the Glaſſe of the Mathematickes that Truth doth ſhine, which is ſought in every kind of knowledge; not in an obſcuring, but in a neere and manifeſt repreſentation.* *Cuſan. Com. Tocolog. c. 1.*

§. VI.

Of the divers kindes of unlawfull Magicke.

IT is true that there are many Arts, if we may ſo call them, which are covered with the name of Magicke: and eſteemed abuſively to be as branches of that Tree, on whoſe root they never grew. The firſt of theſe hath the name of Necromancy or Goetia: and of this againe there are divers kindes. The one is an Invocation at the graves of the dead, to whom the Divell himſelfe gives anſwer in ſtead of thoſe that ſeeme to appeare. For certaine it is, that the immortall ſoules of men doe not inhabit the duſt and dead bodies, but they give motion and underſtanding to the living: death being nothing elſe but a ſeparation of the body and ſoule: and therefore the ſoule is not to be found in the Graves.

A ſecond practice of thoſe men, who pay Tribute or are in league with Satan, is that of conjuring or of raiſing up Divels, of whom they hope to learne what they liſt. Theſe men are ſo diſtract, as they believe that by terrible words they make the Divell to tremble; that being once impaled in a Circle (a Circle which cannot keepe out a Mouſe) they therein (as they ſuppoſe) inſconce themſelves againſt that great Monſter. Doubtleſs, they forget that the Divel is not terrified from doing ill and all that is contrary to God and goodneſs, no, not by the fearefull word of the Almighty: and that he feared not to offer to ſit in Gods ſeat, that he made no ſcruple to tempt our Saviour Chriſt, whom himſelfe called the Son of God. So, forgetting theſe proud parts of his, an unworthy wretch will yet reſolve himſelfe, that he can draw the Divell out of Hell, and terrifie him with a Phraſe: whereas in very truth, the obedience which the Divels ſeeme to uſe, is but thereby to poſſeſs themſelves of the bodies & ſoules of thoſe which raiſe them up; as His Majeſtie in his Book aforenamed hath excellently taught: *That the Divels obedience is only, ſecundum quid, ſcilicet ex pacto; reſpectivè*, that is, *upon bargaine.* *Sunt in mundo genus quoddam poteſtatum valde diverſum, indiſcretum & inconſideratum; & quod neque verum à falſo neque poſſibile diſcernat ab impoſſibili.*

I cannot tell what they can doe upon thoſe ſimple and ignorant Divels, which inhabit *Iamblicus* imagination; but ſure I am the reſt are apt enough to come uncalled: and alwaies attending the cogitations of their ſervants and vaſſals, doe no way need any ſuch inforcement.

Or it may be that theſe Conjurers dealt altogether with *Cardans* mortall Divels, following the opinion of *Rabbi Avornathan* and of *Porphirius*, who taught that theſe kinde of Divels lived not above a thouſand yeares: which *Plutarch* in his Treatiſe *de Oraculorum defectu* confirmeth, making example of the great god Pan. For were it true that the Divels were in awe of wicked men, or could be compelled by them, then would they alwayes fear thoſe words and threats, by which at other times they are willingly maſtered. But the Familiar of *Simon Magus* when he had lifted him up in the Ayre, caſt him headlong out of his clawes, when he was ſure he ſhould periſh with the fall. If this perhaps were done by S. *Peters* Prayers (of which *S. Peter* no where vaunteth) yet the ſame prancke at other times upon his owne accord the Divell played with *Theodotus*: who tranſported (as *Simon Magus* was ſuppoſed to have beene) had the ſame mortal fall that he had. The like ſucceſſe had *Eudas*, a principall pillar of the Manichæan Heriſie, as *Socrates* in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory witneſſeth: and for a manifeſt proofe hereof we ſee it *L. Vives in 2. p. 11. lib. 10. Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. 10. Caſa exerc. l. 2. Euſeb. hiſt. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 16. Lib. 1. c. 21.*

every

every day, that the Divell leaves all Witches and Sorcerers at the Gallows, for whom at other times he maketh himselfa *Pegasus*, to conveigh them in haste to places far di-
2 Thes. 2. stant, or at least makes them so thinke: *For to those that received not the truth* (saith Saint *Paul*) *God shall send them strong illusions*: Of these their supposed transportations (yet agreeing with their confessions) *His Majestie* in the second Book and the fourth Chapter of the *Demonologie*, hath confirmed by unanswerable reasons, that they are meerly illusive. Another sort there are who take on them to include *Spirits* in Glasses and Cry-
Exercitat. l. 2. stals; of whom *Cusanus*: *Fatui sunt incantatores, qui in ungue & vitro volunt spiritum includere, quia Spiritus non clauditur corpore*: *They are foolish Inchanters, which will shut up their spirits within their nails or in Glass: for a Spirit cannot be incloſed by a body.*

There is also another Art besides the afore-mentioned, which they call *Theurgia*, or *White Magick*; a pretended conference with good Spirits or Angels, whom by Sacrifice and Invocation they draw out of Heaven and communicate withall. But the administring Spirits of God, as they require not any kind of adoration due unto their Creator; so seeing they are most free Spirits, there is no man so absurd to think (except the devil have corrupted his understanding) that they can be constrained or commanded out of Heaven by threats. Wherefore let the professors thereof cover themselves how they please by a professed purity of life, by the ministery of infants, by fasting and abstinence in generall; yet all those that tamper with immateriall substances, and abstract natures, either by Sacrifice, Vow, or Inforcement, are men of evil faith, and in the power of *Satan*. For good Spirits or Angels cannot be constrained; and the rest are Devils, which willingly obey.

Other sorts there are of wicked Divinations; as by fire, called *Pyromantia*: by water, called *Hydromantia*: by the ayre, called *Mataeotechnia*, and the like.

The last, and (indeed) the worst of all other is Fascination or Witchcraft: the Practisers whereof are no less envious and cruell, revengefull and bloudy, than the Devil himself. And these accursed creatures having sold their souls to the Devil, work two waies; either by the Devil immediately, or by the Art of poysoning. The difference between *Necromancers* and *Witches*, *His Majestie* hath excellently taught in a word: that the one (in a sort) command; the other obey the Devil.

There is another kind of pettie witchery (if it be not altogether deceit) which they call charming of Beasts and Birds, of which *Pythagoras* was accused, because an Eagle lighted on his shoulder in the *Olympian* fields. But if the same exceeded the Art of Fal-
Ælian. l. 6. nat. histor. conrie, yet was it no more to be admired than *Mahomet's* Dove, which he had used to feed with Wheat out of his ear: which Dove, when it was hungry, lighted on *Mahomet's* shoulder, and thrust his Bill therein to find his break-fast: *Mahomet* perswading the rude and simple *Arabians*, that it was the holy Ghost that gave him advice. And certainly if *Banks* had lived in elder times, he would have shamed all the Inchanters of the World: for whosoever was most famous among them, could never master or instruct any beast as he did his Horse.

For the drawing of Serpents out of their Dens, or killing of them in the holes by In-
Lucil. in Satyr. chantments (which the *Marsians*, a people of *Italie*, practised: *Colubros disrumpit Marsia cantu*: *inchanting Marsia makes the snakes to burst.*) That it hath beene used it appeares, *Psalme* 58.6. though I doubt not, but that many Impostures may be in this kinde, and even by natural causes it may be done. For there are many fumes that will either draw them out or destroy them; as womens haire burnt, and the like. So many things may be layed in the entrance of their holes that will allure them: and therein I find no other *Magicke* or Inchantments than to draw out a Mouse with a piece of tosted Cheese.

§. VII.

Of divers wayes by which the Divel seemeth to work his wonders.

BUt to the end that we may not dote with the *Manichees*, who make two powers of gods: that we doe not give to the Divell any other dominion than he hath (not to speake of his abilitie, when he is the Minister of Gods vengeance; as when *Egypt*, according to *David*, was destroyed by evil Angels) he otherwise worketh but three wayes. The first is by moving the cogitation and affections of men: The second

second by the exquisite knowledge of Nature: and the third by deceit, illusion, and false semblance. And that they cannot work what they would, *G. Parisiensis* giveth three causes: the first, a natural impotency: the second, their own reason disswading them from daring overmuch, or indeed (and that which is the onely certain cause) the great mercy of the Creator, *Tenens eos ligatas* (saith the same Author) *velut immanissimas belluas.* S. *Augustine* was of opinion that the Frogges which *Pharaohs* Sorcerers produced, were not naturall, but that the Divel (by betraying of their senses that looked on) made them appear to be such. For as *Varius* observeth, those Frogs of the Inchanters were not found corrupted as those of *Moses* were, which might argue that they were not creatures indeed. Hereof saith S. Augustine: *Nec sanè Dæmones naturas creant, sed quæ à Deo creatæ sunt commutant, ut videantur esse quod non sunt: The Devils create not any natures, but so change those that are created by God, as they seem to be that which they be not:* of which in the 83. question he giveth the reason. *Dæmon quibusdam nebulis implet omnes meatus intelligentiæ, per quos aperire lumen rationis radius mentis solet,* (that is) *The Devil fils with certain clouds all passages of the understanding, by which the beam of the minde is wont to open the light of reason.* *Sinl. paris. de universo. p. 2. c. 70.* *Maxima vis est phantasiæ ad errores.*

And as *Tertullian* in his Book *de anima* rightly conceiveth, if the Devil can possess himself of the eyes of our minds and blinde them, it is not hard for him to dazel those of the body. For (out of doubt) by the same way that God passeth out, the Devil entreth in, beginning with the fantasie, by which he doth more easily betray the other faculties of the soule: for the fantasie is most apt to be abused by vain apprehensions.

Aquinas on the contrary held that those Frogs were not imaginary, but such indeed as they seemed: not made *Magicæ artis ludibrio*, which indeed agreeth not with the Art, but (according to Thomas) *Per aptam & idoneam agentium & patientium applicationem: By an apt and fit applying of agents and patients.* And this I take to be more probable. For *Moses* could not be deceived by that sleight of false semblance; and Saint *Augustine* in another case like unto this (to wit) of the turning of *Diomedes* his companions into Birds, *per activa cum passivis*, inclineth rather to this opinion: though I am not perswaded that Saint *Augustine* believed that of *Diomedes.* And this opinion of *Thomas, G. Parisiensis*, a man very learned also, confirmeth. For speaking of natural *Magick* he useth these words: *De hujusmodi autem operibus & subita generatione ranarum, & pediculorum, & vermium, aliorumq; animalium quorundam: in quibus omnibus sola natura operatur, verùm adhibitis adjutoriis, qua ipsa semina naturæ confortant & accumt, ita ut opus generationis tantum accelerent, ut eis qui hoc nesciunt non opus naturæ videatur (quæ tardius talia efficere consuevit) sed potentia Dæmonum, &c.* to which he addeth: *Qui autem in his docti sunt, talia non mirantur, sed solum Creatorem in his glorificant: In such works* (saith he) *the sodain generation of Frogs and Lice, and Worms, and some other creatures is: in all which Nature alone worketh; but by means strengthening the Seeds of Nature, and quickning them; in such wise that they so hasten the work of generation, that it seemeth to the ignorant not to be the work of Nature, which usually worketh more leisurely, but they think it is done by the powers of Devils. But they who are learned in these Arts, marvail not at such working, but glorifie the Creator.* Now by these two waies the Devils do most frequently work, (to wit) by knowing the uttermost of nature; and by illusion: for there is no incomprehensible or unsearchable power, but of God onely. *De leg. c. 23. fol. 6, 7.*

For shall we say, he causeth sometimes thunders, lightnings, and tempests; and can infect the ayre, as well as move it or compress it; who knows not that these things are also natural? Or may it be objected that he fore-telleth things before they happen, which exceedeth nature, and is no illusion. It is true, that he sometimes doth it; but how? In elder ages he stole his knowledge out of the predictions of the Prophets: and he foretold the death of *Saul*, at such time as he was in his own possession and power to dispose of. And he that hath lived from the infancie of the world to this day, and observed the success of every counsail: he that by reason of his swift motions can inform himself of all places, and preparations: he that is of counsail with all those that study and practise subversion & destruction: he that is Prince of the ayre, & can thence better judge, than those that inhabite the earth: if he should not sometimes, yea if he should not very oftentimes gues rightly of things to come (where God pleaseth not to give impediment) it were very strange. For we see that wise and learned men do *Eph. 2. 2. & 6. 12.* *Diabolus magnam habet rerum usum: quæ res multum habet momenti in quorundam gestis. Aug. de Anima c. 26. 27. &c.*

oftentimes

oftentimes by comparing like causes, conceive rightly of like effects, before they happen: and yet where the Devil doubteth, and would willingly keep his credit, he evermore answereth by Riddles: as

Crœsus *Halym penetrans magnam sub vertit opum vim:*

If *Crœsus* over Halys go,
Great Kingdoms he shall overthrow.

Which answer may be taken either way: either for the overthrow of his own Kingdom, or of his Enemies. And thus far we grant the Devil may proceed in predictions, which (otherwise) belong to God onely, as it is in Esay: *Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are Gods; shew us at all times and certainly what is to come. Solius enim divinæ intelligentiæ ac sapientiæ est, occulta nosse & revelare; It is onely proper to Gods understanding and wisdome to know and reveal hidden things.*

Gui. Parisiensis de legib. c.24.

§. VIII

That none was ever raised from the dead by the power of the Devil: and that it was not the true Samuel *which appeared to* Saul.

TO conclude, it may be objected that the Devil hath raised from the dead: and that others by his power have done the like, as in the example given of *Samuel* raised by the Witch of *Endor:* which were it true, then might it indeed be affirmed, that some of the Devils acts exceeded all the powers of nature, false semblance, and other illusions. *Justine Martyr* was sometime of the opinion, that it was *Samuel* indeed; and so was *Ambrose*, *Lyra*, and *Burgensis*; from which authorities those men borrow strength which so believe. But *Martyr* changed his opinion; and so did S. *Augustine*, who at first seemed to be indifferent: For in his questions upon the Old and New Testament, he accounteth it detestable to think that it was *Samuel* which appeared: and these be his words elsewhere to the same effect: *In requie sunt animæ priorum à corpore separatæ, impiorum autem pœnas luunt, donec istarum ad vitam æternam, illarum verò ad æternam mortem quæ secunda dicitur, corpora reviviscant; The soules of the godly separated from their bodies are at rest, but those of the wicked suffer punishment, till the bodies of the just rise to eternall life, and of the wicked to an eternall and second death.*

Just. Martyr in colloq. cum Tryphone in resp. ad Orthod. quæst. 52. Ambr. in Luc. l.1.c.1. Lyra in Reg.1. Aug. ad Simpl. l.2.q.3. De Civit. Dei, l.13.c.8.

And (besides S. *Augustine*) *Justine Martyr*, *Helarius*, *Tertullian*, *Athanasius*, *Chrysostome*, and others, believed firmly, and taught it: that the souls of men being once separate from their bodies, did not wander on the earth at all: *Credere debemus* (saith Cyrill) *quum à corporibus sanctorum animæ abierint, tanquam in manus charissimi patris Bonitati divinæ commendari; We must believe when the souls of holy men are departed from their bodies, that they be commended to the divine Goodnesse, as into the hands of a most dear Father.* If then they be in Heaven, the power of the Devil cannot stretch so high: if in Hell, *Ab inferno nulla est redemptio; From Hell there is no redemption.* For there are but two habitations after death: *Unum* (saith Augustine) *in igne æterno; alterum in regno æterno; The one in eternall fire; the other in Gods eternall Kingdom.* And though it be written in *Jure Pontificio*, that many there are who believe that the dead have again appeared to the living; yet the *Glosse* upon the same Text finds it ridiculous: *Credunt, & malè, quia sunt Phantasmata* (saith the Glosse) *They believe, and they believe amisse, because they be but Phantasmes* or *Apparitions.* For whereas any such voyce hath been heard, saying, I am the Soule of such a one: *Hæc oratio à fraude atq; deceptione diabolica est; That speech is framed by the fraud and deception of the Devil,* saith *Chrysostome.* Likewise of the same, saith Tertullian: *Absit ut animam cujuslibet sancti, nedum Prophetæ, à dæmonio credamus extractam; God forbid that we should think that the soul of any holy man, much lesse of a Prophet, should be drawn up again by a Devil.*

Aug. de ver. Apost. 18. Just. Martyr ad Orthodox. q.75. Hilar. Psal. 2. in fine. Tert. de anima in fin. Athanas. q.13. Chrys. hom. 9. in Evang. Mat. 2615. Episcopi.

It is true that the Scriptures call that apparition, *Samuel*; so do they the wooden images, *Cherubins:* and false brazen gods are gods, and the like. And whereas these of the contrary opinion build upon that place of the 26 of *Ecclesiasticus* (a book not numbred among the *Canonicall* Scriptures, as S. *Augustine* himself in this Treatise, if it be his, *De cura pro mortuis agenda*, confesseth) yet *Syracides*, following the literall sense and phrase of the Scriptures, proveth nothing at all: For though the Devil would willingly per-

swade

swade, that the souls (yea even of just men) were in his power; yet so far is it from the promises of the Scriptures, and from Gods just and mercifull nature, and so contrary to all divine reason, as S. *Augustine* (or whosoever wrote that book before cited) might rightly term it a detestable opinion so to think. For if God had so absolutely forsaken *Saul*, that he refused to answer him either by *Dreams*, by *Urim*, or by his *Prophets*: it were sottish to conceive, that he would permit the Divell, or a wicked Witch, to raise a Prophet from the dead in *Sauls* respect: it being also contrary to his own divine Law to ask counsell of the dead; as in *Deuteron.* 18. and elsewhere. Therefore it was the Devil, and not the soul of a dead body, that gave answer and advice.

1 *Kin.* 17. 22. 2 *Kin.* 4. 34. *Nullus enim magus aut daemon mortuum verè unquam excitavit, Wier. de fascin.*

But because *Helias* and *Helizeus* had raised some from the dead by the power of God; those Devils which S. *Augustine* calleth *Ludificatores animantium sibi subjectorum*; *Mockers of their own vassals*, casting before their eyes a semblance of humane bodies, and framing sounds to their ears like the voices of men, do also perswade their graceless life and accursed attendants, that themselves both possesse, and have power over the souls of men. *Eludit Diabolus aciem tum spectantium, tum etiam cogitantium*, saith L. Vives; *The Devil beguileth the sense both of the beholders, and of those that so imagine.* These then are the bounds of the Devils power, whom if we will not fear, we must fear to sin. For when he is not the instrument of Gods vengeance, he can touch no man that makes not himselfe his voluntary vassall: *Potest ad malum invitare, non potest trahere*, saith S. Augustine; *He can allure, but he cannot enforce to evill.* Such as think otherwise, may go into the number remembred by *Lucretius*:

Nam veluti pueri trepidant, atque omnia cæcis
In tenebris metuunt: sic nos in luce timemus.

We fear by light, as children in the dark.

CHAP. XII.

Of the memorable buildings of Ninus, *and of his wife* Semiramis, *and of other her Acts.*

§. I.

Of the magnificent building of Nineve by Ninus: *and of Babylon by* Semiramis.

BUt to come back to *Ninus* the amplifier and finisher of *Nineve*: whether hee performed it before or after the overthrow of *Zoroaster*, it is uncertain. As for the City it selfe, it is agreed by all prophane Writers, and confirmed by the Scriptures, that it exceeded all other in circuit, and answerable magnificence. For it had in compasse 440. *stadia*, or furlongs; the walls whereof were an hundred foot upright, and had such a breadth as three Chariots might passe on the Rampire in front: these walls were garnished with 1500. Towers, which gave exceeding beauty to the rest, and strength, no lesse admirable for the nature of those times.

Justin. l. 2. Diod. l. 2. Sabel. l. 11. c. 1.

But this City (built in the Plaines of *Assyria*, and on the banks of *Tygris*, and in the region of *Eden*) was founded long before *Ninus* time; and (as ancient Historians report, and more lately *Nauclerus*) had the name of *Campsor*, at such time as *Ninus* amplified the same, and gave it a wall, and called it after his own name.

For these works of *Babylon* and *Nineve* begun by *Nimrod* in *Chaldæa*, and in *Assyria*, *Ninus* and *Semiramis* made perfect. *Ninus* finished *Nineve*, *Semiramis Babylon*: wherein she sought to exceed her husband by far. Indeed in the first Age when Princes were moderate, they neither thought how to invade others, nor feared to be invaded: labouring to build Towns and Villages for the use of themselves and their people, without either Walls or Towers; and how they might discharge the earth of Woods, Briars, Bushments, and Waters, to make it more habitable and fertile. But *Semiramis* living in that Age, when Ambition was strong in youth: and purposing to follow

Herod. l. 1. Justin. l. 1. Diod. l. 2. & 3.

follow the conqueſt which her huſband had undertaken, gave that beauty and ſtrength to *Babylon* which it had.

§ II.

Of the end of Ninus : *and beginning of* Semiramis *reigne.*

THis ſhe did after the death of her huſband *Ninus* : who after he had maſtered *Bactria*, and ſubjected unto his Empire all thoſe Regions between it and the *Mediterranean Sea*, and *Helleſpont* (*Aſia* the leſſe excepted) and finiſhed the work of *Nineve*, he left the World in the yeer thereof 2019. after he had reigned 52. yeers. *Plutarch* reporteth that *Semiramis* deſired her huſband *Ninus*, that he would grant unto her the abſolute ſoveraign power for one day. *Diod. Siculus* out of *Athenæus*, and others, ſpeaks of five dayes. In which time (moved either with deſire of rule, or licentious liberty, or with the memory of her huſband *Menon*, who periſhed for her) ſhe cauſed *Ninus* her huſband to be ſlain. But this ſeemeth rather a ſcandall caſt on her by the *Greeks*, than that it had any truth.

Howſoever *Ninus* came to his end, *Semiramis* took on her after his death the ſole rule of the *Aſſyrian* Empire : of which, *Ninus* was ſaid to be the firſt *Monarch*, becauſe he changed his ſeat from *Babylonia* in *Chaldæa*, to *Nineve* in *Aſſyria*. *Juſtine* reports, that *Semiramis* (the better to inveſt her ſelfe, and in her beginning without murmure or offence to take on her ſo great a charge) preſented her ſelfe to the people in the perſon of her ſon *Ninias* or *Zameis*, who bare her externall form and proportion without any ſenſible difference.

Ælian. lib. 7. ex Dino.

This report I take alſo to be feigned, for which many arguments might be made. But as ſhe ruled long, ſo ſhe performed all thoſe memorable acts which are written of her by the name of *Semiramis*, and ſubſcribed that letter which ſhe ſent to the King of *India* (her laſt challenge and undertaken conqueſt) by her owne name. And were it true that her ſon *Ninias* had ſuch a ſtature at his fathers death, as that *Semiramis* (who was very perſonable) could be taken for him; yet it is very unlikely that ſhee could have held the Empire from him 42. yeers after by any ſuch ſubtilty : (for ſo long ſhee reigned after the death of her huſband :) but it may be true that *Ninias* or *Zameis* (being wholly given to his pleaſures, as it is written of him) was well pleaſed with his mothers proſperous government and undertakings.

§. III.

Of Semiramis *parentage and education, and Metamorphoſis of her mother.*

SOme Writers (of which *Plutarch* is one) make this famous woman to have been of baſe parentage, calling her after the name of her Country, a *Syrian*. *Beroſus* calls her after the name of her City wherein ſhe was born, *Semiramis Aſcalonitis*, of *Aſcalon*, the ancient City and *Metropolis* of the *Philiſtims*. Others report her to be the daughter of *Derceta*, a *Curtizan* of *Aſcalon*, exceeding beautifull. Others ſay that this *Derceta* or *Dercetis*, the mother of *Semiramis*, was ſometimes a Recluſe, and had profeſt a holy and a religious life; to whom there was a Temple dedicated, ſeated on the bank of a Lake adjoyning to *Aſcalon*; and afterward falling in love with a godly young man, ſhe was by him made with childe, which (for fear of extreme puniſhment) ſhee conveyed away, and cauſed the ſame to be hidden among the high reeds which grew on the banks of the Lake : in which (while the childe was left to the mercy of wilde beaſts) the ſame was fed by certain birds, which uſed to feed upon or neer thoſe waters. But I take this tale to be like that of *Lupa* the Harlot that foſtered *Romulus*. For ſome one or other adjoyning to this Lake, had the charge and foſteridge of this childe, who being perchance but ſome baſe and obſcure creature, the mother might thereby hope the better to cover her diſhonour and breach of vow; notwithſtanding which ſhe was caſt from the top of her Temple into the Lake adjoyning, & (as the Poets have feigned) changed by *Venus* into a Fiſh, all but her face, which ſtill held the ſame beauty and humane ſhape. It is thought that from this *Derceta* the invention of that Idoll of the *Philiſtims* (called *Dagon*) was taken : for it is true, that *Dagon* had a mans face, and a fiſhes body : into whoſe Temple when the *Arke* of God was brought, the Idoll fell

fell twice to the ground: and at the ſecond fall there remained onely the trunk of *Dagon*, the head being broken off: For ſo S. *Hierome* hath converted that place. *Vatablus*, *Pagninus*, and *Junius*, write it by *Dagon* onely, which ſignifieth a fiſh, and ſo it onely appeared: the head thereof by the ſecond fall being ſundred from the body.

For my ſelf I rather think, that this *Dagon* of the *Philiſtims* was an Idoll repreſenting *Triton*, one of thoſe imaginary Sea-gods under *Neptune*. For this City being maritimate (as all thoſe of the *Philiſtims* were, and ſo were the beſt of *Phœnicia*) uſed all their devotions to *Neptune*, and the reſt of the petty gods which attended him.

§. IV.

Of her Expedition into India, and death after diſcomfiture: with a note of the improbability of her vices.

BUt for her Pedigree, I leave it to the *Aſſyrian Heralds*: and for her vicious life, I aſcribe the report thereof to the envious and lying *Grecians*. For delicacy and eaſe doe more often accompany licentiouſneſſe in men and women, than labour and hazzard doe. And if the one halfe be true which is reported of this Lady, then there never lived any Prince or Princeſſe more worthy of fame than *Semiramis* was, both for the works ſhe did at *Babylon* and elſewhere, and for the wars ſhe made with glorious ſucceſſe: all but her laſt enterpriſe of *India*, from whence both *Strabo* and *Arianus* report that ſhe never returned: and that of all her moſt powerfull Army there ſurvived but onely twenty perſons: the reſt being either drowned in the river of *Indus*, dead of the famine, or ſlain by the ſword of *Staurobates*. But as the multitude which went out are more than reaſon hath numbred; ſo were thoſe that returned leſſe than could have eſcaped of ſuch an Army, as conſiſted of four millions and upwards. For theſe numbers which ſhe levied by her Lievtenant *Dercetæus*, (ſaith *Suidas*) did conſiſt of Foot-men three millions; of Horſ-men one million; of Chariots armed with hooks on each ſide, one hundred thouſand; of thoſe which fought upon Camels as many; of Camels for burden two hundred thouſand; of raw Hides for all uſes three hundred thouſand; of Gallies with brazen heads three thouſand, by which ſhe might tranſport over *Indus* at once three hundred thouſand ſouldiers: which Gallies were furniſhed with *Syrians*, *Phœnicians*, *Cilicians*, and men of *Cyprus*. Theſe incredible and impoſſible numbers, which no one place of the earth was able to nouriſh (had every man and beaſt but fed upon graſſe) are taken from the authority of *Cteſias* whom *Diodorus* followeth. But as the one may be taxed with many frivolous reports: ſo *Diodorus* himſelfe hath nothing of certainty, but from *Xerxes* expedition into *Greece* and afterwards: whoſe Army (though the ſame was far inferiour to that of *Semiramis*) yet it had weight enough to overload the beliefe of any reaſonable man. For all Authors conſent, that *Xerxes* tranſported into *Greece* an Army of 1700000. and gathered together (therein to paſſe the *Helleſpont*) three thouſand Gallies, as *Herodotus* out of the ſeverall Provinces whence thoſe Gallies were taken hath collected the number.

Suid. f. 8. 45. ht. S.

But of what multitude ſoever the Army of *Semiramis* conſiſted, the ſame being broken and overthrown by *Staurobates* upon the banks of *Indus*, *canticum cantavit extremum*; *ſhe ſang her laſt ſong*; and (as Antiquity hath feigned) was changed by the gods into a Dove (the bird of *Venus*) whence it came that the *Babylonians* gave a Dove in their enſignes.

§. V.

Of the Temple of Belus *built by* Semiramis: *and of the Pyramides of Egypt.*

AMong all her other memorable and more than magnificent works (beſides the wall of the City of *Babylon*) was the Temple of *Bel*, erected in the middle of this City, invironed with a wall carried fourſquare of great heighth and beauty, having on each ſquare certain brazen Gates curiouſly engraven. In the *Core* of the ſquare ſhe raiſed a Tower of a furlong high, which is halfe a quarter of a mile; and upon it again (taking a *Baſis* of a leſſe circuit) ſhe ſet a ſecond Tower; and ſo eight in all one above another, upon the top whereof the *Chaldæan* Prieſts made the obſervation of the Stars; becauſe this Tower over-topped the ordinary clouds.

By beholding the ruines of this Tower have many Travellers been deceived; who ſuppoſe that they have ſeen a part of *Nimrods* Tower, when it was but the foundation of this Temple of *Bel*: (except this of *Bel* were founded on that of *Nimrod*.) There were burnt in this Temple one hundred thouſand talents of frankincenſe every yeer (ſaith *Herodotus*.) This Temple did *Nabuchodonoſor* adorn with the ſpoils of *Hieruſalem*, and of the Temple of *Solomon*: all which veſſels and ornaments *Cyrus* re-delivered. This Temple *Xerxes* evened with the ſoile; which *Alexander* is ſaid to have repaired, by the perſwaſions of the *Chaldæans*. I deny not that it might have been in his deſire ſo to doe; but he enjoyed but a few yeers after *Babylon* taken, and therefore could not perform any ſuch work. The *Egyptians* (ſaith *Proclus*) inhabiting a low and levell ground, and given to the ſame ſuperſtition of the Stars that the *Chaldæans* were, erected in imitation, and for the ſame ſervice and uſe, the *Pyramides* by *Memphis*, which were *conſpicuæ undique navigantibus*, ſaith *Plinie*. Of theſe *Pyramides*, *Bellonius* a carefull obſerver of rarities (who being in *Egypt*, mounted by ſteps to the top of the higheſt) maketh this report: *Le meilleur archer qui ſeroit a ſa ſommite, & tirant une fleche in l' air, a peine pourroit l' envoyer hors de ſa baſe q' elle ne ſe tombaſt ſur les degrez; The beſt Archer ſtanding on the top of one of theſe Pyramides, and ſhooting an arrow from thence into the ayre as far as he can, with great difficulty ſhall be able ſo to force the ſame, but that it will fall upon ſome of the degrees or ſteps.*

Procl. in Tim. lib. 1.

Bellon. l. 2.

Finis Libri primi.

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES from the birth of ABRAHAM to the destruction of the Temple of SOLOMON.

THE SECOND BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the time of the birth of Abraham: *and of the use of this question, for the ordering of the Storie of the Assyrian Empire.*

§. I.

Of some of the successors of Semiramis: *with a briefe transition to the question, about the time of the birth of* Abraham.

AFter the death of *Semiramis*, *Ninias* or *Zameis* succeeded her in the Empire, on whom *Berosus Annianus* bestowes the conquest of *Bactria*, and the overthrow of *Zoroaster*; contrary to *Diodorus*, *Justine*, *Orosius*, and all other approved Writers. For *Ninias* being esteemed no man of war at all, but altogether feminine, and subjected to ease and delicacy, there is no probability in that opinion. Now becaus there was nothing performed by this *Ninias* of any moment, other than that out of jealousie he every yeer changed his Provinciall Governours, and built Colledges for the *Chaldæan* Priests, his Astronomers: nor by *Arius* his successour, whom *Suidas* calleth *Thuras*; but that he reduced again the *Bactrians* and *Caspians*, revolted (as it seemeth) in *Ninias* his time: nor of *Aralius*, the successour of *Arius*; but that he added sumptuosity, invented jewels of gold and stone, and some engines for the war: I will for this present passe them over, and a while follow *Abraham*, whose wayes are warrantable, (till we meet these *Assyrians* again in this story) by whom and by whose issues we shall best give date to the Kings of *Babylon*: *Abraham* living at once with *Ninus*, *Ninias*, *Semiramis*, *Arius*, *Aralius*, and *Xerxes*, or *Belanius*. For otherwise if we seek to prove things certain by the uncertain, and judge of those times, which the Scriptures set us downe without errour, by the reignes of the *Assyrian* Princes: we shall but patch up the story at adventure, and leave it in the same confusion, in which to this day it hath remained. For where the Scriptures doe not help us, *Mirum non est in rebus antiquis, Historiam non constare*; *No marvell if then in things very ancient, History want assurance.* *Plut. in Thesee.*

The better therefore to find out, in what age of the World, and how long these *Assyrian* kings reigned, as also for other good causes, we must first assure the time of *Abrahams* birth, and in what yeer the same hapned after the flood. Now since all agree, that the fortieth

fortieth three yeer of *Ninus* was the birth-yeer of *Abraham*; by proving directly out of the Scriptures, in what yeer after the floud the birth of *Abraham* hapned, we shall thereby set all the rest in square and order. But of this time there is much jangling between those *Chronologers*, which follow the Hebrew account, and others: the most part making 292. or 293. yeers; others 352. yeers between *Abrahams* birth and the flood: a matter often disputed, but never concluded.

Archilochus de temporibus (as we find him in *Annius*) makes but 250. yeers from the flood to *Ninus*: then seeing that *Abraham* was born in the fortieth three yeer of *Ninus*, according to *Eusebius* and S. *Augustine*, it followeth by the addition of those two numbers, that the yeer of *Abrahams* birth was in the yeer after the flood 293. or, as the most part of all *Chronologers* gather, the yeer 292.

Now, since I do here enter into that never resolved question, and *Labyrinth* of times, it behoveth me to give reason for my own opinion: and with so much the greater care and circumspection, because I walk aside, and in a way a part from the multitude; yet not alone, and without companions, though the fewer in number: with whom I rather choose to endure the wounds of those darts, which Envie casteth at Novelty, than to go on safely and sleepily in the easie wayes of ancient mistakings: seeing to be learned in many errours, or to be ignorant in all things, hath little diversity.

§. II.

A proposall of reasons or arguments, that are brought to prove Abraham *was born in the yeer 292. after the Flood, and not in the yeer* 352.

THose which seek to prove this account of 292. yeers, between the generall flood and *Abrahams* birth, ground themselves, first on these words of the Scripture: *So* Terah *lived 70. yeers, and begot* Abraham, Nahor, *and* Haran: secondly, upon the opinion of *Josephus*, S. *Augustine*, *Beda*, *Isidore*, and many of the ancient Hebrews before them: authorities (while they are slightly look't over) seeming of great weight.

From the place of Scripture last remembred, the later *Chronologers* gather these arguments. First out of the words as they lie; That Terah *at 70. yeers begot* Abraham, Nahor *and* Haran: and that *Abraham* being the first named, *Abraham* being the worthiest, *Abraham* being the son of the promise, ought in this respect to be accounted the eldest son of *Terah*, and so necessarily born in the seventieth yeer of his life. Secondly, it was of *Abraham* that *Moses* had respect, in whom the Church of God was continued, who was heir of the blessing; and not of *Nahor* and *Haran*: for the scope of this Chapter was to set down the genealogie of *Christ*, from *Adam* to *Abraham*, without all regard of *Nahor* and *Haran*.

It is thirdly objected, that if *Abraham* were not the eldest son, then there can be no certainty of his age, and so are all future times made doubtfull. For it cannot then be proved, that *Abraham* was born more assuredly in the 130. yeer of *Terah* his age, than in the 131, 132. &c. *Moses* having no where set down precisely that *Abraham* went into *Canaan* that very yeer, in which his father died.

Fourthly, it is thought improbable, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130. yeers: seeing *Abraham* himselfe thought it a wonder to be made a father at 100. yeers.

§. III.

The answer to one of the objections proposed, shewing that Abraham *made but one journey out of Mesopotamia into Canaan: and it, after his fathers death.*

TO answer all which objections, it is very easie, the way being prepared thereto by divers learned Divines long since, and to which I will adde somewhat of mine owne, according to the small talent which God hath given me. Now forasmuch as the state of the question cannot well be scanned, unlesse the time of *Abrahams* journey into *Canaan* be first considered of; before I descend unto the particular examination of these arguments, I will make bold with order and method so far, as to search into a strange tradition concerning his travells, that serveth as a ground for this opinion, and a bulwark against all that can be said to the contrary.

But it is conceived that *Abraham* made two journies into *Canaan*: the later after his fathers

Fathers death, the former presently upon his calling; which he performed without delay, not staying for his fathers death at *Haran*: a conjecture, drawne from a place in the *Epistle to the Hebrewes*, where it is written, *By faith Abraham (when he was called) obeyed God to goe out into a place which he should afterward receive for inheritance: and he went out, not knowing whither he went.* This supposition (if it be granted) serves very well to uphold the opinion, that can ill stand without it. Let us therefore see whether we may give credit to the supposition it selfe. Heb. 11. 8.

Surely, that *Abraham* first departed *Charran* or *Haran* after the death of *Terah* his Father, the same is proved, without the admission of any distinction, by these words of St. *Stephen*: *And after his Father was dead, God brought him into this Land, where ye now dwell,* that was, out of *Haran* into *Canaan*. Against which place so direct and plaine, what force hath any mans fancy or supposition, perswading, that *Abraham* made two journies into *Canaan*; one before *Terahs* death, and another after: no such thing being found in Scriptures, nor any circumstance, probability, or reason to induce it? For if any man out of this place before alledged can picke any argument, proving, or affording any strong presumption, that *Abraham* past into *Canaan*, and then returned unto *Haran*, from whence he departed a second time: then I thinke it reason, that he be beleeved in the rest. But that he performed the commandement of God after his Fathers death, leaving *Ur* and *Haran* for *Canaan*, it is as true as the Scriptures themselves are true. *For after his Father was dead,* (saith Martyr *Stephen*) *God brought him into this Land.* And as *Beza* noteth, if *Abraham* made a double journey into *Canaan*, then must it be inferred, that *Moses* omitted the one, and *Stephen* afterwards remembred the other: and whence had *Stephen*, saith *Beza*, the knowledge of *Abrahams* comming into *Canaan*, but out of *Moses*? For if *Stephen* had spoken any thing of those times, differing from *Moses*, he had offered the *Jewes*, his adversaries, too great an occasion both of scandalizing himselfe, and the Gospell of *Christ*. Indeed we shall finde small reason to make us thinke that *Abraham* passed and repassed those wayes, more often than he was enforced so to do, if we consider, that he had no other guide or comforter in this long and wearisome journey, than the strength of his faith in Gods promise: in which if any thing would have brought him to despaire, he had more cause than ever man had to fall into it. For he came into a Region of strong and stubborne nations: a nation of valiant and resolved Idolaters. He was besieged with famine at his first arrival, and driven to flie into *Egypt* for relief. His wife was old, and he had no son to inherit the promise. And when God had given him *Isaac*, he commanded him to offer him up to himself for sacrifice: all which discomforts he patiently and constantly underwent. Acts 7. 4. Heb. 11. 8.

Secondly, let us consider the wayes themselves, which *Abraham* had to passe over; the length whereof was 300 English miles; and through Countries of which he had no manner of experience. He was to transport himself over the great river of *Euphrates*, to travell through the dangerous and barren Desarts of *Palmyrena*, and to climbe over the great and high mountains of *Libanus*, *Hermon*, or *Gilead*: and whether these were easie walkes for *Abraham* to march twice over, containing, as aforesaid, 300. miles in length, let every reasonable man judge. For if he travailled it twice; then was his journey in all 1800. miles from *Ur* to *Haran*: and from *Haran* twice into *Canaan*. But were there no other argument to disprove this fancy; the manner of *Abrahams* departing from *Haran* hath more proofe (that he had not *animum revertendi*, not any thought of looking backward) than any mans bare conjecture, be he of what antiquity or authority soever. For thus it is written of him, *Then* Abraham *took* Sara *his wife, and* Lot *his brothers son, and all their substance that they possest, and the souls that they had gotten in Haran: and they departed to go to the land of Canaan, and to the land of Canaan they came.* Now if *Abraham* brought all with him that was dear unto him; his wife, and kinsmen, and his, and their goods: it is not probable that he meant to walk it back again for his pleasure, in so warm, dangerous, and barren a Country as that was: or if he could have been thereto moved, it is more likely that he would have then returned, when he was yet unsettled, and prest with extreme famine at his first arrivall. For had his Father been then alive, he might have hoped from him to receive more assured comfort and relief, than among the *Egyptians*, to whom he was a meer stranger both in Religion and Nation. Gen. 12. 5.

What the cause might be of *Abraham*'s return to *Haran*, as I will not enquire of them, that without warrant from the Scriptures have sent him back thither, about the

the time of his fathers death: so they perhaps, if they were urged, could say little else, than that without such a second voyage their opinion were not maintainable. One thing in good reason they should do well to make plain, if it be not over-troublesome. They say that *Abraham* was in *Haran* at his Father's death, or some time after, being then by their account 135 years old, or a little more. How then did it happen, that he left quite undone the business, which, as we read, was within foure or five years after
Gen. 24. that time his greatest, or (as may seem) his onely care? Did not he binde with a very solemn oath his principal servant, in whom he reposed most confidence, to travail into those parts, and seek out a Wife for *Isaac* his son? and doth it not appear by all circumstances, that neither he nor his servant were so well acquainted in *Mesopotamia*, that they could particularly design any one woman, as a fit match for *Isaac*? Surely if *Abraham* had been there in person so lately, as within foure or five years before, he would not have forgotten a matter of such importance; but would have trusted his own judgement, in choosing a woman, fit for her piety, virtue, and other desireable qualities, to be linked in marriage with his onely son, who was then five and thirty years old; before which age most of the Patriarchs after the Floud had begotten children: rather than have left all at random to the consideration of a servant, that neither knew any, nor was known of any in that Country. But let it be supposed (if it may be believed) that either *Abraham* forgot his business when he was there, or that somewhat
Gen. 24. 35. 36. &c. happened which no man can devise; What might be the reason, that *Abrahams* man, in doing his Masters errand, was fain to lay open the whole story of his masters prosperity, telling it as news, that *Sarah* had borne to him a son in her old age? If *Abraham* himself, a more certain Authour, had so lately been among them, would not all this have bin an idle tale? It were needless to stand long upon a thing so evident. Whether it were lawful for *Abraham* to have returned back to *Haran*, would perhaps be a question hardly answerable: considering how averse he was from permitting his son to be
Gen. 24. 6. & 8. carried thither, even though a wife of his own kinred could not have been obtained without his personall presence. *Jacob* indeed was sent thither by his Parents, to take a
Gen. 28. Wife of his own linage; not without Gods especiall approbation, by whose blessing he prospered in that journey; yet he lived there as a servant; suffered many injuries; and finally was driven to convey himself away from thence by flight. For although it be not a sentence written, yet out of all written examples it may be observed, that God alloweth not in his servants any desire of returning to the place, from whence he hath taken, and transplanted them. That brief saying, *Remember Lots wife*, contains much matter. Let us consider *Mesopotamia*, from whence *Abraham* was taken, and *Egypt*, out of which the whole Nation of the *Israelites* were delivered: we shall find, that no blessing issued from either of them, to the posterity of the *Hebrews*. When *Ezechias* was visited with an honourable Embassie from *Babel*,
2 Kin. 20. it seems that he conceived great pleasure in his minde, and thought it a piece of his prosperity; but the propheſie which thereupon he heard by *Esay*, made him to know, that the counsell of God was not agreeable to such thoughts: which more plainly appeared in a following generation,
Psal. 137. when by the waters of *Babylon* they sate down and wept. Concerning *Egypt* we reade,
1 Kin. 14. 25. & 2 Kin. 23. v. 29. that *Sesac* and *Neco*, Kings of *Egypt*, brought calamity upon *Israel*: also that their confidence in the *Egyptian* succours was the cause of their destruction. Where they were forbidden to return into *Egypt* I do not remember, nor can readily finde; but it is found
Deut. 17. v. 16. in *Deuteronomy*, that God had said, *They should no more return that way*; which is given, as the reason, why their King might not cause the people to return to *Egypt*, for the multiplying of his Horses. Whether the Lord had laid any such injunction upon *Abraham* of not returning to *Mesopotamia*, I cannot say; many things do argue it probably: That he never returned, all circumstances do (to my understanding) both strongly and necessarily conclude.

But because this double passage of *Abraham* is but an imagination; and that imaginations of men are rather valuable among children, than that they can perswade those of judgement or understanding: I take it sufficient, that S. *Stephen* hath directly taught us, that *Abraham* left *Haran*, his father being dead. And for the rest, when they shew any one Scripture to prove it, I will believe as they do. For all the travails of *Abraham* are precisely set down in the Scriptures: as first from *Ur* or *Camerina* in *Chaldea* to *Haran* or *Charran*: and then from *Haran* (after his Fathers death) to *Sichem*; from *Sichem* he

he removed to a mountain between *Bethel* and *Haie*: thence into *Egypt*; from *Egypt* he returned thither againe, where *Lot* and he parted, becauſe their flockes and heards of Cattell were more than could be fed in that part: from thence the ſecond time he removed to *Mamre*, neere *Hebron*: and thence having purſued *Amraphell*, and reſcued *Lot*, he after inhabited at *Gerar*, in the border of *Idumæa* under *Abimelec*: and after neer unto it at *Berſabe*, at which time he was ready to offer up his ſon *Iſaac* on the mountain *Moriah*. But this fiction of his retreat to *Haran* or *Charran*, appeareth not in any one ſtory, either divine or humane. Now, if it may be ſuppoſed, that *Abraham* had made any former journey into *Canaan*, as *Levita* his *Cabala* hath fained, it ſhould in reaſon be therewithall beleeved, that he would in thoſe his firſt travailes have provided himſelfe of ſome certain ſeate, or place of abiding: and not have come a ſecond time with his wife, kinſmen, family, goods and Cattell, not knowing whereon to reſt himſelf. But *Abraham* when he came from *Charran*, paſt through the North part of *Canaan*, thence to *Sichem*, and the Plaine of *Moriah*: where finding no place to inhabit, he departed thence to *Bethel*, and *Haie*: and ſo from Nation to Nation, to diſcover and find out ſome fit habitation: from whence againe, as it is written in *Geneſis* the eleventh, *He went forth, going and journying towards the South*: and alwayes unſettled. By occaſion of which wandring to and fro, ſome ſay, the *Egyptians* gave him and his the name of *Hebræi*. Gen. 12. 6.

Further, to prove that he had not formerly beene in the Countrey, we may note, that ere he came unto *Bethel* and *Haie*, and at his firſt entrance into *Canaan*, God appeared unto him, ſaying, *Unto thy ſeed will I give this Land*, ſhewing it him as unto a ſtranger therein, and as a Land to him unknowne. For *Abraham* without any other provident care for himſelfe, beleeved in the Word of the living God: neither ſending before, nor comming firſt to diſcover it; but being arrived, he received a ſecond promiſe from God, that he would give thoſe Countries unto him and his ſeed to inhabite and inherite. *Mont. in Cell.*

Laſtly, what ſhould move any man to thinke, that *Moſes* would have omitted any ſuch double journey of *Abrahams*, ſeeing he ſetteth downe all his paſſages elſe-where long and ſhort? as when he moved from *Sichem*, and ſeated betweene *Haie* and *Bethel*, the diſtance being but 20. miles: and when he moved thence to the valley of *Mamre*, being but 24. miles: and when he left *Mamre* and ſate downe at *Gerar*, being leſſe than ſixe miles; No, *Moſes* paſt over all the times of the firſt age with the greater brevity, to haſten him to the ſtory of *Abraham*: ſhutting up all between the Creation and the floud in ſixe chapters; which age laſted 1656. yeeres: but he beſtoweth on the ſtory of *Abraham*, fourteene chapters, beginning with his birth in the eleventh, and ending with his death in the five and twentieth; and this time endured but 175. years. It hath therefore no face of truth, that *Moſes* forgot or neglected any thing concerning *Abrahams* travels, or other actions: or that he would ſet down thoſe ſmall-removes of five miles, and omit thoſe of three hundred. For ſuch a journey in going and coming would have miniſtred ſome variety of matter, or accident, worthy the inſerting and adding to *Abrahams* ſtory.

§. IV.

The anſwer to another of the objections propoſed, ſhewing that it was not unlikely, that Terah *ſhould beget Abraham in his hundred and thirtieth yeere.*

NOw touching the objection, where it is ſaid, that it was very unlikely that *Terah* ſhould beget *Abraham* in his 130. yeere, ſeeing *Abraham* himſelfe thought it a wonder to have a ſon at an hundred: this is hardly worth the anſwering. This wonder is indeed miſ-caſt, and miſtaken: *Abraham* having reſpect onely to *Sarah* his wife, when he ſpake of their many yeares. For when the Angel ſaid unto *Abraham* in his Tent doore at *Mamre*; *Loe Sarah thy wife ſhall have a Son*, it followeth in the next verſe, *Now Abraham and Sarah were old and ſtricken in age, and it ceaſed to be with Sarah after the manner of women: therefore Sarah laughed, &c.*

So then in that it is ſaid, *it ceaſed to be with Sarah after the manner of women*, it appeareth that the wonder was wrought on her, and not on *Abraham*. For *Abraham* by his ſecond wife *Keturah* had many ſons after *Sarahs* death, as *Zimron*, *Jockſhan*, *Medan*, *Midian*, *Iſbbak*, and *Shuah*: and the eldeſt of theſe was borne 37. years after *Iſaac*: and the youngeſt

youngest forty years after. What strangenesse then, that *Terah*, being 130 years old, should beget *Abraham*, will they say, may be gathered from this supposed despaire of *Abraham* at one hundred yeers? For *Sarah* died in the year of the world 2145. and *Isaac* was born in the yeare 2109. and *Abraham* did not marry *Keturah* till *Sarah* was buried. So if we deduct the number of 2109. out of 2145. there remaineth 36. And therefore if *Abraham* begat five sons 36. years after this supposed wonder, and when *Abraham* was 137. years old: it is not strange that his father *Terah* should beget *Abraham* at 130. And if *Booz*, *Obed*, and *Jesse*, who lived so many years and ages after *Abraham*, begat sons at 100. years, or neer it, it cannot be marvailed at, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130. and *Abraham* others at the same age and seven years after.

Origen. hom. 11. in Gen. Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 16. c. 34. Cajet. & Peter. in Gen.

§. V.

The answer to two more of the objections: shewing that we may have certainty of Abrahams *age from the Scripture, though we make not* Abraham *the eldest Son: and that there was great cause, why in the story of* Abraham *his two brethren should be respected.*

IT followeth now to speak something to the objection, which brings *Abrahams* age altogether in doubt, except we allow him to be the eldest son of *Terah*, and born when *Terah* was 70. years old. For *Abrahams* age being made uncertain, all succeeding times are thereby without any perfect rule or knowledge.

But this proposition, That we cannot be certain of *Abrahams* age, unlesse we make him the eldest son, is false. For it is plain in the Scriptures, that when *Terah* was 205. which was the year of his death: then was *Abraham* 75. And if you ask, how I can judge of times, either preceding or succeeding, by knowing that *Abraham* departed *Haran* at that age: I answer, That Saint *Stephen* hath told us, that *Abrahams* departure followed the death of his Father *Terah*: and *Terah* died at 205. so as the 75. year of *Abraham* was the 205. year of *Terah*: which known, there can be no errour in the account of times succeeding. Now to come to the objection, where it is said, That *Moses* had no respect unto *Nachor* and *Haran*, because they were out of the Church, but to *Abraham* only, with whom God established the Covenant, and of whom *Christ* descended according to the flesh, &c. I answer, that *Moses* for many great and necessary causes had respect of *Nachor* and *Haran*. For the succession of Gods Church is not witnessed by *Abraham* alone, but by the issues of *Nahor* and *Haran*, were they Idolaters or otherwise. For *Nahor* was the Father of *Bethuel*, and *Bethuel* of *Rebecca*, the mother of *Israel*: and *Haran* was the Parent of *Lot*, *Sarah*, and *Milcah*: and *Sarah* was mother to *Isaac*, and grandmother to *Jacob*: *Milcah* also the wife of *Nahor*, and mother of *Bethuel*, was *Jacobs* great grandmother: and the age of *Sarah* the daughter of *Haran* is especially noted, in that it pleased God to give her a son at 90. years, and when by nature she could not have conceived. And therefore, though it were not in regard of themselves, yet because both *Nahor* and *Abraham* married the daughters of their brother *Haran*; and because *Isaac* married *Rebecca* the grand-childe of *Nahor*; and *Jacob*, *Lea*, and *Rachel*, the daughters of *Laban*, the grand-childe also of *Nahor*: it was not superfluous in *Moses* to give light of these mens times and ages. And though sometime they worshipped strange gods, as it is *Jos.* 24. 2. yet I see no cause to think, that they still continued Idolaters. For they believed and obeyed the calling of *Abraham*, leaving their naturall Country, and City of *Ur* in *Chaldæa*, as *Abraham* did, and removed thence all, except *Haran*, who died before his father *Terah*, ere they left *Chaldæa*; but *Lot*, his son, followed *Abraham* into *Canaan*; and *Sarah*, the sister of *Lot*, *Abraham* married. *Nahor* also, who remained at *Charran*, gave his sons daughters to *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, his own kinsmen: he himself having also married in his own Family; not thinking it pleasing unto God to mix themselves with strangers and Idolaters. And that these men at length believed in the God of *Abraham*, it can no way be doubted. For when *Laban* had seen the servant of *Abraham* standing at the Well beside *Charran*, he invited him to his Fathers house in this manner: *Come in, thou blessed of* Jehovah, *&c.* And when this servant of *Abrahams* demanded an answer as touching *Rebecca*, then answered *Laban* and *Bethuel*, and said, *This thing is proceeded of* Jehovah: meaning, that it was the will of the true God it should be so; wherein he acknowledged Gods providence. Likewise in the following verse it is written; *Take, go, that she may be thy Masters sons wife, even as* Jehovah *hath said.* This their

Gen. 24. 31.

Gen. 24. 50.

often

often uſing of the name of *Jehovah*, which is the proper name of the true God, it is a ſigne that they had the knowledge of him.

Now although it be the opinion of S. *Chryſoſtome*, and ſome late Writers, as *Cajetan*, *Oleaſter*, *Muſculus*, *Calvin*, *Mercer*, and others, that *Laban* was an Idolater, becauſe he retained certain Idols, or houſehold Gods, which *Rachel* ſtole from him; yet that he believed in the true God it cannot be denied. For he acknowledgeth the God of *Abraham* and of *Nahor*, and he called *Abrahams* ſervant, bleſſed of JEHOVAH, as aforeſaid. So as for my ſelf I dare not avow, that theſe men were out of the Church, who, ſure I am, were not out of the faith.

§. VI.

That the naming of Abraham *firſt of the three brethren*, Gen. 11. v. 26. *doth not prove that he was the eldeſt: together with divers reaſons proving that* Abraham *was not the eldeſt ſon of Terah.*

TO the main objection; which I anſwer laſt, becauſe it ſeemeth of moſt ſtrength, by which, thoſe that ſtrive to ſhorten the times, endeavour to prove that *Abraham* was the eldeſt ſon of *Terah*, and born in the 70. yeer of *Terah's* life; grounding themſelves firſt and chiefly on this place of the Scripture; *And* Terah *lived* 70. *yeers* Gen. 11. 26. *and begot* Abraham, Nahor, *and* Haran: To this I ſay, that although *Abraham* in this verſe be firſt named, yet the ſame is no proof at all that he was the eldeſt and firſtborn ſon of *Terah*. For it is no neceſſary conſequent, that the firſt named in Scriptures was therefore eldeſt in bloud and birth; neither doth it appear, that it pleaſed God to make eſpeciall choice of the firſt ſons in nature and time: for *Seth* was not the firſt-born of *Adam*; nor *Iſaac* of *Abraham*; nor *Jacob* of *Iſaac*; nor *Juda* and *Joſeph* of *Jacob*; nor *David* the eldeſt of *Jeſſe*; nor *Solomon* of *David*: as is formerly remembred.

But it is written of *Noah: Noah was* 500. *yeers old, and Noah begat Shem, Ham, and Japhet:* ſhewing that at the 500. yeer of his age he began to beget the firſt of thoſe three ſons. For according to S. *Auguſtine*, ſpeaking generally, *Nec attendendus eſt in his ordo nativitatis, ſed ſignificatio futuræ dignitatis: in qua excellit Abraham: The order of nativity is not here to be reſpected, but the ſignification of the future dignity: in which Abraham was preferred.* And therefore as in the order of the ſons of *Noah:* ſo is it here; where it is ſaid, *That Terah lived* 70. *years, and begat Abraham, Nahor, and Haran:* For it was late ere *Terah* began to beget Sons, himſelf being begotten by his Father *Nachor* at 29. as other his Anceſtors were at 30. The like alſo happened to *Noah:* for whereas *Adam* begat *Seth* at 133. *Enoſh Kenan* at 90. *Kenan Mahalaleel* at 70. *Mahalaleel Jared* at 60. *Noah* was yet 500. yeers old when he began to beget the firſt of his three Sons, as aforeſaid. And S. *Auguſtine*, in the place before cited, rather inclineth to the opinion that *Abraham* was the youngeſt of *Terah's* ſons, than otherwiſe: though for his excellency he was worthily named firſt. His own words are theſe: *Fieri enim potuit ut poſterior ſit generatus Abraham: ſed merito excellentiæ, qua in Scripturis valde commendatur, prior fuerit nominatus. It might be*, ſaith he, *that Abraham was begotten later: but was firſt named in regard of his excellency, for which in Scripture he is much commended.* So as the naming firſt or laſt proveth nothing who was firſt or laſt born: either in thoſe iſſues of *Noah*, or in theſe of *Terah:* Neither hath God any reſpect of the eldeſt in nature, as touching his election or ſpirituall bleſſing; for *Moſes* nameth firſt the children of the promiſe, and the eldeſt and firſt in Gods favour. *Pietas ergo, vel ipſa potius electio divina, quæ comitem ſecum trahit pietatem, & Dei timorem, primas partes dat Semo in liberis Noa, & Abrahamo in liberis Thare*: Piety, ſaith he, *or rather divine election, which doth evermore draw with it or after it, piety and the fear of God, gave place and precedency to Sem among the children of Noah, and to Abraham among thoſe of Thare.* Aug. quæſt. ſuper Gen. 25.

For the reſt it is manifeſt, that *Abraham* entred *Canaan* in the 75. yeer of his age. And it was in *Canaan* that *Hagar* bare him Iſmael, when *Abraham* had lived 86. years. It was at *Gerar* (the South border of *Canaan*) that *Sarah* bare *Iſaac*, when *Abraham* had conſumed 100. yeers. It was from the valley of *Mamre* in *Canaan* that *Abraham* roſe out, when he reſcued *Lot* and overthrew *Amraphel:* and he had then but the age of 83. yeers: and it is as manifeſt that he parted from *Haran* after his Father *Terah* was dead. But if Gen. 12. 4. Gen. 16. 16. Act. 7. 4.

Terah

Gen. 14. *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 70. yeer old, then must *Abraham* have been 135. yeares when he first set his foot in *Canaan*, seeing *Terah* must be dead ere he parted, and so 70. added to 135. make 205. the true age of *Terah*: which is contrary to all those places of Scripture before remembred. For he entred at 75. he rescued *Lot* at 83. he had *Ismael* at 86. he had *Isaac* at 100. proved by the former places.

Moreover, if *Abraham* were the eldest son of *Terah*, and borne in the 70. yeare of his age: then had *Terah* lived till *Isaac* had beene 35. yeares old, and *Ismael* 49. both which must then have beene borne in *Mesopotamia*, and therein fostered to that age: unlesse we should either deny credit to S. *Stephen*, who saith that *Abraham* departed from *Mesopotamia* after his Fathers death: or else beleeve the interpretation of *Daniel Angelocrator*, who in his *Chronologia antoptica*, saith it was about his Fathers death: because the Greek word μετα may be transported by the Latine *sub*, aswell as by *post*: which though elsewhere it may be, yet cannot it be so in this place. For it were most improperly spoken, to say that those things were done about *Terahs* death, which were 60. years before. Wherefore supposing *Abraham* to have beene borne in the seventy yeer of *Terah*; we must give those times and places of birth to *Abrahams* children, which no authority will warrant; For *Abraham* had no children in *Ur* of *Chaldæa*, nor in *Haran*, nor in ten yeeres after his arrivall into *Canaan*. For the yeere of *Terahs* death, in which *Abraham* left *Haran*, was the yeare of the World 2083. and the yeere of *Ismaels* birth was the Worlds yeere 2094. which maketh 10. yeeres difference. And that *Isaac* was borne in *Canaan*, and was to be offered upon the mountaine *Moriah* therein, 39. miles from *Bersabe*, where *Abraham* then inhabited: and that three *Angels* first of all appeared to *Abraham* in the valley of *Mamre*, no man doubteth.

And therefore it cannot be that any of *Abrahams* sons were borne in *Mesopotamia*; nor while *Terah* lived; nor in lesse than ten yeeres after *Terahs* death: and then consequently was not *Abraham* the eldest son of *Terah*, nor borne in the 70. yeere of *Terahs* age.

Gen. 12. Thirdly, whereas *Abraham* came into *Canaan* at 75. if *Terah* had begotten him at 70. then had *Terah* lived but 145. for 70. and 75. make 145. which must also have beene the full age of *Terah*: but *Terah* lived 205. yeeres; and therefore was not *Abraham* borne in the 70. yeer of *Terah*.

Fourthly, the ages of *Lot* and *Sarah* make it manifest, that *Haran* was the elder, if not the eldest brother of *Abraham*; for *Sarah* or *Iscah* wanted but ten yeeres of *Abrahams* age: *Isaac* being borne when *Abraham* was 100. and *Sarah* 90. yeeres old.

It followeth then, that if *Abraham* had been the elder brother of *Haran*, *Haran* must have begotten *Sarah* at nine yeeres old: for granting that *Haran* was borne but one yeer after *Abraham*, and *Sarah* within ten yeeres as old as *Abraham*, then of necessity must *Haran* beget her, when he had lived but nine yeeres; which were too ridiculous to imagine.

And that *Iscah* was *Sarah*, *Rab. Solomon* affirmeth; both names, saith he, bearing the same signification; and names of principality. Againe, to what end was the word *Iscah* of *Jisbcah* inserted in this place, if *Sarah* were not meant thereby? For, to speake of any thing superfluous, it is not used in Gods Booke: and if *Iscah* had not belonged to the story, it had been but an idle name to no purpose remembred.

Now if it had beene true (as those of the contrary opinion affirme) that *Moses* had no respect of *Nahor* and *Haran*, who were notwithstanding the Parents of *Bethuel* and *Rebecca* the mother of *Israel* and of *Christ*: what regard then had *Moses* of *Iscah* in this place, were she not *Sarah*, but otherwise an idle name, of whom there is nothing else first or last?

The age also of *Lot* disproveth the eldership of *Abraham*: for *Lot* was called an old man when *Abraham* was but 83. yeers old: And if *Lot* were of a greater age than *Abraham*, and *Haran* were Father to *Lot*, *Sarah*, and *Milcah*; *Abraham* marrying one of *Harans* daughters, and *Nahor* the other, *Sarah* also being within ten yeers as old as *Abraham*: it may appear to every reasonable man (not obstinate and prejudicate) that *Haran* was the eldest son of *Terah*, and not *Abraham*: who also died first, and before his Father left *Ur* in *Chaldæa*. Also *Lyra* reasoneth against the opinion of *Abrahams* eldership, upon the same place of *Genesis*: drawing argument from the age of *Sarah*, who was but ten yeers younger than *Abraham* himself. *Lyra* his words are these: *Si igitur* Haran *fuit junior ipso*

Abraham,

Abraham, *ſequitur quòd non habebat decem annos quando genuit* Saram : *imò nec octo, &c.* and afterward, *& ideò melius videtur dicendum, quòd* Abraham *fuit ultimò natus de tribus filiis* Thare, *tamen nominatur primò, propter ejus dignitatem : & ponendus erat caput ſtirpis & generationis ſequentis : & quia primò facta eſt ei repromiſſio expreſſa de* Chriſto, *ſicut ſupra dictum eſt de* Sem, *&c. If therefore* (ſaith Lyra) Haran *was younger than* Abraham *himſelfe, it followeth that he was not ten yeers old when he begat* Sarah : *And therefore it ſeemeth better to be ſaid, that* Abraham *was the laſt born of the three ſons of* Thare, *nevertheleſſe he is named firſt for his dignity, both becauſe hee was to be ordained head of the ſtock and generation following, and becauſe the promiſe of* Chriſt *was firſt made unto him, as before it is ſaid of* Sem.

§. VII.

A concluſion of this diſpute, noting the Authors on both ſides : with an admonition, that they which ſhorten the times make all ancient ſtories the more unprobable.

IT therefore agreeth with the Scriptures, with Nature, Time, and Reaſon, that *Haran* was the eldeſt ſon of *Terah*, and not *Abraham :* and that *Abraham* was born in the 130.yeer of *Terahs* life, and not in the 70.yeer. For *Abraham* departing *Charran* after *Terah* died, according to S.*Stephen*, and that journey by *Abraham* performed when he was 75.yeers old ; theſe two numbers added make 205.yeers, the full age of *Terah :* ſeeing that when *Terah* died, then *Abraham* entred *Canaan*. For my ſelfe, I have no other end herein than to manifeſt the truth of the Worlds ſtory. I reverence the judgements of the Fathers : but I know they were miſtaken in particulars. Saint *Auguſtine* was doubtfull, and could not determine this controverſie. For whatſoever is borrowed from him out of his ſixteenth book *de Civitate Dei, cap.* 13. the ſame may be anſwered out of himſelfe in his five and twentieth queſtion upon *Gen.* But S.*Auguſtine* herein followed *Joſephus* and *Iſidor :* and *Beda* followed S.*Auguſtine*. And it was out of a fooliſh pride and vanity, that the *Hebrews* and *Joſephus* ſought to make *Abraham* the firſt born : as if God had had reſpect to the eldeſt in nature. So did *Joſephus* together with *Nicholas Damaſcenus* (thinking thereby to glorifie the *Jewiſh Nation*) make *Abraham* a King, entitling *Sarah* by the name of *Queen Sarah :* and ſaid that *Abraham* was followed with 318. Captains, of which every one had an infinite multitude under him ; *trecentos & octodecim præfectos habuit : quorum ſingulis infinita multitudo parebat.* And that *Pharao* invading him with a great Army, took from him his wife *Sarah :* Such fables argue that *Joſephus* is not to be beleeved, but with diſcreet reſervations. *Acts* 7.4. *Gen.* 12.4

This account of times, allowing no more than 292.yeers from the Flood to *Abraham*, is upheld by many of the *Hebrew*. But how ſhould we value the opinion of ſuch *Chronologers*, as take *Amraphel* for *Nimrod?* Surely, if their judgement in ſuch matters were worthy to be regarded, it would have appeared in ſetting down the ſucceſſion of the *Perſian Kings* under whom they lived, whoſe Hiſtory was not ſo far remote in time, as theſe antiquities, nor wanting the light of many good Writers. Yet groſly have they erred therein, and ſo familiar are their miſtakings in all things of like nature, that we ſeldom find their opinion rehearſed without the confutation treading on the heels of it. They of the *Romane* religion are alſo generally on the ſame ſide : it being a thing uſuall among them, to maintain whatſoever they have been formerly known to hold and beleeve. Contrariwiſe, of the more ancient, *Theodoret*, and ſome following him : of later times, *Beroaldus, Codoman, Peucer, Calvin, Junius, Beza, Broughton, Doct. Gibbons*, and *Moore*, with divers of the *Proteſtants*, hold *Abraham* to have been born in the 130.yeer of his father *Terah*. From theſe (as in a caſe not concerning any point in Religion) divers of the ſame Religion, and thoſe nevertheleſſe good Authors, as *Bucholcerus, Chytræus, Funcius* and others, are very averſe herein, eſpecially *Joſephus Scaliger* with his *Sethus Calviſius*, proclaiming *Beroaldus* an Arch-heretike in *Chronologie*, and condemning this opinion of his as poyſonous. Contrariwiſe, *Auguſtinus Torniellus*, a Prieſt of the Congregation of Saint *Paul*, a judicious, diligent, and free Writer, whoſe *Annals* are newly ſet forth, very earneſtly defends the opinion, which I have already delivered ; not alledging *Beroaldus*, nor any *Proteſtant* Writer, as being perhaps unwilling to owe thanks to heretikes. For my ſelfe, I doe neither miſlike the contrary opinion, becauſe commonly

commonly those of the *Romish* Religion labour to uphold it; nor favour this larger account of times, because many notable men of the *Protestant* writers have approved it; but for the truth it selfe. To strengthen which, after all these former reasons, and testimonies of Scripture, I will adde thus much more to the rest. First, it is apparent to all men of judgement, that the best approved Historians, divine and prophane, labour to investigate the truth of times, thereby to approve the stories, and forepast actions of the world: and not the truth of histories to approve the times by. Let us then make judgement to our selves, which of those two accounts give the best reputation to the story of the Scriptures; teaching the Worlds new plantation, and the continuance of Gods Church: either that of *Josephus*, and those which follow him; who makes but 292. yeers, or thereabouts, between the flood and birth of *Abraham*: or this other account, which makes 352. yeers between the one and the other: the one taking *Abraham* to be the first born of *Thare*, in the 70. yeer of his life: the other a younger son of *Thare*, and born when he had lived 130. yeers. And if we look over all, and do not hastily satisfie our understanding with the first things offered, and thereby being satiated do slothfully and drowsily sit down; we shall find it more agreeable rather to allow the reckoning of the *Septuagint*, who, according to some editions, make it above 1072. yeers between the Flood and *Abrahams* birth: than to take away any part of those 352. yeers given. For if we advisedly consider the state and continuance of the world, such as it was in *Abrahams* time, yea before *Abraham* was born, we shall find that it were very ill done of us by following opinion without the guide of reason, to pare the times over-deeply between *Abraham* and the Flood: because in cutting them too neer the quick, the reputation of the whole story might perchance bleed thereby, were not the testimony of the Scriptures supreme, so as no objection can approach it: and that we did not follow withall this precept of S. *Augustine*, That whersoever any one place in the Scriptures may be conceived disagreeing to the whole, the same is by ignorance of interpretation mis-understood. For in *Abrahams* time all the then known parts of the World were peopled: all Regions and Countries had their Kings. *Egypt* had many magnificent Cities: and so had *Palæstina*, and all the bordering Countries, yea, all that part of the World besides, as far as *India*: and those not built with sticks, but of hewne stones, and defended with walls and rampiers: which magnificence needed a parent of more antiquity, than those other men have supposed. And therefore, where the Scriptures are plainest and best agreeing with reason & nature, to what end should we labour to beget doubts and scruples, or draw all things into wonders and marvels? giving also strength thereby to common cavillers, and to those mens apish brains, who onely bend their wits to find impossibilities, and monsters in the story of the World and Mankinde.

§. VIII.

A computation of the times of the Assyrians, and others, grounded upon the times noted in the story of Abraham.

An. mundi 2008. Ant. 352. natus Abraham, Eus. Aug. de civit. Dei, l. 16. c. 17.

IN this sort therefore for the reasons before alledged, I conclude, that from the generall Flood, to the birth of *Abraham*, 352. yeers were consumed: and taking the *Assyrian* history with us, the same number of yeers were spent from the Flood to the 43. yeer of *Ninus*: in which 43. yeer of *Ninus*, *Abraham* was born: which happened in the yeer of the world, 2009.

Now of this time of 352. yeers, we must give one part as well to the increase of those people which came into *Shinaar*, as to those that stayed in the East, to wit, 30. yeers to *Chus*, ere he begat *Seba*: of which, though the Scriptures are silent, yet because those of the same time had that age when they begat their first sons, we may the more safely give the like allowance to these. For *Eber* begat *Peleg* at 34. *Peleg Regu* at 30. *Regu Serug* at 32. Now after *Seba*, *Chus* begat *Havila*, *Sabta*, *Raama* and *Sabtecha*: and *Raama* begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, before *Nimrod* was born, as it appeareth *Gen.* 10. which S. *Augustine* approveth. Giving then 30. yeers more to *Raama* ere he begat *Sheba*, and five yeers to the five elder brothers of *Nimrod*, it may be gathered that 65. yeers were consumed ere *Nimrod* himselfe was born: and that *Raama* had that age before any of his sons were

Aug. de civ. Dei.

were begotten, it may be gathered by example and comparison: for *Peleg* the fourth from *Noah*, as *Raamah* was, begat *Reu* in the same yeer of his life. *Gen. 11. 18.*

Let us then allow 60. yeers more after the birth of *Nimrod*, for two other generations to be brougt forth, or else we shall hardly find people to build *Babel*: for sure we are, that it was done by hands, and not by miracle: because it displeased God. These two numbers of 65. and 60. make 125. The rest of the time of 131. (in which yeer they arrived in *Shinaar*, whereof there are 6. yeers remaining) we may give them for their travels from the East: because they were pestered with women, children and cattell: and, as some ancient writers have conceived, and *Eecanus* of later times, they kept alwayes the mountain sides, for fear of a second Flood. Now, if we take this number of 131. out of 352. there remains 221. of which number *Berosus* bestoweth 65. on *Belus*, and 42. on *Ninus* before *Abraham* born: both which S. *Augustine* approveth: which two numbers taken again out of 221. there remaineth 114. yeers of the 352. from the Flood to *Abrahams* birth: which number of 114. necessity bestoweth on *Nimrod*.

An à salute humani generis ab aquis centesimo primo cœpit regnum Babylonicum sub nostro Saturno patre Jovis Beli, qui imperavit annis 65. Berosus.

And if it be objected that this time given to *Nimrod* is over-long: sure if we compare the age of *Nimrod* with the rest of the same descent from *Noah*, it will rather appear over-short. For *Nimrod*, by this account, lived in all but one hundred seventy nine yeers: whereof he reigned one hundred and twelve: whereas *Sale*, who was the son of *Arphaxad*, the son of *Sem*, lived foure hundred three yeers: and of the same age of the World was *Nimrod* the son of *Chus*, the son of *Cham*.

Now after *Abraham* was born,
Ninus reigned 9. yeers: which added to 43. make ——— 52.
Ninus dieth, and leaveth *Semiramis* his Successor.

Semiramis governed the *Empire* of *Babylonia* and *Assyria* 42. yeers, and died in the 52. yeer complete of *Abrahams* life. Of the World. 2017. Of the Flood 761.

Ninias or *Zameis* succeeded *Semiramis*, and ruled 38. yeers, in the second yeer of whose reign *Abraham* left *Mesopotamia*. 2059. *anna.* 403. *a dil.* 2083.

When *Abraham* was 85. yeers old, he rescued his Nephew *Lot*, and overthrew by surprise *Amraphel* king of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*. *Ninias* reigned 38. yeers, and *Abraham* came into *Canaan* but 23. yeers after *Semiramis* died: which was the 75. yeer of his age: so that *Amraphel* may seem to have been this *Ninias* the son of *Ninus*, and *Semiramis*, whose 23. yeers, as aforesaid, being the 75. yeer of *Abraham*, he and his fellow-kings might have received this overthrow in the 85. yeer of *Abraham*, and the 33. yeer of his owne reigne: after which he reigned five yeers: which make in all 38. But the truth is, that the reasons to the contrary, urging that this *Amraphel* could not be *Ninias*, are not easily answered. Howbeit, for the times of the *Assyrian* kings, that they are to be ordered as we have set downe, according to the times noted by *Moses* in the story of *Abraham*, it is most certain; unlesse we will either derogate from the truth of *Moses* his computation, which were impiety, or account the whole History of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to be but a fiction; which were to condemne all ancient Historians for fablers. 427. 2093. 437.

§ IX.

That Amraphel, *one of the foure Kings whom* Abraham *overthrew*, Gen. 14. *may probably be thought to have been* Ninias *the son of* Ninus.

AND now touching this *Amraphel*, whom *Moses* makes king of *Shinaar* or *Babylonia*, in the 85. yeer of *Abrahams* life, that is, in the 33. yeer of the reigne of *Ninias Zameis* the king of the *Assyrians*, the son of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, it is hard to affirme what he was, and how he could be at this time king of *Babylonia*: *Ninias Zameis* then reigning there. To this doubt the answer which first offereth it selfe as most probable, is that which hath been already noted, that this *Ninias* or *Zameis*, was no other than our *Amraphel*: who invaded *Traconitis*, or *Basan*, and overthrew those five kings of *Pentapolis*, or the valley of *Siddim*. For the Scriptures tell us, that *Amraphel* was king of *Shinaar*, which is *Babylonia*: and the times before accounted make him to be the successour of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and it falleth out with the 85. yeer of *Abrahams* life: wherein he rescued *Lot*, slew *Chedorlaomer*, and overthrew the rest. True it is, that this

this *Amraphel* was not at this time the greatest *Monarch:* for *Chedorlaomer* commanded in chiefe, though *Amraphel* be first named by *Moses* in the first verse of the 14. Chapter of *Genesis*. For the kings of the valley of *Siddim*, or of *Pentapolis*, or the five Cities, were
Gen. 14. 4. the vassals of *Chedorlaomer*, and not of *Amraphel:* as it is written, *Twelve yeers were they subject to* Chedorlaomer, *but in the* 13. *yeer they rebelled, and in the* 14. *yeer came* Chedorlaomer *and the Kings that were with him:* and therefore was *Chedorlaomer* the principall in this enterprise, who was then king of *Elam*, which is *Persia:* Now *Persia* being seated over *Tygris*, and to the East of *Amraphels* Countrie; and the other two kings, which were companions with *Amraphel*, being seated to the West of *Shinaar* or *Babylonia: Amraphel*, who held *Babylonia* it selfe, seemeth at this time to have had no great scope or large dominion. For had *Amraphel* been so great a Prince as prophane Historians make *Ninus* or *Semiramis* whom he succeeded, hee should not have needed the assistance of three other kings for this expedition. But though *Chedorlaomer* were the first and greatest of those foure kings, (as it is manifest that he was: For these little kings of *Sodome*, *Gomorra*, *&c.* were his vassals, and not *Amraphels*,) yet this makes not the conjecture lesse probable, but that this *Amraphel* might be *Ninias*. For it may be, that the great and potent Empire of *Assyria* had now (as we shall shew more plainly in that which followeth) received a down-right fall at the time of this war: though not long before it commanded all the kingdoms between *India* and the *Phœnician* Sea: to wit, in the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*.

§. X.

Of Arioch *another of the foure Kings, and that* Ellas, *whereof he is said to have been King, lies between* Cœlosyria *and* Arabia Petræa.

NOw the two other kings joyned with *Amraphel* and *Chedorlaomer*, were *Arioch* and *Tidal*; the one king of *Ellassar*, the other of the Nations. For *Ellassar*, *Aquila* and *Hierome* write *Pontus:* so *Tostatus* thinketh that it should be *Hellespont:* which opinion *Pererius* favoureth. But this is onely to defend the Latine translation. For as *Pontus*, so is *Hellespont* far distant, and out of the way to send any Armies into *Arabia Petræa*, or into *Idumæa*; which Countries these foure kings chiefly invaded: Besides that, it is certaine, that the *Assyrians* (when they were greatest) had never any dominion in *Asia* the lesse. For at such time as the *Assyrians* feared the invasion of the *Medes* and *Persians*, they sent not into *Asia* the lesse as Commanders: but used all the art they had to in-
Xenophon. vite *Cræsus* to their assistance: perswading him that nothing could be more dangerous for himselfe, and the other Kings of those parts, than the successe of the *Medes* against the *Assyrians*. But examine the enterprise what it was. *These Kings* (saith the Text)
Gen. 14. *made war with* Bera *king of Sodome*, Birsha *king of Gomorrha*, Shinab *king of Admath, and* Shemebar *king of Zeboim, and the king of* Bela, *which is Zoar*. All which five kings had not so much ground as *Middlesex:* being such a kinde of *Reguli*, as *Josua* found in the land long after: namely, Lords of Cities and small Territories adjoyning; of which *Canaan* had three and thirty, all slain or hanged by *Josua*. Neither can the other Countries, which in the Text they are said also to have invaded, be imagined to have been at that time of any great power: and therefore to call in kings from *Pontus* or *Hellespont*, had manifested a great impotence and weaknesse in the kings of *Babylon* and *Persia*.

And though it be alledged for an example, that divers kings far off, came to assist *Pompey* against *Cæsar*; yet these same examples without like occasions and circumstances, do neither lead nor teach. For there was no cause to fear the greatnesse of these petty kings, or of the other Countries: But the eyes of the world were fixed on *Cæsar*; and his undertakings and intents were to all other Princes, no lesse doubtfull than fearfull: But the whole Country by these foure kings mastered in their passage, was afterward given to the halfe tribe of *Manasse*, *Gad*, and *Reuben:* a narrow valley of ground lying between *Jordan* and the mountaines of *Seir:* inclosed by the river of *Arnon* on the South side, and by *Libanus* on the North, consisting of the two small Provinces of *Traconitis* or *Basan*, and the region of the *Moabites:* a conquest far unvaluable, and little answering to the power of the *Assyrian Empire*, if the same had remained in any comparable estate with the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, who subjected

all

all the great Kings of that part of the World, without the assistance of any of the Kings of *Hellespont*, or any other part of *Asia* the lesse. But as the vulgar and *Aquila* convert *Ellassar* by *Pontus*: so *Symmachus* makes *Arioch* a King of the *Scythians*, a King indeed, as far fetched to joyne with the *Assyrians* in this War, as the World had any at that time.

The *Septuagint* do not change the word of *Ellassar* at all, but as they keep the word *Ararat*, on the mountaines whereof the Arke did rest; so doe they in this place retaine the *Hebrew* word *Ellassar*, being doubtfull to give it a wrong interpretation. And *Pererius* himselfe remembreth other opinions far more probable than this of *Pontus* or *Hellespont*: yet hee dares not avow his liking of them, because the Latine Translation hath it otherwise. For *Stephanus de Urbibus*, a *Grecian Cosmographer*, findeth the Citie of *Ellas* in the border of *Celosyria*: and S. *Hierome* calleth *Ellas* the City of *Arioch*, as in truth it was. Now although the same be seated by *Stephanus* in *Celosyria*, yet it standeth on the border of *Arabia*, of which *Arioch* was king: who formerly joyned with *Ninus* in all his conquests, being of the same family, and descended from *Cham* and *Chus*: after whom the name of *Arius* was by the *Hebrew* written *Arioch*: and afterward again *Aretas*; as in the *Machabees*: the kings of *Arabia* holding that name even to the time of S. *Paul*, who was sought to be betrayed by the *Lievtenant* of *Aretas* commanding in *Damascus*. They were Princes for the most part confederate and depending upon the *Assyrian Empire*. It is true that we finde in *Daniel*, that in the time of *Nabuchodonosor*, one *Arioch* was Generall of his Army, and the principall Commander under him, who was a King of kings: which makes it plain, that *Arioch* here spoken of, the son of that *Arioch*, *Confederate* of *Ninus*, was no king of *Pontus*, nor of *Scythia*: regions far removed from the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*. The name also of *Arioch*, who commanded under *Nabuchodonosor* is mentioned in *Judith*, by the name of *King of the Elymeans*: who are a Nation of *Persians* bordering *Assyria*, according to *Stephanus*: though *Pliny* sets it between the Sea-coast, and *Media*: and if any brother of the *Arabian Kings*, or other of that house (known by the name of *Arius*, *Arioch*, *Areta*, or *Aretas*) had the government of that *Persian Province* called *Elymais* (as it seemeth they had by the places of *Daniel* and *Judith*) yet the same was in *Nabuchodonosors* time. But this *Arioch* here spoken of may with more reason be taken for the king of *Arabia*, the son of *Arius*, the *Confederate* of *Ninus*: whose sons held league, as their fathers did, being the next bordering Prince of all on that side towards the West unto *Babylonia*, and *Chaldæa*: and in amitie with them from the beginning, and of their owne house and blood: which *Diod. Siculus* also confirmeth.

Mac. 2. c. 5. v. 2. Cor. 2. 11. Dan. 2. Strab. l. 16. fol. 523. Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 1

§. XI.

Of Tidal *another of the foure Kings.*

THe fourth king by *Abraham* overthrown was *Tidal*, king of the Nations. The *Hebrew* writes it *Gojim*, which *Vatablus* takes to be a proper name: *Lyra* of mixt people: *Calvin* of runnagates without habitation. *Pererius* out of *Strabo*, finds that *Galilæa* was inhabited by divers Nations, which were a mixt people: namely, of *Egyptians*, *Arabians*, and *Phœnicians*. *Nam tales sunt qui Galilæam habitant*; *Such are the inhabitants of Galile*, saith *Strabo*: and therefore was *Tidal* called king of these Nations, as they suppose. And it may be so: but the authority of *Strabo* is nothing in this question. For *Galilæa* was not peopled at this time, as it was in the time of *Strabo*. For when *Abraham* came into *Canaan*, the *Canaanite* was then in the Land, howsoever they might be afterwards mixt; which I know not. But there are many petty kingdoms adjoyning to *Phœnicia*, and *Palæstina*; as *Palmyrena*, *Batanea*, *Laodicene*, *Apamena*, *Chalcidice*, *Cassiotis*, *Chalibonitis*, and all these do also joyne themselves to *Mesopotamia* on the North, and to *Arabia* on the East. And that these Nations gathered themselves together under *Tidal*, I take to be the probablest conjecture.

Gen. 12. 6.

§. XII.

That Chedorlaomer *the chiefe of the foure Kings was not of Assyria, but of Persia: and that the Assyrian Empire at this time was much impaired.*

FIrstly, whereas it is conceived that *Chedorlaomer* was the *Assyrian Emperour*, and that *Amraphel* was but a *Satrape, Viceroy*, or *Provinciall* governour of *Babylonia*, and that the other Kings named were such also, I cannot agree with *Pererius* in this. For *Moses* was too well acquainted with the names of *Assur* and *Shinaar*, to call the *Assyrian* a king of *Elam*: those kings being in the Scriptures evermore called by the name of *Chaldæa*, *Shinaar*, *Babylonia*, or *Assyria*: but never by *Elam*; and *Chedorlaomer* or *Kedarlaomer* was so called of *Kidor*, from *Cidarim*, which in the *Hebrew* signifieth *Regale*: for so *Q. Curtius* calleth the garment which the *Persian* Kings ware on their heads.

Neither do I beleeve that the *Assyrian* or *Babylonian Empire* stood in any greatnesse at the time of this invasion; and my reasons are these: First, example and experience teach us, that those things which are set up hastily, or forced violently, do not long last. *Alexander* became Lord of all *Asia*, on this side of *Indus*, in a time of so short a life, as it lasted not to overlook what it selfe had brought forth. His fortunes were violent, but not perpetuall. For his Empire died at once with himselfe: all whose chief Commanders became kings after him. *Tamberlain* conquered *Asia* and *India* with a storm-like and terrible succesſe: but to prevalent fury God hath adjoyned a short life: and whatsoever things Nature her selfe worketh in haste, she taketh the least care of their continuance. The fruit of his victories perished with him, if not before.

Ninus being the first whom the madnesse of boundlesse dominion transported, invaded his neighbour Princes, and became victorious over them: a man violent, insolent and cruell. *Semiramis* taking the opportunity, and being more proud, adventurous, and ambitious, than her *Paramour*: enlarged the *Babylonian Empire*, and beautified many places therein with buildings unexampled. But her son having changed Nature and Condition with his Mother, proved no lesse feminine than she was masculine. And as wounds and wrongs, by their continuall smart, put the Patient in minde how to cure the one, and revenge the other: so those Kings adjoyning (whose subjection and calamities incident, were but new, and therefore the more grievous) could not sleep, when the advantage was offered by such a succesſour. For, *in regno Babylonico hic parum resplenduit*; *This King shined little* (saith *Nauclerus* of *Ninias*) *in the Babylonian Kingdom*. And likely it is that the necks of mortall men having been never before galled with the yoak of forrain dominion, nor having ever had experience of that most miserable and detested condition of living in slavery: no long descent having as yet invested the *Assyrian* with a right: nor any other title being for him pretended than a strong hand; the foolish and effeminate son of a tyrannous and hated Father, could very ill hold so many great Princes and Nations his vassals, with a powerlesse mastering, and a mind lesse industrious than his Father and Mother had used before him. And he that was so much given over to licentious idlenesse, as to suffer his Mother to reigne 42. yeers, and thereof the greatest part after he came to mans estate: witnessed thereby to the World, that he so much preferred ease before honour, and bodily pleasures before greatnesse, as he neither indeavoured to gain what he could not govern, nor to keep what hee could not without contentious perill enjoy.

These considerations being joyned to the story of *Amraphel*, delivered by *Moses*, by which we find that *Amraphel* king of *Shinaar* was rather an inferiour to the king of *Persia*, than either his superiour, or equall; make it seem probable, that the Empire of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* was at that time broken asunder, and restrained again to *Babylonia*.

For conclusion, I will adde these two arguments confirming the former: First, that at such time as it pleased God to impose that great travell upon *Abraham*, from *Ur* in *Chaldæa* to *Charran*, and then to *Canaan*, a passage of 700. miles, or little lesse, with women, children, and carriages: the countries through which he wandred were then settled, and in peace. For it was in the 23. yeer of *Ninias*, when *Abraham*, obeying the voice of God, took this great journey in hand: in which time of 23. yeers after the death of *Semiramis*, the neighbour Princes had recovered their liberty and former estates. For *Semiramis* Army of four millions, with her self, utterly consumed in *India*, and all her Armies

Strab. l. 15.

and

and engins of warre, at the same time lost, gave an occasion and opportunitie even to the poorest soules and weakest hearted creatures of the World, to repurchase their former libertie.

Secondly, it is affirmed by the best and ancientest Historians, that *Arius* the son of *Ninias*, or *Amraphel*, invaded the *Bactrians* and *Caspians*, and againe subjected them: which needed not if they had not beene revolted from *Ninias*, after *Ninus* death. And as *Arioch* recovered one part, so did *Baleus* or *Balaeus*, otherwise *Xerxes*, reduce the rest revolted, to their former obedience. Of whom is said that he conquered from *Egypt* to *India*: and therefore was called *Xerxes, id est, Victor & triumphator, a conquerour and triumpher*; which undertakings had beene no other than the effects of madnesse, had not those Countries freed themselves from the *Babylonian* subjection. Now if we shall make any doubt hereof, that is, of the reconquest of *Arius* and *Xerxes*, both which lived after *Ninus* and *Ninias*, we may as well thinke the rest of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to be but fained: but if we grant this reconquest, then is it true, that while *Ninias* or *Amraphel* ruled, the *Assyrian Empire* was torne asunder, according to that which hath beene gathered out of *Moses*, as before remembred.

§. XIII.

That it is not unprobable that the foure Kings had no dominion in the Countries named, but that they had else-where with their colonies planted themselves: and so retained the names of the Countries whence they came: which if it be so, we neede not say that Amraphel *was* Ninias, *nor trouble our selves with many other difficulties.*

THe consent of all Writers, whose workes have come to my perusal, agreeing as they doe, that these four Kings, *Amraphel* of *Shinaar*, *Chedorlaomer* of *Elam*, and those fellowes, were Lords of those Regions, whereunto they are or seeme intituled: doth almost inforce us to thinke that the history must so be understood, as I have delivered. But if in this place, as often else-where in the Scriptures, the names of Countries may be set for people of those lands, or if (as *Hierome* hath it) *Chedorlaomer* was king of the *Elamites*, as *Tidal* was said to be of the Nations, that is, of people either wanting a fixed habitation, or gathered out of sundry regions: then may we otherwise conceive of this Historie: removing thereby some difficulties, which men perhaps have beene unwilling to find, because they could not find how to resolve them. For as it had beene a strange conjecture to think that *Arioch* was drawn to assist the *Persian* against the *Sodomite*, as far as from *Pontus*, where it is very unlikely that *Chedorlaomer* was knowne, and almost impossible that the vale of *Siddim* should have been once named: so in true estimation it is a thing of great improbabilitie, that *Chedorlaomer*, if he were King of *Persia* alone, should passe through so great a parte of the World, as the Countries of *Assyria*, *Chaldæa*, *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, and parte of *Arabia*, & *Canaan*, to subdue those five Townes, whose very names how they should come to his ear, being dis-joyned by so many great nations of different languages, a wise man could hardly conjecture. And if all the Countries bordering *Persia* together with the *Babylonian* himself, yea the kingdome of *Ellasar* and that of *Tidal*, so far off removed, were become his dependances; what reason can we find that might have induced him to hearken after *Sodome* and *Gomorrah*? and when he should have sought the establishment of his new gotten *Empire*, by rooting out the posterity of *Ninus* (as *Ninus* had dealt by *Pharnus* of *Media*, and *Zoroaster* of *Bactria*) then to imploy the forces of *Amraphel*, and those other Kings, against five pettie Towns, leaving *Tyrus* and *Sidon*, and the great Citie of *Damasco*, with many other places of much importance, and far neerer unto him, unsubdued? Now as these doubts which may be alledged against the first conquest of the vale of *Siddim*, are exceeding vehement: so are the objections to be made against his reconquest of these five Cities, when they had revolted, as forcible; yea and more, as being grounded partly upon the Text it selfe. For first, what madnesse had it beene in that small *Province* to rebell against so powerfull a *Monarch*? Or if it were so that they dwelling far from him, hoped rather to be forgotten, than that he should come or send to reclaime them: was it not more than madnesse in them, when his terrible armie approched, still to entertaine hope of evasion: yea to make resistance (being themselves a dissolute and therefore unwarlike people) against the power of all the Nations between *Euphrates*, yea between themselves & the river of

Indus?

Indus? Likewise on the part of *Chedorlaomer* we should finde no great wisedom, if he, knowing the weakenesse of this people, had raised such a world of men against them: whom by any *Lievtenant*, with small forces he might have subdued. For the perpetuall inheritance of that little Country, was not sufficient to countervail one moneths charges of so huge an army. How small then must his valour have been, who with so mighty preparations effected no more than the wasting of that *Valley*, wherein he left the Cities standing, taking no one of them; but returned well contented with a few prisoners, and the pillage of the Country, although he had broken their army in the field? Now the Scriptures do not of this invasion (supposed so great) make any fearfull matter: but compose the two armies as equally matcht, saying they were four kings against five: yea if the place be literally expounded, we shall find that *Abraham* slew all these Kings; of which great slaughter no Historie makes mention: Neither will the reigne of *Ninias* who lived foure or five yeeres longer, permit that he should have died so soone: neither would Histories have forgotten the manner of his death, if he had so strangely perished in *Syria*. Whereby it appears, that these foure Kings were not the same that they are commonly thought: nor their forces so great as opinion hath made them. It may therefore well be true, that these kings were such as many others, who in that age carried the same title: Lords and Commanders every one of his own company, which he carried forth as a *Colonie*, seeking place where to settle himself and them, as was the usuall manner of those times.

Gen. 14. 17.

Neither is it improbable, that *Chedorlaomer* leading a troup of *Persians*, *Amraphel* some people out of *Shinaar*, and *Tidal* others gathered out of sundry places, might consort together, and make the weakest of the Country which lay about them, to pay them tribute. Whosoever will consider the beginning of the first Book of *Thucydides*, with the manner of discoveries, conquests and plantations, in the infancy of *Greece*; or the manner of the *Saracens* invading *Africa* and *Spain*, with almost as many kings as severall Armies: or the proceedings of the *Spaniards* in their new discoveries, passages, and conquests in the *West-Indies*: may easily perceive, that it was neither unusuall for the leaders of *Colonies* to receive title from the people whom they conducted: nor to make alliances together, and break them again, disturbing somtimes one the other, somtimes helping in pursuit of a conquest. That *Amraphel* and his associates were such manner of Commanders, it may seem the more likely, by the sloathfull quality of *Ninias* then reigning in *Assyria*: whose unmanlike temper was such, as might well give occasion to such undertaking spirits, as wanted the imployments whereunto they were accustomed in the reign of *Semiramis*, rather to seek adventures abroad, than to remain at home unregarded, whilst others, more unworthy than themselves, were advanced. If the consent of the whole stream of writers upon this place make this conjecture disagreeable to the Text, to the authority whereof all humane reason must subscribe, then we may hold our selves to the former conjecture, that *Amraphel* was *Ninias*: and that the power of his Ancestors being by his sloath decayed, he might well be inferiour to the *Persian Chedorlaomer*: or if this do not satisfie, we may say that *Amraphel* was an Under-king or *Satrapa* of *Shinaar*, under *Ninias*; who may be supposed to have had his *Imperiall* seat in his Fathers Citie *Ninive*: and to have preferred it before *Shinaar* and *Babylon* the City of his Mother, whom he hated as an usurper of his right. But if it were possible that in a case not concerning any mans Salvation, and wherein therefore none hath cared to take great pains, all might erre: then can I think that the opinion, That those four Kings were leaders of *Colonies*, sent out of the Countries named in the Text, and not Kings of the Countries themselves, is most consonant both to the condition of those times, and to the Scripture. And hereto adde that *Chedorlaomer* seems rather called a *Persian* King, than King of *Persia*: and that *Arioch* (whose Kingdom undoubtedly was between *Syria* and *Arabia*) having been a man of action, or being a worthy mans son, was very well pleased, to give passage and assistance to these Captains or pettie Kings. These and such like things here to urge, were but with circumstances to adorn a supposition, which either may stand without them, or if it must fall, is unworthy to have cost bestowed upon it: especially considering, that it is not my intent to imploy any more time in making it good, but to leave it wholly to the Readers pleasure, to follow any of these opinions, or any other, if he find any that shal seem better than these. But of what countries or people soever these 4. were kings, this expedition is the only publick action that

we

we know of performed by *Abraham*. And as for other things belonging to his Storie, and of his sons, and of his Nephews *Esau* and *Jacob*, as they are registred by *Moses*, because it is not our purpose, either to stand upon things generally known to all *Christians*, nor to repeat what hath been elsewhere already spoken, nor to prevent our selves in things that may hereafter in due place be remembred, we passe them here in silence. And because in this Storie of *Abraham* and his posteritie, there is much mention of *Egypt*: by which it appears that even in the time of *Abraham*, it was a settled and flourishing kingdom; it will not be amisse in the next place to speak somewhat of the antiquities and first kings thereof.

CHAP. II.

Of the Kings of Ægypt from the first peopling of it after the Floud, to the time of the delivery of the Israelites from thence.

§. I.

A brief of the names and times of the first Kings of Egypt: with a note of the causes of difficulty in resolving of the truth in these points.

SOone after the confusion at *Babel* (as it seems) *Cham* with many of his issue and followers (having doubtlesse known the fertility of *Egypt* before the Floud) came thither and tooke possession of the Country; in which they built many Cities: and began the kingdome one hundred ninety one yeers after the deluge. The ancient Governours of this Kingdome till such time as *Israel* departed *Egypt*, are shewn in the *Table* following.

An. Mundi.	*An. dil.*	
1847.	191.	*Cham.*
2008.	352.	*Osiris.*
2269.	613.	*Typhon* } *Hercules.* }
2276.	620.	*Orus.*
2391.	735.	*Sesostris* the great.
2424.	768.	*Sesostris* the blinde.
2438.	782.	*Busiris* or *Osiris* the second.
2476.	820.	*Acenchere* or *Theruutis*, or *Meris.*
2488.	832.	*Rathoris* or *Athoris.*
2497.	841.	*Chencres* drowned in the red Sea.

The Table, and especially the *Chronologie*, is to be confirmed by probabilities and conjectures, because in such obscurity, manifest and restlesse truth cannot be found. For Saint *Augustine*, a man of exceeding great judgement, and incomparable diligence, who had sought into all antiquities, and had read the books of *Varro*, which now are lost, yet omitted the succession of the *Egyptian* Kings: which he would not have done, if they had not been more uncertain than the *Sicyonians*, whom he remembreth, than whom doubtlesse they were more glorious. One great occasion of this obscurity in the *Egyptian* Story, was the ambition of the Priests: who, to magnifie their Antiquities, filled the Records (which were in their hands) with many leasings, and recounted unto strangers the names of many Kings, that never reigned. What ground they had for these reports of supposed Kings, it shall appear anon. Sure it is, That the magnificent works and royall buildings in *Egypt*, such as are never found

found but in States that have greatly flourished, witnesse that their Princes were of marvellous greatnesse, and that the reports of the Priests were not altogether false. A second cause of our ignorance in the *Egyptian* History, was the too much credulity of some good Authors, who believing the manifold and contrary reports of sundry *Egyptians*, and publishing in their own name such as pleased them best; have confirmed them, and as it were inforced them upon us by their authority. A third and generall cause of more than *Egyptian* darknesse in all ancient Histories, is the edition of many Authors by *John Annius*, of whom (if to the censures of sundry very learned, I may adde mine) I think thus; that *Annius* having seen some fragments of those Writers, and added unto them what he would, may be credited, as an avoucher of true Histories, where approved writers confirm him: but otherwise is to be deemed fabulous. Hereupon it cometh to passe that the account of Authors, either in the *Chronologie* or *Genealogie* of the *Egyptian* Kings, runs three altogether different wayes. The Christian writers, such as are ancient, for the most part follow *Eusebius:* Many late writers follow the edition of *Annius* his Authors: The profane Histories follow *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and such others.

§. II.

That by the account of the Egyptian Dynasties, and otherwise, it appears that Chams *reign in Egypt began in the yeer after the Floud.* 191.

TO reconcile these, or gather out of them the times of the ancient Kings, about whom is most controversie, the best mean is by help of the *Dynasties:* of whose continuance there is little or no disagreement. The account of the *Dynasties* (besides the authority of approved Authors) hath this good ground, that it agreeth for the most part, if not altogether, with the Histories of the *Assyrians*, *Trojans*, *Italians*, &c. and others. The beginning of the 16. *Dyn.* is joyned by generall consent, with the 43. yeer of *Ninus:* in which *Abraham* was born. The twelve first *Dynasties* lasted each of them seven years, under the twelve, which were called the greater gods: so that all the yeers of their continuance were 84. The thirteenth *Dynastie* endured fourteen yeers: the fourteenth 26. the fifteenth 37. These three last are said to have been under the three younger gods. So the fifteen first *Dynasties* lasted one hundred sixty one yeers. As I do not therefore believe that the continuance of these *Dyn.* was such as hath bin mentioned, because *Annius* in such wise limits out their time: so I cannot reject the account upon this onely reason, that *Annius* hath it so: considering that both hitherto it hath passed as currant, and is greatly strengthened by many good reasons. For, whereas *Eusebius* placeth the beginning of the sixteenth *Dynastie*, in the yeer of *Abrahams* birth, as aforesaid: the reckoning is easily cast; by which the sum of 161. yeers, which according to our account were spent in the fifteen former, being subducted out of the sum of 352. years, which were between the Floud and *Abrahams* birth, shew that the beginning of the first *Dynastie*, which was the beginning of *Chams* reign in *Egypt*, was in the yeer 191. As also by other probabilities the same may appear. For it is generally agreed, that the multitude of mankind which came into *Shinaar*, arrived at *Babel*, *Anno à diluvio* 131. In building the Tower were consumed fourty yeers, as *Glycas* recordeth: whose report I have elsewhere confirmed with divers probabilities. That *Cham* was long in passing with his company, their Wives, Children, Cattel, and substance through all *Syria* then desolate, and full of Bogs, Forrests, and Bryers (which the Deluge and want of culture in one hundred seventy one yeers had brought upon it) no reasonable man will doubt. To this his passage therefore, and the seating of himself in *Egypt*, we allow twenty yeers: and these sums being added together, to wit, one hundred thirty one yeers after the Floud, before they arrive at *Babel*, 40. yeers for their stay there, and 20. for *Chams* passage into *Egypt*, and settling there, make up the sum of 191. yeers; at which time we said that *Cham* began his reign in *Egypt*, in the beginning of the first *Dynastie*. And to this summe of 191. yeers if we adde the 161. yeers of the 15. first *Dynasties*, as they are numbred in common account, we shall fall right with the yeer of *Abrahams* birth, which was *An. Dil.* 352. And hereto omitting many other reasons, which might be brought to prove that these first *Dynasties* must needs have been very short, and not containing in the whole summe of their severall

times

times above 161. yeers: Let it ſuffice that had they laſted longer, then either muſt *Ægypt* have been peopled as ſoon as *Babel* after the Floud, or the *Dynaſties* (as *Mercator* thinks) muſt have been before the floud. That the arrivall at *Babel* was many yeers before the plantation of *Egypt*, after the floud, enough hath been ſaid to prove: and that the *Dynaſties* were not before the floud, the number of the long-lived generations betweene *Adam* and the floud, which was leſſe than the number of the *Dynaſties*, may ſufficiently witneſſe. Or if we will thinke, that one life might (perhaps) be divided into many *Dynaſties*, then may this have beene as well after the floud, as before: conſidering that the ſons of *Noah* did not in every Countrie ere ſuch forme of Policie, as had bin uſed in the ſame ere the Deluge: but ſuch, as the diſpoſition of the people, the authoritie and power of the Conducter, together with many other circumſtances, did induce or inforce them to.

§. III.

That theſe Dynaſties were not divers families of Kings, but rather ſucceſſions of Regents, oft times many under one King.

THe ſhort continuance of the *Dynaſties*, doth ſhew that they were not ſeverall races of kings, as the vaunting *Egyptians* were wont to ſtile them. What they were, it cannot certainly be warranted. For in reſtitutions of decayed antiquities, it is more eaſie to denie than to affirme. But this may be ſaid, partly upon good circumſtance, partly upon the ſureſt proofe, That it was the manner of the *Egyptian* Kings, to put the government of the Countrie into the hands of ſome truſtie Counſellor, onely reſerving the Soveraignty to themſelves, as the old Kings of *France* were wont to the Maſters of the Palace, and as the Turke doth to the chiefe *Viſier*. This is confirmed, firſt by the number of the *Dynaſties*, wherof many are under *Cham*, and more than one under *Oſiris* or *Mizraim*; and muſt therefore have bin ſucceſſions, not of Kings, but rather of Counſailors and Regents. Secondly, by cuſtome of ſuch Princes borderers to *Egypt*, as are mentioned in the Scriptures, of whom *Abimelech* the *Philiſtim* in his dealing with *Abraham* and *Iſaac* about confederation, did nothing without *Phicol* Captaine of his Hoſt: though in taking *Abrahams* wife, and in his private carriage, he followed his own pleaſure. Likewiſe of *Abimelech* the ſon of *Gideon* it was ſaid: *Is not he the ſon of* Jerubbaal? *and* Zebul *is his officer?* Alſo *Iſhboſheth* the ſon of *Saul*, feared *Abner* the Captaine of the Hoſte. Yea, *David* himſelfe hating *Joab* for his crueltie, did not puniſh him in regard of his greatneſſe, which was ſuch, as was feared even of *Hadad* the *Edomite* living then in *Egypt*. Thirdly, this is confirmed by the temper and diſpoſition of *Cham*, who was lewd, as appeares by the Scriptures: therefore likely both for his owne idleneſſe and pleaſure, to have laid the burden of government upon others; and upon jealouſie, the companion of unworthineſſe, to have changed his Lievtenants often. Above all other proofes is the advancement of *Joſeph* by *Pharaoh*. For *Pharaoh* ſaid to Joſeph; *Only in the Kings throne will I be above thee: behold, I have ſet thee over all the Land of Egypt.* *William Archbiſhop of Tyre*, who flouriſhed about the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand one hundred eightie, affirmes that the like or very ſame forme of government by *Viceroys*, was in his time practiſed in *Egypt*, having there beene in uſe (as he beleeved) ever ſince the time of *Joſeph*. He plainely ſhewes, that the *Soldans* of *Egypt* were not Lords of the Countrie, however they have been ſo deemed: but that they acknowledged and humbly performed the dutie of ſubjects unto the *Calphe*: who reſiding in a moſt magnificent Palace in *Cairo*, did commit the charge, not only of civil government, but the power of making warre and peace, with the whole office and authority royall, into the *Soldans* hands. He that ſhall reade in *William* of *Tyre*, the ſtate of the *Caliphe*, or *Atulene Elhadech*, with the forme of his Court, ſhall plainly behold the image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, ruling by a Lievtenant, as great in authority as *Joſeph* was, though far inferiour in wiſedom.

Will. Tyr. de bell. Sacro l. 19. c. 17. 18. 19. & 20.

Lib. 19. c. 22.

To think that many names of ſuch *Regents* or Lievtenants as *Joſeph* was, have crept into the Liſt of the *Egyptian* Kings, were no ſtrange imagination. For *Joſephs* brethren call him, *The man that is Lord of the Land, and the Lord of the Countrie*: beſides, it is not unlikely that the vain-glorious *Egyptian* Prieſts would as eaſily report him a King to poſterity, as ignorant men and ſtrangers deem him ſuch, under whoſe hand all diſpatches

Gen. 42. 30. & 33.

of

of importance, and royall managing of the State had passed, whilest that the King himselfe intending his quiet, had given his office to another. How strangers have mistaken in this kinde, the example already cited of *Josephus* brethren, doth sufficiently witnesse. The reports of Priests doe appeare in *Diodorus*, and *Herodotus*: each of whom, citing their relations, as good authority, say; *Diodorus*, and *Sesostris* was the nineteenth King after *Menas*; *Herodotus*, that he was the 332. after *Menas*; which could not have been, if *Menas* had beene *Adam*. Therefore we may well conclude, That the *Dynasties* were not so many races of Kings, but successions of *Regents*, appointed by the Kings of so many sundry linages or sorts of men. Now by whatsoever meanes a *Dynastie* or *Regencie* continued: whether in one familie, as being made an hereditary office: or in one order of men, as held by faction: sure it is that was the Kings gift and free choice, that gave the office. But the Crowne royall alwayes passed by descent, and not by election: which (besides consent of *Authors*) the Scriptures also prove. For whereas *Joseph* bought all the land of *Egypt* for *Pharaoh*, if the Crowne had passed by election, then should *Pharaoh*'s children hereby either have beene inthralled amongst the rest of the people, to the next successor: or injoying their Fathers land, though not his estate, have bin more mighty than the king: as Land-lords of all *Egypt*, and the king himselfe their Tenant. Likewise we find in *Exod.* 12. that *God smote the first borne of* Pharaoh, *that was to sit on his Throne.* And in *Esay* it is said of Pharaoh: *I am the son of the ancient King.*

Esay 19.

§. IV.

Of Cham, *and his son* Mizraim, *or* Osiris.

THat the succession of Kings began, and continued in such wise as the Table hath shewed from *Cham* to *Chencres*, now it followeth to shew. *Egypt* is called in the Scripture *the land of* Ham. That this name is not given to it, because the posteritie of *Cham* did reigne there, but for that himselfe did first plant it, we may gather by many circumstances. For I thinke it is no where found, that the Countries of *Cush*, *Put* or *Canaan*, as well as *Egypt*, were called the Land of *Ham*. Further, it is found in *Diodorus Siculus*, that *Osiris* called himselfe the eldest son of *Cham*, saying, *Mihi pater Saturnus deorum omnium junior:* also, *Sum Saturni filius antiquior, germen ex pulchro & generoso ortum:* which must needes be understood of *Cham*: for this *Saturnus Egyptius* was *Cham*: as it is said, that on the monument of *Ninus* was an inscription, wherein *Cham* was called *Saturnus Ægyptius*. Likewise the Temple of *Hammon*, not far from *Egypt*, doth testifie, that *Ham* resided in those parts: And S. *Hierome in quæstionibus Hebraicis*, saith, that the *Egyptians* themselves did in his dayes call their Countrie *Ham*: as in foure severall places in the *Psalmes* this Countrie is called the land of *Cham*. And *Ortelius*, noting out of *Plutarch* in *Osiride*, that in the sacrifices of the *Egyptians* this Countrie of *Egypt* was called *Chemia*, expounds it for *Chamia*, *ut puto* (saith he) *à Chamo Noes filio*, to which also he addeth out of *Isidore*, *Ægyptum usq; hodie Ægyptiorum lingua* Kam *vocari: that Egypt unto this day in the tongue of the Egyptians is called* Kam. For the beginning and continuance of *Chams* reigne, the same reasons may suffice to be alledged, which I have already given in proof of the time spent in the 15. first *Dynasties*: Neither is it strange that the reigne of *Cham* should last so long as 161. yeeres: considering that *Sem* lived 600: *Arphachshad* and *Shelah* each above 400. But strange it had beene, if one *Saltis* created by *Manetho*, had in those long-lived generations reigned there 19. yeeres, and with *Bæon*, *Apachnas*, *Apochis*, and others of the same brood, obscured the fame and glory of *Osiris*, *Orus*, and *Sesostris*. *Reineccius in histor. Julia*, placeth *Mizraim* next, otherwise called *Osiris*, according to *Diodorus*: who, saith he, was the son of *Hammon*: *Krentzhemius* saith that *Mizraim* and *Osiris* are words of neere affinitie and found in the *Hebrew* tongue. Howsoever it be, we know that *Mizraim* the son of *Cham*, was Lord of *Egypt*, and *Reineccius*, citing good authoritie in this case, affirmeth that *Egypt* is now called by the naturals in their owne language, *Mezre*. Neither doe I see cause of doubt whether *Osiris* were the same with *Mizraim*. It is more necessary, and hard to shew manifestly, how long *Mizraim* or *Osiris* reigned. For whereas the yeer of his death is no where precisely set down, we must be fain to follow probabilities. That he is not vainly said by *Annius* his *Berosus*, to have begun his reign at the birth of *Abraham*, when the *Dynastie* of the *Thebæi* began, it appeareth, first, by the authority of *Eusebius*: who avoucheth

Psal. 78. 51. 105. 23. 27. 106. 22.

Diod. Sicul. 1.

avoucheth as much; next by *Diodorus*, who saith that he inhabited *Thebes*: which habitation of *Osiris* there, that it might be cause of that *Dynastie*, I can well beleeve; assenting so far to *Reineccius*, who thinks the *Dynasties* were named onely, according to the severall seats of the kings.

§. V.

Of the time when Osiris *reign ended: and that* Jacob *came into Egypt in the time of* Orus *the son of* Osiris.

THe death of *Osiris*, when it was, none can certainly affirm. The onely conjecture that I know is made thus: *Lehabim* the son of *Mizraim*, called *Hercules Lybius*, made war in *Italy*, to revenge his fathers death on the associats of *Typhon*, in the 41. yeer of *Baleus* King of *Assyria*: before which yeer hee had made many great wars in *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, *Phrygia*, *Crete*, *Lybia*, and *Spain*: and having ended his *Egyptian* wars, left the Kingdom to *Orus*. Thus far *Berosus*, or Authors following *Berosus*. That *Orus* last of all the gods (as they were stiled) held the Kingdom of *Isis*, *Diodorus Siculus* plainly saith: and *Plutarch* as much; to which all Histories agree. *Krentzhemius* hereupon infers, that six yeers may be allowed to the wars, which *Hercules* made in so many Countries, after the *Egyptian* wars were ended: so should the death of *Osiris* have been the 34. of *Baleus*, when himself had reigned 297. yeers. I think that *Krentzhemius* was a greater Scholar than Souldier. For surely in those dayes when commerce was not such as now, but all Navigation made by coasting, a far longer time would have been required, to the subduing of so many Countries. An allowance of more time, though it would alter his computation, yet would it well agree with his intent: which was (doubtlesse) to find the truth. If according to his account the death of *Osiris* had been the 34. of *Baleus*, then must *Israel* have come into *Egypt* but seven yeers before the death of *Osiris*: and have lived there in the reign of *Typhon*. A thing not easily beleeved. For it was the same king who advanced *Joseph*, bade him send for his father, and gave him leave to go into *Canaan*, to the performance of his fathers Funerall: as may easily be gathered out of the book of *Genesis*. Whereas therefore the reign of *Osiris* cannot be extended by any possible allowance in account of times, beyond the seventh yeer of *Israels* coming into *Egypt*: we must needs cut off 23. yeers from that number, which *Krentzhemius* conjectures his reign to have continued: namely, seven which hee should have lived after *Jacobs* coming into *Egypt*; nine in which *Joseph* had there flourished, ere his fathers coming: and other seven in which *Typhon* and *Hercules* had reigned after the death of *Osiris*, yet before *Josephs* advancement.

Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 1. Plut. l. de Isid. & Osid.

Neither will this disagree with the time of *Hercules Lybius* his wars. For the war which *Hercules* made in *Italy*, is said to have endured ten yeers: After which proportion we may well give not onely six yeers, as *Krentzhemius* doth, but 23. more to so many wars, in so many and so far distant Countries, as are named before: yea, by this proportion we may attribute unto *Orus* the 13. yeers, which passed between the time of *Josephs* being sold into *Egypt*, unto his advancement, considering that *Potiphar* who bought him, and whose daughter he may seem to have married, continued all that while chiefe Steward unto *Pharaoh*; a thing not likely to have been, if so violent alterations had hapned the whilest in *Egypt*, as the tyrannous usurpation of *Typhon* must needs have brought in. If citing some fragment of a lost old Author, I should confidently say, that *Potiphar* for his faithfulnesse to *Orus*, the son of *Osiris*, was by him in the beginning of his reign made his chiefe Steward: at which time buying *Joseph*, and finding him a just man, and one under whose hand all things did prosper, he rather committed his estate into *Josephs* hands, than unto any of his *Egyptian* followers (many of whom he had found either false-hearted, or weak and unlucky in the troublesome dayes of *Typhon*) I know not what could be objected against this. Perhaps I might proceed further, and say, That when the saying of *Joseph* pleased *Pharaoh*, and all his servants; then *Potiphar* Priest of *On*, being chiefe Officer to *Pharaoh*, did acknowledge in *Joseph*, the ancient graces of God, and his injurious imprisonment: whereupon he gave him his daughter to wife; and being old, resigned his office of chiefe Steward unto him, who afterward in regard of *Potiphar*, did favour the Priests, when he bought the lands of

of all other *Egyptians*. This might appear to some a tale not unlike to the Friarly book of *Asenath, Potiphars* daughter: but unto such as consider that God works usually by meanes; and that *Potiphar* was the Steward of that King, under whom *Jacob* died: it would seem a matter not probable, had it an Author of sufficient credit to avouch it. Concerning the wars of *Hercules*, in which by this reckoning hee should have spent 42. yeers after he left *Egypt*, ere he began in *Italy*, it is a circumstance which (the length of his *Italian* wars considered, and his former enterprises and atchievments proportioned to them) doth not make against us, but for us: or if it were against us, yet could it not so weaken our supposition, as these probabilities collected out of the undisputable truth of Scripture do confirm it. Nevertheless, I freely grant that all these proofs are no other, than such as may be gathered out of Authors, not well agreeing, nor to be reconciled in such obscurity, otherwise than by likelihoods, answerable to the holy Text.

§. VI.

Of Typhon, Hercules, Ægyptus, Orus, *and the two* Sesostres, *successively reigning after* Mizraim: *and of divers errours about the former* Sesostres.

CONcerning the reign of *Typhon*, and of *Hercules*, I find none that precisely doth define how long either of them continued. *Daniel Angelocrator* giveth three yeers to *Typhon*, omitting *Hercules*. But he is so peremptory without proofe, as if his own word were sufficient authority, in many points very questionable; alledging no witnesse, but as it were saying, *Teste me ipso*: yet herein we may think him to speak probably, forasmuch as the learned *Krentzhemius* affirmeth, that *Hercules* did very soon undertake his fathers revenge; and was not long in performing it: and that leaving *Egypt* to his brother, he followed other wars, in the same quarrell, as hath been shewed before. True it is, that I cannot collect (as *Krentzhemius* doth) out of *Berosus*, that *Hercules* reigned after *Typhon*: yet seeing *Aventinus* a follower of *Berosus* hath it so, I will also beleeve it. That in the reign of *Typhon* and *Hercules*, seven yeers were spent, howsoever divided between them, I gather out of *Krentzhemius* onely, who placeth the beginning of *Orus* seven yeers after the death of *Osiris*: forgetting to set down his reasons, which in a matter so probable I think hee wanted not. Now whereas hee alloweth 90. yeers of the 18. *Dynastie* to *Osiris, Typhon, Hercules*, and *Orus*: it seems that the reign of *Orus* lasted 115. yeers. From the death of *Orus*, to the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, there passed 122. yeers by our account: who (according to *Beroaldus* and others) think that *Abraham* was born in the 130. yeer of *Terah*, and thereupon reckon thus: From the end of the Flood to the birth of *Abraham* ——— 352

From that time to the { vocation of *Abraham* ——— 75
departure out of *Egypt* ——— 430

Summa ——— 857

which summe divers other waies may be collected. Since therfore to the departure out of *Egypt* there do remain (as is aforesaid) onely 122. yeers from the death of *Orus*: we are now to consider how many of them are to be allowed unto *Sesostris*, or *Sesonchosis*: who is placed next unto *Orus*, by authority of the *Scholiastes Apollonii*: not without good probability. For this great King or Conquerour, is by many histories recorded to have over-run a great part of *Asia*: to have built a fleet of ships on the red Sea: & so to have entred into *India*: likewise with another fleet on the middle earth Seas, to have passed into *Europe*, and subdued many Nations. This is he (as *Reineccius* judgeth) whom *Justine* erring in account of his time, calleth *Vexoris*: For *Justine* placeth *Vexoris* in ages before *Ninus*: whereby it would follow that *Sesostris*, if he were *Vexoris*, was more ancient than was *Osiris* (otherwise *Mizraim*) a thing altogether unlikely. Certain it is, that after the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, no one *Pharaoh* came into the land of *Canaan* (which lieth in the way from *Egypt* into *Asia*) till the father in law of *Solomon, Pharaoh Vaphres*, took *Gerar*, and gave it to his daughter: (as we may reade more at large in the holy History of the Bible) after which time *Sesac* oppressed *Rehoboam*, and *Necho* sought passage through the land of *Israel*, when hee made his expedition against the *Chaldæans*. Of King *Vaphres* and *Necho* it is out of question, that neither of them was the great King *Sesostris*. Of *Sesac* it is doubted by some, forasmuch as he came into *Judæa* with

with a great Army. *Reineccius* propounding the doubt, leaveth it undecided; unleſſe it be ſufficient proofe of his own opinion, that he himſelf placeth *Seſoſtris* next to *Orus*; following the *Scoliaſtes Apollonii*. But further anſwer may be made to ſhew that they were not one. For, as *Juſtine* witneſſeth, *Seſoſtris*, otherwiſe *Vexoris*, made war on people far removed, abſtaining from his neighbours. *Seſac* came up purpoſely againſt *Hieruſalem*. *Seſoſtris*, as *Diodorus* witneſſeth, had but 24000. horſe, *Seſac* had 60000. *Seſoſtris* had 8020. chariots, *Seſac* 1200. *Seſoſtris* made his expedition for no private purpoſe, but to get a great name: *Seſac*, as moſt agree, had no other purpoſe than to ſuccour *Jeroboam*, and give him countenance in his new reign; whom he had favoured even againſt *Solomon*: therefore *Seſoſtris* muſt needs have reigned whileſt *Iſrael* abode in *Egypt*.

Whereas *Krentzhemius* collecteth out of *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, that one *Menas*, or *Menis*, was next to *Orus*: becauſe thoſe Hiſtorians affirm that he reigned next after the gods; it moveth me nothing. For *Oſiris* did ſucceed thoſe fifteen gods; namely, the twelve greater, and three leſſer: himſelf alſo (as the learned *Reineccius* noteth) being called *Menas*. Which name, as alſo *Menæus*, and *Menis*, were titles of dignity: though miſtaken by ſome as proper names. *Krentzhemius* doth very probably gather, that *Menus* was *Mercurius Ter-maximus*; the Hebrew word *Meni* ſignifying an *Arithmetician*, which name *Ter-maximus* might well be attributed to *Oſiris*, who was a great Conquerour, Philoſpher, and Benefactor to mankinde, by giving good laws, and teaching profitable Arts. In proweſſe and great undertakings *Seſoſtris* was no whit inferiour to *Oſiris*. For he ſought victory not for gain, but for honour onely: and being well contented, that many Nations had acknowledged his power, and ſubmitted themſelves to his wil and royall diſpoſition, leaving them in a manner to their liberty, returned into *Egypt*. Soon upon his return he was endangered by a great Treaſon, the houſe in which hee was being by his own brother purpoſely fired: which nevertheleſſe he is ſaid to have eſcaped, and to have reigned in all thirty three yeers: after which time he choſe rather to die than to live; becauſe he fell blinde. Both *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* affirm, that *Seſoſtris* left a ſon, whoſe name was *Pheron*, or *Pherones*: who afterwards took the name of *Seſoſtris*; but was nothing like to his father in glory: for he ſhortly fell blind. The cauſe of his blindneſſe, *Herodotus* attributes to his aſſaulting the river *Nilus* with a javelin: which tale *Diodorus* having likewiſe heard, yet reports as a fable, ſaying that perhaps he took the diſeaſe naturally from his father. How long this man reigned, it is no where expreſſed: yet foraſmuch as *Orus* the ſecond, (otherwiſe *Euſiris*) who ſucceeded him, began 14. yeers after that this *Seſoſtris* had been king, it muſt needs be that this reigned 14. yeers at leaſt. That *Euſiris* began not untill theſe 14. yeers at leaſt were expired, the very account of time from the firſt of *Euſiris*, to the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, plainly ſhews, being almoſt generally agreed upon, to have been 75. yeers. That none came between *Seſoſtris* the ſecond, and *Euſiris* or *Orus* the ſecond, it ſtands onely upon probabilities: which are theſe. After *Seſoſtris* had reigned ſome while, he fell blind; after certain yeers he recovered his ſight, as is ſaid: which may have been true, but is more like to have been a fable: ſurely the manner of his recovery, as it is ſet down, is very fabulous: namely, that by looking upon a woman, or waſhing his eyes with her water, who had onely known her own huſband, he got his ſight again. As the time of his reign, before his blindneſſe, and when he was well again (if ever he were) may have taken up a good part of 14. yeers: ſo his works which were great, do much more ſtrongly argue, that his reign was not very ſhort. His works are largely ſet down by *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*: a part of which may ſeem to have been the finiſhing of that which his father had begun, about the channels and ſluces of *Nilus*: whom I think he rather frighted, (as his father had done) with ſpades and ſhovels, than with darts and javelins; and by his diligent overſight of that work, was like enough to loſe both his eye-ſight and his peoples love; whom his father had very buſily employed in exceſſive labour about it.

§. VII.

Of Busiris *the first oppressor of the Israelites; and of his successor Queen* Thermutis *that took up* Moses *out of the water.*

AND herein (if I may presume to conjecture) *Busiris*, who was afterwards king, is like to have dealt with him, as *Jeroboam* did with the son of *Solomon*. For that *Busiris* himself was much addicted to magnificent works, it well appeared by the drudgerie wherewith he wearied the children of *Israel* in his buildings: If therefore he were employed by the great *Sesostris*, as *Jeroboam* was by *Solomon*, in the oversight of those businesses, he had good opportunity to work his greatnesse with the king by industry; and afterward with the people, by incensing them against their new king, as *Jeroboam* did. For what the multitude will endure at one Princes hands, they will not at anothers: unlesse he have either an equall spirit, or a surer foundation. If moreover he sought to derive all the pain and labour of publick works from the *Egyptians* to the *Israelites*: he surely did that which to his own people was very plausible: who (as
Exod. 1. appeares in *Exodus*) were nothing slack in fulfilling the Kings cruelty. Now that *Orus* the second, or *Busiris*, was the king that first oppressed *Israel*, and made the *Edict* of drowning the *Hebrew* children, which (saith *Cedrenus*) lasted ten moneths: it is a common opinion of many great and most learned Writers; who also think that hereupon grew the fable of *Busiris* sacrificing strangers. It is also a common interpretation of that place, *Exod.* 1. that the king who knew not *Joseph*, was a king of a new family. That *Busiris* was of a new family, *Reinecius* doth shew; who also thinks him Author of the bloudy Edict. Nevertheless, true it is, that *Busiris*, according to all mens computation, began his reign five yeers after the birth of *Moses*; before whose birth it is most manifest, that the law was made, and much more that the persecution began; which *Bunting* thinks to have lasted 87. yeers, ere the departure out of *Egypt*. Let us therefore consider, besides the blindnesse of *Sesostris* the second, how great the power of the *Regents* or *Vice-Royes* in *Egypt* was; and how great confidence the kings did put in them, seeing *Joseph* ruled with such full power, that hee bought all *Egypt*, and all the *Egyptians* for bread; giving at the same time the best of the land to his own father and brethren for nothing: seeing also that when the *Egyptians* cried out upon *Pharaoh* for bread; *Pharaoh* said to all the *Egyptians*, *Go to* Joseph; *what he saith to you, do ye*. If to a stranger born, lately fetcht out of prison, a king well able to have governed himself, would give such trust, and soveraign authority; it is not unlikely that a blind Prince should do it to a man of especiall reputation. For God often prospers, not onely the good (such as *Joseph* was) but wicked men also, as his instruments against the day of wrath. Therefore perhaps the king did (as many have done) resigne his kingdom to him, though his reigne was not accounted to have begun, till the death of *Sesostris*. But whether *Busiris* did usurp the kingdom, or protection of the land by violence: or whether the blind king resigned it, keeping the title; or whether *Busiris* were onely *Regent*, whilst the king lived, and afterwards (as is acknowledged by all) king himself: it might wel be said that *Pharaohs* daughter took up *Moses*, and that *Pharaoh* vexed *Israel*; seeing he both at that time was king in effect, and shortly after, king in deed and title both. It were not absurd for us to say, that the blind king *Sesostris* the second oppressed *Israel*: but forasmuch as it may seem that the wicked *Tyrant* shewed his evil nature even when he first arose: I think it more likely, that *Busiris* did it, using at first the power of a king, and shortly after the stile. Thus of the 122. yeers which passed between the beginning of *Sesostris* his reign, and the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, 47. being spent; the 75. which remain, are to be accounted to *Busiris*, or *Orus* the second, and his children. *Busiris* himselfe reigned 30. yeers, according to *Eusebius*: whom very many judicious Authors herein approve. After him his daughter, who took *Moses* out of the water, is said by all that I have read, to have reigned 12. yeers. Her name was *Thermutis Pharis*, or *Muthis*, according to *Cedrenus*: *Euseb.* calls her *Acencris*; and out of *Artabanus* his History, *Meris*: *Joseph* calls her both *Acenchere*, and *Thermutis*. *Epiphanius in Panario* saith, that she was honoured afterward of the *Egyptians*, by the name of *Thermutis* the daughter of *Amenoph*, the son of *Pharaoh*. Of this last title question might be made, and much spoken: for the Scriptures call her not *Pharaohs* sons daughter, but *Pharaohs* daughter.

Amenophis

Amenophis indeed is ſet next before *Buſiris* or *Orus* the ſecond, by *Euſebius* and others: but whether he were a King, or onely a *Regent*, I cannot conjecture. For *Herodotus Diodorus*, and the ancient Hiſtorians name the ſon of *Seſoſtris*, *Pheron*. Perhaps his name was *Pharaoh Amenophis*: and his daughter by the *Egyptians* called rather the Neece or Grand-childe, than the daughter of *Pharaoh*, becauſe of the glory of *Seſoſtris*, and the diſ-reputation of his ſon. If ſo, and if that *Buſiris* or *Orus* the ſecond marrying her, pretended any title by her, then is our conjecture ſtrengthened, and then was ſhe both daughter, grand-childe, and wife unto *Pharaoh*: and ſurviving him, Queen of the land, 12. yeers. But if ſhe were daughter of *Orus* the ſecond, and ſiſter of *Athoris*, or *Rathoris*, as many think, to whoſe conjecture I will not oppoſe mine, then may it ſeem, that either her brethren were degenerate, or too young to rule, when her father died.

§. VIII.

Of the two brethren of Queen Thermutis: *and what king it was, under whom* Moſes *was born: and who it was that periſhed in the Red Sea.*

SHe had two brethren: the one was *Rathoris*, or *Athoris*, who ſucceeded her; the other *Telegonus*, who is onely named by *Euſebius*; but his linage and off-ſpring deſcribed by *Reineccius*. *Rathoris* after his ſiſters death reigned nine yeers: after whom *Chencres*, thought to be his ſon, reigned ten yeers, and then periſhed in the Red Sea. During the reign of *Chencres*, *Euſebius* ſaith, that *Telegonus* begat *Epaphus* upon *Io*: of which Hiſtory elſewhere he reporteth otherwiſe. After the death of *Chencres* (whom ſome call *Acencheres*: but all or moſt do ſtile Ἀντίθεον, a fighter againſt God) *Acherres* reigned 8. yeers; and then *Cherres* 15. This deſcent ſeems from father to ſon. In the 11. yeer of *Cherres* it is ſaid by *Euſebius*, that *Epaphus* reigning in the lower part of *Egypt*, built *Memphis*. This is an argument of that which otherwiſe was not unlikely: *viz.* That *Egypt* was greatly brought out of order by the plagues which God had laid upon it, and the deſtruction of her King and Army in the Red Sea: elſe could it not have had two reigning in it at once; the latter of whom, or his poſterity, ſeems to have taken all from *Cherres* the grand-childe of *Chencres*. For whereas *Armais* is ſaid to have reigned four yeers after *Cherres*: and *Armeſis* one after *Armais*: theſe two kings are by *Euſebius* and others accounted as one, and his reign ſaid to have been five yeers. His name is called *Armeus*, otherwiſe *Danaus*: and his pedigree thus deſcribed by *Reineccius* in *hiſtor. Julia*.

Telegonus:
Epaphus:
Lybia, who had

Agenor, *Belus*, and *Buſiris*.
†

Ægyptus or *Rameſſes*, who gave name to the Countrey, having expelled his brother *Danaus*, reigned, and begat *Lynceus*, married to *Hypermneſtra*.	*Danaus* or *Armeus* expelled by his brother *Ægyptus*, after hee had reigned five yeers, became king of *Argos* in *Greece*: was father to *Hypermneſtra*.

How it might come to paſſe that the Nephews ſons of *Epaphus* ſhould have occupied the Kingdome after *Cherres*, it is hard to ſay: conſidering that *Epaphus* himſelf is reported by *Euſebius* to have been born in the time of *Chencres*. But foraſmuch as the Hiſtory of *Epaphus* his birth, is diverſly related by *Euſebius*, it may ſuffice, that *Belus* the father of *Danaus* and *Ægyptus*, otherwiſe called *Armeus* and *Rameſſes*, was equally diſtant from *Buſiris* or *Orus* the ſecond, with *Cherres* the grand-childe of *Chencres*. And that the poſterity of *Telegonus* did marry very young, it appears by the Hiſtory

of these two brethren, *Danaus* and *Ægyptus*: of whom the former had 50. daughters, the latter 50. sons: perhaps, or rather questionlesse, by divers women: yet surely they began to beget children in their first youth: Howsoever it were, the generall consent of writers is, that *Armeus* or *Danaus* did succeed *Cherres*: and (according to *Eusebius* and good Authors approving him) reigned five yeers. *Rameſſes* followed, who reigned 68. yeers. This *Rameſſes* or *Ægyptus*, is that *Armeſeſmiamum*, or *Armeſeſmiamus*, under whom, in the opinion of *Mercator*, and of *Bunting* that follows *Mercator*, *Moses* was born: and the cruell *Edict* made of drowning the *Hebrew* children. The length of his reigne seems to me the chiefe, if not the onely ground of *Mercators* opinion. For whereas the Lord said to *Moses*, *Go, return to Egypt, for they are all dead which went about to kill thee*: *Mercator* hereupon conceives, that it was one and the same king under whom *Moses* was born, and under whom he slew the *Ægyptian* at the 40. yeer of his age: and fled into the wildernesse, and there abode for fear: all which circumstances could agree with none, but this *Rameſſes*, who reigned so long: wherefore desirous rather to hold a true Paradox, than a common errour, he placeth one *Alisfragmuthosis* (whose name is found in the list of *Ægyptian* kings, but the time uncertain wherein he reigned) in an age 112. or 113. yeers more ancient than others left him in: and so continuing the Catalogue of his successors from *Themosis* (whom *Eusebius* calls *Amasis*) downwards, with no other variation of the length of each mans reigne, than is the difference between *Manetho* and *Eusebius*, he findes *Moses* born under *Armeſeſmiamum*, and *Israel* delivered in the dayes of his son *Amenophis*. The very name of *Alisfragmuthosis* seems to him with little alteration to sound like *Pharartes*, of which name one was thought to have flourished either as a king, or a wise man, about the time of *Isaac*. For (saith he) from *Alisfragmuthosis* to *Phragmuthosis*, *Pharmuthosis*, or *Pharartes*, the change is not great. *Mercator* was a man of excellent learning and industry: and one to whom the world is bound for his many notable works: yet my assent herein is with-held from him, by these reasons. First, I see all other Writers agree, that *Chencres* was king, who was drowned in the Red Sea. Secondly, the place. *Exod.* 4. *all are dead, &c.* may better be understood of *Eusiris* and all his children, than of one king alone. Thirdly, *S. Cyril* in his first book against *Julian* the *Apostata*, saith, that *Dardanus* built *Dardania*, when *Moses* was 120. yeers old: *Rameſſes*, which was this *Armeſeſmiamum*, being then king of *Egypt*. After *Rameſſes*, *Amenophis* reigned 19. yeers: who is thought by *Mercator*, and peremptorily by *Bunting* pronounced, to be the King that perished in the Red Sea: of which our opinion being already layed open, I think it most expedient to referre the kings ensuing to their own times (which a *Chronologicall Table* shall lay open) and here to speak of that great deliverance of *Israel* out of *Egypt*: which for many great considerations depending thereupon, we may not lightly over-passe.

Exod. 4. 15.

CHAP. 3.

CHAP. III.

Of the delivery of Israel out of Egypt.

§. I.

Of the time of Moses *birth, and how long the Israelites were oppressed in Egypt.*

TRue it is that the History it selfe is generally and well knowne: yet concerning the time of *Moses* his birth, who was the excellent and famous instrument of this and other great workes of the *Highest*, the different opinions are very neere as many, as the men that have written of that *Argument*.

L. Vives in his annotations upon S. *Augustine* citeth very many of their conjectures: as that of *Porphyrie* out of *Sanchoniato*, that *Moses* lived in the time of *Semiramis*: But if he did meane the first *Semiramis*, it was but a fond conceit: for besides that the same is contrary to all Stories divine and human; while that *Semiramis* lived, she commanded *Syria*, and all the parts thereof absolutely: neither were the *Ammonites*, or *Moabites*, or *Edomites*, while she ruled, *in rerum natura*.

A second opinion he remembreth of *Appion*, taken from *Ptolomy* a Priest of *Mendes*, who saith that *Moses* was borne while *Inachus* did rule the *Argives*, and *Amesses* in *Egypt*.

The third opinion is taken out of *Polemon*, in his *Greeke* History, the first Booke: that *Moses* was borne while *Apis* the third King ruled *Argos*.

A fourth is borrowed from *Tatianus Assyrius*, who though he cite some authorities; that *Moses* lived after the *Trojan* war, is himselfe of opinion, that *Moses* was far more ancient, proving it by many arguments.

Fiftly, he setteth downe the testimony of *Numinius* the Philosopher, who took *Musæus* and *Moses* to be one: confirming the same out of *Artapanas*, who confesseth that *Moses* was called *Musæus*, by the *Grecians*: and who farther delivereth that he was adopted by *Chenephis*, or *Thermutis*, the daughter of *Egypt*: the same which *Eupolemus* calleth *Meris*; others (as *Rabanus Maurus*) *Thermothes*. *Eusebius* also affirmeth, that by *Eupolemus* in his first booke *de bono*, *Moses*, *vir Deo conjunctissimus*, is called *Musæus Judæorum*. *Eusebius* in his Chronoligy, findes that *Moses* was borne while *Amenophis* ruled *Egypt*. The ancient *Manethon* calls that *Pharao*, which lived at *Moses* birth, *Thumosis* or *Thmosis*: the same perchance which *Appion* the *Grammarian* will have to be *Amosis*, and elsewhere *Amenophis* the Father of *Sethosis*: to whom *Lysimachus* and *Cornelius Tacitus* gave the name of *Bocchoris*. To me it seemes most probable, that while *Saphrus*, called also *Spherus* or *Iphereus*, governed *Assyria*; *Orthopolis*, *Sicyonia*; and *Criasus* the *Argives*; that then (*Sesostris* the second ruling in *Egypt*) *Moses* was borne. For if we beleeve Saint *Augustine*, it was about the end of *Cecrops* time, that *Moses* led *Israel* out of *Egypt*. *Eduxit* Moses *ex Ægypto populum Dei novissimo tempore* Cecropis *Athenienssium Regis*; Moses (saith he) *led the people of God out of Egypt, about the end of* Cecrops *time, King of the Athenians*. In this sort therefore is the time of *Moses* birth, and of his departure out of *Egypt* best proved S. *Augustine* affirmes (as before remembred) that *Moses* was borne, *Saphrus* governing *Assyria*; and that he left *Egypt* about the end of *Cecrops* time. Now *Saphrus* ruled 20. yeers; his successor *Mamelus* 30. yeers; *Sparetus* after him 40. yeeres: in whose fourth yeere *Cecrops* began to governe in *Attica*: *Ascatades* followed *Sparetus*, and held the Empire 41. So as *Moses* being borne while *Saphrus* ruled *Assyria*; *Orthopolis Sicyonia*; and *Criasus Argos* (for these three Kings lived at once at his birth, saith S. *Augustine*, as *Cecrops* did when he departed *Egypt*) it will follow that the birth of *Moses* was in the nineteenth yeer of the *Assyrian Saphrus*: for take one yeer remaining of 20. (for so long *Saphrus* reigned) to which adde the thirty yeeres of *Mamelus*, and the 40. yeeres of *Sparetus*, these make 71. with which there were wasted three yeers

Euseb. de præp. Evang. l. 3. c. 3.

Aug. l. 18. c. 11. de civit. Dei.

2514.

yeers of *Cecrops* his 50. yeers: then take nine yeers out of the reigne of *Ascatades*, who was *Sparetus* succeſſour, thoſe nine yeeres added to 71. make 80. at which age *Moſes* left *Egypt*: and adde theſe nine yeeres to the three yeeres of *Cecrops* formerly ſpent, there will remaine but foure yeeres of *Cecrops* his 50. and ſo it falleth right with S. *Auguſtines* words, affirming that towards the end of *Cecrops* his time, *Moſes* led the people of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*.

Now the time in which the *Hebrews* were oppreſt in *Egypt*, ſeemeth to have had beginning ſome eight or nine yeers before the birth of *Moſes*, and 54. yeers, or rather more after *Joſeph*: between whoſe death and the birth of *Moſes*, there were conſumed 64. yeers, ſome of which time, and 80 yeers after, they lived in great ſervitude and miſery. For as it is written in *Exodus*: *They ſet taske-maſters over them, to keepe them under with burdens: and they built the Cities, Pithom and Ramaſes, &c. And by cruelty they cauſed the children of Iſrael to ſerve; and made them weary of their lives, by ſore labour in clay and bricke, and in all worke of the field, with all manner of bondage.* All which laid upon them by a maſtering power and ſtrong hand, they endured to the time by the wiſdome of God appointed: even from 54. yeeres, or not much more after the death of *Joſeph*, who left the World when it had laſted 2370. yeeres to the eightieth yeere of *Moſes*, and untill he wrought his miracles in the field of *Zoan*, which he performed in the Worlds age 2514. towards the end thereof, according to *Codoman*, or after our account, 2513. And becauſe thoſe things which we deliver of *Egypt*, may the better be underſtood, I thinke it neceſſary to ſpeak a few words of the principall place therein named, in this diſcourſe.

Exod. 1.

2370.

2514.

§. 11

Of divers Cities and places in Egypt, mentioned in this Story, or elſewhere in the Scripture.

THis City which the *Hebrews* call *Zoan*, was built ſeven yeers after *Hebron*. *Ezechiel* calleth it *Taphnes*; and ſo doth *Hieremy*; the *Septuagint*, *Tanais*; *Joſephus*, *Frotaidis*, after the name of an *Egyptian* Queen; *Antonius* gives it the name of *Thanis*; *Hegeſippus*, *Thamna*; and *William Tyrius*, *Tapius*. It adjoyneth to the land of *Goſen*, and is the ſame, wherein *Hieremy* the Prophet was ſtoned to death, for preaching againſt the *Egyptian* and *Jewiſh* Idolatry.

Num. 33. *Ezechiel* 30. *Hierem.* 2. 43. 44. 46. *Joſeph. l.* 1. *c.* 9. *Tyr. de Bel. ſac. l.* 19. *c.* 23.

Zoan or *Taphnes* was in *Moſes* time the *Metropolis* of the lower *Egypt*, in which their *Pharaohs* then commonly reſided; and not unlikely to be the ſame City, where *Abraham* in his time found him. But *Euſebius* out of *Artapanus* affirmeth, that *Abraham* did reade Aſtronomy in *Heliopolis*, or *On*, to *Pharetates* King of *Egypt*. *Alex. Polyhiſtor*, out of *Eupolemus* hath it otherwiſe, ſaying, that *Abraham* inſtructed the *Egyptian* Prieſts, and not the King; both which authorities *Euſebius* citeth. The *Septuagint*, and the Vulgar edition, for *Zoan* write *Heliopolis*. *Pagnin*, *Vatablus*, *Junius*, and our *Engliſh* call it *On*; and *Ptolomy*, *Onium*. There are two Cities of that name; the one on the frontier of the lower *Egypt*, towards the South; the other ſomewhat lower on the Eaſter-moſt branch of *Nilus* falling into the Sea at *Peluſium*. And it may be that *Heliopolis* to the South of the river *Trojan*, was the ſame which *Vatablus* and our *Engliſh* call *Aven*. Of the latter it is, that the Scriptures take certain knowledge; the ſame which *Pomp. Mela*, and *Plynie* call *Solis oppidum*; *Tyrius* in the *Holy War*, *Malbec*; the *Arabians*, *Bahalbeth*; and *Simeon Sethi*, *Fons Solis*. Of this *Heliopolis*, or *On*, was *Potiphar* Prieſt, or Prince, whoſe daughter *Joſeph* married. In the Territory adjoyning *Jacob* inhabited, while he lived in *Egypt*. In the confines of this City, *Onias*, the high Prieſt of the *Jews*, built a Temple, dedicated to the eternall God; not much inferiour to that of *Hieruſalem* (*Ptolomy Philopater* then governing in *Egypt*) which ſtood in the time of *Veſpaſian*, 333. yeers after the foundation by *Onias*, whom *Joſephus* falſly reporteth herein to have fulfilled a prophecy of *Eſay*, *c.* 19. *In die illa erit Altare Domini in medio terræ Ægypti*; *In that day ſhall the Altar of the Lord be in the middeſt of the Land of Egypt*. *Antiochus Epiphanes* at the time of the building tyrannizing over the *Jews*, gave the occaſion for the erecting of this Temple in *Egypt*. Laſtly, there it was that our Saviour *Chriſt Jeſus* remained, while *Joſeph* and the Virgin *Mary* feared the violence of *Herod*: neer which (ſaith *Brochard*) the fountain

Euſeb. de prep. Evang. l. 9. *c.* 4. *Gen.* 12. 15. *Eſay* 19. 11.

tain is still found, called *Jesus well*, whose streams do afterward water the Gardens of *Balsamum*, no where else found in *Egypt*. And hereof see more in *Brochard*, in his description of *Egypt*.

There is also the City of *Noph*, remembred by *Esay* and *Ezechiel*, the same which *Hosea* the Prophet calleth *Moph*: which latter name it took from a Mountain adjoyning, so called; which Mountain *Herodotus* remembreth. And this is that great City, which was called *Memphis*; and so the *Septuagint* write it. It is known to the *Arabians* by the name of *Mazar*. The *Chaldæans* name it *Alchahyr*; and *Tudalensis Mizraim*. *Esay* 19. 13. *Ezech.* 34. *Hosea* 9. 6. *Lib.* 2.

Pelusium, which *Vatablus*, *Pagnin*, *Junius*, and our *English* write *Sin*; the *Septuagint* call *Sais*; and *Montanus*, *Lebna*; is not the same with *Damiata*, as *Gul. Tyrius* witnesseth. In the time of *Baldwin* the third, *Pelusium* was called *Belbeis*. *Belbeis* (saith *Tyrius*) *quæ olim dicta est Pelusium*; *Belbeis, that in times past was called Pelusium*. *G. Tyr. l.* 20. *c.* 17. *lib.* 2. *c.* 5.

The City of *No*, the *Septuagint* call *Diospolis*. Of which name there are two or three in *Egypt*. *Hierome* converts it *Alexandria*, by anticipation, because it was so called in the future. *Ezec.* 30. 15, 16

Eubastus, (for so *Hierome* and *Zeigler* do write it) is the same which the *Hebrews* call *Pibeseth*. *Ezech.* 30. 17.

To make the story the more perceivable, I have added a description of the land of *Gosen*, in which the *Israelites* inhabited; with those Cities and places so often remembred in the Scripture: as of *Taphnes* or *Zoan*, *Heliopolis* or *Bethshemes*, *Balsephon*, *Succoth*, and the rest; together with *Moses* passage through the Desarts of *Arabia the Stony*. For all story without the knowledge of the places wherein the actions were performed, as it wanteth a great part of the pleasure; so it no way enricheth the knowledge and understanding of the Reader; neither doth any thing serve to retain, what we reade, in our memories, so well as these pictures and descriptions do. In which respect I am driven to digresse in many places, and to interpose some such discourse, otherwise seeming impertinent: taking for my authority, after many others more ancient, that great learned man, *Arias Montanus*; who in his Preface to the Story of the Holy Land, hath these words: *Si enim absque locorum observatione res gestæ narrentur, aut sine Topographiæ cognitione historiæ legantur, adeo confusa atq; perturbata erunt omnia, ut ex iis nihil non obscurum, nihil non difficile elici possit; If narration* (saith he) *be made of those things which are performed, without the observation of the places, wherein they were done: or if Histories be read without Topographicall knowledge; all things will appear so intricate and confused, as we shall thereby understand nothing but obscurely, nor draw thence any knowledge, but with the greatest difficulty.*

§. III.

Of the cruelty against the Israelites young children in Egypt: *and of* Moses *his preservation and education.*

BUt to return to the story it selfe. It appeareth that notwithstanding the labour and slavery, which the *Israelites* endured, yet they decreased not in numbers: insomuch as *Pharaoh* considering the danger of discontented poverty, and the able bodies of an oppressed multitude, how perillous they might be to his estate, by suggestion of the Devil, resolved to slaughter all the male children of the *Hebrews*, as soon as they should be born. To which end he sent for *Sephora* and *Thura*, women the most famous and expert amongst them, *quæ præerant* (saith *Comestor*) *multitudinis obstetricum, who had command given them over all mid-wives*; by whom (as it seemeth) he gave order to all the rest for the execution of his Edict. For to have called all the Mid-wives of *Egypt* together, had been a strange Parliament. Now whether these two (before named) were of the *Hebrews*, or of the *Egyptians*, it is divetsly disputed. S. *Augustine* calls them *Hebrews*, because it is written *Exodus* the first, *The King of Egypt commanded the Mid-wives of the Hebrew women, &c.* But *Iosephus*, *Abulensis*, and *Pererius* believe them to be *Egyptians*. Whosoever they were, when it pleased God to frustrate the execution of that secret murder, to the end the world might witnesse both the wickednesse of the *Egyptians*, and the just cause, thereby made manifest, of his future indignation and revenge: *Pharaoh* finding these women filled with piety, and the fear of God, commanded *Ver.* 16. *Joseph. ant. l.* 2. *c.* 5. *Abul. & Per. in exod.*

commanded others of his people to execute his former intent; and publickly, or howsoever, to destroy all the male *Hebrew* children born within his dominions.

Now besides the doubts, which *Pharaoh* had of the multitudes of the *Hebrews*, the greatest part of whom he might have assured, by affoording them the justice which every King oweth to his vassals, and the rest he might have imployed or sent away at his pleasure; *Iosephus* giveth another cause of his rage against them, namely, That it was prophetically delivered him by an *Egyptian* Priest, that among the *Hebrews* there should be born a child, who growing to mans estate, should become a plague and terrour to his whole Nation. To prevent which, (and presuming that he could resist the ordinance of God, by a mean, contrary to the laws of heaven and of nature) he stretched out his bloudy and mercilesse hand to the execution of his former intent. The same prevention *Herod* long after practised, when fearing the spirituall Kingdom of *Christ*, as if it should have been temporall, he caused all the male children at that time born, to be slaughtered. And that *Pharaoh* had some kind of foreknowledge of the future successe, it may be gathered by these his own words, in the tenth verse of the fift of *Exodus*: *Come, let us work wisely with them, lest they multiply; and it come to passe, that if there be war, they joyn themselves also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and get them out of the Land.* But we see, and time hath told it us from the beginning, how God derideth the wisdom of the worldly men, when forgetting the Lord of all power, they rely on the inventions of their own most feeble, and altogether darkened understanding. For even by the hands of the dearly beloved daughter of this tyrant, was that great Prophet and Minister of Gods marvellous works taken out of *Nilus*, being thereinto turned off, in an Ark of reeds, a sucking and powerlesse infant. And this Princesse having beheld the child his form and beauty, though but yet in the blouth, so pierced her compassion, as she did not onely preserve it, and cause it to be fostered; but commanded that it should be esteemed as her own, and with equall care to the son of a King nourished. And for memory that it was her deed, she called the child *Moses*, as it were, *extractus* or *ereptus*, *taken out*, to wit, out of the water: or after *Iosephus* and *Glycas*, *Moy*, a voice expressing water, and *Hises*, as much to say, as that which is drawn out of water, or thence taken. *Clemens Alexandrinus* was of opinion, that *Moses* was circumcised before he was put into the Ark of reeds, and that *Amram* his father had named him *Joachim*. In his youth he was carefully bred, by the care, and at the charge of *Pharaohs* daughter, and by men of the most understanding, taught and instructed: *quem regio more educavit, præfestisei sapientibus Ægyptiorum Magistris, à quibus erudiretur*, saith *Basil*; *unto whom she gave princely education, appointing over him wise masters of the Egyptians for his instructers.* Thereby (say *Iosephus* and *Philo*) he became excellently learned in all the doctrine of the *Egyptians*; which also the Martyr *Stephen* in the seventh of the *Acts* confirmeth; And *Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.* Which wisdom or sapience, such as it was, or at least so much thereof as *Six. Senensis* hath gathered, we have added, between the death of *Moses*, and the reign of *Iosua*.

Ios. ant. l. 2. c. 5.

Exod. 5. 10.

Strom. l. 1.

Phil. de vita Mos.

§. IV.

Of Moses *his flying out of* Egypt; *and the opinions of certain ancient Historians of his war in Æthiopia; and of his marriage there*: Philo *his judgement of his Pastorall life: and that of* Pererius *of the Books of* Genesis *and* Job.

WHen *Moses* was grown to mans estate, *Iosephus* and *Eusebius* out of *Artapanus*, tell us of ten yeers war that he made against the *Æthiopians*: of the besieging of *Saba*, afterward by *Cambyses*, called *Meroe*; and how he recovered that City by the favour of *Tharbis*, a daughter of *Æthiopia*, whom he took to wife. So hath *Comestor* a pretty tale of *Moses*, How after the end of that war, *Tharbis* resisting his return into *Egypt*, *Moses* most skilfull in *Astronomy*, caused two Images to be ingraven in two precious stones, whereof the one increased memory; the other caused forgetfulnesse. These he set in two rings; whereof he gave the one, to wit, that of oblivion, to his wife *Tharbis*, reserving the other of memory for himself: which ring of forgetfulnesse, after she had a while worn, she began to neglect the love she bare her husband: and so *Moses* without danger returned into *Egypt*. But leaving these fancies to the Authors of them: It is true, that about the 40. yeer of *Moses* age, when he beheld an

Ægyptian

Egyptian offering violence to one of the oppreſſed *Hebrews*, moved by compaſſion, in reſpect of his brother, and ſtirred up by diſdain againſt the other, in the contention he ſlew the *Egyptian*. Soon after which fact, finding a diſpoſition in ſome of his own Nation to accuſe him, for whoſe defence he had thus greatly endangered his own life: by the ordinance and advice of God, whoſe choſen ſervant he was, he fled into *Arabia Petræa*, the next bordering Countrie to *Egypt*; where wandering all alone, as a man left and forſaken, in a place unknown unto him, as among a Nation of barbarous ſtrangers; and who in future times were the irreconcilable enemies of the *Hebrews*: it pleaſed God (working the greateſt things by the weakeſt worldly means) to make the watering of a few ſheep, and the aſſiſting of the Daughters of *Raguel* the *Madianite*, an occaſion whereby to provide him a wife of one of thoſe, and a father in law, that fed him, and ſuſtained him in a Country neereſt *Egypt*, fitteſt to returne from; neceſſary to be known, becauſe interjacent between *Egypt* and *Judæa*, through which he was to lead the *Iſraelites*; and wherein God held him, till the occaſion which God preſented, beſt ſerved. And laſtly, where the glory of the world ſhined leaſt, amidſt mountainous Deſarts, there the glory of God, which ſhineth moſt, covered him over, and appeared unto him, not finding him as a Kings ſon, or an adopted child of great *Pharaohs* daughter, but as a meek and humble ſhepherd, ſitting at a mountains foot, a keeper and commander of thoſe poor beaſts onely.

In that part of *Arabia* neer *Madian*, he conſumed 40. yeers, And though (as *Philo* in the ſtory of *Moſes* life obſerveth) he did not neglect the care of thoſe flocks, committed to his charge, but that he excelled all others in that Paſtorall knowledge; yet in that ſolitary Deſart he enjoyed himſelf: and being ſeparate from the preaſſe of the world, and the troubleſome affairs thereof, he gave himſelf to contemplation, and to make perfect in himſelf all thoſe knowledges, whereof his younger yeers had gathered the grounds and principles: the ſame Author alſo judging that his Paſtorall life did excellently prepare him for the execution of the Principality, which he afterward obtained. *Eſt enim* (ſaith *Philo*) *ars Paſtoralis, quaſi præludium ad regnum, hoc eſt, ad regimen hominum, gregis manſuetiſſimi. Quemadmodum bellicoſa ingenia præexercent ſe in venationibus, experientia in feris, quod poſtea in militia & bello perfectura ſunt; brutis præbentibus materiam exercitii, tam belli quàm pacis tempore. At verò præfectura manſueti pecoris, habet quiddam ſimile cum regno in ſubditis; ideoq; Reges cognominantur Paſtores populorum, non contumeliæ, ſed honoris gratia; The art of keeping ſheep is, as it were, an introductory exerciſe unto a Kingdom, namely, the rules over men, the moſt gentle flock: Even as warlike natures do before-hand exerciſe themſelves in hunting, practiſing on wild beaſts thoſe things, which after they will accompliſh in warfare: thoſe brute beaſts affording matter, wherein to train themſelves, both in time of war and of peace. But the government of gentle cattell, hath a kinde of reſemblance unto a Kingly rule over ſubjects; therefore Kings are ſtiled ſhepherds of the people, not in way of reproach, but for their honour.*

That *Moſes*, in this time of his abode at *Madian*, wrote the Book of *Job*, as *Pererius* ſuppoſeth, I cannot judge of it, becauſe it is thought, that *Job* was at that time living. Neither dare I ſubſcribe to *Pererius* opinion, That *Moſes* while he lived in that part of *Arabia*, wrote the Book of *Geneſis*; although I cannot deny the reaſon of *Pererius* conjecture, That by the example of *Jobs* patience he might ſtrengthen the oppreſſed *Hebrews*: and by the promiſes of God to *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, put them in aſſurance of their delivery from the *Egyptian* ſlavery, and of the Land of reſt, and plentie promiſed. *Perer. in 3. c. Exod.*

Of this calling back into *Egypt* by the Angell of God, and the marvails and wonders which he performed, thereby to perſwade *Pharaoh*, that he was the meſſenger of the moſt High, the particulars are written in the firſt fourteen Chapters of *Exodus*; and therefore to treat of all the particulars therein contained, it were needleſſe. But for the firſt, it is to be noted, that when *Moſes* deſired to be taught by God, by what name he ſhould make him known, and by whom he was ſent; he received from God ſo much, as man could comprehend of his infinite and ever-being nature. Out of which he diliver-red him in the firſt part of his anſwer, a name to be conſidered of by the wiſeſt: and in his ſecond, to be underſtood by all. For there is nothing that is, or hath being of it ſelf, but the Eternall: which truly is; which is above all; which is immutable. The bodies of men are changed every moment: their ſubſtance waſteth, and is repaired by nutri-ment, *Exod. c. 3 v. 13. 14. & 15.*

ment; never continuing at one ſtay, nor being the ſame ſo long as while one may ſay, Now. Likewiſe, whatſoever is conſumed in the longeſt continuance of time, the ſame in every ſhorteſt piece of time ſuffereth decay; neither doth any thing abide in one ſtate. *Una eſt Dei & ſola natura quæ verè eſt: id enim quod ſubſiſtit, non habet aliundè, ſed ſuum eſt. Cætera quæ creata ſunt, etiamſi videntur eſſe, non ſunt, quia aliquando non fuerunt, & poteſt rurſum non eſſe, quod non fuit; It is the one and onely nature of God, which truly is: for he hath his being of himſelf, and not from any thing without him. Other things that are created, although they ſeem to be, yet they are not; for ſometimes they were not: and that which hath not been, may again want being.* And with this, in reſpect of the divine nature, the ſaying of *Zeno Eleates* excellently agreeth: *Tota rerum natura umbra eſt, aut inanis, aut fallax; The whole nature of things is but a ſhadow, either empty or deceitfull:* in compariſon of whom (ſaith *Eſay*) all Nations are as nothing, leſſe than nothing, and meer vanity.

Hier. ad Dam.

C. 40. v. 13.

Of the ten plagues wherewith the *Egyptians* were ſtrucken, the firſt was by changing the Rivers into bloud: God puniſhing them by thoſe waters, into which their Forefathers had thrown, and in which they had drowned the innocent children of the *Hebrews*. To which this place of the Revelation may be fitly applied: *And I heard the Angel of the water ſay, Lord, thou art juſt, which art, and which waſt; and holy, becauſe thou haſt judged theſe things; for they ſhed the bloud of thy Saints and Prophets, and therefore haſt thou given them bloud to drink.*

C. 16. v. 5.

The reſt of the plagues by Frogs, Lice, Flies, or ſtinging Waſps; by the death of their Cattell; by leprous Scabs; by Haile and Fire; by Graſhoppers; by Darkneſſe; after which *Pharaoh* forbad *Moſes* his preſence: moved the hardned heart of the unbelieving King, no longer, than the pain and perill laſted; till ſuch time as his own firſt-born, and the firſt-born of all his Nation periſhed. He then, while he feared his own life, (a time wherein we remember God perforce) ſtood upon no condition: whereas before, he firſt yeelded but to the departure of the men; then of the men, women, and children, reſerving their beſtiall; but he was now content for the preſent, that the *Iſraelites* ſhould not onely depart with all their own, but with a part of the Silver, Gold, and Jewels, of his own people: of which (the fear being paſt) he ſuddenly repented him, as his purſuit after them proved. For when every one of the *Hebrews* had (according to direction from *Moſes* received) ſlain a Lamb, without ſpot or blemiſh, for the *Paſſeover*, (a *Sacrament* of the moſt clean and unſpotted Saviour,) and with the bloud thereof coloured the poſt and lintern of the doors; the Angell of God in the night ſmote every firſt-born of *Egypt*, from the ſon of the King, to that of the Beggar and Slave: the children of the *Iſraelites* excepted. At which terrible judgement of God, *Pharaoh* being more than ever amazed, yeelded, as before is ſaid, to their departure. The *Egyptians* (ſaith *Epiphanius*) did in after-times imitate this colouring with bloud, which the *Iſraelites* uſed after the *Paſſeover*; aſcribing an exceeding virtue to the Red Colour: and therefore they did not onely mark their Sheep and Cattell, but their Trees bearing Fruit, to preſerve them from lightning and other harms.

Epiphan. l. 1. cont. Hæreſ.

§. V.

Of Pharaohs *purſuit of the Iſraelites: and of their paſſage towards the Red Sea, ſo far as Succoth.*

NOw, when the people were removed, and on their way, (his heart being hardned by God) he bethought him as well of the honour loſt, as of the ſhame remaining after ſo many Calamities and Plagues, in ſuffering them to depart with the ſpoils of his people, and in deſpight of himſelf. And having before this time great Companies of Souldiers in readineſſe, he conſulted with himſelf what way the *Iſraelites* were like to take. He knew that the ſhorteſt and faireſt paſſage was through the Country of the *Philiſtims*. But becauſe theſe people were very ſtrong, and a warlike Nation, and in all probability of his Allies, he ſuſpected that *Moſes* meant to finde ſome other out-let, to wit, through the Deſart of *Etham*; and there, becauſe the Country was exceeding mountainous, and of hard acceſſe, and that *Moſes* was peſtered with multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattell, he thought it impoſſible for the *Iſraelites* to eſcape

escape him that way. In the mean while having gathered together all the Chariots of *Egypt*, and 600. of his own, and Captains over them; he determined to set upon them in the plains of *Gosen*, which way soever they turned themselves. For it was the ancient manner to fight in those Chariots, armed with broad and sharp hooks on both sides, in fashion like the Mowers sythe. Which kinde of fight in Chariots, but not hooked, the *Brittains* used against the *Romanes*, while they made the war for the conquest of this Land. Of this Army of *Pharaoh*, *Josephus* affirmeth, that it consisted of 50000. Horse, and 20000. Foot; which, were it true, then it cannot be doubted but that *Pharaoh* intended long before to assaile the *Hebrews* at their departure, or to destroy them in *Gosen*; and refused them passage, till such time as he had prepared an Army to set on them. For, as it is written in the first of *Exodus*, he doubted two things, either that the *Hebrews* might joyn themselves to his enemies within the Land; or being so multiplied, as they were, might leave his service, and get themselves thence at their pleasure. But the plagues which God grieved him withall, enforc't him at this time to give an assent to their departure: perchance fore-running his intent. But were it otherwise, and *Josephus* partiall in this affair, yet by the words of the Text it appeareth, that he gathered all the Chariots of *Egypt*, which could not be done in haste. For *Moses* made but three dayes march, ere *Pharaoh* was at his heels; and yet the last day he went on sixteen miles: which, in so hot a countrie, and to drive their cattell and sheep with them, pestered with a world of women and children, was a march witnessing the dread of a powerfull Enemy at hand. Now, as *Moses* well knew that he went out with a mighty hand, and that God guided his understanding in all his enterprizes; so he lay not still in the ditch crying for help, but using the understanding which God had given him, he left nothing unperformed becoming a wise man, and a valiant and skilfull Conducter; as by all his actions and counsells from this day to his death, well appeared.

*Exod.*14.7. *Joseph. ant. l.2.c.6.* *Exod.*14.7.

When *Moses* perceived that *Pharaoh* was enraged against him, and commanded him not to dare to come thenceforth into his presence: after that he had warned *Israel* of the *Passeover*, he appointed a generall Assembly or *Rende-vous* of all the *Hebrews* at *Ramases*, in the territory of *Gosen*; a City standing indifferent to receive from all parts of the Countrie the dispersed *Hebrews*: and gave commandment, that every Family should bring with them such store as they had of dough, and paste, not staying to make it into bread: knowing then that *Pharaoh* was on foot, and on his way towards them. Which done, and having considered the great strength of *Pharaohs* Horse-men and Chariots, of which kinde of defence *Moses* was utterly unprovided (though, as it is written, the *Israelites* went up armed) he marched from *Ramases* East-ward, towards the Desarts of *Etham*, and incamped at *Succoth*; which he performed on the fifteenth day of the moneth *Abib*: which moneth from that time forward they were commanded to account as the first moneth of the yeer. Whether in former times they had been accustomed to begin their yeer in some other moneth, following the manner of the *Egyptians*, and were now recalled by *Moses* to the rule of their fore-fathers, it is uncertain. Certain it is, that they had, and retained another beginning of their politick yeer, which was not now abrogated, but rather by some solemnities thereunto annexed, was confirmed, and still continued in use. Wherefore in referring things done, or happning among them, unto the beginning, middest, or ending of the year; that distinction of the Sacred and the Politick yeer is not to be neglected. Concerning the number of dayes in every moneth, and the whole form of their yeer, like enough it is that *Moses* himself in fourty yeers space, did sufficiently instruct the Priests, to whose care the ordering thereof (as common opinion holds) was given in trust: but that any rule of framing their Kalendar was made publick, before the captivity of *Babylon*, I do not find. Now because time and motion begin together, it will not, I think, be any great breach of order, to shew here at their first setting forth, what was the form of the *Hebrew* yeer: with the difference between them and other Nations in ordering the account of time.

The territory of *Gosen* was afterward called *Ramases*, after the name of this City, as appeareth in *Gen.*47. & *Num.*33. *Exod.*13.

*Exod.*23.16. & 34.22.

§. VI.

Of the Solary and Lunary yeers; and how they are reconciled: with the form of the Hebrew yeer, and their manner of intercalation.

The *Hebrew* Moneths are thus named.

The first Moneth, *Nisan*, or *Abib*.	1. *March.*
The second, *Jar*, or *Tiar*, *Zio*, or *Zin*.	2. *April.*
The third, *Sivan*, or *Sinan*, or *Siban*.	3. *May.*
The fourth, *Tamuz*.	4. *June.*
The fifth, *Ab*.	5. *Julie.*
The sixth. *Ehul*.	6. *August.*
The seventh, *Tisri*, or *Ethavin*, or *Ethanim*.	7. *September.*
Ant. l. c. 4. The eighth, *Marchesuan*, or *Mechasuan*, or *Bul*, or with *Josephus*, *Morsonane*.	8. *October.*
The ninth, *Chisleu*, or *Casleu*.	9. *November.*
The tenth, *Tebeth*, or *Thobeth*.	10. *December.*
The eleventh, *Sebeth*, or *Sabath*.	11. *January.*
The twelfth, *Adar*, and *Ve Adar*.	12. *February.*

VE *Adar* was an intercalory moneth, added some yeers unto the other twelve, to make the Solary and Lunary yeer agree; which (besides the generall inconvenience that would otherwise have risen, by casting the moneths of Summer into the Winter season, to the great confusion of all account) was more necessarily to be regarded of the *Hebrews*, because of the divine Precept. For God appointed especiall Feasts to be celebrated precisely in such a moneth of the yeer, and withall on a set day, both of the Moon and of the moneth; as the feast of the First-fruits; the new Moons, and the like: which could not have so been kept, if either the day of the Moon had fallen in some other part of the moneth, or the moneth it self been found far distant from his place in the season of the yeer. *Deut. 16.*

Other Nations, the better to observe their Solemnities in the due time, & to ascertain all reckonings and remembrances, (which is the principall commodity of time, that is the measure of endurance) were driven in like manner to make their yeers unequall, by adding sometimes, and sometimes abating one or more dayes, as the errour committed in foregoing yeers required. The errour grew at first, by not knowing what number of dayes made up a complete yeer. For though by the continuall course of the Sun, causing Summer and Winter duly to succeed each other, it is plain enough, even to the most savage of all people, when a yeer hath passed over them; yet the necessity of ordinary occurrences, that are to be numbred by a shorter tally, makes this long measure of whole yeers insufficient for the smaller sort of more daily affaires. Therefore men observed the monethly conspicuous revolution of the Moon, by which they divided the yeer into twelve parts, subdividing the moneth into 29. dayes & nights, & those again into their quarters and hours. But as the marks of time are sensible and easily discerned; so the exact calculation of it is very intricate, and worketh much perplexity in the understanding. Twelve revolutions of the Moon, containing lesse time by 11. dayes, or thereabout, than the yeerly course of the Sun through the Zodiack, in the space of sixteen yeers, every moneth was found in the quite contrary part of the yeer, to that wherein it was placed at the first. This caused them to adde some dayes to the yeer, making it to consist of 12. moneths, and as many dayes more as they thought would make the courses of the Sun and Moon to agree. But herein were committed many new errours. For neither did the Sun determine his yeerly revolution by any set number of whole dayes; neither did the Moon change alwayes at one hour; but the very minutes and lesser fractions were to be observed by him, that would seek to reduce their motions (which motions also were not still alike) into any certain rule. *30. & 29.*

Here lay much Wisdom and deep Art, which could not soon be brought to perfection. Yet as making an estimate at randome, the *Athenians* held the yeer to contain three hundred and sixty dayes, wherein most of the *Greeks* concurred with them. That 360. dayes filled up the *Grecian* yeer (besides many collaterall proofes) it is manifest by that which *Pliny* directly affirmeth, telling of the *Statues*, erected in honour of *Plin. l. 34. c. 6.*

Demetrius

Demetrius Phalereus, which were (ſaith he) 360. whileſt as yet the yeer exceeded not that number of days. By this account neither did any certain age of the Moon begin or end their moneths; neither could their moneths continue many yeers in their own places: but muſt needs be ſhifted by little and little from Winter to Summer, and from Summer to Winter, as the dayes forgotten to be inſerted into the Almanack by men, but not forgotten by the ſuperiour bodies in their courſes, ſhould occupy their own rooms in their due turns. Now, becauſe the ſolemnity of the *Olympian* games was to be held at the full Moon, and withall, on the 15. day of the moneth *Hecatombæon* (which anſwereth in a manner to our *June*) they were carefull to take order, that this moneth might ever begin with the new Moon; which they effected by adding ſome two dayes to the laſt moneth of every yeer; thoſe games being held once in four yeers. This intercalation ſufficed not to make the matter even; which cauſed them ſometimes to omit one day in the fourth yeer, which was the ſecond of the moneth *Bædromion*; (agreeing neerly with our *Auguſt*) ſometimes not to omit it, or (which is all one) to inſert another for it in their fourth Lunary yeer, accounting by the Moon, after a manner that was not vulgar. All this notwithſtanding, their moneth of *June* would every yeer have grown colder and colder, had they not ſought to keep all upright, by intercalating in each other *Olympiad*, that is, each eighth yeer, one whole moneth, which they called the ſecond *Poſideon*, or *December*; which was the device of *Harpalus*, who alſo taught them to make one moneth of 29. dayes, another of 30. dayes, & ſo ſucceſſively through the whole yeer. Thus with much labour they kept their yeer as neer as they could, unto the high way of the *Planets*; but theſe marks which they obſerved, were found at length to be deceitfull guides. For it was not poſſible ſo to faſhion this eighth yeers intercalation, that it ſhould not deceive them in 11. hours and 18. minutes at the leaſt, or ſome wayes in 34. hours and 10. minutes, or 36. and 41. minutes; which differences would in few Ages have bred much confuſion. The firſt that introduced a good method, likely to continue, was *Meton* the *Athenian*, who not regarding the *Olympiads*, and the eighth yeers intercalation, deviſed a *Cycle* of 19. yeers, wherein the Moon having 235. times run out her circuit, met with the Sun in the ſame place, and on the ſame day of the yeer, as in the 19. yeer before paſt ſhe had done. This invention of *Meton* was entertained with great applauſe, and paſſing from *Greece* to *Rome*, was there inſerted into the Kalendar in Golden Letters, being called the Golden Number, which name it retaineth unto this day. Hereby were avoided the great and uncertain intercalations that formerly had been uſed; for by the intercalation of 7. moneths in the 19. yeers, all was ſo even, that no ſenſible difference could be found. Yet that errour which in one yeer could not be perceived, was very apparent in a few of thoſe *Cycles*; the new Moons anticipating in one *Cycle* 7. hours, and ſome minutes of the preciſe rule. Therefore *Calippus* deviſed a new *Cycle*, containing four of *Metons*, that is to ſay, 76. yeers; and afterwards *Hipparchus*, a noble *Aſtrologer*, framed another, containing four of *Calippus* his Periods, each of them finding ſome errour in the former obſervations, which they diligently corrected. The laſt reformation of the Kalendar was that which *Julius Cæſar* made, who by advice of the beſt *Mathematicians*, then to be found, examining the courſes of thoſe heavenly bodies, reduced the yeer unto the form which is now in uſe with us, containing 365. dayes and ſix hours, which hours in four yeers make up one whole day, that is intercalated every fourth yeer, the 24. of *February*. The correction of the *Julian* yeer by *Pope Gregory* the 13. *Anno Dom.* 1582. is not as yet entertained by generall conſent; it was indeed but as a note added unto the work of *Cæſar*: yet a note of great importance. For whereas it was obſerved, that the Sun, which at the time of the *Nicene Councell*, *Anno Dom.* 324. entred the *Æquinoctiall* on the 21. day of *March*, was in the yeer 1582. ten dayes ſooner found, in that time *Pope Gregory* ſtrook out of the Kalendar ten dayes, following the fourth of *October*, ſo that in ſtead of the fifth day was written the fifteenth; by which meanes the moveable Feaſts depending on the Suns entrance into *Aries*, were again celebrated in ſuch time, as at the *Nicene Councell* they had been. And the better to prevent the like alterations, it was by the *Councell* of *Trent* ordained, that from thence forward in every hundred yeer, the Leap-day ſhould be omitted, excepting ſtill the fourth hundred: becauſe the Sun doth not in his yeerly courſe take up full ſix hours above the 365. dayes; but faileth ſo many minutes, as in 400. yeers make about three whole dayes.

But the *Cycle* of 29. yeers, which the *Hebrews* used, was such as neither did need any nice curiosity of houres, minutes, and other lesser fractions to help it; neither did in summing up the dayes of the whole yeer, neglect the dayes of the Moon, confounding one moneth with another. For with them it fell out so, that alwaies the *Kalends* or first day of the moneth was at the new Moon; and because that day was festivall, they were very carefull as well to observe the short yeer of the Moon, passing through all the 12. Signes in one moneth, as that longer of the Sun, which is needfully regarded in greater accounts. First, therefore they gave it to *Nisan* their first moneth, which is about our *March* or *April*, 30. dayes; to *Jar* their second moneth 29. dayes; and so successively 30. to one, 29. to another. Hereby it came to passe, that every two moneths of theirs contained somewhat evenly two revolutions of the Moon, allowing 29. dayes 12. houres, and odde minutes, from change to change. The spare minutes were bestowed among the superfluous or Epact dayes; which made up 7. moneths in 19. yeers; to 6. of which, 7. were commonly given 30. dayes; to one of them 29. dayes, or otherwise as was found requisite. Their common yeer (as appeareth by the severall dayes of each moneth) contained 354. dayes, which fail of the yeer, wherein the Sun finisheth his course, 11. whole dayes, with some fractions of time. But these dayes, and other broken pieces, howsoever they were neglected in one yeer, yet in the *Cycle* of 19. yeers were so disposed of by convenient intercalations, that still at the end of that *Cycle*, both the Sun and Moon were found on the same day of the yeer, moneth and week, yea, commonly on the same houre of the day, where they had been at the beginning of it 19. yeers before.

Divers have diversly set down the form of the *Hebrew* yeer, with the manner of their Intercalations. *Sigonius* tells us, that every second yeer they did adde a moneth of 22. dayes; every fourth yeer a moneth of 23. in the regard of 11. dayes and a halfe wanting in 12. Moons, to fulfill a yeer of the Sun. But herein *Sigonius* was very much deceived. For the Moon doth never finish her course in 22. or 23. dayes: and therefore to have added so many dayes to the end of the yeer, had been the way to change the fashion of all the moneths in the yeers following, which could not have begun, as they ought, with the new Moon. *Genebrard* saith, that every third yeer, or second yeer, as need required, they did intercalate one moneth, adding it at the yeers end unto the other 12. This I beleeve to have been true; but in which of the yeers the intercalation was (if it be worthy of consideration) me thinks they do not probably deliver, who keep all far from evennesse, untill the very last of the 19. yeers. For (to omit such as erre grosly) some there are who say, that after three yeers, when besides the dayes spent in 36. courses of the Moon, 33. dayes are left remaining, that is, 11. dayes of each yeer; then did the *Hebrews* adde a moneth of 30. dayes; keeping three dayes, as it were, in plusage unto the next account. The like, say they, was done at the end of the sixth yeer; at which time, besides the Intercalary moneth, remained six dayes, namely, three surmounting that moneth, and the Epact of three yeers, besides the three formerly reserved. Thus they go on to the 18. yeer; at which time they have 18. dayes in hand: all which with the Epact of the 19. yeer, make up a moneth of 29. dayes, that being intercalated at the end of the *Cycle*, makes all even.

Sig. de rep. Heb. lib. 3. c. 1.

Genebr. Chron. lib. 2.

Whether this were the practice, I can neither affirm nor deny; yet surely it must needs have bred a great confusion, if in the 18. yeer, every moneth were removed from his own place by the distance of 48. dayes, that is, half a quarter of the yeer and more; which inconvenience by such a reckoning was unavoidable. Wherefore, I prefere the common opinion, which preventeth such dislocation of the moneths, by setting down a more convenient way of Intercalation in the 8. yeer. For the 6. dayes remaining after the two former Intercalations made in the third and sixth yeers, added unto the 22. dayes, arising out of the Epacts of the 7. and 8. yeers, do fitly serve to make up a moneth, with the borrowing of one day or two from the yeer following; and this borrowing of two dayes is so far from causing any disorder, that indeed it helps to make the yeers ensuing vary the lesse from the proper season of every moneth. This may suffice to be spoken of the *Hebrew* moneths and yeers, by which they guided their accounts.

§. VII.

§. VII.

Of the passage of Israel from Succoth towards the Red Sea: and of the divers waies leading out of Egypt.

FRom *Succoth* in the morning following, *Moses* led the *Israelites* towards the Desart of *Etham*, to recover the Mountain foot, by the edge of that Wilderneſſe, though he intended nothing leſſe than to go out of that way, of all other the neereſt. But being aſſured of the multitude of Horſemen and armed Chariots that followed him he kept himſelf from being incompaſſed, by keeping the rough and mountainous ground on his left hand. At *Etham* he reſted but one night, and then he reflected back from the entrance thereof, and marched away directly towards the South; the diſtance between it and *Succoth* being about eight miles. That he forbare to enter *Arabia*, being then in ſight thereof, it ſeemeth to proceed from three reſpects; the firſt two, naturall; the third, divine. For *Pharaoh* being then at hand, and having received intelligence of the way which *Moſes* took, perſwaded himſelf, that the numbers which *Moſes* led, conſiſting of above a Million, if not two Millions of ſouls, (for as it is written *Exod.* the 12. *Great multitudes of ſundry ſorts of people went out with them*) could not poſſibly paſſe over thoſe deſart and high Mountains with ſo great multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattell, but that at the very entrance of that faſtneſſe he ſhould have overtaken them, and deſtroyed the greateſt numbers of them. For theſe his own words: *They are tangled in the Land, the Wilderneſſe hath ſhut them in*, do ſhew his hopes and intents; which *Moſes*, by turning another way, did fruſtrate. Secondly, *Moſes* by offering to enter *Arabia* that way, drew *Pharaoh* toward the Eaſt-ſide of the Land of *Goſen*, or *Rameſes*: from whence (miſſing *Moſes* there) his purſuit after him with his Chariots was more difficult, by reaſon of the roughneſſe of the way; and howſoever, yet while the *Hebrews* kept the Mountain foot on the left hand, they were better ſecured from the over-bearing violence both of the Horſe and Chariots. Thirdly, *Moſes* confidence in the All-powerfull God was ſuch, by whoſe ſpirit, onely wiſe, he was directed, as he rather made choice to leave the glory of his deliverance and victory to Almighty God, than either by an eſcape the next way, or by the ſtrength of his multitude, conſiſting of 600000. men, to caſt the ſucceſſe upon his own underſtanding, wiſe conduction, or valour. The third day he marched with a double pace from *Etham* towards the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, 16. miles diſtant; and ſate down between two ledges of Mountains adjoyning to the *Red Sea*, to wit, the Mountains of *Etham* on the North, and *Baalzephon* towards the South; the ſame which *Oroſius* calleth *Climax*: on the top whereof there ſtood a Temple dedicated to *Baal*. And, as *Phagius* noteth, the word ſo compounded, is as much to ſay, as, *Dominus ſpeculæ, ſive cuſtodiæ*; *Lord of the watch tower*. For the *Egyptians* believed, or at leaſt made their ſlaves believe, that if any of them offered to eſcape that way into *Arabia*, this Idoll would both arreſt them, and force them to return to their Lords and Maſters. For the *Egyptians* had gods for all turns. *Ægyptii diis fœcundi*; *The Egyptians were fruitfull in gods*, ſaith Saint *Hierome*. But *Moſes*, who encamped at the foot of this Mountain with a million of ſouls, or as others conceive, with two millions, found this Lord of the watch-tower aſleep, or out of countenance.

It is probable that all thoſe *Egyptians* and others brought by the *Hebrews* to the knowledge of the true God, followed *Moſes* at his departure.

Climax is rather ſo called in reſpect of a paſſage up and down, than that it is any proper name.

Now theſe two paſſages leading out of *Egypt* into *Arabia* upon the firm land, *Moſes* refuſed, as well that of *Peluſium* and *Caſiotis*, the faireſt and ſhorteſt of all other, in reſpect of *Judæa*, as the other by *Etham*, from which he reflected, for the reaſons before remembred, and took the way by the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, between the Mountains, which made a ſtreight entrance towards the Sea. After whom *Pharaoh* made ſo great ſpeed with his Horſe-men and Chariots, as he gave the *Hebrews* no time at all to reſt them after ſo long a march; but gate ſight of them, and they of him, even at the very brink and waſh of the Sea: inſomuch as the *Hebrews* being terrified with *Pharaohs* ſudden approach, began to deſpair, and to mutine, at that time when it behooved them moſt to have taken courage for their own defence; laying it to *Moſes* charge, that themſelves foreſaw thoſe perils in which they were wrapped. And fear, *Which*, ſaith the Book of *Wiſdom*, *is the betraying of thoſe ſuccours which reaſon offereth*, made them both deſpair in Gods former promiſes, and to be forgetfull of their own ſtrength and multitudes. *Exod.* 13. 17. *Cap.* 17. 11.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

Of their passage over the Red Sea: and of the Red Sea it self.

BUt *Moses* who feared nothing but God himself, perswaded them to be confident in his goodnesse, who hath never abandoned those, that assuredly trust in him; using this comfortable and resolved speech: *Fear not, &c. for the Egyptians whom yee have seen this day, ye shall never see them again. The Lord shall fight for you.* After which *Moses* called on God for succour, received incouragement, and commandment to go on in these words: *Wherefore criest thou unto me? Speak unto the children of Israel that they go forward; and lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thy hand upon the Sea, and divide it, and let the children of Israel go on dry ground through the middest of the Sea.* *Moses* obeying the voice of God, in the dark of the night finding the sands uncovered, past on towards the other side and coast of *Arabia*: two parts of the night being spent ere he entred the Foord, which it pleased God by a forcible Eastern wind, and by *Moses* rod to prepare.

Exod.14.13.

Exod.14.16.

Pharaoh followed him even at the heels, finding the same dry ground which *Moses* trod on. Therefore, as it is written: *The Angel of God which went before the Host of Israel, removed, and went behind them; also the pillar of the cloud went from before them, and stood behind them*; which is, that it pleased God therein either by his immediate power, or by the ministery of his Angel, to interpose his defence between the *Hebrews* and their Enemies; to the end that the *Egyptians* might hereby be blinded, in such sort, as they could not pursue *Israel* with any harmfull speed. But in the morning watch, *Moses* seized the other bank of *Arabia* side: and *Pharaoh* (as the dawn of day began to illighten the obscure aire) finding a beginning of the Seas return, hasted himself towards his own Coast: *But* Moses *stretched forth his hand, and the Sea returned to his force*, that is, the Sea moved by the power of God, ran back towards the land with unresistable fury and swiftnesse, and overwhelmed the whole Army of *Pharaoh*, so as not one escaped. For it is written, that *God took off their Chariot wheels*, that is, when the waters began to cover the sands, the *Egyptians* being strucken with fear of death, ran one athwart another, and missing the path by which they had past on after the *Hebrews*, their wheels stuck fast in the mud and quick-sands, and could not be drawn out: the Sea coming against them with supernaturall violence.

Jesus 24.7.

Exod.14.27.

Lyranus upon *Exod.* 14. and others, following the opinions or old Traditions of the *Hebrews*, conceived, that after *Moses* had by the power of God divided the *Red Sea*, and that the children of *Israel* were fearfull to enter it, *Aminadab* Prince or Leader of the *Tribe* of *Juda* first made the adventure; and that therefore was that *Tribe* ever after honoured above the rest, according to the prophecy of *Jacob*, *Gen.*49.8. *Thy fathers sons shall bow down unto thee.* But *Hierome* upon the 11. of *Hosea* condemns this opinion. And though it be true, that *Juda* had the first place in all their marches in the Desart, and, as we now call it, led the Van-guard, (whereupon it may be inferred, that he also led the way through the *Red Sea*) yet that *Moses* himself was the Conducter of *Israel* at that time, it is generally received. For, as it is written in the 77. *Psalm*: *Thou didst lead thy people like sheep by the hand of* Moses *and* Aaron.

The *Hebrews* have also another fancy, that the *Red Sea* was divided into twelve parts, and that every *Tribe* past over in a path apart, because it is written in the 135. *Psalm*, according to the vulgar: *Divisit mare rubrum in divisiones*; *He divided the Red Sea in divisions.* Also that the bottom of the Sea became as a green Field or Pasture. But *Origen*, *Epiphanius*, *Abulensis*, and *Genebrard*, favouring this conceit, had forgotten to consider, that there were not twelve Pillars, nor twelve Armies of the *Egyptians*. It is written *Psal.*77.*v.*16. *Thy way is in the Sea*; not *thy waies*: and in the last Book of *Wisdom*, *ver.*7. *In the Red Sea there was a way.*

Now this Sea, through which *Moses* past, and in which *Pharaoh*, otherwise called *Chencres*, perished in the 16. yeer of his reign, is commonly known by the name of the *Red Sea*, though the same differ nothing at all in naturall colour from other waters. But as *Philostratus* in his third book noteth, and our selves know by experience, it is of a bluish colour, as other Seas are. It entreth at a narrow strait between *Arabia* the *Happy* and *Æthiopia*, or the land of the *Abyssins*: the mouth of the indraught from the Cape, which *Ptolomy* calleth *Possodium*, to the other Land of *Æthiopia*, hath not above

six

A Description of the Land of Goſen, & Moſes paſsage through the Deſerts

Sin. Ezek. 30. 15. Vitablus. Iunius. Hieron. writes Pelusia. the Septuagint Sin.
Casluhim Genes. 10. 14. Ptolomie writes Casius. of whom the Palestines or Philistims.
Pathros. Ezek. 30. 14. Genes. 10. 14. Ptolomie writes Phacusa.
Phibeseth. Ezek. 30. 17. of Septuf Vulgar. & Iunius writ Bubastus. Vatab. English Phibeth.
Zoan. Ezek. 30. 14. 30 Vatablus & Eng. writ it. the Vulg. Taphnis. the Septuag: Tanis.
On. Gen. 41. 45. 50 Vatablus & our Eng. writ it. of Vatab. Septuag. Heliopolis. Plinie & Mela Solis
Babylon. the Ebrewes. Tudalensis. & Postellus. Memphis. (Oppidum
Noph. Ezek. 30. 16. 30 Vatablus. Iunius & Eng. writ it. of Septuag. Vulg. Porta. Hier. Mephis
Aven. Ezek. 30. 17. 30 Vatablus & Eng. writ it. the Septuag. Vulg. & Iunius. Heliopolis.
Rameses. Exod. 12. 37. Gen. 47. Goſen. the Hebrewes and Chald: Par:
Migdol. Exod. 14. 2. Jerem. 46. 14. speaketh of Migdol neere Pelusium.
Damiata not the same with Pelusium. G. Tyrrhel. Sacul. 20. cent.
Pithom. Exod. 1. which Herodotus calls Patumes.
Elim. Exod. 16. 27. & Mansion. Wil. Tyre in his 18 book of y holy warr. 20 or 22 miles
ruins of a Citie there. it was still called Helis. & inhabited this time in y 1200 after Christ.
Etham and Sur one and the same. Etham. Numb. 33. 8. Sur. Exod. 15. 22.
Pharan. so called in Ptol: time. who finds a Citie of y name neere y Red Sea.
Sin. Zin cades. and Cadesbarne. distinct places. Paran. Numb. 13. 27
Sinais betweene Elim & Sinai. Exod. 16. Sin. Strucht ne ran. Not the Alus for Raphidim
Zin cades ingnite Arabia y Desert & Cadesbarne to Idumea. (is South. Exod.
Sinai Desert is betweene Raphidim and Mount Sinai. Exod. 19. 2. and it stretcheth Southward towards Midian.
The Deserts of Moab lie East from the Dead Sea and ieyne vppon the Desert Arabia. and those of Edom betweene Hor. and Theman.

PART OF THE MEDITERANEAN SEA

PHOENICIA SEA

THE SANDY DESERT

THE DESERT OF ETHAM AND SUR

SIN DESERT

THE RED SEA

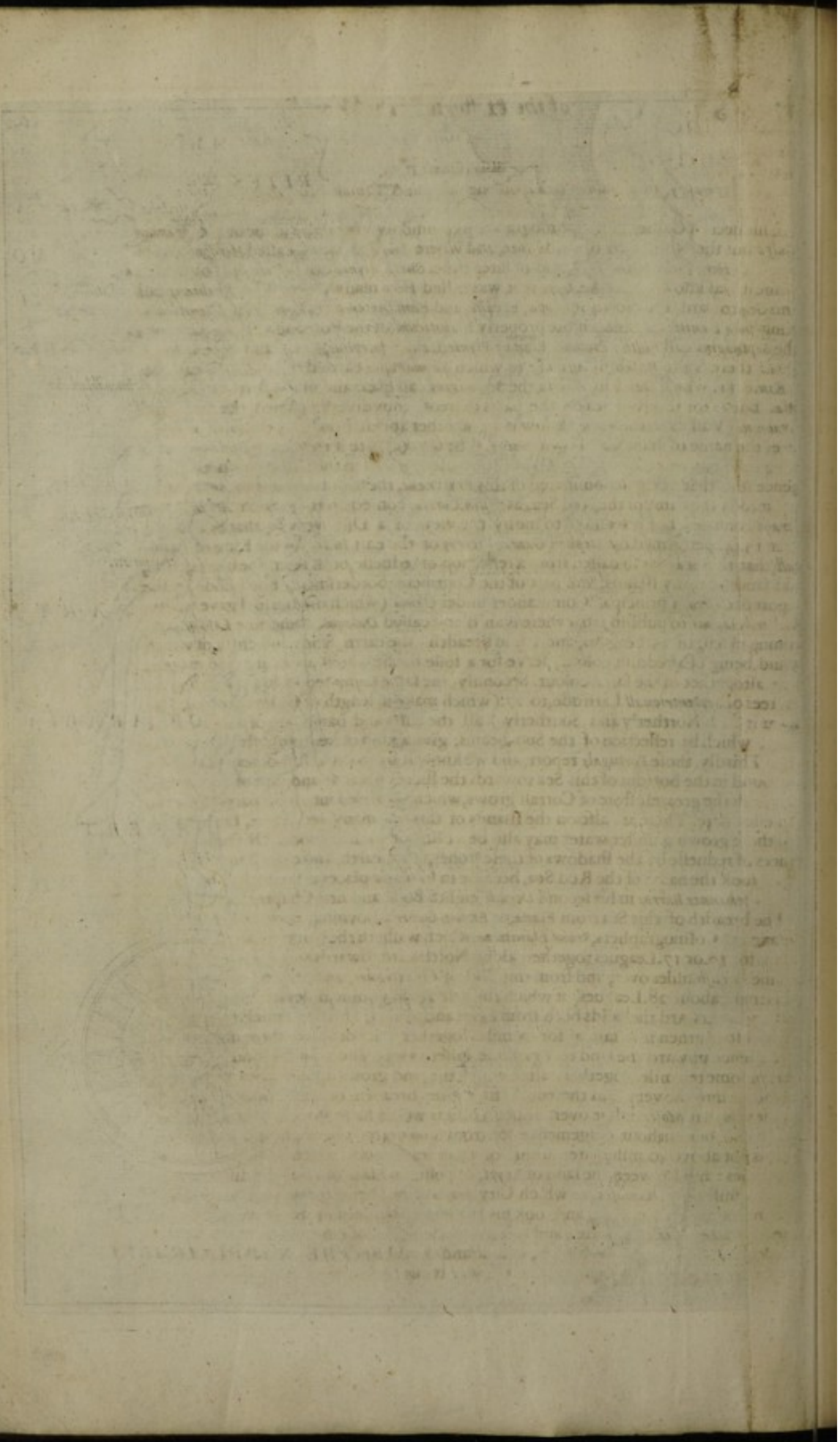
EGYPT

GOSEN

The way from Goſen into Paleſtin

Ostracum
Rinocorura
Casius
Larus
Damiata
Sur or Pelusiu
Casluhim
Sirbonis
Pathros or Phacusa
Migdol or Migdol
Phibeseth or Bubastus
Zoan or Tanis
The habit: hous Israelit and Israel
On or Heliopolis
Rameses
Succoth
Mizraim or Babylon
Noph or Memphis
Mara 5.
Dafka 6
Elim 6.
Sin
Pithom
Etham 3.
Aven or Heliopolis
Tranaims flu
Pithcret 4
Migdol
Midian
Baleephon
Pharan
Asiongr
Villes flu:
Gulf of Arabia or Red Sea

ption of the
Gosen, and
passage thro:
he Deserts



ſix leagues in breadth, and the ſame, alſo filled every where with Iſlands, but afterwards it extendeth it ſelf 58. Leagues from Coaſt to Coaſt, and it runneth up between *Arabia* the *Happy*, and *Arabia Petræa*, on one ſide, and *Æthiopia* and *Ægypt* on the other, as far as *Sues*, the uttermoſt end and indraught of that Sea: where the *Turk* now keepeth his fleet of Gallies. The Coſmographers commonly give it the name of the *Arabian Gulf*: but the North part towards *Sues*, and where *Moſes* paſt, is called *Heropolites*, of the City *Hero*; ſometime *Troy*, and of later times *Sues*. *Plynie* cals it *Cambiſu*, by which name it was known, ſaith he, before it was called *Hero* many yeers. The *Arabians* call this Sea towards the North *Apocopa*, *Eccant*, and *Eant*. *Artemidorus* writes it *Æleniticum*: King *Juba Læniticum*, others more properly *Elaniticum*, of the Port and City *Elana*: which the *Septuagint* call *Elath*: *Ptolomy*, *Elana*: *Plynie*, *Læna*: *Joſephus*, *Ilana*: and *Marius Niger*, *Aila*: there is alſo *Ilalah* in *Aſſyria*, to which *Salmanaſſer* carried the *Iſraelites* captive, 2 *Kin.* 8. 11. which *Ilalah* in *Aſſyria* the *Septuagint* call *Elæa*: and in the firſt of *Chr.* the 5. *Ala*. But as for this Red Sea on the parts thereof, thus diverſly named, the *Moors* and *Arabians* (Vaſſals to the *Turk*) know it by no other appellation, than the Gulf of *Mecca*, after the name of *Mahomets* Town *Mecca*. The *Greeks* write it the Sea *Erythræum*, of a King called *Erythras*, or *Erythræus*: and becauſe *Erythros* in the *Greek* ſignifieth Red: hence it is, that being denominated of this *Erythræus*, the ſon of *Perſeus* and *Andromeda*, yet it took the name of the Red Sea, as *Quin. Curtius* conjectureth: which *Arianus* and *Strabo* confirm. But it ſeemeth to me by the view of a Diſcovery of that Sea in the yeer 1544. performed by *Stephen Gama*, *Viceroy* of the Eaſt *India* for the King of *Portugall*, that this Sea was ſo called from a reflection of redneſſe, both from the banks, clifts, and ſands of many Iſlands, and part of the Continent bordering it. For I finde by the report of *Caſtro*, a principall Commander under *Gama* (which diſcourſe I gave Maſter *Richard Hackuit* to publiſh) that there is an Iſland called *Dalaqua*, ſometime *Lequeo*, containing in length 25. Leagues, and 12. in breadth; the earth, ſands, and clifts, of which Iſland, being of a reddiſh colour, ſerve for a foile to the waters about it: and make it ſeem altogether of the ſame colour. Secondly, the ſame *Caſtro* reporteth, that from 24. degrees of *Septentrionall* Latitude, to 27. (which make in length of Coaſt 180. miles, lying as it doth Northerly and Southerly) all the clifts and banks are of red earth or ſtone, which by reflection of the Sun-beams, give a kind of reddiſh luſter to the waters. Thirdly, thoſe *Portugals* report, and we know it by many teſtimonies, that there are found in the bottom of this Sea towards the ſhore, great abundance of red ſtones, on which the greateſt ſtore of Corrall grows, which is carried into moſt parts of *Europe*, and elſewhere. There are alſo on the Iſlands of this Sea many red Trees, ſaith *Strabo*, and thoſe growing under water may alſo be a cauſe of ſuch a colour. Of theſe appearances of redneſſe by the ſhadows of theſe ſtones, ſands, earth, and clifts, I ſuppoſe that it firſt took the name of the Red Sea, becauſe in ſo many places it ſeemeth to be ſuch: which *Johannes Barros* in his ſecond *Decade*, eighth Book and firſt Chapter, confirmeth.

The breadth of this Sea from *Elana*, or *Ezion-Gaber* adjoyning, now *Toro*, called by the ancient Coſmographers, *Sinus Elaniticus*, which waſheth the banks of *Madian* or *Midian*, is for 16. or 17. Leagues together, along Northward towards *Sues*, ſome 3. Leagues, or nine *Engliſh* miles over, and from this Port of *Toro* to *Sues*, and the end of this Sea, it is in length about 28. Leagues, of which the firſt 26. have nine miles breadth, as aforeſaid, and afterward the lands both from *Egypt* and *Arabia*, thruſt themſelves into the Sea, and ſtrengthen it ſo faſt, as for ſix miles together it is not above three miles over; from thence upward the land on *Egypt* ſide, falleth away, and makes a kind of *Bay* or *Cove* for ſome ten miles together, after which the land grows upon the Sea again, and ſo binds it into the very end thereof, at four miles breadth, or thereabout, in which tract it was that *Moſes* paſt it over, though others would have it to be over-againſt *Elana* or *Toro*, but without judgement: for from *Ramaſes* to *Pihacheroth* and *Baalzephon*, there is not above 30. miles interjacent, or 35. miles at moſt, which *Moſes* paſt over in three daies: and between the land of *Egypt*, oppoſite to *Elana* or *Toro*, the diſtance is above 80. miles. For *Ramaſes*, to which City *Moſes* came (being the *Metropolis* of *Goſen*) when he left *Pharaoh* at *Zoan*, and took his laſt leave, ſtandeth in 30. degrees five minutes of *Septentrionall* Latitude; and *Migdol*, or the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, at the foot of the Mountain *Climax*, or *Baalzephon*, in nine and twenty and a half, which make a difference of five and thirty *Engliſh* miles, the way lying in effect North and South.

1 *Plin. l. 6. c. 23.*
2 *Kings 19.*
Joſ. Ant. 8. c. 2.
Arian. de geſt. Alex. Mag. l. 8.
Strabo l. 6.

§. IX.

§. IX.

That the passage through the Red Sea was miraculous, and not a low ebbe.

THe *Egyptians*, and of them the *Memphites*, and other *Heathen* Writers, who in hatred of the *Hebrewes* have objected that *Moses* past over the Red Sea at a low ebbe, upon a great spring-tyde, and that *Pharaoh*, conducted more by fury than discretion, pursued him so far, as before he could recover the coast of *Egypt*, he was over-taken by the floud, and therein perished; did not well consider the nature of this place with other circumstances. For, not to borrow strength from that part of the Scriptures, which makes it plaine, that the Waters were divided, and that God wrought this miracle by an Easterly winde, and by the hand and rod of *Moses* (which authority to men that beleeve not therein, perswadeth nothing) I say, that by the same naturall reason unto which they fastned themselves, it is made manifest, that had there been no other working power from above, or assistance given from God himself to *Moses* and the children of *Israel*, than ordinary and casuall, then could not *Pharaoh* and all his Army have perished in that pursuit.

For whersoever there is any ebbing of the Sea in any gulfe, or indraught, there doe the waters fall away from the Land, and runne downwards toward the *Ocean*, leaving all that part towards the Land as far as the Sea can ebbe, or fall off, to be dry Land. Now *Moses* entring the Sea at *Migdol* under *Baalzephon* (if he had taken the advantage and opportunity of the tide) must have left all that end of the *Red Sea* towards *Sues*, on his left hand dry and uncovered. For if a passage were made by falling away of the water ten or twelve miles farther into the Sea than *Sues*, and between it and where *Moses* past, who entred the same so far below it, and towards the body of the same Sea: it followeth then, that if all that part of the Sleeve or Strait, had bin by the ebbe of a spring-tide discovered, when *Pharao* found the floud increasing, he needed not to have returned by the same way toward *Egypt* side, but might have gone on in his return before the tide, on his right hand: and so taken ground again at the end of that Sea, at *Sues* it self, or elsewhere. But the Scriptures do truly witnesse the contrary, that is, That the Sea did not fal away from the Land, as naturally it doth, but that *Moses* past on between two Seas, and that the waters were divided. Otherwise *Pharao* by any returne of waters could not have perished, as he did: and therefore the effects of that great Armies destruction, prove the cause to have been a power above nature, and the miraculous worke of God himself. Againe, those words of the Scriptures, that *God caused the Sea to runne back by a strong East-wind*, doe rather prove the miracle, then that thereby was caused an ebbe more than ordinary: for that Sea did not lye East and West, but, in effect, North and South. And it must have beene a West and North-west winde, that must have driven those waters away through their proper Channels, and to the South-east into the Sea. But the East winde blew athwart the Sea, and cut it asunder: so as one part fell back towards the South and main body thereof, the other part remained towards *Sues*, and the North. Which being unknowne to *Pharaoh*: while he was checkt by that Sea which used in all times before to ebbe away, the floud prest him and over-whelmed him. Thirdly, seeing *Josephus* avoweth, that *Moses* was not onely of excellent judgement generally, but also, so great a Captain, as he over-threw the *Æthiopians* in battels, being imployed by *Pharaoh*, and wan divers Cities seeming impregnable: it were barbarous to condemn him of this grosseneſſe, and distraction: that rather than he would have endured the hardneſſe of a Mountainous passage at hand (had not God commanded him to take that way, and foretold him of the honour which he would there win upon *Pharaoh*) he would have trusted to the advantage of an ebbing water. For he knew not the contrary, but that *Pharaoh* might have found him, and prest him, as well when it flowed as when it ebbed, as it seemeth he did. For the people, beholding *Pharaohs* approach, cried out against *Moses*, and despaired altogether of their safety: and when *Moses* prayed unto God for help, he was answered by God: *Wherefore criest thou unto me? Speak unto the children of Israel that they go forward, and lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thy hand upon the Sea, and divide it:* which proves that there was not at the time of *Pharaohs* approach any ebbe at all; but that God did disperse and cut through the weight of waters, by a strong East-winde, whereby the Sands disco-

diſcovered themſelves between the ſea on the left hand toward *Sues*, from whence the waters moved not, and the ſea which was towards the South on the right hand, *So that the waters were a wall unto them on the right hand, and on the left hand*, that is, the waters ſo defended them on both ſides, as the *Egyptians* could onely follow them in the ſame path, not that the waters ſtood upright as walls do, as ſome of the School-men have fancied. For had *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians* perceived any ſuch buildings in the ſea, they would ſoon have quitted the chaſe and purſuit of *Iſrael*. Furthermore, there is no man of judgement that can think, that *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians*, who then excelled all Nations in the obſervations of heavenly Motions, could be ignorant of the ſluxes and refluxes of the ſea, in his own Countrie, on his own coaſt, and in his own moſt traded and frequented Ports and Havens; and wherein, his people having had ſo many hundreds of yeers experience of the tides, he could not be caught, as he was, through ignorance, nor by any foreknown or naturall accident, but by Gods powerfull hand onely; which then falleth moſt heavily on all men, when looking through no other ſpectacle but their own proſperity, they leaſt diſcern it coming, and leaſt fear it. Laſtly, if the Army of the *Egyptians* had been overtaken by the ordinary return of the flood before they could recover their own coaſt; their bodies drowned would have been carried with the flood which runneth up to *Sues*, and to the end of that ſea, and not have been caſt aſhore on that coaſt of *Arabia* where *Moſes* landed, to wit, upon the ſea-bank over againſt *Baalzephon*, on *Arabia* ſide: where it was that the *Iſraelites* ſaw their dead bodies, and not at the end of the *Red Sea*, to which place the ordinary flood would have carried them: Which flood doth not any where croſs the Channel, and run athwart it, as it muſt have done from *Egypt* ſide to *Arabia*, to have caſt the bodies there; but it keeps the naturall courſe towards the end of that ſea: and to which their carkaſſes ſhould have been carried, if the work had not been ſupernaturall and miraculous. *Apollonius* in the lives of the Fathers affirmeth, that thoſe of the *Egyptians* which ſtayed in the Countrie, and did not follow *Pharaoh* in the purſuit of *Iſrael*, did ever after honour thoſe Beaſts, Birds, Plants, or other creatures, about which they were buſied at the time of *Pharaohs* deſtruction: as he that was then labouring in his garden, made a god of that Plant or Root about which he was occupied: and ſo of the reſt. But how thoſe multitudes of gods were erected among them, a more probable reaſon ſhall be given elſewhere. *Oroſius*, in his firſt Book and tenth Chapter againſt the Pagans, tells us, that in his time, who lived ſome 400. yeers after *Chriſt*, the prints of *Pharaohs* Chariot wheels were to be ſeen at a low water on the *Egyptian* ſands: and though they were ſometime defaced by wind and weather, yet ſoon after they appeared again. But hereof I leave every man to his own belief. Cap.14.v.21.

CHAP. IV.

Of the journeying of the Iſraelites from the Red Sea, to the place where the Law was given them: with a diſcourſe of Laws.

§. I.

A tranſition, by way of recapitulation of ſome things touching Chronologie: with a continuance of the ſtory, untill the Amalekites met with the Iſraelites.

BUt to go on with the ſtory of *Iſrael*, in this ſort I collect the times. *Moſes* was born in the yeer of the World, 2434. *Saphrus* then governing *Aſſyria*; *Orthopolis*, *Sycionia* or *Peloponneſus*; *Crioſus*, the *Argives*; *Orus*, *Egypt*; and *Deucalion*, *Theſſaly*. He fled into *Midian*, when he had lived fourty yeers, in the yeer of the World, 2474. and two yeers after was *Caleb* born. He returned by the commandment and ordinance of God into *Egypt*, and wrought his miracles in the fields of *Zoan*, in the yeer 2514. the laſt moneth of that yeer. On the 14. day of the first Acts 7. Joſua 14. 2474 2514

first Hebrew moneth *Abib*, or the 15. of that moneth, beginning the day (as they) at
Pag. 254. Sun-setting, in the yeer of the World, 2514. was the celebration of the *Passeover*: and in the dead of the night of the same day were all the first-born slain through *Egypt*, or in all those parts where the *Hebrews* inhabited not. The 15. day of the first moneth of
Exod. 12. the *Hebrews* called *Abib*, being about the beginning of the yeer of the World, 2514.
Num. 33. *Moses* with the children of *Israel* removed from the generall Assembly at *Rameses*, and marched to *Succoth*.

Exod. 13. And departing thence, they made their third Station at *Etham*: and journeying from *Etham*, they encamped in the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, or *Migdol*, under the mountain *Baal-*
Num. 33. *zephon*; and in the same night after midnight, they past the *Red Sea*: *Pharaoh* and his
Exod. 14. Num. 33. Army perishing in their return, about the first dawn of the day. *Moses* having reco-
Exod. 14. vered the banks of *Arabia*, gave thanks unto God, for the delivery of *Israel*; and making no stay on that coast, entred the Desarts of *Arabia Petræa*, called *Sur*. But finding
Num. 33. no water in that passage, he incamped at *Marah*, in the Desart of *Etham*, which in *Exod.* 15. 22. is also called *Sur*, 25. miles from the Sea: where the children of *Israel*, prest
Exod. 15. with extreme thirst, murmured against *Moses* the second time; first, at *Pharaohs* ap-
Num. 33. proach in *Pihacheroth*, and now in *Arabia*. But *Moses* taking the branches of a tree, growing neer a Lake of bitter water, and casting the same thereinto, made the same sweet: a plain type and figure of our Saviour; who upon the tree of the Cross changed the bitternesse of everlasting death into the sweetnesse of eternall life. *Plinie* remembers these bitter Fountains in his sixth Book and 29. Chapter. From whence to *Delta* in *Egypt*, *Sesostris* first, *Darius* after him, and lastly, *Ptolomy* the second, began to cut an artificiall river, thereby by boats and small shipping to trade and navigate the *Red Sea*,
Exod. 15. from the great Cities upon *Nilus*. From *Marah* he removed to *Elim*, the sixth Mansion,
Num. 33. a march of eight miles: where finding twelve Fountains of sweet water, and threescore and ten Palm-trees, he rested divers dayes.

Whether this *Helim* were the name of a Town or City in *Moses* time, I cannot affirm. And yet the scarcity of waters in that Region was such, as *Helim*, which had twelve Fountains, could hardly be left unpeopled. *William*, Archbishop of *Tyre*, in his History of the *Holy War*, found at *Helim* the ruines of a great and ancient City. And at
W. T. Tyr. l. 11. cap. 16. such time as *Baldwine* the first past that way into *Egypt*. *Ingressus* (saith he) Helim *Civitatem antiquissimam, populo Israelitico aliquando familiarem; ad quam cum pervenissent, loci illius incolæ, Regis adventu præcognito, naviculam ingredientes, in mare vicinum se contulerunt*; *Entring* Helim *a very ancient City, well known sometime to the people of Israel; whither when he came, the inhabitants, forewarned of the Kings approach, took boat, and shifted themselves into the sea lying neer them*. From *Elim* he returned again towards the South, and sate down by the banks of the *Red Sea*: the seventh Mansion. For it seemeth that he had knowledge of *Amalech*, who repaired to resist his passage through that part of *Arabia*. And *Moses*, who had not as yet trained those of the *Hebrews*, appointed to bear arms: nor assured the mindes of the rest, who encountring with the least misery, were more apt to return to their quiet slavery, than either to endure the wants and perils which every where accompanied them in that passage, or at this time to undertake or sustain so dangerous an enemy: he therefore made stay at this Mansion
Exod. 16. untill the fifteenth of this second moneth called *Zim*, or *Jiar*: and made the eighth Mansion in the Desart of *Zin*; where the children of *Israel* mutined against *Moses* the third time, having want of food. In the sixteenth Chapter of *Exodus*, *Moses* omitteth this retreat from *Elim* to the *Red Sea*, but in the collection of every severall incamping, in the 33. of *Numbers*, it is set down.

Here it pleased God to send so many flights of Quails, as all the Countrie about their incamping was covered with them. The morning following it also rained Manna, being the sixteenth of their moneth, which served them in stead of bread. For
Exod. 16. now was the store consumed which the people carried with them out of *Egypt*. And though they had great numbers of cattell and sheep among them, yet it seemeth that they durst not feed themselves with many of those: but reserved them, both for the milk to relieve the children withall, and for breed to store themselves when they came to the Land promised.

From hence towards *Raphidim* they made two removes of twenty miles: the one

to

to *Daphca*, the other to *Alus*, distant from *Raphidim* six miles. Here being again prest with want of water, they murmured the fourth time, and repented them of their departure from *Egypt*, where they rather contented themselves to be fed and beaten after the manner of beasts, than to suffer a casuall and sometime necessary want, and to undergo the hazzards and travells which every manly mind seeketh after, for the love of God, and their own freedoms. But *Moses* with the same rod which he divided the Sea withall, in the sight of the *Elders* of *Israel* brought waters out of the rock, wherewith the whole multitude were satisfied. *Exod.17.*

§. II.

Of the Amalekites, Madianites, *and* Kenites, *upon occasion of the battell with the* Amalekites, *and* Jethro's *coming: who being a* Kenite, *was Priest of* Madian.

AND while *Moses* incamped in this place, the *Amalekites*, who had knowledge of his approach, and ghessed that he meant to lead the children of *Israel* through their Countrie (which being barren of it selfe, would be utterly wasted by so great a multitude of people and cattell) thought it most for their advantage to set upon them at *Raphidim*: where the want of water, and all other things needfull for the life of man, infeebled them. On the other side, *Moses* perceiving their resolutions, gave charge to *Josua* to draw out a sufficient number of the ablest *Hebrews*, to encounter *Amalech*. Between whom and *Israel* the victory remained doubtfull, for the most part of the day: the *Hebrews* and *Amalekites* contending with equall hopes and repulses for many hours. And had not the strength of *Moses* prayers to God been of far greater force, and more prevalent, than all resistance and attempt made by the bodies of men; that valiant and warlike Nation had greatly endangered the whole enterprise. For those bodies which are unacquainted with scarcity of food, and those mindes whom a servile education hath dulled, being beaten, and despaired in their first attempts, will hardly, or never be brought again to hazzard themselves. *Exod.17.*

After this victory, *Jethro* repaired to *Moses*, bringing with him *Moses* his wife, and his two sons, which either *Jethro* forbare to conduct, or *Moses* to receive, till he had by this overthrow of *Amalech* the better assured himself of that part of *Arabia*. For it is written in *Exod.*18.1. *When* Jethro *the Priest of Madian*, Moses *father in law, heard all that God had done for* Moses, *&c.* of which, the last deed, to wit, the overthrow of *Amalech*, gave *Jethro* courage and assurance, he then repaired to his son in law *Moses*, at *Sinai*; where amongst other things, he advised *Moses* to appoint *Judges* and other *Officers* over *Israel*; being himself unable to give order in all cause and controversies, among so many thousands of people, full of discontentment and private controversie.

This *Jethro*, although he dwelt amongst the *Madianites*, yet he was by nation a *Kenite*, as in the fourth of *Judges*, *ver.*11.*&* 17. it is manifest: where it is written, *Now* Heber *the Kenite, which was of the children of* Hobab, *to wit, the son of* Jethro, *the father in law of* Moses, *was departed from the Kenites, and pitched his tents untill the Plain of Zaanaim, which is by Kedesh.* Likewise in the first of *Samuel*, *Saul* commanded the *Kenites* to depart from among the *Amalekites*, lest he should destroy them with the *Amalekites*. For the *Kenites* inhabited the mountains of *Sin Kadesh*: and the *Amalekites* dwelt in the Plains, according to the saying of *Balaam*, speaking of the *Kenites*: *Strong is thy dwelling place, and thou hast put thy nest in the rock.* And that *Saul* spared this Nation, he giveth for cause, that they shewed mercy to all the children of *Israel*, when they came up from *Egypt*. For these *Kenites* were a Nation of the *Madianites*, and the *Madianites* were of the issues of *Madian*, one of the six sons which *Abraham* begat on *Kethura*: and might also take that name of *Kenites* from *Kethura*, of whom they descended by the mother, who (as it seemeth) kept the knowledge of the true God among them, which they received from their parent *Abraham*. For *Moses*, when he fled out of *Egypt* into *Madian*, and married the daughter of *Jethro*, would not (had he found them Idolaters) have made *Jethro*'s daughter the mother of his children. And although the *Kenites* are named amongst those Nations, which God promised, that the seed of *Abraham* should root out, and inherit their lands; yet it cannot be meant by these, who are descended from *Abraham* himself: but by some other Nation, bearing *Cap.*15.*v.*18. *Num.*24.28. 1 *Sam.c.*15. *Gen.*25.

the same name; and in all likelihood of the race of *Chus*. For in the fifteenth of *Genesis*, *ver.* 19. these *Kenites* or *Chusites* are listed with the *Hittites* and *Perizzites*, with the
Gen. 15. *Amorites*, *Canaanites*, *Gergesites*, and *Jebusites*, which were indeed afterwards rooted out. But these *Kenites* descended from *Abraham*, had separated themselves from among the rest, which were altogether idolatrous. For, as it is before remembred, *Heber* the *Ke-*
Jud. 4. *nite*, which was of the children of *Hobab*, was departed from the *Kenites*; that is to say, from those *Kenites* of *Canaan*, and inhabited in *Zaanaim*, which is by *Kedesh* or *Cadesh*. Again, *Moses* nameth that Nation of the *Kenites*, before *Midian*, or any of *Abrahams* other sons were born; which he did (referring my selfe to better judgement) rather, because they were more ancient, than by anticipation.

Gen. 25. 4. And as of the *Kenites*, so we may consider of the *Madianites*, parted by *Moses* into five Tribes. For some of them were corrupted, and heathens; as those of *Madian* by the river *Zared*, afterwards destroyed by *Moses*. But the *Madianites* neer the banks of the *Red Sea*, where *Moses* married his wife *Zippora*, and with whom he left her and his children, till after the overthrow of *Amalech*, seem likewise not to have been corrupted. For these *Madianites* with the *Kenites* assisted *Israel*, and guided them in the Desarts. But the *Madianites* in *Moab*, and to the North of the *Metropolis* of *Arabia*, called *Petræa*, were by *Israel* rooted out, when those adjoyning to the *Red Sea* were not touched.

And though it may be doubted, whether those of *Madian*, of whom *Jethro* was Priest, and the other Cities in *Moab* were the same, yet the contrary is more probable. For *Moses* would not have sent 12000. *Israelites* as far back as the *Red Sea*, from the Plains of *Moab*, to have destroyed that *Madian*, where his wives kinred inhabited; seeing himself coming with 600000. able men, was encountred by *Amalech* in that passage. Neither could *Moses* forget the length of the way through those discomfortable Desarts, wherein himself and *Israel* had wandred 40. yeers.

That *Jethro* or *Jothor*, *Raguel* or *Revel*, and *Hobab*, were but one person, the Scriptures teach us. For the *Vulgar* and *Septuagint*, which call him *Raguel*, and our *English*, *Revel*, *Exod.* 2. 18. calls him *Jethro*, or *Jothor*, *Exod.* 3. 1. & 4. 18. & 18. 1. & 6. 9, 10, 12. and in *Num.* 10. 29. *Hobab*. Others take *Jethro* and *Hobab* to be the same, but not *Raguel*.

§. III.

Of the time when the Law was given; with divers commendations of the invention of Laws.

THe rest of the moneths of this yeer 2515. were spent in the Desart of *Sinai*, neer the mountain of *Sinai* or *Horeb*, the twelfth Mansion. *Eusebius* thought that *Sinai* and *Horeb* were distinct mountains: *Hierome*, to be but one, of a double name. And so it appeareth by many Scriptures. For, in *Exodus* 3. 1. it is called *Horeb*: and in *Exodus* 24. 19. it is written *Sinai*. In the 106. *Psalm*, *ver.* 19. *Horeb*: in *Exod.* 19. 11. *Sinai*. And so it is called, *Galatians* 4. 24. And again, *Deut.* 4. 10. and 15. and *Deut.* 5. 2. *Horeb*. And so is it in the first of *Kin.* 8. 6. and the second of *Chron.* 5. 10. and in *Malachie* 4. 4. Finally, in *Ecclesiasticus* 48. 7. they are named as one. *Which heardest* (saith *Ecclesiasticus*) *the rebuke of the Lord in Sinai, and in Horeb the judgement of the vengeance.* Somewhat they are dis-joyned at the top by the report of *Peter Belonius*; who in the yeer 1588. past out of *Egypt* into *Arabia*, with *Monsieur de Fumet* of *France*, and travelled to the top both of *Sinai* and *Horeb*: *Sinai* being by far the higher hill. From the side of *Horeb* (saith he) there falleth a very fair Spring of water into the Valley adjoyning: where he found two *Monasteries* of *Christian Marronites*, containing some hundred Religious persons of divers Nations, who had pleasant gardens, delicate fruits,
Pet. Bel. l. 2. c. 62. and excellent wine. These (saith the same Author) give entertainment to all strangers, which passe that way.

Now that there was some such Torrent of water neer *Sinai* in *Moses* time, it is very probable: First, because he encamped thereabout almost a yeer, and drew no water, as in other places, by miracle: Secondly, because it is written, *Exod.* 32. 20. that when *Moses* had broken the golden Calf to powder, which *Aaron* set up in his absence, he cast the powder thereof into the water, and made the children of *Israel* to drink thereof.

On this mountain, the Law by the Angel of God was given to *Moses*, where he stayed

ſtayed a whole yeer, wanting ſome ten or twelve daies: for he removed not till the 20. day of the ſecond moneth of the ſecond yeer; and he arrived about the 45. day after the egreſſion: the Law being given the 50. day.

At this Manſion all was done, which is written from the beginning of the 29. Chapter of *Exodus*, to the end of that booke; all in *Leviticus*; and all in *Numbers*, to the 10. Chapter. Whereof (becauſe there is no ſtory nor other paſſage) I will omit the repitition, and in place thereof ſpeake ſomewhat of the Law, and the kindes and uſe thereof: whereby, if the Reader finde the ſtory any way diſ-joyned, he may turne over a few leaves, and, omitting this, finde the continuation thereof. We muſt firſt conſider, that as there can be neither foundation, building, nor continuance of any Common-wealth, without the rule, levell, and ſquare of Laws: ſo it pleaſed God to give thereby unto *Moſes* the powerfulleſt man (his miraculous grace excepted) to govern that multitude which he conducted; to make them victorious in their paſſage, and to eſtabliſh them aſſuredly in their conqueſt. For as the North ſtar is the moſt fixed directour of the Seaman to his deſired Port: ſo is the Law of God the guide and conductor of all in generall, to the haven of eternall life: the Law of nature, from God his eternall law deduced, the rule of all his creatures: the Law humane, depending on both theſe, the guard of Kings, Magiſtrates, and vertuous men; yea, the very ſpirit, and the very ſinews of every Eſtate in the world, by which they live and move: the Law, to wit, a juſt law, being reſembled to an Heart without affection, to an Eye without luſt, and to a Minde without paſſion; a Treaſurer, which keepeth for every man what he hath, and diſtributeth to every man what he ought to have. This benefit the *Ancient*, though barbarous, eſteemed ſo highly, that among them, thoſe which were taken for the firſt makers of Laws, were honoured as gods, or as the ſons of gods: and the reſt, that made either additions or corrections, were commended to all poſterity for men of no leſſe vertue, and no leſſe liberally beneficiall to their Countries, than the greateſt and moſt proſperous Conquerours that ever governed them. The *Iſraelites*, the *Lacedæmonians*, and the *Athenians*, received their Laws from one: as the *Iſraelites*, from *Moſes*; the *Lacedæmonians*, from *Lycurgus*; the *Athenians*, from *Solan*; the *Romans*, ſometime from their firſt Kings, from their *Decem viri*, from their *Senatours*, from their *Lawyers*, and from the people themſelves: other from the Prince, Nobility, and People; as in *England*, *France*, and in other *Chriſtian Monarchies* and *Eſtates*.

§. IV.

Of the name and meaning of the words Law, *and* Right.

THe word *Lex*, or *Law*, is not alwaies taken alike, but is diverſly, and in an indifferent ſenſe uſed. For if we conſider it at large, it may be underſtood for any rule preſcribing a neceſſary mean, order, and method, for the attaining of an end. And ſo the rules of *Grammar*, or other Arts, are called Laws. Or it is taken for any private ordinance of Superiours or Inferiours: for the commandments of Tyrants, which they cauſe to be obſerved by force, for their Decrees do alſo uſurp that Title, according to the generall acceptation of the word *Law*: of which *Eſay*, *Woe unto them that decree wicked decrees, and write grievous things*. Likewiſe, the word is uſed for the tumultuary reſolutions of the people. For ſuch conſtitutions doth *Ariſtotle* alſo call Laws, though evill and inſufficient: *Mala lex eſt, quæ tumultuariè poſita eſt*; *It is an evill law that is made tumultuouſly*. So as all ordinances, either good or evil, are called by the name of Laws. *Eſay* 10.

The word *Law* is alſo taken for the morall habit of our mind, which doth (as it were) command our thoughts, words, and actions: framing and faſhioning them according to it ſelf, as to their pattern and plat-form. And thus the law of the fleſh, which the Divines call *legem fomitis*, is to be underſtood. For every law is a kind of pattern of that which is done according unto it: in which ſenſe, as *elſewhere, this morall habit or diſpoſition of the heart is called the frame or *figmentum* of the heart: ſo in S. *Paul* to the *Romans* it is called a *Law*: *But I ſee another law in my members, rebelling againſt the Law of my minde, and leading me captive unto the law of ſin*. Again, the nature and inclinations of all creatures are ſometime called (*a*) *laws*, ſo far as they agree with the reaſon of the law eternall; as the law of a *Lion*, to be fierce or valiant.

*Ethic. l. 4. c. 1.

*Gen. 6. 5. Item 8. 2.

(*a*) So *Virgil*, *centum hæc leges æternaque fœdera certis imposuit natura locis*; where alſo it is to be noted, that he joyns *leges* and *fœdera* together, as in the Scripture the law is oftentimes called the covenant.

Alſo

Also private contracts among Merchants and other Tradesmen, do often put on the name of laws. But law commonly and properly, is taken for a right rule, preſcribing a neceſſary mean, for the good of a Common-wealth, or Civill Communitie. The reſt, to wit, the commandements of Tyrants, &c. which have not the common good for their end, but being *leges iniquæ*, are by *Thomas* called *violentiæ magis quàm leges*; *rather compulſions than laws:* And whatſoever is not juſt, S. *Auguſtine* doth not allow for laws, howſoever eſtabliſhed: for he calls them *iniqua hominum conſtituta, quæ nec jura dicenda, nec putanda ſunt*; *The unjuſt conſtitutions of men, which are neither to be termed nor thought laws.* For, ſaith *Ariſtotle*, *Legalia juſta ſunt factiva, & conſervativa fælicitatis*; *Juſt laws are the workers and preſervers of happineſſe:* becauſe by them we are directed *ad vitam quietam, to a quiet life*, according to *Cicero:* Yea, *to life everlaſting*, according to the Scriptures. For the end of the Law, ſaith *Plato*, is God and his worſhip: *Finis legis Deus & cultus ejus. Lex*, or the Law, is ſo called by the *Latines*, *à legendo*, or *à ligando*, *of reading*, or *binding: Leges quia lectæ & ad populum latæ*, ſaith *Varro*; For after Laws were written and publiſhed, all men might reade them, aud behold in them whereto they were bound. The other *Etymology*, *à ligando*, is no leſſe agreeable with the nature of a Law: whence in the Scripture it is called alſo a yoak, and a band: as *confregerunt jugum, diruperunt vincula:* they have broken the yoak, they have broken the bands. And in the ſecond *Pſalm*, *Dirumpamus vincula eorum, & projiciamus à nobis funes ipſorum*; *Let us break their bands in ſunder, and caſt away their cords from us.*

Ariſt. Ethic. 5. cap. 5.

Plato in Dial. 1. de Leg.

Hieron. 5.5.

Pſal. 2.

The *Covenant* it is called, becauſe of the conditionall promiſes of God; and becauſe of Gods peoples voluntary ſubmiſſion of themſelves unto it: for which word the *Septuagint*, and the *Epiſtle to the Hebrews*, uſe the word διαθηκη, a *Teſtament*, or *laſt Will:* which name it hath, becauſe it is not otherwiſe effectuall for our ſalvation, but in reſpect of the death of the Teſtator; for without the death of the Teſtator, the Teſtament is of no force, as *Heb.* 9.17. it is ſaid, *Teſtamentum in mortuis ratum eſt.*

The *Hebrews* call the law *Thorah*, of teaching, becauſe every man is thereby taught his duty, both to God and Men. The *Greeks* call it *Nomos*, of diſtributing, becauſe it diſtributeth to every man his own due; the power of the law is the power of God: Juſtice being an attribute proper unto God himſelf. *Imperium legis, imperium Dei eſt*; *The reign of the law, is the reign of God.*

Law in generall is thus defined by the *Philoſophers: Lex eſt vitæ regula, præcipiens quæ ſunt ſequenda, & quæ fugienda*; *Law is the rule of life, commanding what to follow, and what to ſhun:* or *Lex eſt omnium divinarum & humanarum rerum Regina*; *Law is the Queen* or *Princeſſe of things both humane and divine.* But this deſcription is grounded upon the opinion of inevitable fate. Law is the very wiſdom of Nature: the reaſon and underſtanding of the prudent: and the rule of right and wrong. For as a right line is called, *Index ſui & curvi*, the demonſtrance of it ſelf, and of the crooked: ſo is the law, the judge and meaſure of right and wrong.

M. *Hooker* calls the Law a directive rule to goodneſſe of operation: and though law, as touching the ſubſtance and eſſence, conſiſt in underſtanding: *Concludit tamen actum voluntatis*; *Yet it comprehends the act of our will.* The word *Jus* is alſo diverſly taken, as ſometime for the matter of the law, and for common right: ſometime for the law it ſelf: as *Jus civile*, or *Jus gentium. Iſidore* diſtinguiſheth the two generall words, *Jus* and *Fas:* whereof *jus*, ſaith he, hath reference to men, *Fas* to God. *Fas lex divina, Jus lex humana.* To go over another mans field, is permitted by Gods law, not by mans; and therefore in a thing out of controverſie, *Virgil* uſed both theſe words: as, *Fas & jura ſinunt*, God and men permit.

Iſid. Etym.

The word *Jus*, or Right, is derived or taken from the old ſubſtantive Noune *juſſus*, a bidding or commandment: or perhaps from the *Greek* Ζευς, which is the name of *Jupiter*, or of the *Latine* genitive caſe *Jovis*; becauſe, as the Scripture ſpeaks, *the judgement is Gods.* For as it is certain that *jus-jurandum* came of *Jovis-jurandum*, (for ſo we finde it written in *Nonius* out of the ancient, in which ſenſe the Scripture calls it *juramentum Jehovæ*) ſo alſo we may ſay, that *Jus* came of *Jovis*, *quia Jovis eſt:* becauſe as God is the Authour and Pattern, and Maintainer of right, ſo alſo in his *Vicegerents*, the *Magiſtrates*, he is the Pronouncer and Executor of right. Of this *Jus* the juſt are denominated, *juſtus à jure*, and *juſtitia à juſto*; *The right gives name to the righteous*; and *juſtice takes her name from the juſt.*

Deut. 1.17. 2 Chron. 19.6.

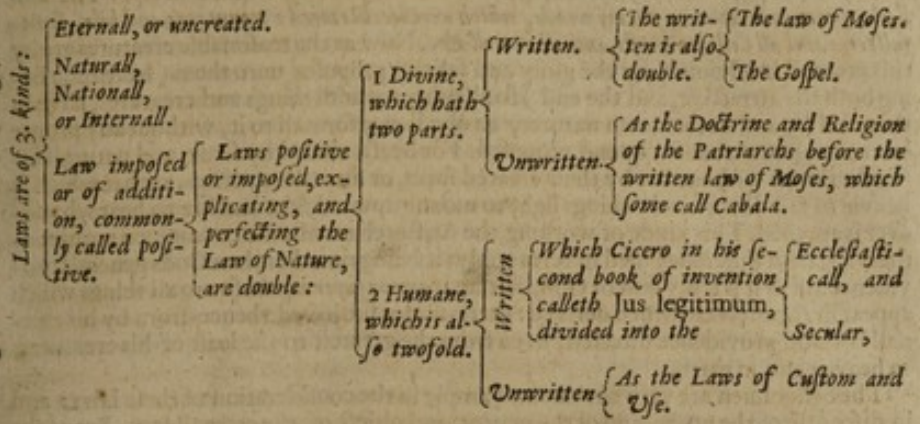
Exod. 22.11. 1 Reg. 2.43.

§. V.

§. V.

Of the definition of Laws, and of the Law eternall.

BUt becauſe laws are manifold, and that every kind hath a proper and peculiar definition, it agreeth with order, firſt to divide and diſtinguiſh them. I mean thoſe ſorts of laws, from whence all other particulars are drawn: leaving the individuals of humane laws to their infinite and horrible confuſion.



The law eternall is thus defined by *Thomas. Lex æterna eſt æternus divinæ ſapientiæ conceptus, ſecundum quod ordinatur ad gubernationem rerum ab ipſo præcognitarum*; *The eternall law is the eternall conceit of Gods wiſdom as it is referred to the government of things foreknown by himſelf.* Or, *Lex æterna eſt ſumma atque æterna ratio divinæ ſapientiæ: quatenus res omnes ad deſtinatos fines ita dirigit, ut illis juxta conditionem ipſarum modum aliquem neceſſitatis adferat*; *It is the high and eternall reaſon of divine ſapience: as it directeth all things in ſuch ſort to their proper ends, impoſing a kind of neceſſity, according to their ſeverall natures,* or conditions. Now the difference lieth in this: That as the ſame divine underſtanding directs all theſe to their proper ends; ſo it is called providence: but as it impoſeth a neceſſity according to the nature of all things which it directs, ſo is it called a law. P. 2. q. 2. art. 1. To. q. 36. a. 1. 1.

Of this eternall law *Cicero* took knowledge, when in his book of Laws, he wrote in this manner: *Erat ratio perfecta, rerum natura, & ad rectè faciendum impellens & à dilecto avocans: quæ non tum incipit lex eſſe cum ſcripta eſt, ſed tum cum orta eſt. Orta autem ſimul eſt cum mente divina: quamobrem lex vera atque princeps, apta adjubendum & ad vetandum, ratio eſt recta ſummi Jovis*; *That perfect reaſon and nature of things, incouraging or impelling to rightfull actions, and calling us back from evill, did not* (ſaith he) *then begin to be a law when it was written, but when it had being. Being and beginning it had together with divine underſtanding, and therefore a true law, and a fit Princeſſe to command and forbid, is the right reaſon of the moſt high God.* This eternall law (if we conſider it in God, or as God) is alwaies one and the ſame; the nature of God being moſt ſimple: but as it is referred to divers objects, ſo the reaſon of man finds it divers and manifold. It alſo ſeemeth one law in reſpect of things neceſſary, as the motions of the heavens, ſtability of the earth, &c. but it appeareth otherwiſe to things contingent: another law to men, another to other creatures, having life, and to all thoſe that be inanimate.

By this eternall law all things are directed, as by the counſell and providence of God: from this Law all laws are derived, as from the rule univerſall: and thereto referred, as the operation of the ſecond to the firſt.

The eternall, and the divine law, differ onely in conſideration; the eternall directing more largely: as well every creature, to their proper and naturall ends, as it doth man to his ſupernaturall: but the divine law to a ſupernaturall end onely: the naturall law is thence derived, but an effect of the eternall: as it were a ſtream from the fountain. To. & Aq.

The Law humane or temporall is alſo thence drawn: in that it hath the form of right reaſon: from which if it differ, it is then *impoſitio iniqua, a wicked impoſition:* and onely borroweth the name of a law.

To this eternall law all things are ſubjected, as well Angels and Men, as all other creatures,

creatures, or things created; whether necessary or contingent, naturall or morall, and humane. For the Law eternall runneth through all the universall, and therefore it is the law also of things which are simple, naturall and inanimate.

Hence it is, that all things created are commanded to praise God their Creator and Psal.148. Directour: as *Praise him all ye his Angels: praise him Sun and Moon, all bright Stars: heavens of heavens, for he hath established them for ever and ever. He hath made an ordinance which shall not passe: Praise ye the Lord from the earth ye Dragons and all Deeps: Fire and haile, snow and vapours, stormy winds, which execute his word: mountains and hils, fruitfull trees and all Cedars: Beasts, and all Cattell, &c.* Now as the reasonable creatures are by this eternall law bound, by the glory and felicity proposed unto them (beatitude being both the attractive, and the end) so all other naturall things and creatures, have in themselves, and in their own natures, an obedience formall to it, without any proper intention, known cause, or end proposed. For beasts are led by sense, and naturall instinct: things without life by their created form, or formall appetites, as that which is heavie to fall downward: things light to mount upward, &c. and fire to heat whatsoever is apposed. This kinde of working, the Aristotelians ascribe to common nature: others to fate; a differeuce used in terms only; it being no other than Gods generall providence: for as it is truly said of God, that he is *omnia super omnia*: so are all things which appear in themselves thence derived: there-under subjected: thence-from by his eternall law and providence directed, even from the greatest to the least of his creatures, in heaven and in earth.

The Schoolmen are very curious and ample in the consideration of these laws: and in discourse of the profit, and of the matter, and object of the eternall law. But as the profit is manifest in the good of all creatures, who have thence-from, either reason, sense, vegetation, or appetition, to conduct them: so is the object and matter of the law, the whole creature. For according to S. *Augustine, Lex æterna est, qua justum est, ut omnia sint ordinatissima; The law eternall is that, whereby it is just, that all things should be disposed in the best and goodliest order.*

L.1. de lib. arb. cap.6. Lastly, it is disputed, whether the eternall law be immutable, yea or no? But the resolution is, that it changeth not; for which S. *Augustine* useth a sufficient argument in his first Book of *Free-will*, the sixth Chapter. For the law of *Moses* which had a time prefixed, was eternally by God ordained to last untill the time of the Pædagogie of Gods people, or introduction to Christ should be expired; which time of expiration some John 18.30. think our Saviour noted to be come, when on the Crosse he said, *Consummatum est.* But Psal.69.22. I rather think these words of our Saviour to have no other signification, than that now the prophecie of their giving him Vinegar to drink was fulfilled. For so Saint *John* expounds it, when he saith *v.* 28. *That Christ seeing all* (other) *things to be fulfilled, Ut consummaretur Scriptura, That the Scripture* in this also *might be fulfilled*, said, *I thirst*: though I deny not, but at the same time also the date of the law was expired, to wit, of the law ceremoniall, and of so much of the judiciall, as appertained peculiarly to the Jews, and agreeth not with the law of the new *Testament* and Gospel of Christ. For the immutable law of God, though prescribing things mutable, is not therefore changed in it self; but the things prescribed, change according to this eternall ordinance, of which the *Wisdom of Solomon, and being one she can do all things, and remaining in her self reneweth all.*

§. VI.

Of the Law of nature.

Aug. in Ep. ad Hil. 89. & in Evang. Joh. tract. 49. Ulp. de justitia & jure. l.1. tit.1. OF the law of Nature as it is taken in generall, I find no definition among the School-men: only as it is considered in man, it is called *the impression of divine light, and a participation of the eternall law in the reasonable creature. Lex naturalis est impressio divini luminis in nobis, & participatio legis æternæ in rationali creatura.* Ulpian defines the *naturall law to be the same which nature hath taught all living creatures: Jus naturale est quod Natura omnia animalia docuit:* and he afterward addeth, *Jus istud non humani generis proprium, sed omnium animalium quæ terra marique nascuntur, avium quoque commune est; The law of nature is not proper to man alone, but the same is common to all living creatures, as well to birds, as to those which the Land and Sea produceth.*

But

But this definition is not generall, but of the naturall Law in things of life.

The Law of nature in generall, I take to be that diſpoſition, inſtinct, and formall quality, which God in his eternall providence hath given and imprinted in the nature of every creature, animate, and inanimate. And as it is *divinum lumen* in men, inlightning our formall reaſon; ſo is it more than ſenſe in Beaſts; and more than vegetation in plants. For it is not ſenſe alone in Beaſts, which teacheth them at firſt ſight, and without experience or inſtruction, to flie from the enemies of their lives: ſeeing that Bulls and Horſes appear unto the ſenſe more fearfull and terrible, than the leaſt kind of dogs; and yet the Hare and Deer feedeth by the one, and flieth from the other, yea, though by them never ſeen before, and that as ſoon as they fall from their Dams. Neither is it ſenſe which hath taught other Beaſts to provide for winter, Birds to build their neſts, high or low, according to the tempeſtuous or quiet ſeaſons: or the Birds of *India*, to make their neſts on the ſmalleſt twigs which hang over Rivers, and not on any other part of the tree, or elſewhere: to ſave their eggs and young ones from the Monkies, and other Beaſts, whoſe weight ſuch a twig will not bear: and which would fear to fall into the water. The inſtances in this kinde are exceeding many which may be given. Neither is it out of the vegetable or growing nature of plants, that ſome trees, as the female of the *Palmitto*, will not bear any fruit except the male grow in ſight. But this they do by that Law, which the infinite and unſearchable wiſdome of God had in all eternity provided for them, and for every nature created. In man this Law is double, corrupt, and incorrupt: corrupt, where the reaſon of man hath made it ſelf ſubject, and a Vaſſall to paſſions, and affections brutall: and incorrupt, where time and cuſtome hath bred in men a new nature, which alſo, as is aforeſaid, is a kinde of Law. For it was not by the Law of Nature incorrupt, which S. *Auguſtine* calleth the law of reaſon, but by a nature blinded and corrupted, that the *Germans* did anciently allow of theft: and that other Nations were by Law conſtrained to become Idolaters; that by the Laws of *Lycurgus* it was permitted to men to uſe one anothers wife, and to the women, to chooſe them others beſides their huſbands, to beget them with child: which law in thoſe parts hath laſted long, and is not forgotten to this day. *Supra. fol. 4. cap. 1. loco. ad Rom. 7. 23.* *Theod. l. 5 de curandis affect. Græcorum.*

The *Scythians*, and the people of both *Indies*, hold it lawfull to bury with them the beſt beloved wives: as alſo they have many other cuſtoms remembred by *G. Valentia*, againſt nature and right reaſon. *Acoſta.*

And I know not from what authority it is, that theſe Laws ſome men avow to be naturall: except it be of this corrupt nature, as (among others) to pay guile with guile: to become faithleſſe among the faithleſſe: to provide for our ſelves by another mans deſtruction: that injury is not done to him that is willing: to deſtroy thoſe whom we fear, and the like. For taking the definition of naturall laws, either out of S. *Auguſtine*, or *Aquinas*, (the one calling it the *impreſſion of divine light*; the other, *the dictate*, or ſentence *of practique reaſon*) the ſame can teach us, or incline us to no other thing, than to the exerciſe of Juſtice and uprightneſſe: and not to offer or perform any thing toward others, ſave that which we would be content ſhould be offered or performed toward our ſelves. For ſuch is the Law of nature to the minde, as the eye is to the body; and that which, according to *David*, ſheweth us good, that is, the obſervation of thoſe things which lead us thereby to our laſt end; which is eternall life; though of themſelves not ſufficient without faith and grace. *Nemo jure naturæ cum alterius detrimento locupletior fieri debet.* *Pſal. 4.*

Now, that which is truly and properly the law of Nature, where the corruption is not taken for the law, is, as aforeſaid, the impreſſion of Gods divine light in men, & a participation of the law increated and eternal. For without any law written, the right reaſon and underſtanding, which God hath given us, are abilities within our ſelves, ſufficient to give us knowledge of the good and evill, which by our gratitude to God and diſtribution of right to men, or by the contrary, we prepare and purchaſe for our ſelves. *For when the Gentiles* (ſaith S. *Paul*) *which have not the law, do by nature thoſe things contained in the law: they having not the law, are a law unto themſelves.* Now, to love God, by whom we are, and to do the ſame right unto all men, which we deſire ſhould be done unto us, is an effect of the pureſt reaſon: in whoſe higheſt Turrets, the quiet of conſcience hath made her reſting place, and habitation; *In arce altiſſima rationis quies habitat.* Therefore the *Gentiles* (ſaith S. *Paul*) *which ſhew the effects of the law written in their hearts, have their conſciences for a witneſſe of thoſe effects: and the reprobate their thoughts to accuſe them.* *Rom. 2. 14.* *Rom. 2. 11.*

And it is most true, that whosoever is not a law unto himself (while he hopeth to abuse the world by the advantage of hypocrisie) worketh nothing else, but the betraying of his own soule, by crafty unrighteousnesse, purchasing eternall perdition. For it helpeth us not to hide our corrupt hearts from the worlds eye, seeing from him, who is an infinite eye, we cannot hide them: some Garlands we may gather in this Maygame of the world, *Sed flos ille, dum loquimur, arescit; Those flowers wither, while we discourse of their colours, or are in gathering them.* That we should therefore inhabit and dwell within our selves, and become fearfull witnesses of our secretest evils, did that reverend Philosopher *Pythagoras* teach in this golden precept: *Nil turpe committas, neque coram aliis, neque tecum; maximè omnium verere teipsum; Commit nothing foul or dishonest,* saith he, *neither to be known to others, nor to thine own heart: but above all men reverence thine own conscience.* And this may be a precept of nature and right reason: by which law, men, and all creatures, and bodies are inclined to those operations, which are answerable to their own form; as fire to give heat. Now, as the reasonable minde is the form of man, so is he aptly moved to those things which his proper form presenteth unto him: to wit, to that which right reason offereth; and the acts of right reason, are the acts of vertue: and in the breach of the rules of this reason, is man least excusable: as being a reasonable creature. For all else, both sensitive, growing, and inanimate, obey the law which God imposed on them at their first creation.

Gen. 1. The Earth performeth her office, according to the law of God in nature: for it bringeth forth the bud of the herb which seedeth seed, &c. and the beast, which liveth
Job c. 28. thereon. He gave a law to the Seas, and commanded them to keep their bounds: which they obey. He made a decree for the rain, and a way for the lightning of the thunders. He caused the Sun to move, and to give light, and to serve for signes and for seasons. Were these as rebellious as man, for whose sake they were created, or did they once break the law of their natures and forms; the whole world would then perish, and all return to the first *Chaos*, darknesse, and confusion.

By this naturall law, or law of humane reason, did *Cain* perceive his own wickednesse and offence, in the murther of *Abel*: for he not onely feared the displeasure of God, but the revenge of men: it being written in his reason, that whatsoever he performed towards others, the same by others might be done unto him again. And that this judgement of well and evill doing, was put into our natures by God, and his eternall Law, before the law written, *Moses* in the person of God witnesseth, *Gen. 4. If thou doe well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doe not well, sin lieth at thy doore.*

The *Schoolmen* are large also in this question of the naturall law: the same being opened amply by *Reinerius*, *Antonius*, and *Valentia*. But it is not my purpose to write a Volume of this subject.

But this law which *Thomas Aquinas* calleth *an act of reason taken properly*; and not a habit, as it is an evident naturall judgement of practick reason: they divide into indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration (as that good is to be followed, and evill eschewed) and demonstrable, which is evidently proved out of higher and more universall propositions. Again, as it answereth the naturall appetite, prescribing things to be desired as good, or to be avoided as evill (as of the first, to desire to live, and to satisfie hunger, &c. and of the second, to eschew pains, sorrow, and death) in this consi-
Tho. 5. 94 art. 2 deration they divide it, according to the divers kindes of appetites that are in us. For in every man there are three sorts of appetites, which answer the three degrees of naturall law. The first is, to be that which we are; in which is comprehended the desire, both to live, and to preserve our being and life, also the desire of issue, with care to provide for them: for the Father after his death, lives in his children; and therefore the desire of life comprehends the desire of children. And to these appetites are referred the first indemonstrable lawes of nature, for the most part. For it needs no proof, that all creatures should desire to be, to live, and to be defended, and to live in their issue, when they cannot in themselves. And as man is a being, *Ens* or *Res*: so he doth desire good, and shun evill. For it is common to all things, to desire things agreeable to their owne natures, which is, to desire their owne good. And so is good defined by *Aristotle*, to be that which all desire. Which definition *Basil* upon the 44 *Psalme* approveth: *Rectè*
Ethic. l. 1. c. 1. *quidem bonum definierunt, Quod omnia expetunt; Rightly have some men defined good, or goodnesse, to be that which all things desire.*

The

The ſecond kinde of appetite is of thoſe things which appertain to us, as we have ſenſe. Whence, by the law of Nature, we deſire the delights of every ſenſe; but with ſuch moderation, as may neither glut us with ſatiety, nor hurt us with exceſſe. For as Senſe it ſelf is for the preſervation of life and being: ſo is it meet, even by the law of Nature, that the ſenſitive appetite ſhould not carry us to the deſtruction, either of our life or being. And although (ſeeing both theſe kindes of appetites are in beaſts) we may well ſay, that Nature hath given divers laws unto them: In which ſenſe the *Civilians* deſine *Naturall right*, or *Jus naturale*, to be the ſame which Nature hath taught all living creatures: Yet the *Schoolmen* admit not, that the inſtincts of beaſts can be properly called a law, but onely a *Jus*, or *Right*, which is the matter, and aime of every law. For ſo they diſtinguiſh it; where *Ulpian* affirmeth, that *Jus naturale* is that, which Nature hath taught all living creatures. In this place (ſaith *Valentia*) *Jus* is not to be taken for a law, but for the matter of the law. And yet where *Ulpian* alſo diſtinguiſheth the right belonging to living creatures in generall, from the right belonging to men; calling the one *jus naturæ*, the other *Jus gentium*: the Divines underſtand the law of Nature more largely, that is, for all evident dictats, precepts, or biddings of divine reaſon, both in beaſts and men; and reſtrain the law of Nations to a kind of humane right.

The third appetite is of thoſe things which appertain properly to man, as he is a living creature reaſonable: as well with relation to God, and to our Neighbour, as for our ſelves: and the laws of this appetite are the commandments of our Religion.

Now although there are many other branches and diviſions of this law of Nature anſwering the diviſion of matter, which it preſcribeth, and as manifold, as the morall actions are which it commandeth or forbiddeth; yet is the law of Nature but one law, according to *Aquinas*: firſt, becauſe it hath one fountain or root in the naturall or motive facultie, which is but one, ſtirring up to good, and declining the contrary: ſecondly, becauſe all is contained in that generall naturall precept, That good is to be followed, and ill avoided: and thirdly, becauſe all the parts are reduced to one and the ſame laſt end.

That this law of Nature bindeth all creatures, it is manifeſt: and chiefly man; becauſe he is indued with reaſon: in whom as reaſon groweth, ſo this band of obſerving the law of Nature increaſeth; *Poſtquam ratio ad perfectum venit, tunc fit quod ſcriptum eſt, Adveniente mandato, peccatum revixit*; *When reaſon grew to perfection, then it came to paſſe, which was written by* S. Paul, *When the commandment came, ſin revived.* Neither is it a ſmall warrant for this law of Nature, when thoſe which break the ſame, are ſaid by S. *Paul*, *To be delivered over into a reprobate ſenſe* (or minde) *to do thoſe things which are not convenient*: And again, *that their conſciences bear witneſſe, and their thoughts accuſe them.* Basil. Rom. 1. 18. Rom. 2. 15.

For, though this law of Nature ſtretch not to every particular; as to command faſting, and the like: yet it commandeth in generall all good, and whatſoever is agreeable to right and reaſon. And therefore, ſaid *Damaſcene*; *Homines facti ſunt mali, declinando in id quod contra naturam eſt*; *Men* (ſaith he) *are made evill, by declining unto that which is contrary to nature*: And S. *Auguſtine*, *Omne vitium naturæ nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam eſt*; *Every vice doth wrong to nature, and is therefore contrary unto it.* L. 2. Fid. orthod. c. 30.

Neither yet are the rules of this law of Nature ſo ſtraight, but that they ſuffer exceptions in ſome particulars. For whereas by this law all men are born Lords of the earth, yet it well alloweth inequality of portions, according to unequall merit: by taking from the evill, and giving to the good; and by permitting and commanding that all men ſhall enjoy the fruits of their labours to themſelves: according to the rules of juſtice and equity.

And though the law of Nature command, that all things be reſtored which are left in truſt, yet in ſome cauſes, this her law ſhe ſuffereth to be broken: as to deny a mad man his weapons, and the like, which he left in keeping while he was ſober. But the univerſall principles can no more be changed, then the decrees of God are alterable: who, according to S. *Paul*, *abideth faithfull, and cannot deny himſelf.* 2 Tim. 2.

§. VII.

Of the written Law of GOD

AFter the eternall, and naturall, the law *Positive* or imposed is the next in order, which law, being nothing but an addition, or rather explication of the former, hath two kindes: Divine and Humane. Againe, the divine positive law is double; the Old and New: The Old was given unto *Moses* in Mount *Sinai* or *Horeb*, at such time as the world had stood 2513. whole yeers: and in the 67. day of this yeer, when as *Ascatades* or *Ascades* governed the *Assyrians*, *Marathus* the *Sycionians*, *Triopus* the *Argives*, *Cecrops* *Attica*, and *Acherres Egypt*: to wit, after the promise to *Abraham*, 430. yeers. And this it seems, was the first written law which the world received. For the very word *Nomos*, signifying a law, was not then, nor long after invented by the *Græcians*: no not in *Homers* time, who lived after the fall of *Troy* 80. yeers at least: and *Troy* it self was cast downe 335. yeers, after *Moses* led *Israel* out of *Egypt*. This law, it pleased God to ingrave in stone, that it might remaine a lasting book of his expresse will in the Church: and that the Priests and people might have whereof to meditate, till the coming of Christ: and that so these Children of *Israel*, though bred among an Idolatrous people in *Egypt*, might be without excuse, the slight defences of ignorance being taken from them.

Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. 1.

The reason known to us why this law was not written before, is, that when the people were few, and their lives long, the *Elders* of Families might easily, without any written law, instruct their own Children: and yet as they increased, so doubtlesse they had, besides the law of Nature, many precepts from God, before the law written. But now at length, forasmuch as the law of Nature did not define all kinds of good, and evill; nor condemn every sin in particular: nor sufficiently terrifie the consciences of offenders: nor so expound divine worship, as for those after ages was required, who gave every day less authority than other to the naturall law; In these respects it was necessary, that the law should be written, and set before the eyes of all men: which before, they might, but would not, reade in their own consciences. The *Schoolmen*, and the Fathers before them, inlarge the causes and necessity, why the law was written; wherof these are the chiefest.

The first, for restraining of sin, directly grounded upon this place of *David*, *The law of the Lord is undefiled, converting soules: The testimonies of the Lord are faithfull, giving wisedom to children* For the humane law, saith Saint *Augustine*, meeteth not with all offences, either by way of prohibition or punishment; seeing thereby it might take away something seeming necessary, and hinder common profit: but the divine law written, forbiddeth every evill, and therefore by *David* it is called undefiled.

Secondly, it serveth for the direction of our mindes. For the Lawes of men can only take knowledge of outward actions, but not of internall motions, or of our disposition and will: and yet it is required, that we be no lesse cleane in the one, than in the other. And therefore were the words *converting our soules*, added by *David*: wherein are all our outward acts first generated, according to the *Cabalists*. *Actiones hominum nullæ essent, nisi prius in mente dicerentur*; *The actions of men* (say they) *would be none at all, were they not first conceived in the minde.*

Thirdly, it leadeth us to the knowledge of truth, which by reason of diversitie of opinion, and difference of peculiar Lawes among sundrie Nations, we cannot be assured of; but the law of GOD bindeth all men, and is without errour: and therefore also said *David*, *That the testimony of the Law of God is faithfull: giving Wisdome to children.*

§. VIII.

Of the unwritten Law of God, given to the Patriarchs by Tradition.

NOw, that in all this long tract of time, between the creation and the written law, the world and people of God were left altogether to the law of reason & nature, it doth not appear. For the *Patriarchs* of the first age received many *precepts* from God himself, and whatsoever was first imposed by *Adam*, the same was observed by *Seth*, who instructed *Enos*: from whom it descended to *Noah*, *Sem*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Joseph*, and *Moses*. Yea, many particular commandments afterward written, were formerly imposed and delivered over by tradition; which kinde of teaching the *Jews* afterward

ward called *Cabala*, or *Receptio:* precepts received from the mouth of their *Priests* and *Elders:* to which the *Jews* after the law written, added the interpretation of secret mysteries, reserved in the bosoms of their *Priests*, and unlawfull to be uttered to the people. But the true *Cabala* was not to be concealed from any; as being indeed the divine law revealed to the *Patriarchs*, and from them delivered to the posterity, when as yet it was unwritten. The commandments which God gave unto *Adam* in the beginning, were, that he should impose names to all beasts, according to their natures; to whose perfection of understanding they were sufficiently known. For finding the reason of his own name *Adam*, or *Adamah*, Earth, or red clay, he gave other names significant, not only to beasts, but to his children and nephews, which afterward his issues imitated; as the name of *Seth* signifieth, as some take it, one that was laid for the ground or foundation of the Church, or rather, one given in recompence for *Abel* that was slain: and *Enosh* signifieth man, or miserable, &c. Further, God commanded *Adam* to till the ground, and to live by the labour thereof: God also gave him the choice of all fruits, but the forbidden; and in *Adam* also was marriage first instituted: all men thence-after being cõmanded to co-habit with their wives, rather than with their father or mother.

That murther and cruelty was also forbidden, both before the law written, and before the flood it self, it is manifest. God himself making it appear, that it was one of the greatest causes of the destruction of mankinde by the generall flood. For God said unto *Noah*, *An end of all flesh is come before me: for the earth is filled with cruelty through them: and behold, I will destroy them* * *from the earth.* That offence therefore, for which all perished, could not be unknown to all that perished: Gods mercy and justice interposing between the untaught, and revenge. This commandment God repeated to *Noah*, after the waters were dried up from the earth: *Whoso sheddeth mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the Image of God hath he made man.*

Also the law of honouring and reverencing our Parents, was observed among the faithfull, and the contrary punished by the fathers curse: as, *Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.* Again, we find that the unnaturall sin of the *Sodomites* was punished in the highest degree, as with fire from heaven. The sin of Adultery and Ravishment, was before the law no lesse detested than the rest, as appeareth by that revenge taken for *Dina's* forcing: and by the judgement which *Juda* gave against *Tamar*, That she should be burnt: and by the repentance of *Pharaoh* and *Abimelech*, against whom this sentence was pronounced, *Thou art but dead, because of the woman which thou hast taken: for she is a mans wife.* To these we may adde the ordinance of Sacrifice, of distinction of clean and unclean beasts; of Circumcision, of the brother to raise up seed to his brother that left a widow childless, and divers other constitutions, partly Morall, and partly Ceremoniall, which being delivered before the written law, were after by it confirmed. So that this *Divine Law imposed*, of which the law of *Moses* containeth that which is called, *The Old Testament*, may be said, not onely to have been written in the hearts of men, before it was engraven in stone, but also in substance to have been given in precept to the *Patriarchs*. For as S. *Paul* witnesseth of himself, *I knew not sin, but by the law:* so ever the law naturally preceded, and went before offences, though written after offences committed. It is true, that all the creatures of God were directed by some kinde of unwritten law; the Angels intuitively; Men by reason; Beasts by sense and instinct, without discourse; Plants by their vegetative powers; and things inanimate by their necessary motions, without sense or preception.

* The common reading is *cum terra:* but God did not destroy the earth: and why may not this preposition in this place have the same force, which it hath according to *Junius & Gen.* 4.1. *Item* 44.4. *& Deut.* 34.1. especially seeing these words are but a repetition of that which is said, ver. 7. *Delebo hominem de superficie terræ. Gen.* 9.6. *Gen.* 9.25. *Gen.* 34.25. *Gen.* 38.24.

§. IX.

Of the Morall, Judiciall, and Ceremoniall Law, with a note prefixed, how the Scripture speaketh not alway in one sense, when it nameth the Law of Moses.

NOw as the word (*Law*) in generall, as is aforesaid, hath divers significations, and is taken for all doctrine which doth prescribe and restrain; so the law, called the *Law of Moses* in particular, is taken by S. *Paul* diversly: as somtime for all the Old Testament; as, *Now we know whatsoever the Law saith, it saith to them which are under the Law.* *Rom.* 3.19.

When it is opposed, or differenced from the *Prophets* and *Psalms*, it is there taken for the five Books of *Moses*. For so S. *Luke* hath distinguished them; as, *All must be fulfilled* *Luc.* 24.44. *which are written of me in the Law, in the Prophets, and in the Psalms.*

When it is opposed to the *Gospel*, then it is taken for the law Morall, Ceremoniall, and Judiciall; as, *Therefore we conclude, that a man is justified by Faith, without the works of the law.* Rom. 3 28.

When it is opposed to *Grace*, it signifieth the declaration of Gods wrath, and our guilt of condemnation; or the extremity of the law, and *summum jus*: as, *For ye are not under the law, but under grace.* Rom. 6. 4. Gal. 3. 18.

When it is opposed to the Truth, namely, where the Ceremonies or signes are taken for the things signified; as the *Sacrifice* for *Christ*, and the like: then it signifieth but shadows and figures; as *The law was given by* Moses, *but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.* John 1. 17.

Lastly, when it is opposed to the time of *Christs* coming, it signifieth the whole policy of the *Jews* Common-wealth; as, *Before faith came, we were kept under the law, &c.* Or the law of the order and institution of the *Aaronicall Priesthood*; as, *All the Prophets and the law*, or the Priests *prophesied unto John.* And if the *Priesthood* be changed, the law also, to wit, of the *Priesthood*, must needs be changed. Gal. 3. 23. Luc. 16. 6. Heb. 7. 12. & 10. 1.

The word (*Law*) is sometime also taken by the Figure *Metonymia*, for Interest, Authority, and Empire, or for constraining force; as, *The law of the Spirit of life, the law or the force of sin and death, the enforcements of concupiscence, &c.* Rom. 8. 2. Rom. 7. 23.

But the *Written law of Moses*, or the law of the Old Testament, of which we now speak, is thus defined. The law is a doctrine, which was first put into the minds of men by God, and afterwards written by *Moses*, or by him repeated, commanding Holinesse and Justice, promising eternall life conditionally, that is to the observers of the law, and threatning death to those which break the law in the least. For according to S. *James*, *Whosoever shall keep the whole, and faileth in one point, is guilty of all.* The definition used by the *Schoolmen* in which both the old and new law are comprehended, is thus given: *Lex divina est divinum decretum, hominibus præscribens modum necessarium, ut aptè provenire possint ad supernaturalem beatitudinem, quæ est ultimus humanæ vitæ finis*; *The divine Law* (say they) *is the decree of God, prescribing unto men a necessary mean, whereby they may aptly attain supernaturall beatitude, which is the last end of mans life.* James 2. 10.

The law of *Moses* hath three parts: Morall, Ceremoniall, and Judiciall. The Morall part commandeth this or that good to be done, and this or that evill to be avoided, in particular; as also it declareth, for whose sake it is to be done; as, *Do this, for I am the Lord*; whereas the law of nature commands it but in generall. Againe, the Morall law entreateth of vertue and goodnesse; the Ceremoniall of divine service, and of holinesse; (for externall worship and the order of hallowing our selves unto God is called Ceremony) and the Judiciall teacheth the particular government, fit for the Common-wealth of the *Jews*, and prescribeth orders for justice and equity. And therefore was it said of S. *Paul*, *The Commandment is just, holy, and good*: just, or justice being referred to the Judiciall: holy, or holinesse to the Ceremoniall; good, or honest to the Morall. The Judiciall part is touching the government of the Common-wealth of the *Jews*, in which many things must needs be proper to that estate, as such as were instituted either in respect of place or persons. Rom. 7. 12.

The Ceremoniall is divided into four parts, according to the four kindes of things of which it speaketh, to wit, Sacrifice, holy things, Sacraments, and Observances. To Sacrifices belong beasts, and the fruits of the earth; to holy things the Tabernacle, Temple, Vessels, Altars, and the like; to Sacraments, Circumcision, the Passeover, and such like. For Observances, they consisted either in prohibition of certaine meats, as not to eat the blood and fat of beasts: or in some other outward things, as in washings, purifyings, annointings, and attire, as not to wear mixt garments of Linnen and Woollen: as also it prohibiteth other unnaturall and unproper commixtions, as, *Thou shalt not yoak together in a Plough an Oxe and an Asse*, or cast mingled seed in one field. It also exhorteth to naturall compassion, and forbiddeth cruelty even to beasts, birds, and plants, whereby the creatures of God might be destroyed without any profit to man. For so some refer these precepts, *Thou shalt not kill the bird sitting on her nest*; *nor beat down the first buds of the tree, nor muzzle the labouring oxe*, and the like, to the Ceremoniall law.

Neither is there any of these three parts of the law of *Moses*, but it hath as yet in some respects the same power which it had before the coming of *Christ*. For the Morall liveth still, and is not abrogated or taken away: saving in the ability of justifying or condemning; for therein are we commanded to love and worship God: and to use charity

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one towards another: which for ever ſhall be required at our hands. Therein alſo are we in particular directed, how this ought to be done: which power of directing by ſpeciall rules and precepts of life, it retaineth ſtill. For theſe things alſo are commanded in both Teſtaments to be obſerved: though principally for fear of God in the one, and for the love of God in the other.

The Ceremoniall alſo lived in the things which it fore-ſignified. For the ſhadow is not deſtroyed, but perfected, when the body it ſelf is repreſented to us. Beſides, it ſtill liveth, in that it giveth both inſtruction and teſtimony of *Chriſt*, and in that it giveth direction to the Church, for ſome Ceremonies and Types of holy ſignification, which are ſtill expedient; though in a far fewer number than before *Chriſts* coming, and in a far leſſe degree of neceſſitie.

Laſtly, the Judiciall liveth in ſubſtance, and concerning the end, and the naturall and univerſall equitie thereof.

But the Morall faileth in the point of juſtification, the Ceremoniall as touching the uſe and externall obſervation (becauſe *Chriſt* himſelf is come, of whom the ceremonies were ſignes and ſhadows) and the Judiciall is taken away, as far forth as it was peculiar to the *Jews* Common-weale and policie.

§. X.

A propoſall of nine other points to be conſidered, with a touch of the five firſt.

AS for that which remaineth in the generall conſideration of the divine written law, it may in effect be reduced into theſe nine points.

1. The dignity and worth of the Law.
2. The Majeſty of the Law-giver.
3. The property and peculiarity of the people receiving it.
4. The conveniency of the time in which it was given.
5. The efficacie and power thereof.
6. The difference and agreement of the old and new Teſtament.
7. The end and uſe of the Law.
8. The ſenſe and underſtanding of the Law.
9. The durance and continuance thereof.

1. The dignity of the Law is ſufficiently proved by S. *Paul*, in theſe words: *Wherefore the law is holy, and the commandment is holy, and juſt, and good:* which three attributes are referred, as aforeſaid, to the Morall, Ceremoniall, and Judiciall.

2. The Majeſty of the Law-giver is approved in all his creatures: who as he hath given all things their lives and beings, ſo he onely gave the Law, who could onely give the end and reward promiſed, to wit, the ſalvation of mankind: but he gave it not to *Moſes* immediately, but by the miniſtery of Angels, as it is ſaid: *And the law was ordained by Angels, in the hand of a Mediator:* And in the Acts, *He gave the law by the ordinance of Angels.* Galath. 3. 19.

3. The propriety and peculiarity of the people, receiving the Law, is in three reſpects. Firſt, in that they were prepared. Secondly, in that they were a Nation apart and diſſevered. Thirdly, in that they were the children of the promiſe made to *Abraham*. Prepared they were, becauſe they had the knowledge of one God, when all other Nations were Idolaters. A Nation apart and ſevered they were, becauſe of Gods choice and election. Children of the promiſe they were, for the promiſe was made by God unto *Abraham* and his ſeed: not unto his ſeeds, as to *Eſau* and *Jacob*, but to his ſeed, as to *Jacob* or *Iſrael* ſingularly, of whom *Chriſt*. *Now to Abraham and his ſeed were the promiſe made: he ſaith not, to the ſeeds, as ſpeaking of many, but, to thy ſeed, as of one, which is Chriſt.* Gal. 3. 6.

4. The conveniency of the time, in which it was given, is noted by S. *Auguſtine:* that it was about the middle time, between the Law of Nature, and Grace: the Law of Nature continued from *Adam* to *Moſes:* the Law written in the Commandments received by *Moſes* in the worlds yeer 2514. continued to the Baptiſm of *John:* from which time, begun the law of Grace, which ſhall continue to the worlds end. Other reaſons for the conveniency are formerly given.

5. The fifth conſideration is of the efficacy of this law, the ſame being a diſpoſition to,

to, or signe of our Justification: but not by it self sufficient, but as a figure of *Christ* in ceremonies, and a preparation to righteousnes in morall precepts. For through the passion of *Christ* were sins forgiven, who taketh away the sins of the world: and therefore
Galath.4. S. *Paul* calleth the rudiments of the law *beggerly and weak*; beggerly, as containing no
Heb.9. grace, weak, as not able to forgive and justifie. The bloud of Goats and Bulls, and the ashes of an Heifer could onely cleanse the body; but they were figures of *Christs* blood,
Gal.2. which doth cleanse the inward soul. *For if the law could justifie, then Christ died in vain.*

§. XI.

Of the sixth point, to wit, of the difference and agreement of the old and new Testament.

THe old and new Testament differ in name, and in the meane & way proposed for attaining to salvation; as the old by works, the new by grace: but in the thing it self, or object and remote end, they agree: which is, mans happinesse and salvation.

The old Testament, or Law, or Letter, or the Witnesse of Gods will, was called the
Heb.8.13. old, because it preceded the new Testament; which is an explication of the old: from which the new taketh witnesse. Yet the new is of more excellency, in that it doth more lively expresse, and openly and directly delineate the waies of our redemption. It is also called the old, to shew that in part it was to be abrogated: *In that he saith the New Testament, he hath abrogated the old.* For the old law, though greatly extolled by the *Prophets*, and delivered with wonderfull miracles, yet was it constituted in a policy perishable: but the new was given in a promise of an everlasting Kingdom, and therefore called in the *Apocalyps*, a Testament and Gospel for ever during.

The old Testament is called the Law, because the first and chief part is the Law of *Moses*, of which the *Prophets* and *Psalms* are Commentaries, explicating that Law.

The new Testament is called the Gospel, because the first and chief part thereof, is the glad tidings of our Redemption: the other Books, as the Epistles, or Letters of the *Apostles*, and the Acts or story of the *Apostles*, are plentifull interpreters thereof: The word *Evangelion*, signifying a joyfull, happy, and prosperous message, or (as *Homer* used it) the reward given to the Messenger, bringing joyfull news. It is also sometime taken for a sacrifice, offered after victory, or other pleasing successe, as by *Xenophon*. In the Scriptures it hath three significations. First, for glad tidings in generall, as in *Esay* 52.*v*.7. concerning peace. Secondly, by an excellency it is restrained, to signifie that most joyfull message of Salvation, as in *Luk*.2.10. whence also by figure it is taken for
Acts 1. the History of *Christ*: and so we understand the four Gospels.

Lastly, for the preaching and divulging the doctrine of *Christ*, as 1 *Cor*.9.14. and 2 *Cor*.8.18.

The agreement of both Testaments (taken, I think, as they are divided in volumes) is by *Danæus* comprised in these four.

In their Authour.
In the substance of the Covenant, or things promised.
In the foundation, to wit, *Christ*.
In the effects, that is, in righteousnesse and justification.

In the Authour they agree, because both are of God, and therefore both one Testament and will of God in substance of doctrine. For as there was ever one Church, so was there one Covenant, one Adoption, and one Doctrine. As the old law doth point at *Christ*, so doth the new Law teach *Christ*: the old proposing him as to come, the new as already come; one and the same thing being promised in both; both tending to one, and the same end, even the salvation of our souls: which according to S. *Peter*, is the end of our Faith. For although it be said, that *Moses* did promise by observing the law, an earthly kingdom, a land flowing with milk and honey, the propagation of children, and other worldly blessings: yet all these were but figures to teach, and pledges to assure the Fathers of those spirituall blessings by *Christ*; for by the earthly, he raised their minds to the hope of heavenly. And the Fathers notwithstanding these worldly goods,
Cap.11.*v*.13. did yet acknowledge themselves strangers, and pilgrims, expecting the heavenly *Hierusalem*: according to this place of the *Hebrews*: *All these died in faith, and received not the*
Lib. de Civit. *promises, but saw them a far off and believed them; confessing that they were strangers and pil-*
Dei.18.*c*.15. *grims on the earth.* To which purpose also S. *Augustine*, *Omnino pauci veterem legem intelligunt*,

gent, non attendentes per promiſſa terrena, æterna promitti: Few (ſaith he) *do underſtand the old law: not attending that by things earthly, eternall are promiſed.* And S. *Hierome: Noluit Deus paſcere Judæos more pecorum corporalibus donis opibuſque, ut Judæi ſomniant;* *God would not feed the Jews as beaſts with corporall gifts and riches, as themſelves dream.* And this may be gathered out of Gods own words, *Ego ſum Deus tuus; & ero vobis in Deum; I am thy God, and I will be your God.* For the words, *I will be your God,* prove that it was not for the preſent, or for periſhable things, that God gave them this promiſe, but in reſpect of the future: to wit, the ſafety of their ſouls. For as God created both body and ſoul, ſo hath he of his goodneſſe, not left the better part uncared for, which liveth ever. *In Sophon. c. 3. v. 9.*

10 The agreement between the old and new Teſtament in ſubſtance, infers alſo the agreement in foundation. For *Chriſt* is called the foundation of the law, laid both by the *Apoſtles* and *Prophets*; in whom all the promiſes of God in the old and new, are aſſured: the Fathers having eaten the ſame ſpirituall food, which we eat in our Sacraments.

The agreement in effects, is, in that the knowledge of our ſin and miſery, which is taught us by the law, maketh way, and, as it were, ſerveth in ſubordination to the Goſpel, the proper effects whereof are mercy and ſalvation: to which the law ſerving as an introduction (for to thoſe which acknowledge their ſin & miſery, God ſheweth his mercy and ſalvation) may be ſaid to agree with the Goſpell in the effect. For otherwiſe, if we ſever the Law from ſubordination to the Goſpell, the effects are very different: the 20 one ſheweth the way of righteouſneſs by works, the other by faith: the Law woundeth, the Goſpell healeth: the Law terrifieth, the Goſpel allureth: *Moſes* accuſeth, *Chriſt* defendeth: *Moſes* condemneth, *Chriſt* pardoneth. The old reſtrained the hand, the new, the minde. *Data eſt lex quæ non ſanaret* (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) *ſed quæ ægrotantes probaret;* *The law was given, not to help, but to diſcover ſickneſſe:* and S. *Chryſoſtome*; *Data eſt lex, ut ſe homo inveniret; non ut morbus ſanaretur, ſed ut medicus quæreretur: The law was given that man might finde and know his own imperfection: not that his diſeaſe was thereby holpen, but that he might then ſeek out the Phyſician.* For Chriſt came to ſave the world, which the law had condemned. And as *Moſes* was but a ſervant, and *Chriſt* a Son; ſo the greateſt benefit was reſerved to be brought, as by the *worthieſt* perſon, ſaith *Cyril:* for this law 30 made nothing perfect, but was an introduction of a better hope. *Hom. 4. Rem. Heb. 7.*

§. XII.

Of the reſt of the points propoſed.

THe ſeventh conſideration is of the end, and uſe of the law: which is to bring us to *Chriſt*: for finding no righteouſneſſe in our own works, we muſt ſeek it in ſome other. But this is the laſt, and remote, and utmoſt end: the next and proper end of the law, is to preſcribe righteouſneſſe, and to exact abſolute and perfect obedience to God. *Curſed is he which continueth not in all the things of this law.* *Lev. 18. 5.*

40 The ſecond end of the Law, is to render us inexcuſable before God: who knowing ſo perfect a law, do not keep it: the law requiring a perfect and intire, not a broken or half obedience: but both inward and outward righteouſneſſe, and performance of duty to God and Men.

The third and chief end of the law, is, as hath bin ſaid, to ſend us to *Chriſt*, and his grace, being in our ſelves condemned and loſt. For the law was delivered with thunder, and with a moſt violent and fearfull tempeſt, threatning eternall death.

The fourth end of the law was to deſigne, and preſerve, the place of the Church and true people of God: and to hold men in one Diſcipline, and awe, till the coming of *Chriſt*; after whom the Church was to be diſperſed over the whole world.

50 Theſe be the ends of the Morall law. The end and uſe of the Ceremoniall law, is to confirm the truth of *Chriſt*, and the new Teſtament. The uſe of the Judiciall, to teach us naturall equity and right, whereto we muſt conform our ſelves.

The ſenſe and underſtanding of the Law is double, literall and ſpirituall: by the literall we are taught the worſhip and ſervice of God: by the ſpirituall, the figures and myſticall fore-ſpeakings of *Chriſt*.

Laſtly, for the durance or continuance of the † Law, the ſame had being untill the paſſion of *Chriſt*: before which time, and while *Chriſt* taught in the world, both the old and the new were in force. But after that the true ſacrifice was offered upon the Altar of

* *Gen. 49. 10.* The Scepter ſhall not depart from *Juda*, nor a Lawgiver from between his feet untill *Shila* come.

of the Crosse, then the *Jewish* sacrifices and ceremonies, which were *Types* and figures of *Christ* (*Christ* being the body of those shadows) ceased to binde the conscience any longer: the mystery of our redemption being now by *Christ* and in him finished. In token whereof, the vaile of the Temple rent asunder; noting that the ceremoniall vails and shadows were now to be removed, not that the morall law of the Commandments was hereby abolished, or weakned at all: otherwise than that it had not power to condemn according to the *Jewish* doctrine, as aforesaid. For the observing of the law was by *Christ* himself severely commanded: our love towards God being thereby to be witnessed. And herein *David* so much rejoyced, as he preferred the observation of the law before all that the world could yeeld. *In via testimoniorum tuorum delectatus sum, sicut in omnibus divitiis; I have been delighted in thy law, as in all manner of riches:* And again, *The law of thy mouth is good for me above thousands of gold and silver.* 1 John 5. *This is the love God* (saith S. *John*) *that we keep his Commandment.* And that there is no excuse for the neglect of the things commanded in the law, God himself in *Deuteronomy* witnesseth. Deu.30.11,12, 13. & 14. Rom.10. v.6. 7,8. *This Commandment* (saith he) *which I command thee this day, is not hid from thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven that thou shouldest say, Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it us, and cause us to hear it, that we may do it? neither is it beyond the Sea, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go over the Sea for us, and bring it us? &c. but the word is very neer unto thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart for to do it. Behold* (saith *Moses*) *I have set before thee this day life and death, good and evill, in that I command thee this day, to love the Lord thy God, to walk in his waies, and to keep his Commandments, and his Ordinances, and his Laws, that thou maist live, &c.* Cap.9.17. Neither is it said in vain in S. *Matthew: Si vis ad vitam ingredi, serva mandata; If thou wilt enter into life, keep the Commandments:* Cap.12.50. and in S. *John; Scio quia mandatum ejus vita æterna est; I know that his Commandment is life everlasting.* And if this be the charity of God, or of Men towards God, as S. *John* hath taught, to wit, that we keep his Commandments: certainly, he is but a liar, that professeth to love God, and neglecteth to observe the word of his will, with all his power. And though I confesse it not in mans ability, without the speciall grace of God to fulfill the law (*Christ* onely as man excepted) yet if we rightly consider the mercifull care which God had of his people in those his Commandments, we shall finde in our selves, how we borrow liberty, and rather let slip our affections, and voluntarily loosen them from the chains of obedience, to which the word of God and divine reason hath fastened them, than that we are excusable by those difficulties and impossibilities, which our minde (greedy of liberty) proposeth to it self. *For this is the love of God, that we keep his Commandments, and his Commandments are not grievous,* 1 John 5.12. and if we examine every precept apart, and then weigh them each after other, in the ballance of our consciences: it is not hard for any man to judge, by what easie perswasions, we steal away from our own power, as unwilling to use it against our pleasing desires.

§. XIII.

Of the severall Commandments of the Decalogue: *and that the difficulty is not in respect of the Commandments, but by our default.*

FOr by the first we are commanded to acknowledge, serve, and love one God. Now, whereby are we inticed to the breach of this precept? seeing every reasonable man may conceive and know, that infinite power cannot be divided into many infinities: and that it is of necessity, that by this almighty Unity, all things have been caused, and are continued. And if brute beasts had this knowledge of their Creator, and how in his providence he hath also provided for every of them, *Which giveth to beasts their food, &c.* Psal.147 9. there is no doubt but that they would also serve and love him onely.

The second precept is the forbidding of Idolatry, and worship of Images: the making whereof, out of doubt, was not the invention of an ill intent in the beginning, seeing this is generally true; *Omnia mala exempla bonis initiis orta sunt; All ill examples did spring and arise from good beginnings.* Glosse in verb. Cælum. For their first erection was to keep the memory of men famous for their vertue: untill (saith *Lactantius*) the devill crept into them, and (having blotted out the first intent) working in weak and ignorant souls, changed the nature of the one, and the reason of the other, to serve himself thereby. For what reasonable man, if he be not forsaken of God, will call on those blinde, deaf, dumbe, and dead stocks,

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more worthlesse than the most worthlesse of those, that having life and reason, implore their help, which have neither: yea, of more vile prize and baser, than the basest of beasts, who have sense and estimation? For what do we thereby (saith the Wisdome of *Solomon*) *but call to the weak for help, pray to the dead for life, require aid of him that hath no experience, assistance in our journies of him that cannot go, and successe in our affairs of him that hath no power?* And whether the Idolater, or the block, to which he prayeth, be more senseless, *David* maketh a doubt. *For* (saith he) *they that make them are like unto them, and so are all the rest that trust in them.* *Wisd. 13. v. 19.* *Psal. 35. 18.*

The branch of the third Commandment, is neither perswaded by worldly pleasure, nor worldly profit: the two greatest inchanters of mortall men. No, we are no way allured to this horrible disdain of God, unlesse the hate of good men, and Gods curse, be accounted an advantage. For as our corruptest nature gives us nothing towards it, so can it satisfie no one appetite, except everlasting sorrow, and hell dwell in our desire. And therefore this strange custom hath the devil brought up among men, without all subtletie of argument, or cunning perswasion, taking thereby the greatest and most scornfull advantage over us. For slaughter satisfieth hatred, Theft gives satisfaction to need, Adultery to lust, Oppression to covetousnesse: but this contemptuous offence of blasphemy, and the irreverent abuse of Gods name, as it giveth no help to any of our worldly affections, so the most salvage Nations of the world do not use it.

The fourth Commandment, to keep the *Sabbath* day holy, hath neither pain, burthen, nor inconvenience. For it giveth rest to the labourer, and consolation to their Masters. And that this law was imposed on man for his benefit, *Moses* teacheth in the reason of the law: as in Exod. 23. 12. *And in the seventh day thou shalt rest, that thine Oxe and thine Asse may rest, and the son of thy maid, and the stranger may be refreshed.*

The first of the second Table, to honour our Parents, with whom we are one and the same, is a gratitude which nature it self hath taught us towards them, who, after God, gave us life and being, have begotten us, and born us, cherished us in our weak and helplesse infancy, and bestowed on us the harvest and profit of their labours and cares. Therefore, in the Temporall and Judiciall ordinances, cursing of Parents, or the offering them violence, was made death.

The next is, that thou shalt not Murther, that is, thou shalt not do the acts following the affections of hatred. For the law of God, and after it our own laws, and, in effect, the law of all Nations, have made difference between slaughter casuall, and furious. *Affectio enim tua* (saith *Bracton*) *imponit nomen operi tuo; It is the affection and will that makes the work such as it is.* And certainly, whosoever cannot forbear to commit murther, hath neither the grace of God, nor any use of his own will.

The third of the second Table, commands us from adultery. Now if the preservation of Virginity have been possible for thousands of men and women, who in all Ages have mastered their fleshly desires, and have returned chaste to their grave: It cannot be accounted a burthen, to forbear the dishonour and injury, which we offer to others by such a violation, seeing marriage is permitted by the laws of God and men, to all that affect it. And there is no man living, whom the desire of beauty and form hath so constrained, but he might with ease forbear the prosecution of this ill, did not himself give suck to this infant, and nourish warmth till it grow to strong heat, heat till it turn to fire, and fire to flame. *Nuptiæ replent terram, Virginitas Paradisum.*

The fourth of the second Table, is, That we shall not steal. And if that kinde of violent robbery had been used in *Moses* time, which many Ruffians practise now a-daies in *England*, and, to the dishonour of our Nation, more in *England*, than in any Region of the world among *Christians*; out of doubt, he would have censured them by death, and not by restitution, though quadruple. For I speak not of the poor and miserable souls, whom hunger and extreme necessity inforceth; but of those detested Theeves, who, to maintain themselves Lord-like, assault, rob, and wound the Merchant, Artificer, and labouring man; or break by violence into other mens houses, and spend in Braverie, Drunkennesse, and upon Harlots, in one day, what other men sometime have laboured for all their lives: impoverishing whole Families, and taking the bread and food from the mouths of their children. And that this Commandment might easily be observed, it would soon appear, if Princes would resolve, but for a few yeers, to pardon none. For, it is the hope of life, and the argument of sparing the first offence, that incourageth

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these Hell-hounds. And if every man presume to be pardoned once, there is no State or Common-wealth, but these men would in a short time impoverish or destroy it.

The fifth Commandment of this second Table, is, the prohibition of false witnesse: from which if men could not forbear, all surety of estate and life were taken away. And so much did God detest a false witnesse, and a false accuser, especially in matters criminall, that the law ordained him to suffer the same death or punishment, which he sought by falshood to lay on his brother.

The last of the ten Commandments forbiddeth us to covet any thing, which belongeth to another man, either the bodies of their wives for concupiscence, or their goods for desire of gain. And this precept seemeth the hardest for men to observe; so esteemed by reason of our fraile affections; and yet if we judge hereof rightly, it may be doubted whether it extend to all our inconsiderate fancies and vain thoughts. For, although it be not easie to master all our sudden passions, yet we may restrain and hinder the growing, and farther increase, if we please to intend our strength, and seek for grace. How the word *Coveting* reacheth to all those, it is to be considered. For *Concupiscentia*, according to some, *Est effrænatus habendi appetitus; An unbridled, or unrestrained appetite of having:* And as touching such an appetite, we cannot excuse our selves by any our naturall frailty, or unadvised errour; But, as I suppose, the word *Concupiscence* is more largely taken, either for a determinate and unbridled evill intent, or for some urging inclination thereunto. All the question is of the latter sort: which is, *Actus imperfectus, id est, non deliberatus ratione, quæ est principium proprium actus boni aut vitiosi; Such passions, or inclinations are unperfect acts, that is, not deliberated upon by reason, which is the proper principle of a good or vicious action.* And sure, it may seem, that so long as we resist such motions, they harm us not: as they say, *Quamdiu refragamur, nihil nocent: nocent autem cum eas dominari permittimus; As long as we give no assent unto them, it is thought by some that they hurt us not; and that then onely they hurt, when we suffer them to bear sway.* But these men, as it seems, make nothing forbidden in the tenth precept, but what hath been forbidden in the other: for in every Commandment, not onely the outward act, but also the inward assent unto evill, though it break not out into act, is forbidden: therefore, that we may know the difference between this Commandment and the rest, the distinction of desires is to be held: that some are with assent, and unbridled; others bridled, and without assent. For so even the Morall *Philosopher* can tell us, that the continent man hath evill desires, but without assent (for they are bridled by the strength of right reason) as, on the other side, the Incontinent hath good desires, but restrained and suppressed by contrary passions. The evill desires, when they are accompanied with assent, are in every Commandment forbidden, together with the outward act: and therefore, if we will have any thing proper to this Commandment, we must needs say, that the evill desires of the continent man (that is, even those which we resist and bridle) are here forbidden. For though he that bridleth his evill desires, be much better than he that yeeldeth unto them: yet such a man, even according to the Heathen *Philosopher*, is not worthy the name of a vertuous man. For *Aristotle* himself makes *Continentia*, not to be vertue, but onely a degree unto it: confessing, that though the Continent man do well in bridling his evill affections, yet he doth not all, seeing he ought not so much as to have them at all. Neither is it much more, that true divinity delivereth touching this matter. For, as he saith, that in the continent man the having of these evill desires, though he resist them, is the cause that he cannot be called a vertuous man: so we, that the having of them is a sin. Onely in this we excell him here: that we are able out of divinity to give the true reason of this doctrine: which is, that every one sinneth, that doth not love God with his whole heart and affection: whence it followeth, that the evill desires of the Continent man; that is, of him which bridleth them, must needs be sin: seeing such desires, though bridled, are a pulling away of a part of our heart and affection from God.

Seeing therefore it hath pleased God, to make us know, that by our faithfull endeavours to keep his commandments, we witnesse our love toward himself: we may not safely give liberty to our vanities, by casting back upon God (who is justice it self) that he hath given us Precepts altogether beyond our power, and Commandments impossible for us to keep. For, as he is accursed (saith Saint *Hierome*) that avows that the Law is in all things possible to be observed: so he hath made this addition: *Maledictus*

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qui dicit impossibilia Deum præcepisse; *Accursed is he that saith that God hath commanded things* (in themselves, and not through our fault) *impossible*. Now, as the places are many which command us to keep the Law; so is our weakneſſe also in the Scriptures laid before us, and therefore it is thus safely to be understood, that we should without evasion, or without betraying of our selves, do our faithfull endevours to observe them: which if we do unfainedly, no doubt but God will accept our desires therein. For that there is no man just, *David* witnesseth: *Enter not into judgement with thy servant, for in thy sight no flesh that liveth shall be justified.* And in the first of *Kings*, *There is no man that sinneth not*: And again, *Who can say, I have made my heart clean?* But seeing there is no sin grievous without deliberation; let every mans conscience judge him, whether he give way willingly, or restrain himself in all that he can; yea, or no? For when a King gives to his subject a commandment upon pain of losse of his love, to perform some service: if the subject neglecting the same, seek to satisfie his *Soveraign* with shifting excuses, out of doubt such a Prince will take himself to be derided therein.

Psal. 143. *Cap.* 8. v. 46. *Prov.* 20. 9.

§. XIV.

If there were not any Religion, nor Judgement to come, yet the Decalogue *were most necessary to be observed.*

AND if we consider advisedly and soberly of the Morall Law, or ten Commandments, which God by the hand of *Moses* gave unto his people, it will appear, that such was his mercifull providence in the choice of them, as were there neither pain nor profit adjoyned to the observing, or not observing of them; were there no divine power at all, nor any Religion among men; yet if we did not for our own sakes strive to observe these laws, all society of men, and all endevours, all happinesse and contentment in this life would be taken away: and every State and Common-weal in the World fall to the ground and dissolve. Therefore these laws were not imposed as a burden, but as a blessing: to the end that the innocent might be defended, that every man might enjoy the fruits of his own travell, that right might be done to all men from all men: that by justice, order, and peace, we might live the lives of reasonable men, and not of beasts; of free-men, and not of slaves; of civill men, and not of savages. And hereof making our humane reason onely Judge, let us see the inconveniences in this life which would follow by the breach and neglect of these laws.

As first, what would the issue be, if we acknowledged many gods? would not a far greater hatred, war, and blood-shed follow, than that which the difference of ceremony, and diversity of interpretation hath already brought into the World, even among those Nations which acknowledge one God, and one *Christ?*

And what could it profit mankind to pray to Idols, and Images of gold, metall, dead stones, and rotten wood, whence nothing can be hoped, but the losse of time, and an impossibility to receive thence-from, either help or comfort?

The breach of the third Commandment bringeth therewith this disadvantage, and ill to man, that whosoever taketh the Name of God in vain, shall not at any time benefit himself by calling God to witnesse for him, when he may justly use his holy Name.

The observing the *Sabbath* holy, giveth rest to men and beasts, and nature her self requireth intermission of labour.

If we despise our Parents, who have given us being, we thereby teach our own children to scorn and neglect us, when our aged yeers require comfort and help at their hands.

If murther were not forbidden, and severely punished, the race of mankinde would be extinguished: and whosoever would take the liberty to destroy others, giveth liberty to others to destroy himself.

If adultery were lawfull and permitted, no man could say unto himself; This is my son: there could be no inheritance proper, no honour descend to posterity, no endevour by vertue and undertaking to raise Families: murthers and poysonings between man and wife would be daily committed: and every man subject to most filthy and unclean diseases.

If stealth and violent rapine were suffered, all mankind would shortly after perish,

or live as the salvages, by roots and acorns. For no man laboureth but to enjoy the fruits thereof. And such is the mischief of robbery, as where *Moses* for lesser crimes appointed restitution fourfold, policy of State and necessity hath made it death.

To permit false witnesses, is to take all mens lives and estates from them by corruption: the wicked would swear against the vertuous: the waster against the wealthy: the idle beggar and loyterer, against the carefull and painfull labourer: all triall of right were taken away, and justice thereby banished out of the world.

The coveting of that which belongs to other men, bringeth no other profit than a distraction of minde, with an inward vexation: for while we covet what appertains to others, we neglect our own: our appetites are therein fed with vain and fruitlesse hopes, so long as we do but covet; and if we do attain to the desire of the one, or the other, to wit, the wives or goods of our neighbours; we can look for no other, but that our selves shall also, either by theft or by strong hand, be deprived of our own.

Wherein then appeareth the burthen of Gods Commandments, if there be nothing in them, but rules and directions for the generall and particular good of all living? Surely, for our own good, and not in respect of himself, did the most mercifull and provident God ordain them; without the observation of which, the vertues of heavenly bodies, the fertility of the earth, with all the blessings given us in this life, would be unto us altogether unprofitable, and of no use. For we should remaine but in the state of brute beasts, if not in a far more unhappy condition.

§. XV.

Of humane law, written and unwritten.

HUmane law, of which now it followeth to speak, is first divided into two: (*Viz.*) Written, and Unwritten. The unwritten consists of usage, approved by time: which *Isidore* calls *Mores*: and he defines *Mores* to be *Consuetudines vetustate probatæ*; to be *customes approved by antiquitie, or unwritten lawes*. Now custome differeth from use, as the cause from the effect: in that custome is by use and continuance established into a law: but yet there where the law is defective, saith *Isidore*.

And of customes there are two generall natures, containing innumerable particulars; the first are written customes received and exercised by Nations, as the customes of *Burgundy* and *Normandy*, the ancient generall custome of *England*, and the customes of *Castile*, and other *Provinces*.

The second are these petty customs, used in particular Places, Cities, Hundreds, and Mannors. The generall or Nationall customes are some written, others unwritten.

The particular or petty customs are seldome written, but witnessed by testimony of the inhabitance. The customes of the *Duchie* of *Cornwall*, comprehending also the *Stannary* of *Devon*, as touching *Tin*, and *Tin* causes are written in *Devon*, but not in *Cornwall*. But howsoever use and time hath made these customs as laws, yet ought every custome to be *rationabilis*, as well as *præscripta*. *Non firmatur tractu temporis, quod de jure ab initio non subsistit*; *That which at first was not grounded upon good right, is not made good by continuance of time*. And (saith *Ulpian*) *quod ab initio vitiosum est, non potest tractu temporis convalescere*; *Course of time amends not that which was naught from the first beginning*. For these two defences are necessary in all laws of custome; the one, that it be not repugnant to the law divine, and naturall: the other, that the cause and reason be strong, proving a right birth, and necessary continuance: it being manifest, that every custom which is against the law, had his beginning from evill deeds, and therefore not without the former considerations to be allowed. And it is true, that all customs of this nature, were but tollerated for a time, by the law-makers, though they have been since continued; because posterity is not bound to examine by what cause their Ancestors were thereto moved. For, *Non sufficit simplex toleratio*. And it is in this sort over-ruled in the law; *Per populum consuetudo contra legem induci non potest, nisi de voluntate illius, qui novam legem & novam constitutionem statuere potest, qui solus princeps est*; *The people cannot bring in a new custome against law, save by his will, who hath power to make a new law and ordinance, which is onely the Prince*.

In Reg. Jur. v. 2. § 117. art. 1.

Ulp. l. 29.

Humane law generally taken, to wit, humane law written, is by some defined to be the decree or doom of practick reason: by which humane actions are ruled and directed.

rected. *Papinian* calls the law a common precept, the adviſement of wiſe men, and the reſtraint of offences committed, either willingly or ignorantly. *Iſidore* calls the law a Conſtitution written, agreeing with Religion, fitteſt for government and common profit: And more largely, *Omne id quod ratione conſiſtit; All that ſtands with reaſon.*

Laſtly, and more preciſely, it is thus defined. Humane law is a righteous decree, agreeing with the law naturall & eternall: made by the rationall diſcourſe of thoſe, that exerciſe publike authority: preſcribing neceſſary obſervances to the ſubject. That every law ought to be a righteous decree, S. *Auguſtine* teacheth, ſaying: *Mihi lex eſſe non videtur, quæ juſta non fuerit; It ſeems to be no law at all to me, which is not juſt:* and juſt it cannot be, except it agree with the law naturall and eternall. For there is no law juſt and legitimate (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) which the Law-makers have not derived from the eternall. *Nihil juſtum atque legitimum eſt, quod non ab æterna lege ſibi homines derivaverunt.*

Greg. de Val. ex Tho. q. 91. art. 3. & 4. 94. art. 2.

Lib. 1. de lib. arb. cap. 6.

Secondly, it ought to be conſtituted by diſcourſe of reaſon, whereby it is diſtinguiſhed from the law naturall, to wit, the naturall, indemonſtrable, or needing no demonſtration, from whence the law humane is taken and deduced.

Thirdly, that it ought to be made by an authoriſed Magiſtracy, it cannot be doubted, be the government of what kind ſoever. For it falleth otherwiſe under the title of thoſe decrees called *Violentiæ*, or *iniquæ conſtitutiones; Violences, or wicked conſtitutions.*

Of humane law there are four properties, eſpecially anſwering theſe four conditions in the former definition. Firſt, as it is drawn out of the law of Nature; ſo every particular of the humane law may be reſolved into ſome principle or rule of the naturall.

4. Parts.

Secondly, it is to be conſidered as it is referred unto, and doth reſpect the common good.

Thirdly, it is to be made by publick authority.

Fourthly, concerning the matter of the law, it preſcribeth and directeth all humane actions. And ſo is the law as large and divers, as all humane actions are divers, which may fall under it. For according to *Thomas*, *Alia lex* Julia *de Adulteriis*, *alia* Cornelii *de Sicariis*; *The law of* Julian *againſt Adultery, is one, the* Cornelian *againſt Ruffians, is another.* Now the humane law generally taken, is in reſpect of the firſt of theſe conſiderations, divided into the law of Nations, and the Civill.

The law of Nations is taken leſſe or more properly; leſſe properly for every law which is not of it ſelf, but from other higher principles deduced: and ſo it ſeemeth that *Ulpian* underſtands it: for he defineth *Jus Gentium*, or *the law of Nations*, to be that which is onely common amongſt men, as Religion, and the Worſhip of God: which is not in the very nature of this law of Nations; but from the principles of the Scriptures, and other divine Revelations. But the law of Nations properly taken, is that *dictate*, or *ſentence*, which is drawn from a very probable, though not from an evident principle, yet ſo probable, that all Nations do aſſent unto the concluſion, as that the free paſſage of *Ambaſſadours* be granted between enemies, &c. which Nationall law, according to divers acceptations, and divers conſiderations had of the humane law, may be ſometime taken for a *Species* of the Naturall, ſometime of the Humane.

Jus Civile, or the Civill law, is not the ſame in all Common-wealths, but in divers Eſtates it is alſo divers and peculiar, and this law is not ſo immediately derived from the law of Nature, as the law of Nations is: For it is partly deduced out of ſuch principles as all Nations do not agree in, or eaſily aſſent unto; becauſe they depend on particular circumſtances, which are divers, and do not fit all eſtates. Hereof *Ulpian*, *jus Civile neque in totum à Naturali & Gentium recedit, neque per omnia ei ſervit; itaque cum aliquid addimus, vel detrahimus juri communi, jus proprium, id eſt, Civile efficimus; The civill law* (ſaith he) *doth neither wholly differ from the law of Nature and Nations, nor yet in all points obey it: therefore when we adde ought to, or take from the law that is common, we make a law proper, that is, the Civill Law.*

In Leg. 6. ff. de Juſtitia jur.

The law now commonly called the Civill law, had its birth in *Rome:* and was firſt written by the *Decem-viri*, 303. yeers after the foundation of the City. It was compounded as well out of the *Athenian* and other *Greeian* laws, as out of the ancient *Romane* cuſtoms and laws *Regall*. The Regall laws were deviſed by the firſt Kings; and called *Leges Regiæ*, or *Papyrianæ*, becauſe they were gathered by *Papyrius*, *Tarquin* then reigning. For though ſo many of the former laws as maintained Kingly

Dion. Hal. authority, were abolished with the name; yet those of *Servius Tullius*, for commerce and contracts, and all that appertained to Religion and common utility, were continued, and were a part of the laws of the twelve Tables. To these laws of the twelve Tables were added (as the times gave occasion) those made by the *Senate*, called *Senatus-consulta*: those of the common people, called *Plebei-scita*, those of the Lawyers, called *Responsa-prudentum*: and the Edicts of the *Annuall Magistrate*: which Edicts being first gathered and interpreted by *Julian*, and presented to *Adrian* the Emperour, they were by him confirmed and made perpetuall laws, and the *Volume* stiled *Edictum perpetuum*; as those and the like collections of *Justinian* afterward were.

C. Sigon. l. 1. cap. of Pomponius.

The difference anciently between Laws and Edicts, which the *French* call *Reglements*, consisted in this, that laws are the constitutions made or confirmed by soveraign authority (be the soveraignty in the people, in a few, or in one) and are withall generall and permanent: but an Edict (which is but *Jussum magistratus*, unlesse by authority it be made a law) hath end with the *Officer*, who made the same, saith *Varro*. *Qui plurimum Edicto tribuunt, legem annuam esse dicunt*; *They who ascribe the most to an Edict, say that it is a law for one yeer:* Though *Isidore* doth also expresse by the word *Constitutions* or *Edicts*, those Ordinances called *Acts of Prerogatives*; as, *Constitutio vel Edictum est quod Rex vel Imperator constituit, vel edicit*; *An Ordinance or Edict is that which a King or Emperour doth ordain, or proclaim.*

Lastly, the *Humane law* is divided into the *Secular*, and into the *Ecclesiasticall*, or *Canon*. The *Secular* commanding temporall good, to wit, the peace and tranquility of the Common-weal: the *Ecclesiasticall* the spirituall good, and right government of the *Ecclesiasticall Common-wealth*, or *Church*: *Illud naturæ legem, hoc divinam spectat*; *That respecteth the law of nature, this the law of God.* And so may *Jus Civile* be taken two wayes; first, as distinguished from the law of Nations, as in the first division: Secondly, as it is the same with the *Secular*, and divers from the *Ecclesiasticall*. But this division of the *Schoolmen* is obscure. For although the *Civill* be the same with the *Secular*, as the *Civill* is a law, yet the *Secular* is more generall, and comprehendeth both the *Civill*, and all other laws not *Ecclesiasticall*. For of *Secular* laws in use among *Christian* Princes, and in *Christian* Common-weals, there are three kindes; the *Civill*, which hath every where a voice, and is in all *Christian* estates (*England* excepted) most powerfull; the laws of *England* called *Common*, and the laws of custome or *Provinciall*. In *Spain*, besides the law *Civill*, they have the customs of *Castill*, and other Provinces. In *France*, besides the *Civill*, the customs of *Burgundy*, *Bloys*, *Berri*, *Nivernois*, and *Lodunois*, &c. *Tous lieux situes & assis en Lodunois, seront gouvernez selon les coustumes du dit pays*; *All places lying within the precincts of Lodunois, shall be governed according to the customs of that place.* There are also in *France* the customs of *Normandy*, and these of two kindes; Generall, and Locall: and all purged and reformed by divers Acts of the three Estates. The *Charters* of confirmation of these ancient customs, before and since their reformation have these words: *Nos autem Registrum prædictum, usus laudabiles, & consuetudines antiquas, &c. laudamus, approbamus, & authoritate Regia confirmamus*; *The Register aforesaid, laudable use, and ancient customs we praise, approve, and by our Kingly authority confirm.* The common law of *England* is also compounded of the ancient customs of the same, and of certain *Maximes* by those customs of the Realm approved. Upon which customs also are grounded those Courts of *Record*, of the *Chancery*, *Kings Bench*, *Common Pleas*, and *Exchequer*, with other small Courts.

Art. 3. tit. 5. G. Cust.

These ancient customs of *England* have been approved by the Kings thereof from age to age: as that custome by which no man shall be taken, imprisoned, disseised, nor otherwise destroyed, but he must first be put to answer by the Law of the Land, was confirmed by the *Statute* of *Magna Charta*. It is by the ancient custom of *England*, that the eldest sons should inherit without partition. In *Germany*, *France*, and elsewhere otherwise, and by partition. In *Ireland* it is the custome for all lands (that have not been resigned into the Kings hands) that the eldest of the House shall enjoy the inheritance during his owne life: and so the second and third eldest (if there be so many brothers) before the Heire in lineall descent: this is called the custome of *Tanistrie*. For example, if a Lord of Land have four sons, and the eldest of those four have also a son, the three brothers of the eldest son shall, after the death of their brother, enjoy their fathers Lands before the grand-childe: the custome being grounded

grounded upon the reaſon of neceſſity. For the *Iriſh* in former times, having alwaies lived in a ſubdivided *Civill* War, not onely the greateſt againſt the greateſt, but every *Baron* and *Gentleman* one againſt another, were enforc't to leave ſucceſſors of age and ability, to defend their own Territories. Now as in *Normandy*, *Burgundy*, and other Provinces of *France*, there are certain peculiar and petty Cuſtoms, beſides the great and generall cuſtom of the Land, ſo are there in *England*, and in every part thereof. But the greateſt bulk of our Laws, as I take it, are the *Acts of Parliament:* laws propounded and approved by the three eſtates of the Realm, and confirmed by the King, to the obedience of which all men are therefore bound, becauſe they are *Acts* of choice, and ſelf-
10 deſire. *Leges nulla alia cauſa nos tenent, quàm quòd judicio populi receptæ ſunt; The laws do therefore bind the ſubject, becauſe they are received by the judgement of the ſubject. Tum demum humanæ leges habent vim ſuam, cum fuerint non modò inſtitutæ, ſed etiam firmatæ approbatione communitatis; It is then that humane laws have their ſtrength, when they ſhall not onely be deviſed, but by the approbation of the people confirmed.* Ulp. ff. de Leg. Leg. 32. Aug. de vera religione. cap. 31. Gratian. in dec. diſt. 4. Cum in ipſis.

Iſidore faſteneth theſe properties to every *Chriſtian* Law, that the ſame be honeſt, that it be poſſible, that it be according to Nature, and according to the cuſtome of the Country; alſo for the time and place, convenient, profitable, and manifeſt, and without reſpect of private profit, that it be written for the generall good. He alſo gives foure effects of the Law, which *Modeſtinus* comprehends in two; to wit, obligation,
20 and inſtigation: the former binds us by fear, to avoid vice; the latter encourageth with hope, to follow vertue. For according to *Cicero*, *Legem oportet eſſe vitiorum emendatricem, commendatricemque virtutum: It behoveth the Law to be a mender of vices, and a commender of vertue.* The part obligatory, or binding us to the obſervation of things commanded or forbidden, is an effect common to all laws: and it is two-fold; the one conſtraineth us by fear of our conſciences, the other by fear of externall puniſhment. Theſe two effects the Law performeth, by the exerciſe of thoſe two powers, to wit, *Coactive* and *Directive*.

The ſecond of theſe two effects remembred by *Modeſtinus*, is *Inſtigation*, or incouragement to vertue, as *Ariſtotle* makes it the end of the law, to make men vertuous. For
30 laws being ſuch as they ought to be, do both by preſcribing and forbidding, urge us to well-doing; laying before us the good and the evill, by the one and the other purchaſed. And this power affirmative commanding good, and power negative forbidding evill, are thoſe into which the law is divided, as touching the matter: and in which *David* comprehendeth the whole body and ſubſtance thereof: ſaying, *Declina à malo, & fac bonum, Decline from evill, and do good.* *Declina* Pſalme 37.

§. XVI.

That onely the Prince is exempt from humane Laws, and in what ſort.

40 NOw whether the power of the humane Law be without exception of any perſon, it is doubtfully diſputed among thoſe that have written of this ſubject, as well *Divines* as *Lawyers*: and namely, whether Soveraigne Princes be compellable; yea, or no? But whereas there are two powers of the law, as aforeſaid; the one *Directive*, the other *Coactive*: to the power *Directive* they ought to be ſubject, but not to that which conſtraineth. For as touching violence or puniſhments, no man is bound to give a prejudiciall judgement againſt himſelf; and if equals have not any power over each other, much leſſe have inferiours over their ſuperiours, from whom they receive their authority and ſtrength.

And ſpeaking of the ſupreme power of laws, ſimply then is the Prince ſo much above
50 the laws, as the ſoul and body united, is above a dead and ſenſeleſſe carkaſſe. For the King is truly called, *Jus vivum, & lex animata: An animate and living law.* But this is true, that by giving authority to laws, Princes both add greatneſs to themſelves, & conſerve it; and therefore was it ſaid of *Bracton* out of *Juſtinian*, *Meritò debet Rex tribuere legi quod lex attribuit ei: nam lex facit ut ipſe ſit Rex; Rightfully ought the King to attribute that to the law, which the Law firſt attributeth to the King; for it is the Law that doth make Kings.* Bract. l. 2.

But whereas *Bracton* aſcribeth this power to the humane law, he is therein miſtaken. For Kings are made by God, and laws divine; and by humane laws onely, declared to be Kings. As for the places remembred by the Divines and Lawyers, which infer a

a kinde of obligation of Princes, they teach no other thing therein, than the bond of conscience, and profit arising from the examples of vertuous Princes, who are to give an account of their actions to God only.

Psal. 50. *Tibi soli peccavi*, saith *David*; *Against thee only have I sinned:* therefore the Prince cannot be said to be subject to the law; *Princeps non subjicitur legi.* For seeing, according to the *Schoolmen*, the law humane is but *quoddam organum & instrumentum potestatis gubernativæ: non videtur posse ejus obligatio ad eum se extendere, ad quem ipsa vis potestatis humanæ non pertinet; sed vis potestatis humanæ non se extendit ad gubernatorem, in quo illa residet. Ergo neque lex condita per talem potestatem obligare potest ipsum conditorem. Omnis enim potentia activa, est principium transmutandi aliud*; Seeing humane law (say they) *is but a kind of organ or instrument of the power that governeth, it seems that it cannot extend it self to bind any one whom no humane power can controll, or lay hold of: but the governour himself, in whom the governing power doth reside, is a person that cannot by himself, or by his own power be controlled. And therefore the law which is made by such a power, cannot binde the law-maker himself: for every active ability, is a cause or principle of alteration in another body,* not in the body in which it self resides. And seeing Princes have power to deliver others from the obligation of the Law: *ergo etiam potest ipsemet Princeps sive legislator sua se voluntate pro libito ab obligatione legis liberare*; Therefore also may a Prince or Law-maker at his own will and pleasure, deliver himself from the bond of the Law. Therefore in the rules of the Law it is thus concluded: *Subditi tenentur leges observare necessitate coactionis. Princeps vero sola voluntate sua, & intuitu boni communis*; The subjects are bound to fulfill the Law by necessity of compulsion, but the Prince onely by his own will, and regard of the common good.

Ass. de Leg.

Greg. de Valentia de Leg.

Now concerning the politick Laws, given by *Moses* to the Nation of the *Israelites*, whether they ought to be a President, from which no civill institutions of other people should presume to digresse, I will not presume to determine, but leave it as a question for such men to decide, whose professions give them greater ability. Thus much I may be bold to affirm, That we ought not to seem wiser than *God* himself, who hath told us, that there are no Laws so righteous, as those which it pleased him to give to his Elect people to be governed by. True it is, that all Nations have their severall qualities, wherein they differ, even from their next borderers, no lesse than in their peculiar languages: which disagreeable conditions to governe aptly, one and the same Law very hardly were able. The *Roman* civill Laws did indeed contain in order a great part of the then known World, without any notable inconvenience, after such time as once it was received and become familiar: yet was not the administration of it alike in all parts, but yeelded much unto the naturall customs of the sundry people which it governed. For whether it be through a long continued perswasion; or (as *Astrologers* more willingly grant) some influence of the Heavens; or peradventure some temper of the soile and climate, affoording matter of provocation to vice (as plenty make the *Sybarites* luxurious: want and opportunity to steal, makes the *Arabians* to be Theeves) very hard it were to forbid by Law an offence so common with any people, as it wanted a name, whereby to be distinguished from just and honest. By such rigour was the Kingdom of *Congo* unhappily diverted from the Christian Religion, which it willingly at the first imbraced, but after with great fury rejected, because plurality of Wives was denied unto them, I know not how necessarily, but more contentiously than seasonably. In such cases, me thinks it were not amisse to consider, that the high *God* himself permitted some things to the *Israelites*, rather in regard of their naturall disposition (for they were hard-hearted) than because they were consonant unto the ancient rules of the first perfection. So, where even the generall nature of man doth condemn (as many things it doth) for wicked and unjust; there may the Law, given by *Moses*, worthily be deemed the most exact reformer of the evill, which forceth man, as neer as may be, to the will and pleasure of his Maker. But where nature or custom hath entertained a vicious, yet not intolerable habit, with so long and so publick approbation, that the vertue opposing it would seem as uncouth, as it were to walk naked in *England*, or to wear the *English* fashion of apparrell in *Turkie*: there may a wise and upright Law-giver, without presumption, omit somwhat that the rigour of *Moses* Law required; even as the good King *Hezekiah* did, in a matter meerly *Ecclesiasticall*, and therefore the lesse capable of dispensation, praying for the people; The good Lord be mercifull unto him, that prepareth his whole heart

to

to seek the Lord God, the *God of his Fathers*, though he be not cleansed according to the purification of the Sanctuary; which Prayer the Lord heard and granted. 2 *Chron.* 30. 18, 19.

To this effect it is well observed by Master Doctor *Willet*, that the morall Judicials of *Moses* do partly binde, and partly are let free. They do not hold affirmatively, that we are tied to the same severity of punishment now, which was inflicted then; but negatively they do hold, that now the punishment of death should not be adjudged, where sentence of death is not given by *Moses*: Christian Magistrates ruling under *Christ* the prince of peace, that is, of Clemency and Mercy, may abate of the severity of *Moses* law, and mitigate the punishment of death, but they cannot add unto it, to make the burden more heavie: for to shew more rigour than *Moses*, becometh not the *Gospel*. *Isa.* 9.

But I will not wander in this copious argument, which hath been the subject of many learned discourses, neither will I take upon me, to speak any thing definitively in a case which dependeth still in some controversie among worthy Divines. Thus much (as in honour of the Judiciall Law, or rather of him that gave it) I may well and truly say, that the defence of it hath alwaies been very plausible. And surely howsoever they be not accepted (neither were it expedient) as a generall and onely Law: yet shall we hardly find any other ground, whereon the conscience of a Judge may rest, with equall satisfaction in making interpretation, or giving sentence upon doubts arising out of any Law besides it. Hereof, perhaps, that Judge could have been witnesse, of whom *Fortescue*, that notable Bulwark of our Laws, doth speak, complaining of a judgement given against a Gentlewoman at *Salisbury*; who being accused by her own man, without any other proof, for murdering her Husband, was thereupon condemned, and burnt to ashes: the man who accused her, within a yeer after being convict for the same offence, confest that his Mistris was altogether innocent of that cruel fact, whose terrible death he then (though over-late) grievously lamented: but this Judge, saith the same Authour, *Sæpius ipse mihi fassus est, quòd nunquam in vita sua animum ejus de hoc facto ipse purgaret; He himself often confessed unto me, that he should never, during his life, be able to cleer his conscience of that fact.* Wherefore that acknowledgement which other *Sciences* yeeld unto the *Metaphysiques*, that from thence are drawn propositions, able to prove the principles of Sciences, which out of the Sciences themselves cannot be proved, may justly be granted by all other politique institutions, to that of *Moses*; and so much the more justly, by how much the subject of the *Metaphysiques*, which is, *Ens quatenus Ens; Being as it is being*; is infinitely inferiour to the *Ens Entium*; *The being of beings*, the onely good, the fountain of truth, whose fear is the beginning of wisdome. To which purpose well saith S. *Augustine*, *Conditur legum temporalium si vir bonus est & sapiens, illam ipsam consulit æternam, de qua nulli animæ judicare datum est; The Author of temporall Laws, if he be good and wise, doth therein consult the Law eternall, to determine of which there is no power given to any soul.* And as well Prince *Edward*, in *Fortescue* his discourse, *Nemo potest melius aut aliud fundamentum ponere, quàm posuit Dominus; No man can lay a better, or another foundation than the Lord hath laid.* Cap. 5. 3.

CHAP. V.

The Story of the Israelites from the receiving of the Law, to the death of MOSES.

§. 1.

Of the numbring and disposing of the Host of Israel, for their marches through the Wildernesse; with a note of the reverence given to the worship of God, in this ordering of their troups.

WHen *Moses* had received the Law from God, and published it among the people, and finished the Tabernacle of the *Arke* and *Sanctuary*; he mustred all the Tribes and Families of *Israel*: and having seene what numbers of Men fit to beare Armes, were found in every Tribe, from twentie yeeres of age upwards; he appointed unto them, by direction from the LORD, such Princes and Leaders, as in Worth and Reputation were in everie Tribe most eminent. The number

number of the whole Army was 603550. able men for the wars, besides women and children; also, besides the strangers which followed them out of *Egypt*. This great Army was divided by *Moses* into foure grosse and mighty Battalions, each of which contained the strength of three whole Tribes.

The first of these containing 186400. able men, consisted of three Regiments, which may well, in respect of their numbers, be called Armies; as containing the three whole Tribes of *Judah*, *Issachar* and *Zabulon*. In the Tribe of *Judah* were 74600. fighting men, led by *Naasson*: in *Issachar* 54400. led by *Nathaniel*: in *Zabulon* 57400. led by *Eliab*. All these marched under the Standard of the Tribe of *Judah*, who held the Vaunt-guard, and was the first that moved and marched, being lodged and quartered at their general incamping on the East side of the Army, which was held the first place, and of greatest dignity.

The second Battalion or Army, called in the Scriptures the host of *Reuben*, had joyned unto it *Simeon* and *Gad*, in number 151450. All which marched under the Standard of *Reuben*. In the Tribe of *Reuben* were 46500. under *Elizur*: in *Simeon* 59300. under *Shelumiel*: in *Gad* 45650. under *Eliasaph*: These had the second place, and incamped on the South-side of the Tabernacle.

The third Army marched under the Standard of *Ephraim*, to whom were joyned the Regiments of *Manasse* and *Benjamin*; who joyned together, made in number 108100 able men. These marched in the third place, incamping on the West quarter of the Tabernacle. *Ephraim* had 40500. under *Elishama*: *Manasse* 32200. under *Gamliel*: *Benjamin* 35400. under *Abidan*.

The fourth and last Army, or Squadron, of the generall Army, containing 157600. able men, marched under the Standard of *Dan*; to whom were joyned the two Tribes of *Nephtali* and *Asher*. And these had the Rere-ward, and moved last, incamping on the North-side. *Dan* had 62700. under *Ahiezer*: *Asher* 41500. under *Pagiel*: *Nephtali* 53400 under *Ahira*.

Besides these Princes of the severall Tribes, there were ordained Captains over Thousands, over Hundreds, over Fifties, and over Tens; as it may appear by that mutinie and insurrection against *Moses*; *Num.* 16. v. 1 & 2. For there arose up against *Moses* 250. Captains of the *Assembly, famous in the Congregation, and men of renown*: of which number were *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*. Which three principall Mutiners, with those 250. Captains that followed them, were not any of the 12. Princes of the Tribes or generall Colonels before spoken of, as by their names, *Num.* 1. is made manifest.

The blessing which *Israel* gave to his children, took place not only in the division of the Land of promise, and other things of more consequence, long after following; but even in sorting them under their severall Standards in the wildernesse it was observed. For *Judah* had the precedency & the greatest Army, which also was wholly compounded of the Sons of *Leah*, *Jacobs* wife. *Reuben* having lost his birth-right, followed in the second place, accompanied with his brother *Simeon*, who had under-gone his Fathers curse; and with *Gad*, the son of his Mothers Hand-maid. *Joseph*, who in temporall blessings had the prerogative of the first born a double portion, was accounted as two Tribes, and divided into two Regiments: the younger (according to *Jacobs* prophecy) taking place before the elder, he was assisted by *Benjamin*, his best beloved brother, the other son of *Rachel*. To *Dan*, the eldest son of *Jacobs* Concubines, was given the leading of the fourth Army, according to *Jacobs* prophecy. He had with him under his Standard none of the Children of *Leah*, or *Rachel*, but onely the sons of the Hand-maids.

In the middle of these foure Armies, was the Tabernacle, or portable Temple of the Congregation carried, sur-rounded by the *Levites*. Neer unto which, as the Heathens and Pagans could not approach, by reason of these foure powerful Armies which guarded the same: so was it death for any of the children of *Israel* to come neer it, who were not of the *Levites*, to whom the charge was comitted. So sacred was the moveable Temple of God, and with such reverence guarded and transported, as 22000. persons were dedicated to the service & attendance thereof: of which 8580. had the peculiar charge, according to their severall offices and functions; the particulars whereof are written in the third and fourth of *Numbers*. And as the Armies of the people observed the former order in their incampings: so did the *Levites* quarter themselves, as in an inner square, on every side of the Tabernacle; the *Gesmrites* on the West, within the Army,

and

and Standard of *Ephraim*, over whom *Eliasaph* commanded, in number 7500. The Family of *Cohath* on the South-side guided by *Elizaphan*, within the Army of *Reuben*, and between him and the Tabernacle, in number 8600. The third company were of the Family of *Merari*, over whom *Zuriel* commanded, in number 6200. and these were lodged on the North-side, within the Army of *Dan*; on the East-side, and next within those Tribes and Forces which *Juda* led, did *Moses* and *Aaron* lodge, and their children, who were the first and immediate Commanders, both of the Ceremonies and of the people; under whom, as the chief of all the other *Leviticall* Families, was *Eleazar* the son of *Aaron*, his successour in the high Priest-hood.

This was the order of the Army of *Israel*, and of their incamping and marching; the Tabernacle of God being alway set in the middle & center thereof. The reverend care which *Moses* the Prophet, and chosen servant of God, had in all that belonged even to the outward and least parts of the Tabernacle, *Ark* and *Sanctuary*, witnessed well the inward and most humble zeale born towards God himself. The industry used in the framing thereof, and every, and the least part thereof; the curious workmanship thereon bestowed; the exceeding charge and expence in the provisions; the dutifull observance in the laying up, and preserving the holy Vessels; the solemn removing thereof; the vigilant attendance thereon, and the provident defence of the same, which all Ages have in some degree imitated, is now so forgotten and cast away in this super-fine Age, by those of the *Family*, by the *Anabaptist*, *Brownist*, and other *Sectaries*, as all cost and care bestowed and had of the Church, wherein God is to be served and worshipped, is accounted a kind of *Popery*, and as proceeding from an idolatrous disposition: insomuch as time would soon bring to passe (if it were not resisted) that God would be turned out of Churches into Barns, and from thence again into the Fields and Mountains, & under the hedges; and the offices of the *Ministery* (robbed of all dignity and respect) be as contemptible as those places; all Order, Discipline, and Church-government, left to newnesse of opinion, and mens fancies: yea, and soon after, as many kinds of Religions would spring up, as there are Parish-Churches within *England*: every contentious and ignorant person clothing his fancy with the *Spirit of God*, and his imagination with *the gift of Revelation*; insomuch, as when the *Truth*, which is but one, shall appear to the simple multitude, no lesse variable than contrary to it self, the Faith of men will soon after die away by degrees, and all Religion be held in scorn and contempt. Which distraction gave a great Prince of *Germany* cause of this answer to those that perswaded him to become a *Lutheran*; *Si me adjungo vobis, tunc condemnor ab aliis: si me aliis adjungo, à vobis condemnor; quid fugiam video, sed quid sequar, non habeo: If I adjoyn my self to you, I am condemned by others; If I joyn with others, I am condemned by you: what I should avoid I see, but I know not what I should follow.*

§. II.

The offerings of the twelve Princes: the Passeover of the second yeer: the departing of Jethro.

Now when *Moses* had taken order for all things necessary, provided for the service of God, written the lawes, numbred his Army, and divided them into the battells and troups before remembred, and appointed them Leaders of all sorts; The twelve Princes or Commanders of the Tribes brought their offerings before the Lord, to wit, six covered Chariots, and twelve Oxen to draw them, therein to transport, as they marched, the parts of the Tabernacle, with all that belonged thereunto, the *Sanctuary* excepted, which for reverence was carried upon the shoulders of the sons of *Kohath*, to whom the charge was committed; and the Chariots, in which was conveyed the other parts of the Tabernacles and Vessels thereto belonging, were delivered to the *Levites* for that service, namely, to the Sons of *Gershon* and *Merari*. *Num. 6.*

Besides these Chariots, each of these Commanders, Princes, or heads of Tribes, offered unto God, and for his service in the Temple, a Charger of fine silver, weighing 130. shekels; a silver Bowle of 70. shekels, after the shekel of the *Sanctuary*; and an Incense-Cup of Gold, of ten shekels, which they performed at the same time when the Altar was dedicated unto God by *Aaron*: and before they marched from *Sinai* towards

The Hebrew *Gerah* weigheth sixteen grains: so a *Gerah* of Silver is about three half pence sterling: the *Sicle* of the Sanctuary (as it is expounded, *Exod.* 30. 13.) containeth 20. Gerahs, so a Sanctuary Sicle of Silver is about 7. groats, the common Sicle is but half so much, to wit, ten Gerahs: as it is usually expounded; though *Villalpandus* labours to prove that the common and the Sanctuary Sicle were all one, *Num.* 9. 5. *Num.* 10. 11. *Exod.* 38. 24. *Numb.* 9. 17.

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their conqueſt, beſides the beaſts which they offered for ſacrifice, according to the law Ceremoniall, the weight of all the twelve ſilver Chargers, and twelve ſilver Bowls, amounted unto 2400. ſhekels of ſilver; and the weight of gold in the Incenſe-Cups, to 120. ſhekels of gold; which makes of ſhekels of ſilver 1200. every ſhekel of gold valuing ten of ſilver, ſo that the whole of gold and ſilver which they offered at this time, was about foure hundred and twenty pound ſterling. This done, *Moſes*, as in all the reſt, by the Spirit of God conducted, gave order for the celebrating of the *Paſſeover*, which they performed on the fourteenth day of the ſecond moneth of the ſecond yeer: and on the twentieth day of the ſame, the cloud was lifted up from above the Tabernacle, as a ſigne of going forward; *Moſes* beginning his march with this invocation to God: *Riſe up, Lord, and let thine enemies be ſcattered; and let them that hate thee, flie before thee.* Then all the people of *Iſrael* removed from their incamping at the foot of the Mountain *Sinai*, towards *Paran*, the Army, or great ſquadron of *Juda*, led by *Naaſſon*, taking the Vaunt-guard, followed by *Nathaniel* and *Eliab*, Leaders of the Tribes of *Iſſachar* and *Zabulon*: after whom the reſt marched, as in the figure expreſt. And becauſe the paſſage through ſo many deſarts and mountains, was exceeding difficult: *Moſes* leaving nothing un-forethought, which might ſerve for the advancement of his enterpriſe, he inſtantly intreated his Father in Law, whom in the tenth of *Numbers* he calleth *Hobab*, to accompany them in their journey towards *Canaan*; promiſing him ſuch part and profit of the enterpriſe, as God ſhould beſtow on them: for this man, as he was of great underſtanding and judgement (as appeared by the counſell he gave to *Moſes* for the appointing of Judges over the people) ſo was he a perfect guide in all thoſe parts, himſelf inhabiting on the frontier thereof, at *Midian*, or *Madian*: and (as it ſeemeth) a man of great yeers and experience; for he was then the Prieſt or Prince of *Madian*, when *Moſes* fled firſt out of *Egypt*, and married his Daughter, which was 42. yeers before this requeſt made. And though *Moſes* himſelf had lived 40. yeers in theſe parts of *Arabia*, through which he was now to travell: yet the better to aſſure his paſſage, and ſo great a multitude of ſouls, which could not be ſo few as a million, it was neceſſary to uſe many guides, and many conductors. To this requeſt of *Moſes*, it may ſeem by the places, *Exod.* 18.27. and *Num.* 10.30. that *Jethro*, otherwiſe called *Hobab*, yeelded not: for it is evident, that he went back from *Moſes* into his own Country. But becauſe it appeareth by other places of Scripture, that the poſterity of this *Hobab* was mingled with the *Iſraelites*, it is moſt likely that this his return to his own Country, was rather to fetch away his Family, and to take his leave of his own Country, by ſetting things in order, than to abide there.

Judic. 1.16. & 4.11. Alſo 1 *Sam.* 15.6. And 2 *Reg.* 10. 15. 1 *Chro.* 2.55. *Jer.* 35.

§. III.

The voyage from Horeb to Kades: the Mutinies by the way: and the cauſe of their turning back to the Red Sea.

AFter this diſmiſſion of *Hobab*, *Iſrael* began to march towards the Deſarts of *Paran*: and after three daies wandring, they ſate down at the *Sepulchres* of luſt, afterward called *Taberra*, or *Inceniio*: by reaſon that God conſumed with fire thoſe Mutiners and Murmurers which roſe up in this remove, which happened about the 23. day of the ſame month. And from this 23. day of the ſecond month, of the ſecond yeer, they reſted & fed themſelves with quails (which it pleaſed God by a Sea-wind to caſt upon them) to the 24. day of the third moneth; to wit, all the moneth of *Sinan*, or *June*: whereof ſurfeiting there died great numbers: from whence in the following moneth, called *Thamus*, anſwering to our *July*, they went on to *Haſeroth*, where *Miriam* the ſiſter of *Moſes* was ſtricken with the leproſie, which continued upon her ſeven daies, after whoſe recovery *Iſrael* removed toward the border of *Idumæa*, and incamped at *Rithma*, neer *Kades Barnea*, from whence *Moſes* ſent the twelve diſcoverers into the Territory of *Canaan*, both to inform themſelves of the fertility and ſtrength of the Country; as alſo to take knowledge of the Waies, Paſſages, Rivers, Fords, and Mountains. For *Arad* King of the *Canaanites* ſurprized divers companies of the *Iſraelites*, by lying in ambuſh neer thoſe waies, through which the diſcoverers and ſearchers of the Land had formerly paſt. Now, after the return of the diſcoverers of *Kades*, the wrath of God was turned againſt *Iſrael*; whoſe ingratitude & rebellion after his ſo many benefits, ſo many remiſſions, ſo many miracles wrought, was ſuch, as they eſteemed their deliverance from the

Num. 11. & 13. *Num.* 12. *Num.* 21.

the *Egyptian* slavery, his feeding them, and conducting them through that great and terrible *Wilderneſſe* (for so *Moſes* calleth it) with the victory which he gave them against the powerfull *Amalekites*, to be no other than the effects of his hatred, thinking that he led them on and preserved them, but to bring them, their wives, and children to be slaughtered, and given for a prey and spoyle to the *Amorites* or *Canaanites*. For it was reported unto them, by the searchers of the Land, that the Cities of their enemies were walled and defended with many strong Towers and Castles; that many of the people were *Gyantlike*, (for they confest that they saw the sons of *Anac* there) who were men of fearfull stature, and so far over-topped the *Israelites*, as they appeared to them, and to themselves, but as Grashoppers in their respect. Now, as this mutiny exceeded all the rest, wherein they both accused God, and consulted to choose them a Captaine (or as they call it now adayes, an *Electo*) to carry them back again into *Egypt*; so did God punish the same in a greater measure, than any of the former. For he extinguished every soul of the whole multitude (*Josua* and *Caleb* excepted) who being confident in Gods promises, perswaded the people to enter *Canaan*, being then neer it; and at the mountain foot of *Idumæa*, which is but narrow; laying before them the fertility thereof, and assuring them of victory. But as men, whom the passion of fear had bereaved both of reason and common sense, they threatned to stone these encouragers to death; accounting them as men either desperate in themselves, or betrayers of the lives, goods, and children of all their brethren, to their enemies; but God resisted these wicked purposes, and interposing the fear of his bright glory between the unadvised fury of the multitude, and the innocency and constancy of his servants, preserved them thereby from their violence; threatning an intire destruction, of the whole Nation, by sending among them a consuming and mercileſſe pestilence. For this was the tenth insurrection and rebellion, which they had made, since God delivered them from the slavery of the *Egyptians*. But *Moſes* (the mildest or meekest of all men) prayed unto God to remember his infinite mercies; alledging, that this so severe a judgment, how deservedly soever inflicted, would increase the pride of the Heathen Nations, and give them occasion to vaunt, that the God of *Israel*, failing in power to perform his promises, suffered them to perish in these barren and fruitleſſe Desarts. Yet as God is no leſſe just than mercifull, as God is slow to anger, so is his wrath a consuming fire; the same being once kindled by the violent breath of mans ingratitude: and therefore, as with a hand leſs heavie than hoped for, he scourged this iniquity; so by the measure of his glory (evermore jealous of neglect and derision) he suffered not the wicked to passe unpunished; reserving his compassion for the innocent: whom, becauſe they participated not with the offences of their Fathers, he was pleased to preserve, and in them to perform his promises, which have never been frustrate.

Num. 14. 10.

Num. 14. 22.

Num. 12. 3.

§. III.

Of their unwillingneſſe to return: with the punishment thereof, and of divers accidents in the return.

NOw when *Moſes* had revealed the purposes of God to the people, and made them know his heavie displeasure towards them, they began to bewaile themselves, though overlate: the times of grace & mens repentance, having also their appointment. And then when God had left them to themselves, and was no more among them, after they had so often plaid and dallied with his mercifull sufferings, they would needs amend their former disobedience by a second contempt, and make offer to enter the Land contrary againe to the advice of *Moſes*; who assured them that God was not among them; and that the Ark of his covenant should not move, but by his direction, who could not erre; and that the enemies sword, which God had hitherto bended and rebated, was now left no leſſe sharp than death; and in the hands of the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites*, no leſſe cruell. But as men from whom God hath with-drawn his grace, do alwaies follow those counsels which carry them to their own destructions: so the *Hebrews*, after they had forsaken the opportunity by God and their Conductors offered: and might then have entered *Judæa* before their enemies were prepared and joyned; did afterward, contrary to Gods commandment, undertake the enterprise of themselves, and ran hed-long and without advice into the mountains of *Idumæa*. There

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the *Canaanites* and the *Amalekites* being joyned, and attending their advantage, set on them, brake them, and of their numbers slaughtered the greatest part: and following their victory and pursuit, consumed them all the way of their flight, even unto *Hormah*: the *Amalekites* in revenge of their former losse, and overthrow at *Raphidim*: the *Canaanites* to prevent their displantation and destruction threatned. Of which powerfull assembly of those two Nations (assisted in all likelihood with the neighbour kings, joyned together for their common safety) it pleased God to forewarn *Moses*, and to direct him another way, than that formerly intended. For he commanded him to return by those painfull passages of the Desarts, through which they had formerly travelled, till they found the banks of the red Sea again: in which retreat before they came back to passe over *Jordan*, there were consumed 38. yeers; and the whole number of the 600. and odd thousand, which came out of *Egypt* (*Moses*, *Josua*, and *Caleb* excepted, were dead in the Wildernesse, the stubborn and carelesse generations were wholly worn out, and the promised Land bestowed on their children; which were increased to 600000. and more. For besides the double fault, both of refusing to enter the Land upon the return of their discoverers, and the presumption then to attempt it, when they were countermanded: it seemeth that they had committed that horrible Idolatry of worshipping *Moloch*, and the Host of Heaven. For although *Moses* doth not mention it, yet *Amos* doth, and so doth the Martyr *Stephen*; as also that the *Israelites* worshipped the Sun and Moon in after-times, it is proved out of sundry other places.

Amos 5.25. *Acts* 7.42. 2 *Kin.* 17.16. & c.21.v.3. & c.23. v.4,5, 11. 2 *Chron.*33.3. *Hierem.*19. v.13.&c.

Now after the broken Companies were returned to the Camp at *Cades*, *Moses* according to the commandment received from God, departed towards the South from whence he came, to recover the shoars of the *Red Sea*. And so from *Cades* or *Rithma*, he removed to *Remmonparez*, so called of abundance of Pomegranates there found, and divided among them. From whence he went on to *Libnah*, taking that name of the Frankincense there found. From *Libnah* he crost the Valley, and sate down at *Ressa*, neer the foot of the mountain. And after he had rested there, he bended towards the West, and incamped at *Ceelata*; where one of the *Hebrews*, for gathering broken wood on the *Sabbath*, was stoned to death. After which, *Moses* alwaies keeping the Valley, between two great ledges of mountains, (those which bound the Desart of *Sin*, and those of *Pharan*) crost the same from *Ceelata*, and marched Eastward to the mountain of *Sapher*, or *Sepher*: this making the twentieth mansion. From thence he passed on to *Harada*; then to *Maceloth*; and then to *Thahah*, and so to *Thara* or *Thare*; the foure and twentieth mansion. Where *Moses* rested, the people began that insolent and dangerous mutiny of *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*; who for their contempt of God and his Ministers, were some of them swallowed up alive, and by the Earth, opening her mouth, devoured; others, even two hundred and fifty which offered incense with *Korah*, were consumed with fire from Heaven; and 14700. of their party, which murmured against *Moses*, stricken dead with a sudden pestilence: one of the greatest marvels and judgements of God, that hath been shewed in all the time of *Moses* his government, or before. For among so great a multitude, those lay-men, who would have usurped Ecclesiasticall authority, were suddenly swallowed up alive into the Earth, with their Families and goods; even while they sought to overthrow the Order, Discipline, and Power of the Church, and to make all men alike therein, rebelliously contending against the *High Priest & Magistrate*, to whom God had committed the government both of his Church, and Common-weale of his people. And the better to assure the people, and out of his great mercy to confirm them, it pleaseth him in this place also to approve by miracle the former election of his servant *Aaron*, by the 12. Rods given in by the Heads of the 12. Tribes; of which *Moses* received one of every Head, and Prince of his Tribe: which being all withered and dried Wands, and on every rod the name of the Prince of the Tribe written, and *Aarons* on that of *Levi*, it pleased God, that the rod of *Aaron* received by his power a vegetable spirit, and having lain in the Tabernacle of the Congregation, before the *Ark* one night, had on it both Buds, Blossoms, and ripe Almonds.

*Num.*33.

From *Tharah* the whole Army removed to *Methra*; and thence to *Esmona*; and thence to *Moseroth*, (or *Masurit*, after S. *Hierome*) and from *Moseroth* to *Benejacan*; and so to *Gadgad*, which *Hierome* calleth *Gadgada*; thence to *Jetabata*, the thirtieth Mansion; whence from certain fountains of water gathered in one, *Adricomius* maketh a River, which falleth into the *Red Sea*, between *Madian* and *Asiongaber*.

Now

Now although it be very probable, that at *Asiongaber*, where *Solomon* furnished his Fleets for the East *India*, there was store of fresh water; and though *Herodotus* maketh mention of a great River in *Arabia the stonie*, which he calleth *Corys*, from whence (saith he) the inhabitants conveigh water in pipes of leather to other places, by which device the King of *Arabia* relieved the Army of *Cambyses*: yet is *Adrichomius* greatly deceived, as many times he is, in finding these Springs at *Gadgad*, or *Jetabata*, being the nine and twentieth or thirtieth Mansion. For it was at *Punon*, that those Springs are spoken of, which in *Deuteronomy* the tenth, and the seventh Verse, is also called *Jetabata*, or *Jotbath*, a Land of running waters, and which by all probability fall into the River *Zared*, the next adjoyning. And that these Springs should fall into the *Red Sea* at *Asiongaber*, or *Eloth*, I cannot beleeve, for the way thither is very long. And this I finde in *Belonius*, that there are divers Torrents of fresh water in those sandy parts of *Arabia*: which though they continue their course for a few miles, yet they are drunk up by the hot and thirsty sand, before they can recover the banks of the *Red Sea*. *Herod. l. 3.*

From *Jetabata*, *Moses* directed his journey towards the *Red Sea*, and incamped at *Hebrona*, and from thence to *Esiongaber*: which City in *Josephus* time had the name of *Berenice*; and in *Hieromes*, *Essia*. From thence, keeping the Sea, and *Eloth* on his right hand, he turned towards the North, as he was by God commanded: *Esiongaber* being the farthest place towards the South-East, that *Moses* travelled in that passage. *Deut. 2.*

It seemeth that *Esiongaber*, or *Asiongaber*, *Eloth* and *Madian*, were not at this time in the possession of the Kings of *Edom*. For it is said, *That the Lord spake unto* Moses *and* Aaron *in the mount Hor, neer the coast of the Land of Edom*; so as the Mount *Hor* was at this time in the South border of *Idumæa*. And if *Esiongaber*, and the other places neer the *Red Sea*, had at this present been subject unto the *Idumeans*, *Moses* would also have demanded a free passage through them. It is true, that in the future the *Idumæans* obtained those places: for it is said: *And they arose out of Midian, and came to Paran, and took men with them*; which were those companies that followed young *Adad* of *Idumæa* into *Egypt*, when he fled from *Joab*. Likewise it is said of *Solomon*, that he made a Navie of ships in *Esiongaber*, besides *Eloth*, in the Land of *Edom*. *Num. 20. 13.* *1 King. 11. 18.*

§. V.

Of Moses *arrivall at Zin Kades: and of the accidents while that they abode there.*

FRom *Esiongaber* he turned again towards the North, and pitched in the *Wildernesse of Zin*, which is *Kadesh*: or in *Beroth*, of the children of *Jacan*; where they sate down in the first moneth of the fortieth yeer, after they left *Egypt*. For at the next Mansion *Aaron* died in the first day of the fifth moneth of the fortieth yeer: the nine and thirtieth yeer taking end at *Esiongaber*. And at this City of *Cades* (for so it was thought to be) or neer it, died *Miriam*, or *Mary*, *Moses* sister, whose Sepulchre was to be seen in Saint *Hieromes* time, as himself avoweth. From hence ere they departed to the mountain *Hor*, all the people murmured most violently against *Moses*, by reason of the scarcity of water. For neither the punishments by fire from Heaven; by being devoured and swallowed up by the earth; by the sudden pestilence, which often seized them; nor any miracle formerly shewing, either the love or wrath of God, could prevaile with this Nation any longer, than while they were full fed and satisfied in every of their appetites: but in stead of seeking for help and relief at Gods hands, when they suffered hunger, thirst, or any other want, they murmured, repined, and rebelled, repenting them of their changed estates, and casting ungratefully on *Moses* all their misadventures; yea, though they well knew that their own fathers had left their bodies in the Desarts, and that they were now entred into the fortieth yeer, wherein all their miseries were to take end. And being, as it were, in the sight of the Land promised, they again as obstinately tempted God as in former times, and neither trusted his promises, nor feared his indignation. But as the will and purposes of *Num. 20. 1.* *Num. 20. 3.*

God are without beginning; so his mercies being without end, he commanded *Moses*
Num. 20. 9. to strike a Rock adjoyning with his rod; and the waters issued out in a great abundance, with which both themselves and their cattell were satisfied. Nevertheless, because God perceived a kinde of diffidence both in *Moses* and *Aaron* at this place; therefore he permitted neither of them to enter the Land promised, whereto perchance their worldly desires might invite them. But it pleased him to end the travells of *Aaron* at the Mountain *Hor*, being the next, and the four and thirtieth Station. At which
2553. Mountain of *Hor*, *Aaron* was despoiled of the garments of his Priest-hood, and the same put on *Eleazar* his son, as God had commanded. Which done, *Moses* and *Eleazar* descended the Mountain; but God received *Aaron* on the top thereof, and he was no more seen.

Of this Mountain called *Hor*, otherwise *Mosera*, [illegible] *Deuteronomy* 10. *Verse* 6. those *Horites* took name which the *Idumæans* had formerly vanquished. Some there are which make *Mosera*, which was the seven and twentieth Mansion; and *Mosera*, which they write *Moseroth* for difference, which was the four and thirtieth Mansion, and is also called *Hor*, to be two distinct places: because *Moses* in passing from *Cadesbarne* towards *Esiongaber*, incamped at *Mosera*, after he departed from *Hesmona*, and before he
Num. 33. came to *Benjaacan*. And this *Mosera*, which is also called *Hor*, he came unto after he left *Cades*, where *Miriam*, *Moses* sister died; the first being the seven and twentieth, and the second being the four and thirtieth Mansion. But for *Hor*, which is also called *Mosera*, it should have been written, *Hor juxta Mosera*; *Hor neer Mosera*: for it is but one root of a Mountain, divided into divers tops, as *Sinai* and *Horeb* are: Whereof the West part *Moses* calleth *Mosera*, and the East part *Horeb*. By the West part *Moses* encamped, as he past towards the *Red Sea* on his left hand; by the East part, as he went back again North-wards towards *Moab:* as in the description of *Moses* his passage through *Arabia*, the Reader may perceive.

Now it was from *Cades*, before they came to *Hor*, because *Hor* belonged to *Edom*, that *Moses* sent messengers to the Prince of *Idumæa*, praying him that he might pass with the people of *Israel* through his Territory into the Land of *Canaan*, which bordered it. For it was the neerest way of all other from the city of *Kadesh*, where *Moses* then encamped; whereas otherwise, taking his journey by the Rivers of *Zared*, *Arnon*, and *Jordan*, he might have run into many hazzards in the passage of those Rivers, the far way about, and the many powerfull Kings, which commanded in those Regions. Now the better to perswade the Prince of *Idumæa* hereunto, *Moses* remembred him, that he was of the same race and family with *Israel:* calling him by the name of brother, because both the *Edomites* and *Israelites* were the sons of one father, to wit, *Isaac*; inferring thereby that he had more reason to favour and respect them, than he had to assist the *Canaanites*; against whom *Esau* his Ancester had made war, and driven out the *Horites* (who were of their ancient races descended of *Cham*) out of the Region of *Seir*, calling it by his own name *Edom*, or *Edumæa*. He also making a short repetition of Gods blessings bestowed on them, and of his purposes and promises; assured *Edom*, or the King thereof, that he would no way offend his people, or waste his Countrie, but that he would restrain his Army within the bounds of the Common, and Kings high wayes, paying money for whatsoever he used, yea, even for the water, which themselves or their cattell should
Deut. 2. 4. drink. For *Moses* was commanded by God, not to provoke the children of *Esau*. But the King of *Edumæa* knowing the strength of his own Countrie, the same being neer *Canaan*, rampir'd with high and sharp mountains: and withall suspecting, as a naturall wise man, that 600000. strangers being once entred his Country, it would rest in their wills to give him law, resolvedly refused them passage, and delivered this answer to
Num. 20. 20, 21. the Messengers: That, if they attempted to enter that way, he would take them for enemies, and resist them by all possible means. And not knowing whether such a deniall might satisfie or exasperate, he gathered the strength of his Countrie together, and shewed himself prepared to defend their passage. For, as it is written; *Then* Edom *came*
Num. 20. *out against him* (to wit, *Moses*) *with much people, and with a mighty power.* Whereupon *Moses* considering, that the end of his enterprise was not the conquest of *Seir* or *Edumæa*, and that the Land promised was that of *Canaan:* like unto himself who was of naturall understanding the greatest of any man, and the skilfullest man of war that the world

world had, he refused to adventure the Army of *Israel* against a Nation, which being overcome, gave but a passage to invade others; and which, by reason of the seat of their mountainous Countrie, could not but have endangered, or (at least) greatly enfeebled the strength of *Israel*, and rendred them lesse able, if not altogether powerlesse, to have conquered the rest.

§. VI.

Of their compassing Idumæa, *and travelling to* Arnon, *the border of* Moab.

HE therefore leaving the way of *Idumæa*, turned himself towards the East, and marched towards the Desarts of *Moab*. Which when *Arad* King of the *Canaanites* understood, and that *Moses* had blanched the way of *Idumæa*; and knowing that it was *Canaan*, and not *Edom*, which *Israel* aimed at, he thought it safest, rather to find his enemies in his neighbours Countrie, than to be found by them in his own: which he might have done with a far greater hope of victory, had *Moses* been enforc't first to have made his way by the Sword through *Idumæa*, and thereby, though victorious, greatly have lessened his numbers. But although it fell out otherwise than *Arad* hoped for, yet being resolved to make triall, what courage the *Israelites* brought with them out of *Egypt*, before they came neerer his own home; leading the strength of his Nation to the edge of the Desart, he set upon some part of the Army; which, for the multitude occupied a great space, and for the many herds of cattell that they drave with them, could not encamp so neer together, but that some quarter or other was evermore subject to surprise. By which advantage, and in that his attempts were then perchance unexpected, he slew some few of the *Israelites*, and carried with him many prisoners.

Now it is very probable, that it was this *Canaanite*, or his Predecessour, which joyned his forces with the *Amalekites*, and gave an overthrow to those mutinous *Israeliter*, which without direction from God by *Moses*, would have entred *Canaan* from *Cadesbarne*. For it seemeth that the greatest number of that Army were of the *Canaanites*, becaus in the first of *Deuteronomy* 44. the *Amorites* are named alone without the *Amalekites*, and are said to have beaten the *Israelites* at that time. And this *Arad*, if he were the same that had a victory over *Israel*, neer *Cadesbarne*; or if it were his Predecessour that then prevailed; this man finding that *Moses* was returned from the *Red Sea*, and in his way towards *Canaan*, and that the South part of *Canaan* was first to be invaded, and in danger of being conquered, not knowing of *Moses* purpose to compasse *Moab*, determined while he was yet in the Desart, to trie the quarrell. And whereas it followeth in the third Verse of the twelfth Chapter of *Numbers*, that the *Israelites* utterly destroyed the *Canaanites* and their Cities, they are much mistaken that think, that this destruction was presently performed by the *Israelites*. But it is to be understood, to have been done in the future, to wit, in the time of *Josua*. For had *Moses* at this time entred *Canaan* in the pursuit of *Arad*, he would not have fallen back again into the Desarts of *Zin* and *Moab*, and have fetcht a wearisome and needlesse compasse, by the rivers of *Zared* and *Arnon*. *Num.* 14. 45.

Neither is their conjecture to be valued at any thing, which affirm, that *Arad* did not inhabit any part of *Canaan* it self, but that his Territory lay without it, and neer the Mountain *Hor*. For *Hor* and *Zin Cades* were the South borders of *Edom*, and not of *Canaan*. And it was in the South of the Land of *Canaan*, that *Arad* dwelt: which South part of *Canaan* was the North part of *Edom*. *Num.* 33. 40.

Again, *Horma* (for so far the *Israelites* after their victory pursued the *Canaanites*) is seated in the South of *Judæa*. There is also a City of that name in *Simeon*. But there is no such place to the South of *Edom*. And were there no other argument, but the mutiny which followed presently after the repetition of this victory, it were enough to prove, that the same was obtained in the future, and in *Josua* his time, and not at the instant of *Arads* assault. For had the *Israelites* at this time sackt the Cities of *Arad*, they would not the next day have complained for want of water and bread. For where there are great Cities, there is also water and bread. But it was in the time of *Josua*, that the *Israelites* took their revenge, and after they had past *Jordan*: *Josua* then governing them; who in the twelfth Chapter and fourteenth Verse, nameth this

Arad by the name of his City so called; and with him the King of *Horma*: to which place the *Israelites* pursued the *Canaanites*. And he nameth them amongst those Kings, which he vanquished, and put to death.

Now after this assault and surprize by *Arad*, *Moses* finding that all entrance on that side was defended, he led the people Eastward to compasse *Idumæa* and the *Dead Sea*, and to make his enterance by *Arnon* and the Plaines of *Moab*, at that time in the possession of the *Amorites*. But the *Israelites*, to whom the very name of a Desart was terrible, began again to rebell against their Leader; till God by a multitude of fiery Serpents, (that is, by the biting of Serpents, whose venom inflamed them, and burnt them as fire) made them know their error, and afterward, according to his plentifull grace, cured them againe by their beholding an artificiall Serpent, by his Commandment set up.

From the *Mount Hor*, *Moses* leaving the ordinary way which lyeth between the *Red Sea*, and *Cœlosyria*, encamped at *Zalmona*: and thence he removed to *Phunon*, where he erected the Brazen Serpent; making these journies by the edge of *Idumæa*, but without it. For *Phunon* was sometime a principall City of the *Edomites*. Now where it is written in *Numbers* 21. *Verse* 4. *That from Mount Hor they departed by the way of the Red Sea, which grieved the people*, it was not thereby meant that the *Israelites* turned back towards the *Red Sea*; neither did they march (according to *Fonseca*) *per viam quæ habet à latere mare rubrum*; *By the way that sided the Red Sea*, but indeed they crost, and went athwart the common way from *Galaad*, *Traconitis*, and the Countries of *Moab*, to the *Red Sea*, that is, to *Esiongaber*, *Eloth*, and *Midian*: which way, as it lay North and South, so *Israel* to shun the border of *Edom*, and to take the utmost East part of *Moab*, crost the common way towards the East, and then they turned againe towards the North, as before.

From *Phunon* he went to *Oboth*; where they entred the Territory of *Moab*, adjoyning to the Land of *Suph* a Country bordering on the *Dead Sea*; and from thence to *Abarim*, the eight and thirtieth Mansion, that is, where the Mountains so called take beginning, and are as yet but small Mountures of Hills, on the East border of *Moab*; from thence they recovered *Dibon Gad*, or the River of *Zared*, which riseth in the monntains of *Arabia*, and runneth towards the *Dead Sea*, not far from *Petra* the *Metropolis* thereof, being the nine and thirtieth Station. And having past that River, they lodged at *Dibon Gad*, and from thence they kept the way to *Diblathaim*, one of the Cities of *Moab*; which *Hieremie* the Prophet *Chap.* 48. *Verse* 22. calleth the *House of Diblathaim*, the same which afterward was destroyed among the rest by *Nabuchadnezzar*. From thence they came to the River of *Arnon*, and encamped in the mountains of *Abarim*: though in the 22. of *Numbers*, *Moses* doth not remember *Helmondiblathaim*, but speaketh of his remove from the River of *Zared*, immediately to the other side of *Arnon*; calling *Arnon* the border of *Moab*, between them and the *Amorites*: speaking, as he found the state of the Country at that time. For *Arnon* was not anciently the border of *Moab*, but was lately conquered from the *Moabites*, by *Sehon* King of the *Amorites*: even from the Predecessour of *Balac Peor* then reigning. From *Diblathaim*, *Moses* sent messengers to *Sehon* King of the *Amorites*, to desire a passage through his Countrie: which though he knew would be denied him, yet he desired to give a reason to the neighbour Nations of the war he undertook. And though *Edom* had refused him as *Sehon* did, yet he had no warrant from God to enforce him. *Moses* also in sending messengers to *Sehon*, observed the same precept which he left to his posterity and successours, for a law of the war; namely, in *Deut.* 20. 10. in these words; *When thou comest neer unto a City to fight against it, thou shalt offer it peace, which if it do accept of and open unto thee, then let all the people found therein be tributaries unto thee, and serve thee; but if it refuse, &c. thou shalt smite all the males thereof with the edge of the sword.* Which ordinance all Commanders of Armies have observed to this day, or ought to have done.

§. VII.

Of the Book of the battels of the Lord mentioned in this Story, and of other Books mentioned in Scripture, which are lost.

Num. 21. 14. NOw concerning the War between *Israel* and *Sehon*, *Moses* seemeth to refer a great part of this Story to that *Book* intituled, *Liber bellorum Domini*; *The book of Gods battels*: and therefore passeth over many encounters, and other things memorable; with

with greater brevity in this place. His words after the *Geneva* Translation are these: *Wherefore it shall be spoken in the book of the battels of the Lord, what things he did in the Red Sea, and in the Rivers of Arnon.* The *Vulgar* copie differeth not in sense from this: But the *Greek Septuagint* vary. For the *Greek* writes it to this effect; *For thus it is said in the book: The war of the Lord hath burnt (or inflamed) Zoob, and the brooks of Arnon.* *Junius* for the *Red Sea*, which is in the *Genevian* and *Vulgar Edition*, names the Region of *Suph*, a Countrie bordering the *Dead Sea* towards the East, as he conjectureth. The Text he readeth thus. *Idcircò dici solet in recensione bellorum* Jehovæ, *contra* Vahebum *in Regione* Suph: *& contra Flumina, Flumina Arnonis*; *Therefore is it spoken in repeating of the battels of* Jehovah, *against* Vaheb *in the Countrie of* Suph: *and against the Rivers, the Rivers of Arnon.* In which words hee understands, that amongst the wars which the Lord disposed for the good of the *Israelites*, there was in those times a famous memorie in the mouth of most men, concerning the war of *Sehon* against *Vaheb*, the King of the *Moabites*, and of his winning the Countrie neer *Arnon*, out of the possession of the *Moabites*. For this *Vaheb* was the immediate predecessour of *Balac*, who lived with *Moses*: though it be written that this *Balac* was the son of *Zippor*, and not of *Vaheb*. For it seems (as it is plain in the succession of the *Edomites*) that these Kingdoms were elective, and not successive. And as *Junius* in this translation understandeth no speciall Book of the battels of the Lord: so others, as *Vatablus* in his Annotations, doubt whether in this place any speciall Book be meant; and if any, whether it be not a prediction of wars in future ages, to be waged in these places, and to be written in the book of *Judges*. *Syracides, cap.*46. tells us plainly, that those battels of the Lord were fought by *Josua*; *Who was there* (saith he) *before him like to him? for he fought the battels of the Lord.* But seeing the Histories of the Scripture elsewhere often passe over matters of great weight in few words, referring the Reader to other books written of the same matter at large: therefore it seemeth probable, that such a book as this there was; wherein the severall victories by *Israel* obtained, and also victories of other Kings, making way for the good of the *Israelites*, were particularly and largely written. And that the same should now be wanting, it is not strange, seeing so many other Volumes, filled with divine discourse, have perished in the long race of time, or have been destroyed by the ignorant and malicious Heathen Magistrate. For the books of *Henoch*, howsoever they have been in later ages corrupted, and therefore now suspected, are remembred in an Epistle of *Thaddæus*, and cited by *Origen* περὶ ἀρχῶν, and by *Tertullian*.

That work also of the Patriarch *Abraham, of Formation*, which others bestow on *Rabbi Achiba*, is no where found. The Books remembred by *Josua, cap.*10.*v.*13. and in the second of *Samuel, c.*1.*v.*18. called the *Book of Jasher*, or *Justorum*, is also lost; wherein the stay of the Sun and Moon in the middest of the Heavens is recorded, and how they stood still till *Israel* had avenged themselves of their enemies: out of which also *David* took the precept of teaching the children of *Juda*, to exercise their bowes against their enemies.

Some think this to be the book of eternall Predestination, in which the just are written, according unto the sixty and ninth *Psalm, v.*28. where it is said: *Let them be put out of the Book of Life, neither let them be written with the righteous.* *Hierome* thinks, that *David* by this Book understood those of *Samuel*; *Rabbi Solomon*, that the books of the Law are thereby meant, in which the acts of the just *Abraham*, of *Isaac*, *Jacob*, and *Moses* are written. Others, that it was the book of *Exodus*. Others, as *Theodoretus*, that it was a Commentary upon *Josua*, by an unknown Authour.

The book of *Chozai*, concerning *Manasse*, remembred in the second of *Chron.cap.*33. *v.*18. & 19. Of this book, also lost, *Hierome* conceives, that the Prophet *Esay* was the Authour.

The same mischance came as well to the Story of *Solomon*, written by *Ahia Silonites*, who met with *Jeroboam*, and foretold him of his obtaining the Kingdom of *Israel* from the son of *Solomon*: As to the books of *Nathan* the Prophet, and to those of *Jeedo* the *Seer*, remembred in the second of *Chron.c.*9.*v.*29. With these have the books of *Shemaiah* and of *Iddo*, remembred in the second of *Chron.c.*12.*v.*15. perished: and that of *Jehu* the son of *Hanani*, of the acts of *Jehosaphat*, cited in the second of *Chron.cap.*20. *v.*34. Also that book of *Solomon* which the *Hebrews* write *Hasirim*, of 5000. verses,

* Of the countrie of *Suph*, see more, cha. 10.sect.4. §.2. and of the force of the word *Suph*, also ch.18.sect.3

*Num.*21.26.

1 *Chron.*12.

Hier.in quæst. super lib. Reg.

Hieron.in annot.in Paralip.

of which that part called *Canticum Canticorum*, onely remaineth, 1 *Kings* 4. 32. and with this divers others of *Solomons* works have perished, as his Book of the natures of Trees, Plants, Beasts, Fishes, &c. 1 *Kings* 4. 33. with the rest remembred by *Origen*, *Josephus*, *Hierome*, *Cedrenus*, *Ciccus Asculanus*, *Picus Mirandula*, and others.

Of these and other Books many were consumed with the same fire, wherewith *Nebuchadnezzar* burnt the Temple of *Hierusalem*. But let us return thither where we left.

§. VIII.

Of Moses *his sparing the issue of* Lot; *and of the Giants in those parts*; *and of* Sehon *and* Og.

WHen *Moses* had past *Arnon*, he incamped on the other side thereof at *Abarim*, opposite to the City of *Nibo*; leaving the City of *Midian* on the left hand, and attempting nothing upon the *Moabites* on that side. For *Moab* did at this time inhabite on the South-side of *Arnon*, having lost all his ancient and best Territory, which was now in the possession of *Sehon* the *Amorite*. For *Moses* was commanded by God not to molest *Moab*, neither to provoke them to battaile, God having given that Land to the children of *Lot*; the same which was anciently possest by the *Emims*, who were men of great stature, and comparable to those Giants called *Anakims*, or the sons of *Anac*.

Deut. 2. 9, 10, 11, 12.

God also commanded *Moses* to spare the *Ammonites*, because they likewise were descended of *Lot*: who had expelled from thence those Giants, which the *Ammonites* called *Zamzummims*. For it seemeth that all that part, especially to the East of *Jordan*, even to the Desart of *Arabia*, as well on the West, as on the East-side of the Mountains of *Gilead*, was inhabited by Giants. And in the plantation of the Land promised, the *Israelites* did not at any time passe those Mountains to the East of *Basan*, but left their Countrey to them, as in the description following is made manifest. We find also, that as there were many Giants both before and after the floud: so these Nations, which anciently inhabited both the border of *Canaan*, and the Land it self, had among them many Families of Giant-like men. For the *Anakims* dwelt in *Hebron*, which sometimes was called the City of *Arbah*, which *Arbah* in *Josua* is called the father of the *Anakims*; and the greatest man of the *Anakims*. There had also bin Giants in the Land of the *Moabites*, called *Emims*: and their chiefe City was *Aroer* or *Ar*, neere the River of *Arnon*. To the Giants of the *Rephaims*, the *Ammonites* gave the name of *Zamzummims*; which were of the same ancient *Canaanites*: and their chief City was *Rabba*, afterward *Philadelphia*. They were also called *Zuzims*, which is as much to say, as *Viri robusti, horrendique Gigantes*; *Strong men, and fearfull Giants*, who inhabited other Cities of *Ham*, or *Hom*, in the same Province, and not far to the North of *Aroer*.

Jos. 15. v. 13, 14, 15.

Now *Moses* having past *Arnon*, and being incamped at *Abarim*; and having (as before) sent to *Sehon*, as he had done to *Edom*, to pray a passage through his Countrie, was denied it. For *Sehon* being made proud by his former conquest upon *Vaheb* the *Moabite*; which Nation the *Amorites* esteemed but as strangers and usurpers, (themselves being of the sons of *Canaan*, and the *Moabites* of *Lot*) refused to grant *Israel* any entrance that way; and withall, prepared to encounter *Moses* with as much speed as he could, because *Moses* encamped in the Countrie of his new conquests, to wit, the Plains of *Moab*, the two and fortieth and last Mansion: which *Moses* wasted with the multitude of his people and cattell. Towards him therefore hasting himself, they encountred each other at *Jahaz*: where *Sehon* with his children and people were broken and discomfited: and the victory so pursued by *Moses*, as few or none of the *Amorites* escaped. Hee also slaughtered all the Women and Children of the *Amorites*, which he found in *Essebon*, and all the other Cities, Villages, or Fields; they being of the race of *Canaan*, as those of *Basan* also were, and descended of *Emoreus*, or *Amoreus*: for *Moses* calleth the *Basanites* also *Amorites*. And although *Israel* might now have taken a ready way and passage into *Judæa*, being at this time, and after this victory at the banks of *Jordan*: yet hee knew it to be perillous to leave so great a part of that Nation of the *Amorites* on his back, as inhabited all the Region of *Basan* or *Tracouitis*: and therefore he led on his Army to invade *Og*: a person of exceeding strength and stature, and the onely man of mark remaining of the ancient Giants

Deut. 1. 8.

of

of thoſe parts, and who at that time had 60. Cities walled and defenced: lying between the Mountain of *Hermon* (which Mountain, ſaith *Moſes*, the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites*, *Shenir*) and the River of *Jordan*. And it befell unto the King of *Baſan* (who attended *Moſes* coming at *Edrei*) as it did unto *Sehon*: for he and his ſons periſhed, and all his Cities were taken and poſſeſt. After this, *Moſes* with-drawing himſelf back again to the Mountains of *Abarim*, left the proſecution of that war unto *Jair* the ſon of *Manaſſe*: who conquering the Eaſt parts of *Baſan*, to wit, the Kingdom of *Argob*, even unto the Nations of the *Geſſuri* and *Machati*, 60. walled Cities, called the ſame after his own name *Havoth Jair*: of all which conqueſts afterward the half Tribe of *Manaſſe* poſ-
10 ſeſt the North part as far as *Edrei*, but the Eaſt part that belonged to *Sehon* the *Amorite*, with the Mountains of *Gilead* adjoyning, was given to *Reuben*, and unto *Gad*.

§. IX.

Of the troubles about the Madianites, and of Moſes *his death.*

After theſe victories, and while *Iſrael* ſojourned in the valley of *Moab*, the Madianites and Moabites (over both which Nations it ſeemeth that *Balac* King of the Moabites then commanded in chief) ſought, according to the advice of *Balaam*, both
20 by alluring the Hebrews to the love of their daughters, and by perſwading them to honour and ſerve their Idols, to divide them both in Love and Religion among themſelves: thereby the better both to defend their own intereſt againſt them, as alſo to beat them out of *Moab*, and the Countries adjoyning. The Iſraelites as they had ever been inclined, ſo were they now eaſily perſwaded to theſe evill courſes, and thereby drew on themſelves the plague of peſtilence, whereof there periſhed 24000. perſons: beſides which puniſhment of God, the moſt of the offenders among the Hebrews, were *Num. 25. 1.* by his commandment put to the Sword, or other violent deaths: after this, when that *Phineas* the ſon of *Eleazar* had piereed the bodies of *Zimri*, a Prince of the Simeonites, together with *Cosbi*, a Daughter of one of the chief of the Midianites, the plague ceaſed, and Gods wrath was appeaſed. For ſuch was the love and kindneſſe of his all-powerfulneſſe, reſpecting the ardent zeal of *Phineas* in proſecuting of *Zimri* (who being a chief among the Hebrews, became an Idolater) as he forgave the reſt of *Iſrael*, and ſtayed his hand for his ſake.

In this valley it was that *Moſes* cauſed the people to be numbred the third time: and there remained of able men fit to bear arms. 601730. of which as his laſt enterpriſe, *Num. 16. 51.* he appointed 12000. to be choſen out, to invade the Cities of *Midian*, who, together with the Moabites, practiſed with *Balaam* to curſe *Iſrael*: and after that, ſought to allure them (as before remembred) from the worſhip of the true God, to the ſervice of *Beth-Peor*: and to the reſt of their barbarous Idolatry. Over which Companies of *Num. 31. 8.*
40 12000. *Moſes* gave the charge to *Phineas* the ſon of *Eleazar* the high Prieſt: who ſlew *Joſ. 13. 21.* the five Princes of the Midianites, which were, or had lately been, the vaſſals of *Sehon*, as appeareth by *Joſuah*. Theſe five Princes of the Midianites ſlain by *Eleazar*, were at this time but the vaſſals of *Sehon* the Amorite, to wit, *Evi*, *Rekem*, *Zur*, *Hur*, and *Rera*, the Dukes of *Sehon*, ſaith *Joſuah*. He ſlew alſo the men, male-children, and women: ſa- *Cap. 13. 21.* ving ſuch as had not yet uſed the company of men, but thoſe they ſaved, and diſperſt them among the children of *Iſrael* to ſerve them.

And *Moſes* having now lived 120. yeers, making both his own weakneſſe of body *Deut. 31. 1.* known to the people, and his unability to travail: and alſo that he was forewarned of *Deut. 31. 2.* his end by the Spirit of God, from whom he received a new commandment to aſcend
50 the Mountains of *Abarim*, and thereon to render up his life: He haſtned to ſettle the government in *Joſua*: whom he perſwaded with moſt lively arguments to proſecute the conqueſt begun, aſſuring him of Gods favour and aſſiſtance therein. And ſo having ſpent theſe his latter daies after the Conqueſt of *Og*, and *Sehon* King of the Amorites, in the repetition and expoſition of the Law, (or an iteration of the Law, according to Saint *Auguſtine*) uſing both arguments, prayers, and threats unto the people, which he *Aug. l. 2. de Mirab. ſacr. Scrip.* often repeated unto them; thereby to confirm them in knowledge, love, fear, and ſervice, of the all-powerfull God: He bleſſed the twelve Tribes, that of *Simeon* excepted, with ſeverall and moſt comfortable bleſſings: praiſing the greatneſſe and good- *Deut. 33.*

neſſe

neſſe of him, unto whom in his prayers he commended them: He alſo commanded
Deut. 31. 1. the Prieſts to lay up the Book of the Law, by the ſide of the *Ark* of God: The laſt that
Deut. 34. 6. he indited, was that Propheticall Song, beginning: *Hearken ye Heavens, and I will ſpeak, and let the Earth hear the words of my mouth:* and being called by God from the labours and ſorrows of this life, unto that reſt which never afterward hath diſquiet, he was buried in the Land of *Moab*, over againſt *Beth-Peor:* but no man knoweth of his Sepulchre to this day; which happened in the yeer of the World 2554.

§. X.

Obſervations out of the Story of Moſes, *how God diſpoſeth both the ſmalleſt occaſions, and the greateſt reſiſtances, to the effecting of his purpoſe.*

NOw let us a little, for inſtruction, look back to the occaſions of ſundry of the great events, which have been mentioned in this Story of the life of *Moſes*, for (excepting Gods miracles, his promiſe, and fore-choice of this people) he wrought in all things elſe by the *medium* of mens affections, and naturall appetites. And ſo we ſhall finde that the fear which *Pharaoh* had of the increaſe of the *Hebrews*, multiplied by God to exceeding great numbers, was the next naturall cauſe of the ſorrows and loſſe, which befell himſelf, and the *Egyptian* Nation: which numbers when he ſought by cruell and ungodly policies to cut off and leſſen, as when he commanded all the male children of the *Hebrews* to be ſlain, God (whoſe providence cannot be reſiſted, nor his purpoſes prevented by all the fooliſh and ſalvage craft of mortall men) moved compaſſion in the heart of *Pharaoh*'s own daughter, to preſerve that child, which afterward became the moſt wiſe, and of all men the moſt gentle and mild, the moſt excellently learned in all Divine and Humane knowledge, to be the conductor and deliverer of his oppreſſed brethren, and the overthrow of *Pharaoh*, and all the flower of his Nation; even then, when he ſought by the ſtrength of his men of War, of his Horſe, and Chariots, to tread them under, and bury them in the duſt. The grief which *Moſes* conceived of the injuries, and of the violence offered to one of the *Hebrews* in his own preſence, moved him to take revenge of the *Egyptian* that offered it: the ingratitude of one of his own Nation, by threatning him to diſcover the ſlaughter of the *Egyptian*, moved him to flie into *Madian:* the contention between the Shepherds of that place, and *Jethro*'s Daughters, made him known to their Father; who not onely entertained him, but married him to one of thoſe Siſters: and in that ſolitary life of keeping of his Father-in-Laws ſheep, far from the preſſe of the World, contenting himſelf (though bred as a Kings Son) with the lot of a poor Heardſ-man, God found him out in that Deſart, wherein he firſt ſuffered him to live many yeers, the better to know the waies and paſſages through which he purpoſed that he ſhould conduct his people, toward the Land promiſed: and therein appearing unto him, he made him know his will and divine pleaſure for his return into *Egypt*. The like may be ſaid of all things elſe, which *Moſes* afterward by Gods direction performed in the Story of *Iſrael* before remembred. There is not therefore the ſmalleſt accident, which may ſeem unto men as falling out by chance, and of no conſequence, but that the ſame is cauſed by God to effect ſomewhat elſe by: yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greateſt worldly importance, either preſently, or in many yeers after, when the occaſions are either not conſidered, or forgotten.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Nations with whom the Iſraelites had dealing after their coming out of Egypt; and of the men of renown in other Nations, about the times of Moſes *and* Joſua, *with the ſum of the Hiſtory of* Joſua.

§. I.

How the Nations with whom the Iſraelites were to have War, were divers waies, as it were, prepared to be their enemies.

IN like manner if we look to the quality of the Nations, with whom the *Iſraelites*, after their coming out of *Egypt*, had to do, either in the Wilderneſſe, or afterward, we ſhall finde them long before-hand, by the diſpoſing providence of God, as it were prepared for enmity: partly in reſpect that they were moſt of them of the iſſue of *Canaan*, or at leaſt of *Ham*; and the reſt (as the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Iſraelites*) were mingled with them by mutuall marriages: whereas the *Iſraelites* ſtill continued ſtrangers, and ſeparate from them: and ſo partly in this reſpect, and partly by ancient injuries or enmities, and partly by reaſon of diverſity in Religion, were theſe Nations, as it were prepared to be enemies to the *Iſraelites*: and ſo to ſerve for ſuch purpoſes as God had reſerved them for. To make theſe things more manifeſt, we muſt underſtand that this part of *Syria*, bounded by the mountains of *Libanus*, and *Zidon* on the North, by the ſame mountains continued as far as the Springs of *Arnon* on the Eaſt: by the way of *Egypt*, and the *Red Sea*, on the South: and by the *Mediterran* Sea on the Weſt: was inhabited and peopled by two Nations, the one ſpringing from the ſons of *Cham*, the other from *Sem*: but thoſe of *Sem*, were but as ſtrangers therein for a long time, and came thither, in effect, but with * one Family, to wit, that of *Abraham*, and a few of his kinred. The other for the greateſt part, were the *Canaanites*, the ancient Lords and poſſeſſors of thoſe Territories, by proceſſe of time divided into ſeverall Families and names: whereof ſome of them were of eminent ſtature and ſtrength, as the *Anakims*, *Zamzummims*, or *Zuzei*, *Emims*, *Horites*, and others. Theſe (as men moſt valiant and able commonly do) did inhabite the utter borders and Mountains of their Countries: the reſt were the *Zidonians*, *Jebuſites*, *Amorites*, *Hevites*, *Hetites*, and others, who took name after the ſons of *Canaan*, and after whom the Country in generall was ſtill called.

As for the *Hebrews* which deſcended of *Shem* by *Abraham*, they were of another Family, and ſtrangers in that Country, eſpecially the *Iſraelites*: and this was ſome cauſe that the *Canaanites* did not affect them, or indure them, no more than the Philiſtims did, who deſcended alſo of *Cham* by *Mizraim*. For though *Abraham* himſelf being a ſtranger, was highly eſteemed and honoured among them; eſpecially by the *Amorites* inhabiting the Weſt part of *Jordan*: yet now even they which deſcended from *Abraham*, or from his kinred, abode and multiplied in thoſe parts, were alienated in affections from the *Iſraelites*, as holding them ſtrangers and intruders: making more account of their alliance with the *Canaanites*, and the reſt of the iſſue of *Cham*, with whom they daily contracted affinity, than of their old pedigree from *Abraham*.

True it is, that theſe Nations deſcended of *Abraham*, or of his kinred, who had linked themſelves, and marched with the *Canaanites* and others, had ſo far poſſeſt themſelves of the borders of thoſe Regions, as they began to be equall in ſtrength to the bordering *Canaanites*, if not ſuperiour. For of *Lot* came thoſe two great Families of the *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*: of *Eſau* the *Idumæans*: of *Madian* the *Madianites*: of *Iſmael* the eldeſt ſon of *Abraham*, came the *Iſmaelites*, with whom are joyned, as of the ſame Nation, the *Amalekites*; whom though the more common opinion thinketh to have been a Tribe of *Edom*, becauſe *Eſau* had a grand-child of that name, yet manifeſt reaſon convinceth it to have been otherwiſe. For the *Iſraelites* were forbidden to provoke the *Edomites*, or do them any wrong; whereas contrariwiſe *Amalek* was curſed, and endleſſe war decreed againſt him: but hereof more elſewhere, Chap. 8. §. 3. Of *Iſmaels* eldeſt

* It ſeemeth alſo that *Hus*, the Son of *Nahor*, and *Buz* his Brother, planted themſelves in the Eaſt ſide of *Jordan*, about *Baſan*: where they finde the Land of *Hus*, in which *Job* dwelt as one of the iſſue of *Hus*, the Son of *Nachor*, and *Elihu*, his friend which is called a *Buzite*. See hereafter *chap.* 10. *ſect.* 7.

Exod. 17. 16.

Deut. 11. 5.

Deut. 11. 5.

Exod. 17. 16.

eldest son *Naboth* sprung the *Arabians* of *Petræa*, called *Nabathæi*. Now even as *Abraham* besought God to blesse *Ismael*, so it pleased him both to promise and perform it. For
Gen.17. of him those twelve Princes came, which inhabited, in effect, all that Tract of Land between *Havilah* upon *Tygris*, and *Sur* which is the West part of the *Desart of Arabia Petræa*. Yet howsoever the strength of these later named Nations, which descended from *Abraham*, were great; it is not unlikely, but that some reason which moved them not to favour the entrance of the *Israelites* into *Canaan*, was in respect of fear: because all Princes and States do not willingly permit any stranger or powerfull Nation to enter their Territories. Wherefore, though all these Families before named, were not so united in and among themselves, but that they had their jealousies of each other, and contended for dominion: yet fearing a third more strong than themselves, whether they stood apart or united, they were taught by the care of their own preservation, to joyn themselves together against *Israel:* though they did it nothing so maliciously and resolvedly as the *Canaanites* did. For the *Edumæans* onely denied the *Hebrews* a passage, which the *Moabites* durst not deny: because their Country lay more open; and because themselves had lately been beaten out of the richest part of their Dominions, by the *Amorites:* and as for the *Ammonites*, their Country lay altogether out of the way, and the strength of *Sehon* and *Og*, Kings of the *Amorites*, was interjacent: and besides that, the border of the *Ammonites* was strong, by reason of the mountains which divided it
Num.21.24. from *Basan*. Again, that which moved the *Moabites* in their own reason not much to interrupt *Israel*, in the conquest of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, and of *Og* his confederate, was, that the *Moabites* might hope, after such time as the *Amorites* were beaten by *Moses*, that themselves might recover again their own inheritance: to wit, the Vallies and Plains lying between the mountains of *Arabia* and *Jordan:* But as soon as *Sehon* was slain, and that the King of *Moab*, *Balac*, perceived that *Moses* allotted that Valley to the Tribes of *Gad* and *Reuben*, he began to practise with *Balaam* against *Israel*, and by the daughters of *Midian*, as aforesaid, to allure them to Idolatry: and thus at the length the *Moabites*, by speciall occasion, were more and more stirred up to enmity against *Israel*. And as for divers of the rest that were descended from *Abraham*'s kinred, we may note, how in the beginning, between the Authours of their Pedigrees, God permitted some enmities to be, as it were, presages of future quarrels, which in the posterity might be the easier incensed by the memory of old grudges: and withall, by some disdain from the elder in nature to the younger. For the *Ismaelites* being descended from the eldest son of *Abraham*, and the *Edomites* from the eldest son of *Isaac*, *Jacob*, being but a second son, of a second brother; those Princes which were descended of the elder Houses, being naturall men, might scorn to give place, much lesse to subject themselves to their inferiours, as they took it: and for a more aggravation, the issues of *Esau*, Princes of *Idumæa*, might keep in record, that their Parent was bought out of
Gen.25. his birth-right by *Jacob*'s taking his advantage, and that he was deceived of his fathers
Gen.27. blessing also by him: and that *Jacob*, after reconciliation, came not unto him as he pro-
Gen.33.14. mised, into *Seir* or *Idumæa*.

So also in the posterity of *Ismael*, it might remain as a seed or pretence of enmity, that their fore-father was by the instigation of *Sara*, cast out into the *Desart*, with his mother *Hagar*; and had therein perished, but that it pleased God by his Angell to relieve them. *Ismael* also had an Egyptian both to his mother and to his wife: and *Amalec* was also an *Horite* by his mother: which *Horites* were of the ancient *Canaanites*. The *Edumæans* also, or *Edomites*, were by their Maternall line descended of the *Canaanites*.
Gen.36. For *Esau* took two wives of that Nation: one of them was *Adath*, the daughter of *Elon*, the *Hittite*; and the other *Aholibamah*, the grand-child of *Zibeon*, the *Hevite*, Lord of *Seir*, before the same was conquered by *Esau*, and called after his name, *Edom*, or *Edumæa*.

Lastly, it appeareth that all those Families of the *Ismaelites*, *Amalekites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, &c. were in processe of time corrupted, & drawn from the knowledge and worship of God, and became Idolaters, infected and seduced by the conversation of those people among whom they dwelt, and by those wives of the *Canaanites* which they had married: onely a few of the *Kenites* and those *Madianites*, which inhabited on the edge of the *Red Sea*, whereof *Jethro* was Priest, or Prince, or both, worshipped the true and ever-living God.

§. II.

§. II.

Of the Kings of the Canaanites and Madianites, mentioned in the ancient Wars of the Iſraelites.

OF the Kings of the *Canaanites*, deſcended of *Cham*, (for *Melchizedek* may be thought to be of a better *Pedigree*) we find four named by *Moſes*: and one and thirty remembred by *Joſua*, though few of theſe named, otherwiſe than by the Cities over which they commanded: to which each of them had a ſmall Territory adjoyning, and no other Dominion. Theſe *Canaanites* in a generall conſideration are to be underſtood for all thoſe Nations, deſcended of *Cham* by *Canaan*, as the *Hittites*, *Jebuſites*, *Amorites*, *Gergeſites*, *Hevites*, *&c.* and ſo here we underſtand this name in ſpeaking of the Kings of the *Canaanites*: and ſo alſo we call the Country of their habitation, the holy Land, or the Land of promiſe: for God hath appointed that the ſeven principle Families ſhould be rooted out, and that his own people ſhould inherit their Lands and Cities. But if we conſider of the name and Nation in particular, then is their proper habitation bounded by *Jordan*, on the Eaſt, and by the *Mediterran* Sea on the Weſt: in which narrow Countrey, and in the choyſeſt places thereof, thoſe *Canaanites* which held their Paternall name chiefly inhabited.

The firſt King of theſe Nations, named in the Scriptures, was *Hamor* or *Hemer*, of the *Hevites*, whom *Simeon* and *Levi* ſlew, together with his ſon *Sichem*, in revenge of their ſiſters raviſhment. *Gen.* 34.

Arad was the ſecond King which the Scriptures have remembred, who had that part of *Canaan* towards the South, neighbouring *Edom* and the *dead Sea*; the ſame which ſurpriſed *Iſrael*, as they encamped in the *Wilderneſſe* in the edge of *Edumæa*. *Num.* 21. 1.

The third named was *Sehon* King of *Eſſebon*, who before *Moſes* arrivall had beaten the *Moabites* out of the Weſt part of *Arabia Petræa*, or *Nabathea*, and thruſt them over *Arnon* into the Deſarts, the ſame whom *Moſes* overthrew in the plains of *Moab*: at which time he took *Eſſebon*, and all the Cities of the *Amorites*. *Num.* 21. 24. *Joſ.* 9. *Joſeph. ant. lib.* 4. *c.* 5.

Preſently after which victory, *Og* was alſo ſlain by *Iſrael*, who commanded the North part of that Valley between the Mountains *Traconi*, or *Galaad*, and *Jordan*, who was alſo a King of the *Amorites*. *Num.* 21 35.

The fifth was *Adonizedek* King of the *Jebuſites*, and of *Hieruſalem*, with whom *Joſua* nameth four other Kings.

Hoham, King of *Hebron*.

Piram, King of *Jarmuth*.

Japia, King of *Lachis*: and

Deber, King of *Eglon*, who were all *Amorites* overthrowne in battell; and hanged by *Joſua*. After this overthrow *Joſua* nameth *Jabin*, King of *Hazor*, and *Joſua* 10. *Joſeph. ant.* l. 5. *cap.* 1.

Jobab, King of *Madon*: whom he alſo ſlaughtered, and took his Cities: and this *Jabin* ſeemed to have ſome dominion over the reſt; for it is ſaid in the Text, *For* Hazor *before times was the head of all thoſe Kingdoms*. *Jſ.* 11. 1.

After theſe *Adonibezek* that notorious Tyrant is named: who confeſt that he had cut off the thumbs of the hands and feet of ſeventy Kings, inforcing them to gather crumbs under his Table: who, after *Juda* and *Simeon* had uſed the ſame execution upon himſelf, acknowledged it to be a juſt revenge of God: this King was carried to *Hieruſalem* where he died. *Jud.* 1. *Joſeph. l.* 5. *c.* 2.

The laſt King named is *Jabin* the ſecond, who as it ſeemeth had rebuilt *Hazor*, burnt by *Joſua*. For at ſuch time as he employed *Siſara* againſt *Iſrael*, whom he oppreſt twenty yeers, after the death of *Ehud*, he inhabited *Hazor*. This *Jabin*, *Barac* (encouraged by *Debora*) overthrew; and his Captaine *Siſara* had by *Jael*, the wife of *Heber* the *Kenite*, a nail driven into his head while he ſlept in her Tent: *Jabin* himſelf periſhing afterward in that war. *Jud.* 4. *Jud.* 4. *Pſal.* 83.

The *Madianites* had alſo their Kings at times, but commonly mixt with the *Moabites*: and they held a corner of Land in *Nabathea*: to the South-eaſt of the *Dead Sea*. They deſcended from *Madian Abrahams* ſon, by *Cethura*. *Raguel* ſurnamed *Gethegleus* or *Jethres*, ſaith *Joſephus*, called *Jethro* in *Exodus*, *Kenis* in the firſt of *Judges*, the ſon of *Dathan*, the grand-child of *Jexanis*, or *Jokſham*, the great grand-child of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, *Joſeph. l.* 5. *c.* 6. *Exod.* 3.

Cedren. p. 34. *thura*, was Priest or Prince of the *Madianites* by the Red Sea: whose Daughter or Neece, *Moses* married, and of whom I have spoken elsewhere more at large. This *Jethro*, if he were not the same with *Hobab*, must be his father: and this *Hobab* had seven daughters. He guided *Moses* in the *Wilderneſſe*, and became one of the *Israelites*: of him descended
Jud. 1. the *Kenites*, so called of his father *Raguels* surname, of which *Kenites* was *Heber*, which had peace with *Jabin* the second, even now remembred.

At such time as *Saul* invaded the *Amalekites*, he knowing the good affection of the *Ke-*
1 Sam. 15. 6. *nites* to *Israel*, gave them warning to separate themselves: and yet the *Kenites* had strong seats, and lived in the mountains of the Desarts.

The Kings of the *Canaanites*, and *Madianites*, and the *Amalekites*, as many as I find named, were these:

1. *Homer* the *Hevite* of *Sichem*
2. *Arad* of the South parts
3. *Sehon* of *Essebon*
4. *Og* of *Basan*
Jos. 10. 5. *Adonizedek* the *Jebusite*, king of *Hierusalem*
6. *Hoham* of *Hebron*
7. *Piram* of *Jarmuth*
8. *Japia* of *Lachis*
9. *Debir* of *Eglon*
Jos. 11. 10. *Jabin* of *Hazor*
11. *Jobab* of *Modon*
12. *Adonibezek* of *Bezek*, and
13. *Jabin* the second King of *Hazar*.

Of the *Madianites* these:

* *Evi* or *Evis*.

* These five were first all at one time Kings of several portions of the *Madianites*, slain by *Phinehas*, and the 12000. which he led against them: *Num.* 31. 8.

Rekam or *Recem* who bulit *Petra* the *Metropolis* of *Petræa*, so called by the *Greeks*: and by *Esay*. cap. 16. v. 1. and *Selah*, which is as much as *Petra*: and so also it is called 2 *Reg.* 14. 7. where it is also called *Joktheel*.

Zur
Hur and
Reba
* *Oreb*
Zeb
Zebah
Zalmunna.

* These four last were likewise at one time slain in the pursuit of *Gideons* victory: *Jud. c.* 7. *v.* 25. & *c.* 8. *v.* 12.

After the death of *Barac*, *Judge of Israel*, the four last named of these *Madianite* Kings, vexed *Israel* seven yeers: till they being put to flight by *Gideon*, two of them, to wit, *Oreb* and *Zeb*, were taken and slaine by the *Ephraimites*, at the passage of *Jordan*, as in the 6. 7. and 8. of *Judges* it is written at large. Afterward in the pursuit of the rest, *Gideon* himself laid hands upon *Zebah* and *Salmana*, or *Zalmunna*, and executed them, being prisoners; in which expedition of *Gideon* there perished 120000. of the *Madianites* and their confederates. Of the *Idumæans*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*, I will speak hereafter in the description of their Territories.

§. III.

Of the Amalekites and Ismaelites.

OF the kings of the *Amalekites* and *Ismaelites*, I find few that are named; and though of the *Ismaelites* there were more in number than of the rest (for they were multiplied into a greater Nation, according unto the promise of God made unto *Abraham*) yet the *Amalekites*, who together with the *Midianites* were numbred among them, were more renowned in *Moses* time than the rest of the *Ismaelites*. So also were they when *Saul* governed *Israel*. For *Saul* pursued them from *Sur* unto *Havilah*, to wit, over a great part of *Arabia Petræa*, and the *Desart*. The reason to me seemeth to be this: That the twelve Princes which came of *Ismael*, were content to leave those barren *Desarts* of *Arabia Petræa*, called *Sur*, *Paran*, and *Sin*, to the issue of *Abraham* by *Cethura*,
Gen. 17. 20. Jud. c. 7.

that

that joyned with them (for so seem the *Amalekites* to have been, and so were the *Madianites:*) themselves taking possession of a better soil in *Arabia the Happy*, and about the Mountains of *Galaad* in *Arabia Petræa:* For *Nabaioth* the eldest of those twelve Princes planted that part of *Arabia Petræa*; which was very fruitfull, though adjoyning to the *Desart* in which *Moses* wandred, afterward called *Nabathea:* the same which neighboureth *Judæa* on the East-side. They also peopled a Province in *Arabia the Happy*, whereof the people were in after-times called *Napathei* (*B*) changed into (*P.*)

Kedar, the second of *Ismaels* sons, gave his own name to the East-part of *Basan*, or *Batanea*, which was afterward possest by *Manasse*, so much thereof as lay within the mountains *Traconi*, or *Gilead*. Which Nation *Lampridius* calleth *Kedarens*, and *Pliny*, *Cedræans*.

Abbeel sat down in the *Desart Arabia*, neer the Mountains which divide it from the *Happy:* and gave name to the *Adubens*, which *Ptolomy* calleth *Agubens*.

Mibsam was the Parent of the *Masamancuses*, neer the Mountain *Zamath*, in the same *Arabia the Happy*.

The *Raabens* were of *Mishma:* who joyned to the *Orchens*, neer the *Arabian* gulf, where *Ptolomy* setteth *Zagmais*.

Of *Duma* were the *Dumæans*, between the *Adubens* and *Raabens:* where the City *Dumeth* sometimes stood.

Of *Massa* the *Massani*, and of *Hadar*, or *Chadar*, the *Athritæ*, who bordered the *Napatheans* in the same *happy Arabia*.

Thema begat the *Themaneans*, among the *Arabian* Mountains, where also the City of *Thema* is seated.

Of *Jetur* the *Ituræans*, or *Camathens:* of whom *Tohu* was King in *Davids* time. *Plin. l. 6. c. 28.*

Of *Naphri* the *Nubeian Arabians*, inhabiting *Syria Zoba:* over whom *Adadezer* commanded, while *David* ruled *Israel*.

Cadma, the last and twelfth of *Ismaels* sons, was the Ancestor of the *Cadmonæans:* who were afterward called *Asitæ*, because they worshipped the Fire with the *Babylonians*. *Junius.*

The *Amalekites* gave their Kings the name of *Agag*, as the *Egyptians* the name of *Pharaoh* to theirs, and the ancient *Syrians*, *Adad* to theirs, and the *Arabian Nabatheans*, *Aretas*, as names of Honour.

The *Amalekites* were the first that fought with *Moses* after he past the *Red Sea:* when of all times they flourished most, and yet were vanquished. *Exod. 17.*

Afterward they joyned with the *Canaanites*, and beat the *Israelites* neer *Cadesbarne*. *Num. 14.* After the government of *Othoniel*, they joyned them with the *Moabites:* after *Barac* with the *Madianites:* and invaded *Israel*. God commanded that as soon as *Israel* had rest, they should root out the name of the *Amalekites:* which *Saul* executed in part, when he wasted them from the border of *Egypt*, to the border of *Caldæa:* from *Havilah* to *Shur*.

In *Davids* time they took *Siklag* in *Simeon:* but *David* followed them, and surprised them, recovering his prisoners and spoils. And yet, after *David* became King, they again vexed him, but to their own losse. *1 Sam. 30.*

In *Ezekias* time, as many of them as joyned to *Edumæa*, were wasted and displanted by the children of *Simeon*. *2 Sam. 8. 12.*

§. IIII.

Of the instauration of Civility in Europe about these times, and of Prometheus *and* Atlas.

THere lived at this time, and in the same age together with *Moses*, many men exceeding famous, as well in bodily strength, as in all sorts of learning. And as the World was but even now enriched with the written Law of the living God, so did Art and Civility (bred and fostered far off in the East, and in *Egypt*) begin at this time to discover a passage into *Europe*, and into those parts of *Greece*, neighbouring *Asia* and *Judæa*. For if *Pelasgus*, besides his bodily strength, was chosen King of *Arcadia*, because he taught those people to erect them simple Cottages, to defend them from rain and storm: and learned them withall to make a kinde of Meale, and bread of Acorns, who before lived for the most part, by Herbs and Roots: we may thereby judge how poor and wretched those times were, and how falsly those

Nations have vaunted of those their antiquities, accompanied not onely with civill learning, but with all other kindes of knowledge. And it was in this age of the World, as both *Eusebius* and S. *Augustine* have observed, that *Prometheus* flourished: *Quem propterea ferunt de luto formasse homines, quia optimus sapientiæ doctor fuisse perhibetur; Of whom it is reported that he formed men out of clay, because he was an excellent teacher of wisdome:* and so *Theophrastus* expoundeth the invention of fire ascribed to *Prometheus*, *Ad inventa sapientiæ pertinere; To have reference to wise inventions*: and *Æschylus* affirmeth, That by the stealing of *Jupiters* fire was meant, that the knowledge of *Prometheus* reached to the Stars, and other celestiall bodies. Again, it is written of him, that he had the art so to use this fire, as thereby he gave life to the Images of Wood, Stone, and Clay: meaning, that before his birth and being, those people among whom he lived, had nothing else worthy of men, but externall form and figure. By that fiction of *Prometheus*, being bound on the top of the Hill *Caucasus*, his entrails the while devoured by an *Eagle*, was meant the inward care and restlesse desire he had to investigate the Natures, Motions, and Influences of heavenly bodies; for so it is said: *Ideo altissimum ascendisse Caucasum, ut sereno cœlo quàm longissimè astra, signorum obitus & ortus spectaret; That he ascended Caucasus, to the end that he might in a cleer skie discern a far off the settings and risings of the Stars:* though *Diodorus Siculus* expounds it otherwise, and others diversly.

Aug. l. 18. c. 8. de civit. Dei.

Æschyl. in Prom. vinct. In c. 8. lib. 18. de civit. Dei.

Lud. Vives ex Hes.

Of this Mans knowledge Æschylus *gives this testimony.*

Æschyl. in Prom. vinct.

Ast agebant omnia
Ut fors ferebat: donec ipse repperi
Signorum obitus, ortusque qui mortalibus
Sunt utiles: & multitudinem artium
His repperi: componere inde literas;
Matremque Musarum auxi ego Memoriam
Perutilem cunctis, &c.

But Fortune govern'd all their works, till when
I first found out how Stars did set and rise:
A profitable art to mortall men:
And others of like use I did devise:
As letters to compose in learned wise
I first did teach: and first did amplifie
The Mother of the *Muses*, *Memorie*.

Africanus makes *Prometheus* far more ancient, and but 94. yeers after *Ogyges*. *Porphyrius* sayes, that he lived at once with *Inachus*, who lived with *Isaac*.

Aug. l. 18. c. 3. de civit. Dei.

There lived also at once with *Moses*, that famous *Atlas*, brother to *Prometheus*, both being the sons of *Japetus*, of whom though it be said, that they were born before *Moses* dayes, and therefore are by others esteemed of a more ancient date: yet the advantage of their long lives gave them a part of other ages among men, which came into the World long after them. Besides these sons of *Japetus*, *Æsculus* findes two other, to wit, *Oceanus* and *Hesperus*, who being famous in the West, gave name to the Evening, and so to the evening Star. Also besides this *Atlas* of *Lybia*, or *Mauritania*, there were others which bare the same name: but of the *Lybian*, and the brother of *Prometheus*, it was that those Mountains which crosse *Africa*, to the South of *Marocco*, *Sus*, and *Hea*, with the Sea adjoyning, took name, which memory *Plato* in *Critias* bestowes on *Atlas*, the son of *Neptune*.

Cicero in the fifth of his *Tusculan* questions affirmeth, that all things written of *Prometheus* and *Atlas*, were but by those names to expresse divine knowledge. *Nec verò* Atlas *sustinere cœlum, nec* Prometheus *affixus Caucaso, nec stellatus* Cepheus *cum uxore traderetur, nisi divina cognitio nomen eorum ad errorem fabulæ traduxisset; Neither should* Atlas *be said to bear up heaven, nor* Prometheus *to be fastened to Caucasus, nor* Cepheus *with his wife to be stellified, unlesse their divine knowledge had raised upon their names these erroneous fables.*

Orpheus sometimes expresst *Time* by *Prometheus*, sometime he took him for *Saturn*; as, *Rheæ conjux alme Promethen.* But that the Story of *Prometheus* was not altogether a fiction:

a fiction: and that he lived about this time, the most approved Historians and Antiquaries, and among them *Eusebius* and S. *Augustine* have not doubted: For the great judgement which *Atlas* had in *Astronomy*, saith S. *Augustine*, were his daughters called by the names of constellations, *Pleiades* and *Hyades*. Others attribute unto him the finding out of the Moons course, of which *Archas* the son of *Orchomenus* challengeth the invention. Of this *Arcas*, *Arcadia* in *Peloponnesus* took name; and therefore did the *Arcadians* vaunt that they were more ancient than the Moon: *Et Luna gens prior illa fuit*: which is to be understood, saith *Natalis Comes*, before there had been any observation of the Moons course: or of her working in inferiour bodies. And though there be that bestow the finding out thereof upon *Endymion*: others (as *Xenagoras*) on *Typhon*: yet *Isacius Tzetzes*, a curious searcher of antiquities, gave it *Atlas* of *Libya*: who besides his gifts of minde, was a man of unequalled and incomparable strength: from whom *Thales* the *Milesian*, as it is said, had the ground of his *Philosophy*.

Lib. 18. cap. 8. de Civit. Dei.

Ovid. de fast. l. 1.

§. V.

Of Deucalion *and* Phaëton.

AND in this age of the World, and while *Moses* yet lived, *Deucalion* reigned in *Thessaly*, *Crotopus* then ruling the *Argives*. This *Deucalion* was the son of *Prometheus*, saith *Herodotus*, *Apollonius*, *Hesiodus*, and *Strabo*. *Hesiodus* gave him *Pandora* for mother; the rest *Clymene*: *Homer* in the fifteenth of his *Odysses*, makes *Deucalion* the son *Minos*: but he must needs have meant some other *Deucalion*; for else either *Ulysses* was mistaken, or *Homer*, who put the tale into his mouth. For *Ulysses*, after his return from *Troy*, feigned himself to be the brother of *Idomeneus*, who was son to this later *Deucalion*, the son of *Minos*: but this *Minos* lived but one age before *Troy* was taken: (for *Idomeneus* served in that war) and this *Deucalion* the son of *Prometheus*, who lived at once with *Moses*, was long before. In the first *Deucalions* time happened that great inundation in *Thessaly*: by which in effect every soul in those parts perished, but *Deucalion*, *Pyrrha* his wife, and some few others. It is affirmed, that at the time of this flood in *Thessaly*, those people exceeded in all kinde of wickednesse and villany: and as the impiety of men is the forcible attractive of Gods vengeance, so did all that Nation for their foul sins perish by waters: as in the time of *Noah* the corruption and cruelty of all mankind drew on them that generall destruction by the flood universall. Onely *Deucalion*, and *Pyrrha* his wife, whom God spared, were both of them esteemed to be lovers of Vertue, of Justice, and of Religion. Of whom *Ovid*:

Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1. Strabo lib. 9.

Non illo melior quisquam, nec amantior æqui
Vir fuit: aut illa reverentior ulla dearum.

No man was better, nor more just than hee:
Nor any woman godlier than shee.

It is also affirmed, that *Prometheus* fore-told his son *Deucalion* of this over-flowing, and advised him to provide for his safety: who hereupon prepared himself a kinde of Vessell, which *Lucian* in his *Dialogue* of *Timon* calls *Cibotium*; and others *Larnax*. And because to these circumstances, they afterward adde the sending out of the Dove, to discover the waters fall and decrease, I should verily think that Story had been but an imitation of *Noahs* flood devised by the *Greeks*, did not the times so much differ, and S. *Augustine* with others of the Fathers and reverent Writers approve this Story of *Deucalion*. Among other his children, *Deucalion* had these two of note; *Hellen*, of whom *Greece* had first the name of *Hellas*; and *Melantho*, on whom *Neptune* is said to have begot *Delphus*, which gave name to *Delphos*, so renowned among the Heathen for the *Oracle* of *Apollo* therein founded.

Aug. de civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 10. ex Eusebio & Hieronimo.

And that which was no lesse strange and marvellous than this flood, was that great burning and conflagration which about this time also hapned under *Phaeton*; not only in *Ethiopia*, but in *Istria*, a Region in *Italy*, and about *Cuma*, and the Mountains of *Vesuvius*: of both which the *Greeks*, after their manner, have invented many strange fables.

§. VI.

Of Hermes Trismegistus.

BUt of all other which this age brought forth among the Heathen, *Mercurius* was the most famous and renowned; the same which was also called *Trismegistus*, or *Ter Maximus*; and of the *Greeks*, *Hermes*.

Many there were of this name; and how to distinguish, and set them in their own times, both S. *Augustine* and *Lactantius* finde it difficult. For that *Mercury* which was esteemed the god of Theeves, the god of Wrestlers, of Merchants, and Sea-men, and the god of Eloquence (though all by one name confounded) was not the same with that *Mercury*, of whose many works some fragments are now extant.

Cicero, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Arnobius*, and certain of the *Greeks* reckon five *Mercuries*. Of which, two were famous in *Egypt*, and there worshipped; one, the son of *Nilus*, whose name the *Egyptians* feared to utter, as the *Jews* did their *Tetragrammaton*; the other that *Mercury*, which slew *Argus* in *Greece*, and flying into *Egypt*, is said to have delivered literature to the *Egyptians*, and to have given them laws. But *Diodorus* affirmeth, that *Orpheus*, and others after him, brought learning and letters out of *Egypt* into *Greece*: which *Plato* also confirmeth, saying; That letters were not found out by that *Mercury* which slew *Argus*, but by that ancient *Mercury*, otherwise *Thevet*; whom *Philo Byblius* writeth *Taautus*; the *Egyptians*, *Thoyth*; the *Alexandrians*, *Thot*; and the *Greeks*, (as before) *Hermes*. And to this *Taautus*, *Sanconiatho*, who lived about the war of *Troy*, gives the invention of letters. But S. *Augustine* making two *Mercuries*, which were both *Egyptians*, calls neither of them the son of *Nilus*, nor acknowledgeth either of them to have slain *Argus*. For he findes this *Mercury* the slayer of *Argus*, to be the grand-childe of that *Atlas*, which lived while *Moses* was yet young. And yet *L. Vives* upon S. *Augustine* seems to understand them to be the same with those, whom *Cicero*, *Alexandrinus*, and the rest have remembred. But that conjecture of theirs, that any *Grecian Mercury* brought letters into *Egypt*, hath no ground. For it is manifest, (if there be any truth in prophane antiquity) that all the knowledge which the *Greeks* had, was transported out of *Egypt* or *Phœnicia*, and not out of *Greece*, nor by any *Grecian* into *Egypt*. For they all confesse, that *Cadmus* brought letters first into *Bœotia*, either out of *Egypt*, or out of *Phœnicia*: it being true, that between *Mercurius*, that lived at once with *Moses* and *Cadmus*, there were these descents cast; *Crotopus* King of the *Argives*, with whom *Moses* lived, and in whose time about his tenth yeer *Moses* died; after *Crotopus*, *Sthenelus*, who reigned eleven yeers; after him *Danaus* fifty yeers; after him *Linceus*: in whose time, and after him in the time of *Minos* King of *Crete*, this *Cadmus* arrived in *Bœotia*. And therefore it cannot be true that any *Mercurius* about *Moses* his time, flying out of *Greece* for the slaughter of *Argus*, brought literature out of *Greece* into *Egypt*. Neither did either of those two *Mercuries* of *Egypt*, whom Saint *Augustine* remembreth, the one the grand-father, the other the Nephew or grand-childe, come out of *Greece*. *Eupolemus* and *Artapanus* note, that *Moses* found out letters, and taught the use of them to the *Jews*: of whom the *Phœnicians* their neighbours received them; and the *Greeks* of the *Phœnicians* by *Cadmus*. But this invention was also ascribed to *Moses*, for the reason before remembred; that is, because the *Jews* and the *Phœnicians* had them first from him. For every Nation gave unto those men the honour of first Inventors, from whom they received the profit. *Ficinus* makes that *Mercury*, upon part of whose works he commenteth, to have been four descents after *Moses*; which he hath out of *Virgil*, who calls *Atlas*, that lived with *Moses*, the maternall grand-father of the first famous *Mercury*, whom others, as *Diodorus*, call the Counseller and Instructer of that renowned *Isis*, wife of *Osiris*. But *Ficinus* giveth no reason for his opinion herein. But that the elder *Mercury* instructed *Isis*, *Diodorus Siculus* affirmeth, and that such an inscription was found on a pillar erected on the Tomb of *Isis*. *Lod. Vives* upon the six and twentieth Chapter of the eighth Book of Saint *Augustine*, *de Civitate Dei*, conceiveth, that this *Mercury*, whose works are extant, was not the first which was entituled *Ter Maximus*, but his Nephew or Grand-childe, * *Sanchoniaton*, an ancient *Phœnician*, who lived shortly after *Moses*, hath other fancies of this *Mercury*; affirming that he was the *Scribe of Saturn*, and called by the *Phœnicians*, *Taautus*; and by the *Egyptians*, *Thoot*, or

Lud. Vives out of *Cicero* in *Aug. de civ. Dei. l. 8. c. 26.*

Euseb. l. 1. c. 6. de Prep. Evan.

Virg. l. 4. Æneid.

Ficin. in Præf. Pimand. Mercurii Trismegisti.

* Or *Sanchoniatho*: See *Euseb. de prep. Evang. l. 1. c. 6.*

or *Thoyt*. It may be, that the many yeers which he is ſaid to have lived, to wit, three hundred yeers, gave occaſion to ſome Writers to finde him in one time, and to others in other times. But by thoſe who have collected the grounds of the *Egyptian* Philoſophy and Divinity, he is found more ancient than *Moſes:* becauſe the Inventor of the *Egyptian Wiſdome*, wherein it is ſaid, that *Moſes* was excellently learned. *Vives in lib. 8. c. 26. Aug. de Civit. Dei.*

It is true, that although this *Mercury* or *Hermes* doth in his Divinity differ in many particulars from the Scriptures, eſpecially in the approving of Images, which *Moſes* of all things moſt deteſted: yet whoſoever ſhall reade him with an even judgement, will rather reſolve, that theſe works which are now extant, were by the *Greeks* and *Egyptian* Prieſts corrupted, and thoſe fooleries inſerted, than that ever they were by the hand of *Hermes* written, or by his heart and ſpirit deviſed. For there is no man of underſtanding, and maſter of his own wits, that hath affirmed in one and the ſame Tract, thoſe things which are directly contrary in doctrine, and in nature: For out of doubt (*Moſes* excepted) there was never any man of thoſe elder times that hath attributed more, and in a ſtile more reverend and divine unto Almighty God, than he hath done. And therefore if thoſe his two Treatiſes now among us; the one converted by *Apuleius*, the other by that learned *Ficinus*, had been found in all things like themſelves: I think it had not been perillous to have thought with *Eupolemus*, that this *Hermes* was *Moſes* himſelf; and that the *Egyptian Theologie* hereafter written, was deviſed by the firſt, & more ancient *Mercury*, which others have thought to have been *Joſeph*, the ſon of *Jacob:* whom, after the expoſition of *Pharaohs* dreams, they called *Saphanetphane*, which is as much to ſay, as *Abſconditorum repertor*; *A finder out of hidden things*. But theſe are overventurous opinions. For what this man was, it is known to God. Envie and aged time hath partly defaced, and partly worn out the certain knowledge of him: of whom, whoſoever he were, *Lactantius* writeth in this ſort: *Hic ſcripſit libros, & quidem multos, ad cognitionem divinarum rerum pertinentes, in quibus Majeſtatem ſummi ac ſingularis Dei aſſerit, iiſdemque nominibus appellat, quibus nos, Deum & Patrem; He hath written many books belonging to, or expreſſing the knowledge of divine things, in which he affirmeth the Majeſty of the moſt High, and one God, calling him by the ſame names of God and Father, which we do.* *Maſſim.* *L. 1. c. 6. fol. 4.*

The ſame Father alſo feareth not to number him among the *Sybils* and *Prophets*. And ſo contrary are theſe his acknowledgements to thoſe Idolatrous fictions of the *Egyptians and Grecians:* as for my ſelf I am perſwaded, that whatſoever is found in him contrary thereunto, was by corruption inſerted. For thus much himſelf confeſſeth: *Deus omnium Dominus, & Pater, fons & vita, potentia & lux, & mens, & ſpiritus; & omnia in ipſo, & ſub ipſo ſunt. Verbum enim ex ejus eſſe prodiens, perfectiſſimum exiſtens, & generator, & opifex, &c.* God (ſaith he) *the Lord and Father of all things, the fountain and life, and power, and light, and minde, and ſpirit: and all things are in him, and under him. For his Word out of himſelf proceeding, moſt perfect, and generative, and operative, falling upon fruitfull nature, made it alſo fruitfull and producing.* And he was therefore (ſaith *Suydas*) called *Ter Maximus, quia de Trinitate loquutus eſt, in Trinitate unum eſſe Deum aſſerens; Becauſe he ſpake of the Trinity, affirming that there is one God in Trinity. Hic ruinam* (ſaith *Ficinus*) *prævidit priſcæ Religionis, hic ortum novæ fidei, hic adventum Chriſti, hic futurum judicium, reſurrectionem ſæculi, beatorum gloriam, ſupplicia peccatorum; This* Mercury *foreſaw the ruine of the old or ſuperſtitious Religion, and the birth of the new faith, and of the coming of Chriſt, the future judgement, the reſurrection, the glory of the bleſſed, and the torment or affliction of the wicked or damned.* *In Præf. Mer. Trifmeg.*

To this I will onely adde his two laſt ſpeeches reported by *Calcidius* the *Platoniſt*, and by *Volteran* out of *Suydas*. *Hactenus, fili, pulſus à patria, vixi peregrinus & exul, nunc incolumis repeto. Cumque poſt paulum à vobis corporeis vinculis abſolutus diſceſſero, videtote me me quaſi mortuum lugeatis: nam ad illam optimam beatamque Civitatem regredior, ad quam univerſi cives mortis conditione venturi ſunt. Ibi namque ſolus Deus eſt ſummus Princeps, qui cives ſuos replet ſuavitate mirifica: ad quam hæc, quam multi vitam exiſtimant, mors eſt potius dicenda quam vita; Hitherto, O ſon, being driven from my country, I have lived a ſtranger and baniſhed man: but now I am repaired homeward again in ſafety. And when I ſhall after a few dayes (or in a ſhort time) by being looſed from theſe bonds of fleſh and blood, depart from you, ſee that you do not bewail me as a man dead; for I do but return to that beſt and bleſſed City, to which all her citizens (by the condition of death) ſhall repair. Therein is the onely God, the moſt high and chiefe Prince, who filleth or feedeth his citizens with ſweetneſſe more than marvellous:*

marvellous: in regard whereof, this being, which others call a life, is rather to be accounted a death then a life. The other, and that which seemeth to be his last, is thus converted by others, agreeing in sense, but not in words: with *Suydas: O cœlum, magni Dei sapiens opus, teque O vox Patris quam ille primum emisit, quando universum constituit mundum, adjuro per unigenitum ejus Verbum, & Spiritum, cuncta comprehendentem, Miseremini mei: I adjure thee O heaven, thou wise work of the great God, and thee O voice of the Father, which he first uttered, when he framed the whole world, by his onely begotten Word, and Spirit, comprehending all things. Have mercy upon me.*

But *Suydas* hath his invocation in these words: *Obtestor te cœlum, magni Dei sapiens opus, obtestor te vocem Patris, quam loquutus est primum cum omnem mundum firmavit, obtestor te per unigenitam Sermonem omnia continentem, propitius, propitius esto: I beseech thee O heaven, wise work of the great God, I beseech thee O voice of the Father, which he spake first when he established all the world, I beseech thee by the onely begotten Word containing all things, be favourable, be favourable.*

§. VIII.

Of Jannes *and* Jambres, *and some other that lived about those times.*

THere were also in this age both *Æsculapius*, which after his death became the god of the *Physicians*, being the brother of *Mercurius*, as *Vives* thinks in his Commentary upon *Augustine, de Civitate Dei, lib.* 8. and also those two notorious Sorcerers, *Jannes* and *Jambres*, who in that impious art excelled all that ever had been heard of to this day: and yet *Moses* himself doth not charge them with any familiarity with Divels, or ill Spirits: words indeed that seldome came out of his mouth: however by the *Septuagint* they are called *Sophistæ*, or *Venefici*, and *Incantatores*; Sophists, Poysoners, and Inchanters: by *Hierome, Sapientes, & malefici*; Wise men, and evill doers: and so by *Vatablus*, who also useth the word *Magi*. The *Greek* it self seems to attribute somewhat of what they did to naturall *Magick*; calling them φαρμακεῖς, workers by drugs. The *Genevian, Sorcerers and Inchanters*: Junius, *Sapientes, Præstigiatores, & Magi*. Magicians and Wise men here by him are taken in one sense: and Prestigiators are such as dazell mens eyes, and make them seem to see what they see not: as false colours and false shapes. But as some vertues and some vices are so nicely distinguished, and so resembling each other, as they are often confounded; and the one taken for the other: (Religion and Superstition having one face and countenance) so did the works and workings of *Moses*, and of *Pharao*'s Sorcerers appear in outward shew, and to the beholders of common capacities, to be one and the same art and gift of knowledge. For the Divel changeth himself into an *Angel* of light: and imitateth in all he can the waies and workings of the most High. And yet on the contrary every work which surmounteth the wisdom of most men, is not to be condemned, as performed by the help or ministery of ill Spirits. For the properties and powers which God hath given to naturall things, are such, as where he also bestoweth the knowledge to understand their hidden and best vertues, many things by them are brought to pass, which seem altogether impossible, and above nature or art: which two speculations of works of nature, and of miracle, the *Cabalists* distinguished by these names; *Opus de Bereshith, & opus de mercana*: the one they call, *Sapientiam naturæ*; *The Wisdome of nature*: the other, *Sapientiam divinitatis*; *The Wisdom of divinity*: the one *Jacob* practised in breeding the pied Lambs in *Mesopotamia*; the other *Moses* exercised in his miracles wrought in *Egypt*, having received from God the knowledge of the one in the highest perfection, to wit, the knowledge of nature: of the other so far as it pleased God to proportion him, both which he used to his glory that gave them: assuming to himself nothing at all, either in the least or most. Also S. *Augustine* noteth, that from the time that *Moses* left *Egypt*, to the death of *Josua*, divers other famous men lived in the World, who after their deaths, for their eminent vertues and inventions, were numbred among the gods: as *Dionysius*, otherwise *Liber Pater*, who taught the *Grecians* the use of the Vine in *Attica*: at which time also there were instituted *Musicall* playes to *Apollo Delphicus*: thereby to regain his favour, who brought barrennesse and scarcity upon that part of *Greece*, because they resisted not the attempts of *Danaus*, who spoiled his Temple, and set it on fire: so did *Erichthonius* institute

L. Vives. in l. 8. August. de Civ. Dei. c. 20.

Exod. 6. 11.

tute the like games to *Minerva*: wherein the Victor was rewarded with a present of *Oyl*, in memory of her that first prest it out of the Olive.

In this age also *Xanthus* ravished *Europa*, and begat on her *Radamanthus*, *Sarpedon* and *Minos*, which three are also given to *Jupiter* by other Historians. To these S. *Augustine* addeth *Hercules*; the same to whom the twelve labours are ascribed, native of *Tyrinthia* a City of *Peloponnesus*: (or as others say, onely nursed and brought up there) who came into *Italy*, and destroyed many Monsters there; being neither that *Hercules*, which *Eusebius* surnameth *Delphin*, famous in *Phœnicia*; nor that *Hercules*, according to *Philostratus*, which came to *Gades*, whom he calleth an *Egyptian*: *Manifestum fit, non Thebanum* Herculem, *sed Ægyptium ad Gades pervenisse, & ibi finem statuisse terræ* (saith *Philostratus*;) *It is manifest, that it was the Egyptian* Hercules, *and not the Theban, which travelled as far as the straights of Gades, and there determined the bounds of the earth.* In this time also while *Moses* wandered in the Desarts, *Dardanus* built *Dardania*.

Lib. de Civit. Dei. cap. 12.

Philost. l. 2.

But whosoever they were, or how worthy soever they were that lived in the dayes and age of *Moses*, there was never any man, that was no more than man, by whom it pleased God to work greater things; whom he favoured more, to whom (according to the appearing of an infinite God) he so often appeared; never any man more familiar and conversant with Angels; never any more learned both in Divine and Humane knowledge; never a greater Prophet in *Israel*. He was the first that received and delivered the Law of God entire; the first that left to posterity by letters, the truth and power of one infinite God; his creating out of nothing the World Universall, and all the creatures therein; that taught the detestation of Idolatry, and the punishment, vengeance, and eradication, which followed.

Syracides calleth *Moses* the beloved of God and men, whose remembrance is blessed. *He made him* (saith the same Author) *like to the glorious Saints, and magnified him by the fear of his enemies, made him glorious in the sight of Kings, shewed him his glory, caused him to hear his voice, sanctified him with faithfulnesse and meeknesse, and chose him out of all men.*

Syrac. 45. 12.

He is remembred among prophane Authors; as by *Clearchus* the *Peripatetick*: by *Megastenes*, and *Numenius* the *Pythagorian*. The long lives which the *Patriarchs* enjoyed before the flood, remembred by *Moses*, *Estieus*, *Hieronymus Ægyptius*, *Hecatæus*, *Elanicus*, *Acusilaus*, *Ephorus*, and *Alexander the Historian*, confirm. The universall flood which God revealed unto *Moses*, *Berosus*, *Nicolaus Damascenus*, and others have testified. The building of the Tower of *Babel*, and confusion of tongues, *Abydenus*, *Estieus*, and *Sybilla* have approved. *Berosus* also honoureth *Abraham*. *Hecatæus* wrote a book of him. *Damascenus* before cited, speaketh of *Abrahams* passage from *Damascus* into *Canaan*, agreeing with the books of *Moses*. *Eupolemon* writeth the very same of *Abraham*, which *Moses* did. For beginning with the building of *Babel*, and the overthrow thereof by divine power, he saith that *Abraham*, born in the tenth generation, in the City called *Camerina*, or *Urien*, excelled all men in wisdom: and by whom the Astrologie of the *Caldeans* was invented. *Is justitia pietateque sua* (saith *Eusebius* out of the same Author) *sic Deo gratus fuit, ut divino præcepto in Phæniciam venerit, ibique habitaverit; For his justice and piety he was so pleasing unto God, as by his commandment he came into Phœnicia, and dwelt there.* Likewise *Diodorus Siculus* in his second Book & fifth Chapter, speaketh reverently of *Moses*: There are many other among prophane Authors, which do confirm the books of *Moses*, as *Eusebius* hath gathered in the ninth of his *Preparation to the Gospel*, Chapter the third and fourth, to whom I refer the Reader. Lastly, I cannot but for some things in it commend this notable testimony of *Strabo*, who writeth of *Moses* in these words: Moses *enim affirmavit, docebatque Ægyptios non rectè sentire, qui bestiarum & pecorum imagines Deo tribuerunt: Itemque Afros & Græcos, qui diis hominum figuram affinxerunt: id verò solum esse Deum, quod nos, & terram & mare continet, quod cœlum, & mundum, & rerum omnium naturam appellamus: cujus profectò imaginem, nemo sanæ mentis, alicujus earum rerum, quæ penes nos sunt, similem audeat effingere. Proinde (omni simulachrorum effictione repudiata) dignum ei Templum ac Delubrum constituendum, ac sine aliqua figura colendum:* Moses *affirmed and taught, that the Egyptians thought amisse, which attributed unto God the images of beasts and cattell: Also that the Africans and Greeks greatly erred, in giving unto their gods the shapes of men: whereas that onely is God indeed, which containeth both us, the earth and sea, which we call heaven, the world, and the nature of all things, whose image, doubtlesse,*

Strabo. l. 16.

doubtlesse, no wise man will dare to fashion out unto the likenesse of those things, which are amongst us. That therefore (all devising of Idols cast aside) a worthy Temple and place of prayer was to be erected unto him, and he to be worshipped without any figure at all therein.

Act 7.23. Now concerning the *Egyptian* wisdome, for which the *Martyr Stephen* commended *Moses*, saying, *That Moses was learned in all the wisdome of the Egyptians, and was mighty in his works and words*; the same is corrected (how truly I know not) by *Diodorus*, *Diogenes*, *Laertius*, *Iamblicus*, *Philo Judæus*, and *Eusebius Cæsariensis*, and divided into four parts, viz. Mathematicall, Naturall, Divine, and Morall.

In the Mathematicall part, which is distinguish't into *Geometrie*, *Astronomie*, *Arithmetick*, and *Musick*, the ancient *Egyptians* exceed all others. For *Geometry* which is by interpretation measuring of grounds, was usefull unto them: becaus it consisting of infallible principles, directed them certainly in bounding out their proper Lands and Territories, when their fields and limits, by the inundations of *Nilus*, were yeerly overflown and confounded, so as no man could know what in right belonged unto him.

For the second part, to wit, *Astronomie*, the site of the Country being a levell and spacious Plain, free and cleer from the clouds, yeelded them delight with ease, in observing and contemplating the risings, fallings, and motions of the Stars.

Arithmetick also, which is the knowledge of numbers, they studied; becaus without it, in *Geometry* and *Astronomy*, nothing can be demonstrated or concluded. But of *Musick* they made no other account, nor desired farther knowledge, than seemed to them sufficient to serve and magnifie their gods, their Kings, and good Men.

The Naturall part of this Wisdome, which handleth the principles, causes, elements, and operations of naturall things, differs little from *Peripatetick all Philosophie*; teaching, that *Materia prima* is the beginning of all things; that of it all mixt bodies & living creatures have their being; that Heaven is round like a Globe; that all Stars have a certain fovent heat, and temperate influences, whereby all things grow and are produced; that rains proceed and be from mutations in the ayre; that the Planets have their proper souls, &c.

The Divine part of this wisdome, which is called *Theologie*, teacheth and believeth that the world had a beginning, and shall perish; that men had their first originall in *Egypt*; partly by means of the temperateness of that Country, where neither Winter with cold, nor Summer with heat, are offensive; and partly through the fertility, that *Nilus* giveth in those places: That the soul is immortall, and hath transmigration from body to body; That God is one, the Father and Prince of all gods, and that from this God, other gods are, as the Sun and Moon, whom they worshipped by the names of *Osiris* and *Isis*, and erected to them Temples, Statues, and divers Images, becaus the true similitudes of the gods is not known; that many of the gods have been in the estate of mortall men, and after death, for their vertues and benefits bestowed on mankind, have been Deified; that those beasts, whose Images and Forms the Kings did carry in their Arms, when they obtained victory, were adored for gods: becaus under those Ensignes they prevailed over their enemies. Moreover the *Egyptian* Divines had a peculiar kinde of writing, mysticall and secret, wherein the highest points of their Religion and worship of God, which was to be concealed from the vulgar sort, were obscured.

Clem. Strom. l. 5. *Clemens* distributeth the whole sum of this later *Egyptian* learning into three severall sorts, *viz. Epistolar*, which is used in writing common Epistles; *Sacerdotall*, which is peculiar to their Priests; and *Sacred*, which Sacred containeth Scripture of two kinds: the one proper, which it expressed by letters Alphabeticall in obscure and figurative words; as for example, where it is written: The *Ibis* by the Hornet participateth the beauty of the Hawke; which is read thus: The Moon doth by the Sun borrow part of the light of God: becaus Light is an Image of Divine beauty; the other symbolicall, or by signatures, which is threefold, *viz.* Imitative, Tropicall, and Ænygmaticall: Imitative, which designeth things by characters, like to the things signified, as by a Circle, the Sun; and by the Horns of the Moon, the Moon it self: Tropicall or transferent, which applies the divers forms and figures of naturall bodies or creatures, to signifie the dignities, fortunes, conditions, vertues, vices, affections, & actions of their gods, and of men. So with the *Egyptian* Divines, the Image of an Hawke signifieth God, the figure of the Hornet signifieth the Sun, the picture of the Bird *Ibis* signifieth the Moon:

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by the form of a Man, Prudence and Skilfullneſſe: by a Lion, Fortitude: by a Horſe, Libertie: by a Crocodile, Impudency: by a Fiſh, Hatred is to be underſtood: Ænigmaticall is a compoſition or mixture of Images or Similitudes: in which ſenſe, the monſtrous Image of a Lions body having a Mans head, was graven on their Temples & Altars, to ſignifie, that to men all divine things are Ænigmatical and obſcure. So the Image of the Sun ſet on the head of a Crocodile, (which liveth aſwell in the Waters, as on Land) expreſſeth that the Sun nouriſheth Meteors in the Aire, aſwell from the Waters, as from the Earth. So a Scepter, at the top whereof is made an Eye, and an Eare, ſignifieth God, Hearing, Seeing, and governing all things. The Scythians are thought to have bin delighted with this kind of writing. For *Pherecides Syrius* reporteth, That when *Darius* ſending letters, threatned *Idanthura*, King of the Scythians, with ruine and deſtruction of his Kingdom, unleſſe he would acknowledge ſubjection: *Idanthura* returned to him a Mouſe, a Frog, a Bird, a Dart, and a Plough-ſhare: which *Orontopagas*, Tribune of the Souldiers, interpreted to ſignifie, that by the Mouſe, their dwellings: by the Frog, their waters: by the Bird, their ayre: by the Dart, their weapons: by the Plough, their Lands were ſignified to be ready to be delivered to *Darius*, as their Soveraigne Lord. But *Xyphodres* made another conſtruction, *viz.* that the King meant, That except *Darius* with his men did haſten away, as a Bird through the ayre, or creep into holes as a Mouſe, or run into the waters which they had paſſed as a Frog, they ſhould not eſcape his arms, but either be ſlain, or, being made Captives, till his grounds. The ſame Hiſtory is with little difference reported by *Herodotus*. *Herod. l. 4.*

The fourth and laſt part, which is Morall and Politick, doth contain eſpecially the Laws, which (according to *Laertius*) *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus*, or *Ter Maximus* deviſed: who in his Books or Dialogues of *Pimander* and *Aſclepius*, hath written ſo many things of God, worthy of admiration; aſwell (ſaith *Sixtus Senenſis*) of the *Trinity*, and of the coming of *Chriſt*, as of the laſt and fearfull day of *Judgement*: that (as ſaith the ſame Author, the opinion being alſo ancient) he is not onely to be accounted a Philoſopher, but a Prophet of things to come.

Iamblicus in his Books of Myſteries of the *Egyptians*, taking two very ancient Hiſtorians for their Authors, to wit, *Seleucus* and *Menætus*, affirmeth, that this *Mercury* was not onely the Inventor of the *Egyptian* Philoſophy, but of all other learning, called the *Wiſdome of the Egyptians*, before remembred: and that he wrote of that ſubject 36525. Books, or Pages. Of which there were numbred, of Fiery Spirits, one hundred Books; of Aëreall Spirits as many, and of Spirits Celeſtiall a thouſand; which becauſe they were out of the *Egyptians* language converted by certain learned Philoſophers into naturall *Greek*, they ſeemed to have been firſt written in that Tongue. *Clemens Alexandrinus* writeth, that among the Books of *Hermes*, to wit, of the *Wiſdome of the Egyptians*, there were extant in his time 36. Of *Phyſick*, ſix Books; of the orders of *Prieſts*, ten; and of *Aſtrology*, four. *Clem. Strom. l. 6.*

§. VIII.

A Brief of the Hiſtory of Joſua; *and of the ſpace between him and* Othoniel: *and of the remainders of the Canaanites; with a note of ſome Contemporaries to* Joſua: *and of the breach of Faith.*

AFter the death of *Moſes*, and in the one and fortieth yeer of the Egreſſion, in the firſt moneth called *Niſan*, or *March*, *Joſua*, the ſon of *Nun*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, being filled with the Spirit of wiſdome, took on him the government of *Iſrael*: God giving him comfort, and encouraging him to paſſe the River of *Jordan*, and to poſſeſſe and divide among the *Iſraelites* the Land promiſed.

The beginning of *Joſua's* rule, Saint *Auguſtine* dates with the reign of *Amyntas*, the eighteenth King in *Aſſyria*; with *Corax* the ſixteenth King in *Sicyonia*; when *Danaus* governed the *Argives*; and *Erichthonius*, *Athens*. *Lib. 18. de Civit. Dei. c. 11.*

Joſua imitating in all things his Predeceſſor, ſent over *Jordan* certain diſcoverers to view the ſeat and ſtrength of *Jerico*, the next City unto him on the other ſide of the River, which he was to paſſe over. Which diſcoverers being ſaved, and ſent back by *Rahab*, a woman of ill fame, becauſe ſhe kept a Tavern or Victualling-houſe, made *Joſua* know, that the inhabitants of *Jerico*, and thoſe of the Country about it, hearing of the approach *Joſ. 2. 1.* *Joſ. 2. 11.*

Jos. 2. 11. approach of *Israel*, had lost courage. Whereupon the day after the return of the Spies, which was the sixth day of the one and fortieth yeer after the Expression, *Josua* removed
Jos. 3. 1. from *Sittim* in the plains of *Moab*, and drew down his Army to the banks of the River *Jordan*; and gave them commandment to put themselves in order to follow the *Ark of*
Jos. 3. 3. *God*, when the Levites took it up, and moved towards the River; giving them withall this forcible encouragement, That they should thereby assure themselves of his favour
Jos. 3. 13. and presence, who is Lord of all the world, when the River of *Jordan* should be cut off and divided, and the waters coming from above should stand still in a heap; whereby those below towards the *Dead Sea* wanting supply, they might passe over into the land of *Canaan* with dry feet.

Jos. 1. 12. He also commanded *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half Tribe of *Manasse*, to prepare themselves (according to their Covenant made with *Moses*) to march in the head of the rest, and, as we call it in this age, to lead in the Vaunt-guard, which through all the Deserts of *Arabia*, from the Mount *Sinai* to this place, those of the Tribe of *Juda* had performed. For these Tribes being already provided of their habitations, and Country and Cities of the *Amorites*, by the help of the rest, conquered for them: it agreed with justice and equality, that *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half of *Manasse* should also assist their brethren in the obtaining of their parts, as yet in their enemies possession.

On the banks of *Jordan* they rested themselves from the sixth day to the ninth; and on the tenth day of the first moneth *Nisan*, or *March*, they past over to the other side, taking with them twelve stones from the dry ground in the middest of the River: which, for a memory of that miracle by God wrought, they set up at *Gilgal*, on the East
Jos. 4. 19. side of the city of *Jerico*, where they incamped the first night. At which place *Josua* gave
Jos. 5. 2. commandment, that all born in the last fortieth yeer in the Deserts should be circumci-
Aug. q. 3. in *Jos.* sed, which ceremony to that day had been omitted. Of the neglect whereof S. *Augustine* giveth for cause, The peoples contempt of their superiours. *Thomas* excuseth it in this
Thom. part. 3. *quæst.* 70. *art.* 4. *ad.* 3. sort; That the *Israelites* knew not the certain time of their removing from one place to another: *Damascen*, That it was not needfull by circumcision to distinguish them from other Nations, at such time as they lived by themselves, and a-part from all Nations.

On the fourteenth day of the same moneth, the children of *Israel* celebrated the *Passeover* now the third time; first, at their leaving *Egypt*; secondly, at Mount *Sinai*;
Jos. 5. 10. and now at *Gilgal*. After which, being desirous to taste of the fruits of the Country, and having, as it were, surfeited on *Man*, they parched of the Corn of the Land, being not yet fully ripe, and ate thereof.

And as *Moses* began to distribute those Regions beyond *Jordan*, to wit, the Lands of the *Amorites* which *Og* of *Basan*, and *Sehon* held, so did *Josua* perform the rest; and after a view and partition made of the Territories, he gave to each Tribe his portion by lot. But this partition and distribution was not done at once, but at three severall times;
Jos. 14. 3. first, by *Moses* to *Gad*, *Reuben*, and the half Tribe of *Manasse*, of the Lands over *Jordan*; secondly, by *Josua*, to the Tribe of *Juda*, *Ephraim*, and the other half Tribe of *Manasse*, about the fifth yeer of his government; proved in the 14. of *Josua* v. 10. and a third di-
Jos. 18. vision was made to the other seven Tribes at *Shilo*, where *Josua* seated the *Tabernacle of the Congregation*.

The victories of *Josua* against the Kings of the *Canaanites*, are so particularly set down in his own books, as I shall not need to lengthen this part by their repetition. In whose Story I chiefly note these particulars. First, how in the beginning of the war, those little kings, or *reguli* of the *Canaanites*, had not so much understanding, as to unite themselves together against the *Israelites*; but according to the custom of those estates, from whose Governours God hath taken away all wisdom and foresight, they left those of their own Nation, which were next the invaders, to themselves, and to their own defences; hoping that the fire kindled somewhat far off, might again have been quenched, ere it could spread it self so far as their own Territories and Cities. But after such time as *Jerico* and *Ai* were entred, and the Kings, People, and Cities consumed; five of those 31. Kings (all which at length perished in that war) joyned themselves together, first attempting the *Gibeonites*, who had rendred themselves to *Josua*. Onely five (the rest looking on to the successe) namely, the King of the *Jebusites*, in *Jebus*, or *Hierusalem*, the Kings of *Hebron*, *Jarmoth*, *Lachis*, and *Eglon*, addrest themselves for resistance: whose Army being by *Josua* surprized and broken, themselves despairing to escape by flight,

flight, and hopeleſſe of mercy by ſubmiſſion, creeping into a Cave under ground, were thence by *Joſua* drawne forth and hanged. In the proſecution of which victory he alſo took *Makkedath*, and *Libnah*, and *Lachis*. To the relief whereof *Horam* King of *Gezar* haſtened, and periſhed. After which *Joſua* poſſeſt himſelf of *Eglon*, *Hebron*, and *Debir*, deſtroying the Cities with their Princes. *Joſ.* 10.

In the end, and when the South Countries were poſſeſt, the Cities thereof conquered, and their Kings and People made duſt: the reſt of the *Canaaniter*, guided by the over-late counſels of neceſſity, united themſelves, to make one groſs ſtrength and body of an Army: which *Jabin*, King of *Hazor*, practiſed and gathered together, by *Joſua* diſcovered, as the ſame reſted neer the Lake of *Merom*, he uſed ſuch diligence, as he came on them unawares; and obtaining abſolute victory over them, he proſecuted the ſame to the utmoſt effect. And, beſides the ſlaughter of the defendants, he entred their Cities, of which he burnt *Hazor* onely, reſerving the reſt for *Iſrael* to inhabit and enjoy. *Joſ.* 10.

Secondly, I note, that *Joſua* ſhewed himſelf a ſkilfull man of War, for that in thoſe ancient times he uſed the ſtratagem of an ambuſh in taking of *Ai*; and in that he broke the Armies of the firſt five Kings of the *Amorites*, which attempted *Gibeon* by ſurpriſe. For he marched all night from his camp at *Gilgal*, and ſet on them early the next day; when he overthrew *Jabin* and his confederates. After which, making the beſt profit of his victory, he aſſaulted the great City of *Hazor*. *Joſ.* 10. 3.

Thirdly, the miracles which God wrought during this war, were exceeding admirable; as the ſtay of the River *Jordan* at the Springs, ſo as the Army of *Iſrael* paſt it with a drie foot; the fall of *Jerico* by the ſound of the Horns; the ſhowers of Haile-ſtones, which fell upon the *Amorites* in their flight from *Gibeon*, whereby more of them periſhed than by the ſword of *Iſrael*: again, the arreſt of the Sun in the firmament, whereby the day was ſo much the more lightened, as the *Iſraelites* had time to execute all thoſe which fled after the overthrow: a wonder of wonders, and a work onely proper to the all-powerfull God. *Joſ.* 3. 13. *Cap.* 10. *v.* 11.

Fourthly, out of the paſſage between *Joſua* and the *Gibeonites*, the Doctrine of keeping Faith is ſo plainly and excellently taught, as it taketh away all evaſion, it admitteth no intruſion, nor leaveth open any hole or out-let at all to that cunning perfidiouſnes, and horrible deceit of this later age, called *Equivocation*. For, notwithſtanding that theſe *Gibeonites* were a people of the *Hevites*, expreſly and by name, by the commandment of God to be rooted out, & notwithſtanding that they were liars, and deceivers, and counterfeits, and that they did over-reach, and, as it were, deride *Joſua*, and the Princes of *Iſrael*, by feigning to be ſent as Embaſſadours from a far Country, in which travell their cloths were worn, their bread mouldie, which they avowed to have been warm for newneſſe when they firſt ſet out; their barrels and bottles of wine broken; their ſhooes patcht; and their ſacks rent and ragged: Yet *Joſua* having ſworn unto them by the Lord God of *Iſrael*, he durſt not, though urged by the multitude of the people, to lay violent hands on them; but he ſpared both their lives, and the Cities of their inheritance. *Joſ.* 9. from the 5. to the 13. verſe. *Joſ.* 9. 7.

Now if ever man had warrant to break faith, and to retract his promiſe made, *Joſua* had it. For firſt, the commandment which he received from God to root out this Nation among the reſt, preceded by far the peace which he had granted them. Secondly, he might juſtly have put theſe men to the ſword, and have ſackt their Cities, if there be any evaſion from a promiſe made, whereof the living God is called to witneſs. For it was not to the *Gibeonites* he gave peace, becauſe he knew them to be a people hated of God. He told them, that if they were of the *Hevites*, it was not in his power to make a league with them. But it was to a ſtrange people that he gave faith, and to a Nation which came from far, who hearing of the wonders which the God of *Iſrael* had done in *Egypt* and over *Jordan*, ſought for peace and protection from his people. Thirdly, the accord, which *Iſrael* made with theſe crafty *Canaanites*, was without warrant. For it is written in the ſame place, That the *Iſraelites* accepted their tale, that is, believed what they had ſaid, *and counſelled not with the mouth of the Lord*. Fourthly, theſe men who were known Idolaters, and ſerved thoſe Puppets of the Heathen, men of an apiſh Religion, as all Worſhippers of Images are, could not challenge the witneſſe of the true God, in whom they believed not. I ſay therefore, that if ever man might have ſerved himſelf by any evaſion or diſtinction, *Joſua* might juſtly have done it. For he needed *Joſ.* 9. 7. *Joſ.* 9. 14.

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not in this case the help of *Æquivocation* or *Mentall Reservation*. For what he sware, he sware in good Faith; but he sware nothing, nor made any promise at all to the *Gibeonites*. And yet, to the end that the faithlesse subtilty of man should borrow nothing in the future from his example, who knowing well, that the promises he made in the Name of God, were made to the living God, and not to the dying man, he held them firm and inviolable, notwithstanding that they, to whom he had sworn it, were worshippers of the Devill.

For it is not, as faithlesse men take it, that he which sweareth to a Man, to a Society, to a State, or to a King, and sweareth by the Name of the living Lord, and in his presence, That this promise (if it be broken) is broken to a man, to a Society, to a State, or to a Prince; but the promise in the Name of God made, is broken to God. It is God that we therein neglect: we therein professe that we fear him not, and that we set him at naught, and defie him. If he that without reservation of honour, giveth a lie in the presence of the King, or of his Superiour, doth, in point of Honour, give the lie to the King himself, or to his Superiour; how much more doth he break Faith with God, that giveth Faith in the presence of God, promiseth in his Name, and makes him a witnesse of the Covenant made?

Out of doubt, it is a fearfull thing for a Son to break the Promise, Will, or Deed of the Father; for a State, or Kingdom, to break those Contracts which have been made in former times, and confirmed by publick faith. For though it were 400. yeers after *Josua*, that *Saul*, even out of devotion, slaughtered some of those people descended of the *Gibeonites*: yet God, who forgat not what the Predecessors and Fore-fathers of *Saul* and the *Israelites* had sworn in his Name, afflicted the whole Nation with a consuming famine; and could not be appeased, till seven of *Sauls* sons were delivered to the *Gibeonites* grieved, and by them hanged up.

And certainly, if it be permitted by the help of a ridiculous distinction, or by a God-mocking equivocation, to swear one thing by the Name of the living God, and to reserve in silence a contrary intent: the life of man, the estates of men, the faith of Subjects to Kings, of Servants to their Masters, of Vassals to their Lords, of Wives to their Husbands, and of Children to their Parents, and of all trials of right, will not onely be made uncertain, but all the chains whereby free-men are tied in the world, be torn asunder. It is by oath (when Kings and Armies cannot passe) that we enter into the Cities of our enemies, and into their Armies: it is by oath that wars take end, which weapons cannot end. And what is it, or ought it to be, that makes an oath thus powerfull, but this; That he that sweareth by the Name of God, doth assure others that his words are true, as the Lord of all the World is true, whom he calleth for a Witnesse, and in whose presence he that taketh the oath hath promised? I am not ignorant of their poor evasions, which play with the severity of Gods Commandments in this kinde: But this indeed is the best answer, That he breaks no faith, that hath none to break. For whosoever hath faith and the fear of God, dares not do it.

The *Christians* in the *Holy Land*, when they were at the greatest, and had brought the *Caliph* of *Egypt* to pay them tribute, did not onely lose it again, but were soon after beaten out of the *Holy Land* it self: by reason (saith *William* of *Tyre*, a reverend Bishop which wrote that Story) that *Almerick* the fiftieth King after *Godfrey* brake faith with the *Caliph Elhadeech*, and his Vicegerent. The *Soldan Sanar*, who being suddenly invaded by *Almerick*, drew in the *Turk Syracon* to their aid: whose Nephew *Seladine*, after he had made *Egypt* his own, beat the *Christians* out of the *Holy Land*; neither would the wooden Crosse (the very *Crosse*, say they, that Christ died on) give them victory over *Seladine*, when they brought it into the field as their last refuge, seeing they had forsworn themselves in his Name that was crucified thereon. And if it be a direction from the holy Ghost, *That he that speaketh lies shall be destroyed*, and that *the mouth which uttereth them, slayeth the soul*: how much more perillous is it (if any perill be greater than to destroy the soul) to swear a lie? It was *Eugenius* the Pope, that perswaded, or rather commanded the King of *Hungarie* after his great victory over *Amurath* the *Turk*, and when the said King had compelled him to peace, the most advantagious that ever was made for the Christians, to break his Faith, and to provoke the *Turk* to renew the war. And though the said King was far stronger in the field than ever; yet he lost the battell with 30000. *Christians*, and his own life. But I will stay my hand: For this first volume

Psal. 5. 6. *Wisd.* 1. 11.

volume will not hold the repetition of Gods judgements upon faith-breakers; be it against *Infidels*, *Turks*, or *Christians* of divers Religions. Lamentable it is, that the taking of oaths now-a-dayes, is rather made a matter of custome, than of conscience.

It is also very remarkable, That it pleased God to leave so many Cities of the *Canaanites* unconquered by *Israel*, to scourge and afflict them, by fore-seeing their Idolatry, and, as it is said in the Scriptures, *To be thorns in their eyes to prove them, and to teach them to make war.* For these Cities hereafter named did not onely remain in the *Canaanites* possession all the time of *Josua*; but soon after his death the children of *Dan* were beaten out of the plain Countries, and enforc't to inhabit the Mountains, and places of hardest accesse. And those of *Juda* were not able to be masters of their own Vallies; becausc as it is written in the *Judges*, The *Canaanites* had Chariots of iron. And those principall Cities which stood on the Sea-side, adjoyning unto *Juda*, were still held by the remainder of the *Anakims*, or *Philistims:* as *Azzah*, *Gath*, *Asdod*; out of one of which Cities came *Goliath*, remembred in *Samuel*.

Jos. 23. *Judg.* 1. & *Judg.* 3. 2. *Judg.* 1. 34. *Judg.* 1. 19. *Jos.* 11. 19. 1 *Sam.* 17. 4.

Neither did the children of *Manasse* over *Jordan* expell the *Gesburites*, nor the *Maachathites*; which inhabited the North parts of *Basan*, afterward *Traconitis*.

Nor the *Nepthalims* possesse themselves of *Bethshemish*, nor of *Bethanah*; but they inforc't those *Canaanites* to pay them tribute. Neither did *Asher* expell the *Zidonians*, nor those of *Acho*, or *Acon*, *Athlab*, *Achzib*, *Heblah*, *Aphike*, and *Rehob*, nor inforc't them to tribute.

Jos. 13. 13. *Judg.* 1. 31.

No more could *Zabulon* enjoy *Kitron*, and *Nahalol*, but received tribute from them. *Jos.* 16. 10.

Also the *Canaanites* dwelt in *Gezer* among the *Ephraims:* and among the children of *Manasse*, on the West of *Jordan*, the *Canaanites* held *Bethshean*, *Taacnach*, *Dor*, *Ibleam*, and *Megaddo*; yea, *Hierusalem* it self did the *Jebusites* defend above four hundred yeers, even till *Davids* time.

Judg. 2. 27.

Now *Josua* lived one hundred and ten yeers, eighteen of which he governed *Israel*, and then changed this life for a better. The time of his rule is not expressed in the Scriptures, which causeth divers to conjecture diversly of the continuance. *Josephus* gives him five and twenty yeers: *Seder Ollam Rabbi* the Authors of the *Hebrew Chronologie* eight and twenty; and *Massius* six and twentie: *Maimonius* cited by *Massius*, fourteen: *Joannes Lucidus*, seventeen: *Cajetanus*, ten: *Eusebius* giveth him seven and twenty: and so doth S. *Augustine*: *Melanchthon*, two and thirty: *Codoman*, five and twenty. But whereas there passed 480. yeers from the delivery of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, unto the building of the Temple, it is necessary that we allow to *Josua* onely eighteen of them; as finding the rest supplied otherwise, which to me seems the most likely, and, as I think, a well approved opinion.

The same necessity of retaining precisely 480. yeers from the departure out of *Egypt* unto the building of the Temple, convinceth of errour, such as have inserted yeers between *Josua* and *Othoniel*, of whom *Eusebius* findes eight yeers, to which *Arius Montanus* adhereth; and for which he giveth his reason in his four and twentieth and last Chapters upon *Josua*: *Bunting* reckons it nine yeers: *Bucholzer* and *Reusner* but one; *Codoman*, twenty; and *Nicephorus* no lesse than three and thirty: whereas following the sure direction of these 480. yeers, there can be no void yeers found between *Josua* and *Othoniel*, unlesse they be taken out of those eighteen ascribed unto *Josua* by the account already specified. The praises and acts of *Josua* are briefly written in the six and fortieth Chapter of *Ecclesiasticus*, where among many other things it is said of him, *Who was there before him like to him, for he fought the battels of the Lord?*

Euseb. 314. *Bunt.*

That he wrote the book called by this name, it was the opinion of *Arius Montanus*, becausc it is said in the last Chapter, *ver.* 26. *And* Josua *wrote these words in the book of the Law of God:* which seemeth rather to have been meant by the covenant which *Josua* made with *Israel* in *Sichem*, where they all promised to serve and obey the Lord: which promise *Josua* caused to be written in the book of the Law: and of this opinion were *Cajetan* and *Abulensis*: *Theodoret* doth likewise conceive, that the book of *Josua* was collected out of an ancient Volume, intituled *Liber Justorum*, remembred by *Josua* himself; and others, that it was the work of *Samuel:* for whereas *Montanus* groundeth his opinion upon these words of the 26. Verse, *And* Josua *wrote these words*, &c. this place hath nothing in it to prove it: for when the people had answerered *Josua*; *The Lord*

1 *Sam.* 10. 25. *Jos.* 5. 24, 26.

our God will we serve, and his voice will we obey, it followeth that *Josua* made a covenant with the people, and wrote the same in the book of the Law of God.

There lived at once with *Josua*, *Erichthonius* in *Attica*, who taught that Nation to yoke beasts together, thereby to till the ground with more ease and speed: And about the same time the fifty Daughters of *Danaus* (as it is said) slew the fifty Sons of *Ægyptus*, all but *Lynceus*, who succeeded *Danaus*, if the tale be true. There lived also with *Josua*, *Phœnix*, and *Cadmus*, and neer the end of *Josua*'s life, *Jupiter* is said to have ravished *Europa* the daughter of *Phœnix*, (afterward married to *Asterius* King of *Creta*) and begat on her *Minos*, *Radamanthus*, and *Sarpedon*. But S. *Augustine* reports this ravishment to be committed by *Xanthus*, and yet they are more commonly taken for the Sons of *Jupiter*. But it may be doubted whether *Minos* was father to *Deucalion*, and *Deucalion* to *Idomeneus*, who was an old man at the war of *Troy*, and *Sarpedon* was in person a young or strong man at the same *Trojan* war. And so doth *Nestor* reckon up in the Councell of the *Greeks*, *Theseus* and *Perithous* for men of Antiquity and of Ages past: *Minos* being yet more ancient than any of these. But hereof elsewhere.

Lib. 18. c. 12. De civit. Dei.
Homer. Odyss. & Iliad.
Hom. Iliad 1.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Tribes of Israel that were planted in the borders of Phœnicia, with sundry Stories depending upon those places.

§. 1.

The Proœme to the description of the whole Land of Canaan; *with an Exposition of the name of* Syria.

THE Story of the *Judges* ought to follow that of *Josua*, after whom the Common-wealth of the Jews was governed by Kings, of which so many of them as ruled the ten Tribes, shall be remembred when we come to the description of *Samaria*: but because the Land of *Canaan*, and the borders thereof, were the Stages and Theaters, whereon the greatest part of the Story past, with that which followeth, hath been acted, I think it very pertinent (for the better understanding of both) to make a *Geographicall* description of those Regions: that all things therein performed by the places known, may the better be understood, and conceived. To which purpose (besides the addition of the neighbour Countries) I have bestowed on every Tribe his proper portion: and do shew what Cities & Places of strength were by the Jews obtained: and what numbers it pleased God to leave unconquered; by whom he might correct and scourge them, when ungratefull for his many graces, they at sundry times forgat or neglected the Lord of all power, and adored those deaf and dead Idols of the Heathen. *Divina bonitas* (saith *Augustine*) *ideo maximè irascitur in hoc seculo, ne irascatur in futuro: & misericorditer temporalem adhibet severitatem, ne æternam justè inferat ultionem; The divine goodnesse is especially therefore angry in this world, that it may not be angry in the world to come, and doth mercifully use temporall severity, that it may not justly bring upon us eternall vengeance.*

To the Cities herein described, I have added a short Story of the beginnings and ends of divers Kingdoms and Common-weals: and to help my self herein, I have perused divers of the best Authors upon this subject: among whom, because I find so great disagreement in many particulars, I have rather in such cases adventured to follow mine own reason, than to borrow any one of their old patterns.

And because *Canaan*, with *Palestina* of the *Philistims*, and the Lands of *Og* and *Sehon* Kings of *Basan*, and the *Arabian Amorites*, were but small Provinces of *Syria*: it shall be necessary, first to divide and bound the generall, and so to descend to this particular, now called the *Holy Land*.

Ptol. Asia. tab. 4. Ptol. 5. *Syria*, now *Soria*, according to the largest description, and as it was anciently taken, imbraced all those Regions from the *Euxine Sea*, to the *Red Sea*: and therefore were the *Cappadocians*, which look into *Pontus*, called *Leucosyrians*, or white *Syrians*. But taking it shorter,

shorter, and from the coast of *Cilicia*, which is the North border, unto *Idumæa* towards the South, *Tigris* towards the Sun-rising, and the *Mediterran Sea* Westward: it then containeth besides *Babylonia*, *Chaldæa*, *Arabia the Desart*, and *Arabia Petræa*, that Region also which the *Greeks* call *Mesopotamia*, the *Hebrews*, *Syria*, of the two Rivers, to wit, *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, for so *Aran Nahairajim* is expounded: also *Padan Aram*; that is, *Jugum Syriæ*, because the two Rivers go along in it as it were in a yoke.

Edessa, sometime *Reges*, now *Rage*, was the Metropolis of this Region of *Syria*. In *Syria* taken largely, there were many small Provinces, as *Cœlosyria*, which the *Latines* call *Syria Cava*, because it lay in that fruitfull Valley between the Mountains of *Lybanus*, and *Antilybanus*, in which the famous Cities of *Antioch*, *Laodicea*, *Apamea*, with many others, were seated. Then *Damascena*, or *Syria Lybanica*, taking name of the City *Damascus*, and the Mountaines of *Lybanus*, the Regall seat of the *Adades*, the first Kings of *Syria*. Adjoyning to it was the Province of *Sophene*, or *Syria Soba*, *Choba*, or *Zobal*: over which *Adadezer* commanded in *Solomons* time. Then *Phœnicia*, and the people *Syraphœnicies*: and lastly, *Syria Palæstina* bordering *Egypt*: of which *Ptolomy* maketh *Judæa* also a part: and to that Province which *Moses* calleth *Seir* and *Edom*, *Pomponius Mela* giveth the name of *Syrea Judæa*.

Antegallat.

1 *Kings* 11.

Herod. in Polim. Dio. l. 37.

Ptol. Asiæ tab. 4

§. II.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan, and of the promises touching this Land.

BUt that Land which was anciently *Canaan*, taketh a part of *Phœnicia*, and stretcheth from behinde *Lybanus* to the great *Desarts* between *Idumæa* and *Egypt*: bounded by the *Mid-land Sea* on the West, and the Mountains of *Hermon*, *Galaad*, and *Arnon* towards the East: the same Hills which *Strabo* calleth *Traconi*, or *Traconitæ*, and *Ptolomie*, *Hippus*. The name of *Canaan* it had from *Canaan* the son of *Cham*: *Et lingua appellata fuit* Canaan; *The language was also called* Canaan, saith *Montanus*: and after *Hebræa* of the *Hebrews*: who took name from *Heber*, the son of *Sale*, according to Saint *Augustine*. But *Arias Montanus* not so well allowing of this derivation, makes it a common name to all those of *Noahs* sons, which past over *Euphrates* towards the West Sea. For the word *Heber*, saith he, is as much as *transiens*, or *transmittens*, *of going*, or *passing over*. And because the children of *Abraham* had for a long time no certain abiding: therefore, as he thinks, they were by the *Egyptians* called *Hebræi*, as it were passengers, which is also the opinion of *C. Sigonius*, and of *Eusebius* long before them both. It had also the name of *Judæa* from *Juda*; and then afterwards intituled the *Holy Land*, because therein our *Saviour Christ* was born, and buried. Now this part of *Syria* was again divided into four; namely, into *Edom*, (otherwise *Seir*, or *Edumæa*) *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and *Judæa*. *Galilee* is double, the *superiour* called *Gentium*, and the *inferiour*: and that *Galilee* and *Judæa* are distinguished, it is plain in the *Evangelists*, though both of them belong to *Phœnicia*.

Strab. l. 16.

Calch. f. 62.

Euseb. præp. Evang. l. 7. *c.* 3.

Matth. 2. *Luke* 2. *John* 4.

Now besides these Provinces of *Phœnicia*, and *Palæstina* (both which the River of *Jordan* boundeth; saving that *Phœnicia* stretcheth a little more Easterly towards *Damascus*) that part also to the East of *Jordan*, and within the Mountains of *Hermon*, *Gilead*, and *Arnon*, otherwise *Traconi*, fell to the possession of half *Manasse*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*, and therefore are accounted a part of *Canaan* also: as well because anciently possest by the *Amorites*, as for that they were conquered and enjoyed by the *Israelites*; which Eastermost parts are again divided into *Basan*, or *Batanea*, into *Gilead*, *Moab*, *Midian*, *Ammon*, and the Territories of the *Macbati*, *Gessuri*, *Argobe*, *Hus*. They are known to the later *Cosmographers* by the name of *Arabia* in generall: and by the names of *Traconitis*, *Pieria*, *Batanea*, *&c.* of which I will speak in their proper places.

But where *Moses* describeth the Land of *Canaan* in the tenth of *Genesis*, he maketh no mention of the later Provinces, which fell to *Manasse*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*, for these be his words: *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon, as thou comest to Gerar untill Azzah* (which is *Gaza*) and this was the length of the Countrie North and South: then it followeth in the Text; *And as thou goest unto Sodome and Gomorah, and Admah, and Seboiim, even unto Lasha*: by which words *Moses* setteth down the breadth, to wit, from the *Dead Sea* to the *Mediterran*. But in *Deuteronomy* it seemeth to be far more large: For it is therein written; *All the places whereon the soal of your feet shall tread, shall be yours*: Deut. 11. 24.

your coast shall be from the wilderneſſe, and from Libanon, and from the river Perah, unto the uttermoſt Sea. Now for the length of the Countrie North and South, this deſcription agreeth with the former: onely *Libanon* is put for *Zidon*; and the *Wilderneſſe* for *Gerar* and *Azzah*, which make no difference: but for the breadth and extent East and Weſt, if *Perah* be taken for *Euphrates*: then the Land promiſed ſtretcheth it ſelf both over *Arabia Petræa*, and the *Deſart*, as far as the border of *Babylon*: which the *Iſraelites* never poſſeſt; nor at any time did ſo much as invade or attempt. And therefore *Vadianus* doth conceive, that by the River *Perah* was meant *Jordan*, and not *Euphrates*: taking light from this place of *Joſua*: *Behold, I have divided unto you by lot theſe Nations, that remain to be an inheritance according to your Tribes: from Jordan with all the Nations that I have deſtroyed, even unto the great Sea Weſtward.*

Joſ.23 4.

And though it be true, that *David* greatly enlarged the Territory of the *Holy Land*: yet as *Vadianus* well noteth, if *Perah* in the former place be taken for *Euphrates*, then was it put *per gentes in amicitiam receptas*. For *David* did not at any time enter ſo far to the East as *Aſſyria*, or *Babylonia*. Neither doth the not poſſeſſing of all theſe Countries give advantage to thoſe that would make any irreligious cavill, as touching the promiſe of God to the *Iſraelites* unperformed: For when both their Kings, Magiſtrates, and People, fell from his worſhip and ſervice, it pleaſed him not onely to incloſe them within that Territory, which was for ſo many people exceeding narrow; but therein and elſewhere to ſubject them unto thoſe Idolatrous Nations, whoſe falſe and fooliſh gods themſelves alſo ſerved and obeyed. And ſure the promiſe by which the *Hebrews* claimed the inheritance of *Canaan*, and the laſting enjoying thereof, to wit, *as long as the heavens were above the earth*, was tied to thoſe conditions, both in the Verſes preceding, and ſubſequent; which the *Iſraelites* never performed. And therefore they could not hope for other than all mankinde could or can expect; who knew that all ſorts of comforts from the mercifull goodneſſe of God looked for, as well in this life as after it, are no longer to be attended, than while we perſevere in his love, ſervice, and obedience. So in the eighth Verſe of the eleventh of *Deuteronomy*, the keeping of Gods Commandments was a condition joyned to the proſperity of *Iſrael*. For therein it is written; *Therefore ſhall ye keep all the Commandments which I command you this day: that ye may be ſtrong, and go in, and poſſeſſe the Land, whither ye go to poſſeſſe it. Alſo that you may prolong your dayes in the Land which the Lord ſware unto your fathers, &c.*

Vadian. Epitom. trium terræ partium. cap. Paleſtin.

Deut.11.21.

Deut.11.

The like condition was alſo annexed to the enjoying of the Land conquered, and the poſſeſſion thereof, ſo long as the heavens were above the earth. *For if ye keep diligently*, ſaith he, *all theſe commandments, which I command you to do, that is, to love the Lord your God, &c. then will the Lord caſt out all theſe Nations before you, and ye ſhall poſſeſſe great Nations, and mightier than you.* And here, though it be manifeſt, that by reaſon of the breach of Gods Commandments, and their falling away from the worſhip of his all-powerfull Majeſtie, to the Idolatry of the Heathen, the conditionall promiſes of God were abſolutely void, as depending upon obedience unperformed: yet I cannot miſlike that expoſition of *Melanchthon*: *For*, ſaith he, *Oſtendit promiſſionem præcipuam non eſſe de hoc politico Regno*; *He ſheweth that his chief promiſe is not of a civill Kingdome.* To which agrees that anſwer which S. *Hierome* made to a certain Heretick in his Epiſtle *ad Dardanum*, who accuſed S. *Hierome*, that he overthrew the reputation of the *Jews* Story, and brought the truth thereof in queſtion, by drawing it altogether into an *Allegorie*, and *ad illam duntaxat viventium terram quæ in cœlis eſt*; (that is) *Onely to that land of the living which is in heaven. Quoniam tota Judæorum Regio adeo anguſta ſit ambitu, ut vix longitudinem habeat 160. milliarium, latitudinem verò 40. & in his etiam regiones, loca, urbes, & oppida ſunt plurima, nunquam à Judæis occupata, ſed tantùm divina pollicitatione promiſſa*; *Becauſe the whole Countrey of the Jews is ſo narrow in compaſſe, that it ſcarce hath 160. miles in length, and 40. miles in breadth, and in theſe are countries, places, cities, and many towns, which the Jews never poſſeſt, but were onely granted by divine promiſe.* In like manner the ſame Father ſpeaketh upon *Eſay*, touching the bleſſings promiſed unto *Hieruſalem*, where he hath theſe words: *De quo diſcimus Hieruſalem nequaquam in Palæſtinæ regione petendam, quæ totius Provinciæ deterrima eſt: & ſaxoſis montibus aſperatur, & penuriam patitur ſitis: ita ut cœleſtibus utatur pluviis, & raritatem fontium ciſternarum extructione ſoletur: ſed in Dei manibus, ad quam dicitur, feſtinaverunt ſtructores tui*; *From whence*, ſaith he, *we learn, that Hieruſalem is not to be ſought in that region of Palæſtina, which*

Deut.11.

Eſ.49.14.

which is the worſt of the whole Province, and ragged with craggie mountains, and ſuffereth the penury of thirſt: ſo as it preſerveth rain water, and ſupplieth the ſcarcity of Wells by building of ciſterns; but this Hieruſalem is in Gods hands, to which it is ſaid, Thy builders have haſtened: ſo far S. *Hierome*; where alſo to prevent miſtaking, he thus expoundeth himſelf: *Neque hoc dico in ſuggillationem terræ Judææ, ut hæreticus Sycophanta mentitur: aut quo auferam hiſtoriæ veritatem, quæ fundamentum eſt intelligentiæ ſpiritualis: ſed ut decutiam ſupercilium Judæorum, qui Synagogæ anguſtias latitudini Eccleſiæ præferunt: Si enim occidentem tantùm ſequuntur literam, & non ſpiritum vivificantem, oſtendant terram promiſſionis lacte & melle manantem*; Neither (ſaith he) *ſay I this to diſgrace the land of Judæa, as the hereticall Sycophant doth belie me: or to take away the truth of the hiſtory, which is the foundation of ſpirituall underſtanding: but to beat down the pride of the Jews, which enlarge the ſtraits of the Synagogue farther than the breadth of the Church: For if they follow onely the killing letter, and not the quickening ſpirit, let them ſhew the Land of promiſe, flowing with milk and honey.*

By this it may alſo be gathered, howſoever it be unlikely (ſeeing the Weſt-bound in the place, *Dent.* 11. 24. had his truth in the literall ſenſe, that *Euphrates* or *Perath*, which is made the Eaſt-bound, ſhould be taken onely in a ſpirituall ſenſe) yet nevertheleſſe that *Hieroms* opinion inclineth to this, as if this *Perath* were not to be underſtood for *Euphrates*, and that the promiſe it ſelf was never ſo large: much leſſe the plantation and conqueſt of *Iſrael*.

And now for a more particular deſcription of this *Holy Land*, becauſe *Aſher*, *Nephtalim*, and *Zabulon* held the Northermoſt part, and were ſeated in *Phœnicia*, I will begin with theſe three, taking *Aſher* for the firſt: of which Tribe yet before I ſpeak, I muſt admoniſh the Reader touching the names of places in this, and the other Tribes to be mentioned, that he remember that many names, by reaſon of the divers fancies of Tranſlators, are diverſly expreſſed, ſo that to the unſkilfull they may ſeem divers, when they are one and the ſame: the reaſon of this diverſity (as by thoſe learned in the *Hebrew* I am taught) is, partly becauſe the ancient Editions of the *Hebrew* want vowels, the old Tranſlators imagined other vowels than now the *Hebrew* Editions have; and partly, becauſe the Ancient expreſſed or omitted divers conſonants, otherwiſe than the later do think fit.

§. III.
THE TRIBE OF ASHER.

‖. I.
The bounds of the Tribe of Aſher.

THe *Aſherites* deſcended of *Aſher* the ſon of *Jacob* by *Zelpha*, the hand-maid of *Lea*, were increaſed while they abode in *Egypt*, to the number of 41500. and odde perſons, all men above twenty yeers of age, and able to bear arms, at the time when they were muſtered by *Moſes* at Mount *Sinai*: all which number periſhing in the Deſarts, there remained of their iſſues, beſides women and children, 53400. bodies fit for the wars: which paſt the river of *Arnon* into the Plains of *Moab*, & after the conqueſt of *Canaan*, had for their portion that part of *Phœnicia*, from *Zidon* & the fields of *Libanus*, unto *Ptolomais Acon* alongſt the Sea-coaſt, containing thirty Engliſh miles, or thereabout: and from the Mid-land Sea to the Eaſt border ſome twelve miles: though *Antoninus* *Ant. Itin.* makes it ſomewhat larger. This part of *Canaan* was very fruitfull, abounding in wine, oyl, and wheat, beſides the *Balſamum*, with other pleaſant and profitable commodities: according to that *Prophecy*, Aſſer *pinguis panis*: Concerning *Aſſer*, his bread ſhall be fat: *And he ſhall give pleaſures for a King.* *Gen. 40.*

‖. II.
Of Zidon.

THe firſt City ſeated on the North border of the Territory of *Aſſer*, was *Zidon*, which *Joſua* calleth the great *Zidon*, both for ſtrength and magnitude. The *Greeks* and *Q. Curtius* make *Agenor* the founder thereof: and *Juſtine* derives the name from *Juſtin. l. 18.*

the abundance of fish found on those shores: whereof it hath been called *Zidona*. But
Gen.10. *Joseph.* that it was far mor ancient, *Moses*, *Josua*, and *Josephus* witnesse, the same being founded by *Zidon* the eldest of *Canaans* sons: and so strong it was in *Josua's* time, as neither did himself attempt it, neither could the *Asserites*, or any of their successours master
Esa.23. Hier. 47. Ezek.28. & 32. Zac.9. it: but it continued all the time of the *Judges* and *Kings*, even unto the coming of *Christ*; a City interchangeably governed, by their own Princes or other Magistrates: though according to the warnings and threats of the Prophets, *Esay*, *Hieremie*, *Ezechiel*, and *Zacharie*, it was often afflicted, both by the enemies sword, and by the pestilence.

Zidon is seated on the very wash of the *Phœnician Sea*, which is a part of the *Mediterran* or *Mid-land Sea*. It hath to the North the City of *Berythus*, and the River *Leontis*:
Pa ol. Steig. f.15. Vadian. Phœn.f.278. Strabo,l.16. and to the South *Sarepta*, or *Sarphat*, which standeth between it and *Tyre*: the distance between which two great and famous Cities, to wit, *Zidon* and *Tyre*, is 14.thousand paces, saith *Seiglerus*: but *Vadianus* makes it two hundred furlongs, and so doth *Weissinburie* in his description of the holy Land, and both from *Strabo*: which two hundred furlongs make five and twenty miles. This difference of distance as well between these two known Cities, as all the rest, make it over-difficult to devise any new scale to the Map and Description of the holy Land.

* *Strabo,l.16. Zach.9.2. Herod.l.5. Plin.l.5.c.9.* What Kings it had till *Agenors* time there is no memory: the story which *Zeno* the Philosopher, who was a *Zidonian*, wrote thereof, being by time consumed and lost. It seemeth to be more ancient than *Tyre*; which was also built by the *Zidonians*. For as * *Strabo* noteth, *Homer* speaking of *Zidon*, neglecteth the memory of *Tyre*, because it was but a member of *Zidon*; and a City subject to the Kings thereof: though it be true that in after-times it contended with *Zidon* for Primacie, and became far more renowned, opulent, and strong: From *Zidon* had *Solomon* and *Zorobabel* their principall workmen, both in Timber and Stone, for the building of the Temple. For as it flourished in all sorts of learning, so did it in all other Mechanicall Arts or Trades: the Prophet *Zachary* calling them the *wise Zidonians*. The City was both by nature and art exceeding strong, having a Castle or Citadell on the North-side, standing upon an unaccessible Rock, and compassed by the Sea, which after the Citizens became Christians, was held and defended by the Knights of the Dutch Order: and another Castle it hath on the South-side by the Port of *Egypt*, which the Templers guarded. It also sent many other *Colonies* beside that of *Tyre*, into places remote: as unto *Thebes*, and *Sephyra*, Cities of *Bœotia* in *Greece*. *Strabo* and *Pliny* give the *Zidonians* the invention of * Glasse, which they used to make of those sands which are taken out of the river *Belus*, falling into the *Mediterran Sea*, neer *Ptolomais*, or *Acon*: and from whence the *Venetians* fetch the matter of those cleer Glasses which they make at *Murana*: of which S.*Hierome* and *Pliny*: Zidon *insignis artifex vitri:* Zidon *vitrariis officinis nobilis*; Zidon *a famous Glasse-maker, or a skilfull worker in Glasse-houses.*

They were in Religion Idolaters (as the rest of the *Canaanites*) worshippers of *Baal* and *Astaroth:* which Idols though common to the other of the issue of *Canaan* (as *Pineda* gathers out of 1 *Sam.*31.10.and *Judg.*10.6.) yet especially & peculiarly were accounted the gods of the *Zidonians*: as appears 1 *Reg.*11.5. in the story of *Solomons* Idolatry: where *Astaroth* is called the god of the *Zidonians*: and 1 *Reg.*16.33. in the story of *Achab*, the chief worshipper of *Baal*, where it is said, that he marrying *Jezabel* the daughter of the King of the *Zidonians*, worshipped their *Baal*. Divers *Baals* and divers *Astaroths* in their Idolatries they acknowledged: as it appears by the plurall names of *Baalim* & *Astaroth*, 1 *Sam.*12.10.& elsewhere: for even the name *Astaroth*, as I am informed by a skilfull *Hebritian*, is plurall; the singular being *Astoreth:* whence *Judg.*2.13. the *Septuagint* reade ἐλάτρευσαν τῇ Ἀστάρτῃ · *They worshipped the Astarties.* The occasion of this their multiplying of their *Baals* and *Astoreths*, may be diversly understood: either in respect of the diversity of the forms of the Images, or of the worship in divers places, or of the stories depending upon them: which (as fables use to be) were doubtless in divers cities divers. *Augustine quæst.*19. *in Judg.* thinks *Baal* and *Astarte* to be *Jupiter* and *Juno*. For the *Carthaginians* (which were *Tyrians*) call *Juno* by such a name as *Astarte*. *Tully, lib.*3. *de Nat.Deorum*, making divers *Goddesses* of the name of *Venus*, expounds the fourth to be *Astarte:* whom he makes to be born of *Tyrus* and *Syria*, and to have been the wife of *Adonis:* as also *Macrob.*2.*Saturn.cap.*21. sayes, that *Adonis* was with great veneration

* It seems that even in *Josua's* time they practised glasse-making, whence *Junius* for *Misphrebooth majim*, which *ad verbum* is as much as *combustiones aquarum*, reads *fornaces vitrarium*, *Jos.*11.8. as it seems, because those fornaces were where there was store of water, either for the moving of the bellows by the force of the water, or for other necessary uses. But there are others that take them for salt-pits, and others again for hot baths.

The form of *Astoreth* (or *Astarte*) seemeth to have been a sheep, for Deut.7.13. the word in the plurall number signifieth sheep: and this may confirm *Augustines* opinion, that *Astarte* was *Juno*: for the form of her husband *Jupiter Hammon* was a Ram.

veneration commonly worſhipped of the *Aſſyrians:* and *Hierome* upon *Ezek.* 8. 44. notes that *Thammuz* (whom there the Idolatrous women are noted to bewail) is the name of *Adonis* among the *Syrians.* So that it may ſeem that in the worſhip of *Aſtarte* or *Venus,* they did bewail her huſband *Adonis:* as alſo the *Grecians* did in their ſongs of *Adonis: Mourn for* Adonis *the fair, dead is* Adonis *the fair.* Howbeit others in that place of *Ezekiel* not without good probability, expound the mourning for *Thammuz,* to be the mourning for *Oſiris* in the ſacrifice of *Iſis:* whoſe loſſe of her Huſband *Oſiris,* was as famous in the *Egyptian* Idolatry, as with the *Grecians, Venus* loſſe of *Adonis.* And to this agreeth that which *Plutarch* hath, *de Iſide & Oſiride;* that *Oſiris* with the *Egyptians* is called *Ammuz:* which word may ſeem to be the ſame with *Ezekiels Thammuz.* But howſoever theſe *Zidonians* were thus anciently foſtered with the milk of Idolatry: yet they were more apt to receive the Doctrine of the Goſpel of *Chriſt* after his Aſcenſion, than the *Jews:* who had been taught by *Moſes* and the *Prophets* ſo many yeers, whereof our Saviour in *Matthew* and *Luke: Woe be to thee Corazin, &c. for if the great works which were done in thee, had been done in Tyrus and Zidon, they had repented long agone, &c. but I ſay unto you, it ſhall be eaſier for Tyrus and Zidon, at the day of judgement, than for you.* κλαίετε κλαῖε Ἄδωνιν. *Mat.* 11. 21.

It received a *Chriſtian* Biſhop with the firſt: who was afterward of the Dioceſſe of *Tyre.* But in the yeer of our Redemption 636. it fell into the hands of the *Saracens,* and continued in their poſſeſſion till *Baldwinus* the firſt, then King of *Hieruſalem:* in the yeer 1111. by the help of the *Danes* and *Norwaies,* who came with a Fleet to viſit the *Holy Land,* and took Port at *Joppa,* it was again recovered, the commandment thereof being given to *Euſtace Gremer,* a Noble man of that Country. And again in the yeer 1250. it was reedified and ſtrengthened by *Lodowick* the French King: while he ſpent four yeer in the War of the *Holy Land.* Laſtly, in the yeer 1289. it was reconquered by the *Saracens:* and is now in poſſeſſion of the *Turk,* and hath the name of *Zai.* *Tyr.* 11. *Bell. Sacr.* 14. *Vitriac.* c. 27. *Niger Poſtellus.*

§. III.

Of Sarepta, with a brief Hiſtory of Tyre in the ſame Coaſt.

SArepta, or after the *Hebrew, Sarphath,* is the next City Southward from *Zidon,* between it and the River called *Naar,* or *Fons hortorum Libani* (of which more hereafter) ſtanding in the way towards *Tyre,* a City very famous for the excellent Wine growing neer it: of which *Sidonius:*

Vina mihi non ſunt Gazetica, Chia, Falerna,
Quæque Sareptano *palmite miſſa bibas.*

I have no wine of *Gaza,* nor *Falerna* wine,
Nor any for the drinking of *Sarepta*'s vine.

This City had alſo a *Biſhop,* of the Dioceſſe of *Tyre:* after it came to the *Saracens* and *Turks,* as the reſt: and is now called *Saphet,* ſaith *Poſtellus.*

Not far from *Sarepta* was ſcituate that ſometime famous City of *Tyre,* whoſe fleets of ſhips commanded, and gave the law over all the *Mediterran* Sea, and the borders thereof: during which time of greatneſſe and power, the *Tyrians* erected *Utica, Leptis,* and *Carthage* in *Africa,* of which *Virgil. Urbs antiqua fuit, Tyrii tenuere Coloni, Carthago.* And *Carthage* was therefore called *Punica quaſi Phœnicum,* a *Colonie* of the *Phœnicians.* In *Spain* they founded *Gades,* now *Caliz.* In *Italie, Nola:* in *Aſia* the leſſe, *Dromos Achillis,* which City the *Scholiaſt* of *Apollonius* placeth neer the River *Phyllis,* in *Bythinia.* *Virgil. l.* 1. *Plin. l.* 5. *c.* 19. *Marcelin. l.* 22.

It had anciently the name of *Zor,* or *Tzor:* and ſo it is written in *Joſua* the 19. taking name from the ſcituation; becauſe built on a high Rock, ſharp at one end. The *Latines,* as it ſeems, knew it by the name of *Sarra:* for *Virgil* calleth the purple of *Tyre, Oſtrum Sarranum,* by which name *Juvenal* and *Silius* remember it. The *Zidonians* built it upon a high hill, whereof many ruines remain to this day; the place being ſtil known by the name of the ancient *Tyre:* and becauſe it was a *Colonie* of the *Zidonians,* the Prophet *Eſay* calleth it the Daughter of *Zidon;* which *Trogus* alſo confirmeth *Gellius. l.* 4. *c.* 6.

Cap.23. confirmeth, though *Berosus* by affinity of name makes *Thiras* the son of *Japhet* to be the Parent thereof: and though no doubt it was very ancient (for so much the Cap.23. Prophet *Esay* also witnesseth, *Is not this your glorious Citie, whose antiquity is of ancient daies?*) yet, that *Thiras* the son of *Japhet* set himself in the bosome of the *Canaanites* who built *Zidon*, and peopled all that Region, I see nothing to perswade me.

Justin.l.18. Curt.l.4. Euseb. in Chro. Joseph.ant. l.8. cap.2. Cedren.ja.27. But that new *Tyre* in after-times so renowned, seemeth to be the work of *Agenor*: and of this opinion was *Curtius*: and *Josephus* and *Eusebius* make this City elder than *Solomons* Temple 240.yeers: *Cedrenus* 361. who also addeth, that *Tyrus* the wife of *Agenor*, gave it her name: but of *Agenor* I will speak more at large in the story of their Kings.

For strength and for the commodity of the harbour, and the better to receive Trade from all places, it was in this new erection founded in an Island 700. paces from the Ezek.28.2.27. vers.3. Continent; and therefore *Ezekiel* placeth it in the middest of the Seas, as some reade, or as others, in the inner-most part of the Sea, whence he called it *scituate at the entry of the Sea*, as also the same Prophet calleth it, *the Mart of the people for many Isles*: and *Esay* Esay 23.3. 27.8. *a Mart of the Nations*: and so proud, wealthy, and magnificent was this City, as the Prophet *Esay* calleth the Merchants thereof Princes, and their Chapmen the Nobles of the World.

It excelled both in learning, and in manu-facture: especially in the making and dying of Purple, and Scarlet-cloth: which, saith *Julius Pollux*, was first found out by *Hercules* Dog, who passing along the Sea-coast, and eating of the Fish *Conchilis* or *Purpura*, the hair of his lips became of that colour. It worshipped the Idols that *Zidon* did: saving that *Hercules* became their *Patron* in after-times. For *Alexander Macedon*, when the *Tyrians* presented him with a Crown of gold, and other gifts, desiring to remain his friends and allies, answered them, that he had vowed a sacrifice to *Hercules*, the Defendor of their City, and the Ancestor of the *Macedonian* Kings: and must therefore enter it. Whereupon they sent him word, that *Hercules* his Temple was in the Mountain of old *Tyre*: where he might perform that ceremony. But this availed not: for *Alexander* was not so superstitious, as ambitious; he desired to enter the Town, which being denied, he, as one whom no perill could fear, nor labour weary, gathered together as many ships as he could, and brought from *Libanus* so great a number of *Cedars*, and so many weighty stones from the old City of *Tyre* adjoyning, as, notwithstanding that his materials were often washt away with the strength of the Sea and the Tides, yet he never rested, till he had made a foot-passage from the Continent to the Island: and having once approached their walls, he over-topt them with Turrets of wood, and other frames: from whence (having filled the body of force with the violent moving spirit of resolution) he became Lord thereof, putting all to the Sword that resisted; after which, he caused 2000. more to be hung up in a rank all alongst the Sea-shore: which execution upon cold bloud he performed (as some Authours affirm) upon the issues of those slaves which had formerly slain all their Masters, taking their Wives, Children, Joseph.ant. Jud.l.11.c.8. Riches, and power of Government to themselves. This victory of *Alexander* over the *Tyrians*, *Josephus* remembreth: and how *Sanaballat* revolted from *Darius*, and came to *Alexander* with 8000. Souldiers: who was the last *Satrapa* or Provinciall Governour, which *Darius* seated in *Samaria*: the same who having married his Daughter to *Manasse*, brother to *Jaddas* the high Priest of *Hierusalem*, obtained of *Alexander*, that a Temple might be built on the Mountain *Garizim* over *Samaria*: that the forces of the *Jews* being divided, *Alexander* might the better hold them in obedience. The honour of which Priesthood he bestowed on his son in law *Manasse*, whom the *Jews* oppugned, for that De bell.sacr. l.13.c.4. he had married out of their Tribes, and with a *Gentile*: but while *Alexander* besieged *Gaza*, *Sanaballat*, whom *Guil.Tyrius* called *Sanabula*, died.

Long before this desolation of *Tyre* by the cruelty of *Alexander*, it was attempted by *Salmanasser* the *Assyrian* King: when the growing pride of the *Assyrians*, after that they had conquered the ten Tribes, with the rest of *Syria*, became envious of the beauty, riches, and power of that city. He besieged it both on the Land-side, and with threescore ships of war held the Port: to the end that neither any victuals nor any supply of Josep.ant.lib.9. cap.14. men might enter it: but the *Tyrians* with twelve sail scattered that fleet, and took 500. prisoners of the *Assyrians*: notwithstanding, the *Assyrian* continued his resolution, and lay

before

before it by his Lievtenants five yeers, but with ill succesſe. And this ſiege *Menander Ephesius*, cited by *Josephus*, made report of in his *Chronicles*, as he found the Story among the *Annalls* of the *Tyrians* (which the ſaid *Menander* converted into *Greek*) adding, that *Elulæus*, whom *Tyrius* called *Heliſæus*, was then King of *Tyre*, having governed the ſame ſix and twenty yeers. Soon after this repulſe of *Salmanaſſer*, and about 200. yeers before the victory of *Alexander*, *Nabuchodonoſor*, at ſuch time as he deſtroyed *Hieruſalem* with the Temple, came before this City: who indeed gave to *Alexander* the example of that deſpairfull work, of joyning it to the Continent. For *Nabuchodonoſor* had formerly done it: though by the diligence of the Citizens, and the ſtrength of the Sea, the ſame cawſey and paſſage was again broken down, and demoliſhed.

Et cont. Ap. 1. Guil. Tyrius. de Bell. Sacr. 13.4. Joſeph. Ant. lib. 9. cap. 15.

Againſt *Nabuchodonoſor*, for many yeers, the *Tyrians* defended themſelves: for ſo long did thoſe *Babylonians* continue before it, *As every head was made bald, and every ſhoulder made bare*, ſaith *Ezekiel*, who with the Prophet *Eſay* had manifeſtly foretold the deſtruction of this proud place. In the end, and after thirteen yeers ſiege or more, the *Tyrians* deſpoyled of all their hopes, and remembring over-late the predictions and threatnings of Gods Prophets, having prepared a convenient number of ſhips, abandoned their City, tranſporting with themſelves the ableſt of all that remained: and with their wives, children, and portable riches, ſayled thence into *Cyprus*, *Carthage*, and other Maritimate Cities of their Tributaries, or Confederates: ſo as the *Babylonians* finding nothing therein, either to ſatisfie ſo many labours and perils, or any perſon upon whom to avenge themſelves for the loſſe of ſo many bodies in that War: It pleaſed God in recompence thereof (who ſtrengthened this reſolution, as in a work of his own) to make *Nabuchodonoſor* victorious over the *Egyptians*: and gave him that Kingdom and the ſpoile thereof, as it were, in wages for his Army. Whereupon Saint *Hierome* noteth, that God leaveth not the good deeds of the Heathen unrewarded: who though they cannot hope by any laudable worldly action, to attain unto that eternall happineſſe reſerved for his *Servants* and *Saints*: yet ſuch is the boundleſſe goodneſſe of God, as he often repayeth them with many worldly gifts and temporall bleſſings.

Ezek. 29. 18. Iſa. 23. &c.

Ezek. 29. 19.

Now of this enterpriſe of *Nabuchodonoſors* againſt *Tyre*, prophane Hiſtorians have not bin ſilent. For both *Diocles*, and *Philoſtratus*, (as *Joſephus* citeth them) the one in his ſecond Book, the other in his *Phœnician* Hiſtories remember it.

Joſ. cont. l. 1. c. 13.

After theſe two great *Vaſtations* by the Kings of *Babylon* and *Macedon*, this City of *Tyre*, repaired and recovered it ſelf again: and continued in great glory about 300. yeers, even to the coming of our *Saviour Chriſt*: and after him flouriſhed in the *Chriſtian* Faith neer 600. yeers: the *Archbiſhop* whereof gave place to none but to the *Patriarch* of *Hieruſalem* onely, who within his own Dioceſſe had fourteene great Cities, with their Biſhops and Suffragans: namely *Caipha*, otherwiſe *Porphiria*, *Acon*, or *Ptolomais*, *Sarepta*, *Zidon*, *Cæſarea Philippi*, *Berytus*, *Byblus*, *Botrys*, *Tripolis*, *Orthoſia*, *Archis*, *Aradus*, *Antaradus*, (or *Tortoſa*) and *Maraclea*. But in the yeer 636. it was with the reſt of that beautifull Region of *Phœnicia* and *Paleſtina*, ſubjected to the cruell and faithleſſe *Saracen*: under the burthen and yoke of whoſe tyranny it ſuffered, with the other *Paleſtine* Cities, 488. yeers.

Guil. Tyr. lib. 1. fac.

In the yeer 1112. it was attempted by *Baldwine* King of *Hieruſalem* 5 but in vain: yet in the yeer 1124. by *Guaremonde*, *Patriarch* of *Hieruſalem*, *Vicegerent* to *Baldwine* the ſecond, with the aſſiſtance of the *Venetians*, and their fleet of Gallies, it was again recovered, and ſubjected to the Kings of *Hieruſalem*, and ſo it remained 165. yeers.

Guil. Tyr. 11. Bell. facr. 17.

Finally, in the yeer 1189. *Saladine* having firſt taken *Hieruſalem*, removed his whole Army, and ſate down before *Tyre*: drawing his fleet of Ships and Gallies from *Alexandria* into the Port, this City as then onely remaining in the Chriſtian power.

The Citizens finding themſelves reduced into great famine, and many other miſeries, they at once with certain rafters of timber, fiered, burnt, and brake the Saracens fleet, and ſallyed out reſolvedly upon his Army, ſlew ſo great numbers of them; and followed their victory with ſuch fury, as that the Saracens forſaking their Trenches and Tents, removed in great diſorder and diſhonour. Two yeers after which victory the body of that famous *Frederick Barbaroſſa* (who by the lamentable accident of following the *Chriſtians* enemies over a River unfoordable, periſhed by the weight of his armour therein) was brought and interred in the *Cathedrall* Church of *Tyre*, neer unto that glorious Sepulchre of *Origen*, garniſhed and graven with guilt pillers of Marble, 940. yeers before

before therein buried: but in the yeer 1289. the *Saracens* again attempted it, and carried it, and it now remaineth subject to the *Turks*.

‖. IV.

Of Ptolomais or Acon.

THe third City alongst the coast of the Sea, which the *Asserites* could not obtain, on the South bound of *Asser* was *Acho*, which was the ancient name thereof after *Hierome*, though other good Authours affirm, that it took name from *Acon* the brother of *Ptolomie*. *Plinie* calleth it *Ace*: and otherwise the Colonie of *Claudius*. It had also the name of *Coth*, or *Cod*, and by *Zeiglerus* it is called *Hactipos*.

Plin. li. 5. c. 19. *In descrip. terr. sanct.*

But lastly, it was intituled *Ptolomais*, after the name of one of the *Egyptian Ptolomies*: which City also, as it is 1 *Mac.* 11. another of the *Ptolomies*, infidelliously wrested from his son in law *Alexander*, which called himself the son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*: the same *Alexander* having married *Cleopatra*, daughter of the said *Ptolomie*, not long before. Therein also was *Jonathan Machabæus* treacherously surprised and slain, as it is 1 *Mac.* 12.48. by the perfidiousnesse of *Tryphon*, whom soon after *Antiochus* pursued, as it is in the Story ensuing: and, by like reason, about the same time was the aforesaid *Alexander* in the war against *Demetrius*, one of the sons of *Antiochus* the great, with whom *Ptolomie* joyned, overthrown and treacherously murthered by *Zabdiel* the *Arabian*: to whom he fled for succour: and his head presented unto his father in law *Ptolomie*: who enjoyed not the glory of his victory and treason above three daies, for God struck him by death.

Ptolomæus Philometer.

1 *Macc.* 1.10.

1 *Macc.* 11.18.

For the beauty and strength of this City, this *Alexander* made it his regall seat; two parts of the same being invironed by the Sea, and the Port, for safety and capacity, not inferiour to any other in all that Tract. This City is distant from *Hierusalem* some four and thirty miles: four miles to the North from the Mountain *Carmel*, and as much to the South from *Castrum Lamberti*: from *Tyre*, *Antonius* maketh it two and thirty *Italian* miles. In the middest of the City there was a Tower of great strength, sometime the Temple of *Bel-zebub*: and therefore called the *Castle of Flies*, on the top whereof there was maintained a perpetuall light, like unto that called *Pharus* in *Egypt*: to give comfort in the night to those Ships which came neer and sought that part. It had in it a Bishops seat of the Dioceese of *Tyre*, after it became *Christian*: but in the yeer 636. (a fatall yeer to the *Christians* in those parts) it was forced and taken by *Haomarus* the *Saracen*. In the yeer 1104. it was regained by *Baldwine* the first, by the help of the Gallies of *Genoa*: to whom a third of the Revenue was given in recompence. Again, in the yeer of our Lord God, one thousand one hundred fourscore and seven, *Saladine* King of *Egypt* and *Syria*, became Lord thereof. In the yeer of Christ, one thousand one hundred ninety and one, by *Richard* King of *England*, and *Philip* King of *France*, it was repossessed and redelivered to the *Christians*. Lastly, in the yeer 1291. it was by the fury of the *Saracens* besieged with an Army of 150000. entred, sackt, and utterly demolished: though in some sort afterward reedified, and it is now *Turkish*.

Ant. Itin.

Herold.

G. Tyr. bell. sacr. lib. 10. cap. 28. Herold. l. 1. bell. sacr. tit. 7. & li. 2. c. 2. & alibi.

‖. V.

Of the Castle of Saint George.

FIve miles from *Ptolomais* towards the East, is the Castle of Saint *George* seated, in which he was born: the Valley adjoyning bearing the same name. And though for the credit of Saint *Georges* killing the Dragon, I leave every man to his own belief: yet I cannot but think, that if the Kings of *England* had not some probable record of that his memorable act, among many others: it was strange that the Order full of Honour, which *Edward* the third founded, and which his Successors royally have continued, should have born his name, seeing the World had not that scarcity of Saints in those daies, as that the *English* were driven to make such an erection upon a fable, or person feigned. The place is described by *Adrichomius* in his description of *Asser*, to have been in the fields of *Libanus*, between the River *Adonis*, and *Zidon*: his own words are these:

Brocb.

Itin. 4.

Of the place and memory of his death.

See *ch. 9 sect. 1*

theſe: *Hoc loco qui ab incolis Cappadocia appellatur, non longè à Beryto, memorant inclytum Chriſti Militem* D.Georgium, *Regis filiam ab immaniſſimo Dracone aſſervaſſe: eamque mactata beſtia parenti reſtituiſſe. In cujus rei memoriam Eccleſia poſtmodum fuit ædificata*; *In this place, which by the Inhabitants is called* Cappadocia, *not far from* Berytus, *men ſay that the famous Knight of Chriſt, Saint* George, *did reſcue the Kings Daughter from a huge Dragon: and having killed the beaſt, delivered the Virgin to her Parent. In memory of which deed a Church was after built there:* Thus far *Adrichomius.* His Authours he citeth *Lodovicus Roman, Patric. Navigationum l.1.c.3.* and *Bridenbach Itin.* 5. The Valley under this Caſtle ſometime called *Aſſer*, was afterward called the Valley of Saint *George.* If this authority ſuffice not, we may rather make the Story allegoricall, figuring the victory of *Chriſt*, than except of *George* the *Arrian* Biſhop, mentioned by *Am.Marcellinus.*

‖. VI.

Of Acziba, Sandalium, and others.

BEtween *Ptolomais* and *Tyre* alongſt the Seacoaſt, was the ſtrong City of *Acziba*, or *Achazib*, which S.*Hierome* called *Achziph*, and *Joſephus Ecdippos*, *Plinie Ecdippa*, one of thoſe which defended it ſelf againſt the *Aſſerites. Belforeſt* findes *Acziba* and *Sandalium*, or the Caſtle of *Alexander* to be one, but I know not whence he had it.

The twelve Searchers of the Land which *Moſes* ſent from *Cadesbarn*, travelled as far to the North as *Roob*, or *Rechob*, in the Tribe of *Aſſer*, which *Rechob*, as alſo *Berothæ*, which by *Ezechiel, cap.47.ver.16.* is placed in theſe North borders, belonged in *Davids* time to the King *Hadarhezer*, as it may be gathered out of the ſecond of *Samuel chap.8. ver.8.* and *cap.10.ver.6.* and it defended it ſelf againſt the *Aſſerites*, as *Zidon*, *Tyre*, *Achziph*, *Ptolomais*, *Alab*, *Helbah*, and *Aphek* did. *Hieron. de Locis Hebr. Joſ. Bell. Jud. l.c.11. Plin.l.5.c.19.*

This *Aphek* it was, whoſe wall falling down, ſlew ſeven and twenty thouſand of *Benhadads* Souldiers, after that a hundred thouſand had been ſlaughtered by the *Iſraelites*, under the conduct of *Ahab.* Here *Junius* finds that the *Philiſtims* encamped a little before the battell at *Gilboa*, though in his note upon the firſt of *Samuel* the 9.& 1.he takes *Aphek* there mentioned (at which battell the Ark was taken) to have been in *Juda.* Of which *Joſ.*15.and 53. and in the ſecond of *Kings* 13.17. he reads, *Fortiter*, for, *in Aphek.* Where others convert it, *Percutiens Syros in Aphek.* *1 Kin.20.29.* *1 Sam.29.1.*

The next place alongſt the coaſt is *Sandalium*, firſt called *Schandalium* of *Schander*, which we call *Alexander*, for *Alexander Marcedon* built it when he beſieged *Tyre:* and ſet it on a point of Land which extendeth it ſelf into the Sea, between *Acziba* and *Tyre:* which Caſtle *Baldwine* the firſt rebuilt and fortified; in the yeer of *Chriſt* 1157. when he undertook the recovery of *Tyre.*

Not much above a mile from this Caſtle, there ariſeth that moſt plentifull Spring of water, which *Solomon* remembreth, called *the Well of living Water:* from whence not onely all the fields and plains about *Tyre* are made fruitful by large pipes hence drawn: but the ſame Spring, which hath not above a bow-ſhot of ground to travail till it recover the Sea, driveth ſix great Mills in that ſhort paſſage, ſaith *Brochard.* *Cant.4.* *Itin.1.*

Within the Land, and to the Eaſt of *Acziba*, and *Sandalium*, ſtandeth *Hoſa:* and beyond it, under the Mountains of *Tyre*, the City of *Achſaph*, or *Axab*, or after S.*Hierome*, *Aciſap*, a City of great ſtrength, whoſe King, amongſt the reſt, was ſlain by *Joſua*, at the waters of *Merom.* *Joſ.12.20.*

‖. VII.

Of Thoron, Giſcala, and ſome other places.

FArther into the Land, towards *Jordan*, was ſeated the Caſtle of *Thoron*, which *Hugo de Sancto Abdemare* built on the Eaſter-moſt hills of *Tyre*, in the yeer 1107. thereby to reſtrain the excurſions of the *Saracens*, while they held *Tyre* againſt the *Chriſtians:* the place adjoyning being very fruitfull, and exceeding pleaſant. From this Caſtle the Lords of *Thoron*, famous in the ſtory of the Wars for the recovery of the *Holy Land*, derive their names, and take their Nobility. It had in it a curious Chappell, dedicated to the bleſſed *Virgin*, in which *Humfrey* of *Thoron*, Conſtable to *Baldwine* the 3.King of *Hieruſalem*, lieth buried: There were five Caſtles beſides this within the Territory of *Aſſer:* where,

whereof four are seated almost of equall distance from each other: to wit, *Castrum, Lamperti, Montfort, Indin* (or *Saron*) *Castrum Regium* and *Belfort*: the first neer the Sea under the Hills of *Saron*, the next three, to wit, *Indin, Montfort*, and *Regium*, stand more within the Land, and belonged to the Brotherhood and fellowship of the *Teutonici*, or *Dutch Knights* (by which they defended themselves, and gave succour to other Christians at such time as the *Saracens* possest the best part of the upper *Galilee*) the chief of which Order was in *Ptolomais Achon*. The first fortresse was for beauty and strength called *Belfort*, seated in the high ground upon the River *Naar*, neer the City *Rama*: of which in this Tribe *Jos.* 19.29. for which the Vulgar reads *Horma*: making the article a part of the word, and mistaking the vowels: from the siege of this Castle of *Belfort*, the great *Saladine* King of *Syria* and *Egypt*, was by the *Christians* Army raised, and with great losse and dishonour repulsed.

Harold.l.2.c.4. Continuatores Bell.ac.

To the East of *Belfort*, is the strong City of *Alab* (or *Achlab*) which S. *Hierome* calleth *Chalab*, one of those that defended themselves against *Asser*, as *Roob* (or *Rechob*) not far thence did.

Towards the South from *Roob* they place *Gabala* (which *Herod* furnamed the *Ascalonite* rebuilt) making it of the Territory of *Chabol*, *Quod Syrorum lingua dispicere significat* (saith *Weisshenburg*) so called, because *Hiram* of *Tyre* was ill pleased with those twenty Cities, seated hereabout, which *Solomon* presented unto him in recompence of those provisions sent him for the building of the Temple. Others think this *Chabol* (or *Cabul*) containing a circuit of those twenty Cities given to *Hiram*, to have been without the compasse of the holy Land, though bordering *Asher* on the North side: as it is said, 1 *Reg.* 9. 11. That they were *in Regione limitis*: that is, *in limite Regionis*, in the border of the countrey: for it was not lawfull, say they, to give to strangers any part of the possessions allotted to the *Israelites*: howsoever, that after *Hiram* had refused them, they were peopled by the *Israelites*, it appeares, 2 *Chron.*8. 14. And it seems they were conquered by *David* from the *Syri Rechobeæ*, whose City *Roob*, or *Rechob*, was in these parts.

Joseph. ant.13. 21.& 15.10.

Jun annot.in 1 Reg.9.11.

2 Sam.10.6.

Almost of equall distance from the Castle of *Thoron*, they place the Cities of *Giscala*, and *Gadara*: of which *Gadara* is rather to be placed over *Jordan*: *Giscala* was made famous by *John* the son of *Levi*, who from a mean estate gathering together four hundred Theeves, greatly troubled all the upper *Galilee*, at such time as the *Romans* attempted the conquest of *Judæa*: by whose practice *Josephus*, who then commanded in the upper *Galilee*, was greatly indangered: whereof himself hath written at large, in his second Book of those Wars. This *John* betraying, in all he could, the City of *Giscala* (whereof he was native) to the *Roman State*: and finding a resistance in the City, gave opportunity, during the contention, to the *Tyrians* and *Gadarims*, to surprize it: who at the same time forc't it, and burnt it to the ground: but being by *Josephus* authority rebuilt, it was afterward rendred to *Titus* by composition. They finde also the Cities of *Cana Major*, and * *Cades* (or *Cadessa*) of the first was that *Syro-phœnician*, whose Daughter *Christ* delivered of the evill spirit. Neer the other, they say, it was that *Jonathas Machabeus* overthrew the Army of *Demetrius*.

Cap.26.

* See *Kadesh* in *Nephthalim. Matth.15. Mark.7.*

Macca.1.73.

There are, besides these fore-named Cities, within the Tribe of *Asser*, divers others: as on the South border, and neer the Sea, *Mesall*, or *Misheall*: within the Land (*a*) *Besara*, (*b*) *Bethdagon*, and *Bethemec*, standing on the South border between *Asher* and *Zabulon*: on the North side joyning to *Syro-phœnicia*, is the City of *Hethalon*, or *Chethlon*, the utmost of the *Holy Land* that way: under which, towards the Sea, is *Chali*, and then (*c*) *Enoch*, supposed to be built by *Cain*, and named of his son *Enoch*, but without probability, as I have formerly proved. There are others also besides these, as *Ammon*, or *Chammon*, of which *Jos.* 19.28. where also we reade of *Nebiel, Rama, Alamelec*, and *Beron*: the Cities of *Alcath*, or *Chelcath, Habdon*, and *Rechob*, and *Misheal*, which we have already mentioned, were by the *Asserites* given to the *Levites*. Of others held by the *Canaanites*, mention is made, *Judg.*1.30. to which out of *Josua* we may adde *Ebron, Amhad*, and others, on which no story dependeth; and therefore I will not pester the description with them.

Josephus Antiq. 13.c.8.

(*a*) Of which *Josephus in vita sua.*

(*b*) Of both which *Jos.*19. 27. *Ezr.*47.15.

(*c*) Or *Enos Joseph.ant.l.1. cap.4. Jos.*21.30.

‖. VIII.

‖. VIII.

Of the Rivers and Mountains of Aſſer.

THe Rivers to the North of *Aſſer*, are *Adonis*, afterward *Canis*, to which *Zeigler* joyneth *Lycus*; *Ptolomy*, *Leontis*: both which fall into the Sea neer *Berytus*: which River of *Leontis*, *Montanus* draws neer unto *Zidon*: finding his head notwithſtanding where *Ptolomy* doth, between *Zidon* and *Tyre*. It hath alſo a River called *Fons hortorum Libani*, which *Adrichome* out of *Brochard* intituleth *Eleutherus*: for which he alſo citeth *Pliny*, and the firſt of *Machabees* the eleventh Chapter; but neither of thoſe authorities prove *Eleutherus* to be in *Aſſer*: for this River falleth into the Sa at the Iſle of *Aradus*: not far from *Balanæa*, witneſſe *Ptolomy*: and therefore *Pinetus* calleth it *Valania*, and *Poſtellus*, *Velana*; which River boundeth *Phœnicia* on the North-ſide: to which *Strabo* alſo agreeth: but this principall River of *Aſſer*, *Arias Montanus* calleth *Gabatus*. *Chriſtianus Chrot* out of the mouth and papers of *Peter Laicſtan* (which *Laicſtan* in this our age both viewed and deſcribed the Holy Land) calleth the main River *Fons hortorum Libani*: and one of the ſtreams which runneth into it from the North-ſide, *Naar*, and another from the South-weſt, *Chabul*: of the city adjoyning of the ſame name: for *Eleutherus* it cannot be. There is alſo another River deſcribed by *Adrichome*, named *Jepthael*, which I finde in no other Author, and for which he citeth *Joſ.* 19. but the word [a] *Ghe*, which is added there to *Jepthael*, is not taken for a River, but for a Valley: and for a Valley the *Vulgar*, the *Geneva*, and *Arias Montanus* turn it. There is alſo found in *Aſſer* the River of *Belus*, remembred by *Joſephus* and *Tacitus*, which is alſo called *Pagidas*, ſaith * *Pliny*: out of the ſands of this River are made the beſt Glaſſe, which ſometimes the *Zidonians* practiſed: and now the *Venetians* at *Murana*. *Arias Montanus* makes *Belus* to be a branch of *Chedumim*, which it cannot be: for *Belus* is known to flow from out the Lake *Cendevia*, as all *Coſmographers*, both Ancient and Modern, and the later Travellers into thoſe parts witneſſe. It is true that the River of *Chiſon* taketh water from *Chedumim*, but not in that faſhion which *Montanus* hath deſcribed it: neither doth it finde the Sea at *Ptolomais Acon*, according to *Montanus*: but farther to the South between *Caiphas* and *Sioaminum*, witneſſe *Zeigler*, *Adrichomius*, and *Schrot*.

Beſides theſe Rivers there are divers famous Springs and Fountains, as that of living waters adjoyning to *Tyre*: and [b] *Maſerephot*, or after S. *Hierome*, *Maſerephotmaim*, whoſe Well filled by the flood of the Sea adjoyning, (they ſay) the Inhabitants by ſeething the water make ſalt thereof, as at *Nantwitch*.

The Mountains which bound *Aſſer* on the North, are thoſe of *Anti-libanus*, which with *Libanus* bound *Cœloſyria*: two great ledges of Hills, which from the Sea of *Phœnicia* and *Syria*, extend themſelves far into the Land Eaſt-ward, 400. ſtadia, or furlongs, according to *Strabo*: for that length he giveth to the Valley of *Cœloſyria*, which thoſe Mountains incloſe: but *Pliny* gives them 1500. furlongs in length from the Weſt (where they begin at *Theipſophon*, or *Dei facies*, neer *Tripolis* to the Mountains of *Arabia* beyond *Damaſcus*: where *Anti-Libanus* turneth towards the South. Theſe ledges where they begin to part *Traconitis* and *Baſan*, from the Deſart *Arabia*, are called *Hermon*: which *Moſes* alſo nameth *Sion*, the *Phœnicians*, *Syrion*; and the *Amorites*, *Sanir*; neither is this any one Mountain apart, but a continuation of Hills: which running farther Southerly, is in the Scriptures called *Galaad*, or *Gilead*: the ſame being ſtill a part of *Libanus*, as the Prophet *Hieremy* proveth: *Galaad tu mihi caput Libani*: noting, that this *Galaad* is the higheſt of thoſe Hills of *Libanus*. *Strabo* knows them by the name of *Traconitæ*: and *Ptolomy* by *Hippus*. *Arias Montanus* calleth theſe Mountains bordering *Aſſer*; *Libanus*, for *Anti-libanus*, contrary to all other *Coſmographers*, but he giveth no reaſon of his opinion.

They take the name of *Libanus* from their white tops, becauſe (according to *Tacitus*) the higeſt of them are covered with ſnow all the Summer: the *Hebrew* word *Libanos*, (ſaith *Weiſſenburg*) ſignifieth whiteneſſe. Others call them by that name of the Frankincence which thoſe Trees yeeld: becauſe λιβανος is alſo the *Greek* word for that Gum.

Niger out of *Aphrodiſeus* affirmeth, that on *Libanus* there falleth a kinde of honey dew, which is by the Sun congealed into hard Sugar, which the Inhabitants call *Saccharr*, from whence came the *Latine* word *Saccarum*.

Aſia. Tab. 4.

Plin. l. 9.
Aſia. Tab. 4.
Poſt Orthoſian & Eleutherum eſt Tripolis.

[a] The word *Nachal* is ambiguous, either for a Valley or for a River: but this word *Ghe* is alway a valley, as in *Gehinnon* and *Gemanim*.

Joſeph. l. 2. Bell. Jud. c. 3.
L. 5. c. 19. In *Joſ. c. 19. v. 26.* it is called *Sichor*, of which name many underſtand another ſtream *Joſ. 13. 3.* which running by *Petra* of *Arabia*, falleth into the Lake *Sirbonis*, and divideth *Egypt* from the promiſed Land, whereabout they place *Rhinocolura*, for which city *Junius* taketh *Sichor* in that place of *Joſua*: but howſoever, whether this *Sichor*, *Joſ. 13. 3.* be a River or a City, it appears that this name is found both in the North bound of the Holy Land, *Joſ. 19. 26.* and in the South bound, *Joſ. 13. 3.*

[b] See the marginall note above in the ſecond ſection of this Paragraph.

Strab. l. 10.
Plin. l. 5. c. 20.
Deut. 4. 48.
Strab. l. 10.
Pto. Aſia. tab. 4.
Sueton.
Nig. pag. 503.

The Rivers which *Libanus* bestoweth on the neighbour Regions, are, *Chrysorrhoas*, *Jordan*, *Eleutherus*, *Leontes*, *Lycus*, *Adonis*, *Fons hortorum Libani*, and others.

The rest of the Mountains of *Asser*, are those Hills above *Tyre*, and the Hills of *Saron*, both exceeding fruitfull: but those are but of a low stature, compared with *Libanus*: for from *Nebo*, or the Mountain of *Abarim* in *Reuben*, *Moses* beheld *Libanus* threescore miles distant.

§. IV.

THE TRIBE OF NEPHTALIM.

‖. 1.

Of the bounds of Nephtalim, and of Heliopolis, and Abila.

THE next portion of the Land of *Canaan* bordering *Asher*, was the upper *Galilee*: the greatest part whereof fell to the lot of *Nephtalim*, the son of *Jacob* by *Billa*, the hand-maid of *Rachel*: who while they abode in *Egypt*, were increased to the number of 53400. persons, able men to bear arms, numbred at Mount *Sinai*: all which leaving their bodies in the Desarts, there entred the Holy Land of their sons, 45400. besides Infants, Women, and Children, under twenty yeers of age. The Land of *Nephtalim* took beginning on the North part, from the Fountains of *Jordan*, and the Hill of *Libanus* adjoyning, as far South as the Sea of *Galilee*, bounded on the West by *Asher*, and on the East and South-East by *Jordan*.

Guil. Tyr. Bell. sacr. l. 9. c. 15. Theod. 4. hist. Ecclesiast. Mela. l. 3. c. 9. Justin. Gesnel. in itinerar. Joseph. in plur. loc. Euseb. 8. Demonst. Volat. l. 11. f. 243.

On the North-side of *Libanus*, and adjoyning to this Territory of *Nephtalim*, did the *Amorites* (or *Emorites*) also inhabit, in which Tract, and under *Libanus*, was the city of *Heliopolis*: which the heighth of the Mountains adjoyning shadowed from the Sun the better part of the day. *Postellus* calls it *Balbec*; *Niger*, *Marbech*; and *Leonclavius*, *Beallebeca*.

Of this name of *Heliopolis*, there are two great cities in *Egypt*: the first called *On*, by the *Hebrews*, and the *Chaldæan Paraphrast*; otherwise *Bethshemes*, or after the *Latines*, *Solis oppidum*, or *Domus Solis*; *The City of the Sun*: into which, saith *Ulpian*, *Severus* the *Roman Emperour* sent a *Colonie*: the other *Gestelius* nameth *Dealmarach*: and of this name *Stephanus* also findeth a city in *Thrace*, and *Glycas* in *Phrygia*.

There is also in the same Valley adjoyning to *Nephtalim*, *Chalcis*, and *Abila*. *Chalcis*, of whom the region towards *Palmyrena* hath the name of *Chalcidica*, over which *Herod Agrippa*, and *Bernice* the Queen commanded.

Abila also gave name to the region adjoyning, of which *Lysanius* the son of *Herod* the elder, became *Tetrarch* or Governour: whereof *Ptolomy* gave it the addition of *Lysanii*, and called it *Abila Lysanii*. *Volaterran* names it *Aphila*, of which he notes, that one *Diogenes*, a famous *Sophister* was native, who by *Volaterran* is intituled *Apuleius*, not *Abuleus*. After that this city of *Abila* or *Aphila*, had received the *Christian* Faith; *Priscillinus* became the Bishop thereof: slain afterward by our *Brittish Maximus* at *Trever*. For distinction of this city (if it be not the same, as it may be thought to be the same) it is to be remembred, that in the Tribe of [a] *Manasse*, joyning upon the bounds of the Tribe of *Nephtalim*, there is another city of the same name, saving that it is written with an (ע) for an (א) and called *Abela*, remembred in the 20. chapter of the second of *Samuel*. The same *Josephus* calls *Abelmachea*, and *Hierome*, *Bethmacha*. In the place of *Samuel*, for distinction sake, it is written *Abel Beth-Mahaca*, (for belike it was the Town of *Mahaca* the wife of *Macir*, the son of *Manasse*, the father of *Gilead*) in the *Chronicles* it is called *Abel-Majim*. This city *Joab* besieged, because *Seba* the son of *Bichri*, who rebelled against *David*, fled thereinto for succour: but a certain wise woman of the city perswading the people to cast *Seba* his head over the wall, *Joab* retired his Army. The same city was afterward taken by the King of *Damascus*, *Benadad*: and after a while by *Teglatphalasar*.

[a] Also a third in *Ephraim*, called *Abel-Mechola*, and a fourth in *Reuben*, called *Abel-Sittim*, also *Abel-Mitsraim*, at the Foord of *Jordan*, and (as it seems) in the same Tribe of *Reuben*, of all which in that which follows: to which also we may adde *Abel-Magnum*, the name, as some think, of a City, otherwise called *Bethshemes*, neer the border of the *Philistims*, or according to others, of the great stone in the border. *1 Sam. 6. 18. Joseph. ant. l. 7. cap. 10. 2 Sam. 20. 1 Kings 15. 2 Kings 15.*

The word *Abel* may be expounded, either to signifie bewailing, or a plain ground; and therefore no marvell that many Towns (with some addition for distinction sake) were thus called: for even of bewailing, many places took name; as *Bochim*, *Judg.* 2. 4.

and

and ſo doubtleſſe * *Abel-Miſraim*, *Gen.* 50. 11. and yet *Junius* in his notes upon *Num.* 33. 49. thinks that *Abel-Sittim* was ſo called, rather by reaſon of the plain ground there, (to wit, in the Land of *Moab*) and ſo perhaps *Abel-Meholah* in the Tribe of *Ephraim*: the Town of *Eliſha* the Prophet: alſo *Abel-Vinearum* of the *Ammonites*, whither *Jephta* purſued them.

* And *Abel Magnum*. 1 *Sam.* 6. 18. *Judg.* 7. 24. & 1 *Reg.* 19. 15. *Judg.* 11. 33.

‖. II.

Of Hazor.

IN the Tribe of *Nephtalim* was that famous City of *Jabin*, in *Joſua's* time called *Aſor*, (or after the *Chaldæan Paraphraſt*, *Haſzor*) by *Joſephus*, *Aſora*; by *Junius*, * *Chatzor*: which *Laiteſtan* names *Heſron*; the Regall City, and *Metropolis* of *Canaan*: ſeated in the Weſt part of *Nephtalim*, towards *Aſher*. In this city was that great Rendevous and Aſſembly of thoſe four and twenty Kings againſt *Joſua*: who being all overthrown, ſlain, and ſcattered, this their powerfull city was by *Joſua* taken & burnt to duſt. But in proceſſe of time the ſame being re-built by the *Canaanites*, a ſecond King *Jabin*, 137. yeers after the death of this firſt *Jabin*, invaded the *Iſraelites*: and being ordained of God to puniſh their Idolatry, he prevailed againſt them, and held them in a miſerable ſervitude 20. yeers; till *Debora* the Propheteſſe overthrew *Siſera*, *Jabins* Lievtenant, and his Army, neer the Mountain *Tabor*. This city *Solomon* reſtored at ſuch time as he alſo re-edified *Gezar*, burnt by *Pharao* of *Egypt*, with [c] *Megiddo*, *Bethoron*, and other cities; but about 260. yeers after, it fell into the hands of *Teglatphalaſar*, King of the *Aſſyrians*. It is now, ſaith *Adrichomius*, called *Antiopia*: it was one of the principall cities of *Decapolis*. There is another city of this name in the Territory of *Benjamin*, ſeated on the confines of *Aſcalon*, called the new *Hazor*, [d] ſaith *Hierome*.

* Of two other Cities of this name in *Juda*, ſee *cb* 9. *ſect.* 1. Of a fourth in *Benjamin*, ſee that which follows in this place: of a fifth in this Tribe of *Nephtalim*, called *Hen-Chatſor*, we reade *Joſ.* 19. 27. whereto we may adde *Chatſor-Henan*, in the uttermoſt North-eaſt of *Manaſſe*, over *Jordan*, *Ez.* 47. *Numb.* 34. 8. Alſo in *Simeon*, *Chatſor-Suſim*, of which 1 *Chron.* 4. 31. which alſo is called *Chatſer-Sual*, and *Chatſer-Gedda*, and laſtly, *Chatſer-Shual*, another City of *Simeon*, *ſid* 19. 3. [c] 2 *Kings* 9. [d] *Hieron. loc. Hebr.* l. 4. out of *Nehem.* 11. 33. as it ſeems.

‖. III.

Of Cæſarea Philippi.

THere was alſo on the border, and within the Territory of *Nephtalim*, that renowned city of *Lais*, or *Laiſeh*, as *Junius* writes it, or *Leſchen*; which city the children of *Dan* (being ſtraitned in their Territory under *Juda*) invaded and maſtered; and gave it the name of their own Parent *Dan*: and by that name it is written in *Geneſ.* 14. at which place *Abraham* ſurprized *Chedorlaomer* and his confederates, and followed his victory as far as *Sobah*, formerly remembred in the diviſion of *Syria*, otherwiſe called *Sophena*. And after the poſſeſſion of the *Danites*, it had the joynt name of *Leſchem-Dan*. *Weiſſenburg* writes it *Lacis*, the *Geneva*, *Laiſh*; Joſephus, *Dana*; Benjamin, *Balina*; Breidenbach, *Belena*: but the now Inhabitants know it by the name of *Belina* to this day: witneſſe *Neubrigenſis*, *Tyrius*, *Volaterranus*, *Brochard* the Monk, and *Poſtellus*: who alſo taketh this city to be the ſame, which in *Matth.* 15. 39. in the *Vulgar* is called *Magedan*, for which the *Greek* Text hath *Magdala* in that place, and in S. *Mark*, ſpeaking of the ſame ſtory, *Dalmanutha*. At ſuch time as the children of *Dan* obtained this place, it ſeemeth that it was either a free city, of the alliance and confederacy of the *Zidonians*, or elſe ſubject unto the Kings thereof; for it is written *Judges* 18. *And there was none to help, becauſe Lais was far from Zidon: and they had no buſineſſe with other men*: for it was above thirty Engliſh miles from the *Mediterran* Sea, and from *Zidon*.

Judg. 18. 27. *Joſ.* 19. 47. *Judg.* 18. *Chap.* 8. 10. *Verſe* 28. *Plin. l.* 5. *c.* 15.

In after-times when theſe regions became ſubject to the ſtate of *Rome*, it had the name of *Paneas*, from a Fountain adjoyning ſo called: and therefore *Ptolomy* calls it *Cæſarea Paniæ*. *Hegeſippus* calls it *Parnium*, ſaith *Weiſſenburg*: but he had read it in a corrupt copy; for in *Hegeſippus*, ſet out by *Badius*, it is written *Paneum* without an (*R*): and at ſuch time as *Philip* the ſon of the elder *Herod*, brother to *Herod*, *Tetrarch* of *Galilee*, became Governour of *Traconitis*, ſometime *Baſan*: this city was by him amplified and fortified; and both to give memory to his own name, and to flatter *Tiberius Cæſar*, he called it * *Cæſarea Philippi*: and ſo it became the *Metropolis*, and head city of *Traconitis*, and one of the firſt cities of *Decapolis*. And being by *Agrippa* in the ſucceeding age greatly adorned; by him in honour of *Nero*, it was called *Neronia*, or *Neroniada*. But as

Hegeſ. l. 1. *c.* 35.

* Of another *Cæſaria* (or *Cæſarea*) called *Cæſarea Paleſtinæ*: ſee hereafter in the former part of *Manaſſe*.

Of Dioceſaria, ſee *Stephanum in Zabulon. Euſeb. hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 7. c. 14. Niceph. l. 6. c. 25.*

nothing remained with that Emperour, but the memory of his impiety: ſo in S. *Hieroms* time the Citizens remembred their former *Paneas*, and ſo re-called it, with the Territory adjoyning by the ancient name. Of this City was that woman whom *Chriſt* healed of a bloody iſſue, by touching the hem of his garment with a conſtant Faith: who afterward, as ſhe was a woman of great wealth and ability, being mindfull of Gods goodneſſe, and no leſſe gratefull for the ſame, as *Euſebius* and *Nicephorus* report, cauſed two *Statues* to be caſt in pure Copper: the one repreſenting *Chriſt, as neer as it could be moulded*: the other made like her ſelf, kneeling at his feet, & holding up her hands towards him. Theſe ſhe mounted upon two great Baſes or *Pedeſtals* of the ſame metall, which ſhe placed by a Fountain neer her own houſe: both which (ſaith *Euſebius*) remained in their firſt perfection, even to his own time: which himſelf had ſeen, who lived in the reign of *Conſtantine* the Great. But in the yeer after *Chriſt* 363. that Monſter *Julian Apoſtata*, cauſed that worthy Monument to be caſt down and defaced: ſetting up the like of his own in the ſame place: which Image of his was with fire from Heaven broken into fitters: the head, body, and other parts ſundered and ſcattered, to the great admiration of the people at that time living. The truth of this accident is alſo confirmed by *Sozomenus Salaminius*, in his fifth Book and twentieth Chapter.

a *Joſephus* in the book of the Jewiſh war, chap. 18. ſaith, that *Philip* the *Tetrarch* caſt chaffe into a Fountain called *Phiala*, diſtant 120. ſtadia North-eaſt from *Ceſaria*, which chaffe being carried under ground, was caſt up again at *Paneas*, or *Dan*, whereby it is conjectured, that the firſt Spring of *Jordan* is from this Fountain called *Phiala*, from whence *Jor* and *Dan* receive their waters.

This City built by the *Danites*, was neer the joyning together of thoſe two Rivers, which ariſing from the ſprings of *Jor* and *Dan*, the two[a] apparent Fountains of *Jordan*, in a ſoile exceeding fruitfull and pleaſant: for, as it is written, *Judges* 18. it is a place *which doth want nothing that is in the world*. In the fields belonging to this City it was that S. *Peter* aeknowledged *Chriſt* to be the Son of God: whereupon it was anſwered, *Tues* Petrus, *& ſuper hanc Petram, &c.* After this City received the *Chriſtian* faith, it was honoured with a Biſhops ſeat: and it ran the ſame fortune with the reſt, for it was after taken and re-taken by the *Saracens*, and *Chriſtians*: under *Fulch* the fourth King of *Hieruſalem*, and after the death of *Godfrey* of *Bullion*, the King of *Damaſcus* wreſted it from the *Chriſtians*; and ſhortly after by them again it was recovered. Laſtly, now it remaineth with all that part of the World ſubjected to the *Turk*.

§. IV.

Of Capernaum, and the Cities of Decapolis.

AMong the remarkable Cities within this Tribe, *Caphernaum* is not the leaſt: ſo often remembred by the *Evangeliſts*. This City had the honour of *Chriſts* preſence three yeers: who for that time was a Citizen thereof, in which he firſt preached and taught the doctrine of our ſalvation: according to that notable Prophecy of *Eſay* 9. *The people that walked in darkneſſe have ſeen a great light: they that dwelt in the Land of the ſhadow of death, upon them hath the light ſhined.*

Caphernaum was ſeated on *Jordan*, even where it entreth into the Sea of *Galilee*, in an excellent and rich ſoile: of whoſe deſtruction *Chriſt* himſelf propheſied in theſe words, *And thou Caphernaum which art lifted up unto heaven, ſhalt be brought down to Hell, &c.* which ſhewed the pride and greatneſſe of that City: for it was one of the principall Cities of *Decapolis*, and the *Metropolis* of *Galilee*. And although there were ſome marks of this Cities magnificence in Saint *Hieroms* time, as himſelf confeſſeth; it being then a reaſonable Burge or Town: yet thoſe that have ſince, and long ſince ſeen it, as *Brochard*, *Breidenbech*, and *Saliniac* affirm, that it then conſiſted but of ſix poor Fiſher-mens houſes.

Matth. 4. Mark 7. Luke 8. Nicer. comment. Act. 4. f. 503. Plin. l. 5. c. 18. *Opotes* a City ſtanding in the Valley of *Celoſyria*, watered by *Chryſorroas*, as Damaſcus is. *Plin. l. 5.*

The Region of ten principall Cities, called *Decapolitana*, or *Decapolis*, is in this deſcription often mentioned, and in S. *Matthew*, *Mark* and *Luke* alſo remembred; but I find no agreement between the *Coſmographers*, what proper limits it had: and ſo *Pliny* himſelf confeſſeth; for *Marius Niger*, ſpeaking from others, bounds it on the North by the Mountain *Caſius* in *Caſiotis*: and endeth it to the South at *Egypt* and *Arabia*; by which deſcription it imbraceth *Phœnicia*, a part of *Cœloſyria*, all *Paleſtina*, and *Judæa*.

Pliny alſo makes it large, & for the ten Cities of which it taketh name, he numbreth four of them to be ſituated towards *Arabia*: to wit, firſt theſe three, *Damaſcus*, *Opotes*, *Raphana*, then *Philadelphia* (which was firſt called *Amana*, ſaith *Stephanus*, or as I gheſſe, *Amona* rather, becauſe it was the chief City of the *Ammonites*, known by the name of *Rabbah*, before *Ptolo. Philadelphus* gave it this later and new name.) Then *Scythopolis*, ſometime

ſometime *Niſa*, built (as is ſaid) by *Eacchus*, in memory of his Nurſe, who died therein, anciently known by the name of *Bethſan*; for the ſixth he ſetteth *Gadara* (not that *Gadara* in *Cœloſyria*, which was alſo called *Antioch* and *Seleuſia*:) but it is *Gadara* in *Baſan*, which *Pliny* in this place meaneth, ſeated on an high hill, neer the River of *Hieromaix*. This River *Ortelius* takes to be the River *Jaboc*: which boundeth *Gad* and *Manaſſe* over *Jordan*: but he miſtaketh it; for *Hieromaix* falleth into the Sea of *Galilee*, between *Hippos* and *Geraſa*, whereas *Jaboc* entreth the ſame Sea between *Ephron* and *Phanuel*. For the ſeventh he nameth * *Hippos* or *Hippion*, a City ſo called of a *Colony* of Horſmen there garriſon'd by *Herod*, on the Eaſt-ſide of the *Galilean Sea*, deſcribed hereafter in the Tribe of *Manaſſe* over *Jordan*. For the eighth *Pella*, which is alſo called *Eutis*, and *Berenice*, ſeated in the South border of the Region over *Jordan*, called *Peræa*. For the ninth *Gelaſa*, which *Joſephus* takes to be *Geraſa*: and *Geraſa* is found in *Cœloſyria* by *Joſephus*, *Hegeſippus*, and *Stephanus*: but by *Ptolomy* (whom I rather follow) in *Phœnicia*. The tenth and laſt, *Pliny* nameth *Canatha*, and ſo doth *Suetonius* and *Stephanus*, which *Volaterran* calls *Gamala*, but *Hegeſippus* rightly *Camala*, a City in the Region of *Baſan* over *Jordan*, ſo called, becauſe thoſe two Hills on which it is ſeated, have the ſhape of a Camell. But the collection of theſe ten Cities, whereof this Region took name, is better gathered out of *Brochard*, *Breidenbach*, and *Saligniac*, which make them to be theſe; *Cæſarea Philippi*, and *Aſor*, before remembred, *Cedes*, *Nephtalim*, *Sephet*, *Corazin*, *Capharnaum*, *Bethſaida*, *Jotapata*, *Tiberias*, and *Scythopolis*, or *Bethſan*. For all other Authors diſagree herein, and give no reaſon for their opinion. One place of the *Evangeliſt* S. *Matthew* makes it manifeſt, that this Region called *Decapolitana*, was all that Tract between *Zidon*, and the Sea of *Galilee*. For thus it is written: *And he departed again from the coaſts of Tyrus and Zidon, and came unto the Sea of Galilee, through the middeſt of the coaſts of Decapolis*: ſo that it was bounded by *Damaſcus* and *Libanus* on the North: by the *Phœnician* Sea, between *Zidon* and *Ptolomais* on the Weſt: by the Hills of *Gelbo* and *Bethſan* on the South: and by the Mountains *Tracones*, otherwiſe *Hermon*, *Sanir*, and *Galaad*, on the Eaſt: which is from Eaſt to Weſt the whole breadth of the Holy Land: and from the North to the South, neer the ſame diſtance, which may be each way forty Engliſh miles.

* *Pliny* hath *Hippion Dion*, for which *Volaterran* readeſ *Hippidon*. *Ortelius* takes them for two Cities.

‖. V.
Of Hamath.

BUt to look back again towards *Libanus*, there is ſeated neer the foot thereof the City of * *Hammath* or *Chammath*, of which (as they ſay) the Country adjoyning taketh name: the ſame which *Joſephus* calleth *Amathitis*, and *Amathenſis*: [a] *Jacobus Zeigler*, *Itureæa*. *Ituræa Regio tenet borealia tribus Nepthali, per montem Libanum uſque Trachones.* The Country of *Iturea*, ſaith he, containeth the North parts of the Tribe of *Nephtali*, along the Mount *Libanus* to *Trachones*. But herein following *Strabo*, who calls *Trachonitis Iturea*, he miſtakes the ſeat of this Region: and ſo doth *Mercator*. For indeed were *Iturea* (which *Hegeſippus* calls *Peræa*, and *G. Tyrius*, *Baccar*) the ſame with *Traconitis*, yet *Traconitis* it ſelf is far more to the Eaſt than *Hammath* in *Nephtalim*: for *Traconitis* lieth between *Cæſarea Philippi*, and the Mountains *Trachones*: which the Hebrews call *Gilead*: and this *Hammath* or *Chammath* is ſeated under *Cæſarea*, towards the Sea Weſt-ward. And it ſeemeth that this miſtaking grew by confounding *Emath* or *Hamath* the great in *Cœloſyria*, beyond the Mountains *Trachones*, which [b] *Hierom* upon *Amos* calls *Antiochia*, with *Hammath* or *Hamath* the leſſer in *Phœnicia*, and *Nephtalim*, which he calleth *Epiphania*: for this *Hammath*, or in our Tranſlation *Hamath*, (and not that which is commonly called *Emath*, which 2 *Chron.* 8. 3. is ſet far from the North border of *Canaan* in *Syria Soba*) is remembred in *Numbers* 34. *ver.* 8. and *Numbers* 13. 22. and in *Ezek.* 47. 16. In the firſt of which places it bordereth the Land of promiſe, theſe being the words: *From Mount Hor you ſhall point* (that is, direct or draw a line) *untill it come to Hamath*: In

* The *Septuagint* write it *Ammath*, Hierome, *Emath*, Joſephus, *Amath*: *Joſ.* 19. 35. *Chammath*, *cap.* 21. *verſ.* 32. *Chammath-Dor*, in the firſt of *Chron. cap.* 6. *ver.* 76. *Chammon*, 2 *Kings* 14. 8. *Chammath-Iehuda*, as *Junius* readeſ it, whereas alſo for further diſtinction there is added [in Iſrael] to note, that it was of old belonging to *Juda*, though ſeated in *Iſrael*, that is, in the Kingdome of the ten Tribes: the other *Chamath*, being in *Syria Soba*.

[a] *Zeigler in Nephtal.*

[b] So *Hierome* in his Comment on *Amos* 6. 2. where there is mention of *Hamath* the great, as it ſeems for diſtinction from the other in *Nephthalim*, though *Mar. Beroaldus*, rejecting *Hierome*, rather follows the opinion of *Zeigler* above mentioned, as indeed it cannot eaſily be juſtified that either one or other of theſe is either *Antiochia* or *Epiphania*, howbeit that the ſame City which in *Joſ* 19. 35. is called *Chammath*, and placed in *Nephthalim*, was alſo called *Chamath* (whence the word *Hamath* and *Emath*, were framed) may be gathered, partly becauſe the other *Hemath*, 2 *Chron.* 8. 3 for diſtinction is called *Chamath Tſoba*, as this (as it may ſeem by *Joſ.* 21. 32.) was *Chamath-Dor*,

and *Chamath Jude*, as we have noted, 2 *Reg.*24. Secondly, because *Numbers* 34.8. and also *Ezek.*47.10. *Chamath* in the North side of the Holy Land is placed too neer the West-corner, to be that *Chamath Isoba*: for in the line which should make the North border which begins at the great Sea, they make *Moses* to name never a place East-ward along all the breadth of the Holy Land, untill we come to *Hermon* (for so they expound Mount *Hor*, *Num.*34.7.) and beyond *Hermon* East-ward in this North side, they make him to name divers Towns, first *Chamath*, then *Tsedad*, then *Zipheron*, and lastly, *Charsar-henan*, a thing most unlikely: seeing *Israel* had little or nothing East-ward beyond *Hermon*. Therefore we must needs expound *Hor* to be one of the Hills neer *Sidon*, and so those Towns, as they are named, to lie in order on the North side of *Asher*, *Nephthalim*, and *Manasses*: and in like manner those in *Ezekiel*, first, *Chedad*, then *Chemath*, and so in order, *Berotha*, *Sibraim*, *Tsedad*, *Chauran*, *Charsar-henan*. c Of which *Jos.*19.35. d Which *Rehob*, or *Recob*, in *Jos.*19.28. is placed in *Asher* towards *Zidon*, in the confines of *Nephthalim*.

the second place thus: *So they went up, and searched out the Land from the Wilderness of Sin, unto Rehob to go to Hamath:* Then in *Ezekiel*; *The West part also shall be the great Sea from the border, till a man come over against Hamath:* that is, the coast of the Sea shall be the West border from the Southermost part of the Holy Land, til you come directly over against *Hamath* Northward: from whence if a line be drawn to the Sea, it will touch the walls of *Zidon:* which is the c Northwest corner of the Holy Land. Now that this *Hamath*, or *Hammath*, which *Moses* also made the confine of the Holy Land, is that of *Nephthalim*, both the reference which it hath to the West Sea, and the City of d *Rehob* adjoyning, prove it: the other *Hamath*, or *Emath* (being far removed, and beyond the fore-named Mountains, which inclose all those Lands which *Israel* ever had possession of) is that *Emath*, which is also called *Ituræa*, witnesse e *Stella* and *Laiestan*; and not that in *Nephtalim*, where f *Jonathas Maccabæus* attended the Army of *Demetrius*, who fled from him, and removed by night.

e *Tilemanus*, *Stella* and *Peter Laiestan* in their Tables of the Holy Land.

For though *Traconitis* be comprehended within *Ituræa* (and therefore it is said to be *finitima Galilææ Gentium*) yet it hath beginning over the Mountains *Traconis*, and so it stretcheth into the Plains of the Territory of *Ituræa*; whence *Philip* the brother of *Herod* was *Tetrarch*, or *President*, both of *Ituræa* and *Trachonitis*: both which are over *Jordan* towards the East. But *Chemath* in *Nephtalim*, is on the West side of *Jordan* towards the *Mediterran* Sea.

f *Jos.ant.*13.8.

The Country *Ituræa* was so called of *Jethur*, one of the sons of *Ismael*; it is placed in the bounds of *Cœlosyria*, and *Arabia* * the Desart.

* That it doth properly belong to *Arabia*, the name of *Jethur Ismaels* son, whose issue settled in the *Arabian*, may in part give witnesse. Also the place of the 1 *Chron.*5. 19. confirms it, where *Jethur* is named among the *Hagareni*, against whom the *Reubenites* and *Gadites* made war, and whose country they possest in the time of *Jeroboam*, as their fore-fathers had done in the time of *Saul* after his conquest of the *Amalekites*, 1 *Chron.*5.10. where the country is placed at the East of *Gilead*.

The people *Ituræi* were valiant and war-like men, and excellent Archers: Of whom *Virgil*:

Ituræos Taxi torquentur in arcus.

Of Eugh the *Ituræans* bowes were made.

This City *Chamath*, or *Hamath* in *Nephtalim*, seems to have been as ancient as the other in *Ituræa*, both built by *Amathæus* the eleventh son of *Canaan*. Whether in the time of *David*, this, or the other had *Tohu* for King, it is not certain; for *Hamath* or *Emath* beyond the Mountains, and *Hammath* in *Nephtalim*, were both neighbours to *Damascus:* of whose subjugation *Tohu* rejoyced, because *Hadadeser*, whom the *Damascens* came to help, was his enemy. This *Tohu* fearing the strength and prosperity of *David*, hearing of his approach towards his Territory, bought his peace with many rich presents, and with many ancient vessels of gold, silver, and brasse.

But it seemeth that *David* in such great successe would not have had peace with *Tohu*, if he had been King of any place in *Nephtalim*, and therefore it is probable that he ruled in *Tsoba*: which City *Solomon* after his Fathers death made himself Master of, as a part of the lands (a in the larger and conditionall promise) allotted by God to the children of *Israel*.

But this *Hammath* of *Nephtalim*, in the end, and after divers mutations and changes, both of name and fortune, being, as it hath been said, possessed by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, it was called *Epiphania*.

While S. *Hierome* lived, it remained a City well peopled, known to the *Syrians* by the name *Amathe*, and to the *Greeks* by *Epiphania*.

a Of the larger promise expresst Deut.1.7. where *Euphrates* is named for one of the bounds: See *Theod.7.sect.2. Hieron. de locis Hebr.*

‖. VI.

Of Reblatha and Rama, and divers other Towns.

IN the border of *Hamath* or *Emath* towards *Jordan*, standeth the city *Reblatha*, or *Ribla*, watered from the fountain *Daphnis:* which falleth into the Lake of *Merom*. Hereunto

was

was *Zedekias* brought prisoner, after his surprize in the fields of *Jerico:* and delivered *Nabuchodonosor:* who to be avenged of *Zedekia*'s infidelity, beyond the proportion of piety, first caused the Princes his children to be slain in his presence: and to the end that this miserable spectacle might be the last that ever he should behold in this world, and so the most remembred, he commanded both his eyes presently to be thrust out: and binding him in Iron chains, he was led a slave to *Babylon*, in which estate he ended his life. Of which seldom exampled calamity, though not in expresse words, *Jeremy* the Prophet fore-told him in *Hierusalem* not long before: But *Ezekiel* thus directly, speaking in the person of God; *I will bring him to Babel, to the land of the Chaldæans, yet shall he not see it, though he shall die therein.*

Hierem.52.11. &c. Ezek.21.52.

There are, besides these before remembred, many other strong Cities in *Nephthalim*, as that which is called (*a*) *Cedes:* there are two other of the same name, one in (*b*) *Issachar*, another in *Juda*, of which *Jos.*15.23. and therefore to distinguish it, it is known by the addition of (*c*) *Nephtalim*, as *Jud.*4. It is seated on a high hill, whence *Jos.*20.7. *Kedesh in Galilea in monte Nephtali: Josephus* calls it *Cedesis*, and in Saint *Hieromes* time it was called *Cidissus. Belforest* greatly mistakes this *Cedes*, and confounds it with *Cades* in the *Desart* of *Pharan.*

a Or, *Kedish*, *Jos.*19.37. & 10.7. & 21.32. item *Jud.*4.6.
b 1 *Chro.*6.72. which *Jos.*19.20. is called *Kishion.*
c Sometime *Kedesh* in *Galilea*, 1 *Chro.*6.76. *Jos.*12.22. 2 *Reg.*15.29.

After the King thereof, among other of the *Canaanites*, perished by the hand of *Josua*, it was made a City of refuge, and given to the *Levites.* Herein was *Barac* born; who overthrew the Army of the second *Jabin* of *Hazor*, at the Mount *Tabor.* It was somtime possest by *Teglatphalasser*, when he wasted all *Nephtalim:* afterward by the *Romans*, and numbred for one of the ten Cities of the *Decapolitan* Region: When it had imbraced the Christian faith, it was honoured with a Bishops seat, but in time it fell with the rest into the power of the *Saracens* and *Turks*, and by them it was demolished.

() See in *Benjamin*, and in *Ephraim.*
* Other cities there were of this name, (which is as much as *domus solis*) as that in *Juda*, 2 *Kin.*14. 15. where *Joash* king of the ten Tribes overcame *Amasia* of *Juda*, of which also I understand the place, *Jer.*21.15. & 1 *Sa.*6.14. & 2 *Chro.*29.18. A third, as it seems, was in *Dan.* 1 *Kin.*4.9. which *Jos.*19.41. is written *Hirshemes*, which is as much as *Civitas solis. Jud.*1.31. Also it appears by comparing of the places *Jos.*21.32. and 1 *Chr.*6.76. *Adrichomius* both here and elsewhere, deceived by the double name, makes two of one: although I deny not but that there was another *Kiriathajim* in *Reuben*, of which *Jos.*13.9.

From *Cedes* some four *Italian* miles towards the South-west, standeth *Sephet*, otherwise *Zephet*, which was also one of the ten *Decapolitan* Cities: a place exceeding strong, and for many yeers the inexpugnable Fortresse of the *Christians*, and afterward of the *Saracens*; for from hence they conquered all the neighbour Cities of those regions, both In-land and Maritimate, neer it. Touching *Rama* of *Nephtalim*, seated Northward neer *Sephet*, this is to be noted, that there are () divers places of this name in *Palæstine*, all scituate on hills: and therefore called *Rama* (*Rama Hebræis excelsum*; *Ramath with the Hebrews is high.*) Also that from this *Rama*, *Jos.*19.36. they read *Arama*, making the article (which it hath in the *Hebrew*, as being a name of divers Towns) to be a part of the word: whence casting away the aspiration, they reade *Arema.* From *Sephet* towards the West, they place * *Bethsemes*, of which *Jos.*19.38. which defended it self against *Nephtalim*, *Jud.*1.33. but paid them tribute. On the other side of *Sephet*, towards the East, was *Bethanath*, who also kept their Citie from the *Nephtalims.*

Adjoyning to which standeth *Carthan*, (*d*) or *Kiriathajim*, a City of the *Levites*, not far from the Mountain out of which the springs of *Capharnaum* arise, called *Mons Christi*, a place by our Saviour often frequented: as also then when calling his Disciples together, he made choise of twelve, which he called and ordained to be his *Apostles* or Messengers: of which place, or the acts therein done, there is often mention in the (*e*) *Evangelists.*

Adrichomius maketh two of this name in this Tribe, (*h*) one neer *Chamath* in the North border, of which *Ezek.*47.6. another (upon a weak conjecture out of *Joseph. ant. l.*5. *c.*2.) he therefore placeth in this tract neer the waters of *Merom*; because the Kings that joyned with *Jabin* against *Josua*, which incamped at the waters of *Merom*, *Jos.*11.5. are by *Josephus* said to have incamped at the City *Berotha* in *Galilee*, not far from *Cedesa superior*, which is also in *Galilee:* all which may be true of that *Berotha* of which *Ezek.* seeing it is in that *Galilee* which is called the upper *Galilee*, or *Galilee* of the *Gentiles.* The same *Adrichomius* placeth the Region of *Berim* neer *Abela* (of which *Abela*, or *Abel-beth Mahacah*, we have spoken already) this he doth upon a conjecture touching the place, 2 *Sam.*20.14. where some reade *Abel & Bethmahacah, & omnia loca Berim:* but the better reading is, *& omnes Eerim*, that is, *with all the Beræi:* for *Sheba* being of *Benjamin* (in which Tribe also there is a City called *Berotha*, or *Beeroth*) drew the men of that City after him.

Adjoyning to these are *Magdalel*, a place of strength, (*f*) and *Mesaloth*, of which we reade, that it was forced by *Bacchides* in the time of the (*g*) *Macchabees*: also (according to *Adrichomius*) one of the two *Berotha's* of *Nephtalim.* For

*Jos.*13.9.
e *Mark* 3. *Matth.*10. *Acts* 1. *Matth.*5.6.7.
f *Jos.*19.38.
g 1 *Mac.*9.2.
h *Berathena Ptolomæo in fine Arabiæ deserta. Junii eadem cum Berothai una civitatum Hadadezeris*, 2 *Sam.*8.8. *Jos.*18.25.

To

To the North of *Berotha* of *Nephtalim* standeth *Sebarim* under *Libanus*, remembred by *Ezek.*47. and *Aroseth gentium*, neer the waters of *Merom*, or *Samochonitis*, the City of *Sisara*, Lievtenant of the Army of the second *Jabin*: from whence not far off towards the Sea of *Galilee*, is *Edrai*, or *Edrehi*, a strong City: besides many others, whereof I finde no particular story of importance: as *Ser* in *Josua*, *c.*19.*v.*35. called *Triddim-Tzer*, and named for the first of their fenced Cities: whence they make two Cities, *Assedim* and *Ser*. Then *Adama*, which they call *Edama*: also *Hion*, which they call *Abion*, of which in the Books of *Kings*. Then the strong City of *Cinnereth*, after called *Gennezareth*, whence we reade of the Land and Lake of *Gennezareth*, the same Lake which is also called the Sea of *Tiberius*. In the body of the Land they place *Galgala* to the South border: of which * 1 *Mac.*9.2. also divers others, named *Jos.*19. as *Ucuca*, or *Chukkok Horem* and *Azanothtabor* (which they place towards the East parts) and out of the same place of *Josua*, *Jerzon*, *Lakkum Jepnael*, *Heleb*, and (*k*) *Raccath*; which two last they place neer *Cæsarea Philippi*: To these they adde out of *Josua*, *Nekeb*, and *Adami*: for which two *Junius* readeth *Fossa Adamæi*, making it no Town, but a Ditch cast by some of *Adameth*, as it seems; or at least the custodie of which March or Limit belonging to the Town. To these out of *Num.*34.10. they adde *Sephana*, which 1 *Sam.*30.21. seems to be called *Sipmoth*. As for *Tichon* and *Helon*, whereof the former they fetch out of *Ezek.*47.16. and the later out of *Josua* 19.33. it may appear by *Junius* his Translation, that neither are to be taken for Cities: for the former he readeth *Mediana*, and for the later *Quercetum*. The City of (*l*) *Nephthalim*, which they make the native place of *Tobie*, and *Naasson* neer unto it, they fetch out of the *Vulgar* Translation, *Tob.*7.7. but in the *Greek* Text there is no signe, neither of the one nor of the other.

Afroeb. Hieron Jud.4. Lyr.in Jud.4. Jos.19.37. 1 Reg.15.20. 2 Reg.15.29.

Mat.6.53. Luk.5.1.

*This place of the *Macchab.* warrants no *Galgala*, or *Gilgal*, in *Nephtali*, but may well be understood of *Gilgal* in *Benjamin*, or in *Manasse*.

k This *Reccath* or *Racath*, *Junius* thinks that it is the same with *Karthan* (one of these being made of the other by transposition of letters) of which *Karthan* we have noted already, that it is also called *Kiria-thajim*. *l* In the place, 1 *Reg.*4. it is, which also they bring to prove that there was a City called *Nepthalim*, as it is evident by the following Verses: the Tribe of *Nepthalim* is meant, and not any Citie of that name.

§. V.

THE TRIBE OF ZABULON.

OF *Zabulon*, or *Zebulon*, another of the sons of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were mustered at Mount *Sinai*, 57400. able men, besides women, children, and aged unable persons: all which dying in the Desarts, there entred the *Holy Land* of their issues 65000. fit to bear arms: who inhabited that part of *Canaan*, from *Asher* to the River *Chison* Southward, and from the Sea of *Galilee* to the *Mediterran*, East and West.

The Cities within this Tribe which border *Asher*, are *Sicaminum* on the Sea shore; of which *Joseph. Ant.*13.*c.*19. *Debbaset*, of * which *Jos.*19.11. *Jekonam*, or *Jokneham* (whose King was (*a*) slain by *Josua*, and the City was given to the *Levites*:) and *Gaba*, after called the City of Horsemen, of a Regiment there garrison'd by *Herod*. Then the City which beareth the name of *Zabulon*, or the *City of men*, exceeding ancient and magnificent, (*b*) burnt to the ground by *Cestius*, Lievtenant of the *Roman* Army. *Adrichomius* makes it the birth-City of (*c*) *Elon* Judge of *Israel*, because he is called *Zabulonita*: not marking that in the same place, he is said to be buried at *Ajalon*.

To the East of this City of *Zabulon* is *Cateth*, of which *Jos.*19.15. on the border of *Asher*: and beyond it the lesser (*d*) *Cana* of *Galilee*, where *Christ* converted water into wine: the native City of *Nathaniel*, and, as it is thought, of *Simon Zelotes*. Beyond it begin the Mountains of *Zabulon*: and then the City of *Cethron* (in *Zeigler*, *Ghiltron*) which defended it self against *Zabulon*. Then *Jersabe*, which standeth in the partition of the upper and nether *Galilee*, fortified by *Josephus* against the *Romans*. Not far from hence standeth *Shimron* of *Meron*, whose King was slain by *Josua*.

Then *Damna*, or *Dimna*, a City of the *Levites*: then *Noa*, or rather *Neha*, of which *Jos.*19.13. Then *Dothan*, or *Dothain*, where *Joseph* found his brethren feeding their flocks: the same wherein *Elizæus*, besieged by the *Syrians*, struck them all blinde.

Beyond it, towards the East, they imagine (*e*) *Amthar*, or *Amathar*: then *Remmon* of the *Levites*. The last of the Cities on the North border of *Zabulon* is *Bethsaida*, one of the ten Cities of *Decapolis*, scituate on the *Galilæan* Sea, and watered by the springs of *Capharnaum*, the native City of the Apostles, *Peter*, *Andrew*, and *Philip*. Herein *Christ* did many miracles, but these people being no lesse incredulous than the *Capharnaims*, and others,

* *Jos.*12.22.
a *Jos.*2. *bel.*19.
b *Jos.*2. *bel.*22.
c *Jud.*12.12.
d The greater *Cana* is in the Tribe of *Asser*. *Jos.*22.2. *Nathaniel* is said to be of *Cana* in *Galilee*. Of *Simon* it may be doubted: for *Angelus Caninius* reads *Mat.*10.4. *Simon Cananites*, which word (*Luk.*6.) he thinketh to be expounded by *Zelotes*.
e The *Hebrew Hammethhar*, (for which the Vulgar hath *Amthar*, *Jos.*19.13. *Vatablus* expounds, *quæ gyrat*; *Junius* joins it with the word going before it, & reads *Rimmenemo Methoarum*, *Mat.*8.11. *Mark.*3.6. *Luke* 4.10.

ther, received the same Curse of threatened miseries, as, *Woe be unto thee Bethsaida, &c.*

Alongst the West border of *Galilee*, towards the South from *Bethsaida*, was the strong Castle of *Magdalum*, the habitation of *Mary Magdalen*, not long since standing.

And beyond it the strong and high seated City of *Jotapata*, fortified by *Josephus* in the *Roman* War: but in the end, after a long siege, surprised by *Vespasian*, who slaughtered many thousand of the Citizens, and held 1200. prisoners, whereof *Josephus* the Historian was one.

The last and greatest of the Cities on that * Sea, and the Lake of *Genezzareth* within *Zabulon*, was that of *Tyberias*, from whence afterward the *Galilæan* Sea also changed name, and was called the Sea of the City *Tiberias*, so named in the honour of *Tiberius Cæsar*; it was one of the ten Cities, and the *Metropolis* of the Region *Decapolitan*, and the greatest and last of the lower *Galilee*. From hence our Saviour called *Matthew* from the Toll or Custom-house, to be an Apostle; and neer unto it raised the daughter of *Jairus* from death: it was built (as *Josephus* reports) by *Herod* the *Tetrarch*, the brother of *Philip*, in the beginning of the reign of *Tiberius Cæsar*, in the most fruitfull part of *Galilee*; but in a ground full of *Sepulchres*: *Quum juxta nostras leges* (saith he) *ad septem dies impurus habeatur, qui in talibus locis habitet; Whereas by our law he should be seven daies held as unclean, who inhabited in such a place*: by which words, and by the whole place of *Josephus* it appears, that this *Tiberias* is not (as some have thought) the same as the old *Cinnereth*, which was seated, not in *Zabulon*, but in *Nephtalim*.

* The names of the chief Cities seated about this sea, or lake, thorow which *Jordan* runneth, were *Capernaum*, *Tyberias*, *Bethsaida*, *Gadara*, *Tarichea*, and they adde *Cinnereth*, which in foretimes gave name to the Lake and Country. *Matth.* 9. *Luke* 5. *Jose. Ant.* 18. 3. *Joseph.* 10. 15. *Adrich. in Zab.*

Neer unto this *Tiberias*, at *Emaus*, there were hot baths, where *Vespasian* the Emperour encamped against *Tiberias*. More into the Land toward the South-west, is *Bethulia*, seated on a very high hill, and of great strength, famous by the story of *Holofernes* and *Judith*, such as it is. Neer which standeth *Bethleem* of *Zabulon*: and adjoyning unto it *Capharath*, fortified by *Josephus* against the *Romans*: and *Japha*, an exceeding strong place, afterward forced by *Titus*: who in the entrance, and afterward in fury slew 15000 of the Citizens; and carried away above two thousand prisoners.

Jose. in vit. sua. Josep. 2. *Bel.* 25.

On the South side are the Cities of *Cartha* of the *Levites*, and *Gabara*, of which *Josephus* in his own life, then *Jafie*, according to *Adrichomius* (of which *Jos.* 19. 12.) for he thinks that it is not that *Japha* of which we spake but now out of *Josephus*. *Jideala*, of which *Jos.* 19. 15. *Hierome* calls it *Jadela*: under it Westward, *Legio*, (afterward a Bishops seat) and the City *Belma*, in ancient times exceeding strong, remembred *Judith* 7. 3. otherwise *Chelma*. Between *Legio* and *Nazeret* is the City *Saffa*, or *Saffra*, the birth-city of *Zebedæus*, *Alphæus*, *James* and *John*: Then *Sephoris*, or *Sephora*, according to *Josephus*: *Sephorum* according to *Brochard*: which afterward, saith *Hegesippus* and *Hierome* was called *Diocæsarea*, the city of *Joachim* and *Anna*, the Parents of the Virgin *Mary*; it was called by *Herod* the *Tetrarch*, and by him, as *Josephus* speaks, made the head and defence of *Galilee*: in another place he saith, *Urbium Galilæarum maximæ Sephoris & Tiberias*. This *Sephoris* greatly vexed *Vespasian* ere he wan it. *Herod Antipas*, when he made it the Regall seat of the nether *Galilee*, and surrounded it with a strong wall, called it *Autocratorida*, which is as much to say as Imperiall, saith *Josephus*; and it is now but a Castle, called *Zaphet*.

Jos. 21. 35. otherwise *Kisloth Thabor*, as *Junius* thinks upon *Jos.* 19. 12. whence 1 *Chro.* 6. 77. it is called *Thaber*. *Johan. de Montevida*, c. 4. & 20. *Josep. ant.* 18. 3. & in vita sua.

To the South-west of this *Sephoris*, or *Diocæsarea*, was that blessed place of *Nazareth*, the city of *Mary* the Mother of *Christ*; in which he himself was conceived: it standeth between Mount *Tabor*, and the *Mediterran Sea*. In this city he abode chiefly four and twenty yeers, and was therefore called a *Nazarite*, as the *Christians* afterward were for many yeers. It was erected into an *Archbishoprick* in the following age. Neer unto it are the cities *Buria* (afterward well defended against the *Turks*) and *Nahalal*, of which *Jos.* 19. 15. and *Judg.* 1. 30. where it is called *Nahalol*: and *Jos.* 21. 35. where it is a city of the *Levites*; neer the Sea, adjoyning to the River of *Chison* is *Sarid*, noted in *Josua* for the uttermost of *Zabulon*.

In this Territory of *Zabulon* there are divers small Mountains: but *Tabor* is the most renowned, by the apparition of *Moses* and *Elias*: and by the Transfiguration of *Christ* in the presence of *Peter*, *James*, and *John*: unto whom *Moses* and *Elias* appeared; in memory whereof, on the top of the Mountain, the Empresse *Helen* built a sumptuous Chappell.

In the chief River of *Zabulon* is *Chison*, which rising out of *Tabor*, runneth with one stream

stream Eastward to the Sea of *Galilee*, and with another stream Westward into the great Sea. This River of *Chison* where it riseth, and so far as it runneth Southward, is called *Chedumim*, or *Cadumim*: and for mine own opinion, I take it to be the same which *Ptolomie* calleth *Chorseus*: though others distinguish them, and set *Chorseus* by *Cæsaria Palestinæ*. There is a second Torrent or Brook that riseth in the Hills of *Bethulia*, and falleth into the Sea of *Galilee* by *Magdalum*: and the third is a branch of a river rising out of the Fountains of *Capharnaum*, which falleth also into the same Sea, and neer *Magdalum*; which Torrent they call *Dothan*, from the name of the city, from which it passeth Eastward to *Bethsaida*, and so joyning with *Jordanis parvus*, which runneth from the Valley of *Jephthael*, which *Josua* reckoneth in the bounds of *Zabulon*: it endeth in the Sea of *Galilee*.

See *Lassans* Map in *Ortelius*. *Jos.*19.14.

§. VI.

THE TRIBE OF ISSACHAR.

THe next adjoyning Territory to *Zabulon*, to the South and Southwest, was *Issachar*, who inhabited a part of the nether *Galilee*, within *Jordan*: of whom there were increased in *Egypt*, as appeared by their musters at mount *Sinai*, 54400. able and warlike men, who leaving their bodies with the rest in the Desarts, there entred the *Holy Land*, 64300.

Tarichea in Sutton.

The first city of this Tribe neer the Sea of *Galilee*, was *Tarichea*, distant from *Tiberias* eight English miles, or somwhat more; a city werein the *Jews* (by the practice of a certain mutinous upstart, *John* the son of *Levi*) tooke arms against *Josephus* the Historian, then Governour of both *Galilees*. This city was first taken by *Cassius*, and 3000. *Jews* carried thence captive; and afterward with great difficulty by *Vespasian*, who entred it by the Sea side, having first beaten the *Jews* in a Sea-fight upon the Lake or Sea of *Galilee*: he put to the sword all sorts of people, and of all ages; saving that his fury being quenched with the Rivers of bloud running through every street, he reserved the remainder for slaves and bond-men.

*Jos.*21.28. *Kishion*, which 1 *Chr.*6.72. is called *Kedesh*. *Josua* 15, 1 *Sam.*4.1. 1 *Sam* 3.19. 1 *Kings* 20.26. In the later two places *Junius* makes *Aphec* in *Asser*, according to *Jos.*19.30. in the first he placeth it in *Juda*, out of *Jos.*15.53. 1 *Kings* 20.

Next to *Tarichea* is placed *Cession*, or *Cishion*, of the *Levites*, and then *Issachar*, remembred in the first of *Kings*, *c.*4.*v.*17. then *Abes*, or *Ebets*, *Jos.*19.20. and *Remeth*, of which *Jos.*19.21. otherwise *Ramoth*, 1 *Chron.*6.37. or *Jarmuth*, *Jos.*21.29. this also was a city of the *Levites*, from whose Territory the Mountains of *Gilboe* take beginning: and range themselves to the *Mediterran* sea, and towards the West as far as the City of *Jezreel*, between which and *Ramoth*, are the cities of *Bethpheses*, or *Bethpasses*, according to *Zeigler*; and *Enadda*, or *Hen-chadda*, neer which *Saul* slew himself: under those, *Aphec*, or *Apheca*, which *Adrichomius* placeth in *Issachar*: between which and *Suna*, he saith, that the *Philistims* incamped against *Israel*, and afterward against *Saul*: a Land thirsty of bloud, for herein also, saith he, the *Syrians* with two and thirty *Reguli* assisting *Benhadad*, incountered *Achab*, and were overthrown and slaughtered: to whom the King of *Israel* made a most memorable answer, when *Benhadad* vaunted before the victory: which was, *Tell* Benhadad, *Let not him that girdeth his harness, boast himself as he that putteth it off:* meaning, that glory followed after victory, but ought not to precede it. In the yeer following, in the fields, as they say, adjoining to this city, was the same vain-glorious *Syrian* utterly broken and discomfited by *Achab*: and 100000. footmen of the *Aramites*, or *Syrians*, slain: before which overthrow the servants and counsellors of *Benhadad* (in derision of the God of *Israel*) told him, *That the Gods of Israel were Gods of the Mountains: and therefore if they fought with them in the Plains, they should overcome them.*

1 *Kings* 20.23.

Judith 1.8. & 7.3. 1 *Chron.*6.73. *Jos.*21.29.

Under *Aphec*, towards the Sea, they set the city of *Esdrelon*, in the Plains of *Galilee*; called also the great field of *Esdrelon*, and *Maggeddo*: in the border whereof are the ruines of *Aphec* to be seen, saith *Brochard*, and *Breidenbach*. After these are the cities of *Casaloth*, of which, 1 *Mac.*9.2. *Anem*, or *Hen-Gannim*, of the *Levites*, and *Secsima*, or *Shabatsima*, the West border of *Issachar*, of which *Jos.*19.22. From hence ranging the Sea coast, there is found the Castle of *Pilgrims*: a strong Castle, invironed with the Sea, sometime the storehouse and Magazine of the *Christians*, and built by the Earl of Saint *Giles*, or *Tolouse*.

From the Castle of *Pilgrims*, the Sea maketh a great Bay towards the North, and the farthermost

farthermoſt ſhore beginneth Mount *Carmel*, not far from the River *Chiſon*, where *Elijah* aſſembled all the Prophets and Prieſts of *Baal*, and prayed King *Achab* and the people aſſembled, to make triall whether the God of *Iſrael*, or the Idoll of *Baal* were to be worſhipped, by laying a ſacrifice without fire on the Altar: which done, the Prieſts of *Baal* prayed, and cut their own fleſh after their manner, but the fire kindled not, while *Elijah* in deriſion told them that their God *was either in purſuit of his enemies, not at leiſure, or perchance aſleep, &c.* but at the prayer of *Elijah* the fire kindled, notwithſtanding that he had cauſed the people to caſt many veſſels of water thereon: by which miracle the people incenſed, ſlew all thoſe Idolaters on the banks of *Chiſon* adjoyning.

At the foot of this Mountain to the North, ſtandeth *Caiphas*, built, as they ſay, by *Caiphas* the high Prieſt. It is alſo known by the name of *Porſina*, and *Porphyria*, ſometime a *Suffragane* Biſhops ſeat. Returning again from the Sea-coaſt towards *Tiberias*, by the banks of *Chiſon*, there are found the city of *Hapharaim*, or *Aphraim*, and the Caſtles of *Mezra* and *Saba*: of which *Brochard* and *Breidenbach:* and then *Naim* on the River *Chiſon:* a beautifull city while it ſtood, in the Gates whereof *Chriſt* raiſed from death the widows onely ſon. *Luke 7.*

Then *Sion* or *Shion*, named *Joſ.* 19. between the two Hills of *Hermon*, in *Iſachar:* beyond it ſtandeth *Endor*, famous by reaſon of the Inchantreſſe that undertook to raiſe up the body of *Samuel* at the inſtigation of *Saul*.

Beyond it ſtands *Anaharath* and *Rabbith*, named *Joſ.* 19. *v.* 19, 20. Then *Dabarath*, as it is named, *Joſ.* 21. 28. or *Dobratha*, as it is named, 1 *Chron.* 6. 71. This city (which ſtretcheth it ſelf over *Chiſon*) was a city of refuge belonging to the *Levites*.

Next to *Dabarath* is *Arbela* ſituate, neer the Caves of thoſe two Theeves which ſo greatly moleſted *Galilee* in *Herods* time. It joyneth on one ſide to the Mountain of *Iſachar*, or *Hermon*, and on the other to the Valley of *Jeſrael:* which Valley continueth it ſelf from *Bethſan*, or *Scythopolis*, the Eaſt border of *Iſachar*, even to the *Mediterran* Sea: two parts whereof are incloſed by the Mountains of *Gilboe* on the South, and by *Hermon* and the River *Chiſon* on the North. In theſe * Plains *Gideon* overthrew the *Madianites*, and herein, they think, *Saul* fought againſt the *Philiſtims*, *Achab* againſt the *Syrians*, and the *Tartars* againſt the *Saracens*.

* Called *Campus Magnus.* 1 *Mac.* 12. 49. and *Harbatha* for *Harabath.* 1 *Mac.* 5. 23. & 9. 2. *Judg.* 6. 1 *Sam.* 31. 1 *Kings* 20.

§. VII.

THE HALF OF THE TRIBE OF *MANASSE*.

‖. I.

Of the bounds of this half Tribe: and of Scythopolis, Salem, Therſa, and others.

THe next Tribe which joyneth it ſelf to *Iſachar* towards the South, is the half of *Manaſſe*, on the Weſt ſide of *Jordan*. *Manaſſes* was the firſt begotten of *Joſeph*, the eleventh ſon of *Jacob*. His mother was an *Egyptian*, the daughter of *Putiphar*, Prieſt and Prince of *Heliopolis*: which *Manaſſes*, with his brother *Ephraim*, the grand-children of *Jacob*, were by adoption numbred amongſt the ſons of *Jacob*, and made up the number of the twelve *Patriarchs*.

Of *Manaſſe* there were increaſed in *Egypt*, as they were numbred at Mount *Sinai*, 32200. able men: all which being conſumed in the Deſarts, there entred of their iſſues, 52700. bearing arms. The Territory which fell on this one half of *Manaſſe*, was bounded by *Jordan* on the Eaſt, and *Dora* upon the *Mediterran* Sea on the Weſt, *Jeſrael* on the North, and *Machmata* is the South border.

The firſt and principall City which ſtood in this Territory was *Bethſan*, ſometime *Nyſa*, ſaith *Pliny*, built by *Liber Pater*, in honour of his Nurſe there buried, of the ſame name, which *Solinus* confirms. Afterward when the *Scythians* invaded *Aſia* the leſſe, and pierc't into the South, to the uttermoſt of *Cœloſyria*, they built this City a-new, and very magnificent: and it had thereupon the name of *Scythopolis*, or the City of *Scythians*, given by the *Greeks*. *Plin. l. 5. c. 18.*

Theſe barbarous Northren people conſtrained the *Jews* to fight againſt their own Nation

Nation and kinred, by whose hands when they had obtained victory, they themselves set on the *Jews* which served them, and slew them all. *Stephanus* makes it the utmost towards the South of *Cœlosyria:* and *Strabo* joynes it to *Galilee*. It is seated between *Jordan* and the Hills of Gilboe, *in aulone ad montes acrabitenæ*, saith *Zeigler*. But I finde it in the East part of the Valley of *Jesrael* neer *Jordan:* after that *Jordan* strengtheneth it self again into a River, leaving the Sea, or Lake *Genezareth*. Notwithstanding *Montanus* describes it far to the West, and towards the *Mediterran* Sea, neer *Endor*, contrary to *Stella*, *Laicstan*, *Adrichome*, and all other the best Authors. This City was the greatest of all those of *Decapolis:* but the children of *Manasse* could not expell the Inhabitants thereof: and therefore called it *Sane*, an enemy, or *Beth-san*, the house of an enemy.

Judg.1. Jos.17. de Bell. Iud. Over the walls of this *Beth-san* the *Philistims* hung the body of *Saul*, and his sons slain at *Gilboe*. It had, while the Christian religion flourished in those parts, an Archbishop, who had nine other Bishops of his Diocesse, numbred by *Tyrius*, in his 14. Book and 12. Chapter: but the same was afterward translated to *Nazareth*. The later travailers in those parts affirme, that there is daily taken out among the rubble and the ruines of that City, goodly pillers and other pieces of excellent Marble, which witnesse the stately buildings, and magnificence which it had in elder times, but it is now a poor and desolate Village.

Hierom. in Epist. ad Evagr. & in Loc Hebr. From *Beth-san* keeping the way by *Jordan*, they finde an ancient City called *Salem*, which City the ancient Rabbines, saith *Hierome*, do not finde to be the same with *Hierusalem:* there being in the time of *Hierome* and since, a town of that name, neer *Scythopolis* before remembred, which if the place of Scripture, *Gen* 13.18. doe not confirme, where the Vulgar readeth *transivitq; in Salem urbem Sichemorum* (for which others read *venit incolumis ad Civitatem Sechemum*, making the word *Shalem* not to be a proper name, but an adjective) yet the place *John* 3.13. where it is said, that *John* was baptizing in *Ænon* neer *Salem*, may somewhat strengthen this opinion, and yet it is not unlikely that this *Salem* of which S. *John* speaketh, is but contracted of *Shahalim*, of which in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, 1 *Sam* 9.4. This word *Junius* maketh to be the plurall of *Shuhal:* of which we read, 1 *Sam.* 13.17. for as for that which is added out of *Canticles* 6.12. of *Shulammitis*, as if it had been as much as a Woman of this *Salem* neer *Ænon*, it hath no probability.

This City Bezek by the place, *Jud.*1.3. seemeth to have been in *Juda*. *Jos.ant.6.c.5.* 1 *Sam.c.*11. Not far from thence where they place *Salem*, they finde *Bezech* the City of *Adonibezec*, *Josephus* calls it *Bala:* here it was that *Saul* assembled the strength of *Israel* and *Juda*, to the number of 330000. when he meant to relieve *Jabesh Gilead*, against *Naash* the *Ammonite:* who would give them no other conditions of peace, than to suffer their right eyes to be thrust out. Neer *Bezech* is the City of *Bethbera*, or rather *Beth-bara*, of which *Judg.*7,24. in the story of *Gideon:* and then *Ephra*, or *Hophra*, wherein *Gideon* inhabited: in the border whereof stood an Altar consecrated to *Baal*, which he pulled down and defaced; and neer it that stone, on which *Abimelech* the Bastard slew his 70. brothers; a Heathenish cruelty, practised by the *Turk* to this day: and not far hence,

*Jos.l.*13.*c.*21. *eat.* between the Village of *Asophon* and *Jordan*, *Ptolomeus Lathurus* overthrew *Alexander* King of the *Jews*, and slaughtered, as *Josephus* numbereth them, 3000. but according to *Timagenes* 50000. after which victory, as *Ptolomie* past by the Villages of the *Jews*, he slew all their women, and caused the young children to be sod in great Caldrons, that the rest of the *Jews* might thereby thinke that the *Egyptians* were grown to be man-eaters and strike them with the greater terror.

* This *Aner Junius* upon 1 *Chron.*6.70. makes to be the same with *Tabanac*, of which *Jos.*21. 25. *Hieronie* names it from *Aner* the Confederate of *Abraham. Gen.* 14.13. *Josua* 12.17. 1 *King:*14 Towards the West and on the border of *Isachar*, they place the Cities of * *Aner* of the *Levites*, and *Abel-Mehola*, which *Junius*, *Judg.*7.22. placeth in *Ephraim:* it was the habitation of *Helisæus* the Prophet, numbred among those places, 1 *Reg.*4.12. which were given in charge to *Baana* by *Solomon*, to whose charge also *Tabanac* belonged, a place of great strength, which at the first resisted *Josua*, though their King was afterward hanged, and their City given to the *Levites*.

In the body of this Territory of *Manasse*, but somewhat neerer *Jordan* than to the *Mediterran* Sea, were three great Cities, to wit, *Thersa*, whose King was one of those that *Josua* slew: which the Kings of *Israel* used for their Regall seate, till such time as *Samaria* was built. From hence the wife of *Jeroboam* went to *Achia* to enquire of her sons health: who knowing her, though she were disguised, told her of her sons death.

The second was *Thebes* neer *Samaria*, of which name there are both in *Egypt*, and *Greece*,

Greece, of great fame: in the aſſault of the Tower of this Town, whereinto the Citizens retired, the Baſtard *Abimelec* was wounded by a weighty ſtone, thrown by a woman over the wall, who deſpairing of his recovery, commanded his Page to ſlay him outright, becauſe it ſhould not be ſaid that he periſhed by the ſtroke of a woman. But others ſet this Citie in *Ephraim* neer *Sichem*, or *Neapolis*. *Judg.* 9. 3, 54.

The third is *Acrabata*, of which the Territory adjoyning is called *Acrabatena*, (one of the ten *Toparchies*, or governments in *Judæa*) for which *Hierome*, 1 *Macc.* 5. reades *Arabathena*: but in the Greek it is *Acrabatine*: *Iſidore* calls it *Agrabat*. This City had one of the largeſt Territories of all *Palæſtine* belonging to the Governour thereof. *Joſephus* remembreth it often, as in his ſecond book of the Jews wars, *c.* 11. 25, 28. and elſewhere. *Hier. Mac.* 1. *c.* 5.

The difference between a *Tetrarchy* and a *Toparchy*, was, that the firſt was taken for a Province, and the other for a City with ſome leſſer Territory adjoyning; and a *Tetrarch* is the ſame with *Præſes* in Latine, and *Preſident* in Engliſh, being commonly the fourth part of a Kingdom; and thereof ſo called. *Pliny* nameth ſeventeen *Tetrarchies* in *Syria*: the Holy Land had four, and ſo hath the Kingdome of *Ireland* to this day, *Lemſter*, *Ulſter*, *Connath*, and *Munſter*. *Plin. l.* 5. *Euſeb. in Chro.*

To the South-weſt of *Acrabata* they place the Cities of *Balaam*, or *Bilham*, and *Gethremmon* of the Levites: but *Junius* out of *Joſ.* 21. 25. and 1 *Chron.* 6. 70. gathers that theſe two are but one; and that *Jibleham*, *Joſ.* 16. 11. is another name of the ſame City.

Then is *Jezael* a Regall City, ſet at the foot of the Mountains of *Gilboe*, towards the South-weſt: herein *Jezabel*, by a falſe accuſation, cauſed *Naboth* to be ſtoned, to the end ſhe might poſſeſſe his Vineyard adjoyning to the City, which *Naboth* refuſed to ſell, becauſe it was his inheritance from his father.

Joram alſo was caſt unburied into the ſame field: for which his mother *Jezabel* murthered *Naboth*. 2 *Kings* 9.

Toward the Sea from *Jezael* is the City which they call *Gaber*: in whoſe aſcent as *Ahaziah* King of *Juda* fled from *Jehu*, when he had ſlain *Joram*, he was wounded with the ſhot of an arrow, of which wound he died at *Maggeddo* adjoyning. The Scripture calls this City of *Gaber*, *Gur*. 2 *Kings* 9. 27.

Then *Adadremmon*, neer unto which the good King *Joſias* was ſlain by *Necho* King of *Egypt*, in a war unadviſedly undertaken. For *Necho* marched towards *Aſſyria* againſt the King thereof, by the commandment of God; whom *Joſias* thought to reſiſt in his paſſage. It was afterward called *Maximianopolis*.

A neighbour City to *Adadremmon* was *Maggeddo*, often remembred in the Scriptures; whoſe King was ſlain among the reſt by *Joſua*: yet they defended their City for a long time againſt *Manaſſe*. The River which paſſeth by the Town, may perhaps be the ſame which *Ptolomy* calleth *Chorſeus*: and not that of which we have ſpoken in *Zabulon*. For becauſe this name is not found in the Scriptures, many of thoſe that have deſcribed the Holy Land, delineate no ſuch River. *Moore* onely ſets it down in his *Geography* of the twelve Tribes: but the River which paſſeth by *Maggeddo*, he underſtandeth to be but a branch, falling thereinto. *Laicſtan* and *Schrot* make a great confluence of waters in this place, agreeable to this Scripture in the fifth of *Judges*: *Then fought the Kings of Canaan in Tanaac by the waters of Maggeddo*. But theſe Authors, and with them *Stella*, give it no other name than the Torrent ſo called. *Judg.* 5. *Joſ.* 12. 17.

But ſeeing that ancient *Coſmographers* ſtretch out the bounds of *Phœnicia*, even to *Sehaſte*, or *Samaria*; and *Strabo* far beyond it on the Sea-coaſt: And *Joſephus* calls *Cæſaria Palæſtinæ*, a City of *Phœnicia*: yea, *Laurentius Corvinus* extendeth *Phœnicia* as far as *Geza*: ſeeing alſo *Ptolomy* ſets down *Chorſeus* for the partition of *Phœnicia* and *Judæa*, this river running Eaſt and Weſt parallel with *Samaria*: it is very probable that this Torrent called *Maggeddo*, after the name of the City which it watereth, is the ſame which *Ptolomy* in his fourth Table of *Aſia*, calleth *Chorſeus*. The later travellers of the Holy Land call *Maggeddo Subimbre* at this day. *Strab. l.* 16. *Joſeph. l.* 15. *c.* 13. *Niger.*

‖. II.

Of Cæſaria Palæſtinæ, and ſome other Towns.

FRom *Maggeddo* toward the Weſt, and neer the *Mediterran Sea*, was that glorious City of *Cæſaria Palæſtinæ*: firſt, the Tower of *Straton*: the ſame which *Pliny* calls *Apollonia*:

Apollonia: though *Ptolomy* sets *Apollonia* elsewhere, and toward *Egypt*, between this City and *Joppe*, to which *Vespasian* gave the name of *Flavia Colonia*. It was by *Herod* re-built, who therein laboured to exceed all the works in that part of the world. For besides the edifices, which he reared within the Walls, of cut and polish't marbles, the *Theater* and *Amphitheater*, from whence he might look over the Seas far away, with the high and stately Towers and Gates: he forced a Harborow of great capacity, being in former times but an open Bay: and the winde blowing from the Sea, the Merchants haunting that Port, had no other hope, but in the strength of their Cables and Anchors. This work he performed with such charge and labour, as the like of that hath not been found in any Kingdom, nor in any age: which, because the Materials were fetcht from far, and the weight of the stones was such, as it exceedeth belief, I have added *Josephus* own words of this work, which are these: *Hanc locorum in commoditatem correcturus, circulum portus circumduxit, quantum putaret magnæ classi recipiendæ sufficere: & in viginti ulnarum profundum, prægrandia saxa demisit: quorum pleraque pedum quinquaginta longitudinis, latitudinis verò octodecim, altitudine novem-pedali: fuerunt quædam etiam majora, minora alia; To mend this inconvenience of place* (saith Josephus) *he compast in a Bay wherein a great Fleet might well ride: and let down great stones twenty fadome deep: whereof some were fifty foot long, eighteen foot broad, and nine foot thick: and some bigger, some lesser.* To this he added an arm or cawsie of two hundred foot long, to break the waves: the rest he strengthened with a stone wall, with divers stately Towers thereon builded: of which the most magnificent he called *Drusus*, after the name of *Drusus* the son-in-law of *Cæsar:* in whose honour he intituled the City it self, *Cæsaria* of *Palæstine:* all which he performed in twelve yeers time. It was the first of the Eastern Cities that received a Bishop: afterward erected into an Archbishoprick, commanding twenty others under it, saith *Tyrius*.

Joseph. l.15. c.13.

Lib.4.c.12.hel. sacr.

S. *Hierome* nameth *Theophilus*, *Eusebius*, *Acacius*, *Euzorus*, and *Galasius* to have been Bishops thereof. In this City was *Cornelius* the *Centurion* baptised by Saint *Peter:* and herein dwelt *Philip* the Apostle. S. *Paul* was herein two yeers prisoner, under the *President Felix*, unto the time and government of *Porcius Festus:* by whom making his appeal, he was sent to *Cæsar*. Here, when *Herod Agrippa* was passing on to celebrate the *Quinquennalia*, taking delight to be called a god by his flatterers, he was stricken with an Angel unto death, saith *Josephus*.

To the North of *Cæsaria* standeth *Dora*, or *Naphoth Dor*, as some reade, *Jos.* 1.2. so called (saith *Adrichomius*) because it joyneth to the Sea, whose King was slain by *Josua*. But *Junius*, for *in Naphoth Dor*, reades *in tractibus Dor:* and so the Vulgar, *in regionibus Dor*, although 1 *Reg.*4.11. for the like speech in the Hebrew it readeth *omnis Nephath Dor:* The *Septuagint* in the place of *Josua* call it *Nephith-Dor*, and in the other of the Kings, *Nepha-Dor:* but the true name by other places (as *Jos.*12.23. *Judg.*1.27.) may seem to be *Dor*. It was a strong and powerfull City, and the fourth in account of those twelve Principalities, or *Sitarchies*, which *Solomon* erected. *Junius* upon *Macchab.*15.11. placeth this between the Hill *Carmel*, and the mouth of the river *Chersens:* for so some name the river *Chorsens*, of which we have spoken already.

Into this City, for the strength thereof, *Tryphon* fled from *Antiochus* the son of *Demetrius*, where he was by the same *Antiochus* besieged with 12000. foot-men, and 8000. horse: the same perfidious villain that received 200. talents for the ransom of *Jonathan Macchabæus* (whom he had taken by treachery) and then slew him: and after him slew his own Master, usurping for a while the Kingdome of *Syria*. It had also a Bishops seat of the Dioceese of *Cæsaria*.

*Mac.*1.13,15.

Gul. Tyr. de bell. sacr. l.10. c.6.

From *Cæsaria* towards the South, they place the Cities of *Capharnaum*, *Gabe*, and *Galgal:* for besides that *Capharnaum* famous in the *Evangelists*, they finde in these parts neer the West Sea, another of the same name. Of *Gabe*, *Hierome in locis Hebraicis*. The famous *Galgal*, or *Gilgal*, was in *Benjamin:* but this *Gilgal*, they say, it was whose King was slain by *Josua*.

*Mac.*17.31.

Then *Antipatris*, so called of *Herod*, in honour of his Father: but in the time of the *Macchabees*, it was called *Capharsalama:* in the fields whereof *Judas Macchabæus* overthrew a part of the Army of *Nicanor*, Lievtenant to *Demetrius:* an Army drawn into *Judæa* by a traiterous Jew, called *Alcimus:* who contended for the Priest-hood, first under *Bacchides*, and then under *Nicanor*. To this was Saint *Paul* carried prisoner from

Hierusalem,

Hierusalem, conducted by 470. souldiers, to defend him from the fury of the Jews. In after-times the Army of *Godfrey* of *Bulion* attempted it in vain: yet was it taken by *Baldwine*. It was honoured in those dayes with a Bishops seat, but it is now a poor Village, called *Assur*, saith *Erochard*. Neer unto this City the Prophet *Jonas* was three dayes preserved in the body of a Whale.

Into the Land, from *Antipatris* and *Cæsaria*, standeth *Narbata*, whereof the Territorie taketh name: which *Cestius* the *Romane* wasted with fire and sword, because the Jews which dwelt at *Cæsaria* fled thence, and carried with them the Books of *Moses*. Neer unto it is the Mountain of *Abdia*, the Steward of King *Achab*: wherein he hid an hundred Prophets, and fed them; after which he himself is said to have obtained from God the Spirit of Prophecie also.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Kingdome of Phœnicia.

§. I.

The bounds and chief Cities, and Founders, and Name of this Kingdome: and of the invention of Letters ascribed to them.

BEcause these five Tribes, of *Asser*, *Nephtalim*, *Zabulon*, *Issachar*, and the half of *Manasse*, possest the better part of that ancient Kingdom of *Phœnicia*, to wit, of so much as lay to the South part of *Anti-libanus*; I have therefore gathered a brief of those Kings which have governed therein: at least so many of them as time (which devoureth all things) hath left to posterity: and that the rest have perished, it is not strange; seeing so many Volumes of excellent learning in so long a race and revolution, and in so many changes of Estates and Conquest of Heathen Princes have been torn, cast away, or otherwise consumed.

The limits of this Kingdom, as touching the South parts, are very uncertain: but all *Cosmographers* do in effect agree, that it takes beginning from the North, where that part of *Syria*, which is called *Cassotis*, ends: most of them bounding it by *Orthosia*, to the North of *Tripolis*. *Ptolomy* makes it a little larger, as reaching from the River *Eleutherus*, that falls into the Sea at the Island of *Aradus*, somewhat to the North of *Orthosia*, and stretching from thence alongst the coast of the *Mediterran Sea*, as far as the River of *Chorseus*; which seems to be that which the Jews call the Torrent, or River of *Mageddo*. *Pliny* extends it farther, and comprehends *Joppe* within it: *Corvinus* and *Budæus*, *Joppe* and *Gaza*. *Phœnicia apud priscos appellata* (saith *Budæus*) *quæ nunc Palæstina Syriæ dicitur*; *It was called Phœnicia of old* (saith he) *which now is called Palæstina of Syria*. *Ptol. 4. tab. Asia.* *Plin. l. 5. c. 19.*

Strabo comprehends in this Countrie of *Phœnicia* all the Sea-side of *Judæa*, and *Palestina*, even unto *Pelusium*, the first Port of *Egypt*. On the contrary, *Diodorus Siculus* foldeth it up in *Cœlosyria*, which he boundeth not. But for my self, I take a middle course, and like best of *Ptolomies* description, who was seldom deceived in his own art. It had in it these famous Maritimate Cities (besides all those of the Islands) to wit, *Aradus*, *Orthosia*, *Tripolis*, *Botrys*, *Byblus*, *Berytus*, *Sidon*, *Tyre*, *Ptolomais* (or *Acon*) *Dora*, and *Cæsaria Palestinæ*: and by reason of the many Ports and goodly Sea-towns, it anciently commanded the Trades of the Eastern world: and they were absolute Kings of the *Mediterran Sea*. *Strab. l. 16.* *Buda. de Ass. l. 4*

The ancient Regall Seat of those Princes was *Zidon*, built by *Zidon* the first son of *Canaan*: and the people then subject to that people were called *Zidonians*; the same state continuing even unto *Josua*'s time. For till then, it is probable that there was but one King of all that Region; afterward called *Phœnicia*: which *Procopius* also confirmeth in his second Book of *Vandall wars*. But in processe of time the City of *Tyre* adjoyning, became the more magnificent: yet, according to the Prophet, it was but a daughter of *Zidon*, and by them first built, and peopled. *Esay 23.*

But after the death of *Moses*, and while *Josua* yet governed *Israel*, *Agenor* an *Egyptian* of *Thebes*, or a *Phœnician* bred in *Egypt*, came thence with his sons *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, *Cyrus*,

F. 17. *Cyrus*, and *Cilix*, (say *Cedrenus* and *Curtius*) and built and possest the Cities of *Tyre* and *Zidon*: to wit, the new *Tyrus*, and brought into *Phœnicia* (so called after the name of his second son) the use of Letters: which also *Cadmus* in his pursuit after his sister *Europa*, taught the *Grecians*. For *Taurus* King of *Crete*, when he surprised *Tyre*, had stollen her thence: of which the Poets devised the fable of *Jupiters* transformation into a Bull, by whom that stealth was also supposed to be made. *Pomponius Sabinus* makes *Belus* the first King of *Phœnicia*; and findes *Cadmus* his successour, whom he calleth his grandchilde: and it seemeth that *Belus* was the father of *Agenor*, and not *Neptune*: because the successours of *Dido* held that name alwayes in reverence, making it a part of their own, as *Asdrubal*, *Hannibal*: whose memory *Virgil* also toucheth in these Verses.

Hic Regina gravem gemmis auroque poposcit,
Implevitque mero pateram: quam Belus *& omnes*
A Belo *soliti.*

The Queen anon commands the weighty bowl
(Weighty with precious stones and massie gold)
To flow with wine. This *Belus* us'd of old,
And all of *Belus* Line.

Whether this *Belus* were father or grand-father to *Agenor*, the matter is not great. But it seems to me by comparing of times, that *Belus* was Ancestor to these *Phœnicians*, and preceded *Agenor*. For were *Belus*, or *Jupiter Belus*, the son of *Neptune* by *Lybia* the daughter of *Epaphus*, or were he the son of *Thelegonus*, according to *Eusebius*; yet it is agreed that *Cecrops* then ruled in *Attica*: and in the end of *Cecrops* time, saith Saint *Augustine*, *Moses* left *Egypt*: *Agenors* successour living at once with *Josua*. Now that *Agenor* returned about the same time into the Territory of *Zidon*, I cannot doubt: neither do I deny, but that he gave that Region the name of *Phœnicia*, in honour of his son. But in stead of the building of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, it is probable that he repaired and fortified both: and therefore was called a Founder, as *Semiramis* and *Nabuchodonosor* were of *Babylon*.

For be it true, that *Agenor* was of the same Nation, and brought up in *Egypt*: where he learnt the use of Letters (*Egypt* flourishing in all kinde of learning in *Moses* time) or were he by Nation an *Egyptian*, yet it is very likely that either he came to save his own Territory; or otherwise to defend the coast of *Canaan* from the *Israelites*: who were by *Moses* led out of *Egypt*, to the great losse and dishonour of that Nation: and by *Josua* conducted over *Jordan*, to conquer and possesse the *Canaanites* Land. For though the *Egyptians*, by reason of the losse which they received by the hand of God in the *Red Sea*, and by the ten plagues cast on them before that, and by the slaughter of so many of the male children at the same time, could not hinder the *Hebrews* from invading *Canaan* by land: which also they knew had so many powerfull Nations to defend it: the *Desarts* inter-jacent, and the strong *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Amorites*, and *Ammonites* their borderers: yet *Egypt* having such Vessels, or Ships, or Gallies, as were then in use, did not in all probability neglect to garrison the Sea-coast, or assist *Agenor* with such forces as they had to spare; and which they might perform with the greater facility, in that the *Philistims*, which held the shores of *Canaan* next adjoyning unto them, were their Friends and Confederates.

Now, as it appeareth by the course of the Story, those Cities of *Phœnicia*, which *Agenor* was said to have built (that is, to have fortified and defended against *Josua*, and a- *Chap. 19. 29.* gainst the Tribes after him, as *Zidon*, *Sor*, or *Tyre*, by *Josua* called the strong Citie *Accho*, afterward *Ptolomais*, *Achzib*, and *Dor*) were all that *Phœnicia* had in those dayes.

That the Kings of *Phœnicia* were mighty, especially by Sea, it appears, first by their defence against *Israel*: secondly, by this, that *David* and *Solomon* could not master them, but were glad of their alliance: thirdly, that one of their Cities, though they were then but *Reguli*, defended it self 13. yeers against a King of Kings, *Nabuchodonosor*: and that *Alexander* the Great (who being made victorious by the providence of God, seemed unresistable) spent more time in the recovery of *Tyre*, than in the conquest of all the Cities in *Asia*.

Other

Other opinions there are, as that of *Beroſus* out of *Joſephus*, who conceives that *Tyre* was founded by *Tyrus* the ſon of *Japhet*. And for the Region it ſelf, though *Caliſthenes* derive it, *ab arbore dactylorum*; and the *Greeks* from the word *Phonos*, of ſlaughter, becauſe the *Phœnicians* ſlew all that came on their coaſts; yet for my ſelf, I take it that *Phœnix* the ſon of *Agenor* gave it that name. But that either *Agenor* in *Phœnicia*, or *Cadmus* his ſon in *Greece*, were the Inventors of Letters, it is ridiculous: and therefore the diſpute unneceſſary.

The *Ethiopians* affirm, that *Atlas*, *Orion*, *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Hercules*, *Prometheus*, *Cadmus*, and others, had from them the firſt light of all thoſe Arts, Sciences, and civill Policies, which they afterward profeſt, and taught others: and that *Pythagoras* himſelf was inſtructed by the *Lybians*: to wit, from the South and ſuperiour *Egyptians*: from whom thoſe which inhabited neerer the out-let of *Nilus*, as they ſay, borrowed their Divinitie and Philoſophy: and from them the *Greeks*, then barbarous, received Civilitie. Again, the *Phœnicians* challenge this invention of Letters and of Learning: acknowledging nothing from the *Egyptians* at all; neither do they allow that *Agenor* and his ſons were *Africans*; whence *Lucan*,

Phœnices *primi* (*famæ ſi creditur*) *auſi* — *Lucan. l. 3.*
Manſuram rudibus vocem ſignare figuris.

Phœnicians firſt (if fame may credit have)
In rude Characters dar'd our words to grave.

And that *Cadmus* was the ſon of *Agenor*, and was a *Phœnician*, and not an *Egyptian*, it appeareth by that anſwer made by *Zeno*; when he in a kinde of reproach was called a Stranger, and not a *Phœnician*:

Si patria eſt Phœnix, *quid tum? nam* Cadmus *& ipſe* — *Athen. 1. Dipnoſ.*
Phœnix; *cui debet* Græcia *docta libros.*

If a *Phœnician* born I am, what then?
Cadmus was ſo: to whom *Greece* owes
The Books of learned men.

Out of doubt the *Phœnicians* were very ancient: and from the Records and Chronicles of *Tyre*, *Joſephus* the Hiſtorian confirms a great part of his Antiquities. The *Thracians* again ſubſcribe to none of theſe reports: but affirm conſtantly, that the great *Zamolxis* flouriſhed among them: when *Atlas* lived in *Mauritania*: *Nilus* and *Vulcan* in *Egypt*: and *Ochus* in *Phœnicia*. Yea, ſome of the *French* do not bluſh to mainiain, that the ancient *Gaules* taught the *Greeks* the uſe of Letters, and other Sciences. And do not we know that our *Bardes* and *Druides* are as ancient as thoſe *Gaules*, and that they ſent their ſons hither to be by them inſtructed in all kinde of learning? *Joſeph. contra Appionem.*

Laſtly, whereas others beſtow this invention on *Moſes*, the ſame hath no probability at all; for he lived at ſuch time as Learning and Arts flouriſhed moſt, both in *Egypt* and *Aſſyria*, and he himſelf was brought up in all the learning of the *Egyptians*, from his infancy.

But true it is, that letters were invented by thoſe excellent Spirits of the firſt age, and before the generall Flood: either by *Seth* or *Enos*, or by whom elſe God knows; from whom all wiſdom and underſtanding hath proceeded. And as the ſame infinite God is preſent with all his Creatures, ſo hath he given the ſame invention to divers Nations: whereof the one hath not had commerce with the other; as well in this as in many other knowledges: for even in *Mexico*, when it was firſt diſcovered, there was found written Books after the manner of thoſe *Hieroglyphicks*, anciently uſed by the *Egyptians*, and other Nations: and ſo had thoſe *Americans* a kinde of Heraldrie; and their Princes differing in Arms and Scutchions, like unto thoſe uſed by the Kings and Nobility of other Nations, *Jura naturalia communia, & generalia, &c. Naturall laws are common, and generall.* *Jurisc.*

§. 11.
Of the Kings of Tyre.

BUt whatsoever remaineth of the Story and Kings of *Phœnicia* (the books of *Zeno*, *Sachoniatho*, *Mnaseas*, and others of that Nation, being no where found) the same is to be gathered out of the Scriptures, *Josephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*.

Agenor lived at once with *Josua*, to whom succeeded *Phœnix*, of whom that part of *Canaan*, and so far towards the North as *Aradus*, took the name of *Phœnicia*: what king succeeded *Phœnix* it doth not appear; but at such time as the *Grecians* besieged *Troy*, *Phasis* governed *Phœnicia*.

In *Hieremies* time, and while *Jehojakim* ruled in *Juda*, the *Tyrians* had a King apart: for *Hieremie* speaketh of the Kings of *Zidon*, of *Tyre*, of *Edom*, *&c.* as of severall Kings. *Ch ap.27.3.*

In *Xerxes* time, and when he prepared that incredible Army wherewith he invaded *Greece*, *Tetramnestus* ruled that part of *Phœnicia* about *Tyre* and *Zidon*: who commanded, as some Writers affirm, *Xerxes* Fleet, or rather, as I suppose, those 300. Gallies, which himself brought to his aid: for at this time it seemeth, that the *Phœnicians* were Tributaries to the *Persian*: for being broken into *Reguli*, and petty Kings in *Hieremies* time, they were subjected by *Nabuchodonosor*; of whose conquests in the Chapter before remembred, *Hieremie* propheſied.

Tennes, though not immediately, succeeded *Tetramnestus*, remembred by *D.Siculus* in his 14. Book.

Strato, his successor, and King of *Zidon*, *Alexander Macedon* threw out, because of his dependancy upon *Darius*, and that his Predecessors had served the East Empire against the *Grecians*. But divers Kings, of whom there is no memory, came between *Tennes* and *Strato*. For there were consumed 130. yeers and somewhat more, between *Xerxes* and *Alexander Macedon*. And this man was by *Alexander* esteemed the more unworthy of restitution, because (saith *Curtius*) he rather submitted himself by the instigation of his subjects (who foresaw their utter ruine by resistance) than that he had any disposition thereunto, or bare any good affection towards the *Macedonians*. *Lib.4.*

Of this *Strato*, *Athenæus* out of *Theopompus* reporteth, that he was a man of ill living, and most voluptuous; also that he appointed certain games and prizes for women-dancers, and singers, whom he to this end chiefly invited, and assembled: that having beheld the most beautifull and lively among them, he might recover them for his own use and delights. Of the strange accident about the death of one *Strato* King of these coasts, S. *Hierome* and others make mention: who having heard that the *Persians* were neer him with an Army too weighty for his strength, and finding that he was to hope for little grace, because of his falling away from that Empire, and his adhering to the *Egyptians*; he determining to kill himself, but fainting in the execution, his wife being present, wrested the sword out of his hand, and slew him: which done, she also therewith pierced her own body, and died. *Athen.l.12. c.13.* *Hieron.l.1. com. Jovin.*

After *Alexander* was possest of *Zidon*, and the other *Strato* driven thence, he gave the Kingdome to *Hephæstion* to dispose of: who having received great entertainment of one of the Citizens, in whose house he lodged, offered to recompence him therewith; and willingly offered to establish him therein: but this Citizen, no lesse vertuous than rich, desired *Hephæstion* that this honour might be conferred on some one of the blood and race of their ancient Kings: and presented unto him *Balonymus*, whom *Curtius* calls *Abdolominus*, *Justine*, *Abdolomius*, and *Plutarch*, *Alynomus*: who at the very hour that he was called to this regall Estate, was with his own hands working in his garden, setting herbs and roots, for his relief and sustenance: though otherwise a wise man, and exceeding just.

These were the ancient Kings of *Zidon*: whose estate being afterward changed into Popular or *Aristocraticall*: and by times and turnes subjected to the Emperours of the East, there remaineth no farther memory of them, than that which is formerly delivered in the Tribe of *Asser*.

The Kings of *Tyre*, who they were before *Samuels* time, it doth not appear: *Josephus* the Historian, as is said, had many things wherewith he garnished his Antiquities from the *Tyrian Chronicles*: and out of *Josephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*, there may be

be gathered a descent of some twenty Kings of the *Tyrians*; but these Authors, though they both pretend to write out of *Menander Ephesius*, do in no sort agree in the times of their reigns, nor in other particulars.

Abibalus is the first King of the *Tyrians*, that *Josephus* and *Theophilus* remember, whom *Theophilus* calls *Abemalus*: the same perchance that the son of *Sirach* mentioneth in his fourtie and sixth Chapter, speaking of the Princes of the *Tyrians*. *Cap. 46.*

To this *Abibalus*, *Suron* succeeded, if he be not one and the same with *Abibalus*. *David* (saith *Eusebius* out of *Eupolemus*) constrained this *Suron* to pay him Tribute, of whom also *David* complaineth, *Psal.* 83. *Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 4.*

Hiram succeeded *Suron*, whom *Josephus* calls *Irom*, and *Theophilus* sometime *Hieronimus*, somtimes *Hieromus*, but *Tatian* and *Zonaras*, *Chiram*. He entred into a league with *David*, and sent him Cedars, with Masons and Carpenters, to performe his buildings in *Hierusalem*, after he had beaten thence the *Jebusites*. The same was he that so greatly assisted *Solomon*: whom he not onely furnished with Cedars, and other Materials towards the raising of the Temple, and with great sums of money, but also he joyned with him in his enterprize of the East *India*, and of *Ophir*: and furnished *Solomon* with Mariners and Pilots: the *Tyrians* being of all Nations the most excellent Navigators: and lent him 120. talents of gold. Of this *Hiram*, there is not onely mention in divers places of Scripture, but in *Josephus* in his Antiquities the 7. and 8. chap. 2. and 3. in *Theophilus* his third book, in *Tatianus* his Oration against the *Greeks*: and in *Zonaras*, Tome the first. This Prince seemed to be very mighty and magnificent, he despised the 20. Towns which *Solomon* offered him: he defended himself against that victorious King *David*: and gave his daughter in marriage to *Solomon*, called the *Zidonian*: for whose sake he was contented to worship *Astaroth*, the Idoll of the *Phœnicians*. *Hiram* lived 53. yeers. *2 Sam. 5. &c.* *2 Sam. c. 5.* *2 Kin. 1. 9, 10.* *1 Chron. 14.* *2 Chron. 2. 8, 9.*

Baleastartus, whom *Theoph. Antiochenus* calleth *Bazorus*, succeeded *Hiram* King of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, and reigned 7. yeers, according to *Josephus*. *1 King. 11.* *Theoph. 17.* yeers.

Abdastartus the eldest son of *Baleastartus*, governed 9. yeers, and lived but 20. yeers, according to *Josephus*: but after *Theophilus* he reigned 12. yeers, and lived 54. who being slain by the four sons of his own Nurse, the eldest of them held the Kingdom 12. yeers.

Astartus brother to *Abdastartus*, recovered the Kingdom from this Usurper, and reigned 12. yeers. *Joseph 54.* *Theoph. 58.*

Astarimus, or *Atharimus*, after *Theophilus*, a third brother, followed *Astartus*, and ruled 9. yeers, and lived in all 54.

Phelles the fourth son of *Baleastartus*, and brother to the three former Kings, slew *Astarimus*, and reigned 8. moneths, and lived 50. yeers. *Theoph.*

Ithobalus (or *Juthobalus*, in *Theophilus*) son to the third brother *Astarimus*, who was the chief Priest of the *Goddesse Astarta*, which was a dignity next unto the King, revenged the death of his father, and slaughtered his Uncle *Phelles*: and reigned 32. yeers; the same which in the first of Kings, chap. 16. is called *Ethbaal*, whose daughter Jezebel, *Achab* married. *Joseph 32.* *Theoph. 12.*

Badezor, or *Bazor*, the son of *Ithobalus*, or *Ethbaal*, brother to Jezebel, succeeded his Father, and reigned 6. yeers, and lived in all 45. *1 Kings 16. 31.* *Joseph. 6. yeers.* *Theoph. 26.*

Mettinus succeeded *Badezor*, and reigned but 9. yeers (saith *Josephus*) he had two sons, *Pygmalion* and *Barca*, and two daughters, *Elisa* and *Anna*. *Joseph. 9.* *Theoph. 29.*

Pygmalion reigned after *Mettinus* his Father 40. yeers, and lived 56. In the seventh yeer of whose reigne, *Elisa* sailed into *Africa*, and built *Carthage*, 143. yeers and 8. moneths after the Temple of *Solomon*: which by our accompt was 289. yeers after *Troy* was taken, and 143. before *Rome*: and therefore that fiction by *Virgil* of *Æneas* and *Dido* must be far out of square. For *Pygmalion*, covetous of *Sichens* his riches, who had married his sister *Elisa*, slew him traiterously as he accompanied him in hunting: or if we beleeve *Justine* and *Virgil*, at the Altar: whereupon *Elisa* fearing to be dispoiled of her husbands treasure, fled by Sea into *Africa*, as aforesaid: whom when *Pygmalion* prepared to pursue, he was by his mothers tears, and by threats from the *Oracle* arrested. *Barca* accompanied his sister, and assisted her, in the erection of *Carthage*: and from him sprang that noble Family of the *Barcæ* in *Africa*, of which race descended many famous Captains, and the great *Hannibal*. *Servius* interprets this name of *Dido* by *Virago*, because of her man-like acts: others from *Jedidia*, a surname of *Solomon*. *Justin. l. 11.* *Virgil. l. 1.*

Elulæus

Eluleus succeeded *Pygmalion*, and reigned 36. yeers: the same that overthrew the fleet of *Salmanassar*, in the Port of *Tyre*: notwithstanding which he continued his siege before it on the Land side five yeers, but in vain.

After *Eluleus*, *Ethobales* governed the *Tyrians*, who vaunted himself to be as wise as *Daniel*: and that he knew all secrets (saith *Ezekiel*) of whom the Prophet writeth at large in his 28. Chapter: out of whom it was gathered, that this Prince died, or was slain in that long siege of *Nabuchodonosor*: who surrounded and attempted *Tyre* 13. yeers together, ere he prevailed.

Baal followed *Ethobales*, and reigned 10. yeers a tributary, perchance, to *Nabuchodonosor*: for after his death, it was governed by divers *Judges*, succeeding each other: First, by *Ecnibalus*, then by *Chelbis*, *Abarus* the Priest, *Mittonus*, and *Gerastus*, who held it among them some 7. yeers, and odd moneths: after whom *Balatorus* commanded therein as a King for one yeer: after him *Merbalus* sent from *Babylon*, 4. yeers: after him *Iromus* sent thence also, 20. yeers. In the 17. of whose reign *Cyrus* began to govern *Persia*.

§. III.

Of Bozius *his conceit, that the Edumæans inhabiting along the Red Sea, were the Progenitors of the Tyrians, and that the Tyrians from them received and brought into Phœnicia the knowledge of the true God.*

OF the great mutations of this Kingdom and State of the *Tyrians*, mixed with a discourse of divers other Nations, there is one *Bozius* that hath written a Tract at large, intituled, *De ruinis Gentium*. And although the great and many alterations found in this and other Cities, yea, in all things under heaven, have proceeded from his ordinance, who onely is unchangeable, and the same for ever; yet whereas the said *Bozius*, inforcing here-hence, that the prosperity and ruine of the *Tyrians* were fruits of their embracing or forsaking the true Religion; to prove this his assertion, supposeth the *Tyrians* to have been *Edumæans*, descended from *Esau*, *Jacobs* brother: first, it can hardly be believed, that *Tyre*, when it flourished most in her ancient glory, was in any sort truly devout and religious. But to this end (besides the proof which the Scriptures give of *Hirams* good affection when *Solomon* built the Temple) he brings many conjecturall arguments; whereof the strongest is their pedigree and descent: it being likely in his opinion, that the posterity of *Esau* received from him by Tradition the Religion of *Abraham* and *Isaac*. That the *Tyrians* were *Edumæans*, he endeavours to shew, partly by weak reasons, painfully strained from some affinity of names, which are arguments of more delight than weight: partly by authority. For *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, *Plinie*, and others, witnesse, that the *Tyrians* came from the *Red Sea*, in which there were three Islands, called *Tyrus*, *Aradus*, and *Sidon*: which very names (as he thinketh) were afterwards given to the Cities of *Phœnicia*. Considering therefore that all the coast of the *Red Sea*, was (in his opinion) under the *Edumæans*: as *Elah* and *Esiongaber*; or under the *Amalekites*, who descended of *Amalec* the Nephew of *Esau*, whose chief City was *Madian*, so called of *Madian* the son of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, whose posterity did people it: the consequence appears good (as he takes it) that the *Tyrians* originally were *Edomites*: differing little or nothing in Religion from the children of *Israel*. Hereunto he adds, that *Cadmus* and his Companions brought not into *Greece* the worship of *Astartis*, the Idoll of the *Sidonians*. That the Parents of *Thales* and *Pherecydes* being *Phœnicians*, themselves differed much in their Philosophy from the Idolatrous customs of the *Greeks*. That in *Teman*, a Town of the *Edumæans*, was an University, wherein, as may appear by *Eliphas* the *Temanite*, who disputed with *Job*, Religion was sincerely taught.

Boz. de ruin. Gent. l. 5. c. 7.

Such is the discourse of *Bozius*, who labouring to prove one *Paradox* by another, deserves in both very little credit. For neither doth it follow, that if the *Tyrians* were *Edumæans*, they were then of the true Religion, or well affected to God and his people: neither is it true that they were *Edumæans* at all. In what Religion *Esau* brought up his children, it is no where found written; but that himself was a profane man, and disavowed by God, the Scriptures in plain terms expresse. That his Posterity were Idolaters, is directly proved in the 25. Chapter of the second Book of *Chronicles*. That the *Edomites* were perpetuall enemies to the house of *Israel*, save onely when *David* & some of his race, Kings of *Juda*, held them in subjection, who knows not? or who is ignorant

rant of *Davids* unfriendly behaviour amongſt them, when firſt they were ſubdued? ſurely, it was not any argument of Kinred or Alliance between *Tyrus* and Mount *Seir*, that *Hiram* held ſuch good correſpondence with *David*; even then when *Joab* ſlew all the males of *Edom*: neither was it for their devotion to God, and good affection to *Iſrael*, that the *Edomites* were ſo ill intreated. It ſeemeth that the piety and ancient wiſdome of *Eliphaz* the *Themanite* was then forgotten, and the *Edumæans* puniſhed, for being ſuch as *David* in his own dayes found them. Although indeed the city of *Teman* whence *Eliphaz* came to reaſon with *Job*, is not that in *Edumæa*, but another of the ſame name, lying Eaſt from the Sea of *Galilee*, and adjoyning to *Hus*, the country of *Job*: and to *Suah* the City of *Bildad* the *Suhite*; as both ſuch *Chorographers* who beſt knew thoſe parts, do plainly ſhew, and the holy Text maketh manifeſt. For *Job* is ſaid to have exceeded in riches, and *Solomon* in wiſdome, all the people of the Eaſt; not the inhabitants of Mount *Seir*, which lay due South from *Paleſtina*. True it is, that *Eliphaz* the ſon of *Eſau* had a ſon called *Teman*: but that fathers were wont in thoſe dayes to take name of their ſons, I no where finde. And *Iſmael* alſo had a ſon called *Thema*: of whom it is not unlike, that *Theman* in the Eaſt had the name: for as much as in the 7. Chap. of the book of *Judges*, the *Midianites*, *Amalekites*, and all they of the Eaſt are called *Iſmaelites*. And he that well conſiders how great and ſtrong a Nation *Amalec* was, which durſt give battell to the Hoſt of *Iſrael*, wherein were 600000. able men, will hardly beleeve that ſuch a people were deſcended from one of *Eſau* his grand-children. For how powerfull and numberleſſe muſt the forces of all *Edom* have been: if one Tribe of them, yea, one Family of a Tribe had been ſo great? ſurely Mount *Seir* and all the Regions adjoyning could not have held them. But we no where finde that *Edom* had to do with *Amalec*, or aſſiſted the *Amalekites*, when *Saul* went to root them out. For *Amalec* is no where in Scripture named as a Tribe of *Edom*: but a Nation of it ſelf, if diſtinct from the *Iſmaelites*. The like may be ſaid of *Midian*, that the Founder thereof being ſon to *Abraham* by *Cethura*, doubtleſſe was no *Edomite*. And thus much in generall for all the *Seigniory* of the *Red Sea* coaſt, which *Bozius* imagines the *Edumæans* to have held: if the *Edomites* in after-times held ſome places, as *Elan* and *Eſiongaber* on the *Red Sea* ſhore, yet in *Moſes* time, which was long after the building of *Tyre*, they held them not. For *Moſes* himſelf ſaith, that *Iſrael* did compaſſe all the borders of *Edom*: within which limits had *Midian* ſtood, *Moſes* muſt needs have known it: becauſe he had ſojourned long in that Country: and there had left his wife and children, when he went into *Egypt*.

But conjecturall Arguments, how probable ſoever, are needleſſe in ſo manifeſt a caſe. For in the 83. *Pſal.* *Edom*, *Amalec*, and *Tyre*, are named as diſtinct Nations: yea the *Tyrians* and *Sydonians* being one people, as all good Authours ſhew, and *Bozius* himſelf confeſſeth, were *Canaanites*, as appears, *Gen.* 10. 15. & 19. appointed by God to have been deſtroyed, and their Lands given to the children of *Aſſer*, *Joſ.* 29. becauſe they were Idolaters, and of the curſed ſeed of *Canaan*, not Couſins to *Iſrael*, nor profeſſors of the ſame Religion. For though *Hiram* ſaid, *Bleſſed be God that hath ſent King David a wiſe ſon*: we cannot infer that he was of *Davids* Religion. The *Turk* hath ſaid as much of *Chriſtian* Princes, his confederates. Certain it is, that the *Sydonians* then worſhipped *Aſtaroth*; and drew *Solomon* alſo to the ſame Idolatry.

Whereas *Hiram* aided *Solomon* in building the Temple, he did it for his own ends, receiving therefore of *Solomon* great proviſion of Corn and Oyle, and the offer of twenty Towns and Villages in *Galilee*. And if we rightly conſider things, it will appear that *Hiram* in all points, dealt Merchant-like with *Solomon*. He allowed him Timber, with which *Libanus* was, and yet is over-peſtered, being otherwiſe apt to yeeld ſilks: as the *Andarine* ſilks which come from thence, and other good commodities. For Corn and Oyle, which he wanted, he gave that which he could well ſpare to *Solomon*. Alſo Gold for Land: wherein *Solomon* was the wiſer; who having got the Gold firſt, gave to *Hiram* the worſt Villages that he had: with which the *Tyrian* was ill pleaſed. But it was a neceſſary policy which inforced *Tyrus* to hold league with *Iſrael*. For *David* had ſubdued *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, the *Aramites*, and a great part of *Arabia*, even to *Euphrates*: thorow which Countries the *Tyrians* were wont to carry and re-carry their Wares on *Camels*, to their fleets on the *Red Sea*, and back again to *Tyrus*: ſo that *Solomon* being Lord of all the Countries through which they were to paſſe, could have cut off their Trade.

Eu-

But the *Israelites* were no Sea-men, and therefore glad to share with the *Tyrians* in their adventures. Yet *Solomon*, as Lord of the Sea-towns which his Father had taken from the *Philistims*, might have greatly distressed the *Tyrians*, and perhaps have brought them even into subjection. Which *Hiram* knowing, was glad (and no marvell) that *Solomon* rather meant, as a man of peace, to imploy his Fathers Treasure in magnificent Works, than in pursuing the conquest of all *Syria*. Therefore he willingly aided him, and sent him cunning workmen, to increase his delight in goodly Buildings, Imageries, and instruments of pleasure.

As these passages between *Solomon* and *Hiram*, are no strong arguments of piety in the *Tyrians*: so those other proofs which *Bozius* frames negatively upon particular examples, are very weak. For what the Religion of *Cadmus* was, I think, no man knows. It seems to me, that having more cunning than the *Greeks*, and being very ambitious, he would fain have purchased divine honours; which his Daughters, Nephews, and others of his house obtained; but his own many misfortunes beguiled him of such hopes, if he had any. *Thales* and *Pherecydes* are but single examples: Every salvage Nation hath some wisdome excelleth the Vulgar, even of civill people. Neither did the morall wisdome of these men expresse any true knowledge of the true God. Onely they made no good mention of the Gods of *Greece*: whom being newly come thither, they knew not. It is no good argument to say, that *Cadmus* and *Thales* being *Tyrians*, are not known to have taught Idolatry, therefore the *Tyrians* were not Idolaters. But this is of force, That *Carthage*, *Utica*, *Leptis*, *Cadiz*, and all *Colonies* of the *Tyrians* (of which I think, the Islands before mentioned in the *Red Sea* to have been, for they traded in all Seas) were Idolaters, even from their first beginnings: therefore the *Tyrians* who planted them, and to whom they had reference, were so likewise.

This their Idolatry from *Solomons* time on-wards is acknowledged by *Bozius*, who would have us think them to have been formerly a strange kinde of devout *Edomites*. In which fancie he is so peremptory, that he styleth men of contrary opinion, *Impios politicos*, as if it were impiety to think, that God (who even among the Heathen, which have not known his Name, doth favour Vertue and hate Vice) hath often rewarded morall honesty, with temporall happinesse. Doubtlesse, this doctrine of *Bozius* would better have agreed with *Julian* the *Apostata*, than with *Cyril*. For if the *Assyrians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, and all those Nations of the *Gentiles*, did then prosper most, when they drew neerest unto the true Religion: what may be said of the foule Idolatry which grew in *Rome* as fast as *Rome* it self grew: and was enlarged with some new superstition, almost upon every new victory? How few great battells did the *Romans* win, in which they vowed not either a Temple to some new god, or some new honour to one of their old gods? yea, what one Nation, save onely that of the *Jews*, was subdued by them, whose gods they did not afterward entertain in their City? Onely the true God, which was the God of the *Jews*, they rejected, upbraiding the *Jews* with him, as if he were unworthy of the *Roman* Majesty: shall we hereupon enforce the lewd and foolish conclusion which Heathen Writers used against the *Christians* in the *Primitive Church*: That such Idolatry had caused the City of *Rome* to flourish, and that the decay of those abominations did also bring with it the decay of the Empire? It might well be thought so, if prosperity were a signe or effect of true Religion. Such is the blinde zeal of *Bozius*, who writing against those whom he falsly terms impious, gives strength to such as are impious indeed. But such indiscretion is usually found among men of his humour; who having once either foolishly embraced the dreams of others, or vainly fashioned in their own brains any strange *Chimera's* of Divinity, condemn all such in the pride of their zeal, as Atheists and Infidels, that are not transported with the like intemperate ignorance. Great pitie it is, that such mad dogs are oftentimes incouraged by those, who having the command of many tongues, when they themselves cannot touch a man in open and generous opposition, will wound him secretly by the malicious vertue of an *Hypocrite*.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Tribe of Ephraim, *and of the Kings of the ten Tribes, whose head was* Ephraim.

§. I.

Of the memorable places in the Tribe of Ephraim.

HAving now past over *Phœnicia*, we come to the next Territory adjoyning, which is that of *Ephraim*: sometimes taken *per excellentiam*, for the whole Kingdom of the ten Tribes. *Ephraim* was the second son of *Joseph*, whose issues when they left *Egypt* were in number 45000. all which dying in the *Desarts*, (*Josua* excepted) there entered the Holy Land of their children grown to be able men, 32500. who sate down on the West side of *Jordan*, between *Manasse* and *Benjamin*: who bounded *Ephraim* by the North and South; as *Jordan*, and the *Mediterran* Sea, did by the East and West. *Psal.* 59. 78. 108. *Par.* 25.

The first and chief City which *Ephraim* had, was *Samaria*, the *Metropolis* of the Kingdom of *Israel*, built by *Amris* or *Homri* King thereof, and seated on the top of the Mountain *Somron*, which overlooketh all the bottome, and as far as the Sea-coast. It was afterward called *Sebaste*, or *Augusta*, in honour of *August. Cæsar*. This City is often remembred in the Scriptures: and magnificent it was in the first building; for as *Brochard* observeth, the ruines which yet remain, and which *Brochard* found greater than those of *Hierusalem*, tell those that behold them, what it was when it stood upright: for to this day there are found great store of goodly Marble pillars, with other hewen and carved stone in great aboundance, among the rubble.

It was beaten to the ground by the sons of *Hircanus* the high Priest: restored and built by the first *Herod* the son of *Antipater*: who to flatter *Cæsar* called it *Sebaste*. Herein were the prophets *Heliseus* and *Abdias* buried: and so was *John Baptist*. It now hath nothing but a few Cottages filled with *Grecian* Monks.

Neer *Samaria* towards the South, is the hill of *Bethel*, and a town of that name: on the top of which mountain, *Jeroboam* erected one of his golden calves, to be worshipped: with which he seduced the *Israelites*.

In sight of this Mountain of *Bethel*, was that ancient City of *Sichem*; after the restauration called *Neapolis*, now *Peloſa*, and *Napolasa*: It was destroyed by *Simeon* and *Levi*, in revenge of the ravishment of their sister *Dina*: and after that by *Abimelec* evened with the soyl. *Jeroboam* raised it up again: and the *Damascens* a third time cast it down. *Sichar. Jub.* 4. 5. *Maberthan. Joseph.* 11. *ant.* 1.

Under *Sichem* toward the Sea standeth *Pharaton* or *Pirhathon*, on the Mountain *Amalec*, the City of *Abdon* Judge of *Israel*. And under it *Bethoron* of the *Levites*, built as it is said by *Sara*, the daughter of *Ephraim*. Neer to this City *Judas Macchabæus* overthrew *Seron* and *Lysias*, Lievtenants to *Antiochus*. This City had *Solomon* formerly repaired and fortified. *Judg.* 12. 15. 2 *Kin.* 13.

Between *Bethoron* and the Sea, standeth *Samir*, of which *Jos.* 10. and *Saron*, whose King was slain by *Josua*: it is also mentioned *Acts* 9. 35. and of this *Saron* the Valley taketh name, which beginning at *Cæsarea Palæstinæ*, extendeth it self alongst the coast as far as *Joppe*, saith *Adrichome*: though indeed the name *Sarona* is not particularly given to this Valley, but to every fruitfull plain Region; for not onely this Valley is so called, to wit, between *Cæsarea* and *Joppe*, but that also between the Mountain *Tabor* and the Sea of *Galilee*: for so S. *Hierome* upon the five and thirtieth Chapter of *Esay*, interprets the word *Saron*: and so doth the same Father in his Commentaries upon *Abdia*, read *Saron* for *Assaron*: understanding thereby a Plaine neeer *Lidda*: which *Lidda* in his time was called *Diospolis*, or the City of *Jupiter*, one of the *Toparchies* of *Judæa*, the fift in dignitie (or the third after *Pliny*) where S. *Peter* (*non sua, sed Christi virtute*) cured *Æneas*. *Niger* calls all that Region from *Anti-libanus* to *Joppe*, *Sarona*. This *Joppe* was burnt to the ground by the *Romans*, those Ravens and spoylers of all Estates, disturbers *Jos.* 12. 18. *Acts* 6. *Luk.* 23. *Niger. com.* 4. *Asia fol.* 503. 14

sturbers of Common-weales, usurpers of other Princes Kingdoms; who with no other respect led than to amplifie their own glory, troubled the whole world: and themselves, after murthering one another, became a prey to the most salvage and barbarous Nations.

In *Diospolis* (saith *Wil.* of *Tyre*) was S. *George* beheaded, and buried: in whose honour and memory *Justinian* the Emperour caused a fair Church to be built over his Tombe; these be *Tyrius* his words: *Relicta à dextris locis maritimis Antipatride, & Joppe, per latè patentem planitiem Elutheriam pertransiuntes, Liddam quæ est Diospolis, ubi & egregii Martyris* Georgii *usque hodie Sepulchrum ostenditur, pervenerunt, ejus Ecclesiam quum ad honorem ejusdem Martyris, pius & orthodoxus Princeps Romanorum*, Augustus Justinianus *multo studio & devotione prompta ædificari præceperat, &c. They having left* (saith he) *on the right hand, the Sea Towns*, Antipatris *and* Joppe, *passing over the great open Plain of* Elutheria, *came to* Lidda, *which is* Diospolis: *where the sumptuous Tombe of the famous Martyr* S. George *is at this day shewed; whose Church, when the godly and Orthodox Prince of the Romans, High and mighty* Justinian, *had commanded to be built, with great earnestnesse and present devotion, &c.* Thus far *Tyrius*: by whose testimony, we may conjecture that this S. *George* was not that *Arrian* Bishop of *Alexandria*; but rather some better *Christian*: for this of *Alexandria* was slain there in an uprore of the people, and his ashes cast into the Sea, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* reports. And yet also it may be, that this *Georgius* was a better *Christian*, than he is commonly thought: for his words of the Temple of *Genius*, *How long shall this Sepulchre stande* occasioned the uprore of the people against him: as fearing least he would give attempt to overthrow that beautifull Temple. This also *Marcellinus* reports; who though he say that this *Georgius* was also deadly hated of the *Christians*, who else might have rescued him: yet he addeth, that his ashes, with the ashes of two others, were therefore cast into the Sea, lest if their Reliques had bin gathered up, Churches should be built for them, as for others. But for my part, I rather think that it was not *Georgius*, whose name lives in the right honorable order of our Knights of the Garter, but rather another, whom *Tyrius* above cited, witnesseth to have bin buried at *Lidda* or *Diospolis*. The same also is confirmed by *Vitriac.* *S. Hierome* affirms, that it was sometime called *Tigrida*, and while the *Christians* inhabited the *Holy Land*, it had a Bishop *Suffragan*.

Of this Saint *George* see more above in this 2. Book. Chap. 7. sect. 3. §. 5.

Lib. 2. c. 11.

Sallig. tom. 6. c. 4.

Neer to *Lidda* or *Diospolis* standeth *Ramatha* of the *Levites*, or *Aramathia*: afterward *Rama*, and *Ramula*, the native City of *Joseph*, which buried the body of *Christ*. There are many places which beare this name of *Rama*; one they set in the Tribe of *Juda* neer *Thecua* in the way of *Hebron*; another in *Nephtalim*, not far from *Sephet*; a third in *Zabulon*, which they say, adjoyneth to *Sephoris*; a fourth, which they make the same with *Silo*; and a fifth, which is this *Rama*, in the Hils of *Ephraim*, called *Rama-Sophim*, where *Samuel* lived, and wherein he is buried.

See in the Tribe of Benjamin. *c. 12. sect. 1.*

1. Sam. 25. 5.

From hence to the North alongst the coast are *Helon*, or *Ajalon* of the *Levites*, of which 1 *Chron. 6.* *Apollonia*, of which *Josephus* in his Antiquities, and in the wars of the Jews. Also *Balsalisa* (for which *Junius*, 2 *Reg.* 4. 42. reads *planities Shalisæ*) they place hereabout in this Tribe of *Ephraim*; but *Junius* upon 1. *Sam.* 6. where we reade of the Land of *Shalisha*, findeth it in *Benjamin*.

Ant. 13. 21. de bell. Jud. 1. 6.

On the other side of the Mountains of *Ephraim* standeth *Gosna*, one of the *Toparchies*, or Cities of government, the second in dignity, of which the Country about it taketh name.

Then *Thamnath-sarah*, or according to the *Hebrew*, *Thimnath-Serach*: one also of the ten *Toparchies*, or *Præsidencies* of *Judæa*, which they call *Thamnitica*, a goodly Citie and strong, seated on one of the high Hills of *Ephraim*; on the North of the Hill called *Gaas*; which City and Territory *Israel* gave unto their Leader *Josua*; who also amplified it with buildings, neer which he was buried. His Sepulchre remained in S. *Hieroms* time, and over it the *Sun* engraven, in memory of that greatest of wonders which God wrought in *Josua*'s time.

Judg. 2. 9. It is called *Thimnath Chares.* *Jos. 9. 50.*

Hieron. in locis Hebr.

In the places adjoyning standeth *Adarsa*, or *Adasa*; where *Judas Maccabæus* with three thousand Jews overthrew the Army of *Nicanor*, Lievtenant of *Syria*; neer to *Gaser*, or *Gezer*, which *Josua* took, and hung their King; a City of the *Levites*. It was afterward taken by *Pharaoh* of *Egypt*; the people all slain, and the City razed; *Solomon* rebuilt it.

Mac. 1. 7. 40.

To

To the East of this place is the Frontier City of *Jeſleti*, of which *Joſ.* 16. 3. otherwiſe *Pelethi*, whence *David* had part of his Prætorian Souldiers, under the charge of *Benaia*. Then that high and famous Mountain and City of *Silo*, whereon the Ark of God was kept ſo many yeers, till the *Philiſtims* got it.

To this they joyn the City of *Machmas*, or *Michmas*: in which *Jonathan Macchabæus* inhabited, a place often remembred in the Scriptures. It ſtandeth in the common way from *Samaria* towards *Hieruſalem*: and is now called *Eyra*.

Then the Village of *Naioth* where *Saul* propheſied; and neer it *Ephron*, one of thoſe Cities which *Abijah* recovered from *Jeroboam*; after the great overthrow given him.

Then *Kimbtſaim*, of the Levites, of which *Joſ.* 21. 22. which *Junius* thinks to be the ſame with *Jokmeham*, of which 1 *Chro.* 6. 28. As for *Abſaloms Baalaſor*, which they find hereabout, *Junius* reades it in the Plain of *Chatzor*; and findes it in the Tribe of *Juda*; as *Joſ.* 15. we reade of two *Chatzors* in that Tribe; one neer *Kedeſh*, *ver.* 23. and the other the ſame as *Chetzron*, *ver.* 25.

In this Tribe alſo they finde the City of *Mello*; whoſe Citizens, they ſay, joyned with the *Sichemites* in making the Baſtard *Abimelec* King: adding that for the building thereof with other Cities, *Solomon* raiſed a Tribute upon the people. But it ſeems that *Mello*, or *Millo* is a common name of a ſtrong Fort or Cittadell: and ſo *Junius*, for *domus Millo*, reades *incolæ munitionis*, and for *Solomo ædificabit Millo*, he reades *ædificabat munitionem*, and ſo the *Septuagint* reade τὴν ὀχυρὰν in that place. And without doubt the *Millo* which *Solomon* built, cannot be that of *Sichem*, but another in *Hieruſalem*.

The other Cities of mark in *Ephraim*, are *Taphuach*, whoſe King was ſlain by *Joſua*; and *Janoach*, or *Janoah*, ſpoiled by *Teglatphalaſſar*; *Pekah* then governing *Iſrael*, with divers others, but of no great fame. The Mountains of *Ephraim* ſometime ſignifie the greateſt part of the land of the ſons of *Joſeph*, on the Weſt of *Jordan*: ſeverall parts whereof are the Hill of *Samron*, or *Samaria*, 1 *Reg.* 16. 24. * the Hill of *Gahaſ*, *Judg.* 2. 9. the Hill of *Tſalmon*, or *Salmon*, *Judg.* 9. 48. the Hills of the Region of *Iſuph*, or *Iſophim*, *Judg.* 9. 5. where *Rama-Iſophim* ſtood, which was the City of *Samuel*.

The great plenty of fruitfull Vines upon the ſides of the Mountains, was the occaſion on that *Jacob* in the ſpirit of prophecy, *Geneſ.* 49. 22. compared *Joſeph*'s two branches, *Ephraim* and *Manaſſe*, to the branches of a fruitfull Vine planted by the Well ſide, and ſpreading her (*a*) Daughter-branches along the Wall: which Allegory alſo *Ezek.* 22. in his Lamentation for *Ephraim* (that is, for the ten Tribes, whoſe head was *Ephraim*) proſecutes: as alſo in his Lamentation for *Juda*, he followeth the other Allegory of *Jacob*, *Gen.* 49. 9. comparing *Juda* to a Lion. Upon the top of one of the higheſt of theſe Hills of *Ephraim*, which overlooketh all the Plains on both ſides of *Jordan*, they finde the Caſtle called *Dok*: which they make to be the ſame with *Dagon*, of which *Joſeph.* 1. *bell. Jud.* 2. in which Caſtle, as it is 1 *Macc.* 16. *Ptolomy* moſt traiterouſly at a banquet, ſlew *Simon Macchabæus* his father-in-law.

Among the Rivers of this Tribe of *Ephraim*, they name *Gaas*, remembred in the ſecond of *Samuel*, *c.* 23. *v.* 30. where though *Junius* reade, *Hiddai ex una vallium Gahaſi*: yet the Vulgar and *Vatablus* reade *Giddai*, of the river of *Gaas*. Alſo in this Tribe they place the River of *Carith*, by which the Prophet *Elias* abode during the great drought: where he was (*b*) fed with the Ravens: and after that the River was dried up, he travelled (by the Spirit of God guided) towards *Sidon*: where he was relieved by the poor widow of *Zarepta*, whoſe dead ſon he revived, and increaſed her pittance of Meal and Oil: whereby ſhe ſuſtained her life.

See in *Benjamin.*

1 *Mac.* 9. *ult.*

1 *King.* 4. and ſee *Rama* in *Benjamin.*

Jud. 9. 6, 20. 1 *Reg.* 11. 27. *Vatablus* expounds *Millo* in this place *locum publicum neceſſarium civibus Hieroſolymitanis atque Iſraelitis.*

2 *Kings* 15. 29. *Joſ.* 17. 15, 16.

* Alſo the hill of *Phinees*, where *Eleazar* the high prieſt the ſon of *Aaron* was buried, *Joſ.* 24. 33. And the two tops of Hills, *Gerizim*, where the bleſſings, and *Hebal*, where the curſings were to be read to the people: of which *Deut.* 11. 27. & *Joſ.* 8.

a It ſeemeth that *Jacob* in this propheſie the rather uſeth the word *Daughters* for *branches*, thereby the more plainly to ſignifie *Colonies*: which in the Hebrew phraſe are called *Daughters* of the *Metropolis*: as in *Joſua*, and elſewhere often. b 1 *Reg.* 17. 6. & *chap.* 17.

§. II.

Of the Kings of the ten Tribes, from Jeroboam *to* Achab.

OF the firſt Kings of *Iſrael* I omit in this place to ſpeak, and reſerve it to the Catalogue of the Kings of *Juda*: of whom hereafter.

Touching the acts of the Kings of the ten Tribes, but briefly, beginning after the diviſion from *Juda* and *Benjamin*, now it followeth to ſpeak. The firſt of theſe Kings *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Nebat*, an *Ephrathite* of *Zereda*, who being a man of ſtrength and courage, was by *Solomon* made overſeer of the buildings of the Munition in *Hieruſalem*, for

as much as belonged to the charge of the Tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manasse*: and so many of them as wrought in those works. During which time, as he went from *Hierusalem*, he encountred the Prophet *Ahijah*: who made him know that he was by God destinied to be King of *Israel*, and to command ten of the twelve Tribes. After this, fearing that those things might come to *Solomons* knowledge, he fled into *Egypt* to *Shishak*, whom *Eusebius* calleth *Osochores*, whose Daughter he married: the Predecessor of which *Shishak* (if not the same) did likewise entertain *Adad* the *Edumæan*, when he was carried young into *Egypt* from the fury of *David*, and his Captain *Joab*; which *Adad* the King of *Egypt* married to his Wives sister *Taphnes*; using both him and *Jeroboam*
1 *Kings* 14. as instruments to shake the Kingdome of *Judæa*, that himself might the easilier spoil it, as he did: for in the fifth yeer of *Rehoboam*, *Shishak* sack't the City of *Hierusalem*, and carried thence all the treasure of *David* and *Solomon*, and all the spoils which *David* took from *Adadezer* of *Soba*, with the presents of *Toha*, King of *Hamath*, which were of an inestimable value.

This *Jeroboam* after the death of *Solomon* became Lord of the ten Tribes: and though he were permitted by God to govern the *Israelites*, and from a mean man exalted to that state: yet preferring the policies of the world before the service and honour of God (as fearing that if the Tribes under his rule should repair to *Hierusalem* to do their usuall Sacrifices, they might be drawn from him by degrees) he erected two golden Calves, one in *Dan*, and another in *Bethel*, for the people to worship (an imitation of
Ambrose upon the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. the *Egyptian Apis*, saith S. *Ambrose*, or rather of *Aarons* Calf in *Horeb*:) further he made election of his Priests out of the basest and unlearned people. This King made his chief Seat and Palace at *Sichem*: He despised the warning of the *Judæan* Prophet, whom *Josephus* calleth *Adon*, and *Glycas Joel*: his hand thereafter withered, and was again restored: but continuing in his Idolatry, and hardened, upon occasion that the Prophet returning, was slain by a Lion; *Abijah* makes him know that God purposed to root out his posterity.

1 *Kin.* 11. 12. *&c.* He was afterward overthrown by *Abia* King of *Juda*, and died after he had governed two and twenty yeers; whom *Nadab* his son succeeded: who in the second yeer of his reign, together with all the race of *Jeroboam*, was slain, and rooted out by *Baasha*, who reigned in his stead: so *Nadab* lived King but two yeers.

Baasha the son of *Ahijah*, the third King after the partition, made war with *Asa* King of *Juda*: he seated himself in *Thersa*: and fortified *Rama* against *Juda*, to restrain their excursions. Hereupon *Asa* entertained *Benhadad* of *Damascus* against him, who invaded *Nepthalim*, and destroyed many places therein: the mean while *Asa* carried away the materials, with which *Baasha* intended to fortifie *Rama*: but being an Idolater, he was
1 *Kin.* 15. & 16. threatned by *Jehu* the Prophet, that it should befall his race, as it did to *Jeroboam*: which afterward came to passe: He ruled four and twenty yeers, and died.

To *Baasha* succeeded *Ela* his son, who at a feast at his Palace of *Thersa*, was in his cups slain by *Zambris*, after he had reigned two yeers: and in him the propheste of *Jehu* was fulfilled.

Zambris succeeded *Ela*, and assumed the name of a King seven dayes; but *Ambris* in
1 *King.* 16. revenge of the Kings murther, set upon *Zambris*, or *Zimri*, and inclosed him in *Thersa*, and inforc't him to burn himself.

Ambris or *Homri* succeeded *Ela*, and transferred the Regall seat from *Thersa* to *Samaria*: which he bought of *Shemer*, built, and fortified it. This *Ambris* was also an Idolater
1 *King.* 16. no lesse impious than the rest: and therefore subjected to *Tabremmon*, King of *Syria*, the father of *Benhadad*, according to *Eusebius*, *Nicephorus*, and *Zonaras*: but how this should stand, I do not well conceive; seeing *Benhadad* the son of *Tabremmon* was invited by
1 *King.* 15. *Asa* King of *Juda*, to assail *Baasha* King of *Israel*, the father of *Ela*, who fore-went *Ambris*. This *Ambris* reigned twelve yeers, six in *Thersa*, and six in *Samaria*, and left two children, *Achab* and *Athalia*.

§. III.

Of Achab *and his Successors, with the captivity of the ten Tribes.*

Achab, or *Ahab* succeeded *Omri*, who not onely upheld the Idolatry of *Jeroboam*, borrowed of the *Egyptians*: but he married *Jezabel* the *Zidonian*: and as *Jeroboam*

roboam followed the Religion of his *Egyptian* Wife: so did *Achab* of his *Zidonian*: and erected an Altar and a Grove to *Baal* in *Samaria*. He suffered *Jezabel* to kill the Prophets of the most high God. God sent famine on the land of *Israel*. *Achab* met *Elias*: *Elias* prevailed in the triall of the sacrifice, and killeth the false prophets; and afterward flieth for fear of *Jezabel*.

Benhadad not long after besieged *Samaria*: and taken by *Achab*, was by him set at liberty: for which, the Prophet (whom *Glycas* calleth *Michæas*) reproveth him: afterward he caused *Naboth* by a false accusation to be stoned. Then joyning with *Josaphat* in the war for the recovery of *Ramoth*, he was slain, as *Michæas* had foretold him.

He had three sons named in the Scripture, *Ochozias*, *Joram*, and *Joas*: besides seventy other sons by sundry wives and concubines.

Ochozias succeeded his father *Achab*. The *Moabites* fell from his obedience: he bruised himself by a fall: and sent for counsell to *Beelzebub* the god of *Acharon*. *Elias* the Prophet meeteth the messenger on the way: and misliking that *Ochozias* sought help from that dead Idoll, asked the messenger, if there were not a God in *Israel* & *Ochozias* sendeth two Captains, and with each 50. souldiers, to bring *Elias* unto him, both which with their Attendants were consumed with fire. The third Captain besought mercy at *Elias*'s hands, and he spared him, and went with him to the King, avowing it to the King that he must then die; which came to passe in the second yeer of his reigne.

Beelzebub was the same with *Belus* & *Pluto*, saith *Viginere* upon *Levi*. 2 *Kings* 1.

Joram, the brother of *Ochozias* by *Jezabel*, succeeded: He allured *Josaphat* King of *Juda*, and the King of *Edom* to assist him against the *Moabites*, who refused to pay him the tribute of 20000. sheep. The three Kings wanted water for themselves and their horses in the Desarts. The Prophet *Elisha* causeth the ditches to flow. The *Moabites* are overthrown: their King flieth to *Kirharaseth*, and being besieged, according to some Expositors, burnt his son on the walls as a sacrifice, whereat the three Kings, moved with compassion, returned and left *Moab*, wasting and spoiling that Region. Others, as it seems with better reason, understand the Text to speak of the son of the King of *Edom*, whom they suppose in this irruption to have been taken prisoner by the *Moabites*, and that the King of *Moab* shewed him over the walls, threatning, unlesse the siege were dissolved, that he would offer him in sacrifice to his gods. Whereupon the King of *Edom* besought those of *Juda* and *Israel* to break off the siege for the safety of his son: which when the other Kings refused to yeeld unto, and that *Moab*, according to his former threatning, had burnt the King of *Edoms* son upon the rampire, that all the assailants might discern it, the king of *Edom* being by this sad spectacle inraged, forsook the party of the other Kings, for want of whose assistance the siege was broken up. 2 *Kings* 3.

After this the King of *Aram* sent to *Joram*, to heal *Naaman* the Captain of his Army of the Leprosie. The answer of *Joram* was, *Am I God to kill, and to give life, that he doth send to heal a man of his Leprosie* & adding, that the *Aramite* sought but matter of quarrell against him. *Elisha* hearing thereof, willed the King to send *Naaman* to him; promising that he should know that there was a Prophet in *Israel*: and so *Naaman* was healed by washing himself seven times in *Jordan*. *Elisha* refused the gifts of *Naaman*; but his servant *Gehazi* accepted a part thereof: from whence the sellers of spirituall gifts are called *Gehazites*, as the buyers are *Simonians*, of *Simon Magus*. 2 *Kings* 5.

Afterward *Benhadad* King of *Aram*, or *Damascus*, having heard that this Prophet did discover to the King of *Israel* whatsoever the *Aramite* consulted in his secretest counsell, sent a troop of horse to take *Elisha*: all whom *Elisha* struck blinde, and brought them captives into *Samaria*: *Joram* then asked leave of the Prophet to slay them, *Elisha* forbade him to harm them: but caused them to be fed, and sent back to their own Prince in safety.

The King of *Aram*, notwithstanding these benefits, did again attempt *Samaria*, and brought the Citizens to extreme famine. *Joram* imputeth the cause thereof to the Prophet *Elisha*. *Elisha* by prayer caused a noise of Chariots and Armour to sound in the aire, whereby the *Aramites* affrighted, fled away, and left the siege. An act of great admiration, as the same is written in the second of *Kings*. After this, when *Azael* obtained the Kingdome of *Syria* by the death of his Master, *Joram* entring upon his frontier, took *Ramoth-Gilead*: in which war he received divers wounds, and returned to *Jezreel* to be cured. But whilest he lay there, *Jehu* (who commanding the Army of *Joram* in *Gilead*, was anointed King by one of the children of the Prophets 2 *Kings* 7.

sent by *Elisha*) surprized and slew both him and all that belonged unto him, rooting out the whole posterity of *Ahab*.

Jehu, who reigned after *Jehoram*, destroyed not onely the race of his fore-goers, but also their religion; for which he received a promise from God, That his seed should occupy the Throne unto the fourth generation. Yet he upheld the Idolatry of *Jeroboam*, for which he was plagued with grievous war, wherein he was beaten by *Hazael* the *Aramite*, who spoiled all the Countries to the East of *Jordan*: in which war he was slain, saith *Cedrenus*; whereof the Scriptures are silent. *Jehu* reigned 28. yeers.

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Joachaz, or *Jehoachaz* the son of *Jehu* succeeded his father, whom *Azael* and his son *Benhadad* often invaded, and in the end subjected, leaving him onely 50. horse, 20. chariots, and 10000. foot: and, as it is written in the Scriptures, he made them like dust beaten into powder. *Joachaz* reigned 17. yeers.

2 Kings 13.

After *Joachaz*, *Joas* his son governed *Israel*, who when he repaired to *Elisha* the Prophet as he lay on his death-bed, the Prophet promised him three victories over the *Aramites*: and first commanded him to lay his hand on his bowe, and *Elisha* covered the Kings hands with his, and bad him open the window Westward (which was toward *Damascus*) and then shoot an arrow thence out. He again willed him to beat the ground with his arrows, who smote it thrice, and ceased: The Prophet then told him, that he should have smitten five or six times, and then he should have had so many victories over the *Aramites* as he gave strokes. And so it succeeded with *Joas*, who overthrew the *Aramites* in three battels, and recovered the Cities and Territory from *Benhadad* the son of *Azael*, which his father *Joachaz* had lost. He also overthrew *Amazia* King of *Juda*, who provoked him to make the war, whereupon he entred *Hierusalem*, and sacked it with the Temple. This *Joas* reigned sixteen yeers, and died; in whose time also the Prophet *Elisha* exchanged this life for a better.

2 Kings 14.

Jeroboam the third from *Jehu*, followed *Joas* his father, an Idolater, as his predecessors; but he recovered all the rest of the lands belonging to *Israel*, from *Hamath* which is neer *Libanus*, to the dead Sea, and reigned one and forty yeers.

Zacharias the fifth and last of the house of *Jehu*, slain by *Shallum* his vassall, who reigned in his stead, governed six moneths. *Shallum* held the Kingdome but one moneth, being slaughtered by *Menahem* of the *Gadites*.

Menahem who took revenge of *Shallum*, used great cruelty to those that did not acknowledge him: ripping the bellies of those that were with childe. This *Menahem* being invaded by *Phul*, bought his peace with ten thousand talents of silver, which he exacted by a Tribute of fifty shekels from every man of wealth in *Israel*. *Menahem* governed twenty yeers.

2 King. 16. 19.

Pekahiah, or *Phaceia*, or after *Zonaras*, *Phacesia* succeeded, and after he had ruled two yeers, he was slain by *Phaca*, or *Pekah* the Commander of his Army, who reigned in his place. In this *Pekah*'s time, *Phulassar*, or *Tiglat-Phylassar* invaded the Kingdom of *Israel*, and won *Jion*, *Abel-Bethmaacah*, *Janoach*, *Kedesh*, *Hazor*, and *Gilead*, with all the Cities of *Galilee*, carrying them captives into *Assyria*: he was drawn in by *Achaz* King of *Judæa*, against *Pekah* and *Rezin*, the last of the *Adades*. For *Achas* being wasted by *Pekah* of *Israel*, and by *Rezin* of *Damascus*, did a third time borrow the Church-riches, and therewith ingaged the *Assyrian*, who first suppressed that Monarchy of *Syria* and *Damascus*, and then of *Israel*: and this inviting of the great *Assyrian*, was the utter ruine of both States, of *Israel*, and of *Judæa*. *Pekah* reigned 20. yeers.

2 King. 15. 29.

Then *Hoshea*, or *Osea*, who slew *Pekah*, became the vassall of *Salmanassar*; but hoping to shake off the *Assyrian* yoak, he sought aide from *So*, or *Sua*, or *Sebicus* King of *Egypt*: which being known to the *Assyrian*, he cast him into prison, besieged *Samaria*, and mastered it: carried the ten Idolatrous Tribes into *Ninive* in *Assyria*, and into *Rages* in *Media*, and into other Eastern Regions, and there dispersed them: and re-planted *Samaria* with divers Nations, and chiefly with the *Cuthæ* (inhabiting about *Cutha*, a River in *Persia*, or rather in *Arabia Deserta*) and with the people *Catanei* bounding upon *Syria*, and with those of *Sepharvajim* (a people of *Sephar* in *Mesopotamia* upon *Euphrates*, of whose conquest *Senacherib* vaunteth) also with those of *Ava*, which were of the ancient *Avins*, who inhabited the Land of the *Philistims* in *Abrahams* time, dwelling neer unto *Gaza*, whom the *Caphtorims* rooted out: and at this time they were of *Arabia* the *Desart*, called *Havæi*, willing to return to their ancient seats.

To

To theſe he added thoſe of *Chamath*, or *Ituræa*, the ancient enemies of the *Iſraelites*, and ſometime the Vaſſals of the *Adads* of *Damaſcus*, which ſo often afflicted them. And thus did this *Aſſyrian* adviſe himſelf better than the *Romanes* did. For after *Titus* and *Veſpaſian* had waſted the Cities of *Judæa* and *Hieruſalem*, they carried the people away captive: but left no others in their places, but a very few ſimple labourers, beſides their own thin Garriſons, which ſoon decayed: and thereby they gave that dangerous entrance to the *Arabians* & *Saracens*, who never could be driven thence again to this day.

And this tranſmigration, plantation, and diſplantation, happened in the yeer of the world, 3292. the ſixth yeer of *Ezekiah* King of *Juda*: and the ninth of *Hoſea* the laſt King of *Iſrael*.

A Catalogue of the Kings of the ten TRIBES.

1.	*Jeroboam*	Reigned 22 Yeers.
2.	*Nadab*	2 Yeers.
3.	*Baaſha*	24 Yeers.
4.	*Ela*	20 Yeers.
5.	*Zambris*	7 Dayes.
6.	*Omri*	11 Yeers.
7.	*Achab*	22 Yeers.
8.	*Ochozias*	2 Yeers.
9.	*Joram*	12 Yeers.
10.	*Jehu*	28 Yeers.
11.	*Joachaz*	17 Yeers.
12.	*Joas*	16 Yeers.
13.	*Jeroboam*	41 Yeers.
14.	*Zacharias*	6 Moneths.
15.	*Shallum*	1 Moneth.
16.	*Menahem*	10 Yeers.
17.	*Pakahia*	2 Yeers.
18.	*Phaca*	20 Yeers.
19.	*Hoſea*	9 Yeers, about whoſe time Writers differ.

CHAP. X.

Of the memorable places of Dan, Simeon, Juda, Reuben, Gad, *and the other half of* Manaſſe.

§. I.

Of Dan, *whereof* Joppe, *Gath*, *Accaron*, *Azotus*, *and other Towns.*

NOw following the coaſt of the *Mediterran Sea*, that portion of Land aſſigned to the Tribe of *Dan*, joyneth to *Ephraim*, whereof I ſpake laſt: of which Family there were numbred at Mount *Sinai* 62700. fighting men, all which leaving their bodies with the reſt in the Deſarts, there entred the Holy Land of their ſons 66400. bearing arms. The firſt famous City in this *Ver.* 46. Tribe on the Sea-coaſt was *Joppe*, or *Japho*, as in the 19. of *Joſua*: one of the moſt ancient of the World, and the moſt famous of others on that coaſt, becauſe it was the Port of *Hieruſalem*. From hence *Jonas* imbarked himſelf when he fled from the ſervice of God towards *Tharſis* in *Cilicia*.—In the time of the *Macchabees* this City received many changes: and while *Judas Macchabæus* governed the Jews, the *Syrians* that were garriſon'd in *Joppe*, having their Fleet in the Port, invited 200. principall Citizens aboord them, and caſt them all into the Sea: which *Judas* revenged by firing their Fleet, and putting the companies which ſought to eſcape to the ſword. *Mac.* 2. 12.

It was twice taken by the *Romanes*, and by *Ceſtius* the Lievtenant utterly burnt and ruined. But in the yeer of Chriſt, 1250. *Lodowick* the French King gave it new Wals

and Towers: It is now the *Turks*, and called *Jaffa*. There are certain Rocks in that Port, whereunto it is reported, that *Andromeda* was fastned with chains: and from thence delivered from the Sea-monster by *Perseus*. This fable (for so I take it) is confirmed by *Josephus*, *Solinus*, and *Pliny*. *Marcus Scaurus* during his office of Ædileship, shewed the bones of this Monster to the people of *Rome*. S. *Hierome* upon *Jonas* speaks of it indifferently.

Lib. 3. 1. 15. de bel. Jud. Solin. c. 47. Plin. l. 5. cap. 9.

The next unto *Joppe* was *Jamnia*, where *Judas Machabæus* burnt the rest of the *Syrian* Fleet: the fire and flame whereof was seen at *Hierusalem*, 240. furlongs off. It had sometime a Bishops seat, saith *Will.* of *Tyre*; but there is no signe of it at this time, that such a place there was.

2 Mac. 12. de bell. sacr.

After *Jamnia* is the City of *Geth*, or *Gath*, sometime *Anthedon*, saith *Volatteran*. And so *Montanus* seems to understand it. For he sets it next to *Egypt*, of all the *Philistim* Cities, and in the place of *Anthedon*. But *Volatteran* gives neither reason nor authority for his opinion; for *Ptolomy* sets *Anthedon* far to the South of *Joppe*: and *Geth* was the first and not the last (beginning from the North) of all the great Cities of the *Philistims*: and about sixteen miles from *Joppe*: where S. *Hierome* in his time found a great Village of the same name. It was sometime the habitation and Seminary of the *Anakims*, strong and Giant-like men, whom *Josua* could not expell, nor the *Danites* after him, nor any of the *Israelites*, till *Davids* time: who slew *Goliath*, as his Captains did divers others not much inferiour in strength and stature unto *Goliath*.

F. 244.

Hieron. in Mich. am.

Roboam the son of *Solomon* rebuilt *Geth*: *Ozias* the son of *Amazia* destroyed it again. It was also laid waste by *Azael* King of *Syria*. *Fulke* the fourth King of *Hierusalem*, built a Castle in the same place out of the old ruines. Whether this *Geth* was the same that *Will. of Tyre* in the Holy war calls *Ibilin*, I much doubt: the errour growing by taking *Geth* for *Anthedon*.

Lib. 21. c. 18.

Not far from *Geth* or *Gath* standeth *Bethsemes*, or the house of the Sun. In the fields adjoyning to this City (as is thought) was the Ark of God brought by a yoak of two Kine, turned loose by the *Philistims*: and the *Bethsemites* presuming to look therein, there were slain of the Elders seventy, and of the people fifty thousand, by the ordinance of God. After which slaughter, and the great lamentation of the people, it was called the great * *Abel*, saith S. *Hierome*. *Benedictus Theologus* findes three other Cities of this name; one in (*a*) *Nephtalim*: another in *Juda*: and another in *Issachar*. *Hierome* findes a fifth in *Benjamin*.

1 Sam. 6. 18.

* Or rather not the City it self, but the great stone in the field, upon which stone the Philistims set the Ark, the change being eaſie from *Eben*, or *Aben*, which signifieth a stone, to *Abel* which signifieth mourning.

Keeping the Sea-coast, the strong City of *Accaron* offereth it self, sometime one of the five *Satrapies*, or Governments of the *Philistims*. S. *Hierome* makes it the same with *Cæsaria Palestinæ*. *Pliny* confounds it with *Apollonia*: It was one of those that defended it self against the *Danites* and *Idumæans*. It worshipped *Beel-zebub*, the god of Hornets or Flies. To which Idoll it was that *Ahaziah* King of *Israel* sent to enquire of his health: whose messengers *Eliah* meeting by the way, caused them to return with a sorrowfull answer to their Master. This City is remembred in many places of Scripture.

a See in *Neh. 6. 7. sell. 4. ll. 6.*

Christianus Schrot placeth *Azotus* next to *Geth*, and then *Accaron* or *Ekron*. This *Azotus* or *Asdod*, was also an habitation of the *Anakims*, whom *Josua* (*b*) failed to destroy, though he once possest their Citie. Herein stood a sumptuous Temple, dedicated to the (*c*) Idoll *Dagon*: the same Idoll which fell twice to the ground of it self, after the *Ark* of God was by the *Philistims* carried into their Temple: and in the second fall, it was utterly broken and defaced. Neer it was that famous (*d*) *Judas Macchabæus* slain by *Bacchides* and *Alcimus* the Lievtenants of *Demetrius*. Afterward it was taken by *Jonathas*: and the rest of the Citizens being put to the sword, all that fled into the Temple of *Dagon*, were with their Idoll therein consumed with fire: neer which also he overthrew *Apollonius*.

2 Kings 1. but was besieged by *Psammetichus*, the father of *Pharao Necho* for 29. yeers together, whence *Jer. 25. 20.* speaks of the residue of *Asdod*, to wit, the greatest part having perished in this siege.

Gabinius the Romane rebuilt it. It had a Bishops seat while Christianity flourished in those parts. But in S. *Hieroms* time it was yet a fair Village. And this was the last of the Sea-Towns within the Tribe of *Dan*.

c 1 *Sam. 5. 4.* d 1 *Macc. 9.* 1 *Mac. 10.*

The Cities which are within the Land Eastward from *Azotus*, and beyond the Fountain of *Æthiopia*, wherein *Philip* the Apostle baptized the Eunuch, are *Tsorah*, or *Sarxa*, and *Esthaol*, and between them *Castra Danis* neer *Hebron*: though this place where *Sampson* was born, may seem by the words, *Judg. 18. 12.* to be in the Tribe of

Jos. 19. 41. Jud. 13. 25. &c. cap. 18. 2.

Judah,

Judah, as the other also were bordering Towns between *Dan* and *Juda*.

After these within the bounds of *Juda*, but belonging to the *Daniter*, they finde *Gedor*, or as it is 1 *Mac.* 15. *Cedron*, which *Cendebæus* the Lievtenant of *Antiochus* fortified against the *Jews*, and neer which himself was by the *Macchabees* overthrown. 1 *Mac.* 15. 16.

Then *Modin* the Native City of the *Macchabees*: and wherein they were buried, on whose Sepulchre the seven Marble Pillars, which were erected of that heighth, as they served for a mark to the Sea-men, remained many hundreds of yeers after their first setting up, as *Brochard* and *Breidenbach* witnesse.

There are besides these the City of *Cariathiarim*, that is, the City of the woods: seated in the border of *Juda*, *Benjamin*, and *Dan*, wherein the Ark of God remained twenty yeers in the house of *Aminadab*: till such time as *David* carried it thence to *Hierusalem*. Of this place (as they say) was *Zacharias* the son of *Barachias*, or *Jehoiada*, who was slain between the Temple & the Altar: also *Urias*, whom *Joachim* King of *Hierusalem* slaughtered, as we finde in *Jeremy*. Many other places which they place in this Tribe, rather, as I take it, upon presumption than warrant, I omit: as that of *Caspin* taken with great slaughter by *Judas Macchabæus*: and *Lechis*, whose King was slain by *Iosua*, in which also *Amaziah* was slain: The same which *Senacherib* took, *Ezekias* reigning in *Juda*. *Alias Cariathbaal & Baal*, or *Baalpharesim*. 1 *Sam.* 7. 1. & 2 *Sam.* 6. 2. 2 *Chro.* 24. 22. *Mat.* 23. 33. *Jer.* 26. 20. 2 *Mac.* 12. 13. *Jos.* 12. 11. 2 *Reg.* 14. 19.

Of other Cities belonging to this Tribe, see in *Iosua* c. 19. from the *ver.* 41. where also it is added, that the *Danites* portion was too little for their number of Families: and therefore that they invaded *Lesbem*, and inhabited it: which City, after amplified by *Philip*, the brother of *Herod Antipas*, was called *Cæsarea Philippi*, as before, and made the *Metropolis* of *Ituræa*, and *Trachonitis*: of which coasts this *Philip* was *Tetrach*: but of this City see more in *Nephtalim*. In this Tribe there are no Mountains of fame.

It hath two Rivers or Torrents: the Norther-most riseth out of the Mountains of *Juda*: and passing by *Modin*, falleth into the Sea by *Sachrona*. The other hath the name of *Sorek*, or *Sored*, whose banks are plentifull of Vines which have no seeds or stones: the wine they yeeld is red, of excellent colour, taste, and savour, &c. In this Valley of *Sorek*, so called from the River, inhabited *Dalila* whom *Sampson* loved. *Hieron. in Esai. & Michæam.* 1. *Broch Breid.* *Jud.* 16. 4.

§. II.

THE TRIBE OF SIMEON.

THe Tribe of *Simeon* takes up the rest of the Sea-coast of *Canaan*, to the border of *Egypt*: who being the second son of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were increased of that Family while they abode in *Egypt*, as they were numbred at Mount *Sinai*, 59300. able men, all which ending their lives in the *Desarts*, there entred the Land of Promise of their issues 22200. bearing arms, who were * in part mixed with *Juda*, and in part severed, inhabiting a small Territory on the Sea-coast, belonging to *Edumæa*, of which the first City adjoyning to *Dan*, was *Ascalon*.

The *Reguli*, or petty Kings thereof, were called *Ascalonitæ*: of which *Volatteran* out of *Xanthus*, in the History of the *Lydians*, reports, that *Tantalus* and *Ascalus* were the sons of *Hymenæus*: and that *Ascalus* being imployed by *Aciamus* King of the *Lydians*, with an Army in *Syria*, falling in love with a young Woman of that Country, built this City, and called it after his own name: The same hath *Nicolaus* in his History, saith *Volatteran*.

Diodorus Siculus in his third Book remembreth a Lake neer *Ascalon*, wherein there hath been a Temple dedicated to *Dereeto*, the Goddesse of the *Syrians*; having the face of a Woman, and the body of a Fish: who, as I have said before in the story of *Ninus*, was the mother of *Semiramis*, feigned to be cast into this Lake, and fed and relieved by Doves. And therefore was the Dove worshipped both in *Babylonia* and *Syria*, of which *Tibullus* the Poet:

Alba Palæstino sancta Columba Syro.

The white Dove is for holy held in *Syria Palæstine*.

It was one of the chiefest and strongest cities of the *Philistims*. It bred many learned men

* And therefore no marvel that divers places named *Jos.* 15. in the large portion of *Judæ*, be reckoned in this Tribe: see *Jos.* 19. ver. 1. and 9. where thus much is expressly noted. *Volat. Geog. l.* 11. *f.* 244.

Vol. ut supra. men (saith *Volaterran*) as *Antiochus*, *Sosus*, *Cygnus*, *Dorotheus* the Historian, and *Artemidorus*, who wrote the story of *Bithynia*.

In *Ascalon*, as some say, was that wicked *Herod* born, that seeking after our Saviour, caused all the Male-children of two yeers old and under to be slain. In the Christian times it had a Bishop, and after that, when it was by the *Saladine* defaced, *Richard* King of *England*, while he made War in the *Holy Land*, gave it a new Wall and many buildings. *Ejus muros cum* Saladinus *diruisset*, Richardus *Anglorum Rex instauravit*, saith *Adrichomius*.

Adrith. in Trib. Simeon.

2 Sam. 1. In *Davids* time it was one of the most renowned Cities of the *Philistims*: for he nameth *Gath* and *Ascalon* onely, when he lamenteth the death of *Saul* and *Jonathan*: not speaking of the other three. *Tell it not in Gath, nor publish it not in the streets of Ascalon*: It is now called *Scalone*. *Gabinius* restored it as he did *Azotus* and *Gaza*.

Next to *Ascalon* stood *Gaza*, or *Gazera*, which the *Hebrews* call *Hazza*, the *Syrians*, *Azan*, of *Azonus* (as they say) the son of *Hercules*. Other profane writers affirm, that it was built by *Jupiter*. *Pomp. Mela* gives the building thereof to *Cambyses* the *Persian*; because belike he re-built it, and *Gaza* in the *Persian* tongue is as much to say, as Treasure. This *Gaza* was the first of the five *Satrapies* of the *Philistims*, and the South bound of the land of *Canaan* towards *Egypt*. But this City was far more ancient than *Cambyses*, as it is proved by many Scriptures. It was once taken by *Caleb*: but the strength of the *Anakims* put him from it. At such time as *Alexander Macedon* invaded the Empire of *Persia*, it received a Garrison for *Darius*: in despight whereof it was by the *Macedonians* after a long siege demolished, and was called *Gaza* of the *Desart*.

Vol. l. 11.

Steph. de Urb. Jud. l. 6. 16. 1 King. 6. & alib.

Joseph. 13. ant. 19 *Alexander Janneus* King of the *Jews*, surprised it, and slew five hundred Senators in the Temple of *Apollo*, which fled thither for Sanctuary: but this *Gaza* was not set up in the same place again, to wit, on the foundations which *Alexander Macedon* had overturned, but somewhat neerer the Sea side: though the other was but two mile off. It was a Town of great account in the time of the *Macchabees*, and gave many wounds to the *Jews* till it was forst by *Simon*: of which he made so great account, as that he purposed to reside therein himself, and in his absence left *John* his Son and Successour to be Governour. In *Brochard* his time it was still a goodly City, and known by the name of *Gazara*.

Mac. 1. 15. Broch. Itin. 7.

At the very out-let of the River of *Besor*, standeth *Majoma* the Port of *Gaza*: to which the priviledge of a City was given by the great *Constantine*, and the place called *Constance*, after the name of the Emperours Son. But *Julian* the *Apostata* soon after favouring the *Gazeans*, made it subject unto them, and commanded it to be called *Gaza maritima*.

Hist. trip. l. 6. c. 4. Niceph. 10. hist. cap. 4.

Jos. 13. an. 19. 21. On the other side of *Besor* standeth *Anthedon*, defaced by *Alexander Janneus*, restored by *Herod*, and called *Agrippias*, after the name of *Agrippa*, the favourite of *Augustus*.

Then *Raphia*, where *Philopater* overthrew the great *Antiochus*: and beyond it *Rhinocura*, whose Torrent is known in the Scriptures by the name of * *the Torrent of Egypt*, till the *Septuagint* converted it *Rinocura*: to difference it, *Es.* 27. 12. giving the name of the City to the Torrent that watereth it. *Plinie* calls it *Rhinocolura*: and *Josephus Rhinocorura*: (a) *Epiphanius* reports it as a Tradition, that at this place the world was divided by lot, between the three Sons of *Noah*.

Joseph. 13. ant. 19. 21. 14. &c. * *Junius* calls it *Vallis Egypti*, the name of the stream seems to be *Sichor*. See in *Asser*. c. 7. sect. 3. l. 8. in the margent.

Within the Land and upon the River of *Besor* they place *Gerar*: which the Scripture placeth between *Kadesh* and *Shur*, *Gen.* 20. 1. That it was neer to the Wilderness of *Beersheba*, it appears *Gen.* 20. 31. and therefore no marvell that as elsewhere *Beer-sheba*, so sometime *Gerar*, be made the South bound of *Canaan*. It was of old a distinct Kingdom from the *Philistim Satrapies*: the Kings by one common name were called *Abimelechs*; S. *Hierome* saith that afterward it was called *Regio salutaris*, *the healthy Country*: so that it was no marvel that *Abraham* and *Isaac* lived much in those parts. Of King *Asa*'s conquest of the Cities about *Gerar*, see 2 *Chron.* 14. 14.

a Epiph. tom. 2. in vesal. Manich. & in Anchorat. Gen. 10. 19.

1 Sam. 30. More within the Land was *Siceleg*, or *Tsiglak*, which was burnt by the *Amalekites*, when *David* in his flying from *Saul* to the *Philistims* had left his carriages there, but *David* followed them over the River of *Besor*, and put them to the slaughter, and recovered the prey.

Josep. 10. 11. 12. Next *Dabir* sometime *Cariath-Sepher*, the City of Letters, the University, as they say, or *Academie* of old *Palæstine*. In Saint *Hierom*'s time, it seems, it had the name of

Daama:

Daema: *Jos.*15.49. it is called *Urbs Sannæ:* from the name, as it seems, of some of the *Anakims*, as *Hebron* was called *Urbs Arbahi.* For even hence also were these Giants expelled. It was taken chiefly by *Othoniel*, incouraged by *Calebs* promise of his Daughter in marriage: but that *Josua* and the Hoast of *Israel* were at the surprise, it appears *Jos.*10. 39. This City *Jos.*21.15. is named among those which out of *Simeon* and *Juda* were given to the *Levites.* And hence it seems they attribute it to this Tribe. *Jos.*11.21.

Besides these, there are many others in the Tribe of *Simeon*, but of lesse fame, as *Hajin*, of which *Jos.*19.7. which also *Jos.*21.16. is reckoned for one of the Cities of the *Levites*, given out of the portion of *Juda* and *Simeon*, (for which *Junius* thinks *Hasham* is named 1 *Chron.*6.59. though * in the place of *Josua* these two are distinguished) also *Tholad*, so named 1 *Chron.*4.29. for which *Jos.*19.4. we have *Eltholad.* *Chatzar-Susa*, so named, *Jos.*19.5. for which *Jos.*15. we have *Chatzar-Gadda*, both names agreeing in signification: for *Gadda* is *Turma*, and *Susa Equitatus.* * And also 1 *Chron.*4.32.

In the same places of *Josua*, and of the *Chronicles*, *Chorma* is named, which they think to be the same with that of which *Num.*14.45. to which the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites* pursued the *Israelites*: But that *Chorma* cannot be in *Simeon*, nor within the Mountains of *Edumæa.* For *Israel* fled not that way: but back again to the Camp, which lay to the South of *Edumæa*, in the *Desart.* *Deut.*1.

The same places also name *Beersheba* in this Tribe: so called of the Oath between *Abraham* and *Abimelec:* neer unto which *Hagar* wandered with her son *Ismael.* It was also called the City of *Isaac*, because he dwelt long there. While the *Christians* held the *Holy Land*, they laboured much to strengthen this place, standing on the border of the *Arabian Desart*, and in the South bound of *Canaan.* It hath now the name of *Gibelin.* The other Cities of *Simeon* which are named in the places of *Josua*, and of the *Chronicles* above noted, because they help us nothing in story, I omit them. In the time of *Ezekia* King of *Juda*, certain of this Tribe being strengthened in their own Territories, passed to * *Gedor*, as it is 1 *Chron.* 4.39. (the same place which *Jos.*15.36. is called *Gedera* and *Gederothaima*) which at that time was inhabited by the Issue of *Cham:* where they seated themselves: as also five hundred others of this Tribe, destroyed the Reliques of *Amalec* in the Mountains of *Edom*, and dwelt in their places. Gen.21.31. * As it seems in the Land of *Juda.* See in the first *Paragraph* of this Chapter in the Cities of Dan.

The mountains within this Tribe are few, and that of *Sampson* the chiefest: unto which he carried the Gate-post of *Gaza.* The Rivers are, *Besor*, and the *Torrent* of *Egypt*, called *Shichar*, as is noted in *Asser.* *Jud.*16.3.

§. III.

THE TRIBE OF JUDA.

OF *Juda*, the fourth son of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were multiplied in *Egypt* 74600. all which (*Caleb* excepted) perished in the *Desarts.* And of their sons there entred the Land of *Canaan* 76500. bearing arms. Agreeable to the greatnesse of this number was the greatest Territory given, called afterward *Judæa:* within the bounds whereof were the portions allotted to *Dan* and *Simeon* included. And many Cities named in those Tribes, did first, as they say, belong unto the Children of *Juda:* who had a kinde of Soveraignty over them: as *Succoth*, *Cartathiarim*, *Lachis*, *Bethsemes*, *Tsiglag*, *Beersheba*, and others. The multitude of people within this small Province (if it be meted by that ground given to this Tribe onely) were incredible, if the witnesse of the Scriptures had not warranted the report. For when *David* numbred the people, they were found five hundred thousand fighting men.

The Cities of *Juda* were many. But I will remember the chiefest of them: beginning with *Arad*, or *Horma*, which standeth in the entrance of *Judæa* from *Idumæa:* whose King first surprized the *Israelites* as they passed by the border of *Canaan* towards *Moab*, and took from them some spoyles, and many prisoners: who being afterward overthrown by the *Israelites*, the sons of *Keni*, the Kinsmen of *Moses*, obtained a possession in that Territory: who before the coming of the *Israelites*, dwelt between *Madian* and *Amalek.* *Num.*21.3. *Jos.*12.14. *Jud.*1.16.

Following this Frontier towards *Idumæa* and the South, *Ascensus Scorpionis*, or *Acrabbim* is placed: the next to *Arad:* so called because of Scorpions, which are said to be in *Num.*34.4. *Deut.*8.15.

that

that place: from which name of *Acrabbim*, *Hierome* thinks that the name of the *Toparchie*, called *Acrabathena*, was denominated: of which we have spoken in *Manasses*. On the South side also of *Judæa* they place the Cities of *Jaeur*, *Dimona*, *Adada*, *Cedes*, *Asbna*, *Jethnam*, and *Asor*, or *Chatsor*, most of them Frontier Towns.

And then *Ziph*: of which there are two places so called: one besides this in the body of *Juda*, of which the *Desart* and Forrest adjoyning took name: where *David* hid himself from *Saul*. After these are the Cities of *Efron*, *Adar*, *Karkah*, and *Ascemona*, or *Hasmon*, of no great fame.

Turning now from *Idumæa* towards the North, we finde the Cities of *Dama*, *Shemah*, *Amam*, the other *Asor*, or *Chatsor*, *Behaloth*, and the two *Sochoes*: of all which see *Jos.* 15. also *Carioth*, by *Jos.* 15.25. called *Kerioth*: whence *Judas* the Traitor was called *Is-carioth*, as it were a man of *Carioth*. Then *Hetham*, the abode of *Sampson*, which *Roboam* re-edified. Beyond these, towards the North border, and towards *Eleutheropolis*, is the City of *Jethar*, or *Jathir*, belonging to the Levites. In Saint *Hierom's* time it was called *Jethira*: and inhabited altogether with *Christians*: neer unto this City was that remarkable battell fought between *Asa* King of *Juda* and *Zara* King of the *Arabians*, who brought into the field a Million of fighting men: and was notwithstanding beaten and put to flight: *Asa* following the victory as far as *Gerar*, which at the same time he recovered.

Jud. 15.8. 1 *Chro.* 11.6. *Jun.* out of the 1 *Chro.* 4.31. notes that this *Hetham*, though it were within the bounds of *Juda*, belonged to *Simeon*. *Jos.* 15.48. *Hieron. in loc. Hebr.*

Not far from *Jether* standeth *Jarmuth*, whose King was slain by *Josua*, and the City overturned. Next unto it is *Maresa* the native City of the Prophet *Michæa*: between it and *Odolla*, *Judas Macchabæus* overthrew *Gorgias*, and sent thence ten thousand *Dragmas* of silver to be offered for sacrifice.

2 *Macc.* 12.35.

Odolla, or *Hadullam* it self, was an ancient and magnificent City, taken by *Josua*; and the King thereof slain. *Jonathan Macchabæus* beautified it greatly. Then *Ceila*, or *Keila*, afterward *Ethela*, where *David* sometime hid himself; and which afterward he delivered from the assaults of the *Philistims*: neer which the Prophet *Abacuc* was buried: whose monument remained, and was seen by S. *Hierome*.

Gen. 38.1. *Jos.* 12.15. 1 *Sam.* 23.1.

Neer it is *Hebron*; sometime called *the City of Arbah*, for which the *Vulgar* hath *Coriatharbe*: the reason of this name they give, as if it signified the City of four: because the four Patriarchs, *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, were therein buried, but of *Adam* it is but supposed: and it is plain by the places *Jos.* 14.14. and 15.13. and 20.11. that *Arbah* here doth not signifie four, but that it was the name of the Father of the Giants, called *Anakim*, whose son as it seems *Anak* was: and *Achiman*, *Sheshai*, and *Talmai*, (whom *Caleb* expelled, *Jos.* 15.) were the sons of *Anak*, *Num.* 13.23. The name of *Anak* signifieth *Torquem*, a chain worn for ornament; and it seems that this *Anak*, inriched by the spoils which himself and his father got, wore a chain of gold, and so got this name: and leaving the custom to his posterity, left also the name: so that in *Latine* the name of *Anakim* may not amisse be expounded by *Torquati*.

The City *Hebron* was one of the ancientest Cities of *Canaan*, built seven yeers before *Tsoan*, or *Tanis*, in *Egypt*: and it was the head and chief City of the *Anakims*, whom *Caleb* expelled: to whom it was in part given, to wit, the Villages adjoyning, and the rest to the Levites. It had a Bishop in the *Christian* times, and a magnificent Temple built by *Helen* the Mother of *Constantine*.

Not far hence they finde *Eleutheropolis*, or the free City, remembred often by Saint *Hierome*. Then *Eglon*, whose King *Dabir* associated with the other four Kings of the *Amorites*, to wit, of *Hierusalem*, *Hebron*, *Jarmuth*, and *Lachis*, besieging the *Gibeonites*, were by *Josua* utterly overthrown. From hence the next City of fame was *Emaus*, afterward *Nicopolis*, one of the Cities of Government or *Præsidencies* of *Judæa*. In sight of this City, *Judas Macchabæus* (after he had formerly beaten both *Apollonius* and *Seron*) gave a third overthrow to *Gorgias*, Lievtenant to *Antiochus*.

Jos. 10.11. *Macc.* 1.3. *Euseb. in Chron. Jerom. Itin.* 6. * Also 1 *Chro.* 4.39. as is above remembred in the Tribe of *Simeon*.

In the yeer 1301. it was overturned by an earth-quake, saith *Eusebius*. In the Christian times it had a Bishops seat of the Dioceese of *Cæsarea* of *Palestine*.

From *Emaus* toward the West Sea, there are the Cities of *Nahama*, *Bethdagon*, and *Gader*, or *Gedera*, or *Gederothaima*, of which, and of *Gederoth*, * *Jos.* 15.36. and 41. Then *Azecha*, to which *Josua* followed the slaughter of the five Kings before named, a City of great strength in the Valley of (a) *Terebinth*, or *Turpentine*, as the *Vulgar* readeth, 1 *Sam.* 17.2. whence (as it seems) they seat it neer unto *Soco*, and unto *Lebna* of the Levites.

a *Junius*, for in *Valle Terebinthi*, hath in *Valle querceti*. *Vatablus* keeps the *Hebrew*, reading *in Valle Elah*.

Levites. It revolted from the subjection of the *Jews*, while *Joram* the son of *Josaphat* ruled in *Hierusalem*: And next unto this standeth *Maceda*, which *Josua* utterly dispeopled.

On the other side of *Emaus* towards the East standeth *Bethsur*, otherwise *Bethsora*, and *Bethsor*: one of the strongest and most sought for places in all *Juda*. It is seated on a high Hill; and therefore called *Bethsur* (*the house on the Rock*, or *of strength*.) It was fortified by *Roboam*, and afterward by *Judas Macchabæus*. *Lysias* forc't it: and *Antiochus Eutapor* by famine, *Jonathas* regained it: and it was by *Simon* exceedingly fortified against the *Syrian* Kings. *Jos.13.ant.9. Macc.1.6.*

Bethleem is the next unto it within six miles of *Hierusalem*, otherwise *Lehem*: sometime *Ephrata*; which name, they say, it had of *Calebs* wife, when as it is so called by *Moses* before *Caleb* was famous in those parts, *Gen.*38.16. Of this City was *Abessan*, or *Ibzan*, *Judge* of *Israel* after *Jephtah*, famous for the thirty sons and thirty daughters begotten by him. *Elimelec* was also a *Bethlemite*, who with his wife *Naomi* sojourned in *Moab* during the famine of *Juda* in the time of the Judges, with whom *Ruth* the daughter-in-law of *Naomi* returned to *Bethleem*: and married *Booz*, of whom *Obed*, of whom *Isbai*, of whom *David*. It had also the honour to be the native City of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*; and therefore shall the memory thereof never end. *Gen.53.48. Ruth.1.*

In *Zabulon* of *Galilee* there was also a City of the same name: aud therefore was this of our Saviour called *Bethleem Juda*. *Hieron. in com. super. Mat.c.2. Matth.2.1.*

From *Bethleem* some four or five mile standeth *Thecua*, the City of *Amos* the Prophet: and to this place adjoyning is the City of *Bethzacaria*, in the way between *Bethsura* and *Hierusalem*: on whose Hils adjoyning, the glorious guilt shields of *Antiochus* shined like lamps of fire in the eyes of the *Jews*. The City of * *Bezek* was also neer unto *Bethleem*, which *Adoni-Bezec* commanded; who had during his reign tortur'd 70. Kings, by cutting off the joynts of their Fingers and Toes; and made them gather bread under his Table: but at length the same end befell himself by the sons of *Juda*, after they had taken him prisoner. *Amos 1.1. 1 Macc.6.32. Jos.ant.12. c.14. 1 Macc.6.36. * See in Manasse.c.7.sect.7. ll. 1. Jud.1.6,7.*

The rest of the Cities in this part (most of them of no great estimation) we may passe by, untill we come to the magnificent Castle of *Herodium*, which *Herod* erected on a Hill, mounting thereunto with 200. Marble steps, exceeding beautifull and strong. And towards the *Dead Sea*, and adjoyning to the *Desart* of *Jeruel*, between it and *Tekoa*, is that *Clivaus floridus*, where, in the time of *Jehosaphat*, the *Jews* stood and lookt on the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Edomites*, massacring one another, when they had purposed to joyn against *Juda*: neer which place is the Valley of blessing, where the *Jews* the fourth day after, solemnly came and blessed God for so strange a deliverance. *Jos.14. ant.22. 2 Chro.20.16. & 26.*

Now the Cities of *Juda* which border the *Dead Sea*, are these; *Aduran* beautified by *Roboam*: and *Tsohar*, which the Vulgar calleth * *Segor*: so called, because *Lot* in his prayer for it, urged that it was but a little one: whence it was called *Tsohar*, which signifieth a little one: when as the old name was *Belah*, as it is *Gen.*14.2. In the *Romans* time it had a Garrison, and was called (as they say) *Pannier*: in *Hierom*'s time, *Balexona*. Then *Engaddi*, or *Hen-gaddi*, first *Asasonthamar*: neer unto which are the Gardens of *Balsamum*, the best that the world had called *Opobalsamum*: the most part of all which Trees *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt* sent for out of *Judæa*, and *Herod*, who either feared or loved *Anthony* her Husband, caused them to be rooted up, and presented unto her: which she re-planted neer *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*. This City was first taken by *Chedorlaomer*, and the *Amorites* thence expelled. It was one of the most remarkable Cities of *Judæa*; and one of the Presidencies thereof. *2 Chron.11. * Some call it Bal-salisa and Vitula consternans. See in Gad.c.10. sc.5. post principium in Harober. Gen.19.20. Hieron. in Ose. Hebr. Chatsatson-thamar. 2 Chro.20.2. Gen.14.7.*

The rest of the Cities are many in the In-land, and among them *Jesrael*: not that which was the City of *Naboth*, of which already; but another of the same name, the City of *Achinoan*, the wife of *David*, the mother of that *Ammon* whom *Absalom* slew: also, as some think, the City of *Amasa*, *Absaloms* Lievtenant, and the Commander of his Army. But this seemeth to be an errour grounded upon the neernesse of the words *Israel* and *Jesrael*: and because the 2 *Sam.*17.25. *Amasa*'s father is called an *Israelite*, who in the first of the *Chron.*2.17. is called an *Ismaelite*: indeed the *Hebrew* Orthography sheweth that *Amasa*'s father is not said to be of the City *Jesrael*, but an *Israelite* in Religion, though otherwise an *Ismaelite*. *1 Reg.21. 2 Sam.17.25.*

In this Tribe there were many high Hills and Mountains: as those of *Engaddi* upon the

the *Dead Sea:* and the Mountains of *Juda*, which begin to rise by *Emaus*, and end neer *Taphna*, and these part *Juda* from *Dan* and *Simeon*. Of others which stand single, there is that of *Hebron*, at the foot whereof was that Oak of *Mamre*, where the three Angels appeared to *Abraham*; which Saint *Hierome* calleth a Fir-tree, and saith, That it stood till the time of *Constantine* the younger. There is also that Mountain called *Collis Achillæ*, on the South of *Ziph:* on the top whereof the great *Herod*, inclosing the old Castle, erected by *Jonathan Macchabæus*, and called *Massada*, garnished it with twenty seven high and strong Towers: and therein left Armour and Furniture for an hundred thousand men; being, as it seemeth, a place unaccessible, and of incomparable strength.

Hieron. in loc. Heb. & quæst. Hebr. Jos. 14. Ant. c. 20.

In the Valley afterward called the *Dead Sea*, or the Lake *Asphaltitis*, this Country had four Cities, *Adama*, *Sodom*, *Seboim*, and *Gomorra*, destroyed with fire from Heaven for their unnaturall sins.

§. IV.
THE TRIBE OF REUBEN, and his Borderers.

‖. I.

The seats and bounds of Midian, Moab, *and* Ammon, *part whereof the* Reubenites *won from* Sehon *King of* Hesbon.

ON the other side of the *Dead Sea*, *Reuben* the eldest of *Jacobs* sons inhabited: of whose children there were numbred at Mount *Sinai* 46000. who dying with the rest in the Desarts, there remained to possesse the Land promised 43700. bearing arms. But before we speak of these, or the rest that inhabited the East side of *Jordan*, something of their borderers: to wit, *Midian*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, whose Land in our writers are confusedly described, and not easily distinguished. And first we are to remember, that out of *Abrahams* kinred came mighty Families: as by *Isaac* and *Jacob* the Nation called *Israel*, and afterward *Jews:* by *Esau*, or *Edom*, the *Idumæans:* by *Ismael*, the eldest son of *Abraham*, the *Ismaelites:* and by *Ketura*, his last wife, the *Midianitæ*. And again, by *Lot*, *Abrahams* brothers son, those two valiant Nations of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites:* all which being but strangers in the Land of *Canaan* (formerly possest by the *Canaanites*; and by the Families of them descended) these issues and alliance of *Abraham*, all but *Jacob*, whose children were bred in *Egypt*, inhabited the frontier places adjoyning.

Esau and his sons held *Idumæa*, which bounded *Canaan* on the South, *Ismael* took from the South-east part of the *Dead Sea*; stretching his possession over all *Arabia Petræa*, and a part of *Arabia* the *Desart*, as far as the River of *Tygris*, from *Sur* to *Havilah*.

Moab took the rest of the coast of the *Dead Sea*, leaving a part to *Midian*, and passing over *Arnon*, inhabited the Plains between *Jordan* and the Hills of *Abarim*, or *Arnon*, as far North as *Essebon*, or *Chesbon*.

Ammon sate down on the North-east side of *Arnon*, and possest the Tract from *Rabba*, afterward *Philadelphia*, both within the Mountains of *Gilhead*, and without them as far forth as *Aroer*, though in *Moses* time he had nothing left him in all that Valley: for the *Amorites* had thrust him over the River of *Jaboc*, as they had done *Moab* over *Arnon*. As these Nations compassed sundry parts of *Canaan*, so the border between the River of *Jaboc* and *Damascus*, was held by the *Amorites* themselves, with other mixt Nations: all which Territory on the East side of *Jordan*, and on the East side of the *Dead Sea*, was granted by *Moses* to the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and half *Manasse*; whereof that part which *Moab* had, was first possest by the *Emims*, a Nation of Giants weakned and broken by *Chedorlahomer*, after repulsed by the *Moabites*, as before remembred. That which the *Ammonites* held, was the Territory and ancient possession of the *Zamzummims*, or *Zuzæi*, who were also beaten at the same time by *Chedorlahomer*, *Amraphel*, and the rest: and by them an easie way of conquest was prepared for the *Ammonites*.

Jos. 13.

Num. 21. 24.

G. n. 14.

Now where it is written, that *Arnon* was the border of *Moab*, the same is to be understood according to the time when *Moses* wrote. For then had *Sehon* or his Ancestor beaten

beaten the *Moabites* out of the plain Countries, between *Abarim* and *Jordan*, and driven them from *Hesbon* over *Arnon*; and this hapned not long before *Moses* arrivall upon that border, when *Vaheb* governed the *Moabites*. For he that ruled *Moab* when *Moses* past *Arnon*, was not the son of *Vaheb*, but his name was *Balac*, the son of *Zippor*. And it may be that those Kings were elective, as the *Edumæans* anciently were.

Now, all that part of *Moab*, between *Arnon* and *Jordan*, as far North as *Essebon*, was inhabited by *Reuben*. And when *Israel* arrived there out of *Egypt*, it was in the possession of *Sehon*, of the race of *Canaan* by *Amoreus*: and therefore did *Jephtah* the Judge of *Israel* justly defend the regaining of those Countries against the claim of the *Ammonites*: because (as he alledged) *Moses* found them in the possession of the *Amorites*, and not in the hands of *Moab*, or *Ammon*: who (saith *Jephtah*) had 300. yeers time to recover them, and did not: whence he inferreth that they ought not to claim them now. *Judg. 11.*

And lest any should marvell why the *Ammonites* in *Jephtahs* time should make claim to these Countries: whereas *Moses* in the place *Num.* 21. *v.* 26. rather accounts them to have been the ancient possession of the *Moabites*, than of the *Ammonites*: it is to be noted, that *Deut.* 3. 11. when it is said that the Iron bed of *Og* was to be seen at *Rabbath*, the chief City of the *Ammonites*, it is also signified, that much of the Land of *Og*, which the *Israelites* possessed, was by him or his Ancestors got from the *Ammonites*, as much of *Sehons* was from the *Moabites*.

And as the *Canaanite* Nations were seated so confusedly together, that it was hard to distinguish them; so also were the sons of *Moab* and *Ammon*, *Madian*, *Amalec*, and *Ismael*. Yet the reason seemeth plain enough why *Ammon* commanded in chief, in *Jephtah's* time; for sometime the one Nation, sometime the other of all those borderers acquired the Soveraignty: and again, that one part of the Land which *Gad* held, namely, within the Mountains of *Galaad*, or *Gilehad*, and as far South as *Aroer*, belonged to the *Ammonites*. And therefore taking advantage of the time, they then sought how to recover it again. Yet at such time as *Moses* overthrew *Sehon* at *Jahaz*, the *Ammonites* had lost to the *Amorites* all that part of their possession which lay about *Aroer*, and between it and *Jaboc*: *Sehon* and *Og*, two Kings of the *Amorites*, having displanted both *Moab* and *Ammon* of all within the Mountains. For it is written in *Numb.* 21. 24. that *Israel* conquered the Land of *Sehon* from *Arnon* unto *Jaboc*, *even unto the children of Ammon*: so as at this time the River of *Jaboc* was the South bound of *Ammon* within the Mountains, when as anciently they had also possessions over *Jaboc*, which at length the *Gadites* possest, as in the 13. Chapter of *Josua*, Ver. 25. it appears.

Jos. 13. 25. *Junius* notes that the one half of the land of *Hammon*, which in this place of *Josua* is said to have been given to the *Gadites*, was taken first from the *Ammonites* by *Sehon*: but the place, *Deut.* 2. 11. proves that aswel *Og*, as *Sehon* had gotten lands out of the hands of the *Ammonites*.

||. II.

Of the memorable places of the Reubenites.

THe chief Cities belonging to *Reuben* were these, *Kedemoth*, for which the Vulgar, without any shew of warrant, readeth *Jethson*. The Vulgar or *Hierome* followed the *Septuagint*, those two Verses, 36. and 37. in *Jos.* 22. being wanting in the old Hebrew Copies, and the *Septuagint* reade *Kedson* for *Kedmoth*, which *Kedson* by writing slipt into *Jethson*. *Jos. 21. 37.*

This City which they gave to the Levites, imparts her name to the *Desart* adjoyning: from whence *Moses* sent his Embassage to *Sehon*. In the same place of *Josua*, where this *Kedemoth* is mentioned, the Vulgar for *Betser & villa ejus*, reads *Bosor in solitudine Misor*, without any ground from the Hebrew: whence *Adrichomius* makes a Town called *Misor*, in the border between *Reuben* and *Gad*. Farther from *Kedemoth*, neer the *Dead Sea* (for the Countrie between being Mountainous, hath few Cities) they place two Towns of note, *Lasa* or *Leshash*, of which *Genesis* 10. *ver.* 19. The Greeks call it *Callirhoe*: neer which there is a Hill, from whence there floweth Springs both of hot and cold, bitter and sweet water; all which soon after their rising, being joyned in one stream, doe make a very wholesome Bath, especially for all contraction of sinews: to which *Herod* the elder, when he was desperate of all other help, repaired, but in vain. Others say, that these Springs arise out of the Hills of *Machærus*, in this Tribe. The like fountains are found in the *Pyrenyes*, and in *Peru*, called *the Baths of the Ingals*, or *Kings*. The other Town is *Machærus*, the next between *Lasa* and *Jordan*: of all that part of the world the strongest In-land City and Castle, standing upon a Mountain every

Deut. 2. 26. It was a marginall note out of *Deut.* 3. where the *Sept.* kept the word *Misor*, signifying a plain; which after crept into the Text. *Jos. 17. ant. c. 9. & Hieron. in quæst. Heb. in Gen.* *Acosta. l. 3.* *Jos. ant. 13. cap. 24. & 14. ant. c. 10. & alibi.* *Joseph. bel. Jud. l. 7. c. 25.*

every way unaccessible. It was first fortified by *Alexander Jannæus*, who made it a frontier against the *Arabians*: but it was demolished by *Gabinius* in the war with *Aristobulus*, saith *Josephus*. It was thither (saith *Josephus*) that *Herod* sent *John Baptist*, and wherein he was slain: his Army soon after being utterly overthrown by *Aretas* King of *Arabia*, and himself after this murther never prospering. Not far from *Machærus* was *Bosor*, or *Bozra*, a town of refuge, and belonging to the Levites, and neer it *Livias* upon *Jordan*, which *Herod* built in honour of *Livia*, the mother of *Tiberius Cæsar*.

Deut. 4. 43. *Jos.* 20. 8. *Euseb. in Chro. Hier. in loc. heb.*

To the North of *Livias* is *Setim*, or *Sittim*: where the children of *Israel* imbraced the daughters of *Midian*, or *Moab*: and where *Phineas* pierced the body of *Zimri* and *Cosbi* with his spear, bringing due vengeance upon them when they were in the midst of their sin; and from hence *Josua* sent the discoverers to view *Jericho*, staying here untill he went over *Jordan*. As for the Torrent *Setim*, which in this place *Adrichomius* dreams of, reading *Joel* 3. 18. *irrigabit torrentem Setim*: The Vulgar hath *torrentem spinarum*: and *Junius*, *vallem Cedrorum*: expounding it not for any particular place in *Canaan*: but for the Church, in which the just being placed, grow as the cedars, *Psal.* 92. 13.

Num. 25. 1.

Jos. 13. 1.

The plain Country hereabout, by *Moses* called, *The plains of Moab*, where he expounded the book of *Deuteronomy* to the people a little before his death, is in the beginning of the same book precisely bounded by *Moses*. On the South it had the great Desart of *Paran*, where they had long wandred. On the East it had *Chatseroth*, and *Dizahab* (of which two, the former is that *Gazorus*, of which *Ptolomy* in *Palestina*: the later was a Tract belonging to the *Nabathæi* in *Arabia Petræa*, where was * *Mezahab*, of which, *Gen.* 36. 39.) by the Geographers called *Medava*, and *Medaba*. On the West it had *Jordan*, and on the North it had *Laban* (in *Junius* edition, by the fault of the Print, *Lamban*, *Deut.* 1. 1.) the same which the Geographers call *Libias*: and some confound it with *Livias*, of which even now we spake.

Deut. 34. 1.

* The same as it seems which *Num.* 21. 30. is called *Medeba*, whence we reade of the plains of *Medeba*, *Jos.* 13. 9. 16. of which also we reade in the wars of *David* against *Hanan* the *Ammonite*, 1 *Chron.* 19. 7. Also, 1 *Macc.* 9. 36. *Isa.* 16. 2. See before *chap.* 5. *sect.* 7.

Also on the same North side towards the confines of *Cœlosyria*, it had *Theophel*: whereabout sometime *Pella* of *Cœlosyria* stood: which was in the Region of *Decapolis*; and, as *Stephanus* saith, was sometime called *Butis*. It is also noted in *Moses* to be over against or neer unto *Suph*, for which the Vulgar hath the *Red Sea*, as also *Num.* 2. 14. it translateth the word *Suphah* in like manner: whereas in this place of *Deuteronomy* there is no addition of any word in the Hebrew to signifie the Sea: and yet the Scripture, when this word is so to be taken, useth the addition of *Mara*, thereby to distinguish it from the Region of *Suph*, or *Suphah*: which doubtless was about these plains of *Moab* towards the *Dead Sea*: where the Country being full of reeds, was therefore thus called: as also the *Red Sea* was called *Mare Suph*, for like reason.

The place in these large plains of *Moab*, where *Moses* made those divine exhortations, some say was *Bethabara*, where *John* baptized, which in the story of *Gideon* is called *Beth-bara*. *Josephus* sayes it was where after the City *Abila* stood, neer *Jordan*, in a place set with Palm-trees: which sure was the same as *Abel-sittim* in the plains of *Moab*, *Num.* 33. 49. (that some call *Abel-sathaim*, and *Bel-sathim*) which is reckoned by *Moses* in that place of *Numbers* for the 42. and last place of the *Israelites* incamping in the time of *Moses*: This place is also called *Sittim*: which word if we should interpret, we should rather bring it from Cedars than from Thorns, with *Adrichomius* and others. It was the wood of which the Ark of the Tabernacle was made.

John 1. 28. *Judg* 7. 24. *Joseph. ant.* 4. 7.

Num. 15. 1. *Exod.* 25. 10.

Toward the East of these plains of *Moab*, they place the Cities, *Nebo*, *Baal-Meon*, *Sibma*, and *Hesbon* the chief City of *Sehon*, and *Elhalel*, and *Kiriathaima* the seat of the Giants *Emim*. Of the two first of these *Moses* seems to give a note that the names were to be changed, because they tasted of the *Moabites* * Idolatry. For *Nebo* (in stead of which, *Junius*, *Esa.* 46. 1. reades *Deus vaticinus*) was the name of their Idoll-Oracle, and *Baal-meon*, *is the habitation of Baal*. Of the same Idoll was the Hill *Nebo* in these parts denominated: from whose top, which the common Translators call *Phasgah*, *Moses* before his death saw all the land of *Canaan* beyond *Jordan*. In which story *Junius* doth not take *Phasgah*, or *Pisgah* for any proper name: but for an appellative, signifying a Hill: and so also *Vatablus* in some places, as *Num.* 21. 20. where he noteth, that some call *Pisgah* that top which looketh to *Jericho*, and *Hair* as it looketh to *Moab*, which opinion may be somewhat strengthened by the name of a City of *Reuben*,

Num. 31. 37. *Gen.* 14. 5. *Num.* 32.

* *Exod.* 23. 13. *Nomen deorum alienorum ne recordaminí, ne audiatur in ore tuo.* Psal. 26. 4. *Non assumpturus sum nomina eorum in labiis meis.* Hos. 2. 17. *Auferebo nomina Baalimorum ab ore ejus.*

What name they used for *Nebo* it doth not appear: but *Baal-meon* it seems they named sometime *Bajith*, as *Esay* 15. 2. and sometime *Beth-meon*, *Ejey* 48. 23.

mentioned

mentioned Jos. 13. 20. called *Asdoth-Pisga*, which is as much as *decursus Pisgæ*: to wit, where the waters did run down from *Pisga*. In the same place of *Josua* there is also named *Beth-Peor*, as belonging to *Reuben*: so called from the Hill *Peor*: from whence also *Baal* the Idoll was called *Baal-Peor*; which, they say, was the same as *Priapus*: the chief place of whose worship seems to have been *Bamoth-Baal*, of which also Jos. 13. in the Cities of *Reuben*: for which, *Num.* 22. 41. they reade, *the high places of Baal* (for so the word signifieth) to which place *Balaak* first brought *Balaam* to curse the *Israelites*.

ll. III.

Of divers places bordering Reuben, *belonging to* Midian, Moab, *or* Edom.

THere were besides these, divers places of note over *Arnon*, which adjoyned to *Reuben*: amongst which they place *Gallim*, the City of *Phalti*: to whom *Saul* gave his daughter *Michol* from *David*: but *Junius* thinks this Town to be in *Benjamin*: gathering so much out of *Esa.* 10. 29. where it is named among the Cities of *Benjamin*. With better reason perhaps out of *Num.* 21. 19. we may say that *Mathana* and *Nahaliel* were in those confines of *Reuben*: through which places the *Israelites* past after they had left the Well, called *Beer*: Then *Deblathaim*, which the Prophet *Hieremy* threatneth with the rest of the Cities of *Moab*. 1 Sam. 25. ult. Hieron. 48.

Madian also is found in these parts, the chief City of the *Madianites* in *Moab*: but not that *Midian*, or *Madian* by the *Red Sea*, wherein *Jethro* inhabited. For of the *Madianites* there were two Nations, of which these of *Moab* became Idolaters, and received an exceeding overthrow by a Regiment of twelve thousand *Israelites*, sent by *Moses* out of the Plains of *Moab*: at such time as *Israel* began to accompany their Daughters: their five Kings with *Balaam* the Soothsayer, were then slain: and their Regall City with the rest destroyed. The other *Madianites*, over whom *Jethro* was Prince or Priest, forgat not the God of *Abraham* their Ancestor; but relieved and assisted the *Israelites* in their painfull travels through the Desarts: and were in all that passage their guides. In the South border of *Moab* adjoyning to *Edom*, and sometime reckoned as the chief City of *Edom*, there is that *Petra*, which in the Scriptures is called *Selah*, which is as much as *rupes*, or *petra*. It was also called *Jocthеel*, as appears by the place, 2 *Kings* 14. It was built (saith *Josephus*) by *Recem*, one of those five Kings of the *Madianites*: slain as before is said: after whom it was called *Recem*. Now, they say, it is called *Crac*, and *Mozera*. The Soldans of *Egypt*, for the exceeding strength thereof, kept therein all their treasures of *Egypt* and *Arabia*: of which it is the first and strongest City: the same perhaps which *Pliny* and *Strabo* call *Nabathea*, whence also the Province adjoyning took name: which name seems to have been taken at first from *Nabajoth*, the son of *Abraham* by *Kethura*. For *Nabathea* is no where understood for all *Arabia Petræa* (at least where it is not mis-understood) but it is that Province which neighboureth *Judæa*. For *Pharan* inhabited by *Ismael*, whose people *Ptolomy* calleth *Pharanites*, in stead of *Ismaelites*, and all those Territories of the *Cusites*, *Madianites*, *Amalekites*, *Ismaelites*, *Edomites*, or *Idumæans*, the Lands of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Hus*, *Sin*, and of *Og* King of *Basan*, were parts of *Arabia Petræa*: though it be also true, that some part of *Arabia the Desart* belonged to the *Amalekites*, and *Ismaelites*: all which Nations the Scriptures in the first of *Chronicles* the fifth, calls *Hagarens*, of *Hagar*. 1 Sam. 15. 7. Lib. 4. cap. 7. 1 Chron. 5. 19. & 20.

This City *Petra*, *Scaurus* besieged with the *Romane* Army, and finding the place in shew impregnable, he was content, by the perswasion of *Antipater*, to take a composition of monie, and to quit it. Yet *Amasias* King of *Juda* (after he had slaughtered ten thousand of the *Arabians* in the valley called *Salinarum*) wan also this City. S. *Hierome* findes *Ruth* the *Moabite* to be naturall of this City. In the mean time, when the *Christians* held the Kingdom of *Hierusalem*, it had a *Latine Bishop*, having before been under the *Greek Church*. It is seated not far from *Hor*, where *Aaron* died, and on the other side towards the North is the river of *Zared*, or *Zered*, by which *Moses* encamped in the 38. station. *Adrichomius* describeth the waters of *Memrim*, or rather *Nemrim*, in his Map of *Reuben*, not far hence, and between *Zared* and *Arnon*: and so he doth the Valley of *Save*: but the waters of *Nimra*, or *Beth-Nimra* (for which it seems *Adrichomius* writ *Nemrim*) refresh the plains of *Moab*: and the confluence of those waters of *Nimra* are in the Tribe of *Gad*. *Save* also cannot be found in this place, that is, to the South of *Arnon*, and under Wil. Tyr. 20. 3. Num. 21. Deut. 2. 13. Num. 32. 3. Jos. 13. 27. Esay 15. 1.

under *Midian*. For after *Abraham* returned from the pursuit of the *Assyrian* and *Persian* Princes, the King of *Sodom* met him in the Valley of *Save*, or *Saveh*, which is the *Kings Dale*, where *Absolom* set up his Monument, as it seems, not far from *Hierusalem*. And at the same time *Melchizedec* King of *Salem* also encountred him. But *Abraham* coming from the North, and *Melchizedec* inhabiting, either neer *Bethsan*, otherwise *Scythopolis*, in the half Tribe of *Manasse*, or in *Hierusalem* (both places lying to the West of *Jordan*) could not encounter each other in *Arabia*: and therefore *Save*, which was also called *the Kings Dale*, could not be in these parts.

‖. IV.
Of the Dead Sea.

NOw because the Sea of *Sodom*, or the *Dead Sea*, called also the Lake of *Asphaltitis*, and the Salt sea (in distinction from the sea of *Tyberias*, which was fresh water) also the sea of the Wilderness, or rather the sea * of the Plains, is often remembred in the Scriptures, and in this story also, therefore I think it not impertinent to speak somewhat thereof. For it is like unto the *Caspian* Sea, which hath no out-let, or disburthening. The length of this Lake *Josephus* makes 180. furlongs (which make 22. miles and a half of ours) and about 150. in breadth, which make 18. of our miles, and somewhat more. *Pliny* makes it a great deal lesse: but those that have of late yeers seen this sea, did account it (saith [a] *Weissenburg*) eight Dutch miles (which is two and thirty of ours) in length: and two and a half of theirs (which is ten of ours) in breadth. Of this Lake or Sea, *Tacitus* maketh this report: *Lacus est in immenso ambitu, specie maris, sapore corruptior, gravitate odoris accolis pestifer: neque vento impellitur, neque pisces aut suitas aquis volucres patitur, incertum unde superjecta ut solido feruntur, periti, imperitique nandi perinde attolluntur, &c. That it is very great, and (as it were) a sea of a corrupt taste: of smell infectious, and pestilent to the borderers: it is neither moved nor raised by the winde, nor indureth fish to live in it, or fowl to swim in it. Those things that are cast into it, and the unskilfull of swiming, as well as the skilfull, are born up by this water.* At one time of the yeer it casteth up *Bitumen*: the art of gathering which, Experience (the finder of other things) hath also taught. It is used in the trimming of ships, and the like businesses.

And then of the Land, he speaketh in this sort: *The fields not far from this Lake, which were sometime fruitfull, and adorned with great Cities, were burnt with lightning; of which the ruines remain, the ground looking with a sad face, as having lost her fruitfulnesse; for whatsoever doth either grow, or is set thereon, be it fruits or flowers, when they come to ripenesse, having nothing within them, but moulder into ashes:* Thus far *Tacitus*. And it is found by experience, that those Pomegranates, and other Apples or Oranges, which do still grow on the banks of this cursed Lake, do look fair, and are of good colour on the outside, but being cut, have nothing but dust within. Of the *Bitumen* which this Lake casteth up, it was by the *Greeks* called *Asphaltitis*. *Vespasian* desirous to be satisfied of these reports, went of purpose to see this Lake, and caused certain Captives to be cast into it, who were not onely unskilfull in swiming, but had their hands also bound behinde them, yet notwithstanding they were carried on the face of the waters, and could not sink.

* So *Junius* reades for the *Hebrew*, *Haraloth* every where, and so also the edition of *Vatablus*, Deut.3.17. though Deut. 4.44. it hath *mare solitudinis*, as also 2 *Reg.*14.25. the reason of this name seems to be, because it joyns to the plains of *Moab*, which are called *Harboth Moab*, Deut.34.1. as also we have *Ceseloth* in *Herbah*, that is in the plains, to wit, of *Zebulon*, 1 *Mac.* 9.2. whence *Adrichomius* imagines a city in *Zabulon*, called *Araba*. a *Descr. terr. Sanct.*

‖. V.
Of the Kings of Moab, much of whose Country within Arnon Reuben *possest.*

OF the Kings of *Moab*, whose Countrie (within *Arnon*) *Reuben* possest (though not taken from *Moab*, but from *Sehon* the *Amorite*) few are known. *Junius* in the 21. of *Num.v.*14. nameth *Vaheb*, which seems to be the Ancestor or Predecessor of *Balac*, the son of *Zippor*: which *Balac* sent for *Balaam* to curse *Israel*. For fearing to contend with *Moses* by arms, by the examples of *Sehon* and *Og*, he hoped by the help of *Balaams* cursings or inchantments, to take from them all strength and courage, and to cast on them some pestilent diseases. And though *Balaam* at the first, moved by the spirit of God, blest *Israel*, contrary to the hope and desire of *Moab*: yet being desirous in some sort to satisfie him, and to do him service, he advised *Moab* to send *Madianitish* women among the *Israelites*: hoping by them, as by fit instruments of mischief, to draw them to the Idolatry of the *Heathen*: but in the end, he received the reward of his falling from God, and of his evil counsell, and was slain among the rest of the Princes of *Midian*.

*Num.*21.22, 23,24. *Jos.*24.

After

After these times the Kings of the *Moabites* are not named: saving that we finde in the first of *Chronicles* the fourth, that *Jokim*, and the men of *Chozeba*, and *Joash*, and *Sareph*, all being of the issue of *Juda*, sometime had the Dominion in *Moab*: but as it is written in the same Verse, *These also are ancient things*: to wit, as some expound it, the particulars of these mens govenments are no where extant or remaining: or as others, *hæc prius fuere*, these Families of *Juda* were once thus famous: but now their posterity choose rather to abide in *Babylon*, and be Clay-workers to the King there. *Ver.* 22.

Then we finde *Eglon* King of *Moab*, who with the help of *Ammon* and *Amalec* mastered *Israel*, and commanded them 18. yeers: which *Eglon*, *Ehud* slew in his own house, and afterward 1000. of his Nation. What name the King of *Moab* had unto whom *David* fled fearing *Saul*, it doth not appear: or whether it were the same against whom *Saul* made war, it is not manifest, for neither are named. But in respect that this *Moabite* was an enemy to *Saul*, he received *David*, & relieved him; knowing that *Saul* sought his life. *Judg.* 3. *1 Sam.* 22. *1 Sam.* 14.

After this, *David* himself entred the Region of *Moab*, but not likely in the same Kings time: for he slaughtered two parts of the people, and made the third part tributary: whereupon it was said of *David*, *Moab is my wash-pot, over Edom will I cast my shooe*: meaning, that he would reduce them to such an abjection, and appoint them for base services: and that he would tread down the *Idumæans*. *2 Sam.* 8. *1 Chro.* 18. *Psal.* 60. 10.

The next King after *Davids* time of the *Moabites*, whose name liveth, was *Mesha*: who falling from *Juda*, (perhaps in remembrance of the severity of *David*) fastened himself to the Kings of *Israel*, and paid tribute to *Ahab*, 100000. Lambs, and 200000. Rams with the wooll: who revolting again from *Israel* after the death of *Ahab*, was invaded by *Jehoram*, with whom joyned the Kings of *Juda* & *Idumæa*: and being by these three Kings prest and broken, he fled to *Kir-hareseth*, as is else-where shewed. There is also mention made of the *Moabites* without the Kings name; when that Nation, assisted by the *Ammonites* and *Idumæans*, invaded *Jehoshaphat*: and by reason of some private quarrels among themselves, the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* set upon the *Idumæans*, and slaughtered them: and then one against another, so as *Jehoshaphat* had a notorious victorie over them all, without either blood or wound. Also in the time of *Hieremy* the Prophet, there was a King of *Moab* which is not named, which was after *Mesha* of *Moab* many descents: for *Mesha* lived with *Jehoram*, and this *Moabite* in *Zedechia's* time, fourteen Kings of *Juda* coming between, who wasted three hundred and odde yeers. *2 King.* 3. *2 Chro.* 20. *Hieron.* 7.

§. V.

Of the memorable places of the Gadites, and the bordering places of Ammon.

THe Territory adjoyning to *Reuben*, is that of *Gad*: whereof all that part which joyned to the Mountains, was sometime in the possession of the *Ammonites*, as far to the South as *Aroer*. Of the children of *Gad*, the seventh son of *Jacob* by *Zelpha*, the hand-maid of *Lea*, there parted out of *Egypt*, and died in the *Desarts*, 45550. and of their sons there entred the Land promised, 45000. bearing arms: from the half Tribe of *Manasse*, the River of *Jaboc* divided them: from *Reuben*, the Cities of *Hesbon*, *Elhele*, and *Aphec*. *Gen.* 30. *Num.* 1. 32. *Jos.* 13.

The chief City of *Gad* was *Aroer*, which they make to be the same with *Ar*, or *Rabbath Moab*, the great or commanding *Moab*. But the learned *Junius* attending diligently to those words of *Moses*, *Deut.* 2. 36. *Ab Haroheo, quæ est in ripa fluminis Arnon, & civitate ipsa quæ est in flumine*; *Where the city in the river is distinguished from the city upon the bank of the river*, as also in like manner (*Jos.* c. 12. *v.* 2. and *c.* 13. 9.) thinketh that *Haroher*, which doubtlesse belonged to the *Gadites* (as *Numb.* 32. 34. it is said that they built it) was indeed seated neer *Har* of the *Moabites*, but divers from it. For that *Har* was never possest by *Moses*, it is plain *Deuteronomy* 2. 9. where God forbidding *Moses* to touch it, saith he hath given *Har* for an inheritance to the sons of *Lot*. Now that this Citie, which in divers places is said to be within, and in the middle of the River of *Arnon* (and so distinguished from *Haroher*, which is said in the same places to be on the bank of *Arnon*) is *Har* of the *Moabites*, the same *Junius* proveth out of *Numbers*, *ch.* 21. *v.* 15. where *Arnon* is said to be divided into divers streams, where or among which *Har* is seated: And the same is confirmed by the place of *Jos.* 13. *ver.* 25. where *Haroher* is said to be seated before *Rabbah*: which *Rabbah*, as it seems, cannot be the *Esay* 15. *Deut.* 2.

Rabbah of the *Ammonites* (for they seat not *Haroher* neer it, nor in sight of it) and therefore by *Rabbah* here, we must understand *Rabbah* of *Moab*, which they make to be *Ar*, or *Har*: and so we must needs distinguish it from *Haroher*. And as for * *Har* (which also gave the name to the coast adjoyning) it seems it continued in the possession of the *Moabites*, after they had once expelled the Giant-like people called *Emims*, first weakened by *Chedorlaomer* and his Associates: but *Haroher* by the interchange of times suffered many ancient changes, as being won from the *Moabites* by *Sehon*, and from him by the *Israelites*, and from them, as it seems in the story of *Jephta*, by the *Ammonites*: and from the *Ammonites* again by the *Israelites*, under the conduct of *Jephta*. In S. *Hieroms* time the greatest part of this City perished by an earth-quake, as also *Zoar*, in which *Lot* saved himself in the destruction of *Sodom*, seated not far hence; which, they say, was therefore called *Vitula conversans*, because as a wanton tumbling heifer, she was thrice overthrown with earth-quakes: for which cause also *Hierome* seems to think that this *Zoar* was called *Salissa*, or *Bal-Salissa*, as if *Baal* had been a remainder of the old name *Balah*, or *Belah*, (of which *Gen.* 14.2. and *Salissa*, which hath a signification of the *ternary number*, had alluded to the three earth-quakes.

Erochard takes *Haroher* to be *Petra*, but erroneously, as before it is noted; seeing that *Petra* was in the South border of *Moab* adjoyning to *Edom*, whereas *Haroher* is in the North-East border. Between *Haroher* and *Jordan* they seat *Dibon*, which is attributed to the *Gadites*, because they are said to have built it, *Numbers* 32.34. though *Josua* 13. *verse* 17. it is said that *Moses* gave it to the *Reubenites*. Of this City among the rest of *Moab*, both *Esay* and *Hieremy* prophesied, that it should perish, and the Lakes about it run with the blood of the Inhabitants. It was a great Village neer *Arnon* in Saint *Hierom's* time.

Keeping the banks of *Arnon*, one of the next Cities of fame to *Aroer*, was *Bethnimrah*, of which *Esay* prophesieth, *That the waters thereof should be dried up: and all the vale of Moab withered.* Not far from *Bethnimrah* in this Tribe, *Adricomius* placeth *Jogbeha*, and *Nobach*, or *Nobe*: of both which we reade in the story of *Gideon*: and that *Jogbeha* was in *Gad*, built by the *Gadites*, it appears, *Numbers* 32.35. and therefore *Nobach* also must needs be in these parts; but whether in *Gad* or *Manasse* it is not certain: onely that it was anciently called *Kenath*, *Moses* witnesseth. *Nobach* also (saith he) *went and took Kenath with her Towns, and called it Nobach of his own name*, where because the Verses precedent speak of the *Manassites*, and because it is not likely that *Moses* would have severed this seat of the *Gadites* from the rest, of which he spake before, *ver.* 34, 35, 36. therefore it may seem that this * *Nobach* was in that part of *Manasse* which was in the East of *Jordan*, though *Adrichomius* place it in *Gad*. For whereas he supposeth it to be the same with *Nob*, which *Saul* destroyed, of this we shall speak (*a*) in the Tribe of *Benjamin*. And as for that *Karkor*, where *Zebah* and *Zalmunnah* rested themselves in their flight from *Gideon*, to which place *Gideon* marched through this *Nobach* and *Jogbeha*, though some place it in *Gad*, and make it the same with *Kir-chares*, of which *Esay* 15. and 2 *Reg.* 3.25. yet there can be no certainty that it was in *Gad*: and if it be the same with *Kir-chares*, it is certain, that it was still a principall City held by the *Moabites*, and not in the Tribe of *Gad*.

In the body of this Tribe of *Gad* they place *Hataroth*: of which name the Scripture witnesseth that two Cities were builded by the *Gadites*; the former simply called *Hataroth*, the later *Hatroth-Sophan*: for which later the vulgar makes two Cities, *Roth* and *Shophan*: the name *Hataroth*, is as much as *Coronæ*.

In the Valley of the Kingdom of *Sehon*, together with *Bethnimra*, of which we have spoken, *Jos.* 13.27. nameth *Beth-haram* and *Succoth*: the former, *Numb.* 32.36. (where it is called *Beth-haram*) together with *Bethnimra*, is said to have been built by the *Gadites*, which (perhaps the rather, because in *Josua* it is called *Beth-haram*) some take to be *Betaramptha*, (of which (*b*) *Josephus*) after by *Herod* called *Julias*. But whether this *Betaramptha* were corrupted from *Beth-haram*, or from *Beth-Aramatha* (of which *Aramatha* there is mention in (*c*) *Josephus*) or from *Beth-Remphan* (of which *Remphan*, an Idoll of those Countries, we reade, *Acts* 7.43. and to which *Junius* refers the name of the City *Rephan*, 1 *Macchab.* 37.) of this question it were hard to resolve. But touching *Julias* (according to *Josephus*, sometime *Betaramptha*) the same *Josephus* placeth in the Region of *Peræa*, beyond *Jordan*, which *Regio Peræa*, as the Greek word signifieth, is

no

* Deut. 2.9. Out of which place the words *Num.* 21.28. are to expounded not that the city of *Hor*, but the coast adjoyning was wasted by *Sehon*. *Gen.* 14.5. *Judg.* 11.35. *Hier. in epitaph. Paul. & in quæst. Hebr.* See *Junius* his annocations upon 1 *Sam.* 9.2. where he makes *Shalisha* a plain country in *Benjamin*, and the same with *Baalshalisha*, 2 *Reg.* 4.42. where he expounds *Bal*, or *Babal* to be as much as *planities*. *Esay* 15. *Hier.* 48. *Esay* 15.21. *Judg.* 8.11.

Num. 32.35.

* *Num.* 21.30. It is called *Nephach*, and placed in the border of the Kingdome of *Sehon* towards *Basan*, and therefore it is not altogether unprobable that it was in *Gad*.

a *Chap.* 12. *sect.* 1. *Judg.* 8.10. *Num.* 32.34, 35.

b *Jos.* 1. *ant.* 18. *cap.* 3.

c *L.* 7. *ant.* c. 7. *ubi Græcus codex legit* Ἀφαμαδα, *Latinus* Rehaba, *Metropolis Hammanitarum.*

no more than *Regio ulterior, the Countrie beyond the River*; and therefore they which labour to set down the bounds of this *Peræa*, take more pains than needs. Fourteen Villages this *Julias* had belonging unto it, according to *Josephus*. He makes it to have been built by *Herod Antipas*, and named *Julias*, in honour of the adoption of *Livia Augustus* his wife, into the *Julian* Family: by which adoption she was called *Julia*. Another *Julias*, he saith was built by *Philip* the brother of *Herod*, in the lower *Gaulanitis*, which, he saith, is the same as *Bethsaida*. *Ant.* 20. 11. *Jos. ant.* 18. 4. & *Bel. Jud.* 2. 8.

Upon the Sea of *Galilee*, neer to *Julias* in *Peræa*, (that is, in the Region over *Jordan*) they finde *Vetezobra*, as it is called in *Josephus*, for *Beth-ezob*, which is as much as *domus hissopi*. Of a noble woman of this City, which for safeguard in the time of War with the *Romans*, came with many others into *Hierusalem*, and was there besieged. *Josephus* in the place noted, reports a lamentable History; how for hunger she eat her own childe, with other tragicall accidents hereupon ensuing. *Joseph. de Bell. Jud.* l. 7. c. 8.

Of *Succoth* (which we said *Jos.* 13. is placed with *Ben-haran*, in the Valley of the Kingdom of *Sehon*) it is plain by the story of *Gideon* that it is neer unto *Jordan*: where it is said, that as he was past *Jordan* with his three hundred, wearie in the pursuit of *Zebah* and *Zalmunnah*, he requested relief of the men of *Succoth*: who denying him, and that with contempt, in *Gideons* return were by him tortured, as it seems under a threshing-Car or *Tribulum*, between which and their flesh he put Thorns to teare their flesh as they were prest and trod under the *Tribulum*, and after which sort also *David* used some of the *Ammonites*, though not with Thorns, but with Iron teeth of the *Tribulum*. As for the name of *Succoth*, which signifieth such Tabernacles as were made in haste, either for Men or Cattell, *Moses*, *Gen.* 33. 17. witnesseth that the originall of the name was from such harbours, which *Jacob* in his return from *Mesopotamia* built in that place: as also the place beyond the *Red Sea*, where the children of *Israel*, as they came from *Rameses* in *Egypt*, had their first Station, was upon like reason called *Succoth*: because there they set up their first Tabernacles or Tents: which they used after for forty yeers in the Wilderness. In remembrance whereof the Feast of *Succoth*, or Tabernacles, was instituted. *Judg.* 8. 5. *2 Sam.* 12. 31. *Exod.* 12. 37. *Levit.* 23. 43.

Other four Cities of *Gad* are named *Jos.* 21. 38. *Ramoth* in *Gilead*, *Machanaim*, *Chesbon*, and *Jahzer*, all of them by the *Gadites* given to the Levites, of which *Jahzer*, as *Chesbon*, or *Hesbon* was a chief City of *Sehon*, whence *Num.* 32. 1. his Country is called the Land of *Jahzer*. It was taken by *Moses*, having first sent spies to view it. In the first of the *Chronicles* it is made part of *Gilead*. In latter times (as it may be gathered by the Prophecy of *Esay* touching *Moab*) it was possessed by the *Moabites*: to which place of *Esay*, also *Hieremy* in a like prophecy alludes. It was at length regained (but as it seems from the *Ammonites*) by *Judas Macchabæus*: as it is 1 *Macc.* 5. 8. where *Junius* out of *Josephus*, reades *Jahzer*, though the *Greek* hath *Gazer*. For *Gazer*, or *Gezer* (as he gathereth out of *Jos.* 16. 3. & 8. and *Jud.* 1. 29.) was far from these Countries of *Sehon*, seated in the West border of *Ephraim*, not possessed by the *Israelites*, untill *Solomons* time, for whom the King of *Egypt* wan it from the *Canaanite*, and gave it him as a Dowrie with his Daughter. *Num.* 21. 32. *1 Chron.* 27. 31. *Esay* 16. 8. *Hieron.* 48. 32.

Of *Chesbon* it may be marvelled that in the place of *Josua*, and 1 *Chron.* 6. 81. it should be said to have been given to the *Levites* by the *Gadites*, seeing *Jos.* 13. 17. it is reckoned for a principall City of the *Reubenites*: *Adrichomius*, and such as little trouble themselves with such scruples, finding *Casbon*, 1 *Mac.* 5. 36. among the Cities of *Gilead*, taken by *Judas Macchabæus*, makes two Cities of one: as if this *Casbon* had been the *Chesbon* of *Gad*, and that of *Reuben* distinct from it: but the better reconciliation is, That it being a bordering City, between *Gad* and *Reuben*, was common to both, and that the *Gadites* gave their part to the *Levites*, for so also it seems that in like reason *Dibon* is said in one place built by the *Gadites*, and in another given to *Reuben*, as before is noted. Of *Machanaim*, which word signifieth a double Army, we reade *Gen.* 32. 2. that it was therefore so called, because the Angels of God in that place met *Jacob* in manner of another Hoast or company, to joyn with his for his defence: as also *Lu.* 2. 13. we reade of a multitude of the Hoast of Heaven, which appeared to the Shepherds, at the time of our Saviours birth: and so unto the godly King *Oswald* of *Northumberland*, when he was soon after to joyn battell with the *Pagan Penda* of middle-*England*, *Beda* reports, that the like comfort appeared: whence the Field where the Battell

was

was fought, in the North-parts of *England*, is called *Heaven-field*. In this City of *Machanaim*, *David* abode during the rebellion of *Absalom*: and the same, for the strength thereof, *Abner* chose for the seat of *Ishbosheth*, during the war between *David* and the house of *Saul*.

Of the fourth Town, which was *Ramoth* in *Gilead*, we reade often in the Scripture, for the recovering of which, King *Achab* lost his life. *Junius* thinks that *Ramatha Mitspa*, of which *Jos.* 13.26. was this *Ramoth* in *Gilead*. Concerning the place where *Laban* and *Jacob* sware one to the other, as it was called *Gilead*, which is as much as a witnessing heap, because of the heap of stones which *Laban* and his sons left for a monument; so also that it was called *Mitspah*, which signifieth over-looking (because there they called God to over-see and be witnesse to their Covenant) it is plain by the place, *Gen.* 31.49. That in these parts there was not onely a Town, but likewise a Region called *Mitspa*, it appears *Jos.* 11.3. where we reade of the *Chivites* under *Hermon*, in the Country of *Mitspa*, * the Town of *Mitspa*, as it seems both by this place, and in the eighth ver. following, being not in the Hill Country, but in the Valley. But seeing that *Jephta* the Judge of *Israel*, who after he came home from *Tob*, (whither his brethren had driven him) dwelt in the Town of *Mitspa*, who doubtlesse was of the Tribe of *Manasse*, and thence at first expelled by his brethren, it may seem that they do not well, which place this Town of *Mitspa* rather in *Gad* than in *Manasse*. By *Judas Maccabæus* this Town of *Mitspa* (whether in *Gad* or in *Manasse*) was utterly spoiled and burnt, and the Males of it slain: for it was then possest of the *Ammonites*.

* Of other towns of this name, see in the Tribe of Benjamin.

Jud. 11.36.

1 *Mac.* 5.35.

Between *Succoth* (of which we have spoken) and the River *Jaboc*, was that *Peniel*, or *Penuel*, which name signifieth *Locum faciei Dei*; *A place where the face of God was seen*: so called for memory of the Angels appearing to *Jacob*, and wrestling with him there: the churlishnesse of which City, in refusing to relieve *Gideon*, was the cause that in his return he overthrew their Tower, and slew the chief Aldermen thereof. To these places of the *Gadites*, they adde *Rogelim*, the City of that great and faithfull subject *Barzillai*, as it seems, not far from *Nahanaima*, where he sustained King *David*, during *Absaloms* rebellion. To these they adde the Town of *Gaddi*, *Arnon*, and *Alimis*, of which *Gaddi*, being in *Hebrew* no more than *Gaddita*, is ignorantly made the name of a place. *Arnon* also no where appears to be the name of a Town, but still of a River. *Alimis Adrichomius* frames of ὁ Ἀλίμας, 1 *Mac.* 5.26. so that the name should rather be *Alema*, but *Junius* out of *Josephus* reads *Mallæ*, for this in *Alimis*: and understanding *Mallæ* to be put for *Millo*, and to be as much as *Munitio*, (as we have shewed touching the *Millo* of the *Sechemites*) he takes this *Mallæ* to be *Mitspa Moabitarum*, of which 1 *Sam.* 22.3. As for that *Mageth* which *Adrichomius* finds in this Tribe of *Gad*, it is that *Mahacath*, which *Moses* notes to be as far as the furthest of *Manasses*, out of the bounds of this Tribe. So also *Dathema*, of which 1 *Mac.* 5.10. (which *Junius* takes to be (*b*) *Rithma*, of which *Num.* 33.18. a place of strength in the Territory of the *Ammonites*) and in like manner *Minnith*, and *Abel vinearum*, though by some they be attributed to the *Gadites*, or to their borders, yet they are found farther of. For of the two last we reade in *Jephta's* pursuit of the *Ammonites*: seated, as it seems by that place of the Book of *Judges*, the former of them in the South border, and the other of them in the East border, both far removed from the *Gadites*. But the chief City of the *Ammonites* was neerer, and not far from the borders of *Gad*. It is called in the Scriptures sometimes *Rabbath*, as *Deut.* 3.11. but more often *Rabba*. It is supposed to be that * *Philadelphia* which *Ptolomie* finds in *Cœlosyria*. *Hierome* and *Calistus*, in *Arabia*. It was conquered by *Og* from the *Ammonites*: but, as it seems, never possest by the *Israelites*, after the overthrow of *Og*, but left to the *Ammonites*: whereupon at length it became the Regall seat of the *Ammonites*, but of old it was the possession of the *Zamzummims*: which is as much to say, as men for all manner of craft and wickednesse infamous. The same were also called *Raphaim*, of whom was *Og*, which recovered much of that which the *Ammonites* had got from his Ancestors: who having been first beaten by the *Assyrians*, and their assistants (as the *Emims* in *Moab*, and the *Horims* in *Seir* had been) were afterward the easier conquered by the *Ammonites*, as the *Emims* were by *Moab*, and the *Horims* by the *Idumæans*. Yet did the races of *Emoreus*, of whom these Giants were descended, con-

2 *Sam.* 19.33.

Deut. 3.14. *Jos.* 12.5.

b The letters D. & R. in the *Hebrew* are very like, so that one is oft mistaken for another, and sometime without mistaking one is put for another, as for *Rodanim*. 1 *Chr.* 7 we have Dodanim, *Gen.* 10.4.

* Other names of this City, according to *Stephanus*, were *Ammana* and *Astarte*: but in this later perhaps he mistook, which might seem to be the same *Astareth*, one of the chief Cities of *Og*, of which in that which remaineth to be spoken of, *Manasse Adrichomius* sayes, it was also called *Urbs aquarum*, because of the river

Jud. 8.17.

Jaboc's winding about it; but in the place 2 *Sam.* 27. whence he gathers this opinion, *Junius* reads *intercepi ab urbe aquum*, if we must read with others. *cepi ad urbem aquarum*, yet it cannot be taken of *Rabba* it self, but of some other Fort adjoyning, *Gen.* 14.

tend

tend with the Conquerors for their ancient inheritance: and as *Sehon* of *Hesbon* had dispossest *Moab*, so had *Og* of *Basan* the *Ammonites*, and between them recovered the best part of all the Valley, between the Mountains and *Jordan*. For this *Og* was also master of *Rabba*, or *Philadelphia*: And in the possession of the one or of the other of these two *Moses* and *Israel*, found all those Cities and Countries which were given to *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the half Tribe of *Manasse*. So that though it were 450. yeers since that these *Zamzummims*, or *Raphaims*, were expelled, yet they did not forget their ancient inheritance: but having these two Kings of one kinred, and both valiant and undertaking men, to wit, *Og* and *Sehon*, both *Amorites*, they recovered again much of their lost possessions, and thrust the sons of *Lot* over the Mountains, and into the Desarts. And as the Kings or Captains of *Persia* and *Assyria* (remembred in the 14. of *Genesis*) made way for *Ammon*, *Moab*, and *Edom*; so by that great conquest which *Moses* had over those two *Amorites*, *Og* and *Sehon*, did the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* take opportunity to look back again into those Plains; and when the *Reubenites*, *Gadites* and *Manassites*, forsook the worship of the living God, and became sloathfull and licentious; they taking the advantage, invaded them, and cast them out of their possessions: and were sometime their Masters, sometime their Tributaries, as they pleased or displeased God: and according to the wisdome and vertue of their Commanders.

In this City of *Rabba*, was the Iron bed of *Og* found, nine cubits of length, and four of breadth. The City was taken in *Davids* time, and the Inhabitants slain with great severity, and by divers torments. At the first assault thereof *Urias* was shot to death, having been, by direction from *David*, appointed to be imployed in the leading of an assault, where he could not escape: wherein also many of the best of the Army perished: and wherein *David* so displeased God, as his affairs had ill successe afterward, even to his dying day. From hence had *David* the weighty and rich Crown of Gold, which the Kings of *Ammon* ware: or which, as some expound it, was used to be put on the head of their Idoll, weighing a talent, which is 60. pound weight, after the common talent. In the time of *Christians* it had a Metropolitan Bishop, & under him twelve others. Deut. 3. 2 Sam. 12. Wil. Tyr. Bel. sacr. 13. c. 22. Pto.

The mountains which are described within this Tribe, and that of *Manasse*, with a part of *Reuben*, are those that *Ptolomy* calleth *the hills of Hippus*, a City of *Cœlosyria*: and *Strabo*, **Trachones*: the same which continue from neer *Damascus*, unto the *Desarts* of *Moab*: and receive divers names, as commonly Mountains do, which neighbour and bound divers Countries: for from the South part, as far Northwards as *Astaroth*, the chief City of *Og*, they are called *Galaad*, or *Gilead*; from thence North-ward they are known by the name of *Hermon*, for so *Moses* calleth them: The *Sidonians* name them *Shirion*, but the *Amorites*, *Shenir*, others, *Seir*: of which name all those hils also were called, which part *Judæa* and *Idumæa*: and lastly, they are called *Libanus*, for so the Prophet *Hieremy* makes them all one, calling the high mountains of *Galaad*, the head of *Libanus*. These Mountains are very fruitfull, and full of good pastures, and have many Trees which yeeld *Balsamum*, and many other medicinable drugs. The Rivers of this Tribe are the waters of *Nimrah*, and *Dibon*, and the River *Jaboc*: others do also fancy another River, which rising out of the Rocks of *Arnon*, falleth into *Jordan*. Strab. l. 6. * τραχὼν is locus asper & scabrosus: whence it appears, that *Trachonitis regio*, in these parts was properly the hill-country. Deut. 3. 9. Hierem. 22. Hier. 8. & 9.

§. VI.

Of the Ammonites, part of whose Territories the Gadites wan from Og, *the King of Basan.*

THis Tribe of *Gad* possest half the Country of the *Ammonites*, who together with the *Moabites*, held that part of *Arabia Petræa* called *Nabathea*, as well within as without the Mountains of *Gilead*: though at this time when the *Gadites* wan it, it was in the possession of *Sehon* and *Og*, *Amorites*: and therefore *Moses* did not expell the *Ammonites*, but the *Amorites*, who had thrust the issues of *Lot* over the mountains *Trachones*, or *Gilead*, as before. After the death of *Othoniel* the first Judge of *Israel*, the *Ammonites* joyned with the *Moabites* against the *Hebrews*, and so continued long. *Jephta* Judge of *Israel* had a great conquest over one of the Kings of *Ammon*, but his name is omitted. In the time of *Samuel* they were at peace with them again. Jud. 10.

Afterward we find that cruell King of the *Ammonites*, called *Nahas*: who besieging *Jabes Gilead*, gave them no other conditions but the pulling out of their right eyes, 1 Sam. 11.

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The reason why he tendred so hard a composition, was (besides this desire to bring shame upon *Israel*) because those *Gileadites* using to carry a Target on their left arms, which could not but shadow their left eyes, should by losing their right, be utterly disabled to defend themselves: but *Saul* came to their rescue, and delivered them from that danger. This *Nahas*, as it may seem, became the confederate of *David*, having friended him in *Saul*'s time, though *Josephus* thinks that this *Nahas* was slain in the battell, when *Saul* raised the siege of *Jabes*, who affirmeth that there were three Kings of the *Moabites* of that name.

Joseph.l.6.Ant. c.5.&c.
2 Sam.10.4.18

Hanun succeeded *Nahas*: to whom when *David* sent to congratulate his establishment, and to confirm the former friendship which he had with his father, he most contemptuously and proudly cut of the Ambassadours garments to the knees, and shaved the half of their beards. But afterward, notwithstanding the aids received from the *Aramites*, subject to *Adadezer*, and from the *Reguli* of *Rehob*, and *Maacah*, and from *Istob*, yet all those *Arabians*, together with the *Ammonites*, were overturned: their chief City of *Rabba*, after *Philadelphia*, was taken; the Crown which weiged a talent of gold, was set on *David*'s head; all such as were prisoners, *David* executed with strange severity; for with saws and harrows he tare them in pieces, and cast the rest into lime-kills. *Josaphat* governing *Juda*, they assisted the *Moabites* their neighbours against him, and perished together. *Ozias* made them Tributaries, and they were again by *Jotham* inforc't to continue that tribute, and to increase it, to wit, a hundred talents of silver, ten thousand measures of wheat, and ten thousand of barley: which the *Ammonites* continued two yeers.

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Istob, that is, the men of *Thob*: *Thob* is a small Territory under *Amon* hills. *Rehob* is another between *Hazer* and *Sidon*, in the North bound of *Canaan*, *Num.*13. 22. of which see in the tribe of *Asser*. *Hier.*40.&41. *2 Chron.*20. *2 Chron.*36. *2 Chron.*26.

The fifth King of the *Ammonites*, of whose name we reade, was *Baalis* the confederate of *Zedekia*: after whose taking by *Nabuchodonosor*, *Baalis* sent *Ismael*, of the blood of the Kings of *Juda*, to slay *Gedaliah*, who served *Nabuchodonosor*.

§. VII.
Of the other half of Manasse.

30

THe rest of the Land of *Gilead*, and of the Kingdom of *Og* in *Basan*, with the land of *Hus* and *Argob*, or *Trachonitis* (wherein also were part of the small Territories of * *Batania*, *Gaulonitis*, *Gessuri*, *Machati*, and *Auranitis*) was given to the half Tribe of *Manasse* over *Jordan*; of which those three later Provinces defended themselves against them for many ages. But *Batania Ptolomy* setteth farther off, and to the North-East, as a skirt of *Arabia* the *Desart*: and all those other Provinces before named with *Petræa*, and *Ituræa*, he nameth but as part of *Cœlosyria*; as far South as *Rabba*, or *Philadelphia*: likewise all the rest which belonged to *Gad*, and *Reuben*, saving the Land neer the *Dead Sea*, he makes a part of *Arabia Petræa*: for many of these small Kingdoms take not much more ground than the Country of *Kent*.

* Another territory adjoyning to *Manasse*, whose limits were confounded with some of these, was that *Thisbitis* the country of *Elias*, as it is *1 Kin.*16.1. and *of Tobias*, *Tob.*1.2. It lay on the East to the Tribe of *Nepth.* on the right hand of it, as in *Tob.*1.2 and was possest by Colonies of the *Israelites* in the time of *Saul*, after his victory over the *Amalekites* and *Ismaelites* in those parts, as it is gathered out of *1 Chr.*5. 10. whence it appears, that it was part of *Iturea*, of which *chap.*7. *sect.*4. §.5.&6.

40

Basan, or, after the *Septuagint*, *Basanitis*, stretcheth it self from the River of *Jaboc* to the (a) *Machati* and *Gessuri*: and from the mountains to *Jordan*, a Region exceeding fertile; by reason whereof it abounded in all sorts of Cattell. It had also the goodliest woods of all that part of the world: especially of oaks, which bare mast (of which the Prophet *Zacharias*; *Howle, O ye oaks of Basban*) and by reason hereof they bred so many swine, as (*b*) 2000. in one herd were carried headlong into the Sea, by the unclean spirits which *Christ* had cast out of one of the *Gadarens*. It had in it 60. Cities walled and defenced: all which, after *Og* and his sons were slain, *Jair*, descended of *Manasse*, conquered, and called the Country after his own name, *Avoth Jair*, or the Cities of *Jair*.

50

The principall Cities of this half Tribe (for I will omit the rest) are these, *Pella*, sometimes (*c*) *Eutis*, otherwise *Berenice*; by *Seleucus* King of *Syria*, it is said to have been called *Pella*, after the name of that *Pella* in *Macedon*: in which both *Philip* the Father, and his Son, *Alexander* the great, were born. It was taken, and in part demolished by *Alexander Jannæus*, King of the *Jews*, because it refused to obey the *Jews* laws: but it was repaired by *Pompey*, and annexed to the Government of *Syria*. It is now but a Village, saith *Niger*. *Carnaim*, by the River of *Jaboc*, taken by (*d*) *Judas Macchabæus*: where he

a So they call them of *Mahacath*, of which *Mahacath* somewhat hath been spoken toward the end of the fifth *Paragraph* of this Chapter, see the *1 Mac.*5.36. and *Deut.*3.14. and *Jos.*12.5. *b* *Mar.*5.13. *c* Anciently, as it seems, it was called *Tebel*. See above in the bounds of *Moab*, in this Chapter, Sect.4. §.2. *d* *1 Mac.*5.

set

ſet on fire the(e) Temple of their Idols: together with all thoſe that fled thereunto for Sanctuary; and neer it they place the Caſtle of *Carnion*, of which 2 *Macc.* 12. 22. Then the ſtrong City of (f) *Ephron* neer *Jordan*: which refuſing to yeeld paſſage to (g) *Judas Maccabæus*, was forced by him by aſſault, and taken and burnt with great ſlaughter.

Jabes Gilead, or *Jabeſus*, was another of the Cities of this half Tribe, which being beſieged by *Nahas* (h) King of the *Ammonites*, was delivered by *Saul*, as is (i) elſewhere mentioned. In memory whereof theſe Citizens (k) recovered, embalmed and buried the bodies of *Saul* and his ſons: which hung deſpightfully over the walls of *Bethſan*, or *Scythopolis*. (l) *Gaddara*, or *Gadara*, is next to be named, ſeated by *Pliny* on a Hill neer the River *Hieromiace*, which River *Ortelius* ſeems to think to be *Jaboc*. At the foot of the Hill there ſpring forth alſo hot baths, as at *Machærus*. *Alexander Jannæus* after ten moneths ſiege, wan it, and ſubverted it. *Pompey* reſtored it: and *Gabinius* (m) made it one of the five Courts of Juſtice in *Paleſtine*. *Hieruſalem* being the firſt, *Gadara* the ſecond, *Emath*, or *Amathus* the third, *Hierico* and *Sephora* in *Galile*, the fourth and fifth. The Citizens impatiently bearing the tyranny of *Herod*, ſurnamed *Aſcalonita*, accuſed him to *Julius Cæſar* of many crimes: but preceiving that they could not prevail, and that *Herod* was highly favoured of *Cæſar*, fearing the terrible (n) revenge of *Herod*, they ſlew themſelves: ſome by ſtrangling, others by leaping over high Towers, others by drowning themſelves.

To the Eaſt of *Gadara* they place *Sebei* (o) in which, *Joſ. ant.* 5. 13. ſaith, *Jephtha* was buried: whence others reading with the *Vulgar*, *Jud.* 12. 7. *Sepultus eſt in Civitate ſua Gilehad*, (for *in una Civitatum Gilehad*) imagine *Gilehad* to be the name of a City, and to be the ſame with *Sebei*. In like manner following the Vulgar, 1 *Macc.* 5. 26. where it readeth *Caſphor* for *Chesbon*; the ſame *Adrichomius* imagineth it to be *ampla & firma Gilehaditarum Civitas*: ſo of one City *Hesbon*, or *Chesbon*, which they call *Eſſebon*, the chief City of *Sehon*, in the Tribe of *Reuben*, he imagineth two more: This *Caſphor* in *Manaſſes*, and a City in *Gad* which he calleth *Casbon*, of which we have admoniſhed the Reader heretofore. Of *Gamala* (ſo called, becauſe the Hill on which it ſtood, was in faſhion like the back of a Cammell) which *Joſephus* placeth not far from *Gadara*, in the lower *Gaulanitis* over againſt *Tarichea*, which is on the Weſt ſide of the Sea or Lake of *Tiberias*, ſee this *Joſephus* in the fourth book of the Jewiſh war: where he deſcribes the place by nature to be almoſt invincible: and in the ſtorie of the ſiege, ſhewes how *Veſpaſian* with much danger of his own perſon, entring it, was at firſt repulſed, with other very memorable accidents: and how at length, after the coming of *Titus* when it was taken, many leaping down the rocks with their wives and children, to the number of five thouſand, thus periſhed: beſides four thouſand ſlain by the *Romans*: ſo that none eſcaped, ſave onely two women that hid themſelves.

About four miles Weſt from *Gadara*, and as much Eaſt from *Tiberias* (which is on the other ſide of the Lake) *Joſephus* placeth *Hippus*, or *Hippene*, whence *Ptolomie* gives the names to the hils that compaſs the plains in which it ſtandeth: ſo that it may ſeem to have been of no ſmall note. It is ſeated far from the hill Country: on the Eaſt of the Lake, as alſo *Pliny* noteth, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 15. It was reſtored by *Pompey*: after by *Auguſtus* added to *Herods* Tetrarchie: it was waſted by the *Jews*, in the beginning of their rebellion: when by many maſſacres of their Nation, they were inraged againſt their borderers.

The next City of note, but of more ancient fame, is *Edrehi*, or *Edrai*, wherein *Og* King of *Baſan* chiefly abode, when *Moſes* and *Iſrael* invaded him: and neer unto this his Regall City, it was that he loſt the battell and his life. It ſtood in S. *Hieronus* time: and had the name of *Adar*, or *Adara*. Not far from theſe townes neer *Jordan*, in this valley, ſtood *Geraſſa*, or *Gergeſſa*, inhabited by the *Gergeſites*, deſcended of the fifth ſon of *Canaan*. Of theſe *Gergeſites* we read *Mat.* 8. 28. that *Chriſt* coming from the other ſide of the Lake of *Tiberias*, landed in their coaſts: where caſting the Divels out of the poſſeſſed, he permitted them to enter into the herd of Hogges: in which ſtory, for *Gergeſites*, or *Gergeſins*, S. *Luke* and S. *Marke* have *Gaderens*: not as if theſe were all one (for *Gergeſſa*, or *Geraſſa* is a diſtinct Towne in theſe parts from *Gadara*) but the bounds being confounded, and the Cities neighbours, either might well be named in this ſtory. This City received many changes and calamities: of which *Joſephus* hath often mention.

c *Joſ.* 12. *ant.* 12.
f 1 *Mac.* 5.
g 2 *Mac.* 12. 27
h 1 *Sam.* 11.
i *Joſ.* 6. *ant.* 5.
k 1 *Sam.* 31.
l 1 *Chron.* 10.
m *Joſ.* 14. *ant.* 13.
n *Joſ.* 15. *ant.* 13.
o Of *Mitſpa* in *Gilehad*, the city of *Jephta*; ſee in the Tribe of *Gad*.
Cap. 1. & 3.
In vita ſua.
Joſ bel. Jud. l. 2. *c.* 19.
Of another *Edrehi* in *Nepht.* ſee *Joſ.* 19. 37. *Deut.* 3. 1. *& ver* 10. *Item Joſ.* 13. 31.
Mat. 8. 28.
Mark 5.
Luke 8.

tion. For besides other adventures, it was taken by *L.Annius*, Lievtenant to *Vespasian:* and 1000.of the ablest young men put to the sword, and the City burnt. In the yeer 1120. it was rebuilt by *Baldwine* King of *Damascus:* and in the same yeer recovered by *Baldwine de Burgo* King of *Jerusalem:* and by him utterly razed. Neer unto *Gerasa* is the village of *Magedan*, or, after the *Syriack*, *Magedu*, or, after the *Greek*, *Magdala*, where the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees* desired of our Saviour a signe from Heaven: the same place, or some adjoyning to it, which S.*Mark* calleth *Dalmanutha*. By the circumstances of which story it appears, that this coast lay between the Lake of *Tiberias* and the Country of *Decapolis*. *Brochard* makes both these places to be one; and finds it to be *Phiale*, the fountain of *Jordan*, according to *Josephus:* but this *Phiale* is too far from the Sea of *Galilee*, and from *Bethsaida*, to be either *Magdala* or *Dalmanutha*. For as it appears by the story, not far hence, towards the North, was the *Desart* of *Bethsaida*, where *Christ* filled 5000. people with the five barley loaves and two fishes.

Mark 15. *Mark* 8. *Brocb. itin.* 2. Of this *Phiale* see in *Neph.* c.7.*fol.* 4. ‖.3. *Matth.* 14. *Mark* 6. *Luke* 9. *John* 6.

On the North of this *Bethsaida*, they place *Julias*, not that which was built by *Herod*, but the other by *Philip*, which boundeth the Region *Trachonitis* towards the South. It was sometime a Village, and not long after the birth of *Christ*, it was compassed with a wall by *Philip* the *Tetrarch* of *Ituræa* and *Trachonitis:* and after the name of *Julia*, the wife of *Tiberias*, called *Julias*, as hath been further spoken in the Tribe of *Gad:* where it was noted that *Josephus* makes this *Julias* to be the same as *Bethsaida*. Upon the East side of the same Lake of *Tiberias* stands *Corozaim*, or *Corazim*, of which *Christ in Matthew*; *Woe be unto thee Corazim*.

Josep. 18.*ant.* 3. & alibi.

But the principall City of all these in ancient time was *Asteroth*: sometime peopled with the Giants *Raphaim:* and therefore the Countrey adjoyning called the Land of Giants, of whose race was *Og* King of *Basan*. In *Genesis* this City is called *Asteroth* of *Carnaim*, whence 1 Mac. 5.26. it is called simply *Carnaim*, as *Jos.* 13.21. it is called *Asteroth*, without the addition of *Carnaim*. The word *Carnaim* signifieth a pair of Horns, which agree well with the name of their Idoll *Asteroth*, which was the image of a sheep, as it is elsewhere noted, that *Asteroth* in *Deuteronomy* signifieth sheep. Others, from the ambiguity of the Hebrew take *Karnaim* to have been the name of the people which inhabited this City: and expound it *heroes* radiantes*. For of old the *Raphæi* which inhabited this Gity (*Gen.*14.5.) were Giant-like men, as appears by comparing the words *Deut.*3.11. *Og ex residuo gigantum*, with the words *Jos.*13.12. *Og ex reliquiis Raphæorum*: but if the *Karnaim* (or *Carnajim*) were these *Raphæi*, the word would not have been in the duall number: neither would *Moses* in the place of *Genesis* have said the *Raphæi* in *Asteroth* of the *Karnaim*, but either the *Raphæi* in *Asteroth* of the *Raphæi*, or some other way fittest for perspicuity: for this naming of both thus in the same clause, distinguisheth one from the other.

Gen 14.5.

See *chap* 7. *sect.*3.‖.2.

*Because horn when it is polished, shineth: hence it is that the Verb of this Noun is sometime *Lucere:* as it were *cornuum esse:* whereupon the *Vulgar*, *Exo.*34.19. reading *cornutam carnem*, or *lucidam faciem*, gave occasion to the fabulous Painters to paint *Moses* with Horns. *Judith.*1.8. 1 *Cant.*5.

Not far from *Asteroth*, *Adricomius* out of *Brochard* and *Breidenbachius* placeth *Cedar* in the way out of *Syria* into *Galilee*, foure miles from *Corazin*. This City (saith he) is remembred in the *Canticles*, and in the book of *Judith*, and there are that of this Citie understand *David* in his 120.*Psalme:* and here the Sepulchre of *Job* is yet to be seen, saith *Braidenbach*.

Now concerning the Texts which he citeth, it is so that the Greek hath *Galaad* in stead of the word *Cedar*, which the Vulgar doth use in that place of *Judith*, and joyneth *Carmel* and *Galilee*. The *Canticles* and the 120. *Psalme* do rather prove that *Cedar* was not hereabout, than any way help *Adricomius*. For that they speake of *Scenitæ Cedareni*, it is apparent, and as evident by the place in the *Canticles*, that they were *decolores*, much more than any under the Climates of the Land of *Canaan:* whence *Junius* out of *Lampridius* and *Pliny* placeth them in *Arabia Petræa*, far fram these parts. Touching the Sepulchre of *Job*, it is certain that the *Arabians* and *Saracens* (holding those places) fain many things to abuse the *Christians*, and to get money. Further, it may well be affirmed, that many (if not all) the historicall circumstances of *Job* are so obscure, that we should rather by finding his Country seeke to get some knowledge of him, than by any presumptions founded upon him, inferre what his Countrey was, and build unto him a City by conjecture.

Rup. Lyran. Oleast. in Gen. Bel. in Cant. lib. 1.*de ver. Dei. S. Am. sup. Ep. ad Rom. Aug. de Civ. Dei. l.*18.*c.*4. *Chrys. Hom.* 2. *De patientia Job. Greg. com. in Job.*

Of *Job* himself, whether he was the same *Jobab* remembred in the 36.of *Genesis*, descended from *Esau* King also of *Idumæa*, though *Rupertus*, *Lyranus*, *Oleaster*, and *Bellarmine* are of another opinon, yet Saint *Ambrose*, *Augustine*, *Chrysostome*, and *Gregorie* with

with *Athanaſius*, *Hippolitus*, *Irenæus*, *Euſebius Emiſſenus*, *Apollinaris*, *Euſtachius*, and other cited by S. *Hierome* in his 126. Epiſt. to *Evagrius*, take him for the ſame.

The Land of *Huts* or *Hus*, wherein *Job* dwelt, is from the Greek Οὐς, which the *Septuagint* uſe for the word *Huts*, tranſlated by the Vulgar ſometime *Hus*, as *Job* 1.1. ſometime *Auſitis*, as *Hierem.* 25.20. This Land is placed by *Junius* between *Palæſtine* and *Cœloſyria*, beſides *Chamatha* (or *Hamath*) under *Palmyrene*, in the Countrie called by *Ptolomy Trachonitis*, or *Bathanæa*, the bounds of which Countries are confounded with *Eaſan* in this half Tribe of *Manaſſes*. And that this Land of *Hus* was thus ſeated, it may in part be gathered out of the place of *Jer.* 25.20. where he reckons the *Huſbites* among the promiſcuous borderers of the *Iſraelites*, whom he therefore calleth promiſcuous, or *miſcellaneam turbam*, becauſe their bounds were not onely joyned but confounded, and their *Seigniories* mingled one with the other: but of this place the words of *Hieremy*, *Lam.* 4. 21. ſpeaking of the ſame Prophecy, of which he ſpeaketh in the 25. Chapter, muſt needs be expounded, as *Junius* reades them, diſtinguiſhing the Land of *Hus* from *Edom*: *O filia Edomi, O quæ habitas in terra Hutzi*; *O daughter of Edom, O thou which dwelleſt in the land of Hus.* Now becauſe the Vulgar doth not ſo diſtinguiſh, but readeth, *Filia Edom quæ habitas in terra Hus*; *Daughter of Edom which dwelleſt in the land of Hus*: Hence, as it ſeems, ſome of the learned have thought that *Job* was an *Edomite*, as we have ſaid, and King of *Edom*, which if they underſtand by it *Idumæa*, or *Edom*, ſo called in *Moſes* time, they are greatly miſtaken, making this *Land* of *Hus* to be in *Idumæa*. For it is very probable that *Eſau*, when he firſt parted from *Jacob*, did not ſeat himſelf in *Edom*, or *Seir*, which lieth on the South border of *Judæa*, but inhabited *Scir* far to the Eaſt of *Jordan*, and held a part of thoſe Mountains, otherwiſe called *Galaad*, and *Hermon*, which by corruption the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites*, *Shenir*, for *Seir*; and from this his habitation did *Eſau* incounter *Jacob*, when he returned out of *Meſopotamia*, who paſſed by the very border of *Eſau* his abiding. It is true, that at ſuch time as *Moſes* wandered in the *Deſarts*, that the poſterity of *Eſau* inhabited *Seir* to the South of *Judæa*: for it is like that the *Amorites*, who had beaten both *Ammon* and *Moab*, did alſo drive the *Edomites* out of thoſe parts, who thence-forward ſeated themſelves to the South of *Judæa*, bordering the *Deſart Paran*, and ſtretched their habitations over the *Deſarts* as far as *Hor* where *Aaron* died.

For *o* and *u* are often changed one into the other: whence they uſed *Auſitis* for *Ouſitis*, &c. Hence alſo by *Junius* and others it is called *Auſanitis*, and ſo as it ſeems they reade it in the *Septuagint*. *Jun. in Gen.* 10.23. *Deut.* 3.9.

Now for this *Hus*, which gave the name to a part of the Land of *Trachonitis*, whether it were *Hus* the ſon of *Aram*, as *Junius* thinks in his note upon *Gen.* 10.23. or rather *Hus* the ſon of *Nachor*, *Abrahams* brother, the queſtion is doubtfull. For my part I rather encline to think, that it was *Hus* the ſon of *Nachor*: partly becauſe theſe Families of *Aram* ſeem long before to have been loſt: and partly becauſe in *Job* 32.2. *Elihu* the fourth of *Jobs* friends, which ſeems to be of *Jobs* own Country, is called a *Buzite*, of *Buz* the brother of *Hus*, the ſon of *Nachor*: as alſo *Jer.* 25. in the ſame continuation (though ſome other Nations named between) where *Hus* is ſpoken of, there *Buz* is alſo named. Neither doth it hinder our conjecture, that in the place of *Job* 32. *Elihu* the *Buzite* is ſaid to be of the Family of *Ram*: (which *Junius* expounds to be as much as of the Family of *Aram*) for that by this *Aram* we are not to underſtand *Aram* the ſon of *Sem*, *Junius* himſelf maketh it plain, both in his annotation upon the beginning of his book, where he ſaith, that one of *Jobs* friends (which muſt needs be this *Elihu*) was of the poſterity of *Nachor* (as alſo in this place he confeſſeth ſo much expreſly,) and in as much as he readeth not *è familia Aram*, or *Ram*, but *è familia Syriæ*; like as elſewhere *Laban*, who ſprung of *Nachor*, is called a *Syrian*.

Whence the *Septuagint* call him *ex regione Auſitide*.

As for the other three of *Jobs* friends (of whom by this note of *Elihu* his being of the *Syrian* Family, or of the Family of *Nachor*) it is implyed that they were of other kindreds; as alſo by the *Septuagints* addition, that this *Elihu* was of the Land of *Hus*, or *Auſitis*, it is implyed that they thought onely *Elihu* to have been of *Jobs* own Countrie.

See *Sixtus Senenſis*.

Franciſcus Brochard the *Monke*, in his deſcription of the *Holy Land* in the journie from *Acon* Eaſtward, findeth *Suetha*, and *Theman* on the Eaſt of the Sea of *Galilee*: both very neer to the Land of *Hus*: whereof the one may ſeem to have denominated *Eildad* the *Shuchite*; the other *Eliphaz* the *Themanite*: two of the three friends of *Job*, of the which *Job* 2.11. But *Junius* thinks that the *Shuchites* were inhabitants of *Arabia the Deſart*, deſcended of *Shuach* the ſon of *Abraham* and *Ketura*: of whom *Gen.* 25.2. perhaps, ſaith he, the ſame whom *Pliny* calls *Saccæi*. So alſo he thinketh the *Themanites*, of whom

Eliphaz was, to have been of *Arabia the Desart*: and *Eliphaz* himself to have been of the posterity of *Theman* the son of *Eliphaz*, which was the son of *Esau*. And so also *Nahamah*, whence *Tsophar* the third of *Jobs* friends (which in this place of *Job* 2.11. are mentioned) is by the same learned Expositor, thought either to be named of *Thimnah* by transposition of letters (which *Thimnah*, *Gen.* 36.40. is named among the sons of *Esau*, that gave denomination to the places where they were seated) or else to be the same *Nahamah*, which *Jos.* 15.41. is reckoned for a City of *Juda* in the border, as he thinks, of *Edom*. And yet I deny not but that neer the Land of *Hus*, in *Basan*, as it seems, in the Tribe of *Manasses*, there is a Region which (at least) in later times was called *Suitis*, or of some like name. For this is evident by the History of *Will. Tyrius*, which reports of a Fort in this Region of *Suita*, or *Suites* (as he calls it diversly) of exceeding great strength and use for the retaining of the whole Country: which, in the time of *Baldwine* the second King of *Hierusalem*, was with great digging through rocks recovered by the *Christians*; having not long before been lost, to the great disadvantage of the Country, while it was in the hands of the *Saracens*. The situation of this Fort is by *Tyrius* described to be sixteen miles from the City *Tiberias*, on the East of *Jordan*: by *Adrichomius* four miles North-ward from the place where *Jordan* enters the Lake *Tiberias* at *Corazin*.

De bel. sacr. lib. 22. c. 15. & 21.

Other Cities of this part of *Manasses* named in the Scripture are these: *Golan*, *Behesthera*, *Mitspa* of *Gilead*, and *Kenath*, which after the coming of the *Israelites* was called *Nobach*. Of *Nobach* or *Kenath*, and *Mitspa* of *Gilead*, we have spoken by occasion among the Cities of *Gad*. The other two were given to the *Leviter*, and *Golan* made one of the Cities of refuge: from which *Golan* we have both *Gaulanitis superior* and *inferior*, oft in *Josephus*. *Behesthera* is accounted the chief City of *Basan* by some, but the Writers corrupting the name into *Bozra*, it is confounded with *Betser*, or *Bozra* of *Reuben*, and with *Bozra* of *Edom*. *Argob* is oft named for a Region in this Tract, and hence *Hierome* hath *Arga*, a name of a City placed by some about the waters of *Merom* (as they are called by *Josua*) which make the Lake *Samachonitis*, as *Josephus* calls it. This Lake, being as it were in the midst between *Cæsarea Philippi* and *Tiberias*, through which, as through the Lake of *Tiberias*, *Jordan* runneth, boundeth part of this half Tribe on the West. When the snow of *Libanus* melteth, it is very large, saith *Brochard*: otherwise more contract, leaving the marish ground on both sides, for Lions and other wilde beasts, which harbour in the shrubs that plentifully grow there.

Jos. 21.27. *Deut.* 4 43.

Adjoyning to this Lake in this Countrie of *Manasses*, *Josephus* names two places of strength, fortified by himself in the beginning of the *Jews* rebellion: *Seleucia* the one, and *Sogane* the other. In the North side of this half Tribe of *Manasse*, and in the North-east, the Scripture nameth divers bordering places towards *Damascus*, as *Tsedad*, *Chauram*, and *Chatsar-Henan*, lying in a line drawn from the West; of which three Cities we reade *Ezek.* 47.15. with which also agrees the place, *Num.* 34.8. where for *Chauram* between *Tsedad*, and *Chatsar-Henan*, *Ziphron* is named. From this *Chauram* is the name of *Auranitis Regio*, in *Josephus* and *Tyrius*, whose bounds (as also the bounds of *Gessur* and *Mahacath*, or *Maacati*, which were likewise borderers to *Manasses* towards the North-east) are unknown: onely that *Gessur* was of might, it appears in that *David* married *Mahaca* the daughter of *Thalmay* King of *Gessur*: by whom he had the most beautifull, but wicked and unfortunate *Absalom*.

1 *Chron.* 3.2.

CHAP. XI.

The History of the Syrians, the chief borderers of the Israelites that dwelt on the East of Jordan.

§. I.

Of the City of Damascus, *and the divers fortunes thereof.*

Damascus of all other in this border, and of that part of the world, was the most famous, excelling in beauty, antiquity, and riches, and was therefore called the City of joy or gladnesse, and the House of pleasure; and is not onely remembred in many places of Scripture, but by the best Historians and Cosmographers. The *Hebrews*, saith *Josephus*, think it to have been built by *Hus* the son of *Aram*: of which opinion S. *Hierome* upon *Esay* seemeth to be: though

Joseph. l. 1. c. 14.

though in his Hebrew questions he affirmeth, that it was founded by *Damascus* the son of *Eliezer*, *Abrahams* Steward; a thing very unlikely, seeing the City was formerly known by that name, as appears by *Abrahams* calling this his Steward *Eliezer* of *Damasco*. *David* was the first that subjected it to the Kingdome of *Juda*, after the overthrow of *Adadezer* their King; but in *Solomons* time, *Rezon* recovered it again, though he had no title at all or right to that Principality: but *David* having overthrown *Hadadezer* King of *Sophena* (otherwise *Syria Soba*, or *Zoba*) *Razon* or *Rezon*, with the remainder of that broken Army, invaded *Damascena*, and possest *Damascus* it self, and became an enemy to *Solomon* all his life. *In Esa.17. Gen.15.2.* *1 Kin.11.40.*

The next King of *Damascus* was *Adad* the *Edomite*, who flying into *Egypt* from *David* and *Joab*, when they slew all the males in *Edom*, was there entertained, and married *Taphnes* the King of *Egypts* Wives sister: of whom *Taphnes* in *Egypt* was so called. This *Adad* returning again, became an enemy to *Solomon* all his life, and (as some Writers affirm) invaded *Damascus*, and thrust *Rezon* thence-out. In the Line of *Adad* that Kingdome continued nine descents, (as hereafter may be shewed in the Catalogue of those Kings of *Syria*) to whom the *Assyrians*, and then the *Grecians* succeeded. This City was exceeding strong, compassed with waters from the Rivers of *Abanah*, and *Pharpar*: whereof one of them, prophane Writers call *Chrysorrhoas*, the golden River. *Junius* takes it for *Adonis*. The Countrie adjoyning is very fruitfull of excellent Wines and Wheats, and all manner of excellent fruits. It had in it a very strong Castle, built as it seems by the *Florentines*, after it became Christian: the Lillies being found cut in many Marbles in that Cittadell. Against this City the Prophets *Amos*, *Esay*, *Jeremy*, and *Zacharias*, prophesied that it should be taken, burnt, demolished, and made a heap of stones. In the time of the last *Rezon*, and tenth King of the *Damascens*, *Teglatphalasser*, invited by *Achaz* King of *Juda*, carried away the naturals of *Damascus* into the East: leaving of his own Nation to inhabit it. After that it was utterly ruined by the *Babylonians*, saith *Hierome* upon *Esay*: which thing was performed by *Salmanasser*, according to *Junius* in his note upon that place, five yeers after the Prophecy. In time it was restored by the *Macedonians*, and the *Ptolomies*; but long after, when *Syria* fell into the hands of the *Romanes*, it was taken by *Metellus*, and *Lollius*. In the time of the Christians it had an Archbishop: Saint *Hierome* living, as he affirmeth upon the *Acts*, it was the *Metropolis* of the *Saracens*: being taken by *Haomer* their King from the *Romanes*, in the yeer of our redemption 636. and in the yeer 1147. *Conrad* the third, Emperour of *Rome*, *Lewis* King of *France*, *Baldwine* the third King of *Hierusalem*, *Henry* Duke of *Austria*, brother to *Conrad*, *Frederick Barbarossa* afterward Emperour, *Theoderick* Earle of *Flaunders*, and other Princes assembled at *Ptolomais Acon*, on the sea-coast, determined to recover *Damascus*: but being betrayed by the *Syrians*, they failed of the enterprize. *1 Kings 11.* *2 Kings 5.* *Herold.6. bell. sacr.1.3.8.10. & 17.49.& 9.* *2 Kings 16.* *Esay 17.* *Jos.ant.4.* *Onuphrius in Chron.* *Vitric.46.Will. Tyr.bel.sacr.lib. 17. c.1.23.4.5.*

In the yeer 1262. *Halon* the *Tartar* incompast it, and having formerly taken the King, brought him under the Walls, and threatned extreme torture unto him, except the Citizens rendred the place: but they refusing it, the King was torn asunder before them, and in fine the City taken, *Agab* the son of *Halon* was by his father made King thereof. *Herold.bel. sacr.4.c.14.*

In the yeer 1400. *Tamberlain* Emperour of the *Parthians*, invaded that Region, and besieged the City with an Army of 1200000. (if the number be not mistaken.) He entred it, and put all to the sword, filling the ditch with his prisoners; those that retired into the Castle, which seemed a place impregnable, he overtopped with another Castle adjoyning: he forbare the demolishing of the City, in respect of the beauty of the Church, garnished with fourty Gates, or sumptuous Porches. It had within it 9000. Lanterns of Gold and Silver: but while he invaded *Egypt*, they again surprized *Damascus*. Lastly, in his return after three moneths siege, he forc't it: the *Mahometans* prostrating themselves with their Priests, desired mercy. But *Tamberlain* commanding them to enter the Church, he burnt them and it to the number of 30000. and did so demolish it, as those that came afterwards to see their houses, knew them not by the foundations. And as a Trophee of his victory, he raised three Towers with great art, builded with the heads of those whom hee had slaughtered. After this, it was restored and re-possest by the *Soldane* of *Egypt* with a Garrison of *Mammalukes*: And in the yeer 1517. *Selimus* Emperour of the *Herold. l.6.c.4.*

Turks wrested it out of the hands of the *Egyptians*: in whose possession it now remaineth inhabited with Mahometans and Christians of all neighbouring Nations.

§. II.

Of the first Kings of Damascus, *and of the growing up of their power.*

NOw be it that *Damascus* were founded by *Hus* the son of *Aram*, or by *Damascus* the son of *Eliezer Abrahams* steward, we finde no relation of their Kings, or Commonwealth till *Davids* time. For it stood without the bounds of *Canaan*: and therefore neglected by *Moses*, *Josua*, and the *Judges*, as impertinent to that Story. But were it so that it had some *Reguli*, or petty Kings over it, as all the Cities of those parts had, yet none of them became famous for ought that is left to writing, till such time as *David* overthrew *Adadezer* Prince of *Sophena*, or *Syria Zoba*: the same Nation which *Pliny* calleth *Nubæi*, inhabiting between *Batania* and *Euphrates*. Now the better to understand the story of those *Syrian* Princes, whom soon after the Kings of *Damascus* made their vassals, the Reader may inform himself, That on the North-east parts of the Holy Land, there were three chief principalities, whereof the Kings or Commanders greatly vexed or disturbed the State or Common-wealth of *Israel*, namely, *Damascus*, or *Aram*, *Sophena*, or *Syria Zoba*, and *Chamath*, or *Chamath Zoba*; of which these were the Princes in *Davids* and *Solomons* times: *Razon*, or Rezon of *Damascus*, *Adadezer* of *Syria Zoba*, and *Tohu* of *Chamath*. But it seemeth, that *Damascus* was one of the Cities subject to *Adadezer* when *David* invaded him, though when *Saul* made war against *Zoba*, *Damascus* was not named. And as *Josephus* affirmeth, the leader of those succours, which were levied and sent to *Hadad-Hezer* from *Damascus*, had the name of *Adad*: who was in that battell slain with 22000. *Aramites* of *Damascus*: whereof, as of the overthrow of *Adadezer*, Rezon the Commander of his Army, taking advantage, made himself King of *Damascus*, *Adadezer* and *Adad* of *Damascus* being both slain. About the same time *Tohu* King of *Chamath*, or *Iturea*, hearing that his neighbour and enemy *Adadezer* was utterly overthrown, sendeth for peace to *David*, and presenteth him with rich gifts: but *in dolo*, saith S. *Hierome*; it was craftily done of him. Now to the North of the Holy Land, and to the West of *Damascus*, the *Tyrians* and *Zidonians* inhabited: but they for the most part were in league and peace with the *Judæans* and *Israelites*. But to return to the Kings of *Syria*, I mean of *Syria* as it is taken in the Scriptures, containing *Damascena*, *Soba* or *Zoba*, and *Chamath*, or *Iturea*; to which I may adde *Gesur*, because it is so accounted in the second of *Sam.* 15. as joyning in the Territory to *Damascus* (for *Syria* at large is far greater, of which *Palæstina* it self is but a Province, as I have noted in the beginning of this Tract:) It is not agreed among the Historians of former times, nor of our later Writers, who was the first of those *Adads* of *Syria Zoba*, and *Damascus*.

1 *Sam.* 14. 47. 3082. 2 *Sam.* 8. 1 *Kings* 11.

Some account *Rezon*, others *Adad* of *Idumæa*: of whom it is written in the first of *Kings*, that *David* having invaded that Region, & left *Joab* there to destroy all the male children thereof: *Adad* of the Kings seed fled into *Egypt*; and was there married to *Taphnes* the Queens sister, as before; who hearing of *Davids* death, and of the death of his Captain *Joab* (whom indeed all the bordering Nations feared) he turned again: and, as *Bunting* thinketh, this *Adad* did expell *Rezon* out of *Damascus*, and was the first of the *Syrian* Kings. To me it seemeth otherwise. For, as I take it, *Adadezer*, the son of *Rehob*, whom *Saul* invaded, was the Founder of that Principality: and the first of *Adads*, who forsaking his fathers name, as he grew powerfull, took upon him the stile of *Adad*, the great god of the *Assyrians*, saith *Macrobius*, which signified Oneness or Unity. I also finde a City called *Adada*, in the same part of *Syria*: of which whether these Princes took the name, or gave it, I am ignorant. For *Adad-ezer*, *Ben-adad*, *El-adad* were the same in name, with the differences of *Ezer*, *Ben*, and *El* adjoyned. And that *Adadezer* was of greatest power, it appeareth first, because it is against him, that *David* undertook the war: secondly, because he levied 22000. *Aramites* out of the Territory of *Damascus*: as out of his proper Dominions: for had the *Damascens* had a King apart, it is probable that the Scriptures would have given us his name: thirdly, because *Syria Zoba*, of the most of which *Adadezer* was King, was an exceeding large Territory, and contained of *Arabia the* Desart as far as to *Euphrates*, according

2 *Sam.* 8. 3. & 12. 1 *Sam.* 14. 47.

Plin. l. 6. c. 28. *Plin. l. 6. c. 18.*

cording to *Pliny*: and the greatest part of *Arabia Petræa*, according to *Niger*. Whosoever was the first, whether *Adadezer*, or *Adad* of *Idumæa*, *Rezon* was the second: *Who was an enemie to Israel all the dayes of Solomon*. Besides the evill that *Adad* did, the evil that *Hadad* did, seemeth to be referred to *Hadad* of *Idumæa*, lately returned out of *Egypt*: to wit, 23. yeers after he was carried thither. 1 Kings 11.

The third King of *Damascus*, and of *Zobah* both, was *Hezion*; to *Hezion* succeeded *Tabrimmum*, or *Tabremmum*; to him *Benhadad*, as is proved in the first of Kings: For *Asa* King of *Juda* the son of *Abiam*, the son of *Roboam*, the son of *Solomon*, being vexed & invaded by *Baasha*, the successour of *Nadab*, the son of *Jeroboam*, sent to *Benhadad* the son of *Tabrimmon*, the son of *Hezion*, King of *Aram*, that dwelt at *Damascus*, to invade *Israel* (while *Baasha* sought to fortifie *Rama* against *Asa*: thereby to block him up, that he should not enter into any of the territories of *Israel*) who according to the desire of *Asa*, having received his presents, willingly invaded the Country of *Nephtalim*, and took divers Cities, and spoyls thence: *Asa* in the mean while carrying away all the Materials, which *Baasha* had brought to fortifie *Rama* withall, and converted them to his own use. 1 Kin. 15. 18.

This *Benhadads* Father *Tabremmon* was in league with *Asa*: and so was his Father *Hezion*: for *Asa* requireth the continuance of that friendship from *Benhadad*, his son: though it seemeth that the gold and silver sent him out of the Temple, was the most forcible argument. And that this *Tabremmon* invaded *Israel*, before the enterprize of his son *Benhadad*, it is conjectured. For *Benhadad* when he was prisoner with *Achab*, spake as followeth: *The Cities which my Father took from thy father, I will restore: and thou shalt make streets or keepers of the borders for thee in Damascus: as my father did in Samaria.* And herein there ariseth a great doubt (if the argument it self were of much importance) because *Tabremmon* was father indeed to *Benhadad* which invaded *Baasha*, at the request of *Asa*: But this *Benhadad* that twice entred upon *Achab*, and was the second time taken prisoner, was rather the son of *Benhadad*, the first of that name, the confederate of *Asa* and *Abiam*, as before, than the son of *Tabremmon*. For between the invasion of *Benhadad* the first, in *Baasha's* time, and the siege of *Samaria*, and the overthrow of *Benhadad* by *Achab*, there past 49. yeers, as may be gathered out of the reigns of the Kings of *Israel*. So that if we allow 30. yeers of age to *Benhadad*, when he invaded *Baasha*, and after that 49. yeers ere he was taken by *Achab*, which make eighty lacking one, it is unlikely that *Benhadad* at such an age should make war. Besides all this, the first *Benhadad* came with no such pomp; but the second *Benhadad* vaunteth, that he was followed with 32. Kings: and therefore I resolve, that *Benhadad* the son of *Tabremmon* invaded *Baasha* and *Omri*; and *Benhadad* the second invaded *Achab*, at whose hands this *Benhadad* received two notorious overthrows: the first at *Samaria*, by a sally of 700. *Israelites*: the second at *Aphec*; where, with the like number in effect, the *Israelites* slaughtered 200000. of the *Aramites*; besides 27000. which were crush't by the fall of the wall of *Aphec*. And this *Benhadad*, *Achab* again setteth at liberty: to whom he rendreth those Towns that his father had taken from the Predecessour of *Achab*, but being returned, he refused to render *Ramoth Gilead*, a frontier Town, and of great importance. Now three yeers after (for so long the league lasted) *Ramoth* not being delivered, *Achab* invaded *Gilead*, and besieged the City, being assisted by *Josaphat*. The *Aramites* came to succour and fight: in which *Achab* is wounded, and dieth that night. After this, *Benhadad* sendeth the Commander of his forces, called *Naaman*, to *Joram* the son of *Achab* to be healed of the leprosie, and though *Elizeus* had healed him, yet he picketh a quarrell against *Joram*: and when *Joram*, by *Elizeus* his intelligence, had escaped his plot, he sent men and Chariots to take the Prophet, as is aforesaid. After *Benhadad* besieged *Samaria* again, and being terrified thence from heaven, he departed home, and sickneth, and sendeth *Azael* with great gifts to *Elizeus*, to know his estate if he might live. *Azael* returning, smothereth him. *Zonaras* and *Cedrenus* call this *Benhadad Adar*, and the son of *Adar*: *Amos* and *Hieremy* mention the Towers of *Benhadad*. *Josephus* writeth that *Benhadad* and his successour *Azael* were worshipped for gods by the *Syrians* to his time, for the sumptuous Temples which they built in *Damascus*. The *Syrians* also boasted much of their antiquity, ignorant, saith he, that scarce yet 1100. yeers are complete since their wars with the *Israelites*.

1 Kin. 15. 18.

1 Kin. 20. 34.

1 Kings 15.

1 Kings 20.

1 Kings 22. 3227. 3232.

2 Kings 5. 2 Kings 6. 2 Kings 6.

2 Kings 7. 3234.

Amos. 1. Jer. 49. ant. l. 8. c. 8.

Hazael, or *Azael*, the first King of the race of the *Adads* of *Damascus*, was annointed by *Elisha*, or *Elizeus*, when he was sent by *Benhadad* to the Prophet, to know whether *Benhadad*

hadad should recover his present sickness: He waged war with *Joram*, who received divers wounds at the encounter at *Ramoth* in *Gilead*: from whence returning to be cured at *Jesreel*, he and the King of *Juda*, *Ahaziah* or *Ochozias*, are slain by *Jehu*, as before is said. After the death of *Joram*, *Azael* continued war against *Jehu*, and wasted *Gilead*, and all those portions of *Gad*, *Reuben*, and *Manasse*, over *Jordan*. He then invaded *Juda*, and took *Gath*; but by gifts from *Joas* he was averted from attempting *Hierusalem*: for he presented him all the *hallowed things which* Jehosaphat, Jehoram, *and* Ahaziah *his fathers, Kings of* Juda, *had dedicated; and which he himself had dedicated: and all the gold which was found in the treasuries of the Lord, and in the Kings house*. This was the second time that the Temple was spoiled to please the *Adads* of *Damascus*. For *Asa* did present *Benhadad* with those treasures, when he invited him to war upon *Baasha* King of *Israel*. And notwithstanding this composition between *Joas* and *Azael*, yet a part of his Army spoiled the other Provinces of *Judæa*, and slaughtered many principall persons. Lastly, *Azael* vexed *Joahaz* the son of *Jehu*, and brought him to that extremity, as he left him but fifty Horse-men, ten Chariots, and ten thousand Footmen of all his people.

2 *Reg.* 12.17.
2 *Reg.* 12.
1 *Reg.* 15.
2 *Reg.* 13.7.

§. III.

Of the later Kings, and decay and overthrow of their power.

AFter *Hazael*, *Benhadad* the second, or rather the third of that name, the son of *Hazael*, reigned in *Damascus*: who fought against *Israel* with ill success: for *Joas* King of *Israel*, the son of the unhappy *Joachaz*, as he was foretold by *Elisha* the Prophet, beat *Benhadad* in three severall battels: and he lost all those Cities to *Israel*, which his father *Hazael* had taken violently from *Joachaz*.

2 *Reg* 13.
Jos. ant. c. 9.

Jos. ant. l. 7. *c.* 6. After this *Benhadad* the son of *Hazael*, there succeeded three others by the same name, of whom the Stories are lost, only *Nicholaus Damascenus* cited by *Josephus*, makes mention of them: and in one of these Kings times it was that *Jeroboam* the second, the son of *Joas*, recovered *Damascus* it self to *Juda*, saith the *Geneva*, but better in *Junius*, *Utque recuperabat Damascum, & Chamatham Jehudæ pro Israele*; that is, *And how he recovered for Israel, Damascus and Chamatha of Judæa*; for these Cities sometimes conquered by *David*, did of right belong to the Tribe of *Juda*.

1 *Kin.* 14.28.

And it is likely, that this conquest upon the *Adads* was performed: the first of these three *Adads* then living, of whom there is no Story. For when as *Jehoas* the King of the ten Tribes had thrice overcome the *Syrians* in the time of *Benhadad* the son of *Hazael*, and had recovered the Cities which *Hazael* had won from *Israel*; and so left his Kingdome to his son *Jeroboam* the second; it seemeth that this *Jeroboam* without delay, and having nothing else left for him to enterprize, instantly followed his fathers good fortune, and invaded *Damascus*.

Razin, or *Rezin*, after *Josephus*, *Rases*; after *Zonaras*, *Raason* the tenth *Adad*, making league with *Pekah*, or *Phacas* King of *Israel*, against *Achaz* King of *Juda*; both carry away a great number of prisoners. After this they both besiege *Achaz* in *Hierusalem*: but in vain. Then *Adad* alone invadeth *Elath*, and beating out the Jews, maketh it a Colonie of *Syrians*. Wherefore *Achab* brought *Teglatphalassar* against *Razin*, who took him, and beheaded him, and won *Damascus*: with whom ended the line of the *Adads*, and the Kingdome of *Damascus*: the *Assyrians* becoming masters both of that and *Israel*. These *Adads*, as they reigned in order, are thus reckoned:

2 *Kin.* 16.5.5.
Esay 7.
Jos. ant. l. 9. *c.* 11.

1 *Adadezer* the son of *Rehob*.
2 *Rezin* the son of *Eliadad*, or *Razin*.
3 *Hezion*.
4 *Tabremmon*.
5 *Benhadad*, who invaded *Baasha*.
6 *Benhadad* the second, taken prisoner by *Achab*.
7 *Hazael*, whom *Elisha* foretold with tears of his advancement; the same who overthrew *Joram* King of *Israel* at *Ramoth Gilead*. And that there was a second *Hazael* which preceded *Benhadad* the third, it is not improbable, because that *Hazael* which took *Geth*, and compounded the war with *Joas*, made the Expedition thirty yeers, and perchance more,

more, after the firſt *Hazael* which ſtifled his maſter *Benhadad*, and had ſlain *Joram* the ſon of *Achab* King of *Iſrael*. For *Joas* began to reigne in the 7. yeer of *Jehu* King of *Iſrael*; and after he had reigned 23. yeers, the Temple was not yet repaired, after which (and how long we know not) it is ſaid that *Hazael* took *Geth*, and turned his face towards *Jeruſalem*. It is alſo ſome proof that *Hazael* that took *Geth*, was not the ſame with *Hazael* that murthered *Benhadad*, becauſe he could not at that time be of good yeers, being, as it ſeemeth, the ſecond perſon in the Kingdom, and Commander of *Benhadads* men of war. To this *Hazael* (be he the firſt or ſecond) ſucceeded.

8. *Benhadad* the third, whom *Joaſh* King of *Iſrael* thrice overthrew.

9. *Reſin*, or *Rezin*, the laſt, who joyned with *Pekah* King of *Iſrael*, againſt *Juda*, at which time *Achaz* King of *Juda* waged for his defence *Teglatphalaſſer*.

Now between *Benhadad* the third, and *Rezin* the laſt, *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* finds three other Kings of the *Adads*, which make twelve in all.

For the reſt of the Princes of *Syria*, which were but *Reguli*, as thoſe of *Emath*, and *Geſſur*, we finde that *Tohu* was King of *Emath*, or *Camath*, in *Davids* time, to whom he ſent his ſon *Joram* with preſents, after *Davids* victory againſt *Adadezer*. Alſo *Senacherib* ſpeaketh of a King of *Emath*, but names him not. 2 *Sam.* 8. 9. *Eſay* 37.

§. IV.

Of Other leſſer Kingdoms of the Syrians, which being brought under the Aſſyrians, never recovered themſelves again.

OF *Geſſur* we finde two Kings named; to wit, *Talmai*, and his Father *Ammihur*: to *Talmai*, whoſe Daughter *David* married, it was that *Abſalom* fled, who was his maternall grandfather. Of the Kings of *Sephena*, or *Syria*, *Soba*, or *Cœloſyria*, there are two named, *Rehob*, or *Rechob*, the Father of *Adadezer*, and *Adadezer* himſelf; and it is plain, that after his death the ſeat of the Kings of *Soba* was transferred to *Damaſcus*, a City better fitting their greatneſſe. After *Rezin* became Lord of both Principalities. And the race of theſe Kings of *Syria*, (which became ſo potent, and joyned *Soba*, *Damaſcus*, *Emath*, and the *Deſart* of *Arabia*, with other Provinces into one, under *Rezin* the ſecond of the *Adads*) as it began with *David*, ſo it ended at once with the Kingdom of *Iſrael*. For *Ahaz* King of *Juda* waged the *Aſſyrian Teglatphalaſſar* againſt *Pekah* King of *Iſrael*, and againſt *Rezin* the laſt King of *Damaſcus*: which *Teglath* firſt invaded *Damaſcena*, and the Region of *Soba*, and took *Damaſcus* it ſelf, and did put to death Rezin the laſt, carrying the Inhabitants captive. This was the ſecond time that the *Aſſyrians* attempted *Iſrael*. For firſt *Phul Belochus* entred the borders thereof (*Menahem* governing *Iſrael*) who ſtopt the enterpriſe of *Phul* with a thouſand talents of ſilver: for this *Phul Belochus*, whoſe pedigree we will examine hereafter, being ſcarce warm, as yet, in his ſeat at *Babylon*, which he, with the help of his companion *Arbaces*, had wreſted from *Sardanapalus*: having beſides this King of *Syria* in his way, who ſeemed to be a great and ſtrong Prince, was content to take the compoſition of a thouſand talents of the King of *Iſrael* for that preſent time. But his ſon *Teglath* following the purpoſe of his father *Belochus*, and finding ſo excellent an occaſion, as the war begun between *Iſrael* and *Judah*, *Pekah* commanding in the one, and *Achaz* in the other, his neighbour *Rezin* being alſo wrapt in that war, and waſted in ſtrength thereby, did willingly accept the offer of *Achaz* King of *Juda*, his impreſt and entertainment. So, firſt attempting *Damaſcus*, which lay in his path towards *Iſrael*, he carried it (as is before remembred) and then with great eaſe poſſeſt himſelf of the Cities of *Nephtalim*; leading with him a great part of the people captive. And his ſon *Salmanaſſer*, whom *Ptolomie* calleth *Nabonaſſer*, after the revolt of *Hoſea*, forced *Samaria*, and rent that Kingdom aſunder. So as the line and race of *Ninus* in *Sardanapalus*, whom *Belochus* ſupplanted; the race and Monarchy of the *Syrian Adads* in *Rezin*, whom *Teglath* ſlaughtered; the Kingdom of *Iſrael* in *Hoſea*, whom *Salmanaſſer* overturned; happened neer about a time: that of *Ninus* in the daies of *Belochus*, and the other two in the daies of *Teglatphalaſſer*, and *Salmanaſſer* his ſon. For *Sardanapalus* periſhed, *Oſia* ruling *Juda*; and the other two Kingdoms were diſſolved, *Achaz* yet living.

Laſtly, the Kingdom of *Juda* it ſelf, being attempted by *Senacherib*, the ſon of *Salmanaſſer*, in vain, and preſerved for the time by God miraculouſly, was at length utterly

utterly overturned. *Hierusalem* and the Temple burnt 132. yeers after the captivity of *Israel* and *Samaria*: the destruction of *Israel* being in the ninth yeer of *Hosea*: that of *Juda* in the eleventh of *Zedechia*. Now the Emperours of *Assyria* and *Babylon* held also the Kingdom of *Syria*, from the eighth yeer of *Salmanassar*, to the last of *Baltassar*, whom
3603. *Herodotus* calleth *Labynitus*: in all about 200. yeers. After these the *Persians* from *Cy-*
3811. *rus* to *Darius* their last King, held *Syria* about 200. yeers.

Then *Alexander Macedon* took this among other Provinces of the *Persian* Empire, and his successors the *Seleucidæ* reigned therein, till it became subject unto the power of the *Romans*, from whom it was wrested long after by the *Saracens*, and remaineth now in possession of the *Turk*, as shall be shewed in due place. Thus much of the Nations bordering upon the *Israelites*, with whom they had most to do, both in war and peace, being the onely people, whose History in those ancient times carried an assured face of Truth.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Tribe of Benjamin, and of Hierusalem.

§. I.

Of divers memorable places in the Tribe of Benjamin, *whereof Hiericho, Gilgal, Mitspa, Bethel, Rama, Gobah and Gibha.*

OF the Tribe of *Benjamin*, the twelfth and youngest son of *Jacob*, whom he had by *Rachel*, there were mustered at Mount *Sinai* 35000. able bodies: all which perishing in the *Desarts*, there entred the *Holy Land* of their issues 45600. fit to bear Arms: and these had their Territory on this side *Jordan*, between *Juda* and *Ephraim*: The Cities within this Tribe neerest *Jor-*
1 *Chr.* 8.12. *dan*, are *Lod*, *Hadid*, and *Ono*: of which, *Lod* and *Ono* were built by *Shemed* a *Benjamite*: they were all three re-inhabited with *Benjamites*, after the return out of Captivity, as
Macc. 12.38. is mentioned, *Nehem.* 11.35. and *Esd.* 2.35. where *Adrichomius* reading *Lod*, *Hadid*, *Ono*, makes besides *Hadid* in *Nehemia*, a City called *Lodhadid*: This *Hadid* or *Chadid* was rebuilt by *Simon Macchabæus*.

Samarim, or *Tsemaraim*, named of *Tsemary*, one of the sons of *Cannan*, was another of their Cities: and further into the Land standeth *Jericho*, one of the Toparchies and the last of *Juda*, seated in a most fruitfull Valley, adorned with many Palm-trees: and
1 *Kings* 16.34. *Jos.* 6.29. therefore elsewhere called the City of Palms. From the time of *Josua*, who utterly destroyed it, it lay waste untill the time of *Achad*: in whose daies *Chiel* of *Bethel* laid the new foundation of it, in the losse of *Abiram* his eldest son, and built the gates of it in the losse of his youngest son *Segub*: according to the curse of *Josua*: in which and other respects, *Hos.* 12.14. calleth *Josua* a Prophet. In after-times it was destroyed by *Vespasian*, and re-built by *Adrian*.

* 1 *Chr.* 6.60. This *Halmon* is called *Helemeth*, whence they make a new City *Almath*, as if this Tribe had given five Cities to the *Levites*.

To the Southeast of *Jericho* stood * *Halmon* of the Levites, of which *Jos.* 21.18. To the South *Betharaba*, of which *Jos. c.* 15. and *c.* 18. Then that *Gilgal* of which there is so much mention in the Scripture, where *Josua* first ate of the fruits of the land, circumcised all those borne in the *Desarts*, and celebrated the Passeover.

The reason of the name, or rather a memorable application of the Etymology of this name (for it seems by the place, *Deut.* 11.30. that the name was known before the coming of the *Israelites* into *Canaan*) is noted *Jos.* 5.9. *Ob devolutionem probri Ægyptiaci*, because their fore-skins (the people being there circumcised) were tumbled down the Hill: which from thence was called *Collis præputiorum*. This *Gilgal* was also called *Geliloth*, as appeares by comparing the places, *Jos.* 15.7. and 18.17. for it was in the borders of *Jordan*, of which *Jos.* 22.13. and *Geliloth* signifieth borders. It stood (though in some
Deut. 11.30. distance) directly Eastward, over against the two Hils *Garazim* and *Hebal*: upon the one of which the blessings, and on the other the cursings were to be read to the people, both being the mountains of *Ephraim*. Further, for the situation of this *Gilgal*, it is to be

be noted, that both it, and *Mitspa* of *Benjamin* (of which also we read oft in the Scripture) were seated about the midst of the length of the land of *Canaan*: for which reason (*a*) *Samuel* chose these two places, to either of which he came yeerly to give judgement to the *Israelites*; of which two, *Gilgal*, (as is said) was neer *Jordan* on the East side of this Tribe; and *Mitspa* neer the West Sea, towards the land of the Philistims.

a 1 *Sam.* 7. 15.

The third place, which is named with these two, whither also *Samuel* used yeerly to come, is (*b*) *Bethel*: which also was seated in this Tribe of *Benjamin*. But to return to *Gilgal*, which was the first place where the *Arke* resided, after they past over *Jordan* (from whence it was carried to *Silo*, and thence to *Kiriath-jearim*, and at length to *Hierusalem*) here in *Gilgal* it was that *Josua* pitched up the 12. stones, which were taken out of the channell of *Jordan*, when it was drie, that the *Israelites* might passe over it: by which Story, as it is set down *Jos.* 4. it appears, that the same day that they passed over *Jordan*, they lodged at *Gilgal*. At the same *Gilgal*, to omit many other memorable things, it was that *Samuel* hewed *Agag* the King of the *Amalekites* in pieces. And as for *Mitspa*, whither *Samuel* came yeerly to give judgment, there also were often the greatest meetings held: as that for the revenge of the Levites wife against *Gibha*, and the *Benjamites*, *Jos.* 20. 1. and another against the *Philistims*, 1 *Sam.* 7. 12. Thither also *Judas Macchabæus* gathered the Jews, (when *Hierusalem* was possest by the *Heathen*) as it is 1 *Macc.* 3 47. in which place this reason of their meeting is added; *Quia locus orationi fuerat Mitspæ ante à Israeli.* Touching this *Mitspa*, to avoid confusion, it is to be remembrd, that the Scriptures mention four places of this name: *Mitspa* of *Juda*, of which *Jos.* 15. 38. (*c*) *Mitspa* of *Gilead*, of which we have spoken already in the Tribe of *Gad*. *Mitspa* of the *Moabites*, where *David* for a while held himself, commending his Parents to the King of *Moab*, 1 *Sam.* 22. 3. and lastly, this chief *Mitspa* of the *Benjamites*. And as in this place the chief meetings were held both before *Hierusalem* was recovered from the *Jebusites*, and also in the time of the *Macchabees* (as we have said) when *Hierusalem* was held by the wicked under *Antiochus*, so also in the time of *Hieremy*, after the destruction of the Temple by the *Chaldees*, *Gedaliah* whom *Nabuchodonosor* left in Jewrie, as Governour over those that were left in the land, held his abiding in this place: untill (to the great hurt of the Jews) he was slain by the treason of *Ismael*, one of the royall bloud of *Juda*, as it is *Jerem.* 41.

b *Junius* in this place, for *Bethel* readeth *Domum Dei fortis*, and interpreters it, *Kiriath-jearim*, where the *Arke* abode. For (saith he) by the Law, *Exod.* 23. 17. the greatest meetings in their annuall feasts were to be where the *Arke* was, but this place doth not speak of festivall, but of judiciall meetings: and besides the Priests did use to bring the *Arke* to their great meetings wheresoever they were, as appears 1 *Sam.* 12. 11. & 14. 18. neither is it easie to expound *Bethel* otherwise than for the City *Bethel*: though *Junius* also take it for the place where the *Arke* was, 1 *Sam.* 10. 3.

c It was no other than this *Mitspa* of *Gilead*, of which *Jos.* 11. 8. as appears by that which is added, *Versus orientem*, for *Josua* notes the three quarters, North, West, and East, to which he followed the *Canaanites*, though *Adrichamus* and others out of this place imagine a *Mitspa* or *Maspha* (as they write it) in the Tribe of *Aser*.

Neer unto this *Mitspa*, the Scripture mentioneth *Beth-car*, after called *Aben-Hezer*, that is, the Stone of help: where *Samuel* pitched up the Piller or Stone, for a Trophey against the *Philistims*.

Touching *Bethel*, which (as it seems) was the third place where *Samuel* held his chief meetings for the ministring of Justice, that it was anciently called *Luz*, and how it was taken by the issue of *Joseph* (though it belonged to the portion of *Benjamin*, as it is *Nehem.* 11. 31. and *Jos.* 18. 22.) and how another City called *Luz* (*d*) neer adjoyning to it, was built by the man of the city which shewed the entrance to the Spies, as it is *Jud.* 1. and of the occasion of the name from *Jacobs* vision: and how *Jeroboam*, by ereting one of his calves here, of *Bethel* (which signifieth the house of God) made it (*e*) *Beth-aven*, that is, the house of Vanitie, *Hos.* 4. 15. and 10. 5. as also other memorable things of this place, they are so well known out of the Histories of the Scripture, that we may wel passe them over.

d 1 *Sam.* 7. 11. *Jos.* 16. 1.

The Territorie of *Bethel*, which at the first belonged to the Kingdome of the ten Tribes, from the time of the great victory of *Abia* against *Jeroboam*, of which 2 *Chron.* 13.) was taken from them, and adjoyned to the Kingdome of *Juda*: and so it continued, as appeares by the Storie of *Josias*: which performed the Prophecies against the altar of *Bethel*, 2 *Reg.* 23. whence those coasts 1 *Macc.* 11. 34. are called *Apheræma*, which *Greek* word signifieth as much as, *A thing taken away*, to wit, from the ten Tribes. It was one of the three *Seigniories*, or *Prefectures* which *Demetrius* in his Epistle mentioneth, as added by him to the *Dition* of the Jews, out of the *Samaritan Country*. A part of it, as appears 2 *Chron.* 13. 19. was *Hephravim*, which *Jos.* 18. 23. is called *Hophrani*, belonging to this Tribe of *Benjamin*.

e Borrowing the name of a neighbour

Not far from this *Bethel*, in this tribe, we finde three other Cities, often mentioned in the Scriptures, *Rama*, *Gidha*, and *Geba*. Of the name *Rama*, (*b*) it is noted already, in the description of *Ephraim*, that there were many Towns so called, because of their

town in the confines of the Kingdoms of *Juda* and *Israel* between *Hai* and *Bethel*, *Jos.* 7. 2. and 18. 12. b See *cap.* 6. *sect.* 1.

high

high situation. But whereas they find out *Rama* in the Tribe of *Juda* (as it seems, because *Mat.*2. it appears that it bordered *Bethlehem*) and also out of *Brochard* and *Breidenbach* make *Silo* to have been called *Rama*, and find yet another *Rama* in *Zabulon*; these three have no warrant in the Scripture. Of *Rama* in the Tribe of *Asser*, as it seems, we have testimonie, *Jos.*19.29. and of another in *Nephthalim*, *Jos.*19.36. of a third *Rama*, where *Samuel* dwelt in Mount *Ephraim*, 1 *Sam.*25.1. which more often is called (*e*) *Ramatha*, and 1 *Sam.*1.1. *Ramathaim Tsophim*: for which the *Septuagint* have *Aramathaim-sophim*, taking the Article affixed in the beginning, for a part of the word, whence they think *Joseph* of *Arimathæa Mat.*27.57. was denominated.

Of a fourth *Rama* we read 2 *Reg.*8.29. which is *Ramoth* in *Gilead*. The first, which is most often mentioned, is *Rama* of *Benjamin*, seated, as we said, neer *Bethel* the uttermost South-border of the kingdom of the ten Tribes: for which cause *Baasha* in the time of *Asa* king of *Juda*, fortified it, to hinder those that did flie from him to *Asa*. Of this *Rama*, or *Ramatha*, I should rather think *Joseph* was, that buried *Christ*: because it was neerer to *Hierusalem*, and after the captivitie belonged to *Judæa*, as it appears, *Esd.* 2.26. wherein that it is joyned with *Geba*, it is plain that he speaketh of that *Rama* with whose stones (after *Baasha* had ceased to build it) *Asa* (as it is 1 *Reg.*25.22.) built *Gebah* ad joyning to it: both being in *Benjamin*. And as *Rama* was the South-border of the ten Tribes, so was *Gebah* the North-border of the Kingdom of *Juda*: whence 2 *Reg.* 23.8. we reade that *Josiah* through all his Kingdom, even from *Gebah*, which was the North-border, to *Beer-sheba*, which was the South-border, destroyed the places of Idolatry.

The third City *Gibba*, which was the City of *Saul* (the wickednesse of which City in the time of the *Judges* had almost utterly rooted out this Tribe) *Adrichomius* confounds with *Gebah*, making one of two (as they are evidently distinguished, *Esay.*10.27.) of which word (*d*) *Gibba*, in another from *Gibbath*, he imagineth *Gibbaath*, another City in this Tribe, making two of one. The vicinitie of this City also to *Rama* of *Benjamin* appears *Jud.*19.13. where the *Levite* with his wife, not able to reach to *Rama*, took up his lodging at *Gibba*. By that place of 1 *Sam.*22.6. it seems that there was in this *Gibba* some Tower or *Citadel* called *Rama*: where *Junius* reads *in excelso*, for *in Rama*: but it may be that the name of the Kings Palace in this City, was *Rama*: as it seems that in *Rama* of *Samuel*, the name of the chief place where *Samuel* with the *Colledge* of *Prophets* abode, was *Najoth*. The great City of *Hai* overthrown by *Josua*, which *Jos.*7.2. is placed neer *Beth-aven*, upon the East of *Bethel*, was in this Tribe, as is proved *Neh.*7.10.30. though it be not named by *Jos.c.*18. for it was burned by him and laid desolate, as it is *Jos.*8.28. *In solitudinem, in tumulum perpetuum*. Another City of chief note is reckoned *Jos* 18.25. In this Tribe was *Gibbon*, the chief City of the *Hevites*: whose cunning to binde the *Israelites* by oath to save their lives, is set down *Jos.*9. whence they were reckoned among the * *Nethinæi*, or *Proselites*, and were bound to certain publique services in the house of God: which oath of saving these *Gebeonites*, broken in part after by *Saul*, was by God punished by a famine, 2 *Sam.*21.1. This *Gibeon*, or *Gibbon* with *Almon* and *Jebah* (of both which we have spoken) and with *Hanothoth* the natall place of *Hieremie* the Prophet, were said *Jos.*21.28. to be given to the *Levites* by the *Benjamites*. Neer to this *Hanothoth* was *Nob*, as appears 1 *Reg.*2.26. where *Abiathar* the Priest, which was of *Nob* before it was destroyed by *Saul*, is sent to his grounds at *Hanothoth*. It is reckoned in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, *Neh.*9.31. and though in the time of *Saul* the residing place of the *Arke* was at *Kireath-jearim*: yet by the lamentable tragedie of bloud-shed, which *Saul* raised in this place (as it is set down 1 *Sam.*21. and 22.) in the judgement of *Junius*, it is proved that the Tabernacle was there for a time.

Micmas also in this Tribe, *Nehem.*9.31. was a place of fame, of which *Esay.*10.28. where also he nameth *Gallim*, and *Migron* in this Tribe. In *Micmas Saul* had his Camp, 1 *Sam.*13.2. (when he left *Gibba* to *Jonathan*) and there also was *Jonathan Macchabæus* his abode, 1 *Macc.*9.73. Of *Giscala* in *Galilee Josephus* makes often mention, but of any here in *Benjamin*, which they make the natall place of S. *Paul*, whence (they say) when it was taken by the *Romans*, he sailed with his parents to *Tharsis*, of this I find no good warrant. Other places of lesse importance I omit, and come to the City of *Hierusalem*,

(*e*) Of this *Amatha* I understand the place 1 *Macc.* 11.34. where it is named for one of the three *Præfecturæ* which *Demetrius* yeelds to the Jews out of the country of *Samaria*: this lying toward the East to *Jericho*, and *Lydda* toward the West, and *Apherema* (of which even now we speak) lying in the middest between the two other. A fifth *Rama* it seemes there was in the Tribe of *Simeon* toward the South, which *Jos.*19.8. is called *Rama* of the South, and otherwise *Baaloth-beer.* (*d*) *Gibba* in construction, that is, Governing a genitive case, is *Gibbath*: whence the *Vulgar* out of the *Septuagint* reade *Jos.*24. 33. *Gibbath Phinees* for which *Junius* hath *Collis Phinees* (for this word is oftimes an Appellative signifying a Hill) but *Adrichomius* taking notice of this, builds his City *Gabaath* upon this Text, and placeth it in *Benjamin*, when as the words adjoyned, note that this Hill was in the mountains of *Ephraim*.

* The word *Nethinim*, or *Nethinæi*, is as much as *dati* (as it were à Deo dati) or as *Junius* expounds it, *deditiii*: it is used 1 *Chro.*9.2. and in *Esdra* and *Nehemias* often.

and

and the Princes and Governours of this City: A great part whereof was in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, whence *Jos.* 18. 28. it is named among the Cities of *Benjamin*.

§. II.

Of divers memorable things concerning Hierusalem.

AT what time *Hierusalem* was built (which afterward became the Princesse of all Cities) it doth not appear. Some there are who imagine that *Melchisedec* was the founder thereof in *Abraham*'s time. But, * according to others, that City out of which *Melchisedec* encountred *Abraham* (in his return from the overthrow of the *Assyrian* and *Persian* Kings or Captains, when *Lot* was made prisoner) standeth by the River of *Jordan*, in the half Tribe of *Manasse* bordering *Zabulon*, which was also called *Salem*, and by the Greeks *Solima*.

* See in the hither half of Manasse.

Hierusalem (whensoever, or by whomsoever built) was a principall City in *Josua* his time: yet not so renowned as *Hazor* the *Metropolis* (in those dayes and before) of all the *Canaanites*. *Adonizedek* (whom *Josua* slew) was then King of *Hierusalem*. That it was belonging to the *Jebusites* it is manifest: for how long soever they held it before *Moses* time, they were Masters and Lords thereof almost 400. yeers after him: even till *David* wan it: and therefore in all likelihood, it was by the *Jebusai* (the children of *Jebusæus* the son of *Canaan*) built; after whom it was called *Jebus*. And so much did that Nation relie on the strength of the place, as when *David* attempted it, they bragged that their lame, and blinde, and impotent people should defend it. 2 Sam. 5. 6.

David, after he had by Gods assistance possest it, and turned out the *Jebusites*, gave it an exceeding great increase of circuit; strengthened it with a Citadell or Castle: and beautified it with many Palaces, and other buildings: changing the name from *Jebus-salem*, the City of the *Jebusites*, to *Hierusalem*, which the Greeks call *Hierosolyma*. After *David's* time, *Solomon* amplified, beautified, and strengthened it exceedingly. For besides the work of the Temple, which was no lesse admirable than renowned among all Nations, the Palaces, Gates, and Walls, could not any where in the world be exampled: and besides, that it had 150000. Inhabitants, the women and children not accounted. The ditch had 60. foot depth, cut out of the very rock: and 250. foot of breadth: whereof the like hath seldome been heard of, either since or before. *Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. 1. Strab. geog. l. 16*

After the death of *Solomon*, and that the Kingdom of the Jews was cut asunder, *Shishac* King of *Egypt*, and his Predecessor, having bred up for that purpose *Adad* the *Idumæan*, and *Jeroboam Solomons* servant; and both married to *Egyptians:* the State by the one disturbed, by the other broken: *Shishac* first invaded the Territory of *Juda*, entred *Hierusalem*, and sack't it, and became Master not onely of the riches of *Solomon*, but of all those spoils which *David* had gotten from *Adadezer*, *Tohu*, the *Ammonites*, and other Nations. It was again sack't, and a part of the wall thrown down by *Joas* King of *Israel*; while *Amasia* the twelfth King thereof governed *Juda*. 2 Chron. 12. 2 Kings 14. 2 Kings 16.

Not long after, *Achaz* the fifteenth King of *Juda* impoverished the Temple, and presented *Teglatphalasser* with the treasures thereof. And *Manasses* the son of *Ezekiah*, the son of *Achaz*, by the vaunts made by *Ezekiah*, to the Embassadors of *Merodach*, lost the remain, and the very bottom of their treasures. It was again spoiled by the *Babylonians*, *Joakim* then raigning. But this ungratefull, Idolatrous and rebellious Nation, taking no warning by these Gods gentle corrections and afflictions, but persisting in all kinde of impietie, filling the City even to the mouth with innocent bloud, God raised up that great *Babylonian* King *Nabuchodonosor*, as his scourge and revenger, who making this glorious City and Temple, with all the Palaces therein, and the Walls and Towers which embraced them, even and levell with the dust, carried away the spoiles with the Princes and people, and crusht them with the heavie yoak of bondage and servitude full seventy yeers, insomuch as *Sion* was not onely become as a torne and plowed-up field, *Hierusalem* an heape of stones, and rubble, the Mountain of the Temple as a grove, or wood of thorns and briars, but (as *Hierome* speaketh) even the birds of the Ayre scorned to flie over it, or the beasts to tread on that defiled soile. 1 Chro. 5. 26. 2 Kings 25. 2 Kings 19. 2 Par. 18. *Mich. 3. Hier. 25. 26. 29.*

Then 70. yeers being expired, according to the prophecie of *Daniel*, and the *Jews* by the grace of *Cyrus* returned: the Temple was again built, though with interruption *Hier. tom. 3. trad. Heb.*

and

and difficulty enough: and the City meanly inhabited, and without Walls or other
Neh.12.34.&c. defences, for some 60. and odde yeers, till *Nehemia* by the favour of *Artaxerxes* re-built them. Then again was the Temple and City spoiled by *Bagoses*, or *Vagoses*, the Lievtenant of *Artaxerxes*: after by * *Ptolomæus* the first; then by *Antiochus Epiphanes*: and again by *Apollonius* his Lievtenant. By *Pompey* it was taken long after, but not destroyed, nor robbed, though *Crassus* in his *Parthian* expedition took as much as he could of that which *Pompey* spared.

* The first of the *Egyptian* Kings after *Alexander Macedon*, who dissembling his Religion, came up to *Hierusalem* to offer sacrifice. *Jos.12. ant.1.*

But the damages which it sustained by the violence of sacrilegious Tyrants, were commonly recompenced by the industry or bounty of good Princes, the voluntary contribution of the people, and the liberality of strangers. Before the captivity, the people of the Land, through the exhortation of godly Kings, made many and large offerings to repair the Temple of *Solomon*. The wrong done by *Ptolomæus Lagi* to the second Temple, was requited by the bounty of his son *Ptolomæus Philadelphus*. The mischief wrought by *Antiochus Epiphanes* and his followers, was amended partly by the great offerings which were sent to *Hierusalem* out of other Nations. Finally, all the losses, which either the City or Temple had endured, might well seem forgotten in
M.T.C. pro Scylla. the reign of *Herod*, that usurping and wicked, but magnificent King, who amplified the City, new built the Temple, and with many sumptuous works did so adorn them, that he left them far more stately and glorious than they had been in the dayes of *Solomon*.

§. III.

Of the destruction of Hierusalem *by the Romanes.*

IN this flourishing estate it was at the coming of our *Saviour Christ Jesus*: and after his death and ascension, it so continued about fourty yeers. But then did *Titus* the *Romane*, being stirred up by God to be the revenger of *Christ* his death, and to punish the *Jews* sinfull ingratitude, incompasse it with a *Romane* Army, and became Lord thereof. He began the siege at such time as the *Jews* from all parts were come up to the celebration of the *Passeover*: so as the City was then filled with many hundreds of thousands of all sorts: and no manner of provision or store for any such multitudes. An extreme famine, with the civill dissension, oppresst them within the Walls; a forcible enemy assailed them without. The *Idumæans* also, who lay in wait for the destruction of the *Jews* Kingdome, thrust themselves into the City, of purpose to betray it: who also burnt the Temple, when *Nabuchodonosor* took it. And to be short, there
1 Esd.4.45. perished of all sorts, from the first besieging, to the consummation of the victory, eleven hundred thousand souls: and the City was so beaten down and demolished, as those which came afterward to see the desolation thereof, could hardly beleeve that there had been any such place or habitation. Onely the three *Herodian* Towers, (works most magnificent, and over-topping the rest) were spared, as well for lodgings for the *Romane* Garrisons, as that thereby their victory might be the more notorious and famous: for by those buildings of strength and state remaining, after ages might judge what the rest were; and their honour be the greater and more shining, that there-over became victorious.

After this, such *Jews* as were scattered here and there in *Judæa*, and other Provinces, began again to inhabit some part of the City; and by degrees to re-build it, and strengthen it as they could, being then at peace, and Tributaries to the *Romane* State: but after 65. yeers, when they again offered to revolt and rebell, *Ælius Adrianus the Emperour* slaughtered many thousands of them, and overturned those three *Herodian* Towers, with all the rest, making it good which *Christ* himself had foretold; *That there should not stand one stone upon another* of that ungratefull City. Afterward, when his fury was appeased, and the prophecy accomplished, he took one part without the Wall, wherein stood *Mount Calvary, and the Sepulchre of Christ*, and excluding of the rest the greatest portion, he again made it a City of great capacity, and called it after his own name, *Ælia Capitolia*. In the gate toward *Bethel*, he caused a Sow to be cut in Marble, and set it in the front thereof, which he did in despight of the *Jews* Nation: making an *Edict*, that they should not from thence-forth ever enter into the City, neither should they dare so much as to behold it from any other high place over-topping it.

But

But the Chriſtian Religion flouriſhing in *Paleſtina*, it was inhabited at length by all Nations, and eſpecially by Chriſtians; and ſo it continued 500. yeers. *Guil. Tyr. bell. ſacr. l. 14. c. 12.*

It was afterward in the 636. yeer after Chriſt, taken by the *Egyptian Saracens*, who held it 400. and odde yeers. *Onuphrius Chron.*

In the yeer 1099. it was regained by *Godfrey* of *Buillon*, by aſſault, with an exceeding ſlaughter of the *Saracens*; which *Godfrey*, when he was elected King thereof, refuſed to be crowned with a Crown of Gold, becauſe Chriſt, for whom he fought, was therein crowned with thorns. After this recovery, it remained under the Succeſſours of *Godfrey* fourſcore & eight yeers: till in the yeer 1197. it was regained by *Saladine* of *Egypt*: and laſtly, in the yeer 1517. in the time of *Selim*, the *Turks* caſt out the *Egyptians*, who now hold it, and call it *Cuzumbarec*, or the Holy City. Neither was it *Jeruſalem* alone that hath ſo often times been beaten down and made deſolate, but all the great Cities of the World have with their Inhabitants, in ſeverall times and ages, ſuffered the ſame ſhipwrack. And it hath been Gods juſt will, to the end others might take warning, if they would, not onely to puniſh the impiety of men, by famine, by the ſword, by fire, and by ſlavery; but he hath revenged himſelf of the very places they poſſeſt; of the walls and buildings, yea, of the ſoil and the beaſts that fed thereon. *Guil. Tyr. l. 8. c. 5. 18. 19. &c.*

For, even that land, ſometime called holy, hath in effect loſt all her fertility and fruitfulneſſe; witneſſe the many hundreds of thouſands which it fed in the dayes of the Kings of *Juda* and *Iſrael*; it being at this time all over, in effect, exceeding ſtony and barren. It alſo pleaſed God, not onely to conſume with fire from heaven the Cities of the *Sodomites*; but the very ſoil it ſelf hath felt, and doth feel the hand of God to this day. God would not ſpare the beaſts that belonged to *Amalek*, no not any ſmall number of them to be ſacrificed to himſelf: neither was it enough that *Achan* himſelf was ſtoned, but that his moveables were ſo conſumed and brought to aſhes.

§. IV.

Of the vain and malicious reports of Heathen Writers, touching the ancient Jews.

OF the originall of the *Jews*, prophane Writers have conceived diverſly and injuriouſly. *Quintilian* ſpeaks infamouſly of them, and of their Leader; who (ſaith he) gathered together a pernicious Nation. *Diodore* and *Strabo* make them *Egyptians*. Others affirm, that while *Iſis* governed *Egypt*, the people were ſo increaſed, as *Jeroſolymus* and *Judas* led thence a great multitude of that Nation, with whom they planted the neighbour Regions: which might be meant by *Moſes* and *Aaron*: for the name of *Moſes* was accidentall, becauſe he was taken up and ſaved out of the waters. But *Juſtine*, of all other moſt malicious, doth derive the *Jews* from the *Syrian* Kings; of whom, *Damaſcus*, ſaith he, was the firſt: and to him ſucceeded *Abraham*, *Moſes*, and *Iſrael*. He again ſuppoſeth (ſomewhat contrary to himſelf) that *Iſrael* had ten ſons, among whom he divided the land of *Juda*; ſo called of *Judas* his eldeſt, who had the greateſt portion. The youngeſt of the ſons of *Iſrael* he calleth *Joſeph*: who being brought up in *Egypt*, became learned in Magicall Arts, and in the interpretation of Dreams, and ſignes prodigious; and this *Joſeph* (ſaith he) was father to *Moſes*: who with the reſt, by reaſon of their foul diſeaſes, and leſt they ſhould infect others, were baniſhed *Egypt*. Further, he telleth how theſe men thus baniſhed, when in the Deſarts they ſuffered extreme thirſt and famine, and therein found relief the ſeventh day, for this cauſe ever after obſerved the ſeventh day, and kept it Holy; making it a law among themſelves, which afterward became a branch of their Religion. He addeth alſo, that they might not marry out of their own Tribes, leſt diſcovering their uncleanneſſe, they might alſo be expelled by other Nations, as they were by the *Egyptians*. Theſe and the like fables hath *Juſtine*. *Juſtin. l. 36.*

Cornelius Tacitus doth as groſly belie them, in affirming, that in the inmoſt Oratorie of their Temple, they had the golden head of an Aſſe, which they adored. But herein *Tacitus* forgetteth himſelf, having in the fifth book of his own Hiſtory truely confeſſed of the *Jews*, that they worſhipped one onely God: and thought it moſt prophane

to represent the *Deity* by any materiall figure, by the shape of a man, or any other creature: and they had therefore in their Temples no Image or Representation, no not so much as in any City by them inhabited. Somewhat like this hath *Alexander Polyhistor*, in *Stephanus*; who also makes *Judas* with *Idumæa*, the first parents of the *Jews*.

Cited by *Stephanum* in *Judæa*.

Claudius Iolaus drawes them from *Judæus*, whose parents were *Sparton* and *Thebis*; whence it came, that the *Spartans* or *Lacedæmonians* challenged kinred of the *Hebrews*: but they did it as descended of *Abraham*, saith *Josephus*. Some of these reports seem to have been gathered out of divine letters, though wrested and perverted, according to the custome of the Heathen. For so have they obscured and altered the Story of the Creation, of *Paradise*, of the Flood; and given new names to the children of *Adam* in the first age, to *Noah* and his sons in the second: and so to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, *Moses*, and the rest of the Fathers, and Leaders of the *Hebrews*: all which feignings, as touching the *Jews* and their originalls, *Josephus* against *Appion*, and *Tertullian* have sufficiently answered. For that the *Hebrews* were the children of *Arphaxad* and *Heber*, no man doubteth: and so *Chaldæans* originally, taking name either of *Heber*, the son of *Sale*, or else (saith *Montanus*) of wandring, as is before remembred. And therefore doth *Stephanus*, the Greek *Goammarian*, derive the *Hebrews* or *Jews*, from *Arabon*; having mistaken the name of *Abraham*, who was the son of *Heber*, in the sixth descent. Their ancient names were first changed by the two grand-children of *Abram*: for after *Jacob*, otherwise *Israel*, the chief part were called *Israel*, another part after *Esau* or *Edom*, *Edomites*; at length the remnant of *Jacob*, being most of the Tribe of *Juda*, honoured the name of *Judas*, the son of *Jacob*, and became *Judæans*, or *Jews*: as also for a time in the name of *Ephraim* the son of *Joseph*, the chief of the *Patriarchs* of the ten Tribes, the rest of the ten Tribes were comprehended: but were first rooted out when the Kingdome of *Israel* fell. The *Judæans* continued their names, though they suffered the same servitude not long after, under *Nabuchodonosor*.

Tert. in Apol.

Caleb. f. 63.

The government which this Nation under-went, was first paternall: which continued till they served the *Egyptians*. They were secondly ruled by their Captains and Leaders, *Moses* and *Josua*, by a policie Divine. Thirdly, they subjected themselves to Judges. Fourthly, they desired a King, and had *Saul* for the first: Of whom, and his Successours, before we intreat, we are first to speak of their government under Judges, after the death of *Josua*: with somewhat of the things of Fame in other Nations about these times.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the memorable things that happened in the World, from the death of Josua, *to the War of Troy: which was about the time of* Jephtha.

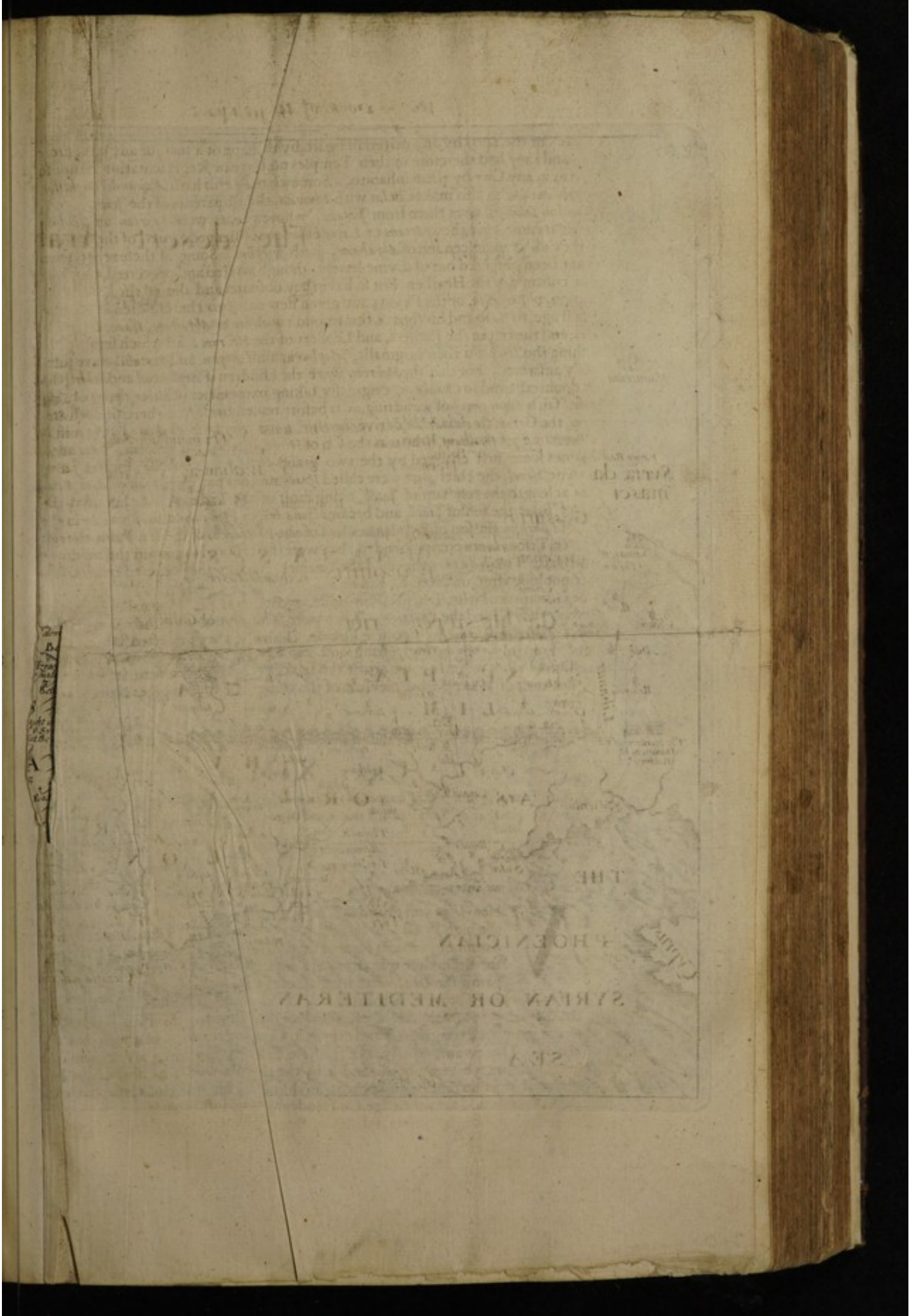
§. I.

Of the Inter-regnum *after* Josua's *death: and of* Othoniel.

WHen *Josua* was now dead, who with the advice of the 70. Elders, and the high Priest, held authority over the people, and ordered that Common-weal: it pleased God to direct the Tribe of *Juda* (in whom the Kingdome was afterward established) to undertake the War against the *Canaanites*, over whom (with Gods favour, and the assistance of *Simeon*) they became victorious.

In the first attempt which they made, they not onely slew ten thousand, but made *Adonibezek* prisoner: the greatest and cruellest Commander, both of the *Canaanites* and *Perizites*. This tyrants cruelty, as elsewhere hath been signified, they returned in the same kinde upon his own head: and so by the torments which he now felt in his own person (before no otherwise known unto him but by his malicious imagination) made him confesse and acknowledge Gods judgements against himself.

The Tribes of *Juda* and *Simeon* did also master and possesse during this *Inter-regnum* (or



The desert Arab
Saccæa
Agræi
Saue or Saba from whence the Sabeans spyled Iob
Alsadamus mons
Palmerina
Syria damasci
Emath or Ituria of Tohu
Hermon
Saba of Adadezer
Betach
Berothy
Carath
Theshe of Elias & Tobit
The mountains Sanir
Cedar
Caspher
Galad
Bathanea
Gaulon
Astereth Carnaim
Raphaim
Gessur
Basra
Catzerhenan
Themen
Phiale fons
Gessuri regio
Hus, the territories of Iob
Damascus
The toure
Machati of Libanus
Baldwyn the 2. ouerthroweth the Damascens
MANASSES
Raconitis
Bethsaida desert
Gamala
Pella
Galgala
Engaddi
Carmon
Gadara
Helon
Recath
Philippi
Reblata
Cæsarea
Dan
Iulias
Magedon
Gerasa
Heba
Chalchis
Sephama
Ier
Gallile superior
The sea of Galile
Capernaum
Magdala
Tiberias
Tarichea
Hippos
Abila
Abelbethmachach
Daphnes
Mons Christi
Bethsaida
Remmon
Salbarim
Bereth
Masaloth
Carham
NEPTALIM
Libanus
Heliopolis
Chamath
Amothdor
Assedim
Aser
Bethmar
Sepher
Methera
Iatapata
Iafia
Bethlem
Carcha
Gabara
Bethulia
Legio
Arbela
The ouerthrow of the Damascens by Baldwyn
Reobe
Chabul
Bethsemes
Dothain
Nabld
Nee
Belon
Chaly
Alab
Iephthaeli
Aphec
Abdon
ASOR
Beritus
Canagat
Belfort
Giscala
Bethemec
Cecepha
Dauna
Gabatha
Rabboth
Alcath
Thorem
Sarepta
Bersabe
Semeren
Mt Tabor
Tabor
Athasela
Hethacer
Rama
Regnin castra
Cedrei
Saffa
Bathis
Sidon
Helba
Tyre Antig
Indi
Mensert
Lahnath
Sepher
Nazaret
Sarid
Misra
Sepha
Aphes
THE
Aczibe
Sarepta
Sarron
Mennot
Sollere
Wal
Gaba
Zabulon
Bethsemes
Tyre
Castrum lampetti
Ptolemais
Deblesa
Caiphas
Esdrelon
Carmel
The great plaine of
Cyprus
PHOENICIAN
Cast of Pilgrimes
Cæsaria palest
SYRIAN OR MEDITERAN
SEA

Arabia the stonie
Agubeni
South
Mountaines of Ara: ye stonie
Moabites somtime Emims
Moab desert
Medians
The dead sea, or ye l: Asphaltidis
Sodom
Gomorra
Seboim
Plaines of Ierico
Ierico
Jerusalem
Enachim
Mount of Ephrai
Samaria
Antipatris
Azotus
Ascalon
Gaza
Gerar
THE ÆGYPTIAN SEA

(or as some think, before the death of *Josua*) the Cities of *Azotus*, *Askalon*, *Ekron*, and *Hierusalem*, which they burnt, and the *Jebusites* after re-edified. They took also the Cities of *Hebron*, *Debir*, or *Kiriathsepher*, and *Zephath*, afterwards *Horma*. And although it be not set down in expresse words that any one person commanded in chief over the people, as *Moses* and *Josua* did: yet it seemeth that *Caleb* was of greatest authority among them: and that he, with the advice of *Phinees*, directed and ordered their wars. For if any think that they proceeded without a Chief, the good successe which followed their undertakings, witnesseth the contrary. And it was *Caleb*, even while *Josua* governed, as appears, *Jos.* 10.39. that propounded the attempt of *Debir*, to the rest of the Captains: for the performance of which enterprise, he promised his daughter *Achsah*: which he performed to *Othoniel* his younger brother after the conquest: whose behaviour in that service was such, as (next unto the ordinance of God) it gave him the greatest reputation among them, and may be esteemed the second cause of his preferment and election for their first Judge soon after. But while those of *Juda* made war with their borderers, from whom they onely recovered the mountainous Countries (for they could not drive out the Inhabitants of the Vallies, *because they had Chariots of Iron.*) The rest of the Tribes sought also to enlarge and establish their own Territories. In which war they laboured with variable successe: for as the house of *Joseph* recovered *Bethel*, or *Luz*, from the *Hittites*, so did the *Amorites* recover from *Dan* all the plain Countries, and forc't them to save themselves in the Mountains. And now the *Israelites*, unmindfull of Gods benefits, and how often he had miraculously a-fore-time defended them, and made them victorious over their enemies (the Elders being also consumed, who better advised them in the *Inter-regnum*) did not onely joyn themselves in marriage with the Heathen Nations: but (that which was more detestable) they served the Idols of *Baal*, and *Asteroth*, with other the dead gods of the *Canaanites* and *Amorites*. And therefore did the *Lord God*, whom they had provoked with their *Idolatry*, deliver them into the hands of the *Aramites* of *Mesopotamia*, whom *Chusthan Risathaim* at that time commanded. But after they had felt the smart of Gods displeasure against them eight yeers, it pleased him to have compassion on his people, and to raise up *Othoniel* to be their Judge and Leader: who by God assisted, delivered his brethren from oppression, and inforced the *Aramites* to return into their own *Desarts*, and into *Mesopotamia* adjoyning: after which the *Israelites* had peace fourty yeers, during all the time of *Othoniels* government. This *Othoniel* is thought by *Tostatus* to have been the younger brother of *Caleb*, for as much as in the book of *Judges*, he is twice called *Othoniel*, the son of *Cenaz*, *Calebs* younger brother. Others do rather interpret those words [*Calebs* younger brother] as if they signified the meanest of his kinred. Indeed it is not likely that *Calebs* Daughter should marry with her own Uncle; yet it follows not therefore that *Othoniel* should have been the meanest of the kinred. Wherefore we may better think that he was the Nephew of *Caleb*, (as some learned men expound it) and as the very words of Scripture seem to enforce. For *Caleb* was the son of *Jephunneth*, and *Othoniel* the son of *Cenaz*, *Calebs* younger brother; that is, he was not brother to *Caleb*, but his younger brothers son; to whom it was not onely lawfull, but commendable to marry with his Cousin German *Calebs* daughter.

Jud. 1.19. *Jud.* 1.25. *Jud.* 1.30. *Jud.* 3.10. 2608. 2648.

How long it was from the death of *Josua*, to the government of *Othoniel*, it cannot be found: but it seems to have been no short time. For many wars were made in that space against the people of the Land. *Laish* was then taken (as is thought) by the *Danites*; and the best Writers are of opinion, that between the times of *Josua* and *Othoniel*, that civill war brake out between the *Benjamites* and the rest of *Israel*, for the forcing to death of the *Levites* Wife. For it is written, that in those dayes there was no King in *Israel*, but every man did that which was good in his own eyes. And as *Juda* led the people against the *Canaanites* during the *Inter-regnum*, so was he commanded to do against *Benjamin*, even by the Lord God, whose direction they craved, as wanting a Judge to appoint what should be done; which sheweth it to have been when *Josua* was dead, and before the government of *Othoniel*, especially considering, that all other times wherein they wanted Governours, were spent under such oppression of strangers, as would have given them no leave to have attempted such a civill

Jud. 19. & 13. & 19.

war, if their power had been as great, as it was in the managing of this action; wherein they so weakned the body of their estate, by effusion of blood, that in many ages they could not bring into the field such numbers as formerly they had mustered against their bordering enemies.

§. II.

Of the memorable things of this age in other Nations: and of the difficulty in the computation of times.

THere lived in this age of *Othoniel*, *Pandon* or *Pandareus*, according to *Homer*, the fifth King of *Athens*; who began to rule in the twentieth yeer of *Othoniel*, and governed forty yeers. He was father to *Erictheus*: his daughters were *Progne* and *Philomela*, so greatly mentioned in fables.

Cadmus also about this time obtained *Thebes*: of whose daughter *Semele* was born *Dionysius*, or *Liber Pater*: under whom *Linus* the *Musician* lived. In his time also the Cities of *Atelus*, *Paphus*, and *Tharsus* were built.

Ida and *Dactylus* flourished in this age, who are said to have found out the use of Iron: but *Genesis* hath taught us the contrary, and that *Tubalcain* long before wrought cunningly both in Iron and Brasse. Not long after this time, *Amphion* and *Zethus* governed *Thebes*: whom divers *Chronologers* find in *Ehuds* time. But S. *Augustine* making a repetition of those fables, which were devised among the *Grecians* and other Nations, during the government of the Judges, begins with *Triptolemus*, of whose parentage there is as little agreement. *Vives* upon the thirteenth Chapter of S. *Augustine de Civit. Dei*, and the eighteenth book, hath gathered all the opinions of this mans progenie, where he that desires his pedigree may find it. *Lactantius* and *Eusebius* make him native of *Attica*: and the son of *Eleusius* King of *Eleusina*: which *Eleusius* by carefull industry had fed the people of that Territory in the time of a great famine. This, when upon the like occasion *Triptolemus* could not perform, fearing the fury of the people, he fled thence by Sea in a kinde of Galley or long Boat, which carried in her Prow a graven or carved Serpent; who because he made exceeding great speed to return and to relieve his people with Corn, from some neighbour Nation: it was feigned by the Poets, that his Coach was carried by Serpents through the aire.

Gen. 4. 12. Whence came the name of *Vulcan* by *Aphæresis* of the two first letters.

Aug. de civit. Dei, l. 18. *c.* 13.

Whether the times of these Kings, which lived together with *Othoniel*, and after him, with the rest of the Judges and Kings of *Israel* and *Juda*, be precisely set down, I cannot avow; for the *Chronologers*, both of the former and latter times, differ in many particulars; to examine all which would require the whole time of a long life: and therefore I desire to be excused, if in these comparisons I erre with others of better judgement. For whether *Eusebius* and all that follow him, or his opposites (who make themselves so conversant with these ancient Kings, and with the very yeer when they began to rule) have hit the mark of time, of all other the fartherst off and most defaced, I cannot but greatly doubt. First, because the Authours themselves, from whom the ancientest *Chronologers* have borrowed light, had nothing for the warrant of their own works, but conjecture. Secondly, because their own disagreement and contention in those elder dayes, with that of our own age among the labourers in times, is such, as no man among them hath yet so edified any mans understanding, save his own; but that he is greatly distracted, after what pattern to erect his buildings.

This disagreement is found not only in the reigns of Heathen Kings and Princes; but even in the computation of those times which the indisputable authority of holy Scripture hath summed up, as in that of *Abrahams* birth; and after in the times of the *Judges* and the oppressions of *Israel*, in the times from the egression to the building of *Solomons* Temple, in the *Persian* Empire, the seventy Weeks, and in what not? Wheresover the account of times may suffer examination, the arguments are opposite, and contentions are such, as for ought that I see, men have sought by so many wayes to uncover the Sun, that the dayes thereby are made more dark, and the clouds more condensed than before: I can therefore give no other warrant, than other men have done in these computations: and therefore that such and such Kings and Kingdoms took beginning in this

or

or that yeer, I avow it no otherwiſe than as a borrowed knowledge, or at leaſt as a private opinion: which I ſubmit to better judgements. *Nam in priſcis rebus veritas non ad unguem quærenda*; *In ancient things we are not to require an exact narration of the truth*, ſayes *Diodore*.

§. III.

Of Ehuds *time, and of* Proſerpina, Orithya, Tereus, Tantalus, Tytius, Admetus, *and others that lived about theſe times.*

AFter the death of *Othoniel*, when *Iſrael* fell back to their former Idolatry, God incouraged *Moab* to invade and ſuppreſſe them: to perform which, he joyned the forces of *Ammon*, and *Amalec* unto his own, and ſo (as all kinde of miſery readily findeth out thoſe whom God hath abandoned, or for a time with-drawn his help from, thereby to make them feel the difference between his grace and his diſpleaſure) theſe Heathen neighbouring Nations had an eaſie conqueſt over *Iſrael*, whom God himſelf expoſed to thoſe perills, within which they were ſo ſpeedily folded up. In this miſerable eſtate they continued full eighteen yeers under *Eglon* King of the *Moabites* and his confederates. Yet, as the mercies of God are infinite, he turned not his eares from their crying repentance: but raiſed up *Ehud* the ſon of *Gera* to deliver them: by which weak man, though maimed in his right hand, yet confident in the juſtneſſe of his quarrell, and fearing that the *Iſraelites* were too few in numbers to contend with the Head of thoſe valiant Nations, he reſolved to attempt upon the perſon of *Eglon*, whom if he could but extinguiſh, he aſſured himſelf of the following victory: eſpecially giving his Nation no time to re-eſtabliſh their government, or to chooſe a King to command and direct them in the Wars. According to which reſolution, *Ehud* went on as an Embaſſadour to *Eglon*, loaden with preſents from the *Iſraelites*, as to appeaſe him, and obtaining private acceſſe, upon the pretence of ſome ſecret to be revealed, he pierc't his body with a Poniard, made of purpoſe with a double edge: and ſhutting the doors of his cloſet upon him, eſcaped.

It may ſeem, that being confident of his good ſucceſſe, he had prepared the ſtrength of *Iſrael* in readineſſe. For ſuddenly after his return, he did re-paſſe *Jordan*, and invading the Territory of *Moab*, overthrew their Army, conſiſting of 10000. able and ſtrong men: whereof not any one eſcaped. After which victory, and that *Samgar* his Succeſſour had miraculouſly ſlain 600. *Philiſtims* with an Oxe goad: the Land and People of *Iſrael* lived in peace unto the end of fourſcore yeers from the death of *Othoniel*, which term expired in the Worlds yeer 2691.

In the dayes of *Ehud*, *Naomi*, with *Elimelech* her huſband, and with her two ſons, travelled into *Moab*, and ſo the ſtory of *Ruth* is to be referred to this time. About the beginning of the fourſcore yeers which are given to *Ehud*, it was that *Orcus* King of the *Moloſſians*, otherwiſe *Pluto*, ſtole *Proſerpina*, as ſhe walked to gather flowers in the fields of *Hypponium* in *Sicilia*: or (according to *Pauſanias*) by the River *Cephiſus*, which elſewhere he calleth *Chemer*, if he mean not two diſtinct Rivers. This ſtealth being made known to *Pyrithous*, with whom *Hercules* and *Theſeus* joyned themſelves, they agreed together to recover her: but *Pluto*, or *Orcus* (whom others call *Aidonius*) had (as they ſay) a very huge Dogge, which faſtened on *Pyrithous*, and tare him in pieces, and had alſo worried *Theſeus*, but that *Hercules* ſpeedily reſcued him, and by ſtrength took and maſtered the Dogge *Cerberus*: whereof grew the fable of *Hercules* his delivering *Theſeus* out of Hell. But *Zezes*, as I take it, hath written this ſtory ſomewhat more according to the truth. For *Theſeus* and *Pyrithous*, ſaith he, attempted to ſteal *Proſerpina* Daughter to *Aidonius*, King of the *Moloſſians*, who had *Ceres* to Wife, the mother of *Proſerpina*: *Proſerpina* being a generall name alſo for all fair women. This purpoſe of theirs being known to *Aidonius*, *Theſeus* and *Pyrithous* were both taken; and becauſe *Pyrithous* was the principall in this conſpiracy, and *Theſeus* drawn on by a kinde of affection or inforcement, the one was given for food to *Aidonius* his great Dogge *Cerberus*, the other held priſoner, till *Hercules*, by the inſtigation of *Euriſtheus*, delivered him by ſtrong hand. The *Moloſſi*, which *Stephanus* writes with a ſingle (*S*) were a people of *Epirus*, inhabiting neer the Mountains of *Pindus*: of which Mountains

Pauſ. in Ar.

Oeta is one of the most famous, where *Hercules* burnt himself. The River of *Acheron* (which the Poets describe to be in Hell) riseth out of the same Hills. There is another Nation of the *Molossi* in *Thessali:* but these are neighbours to the *Cassiopæi*, saith *Plutarch* in his Greek questions.

The rape of *Orithya*, the daughter of *Erectheus*, King of *Athens*, taken away by *Boreas* of *Thrace*, is referred to the time of *Ehud*. The Poets ascribe this rape to the North-winde, because *Thrace* is situate North from *Athens*. In this time also *Tereus* ravished *Philomela*, of which the fable was devised of her conversion into a Nightingale. For *Tereus* having married her sister *Progne*, conducting *Philomela* from *Athens* to see her sister, forced her in her passage, and withall cut out her tongue, that she might not complain; perswading *Progne* his Wife, that *Philomela* died in the mid-way: all which her brother-in-laws mercilesse behaviour towards her, *Philomela* expressed by her needle upon cloth, and sent unto *Progne*. In revenge whereof, *Progne* caused her onely son *Itys* to be cut in pieces, and set before *Tereus* her husband, so drest as it appeared to be some other ordinary food: of which when he had eaten his fill, she caused his head, hands and feet, to be presented unto him: and then fled away with such speed towards *Athens*, where her Father *Pandion* yet lived, as the Poets feigned, that she was turned into a Swallow. The place where it was performed, *Strabo* findes to be *Daulis* in *Phocis:* and the Tomb of *Tereus*, *Pausanias* hath built neer the Rocks *Mergi*, in the Territory of *Athens*. By which, as also by the name *Daulis*, where these things are supposed to have been done (whence also *Philomela* is called *Daulias ales*) it appears that it is true, which *Thucydides* notes by way of digression in his *Peloponnesian* War, That this *Tereus* was not King in that which is now called *Thracia*, or in *Odrysæ*, (as the Poets call him *Odrysius*) but that *Phocis* a Countrie in *Greece* not far from *Attica*, a City whereof is called *Daulia*, was in *Pandions* time inhabited by *Thracians*, of which this *Tereus* was King: whence *Pandion*, to have amity with his neighbours, made him his son-in-law: as it is good to beleeve, saith *Thucydides*, that *Pandion* King of *Athens* made that alliance with a neighbour King, from whom he might have succour, rather than with any *Tereus*, that should have held the Kingdome of *Odrysæ*, which was greatly distant from thence. The occasion that the Poets chose a Swallow for *Progne* to be turned into, may seem to have been, partly because, as *Pausanias* sayes, *Daulide nec nidificant, nec habitant in tota circum regione Hirundines*; as if a Swallow, remembring the wrong that was there done to her, and her sister, did for ever after hate that place.

Lib. 9. *Paus. in Att.* *Thucyd. l. 2.*

Neer this time *Melampus* (who is said to have understood the voices of Birds and Beasts) flourished, being also esteemed for an excellent Physician. He restored to their former health the Daughters of *Prætus* King of the *Argives*, who (as the Poets please) were made mad by *Juno:* and thinking themselves to be Kine, fled into the Woods, fearing to be constrained to the Plough: for in those Countries where the ground was light, they did use often to plough with Kine.

Paus. l. 1. *Homer. Odyss. 11.* *Paus.*

In the seven and fortieth yeer of *Ehud*, *Tros* began to reign in *Dardania*, and gave it his own name; about which time *Themone* the chief Priest of *Apollo* in *Delphos*, devised the *Heroicall* Verse.

Of the same date was *Tantalus*, King of *Lydia:* whom *Eusebius* makes King of *Phrygia:* and also of that part of which the people were anciently *Mæones*. Of *Tantalus* was devised the fable that some Poets have applied to the passion of love: and some to the covetous that dare not injoy his riches. *Eusebius* calls this *Tantalus* the son of *Jupiter*, by the *Ninuph Pleta: Diaconus* and *Didymus* in *Zezes*, give him another mother. He was said to be the son of *Jupiter*, as some will have it; because he had that Planet in his ascendent, betokening Wisdom and Riches. It is said, that when he made a feast to the *gods*, having nothing more precious, he caused his own son to be slain and drest to the banquet: of whom *Ceres* ate part of one of the shoulders; whereby was signified, that those men which seek after Divine knowledge, preferre nothing on earth before it: no not the care of their own children, of all else the most deareſt. And where it was devised, that he had alwayes Water and Fruit offered to his lips, and yet suffered the torment of hunger and thirst, it was meant thereby, that though he abounded (by reason of his riches) in all delicacy of the world, yet his minde being otherwise, and to higher desires transported, he enjoyed no pleasure at all by the rest. Of whom *Ovid:*

Euseb. præq. Evan. l. 2. Zezer. hist. 10. Chil. 5.

Quærit

Quærit aquas in aquis, & poma fugacia captat
Tantalus, *hoc illi garrula lingua dedit.*

Here *Tantalus* in water ſeeks for water, and doth miſſe
The fleeting fruit he catcheth at: His long tongue brought him this.

This puniſhment, they ſay, was inflicted upon him, for that he diſcovered the ſecrets of the gods: that is, becauſe he taught wiſdome and vertue to mortall men: which ſtory *Cornelius Gallus* hath elegantly expreſt in Verſe. Others expound this fable otherwiſe, and ſay, That *Tantalus*, though he excelled in riches, yet being thirſty of more abundance, was never ſatisfied. Of whom *Horace* againſt covetouſneſſe.

Tantalus *à labiis ſitiens fugientia captat*
Flumina; quid rides? mutato nomine de te
Fabula narratur.

The thirſting *Tantalus* doth catch at ſtreams that from him flee.
Why laugheſt thou? the name but chang'd, the tale is told of thee.

Others conceive, where it is feigned of *Tantalus*, that he gave the *Nectar* and *Ambroſia* of the gods to vain and unworthy men, that he was therefore by them in that ſort puniſhed. Of which *Natalis* out of *Pindarus*:

Immortalitatem quòd furatus,
Coetaneis convivis
Nectar Ambroſiamque dedit.

Becauſe that ſtealing immortality,
He did both *Nectar* and *Ambroſia* give
To gueſts of his own age, to make them live.

Whereby it was meant, that the ſecrets of Divinity ought not to be imparted to the unpure Vulgar. For as the cleaneſt meats in a foule ſtomack, are therein corrupted, ſo the moſt high and reſerved myſteries are often perverted by an unclean and defiled minde.

To you it is given (ſaith *Chriſt* in *Mark*) *to know the myſterie of the Kingdom of God, but unto them that are without, all things be done in parables.* So it is ſaid of him, that *he expounded all things to his Diſciples apart.* And therefore doth *Gregory Nazianzene* infer upon a place of S. *Paul*: *Quod ſi* Paulo *licuiſſet effari ea, quorum ipſi cognitionem cœlum tertium & uſque ad illud progreſſio ſuppeditavit, fortaſſe de Deo, nobis aliquid amplius conſtaret; If* Paul *might have uttered the things, the knowledge whereof the third Heavens, and his going thither, did bring unto him, peradventure we might know ſomewhat more of God.*

Mark 4. 11.

Mark 4. 34. *Greg. in Orat. de vella ratione diſp. de Deo* 2 *Cor.* 12.

Pythagoras, ſaith *Revelin*, thought it not the part of a wiſe man, *Aſinolyram exponere, aut myſteria, quæ ita reciperet, ut Sus tubam, & fidem graculus, & unguenta Scarabæus: quare ſilentium indixit diſcipulis, nè vulgo divinorum arcana patefacerent, quæ meditando facilius quàm loquendo apprehendantur; To ſet an Aſſe to a harp, or to learn myſteries: which he would handle as a Swine doth a Trumpet, or a Jay a Violl, or Scarabies, and unclean flies ſoveraigne oyntment. Wherefore he commanded ſilence to his Diſciples, that they ſhould not diſcloſe divine myſteries to the common ſort, which are eaſier learned by meditation than by babling.* And therefore did the *Egyptians* communicate their myſteries among their Prieſts in certain *Hieroglyphick* letters, to the end that their ſecrets might be hidden from the Vulgar: and that they might beſtow the more time in the contemplation of their covered meanings.

But to proceed with the contemporaries of *Aod*, or *Ehud*, with him it is alſo ſaid, that *Tityus* lived, whom *Apollo* ſlew, becauſe he ſought to force his mother *Latona*. *Euphorion* hath it thus, that *Tityus* was the ſon of *Elara*, the Daughter of *Orchomenus*; which *Elara* being beloved of *Jupiter*, to avoid *Juno's* revenge, he hid *Elara* in the earth, where ſhe was delivered of *Tityus*: whoſe Mother dying, and himſelf therein nouriſhed, he was therefore called the ſon of the earth. *Pauſanias* ſpeaking of the grave of this Giant, affirms, that his body occupied the third part of a furlong. But *Tibullus* hath a louder lie of his ſtature out of *Homer*:

For-

Hom.Od.11.

Porrectúsque novem Tityus *per jugera terra,*
Assiduas atro viscere pascit aves.
Nine furlongs stretcht lies *Tityus*, who for his wicked deeds,
The hungry Birds with his renewing liver daily feeds.

This *Strabo* doth thus expound; That *Apollo* killing this cruell and wicked Tyrant of *Panopea*, a City in *Phocis*, it was feigned by the Poets, to the terrour of others, That he was still eaten in Hell by birds, and yet still lived, and had his flesh renewed.

Admetus, King of *Thessaly*, lived also in this age, whom it is said that *Apollo* first served as a Herd-man, and afterward, for his excellent wit, was by him advanced; but having slain *Hyacinthus*, he crost the *Hellespont*, and fled into *Phrygia*: where, together with *Neptune*, he was entertained by *Laomedon*, and got his bread by working in brick, for building of the walls of *Troy*, not by making the bricks leap into their places by playing on his Harp: according to him in *Ovid*, which saith:

Ilion *aspicies*, *firmataque turribus altis*
Mœnia, Apollineæ *structa canore lyræ.*

Strong *Ilion* thou shalt see with walls and towers high,
Built with the harp of wise *Apollo*'s Harmony.

Thus the Poets: but others, that he laboured with his hands, as hired in this work. And that he also laboured at the building of the *Labyrinth* in *Greece*, all the *Megarians* witnesse, saith *Pausanias*.

Paus.in Att.

In these daies also of *Ehud*, or (as some finde it) in the daies of *Deborah*, lived *Perseus*, the son of *Jupiter* and *Danae*, by whose Souldiers (as they sailed out of *Peloponnesus*, to seek their adventure on *Africa* side) *Meduſa*, the Daughter and Successor of *Phorcus*, being weakly accompanied as she hunted, neer the Lake *Tritan*, was surprised and slain: whose beauty, when *Perseus* beheld, he caused her head to be imbalmed, and carried into *Greece*: the beauty whereof was such, and so much admired, and the beholders so astonished which beheld it, as thereof grew the fiction, That all that looked on *Medusa*'s head, were turned into stones.

Triton a Lake of *Africa*, which *Plinie* calleth *Pallantias*. *Dictym. in pereg. Hist.*

Cecrops, the second of that name, and 7. King of *Athens*, and *Acrisius* the 13. or, after *Eusebius*, the 14. King of the *Argives*, began also their reigns, as it is said, in the time of this Judge: of which the first ruled 40. yeers, and the second 31. yeers. Also *Bellerophon* lived in this age, being the son of *Glaucus*, the son of *Sisyphus*: who inticed by *Antea*, or *Sthenobia*, the wife of *Prætus* of the *Argives*, to accompany her, but refusing it, she accused him to her husband, that he offered to force her: whereupon *Prætus* sent *Bellerophon* into *Lycia*, about some affairs of weight, between him and his son-in-law *Jobates*: giving secret order to *Jobates* to dispatch him: but *Jobates* thinking it dishonourable to lay violent hands on him, imployed him against *Chimæra*, a Monster vomiting, or breathing fire. Now the gods (as the report is) pitying his innocency, sent him the winged Horse, *Pegasus*, sprung up of the blood of *Meduſa*, formerly slain by the souldiers of *Perseus* in *Africa*, to transport him; a horse that none other could master or bridle but *Minerva*: upon which beast *Bellerophon* over-came *Chimæra*: and performed the other services given him in charge: which done, as he returned toward *Lycia*, the *Lycians* lay in ambush to have slain him: but being victorious also over all those, he arrived to *Jobates* in safety: whom *Jobates* for his eminent vertues honoured, first with one of his Daughters: and afterward with his Kingdom: after which he grew so insolent, as he attempted to flie up to heaven upon his *Pegasus*: whose pride *Jupiter* disdaining, caused one of his stinging flies so to vex *Pegasus*, as he cast off *Bellerophon* from his back, into the Valley of *Cilicia*, where he died blinde; of which burthen *Pegasus* being discharged (as the fable goeth) flew back to heaven: and being fed in *Jupiters* own stable, *Aurora* begg'd him of *Jupiter* to ride on before the Sun. This tale is diversly expounded; as first by some, That it pleaseth God to relieve men in their innocent and undeserved adversity, and to cast down those which are too high minded: according to that which is said of *Bellerophon*: that when he was exposed to extreme hazard, or rather certain death, he found both deliverance and honour: but waxing over-

Euseb. in Chro.

proud

proud and presumptuous in his glorious fortunes, he was again thrown down into the extremitie of sorrow, and ever-during miserie. Secondly by others, That under the name of *Chimæra*, was meant a cruell Pyrat of the *Lycians*, whose ship had in her prow a Lyon, a Goate in the mid-ship, and a Dragon in the stearn, of which three beasts this Monster *Chimæra* was said to be compounded, whom *Bellerophon* pursued with a kinde of Galley, of such swiftnesse, that it was called the flying Horse: to whom the invention of sayls (the wings of a ship) are also attributed. Many other expositions are made of this tale by other Authors: but it is not unlikely, that *Chimæra* was the name of a ship, for so *Virgil* calleth one of the greatest ships of *Æneas*. *Plutar. in clark matter.* *L. 5. Æneid.*

Ion also, from whom the *Athenians* (being ignorant of the antiquitie of their parent *Javan*) derive their name of *Iones*, is said to have been about *Ehuds* time: *Homer* calls them *Jaones*, which hath a neer resemblance to the word *Javan*. Perhaps it might be so that *Ion* himself took name from *Javan*: it being a custome observable in the Histories of all times, to revive the ancient name of a fore-father, in some the principall of his issue. *Homer in hymn. ad Apoll.*

The invasion of *India* by *Liber-Pater*, is by some reported as done in this age: but S. *Augustine* makes him far more ancient: placing him between the coming out of *Egypt*, and the death of *Josua*. *Lib. 18. c. 12. de ci. dei, l. 18. c. 15*

About the end of the 80. yeers, ascribed to *Ehud*, and *Samgar*, *Pelops* flourished: who gave name to *Peloponnesus* in *Greece*, now called *Morea*.

§. IV.

Of Debora *and her Contemporaries.*

AFter *Israel* had lived in peace and plenty to the end of these 80. yeers, they again began to forget the giver of all goodnesse, and many of those being worn out, which were witnesses of the former miserie, and of Gods deliverance by *Ehud*; and after him by *Samgar*; the rest began to return to their former neglect of Gods commandments. For as Plenty and Peace are the parents of idle securitie; so is security as fruitfull in begetting and bringing forth both danger and subversion: of which, all estates in the world have tasted by interchange of times. Therefore when their sins were again ripe for punishment, *Jabin* King of *Hazor*, after the death of *Ehud*, invaded the territory of *Israel*: and having in his service 900. iron Chariots, besides the rest of his forces, he held them in subjection twenty yeers, till it pleased God to raise up *Deborah*, the Propheteesse, who incouraged *Barac* to levie a force out of *Nepthalim*, and *Zabulon*, to incounter the *Canaanites*. That the men of *Nepthalim* were more forward than the rest in this action, it may seem to have proceeded partly from the authoritie that *Barac* had among them, being of the same Tribe; and partly from their feeling of the common grievance, which in them was more sensible than in others, because *Hazor* and *Haroseth* the chief holds of *Jabin*, were in *Nepthalim*. So in the dayes of *Jephte* the *Gileadites* took the greatest care, because the *Ammonites*, with whom the War was, pressed most upon them, as being their borderers. Now as it pleased God by the left hand of *Ehud* to deliver *Israel* from the *Moabites*: and by the counsell and courage of a woman, to free them from the yoak of *Canaan*, and to kill the valiant *Sisera* by *Jael* the *Kenites* wife: so was it his will at other times, to work the like great things by the weakest meanes. For the mighty *Assyrian Nabuchodonosor*, who was a King of Kings, and resistlesse, he overthrew by his own imaginations, the causers of his brutish melancholy: and changed his matchlesse pride into the base humility of a Beast. And to approve that he is the Lord of all power, he sometime punisheth by invisible strength, as when he slaughtered the Army of *Senacherib* by his Angell, or as he did the *Egyptians* in *Moses* time: sometime by dead bodies, as when he drowned *Pharaoh* by the waves of the Sea; and the *Canaanites* by haile-stones in the time of *Josua*: sometimes by the ministerie of men, as when he overthrew the four Kings of the East, *Chedorlaomer*, and his companions, by the houshold servants of *Abraham*. He caused the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* to set upon their own confederate the Army of the *Edomites*; and having slain them, to kill one another in the sight of *Jehosaphat*: and of the like to these a volume of examples may be gathered. And to this effect did *Deborah* the Propheteesse speak unto *Barac* in these words: *But this journey that thou takest, shall not be for thine honour, for* *2 Chron. 20.* *Judg. 4.*

the

the Lord shall sell Sisera *into the hands of a Woman.* In which victory all the strength of the *Canaanite Jabin* fell to the ground, even to the last man: in the end of which War it seemeth that *Jabin* himself also perished, as appeareth by the last Verse of the fourth of *Judges.*

After all which, *Deborah* giveth thanks to God, and after the acknowledgement of all his powerfulnesse, and great mercies, she sheweth the weak estate whereinto *Israel* was brought for their Idolatrie by the *Canaanites*, and other bordering Nations, in these
Jud. 5. v. 8. words: *Was there a shield or speare seene among forty thousand of Israel?* She also sheweth how the *Israelites* were severed and amased, some of them confined over *Jordan*, and
verse 17. durst not joyn themselves to the rest; as those of *Reuben* in *Gilead*: that the *Asherites* kept the Sea-coast, and forsook their habitations towards the Land; and the children of *Dan*, who neighboured the Sea, crept into their ships for safety, shewing thereby that all were dispersed, and all in effect lost. She then curseth the Inhabitants of *Meroz*, who dwelling neer the place of the battell (belike fearing the successe) came not out to assist *Israel*, and then blesseth *Jael* the wife of *Heber* the *Kenite*, who nailed *Sisera* in her Tent: shewing the ancient affection of that race to the *Israelites.* For though the Family of *Heber* were inforced in that miserable time of subjection, to hold correspondencie with *Jabin* the *Canaanite*, yet when occasion offered them means, they witnessed their love and faith to their ancient friends. Lastly, she derideth the Mother of *Sisera* who promised her Son the victory in her own hopes: and fancied to her self, and described the spoiles both of Garments and Maidens by him gotten. For conclusion, she directeth her praise and thanks to God onely victorious.

From the beginning of *Jabins* oppression to the end of that peace, which *Deborah* and *Barac* purchased unto *Israel*, there passed 40. yeers. In which time the Kingdome of *Argos*, which had continued 544. yeers, was translated to *Mycenæ:* The translation of this Kingdome, *Vives* out of *Pausanias* writeth to this effect: After *Danaus*, *Lynceus* succeeded in *Argos*, after whom the Children of *Abas* the son of *Lynceus* divided the Kingdome: of which *Acrisius* being eldest, held *Argos* it self: *Prætus* his brother possest
Pau. in Corinthiacis. *Ephyra*, or *Corinth*, and *Tirynthos*, and other Cities, with all the Territorie towards the Sea, there being many monuments in *Tirynthos*, which witnesse *Prætus* possession, saith *Pausanias.*

Now *Acrisius* was fore-told by an Oracle, that he should be slain by the son of his Daughter *Danae:* whereupon he caused her to be inclosed in a Tower, to the end that no man might accompanie her. But the Lady being exceeding faire, it is fained that *Jupiter* turned himself into a golden shower: which falling into her lap, begat her with child: the meaning whereof was, that some Kings son, or other worthy man, corrupted her Keepers with gold, and enjoyed her, of whom *Perseus* was borne; who when he grew to mans estate, either by chance (saith *Ctesias*) or in shewing his grand-father the invention of the *discus*, or leaden ball, slew him unwillingly. After this, *Perseus*, to avoide the infamie of *Patricide* in *Argos*, changed Kingdoms with his Uncle *Prætus:* and built *Mycænæ.* This imprisonment of *Danae*, *Sophocles* reporteth otherwise: and that she was inclosed in a brazen vault under the Kings Hall with her Nurse and Keepers. Upon this close custodie *Horace* hath this wittie observation:

Inclusam Danaen *turris ahenea,*
Robustæq; fores, & vigilum canum
Tristes excubiæ munierant satis
Nocturnis ab adulteris:

Si non Acrisium *Virginis abditæ*
Custodem pavidum, Jupiter & Venus
Risissent, fore enim tutum iter & patens
Converso in pretium Deo.

Aurem per medios ire satellites,
Et perrumpere amat saxa, potentius
Ictu fulmineo.

The

The brazen Tower with doors close barr'd,
And watchfull bandogs frightfull guard,
Kept safe the maidenhead,
of *Danae* from secret love:
Till smiling *Venus*, and wise *Jove*
Beguil'd her Fathers dread.
For chang'd into a golden showre,
The god into her lap did poure
Himself, and took his pleasure.
Through guards and stony walls to break,
The thunder-bolt is far more weak,
Than is a golden treasure.

The first Kings of the Argives *were these:*

Inachus the first King, who began to reign in the first yeer of *Jacob*, and the 61. of *Isaac:* from which time, to the end of *Sthenelus*, *Castor* mis-reckoneth 400. yeers. This Kingdome before the translation, *Eusebius* accounteth to have stood 544. yeers, others but at 417. *Io* was the daughter of this *Inachus:* whom the *Egyptians* called *Isis*.

Phoroneus,
Apis,
Argus,
Pirasus,
Phorbas,
Triopas,
Crotopus,
Sthenelus,
Danaus,
Lynceus,
Abas,
Acrisius,
Pelops.

After the translation to *Mycenæ*, *Mar. Scotus* findes these Kings:

Perseus,
Sthenelus,
Eurystheus,
Atreus and *Thyestes*: The sons of *Pelops* by *Hippodamia*: *Atreus* by *Europe* had *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*.
Agamemnon,
Ægysthus,
Orestes,
Tisamenus,
Penthilus and
Cometes.

Of these Kings *Mercator* and *Bunting* leave out the two first, and the last: beginning with *Eurystheus:* and ending with *Penthilus*. In *Tisamenus* time the *Heraclidæ* returned into *Peloponesus:* of which hereafter.

The Contemporaries of *Barac* and *Debora*, were *Midas*, who reigned in *Phrygia:* and *Ilus*, who built *Ilium:* with others mentioned in our *Chronologicall* Table, as Contemporaries with *Debora*.

§. V.

Of Gideon, *and of* Dædalus, Sphinx, Minos, *and others that lived in this age.*

Debora and *Barac* being dead, the *Midianites*, assisted by the *Amalekites*, infested *Israel*. For when, under a Judge, who had held them in the fear of the Lord, they had enjoyed any quiet or prosperity: the Judge was no sooner dead, than they turned to their former impious Idolatry. Therefore now the neighbouring Nations did so

so master them in a short time (the hand of God being with-held from their defence) as to save themselves, they crept into caves of the mountains, and other the like places
Jud.6. of hardest accesse: their enemies possessing all the plains and fruitfull vallies: and in harvest time, by themselves, and the multitude of their cattell, destroying all that grew up: covering the fields as thick as grasse-hoppers: which servitude lasted seven yeers.

Then the Lord by his Angell stirred up *Gideon* the son of *Joash*, afterward called
Jud.6.v.5. *Jerubbaal*: whose feare and unwillingnesse, and how it pleased God to hearten him in
Jud.c.6.&7. his enterprize, it is both largly and precisely set down in the holy Scriptures: as also how it pleased God by a few select persons, namely 300. out of 32000. men, to make them know that he onely was the Lord of Hosts. Each of these 300. by *Gideons* appointment carried a trumpet, and light in a pitcher, instruments of more terrour than force, with which he gave the great Army of their enemies an alarum: who hearing so loud a noyse, and seeing (at the crack of so many pitchers broken) so many lights about them, esteeming the Army of *Israel* to be infinite, and strucken with a sodain fear, they all fled without a stroke stricken, and were slaughtered in great numbers: two of their Princes being made prisoners and slain. In his return the *Ephramites* began to quarrell with *Gideon*, because he made war without their assistance, being then greedy of glory, the victory being gotten: who (if *Gideon* had failed and fallen in the enterprize) would no doubt have held themselves happy by being neglected. But *Gideon* appeasing them with a mild answer, followed after the enemie, in which pursuit being tyred with travell, and weary even with the slaughtering of his enemies, he desired relief from the inhabitants of *Succoth*, to the end, that (his men being refreshed) he might over-take the other two Kings of the *Midianites*: which had saved themselves by flight. For they were four Princes of the Nations, which had invaded and wasted *Israel*: to wit, *Oreb* and *Seeb*, which were taken already, and *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*; whicd fled.

Gideon being denied by them of *Succoth*, sought the like relief from the Inhabitants of *Penuel*, who in like sort refused to succour him. To both of these places he threatned therefore the revenge, which in his return from the prosecution of the other two Princes, he performed: to wit, that he would teare the flesh of those of *Succoth* with thorns and briars, and destroy the Inhabitants and City of *Penuel*. Now why the people of these two Cities should refuse relief to their brethren the *Israelites*, especially after so great a victory: if I may presume to make conjecture, it seems likly, first, that those Cities set over *Jordan*, and in the way of all invasions, to be made by the *Moabites*, *Ammonites* and *Midianites*, into *Israel*, had either made their own peace with those nations, and were not spoiled by them; or else they knowing that *Zeba* and *Zalmunna* were escaped with a great part of their army, might fear their revenge in the future. Secondly, it may be laid to the condition and dispositions of these men: as it is not rare to finde of the like humour in all ages. For there are multitudes of men, especially of those which follow the war, that both envie and maligne others, if they perform any praiseworthy actions, for the honour and safety of their own Country, though themselves may be assured to beare a part of the smart of contrary successe. And such malicious hearts can rather be contented that their Prince and Country should suffer hazzard and want, than that such men as they mislike, should be the authors or actors of any glory or good to either.

A place in *Basan*, as it is thought. *Jud.8.10.* Now *Gideon*, how or whersoever it were that he refreshed himself and his weary and hungry Souldiers, yet he followed the opportunity, and pursued his former victory to the uttermost: and finding *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* in *Karkor* (suspecting no further attempt upon them) he again surprised them, and slaughtered those 15000. remaining: having put to the sword in the former attempt 120000. and withall he took *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* prisoners: whom because themselves had executed *Gidions* brethren before at *Tabor*, he caused them both to be slain: or (as it is written) at their own request slew them with his own hands, his Son whom he first commanded to doe it, refusing it; and in his return from the consummation of this marvellous victory, he took revenge of the Elders of *Succoth*, and of the Citizens of *Penuel*: forgiving no offence committed against him, either by strangers or by his brethren the *Israelites*. But such mercy as he shewed to others, his own children found soon after his death, according

to

to that which hath been said before. The debts of cruelty and mercy are never left unsatisfied: for as he slew the 70. Elders of *Succoth*, with great and unusuall torments, so were his own 70. sons, all but one, murthered by his own bastard *Abimelec*: The like *Analogie* is observed by the *Rabbines*, in the greatest of the plagues which God brought upon the *Egyptians*, who having caused the male children of the *Hebrews* to be slain, others of them to be cast into the river and drowned: God rewarded them even with the like measure, destroying their own first-born by his *Angel*, and drowning *Pharaoh* and his Army in the Red Sea. And hereof a world of examples might be given both out of the Scriptures and other Histories.

In the end so much did the people reverence *Gideon* in the present for his victory, and their own deliverance, as they offered him the Soveraignty over them, and to establish him in the Government; which he refused, answering; *I will not reign over you, neither shall my childe reign over you, but the Lord shall, &c.* But he desired the people that they would bestow on him the golden ear-rings which every man had gotten. For the *Ismaelites*, neighbours, and mixt with the *Midianites*, used to wear them: the weight of all which was a thousand & seven hundred shekles of gold, which makes of ours 2380. li. if we follow the account of the shekle vulgar. And because he converted that gold into an *Ephod*, a garment of gold, blew silk, purple, scarlet, and fine linen, belonging to the High Priest onely, and set up the same in his own City of *Ophra* or *Ephra*, which drew *Israel* to Idolatry, the same was the destruction of *Gideon* and his house. *Judg.* 8. 23. *Exod.* 28. *Judg.* 8. 28.

There was another kinde of *Ephod* besides this of the High Priests, which the Levites used, and so did *David* when he danced before the *Ark*: and *Samuel* while he was yet young, which was made of linnen onely.

Now if any man demand how it was possible for *Gideon* with 300. men to destroy 120000. of their enemies, and afterward 15000. which remained, we may remember, that although *Gideon* with 300. gave the first alarm, and put the *Midianites* in rout and disorder; yet all the rest of the Army came in to the slaughter, and pursuit: for it is written; *That the men of Israel being gathered together out of Nephtaly, and out of Asher, and out of Manasse, pursued after the Midianites*: for this Army *Gideon* left in tents behinde him, when he went down to view the Army of his enemies, who with the noise of his 300. trumpets came after him to the execution. *Judg.* 7. 23.

There lived with *Gideon*, *Ægeus*, the son of *Pandion*, who reigned in *Athens*: *Eurystheus* King of *Mycenæ*: *Atreus* and *Thyestes* the sons of *Pelops*, who bare dominion over a great part of *Peloponnesus*, and after the death of *Eurystheus*, the Kingdome of *Mycenæ* fell into the hand of *Atreus*. This is that *Atreus*, who holding his brother in jealousie, as an attempter, both of his Wife and Crown, slew the children of *Thyestes*, and causing their flesh to be drest; did therewith feast their father. But this cruelty was not unrevenged. For both *Atreus* and his son *Agamemnon* was slain by a base son of *Thyestes*, yea the grand-children, and all the linage of *Atreus* died by the same sword.

In *Gideons* time also those things were supposed to have been done, which are written of *Dædalus* and *Icarus*. *Dædalus*, they say, having slain his Nephew *Attalus*, fled to *Minos*, King of *Crete*, for succour; where for his excellent workmanship he was greatly esteemed, having made for *Minos* a *Labyrinth*, like unto that of *Egypt*. Afterward he was said to have framed an artificiall Cowe for *Pasiphae* the Queen, that she, being in love with a fair Bull, might by putting her self into the Cowe, satisfie her lust; a thing no lesse unnaturall than incredible, had not that shameless Emperour *Domitian* exhibited the like beastly spectacle openly before the people of *Rome*, in his *Amphitheater*; of purpose, as may seem, to verifie the old Fable. For so it appears by those Verses of *Martial*, wherein the flattering Poet magnifieth the abominable shew, as a goodly Pageant, in those vicious times.

Junctam Pasiphaen Dicteo credite Tauro
Vidimus, accepit fabula prisca fidem.
Nec se miratur Cæsar, longæva vetustas
Quicquid fama canit, donat arena tibi.

But concerning that which is reported of *Pasiphae*; *Servius* makes a lesse unhonest

construction of it, thinking that *Dædalus* was of her counsell, and her Pandar for the enticing of a Secretary of *Minos* called *Taurus*, which signifieth a Bull, who begat her with childe; and that she being delivered of two sons, the one resembling *Taurus*, the other her husband *Minos*, it was feigned that she was delivered of the Monster *Minotaur*, half a Man, and half a Bull. But this practice being discovered, and *Dædalus* appointed to be slain, he fled out of *Crete* to *Cocalus* King of *Sicil:* in which passage he made such expedition, as it was feigned that he fashioned wings for himself and his son to transport them. For whereas *Minos* pursued him with boats which had oares onely, *Dædalus* framed sails both for his own boat, and for his sons, by which he outwent those that had him in chase. Upon which new invention, *Icarus* bearing himself over-bold, was over-born and drowned.

It is also written of *Dædalus*, that he made Images that could move themselves, and go, because he carved them with legs, arms, and hands; whereas those that preceded him, could onely present the body and head of those men, whom they carried to counterfeit, and yet the workmanship was esteemed very rare. But *Plutarch*, who had seen some of those that were called the Images of *Dædalus*, found them exceeding rude.

Herod. Plat. Paus. l. 9. With *Gideon* also flourished *Linus* the *Theban*, the son of *Apollo*, and *Terpsichore*, who instructed *Thamaris*, *Orpheus*, and *Hercules*. He wrote of the Creation, of the Sun and Moons course, and of the generation of living Creatures, but in the end he was slain by *Hercules* his scholar with his own Harp.

Strab. l. 9. Again, in this age those things spoken of *Sphinx* and *Oedipus*, are thought to have been performed. This *Sphinx* being a great robber by sea and land, was by the *Corinthians* Army, led by *Oedipus*, overcome. But that which was written of her propounding of riddles, to those whom she mastered, was meant by the rockie and unaccessible Mountain neer *Thebes*, which she defended; and by *Oedipus* dissolving her probleme, his victorie over her. She was painted with wings, because exceeding swift, and with the body of a Lion, for her cruelty. But that which *Palæphatus* reports of *Sphinx*, were more probable, did not the time disprove it, for he calls her an *Amazonite*, & the wife of *Cadmus:* who when by her help he had cast *Draco* out of *Thebes* (neglecting her) he married the sister of *Draco*, which *Sphinx* taking in despightfull part, with her own troop she held the Mountain by *Thebes*, from whence she continued a sharp war upon the *Thebans*, till by *Oedipus* overthrown. About this time did *Minos* thrust his brother out of *Crete*, and held sharp war with the *Megarians* and *Athenians*, because his son *Androgeus* was slain by them. He possest himself of *Megara*, by the treason of *Scylla*, daughter of *Nisus* the King. He was long Master of the Sea, and brought the *Athenians* to the tribute of delivering him every yeer seven of their sons: which tribute *Theseus* released, as shall be shewed, when I come to the time of the next Judge *Thola*. In the end he was slain at *Camerinus* or *Camicus* in *Sicilia*, by *Cocalus* the King, while he pursued *Dædalus:* and was esteemed by some to be the first Law-giver to those Islands.

Arist. pol. l. 1.

To this time are referred many deeds of *Hercules*, as the killing of *Antæus* the Giant, who was said to have 60. and odde cubits of length, which though *Plutarch* doth confirm, reporting that there was such a body found by *Sertorius* the *Roman*, in *Lybia*, where *Hercules* slew *Antæus:* yet for my self I think it but a loud lie. That *Antæus* was of great strength, and a cunning wrestler, *Eusebius* affirmeth: and because he cast so many men to the ground, he was feigned to be the son of the earth. *Pliny* saith, that he inhabited neer the Gardens *Hesperides* in *Mauritania*. S. *Augustine* affirms, that this *Hercules* was not of *Greece*, but of *Lybia:* and the *Hydra* also which he overcame, *Plato* expounded to be a subtle Sophister.

Euseb. in Chro.

Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 12.

Euseb. in Chro.

§. VI.

Of the Expedition of the Argonauts.

ABout the eleventh yeer of *Gideon*, was the famous Expedition of the *Argonauts:* of which many fabulous discourses have been written, the sum of which is this: *Pelias* the son of *Neptune*, brother by the mothers side to *Æson*, who was *Jasons* father, reigning in *Jolcos* a Town of *Thessaly*, was warned by the *Oracle* of *Apollo* to take heed of him that wore but one shoe. This *Pelias* afterward sacrificing to *Neptune*, invited

Jason

Jaſon to him, who coming haſtily, loſt one ſhoe in paſſing over a brook: whereupon *Pelias* demanded of him what courſe he would take (ſuppoſing he were able) againſt one of whom an Oracle ſhould adviſe him to take heed? to which queſtion when *Jaſon* had briefly anſwered, that he would ſend him to *Colchos* to fetch the golden Fleece, *Pelias* immediately commanded him to undertake that ſervice. Therefore *Jaſon* prepared for the voyage, having a ſhip built by *Argus* the ſon of *Phryxus*, by the counſell of *Pallas*: wherein he procured all the braveſt men of *Greece* to ſail with him: as *Typhis* the Maſter of the ſhip, *Orpheus* the famous Poet, *Caſtor* and *Pollux* the ſons of *Tyndarus*, *Telamon* and *Peleus* ſons of *Æacus*, and fathers of *Ajax* and *Achilles*, *Hercules*, *Theſeus*, *Zetes* and *Calais* the two winged ſons of *Boreas*, *Amphiaraus* the great Sooth-ſayer, *Meleager* of *Calidon* that ſlew the great wilde Boare, *Aſcalaphus* and *Jalmenus*, or *Almenus*, the ſons of *Mars*, who were afterwards at the laſt war of *Troy*, *Laërtes* the father of *Ulyſſes*, *Atalanta* a warlike Virgin, *Idas* and *Lynceus* the ſons of *Aphareus*, who afterwards in fight with *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, ſlew *Caſtor*, and wounded *Pollux*, but were ſlain themſelves: *Lynceus* by *Pollux*, *Idas* by *Jupiter* with lightning.

Theſe and many other went with *Jaſon* in the ſhip *Argo*: in whoſe Prow was a table of the Beech of *Dodona*, which could ſpeak. They arrived firſt at *Lemnos*; the women of which *Iſland*, having ſlain all the males, purpoſing to lead an *Amazonian* life, were nevertheleſſe contented to take their pleaſure of the *Argonauts*. Hence they came to the Country about *Cyzicus*: where dwelt a people called *Doliones*: over whom then reigned one *Cyzicus*, who entertained them friendly; but it ſo fell out, that looſing thence by night, they were driven by contrary windes back into his Port, neither knowing that it was the ſame Haven, nor being known by the *Doliones* to be the ſame men: but rather taken for ſome of their bordering enemies: by which means they fell to blows, inſomuch that the *Argonauts* ſlew the moſt part of the *Doliones*, together with their King *Cyzicus*: which when by day-light they perceived, with many tears they ſolemnized his funerall. Then departed they again, and arrived ſhortly in *Myſia*, where they left *Hercules* and *Polyphemus* the ſon of *Elates*, who went to ſeek *Hylas* the darling of *Hercules*, that was raviſhed by the *Nymphs*.

Polyphemus built a Town in *Myſia* called *Cios*, wherein he reigned. *Hercules* returned to *Argos*. From *Myſia* the *Argonauts* ſailed into *Bythinia*, which then was peopled by the *Bebryces*, the ancient Inhabitants of the Country, over whom *Amycus* the ſon of *Neptune* was then King. He being a ſtrong man, compelled all ſtrangers to fight with him at whorlbats, in which kinde of fight he had ſlain many, and was now himſelf ſlain by *Pollux*. The *Bebryces* in revenge of his death flew all upon *Pollux*, but his companions reſcued him, with great ſlaughter of the people. They ſailed from hence to *Salmydeſſus* a Town in *Thrace* (ſomewhat out of their way) wherein *Phineus* a Sooth-ſayer dwelt, who was blinde, and vexed with the *Harpies*. The *Harpies* were ſaid to be a kinde of Birds which had the faces of women, and foule long claws, very filthy creatures, which when the table was furniſhed for *Phineus*, came flying in, and devouring or carrying away the greater part of the victuals, did ſo defile the reſt, that they could not be endured. When therefore the *Argonauts* craved his advice and direction for their voyage: You ſhall do well (quoth he) firſt of all to deliver me from the *Harpies*, and then afterwards to aſk my counſell. Whereupon they cauſed the table to be covered, and meat ſet on; which was no ſooner ſet down, than that preſently in came the *Harpies*, and played their accuſtomed pranks: when *Zetes* and *Calais* the winged young men ſaw this, they drew their ſwords, and purſued them through the aire: Some ſay, that both the *Harpies* and the young men died of wearineſſe in the fight, and purſuit. But *Apollonius* ſaith, that the *Harpies* did covenant with the youths, to do no more harm to *Phineus*, and were thereupon diſmiſſed. For this good turn, *Phineus* gave them informations of the way, and adverriſed them withall of the dangerous Rocks, called *Symplegades*, which by force of windes running together, did ſhut up the paſſage; wherefore he willed them to put a Pigeon before them in the paſſage: and if that paſſed ſafe, then to adventure after her; if not, then by no means to hazzard themſelves in vain. They did ſo, and perceiving that the Pigeon had onely loſt a piece of her taile, they obſerved the next opening of the Rocks, and then rowing with all their might, paſſed through ſafe, onely the end of their Poop was bruiſed.

From thence forward, (as the tale goeth) the *Symplegades* have stood still: for the gods, say they, had decreed that after the passage of a ship, they should be fixed. Thence the *Argonautes* came to the *Mariandyni*, a people inhabiting about the mouth of the river *Parthenius*, where *Lycus* the King entertained them curteously. Here *Idmon* a Soothsayer of their company was slain by a wilde Boare; also here *Typhis* dyed: and *Ancæus* undertook to steare the ship. So they passed by the River *Thermodon*, and Mount *Caucasus*, and came to the River *Phasis*, which runs through the land of *Colchos*. When they were entred the haven, *Jason* went to *Æetes* the King of *Colchos*, and told him the Cammandment of *Pelias*, and cause of his coming, desiring him to deliver the golden Fleece; which *Æetes*, as the Fable goeth, promised to doe, if he alone would yoak together two brazen hooft Bulls, and plowing the ground with them, sowe Dragons teeth, which *Minerva* had given to him, being part of those which *Cadmus* did sowe at *Thebes*. These Bulls were great and fierce, and breathed out fire: *Vulcan* had given them to *Æetes*.

Whilest *Jason* was in a great perplexity about this task, *Medæa* the daughter of *Æetes* fell into a most vehement love of him, so far forth, that being excellent in *Magique*, she came privily to him, promising her help if he would assure her of his marriage. To this *Jason* agreed, and confirmed his promise by oath. Then gave she to him a medicine wherewith she bade him to annoint both his body and his armour, which would preserve him from their violence: further she told him, that armed men would rise out of the ground, from the teeth which he should sowe, and set upon him To remedy which inconvenience, she bade him throw stones amongst them as soon as they came up thick, whereupon they would fall together to blowes, in such wise that he might easily slay them. *Jason* followed her counsell; whereto when the event had answered, he again demanded the Fleece. But *Æetes* was so far from approving such his desire, that he devised how to destroy the *Argonauts*, and burn their ship; which *Medæa* perceiving, went to *Jason*, and brought him by night to the Fleece, which hung on an Oak in the Grove of *Mars*, where, they say, it was kept by a Dragon that never slept. This Dragon was by the Magick of *Medæa* cast into a sleep: so taking away the Golden Fleece, she went with *Jason* into the ship *Argo*; having with her, her brother *Absyrtus*.

Æetes understanding the practices of *Medæa*, provided to pursue the ship, whom when *Medæa* perceived to be at hand, she slew her brother, and cutting him in pieces, she scattered his limbs in divers places; of which *Æetes* finding some, was fain to seek out the rest, and suffer his Daughter to passe: the parts of his son he buried in a place, which thereupon he called *Tomi*; the *Greek* word signifieth *Division*. Afterwards he sent many of his subjects to seek the ship *Argo*, threatning that if they brought not back *Medæa*, they should suffer in her stead. In the mean while the *Argonauts* were driven about the Seas, and were come to the River *Eridanus:* which is *Po* in *Italy*.

Jupiter, offended with the slaughter of *Absyrtus*, vexed them with a great tempest, and carried them they knew not whither; when they came to the Islands *Absyrtides*; there the ship *Argo*, (that there might want no incredible thing in this Fable) spake to them and said, that the anger of *Jupiter* should not cease, till they came to *Ausonia*, and were cleansed by *Circe*, from the murther of *Absyrtus*. Now they thereupon sailing between the coasts of *Lybia* and *Gallia*, and passing through the Sea of *Sardinia*, and alongst the coast of *Hetruria*, came to the Isle of *Æea*, wherein *Circe* dwelt, who cleansed them. Thence they sailed by the coast of the *Syrens*, who sang to allure them into danger: but *Orpheus* on the other side sang so well, that he stayed them. Onely *Butes* swam out unto them, whom *Venus* ravished, and carried to *Lylibæum* in *Sicily* to dwell.

Having past the *Syrens*, they came between *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, and the stragling Rocks, which seemed to cast out great store of flames and smoak. But *Thetis* and the *Nereides*, conveyed them safe through at the appointment of *Juno*. So they coasted *Sicilie*, where the Beeves of the Sun were, and touched at *Corcyra*, the Island of the *Phæaces*, where King *Alcinous* reigned. Mean while the men of *Colchos*, that had been sent by *Æetes* in quest of the ship *Argo*, hearing no news of it, and fearing his anger, if they fulfilled not his will, betook themselves to new habitations: Some of them dwelt in the Mountains of *Corcyre*, others in the Islands of *Absyrtides*, and some coming

to

to the *Phæaces*, there found the ſhip *Argo*, and demanded *Medæa* of *Alcinous*: whereto *Alcinous* made anſwer, that if ſhe were not *Jaſons wife*, they ſhould have her; but if ſhe were already married, he would not take her from her huſband. *Arete*, the wife of *Alcinous*, hearing this, married them: wherefore they of *Colchos*, not daring to return home, ſtayed with the *Phæaces*; ſo the *Argonauts* departed thence, and after a while came to *Crete*. In this Iſland *Minos* reigned, who had a man of braſſe given to him (as ſome of the Fablers ſay) by *Vulcan*. This man had one vein in his body reaching from the neck to the heel, the end whereof was cloſed up with a brazen naile; his name was *Talus*: his cuſtome was to run thrice a day about the Iſland for the defence of it. When he ſaw the ſhip *Argo* paſſe by, he threw ſtones at it; but *Medæa* with her Magick deſtroyed him. Some ſay that ſhe ſlew him by potions, which made him mad; others, that promiſing to make him immortall, ſhe drew out the naile that ſtopt his vein, by which means all his blood ran out, and he died: others there are that ſay he was ſlain by *Pæan*, who wounded him with an arrow in the heel. From hence the *Argonauts* ſailed to *Ægina*, where they were fain to fight for freſh water. And laſtly, from *Ægina* they ſailed by *Eubœa* and *Locris* home to *Jolcos*, where they arrived, having ſpent four whole moneths in the expedition.

Some there are that by this journey of *Jaſon*, underſtand the myſterie of the Philoſophers ſtone, called the golden Fleece, to which alſo, other ſuper-fine *Chymiſts* draw the twelve labours of *Hercules*. *Suidas* thinks, that by the golden Fleece was meant a golden book of Parchment, which is of ſheep-ſkin, and therefore called golden, becauſe it was taught therein how other metals might be tranſmuted. Others would ſignifie by *Jaſon*, Wiſdome, and Moderation, which overcometh all perils: but that which is moſt probable, is the opinion of *Dercilus*, that the ſtory of ſuch a paſſage was true, and that *Jaſon* with the reſt went indeed to rob *Colchos*, to which they might arrive by boat. For not far from *Caucaſus* there are certain ſteep falling torrents which waſh down many grains of gold, as in many other parts of the World; and the people there inhabiting uſe to ſet many fleeces of wooll in thoſe deſcents of waters, in which the grains of gold remain, and the water paſſeth thorow, which *Strabo* witneſſeth to be true. The many rocks, ſtraits, ſands, and currents, in the paſſage between *Greece* and the bottom of *Pontus*, are Poetically converted into thoſe fiery Bulls, the armed men riſing out of the ground, the Dragon caſt aſleep, and the like. The man of braſſe, the *Syrens*, *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, were other hazzards and adventures which they fell into in the *Mediterran Sea*, diſguiſed, as the reſt, by *Orpheus*, under Poeticall morals: all which *Homer* afterward uſed (the man of braſſe excepted) in the deſcription of *Ulyſſes* his travels on the ſame In-land ſeas.

§. VII.

Of Abimelech, Tholan, *and* Jair, *and of the* Lapythæ, *and of* Theſeus, Hippolytus, *&c.*

AFter the death of *Gideon*, *Abimelech* his baſe ſon, begotten on a Concubine of the *Sechemites*, remembring what offers had been made to his father by the people, who deſired to make him and his their perpetuall Princes; and, as it ſeemeth, ſuppoſing (notwithſtanding his fathers religious modeſty) that ſome of his brethren might take on them the Soveraignty, practiſed with the Inhabitants of *Sechem* (of which his mother was native) to make election of himſelf; who being eaſily moved with the glory, to have a King of their own, readily condeſcended: and the better to enable *Abimelech*, they borrowed ſeventy pieces of ſilver of their Idoll *Baalberith*, with which *Judg. 9. 41.* treaſure he hired a company of looſe and deſperate vagabonds, to aſſiſt his firſt deteſtable enterpriſe, to wit, the ſlaughter of his ſeventy brethren, the ſons of *Gideon*, begotten on his Wives, of which he had many; of all which none eſcaped but *Jotham* *Verſe 5.* the youngeſt, who hid himſelf from his preſent fury: all which he executed on one ſtone; a cruelty exceeding all that hath been written of in any age. Such is humane ambition, a monſter that neither feareth God (though all-powerfull, and whoſe revenges are without date, and for everlaſting) neither hath it reſpect to nature, which laboureth the preſervation of every being: but it rageth alſo againſt her, though garniſhed with beauty which never dieth, and with love that hath no end. All other

passions and affections, by which the souls of men are tormented, are by their contraries often-times resisted or qualified. But ambition, which begetteth every vice, and is it self the childe and darling of *Satan*, looketh onely towards the ends by it self set down, forgetting nothing (how fearfull and inhumane soever) which may serve it: remembring nothing, whatsoever justice, piety, right or religion can offer and alledge on the contrary. It ascribeth the lamentable effects of like attempts, to the errour or weakness of the undertakers, and rather praiseth the adventure, than feareth the like successe. It was the first sin that the World had, and began in *Angels:* for which they were cast into Hell, without hope of redemption. It was more ancient than man, and therefore no part of his naturall corruption. The punishment also preceded his creation, yet hath the Divell, which felt the smart thereof, taught him to forget the one as out of date, and to practise the other, as befitting every age, and mans condition.

Jotham, the youngest of *Gideons* sons, having escaped the present perill, sought by his best perswasions to alienate the *Sechemites* from the assisting of this mercilesse Tyrant, letting them know, that those which were vertuous, and whom reason and religion had taught the safe and happy estate of moderate subjection, had refused to receive as unlawfull, what others had no power to give, without direction from the King of kings: who from the beginning (as to his own peculiar people) had appointed them by whom and how to be governed. This he taught them by the Olive, which contented it self with its Fatnesse, the Figge-tree with its sweetnesse, and the Vine with the good juice it had: the Bramble onely, who was most base, cut down all the rest, and accepted the Soveraignty. He also fore-told them by a Propheticall spirit, what should befall them in the end, and how a fire should come out of the Bramble, and consume the Cedars of *Libanon*.

Now (as it is an easie matter to call those men back whom rage without right led on) *Gaal* the son of *Ebed* withdrew the Citizens of *Sechem* from the service of *Abimelech:* who therefore after some assaults entred the place, and mastered it; and in conclusion fired the Town, wherein their Idoll *Baalberith* was worshipped, and put all the people of all sorts to the slaughter. Lastly, in the assault of the Castle or Tower of *Teber*, himself was wounded in the head with a stone thrown over the wall by a woman; and finding himself mortally bruised, he commanded his own Page to pierce his body, thereby to avoid the dishonour of being slain by so feeble a hand.

While *Abimelech* usurped the Government, the *Lapithæ* and *Centaurs* made war against the *Thebans*. These Nations were descended of *Apollo*, and were the first in those parts that devised to manage horses, to bridle and to sit them: insomuch, as when they first came down from the Mountains of *Pindus*, into the Plains, those which had never seen horsmen before, thought them creatures compounded of men and horses; so did the *Mexicans*, when *Ferdinando Cortes* the *Spaniard* first invaded that Empire.

Paleybatus, l. 1. de incredib.

After the death of *Abimelech*, *Tholo* of *Issachar* governed *Israel* 23. yeers, and after him *Jair* the *Gileadite* 22. yeers, who seems to be descended of *Jair* the son of *Manasse*, who in *Moses* time conquered a great part of *Gilead*, and called the same after his own name, *Havoth Jair*. For to this *Jair* there remained thirty of those Cities which his ancestor had recovered from the *Amorites*. Of these Judges, because there is nothing else written, it is an argument, that during all their times *Israel*, lived without disturbance, and in peace.

Deut. 3. 14. Num. 12. 41.

Judg. 10.

When *Jair* judged *Israel*, *Priamus* began to reign in *Troy*, who at such time as *Hercules* sacked *Ilium*, was carried away captive with his sister *Hesione* into *Greece*, and being afterward redeemed for ransome, he re-built and greatly strengthened and adorned *Troy*; and so far enlarged his Dominions, as he became the supreme Lord in effect of all *Asia* the lesse. He married *Hecuba* the Daughter of *Cisseus* King of *Thrace*, and had in all (saith *Cicero*) fifty sons, whereof seventeen by *Hecuba*, of whom *Paris* was one; who attempting to recover his Aunt *Hesione*, took *Helena* the Wife of *Menelaus*, the cause of the war which followed.

2091.

In Tusc.

Theseus the tenth King of *Athens*, began likewise to reign in the beginning of *Jair:* some Writers call him the son of *Neptune* and *Æthra:* but *Plutarch* in the Story of his life, findes him begotten by *Ægeus*, of whom the *Grecian* Sea between it and *Asia* the

lesse

lesse took name. For when *Minos* had mastered the *Athenians*, so far as he forc't them to pay him seven of their sons every yeer for tribute, whom he inclosed within a *Labyrinth*, to be devoured by the Monster *Minotaur*: because belike the sons of *Taurus*, which he begat on *Pasiphae* the Queen, had the charge of them: among these seven *Theseus* thrust himself, not doubting by his valour to deliver the rest, and to free the Country of that slavery occasioned for the death of *Androgeas*, *Minos* his son.

And having possest himself of *Ariadnes* affection, who was *Minos* daughter, he received from her a bottom of thred, by which he conducted himself through all the crooked and inextricable turnings of the *Labyrinth*, made in all like that of the City of *Crocodiles* in *Egypt*; by mean whereof having slain *Minotaur*, he found a ready way to return. But whereas his father *Ægeus* had given order, that if he came back with victory and in safety, he should use a white sail in signe thereof, and not that mournfull black saile under which they left the port of *Athens*: This instruction being either forgotten or neglected, *Ægeus* descrying the ship of *Theseus* with a black sail, did cast himself over the Rocks down into the Sea, afterward called of his name *Ægeum*.

One of the first famous acts of *Theseus*, was the killing of *Scyron*, who kept a passage between *Megara* and the *Peloponnesian Isthmos*, and threw all whom he mastered into the Sea, from the high Rocks. Afterward he did the like to *Cercyon*, by wrestling, who used by that art to kill others. He also rid the Countrie of *Proorustes*, who used to bend down the strong limbs of two trees, and fastned by cords such as he took, part of them to one, and part to the other bough, and by the springing up tare them asunder. So did he root out *Periphetes* and other mischievous theeves and murtherers. He overthrew the Army of the *Amazons*, who after many victories and vastations, entred the Territory of *Athens*. *Theseus* having taken their Queen *Hippolita* prisoner, begat on her *Hippolitus*; with whom afterward his mother-in-law *Phædra*, falling in love, and he refusing to abuse his fathers bed, *Phædra* perswaded *Theseus*, that his son offered to force her: after which it is feigned, that *Theseus* besought *Neptune* to revenge this wrong of his sons by some violent death. *Neptune* taking a time of advantrge, sent out his Sea-Calves, as *Hippolitus* passed by the sea-shore, and so affrighted his horses, as casting the Coach over, he was (by being intangled therein) torn in pieces. Which miserable and undeserved destiny, when *Phædra* had heard of, she strangled her self. After which it is feigned, that *Diana* intreated *Æsculapius* to set *Hippolitus* his pieces together, and to restore him to life: which done, because he was chaste, she led him with her into *Italy*, to accompany her in her hunting, and field sports.

It is probable that *Hippolitus*, when his father sought his life, thinking to escape by Sea, was affronted thereat, and did receive many wounds in forcing his passage and escape; which wounds *Æsculapius*, to wit, some skilfull Physician, or Chirurgion, healed again: after which he passed into *Italy*, where he lived with *Diana*, that is, the life of a Hunter, in which he most delighted. But of those ancient prophane Stories *Plutarch* saith well, that as *Cosmographers* in their descriptions of the World, where they finde many vast places whereof they know nothing, fill the same with strange Beasts, Birds, and Fishes, and with *Mathematicall* lines; so do the *Grecian* Historians and Poets imbroder and intermixe the Tales of ancient times, with a world of fictions and fabulous discourses. True it is, that *Theseus* did many great things in imitation of *Hercules*, whom he made his pattern, and was the first that gathered the *Athenians*, from being dispersed in thin and ragged Villages: in recompence whereof, and for devising them Laws to live under, and in order, he was by the beggarly, mutable, and ungratefull multitude, in the end banished. Some say, *per Ostracismum*, by the Law of Lots, or names written on shells, which was a device of his own.

He stole *Helen* (as they say) when she was fifty yeers old, from *Aphidna*, which City *Castor* and *Pollux* overturned, when they followed after *Theseus* to recover their sister. *Erasistratus* and *Pausanias* write, that *Theseus* begot her with childe at *Argos*, where she erected a Temple to *Lucina*: but her age makes that Tale unlikely to be true, and so doth *Ovid*, *Non tamen ex facto fructum tulit ille petitum, &c.* The rape *Eusebius* findes in the first of *Jair*, who governed *Israel* twenty two yeers, to whom succeeded *Jephta* or *Jepte*, six yeers, to whom *Ibzan*, who ruled seven yeers, and then *Habdon* eight yeers: in whose time was the fall of *Troy*. So, as if *Theseus* had a childe by her

Strab. lib. 9. Paus. in Con.

In epist. Helen.

Judg. 10. 3.

in the first of *Jair*, (at which time we must count her no lesse than fifteen yeers old; for the women did not commonly begin so young as they do now) she was then at least two and fifty yeers old at the destruction of *Troy*: and when she was stollen by *Paris*, eight and thirty: but herein the *Chronologers* do not agree. Yet *Eusebius* and *Bunting*, with *Halicarnasseus*, do in effect consent, that the City was entred, and burnt in the first yeer of *Demophoon* King of *Athens*, the Successour of *Menestheus*, the Successour of *Theseus*, seventeen dayes before the *Summer Tropick*; and that about the eleventh of *September* following, the *Trojans* crost the *Hellespont* into *Thrace*, and wintered there, and in the next spring that they navigated into *Sicilia*, where wintering the second yeer, the next Summer they arrived at *Laurentum*, and builded *Lavinium*. But S. *Augustine* hath otherwise, That when *Polyphides* governed *Sicyon*; *Menestheus*, *Athens*; *Tautanes*, *Assyria*; *Habdon*, *Israel*; then *Æneas* arrived in *Italy*, transporting with him in twenty ships the remainder of the *Trojans*: but the difference is not great; and hereof more at large in the story of *Troy* at hand.

Bunt. Chron. Eusch. Chron. Hal. l. 1.

Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 19.

In *Sicyonia*, *Phæstus* the two and twentieth King, reigned eight yeers, beginning by the common account in the time of *Thola*. His successours, *Adrastus*, who reigned four yeers, and *Polyphides*, who reigned thirteen, are accounted to the time of *Jair*; so is also *Menestheus* King of *Athens*, and *Atreus*, who held a great part of *Peloponnesus*. In *Assyria*, during the government of these two peaceable Judges, *Mitreus*, and after him *Tautanes* reigned. In *Egypt*, *Amenophis*, the son of *Rameses*, and afterwards *Annemanes*.

§. VII.

Of the war of Thebes, *which was in this age.*

IN this age was the war of *Thebes*, the most ancient that ever Greek Poet or Historian wrote of: Wherefore the Roman Poet *Lucretius*, affirming (as the *Epicures* in this point held truely against the *Peripateticks*) that the World had a beginning, urgeth them with this objection:

——Si nulla fuit genitalis origo
Rerumque & mundi, semperque æterna fuêre,
Cur supra bellum Thebanum, & funera Trojæ,
Non alias alii quoque res cecinere Poetæ?

If all this world had no originall,
But things have ever been as now they are:
Before the siege of *Thebes*, or *Troyes* last fall,
Why did no Poet sing some elder warre?

It is true, that in these times *Greece* was very salvage, the Inhabitants being often chaced from place to place, by the Captains of greater Tribes: and no man thinking the ground whereon he dwelt his own, longer than he could hold it by strong hand. Wherefore merchandize and other intercourse they used little; neither did they plant many trees, or sowe more corn than was necessary for their sustenance. Money they had little or none; for it is thought that the name of mony was not heard of in *Greece*, when *Homer* did write, who measures the value of gold and brasse by the worth in cattell: saying, that the golden armour of *Glaucus* was worth an hundred Beeves; and the copper armour of *Diomedes* worth nine.

Robberies by land and sea were common and without shame, and to steal horses or kine was the usuall exercise of their great men. Their Towns were not many, whereof those that were walled were very few, and not great. For *Mycenæ* the principall City in *Peloponnesus* was a very little thing, & it may well be thought that the rest were proportionable: briefly, *Greece* was then in her infancy, and though in some small Towns of that half Isle of *Peloponnesus*, the Inhabitants might have enjoyed quietnesse within their narrow bounds; as likewise did the *Athenians*, because their Country was so barren, that none did care to take it from them: yet that the land in generall was very rude, it wil easily appear to such as consider what *Thucidydes* the greatest of their Historians hath written to this effect, in the Preface to his History. Wherefore, as in these later

later times, idle *Chroniclers* uſe when they want good matter, to fill whole books with reports of great Froſts, or dry Summers, and other ſuch things which no man cares to reade; ſo did they who ſpake of *Greece* in her beginnings, remember onely the great Flouds which were in the times of *Ogyges* and *Deucalion:* or elſe rehearſe fables of men changed into birds, of ſtrange Monſters, of adultery committed by their gods, and the mighty men which they begat, without writing ought that ſavoured of humanity before the time of the war of *Thebes:* the brief whereof is this.

Oedipus the ſon of *Laius* King of *Thebes*, having been caſt forth when he was an infant, becauſe an *Oracle* foretold what evill ſhould come to paſſe by him, did afterwards in a narrow paſſage, contending for the way, ſlay his own father, not knowing either then or long after, who he was. Afterward he became King of *Thebes*, by marriage of the Queen *Jocaſta*, called by *Homer*, *Epicaſte:* on whom, not knowing her to be his mother, he begat two ſons, *Eteocles* and *Polynices*. But when in proceſſe of time, finding out by good circumſtances, who were his Parents, he underſtood the grievous murther and inceſt he had committed, he tore out his own eyes for grief, and left the City. His Wife (and Mother) did hang her ſelf. Some ſay, that *Oedipus* having his eyes pulled out, was expelled *Thebes*, bitterly curſing his ſons, becauſe they ſuffered their father to be caſt out of the Town, and aided him not. Howſoever it were, his two Sons made this agreement, that the one of them ſhould reign one yeer, and the other another yeer, and ſo by courſe rule interchangeably. But this appointment was ill obſerved. For when *Polynices* had after a yeers government reſigned the Kingdom to his brother: or (according to others) when *Eteocles* had reigned the firſt yeer, he refuſed to give over the rule to *Polynices*. Hereupon *Polynices* fled unto *Argos*, where *Adraſtus* the ſon of *Talaus* then reigned, unto whoſe Palace coming by night, he was driven to ſeek lodging in an out-houſe, on the back-ſide. *Hom. Odyſſ. 11.*

There he met with *Tydeus* the ſon of *Oeneus*, who was fled from *Calydon:* with whom ſtriving about their lodging, he fell to blowes. *Adraſtus* hearing the noiſe, came forth and took up the quarrell. At which time perceiving in the ſhield of *Tydeus* a Bore, in that of *Polynices* a Lion, he remembred an old Oracle by which he was adviſed to give his two Daughters in marriage to a Lion and a Bore: and accordingly he did beſtow his Daughter *Argia* upon *Tydeus*, and *Deipyle* upon *Polynices*, promiſing to reſtore them both to their Countries. To this purpoſe levying an Army, and aſſembling as many valiant Captains as he could draw to follow him, he was deſirous among others to carry *Amphiaraus* the ſon of *Oicleus* a great Soothſayer, and a valiant man, along with him. But *Amphiaraus*, who is ſaid to have fore-ſeen all things, knowing well that none of the Captains ſhould eſcape, ſave onely *Adraſtus*, did both utterly refuſe to be one in that expedition, and perſwaded others to ſtay at home. *Polynices* therefore dealt with *Eriphyle* the Wife of *Amphiaraus*, offering unto her a very fair Bracelet, upon condition that ſhe ſhould cauſe her Huſband to aſſiſt him. The Sooth-ſayer knowing what ſhould work his deſtiny, forbade his Wife to take any gift of *Polynices*. But the Bracelet was in her eye ſo precious a Jewell, that ſhe could not refuſe it. Therefore whereas a great controverſie between *Amphiaraus* and *Adraſtus*, was by way of compromiſe put unto the deciſion of *Eriphyle*, either of them being bound by ſolemn oath to ſtand to her appointment: ſhe ordered the matter ſo, as a Woman ſhould that did love a Bracelet better than her Huſband. He now finding that it was far more eaſie to fore-ſee than avoid deſtiny, ſought for ſuch comfort as revenge might affoord him, giving in charge unto his ſons, that when they came to full age, they ſhould kill their mother, and make ſtrong war upon the *Thebanes*.

Now had *Adraſtus* aſſembled all his forces, of which, the ſeven chief Leaders were himſelf, *Amphiaraus*, *Capaneus*, and *Hippomedon* (in ſtead of whom ſome name *Meciſteus*) all *Argives*, with *Polynices* the *Theban*, *Tydeus* the *Ætolian*, and *Parthenopeus* the *Arcadian*, ſon of *Meleager* and *Atalanta*. When the Army came to the *Nemæan* Wood, they met a woman, whom they deſired to help them to ſome water; ſhe having a childe in her arms, laid it down, and led the *Argives* to a Spring: but ere ſhe returned, a Serpent had ſlain the childe. This woman was *Hypſipyle* the Daughter of *Thoas* the *Lemnian*, whom ſhe would have ſaved when the women of the Iſle ſlew all the

the males by conspiracie, intending to lead an *Amazonian* life. For such her Piety the *Lemnian* wives did sell her to *Pyrats*, and the *Pyrats* to *Lycurgus* Lord of the Countrey about *Nemæa*, whose young son *Opheltes*, or *Archemorus* she did nurse, and lost, as is shewed before. When upon the childes death she hid her self for fear of her master, *Amphiaraus* told her sons where they should find her: and the *Argives* did both kill the Serpent which had slain the childe, and in memory of the chance, did institute solemne funerall games, called *Nemæan*, wherein *Adrastus* wan the prize with his swift horse *Arcon*, *Tydeus* with the whorlbats, *Amphiaraus* at running and quoiting, *Polynices* at wrestling, *Parthenopæus* at shooting, and one *Laodocus* in darting. This was the first institution of the *Nemæan* games, which continued after famous in *Greece* for very many ages. There are, who think that they were ordained in honour of one *Opheltus* a *Lacedemonian*. Some say by *Hercules*, when he had slain the *Nemæan* Lion: but the common opinion agrees with that which is here set down.

From *Nemæa* the *Argives* marched onwards, arrived at *Citheron*, whence *Tydeus* was by them sent Embassadour to *Thebes*, to require of *Eteocles* the performance of Covenants between him and *Polynices*. This message was nothing agreeable to *Eteocles*, who was throughly resolved to hold what he had, as long as he could: which *Tydeus* perceiving, and intending partly to get honour, partly to trie what mettle was in the *Thebans*, he made many challenges, and obtained victory in all of them, not without much envie and malice of the people, who layd fifty men in ambush to intercept him at his return to the Army, of which fifty he slew all but one, whom he sent back to the City as a reporter and witnesse of his valour. When the *Argives* understood how resolved *Eteocles* was, they presented themselves before the City, and encamped round about it. *Thebes* is said to have had at that time seven gates, which belike stood not far asunder, seeing that the *Argives* (who afterward when they were very far stronger, could scarce muster up more thousands than *Thebes* had gates) did compasse the Towne, *Adrastus* quartered before the gate *Homoloides*, *Capaneus* before the *Ogygean*, *Tydeus* before *Crenis*, *Amphiaraus* at *Proëtis*, *Hippomedon* at *Anchais*, *Parthenopæus* at *Electa*, and *Polynices* at *Hypsista*. In the mean season, *Eteocles* having armed his men, and appointed Commanders unto them, took advice of *Tiresias* the Soothsayer, who promised victory to the *Thebans*, if *Menœcius* the son of *Creon*, a principall man of the City, would vow himself to bee slain in honour of *Mars* the god of war. So full of malice and pride is the Divell, and so envious at his Creators glory, that he not onely challengeth honour due to God alone, as oblations and sacrifice withall Divine worship, but commandeth us to offer our selves and our children unto him, when he hath sufficiently clouded mens understanding, and bewitched their wils with ignorance and blind devotion. And such abominable sacrifice of men, maides, and children hath he exacted of the *Syrians*, *Carthaginians*, *Gauls*, *Germans*, *Cyprians*, *Egyptians*, and of many other, if not of all Nations, when through ignorance or fear they were most filled with superstition. But as they grew more wise, so did he waxe lesse impudent in cunning, though not lesse malicious in desiring the continuance of such barbarous inhumanitie. For King *Diphilus* in *Cyprus* without advice of any *Oracle*, made the Idoll of that Country rest contented with an Oxe in stead of a man. *Tiberius* forbade humane sacrifices in *Africa*, and crucified the Priests in the groves where they had practised them. *Hercules* taught the *Italians* to drown men of hay in stead of the living: yet among the salvages in the West *Indies* these cruell offerings have been practised of late ages: which, as it is a sufficient argument that *Satans* malice is onely covered and hidden by this subtilty among civill people: so it may serve as a probable conjecture of the barbarismes then raigning in *Greece*. For *Menœcius*, as soon as he understood that his death might purchase victory to his people, bestowed himself (as he thought) upon *Mars*, killing himself before the gates of the City. Then was a battell fought, wherein the *Argives* prevailed so far at the first, that *Capanius* advancing ladders to the wals, got up upon the rampart: whence, when he fell, or was cast down, or (as Writers have it) was stricken down by *Jupiter* with a thunder-bolt, the *Argives* fled. Many on each part were slain in this battel, which caused both sides to desire that *Eteocles* and *Polynices* might try out the quarrell in single fight: whereto the two brethren according, slew each other.

Another battell was fought after their death, wherein the sons of *Astacus* behaved themselves very valiantly: *Ismarus* one of the sons slew *Hippomedon*, which was one

of

of the ſeven Princes: *Parthenopæus* being another of the ſeven (who was ſaid to have been ſo faire, that none would hurt him when his face was bare) was ſlain by *Amphidicus*, or, as ſome ſay, by *Periclymenus* the ſon of *Neptune*: and the valiant *Tydeus*, by *Menalippus*: yet ere *Tydeus* died, the head of *Menalippus* was brought unto him by *Amphiaraus*, which he cruelly tore open, and ſwallowed up the brains. Upon which fact, it is ſaid, that *Pallas*, who had brought from *Jupiter* ſuch remedy for his wounds, as ſhould have made him immortall, refuſed to beſtow it upon him: whereby perhaps was meant that his honour which might have continued immortall, did periſh through the beaſtly rage that he ſhewed at his death.

10 The hoſt of the *Argives* being wholly diſcomfited, *Adraſtus* and *Amphiaraus* fled: of whom *Amphiaraus* is ſaid to have been ſwallowed quick into the earth, neer to the River *Iſmenus*, together with his Chariot, and ſo loſt out of mens ſight, being peradventure overwhelmed with dead carkaſſes, or drowned in the River: and his body never found, nor greatly ſought for. *Adraſtus* eſcaped on his good horſe *Arion*, and came to *Athens*; where ſitting at an altar, called the Altar of Mercy, he made ſupplication for their aid to recover their bodies. For *Creon* having obtained the government of *Thebes* after the death of *Eteocles*, would not ſuffer the bodies of the *Argives* to be buried: but cauſed *Antigone*, the onely daughter then living of *Oedipus*, to be buried quick, becauſe ſhe had ſought out and buried the body of her brother *Polynices*, contrary to *Creons* 20 Edict. The *Athenians* condeſcending to the requeſt of *Adraſtus*, did ſend forth an Army under the conduct of *Theſeus*, which took *Thebes*, and reſtored the bodies of the *Argives* to ſepulture: at which time *Evadne* the wife of *Capaneus* threw her ſelf into the funerall fire, and was burnt willingly with her huſband. But it little contented the ſons of thoſe Captains which were ſlain at *Thebes*, that any leſſe revenge ſhould be taken of their fathers death, than the ruine of the City: wherefore ten yeer after, having levied forces, *Ægialeus* the ſon of *Adraſtus*, *Diomedes* of *Tydeus*, *Promachus* of *Parthenopæus*, *Sthenelus* of *Capaneus*, *Therſander* of *Polynices*, and *Euripylus* of *Meciſteus*, marched thither under the conduct of *Alcmæon*, the ſon of *Amphiaraus*: with whom alſo went his brother *Amphilochus*. *Apollo* promiſed victory, if *Alcmæon* were their Captain, whom 30 afterward by another *Oracle* he commanded to kill his own mother.

When they came to the City, they were encountred by *Laodamas* the ſon of *Eteocles* then King of the *Thebans* (for *Creon* was onely Tutor to *Laodamas*) who though he did valiantly in the battell, and ſlew *Ægialeus*, yet was he put to the worſt, and driven to flie, or (according to *Apollodorus*) ſlain by *Alcmæon*. After this diſaſter, the Citizens began to deſire compoſition; but in the mean time they conveyed themſelves with their wives and children away from thence by night, and ſo began to wander up and down, till at length they built the Town called *Eſtiæa*. The *Argives*, when they perceived that their enemies had quitted the Town, entring into it, ſacked it, threw down the walls, and laid it waſte; howbeit it is reported by ſome, that the Town was ſaved by *Thir-* 40 *ſander* the ſon of *Polynices*, who cauſing the Citizens to return, did there reign over them. That he ſaved the City from utter deſtruction, it is very likely; for he reigned there, and led the *Thebans* to the War of *Troy*, which very ſhortly after enſued.

§. VIII.

Of Jephta, *and how the three hundred yeers which he ſpeaketh of*, Judg. 11. 28. *are to be reconciled with the places*, Acts 13. 20. 1 Reg. 6. 1. *together with ſome other things touching Chronologie about theſe times.*

50 AFter the death of *Jair* (neer about whoſe time theſe things hapned in *Greece*, and during whoſe government, and that of *Thola*, *Iſrael* lived in peace and in order) they revolted again from the Law and Service of God, and became more wicked and idolatrous than ever. For whereas in the former times they worſhipped *Baal* and *Aſteroth*, they now became followers of all the Heathen Nations adjoyning, and imbraced the Idols of the *Aramites*, of the *Zidonians*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*: with thoſe of the *Philiſtims*. And as before it pleaſed God to correct them by the *Aramites*, by the *Amalekites*, and *Midianites*: ſo now he ſcourged them by the * *Ammonites*, and afterward by the *Philiſtims*. *Judg.* 10. * The perſecution of the *Ammonites* laſted 18. yeers, & ended in the yeer of the World 2820. in which yeer *Jephta* began, *Jud.* 11.

Now among the *Iſraelites*, thoſe of *Gilead* being moſt oppreſt, becauſe they bordered upon

upon the *Ammonites*, they were inforc't to seek *Jephta*, whom they had formerly despised and cast from them, because he was base born; but he (notwithstanding those former injuries) participating more of godly compassion, than of deviliſh hatred and revenge, was content to lead the *Gileadites* to the War, upon condition that they should establish him their Governour after victory. And when he had disputed with *Ammon* for the Land, disproved *Ammons* right, and fortified the Title of *Israel* by many arguments, the same prevailing nothing, he began the war; and being strengthened by God, overthrew them: and did not onely beat them out of the Plains, but forc't them
Judg. 11. 33. over the mountains of *Arabia*, even to *Minnith*, and *Abel* of the vineyards, Cities expresst heretofore in the description of the *Holy Land*. After which victory it is said, that he performed the vain vow which he made, to sacrifice the first living creature he incountred, coming out of his house to meet him; which happened to be his own daughter, and onely childe, who with all patience submitted her self, and onely desired two moneths time to bewail her Virginity on the mountains of *Gilead*; because in her the issues of her Father ended: but the other opinion, that she was not offered, is more
Bor. in Judg. probable, which *Borhæus* and others prove sufficiently.

After these things the children of *Israel*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, either envious of *Jephta's* victory, or otherwise making way to their future calamity, and to the most grievous slavery that ever *Israel* suffered, quarrelled with *Jephta*, that they were not called to the War, as before time they had contested with *Gideon*. *Jephta* hereupon inforced to defend himself against their fury, in the incounter slew of them 42000.
Judg. 12. which so weakened the body of the Land, as the *Philistims* had an easie conquest of them all not long after. *Jephta*, after he had judged *Israel* six yeers, died: to whom
2925. succeeded *Ibzan*, who ruled seven yeers: after him *Elon* was their Judge ten yeers: in
2942. all which time *Israel* had peace. *Eusebius* finds not *Elon*, whom he calleth *Adon*, for in the *Septuagint*, approved in his time, this Judge was omitted.

Now before I go on with the rest, it shall be necessary upon the occasion of *Jephta's* account of the times, *Jud.* 11. 28. (where he sayes that *Israel* had then possest the East side of *Jordan* 300. yeers) to speak somwhat of the times of the Judges, and of the differing opinions among the Divines and Chronologers: there being found three places
Judg. 11. 21. *Act.* 13. 20. *1 King.* 6. 1. of Scriptures touching this point, seeming repugnant or disagreeing: the first is in this dispute between *Jephta* and *Ammon*, for the right and possession of *Gilead*: the second is that of S. *Paul*, *Acts* 13. the third is that which is in the first of *Kings*. *Jephta* here challengeth the possession of *Gilead* for 300. yeers: S. *Paul* giveth to the *Judges*, as it seems, from the end of *Josua* to the last of *Heli*, 450. yeers. In the first of *Kings* it is taught, that from the departing of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, to the foundation of *Solomons* Temple, there were consumed 480. yeers. To the first, *Beroaldus* findeth *Jephta's* 300. yeers to be but 266. yeers, to wit, 18. of *Josua*, 40. of *Othoniel*, 80. of *Aod* and *Samgar*, 40. of *Debora*,
Id fecit, numero certo pro incerto, proposito. 40. of *Gideon*, 3. of *Abimelech*, 23. of *Thola*, and 22. of *Jair*: But *Jephta* (saith *Beroaldus*) putteth or proposeth a certain number for an uncertain: *Sic ut dicat annum agi propè trecentesimum, ex quo nullus litem ea de re moverit Israeli*; *So he speaketh* (saith he) *as meaning, that then it was about, or well-nigh, the three hundred yeer, since Israel possessed those Countries, no man making question of their right.* *Codoman* on the contrary finds more yeers than *Jephta* named by 65. to wit, 365. whereof 71. were spent in *Israels* captivity, at severall times, of which (as *Codoman* thinketh) *Jephta* forbare to repeat the whole sum, or any great part, lest the *Ammonites* should have justly objected, that 71. of those yeers the *Israelites* were in captivity, and vassals to their neighbour Princes, and therefore knowing that to name three hundred yeers, it was enough for prescription, he omitted the rest.

To justifie this account of 365. yeers, besides the 71. yeers of captivity or affliction, to be added to *Beroaldus* his 266. he addeth also 28. yeers more, and so maketh up the summe of 365. These 28. yeers he findeth out thus: twenty yeers he gives to the *Seniors* between *Josua* and *Othoniel*: and where *Beroaldus* alloweth eighteen yeers to *Josua* his government, *Codoman* accounts that his rule lasted 26. according to *Josephus*; whereas Saint *Augustine* and *Eusebius* give him 27. *Melanchthon* 32. The truth is, that this addition of 28. yeers, is far more doubtfull than the other of 71. But though we admit not of this addition, yet by accounting of some part of the yeers of affliction (to wit. 34. yeers of the 71.) if we adde them to the 266. yeers

of

of *Beroaldus*, which reckoneth none of these, we have the just number of 300. yeers. Neither is it strange that *Jephta* should leave out more than halfe of the yeers of affliction: seeing, as it is already said, the *Ammonites* might except against the 71. yeers, and say, that during these yeers, or at least a good part of them, the *Israelites* had no quiet possession of the Countries in question. *Martin Luther* is the author of a third opinion, making those 300. yeers remembred by *Jephta*, to bee 306. which odde yeers, saith he, *Jephta* omitteth. But because the yeers of every Judge, as they reigned, cannot make up the number of 306. but doe onely compound 266. therefore doth *Luther* adde to this number the whole time which *Moses* spent in the *Desarts* of *Arabia Petræa*; which forty yeers of *Moses* added to the number which *Beroaldus* findeth of 266. make indeed 306.

But I see nothing in the Text to warrant *Luthers* judgment herein: for in the dispute between *Jephta* and *Ammon* for the Land of *Gilead*, it is written in the person of *Ammon*, in these words: *Because Israel took my Land, when they came up from Egypt, from Arnon unto Jaboc, &c. now therefore restore those Lands quietly*; or in peace. So by this place it is plain, that the time is not to be accounted from *Moses* departure out of *Egypt*: but from the time that the Land was possest. For it is said, *Quia cepit Israel terram meam, Behold Israel took my Land*: and therefore the beginning of this account is to be referred to the time of the taking: which *Jephta*'s answer also confirmeth in these words: *When Israel dwelt in Heshbon, and in her Towns, and in Aroer, and in her Towns, and in all the Cities that are by the coast of Arnon 300. yeers: why did ye not then recover them in that space?* so as this place speaks it directly, that *Israel* had inhabited and dwelt in the Cities of *Gilead* 300 yeers: and therfore to account the times from the hopes or intents that *Israel* had to possesse it, it seemeth somewhat strained to mee: for we doe not use to reckon the time of our conquests in France, from our Princes intents or purposes, but from their victories and possessions. *Judg.* 11. 28.

Junius neverthelesse likes the opinion of *Luther*, and sayes, that this time of 300. yeers hath reference, and is to take beginning from the first of *Jephta*'s narration: when he makes a brief repitition of *Moses* whole journey: to wit, at the sixteenth Verse of the eleventh Chapter of *Judges*, in our translation in these words: *But when Israel came up from Egypt, &c.* and therefore *Moses* his 40. yeers (as he thinkes) are to be accounted, which make the number of 305. yeers: and not onely the time in which *Israel* possest *Gilead*, according to the Text, and *Jephta*'s own words: of which I leave the judgment to others; to whom also I leave to judge, whether we may not begin the 480. yeers, from the deliverance out of *Egypt* to the Temple, even from the first departure out of *Egypt*, and yet finde a more probable reconciliation of Saint *Pauls* and *Jephta*'s account with this reckoning, than any of those that as yet have been signified. For first, touching *Jephta*'s three hundred yeers of possession of the East side of *Jordan*, it is to be remembred, that for a good while before the *Israelites* possessed it, *Sehon* and *Og* had dispossessed *Moab* and *Ammon* thereof: so that when the *Israelites* had conquered *Sehon* and *Og*, the right of possession which they had, passed to *Israel*; and so *Jephta* might say, that they had possessed those Countries 300. yeers, reckoning 266. yeers of their own possession, and the rest of the possession of the two Kings, *Sehon* and *Og*, whose right the *Israelites* had by the law of conquest. *Junius* in the 11. of *Judg.* annot.

The second place disputed is this of S. *Paul*, *Act.* 13. that from the end of *Josua*, to the beginning of *Samuel*, there past 450. yeers. And this place *Luther* understandeth also besides the letter (as I find his opinion cited by *Functius Krentzhemius*, and *Beza*) for I have not reade his Commentaries. For he accounteth from the death of *Moses*, to the last yeer of *Heli*, but 357. yeers: and this he doth the better to approve the times from the egression out of *Egypt* to the building of the Temple, which in the first of *Kings* 6. is said to be 480. yeers. Reade the 24. of *Jos.* and the 2. of *Judg.* 7. *Funct. Chro. f.* 4. *Beza* in his annotations upon the 13. of *Act.* v. 10.

Now forasmuch as S. *Paul* (as it seems) findes 450. yeers from the death of *Josua*, to the last of *Heli*, and leaves but thirty yeers for *Saul* and *Samuel*, who governed 40. for *David* who ruled 40. and for *Solomon* who wore the Crown three whole yeers ere that the foundation of the Temple was laid; therefore *Luther* takes it, that there was errour in the Scribe, who wrote out this piece of Scripture of S. *Paul*: to wit, *Then afterward he gave unto them Judges about 450. yeers, unto the time of* Samuel *the Prophet*: the words [*then afterward*] being clearly referred to the death, or after the death *Act.* 13. 20.

of

of *Josua*, as shall be hereafter proved. But where Saint *Luke*, rehearsing the words of Saint *Paul*, wrote 350. yeers (saith *Luther*) the Scribe in the transcription being deceived by the affinity of those two *Greek* words, whereof the one signifieth 300. and the other 400. wrote *Tetracosiois*, for *Triacosiois*; 400. yeers for 300 yeers; and 450. for 350. This he seeketh to strengthen by many arguments: to which opinion *Beza* in his great annotations adhereth. A contrary judgment to this hath *Codoman:* where *Luther* and *Beza* begin at *Moses* death, he takes his account from the death of *Josua*, and from thence to the beginning of *Samuel* he makes 430. yeers: to wit, of the *Judges* (not reckoning *Sampsons* yeers) 319. and of yeers of servitude and affliction under strangers, 111. The reason why he doth not reckon *Sampsons* twenty yeers, is, because he thinks that they were part of the 40. yeers, in which the *Philistims* are said to have oppressed *Israel*. For it is plaine, that during all *Sampsons* time, they were Lords over *Israel*. So then of the Judges, besides the 111. yeers of servitude, *Codoman* reckoneth (as I have said) 319. yeers, which two sums put together, make 430. yeers. And whereas Saint *Paul* nameth 450. yeers, he finds 20. yeers to make up Saint *Pauls* number, to have been spent after the death of *Josua* by the *Seniors*, before the Captivity of *Cusban*, or the election of *Othoniel:* which 20. yeers added to 430. make 450. according to Saint *Paul*. To approve this time of the Elders, he citeth two places of scriptures, namely the 24. of *Josua*, and the second of *Judges*, in each of which places it is written, that *Israel served the Lord all the dayes of* Josua, *and all the dayes of the Elders that over-lived Josua:* so as to these times of the Elders, *Codoman* giveth 20. yeers, which make as before 450. according to Saint *Paul*. Neither would it breed any great difficultie in this opinion, if here also the 20. yeers of the *Seniors* between *Josua* and *Othoniel* should be denied. For they which deny these yeers, and make *Othoniels* 40. to begin presently upon the death of *Josua*, as in the beginning of this reckoning, they have 20. yeers lesse than *Codoman*, so toward the end of it (when they reckon the yeers of affliction apart from the yeers of the *Judges*) in the number of *Sampsons* yeers, and of the forty yeers of the *Philistims* oppressing the *Israelites*, they have 20. yeers more than *Codoman*. For they reckon these 40. yeers of oppression all of them a-part from *Sampsons* 20. but *Codoman*, as is said, makes *Sampsons* 20. to be the one half of the forty of the *Philistims* oppressions; so that if the 20. yeers of the *Seniors* be not allowed to *Codoman*, then he may reckon (as the letter of the Text seems to inforce) that the *Philistims* in any *Inter-regnum*, before *Sampson* judged *Israel*, vexed the *Israelites* 40. yeers, besides the 20 while *Sampson* was their Judge; and so the reckoning will come to 450. yeers between the end of *Josua*, and the beginning of *Samuel*, though we admit not of an *Inter-regnum* of the *seniors* between *Josua* and *Othoniel:* For, if the times of their affliction be summed, they make 111. yeers, to which if we adde the yeers of the Judges, which are 339. we have the just sum of 450. And this computation either one way or other, may seem to be much more probable, than theirs that correct the Text, although we should admit of their correction thereof, and read with them 350. for 450. For whereas they conceive that this time of 350. yeers, is to begin immediately, or soon after the death of *Moses:* certainly the place of Saint *Paul* doth evidently teach the contrary, though it be received for true that there was *vitium scriptoris* in the rest. For these be Saint *Pauls* words: *And about the time of forty yeers, God suffered their manners in the wildernesse: and he destroyed seven Nations in the Land of Canaan, and devided their Land to them by lot. Then afterward he gave unto them Judges about 450 yeers, unto the time of* Samuel *the Prophet.* So as first in the eighteenth verse he speaketh of *Moses*, and of his yeers spent in the Wildernesse, then in the ninteenth verse he cometh unto the acts of *Josua*; which were, that he destroyed seven Nations in the Land of *Canaan*, and divided their Land to them by lot. In the twentieth Verse it followeth, *Then afterward he gave them Judges about 450 yeers, &c.* and therefore to reckon from the death of *Moses*, is wide of Saint *Pauls* meaning, so far as my weak understanding can pierce it. The onely inconvenience of any weight in opinion of *Codoman* touching this place in the *Acts*, is, that it seems irreconcileable with the account, 1 *Reg.* 6. 11. For if indeed there were spent 450. yeers between the end of *Josua* and the beginning of *Samuel*, certainly there must needs be much more than 480. yeers between the beginning of the *Israelites* journeying from *Egypt*, and the foundation of the Temple by *Solomon*. To this difficulty

Codoman

Judg. 13.

Judg. 15. 11.

Jos. 14. 1.

Codoman anſwereth, that theſe 480. yeers, 1 *Reg.* 6. 1. muſt begin to be reckoned, not in the beginning, but in the ending of their journying from *Egypt*, which he makes to be 25. yeers after the beginning of *Othoniels* government; from whence if we caſt the yeers of the Judges, with the yeers of ſervitude (which ſums, according to his account, of which we have already ſpoken, make 397. yeers) and ſo to theſe yeers adde the 40. of *Samuel*, and *Saul*, and the 40. of *David*, and the 3. of *Solomon*, we ſhall have the juſt ſum of 480. yeers. Neither is it hard, ſaith he) that the *annus egreſſionis*, 1 *Kings* 6. 1. ſhould be underſtood *egreſſionis non incipientis, ſed finitæ*, the yeer of their coming out of *Egypt* (for ſo it is in the originall) or the yeer after they came out of *Egypt*, may well be underſtood for the yeer after they were come out thence, that is, after they had ended their wandring from thence. For ſo we finde that things which were done forty yeers after they had ſet foot out of *Egypt*, are ſaid to have been done in their going out of *Egypt*; as *Pſal.* 114. *When Iſrael came out of Egypt, Jordan was driven back.* And *Deut.* 4. 45. *Theſe are the teſtimonies which* Moſes *ſpake when they came out of Egypt.* And thus far it ſeems we may very well agree with *Codoman*, for the interpretation of the *ab exitu*, to be as much as *quum exiviſſent*, or *ab exitu finito*: for if *Junius*, *Deut.* 4. 45. do well reade *quum exiviſſent*, for *in exitu*, as it ſeems that herein he doth well, why may not we alſo, to avoid contradiction in the Scripture, expound *ab exitu* to be, *poſtquam exiviſſent*?

The next point to be cleered, is how their journeying ſhould be ſaid not to have had end untill the 25. yeer after the victory of *Othoniel*. To this *Codoman* anſwereth, that then it had no end, till when all the Tribes had obtained their portions, which happened not untill this time: at which time the *Danites* at length ſeated themſelves, as it is declared, *Judg.* 18. For doubtleſſe to this time the Expedition may moſt conveniently be referred. And thus without any great inconvenience to him appearing, doth *Codoman* reconcile the account of *Jephta*, and of Saint *Paul*, with that in the firſt *Kings*, *cap.* 6. Now whereas it is ſaid, that the Expedition of the *Danites* was when there was no King in *Iſrael*: to this *Codoman* anſwereth, that it is not neceſſary that we ſhould ſuppoſe that *Othoniel* lived all thoſe 40. yeers of reſt, of which *Judg.* 3. 11. ſo that by the 25. yeer after his victory, either he might have been dead, or at leaſt, as *Gideon* did, he might have refuſed all Soveraignty, and ſo either way it might truely be ſaid that at this time (to wit, the 25. yeer after *Othoniels* victory) there was no King in *Iſrael*. This opinion of *Codoman*, if it were as conſonant to other Chronologers, grounding their opinions on the plain Text, where it is indiſputable, as it is in it ſelf round enough and coherent, might perhaps be received as good: eſpecially conſidering, that the ſpeeches of S. *Paul* have not otherwiſe found any interpretation, maintaining them as abſolutely true, in ſuch manner as they ſound, and are ſet down. But, ſeeing that he wanteth all help of authority, we may juſtly ſuſpect the ſuppoſition whereupon his opinion is grounded; it being ſuch as the conſent of many Authours would hardly ſuffice to make very probable. For who hath told *Codoman*, that the conqueſt of *Laiſh*, by the Tribe of *Dan*, was performed in the five and twentieth yeer of *Othoniel*? Or what other probability hath he than his own conjecture, to ſhew that *Othoniel* did ſo renounce the office of a Judge after five and twenty yeers, that it might then be truely ſaid there was no King in *Iſrael*, but every man did that which was good in his own eyes?

Judg. 18. 1.

Now concerning the rehearſall of the Law by *Moſes*, and the ſtopping of *Jordan*, they might indeed be properly ſaid to have been, when *Iſrael* came out of *Egypt*: like as we ſay that King *Edward* the firſt was crowned when he came out of the Holy Land, for ſo all journies with their accidents commonly take name from the place either whence or whither they tend. But I think that he can finde no ſuch phraſe of ſpeech in Scripture as limiteth a journie by an accident, or ſaith by converting the propoſition, when *Jordan* was turning back, *Iſrael* came out of *Egypt*. Indeed moſt unproper it were to give date unto actions commenced long after, from an expedition finiſhed long before, namely, to ſay, that King *Edward* at his arrivall out of *Palæſtina* did win *Scotland*, or died at *Carlile*. How may we then beleeve that enterprize performed ſo many yeers after the diviſion of the Land (which followed the conqueſt at the journies end) ſhould be ſaid to have been at the time of the departure out of *Egypt*? Or who will not think it moſt ſtrange, that the moſt notable account of time, ſerving as the onely guide for certain ages in ſacred Chronologie, ſhould not take name and beginning

ginning from that illustrious deliverance out of *Egypt*, rehearsed often by God himself among the principall of his benefits to *Israel*, whereof the very day and moneth are recorded in Scripture (as likewise are the yeer and moneth wherein it expired) and the form of the yeer upon that occasion changed; but should have reference to the surprizing of a Town by six hundred men, that robbed a Chappell by the way, and stole from thence Idols to be their guides, as not going to work in Gods Name? For this accident whereupon *Codoman* buildeth, hath either no time given to it, or a time far different from that which he supposeth, and is indeed rather by him placed in such a yeer, because it best stood with his interpretation so to have it, than for any certainty or likelihood of the thing it self.

Wherefore we may best agree with such as affirm, that the Apostle S. *Paul* did not herein labour to set down the course of time exactly (a thing no way concerning his purpose) but onely to shew that God, who had chosen *Israel* to be his people, delivered them out of bondage, and ruled them by *Judges* and *Prophets* unto the time of *Saul*, did raise up our *Lord Jesus Christ* out of the seed of *David* the King, in whose succession the Crown was established, and promise made of a Kingdome that should have no end. Now in rehearsing briefly thus much which tended as a Preface to the declaration following (wherein he sheweth Christ to have been the true *Messias*) the Apostle was so far from labouring to make an exact calculation of times (the History being so well known and beleeved of the *Jews* to whom he preached) that he spake as it were at large of the 40. yeers consumed in the Wilderness, whereof no man doubted, saying, that God suffered their manners in the Wilderness about 40. yeers. In like manner he proceeded, saying, that from the division of the Land unto the dayes of *Samuel* the Prophet, in whose time they required to have a King, there passed about 450. yeers. Neither did he stand to tell them, that an hundred and eleven yeers of bondage mentioned in this middle while, were by exact computation to be included within the 339. yeers of the *Judges*: for this had been an impertinent digression from the argument which he had in hand. Wherefore it is not a work so needfull as laborious, to search out of this place that which the Apostle did not here intend to teach, when the sum of 480. yeers is so expresly and purposely set down.

Now that the words of S. *Paul* (if there be no fault in the copy through error of some Scribe) are not so curiously to be examined in matter of *Chronologie*, but must be taken, as having reference to the memory and apprehension of the vulgar, it is evident by his
Acts 13. ascribing in the same place 40. yeers to the reigne of *Saul*: whereas it is manifest that those yeers were divided between *Saul* and *Samuel*, yea, that far the greater part of them were spent under the government of the Prophet, howsoever they are here included in the reign of the King. As for those that with so much cunning forsake the generall opinion, when it favoureth not such exposition as they bring out of a good minde, to help where the need is not over-great; I had rather commend their diligence, than follow their example. The words of S. *Paul* were sufficiently justified by *Beroaldus*, as having reference to a common opinion among the Scribes in those dayes, that the 111. yeers of servitude were to be reckoned apart from the 339. yeers ascribed to the *Judges*; which account the Apostle would not in this place stand to contradict, but rather chose to speak as the vulgar, qualifying it with a *quasi*, where he saith, *quasi quadringentis & quinquaginta annis*; *As it were four hundred and fifty yeers*. But *Codoman* being not thus contented, would needs have it be so indeed, and therefore dis-joynes the
1 Kings 6. members to make the account even. In so doing he dasheth himself against a notable Text, whereupon all Authours have builded, (as well they might and ought) that purposely and precisely doth cast up the yeers from the departure out of *Egypt*, unto the building of *Solomons* Temple, not omitting the very moneth it self.

Now (as commonly the first apprehensions are strongest) having already given faith to his own interpretation of S. *Paul*, he thinketh it more needfull to finde some new exposition for that which is of it self most plain, & to examine his own conjecture upon a place that is full of controversie. Thus by expounding after a strange Method, that which is manifest by that which is obscure, he loseth himself in those wayes wherein before him never man walked. Surely if one should urge him to give reason of these new opinions, he must needs answer, that *Othoniel* could not govern above 25. yeers, because then was the taking of *Laish*; *at which time there was no King in Israel*; That the

Danites

Danites must needs have taken *Laish* at that time, because else we could not reckon backwards from the foundation of the Temple to any action that might be termed the comming of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, without excluding the years of servitude; And that the years of servitude must needs be included, for that otherwise hee himself should have spent his time vainly, in seeking to pleasure S. *Paul* with an exposition. Whether this ground be strong enough to uphold a Paradox, I leave it to the decision of the judicious Reader.

And now to proceed in our story. To the time of *Jephta* are referred the death of *Hercules*, the rape of *Helen* by *Paris*, and the provisions which her husband *Menelaus*, reigning then in *Sparta*, and his brother *Agamemnon* King of *Mycena*, made for her recovery. Others referre this rape of *Helen* to the fourth year of *Ibzan*: from which time, if the warre of *Troy* (as they suppose) did not begin till the third of *Ailon* or *Elon*, yet the *Greeks* had six years to prepare themselves: the rule holding not true in this War, *Longa præparatio belli celerem affert victoriam*; *That a long preparation begets a speedy victorie*: for the *Greeks* consumed ten years in the attempt; and *Troy*, as it seems, was entred, sackt, and burnt in the third year of *Habdon*.

Three years after *Troy* taken, which was in the sixt year of *Habdon*, *Æneas* arrived in *Italy*. *Habdon* in the eighth year of his rule, died, after hee had been the Father of 40. sons, and 30. grand-children. And whereas it is supposed, that the 40. years of *Israels* oppression by the *Philistims* (of which *Judg.* 13. *v.* 1.) took beginning from the ninth year of *Jair*, and ended with the last of *Habdon*: I see no reason for that opinion. For *Ephraim* had had little cause of quarrell against *Jephta*, for not calling them to war over *Jordan*, if the *Philistims* had held them in servitude in their own territories; and if *Ephraim* could have brought 42000. armed men into the field, it is not likely that they were then oppreſt: and had it been true that they were, who will doubt but that they would rather have fought against the *Philistims* with so powerfull an Army for their own deliverance, than against their own brethren the *Israelites*? but *Ammon* being overthrown, it seemed at that time, that they feared no other enemy. And therefore these 40. years must either be supplied elsewhere, as in the time of *Sampson*, and afterward: or else they must be referred to the *inter-regnum* between the death of *Habdon*, and the deliverance of *Israel* by *Sampson*, such as it was.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Warre of Troy.

§. I.

Of the Genealogie of the Kings of Troy, *with a note touching the ancient Poets, how they have observed historicall truth.*

THe Warre at *Troy*, with other stories hereupon depending (because the ruine of this Citie, by most *Chronologers* is found in the time of *Habdon Judge* of *Israel*, whom in the last place I have mentioned) I rather choose here to treat of in one entire narration, beginning with the lineal descent of their Princes, than to break the story into pieces by rehearsing a-part in divers years, the diversity of occurrents.

The Historie of the ancient Kings of *Troy* is uncertain, in regard both of their originall, and of their continuance. It is commonly held that *Teucer* and *Dardanus* were the two founders of that Kingdome. This is the opinion of *Virgil*: which if he (as *Reineccius* thinks) took from *Berosus*, it is the more probable: if *Annius* borrowed it of him, then it rests upon the authoritie of *Virgil*, who saith thus:

Creta Jovis *magni medio jacet insula Ponto:* *Æneid.* 3.
Mons Idæus ubi, & gentis cunabula nostræ.

Centum Urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna:
Maximus unde Pater (si ritè audita recordor)
Teucrus *Rhœteas primùm est advectus ad oras:*
Optavitq; locum regno. Nondum Ilium & arces
Pergameæ steterant: habitabant vallibus imis.
Hinc Mater cultrix Cybele, Corybaniaq; æra,
Idæumq, nemus.

In the main Sea the Ile of *Creete* doth lye:
Where *Jove* was born, thence is our progeny.
There is a mount *Ida*: there in fruitfull Land
An hundred great and goodly Cities stand.
Thence (if I follow not mistaken fame)
Teucer the eldest of our grand-sires came
To the *Rhætean* shores: and reigned there,
Ere yet fair *Ilion* was built, and ere
The Towers of *Troy*: their dwelling place they sought
In lowest Vales. Hence *Cybels* rites were brought:
Hence *Corybantian Cymbals* did remove;
And hence the name of our *Idæan* grove.

Thus it seemeth by *Virgil*, who followed surely good authority, that *Teucer* first gave name to that Countrey, wherein he reigned ere *Troy* was built by *Dardanus*: of which *Dardanus* in the same book he speaks thus:

Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt:
Terra antiqua, potens armis atq; ubere gleba,
Oenotrii coluere viri; nunc fama minores
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine gentem.
Hæ nobis propriæ sedes: hinc Dardanus *ortus;*
Fasiusq; Pater, genus à quo principe nostrum.

Hesperia the *Græcians* call the place:
An ancient fruitfull Land, a warlike race,
Oenotrians held it: now the later progenie
Gives it their Captains name, and calls it *Italy*;
This seat belongs to us; hence *Dardanus*,
Hence came the author of your stock, *Fasius*.

Atq; equidem memini (fama est obscurior annis)
Auruncos ita fere senes, hic ortus ut agris
Dardanus *Idæus Phrygiæ penetravit ad urbes,*
Threiciamq; Samum, quæ nunc Samothracia fertur.
Hinc illum Coryti Tyrrhena ab sede profectum,
Aurea nunc solio stellantis regia cœli
Accipit, &c.

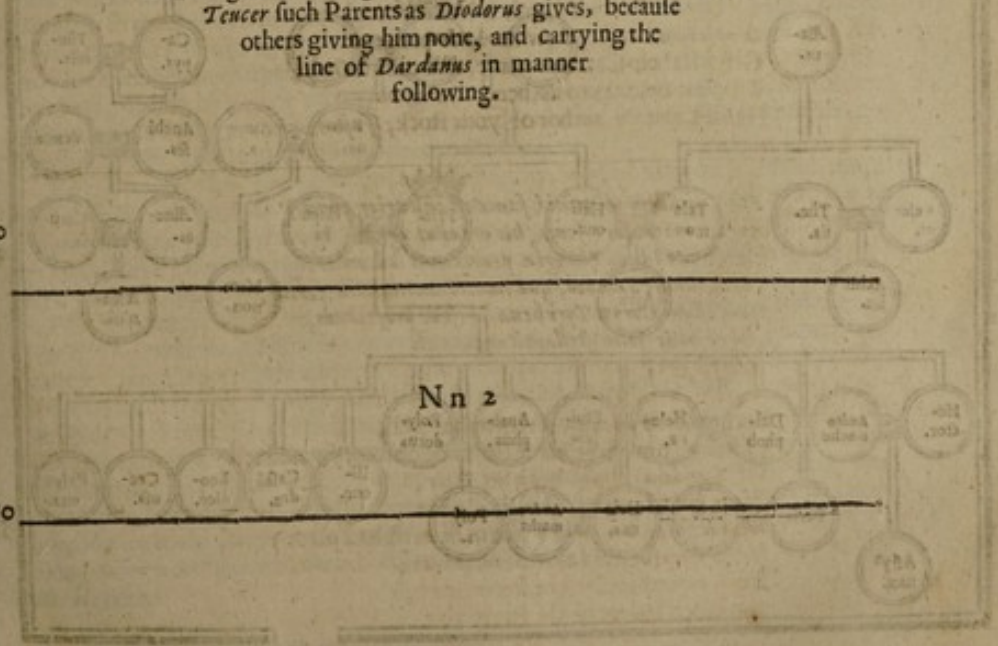
Some old *Aruncans*, I remember well,
(Though time have made the fame obscure) would tell
Of *Dardanus*, how born in *Italy*,
From hence he into *Phrygia* did flie.
And leaving *Tuscaine* (where he earst had place)
With *Corytus* did sail to *Samothrace*;
But now inthronized he sits on high,
In golden Palace of the starry skie.

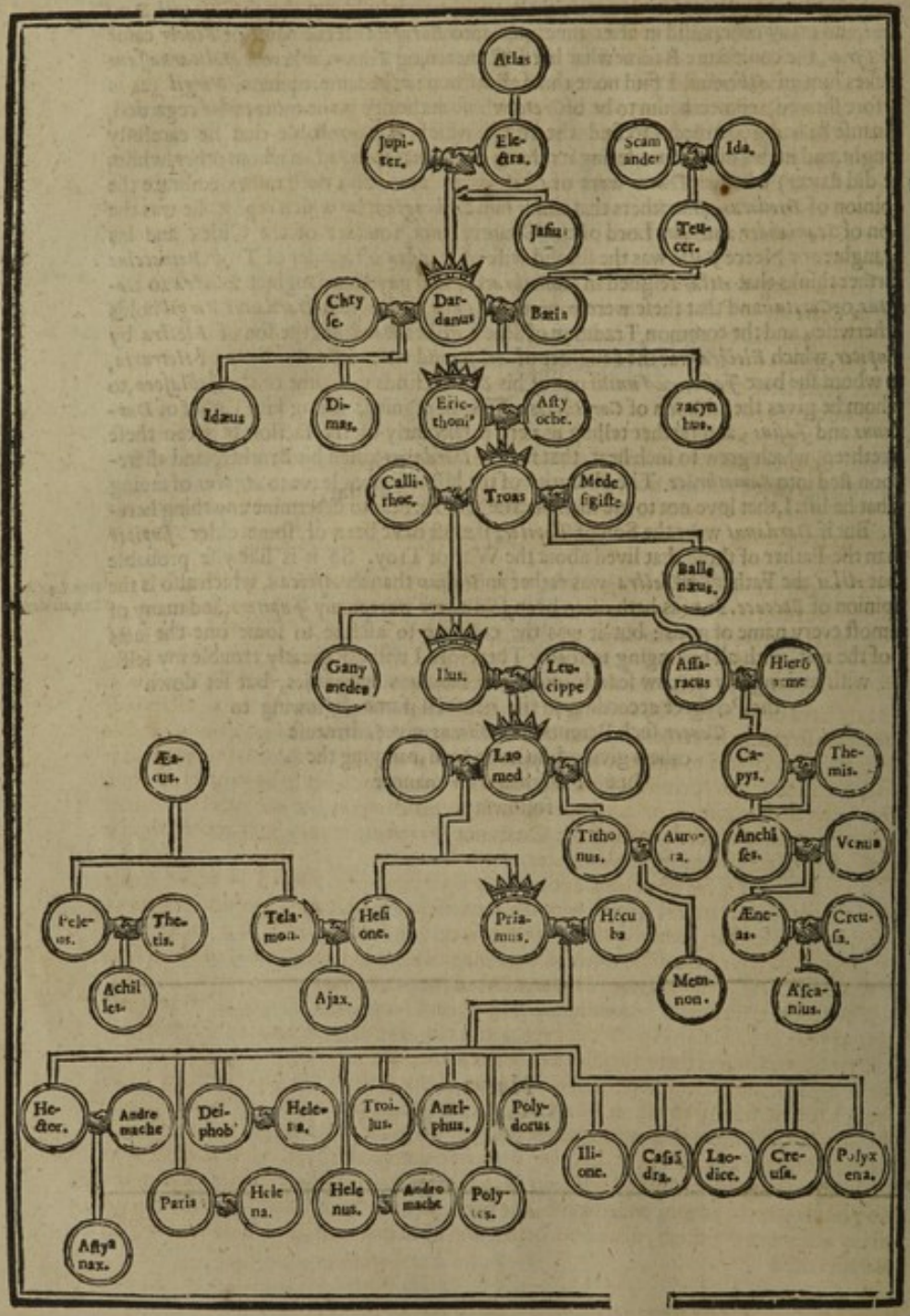
But contrary to this, and so many Authors, approving and confirming it, *Reineccius* thinks that these names, *Troes*, *Teucri*, and *Thraces*, are derived from *Tiras* or *Thiras* the son of *Japhet*: and that the *Dardanians*, *Mysians*, & *Ascanians*, mixt with the *Trojans*, were

were *Germane* Nations, deſcended from *Aſhkenaz*, the ſon of *Gomer*: of whom the Countrie, Lake, and river of *Aſcanius* in *Aſia* took name. That *Aſhkenaz* gave name to thoſe places and people, it is not unlikely: neither is it unlikely, that the *Aſcanii*, *Dardani*, and many others, did in after-times paſs into *Europe*: that the name of *Teucer* came of *Tyras*, the conjecture is ſomewhat hard. Concerning *Teucer*, whereas *Halicarnaſſaus* makes him an *Athenian*, I find none that follow him in the ſame opinion. *Virgil* (as is before ſhewed) reporteth him to be of *Crete*, whoſe authority is the more to be regarded, becauſe he had good means to find the truth, which it is probable that he carefully ſought, and in this did follow, ſeeing it no way concerned *Auguſtus* (whom other-whiles he did flatter) whether *Teucer* were of *Crete* or no. *Reineccius* doth rather embrace the opinion of *Diodorus*, and others that think him a *Phrygian*, by which report he was the Son of *Scamander* and *Ida*, Lord of the Country, not founder of the Citie; and his Daughter or Neece *Batia* was the ſecond wife of *Dardanus* founder of Troy. *Reineccius* further thinks that *Atlas* reigned in *Samothracia*, and gave his daughter *Electra* to *Corytus*, or *Coritus*: and that theſe were parents to *Chryſe*, firſt wife to *Dardanus*. *Virgil* holds otherwiſe; and the common Tradition of Poets makes *Dardanus* the ſon of *Electra* by *Jupiter*, which *Electra* was the daughter of *Atlas*, and wife to *Coritus* King of *Hetruria*, to whom ſhe bare *Faſius*. *Annius* out of his *Beroſus* finds the name of *Camboblaſcon*, to whom he gives the addition of *Corytus*, as a Title of dignity, making him Father of *Dardanus* and *Faſius*; and further telling us very particularly of the faction between theſe Brethren, which grew to ſuch heat, that finally *Dardanus* killed his Brother, and thereupon fled into *Samothrace*. The obſcurity of the hiſtory gives leave to *Annius* of ſaying what he liſt. I, that love not to uſe ſuch libertie, will forbear to determine any thing herein. But if *Dardanus* were the Son of *Jupiter*, it muſt have been of ſome elder *Jupiter* than the Father of thoſe that lived about the War of Troy. So it is likewiſe probable that *Atlas* the Father of *Electra* was rather an *Italian* than an *African*, which alſo is the opinion of *Boccace*. For (as hath often been ſaid) there were many *Jupiters*, and many of almoſt every name of gods: but it was the cuſtome to aſcribe to ſome one the acts of the reſt, with all belonging to them. Therefore I will not greatly trouble my ſelf with making any narrow ſearch into theſe fabulous antiquities, but ſet down the Pedigree according to the generall fame; allowing to *Teucer* ſuch Parents as *Diodorus* gives, becauſe others giving him none, and carrying the line of *Dardanus* in manner following.

Dion. l. 1. c. 3.

Boccace de gen.




Atlas
Jupiter.
Electra.
Scamander
Ida.
Iasius
Teucer.
Chryse.
Dardanus
Batia
Idæus
Dimas.
Erichthoni⁹
Astyoche.
Zacynthus.
Callirhoe.
Tros
Medesigste
Ganymedes
Ilus.
Leucippe
Assaracus
Hierōme
Æacus.
Laomed
Capys.
Themis.
Tithonus.
Aurora.
Anchises.
Venus
Peleus.
Thetis.
Telamon.
Hesione.
Priamus.
Hecuba
Æneas.
Creusa.
Achilles.
Ajax.
Memnon.
Ascanius.
Hector.
Andromache
Deiphob'
Helenus.
Troilus.
Antiphus.
Polydorus
Iliones.
Cassandra.
Laodice.
Creusa.
Polyxena.
Paris
Helena.
Helenus.
Andromache
Polyxena.
Astyanax.

Concerning the beginning and continuance of the *Trojan* Kingdome, with the length of every Kings reign, I have chosen good Authors to be my guides, that in a History, whereon depends the most ancient computation of times among the *Greeks*, I might not follow incertainties, ill cohering with the consent of Writers, and generall passage of things elsewhere done. And first for the destruction of *Troy*, which was of greater note than any accident befalling that City whilest it stood, it is reckoned by *Diodorus* to be 780. years more ancient than the beginning of the ninty fourth *Olympiad*. Where-as therefore 372. did passe between the beginning of the *Olympiads*, and the first year of the 94. it is manifest that the remainder of 780. years, that is, 408. years went between the destruction of *Troy*, and the first institution of those games by *Iphitus*, if the authority of *Diodorus* be good proof, who elsewhere tels us, that the return of the *Heraclidæ*, which was 80. years after the fall of *Troy*, was 328. years before the first *Olympiad*. *Diod. l. 14.* *Diod. in præf.*

Hereunto agrees the authority of *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*, who placing the foundation of *Rome* in the first of the seventh *Olympiad*, that is, four and twenty years after the beginning of those games, accounts it 432. later than the fall of *Troy*. *Solinus* in expresse words, makes the institution of the *Olympiads* by *Iphitus*, whom he calleth *Iphiclus*, 480. years later than the destruction of *Troy*. The sum is easily collected by necessary inference out of divers other places in the same book. Hereunto doth *Eusebius*, reckoning exclusively agree: and *Eratosthenes* (as he is cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus*) makes up out of many particulars, the same totall sum, wanting, but one year, as reckoning likewise exclusively. *Dionys. Halic. Antiq. 1.* *Solin. Polyhist. c. 2.* *Euseb. de præp. Evang. l. 10. c. 3. Cl. Alex. Strom. lib. 1.*

The other collections of divers writers that are cited by *Clemens* in the same place, do neither cohere any way, nor depend upon any collaterall history, by which they may be verified.

The destruction of *Troy* being in the year before the *Olympiads* four hundred and eight: we must seek the continuance of that from the beginning to the end, out of *Eusebius*, who leads us from *Dardanus* on-wards, through the reigns of four Kings, by the space of two hundred and five and twenty years, and after of *Priamus*, with whom also at length it ended. As for the time which passed under *Laomedon*, we are fain to do as others have done before us, and take it upon trust from *Annius* his Authors; beleeving *Manetho* so much the rather, for that in his account of the former Kings reigns, and of *Priamus*, he is found to agree with *Eusebius*, which may give us leave to think that *Annius* hath not herein corrupted him. But in this point we need not to be very scrupulous: for seeing that no history or accompt of time depends upon the reign of the former Kings, but onely upon the ruin of the Citie under *Priamus*, it may suffice that we are carefull to place that memorable accident in the due year.

True it is, that some objections appearing weighty, may be alleged in maintenance of different computations, which with the answers I purposely omit, as not willing to dispute of those years, wherein the *Greeks* knew no good forme of a year; but rather to make narration of the actions which were memorable, and acknowledged by all writers, whereof this destruction of *Troy* was one of the most renowned.

The first enterprise that was undertaken by generall consent of all *Greece*, was the last war of *Troy*, which hath bin famous even to this day, for the numbers of Princes and valiant Commanders there assembled; the great battails fought with variable successe; the long indurance of the siege; the destruction of that great Citie; and the many *Colonies* planted in sundry countries, as well by the remainder of the *Trojans*, as by the victorious *Greeks* after their unfortunate return. All which things, with innumerable circumstances of especiall note, have bin delivered unto posterity, by the excellent wits of many writers, especially by the *Poems* of that great *Homer*, whose verses have given immortality to the action, which might else perhaps have been buried in oblivion; among other worthy deeds, done both before and since that time. For it is true which *Horace* saith:

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi, sed omnes illachrymabiles
Urgentur, ignotiq; longa
Nocte: carent quia vate sacro.

Many

Many by valour have deserv'd renown
Ere *Agamemnon*; yet lye all oppresst
Under long night, unwept for, and unknown:
For with no sacred Poet were they blest.

Yet so it is, that whilst these writers have with strange fables, or (to speak the best of them) with Allegories far strained, gone about to enlarge the commendations of those noble undertakers: they have both drawn into suspicion that great vertue which they sought to adorn, and filled after-ages with almost as much ignorance of the History, as admiration of the persons. Wherefore it is expedient that we seek for the knowledge of such actions, in Histories; learning their qualities who did manage them, of Poets, in whose works are both profit and delight; yet small profit to those which are delighted otherwise: but such as can interpret their fables, or separate them from the naked truth, shall find matter in Poems, not unworthy to be regarded of Historians. For those things excepted which are gathered out of *Homer*, there is very little, and not without much disagreement of Authors, written of this great war. All writers consent with *Homer*, that the rape of *Helen* by *Paris* the son of *Priamus*, was the cause of taking arms: but how he was hereunto emboldened, it is doubtfull.

§. II.

Of the rape of Helen: *and strength of both sides for the War.*

HErodotus fetcheth the cause of this rape from very far; saying, That whereas the *Phœnicians* had ravished *Io*, and carried her into *Egypt*, the *Greeks*, to be revenged on the *Barbarians*, did first ravish *Europa*, whom they brought out of *Phœnicia* into *Creta*, and afterward *Medæa*, whom they fetcht from *Colchos*, denying to restore her to her father, till such time as they might be satisfied for the rape of *Io*. By these deeds of the *Greeks*, *Paris* (as the same *Herodotus* affirms) was emboldened to doe the like; not fearing such revenge as ensued. But all this narration seems frivolous. For what had the King of *Colchos* to doe with the injury of the *Phœnicians*? Or how could the *Greeks*, as in revenge of *Io*, plead any quarrell against him, that never had heard the name of *Phœnicians*? *Thucydides*, a writer of unquestionable sincerity, maketh it plain, that the name of *Barbarians* was not used at all in *Homers* time, which was long after the war of *Troy*: and that the *Greeks* themselves were not then called all by one name, *Hellenes*, as afterwards. So that it were unreasonable to think, that they should have sought revenge upon all Nations, as barbarous, for the injury received by one: or that all people else should have esteemed of the *Greeks*, as of a people opposed to all the world; and that even then when as the *Greeks* had not yet one common name among themselves. Others with more probability say, that the rape of *Helen* was to procure the redelivery of *Hesione*, King *Priamus* his sister, taken formerly by *Hercules*, and given to *Telamon*. This may have been true: for *Telamon* (as it seems) was a cruell man, seeing his own son *Teucer* durst not come in his sight, after the war of *Troy*, but fled into *Cyprus*, onely because his brother *Ajax* (which *Teucer* could not remedy) had slain himself. Yet, were it so, that *Hesione* was ill entreated by *Telamon*, it was not therefore likely that *Priamus* her brother would seek to take her from her husband, with whom she had lived about thirty years, and to whom shee had borne children which were to succeed in his Dominion. Whereupon I think that *Paris* had no regard either to the rape of *Europa*, *Medæa*, or *Hesione*, but was meerly incited by *Venus*, that is, by his lust, to doe that which in those dayes was very common. For not onely *Greeks* from *Barbarians*, and *Barbarians* from *Greeks*, as *Herodotus* discourseth; but all people were accustomed to steal women and cattell, if they could by strong hand or power get them: and having stollen them either to sell them away in some farre Countrie, or keep them to their own use. So did *Theseus* and *Pirythous* attempt *Proserpina*; and so did *Theseus* (long before *Paris*) ravish *Helen*. And these practices, as it appears in *Thucydides* were so common, that none durst inhabite neer unto the Sea, for fear of pyracy, which was accounted a trade of life no lesse lawfull than merchandise: wherefore *Tyndareus*, the father of *Helen*, considering the beauty of his daughter, and the rape which *Theseus* had made, caused all her wooers, who were most of the principall men

in

in *Greece*, to binde themselves by solemn oath, that if she were taken from her husband, they should with all their might help to recover her. This done, he gave free choice of a husband to his daughter, who chose *Menelaus*, brother to *Agamemnon*. So the cause which drew the *Greeks* unto *Troy* in revenge of *Helens* rape, was partly the oath which so many Princes had made unto her Father *Tyndareus*. Hereunto the great power of *Agamemnon* was not a little helping: for *Agamemnon*, besides his great Dominions in *Peloponnesus*, was Lord of many Ilands: he was also rich in mony, and therefore the *Arcadians* were well contented to follow his pay, whom he embarked for *Troy* in his own ships, which were more than any other of the *Greek* Princes brought to that expedition. Thus did all *Greece*, either as bound by oath, or led by reputation and power of the two brethren, *Agamemnon*, and *Menelaus*; or desirous to partake of the profit and honour in that great enterprise; take arms against the *Trojans*. The *Greeks* Fleet was (by *Homers* account) 1200. sayl, or thereabouts: but the vessels were not great: for it was not then the manner to build ships with decks; onely they used (as *Thucydides* saith) small ships, meet for robbing on the Sea; the least of which carried fifty men, the greatest 120. every man (except the Captains) being both a Mariner and a Souldier. By this proportion it appears that the *Grecian* army consisted of 100000. men or thereabout. This was the greatest army that ever was raised out of *Greece*: and the greatnesse of this armie doth well declare the strength and power of *Troy*, which ten whole years did stand out against such forces: yet were the *Trojans* which inhabited the Citie, not the tenth part of this number, as *Agamemnon* said in the second of *Homers Iliads*; but their followers and aides were very many and strong. For all *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Missia*, and the greatest part of *Asia* the lesse, took part with the *Trojans*. The *Amazons* also brought them succour. And *Rhesus* out of *Thrace*, and *Memnon* out of *Assyria* (though some think out of *Æthiopia*) came to their defence.

§ III.

Of the Grecians *journey, and Embassage to* Troy, *and of* Helena's *being detained in* Egypt, *and of the sacrificing of* Iphigenia.

WHerefore the *Greeks*, unwilling to come to tryall of arms, if things might be compounded by treaty, sent *Menelaus* and *Ulysses* Embassadours to *Troy*; who demanded *Helen*, and the goods were taken with her out of *Menelaus* his house. What answer the *Trojans* made hereunto it is uncertain. *Herodotus* from the report of the *Egyptian* Priests, makes it very probable, that *Helen* was taken from *Paris* before his return to *Troy*. The sum of his discourse is this.

Paris in his return with *Helena*, being driven by foul weather unto the coast of *Egypt*, was accused for the rape of *Helen* by some bondmen of his, that had taken Sanctuarie. *Proteus* then King of *Egypt*, finding the accusation true by examination, detained *Helen*, and the goods taken with her, till her husband should require them: dismissing *Paris* without further punishment, because he was a stranger. When therefore the *Greeks* demanding *Helen*, had answer, that she was in *Egypt*, they thought themselves deluded, and thereupon made the warre, which ended with the ruine of *Troy*. But when after the City taken, they perceived indeed shee had not been there, they returned home, sending *Menelaus* to ask his wife of *Proteus*. *Homer*, and the whole Nation of Poets (except *Euripides*) vary from this History, thinking it a matter more magnificent, and more gracefull to their Poems, for the retaining of a fair Lady, than that they endured all by force, because it lay not in their power to deliver her. Yet in the fourth of his *Odysses*, *Homer* speaks of *Menelaus* his being in *Egypt*, before he returned home to *Sparta*; which voyage it were not easily believed that hee made for pleasure: and if hee were driven thither by contrary Winds, much more may wee think that *Paris* was likely to have been driven thither by foul Weather. For *Paris* immediately upon the rape committed, was enforced to flye, taking such Windes as he could get, and rather enduring any storm, than to commit himself to any Haven in the *Greek* Seas: whereas *Menelaus* might have put into any port in *Greece*, and there have remained with good entertainment, untill such time as the Wind had come about, and served for his Navigation.

One

One great argument *Herodotus* brings to confirm the saying of the *Egyptian* Priests; which is, that if *Helen* had been at *Troy*, it had been utter madnesse for *Priamus* to see so many miseries befall him, during the warre, and so many of his sonnes slain for the pleasure of one, who neither was heir to the Kingdome (for *Hector* was elder) nor equall in vertue to many of the rest. Besides, it may seem that *Lucian* spake not more pleasantly than truly, when he said that *Helen*, at the warre of *Troy*, was almost as old as Queen *Hecuba*, considering that she had been ravished by *Theseus* the companion of *Hercules*, who took *Troy* when *Priamus* was very young; and considering further, that she was sister to *Castor* and *Pollux* (she and *Pollux* being said by some to have been twinnes) who sailed with the *Argonauts*, having *Telamon* the father of *Ajax* in their company, before the time that *Hesione* was taken; on whom *Telamon* begat *Ajax*, that was a principall Commander in the *Trojan* warre. But whether it were so that the *Trojans* could not, or would not restore *Helen*, so it was that the Ambassadours returned ill contented, and not very well entreated, for there wanted not some that advised to have them slain. The *Greeks* hereupon incensed, made all haste towards *Troy*: at which time *Calchas* (whom some say to have been a Runnagate *Trojan*, though no such thing be found in *Homer*) filled the Captains, and all the Hoast with many troublesome answers and divinations. For he would have *Agamemnons* daughter sacrificed to appease *Diana*, whose anger, he said, withstood their passage. Whether the young Lady were sacrificed, or whether (as some write) the *goddesse* was contented with a Hinde, it is not needfull here to be disputed of. Sure it is, that the malice of the Devill, which awaits for all opportunities, is never more importunate, than where mens ignorance is most. *Calchas* also told the *Greeks*, that the taking of *Troy* was impossible, till some fatall impediments were removed: and that till ten years were past, the Town should hold out against them. All which notwithstanding, the *Greeks* proceeded in their enterprise, under the command of *Agamemon*; who was accompanied with his Brother *Menelaus*; *Achilles* the most valiant of all the *Greeks*, his friend *Patroclus*, and his Tutor *Phœnix*; *Ajax* and *Teucer*, the sonnes of *Telamon*; *Idomeneus*, and his companion *Merione*; *Nestor* and his sons *Antilochus* and *Thrasymides*; *Ulysses*, *Menestheus* the son of *Petreus*, Captain of the *Athenians*; *Diomedes* the son of *Tydeus*, a man of singular courage; the wise and learned *Palamedes*, *Ascalaphus*, and *Talmenus*, the sons of *Mars*, who had sailed with the *Argonauts*; *Philoctetes* also the son of *Pæan*, who had the arrowes of *Hercules*, without which *Calchas* said, that the Citie could not be taken; *Ajax* the son of *Oileus*, *Peneleus*, *Theas*, *Eumelus*, *Tysandrus*, *Euripilus*, *Athamas*, *Sthenelus*, *Tlepolemus* the son of *Hercules*; *Podalyrius*, and *Machon*, the sons of *Æsculapius*; *Epeus*, who is said to have made the wooden Horse, by which the town was taken; and *Protesilaus*, who first leapt on shore, neglecting the *Oracle* that threatned death to him that landed first.

§. IV.

Of the Acts of the Græcians *at the siege.*

THese, and many other of lesse note, arriving at *Troy*, found such sharp entertainment, as might easily perswade them to think that the warre would bee more than one years work. For in the first encounter, they lost *Protesilaus*, whom *Hector* slew, and many other, without any great harm done to the *Trojans*: save only that by their numbers of men, they wan ground enough to incamp themselves in, as appeareth in *Thucydides*. The principall impediment which the *Greeks* found, was want of victuals, which grew upon them by reason of their multitude, and the the smalnesse of their vessels wherein they could not carry necessaries for such an Army. Hereupon they were compelled to send some part of their men, to labour the ground in *Cherronesse*: others to rob upon the Sea for the relief of the Camp. Thus was the warre protracted nine whole years, and either nothing done, or if any skirmishes were, yet could the town receive little losse by them, having equall numbers to maintain the field against such *Greeks* as continued the siege, and a more safe retrait if the enemie got the better.

Wherefore *Ovid* saith, That from the first year, till the tenth, there was no fighting at all, and *Heraclide* commends as very credible, the report of *Herodicus*; that the *Greeks* did not lye before *Troy* the first nine years: but onely did bear up and down the Seas, exerci-

exercising their men, and inriching themselves, and so by wasting the enemies countrie, did block up the Town, unto which they returned not, untill the fatall time drew neer when it should be subverted.

This is confirmed by the enquirie which *Priamus* made, when the *Greek* Princes came into the field, the tenth year, for he knew none of them; and therefore sitting upon an high tower (as *Homer* tels) he learned their names of *Helen*: which though it is like to be a fiction, yet could it not at all have been supposed that he should be ignorant of them, if they had shewed themselves before the town so many years together. Between these relations of *Thucidides* and *Herodicus*, the difference is not much; the one saying, that a few of the *Greeks* remained in the Camp before *Troy*, whilest the rest made purveyance by land and by sea: the others that the whole armie did spend the time in wasting the Sea-coasts. Neither doe the Poets greatly disagree from these authors: for they make report of many towns and Ilands wasted, and the people carried into Captivitie; in which actions *Achilles* was employed, whom the armie could not well, nor would have spared, if any service of importance had been to be performed before the Citie. Howsoever it was, this is agreed by generall consent, that in the beginning of that Summer, in which *Troy* was taken, great booties were brought into the Camp, and a great pestilence arose among the *Greeks*: which *Homer* saith, that *Apollo* sent in revenge of his Priests daughter, whom *Agamemnon* had refused to let goe, for any ransome: but *Heraclides* interpreting the place, saith, that by *Apollo* was meant the Sunne, who raised pestilent Fogs, by which the armie was infected, being lodged in a moorish piece of ground. And it might well be that the camp was over-pestered with those, who had been abroad, and now were lodged all close together: having also grounded their ships within the fortifications. *Hom. Iliad. 1.*

About the same time arose much contention between *Agamemnon* and *Achilles* about the bootie, whereof *Agamemnon*, as Generall, having first chosen for his part a captive woman, and *Achilles* in the second place chosen for himself another, then *Ajax*, *Ulysses*, and so the rest of the chiefe Captains in order: when the Soothsayer *Calchas* had willed that *Agamemnons* woman should be restored to her father *Apollo*'s Priest, that so the Pestilence might cease, then did *Agamemnon* greatly rage, and say, that hee alone would not lose his part of the spoile, but would either take that which had been given to *Achilles*, or that which had fallen to *Ajax*, or to *Ulysses*. Hereupon *Achilles* defied him, but was fain to suffer all patiently, as not able to hold his Concubine by strong hand, nor to revenge her losse otherwise than by refusing to fight, or to send forth his Captains. But the *Greeks*, encouraged by their Captains, presented themselves before the Citie without him and his troops.

The *Trojans* were now relieved with great succours, all the neighbour Countries having sent them aide: partly drawn to that warre by their Commanders who assisted *Priamus* for money, wherewith he abounded when the warre began (as appeares by his words in *Homer*,) or for love of himselfe and his sons, or hope of marriage with some of his many and fair daughters; partly also (as we may well gheese) incited by the wrongs received of the *Greeks* when they wasted the Countries adjoyning unto *Troy*. So that when *Hector* issued out of the town, he was little inferiour to his enemies in numbers of men, or qualitie of their Leaders. The principall Captains in the *Trojan* armie, were *Hector*, *Paris*, *Deiphobus*, *Helenus*, and the other sons of *Priamus*: *Æneas*, *Antenor*, and his sons, *Polydamas*. *Sarpedon*, *Glaucus*. *Asius*, and the sons of *Panthus*, besides *Rhesus*, who was slain the first night of his arrivall; *Memnon*, Queen *Penthesilea*, and others who came towards the end of the war. Between these and the *Greeks* were many battels fought: the greatest of which were, that at the tombe of King *Ilus* upon the Plain: and another at the very trenches of the Camp, wherein *Hector* brake through the fortifications of the *Greeks*, and began to fire their ships; at which time *Ajax*, the son of *Telamon*, with his brother *Teucer*, were in a manner the onely men of note that remaining unwounded, made head against *Hector*, when the state of the *Greeks* was almost desperate.

Another battell (for so antiquitie calls it) or rather the same renewed, was fought by *Patroclus*, who having obtained leave, drew forth *Achilles* troops, relieving the wearie *Greeks* with a fresh supply. *Agamemnon*, *Diomedes*, *Ulysses*, and the rest of the Princes though sore wounded, yet were driven to put on armour; and with help of *Patroclus*, repelled

repelled the *Trojans* very hardly. For in that fight *Patroclus* was loſt, and his body, with much contention recovered by his friends, was brought back into the Camp: the armour of *Achilles* which he had put on, being torn from him by *Hector*. It was the manner of thoſe wars, having ſlain a man, to ſtrip him, and hale away his body, not reſtoring it without ranſome, if he were one of marke. Of the vulgar little reckoning was made: for they fought all on foot, ſlightly armed, and commonly followed the ſucceſs of their Captains; who rode not upon horſes, but in Chariots, drawn by two or three horſes, which were guided by ſome truſty followers of theirs, which drave up and down the field, as they were directed by the Captains, who by the ſwiftneſſe of their horſes preſenting themſelves where need required, threw firſt their Javelins, and then alighting, fought on foot, with ſwords and battle-axes, retiring into the ranks of footmen, or els returning to their Chariots when they found cauſe, and ſo began again with a new dart as they could get it, if their old were loſt or broken. Their arms defenſive were helmets, breſt-plates, boots of braſſe, or other mettall, and ſhields commonly of leather plated over. The offenſive were ſwords and battel-axes at hand; and ſtones, arrows or darts when they fought at any diſtance. The uſe of their Chariots (beſides the ſwiftneſſe) was to keep them from wearineſſe, whereto the leaders were much ſubject, becauſe of their armour, which the ſtrongeſt and ſtouteſt ware heavieſt, alſo that from them they might throw their Javelins downwards, with the more violence. Of which weapon I find not that any carried more than one or two into the field: wherefore they were often driven to return to their tents for a new one when the old was gone. Likewiſe of armours they had little change or none; every man (ſpeaking of the chiefe) carried his own compleat, of which if any piece were loſt or broken, he was driven to repair it with the like, if he had any fitting, taken from ſome Captain whom he had ſlain, and ſtripped: or elſe to borrow of them that had by ſuch means gotten ſome to ſpare. Wheras therefore *Achilles* had loſt his armour which *Hector* (as is ſaid before) had taken from the body of *Patroclus*, he was fain to await the making of new, ere he could enter the fight: whereof be became very deſirous, that he might revenge the death of *Patroclus* his dear friend.

At this time *Agamemnon* reconciled himſelfe unto *Achilles*, not onely reſtoring his concubine *Briſeis*, but giving him very great gifts, and excuſing former matters as well as he might. In the next battell *Achilles* did ſo behave himſelf, that he did not onely put the *Trojans* to the worſt, but alſo ſlew the valiant *Hector*, whom (if *Homer* may herein be beleeved) he chaced three times about the walls of *Troy*. But great queſtion may be made of *Homers* truth in this narration. For it is not likely that *Hector* would ſtay alone without the Citie (as *Homer* doth report of him) when all the *Trojans* were fled into it: nor that he could leap over the rivers of *Xanthus* and *Simois*, as he muſt have done in that flight: nor that the *Trojans*, perceiving *Hector* in ſuch an extremitie, would have forborn to open ſome of their gates and let him in. But this is reported onely to grace *Achilles*, who having (by what means ſoever) ſlain the noble *Hector*, did not onely carry away his dead body, as the cuſtome then was, but boring holes in his feet, and thruſting leathern thongs into them, tyed him to his Chariot, and dragging him ſhamefully about the field, ſelling the dead body to his father *Priamus* for a very great ranſome. But his cruelty and covetouſneſs were not long unrevenged; for he was ſhortly after ſlain with an arrow by *Paris*, as *Homer* ſayes, in the Scæan Gate; or as others, in the Temple of *Apollo*, whither he came to have married *Polyxena* the daughter of *Priamus*, with whom he was too far in love, having ſlain ſo many of her brethren; and his body was ranſomed (as *Lycophron* ſaith) at the ſelf-ſame rate that *Hectors* was by him ſold for. Not long after this, *Penthesilea* Queen of the *Amazons* arrived at *Troy*, who after ſome proofe given of her valour, was ſlain by *Pyrrhus* the ſon of *Achilles*.

§. V.

Of the taking of Troy, *the woodden Horſe, the Book of* Dares *and* Dyctis, *the Colonies of the reliques of* Troy.

FInally, after the death of many worthy perſons on each ſide, the Citie was taken by night, as all Writers agree: but whether by the treaſon of *Æneas* and *Antenor*; or by a woodden Horſe, as the Poets, and common Fame (which

(which followed the Poets) have delivered, it is uncertain. Some write that upon one of the gates of *Troy*, called *Scea*, was the image of a horse, and that the Greekes entring by that gate, gave occasion to the report, that the Citie was taken by an artificial horse. It may well be that with some wooden engine, which they called a horse, they either did batter the wals, as the Romans in after-times used to do with the Ramme: or scaled the walls upon the sudden, and so took the Citie. As for the hiding of men in the hollow body of a wooden horse, it had been a desperate adventure, and serving to no purpose. For either the *Trojans* might have perceived the deceit, and slain all those Princes of Greece, that were inclosed in it (which also by such as maintain this report they are said to have thought upon:) or they might have left it a few dayes without the Citie (for it was unlikely, that they should the very first day both conclude upon the bringing it into the town, and break down their walls upon the sudden to doe it:) by which means they who were shut into it, must have perished for hunger, if they had not by issuing forth unseasonably discovered the invention. Whereas further it is said, that this horse was so high and great, that it could not be brought into the town through any of the gates, and that therefore the *Trojans* were fain to pull down a part of their wall to make way for it, through which breach the *Greeks* did afterwards enter; it is hereby manifest, that the inclosing of so many principall men was altogether needlesse, considering that without their help there was way sufficient for the armie, so that the surprising of any gate by them was now to no purpose.

John Baptista Gramay in his Historie of *Asia*, discoursing of this warre, saith that the *Greeks* did both batter the walls with a wooden engine, and were also let into the Citie by *Antenor*, at the *Scean* gate: the townsmen sleeping and drinking without fear or care, because the fleet of the *Grecians* had hoisted saile, and was gone the day before to the Ile of *Tenedos*, thereby to bring the *Trojans* into security. That the Citie was betrayed, the books of *Dares* and *Dyctis* must prove, which whether we now have the same that were by them written, it may be suspected; for surely they who have made mention of these writers in ancient times, would not, as they did, have followed the reports of *Homer* and others quite contradictorie in most points to these two authors, without once taking notice of the opposition, which they having served in that war made against the common report, had it not been that either those books were even in those times thought frivolous, or else contained no such repugnancie to the other Authours as now is found in them.

Also concerning the number of men slain in this warre, which *Dares* and *Dyctis* say to have been above 600000. on the *Trojan* side, and more than 800000. of the *Greeks*, it is a report meerly fabulous; for as much as the whole Fleet of the *Greeks* was reckoned by *Homer*, who extolled their armie and deeds as much as he could, to be somewhat lesse than 1200. saile, and the armie therein transported over the *Greek* seas, not much above 100000. men, according to the rate formerly mentioned. But it is the common fashion of men to extoll the deeds of their Ancients: for which cause both *Homer* magnified the Captains of the *Greeks* that served in the warre, and *Virgil* with others were as diligent in commending and extolling the *Trojans* and their Citie, from which the *Romans* descended. Yea, the Athenians long after in the warre which *Xerxes* the Persian King made against all *Greece*, did not forbear to vaunt of the great cunning which *Mnesteus* the son of *Peteus* had shewed in marshalling the *Grecian* army before *Troy*: whereupon, as if it had been a matter of much consequence, they were so proud, that they refused to yeeld unto *Gelon* King of almost all *Sicily*, the Admiralty of their Seas, notwithstanding that he promised to bring 200. good fighting ships, and 30000. men for their defence.

The like vanitie possessed many other Cities of *Greece*, and many Nations in these parts of the world, which have striven to bring their descent from some of the Princes that warred at *Troy*: all difficulties or unlikelihoods in such their Pedegree notwithstanding. But those Nations which indeed, or in most probabilitie, came of the *Trojans*, were the *Albanes* in *Italie*; and from them the *Romans*, brought into that Country by *Æneas*: the *Venetians* first seated in *Padua*, and the Countrey adjoyning, by *Antenor*: the *Chaonians* planted in *Epirus* by *Helenus*, the son of King *Priamus*. To which *Hellanicus* addeth, that the posteritie of *Hector* did assemble such of the *Trojans* as were left, and reigned over them about *Troy*.

§. VI.

Of the distresses and dispersions of the Greeks returning from Troy.

CONcerning the *Greeks*, they tasted as much miserie as they had brought upon the *Trojans*. For *Thucydides* notes, that by reason of their long abode at the siege, they found many alterations when they returned: so that many were driven by their borderers from their ancient seats: many were expelled their Countries by faction: some were slain anon after their arrivall: others were debarred from the Soveraigntie among the people, by such as had stayed at home. The cause of all which may seem to have been the dispersion of the Armie, which, weakned much by the calamities of that long warre, was of little force to repell injuries, being divided into so many pieces under severall Commanders, not very well agreeing. For (besides other quarrels arising upon the division of the bootie, and the like occasions) at the time when they should have set sail, *Agamemnon* and his brother fell out, the one being desirous to depart immediatly, the other to stay and perform some sacrifices to *Minerva*. Hereupon they fell to hot words, half the fleet remaining with *Agamemnon*, the rest of them sailed to the Ile of *Tenedos*; where when they arrived, they could not agree among themselves, but some returned back to *Agamemnon*; others were dispersed, each holding his own course. But the whole fleet was sore vexed with tempests: for *Pallas* (as *Homer* saith) would not be perswaded in haste.

They who returned safe were *Nestor*, and *Pyrrhus*, whom *Orestes* afterwards slew: also *Idomeneus* and *Philoctetes*, who nevertheless, as *Virgil* tells, were driven soon after to seek new seats: *Idomeneus* among the *Salentines*, and *Philoctetes* at *Petilia* in *Italie*. *Agamemnon* likewise returned home, but was forthwith slain by his wife, and by the Adulterer *Ægystus*, who for a while after usurped his Kingdome. *Menelaus* wandring long upon the Seas, came into *Egypt*, either with *Helen*, or (as may rather seem) to fetch her. *Ulysses*, after ten years, having lost all his company, got home in poor estate, with much ado recovering the mastership of his own house. All the rest either perished by the way, or were driven into exile, and fain to seek out new habitations.

Ajax the son of *Oileus* was drowned; *Teucer* fled into *Cyprus*; *Diomedes* to King *Daunus*, who was Lord of the *Japiges* in *Apulia*; some of the *Locrians* were driven into *Africk*, others into *Italy*, all the East part whereof was called *Magna Græcia*, by reason of so many towns which the *Greeks* were driven to erect upon that coast. Finally, it appears in *Homer*, that the *Grecian* Ladies, whose husbands had been at the war of *Troy*, were wont to call it, The place where the *Greeks* suffered miserie, and the unlucky Citie not to be mentioned. And thus much for *Troy*, and those that warred there: the overthrow of which City, as hath been said, happened in the time of *Habdon* Judge of *Israel*, whom *Sampson*, after a vacancie or *Inter-regnum* for certain years, succeeded.

CHAP. XV.

Of Sampson, Eli, *and* Samuel.

§. I.

Of Sampson.

2970. THE birth and acts of *Sampson* are written at large in the 13. 14. 15. and 16. of *Judges*; and therefore I shall not need to make a repetition thereof. But these things I gather out of that Storie, First, that the *Angel of God* forbad the wife of *Manoah* the mother of *Sampson*, to drink Wine or strong drink, or to eat any unclean meat after shee was conceived with child; because those strong liquors hinder the strength, and as it were wither and shrink the child in the mothers wombe. Though this were even the counsell of God himself, and delivered by his Angell, yet it seemeth that many women of this age have not read,

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or at least will not believe this precept: the most part forbearing nor drinks, nor meats, how strong or unclean soever, filling themselves with all sorts of wines, and with artificiall drinks far more forcible: by reason whereof, so many wretched feeble bodies are born into the world, and the races of the able and strong men in effect decayed.

Secondly, it is to be noted, that the *Angel of God* refused the sacrifice which *Manoah* would have offered him, commanding him to present it unto the Lord: and therefore those that professe divination by the help of Angels, to whom also they sacrifice, may assuredly know that they are devils who accept thereof, and not good Angels, who receive no worship that is proper to God.

Thirdly, this *Sampson* was twice betrayed by his wives, to wit, by their importunitie and deceitfull tears: by the first he lost but a part of his goods; by the second his life. *Quem nulla vis superare potuit, voluptas evertit: Whom no force could over-master, Voluptuousnesse overturned.*

Fourthly, we may note, that he did not in all deliver *Israel* from the oppression of the *Philistims*; though in some sort he revenged, and defended them: for notwithstanding that he had slain 30. of them in his first attempt, burnt their Corn in harvest time, and given them a great overthrow instantly upon it: yet so much did *Israel* fear the *Philistims*, as they assembled 3000. men out of *Juda*, to besiege *Sampson*, in the rock or mountain of *Etam*, using these words: *Knowest not thou that the Philistims are rulers over us? &c.* After which they bound him, and delivered him unto the *Philistims*, for fear of their revenge; though he was no sooner loosened, but he gave them another overthrow, and slew 1000. with the jaw-bone of an Asse.

Lastly, being made blind, and a prisoner by the treason of his wife, hee was content to end his own life, to be avenged of his enemies, when he pulled down the pillars of the house at the feast whereto they sent for *Sampson*, to deride him; till which time he bare his affliction with patience: but it was truly said of *Seneca*; *Patientia sæpe læsa vertitur in furorem*; *Patience often wounded is converted into furie*: neither is it at any time so much wounded by pain and losse, as by derision and contumelie.

§. II.

Of Eli, *and of the Ark taken; and of* Dagons *fall, and the sending back of the Ark.*

THe Storie of *Eli* the Priest, who succeeded *Sampson*, is written in the beginning of *Samuel*; who foretold him of the destruction of his house, for the wickednes of his sons, which he suppressed not, neither did he punish them according to their deserts: whose sins were horrible, both in abusing the Sacrifice, and prophaning and polluting the holy places: though *Levi Ben Gerson*, to extenuate this filthy offence of forcing the women by the sons of *Eli*, hath a contrary opinion. In this time therefore it pleased God to cast the *Israelites* under the swords of the *Philistims*; of whom there perished in the first encounter 4000. and in the second battell 30000. footmen; among whom the sons of *Eli* being slain, their father (hearing the lamentable successe) by falling from his chair, brake his neck. He was the first that obtained the High-Priesthood of the stock of *Ithamar* the son of *Aaron*, before whose time it continued successively in the race of *Eleazar* the eldest brother of *Ithamar*: for *Aaron* was the first, *Eleazar* the second, *Phinees* the son of *Eleazar* the third, *Abisue* the son of *Phinees* the fourth, his son *Bocci* the fift, *Ozi* the son of *Bocci* the sixt, and then *Eli*, as *Josephus* and *Lyranus* out of divers Hebrew Authors have conceived. In the race of *Ithamar* the Priesthood continued after *Eli*, to the time of *Salomon*, who cast out *Abiathar*, and established *Sadoc* and *Achimaas* and their successours. The *Ark of God* which *Israel* brought into the field, was in this battell taken by the *Philistims*. For as *David* witnesseth, *God greatly abhorred Israel, so that he forsook the habitation of Shilo: even the Tabernacle where he dwelt among men, and delivered his power into captivitie, &c.*

1 Sam. 2. 12.

1 Kin. 2. 27. and 1 Chron. 6.

Psal. 78.

Now as it pleased God at this time, that the Ark whereby himself was represented should fall in the hands of the Heathen, for the offences of the Priests and people: so did he permit the Chaldæans to destroy the Temple built by *Salomon*; the Romans to overthrow the second Temple; and the Turks to overthrow the Christian Churches in *Asia* and *Europe*. And had not the *Israelites* put more confidence in the

sacrament, or representation, which was the Ark, than in God himself, they would have observed his Lawes, and served him onely: which whensoever they did, they were then
1 Sam. 5. 6. victorious. For after the captivitie they had no Ark at all, nor in the times of the Machabees: and yet for their pietie it pleased God to make that familie as victorious as any that guarded themselves by the signe in stead of the substance. And that the Ark was not made to the end to be carried into the field as an ensigne, *David* witnessed when he fled from *Absalon*. For when the Priests would have carried the Ark with him; he forbad
2 Sam. 15. it, and caused it to be turned into the Citie, using these words: *If I shall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me again: if not, let him doe to me as seemeth good in his eyes.*

The *Trojans* believed that while their *Palladium* or the image of *Minerva* was kept in *Troy*, the Citie should never be overturned: so did the Christians in the last fatall battell against *Saladine* carry into the field, as they were made believe, the very Crosse whereon Christ died; and yet they lost the battell, their bodies, and the wood. But *Chrysostome* upon Saint *Matthew* (if that be his work) giveth a good judgement, speaking of those that wore a part of Saint *Johns* Gospell about their necks, for an amulet or preservative: *Si tibi ea non prosunt in auribus, quomodo proderunt in collo? If those words doe not profit men in their eares,* (to wit, the hearing of the Gospell preached) *how should it profit them by hanging it about their necks?* For it was neither the wood of the Ark, nor the wood of the Crosse, but the reverence of the Father that gave the one for a memorie of his Covenant; and the Faith in his Sonne, which shed his bloud on the other for redemption, that could or can profit them and us, either in this life or after it.

The *Philistims* returning with the greatest victorie and glorie which ever they obtained, carried the *Ark of God* with them to *Azotus*, and set it up in the house of *Dagon* their Idoll: but that night the Idoll fell out of his place, from above to the ground, and lay under the Ark. The morning following they took it up, and set it again in his place. And it fell the second time, and the head brake from the body, and the hands from the armes, shewing, that it had nor power nor understanding in the presence of God; for the head fell off, which is the seat of reason and knowledge, and the hands (by which we execute strength) were sundred from the armes. For God and the devill inhabit not in one house, nor in one heart. And if this Idoll could not endure the representation of the true God, it is not to be marvelled, that at such time as it pleased him to cover his only begotten with flesh, and sent him into the world, that all the Oracles, wherein the Devill derided and betrayed mortall men, lost power, speech and operation at the instant. For when that true light which never had beginning of brightnesse, brake through the clouds of a Virgins body, shining upon the earth which had been long obscured by Idolatrie, all those foul and stinking vapours vanished. *Plutarch* rehearseth a memorable accident in that age concerning the death of the great god *Pan*, as he stileth him; where (as ignorant of the true cause) he searcheth his brains for many reasons of so great an alteration; yet finds he none out but frivolous. For not only this old Devill did then die as he supposed, but all the rest, as *Apollo*, *Jupiter*, *Diana*, and the whole rabble became speechlesse.

Now while the *Philistims* triumphed after this victorie, God strook them with the grievous disease of the *Hæmorrhoides*, of which they perished in great numbers. For it is written, that *the Lord destroyed them*. It was therefore by generall consent ordered, that the Ark should be removed from *Azotus* to *Gath* or *Geth*, another of the five great Cities of the *Philistims*; to prove, as it seemeth, whether this disease were fallen on them by accident, or by the hand of God immediatly: but when it was brought to *Gath*, and
1 Sam. 5. 9. received by them, the plague was yet more grievous and mortall. *For the hand of the Lord was against this Citie with a very great destruction, and he smote the men of the Citie both small and great, &c.* And being not yet satisfied, they of *Gath* sent the Ark to *Ekron* or *Accaron*, a third Citie of the *Philistims*: but they also felt the same smart, and cryed out, that themselves and their people should be slain thereby; *For there was a destruction and death throughout all the Citie.* In the end, by the advice of their Priests the Princes of the *Philistims* did not onely resolve to return the Ark, but to offer gifts unto the *God of Israel*, remembring the plague which had fallen on the *Egyptians*, when their hearts were hardned to hold the people of God from their inheritance, and from his service by strong hand. Wherefore confessing the power of the *God of Israel* to be almightie, and that their own Idols were subject thereunto, they agreed to offer a sin-offering,

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using these words; *So ye shall give glorie to the God of Israel, that he may take his hand from you, and from your gods, and from your land.* And what can be a more excellent witnessing, than where an enemie doth approve our cause? according to *Aristotle*; *Pulchrum est testimonium, quo nostra probantur ab hostibus.* So did *Pharao* confesse the living God, when he was plagued in *Egypt*: and *Nabuchadonosor* and *Darius*, when they had seen his miracles by *Daniel*.

This counsell therefore of the Priests being imbraced, and the golden *Hamorrhoides*, and the golden *Mice* prepared, they caused two milch kine to be chosen, such as had not been yoaked, and a new Cart or Carriage to be framed: but they durst not drive or direct it to any place certain, thereby to make tryall whether it were indeed the hand of God that had strucken them. For if the Ark of God were carried towards *Bethshemesh*, and into the territorie of *Israel*, then they should resolve that from God only came their late destruction. For the *Philistims* knew that the milch Kine which drew the Ark, could not be forced from their calves, but that they would have followed them whersoever; much lesse when they were left to themselves, would they travel a contrary way. For in the darkest night in the world, if calves be removed from their dammes, the kine wil follow them through woods and desarts by the foot, till they find them. But the kine travelled directly towards *Bethshemesh*: and when they came into the fields thereof, to wit, of one *Josua* of the same City, they stood still there; which when the Princes of the *Philistims* perceived, they returned to *Ekron*. After which, God spared not his own people the *Bethshemites*, in that they presumed to look in the Ark. And because they knew God and his commandements, and had been taught accordingly; he strook them more grievously than he did the heathen: for there perished of them fifty thousand and seventy. From hence the Ark was carried to *Kiriath-jearim*, and placed in the house of *Abinadab*; where it is written that it remained twenty years in the charge of *Eleazar* his son, untill *David* brought it to *Hierusalem*.

Now whereas it is said, that in the mean while the Ark was in *Nob*, *Mispa*, and *Galgala*, it was the Tabernacle, which was at this time severed from the Ark, or at least, it was for the [a] presen occasion brought to these places, and anon returned to *Kiriath-jearim*.

[a] 2 Sam. 6. & 1 Chron. 12. [a] See in this booke, c. 12. §. 1. in the margent.

§. III.

Of Samuel, *and of his Government.*

THese Tragedies overpast and ended, *Samuel*, to whom God appeared while he was yet a child, became now Judge and Governour of *Israel*. He was descended of the familie of [b] *Chore* or *Korach*. For *Levi* had three sons; *Gerson*, *Cheath*, and *Merari*: *Cheath* had *Amram* and *Izaar*; of *Amram* came *Moses* and *Aaron*; of *Izaar*, *Chore*; ond of the familie of *Chore*, *Samuel*. His father *Elcana* a Levite, was called an *Ephratæan*; not that the Levites had any proper inheritance, but because hee was of [c] Mount *Ephraim*, like as *Jesse*, *David*'s father, was called an *Ephratæan*, because born at *Ephrata*, or *Bethleem*. *Hannah* his mother being long fruitlesse, obtained him of God by prayers and tears: it being an exceeding shame to the Jewish women to be called barren, in respect of the blessing of God, both to *Abraham*, that his seed should multiply as the Stars of Heaven, and the sands of the Sea; as in the beginning to *Adam*, *Increase and multiply, &c.* and in *Deuteronomie* the seventh; *There shall be neither male nor female barren among you.*

[b] 1 Chro. 6. 22

[c] Which Region was called *Ephrata*, as appeareth, Jud. 12. 5. whence for distinction we read Ruth 1. *Ephratæi è Bethlechemo Judæa*, the town *Ephrata* which is *Bethlehem in Juda*, Gen. 35. 19. from the region of *Ephrata*, which is in Mount *Ephraim*, whence Psal. 132. 6. *Ephrata* is put for *Silo*, which was in the Tribe of *Ephraim*, Ver. 15.

Samuel was no sooner born, but that his mother, according to her former vow, dedicated him to God, and his service; to which she delivered him even from the dugge. For as the first-born of all that were called Nazarites might be redeemed till they were five years old for five sheckles, and between five years and twenty, for twenty sheckles: so was it not required by the Law, that any of the race of the Levites should be called to serve about the Tabernacle, till they were five and twenty years old.

Saint *Peter* reckons in the *Acts* the Prophets from *Samuel*, who was the first of the writers of holy Scriptures, to whom usually this name of a Prophet was given, & yet did *Moses* account himselfe such a one; as in the 18. of *Deuteronomie*, *The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet like unto mee, &c.* But hee is distinguished from those that preceded him, who were called *Seers*; as *before time in Israel, when a man went to seek an answer*, 1 Sam. 9.

answer of God, thus he spake; Come and let us goe to the Seer: for hee that is now called a Prophet, was in old time called a Seer. And although it pleased God to appear by his Angels to *Moses*, as before to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*; yet in the time of *Eli*, there was no manifest vision; not that God had altogether with-drawn his grace from *Israel*: but as the Chaldæan Paraphrast hath it, those revelations before *Samuel*'s time, were more clouded and obscure. The places wherein *Samuel* judged were *Matspa* or *Mitspa*, seated on a hill in *Benjamin* neer *Judæa*: also *Gilgal* and *Bethel*, of which we have spoken else-where.

1 Sam. 13. See in this book, c. 12. §. 1.

The *Philistims* taking knowledge of the assembly and preparation of War at *Mitspa* in the beginning of *Samuel*'s government, gathered their Armie, and marched towards the Citie: at whose approach the *Israelites* strucken with fear, and with the memorie of their former slaughters and servitude, besought *Samuel* to pray to God for them; who was * then performing his sacrifice when the *Philistims* were in view. But God being moved with *Samuel*'s prayers (as he was by those of *Moses*, when *Israel* fought against the *Amalekites* at the first entrance into *Arabia*:) it pleased him with thunder and tempest to disperse and beat down the Army of the *Philistims*, according to the prophecie of *Hanna*, *Samuels* Mother, *The Lords adversaries shall be destroyed, and out of Heaven shall he thunder upon them, &c. Josephus* affirms, that a part of the *Philistims* were swallowed with an earthquake: and that *Samuel* himself led the *Israelites* in the prosequution of their victory. After which *Samuel* erected a Monument in memorie of this happy succesſe, obtained by the miraculous hand of God, which *Josephus* called *Lapidem fortem: Samuel, Ebenezer*, or the stone of assistance: and then following the opportunitie and advantage of the victorie, the *Israelites* recovered divers Cities of their own formerly lost, and held long in the possession of the *Philistims*, who for a long time after did not offer any invasion or revenge. And the better to attend their purposes, and to withstand any of their attempts, the *Israelites* made peace with the *Amorites*, or *Canaanites*, which lay on their backs, and to the North of them, that they might not be assaulted from divers parts at once; having the *Philistims* towards the West and Sea-coast, the *Canaanite* toward the North and East, and the *Idumite* on the South. The estate being thus settled, *Samuel* for the ease of the people gave audience and judgement in divers places by turns, as hath been else-where said.

* *Plutarch* reports of *Numa* the second King of *Rome*, that when as he was sacrificing, it was told him that the enemies approached, he nothing dismaied, answered, *Ego autem sacrifico.* 1 Sam. 2. 10.

CHAP. XVI.

Of SAUL.

§. 1.

Of the deliberation to change the government into a Kingdome.

BUT when age now began to over-take *Samuel*, and that hee was not able to undergoe the burthen of so carefull a government, he put off from himself the weight of the affairs on his sons, *Joel* and *Abijah*, who judged the people at *Beersheba*, a Citie, the very utmost towards the South of *Judæa*. And as the place was inconvenient and far away, so were themselves no lesse removed from the justice and vertue of their Father: For the thirst of covetousnesse, the more it swalloweth, the more it drieth, and desireth, finding taste in nothing but gain; to recover which, they set the Law at a price, and sold Justice and Judgement to the best Chapmen. Which when the Elders of *Israel* observed, and saw that *Samuel* as a naturall man (though a Prophet) could not so well discern the errours of his own, they prayed him to consent to their change of government, and to make them a King, by whom they might be judged as other Nations were; who might also lead them to the War, and defend them against their enemies. For after the ill and lamentable succesſe which followed the rule of *Eli* his sons, when those of *Samuel* by their first blossomes promised to yield fruit no lesse bitter, they saw no way to put the government from out his race, whom they so much reverenced, but by the choyce of a King.

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In a cause of so great consequence and alteration, *Samuel* sought counsell from God: which surely hee did not for the establishing of his own Sonnes; who being as they were, God would not have approved his election. Now as it appears by the Text, this speech or motion displeasing him, he used his best arguments to dehort them: which when he perceived to be over-feeble, he delivered unto them from Gods revelation, the inconveniences and miseries which should befall them. And yet, all which he foreshewed was not intolerable, but such as hath been born, and is so still, by free consent of the subjects towards their Princes. For first he makes them know, that the King will use their sons in his own service to make them his Horse-men, Chariotters, and Foot-men; which is not onely not grievous, but by the Vassals of all Kings, according to their birth and condition, desired: it being very agreeable to subjects of the best qualitie to command for the King in his Warres; and to till the ground no lesse proper and appertaining to those that are thereto bred and brought up: so are likewise the offices of women-servants to dresse meat, to bake bread, and the like. But whereas immediately it is threatned, *He will take your Fields and your Vineyards, and your best Olive trees, and give them to his servants*, with other oppressions: this hath given, and gives daily occasion to such as would be ruled by their own discretion, to affirme that *Samuel* describeth here unto them the power of a King governed by his own affections, and not a King that feareth God. But others upon further examination construe this Text farre otherwise, as teaching us what Subjects ought with patience to bear at their Soveraigns hand. The former opinion is grounded first upon that place of *Deuteronomie*, where God fore- Deut. 1.
shewеth this change of government from Judges to Kings; and after he had forbidden many things unto the Kings, as many wives, covetousnesse, and the like, he commandeth that the Kings which were to raign over *Israel*, should write the Law of *Deuteronomie*, or cause it to be written: and to shew how greatly the King should honour the Law, he addeth, *It shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the dayes of his life; that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of this Law, and these ordinances for to doe them: that he may prolong his dayes in his Kingdome, he and his Sons.* But to take away any other mans field, say they, is contrary to the Lawes of God, in the same book written. For it is said, *That which is just and right shalt thou follow, that thou mayst* Deut. 6.
live. Now if it be not permitted to carry away grapes more than thou canst eat out of another mans vineyard, but forbidden by God: it is much lesse lawful to take the vineyard Deut. 23. 24.
it self from the owner, and give it to another. Neither are the words of the Text (say they) such as do warrant the Kings of *Israel*, or make it proper unto them, to take at will *Lyst.*
any thing from their vassals. For it is not said that it shall be lawfull for the King, or the King may do this or that: but it is written, that the King will take your sonnes: and again, This shall be the manner of the King that shall raign over you. God thereby foreshewing what power, severed from pietie (because it is accountable to God onely) will do in the future. And hereof we find the first example in *Achab*, who took from *Naboth* both his Vineyard and his life, contrary to the trust which God had put in him, of governing well his people. For God commanded, *That his people should be judged with* Deut. 16.
righteous judgement. Wherfore, though the King had offered unto *Naboth* composition, as a Vineyard of better value, or the worth in money, which he refused: yet because he was falsly accused, and unjustly condemned (though by colour of law,) how grievously *Achab* was punished by God, the Scriptures tell us. Neither was it a plea sufficient for *Achab* against the all-righteous God, to say that it was done without his consent, and by the Elders of *Israel*. For God had not then left his people to the Elders, but to the King, who is called a living Law, even as *David* testifieth of himself: *Posuisti me in caput gentium*: For this of S. *Augustine* is very true: *Simulata innocentia, non est innocentia: simulata æquitas, non est æquitas: sed duplicatur peccatū in quo est iniquitas & simulatio*, *Feigned innocence, and feined equity, are neither the one nor the other: but the fault or offence is there doubled, in which there is both iniquity & dissimulation.* Such in effect is their disputation, who think this place to contain the description of a Tyrant. But the arguments on the contrary side, as they are many and forcible, so are they well known to all; being excellently handled in that Princely discourse of *The true Law of free Monarchies*: which Treatise I may not presume to abridge, much lesse here to insert. Only thus much I will say, That if practice doe shew the greatnesse of authoritie, even the best Kings of *Juda* and *Israel* were not so tyed by any lawes, but that they did whatsoever they pleased in

the

the greatest things; and commanded some of their own Princes and of their own brethren to be slain without any triall of law, being sometime by Prophets reprehended, sometime not. For though *David* confessed his offence for the death of *Uriah*, &c. *Salomon* killing his elder brother and others, the same was not imputed to him as any offence.

That the state of *Israel* should receive this change of government, it was not onely
Gen. 49. foretold by *Moses* in *Deuteronomie*, but perceived by *Jacob* in his Scripture: *The Scepter*
Gen. 15. *shall not depart from Juda, &c.* It was also promised by God to *Abraham* for a blessing:
Gen. 17. For it was not onely assured that his issues should in number equall the starres in heaven, but that Kings should proceed of him: Which state seeing it is framed from the pattern of his sole rule, who is Lord of the Universall, and the excellencie thereof in respect of all other governments, hath been by many judicious men handled and proved, I shall not need to over-paint that which is garnished with better colours already, than I can lay on.

In the time of the Judges every man hath observed what civill war *Israel* had: what outragious slaughters they committed upon each other: in what miserable servitude they lived for many years: and when it fared best with them, they did but defend their own territories, or recover some parts thereof formerly lost. The Canaanites dwelt in the best vallies of the Countrie. The *Ammonites* held much of *Gilead* over *Jordan*; the *Philistims* the Sea-coasts; and the *Jebusites Hierusalem* it self, till *Davids* time: all which that King did not onely conquer and establish, but hee mastered and subjected all the neighbour Nations and Kings, and made them his tributaries and vassals. But whether it were for that the *Israelites* were moved by those reasons, which allure the most of all Nations to live under a Monarch; or whether by this means they sought to be cleered
1 Sam. 8. from the sonns of *Samuel*, they became deafe to all the perswasions and threats which *Samuel* used, insisting upon this point, that they would have a King, both to judge them and defend them: whereunto when *Samuel* had warrant from God to consent, he sent every man to his own Citie and abiding.

§. II.

Of the election of Saul.

After that *Samuel* had dismissed the assembly at *Mizpah*, he forbare the election of a King, till such time as hee was therein directed by God: who foretold him the day before, that he would present unto him a man of the Land of *Benjamin*, whom he commanded *Samuel* to anoint. So *Samuel* went unto *Ramath Sophim*, to make a feast for the entertainment of *Saul* (whom yet he knew not, but knew the truth of Gods promises,) and *Saul* also having wandred divers dayes to seek his fathers Asses, at length, by the advice of his servant, travelled towards *Ramath* to find a Seer or prophet, hoping from him to be told what way to take, to find his beasts. In which journey it pleased God (who doth many times order the greatest things by the simplest passages and persons) to elect *Saul*, who sought an Asse and not a kingdom: like as formerly it had pleased him to call *Moses*, while he fed the sheep of *Jethro*; and after to make choice of
1 Sam. 16. *David* the youngest of eight sons, and by the Scriptures called a little one, who was then keeping of beasts; and changed his sheep-hook into a Scepter, making him of all other the most victorious King of *Juda* and *Israel*. So *John* and *James* were taken from casting their nets, to become fishers of men, and honoured with the titles of Apostles: a dignitie that died not in the grave, as all worldly Honours doe; but permanent and everlasting in Gods everlasting kingdome.

When *Samuel* was entred into *Ramath*, hee prepared a banquet for the King, whom he expected, and stayed his arrivall at the gate. Not long after came *Saul*, whom God shewed to *Samuel*, and made him know that it was the same whom hee had foretold him of, that he should rule the people of God. *Saul* finding *Samuel* in the gate, but knowing him not, though a Prophet and Judge of *Israel*, much lesse knowing the Honour which attended him, asked *Samuel* in what part of the Citie the *Seer* dwelt; *Samuel* answered, that himselfe was the man hee sought, and prayed *Saul* to goe before him to the high place, where *Samuel* setting him according to his degree, above all that were invited, conferred with him afterwards of the affaires of the kingdome, and of

God

Gods graces to be bestowed on him, and the morning following annointed him King of Israell.

After this he told him all that should happen him in the way homeward, that two men should incounter him by *Rahels* Sepulchre, who should tell him that his Asses were found, and that his Fathers cares were changed from the fear of losing his beasts, to doubt the loss of his son: that he should then meet three other men in the plain of *Tabor*; then a companie of Prophets: and that he should be partaker of Gods Spirit, and prophecie with them: and that thereby his condition and disposition should be changed from the vulgar, into that which became a King elected and favoured by God.

But the Prophets here spoken of, men indued with spirituall gifts, were not of the first and most reverenced number, who by divine revelation foretold things to come, reprehended without fear the errors of their Kings, and wrought miracles; of which number were *Moses*, *Josua*, *Samuel*, and after them *Gad*, *Nathan*, *Ahias*, *Elias*, *Elisæus*, *Esay*, *Jeremy*, and the rest; for these Prophets, saith S. *Chrysostome*, *Omnia tempora percurrunt, præterita, præsentia, & futura*: but they were of those of whom S. *Paul* speaketh 1 *Cor.* 14. 14. who inriched with spirituall gifts, expounded the Scriptures and the Law. *Chrys. in Ps. 43*

At Mispeth *Samuel* assembled the people, that he might present *Saul* to them, who as yet knew nothing of his election: neither did *Saul* acquaint his own Uncle therewith, when he asked him what had past between him and *Samuel*: for either he thought his estate not yet assured, or else that it might be dangerous for him to reveale it, till he were confirmed by generall consent. When the Tribes were assembled at *Mizpeth*, the generall opinion is, that he was chosen by lot. *Chimhi* thinks by the answer of * *Urim* and *Thummim*: that is, by the answer of the Priest, wearing that mysterie upon his breast when he asked counsell of the Lord. But the casting of lots was not only much used among the *Jewes*, but by many others, if not by all nations. The Land of promise was divided by lot: God commanded lots to be cast on the two Goats, which should be sacrificed, and which turned off: a figure of Christs suffering, and our deliverance, for whose garments the *Jews* also cast lots. *Cicero*, *Plautus*, *Pausanias*, and others, have remembred divers sorts of lots, used by the *Romans*, *Grecians*, and other Nations: as in the division of grounds or honours; and in things to be undertaken: the two first kinds were called Divisorie; the Third, Divinatorie; and unto one of these three all may be reduced: all which kinds, howsoever they may seem chancefull, are yet ordered & directed by God: as in the *Proverbs*: *the lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition is of the Lord.* And in like sort fell the kingdome of Israel on *Saul*, not by chance, but by Gods ordinance, who gave *Samuel* former knowledge of his election: from which election *Saul* withdrew himself in modestie, as both *Josephus* construe it, and as it may be gathered by his former answers to *Samuel*, when he acknowledged himselfe the least of the least Tribe. But *Samuel* inlightened by God, found where *Saul* was hidden, and brought him among the people, and he was taller than all the rest by the shoulders. And *Samuel* made them know that he was the chosen king of Israel, whereupon all the multitude salured him King, and prayed for him; yet some there were that envied his glory (as in all estates there are such) who did not acknowledge him by offring him presents, as the manner was: of whom *Saul*, to avoyd sedituon, took no notice. 1 Sam. 10.

* The *Urim* and *Thummim* in the ornaments of the High Priest, were inserted within the pectoral, which therefore was *duplicatum*: they were placed in the pectorall over against the heart of the High Priest. It is plain that they were not the precious stones, nor any thing made by the artificers. See Exo. 38. 1. *Cic. de divin.* *Paus. in Mes.*

§. III.

Of the establishing of Saul *by his first victorie.*

NO sooner was *Saul* placed in the kingdome, but that he received knowledge that *Nahas* King of the *Ammonites* prepared to besiege *Jabes Gilead*: which nation since the great overthrow given them by *Jephta*, never durst attempt any thing upon the *Israelites*, till the beginning of *Saul* his rule. And although the *Ammonites* did alwayes attend upon the advantage of time, to recover those Territories which first the *Amorite*, and then *Israel* dispossest them of; which they made the ground of their invasion in *Jephta*'s time; yet they never perswaded themselves of more advantage than at this present. For first, they knew that there were many of the *Israelites* that did not willingly submit themselves to this new King: secondly, they were remembred that the *Philistims* had not long before slain 34000. of their men of War: and besides had used

used great care and policie that they should have no Smithes to make them swords or spears: neither was it long before, that of the *Bethshemesites*, and places adjoyning, there perished by the hand of God more than 50000. and therefore in these respects, even occasion it self invited them to inlarge their Dominions upon their borderers: *Jabes Gilead* being one of the neereſt. Besides, it may further be conjectured, that the *Ammonites* were
Jud. 12. imboldened against *Jabes Gilead*, in respect of their weakness: since the *Israelites* destroyed a great part of them, for not joyning with them against the *Benjamites*: at which time they did not only slaughter the men and male-children, but took from them their young women, and gave them to the *Benjamites*: and therefore they were not likely to have been increased to any great numbers: and if they had recovered themselves of this great calamitie, yet the *Ammonite* might flatter himself with the opinion, that *Israel*, having for long time been disarmed by the *Philistims*, was not apt to succour those whom they had so deeply wounded and destroyed. But contrariwise, when the tidings came to *Saul* of their danger, and that the *Ammonites* would give them no other condition to ransome themselves, but by pulling out their right eies, by which they should be utterly disabled for the Warre, as elsewhere hath been spoken: *Saul*, both to value himself in his first years reign, and because perchance he was descended of one of those 400. Maids taken from the *Gileadites*, and given to the *Benjamites*, gave order to assemble the forces of *Israel*, hewing a yoak of Oxen into pieces, and sending them by messengers over all the coasts, protesting thus: *That whosoever came not forth after* Saul, *and after* Samuel, *so should his Oxen be served*: threatning the people by their goods, and not by their lives at the first. Seven dayes had *Saul* to assemble an Armie, by reason that the *Gileadites* had obtained the respite of these seven dayes to give *Nahas* the *Ammonite* an answer: who, could they have obtained any reasonable condition, were contented to have severed themselves from *Israel*, and to become Vassals and Tributaries to the Heathen. In the mean while *Saul* assembled the forces which repaired unto him at *Bezec*, neer *Jordan*, that he might readily passe the river; which done, he might in one day with a
1 Sam. 11. 8. speedie march arrive at *Jabes*, under the Hills of *Gilead*.

The Armie by *Saul* led, consisting of three hundred and thirty thousand, he returned an answer to those of *Jabes*, that they should assure themselves of succour by the next day at noon. For, as it seemeth, *Saul* marched away in the latter part of the day, & went on all night; for in the morning watch he surprized the armie of *Nahas* the *Ammonite*. And to the end that he might set on them on all sides, he divided his forces into three parts, putting them to the sword untill the heat of the day, and the wearinesse of *Sauls* troop inforced them to give over the pursuit. Now the *Ammonites* were become the more careleſſe and secure, in that those of *Jabes* promised the next morning to render themselves and their Citie to their mercie. After this happy successe, the people were so far in love with their new King, that they would have slain all those *Israelites* that murmured against his election, had not himselfe forbidden and resisted their resolutions. Such is the condition of worldly men, as they are violent lovers of the prosperous, and base Vassals of the time that flourisheth; and as despightfull and cruell without cause against those, whom any misadventure, or other worldly accident hath thrown down.
1 Sam. 11. After the Army removed, *Samuel* summoned the people to meet at *Gilgal*, where *Saul*
1 Sam. 12. was now a third time acknowledged, and, as some Commenters affirm, anointed King: and here *Samuel* used an exhortation to all the Assembly, containing precepts, and a rehearsall of his own Justice, during the beginning of his government to that day. After *Saul* had now raigned one year before he was established in *Gilgal*, or *Galgala*, he strenthened himselfe with a good guard of 3000. chosen men, of which he assigned 1000. to attend on *Jonathan* his son at *Gibeah*, the Citie of his nativitie: the rest he kept about his own person in *Micmas*, and in the Hill of *Bethel*.

§. IIII.

Of Sauls *disobedience in his proceedings in the Warres with the Philistims and Amalekites, which caused his finall rejection.*

Jonathan with his small Armie or Regiment that attended him, taking a time of advantage, surprized a Garrison of *Philistims*: the same, as some think, which *Saul* past by, when he came from *Rama*, when he was first annointed by *Samuel*, which

which they think to have been *Cariath-jearim*: becauſe a place where the *Philiſtims* had a *Garriſon*, 1 *Sam.* 10. is called the hill of God, which they underſtand of *Cariath-jearim*: but *Junius* underſtands this Garriſon to have been at *Gebah* in *Benjamin* neer *Gibha*, where *Jonathan* abode with his thouſand followers. Howſoever, by this it appeareth that the *Philiſtims* held ſome ſtrong places, both in the times of *Samuel*, and of *Saul*, within the Territorie of *Iſrael*: and now being greatly inraged by this ſurprize, they aſſembled thirty thouſand armed Chariots, and ſix thouſand Horſe, wherewith they invaded *Judea*, and incamped at *Machmas* or *Michmas*, a Citie of *Benjamin*, in the direct way from *Samaria* to *Hieruſalem*, and in the middeſt of the Land between the Sea and *Jordan*. With this ſudden invaſion the *Iſraelites* were ſtrucken in ſo great a fear, as ſome of them hid themſelves in the caves of the mountains; others fled over *Jordan* into *Gad* and *Gilead*: *Saul* himſelf with ſome 2000. men of ordinarie, and many other people, ſtaid at *Galgala* in *Benjamin*, not far from the paſſage of *Joſhua* when he led *Iſrael* over *Jordan*. Here *Saul* by *Samuels* appointment was to attend the comming of *Samuel* ſeven dayes: but when the laſt day was in part ſpent, and that *Saul* perceived his forces to diminiſh greatly, he preſumed (as ſome expound the place, 1 *Sam.* 13. 9.) to exerciſe the office which appertained not unto him, and to offer a burnt offering, and a peace offering unto God, contrary to the *Eccleſiaſticall* Lawes of the *Hebrews*, and *Gods* Commandements: others expound the word, *obtulit*, in this place, by *obtulit per Sacerdotem*, and ſo make the ſin of *Saul* not to have been any intruſion into the Prieſts office, but firſt a diſobedience to Gods Commandement, in not ſtaying according to the appointment, 1 *Sam.* 10. 8. ſecondly, a diffidence or miſtruſt in Gods help, and too great relying upon the ſtrength of the people, whoſe departing from him he could not bear patiently; and laſtly, a Contempt of the holy Prophet *Samuel*, and of the help which the prayers of ſo godly a man might procure him. But whatſoever was his ſin, notwithſtanding his excuſes, he was by *Samuel* reprehended moſt ſharply, in termes unfitting his eſtate, had not extraordinary warrant been given to *Samuel* ſo to doe, from God himſelf; at which time alſo *Samuel* feared not to let him know, that the Kingdome ſhould be conferred to another (a man after Gods own heart) both from *Saul* and his poſteritie.

1 Sam. 13. 5.

1 Sam. c. 13.

Verſe 14.

After this, *Samuel* and *Saul* returned to *Gibeah*, where *Saul*, when he had taken view of his armie, found it to conſiſt of 600. men: for the moſt were fled from him and ſcattered, yea and among thoſe that ſtaid, there was not any that had either ſword or ſpear, but *Saul* and his ſon *Jonathan* onely. For the *Philiſtims* had not left them any *Smith* in all *Iſrael*, that made weapons; beſides, they that came to *Saul*, came haſtily, and left ſuch weapons and armour as they had behind them in their garriſons: for if they had had none at all, it might be much doubted how *Saul* ſhould be able the year before, or in ſome part of this very year, to ſuccour *Jabes Gilead* with 300. and thirty thouſand men, if there had not now been any yron weapon to defend themſelves withall, ſave onely in the hand of *Saul* and *Jonathan* his ſon. But howſoever, all the reſt of the people were formerly diſarmed by the *Philiſtims*, and all thoſe crafts-men carried out of the land that made weapons: there being left unto the *Iſraelites* only files to ſharpen and amend ſuch ſtuffe as ſerved for the Plough, and for nought elſe: yet that they had ſome kind of armes, it is manifeſt, or elſe they durſt not have attempted upon the *Philiſtims* as they did. And it is not ſaid in the Text that there was not any ſword in all *Iſrael*, but onely that there was not any found amongſt thoſe 600. ſouldiers which ſtayed with *Saul* after *Samuels* departure: and it ſeemeth that when *Samuel* had ſharply reprehended *Saul*, that his own guards forſook him, having but 600. remaining of his 3000. ordinarie ſouldiers, and of all the reſt that repaired unto him, of which many were fled from him before *Samuel* arrived.

1 Sam. 13. 19.

1 Sam. 13. 22.

With this ſmall troop he held himſelf to his own city of *Gibeah*, as a place of more ſtrength, & better aſſured unto him, than *Gilgal* was. Neither is it obſcure how it ſhould come to paſſe that the *Philiſtims* ſhould thus diſarme the moſt part of the *Iſraelites*, howſoever in the time of *Samuel* much had been done againſt them. For the victories of *Samuel* were not got by ſword or ſpear, but by thunder from Heaven: and when theſe crafts-men were once rooted out of the Cities of *Iſrael*, no marvell if they could not in a ſhort peace under *Samuel* be replanted again. For this tyrannie of the *Philiſtims* is to be underſtood, rather of the precedent times, than under *Samuel*: and yet under him

him is to be thought that by their crafts they proceeded in the policy, not suffering their Artificers to teach the *Israelites*, and so even to the times of *Saul* kept them from having any store of armour. The same policy did *Nabuchodonosor* use after his Conquest in *Judæa*: *Dionysius* in *Sicily*; and many other Princes else-where in all ages. But these lost weapons in part the *Israelites* might repair in *Gilead*, for over *Jordan* the *Philistims* had not invaded. The rest of their defences were such as antiquity used, and their present necessity ministred unto them; to wit, clubs, bowes, and slings. For the *Benjamites* exceeded in casting stones in slings: and that these were the naturall weapons, and the first of all nations, it is manifest; and so in the first of *Chronicles* the 12. Chapter it is written of those that came to succour *David* against *Saul*, while he lurked at *Siklag*, *That they were weaponed with bowes, and could use the right and the left hand with stones*; and with a sling it was that *David* himself slew the Gyant *Goliah*.

While the State of *Israel* stood in these hard termes, the *Philistims* having parted their army into three troops, that they might spoil and destroy many parts at once; *Jonathan*, strengthened by *God*, and followed with his Esquire onely, scaled a mountain, whereon
1 Sam. 14. 12. a company of *Philistims* were lodged: the rest of their army (as may be gathered by the successe) being incamped in the plain adjoyning. And though he were discovered before he came to the hill top, and in a kind of derision, called up by his enemies: yet he so behaved himself, as with the assistance of God he slew 20. of the first *Philistims* that he encountred. Whereupon the next companies taking the alarm, and being ignorant of the cause, fled away amazed altogether. In which confusion, fear, and jealousie, they slaughtered one another in stead of enemies: whereupon those *Hebrews* which became of their party, because they feared to be spoiled by them, took the advantage of their destruction, and slew of them in great numbers. And lastly, *Saul* himself taking knowledge of the rout and disorder, together with those *Israelites* that shrouded themselves
1 Sam. 14. in mount *Ephraim*, set upon them, and obtained (contrary to all hope and expectation) a most happy and glorious victory over them. Here was that prophesie in *Deuteronomie* fulfilled by *Jonathan*, *That one of those which feared God, should kill a thousand, and two of them ten thousand*.

This done, the small army of *Israel* made retrait from the pursuit. And although *Saul* had bound the people by an oath not to take food til the evening, yet his son *Jonathan*, being infeebled with extreme labour and emptinesse, tasted a drop of honey in his passage: for which *Saul* his father would have put him to death, had not the people delivered him from his crueltie.

The late miraculous victorie of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, seems to have reduced unto the *Philistims* remembrance their former overthrow, likewise miraculous in the dayes of *Samuel*; so that for some space of time they held themselves quiet. In the mean while *Saul* being now greatly encouraged, undertook by turns all his bordering enemies;
1 Sam. 14. namely, the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, and the *Arabians* of *Zobah*, against all which he prevailed. He then assembled all the forces he could make, to wit, 210000. men, and receiving the commandement of God by *Samuel*, he invaded *Amalec*, wasting and destroying all that part of *Arabia Petræa*, and the *Desart* belonging to the *Amalekites*, from *Havilah* towards *Tigris* unto *Shur*, which bordereth *Ægypt*; in which warre hee took *Agag* their King prisoner. But whereas he was instructed by *Samuel* to follow this Na-
Exod. 17. tion without compassion, because they first of all attempted *Israel*, when they left *Ægypt* in *Moses* time: he notwithstanding did not only spare the life of *Agag*, but reserved the best of the beasts and spoil of the Countrie, with pretence to offer them in sacrifice to the living God. Therefore did *Samuel* now a second time make him know that God would cast him from his royall estate, to which he was raised when he was of base condition, and, as the Text hath it, *little in his own eyes*. And though the offence was great in *Saul* for not obeying the voyce of God by *Samuel*, had there been no former precept to that effect: yet seeing *Saul* could not be ignorant how severely it pleased God to enjoyn the *Israelites* to revenge themselves upon that Nation, he was in all unexcusable. For God had commanded that the *Israelites should put out the remembrance*
Deut. 25. 19. *of* Amalec *from under heaven*. For the cruelty which the predecessors of this *Agag* used against the *Israelites*, especially on those which were over-wearied, faint, sick, and aged people, was now to be revenged on him, and his Nation, above 400. years afterward; and now hee was to pay the debt of bloud, which his forefathers borrowed from

the innocent: himself having also sinned in the same kind, as these words of *Samuel* witnesse: *As thy sword hath made other women childlesse, so shall thy mother be childlesse among other women*; at which time *Samuel* himself (after he had been by many bootlesse intreaties perswaded to stay a while with *Saul*) did cut *Agag* in pieces before the Lord in *Gilgal*, and soon after he departed to *Ramath, and came no more to see* Saul *untill the day of his death.* 1 Sam. 15. 33.

§. V.

Of the occurrents between the rejection of Saul *and his death.*

NOw while *Samuel* mourned for *Saul*, God commanded him to choose a King for *Israel*, among the sons of *Ishai*: which *Samuel* (doubting the violent hand of *Saul*) feared in a sort to perform, till it pleased God to direct him, how hee might avoid both the suspition, and the danger. And if *Samuel* knew that it was no way derogating from the providence of God, that by his cautious care and wisedome hee sought to avoid the inconveniences or dangers of this life: then do these men mistake the nature of his divine ordinance, who neglecting the reason that God hath given them, do no otherwise avoid the perills and dangers thereof, than as men stupefied in the opinion of fate or destinie, neglecting either to beg counsell at Gods hands by prayer, or to exercise that wisedome or foresight, wherewith God hath enriched the mind of man for his preservation. Neither did the all-powerfull God (who made and could destroy the world in an instant) disdain here to instruct *Samuel*, to avoid the fury of *Saul*, by the accustomed cautious waies of the world.

Of the sons of *Ishai*, *Samuel*, by God directed, made choice of *David*, the youngest, having refused *Eliab*, the first born: who though he were a man of a comely person and great strength; yet unto such outward appearance, the Lord had no respect. For as it is written, *God seeth not as man seeth, &c. but the Lord beholdeth the heart.* He also refusing the other six brethren, made choice of one whom his father had altogether neglected, and left in the field to attend his flock; for of him *the Lord said to* Samuel, *Arise and anoint him, for this is he*: which done, *Samuel* departed and went to *Ramath*. Neither was it long after this that *Saul* began to seek the life of *David*: in which bloody mind hee continued till he died, overcome in battell by the *Philistims*. 1 Sam. 16.

The *Philistims* having well considered (as it seems) the increase of *Saul* his power through many victories by him obtained, whilst they had sitten still and forborn to give impediment to his prosperous courses, thought it good to make new tryall of their fortune, as justly fearing that the wrongs, which they had done to *Israel*, might be repaied with advantage, if ever opportunity should serve their often injured neighbours against them, as lately it had done against *Moab*, *Ammon*, and the rest of their antient enemies. Now for the qualitie of their Souldiers, and all warlike provisions, the *Philistims* had reason to think themselves equall, if not superiour to *Israel*. The successe of their former wars had for the most part been agreeable to their own wishes: as for late disasters, they might, according to humane wisedome, impute them to second causes; as to a tempest happening by chance, and to a mistaken alarm, whereby their Armie, possessed with a needlesse fear, had fallen to rout. Having therefore mustered their forces, and taken the field, encamping so neer to the Armie which King *Saul* drew forth against them, that they could not easily depart without the trial of a battel, each part kept their ground of advantage for a while, not joyning in grosse, but maintaining some skirmishes, as refusing both of them to passe the Valley that lay between their Camps. Just causes of fear they had on both sides; especially the *Philistims*, whose late attempts had bin confounded by the angry hand of God. Upon this occasion perhaps it was, that they sought to decide the matter by single combat, as willing to try in one mans person, whether any stroak from heaven were to be feared. *Goliah* of *Gath*, a strong Giant, fearing neither God nor Man, undertook to defie the whole Hoste of *Israel*, provoking them with despightfull words, to appoint a Champion that might fight with him hand to hand; offering condition, that the partie vanquished in Champion, should hold it self as overcome in grosse, and become vassall unto the other. This gave occasion to young *David*, whom *Samuel* by Gods appointment had annointed, to make a famous entrance into publique notice of the people. For no man durst expose himselfe

to encounter the great strength of *Goliah*, untill *David* (sent by his father of an errand to the Camp) accepted the combat, and obtained the victorie, without other arms, offensive or defensive, than a sling, wherewith he overthrew that haughty Gyant, and after with his own sword strook off his head. Hereupon the *Philistims*, who should have yeelded themselves as subjects to the Conquerour, according to the covenant on their own side propounded, fled without stay; and were pursued and slaughtered even to their own gates. By this victory the *Philistims* were not so broken, that either any of their Towns were lost, or their people discouraged from infesting the Territories of *Israel*. But *David*, by whom God had wrought this victorie, fell into the grievous indignation of his Master *Saul*, through the honour purchased by his well-deserving. For after such time as the spirit of God departed from *Saul*, and came upon *David*, hee then
1 Sam. 16. 13. became a cruell Tyrant, faithlesse, and irreligious. Because the high Priest *Abimilech* fed *David* in his necessitie with hallowed bread, and armed him with a sword of his own conquest, taken from *Goliah*; *Saul* not only by his wicked *Edomite Doeg* murthered this *Abimelech* and 85. Priests of *Nob*, but also he destroyed the Citie, *and smote*
1 Sam. 22. 18. *with the edge of the sword both man and woman, both child and suckling, both Oxe and Asse, and sheep*. And he that had compassion on *Agag* the Amalekite, who was an enemie to God and his people, and also spared and preserved the best of his Cattell, contrarie to the Commandement and Ordinance of God, both by *Moses* and *Samuel*, had not now any mercy in store for the innocent, for the Lords servants, the Priests of
1 Sam. 22. 23. Israel. Yea, hee would have slain his own son *Jonathan*, for pittying and pleading *Davids* innocencie; as also once before for tasting the hony, when his fainting for hunger made him forget his fathers unreasonable commination. The companions of cruelty are breach of faith towards men; and impiety towards God. The former hee shewed in denying *David* his daughter, whom he had promised him; and again in taking her away from him to whom he had given her: also in that when as *David* had twice spared his life in the Territory of *Ziph*, and *Saul* twice sworn to do him no hurt, and confessed his errours, yet he sought still to destroy him, by all the means he could. His impietie towards God he shewed, in that he sought counsell of the Witch of *Endor*, which was the last preparative for his destruction. For whereas when he sought counsell from God, he had bin alwaies victorious: from the Oracle of the Devil this successe followed, that both himself, and his three sons, with his neerest and faithful servants, were all slaughtered by the *Philistims*: his body with the bodies of his sons (as a spectacle of shame and dishonour) were hung over the walls of *Bethsan*; and there had remained till they had found buriall in the bowels of ravenous birds, had not the gratefull Gileadites of *Jabes* stolne their carcasses thence, and interred them. This was the end of *Saul*, after he had governed
Acts 13. 21. Israel, together with *Samuel*, 40. years, and by himself after *Samuel* 20. years, according
Cedren. pa. 89. Theoph. l. 3. p. 7. Joseph. l. 28. to *Cedrenus*, *Theophilus* and *Josephus*. But yet it seemeth to me, that after the death of *Samuel*, *Saul* did not rule very long: For in the beginning of the 25. chapter, it is written, that *Samuel* died; and in the rest of the same chapter the passages are written of *David*, *Nabal*, and *Abigail*, after which the death of *Saul* quickly ensued.

An exceeding valiant man he was, and gave a fair entrance to all those victories which *David* afterward obtained: for he had beaten the *Ammonites* with their neighbouring Nations; crusht the *Syrians*, and their adherents; broken the strength of the *Amalekites*; and greatly wasted the power and pride of the *Philistims*.

§. VI.

Of such as lived with Samuel *and* Saul; *of* Hellen, *and* Hercules, *and of their issues: upon occasion of the* Dores, *with the* Heraclidæ, *entring* Peloponnesus *about this time.*

IN the second year of *Samuel*, according to *Eusebius*, was *David* born: after *Codoman*, later, and in the ninth year: after *Bunting* in the tenth. For *David*, saith hee, was thirtie years old when hee began to reigne: whence it followeth, that hee was born in the tenth of the fortie years, which are given to *Samuel* and *Saul*. About the eleventh year of *Samuel*, *Æneas Silvius* the son of *Posthumus* began his reign over the Latines in *Alba*, who governed that State one and thirtie years. There are who place before him *Latinus Silvius*, as brother to *Posthumus*, calling him the fifth from

from *Æneas*, and fourth King of *Alba*, whereof I will not ſtand to diſpute. In the eleventh of *Samuel*, *Dercilas* ſate in the Throne of *Aſſyria*, being the one and thirtieth King; he ruled that Empire forty years. In this age of *Samuel* the *Dores* obtained *Peloponneſus*, and at once with the *Heraclidæ*, who then led and commanded the Nation, poſſeſt a great part thereof, 328. years before the firſt *Olympiad*, according to *Diodorus* and *Eratoſthenes*. For all *Greece* was anciently poſſeſſed by three Tribes or Kindreds, *viz.* the *Ionians*, *Dorians*, and *Æolians*: at length it was called *Hellas*, and the people *Hellenes*, of *Hellen* the ſon of *Deucalion*, Lord of the Countrie of *Pthiotis* in *Theſſaly*. But before the time of this *Hellen*, yea, and long after, *Greece* had no name common to all the Inhabitants, neither were the people called *Hellenes*, till ſuch time as partly by trading in all parts of the Land, partly by the Plantation of many *Colonies*, and ſundry great victories obtained, the iſſues of *Hellen* had reduced much of the Countrie under their obedience, calling themſelves generally by one name, and yet every ſeverall Nation after ſome one of the poſteritie of *Hellen*, who had raigned over it. And becauſe this is the fartheſt antiquitie of *Greece*, it will not be amiſſe to recount the Pedegree of her firſt planters.

Iapetus (as the poets fable) was the ſon of Heaven and Earth, ſo accounted, either becauſe the names of his Parents had in the Greek tongue ſuch ſignification: or perhaps for his knowledge in *Aſtronomie* and *Philoſophie*.

Iapetus begat *Prometheus*, and *Ephimetheus*: of whom all men have read that have read Poets. *Prometheus* begat *Deucalion*; and *Epimetheus*, *Pyrrha*; *Deucalion* and his wife *Pyrrha* reigned in *Theſſalie*, which was then called *Pyrrha* (as *Cretenſis Rhianus* affirmeth) of *Pyrrha* the Queen. In *Deucalians* time was that great floud, of which wee have ſpoken elſe-where. *Deucalion* begat *Hellen*: whoſe ſons were *Xuthus*, *Dorus*, and *Æolus*: of *Dorus* and *Æolus*, the *Dores* and *Æolians* had name. The *Æoles* inhabited *Bœotia*. The *Dores* having firſt inhabited ſundry parts of *Theſſaly*, did afterward ſeat themſelves about *Parnaſſus*, and finally became Lords of the Countries about *Lacedæmon*: *Xuthus* the eldeſt ſon of *Hellen*, being baniſhed by his brethren, for having diverted from them to his own uſe ſome part of their Fathers goods, came to *Athens*: where marrying the Daughter of King *Erictheus*, he begat on her two ſons, *Achæus* and *Ion*. Of theſe two, *Achæus*, for a ſlaughter by him committed, fled into *Peloponneſus*: and ſeating himſelf in *Laconia*, gave name to that region: from whence (as ſome write) he afterwards departed; and levying an Armie, recovered the Kingdome of his Grandfather in *Theſſalie*.

Ion being Generall for the *Athenians* when *Eumolpus* the *Thracian* invaded *Attica*, did obtain a great victorie, and thereby ſuch love and honour of the people, that they committed the ordering of their State into his hands. Hee divided the Citizens into Tribes, appointing every one to ſome occupation, or good courſe of life. When the people multiplied, he planted *Colonies* in *Sycionia*, then called *Ægialos* or *Ægialia*: In which Countrie *Selinus* then raigning, thought it ſafer to give his Daughter *Helice* in marriage to *Ion*, and make him his Heir, than to contend with him. So *Ion* married *Helice*, and built a Town called by his Wives name in *Ægialia*, where he and his poſterity reigned long, and (though not obliterating the old name) gave to that Land denomination. But in after-times the *Dores* aſſiſting the Nephewes of *Hercules*, invaded *Peloponneſus*, and overcomming the *Achæans*, poſſeſſed *Laconia*, and all thoſe parts which the *Achæi* had formerly occupied. Hereupon the *Achæi* driven to ſeek a new ſeat, came unto the *Ionες*, deſiring to inhabit *Ægialia* with them, and alleged in vain, that *Ion* and *Achæus* had been brethren. When this requeſt could not be obtained, they ſought by force to expell the *Ionians*, which they performed; but they loſt their King *Tiſamenes*, the ſon of *Oreſtes*, in that War.

Thus were the *Ionες* driven out of *Peloponneſus*, and compelled to remove into *Attica*, from whence after a while they ſailed into *Aſia*, and peopled the Weſtern coaſt thereof; on which they built twelve Cities, inhabited by them, even to this day, at the leaſt without any univerſall or memorable tranſmigration. This expedition of the *Ionες* into *Aſia* hath been mentioned of all which have written of that Age, and is commonly placed 140. years after the warre of *Troy*, and 60. years after the deſcent of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponneſus*. Theſe *Heraclidæ* were they of whom the Kings of *Sparta* iſſued; which race held that Kingdome about 700. years. Of their Father

Hercules many strange things are delivered unto us by the Poets, of which some are like to have been true, others perhaps must be allegorically understood. But the most approved Writers think that there were many called *Hercules*, all whose exploits were by the *Greeks* ascribed to the son of *Alcmena*, who is said to have performed these 12. great labours.

First, he slew the the *Nemæan* Lyon: secondly, he slew the serpent *Hydra*, which had nine heads, whereof one being cut off, two grew in the place: the third was the overtaking a very swift Hart: the fourth was the taking of a wild Bore alive, which hanted mount *Erymanthus* in *Arcadia*: the fift was the cleansing of *Augias* his Oxe-stall in one day, which he performed by turning the River *Alpheus* into it: the sixt was the chasing away of the Birds from the Lake *Stymphalis*: the seventh was the fetching a Bull from *Crete*: the eighth was the taking of the Mares which *Diomedes* King of *Thrace* fed with humane flesh: the ninth was to fetch a Girdle of the *Queen* of the *Amazons*: the three last were, to fetch *Gerions* Beeves from *Gades*; the golden Apples of the *Hesperides*; and *Cerberus* from Hell. The *Mythologicall* interpretation of these I purposely omit, as both overlong to be here set down, and no lesse perplexed than the labours themselves. For some by *Hercules* understand Fortitude, Prudence, and Constancy, interpreting the Monsters, Vices. Others make *Hercules* the *Sun*, and his travells to be the twelve signes of the *Zodiac*. There are others who apply his works historically to their own conceits; as well assured, that the exposition cannot have more unlikelihood, than the fables. That hee took *Elis*, *Pylus*, *OEchalia*, and other towns, being assisted by such as either admired his vertues, or were beholding unto him; Also that hee slew many Theeves and Tyrants, I take to be truly written, without addition of Poeticall vanitie. His travells through most part of the world, are, or may seem, borrowed from *Hercules Libycus*. But sure it is that many Cities of *Greece* were greatly bound to him: for that hee (bending all his indeavours to the common good) delivered the Land from much oppression. But after his death, no City of *Greece* (*Athens* excepted) requited the vertue and deserts of *Hercules*, with constant protection of his Children, persecuted by the King *Eurystheus*. This *Eurystheus* was Sonne of *Sthenelus*, and grand-child of *Perseus*; he reigned in *Mycenæ*, the mightiest City then in *Greece*. He it was that imposed those hard tasks upon *Hercules*, who was bound to obey him (as Poets report) for expiation of that Murther, which in his madnesse he had committed upon his own children; but as others say, because he was his Subject and Servant: wherefore there are who commend *Eurystheus* for employing the strength of *Hercules* to so good a purpose. But it is so generally agreed by the best Writers, that *Hercules* was also of the stock of *Perseus*, and holden in great jealousie by *Eurystheus* because of his vertue, which appeared more and more in the dangerous services, wherein hee was imployed, so that he grew great in reputation and power through all *Greece*; and had by many Wives and Concubines above threescore Children. These Children *Eurystheus* would fain have got into his power, when *Hercules* was dead: but they fled unto *Ceyx* King of *Thracinia*, and from him (for he durst not withstand *Eurystheus*) to *Athens*. The *Athenians* not onely gave them entertainment, but lent them aid, wherewith they encountred *Eurystheus*. *Iolaus* the brothers son of *Hercules*, who had assisted him in many of his travels, was captain of the *Heraclidæ*. It is said of him, that being dead he obtained leave of *Pluto* to live again till he might revenge the injuries done by *Eurystheus*: whom when he had slain in battell, hee died again. It seems to me, that whereas hee had led Colonies into *Sicily*, and abode there a long time forgotten: he came again into *Greece* to assist his cousins, and afterwards returned back. When the *Peloponnesians* understood that *Eurystheus* was slain, they took *Atreus* the Sonne of *Pelops* to their King: for hee was rich, mighty, and favoured of the People. Against him the *Heraclidæ* marched under *Hyllus*, the sonne of *Hercules*. But to avoid effusion of blood, it was agreed, that *Hyllus* should fight with *Echenus* King of the *Tegeatæ*, a people of *Arcadia*, who assisted *Atreus*; with condition, that if *Hyllus* were victor, he should peaceably enjoy what he challenged as his right: otherwise the *Heraclidæ* should not enter *Peloponnesus* in an hundred years. In that combat *Hyllus* was slain, and the *Heraclidæ* compelled to forbear their Country, till the third generation: at which time they returned under *Aristodemus* (as the best authority doth shew, though some have said, that they came under the conduct of his children) and brought with them the *Dores*, whom

whom they planted in that Countrey, as is before shewed, having expelled the *Achæi*, over whom the issue of *Pelops* had reigned after the death of *Eurystheus* four generations.

§. VII.

Of Homer *and* Hesiod, *and many changes in the world, that happened about this age.*

ABout this time that excellent learned Poet *Homer* lived, as many of the best *Chronologers* affirm. He was by race of the *Mæones*, descended (as *Functius* imagineth) of *Berosus* his *Anamæon*, who gave name to that people. But this *Functius* imagineth *Homer* the Poet to have been long after these times, rashly framing his *Æra* according to [a] *Archilochus* in the tract, or rather fragment *de temporibus*; and makes seven more of this name to have flourished in divers Cities in *Greece*. Whence, perhaps, sprang the diversitie of opinions, both of the time, and of the native Citie of *Homer*. According to this *Archilochus*, *Functius* finds *Homer* about the time of *Manasse* King of *Juda*, and *Numa* of *Rome*. He was called *Melesigenes* from the place of his birth, and at length *Homer*, because blind men follow a guide, which signification among others, is in the verbe ὁμηρεῖν: for this *Homer* in his later time was blind. * *Clemens Alexandrinus* recites many different opinions touching the question of the time when *Homer* lived. So also [b] *Aulus Gellius*, and *Tatianus Assyrius* in his Oration *ad gentes*. *Paterculus* reckons that *Homer* flourished 950. years before the *Consulship* of *Marcus Vinutius*: which *Mercator* casteth up in the worlds year 3046. and after *Troy* taken, about 260. years: and about 250. years before the building of *Rome*; making him to have flourished about the time of *Jehosaphat* King of *Juda*. But *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Tatianus* above named, mention Authors that make him much antienter. The difference of which authors in this point is not unworthy the Readers consideration, that by this one instance hee may ghesse of the difficultie, and so pardon the errours in the computations of antient time: seeing in such diversitie of opinions a man may hardly find out what to follow. For *Crates* the *Grammarian* (as *Clemens Alexandrinus* reports) gave being to *Homer* about 80. years after *Troy* taken, neer the time that the *Heraclidæ* returned into *Peloponnesus*: and * *Eratostenes* after *Troy* 100. years. *Theopompus* 500. years after the armie of *Greece* sailed into *Phrygia* for the warre of *Troy*. *Euphorion* makes him contemporarie with *Gyges*, who began to reign in the 18. *Olympiad* (which was 45. years after *Rome* was built) and *Sosibius* saith, that he was 90. years before the first *Olympiad*: which hee seeks to prove by the times of *Charillus* and his sonne *Nicander*. *Philechorus* placeth him 180. after *Troy*: *Aristarchus* 140. in the time of the seating of the *Colonies* in *Ionia*. *Apollodorus* affirms that he lived while *Agesilaus* governed *Lacedæmon*; and that *Lycurgus* in his young years about 100. years after the *Ionian* plantations, came to visit him, neer 240. years after *Troy* taken. *Herodotus* finds *Homer* flourishing 622. years before *Xerxes* enterprise against the *Grecians*: which *Beroaldus* accounteth at 168. years after the *Trojan* war. *Eusebius* seems to make him to have been about the time of *Joas* King of *Juda*, 124. years before *Rome* built: though elsewhere in his *Chronologie* hee notes that some place him in the time of *Samuel*, and others in the end of *David*, and others in other ages. In his *Evangelicall* Preparation, where out of *Tatianus Assyrius* he citeth sundry opinions touching the time when *Homer* lived, he reckoneth many other *Greek* writers more antient than *Homer*; as *Linus*, *Philammon*, *Epimenides*, *Phemius*, *Aristæus*, *Orpheus*, *Musæus*, *Thamyras*, *Amphion*, and others.

Now whether *Homer* or *Hesiodus* were the elder, it is also much disputed. *Aulus Gellius* reports that *Philochorus* and *Xenophanes* affirm, that *Homer* preceded *Hesiod*: and on the contrary, that *Luc. Accius* the Poet, and *Ephorus* the Historian, make *Hesiod* of an elder time than *Homer*. *Varro* leaves it uncertain which of these learned fablers was first born: but hee finds that they lived together some certain years, wherein he confirmes himself by an *Epigram*, written upon a Trevit, and left by *Hesiod* in *Helicon*.

Cornelius Nepos reports that they both lived 160. years before *Rome* built: while the *Silvii* reigned in *Alba*, about [a] 140. years after the fall of *Troy*. [b] *Euthymenes* finds them both 200. years after *Troy* taken, in the time of *Acastus* the son of *Pelias*, King of

Funct. Chro. fol. 11. col. D.

a This Author set out with *Berosus* and others, first at *Basil*, and after with *Fryer Aunius* his Comment at *Antwerp*, is *incertæ fidei*.

Naucler. f. 147. placeth *Homer* in the 32. generation in the time of *Samuel*.

* *Serimatii l. 5.*

b *Noc. Attic. l. 3 c. 11. item. l. 17. c. 21.*

* As both *Cle. Alex.* and *Tatian. Assyr.* report his opinion *Keram Phil. 43.*

Ros. in disc. temporum. Phil. in com. in Archilog.

Her. in vita Ho.

Noct. Attic. l. 3. c. 11.

Var. de imag. l. 1 Nep. in Chron. Cass. l. 1. annal.

a This number *Mercator* corrects and reads 240. for it.

b *Euthy. in Chr. apud. Clem. Alex. Strom. 5.*

of *Theſſaly*. For my ſelfe, I am not much troubled when this Poet lived; neither would I offend the Reader with theſe opinions, but only to ſhew the uncertainty, and diſagreement of Hiſtorians, aſwel in this particular, as in all other queſtions and diſpute of time. For, the curioſitie of this mans age is no leſſe ridiculous, than the inquiſition why he began his *Iliads* with the word *Menin*, as perhaps containing ſome great myſterie. In deriſion whereof *Lucian* feigning himſelf to have been in Hell, and to have ſpoken with *Homer*, there asked him the cauſe why he began his book with that word: who anſwered, That he began in that ſort, becauſe it came in his head ſo to doe.

It ſeemeth that *Semyes*, or, after *Macrobius*, *Senemires* ruled *Egypt* at this time: for *Tanepherſobris* was his ſucceſſour, who preceded *Vaphres*, father in law to *Solomon*.

Euſeb. & Caſſ. ex Chron. About the end of *Sauls* government, or in the beginning of *Davids* time, according to *Caſſiodorus*, the *Amazones* with the *Cymmerians* invaded *Aſia*, *Latinus Sylvius* then ruling in *Italy*. And beſides the overthrow of that famous ſtate of *Troy* (which fell 103. years before *Davids* time) there were many other changes in the middle part of the world, not onely by reaſon of thoſe Northern Nations: but there ſprung up ſomewhat neerly together, ſix Kingdomes into greatneſſe, not before erected. In *Italy* that of the *Latines*: in the South part of *Greece*, thoſe of *Lacedamon*, *Corinth*, and the *Achæi*. In *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Soba*, and *Damaſcus*, the *Adads* made themſelves Princes, of which there were ten Kings, which began and ended with the Kings of *Iſrael* in effect: and ſomewhat before theſe, the State of the *Iſraelites* having now altered the forme of government, began to flouriſh under Kings, of which *David*, in a few years, became maſter of all thoſe neighbouring Nations, who by enterchange of times had ſubjected the *Judæans*, corrupted their religion, and held them under in a moſt abject and and grievous ſlavery; to wit, the *Edumæans*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Ituræans*, and the reſt of the *Arabians*, with the *Philiſtims*, *Jebuſites*, *Geſhurites*, *Machathites*; all which acknowledged *David* for their Soveraigne Lord, and paid him tribute.

CHAP. XVII.

Of DAVID.

§. 1.

Of Davids *eſtate in the time of* Saul.

THe hazzards which *David* ran into while he was yet onely deſigned King, and lived as a private man, expecting the Empire, were very many. The firſt perſonall act of fame, was his killing of *Goliah* in the view of both armies, whereby he became known to *Saul*, and ſo highly affected of *Jonathan* the ſonne of *Saul*, that he loved him as his own ſoul: Inſomuch as when *Saul* ſought to perſwade his ſonne that *David* would aſſuredly be the ruine of his houſe, and eſtate, and offered him violence when he pleaded his cauſe; *Jonathan* could never be perſwaded, never forc'd, nor ever wearied from the care of *Davids* life, and well doing. It was not long after this ſignall act of *David*, but that *Saul* became exceeding jealous of him, though he were become as his houſhold ſervant, and his Eſquire, or Armor-bearer. *Saul* being vexed with an evill ſpirit, was adviſed to procure ſome cunning Muſician to play before him upon the Harp; whereby it was thought that he might find eaſe; which came to paſſe accordingly. He entertained *David* for this purpoſe, and began to favour him, giving him a place of Command among the men of warre. But the jealous Tyrant ſoon waxed wearie of his good affection, and ſought to kill *David*, being thereunto moved onely through envie of his vertue. This paſſion firſt brake forth in the midſt of his raving fit, at which time he threw a ſpear at *David* that was then playing on his Harp to do him eaſe.

Cenſ. c. 13. & 14 *Cenſorinus* remembreth one *Aſclepius* a Phyſician, who practiſed the curing of the Frenzie, by the like Muſick: and tempered thereby thoſe diſeaſes which grew from paſſion. That *Pythagoras* did alſo the like by ſuch a kind of harmony, *Seneca* in his third book of Anger witneſſeth. But the madneſſe of *Saul* came from the cauſe of cauſes:

and

and was thereby incurable, howsoever it sometimes left him, and yeelded unto that Musick, which God had ordained to be a mean of more good to the Musician than to the King.

Saul having failed in such open attempts, gave unto *David* the command over 1000. souldiers to confront the *Philistims* withall. For he durst not trust him as before, about his person, fearing his revenge. Now the better to cover his hatred towards him, hee promised him his daughter *Merab* to wife: but having married her to *Adriel*, he gave to *David* his younger daughter *Michol*, but with a condition, to present him with an hundred foreskins of the *Philistims*: hoping rather (in respect of the valour of that Nation) that the *Philistims* would take *Davids* head, than hee their foreskins. This hope failing, when as now *Davids* victories begat new fears and jealousies in *Saul*, hee practised with *Jonathan*, and afterwards with his own hands attempted his life, but his purposes were still frustrated. After all this he sought to murther him in his own house, but *Michol* his wife delivered him. So *David* sought *Samuel* at *Ramah*, and being pursued by *Saul*, fled thence unto *Nob* in *Benjamin*, to *Abimeleck*, then to *Achis* the *Philistim*, Prince of *Geth*: where to obscure himself, he was forc'd to counterfeit both simplicitie and distraction. But being ill assured among the *Philistims*, he covered himselfe in the *Cave of Adullam*: and after conveying such of his kinsfolks as were not fit to follow him, into *Moab*, he hid himself in the *deserts of Ziph*, *Maon*, and the hills of *Engaddi*, where he cut off the lap of *Sauls* garment, and spared his life: as he did a second time in the *desart of Ziph*, after his passage with *Nabal* and *Abigail*. After which he repaired to *Achis of Geth* the second time, and was kindly entertained, in regard of the hatred with which his master *Saul* was known to prosecute him.

1 Sam. 19.
1 Sam. 21.
1 Sam. 24.
1 Sam. 19.
Jansen. in Psal.

Of *Achis David* obtained * *Siglag* in *Simeon*, pretending to invade *Judea*: but he bent his forces another way, and strook the *Amalekites*, with other enemies of Israel, letting none live to complain upon him. *Achis* supposing that *David* had drawn bloud of his own Nation, thought himself assured of him: and therefore preparing to invade Israel, summoneth *David* to assist him, who dissembling his intent, seemeth very willing thereto. But the rest of the *Philistim* Princes knowing his valour, and doubting his disposition, liked not his company, and therefore he withdrew himself to *Siglag*. At his return he found the town burnt, his two wives, with the wives and children of his people, taken by the *Amalekites*: Hereupon his followers mutined, but God gave him comfort, and assurance to recover all again: which he did.

* It seemeth that *Simeon* never obtained *Siglag* till this time, for it is said in the 1 of Sam. c. 27. v. 6. therefore *Siglag* pertaineth unto the King of *Juda* unto this day.

This armie of the *Philistims* commanded by *Achis*, encountred *Saul* at *Gilboa*, in which he and his three sons were slain. The newes, with *Saul*'s Crown and bracelets, were brought to *David* at *Siglag*, in his return from being victorious over *Amaleck*, by a man of the same Nation, who avowed (though falsly) that himself at *Sauls* request had slain him. *David*, because he had accused himself, made no scruple to cause him to bee slain at the instant: and the sooner, because the probabilities gave strong evidence withall. Otherwise it followeth not that every man ought to be believed of himself to his own prejudice. For it is held in the law; *Confessio reorum non habenda est pro explorato crimine, nisi approbatio alia instruit religionem cognoscentis. The prisoners confession must not be taken for an evidence of the crime, unlesse some other proof inform the conscience of the Judge.* For a man may confesse those things of himself, that the Judge by examination may know to be impossible. But because it is otherwise determined in the title *de custodia reorum l. si confessus, & in cap. de pœnis l. qui sententiam*, therefore doth the Glosse reconcile these two places in this sort: *Si quis in judicio sponte de seipso constetur, & postea maneat in confessione, id est satis. If any man in judgement do confesse of himself, of his own accord, and after doth persevere in his confession, it is enough.* That *David* greatly bewailed *Saul*, it is not improbable; for death cutteth asunder all competition: and the lamentable end that befell him being a King, with whom in effect the strength of Israel also fell, could not but stirre up sorrow, and move compassion in the heart of *David*.

2 Sam. 1.
In l. de quæst. l. 1.

The victorie which the *Philistims* had gotten, was so great, that some Towns of the *Israelites*, even beyond the river of *Jordan*, were abandoned by the Inhabitants, and left unto the enemie, who took possession of them without any resistance made. Wherefore it may seem strange, that a nation so warlike and ambitious as were the *Philistims*, did not follow their fortune with all diligence, and seek to make the Conquest entire.

Most

Most like it seems, that the civill war immediatly breaking out between *David* and the house of *Saul*, wherein *Juda* was divided from the rest of *Israel*, gave them hope of an easie victorie over both; and thereby caused them to attempt nothing at the present, lest by so doing they should enforce their disagreeing enemies to a necessary reconciliation; but rather to permit that the one part should consume the other, by which means both the victors, and the vanquished, would become a prey to the violence of such as had beaten them, when their forces were united.

§. II.

Of the beginning of Davids *reign, and the war made by* Abner *for* Isboseth.

AFter the death of *Saul*, *Abner*, who commanded for *Saul* in the warre, sought to advance *Isboseth* (or *Febostus*, according to *Josephus*) though he had no right to the Kingdome of *Israel*: for *Mephiboseth* the first son of *Jonathan* lived. Against this *Abner* and *Isboseth*, *David* made a defensive war, till *Abner* past *Jordan*, and entred the border of *Juda*; at which time he sent *Joab* with such forces as he had, to resist *Abner*: *Isboseth* remaining in *Gilead*, and *David* in *Hebron*. The armies encountred each other neer *Gibeon*, where it seemeth that *Abner* made the offer to trie the quarrell by the hands of a few; like to that combate between the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Argives*, remembred by *Herodotus*, 300. being chosen of each Nation, of which number three persons were onely left unslain. The like tryall by a farre lesse number was performed by the *Horatii* and *Curiatii*, for the *Romans* and *Latines*. The same challenge *Goliah* the *Philistim* made, whom *David* slew: a custome very antient. *Edward* the third offered the like tryall in his own person to the French King; and *Francis* the French King to *Charles* the Emperour. There were twelve chosen of each part, in this war of *David* with the house of *Saul*, to wit, so many of *Benjamin*, and as many of *Juda*: whose force and valour was so equall, as there survived not any one to challenge the victory. But the quarrell staid not here; for the Army of *Juda* prest *Abner* in grosse, and brake him. Three hundred and sixty men of *Abners* companions were slain, and but twenty of *Juda*; whereof *Asahel* the brother of *Joab* was one: who when he would needs pursue
2 Sam. 2. *Abner*, and by *Abners* perswasions could not be moved to quit him, he was forced to turn upon him, wounded him to death with the stroak of his spear. For though *Asahel* were an excellent foot-man, and, as it is written in the Text, as light as a wild *Roe*, and, as *Josephus* reporteth, contended not onely with men, but with horses; and hoped to have gotten great fame if he could have mastered *Abner* (who, as *Asahel* perswaded himself, had by being overthrown, and flying away, lost his courage) yet here it fell out
Eccles. 9. true, *That the race is not to the swift.*

That this civill warre lasted two years, we find it written in the second of *Samuel*,
Verse 10. the second Chapter; though in the beginning of the third it is again made probable, that this contention dured longer; and therefore the matter resteth still in dispute, and some of the *Rabbines* conceive that *Isboseth* had then raigned two years, when this was written, the Warre as yet continuing a longer time. For *Abner* held for the party of *Isboseth* after this, and till such time as there grew jealousie between him and *Isboseth* for *Sauls* Concubine: neither did the death of *Isboseth* instantly follow; but how long after the murther of *Abner* it happened, the same doth not certainly appear.

§. III.

Of the death of Abner *slain by* Joab, *and of* Isboseth *by* Rechab *and* Baanah.

2 Sam. 3. 27. ABner, reconciled to *David*, was anon by *Joab* murdered; for *Joab* could not endure a companion in *Davids* Favour, and in the commandment of his forces; by which he was grown so powerfull, as *David* forbare to call him to account:
2 Sam. 3. 39. for thus much he confesseth of himself; *I am this day weak, and these men, the sonnes of* Zeruiah, *be too hard for me.* In this sort *David* complained after *Abners* death; and to make it clear that he hated this fact of *Joab*, he followed him with this publike im-
Verse 29. precation; *Let the bloud fall on the head of* Joab, *and on all his fathers house: and let them*

be

be subject to ulcers, to the leprosie, to lameneſſe, to the ſword, and to povertie, &c. For could any thing have withſtood the ordinance of *God*, this murther committed by *Joab* might greatly have indangered *Davids* eſtate, *Abner* being the mouth and truſt of all the reſt of the Tribes, not yet reconciled. This miſchance therefore *David* openly bewailed, ſo that all *Iſrael* perceived him to be innocent of that fact. The place which *Abner* held, being generall of the men of warre, was of ſuch importance, that the Kings themſelves were fain to give them great reſpect, as hath been already ſhewed more at large. This office *Joab* held in the army of *Juda*, and thought himſelf worthy to hold the place entire, if once his Lord might obtain the whole Kingdome. For he was neer to *David* in kindred, and had been partaker of all his adverſitie; wherefore hee did not think it meet, that an old enemy ſhould in reward of new benefits, be made his partner. Indeed he was by nature ſo jealous of his dignitie and place, that he afterward ſlew *Amaſa* his own kinſman, and the Kings, upon the ſame quarrell, taking it in high diſdain to ſee him joyned with himſelf as captain of the hoſte of *Juda*; much leſſe could hee brook a ſuperiour; and ſuch a one as had ſlain his brother, and been beaten himſelf in battell. But howſoever *Joab* did hate or deſpiſe *Abner*, *David* eſteemed highly of him as of a Prince, and a great man in *Iſrael*, excuſing the overſight by which he might ſeem to have periſhed, by affirming that he died not like a fool, nor a man vanquiſhed, *But as a man falleth before wicked men, ſo* (ſaid he) *diddeſt thou fall*. And certainly it is no error of wit, nor want of valour & vertue in him, whom a ſtronger hand deſtroyeth unawares, or whom ſubtilty in free truſt bringeth to confuſion. For all under the *Sun* are ſubject to worldly miſeries and miſadventures. Howſoever *Iſhoſeth* meant to have dealt with *Abner*, yet when he heard of his death, he deſpaired greatly of his eſtate, and with him all *Iſrael* were poſſeſt with great fear: in ſo much as two of *Iſhoſeths* own Captains, *Rechab* and *Baanah*, murthered *Iſhoſeth*, and preſenting his head to *David*, received the ſame reward that the *Amalekite* lately did, for pretending to have ſlain *Saul*. *Iſhoſeth* being dead, all the Elders of *Iſrael* repaired to *David* at *Hebron*, where he was the third and laſt time annointed by generall conſent.

2 Sam. 3. Verſe 34.

2 Sam. 4.

§. IV.

Of the flouriſhing time of Davids *Kingdom, the taking of Jeruſalem, with two overthrowes given to the Philiſtims, and the conduction of the Ark to the City of* David.

WHen *David* was now eſtabliſhed in the Kingdome, his firſt enterpriſe was upon the *Jebuſites*, who in deriſion of his force, and confident in the ſtrength of the place (as is thought) manned their walls with the blind and lame of their Citie; which *David* ſoon after entred, all their other forces notwithſtanding. For having maſtered the fort of *Zion* (which was afterward the Citie of *David*) he became Lord of *Hieruſalem*, without any great danger, expelling thence the *Jebuſites*, who had held it from the foundation, to the times of *Moſes* and *Joſhua*, and after them almoſt 400 years. There are who expound this place otherwiſe: *Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou ſhalt not come in hither*. For ſome think that it was meant by the *Idols* of the *Jebuſites*: others, that it had reference to the Covenant made long before with *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*: the one blind by nature and age, the other made lame by wreſtling with the Angel, and that therefore till thoſe (that is, till that Covenant) be broken, *David* ought not to moleſt them. But for my ſelf, I take it with *Joſephus*, that they armed their walls with certain impotent people at firſt, in ſcorn of *Davids* attempt. For they that had held their Citie about 400. years againſt all the children of Iſrael, *Joſhua*, the *Judges*, and *Saul*, did not doubt but to defend it alſo againſt *David*.

2 Sam. 5.

When he had now poſſeſt himſelf of the very heart and Center of the Kingdome, and received congratulatory Embaſſadours and preſents from *Hiram* King of *Tyre*: he entertained divers other concubines, and married moe wives, by whom he had ten ſons in *Jeruſalem*, and by his former wives, he had ſix in *Hebron* where he reigned 7. years.

The *Philiſtims* hearing that *David* was now anointed King, as wel of *Juda* as of *Iſrael*, they thought to try him in the beginning, before he was fully warm in his ſeat. And being encountred by *David* at two ſeverall times in the *Valley of Rephaim*, or of the *Giants*, they were at both times overthrown. After which he called the place *Baalperazim*.

2 Sam. 5.

Then *David* aſſembled 30000. choice *Iſraelites* to conduct the *Ark of God* from the houſe

house of *Abinadab* in *Gibea* to the Citie of *David*; which businesse was interrupted by the death of *Uzzah* the son of *Abinadab*, whom the Lord slew for presuming to touch the *Ark*, though it were with intent to stay it from taking harm, when it was shaken. But after three years it was with great solemnity brought into the Citie with sacrifices, musick, dances, and all signs of joyfulnesse, in which *David* himself gladly bare a part. Hereupon *Michol* derided him for dancing before the *Ark*, and afterward told him in scorn, *That he was uncovered as a fool in the eyes of the maidens his servants*; namely, that he forgat his regall dignity both in apparell and behaviour; and mixed himself among the base multitude, dancing as fools doe in the wayes and streets: not that she disliked *Davids* behaviour (as I take it) though she made it the colour of her derision; but rather the aboundant griefe, which this spectacle stirred up, beholding the glory of her husband to whom she was delivered lastly by force, and remembring the miserable end of her father and brethren, out of whose ruines she conceived that the son of *Ishai* had built this his greatnesse: together with the many new wives and concubines imbraced since his possession of *Jerusalem*, made her break out in those despitefull tearms, for which she remained barren to her death.

1 Chro. c. 3. This done, *David* consulted with the Prophet *Nathan* for the building of the Temple or house of *God*: but was forbidden it, because he was a man of warre, and had shed bloud. So greatly doth the Lord and King of all detest homicide; having threatned, not in vain, that he would require the bloud of a man, at the hand of man and beast. The wars which *David* had made were just, and the bloud therein shed was of the enemies of God, and his Church: yet for this cause it was not permitted that his hands should lay the foundation of that holy Temple. Hereby it appears how greatly those Princes deceive themselves, who think by bloud-shed and terrour of their wars, to make themselves in greatnesse like to the *Almighty*, which is a damnable pride; not caring to imitate his mercy and goodnesse, or seek the blessednesse promised by our *Saviour* unto the peace-makers.

Now although it was not pleasing to the Lord to accept a Temple of *Davids* founding, yet was his religious intent so well accepted, that hereupon he received both a confirmation of the Kingdome to him and his heirs, and that happy promise of the everlasting Throne, that should be established in his seed.

§. V.

The overthrow of the Philistims and Moabites.

SOon after this *David* overthrew the *Philistims*, which made them altogether powerlesse, and unable to make any invasion upon *Israel* in haste. For it is written,

2 Sam. 8. v. 1. *Accepit frænum Amgaris è manu Philisthæorum*; which place our *English Geneva* converts in these words, And *David took the bridle of bondage out of the hand of the Philistims*. The Latin of *Junius* giveth another and a better sense; for by that bridle of *Amgar* was meant the strong City of *Gath*, or *Geth*, and so the *Geneva* hath it in the marginall note. This Citie of *Gath* was the same which was afterward *Dio-Cæsarea*, set on the frontier of *Palæstina*, at the entrance into *Judæa* and *Ephraim*. From thence they made their incursions, and thereinto their retrait in all their invasions; which being taken by *David* and demolished, there was left no such frontier town of equall strength to the *Philistims* on that part. The hill whereon *Geth* or *Gath* stood, the *Hebrews* call *Amma*, whereof and of the word *Gar* is made *Amgar*, of which *Pliny* in his first book, and chap. 13. This exposition is made plain, and confirmed in the first of *Chro.* the 18.

Junius in c. 8. of the 2. of Sam.

There was no nation bordering the *Jewes* that so greatly afflicted them as the *Philistims* did, who before the time of *Saul*, (to the end they might not sharpen any weapon against them) did not leave one Smith in all their Cities and Villages of that kind, but inforc'd them to come down into their territorie, for all yron work whatsoever they

2 Sam. 13. needed; so as the *Israelites* till this time of *David*, were seldome free from paying tribute to the *Philistims*.

After this he gave them four other overthrows: but the war of the *Moabites* and *Arabians* came between. In the first of which he was indangered by *Ishbi-benob*, the head of whose spear weighed 300. shekles of brasse, which make nine pound three quarters of our poizes: at which time *Abishai* succoured *David*, and slew the *Philistim*, whereupon

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the Counsellours and Captains of *David* (lest the light of *Israel* might by his losse be quenched) vowed that he should not thenceforth hazzard himself in any battell. The second and third incounter and overthrow of the *Philistims* was at *Gob*, a place neer *Gesar*, and the last at *Gath* or *Geth*. And being now better assured of the *Philistims* by the taking of *Geth*, he invaded *Moab*, from whom notwithstanding in his adversity hee sought succour, and left his parents with him in trust. But whether it were the same King or no, it is not known. 2 Sam. 21. v. 17

The *Rabbines* feign that *Moab* slew those kinsfolkes of *David*, which lived under his protection in *Sauls* time; but questionlesse *David* well knew how that Nation had been alwayes enemies to *Israel*, and took all the occasions to vex them that were offered. And he also remembred that in the 23. of *Deut.* God commanded *Israel* not to seek the peace or prosperity of the *Moabites*; which *David* well observed, for he destroyed two parts of the people, leaving a third to till the ground. This victory obtained, he led his army by the border of *Ammon* toward *Syria Zobah*, the region of *Adadezer* the son of *Rehob* King thereof. The place is set down in the description of the holy Land: to which I referre the Reader.

§. VI.

The warre which David *made upon the Syrians.*

IT is written in the Text: David *smote also* Hadadezer, *&c. as hee went to recover his border at the river Euphrates.* Now whether the words (*as he went to recover his border*) bee referred to *David* or *Hadadezer*, it is not agreed upon. *Junius* thinkes that the article (*hee*) hath relation to *David*, who finding *Tohu* oppresst by *Hadadezer*, overthrew the one, and succoured the other. But the antient and most received opinion, that this recovery hath reference to the Syrian, is more probable. For if *David* had intended any such enterprize towards *Euphrates*, hee was in farre better case to have proceeded after his victory than before: seeing that (*Adadezer* being taken) hee had now left no enemie on his back, either to pursue him, to take victuals and supplies from him, or to stop the passages of the mountains upon him at his return.

Again, seeing David was either to passe through a part of *Arabia* the desart, or by the plains of *Palmyrena*, his army consisting of footmen, for the most, if not all: Hee had now both horse and chariots good store to carry his provisions through those uncultived places, by which hee was to have marched before hee could have reached *Euphrates*, or any part thereof. But we find that *David* returned to *Jerusalem*, after hee had twice overthrown the *Syrian* army, not bending his course towards the river *Euphrates*, but seeking to establish his purchases already made. Whereby it may appear, that it was the *Syrian*, and not king *David*, that was going to inlarge his border, as afore is said.

The King of *Syria*, *Damascena*, and of *Damascus*, whereof that region is so called, hearing that *Adadezer* was overthrown by the *Israelites*, fearing his own estate, and the loss of his own country which adjoined to *Syria Zoba* of *Hadadezer*, sent for an Army of *Aramites* or *Syrians* to his succour: but these, as it appeareth, came too late for *Adadezer*, and too soon for themselves: for there perished of those supplies 22000. This King of *Damascus*, *Josephus*, (out of *Nicholaus* an antient Historian) calleth *Adad*, who was also of the same name and family as also those other *Adads* were: which now began to grow up in greatnesse, and so continued for ten descents, till they were extinguished by the *Assyrians*, as is shewed heretofore. *David* having now reduced *Damascus* under his obedience, left a garrison therein, as he did in *Edom*: having also sackt the adjoyning Cities of *Betah* & *Berathi*, belonging to *Adadezer*, of which Cities *Ptolomie* calleth *Betah*, *Tauba*: and *Berathi* he nameth *Barathena*. *Tohu* or *Thoi*, whose country of *Hamath* joyned to *Adadezer* (as in the description of the holy Land the Reader may perceive) sent his son *Joram* to congratulate this successe of *David*: partly because he had war with *Adadezer*, & partly because he feared *David* now victorious. He also presented *David* with vessels of gold, silver, and brasse; all which, together with the golden shields of the *Aramites*, and 2 Sam. 8.

the best of all the spoiles of other Nations, *David* dedicated unto God at his return. *Junius* translated the words (*Clypeos aureos*) by *umbones*, as if all the parts of the targets were not of gold, but the bosses only. The *Septuagint* call them bracelets: *Aquila*, golden chains. But because *Roboam* made shields of brasse in place of these of *Adadezer*, at such time as *Shicah* the Egyptian sack'd the Temple of *Jerusalem*, it may be gathered thereby that those of *Adadezer* were golden shields.

2 Sam. 1. This done, *David* sent Embassadours to *Hanum* King of the *Ammonites*, to congratulate his establishment in his fathers Kingdome: for *David*, in the time of his affliction under *Saul*, had been relieved by *Nahash*, the father of *Hanum*. But this *Ammonite* being ill advised, and over-jealous of his estate, used *Davids* messengers so barbarously, and contemptuously (by curtailing their beards, and their garments) as hee thereby drew a warre upon himself, which neither his own strength, nor all the aydes purchased, could put off or sustain. For notwithstanding that hee had waged three and thirtie thousand Souldiers of the *Amalekites*, and their confederates; to wit, of the vassalls of *Adadezer* twenty thousand, and of *Maachah* and *Ishtob* thirteen thousand (for which hee disbursed a thousand talents of silver) yet all these great Armies, together with the strength of the *Ammonites*, were by *Joab* and his brother *Abishai* easily broken and put to ruine: and that without any great losse or slaughter at that time. And it is written, that when the *Aramites* fled, the *Ammonites* also retraited into their Cities, the one holding themselves within the walls, the other in their desarts adjoyning, till *Joab* was returned to *Jerusalem*.

Maachah the North part of *Traconitis* remembred in Deut. 3. 14.

Ishtob or *Tbob* a country neer *Gad* under the rocks of *Arnon*. 2 Sam. 10.

Hadadezer hearing that *Joab* had dismissed his Armie, assembled his forces again, and sent all the Companies that hee could levie out of *Mesopotamia*; who under the command of *Shobach* passed *Euphrates*, and incamped at *Helam*, on the South side thereof. *David* hearing of this new preparation, assembled all the ablest men of *Israel*, and marched toward the *Syrian* Armie in *Palmyrena*, not yet entred into *Arabia*; to wit, at *Helam*, a place no lesse distant from *Damascus*, towards the North-east, than *Jerusalem* was towards the Southwest. Now *David* (speaking humanely) might with the more confidence goe on towards *Euphrates* (which was the farthest-off journey that ever he had) because hee was now Lord of *Damascus*, which lay in the midway. Hee also possest himself of * *Thadmor* or *Palmyrena*, which *Salomon* afterward strongly fortified; and this Citie was but one dayes journey from *Helam*, and the river *Euphrates*. So had hee two safe retraits, the one to *Thadmor*, and the next from thence to *Damascus*. In this encounter between *David* and the *Syrians*, they lost 40000. horsemen, and 700. chariots, together with *Shobach* Generall of their Armie. The Chronicles call these 40000. Souldiers, footmen, and so *Junius* converts it, and so is it very probable. For the Armie of *Israel* consisting of footmen, could hardly have slaughtered 40000. horsemen, except they quitted their horse and fought on foot. So are the chariots taken in this battell, numbred at 7000. in the first of *Chronicles* the ninth; in which number, as I conceive, all the Souldiers that served in them, with the conductors, are included: so as there dyed of the *Syrians* in this warre against *David*, before he forc'd them to tribute, 100000. footmen, besides all their horsemen and waggoners, and besides all those that *Joab* slew, when they fled at the first encounter, together with the *Ammonites*, before *Rabbah*. Notwithstanding all which, the *Adads* in following ages gathered strength again, and afflicted the Kings of *Juda* often: but the Kings of *Israel* they impoverished even to the last end of that State.

Helam or *Chelam* which *Ptolomy* calleth *Alamatha* neer the foords of *Euphrates*. 2 Sam. 10.

*See c. 18. §. 2.

David having now beaten the *Arabians* and *Mesopotamians*, from the partie and confederacy of *Ammon*: He sent out *Joab* the Lieutenant of his Armies to forrage and destroy their territorie, and to besiege *Rabbah*, afterward *Philadelphia*, which after a while the *Israelites* mastered and possest. The Kings Crown which weighed a talent of gold, garnished with precious stones, *David* set on his own head, and carried away with him the rest of the riches and spoile of the Citie. And though *David* stayed at *Jerusalem*, following the war of *Uriah* his wife, till such time as the Citie was brought to extremity, and ready to be entred: yet *Joab* in honour of *David* forbare the last assault, & entrance thereof, till his masters arrivall. To the people he used extreme rigour (if wee may so call it being exercised against heathen Idolaters,) for some of them hee tare with harrowes

rowes, some hee sawed asunder, others he cast into burning kills, in which hee baked tyle and brick.]

§. VII.

of Davids *troubles in his reigne, and of his forces.*

But as victory begetteth securitie, and our present worldly felicity a forgetfulnesse of our former miseries, and many times of God himself the giver of all goodnesse; so did these changes, in the fortune and state of this good King, change also the zealous care which formerly hee had to please God in the precise observation of his Lawes and Commandements: For having now no dangerous apparent enemie (against whom hee was wont to ask counsell from the Lord) hee began to be advised by his own humane affections and vain desires: For hee was not onely satisfied to take *Uriahs* wife from him, and to use her by stealth; but hee imbrodered his adultery with *Uriahs* slaughter, giving order to his trustie servant *Joab* to marshall him in the front or point of those *Israelites*, which gave an assault upon the suburbs of *Rabla*, when there was not as yet any possibilitie of prevailing. And that which could no lesse displease God than the rest, hee was content that many others of his best servants and souldiers should perish together with *Uriah*, hoping thereby to cover his particular ill intent against him. After which hee began by degrees to fall from the highest of happinesse, and his dayes then to come were filled with joyes and woes interchangeable, his troden-down sorrows began again to spring, and those perils which he had pulled up by the roots (as hee hoped) gave him an after-harvest of many cares and discontentments. And if it had pleased GOD to take the witnesse of *Davids* own mouth against him, as *David* himself did against the *Amalekite*, which pretended to have slain *Saul*, he had then appeared as worthy of reprehension as the other was of the death hee suffered. For when *Nathan* the Prophet propounded unto him his own errour in the person of another, to wit, of him that took the poor mans sheep that had none else, the bereaver being Lord of many; Hee then vowed it to the living Lord, that such a one should die the death. And hereof, although it pleased God to pardon *David* for his life, which remission the Prophet *Nathan* pronounced; yet hee delivered him Gods justice together with his mercy in the tenour following; *Now therefore the sword shall never depart from thy house, &c. because thou hast taken his wife to be thy wife, & hast slain* Uriah *with the sword of the children of* Ammon. Soon after this, *David* lost the child of adulterie which he begot on *Bersheba*. Secondly, his own son *Ammon*, being in love with his half sister *Thamar*, by the advice of his cousin-german the sonne of *Shimeah Davids* brother, possest her by force: which when hee had performed, he thrust her from him in a careless and despitefull manner. Two years after which foul and incestuous act, *Absalom* caused him to be murthered, at the feast of his sheepshearing: not perchance in revenge of *Thamars* ravishment alone; but having it in his heart to usurp the Kingdome, in which, because he could not in any sort be assured of *Ammon*, he thought his affairs greatly advanced by his destruction. So the one brother having ravished his own sister, and then despised her; the other after a long dissembled malice first made his own brother drunken, and then slaughtered him, which done, he fled away, and lived under the safeguard of *Talmai* King of *Gessur*, neer *Damascus*, who was his grandfather by the mother, but a heathen King. Thirdly, when *Absalom* by the invention of *Joab* (but chiefly because of the great affection of *David* towards his sonne) was brought again, first to the Kings favour, and then to his presence; he began instantly to practise against *David* his father, seeking by the pretence of common justice, and by lowly and familiar manner to all men, and by detracting from his fathers equitie, to win unto himself a popular reputation. Here began the great affliction, threatned by the Lord as a punishment of *Davids* sinne.

2 Sam. 11, 15.

2 Sam. 12. 9. 10

2 Sam. 13.

2 Sam. 14.

The company which *Absalom* gathered at the first were but 200. men: which he carried with him from *Jerusalem* to *Hebron*, pretending, though impiously, the performance of a vow to God. There when *Achitophel* repaired unto him, and many troops of

2 Sam. 15.

people from all places, he proclaimed himself King, & was by the people (whose hearts God had turned from their lawfull Prince) accepted so readily, that *David* doubting to be set upon on the sudden, durst not trust himself in his own Citie of *Jerusalem*, nor in any other walled town for fear of surprise: but incamped in the fields and desarts with some 600. of his guard, and few else. The Priests hee left in *Jerusalem* with the Ark of God, from whom he desired to be advertised of those things that chanced; to whom he directed *Hushai* his trustie friend, and servant, praying him to make himself in
2 Sam.15. all his outward actions and counsells of *Absaloms* party and confederacy, thereby the better to discover unto him the purposes of *Achitophel*, a revolting Counsellour, whose practices be greatly doubted. And now when treason was in fashion, *Ziba* also sought to betray his master *Mephiboseth* the son of *Jonathan*: And *Shimei* of the house of *Saul* (the fire of whose hatred *Davids* prosperity had smothered, but his adversity illightned) holding himself upon the advantage of a mountain side, cast stones at *David*, and most
2 Sam.16. despightfully cursed him to his face: but *David* attending no private revenges, forbad *Abishai* to pursue him for the present, yet left him among others in the roll of his revenge, to his sonne *Salomon*. *Absalom* being now possest of *Jerusalem*, was advised by *Achitophel* to use his fathers concubines in some such publique place, as all *Israel* might assure themselves, that he was irreconcilable to his father: whereof being perswaded, they would then resolvedly adhere to *Absalom* and his cause, without fear of being
2 Sam.17. given up upon a reconciliation between them. This salvage and impious (though crafty counsell) *Achitophel* indeed urged for his own respect, as fearing that this rebellion might take end to his destruction, who most of all other inflamed *Absalom* against his father. And now was it fulfilled that *Nathan* had directly fortold *David*: *I will raise up evill against thee out of thine own house, and will take thy wives before thine eyes, and*
2 Sam.c.12. v.11. *give them unto thy neighbour, and he shall lye with thy wives in the sight of the Sunne: for thou diddest it secretly, but I will doe this thing before all Israel, and before the Sunne.* He also gave advice to *Absalom*, that himself with an armie of 12000. men might be employed at the instant for the surprizing of *David*; which had willingly been imbraced
2 Sam.17. v.14. by *Absalom*, had not *Hushai Davids* faithfull servant given counter-advice, and swayed it: perswading *Absalom* that it was fitter and more safe for him with all the strength of *Israel* to pursue his father, than by such a troop, which *Davids* valour and those of his attendants might either indanger or resist. This delay in *Absalom*, and advantage of time gained by *David*, was indeed, after God, the losse of the one, and delivery of the
2 Sam. 17.23. other. Whereupon *Achitophel* rightly fearing (by the occasion fore-shewed) the successe which followed, disposed of his own estate, and then forsook both the party and the care of *Absalom*, and of his own life.

David being advertised of this enterprize against him, marched away all night, and past *Jordan*, possessing himself of *Mahanaim* in the Tribe of *Gad*: the same wherein *Isboseth* himself in the war against *David* after *Sauls* death seated himself. To which place there repaired unto him *Shobi* the son of *Nahash* the *Ammonite*, whom *David* loved, the same which *Josephus* calleth *Shiphar*. And though it be greatly disputed, what this *Shobi* was, yet the most generall and probable opinion makes him a second brother to *Hanum*, whom *David* for his fathers sake established in the Kingdome, after *Hanums* overthrow: in thankfulnesse whereof hee relieved *David* in this his extremity. There came also to *Davids* assistance *Machir* of *Lodobar*, Guardian in former times to *Mephiboseth*, and among others *Barzillai* the *Gileadite*, who willingly fed *David* and all his companie.

In the mean time both the King and *Absalom* prepared to fight; *Absalom* made *Amasa* Commander of the armie of *Israel*, the same place which *Joab* held with *David*; an office next the King himself, like unto that of the Maiors of the Palace anciently in *France*. *David*, perswaded by his company, stayed in *Mahanaim*, & disposed the forces he had to *Joab*, *Abishai*, and *Ittai*, giving them charge in the hearing of all that issued out of the port of *Mahanaim*, that they should spare the life of *Absalom*. But *Joab*, besides that he was very cruell by nature, remembred that *Absalom* had lately disposed of his government to *Amasa*, and therefore the victory being obtained, and news brought him
2 Sam. 18.14. that *Absalom* hung by the hair of his head on a tree, when he could not perswade the messenger to return and kill him, hee himself with his own servants dispatcht him.

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It appeared also by the sequell that *Joab* affected *Adonijah* whom he afterward acknowledged, *David* yet living; and fearing the disposition of *Absalom*, he imbraced the present advantage offered. 2 Sam. 18.

Hereof, together with news of the victorie, when knowledge was brought to *David*, hee mourned and sorrowed, not only as a man that had lost a sonne, but as one that had out-lived all his worldly joyes, and seen every delight of life interred. For hee so hid himself from his people, as those which hoped for honour and reward after so great a victorie, covered themselves also in the citie, as if they had committed the greatest offences, and had rather deserved death than recompence. Whereupon *Joab* presenting himself before *David*, perswaded him to dissemble his sorrow for the present, and to shew himself to the armie. For first, he told him that he had discountenanced his faithfull servants, who had that day preserved his life; inferring that nothing could bee more dangerous to a King, than not onely not to acknowledge so great a love and constancie in his people, who being but few in number, did yet resolvedly expose themselves to great perils for his sake: but on the contrarie, grieve and lament at their good successe. For, no doubt, they might all have bought their peace of *Absalom* at an easie rate. Secondly, he urged that it was generally believed, that he loved his enemies, and hated his friends; and that he witnessed by this his mourning, that he had not any respect of his Princes, and others his faithfull servants, but would more have joyed if they had all perished, and *Absalom* lived, than in the victory by their faithfulnesse and approved valour gotten.

Lastly, he used this prevalent argument, That if the King came not out and shewed himselfe publickly to his men of warre, that they would all that very night abandon him, and return: concluding with this fearfull threatning, *And that will be worse unto thee than all the evill that fell on thee from thy youth hitherto.* By these overbold and arrogant speeches (though perchance uttered with a good intent) *Joab* raised *David* from his bed of sorrow, and brought him to the gates of the Citie among the people, whom he assured of his love and affection, especially *Amasa*, who commanded the armie of *Absalom*, to whom he promised the office of Lieutenantship; the same which *Absalom* had given him, and which *Joab* now enjoyed. For *David* doubted, that if *Amasa* were not satisfied, he might draw from him a great part of the strength of *Israel*, now under his commandement. 2 Sam. 19.

This done, the King marched towards *Jordan* homeward, where in his passage hee pardoned *Shimei*, who had lately reviled him to his face: but this remission was but externall, as appeared afterward. Hee also accepted of *Mephibosheth* his excuse, whom *Ziba* had falsly accused and betrayed. 2 Sam. 19. 23.

He also intreated *Barzillai* the *Gileadite*, his late liberall host, to follow him to *Jerusalem*, that hee might reward his service done him; who excusing himself by his age, appointed his sonne *Chimham* to attend the King. 2 Sam 19. 38.

At *Gigal* on this side *Jordan*, all the Tribes assembled, and after some contention which of them ought to have most interest in *David*, the Armie brake, and *David* returned to *Jerusalem*. But *Sheba* the son of *Bichri*, a *Benjamite*, of the faction of the house of *Saul*, finding some discontent among the *Israelites*, withdrew them from *David*, as from a stranger in whom they had no interest, and it seemeth that many of the people of the out Tribes, and in effect of all but *Juda*, bare still a good affection to the issues of their first King. *David* imployed his reconciled Captain *Amasa*, to give him contentment, and to witnesse his trust, as also because hee conceived that *Amasa* had interest in those revolts of *Israel* more than *Joab* had. He received commandement from *David* to assemble the Armie within three dayes, which hee foreslowed: but being onward on his way, *Abishai*, *Joabs* brother, was sent after him, with *Davids* guard and best Souldiers, whom also *Joab* accompanied: and overtaking *Amasa* neer *Gibeon*, pretending to imbrace him, gave him a wound, whereof hee fell dead, being no lesse jealous of *Amasa* than he was of *Abner*, whom he murdered in the same manner, and out of the same impatient ambition. This done, hee pursued *Sheba*; and finding him inclosed in *Abel*, assaulted the Citie with that fury, that the citizens by the perswasions of a wise woman there inhabiting, cut off *Sheba* his head, and flung it to *Joab* over the walls: which done, he retraited his Armie to *Jerusalem*, and commanded, as before, all the Hoast of *Israel*. 2 Sam. 20. 12.

The next act of *David*, was the delivery of *Sauls* sons or kinsmen to the *Gibeonites*, whom those citizens hung up in revenge of their fathers crueltie. *David* had knowledge from the *Oracle of God*, that a famin which had continued on the land three years, came by reason of *Saul* and his house, to wit, for the slaughter of the *Gibeonites*: and therefore hee willingly yeelded to give them this satisfaction, both because he had warrant from God himself, as also, if wee may judge humanely, to rid himself of *Sauls* line, by whom he and his might, aswell in the present as in the future, be greatly molested and indangered; only he spared *Mephibosheth* the son of *Jonathan*, both for the love he bare to his father, and for his oath and vow to God.

2 Sam. 21. Now whereas it is written in the Text, *The King took the two sons of* Rispah, *whom she bare unto* Saul, *and the five sons of* Michol *the daughter of* Saul, *whom she bare to* Adriel, *and delivered them to the Gibeonites*: *Junius* calls this *Michol* the sister of her that was *Davids* wife, she whom *Saul* married to *Phaltiel*: but *Michol* here named, had *Adriel* to her husband; the same which is named *Merab* in the first of *Samuel* the eighteenth, who was first promised to *David* when hee slew *Goliah* in the valley *Raphaim*: and because it is written that *Michol* loved *David*, which perchance *Merab* did not, whether *David* had any humane respect in the delivery of her children, it is onely known to God.

Now where the *Geneva* nameth *Michol* for *Merab* the wife of *Adriel*: the better translation were out of the Hebrew word here used, having an eclipsis or defect, and signifieth, as I am informed, one of the same kindred, as in the 19. verse of the same one and twentieth chapter it is said of *Goliah*, *whose spear was weightie as a Weavers beam*, when as by the same eclipsis it must be understood by the brother of *Goliah*; *Goliah* himself being formerly slain.

As by the death of *Sauls* children God secured the house of *David*, leaving no head unto rebellion: so did he strengthen both the King and Nation against forreign enemies by the valour of many brave Commanders, the like of whom, for number and qualitie, that people of *Israel* is not known to have had at any time before or after. Thirty Captains of thousands there were, all men of mark, and great reputation in warre. Over these were six Collonels, whose valour was so extraordinarie, that it might be well held as miraculous. These Collonels had some difference of place and honour, which seemeth to have been given upon meer consideration of their vertue. For *Abishai* the brother of *Joab*, who in the war against the *Ammonites* and *Aramites* was Lieutenant, and commanded halfe the armie, could not attain to the honour of the first rank, but was fain to rest contented with being principall of the three Collonels of the second order, notwithstanding his neerneſse of bloud unto the King, the flourishing estate of his own house, and his well approved services. All these Collonels and Captains, with the Companies belonging to them, may seem to have been such as were continually retained, or at the least kept in readinesse for any occasion, considering that the numbers which were mustered and drawn out, if need required, into the field, very farre exceeded thirtie thousand, yea, or thirty times as many. They were most of them such as had followed the King in *Sauls* time, and been hardned with his adversities. Others there were very many, and principall men in their severall Tribes, that repaired unto him after the death of *Saul*; but these Captains and Collonels, (who with *Joab*, that was

1 Sam. 25. 39. Generall of all the Kings forces, make up the number of 37.) were the speciall men of warre, and reckoned as *Davids* Worthies. The long reign of *David*, as it is known to have consumed many of these excellent men of warre, so may it probably be ghessed to have wasted the most of those whose deaths we find no-where mentioned. For the sons of *Zervia*, who had been too hard for *David*, were worn away, and only *Joab* left in the beginning of *Salomon*, who wanted his brother *Abishai* to stand by his side in his last extremity.

By the actions forepassed in the time of *David*, it is gathered, that he had reigned now 33. years or thereabouts; when the posterity of *Saul* was rooted out, so that he enjoyed about seven years of entire quiet and securitie, wherein it pleased God to remove all impediments that might have troubled the succession of *Salomon* in his fathers throne. In this time also *David* having established all things in *Juda* and *Israel*, and the borders thereof, he again displeased God by numbring the people, as in ostentation of his power: in which hee employed *Joab*, with other Captains of his Armie, who after

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nine moneths and twenty dayes travell, returned with the account and regiſter of all the people, able and fit to bear Armes, and they amounted to the number of thirteen hundred thouſand, beſides *Levi* and *Benjamin*, whereof in *Juda*, and the cities thereof, five hundred thouſand, and in *Iſrael* eight hundred thouſand. 2 Sam. 24. 1 Chr. 21.

For this, when by the Prophet *Gad* he was offered from God the choice of three puniſhments, whereof he might ſubmit himſelf to which he pleaſed; to wit, ſeven years famine; three moneths warre, wherein he ſhould be unproſperous in all attempts, and be chaſed by his enemies; or a generall peſtilence to laſt three dayes: *David* made choice to bow himſelf under the hand of God only, and left himſelf ſubject to that cruell diſeaſe, which hath no compaſſion or reſpect of perſons, of which there periſhed 70. thouſand. And hereby hee hath taught all that live, that it is better to fall into the hands of God than of men; whereof he giveth this divine reaſon, *For his mercies are great.* 2 Sam. 14.

§. VII.

Of the laſt acts of David; Adonijahs *faction*; *the revenge upon* Joab *and* Shimei.

LAſtly, when he grew weak and feeble, and paſt the acts and knowledge of women, hee was yet adviſed to lie in the arms of a young and well-complexioned maiden, to keep him warm. In this his weak eſtate of body, when hee was in a manner bed-rid, *Adonijah* his eldeſt ſon (*Ammon* and *Abſalom* being now dead) having drawn unto his partie that invincible, renowned and feared *Joab*, with *Abiathar* the Prieſt, began manifeſtly to prepare for his eſtabliſhment in the Kingdome after his father. For being the eldeſt now living of *Davids* ſonnes, and a man of goodly perſonage, *Salomon* yet young, and born of a mother formerly attainted with adulterie, for which her name was omitted by S. *Matthew* (as *Beda*, *Hugo*, *Thomas*, and others ſuppoſe) hee preſumed to carry the matter without reſiſtance. Hereof when *David* had knowledge by *Berſabe* the mother of *Salomon*, who did put him in mind of his faithfull promiſe, that *Salomon* her ſon ſhould reigne after him (*Nathan* the Prophet affirming the ſame thing unto the King, and ſeconding her report of *Adonijah* his preſumption) the King calling unto him *Zadoc* the Prieſt, *Nathan* the Prophet, and *Benajah* the Captain of his guard, gave charge and commiſſion to anoint *Salomon*, and to ſet him on the Mule whereon himſelf uſed to ride in his greateſt ſtate: which done, *Salomon* attended, and ſtrongly guarded by the ordinary and choice men of warre, the *Cherethites*, and *Pelethites*, ſhewed himſelf to the people. Theſe tidings being reported to *Adonijah*, he preſently abandoned his aſſiſtants, and for the ſafety of his life, he held by the horns of the Altar, whom for the preſent *Salomon* pardoned. After this, *David* had remaining two eſpeciall cares, whereof he was deſirous to diſcharge his thoughts; the one concerning the peace of the land, which might be diſturbed by ſome rebellion againſt *Salomon*; the other concerning the building of the Temple, which he ſought by all means to advance, and make the buſineſſe publick. To bring theſe intentions to good effect, he ſummoned a Parliament, conſiſting of all the Princes of *Iſrael*, the Princes of the ſeverall Tribes, all the Captains and Officers, with all the mightie, and men of power; who did repair unto Jeruſalem. 1 *Reg.* 3. 1 Chr. 28. 1.

In this aſſembly the King ſtood up, and ſignified his purpoſe of building the Temple, ſhewing how the Lord had approved the motion. Herein he took occaſion to lay open his own title to the Crown, ſhewing that the Kingdome was by Gods ordinance due to the Tribe of *Juda* (as *Jacob* in his bleſſing prophetically bequeathed it) and that God himſelf was pleaſed to make choyce of him among all his fathers ſonnes. In like manner he ſaid that God himſelf had appointed *Salomon* by name to bee his ſucceſſor; whereupon hee earneſtly charged both the people and his ſonne to conforme themſelves unto all that God had commanded, and particularly to goe forward in this work of the Lords houſe, which *Salomon* was choſen to build. Then produced hee the pattern of the work, according to the forme which God himſelf had appointed; and ſo laying open his own preparations, hee exhorted all others to a voluntarie contribution. 1 Chr. 29.

The Kings propoſition was ſo well approved by the Princes and people, that whereas he himſelf had given three thouſand talents of gold, and ſeven thouſand of ſilver, they added unto it ſeven thouſand of gold, & ten thouſand of ſilver, beſides braſſe, iron,

and

and Jewels, heartily rejoycing in the advancement of so religious a work. This businesse being so well dispatched, a solemn feast with great sacrifice was made, at which time *Salomon* was again anointed King, and received fealtie of all the Princes and people of the Land, and of all the Princes his brethren, the sons of King *David*. *Salomon* being thus established King, his Father *David* finding himself even in the hands of death, first exhorted his son to exercise the same courage and strength of mind, which himself had done in all his attempts: and to the end that a happy end might follow the beginning of all his enterprizes, he uttered these mighty words; *Take heed to the charge of the Lord thy God, to walk in his wayes, and keep his statutes, and his commandements, and his judgements, and his testimonies, as it is written in the Law of* Moses, *&c.* to the performance of which, GOD fastened the succession, and prosperity of his issues. For this done (saith GOD himself) *Thou shalt not want one of thy posterity to sit upon the Throne of Israel.*

1 King. 2. 3.

1 King. 2. 20.

Secondly, he advised him concerning *Joab*, who out of doubt had served *David* from the first assault of *Jerusalem* to the last of his wars, with incomparable valour and fidelitie, saving that he fastened himself to *Adonijah* (his master yet living) and thereby vexed him in his feeble age. But as God hath never left cruelty unrevenged, so was it his will that *Joab* should drink of the same cup, whereof he hath enforced other men to taste, & suffer the same violence which himself had unjustly strooken others withall, *Qui gladio percutit, gladio peribit:* for he had bereaved *Abner* & *Amasa* of their lives, having against the one the pretence onely of his brothers slaughter, whom *Abner* had slain in the time of war, and could not avoid him: against the other but a meere jealousie of his growing great in the favour of *David*. And though *Joab* assured himself that *Abner* and *Amasa* being dead, there was none left either to equall him, or supplant him, yet God (deriding the policies of wicked men) raised up *Benhajah* the son of *Jehojadah*, to pull him from the Sanctuary, and to cut him in peeces. For *David* giveth this cause to *Salomon* against *Joab*, that he slew the Captains of the Hoast of *Israel*, and shed bloud of battell in peace; and to this apparent and just cause, it is not improbable but that *David* remembred the ill affection of *Joab* towards *Salomon*, which *Joab* made manifest by the untimely setting up of *Adonijah*, *David* yet living. Some other offence *Joab* had committed against *David*, of which in these words he put his son *Salomon* in mind; *Thou knowest also what* Joab *the son of* Serviah *did to me, &c.* Now whether this were meant by the killing of *Absalom*, contrary to the Kings desire, or by the proud words used to him when hee mourned in *Mahanaim* for *Absalom*; or whether it were the publishing of *Davids* letter unto him for the killing of *Uriah*, thereby to disgrace *Salomon* as descended of such a mother, the Scriptures are silent. True it is, that those great men of warre doe oftentimes behave themselves exceeding insolently towards their Princes, both in respect of their service done, as also because they flatter themselves with an opinion, that either their masters cannot misse them, or that they dare not offend them. But this kind of pride hath overthrown many a worthy man otherwise deserving great honour and respect.

1 King. 2. 5.

1 King. 2.

He also gave order to *Salomon* to rid himself of *Shimei*, who not long before had cast stones at *David*, and cursed him to his face. And albeit by reason of his oath and promise *David* spared *Shimei* all the time himself lived, yet being dust and in the grave, he slew him by the hand of *Salomon* his sonne. Hence it seemeth that King *Henry* the seventh of *England* had his pattern, when he gave order to *Henry* the Eighth to execute *Pool* as soon as himself was buried, having made promise to the King of *Spain*, when he delivered *Pool* unto him, that while hee lived hee would never put him to death, nor suffer violent hands to be laid upon him.

1 King. 2.

And yet did not the execution of *Joab* yeeld unto *Salomon* any such great profit or assurance as he hoped for. For he found a young *Adad* of *Idumæa*, and *Resin* of *Damascus* to vex him: who, as the Scriptures witnesse, were emboldened to enterprize upon *Salomon*, hearing that *David* slept with his fathers, and that *Joab* the Captain of the Hoast was dead. Now when *David* had reigned in all fortie years, to wit, in *Hebron* 7. years, and in *Jerusalem* three and thirty, he died.

2 King. 11.

For his person, he was of small stature, but exceeding strong. For his internall gifts and graces, hee so farre exceeded all other men, as putting his humane frailtie apart, hee was said by God himself to bee a man according to his own heart. The Psalmes which hee wrote, witnesse his pietie, and his excellent learning: of whom *Hierome* to *Paulinus*:

Paulinus: David Simonides *noster*, Pindarus, & Alcæus, Flaccus, *quoque* Catullus, & Serenus, *Christum lyra personat, & in decachordo Psalterio ab inferis suscitat resurgentem*; David (saith he) *our* Simonides, Pindarus, Alcæus, Horace, Catullus *and* Serenus, *hee playeth Christ on his Harp, and on a ten-stringed Psalter hee raiseth him up rising from the dead.* And being both a King and a Prophet, he foretelleth Christ more lightsomly and lively than all the rest.

The book of the Psalmes, saith *Glycas*, was divided, ordered and distinguished by *Ezekias:* but whether all the Psalms were written by *David*, it is diversly disputed. For *Athanasius*, *Cyprian*, *Lyranus*, and others conceive divers Authors answering the titles of the severall Psalmes, as *Moses*, *Salomon*, and the rest hereafter named; and that only 73. Psalmes were composed by *David* himself, namely, those which are intituled *ipsius David*. For the 50. and the 72. with the ten that follow, are bestowed on *Asaph* the son of *Barachia*, eleven other on the sons of *Korath*; and eleven are ascribed to *Moses*, to wit, the 89. and the ten following, and so they are intituled in the old Hebrew Copies, though the vulgar and Septuagint (three excepted) stile them otherwise. The supposed nine Authors of these Psalms which *David* wrote not, *Sixt. Senensis* nameth as followeth; *Salomon*, *Moses*, (whom *Aben Ezra*, contrary to *Hierome*, maketh one of *Davids* singers) *Asaph*, *Ethan-Eziachi*, *Eman-Eziaira*, *Idithum*, and the three sons of *Chore*. But S. *Chrysostome* makes *David* the sole Author of all the Psalms, and so doth S. *Augustine*, reasoning in this manner: Although (saith he) some there are that ascribe those Psalms onely to *David*, which are over-written *ipsius David*, and the rest intituled *ipsi David*, to others, this opinion (saith he) *Voce Evangelica Salvatoris ipsius refutatur, ubi ait quod ipse* David *in spiritu Christum dixerit esse suum Dominum, quoniam Psalmus* 109. *sic incipit, Dixit Dominus Domino meo, Sede a dextris meis, &c.* The voyce of the Gospell refutes this opinion, where it saith, that *David* himself in the spirit called Christ his Lord; because the 109. Psalme begins thus: *The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, &c.* Lastly, his testimonies are used both by Christ and the Apostles, and hee was as a pattern to all the Kings and Princes that succeeded him.

Athan. in Synop. Hier. Epist. 134 Lyran. in exp. 1 Psal.

Vide Sixt. Senen. Bib. sanct. l. 1. fol. 10. & 11 Aug. de civit. Dei, l. 13. c. 14.

His Story, and all his particular actions, were written by the Prophets, *Samuel*, *Nathan*, and *Gad*, as it is in the first of *Chron. 29. vers. 19.* For the severall parts of the books of *Samuel* which intreat chiefly of *David*, were, as it seems, written by these three holy men.

Constantine Manasses hath an opinion, that the Trojans during the time of the siege sought for succour from *David*, and that he stayed neuter in that warre. But it seemeth that *Manasses* did miscast the time 'twixt *David* and the *Trojan* warre, For it is generally received that *Troy* fell between the times of *Abdon* and *Sampson* Judges of *Israel*, about the worlds year 2848. and *David* died in the year 2991.

Cap. 7. §. 6. 7. In his Annals translated out of Greek into Latin by *Jacques Leunclaius.*

§. IX.

Of the treasures of David *and* Salomon.

HIs treasures were exceeding great. For it is written in the 22. of the first of *Chronicles*, that he left *Salomon* for the building of the Temple a hundred thousand talents of gold, and a thousand thousand talents of silver, and of brasse and yron passing all weight, which is more than any King in the world possest besides himselfe, and his sonne, to whom he left it. For it amounteth to three thousand three hundred thirty & three cartload, and a third of a cartload of silver, allowing two thousand weight of silver or six thousand pound sterling to every cartload, besides threescore and seventeen millions of French Crowns, or of our money twenty three millions and a thousand pound: a matter, but for the testimony of the Scriptures, exceeding all beliefe. For that any riches were left him, it doth not appear, seeing that the Judges had not any treasure, nor any soveraign power to make levies: but when they went to the wars they were followed by such voluntaries as the severall tribes by turns gave them: seeing also that *Saul* who was of a mean parentage, and perpetually vexed and invaded by the Philistims, could not in all likelihood gather great riches (if any at all) his Territorries being exceeding narrow, and thereof the better part possest by his enemies.

Vers. 14.

Therefore it were not amisse to consider how *David* within the space of not very many years, might amasse up such mighty treasures. For though parsimony be it selfe a great

great revenue, yet needs there must have been some other great means. It seems that he made the uttermost profit of all that he had, that was profitable. *Eusebius* in his 9. book and last chapter *de Præparatione Evangelica*, citeth the words of *Eupolemus*, who reporteth that *David*, among other preparations for the Temple, built a Navie in *Melanis* (or, as *Villalpandus* corrects it, *Achanis*) a city of *Arabia*, and from thence sent men to digge for gold in the Iland *Urphe*, which *Ortelius* thinks was *Ophir*, though *Eupolemus* in this place of *Eusebius* (erring perhaps in this circumstance) saith that this Iland is in the red Sea: from whence, saith this *Eupolemus*, they brought gold into *Jury*. *Pineda l.4. de Rebus Salomonis, c.1.* thinks that *David* did this way also enrich himself, and citeth this testimonie of *Eupolemus*: and yet certainly *David* had many other wayes to gather riches. Much land doubtlesse he gained by conquest from the *Canaanites* and *Philistims*, besides those fruitfull vallies neer *Jordan* in *Trachonitis* and *Basan*, and the best of *Syria*, and other countries bordering the *Israelites*. These demaines belike he kept in his own hands, and with his infinite number of captives, which he took in his warres, which were not able to redeem themselves, husbanded those grounds for his greatest advantage. For it is written, 1 *Chro.17.* that *Jehonathan* was over his treasures in the field, in the villages, in the cities, in the towns; that *Ezri* was over the labourers that tilled his ground; *Simei* over the vineyards, and *Sabdi* over the store of the wine; *Baal Hanan* over the olive trees, and *Joash* over the store of the oyle: also that he had herdsmen that had charge over his cattell, both in the high lands and in the plains, over his Sheep, Camels and Asses. And this custome of enriching themselves by husbandrie and cattell, the ancient Kings every where held, both before and after *Davids* time. For wee read of *Pharaoh*, that hee spake to *Joseph* to appoint some of his brethren, or of their servants, to be rulers over his cattell. Wee read of *Uzzia*, that he loved husbandrie, had much cattell, and plough-men, and dressers of Vines: likewise wee read it in all Greek Poets, that the wealth of the ancient Kings did specially consist in their Herds and Flocks, whereof it were needlesse to cite *Augeas* and *Admetus*, or any other for examples, the rule holding true in all. Now concerning *David* it is not unlikely, but that those captives which were not imployed in husbandrie, were many of them used by him in all sorts of gainfull professions, as the ancient Romans in like manner used their slaves.

Gen.47. 2 Chron.26.

To these profits (besides the tributes and impositions, which doubtlesse were great, and besides the innumerable presents which yearly were brought him, or extraordinarily sent him, by *Toha* and others) wee may adde the great spoiles which hee found in the Cities and Countries which hee conquered: also the head money which was gathered *per legem capitationis*; *By the law of capitation, or head money*, every man rich or poor paying half a sicle of the Sanctuary, which is about as much as fourteen pence, and so in all it amounted to a wondrous summe in that Kingdome: wherein one thousand thousand five hundred and seventie thousand fighting men were numbred by *Joab*. Now although this law of capitation bee thought by some very learned, not to have been perpetuall (which opinion of theirs nevertheless they confesse is against the Hebrew expositions) yet *David* upon this occasion is not unlikely to have put it in practise. And by these means might hee be able to leave those huge treasures to *Salomon*. Yet it may seem that of this great masse of gold and silver left by *David*, the least part was his own in private; and so will it appear the lesse wonderfull that hee left so much. Of his own liberalitie wee find, that hee gave to the building of the Temple three thousand talents of gold, and seven thousand talents of silver: a great summe, but holding a very small proportion to the other. Wherefore we are to consider, that the treasures of the Sanctuary it self were exceeding great, as needs they must have been, having received continuall encrease, without any losse or diminution ever since the time of *Moses* and *Joshuah*. The revenues of the Sanctuarie (besides all manner of tithes and oblations, which defrayed the daily expences, and maintained the Priests and Levites) were partly raised out of the head money before mentioned; partly out of the spoiles gotten in warre. For all the bootie was divided into two parts, whereof the Souldiers had one, and the people which remained at home, had the other half; whereby all the country received benefit of the victory, yet so, that the Souldiers had a farre greater proportion than the rest, as being fewer, and therefore receiving more for every single share.

1 Chron.21.

Numb. 31.27.

Out

Out of this purchase was deducted the Lords tribute, which was one in fiftie, of that which the people received, and one in five hundred, of that which was given to the Souldiers; namely, one hundred and one thousand part of the whole bootie. So in the spoil of *Midian*, thirty two thousand women being taken, the Armie had sixteen thousand of them for slaves, and the Congregation had other sixteen thousand; but out of the sixteen thousand given to the Armie, were exempted two and thirty for the Lords tribute; Out of the peoples number were taken three hundred and twenty. By this means, the lesser that the Armie was which had exposed it self to danger, the greater profit had every Souldier; but when it consisted of many hands, they who remaining at home were fain to undergoe more than ordinarie travell in domesticall affaires, did receive by so much the greater portion. But the Lords tribute was alwayes certain, yea many times it was increased, either by some speciall commandement, as when all the gold, and silver, and other metalls found in *Jerico*, were consecrated unto God; or by thankfulnesse of the Rulers and People, as when after the victorie obtained against the *Midianites* without the losse of one man, all Jewells, Bracelets, Earerings, and the like, were offered up, as voluntarie presents.

Num. 31. 40.

Jos. 6. 19.

Num. 31. 50.

Now howsoever the *Israelites* were many times oppressed, and troden down by other Nations, yet were not these treasures robbed or spoiled; for the enemies never gat possession of the Tabernacle that was in *Shilo*. Wherefore it cannot otherwise be, than that the wealth of the Sanctuarie must have been exceeding great; as containing above one hundredth part of all the money and other goods found by the *Israelites* in the whole Land of *Canaan*; and of all that was purchased by so many victories, as they obtained against the bordering Nations. For that this treasurie was not defrauded of the due portion, it is evident; seeing that before the time of *David* and his Lieutenant *Joab*, it is recorded that *Saul* and *Abner*, and before them *Samuel*, had used to dedicate of the spoiles obtained in war, to maintain the house of the Lord: the like whereof may be well presumed of the former Judges and Captains of other Ages. Certain it is, that the Conquest of *David* brought into the Land far greater abundance of riches, than any former victories had purchased, those of *Joshua* perhaps excepted: but these vast summes of an hundred thousand Talents of silver, may seem rather to have been made up, by the addition of his winnings and liberalitie, to the treasures laid up in many former Ages, than to have been the meer fruits of his own industrie.

1 Chron. c. 26. v. 27. & 28.

Now concerning the riches of *Salomon*, it is more manifest how he gathered them; for he received of yearly revenues with his tributes *666*. Talents of gold, besides the Customes of Spices. He had also six rich Returns from the East India, which greatly increased his store. For his ships performed that voyage every three years, and he began that trade in the two and twentieth year of his reigne, and ruled fortie years. Besides this, all *Judæa* and *Israel* were now mastered to his hands; all the *Arabians* his borderers, the *Syrians* of *Zobah*, of *Damascena*, of *Palmyrena*, of *Ituræa*; all of *Idumæa*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, paid him tribute; as likewise did the *Hittites*, who with the *Perizites*, *Hivites*, *Jebusites*, and other races of the *Canaanites*, were not as yet extinguished, though subjected.

A Talent of gold is 770. french crowns. 1 King. 10. 14.

1 King. c. 9. v. 20. & 10. v. 29.

Into this flourishing estate was the Kingdome of *Israel* reduced by *David*, who after 40. years reign, and 70. years of life, dyed in a good age, full of daies, riches, & honour, and was buried in the Citie of *David*. It is written by *Josephus* that there was hid in *Davids* Tombe a marvellous quantitie of treasures, insomuch as *Hyrcanus* (who first of the *Chasmanæi*, or race of *Macchabees*, called himself King) one thousand and three hundred years after, drew thence three thousand Talents, to rid himself of *Antiochus* then besieging *Jerusalem*; & afterward *Herod* opening another Cell, had also an exceeding masse of gold and silver therin. And it was an antient custome to burie treasure with the dead. So the *Peruvians* and other *Americans* did the like, which being discovered by the *Spaniards*, they inriched themselves by nothing so much in their first Conquest. That *Salomon* did burie so much treasure in his fathers grave, it would hardly be believed, in regard of the great exactions with which hee was fain to burthen the people, notwithstanding all the riches which hee got otherwise, or which were left unto him: were it notwithall considered that his want of money grew from such magnificent imployments. Particularly of the Sepulchre of *David* the Scriptures have no mention, but onely the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Juda*, as of an honourable place of buriall. Yet the

1 Chro. 29. 28.

Joseph. Ant. lib 7.

Monuments

Peregrinat. Hierosol. D.N. Ch. Radz. Epist. 2.

Monuments of these Kings, as (by relation of the Duke of *Ulica*) they remained within these thirty years, and are like to remain still, are able to make report credible of the cost bestowed upon them.

§. X.

Of the Philistims, whom David *absolutely mastered: and of sundry other contemporaries with* David.

OF the *Philistims*, whose pride *David* was the first that absolutely mastered, in this conclusion of *David*'s time somewhat here may be spoken.

Iud. l. 9. 19. Ios. l. 1. Ant. 17

They descended of *Casloim*, who, according to *Isidor* and *Iosephus*, was one of the sonnes of *Misraim*, and was surnamed *Philistim*, as *Esau* was surnamed *Edom*, and *Iacob Israel*. There were of them five Cities or pettie principalities, namely, *Azotus* or *Asdod*, *Gaza* or *Aczaph*, *Ascalon*, *Geth* or *Gath*, and *Accaron*. It seemeth that *Casloim* was the first founder of this Nation, because of his kindred on either hand, the Canaanites and the *Egyptians*.

1 Sam. 6.

Gen. 20.

The first King of these *Philistims*, which the Scriptures have named, was that *Abimelech* which loved *Sara*, *Abrahams* wife.

Gen. 26.

The second *Abimelech* lived at once with *Isaac*, to whom *Isaac* repaired in the time of famine, *Abimelech* then residing at *Gerar*, in the border of *Idumæa*; which *Abimelech* fancied *Isaac* his wife, as his father had done *Sara*.

Iud. 16. 1 Sam. 18, 19. 1 Sam. 21, 11. 1 King. 2.

After *Abimelech* the second, the *Philistims* Kings are not remembred in the Scriptures, till *David*'s time: perhaps the government was turned into *Aristocratical*. For they are afterwards named Princes of the *Philistims*, howsoever *Achis* be named King of *Gath*, the same to whom *David* fled, and who again gave him *Siklag* to inhabit in *Sauls* time.

After him we read of another *Achis* who lived with *Salomon*, to whom *Shimei* travelled to fetch back his fugitive servant, what time the seeking of his servant was the losse of his life. *Jeremie* the Prophet speaketh of the Kings of *Palæstin* or *Philistim*. *Amos* nameth the King of *Ascalon*: *Zacharias*, a King of *Gaza*. The rest of the wars of the *Philistims* are remembred in the Catalogue of the *Iudges*, of *Saul* and *David*, and therefore I shall not need to collect the particulars in this place.

There lived at once with *David*, the third of the *Silvii* King of *Alba*, called *Latinus Silvius*, who is said to have ruled that part of *Italy* fifty years. And about his fourteenth year *Codrus* the last King of the *Athenians* died, to whom succeeded the first Prince of those, who being called after *Medon*, *Medontidæ*, without regall name governed *Athens* during their life.

The reasons which moved the *Athenians* to change their government, were not drawn from any inconvenience found in the rule of soveraignty, but in honour of *Codrus* only. For when the *Græcians* of *Doris*, a region between *Phocis*, & the mountain of *Oeta*, sought counsell from the Oracle, for their successe in the warres against the *Athenians*, it was answered, that then undoubtedly they should prevail and become Lords of that State, when they could obtain any victory against the Nation, and yet preserve the *Athenian* King living. *Codrus* by some intelligence being informed of this answer, withdrew himself from his own forces, and putting on the habit of a common souldier, entred the Camp of the *Dorians*, and killing the first hee encountred, was himselfe forthwith cut in pieces.

Eupales the 31. King of *Assyria*, which others account but the 30. began to rule that Empire, about the 13. year of *David*, and held it 38. years.

Neer the same time began *Ixion* the second King of the *Heraclidæ*, the sonne of *Euristhenes* in *Corinth*; and *Agis* the second of the *Heraclidæ* in *Lacedæmon*: in honour of which *Agis*, his successours were called *Agidæ*, for many years after. Hee restored the *Laconians* to their former libertie: he overcame the Citizens of *Helos* in *Laconia*, who had refused to pay him tribute: he condemned them and theirs to perpetuall slaverie; whereof it came, that all the *Messenians*, whom at length they brought into the like bondage, were after call *Helots*.

In like sort from the *Sclavi* came the world *Slave*. For when that Nation issuing out of *Sarmatia*, now called *Russia*, had seized upon the country of *Illyria*, & made it their own by conquest, their victory pleased them so highly, that thereupon they called themselves by

by a new name, *Slavos*, which is in their language *Glorious*. But in after times (that warmer Climate having thawed their northern hardineſs, and not ripened their wits) when they were trodden down, and made ſervants with their neighbours, the *Italians* which kept many of them in bondage, began to call all their bondmen *Slaves*, uſing the word as a name of reproach: in which ſenſe it is now current through many countries.

Other Chronologers make this *Agis*, the third King of *Sparta*, and ſomewhat later, about the 23. year of *David*, and ſay, that *Acheſtratus* was the fourth King of this race, the ſame whom *Euſebius* calls *Labotes*, and ſets him in the thirteenth year of *Salomon*. *Euſeb. in Chron.*

In the tenth year of *Acheſtratus*, *Androclus* the third ſonne of *Codrus*, aſſiſted by the *Iones*, built *Epheſus* in *Caria*, who after the adjoyning of the Ile of *Samos* to his territorie, was ſlain by the *Carians*, whoſe countrie he uſurped. He was buried (ſaith *Pauſanias*) in one of the gates of *Epheſus* called *Magnetes*, his armed Statua being ſet over him. *Strabo* reports that after *Androclus* had ſubdued the *Ionians* (the next province to *Epheſus* on the ſea coaſt of *Aſia* the leſſe) he inlarged his Dominions upon the *Æoles*, which joyneth to *Ionia*: and that his poſteritie governed the Cities of *Epheſus* and *Erythræ* by the name of *Baſilidæ* in *Strabo* his own time. Of the expedition of the *Iones* how they came hither out of *Peloponneſus*, I have * ſpoken already upon occaſion of the return of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponneſus*, wherein, with the *Dores*, they expelled the *Achai*, and inhabited their places in that land: though this of the *Iones* ſucceeded that of the *Heraclidæ* 100. years.

The East gate of *Epheſus* toward *Magneſia* upon the river *Mæander*.

Ariſt. l. 5. pol. c. 6.

*See §. in this 17. ch. 9. 1. poſt medium.

The Citie of *Epheſus* became exceeding famous: firſt, for the Temple of *Diana* therein built, which had in length 425. foot, and 220. in breadth, ſuſtained with 127. pillars of marble, of 70. foot high: whereof 27. were moſt curiouſly graven, and all the reſt of choice marble poliſht, the work being firſt ſet out by *Cteſiphon* of *Gnoſſos*. Secondly, it became renowned by being one of the firſt that received the Chriſtian faith, of which *Timothy* was Biſhop; to whom, and to the *Epheſians*, Saint *Paul* wrote his Epiſtles ſo intituled. The other City poſſeſt by *Androclus* in *Æolis*, was alſo univerſally ſpoken of by reaſon of *Sibylla*, ſurnamed *Erythræa*, who lived 740. years before Chriſt was born. S. *Auguſtine* avoweth that a Roman Proconſul ſhewed him in an antient *Greek* copie certain verſes of this Propheteſſe, which began (as S. *Auguſtine* changed them into Latine) in theſe words: *Jeſus Chriſtus Dei Filius, Salvator*; *Jeſus Chriſt Son of God, the Saviour*. *Plin. l. 2. c. 58. & l. 7. c. 37.*

About the time that *Joab* beſieged *Rabba* in *Moab*, *Vaphres* began to govern in *Egypt*, the ſame that was father in law to *Salomon*, whoſe Epiſtles to *Salomon*, and his to *Vaphres*, are remembred by *Euſebius* out of *Polemon*. In the 21. of *David*, was the City of *Magneſia* in *Aſia* the leſſe founded, the ſame which is ſeated upon the river *Mæander*, where *Scipio* gave the great overthrow to *Antiochus*. In this territorie are the beſt horſes of the leſſer *Aſia* bred, whereof *Lucan*:

Et Magnetis equis, Minyæ gens cognita remis.

About the ſame time *Cuma* in *Campania* was built by the Inhabitants of *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, according to *Servius*, with whom *Strabo* joyneth the *Cumæans* of *Æolis*, ſaying, that to the one of theſe people the government was given, with condition that the other ſhould give name to the Citie. Of this *Cuma* was *Ephores* the famous ſcholar of *Iſocrates*. *Serv. in Aenid. 3. Strabo. l. 5.*

Euſebius and *Caſſiodor* find the building of *Carthage* at this time, to wit, in the 31. year of *David*, but much miſtaken. For the father of *Dido* was *Metinos* the ſon of *Badezor*, brother to *Jezabel*, who married *Achab* King of *Iſrael*; and between the death of *David*, and the firſt of *Achab*, there were waſted about 95. years.

In this time alſo *Acaſtus* lived, the ſecond of the *Athenian* Princes after *Codrus*, of which there were thirteen in deſcent before the State changed into a Magiſtracie of ten years. Some writers make it probable, that the *Æolians*, led by *Graus*, the grand nephew of *Oreſtes*, poſſeſt the Citie and Iland of *Thebes* about this time. In the 32. year of *David*, *Hiram* began to reign in *Tyre*, according to *Joſephus*, who ſaith that in his twelfth year *Salomon* began the work of the Temple. But it is a familiar errour in *Joſephus*, to miſreckon times, which in this point he doth ſo ſtrangely, as if hee knew not how at all to caſt any accompt. For it is manifeſt, that *Hiram* ſent Meſſengers, and Cedars unto *David*, ſoon after his taking of *Jeruſalem*, which was in the very beginning of *Davids* reigne over *Iſrael*, when as yet hee had reigned onely ſeven years in *Hebron* over the houſe of *Juda*. Wherefore it muſt needs be that *Hiram* had reigned above 30. *Euſeb. in Chron. Herod. in vit. Hom. & Strab. l. 14.* *Ant. 8. & cont. Ap. l. 1.* *2 Sam. 5.*

years before *Salomon*; unlesse more credit should bee given to those *Tyrian* records which are cited by *Josephus*, than to the plain words of Scripture contradicting them. For, that it was the same *Hiram* which lived both with *David* and with *Salomon*, the Scriptures make it plainly manifest.

CHAP. XVIII.
Of SALOMON.

§. I.

Of the establishing of Salomon: *of birth-right, and the cause of* Adonijah's *death, and of* Salomons *wisedome.*

SALOMON, who was brought up under the Prophet *Nathan*, began to reign over *Juda* and *Israel*, in the year of the World 2991. He was called *Salomon* by the appointment of God: hee was also called *Jediddia*, or *Theophilus*, by *Nathan*, because the Lord loved him.

Hiram King of *Tyre*, after *Salomons* anointing, dispatched Embassadors towards him, congratulating his establishment: a custome between Princes very ancient. Whence we read that *David* did in
1 Sam. 10. like sort salute *Hanum* King of the *Ammonites*, after his obtaining the Kingdome.

The beginning of *Salomon* was in blood, though his reign were peaceable. For soon after *Davids* death, he caused his brother *Adonijah* to be slain by *Benaiah* the sonne of *Jehojada*, taking occasion from *Adonijah* his desiring by *Bersheba*, that the young maid *Abishag* (which lay in *Davids* bosome in his latter dayes, to keep him warm) might be given to him. Whatsoever he pretended, it was enough that *Adonijah* was his elder brother, and sought the Kingdome contrary to the will of *David*, whom God enclined towards *Salomon*. And yet it is said that a word is enough to the wise, and he that sees but the claw may know whether it be a Lion or no: so it may seem that to the quick-sighted wisedome of *Salomon*, this motion of *Adonijahs*, was a demonstration of a new treason. For they which had been Concubines to a King, might not after be touched but by
1 Sam 16. 21. a King: whence *Achitophel* wished *Absalom* to take his fathers Concubines as a part of the Royaltie. And *David* after that wrong, determing to touch them no more, did not give them to any other, but shut them up, and they remained widowed untill their
2 Sam. 2. 3. death. And this it seems was the depth of *Isbosheths* quarrell against *Abner*, for having his fathers Concubine. And some signification of this custome may seem too in the words of God by *Nathan* to *David*; *I have given thee thy Masters house, and thy Masters wives*. And in the words of *Saul* upbraiding *Jonathan*, that he had chosen *David* to the
1 Sam. 20. 30. shame of the nakednesse of his Mother. Hereupon perhaps was some reference to this purpose of *Adonijah*, to marry with her that was alwaies present with *David* in his latter daies, and who belike knew all that was past, for the conveying of the Kingdome to *Salomon*. There may be divers further occasions; as either that hee would learn such things by her as might be for the advantage of his ambition, or that he would perswade her to forge some strange tale about *Davids* last Testament, or any thing else that might prejudice the title of *Salomon*.

1 King. 2. 15. As for the right of an elder brother which *Adonijah* pretended, though generally it agreed both with the law of Nations, & with the customes of the Jewes: yet the kings of
Deuter. 21. 15. *Filium exosæ agnoscito, dando ei portionem duorum: nam ipse primus est jus primogenitorum.* the Jewes were so absolute, as they did therin, & in all else, what they pleased. Some examples also they had (though not of Kings) which taught them to use this paternall authority in transferring the birth-right to a younger son: namely of *Jacobs* disheriting *Ruben*, and giving the birth-right (which was twice as much as any portion of the other brethren) to *Joseph*: of whom he made two tribes. And that it was generally acknowledged that this power was in *David*, it appeareth by the words of *Bersabe* and *Nathan* to *David*, and of *Jonathan* to *Adonijah*. For, as for popular election, that it was necessary to confirme, or that the refusall of the people had authority to frustrate the
1 Reg. 1. 17. & 20. 29. & 34. 1 King. 1. 1. v. 20. & 27.

elder

elder brothers right to the Kingdome, it now here appears in the stories of the *Jewes*. It is said indeed that the people made *Saul* King at *Galgal*: that is, they acknowledged and established him. For that he was King long before, no man can doubt, In like manner else-where the phrase of choosing or making their King, is to be expounded: as where in the prohibition, that they should not make themselves a King, it is said, *Thou shalt make him King whom the Lord shall chuse.* 1 Sam. 11.14. Deut. 17.30.

But to proceed with the acts of *Salomon*: at the same time that hee put *Adonijah* to death, he rid himself also of *Joab*, and three years after of *Shimei*, as *David* had advised him: he displaced also the Priest *Abiathar*, who took part with *Adonijah* against him: but in respect of his office, and that he followed *David* in all his afflictions, and because he had born the *Ark of God* before his Father, he spared his life. And thus being established in his Kingdome, hee tooke the daughter of *Vaphres* King of *Egypt* to Wife: for so *Eusebius* out of *Eupolemus* calls him. He offered a thousand sacrifices at *Gibeon*, where God appearing unto him in a dream, bade him ask what he would at his hands; *Salomon chooseth Wisedome, which pleased God. And God said unto him, Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thy self long life, neither hast thou asked riches for thy self, nor hast asked the life of thine enemies, behold, I have done according to thy words:* by which wee may informe our selves, what desires are most pleasing to God, and what not. For the coveting after long life in respect of our selves, cannot but proceed of self-love, which is the root of all impiety: the desire of private riches is an affection of covetousnesse, which God abhorreth; to affect revenge, is as much as to take the sword out of Gods hand, and to distrust his justice. And in that it pleased God to make *Salomon* know that it liked him, that he had not asked the life of his enemies, it could not but put him in mind of his brothers slaughter, for which he had not any warrant either from *David*, or from the Law of God; but because *Salomon* desired wisedome onely, which taught him both to obey God, and to rule men, it pleased God to give him withall that which he desired not. *And I have also given thee* (saith God) *that which thou hast not asked, both riches and honour.* This gift of Wisedome our Commentators stretch to almost all kindes of learning: but that it comprehended the knowledge of the nature of plants and living creatures, the Scripture testifieth; though no doubt the chief excellencie of *Salomons* wisedome, was in the knowledge of governing his Kingdome: whence, as it were for an example of his wisedome, the Scripture telleth how soon he judged the controversie between the two harlots. 1 King. 2. 1 King. 4.33. 1 King. 3.9.

§. II.

of Salomons *building and glorie.*

HEe then entred into league with *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, from whom he had much of his materials for the Kings Palace and the Temple of God: for the building whereof he had received a double charge, one from his father *David*, and another from God. For like as it is written of *David*, that *He called* Salomon *his sonne, and charged him to build a house for the Lord of Israel:* so doth *Tostatus* give the force of a divine precept to these words, *Behold, a son is born unto thee, &c. He shall build an house for my Name.* 1 Chr. 22.6. Tost. 9.26. in 1 Chron.

He began the work of the Temple in the beginning of the fourth year of his reign, at which time also he prepared his fleet at *Estongabar* to trade for gold in the East *Indies*, that nothing might be wanting to supply the charge of so great a work. For, that the Temple was in building, while his fleets were passing to and fro, it is manifest. For the pillars of the Temple were made of the Almaggim trees brought from *Ophir*. Of this most glorious building, of all the particulars (whereof the form and example was given by God himself) many learned men have written; as *Salmeron*, *Montanus*, *Ribera*, *Barradas*, *Azorius*, *Villalpandus*, *pineda*, and others, to whom I refer the Reader. 1 King. 6. 1 Chr. 28.19.

For the cutting and squaring of the Cedars which served that building, *Salomon* employed 30. thousand Carpenters, 10. thousand every month by course: he also used 80. thousand Masons in the mountain, and 70. thousand labourers that bare burdens, which it is conceived, he selected out of the Proselites, besides three thousand three hundred masters of his work; so as he paid and employed in all, one hundred eighty three thousand and three hundred men; in which number the *Sidonians*, which were farre more skilfull 1 King. 5.

skilfull in hewing timber than the *Israelites*, may (as I think) be included. For *Hiram* caused his servants to bring down the Cedars and Firres from *Libanon* to the sea, and
1 King. 5. 9. thence sent them in raffes to *Joppe*, or the next port to *Jerusalem*. For in the second of *Chronicles* the second Chapter, it is plain, that all but the thirty thousand Carpenters, and the over-seers, were strangers, and as it seemeth the vassals of *Hiram*, and of *Vaphres*
1 King. 5. 11 King of *Egypt*. In recompence of all this timber and stone, *Salomon* gave *Hiram* twenty thousand measures of wheat, and twenty measures of pure oyle yearly. *Eusebius* out of *Eupolemus* in the ninth book of his preparation, the last Chapter, hath left us a Copie of *Salomons* Letter to *Suron* (which was the same as *Huram* and *Hiram*) King of *Tyre*, in these words:

REx Salomon Suroni, *Tyri, Sydonis, atque Phœniciæ regi, Amico paterno salutem. Scias me à Deo magno* David *patris mei regnum accepisse, eumque mihi pater præcepit templum Deo, qui terram creavit, condere, ut etiam ad te scriberem præcepit: Scribo igitur, & peto à te ut artifices atque fabros ad ædificandum Templum Dei mittere velis.*

KIng Salomon *to King* Suron, *of Tyre, Sydon, & Phœnicia King, & my fathers friend, sendeth greeting. You may understand that I have received of the great God of my father* David, *the Kingdome: and when my father commanded me to build a Temple to God which created heaven and earth, he commanded also that I should write to you: I write therefore to you, and beseech you, that you would be pleased to send me Artificers and Carpenters to build the Temple of God.*

To which the King *Suron* made this answer.

SUron, Tyri, Sydonis, & Phœniciæ Rex, Salomoni *Regi salutem. Lectis literis, grátias egi Deo, qui tibi regnum patris tradidit: & quoniam scribis fabros, ministrosq; ad condendum Templum esse tibi mittendos, misi ad te millia hominum octaginta, & Architectum Tyrium hominem ex matre Judæa, virum in rebus architecturæ mirabilem. Curabis igitur ut necessariis non egeant, & Templo Dei condito, ad nos redeant.*

SUron of Tyre, Sydon and Phœnicia King, to King Salomon *greeting: When I read your Letters, I gave God thanks who hath installed you in your fathers kingdome. And because you write that Carpenters and Workmen may be sent to build Gods Temple, I have sent you fourscore thousand men, and a Master-builder, a Tyrian, born of a Jewish woman, a man admirable in building. You will be carefull that all necessaries be provided for them,*
Jos. ant. l. 8. c. 2 and when the Temple of God is built, that they come home to us.

The Copies of these Letters were extant in *Josephus* time, as himself affirmeth, and to be seen (saith he) *Tàm in nostris quàm in Tyriorum annalibus, as well in our own, as in the Tyrian annals.* But he delivereth them somewhat in different termes, as the Reader may find in his Antiquities. But were this intercourse between *Salomon* and *Hiram* either by message or by writing, it is somewhat otherwise delivered in the Scriptures, than either *Eupolemus* or *Josephus* set it down, but so, that in substance there is little difference
1 King. 5. from the 7. v. to the 9. between the one and the other.

The like Letter in effect *Salomon* is said to have written to *Vaphres* King of *Egypt*, and was answered as from *Hiram*.

But whereas some Commenters upon *Salomon*, find that *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, and *Vaphres* King of *Egypt*, gave *Salomon* the title of *Rex magnus*, and cite *Eupolemon* in *Eusebius*, I do not find any such addition of *magnus* in *Eusebius*, in the last chapter of that ninth book; neither is it in *Josephus* in the eighth book and second chapter of the Jewes Antiquities: it being a vain title used by some of the *Assyrian* and *Persian* Kings, and used likewise by the *Parthians*, and many other after them, insomuch as in later times it grew common, and was usurped by mean persons in respect of the great *Hermes* the first, which was honoured by that name for his noble qualities, as much or more than for his mightinesse.

After the finishing and dedication of the Temple and house of the Lord, *Salomon* fortified *Jerusalem* with a treble wall, and repaired *Hazor* which had been the ancient
Jos. ant. l. 8. c. 2 Metropolis of the *Canaanites*, before *Joshua's* time: so did he *Gaza* of the *Philistims*: he built *Berothon*, *Gerar*, and the *Millo* or munition of *Jerusalem*. For *Pharaoh* (as it seemeth

in

in favour of *Salomon*) came up into the edge of *Ephraim*, and took *Gerar*, which place the *Canaanites* yet held, and put them to the ſword, and burnt their Citie. The place and Territory he gave *Salomons* wife for a dowrie. And it is probable, that becauſe *Salomon* was then buſied in his magnificent buildings, and could not attend the war, that he entreated his father in law to rid him of theſe neighbours, which *Pharaoh* performed. But hee thereby taught the *Egyptians* to viſit thoſe parts again before they were ſent for; and in his ſon *Rehoboams* time *Sheſhack* this mans ſucceſſor did ſack *Jeruſalem* it ſelfe.

Salomon alſo built *Megiddo* in *Manaſſe*, on this ſide *Jordan*, and *Balah* in *Dan*: alſo *Thadmor*, which may be either *Ptolomies Thamoron* in the deſart of *Juda*, or (as *Joſephus* thinks) *Palmira* in the deſart of *Syria*; which *Palmyra*, becauſe it ſtood on the utmoſt border of *Salomons* dominion to the northeaſt of *Libanus*, and was of *Davids* conqueſt when he wan *Damaſcus*, it may ſeem that *Salomon* therefore beſtowed thereon the moſt coſt, and fortified it with the beſt Art that that age had. *Joſephus* calls this place *Thadamora*, by which name (ſaith he) given by *Salomon*, the *Syrians* as yet call it. *Hierom* in his book of Hebrew places, calls it *Thermeth*. In after-times, when it was rebuilt by *Adrian* the Emperour, it was honoured with his name, and called *Adrianopolis*. In reſpect of this great charge of building, *Salomon* raiſed tribute through all his Dominions, beſides an hundred and twenty talents of gold received from *Hirams* ſervants; *Salomon* offered *Hiram* twenty towns in or neer the upper *Galilee*, but becauſe they ſtood in an unfruitfull and mariſh ground, *Hiram* refuſed them, and therefore was the territory called *Chabul*.

Joſ. l. 8. ant. c. 2.

Joſ. l. 8. ant. c. 3.

Theſe towns, as it is ſuppoſed, lay in *Galilee* of the Gentiles, *Non quod Gentes ibi habitarent: ſed quia ſub ditione regis Gentilis erat*, *Not that it was poſſeſt by the Gentiles* (ſaith *Nauclerus*) *but becauſe it was under the rule of a King that was a Gentile*. Howſoever it were, it is true that *Salomon* in the 21. year fortified thoſe places which *Hiram* refuſed. Further, he made a journey into *Syria Zobah*, and eſtabliſhed his tributes; the firſt & laſt warre (if in that expedition he were driven to fight) that he made in perſon in all his life. Hee then viſited the border of all his Dominions, paſſing from *Thadmor* to the North of *Palmyrena*, and ſo to the Deſarts of *Idumæa*, from whence he viſited *Eziongaber* and *Eloth* the uttermoſt place of the South of all his Territories, bordering to the red ſea: which Cities I have deſcribed in the Story of *Moſes*.

§. III.

Of Salomons *ſending to Ophir, and of ſome ſeeming contradictions about* Salomons *riches, and of* Pineda's *conceit of two ſtrange paſſages about Affrick.*

HEre *Salomon* prepared his Fleet of ſhips for *India*, with whom *Hiram* joyned in that voyage, and furniſhed him with Mariners and Pilots, the *Tyrians* being of all other the moſt expert ſeamen. From this part of *Arabia* which at this time belonged to *Edom*, and was conquered by *David*, did the Fleet paſſe to the *Eaſt-India*, which was not farre off, namely, to *Ophir*, one of the Iſlands of the *Molucca's*, a place exceeding rich in gold: witneſſe the *Spaniards*, who notwithſtanding all the abundance which they gather in *Peru*, doe yet plant in thoſe Iſlands of the Eaſt at *Manilia*, and recover a great quantity from thence, and with leſſe labour than they do in any one part of *Peru*, or new *Spain*.

The return which was made by theſe Ships amounted to four hundred and twenty talents, but in the ſecond of *Chronicles* the eighth, it is written 450. talents: whereof 30. talents went in expence for the charge of the Fleet, and wages of men; and 420. talents, which makes five and twenty hundred and twenty thouſand Crowns, came cleer. And thus muſt thoſe two places be reconciled. As for the place 1 *Reg.* 10. 14. which ſpeaketh of ſix hundred ſixty and ſix talents of gold; that ſumme, as I take it, is of other receipts of *Salomons* which were yearly, and which came to him, beſides thoſe profits from *Ophir*.

My opinion of the land of *Ophir*, that it is not *Peru* in *America* (as divers have thought) but a Countrey in the *Eaſt-Indies*; with ſome reaſon why at thoſe times they could not make more ſpeedy return to *Jeruſalem* from the *Eaſt-Indies*, than in three years; and that *Tharſis* in Scripture is divers times taken for the Ocean, hath been already declared in the firſt book.

c. 8. §. 9. 10. 13 lib. 4. de rebus Salomonis c. 8. & 15.

Only it remaineth that I should speak somewhat of *Pineda* his strange conceits, who being a Spaniard of *Bætica*, would fain have *Gades* or *Calis-malis*, in old times called *Tartessus*, which is the Southwest corner of that Province, to bee the *Tharsis* from whence *Salomon* fetcht his gold; for no other reason, as it seems, but for love of his own Countrey, and because of some affinity of sound between *Tharsis* and *Tartessus*. For whereas it may seem strange that it should be three years ere they that took ship in the Red sea, should return from the *East-Indies* to *Jerusalem*, this hath been in part answered already. And further the intelligent may conceive of sundry lets, in the digging and refining of the metall, and in their other traffick, and in their land-carriages between *Jerusalem* and the Red sea, and perhaps also else-where: so that wee have no need to make *Salomons* men to goe many thousand miles out of their way to *Gades*, round about all *Africk*, that so they might be long a comming home.

For the direct way to *Gades* (which if *Salomon* and the *Israelites* knew not, the *Tyrians* which went with them could not have been ignorant of) was along the Mediterran sea, and so (besides many wonderfull inconveniences, and terrible navigation in rounding *Africa*) they should have escaped the troublesome land-carriage between *Jerusalem*, and the Red sea, through dry, desart, and the theevish Countreys: and within 30. mile of *Jerusalem* at *Joppe*, or some other haven in *Salomons* own Country, have laden and unladen their ships.

But this direct course they could not hold (saith *Pineda*) because the huge Island of *Atlantis*, in largenesse greater than all *Africk* and *Asia*, being swallowed up in the *Atlantick* Ocean, hindred *Salomons* ships from passing through the straits of *Gibraltar*: for this hee allegeth *Plato* in *Timæo*. But that this calamity happened about *Salomons* time, or that thereby the straits of *Gades* were filled with mud, and made unpassable, that there could be no comming to *Gades* by the Mediterran sea; or that this indraught where the sea runneth most violently, and most easily scoureth his channell, should be filled with mud, and not also the great Ocean in like manner, where this huge Iland is supposed to have stood; or that *Salomons* ships being in the Red sea, should neglect the golden Mines in the *East-Indies* (which were infinitely better and neerer to the Red sea, than any in *Spain*) to seek gold at *Cadyz* by the way of compassing *Africa*; it is most ridiculous to imagine. For the Spaniard himself that hath also the rich *Peru* in the West, fortifieth in the *East-Indies*, and inhabites some part thereof, as in *Manilia*, finding in those parts no lesse quantity of gold (the small territory which hee there possesseth considered) than in *Peru*.

De rebus Sal. l. 4. 10. 11. As appears he took a ship at *Japho* or *Joppe. c. 1. v. 2.*

The same *Pineda* hath another strange passage round about all *Africa*, which elsewhere he dreams of: supposing whereas *Jonas* sailing to *Tharsis* the City of *Cilicia*, was cast out in the Mediterran sea, and taken up there by a Whale, that this Whale in three dayes swimming above twelve thousand English miles along the Mediterran seas, and so through the straights of *Gades*, and along all the huge seas round about *Africa*, cast up *Jonas* upon the shore of the Red sea, that so he might have perhaps some six miles the shorter (though much the worse) way to *Ninive*. This conceit hee grounds onely upon the ambiguity of the word *Suph*, which oftentimes is an Epitheton of the Red sea (as if we should call it *mare algosum, the sea full of weeds*) for the Red sea. But in *Jonas c. 2. 5.* it is generally taken in the proper signification for weeds, and not as *Pineda* would have it, who in this place against his own rule (which elsewhere he giveth us) supposeth strange miracles without any need. For this long voyage of the Whale, finished in three dayes, is a greater miracle, than the very preservation of *Jonas* in the belly of the Whale: and therefore seeing there is no necessity of this miracle, we send it back unto him, keeping his own rule, which in this place he forgets; *Miracula non sunt multiplicanda*. And again, *Non sunt miracula gratis danda, nec pro arbitrio nova fingenda. Miracles are not to be multiplied without necessitie, nor delivered without cause, nor feigned at pleasure*. Therfore we leave this man in his dreams, which (were he not otherwise very learned and judicious) might be thought unworthy the mentioning. But to proceed with our storie of *Salomon*.

Ing. F.

The Queen of *Saba's* comming from farre to *Salomon*, (as seems, from *Arabia Fœlix*, & not, as some think, from *Ethiopia*) and her rich presents, and *Salomons* reciprocall magnificence, and his resolving of her difficult questions; those are set down at large in the Text. But herein *Josephus* is greatly mistaken, who calls this Queen of *Saba*

Nicaules,

Nicaules, the ſucceſſor (ſaith he out of *Herodotus*) of thoſe thirty and eight *Egyptian* Kings which ſucceeded *Menes* the founder of *Memphis*; adding, that after this *Egyptian*, and the father in law of *Salomon*, the name of *Pharaoh* was left off in *Egypt*. For as it is elſe-where proved that the Queen was of *Arabia*, not of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*; ſo were there other *Pharaohs* after the father in law of *Salomon*. Yea, above three hundred years after *Salomon*, *Pharaoh Necho* ſlew *Joſias* King of *Juda*. *Joſ. ant. 8. 1, 3.* 2 *King. c. 23.* 2 *Chron. c. 25.* *Jer. c. 46. v. 2.*

It is alſo written of *Salomon*, that he kept in garriſons fourteen thouſand Chariots, and twelve thouſand horſemen; that he ſpent in Court every day thirty meaſures of fine flower, three ſcore meaſures of wheat, one hundred ſheep, beſides ſtags and fallow Deer, bugles and fowle; four thouſand ſtalls of horſes he had for his Chariots and other uſes, and for the twelve thouſand horſemen of his guard. For, the ten thouſand ſtalls in the firſt of *Kings* the fourth, are to be taken but for ſo many horſes, whence in the ſecond of *Chronicles* the ninth, it is written but four thouſand ſtalls or teems, and in every teeme ten horſes, as *Junius* and the *Geneva* underſtand it. He was ſaid to be wiſer than any men, yea than were *Ethan* the *Ezrahite*, than *Heman*, *Chalcal*, or than *Darda*; to which *Junius* addeth a fift, to wit, *Ezrack*. For the *Geneva* maketh *Ethan* an *Ezrahite* by Nation. *Joſephus* writes them, *Athan*, *Æman*, *Chalceus* and *Donan* the ſons of *Hemon*. Hee ſpake three thouſand Proverbs, and his ſongs were one thouſand and five, whereof either the moſt part periſhed in the Captivity of *Babylon*, or elſe becauſe many acts of *Salomons* were written and kept among the publick Records of Civill cauſes, and not Eccleſiaſticall, therefore they were not thought neceſſary to bee inſerted into Gods Book. 1 *King. 4. 32.*

§. IIII.

Of the fall of Salomon, *and how long he lived.*

NOw as he had plenty of all other things, ſo had hee no ſcarcity of women. For beſides his ſeven hundred Wives, hee kept three hundred Concubines, and (forgetting that God had commanded that none of his people ſhould accompany the daughters of Idolaters) he took Wives out of *Egypt*, *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Zidon* and *Heth*: and when he fell a doting, his Wives turned his heart after other gods, as *Aſteroth* of the *Zidonians*, *Milcom* or *Molech* of the *Ammonites*, and *Chemoſh* of *Moab*.

Theſe things God puniſhed by *Adad* of *Idumæa*, *Rezin* of *Damaſcus*, and by *Jeroboam* his own ſervant, and one of the maſters of his works, who by the ordinance of God tare from his ſon *Roboam*, ten of the twelve parts of all the territorie he had. *Deus dum in peccatores animadvertit, aliorum peccatis utitur, quæ ipſe non fecit*: God puniſhing ſinners, uſeth the ſins of others, which he himſelf wrought not. *P. Mart. in reg.*

In the reign of *Salomon* (as in times of long peace) were few memorable actions by him performed, excepting his buildings with other workes of magnificence, and that great *Indian* voyage already mentioned. Fortie years he reigned; how many he lived, it is not written, and muſt therefore be found only by conjecture. The moſt likely way to gheſſe at the truth in this caſe is, by conſidering the actions of *David* before and after *Salomons* birth, whereby we may beſt make eſtimation of the years which they conſumed, and conſequently learn the true, or moſt likely year of his nativity. Seven years *David* reigned in *Hebron*: in his eighth year hee took *Jeruſalem*, and warred with the *Philiſtims*, who alſo troubled him in the year following. The bringing home of the Ark ſeems to have been in the tenth year of *David*, and his intention to build the Temple in the year enſuing, at which time hee had ſufficient leiſure, living in reſt. After this he had warres with the *Philiſtims*, *Moabites*, *Aramites*, and *Edomites*, which muſt needs have held him five years, conſidering the *Aramites* of *Damaſco* raiſed warre againſt him, after ſuch time as hee had beaten *Hadadezar*; and that in every of theſe warres, he had the entire victory. Neither is it likely, that theſe ſervices occupied any longer time, becauſe in thoſe dayes and places there were no wintering camps in uſe, but at convenient ſeaſons of the year Kings went forth to warre, diſpatching all with violence, rather than with temporizing; as maintaining their Armies, partly upon the ſpoyle of the enemies country, partly upon the private proviſion which every ſouldier made for himſelf. The 17. year of *David*, in which he took *Mephiboſheth* the ſon of 2 *King. 7. v. 1.* 2 *Sam. c. 11. v. 1.* 1 *Sam. c. 17. v. 17. & 18.*

of *Jonathan* into his Court, appeareth to have passed away in quiet; and the year following to have begun the warre with *Ammon*; but somewhat late in the end of Summer perhaps, it came to tryall of a battell (for *Joab* after the victorie, returned immediately to *Jerusalem*) the causes and preparations for that warre, taking up all the Summer. *Davids* personall expedition against the *Aramites*, wherein he brought all the tributaries of *Adadezer* under his own allegeance, appears manifestly to have been the next years work, wherein he did cut off all means of succour from the *Ammonites*; all *Syria*, *Moab*, and *Idumæa* being now at his own devotion. By this reckoning it must have been the 20. year of *Davids* reign, and about the fiftieth of his life, in which hee sent forth *Joab* to besiege *Rabba*, and finished the warre of *Ammon*: wherein also fell out the matter of *Uriahs* wife. So one half of *Davids* reigne was very prosperous: in the other half hee felt great sorrow, by the expectation, execution, and sad remembrance of that heavie judgement laid upon him by God for his foul and bloody offence.

Now very manifest it is, that in the year after the death of that child which was begotten in adultery, *Salomon* was born, who must needs therefore have been nineteen years old or thereabout when he began to reign at the decease of his father, as being begotten in the 21. year of his fathers reign, who reigned in all forty.

This account hath also good coherence with the following times of *David*, as may be collected out of ensuing Actions: for two years passed ere *Absolon* slew his brother *Ammon*; three years ere his father pardoned him, and two years more ere he came into the Kings presence. After this he prepared horses and men, and laid the foundation of his rebellion, which seems to have been one years work. So the rebellion it self, with all that happened thereupon, as the Commotion made by *Sheba*, the death of *Amasa*, and the rest, may well seem to have been in the 30. year of *Davids* reign.

Whether the three years of famine should be reckoned apart from the last years of war with the *Philistims*, or confounded with them, it were more hard than needfull to conjecture. Plain enough it is, that in the ten remaining years of *David* there was time sufficient, and to spare, both for the three years of famine, for four years of warre, and for numbring the people, with the pestilence ensuing; as also for his own last infirmitie, and disposing of the Kingdome. Yet indeed it seems that the warre with the *Philistims* was but one years work, and ended in three or four fights, of which the two or three former were at *Gob* or *Nob* neer unto *Gezer*, and the last at *Gath*. This warre the *Philistims* undertook, as it seemeth, upon confidence gathered out of the tumults in *Israel*, and perhaps emboldened by *Davids* old age: for he fainted now in the battell, and was afterwards hindered by his men from exposing himself unto danger any more. So *David* had six or seven years of rest, in which time it is likely that many of his great men of Warre dyed (being of his own age) whereby the stirring spirit of *Adonijah* found little succour in the broken party of *Joab* the sonne of *Zervia*.

At this time it might both truly be said by *David* to *Salomon*, *Thou art a wise man*; and by *Salomon* to God, *I am but a young child*: for nineteen years of age might well agree with either of these two speeches. 1 King. 2. 9. & 3. 7.

Nevertheless there are some that gather out of *Salomons* professing himself a child, that he was but eleven years old when hee began to reign. Of these *Rabbi Salomon* seems the first Author, whom other of great learning and judgement have herein followed: grounding themselves perhaps upon that which is said of *Absalons* rebellion, that it was after forty years, which they understood as years of *Davids* reign. But whereas *Rehoboam* the sonne of *Salomon* was 41. years old when he began to reign, it would follow hereby that his father had begotten him, being himself but a child of nine or ten years old; the difference between their ages being no greater, if *Salomon* (who reigned 40. years) were but eleven years old when his reign began. To avoyd this inconvenience, *Josephus* allows 80. years of reign to *Solomon*; a report so disagreeing with the Scriptures, that it needs no confutation. Some indeed have in favour of this opinion, construed the words of *Josephus*, as if they included all the years of *Salomons* life. But by such reckoning hee should have been 40. years old at his Fathers death; and consequently should have been born long before his Father had wonne *Jerusalem*; which is a manifest untruth. Wherefore the 40. years 2 Sam. 15. 7.

remem-

remembred in *Absolons* rebellion, may either seem to have reference to the space between *Davids* first anointment, and the trouble which God brought upon him for his wickednesse, or perhaps be read (according to *Josephus*, *Theodoret*, and the Latine translation) four years; which passed between the return of *Absalon* to *Jerusalem*, and his breaking out.

§. V.

of Salomons *writings.*

THere remain of *Salomons* workes, the *Proverbs*, the *Preacher*, and the song of *Salomon*. In the first hee teacheth good life, and correcteth manners; in the second, the vanity of humane nature; in the third, he singeth as it were the Epithalamion of Christ and his Church. For the Book intituled, The wisedome of *Salomon*, (which some give unto *Salomon*, and some make the elder *Philo* the Author therof) *Hierome* and many others of the best learned make us think it was not *Salomon* that wrote it. *Stylus libri sapientiæ* (saith *Hierome*) *qui* Salomonis *inscribitur*, *Græcam redolet eloquentiam*; *The Stile of the Book of wisedome, which is ascribed to* Salomon, *savoureth of the Grecian eloquence*; and of the same opinion was S. *Augustine*, and yet he confesseth in the nineteenth Book, and twentieth Chapter of the Citie of God, that the Authour of that Book hath a direct foretelling of the passion of Christ in these words: *Circumveniamus justum, quoniam insuavis est nobis, &c. Let us circumvent the righteous, for he is unpleasing to us, he is contrary to our doings, he checketh us for offending against the Law, he makes his boast to have the knowledge of God, and he calleth himself the son of the Lord, &c.* and so doth the course of all the following words point directly at Christ. The Books of *Ecclesiastes*, *Proverbs* and *Cantica Canticorum*, *Rabbi Moses Kimchi* ascribeth to *Isay* the Prophet. *Suidas* and *Cedrenus* report, that *Salomon* wrote of the remedies of all diseases, and graved the same on the sides of the Porch of the Temple, which (they say) *Ezechias* pulled down, because the people, neglecting help from God by prayer, repaired thither for their recoveries.

Hier. ad Crumasium.

Sap. 2.

S. Sem. fol. 62.

Reineccius in Jul. Hist.

Of *Salomons* Books of Invocations, and Inchantments to cure diseases, and expell evill spirits, *Josephus* hath written at large, though (as I conceive) rather out of his own invention, or from some uncertain report, than truly.

He also speaketh of one *Eliazarus*, who by the root in *Salomons* ring dispossest divers persons of evill spirits in the presence of *Vespasian*, and many others, which I will not stand to examine.

Certainly, so strange an example of humane frailtie hath never been read of as this King: who having received wisedome from God himself, in honour of whom, and for his onely service, he built the first and most glorious Temple of the world: he that was made King of *Israel* and *Judæa*, not by the law of Nature, but by the love of God, and became the wisest, richest, and happiest of all Kings, did in the end, by the perswasion of a few weak and wretched Idolatrous Women, forget and forsake the Lord of all the world, and the giver of all goodnesse, of which he was more liberall to this King, than to any that ever the world had. Of whom *Syracides* writeth in this manner: *Salomon reigned in a peaceable time, and was glorious, for God made all quiet round about, that hee might build a house to his Name, and prepare the Sanctuary for ever; How wise wast thou in thy youth, and wast filled with understanding, as with a flood? Thy mind covered the whole earth, and hath filled it with grave and dark sentences. Thy name went abroad in the Iles, and for thy peace thou wast beloved, &c.* but thus he concludeth: *Thou didst bow thy loynes to Women, and wast overcome by thy body; thou didst stain thine honour, and hast defiled thy posteritie, and hast brought wrath upon thy children, and felt sorrow for thy folly*, cap. 27.

§. VI.

Of the Contemporaries of Salomon.

NEer the beginning of *Salomons* reign, *Agesilaus* the third of the *Heraclidæ* in *Corinth*; *Labotes* in *Lacedæmon*; and soon after *Silvius Alba*, the fourth of the *Silvii*, swayed those Kingdomes: *Laosthenes* then governing *Assyria*: *Agastus* and *Archippus* the second and third Princes after *Codrus*, ruling the *Athenians*.

In

In the six and twentieth of *Salomons* reign, *Hiram* of *Tyre* dyed, to whom *Baliastrus* succeeded, and reigned seventeen years, after *Mercators* account; who reckons the time of his rule by the age of his sons. *Josephus* gives him fewer years. *Theophilus Antiochenus* against *Antolicus* finds *Bozorius* the next after *Hiram*, if there be not some Kings omitted between the death of *Hiram* and the reign of *Bozorius*.

Vaphres being dead, about the twentieth of *Salomon*, *Sesac* or *Shishak* (as our English *Geneva* termes him) began to govern in *Egypt*, being the same with him whom *Diodorus* calleth *Sosachis*; *Josephus*, *Susac*; *Cedrenus*, *Susesinus*; *Eusebius* in the colume of the *Egyptian* Kings, *Smendes*; and in that of the *Hebrewes*, *Susac*. *Josephus* in the eighth of his Antiquities, reproveth it as an errour in *Herodotus*, that he ascribeth the Acts of *Susac* to *Sesostris*, which perchance *Herodotus* might have done by comparison, accounting *Sesac* another *Sesostris*, for the great things he did.

Of the great acts and vertues of King *Sesostris* I have spoken already in the story of the *Egyptian* Princes: onely in this he was reproved, that he caused four of his captive Kings to draw his Caroch, when he was disposed to be seen, and to ride in triumph: one of which four, saith *Eutropius*, at such time as *Sesostris* was carried out to take the aire, cast his head continually back upon the two foremost wheeles next him; which *Sesostris* perceiving, asked him what he found worthy the admiration in that motion: to whom the captive King answered, That in those he beheld the instability of all worldly things; for that both the lowest part of the wheele was suddenly carryed about, and became the highest, and the upmost part was as suddenly turned downward, and under all: which when *Sesostris* had judiciously weighed, he dismissed those Princes, and all other from the like servitude in the future. Of this *Sesostris*, and that hee could not bee taken for *Sesac*, I have spoken at large in that part of the *Egyptian* Kings preceding.

Hist. Miscel. l.17.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Salomons *Successors untill the end of* Jehosaphat.

§. I.

Of Rehoboam *his beginnings; the defection of the ten Tribes, and* Jeroboams *Idolatrie.*

REhoboam the Sonne of *Salomon* by *Nahama* an Ammonitesse, now forty years old, succeeded his Father *Salomon*, and was annointed at *Sichem*, where the ten Tribes of *Israel* were assembled: who attended a while the return of *Jeroboam* as yet in *Egypt*, since he fled thither, fearing *Salomon*. After his arrivall the people presented a Petition to *Rehoboam*, to be eased of those great Tributes laid on them by his Father. *Sic enim firmius ei fore Imperium, si amari mallet quàm metui; So should his Empire* (saith *Josephus*) *be more assured, if hee desired rather to be beloved than feared*: whereof hee took three dayes to deliberate before his answer; of whom therefore it could not be said as of *David*, that hee was wiser than all his Teachers. For as of himself hee knew not how to resolve, so had hee not the judgement to discern of Counsels; which is the very test of wisedome in Princes, and in all men else. But notwithstanding that hee had consulted with those grave and advised men, that served his Father, who perswaded him by all means to satisfie the multitude: hee was transported by his familiars and favourites, not onely to continue on the backs of his subjects those burdens which greatly crusht them; but (vaunting falsly of greatnesse exceeding his fathers) he threatned in sharp, or rather in terrible termes, to lay yet heavier, and more unsupportable loads on them. But as it appeared in the successe, those younger advisers greatly mistook the nature of severity, which without the temper of clemency is no other than cruelty it self: they also were ignorant that it ought to bee used for the help, and not for the harm of subjects. For what is the strength of a King left by his people? and what cords or fetters have ever lasted long, but those which have been twisted

Ant. l.8.c.3.

twisted and forged by love onely? His witlesse parasites could well judge of the Kings disposition: and being well learned therein, though ignorant in all things else, it sufficed and enabled them sufficiently for the places they held. But this answer of *Rehoboam* did not a little advance *Jeroboams* designes. For being foretold by the Prophet *Achiah* of his future advancement, these the Kings threats (changing the peoples love into furie) confirmed and gave courage to his hopes. For he was no sooner arrived, than elected King of *Israel*: the people cryed out, What portion have we in *David*? wee have no inheritance in the Sonne of *Isai*. Now though themselves, even all the Tribes of *Israel*, had consented to *Davids* anointing at *Hebron* the second time, acknowledging that they were his bones and his flesh: yet now after the manner of rebels, they forgat both the bands of nature, and their duty to God; and, as all alienate resolved hearts doe, they served themselves for the present, with impudent excuses. And now over-late, and after-time, *Rehoboam* sent *Adoram*, one of the Taxers of the people, a man most hatefull to all his Subjects, to pacifie them: whom they instantly beat to death with stones. Whereupon the King affrighted, got him from *Sichem* with all speed, and recovered *Jerusalem*, where preparing to invade *Israel*, with an hundred and fourscore thousand chosen men, *Shimei* in the person of God commanding to the contrary, all was stayed for the present. In the mean time *Jeroboam* the new King fortified *Sechem* on this side, and *Penuel* on the other side of *Jordan*; and fearing that the Union and exercise of one Religion would also joyn the peoples hearts again to the House of *David*, and having in all likelihood also promised the *Egyptians* to follow their Idolatry, hee set up two Calves of gold for the children of *Israel* to worship, impiously perswading them that those were the Gods, or at least by these hee represented those Gods which delivered them out of *Egypt*: and refusing the service of the Levites, hee made Priests fit for such gods. It must needs be that by banishing the Levites which served *David* and *Salomon* through all Israel, *Jeroboam* greatly enriched himself: as taking into his hands all those Cities which were given them by *Moses* and *Joshua*; for as it is written, *The Levites left their suburbs, and their possession, and came to Juda. &c.* This irreligious policie of *Jeroboam* (which was the foundation of an Idolatry that never could be rooted out, untill *Israel* for it was rooted out of the Land) was by Prophecy and Miracles impugned sufficiently when it first began; but the affections maintaining it, were so strong, that neither Prophecie nor Miracle could make them yeeld. *Jeroboam* could not be moved now by the Authority of *Ahia*, who from the Lord had first promised unto him the Kingdome; nor by the withering of his own hand as hee stretched it over the Altar, which also clave asunder according to the signe, which the man of God had given him by the commandement of God, who again recovered and cured him of that defect; yet he continued as obstinate an Idolater as before, for he held it the safest course in policie to proceed as he had begun. This impious invention of *Jeroboam*, who forsook God, and the Religion of his forefathers, by God and his Ministers taught them, was by a modern Historian compared with the policies of late Ages; observing well the practice of his Nation, being an Italian born. *Sic qui hodiè* (saith he) *politici vocantur, & propria commoda præsentesq; utilitates sibi tanquam ultimum finem constituunt, causam quam vocant status in capite omnium ponunt: pro ipsa tuenda, promovenda, conservanda, amplianda, nihil non faciendum putant. Si injuria proximo irroganda, si justitiæ honestatisq; leges subvertenda, si religio ipsa pessundanda, si deniq; omnia jura divina & humana violanda, nihil intentatum, nil per fas nefasq; relinquendum censent; cuncta ruant, omnia pereant, nihil ad ipsos, modo id, quod è re sua esse sibi persuadent, obtineant, ac si nullus sit qui talia curet, castigareve possit Deus*: So they who are now called Politicians, propounding to themselves, as their utmost end and scope, their own commoditie and present profit, are wont to allege the case of state forsooth, as the principall point to bee regarded: for the good of the state, for advancing, preserving, or encreasing of the state, they think that they may doe any thing. If they mean to oppresse their neighbour, to overturn all lawes of justice and honesty, if Religion it self must goe to wrack, yea, if all rights of God and man must be violated, they will try all courses, be it right, be it wrong, they will doe any thing; let all goe to ruine, what care they, so long as they may have what they would; as who should say, there were no God that would offer to meddle in such matters, or had power to correct them.

Indeed this allegation of *raggione del stato*, did serve as well to uphold, as at the first

2 Sam. 5. 1.

1 King. 12. 21.

1 King. 13. 4.

Verse 5. Verse 6.

first it had done to bring in this vile Idolatry of the ten Tribes. Upon this ground *Amazia* the Priest of *Bethel* counselled the Prophet *Amos* not to prophesie at *Bethel*; *For* (saith he) *it is the Kings Court*. Upon this ground even *Jehu* that had massacred the Priests of *Baal*, in zeal for the Lord, yet would not in any wise depart from that politique sinne of *Jeroboam* the sonne of *Nebat*, which made *Israel* to sinne. It was reason of state that perswaded the last famous *French King Henry* the fourth to change his Religion, yet the Protestants whom he forsook, obeyed him, but some of the Papists whom hee followed, murdered him. So strongly doth the painted vizor of wise proceeding delude even those that know the foul face of impietie lurking under it: and behold the wretched ends that have ever followed it; whereof *Jehu*, and all the Kings of *Israel* had, and were themselves very great examples.

Amos 7.13. 2 King. 10.16. 2 Kings 10.20

§. II.

Of Rehoboam *his impietie; for which he was punished by* Sesac: *of his end, and Contemporaries.*

WHile *Jeroboam* was occupied in setting up his new Religion, *Rehoboam* on the other side, having now little hope to recover the Provinces lost, strengthened the principall places remaining with all endeavour; for he fortified and victualled fifteen Cities of *Juda* and *Benjamin*: not that he feared *Jeroboam* alone, but the *Egyptians*, to whom *Jeroboam* had not only fastned himself, but withall invited them to invade *Judæa*: laying perchance before them the uncountable riches of *David* and *Salomon*, which might now be easily had, seeing ten of the twelve Tribes were revolted, and become enemies to the *Judæans*. So as by those two waies (of late years often trodden) to wit, change of Religion, and invitation of forraign force, *Jeroboam* hoped to settle himself in the seat of *Israel*, whom yet the powerfull God for his Idolatry in few years after rooted out, with all his. *Rehoboam* having also, as hee thought, by fortifying divers places, assured his estate, forsook the law of the living God, and made high Places, and Images, and Groves, on every high Hill, and under every green Tree.

2 Chro. 11.

1 King. 14.13.

And therefore in the fifth year of his reign, *Sesac* or *Shishac* before spoken of, being now King of *Egypt*, and with whom, as well *Adad* of *Idumæa*, as *Jeroboam*, were familiar, and his instruments; entred *Judæa* with twelve thousand Chariots, and threescore thousand Horse, besides foot-men, which *Josephus* numbers at four hundred thousand. This Armie was compounded of four Nations: *Egyptians*, *Lubæans*, *Succæans*, and *Cusites*. The *Lubæans* were *Lybæans*, the next bordering Region to *Egypt*, on the West-side. The *Cusites* were of *Petræa*, and of the desart *Arabia*, which afterward followed *Zera* against *Asa* King of *Juda*. The *Succæans* according to *Junius* his opinion, were of *Succoth*, which signifieth Tents: he doth suppose that they were the *Troglodítæ*, mentioned often in *Plinie*, *Ptolomie*, and other Authors. The *Troglodites* inhabited not farre from the banks of the red Sea, in 22. degrees from the line Northward, about six hundred English miles from the best and Maritimate part of *Egypt*: and therefore I do not think that the *Succims* or *Succæi* were those *Troglodítæ*, but rather those *Arabians* which *Ptolomie* calls *Arabes Ægyptii*, or *Ichthyophagi*, which possesse that part of *Egypt* behind the mountains called *Alabastrini*, and the red Sea, farre neerer *Egypt*, and readier to be levied than those removed Savages of the *Troglodítæ*.

Joseph. Ant. 8. c. 4.

2 Chro. 12. 2 King. 14. Annot. in 12. Chro. Plin. lib. 6. c. 29 Ptol. Asia tab. 3

Ez. 47. v. 13.

With this great and powerfull Army, *Sesac* invaded *Judæa*, and (besides many other strong Cities) wan *Jerusalem* it self; of which, and of the Temple, and Kings house, he took the spoyle, carrying away (besides other treasures) the golden shields which *Salomon* had made, in imitation of those which *David* recovered from *Adadezer*, in the *Syrian* war: these *Rehoboam* supplyed with Targets of brasse, which were fit enough to guard a King of his quality: whom *Syracides* calleth, *The foolishnesse of the people*.

From this time forward the Kings of *Egypt* claimed the soveraignty of *Judæa*, and held the Jewes as their Tributaries: *Sesac*, as it seems, rendring up to *Rehoboam* his places on that condition. So much may be gathered out of the word of God, where promising the deliverance of *Juda* after their humiliation, he doth notwithstanding leave them under the yoke of *Egypt*, in these words: *Nevertheless they* (to wit, the *Judæans*) *shall be his servants*, that is, *the servants of* Sesac.

After

After this overthrow and diſhonour, *Rehoboam* reigned twelve years, and his loſſes received by *Seſac*, notwithſtanding, he continued the war againſt *Jeroboam* all his life-time. After his death *Jeroboam* governed *Iſrael* four years.

Rehoboam lived 58. years, and reigned 17. his ſtory was written at large by *Shemeiah* and *Hiddon* the Prophets, but the ſame periſhed with that of *Nathan*, and the reſt.

With *Rehoboam*, *Archippus*, and *Terſippus*, the third and fourth *Archontes* or Governours for life after *Codrus*, governed in *Athens*. *Abdaſtrartus*, or *Abſtrartus*, in *Tyre*. *Doriſthus* the fift of the *Heraclidæ* in *Sparta*, according to *Euſebius* (others make him the ſixt) and *Priminas* the fourth in *Corinth*. Over the *Latines* reigned *Sylvius Alba*, *Sylvius Atys*, the fourth and fift of the *Sylvii*. *Euſeb. Chron.*

About the 12. of *Rehoboam*, *Abdaſtrartus* King of *Tyre* was murthered by his Nurſes ſons, or foſter-brethren, the elder of which uſurped the Kingdome twelve years.

Toward his latter times *Periciades*, or *Pyrithiades*, began to govern *Aſſyria*, the 34. King thereof: and not long after *Aſtartus*, the ſon of *Baleaſtartus*, recovered the Kingdome of *Tyre* from the Uſurpers.

§. III.

Of the great battell between Jeroboam *and* Abia, *with a Corollarie of the examples of Gods judgements.*

Abijah the ſon of *Rehoboam*, inherited his Fathers Kingdome, and his vices. He raiſed an Armie of four hundred thouſand, with which hee invaded *Jeroboam*, who encountred him with a double number of eight hundred thouſand: Both Armies joyned neer to the Mount *Ephraim*, where *Jeroboam* was utterly overthrown, and the ſtrength of *Iſrael* broken: for there fell of that ſide five hundred thouſand; the greateſt overthrow that ever was given or received of thoſe Nations. *Abijah* being now maſter of the field, recovered *Bethel*, *Jeſhanah*, and *Ephron*. Soon after which diſcomfiture, *Jeroboam* died: who reigned in all 22. years. *Abijah*, the better to ſtrengthen himſelf, entred into league with *Heſion*, the third of the *Adads* of *Syria*; as may bee gathered out of the 2. of *Chron.* he reigned but three years, and then died: the particulars of his acts were written by *Iddo* the Prophet, as ſome part of his Fathers were. 2 Chro. 16. 2.

Here we ſee how it pleaſed God to puniſh the ſins of *Salomon* in his ſon *Rehoboam*: firſt, by an Idolator and Traitor: and then by the ſucceſſor of that *Egyptian*, whoſe daughter *Salomon* had maried, therby the better to aſſure his eſtate, which while he ſerved God, was by God aſſured againſt all and the greateſt neighbouring Kings; and when he forſook him, it was torn aſunder by his meaneſt Vaſſals. Not that the Father wanted ſtrength to defend him from the *Egyptian Seſac*; For the ſon *Abijah* was able to levie four hundred thouſand men, and with the ſame number he overthrew eight hundred thouſand *Iſraelites*, and ſlew of them five hundred thouſand; God giving ſpirit, courage, and invention, when, and where it pleaſeth him. And as in thoſe times the cauſes were expreſt, why it pleaſed God to puniſh both Kings and their People; the ſame being both before, and at the inſtant delivered by Prophets: ſo the ſame juſt God, who liveth and governeth all things for ever, doth in theſe our times give victory, courage, and diſcourage, raiſe, and throw down Kings, Eſtates, Cities, and Nations, for the ſame offences which were committed of old, and are committed in the preſent: for which reaſon, in theſe and other the afflictions of *Iſrael*, alwayes the cauſes are ſet down, that they might be as preſidents to ſucceeding ages. They were puniſhed with famine in *Davids* time for three years, *For* Saul *and his bloody houſe, &c.* And *David* towards his latter end ſuffered all ſorts of afflictions, and ſorrowes in effect, for *Uriah*. *Salomon* had ten Tribes of twelve torn from his ſon for his Idolatrie. *Rehoboam* was ſpoiled of his riches and honour by *Seſac* of *Egypt*, becauſe the people of *Juda* made images, high places, and groves, *&c.* and becauſe they ſuffered *Sodomites* in the Land. *Jeroboam* was puniſhed in himſelfe and his poſteritie, for the golden Calves that hee erected. *Joram* had all his ſonnes ſlain by the *Philiſtims*, and his very bowels torn out of his body by an excoriating flix, for murthering his brethren. *Ahab* and *Jezabel* were ſlain, the bloud of the one, the body of the other eaten with dogges, for the falſe accuſing and killing of *Naboth*. So alſo hath God puniſhed the ſame, and 2 Sam. 21. 1.

the like sinnes in all after-times, and in these our dayes by the same famine, plagues, warre, losse, vexation, death, sickneſſe, and calamities; howsoever the wise men of the world raise these effects no higher than to second causes, and such other accidents, which, as being next their eyes and ears, seem to them to work every alteration that happeneth.

§. IV.

of Asa *and his Contemporaries.*

2 Chron. 14. TO *Abijah* succeeded *Asa*, who enjoyed peace for his first ten years, in which time hee establisht the Church of God, breaking down the altars dedicated to strange gods, with their images, cutting down their groves, and taking away their high places. He also spared not his own mother, who was an Idolatresse, 2 Chro. 15.16 but deposing her from her regency, brake her Idoll, stampt it, and burnt it. Hee also fortified many Cities, and other places, providing (as provident Kings do) for the troubles of war in the leasure of peace. For not long after hee was invaded by *Zerah*, who then commanded all the *Arabians* bordering *Judæa*, and with such a multitude entred the territorie of *Asa*, as (for any thing that I have read) were never assembled of that 2 Chro. 14.9. Nation, either before or since: For it is written, that there came against the *Judæans*, *Zerah* of *Æthiopia*, with an hoste of ten hundred thousand, and three hundred Chariots, which *Asa* encountred with an Armie of five hundred and fourscore thousand, levied out of those two Tribes of *Juda* and *Benjamin*, which obeyed him, and with which hee overthrew this fearfull multitude, and had the spoile both of their Cities and Campes.

*In the former book, c. 4. §. 14. item, c. 8. §. 10. 16.

That this *Zerah* was not an *Æthiopian*, I have * proved already, and were it but the length between *Æthiopia* and *Judæa*, and the strong flourishing Regions of *Egypt* interjacent (who would not suffer a million of strangers to pass through them) it were sufficient to make it appear how foolish the opinion is, that these invaders were *Æthiopians*. But in that the Scriptures acknowledge that *Gerar* was belonging to *Zerah*, and the Cities thereabouts were spoiled by the *Judæans*, in following their victory, as places belonging to *Zerah*, and that all men know that *Gerar* standeth upon the torrent of *Besor*, which *David* past over when he surprized the *Amalekites* or *Arabians*; this proveth sufficiently, that *Zerah* was leader of the *Arabians*, and that *Gerar* was a frontier town standing on the uttermost South-border of all *Judæa*, from all parts of *Æthiopia* six hundred miles. Also the spoiles which *Asa* took, as the cattell, camels, and sheep, whereof he sacrificed five thousand, shew them to be *Arabians* adjoyning, and not far off, and not unknown *Æthiopians*. And if it be objected that these desart countries can hardly yeeld a million of men fit for the wars, I answer, that it is as like that *Arabia Petræa*, and the Desart, which compasse two parts of the holy Land, should yeeld ten hundred thousand, as that two Tribes of the twelve, should arm five hundred and fourscore thousand. Besides, it answereth to the promise of God to *Abraham*, that these Nations should exceed in number; for God spake it of *Ismael*, that hee would make him fruitfull, and multiply him exceedingly, that he should beget twelve Princes, *&c.*

2 Chron. 14.

Baasha a King of *Israel* began to reign in the third of *Asa*, and fearing the greatnesse of *Asa* after his great victory, entertained *Benhadad* King of *Syria*, of the race of *Adadezer*, 2 Chro. 16.v.1. to joyn with him against *Asa*; and to the end to block him up, he fortified *Rama*, which lieth in the way from *Jerusalem* toward *Samaria*.

This war began according to the letter of the Scriptures in the 36. year of *Asa* his reign: but because in the first of Kings the 16. it is said that *Baasha* died in the 26. year of *Asa*; therfore could not *Baasha* begin this war in the 35. of *Asa* his reign, but in the 35. year of the division of *Juda* & *Israel*; for so many years it was from the first of *Rehoboam*, who reigned 17. years, to the 16. of *Asa*. It may seem strange, that *Asa* being able to bring into the field an Army of five hundred & fourscore thousand good Souldiers, did not easily drive away *Baasha*, and defeat him of his purposes, the victories of *Abia* against *Jeroboam*, and of *Asa* himself against *Zerah*, being yet fresh in mind, which might well have emboldened the men of *Juda*, and asmuch disheartened the enemies. Questionlesse there were some important Circumstances, omitted in the Text, which caused

caused *Asa* to fight at this time with money. It may be that the imployment of so many hundred thousands of hands, in the late service against *Zerah*, had caused many mens private businesses to lye undispatched, whereby the people being now intentive to the culture of their lands and other trades, might be unwilling to stir against the *Israelites*, choosing rather to wink at apparent inconvenience, which the building of *Rama* would bring upon them in after-times. Such backwardnesse of the people might have deterred *Asa* from adventuring himself with the least part of his forces, & committing the success into the hands of God. Howsoever it were, he took the treasures remaining in the temple, with which he waged *Benhadad* the *Syrian* against *Baasha*, whose employments *Benhadad* readily accepted, and brake off confederacy with *Baasha*. For the *Israelites* were his borderers and next neighbours, whom neither himself (after his invasion) nor his successors after him ever gave over, till they had made themselves masters of that Kingdome. So *Benhadad* being now entred into *Nepthalim*, without resistance, hee spoyled divers principall Cities thereof, and inforced *Baasha* to quit *Rama*, and to leave the same to *Asa*, with all the materials which he had brought thither, to fortifie the same: which done, *Benhadad*, who loved neither party, being loden with the spoiles of *Israel*, and the treasures of *Juda*, returned to *Damascus*. After this, when *Hanani* the Prophet reprehended *Asa*, in that he now relyed on the strength of *Syria*, and did not rest himself on the favour and assistance of God, he not only caused *Hanani* to be imprisoned, but he began to burden and oppresse his people, and was therefore strucken with the grievous paines of the gout in his feet, wherewith after he had been two years continually tormented, he gave up the ghost when he had reigned 41. years. 2 Chron. 16. 4. 1 King. 15. 2 Chron. 16.

There lived with *Asa*, *Agesilaus* the sixt of the *Heraclidæ*, and *Bacis* the fift King of the same race in *Corinth*, of whom his successors were afterward called *Bacidæ*. *Astartus*, and *Astarimus* were Kings in *Tyre*. *Astarimus* took revenge on his brother *Phelletes*, for the murther of *Ithobalus* Priest of the goddesse *Astarta*, whom *Salomon* in dotage worshipped. *Atys* and *Capys* ruled the Latines: *Pirithiades* and *Ophrateus* the *Assyrians*: *Tersippus* and *Phorbas* the *Athenians*: *Chemmis* reigned in *Egypt*; who dying in the 36. year of *Asa*, left *Cheops* his successour, that reigned fifty six years, even to the 16. of *Joas*. *Euseb. in Chron.*

§. V.

Of the great alteration falling out in the ten Tribes during the reign of Asa.

IN the reign of *Asa* the Kingdome of *Israel* felt great and violent commotions, which might have reduced the ten Tribes unto their former allegeance to the house of *David*, if the wisedome of God had not otherwise determined. The wickednesse of *Jeroboam* had, in his latter dayes, the sentence of heavie vengeance laid upon it, by the mouth of *Ahia*, the same Prophet which had foretold the division of *Israel*, for the sinne of *Salomon*, and his reign over the ten Tribes. One son *Jeroboam* had among others, in whom onely God found so much piety, as (though it sufficed not to with-hold his wrath from that Family) it procured unto him a peaceable end; an honourable testimony of the peoples love, by their generall mourning and lamentation at his death, and (wherein he was most happy) the favourable approbation of God himself.

After the losse of this good son, the ungodly father was soon taken away: a miserable creature, so conscious of his vile unthankfulnesse to God, that hee durst not suffer his own name to be used in consulting with an holy Prophet, assured of the ruine hanging over him and his, yea of Gods extreme hatred; yet forbearing to destroy those accursed Idols that wrought his confusion. So loath he was to forsake his worldly wisedome, when the world was ready to forsake him, and all belonging to him, his hatefull memory excepted.

Nadab the son of *Jeroboam*, reigned in the second and third years of *Asa*, which are reckoned as two years, though indeed his fathers last year of two and twenty did run along (how farre is uncertain) with the second of *Asa*, whose third year was the first of *Baasha*, so that perhaps this *Nadab* enjoyed not his Kingdome one whole year. Hee did not alter his fathers courses, neither did God alter his sentence. It seems that Hee little feared the judgements denounced against his fathers house: for as a Prince that 1 King. 15. 25.

was secure of his own estate, he armed all *Israel* against the *Philistims*, and besieged one of their Towns. There (whether it were so, that the people were offended with his ill successe, and recalled to mind their grievous losse of five hundred thousand under *Jeroboam*, counting it an unluckie family to the Nation; or whether by some particular indiscretion, he exasperated them) slain he was by *Baasha*, whom the Army did willingly accept for King in his stead. *Baasha* was no sooner proclaimed King, than hee began to take order with the house of *Jeroboam*, that none of them might molest him, putting all of them, without mercy, to the sword. That he did this for private respects, and not in regard of Gods will to have it so, it is evident by his continuing in the same form of Idolatry which *Jeroboam* had begun. Wherefore he received the same sentence from God that had been laid upon *Jeroboam*; which was executed upon him also in the same sort. He began to infest *Asa*, by fortifying *Ramah*; but was diverted from thence by the *Syrian Benhadad*, who did wast his Countrie, destroying all the Land of *Nepthalim*. Four and twenty years he reigned, and then dying, left the Crown to *Ela* his son; who enjoyed it, as *Nadab* the son of *Jeroboam* had done, two years current, perhaps not one compleet.

Ela was as much an Idolater as his father: and withall a riotous person. Hee sent an Army against *Gibbethon*, the same town of the *Philistims*, before which *Nadab* the son of *Jeroboam* perished; but he sate at home the whilest, feasting and drinking with his Minions, whereby he gave such advantage against himself, as was not neglected. *Zimri*, an ambitious man, remaining with the King at *Tirza*, finding his Master so dissolute, and his behaviour so contemptible, conceived hope of the like fortune as *Baasha* had found, by doing as *Baasha* had done. Wherefore he did set upon *Ela* in his drunkennesse, and slew him. Presently upon which fact, he stiled himself King of *Israel*: and began his reign with massacring all the house of *Baasha*; extending his cruelty not onely to his children, and kinsfolk, but unto all his friends in *Tirza*. These newes were quickly blown to the Camp at *Gibbethon*, where they were not welcommed according to *Zimri* his expectation. For the Souldiers in stead of proclaiming him King, proclaimed him Traitor: and being led by *Omri*, whom they saluted King, they (quitting the siege of *Gibbethon*) presented themselves before *Tirza*; which in short space they may seem to have forced. *Zimri* wanting strength to defend the City, not courage to keep himself from falling alive into his enemies hands, did set fire on the Palace, consuming it and himself together to ashes. Seven dayes he is said to have reigned: accounting (as is most likely) to the time that *Omri* was proclaimed in the Camp. For *Zimri* was also
1 King. 16. 19. an Idolater, *Walking in the way of* Jeroboam; and therefore is likely to have had more time wherein to declare himself, than the reign of seven dayes, and those consumed partly in murthering the friends of *Baasha*, partly in seeking to have defended his own life. After the death of *Ela*, there arose another King to oppose the faction of *Omri*; whereby it may seem, that *Zimri* had made his party strong, as being able to set up a new head, who doubtlesse would never have appeared, if there had not been ready to his hand, some strength, not unlikely to resist and vanquish the Army which maintained *Omri*. How long this *Tibni*, the new competitor of *Omri*, held out, I doe not find; onely it appears that his side was decayed, and so he died, leaving no other Successor than his concurrent.

§. VI.

A conjecture of the causes hindering the re-union of Israel *with* Juda, *which might have been effected by these troubles.*

ANy man that shall consider the state of *Israel* in those times, may justly wonder how it came to passe, that either the whole Nation, wearied with the calamities already suffered under these unfortunate Princes, and with the present civill warres, did not return to their ancient Kings, and re-unite themselves with the mighty Tribes of *Juda* and *Benjamin*; or that *Zimri* and *Tibni*, with their oppressed factions, did not call in *Asa*, but rather chose the one to endure a desperate necessitie of yeelding, or burning himself, the other to languish away, as a man forsaken; than to have recourse unto a remedy, so sure, so ready, and so honourable. To say that GOD was pleased to have it so, were a true, but an idle answer (for his secret will is the

the cause of all things) unlesse it could be proved, that he had forbidden *Asa* to deal in that businesse, as he forbad *Reboboam* to force the rebellious people to obedience. That the restraint laid by God upon *Reboboam*, did only binde his hands from attempting the suppression of that present insurrection, it appears by the Warre continued between *Israel* and *Juda*, so many yeers following: wherein *Abia* so farre prevailed, than he wan a great battail, and recovered some Townes belonging to the other Tribes, which hee annexed to his own Dominion. Wherefore we may boldly look into the second causes, moving the People and Leaders of the ten Tribes, to suffer any thing under new upstarts, rather than to cast their eyes upon that Royall house of *David*, from which the succession of five Kings in lineall descent, had taken away all imputation, that might formerly have beene laid upon the mean beginnings thereof. To think that *Omri* had prevented his Competitors in making peace with *Asa*, were a conjecture more bold than probable. For *Omri* was not onely an Idolater, *but did worse than all that were before him*; which as it might serve alone to prove, that *Asa*, being a godly King, would not adhere to him, so the course which he professed to take at the very first, of revenging the massacre committed upon the family and friends of *Baasha*, (*Asa* his mortal enemy) gives manifest reason, why *Zimri*, who had wrought that great execution, should more justly than he have expected the friendship of *Juda* in that quarrel. Wherfore in searching out the reason of this backwardnes in the ten Tribes (which was such, that they may seeme to have never thought upon the matter) to submit themselves to their true Princes; it were not amiss to examine the causes moving the people to revenge the death of *Ela*, an idle drunkard rather than of *Nadab* the son of *Jeroboam*, who followed the wars in person, as a man of spirit & courage. Surely it is apparent, that the very first defection of the ten Tribes, was (if we look upon human reason) occasioned by desire of breaking that heavie yoke of bondage wherewith *Salomon* had galled their neckes. Their desire was to have a King that should not oppresse them; not to have no King at all. And therfore when the arrogant follie of *Reboboam* had caused them to renounce him, they did immediatly choose *Jeroboam* in his stead, as a man likely to afford that liberty unto them, for which he had contended in their behalfe. Neither were they (as it seemes) herein altogether deceived. For his affectation of popularity appears in his building of decayed Towers, and in the institution of his new devised Idolatry; where he told the people, that it was too much for them to travaile so far as to Jerusalem. But whether it were so, that his moderation, being voluntary, began to cease, towards the latter end of his reign, and in the reign of his son, when long time of possession had confirmed his title, which at the first was onely good by courtesie of the people: or whether the people (as often happens in such cases) were more offended by some prerogatives of a King, that hee still retained in his own hands, than pleased with his remission of other burdens, it is cleerly apparent, that the whole army of all *Israel* joyned with *Baasha*, taking in good part the death of *Nadab*, and eradication of *Jeroboams* house.

1. King. 16. 33

Now the reign of *Baasha* himself, was (for ought that remaineth in writing of it) every way unfortunate; his labour and cost at *Rama* was cast away; the other side of his Kingdom harried by the *Syrians*; neither did he win that one town of *Gibbethon* from the *Philistims*, but left that businesse to his son, who likewise appeares an unprofitable sluggard. Wherefore it must needs bee, that the favour of the people toward the house of *Baasha* grew from his good forme of Civill government, which happily he reduced to a more temperate method than *Jeroboam* ever meant to doe. And surely he that shall take pains to look into those examples which are extant of the different courses, held by the Kings of *Israel* and *Juda*, in administration of justice, will finde it most probable, that upon this ground it was that the ten Tribes continued so averse from the line of *David*; as to thinke all adversity more tolerable, than the weighty Scepter of that house. For the death of *Joab* and *Semei* was indeed by them deserved; yet in that they suffered it without forme of judgement, they suffered like unto men innocent. The death of *Adonijah* was both without judgement, and without any crime objected, other than the Kings jealousie: out of which by the same rule of arbitrary justice (under which it may bee supposed that many were cast away) hee would have slaine *Jeroboam* (if hee could have caught him) before he had yet committed any offence; as appeares by his confident returne out of Egypt, like one that was knowne to have endured wrong, having not offered any.

The like and much more barbarous execution, to wit, without law, *Jehoram* did upon his brethren, & upon sundry of his greatest men; as also *Joash* did so put to death *Zacharias* the son of *Jehoiada*, who had made him King, *even in the court of the house of*
2 Chron. 24 21 *the Lord: and* Manasses *did shed innocent bloud exceeding much, till hee replenished Jerusalem from corner to corner*: and this was imputed to him as another fault; *besides his*
2 King. 21. 16. *sinne, wherewith he made Juda to sinne.* Contrariwise, among the Kings of *Israel* we find no monument of such arbitrary proceeding, unlesse perhaps the words of *Jehoram* the sonne of *Ahab* (which were but words) may be taken for an instance, when he said, *God*
2 King. 6. 31. *doe so to mee, and more also, if the head of* Elisha *the sonne of* Shaphat *shall stand on him this day*: whereby it is not plain whether hee meant to kill him without more adoe, or to have him condemned as a false Prophet, that had made them hold out against the *Aramites*, till they were fain to eat their own children; which he thought a sufficient argument to prove, that it was not Gods purpose to deliver them. The death of *Naboth* sheweth rather the liberty which the *Israelites* enjoyed, than any peremptory execution of the Kings will. For *Naboth* did not feare to stand upon his own right, though *Ahab* were even sicke for anger; neither was he for that cause put to death, as upon commandement, but made away by conspiracie, the matter being handled after a judiciall forme, which might give satisfaction to the people, ignorant of the device, though to God it could not.

The murther of the Prophets is continually ascribed to *Jezabel*, an impudent woman, and not unto the King her husband. Neither is it certaine, that there was no Law made
1 King. 19. 10. whereby their lives were taken from them; but certaine it is, that the people being Idolaters, were both pleased with their death, & laboured in the execution. So that the doings of the Kings of *Juda* (such as are registred) prove them to use a more absolute maner of command, than the Kings of the ten Tribes. Neither doe their sufferings witnesse the contrary. For of those which reigned over *Juda*, from the division of the Kingdome, to the captivity of the ten Tribes, three were slaine by the people, and two were denied a buriall amongst their ancestors. Yea, the death of *Ahaziah* and his brethren, slaine by *Jehu*, with the destruction of all that royall seed of *Athalia*, did not (for ought that we can read) stirre up in the people any such thirst of revenge, as might by the suddennesse and uniformity testifie the affection to bee generall, and proceeding from a loving remembrance of their Princes: unlesse we should think that the death of *Athalia*, after seven yeeres reign, were occasioned rather by the memory of her ill purchasing, than by the present sense of her tyrannicall abusing the government, whereon she had seised. On the other side, such of the Kings of *Israel* as perished by treason (which were seven of the twenty) were all slain by conspiracie of the great men, who aspired by treason to the Crown: the people being so far from embruing their hands in the bloud of their Soveraignes, that (after *Nadab*) they did never forbeare to revenge the death of their Kings, when it lay in their power; nor approve the good successe of treason, unlesse feare compelled them. So that the death of two Kings, being throughly revenged upon other two, namely the death of *Ela* and *Zacharia*, upon *Zimri* and *Shallum*, who traiterously got and usurped, for a little while, their places; onely three of the seven remain, whose ends how the people took, it may be doubtfull. Though indeed it is precisely
1 King. 10. 4. said of the slaughter committed on *Ahabs* children by *Jehu*, that the people durst not fight with him that did it, because *they were exceedingly affraid*: and the same feare might be in them at the death of *Peka*, whose history (as others of that time) is cursorily passed over. The like may be pronounced, and more absolutely, of the Kings of *England*, that never any of them perished by fury of the people, but by treason of such as did succeed them; neither was there any motive urging so forcibly the death of King *Edward* and King *Richard* when they were in prison, as feare lest the people should stirre in their quarrell. And certainly (howsoever all that the Law cals treason, bee interpreted, as tending finally to the Kings destruction) in those treasonable insurrections of the vulgar, which have here most prevailed, the fury of the multitude hath quenched it selfe with the bloud of some great Officers; no such rebellions, howsoever wicked and barbarous otherwise, thirsting after the ruine of their naturall Soveraigne, but rather forbearing the advantages gotten upon his Royall person: which if any man impute unto grosse ignorance, another may more charitably, and I think, more truely, ascribe to a reverent affection. Wherefore that fable of *Briareus*,

who

who, being loosened by *Pallas*, did with his 100. hands give assistance to *Jupiter*, when all the rest of the gods conspired against him, is very fitly expounded by Sir *Francis Bacon*, as signifying that Monarches need not to feare any curbing of their absoluteness by mighty subjects, as long as by wisedome they keep the hearts of the people, who will bee sure to come in on their side. Though indeed the Storie might very well have borne the same interpretation, as it is rehearsed by *Homer*, who tells us that *Pallas* was one of the conspiracie, and that *Thetis* alone did marre all their practice, by loosening *Briareus*. For a good forme of government sufficeth by it selfe to retaine the people, not onely without assistance of a laborious Wit, but even against all devices of the greatest and shrewdest Politicians: every Sheriffe and Constable, being sooner able to arme the multitude, in the Kings behalfe, than any over-weening Rebell, how mighty soever, can against him.

This declaration of the peoples love, being seldome found in *Juda*, makes it very likely, that the rule it selfe of government there was such, as neither gave occasion of contentment unto the subjects, nor of confidence in their good affection to the Kings. Upon which reasons it may seem that the multitude was kept usually disarmed. For otherwise it would have beene almost impossible, that *Athalia* the sister of *Ahab*, a stranger to the Royall bloud of *Juda*, should by the onely authority of a Queene-mother have destroyed all the seed of *David*, and usurped the Kingdome very neere 7. yeeres, without finding any resistance. Yea when *Jehojada* the high Priest had agreed with the Captains and principall men of the Land to set up *Joash* their lawfull King, whereunto the whole nation were generally well affected, hee was faine to give to these Captaines and their men, *the speares and the shields that were King* Davids, *& were in the house of the Lord*. But we need not enter into such particulars. Questionlesse, the Tribes which thought obedience to their Princes to be a part of their duty toward God, would endure much more with patience, than they which had Kings of their own choice or admission, holding the Crowne by a more uncertaine tenure.

And this, in my opinion, was the reason, why the ten Tribes did never seeke to returne to their ancient Lords: but after the destruction of their fixe first Kings, which died in the reigne of *Asa*, admitted a seventh of a new family, rather than they would consubject themselves with those of *Juda* and *Benjamin*, under a more honourable, but more heavie yoke.

So *Asa* having seen the death of 7. Kings of *Israel*, died himselfe after one and fortie yeeres reigne, leaving *Jehosaphat* his sonne to deale with *Ahab* the sonne of *Omri*, who was the eighth King over the ten Tribes.

§. VII.

Of Jehosaphat *and his contemporaries.*

Jehosaphat, who succeeded *Asa*, was a Prince religious and happy; hee destroyed all the Groves, Altars, and high places dedicated to Idolatry, and sent teachers to all places and people wanting instruction; he recovered the tribute due unto him by the *Arabians* and *Philistims*: from the one he had silver, from the other sheepe & goates to the number of fifteene thousand & foure hundred. The numbers of men of war were more than admirable; for it is written that *Adnah* had the command of three hundred thousand, *Jehohanam* of two hundred and fourescore thousand, and *Amasia* of two hundred thousand; also that he had, besides these in *Benjamin*, of those that bare shields, which we call Targetiers, and of Archers under *Eliada*, two hundred thousand, & under the commandement of *Jehozabad* a hundred and fourescore thousand: which numbred together make eleven hundred and sixty thousand, all which are said to have waited upon the King, besides his garrisons. 2 Chron. 17.

That *Juda* & *Benjamin*, a territory not much exceeding the Countie of Kent, should muster eleven hundred and sixtie thousand fighting men, it is very strange, & the number farre greater than it was found upon any other view. *Joab* in *David's* time found five hundred thousand: *Roboam* found but an hundred and fourescore thousand: *Abia* foure hundred and eight thousand: *Asa* five hundred and fourescore thousand: *Amazia* inrolled all that could beare arms, & they amounted to three hundred thousand. Surely, 2 Sam. 24. 6.

whereas

whereas it is written that when news was brought to *Iehoſaphat* that *Moab* & *Ammon* were entred his territory to the Weſt of *Iordan*, and that their numbers were many, he feared (to wit) the multitude; it is not likely that he would have feared even the army of *Xerxes*, if he could have brought into the field 11. hundred and 60. thouſand fighting men, leaving all his ſtrong Cities manned. I am therefore of opinion (referring my ſelf to better judgement) that theſe numbers ſpecified in the ſecond of *Chronicles* the 17. diſtributed to ſeverall Leaders, were not all at one time, but that the 300. thouſand under *Adnah*, and the 200. and foureſcore thouſand under *Iehohanam*, were afterward commanded and muſtered by *Amaſiah*, *Eliada*, and *Iehoſabad*: for the groſſe & totall is not in that place ſet downe, as it was under the other Kings formerly named. Againe, as the aides which *Iehoſaphat* brought to *Ahab* did not ſhew that he was a Prince of extraordinary power, ſo the *Moabites* & *Ammonites* which he feared, could never make the one halfe of thoſe numbers, which he that commanded leaſt among *Iehoſaphats* Leaders had under him.

This mighty Prince, notwithſtanding his greatneſſe, yet he joyned in friendſhip with *Ahab* King of *Iſrael*, who had married that wicked woman *Iezabel*. Him *Iehoſaphat* viſited at *Samaria*, and cauſed his ſon *Ioram* to marry *Athalia*, this *Achabs* daughter.

Ahab perſwaded *Iehoſaphat* to aſſiſt him in the Warre againſt the *Syrians*, who held the City of *Ramoth Gilead* from him, & called together foure hundred of his Prophets, or Baalites, to foretell the ſucceſſe: who promiſed him victory. But *Iehoſaphat* beleeved nothing at all in thoſe diviners, but reſolved firſt of all to conferre with ſome one Prophet of the Lord God of *Iſrael*. Hereupon *Achab* made anſwer that he had one called *Michaiah*, but he hated that Prophet, becauſe he alwayes foretold of evill, and never of any good towards him. Yet *Michaiah* was ſent for to the King; but by the way the meſſenger prayed him to conſent with the reſt of the Prophets, and to promiſe victory unto them, as they did. But *Michaiah* ſpake the truth, and repeated his viſion to both the Kings, which was, that *God asked who ſhall perſwade* Ahab, *that hee may goe up and fall at* Ramoth Gilead? to whom a ſpirit that ſtood before the Lord anſwered, that hee would enter into his Prophets, & be in them a falſe ſpirit to delude. For as it is ſaid by Chriſt: *Non enim vos eſtis qui loquimini, ſed ſpiritus patris veſtri loquitur in vobis:* It is not you that ſpeake, but the Spirit of your Father ſpeakes in you: ſo in a contrary kinde did the devill in the Prophets of *Baal*, or Satan, incourage *Achab* to his deſtruction. And as *P. Martyr* upon this place well obſerveth, theſe evill ſpirits are miniſters of Gods vengeance, & are uſed as the hangmen and tormentors, which Princes ſometime imploy. For as it pleaſeth God by his good Angels, to ſave & deliver from deſtruction, of which the Scriptures have many examples: ſo on the contrary, it is by the evill that hee puniſheth and deſtroyeth; both which are ſaid to performe the will of their Creator, *licet non eodem animo*. *Eccleſiaſticus* remembreth a ſecond ſort of malignant natures, but they are every-where viſible. There are ſpirits, ſaith he, created for vengeance, which in their rigour lay on ſure ſtrokes. In the time of deſtruction they ſhew forth their power, and accompliſh the wrath of him that made them.

Now *Michaias* having by this his revelation greatly diſpleaſed the King, & the Prophets, whoſe ſpirit he diſcovered, was ſtroken by *Zidkiah* one of *Baals* Prophets, and by *Achab* himſelfe committed to priſon: where hee appointed him to bee reſerved and fed with bread of affliction till he returned in peace. But *Michaiah*, not fearing to reply, anſwered, *If thou returne in peace, the Lord hath not ſpoken by mee.* Nevertheleſſe *Achab* went on in that warre, and was wounded to death. *Iehoſaphat* returned to Jeruſalem, where he was reprehended by *Jehu* the Prophet for aſſiſting an idolatrous Prince, and
2 Chron. 18. one that hated God.

After this the *Aramites* or *Damaſcens*, joyned with the *Moabites*, *Ammonites* & *Idumæans* to invade *Iudæa*: who paſſe *Iordan* & encamp at *Engaddi*; & when *Iehoſaphat* gathered his army, the prophet *Jahaziel* fortold him of the victory, which ſhould be obtained without any bloud-ſhed of his part: & ſo when *Iehoſaphat* approached, this aſſembly of Nations, the *Ammonites* & *Moabites*, diſagreeing with the *Idumæans*, & quarrelling for ſome cauſes among themſelves, thoſe of *Ammon* & *Moab* ſet upon the *Idumæans*, &
2 Chron. 20. brake them utterly: which done, they alſo invaded each other; in which broil *Iehoſaphat* arriving, took the ſpoile of them all without any loſs of his part, as it was foretold & promiſed

mised by God. Notwithstanding this victory, *Iehosaphat*, forgetting that he was formerly reprehended for assisting an Idolatrous King, did notwithstanding joyn with *Ochazias*, the son of *Achab*, in preparing a Fleet to send to *Ophir*, hoping of the like return which *Salomon* had: but as *Eleizer* the Prophet foretold him, his ships perished, and were broken in the port of *Ezion Gaber*, and so that enterprize was overthrown. 2 Chron. 20.

Yet he taketh part with *Iehoram*, the brother of *Ochozias*, against the *Moabites*, with which Kings of *Iuda* and *Israel*, the *Edomites* joyn their forces, not forgetting, it seems, that the *Moabites*, assisted by the *Ammonites*, had not long before destroyed their army.

The *Moabites*, subjects to *David* and *Salomon*, forsaking the Kings of *Iuda*, gave themselves for vassals to *Ieroboam*, and so they continued to his successors till the death of *Achab*: but *Iehosaphat*, notwithstanding the Idolatry of his Colleague, yet as it seemeth he was drawn into this war, both to be avenged of the *Moabites* for their defection from *Iuda* to *Israel*, as also because they had lately joyned themselves with the *Syrians* against *Iosaphat*, and thirdly, to punish their double rebellion who first forsook *Iuda*, & now *Israel*.

Both Kings resolved to passe by the way of *Idumæa*, thereby the better to assure that Nation; for we find that both *Moab*, *Ammon* and *Edom* were all in the field together at *Engaddi* against *Iehosaphat*: But whether they had then declared themselves against *Iehosaphat*, it is not certain; for in the 2. of *Chron.* 11. *vers.* 8. it is written, that in the time of *Ieboram* the son of *Iehosaphat*, *Edom* rebelled: and therefore it seemeth to me that the *Edomites*, when they were slain by *Moab* and *Ammon*, not finding themselves satisfied in such conditions as they required, offered to return from them, and to joyn themselves with the army of *Iuda*. For, that they were numbred among the enemies of *Iehosaphat*, it is plain in the 2. of *Chron.* the 20. and as plain *c.* 21 *v.* 8. that they were not declared, nor had made them a King, till *Iehosaphats* death. Now in the passage of these Kings towards *Moab*, whether it were by the extraordinary heat of the year, or whether the *Idumæans* having a purpose to rebell, misled the army of *Iuda* and *Israel*, with intent to infeeble them for want of water; true it is, that they suffered the same, if not a greater thirst than the armies of *Crassus* and *M. Antonius* did in their *Parthian* expeditions; and had in all likelihood utterly perished, had not *Elisha* taught them to cut trenches whereinto the water sprang, by which not onely *Iehosaphat* and his army, but *Iehoram* King of *Israel* an Idolater was relieved: the great mercy and goodness of God having ever been prone to save the evill for the good, whereas he never destroyed the good for the evill.

The miserable issue of this warre, and how *Moab* burnt his son, or the son of the King of *Edom*, for sacrifice, on the rampire of his own City, I have already written in the life of *Iehoram* among the Kings of *Israel*. *Iehosphat* reigned 25. years and died; he was buried in the valley of *Iehosaphat*, and a part of the *Pyramis* set over his grave is yet to be seen, saith *Brochard*. His acts are written at large by *Iehu* the son of *Hanani*. 2 King. 3. 2 Chron. 20. *Brochard. sanct.*

There lived with *Iehosaphat*, *Ophratenes* in *Assyria*, *Capetus*, and *Tiberinus* Kings of the *Albans* in *Italy*; of the latter the river *Tiber* (formerly *Albula*) took name.

In *Iehosaphats* time also ruled *Mecades* or *Mezades* in *Athens*: *Agelas* or *Agesilaus* in *Corinth*; and *Archilaus* of the same race, of the *Heraclidæ* the seventh in *Lacedæmon*. *Badesorus* ruled the *Tyrians*; *Achab*, *Ochazias* and *Iehoram* the *Israelites*.

CHAP. XX.

Of Iehoram *the sonne of* Iehosaphat, *and* Ahazia.

§. I.

That Iehoram *was made King sundry times.*

IEHORAM the Son of *Iehosaphat* King of *Iuda* began to reign at thirty two years of age, and lived untill hee was forty years old, being eight years a King: but of these eight years, which *Iehoram* is said to have reigned, four are to be reckoned in the life of his father, who going to the *Syrian* warre with *Achab*, left this *Iehoram* King in his stead, as *Achab* did his son *Ahazia*. This appears by the severall beginnings, which are given in Scripture to the two *Iehorams* Kings of *Israel* and *Iuda*, and to *Ahazia* the eldest son of *Ahab*. For *Ahazia* is 1 King. 22. v. 52.

said

said to have begun his reign, in the seventeenth year of *Jehosaphat*, *Jehoram* the brother
2 King. 1. 17. of *Ahazia* succeeded him in the 2. year of *Jehoram the son of* Jehosaphat *King of Juda*;
that is, in the next year after that *Jehoram* of *Juda* was designed King by his father; it
2 King. 3. v. 1. and 9. being (as we find elsewhere) *the eighteenth year of* Jehosaphat *himself*, who went with
the *Israelites* against *Moab*. Hereby it appears that the full power and execution of the
royall office was retained still by *Jehosaphat*, who governed absolutely by himself, not
2 King. 8. 16. communicating the rule with his son. But in *the fifth year of* Jehoram *King of Israel*,
which was the two and twentieth of *Jehosaphat*, the old King took unto him, as partner
in the government, this his eldest son, who was at that time 32. years old, his Father
being 57. Now forasmuch as *Jehosaphat reigned* 25. *years*, it is evident that his sonne
2 King. 22. 42. did not reign alone till the eighth of *Joram* King of *Israel*. The like regard is to be had
in accounting the times of other Kings of *Juda* & *Israel*, who did not alwayes reign pre-
cisely so long as the bare letter of the Text may seem at first to affirm: but their years
were sometimes compleat, sometimes onely current, sometimes confounded with the
years of their successors or foregoers, and must therefore be found by comparing their
times with the years of those others, with whom they did begin and end.

It were perhaps a thing lesse needfull than curious, to enquire into the reasons moving
Jehosaphat either to assume unto him his son as partner in the Kingdome, whilest hee
was able himself to command both in peace and in warre, the like having never been
done by any of his progenitors, or having once (in the 17. of his reign) vouchsafed unto
him that honour, to resume it unto himself, or at least wise to deferre the confirmation
of it, untill four or five years were passed. Yet forasmuch as to enter into the examina-
tion of these passages, may be a mean to find some light, whereby we may more clear-
ly discover the causes of much extraordinary businesse ensuing, I hold it not amisse to
make such conjecture, as the circumstances of the Story briefly handled in the Scriptures
may seem to approve.

We are therefore to consider, that this King *Jehosaphat* was the first of *Rehoboams* issue
that ever entred into any streight league with the Kings of the ten Tribes. All that reig-
ned in *Juda* before him, had with much labour and long war, tired themselves in vain,
making small profit of the greatest advantages that could be wished. Wherefore *Jeho-*
saphat thought it the wisest way, to make a league offensive and defensive between *Israel*
and *Juda*, whereby each might enjoy their own in quiet.

2 Chro. 19. v. 2. and 3. This confederacy made by a religious King, with one that did *hate the Lord*, could not
long prosper, as not issuing from the true *root and fountain of all wisedome*: yet as a piece
of sound policy, doubtlesse it wanted not fair pretences of much common good there-
by likely to arise, with mutuall fortification of both those Kingdoms against the uncir-
cumcised Nations their ancient enemies. This apparent benefit, being so inestimable a
jewell, that it might not easily be lost, but continue as hereditary from father to son, it
was thought a very good course to have it confirmed by some sure bond of affinity, and
thereupon was *Athalia* the daughter of *Omri*, and sister of *Ahab* King of *Israel*, given in
marriage to *Jehoram*, who was son and heir apparent to the King of *Juda*. This Lady
was of a masculine spirit, and had learned so much of Queen *Jezabel* her brothers wife,
that she durst undertake, and could throughly perform a great deal more in *Ierusalem*,
than the other knew how to compasse in *Samaria*. Shee was indeed a fire-brand ordai-
ned by God to consume a great part of the noblest houses in *Juda*, and perhaps of those
men or their children, whose worldly wisedome, regardlesse of Gods pleasure, had
brought her in.

The first fruits of this great league, was the *Syrian* war at *Ramoth Gilead*, wherein
Juda and *Israel* did adventure equally, but the profit of the victory should have redoun-
ded wholly to *Ahab*: as godly Princes very seldome thrive by matching with Idolaters,
but rather serve the turns of those false friends, who being ill affected to God himself,
cannot be well affected to his servants. Before their setting forth, *Ahab* designed, as
King, his son *Ahaziah*; not so much perhaps in regard of the uncertain events of war
(for none of his predecessors had ever done the like, upon the like occasions) nor as
fearing the threatnings of the Prophet *Michaia* (for he despised them) as inviting *Je-*
hosaphat by his own example, to take the same course, wherein he prevailed.

§. II. *Pro-*

§. II.

Probable conjectures of the motives inducing the old King Jehosophat *to change his purpose often, in making his son* Jehoram *King.*

MAny arguments do very strongly prove *Jehoram* to have been wholly over-ruled by his wife; especially for his forsaking the religion of his godly Ancestors, and following the abominable superstitions of the house of *Achab*.

That she was a woman of intollerable pride, and abhorring to live a private life, the whole course of her actions witnesseth at large. Much vain matter she was able to produce, whereby to make her husband think that his brethren and kindred were but mean and unworthy persons in comparison of him, and of his children, which were begotten upon the daughter and sister of two great Kings, not upon base women, and meer subjects. The Court of *Ahab*, and his famous victories obtained against the *Syrian Benhadad*, were matter sufficient to make an insolent man think highly of himself, as being allied so honourably; who could otherwise have found in his heart well enough, to despise all his brethren, as being the eldest, and heir apparent to the Crown, whereof already he had, in a manner, the possession.

How soon his vices brake out, or how long hee dissembled them and his idolatrous religion, it cannot certainly be known. Like enough it is, that some smoke, out of the hidden fire, did very soon make his fathers eyes to water; who thereupon caused the young man to know himself better, by making him fall back into rank among his younger brethren. And surely the doings of *Jehosaphat* about the same time, argue no small distemper of the whole country, through the misgovernment of his ungodly son. For the good King was fain to make his progresse round about the Land, reclaiming the people unto the service of God, and appointing Judges *throughout all the strong Cities of* Juda *Citie by Citie*. This had been a needlesse labour, if the religion taught and strongly maintained by *Asa*, and by himself, had not suffered alteration, and the course of Justice been perverted, by the power of such as had born authority. But the necessitie that then was of reformation, appears by the charge which the King did give to the Judges; and by his commission given to one of the Priests in spirituall causes, and to the Steward of his house in temporall matters, to be generall over-seers. 2 Chro. 19. v. 4. &c.

This was not till after the death of *Ahazia* the son of *Ahab*; but how long after it is uncertain. For *Jehoram* the brother of *Ahazia* began his reign (as hath been already noted) in the eighteenth of *Jehosaphat*, which was then accounted the second of *Jehoram*, *Jehosaphats* son, though afterward this *Jehoram* of *Juda* had another first and second year, even in his fathers time, before he reigned alone, as the best Chronologers and Expositors of the holy Text agree. So he continued in private estate, untill the two and twentieth of his fathers reign, at which time, though the occasions inducing his restitution to former dignity are not set down, yet wee may not think, that motives thereto, appearing substantiall, were wanting. *Jehoram* of *Israel* held the same correspondency with *Jehosaphat* that his father had done; and made use of it. He drew the *Judæans* into the war of *Moab*, at which time it might well be, that the young Prince of *Juda* was again ordained King by his father, as in the *Syrian* expedition he had been. Or if wee ought rather to think, that the preparations for the enterprize against *Moab* did not occupy so much time, as from the eighteenth of *Jehosaphat*, in which year that Nation rebelled against *Israel*, unto his two and twentieth; yet the daily negotiations between the two Kings of *Juda* and *Israel*, and the affinity between them contracted in the person of *Jehoram*, might offer some good occasions thereunto. Neither is it certain how the behaviour of the younger sons, in their elder brothers disgrace, might cause their Father to put him in possession for fear of tumult after his death; or the deep dissimulation of *Jehoram* himself might win the good opinion both of his Father and Brethren; it being a thing usuall in mischievous fell natures, to be as abject and servile in time of adversity, as insolent and bloudy upon advantage. This is manifest, that being repossessed of his former estate, he demeaned himself in such wise toward his brethren, as caused their father to enable them, not onely with store *of silver and gold, and of pretious things*, (which kind of liberality other Kings doubtlesse had used unto their younger sons) but with the custody of *strong Cities in Juda*, to assure them, if it might have been, by unwonted means, against unwonted perils, 2 Chron. 21. 3.

§. III. *The*

§. III.

The doings of Jehoram *when hee reigned alone; and the rebellion of* Edom *and* Libna.

BUt all this providence availed nothing; for an higher providence had otherwise determined of the sequell. When once the good old man, their Father, was dead, the younger sons of *Jehosaphat* found strong Cities, a weak defence, against the power of him unto whom the Citizens were obedient. If they came in upon the summons of a King their brother, then had he them without any more adoo; if they stood upon their guard, then were they Traitors, and so unable to hold out against him, who besides his own power, was able to bring the forces of the *Israelitish* Kingdome against them; so that the apparent likelihood of their finall overthrow, sufficed to make all forsake them in the very beginning. Howsoever it was, they were all taken and slain, and with them for company many great men of the Land, such belike, as either had taken their part, when the Tyrant sought their lives, or had been appointed Rulers of the Country, when *Jehoram* was deposed from his Government; in which Office they, without forbearing to do justice, could hardly avoid the doing of many things derogatory to their young Master; which if hee would now call treason, saying that he was then King, who durst say the contrary?

After this *Jehoram* took upon him, as being now Lord alone, to make invasions in Religion, wherein he was not contented, as other Idolatrous Princes, to give way and safe conduct unto Superstition and Idolatry, nor to provoke and encourge the people to that sinne, whereto it is wonderfull that they were so much addicted, having such knowledge of God, and of his detesting that above all other sins; but hee used compulsion, and was (if not the very first) the first that is registred, to have set up Irreligion by force.

Whilest he was thus busied at home, in doing what he listed, the *Edomites* his Tributaries rebelled against him abroad; and having hitherto, since *Davids* time, been governed by a Vice-Roy, did now make unto themselves a King. Against these *Jehoram* in person made an expedition, taking along with him his Princes, and all his Chariots; with which he obtained victory in the field, compelling the rebels to flie into their places of advantage, whereof he forced no one, but went away contented with the honour that he had gotten in beating and killing some of those whom he should have subdued, and kept his servants. Now began the prophecy of *Isaac* to take effect, wherein he foretold, that *Esau* in processe of time should break the yoke of *Jacob*. For after this the *Edomites* could never be reclaimed by any of the Kings of *Juda*, but held their own so well, that when, after many civill and forreign wars, the Jewes by sundry Nations had been brought low; *Antipater* the *Edomite*, with *Herod* his son, and others of that race following them, became Lords of the Jewes, in the decrepit age of *Israel*, and reigned as Kings, even in *Jerusalem* it self.

The freedome of the *Edomites*, though purchased somewhat dearly, encouraged *Libna*, a great City within *Juda*, which in the time of *Joshua* had a peculiar King, to rebel against *Jehoram*, and set it self in liberty. *Libna* stood in the confines of *Benjamin* and of *Dan*, far from the assistance of any bordering enemies to *Juda*, and therfore so unlikely it was to have maintained it self in liberty, that it may seem strange how it could escape from utter destruction, or at the least from some terrible vengeance, most likely to have been taken, by their powerfull, cruell, and throughly incensed Lord. The *Israelite* held such good intelligence at that time with *Juda*, that he would not have accepted the Town, had it offered it self unto him: neither doe we read that it sought how to cast it self into a new subjection, but continued a free state. The rebellion of it against *Jehoram*, was, *Because he had forsaken the Lord God of his Fathers*; which I take to have not only been the first & remote cause, but even the next and immediate reason, moving the inhabitants to do as they did: for it was a Town of the Levites; who must needs be driven into great extremities, when a religion, contrary to Gods Law, had not onely some allowance to countenance it by the King, but compulsive authority to force unto it all that were unwilling. As for the use of the Temple at *Jerusalem* (which, being devout men, they might fear to lose by this rebellion) it was never denied to those of the

2 Chron. 21. 10.

ten

ten revolted Tribes by any of the Religious Kings, who rather invited the *Israelites* thither, and gave them kind entertainment: under Idolaters they must have been without it, whether they lived free, or in subjection. Yet it seems that private reasons were not wanting, which might move them rather to doe than suffer that which was unwarrantable. For in the generall visitation before remembred, wherein *Jehosaphat* reformed his kingdome, the good old King appointing new Governours, and giving them especiall charge to doe justice without respect of persons, used these words; *The Levites shalbe officers before you; Be of good courage, and doe it, and the Lord shall be with the good.* By these phrases, it seems, than he encouraged them against the more powerfull, than just proceedings of his son, whom if the Levites did (according to the trust reposed in them) neglect in discharging their duties, likely it is that he meant to be even with them, and make them now to feel, as many Princes of the land had done, his heavie indignation. How it happened that *Libna* was not hereupon destroyed, yea, that it was not (for ought that we can read) so much as besieged or molested, may justly seem very strange. And the more strange it is in regard of the mighty Armies which *Jehosaphat* was able to raise, being sufficient to have over-whelmed any one Town, and buried it under the earth, which they might well in one moneth have cast into it with shovels, by ordinarie approaches.

But it seems that of those great numbers which his Father could have levied, there were not many whom *Jehoram* could well trust; and therefore perhaps he thought it an easier losse, to let one Town goe, than to put weapons into their hands, who were more likely to follow the example of *Libna*, than to punish it. So desperate is the condition of Tyrants, who thinking it a greater happinesse to be feared, than to be loved, are fain themselves to stand in fear of those, by whom they might have been dreadfull unto others.

§. IV.

Of the miseries falling upon Jehoram, *and of his death.*

These afflictions not sufficing to make any impression of Gods displeasure in the mind of the wicked Prince; a Prophecie in writing was delivered to him, which threatned both his people, his children, his wives, and his own body. Hereby likewise it appears that he was a cruell persecutor of Gods servants; in as much as the Prophets durst not reprove him to his face, as they had done many of his predecessors, both good and evil Kings; but were fain to denounce Gods Judgements against him by letters, keeping themselves close and far from him. This Epistle is said to have been sent unto him from *Elias* the Prophet. But *Elias* was translated, and *Elizeus* prophesied in his stead before this time, even in the dayes of *Jehosaphat*. Wherefore it may be that *Elias* left this prophecie in writing behind him, or that (as some conjecture) the errour of one letter in writing, was the occasion that we read *Elias* for *Elizeus*. Indeed any thing may rather be believed than the Tradition held by some of the Jewish Rabbins, that *Elias* from heaven did send this Epistle; a tale somewhat like to the fable of our Ladies letters, devised by *Erasmus*, or of the Verse that was sent from heaven to S. *Giles*. 2 Chro. 21. 12. 2 Kin. 1. & 3. 11.

But whosoever was the Author of this threatning Epistle, the accomplishment of the prophecie was as terrible as the sentence. For the *Philistims* and *Arabians* brake into *Judea*, and took the Kings house, wherein they found all, or many of his children, and wives, all which they slew, or carried away, with great part of his goods. These *Philistims* had not presumed since the time of *David*, to make any offensive warre till now; for they were by him almost consumed, and had lost the best of their Towns, maintaining themselves in the rest of their small territories, by defensive arms, to which they were constrained at *Gibbethon* by the *Israelites*. The *Arabians* were likely to have been then, as they are now, a naked people, all horsemen, and ill appointed; their Countrie affording no other furniture, than such as might make them fitter to rob and spoile in the open fields, than to offend strong Cities, such as were thick set in *Juda*. True it is, that in ages long after following, they conquered all the South parts of the world then known, in a very short space of time, destroying some, and building other some very stately Cities. But it must be considered, that this was when they had learned of the

Romans the Art of Warre; and that the provisions which they found, together with the Arts which they learned, in one subdued Province, did make them able and skilfull in pursuing their conquest, and going on into Regions far removed from them. At this day having lost in effect all that they had gotten, such of them as live in *Arabia* it self are good horsemen, but ill appointed; very dangerous to passengers, but unable to deal with good Souldiers, as riding stark naked, and rather trusting in the swiftnesse of their horses, than in any other means of resistance, where they are well oppoled. And such, or little better, may they seem to have bin, that spoyled *Judæa* in the time of *Jehoram*. For their Countrie was alwaies barren and desart, wanting manuall Arts whereby to supply the naturals with furniture: neither are these bands named as chiefe in that action, but rather adherents of the *Philistims*. Out of this we may infer, that one half, yea, or one quarter of the numbers found in the least muster of *Juda* and *Benjamin* under *Jehosaphat* (wherein were inrolled three hundred and eightie thousand fighting men) had been enough to have driven away farre greater forces than these enemies are likely to have brought into the field, had not the people been unable to deal with them, for lack of weapons, which were now kept from them by their Princes jealousie, as in *Sauls* time by the policie of the *Philistims*.

It may seem that the house of the King which these invaders took, was not his Palace in *Jerusalem*, but rather some other house of his abroad in the Countrie, where his wives and children at that time lay for their recreation; because we read not that they did sack the Citie, or spoyle the Temple, which would have invited them as a more commodious bootie, had they got possession thereof. Yet perhaps they took *Jerusalem* it self by surprize, the people being disarmed, and the Kings guard too weak to keep them out; yet had not the courage to hold it, because it was so large and populous: and therefore having done what spoyle they could, with-drew themselves with such purchace as they were able safely to conveigh away.

The slaughter committed by *Jehu* on the two and fortie brethren of *Ahazia*, or, (as they are called elsewhere) so many of his brothers sons, and the cruell massacre wherein all the Royall seed perished (only *Joas* excepted) under the tyrannie of *Athalia*, following within two years after this invasion of the *Philistims* and *Arabians*, make it seem probable, that the sons of *Jehoram* were not all slain at once, but that rather the first murther began in his own time, and was seconded by many other heavie blowes, wherewith his house was incessantly striken, untill it was in a manner quite hewed down.

After these calamities, the hand of God was extended against the body of this wicked King, smiting him with a grievous disease in his bowels, which left him not untill his guts fell out, and his wretched soul departed from his miserable carkasse. The people of the Land, as they had small cause of comfort in his life, so had they not the good manners to pretend sorrow for his death; wherefore hee was denied a place of buriall among his Ancestors the Kings of *Juda*, though his own sonne succeeded him in the Kingdome, who was guided by the same spirits that had been his Fathers evill Angels. *Athalia* had other matters to trouble her head, than the pompous interring of a dead husband. Shee was thinking how to provide for the future, to maintain her own greatnesse, to retain her favourites in their authoritie, and to place about her Son such *Counsellours of the house of Ahab*, as were fittest for her turn. Wherefore shee thought it unseasonable to make much a-doe about a thing of nothing, and offend the peoples eyes, with a stately funerall of a man by them detested: but rather chose to let the blame of things passed be layd upon the dead, than to procure an ill opinion of her self and hers, which it now did concern her to avoyd. Such is the qualitie of wicked Instigators, having made greedy use of bad imployments, to charge, not only with his own vices, but with their faults also, the man whose evill inclinations their sinister counsells have made worse, when once he is gone, and can profit them no longer. The death of *Jehoram* fel out indeed in a busie time; when his friend and cousin the *Israelite*, who had the same name, was entangled in a difficult warre against the *Aramite*; and therefore could have had no better leasure to help *Athalia*, in setting of things according to her own mind, than hee had (perhaps through the same hinderance) to help her husband, when he was distressed by the *Philistims*; Yea, rather he needed and craved the assistance of the men of *Juda*, for the taking in of *Rameth Gilead*, where they had

2. Chro. 24. 4.

not

not sped so well the last time, that they should willingly run thither again, unlesse they were very fairly intreated.

The acts of his wicked man I have thought good to handle the more particularly (pursuing the examination of all occurrences, as far as the circumstances remembred in holy Scripture would guide me by their directions) to the end that it might more plainly appear, how the corrupted affections of men, impugning the revealed will of God, accompliſh nevertheleſſe his hidden purpoſe, and without miraculous means, confound themselves in the seeming-wise devices of their own folly: as likewise to the end that all men might learn to submit their judgements to the ordinance of God, rather than to think, that they may safely dispense with his commandements, and follow the prudent conceits which worldly wisdome dictateth unto them. For in such kind of unhappy subtilties, it is manifest that *Athalia* was able to furnish both her Husband and her Son; but the issue of them partly hath appeared already, and partly will appear, in that which immediatly followeth.

§. V.

Of the reign of Ahazia, *and his business with the King of* Israel.

OChazias, or *Ahazia*, the son of *Ieboram* and *Athalia*, began his reign over *Iuda*, in the twelfth year of *Ieboram* the son of *Ahab* King of *Israel*, and reigned but one year. Touching his age, it is a point of much more difficulty than importance to know it: yet hath it bred much disputation, whereof I see no more probable conclusion than that of *Torniellus*, alleging the Edition of the *Septuagint* at *Rome*, *Anno Domini* 1588. which saith that he was twenty years old in the beginning of his kingdom; and the Annotations thereupon, which cite other Copies, that doe give him two years more. Like enough he is to have been young: for he was governed by his Mother, and her Ministers, who gave him counsell, by which he perished. In matter of Religion he altered none of his fathers courses. In matter of State he likewise upheld the league made with the house of *Ahab*. He was much busied in doing little, and that with ill successe. He accompanied his Cousin the *Israelite* against *Ramoth Gilead*, which they wan, but not without blowes: for the *Aramites* fought so well, that the King of *Israel* was fain to adventure his own person, which escaped not unwounded.

The Town being won, was manned strongly, in expectation of some attempt likely to be made by *Hazael* King of *Aram*: which done, *Ieboram* King of *Israel* with-drew himself to the City *Iezrael*, where with more quiet he might attend the curing of his wounds; and *Ahazia* returned to *Ierusalem*. It seems that he was but newly come home (for he reigned in all scantly one year, whereof the former expedition, with the preparations for it, had taken up a great part,) when he did make a new journey, as it were for good manners sake, to visit the King of *Israel*, who lay sore of his wounds. Belike *Athalia* was brewing some new plots, which his presence would have hindered, and therefore sought every occasion to thrust him abroad: for otherwise it was but a vain piece of work so to leave his kingdome, having no other businesse than by way of complement to goe see one whom he had seen yesterday. Certain it is, that the Lord had resolved at this time to put in execution that heavy judgement, which he had laid by the mouth of *Elias* the Prophet upon the house of *Ahab*. And hereupon at this time had he disposed not only the concurrence of all other things, which in mans eyes might seem to have been accidentall, but the very thoughts and affections of such persons, as intended nothing lesse than the fulfilling of his high pleasure. Of these *Athalia* doubtlesse was one; whose mischievous purposes it will shortly be needfull, for explanation of some difficulties arising, that we diligently consider and examine.

§. VI.

How Ahazia *perished with the house of* Ahab: *and how that Familie was destroyed by* Jehu.

THe whole Armie of *Israel*, with all the principall Captains, lying in *Rameth Gilead*, a Disciple of *Elizeus* the Prophet came in among the Captains that were sitting together; who calling out among them *Jehu*, a principall man, took him apart, and anointed him King over *Israel*, rehearsing unto him the Prophecie of *Elias* against the house of *Ahab*, and letting him understand that it was the pleasure of God to make him executioner of that sentence. The fashion of the Messenger was such as bred in the Captains a desire to know the errand, which *Jehu* thought meet to let them know, as doubting whether they had over-heard all the talk or no. When hee had acquainted them with the whole matter, they made no delay, but forth-with proclaimed him king. For the Prophecie of *Elias* was well known among them, neither durst any one oppose himself against him, that was by God ordained to perform it.

Jehu, who had upon the sudden this great honour thrown upon him, was not slow to put himself in possession of it, but used the first heat of their affections, who joyned with him, in setting on foot the businesse which neerly concerned him, and was not to bee fore-slowed, being no more his own than Gods.

The first care taken was that no news of the revolt might be carried to *Jezreel*, whereby the King might have had warning either to fight or flee: this being foreseen, he marched swiftly away, to take the Court while it was yet secure. King *Jehoram* was now so well recovered of his wounds, that he could endure to ride abroad, for which cause it seems that there was much feasting, and joy made, especially by Queen *Jezabel*, who kept her state so well, that the brethren of *Ahazia* comming thither at this time, did make it as well their errand to salute the Queen, as to visit the King.

Certain it is, that since the rebellion of *Moab* against *Israel*, the house of *Ahab* did never so much flourish as at this time. Seventy Princes of the bloud Royall there were that lived in *Samaria*; *Jehoram* the son of Queen *Jezabel* had won *Rameth Gilead*, which his Father had attempted in vain, with losse of his life; and hee won it by valiant fight, wherein he received wounds, of which the danger was now past, but the honour likely to continue. The amitie was so great between *Israel* and *Juda*, that it might suffice to daunt all their common enemies, leaving no hope of successe to any rebellious enterprizer: so that now the prophecie of *Elias* might be forgotten, or no otherwise remembred, than as an unlikely tale by them that beheld the majesticall face of the Court, wherein so great a friend as the King of *Juda* was entertained, and fortie Princes of his bloud expected.

In the middest of this securitie, whilest these great Estates were (perhaps) either consulting about prosecution of their intents, first against the *Aramites*, and then against *Moab*, *Edom*, and other rebels and enemies: or else were triumphing in joy of that which was already atchieved, and the Queen-mother dressing her self in the bravest manner to come down amongst them; tidings were brought in, that the watchman had from a Tower discovered a company comming. These newes were not very troublesome: for the Armie that lay in *Rameth Gilead*, to be readie against all attempts of the *Aramites*, was likely enough to be discharged upon some notice taken that the enemie would not, or could not stirre. Onely the King sent out an Horse-man to know what the matter was, and to bring him word. The messenger comming to *Jehu*, and asking whether all were well, was retained by him, who intended to give the King as little warning as might be. The seeming negligence of this fellow in not returning with an answer, might argue the matter to be of small importance: yet the King to be satisfied, sent out another that should bring him word how all went; and hee was likewise detained by *Jehu*. These dumb shewes bred some suspition in *Jehoram*, whom the watchman certified of all that happened. And now the companie drew so neer, that they might, though not perfectly, be discerned, and notice taken of *Jehu* himself by the furious manner of his marching. Wherefore the King that was loth to discover any weaknesse, caused his Chariot to be made ready, and issued forth with *Ahazia* King of *Juda* in his

companie,

company, whose presence added majesty to his train, when strength to resist, or expedition to flee, had bin more needfull. This could not be done so hastily, but that *Jehu* was come even to the towns end, & there they met each other in the field of *Naboth*. *Jehoram* began to salute *Jehu* with termes of peace, but receiving a bitter answer, his heart failed him, so that crying out upon the treason to his fellow king, he turned away to have fled. But *Jehu* soon overtook him with an arrow, wherewith he strook him dead, and threw his carkasse into that field, which, purchased with the bloud of the rightfull owner, was to be watered with the bloud of the unjust possessor. Neither did *Ahazia* escape so well, but that he was arrested by a wound, which held him till death did seize upon him.

The Kings Palace was joyning to the wall, by the gate of the Citie, where *Jezabel* might soon be advertised of this calamitie, if she did not with her own eyes behold it. Now it was high time for her to call to God for mercie, whose judgement, pronounced against her long before, had overtaken her, when she least expected it. But she, full of indignation and proud thoughts, made her self ready in all haste, and painted her face, hoping with her stately and imperious looks to daunt the Traitor, or at least to utter some Apophthegme that should expresse her brave spirit, and brand him with such a reproach as might make him odious for ever. Little did she think upon the hungry dogs that were ordained to devour her, whose paunches the *stibium*, with which she besmeared her eyes, would more offend, than the scolding language wherewith she armed her tongue could trouble the ears of him that had her in his power. As *Jehu* drew neer, she opened her window, & looking out upon him, began to put him in mind of *Zimri*, that had not long enjoyed the fruits of his treason, and murther of the King his Master. This was in meer humane valuation stoutly spoken, but was indeed a part of miserable folly; as are all things, howsoever laudable, if they have an ill relation to *God the Lord of all*. Her own Eunuches that stood by and heard her, were not affected so much as with any compassion of her fortune; much lesse was her enemie daunted with her proud spirit. When *Jehu* saw that she did use the little remainder of her life in seeking to vex him, hee made her presently to understand her own estate, by deeds and not by words. He only called to her servants to know which of them would be on his side, and soon found them ready to offer their service before the very face of their proud Lady. Hereupon he commanded them to cast her down head-long: which immediatly they performed, without all regard of her greatnesse and estate, wherein she had a few hours before shined so gloriously in the eyes of men; of men that considered not the judgements of God that had been denounced against her.

So perished this accursed woman by the rude hands of her own servants, at the commandement of her greatest enemie, that was yesterday her subject, but now her Lord: and she perished miserably, strugling in vain with base groomes, who coutumeliously did hale and thrust her, whilest her insulting enemy sate on Horse-back, adding indignitie to her griefe by scornfull beholding the shamefull manner of her fall, and trampling her body under foot. Her dead carkasse that was left without the walls, was devoured by dogs, and her very memorie was odious. Thus the vengeance of God rewarded her Idolatrie, murther, and oppression, with slow, but sure paiment, and full interest.

Ahazia King of *Juda* fleeing a-pace from *Jehu*, was over-taken by the way where he lurked; and receiving his deadly wound in the kingdome of *Samaria*, was suffered to get him gone (which he did in all haste) and seek his buriall in his own kingdome: and this favour he obtained for his grand-fathers sake, not for his fathers nor his own. He died at *Megiddo*, and was thence carried to *Jerusalem*, where he was enterred with his Ancestors, having reigned about one year.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Athalia; *and whose son he was that succeeded her.*

§. I.

Of Athalia's *usurping the Kingdome, and what pretences she might forge.*

2 Chron. 22. 9

AFter the death of *Ahazia*, it is sayd that his house *was not able to retain the Kingdome*: which Note, and the proceedings of *Athalia* upon the death of her son, have given occasion to divers opinions concerning the Pedigree of *Joas*, who reigned shortly after. For *Athalia* being thus dispoiled of her son, under whose name she had ruled at her pleasure, did forth-with lay hold upon all the Princes of the bloud, and slew them, that so she might occupie the Royall Throne her self, and reign as Queen, rather than live a Subject. She had before-hand put into great place, and made Counsellors unto her son, such as were fittest for her purpose, and ready at all times to execute her will: that she kept a strong guard about her, it is very likely; and as likely it is that the great execution done by *Jehoram*, upon the Princes, and many of the Nobilitie, had made the people tame, and fearfull to stir, whatsoever they saw or heard.

Yet ambition, how violent soever it be, is seldome or never so shameless as to refuse the commoditie of goodly pretences offering themselves; but rather scrapes together all that will any way serve to colour her proceedings. Wherefore it were not absurd for us to think, that *Athalia*, when she saw the Princes of the Royall bloud, all of them in a maner, slain by her husband, and afterwards his own children destroyed by the *Philistims*, began even then to play her own game, reducing by artificiall practice, into fair likelihoods, those possibilities wherewith her husbands bad fortune had presented her. Not without great shew of reason, either by her own mouth, or by some trustie creature of hers, might she give him to understand, how needful it were to take the best order whilst as yet he might, for fear of the worst that might happen. If the issue of *David*, which now remained only in his Familie, should by any accident fail (as wofull experience had already shewed what might after come to passe) the people of *Juda* were not unlikely to choose a King of some new stock, a popular seditious man peradventure, one that to countenance his own unworthinesse, would not care what aspersions he layd upon that Royall house, which was fallen down. And who could assure him, that some ambitious spirit, fore-seeing what might be gotten thereby, did not already contrive the destruction of him, and all his seed? Wherefore it were the wisest way to design by his authoritie not only his successour, but also the reversioner, and so to provide, that the Crown might never be subject to any rifling, but remain in the disposition of them that loved him best, if the worst that might be feared comming to passe, his own posteritie could not retain it.

Such perswasions being urged, and earnestly followed, by the importunate sollicitation of her that governed his affections, were able to make the jealous Tyrant think, that the onely way to frustrate all devices of such as gaped after a change, was to make her Heir the last and youngest of his house, whom it most concerned, as being the Queen-Mother, to uphold the first and eldest.

If *Athalia* took no such course as this in her husbands time, yet might she do it in her sons. For *Ahazia* (besides that he was wholly ruled by his mother) was not likely to take much care for the securitie of his half-brethren, or their children; as accounting his Fathers other wives, in respect of his own-born-Mother, little better than Concubines, and their children basely begotten. But if this mischievous woman forgat her self so far in her wicked policie, that she lost all opportunitie which the weaknesse of her husband and son did afford, of procuring unto her self some seeming Title; yet could shee afterwards feign some such matter, as boldly shee might: being sure that none would ask to see her evidence, for fear of being sent to learn the certaintie of her son or husband in another World. But I rather think that shee took order

for

for her affairs before-hand. For though she had no reason to suspect or fear the sudden death of her son, yet it was the wisest way to provide betimes against all that might happen, whilest her husbands issue by other women was young and unable to resist. We plainly find that the Brethren or Nephewes of *Ahazia*, to the number of two and forty, were sent to the Court of *Israel*, only to salute the children of the King, and the children of the Queen. The slender occasion of which long journey, considered together with the qualitie of these persons (being in effect all the stock of *Jehoram* that could be grown to any strength) makes it very suspicious, that their entertainment in *Jezabels* house would onely have been more formall, but little differing in substance, from that which they found at the hand of *Jehu*. He that looks into the courses held both before and after by these two Queens, will find cause enough to think no lesse. Of such as have aspired unto Lordships not belonging to them, and thrust out the right Heirs by pretence of Testaments, that had no other validitie than the sword of such as claimed by them could give, Histories of late, yea of many Ages, afford plentifull examples: and the rule of *Salomon* is true: *Is there any thing whereof one may say, Behold, this is new? It hath been already in the old time that was before us.* That a King might shed his brothers bloud, was proved by *Salomon* upon *Adonia*; that hee might alien the Crown from his naturall Heirs, *David* had given proof; but these had good ground of their doings. They which follow examples that please them, will neglect the reasons of those examples, if they please them not, and rest contented with the practice, as more willing by shewing what they may do, than acknowledging why *Salomon* slew his brother that had begun one rebellion, & was entring into another. Jehoram *slew all his brethren, which were better than he: David* purchased the kingdome, and might the more freely dispose of it, yet he disposed of it as the Lord appointed: if *Jehoram*, who had lost much and gotten nothing, thought that he might alien the remainder at his pleasure; or if *Ahazia* sought to cut off the succession of his brethren, or of their issue; either of these was to be answered with the words which *Jehojada* the Priest used afterwards, in declaring the title of *Joash*: *Behold, the Kings son must reign; as the Lord hath said of the sons of* David. Wherefore though I hold it very probable, that *Athalia* did pretend some title, whatsoever it might be, to the Crown of *Juda*; yet it is most certain that she had thereunto no right at all, but only got it by treacherie, murder, and open violence; and so she held it six whole years, and a part of the seventh, in good seeming securitie.

Eccles. 1. 10.

2 Chro. 21. 13

§. II.

How Jehu *spent his time in Israel, so that hee could not molest* Athalia.

IN all this time *Jehu* did never go about to disturb her; which in reason he was likely to desire, being an enemie to her whole House. But hee was occupied at the first in establishing himself, rooting out the posteritie of *Ahab*, and reforming somewhat in Religion: afterwards in wars against the *Aramites*, wherein hee was so far overcharged, that hardly he could retain his own, much lesse attempt upon others. Of the line of *Ahab* there were seventie living in *Samaria*, out of which number *Jehu* by letter advised the Citizens to set up some one as King, and to prepare themselves to fight in his defence. Hereby might they gather how confident he was; which they well understood to proceed from greater power about him, than they could gather to resist him. Wherefore they took example by the two Kings whom he had slain, and being exceedingly affraid of him, they offered him their service; wherein they so readily shewed themselves obedient, that in lesse than one dayes warning, they sent him the heads of all those Princes, as they were injoyned by a second letter from him. After this he surprized all the Priests of *Baal* by a subtiltie, feigning a great sacrifice to their god, by which means he drew them altogether into one Temple, where hee slew them: and in the same zeal to God utterly demolished all the monuments of that impietie.

Concerning the Idolatrie devised by *Jeroboam*, no King of *Israel* had ever greater reason than *Jehu* to destroy it. For he needed not to fear lest the people should be allured unto the house of *David*; it was (in appearance) quite rooted up, and the Crown of *Juda* in the possession of a cruell Tyrannesse: he had received his kingdom by the unexpected

grace

grace of God; and further in regard of his zeal expressed in destroying *Baal* out of *Israel*, he was promised, notwithstanding his following the sin of *Jeroboam*, that the kingdome should remain in his Familie to the fourth Generation. But all this would not serve; he would needs help to piece out Gods providence with his own circumspection; doing therein like a foolish greedie gamester, who by stealing a needlesse Card to assure himself of winning a stake, forfeits his whole test. He had questionlesse displeased many, by that which he did against *Baal*; and many more he should offend by taking from them the use of a superstition, so long practised as was that Idolatrie of *Jeroboam*. Yet all these, how many soever they were, had never once thought upon making him King, if God, whom (to retain them) he now forsook, had not given him the Crown, when more difficulties appeared in the way of getting it, than could at any time after be found in the means of holding it.

This ingratitude of *Jehu* drew terrible vengeance of God upon *Israel*, wherof *Hazael* King of *Damascus* was the executioner. The cruelty of this barbarous Prince we may find in the Prophecie of *Elizeus*, who fore told it, saying: *Their strong Cities shalt thou set on fire; and their young men shalt thou slay with the sword, and shalt dash their Infants against the stones, and rend in pieces their women with child.* So did not onely the wickednesse of *Ahab* cause the ruine of his whole house, but the obstinate Idolatrie of the people bring a lamentable miserie upon all the Land. For the furie of *Hazaels* victorie was not quenched with the destruction of a few towns, nor wearied with one invasion; but he *smote them in all the coast of Israel*, and wasted all the Countrie beyond the River of *Jordan*. Notwithstanding all these calamities, it seems that the people repented not of their Idolatrie; (*For in those dayes the Lord began to loath Israel*;) but rather it is likely, that they bemoaned the noble house of *Ahab*, under which they had beaten those enemies to whom they were now a prey, and had bravely fought for the conquest of *Syria*, where they had enlarged their border, by winning *Ramoth Gilead*, and compelled *Benhadad* to restore the Cities which his Father had won: whereas now they were fain to make wofull shifts, living under a Lord that had better fortune and courage in murdering his master that had put him in trust, than in defending his people from their cruell enemies. Thus it commonly falls out, that they who can find all manner of difficulties in serving him, to whom nothing is difficult, are, in stead of the ease and the pleasure to themselves propounded by contrary courses, overwhelmed with the troubles which they sought to avoid; and therein by God, whom they first forsook, forsaken, and left unto the wretched labours of their own blind wisdome, wherein they had reposed all their confidence.

2 King. 8. 12.

2 Kin. 10. 32.

§. III.

Of Athaliah's *Government.*

THese calamities falling upon *Israel*, kept *Athalia* safe on that side, giving her leisure to look to things at home: as having little to doe abroad, unlesse it were so that she held some correspondencie with *Hazael*, pretending therein to imitate her husbands grandfather King *Asa*, who had done the like. And some probabilitie that she did so, may be gathered out of that which is recorded of her doings. For wee find, that this *wicked* Athalia *and her children brake up the house of God, and all things that were dedicate for the house of the Lord did they bestow upon* Baalim. Such a sacriledge, though it proceeded from a desire to set out her own Idolatrie, with such pomp as might make it the more glorious in the peoples eyes, was not likely to want some fair pretext of necessitie of the State so requiring: in which case others before her had made bold with that holy place, and her next successour was fain to doe the like, being thereunto forced by *Hazael*, who perhaps was delighted with the taste of that which was formerly thence extracted for his sake.

2 Chro. 24. 7.

Under this impious government of *Athalia*, the devotion of the Priests and Levites was very notable, and served (no doubt) very much to retain the people in the religion taught by God himself, howsoever the Queens proceedings advanced the contrary. For the povertie of that sacred Tribe of *Levi* must needs have been exceeding great at this time, all their lands and possessions in the ten Tribes being utterly lost, the oblations and other perquisites, by which they lived, being now very few and small; and the

store,

shore laid up in better times under godly Kings, being all taken away by shamefull robberie. Yet they up-held in all this miserie the service of God, and the daily sacrifice, keeping daily their courses, and performing obedience to the high Priest, no lesse than in those dayes wherein their entertainment was farre better.

§. IV.
of the preservation of Joas.

Iehojada then occupied the high Priesthood, an honourable, wise, and religious man. To his carefulnesse it may be ascribed, that the state of the Church was in some slender sort up-held in those unhappy times. His wife was *Iehoshabeth*, who was daughter of King *Iehoram*, and sister to *Ahazia*; a godly Lady and vertuous, whose piety makes it seem that *Athalia* was not her mother, though her accesse to the Court argue the contrarie; but her discreet carriage might more easily procure her welcome to her own Fathers house, than the education under such a Mother could have permitted her to be such as she was. By her care *Ioash* the young Prince that reigned soon after, was conveighed out of the nurserie, when *Athalia* destroyed all the Kings children, and was carried secretly into the Temple, where as secretly he was brought up. How it came to passe that this young child was not hunted out, when his body was missing; nor any great reckoning (for ought that we find) made of his escape, I will not stand to examine: for it was not good in policie, that the people should hear say, that one of the children had avoyded that cruell blow; it might have made them hearken after innovations, and so be the lesse conformable to the present government. So *Ioash* was delivered out of that slaughter, he and his nurse being gone no man could tell whither, and might be thought peradventure to be cast away, as having no other guard than a poor woman that gave him suck, who foolishly doubting that she her self should have been slain, was fled away with him into some desolate place, where it was like enough that she and he should perish. In such cases flatterers, or men desirous of reward, easily coin such tales, and rather swear them to be true in their own knowledge, than they will lose the thanks due to their joyfull tidings.

§. V.
Whose sonne Joas *was*.

†. I.
Whether Joas *may be thought likely to have been the son of* Ahazia.

NOw concerning this *Ioash*, whose son hee was, it is a thing of much difficultie to affirm, and hath caused much controversie among writers. The places of Scripture, which call him *the son of* Ahazia, seem plain enough. How any figure of the *Hebrew* language might give title of Sonne unto him, in regard that hee was his successour, I neither by my self can find, nor can by any help of Authors learn how to answer the difficulties appearing in the contrary opinions of them, that think him to have been, or not, the naturall son of *Ahazia*. For whereas it is said, that *the house of* Ahazia *was not able to retain the Kingdome*; some doe inferre that this *Ioash* was not properly called his son, but was the next of his kindred, and therefore succeeded him, as sonne in the inheritance of his father. And hereunto the murder committed by *Athalia*, doth very well agree. For she perceiving that the Kingdome was to fall into their hands, in whom shee had no interest, might easily find cause to fear, that the tyrannie exercised by her husband at her instigation upon so many noble Houses, would now be revenged upon her self. The ruine of her Idolatrous Religion might in this case terrifie both her and her Minions; the sentence of the Law rewarding that offence with death; and the Tragedie of *Iezabel* teaching her what might happen to another Queen. All this had litle concerned her, if her own grand-child had been heir to the Crown; for she that had power enough to make her self Queen, could with more ease, and lesse envie, have taken upon her the office of a Protector, by which authoritie she might have done her pleasure, and been the more both obeyed by others;

2 Kings. 11. 21 & 2 Chr. 22. 11.

2 Chron. 22. 9

and

and secure of her own estate, as not wanting an heir. Wherefore it was not needfull, that she should be so unnatural, as to destroy the Child of her own Son, of whose life shee might have made greater use than she could of his death: whereas indeed, the love of Grand-mothers to their Nephewes, is little lesse than the Mothers to their Children.

This argument is very strong. For it may seem incredible, that all naturall affection should be cast a-side, when as neither necessitie urgeth, nor any commoditie thereby gotten requireth it, yea, when all humane policie doth teach one the same, which nature without reason would have perswaded.

§. II.

That Joas *did not descend from* Nathan.

BUt (as it is more easie to find a difficultie in that which is related, than to shew how it might have otherwise been) the pedigree of this *Joash* is, by them which think him not the son of *Ahazia*, set down in such sort, that it may very justly be suspected. They say, that he descended from *Nathan* the son of *David*, and not from *Salomon*: to which purpose they bring a Historie (I know not whence) of two families of the race of *David*, saying, that the line of *Salomon* held the kingdom with this condition, that if at any time it failed, the familie of *Nathan* should succeed it. Concerning this *Nathan* the son of *David*, there are that would have him to be *Nathan* the Prophet, who, as they think, was by *David* adopted. And of this opinion was *Origen*, as also S. *Augustine* sometime was, but afterward he revoked it, as was meet; for this *Nathan* is reckoned among the sons of *David*, by *Bathsua* the daughter of *Ammes*, and therefore could not be the Prophet. *Gregory Nazianzen* (as I find him cited by *Peter Martyr*) and after him *Erasmus*, and *Faber Stapulensis*, have likewise held the same of *Joash*, deriving him from *Nathan*. But *Nathan* and those other brethren of *Salomon* by the same Mother, are thought, upon good likelihoods, to have bin the children of *Uria* the *Hittite*: and so are they accounted by sundrie of the Fathers, and by *Lyra*, and *Abulensis*, who follow the *Hebrew* Expositors of that place in the first of *Chronicles*. The words of *Salomon* calling himself the only begotten of his mother, doe approve this exposition: for we read of no more than two sons which *Bathsua* or *Bathsheba* did bear unto *David*, whereof the one begotten in adulterie, died an Infant, and *Salomon* onely of her children by the King did live. So that the rest must needs have bin the children of *Uria*, and are thought to have bin *Davids* only by adoption. Wherefore if *Joas* had not bin the son of *Ahazia*, then must that pedigree have bin false, wherein S. *Matthew* deriveth him lineally from *Salomon*; yea, then had not *our blessed Saviour* Issued from the loins of *David*, according to the flesh, but had only bin of his line by courtesie of the Nation, and form of law, as any other might have bin. As for the authority of *Philo*, which hath drawn many late writers into the opinion that *Joash* was not of the posteritie of *Salomon*, it is enough to say, that this was *Frier Annius* his *Philo*: for no other edition of *Philo* hath any such matter; but *Annius* can make Authors to speak what he list.

1 Chron. 3. 5.

§. III.

That Joas *may probably be thought to have been the son of* Jehoram.

IN so doubtfull a case, if it seem lawfull to hold an opinion that no man hath yet thought upon, me thinks it were not amisse to lay open at once, and peruse together two places of Scripture, whereof the one telling the wickednes of *Jehoram* the son of *Jehosaphat* King of *Juda*, for which he and his children perished, rehearseth it as one of Gods mercies towards the house of *David*, that according to his promise hee would *give him a light, and to his children for ever*: the other doth say, that for the offences of the same *Jehoram*, *there was not a son left him, save* Jehoahas *the youngest of his sons*. Now, if it were in regard of Gods promise to *David*, that after those massacres of *Jehoram* upon all his brethren, and of the *Philistims* and *Arabians* upon the children of *Jehoram*, one of the seed of *David* escaped; why may it not be thought that hee was said to have escaped, in whom the line of *David* was preserved? for had all the race of *Salo-*

2 King. 8. 19.

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mon been rooted up in these wofull Tragedies, and the progenie of *Nathan* succeeded in place thereof, like enough it is that some remembrance more particular would have been extant, of an event so memorable. That the race of *Nathan* was not extinguished, it is indeed apparent by the *Genealogie* of our Lord, as it is recounted by S. *Luke:* but the preservation of the house of *David*, mentioned in the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, was performed in the person of *Jehoahas*, in whom the Royall branch of *Salomon*, the naturall, and not only legall issue remaining of *David*, was kept alive. Wherefore it may be thought that this *Joash*, who followed *Athalia* in the Kingdome, was the youngest son of *Jehoram*, whose life *Athalia*, as a stepdame, was not likely to pursue. For it were not easily understood, why the preservation of *Davids* line, by Gods especiall mercie, in regard of his promise made, should pertain rather to that time, when besides *Ahazia* himself, there were two and fortie of his brethren, or (as in another place they are called) sons of his brethren remaining alive, which afterwards were all slain by *Jehu*; than have reference to the lamentable destruction and little lesse than extirpation of that progenie, wherein one only did escape. Certainly that inhumane murther which *Jehoram* committed upon his brethren, if it were (as appeareth in the Historie) revenged upon his own children; then was not this vengeance of God accomplished by the *Philistims* and *Arabians*, but being only begun by them, was afterwards prosecuted by *Jehu*, and finally took effect by the hands of that same wicked woman, at whose instigation he had committed such barbarous outrage. And from this execution of Gods heavie judgement laid upon *Jehoram* and all his children, onely *Jehoahas* his youngest sonne was exempted; whom therefore if I should affirm to be the same with *Joas*, which is called the son of *Ahazia*, I should not want good probabilitie. Some further appearance of necessitie there is, which doth argue that it could no otherwise have been. For it was the youngest sonne of *Jehoram* in whom the race was preserved; which could not in any likelihood be *Ahazia*, seeing that he was twenty years old at the least (as is already noted) when he began to reign, and consequently, was born in the eighteenth or twentieth year of his Fathers age. Now I know not whether of the two is more unlikely, either that *Jehoram* should have begotten many children before hee was eighteen years old, or that having (as he had) many wives and children, he should upon the sudden, at his eighteenth year, become unfruitfull, and beget no more in twenty years following: each of which must have bin true, if this were true that *Ahazia* was the same *Jehoahaz* which was his youngest sonne. But this inconvenience is taken away, and those other doubts arising from the causeless crueltie of *Athalia*, in seeking the life of *Joas* are easily cleered, if *Joas* and *Jehoahas* were one. Neither doth his age withstand this opinion; For he was *seven years old when he began to reign*; which if we understand of years compleat, he might have been a year old at the death of *Jehoram*, being begotten somewhat after the beginning of his sickness. Neither is it more absurd to say that he was the naturall son of *Jehoram*, though called the son of *Ahazia*, than it were to say, as great Authors have done, this difficultie notwithstanding, that he was of the posteritie of *Nathan*. One thing indeed I know not how to answer; which, had it concurred with the rest, might have served as the foundation of this opinion. The name of *Jehoahas*, that soundeth much more neer to *Joas*, than to *Ahaziah*, in an English ear, doth in the *Hebrew* (as I am informed by some, skilfull in that language) through the diversitie of certain letters, differ much from that which it most resembleth in our Western manner of writing, and little from the other. Now, although it be so that *Ahazia* himself be also called *Azaria*, and must have had three names, if he were the same with *Jehoahas*; in which manner *Joas* might also have had severall names; yet, because I find no other warrant hereof than a bare possibilitie, I will not presume to build an opinion upon the weak foundation of mine own conjecture, but leave all to the consideration of such as have more abilitie to judge, and leisure to consider of this point.

2 Kin. 10. 13.

2 Chron. 21. 8

2 Chro. 14. 14.

2 Chro. 13. 1.

2 Chro. 22. 6.

§. IV.

Upon what reasons Athalia *might seek to destroy* Joas, *if he were her own grandchild.*

IF therefore we shall follow that which is commonly received, and interpret the text according to the letter, it may be said, that *Athalia* was not only blinded by the passi-

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ons of ambition and zeal to her idolatrous worship of *Baalim*, but pursued the accomplishment of some unnaturall desires, in seeking the destruction of her grand-child, and the rest of the bloud Royall. For whether it were so that *Athalia* (as proud and cruell women are not alwayes chast) had imitated the libertie of *Jezabel* her sister in law, whose whore-domes were upbraided by *Jehu* to her son; or whether she had children by some
2 King. 9. 22. former husband, before she was married unto *Jehoram* (which is not unlikely, in regard of her age, who was daughter of *Omri*, and sister to *Ahab*) certain it is that she had sons of her own, and those old enough to be employed, as they were, in robbing of the Temple. So it is not greatly to be wondred at, that to settle the crown upon her own children, she did seek to cut off, by wicked policie, all other claims. As for *Joas*, if she were his grand-mother, yet she might mistrust the interest which his mother would have in him, lest when he came to years, it might draw him from her devotion. And hereof (besides that women doe commonly better love their daughters husbands, than their sons wives) there is some appearance in the reign of her son; for she made him spend all his time in idle journeys, to no other apparent end, than that she might rule at home; and he living abroad be estranged from his wife, and entertain some new fancies, wherein *Jezabel* had cunning enough to be his Tutoresse. But when the sword of *Jehu* had rudely cut in sunder all these fine devices, then was *Athalia* fain to goe roundly to work, and doe as she did, whereby she thought to make all sure. Otherwise, if (as I could rather think) she were onely stepdame to *Joas*, we need not seek into the reasons moving her to take away his life; her own hatred was cause enough to dispatch him among the first.

§. VI.

A digression, wherein is maintained the libertie of using conjecture in Histories.

THus much concerning the person of *Joas*, from whom, as from a new root, the tree of *David* was propagated into many branches. In handling of which matter, the more I consider the nature of this Historie, and the diversity between it and others, the lesse me thinks I need to suspect mine own presumption, as deserving blame, for curiositie in matter of doubt, or boldnesse in libertie of conjecture. For all Histories doe give us information of humane counsels and events, as farre forth as the knowledge and faith of the writers can afford; but of Gods will by which all things are ordered, they speak onely at randome, and many times falsly. This we often find in profane writers, who ascribe the ill successe of great undertakings, to the neglect of some impious Rites, whereof indeed God abhorred the performance as vehemently, as they thought him to be highly offended with the omission. Hereat we may the lesse wonder, if we consider the answer made by the *Jewes* in *Egypt* unto *Jeremie* the Prophet reprehending their Idolatrie. For howsoever the written Law of God was known unto the people, and his punishments laid upon them for contempt thereof were very terrible, and even then but newly executed; yet were they so obstinatly bent unto their wills, that they would not by any means be drawn to acknowledge the true cause of their affliction. But they told the Prophet roundly, that they would worship the *Queen of heaven*,
Jer. 44. 17, 18. as they and their fathers, their Kings and their Princes had used to doe: *For then* (sayd they) *had we plenty of victuals, and were well, and felt no evill*: adding, that all manner of miseries were befaln them, since they left off that service of the *Queen of Heaven*. So blind is the wisedome of man, in looking into the counsell of God, which to find out, there is no better nor other guide than his own written will not perverted by vain additions.

But this Historie of the Kings of *Israel* and *Juda* hath herein a singular prerogative above all that have been written by the most sufficient of meerly humane Authors: it setteth down expresly the true, and first causes of all that happened; not in imputing the death of *Ahab* to his over-forwardnesse in battell; the ruine of his Familie, to the securitie of *Jehoram* in *Jezreel*; nor the victories of *Hazael*, to the great commotions raised in *Israel*, by the comming of *Jehu*; but referring all unto the will of God, I mean, to his revealed will, from which that his hidden purposes doe not varie, this Story, by many great examples, gives most notable proofe. True it is, that the concurrence of second causes with their effects, is in these books nothing largely described; nor perhaps

haps exactly in any of thoſe Hiſtories that are in theſe points moſt copious. For it was well noted by that worthy Gentleman, Sir *Philip Sidnie*, that Hiſtorians doe borrow of Poets, not onely much of their ornament, but ſomewhat of their ſubſtance. Informations are often falſe, records not alwaies true, and notorious actions commonly inſufficient to diſcover the paſſions which doe ſet them firſt on foot. Wherefore they are fain (I ſpeak of the beſt, and in that which is allowed; for to take out of *Livie* every one circumſtance of *Claudius* his journey againſt *Aſdrubol* in *Italy*, fitting all to another buſineſſe, or any practice of that kind, is neither Hiſtoricall, nor Poeticall) to ſearch into the particular humour of Princes, and of thoſe which have governed their affections, or the inſtruments by which they wrought; from whence they do collect the moſt likely motives or impediments of every buſineſſe; and ſo figuring as neer to the life as they can imagine, the matter in hand, they judiciouſly conſider the defects in counſell, or obliquity in proceeding. *S. Phi. Sid. in his Apol. for Poetry.*

Yet all this, for the moſt part, is not enough to give aſſurance, howſoever it may give ſatisfaction. For the heart of man is unſearchable: and Princes, howſoever their intents bee ſeldome hidden from ſome of thoſe many eyes which prie both into them, and into ſuch as live about them; yet ſometimes either by their own cloſe temper, or by ſome ſubtill miſts, they conceal the truth from all reports. Yea, many times the affections themſelves lye dead, and buried in oblivion, when the preparations which they begat, are converted to another uſe. The induſtrie of an Hiſtorian, having ſo many things to wearie it, may well bee excuſed, when finding apparent cauſe enough of things done, it forbeareth to make further ſearch; though it often fall out, where ſundry occaſions work to the ſame end, that one ſmall matter in a weak mind is more effectuall, than many that ſeem farre greater. So comes it many times to paſſe, that great fires, which conſume whole houſes or towns, begin with a few ſtrawes, that are waſted or not ſeen; when the flame is diſcovered, having faſtened upon ſome wood-pile, that catcheth all about it. Queſtionleſſe it is, that the warre commenced by *Darius*, and purſued by *Xerxes* againſt the *Greeks*, proceeded from deſire of the *Perſians* to inlarge their Empire: howſoever the enterprize of the *Athenians* upon *Sardes*, was noiſed abroad as the ground of that quarrell; yet *Herodotus* telleth us, that the wanton deſire of Queen *Atoſſa*, to have the *Grecian* dames her bond-women, did firſt move *Darius* to prepare for this war before he had received any injury, and when he did not yet ſo much deſire to get more, as to enjoy what was already gotten. *Herod. lib. 1.*

I will not here ſtand to argue whether *Herodotus* be more juſtly reprehended by ſome, or defended by others, for alleging the vain appetite, and ſecret ſpeech of the Queen in bed with her husband, as the cauſe of thoſe great evils following; this I may boldly affirm, (having, I think, in every eſtate ſome ſufficient witneſſe) that matters of much conſequence, founded in all ſeeming upon ſubſtantiall reaſons, have iſſued indeed from ſuch pettie trifles, as no Hiſtorian would either think upon, or could well ſearch out.

Therefore it was a good anſwer that *Sixtus Quintus* the Pope, made to a certain Frier, comming to viſit him in his Popedome, as having long before in his meaner eſtate, been his familiar friend. This poor Frier, being emboldened by the Pope to uſe his old liberty of ſpeech, adventured to tell him, that he very much wondred how it was poſſible for his Holineſſe, whom hee rather took for a direct honeſt man, than any cunning Polititian, to attain unto the Papacy; in compaſſing of which, all the ſubtilty (ſaid he) of the moſt crafty brains, find work enough: and therefore the more I think upon the Art of the Conclave, and your unaptneſſe thereto, the more I needs muſt wonder. Pope *Sixtus* to ſatisfie the plain dealing Frier, dealt with him again as plainly, ſaying, Hadſt thou lived abroad as I have done, and ſeen by what folly this world is governed, thou wouldeſt wonder at nothing.

Surely, if this be referred unto thoſe exorbitant engines, by which the courſe of affaires is moved, the Pope ſaid true. For the wiſeſt of men are not without their vanities, which requiring and finding mutuall toleration, work more cloſely, and carefully, than right reaſon either needs or can. But if wee lift up our thoughts to that ſupreme Governour, of whoſe Empire all that is true, which by the Poet was ſaid of *Jupiter*,

Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat
Ventosum, & urbes, regnaque tristia,
Divosque mortalesque turmas,
Imperio regit unus æquo.

Who rules the duller earth, the wind-swoln streams;
The civill Cities and th'infernall Realms,
Who th'host of heaven, and the mortall band,
Alone doth govern by his just command.

Then shall wee find the quite contrary. In him there is no uncertainty nor change; hee foreseeth all things, and all things disposeth to his own honour; Hee neither deceiveth nor can be deceived, but continuing one and the same for ever, doth constantly govern all creatures by that Law, which he hath prescribed, and will never alter. The vanities of men beguile their vain contrivers, and the prosperity of the wicked, is the way leading to their destruction: yea, this broad and headlong passage to hell, is not so delightfull as it seems at the first entrance, but hath growing in it, besides the poysons which infect the soul, many cruell thorns deeply wounding the body; all which, if any few escape, they have onely this miserable advantage of others, that their descent was the more swift and expedite. But the service of God is the path guiding us to perfect happinesse, and hath in it a true, though not compleat felicity, yeelding such abundance of joy to the conscience, as doth easily countervail all afflictions whatsoever; though indeed those brambles that sometimes tear the skin of such as walk in this blessed way, doe commonly lay hold upon them at such time as they sit down to take their ease, and make them wish themselves at their journeys end, in the presence of their Lord whom they faithfully serve, in whose *presence is the fulnesse of joy, and at whose right hand are pleasures for ever.* Psalm. 66. 11.

Wherefore it being the end and scope of all History, to teach by example of times past, such wisedome as may guide our desires and actions, we should not marvell though the *Chronicles of the Kings of* Juda *and* Israel, being written by men inspired with the Spirit of God, instruct us chiefly, in that which is most requisite for us to know; as the means to attain unto true felicity, both here, and hereafter, propounding examples which illustrate this infallible rule, *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisedome.* Had the expedition of *Xerxes* (as it was foretold by *Daniel*) been written by some Prophet after the captivity: we may well beleeve that the counsell of God therein, and the executioners of his righteous will, should have occupied either the whole or the principall room in that narration. Yet had not the purpose of *Darius*, the desire of his Wife, and the businesse at *Sardes*, with other occurrents, been the lesse true, though they might have been omitted, as the lesse materiall: but these things it had been lawfull for any man to gather out of prophane Histories, or out of circumstances otherwise appearing, wherein he should not have done injury to the Sacred Writings, as long as he had forborn to derogate from the first causes, by ascribing to the second more than was due.

Such, or little different, is the businesse that I have now in hand: wherein I cannot beleeve that any man of judgement will tax me, as either fabulous or presumptuous. For hee doth not feign, that rehearseth probabilities as bare conjectures; neither doth he deprave the Text, that seeketh to illustrate and make good in humane reason, those things which authoritie alone, without further circumstance, ought to have confirmed in every mans beliefe. And this may suffice in defence of the liberty which I have used in conjectures, and may hereafter use when occasion shall require, as neither unlawfull, nor mis-beseeming an Historian.

§. VII.

The conspiracie against Athalia.

When *Athalia* had now six years and longer worn the Crown of *Juda*, and hand found neither any forreign enemy, nor domesticall adversarie to disturb her possession, suddenly the period of her glory, and reward of her wic-

wickednesse meeting together, took her away without any warning, by a violent and shamefull death. For the growth of the young Prince began to be such, as permitted him no longer to be concealed, and it had been very unfitting that his education should be simple, to make him seem the child of some poor man (as for his safety it was requisite,) when his capacity required to have been indued with the stomack and qualities meet for a King. All this *Jehojada* the Priest considered, and withall, the great increase of impiety, which taking deep root in the Court, was likely to spread it selfe over all the Country, if care were not used to weed it up very speedily. Wherefore he associated unto himself five of the Captains, in whose fidelity hee had best assurance; and having taken an oath of them, and shewed them the Kings son, hee made a Covenant with them, to advance him to the Kingdome. These drew in others of the principall men, to countenance the action, procuring at the first onely that they should repair to *Jerusalem*, where they were further acquainted with the whole matter. There needed not many perswasions to win them to the businesse: the promise of the Lord unto the house of *David*, was enough to assure them that the action was both lawfull, and likely to succeed as they desired.

But in compassing their intent, some difficulties appeared: For it was not to be hoped, that with open force they should bring their purpose to good issue; neither were the Captains, and other associats of *Jehojada* able by close working, to draw together so many trusty and serviceable hands as would suffice to manage the businesse. To help in this case, the Priest gave order to such of the Levites as had finished their courses in waiting on the Divine service at the Temple, and were now relieved by others that succeeded in their turns, that they should not depart untill they knew his further pleasure. So by admitting the new commers, and not discharging the old, hee had, without any noise, made up such a number, as would be able to deal with the Queens ordinary Guard, and that was enough: for if the Tyrannesse did not prevail against them at the first brunt, the favour of the People was like to shew it self on their side, who made head against her. These Levites were placed in the inner Court of the Temple, about the person of the King, who as yet was kept close; the followers of the Captains, and other adherents, where bestowed in the utter Courts: As for weapons, the Temple it self had store enough; King *David* had left an Armory to the place, which was now employed in defence of his issue.

All things being in a readinesse, and the day come, wherein this high design was to be put in execution; *Jehojada* delivered unto the Captains, Armour for them and their adherents, appointed a guard unto the Kings person, produced him openly, and gave unto him the Crown; using all ceremonies accustomed in such solemnities, with great applause of the people. Of these doings, the Queen was the last that heard any word. Which is not so strange as it may seem: for insolent natures, by dealing outragiously with such as bring them ill tidings, doe commonly lose the benefit of hearing what is to be feared, whilest yet it may be prevented, and have no information of danger, till their own eyes, amazed with the suddennesse, behold it in the shape of inevitable mischiefe.

All *Jerusalem* was full of the rumour, and entertained it with very good liking. Some carried home the newes, others ran forth to see, and the common joy was so great, that without apprehension of perill, under the windowes of the Court, were the people running and praising the King. *Athalia* hearing and beholding the extraordinary concourse, and noise of folks in the streets, making towards the Temple, with much unusuall passion in their looks, did presently conceive, that somewhat worthy of her care was happened; though, what it might be, she did not apprehend. Howsoever it were, she meant to use her own wisedome in looking into the matter, and ordering all as the occasion might happen to require. It may bee, that she thought it some especiall solemnitie used in the Divine service, which caused this much adoe; and hereof the unaccustomed number of Levites, and of other devout men, about the town, might give some presumption. 2 Chro. 23. 12.

Many things argue that she little thought upon her own Tragedy; although *Josephus* would make it seem otherwise. For we find in the Text, *She came to the people into the house of the Lord* (which was neer to her Palace) and that when she looked and saw the King stand by his pillar, as the manner was with the Princes, or great men of the 2 Chro. 23. 12 & 13. 1 Kin. c. 11. 7. 13. 14.

Land by him, and the Trumpeters proclaiming him, ſhee rent her clothes, and cryed Treaſon, Treaſon. Hereby it appears that ſhee was quietly going, without any miſtruſt or fear, to take her place; which when ſhe found occupied by another, then ſhe began to afflict her ſelf, as one caſt away, and cried out in vain upon the Treaſon, whereby ſhe ſaw that ſhe muſt periſh. But that ſhe came with a guard of armed men to the Temple, (as *Joſephus* reporteth) and that her company being beaten back, ſhe entred alone, and commanded the people to kill the young Tyrant, I find no where in Scripture, neither doe I hold it credible. For had ſhe truly known how things went, ſhe would ſurely have gathered her friends about her, and uſed thoſe forces in defence of her Crown, by which ſhe gat it, and hitherto had held it. Certainly, if it were granted, that ſhe, like a new *Semiramus*, did march in the head of her troop, yet it had been meer madneſſe in her, to enter the place alone, when her aſſiſtants were kept out; but if ſhee, perceiving that neither her authority, nor their own weapons, could prevail to let in her guard, would nevertheleſſe take upon her to command the death of the new King, calling a child of ſeven years old a Conſpirator, and bidding them to kill him, whom ſhee ſaw to bee armed in his defence, may we not think that ſhe was mad in the moſt extreme degree? Certain it is that the counſell of God would have taken effect, in her deſtruction, had ſhe uſed the moſt likely means to diſappoint it: yet we need not ſo cut her throat with any morall impoſſibilities. It is enough to ſay, that the godly zeal of *Jehojada* found more eaſie ſucceſſe, through her indiſcretion, than otherwiſe could have been expected; ſo that at his appointment, ſhee was without more adoe, carried out of the Temple and ſlain, yea ſo, that no bloud, ſave her own, was ſhed in that quarrell; her ſmall train that ſhe brought along with her, not daring to ſtand in her defence.

§. VIII.

The death of Athalia, *with a compariſon of her and* Jezabel.

MOſt like it is, that *Athalia* had many times, with great indignation, bewailed the raſhneſſe of her Nephew *Jehoram* the *Iſraelite*, who did fooliſhly caſt himſelf into the very throat of danger, gaping upon him, onely through his eager deſire of quickly knowing what the matter meant: yet ſhee her ſelfe, by the like bait, was taken in the like trap, and having lived ſuch a life as *Jezabel* had done, was rewarded with a ſuitable death. Theſe two Queens were in many points much alike; each of them was Daughter, Wife, and Mother to a King; each of them ruled her husband; was an Idolatreſſe and a Murdreſſe. The onely difference appearing in their condition, is, that *Jezabel* is more noted as incontinent of body, *Athalia* as ambitious: So that each of them ſurviving her husband about eight years, did ſpend their time in ſatisfying her own affections; the one uſing tyrannie, as the exercice of her haughty mind; the other painting her face, for the ornament of her unchaſte body. In the manner of their death little difference there was, or in thoſe things which may ſeem in this world to pertain unto the dead when they are gone. Each of them was taken on the ſudden by Conſpirators, and each of them exclaiming upon the Treaſon, received ſentence from the mouth of one that had lived under her ſubjection; in execution whereof, *Jezabel* was trampled under the feet of her enemies horſes; *Athalia* ſlain at her own horſe-gate; the death of *Athalia* having (though not much) the more leiſure to vex her proud heart; that of *Jezabel* the more indignitie, and ſhame of body. Touching their buriall, *Jezabel* was devoured by Dogges, as the Lord had threatned by the Prophet *Elias*; what became of *Athalia* wee doe not find. Like enough it is, that ſhe was buried, as having not perſecuted and ſlain the Lords Prophets, but ſuffered the Prieſts to exerciſe their function; yet of her buriall there is no monument, for ſhe was a Church-robber. The ſervice of *Baal* erected by theſe two Queens, was deſtroyed as ſoon as they were gone, and their Chaplaines, the Prieſts of that Religion, ſlain. Herein alſo it came to paſſe, alike, as touching them both when they were dead; the Kings who ſlew them, were afterwards afflicted, both of them by the ſame hand of *Hazael* the *Syrian*; in which point *Athalia* had the greater honour, if the *Syrian* (who ſeems to have been her good friend) pretended her revenge, as any part of his quarrell to *Juda*. Concerning children, all belonging to *Jezabel* periſhed in

few

few dayes after her: whether *Athalia* left any behind her, it is uncertain; ſhe had ſons living after ſhe was Queen, of whom, or of any other, that they were ſlaine with her, we doe not find.

This is a matter not unworthy of conſideration, in regard of much that may depend upon it. For if the children of *Athalia* had been in *Jeruſalem* when their Mother fell, their death would ſurely have followed hers as neerely, and beene regiſtred, as well as the death of *Mattan* the Prieſt of *Baal*. That Law by which *God forbad that the children ſhould die for the fathers*, could not have ſaved theſe ungracious Imps, whom the clauſe following would have cut off, which commands, that every man ſhould die for his own ſinne. Seeing therefore that they had been profeſſors and advancers of that vile and Idolatrous worſhip of *Baal*, yea had robbed the Temple of the Lord, and enriched the houſe of *Baal* with the ſpoile of it; likely it is, that they ſhould not have eſcaped with life, if *Jehojada* the Prieſt could have gotten them into his hands. As there was lawfull cauſe enough requiring their death, ſo the ſecurity of the King and his friends, that is, of all the Land, craved as much, and that very earneſtly. For theſe had been eſteemed as heires of their mothers Crowne, & being reckoned as her aſſiſtants in that particular buſineſſe of robbing the Temple, may be thought to have carried a great ſway in other matters, as Princes, and fellowes with their Mother in the Kingdome. Therefore it is evident, that either they were now dead, or (perhaps following *Hazael* in his warres againſt *Jehu*) abſent from *Jeruſalem*; whereby *Jehojada* might, with the more confidence, adventure to take Armes againſt their Mother, that was deſolate. Deut. 24. 16.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Joas *and* Amaſia, *with their Contemporaries; where ſomewhat of the building of Carthage.*

§. I.

Of Joas *his doings, whileſt* Jehojada *the Prieſt lived.*

BY the death of *Athalia*, the whole countrie of *Juda* was filled with great joy and quietneſſe; wherein *Joas*, a child of ſeven yeeres old or there-about, began his reign, which continued almoſt fortie yeeres. During his minority, he lived under the protection of that honourable man *Jehojada* the Prieſt, who did as faithfully govern the Kingdome, as he had before carefully preſerved the Kings life, & reſtored him unto the Throne of his anceſtors. When he came to mans eſtate, he took by appointment of *Jehojada* two wives, & begat Sonnes and Daughters, repairing the family of *David* which was almoſt worn out. The firſt Act that hee took in hand, when hee began to rule without a Protector, was the reparation of the Temple. It was a needfull piece of work, in regard of the decay wherein that holy place was fallen, through the wickedneſſe of ungodly Tyrants; and requiſite it was that hee ſhould up-hold the Temple, whom the Temple had up-held. This buſineſſe he followed with ſo earneſt a zeal, that not only the Levites were more ſlack than he, but even *Jehojada* was faine to be quickened by his admonition. Money was gathered for the charges of the work; partly out of the taxe impoſed by *Moſes*, partly out of the liberality of the people; who gave ſo freely, that the Temple, beſides all reparations, was enriched with veſſels of gold and ſilver; and with all other Utenſiles. The ſacrifices likewiſe were offered, as under godly Kings they had beene, and the ſervice of God was magnificently celebrated. 2 Chro. 24. 14.

§. II.

The Death of Jehojada, *and Apostasie of* Joas.

BUt this endured no longer than the life of *Jehojada* the Priest: who having lived an hundred and thirty yeeres, dyed before his Countrie could have spared him. He was buried among the Kings of *Juda*, as he well deserved, having preserved the race of them, and restored the true Religion, which the late Princes of that house, by attempting to eradicate, failed but a little of rooting up themselves, and all their issue. Yet this honourable Funerall seems to have bin given to him, at the motion of the people; it being said, *They buried him in the Citie of* David. As for the King himself, who did owe to him no lesse than his Crown and life, he is not likely to have been Author of it, seeing that hee was as easily comforted after his death, as if he had thereby been discharged of some heavie debt.

For after the death of *Jehojada*, when the Princes of *Juda* began to flatter their King, he soon forgat, not only the benefits received by this worthy man his old Counsellour, but also the good precepts which he had received from him, yea & God himself, the Author of all goodnesse. These Princes drew him to the worship of Idols, wherewith *Jehoram* and *Athalia* had so infected the Country, in fifteen or sixteen yeeres, that thirty yeeres, or there-about, of the reigne of *Joas*, wherein the true Religion was exercised, were not able to cleere it from that mischiefe. The King himself, when once he was entred into these courses, ran on head-long, as one that thought it a token of his liberty, to despise the service of God; and a manifest proofe of his being now King indeed, that he regarded no longer the sowre admonitions of devout Priests. Hereby it appeares, that his former zeal was only counterfeited, wherein like an Actor upon the stage, he had striven to expresse much more lively affection, than they could shew, that were indeed religious.

§. III.

The causes and times of the Syrians *invading* Juda *in the dayes of* Joas.

BUt God, from whom hee was broken loose, gave him over into the hands of men, that would not easily bee shaken off. *Hazael* King of *Aram*, having taken *Gath*, a Towne of the *Philistims*, addressed himself towards *Jerusalem*, whither the little distance of way, and great hope of a rich booty, did invite him. He had an Army heartned by many victories, to hope for more; and for ground of the war (if his ambition cared for pretences) it was enough that the Kings of *Juda* had assisted the *Israelites*, in their enterprises upon *Aram*, at *Ramoth Gilead*. Yet I think hee did not want some further instigation: For if the Kingdome of *Juda* had molested the *Aramites* in the time of his predecessour, this was throughly recompensed, by forbearing to succour *Israel*, & leaving the ten Tribes in their extreme misery, to the fury of *Hazael* himself. Neither is it likely, that *Hazael* should have gone about to awake a sleeping Dogge, and stirre up against himself a powerfull enemy, before he had assured the conquest of *Israel*, that lay between *Jerusalem* and his own Kingdome, if some opportunity had not performed such easie and good successe, as might rather advance, than any way disturbe his future proceedings against the ten Tribes. Wherefore I hold it probable, that the sonnes of *Athalia*, mentioned before, were with him in this action, promising (as men expelled their Countries usually doe) to draw many partakers of their own to his side; and not to remain, as *Joas* did, a neutrall in the warre betweene him and *Israel*, but to joyne all their forces with his, as they had cause, for the rooting out of *Jehu* his posterity, who, like a bloudy Traitor, had utterly destroyed all the kindred of the Queenes, their mother, even the whole house of *Ahab*, to which hee was a subject. If this were so, *Hazael* had the more apparent reason to invade the Kingdome of *Juda*. Howsoever it were, we find it plainly, that *Joas* was affraid of him, and therefore *took all the hallowed things, and all the gold that was found in the treasures of the house of the Lord*, or in his own house, with which present hee redeemed his peace: the *Syrian* (questionlesse) thinking it a better bargain, to get so much readily paid into his hand for nothing, than to hazzard the assurance of this

2 King. 12, 18.

for

for the poſſibility of not much more. So *Hazael* departed with a rich bootie of unhappy treaſure, which belonging to the living God, remained a ſmall while in the poſſeſſion of this mighty, yet corruptible man, but ſent him quickly to the grave. For in the thirtie ſeventh yeere of *Joas*, which was the fifteenth of *Jehoahaz*, hee made this purchace; but in the ſame or very next yeere he died, leaving all that hee had unto his Sonne *Benhadad*, with whom theſe treaſures proſpered no otherwiſe, than ill-gotten goods are wont.

This enterpriſe of *Hazaels*, is, by ſome, confounded with that warre of the *Aramites* upon *Juda*, mentioned in the ſecond book of *Chronicles*. But the reaſons alleged by them that hold the contrary opinion, doe forcibly prove, that it was not all one warre. For the former was compounded without bloud-ſhed or fight; in the latter, *Joas* tryed the fortune of a battaile, wherin being put to the worſt, he loſt all his Princes, and hardly eſcaped with life. In the one, *Hazael* himſelf was preſent; in the other, hee was not named: but contrariwiſe, the King of *Aram* then reigning (who may ſeem to have then been the Sonn of *Hazael*) is ſaid to have been at *Damaſcus*. The firſt Armie came to conquer, and was ſo great, that it terrified the King of *Juda*; The ſecond was a *ſmall company of men*, which did animate *Joas* (in vaine, for God was againſt him) to deal with them, as having *a very great Armie*. 2 Chron. 24

Now, concerning the time of this former invaſion, I cannot perceive that God forſooke him, till he had firſt forſaken God. There are indeed ſome, very learned, who think that this expedition of *Hazael* was in the time of *Jehoiada* the Prieſt, becauſe that ſtorie is joyned unto the reſtauration of the Temple. This had been probable, if the death of *Jehoiada* had been afterwards mentioned in that place of the ſecond book of *Kings*; or if the Apoſtaſie of *Joas*, or any other matter implying ſo much, had followed in the relation. For it is not indeed to be doubted, that the Lord of all may diſpoſe of all things, according to his own will & pleaſure; neither was he more unjuſt in the afflictions of *Job* that righteous man, or the death of *Joſias* that godly King, than in the plagues which he laid upon *Pharaoh*, or his judgements upon the houſe of *Ahab*. But it appeares plainly, that the rich furniture of the Temple, and the magnificent ſervice of God therewithall, which are joyned together, were uſed *in the houſe of the Lord continually, all the dayes of Jehoiada*; ſoone after whoſe death, if not immediately upon it, that is (as ſome very learnedly collect) in the ſixt, or thirty ſeventh yeere of this *Joas* his reign, the King falling away from the God of his Fathers, became a foule Idolater. 2 Chro. 24. 1.

And indeed we commonly obſerve, that the croſſes which it hath pleaſed God ſometimes to lay upon his ſervants without any cauſe notorious in the eyes of men, have alwayes tended unto the bettering of their good. In which reſpect, even the ſufferings of the bleſſed Martyrs (*the death of his Saints being precious in the ſight of the Lord*) are to their great advantage. But with evill and rebellious men, God keepeth a more even and ſtrict account; permitting uſually their faults to get the ſtart of their puniſhment; & either delaying his vengeance (as with the *Amorites*) till their wickedneſſe be full; or not working their amendment by his correction, but ſuffering them to run on in their wicked courſes, to their greater miſery. So hath he dealt with many; and ſo it appeares that hee dealt with *Joas*. For this unhappy man did not onely continue an obſtinate Idolater, but grew ſo forgetfull of God and all goodneſſe, as if hee had ſtroven to exceed the wickedneſſe of all that went before him, and to leave ſuch a villanous pattern unto others, as few or none of the moſt barbarous Tyrants ſhould endure to imitate. Pſal. 115. 15.

§. IV.

How Zacharia *was murthered by* Joas.

SUndry Prophets having laboured in vaine to reclaime the people from their ſuperſtition, *Zacharia* the ſonne of *Jehoiada* the Prieſt, was ſtirred up at length by the Spirit of God, to admoniſh them of their wickedneſſe, and make them underſtand the puniſhment due unto it, whereof they ſtood in danger. This *Zacharia* was a man ſo much honoured, and ſonne to a man ſo exceedingly beloved in his life time, and reverenced, that if *Joas* had reputed him (as *Ahab* did *Elias*) his open enemie, yet ought he in common honeſty, to have cloaked his ill affection, and have uſed at leaſt ſome part of

of the respect that was due to such a person: On the other side, the singular affection which he and his father had born unto the King, and the unrecountable benefits which they had done unto him, from his first infancie, were such, as should have placed *Zacharia* in the most hearty and assured love of *Joas*, yea though hee had bin otherwise a man of very small mark, and not very good condition. The truth is, that the message of a Prophet sent from God, should be heard with reverence, how simple soever he appeares that brings it. But this King *Joas*, having already scorned the admonitions and protestations of such Prophets as first were sent, did now deale with *Zacharia*, like as the wicked husbandmen, in that parable of our Saviour, dealt with the heir of the Vineyard; who said, *This is the heir, come let us kill him, that the inheritance may be ours*. By killing *Zacharia* he thought to become an absolute Commander, supposing belike that he was no free Prince, as long as one durst tell him the plain truth, how great soever that mans deservings were, that did so, yea though Gods commandement required it. So they conspired against this holy Prophet, and stoned him to death at the Kings appointment; but whether by any forme of open Law, as was practised upon *Naboth*; or whether surprising him by any close treachery, I doe neither read, nor can conjecture. The dignity of his person, considered together with their treacherous conspiracie, makes it probable, that they durst not call him into publique judgement, though that the manner of his death, being such as was commonly, and by order of Law, inflicted upon malefactors, may argue the contrary. Most likely it is, that the Kings commandement, by which he suffered, took place in stead of Law: which exercise of meere power (as hath been already noted) was nothing strange amongst the Kings of *Juda*.

Luke 20. 14.

§. V.

How Joas *was shamefully beaten by the Amorites, and of his death.*

THis odious murther committed by an unthankfull snake upon the man in whose bosome he had been fostered, as of it self alone it suffised to make the wretched Tyrant hatefull to men of his own time, and his memory detested in all ages; so had it the well-described curse of the blessed Martyr, to accompany it unto the Throne of God, and to call for vengeance from thence; which fell down swiftly, and heavily upon the head of that ungratefull monster. It was the last yeere of his reign; the end of his time comming then upon him, when he thought himself beginning to live how he listed without controulment. When that yeer was expired, the *Aramites* came into the Country, rather as may seem to get pillage, than to performe any great action; for they *came with a small company of men*: but God had intended to do more by them, than they themselves did hope for.

2 Chron. 24. 24

That *Joas* naturally was a coward, his bloudy malice against his best friend, is, in my judgement proof sufficient: though otherwise his base composition with *Hazael*, when hee might have leavied (as his son after him did muster) three hundred thousand chosen men for the warre, doth well enough shew his temper. Yet now he would needs be valiant, and make his people know, how stout of disposition their King was, when hee might have his own will. But his timorous heart was not well cloaked. For to encounter with a few bands of Rovers, hee took a very great Army, so that wise men might well perceive, that he knew what he did, making shew as if he would fight for his Countrie, and expose himself to danger of warre, when as indeed all was meere ostentation, and no perill to be feared; hee going forth so strongly appointed, against so weak enemies. Thus might wise men think, and laugh at him in secret; considering what adoe he made about that, which in all apparent reason was (as they say) a thing of nothing. But God, before whom the wisedome of this world is foolishnesse, did laugh not only at this vaine-glorious King, but at them that thought their King secure, by reason of the multitude that he drew along with him.

When the *Aramites* & King *Joas* met, whether it were by some folly of the Leaders, or by some amazement happening among the souldiers, or by whatsoever means it pleased God to work, so it was, that that great Army of *Juda* received a notable over-throw, and all the Princes were destroyed: the Princes of *Juda*, at whose perswasion the King had become a Rebell to the King of Kings. As for *Joas* himself (as *Abulensis* and others expound

expound the story) he was sorely beaten and hurt by them, being (as they think) taken and shamefully tormented, to wring out of him an excessive ransome.

And surely, all circumstances do greatly strengthen this conjecture. For the Text (in the old translation) saith, they exercised upon *Joas* ignominious judgements; and that departing from him, they dismissed him in great languor. All which argues, that they had him in their hands, and handled him ill-favoredly. Now at that time *Joas* the son of *Jehoahaz* reigned over *Israel*, and *Benhadad* the son of *Hazael* over the *Syrians* in *Damascus*; the one a valiant undertaking Prince, raised up by God to restore the State of his miserable Country; the other inferiour every way to his father, of whose purchases hee lost a great part, for want of skill to keep it. The difference in condition found between these two Princes, promising no other event than such as afterward followed, might have given to the King of *Juda* good cause to be bold, and pluck up his spirits, which *Hazael* had beaten down, if God had not been against him. But his fearfull heart being likely to quake upon any apprehension of danger, was able to put the *Syrian* King in hope, that by terrifying him with some shew of war at his doores, it were easie to make him crave any tolerable conditions of peace. The unexpected good successe hereof, already related, and the (perhaps as unsuspected) ill successe, which the *Aramites* found in their following wars against the King of *Israel*, sheweth plainly the weakenesse of all earthly might, resisting the power of the Almighty. For by his Ordinance, both the Kingdome of *Juda*, after more than forty years time of gathering strength, was unable to drive out a small company of Enemies; and the Kingdome of *Israel*, having so been trodden down by *Hazael*, that onely fifty Horsemen, ten Chariots, and ten thousand Footmen were left; prevailed against his Son, and recovered all from the victorious *Aramites*. But examples hereof are every-where found; and therefore I will not insist upon this; though indeed we should not, if we be Gods children, think it more tedious to hear long and frequent reports of our heavenly Fathers honour, than of the noble acts performed by our fore-fathers upon earth.

When the *Aramites* had what they listed, and saw that they were not able, being so few, to take any possession of the Country, they departed out of *Juda* loaden with spoile, which they sent to *Damascus*, themselves belike falling upon the ten Tribes, where it is to be thought that they sped not half so well. The King of *Juda* being in ill case, was killed on his bed when he came home, by the sons of an *Ammonitesse*, and of a *Moabitesse*, whom some (because onely their Mothers names, being strangers, are expressed) think to have been bondmen. Whether it were contempt of his fortune, or fear, lest (as Tyrants use) hee should revenge disaster upon them, imputing it to their fault, or whatsoever else it were that animated them to murder their King; the Scripture tells us plainly, that, *For the blood of the children of* Jehojada, this befell him. And the same appears to have been used as the pretence of their conspiracy, in excuse of the fact when it was done. For *Amazia*, the son and successor of *Joas*, durst not punish them, till his Kingdome was established: but contrariwise, his body was judged unworthy of burial in the Sepulchres of the Kings: whereby it appears, that the death of *Zacharia* caused the treason, wrought against the King, to find more approbation, than was requisite, among the people, though afterwards it was recompenced by his sonne, upon the Traitors, with well-deserved death. 2 Chro. 24. 25

§. VI.

Of the Princes living in the time of Joas: *of the time when* Carthage *was built: and of* Dido.

THere lived with *Joas*, *Mezades* and *Diognetus* in *Athens*: *Eudemus* and *Aristomedes* in *Corinth*: about which time *Agrippa Sylvius*, and after him *Sylvius Alladius*, were Kings of the *Albans* in *Italy*. *Ocrazapes*, commonly called *Anacyndaraxes*, the thirty seventh King succeeded unto *Ophratanes*, began his reign over the *Assyrians*, about the eighteenth year of *Joas*, which lasted forty two years. In the sixteenth of *Joas*, *Cephrenes*, the fourth from *Sesac*, succeeded unto *Cheops* in the Kingdome of *Egypt*, and held it fifty years.

In this time of *Joas*, was likewise the reign of *Pigmalion* in *Tyre*, and the foundation of

of *Carthage* by *Dido*; the building of which City is, by divers Authors, placed in divers ages, some reporting it to be 70. years younger than *Rome*, others above 400. years elder, few or none of them giving any reason of their assertions, but leaving us uncertain whom to follow: *Josephus*, who had read the Annals of *Tyre*, counting one hundred forty and three years and eight moneths from the building of *Salomons* Temple, in the twelfth year of *Hyram* King of *Tyre*, to the founding of *Carthage* by *Dido*, in the seventh of *Pigmalion*. The particulars of this accompt (which is not rare in *Josephus*) are very perplexed, and serve not very well to make cleer the totall summe. But whether it were so that *Josephus* did omit, or else that he did mis-write some number of the years, which he reckoneth in Fractions, as they were divided among the Kings of *Tyre*, from *Hyram* to *Pigmalion*; we may well enough beleeve, that the *Tyrian* writers, out of whose books hee gives us the whole summe, had good means to know the truth, and could rightly reckon the difference of time, between two works no longer following one the other than the memory of three or four generations might easily reach. This hundred forty and four years current, after the building of *Salomons* Temple, being the eleventh year of *Joas*, was a hundred forty and three years before the birth of *Rome*; and after the destruction of *Troy*, two hundred eighty and nine: a time so long after the death of *Æneas*, that we might truly conclude all to be fabulous which *Virgil* hath written of *Dido*, as *Ausonius* noteth, who doth honour her Statua with this Epigram:

Joseph. cont. App. l. 1.

Auson. ep. 117.

ILla ego sum Dido *vultu quam conspicis hospes,*
Assimulata modis pulchraque mirificis.
Talis eram, sed non Maro *quam mihi finxit, erat mens,*
Vita nec incestis laeta cupidinibus:
(Namque nec Æneas *vidit me Troius unquam,*
Nec Lybiam advenit, classibus Iliacis.
Sed furias fugiens, atque arma procacis Iarbæ,
Servavi, fateor, morte pudicitiam;
Pectore transfixo casta quod pertulit enses)
Fon furor, aut laeso crudus amore dolor.
Sic cecidisse juvat: vixi sine vulnere famæ,
Ulta virum, positis mœnibus oppetii.
Invida cur in me stimulasti Musa Maronem,
Fingeret ut nostræ damna pudicitiæ?
Vos magis Historicis lectores credite de me
Quam qui furta Deum concubitusque canunt.
Falsidici vates: temerant qui carmine verum,
Humanisque deos assimulant vitiis.

Which in effect is this.

I Am that *Dido* which thou here do'st see,
Cunningly fram'd in beauteous Imag'rie,
Like this I was, but had not such a soul,
As *Maro* feign'd, incestuous and foul.
Æneas never with his *Trojan* hoast
Beheld my face, or landed on this coast.
But flying proud *Iarbas* villanie,
Not mov'd by furious love or jealousie,
I did with weapon chaste, to save my fame,
Make way for death untimely, ere it came.
This was my end; but first I built a Town,
Reveng'd my husbands death, liv'd with renown.
Why did'st thou stirre up *Virgil*, envious Muse,
Falsely my name and honour to abuse?
Readers, beleeve Historians; not those
Which to the world *Joves* thefts and vice expose;
Poets are lyars, and for verses sake
Will make the Gods of humane crimes partake.

From

From the time of *Dido* unto the firſt *Punick* warre, that *Carthage* grew and flouriſhed in wealth and conqueſts, we find in many Hiſtories: but in particular wee find little of the *Carthaginian* affaires before that war, excepting thoſe few things that are recorded of their attempts of the Iſle of *Sicil*. We will therefore deferre the relation of matters concerning that mighty Citie, untill ſuch time as they ſhall encounter with the State of *Rome*, by which it was finally deſtroyed; and proſecute in the mean while the Hiſtory that is now in hand.

§. VII.

The beginning of Amazia *his reign: Of* Joas *King of* Iſrael, *and* Eliſha *the Prophet.*

Amazias, the ſon of *Joaſh*, being twenty five years old when his Father died, took poſſeſſion of the Kingdome of *Juda*, wherein he laboured ſo to demean himſelf, as his new beginning reign might be leaſt offenſive. The Law of *Moſes* hee profeſſed to obſerve; which howſoever it had been ſecretly deſpiſed ſince the time of *Jehoram*, by many great perſons of the land, yet had it by proviſion of good Princes, yea, and of bad ones (in their beſt times) imitating the good, but eſpecially by the care of holy Prieſts, taken ſuch deep root in the peoples hearts, that no King might hope to be very plauſible, who did not conform himſelf unto it. And at that preſent time, the ſlaughter which the *Aramites* had made of all the Princes, who had withdrawn the late King from the ſervice of God, being ſeconded by the death of the King himſelf, even whileſt that execrable murther, committed by the King upon *Zacharia*, was yet freſh in memory, did ſerve as a notable example of Gods juſtice againſt Idolaters, both to animate the better ſort of the people in holding the Religion of their fathers, and to diſcourage *Amazia* from following the way which led to ſuch an evill end. Hee therefore, having learned of his father the art of diſſimulation, did not onely forbear to puniſh the Traitors that had ſlain King *Joas*, but gave way to the time, and ſuffered the dead body to be interred, as that of *Jehoram* formerly had been, in the City of *David*, yet not among the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Juda*. Nevertheleſſe, after this, when (belike) the noiſe of the people having wearied it ſelf into ſilence, it was found that the Conſpirators (howſoever their deed done, was applauded as the handie-worke of God) had neither any mighty partakers in their fact, nor ſtrong maintainers of their perſons, but reſted ſecure, as having done well, ſeeing it was not ill taken: the King, who perceived his government well eſtabliſhed, called them into queſtion, at ſuch a time, as the heat of mens affections being well allayed, it was eaſie to diſtinguiſh between their treaſons and Gods judgements, which, by their treaſons, had taken plauſible effect. So they were put to death without any tumult, and their children (as the Law did require) were ſuffered to live: which could not but give contentment to the people, ſeeing that their King did the office of a juſt Prince, rather than of a revenging ſonne. This being done, and his own life better ſecured, by ſuch exemplary juſtice, againſt the like attempts, *Amazia* carried himſelf outwardly as a Prince well affected to Religion, and ſo continued in reſt, about twelve or thirteen years.

As *Amazia* gathered ſtrength in *Juda* by the commodity of a long peace, ſo *Joas* the *Iſraelite* grew as faſt in power, by following the war hotly againſt the *Aramites*. Hee was a valiant and fortunate Prince, yet an Idolater, as his Predeceſſors had been, worſhipping the Calves of *Jeroboam*. For this ſinne had God ſo plagued the houſe of *Jehu*, that the ten tribes wanted little of being utterly conſumed, by *Hazael* and *Benhadad*, in the time of *Jehu* and his ſonne *Jehoahaz*. But as Gods benefits to *Jehu*, ſufficed not to with-draw him from this politique Idolatry; ſo were the miſeries, rewarding that impiety, unable to reclaim *Jehoahaz* from the ſame impious courſe: yet the mercy of God beholding the trouble of *Iſrael*, did condeſcend unto the prayers of this ungodly Prince, even then when hee and his miſerable ſubjects, were obſtinate in following their own abominable wayes. Therefore in temporall matters the ten Tribes recovered apace; but the favour of God, which had been infinitely more worth, I doe not find, nor believe that they ſought: that they had it not, I find in the words of the Prophet, ſaying plainly to *Amazia*, *the Lord is not with* Iſrael, *neither with all the houſe of* Ephraim. 2 Chro. 25.7.

Whether

Whether it were so, that the great Prophet *Elisha*, who lived in those times, did foretell the prosperity of the *Israelites* under the reign of *Joas*; or whether *Jehoahaz*, wearied and broken with long adversity, thought it the wisest way, to discharge himselfe in part of the heavie cares attending those unhappy *Syrian* Warres, by laying the burden upon his hopefull son; we find that *in the thirtie seventh year of* Joas, *King of* Juda, Joas *the son of* Jehoahaz *began to reign over* Israel *in* Samaria; which was in the 15. year of his fathers reign, and some two or three years before his death.

2 King. 13. 10

It appears that this young Prince, even from the beginning of his Rule, did so well husband that poor stock that he received from his Father, of ten Chariots, fifty Horsemen, and ten thousand Foot, that hee might seem likely to prove a thriver. Amongst other circumstances, the words which he spake to *Elisha* the Prophet, argue no lesse.

2 King. 13. 14

For *Joas* visiting the Prophet, who lay sick, spake unto him thus; *O my father, my father, the Chariot of Israel, and the horsemen of the same*: by which manner of speech hee did acknowledge, that the prayers of this holy man had stood his Kingdome in more stead, than all the Horses and Chariots could doe.

This Prophet who succeeded unto *Elias*, about the first year of *Joram* the son of *Ahab* King of *Israel* died (as some have probably collected) about the third or fourth year of this *Joas*, the Nephew of *Jehu*. To shew how the spirit of *Elias* was doubled, or did rest upon him, it exceedeth my faculty. This is recorded of him, that hee did not onely raise a dead child unto life, as *Elias* had done, but when hee himselfe was dead, it pleased God that his dead bones should restore life unto a carcass, which touched them in the grave. In fine, hee bestowed as a legacie, three victories upon King *Joas*, who thereby did set *Israel* in a fair way of recovering all that the *Aramites* had usurped, and weakning the Kings of *Damasco* in such sort, that they were never after terrible to *Samaria*.

§. VIII.

Of Amazia *his war against* Edom; *His Apostasie; and overthrow by* Joas.

THe happy successe which *Joas* had found in his war against the *Aramites*, was such as might kindle in *Amazia* a desire of undertaking some expedition, wherein himselfe might purchase the like honour. His Kingdome could furnish three hundred thousand serviceable men for the Wars; and his treasures were sufficient for the payment of these, and the hire of many more. Cause of war hee had very just against the *Edomites*, who having rebelled in the time of his grand-father *Jehoram*, had about fifty years been unreclaimed, partly by reason of the troubles happening in *Juda*, partly through the sloth and timerousnesse of his father *Joas*. Yet, forasmuch as the men of *Juda* had in many years been without all exercise of Warre (excepting that unhappy fight wherein they were beaten by a few bands of the *Aramites*) hee held it a point of wisedome to increase his forces, with souldiers waged out of *Israel*, whence he hired for an hundred talents of silver, *an hundred thousand valiant men*, as the Scripture telleth us, though *Josephus* diminish the number, saying that they were but twenty thousand.

2 Chro. 25. 6. *Jos. Antiq. Jud.* l. 9. c. 10.

This great Army, which with so much cost *Amazia* had hired out of *Israel*, hee was fain to dismisse before hee had imployed it, being threatned by a Prophet with ill successe, if he strengthened himselfe with the help of those men, whom God (though in mercy hee gave them victory against the cruell *Aramites*) did not love, because they were Idolaters. The *Israelites* therefore departed in great anger, taking in ill part this dismission, as an high disgrace; which to revenge, they fell upon a piece of *Juda* in their return, and shewed their malice in the slaughter of three thousand men, and some spoil, which they carried away. But *Amazia* with his own forces, knowing that God would bee assistant to their journey, entred couragiously into the *Edomites* Countrie; over whom obtaining victory, he slew ten thousand, and took other ten thousand prisoners, all which hee threw from an high rock; holding them, it seems, rather as Traytors, than as just enemies. This victory did not seem to reduce *Edom* under the subjection of the Crown of *Juda*; which might be the cause of that severity, which was used to the prisoners; the *Edomites* that had escaped, refusing to buy the lives of their friends and kinsmen at so dear a rate, as the losse of their own libertie. Some towns in Mount

Seir,

Seir, *Amazia* took, as appears by his carrying away the Idols thence; but it is like they were the places most indefensible, in that he left no garrisons there, whereby he might another year the better have pursued the conquest of the whole countrey. Howsoever it were, he got both honour by the journey, and gains enough, had he not lost himself.

Among other spoyles of the *Edomites*, were carryed away their gods; which being vanquished and taken prisoners, did deserve well to be led in triumph. But they contrariwise, I know not by what strange witchcraft, so besotted this unworthy King *Amazia*, that *he set them up to be his gods, and worshipped them, and burned incense unto them.* 2 Chro. 25. 14

For this when he was rebuked by a Prophet sent from God, hee gave a churlish and threatning answer; asking the Prophet, Who made him a Counseller, and bidding him hold his peace for fear of the worst. If either the costly stuffe, whereof these Idols were made, or the curious workmanship and beauty, with which they were adorned by Artificers, had ravished the Kings fancie; me thinkes, he should have rather turned them to matter of profit, or kept them as house-hold ornaments and things of pleasure, than thereby have suffered himself to be blinded, with such unreasonable devotion towards them. If the superstitious account wherein the *Edomites* had held them, were able to work much upon his imagination; much more should the bad service which they had done to their old Clients, have moved him thereupon to laugh, both at the *Edomites*, and them. Wherefore it seems to me, that the same affections carried him from God, unto the service of Idols, which afterwards moved him to talk so roughly to the Prophet reprehending him. He had already obeyed the warning of God by a Prophet, and sent away such auxiliarie forces as he had gathered out of *Israel*; which done, it is sayd, that *he was encouraged, and led forth his people*, thinking belike, that God would now rather assist him by miracle, than let him faile of obtaining all his hearts desire. But with better reason he should have limited his desires by the will of God, whose pleasure it was, that *Esau* having broken the yoak of *Jacob* from his neck, according as *Isaac* had fore-told, should no more become his servant. If therefore *Amazia* did hope to re-conquer all the Countrey of *Edom*, he failed of his expectation; yet so, that he brought home both profit and honour, which might have well contented him. 2 Chro. 25. 11

But there is a foolish and a wretched pride, wherewith men being transported, can ill endure to ascribe unto God the honour of those actions, in which it hath pleased him to use their own industrie, courage, or fore-sight. Therefore it is commonly seen, that they, who entring into battell, are carefull to pray for aide from heaven, with due acknowledgement of his power, who is the giver of victory; when the field is won, doe vaunt of their own exploits; one telling how he got such a ground of advantage; another, how he gave check to such a battalion; a third, how he seized on the enemies Canon; every one striving to magnifie himself, whilest all forget God, as one that had not been present in the action. To ascribe to fortune the effects of another mans vertue, is, I confesse, an argument of malice. Yet this is true, that as he which findeth better successe, than he did, or in reason might expect, is deeply bound to acknowledge God the Author of his happinesse; so he whose meere wisdome and labour hath brought things, to a prosperous issue, is doubly bound to shew himself thankfull, both for the victory, and for those vertues by which the victory was gotten. And indeed so far from weakenesse is the nature of such thanksgiving, that it may well be called the height of magnanimitie; no vertue being so truly heroicall, as that by which the spirit of man advanceth it selfe with confidence of acceptation, unto the love of God. In which sense it is a brave speech that *Evander* in *Virgil* useth to *Æneas*, none but a Christian being capable of the admonition:

Aude hospes contemnere opes, & te quoque dignum
Finge Deo.

With this Philosophy *Amazia* (as appears by his carriage) troubled not his head: he had shewed himself a better man of war than any King of *Juda*, since the time of *Jehosaphat*, and could be well contented, that his people should think him little inferiour to *David*; of which honour he saw no reason why the Prophets should rob him, who had made him lose an hundred talents, and done him no pleasure; he having prevailed by plain force and good conduct, without any miracle at all. That hee was distempered with such vain thoughts as these (besides the witnesse of his impietie following) *Josephus* doth testifie *Jos. Ant. 9. c. 10.*

testifie; saying, That he despised God, and that being puft up with his good successe, of which nevertheleſſe he would not acknowledge God to be the Author, he commanded *Joas* King of *Israel* to become his subject, and to let the ten Tribes acknowledge him their Soveraign, as they had done his Ancestours King *David* and *Salomon*. Some think that his quarrell to *Joas* was rather grounded upon the injurie done to him by the *Israelites*, whom hee dismissed in the journey against Mount *Seir*. And likely it is, that the sense of a late wrong had more power to stirre him up, than the remembrance of an old title, forgotten long since, and by himselfe neglected thirteen, or fourteen years. Nevertheleſſe it might so be, that when he was thus provoked, hee thought it not enough to requite new wrongs, but would also call old matters into question; that so the Kings of *Israel* might, at the least, learn to keep their subjects from offending *Juda*, for fear of endangering their own Crowns. Had *Amazia* desired onely recompence for the injury done to him, it is not improbable that hee should have had some reasonable answer from *Joas*, who was not desirous to fight with him. But the answer which *Joas* returned, likening himself to a Cedar, and *Amazia* in respect of him to no better than a thistle, shewes that the challenge was made in insolent termes, stuft perhaps with such proud comparison of Nobilitie, as might be made (according to that which *Josephus* hath written) between a King of antient race, and one of lesse nobilitie than vertue.

Sophocles in Ajace Lor.

It is by *Sophocles* reported of *Ajax*, that when going to the warre of *Troy*, his father did bid him to be valiant, and get victory by Gods assistance, he made answer, That by Gods assistance a coward could get victory, but hee would get it alone without such help: after which proud speech, though he did many valiant acts, he had small thanks; and finally, killing himselfe in a madnesse, whereinto he fell upon disgrace received, was hardly allowed the honour of buriall. That *Amazia* did utter such words, I doe not find: but having once entertained the thoughts, which are parents of such words, he was rewarded with successe according. The very first counsell wherein this warre was concluded, serves to prove that he was a wise Prince indeed at *Jerusalem*, among his Parasites, but a fool when he had to deal with his equalls abroad. For it was not all one, to fight with the *Edomites*, a weak people, trusting more in the seat of their Countrey, than the valour of their Souldiers; and to encounter with *Joas*, who from so poor beginnings had raised himselfe to such strength, that hee was able to lend his friend a hundred thousand men, and had all his Nation exercised, and trained up in a long victorious warre. But as *Amazia* discovered much want of judgement, in undertaking such a match; so in prosecuting the businesse, when it was set on foot, he behaved himselfe as a man of little experience, who having once onely tryed his fortune, and found it to be good, thought that in Warre there was nothing else to doe, than send a defiance, fight, and winne. *Joas* on the contrary side, having been accustomed to deal with a stronger enemie than the King of *Juda*, used that celeritie, which peradventure had often stood him in good stead against the *Aramite*. He did not sit waiting till the enemies brake in and wasted his Countrey, but presented himselfe with an Armie in *Juda*, ready to bid battell to *Amazia*, and save him the labour of a long journey. This could not but greatly discourage those of *Juda*; who (besides the impression of fear which an invasion beats into people, not inured in the like) having devoured in their greedy hopes, the spoyle of *Israel*, fully perswading themselves to get as much, and at as easie a rate, as in the journey of *Edom*; were so far disappointed of their expectation, that well they might suspect all new assurance of good luck, when the old had thus beguiled them. All this notwithstanding, their King that had stomack enough to challenge the patrimonie of *Salomon*, thought like another *David* to winne it by the sword. The issue of which fool-hardinesse might easily have been fore-seen in humane reason; comparing together, either the two Kings, or the quality of their Armies, or the first and ominous beginning of the Warre. But meere humane wisedome, howsoever it might foresee much, could not have prognosticated all the mischief that fell upon *Amazia*. For as soon as the two Armies came in sight, God, whose help this wretched man had so despised, did (as *Josephus* reports it) strike such terrour and amazement into the men of *Juda*, that without one blow given, they fled all away, leaving their King to shift for himself; which he did so ill, that his enemy had soon caught him, and made him change his glorious humour into most abject baseneſſe. That the Armie which

Jos. ant. l. 9. c. 10.

fled

fled, sustained any other losse than of honour, I neither find in the Scriptures nor in *Josephus*; it being likely that the soon beginning of their flight, which made it the more shamefull, made it also the more safe. But of the mischiefe that followed this overthrow, it was Gods will that *Amazia* himselfe should sustain the whole disgrace. For *Joas* carried him directly to *Jerusalem*, where he bade him procure that the gates might be opened to let him in and his Army; threatning him otherwise with present death. So much amazed was the miserable captive, with these dreadfull words, that he durst do no other than perswade the Citizens, to yeeld themselves to the mercie of the Conquerour. The Town, which afterwards being in weaker state held out two years against *Nebuchadnezzar*, was utterly dismaid, when the King that should have given his life to save it, used all his force of command and intreaty to betray it. So the gates of *Jerusalem* were opened to *Joas*, with which honour (greater than any King of *Israel* had ever obtained) he could not rest contented, but the more to despise *Amazia* and his people, he caused 400 cubits of the wall to be thrown down, and entred the City in his Chariot through that breach, carrying the King before him as in triumph. This done, he sack'd the Temple, and the Kings Palace, and so taking hostages of *Amazia*, he dismissed the poor creature that was glad of his life, and returned to *Samaria*.

§. IX.

A discourse of the reasons hindring Joas *from uniting* Juda *to the Crown of* Israel, *when he had won* Jerusalem, *and held* Amazia *prisoner. The end of* Joas *his reign.*

WE may justly marvell how it came to passe, that *Joas*, being thus in possession of *Jerusalem*, having the King in his hands, his enemies forces broken, and his own entire, could be so content to depart quietly with a little spoil, when he might have seized upon the whole Kingdome. The reign of *Athalia* had given him cause to hope that the issue of *David* might be dispossessed of that crown; his own nobility, being the son and grand-child of Kings, together with the famous acts that he had done, were enough to make the people of *Juda* think highly of him; who might also have preferred his form of government before that of their own Kings, especially at such a time, when a long succession of wicked Princes had smothered the thanks which were due to the memory of a few good ones. The commodity that would have ensued upon the union of all the twelve Tribes under one Prince, is so apparent, that I need not to insist on it. That any message from God forbade the *Israelite* (as afterwards in the victorie which *Peka* the son of *Romelia* got upon *Ahaz*) to turn his present advantage to the best use, we doe not read. All this makes it the more difficult to resolve the question, why a Prince so well exercised as *Joas* had been in recovering his own, and winning from the enemy, should forsake the possession of *Jerusalem*, and wilfully neglect the possibilities, or rather cast away the full assurance of so fair a conquest, as the Kingdome of *Juda*.

But concerning that point, which of all others had been most materiall, I mean the desire of the vanquished people to accept the *Israelite* for their King, it is plainly seen, that entring *Jerusalem* in triumphant manner, *Joas* was unable to concoct his own prosperitie. For, the opening of the gates had been enough to have let him not onely into the Citie, but into the Royall Throne, and the peoples hearts, whom by fair intreatie (especially having sure means of compulsion) hee might have made his own, when they saw themselves betrayed, and basely given away by him whose they had been before. The fair mark which this opportunitie presented, hee did not aim at, because his ambition was otherwise, and more meanly bused, in levelling at the glory of a triumphant entrie through a breach. Yet this errour might afterwards have been corrected well enough, if entring as an enemie, and shewing what hee could doe, by spending his anger upon the Walls, he had within the Citie done offices of a friend, and laboured to shew good will to the inhabitants. But when his pride had done, his covetousnesse began, and sought to please it self with that which is commonly most ready to the spoyler, yet should be most forborn. The Treasure wherewith *Sesac*, *Hazael*, and the *Philistims*, men ignorant of the true God and his Religion, had quenched their greedy thirst, ought not to have tempted the appetite of *Joas*, who though an Idolater,

yet acknowledged also and worshipped the eternall God, whose Temple was at *Ierusalem*. Therefore when the people saw him take his way directly to seise that holy place,
1 Chro. 26. 15 and lay his ravenous hands upon the consecrated vessels, calling the familie of *Obed Edom (whose children had hereditarie charge of the treasure)* to a strict account, as if they had been officers of his own Exchequer; they considered him rather as an execrable Church-robber, than as a noble Prince, an *Israelite*, and their brother, though of another Tribe. Thus following that course, which the most vertuous King of our age (taxing it with the same phrase) hath wisely avoyded; by stealing a few Apples, he lost the inheritance of the whole Orchard. The people detested him, and after the respite of a few dayes, might, by comparing themselves one to one, perceive his Souldiers to be no better than men of their own mould, and inferiour in number to the inhabitants of so great a Citie. It is not so easie to hold by force a mightie town entered by capitulation, as to enter the gates opened by unadvised fear. For when the Citizens, not being disarmed, recover their spirits, and begin to understand their first errour, they will think upon every advantage, of place, of provisions, of multitude, yea of women armed with tile-stones; and rather choose by desperate resolution, to correct the evills grown out of their former cowardise, than suffer those mischiefs to poyson the bodie, which in such half-conquests, are easily tasted in the mouth. A more lively example hereof cannot be desired, than the Citie of *Florence*, which through the weakness of *Peter de Medices*, governing therin as a Prince, was reduced into such hard tearms, that it opened the gates unto the French King *Charles* the eighth, who not plainly professing himself either friend or foe to the State, entred the Town, with his Armie, in triumphant manner, himself and his horse armed, with his lance upon his thigh. Many insolencies were therein committed by the French, and much argument of quarrell ministred between them and the Townes-men: so farre forth that the *Florentines*, to preserve their libertie, were driven to prepare for fight. To conclude the matter, *Charles* propounds intollerable conditions, demanding huge summes of ready money, and the absolute Seigniorie of the State, as conquered by him, who entred the Citie in Armes. But *Peter Capons*, a principall Citizen, catching these Articles from the Kings Secretarie, and tearing them before his face, bad him sound his Trumpets, and they would ring their Bels: which peremptory words made the French bethink themselves, and come readily to this agreement, that for forty thousand pounds, and not half of that money to be paid in hand, *Charles* should not onely depart in peace, but restore whatsoever he had of their Dominion, and continue their assured friend. So dangerous a matter did it seem for that brave Armie, which in few moneths after wanne the Kingdome of *Naples*, to fight in the streets, against the armed multitude of that populous Citie. It is true, that *Charles* had other businesse (and so perhaps had *Foas*, as shall anon be shewed) that called him away: but it was the apprehension of imminent danger that made him come to reason. In such cases the firing of houses, usually drawes every Citizen to save his own, leaving victory to the Souldier: yet where the people are prepared and resolved, women can quench, as fast as the enemie, having other things to look unto, can set on fire. And indeed that Commander is more given to anger than regardfull of profit, who upon the uncertain hope of destroying a Town, forsakes the assurance of a good composition. Diversitie of circumstance may alter the case: it is enough to say, that it might be in *Ierusalem*, as we know it was in *Florence*.

How strongly soever *Foas* might hold himself within *Ierusalem*, he could not easily depart from thence, with his bootie safe, if the armie of *Iuda*, which had bin more terrified than weakned in the late encounter, should re-enforce it self, and give him a check upon the way. Wherefore it was wisely done of him, to take hostages for his better securitie, his Armie being upon return, and better loaden than when it came forth; for which causes it was the more unapt to fight.

Besides these impediments, within the Citie and without, serving to cool the ambition of *Foas*, and keep it down from aspiring to the Crown of *Iuda*; it appears that somewhat was newly fallen out, which had reference to the anger of *Elisha* the Prophet; who, when this *Foas* had smitten the ground with his arrowes thrice, told him that hee should no oftner smite the *Aramites*. The three victories which *Israel* had against *Aram*, are by some, and with great probabilitie, referred unto the fifth, sixth, and seventh

years

yeares of *Joas*: after which time, if any losses ensuing had blemished the former good successe, ill might the King of *Israel* have likened himself to a stately Cedar, and worse could he have either lent the *Judean* one hundred thousand men, or meet him in battell, who was able to bring into the field three hundred thousand of his own. Seeing therefore it is made plain by the words of *Elisha*, that after three victories *Joash* should find some change of fortune, and suffer losse; we must needs conclude, That the *Aramite* prevailed upon him this yeare, it being the last of his Reign. That this was so, and that the *Syrians*, taking advantage of *Joas* his absence, gave such a blow to *Israel*, as the King at his return was not able to remedie, but rather fell himself into new misfortunes, which increased the calamitie; we may evidently perceive in that which is spoken of *Jeroboam* his son. For it is said, *That the Lord saw the exceeding bitter afflictions of Israel*, and that having *not decreed to put out the name of Israel from under the Heaven, he preserved them by the hand of* Jeroboam *the sonne of* Joas. This is enough to prove, that the victorious Reign of *Joas* was concluded with a sad catastrophe; the riches of the Temple hastening his miserie and death, as they had done with *Sesac*, *Athalia*, and *Hazael*, and as afterwards they wrought with *Antiochus*, *Crassus*, and other sacrilegious Potentates.

Thus either through indignation conceived against him, by the people of *Jerusalem*, and courage which they took to set upon him within the Walls; or through preparation of the Armie that lay abroad in the Countrey, to bid him battell in open field, and recover by a new charge the honour which was lost at the former encounter; or through the miseries daily brought upon his own Countrey, by the *Syrian* in his absence (if not by all of these) *Joas* was driven to lay aside all thought of winning the kingdome of *Juda*; and taking hostages for his quiet passage, made all haste homewards, where he found a sad wel-come, and being utterly forsaken of his wonted prosperitie, forsook also his life in few moneths after, leaving his kingdome to *Jeroboam* the second, his fortunate and valiant son.

§. X.

The end of Amazia *his Reign and life.*

ANy man is able to ghesse how *Amazia* looked, when the enemie had left him. Hee that had vaunted so much of his own great prowesse and skill in Armes, threatning to work wonders, and set up a-new the glorious Empire of *David*, was now uncased of his Lyons hide, and appeared nothing so terrible a beast as he had been painted. Much argument of scoffing at him he had ministred unto such as held him in dislike; which at this time, doubtlesse were very many: for the shame that falls upon an insolent man, seldome failes of meeting with aboundance of reproach. As for *Amazia* (besides that the multitude are alwayes prone to lay the blame upon their Governours, even of those calamities which happen by their own default) there was no child in all *Jerusalem*, but knew him to be the root of all this mischief. He had not only challenged a good man of War, being himself a Dastard; but when he was beaten and taken by him, had basely pleaded for the common enemie, to have him let into the Citie, that with his own eyes he might see what spoyle there was, and not make a bad bargaine by heare-say. The father of this *Amazia* was a beastly man; yet when the *Aramites* took him and tormented him, he did not offer to buy his own life at so dear a rate, as the Citie & Temple of *Jerusalem*. Had he offered, should they have made his promise good? surely the haste which they had made in condescending to this hard match, was very unfortunate: for by keeping out the *Israelites* (which was easie enough) any little while, they should soone have bin rid of him, seeing that the *Aramites* would have made him run home, with greater speed than he came forth. Then also, when having trussed up his baggage, he was readie to be gone, a little courage would have served to perswade him to leave his load behind; had not their good King delivered up hostages, to secure his return, as loath to defraud him of the recompence due to his paines taken.

Such exprobrations could not but vex the heart of this unhappie King: it had been well for him, if they had made him acknowledge his fault unto God, that had punished him by all this dishonour. But we find no mention of his amendment. Rather it appeares, that he continued an Idolater to the very last. For it is said of him, that after his turning away from the Lord, *they wrought treason against him in Jerusalem*: a manifest proofe 2 Chro. 25. 27.

proof that he was not reclaimed unto his lives end. And certainly, they which tell a man in his adversity of his faults passed, shall sooner be thought to upbraid him with his fortune, than to seeke his reformation. Wherefore it is no marvell, that Priests and Prophets were lesse welcome to him, than ever they had been. On the other side, flatterers, and such as were desirous to put a heart into him, whereof themselves might alwaies be masters, wanted not plausible matter to revive him. For he was not the first, nor second of the Kings of *Juda*, that had been overcome in battell. *David* himselfe had abandoned the Citie, leaving it before the enemy was in sight, unto *Absalom* his rebellious Sonne. Many besides him had received losses, wherein the Temple bare a part. If *Joas* might so easily have beene kept out; why did their Ancestors let *Sesac* in? *Asa* was reputed a vertuous Prince, yet with his own hands hee emptied the Temple, and was not blamed, but held excusable by necessity of the State. Belike these traducers would commend no Actions but of dead Princes: if so, hee should rather live to punish them, than die to please them. Though wherein had hee given them any cause of displeasure? It was he indeed that commanded to set open the gates to *Joas*; but it was the people that did it. Good servants ought not to have obeyed their Masters Commandements to his disadvantage, when they saw him not master of his own Person. As his captivity did acquit him from blame of all things that he did or suffered in that condition; so was that misfortune it selfe, in true estimation, as highly to his honour, as deeply to his losse. For had he beene as hasty to flye as others were, hee might have escaped as well as others did. But seeking to teach the base multitude courage by his Royall example, he was shamefully betrayed by those in whom he trusted. Unworthy creatures, that could readily obey him, when speaking another mans words, being prisoner, he commanded them to yeeld; having neglected his charge, when leading them into the field, he bad them stand to it and fight like men. The best was, that they must needs acknowledge his mischance, as the occasion whereby many thousand lives were saved; the enemy having wisely preferred the surprise of a Lion that was Captaine, before the chase and slaughter of an Army of Stags that followed him.

These or the like words comforting *Amazia*, were able to perswade him, that it was even so indeed. And such excuses might have served well enough to please the people, if the King had first studied how to please God. But hee that was unwilling to ascribe unto God the good successe fore-told by a Prophet; could easily find how to impute this late disaster unto fortune, and the fault of others. Now concerning fortune, it seemes that he meant to keep himself safe from her by sitting still; for in fifteene years following (so long he out-lived his honour) we find not that he stirred. As for his subjects, though nothing henceforth bee recorded of his government, yet we may see by his end, that the middle time was ill spent among them, increasing their hatred to his own ruine. He that suspecteth his own worth or other mens opinions, thinking the lesse regard is had of his person than he beleeveth to be due to his place, will commonly spend all the force of his authoritie in purchasing the name of a severe man. For the affected sowreneſſe of a vaine fellow, doth many times resemble the gravity of one that is wise: and the feare wherein they live, which are subject unto oppression, carryes a shew of reverence to him that does the wrong; at least it serves to dazle the eyes of underlings, keeping them from prying into the weakedneſſe of such as have jurisdiction over them. Thus the time, wherein, by well using it, men might attain to be such as they ought, they do usually misse-spend, in seeking to appeare such as they are not. This is a vain & deceivable course; procuring, in stead of the respect that was hoped for, more indignation than was feared. Which is a thing of dangerous consequence; especially when an unable spirit, being over-perted with so high authority, is too passionate in the execution of such an office, as cannot be checked but by violence. If therfore *Amazia* thought by extreme rigour to hold up his reputation, what did he else than strive to make the people think he hated them, when of themselves they were apt enough to beleeve that he did not love them? the best was, that he had, by revenging his fathers death provided well enough for his own security: but who should take vengeance (or upon whom?) of such a murther, wherein every one had a part? Surely God himself, who had not given cõmandement or leave unto the people, to take his office out of his hand, in shedding the bloud of his Annointed. Yet as *Amazia* careleſſe of God, was carried headlong

headlong by his own affections; ſo his ſubjects, following the ſame ill example, without requiring what belonged unto their duties, roſe up againſt him, with ſuch headlong furie, that being unable to defend himſelf in *Jeruſalem*, he was driven to forſake the Citie, and flie to *Lachis*, for ſafeguard of his life. But ſo extreme was the hatred conceived againſt him, & ſo generall, that neither his abſence could allay the rage of it in the Capitall Citie, nor his preſence in the Countrie abroad procure friends to defend his life. Queſtionleſſe he choſe the Town of *Lachis* for his refuge, as a place of all other beſt affected to him; yet found he there none other favour, than that the people did not kil him with their own hands; for when the Conſpirators (who troubled not themſelves about raiſing an Armie for the matter) ſent purſuers after, he was abandoned to death. *Lachis* was the utmoſt Citie of his Dominion Weſtward, ſtanding ſomewhat without the border of *Juda*; ſo that he might have made an eaſie eſcape (if he durſt adventure) into the Territorie of the *Philiſtims*, or the Kingdome of *Iſrael*. Therefore it may ſeem that he was detained there, where certain it is that he found no kind of favour: for had not the people of this Town added their own treaſon to the generall inſurrection; the murderers could not at ſo good leaſure as they did, have carried away his bodie to *Jeruſalem*, where they gave him buriall with his fathers.

§. XI.

Of the Interregnum, *or vacancie, that was in the Kingdome of* Juda, *after the death of* Amazia.

IT hath alreadie bin ſhewed, that the Reignes of the Kings of *Juda* and *Iſrael* were ſometimes to be meaſured by compleat years, otherwhiles, by years current: and that the time of one King is now and then confounded with the laſt years of his fathers Reign, or the foremoſt of his ſons. But we are now arrived at a meere vacation, wherein the Crown of *Juda* lay voyd eleven whole yeares: a thing not plainly ſet down in Scriptures, nor yet remembred by *Joſephus*, and therefore hard to be beleeved, were it not proved by neceſſary conſequence.

Twice we find it written, that *Amazia, King of Juda, lived after the death of* Joas *King of Iſrael fifteen yeares*; whereupon it followes, that the death of *Amazia*, was about the end of fifteen yeares compleat, which *Jeroboam* the ſecond (who *in the fifteenth year of Amazia was made King over Iſrael*) had reigned in *Samaria*. But the ſucceſſion of *Uzzia*, who is alſo called *Azaria*, unto his father in the Kingdome of *Juda*, was eleven years later than the ſixteenth of *Jeroboam*: for it is expreſſed, that *Azaria began to reign in the ſeven and twentieth yeare of Jeroboam*; the ſixteenth yeare of his life, being joyned with the firſt of two and fiftie that he reigned. So the *Interregnum* of eleven yeares cannot be divided, without ſome hard means uſed, of interpreting the Text otherwiſe than the letter ſounds.

2 Chro. 25. 1. & 2 Kin. 14. 17.

2 Kin. 14. 23.

2 Kin. 15. 1.

Yet ſome conjectures there are made, which tend to keep all even, without acknowledging any voyd time. For it is thought that in the place laſt of all cited, by the ſeven and twentieth yeare of *Jeroboam*, we ſhould perhaps underſtand the ſeven and twentieth yeare of his life; or elſe (becauſe the like words are no where elſe interpreted in the like ſenſe) that *Azaria* was eleven yeares under age, that is, five years old, when his father died, and ſo his ſixteenth yeare might concurre with the ſeven and twentieth of *Jeroboam*; or that the Text it ſelfe might have ſuffered ſome wrong, by miſwriting twentie ſeven for ſeventeen yeares; and ſo, by making the ſeventeenth yeare of *Jeroboam* to be newly begun, all may be ſalved. Theſe are the conjectures of that worthy man *Gerard Mercator*: concerning the firſt of which, it may ſuffice, that the Author himſelf doth eaſily let it paſſe, as improbable; the laſt is followed by none that I know, neither is it fit, that upon every doubt, we ſhould call the text in queſtion; which could not be falſified in all copies, if perhaps it were in one: as for the ſecond, it may be held with ſome qualification, that *Azaria* began his Reign being five yeares old; but then muſt we adde thoſe eleven yeares which paſſed in his minoritie, to the two and fiftie that followed his ſixteenth yeare, which is all one, in a maner, with allowing an *Interregnum*.

But why ſhould we be ſo carefull to avoyd an *Interregnum* in *Juda*, ſeeing that the like neceſſitie

neceſſity hath inforced all good Writers to acknowledge the like vacancy, twice happening within few yeares, in the kingdome of *Iſrael*? The ſpace of time betweene *Jeroboams* death, and the beginning of *Zachariahs* reign, and ſuch another gap found between the death of *Peka*, and the beginning of *Hoſea*, have made it eaſily to be admitted into *Samaria*; which the conſideration of things as they ſtood in *Juda*, when *Amazia* was ſlaine, doth make more probable to have happened there, yea, although the neceſſity of computation were not ſo apparent.

For the publike furie having ſo farre extended it ſelfe, as unto the deſtruction of the kings own perſon, was not likely to be appeaſed without order taken for obtaining ſome redreſſe of thoſe matters, which had cauſed it at the firſt to break forth into ſuch extremity. We need not therefore wonder how it came to paſſe, that they which already had thrown themſelves into ſuch an horrible treaſon, ſhould afterwards dare to withhold the Crown from a Prince of that age, which being inveſted in all ornaments of Regality, is nevertheleſſe expoſed to many injuries, proceeding from head-ſtrong, and forgetfull ſubjects.

As for their conjecture, who make *Azaria* to have beene King but one and fortie years after he came out of his non-age; I dare not allow it, becauſe it agrees too harſhly with the Text. The beſt opinion were that which gives unto *Jeroboam* eleven yeares of reigne with his Father, before he began to reigne ſingle in the fifteenth of *Amazia*; did it not ſwallow up almoſt the whole reign of *Joas*, and extending the years of thoſe which reigned in *Iſrael* (by making ſuch of them compleat as were onely current) and take at the ſhorteſt the reignes of Princes ruling in other Nations. But I will not ſtand to diſpute further of this: every man may follow his own opinion, and ſee mine more plainely in the Chronologicall Table, drawne for theſe purpoſes.

§. XII.

Of Princes Contemporarie with Amazia, *and more particularly of* Sardanapalus.

THe Princes living with *Amazia*, and in the eleven years that followed his death, were *Joas* and *Jeroboam* in *Iſrael*; *Cephrenes* and *Mycerinus* in *Egypt*; *Sylvius Alladius*, and *Sylvius Aventinus* in *Alba*; *Agamemnon* in *Corinth*; *Diognetus Pheredus*, and *Ariphron* in *Athens*; in *Lacedæmon Theleclus*, in whoſe time the *Spartans* wan from the *Achaians*, *Gerauthæ*, *Amyclæ*, and ſome other Townes.

But more notable than all theſe, was *Aſſyrian Sardanapalus*, who in the one and twentieth year of *Amazia*, ſucceeding his father *Ocrazapes* or *Anacyndaraxes*, reigned twenty yeares, and was ſlaine the laſt of the eleven voyd yeares which fore-went the reigne of *Azaria*. In him ended (as moſt agree) the line of *Ninus*, which had held that Empire one thouſand two hundred and forty years. A moſt luxurious and effeminate Palliard he was, paſſing away his time among ſtrumpets, whom he imitated both in apparrel and behaviour.

In theſe voluptuous courſes he lived an unhappy life, knowing himſelfe to be ſo vile, that he durſt not let any man have a ſight of him; yet ſeene he was at length, and the ſight of him was ſo odious, that it procured his ruine. For *Arbaces*, who governed *Media* under him, finding meanes to behold the perſon of his King, was ſo incenſed with that beaſtly ſpectacle, of a man diſguiſed in womans attire, and ſtriving to counterfeit an harlot, that he thought it a great ſhame to live under the command of ſo unworthy a creature. Purpoſing therefore to free himſelfe and others from ſo baſe ſubjection, he was much encouraged by the prediction of *Beleſis* or *Beloſus* a *Chaldæan*, who told him plainly, that the Kingdome of *Sardanapalus* ſhould fall into his hands. *Arbaces* well pleaſed with the prophecie, did promiſe unto *Beloſus* himſelfe the government of *Babylon*; and ſo concluding how to handle the buſineſſe, one of them ſtirred up the *Medes*, and allured the *Perſians* into the quarrel, the other perſwaded the *Babylonians* and *Arabians* to venture themſelves in the ſame cauſe. Theſe foure Nations armed forty thouſand men againſt *Sardanapalus*, who in this danger was not wanting to himſelfe, but gathering ſuch forces as he could out of other Nations, encountred the rebels, as one that would by deeds refute the tales that they had told of him. Neither did his carriage in the beginning of that warre, anſwer to the manner of his retiredneſſe. For in three battels

battells he carried away the better, driving *Arbaces* and his followers into such fearfull termes, that had not *Belosus* promised them constantly some unexpected succours, they would forthwith have broken up their Camp. About the same time, an Armie out of *Bactria* was comming to assist the King; but *Arbaces* encountring it upon the way, perswaded so strongly by promise of liberty, that those forces joyned themselves with his. The sudden departure of the enemie seeming to be a flight, caused *Sardanapalus* to feast his Armie, triumphing before victory. But the Rebels being strengthened with this new supply, came upon him by night, and forced his Camp, which through over-great security was unprepared for resistance.

This overthrow did so weaken the Kings heart, that leaving his wives brother *Salamenus* to keep the field, he withdrew himself into the Citie of *Nineve*; which, till new aydes that he sent for should come, he thought easily to defend; it having been prophesied, that *Nineve* should never be taken, till the River were enemy to the Town. Of the greatnesse and strength of *Nineve*, enough hath been spoken in our discourse of *Ninus*. It was so well victualled, that *Arbaces* (having in two battels overthrown the Kings Armie, and slain *Salamenus*) was fain to lye two whole years before it, in hope to winne it by famine; whereof yet hee saw no appearance. It seems that hee wanted Engines and skill to force those walls, which were an hundred foot high, and thick enough for three Chariots in front to passe upon the rampire. But that which hee could not doe in two years, the River of *Tigris* did in the third: for being high swolne with raines, it not onely drowned a part of the Citie through which it ranne, but threw down twenty furlongs of the wall, and made a fair breach for *Arbaces* to enter.

Sardanapalus, either terrified with the accomplishment of the old Oracle, or seeing no means of resistance left, shutting up himself into his Palace, with his Wives, Eunuches, and all his Treasures, did set the house on fire, wherewith he and they were together consumed. *Strabo* speaks of a monument of his, that was in *Anchiale* a Citie of *Cilicia*, whereon was found an inscription shewing that he built that Citie and *Tharsus* upon one day: but the addition hereto, bidding men eat and drink, and make merry, encouraged others with verses well known, to a voluptuous life, by his own example testified that his nature was more prone to sensualitie, than to any vertue beseeming a Prince. *Strab. l. 9.*

There are some that faintly report otherwise of his end; saying that *Arbaces*, when he first found him among his Concubines, was so enraged, that suddenly he slew him with a dagger. But the more generall consent of writers agrees with this relation of *Diodorus Siculus*, who citeth *Ctesias* a Greek Writer, that lived in the Court of *Persia*, where the truth might best be known. *Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 7.*

Concerning the Princes which reigned in *Assyria*, from the time of *Semiramis*, unto *Sardanapalus*, though I believe that they were sometimes (yet not, as *Orosius* hath it, incessantly) busied in offensive, or else defensive arms; yet for the most part of them I do better trust *Diodorus Siculus*, who saith that their names were overpassed by *Ctesias*, because they did nothing worthy of memorie. Whatsoever they did, that which *Theophilus Antiochenus* hath said of them is very true; *Silence and Oblivion hath oppressed them.* *Diod. l. 2. c. 6.* *Theophilus Antiochenus. l. 3.*

CHAP. XXIII.

Of Uzzia.

§. I.

The prosperitie of Uzzia, *and of* Jeroboam *the second, who reigned with him in* Israel. *Of the Anarchie that was in the ten Tribes after the death of* Jeroboam. *Of* Zacharia, Sallum, Menahem, *and* Pekahia.

UZzia, who is also called *Ahazia*, the son of *Jotham*, was made King of *Juda*, when he was sixteen years old, in the seven and twentieth year of *Jeroboam* the son of *Joas* King of *Israel*. Hee served the God of his father *David*, and had therefore good successe in all his enterprises. Hee built *Eloth*, a Town that stood neer to the Red Sea, and restored it to *Juda*. He overcame the *Philistims*, of whose Towns he dismantled some, and built others in sundrie parts of their Territories. Also he got the masterie over some parts of *Arabia*, and brought the *Ammonites* to pay him tribute. Such were the fruits of his prosperous wars, wherein (as *Josephus* rehearseth his acts) he began with the *Philistims*, and then proceeded unto the *Arabians* and *Ammonites*. His Armie consisted of three hundred and seven thousand men of war,
2 Chro. 26. 14 over which were appointed two thousand and six hundred Captains. For all this multitude the King prepared *shields, and spears, and helmets*, and other Arms requisite; following therein happily a course quite opposite unto that which some of his late predecessours had held, who thought it better policie to use the service of the Nobilitie, than
2 Chro. 21. 9. of the multitude; carrying forth to warre *the Princes, and all the Chariots*.

As the victories of *Uzzia* were far more important, than the atchievments of all that had reigned in *Juda*, since the time of *David*; so were his riches and magnificent works, equall, if not superiour to any of theirs that had been Kings between him and *Salomon*. For, besides that great conquests are won to repay the charges of War with triple interest, he had the skill to use, as well as the happinesse to get. Hee turned his lands to the best use, keeping Ploughmen and Dressers of Vines, in grounds convenient for such husbandrie. In other places he had Cattell feeding; whereof he might well keep great store, having won so much from the *Ammonites* and *Arabians*, that had abundance of waste ground serving for pasturage. For defence of his Cattell and Heardsmen, hee built Towers in the wildernesse. He also digged many Cisterns or Ponds. *Josephus* calls them water-courses; but in such drie grounds, it was enough that he found water, by digging in the most likely places. If by these Towers he so commanded the water, that none could without his consent, relieve themselves therewith, questionlesse he took the onely course, by which he might securely hold the Lordship over all the wilderness; it being hardly passable, by reason of the extreme drought, when the few Springs therein found, are left free to the use of Travellers.

Besides all this cost, and the building both of *Eloth* by the Red Sea, and of sundrie Towns among the *Philistims*; he repaired the wall of *Jerusalem*, which *Joas* had broken down, and fortified it with Towers, whereof some were an hundred and fiftie Cubits high.

The state of *Israel* did never so flourish, as at this time, since the division of the twelve Tribes into two kingdomes. For as *Uzzia* prevailed in the South, so (if not more) *Jeroboam* the son of *Joas*, King of the ten Tribes, enlarged his border on the North; where obtaining many victories against the *Syrians*, he wan the Royall Citie of *Damascus*, and
2 Kin. 14. 25. 28. he wan *Hamath*, with all the countrie thereabout *from the entring of* Hamath, *unto the Sea of the Wilderneſſe*, that is, (as the most expound it) unto the vast desarts of *Arabia*, the end whereof was undiscovered. So the bounds of *Israel* in those parts, were in time of this *Jeroboam*, the same (or not much narrower) which they had bin in the reign of *David*.

But

But it was not for the piety of *Jeroboam*, that he thrived ſo well, for he was an Idolater: it was only the compaſſion which the Lord had on *Iſrael*, ſeeing the exceeding bitter affliction whereinto the *Aramites* had brought his people, which cauſed him to alter the ſucceſſion of war, and to throw the victorious *Aramites* under the feet of thoſe whom they had ſo cruelly oppreſſed. The line of *Jehu* to which God had promiſed the Kingdome of *Iſrael unto the fourth generation*, was now not far from the end; and now again it was invited unto repentance by new benefits, as it hath been at the beginning. But the ſin of *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Nebat* was held ſo pretious, that neither the kingdome it ſelf given to him by God, was able to draw *Jehu* from that politick Idolatry; nor the miſery falling upon him and his poſterity, to bring them to a better courſe of Religion; nor yet, at the laſt, this great proſperity of *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Joas*, to make him render the honour that was due to the onely giver of victory. Wherefore the promiſe of God made unto *Jehu*, that his ſons, *unto the fourth generation*, ſhould ſit on the throne of *Iſrael*, was not enlarged; but being almoſt expired, gave warning of the approaching end, by an accident (ſo ſtrange, that we who find no particulars recorded, can hardly gheſſe at the occaſions) foregoing the laſt accompliſhment. 1 Reg. 10. 15.

When *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Joas*, after a victorious reign of one and forty years, had ended his life; it ſeems in all reaſon that *Zacharia* his ſon ſhould forthwith have been admitted to reign in his ſtead; the Nobility of that race having gotten ſuch a luſtre by the immediate ſucceſſion of four Kings, that any Competitor, had the Crown paſſed by election, muſt needs have appeared baſe; and the vertue of the laſt King having been ſo great, as might well ſerve to lay the foundation of a new houſe, much more to eſtabliſh the already confirmed right of a family ſo rooted in poſſeſſion. All this notwithſtanding, two or three and twenty years did paſſe before *Zacharia* the ſonne of *Jeroboam* was, by uniforme conſent, received as King. The true originall cauſes hereof were to be found at *Dan* and *Bethel*, where the golden Calves did ſtand: yet ſecond inſtruments of this diſturbance are likely not to have been wanting, upon which the wiſdome of man was ready to caſt an eye. Probable it is, that the Captains of the army (who afterwards ſlew one another ſo faſt, that in fourteen years there reigned five Kings) did now by head-ſtrong violence, rend the kingdome aſunder, holding each what hee could, and either deſpiſing or hating ſome qualities in *Zacharia*; untill, after many years, wearied with diſſention, and the principall of them perhaps, being taken out of the way by death, for want of any other eminent man, they conſented to yeeld all quietly to the ſon of *Jeroboam*. That this Anarchy laſted almoſt three and twenty years, we find by the difference of time between the fifteenth year of *Uzzia*, which was the laſt of *Jeroboam* his one and fortieth (his ſeven and twentieth concurring with the firſt of *Uzzia*) and the eight and thirtieth of the ſame *Uzzia*, in the laſt ſix moneths whereof *Zacharia* reigned in *Samaria*. There are ſome indeed that by ſuppoſing *Jeroboam* to have reigned with his father eleven years, do cut off the *interregnum* in *Juda* (before mentioned) and by the ſame reaſon abridge this Anarchie that was before the reign of *Zacharia* in *Iſrael*. Yet they leave it twelve years long: which is time ſufficient to prove that the kingdome of the ten Tribes was no leſſe diſtempered than as is already noted. But I chooſe rather to follow the more common opinion, as concurring more exactly with the times of other Princes reigning abroad in the World, than this doubtfull conjecture, that gives to *Jeroboam* two and fifty years, by adding three quarters of his fathers reign unto his own; which was it ſelf indeed ſo long, that he may well ſeem to have begun it very young: for I do not think that God bleſſed this Idolater both with a longer reign, and with a longer life than he did his ſervant *David*.

Thus much being ſpoken of the time wherein the Throne of *Iſrael* was voyd, before the reign of *Zacharia*; little may ſuffice to be ſaid of his reign it ſelfe, which laſted but a little while. Six moneths only was he King; in which time hee declared himſelf a worſhipper of the golden Calves; which was enough to juſtifie the judgement of God; whereby he was ſlain. He was the laſt of *Jehu's* houſe, being (incluſively) the firſt of that line; which may have been ſome cauſe of the troubles impeaching his orderly ſucceſſion: the propheſie having determined that race in the fourth generation. But (beſides that Gods promiſe was extended unto the utmoſt) there was no warrant given to *Sallum*, or to any other, for the death of *Zacharia*, as had been given to *Jehu* for the ſlaughter of *Jehoram*, and for the eradication of *Ahabs* houſe.

Zacharia

Zacharia having been six moneths a King, was then slain by *Sallum*, who reigned af-
2 Kin. 15. 13. ter him, *the space of a moneth in Samaria*. What this *Sallum* was, I doe not find; save onely that he was a Traytour, and the sonne of one *Jabesh*, whereby his father got no honour. It seems that he was one of those, who in time of faction had laboured for himself; and now when all other Competitors were sitten down, thought easily to prevail against that King, in whose person the race of *Jehu* was to fail. Manifest it is, that *Sallum* had a strong partie: for *Tiphsah* or *Thapsa*, and the coast thereof even from *Tirzah*, where *Menahem* his enemie and supplanter then lay, refused to admit, as King in his stead, the man that murdered him. Yet at the end of one moneth, *Sallum* received the reward of his treason, and was slain by *Menahem* who reigned in his place.

Menahem the son of *Gadi*, reigned after *Sallum* ten years. In opposition to *Sallum*, his hatred was deadly, and inhumane: for he not onely destroyed *Tiphsah*, and all that were therein, or thereabouts, but he ript up all their women with child, because they did not open their gates and let him in. Had this cruelty been used in revenge of *Zacharias* death, it is like that hee would have been as earnest, in procuring unto him his Fathers Crown when it was first due. But in performing that office, there was used such long deliberation, that we may plainly discover Ambition, Disdain, and other private passions, to have been the causes of this beastly outrage.

In the time of *Menahem*, and (as it seems) in the beginning of his Reign, *Pul*, King of *Assyria*, came against the Land of *Israel*; whom this new King appeased, with a thou- 20
sand talents of silver, levied upon all the substantiall men in his Countrey. With this money the *Israelite* purchased, not onely the peace of his Kingdome, but his own establishment therein: some factious man (belike) having either invited *Pul* thither, or (if
Jos. an. 9. 11 he came uncalled) sought to use his help, in deposing this ill-beloved King. *Josephus* reports of this *Menahem*, that his reign was no milder than his entrance. But after ten years, his tyrannie ended with his life: and *Pekahia* his Sonne occupied his room.

Of this *Pekahia* the story is short: for he reigned onely two years; at the end whereof, hee was slain by *Peka* the sonne of *Remalia*, whose treason was rewarded with the Crown of *Israel*, as, in time comming, another mans Treason against himself shall be. 30
Jos. ibid. There needs no more to be said of *Menahem* and his sonne, save that they were both of them Idolaters; and the son (as we find in *Josephus*) like to his father in cruelty. Concerning *Pul* the *Assyrian* King, who first opened unto those Northern Nations the way into *Palestina*; it will shortly follow in order of the Story, to deliver our opinion: whether he were that *Belosus* (called also *Belesis*, and by some *Phul Belochus*) who joyned with *Arbaces* the *Median*, against *Sardanapalus*, or whether he were some other man. At the present it is more fit that we relate the end of *Uzzia's* life, who out-lived the happinesse wherein we left him.

§. 11. 40

The end of Uzzia *his Reign and Life.*

AS the zeal of *Jehojada* that godly Priest was the mean to preserve the linage of *David* in the person of *Joas*, so it appears, that the care of holy men was not wanting to *Uzzia*, to bring him up and advance him to the Crown of *Juda*, when the hatred borne to his Father *Amazia* had endangered his succession. For it is said of
Chro. 2 26. 5. *Uzzia*, That *he sought God in the dayes of* Zecharia *(which understood the visions of God, and when as he sought the Lord, God made him prosper.*
Verse 16. *But, when he was strong, his heart was lifted up to his destruction: for hee transgressed against the Lord his God, and went into the Temple of the Lord to burn incense upon the Al-* 50
tar of incense. Thus he thought to enlarge his own authority, by medling in the Priests office, whose power had in every extremity been so helpfull to the Kings of *Juda*, that meere gratitude and civill policy, should have held back *Uzzia* from incroaching therupon; yea, though the Law of God had been silent in this case, and not forbidding it. Howsoever, the King forgot his duty, the Priests remembred theirs, and God forgat not to assist them. *Azaria* the high Priest interrupted the Kings purpose, and gave him to understand how little to his honour it would prove, that hee took upon him the office of the sons of *Aaron*. There were with *Azaria* fourscore other Priests, valiant men, but

their

their valour was ſhewed onely in aſſiſting the high Prieſt, when (according to his dutie) he reprehended the Kings preſumption. This was enough, the reſt God himſelf performed. We find in *Joſephus*, that the King had apparelled himſelf in Prieſtly habit, and that he threatned *Azarias* and his Companions, to puniſh them with death, unleſſe they would be quiet. *Joſephus* indeed inlargeth the Storie, by inſerting a great Earth-quake, which did tear down half an Hill, that rowled four furlongs, till it reſted againſt another Hill, ſtopping up the high-wayes, and ſpoyling the Kings Garden in the paſſage. With this Earth-quake, he ſaith, that the roof of the Temple did cleave, and that a Sunbeam did light upon the Kings face, which was preſently infected with leproſie. All this may have been true; and ſome there are who think that this Earth-quake is the ſame, which is mentioned by the Prophet *Amos*; wherein they do much miſ-reckon the times. For the Earth-quake ſpoken of by *Amos*, was in the dayes of *Ieroboam* King of *Iſrael*, who dyed ſeven and thirtie years before *Uzzia*; ſo that *Fotham* the ſon of *Uzzia*, which ſupplied his Fathers place in government of the Land, ſhould, by this accompt, have bin then unborne: for he was but five and twenty years old, when he began to reign as king. Therefore, thus far only we have aſſurance; that *while* Uzzia *was wroth with the Prieſts, the leproſie roſe up in his forehead, before the Prieſts*. Hereupon he was cauſed, in all haſte, to depart the place, and to live in a houſe by himſelf untill he dyed; the rule over the Kings houſe, and over all the Land, being committed to *Fotham*, his Son and Succeſſour. *Fotham* took not upon himſelf the ſtile of a King, till his Father was dead; whom they buried in the ſame field wherin his Anceſtors lay interred; yet in a Monument apart from the reſt, becauſe he was a Leper.

Joſ. an. l. 9. c. 11.

2 Chro. 26. 20.

§. III.

Of the Prophets which lived in the time of Uzzia; *and of Princes then ruling in* Egypt, *and in ſome other Countries.*

IN the time of *Uzzia* were the firſt of the leſſer Prophets, *Hoſea*, *Joel*, *Amos*, *Obadia* and *Jonas*. It is not indeed ſet down, when *Joel* or *Obadia* did propheſie: but if the Prophets, whoſe times are not expreſſed, ought to be ranged (according to Saint *Hieromes* rule) with the next before them; then muſt theſe two be judged contemporarie with *Hoſea* and *Amos*, who lived under King *Uzzia*. To enquire which of theſe five was the moſt ancient, it may perhaps be thought, at leaſt, a ſuperfluous labour; yet if the age wherein *Homer* lived, hath ſo painfully been ſought, without reprehenſion, how can he be taxed, which offers to ſearch out the antiquitie of theſe holy Prophets? It ſeems to me, that the firſt of theſe, in order of time, was the Prophet *Jonas*; who foretold the great victories of *Jeroboam* King of *Iſrael*; and therefore is like to have propheſied in the dayes of *Joas*, whileſt the affliction of *Iſrael* was *exceeding bitter*; the Text it ſelf intimating no leſſe: by which conſequence he was elder than the other Prophets, whoſe works are now extant. But his propheecies that concerned the Kingdome of *Iſrael* are now loſt. That which remaineth of him, ſeems, not without reaſon unto ſome very learned, to have belonged unto the time of *Sardanapalus*, in whoſe dayes *Nineve* was firſt of all deſtroyed. This Prophet rather taught Chriſt by his ſufferings, than by his writings now extant: in all the reſt are found expreſſe promiſes of the Meſſias.

2 Chr. c. 14. v. 25. 26.

In the reign of *Uzzia* likewiſe it was, that *Eſay*, the firſt of the four great Prophets, began to ſee his viſions. This difference of *great and leſſer* Prophets, is taken from the Volumes which they have left written (as S. *Auguſtine* gives reaſon of the diſtinction) becauſe the greater have written larger Books. The Prophet *Eſay* was great indeed, not only in regard of his much writing, or of his Nobilitie, (for their opinion is rejected, who think him to have been the ſon of *Amos* the Prophet) and the high account wherein he lived; but for the excellencie both of his ſtile and argument, wherein he ſo plainly foretelleth the Birth, Miracles, Paſſion, and whole Hiſtorie of our Saviour, with the calling of the Gentiles, that he might as well be called an Evangeliſt, as a Prophet; having written in ſuch wiſe, That (as *Hierome* ſaith) *one would think he did not foretell of things to come, but compile an Hiſtorie of matters already paſt.*

Aug. de civit. Dei. l. 18. c. 19.

Hier. in præf. ſuper Iſaiam.

Bocchoris was King of *Egypt*, and the ninth year of his reign, by our computation

(wherof in due place we will give reason) was current, when *Uzzia* took possession of the Kingdome of *Juda*.

After the death of *Bocchoris*, *Asychis* followed in the Kingdome of *Egypt*: unto him succeeded *Anysis*; and these two occupied that Crown six years. Then *Sabacus*, an *Æthiopian*, became King of *Egypt*, and held it fifty years, whereof the ten first ranne along with the last of *Uzzia* his Reign and Life. Of these and other *Egyptian* Kings, more shall be spoken, when their affairs shall come to be intermedled with the businesse of *Juda*.

In *Athens*, the two last years of *Ariphron* his twentie, the seven and twentieth of *Thespeius*, the twentieth of *Agamnestor*, and the three first of *Æschylus* his three and twentie, made even with the two and fiftie of *Uzzia*: as likewise did in *Alba* the last seven of *Silvius Aventinus* his seven and thirtie, together with the three and twentie of *Silvius Procas*, and two and twentie the first of *Silvius Amulius*. In *Media Arbaces* began his new kingdome in the first of *Uzzia*, wherein, after eight and twentie years, his son *Sosarmus* succeeded him, and reigned thirty years. Of this *Arbaces*, and the devision of the *Assyrian* Empire, between him and others, when they had oppressed *Sardanapalus*, I hold it convenient to use more particular discourse, that we may not wander in too great uncertaintie in the storie of the *Assyrian* kings, who have already found the way into *Palæstina*, and are not likely to forget it.

§. IV.

Of the Assyrian *Kings, descending from* Phul: *and whether* Phul *and* Belosus *were one person, or heads of sundrie Families, that reigned a part in* Nineve *and* Babylon.

BY that which hath formerly been shewed of *Sardanapalus* his death, it is apparent, that the chiefe therein was *Arbaces* the *Medyan*; to whom the rest of the Confederates did not onely submit themselves in that Warre, but were contented afterwards to be judged by him, receiving by his authority sentence of death, or pardon of their forfeited lives. The first example of this his power, was shown upon *Belosus* the *Babylonian*, by whose especiall advice and help, *Arbaces* himself was become so great: Yet was not this power of *Arbaces* exercised in so tyrannicall a manner, as might give offence in that great alteration of things, either to the Princes that had assisted him, or to the generalitie of the people. For in the condemnation of *Belosus*, he used the counsell of his other Captains, and then pardoned him of his own grace; allowing him to hold not only the City and Province of *Babylon*, but also those treasures, for embezelling whereof his life had been endangered.

In like manner, he gave rewards to the rest of his partakers, and made them Rulers of Provinces; retaining (as it appears) onely the Soveraignty to himselfe, which to use immoderately hee did naturally abhorre. He is said, indeed, to have excited the *Medes* against *Sardanapalus*, by propounding unto them hope of transferring the Empire to their Nation. And to make good this his promise, he destroyed the Citie of *Nineve*, permitting the Citizens nevertheless to take and carry away every one his own goods. The other Nations that joyned with him, as the *Persians* and *Bactrians*, he drew to his side, by the allurement of liberty; which he himselfe so greatly loved, that by slacking too much the reines of his own Soveraignty, hee did more harm to the generall estate of *Media*, than the pleasure of the freedome, which it enjoyed, could recompence. For both the Territory of that Countrey was pared narrower by *Salmanassar*, (or perhaps by some of his Progenitors) whom wee find in the Scriptures to have held some Towns of the *Medes*; and the civill administration was so disorderly, that the people themselves were glad to see that reformation, which *Deioces* the fift of *Arbaces* his Line, did make in that government, by reducing them into stricter termes of obedience.

How the force of the *Assyrians* grew to bee such as might in fourscore years, if not sooner, both extend it self unto the conquest of *Israel*, and tear away some part of *Media*, it is a question hardly to be answered; not only in regard of the destruction of *Nineve*, and subversion of the *Assyrian* Kingdome, whereof the *Medes*, under *Arbaces*, had the honour, who may seem at that time to have kept the *Assyrians* under their subjection, when the rest of the Provinces were set at liberty; but in consideration of the Kings themselves, who

who reigning afterwards in *Babylon* and *Nineve*, are confounded by some, and distinguished by others; whereby their History is made uncertain.

I will first therefore deliver the opinion generally received, and the grounds whereupon it stands: then, producing the objections made against it, I will compare together the determination of that worthy man *Joseph Scaliger*, with those learned that subscribe thereunto, and the judgement of others that were more ancient Writers, or have followed the Antients in this doubtfull case. Neither shall it be needfull to set down a-part the several authorities and arguments of sundry men, adding somwhat of weight or of clearnesse one to another: it will be enough to relate the whole substance of each discourse: which I will do as briefly as I can, and without fear to be taxed of partialitie, as being no more addicted to the one opinion than to the other, by any fancie of mine own, but meerely led by those reasons, which upon examination of each part, seemed to me most forceable, though to others they may perhaps appear weak.

That which, untill of late, hath passed as current, is this; That *Belosus* was the same King, who, first of the *Assyrians*, entred *Palestina* with an Armie; being called *Pul*, or *Phul*, in the Scriptures, and by *Annius* his authors with such as follow them, *Phul Belochus*. Of this man it is said, that he was a skilfull Astrologer, subtile, and ambitious; that he got *Babylon* by composition made with *Arbaces*; and that not therewith content, hee got into his hand part of *Assyria*: finally that he reigned eight and fortie years, and then dying, left the Kingdome to *Teglat-phalassar* his sonne, in whose Posteritie it continued some few descents, till the house of *Merodach* prevailed. The truth of this, if *Annius* his *Metasthenes* were sufficient proof, could not be gainsaid: for that Auhour (such as he is) is peremptorie herein. But, howsoever *Annius* his Authors deserve to be suspected, it stands with no reason, that we should conclude all to be false which they affirme. They, who maintain this Tradition, justifie it by divers good Allegations, as a matter confirmed by circumstances found in all Authors, and repugnant unto no historie at all. For it is manifest by the relation of *Diodorus* (which is indeed the foundation whereupon all have built) that *Arbaces* and *Belosus* were partners in the action against *Sardanapalus*; and that the *Bactrians*, who joyned with them, were thought well rewarded with libertie, as likewise other Captains were with governments: but that any third person was so eminent, as to have *Assyria* it self, the chiefe Countrey of the Empire bestowed upon him, it is a thing whereof not the least appearance is found in any Historie. And certainly it stood with little reason, that the *Assyrians* should be committed unto a peculiar King, at such time as it was not thought meete to trust them in their own walls and houses. Rather it is apparent, that the destruction of *Nineve* by *Arbaces*, and the transplantation of the Citizens, was held a needfull policy, because thereby the people of that Nation might be kept down from aspiring to recover the Soveraignty, which else they would have thought to belong, as of right, unto the Seat of the Empire.

Upon such considerarions did the *Romanes*, in ages long after following, destroy *Carthage*, and dissolve the Corporation, or Body politick, of the Citizens of *Capua*; because those two Towns were capable of the Empire: a matter esteemed over-dangerous, even to *Rome* it selfe, that was Mistresse of them both. This being so, how can it be thought that the *Assyrians* in three or four years had erected their Kingdome a-new, under one *Pul*? or what must this *Pul* have been (of whose deservings or entermedling, or indeed of whose very name, we find no mention in the Warre against *Sardanapalus*) to whom the principall parts of the Empire fell, either by generall consent in division of the Provinces, or by his own power and purchase very soon after? Surely he was none other than *Belosus*; whose neer neighbour-hood gave him oportunity (as he was wise enough to play his own game) both to get *Assyria* to himself, and to empeach any other man that should have attempted to seize upon it. The Province of *Babylon*, which *Belosus* held, being (as *Herodotus* reports) in riches and power, as good as the third part of the *Persian* Empire, was able to furnish him with all that was requisite for such a businesse: if that were not enough, he had gotten into his own hands all the gold and silver that had been in the Palace of *Nineve*. And questionlesse, to restore such a Citie as *Nineve*, was an enterprise fit for none to take in hand, except he had such means as *Belosus* had; which *Pul*, if he were not *Belosus*, is likely to have wanted.

Tull. contra Rollan. ar. 2.

Herodot. l. 1.

Besides all this, had *Pul* been a distinct person from *Belosus*, and Lord of *Assyria*, which

lay beyond the Countries of *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia*, it would not have been an easie matter for him, to passe quite through another mans Kingdome with an Armie, seeking bootie a farre off in *Israel*: the onely action by which the name of *Phul* is known. But if we grant, that he, whom the Scriptures call *Pul* or *Phul*, was the same whom prophane writers have called *Belosus*, *Belesis*, and *Belestis*, (in like manner as *Josephus* acknowledgeth, that he, whom the Scriptures called never otherwise than *Darius* the *Mede*, was the sonne of *Astiages*, and called of the *Greeks* by another name, that is, *Cyaxares*) then is this scruple utterly removed. For *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia* did border upon *Syria* and *Palæstina*: so that *Belosus* having settled his affairs in *Assyria* towards the East and North, might with good leasure encroach upon the Countries that lay on the other side of his Kingdome, to the South and West. He that looks into all particulars, may find every one circumstance concurring, to prove that *Phul*, who invaded *Israel*, was none other than *Belosus*. For the Prince of the *Arabians*, who joyned with *Arbaces*, and brought no small part of the forces wherewith *Sardanapalus* was overthrown, did enter into that action, meerly for the love of *Belosus*. The friendship of these *Arabians* was a thing of main importance, to those that were to passe over *Euphrates* with an Armie into *Syria*. Wherefore *Belosus*, that held good correspondence with them, and whose most fruitfull Province, adjoyning to their barrain quarters, might yearly doe them inestimable pleasures, was not onely likely to have quiet passage through their borders, but their utmost assistance: yea, it stands with good reason, that they who loved not *Israel*, should for their own behoofe have given him intelligence of the destruction and civill broyles among the ten Tribes; whereby as this *Pul* got a thousand talents, so it seems that the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, that had felt an heavie neighbour of *Jeroboam*, recovered their own, setting up a new King in *Damasco*, and clearing the coast of *Arabia*, (from the Sea of the Wilderneſse to *Hamath*) of the *Hebrew* Garrisons. Neither was it any new acquaintance, that made the Nations, divided by *Euphrates*, hold together in so good termes of friendship: it was antient consanguinitie, the memorie whereof was availeable to the *Syrians*, in the time of *David*, when the *Aramites* beyond the river came over willingly, to the succour of *Hadadezer*, and the *Aramites* about *Damasco*. So *Belosus* had good reason to look into those parts: what a King reigning so far off as *Nineve*, should have to do in *Syria*, if the other end of his Kingdome had not reached to *Euphrates*, it were hard to shew.

Jos. ant. l. 10. c. 12.

But concerning this last argument of the businesse which might allure the *Chaldæans* into *Palæstina*, it may be doubted, lest it should seem to have ill coherence with that which hath been said of the long Anarchie that was in the ten Tribes. For if the Crown of *Israel* were worn by no man in three and twenty years, then is it likely that *Belosus* was either unwilling to stir, or unable to take the advantage when it was faireſt, and first discovered. This might have compelled those, who alone were not strong enough to seek after help from some Prince that lay further off; and so the opinion of those that distinguish *Phul* from *Belosus*, would be somewhat confirmed. On the other side, if we say, that *Belosus* did passe the river of *Euphrates*, as soon as he found likelihood of making a prosperous journey, then may it seem that the *inter-regnum* in *Israel* was not so long as we have made it: for three and twenty years leasure would have afforded better opportunitie, which ought not to have been lost.

For answer hereunto, we are to consider, what *Orosius* and *Eusebius* have written concerning the *Chaldees*: the one, that after the departure of *Arbaces* into *Media*, they layd hold on a part of the Empire: the other, that they prevailed and grew mighty, between the times of *Arbaces* and *Deioces* the *Medes*. Now, though it be held an errour of *Orosius*, where he supposeth that the occupying of *Babylonia* by the *Chaldæans* was in manner of a rebellion from the *Medes*; yet herein he and *Eusebius* doe concurre, that the authoritie of *Arbaces* did restrain the ambition, which by his absence grew bold, and by his death, regardfull onely of it selfe. Now, though some have conjectured that all *Assyria* was given to *Belosus* (as an overplus, besides the Provinces of *Babylon* which was his by plain bargain made aforehand) in regard of his high deservings; yet the opinion more commonly received, is, that hee did onely incroach upon that Province by little and little, whileſt *Arbaces* lived, and afterwards dealing more openly, got it all himselfe. Seeing therefore, that there passed but twelve years between the death of *Arbaces*, and the beginning of *Menahem* his Reign; manifest it is, that the conquest of

of *Assyria*, and settling of that Countrey, was worke enough to hold *Belosus* occupyed, besides the restauration of *Nineve*, which alone was able to take up all the time remaining of his reign, if perhaps he lived to see it finished in his own dayes. So that this argument may rather serve to prove that *Phul* and *Belosus* were one person; forasmuch as the journey of *Phul* against *Israel* was not made untill *Belosus* could find leasure; and the time of advantage which *Belosus* did let slip, argued his businesse in some other quarter, namely, in that Province of which *Phul* is called King. Briefly, it may be said, that he who conquered *Assyria*, and performed somewhat upon a Country so far distant as *Palæstina*, was likely to have been, at least, named in some History, or, if not himself, yet his Country to have been spoken of for those victories: but we neither hear of *Phul*, in any prophane Author; neither doth any Writer, sacred or prophane, once mention the victories or acts whatsoever of the *Assyrians*, done in those times; whereas of *Belosus*, and the power of the *Chaldæans*, we find good Record.

Surely, that great slaughter of so many thousand *Assyrians*, in the quarrell of *Sardanapalus*, together with other calamities of that long and unfortunate warre, which overwhelmed the whole Country, not ending but with the ruine and utter desolation of *Nineve*, must needs have so weakened the state of *Assyria*, that it could not in thirty years space be able to invade *Palæstina*, which the antient Kings, reigning in *Ninive*, had, in all their greatnesse, forborn to attempt. Yet these afflictions, disabling that Countrey, did help to enable *Belosus* to subdue it; who having once extended his Dominion to the borders of *Media*, and being (especially if he had compounded with the *Medes*) by the interposition of that Countrey, secure of the *Scythians*, and other warlike Nations on that side, might very well turn Southward, and try his fortune in those Kingdomes, whereinto civill dissention of the inhabitants, and the bordering envie of the *Arabians* and *Aramites* about *Damasco*, Friends and Cousins to the *Chaldæans* and *Mesopotamians*, did invite him. For these, and the other before alleged reasons, it may be concluded, That what is said of *Pul* in the Scriptures, ought to be understood of *Belosus*; even as by the names of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Darius* the *Mede*, *Artaxshast*, and *Ahashuerosh*, with the like, are thought, or known, to be meant the same whom prophane Historians, by names better known in their own Countreys, have called *Nabopollassar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Artaxerxes*: especially considering, that hereby we shall neither contradict any thing that hath been written of old, nor need to trouble our selves and others with framing new conjectures. This in effect is that, which they allege in maintenance of the opinion commonly received.

Now this being once granted, other things of more importance will of themselves easily follow. For it is a matter of no great consequence to know the truth of this point (considering it apart from that which depends thereon) Whether *Pul* were *Belosus*, or some other man: the whole race of these *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings, wherein are found those famous Princes, *Nabonassar*, *Mardocempadus*, and *Nabopollassar* (famous for the Astronomicall observations recorded from their times) is the main ground of this contention. If therefore *Belosus* or *Beleses* were that *Phul* which invaded *Israel*; if he and his posterity reigned both in *Nineve* and in *Babylon*; if he were father of *Teglat-Phul-Aser*, from whom *Salmanasar*, *Senacherib*, and *Asarhaddon* descended; then it is manifest, that we must seek *Nabonassar* the *Babylonian* King, among these Princes; yea, and conclude him to be none other than *Salmanasar*, who is known to have reigned in those years which *Ptolomy* the Mathematician hath assigned unto *Nabonassar*. As for *Merodech*, who supplanted *Asar-haddon*, manifest it is, that he and his successors were of another house. This is the scope and end of all his disputation.

But they that maintain the contrary part, will not be satisfied with such conjectures. They lay hold upon the conclusion, and by shaking that into pieces, hope to overthrow all the premisses upon which it is inferred. For (say they) if *Nabonassar* that reigned in *Babylon*, could not be *Salmanasar*, or any of those other *Assyrian* Kings, then is it manifest, that the races were distinct, and that *Phul* and *Belosus* were severall Kings. This consequence is so plain, that it needs no confirmation. To prove that *Nabonassar* was a distinct person from *Salmanasar*, are brought such arguments as would stagger the resolution of him that had sworn to hold the contrary. For first, *Nabonassar* was King of *Babylon*, and not of *Assyria*. This is proved by his name, which is meerly *Chaldæan*, whereas *Salman*, the first part of *Salmanassars* name, is proper to the *Assyrians*.

It is likewise proved by the Astronomicall observations, which proceeding from the *Babylonians*, not from the *Assyrians*, do shew that *Nabonassar*, from whom *Ptolomy* draws that *Epocha*, or account of times, was a *Babylonian*, and no *Assyrian*. Thirdly, and more strongly, it is confirmed by the successor of *Nabonassar*, which was *Mardocempadus*, called in his own language *Mero-dac-ken-pad*, but more briefly in *Esay* his prophecie, *Merodac*, by the former part of his name; or *Merodach Baladan*, the son of *Baladan*. Now if *Merodach* the son of *Baladan* King of *Babel* were the sonne of *Nabonassar*, then was *Nabonassar* none other than *Baladan* King of *Babel*, and not *Salmanassar* King of *Assyria*.

Esay 39. 1.

What can be plainer? As for the cadence of these two names, *Nabonassar* and *Salmanassar*, which in *Greek* or *Latine* writing hath no difference, we are taught by *Scaliger*, that in the *Hebrew* letters there is found no affinity therein. So concerning the places of *Babylonia*, whereinto *Salmanassar* carryed captive some part of the ten Tribes; it may well be granted, that in the Province of *Babylon*, *Salmanassar* had gotten somewhat, yet will it not follow that he was King of *Babylon* it selfe. To conclude, *Merodach* began his reign over *Babylon* in the sixt year of *Hezekia*, at which time *Salmanassar* took *Samaria*; therefore if *Salmanassar* were King of *Babylon*, then must we say that he and *Merodach*, yea, and *Nabonassar*, were all one man. These are the arguments of that noble and learned Writer *Joseph Scaliger*; who not contented to follow the common opinion founded upon likelihood of conjectures, hath drawn his proofes from matter of more necessary inference.

Touching all that was said before of *Phul Belosus*, for the proving that *Phul* and *Belosus* were not sundry Kings; *Joseph Scaliger* pities their ignorance, that have spent their labour to so little purpose. Honest and painfull men he confesseth that they were, who by their diligence might have won the good liking of their Readers, had they not, by mentioning *Annius* his Authors, given such offence, that men refused thereupon to read their Books and Chronologies. A short answer.

For mine own part, howsoever I beleeve nothing that *Annius* his *Berosus*, *Metasthenes*, and others of that stamp affirm, in respect of their bare authority; yet am I not so squeamish, but that I can well enough digest a good Book, though I find the names of one or two of these good fellows alleged in it: I have (somewhat peradventure too often) already spoken my mind of *Annius* his Authors: Nevertheless, I may say here again, that where other Histories are silent, or speak not enough, there may we without shame borrow of these, as much as agrees with that little which elsewhere we find, and serveth to explain or inlarge it without improbabilities.

Neither indeed are those honest and painfull men (as *Scaliger* termes them, meaning, if I mistake him not, good silly fellowes) who set down the *Assyrian* Kings from *Pul* forwards, as Lords also of *Babylon*, taking *Pul* for *Belosus*, and *Salmanassar* for *Nabonassar*, such Writers as a man should be ashamed or unwilling to read. For (to omit a multitude of others, that herein follow *Annius*, though disliking him in generall) *Gerard Mercator* is not so slight a Chronologer, that he should be laughed out of doores with the name of an honest meaning fellow.

But I will not make comparisons between *Scaliger* and *Mercator*; they were both of them men notably learned: let us examine the arguments of *Scaliger*, and see whether they be of such force as cannot either be resisted or avoyded. It will easily be granted, that *Nabonassar* was King of *Babylon*; that he was not King of *Assyria*, some men doubt whether *Scaligers* reasons be enough to prove. For though *Nabonassar* be a *Chaldæan* name, and *Salmanassar* an *Assyrian*; yet what hinders us from beleeving that one man in two languages might be called by two severall names? That Astronomy flourished among the *Chaldees*, is not enough to prove *Nabonassar* either an Astrologer or a *Chaldæan*. So it is, that *Scaliger* himself calls them, *Prophetas nescio quos, qui* Nabonassarum *Astronomum fuisse in somnis viderunt*; *Prophets I know not who, that in their sleep have dreampt of* Nabonassar, *that he was an Astrologer*.

Scal. Canon. l. 3.

Whether *Nabonassar* were an Astrologer or no, I cannot tell; it is hard to maintain the negative. But as his being Lord over the *Chaldæans*, doth not prove him to have been learned in their sciences; so doth it not prove him not to have been also King of *Assyria*. The Emperour *Charles* the fift, who was born in *Gant*, and *Philip* his Sonne, King of *Spain*, and Lords of the *Netherlands*, had men farre more learned in all

Sciences,

Sciences, and particularly in the Mathematicks, among their Subjects of the Low Countries, than were any that I read of then living in *Spain*, if *Spain* at that time had any; yet I think Posteritie will not use this as an argument, to prove that *Spain* was none of theirs. It may well be, that *Salmanassar* or *Nabonassar* did use the *Assyrian* Souldiers, and *Babylonian* Scholars; but it seems, that he and his posteritie, by giving themselves wholly to the more warlike Nation, lost the richer, out of which they first issued, as likewise king *Philip* lost partly, and partly did put to a dangerous hazzard all the *Netherlands*, by such a course. As for the two un-answerable arguments, (as *Scaliger* termes them, being me-thinks none other than answers to somewhat that is or might be alleged on the contrary side) one of them which is drawn from the unlike sound and writing of those names, *Salmanassar* and *Nabonassar* in the *Hebrew*, I hold a point about which no man will dispute; for it is not likenesse of sound, but agreement of time, and many circumstances else, that must take away the distinction of persons: the other likewise may be granted; which is, that *Salmanassar* might be Lord of some places in the Province of *Babylon*, yet not King of *Babylon* it self: this indeed might be so, and it might be otherwise. Hitherto there is nothing save conjecture. But in that which is alleged out of the Prophet *Esay* concerning *Merodach* the son of *Baladan*; and in that which is said of this *Merodach*, or *Mardokenpadus*, his being the Successor of *Nabonassar*, and his beginning to reign in the sixt year of *Hezekia*, I find matter of more difficultie, than can be answered in haste. I will therefore deferre the handling of these objections untill I meet with their subject in his proper place; which will be when we come to the time of *Hezekia*, wherein *Merodach* lived, and was King. Yet that I may not leave too great a scruple in the mind of the Reader, thus farre will I here satisfie him; that how strong soever this argument may seem, *Scaliger* himselfe did live to retract it, ingenuously confessing, that in thinking *Merodach* to be the son of *Nabonassar*, he had been deceived.

Now therefore let us consider, in what sort they have fashioned their Storie, who taking *Pul* to be a distinct person from *Belosus* or *Belestis*, have in like sort, as was necessarie, distinguished their off-spring, making that of *Pul* to fail in *Asarhaddon*, which left all to *Merodach* the *Babylonian*. And here I must first confesse my want of Books, if perhaps there be many, that have gone about to reduce this narration into some such order, as might present unto us the body of this Historie, in one view. Divers, indeed, there are, whom I have seen, that since *Joseph Scaliger* delivered his opinion, have written in favour of some one or other point thereof: but *Sethus Calvisius* himself, who hath abridged *Scaligers* learned Work, *De emendatione Temporum*, hath not been carefull to give us notice, how long *Belosus*, *Baladan*, *Pul*, or *Tiglat Pulassar* did reign, (perhaps because he found it not expressed in *Scaliger*) but is content to set down *Baladan*, for the same person with *Nabonassar*, which *Scaliger* himselfe revoked. In this case therefore I must lay down the plot of these divided Kingdomes, in such sort as I find it contrived by *Augustinus Torniellus*; who onely of all that I have seen, sets down the succession, continuance, and acts, of those that reigned in *Assyria* after *Sardanapalus*, distinguishing them from *Belosus*, and his Posteritie, of whom he hath the like remembrance. This *Torniellus* is a Regular Clarke of the congregation of S. *Paul*, whose Annales were printed the last year; he appears to me a man of a curious industrie, sound judgement, and free Spirit; yet many times (and I take it, wilfully) forgetfull of thanking, or mentioning those *Protestant* Writers, by whose Books hee hath received good information, and enriched his workes by inserting somewhat of theirs. But in this businesse hee hath openly professed to follow *Scaliger*, whose help, without wrong or dishonour to himselfe, he hath both used and acknowledged. For mine own part, I will not spare to doe right unto *Torniellus*; but confesse my selfe to have received benefit by his writing; and wish that his Annales had sooner come to light; for that as he hath much confirmed me in some things, so would he have instructed and imboldened me to write more fully and lesse timorously in other things, which now I have not leasure to revise. Particularly in that conjecture (which I had faintly delivered, and yet feared lest it had over-hastily passed out of my hand, and been exposed to other mens constructions) of the four Kings that invaded the Valley of *Siddim*, and were slain by *Abraham*, I find him adventuring as I have done, to say, that they may probably be thought to have been some pettie Lords; the contrary opinion of all Writers notwithstanding. But now let us consider C. 1. §. 13.

how

how he hath ordered these last *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings. After the destruction of *Sardanapalus*, *Arbaces*, being the most mighty, sought to get all to himself, but was opposed by *Belosus*; in which contention, one *Phul*, a powerfull man in *Assyria*, sided with *Belosus*, and they two prevailed so far, that finally *Arbaces* was content to share the Empire with them, making such a division thereof, as was long after made of the *Roman* Empire between *Octavian*, *Anthony*, and *Lepidus*.

Another conjecture is (for *Torniellus* offers not this, or the rest, as matter of certainty) that *Arbaces* made himself Soveraign Lord of all, and placed the seat of his Empire in *Media*, appointing *Belosus* his Lieutenant in *Babylonia*, and *Phul* in *Assyria*. But in short space, that is, in four years, it came to passe by the just judgement of God, that *Phul* and *Belosus* rebelled against *Arbaces*, like as *Arbaces* had done against *Sardanapalus*; and in stead of being Vice-Royes, made themselves absolute Kings. And to this latter opinion *Torniellus* himself leans, holding it much the more probable, as being more agreeable to that which is found in prophane Histories. Why hee did make and publish the former supposition, resolving to hold the latter, I shall anon, without any wrong to him, make bold to ghesse. Having thus devised how *Phul* and *Belosus* might, at the first, attain to be Kings, he orders their time and their successors in this manner.

Four years after *Arbaces*, *Phul* begins to reign, and continues eight and forty years. *Theglatphalasar* (whose name, and the names of other Princes, I write diversly, according as the Authors whom I have in hand are pleased to diversifie them) succeeding unto *Phul*, reigned three and twenty. *Salmanassar* followed him, and reigned ten. After him *Senacherib* reigned seven: and when he was slain, *Asarhaddon* his son ten years; in whom that line failed.

The same time that *Phul* took upon him as King of *Assyria*, or not long after (why not rather afore? for so it had been more likely) *Belosus* usurped the Kingdome of *Babylon*, and held it threescore and eight years; at the least threescore and eight years did passe, before *Nabonassar* followed him in the possession,

To *Nabonassar*, whom (with *Scaliger*) he thinks to be *Baladan*, are assigned six and twenty years: then two and fifty to *Merodach*, or *Mardocempadus*: four and twenty to *Ben Merodach*: and lastly, one and twenty to *Nabolassar* the father of *Nabuchodonosor*; who is like to offer matter of further disputation.

Concerning the originall of these *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Kingdomes, I may truly say, That the conjectures of other men, who give all to *Belosus*, and confound him with *Phul*, appear to me more neerly resembling the truth. Neither doe I think, that *Torniellus* would have conceived two different waies, by which *Phul* might have gotten *Assyria* (for how *Belosus* came to get *Babylon*, it is plain enough) if either of them alone could have contented him. He adheres to the latter of the two, as better agreeing with *Diodore*, and other Historians. But he perceived, that to make *Phul* on the sudden King of *Assyria*; or to give him so noble a Province, as would, of it self, invite him to accept the name and power of a King, was a thing most unlikely to have happened, unlesse his deserts (whereof we find no mention) had been proportionable to so high a reward. And for this cause (as I take it) hath he devised the means, whereby *Phul* might be made capable of so great a share in the Empire. If this were a true or probable supposition, then would a new doubt arise, Why this *Phul* being one of the three that divided all between them, was utterly forgotten by all Historians? yea, why this Division it selfe, and the civill Warres that caused it, were never heard of? Questionlesse, the interverting of some Treasures by *Belosus*, with his Judgement, Condemnation, and Pardon following, were matters of farre lesse note. Therefore I doe not see, how one of the two inconveniences can this way be avoyded; but that either we must confesse the Dominion given to *Phul* to have been exceeding his merits; or else his merits, and name withall, to have been strangely forgotten: either of which is enough to make us think, that rather the conjecture, inferring such a sequell, is wide of the truth. As for the rebellion of *Phul*, and *Belosus*, against *Arbaces*, it was almost impossible for the *Assyrians* to recover such strength in four years, as might serve to hold out in rebellion: for *Belosus* it was needlesse to rebell, considering, that *Arbaces* did not seek to molest him, but rather permitted (as being an over-great favourer of liberty) even the *Medes* that were under his own Government, to doe what they listed.

But

But it is now fit that wee peruse the Catalogue of these Kings; not passing through them all (for some will require a large discourse in their own times) but speaking of their order and time in generall. If it be so unlawfull to think, that some of *Annius* his tales (let them all be counted his tales, which are not found in other Authors aswell as in his) may be true, especially such as contradict no acknowledged truth, or apparent likelihood; why then is it said, that *Phul* did reign in *Assyria* eight and forty years? For this hath no other ground than *Annius*. It is true that painfull and judicious Writers have found this number of years to agree fitly with the course of things in History: yet all of them took it from *Annius*. Let it therefore be the punishment of *Annius* his forgery (as questionlesse he is often guilty of this crime) that when he tels truth, or probability, he be not beleeved for his own sake; though for our own sakes wee make use of his boldnesse, taking his words for good, whereas (nothing else being offered) we are unwilling our selves to be Authors of new, though not unprofitable conjectures. Herein we shall have this commodity, that we may without blushing alter a little, to help our own opinions, and lay the blame upon *Annius*, against whom we shall be sure to find friends that will take our part.

The reignes of *Theglathalasar* and *Salmanassar* did reach, by *Annius* his measure, to the length of five and twenty years the one, and seventeen the other; *Torniellus* hath cut off two from the former, and seven from the later of them, to fit (as I think) his own computation; using the liberty whereof I spake last: for that any Author, save our good *Metasthenes*, or those that borrowed of him, hath gone about to tell how long each of these did reign, it is more than I have yet found. To *Senacherib* and *Asarhaddon*, *Torniellus* gives the same length of reign, which is found in *Metasthenes*. I think there are not many, that will arrogate so much unto themselves, as may very well be allowed unto a man so judicious as is *Torniellus*: and yet I could wish that hee had forborn to condemn the followers of *Annius* in this businesse, wherein he himselfe hath chosen, in part, rather to become one of them, than to say, as else he must have done, almost nothing.

The like liberty we find that he hath used in measuring the reignes of the *Chaldæans*; filling up all the space between the end of *Sardanapalus* and the beginning of *Nabonassar*, with the threescore and eight years of *Belosus*. In this respect it was, perhaps, that he thought *Belosus* might have begun his reign somewhat later than *Phul*: for threescore and eight years would seem a long time for him to hold a Kingdome, that was no young man when he took possession of it. But how is any whit of his age abated by shortning his reign, seeing his life reacheth to the end of such a time, as were alone, without adding the time wherein he was a private man, enough for a long liver? Indeed eight and forty years had been somewhat of the most, considering that he seems by the story to have been a little lesse at such time as he joyned with *Arbaces*; and therefore the addition of twenty years, did well deserve that note (which *Torniellus* advisedly gives) that if his reign extended not so far, then the reign of such as came after him, occupied the middle time, unto *Nabonassar*.

I neither doe reprehend the boldnesse of *Torniellus*, in conjecturing, nor the modesty of *Scaliger* and *Sethus Calvisius*, in forbearing to set down as warrantable, such things as depend only upon likelihood. For things, whereof the perfect knowledge is taken away from us by Antiquity, must be described in History, as Geographers in their Maps describe those Countreys, whereof as yet there is made no true discovery, that is, either by leaving some part blank, or by inserting the Land of Pigmies, Rocks of Load-stone, with Head-lands, Bayes, great Rivers, and other particularities, agreeable to common report, though many times controlled by following experience, and found contrary to truth. Yet indeed the ignorance growing from distance of place, allows not such liberty to a Describer, as that which ariseth from the remedilesse oblivion of consuming time. For it is true that the Poet saith;

—— Neque fervidis
Pars inclusa caloribus
Mundi, nec Boreæ finitimum latus,
Duratæque sole Nives,
Mercatorem abigunt; horrida callidi
Vincunt æquora Navitæ.

Not

Nor Southern heat, nor Northern snow
That freezing to the ground doth grow,
The subject Regions can fence,
And keep the greedy Merchant thence:
The subtle Shipmen way to find,
Storme never so the Seas with Wind.

Therefore the fictions (or let them be called conjectures) painted in Maps, doe serve only to mis-lead such discoverers as rashly believe them; drawing upon the publishers, either some angry curses or well deserved scorn; but to keep their own credit, they connot serve alwayes. To which purpose I remember a pretty jest of *Don Pedro de Sarmiento*, a worthy *Spanish* Gentleman, who had been imployed by his King in planting a Colony upon the Streights of *Megellan*: for when I asked, him being then my Prisoner, some questions about an Island in those Streights, which, me thought, might have done either benefit or displeasure to his enterprise, he told me merrily, that it was to bee called the *Painters wives Island*; saying, That whilest the fellow drew that Map, his wife sitting by, desired to put in one Countrey for her; that she in imagination, might have an Island of her own. But in filling up the blankes of old Histories, we need not be so scrupulous, For it is not to be feared, that time shall runne backward, and by restoring the things themselves to knowledge, make our conjectures appear ridiculous: What if some good Copy of an ancient Author, could be found, shewing (if we have it not already) the perfect truth of these uncertainties? would it bee more shame to have beleeved in the mean while, *Annius* or *Torniellus*, than to have beleeved nothing? Here I will not say, that the credit which we gave to *Annius*, may chance otherwhiles to bee given to one of those Authors whose names he pretendeth. Let it suffice, that in regard of authority, I had rather trust *Scaliger* or *Torniellus*, than *Annius*; yet him than them, of his assertion be more probable and more agreeable to approved Histories than their conjecture, as in this point it seems to me; it having moreover gotten some credit, by the approbation of many, and those not meanly learned.

To end this tedious disputation; I hold it a sure course in examination of such opinions as have once gotten the credit of being generall, so to deal as *Pacuvius* in *Capua* did with the multitude, finding them desirous to put all the Senators of the Citie to death. He lockt the Senatours up within the State-house, and offered the lives of the Peoples mercy; obtaining thus much, that none of them should perish, untill the Commonalty had both pronounced him worthy of death, and elected a better in his place. The condemnation was hasty; for as fast as every name was read, all the town cryed, Let him die: but the execution required more leasure; for in substituting of another, some notorious vice of the person, or baseness of his condition, or insufficiency of his quality, made each new one that was offered to bee rejected: so that finding the worse and lesse choice, the further and the more that they sought, it was finally agreed, that the old should be kept for lack of better.

§. V.

of the Olympiads, *and the time when they began.*

After this division of the *Assyrian* Empire, follows the instauration of the *Olympian* games, by *Iphitus*, in the reign of the same King *Uzzia*, and in his one and fiftieth year. It is, I know, the generall opinion, that these games were established by *Iphitus*, in the first of *Jotham*: yet is not that opinion so generall, but that Authors, weighty enough, have given to them a more early beginning. The truth is, that in fitting those things unto the sacred History, which are found in prophane Authors, we should not be too carefull of drawing the *Hebrews*, to those works of time, which had no reference to their affairs; it is enough, that setting in due order these beginnings of accounts, we joyn them to matters of *Israel* and *Juda*, where occasion requires.

These *Olympian* games and exercises of activity, were first instituted by *Hercules*, who measured the length of the race by his own foot; by which *Pythagoras* found out the stature and likely strength of *Hercules* his body. They took name, not from the Mountain *Olympus*, but from the Citie *Olympia*, otherwise *Pisa*, neer unto *Elis*; where also

Jupiters

Jupiters Temple in *Elis*, famous among the *Grecians*, and reputed among the wonders of the World, was known by the name of the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*. These games were exercised from every fourth year compleat, in the plains of *Elis*, a Citie of *Peloponnesus*, neer the river *Alpheus*.

After the death of *Hercules*, these meetings were discontinued for many years, till *Iphitus*, by advice from the Oracle of *Apollo*, re-established them, *Licurgus* the Law-giver then living: from which time they were continued by the *Grecians*, till the reigne of *Theodosius* the Emperour, according to *Cedrenus*: others think that they were dissolved under *Constantine* the Great. *Aul. Gell. l. 1.* *ex Plut.* *Plut. out of Hermippus.*

From this institution, *Varro* accompted the *Grecian* times and their stories to be certain: but reckoned all before, either doubtfull or fabulous: and yet *Pliny* gives little credit to all that is written of *Greece*, till the reigne of *Cyrus*, who began in the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, as *Eusebius* out of *Diodore*, *Castor*, *Polybius*, and others, hath gathered, in whose time the seven wise *Grecians* flourished. For *Solon* had speech with *Cræsus*, and *Cræsus* was overthrown and taken by *Cyrus*. *Plin. 36. c. 4.*

Many patient and piercing brains have laboured to find out the certain beginning of these *Olympiads*, namely, to set them in the true year of the World, and the reign of such and such Kings: but seeing they all differ in the first accompt, that is, of the Worlds year, they can hardly jump in particulars thereon depending.

Cyril against *Julian* and *Dydimus* begin the *Olympiads* the nine and fortieth of *Osias*, or *Azariah*.

Eusebius, who is contrary to himself in this reckoning, accounts with those that find the very first *Olympiad* in the beginning of the four hundreth and sixth year after *Troy*; yet he telleth us that it was in the fiftieth year of *Uzziah*, which is (as I find it) two years later. *Euseb. de Prep. Evang. l. 10. c. 3.*

Eratosthenes placeth the first *Olympiad* four hundred and seven years after *Troy*, reckoning the years that passed between; to whom *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Solinus* and many others adhere. *Eratosth. apud. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1.*

The distance between the destruction of *Troy* and the first *Olympiad*, is thus collected by *Eratosthenes*. From the taking of *Troy* to the descent of *Hercules* his posterity into *Peloponnesus*, were fourscore years; thence to the *Ionian* expedition, threescore years; from that expedition to the time of *Lycurgus* his government in *Sparta*, one hundred fifty nine; and thence to the first *Olympiad*, one hundred and eight years. In this account the first year of the first *Olympiad* is not included.

But vain labour it were to seek the beginning of the *Olympiads* by numbring the years from the taking of *Troy*, which is of date farre more uncertain. Let it suffice that by knowing the instauration of these games to have been in the four hundreth and eight year current after *Troy*, wee may reckon back to the taking of that Citie, setting that, and other accidents which have reference thereto, in their proper times. The certainty of things following the *Olympiads* must needs teach us how to find when they began.

To this good use wee have the ensuing years unto the death of *Alexander* the Great, thus divided by the same *Eratosthenes*. From the beginning of the *Olympiads* to the passage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, two hundreth fourscore and seventeen years; from thence to the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* Warre, eight and forty years; forwards to the victory of *Lysander*, seven and twenty; to the battell of *Leuctra*, thirty four; to the death of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, five and thirty; and finally to the death of *Alexander*, twelve. The whole summe ariseth to 453. years; which number he otherwise also collecteth, and it is allowed by the most.

Now for placing the institution of the *Olympiads* in the one and fiftieth year of *Uzzia*, we have arguments grounded upon that which is certain, concerning the beginning of *Cyrus* his reign, and the death of *Alexander*; as also upon the Astronomicall calculation of sundry Eclipses of the Sunne; as of that which happened when *Xerxes* set out of *Sardis* with his Army to invade *Greece*; and of divers other.

Touching *Cyrus*, it is generally agreed that his reigne as King before hee was Lord of the great Monarchy, began the first year of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, and that hee reigned thirty years: they who give him but twenty nine years of reign (following *Herodotus* rather than *Tully*, *Justine*, *Eusebius*, and others) begin a year later, which comes *Tul. de Div. l. 1.* *Just. l. 1.* *Euseb. de prep. Evang. l. 10. c. 1.* *& de Dem. Evang. l. 8. c. 2.*

all

all to one reckoning. So is the death of *Alexander* set by all good Writers in the first year of the hundreth and fourteenth *Olympiad*. This latter note of *Alexanders* death serveth well to lead us back to the beginning of *Cyrus*; as many the like observations doe. For if we reckon upwards from the time of *Alexander*, wee shall find all to agree with the years of the *Olympiads*, wherein *Cyrus* began his reign, either as King, or (taking the word Monarch, to signifie a Lord of many Kingdomes) as a great Monarch. From the beginning of *Cyrus*, in the first year of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, unto the end of the *Persian* Empire, which was in the third of the hundreth and twelfth *Olympiad*, we find two hundred and thirty years compleat: from the beginning of *Cyrus* his Monarchy, which lasted but seven years, we find compleat two hundred and seven years, which was the continuance of the *Persian* Empire.

Now therefore seeing that the first year of *Cyrus* his Monarchy (which was the last of the sixtieth *Olympiad*, and the two hundreth and fortieth year from the institution of those games by *Iphitus*) followed the last of the seventy yeares of the captivity of *Juda*, and desolation of the Land of *Israel*: manifest it is, that we must reckon back those seventy years, and one hundred threescore and ten years more, the last which passed under the Kings of *Juda*, to find the first of these *Olympiads*; which by this accompt is the one and fiftieth of *Uzziah*, as we have already noted.

The Eclipses whereof we made mention, serve well to the same purpose. For examples sake; that which was seen when *Xerxes* mustered his Army at *Sardis*, in the two hundreth threescore and seventh yeer of *Nabonassar*, being the last of the threescore and fourteenth *Olympiad*, leads us back unto the beginning of *Xerxes*, and from him to *Cyrus*, whence wee have a fair way through the threescore and ten years, unto the destruction of *Jerusalem*; and so upwards through the reignes of the last Kings of *Juda*, to the one and fiftieth year of *Uzzia*.

Thus much may suffice, concerning the time wherein these *Olympiads* began.

To tell the great solemnity of them, and with what exceeding great concourse of all *Greece*, they were celebrated, I hold it a superfluous labour. It is enough to say that all bodily exercises, or the most of them, were therein practised; as Running, Wrestling, Fighting, and the like. Neither did they onely contend for the Mastery in those feates, whereof there was good use, but in running of Chariots, fighting With whorle-bats, and other the like antient kindes of exercises that served onely for ostentation. Thither also repaired Orators, Poets, Musicians, and all that thought themselves excellent in any laudable quality, to make tryall of their skill. Yea, the very Cryers which proclaimed the victories, contended which of them should get the honour of having playd the best part.

The *Eleans* were presidents of those Games; whose justice, in pronouncing without partiality who did best, is highly commended. As for the rewards given to the Victors, they were none other than Garlands of Palme, or Olive, without any other commodity following than the reputation. Indeed there needed no more. For that was held so much, that when *Diagoras* had seen his three sons crowned for their severall victories in those games, one came running to him with this gratulation: *Morere*, Diagoras, *non enim in cælum ascensurus es*, that is, *Die*, Diagoras, *for thou shalt not clime up to heaven*: as if there could be no greater happinesse on earth, than what already had befallen him. In the like sense *Horace* speaks of these Victors, calling them,

Hor. Carm. l. 4 Ode. 2.

Quos Elæa domum reducit
Palma Cœlestes.

Such as like heavenly wights do come
With an *Elæan* Garland home.

Neither was it only the voyce of the People, or songs of Poets, that so highly extolled them, which had wonne these *Olympian* prizes; but even grave Historians thought it a matter worthy of their noting. Such was (as *Tully* counts it) the vanity of the *Greekes*, that they esteemed it almost as great an honour to have wonne the Victory at Running or Wrestling in those games, as to have triumphed in *Rome* for some famous victory, or conquest of a Province.

Tull. in Orat. pro Flacco.

That these *Olympian* games were celebrated at the full of the Moon, and upon the fifteenth

fifteenth day of the Moneth *Hecatombæon*, which doth answer to our *June*; and what means they used to make the Moneth begin with the new Moone, that the fifteenth day might be the full, I have shewed in another place. Wherefore I may now return unto the Kings of *Juda*, & leave the merrie *Greekes* at their games, whom I shall meet in more serious employments, when the *Persian* quarrells draw the body of this History into the coasts of *Ionia* and *Hellespont*.

§. VI.
Of Jotham *and his Contemporaries.*

Jotham the sonne of *Uzziah*, when he was five and twenty yeers old, and in the second of *Pekah* King of *Israel*, was anointed King in *Jerusalem*, his Father yet living. Hee built an exceeding high Gate to the Temple, of threescore cubits upright, and therfore called *Ophel*: besides divers Cities in the Hills of *Juda*, and in the Forrests, Towers & Palaces: he inforced the *Ammonites* to pay him Tribute, to wit, of Silver an hundred talents, and of Wheat and Barly two thousand measures: hee reigned sixe and twenty years: of whom *Josephus* gives this testimonie: *Ejusmodi verò Princeps hic fuit, ut nullum in eo virtutis genus desideres: ut qui Deum adeo pie coluerit, hominibus suis adeo juste præfuerit, urbem ipsam tantæ sibi curæ esse passus sit, & tantopere auxerit, ut universum regnum hostibus quidem minimè contemnendum, domesticis autem ejus incolis atque civibus fœlix, faustum & fortunatum sua virtute effecerit; This was such a Prince, as a man could find no kind of vertue wanting in him: hee worshiped God so religiously, he governed his men so righteously, he was so provident for the Citie, and did so greatly amplifie it, that by his vertue and proweße he made his whole Kingdome not contemptible to his enemies, but to his Servants, Inhabitants and Citizens, prosperous and happie.* 2 King 15. 33.

This is all that I find of *Jotham*: his reigne was not long, but as happie in all things, as he himselfe was devout and vertuous.

Auchomenes about this time succeeded *Phelestes* in *Corinth*: after whom, the *Corinthians* erected Magistrates, which governed from yeare to yeare. And yet *Pausanias* in his second Book, with *Strabo* and *Plutarch*, in many places, are of opinion, That *Corinth* was governed by Kings of the race of the *Bacidæ*, to the time of *Cypselus*, who drove them out.

Teglathphalassar, or *Tiglathpeleser*, the son of *Phul* the second of the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians* that was of this new race, about this time invaded *Israel*, while *Pekah* (who murthered his Master *Pekeiah*) was King thereof. In which Expedition he took most of the Cities of *Nephtali* and *Galilee*, with those of *Gilead* over *Jordan*, and carried the inhabitants captive. This *Tiglath* reigned five and twenty years, according to *Metasthenes*. But *Krentzheimius* findes, that with his sonne *Salmanassar* he reigned yet two yeares longer: which yeares I would not ascribe to the sonne, because the *Æra* of *Nabonassar* begins with his single reign, but reckon them to *Tiglath Phulassar* himselfe, who therewith reigned 27. yeeres. 2 King 15.

Aeschylus, the son of *Agamnestor*, about the same time, the twelfth *Archon* in *Athens*, ruled 25. years. *Alcamenes* governed *Sparta*: after whom, the Estate changed, according to *Eusebius*. But therein surely *Eusebius* is mistaken: for *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, *Pausanias*, and others, witnesse the contrary. *Pausanias* affirmeth, That *Polydorus*, a Prince of eminent vertues, succeeded his father, and reigned 60. years, and out-lived the *Messeniack* warre: which was ended by *Theopompus*, the sonne of *Nicander*, his royall companion. Paus. lib. 3.

At this time lived *Nahum* the Prophet, who fore-told the destruction of the *Assyrian* Empire, and of the citie of *Nineve*; which succeeded (saith *Josephus*) a hundred & fifteen yeeres after. The Cities of *Cyrene* and of *Aradus* were built at this time, while in *Media*, *Sosarmus* and *Medidus* reigned, being the second and third Kings of those parts.

§. VII.
Of Achaz *and his Contemporaries.*

Has, or *Achaz*, succeeded unto *Jotham* in the seventeenth yeer of *Peka*, the son of *Remalia*: the same being also the last yeere of his fathers reign, who began in the second of the same *Peka*, and reigned 16. but not compleat yeeres. This

Ahaz was an Idolater, exceeding all his predecessors. He made molten Images for *Baalim*, and burnt his son for sacrifice before the Idoll *Moloch*, or *Saturne*, which was re-
2 King 16.11. 2 Chron.28. presented by a man-like brazen body, bearing the head of a Calfe, set up not far from *Jerusalem*, in a Valley shadowed with Woods, called *Gehinnom*, or *Topher*, from whence the word *Gehenna* is used for Hell. The children offered, were inclosed within the carkasse of this Idoll, and as the fire encreased, so the sacrificers, with a noyse of Cimbals and other Instruments, filled the ayre, to the end the pittifull cries of the children might not bee heard: which unnaturall, cruell, and devillish Oblation, *Jeremie* the Prophet vehemently reprehendeth, and of which S. *Hierome* upon the tenth of *Matthew*
C.7.19.31. hath written at large. By the prohibition in *Leviticus* the eighteenth, it appeareth that this horrible sinne was ancient: in the twelfth of *Deuteronomie*, it is called an abhomination which God hateth. That it was also practised elsewhere, and by many Nations remote from *Judæa*, divers Authors witnesse; as *Virgil* in the second of *Æneids*—— *Sanguine placastis, &c.* & *Silvius*—— *Poscere cæde Deos. Saturne* is said to have brought this custome into *Italy*, besides the casting of many soules into the River of *Tyber*, in stead of which, *Hercules* commanded, that the waxen Images of men should be thrown in and drowned. The Devill also taught the *Carthaginians* this kind of butcherie, insomuch, that when their Citie was besieged, and in distresse, the Priest made them beleeve, that because they had spared their own children, and had bought and brought up others to bee offered, that therefore *Saturne* had stirred up and strengthened their
Euseb. de Præp: Evang. lib 6. Diod. lib. 1. Diod. lib. 20. Enemies against them: whereupon they presently caused two hundred of the noblest youths of their Citie to be slaine, and offered to *Saturn* or *Satan*, to appease him: who besides these fornamed Nations, had instructed the *Rhodians*, the people of *Crete*, and *Chios*, of *Messena*, of *Galatia*, with the *Massagetes*, and others, in these his services. Further, as if he were not content to destroy the soules of many Nations in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, (as *Acosta* writeth) the *Mexicans* and other people of *America*, were brought
Acost de Histor. nat. & mor. Ind. by the Devill under this fearefull servitude, in which he also holdeth the *Floridans* and *Virginians* at this day.

For the wickednesse of this King *Ahaz*, God stirred up *Rezin* of *Damascus*, and *Pekah* the Son of *Remaliah*, King of *Israel* against him, who invaded *Judæa*, and besieged *Jerusalem*, but entred it not.

The King of *Syria*, *Rezin*, possest himself of *Elah* by the Red Sea, and cast the *Jewes* out of it; and *Pekah* slaughtered in one day an hundred and twenty thousand *Judæans*, of
2 Chron. 28.6. the ablest of the Kingdome, at which time *Maaseiah*, the Sonne of *Achaz*, was also slaine by *Zichri*, with *Azrikam* the Governour of his house, and *Elcanah* the second person unto the King. Besides all this, two hundred thousand prisoners of women and children, the *Israelites* lead away to *Samaria*: but by the counsell of the Prophet *Oded*, they were returned and delivered back againe.

As *Israel* and *Aram* vexed *Juda* on the North; so the *Edomites* & the *Philistims*, who evermore attended the ruine of *Judæa*, entred upon them from the South, and took
2 Chron. 28. *Bethsemes*, *Ajalon*, *Gaderoth*, *Socho*, *Timnah*, & *Gemzo*, slew many people, & carried away many prisoners. Whereupon when *Achaz* saw himself environed on all sides, & that his Idols and dead gods gave him no comfort, hee sent to the *Assyrian Tiglatphileser*, to
2 Kings 16. desire some aide from him against the *Israelites* and *Aramites*, presenting him with the silver and gold both of the Temple, and Kings house.

Tiglatphileser wanted not a good example to follow, in making profit of the troubles that rose in *Palestina*. His Father having lately made himself from a Provinciall Lieutenant, King of *Babylon* and *Assyria*, had a little before led him the way into *Judæa*, invited by *Menahem*, King of *Israel*. Wherefore now the Son willingly harkened to *Achaz*, and embraced the advantage. As for *Belochus* himself, hee was content to assigne some other time for going through with this enterprize: because (as I have said before) he was not firmely settled at home, and the *Syrian* Kings lay directly in his way, who were yet strong both in men and fame. But *Tiglath*, having now, with the treasures of *Jerusalem*, prepared his Army, first invaded the Territorie of *Damascus*, wanne the Citie, & killed *Rezin* the last of the race of the *Adads*, who began with *David*, & ended with this *Achaz*. At *Damascus*, *Achaz* met *Tiglath*, and taking thence a pattern of the Altar, sent it to *Uriah* the Priest, commanding the like to be made at *Jerusalem*, whereon at his returne hee burnt Sacrifice to the gods of the *Syrians*. In the meane while *Tiglath* possest all *Basan*,

and

and the reſt beyond *Jordan*, which belonged to the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Manaſſe*. And then paſing the River, he maſtered the Cities of *Galilee*, invaded *Ephraim*, and the Kingdome of *Iſrael*, and made them his Vaſſals. And notwithſtanding that hee was invited and waged by *Achaz*, yet after the ſpoile of *Iſrael*, he poſſeſt himſelf of the greater part of *Juda*, and, as it ſeemeth, inforced *Achaz* to pay him tribute. For in the ſecond of *Kings*, the eighteenth, it is written of *Ezechia*, that hee revolted from *Aſſhur*, or rebelled againſt him, & therfore was invaded by *Sennacherib*. After *Ahaz* had beheld and borne theſe miſeries, in the end of the ſixteenth yeer of his reigne he died; but was not buried in the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Juda*.

With *Ahaz* lived *Medidus*, the third Prince in *Media*, who governed 40. years, ſaith *Euſebius*: *Diodorus* and *Cteſias* find *Anticarmus* in ſtead of this *Medidus*, to have been *Soſarmus* his ſucceſſor, to whom they give 50. yeeres. *Euſeb. in Chron.*

Tiglath Phileſer held the Kingdome of *Aſſyria*, all the reign of *Ahaz*: yet ſo, that *Salmanaſſar* his Son may ſeeme to have reigned with him ſome part of the time. For wee find that *Ahaz* did *ſend unto the Kings of* Aſhur *to help him*. The *Geneva* note ſaies, that theſe Kings of *Aſſhur*, were *Tiglath Pileſer*, and thoſe Kings that were under his Dominion. But that he or his Father had hitherto made ſuch conqueſts, as might give him the Lordſhip over other Kings, I doe neither find any Hiſtory, nor circumſtance that proveth. Wherefore I think that theſe Kings of *Aſſhur*, were *Tiglath*, and *Salmanaſſar* his Son, who reigned with his Father, as hath been ſaid before: though how long hee reigned with his Father, it had been hard to define. 2 King 28.16.

At this time began the *Ephori* in *Lacedæmon*, a hundred and thirty years after *Lycurgus*, according to *Plutarch*. *Euſebius* makes their beginning far later, namely, in the fifteenth *Olympiad*. Of theſe *Ephori*, *Elalus* was the firſt; *Theopompus* and *Polydorus* being then joynt Kings. Theſe *Ephori*, choſen every yeare, were controllers, as well of their Senators, as of their Kings, nothing being done without their advice and conſent. For (ſaith *Cicero*) they were oppoſed againſt their Kings, as the *Roman* Tribunes againſt the Conſuls. In the time of *Ahaz* died *Aeſchylus*, who had ruled in *Athens* ever ſince the fiftieth yeare of *Uzzia*. *Alcamenon* the thirteenth of the *Medontidæ*, or Governours of the *Athenians* (ſo called of *Medon* who followed *Codrus*) ſucceeded his Father *Aeſchylus*, and was the laſt of their Governors: he ruled onely two yeeres. For the *Athenians* changed firſt from Kings (after *Codrus*) to Governors for life; which ending in this *Alcamenon*, they erected a Magiſtrate, whom they termed an *Archon*, who was a kind of *Burgho-Maſter*, or Governor of their City for ten yeeres. *Plutarch. in vita Solo.*

This alteration *Pauſanias* in his fourth Book begins in the firſt yeere of the eighth *Olympiad*; *Euſebius* & *Halicarnaſſæus* in the firſt of the ſeventh *Olympiad*: at which time indeed, *Carops* the firſt of theſe, began his ten yeeres rule.

The Kingdome of the *Latines*, governed about three hundred yeare by the *Sylvii*, of the race of *Aeneas*, took end in the ſame *Ahaz* time: the foundation of *Rome* being laid by *Romulus* & *Remus* in the eighth yeere of the ſame King. *Codoman* builds it in the eleventh of *Achaz*. *Bucholzer* in the eighth, as I thinke he ſhould; others ſomewhat later, and in the reigne of *Ezechias*. *Cicero*, *Eutropius*, *Oroſius*, and others, ſquare the time of the foundation to the third yeere of the ſixt *Olympiad*. But *Halicarnaſſæus*, *Solinus Antiochenus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Euſebius*, to the firſt yeere of the ſeventh: who ſeeme not onely to me, but to many very learned Chronologers, to have kept herein the beſt accompt.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Of the Antiquitie of Italy, *and foundation of* Rome *in the time of* Ahaz.

§. I.

Of the old Inhabitants, and of the name of Italy.

AND here to speak of the more ancient times of *Italy*, and what Nations possest it before the arivall of *Aeneas*, the place may seem to invite us: the rather because much fabulous matter hath been mixed with the truth of those elder plantations. *Italy* before the fall of *Troy*, was known to the *Greeks* by divers names; as first *Hesperia*, then *Ausonia*, the one name arising of the seat, the other of the *Ausones*, a people inhabiting part of it: one ancient name of it was also *Oenotria*, which it had of the *Oenotri*, whom *Halicarnassæus* thinkes to have been the first that brought a Colony of *Arcadians* into that Land. Afterward it was called *Italy* of *Italus*: concerning which changes of names, *Virgil* speakes thus:

Halicarn. lib. 1.

Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt,
Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque ubere gleba:
Oenotrii coluere viri, nunc fama, minores
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.

There is a Land which *Greeks Hesperia* name,
Ancient, and strong, of much fertility:
Oenotrians held it, but we hear by fame,
That by late ages of Posterity,
Tis from a Captaines name call'd *Italy*.

Who this Captain or King may have bin, it is very uncertain. For *Virgil* speakes no more of him, and the opinions of others are many and repugnant. But like enough it is, that the name which hath continued so long upon the whole Countrie, and worn out all other denominations, was not at the first accepted without good cause. Therefore to find out the originall of this name, and the first planters of this noble Countrie, *Reineccius* hath made a very painfull search, and not improbable conjecture. And first of all he grounds upon that of *Halicarnassæus*, who speakes of a Colonie which the *Eleans* did lead into *Italy*, before the name of *Italy* was given to it; Secondly, upon that of *Justine*, who saith, that *Brundusium* was a Colonie of the *Aetolians*; Thirdly, upon that of *Strabo*, who affirmes the same of *Temesa* or *Tempsa*, a Citie of the *Brutii* in *Italy*; Lastly, upon the authority of *Plinie*, who shewes that the *Italians* did inhabit only one Region of the Land, whence afterward the name was derived over all. Concerning that which is said of the *Eleans* and *Aetolians*, who (as he shews) had one originall; from them he brings the name of *Italy*. For the world *Italia*, differs in nothing from *Aitolia*, save that the first Letter is cast away, which in the *Greek* words is common; & the letter (*o*) is changed into (*a*) which change is found in the name of *Aethalia* an Island neer *Italy*, peopled by the *Aetholians*: and the like changes are very familiar in the *Aeolic* Dialect; of which Dialect (being almost proper to the *Aetolians*) the accent & pronunciation, together with many words little altered, were retained by the *Latines*, as *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, *Quintilian*, and *Priscian* the Grammarian teach.

Halicarn. lib. 1.
Just. lib. 12.
Strabo lib. 6.
Plin. lib. 3. c. 5.

Hereunto appertaines that of *Julian* the Apostata, who called the *Greekes* cousins of the *Latines*. Also the common Originall of the *Greekes* and *Latines* from *Javan*; and the Fable of *Janus*, whose Image had two faces, looking East and West, as *Greece* and *Italy* lay, and was stamped on Coynes, with a Ship on the other side; all which is, by interpretation, referred to *Javan*, father of the *Greekes* and *Latines*: who sayling over the *Ionian* Sea, that lies between *Aetolia* and the Western parts of *Greece* and *Italy*, planted Colonies in both. Now whereas *Reineccius* thinkes, that the names of

of *Atlas* and *Italus* belonged both to one man, and thereto applyes that of *Berosus*, who called *Cethim*, *Italus*; though it may seeme strengthened by the marriage of *Dardanus*, whilest he abode in *Italy* with *Electra*, the daughter of *Atlas*, yet is it by arguments (in my valuation) greater and stronger, easily disproved. For they who make mention of *Atlas*, place him before the time of *Moses*: and if *Atlas* were *Cethim*, or *Kittim*, then was he the son of *Javan*, and nephew of *Japheth*, the eldest son of *Noah*: which antiquity far exceeds the name of *Italy*, that began after the departure of *Hercules* out of the Countrey, not long before the Warre of *Troy*.

Likewise *Virgil*, who speakes of *Atlas*, and of *Dardanus* his marriage with *Electra*, hath nothing of his meeting with her in *Italy*, but calleth *Electra* & her sister *Maia* (poetically) daughters of the Mountaine *Atlas* in *Africa*, naming *Italus* among the Kings of the *Aborigenes*; which he would not have done, had *Atlas* and *Italus* beene one person.

As for the authority of *Berosus* in this case, we need the lesse to regard it, for that *Reynerius* himself, whose conjectures are more to bee valued than the dreames wherewith *Annius* hath filled *Berosus*, holds it but a figment.

That the name of *Italy* began long after *Atlas*, it appeares by the verses of *Virgil* last rehearsed, wherein hee would not have said,——*Nun fama minores Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem*, had that name beene heard of ere *Dardanus* left the Countrey. But seeing that, when *Hercules*, who died a few yeeres before the Warre of *Troy*, had left in *Italy* a Colonie of the *Eleans* (who in a manner were one and the same Nation with the *Aetolians*, as *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, and *Pausanias* teach) then the name of *Italy* began: & seeing *Virgil* makes mention of *Italus* among the *Italian* Kings, it were no great boldenesse to say, that *Italus* was Commander of these *Eleans*. For though I remember not that I have read of any such *Greek* as was named *Italus*; yet the name of *Aetolus* written in *Greek Aitolus*, was very famous among the *Aetolians*, and among the *Eleans*, he being son of a King of *Elis*, & founder of the *Aetolian* Kingdome. Neither is it more hard to derive the name of *Italus* from *Aetolus*, than *Italia* from *Aetolia*. So may *Virgils* authority stand well with the collections of *Reynecius*; the name of *Italy* being taken both from a Captaine, and from the Nation, of which he and his people were.

§. II.

Of the Aborigenes, and other Inhabitants of Latium, and of the reason of the names of Latini and Latium.

IN *Italy* the *Latines* and *Hetrurians* were most famous; the *Hetrurians* having held the greatest part of it under their subjection; & the *Latines* by the vertue and felicity of the *Romans*, who were a branch of them, subduing all *Italy*, and in few ages whatsoever Nation was known in *Europe*: together with all the Westerne parts of *Asia*, and North of *Africk*.

The Region called *Latium*, was first inhabited by the *Aborigines*, whom *Halicarnassaeus*, *Varro*, & *Reynecius* (following them) think to have bin *Arcadians*: & this name of *Aborigines* (to omit other significations that are strained) imports as much as Originall, or Native of the place, which they possessed: which title the *Arcadians* are known in vaunting manner to have alwayes usurped, fetching their antiquity from beyond the Moone; because indeed, neither were the inhabitants of *Peloponnesus* inforced to forsake their seates so oft as other *Greeks* were, who did dwell without that halfe Iland, neither had the *Arcadians* so unsure a dwelling as the rest of the *Peloponnesians*, because their Countrey was lesse fruitfull in land, mountainous, & hard of accesse, & they themselves (as in such places commonly are found) very warlike men. Some of these therefore having occupied a great part of *Latium*, & held it long, did according to the *Arcadian* manner, stile themselves *Aborigenes*, in that language, which either their new Seat, or their Neighbours thereby had taught them. How it might be that the *Arcadians*, who dwelt somwhat far from Sea, & are alwaies noted as unapt men to prove good Mariners, should have bin Authors of new discoveries, were a question not easie to be answered, were it not so, that both fruitfulnesse of children, in which those ages abounded, inforced the superfluous company to seeke another seat, & that some expeditions of the *Arcadians*, as especially that of *Evander*, into the same parts of *Italy*, are generally acknowledged.

After the *Aborigenes*, were the *Pelasgi*, an ancient Nation, who sometimes gave name to all *Greece*: but their antiquities are long since dead, for lacke of good records. Neither was their glory such in *Italy*, as could long sustaine the name of their own Tribe; for they were in short space accounted one people with the former inhabitants. The *Siculi*, *Ausones*, *Aruci*, *Rutili*, and other people, did in ages following disturbe the peace of *Latium*, which by *Saturne* was brought to some civility; and he therefore canonized as a god.

This *Saturne* S. *Augustine* called *Sterces* or *Sterculius*, others terme him *Stercutius*, & say, that he taught the people to dung their grounds. That *Latium* took his name of *Saturn*, because he did *latere*, that is, lie hidden there, when he fled from *Jupiter*, it is questionlesse a fable. For as in Heathenish superstition, it was great vanity to think that any thing could bee hidden from God, or that there were many gods of whom one fledde from another; so in the truth of History, it is well known, that no King reigning in those parts was so mighty, that it should bee hard to find one Country or another, wherein a man might be safe from his pursuit. And yet, as most fables and poeticall fictions were occasioned by some ancient truth, which either by ambiguity of speech, or some allusion, they did maimedly and darkely expresse (for so they fained a passage over a River in Hell, because death is a passage to another life: & because this passage is hatefull, lamentable, and painfull, therefore they nameed the River *Styx*, of Hate; *Cocytus* of Lamentation, and *Acheron*, of Paine: so also because men are stonie-hearted; and because the *Greek* λαοὶ, people, and λᾶες, stones, are neere in sound, therefore they eigned in the time of *Deucalion* stones converted into men, as at other times men into stones:) in like manner it may be, that the originall of *Saturnes* hiding himselfe, was some allusion to that old opinion of the wisest of the Heathen, that the true God was *ignotus Deus*, as it is noted in the *Acts*; whence also *Esay* of the true God saies, *tu Deus absens te*. For it cannot be in vaine, that the word *Saturnus* should also have this very signification, if it be derived (as some thinke) from the *Hebrew Satar*, which is to hide: Howbeit I denie not but that the originall of this word, *Latium*, ought rather to be sought elsewhere.

Strabo lib. 1. cap. 6. §. 1. & 19.

Acts 7. 1. 3.
Esay 45. 15.

Reyneccius doth conjecture that the *Ceteans*, who descended of *Cethim*, the Son of *Javan*, were the men who gave the name to *Latium*. For these *Ceteans* are remembred by *Homer* as aiders of the *Trojans* in their warre. *Strabo* interpreting the place of *Homer*, calls them subjects to the Crown of *Troy*. Hereupon *Reyneccius* gathers, that their abode was in *Asia*: viz. *in agro Elaitico, in the Elaitian Territory*, which agreeth with *Strabo*. Of a City which the *Aeolians* held in *Asia*, called *Elæa*, or *Elaia*, *Pausanias* makes mention: *Stephanus* calls it *Cidamis*, or (according to the *Greek* writing) *Cidamis*, which name last rehearsed hath a very neere sound to *Cethim*, *Citim* or *Cithim*; the *Greek* Letter (*D*) having (as many teach) a pronunciation very like to (*TH*) differing only in the strength or weakednesse of utterance, which is found betweene many English words written with the same letters. Wherefore that these *Ceteans*, being descended of *Cethim*, *Cittim*, or *Kittim*, the Sonne of *Javan*, who was Progenitor of the *Greekes*, might very well take a denomination from the City, and Region, which they inhabited, and from thence be called *Elaites*, or *Elaites*, it is very likely, considering that among the *Arcadians*, *Phocians*, *Aetolians*, and *Eleans*, who all were of the *Aeolique* Tribe, are found the names of the Mountaine *Elæus*, the Haven *Elæus*, the people *Elaitæ*, the City *Elæus*, *Elais* & *Elateia*; of which last it were somewhat harsh in the Latine tongue to call the Inhabitants by any other name then *Elatini*, from whence *Latini* may come. Now whereas both the *Ceteri* and *Arcadians*, had their originall from *Cethim*, it is nothing unlikely, that agreeing in language and similitude of names, they might nevertheless differ in sound and pronunciation of one and the same word. So that as he is by many called *Sabinus*, to whom some (deriving the *Sabines* from him) give the name of *Sabus*: in the like manner might he whom the *Arcadians* would call *Elatus* (of which name they had a Prince that founded the City *Elateia*) bee named of the *Ceteans Latinus*. *Reyneccius*, pursuing this likelihood, thinkes that when *Eurypilus*, Lord of the *Ceteans*, (being the Sonne of *Telephus*, whom *Hercules* begat upon *Auge*, the daughter of *Aleus* King of *Arcadia*) was slaine by *Achilles* in the *Trojan* Warre: then did *Telephus*, brother to *Eurypilus*, conduct the *Ceteans*, who (fearing what evill might befall themselves by the *Greeks*, if the affairs of *Troy* should goe ill) passed into that part of *Italy*, whereas the *Arcadians* were planted by *Oenotrius*. And *Reyneccius* farther thinkes, that *Telephus* being the more gracious among

among the *Oenotrian Arcadians*, by the memory of his Grand-mother *Auge*, an *Arcadian* Lady, was well contented to take an *Arcadian* name, and to be called *Elatus*, which in the dialect and pronunciation either of the *Ceteans*, or of the *Oenotrians*, was first *Elatinus*, and then *Latinus*. That this name of *Elatus* may have bin taken or imposed by the *Arcadians*, it is the more easie to be thought, for that there were then two Families, the one of *Aphidas*, the other of *Elatus*, who were Sons of *Arcas* King of *Arcadia*, which gave name to the Countrey: & betweene these two Families the succession in that Kingdome did passe, almost enterchangeably, for many ages, till at the end of the *Trojan* warre it fell into the hand of *Hippotheus* of the race of *Elatus*, in whose Posterity it continued untill the last. Againe, the name of *Latinus*, having a derivative sound, agrees the better with the supposition of such an accident. This is the conjecture of *Reyneccius*, which if he made over-boldly, yet others may follow it with the lesse reproofe, considering that it is not easie to find either an apparent truth, or faire probability among these disagreeing Authors, which have written the originals of *Latium*.

§. VI.

Of the ancient Kings of the Latines *untill* Æneas *his comming.*

THe Kings which reigned in *Latium* before the arivall of *Aeneas*, were *Saturnus*, *Picus*, *Faunus*, and *Latinus*. Of *Saturne* there is nothing remembre save what is mentioned already, and many Fables of the *Greekes*, which whether they be applyable to this man, it is for him to judge, who shall be able to determine, whether this were the *Saturne* of the *Greekes*, called by them κρόνος, or some other, stiled *Saturne* by the *Aborigines*. For the age wherein he lived, may very well admit him to have bin the same: but the names of * *Sterces*, and *Stercutius* (for it may bee, this name was not borrowed from the skill which hee taught the people, but rather the soile which they laid on their grounds had that appellation from him) doe rather make him seeme some other man.

Of *Picus* it is said, that he was a good Horse-man. The fable of his being changed into a Bird, which we call a Pie, may well seeme (as it is interpreted) to have grown from the skill which he had in sooth-saying, or divination, by the flight and chattering of Fowles. *Faunus*, the Son of *Picus*, reigned after his Father: He gave to *Evander* the *Arcadian* (who having slain by mischance his Father *Echemus* King of *Arcadia*, fled into *Italy*) the waste grounds on which *Rome* was afterward built.

Fauna, called *Fatua*, the sister of *Faunus*, who was also his wife, as all Historians agree; she was held a Prophetesse, and highly commended for her chastity, vvhich praise in her must needs have bin much blemished by her marriage, it self being meerly incestuous.

It is not mentioned that *Faunus* had by his sister any childe, neither doe we read of any other Wife which he had, save onely that *Virgil* gives unto him *Latinus* as his Son, by a Nymph called *Marica*.

But who this *Marica* was, it is not found, save onely that her aboad was about the River *Liris* neere *Minturnæ*,

Of the name *Latinus*, there are by *Pomponius Sabinus* recounted four: one, the Son of *Faunus*, another of *Hercules*, a third of *Vlysses* by *Circe*, the fourth of *Telemachus*. *Suidas* takes notice onely of the second, of whom he saith, that is hname was *Telephus*, and the people anciently named the *Cetii*, were from his surname called *Latini*. This agrees in effect with the opinion of *Reyneccius*, the difference consisting almost in this only, that *Suidas* calls *Telephus* the son of *Hercules*, whereas *Reyneccius* makes him his Nephew, by a son of the same name. This *Latinus* having obtained the succession in that Kingdome after *Faunus*, did promise his only Daughter and Heire *Lavinia*, to *Turnus* the son of *Venilia*, who was sister to *Amata Latinus* his Wife,

But when *Aeneas* arrived in those parts with fifteene ships, or perhaps fewer, wherein might be imbarked, according to the rate which *Thucydides* allowes to the Vessels then used, about one thousand & two hundred men: then *Latinus* finding that it would stand best with his assurance, to make alliance with the *Trojan*, and moved with the great reputation of *Aeneas*, which himself had heard of in the Warre of *Troy*, gave his Daughter to him, breaking off the former appointment with *Turnus*; who incensed here-

Ezekie often cals the Idols of the Heathen *deos stercoreos*: and hence it may be that in the Evangelist we reade of *Belzebub*, *Belzebul*, which is interpreted *Dominus stercoreus*: and it may bee that after that *Saturne* became the name of an Idol, it pleased God that in a like sense this name *Stercutius* should sticke unto him. *Aeneid. 7.*

Suidas in the word *Latini*.

herewith, sought to avenge himself by warre: which was soone ended with his own death.

Of *Amata* the Wife of *Latinus*, it is very certaine, that were she an *Italian*, she could not have born a Daughter marriageable at the arrivall of *Aeneas*; unlesse wee should wholly follow *Suidas*, and rather give the conduct of the *Cetei* into *Italy*, to *Telephus* the Father, than to his Son, who served in the last yeere of the *Trojan* Warre. But *Reynecius* holds her an *Asiatique*, and thinkes withall, that *Lavinia* was borne before *Telephus* came into *Italy*. That this name *Amata*, by which *Virgil* and *Halicarnassæus* call her, was not proper, but rather a surname, it may seeme by *Varro*; who calleth her *Palatua*: which name very well might be derived from the *Greek* name *Pallas*. *Amata*, which signifieth beloved, or deare, was the name by which the High Priest called every Virgin whom he took to serve as a Nunne of *Vesta*; wherfore it is the more easie to be thought a surname, howsoever *Virgil* discourse of her and *Venilia* her sister.

Lavinia, the daughter of *Latinus*, being given in marriage to *Aeneas*, the Kingdome of *Latium*, or the greatest part of that Countrie, was established in that race: wherin it continued untill it was over-grown by the might and greatnesse of the *Romans*.

§. IV.

Of Æneas, and of the Kings and Governors of Alba.

ÆNEAS himself being of the Royall bloud of *Troy*, had the command of the *Dardanians*: he was a valiant man, very rich, and highly honoured among the *Troians*. By his wife *Creusa*, the daughter of *Priamus*, he had a sonne called *Ascanius*; whose surname was *Julus*, having before the ruine of *Troy* (as *Virgil* notes) bin surnamed *Ilus*. But when *Aeneas* was dead, his wife *Lavinia*, the daughter of *Latinus* being great with childe by him, and fearing the power of this *Ascanius*, fled into the Woods, where she was delivered of a son, called thereupon *Sylvius*, and surnamed *Posthumus*, because he was borne after his fathers Funerall. This flight of *Lavinia* was so evill taken by the people, that *Ascanius* procured her returne, entreated her honourable, and using her as a Queene, did foster her young son, his halfe-brother *Sylvius*. Yet afterwards, whether to avoid all occasions of disagreement, or delighted with the situation of the place; *Ascanius* leaving to his motherinlaw the Citie *Lavinium*, which *Aeneas* had built and called after his new wives name, founded the Citie *Alba Longa*, and therein reigned. The time of his reigne was, according to some, eight and twenty yeers: *Virgil* gives him thirty; others five and thirty, and eight and thirty. After his decease, there arose contention betweene *Sylvius*, the son of *Aeneas*, and *Julus* the sonne of *Ascanius*, about the Kingdome: but the people inclining to the sonne of *Lavinia*, *Julus* was contented to hold the Priesthood, which he and his race enjoyed, leaving the Kingdome to *Sylvius Posthumus*, whose posterity were afterwards called *Sylvii*.

The reigne of the *Alban* Kings, with the continuance of each mans reigne, I find thus set downe:

1 *Sylvius Posthumus.*	29	
2 *Sylvius Æneas.*	31	
3 *Sylvius Latinus.*	50	
4 *Sylvius Alba.*	39	
5 *Sylvius Atis.*	26	
6 *Sylvius Capys.*	28	
7 *Sylvius Capetus.*	13	years.
8 *Sylvius Tiberinus.*	8	
9 *Sylvius Agrippa.*	41	
10 *Sylvius Alladius.*	19	
11 *Sylvius Aventinus.*	37	
12 *Sylvius Procas.*	23	
13 *Sylvius Amulius.*	44	
Sylvius Numitor.		

Ilia, called also *Rhea* and *Sylvia*.
Romulus. Remus.

The

The moſt of theſe Kings lived in peace, and did little or nothing worthy of remembrance.

Latinus founded many Townes in the borders of *Latium*: who ſtanding much upon the honour of their originall, grew thereby to be called *Priſci Latini*. Of *Tiberinus* ſome thinke that the River *Tiber* had name, being formerly called *Albula*: but *Virgil* gives it that denomination of another called *Tibris*, before the coming of *Aeneas* into *Italy*. The Mountain *Aventinus* had name (as many write) from *Aventinus* King of the *Albanes*, who was buried therin: but *Virgil* hath it otherwiſe. *Julius*, the brother of *Aventinus*, is named by *Euſebius* as father of another *Julius*, & grandfather of *Julius Proculus*, who leaving *Alba*, dwelt with *Romulus* in *Rome*: *Numitor*, the elder ſon of *Procas*, was deprived of his Kingdome by his brother *Amulius*; by whom alſo his ſon *Aegeſthus* was ſlain, and *Ilia* his daughter made a Nunne of *Veſta*, that thereby the iſſue of *Numitor* might be cut off. But ſhe conceived two ſons, either by her Uncle *Amulius*, as ſome think; or by *Mars*, as the Poets feign; or perhaps by ſome man of warre. Both the children, their Uncle commanded to be drowned, and the mother buried quick, according to the law; which ſo ordained, when the Veſtall Virgins brake their chaſtitie. Whether it was ſo, that the mother was pardoned at the entreatie of *Antho*, the daughter of *Amulius*, or puniſhed as the Law required (for Authors herein doe varie) it is agreed by all, that the two children were preſerved, who afterward revenged the cruelty of their Uncle, with the ſlaughter of him and all his, and reſtored *Numitor* their grandfather to the Kingdome: wherein how long hee reigned, I find not, neither is it greatly materiall to know; for as much as the Eſtates of *Alba* and of *Latium* were preſently eclipſed by the ſwift increaſe of *Rome*; upon which the computation of Time following (as farre as concernes the things of *Italy*) is dependant. After the death of *Numitor*, the Kingdome of *Alba* ceaſed; for *Numitor* left no male iſſue. *Romulus* choſe rather to live in *Rome*; and of the Line of *Sylvius* none elſe remained. So the *Albanes* were governed by Magiſtrates; of whom onely two Dictators are mentioned, namely *Caius Cluilius*, who in the dayes of *Tullus Hoſtilius*, King of the *Romanes*, making Warre upon *Rome*, dyed in the Camp; and *Metius Suffetius*, the ſucceſſor of *Cluilius*, who ſurrendred the Eſtate of *Alba* unto the *Romans*, having committed the hazzard of both Signories to the ſucceſſe of three men of each ſide, who decided the quartell by Combat: in which, the three brethren *Horatii*, the Champions of the *Romans*, prevailed againſt the *Curiatii*, Champions of the *Albanes*. After this Combat, when *Metius* (following *Tullus Hoſtilius* with the *Albane* forces againſt the *Veientes* and *Fidenates*) withdrew his Companies out of the battail, hoping thereby to leave the *Romanes* to ſuch an overthrow, as might make them weak enough for the *Albanes* to deal with; *Tullus*, who notwithſtanding this falſehood, obtained the victory, did reward *Metius* with a cruell death, cauſing him to be tyed to two Chariots, and ſo torne in pieces. Then was *Alba* deſtroyed, and the Citizens carried to *Rome*, where they were made free Denizens, the noble Families being made *Patricians*; among which were the *Julii*: of whom *C. Julius Caſar* being deſcended, not only gloried in his ancient, royall, and forgotten pedegree, in full aſſembly of the *Romans*, then governed by a free Eſtate of the People: but by his rare induſtrie, valour, and judgement, obtained the Soveraignty of the *Romane* Empire (much by him enlarged) to himſelfe and his poſterity; whereby the name of *Aeneas*, and honour of the *Trojan* and *Alban* Race, was ſo revived, that ſeldome, if ever, any one Family hath attained to a proportionable height of glory.

§. V.

Of the beginning of Rome, *and of* Romulus *birth and death.*

OF *Rome*, which devoured the *Alban* Kingdome, I may here beſt ſhew the beginnings, which (though ſomewhat uncertain) depend much upon the birth and education of *Romulus*, the grand-child of *Numitor*, the laſt that reigned in *Alba*. For how not onely the bordering people, but all Nations between *Euphrates* and the Ocean, were broken in pieces by the yron teeth of this fourth Beaſt, it is not to bee deſcribed in one place, having been the worke of many Ages; whereof I now doe handle onely the firſt, as incident unto the diſcourſe preceding. *Q. Fabius Pictor*, *Portius*

tius Cato, Calphurnius Piso, Sempronius, & others, seek to derive the *Romans* from *Janus*: but *Herodotus*, *Marsylus*, and many others of equall credit, give the *Græcians* for their
Strab. l. 5. f. 159. ancestors: & as *Strabo* reporteth in his fifth Book, Cæcilius *rerum Romanarum Scriptor, eo argumento colligit, Romam à Græcis esse conditam, quod Romani Græco ritu, antiquo instituto*, Herculi *rem sacram faciunt: matrem quoque* Evandri *venerantur Romani*; Cæcilius (saith he) *a Roman Historiographer, doth by this argument gather, that Rome was built by the Greeks, because the Romans, after Greekish fashion, by ancient ordinance, doe sacrifise to* Hercules: *the Romans also worship the mother of* Evander.

Plutarch in the life of *Romulus* remembreth many founders of that Citie: as *Romanus* the son of *Ulysses* and *Circe*; *Romus* the son of *Emathion*, whom *Diomedes* sent thither from *Troy*; or that one *Romus*, a Tyrant of the *Latines*, who drave the *Tuscans* out of that Countrey, built it. *Solinus* bestowes the honour of building *Rome* upon *Evander*, saying, That it was beforetimes called *Valentia*. *Heraclides* gives the denomination to a captive Lady, brought thither by the *Græcians*: others say, That it was anciently called *Febris*, after the name of *Februa*, the mother of *Mars*; witnesse S. *Augustine* in his third Book *de Civitate Dei*. But *Livie* will have it to be the work of *Romulus*, even from the foundation: of whom and his consorts, *Juvenal* to a *Roman* Citizen, vaunting of their originall, answered in these Verses:

At tamen ut longè repetas, longéque revolvas,
Majorum quisquis primus fuit ille tuorum,
Aut pastor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.

Yet though thou fetch thy pedegree so farre;
Thy first Progenitor, who ere he were,
Some Shepheard was, or else, that Ile forbeare.
meaning, either a Shepheard or a Theefe.

Now of *Romulus* begetting, of his education and preservation, it is said, That he had *Rhea* for his mother, and *Mars* supposed to be his father; that he was nurst by a Wolfe, found and taken away by *Faustula* a Shepheards wife. The same unnaturall nursing had *Cyrus*, the same incredible fostering had *Semiramis*; the one by a Bitch, the other by Birds. But, as *Plutarch* saith, it is like enough that *Amulius* came covered with armour to *Rhea*, the mother of *Romulus*, when he begat her with child: & therein it seemeth to me that he might have two purposes; the one, to destroy her, because she was the daughter and heire of his elder brother, from whom he injuriously held the Kingdome; the other, to satisfie his appetite, because she was faire and goodly. For she being made a Nunne of the goddesse *Vesta*, it was death in her, by the Law, to break her chastitie. I also find
Fauchet f. 114. in *Fauchet* his *Antiquitez de Gaule*, that *Meroüee*, King of the *Francs*, was begotten by a Monster of the Sea: but *Fauchet* sayes, *Let them beleeve it that list; Ile croira qui voudra*: Also of *Alexander*, and of *Scipio African*, there are poeticall inventions: But to answer these imaginations in generall, It is true, that in those times, when the World was full of this barbarous Idolatry, and when there were as many gods as there were Kings, or passions of the mind, or as there were of vices and vertues, then did many women greatly borne, cover such slips as they made, by protesting to bee forced by more than humane power: so did *Oenone* confesse to *Paris*, that she had been ravished by *Apollo*. And *Anchyses* boasted that hee had known *Venus*. But *Rhea* was made with child by some man of Warre, or other, and therefore called *Mars*, the god of battell, according to the sense of the time. *Oenone* was overcome by a strong wit, and by such a one as had those properties ascribed to *Apollo*. The Mother of *Meroüee* might fancie a Sea Captaine, to be gotten with young by such a one: as the Daughter of *Inachus* fancied, according to *Herodotus*. *Aeneas* was a bastard, and begotten upon some faire Harlot, called for her beautie *Venus*, and was therefore the child of lust, which is *Venus*. *Romulus* was nurst by a Wolfe, which was *Lupa*, or *Lupina*; for the Curtesans in those dayes were called Wolfes, *Quæ nunc* (saith *Halicarnassæus*) *honestiori vocabulo amicæ appellantur*; *Which are now by an honester name called friends*. It is also written, that *Romulus* was in the end of his life taken up into heaven, or rather out of the world, by his father *Mars*, in a great storme of thunder and lightnig: so was it said that *Aeneas* vanished away by the River *Numicus*:

but

but thereof *Livie* also speaketh modestly; for hee rehearseth the other opinion that the storme was the furie of the Senators, but seemeth to adhere partially to this taking up; and many Authors agree, that there was an unnaturall darkenesse, both at his birth, and at his death; and that he might be slain by thunder or lightning, it is not unlikely. For the Emperour *Anastasius* was slaine with lightning; so was *Strabo* the Father of *Pompey* slaine with a thunder-bolt: so *Carus* the Emperour (who succeeded *Probus*) whilest hee lodged with his Army upon the River *Tygris*, was there slaine with lightning. But a *Mars* of the same Kind might end him that began him; for he was begotten by a man of war, & by violence destroyed. And that he died by violence (which destiny followed most of the *Roman* Emperous) it appeareth by *Tarquinius Superbus*, who was the seventh King after him: who when he had murthered his Father-in-law, commanded that he should not be buried, for (said hee) *Romulus* himselfe died and was not buried. But let *Halicarnassæus* end this dispute; whose words are these: *They* (saith hee) *who drew neerest to the truth, say that he was slaine by his own Citizens; and that his cruelties in punishment of offendors, together with his arrogancie, were the cause of his slaughter. For it is reported, that both when his mother was ravished, whether by some man, or by a god, the whole body of the Sunne was eclipsed, and all the earth covered with darkednesse like unto night, & that the same did happen at his death.*

Such were the birth and death of *Romulus*: whose life historified by *Plutarch*, doth contain (besides what is here already spoken of him) the conqueſt of a few miles, which had soone bin forgotten, if the *Roman* greatnesse built upon that foundation, had not given it memory in all ages following, even unto this day. A valiant man he was, very strong of body, patient of travell, and temperate in diet, as forbearing the use of wine & delicacies: but his raging ambition he knew not how to temper, which caused him to slay his brother, & neglect to revenge the death of *Tatius*, his companion in the Kingdome, that he himself might be Lord alone in those narrow Territories. He reigned 37. yeers, first alone, then with *Tatius*, and after his death, single, till he was slaine, as is already shewed: after which time, the Soveraignty fell into the hands of *Numa*, a man to him unknown, and more Priest-like than King-like: wherein *Rome* it selfe in her latter times hath somewhat resembled this King. For having long bin sole Governesse, till *Constantinople* shared with her: afterwards, when as the *Greek* Emperour was crushed by forreine enemies, and the *Latines* dispoyled of Imperiall power, she fell into the subjection of a Prelate, swelling by degrees from the Sheep-hook to the Sword, and therewith victorious to excessive magnificence, from whence by the same degrees it fell, being driven from luxurie to defensive armes; and therein having bin unfortunate, at length betakes her selfe againe to the Crosier staffe.

And thus much of *Rome* in this place, by occasion of the Storie of the times of King *Ahaz*, during whose reign in *Furie*, the foundations of this famous Citie were laid.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Ezechia, *and his Contemporaries.*

§. I.

Of the beginning of Ezechias, *and of the agreeing of* Ptolomie, Nabonassar, Nabopolassar *and* Mardocempadus, *with the historie of the Bible.*

AS the first yeere of *Ahaz* his reign was confounded with the last of his father *Jotham*, so was the latter end of his sixteen years taken up in the three first of *Ezechias* his son. This appeares by the Reigne of *Hosea*, over *Israel*, which began in the twelfth of *Ahaz*, and therefore the third thereof was concurrent with *Ahaz* his fourteenth. But the third of *Hosea* was the first of *Ezechia*, so it followes, that *Ezechia* began to reign in this Fathers foureteenth yeere. Like enough it is, that the third yeer of *Hosea*, the same being the fourteenth of *Ahaz*, was almost spent when *Ezechia* began, and so

so the fifteenth yeere of *Ahaz* may have been concurrent, for the most part, with the first of *Ezechia*,

By supposing that *Hosea* began his Kingdome, when the twelfth yeer of *Ahaz* was almost compleat, some would find the meanes how to dis-joyne the first of *Hezechia* from the fifteenth of *Ahaz*, placing him yet one year later, of which yeere, *Ahaz* may perhaps have lived not many dayes. But seeing that the foureteenth and fifteenth yeeres of *Ezechia* may not be removed out of their places, it is vaine labour to alter the first yeere.

2 King 19 35. In the fourteenth yeere of *Ezechia*, *Senacherib*, invading *Juda* and the Countries adjoyning, lost his Armie by a miraculous stroak from Heaven, fled home, and was slaine. The yeere following it was that God added fifteene yeers to the life of *Ezechia*, when hee had already reigned fourteen of his nine and twenty: and the same yeere was that miracle seene of the Sunnes going back; of which wonder (as I heare) one *Bartholomew Scultet*, who is much commended for skill in Astronomie, hath by calculation found the very day, which answered unto the twenty fift of *April*, in the *Julian* yeer, being then Thursday. I have not seene any workes of *Scultet*; but surely to find a motion so irregular and miraculous, it is necessary that he produce some record of observation made at such a time. Howsoever it be, the fifteenth yeare of *Ezechia* agreed upon; and therefore we may not alter the first. As for that saying, which is usuall in like cases, 2 Chron. 28. 27 that Ahaz *slept with his Fathers, & Ezechia his Sonne reigned in his stead*, it doth no more prove that *Ezechia* reigned not with his Father, than the like saying doth inferre the like at the death of *Jehosaphat*, and succession of *Joram*; whereof, as concerning the beginning of the Sonne to reign whilest his Father lived, wee have already said enough.

Of this godly King *Ezechias*, we find, that his very beginning testified his devotion and zeale. For whether it were so, that his unfortunrte and ungracious Father (who had out-worne his reputation) gave way to his Sons proceedings, which perhaps it lay not in him to hinder; or whether (as I rather thinke) the first yeere and first moneth of his 2 Chro. 29. v. 3. reign, wherein *Ezechias* opened the doores of the Temple, were to bee understood as the beginning of his sole government; wee plainly find it to have been his first work, 2 Chron. 30. that hee opened the doores of the house of the Lord, which *Achaz* had shut up, cleansed the Citie and Kingdome of the Idols, restored the Priests to their offices & estates, commanded the Sacrifices to bee offered which had bin for many yeeres neglected, & brake down the brasen Serpent of *Moses*, because the people burnt incense before it, & hee called it *Nehushtan*, which signifieth a lumpe of brasse. He did also celebrate the Passe-over 2 King 18. with great magnificence, inviting thereunto the *Israelites* of the ten Tribes. Many there were, even out of those Tribes, that came up to *Jerusalem*, to this feast: But the generall multitude of *Israel* did laugh the Messengers of *Ezechia* to scorne.

It was not long ere they that scorned to solemnize the memoriall of their deliverance out of the *Egyptian* servitude, fell into a new servitude, out of which they never were delivered. For in the fourth of *Ezechia* his reign, *Salmanassar* the Son of *Tiglath* the Son of *Belochus*, hearing that *Hosea* King of *Israel* had practised with *So* King of *Egypt*, against him, invaded *Israel*, besieged *Samaria*, and in the third year (after the inhabitants had endured all sorts of miseries) forced it, and carried thence the ten Idolatrous Tribes into *Assyria* and *Media*: among whom *Tobias*, and his Son of the same name, with *Anna* his Wife, were sent to *Nineve*; in whose Seates and Places the *Assyrians* sent strangers of other Nations, and among them many of the ancient Enemies of the *Israelites*, as those of *Cutha*, *Ava*, *Hamah*, and *Sphernaim*, besides *Babylonians*: whose Places and Nations I have formerly described in the Treatise of the Holy Land,

These later *Assyrian* Kings, and the *Persians*, which followed them, are the first of whom wee find mention made both in Prophane and Sacred bookes. These therefore serve most aptly to joyne the times of the old World, (whereof none but the Prophets have written otherwise than fabulously) with the Ages following that were better known, and described in course of History. True it is, that of *Cyrus* and some other *Persians*, we find in the Bible the same names by which other Authors have recorded them: but of *Phul* & *Salmanassar*, with other *Assyrian*, *Chaldean* Kings, diversity of name hath bred question of the persons. Therfore, whereas the Scriptures doe speak of *Salmanassar*, King of *Assur*, who reigned in the time of *Ahaz* and *Ezechia*, Kings of *Juda*, & of *Hosea* King of *Israel*, whom hee carried into captivity: and whereas *Ptolomy* makes

mention

mention of *Nabonassar*, speaking precisely of the time wherein he lived; it is very pertinent to shew, that *Salmanassar* and *Nabonassar* were one and the same man. The like reason also requireth, that it be shewed of *Nabuchadnezzar*, that he was the same whom *Ptolomy* calleth *Nabopolassar*.

Of both these points *Bucholerus* hath well collected sufficient proofe from the exact calculations of sundry good Mathematicians. For by them it appears, that between *Nabonassar* and the birth of *Christ*, there passed seven hundred forty and six years: at which distance of time the reign of *Salmanassar* was. One great proofe hereof is this, which the same *Bucholerus* allegeth out of *Erasmus Reinholdus*, in the *Prutenick* Tables. *Mardocempadus* King of *Babylon* (whom *Ptolomy*, speaking of three Eclipses of the Moon, which were in his time, doth mention) was the same whom the Scriptures call *Merodach*, who sent Embassadours to *Hezechia* King of *Juda*. So that if we reckon backward to the difference of time between *Merodach* and *Salmanassar*, wee shall find it the same which is between *Mardocempadus* and *Nabonassar*. Likewise *Funcius* doth shew, that whereas from the destruction of *Samaria*, to the destruction of *Jerusalem*, in the nineteenth of *Nabuchadnezzar*, we collect out of the Scriptures, the distance of one hundred thirty and three years: the self-same distance of time is found in *Ptolomy*, between *Nabonassar* and *Nabopolassar*. For whereas *Ptolomy* seems to differ from this accompt, making *Nabonassar* more antient by an hundred and forty years, than the destruction of *Jerusalem*, wee are to understand that he took *Samaria* in the eighth year of his reign; so that the seven foregoing years added to these one hundred thirty and three, make the accompts of the Scriptures fall even with that of *Ptolomy*. *Ptolomies* computation is, that from the first of *Nabonassar*, to the fifth of *Nabopolassar*, there passed one hundred twenty and seven years. Now if wee adde to these one hundred twenty seven, the thirteen ensuing of *Nabuchadnezzars* years, before the City and Temple were destroyed, wee have the summe of one hundred and forty years. In so plain a case more proofes are needlesse, though many are brought, of which this may serve for all, that *Ptolomy* placeth the first of *Nabopolassar* one hundred twenty and two years after the first of *Nabonassar*, which agreeth exactly with the Scriptures. To these notes are added the consent of all Mathematicians: which in accompt of times I hold more sure than the authority of any History; and therefore I think it folly to make doubt, whereas Historians and Mathematicall observations doe so throughly concurre.

Yet forasmuch as that argument of the learned *Scaliger* doth rest unanswered, whereby he proved *Baladan* the Father of *Merodach*, to have been this *Nabonassar*, I will not spare to lose a word or two in giving the Reader satisfaction herein. It is true, that the next observations of the heavenly Bodies, which *Ptolomy* recorded, after the time of *Nabonassar*, were in the reign of *Mardocempadus*; the second year of whose reign, is according to *Ptolomy*, concurrent in part with the twenty seven of *Nabonassar*. For the second of three antient Eclipses which hee calculates, being in the second year of *Mardocempadus*, was from the beginning of *Nabonassar* twenty seven years, seventeen dayes, and eleven hours: the accompt from *Nabonassar*, beginning at high-noon the first day of the *Egyptian* Moneth *Thot*, then answering to the twenty sixt of *February*; and this Eclipse being fifty minutes before mid-night, on the eighteenth day of that Moneth, when the first day thereof agreed with the nineteenth of *February*; so that the difference of time between the two Kings *Nabonassar* and *Mardocempadus*, is noted by *Ptolomy*, according to the *Egyptian* years. But how doth this prove, that *Mardocempadus* or *Meradach*, was the Sonne of *Nabonassar*? yea, how doth it prove, that he was his next Successour, or any way of his Linage? It was enough to satisfie me, in this argument, that *Scaliger* himself did afterwards believe *Mardocempadus* to have been rather the Nephew than the Sonne of *Baladan*, or *Nabonassar*. For if hee might bee either the Nephew, or the Sonne; hee might perhaps be neither the one, nor the other. But because our Countrie-man *Lidyat* hath reprehended *Scaliger* for changing his opinion; and that both *Torniellus*, who followes *Scaliger* herein, and *Sethus Calvisius*, who hath drawn into form of Chronology, that learned work, *De Emendatione Temporum*, doe hold up the same assertion, confounding *Baladan* with *Nabonassar*, I have taken the pains to search, as farre as my leisure and diligence could reach, after any sentence that might prove the Kindred or Succession of these two: Yet

Ptol. Almag. l. 4. c. 8.

cannot I find in the *Almageſt* (for the Scriptures are either ſilent in this point, or adverſe to *Scaliger*; and other good authoritie, I know none, in this buſineſſe) any ſentence more neerly proving the ſucceſſion of *Merodach* to *Nabonaſſar*, than the place now laſt rehearſed: which makes no more, to ſhew that the one of theſe was father to the other, than (that I may uſe a like example) the as neer ſucceſſion of *William* the *Conqueror*, declares him, to have bin Son, or Grand-child to *Edward* the *Confeſſor*. This conſidered, we may ſafely go on with our account from *Nabonaſſar*, taking him for *Salmanaſſar*; and not fearing, that the Readers will be driven from our Book, when they find ſomething in it, agreeing with *Annius*, foraſmuch as theſe Kings mentioned in Scriptures, reigned in *Babylon* and *Aſſyria*, in thoſe very times which by *Diodorus* and *Ptolomie* are aſſigned to *Beloſus*, *Nabonaſſar*, and *Mardocempadus*, and the reſt: no good Hiſtorie naming any others that reigned there in thoſe ages; and all Aſtronomicall obſervations, fitly concurring with the years that are attributed to theſe, or numbred from them.

§. II.

Of the danger and deliverance of Judæa *from* Senacherib.

WHen *Salmanaſſar* was dead, and his ſon *Senacherib* in poſſeſſion of the Empire, in the fourteenth year of *Ezechias*, he demanded of him ſuch Tribute as was agreed on, at ſuch time as *Tiglath*, the Grand-father of *Senacherib*, and Father of *Salmanaſſar*, invited by *Ahaz*, invaded *Rezin* King of *Damaſcus*, and delivered him from the dangerous Warre which *Iſrael* had undertaken againſt him. This Tribute and acknowledgement when *Ezechias* denied, *Senacherib*, having (as it ſeems) a purpoſe to invade *Egypt*, ſent one part of his Armie to lye before *Jeruſalem*. Now though *Ezechias* (fearing this powerfull Prince) had acknowledged his fault, and purchaſed his peace, as he hoped, with thirty hundred talents of ſilver, and thirty talents of
2 Kin. 18. 11. gold, wherewith he preſented *Senacherib*, now ſet down before *Lachis* in *Judæa*; yet under the colour of better aſſurance, and to force the King of *Judæa* to deliver hoſtages, the *Aſſyrian* invironed *Jeruſalem* with a groſſe Armie, and having his ſword in his hand thought it the fitteſt time to write his own conditions.

Ezechias directed his three great Counſellers, to parly with *Rabſaces* over the Wall; and to receive his demands: who uſed three principall arguments to perſwade the people to yeeld themſelves to his Maſter *Senacherib*. For though the Chancellour, Steward, and Secretarie, ſent by *Ezechias*, deſired *Rabſaces* to ſpeak unto them in the *Syrian* tongue, and not in the Jewiſh, yet he with a louder voice directed his ſpeech to the multitude in their own language. And for the firſt, he made them know, That if they continued obſtinate, and adhered to their King, that they would in a ſhort time be inforced
2 Kin. 18. 27. to eat their own dung, and drink their own urine: Secondly, hee altogether diſabled the King of *Egypt*, from whom the *Judæans* hoped for ſuccour; and compared him to a broken ſtaffe, on which whoſoever leaneth, pierceth his own hand: Thirdly, that the gods who ſhould help them, *Ezechias* had formerly broken and defaced, meaning chiefly (as it is thought by ſome) the braſen Serpent, which had been preſerved ever ſince *Moſes* time: and withall hee bade them remember the gods of other Nations, whom, notwithſtanding any power of theirs, his Maſter had conquered and thrown down; and for God himſelfe, in whom they truſted, hee perſwaded them by no means to rely upon him, for hee would deceive them. But finding the people ſilent (for ſo the King had commanded them) after a while, when he had underſtood that the King of *Arabia* was marching on with a powerfull Armie, hee himſelf left the *Aſſyrian* forces in charge to others, and ſought *Senacherib* at *Libna* in *Judæa*, either to inform him of their reſolution in *Jeruſalem*, or to conferre with him concerning the Armie of *Tarhaca* the *Arabian*. Soon upon this there came letters from *Senacherib* to *Ezechias*, whom he partly adviſed, and partly threatned to ſubmit himſelf, uſing the ſame blaſphemous outrage againſt the all-powerfull God, as before. But *Ezechias* ſending thoſe Counſellers to the Prophet *Eſay*, which had lately been ſent to *Rabſaces*, received from him comfort, and aſſurance, that this heathen Idolater ſhould not prevaile; againſt whom the King alſo beſought aide from Almightie God, repeating the moſt inſolent and blaſphemous parts of *Senacheribs* letter, before the

Altar

Altar of God in the Temple, confessing this part thereof to be true, *That the King of* Ashur *had destroyd the Nations and their Lands, and had set fire on their gods, for they were no gods, but the work of mans hands, even wood and stone, &c.* 2 Kin. 19.

The reason that moved *Senacherib* to desire to possesse himself in haste of Jerusalem, was, that he might thereinto have retraited his Armie, which was departed as it seemeth from the siege of *Pelusium* in *Egypt*, for fear of *Terbaca*: and though the Scriptures are silent of that enterprise (which in these books of the Kings, and of the *Chronicles* or *Paralipomenon*, speak but of the affairs of the Jews in effect) yet the ancient *Berosus*, and out of him *Josephus* and Saint *Hierom*, together with *Herodotus*, remember it as followeth. *Herodotus* calleth *Senacherib* King of *Arabia* and *Assyria:* which he might justly doe, because *Tiglath* his Grand-father held a great part thereof, which he wrested from *Pekah* King of *Israel*: as *Gilead* over *Jordan*, and the rest of *Arabia Petræa* adjoyning: the same *Herodotus* also maketh *Sethon* King of *Egypt*, to be *Vulcans* Priest; and reporteth that the reason of *Senacheribs* return from *Pelusium* in *Egypt*, which he also besieged, was, that an inumerable multitude of Rats had in one night eaten in sunder the Bow-strings of his Archers, and spoyled the rest of their weapons in that kind, which no doubt might greatly amaze him: but the approach of *Tarhaca*, remembred by *Josephus* and *Berosus*, was the more urgent. Saint *Hierome* upon the seven and thirtieth of *Esay*, out of the same *Berosus*, as also in part out of *Herodotus*, whom *Josephus* citeth somewhat otherwise than his words lye, reports *Senacheribs* retrait in these words. Herod. l. 2. p. 69. Joseph. l. 10. c. 1. Hier. Esay p. 2.

Pugnasse autem Senacherib *Regem Assyriorum contra Ægyptios, & obsedisse Pelusium, jamque extructis aggeribus urbi capiendæ, venisse* Taracham *Regem Æthiopum in auxilium, & una nocte juxta Jerusalem, centũ octoginta quinque millia exercitus Assyrii pestilentia corruisse, narrat* Herodotus: *& plenissime* Berosus *Chaldaicæ scriptor Historiæ, quorum fides de propriis libris petenda est; That* Senacherib *King of the* Assyrians *fought against the* Ægyptians, *and besieged* Pelusium, *and that when his Mounts were built for taking of the Citie,* Tarhacas *King of the* Æthiopians *came to help them, and that in one night, neer* Jerusalem, *one hundred eightie five thousand of the* Assyrian *Armie perished by pestilence, of these things* (saith Hierome) * Herodotus *reports: and more at large* Berosus *a writer of* Chaldæan *Storie, whose credit is to be taken from their own Books.* Out of *Esay* it is gathered, that this destruction of the *Assyrian* Armie was in this manner: *Thou shalt be visited of the Lord of Hoasts with thunder and shaking, and a great noyse, a whirlewind and a tempest, and a flame of devouring fire.* But *Josephus* hath it more largely out of the same *Berosus*, an authoritie (because so well agreeing with the Scriptures) not to be omitted; Senacheribus *autem ab Ægyptiaco bello revertens, offendit ibi exercitum quem sub* Rabsacis *imperio reliquerat peste divinitus immissâ deletum, primâ nocte posteaquam Urbem oppugnare cæperat, absumptis cum Ducibus & Tribunis centum octoginta quinque millibus Militum; qua clade territus, & de reliquis copiis sollicitus, maximis itineribus in regnum suum contendit, ad regiam quæ* Ninus *dicitur. Ubi paulo post perfidias Seniorum à filiis suis,* Adramelechi, *&* Selennari, *vitam amisit: occisus in ipso Templo quod dicitur* Arasci, *quem præcipuo cultu dignabatur; quibus ob patricidium à popularibus pulsis, & in Armeniam fugientibus,* Asaracoldas *minor filius in Regnum successit:* Senacherib (*saith* Josephus) *returning from the* Ægyptian *War, found there his Armie, which he had left under the command of* Rabsaces, *destroyed by a pestilence sent from God, the first night that he had begun to assault the Town: one hundred fourscore and five thousand of the Souldiers being consumed with their Chieftains and Colonels. With which destruction being terrified, and withall affraid what might become of the rest of his Armie, he made great marches into his Kingdome, to his Royall Citie, which is called* Ninus, *where shortly after by the treason of two of the eldest of his Sons,* Adramelech *and* Selenner *or* Sharezer, *he lost his life in the Temple dedicated to* Arasces, *or* Nesroth; *Whom he especially worshipped. These his Sons being for their paricide chased away by the people, and flying into* Armenia, Asaracoldas *his younger Son succeeded in the Kingdome.* Who in the beginning of his reign sent new troops out of *Assyria* to *Samaria*, to fortifie the Colonie therein planted by his Grand-father *Salmanassar.* What this *Nesroth* was, it is uncertain: *Hierome* in his Hebrew traditions hath somewhat of him, but nothing positively. It is certain, that *Venus Urania* was worshipped by the *Assyrians*; and so was *Jupiter Belus*, as *Dion*, *Eusebius*, and *Cyrillus* witnesse. Many fancies there are, what cause his Sons had to murther him; but the

To wit in part, for Herodotus mentioneth nothing, neither of Tarhaca nor of Jerusalem, nor of the Army there. Esay 29. 6. Selenar otherwise Sharezer, who slew him, as he was praying to Nesroc his god. 2 Kin. 19. 2 Kin. 19. 37. 1 Esd 4. 2. Lyr.

most likely it is, that he had formerly dis-inherited those two, and conferred the Empire on *Assarhaddon*. *Tobit* tels us, that it was fiftie five days after *Senacheribs* return, ere he was murthered by his Sons, during which time he slew great numbers of the *Israelites* in *Nineve*, till the most just God turned the sword against his own breast.

§. III.

Of Ezechias *his sickness and recoverie; and of the* Babylonian *King that congratulated him.*

AFter this marvellous deliverie, *Ezechias* sickned, and was told by *Isaiah* that he must dye: but after he had besought God with tears for his delivery, *Isaiah*, as he was going from him, returned again, and had warrant from the Spirit of God to promise him recovery after three days, and a prolongation of life for fifteen years. But *Ezechias* somewhat doubtfull of this exceeding grace, prayeth for a
2 Kin. 20. sign to confirme him: whereupon, at the prayer of *Isaiah*, the shadow of the Sunne cast it self the contrary way, and went back ten degrees, upon the Dyall of *Achaz*. The cause that moved *Ezechias* to lament (saith Saint *Hierome*) was, because he had as yet no son, and then in despair that the *Messias* should come out of the house of *David*, or at least of his Seed. His disease seemeth to be the pestilence, by the medicine given him by the Prophet, to wit, a masse of Figs, layd to the Botch or Sore.

This wonder when the Wise-men of *Chaldea* had told to *Merodach*, King of *Babylon*, the first of that house, he sent to *Ezechias*, to be informed of the cause: at which time *Ezechias* shewed him all the Treasure he had, both in the Court and in the Kingdome: for which he was reprehended by the Prophet *Isaiah*, who told him; *The daies*
Esay. 39. *are at hand, that all that is in thine house, and whatsoever thy Fathers have layd up in store to this day, shall be carried into Babel*; nothing shall be left, saith the Lord. It may seeme strange, how *Ezechia* should have got any treasure worth the shewing: for *Senacherib* had robbed him of all, the year before. But the spoyl of the same *Senacherib* his Camp repayed all with advantage, and made *Ezechia* richer upon the sudden than ever he had been: which unexpected wealth was a strong temptation to boasting. After this time *Ezechia* had rest, and spending without noyse that addition which God had made unto his life, he dyed having reigned nine and twentie years. One only offensive War he made, which was against the *Philistims*, with good successe. A-
Eccl. 48. mong his other acts (shortly remembred in *Ecclesiasticus*) he devised to bring water to *Jerusalem*.

In two respects they say that he offended God: the one, that he rejoyced too much at the destruction and lamentable end of his enemie; the other, that he so much gloried in his riches, as he could not forbear to shew them to strangers. But the reason which moved *Ezechias* (speaking humanely) to entertaine the Embassadours of *Merodach* in this friendly and familiar manner, was, because he came to visit him, and brought him a present, congratulating the recovery of his health; as also in that *Merodach* had weakned the house of *Senacherib*, his fearfull enemy. For *Merodach*, who was Commander and Lieutenant under *Senacherib* in *Babylon*, usurped that State himself, in the last year of that King, and held it by strong hand against his son *Assarhaddon*; who was not only simple, but impaired in strength, by the molestation of his brothers. This advantage *Merodach* espied, and remembring that their ancestor *Phul Belochus* had set his own Master *Sardanapalus* besides the cushion, thought it as lawfull for himself to take the opportunitie which this Kings weakness did offer, as it had been for *Belochus* to make use of the others wickednesse: and so, finding himself beloved of the *Babylonians*, and sufficiently powerfull, he did put the matter to hazard, and prevailed. The assertion of this historie is made by the same arguments that were used in maintaining the common opinion of Writers, touching *Phul Belochus*; which I will not here again rehearse. So of this new race, which cut a-sunder the Line of *Ninus*, there were only five Kings.

Phul

Phul Belochus	reigned	48	years.
Tiglath Philassar		27	
Salmanassar		10	
Senacherib		7	
Assarhaddon		10	

But forasmuch as the last year of *Salmanassar* was also the first of *Senacherib* his son, we reckon the time, wherein the house of *Phul* held the *Assyrian* Kingdome, to have been an hundred and one years, of which, the last five and twenty were spent with *Ezechia*, under *Salmanassar*, *Senacherib*, and *Assarhaddon*.

§. IIII.

The Kings that were in Media *during the reign of* Ezechia: *of the difference found between sundrie Authors in rehearsing the* Median *Kings. Other contemporaries of* Hezechia: *of* Candaules, Gyges, *and the Kings descended from* Hercules.

IN the time of *Ezechia*, *Medidus*, and after him *Cardiceas*, reigned in *Media*. Whether it were so, that varietie of names, by which these Kings were called in severall Histories, hath caused them to seem more than indeed they were; or whether the sons reigning with the fathers, have caused not onely the names of Kings, but the length of Time wherein they governed *Media*, to exceed the due proportion; or whether the Copies themselves of *Ctesias* and *Annius* his *Metasthenes*, have been faulty, as neither of these two Authors is over-highly commended of trustinesse; so it is, that the names, number, and length of reign, are all very diversly reported of these *Median* kings, that follow *Arbaces*: therefore it need not seem strange, that I reckon *Medidus* and *Cardiceas* as contemporaries with *Ezechia*. For to reconcile so great a difference, as is found in those writers that varie from *Eusebius*, is more than I dare undertake. I will only here set down the roll of Kings that reigned in *Media*, accordingly as sundry Authors have delivered it.

Annius his *Metasthenes* orders them and their reigns thus;

Arbaces	reigned	28	years.
Mandanes		50	
Sosarmon		30	
Articarmin		50	
Arbianes		22	
Artæus		40	
Artines		22	
Astybarus, with his son *Apanda*		20	
Apanda alone		30	
Darius with *Cyrus*		36	

Diodorus Siculus following *Ctesias* (as perhaps *Annius* made his *Metasthenes* follow *Diodore*, with some little variation, that he might not seem a borrower) placeth them thus;

Arbaces	reigned	28	years.
Mandanes		50	
Sosarmus		30	
Articas		50	
Arbianes		22	
Arfæus		40	
Artines		22	
Artabanus		40	

Astybara, *Astyages*, } the continuance of these two he doth mention.

Mercator hath laboured, with much diligence, to reconcile these Catalogues, and to make them also agree with *Eusebius*. But forasmuch as it seems to me an impossible matter, to attain unto the truth of these forgotten times, by conjectures founded upon

Cteſias and *Metaſthenes*, I will lay the burden upon *Euſebius*, who lived in an age better furniſhed than ours, with books of this argument. Let it therefore ſuffice, that theſe two Kings (whom I have reckoned as contemporaries with *Ezekia*) *Medidus* and *Cardiceas*, are found in *Euſebius*: for whether *Cardiceas* were *Diodorus* his *Arbianes*, I will not ſtay to ſearch. The Kings of *Media*, according to *Euſebius*, reigned in this order.

Arbaces	reigned	28	years.
Soſarmus		30	
Medidus		40	
Cardiceas		15	
Deioces		54	
Phraortes		24	
Cyaxares		32	
Aſtyages		38	

These names, and this courſe of ſucceſſion I retain; but adde unto theſe, *Cyaxares*, the ſon of *Aſtyages*, according to *Xenophon*; and ſometimes follow *Herodotus*, in ſetting down the length of a Kings reign, otherwiſe than *Euſebius* hath it: of which variations I will render my reaſons in due place.

The twenty nine years of *Ezekia* were concurrent, in part, with the rule of the four firſt that were choſen Governours of *Athens* for ten years, that is, of *Charops*, *Æſimedes*, *Elidicus*, and *Hippones*. Touching the firſt of theſe I hear nothing, ſave that *Rome* was built in his firſt year; of which perhaps himſelf did not hear. Of the ſecond and third I find only the names. The fourth made himſelf known by a ſtrange example of juſtice, or rather of cruelty, that he ſhewed upon his own Daughter. For he finding that ſhe had offended in unchaſtity, cauſed her to be lockt up with an Horſe, giving to neither of them any food: ſo the Horſe, conſtrained by hunger, devoured the unhappy Woman.

In *Rome*, the firſt King, and founder of that City *Romulus*, did reign both before, and ſomewhat after *Ezekia*.

In *Lydia*, *Candaules* the laſt King ruled in the ſame age.

This Region was firſt called *Maonia*. *Lydus* the ſon of *Atys* reigning in it, gave the name of *Lydia*, if we believe ſuch authority as we find. This Kingdome was afterward, by the appointment of an Oracle, conferred upon *Argon*, who came of *Alcæus* the ſon of *Hercules*, by *Tardana*, a bond-woman. The race of theſe *Heraclidæ* continued reigning fifty five years (in which two and twenty Generations paſſed) the ſon continually ſucceeding the father. *Candaules* the ſon of *Myrſus* was the laſt of his race, who doated ſo much upon the beauty of his own wife, that he could not be content to enjoy her, but would needs enforce one *Gyges* the ſon of *Daſcylus* to behold her naked body; and placed the unwilling man ſecretly in her chamber, where he might ſee her preparing to bedward. This was not ſo cloſely carried, but that the Queen perceived *Gyges* at his going forth, and underſtanding the matter, took it in ſuch high diſdain, that ſhe forced him the next day to requite the Kings folly with treaſon. So *Gyges* being brought again into the ſame chamber by the Queen, ſlew *Candaules*, and was rewarded not only with his Wife, but with the Kingdome of *Lydia*. He reigned thirty eight years, beginning in the laſt of *Ezekia*, one year before the death of *Romulus*.

After *Gyges*, his ſon *Ardys* reigned nine and forty years; then *Sadyattes* twelve; *Halyattes*, fifty ſeven; and finally *Cræſus* the ſon of *Halyattes*, fourteen years: who loſt the Kingdome, and was taken by *Cyrus* of *Perſia*.

And here by the way we may note, that as the *Lydian* Kings, whom *Cræſus* his Progenitor diſpoſeſt, are deduced from *Hercules*, ſo of the ſame *Hercules* there ſprang many other Kings, which governed ſeverall Countreys very long; as in *Aſia*, the *Myſians*; in *Greece*, the *Lacedæmonians*, *Meſſenians*, *Rhodians*, *Corinthians* and *Argives*; and from the *Argives*, the *Macedonians*, as likewiſe from the *Corinthians*, the *Syracuſans*: beſides many great and famous, though private Families.

But of the *Heraclidæ* that reigned in *Lydia*, I have not troubled my ſelf to take notice of the time of their ſeverall reigns: for little is found of them beſide the bare names, and the folly of this laſt King *Candaules*.

CHA

Chap. XXVI.

Of the Kings that reigned in Egypt, between the deliverance of Israel from thence, and the reign of Ezekiah in Juda, when Egypt and Juda made a league against the Assyrians.

§. I.

That many names of Egyptian *Kings, found in Historie, are like to have belonged onely to Viceroyes. An example proving this out of* William *of* Tyre *his Historie of the Holy Warre.*

THe emulation and quarrels arising in these times, between the mightie Kingdomes of *Egypt* and *Assyria*, doe require our pains, in collecting the most memorable things in *Egypt*, and setting down briefly the state of that Countrey, which had continued long a flourishing Region; and was of great power, when it contended with *Assyria* for the masterie. Of *Cham* the son of *Noah*, who first planted that Countrey, and of *Osiris*, *Orus*, and other antient Kings that reigned there, untill the *Israelites* were thence delivered, more hath been said alreadie than I can stand to; though I hold it no shame to fail in such conjectures. That which I have delivered, in speaking mine opinion of the *Egyptian* Dynasties, must here again help me. For it may truly be affirmed, That the great number of Kings, which are said to have reigned in *Egypt*, were none other than Viceroyes or Stewards, such as *Joseph* was, and such as were the Soldans in later ages. Therefore I will not onely forbear to seek after those, whom *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* have reckoned up, from the mouths of *Egyptian* Priests, delivering them by number, without rehearsing their names; but will save the labour of marshalling them in order, whose names onely are found; the years of their reigns, and other circumstances proving them to have been Kings indeed, being not recorded.

But that I may not seem before hand to lay an imaginarie ground, whereupon after I may build what I list; it were not amisse, to give unto the Reader such satisfaction in this point, as apparent reason, and truth of Historie doth afford. First therefore, we ought not to believe those numbers of Generations, which the lying Priests have reckoned up, to magnifie their Antiquities. For we know, that from *Abraham* our *Saviour Christ* was removed onely forty two descents; which makes it evident, that in farre shorter time, namely before the *Persian* Empire, there could not have passed away twice as many successions in *Egypt*: especially considering, that many of these, whose continuance is expressed, having reigned longer than forty years. It follows that we should square the number of the *Egyptian* Kings in some even proportion, to those which did bear rule in other Countries. As for the rest whose names we find scattered here and there; any man that will take the pains to read the nineteenth book of the Holy War, written by *William* Archbishop of *Tyre*, may easily perswade himself, that it is not hard to find names enow, of such as might be thought to have reigned in *Egypt*, being none other than Regents or Viceroyes. Yet will I here insert, as briefly as I can, some things making to that purpose, for the pleasure and information of such as will not trouble themselves with turning over many Authors.

When *Elahdech* the Caliph ruled in *Egypt*, one *Dargan*, a powerfull and a subtle man, made himself Soldan, by force and cunning, chasing away *Sanar* an *Arabian*, who was Soldan before and after him. This *Dargan* ministred matter of quarrel to *Amalrick* king of *Jerusalem*; and sustained, with little losse, an invasion, which *Amalrick* made upon *Egypt*. Hereupon he grew so insolent and proud, that *Sanar* the former Soldan hoped to make his partie good against him, if he could get any forces wherewith to enter *Egypt*.

Briefly,

Briefly, *Sanar* sueth to *Noradine*, King of *Damasco*, for aid, who sends an Armie of his Turks, under the command of *Syracon*, against the *Soldan Dargan*. So *Dargan* and *Sanar* met, and fought: The victorie was *Dargans*; but he enjoyed it not: for in few dayes after, he was slain by treason, whereby *Sanar* did recover his Dignitie: which to establish, he slew all the kindred and friends of *Dargan*, that he could find in the great Citie of *Cairo*.

To all these doings, the *Caliph Elhadech* gave little regard: for he thought it little concerned him, which of them lived, and had the administration of the kingdome, whilest he might have the profit of it, and enjoy his pleasure. But new troubles presently arise, which (one would think) do neerly touch the *Caliph* himself. *Syracon* with his Turks, whom *Sanar* had gotten to come into *Egypt*, will not now be intreated there to leave him, and quietly go their way home. They seize upon the Town of *Belbeis*, which they fortifie, and there attend the arrivall of more companie from *Damasco*, for the conquest of all *Egypt*. The *Soldan* perceives their intent, and finds himself not strong enough to expell them, much lesse to repell the Turkish Armie that was likely to second them: He therefore sends Messengers to King *Almarick* of *Jerusalem*, whom with large promises he gets to bring him aid, and so drives out the Turks. Of all this trouble the great *Caliph* hears nothing, or not so much as should make him look to the playing of his own game.

A greater mischief ariseth, concerning the *Caliph Elhadech* particularly in his own Title. *Syracon*, Captain of the Turks that had been in *Egypt*, goes to the *Caliph* of *Baldach* (who was opposite to him of *Egypt*, each of them claiming as heir to *Mahomet* that false Prophet, the Soveraignitie over all that were of the Saracen Law) and tels him the weaknesse of the *Egyptian*, with his own abilitie of doing service in those parts, offering his best means for the extirpation of the Schismaticall *Caliph*, and the reduction of all *Egypt*, with the Western parts, under the subjection of the *Babylonian*. This motion is readily and joyfully entertained; all the Eastern Provinces are up in Arms, and *Syracon*, with a mighty power, descendeth into *Egypt*. The noyse of this great expedition so affrighteth King *Almarick*, that with all his forces he hasteth into *Egypt*, well knowing how neerly it concerned him and his Kingdome of *Jerusalem*, to keep the Saracens from joyning all under one head. *Sanar* the Soldan perceiving the faithfull care of the Christians his friends, welcomes them, and bestirs himselfe in giving them all manner of content, as it behoved him: for by their admirable valour, he finally drave the enemies out of the Countrie. But this victory was not so soon gotten, as it is quickly told.

Strange it is (which most concerns our present purpose) that of so desperate a danger, the *Caliph*, as yet, seems to know nothing. May we not think him to have been King in title onely, who meddled so little in the Government? The Soldan, finding that the Christians (without whose help all was lost) could not well stay so long as his necessities required, makes large offers to King *Almarick* upon condition that he should abide by it. He promiseth a great Tribute (*William* of *Tyre* calls it a Tribute; the Saracens, perhaps, called it a Pension) which the Kings of *Jerusalem* should receive out of *Egypt*, for this behovefull assistance. But the Christians understanding that the Soldan (how much soever he took upon him) was subject to a higher Lord, would make no bargain of such importance with any other than the *Caliph* himself. Hereupon *Hugh* Earl of *Cæsarea*, and a Knight of the Templers, are sent unto *Elhadech* to ratifie the covenants. Now shall we see the greatnesse of the *Caliph* and his estate.

These Embassadours were conveighed by the Soldan to *Cairo*, where arriving at the Palace, they found it guarded by great troups of Souldiers. The first entrance was through dark Porches, that were kept by many armed bands of *Ethiopians*, which with all diligence did reverence to the Soldan as he passed along. Through these streights the Warders led them into goodly open Courts, of such beautie and riches, that they could not retain the gravitie of Embassadours, but were inforced to admire the things which detained their eyes. For there they saw goodly Marble Pillars, gilded Beams, all wrought over with embossed workes, curious pavements, fish-ponds of Marble with clear waters, and many sorts of strange birds, unknown in those parts of the World, as comming perhaps from the East Indies, which then was undiscovered. The further they went, the greater was the magnificence; for the *Caliph* his Eunuches conveyed them into other

other Courts within these, as far excelling the former, as the former did surpasse ordinarie houses. It were tedious perhaps to rehearse how the further they entred, the more high state they found, and cause of marvaile; suffice it, that the good Archbishop, who wrote these things, was never held a vain Author. Finally they were brought into the *Caliphs* own lodgings, which were yet more stately and better guarded; where entring the Presence, the Soldan having twice prostrated himself, did the third time cast off his Sword that he wore about his neck, and throw himself on the ground before the curtain, behind which the *Caliph* sate. Presently the traverse wrought with Gold and Pearls was opened, and the *Caliph* himself discovered, sitting with great majesty on a throne of gold, having few of his most inward servants and Eunuches about him. When the Soldan had humbly kissed his Masters feet, he briefly told the cause of his comming, the danger wherein the land stood, and the offers that he made unto King *Almerick*, desiring the *Caliph* himself to ratifie them in presence of the Embassadors. The *Caliph* answered, That he would throughly perform all which was promised. But this contented not the Embassadors: They would have him to give his hand upon the bargain; which the *Egyptians* that stood by thought an impudent request. Yet his greatnesse condescended at length, after much deliberation, at the earnest request of the Soldan, to reach out his hand. When the Earl of *Cæsaria* saw that the *Caliph* gave his hand neither willingly nor bare, he told him roundly thus much in effect: Sir, Truth seeks no holes to hide it self; Princes that will hold covenant, must deal openly, nakedly and sincerely; Give us therefore your bare hand, if you mean that we shall trust you, for we will make no bargain with your Glove. Much adoe there was about this: for it seemed against the Majesty of such a Prince to yeeld so far. But when it would none otherwise be, with a smiling chear (though to the great grief of his Servants) he vouchsafed to let the Earl take him by the bare hand; and so rehearsing the covenants word by word, as the Earl spake them, he ratified all; dismissing finally the Embassadors with such rewards as testified his greatnesse.

In this Caliph and his Sultan, we may discern the Image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, and his Viceroy: we see a Prince of great estate, sitting in his Palace, and not vexing himself with the great preparations made against him, which terrifie his neighbour Countries: we see his Viceroy, in the mean season, using all Royall power; making War and Peace; entertaining and repelling Armies of strangers; yea, making the Land of *Egypt* tributary to a forrain Prince. What greater authority was given to *Joseph*, when *Pharaoh* said unto him, *Thou shalt be over mine house, and at thy word shall all my people be armed, only in the Kings throne will I be above thee. Behold I have set thee over all the Land of Egypt?*

I doe not commend this forme of Government; neither can I approve the conjecture of mine Author, where he thinks, that the *Egyptians*, ever since *Josephs* time, have felt the burden of that servitude which he brought upon them, when he bought them and their Lands for *Pharaoh*. Herein I find his judgement good; that he affirms this manner of the *Egyptian* Kings in taking their ease, and ruling by a Viceroy, to be part of the ancient customs practised by the *Pharaohs*. For we find, that even the *Ptolomies* (excepting *Ptolomæus Lagi*, and his son *Philadelphus*, founder and establisher of that race) were given, all of them wholly, to please their own appetites, leaving the charge of the Kingdome to Women, *Eunuches*, and other Ministers of their desires. The pleasures which that Country afforded, were indeed sufficient to invite the Kings thereof unto a voluptuous life; and the awfull regard wherein the *Egyptians* held their Princes, gave them security, whereby they might the better trust their Officers with so ample commission. But of this matter, I will not stand longer to dispute. It is enough to have shewed, that the great and almost absolute power of the Viceroys governing *Egypt*, is set down by *Moses*, and that a lively example of the same is found in *William* of *Tyre*, who lived in the same age, was in few years after Chancellour of the Kingdome of *Jerusalem*, and had full discourse with *Hugh* Earl of *Cæsaria* touching all these matters. Wherefore it remains, that we be not carried away with a vain opinion, to beleeve that all they were Kings, whom reports of the fabulous *Egyptians* have honoured with that stile; but rest contented with a Catalogue of such, as we find by circumstance, likely to have reigned in that Country; after whom it follows that we should make inquiry.

§. II. *of*

§. II.

of Acherres; *whether he were* Uchoreus *that was the eighth from* Osymandyas. *of* Osymandyas *and his Tombe.*

IN this buſineſſe I hold it vain to be too curious. For who can hope to attain to the perfect knowledge of the truth, when as *Diodorus* varies from *Herodotus*, *Euſebius* from both of them; and late Writers that have ſought to gather the truth out of theſe and others, find no one with whom they can agree? In this caſe *Annius* would doe good ſervice, if a man could truſt him. But it is enough to be beholding to him, when others doe either ſay nothing, or that which may juſtly be ſuſpected. I will therefore hold my ſelf contented with the pleaſure that he hath done me, in ſaying ſomewhat of *Oſiris*, *Iſis*, *Orus*, and thoſe antiquities removed ſo far out of ſight: as for the Kings following the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, it ſhall ſuffice that *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Euſebius* have not been ſilent, and that *Reineccius* hath taken pains to range into ſome good order the names that are extant in theſe, or elſe found ſcattering in others.

From the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, unto the reign of *Thuoris* (who is generally taken to be the ſame that the Greeks call *Proteus*) there is little or no diſagreement about the *Egyptian* Kings. Wherefore I ſet down the ſame which are found in *Euſebius*, and give to every one the ſame length of reign.

Acherres was the firſt of theſe, who ſucceded unto *Chencres*, that periſhed in the Red Sea. This King ſeems to *Reineccius* to be the ſame whom *Diodorus* calls *Uchoreus*, the founder of *Memphis*. But whereas mention is found in *Diodorus* uf a great King, named *Oſymandyas*, from whom *Uchoreus* is ſaid to be the eighth; it will either hardly follow, that *Timaus* (as *Reineccius* conjectures) was the great *Oſymandyas*; or elſe that this *Acherres* was *Uchoreus*: for the diſtance between them was more than eight generations. *Mercator* judgeth *Oſymandyas* to have bin the husband of *Ancheres*, *Orus* the ſeconds daughter; thinking that *Manethon* (cited by *Joſephus*) doth omit his name, and inſert his wives into the Catalogue of Kings, becauſe he was King in his wives right. As for *Uchoreus*, it troubles not *Mercator* to find him the eighth from this man: for he takes *Ogdous*, not to ſignifie in this place of *Diodore* (as that Greek word elſe doth) the eighth, but to be an *Egyptian* name, belonging alſo to *Uchoreus*, who might have had two names, as many of the reſt had. I will not vexe my brains in the unprofitable ſearch of this, and the like inextricable doubts. All that *Diodore* hath found of this *Oſymandyas*, was wrought upon his monument; the moſt thereof in figures, which I think the *Egyptians* did fabulouſly expound. For whereas there was portrayed a great Army, with the ſiege of a Town, the captivity of the people, and the triumph of the Conqueror; all this, the *Egyptians* ſaid to denote the conqueſt of *Bactria* made by that King: which how likely it was, let others judge. I hold this goodly piece of work, which *Diodore* ſo particularly deſcribes, to have been erected for a common place of buriall to the ancient Kings and Queens of *Egypt*, and to their Viceroys; whilſt yet they were not ſo ambitious, as every one to have his own particular monument, ſtriving therein to exceed all others. This appears by the many ſtatues therein placed, by the Wars, the judgement ſeate, the receiving of Tribute, the offering ſacrifice to God, the account of revenues, & plenty of all cattell and food; all which were there curiouſly wrought, ſhewing the ſeverall Offices of a Governour. On the Tomb of *Oſymandyas* was this inſcription. *I am* Oſymandyas *King of Kings*; *If any deſire to know what I am, or where I lye, let him exceed ſome of my works.* Let them that hope to exceed his works, labour to know what he was. But ſince by thoſe words, *Or where I lye*, it ſhould ſeem that he lay not there interred, we may lawfully ſuſpect that it was *Joſeph*, whoſe body was preſerved among the Hebrews, to be buried in the land of *Canaan*, and this empty Monument might King *Orus*, who outlived him, erect in honor of his high deſerts, among the royall ſepulchres. To which purpoſe the plenty of Cattel, & all manner of viands, had good reference. The name of *Oſymandyas* doth not hinder this conjecture; ſeeing *Joſeph* had one new name given to him by *Pharaoh*, for expouuding the dream, and might, upon further occaſions, have another, to his increaſe of honour. As for that ſtile, *King of Kings*, it was perhaps no more than *Beglerberg*, as the *Turkiſh Baſſaes* are called, that is, Great above the Great.

Now

Now although it be ſo, that the reckoning fals out right, between the times of *Joſeph* and *Acherres* (for *Acherres* was the eighth in order, that reigned after the great *Orus*, whoſe Viceroy *Joſeph* was) yet will I hereby ſeek, neither to fortifie mine own conjejure, as touching *Joſeph*, nor to infer any likelihood of *Acherres* his being *Uchoreus*. For it might well be, that *Memphis* was built by ſome ſuch King as was *Gehoar*, Lieutenant unto the Caliph *Elcain*; who having to his Maſters uſe conquered *Egypt*, and many other Countries, did build, not far from old *Memphis*, the great Citie of *Cairo* (corruptly ſo pronounced) naming it *El Cahira*, that is, an enforcing, or an imperious Miſtreſſe, though he himſelf were a *Dalmatian* ſlave. *John Leo. Hiſt. Afric. l. 1. & l. 8.*

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§. III.

of Cherres, Armeus, Rameſſes, *and* Amenophis. Of Myris, *and the Lake that bears his name.*

WHen *Acherres* had reigned eight years, *Cherres* ſucceeded and held the kingdome fifteen years: then reigned *Armeus* five years, and after him *Rameſſes* threeſcore and eight. Of *Armeus* and *Rameſſes* is that Hiſtorie underſtood by *Euſebius*, which is common among the *Greeks*, under the names of *Danaus* and *Ægyptus*. For it is ſaid that *Danaus*, being expelled out of *Egypt* by his brother, fled into *Greece*, where he obtained the Kingdome of *Argos*: that he had fifty Daughters, whom upon ſeeming reconciliation, he gave in marriage to his brothers fiftie ſons, but commanded every one of them to kill her husband the firſt night; that onely *Hypermneſtra*, one of his Daughters, did ſave her husband *Lynceus*, and ſuffered him to eſcape; finally, That for this fact, all the bloudy ſiſters, when they dyed, were enjoyned this fooliſh puniſhment in Hell, to fill a leaking veſſell with water.

The reign of *Danaus* in *Argos* was indeed in this age; but that *Armeus* was *Danaus*, and *Rameſſes*, *Ægyptus*, is more than *Reineccius* believes: he rather takes *Armeus* to have been *Myris*, or *Meris*, who cauſed the great lake to be made which bears his name. For my own part, as I can eaſily believe, that he which fled out of *Egypt* into *Greece*, was a man of ſuch qualitie as the Soldan *Sanar*, of whom we ſpake before; ſo do I not find how in ſo ſhort a reign, as five years, a work of that labour could be finiſhed, which was required unto the Lake of *Myris*, and the Monuments therein; whereof his own Sepulchre and his wives being ſome part, it is manifeſt that he was not buried in *Argos*. Wherefore of *Myris*, and of all other Kings, whoſe age is uncertain, and of whoſe reigns we have no aſſurance, I may truly ſay, that their great works are not enough to prove them of the houſe of *Pharaoh*, ſeeing that greater deeds or more abſolute, than were thoſe of *Joſeph*, who bought all the people of *Egypt* as bondmen, and all their land for bread; of *Gehoar*, who founded *Cairo*; and of *Sanar*, who made the Countrey Tributarie; were performed by none of them.

It ſhall therefore be enough to ſet down the length of their reigns whom we find to have followed one another in order of ſucceſſion: but in rehearſing the great acts which were performed, I will not ſtand to examine, whether they that did them were Kings or no.

The Lake of *Myris*, is, by the report of *Diodore* and *Herodotus*, three thouſand ſix hundred furlongs in compaſſe, and fifty fadomes deep. It ſerved to receive the waters of *Nilus*, when the overflow, being too great, was harmfull to the Countrie: and to ſupply the defect, by letting out the waters of the lake, when the river did not riſe high enough. In opening the ſluces of this lake, for the letting in or out of waters, were ſpent fiftie talents; but the lake it ſelf defraied that coſt; ſeeing the tribute impoſed upon fiſh taken therein was every day one talent, which *Myris* gave to his Wife to buy ſweet oyntments and other ornaments for her body. In the middeſt of it was left an Iland, wherein were the Sepulchres of *Myris* and his Wife, and over each of them a Pyramis, that was a furlong, or (according to *Herodotus*) fiftie paces high; having on the tops their ſtatues, ſitting in Thrones. I find not the deſcription of this Lake in Maps, anſwerable to the report of Hiſtorians: yet it is very great. The years of *Armeus* are by *Manethon* divided, by inſerting one *Armeſis* (whom *Euſebius* omits) that ſhould have reigned one year and odde moneths of the time: but I hold not this difference worthy of examination.

After

After *Rameſes*, his ſon *Amenophis* held the Kingdome forty years. Some give him only nineteen years; and *Mercator* thinks him to have been the King that was drowned in the Red Sea: whereof I have already ſpoken in the firſt Book.

§. IV.

Of the Kings that reigned in the Dynaſtie of the Larthes.

Ethoſis, or *Zethus*, reigned after his Father *Amenophis*, fiftie five years. To him are aſcribed the famous acts of that antient *Seſoſtris*. But the ſtate of the world was not ſuch at theſe times, that ſo great an expedition as the old *Seſoſtris* made, could have been either eaſily performed, or forgotten in the Countries through which he paſſed, had it now been performed; as any man will perceive, if he look upon my Chronologicall Table, and conſider who lived with this *Zethus*. With this King began the Dynaſtie of the *Larthes*; which *Reineccius* conjectures to have had the ſame ſignification, wherein the old Kings of *Hetruria* were called *Lartes*, (the *Hetrurians* being iſſued out of *Lydia*, the *Lydians* out of *Egypt*) and to have ſignified as much as *Imperator*, or *Generall*. The wars in which theſe Kings were Generals, I take to have been againſt the *Æthiopians*: for ſure I am, that they troubled not the Countrie of *Palaſtina*, that lay next unto them on the one hand; nor is it likely that they travelled over the deſart ſands, on the other hand, to ſeek matter of conqueſt, in the poor Countries of *Africa*. But theſe Generals (if the *Larthes* were ſuch) were not many. Five only had that title; and the laſt of theſe took it, perhaps, as hereditarie from the firſt; in ſuch ſort as the *Roman* Emperours were proud, for a while, to be called *Antonini*, till the moſt unſuitable conditions of *Heliogabalus*, made his ſucceſſors forbear the name.

Here it may be objected, that the Dynaſties (as appears by this particular) took name from the Kings; that the Kings alſo did adminiſter the government themſelves, and that therefore I am deceived in aſcribing ſo much unto the Viceroyes. But it is to be conſidered, that what is ſaid of theſe *Larthes*, depends only upon conjecture, and that the authoritie of the Regents, or Viceroyes, might be great enough, though ſome few Kings took the conduct of Armies into their own hands. For ſo we find in *John Leo*, that the Soldan of *Egypt* (after ſuch time as the Soldan *Saladine*, murdering the Caliph, got the Soveraignitie to himſelf) had under him a Viceroy, ſtiled *Eddagnadare*, who had authoritie to place, or diſplace, any Magiſtrates, or Officers; and that this mans Familie was almoſt as great as the Soldans own. Yet was there alſo the *Amir Cabir*, or Lord Generall of the Soldans forces, who had the charge of defending the Land, and might, as he thought good, ſpend of the Soldans treaſure. So might the office of the Viceroyes continue, though the Kings themſelves, taking the charge, or title of Generals upon them, did ſomewhat abridge the greatneſſe of that ſecond place. As for the names of the Dynaſties, it skils not whence they were drawn; whether from their Countrey, as thoſe of the *Thebans* and *Diapolitans*; or from ſome eminent men, or man, who ruled in that time; as many think, that the ſeventeenth Dynaſtie was called of the Shepheards, becauſe *Joſeph* governed in part thereof; or from the Kings themſelves that reigned; as this was ſaid to be of the *Larthes* or Generals. The next, as *Manetho* (but *Annius* his *Manetho*) hath it, was without any *Larthes* or Generals, yet was it not without Kings, foraſmuch as *Vaphres*, and *Seſac*, reigned therein, if many others did not. But let us now return to the buſineſſe which we left.

John Leo 8.

Rameſes was King after *Zethus*, or *Sethoſis*, threeſcore and ſix years. He is miſtaken for that ſecond *Seſoſtris*, of whom I have ſpoken in the firſt book. I find nothing worth rehearſall of this *Rameſes*, or of *Amenophis* and *Annemenes*, that followed him in order, the former of which reigned fortie, the latter ſix and twenty years. Wherefore it may very well be, that the name which *Zethus* had from valour, was taken by theſe as hereditarie.

Thuoris, the laſt of the *Larthes*, reigned only ſeven years; yet is he thought to have bin that *Proteus*, of whom *Herodotus* hath mention, ſaying, That he took *Helena* from *Paris*, and after the ſack of *Troy*, reſtored her to *Menelaus*. I need ſay no more in refutation of this, than that the time of *Thuoris* his reign laſted not ſo long as from the Rape of *Helen* to her reſtitution.

This

This *Proteus* or *Cetes* (as he is named by ſome) together with *Thon*, and others, mentioned by *Greek* Writers in this buſineſſe, or in other ſuch matters, may ſeem to be under-Officers: for ſuch only are like to have had their reſidence about *Pharos*, and the ſea-coaſt where *Menelaus* arrived.

Of *Proteus*, who detained *Helen*, it is ſaid that he could foretell things to come, and that he could change himſelf into all ſhapes: whereby is ſignified his crafty head, for which he is grown into a Proverb. The Poets feigned him a Sea-God, and keeper of *Neptunes* Seal-fiſhes, for belike he was ſome under-Officer to the Admirall, having charge of the Fiſhing about the Iſle of *Pharos*, as was ſaid before.

Remphes the ſon of *Proteus* is reckoned the next King by *Diodore*, as alſo by *Herodotus*, who calls him *Ramſinitus*, and tells a long tale fit to pleaſe children, of his covetouſneſſe, and how his treaſure-houſe was robbed by a cunning thiefe, that at laſt married his Daughter. But of this a man may believe what he liſt. How long this King reigned I know not, nor think that either he or his father did reign at all.

§. V.

Of the Egyptian *Kings, whoſes names are found ſcattering in ſundry Authors, their times being not recorded. The Kings of* Egypt, *according to* Cedrenus. *Of* Vaphres, *and* Sefac.

MAny other names of *Egyptian* Kings are found ſcattered here and there; as *Tonepherſobis*, of whom *Suidas* delivers onely the bare name and title; *Senemures*, or *Senepos*, mentioned in *Macrobius*, who perhaps was the ſame that by *Suidas* is called *Senyes*, or *Euenes*, noted by occaſion of a great Phyſician that lived under him; *Banchyris*, recorded by the ſame *Suidas* for his great juſtice; and *Thulis*, of whom *Suidas* tels great matters; as, that his Empire extended to the Ocean Sea; that he gave name to the Iſle of *Thule*, which ſome take to be *Iſeland*; and that he conſulted with the Devill, or (which is all one) with *Seraphis*, deſiring to know, who before him had been, or after him ſhould be ſo mighty as himſelf. The anſwer or confeſſion of the Devill was remarkable; which I find Engliſhed in the tranſlation of *Pleſsis* his work *Of the trueneſſe of Chriſtian Religion*. The *Greek* Verſes are ſomewhat otherwiſe, and much more imperfect in thoſe Copies that I have of *Cedrenus* and *Suidas*, but the ſenſe is all one; which is this:

Firſt God, *and next* The Word, *and then* The Spirit,
Which Three be One, *and joyn in* One *all Three:*
Whoſe force is endleſſe. Get thee hence frail wight,
The man of Life unknown excelleth thee.

I ſhould have thought that *Suidas* had borrowed all this of *Cedrenus*, had I not found ſomewhat more in *Suidas* than *Cedrenus* hath hereof; as the form of invocation which *Thulis* uſed, and that clauſe of his giving name to the Iland: though in this laſt point I hold *Suidas* to be deceived; as alſo *Cedrenus* is, or (at leaſt) ſeems to me, in giving to this King ſuch profound antiquity of reign. Indeed the very name of that book, cited often by *Cedrenus*, which he calls *Little Geneſis*, is alone enough to breed ſuſpition of ſome impoſture: but the Frierly ſtuffe that he allegeth out of it, is ſuch as would ſerve to diſcredit himſelf, were it not otherwiſe apparent that he was a man both devout, and of good judgement in matters that fell within his compaſſe. I will here ſet down the liſt of old *Egyptian* Kings delivered by him, and leave the cenſure to others.

The firſt King of *Egypt* that he ſets down, is *Mizraim* the ſon of *Cham*. After him he finds many of a new race, deriving their pedegree thus: *Nimrod* the ſon of *Chus* was alſo called *Orion*, and further took upon him the name of the Planet *Saturn*, had to wife *Semiramis*, who was of his own Linage, and by her three ſons; *Picus*, ſurnamed *Jupiter*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*. *Picus* chaſing his father out of *Aſſyria* into *Italie*, reigned in his ſtead thirtie years, and then gave up that Kingdome to *Juno* his ſiſter and wife, and to *Belus* his ſon: after which *Belus*, who reigned onely two years, *Ninus* had the Kingdome, and married his own Mother *Semiramis*. But *Picus* went into *Italie* to viſit his old Father *Saturn*; *Saturn* forth-with reſigned the Kingdome unto him. *Picus Jupiter* reigned in *Italie* threeſcore and two years, had threeſcore and ten Wives or Concubines, and about as many children: finally dyed, and lyes buried in the Iſle of *Crete*.

The Principall of *Jupiters* sons were *Faunus*, *Perseus*, and *Apollo*. *Faunus* was called by the name of the Planet *Mercurie*: hee reigned in *Italie*, after his Father, five and thirty years, and then (finding that all his brethren conspired against him) he went into *Egypt*, with abundance of Treasure, where, after the death of *Misraim*, hee got the Kingdome, and held it nine and thirty years. After *Mercurie*, *Vulcan* reigned in *Egypt*, four years and a half. Then *Sol*, the son of *Vulcan*, reigned twenty years and a half. There followed in order *Sosis*, *Osiris*, *Orus* and *Thules*, of whom we spake before: the length of their severall reigns is not set down. After *Thules*, was the great *Sesostris* King twenty years. His successor was *Pharaoh*, called *Narecho*, that held the Crown fiftie years, with which there passed from him the surname of *Pharaoh*, to a very long posteritie.

These reports of *Cedrenus* I hold it enough to set down as I find them: let their credit rest upon the Author.

Others yet we find, that are said to have reigned in *Egypt*, without any certain note, when, or how long: about whom I will not labour, as fearing more to be reprehended of vain curiositie, in the search made after these already rehearsed, than of negligence, in omitting such as might have been added.

Vaphres, the father in law to *Salomon*, and *Sesac*, the afflicter of *Rehoboam*, lead us again into fair way, but not far. The name of *Vaphres* is not found in the Scriptures; but we are beholding to *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Eusebius* for it. These give us not the length of his reign; but we know that he lived in the times of *David* and of *Salomon*. He came into *Palestina* with an Armie, took *Gezar* from the *Canaanites*, and gave it to his daughter, *Salomons* wife: though for her sake perhaps it was, that in time following either he, or (as I rather take it) *Sesac* his son did favour the enemies of *Salomon*, who kept so many Wives and Concubines, besides this *Egyptian* Princesse. In the life of *Rehoboam* all hath been written that I find of *Sesac*, excepting the length of his reign, which must have been six and twenty years, if he were that *Smendis* with whom *Eusebius* begins the one and twentieth *Dynastie*.

Clem. Strom. l. 1. Euseb. de Prep. Evang. l. 9. c. 4.
1 King 9. 16. & 11. v. 18. 19, &c.

Now forasmuch as it would serve to no great purpose, that we knew the length of *Sesac* his reign, and of theirs that followed him, unlesse therewithall we knew the beginning of *Sesac*, upon which the rest have dependance; this course I take. From the fourth year of *Jehojakim* king of *Juda*, in which *Pharao Neco* was slain, I reckon upwards the years of the same *Neco*, and of his Preecessors, unto the beginning of *Sesac*: by which accompt, the first year of *Sesac* is found concurrent with the twentieth of *Salomons* reign, and the twenty sixt of *Sesac* with the fifth of *Rehoboam*, wherein *Sesac* spoyled the Temple, and dyed, enjoying the fruits of his Sacrilege no longer than *Joas* the *Israelite*, and *Crassus* the *Roman* did; who after him spoyled the Temple of *Jerusalem*.

To fill up the time between *Sesac* and *Neco*, I have rather taken those kings that I find in the *Greek* Historians, than them which are in *Eusebius* his Catalogue. For of those that are delivered by *Eusebius*, we find no Name nor Act recorded elsewhere, save only of *Boccheris*, who is remembred by *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, and others, much being spoken of him, that makes him appear to have been a King. Hereunto I may adde, that the succession is often interrupted in *Eusebius* by *Æthiopians*, which got the kingdome often, and held it long: whereas contrariwise it appears by the Prophet *Esay*, that the Counsellors of *Pharaoh* did vaunt of the long and flourishing continuance of that house, insomuch that they said of *Pharaoh*, *I am the son of the wise, I am the son of the antient King*. But that which overthrows the reckoning of *Eusebius*, is the good agreement of it with his mistaken times of the Kings of *Juda*. For though it please him well to see how the reigns of *Josias* and *Neco* meet by his computation, yet this indeed mars all, the reign of *Josias* being misplaced. This errour grows from his omitting to compare the reigns of the Kings of *Juda* with theirs of *Israel*: by which occasion *Joram* King of *Israel*, is made to reign three years after *Ahazia* of *Juda*; *Samaria* is taken by *Salmanassar* before *Hezechia* was King: and in a word, all, or most of the Kings have their beginnings placed in some other year of their collaterals than the Scriptures have determined.

Esai. 19. 11.

§. VI. *of*

§. VI.

of Chemmis, Cheops, Cephrenes, *and other Kings recited by* Herodotus *and* Diodorus Siculus, *which reigned between the times of* Rehoboam *and* Ezechia.

FOllowing therefore the *Greek* Historians, I place *Chemmis*, or (according to *Diodore*) *Chembis*, first in the ranke of those that were Kings after *Sesac*. Hee reigned fiftie yeares, and built the greatest of the three Pyramides, which was accounted one of this worlds Wonders. The Pyramis hath his name from the shape, in that it resembleth a flame of fire, growing from the bottome upwards narrower and narrower to the top. This of *Chemmis* being foure-square, had a Base of seven acres every way, and was about six acres high. It was of a very hard and durable stone, which had lasted, when *Diodore* saw it, about a thousand yeares, without complaining of any injurie that it had suffered by weather in so long space. From the reign of *Chemmis* unto the age of *Augustus Cæsar*, wherein *Diodore* lived, are indeed a thousand yeares; which doth give the better likelihood unto this time wherein *Chemmis* is placed. As for this and other Pyramides, late Writers doe testifie, that they have seen them yet standing.

After *Chemmis*, *Diodore* placeth *Cephrenes* his brother; but doubtfully, and enclining rather to the opinion, that his son *Chabreus* succeeded. *Herodotus* hath *Cheops* (who might be *Chabreas*) and *Cephrenes* after him. These are said to have been brethren; but the length of their reignes may argue the latter to have been sonne to the former: for *Cheops* reigned fifty yeares; *Cephrenes* fifty sixe. These were, as *Chemmis* had been, builders of *Pyramides*, whereby they purchased great hatred of their people, who already had over-laboured themselves in erecting the first. These Pyramides were ordained to be Tombes for those that raised them; but the malice of the *Egyptians* is said to have cast out their bodies, & to have called their Monuments by the name of an Heardsman that kept his Beasts thereabouts. It may be, that the robbing them of their honour, and entituling a poore fellow to their works, was held to be the casting out of their bodies; otherwise it is hard to conceive how it might be, that they, who had not power to avoyd the like slavery laid upon them by the younger brother or sonne, should have power or leasure to take such revenge upon his Predecessor. To the like malice may be ascribed the tale devised against *Cheops* his Daughter; That her Father wanting money, did prostitute her, & that she getting of every man that accompanyed her, one stone, did build with them a fourth Pyramis, that stood in the midst of the other three. Belike she was an insolent Lady, and made them follow their drudgery for her sake, longer a while than they thought to have done, in raising a Monument with the superfluity of her Fathere provisions. *Diodor. l. 1. Herod. l. 2.*

Mycerinus the son of *Cephrenes* reigned after his Father six yeares. He would have built as his fore-goers did, but prevented by death, finished not what he had begun. The people thought him a good King, for that he did set open the Temples, which *Cheops* and *Cephrenes* had kept shut. But an Oracle threatned him with a short life of six years only, because of this his devotion; *For* (said the Oracle) *Egypt should have been afflicted an hundred and fiftie yeares, which thy Predecessors knew, and performed for their parts; but thou hast released it, therefore shalt thou live but six yeares.* It is very strange, that the gods should be offended with a King for his piety; or that they should decree to make a Countrey impious, when the people were desirous to serve them; or that they having so decreed, it should lye in the power of a King to alter destinie, and make the ordinance of the gods to fail in taking full effect. But these were *Egyptian* gods. The true God was doubtlesse more offended with the institution of such Idolatry, than with the interruption. And who knowes whether *Chemmis* did not learn somewhat at *Jerusalem* in the last year of his Father *Sesac*, that made him perceive, and deliver to those that followed him, the vanity of his *Egyptian* superstition? Most sure it is, that his reign, and the reignes of *Cheops* and *Cephrenes* were more long and more happy than that of *Mycerinus*, who, to delude the Oracle, revelled away both dayes and nights, as if by keeping candles lighted, he had changed his nights into dayes, and so doubled the time appointed: a service more pleasing to the Devill, than the restitution of Idolatry durst then seem, when it could speed no better. I find in *Reinecci* fiftie

years assigned to this King; which I verily beleeve to have bin some errour of the print, though I find it not corrected among other such oversights: For I know no Author that gives him so many years, and *Reineccius* himself takes notice of the Oracle, that threatned *Mycerinus* with a short life, as is before shewed.

Bocchorus is placed next unto *Mycerinus*, by *Diodore*, who speakes no more of him than this, that he was a strong man of body, & excelling his predecessors in wit. He is spoken of by divers Authors, as one that loved justice; and may be taken for that *Banchyris* whom *Suidas* commends in that kind: *Eusebius* reckons 44. years of his reign.

After *Bocchorus*, one *Sabacus* an *Æthiopian* followes in the Catalogue of *Diodore*; but certaine ages after him. *Herodotus* quit omitting *Bocchorus*, hath *Asychis*; who made a sharp law (as it was then held) against bad debtors, that their dead bodies should be in the creditors disposition, till the debt were paid. This *Asychis* made a Pyramis of brick, more costly and faire, in his own judgement, than any of those that the former Kings had raised. Besides this *Asychis*, *Herodotus* placeth one *Anysis*, a blind man, before the *Æthiopian*. The reignes of these two are perhaps those many ages which the *Egyptians*, to magnifie their antiquities, accounted between *Bocchorus* and him that followed them. But all this could make but six yeares; and so long doth *Functius*, so long doth *Reineccius* hold, that these two Kings between them both did govern. If any man would lengthen this time, holding it unprobable that the reignes of two Kings should have bin so soon spent; he may doe it by taking some yeares from *Sethon* or *Psammiticus*, and adding them to either of these. To adde unto these without subtracting from some other, would breed a manifest inconvenience: forasmuch as part of *Sesac* his reign, must have been in *the fifth of Rehoboam*, as also the last of *Pharao Neco* was the fourth of *Jehojakim*, and the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*. For mine own part, I like it better to allow six years only to these two Kings, than to lose the witnesse of *Herodotus*, who, concurring herein with the Scriptures, doth speak of *Sennacheribs* war, at which time *Sethon* was King of *Egypt*. I will not therefore adde years unto these obscure names; for by adding unto these men three years, we shall thrust the beginning of *Sethon* out of place, and make it later than the death of *Sennacherib*. In regard of this agreement of *Herodotus* with the Scriptures, I am the more willing to hold with him in his *Egyptian* Kings. Otherwise it were a matter of no great envie to leave both *Asychis* and *Anysis* out of the roll; which were easily done, by placing *Sesac* lower, and extending his life yet six years further, or more (if the like abridgement shall be required of *Psammiticus* his reign) into the years of *Rehoboam*.

1 King. 14. 25.
2 Chro. 12. v. 2

Of *Sabacus* the *Æthiopian*, who took the Kingdome from *Anysis*, it is agreed by the most, that he reigned fiftie years. He was a mercifull Prince, not punishing all capitall offences with death, but imposing bondage and bodily labour upon malefactors; by whose toile he both got much wealth into his own hands, letting out their service to hire, and performed many works of more use than pomp, to the singular benefit of the Countrey. *Zonoras* calls this King *Sua*; the Scriptures call him *So*. *Hosea*, the last King of *Israel*, made a league with him against *Salmanassar*, little to his good: for the *Egyptian* was more rich than warlike, and therefore his friendship could not preserve the *Israelite* from destruction.

It seemes, that the encroaching power of the *Assyrian* grew terrible to *Egypt* about these times; the victories of *Tiglath Phulassar* and *Salmanassar* having eaten so farre into *Syria*, in the reign of this one King *So* or *Sabacus*. Yea, perhaps it was in his daies (for his reign began in the fourth of *Menahem*) that *Phul* himself did make the first entrance into *Palestina*. This caused *So* to animate the half-subdued people against their Conquerors; but the help which he and his Successor gave them was so faint, that *Sennacheribs* Embassador compared the *Egyptian* succour to a broken staff of Reed. Such indeed had *Hosea* found it, and such *Ezechia* might have found it, had he not been supported by the strong staff of him that ruleth all Nations with a rod of yron. It appeareth by the words of *Rabsake*, that the opinion was great in *Juda*, of the *Egyptian* forces, *for Chariots and Horse-men*; but this power, whatsoever it was, grew needfull, within a little while, for the defence of *Egypt* it selfe, which *So* left unto *Sethon* his Successor, having now fulfilled the fifty years of his reign. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* have both one tale, from the relation of *Egyptian* Priests, concerning the departure of this King; saying, that he left the Countrey, and willingly retired into *Æthiopia*,

2 Kin. 18. 25.

because

becauſe it was often ſignified unto him in his dreams, by the god which was worſhipped at *Thebes*, that his reign ſhould be neither long nor proſperous, unleſſe he ſlew all the Prieſts in *Egypt*; which rather than to do, he reſigned his Kingdome. Surely, theſe *Egyptian* gods were of a ſtrange quality, that ſo ill rewarded their ſervants, and invited Kings to doe them wrong. Well might the *Egyptians* (as they likewiſe did) worſhip Dogs as gods, when their chief gods had the property of Dogs, which love their Maſters the better for beating them. Yet to what end the Prieſts ſhould have feigned this tale, I cannot tell; and therefore I think that it might be ſome device of the fearfull old man, who ſeeing his Realm in danger of an invaſion, ſought an honeſt excuſe for his departure out of it, and with-drawing himſelf into *Æthiopia*, where he had bin bred in his youth. What if I ſhould ſay, that the *Æthiopia* into which he went, was none other than *Arabia*, whereof *Tirhaka* the King (perhaps at the inſtigation of this man) raiſed an Armie againſt *Sennacherib*, when he meant to invade *Egypt* within two or three years after? but I will not trouble my ſelf with ſuch enquirie. This I hold, that *So*, or *Sebacus* was not indeed an *Æthiopian* (for in his time lived the Prophet *Eſay*, who mentioneth the antiquity of *Pharaohs* houſe) but only ſo ſurnamed for his education, and becauſe iſſuing from thence, he got the kingdome from *Anyſis*, who was his oppoſite. The quiet and mild form of his government, his holding the kingdome ſo long without an Army, and many other circumſtances argue no leſſe. But whether finally he betook a private life, or whether he fore-went his life and kingdom at once, being now very old, it is time that we leave him, and ſpeak of *Sethon* his next Succeſſor, who is omitted by *Diodore*, but remembred by *Herodotus*, by a ſure token of his having been King.

§. VII.

of Sethon *who reigned with* Ezechia, *and ſided with him againſt* Sennacherib.

THe firſt year of *Sethons* reign falls into the twelfth of *Ezechia*, which was the fift of *Sennacherib*. It was a troubleſome age, and full of danger; the two great Kingdoms of *Aſſyria* and *Egypt*, being then ingaged in a War, the iſſue whereof was to determine whether of them ſhould rule or ſerve. The *Aſſyrian* had the better men of War; the *Egyptian* better proviſion of neceſſaries: the *Aſſyrian* more Subjects; the *Egyptian* more Friends: and among the new conquered half Subjects of *Aſſur*, many that were *Egyptian* in heart, though *Aſſyrian* in outward ſhew.

Of this laſt ſort were *Ezechia* and his people; who knowing how much it concerned *Pharao*, to protect them againſt his own great Enemy, preferred the friendſhip of ſo near and mighty a Neighbour, before the ſervice of a terrible, yet far removed King. But herein was great difference between *Ezechia* and his Subjects: For the good King fixing his eſpeciall confidence in God, held that courſe of policy, which he thought moſt likely to turn to the benefit of his Country; the multitude of *Judea* looking into the fair hopes which this *Egyptian* league promiſed, were puffed up with vain conceits, thinking that all was ſafe, and that now they ſhould not need to fear any more of thoſe injuries which they had ſuffered by the *Aſſyrians*, and ſo became forgetfull of God, *taking counſell, but not of him*. The Prophet *Eſay* complained much of this preſumption; giving the people of *Juda* to underſtand, That *the* Egyptians *were men, and not God, and their Horſes fleſh, and not ſpirit*; that God himſelf ſhould defend *Iſrael* upon repentance, and that Aſſur *ſhould fall by the ſword, but not of man*. As for the *Egyptians* (ſaid the Prophet) *they are vanity, and they ſhall help in vain, their ſtrength is to ſit ſtill*. Eſay 30.1. Eſa. 31.v.3.& 8. Eſay 30.7. Eſay 3.1.

According to the Prophets words it came to paſſe. For in the treaty of Confederacy that was *held at* Zoan, all manner of contentment and aſſurance was given to the *Jews* by *Sethon*, or his Agents, who filled them with ſuch reports, of Horſes and Chariots, that they did *not look* (as *Eſay* ſaith) *unto the holy One of* Iſrael, *nor ſeek unto the Lord. But he yet is wiſeſt*. Eſay 31.1.2.

After a while came *Sennacherib* with his Army, & wakened them out of theſe dreams; for *Sethon* their good Neighbour, as near as he was, did ſeem far off, being unready, when his help was moſt needfull. It may ſeem that he purpoſed rather to make *Paleſtina*, than *Egypt*, the ſtage whereon this great War ſhould be acted, and was not without hope, that the *Aſſyrians* and *Jews*, weakning one another, ſhould yeeld unto him a

fair advantage over both. Yet he fought with mony; for he sent Horses and Camels
Esay 30. 6. laden with treasure, to hire the *Arabians*, whom *Esay* calleth *a people that cannot profit*. These *Arabians* did not profit indeed; for (besides that it seems by the same place of *Esay*, that the rich treasures miscarried, and fell into the enemies hands before any help appeared from *Tirhaca*,) all the strong Cities of *Juda* were taken by *Senacherib*, except *Libna*, *Lachis*, and *Jerusalem* it self, which were in sore distresse, till the sword of God
Esay 31. 9. and not of Man, defeated the *Assyrian*, who did go, *for fear, to his Tower*, that is, he fled to *Nineve*, where he was slain.

Concerning this expedition of *Senacherib*, *Herodotus* takes this notice of it: That it was purposed against *Egypt*, where the men of War, being offended with *Sethon* their King, who had taken away their allowance, refused to bear arms in defence of him and their Countrie; that *Sethon* being *Vulcan's* Priest bemoaned himself to his god, who by dream promised to send him helpers; that hereupon *Sethon*, with such as would follow him, (which were craftsmen, shop-keepers, and the like) marched towards *Pelusium*; and that a great multitude of field-mice entring the Camp of *Senacherib* by night, did so gnaw the bows, quivers, and straps of his mens armour, that they were fain the next day to flie away in all haste, finding themselves disarmed. In memory hereof (saith *Herodotus*) the statue of this King is set up in the Temple of *Vulcan*, holding a Mouse in his hand, with this inscription, *Let him that holds me serve God*. Such was the relation of the *Egyptian* Priests, wherein how far they swarved from the truth, being desirous to magnifie their own King, it may easily be perceived. It seems that this Image of *Sethon* was fallen down, and the tale forgotten in *Diodorus* his time, or else perhaps, the Priests did forbear to tell it him (which caused him to omit it) for that the nation of the *Jews* was then well known to the world, whereof every child could have told how much falsehood had been mingled with the truth.

We find this history agreeable to the Scriptures, thus far forth; That *Senacherib* King of the *Assyrians* and *Arabians*, (so *Herodotus* calleth him: the *Syrians*, or peradventure some borderers upon *Syria*, being meant by the name of *Arabians* lived in this age, made War upon *Egypt*, and was miraculously driven home. As for that exployt of the Mice, and the great pleasure that *Vulcan* did unto his Priest, happy it was (if *Sethon* were a Priest) that he took his god now in so good a mood: For within three or four years before this, all the Priests in *Egypt* should have been slain, if a mercifull King had not spared their lives, as it were half against the gods will. Therefore this last good turn was not enough to serve as an example, that might stir up the *Egyptians* to pietie, seeing that their devotion, which had lasted so long before, did bring all the Priests into danger of such a bad reward. Rather I think, that this Image did represent *Senacherib* himself, and that the Mouse in his hand, signified Hieroglyphically (as was the *Egyptian* manner of expressing things) the shamefull issue of his terrible expedition, or the destruction of his Armie, by means which came, no man knew from whence. For the vengeance of God, shewed upon this ungodly King, was indeed a very good motive to pietie. But the Embleme, together with the Temple of *Vulcan* (being perhaps the chief Temple in that Town where this Image was erected) might give occasion to such a fable; the Devill helping to change the truth into a lie, that God might be robbed of his honour. Yet that we may not belie the Devill, I hold it very likely, that *Sethon* finding himself in danger, did call upon his gods, that is, upon *Vulcan*, *Serapis*, or any to whom he had most devotion. But so had other of his predecessors done in the like need: yet which of them had obtained succour by the like miracle? Surely the *Jews* (even such of them as most were given to Idolatrie) would have bin ashamed of
Esay 31. 1. the confidence which they reposed *in the Chariots of Egypt, because they were many, & in the Horsmen, because they were very strong*; had it bin told them, that *Sethon*, in stead of sending those Horsmen and Chariots, was beseeching *Vulcan* to send him and them good luck; or else (for these also were *Egyptian* gods) addressing his prayers to some Onyon or Cat. Howsoever it was, doubtlesse the Prophecie of *Esay* took effect, which said, *They shall be all ashamed of the people that cannot profit them, nor help, nor do them good, but shall be a shame and also a reproach*. Such is commonly the issue of humane wisdome, when resting secure upon provision that it self hath made, it will no longer seem to stand in need of God.

Some there are who take *Sethon* to have bin set down by *Eusebius* under the name of

Tarachus

Tarachus the *Æthiopian*; and therefore the twenty years which are given to *Tarachus*, they allow to the reign of *Sethon*. These have well observed that *Tarachus* the *Æthiopian* is mentioned in the Scriptures, not as a King of *Egypt*, but as a friend to that Country, or at least an enemy to *Sennacherib*, in the War last spoken of; the *Æthiopians* (as they are englished) over which he reigned, being indeed *Chusites* or *Arabians*. Hereupon they suppose aright, that *Eusebius* hath mistaken one King for another. But whereas they think that this *Tarachus* or *Tirhaka* is placed in the room of *Sethon*, and therefore give to *Sethon* the twenty years of *Tarachus*, I hold them to have erred on the other hand. For this *Æthiopian* (as he is called) began his reign over *Egypt*, by *Eusebius* his accompt, after the death of *Sennacherib* and of *Ezechia*, in the first year of *Manasses* King of *Juda*. Therefore he or his years have no reference to *Sethon*.

Herodotus forgets to tell how long *Sethon* reigned; *Functius* peremptorily citing no author, nor alleging reason for it, sets him down thirty three years; many omit him quite; and they that name him, are not carefull to examine his continuance. In this case, I follow that rule which I propounded unto my self at the first, for measuring the reigns of these *Egyptian* Kings. The years which passed from the fifth of *Rehoboam*, unto the fourth of *Jehojakim*, I so divide among the *Egyptians*, that giving to every one the proportion allowed unto him by the Author in whom he is found, the rest is to be conferred upon him whose length of reign is uncertain; that is, upon this *Sethon*. By this accompt I find the thirty three years that are set down by *Functius*, to agree very nearly, if not precisely, with the time of *Sethon's* reign; therefore I conform my own reckoning to his, though I could be content to have it one year lesse. The reason of this computation I shall render more at large, when I arrive at the time of *Psammiticus*, whereupon it hath much dependance, and whereinto the course of this History will shortly bring me, the *Egyptian* affairs growing now to be interlaced with the matters of *Juda*, to which it is meet that I return.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of Manasses *and his Contemporaries.*

§. I.

The wickednesse of Manasses. *His imprisonment, repentance, and death.*

MAnasse the Son of *Ezechias*, forgetting the piety of his Father, and the prosperity which followed him, set up, repaired, adorned and furnished all the Altars, Temples and high Places, in which the Devill was by the Heathen worshipped. Besides, he himself esteemed the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, with all the Hoast of heaven, as gods, and worshipped them: and of all his acts the most abominable was, that he burnt his sons for a Sacrifice to the Devill *Moloch* or *Melchor*, in the Valley of *Hinnon*, or *Benhinnon*: wherein was kindled the fire of Sacrifice to the Devils.

He also gave himself to all kind of Witchcraft and Sorcery, accompanied and maintained those that had familiar Spirits, and all sorts of Enchanters: besides, he shed so much innocent bloud, as *Jerusalem* was replenished therewith, from corner to corner. For all his vices and abominations, when he was reprehended by that aged and reverent Prophet *Esay* (who was also of the Kings race, and as the *Jews* affirm, the Father-in-law of the King) he caused the Prophet neer unto the Fountain of *Siloe*, to be sawn in sunder with a wodden Saw, in the eightieth year of his life: a cruelty more barbarous and monstrous than hath been heard of. The Scriptures indeed are silent hereof, yet the same is confirmed by *Epiphanius*, *Isidore*, *Eusebius*, and others, too many to rehearse, and too good to be suspected. *Therefore the Lord brought upon them the Captains of the Hoast of the Kings of* Ashur, *which took* Manasse, *and put him in fetters, and bound him in chains, and carried him to Babel*: Where, after he had lyen twenty years as a captive, and dispoyled of all honour and hope; yet to his hearty repentance and continuall prayer, the

Just. Martyr. Cedreaus c. 91. Glycas pa. 275. Tertull. de Pac.

2 Chr. 33. 11.

God

God of infinite mercy had respect, and moved the *Assyrians* heart to deliver him.

It is also likely that *Merodach*, because he loved his father *Ezechias*, was the easilier perswaded to restore *Manasse* to his liberty and estate. After which, and when he was again established, remembring the miseries which followed his wickedness, and Gods great mercies toward him, he changed form, detested his former foolish and devillish Idolatry, and cast down the Idols of his own erecting, prepared the Altar of God, and sacrifised thereon. He repaired a great part of *Jerusalem:* and dyed after the long reign of fiftie five years. *Glycas* and *Suidas* report, that *Manasse* was held in a cage of yron by the *Assyrians:* and therein fed with bread of bran and water, which men may beleeve as it shall please their fancies.

§. II.

Of troubles in Egypt *following the death of* Sethon. *The reign of* Psammiticus.

THat the wickedness of King *Manasses* was the cause of the evill which fell upon his Kingdome and Person, any Christian must needs beleeve: for it is affirmed in the Scriptures. Yet was the state of things in those parts of the World such, at that time, as would have invited any Prince (and did perhaps invite *Merodach*, who fulfilled Gods pleasure, upon respect born to his own ends, desirous to enlarge his Empire) to make attempt upon *Juda*. For the kingdom of *Egypt*, which was become the pillar whereon the state of *Juda* leaned, about these times was miserably distracted with civill dissention, and after two years ill amended by a division of the government between twelve Princes. After some good agreement between these, eleven of them fell out with the twelfth of their collegues, and were all finally subdued by him, who made himself absolute King of all. This *Inter regnum*, or meer *Anarchie* that was in *Egypt*, with the division of the Kingdome following it, is placed by *Diodore*, who omitteth *Sethon*, between the reign of *Sabacus* and *Psammiticus:* but *Herodotus* doth set the *Aristocratie*, or twelve Governours immediatly before *Psammiticus*, who was one of them, and after *Sethon*.

The occasion of this dissention seems to have bin the uncertainty of title to that Kingdom (for that the crown of *Egypt* passed by succession of bloud, I have often shewed) which ended for a while, by the partition of all among twelve, though things were not setled untill one had obtained the Soveraignty.

These twelve Rulers governed fifteen years in good seeming agreement, which to preserve, they made strait covenant & alliances one with another, being jealous of their estate, because an Oracle had foretold, that one of them should depose all the rest, noting him by this token, that he should make a drink-offering in *Vulcans* Temple, out of a Copper goblet. Whilest this unity lasted, they joyned together in raising a Monument of their Dominion, which was a Labyrinth, built near unto the Lake of *Meris*; a work so admirable, that (as *Herodotus*, who beholding it, affirms) no words could give it commendation answerable to the statelinesse of the work it self. I will not here set down that unperfect description which *Herodotus* makes of it, but think enough to say that he prefers it far before the Pyramides, one of which (as he saith) excelled the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, or any of the fairest works in *Greece*. *Diodorus* reports this Labyrinth to have bin the work of *Marus* or *Mendes*, a King which lived five generations before *Proteus*, that is, before the War of *Troy*: and from this Labyrinth (saith he) *Dædalus* took the pattern of that which he made for *Minos* in *Crete*. Who this *Marus*, or *Menides* was, I cannot tell. *Reineccius* takes him to have bin *Annemenes*, which reigned immediatly before *Thuoris*. But this agrees not with *Diodore:* for *Dædalus* & *Minos* were both dead long before *Annemenes* was King. Belike *Reineccius*, desiring to accommodate the fabulous relations of *Manethon*, *Chæremon*, & others, that are found in *Josephus*, touching *Amenophis* & his children, to the story of *Amasis* & *Actisanes* the *Æthiopian* mentioned by *Diodore*; held it consequent, after he had conjectured *Manethons Amenophis*, to be *Diodorus* his *Amasis*; that *Sethon* should be *Actisanes*, and that *Annemenes* should be *Marus*. If in this case I might intrude a conjecture, the times which we now handle are those about which *Reineccius* hath erred in making search; *Amasis* was *Anysis*, *Actisanes* was *Sabacus*; & *Marus* was one of these twelve Princes to whom *Herodotus* gives

Jos. cont. App. l.

the

the honour of building this famous Labyrinth. For *Actisanes* the *Æthiopian* deposed *Amasis*; *Sabacus* the *Æthiopian* deposed *Anysis*; *Actisanes* governed well, and was mild in punishing offenders; so likewise was *Sabacus*; *Marus* the next King after *Actisanes* built this Labyrinth; and the next (saving *Sethon*, whom *Diodore* omits, as having not heard of him) that ruled after *Sabacus*, performed the same work, according to *Herodotus*, who was more likely to hear the truth, as living nearer to the Age wherein it was performed. The variety of names, and difference of times wherein *Diodore* beleeved the Priests, might be a part of the *Egyptian* vanity, which was familiar with them in multiplying their Kings, and boasting of their antiquities. Here I might adde, that the twelve great Halls, Parlours, and other circumstances remembred by *Herodotus*, in speaking of this building, doe help to prove that it was the work of these twelve Princes. But I hasten to their end.

At a solemn feast in *Vulcans* Temple, when they were to make their drink-offerings, the Priest, forgetting himselfe, brought forth no more than eleven Cuppes. Hereupon, *Psammiticus*, who standing last, had not a Cup, took off his brazen Helmet, and therewith supplyed the want. This caused all the rest to remember the Oracle, and to suspect him as a Traytor; yet, when they found that it was not done by him upon set purpose or ill intent, they forbare to kill him, but being jealous of their estate, they banished him into the marish Countries by the Sea side. This Oracle, and the event is held by *Diodore* as a fable, which I beleeve to have bin none other: In the rest *Herodotus* and *Diodore* agree, saying, that *Psammiticus* hired Souldiers out of *Caria* and *Ionia*, by whose aid he vanquisht his Companions, and made himself sole King.

The years of his reign, according to *Herodotus*, were fiftie four; according to *Eusebius*, forty four; *Mercator*, to reconcile these two, gives fortie four years to his single reign, and ten to his ruling joyntly with the Princes before spoken of. Indeed, he that was admitted, being a man grown (for he cannot in reason be supposed to have been then a young fellow) into the number of the twelve Governous, must be thought to have lived unto extreme age, if he ruled partly with others, partly alone, threescore and nine years: I therefore yeeld rather to *Eusebius*; but will not adventure to cut five years from the *Aristocratie*: though peradventure *Psammiticus* was not at first one of the twelve, but succeeded (either by election, or as next of bloud) into the place of some Prince that dyed, and was ten years companion in that government.

Another scruple there is, though not great, which troubles this reckoning. The years of the *Egyptians*, as we find them set down, are more by one, than serve to fill up the time between the fift of *Reboboam* & the fourth of *Jehojakim*. This may not be. Wherefore either we must abate one year from *Sethons* reign, that was of uncertain length; or else (which I had rather doe, because *Funccius* may have followed better authority than I know, or than himself allegeth, in giving to *Sethon* a time so nearly agreeing with the truth) we must confound the last year of one reign with the first of another. Such a supposition were not insolent. For no man can suppose, that all the Kings, or any great part of them, which are set down in Chronologicall tables, reigned precisely so many years as are ascribed unto them, without any fractions: it is enough to think that the surplusage of one mans time supplyed the defect of anothers. Wherefore I confound the last year of those fifteen, wherein the twelve Princes ruled, with the first of *Psammiticus*; who surely did not fall out with his Companions, fight with them, and make himself Lord alone all in one day.

Concerning this King, it is recorded, that he was the first in *Egypt* who entertained any strait amity with the *Greekes*; that he retained in pay his Mercenaries of *Caria*, *Ionia*, and *Arabia*, to whom he gave large rewards and possessions; and that he greatly offended his *Egyptian* Souldiers, by bestowing them in the left wing of his Armie, whilest his Mercenaries held the right wing (which was the more honourable place) in an expedition that he made into *Syria*. Upon this disgrace it is said, that his Souldiers, to the number of two hundred thousand, forsook their naturall Countrey of *Egypt*, and went into *Æthiopia*, to dwell there: neither could they be revoked by kind Messages, nor by the King himself, who over-took them on the way; but when he told them of their Countrey, their Wives and Children, they answered, that their weapons should get them a Countrey, and that nature had enabled them to get other Wives and Children.

It is also reported of him, That he caused two Infants to be brought up in such sort, as they might not hear any word spoken; by which meanes, he hoped to find out what Nation or Language was most ancient; forasmuch as it seemed likely, that nature would teach the children to speak that Language which men spake at the first. The issue hereof was, that the children cryed, *Beccos*, *Beccos*, which word being found to signifie Bread in the *Phrygian* tongue, served greatly to magnifie the *Phrygian* antiquity. *Goropius Becanus* makes no small matter of this, for the honour of his *Low-Dutch*; in which the word *Becker* signifies (as Baker in English) a maker of bread. He that will turne over any part of *Goropius* his works, may find enough of this kind, to perswade a willing man, that *Adam* and all the Patriarks used none other tongue than the *Low-Dutch*, before the confusion of languages at *Babel*; the name it self of *Babel* being also *Dutch*, and given by occasion of this confusion; for that there they began to babble and talke one knew not what.

But I will not insist upon all that is written of *Psammiticus*. The most regardable of his acts was the siege of *Azotus* in *Palæstina*, about which he spent nine & twenty years. Never have we heard (saith *Herodotus*) that any City endured so long a siege as this; yet *Psammiticus* carryed it at the last. This Town of *Azotus* had been won by *Tartan* a Captain of *Sennacherib*, and was now, as it seemeth, relieved, but in vaine, by the *Babylonian*, which made it hold out so well.

§. III.

What reference these Egyptian matters might have to the imprisonment and enlargement of Manasses. *In what part of his reign* Manasses *was taken prisoner.*

WEre it certainly known, in what year of his reign *Manasses* was taken prisoner, and how long it was before he obtained liberty, I think wee should find these *Egyptian* troubles to have been no small occasion both of his captivity and enlargment: God so disposing of humane actions, that even they, who intended onely their own businesse, fulfilled onely his high pleasure. For either the civill Warres in *Egypt* that followed upon the death of *Sethon*, or the renting of the Kingdome, as it were, into twelve pieces, or the Warre betweene *Psammiticus* and his Collegues, or the expedition of *Psammiticus* into *Syria*, and the siege of *Azotus*, might minister unto the *Babylonian*, either such cause of hope to enlarge his Dominion in the South parts, or such necessity of sending an Armie into those parts, to defend his own, as would greatly tempt him to make sure worke with the King of *Juda*. The same occasion sufficed also, to procure the deliverie of *Manasses*, after he was taken. For he was taken (as *Josephus* hath it) by subtilty, not by open force, neither did they that apprehended him, winne his Countrey, but onely waste it. So that the *Jewes*, having learned wit by the ill successe of their folly, in redeeming *Amazia*, were like to be more circumspect, in making their bargain upon such another accident: and the *Babylonian* (to whom the *Egyptian* matters presented more weighty arguments of hope and feare, than the little Kingdome of *Juda* could afford) had no reason to spend his forces in pursuing a small conquest, but as full of difficulty as a greater, whereby he should compell his mightiest enemies to come to some good agreement; when by quiting his present advantage over the *Jewes*, he might make his way the fairer into *Egypt*.

Now concerning the year of *Manasses* his reign, wherein he was taken prisoner; or concerning his captivity it self, how long it lasted, the Scriptures are silent, and *Josephus* gives no information. Yet I find cited by *Torniellus* three opinions; the one of *Bellarmine*, who thinks that *Manasses* was taken in the fifteenth year of his reign; the other of the Author of the greater *Hebrew Chronologie*, who affirmes, that it was in his twenty seventh year; the third of *Rabbi Kimki* upon *Ezechiel*, who saith, that he was forty yeares an Idolater, and lived fifteen yeares after his repentance. The first of these conjectures is upheld by *Torniellus*, who rejects the second, as more unprobable, and condemns the third as most false. Yet the reasons alleged by *Torniellus* in defence of the first, and refutation of the last opinion, are such, as may rather prove him to favour the *Cardinall* as farre as he may, (for where need requires, hee doth freely dissent from him) than to have used his accustomed diligence in examining the matter,

before

before he gave his judgement. Two arguments he brings to maintain the opinion of *Bellarmine*: the one, that *Ammon* the son of *Manasses*, is said by *Josephus* to have followed the works of his fathers youth; the other, that had *Manasses* grown old in his sins, *it is like that hee should have continued, as hee did,* in his amendment unto the end of his life. Touching the former of these arguments, I see no reason why the sins of *Manasses* might not be distinguished from his repentance in his old age by calling them *works of his youth*, which appeared when he was twelve yeare old; though it were granted that he continued in them (according to that of *Rabbi Kimki*) untill he was but fifteen years from death. Touching the second; howsoever it be a fearfull thing, to cast off unto the last those good motions unto repentance, which we know not whether ever God will offer unto us again; yet were it a terrible hearing, That the sins which are not forsaken before the age of two and fifty years, shall be punished with finall impenitencie. But against these two collections of *Torniellus*, I will lay two places of Scripture, whence it may be inferred, as not unlikely, That *Manasses* continued longer in his wickednesse than *Bellarmine* hath intimated, if not as long as *Rabbi Kimki* hath affirmed. In the second book of *Kings*, the evill which *Manasses* did, is remembred at large, and his repentance utterly omitted; so that his amendment may seem to have taken up no great part of his life; the storie of him being thus concluded in the one and twentieth Chapter: *Concerning the rest of the Acts of* Manasses, *and all that he did, and his sin that he sinned, are they not written in the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of* Juda? The other place is in the four and twentieth Chapter of the same Book, where, in rehearsing the calamities with which that Nation was punished in the time of *Jehojakim*, the great Grand-child of this *Manasses*, it is said; *Surely by the commandement of the Lord came this upon* Juda, *that he might put them out of his sight, for the sins of* Manasses, *according to all that he did, and for the innocent bloud that he shed (for he filled* Jerusalem *with innocent bloud) therefore the Lord would not pardon it.* Who so considers well these places, may find small cause to pronounce it most false, That the repentance and amendment of *Manasses* was no earlier than fifteen years before his death; or most probable, That when he was twenty seven years old, he repented, and becomming a new man, lived in the fear of God forty years after. I will no longer dispute about this matter, seeing that the truth cannot be discovered. It sufficeth to say, that two years of civill dissention in *Egypt* fourteen or fifteen years following, wherein that Kingdome was weakned by partition of the Soveraignty: the warre of *Psammiticus* against his Associates: and four and twenty years of the nine and twenty, wherein the siege of *Azotus* continued, being all within the time of *Manasses*, did leave no one part of his reign (after the first fifteen years) free from the danger of being oppressed by the *Babylonian*, whose men of warre had continuall occasions of visiting his Countrey. All which I will adde hereto, is this; that the fifteenth of *Manasses* was the last year of *Sethon* in *Egypt*, and the one and thirtieth of *Merodach* his reign, or (accounting from the death of *Asarhaddon*) the twentieth: The seven and twentieth of *Manasses* was the tenth of the twelve Princes, and the three and fortieth of *Merodach*: his fortieth, was the twenty third of *Psammiticus*, and the fift of *Nabulassar*, the son of *Merodach*, in *Babylon*: but which of these was the year of his imprisonment, or whether any other, I forbear to shew mine opinion, lest I should thereby seem to draw all matters over-violently to mine own computation.

2 King. 21.17.

2 Kin. 24.3.4.

This was the first great mastrie that the *Babylonians* had of the kingdome of *Juda*. For though *Achaz* promised Tribute to *Salmanassar*, yet *Ezechias* never payed it. True it is, that he hoped to stay *Senacheribs* enterprise against him, by presenting him with three hundred talents of silver, and thirty of gold, besides the plate which covered the doores and pillars of the Temple.

2 King. 18.

But *Manasses* being pressed with great necessitie, could refuse no tolerable conditions, that the *Babylonian* would impose upon him; among which it seems, that this was one, (which was indeed a point of servitude) that he might not hold peace with the *Egyptians*, whilest they were enemies to *Babylon*. This appears not onely by his fortifiing with men of war all the strong Cities of *Juda* after his return (which was rather against *Psammiticus*, whose party he had forsaken, than against the *Babylonian*, with whom he had thenceforth no more controversie) but likewise by that opposition, which *Josias* made afterwards to *Pharao Neco*, in favour of *Nabulassar*, which had been against all reason

reason and policie, if it had not been his dutie by covenant. Of this I will speak more in convenient place.

§. IV.

Of the first and second Messenian *Wars, which were in the reigns of* Ezechia *and* Manasses, *Kings of* Juda.

NOw concerning such actions as were performe d abroad in the world, about these times of *Manasses*, the most remarkable were the *Messenian* Wars; which happened in this age, and being the greatest action performed in *Greece*, between the *Trojan* and *Persian* Wars, deserve not to be passed over with silence.

The first *Messenian* War began and ended in the daies of *Ezechia*; the second in the reign of *Manasses*: but to avoyd the trouble of interrupting our Historie, I have thought it best to rehearse them both in this place. Other introduction is needlesse, than to say, that the posteritie of *Hercules*, driving the issue of *Pelops* and the *Achæans* out of their seats, divided their lands between themselves, and erected the kingdomes of *Lacedæmon*, *Argos*, *Messene*, and *Corinth*; all which agreeing well together a while, did afterwards forget the bond of kindred, and sought one anothers ruine with bloudy wars; whereof these *Messenian* were the greatest.

The pretended grounds of the *Messenian* war are scarce worth remembrance, they were so slight. Ambition was the true cause of it: wherewith the *Lacedæmonians* were so transported, that any thing served them as a colour to accomplish their greedy desires. Yet other matter was alleged; namely, that one *Polychares* a *Messenian* had slain many *Lacedæmonians*, for which the Magistrates of *Sparta* desiring to have him yeelded into their hands, could not obtain it. The *Messenians* on the other side, excused *Polychares*, for that he was grown frantick, through injuries received from *Euaphnes* a *Lacedæmonian*. This *Euaphnes* had bargained to give pasture to the Cattell of *Polychares*, and was therefore to receive part of the increase: but not contented with the gain appointed, he sold the Cattell, and slaves that kept them, to Merchants; which done, he came with a fair tale to his friend, saying, that they were stollen. Whilst the lye was yet scarce out of his mouth, one of the slaves that had escaped from the Merchants came in with a true report of all. The *Lacedæmonian* being thus deprehended, confessed all, and promised large amends; which to receive he carried the son of *Polychares* home with him; but having him at home, he villanously slew him. Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians* having refused, after long sute made by the wretched Father, to do him right against this Theefe and Murderer, ought not to pick matter of quarrell out of those things which he did in that madnesse, whereinto they themselves had cast him. So said the *Messenians*, and further offered to put the matter to compromise, or to stand unto the judgement of the *Amphictyones*, who were as the generall Counsell of *Greece*, or to any other fair course. But the *Lacedæmonians*, who had a great desire to occupie the fair Countrie of *Messene*, that lay close by them, were not content with such allegations. They thought it enough to have some shew for their doings; which the better to colour, they reckoned up many old injuries, and so without sending any defiance, secretly took an oath to hold war with *Messene* till they had mastered it: which done, they seized upon *Amphia*, a frontier Town of that Province, wherein they put all to the Sword without mercy, very few escaped.

Hereupon the *Messenians* took Arms, and were met by the Enemy. A furious battell was fought between them, which ended not untill dark night, with uncertain victory. The *Messenians* did strongly encamp themselves; The *Lacedæmonians*, unable to force their Camp, returned home. This War began in the second year of the ninth *Olympiad*, and ended in the first of the fourteenth *Olympiad*, having lasted twenty years. The two enemy Nations tried the matter, for a while, with their proper forces; the *Lacedæmonians* wasting the inland parts of *Messene*, and the *Messenians*, the Sea-coast of *Laconia*. But it was not long ere friends, on both sides, were called in to help. The *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Sicyonians*, took part with *Messene*; the *Spartans* had, besides many Subjects of their own, aid from *Corinth*, and hired Souldiers out of *Crete*. So a second, third, and fourth battell were fought, with as great obstinacie as the first; saving that in the fourth battell the

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Lacedæmonians were enforced to turn their backs; in the other fights, the victory was still uncertain, though in one of them the *Messenians* lost *Euphaes* their King, in whose stead they chose *Aristodemus*.

Many years were spent ere all this bloud was shed; for pestilent diseases, and want of money to entertain Souldiers, caused the war to linger. And for the same reasons, did the *Messenians* forsake all their inland towns, excepting *Ithome*, which was a Mountain with a Town upon it, able to endure more than the enemies were likely to do. But, as some Authors tell us, the *Lacedæmonians* were so obstinate in this War, because of their vow, that having absented themselves ten years from *Sparta*, their wives sent them word, that their City would grow unpeopled, by reason that no children had been born them in all that time: Whereupon they sent back all their ablest young men, promiscuously to accompany the young women, who got so many of them with child, as they became a great part of their Nation, and were called *Parthenians*. *Diodorus* refers the begetting of these *Parthenians* to a former time. But in processe of this *Messenian* War, when the Devill in an Oracle had advised the *Messenians* to sacrifise a Virgin of the stock of * *Ægyptus*, that so they might be victorious against the *Lacedæmonians*; the lot falling upon the Daughter of one *Lyciscus*, *Epibolus* the Priest, willing to save her, said, shee was only a fostered child, and not born of the wife of *Lyciscus*: which answer giving delay to the execution of the Maid, *Lyciscus* secretly fled away with her into *Sparta*. Then *Aristodemus*, which afterwards was King, voluntarily offered his own Daughter: but a young Nobleman, being in love with the Maid, when otherwise he could not prevail, said openly that she was no Virgin, but that he had desloured her, and got her with child: whereupon the Father in a rage ripped up his innocent Daughters belly, to disprove the Lovers slander: at the grave of which Daughter of his, afterwards falling, by other superstitions, into dispair of prevailing against the *Lacedæmonians*, he slew himself, to the great hurt of his Countrey, which he loved most dearly. For after his death the *Messenians* lost their courage, and finding themselves distressed by many wants, especially of victuals, they craved peace, which they obtained with most rigorous conditions. Half the yearly fruits of their Land they were bound to send unto *Sparta*; and they, with their Wives, to make solemn lamentations at the death of every *Spartan* King; they were also sworn to live in true subjection to the *Lacedæmonians*; and part of their Territorie was taken from them, which was given to the *Asmæi*, and such as had followed the *Spartans* in this Warre.

Strab. l. 6.
Oros. l. 2. c. 21.
Diod. l. 15.

* This *Ægyptus* was the youngest son of *Cresphon* by *Merope*, the daughter of *Cypselus* King of *Arcadia*: of which *Cresphon* the chiefe Nobility of the *Messenians* was propagated.

This peace being made upon so uneven termes, was not like to hold long. Yet nine and thirty years it continued (the *Messenians* not finding how to help themselves) and then brake out into a new and more furious Warre than the former. The able young men, that were grown up in the room of those *Messenians* whom the former Warre had consumed, began to consider their own strength and multitude, thinking themselves equall to the *Lacedæmonians*, and therefore scorned to serve such Masters as had against all right, oppressed their Fathers. The chief of these was *Aristomenes*, a Noble Gentleman of the house of *Ægyptus*; who perceiving the uniform desires of his Countrie-men, adventured to become their Leader. He therefore sounding the affections of the *Argives* and *Arcadians*, which he found throughly answerable to his purpose, began open warre upon the State of *Lacedæmon*. This was in the fourth year of the three and twentieth *Olympiad*; when the *Lacedæmonians* hasted to quench the fire before it should grow too hot, with such forces as they could raise of their own, without troubling their friends, meaning to deal with their enemies, ere any succour were lent them. So a strong battell was fought between them, and a doubtfull; save that the *Messenians* were pleased with the issue, forasmuch as they had thereby taught their late proud Lords, to think them their equalls. Particularly, the valour of *Aristomenes* appeared such in this fight, that his people would have made him their King: but he, refusing the honour of that name, accepted of the burthen, and became their Generall. Within one year another battell was fought, whereunto each part came better provided. The *Lacedæmonians* brought with them the *Corinthians*, and some other friends to help: the *Messenians* had the *Argives*, *Arcadians*, and *Sicyonians*. This also was a long and bloudie fight; but *Aristomenes* did so behave himselfe, that finally he made the Enemies run for their lives. Of such importance was this victorie, that the *Lacedæmonians* began to bethink themselves of making some good agreement.

But one *Tyrtæus* an *Athenian* Poet, whom by appointment of an Oracle they had gotten to direct them, re-inforced their spirits with his Verses. After this, *Aristomenes* took by surprise a Town in *Laconia*, and vanquished in fight *Anaxander* King of *Sparta*, who did set upon him in hope to have recovered the bootie.

But all those victories of *Aristomenes* perished, in the losse of one battell, whereof the honour (if it were honour) or surely the profit, fell upon the *Lacedæmonians*, through the treason of *Aristocrates*, King of *Arcadia*, who being corrupted by the enemies with money, fled away, and left the *Messenians* exposed to a cruell butcherie. The losse was so great, that together with *Andania* their principall Citie, all the Towns of *Messene*, standing to farre from the Sea, were abandoned for lack of men to defend them, and the Mount *Era* fortified, whither the multitude, that could not be safe abroad, was conveyed into a place of safetie. Here the *Lacedæmonians* found a tedious work, that held them eleven years. For besides that *Era* it selfe was a strong piece, *Aristomenes* with three hundred stout Souldiers, did many incredible exploits, that wearied them, and hindred their attendance on the siege. He wasted all the fields of *Messene*, that were in the enemies power, and brake into *Laconia*, taking away Corn, Wine, Cattell, and all provisions, necessary for his own people; the Slaves and houshold stuffe hee changed into money, suffering the owners to redeem them. To remedy this mischief, the *Lacedæmonians* made an Edict, that neither *Messene*, nor the adjoyning parts of their own Countrey, should be tilled or husbanded; which bred a great tumult among private men, that were almost undone by it. Yet the Poet *Tyrtæus* appeased this uprore with pleasing Songs. But *Aristomenes* grew so bold, that he not only ranged over all the fields, but adventured upon the Towns, surprised, and sackt *Amyclæ*, and finally caused the enemies to encrease and strengthen their Companies; which done, there yet appeared no likelihood of taking *Era*.

In performing these and other services, thrice *Aristomenes* was taken prisoner; yet still he escaped. One escape of his deserves to be remembred, as a thing very strange and marvellous. He had with too much courage adventured to set upon both the Kings of *Sparta*; and being in that fight wounded, and felled to the ground, was taken up senseleſſe, and carried away prisoner, with fiftie of his Companions. There was a deep naturall Cave into which the *Spartans* used to cast head-long such as were condemned to dye for the greatest offences. To this punishment were *Aristomenes* and his companions adjudged. All the rest of these poor men dyed with their falls; *Aristomenes* (howsoever it came to passe) took no harm. Yet was it harm enough to be imprisoned in a deep Dungeon, among dead carcasses, where he was like to perish through hunger and stench. But after a while he perceived by some small glimmering of light (which perhaps came in at the top) a Fox that was gnawing upon a dead body. Hereupon he bethought himself, that this beast must needs know some way to enter the place and get out. For which cause he made shift to lay hold upon it, and catching it by the tail with one hand, saved himself from biting with the other hand, by thrusting his coat into the mouth of it. So letting it creep whither it would, he followed, holding it as his guide, untill the way was too strait for him; and then dismissed it. The Fox being loose, ran through an hole at which came in a little light; and there did *Aristomenes* delve so long with his nailes, that at last he clawed out his passage. When some fugitives of *Messene* brought word to *Sparta*, that *Aristomenes* was returned home, their tale sounded alike, as if they had said, that a dead man was revived. But when the *Corinthian* forces that came to help the *Lacedæmonians* in the siege of *Era*, were cut in pieces, their Captains slain, and their Camp taken; then was it easily believed, that *Aristomenes* was alive indeed.

Thus eleven years passed, whilest the enemies hovering about *Era*, saw no likelihood of getting it; and *Aristomenes* with small forces did them greater hurt than they knew how to requite. But at the last, a slave that had fled from *Sparta*, betrayed the place. This fellow had enticed to lewdnesse the wife of a *Messenian*, and was entertained by her, when her husband went forth to watch. It happened in a rainie-winter-night, that the husband came home unlooked for, whilest the Adulterer was within. The Woman hid her Paramour, and made good countenance to her husband, asking him by what good fortune hee was returned so soon. Hee told her, that the storm of foul weather was such, as had make all his fellows leave their Stations, and that himselfe had done as the

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reſt did; as for *Ariſtomenes*, he was wounded of late in fight, and could not look abroad; neither was it to be feared, that the enemies would ſtirre in ſuch a dark rainie night as this was. The ſlave that heard theſe tidings, roſe up ſecretly out of his lurking hole, and got him to the Lacedæmonian Camp with the newes. There he found *Emperamus* his Maſter commanding in the Kings abſence. To him he uttered all; and obtaining pardon for his running away, guided the Army into the Town. Little or nothing was done that night. For the Allarm was preſently taken; and the extreme darkneſſe, together with the noiſe of wind and rain, hindred all directions. All the next day was ſpent in moſt cruell fight; one part being incited by meer hope of ending a long work; the other enraged by meer deſperation. The great advantage that the *Spartans* had in numbers, was recompenced partly by the aſſiſtance which women and children (to whom the hatred of ſervitude had taught contempt of death) gave to their husbands and fathers; partly by the narrowneſſe of the ſtreetes and other paſſages, which admitted not many hands to fight at once. But the *Meſſenians* were in continuall toyl; their Enemies fought in courſe, refreſhing themſelves with meat and ſleep, and then returning ſupplyed the place of their wearie fellowes with freſh Companions. *Ariſtomenes* therefore, perceiving that his men for want of relief were no longer able to hold out, (as having been three dayes and three nights vexed with all miſeries, of labour, watchings, fighting, hunger and thirſt, beſides continuall rain and cold) gathered together all the weaker ſort, whom he compaſſed round with armed men, and ſo attempted to break out through the midſt of the Enemies. *Emperamus* Generall of the *Lacedæmonians* was glad of this: and to further their departure, cauſed his Souldiers to give an open way, leaving a fair paſſage to theſe deſperate mad-men. So they iſſued forth, and arrived ſafe in *Arcadia*, where they were moſt lovingly entertained.

Upon the firſt bruit of the taking of *Era*, the *Arcadians* had prepared themſelves to the reſcue: but *Ariſtocrates* their falſe-hearted King, ſaid it was too late, for that all was alreadie loſt. When *Ariſtomenes* had placed his followers in ſafetie, he choſe out five hundred the luſtieſt of his men, with whom he reſolved to march in all ſecret haſt unto *Sparta*, hoping to find the Town ſecure, and ill manned, the people being runne forth to the ſpoyl of *Meſſene*. In this enterpriſe, if he ſped well, it was not doubted, that the *Lacedæmonians* would be glad to recover their own, by reſtitution of that which they had taken from others; if all failed, an honourable death was the worſt that could happen. There were three hundred *Arcadians* that offered to joyn with him; but *Ariſtocrates* marred all, by ſending ſpeedie advertiſement thereof to *Anaxander* King of *Sparta*. The Epiſtle which *Anaxander* ſent back to *Ariſtocrates* was intercepted by ſome that miſtruſted him to whom it was directed. Therein was found all his falſhood, which being publiſhed in open aſſemblie, the *Arcadians* ſtoned him to death, and caſting forth his bodie unburied, erected a monument of his treachrie, with a note, That the Perjurer cannot deceive God.

Of *Ariſtomenes* no more is remaining to be ſaid, than that committing his people to the charge of his ſon *Gorgus* and other ſufficient Governors, who ſhould plant them in ſome new ſeat abroad, he reſolved himſelf to make aboad in thoſe parts, hoping to find the *Lacedæmonians* work at home. His daughters he beſtowed honourably in mariage. One of them *Demagetus*, who reigned in the Ile of *Rhodes*, took to wife, being willed by an Oracle, to marry the daughter of the beſt man in *Greece*. Finally, *Ariſtomenes* went with his daughter to *Rhodes*, whence he purpoſed to have travelled unto *Ardys* the Sonne of *Gyges* King of *Lydia*, and to *Phraortes* King of *Media*: but death prevented him at *Rhodes*, where he was honourably buried.

The *Meſſenians* were invited by *Anaxilas* (whoſe great Grandfather was a *Meſſenian*, and went into *Italie* after the former war) being Lord of the *Rhegians* in *Italie*, to take his part againſt the *Zancleans* in *Sicilie*, on the other ſide of the Streights. They did ſo; and winning the Town of *Zancle*, called it *Meſſene*, which name it keeps to this day.

This ſecond *Meſſenian* warre ended in the firſt yeare of the twentie eighth *Olympiad*. Long after which time, the reſt of that Nation, who ſtaying at home ſerved the *Lacedæmonians*, found meanes to rebell; but were ſoone vanquiſhed, and being driven to forſake *Peloponneſus*, they went into *Acarnania*; whence likewiſe, after few ages, they

were expelled by the *Lacedæmonians*, and then followed their ancient Countrie-men into *Italie* and *Sicilie*; some of them went into *Africa*, where they chose unto themselves a seat.

It is very strange, that during two hundred and fourscore years, this banished Nation retained their name, their ancient customes, language, hatred of *Sparta*, and love of their forsaken Country; with a desire to return unto it. In the third year of the hundred and second *Olympiad*, that great *Epaminondas*, having tamed the pride of the *Lacedæmonians*, revoked the *Messenians* home, who came flocking out of all quarters, where they dwelt abroad, into *Peloponnesus*. There did *Epaminondas* restore unto them their old possession, and help them in building a fair Citie; which by the name of the Province, was called *Messene*, and was held by them ever after, in despight of the *Lacedæmonians*, of whom they never from thenceforth stood in fear.

§. V.

Of the Kings that were in Lydia *and* Media, *while* Manasses *reigned. Whether* Deioces *the* Mede *were that* Arphaxad *which is mentioned in the Book of* Judith. *Of the historie of* Judith.

Ardys King of *Lydia*, and *Phraortes* of the *Medes*, are spoken of by *Pausanias*, as reigning shortly after the *Messenian* war. *Ardys* succeeding unto his father *Gyges*, began his reign of nine and fortie yeares, in the second of the five and twentieth *Olympiad*. He followed the steps of his father, who encroaching upon the *Ionians* in *Asia*, had taken *Colophon* by force, and attempted *Miletus* and *Smyrna*. In like maner *Ardys* wan *Priene*, and assailed *Miletus*; but went away without it. In his reign, the *Cimmerians*, being expelled out of their own countrie by the *Scythians*, over-ran a great part of *Asia*, which was not freed from them before the time of *Alyattes* this mans Grandchild, by whom they were driven out. They had not only broken into *Lydia*, but wan the Citie of *Sardes*; though the Castle or Citadell thereof was defended against them, and held still for King *Ardys*; whose long reign was unable, by reason of this great storm, to effect much.

Phraortes was not King untill the third year of the nine and twentieth *Olympiad*, which was six years after the *Messenian* war ended; the same being the last year of *Manasses* his reign over *Juda*.

Deioces the father of this *Phraortes*, was King of *Media*, three and fiftie of these five and fiftie yeares in which *Manasses* reigned. This *Deioces* was the first that ruled the *Medes* in a strict form, commanding more absolutely than his Predecessours had done. For they, following the example of *Arbaces*, had given to the people so much licence, as caused every one to desire the wholesome severitie of a more Lordly King. Herein *Deioces* answered their desires to the full. For he caused them to build for him a stately Palace; he took unto him a Guard, for defence of his person; he seldome gave presence; which also when he did, it was with such austeritie, that no man durst presume to spit or cough in his sight. By these and the like ceremonies he bred in the people an awfull regard, and highly upheld the Majestie which his predecessors had almost letten fall, through neglect of due comportments. In execution of his Royall Office, he did uprightly and severely administer justice, keeping secret spies to inform him of all that was done in the Kingdome. He cared not to enlarge the bounds of his Dominion, by encroaching upon others; but studied how to govern well his own. The difference found between this King, and such as were before him, seems to have bred that opinion which *Herodotus* delivers, that *Deioces* was the first who reigned in *Media*.

Herod. lib. 1.

This was he that built the great Citie of *Ecbatane*, which now is called *Tauris*; and therefore he should be that king *Arphaxad*, mentioned in the storie of *Judith*, as also *Ben Merodach* by the same account, should be *Nabuchodonosor* the *Assyrian*, by whom *Arphaxad* was slain, and *Holofernes* sent to work wonders upon *Phul* and *Lud*, and I know not what other Countries. For I reckon the last yeare of *Deioces* to have been the nineteenth of *Ben Merodach*; though others place it otherwise, some earlier, in the time of *Merodach Baladan*, some later, in the reign of *Nabulassar*, who is also called *Nabuchodonosor*.

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In fitting this book of *Judith* to a certain time, there hath much labour been spent with ill succesſe. The reigns of *Cambyſes*, *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, *Xerxes*, and *Ochus*, have been ſought into, but afford no great matter of likelyhood: and now of late, the times foregoing the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, have been thought upon, and this age that we have in hand, choſen by *Bellarmine*, as agreeing beſt with the ſtorie; though others herein cannot (I ſpeak of ſuch as fain would) agree with him. Whilſt *Cambyſes* reigned, the Temple was not re-built, which in the ſtory of *Judith* is found ſtanding and dedicated. The other two *Perſian* Kings, *Darius* and *Xerxes*, are acknowledged to have been very favourable to the *Jews*; therefore neither of them could be *Nabuchodonoſor*, whoſe part they refuſed to take, and who ſent to deſtroy them. Yet the time of *Xerxes* hath ſome conveniences, aptly fitting this Hiſtory; and above all, the opinion of a few ancient Writers (without whoſe judgement the authority of this Book were of no value) having placed this argument in the *Perſian* Monarchie, inclines the matter to the reign of this vain-glorious King. As for *Ochus*, very few, and they faintly, entitle him to the buſineſſe. Manifeſt it is, and granted, that in the time of this Hiſtory, there muſt be a return from captivitie lately foregoing; the Temple rebuilt; *Joachim* High Prieſt; and a long peace of threeſcore and ten years, or thereabout, enſuing. All theſe were to be among the Jews. Likewiſe on the other ſide, we muſt find a King that reigned in *Nineve*, eighteen years at the leaſt; that vanquiſhed and ſlew a King of the *Medes*; one whom the *Jews* refuſed to aſſiſt; one that ſought generally to be adored as God, and that therefore commanded all temples, of ſuch ſuch as were accounted gods, to be deſtroyed; one whoſe Vice-roy or Captain Generall knew not the Jewiſh Nation, but was fain to learn what they were of the bordering people.

Of all theſe circumſtances; the Prieſthood of *Joachim*, with a return from captivitie, are found concurring, with either the time of *Manaſſes* before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, or of *Xerxes* afterward: the re-building of the Temple a while before, and the long peace following, agree with the reign of *Xerxes*; the reſt of circumſtances requiſite, are to be found all together, neither before nor after the captivitie of the *Jews*, and deſolation of the Citie. Wherefore the brief deciſion of this controverſie is, *That the book of* Judith *is not Canonicall*. Yet hath *Torniellus* done as much, in fitting all to the time of *Xerxes*, as was poſſible in ſo deſperate a caſe. For he ſuppoſeth, that under *Xerxes* there were other Kings, among which *Arphaxad* might be one (who perhaps reſtored and re-edified the Citie of *Ecbatane*, that had formerly been built by *Deioces*) and *Nabuchodonoſor* might be another. This granted, he addes, that from the twelfth year to the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonoſor*, that is, five or ſix years, the abſence and ill fortune of *Xerxes* in his *Grecian* expedition (which he ſuppoſeth to have been ſo long) might give occaſion unto *Arphaxad*, of rebelling: and that *Nabuchodonoſor*, having vanquiſhed and ſlain *Arphaxad*, might then ſeek to make himſelf Lord of all, by the Armie which he ſent forth unto *Holofernes*. So ſhould the *Jews* have done their dutie, in adhering to *Xerxes* their Soverain Lord, and reſiſting one that rebelled againſt him; as alſo the other circumſtances rehearſed before, be well applied to the argument. For in theſe times, the affairs of *Furie* were agreeable to the Hiſtory of *Judith*, and ſuch a King as this ſuppoſed *Nabuchodonoſor*, might well enough be ignorant of the *Jews*, and as proud as we ſhall need to think him. But the ſilence of all Hiſtories, takes away belief from this conjecture: and the ſuppoſition it ſelf is very hard, that a Rebell, whoſe King was abroad, with an Armie conſiſting of ſeventeen hundred thouſand men, ſhould preſume ſo far, upon the ſtrength of twelve hundred thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand Archers on horſe-back, as to think that he might doe what he liſt, yea that there was none other God than himſelf. It is indeed eaſie to find enough that might be ſaid againſt this device of *Torniellus*: yet if there were any neceſſitie of holding the book of *Judith* to be Canonicall, I would rather chooſe to lay aſide all regard of prophane Hiſtories, and build ſome defence upon this ground; than, by following the opinion of any other, to violate, as they all doe, the text it ſelf. That *Judith* lived under none of the *Perſian* Kings, *Bellarmine* (whoſe works I have not read, but find him cited by *Torniellus*) hath proved by many arguments. That ſhe lived not in the Reign of *Manaſſes*, *Torniellus* hath proved very ſubſtantially, ſhewing how the Cardinall is driven, as it were to break through a wall, in ſaying that the text was corrupted, where it ſpake of the deſtruction of the Temple foregoing her time, that the Kings *Arphaxad* and *Nabuchodonoſor*,

chodonosor, found out by *Torniellus*, are the children of meer fantasie, it is so plain that it needs no proof at all. Wherefore we may truly say, that they, which have contended about the time of this Historie, being well furnished of matter, wherewith to confute each other, but wanting wherewith to defend themselves (like naked men in a stonie field) have chased *Holofernes* out of all parts of time, and left him and his great expedition, *Extra anni solisque vias*, in an age that never was, and in places that were never known.

Judit. 2. 23. & 25. Surely, to find out *the borders of* Japheth, *which were toward the South, and over against* Arabia; or the Countries of *Phul* and *Lud*, that lay in *Holofernes* his way; I think it would as much trouble Cosmographers, as the former question hath done Chronologers. But I will not busie my self herewith; having already so far digressed, in shewing who lived not with *Manasses*, that I think it high time to return unto mine own work, and rehearse what others I find, to have had their part, in the long time of his Reign.

§. VI.

Of other Princes and actions that were in these times.

THe first year of *Manasses* was the last *Romulus*; after whose doth, one year the *Romans* wanted a King. Then was *Numa Pompilius* a *Sabyne* chosen, a peaceable man, and seeming very religious in his kind. He brought the rude people, which *Romulus* had employed only in Wars, to some good civilitie, and a more orderly fashion of life. This he effected by filling their heads with superstition; as perswading them, that he had familiaritie with a Nymph called *Egeria*, who taught him a many of Ceremonies which he delivered unto the *Romans* as things of great importance. But all these devices of *Numa* were, in his own judgement, no better than meer delusions, that served only as rudiments to bring the savage multitude of theeves and out-laws, gathered into one body by *Romulus*, to some form of milder discipline, than their boysterous and wild natures were otherwise apt to entertain. This appeared by the Books that were found in his grave, almost six hundred years after his death, wherein the Superstition taught by himself was condemned as vain. His grave was opened by chance, in digging a piece of ground that belonged to one *L. Petilius* a Scribe. Two Coffins or Chests of stone were in it, with an inscription in Greek and Latine letters, which said, that *Numa Pompilius*, the son of *Pompo*, King of the *Romans*, lay there. In the one Coffin was nothing found; his body being utterly consumed. In the other were his Books, wrapped up in two bundles of wax; of his own constitutions seven, and other seven of Philosophie. They were not only uncorrupted, but in a manner fresh and new. The Pretour of the Citie desiring to have a sight of these Books, when he perceived whereunto they tended, refused to deliver them back to the owner, and offered to take a solemn oath that they were against the Religion then in use. Hereupon the Senate, without more adoe, commanded them to be openly burnt. It seems that *Numa* did mean to acquit himself unto wiser ages, which he thought would follow, as one that had not been so foolish as to beleeve the Doctrine wherein he instructed his own barbarous times. But the poyson wherewith he had infected *Rome*, when he sate in his Throne, had not left working, when he ministred the Antidote out of his grave. Had these Books not come to light, untill the days of *Tully* and *Cæsar*, when the mist of ignorance was somewhat better discussed; likely it is that they had not only escaped the fire, but wrought some good (and peradventure generall) effect. Being as it was, they served as a confutation, without remedie, of Idolatrie that was inveterate.

Numa reigned three and fortie years in continuall peace. After him *Tullus Hostilius* the third King was chosen, in the six and fourtieth of *Manasses*, and reigned two and thirtie years, busied, for the most part, in War. He quarrelled with the *Albanes*, who met him in the field; but in regard of the danger, which both parts had cause to fear, that might grow unto them from the *Thuscanes*, caused them to bethink themselves of a course, whereby without effusion of so much bloud, as might make them too weak for a common enemie, it might be decided, who should command, and who obey.

There

There were in each Camp three Brethren, Twins, born at one birth (*Dionyſius* ſayes that they were Couſin Germans) of equall years and ſtrength, who were appointed to fight for their ſeverall Countries. The end was, that the *Horatii*, Champions for the *Romans*, got the victory, though two of them firſt loſt their lives. The three *Curatii* that fought for *Alba* (as *Livie* tels it) were all alive, and able to fight, yet wounded, when two of their oppoſites were ſlain; but the third *Horatius*, pretending fear, did run away, and thereby drew the others, who by reaſon of their hurts, could not follow him with equall ſpeed, to follow him at ſuch diſtance one from another, that returning upon them, he ſlew them, as it had been in ſingle fight, man after man, ere they could joyn together and ſet upon him all at once. *Dionyſius* reports it ſomewhat otherwiſe, telling very particularly, what wounds were given and taken, and ſaying, that firſt one of the *Horatii* was ſlain, then one of the *Curatii*, then a ſecond *Horatius*, and laſtly the two *Curatii*, whom the third *Horatius* did cunningly ſever the one from the other, as is ſhewed before.

This is one of the moſt memorable things in the old *Roman* Hiſtorie, both in regard of the action it ſelf, wherein *Rome* was laid, as it were, in a wager, againſt *Alba*; and in reſpect of the great increaſe which thereby the *Roman* State obtained. For the Citie of *Alba* did immediatly become ſubject unto her own Colonie, and was ſhortly after, upon ſome treacherous dealing of their Governour, utterly razed, the people being removed unto *Rome* where they were made Citizens. The ſtrong Nation of the *Latines*, whereof *Alba*, as the mother Citie, had been chief, became ere long dependent upon *Rome*, though not ſubject unto it, and divers pettie States adjacent, were by little and little taken in: which additions, that were ſmall, yet many, I will forbear to rehearſe (as being the works of ſundry ages, and few of them remarkeable conſidered apart by themſelves) untill ſuch time as this fourth Empire, that is now in the infancie, ſhall grow to be the main ſubject of this Hiſtory.

The ſeventh year of *Hippomenes* in *Athens*, was current with the firſt of *Manaſſes*. Alſo the three laſt Governous for ten years, who followed *Hippomenes*, were in the ſame Kings time. Of theſe I find only names, *Leocrates*, *Abſander*, and *Erizias*. After *Erizias* yearly Rulers were elected.

Theſe Governours for ten years were alſo of the race of *Medon* and *Codrus*, but their time of rule was ſhortned, and from term of life reduced unto ten years, it being thought likely that they would govern the better, when they knew that they were afterwards to live private men under the command of others. I follow *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, in applying their times unto thoſe years of the *Olympiads*, wherein the Chronologicall Table, following this work, doth ſet them. For he not only profeſſeth himſelf to have taken great care in ordering the reckoning of times; but hath noted always the years of the *Greeks*, how they did anſwer unto the things of *Rome*, throughout all the continuance of this Hiſtorie. Whereas therefore he placeth the building of *Rome*, in the firſt year of the ſeventh *Olympiad*, and affirms, that the ſame was the firſt year of *Charops* government of *Athens*; I hope I ſhall not need excuſe, for varying from *Pauſanias*, who ſets the beginning of theſe *Athenians* ſomewhat ſooner. *Dion. Halic. l. 1. fol. 43. & 45.*

In the reign of *Manaſſes* it was, that *Midas* whom the Poets feigned to have had Aſſes ears, held the kingdome of *Phrygia*. Many fables were deviſed of him; eſpecially that he obtained of *Bacchus*, as a great gift, that all things which he ſhould touch might immediatly be changed into Gold: by which means he had like to have been ſtarved (his meat and drink being ſubject to the ſame transformation) had not *Bacchus* delivered him from this miſerable facultie, by cauſing him to waſh himſelf in the River *Pactolus*, the ſtream whereof hath ever ſince, forſooth, abounded in that precious metall. Finally, it is ſaid he dyed by drinking Buls bloud; being invaded by the *Scythians*.

In this age flouriſhed that *Antimachus*, who (ſaith *Plutarch* in the life of *Romulus*) obſerved the Moons Eclipſe at the foundation of *Rome*.

The *Mileſians*, or, (as *Euſebius* hath it) the *Athenians* having obtained ſome power by Sea, founded *Macicratis* a Citie on the Eaſt of *Egypt*. *Pſammiticus* herein ſeems to have aſſiſted them, who uſed all means of drawing the *Greeks* into *Egypt*, accounting them his ſureſt ſtrength. For neither *Miletus* nor *Athens* were now of power ſufficient to plant a Colonie in *Egypt* by force.

About

Plut. & Eusil. About this time *Archias* with his companion *Miscellus*, and other *Corinthians*, founded *Syracusæ* in *Sicilie*, a Citie in after times exceeding famous.

*Whence in *Strabo* there is *finus Asticensis* a part of *Propontis* where this Citie standeth. The Citie of *Nicodemia*, sometime * *Astacus*, was enlarged and beautified in this age by *Zipartes* native of *Thrace*. *Sybilla* of *Samus*, according to *Pausanias*, lived much about this time.

Paus. l. 5. Hal. l. 3. Strab. l. 6. Justin. l. 3. Paus. l. 10. About these times also was *Croton* founded upon the Bay of *Tarentum* by *Miscellus*, the companion of *Archias* that built *Syracusæ*. *Strabo* makes it somewhat more ancient, and so doth *Pausanias*.

About the same time the *Parthenians* being of age, and banished *Lacedæmon*, were conducted by *Phalantus* into *Italie*, where it is said they founded *Tarentum*: but *Justine* and *Pausanias* find it built before, and by them conquered and amplified: and about the same time, *Manasse* yet living, the Citie *Phaselis* was founded in *Pamphylia*, *Gela* in *Sicilie*, *Interamne* in the Region of the *Umbrii*, now *Urbin* in *Italie*. About which time also *Chalcedon* in *Asia*, over against *Byzantium* (now *Constantinople*) was founded by the *Megarenses*, who therefore were upbraided as blind, because they chose not the other side of *Bosphorus*. It were a long work to rehearse all that is said to have bin done in the five and fiftie years of *Manasses*: that which already hath been told is enough; the rest being not greatly worth remembrance, may well be omitted, reserving only *Ben Merodach*, and *Nabulassar*, to the businesse that will shortly require more mention of them.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the times from the death of Manasses *to the destruction of* Jerusalem.

§. I.

Of Ammon *and* Josias.

2 Kin. 21. 2 Chron. 33. AMmon the son of *Manasse*, a man no lesse wicked than was his Father before his conversion, restored the exercise of all sorts of Idolatrie: for which God hardned the hearts of his own servants against him, who slew him after he had reigned two years. *Philo*, *Eusebius*, and *Nicephorus* give him ten years, following the Septuagint.

2 Kin. 22. 2 Chron. 34. *Josias* succeeded unto *Ammon*, being but a child of 8. years old, he began to seek after the God of *David* his Father; and in his twelfth year he purged *Juda* and *Jerusalem from the high places, and the groves, and the carved and molten Images: and they brake down in his sight the Altars of* Baalim: He caused all the Images, as well those which were graven, as molten, to be stampt to powder, and strewed on their graves that had erected them; and this he commanded to be done throughout all his dominions. He also slew those that sacrifised to the Sun and Moon, and caused the Chariots and horses of the Sun to be burnt. Of *Josias* it was prophesied in the time of *Jeroboam* the first, when he erected the Golden Calf at *Bethel*, *1 Kin. 13.* that a child should be born unto the house of *David*, *Josias* by name, and upon thee (said the Prophet, speaking to the Altar) shall he sacrifise the Priests of the high places, that burn incense upon thee: a prophecie very remarkeable.

In the eighteenth year of his reign, he re-built and repaired the Temple, at which time *Helkiah* the Priest found the Book of *Moses*, called *Deutronomie*, or, of the Law, which he sent to the King: which when he had caused to be read before him, and considered of the severe commandements therein written, the prosperitie promised to those that observe them, and the sorrow and extirpation to the rest, he rent his garments, and commanded *Helkiah*, and others, to aske counsell of the Propheteſſe *Huldah*, or, *Olda*, *2 Chron. 34. 24* concerning the Book; who answered the messengers in these words: *Thus saith the Lord; Behold, I will bring evill upon this place, and upon the inhabitants therof, even all the curses that are written in the Book which they have read before the King of* Juda, *because they have forsaken*

forsaken mee, and burnt incense to other gods. Only for the King himself, because he was a lover of God and his Lawes, it was promised that this evill should not fall on *Juda* and Jerusalem in his dayes, but that he himself should inherit his grave in peace. 2 Kin. 22. 15. 2 Chron. 34.

Josias assembled the Elders, caused the Book to be read unto them, made a covenant with the Lord, and caused all that were found in *Jerusalem* and *Benjamin* to doe the like, promising thereby to observe the Lawes and Commandements in the Book contained.

The execution done by *Josias* upon the Altar, idols, monuments, and bones of the false Prophets at *Bethel*, argueth his Dominion to have extended unto those Countries, that had been part of the Kingdome of the ten Tribes. Yet I doe not think, that any victory of *Josias* in war got possession of these places; but rather that *Ezechias*, after the flight & death of *Sennacherib*, when *Merodach* opposed himself against *Asarhaddon*, did use the advantage which the faction in the North presented unto him, and laid hold upon so much of the Kingdome of *Israel*, as he was able to people. Otherwise also it is not improbable, that the *Babylonian* finding himself unable to deal with *Psammiticus* in *Syria* (as wanting power to raise the siege of *Azotus*, though the Town held out nine & twenty years) did give unto *Manasses*, together with his liberty, as much in *Israel* as himself could not easily defend. This was a good way to break the amity that the Kings of *Juda* had so long held with those of *Egypt*, by casting a bone between them, & withall by this benefit of enlarging their Territories with addition of more than they could challenge, to redeem the friendship of the Jewes, which had been lost by injuries done, in seeking to bereave them of their own. When it is said, that *Manasses* did after his deliverance from imprisonment, *put Captaines of War in all the strong Cities of* Juda; it may be that some such businesse is intimated, as the taking possession, and fortifying of places delivered into his hands. For though it be manifest that he took much paines, in making *Jerusalem* it self more defensible; yet I should rather beleeve, that he, having already compounded with the *Babylonian*, did fortifie himse lf against the *Egyptians*, whose side he had forsaken, than that he travelled in making such provisions only for his mindes sake. The earnestnesse of *Josias* in the King of *Babel* his quarrell, doth argue, that the composition which *Manasses* had made with that King or his Ancestor, was upon such friendly termes, as required not onely a faithfull observation, but a thankfull requitall. For no perswasions could suffice to make *Josias* sit still, and hold himself quiet in good neutrality, when *Pharao Necho* King of *Egypt* passed along by him, to war upon the Countries about the River of *Euphrates*. 2 Chron. 33. 14

The last yeer of *Josias* his reign it was, when as *Necho* the son of *Psammiticus*, came with a powerfull Army towards the border of *Judæa*, determining to passe that way, being the nearest toward *Euphrates*, either to strengthen the passages of that River about *Carchemish*, or *Cercusium*, for the defence of *Syria* (as long after this, *Diocletian* is said by *Ammianus Marcellinus* to have done,) or perhaps to invade *Syria* it self. For it seemeth that the travail of *Psammiticus* had not been idlely consumed about that one Town of *Azotus*, but had put the *Egyptians* in possession of no small part of *Syria*, especially in those quarters that had formerly belonged unto the *Adades* Kings of *Damasco*. 2 Chron. 35. 20

Neither was the industry of *Necho* lesse than his Fathers had bin, in pursuing the war against *Babel*. In which warre, two things may greatly have availed the *Egyptians*, and advanced their affaires and hopes: the extraordinary valour of the mercenary *Greekes*, that were far better Souldiers than *Egypt* of it self could afford; & the danger wherein *Assyria* stood, by the force of the *Medes*, which under the command of more absolute Princes, began to feel it self better, and to shew what it could doe. These were great helpes, but of shorter endurance than was the warre; as in place more convenient shall be noted. At the present it seems, that either some preparation of the *Chaldæans* to reconquer, did enforce, or some disability of theirs to make resistance, did invite the King of *Egypt* into the Countries bordering upon *Euphrates*; whither *Pharao Necho* ascended with a mighty Army.

These two great Monarchs, having their swords drawn, and contending for the Empire of that part of the World, *Josias* advised with himself to which of these he might adhere, having his Territory set in the mid-way between both, so as the one could not invade the other, but that they must of necessity tread upon the very face and body of his Country. Now though it were so that *Necho* himselfe desired, by his Embassadours, leave

leave to passe along by *Judæa*, protesting that he directed himself against the *Assyrians*
2 Chron. 35. only, without all harmefull purpose against *Josias*; yet all sufficed not, but the King of *Israel* would needs fight with him.

Many examples there were, which taught, what little good the friendship of *Egypt* could bring to those that had affiance therein: as that of *Hosea* the last King of *Israel*, who when he fell from the dependance of the *Assyrian*, and wholly trusted to *Sabacus* or *Sous* King of *Egypt*, was utterly disappointed of his hopes, and in conclusion lost both his life and estate, which the *Assyrian* so rooted up and tare in pieces, as it could never after be gathered together or replanted. The calamities also that fel upon *Juda* in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of *Ezechia*, whilest that good king and his people relied upon *Sethon*; and more lately, the imprisonment of *Manasses*, were documents of suffi- 10
cient proof, to shew the ill assurance that was in the help of the *Egyptians*, who (near neighbors though they were) were alwaies unreadie, when the necessities of their friends required their assistance. The remembrance hereof might be the reason why *Neco* did not seek to have the Jewes renew their ancient league with him, but only craved that they would be contented to sit still, and behold the pastime between him and the *Assyrians*. This was an easie thing to grant; seeing that the countenance of such an Armie, as did, soon after this, out-face *Nabulassar* upon his own borders, left unto the *Jewes*, a lawfull excuse of fear, had they forborn to give it any check upon the way. Wherefore I beleeve that this religious and vertuous Prince *Josias*, was not stirred up only by politick respects, to stop the way of *Neco*; but thought himself bound in faith and honor, 20
to doe his best in defence of the *Babylonian* Crown; whereunto his Kingdome was obliged, either by covenant made at the enlargement of *Manasses*, or by the gift of such part as he held in the Kingdome of the ten Tribes. As for the Princes and people of *Juda*, they had now a good occasion to shew, both unto the *Babylonians*, of what importance their friendship was, and to the *Egyptians* what a valiant Nation they had abandoned, and thereby made their enemie.

Some think that this action of *Josias* was contrary to the advice of *Jeremy* the Prophet; which I doe not find in the Prophecie of *Jeremie*, nor can find reason to beleeve. Others hold opinion that he forgat to ask the counsell of God: and this is very likely; seeing he 30
might beleeve that an enterprise grounded upon fidelitie and thankfulness due to the King of *Babel*, could not but be displeasing unto the Lord. But the wickedness of the people (in whom the corruptions of former times had taken such root, as all the care of *Josias* in reforming the Land, could not pluck up) was questionlesse far from hearkening how the matter would stand with Gods pleasure, and much farther from enquiring into his secret will, wherin it was determined that their good king, whose life stood between them and their punishment, should now be taken from among them, and that in such sort, as his death should give an entrance to the miseries ensuing. So *Josias* levying all the strength he could make, near unto *Megiddo*, in the half Tribe of *Manasses*, encountred *Neco*: and there he received the stroak of death, which lingring about him till he came to *Jerusalem*, brought him to the Sepulchres of his Ancestors. His losse was greatly bewailed of all 40
Lam. 4. 20. the people and Princes of *Juda*, especially of *Jeremie* the Prophet, who inserted a sorrowfull remembrance thereof in his Book of Lamentations.

§. II.

Of Pharao Neco *that fought with* Josias: *Of* Jehoahaz *and* Jehojakim *Kings of* Israel.

OF these warres, and particularly of this victorie, *Herodotus* hath mention among the acts of *Neco*. He tels us of this King, that he went about to make a channell, 50
whereby Ships might passe out of *Nilus* into the Red Sea. It should have reached above an hundred miles in length, and been wide enough for two Gallies to row in front. But in the middest of the work, an Oracle foretold that the *Barbarians* should have the benefit of it, which caused *Neco* to desist when half was done. There were consumed in this toylesome businesse twelve hundred thousand *Egyptians*; a losse great enough to make the King forsake his enterprise, without troubling the Oracle for admonition. Howsoever it were, he was not a man to be idle; therefore he built a Fleet,

and

and levied a great Armie, wherewith he marched against the King of *Babel*. In this expedition, he used the service, as well of his Navie, as of his land-forces; but no particular exploits of his therein are found recorded, save only this victory against *Josias*, where *Herodotus* calls the place *Magdolus*, and the *Jewes Syrians*; which is a small error, seeing that *Judæa* was a Province of *Syria*, and *Magdolus* or *Magdala* is taken to have been the same place (though diversly named) in which this battell was fought. After this, *Necus* took the Citie of *Cadytis*, which was perhaps *Charchemish*, by *Euphrates*, and made himself Lord, in a manner, of all *Syria*, as *Josephus* witnesseth. *Joseph. Ant. Jud. lib. 10. cap. 7.*

Particularly we find, that the *Phœnicians*, one of the most powerfull Nations in *Syria*, were his Subjects, and that by his command they surrounded all *Africa*, setting sail from the gulfe of *Arabia*, and so passing along all the coast, whereon they both landed, as need required, and sowed corn for their sustenance in that long voyage, which lasted three years. This was the first Navigation about *Africa*, wherein that great Cape, now called *Of good hope*, was discovered; which after was forgotten, until *Vasco de Gama* the *Portingall* found it out, following a contrary course to that which the *Phœnicians* held; for they, beginning in the East, ran the way of the Sun, South and then Westward, after which they returned home by the pillars and streights of *Hercules* (as the name was then) called now the streights of *Gibraltar*, having *Africk* still on the right hand; but the *Portingals*, beginning their voyage not far from the same streights, leave *Africk* on the Larboord, and bend their course unto the East. That report of the *Phœnicians*, which *Herodotus* durst not believe, how the Sun in this journey was on their right hand, that is, on the North side of them, is a matter of necessary truth; and the observation then made hereof, makes me the better to believe, that such a voyage was indeed performed. But leaving these discourses of *Neco* his magnificence, let us tell what he did, in matters more importing his estate. The people of *Juda*, while the *Egyptians* were busie at *Charchemish*, had made *Jehoahaz* their King, in the room of his father *Josias*. The Prophet *Jeremie* calls this new King *Shallum*, by the name of his younger brother; alluding perhaps to the short reign of *Shallum* King of the ten Tribes: for *Shallum* of *Israel* reigned but one moneth; *Jehoahaz* no more than three. He was not the eldest son of *Josias*: Wherefore it may seem that he was set up as the best affected unto the King of *Babel*; the rest of his house being more inclined to the *Egyptian*, as appears by the sequel. An Idolater he was, and thrived accordingly. For when as *Neco* had dispatched his businesse in the North parts of *Syria*, then did he take order for the affairs of *Judæa*. This Countrie was now so far from making any resistance, that the King himself came from *Riblah* in the land of *Hamath*, where the matter went so ill on his side, that *Neco* did cast him into bonds, and carry him prisoner into *Egypt*, giving away his Kingdome to *Eliakim* his elder brother, to whom of right it did belong. The Citie of *Riblah*, in after times called *Antiochia*, was a place unhappy to the Kings and Princes of *Juda*, as may be observed in divers examples. Yet here *Jehojakim*, together with his new name, got his Kingdome; an ill gain, since he could no better use it. But how-ever *Jehojakim* thrived by the bargain, *Pharao* sped well, making that Kingdome Tributarie, without any stroke stricken; which three moneths before was too stout to give him peace, when he desired it. Certain it is, that in his march outward, *Neco* had a greater task lying upon his hands, than would permit him to wast his forces upon *Judea*: but now the reputation of his good successe at *Megiddo*, and *Charchemish*, together with the dissention of the Princes *Josias* his sons (of whom the eldest is probably thought to have stormed at the preferment of his younger brother) gave him power to do even what should please himself. Yet he did forbear to make a conquest of the Land, perhaps upon the same reason, which had made him so earnest in seeking to hold peace with it. For the *Jewes* had suffered much in the *Egyptians* quarrell, and being left by these their friends, in time of need, unto all extremities, were driven of necessity to forsake that partie, and to joyn with the enamies; to whom if they shewed themselves faithfull, who could blame them? It was therefore enough to recleaim them; seeing they were such a people as would not upon every occasion shift side, but endure more than *Pharao*, in the pride of his victories, thought that any henceforth should lay upon them: so good a Patron did he mean to be unto them. Nevertheless, he laid upon them a Tribute, of an hundred Talents of silver, and one Talent of gold; that so he might both reap at the present some fruit of his pains taken, and leave unto them some document in the future, of *Jer. 22. 32.* *2 Kin. 34. 32.*

greater

greater punishment than verball anger, due to them, if they should rebell. So he departed, carrying along with him into *Egypt* the unfortunate King *Joahaz*, who died in his Captivitie.

The reign of *Jehoahaz* was included in the end of his Fathers last year; otherwise it would hardly be found, that *Jehojakim* his successor did reign ten whole years; whereas the Scriptures give him eleven, that are current and incomplete. If any man will rather cast the three moneths of this short reign, into the first year of the brother, than into the fathers last, the same arguments that shall maintain his opinion, will also prove the matter to be unworthy of disputation; and so I leave it.

Jehojakim in impietie was like his brother, in faction he was altogether *Egyptian*, as having received his Crown at the hand of *Pharao*. The wickednesse of these last Kings, being expressed in Scriptures none otherwise, than by generall words, with reference to all the evill that their Fathers had done, makes it apparent, that the poyson wherewith *Ahaz* and *Manasses* had infected the Land, was not so expelled by the zealous goodnesse of *Josias*, but that it still cleaved unto the chief of the people, *Yea, unto the Priests also*; and therefore it was not strange, that the Kings had their parts therein. The Royall authoritie was much abased by the dangers wherein the Countrey stood, in this troublesome ahe: the Princes did in a manner what they listed; neither would the Kings forbear to professe, that they could deny them nothing. Yet the beginning of *Jehojakim* had the countenance of the *Egyptian* to grace it, which made him insolent and cruell; as we find by that example of his dealing with *Uria* the Prophet: though herein also the Princes do appear to have been instigators. This holy man denounced Gods judgements against the Citie and Temple, in like sort as other Prophets had formerly done, and did in the same age. The King with all the men of power, and all the Princes, hearing of this, determined to put him to death. Hereupon the poor man fled into *Egypt*: but such regard was had unto *Jehojakim*, that *Uria* was delivered unto his Embassadour, and sent back to the death; contrary to the custome used, both in those dayes, and since among all civill Nations, of giving refuge unto strangers, that are not held guilty of such inhumane crimes, as for the generall good of mankind should be exempted from all privilege.

2 Chron. 36. 14.

It concerned *Pharao* to give all contentment possible to *Jehojakim*: for the *Assyrian* Lyon, that had not stirred in many years, began about these times to roar so loud upon the banks of *Euphrates*, that his voice was heard unto *Nilus*, threatning to make himself Lord of all the Forrest. The causes that hitherto had withdrawn the house of *Merodach* from opposing the *Egyptian* in his conquest of *Syria*, require our consideration in this place, before we proceed to commit them together at *Carchemish*, where shortly after this the glory of *Egypt* is to fall.

§. III.

Of the Kings of Babylon *and* Media. *How it came to passe that the Kings of* Babel *could not give attendance on their businesse in* Syria; *which caused them to lose that Province.*

Merodach the son of *Baladan*, who taking the advantage that *Senacheribs* misadventure and death, together with the dissention between his children, presented, made himself King of *Babylon*, was eleven years troubled with a powerfull Enemie, *Asarhaddon* the son of *Senacherib*, reigning over the *Assyrians* in *Nineve*; from whom whilest he could not any other way divert his cares, hee was fain to omit all businesse in *Syria*, and (as hath been formerly shewed) to make over unto *Ezechia* some part of the Kingdome of the ten Tribes. From this molestation, the death of *Asarhaddon* did not only set him free, but gave unto him some part of *Assyria*, if not (as is commonly, but lesse probably thought) the whole Kingdome. How greatly this was to the liking of the *Assyrians*, I will not here stand to enquire: his long reign following, and his little intermedling in matters of *Syria*, make it plain, that he had work enough at home, either in defending or establishing that which he had gotten. *Josephus* gives him the honour of having won *Nineve* it self, which we may believe; but surely he did not hold it long. For in the times soon following, that great Citie was free, and vanquished *Phraortes* the *Median*. Perhaps it yeelded upon some capitulation?

and

and refuſed afterwards to continue ſubject, when the Kings, being of the *Chaldæan* race, preferred *Babylon* before it.

Some think that this was the *Aſſyrian* King, whoſe Captains took *Manaſſes* priſoner, but I rather believe thoſe that hold the contrary, for which I have given my reaſons in due place. To ſay truth, I find little cauſe why *Merodach* ſhould have looked into thoſe parts, as long as the *Jewes* were his friends, and the *Egyptians*, that maligned the Northern Empire, held themſelves quiet at home, which was untill the time of *Pſammiticus*, about the end of this Kings Reign, or the beginning of his ſon.

Ben Merodach the ſon and ſucceſſour of this King, is not mentioned in the Scriptures, yet is he named by good conſent of Authors, and that ſpeak little of his doings. The length of his Reign is gathered by inference to have been one and twenty years; for ſo much remaineth of the time that paſſed between the beginning of his Fathers and his Nephews Reigns (which is a known ſumme) deducting the years of his Father, and of his ſon *Nabulaſſar*. This (as I take it) was he that had *Manaſſes* Priſoner, and releaſed him. Hee ſped ill in *Syria*; where *Pſammiticus*, by the vertue of his Mercenary *Greeks*, did much prevail. This may have been ſome cauſe that he releaſed *Manaſſes*, and did put into his hands ſome part more of the Kingdome of *Samaria*: which is made probable by circumſtances alleged before.

Nabulaſſar that reigned in *Babylon* after his father *Ben Merodach*, had greater buſineſſe in his own Kingdome, than would permit him to look abroad: inſomuch as it may be thought to have been a great negligence or over-ſight of *Pſammiticus* and *Necho*, that they did not occupy ſome good part of his Dominions beyond *Euphrates*. For it was in his time, that *Phraortes* King of the *Medes* invaded *Aſſyria*, and beſieged *Nineve*; from whence he was not repelled by any force of *Nabulaſſar*, but conſtrained to remove by the comming of the *Scythians*, who in theſe ages did over-flow thoſe parts of the world, laying hold upon all that they could maſter by ſtrong hand. Of theſe *Scythians*, and the Lordſhip that they held in *Aſia*, it is convenient that I ſpeak in this place; ſhewing briefly afore-hand, how the *Medes*, upon whom they firſt fell, were buſied in the ſame times with hopes of conquering *Aſſyria*.

Phraortes, the ſonne of *Deioces*, King of the *Medes*, having by many victories enlarged his Dominions, conceived at length a fair poſſibility of making himſelf Lord of *Nineve*.

That City (as *Herodotus* reports it) having been a Soveraign Lady, was not forſaken of all her dependants; yet remained in ſuch caſe that of her ſelf ſhe was well enough. *Herod. lib. 1.*

This makes it plain, that howſoever *Merodach* had gotten poſſeſſion of this imperiall ſeat, and made it ſubject as was the reſt of the Country: yet it found the means to ſet it ſelf at liberty: as after this again it did, when it had been regained by *Nabulaſſar* his Grand-child.

Sharp warre, and the very novelty of ſudden violence, uſe to diſmay any State or Country, not inured to the like: but cuſtome of danger hardeneth even thoſe that are unwarlike. *Nineve* had been the Palace of many valiant Kings lately reigning therein; it had ſuffered, and reſiſted, all the fury, wherewith either Domeſticall tumults between the ſons of *Senacherib*, or forreign war of the *Babylonians*, could afflict it: and therefore it is the leſſe wonderfull, that *Phraortes* did ſpeed ſo ill in his journey againſt it. Hee and the moſt of his Armie periſhed in that expedition: whereof I find no particular circumſtances (perhaps they undervalued their forces, and brought a leſſe power than was needfull.) It is enough, that herein we may believe *Herodotus*.

Cyaxares the ſon of *Phraortes*, a braver man of war than his Father, wan as much of *Aſia* the leſſe, as lay Eaſtward, from the River of *Halys*; he ſought revenge upon the *Aſſyrians* for the death of his father, and beſieged *Nineve* it ſelf, having a purpoſe to deſtroy it. I rather believe *Euſebius*, *That he took the City, and fulfilled his diſpleaſure upon it*, than *Herodotus*, *That the Scythian Army came upon him whileſt he lay before it*. For where equall authorities are contradictory (as *Euſebius*, though far later than *Herodotus*, yet having ſeen other Authors that are now loſt, it is to be valued according to his great reading) there do I hold it beſt, to yield unto the beſt likelihoods.

To think that the *Scythians* came upon *Cyaxares*, whileſt he lay before *Nineve*, were to accuſe him of greater improvidence than ought to be ſuſpected in one commended as a good Souldier. But to ſuppoſe that he was fain to leave the Town, when a Warre ſo

so dangerous fell upon his own Country, doth well agree both with the condition of such businesse as that *Scythian* expedition brought into those parts, and with the State of the *Chaldean* and *Assyrian* affairs ensuing.

The destruction of this great City is both foretold in the Book of *Tobit*, and there set down as happening about these times; of which book whosoever was the Author, he was ancient enough to know the story of those ages, and hath committed no such errour in reckoning of times, as should cause us to distrust him in this. As for the Prophecie of *Nahum*, though it be not limited unto any certain term, yet it appears to have taken effect, in the finall destruction of *Nineve* by *Nabuchodonosor*, according to the common opinion. For the Prophet hath mention of a conquest of *Egypt*, foregoing this calamity, whereof we will speak in due place. Some that ascribe more authority than the reformed Churches yield, to the book of *Tobit*, are carefull, as in a matter of necessity, to affirm, that about these times, *Nineve* was taken; but they attribute (conjecturally) the victory over it to *Ben Merodach*: a needless conjecture if the place of *Eusebius* be well considered. Yet I hold it probable, that *Nabulassar* the son of *Ben Merodach* did seize upon it, and place a King or Viceroy therein, about such time as the Country of *Assyria* was abandoned by *Cyaxares*, when the *Scythian* Warre over-whelmed *Media*. For then was the Conquest wrought out ready to his hand; the swelling spirits of the *Ninevites* were allayed, and their malice to *Babylon* so much asswaged, that it might bee thought a great favour, if *Nabulassar*, appointing unto them a peculiar King, took him and them in protection: though afterwards to their confusion, this unthankfull People and their King rebelled again, as shall be shewed in the Reign of *Nabuchodonosor*.

§. IV.

The great expedition of the Scythians, *who ruled in* Asia *eight and twenty years.*

†. I.

The time of his expedition.

NOw that I have shewed what impediment was given by the *Assyrians* and the *Medes*, to the *Babylonians*, who thereby were much disabled to performe any action of worth upon the *Egyptians* in *Syria*; it is time that I speak of that great *Scythian* expedition, which grievously afflicted not only the *Babylonians*, but the *Medes* and *Lydians*, with the Countries adjacent, in such wise, that part of the trouble redounded even to the *Egyptians* themselves. Of the *Scythian* people in generall, *Herodotus* makes very large discourse, but interlaced, as of matter ill known, with many Fables; of this expedition he tels many particulars, but ill agreeing with consent of time. Concerning his fabulous reports, it will be needlesse to recite them; for they are farre enough distant from the businesse in hand. The computation of times which by inference out of his relations, may seem very strange, needeth some answer in this place: lest otherwise I should either seem to make my self too bold with an Authour, in citing him after a manner different from his own tale; or else to bee too forgetfull of my self, in bringing to act upon the Stage, those persons, which I had already buried. Eight and twenty years, hee saith, that the *Scythians* reigned in *Asia*, before *Cyaxares* delivered the Countrey from them. Yet hee reports a warre between *Cyaxares* and *Haliattes* the *Lydian*, as foregoing the siege of *Nineve*; the siege of *Nineve* being ere the *Scythians* came. And further he tels, how the *Scythians*, having vanquished the *Medes*, did passe into *Syria*, and were encountred in *Palestina* by *Psammiticus* King of *Egypt*, who by gifts and entreaty procured them to depart from him. These narrations of *Herodotus* may, every one of them, be true; though not in such order of time, as he hath marshalled them. For *Psammiticus* was dead before *Cyaxares* began to reign: and *Cyaxares* had spent half of his forty years, ere *Halyattes* was King of *Lydia*, so that hee could not, after those *Lydian* Warres, reign eight and twenty years together with the *Scythians*. It is true, that *Eusebius* doth also call *Psammis* the sonne of *Pharao Necco*, by the name of *Psammiticus*; and this King *Psammis* may, by some strained conjecture, be thought to have been he that met with the *Scythians*: for hee lived

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with both *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes*. But *Euſebius* himſelf referres all that buſineſſe of the *Scythian* irruption into *Paleſtina*, to *Pſammiticus* the Father of *Necho*, whom he leaves dead before the Reign of *Halyattes*. Therefore I dare not rely upon *Herodotus*, in this matter, otherwiſe than to believe him, that ſuch things were in theſe ages, though not in ſuch order as he ſets them down.

It remains, that I collect as well as I can, thoſe memorials which I find of this expedition ſcattered in divers places: a work neceſſary, for that the greatneſſe of this action was ſuch, as ought not to be omitted in generall Hiſtory; yet not eaſie, the conſent of thoſe that have written thereof, being nothing neer to uniformity.

I have noted before, that in the reign of *Ardys* King of *Lydia*, the *Cimmerians* overran that Kingdome, and were not expelled, untill *Halyattes* the Nephew of *Ardys* got the upper hand of them. In theſe times therefore of *Ardys*, *Sadiattes*, and *Halyattes*, are we to find the eight and twenty years, wherein the *Scythians* reigned over *Aſia*. Now foraſmuch as *Pſammiticus* the *Egyptian* had ſome dealings with the *Scythians*, even in the height of their proſperity, wee muſt needs allow more than one or two of his laſt years unto this their Dominion. But the beginning of *Halyattes* his Reign in *Lydia*, being three and twenty years compleat after the death of *Pſammiticus*, leaves the ſpace very ſcant, either for the great victories of the *Scythians*, neceſſarily ſuppoſed before they could meet the *Egyptian* in *Syria*, or for thoſe many loſſes, which they muſt have received ere they could be driven quite away. To increaſe this difficulty, the victorious Reign of *Nabuchodonoſor* in *Babylon*, is of no ſmall moment. For how may wee think it poſſible, that hee ſhould have adventured the ſtrength of the Kingdome againſt the *Egyptians* and *Jewes*, had he ſtood in daily fear of loſing his own, to a more mighty Nation, that lay upon his neck? To ſpeak ſimply as it appears to me, the victories aſcribed to *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes* over theſe warlike people, were not obtained againſt the whole body of their Army, but were the defeatures of ſome troopes that infeſted their ſeverall Kingdomes; other Princes, and among theſe *Nabulaſſar*, having the like ſucceſſe, when the pleaſures of *Aſia* had mollified the courages of theſe hardy Northern Laddes. Wherefore we may probably annex the eight and twenty years of the *Scythians* rule, to as many almoſt the laſt of *Nabulaſſars* Reign, in compaſſe whereof their power was at the greateſt. This is all that I can ſay of the time, wherein *Aſia* ſuffered the violence of their oppreſſors.

†. II.

What Nations they were that brake into Aſia; *with the cauſe of their Journey.*

TOuching the expedition it ſelf, *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Cimmerians* being driven out of their Country by the *Scythians*, invaded and waſted ſome part of *Aſia*; and that the *Scythians*, not contented with having won the land of the *Cimmerians*, did follow them, I know not why, into far removed quarters of the world, ſo (as it were by chance) falling upon *Media* and *Egypt*, in this purſuit of men that were gone another way into *Lydia*. Hereby we may gather that the *Cimmerians* were an odious and baſe people; the *Scythians*, as miſchievous and fooliſh; or elſe *Herodotus*, and ſome other of his Country-men, great ſlanderers of thoſe, by whom their Nation had been beaten, and *Ionia*, more than once, grievouſly ranſackt. The great valour of the *Cimmerians* or *Cimbrians* is ſo well known, and their many Conqueſts ſo well teſtified in Hiſtories of divers Nations, that the malice of the *Greekes* is inſufficient to ſtain them with the note of Cowards. Theſe were the poſterity of *Gomer*, who peopled the greateſt part of our Weſtern World; and whoſe re-flow did overwhelm no ſmall portion of *Greece* and *Aſia*, as well before and after, as in the age whereof we do now entreat. He that would more largely informe himſelf of their originall and actions, may peruſe *Goropius Becanus* his *Amazonica*; of many things in which Book, that may be verified, which the learned *Ortelius* is ſaid to have ſpoken of all *Goropius* his works, *that it is eaſie to laugh at them, but hard to confute them*: There we find it proved, by ſuch arguments and authorities as are not lightly to be regarded, that the *Cimmerians*, *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*, were all of one Linage and Nation; howſoever diſtinguiſhed in name, by reaſon of their divers tribes, profeſſions, or perhaps dialect of ſpeech. *Homer* indeed hath mention of the *Cimmerians*; whoſe Country whether he placeth in the Weſt, as neer unto the

Ocean and bounds of the Earth, or in the North, as being farre from the Sun, and covered with eternall darkneſſe; certain it is that he would have them neer neighbours to Hell: for hee had the ſame quarrell to them which *Herodotus* had, and therefore belike would have made them ſeem a kind of Goblins. It was the manner of this great Poet (as *Herodotus* writing his life affirms) to inſert into his works the names of ſuch as lived in his own time, making ſuch mention of them, as the good or ill done by them to himſelf deſerved. And for this reaſon it is proved by *Euſtathius*, that the *Cimmerians* were ſo diſgraced by him, becauſe they had waſted his Country. Perhaps that invaſion of *Phrygia* by the *Amazons*, whereof *Homer* puts a remembrance into *Priamus* his diſcourſe with *Helen*, was the very ſame, which *Euſebius* noteth to have happened ſomewhat before the age of *Homer*, at what time the *Cimmerians* with the *Amazons*, together invaded *Aſia*.

This is certain, that both the *Amazons* and the *Cimmerii* (who in after-times were called *Cimbri*) did often break into *Greece* and *Aſia*; which though it be not in expreſſe termes written, that they did with joynt-forces, yet ſeeing they invaded the ſelf-ſame places, it may well be gathered, that they were companions. One journey of the *Amazons* into *Greece*, mentioned alſo by *Euſebius*, was by the ſtreights of the *Cimmerians*, as we find in *Diodore*, who further telleth us, that the *Scythians* therein gave them aſſiſtance. The ſame Authour, before his entry into thoſe diſcourſes of the *Amazons*, which himſelf acknowledgeth to be fabulous, doth report them to have been wives of the *Scythians*, and no leſſe Warre-like than their Husbands; alleging the example of that Queen who is ſaid to have ſlain the great *Perſian Cyrus*. That it was the manner of the *Cimbri* to carry their wives along with them to the warres; and how deſperate the courage was of thoſe Women; the terrible deſcent of them into *Italy*, when *Marius* the *Roman* overthrew them, gives proofe ſufficient. I will not here enter into a diſcourſe of the *Amazons*; another place will give me better leiſure to ſpeak of them: but ſeeing that they are noted by divers Hiſtorians to have belonged unto the *Cimmerians*, to the *Scythians*, and to the *Sarmatians*, we may therefore the better approve *Goropius* his concluſion, That theſe three Nations were one, at leaſt that they were neer alies.

Diod. lib. 2. c. 1.

Diod. lib. 2. c. 11

Now as concerning the expulſion of the *Cimmerians* by the *Scythians*, it appears to have been none other than the ſending a Colony of them forth into *Aſia*, with an Army of *Scythians* to help them, in purchaſing a new ſeat, and eſtabliſhing the Plantation.

The *Sarmatians* alſo were companions in this journey. For the City of *Novograd* in *Ruſſia* (which Country is the ſame that was called *Sarmatia*) ſtood in their way homewards, as ſhall anon bee further ſhewed. So that all the North was up in Armes: and therefore it is no marvell though many Countries felt the weight of this great inundation. Such another voyage was that, which the ſame people made five hundred years and more after this, when they were encountred by the *Romans*. For they iſſued from the parts about the Lake *Maotis*; they were then likewiſe aſſiſted (ſaith *Plutarch* in the moſt likely report of them) by the *Scythians* their neighbours; they had in their Armie above three hundred thouſand fighting men, beſides a huge multitude of women and children; they wandred over many Countries, beating all down before them; and finally, thinking to have ſetled themſelves in *Italy*, they divided their Company, for the more eaſie paſſage thither, and were conſumed in three terrible battells by the *Roman* Conſuls. Meere neceſſity enforced theſe poor Nations to trouble the World, in following ſuch hard adventures. For their Countrey being more fruitfull of men than of ſuſtenance, and ſhut up on the North ſide with intollerable cold, which denied iſſue that way to their over-ſwelling multitudes; they were compelled to diſcharge upon the South, and by right or wrong to drive others out of poſſeſſion, as having title to all that they had power to get, becauſe they wanted all, that weaker, but more civill, people had. Their ſturdy bodies, patient of hunger, cold, and all hardneſſe, gave them great advantage over ſuch as were accuſtomed unto a more delicate life, and could not be without a thouſand ſuperfluities. Wherefore moſt commonly they prevailed very farre; their next neighbours giving them free paſſage, that they might the ſooner be rid of them; others giving them, beſides paſſage, victuals and guides to conduct them to more wealthy places; others hiring them to depart with great preſents; ſo as

Plutarch in the life of Marius.

the

the farther they went on, the more pleaſant Lands they found, and the more effeminate people.

†. III.

of the Cimmerians *warre in* Lydia.

THe firſt Company of theſe, conſiſting for the moſt part of *Cimmerians*, held the way of the Euxine Seas, which they had ſtill on the right hand; leaving on the other ſide, & behind them, the great Mountains of *Cauſcaus*. Theſe having paſſed through the Land of *Colchis*, that is now called *Mengrelli*, entered the Country of *Pontus*, & being arrived in *Paphlagonia*, fortified the *Promontory*, whereon *Synope*, a famous Haven Town of the *Greeks*, was after built. Here it ſeemes that they beſtowed the weakeſt and moſt unſerviceable of their traine, together with the heavieſt part of their carriages, under ſome good guard: as drawing near to thoſe Regions, in conqueſt wherof they were to trie the utmoſt hazzard. For in like ſort afterwards did the *Cimbri* (of whom I ſpak even now) diſpoſe of their impediments, leaving them in a place of ſtrength, where *Antwerp* now ſtands, when they drew neare unto *Gaule*, upon which they determined to adventure themſelves in the purchaſer. From *Sinop*, the way unto *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and *Ionia*, was faire and open to the *Cimmerians*, without any ladg of Mountaines, or any deep Rivers at all to ſtay their march: for *Iris* and *Halys* the) had already paſſed. *Herod. lib. 4.*

What battels were fought between theſe invaders and the *Lydians*, & with what variable ſucceſſe the one or other part wanne and loſt, I find not written, nor am able to conjecture. This I find, that in the time of *Ardys*, the *Cimmerians* got poſſeſſion of *Sardes* the capitall Citie of *Lydia*; only the Caſtle holding out againſt them. Further I obſerve, that whereas *Herodotus* tells of the acts performed by *Gyges* and *Ardys* Kings of *Lydia*, before this invaſion, and by *Halyattes* and *Crœſus* in the times following, all that *Ardys* did againſt the *Cimmerians*, and all, ſave burning the *Mileſians* Corn fields, that was done in twelve years by *Sadyattes* his Son (who perhaps had his hands ſo full of this buſineſſe, that he could turn them to nothing elſe) is quite omitted: whereby it may ſeeme, that neither of the two did any thing worthy of remembrance in thoſe wars, but were glad enough that they did loſe all.

Certainly the miſeries of war are never ſo bitter and many, as when a whole Nation, or great part of it, forſaking their own ſeats, labour to root out the eſtabliſhed poſſeſſours of another Land; making roome for themſelves, their wives and children. They that fight for the maſtery, are pacified with tribute, or with ſome other ſervices and acknowledgements; which had they been yeelded at the firſt, all had been quiet, and no ſword bloudied. But in theſe migrations, the aſſailants bring ſo little with them, that they need all which the defendants have; their Lands and Cattell, their houſes and their goods, even to the cradles of the ſucking infants. The mercileſſe termes of this controverſie, arme both ſides with deſperate reſolution: ſeeing the one part muſt either winne, or periſh by famine; the other defend their goods, or loſe their lives without redemption. Moſt of the Countries in *Europ* have felt examples thereof; and the mighty Empire of *Rome* was overthrown by ſuch invaſions. But our Iſle of *Britane* can beſt witneſſe the diverſity of Conqueſts; having by the happy victory of the *Romans*, gotten the knowledge of all Civill Arts, in exchang of liberty, that was but ſlenderly inſtructed therein before; whereas the iſſue of the *Saxon* and *Daniſh* Wars, was, as were the cauſes, quite contrary. For theſe did not ſeeke after the Dominion onely, but the entire poſſeſſion of the Country, which the *Saxons* obtained, but with horrible cruelty, eradicating all of the Britiſh Race, & defacing all memoriall of the ancient inhabitants through the greater part of the Land. But the *Danes* (who are alſo of the *Cimmerian* bloud) found ſuch end of their enterprize, as it may ſeeme that the *Cimmerians* in *Lydia*, & *Scythians* in the higher Aſia, did arrive unto. So that by conſidering the proceſſe of the one, we ſhall the better conceive the fortune of the other. Many battailes the *Danes* wonne, yet none of ſuch importance, as ſufficed to make them abſolute Conquerours: Many the *Saxons* won upon the *Danes*, yet not ſo great, as could drive them quite away, and back from hence, after they had gotten firme footing. But in courſe of time, the long continuance even of utter enmity, had bred ſuch acquaintance betwene

between them, as bowing the natures of both these people, made the one more pliant unto the other. So their disagreeable qualities, both ill and good, being reduced in one mild temper, no small number of the *Danes* became peaceable cohabitants with the *Saxons* in *England*, where great slaughter had made large roome; others returning home, found their own Country wide enough to receive them, as having disburthened it self of many thousands, that were sent to seek their graves abroad. And such (as I think) was the end of the *Cimmerian* warre in *Lydia*; whereunto though some victory of *Halyattes* may have hastened the conclusion, yet the wearisome length of time seems to have done most, in compelling them to desire of rest. I know not why I should feare to adde hereunto my further conjecture, which is, that the matter was so compounded between the *Cimmerians* & *Halyattes*, that the River of *Halys* should divide their Territories. For *Halys* was henceforth the border of the *Lydians*, and on the Eastern side of the River was the Country of the *Amazons*, that is indeed, of the *Cimmerians*, and other *Scythian* people; whose wives and daughters these warlike women are supposed to have been.

And hereunto the quarrell ensuing between *Halyattes* and *Cyaxares* the *Mede*, hath very good reference. For *Halyattes* (as is said) fought in defence of certain *Scythians*, upon whom the *Median* sought revenge. And it stands with reason, that the *Lydians* and *Cimmerians*, being much weakened with mutuall slaughters, should have joyned in a league of mutuall defence for their common safety: though otherwise it had been dangerous to *Halyattes*, if hee had permitted the *Median* to extend his Kingdome so farre Westward, whatsoever the pretences might be, of taking revenge upon such as had spoiled each of their Countries. As for that occasion of the Warre between these two Kings, which *Herodotus* relates, I find it of little waight, and lesse probability. Hee tells of *Scythians*, that being chased out of their Country by faction, came unto *Cyaxares*, who committed unto them certaine Boyes, to be instructed in the *Scythian* tongue, and feat of *Archery*. Now it so fell out (saith he) that these *Scythians* using much to hunt, & commonly bringing home somewhat with them, did nevertheless other-whiles misse of their game, and came home as they went. Hereupon the King being froward & cholerick, bitterly reviled them; & they, as impatient as he, killed one of the Boyes that was under their charge, whom, dressing like Venison, they presented unto him; which done, they fledde unto *Halyattes*. This *Herodotus* delivers, as the ground of a war that lasted six yeeres between the *Medes* and *Lydians*; the one King demanding these Fugitives to be delivered into his hand, the other refusing to betray such men as were become his suppliants. To this I will say no more, than that I see no cause that might induce the *Scythians* to betake themselves to either of their Kings, unto whom their Nation had wrought so much displeasure. Particularly, they had reason to distrust *Cyaxares*, for the treachery that he shewed in the massacring of their Country-men that were in his Kingdome, of whom it is now meet that we should speak.

Herod. lib. 1.

†. IV.

The Warre of the Scythians *in the higher* Asia.

As the *Cimmerians* held their course westerly, along the shores of the *Euxine* sea, so the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians* took the other way, and having the *Caspian* sea on their left hand, passed between it and *Caucasus*, through *Albania*, *Colthene*, and other obscure Nations, where now are the Countries of *Servan* and *Georgia*, and so they entered into *Media*. The *Medes* encountred them in Armes, but were beaten, and thereupon glad to come to any agreement with them. This was in the time of *Phraortes*, whilest *Psammiticus* reigned in *Egypt*. If it were in the sixt yeere of *Nabulassars* Reign over *Babylon* (supposing him to have reigned five and thirty; otherwise we must allow to *Ben Merodach* what we take from him) then doe the eight and twenty yeares of their Dominion end, one year before the great *Nabuchodonosor* was King; so giving him good leave to provide securely for the invasion of *Syria*; which expedition hee began while his Father yet lived, as *Josephus* out of *Berosus* relates the History.

Now the *Medes*, desirous to save themselves as well as they might, from this terrible nation, which when they had no lust to a second triall of the sword, refused not to undergoe

goe the burthen of a Tribute, but thought nothing diſhonourable, that vvould ſerve to remove theſe troubleſome gueſts into ſome other lodging. On the other part, the *Scythians* finding ſtill the Countries pleaſanter & better, the further that they marched into the South, did ſuffer themſelves to be perſvvaded, that a little more travail vvould adde a great deal more to their content. For they relyed ſo much upon their own valour, that they feared no reſiſtance; & being the braveſt men, they thought it reaſon that they ſhould dwell in the beſt Region. That *Phraortes* perſwaded them into *Egypt*, I doe not think: *Babylon* was near enough; whither if he could ſend theſe Locuſts to graze, then ſhould not his unfriendly Neighbours have cauſe to laugh at his misfortune. What ſhift *Nabulaſſar* made with them, or that at all he had any dealings with them, I do not read. But it is well known that his Dominions lay in the middeſt between *Media* & *Egypt*; as alſo, that they made all thoſe parts of *Aſia* Tributary; wherefore we may very well beleeve, that they watered their horſes in his Rivers, and that he alſo was content to give them provender.

Pſammiticus hearing of their progreſſe (like the jealous Husband of a fair Wife) took care that they might not look upon *Egypt*, leſt the ſight thereof ſhould more eaſily detain them there, than any force or perſwaſion that hee could uſe would ſend them going. Therefore hee met them in *Syria*, preſuming more on the great gifts which he meant to beſtow upon them, than on his Army that ſhould keep them back. *Egypt* was rich; and half the riches had not been ill ſpent in ſaving all. Yet *Pſammiticus* took the moſt likely courſe, whereby to make his part good againſt them by ſtrong hand, in caſe they had been ſo obſtinate as to refuſe all indifferent compoſition. For he lay cloſe upon the edge of the Wilderneſſe in *Gaza* (as I take it) the Southermoſt border of *Paleſtina*: whence he never advanced to meet with the *Scythians*, but gave them leave to feel as much of the ſcalding Sunne-beames, ill agreeing with their temper, as all the length of *Syria* could beat upon them. When they were come as farre as *Aſcalon*, the next City to *Gaza*, then did he aſſay them with goodly words, accompanied with gifts, which were likely to work ſo much the better, by how much the worſe they were pleaſed with the heat of a Climate ſo farre different from their own. *Pſammiticus* had at his back a vaſt wilderneſſe, over the ſcorching ſands whereof, the *Scythians* more patient of cold and wet, than of the contrary diſtempers, could ill have endured to purſue him through unknown wayes, had they fought with him and prevailed, eſpecially the Kingdome of *Egypt* being ready to entertaine him with relief, and them with new trouble at the end of their weary journey. Wherefore they were content to be intreated, & taking in good part his courteous offers, returned back to viſit their acquaintance in the high Countries. The *Egyptian* King (beſides that hee preſerved his own Eſtate from a dangerous adventure, by hyring this great Army to depart from him) found all his Coaſt well repayed in the proceſſe of his wars in *Syria*, vvhere the Nations beyond *Euphrates* had no povver to moleſt him, being more than ever troubled themſelves with the return of their oppreſſors. For the *Scythians*, reſolving novv to ſeek no further, began to demand more than the Tribute formerly impoſed. And not contented to fleece the Naturals vvith grievous exactions, they preſumed to live at diſcretion upon the Countrey, taking vvhat they liſted from the Ovvners; and many times (as it vvere to ſave the labour of taking often) taking all at once. This Tyrannous Dominion they long uſed over the higher *Aſia*, that is, over the Country lying betvveen the *Caſpian* and *Red Seas*; and between *India* and *Aſia* the leſſe. Happy it was for the poor people, that in ſo large a ſpace of ground, there was room enough for theſe new comers; otherwiſe the calamity that fell, as it were by chance, upon thoſe private men, to whoſe wealth any *Scychian* did bear a fancy, would have lighted in generall upon all at one clap, leaving few alive, and none able to relieve their fellowes. Yet it ſeemes that the heavieſt burthen lay upon *Media*; for it was a fruitfull Countrey, not farre from their own home, and lay under a Climate well agreeing with the conſtitution of their bodies; there alſo it was that they had the fatall blow, by which their inſolent Rule was taken from them.

Cyaxares King of the *Medes*, who in this extremity was no better than a Rent-gatherer for the *Scythians*, perceiving that his Land lay unmanured and waſte, through the negligence of his people, that were out of heart by daily oppreſſions, and that the matter could not be remedied by open force, reſolved to prove what might be done by ſtratagem: *Herod. lib. 1.*

stratagem. The manging of the businesse is thus delivered in brief; That he, and his *Medes*, feasted the better part of the *Scythians*, made them drunk, and slew them; recovering hereby the possession of all that they had lost.

Such another slaughter was committed upon the *Danes* in *England*; but it was revenged by their Countrimen, with greater cruelty than ever they had practised before. That the *Scythians* which escaped this bloudy feast, made any stirre in *Media*, I do not find; neither do I read that either in reveng hereof, or upon other pretence, the *Medes* were troubled by invasion from *Scythia* in time following.

This is the more strang, for that the Army returning home out of *Medi*, was very strong, & encountred with opposition (as *Herodotus* reports it) no lesse than it had found abroad. Wherefore it may be, that the device of *Cyaxares* to free his Countrey, took good effect, with lesse bloud-shed than hath been supposed. For if he surprised all the chief of them, it was no hard matter to make a good composition. Many of them doubtlesse in eight and twenty years had so well setled themselves, that they were desirous of rest, and might be permitted, without any danger, to remaine in the Country; many (of whom I shall speak anon) having done what they could in the businesse, for which they came forth, were willing to return home with what they had gotten; such as were not pleased with either of these two courses, might goe joyn with the *Cimmerians* in *Lydia*, or seeke their fortunes in other Provinces among their own *Companions*. Whereas all the Families of the North are said to have bin with *Nabuchadnezzar*, it may be understood, that a great part of the *Scythians*, upon hope of gain, or desire to keepe what they had already gained, were content to become subject unto *Nabulassar*: mens love of their wealth being most effectuall, in taming the more unquiet love of inordinate liberty. This is certaine, that *Nabuchadnezzar*, as ever after, so in his first beginning of warre, did beat the *Egyptians*, who in ages forgoing had been accustomed to deal with the *Babylonians* after another fashion: & this new successe of that King may be imputed, in regard of human meanes, to such addition as this of new forces.

Herod. lib. 4.

Jerem. 35. 9.

Of the *Scythian* Army returning out of *Media*, divers Authors report a Story, which confirmes me in the opinion, that this Company went forth to assist their kinred and friends, in acquiring a new seat, and establishing their plantation. For these had left their wives behind them; a good argument to prove that they meant to come again. The *Scythian* women, to comfort themselves in their husbands absence, became bed-fellows to their slaves. These got a lusty brood of youths, that were loth to be troubled with Fathers-in-Law, & therefore prepared to fight with them at their return. If they were onely the children of slaves, which compounded an Army (as *Herodotus* would have it, who tels us, that the *Scythians* were wont to pull out all their bond-mens eyes) it must needes be that they were very boyes, or else that the Women did very little while continue chaste. Wherefore I rather beleeve that tale as it is told by the *Russes* themselves, who agreeing in the rest with the consent of Histories, make that report of their Ancestors returning homewards, which I will set down, as I find it in Master *Doctor Fletcher* his exact discourse of the *Russe Cõmon-wealth. They understood by the way, that their Chrolopey, or Bond-slaves, whom they left at home, had in their absence possessed their towns, lands, houses, Wives, and all; At which news being somewhat amazed, and yet disdaining the Villany of their servants, they made the more speed home: and so not farre from* Novograd *met them in warlike manner marching against them. Whereupon advising what was best to bee done, they agreed also to set upon them with no other shew of weapon but with their horse-whips (which as their manner is, every man rideth withall) to put them in remembrance of their servile condition, thereby to terrefie them, and abate their courage. And so marching on, & lashing all together with their whips in their hands, they gave the onset: which semed so terrible in the eares of their Villaines, & strook such a sense into them of the smart of the whip, which they had felt before, that they fled altogether like Sheep before the Drivers. In memory of this victory, the* Novogradians ever *since have stamped their Coin (which they call a* Dingoe Novogradskoy, *currant through all* Russia) *with the figure of a Horseman shaking a whip aloft in his hand.* It may seeme, that all the women of that Country have fared the worse ever since, in regard of the universall fault: For such a Pudkey or whip, as terrefied those slaves, curiously wrought by her self, is the first present that the *Moscovian* wife, even in time of vvooing, sends to him that shall be her husband, in token of subjection; being

Rus. Commonw. cap. 4.

vvell

well assured to feel it often on her own loines. But this was a Document unto the *Scythians*, or rather *Sarmatians* (for *Novograd* stands in the Country that was called *Sarmatia*) to beware of absenting themselves any more so long from their wives; which after this, I find not that they did.

Thus much I thought good to set down of the *Scythian* expedition; not only because it is the most memorable act performed abroad by that Nation, famous in Histories, and terrible to many Countries; but for that it appears to have been a great cause of the *Egyptians* prevailing hitherto in *Syria*, and about *Judæa*, which continues yet a while the center of our discourse.

§. V.

Of Princes living in divers Countries, in these ages.

HAving thus far digressed from the matters of *Juda*, to avoide all further occasion of doing the like, I will here insert a note of such Kings, and men of mark, as were between the death of *Manasses*, and the ruine of *Jerusalem*. Of the *Egyptians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes*, and *Lydians*, I have spoken as much as I thought needfull. In *Rome*, *Tullus Hostilius* held the Kingdome, untill the one and twentieth year of *Josias*; at which time *Ancus Martius* succeeding, reigned four and twenty years. After him *L. Tarquinius Priscus*, a new-come stranger, but very rich, prevailed so far, by his graciousnesse among the people, that he got the Kingdom to himself, disappointing the sonnes of *Ancus*, over whom he was Tutor. He began in the fourth year of *Zedekia*, and reigned eight and thirty years. In this time it was, namely, in the second year of the thirtieth Olympiad, that the *Lacedemonians* bethinking them how to be avenged of the *Arcadians*, who gave succour to the *Messenians* against them in the former war, entred their Territory, took the City of *Phigalia* or *Phialia*, from whence their Garrisons were soon after beaten out. *Cypselus* expelling the race of the *Bacidæ*, made himself Lord of *Corinth* about these times, and governed it in peace thirty years; leaving for successour his sonne *Periander*, one of the seven Sages, but a cruell Tyrant: who among other vile acts, slew his own wife, and afterwards, as in her honour, stripped all the *Corinthian* women stark naked, burning their apparell, as an acceptable offering to her Ghost. Hereby we may perceive, that the wisedome of the *Greeks* was not excellen in those dayes, when such a one as this could bee admired as excelling all the Country.

In these times also were *Zaleucus* and *Draco*, famous Lawgivers, the one among the *Locrians* in *Italy*, the other in the City of *Athens*. The Lawes of *Draco* were so rigorous, that he was said to have written them with bloud: for he rewarded every small offence with death. Wherefore his Constitutions were soon abrogated, and power given to *Solon* by the *Athenians*, to make new in their stead. But the Lawes of *Zaleucus* were very mild. He forbad any Gentlewoman to walk abroad with more than one Bond-woman attending on her, *unlesse it were when she was drunk*; or to goe forth of the Town by night, unlesse it were to some sweet-hearts bed; or to dresse her self up in immodest bravery, unlesse it were to inveigle a lover. By which pleasant Ordinances he effected his desire; for none would seem, in breaking the Statutes, to be in such case as challenged the dispensation. It is noted in this man as a singular example of justice, that when his own son had committed adultery, and was therefore to lose both his eyes, hee did not cause him to be pardoned, but gave one eye of his own to save the young man (who also lost one) from utter blindnesse.

I shall not henceforth need so farre to wander, as hitherto I often have done, in pursuing of actions collaterall to the History, for inserting them in their order of time. The *Chaldæans* will soon fall under the *Persians*; ere long, encounter with the *Greekes*; the *Greeks*, with the *Romans*; the *Romans*, with many Nations. Concerning all these, as they shall successively present themselves, in their flourishing Estate, it will be enough to recapitulate the most memorable accidents, that befell them in their Minority. But in the long space of more than thirteen hundred years, which passed between the calling of *Abraham*, and the destruction of *Jerusalem*, wee find little matter, wherein the History of *Israel* had any dealing with other Nations, than the very neerest borderers. Yet read wee of many Kingdomes, that in these many ages were erected,

and

and thrown down; as likewise, many memorable acts were performed in *Greece* and elsewhere, though not following one another at any neer distance; all which must have been quite omitted, or else reserved unto a very unseasonable rehearsall, had they not been disposed in this method, whereof he that will not allow the conveniency, may pardon the necessity.

§. VI.

The oppression of Judæa, *and destruction of* Jerusalem *by the* Chaldæans.

NOw to return to the Jewish Story, from whence we have so far digressed. In the third year of *Jehojakim*, *Nabuchodonosor* the second, his Father yet living, entred *Judæa* with a great Army, who besieging and forcing *Jerusalem*, made *Jehojakim* his Vassall in despight of *Necho*, that had established him King, and took with him for pledges *Daniel*, being as yet a child, with *Ananias*, *Misael*, and *Azarias*. Also he took a part of the Church treasures; but stayed not to search them throughly; for *Necho* hasted to the succour of *Jehojakim*, hoping to find *Nabuchodonosor* in *Judæa*: wherein this great *Babylonian* had no disposition to hazard himself and his Army, it being a Country of an evill affection towards him, as also far off from any succour or sure place of retrait. If he had, as may be supposed, any great strength of *Scythian* horsmen in his Army, it was the more wisely done of him, to fall back, out of the rough, mountainous, and over-hot Country, into places that were more even and temperate. But besides all these reasons, the death of his father happening at the same time, gave him just occasion to return home, and take possession of his own Kingdome, before he proceeded further in the second care, of adding more unto it. This he did at reasonable good leisure: for the *Egyptian* was not ready to follow him so far, and to bid him battell, untill the new year came in; which was the fourth of *Jehojakim*, the first of *Nabuchodonosor*, and the last of *Necho*. In this year the *Babylonian* lying upon the Bank *Euphrates* (his own Territory bounding it on the North-side) attended the arrivall of *Necho*. There, after a resolved contention for victory, *Necho* was slain, and his Army remaining forced to save it selfe; which full ill it did, by a violent retrait. This victory *Nabuchodonosor* so well pursued, as he recovered all *Syria*, and whatsoever the *Egyptians* held out of their proper Territory towards the North. The *Egyptians* being in this conflict beaten, & altogether for the present discouraged, *Jehojakim* held himself quiet, as being friend in heart unto the *Egyptian*, yet having made his peace with the *Chaldæan* the year before; who contented with such profit as hee could then readily make, had forborn to lay any Tribute upon *Juda*. But this cool reservednesse of *Jehojakim*, was, on both sides, taken in ill part. The *Egyptian* King *Psammis*, who succeeded unto *Necho*, began to think upon restoring *Jehoahaz*, taken prisoner by his Father, and setting him up as a Domesticall Enemy, against his ungratefull brother. Against all such accidents, the *Judæan* had prepared the usuall remedy practised by his forefathers: for he had made his own son *Jechonia* King with him long before, in the second year of his own Reign, when the Boy was but eight years old. As for this rumour of *Jehoahaz* his return, the Prophet *Jeremy* foretold, that it should prove idle, saying: *Hee shall not return thither, but he shall die in the place whither they have led him captive, and shall see this Land no more.* The *Egyptians* indeed, having spent all their Mercenary forces, and received that heavy blow at *Carchemish*, had not remaining such proportion of sharp steel, as of fair gold, which without other help, is of little effect. The valour of *Necho* was not in *Psammis Apries*, who reigning after *Psammis*, did once adventure to shew his face in *Syria*; but after a big look, hee was glad to retire, without adventuring the hazard of a battell. Wherefore this decaying Nation fought onely with brave words, telling such frivolous tales, as men that mean to doe nothing, use, of their glorious acts fore-passed, against *Iosias* & *Iehoahaz*. In this case it was easie for *Iehojakim* to give them satisfaction, by letting them understand the sincerity of his affection towards them, which appeared in time following. But *Nabuchodonosor* went to work more roundly. He sent a peremptory message to *Iehojakim*, willing him not to stand upon any nice points, but acknowledge himself a Subject, and pay him Tribute: adding hereunto such fearfull threats, as made the poor *Judæan* lay aside all thought of *Pharaoh*, and yeeld to doe, as the more mighty would have him. So hee continued in

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2 Chron. 36. 9.

Jerem. 22. 11, & 12.

Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 7.

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the obedience of *Nabuchodonosor* three years. At this time *Jeremy* the Prophet cried out against the *Jewes*, putting them in mind that he had now three and twenty years exhorted them to repentance, but because they had stopt their ears against him, and the rest of the Prophets, hee now pronounced their captivity at hand, and that they should endure the yoke of bondage full seventy years. The same calamity he threatned to all the neighbouring Nations, to the *Egyptians*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Idumeans*, and the rest; foretelling that they should all drink out of the *Babylonian* Pitcher, the wine of his fury, whom they had forsaken; and after the seventy years expired, that the *Babylonians* themselves should taste of the same Cup, and be utterly subverted by the *Medes*, and Jerem. 25.
the *Judeans* permitted to return again into their own Fields and Cities. The first imprisonment of the Prophet *Jeremy* seems to have been in the fourth year of this *Jehojakim*, at which time *Baruch* the Scribe wrote all his Prophecies out of his mouth, whom he sent to read them unto the People, and afterward to the Princes, who offered them to the King: but fearing the Kings fury, they had first set *Jeremy* at liberty, and advised him and *Baruch* to hide themselves.

Jehojakim, after he heard a part of it, and perceived the ill newes therein delivered, made no more adoe, but did cut the Book in pieces and cast it into the fire. All which *Jeremy* caused to be new written with this addition; that the dead body of *Jehojakim* should be cast out, exposed in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost, and there should be none of his seed to sit on the Throne of *David*.

Time thus running on, while *Jehojakim* rested secure of all danger, as Tributary to the *Babylonian*, yet well thought of by the *Egyptian*; the mighty City of Tyre opposed it self against the *Chaldean* forces, and upon just confidence of her own strength, despised all preparation that could be made against her. Now forasmuch as the terme of seventy years was prescribed unto the desolation, as well of *Tyre*, as of *Jerusalem*, and other towns and countries; it is apparent, that they which referre the expugnation of this City unto the nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonosor*, have sure authority for their warrant. Whereupon likewise it followes of necessity, that the siege thereof began in the seventh of his Reign; as having lasted thirteen years.

Here I will take leave to intrude a brief note, concerning the severall beginnings that are reckoned of this great Prince his Rule, whereupon hath risen much disputation. The third year of *Jehojakim*, was the last of *Nabulassar*, who being delivered from other cares, took notice of such as had revolted from him unto *Pharao Necho*, and sent this Noble Prince his son, with an Army into *Syria*, to reclaim them. In this expedition was *Daniel* carried away, who therefore makes mention of the same year. The year next Dan. 1. 1.
following, being the fourth of *Jehojakim*, was the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*; which *Jere-* Jerem. 25. 1.
my affirmeth in expresse words; and from this we reckon all his time and actions that follow. In his three and twentieth year he conquered *Egypt*; and then began to reign as a great Monarch, finding none that durst offend him. The second from this year it was, wherein hee saw that vision, of the Image consisting of sundry Metals; which did prefigurate the succession of great Kingdomes, that should rule the Earth, before the comming of Christ. I will not stand to dispute about this, which is the best conclusion that I find, of long disputations: but return unto the siege of *Tyre*, which began in the seventh of his Reign.

The City of *Tyre* covered all the ground of an Island, that was divided from the main, by a deep and broad channell of the Sea. The *Chaldeans* had no Fleet, and were no Sea-men; the *Tyrians*, in multitude of goodly Sips, and skill to use them, excelled all other Nations; and every wind, from one part or other, brought needfull provisions into the City. Wherefore neither force, nor famine could greatly hurt the place; where-
of nevertheless the judgements of God (denounced against it by *Esay*, *Jeremy*, *Ezechiel*) Esay 23.
had threatned the destruction; and the obstinate resolution of *Nabuchodonosor* had fully Jerem. 25.
determined to performe it. This high-minded King, impatient of resistance, undertook Ezek. 26.
a vast piece of work, even to fill up the Sea that parted the Island from the Continent. The City of old *Tyrus*, that stood opposite to the new, upon the firm Land, and the mountain of *Libanus* neer adjoyning that was loaden with Cedars, and abundance of other trees, might furnish him with materials. Thirteen years were spent in this laborious, and almost hopelesse businesse. Which needeth not seem strange: for *Alexander* working upon that foundation which was remaining of *Nabuchodonosors* Peere, and being

being withall assisted by a strong Fleet, was yet seven moneths ere he could make way into the City. Wherefore, if the raging of the Sea was able to carry away that wherewith *Alexander* laboured to cover a shelve; with much more violence could it overturn, and as it were consume, the work of *Nabuchodonosor*, who laid his foundations in the bottom of the deep; striving as it were, to fill the empty belly of this Cormorant, whereas the *Macedonian* did only stop the throat of it. Every man knows, God could have furthered the accomplishment of his own threats, against this place (though it had not pleased him to use, either Miracle, or such of his more immediate weapons, as are Earthquakes, and the like) by making at least the Seas calm, and adding the favourable concurrence of all second helps. But so it pleaseth him oftentimes, in chastising the pride of man, to use the hand of man; even the hand of man striving, as may seem, against all resistance of nature and fortune. So in this excessive labour of the *Chaldeans*, *Every head was made bald, and every shoulder was made bare*. Yet *Nabuchodonosor* would not give over till he was master of the Town.

Ezek. 29.

When he was entred upon this desperate service; whether it were so, that some losses received, some mutiny in his Army, or (which is most likely, and so *Josephus* reports it) some glorious rumour of the *Egyptians*, gave courage to his evill willers; *Jehojakim* renounced his subjection, and began to hope for the contrary of that which quickly fel out. For *Nabuchodonosor* gave him no leisure to do much hurt: but with part of his Army marched directly into *Judæa*, where the amazed King made so little resistance (the *Egyptians* having left him, as it were, in a dream) that he entred *Jerusalem*, and layed hands on *Jehojakim*, whom he first bound and determined to send to *Babylon*, but changing counsell, he caused him to be slain in the place, and gave him the Sepulchre of an Asse, to be devoured by beasts and ravenous birds, according to the former Prophecies: leaving in his place *Jehojakim* or *Jechonias* his son; whom, after three moneths and ten dayes, *Nabuchodonosor* removed, and sent prisoner to *Babylon*, with *Ezekiel*, *Mardochæus* and *Josedech*, the high Priest. The mother of *Jechonias*, together with his servants Eunuches, and all the ablest men, and best Artificers of the Land, were also then carryed away Captives. This *Jechonias*, following the counsell of *Jeremy* the Prophet, made no resistance; but submitted himself to the Kings will: wherein he both pleased God, and did that which was best for himself; though at the present it might seem otherwise, to such as considered the evill that befell him, rather than the greater evill that he thereby avoided. This onely particular act of his is recorded, which was good. But it seems that he was partaker, at least of his Fathers faults, if not an instigator; which was the cause, that his submitting himself to Gods pleasure did not preserve his Estate: for so we read in generall words, that *he did evill in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his Father had done*. In his stead *Nabuchodonosor* established *Mathania* his Uncle in the Kingdome of *Iuda*, and called him *Zedechias*, which is as much to say, as *the justice of God*. For like as *Neco* King of *Egypt* had formerly displaced *Iehoahaz*, after his Father *Josias* was slain, and set up *Jehojakim*, the son of another mother; so *Nabuchodonosor* slew *Iehojakim*, who depended on the *Egyptians*, and carrying his son *Jechonias* Prisoner to *Babel*, gave the Kingdome to this *Zedechias*, that was whole Brother to that *Jehoahaz*, whom *Neco* took with him into *Egypt*. From *Zedechias* he required an oath for his faithfull obedience, which *Zedechias* gave him, and called the living God to witnesse in the same, that he would remain assured to the Kings of *Chaldæa*.

Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. 10. c. 7.

In the first year of *Zedechias*, *Jeremy* saw and expounded the Vision of the ripe and rotten Grapes, the one signifying those *Judæans* that were carried away captive, the other those that stayed and were destroyed.

In the fourth of *Zedechias*, *Jeremy* wrote in a book all the evill that should fall upon *Babylon*, which book or scrole he gave to *Sheraia*, when he went with the King *Zedekias* to *Babylon*, to visit *Nabuchodonosor*; willing him first to read it to the Captive *Jewes*, and then to bind it to a stone, and cast it into *Euphrates*, pronouncing these words: *Thus shall* Babel *be drowned, and shall not rise from the evill that I will bring upon her*. This journey of *Zedechias* to *Babel* is probably thought to have been in way of visitation, carrying some presents. But I further think, that he had some sute there to make, which his Lordly Master refused to grant, and sent him away discontented. For at his return all the bordering Princes sent Messengers to him, inciting him (as it seems) to those unquiet courses, from which *Jeremy* dehorted both him and them. The Propher, by Gods

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appointment, made bonds and yokes, one of which he wore about his own neck, others he sent unto the five Kings, of *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Tyre* and *Zidon* by those Messengers which came to visit *Zedechias*: making them know, that if they and the Kings of *Juda* abode in the obedience of *Babylon*, they should then possesse and enjoy their own countries; if not, they should assuredly perish by the sword, by fire, and by pestilence.

He also foretold them, that those Vessels which as yet remained in *Jerusalem*, should also travell after the rest, and at length they should be restored again.

The same year *Ananias*, the false Prophet, took off the woodden Chain which *Jeremy* wore in sign of the Captivity of the *Jewes*, and brake it: Vaunting, that in like manner, after two years God would break the strength of *Babel*, and the yoke which he layd on all Nations; restore *Jechonias* and all the *Jewes*, with the Vessels and riches of the Temple, and give an end to all these troubles. But *Jeremy*, in stead of his woodden yoke, wore a Coller of yron: and in sign that *Ananias* had given a deceitfull and false hope to the people, he foretold the death of this cold Prophet, which seized upon him in the second Moneth. After this, when *Zedechias* had wavered long enough between Faith and Passion, in the eigh th year of his reign, hee practised more seriously against *Nabuchodonosor*, with his Neighbours the *Edomites*, *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Tyrians*, and others that were promised great aydes of the *Egyptians*: in confidence of whose resistance, he determined to shake off the *Babylonian* yoke. Hereof when *Nabuchodonosor* had knowledge, he marched with his Army in the dead of Winter, toward *Jerusalem*, and besieged it. *Jeremy* perswaded *Zedechias* to render the City and himself: but being confident of the help from *Egypt*, and being perswaded by his Counsellors and false Prophets, that it was impossible that the Kingdome of *Juda* should be extirpate, untill the comming of *Silo* (according to the Prophecy of *Jacob*) he despised the words of *Jeremy*, and imprisoned him. For *Jeremy* had told the King that the City should be taken and burnt; that the King should not escape, but be taken prisoner, and brought to the presence of *Nabuchodonosor*; that he should not perish by the sword, but being carried to *Babel*, die his naturall death. Gen. 49. 10. Jer. 32. & 34.

Jerusalem being the following year surrounded by *Nabuchodonosors* Armie; the King of *Egypt*, *Pharao Hophra*, according to *Jeremy*, (*Herodotus* calleth him *Aprics*) entred the border of *Juda* with his Army to succour *Zedechias*, of whose revolt he had been the principall Author. But *Jeremy* gave the *Jewes* faithfull counsell, willing them not to have any trust in the succours of *Egypt*: for he assured them that they should return again, and in no sort relieve them. And it fell out accordingly. For when the *Chaldeans* removed from *Jerusalem* to encounter the *Egyptians*, these vaunting Patrons abandoned their enterprise, and taking *Gaza* in their way homeward, returned into *Egypt*, as if they had already done enough; leaving the poor people of *Jerusalem* to their destined miseries. Jer. 44. Herod. lib. 2.

In the mean while the *Jewes*, who in their first extremity had manumised their *Hebrew* Bond-men (as Gods Law required at the year of *Jubile*) and made them free, thereby the better to encourage them to fight; did now upon the breaking up of the *Chaldean* Army, repent them of their Charity: and thinking all had been at an end, held them perforce to their former slavery. But the *Chaldees* being returned to the siege, the Prophet *Jeremy*, when the State of *Jerusalem* began now to grow to extremity, counselled *Zedechias* to render himself unto them; assuring him of his own life, and the safety of the Citie, if he would so do. But his obstinate heart conducted him to that wretched end, which his neglect of God, and his infidelitie and perjurie, had provided for him. Levit. 25. 39. &c. Jer. 34. Jer. 39.

Three and twenty Moneths (as some do reckon it) or, according to *Iosephus*, eighteen, the *Babylonian* Army lay before *Ierusalem*, and held it exceeding straightly besieged, For *they built Forts against it round about*, or (as *P. Martyr* hath it) *extruxerunt contra eam turrem ligneam per circuitum: They surrounded the City with woodden Towers*, so as the besieged could neither sally out, nor receive into the City any supply of men or victuals. *Iosephus* reports, that they over-topped the Walls with high Towers raised upon Mounts; from which they did so beat upon the Wall with their engines, that the defendants were compelled to forsake their Stations. Now although it were so that the besieged also raised Counter-buildings, like unto these, yet the great King of *Babel*, who commanded all the Regions there-abouts, and had the Woods and Rivers Jer. 39. 2 King. 25. 1. *Jos. Ant. Jud. lib. 10. cap. 11.*

to obey him, found means to overthrow all the Citizens endeavours; and to beat down as fast from without, as they raised from within; the body and foundation of his own workes being guarded by the Walls of *Jerusalem* interposed; and theirs within, layd open to their enemies disturbance. Besides, both Famine and Pestilence (which commonly accompany men straightly besieged) grew on fast upon them, whereby, when the number, strength, and courage of the *Jewes* failed, the *Chaldæans* made a breach, and forcing an entry, their Princes did seat themselves, as Lords of the Town, in the middle gate. *Zedechias* beholding this uncomfortable sight, and finding no remedy of the danger present, lost both his courage and his hope at once; and shifted himself, together with his Wives, Children, Princes, and principall servants, out of the Citie, by a way under ground; leaving his amazed and guideless people, to the mercilesse swords of their enemies. Thus he, who, when *Jeremy* the Prophet perswaded him to render himself, despised both the counsell of God, and the force of *Nabuchodonosor*, used now that remedy, which *Wolphius* truly termeth, *Triste, turpe, & infœlix: Wofull, shamefull, and unfortunate.*

By this secret subterrane vault, *Zedechias* making his stealth, recovered (by the help of the dark night) the Plains or Desarts of *Jericho:* but by reason of the train that followed him and his (every one leading with him those whom they held most dear unto them) he was easily traced and pursued. How great soever the company was that attended on him, yet, as *Josephus* reports it, they, on whose fidelity he most reposed himself, no sooner beheld the *Chaldæans* approach, but they all abandoned his defence, and shifted themselves into the Desarts, as they could. For whom God had forsaken, no man followed, but the ministers of his vengeance; by whom *Zedechias* being made Prisoner, with his Children and Princes, he was conveyed to *Rebla* or *Reblath*, a City (as some think) of *Nephtalim*, where *Nabuchodonosor* then lay, as a place indifferent between *Jerusalem* and *Tyre*, with both which at once he had to doe.

Joſ. Ant. l. 10. c. 11.

Now after *Nabuchodonosor* had layd before *Zedechias* the many graces and benefits conferred upon him, together with the notable falsehood and perjury, wherewith he had requited them; he commanded his Children, Princes and Friends to be slain before his face. This being done, to the end that so lamentable a spectacle should be the last that ever he should behold in the World, he caused his eyes to be torn out of his head, and so carried him in a slavish manner to *Babel*, where he consumed the rest of his wretched life in perpetuall imprisonment. Herein this most marvellous Prophecy of *Ezechiel* was performed; *Adducam eum in Babyloniam, & ipsam non videbit: I will bring him into* Babylon, *and he shall not see it.*

Ezek. 12.

Thus in the eleventh and last year of *Zedechias*, which was the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor*, the *Chaldæans* entred the City by force, where sparing no sex nor age, they committed all to the sword that they therein found.

In the year next following, *Nabuzaradan* Generall of the Army, burnt the Kings Palace, and the rest of *Jerusalem:* and after this fire had lasted from the seventh to the tenth day, he also burnt the Temple of God to the ground, when it had stood four hundred thirty and one years.

3534.

After this, upon a second search, *Nabuzaradan* (not yet satiated with bloud) commanded seventy and two others to be slaughtered, which had hidden themselves from the first fury, to wit, the chief, and the second Priest, two Commanders of *Zedechias* his men of Warre, five of his House-hold servants, and others to that number; carrying away to *Babylon* the ablest of the people throughout all *Judæa*; and leaving the poorest labouring soules, with some that followed the party of *Nabuchodonosor*, to till the ground: over whom he left Governour, *Godolia* the Nephew of that *Saphan*, whom *Josias* had formerly employed in the reformation of Religion, who is, for his justice and equity, by *Josephus* highly commended. This man, a *Iew* by Nation, left *Zedechias*, as it seemeth, in the beginning of the Warre: and by *Ieremies* desire to live with him, it appeareth that he had embraced the same advice which the Prophet gave unto *Zedechias*; which was, to submit himself altogether to the *Babylonian*; who being ordained by God to exercise his justice, was therefore resistlesse. The Prophet *Ieremy* being left to his own choice, either to live in *Chaldæa*, or elsewhere, he made election of *Godoliah*, to whom he was recommended; who not only embraced *Ieremy*, but gave comfort to all the other *Iewes* that were left under his charge, promising them favour & liberty

2 King. xxv.

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so long as they remained obedient subjects to *Nabuchodonosor*, by whom he was establi-shed Provinciall Governour of his own Nation.

But ere that year was expired, a Prince of the late Kings house (who during the siege of *Jerusalem*, had kept himself out of the storm, with *Baalis* King of the *Amonites*) being followed by ten other chosen men, while *Godoliah* feasted them in *Maspha* or *Mitspa*, the City of his residence, trayterously slew him, together with divers *Chaldeans* and *Jewes* that accompanied him. This done, he made an escape, and in his way encountering with eighty persons, repairing towards *Godoliah* with presents, he slew the most of them, and spared the rest, because they promised to discover unto him some Treasures hidden in the fields during the war. He also took with him a Daughter of *Zedechias*, committed to the care of *Godoliah* by *Nabuchodonosor*. This practice and intent of *Ismael* had been formerly discovered unto *Godoliah* by *Johanan*, one of the Leaders of the few remaining *Jewes*; but *Godoliah* was incredulous.

Judea being now left without a Governour (for *Ismael* durst not take it upon him, but retired himself, or rather fled as fast as he could to the *Ammonites*) the residue of the *Jewes*, fearing the revenge of the *Chaldeans*, resolved to fly away into *Egypt*, and besought *Jeremy* to ask counsell of God for them: who readily made them answer, that if they remained in *Judea*, God would provide for them, and shew them mercy; but if they sought to save themselves in *Egypt*, that they should then undoubtedly perish. Notwithstanding this advice, the *Jewes* held their determination; and despising the Oracle of God, and constraining *Jeremy* and *Baruch* to accompany them, they travelled into *Egypt*, and inhabited by the permission of *Pharao*, neer unto *Taphnes*: where when *Jeremy* often reprehended them for their Idolatry, foretelling both the destruction of themselves, and the *Egyptians*, also, he was by these his own hard-hearted and ungratefull Country-men, stoned to death; and by the *Egyptians*, who greatly reverenced him, buried neer the Sepulchre of their own Kings.

Finis Libri secundi.

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

Intreating of the Times from the destruction of *Jerusalem to the time of* PHILIP *of* MACEDON.

THE THIRD BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the time passing between the destruction of Jerusalem, *and the fall of the* Assyrian *Empire.*

§. I.

Of the connexion of sacred and prophane Historie.

THE course of Time, which in profane Histories might rather be discerned through the greatest part of his way hitherto passed, in some out-worn foot-steps, than in any beaten path, having once in *Greece* by the *Olympiads*, and in the Eastern countries by the accompt from *Nabonassar*, left surer marks, and more appliable to actions concurrent, than were the War of *Troy*, or any other token of former date; begins at length in the ruin of *Jerusalem* to discover the connexion of antiquity fore-spent, with the story of succeeding ages. Manifest it is, that the originall and progresse of things could ill be sought in those that were ignorant of the first creation: as likewise that the affairs of Kingdoms and Empire afterwards grown up, are not to be found among those that have now no state nor policy remaining of their own. Having therefore pursued the story of the World unto that age, from whence the memory of succeeding accidents is with little interruption of fabulous discourse derived unto us, I hold it now convenient briefly to shew by what means and circumstances the History of the *Hebrews*, which of all other is the most ancient, may be conjoyned with the following times, wherein that Image of sundry metals, discovered by God unto *Nebuchadnezzar*, did reign over the earth, when *Israel* was either none, or an unregarded Nation.

Herein I doe not hold it needfull to insist upon those authorities which give, as it were by heare-say, a certain year of some old *Assyrian* King unto some action or event, whereof the time is found expressed in Scripture: for together with the end of *Ninus* his line

line in *Sardanapalus*, if not before, all ſuch computations were blotted out; the ſucceſſion of *Belochus* and his iſſue that occupied the kingdom afterwards, depending upon the uncertain relations of ſuch as were neither conſtant in aſſigning the years of his beginning, nor of credit enough for others to relye upon. Let it therefore ſuffice that the conſent and harmony which ſome have found in the years of thoſe over-worn Monarchs, doth preſerve their names, which otherwiſe might have been forgotten. Now concerning the later Kings of that Nation, howſoever it be true that we find the names of all or moſt of them in Scriptures, which are recorded by prophane Hiſtorians, yet hereby could we only learn in what age each of them lived, but not in what year his reign began or ended, were it not that the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar* is more preciſely applyed to the times of *Jehojakim* and *Zedechia*. Hence have we the firſt light whereby to diſcover the means of connecting the ſacred and prophane Hiſtories. For under *Nabuchadnezzar* was the beginning of the captivity of *Juda*, which ended when 70. years were expired; and theſe 70. years took end at the firſt of *Cyrus*, whoſe time being well known, affords us means of looking back into the ages paſt, and forwards into the race of men ſucceeding. The firſt year of *Cyrus* his reign in *Perſia*, by generall conſent, is joyned with the firſt year of the 55. *Olympiad*, where, that he reigned three and twenty years before his Monarchy, and ſeven years afterwards, it is apparent, and almoſt out of controverſie. Giving therefore four hundred and eight years unto the diſtance between the fall of *Troy*, and the inſtauration of the *Olympiad* by *Iphitus*; we may eaſily arrive unto thoſe antiquities of *Greece*, which were not meerly fabulous. As for Princes ruling the whilſt in ſundry parts of the world, S. *Auguſtine* and others may be truſted in ſetting down their times, which they had by Tradition from Authors of well-approved faith and induſtry.

From *Cyrus* forwards, how the times are reckoned unto *Alexander*, and from him to the battell of *Actium*, it were (peradventure) in this place impertinent to ſet down. But ſeeing that the beginning and end of the *Babylonian* captivity are marks whereby we are chiefly directed, in paſſing from the firſt unto the lateſt years of the world through any ſtory, with leaſt interruption; it is very expedient that we take ſome pains to informe our ſelves truly of the 70. years during which it continued, even from *Nabuchadnezzar* unto *Cyrus*.

§. II.

A briefe rehearſall of two opinions touching the beginning of the captivity: with an anſwer to the cavils of Porphyrie, *inveighing againſt* S. Matthew *and* Daniel, *upon whom the later of theſe opinions is founded.*

MAny Commentators, and other Hiſtorians and Chronologers find that the captivity then began when *Jechonias* was carried priſoner into *Babylon*, eleven years before the final deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* under *Zedechias*. This they prove out of divers places in *Ezechiel*, eſpecially out of the fourteenth chapter, where he makes a plain diſtinction between the beginning of the Captivity, and utter deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by *Nabuzaradan*, in theſe words; *In the five and twentieth year of our being in Captivitie, in the beginning of the year, in the tenth day of the month, in the fourteenth year after that the Citie was ſmitten.* In which words he beginneth the captivity in plain terms, eleven years before the City was deſtroyed. *Beroaldus* is of opinion that it began in the firſt of *Nabuchodonoſor*, and the fourth of *Joakim*; which he endeavours to prove out of the ſecond of *Chronicles*, but more eſpecially out of Saint *Matthew*, and *Daniel*, whoſe words afford matter of diſputation, but ſerve not to make good ſo much as *Beroaldus* would enforce. That place of S. *Matthew*, and the whole book of *Daniel* have miniſtred occaſion of ſcoffing and railing at the Chriſtian Religion to that wretched man *Porphyrie*, who, not underſtanding how the ſons of King *Joſias* were called by divers names, as *Epiphanius* hath ſhewed at large, thought that the Apoſtle had ſpoken he knew not what in reckoning the ſons, or, according to ſome Tranſlations, the Sonne and Nephews of that good King, begotten about the time of the Captivity. Upon *Daniel* alſo the ſame *Porphyrie* doth ſpend the twelfth of his malicious books written againſt the Chriſtians, affirming, that theſe prophecies and viſions remembred by *Daniel*, were written long after his death, and at, or near the time of

Ezech. c. 1. v. 1. c. 33. 11. & 5.

of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. This fond supposition of his, *Eusebius*, *Apollonius*, and others, have sufficiently answered. For the seventy Interpreters, who converted the old Testament about an hundred years before *Epiphanes*, did also turn this book of *Daniel* out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*, as a part of Scripture received. And were there no other argument to confound *Porphyrie*, than that of *Alexander Macedon*, it were sufficient, who lived divers years before *Antiochus Epiphanes*. For *Jaddus* the high Priest shewed that great Conquerour, when he came towards *Jerusalem* to have destroyed it, this book of *Daniel*, wherein he beheld his own glory foretold, as the same was plainly expounded unto him; which not only stayed his hand from the harme of that City and people, but his assurance and resolution was so confirmed and strengthened thereby, as despising all future perill and resistance, he conquered *Darius*, and the Eastern Empire, in a shorter time than *Nabuchodonosor* had done one City, to wit, *Tyre* in *Phoenicia*.

Mac. 1. 11.

Jos. ant. 11.

It is true indeed that the *Jews* themselves give lesse authority to *Daniel*, than to *Moses* and the *Prophets*, accompting his book among those which they call *Cetaphim*, or *Hagiographa*, or holy Writings, which they say *Esdras* and the Seniors of the Synagogue compiled after their return from *Babylon*. But first, that the book of *Daniel* (I mean so much as is found in the *Hebrew*) is Canonicall: secondly, that it was written by *Daniel* himself, and not by *Esdras* and the Seniors, we may assure our selves by testimony of Councels and Fathers. For in the Councell of *Laodicea* held about the year of our Lord 368. after the death of *Jovinian* the Emperour, and after the *Nicene* Councell three and forty years, this book of *Daniel* was received, verified and confirmed among the other Canonicall Scriptures, as in the *Epitomy* of the same Councell it may be seen; and so doth *Meliton* the most antient Bishop of *Sardis* number it, witnesse *Eusebius* in his Ecclesiasticall History, the fourth book, and five and twentieth chapter: so doth the same Author in the Catalogue of Canonicall books upon *Origen*: so doth *Hilarius* in his Preface upon the Psalms, and *Epiphanius* in his book of Weights and Measures, &c. To these I may adde Saint *Hierome*, *Gregorie Nazianzene*, and others. For the *Hagiographa* books or holy Writings, the *Jews* and *Rabbines* reckon to be these, *Daniel*, *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Job*, *Canticles*, *Ruth*, *Lamentations*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Hester*, *Esra*, *Nehemia*, and the *Chronicles*. And that it was *Daniel*, and not *Esdras*, that wrote this book, Gods commandement unto him by his Angell, to seal up the same to the time appointed, is an unanswerable testimony. Yea, that which exceedeth all strength of other proof, our Saviour Christ, who citeth no Apocryphall Scripture, in *Matthew* and *Mark* allegeth *Daniel* the Prophet, to wit, the last verse of his ninth chapter. Further, in the fifth of *John*, Christ distributeth the risen from the dead, as in *Daniel* the twelfth, verse the second. Saint *Paul* describeth *Antichrist* out of *Daniel*, and the Revelation is wholly an interpretation of *Daniels* visions.

Mat 24.15. Mark 13.14.

Dan. 12.

§. III.

That the 70. years of captivity are to be numbred from the destruction of Jerusalem; *not from the migration of* Jechonia.

HAving thus far digressed in maintaining that authority which must often be cited in the present argument, it is now convenient, that we return unto the differences of opinion concerning the beginning of these 70. years. Neither will I stand to trouble my self and others with laying open the grounds or weaknesse of that which *Eusebius* and some few nameless Authors have sometimes held in this point, which is lately revived by *Beroaldus*, but will forthwith enter into consideration of that opinion, which many both ancient and late Writers have so earnestly maintained, that it wants not much of being common.

Four Kings of *Juda* were carried away captives to *Babylon*: First, *Manasses*; then *Jehojakim*, and with him among others, *Daniel* the Prophet: thirdly, *Jeconias*, and with him *Ezechiel*: lastly, *Zedechias*, at which time the city & temple were destroyed. To the first of these captivities the beginning of the 70. years is referred by none that I have read; to the second, by few, and with weak proof; to the third, by very many, and with much confidence. For besides those places of *Ezechiel* already cited, there is a strong argument gathered

gathered out of *Jeremy*, which may ſeem to make the matter plain. For the Prophet, in comforting the people that were carried away with *Jechonias*, uſeth theſe words: *Thus ſaith the Lord, After 70. years be accompliſhed at* Babel, *I will viſit you, and perform my good promiſe towards you, and cauſe you to return to this place.* Jer. 29 10.

But it ſtands indeed with little reaſon that we ſhould ſeek the interpretation of a prophecy out of circumſtances, when the prophecy is ſuch as doth ſufficiently expound it ſelf. *Jeremy* hath already, in the fourth year of *Jehojakim*, denounced the judgement of God againſt the Land, for the ſins and impenitency of that obſtinate people, in theſe words: *Behold, I will ſend and take to me all the families of the North, ſaith the Lord, and* Nebuchadnezzar *the King of* Babel, *my ſervant; and will bring them againſt this Land, and againſt the Inhabitants thereof, and againſt all theſe Nations round about, and I will deſtroy them, and make them an aſtoniſhment, and an hiſſing, and a continuall deſolation. Moreover, I will take from them the voyce of mirth, and the voyce of gladneſſe, the voyce of the Bridegroom, and the voyce of the Bride, the noyſe of the mil-ſtones, and the light of the candle, and this whole Land ſhall be deſolate, and an aſtoniſhment, and theſe Nations ſhall ſerve the King of* Babel 70. *years. And when 70 years are expired, I will viſit the King of* Babel. Jer. 25. ver. 16, 17. & 18.

Here we ſee preſcribed unto the captivity the terme of 70. years, which were to commence, neither when the prophecy was uttered; nor when *Jehojakim*, who then reigned, was taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*; nor yet in the time of *Jechonia*; but with the utter deſolation of the City, whereof *Jeremy* did again give notice to thoſe that were already in *Babylon*, at ſuch time as he ſent them the comfort of deliverance before rehearſed. And ſo did the people underſtand this prophecy, in thoſe times when they ſaw it accompliſhed, beginning the 70. years at the time of the deſolation, as manifeſtly appears in the end of the Hiſtory of *Juda*, where it is ſaid thus: *They burnt the houſe of God, and brake down the wall of* Jeruſalem, *and burnt all the Palaces thereof with fire, and all the precious veſſels thereof to deſtroy all: And they that were left by the ſword, carried he away to* Babel, *and they were ſervants to him and to his ſons, untill the kingdome of the* Perſians *had rule, to fulfill the word of the Lord by the mouth of* Jeremia, *untill the Land had her fill of her Sabbaths: for all the days that ſhe lay deſolate, ſhe kept Sabbath, to fulfill 70. years. But in the firſt year of* Cyrus *King of* Perſia *(when the word of the Lord ſpoken by the mouth of* Jeremia, *was finiſhed) the Lord ſtirred up the ſpirit of* Cyrus. 2 Chro. 36. 19.

We ſeldome find one piece of Scripture ſo preciſely and plainly expounded by another, as in this prophecy, to have afterwards been the ſubject of altercation. For one can hardly deviſe how either the deſolation could have been expreſſed more ſenſibly, than it was by the Prophet, or the event of the prophecy have been more exactly ſet down, than it was in the place now laſt of all cited. If it be requiſite that we bring more proof in ſo evident a caſe, the ninth Chapter of *Daniel* yeelds teſtimony ſufficient, unto this expedition of *Jeremia* his prophecy, that *Jeruſalem* was to lye waſte 70. years. For in the firſt year of *Darius* the *Mede*, which was the laſt of the 70. *Daniel* obtained of God, the deliverance that had been promiſed, by prayer, which he made upon conſideration of the time that was expired: as he telleth in theſe words; *In the firſt year of his reign, I* Daniel *underſtood by books the number of the years whereof the Lord had ſpoken unto* Jeremiah *the Prophet, that he would accompliſh 70. years in the deſolation of* Jeruſalem. Dan. 9. 2.

So that howſoever the time of *Daniel* his own captivity be reckoned from the taking of *Jehojakim*, and that the people carryed away with *Jeconia*, did accompt, as well they might, the years of their own captivity; yet with the generall deſolation of the Country, wherein were few or none of the *Iſraelites* left remaining to inhabite, began in the nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonoſor* the great captivity, which by Gods appointment continued unto the end of ſeventy years.

This I will not further ſeek to prove, by the authority of *Joſephus* and others affirming the ſame; foraſmuch as that which already hath been produced, is enough to ſatisfie any man that hath not fully determined to hold the contrary.

§. IV.

§. IV.

Sundry opinions of the Kings which reigned in Babylon *during the 70. years.*

WHat Kings reigned in *Babylon*, during these seventy years of the Captivity, and how long each of them did wear the Diademe, it is a matter of no great importance to know, forasmuch as neither their acts were notable in the age wherein they lived, nor the length of their reigns any way helpfull to the concordance of times, foregoing or succeeding. The conquests recounted by *Xenophon* of *Syria*, *Arabia* (or rather some part of it) *Hyrcania*, *Bactria*, and perhaps of some other Countries, may seem fruits of the victories obtained by *Nebuchadnezzar* the Great (or by some of his Ancestors) in the former part of his life, before he betook himself to ease, and to the sumptuous building of his great *Babel*, for the house of his Kingdom, and for the honour of his Majesty, where it may seem that he and his Heirs kept a great state, and did very little. The idle behaviour of the *Assyrian* Souldiers, in such skirmishes as afterwards they had with the *Medes*, doth argue no lesse. For whereas under *Nabuchadnezzar*, they were so stout and industrious, that (to omit other proofs) they attempted, and finished that hardy piece of work, of winning the strong City of *Tyre*, by joyning unto it the continent, filling up the deep and broad channell of the Sea, dividing it from the main with a mole or piece of earth, and other matter; the reparation whereof when the Sea had washed it away, was the very greatest of *Alexanders* works: in the times following, they became timorous, that they durst not approach nearer to the enemy than their bows would carry, but were ready to turn their backs, as soon as any, though inferiour in numbers, adventuring within the distance, offered to charge them.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. 1.

Now as their actions from the end of *Nebuchadnezzars* wars, till the ruin of their Empire, were not worthy to be recorded; so was the distinction of their times, and reign of their severall Kings, unworthy of the great labour that hath in vain been taken in that businesse. For when it is granted, that the captivity of *Juda*, ending with that Empire, lasted 70. years, we may as reasonably forbear to search into the particular continuance of two or three slothfull Kings, as we are contented to be ignorant of the ages of the *Patriarchs*, and their children living in the *Egyptians* servitude; resting satisfied in both with the generall assured sum.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 1. & l. 3.

Yet forasmuch as many have travelled in this businesse, upon desire (as I take it) to approve the beginning and end of the 70. years, not only by the reigns of other Princes, ruling elsewhere, but by the times of the *Assyrians* themselves; I will not refuse to take a little pains in collecting their opinions, and shewing what I think may best be held for likely, if the certain truth cannot be found.

The opinions are many, and greatly repugnant, both in recounting the Kings themselves, and in setting down the years of their severall reigns. The first (as I take it) the surest, is theirs, who meerly follow the authority of the Scriptures, without borrowing any help from others. These name only three Kings, *Nabuchadnezzar*, *Evilmerodach*, and *Balthasar*, Neither have they only the silence of *Daniel*, who names none other, to be their warrant, but the prophecy of *Jeremy* precisely, and in a manner purposely teaching the very same. For God, by the mouth of that Prophet, shewing that he being absolute Lord of all, would dispose of all according to his own will, and making it known that he had put some Countries here named, into the hands of the King of *Babel*, saith thus: *Jer. 27. 7.* *And all Nations shall serve him, and his Son, and his Sons Son, untill the very time of his land come also; then many Nations and great Kings shall serve themselves of him.* These words, expressing the continuance of the *Chaldean* Empire, and number of the Kings, will hardly be qualified with any distinction. But indeed I find no other necessity of qualification to be used herein, than such as may grow out of mens desire to reconcile the Scriptures unto profane Authors. And this desire were not unjust, if the consent of all histories were on the one side, and the letter of the holy Text were single on the other side.

But contrariwise, the Authors which are cited in this case, are so repugnant one to the other, & the proofs of their different reports are so slender & unsufficient, that the succession of these Princes, had it not bin thus delivered in Scriptures, but only set down by some

some Author of equall credit with the rest, might very well have found and deserved as good belief, as any of those things which they have delivered in this point. For some there are, who following *Josephus*, derive that Empire, as by descent, from father to son, through five generations; beginning with *Nabuchodonosor* the great, and giving to him 43. years; to *Evilmerodach* 18. to *Nigliſar* the son of *Evilmerodach*. 40. to *Labosardach* the son of *Nigliſar* 9. months, and lastly, to *Balthasar* (whom *Josephus* intimates to be of the race of *Nabuchodonosor*, without naming his father) 17. years. And this opinion (save that he forbears to reckon the years, and plainly calls *Balthasar* the son of *Labosardach*) Saint *Hierome* doth follow, alleging *Berosus* and *Josephus* as a sectator of *Berosus*, for his Authors; though *Berosus*, as he is cited by *Josephus*, report the matter far otherwise. For he tels us that *Evilmerodach* the son of *Nabuchodonosor* did reign but two years, for his wickedness and lust, slain by his sisters husband *Nirigliſſoroor*, who occupied the kingdome after him four years, and left it to his own son *Labosardach*; who being an ill-conditioned boy, was at the end of nine months slain by such as were about him, and the kingdome given to one *Nabonidus*, who held it by the election of the Conspirators, and left it unto *Cyrus* after 17. years. This relation ill agrees with that of *Josephus*, and both of them as bad with the Scriptures, in number either of years, or of generations; yet the particularities which they handle, have procured unto them some authority, so that the names which they have inserted, are taken as it were upon trust. There is a third opinion which makes the three last Kings brethren and sons of *Evilmerodach*; and this may well enough agree with the Scripture: though I had rather beleeve *Xenophon*, who saith that the last King of *Babylon* was immediate successour to his father. But whereas the Author of the Scholasticall Historie, who is founder of this opinion, placeth between him that took *Jerusalem*, and *Evilmerodach*, another *Nabuchodonosor*: plain enough it is that he hath, out of any Historie sacred or profane, as little warrant to guide him, as we have reason to follow him. *Eusebius*, *Sulpitius*, *Severus* and *Theodoret*, upon better ground have supposed, that *Evilmerodach* and *Balthasar* were brethren and sons of the great *Nabuchodonosor*. This is built on the fifth Chapter of *Daniel*, wherein *Balthasar* (for of *Evilmerodach* there is none that ever doubted) is often called *Nabuchodonosor* his son. And so common grew this explication, that S. *Hierome* called it the vulgar opinion. But the place of *Jeremy* before cited, proves that *Balthasar* was not the son indeed, but the grand-child of that great Conqueror, though by the phrase very common in Scriptures, and familiar in those *Eastern* languages, he was called the son.

Josephus lib. 10. c. 12.

Jos. cont. Ap. l. 1.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. 4.

Annius his *Metasthenes* hits very rightly the seventy years of captivity, giving to *Nabuchodonosor* 45. years, to *Evilmerodach* 30. years; and to the three sons of *Evilmerodach*, Nephews of *Nabuchodonosor*, fourteen years; that is, to *Reg-Assar* the eldest son, three years, to *Lab-Assar Dach* the second son, six years, and to *Balthasar* the third son, five.

To this accompt agreeing with the Scriptures, both in the whole sum of years, and in the number of generations, I have sometime subscribed, as not daring to reject an appearance of truth, upon no greater reason than because the Author was of *Annius* his edition. Yet could I not satisfie my self herein; both for that none of the Ancient, and few such of the modern Writers as deserve to be regarded, have consented with this *Metasthenes*; and for that in making *Balthasar* succeed unto his brother in the kingdom, and not unto his father, he is wholly against *Xenophon*, whose Historie of the elder *Cyrus* in his *Assyrian* war I cannot slightly value in many respects, and especially because it is very agreeable to the Scriptures, in the taking of *Babylon*, while the King was at his drunken feast.

Seeking therefore diligently into all circumstances that might give any light in this obscurity, I found manifest proof, that the time alloted unto *Balthasar* by *Annius* his *Metasthenes*, was far short of the truth, which is enough to render all suspected that he hath said in distributing what part of the 70. years he pleased among the rest. For in the third year of *Balthasar*, *Daniel* saw a vision, after which he was sick certain days, but when he rose up, he did the Kings businesse: from which businesse, that he did afterwards withdraw himself, and live retired, so long, that he was forgotten in the Court, it appears plainly, both by the many words which the old Queen used to set out his sufficiency, and by the Kings asking of him, when he came into his presence, whether he were

Dan. 8. 1. & 27

Dan. 5. 11, 12, 13. Dan. 2. 49. were *Daniel*. Now to think that a man of such account and place as *Daniel* had held, could in two years have been worn out of remembrance, were in my judgement a very strange conceit, which rather than I would entertain, I can well be contented to think the whole story (thus related) a part of *Annius* his impostures.

Out of these reports of *Josephus*, *Berosus*, and others, many new opinions are framed, by conjectures of late Writers. For the endurance of the captivity being 70. years, and these years extending unto the first of *Cyrus*, in which course of time *Nabuchadnezzar*, his son and grand-child, must have reigned; it hath seemed needfull to supply the years of these three descents by inserting some, whose reigns might fill up the whole continuance of the captivity; with which the time allotted by *Berosus* and others, to *Evilmerodach* and *Balthasar*, joyned unto the years following the nineteen of *Nabuchadnezzar*, (wherein *Jerusalem* was laid desolate) are nothing even.

Therefore *Mercator* and others following him, fashion the years of *Evilmerodach* in this sort. They say, that the 18. years given to him by *Josephus* in the tenth of his Antiquities, should be read and numbred 28. years, and the two years that *Berosus* hath allowed to *Evilmerodach* should be written 23. in the first number the figure of (1) is mistaken for the figure of (2.) and in the latter there should have bin added the figure of (3.) to that of (2.) this granted (to wit) that *Evilmerodach* reigned 28. years, whereof five together with his father, and 23. after his death, and the same number of 23. added to the 25. which *Nabuchodonosor* lived after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, make 48. then 4. years of *Niglisar* according to *Berosus*, 9. moneths of *Labassardach* his son, and 17. years of *Labonidus* or *Balthasar*, make up the number of 70. years to the first of *Cyrus*. But whether by errour in figures, or in words, the numbers be utterly mistaken in all copies extant; upon how weak a foundation do they build, who having nothing to help them, save onely the bare names of two unknown Kings, found in authors manifestly corrupted, and such as if they had been entirely extant, were not worthy to have the place of *Jeremy* called into dispute, in regard of their authority.

§. V.

A more particular examination of one opinion touching the number, persons, and reigns of the Babylonian Kings.

OTher suppositions, little different in substance from this of *Mercator*, I purposely forbear to rehearse, as falling under the same answer. That of *Joseph Scaliger* I may not forget, as deserving to be considered apart from the rest. Hee gives to *Nabuchadnezzar* 44. years, to *Evilmerodach* two, to *Belsazer* five: and to *Nabonidus* 17. So that from the 19. of *Nabuchadnezzar*, in which *Ierusalem* was destroyed, unto the time of *Cyrus*, he accounteth only 59. years; beginning (as many do) the captivitie 11. years sooner from the transportation of *Iechonia*. But hereof enough hath bin said already. That which we are now to consider, is his distribution of the time running between the 19. of *Nabuchadnezzar*, and the fall of the *Caldæan* Empire: wherein if he have erred, then is all further inquisition frivolous.

Concerning the length of *Nabuchadnezzars* reign, I shall hereafter upon better occasion deliver my opinion. The time which he gives to *Evilmerodach* is very short, and more precisely agreeing with *Berosus* than with the Scriptures. For we find in *Jeremy*, that this *Evilmerodach* in the first of his reign, shewing all favour to *Jechonia*, did, among other things, take order for him at his table; and that he did continually eat bread before him all the dayes of his life. His portion was a continuall portion given him of the King of *Babel*, every day a certain, all the dayes of his life untill he died. The very sound of these words (which is more to be esteemed than the authority of *Berosus*, were he perfectly extant) inports a farre longer time than two years, wherein *Jechonia*, under this gentle Prince, enjoyed the comfort sent by God, whose commandement he had obeyed in yeelding himself to *Nabuchadnezzar*. Indeed how long *Jechonia* did live, it cannot be proved; but plain it is hereby, that all his remaining dayes he did eat bread before this King. Now that he lived not so short a while after this as 2. years, it is more than likely; for he was but 55. years old when he was set at liberty, having bin 37. years in the prison, whereinto he was cast at the age of 18. years; after which time it seems plain that he begat *Salathiel*, as well by the age of *Zorobabel*, who is said to have been

Jer. 52. 33, 34.

but

but a young man, and one of *Darius* his Pages threescore years after this, as by other circumstances of his imprisonment it self.

Of *Belsazer*, to whom *Scaliger* gives the next five years, naming him also *Laborosoardoch*, I should wonder why he calls him *Nebuchadnezzars* daughters son, were it not that herein I find him very carefull to help out *Berosus*, by shifting in his *Niriglissoroor*, as husband to *Nebuchadnezzars* daughter, and Protector of his son four of these years; by which means there remains about one year to *Belsazer* alone, agreeing neerly with the nine moneths assigned by *Berosus* to the son of *Nigliſar*. But *Jeremy* hath told us that it was to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and to his son, and to his sons son (not to his daughters son) that the Empire was promised: which difficulty, if *Scaliger* could not help, it was well done of him to passe it over with silence.

Nabonidus the last of these, whom others (desirous to reconcile *Berosus* to the Scriptures) have judged to be all one with *Balthasar*, is by *Scaliger* thought to be *Darius* of the *Medes*. But herein *Scaliger* is no firm *Berosian*: for *Berosus* makes him of the same stock or race, a *Babylonian*. I speak not this to disgrace the travell of that most learned man (for it highly commends his diligence and judgement, that he was not so wedded to any author, as affected with the love of truth) but to shew that he himself, having in some points disliked those Writers, whom in generall he approveth, might with greater reason have wholly reformed them by the Scriptures, wherein can be no error. Two things there are which chiefly did breed or confirme this opinion in *Scaliger*, that hee whom *Berosus* calls *Nabonidus*, was the same whom *Daniel* had called *Darius* of the *Medes*: First, the phrase of Scripture, which signifies unto us, that *Darius* took the Kingdome, not saying that he wanne it by force of arms: Secondly, a fragment of *Megasthenes* found in *Eusebius*, wherein this *Nabonidus* is called the *Median*. Touching the word of the Originall, or of the *Greek* translation, which expressing no force of arms, doth only signifie that *Darius* took or received the Kingdome; I see no reason why we should thereupon infer, that the next king entred by Election: seeing *Daniel* relateth not the means and circumstances of *Balthasars* death, but onely the swift accomplishment of his own prophecy. Neither could it indeed have properly been said (if *Daniel* had cared to use the most expressive termes) that *Darius* of the *Medes*, breaking into the City, did win the Kingdome; seeing this was performed by *Cyrus* in the absence of *Darius*, though by his forces, and to his use. Now concerning the fragment of *Megasthenes*, true it is, that in *Eusebius* his works printed at *Basile*, in the year 1559. I find onely thus much of *Megasthenes*, cited out of *Alpheeus*; That *Nabuchodonosor* was more valiant than *Hercules*; that he subdued all *Lybia*, and the rest of *Asia*, as far as to the *Armenians*; and that, as the *Chaldæans* report, being returned into his Kingdome, and rapt with a divine fury, he cryed with a loud voyce: *O* Babylonians, *I foretell ye of a great calamity that shall come upon you, which neither* Bel, *nor any of the gods shall avert: There will come a* Persian, *halfe an Asse, that shall bring slavery upon yee:* and that, this and the like when he had spoken, he vanished. Of all this I believe little or nothing, saving that *Nabuchodonosor* knew before-hand, that his Empire should be translated, as *Daniel* had foretold, from the golden head, to the silver breast. But that he wan all *Africa* or *Lybia*, I doe hold it neither true nor probable.

If *Scaligers* copy of *Eusebius* were the more perfect, out of which *Megasthenes* tells us that *Nabuchodonosor* wanne both *Africk* and *Spain*, I believe the fragment so much the lesse: and am as little moved with the authority of it, where it calls a *Median* the pride and confidence of the *Assyrians*; as where it tels of *Nebuchadnezzar* his own vanishing away. Indeed that same title of half an Asse, by which he calleth *Cyrus*, makes me to suspect the fable, as cunningly forged out of *Apollo* his Oracle, wherein he termeth him a *Mule*, because his parentage was more noble on the mothers side than on the fathers; as *Mules* are begotten by *Asses* upon *Mares*. And thus much in answer of the two principall foundations whereon this opinion is built. As for the concinnity and coherence which it had within it self, I easily allow it. But this proves nothing; for meere fictions have not wanted these commendations: neither can any man believe that one so judicious, industrious, and deeply learned as *Joseph Scaliger*, would overshoot himself, in setting down repugnancies.

It now remaineth to examine the agreement of this with the Scriptures, from which there is no appeal. And herein it seems that *Scaliger*, well knowing his own sufficiency, hath

hath been little carefull to satisfie men that would frame Arguments against him. For if the prophecy of *Daniel* were true, that the Kingdome of *Balthasar* was divided, and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*, either we must think that *Darius* of the *Medes* was not *Nabonidus*, or else we must bethink our selves what *Persian* it might be that shared the Kingdome with him. For it is not more certain that *Balthasar* lost his life and Kingdome, than that his Kingdome was divided and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*. Neither did the *Medes* and *Persians* fall out and fight for it, as by supposing *Nabonidus* to have been *Darius*, they should be thought to have done; but these two Nations did compound the body of that Empire, and were accounted as Lords over all the subject Provinces, insomuch that the *Greek* Historians did commonly call those warres which *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, made upon *Greece*, The Warres of the *Medes*. Yea, to
Dan. 8. 20. clear this point, even *Daniel* himself resembles that King, with whom *Alexander* fought, unto a Ramme with two horns, calling him the King of the *Medes* and *Persians*. Wherefore the whole Nation of *Chronologers* were not to have been condemned by *Joseph Scaliger*, for maintaining upon such good grounds, that *Darius* of the *Medes* was partner with *Cyrus*, in his victories, and not a *Chaldean* King by him subdued. Neither was *Iosephus* to be the lesse regarded, for affirming that *Balthasar* was destroyed by *Darius* of the *Medes*, and his Nephew *Cyrus*, though herein he varied from *Berosus* and others, whose authority elsewhere he gladly citeth. For *Josephus* had no reason to believe any mans faith or knowledge of those times half so well as *Daniels*, whom I believe that he understood as farre as was needfull in this case. Lawfull it was for him to allege all Authors that had any mention, though unperfect, of the same things that were contained in the writings of the *Jewes*, to whose Histories thereby he procured reputation in the *Roman* world, where they were strangers, and might seem fabulous. Even so doe *Eusebius* and other Writers willingly embrace the testimonies of Heathen books making for the truth in some particulars; yet will they not therefore be tryed in generall by the self-same *Ethnick* Philosophers, but leave them where they are against the truth; as *Josephus* in this case hath left *Berosus*. And thus much I thought it meet to say of *Scaligers* opinion in this point; holding nevertheless in due regard his learning and judgement, which if in some things it had not failed, the miracle had then been very great.

§. VI.

What may be held as probable of the Persons and Times of Nabuchodonosor *his successors.*

IT now remains that I freely acknowledge mine own weakness, who cannot find how the 70. years of captivity are to be divided among them which reigned in *Babylon*, though I find that the distribution made of them, in such wise as already is rehearsed, be ill agreeable to the holy Scriptures. Wherefore I may truly say with *Pererius*, that we ought liberally to pardon those whose feet have failed them in the slippery waies of *Chronology*, wherein both learning and diligence are subject to take a fall at one time or other, by ignorance, forgetfulness, or heedlesse reckoning. Yet will I adventure to deliver my opinion, wherein the judgement of *Lyra* and others (holding those only to have reigned over the *Chaldeans*, whose names are found in the Scriptures) appears more conformable to reason and account of time, than any of the other Sentences or Conjectures before rehearsed. Not that I will take upon me to defend *Lyra* his Conjectures, when he supposeth by *Nigliſar* and *Laboſardach* to be meant the same persons which are called in Scriptures *Evilmerodach* and *Balthasar* (for this can by no good colour be maintained) but only to shew that the Kings by him cited, are likely to have occupied the whole time of seventy years. First therefore let us consider the reign of *Nabuchadnezzar*, in whose eighteenth year *Jerusalem* was taken and sackt, but in his nineteenth laid utterly desolate.

Most of Writers have given to him 43. years of reign, following therein *Berosus*. There are who have added one year more; and some have made it up 45. To dispute about the certainty were needlesse: for in shewing by what length of time the Scriptures measure him, we shall shew the certain truth.

Manifest

Manifeſt it is, that the 19. year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, is joyned with the 11. of *Zedechia*; as alſo that his eighth year, was the firſt year of *Jechonia* his captivity; the reign of *Zedekia* occupied all the mean ſpace, being of 11. years. This is generally agreed upon, ſo that it needs no further proofes: As for the beginning of his ſucceſſor *Evilmerodach*, it was in the ſeven and thirtieth year of *Jechonia* his captivity; ſo that *Nebuchadnezzar* after his 8. year (which was the firſt of *Jechonia* his bondage) reigned 35. whole years, and peradventure a good part of the ſix and thirtieth, foraſmuch as *Jechonia* was inlarged with ſo great favour, not untill the end of the year. Subſtracting therefore out of theſe four and forty, which *Nebuchadnezzars* reign did well-neer occupie, thoſe eighteen years of his which paſſed away before the captivity of *Juda*, and ruin of the City, we have remaining ſix and twenty years of the ſeventy, that were almoſt wholly ſpent when his ſon began to reign. 2 King 2. 5 8. & Jerem. 52. 12. 2 King 24. 12. 2 King 25. 27. & Jerem. 52. 31

It is now to be conſidered how the remainder of the ſeventie years were divided between the Kings ruling in *Babylon* untill the firſt of *Cyrus*. A queſtion more difficult (as I ſaid before) than greatly needfull: the whole ſum being certain, and the diſtinction of times affording no benefit in knowledge of their actions, who were ſlothfull Princes. Neither can any man the more juſtly ſuſpect the beginning or end of the whole 70. years, for that the diſtribution of ſome part of them is only conjecturall; ſeeing that none who gives any other termes to their beginning or end, hath refuſed to follow both unlikely and deſperate conjectures in dividing them. I will therefore be bold to doe as others have done; knowing well before-hand, that whoſoever ſhall diſcover my error, muſt do me the pleaſure (which I could rather wiſh in a caſe more materiall) of making me to underſtand the truth.

Of the four and forty years remaining in accompt of *Nebuchadnezzars* death, wee are to take away the laſt, which was the firſt of *Darius* the *Mede*, & then having authority good enough to warrant us from blame of preſumption, in giving us ſeventeen years to *Balthaſar*, we find left in our hands to beſtow upon *Evilmerodach* ſix & twenty years. Of the year belonging unto *Darius* the *Mede*, I have already ſpoken what I thought ſufficient, in delivering my opinion of the beginning and continuance of this captivity. That *Balthaſar* did reign ſeventeen years, we have the authority of *Joſephus*, before cited in expreſſe words; Wee have alſo the generall conſent of all, or the moſt late Writers, interpreting *Beroſus* his *Nabonidus*, who reigned ſo long; & *Balthaſar* to have been one. But nothing moveth me ſo much to beleeve this Tradition, as firſt thoſe evident places in *Daniel*, ſhewing that in the third year of *Balthaſar* hee followed the Kings buſineſſe, and yet was forgotten ere the end of his reign, (a proof ſufficient of no few years, paſſing under this man, eſpecially ſeeing it is no where found that *Daniels* employments took end either that year or the next.) Secondly, the conſideration of *Cyrus* his warres againſt the *Aſſyrians*, which beginning with the death of this mans father, & being alwaies proſperous, could hardly have occupied any longer time; though wee make large allowance to his deeds in the lower *Aſia*, which fell out in the middeway: I have already ſhewed, that there appeares in the Scriptures likelihood enough to make it credible, that the reign of *Evilmerodach* was not ſhort, and that men of great judgment have found it moſt probable, that he was a King three and twenty years. More, I think, they would have allowed him, had not the deſire of ſatisfying *Beroſus* cauſed them to reſt content with this. And ſurely it were greatly to bee wiſhed, that books of ſuch antiquitie, as thoſe of *Beroſus*, were extant without corruption; a great light (no doubt) they would yeeld in many dark paſſages of Antiquitie. I will yet confeſſe, that were his works never ſo excellent, and in all things elſe unqueſtionably true, I would not therefore condeſcend unto him in ſome one point, wherein the Scriptures were his open enemie: How much leſſe ought I obey a broken fragment of his, containing onely ſeven or eight lines, and part even of the title corrupted, as they beleeve that follow him in the reſt? The Scriptures have told us that God gave the Empire to *Nebuchadnezzar*, to his ſonne, and to his ſonnes ſonne: How long each of them held it, wee find not expreſſed; yet would we gladly know it of *Beroſus*, or of any other that would teach us; provided alwayes, that helping us in a particularity, hee deſtroyed not thereby the generall truth. More words are needleſſe. It is enough to ſay with others, that *Beroſus*, or *Joſephus* who cited him, hath been wronged by the careleſneſſe of Scribes; and that it was as eaſie for thoſe Scribes to erre in writing two Dan. 8. 1. & 27. & cap. 5. v. 11, 12. & 13. Jerem. 27. 7.

for six and twenty, as for three & twenty, or perhaps more easie. For, the omission of the second figure, was as likely the one way as the other; and the Character 5. signifying 6. hath a neerer resemblance of ꝺ that stands for 2. than hath ȝ which is used for 3. So that the numerall notes ꝺ 5. expressing 26. were not safe enough from being mistaken in the true copie, and might bee altered, as ill written, if some crooked hand, or other mischance not unusuall, had omitted the first strok of the former letter, or added a dash to the latter, which might cause them to seem not two different figures, but the one a correction of the other, which how it could bee supposed in ꝺȝ standing for 23. I doe not well perceive. As for the Arithmeticall figures now in use, they were long after the time of *Josephus* brought in by the *Arabians*, and therefore doe not appertain unto this businesse; unlesse wee should ghesse that his works were corrupted in that unlearned age, which following the Saracen conquest, was little occupied in the studies of humanity, but in a sort wholly given over to the doctrine of *Aristotle*. If this will serve to make *Berosus* our friend, so let it be; if not, I will not purchase the favour of his authority, by forsaking *Jeremy* and *Daniel* when they seem to be his opposites.

§. VII.

Of the victories which Nabuchodonosor *obtained between the destruction of* Jerusalem *and conquest of* Egypt.

With what actions this time of 70. years was entertained by the *Babylonian* Kings, few have written, or little is remaining in record. Which may peradventure have been some cause that the time it self was, and is yet sought to bee abridged, as not having left sufficient matter to witnesse the length of it. But by such an argument we might as well deny to many people even their being. For every Nation (I know not whom I should except) between the beginning and last end of it, hath in some slothfull age rather dreamt away the time, than spent it. It is therefore no marvell, if the posterity of *Nabuchodonosor*, finding all things ready to their hand, which their hearts could have desired, betook themselves to their ease and pleasures, thinking perhaps, like the prodigall sons of greedy fathers, their own wisedome greater, which knew how to enjoy, than that of their Ancestors, which wearied away their days in the restlesse travell of purchasing: Though indeed the reign of *Nabuchodonosor* was so divided, that his youthfull and stronger years having been exercised in victorious armes, no small part of his life was remaining to be spent in establishing what was gotten, and gathering the fruit of his worthie labours past. The nineteenth year of his reign it was, when destroying utterly the great and mighty Citie of *Jerusalem*, hee enriched himself with abundance of spoil, and terrified all that would offer to resist him, by that fearfull example. From that time forward, he, untill his three and twentieth year, laboured in the conquest of those adjoyning Regions, which God had exposed unto his sword, and commanded to wear his yoke; namely, the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Tyrians*, *Sydonians*, and *Egyptians*, though some of these were already become his followers, and served under him, when *Jerusalem* was beaten down and burnt. But the *Tyrians*, whose Citie was founded on an Island, safe enough from any danger of a Land-army, & whose fleet was so strong, that they needed not to fear any enemy at sea, were neither daunted with the fall of their neighbour cities, nor with the obstinate resolution of this mighty Prince, imploying all his power to their subversion.

That the Citie of *Tyre* was rather well pleased, than any way discouraged with the fall of *Jerusalem* (which had held the same course that *Tyrus* did, and endured all that might bee in the same quarrell against the common enemie) it appeares by the words which *Ezekiel* condemneth as the common voice of *Tyrus*; *Aha, the gate of the people is broken, it is turned unto me; for seeing she is desolate, I shall be replenished.* Yet at length, even in the nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonosor*, that great work of his, whereof we have already spoken, began to appear above the waters, and threaten them with inevitable mischief.

Ezek. 26. 2.

Jerem. 25. Isai. 23. 15.

But those prophecies of *Jeremy* & of *Esay*, which appoint unto this desolation of *Tyre* the same terme of 70. years, that was prescribed unto the reign of the *Chaldæans*, doe plainly

plainly shew, that she followed *Jerusalem*, the same nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonosor*, in the same, or a very like fortune. The particularities, which doubtlesse were memorable in the issue of so great and laborious a siege, are in a manner utterly lost. Thus much we find, That the Citizens perceiving the Town unable to hold out, embarked themselves, and fled into the Isle of *Cyprus*. Nevertheless it seems that this evasion served only the principall men, who escaping with their goods, abandoned the poorer sort unto the enemies fury. For, not onely such people of *Tyre* as dwelt on the Continent, (who are Called her Daughters in the field) were put to the sword; but the like execution was done in the streets, into which, with excessive labour, the *Assyrian* made way for his Horses and Chariots. Thus *Nabuchodonosor caused his Armie to serve a great service against* Tyrus, *wherein every head was made bald, and every shoulder was made bare, yet had hee no wages, nor his Armie*; but was fain to rest contented with the Honour of having destroyed that Citie, which in all mens judgements had been held invincible. Ezech. 29.18.

The destruction of these two great and powerfull Cities, having made the name of the *Chaldæans* dreadfull in the ears of all the Nations thereabout, *Nabuchodonosor* used the advantage of that reputation which he had obtained by victories already gotten, to the getting of more, and more profitable, with lesse pain. The Kingdome of *Egypt* was the mark at which he aimed; a Country so abounding in all riches and pleasures, that it might well have tempted any Prince, finding himself strong enough, to seek occasion of quarrell against it; and so farre an enemy to the Crown of *Babylon*, that had it been poorer, yet either it must have been subdued, or the conquest of *Syria* could ill have been established. Nevertheless it was needfull, that before he entred into this businesse, the Countries adjacent should bee reduced into such termes, that either they should wholly stand at his devotion, or at least be unable to work him any displeasure. And herein the decree of God concurred, as in all prosperous enterprises, with reason of state. For, the people of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, *Damascus*, *Kedar*, *Hazar*, and other adjoyning Regions, whom God for their sins had condemned to fall under the *Babylonian* swords, were such, as regarding only their own gain, had some of them, like Ravens, followed the *Chaldæan* Armie, to feed upon the karcasses that fell by the cruelty thereof; others taking advantage of their neighbours miseries, occupied the Countries which were by his victories belonging to *Nabuchodonosor*: all of them thinking, that when the *Assyrian* had satisfied his fury, he should be fain to forsake those desolate parts, and leave the possession to those that could lay hand upon it. Particularly the *Edomites* and *Philistims* had shewed much malice to the *Jewes* when their City was taken. What good service they had done to the *Chaldæans*, I find not; if they did any, it is likely to have been with reference to their own purposes, wherein they were disappointed. The *Ammonites* were not contented to rejoyce at the fall of *Jerusalem*, but presently they entered upon the Country of *Gad*, and took possession, as if not the *Assyrians*, but they, had subdued *Israel*. Neither can I perceive what other ground that practice had of *Baalis* King of the *Ammonites*, when he sent *Ismael*, a Prince of the bloud of *Juda*, to murther *Gedalia*, whom the King of *Babel* had left Governour over those that remained in *Israel*, and to carry captive into the *Ammonites* Countrey the people that abode in *Mizpah*, than a desire of embroyling *Nabuchodonosor* with so many labours at once, as should make him retire into his own Countrey, and abandon those wasted Lands to himself and others, for whom they lay conveniently. Such or the like policy the *Moabites* did exercise; whose pride and wrath were made frustrate by God, and their dissimulation condemned, as not doing right. Ezech. 25.12. & 15. Ezech. 35. Jerem. 49.1. Jerem. 40.14. & 41.2. & 10. Jer. 28.27. &c.

All these nations had the art of ravening, which is familiar to such as live or border upon desarts; and now the time afforded them occasion to shew the uttermost cunning of their theevish wits. But *Nebuchadnezzar* did cut asunder all their devices by sharp and sudden warre, over-whelming them with unexpected ruine, as it were in one night; according to the prophecies of *Esay*, *Jeremy*, and *Ezekiel*, who foretold, with little difference of words, the greatnesse and swiftnesse of the miserie that should come upon them. With which of them he first began, I find not; it seems that *Moab* was the last which felt his hand: for so doe many good Authors interpret the prophecie of *Esay*, threatning *Moab* with destruction after three years, as having reference to the third year following the ruine of *Jerusalem*; the next year after it being spent in the *Egyptian* Esay 16.14.

expedition. This is manifest, that all the principall towns in these Regions were burnt, and the people slain, or made slaves, few excepted, who being preserved by flight, had not the courage to return to their habitations over hastily, much lesse to attempt any thing against *Nabuchodonosor*, but lived as miserable out-lawes, or at least oppressed wretches, untill the end of the seventy years, which God had prescribed unto the desolation of their Countries, as well as of the Land of *Juda*.

§. VIII.

That Egypt *was conquered, and the King therein reigning slain by* Nabuchodonosor, *contrarie to the opinion of most Authors: who, following* Herodotus *and* Diodorus, *relate it otherwise.*

WHen by a long course of victory *Nabuchodonosor* had brought into subjection all the Nations of *Syria*, and the bordering *Arabians*, in such wise, that no enemy to himself, nor friend to the *Egyptian*, was left at his back, that might give impediment unto his proceeding, or take advantage of any misfortune; then did he forth-with take in hand the conquest of *Egypt* himselfe, upon which those other Nations had formerly bin depending. Of this expedition, and the victorious issue thereof, the three great Prophets, *Esay*, *Jeremy*, and *Ezekiel*, have written so plainly, that I hold it altogether needlesse to look after more authoritie, or to cite for proof halfe of that which may be alleged out of these. Nevertheless, wee find many and good Authors, who following *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, are well contented to strain these Prophecies with unreasonable diligence unto such a sense, as gives to *Nabuchodonosor* little more than the honour of having done some spoile in *Egypt*, omitting the conquest of that Land by the *Babylonian*, and referring the death of *Apries* or *Hophra* to a chance long after following, which had no coherence with these times or affairs. So preposterous is the delight which many men take in the means and second helps conducing to their purpose, that oftentimes they doe preferre the Commentator before the Author; and to uphold a sentence, giving testimony to one clause, doe carelesly overthrow the history it self, which thereby they sought to have maintained. The reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, concerning the Kings of *Egypt*, which reigned about these times, are already rehearsed in the former book: but that which they have spoken of *Apries*, was purposely reserved unto this place. *Herodotus* doth affirm that he was a very fortunate King, but wherein he telleth not; (unlesse we should understand that he was victorious in the Warre, which he is said to have made upon *Tyrus* and *Sydon*) that he reigned five and twenty years, and was finally taken and put to death by his own Subjects; who did set up *Amasis*, as King, which prevailed against him. The rebellion of the *Egyptians* hee imputeth to a great losse which they received in an expedition against the *Cyrenians*, by whom almost their whole army was destroyed. This calamity the people of *Egypt* thought to be well pleasing to their King, who had sent them on this dangerous expedition, with a purpose to have them consumed, that so he might with greater securitie reign over such as staied at home. So they who escaped, and the friends of such as were slain, rebelled against *Apries*, who sent *Amasis* to appease the tumult; but *Amasis* became Captain of the rebells, and was by them chosen King. Finally, the whole Land consented unto this new Election; whereby *Apries* was driven to trust unto his forraign Mercenaries, the *Ionians* and *Carians*, of whom he kept continually in readinesse thirty thousand good Souldiers that fought valiantly for him, but were at length vanquished by the great number of the *Egyptian* forces, amounting unto two hundred and fifty thousand, which were all by birth and education, men of Warre. *Apries* himself being taken prisoner, was gently intreated by *Amasis* for a while, untill the *Egyptians*, exclaiming upon him, as an extreme enemie to the Land, got him delivered into their hands, and strangled him, yet they gave him honourable buriall. Such is the report of *Herodotus*, with whom *Diodorus Siculus* doth neerly agree, telling us that *Apries* did vanquish the *Cyprians* and *Phœnicians* in battell at Sea, took by force and demolished *Sidon*, wanne the other Towns of *Phœnicia*, and the Isle of *Cyprus*, and finally perished, as is before rehearsed, when hee had

Herod. l. 2. & l. 4.

Diod. Sic. l. 1. c. 2.

had reigned two and twenty years. This authority were enough (yet not more than enough) to inform us of *Apries* his history, if greater authority did not contradict it. But the destruction of *Egypt* by the *Babylonian*, foretold by the Prophets, which hath no coherence with these relations, hath greater force to compell our belief, than have the traditions of *Egyptian* Priests (which the Greek Historians followed) and greater probabilities to perswade those that look only into humane reasons. For *Esay* prophecied long before of the shamefull captivity of the *Egyptians*, whom the King of *Assur* should carry away naked, young and old, in such wise, that the *Jews*, who fled unto them for deliverance from the *Assyrian*, should be ashamed of their own vain confidence in men so unable to defend themselves. Esa. 20. v. 4. 5. & 6.

But *Ezekiel* and *Jeremy*, as their prophecies were neerer to the time of execution, so they handled this argument more precisely. For *Ezechiel* telleth plainly, that *Egypt* should be given to *Nabuchadnezzar*, as wages for the service which he had done at *Tyre*: Also he recounteth particularly all the chief Cities in *Egypt*, saying, That these by name should be destroyed, and go into captivity, yea that Pharao *and all his Army should be slain by the sword*. Wherefore it must needs be a violent exposition of these Prophecies, which by applying the issue of such threatnings to an insurrection and rebellion concludes all, without any other alteration in *Egypt*, than change of the Kings person, wherein *Amasis* did succeed unto *Apries*, by force indeed, but by the uniforme consent of all the people. Certainly, if that notable place of *Jeremy*, wherein he foretelleth how the *Jews* in *Egypt* should see *Pharao Hophra* delivered into the hand of his enemies, as *Zedekia* had been, were to be referred unto the time of that rebellion, whereof *Herodotus* hath spoken, as the generall opinion hath over-ruled it; then was it vainly done of the same Prophet (which God forbid that any Christian should think, seeing he did it by the appointment of God himself) to hide in the clay of a Brick-hill, those very stones, upon which the Throne of *Nabuchodonosor* should be set, and his Pavilion spred. Yea then was that prophecy no other than false, which expressed the end of *Pharaoh* thus: *Behold I will visit the common people of No*, & Pharaoh, *and* Egypt *with their gods and their Kings, even* Pharaoh, *and all that trust in him: and I will deliver them into the hands of those that seek their lives, and into the hand of* Nabuchadnezzar, *King of* Babel, *and into the hands of his servants*. The clearnesse of this prophecy being such as could not but refute that interpretation of many other places, which referred all to the rebellion of *Amasis*, it caused me to wonder what those Commentators would say to it, who are elsewhere so diligent in fitting all to the Greek Historians. Wherefore looking upon *Junius*, who had in another place taken the enemies of *Pharao Hophra* to be *Amasis* and his followers, I found him here acknowledging that the *Egyptian* Priests had notably deluded *Herodotus* with lies, coyned upon a vain-glorious purpose of hiding their own disgrace and bondage. And surely it may well be thought, that the history of *Nabuchadnezzar* was better known to the *Jews*, whom it concerned, than to the Greeks; that scarcely at any time heard of his name. Therefore I see no cause why we should not rather beleeve *Josephus*, reporting that *Nabuchodonosor* in the three and twentieth year of his reign, and the fifth year of the destruction of *Jerusalem*, did conquer *Egypt*, kill the King thereof, and appoint another in his stead, than *Herodotus* or *Diodore*; who beeing meer strangers to this businesse, had no great reason to labour in searching out the truth, but might rest contented with any thing that the Priests would tell them. Now if setting aside all advantage of authority, we should only consider the relations of *Josephus*, and of the Greek Historians, as either of them might be verified of it self by apparent circumstances, without reflecting upon the Hebrew Prophets, or *Egyptian* Priests; me thinks the death of *Apries* can no way be approved, as having been wrought by consent of the people, but affords great matter of suspition: yea, though no man had opposed the reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodore*. For the great love & honor which the *Egyptians* did bear unto their Kings, is notorious by the uniform testimony of all others that have handled the matters of that Country, as well as by the report of *Diodore* himself. How then can we think it probable, that *Apries* having won great victories, did for one only losse fall into the hatred of all his people? or which may serve to perswade us, that a King of *Egypt* would seek, or so demean himself, that he might be thought to seek the destruction of his naturall subjects? As for that Army of thirty thousand souldiers, *Carians* and *Ionians*, which the King

Ezech. 29. v. 10. &c. 30. Ezech. 32. 33.

Jerem. 44 30. Jerem. 45. 10.

Jer. 46. v. 25. & 26.

Jun. in Jerem. cap. 44. v. 30.

Jos. Ant. Jud. lib. 10. c. 11.

of *Egypt*, whom *Amasis* took prisoner, is said to have kept for his defence: doth it not argue that he was a forrainer, and one that armed himself against the *Egyptians*, wishing them few and weak; rather than any of the *Pharaohs*, who accounted the force of the Country, as assuredly their owu, as the strength of their own bodies? It were more tedious than any way needfull, to use all Arguments that might be alleged in this case. The very death of this supposed *Apries*, which the clamours of the people obtained of *Amasis*, who sought to have kept him alive, doth intimate that he was some forrain Governour, not a naturall Prince; otherwise the people would have desired to save his life, and *Amasis* to take it quickly from him. I will not labour any further to disprove that opinion, whereunto I should not have yeelded, though it had stood upon great appearance of truth, considering that the voice of truth it self cries out against it; but leave the circumstances, proving the Conquest of *Egypt* by *Nabuchodonosor*, to be observed where due occasion in course of the story following shall present them.

§. IX.

How Egypt *was subdued and held by* Nabuchadnezzar.

IT is a great losse, that the generall History of the World hath suffered by the spoil and waste which Time hath made of those Monuments that should have preserved the memory of such famous actions as were accomplished by this mighty Prince *Nabuchodonosor*; wherein, whether his Vertue, or Fortune were greater, it is now uncertain. That his Victories following the Conquest of *Syria*, and the Neighbour-Provinces, were such as did more enlarge his Dominion, than all the former Wars had done, it may easily be gathered out of *Ezekiel*, who reckoneth up in his thirtieth Chapter (besides the whole Country of *Egypt*) *Phut* and *Lud*, with other Nations, that may seem to have reached out into *Mauritana*, as people subdued by this great *Babylonian*. The circumstances of these Wars are in a manner utterly lost; but that the victory was easie and swift, any man shall find, who will take the pains to conferre the places, wherein the three great Prophets touch this Argument. Thus much I think worthy of more particular observation; that *Pharaoh*, who (as is already noted in the former Book) thought himself most safe in *Egypt* by the well defenced situation of his Country, did very unwisely in suffering his enemies to sweep the way clean unto his own doors, by consuming all his friends and adherents in *Syria*. For as the labour of this businesse did more harden than weary the *Chaldean* Army, so the confidence and vain security of the *Egyptians*, relying upon the difficult passages which the enemy was to make thorow the *Arabian* deserts, and the much advantage which the great river of *Nilus* would afford unto themselves, did little avail them in provision for the war, and much astonish them (as may justly be thought) in the time of execution: it being usually seen, that the hearts of men fail, when those helps fail, in which they had reposed more confidence than in their own vertue. Hitherto the Kingdome of *Egypt* had flourished under the rule of the *Pharaohs*, about a thousand five hundred and fourscore years; but from this time forward it remained forty years without a King, under the subjection of the *Babylonians*; and then at length it began to recover by little and little the former greatnesse, yet so, that it was never dreadfull unto others, God having said of that people; *I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule the Nations.* For whereas it hath been said of *Pharaoh*: *I am the son of the wise, I am the son of the ancient Kings*: and whereas he had vaunted, *The River is mine, and I have made it*; the Princes of *Egypt* now became fools, the river failed them, the King himself was taken and slain, and that ancient linage quite extinguished. This came to passe in the first year after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the three and twentieth of *Nabuchadnezzar*, at which time (saith *Josephus*) *He slew the King then reigning, placed another in his room, and carried captives thence to* Babylon *the* Jews *whom he found in that Country.* Now concerning the time which *Josephus* gives unto this businesse, and the businesse it self, I have already shewed, that it is warranted by all the prophecies which insinuate the same. As likewise the last destruction of *Jerusalem*, and carrying away those unto *Babel*, who inhabited the miserable ruins of that great city, which was in the same *three & twentieth yeer of* Nabuchadnezzar, is not unprobably thought by

Ezek. 29. 13. 14. & 15. Esay 19. 11. Ezech. 29. 9.

Jos. Ant. Jud. Lib. 10. 11.

Jer. 52. 30.

good

good authors to have been at the return from this *Egyptian* expedition. But whereas *Joſephus* tels us, that there was another King put in the room of *Apries* by *Nabuchadnezzar*, we muſt underſtand, that he was only a Vice-roy, and not (as ſome have miſtaken it) think that this was *Amaſis*. For to place the beginning of *Amaſis* his reign in the three and twentieth of *Nabuchadnezzar*, were as well repugnant unto the prophecies before alleged, as to all Chronology and Hiſtory. Some there are, which to help this inconvenience, imagine that there were two ſucceſſively bearing the name of *Amaſis*; others, that there were two *Apries*, the one ſlain by *Nabuchadnezzar*, the other by *Amaſis*: a queſtion of ſmall importance, becauſe the difference is only about a name, it being once granted that the perſon mentioned in Scriptures, was deprived of life & Kingdome by the *Aſſyrians*. Yet for any thing that I can perceive, that *Apries*, of whom the Greek Hiſtorians wrote, could not be the Deputy of *Nabuchadnezzar*, ſeeing that he was the Grand-child of *Pharao Necho*, and made war (as they report) upon the *Phenicians*, who were, before the *Egyptians*, become ſubject unto the Crown of *Babylon*. I might adde, perhaps, that he whom *Nabuchadnezzar* left as Governour of *Egypt*, was more likely to have had ſome *Chaldæan* or *Aſſyrian*, than *Egyptian* name; unleſſe we ſhould think that he had been a traitor to his naturall Prince, and ſo rewarded by the Conquerour with Lieutenantſhip of the Country: about which it were but frivolous to diſpute. Thus much in brief we ought to beleeve, that *Nabuchodonoſor* made an abſolute Conqueſt of *Egypt*; that he was not ſo fooliſh as to give it away, any man may gheſſe; that he appointed one to rule the Country, it is conſequent unto the former, and hath authority of *Joſephus*; that his Governour (or ſome Succeſſour of his) was afterwards taken and ſlain by *Amaſis*, I ſee probability enough to perſwade my ſelf, and yet can well be content, that others uſe their liberty, and beleeve what they liſt. As for the army which this *Egyptian* King *Apries* is ſuppoſed to have kept of *Ionians* and *Carians*, I hold them to be none other than the garriſons of mercenary ſouldiers which were left by the *Aſſyrian* for the guard of his Viceroy, and cuſtody of the new ſubdued Province: as likewiſe the company returning from *Cyrene* & *Barce*, who together with the friends of ſuch as were ſlain in that expedition, remembred before out of the Greek Hiſtorians, depoſed and ſlew *Apries*, I take them to have been the *Egyptian* fugitives, which then recovered their own Country. Sure it is that this Prophecy of *Ezekiel* was verified, *At the end of forty years will I gather the* Egyptians *from the people where they were ſcattered, and I will bring again the captivity of* Egypt, *and will cauſe them to return into the land of* Pathros, *into the land of their habitation, and they ſhall be there a ſmall Kingdome*. If the *Egyptian* Prieſts alluded hereunto in the tale which they made of *Amaſis* his obtaining the Kingdome, then are they to be helped with this or the like interpretation; if they deviſed matter that had no ſhadow of truth, only to keep the *Greeks* from knowledge of their Countries diſgrace, then are they little to be regarded, ſince we know the truth with them.

Ezek. 30. v. 13. & 14.

§. X.

Of the ſundry accounts drawn from ſundry acts of Nabuchadnezzar, *and of the deſtruction of* Nineve, *by him; the time of which action is uncertain.*

THeſe victories brought the greatneſſe of the *Aſſyrian* Empire to the full, & from them was reckoned the time of *Nebuchadnezzars* reign in ſundry places of Scripture. To ſpeak any more of the queſtions ariſing about the ſuppputation of *Nabuchadnezzar* his times, might ſeem to be the over-handling of one Argument: Yet thus much I will note; that whereas *Daniel* was carried captive in the third yeer of *Jehojakims* reign (which ran along with ſome part of *Nabuchadnezzars* firſt year) and was kept in diet three years more, before he was brought into the Kings preſence; it could not be the ſecond of *Nabuchadnezzars* Kingdom, wherein he interpreted the forgotten dream of the great Image, foreſhewing the ſucceſſe of Monarchies, but the ſecond of his Empire. The ſame or the like may be ſaid of divers places which refer ſundry matters unto their ſet years; as that of *Ezekiel* before cited, where he fore-tels, that *Egypt* ſhould be given in reward for the ſervice done before *Tyrus*, dating his prophecy in the ſeven and twentieth year; and that of *Daniel*, placing the erection of the golden Image in the eighteenth year: for theſe years held no dependance upon either the beginning of *Nabuchad-*

Dan. 1. & 2.

Nabuchadnezzars Kingdome, or of his Empire, nor yet upon any of the captivities, but had reference to some memorable actions, omitted in Scripture, and therefore not easie to be found, nor worth the labour of uncertain search.

Of any War made by *Nabuchadnezzar*, after such time as he returned from the Conquest of *Egypt*, I doe not read: excepting that against *Nineve*, the destruction whereof was fore-told by the Prophet *Nahum*. *Nineve* had long before been taken by *Merodach* (as in due place hath been shewed) and together with the rest of *Assyria* made subject to *Babylon*. Yet was it left under a peculiar King, who rebelling against the *Chaldæan*, as *Jehojakim* and *Zedechias*, tributary Kings of *Juda*, had done, tasted likewise of the same fortune. That the destruction of *Nineve* followed the Conquest of *Egypt*, it appeareth by the comparison which *Nahum* the Prophet made between this City, that was to fall, and the City of *No* in *Egypt*, that was fallen already. But how long after this came to passe, it is (me thinks) impossible to find out. For whereas it is found in an Hebrew Chronology, that it was in the first of *Nabuchadnezzars* reign, the place of *Nahum* last cited is enough to disprove it. Whereas it is referred by some unto the first of his Monarchy, which began at the end of the *Egyptian* Wars; the whole Prophecy of *Nahum* which went between the one and the other, argueth strongly, that there was a longer space of time intercurrent. So that to enquire into the very year of this destruction, or other circumstances of the War, whether managed by *Nabuchodonosor* in person, or by his Lieutenants, were somewhat like unto the vain curiosity of *Tyberius Cæsar*, enquiring who was the Mother of *Hecuba*, or to the like idle pains which he should take, who would seek to learn what woman that *Huzzab* Queen of *Nineve* was, whose wofull captivity the same Prophet *Nahum* likewise did fore-tell.

Nahum 3.8.

§. XI.

Of the latter time of Nabuchadnezzar; *his buildings, madnesse, and death.*

OF the time which this great Monarch spent in quiet, I think there are no monuments extant, save those which we find among the prophecies of *Daniel*. Among these we may reckon his great works of *Babylon*, wherewith he pleased himself so well, that he brake out into these glorious words: *Is not this great* Babel *that I have built for the house of the Kingdom, by the might of my power, & for the honour of my Majesty?* Surely if those things be true that are by *Josephus* rehearsed of him out of *Berosus* and *Megasthenes*, he might well delight himself with the contemplation of such goodly and magnificent buildings. For it is said, That he fortified *Babylon* with a triple wall; that besides other stately works, he raised those huge arches wherewith were born up the high Orchards, hanging as it were in the air, and equalling the tops of Mountains; which most sumptuous frame, that out-lasted all the remainder of the *Assyrian*, and all the *Persian* Empire, is said to have been reared, and finished in fifteen days.

Dan. 4. 27.

But of all this, and other his magnificence, we find little else recorded, than that (which indeed is most profitable for us to consider) his over-valuing of his own greatnesse abased him unto a condition inferiour to the poorest of men. And not undeservedly fell these judgements of God upon him. For whereas God had honoured him, not only with many victories, and much happinesse in his own life, but with a discovery of things to come after him, yea and had approved the certainty of his dream, by the miraculous reducing of it into his memory, and interpretation thereof by *Daniel* the Prophet; he nevertheless became so forgetfull of God, whose wonderfull power he had seen and acknowledged, that he caused a golden Image to be set up and worshipped; ordaining a cruell death as reward unto them that should dare to disobey his Kingly will and pleasure, which was utterly repugnant to the law of him that is *the Kings of Kings*. Hereof S. *Hierome* hath well noted; *Velox oblivio veritatis, ut qui dudum servum Dei quasi Deum adoraverat, nunc statuam sibi fieri jubeat, ut ipse quasi Deus in statua adoraretur: A hastie forgetfulnesse of the truth, that he who so lately had worshipped* (Daniel) *the servant of God, as if he had been God himself, should now command a statua to be erected unto himself, wherein himself might be worshipped as God.* From this impiety it pleased God to reclaime him, by the strange and wonderfull delivery of those blessed Saints out of the fiery fornace; who being thrown into it bound, for refusing to commit Idolatry, were

assisted

aſſiſted by an Angell; preſerved from all harm of the fire; looſened from their bands; and finally called out with gracious words, and reſtored to their former honour, by the King: who amazed at the miracle, made a decree tending to the honour of God, which by erection of his Image he had violated. Yet this devotion of *Nabuchadnezzar* was not ſo rooted in him, that it could bring forth fruit anſwerable to his haſtie zeal. Therefore was he forewarned by God in a dream of the terrible judgement hanging over his head, which *Daniel* expounded, adviſed him to *break off his ſin by righteouſneſſe, and his iniquitie by mercy towards the poor, that there might be an healing of his errour.* Hereby it ſeems that injuſtice and crueltie were the faults, for which he was threatned: but this threatning ſufficed not unto his information. For, that ſo great a Monarch ſhould be driven from among men; (according to the tenor of the dream and interpretation) yea, compelled to dwell with the beaſts of the field, and made to eat graſſe as the Oxen, was a thing ſo incredible in mans judgement, that eaſily it might be thought an idle dream; and much more eaſily be forgotten at the years end. One whole years leaſure to repent was given to this haughty Prince: which reſpite of the execution may ſeem to have bred in him a forgetfulneſſe of Gods ſentence. For at the end of twelve moneths, walking in the royall Palace of *Babel*, he was ſo over-joyed and tranſported with a vain contemplation of his own ſeeming happineſſe, that without all fear of Gods heavie judgement pronounced againſt him, he uttered thoſe loftie words before rehearſed, in vaunting of the Majeſticall works which he had reared, as well beſeeming his majeſticall perſon. But his high ſpeeches were not fully ended, when a voyce from heaven, telling him that his Kingdome was departed from him, rehearſed over unto him the ſentence again, which was fulfilled upon him the very ſame hour.

That *Salomon*, and many other Princes, and great ones, have taken delight in their own buildings, it cannot any way be doubted; yet I doe not remember that ever I have read of any, that were puniſhed for rejoycing in works of this kind (though it is hard in joy, or any paſſion of the mind, to keep a juſt meaſure) excepting onely this *Nabuchadnezzar*.

The like may be ſaid of *David*: for other (and ſome very godly) Kings have muſtred all their forces to the very laſt man; but few or none have been known to have been puniſhed as *David* was. Surely I not only hold it lawfull to rejoyce in thoſe good things wherewith God hath bleſſed us; but a note of much unthankfulneſſe to entertain them with a ſullen and unfeeling diſpoſition. Yet as all humane affections, wherein due reference to God is wanting, are no better than obſcure clouds hindring the influence of that bleſſed light, which clarifies the ſoule of man, and prediſpoſeth it unto the brightneſſe of eternall felicity; ſo that inſolent joy, which man in the pride of his vain imagination conceiveth of his own worth, doth above all other paſſions blaſt our minds, as it were with lightning, and make us to reflect our thoughts upon our ſeeming inherent greatneſſe, forgetting the whileſt him, to whom we are indebted for our very being. Wherefore theſe *Mala mentis gaudia*; *The evill joyes of the minds* were not unaptly, by the Prince of Latine Poets, beſtowed in the entrance of hell, and placed further inward than ſorrows, cares, and fear, not far from the yron Cabbins of the Furies. And certainly it is no unlikely token of vengeance neer at hand, when theſe unreaſonable fluſhes of proud and vain joy, doe rage in a mind, that ſhould have been humbled with a juſt repentance, and acknowledgement of ill deſerving.

This was verified upon *Nabuchadnezzar*, whoſe puniſhment was ſingular and unexampled. For he ran among beaſts in the fields and woods, where for ſeven years he lived, not onely as a ſalvage man, but as a ſalvage beaſt; for a beaſt he thought himſelf, *ſecundum ſuam imaginationem*, as *Thomas* noteth, and therefore fed himſelf in the ſame manner, and with the ſame food that beaſts do; Not that he was changed in figure externall, according to *Mediana*, inſomuch as he appeared a beaſt to other mens eyes, as S. *Hierome* in the life of *Hilarius* (how true God knows) ſpeaks of a woman that appeared to all other mens ſight a Cow, but to *Hilarius* onely a woman; neither was hee changed as *Iphigenia* the daughter of *Agamemnon* was ſaid to be, into a Hinde; nor made a Monſter, as *Dorotheus* and *Epiphanius* dreamed: but according to S. *Ieromes* expoſition of theſe words: *At the ſame time was my underſtanding reſtored unto me, &c. Quando dicit* (ſaith S. *Ierome*) *ſenſum ſibi redditum, oſtendit non formam ſe amiſiſſe, ſed mentem; When hee ſaith that his ſenſe was reſtored unto him, he ſhewed that he had not loſt his humane ſhape,*

L. 2. *de Reg. pri.*

Mid. l. 2. de Regibus in Daniele, f. 7.

Dor. in Synopſi. Epiph. in vit. Dan.

but

but his understanding. Seven years expired, it pleased God to restore *Nabuchodonosor*, both to his understanding, and his estate, for which he acknowledged and praised God all the rest of his life, confessing his power, and everlasting being; that he was the Lord
Dan. 4. 31. 34. of heaven and earth, and wrought without resistance what he pleased in both; that his works were all truth, and his wayes righteous. Which gave argument to many of the Fathers, and others, not to doubt of his salvation; namely, S. *Augustine*, *Theodoret*, *Lyra*, *Carthusianus*, and others. And for that place of *Esay* the fourteenth, out of which his perdition may be gathered, the aforenamed Authors apply the same to *Balthasar*, because *Isay*, both in the thirteenth and fourteenth Chapters, speaketh of the King, and the destruction of *Babylon* joyntly.

§. XII.
of Evilmerodach.

HAving already spoken what I could of the succession and years of *Nebuchadnezzars* posterity; the most that may be said of him, is said of *Evilmerodach*, which I will not here again rehearse.

He lost some part of that which his father had gotten; and left his Kingdome burning in a warre that consumed it to ashes. Hee lost *Egypt* by rebellion of the people, in the nineteenth year of his reign, which was forty years after his Father had conquered it. But this agrees neither with the accompt of *Herodotus*, who allowes to *Amasis* four and forty years of reign; nor with that of *Diodorus*, who gives him five and fifty, saying, that he died in the third year of the threescore and third Olympiad, when *Cambyses* did conquer *Egypt*. There were indeed but seven and thirty years, which passed between the second year of the four and fiftieth Olympiad, (which was the nineteenth of *Evilmerodach*, and the first *Amasis*) and the fift of *Cambyses* his reign, wherein he wan *Egypt*; of which seven and thirty years it is credibly held, that *Psammiticus*, the son of *Amasis*, reigned three: so that *Amasis* could bee no longer King than four and thirty years. But seeing that these two *Greek* Historians have been abused by *Egyptian* Priests, in the substance of that which was spoken of *Amasis*, it is no marvell though they were also deceived in the length of his reign. This is the plain answer to this objection. For to say either that the numbers were mis-written, and four and forty set down in stead of four and thirty, or that *Amasis* did temporise a while with the *Assyrians*, and not bear himself as absolute King of *Egypt*, untill the nineteenth of *Evilmerodach* (at which time, and not before, it hath been proved out of *Ezechiel*, that *Egypt* became again a Kingdome) I hold it a superfluous excuse.

Whether these *Egyptian* troubles did animate the King of the *Medes* to deal with *Evilmerodach*, as with a Prince greater in fame and reputation, gotten by the decayed valour of his people, than in present forces; or whether (as I rather think) some foyl received by the *Assyrian* invading *Media*, emboldned the *Egyptians* to rebell against him; I will neither undertake, nor seek to define. *Xenophon* tels that the first service of young *Cyrus* in warre, was under *Astyages* King of the *Medes*, his Grand-father, in a prosperous fight against the *Assyrian* Prince, who did set upon him; at which time *Cyrus* was fifteen or sixteen years old. If therefore *Cyrus* lived threescore and three years (as he is said to have died well stricken in years) which is held to be the ordinary term of no short life, then was this encounter in the third year of *Evilmerodach* his reign. Yet by the same reckoning it should follow, that the warre began more early between these Nations, for as much as the manner of their fight in former times, with other circumstances insinuating as much, are found in the same place of *Xenophon*. And it may well be, that the death or destruction of *Nabuchodonosor* gave courage unto those that had felt him a troublesome neighbour, to stand upon prouder termes with the *Assyrians*, than in his flourishing estate they durst have used. Howsoever the quarrell began, we find that it ended not before the last ruine of the *Assyrian* Monarchie. For the *Babylonian*, being too proud to digest the losses which he received by the *Medes* and their Allies the Persians, drew unto his partie the *Lydians*, and all the people of the lesser *Asia*, with gifts and strong perswasions, hoping so to over-whelm his enemies with a strong Invasion, whom in vain hee had sought to wearie out with a lingring Warre.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. 1.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. 8.

This

This happened after the death of *Astyages*, who left the world in the nineteenth year of *Evilmerodach*, at which time *Amasis* took possession of *Egypt*. So that the *Assyrian* having his hands already full of businesse, which more earnestly did affect him, seemes thereby to have given the better meanes unto the *Egyptians*, of new erecting their Kingdome, which by long distance of place did sundry times find occasion to rebell in after-ages, and set up a King within in self, against the far more mighty Persian.

The issue of these great preparations made by *Evilmerodach* against the *Medes*, was such as opened the way unto the fulfilling of those prophecies, which were many years before uttered against *Babel*, by *Esay* and *Jeremy*.

For, the *Assyrians* and their Confederates, who, trusting in their numbers, thought to have buried the *Medes* and *Persians* under their thick showres of arrowes and darts, were encountred with an army of stout and wel-trained men, weightily armed for close fight, by whom they were beaten in open battell, wherein *Evilmerodach* was slain. So that great frame of Empire which *Nabuchodonosor* had raised and up-held, being shaken and grievously crackt under his unfortunat son, was left to be sustained by his unworthy Nephew; a man more likely to have overthrown it, when it was greatest and strongest, than to repair it, when it was in way of falling.

§. XIII.

A private conjecture of the Author; serving to make good those things, which are cited out of Berosus, *concerning the Successors of* Evilmerodach, *without wrong to the truth. The qualitie, and death of* Balthasar.

THough I have already (as it seemes to me) sufficiently proved that *Balthasar* was the Son, and immediate Successour to *Evilmerodach*, yet considering earnestly the conjectures of those Writers, which following *Berosus*, insert *Niglisar*, or *Nirigliſſoroor*, and his son *Labassardach* between them; as also that which I find in *Herodotus* of *Nitocris*, a famous Queen of *Babylon*, who greatly adorned and fortified that City; I have thought it not superfluous here in this place to shew, by what means it was possible that some errour might have crept into the Historie of those times, and thereby have brought us to a needlesse trouble of searching out the truth, as it were by candle-light, in the uncertain fragments of lost Authors, which we might have found by day-light, had we adhered only to the Scriptures. First therefore I observe, that the time which *Berosus* divides betwixt *Evilmerodach*, and the two next Kings, agrees with the years in which *Nebuchadnezzar* lived vvild among brute beasts in the open field: Secondly, that the suddennesse of this accident, vvhich came in one hour, could not but vvork much perturbation in that State, vvherein doubtlesse the honour of so noble a Prince vvas highly regarded, his calamity pitied, and his restitution hoped; the prediction of *Daniel* finding reputation in that clause vvhich promised his recoverie, as being verified in that which had bin more incredible. Now if we doe in common reason judge, what course was like to be taken by the great ones of the Kingdome, for setling the government, whilest the King was thus distracted, wee shall find it most likely, that his Son and Heir did occupie the Royall Throne, with condition to restore it unto his Father, when God should enable him to repossesse it. In this his rule *Evilmerodach* being to supply the utter want of understanding in his Father, as Protectors doe the unripenesse of it in young, but reasonable Kings, might easily either commit the insolences, or fall into the troubles, incident to such an office. That he had in him very small abilitie of government, it appeares by his ill maintaining the Empire, when hee held it in his own right. That his sister *Nitocris* (if *Nitocris* were his sister) was a woman of an high spirit, it appeares by that which *Herodotus* reports of her, saying, that shee was more cunning than *Semiramis*, as appeared in her magnificent and usefull works about the River of *Euphrates*, and her fortification of *Babylon* against the *Medes*, who had gotten many Towns from the *Assyrians*, and amongst them *Nineve*. Wherefore it were not unreasonable to think, that such a woman, seeing how the Empire went to decay through her brothers misgovernment, used practices to get the rule into her own hands, and afterwards, as a mother, to leave it unto her ungracious son. Other time than this, wherein *Nitocris* could have reigned, wee doe not find; but wee find in *Berosus* (as *Josephus* hath cited him) that *Niglissar*, who got the Kingdom from *Evilmerodach*, was his sisters husband;

Herodot. lib. 1.

usband; which argues this to have been the same woman. As for *Labassardach* the son of *Nigliſſar*, if at the end of nine moneths reign he were for his lewd conditions slain by the Nobility, as the same *Berosus* reporteth, it seemes that God prepared hereby the way for *Nebuchadnezzars* restitution (whose term of punishment was then expired) by raising such trouble, as should make him the more desired, both of the Princes and the people. I will not here use many words to confute that which *Berosus* hath further set down of *Evilmerodach*, telling us that he was slain by his sisters husband: for the plain words of the Scripture, naming the year wherein he gave liberty to *Jechonia*, do plainly testifie that he out-lived the three or four and fortieth year of his Fathers reign, which was the last of his life.

This may suffice to shew, that they who are said to have succeeded *Evilmerodach* in the Kingdom, might indeed have so done, though not when he held it in his own right. Of *Balthasar*, who was his Son and Heir, we find, that he had such conditions, as God permitted to be in a King for the ruin of the people. Hee was from his young years of a mischievous nature; having in his Fathers time slain a Noble young-man that should have married his sister, only for spight and envie to see him kill two wild beasts in hunting, at which himself having thrown his Javeline had missed them. Another great Lord he had gelded, because a Gentlewoman commending his beauty, said it were a happie woman that should be his wife. Such barbarous villanies caused many which had loved his Father (as a good and gracious, though unfortunate Prince) to revolt from him unto the enemie as soon as hee was King. Neither doe I find that hee performed any thing worthy of record, but as a coward and a fool he lost all; sitting stil, and not once daring to give battell to them that daily took somwhat from him. Yet carelesly feasting when danger had hemmed him in on every side, and when death arrested him by the hands of those whom he had wronged in his Fathers life. So the end of him was base and miserable; for he died as a fool taken in unexcusable security, yet had not that happinesse, such as it is, of a death free from apprehension of fear, but was terrefied with a dreadful vision; which had shewed his ruin not in many houres before, even whilest he was drinking in that wine, which the swords of his insulting enemies drew out of him, together with his latest bloud. It is therefore in this place enough to say of him, That after a dishonourable reign of seventeen years, he perished like a beast, and was slain as he deserved. The rest that concerneth him in question of his time, hath been spoken heretofore; in matter of his affaires, shall be handled among the acts of *Cyrus*, to whose story, that of *Balthasar* is but an appendix.

CHAP. II.

Of the originall and first greatnesse of the Persians.

§. I.

That the Medes *were chief actors in the subversion of the* Babylonian *Empire.*

THE Line of *Belochus* being now extinguished in *Balthasar*, the Empire of *Babylon*, and of *Assyria*, was joyned first to that of *Media*, which then was governed by *Cyaxares* or *Darius Medus*, after whom *Cyrus* became Lord and Monarch, both of *Assyria* and of *Media* it self.

Of the race of *Phul Belochus* there were ten Kings besides himself, and of *Arbaces* as many are found by *Metasthenes*. These two Provinciall Governours having cut down the last branch of *Ninus* in *Sardanapalus*, divided between them the Eastern Empire. *Cyaxares* (whom the Scriptures call *Darius Medus*) the last of the race of *Arbaces*, dying about two years after that the line of *Belochus* was ended in *Balthasar*; the Dominions aswell of the Conquerour, as of the conquered, fell to a third Family, namely, to *Cyrus* of the house of *Achaemenes* thhe Princes of which bloud reigning in *Persia*, had formerly

formerly been dependants on the *Medes*, and were of as little power at home, as of fame abroad in the world.

Of the Familie of the *Achæmenes*, and Line of the *Persian* Kings, we shall hereafter find occasion in due place to intreat.

The Nation of the *Medes* descended from *Madai* the third son of *Japhet*; that they had Kings soon after the Floud, *Lactantius* and *Diodorus* have found record; For *Lactantius* remembreth an ancient King of the *Medes* called *Hydaspes*, and *Diodore* speaketh of *Pharnus* with his seven sons, slain by the *Assyrians* in the beginning of their Empire.

But of these who succeeded *Arbaces* the first, that freed his Nation from the *Assyrians*, I take the list and number from *Eusebius*, adding *Darius Medus*: of whom I have spoken in their proper places heretofore; and they are these;

Arbaces	reigned	28. years.
Sosarmus		30. years.
Medidus		40. years.
Cardiceas		13. years.
Diocles		53. years.
Phraortes		24. years.
Cyaxares		32. years.
Astyages		38. years.
Darius Medus.		

And though the *Greeks* ascribe the conquest of *Babylon* to *Cyrus* alone, yet the Scriptures teach us, that *Darius* was not only King of *Media*, and had the *Persians* his followers, but that the Armie victorious over *Balthasar* was his; as the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Empire also was during his own life. For we find in *Daniel*, that *Darius* of the *Medes* took the Kingdome being threescore and two years old: And further, what Officers it pleased him to set over the Kingdome. And so was it prophecied by *Isay* long before: *Behold, I will stir up the* Medes *against them, &c.* And by *Jeremie*, *The Lord hath raised up the Spirit of the King of the* Medes: *for his purpose is against* Babel *to destroy it*; and in the eight and twentieth Verse, *Prepare against her the Nations, with the King of the* Medes, *the Dukes thereof, the Princes thereof, and all the Land of his Dominion.* These Scriptures *Julius Africanus* doth well open, who taking authoritie from *Diodore*, *Castor*, *Thallus*, and others, delivereth that *Babylon* was taken before *Cyrus* began to reign; which also agreeth with *Strabo*, where he saith, That as the *Medes* were subjugated by the *Persians*, so before that, both the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians* were mastered by the *Medes*. And therefore the reports of *Justine* and *Herodotus* are not to be received, who attribute the taking of *Babylon* to *Cyrus* alone.

Cap. 13. v. 17. 51. v. 11. & 28.

Lib. 16.

§. II.

By what means the Empire was translated from the Medes *to the* Persians.

HOw the Kingdome of the *Medes* fell into the hands of *Cyrus*, it is a doubt not sufficiently cleared by Historians, but rather their different relations of his beginnings have bred the former opinion of those who give the conquest of *Babel* to the *Persians* only. For some there are who deny that *Astyages* had any other Successor than *Cyrus* his grand-child by *Mandane*. Whereas *Ctesias* on the contrary side affirmeth, that *Cyrus* was no way descended from *Astyages* (whom he calleth *Astigas* or *Apania*) but only that having vanquished him in battell, and confined him to *Bactria*, he married his Daughter *Amytis*. But I find the relations of *Ctesias* often cited, and seldome followed, and himself sometimes very justly reproved of wilfull untruth.

Viginier, a diligent and learned historian of this age, produceth many probable reasons that *Astyages* had no such son as *Cyaxares*, or *Darius Medus*; and to confirm this opinion the more, he citeth *Diodore*, *Justine*, *Strabo*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Isocrates*, and before them *Castor*, *Thallus*, and *Phlegon*; who do not find any such successor. Neither do *Tatianus*, *Theophilus Antiochenus*, *Julius Africanus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Justine Martyr*, *Lactantius*, *Eusebius*, S. *Hierome*, or S. *Augustine*, make report out of any faithfull Author by them read, that hath given other Son or Successor to *Astyages* than *Cyrus*.

Yet seeing that this manner of argument *ab authoritate negativè*, doth never inforce consent; we may be the bolder (all this great list of noble Writers by him alleged notwithstanding) to affirm, that either *Astyages* himself must have been *Darius* of the *Medes*, which cannot agree with his place in the course of time; Or else to give him some other Successor, according to *Josephus* and *Xenophon*, the same whom *Daniel* calleth *Darius*. For it is manifest and without dispute, that the King of the *Medes* commanded in chief, and was absolute Lord of that Conquest, *Cyrus* during his life, being no other than the Lieutenant of his Armie, and subject to his authoritie; The strength of both Nations, to wit, the *Medes* and *Persians*, with other the Vassals of *Darius*, being joyned together to compound it.

Dan. l. 1. c. 19.
Jos. an. l. 10. c. 11.
Xen. l. 8. Paed.

But it is very certain that the honour of that great victorie over *Babylon* was wholly given to *Cyrus*, who was the instrument preordained and forenamed by God himself for this action, but for the deliverie of his Church; a greater work not only in the eyes of God, than the subversion of any State or Monarchie how powerfull soever.

And it may well be thought, that the Souldiers employed in that service did rather ascribe the glory to him that was the best man of war, than to the *Median*, who was greatest in riches and power. All which also falling upon *Cyrus* by succession, and continuing in his posteritie, did much augment the fame of his vertue; which among prophane Historians overgrew altogether the honour due to *Cyaxares*, both because he was old, and did nothing in person; as also because he soon after quitted the world, and left all to *Cyrus*, who was possest of whatsoever belonged to *Darius*, before the fame of any such King or Conqueror was carried far off.

And for the *Greek* Historians, they took all things from the relation of the *Persians*, who gave to *Cyrus* all the praise of a most excellent Prince, making none his equal. Only *Daniel* in the first, fift, and sixt Chapters of his Prophecie, makes it plain, that himselfe not onely lived a great Officer under King *Darius*, but that he continued in that estate to the first of *Cyrus*; which being the year of *Daniels* Death, could not have been distinguished from the reign of *Darius*, if they had begun together and reigned joyntly: Neither can it be imagined that *Darius* held the Kingdome by *Cyrus* permission, considering that *Cyrus* began after him.

§. III.

Xenophons *relation of the Warre with the* Medes *and* Persians, *made with joynt forces upon the* Assyrians *and others.*

THese Testimonies of the Scriptures, which need no other confirmation, yet made more open to our understanding, by that which *Xenophon* hath written of these wars: The cause whereof, according to his report, was this.

When the *Assyrian* had enlarged his Empire with victories, and was become Lord of all *Syria*, and many other Countries, he began to hope that if the *Medes* could be brought under his subjection, there should not then be left any Nation adjoyning able to make head against him. For the King of the *Medes* was able to bring into the field threescore thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, to which the forces of *Persia* being joyned, made an exceeding strong Armie.

The *Assyrian* considering the strength of such a Neighbour, invited *Crœsus* King of *Lydia*, a Prince very mighty both in men and treasure, and with him other Lords of *Asia* the lesse, to his assistance, alleging, that those Eastern Nations were very powerfull, and so firmly conjoyned by league and many alliances, that it would not be easie, no not possible, for any one Nation to resist them. With these incitements, and strengthened with great presents, he drew to himself so many adherents, as he compounded an Armie of two hundred thousand foot, and threescore thousand horse; of which, ten thousand horse, and forty thousand foot were led by *Crœsus*, who had great cause of enmitie with the *Medes*, in regard of the Warre made by them against his Father *Alyattes*; But this great Armie was by *Cyaxares* King of the *Medes*, and by *Cyrus* Generall of the *Persian* forces, utterly broken; Upon which defeat the *Assyrian* King being also slain, so many of the *Assyrians* revolted, as *Babylon* it self could not longer be assured without the succours of Mercenaries, waged with great summes of money out of *Asia* the lesse, *Egypt*, and elsewhere. Which new gathered forces were

were also scattered by *Cyrus*, who following his advantage, possest himself of a great part of the lesser *Asia*; at which time it was, as I take it, that *Cræsus* himself was also made prisoner.

The attempt of *Babylon* following soon after, the Armie lying before it being paid by *Darius*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, and led by *Cyrus* his sisters son, prevailed against *Balthasar*, as in due time shall be set down.

Those *Persians* which followed *Cyrus*, and by him levied, are numbred thirty thousand foot-men, of which a thousand were armed Gentlemen, the rest of the common sort were Archers, or such as used the Dart or Sling. So far *Xenophon*. Of whom in this argument, as it is true, that he described in *Cyrus* the pattern of a most Heroicall Prince, with much Poeticall addition: so it cannot be denied, but that the bulk and grosse of his Narration was founded upon meer Historicall truth.

Neither can it indeed be affirmed of any the like writers, that in every speech and circumstance he hath precisely tyed himself to the phrase of the speaker, or nature of the occasion, but borrowed in each out of his own invention, appropriating the same to the times and persons of whom he treated. Putting therefore apart the Morall and Politick discourse, and examining but the Historie of things done, it will easily appear, that *Xenophon* hath handled his under-taken subject in such sort, that by beautifying the face thereof, he hath not in any sort corrupted the body.

§. IV.

The estate of the Medes *and* Persians *in times fore-going this great War.*

FOr it is commonly agreed upon, that *Achæmenes* the sonne of *Perses* being Governour of *Persia*, did associate himself with *Arbaces*, who commanded in *Media*, in that rebellion against *Sardanapalus*, and that each of them after the victorie obtained, held for himself the Dominion of those Countries, which he had formerly ruled for the *Assyrians*; as also that they conveyed over the same honour and power to their posteritie; which in *Media* was not absolutely Regall, but with some restraint limited, untill such time as *Deioces* took upon him the full authoritie and majestie of a King. From the death of *Sardanapalus* to the reign of *Deioces*, are usually accounted about an hundred and forty years, in the last sixty whereof there reigned in *Assyria* mighty Princes, namely, *Salmanassar* and his Successors; whose great atchievements in *Syria* and elsewhere, witnesse, that the *Medes* and *Persians* found it not for their advantage to undertake any offensive war against those victorious Kings, it being also probable that the league continued as yet between these the successors of *Belochus* and *Arbaces*, who had formerly shared the Empire.

Now from the beginning of *Deioces* to the first of *Astyagas*, there past above ninetie years, in which, if *Herodotus* have written truly, that *Phraortes* conquered *Persia*, and how he and other Kings of *Media* by many victories greatly enlarged their Dominions, and commanded many parts of *Asia*, it had been but an unadvised enterprise of the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*, to have wasted themselves against the *Syrians* and *Egyptians*, leaving so able and victorious a Nation on their backs. But that the *Medes* had done nothing upon the South parts of *Persia*; and that the *Persians* themselves were not masters of *Susiana* in *Nabuchodonosors* time, it is manifest in *Daniel*, who was then Governour for the *Babylonian* in *Susa*, or *Susan*, the chief City thereof. It is true indeed, that the *Medians*, either under *Cyaxares* or *Astyages*, or both, had quarrell with *Halyattes* the father of *Cræsus*, which after some six years dispute was compounded.

How the affairs of *Persia* stood in so many ages, I doe not find any memorie. It seemeth that the roughnesse of the mountainous Countrey which they then possest, with the confederacie which they continued with the *Medes*, gave them more securitie than fame: For if their Kings, being the posteritie of *Achæmenes*, had done any memorable acts, the greatnesse which they afterward obtained would not have suffered any forgetfulnesse thereof. But as we find all *Xenophons* reports, both of these Warres and the state of those countries to be very consonant and agreeable to the relation of many other good Authors, so it appears, that the race of *Achæmenes* held the Principalitie of *Persia* from Father to Son for many descents. And therefore we may better give credit

to *Xenophon*, who affirmeth, That *Cambyſes* the father of *Cyrus* was King of *Perſia*, than to thoſe that make him a mean man, and ſay, that *Aſtyages* gave him his daughter *Mandane* in marriage, to the end that her ſon (whoſe nativitie he feared) might be diſabled from any great undertaking by his fathers ignobilitie.

For what cauſe of grief could it be to *Aſtyages*, that the ſon of his daughter ſhould become Lord of the beſt part of *Aſia*? No, it was more likely, that upon ſuch a Prophecie his love to his grand-child ſhould have encreaſed, and his care been the greater to have married her to ſome Prince of ſtrength and eminent vertue.

Yea, the ſame *Herodotus*, who is the firſt Author, and as I think the deviſer of the miſchief intended againſt *Cyrus* by his Grandfather, doth confeſſe, That the line of the *Achæmenidæ* was ſo renowned, that the great King *Xerxes* in the height of his proſperitie did thence derive himſelf, and vaunt of it: which he would never have done, had they been ignoble, or had they been the vaſſals of any other King or Monarch.

For in this ſort *Xerxes* in the ſeventh of *Herodotus* deriveth himſelf.

Achæmenes.	*Teiſpeus.*	*Hyſtaſpes.*
Cambyſes.	*Ariaramnes.*	*Darius.*
Cyrus.	*Arſamnes.*	*Xerxes.*

Of the *Achæmenidæ* there were two races: of the firſt was *Cyrus* the great, whoſe iſſue male failed in his two ſons, *Cambyſes* and *Smerdis*. This royall familie is thus ſet down by the learned *Reineccius*.

Achæmenes, the ſon of *Perſes*, firſt King of *Perſia*.
Darius.
Cyrus, the firſt of that name, had *Cambyſes*, and *Atoſſa*, who married to *Pharnaces*, King of *Cappadocia*, had *Artyſtona* and other daughters.
Cambyſes had
Cyrus the Great: *Cyrus* had
Cambyſes, who ſucceeded him, and *Smerdis*, ſlain by his brother *Cambyſes*.

Of the ſecond were thoſe ſeven great Princes of *Perſia*, who having overthrown the uſurped royaltie of the *Magi*, choſe from among themſelves *Darius*, the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*, King.

This Kingdome of *Perſia* was firſt known by the name of *Elam*, ſo called after *Elam* the ſon of *Sem*, and the people therein inhabiting, *Elamita*; by *Elianus*, *Elymæ*; by *Joſephus*, *Elymi*.

Suidas derives this Nation ſometimes from *Aſſur*, ſometimes from *Magog*, of whom they were called *Maguſæi*; which *Maguſæi*, according to *Euſebius*, are not to be taken for the Nation in generall, but for thoſe that were afterward called the *Magi* or Wiſemen. So doe the *Greeks*, among many other their ſayings of them, affirm, That the *Perſians* were anciently written *Artæi*, and that they called themſelves *Cephenes*. But that they were *Elamitæ*, *Moſes* and the Prophets, *Eſay*, *Jeremie*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel* and *Eſdras*, in many places confirm: Which alſo S. *Hierome* upon *Jeremie* the five and twentieth, upon *Daniel* the eighth, and alſo in his *Hebrew* queſtions, approveth, ſaying: Elam, *à quo Elamitæ Principes Perſidis*; Elam, *of whom were the* Elamites *Princes of* Perſia.

Euſ. l. 8. c. 8. de Prep. Evang.

Gen. 10. Eſay 11. 21, 22 Jer. 25. & 29. Ezech. 32. Dan. 8. Eſd. 4.

And that Citie which the Author of the ſecond book of the *Maccabees* calleth *Perſepolis*, is by the Author of the firſt called *Elemais*, but is now called *Siras*, being the ſame which *Antiochus*, for the great riches thereof, twice attempted in vain, and to his great diſhonour. And yet this Citie, now called *Siras*, was not the old *Perſepolis*; for *Alexander* at the requeſt of *Thais* the Harlot, burnt it.

2 Mac. 9. 1 Mac. 6.

The firſt King of *Perſia* to us known, if we follow the current of Authors interpreting the fourteenth chapter of *Geneſis*, was *Chedorlaomer*, who lived with *Amraphel* or *Ninias*, and joyned with him in the war againſt thoſe *Arabians*; who was afterward extinguiſhed by the forces of *Abraham*.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of Cyrus.

§. I.

Of Cyrus *his name, and first actions.*

AS touching the name of *Cyrus*, *Strabo* saith, That the same was taken from a river which watereth *Persia*; this great Prince having *Agradatus* for his proper name. But the great *Cyrus* was not the first of that name. *Herodotus* otherwise; and that *Cyrus* signifieth a father in the *Persian* Tongue, and therefore so intituled by the people. *Strab. l. 15.*

It is true, that for his Justice and other excellent vertues he was indeed called a Father; but that the name of *Cyrus* had any such signification, I think it be mistaken.

Plutarch hath a third opinion, affirming, That *Cyrus* is as much to say as the Sun, in the same Language. Howsoever it be, yet the Prophet *Esay*, almost two hundred years before *Cyrus* was born, gives him that name, *Thus saith the Lord unto* Cyrus *his Annointed, &c.* *Plut. in vit. Art. x.*

Before the Conquest of *Babylon*, the victories which *Cyrus* obtained were many and great: among which, the Conquest of *Lydia*, and other Provinces thereto subject, together with the taking of *Crœsus* himself, are not recounted by *Eusebius*, *Orosius*, and others, but placed among his latter atchievements: whose opinion for this difference of time is founded upon two reasons; namely, That of the *Median* there is no mention in that last war against *Crœsus*; and that the obtaining of *Sardis* is referred to the eight and fiftieth *Olympiad*, and the glorious victorie which *Cyrus* had over *Babylon*, to the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*.

The former of which might have bin used (and was by the *Greeks*) to exclude the *Medes* from the honour of having won *Babylon* it self, which in due place I have answered. The latter seems to have reference to the second War which *Cyrus* made upon *Lydia*, when it rebelled; at which time he so established his former Conquest, as after that time these Nations never offered to revolt. Wherefore I like better in this particular to beleeve with *Herodotus*, whom the most of Chronologers follow, and find the enterprise of *Sardis* to precede that of *Babylon*.

§. II.

Of Crœsus *the King of* Lydia, *who made War upon* Cyrus.

I Have in the last Book spoken somewhat of *Crœsus*, of his race and predecessors, as also of those Kings which governed *Lydia* in more ancient times: of which the first (to prophane Authors known) was *Lydus* the son of *Atys*: which Familie extinguished, the kingdom was by an Oracle conferred upon *Argon*, descended from *Hercules*, wherof there were two and twentie generations, *Candaules* being the last, who by shewing his fair wife naked to *Gyges* his favorite, he was by the same *Gyges* (thereto urged upon perill of his own life by the Queen) the next day slain. Which done, *Gyges* enjoyed both the Queen and the Kingdom of *Lydia*, and left the same to *Atys* his son, who was father to *Sadyattes*, the father of *Halyattes* (who thrust the *Cimmerians* out of *Asia*) and *Halyattes* begat *Crœsus*. Which five Kings, of a third race, enjoyed that kingdom an hundred and seventie years. *Halyattes* the father of *Crœsus* was an undertaking Prince, and after he had continued a war against *Cyaxares* the *Median*, a Prince very powerfull, and maintained it six years, a peace was concluded upon equall conditions between them. *Herod. l. 1 p. 3. & 5.*

Astyages, the son of *Cyaxares*, and grandfather to *Cyrus*, thought himself greatly honoured by obtaining *Aryenes*, *Crœsus* sister, whom he married.

But *Cræsus* so far enlarged his dominions after his fathers death, as he was nothing inferior in territory to any King or Monarch of that age: Of which, about that time there were four in effect of equall strength; to wit, the *Median*, the *Babylonian*, the *Egyptian*, and the *Lydian*: only *Nabuchodonosor*, after he had joyned *Phœnicia*, *Palæstina*, and *Egypt* to his Empire, had thence-forward no Competitor during his own life.

But *Cræsus*, notwithstanding the men and treasure spent in the quarrell of the *Babylonians*, he yet mastered *Æolis*, *Doris*, and *Ionia*, Provinces possest by the *Greeks* in *Asia* the lesse, adjoyning to *Lydia*; gave law to the *Phrigians*, *Bithynians*, *Carians*, *Mysians*, *Paphlagonians*, and other Nations. And that he also inforc'd the *Ephesians* to acknowledge him, notwithstanding they compassed their Citie with *Diana*'s girdle, *Herodotus* witnesseth. Moreover, *Athenæus* out of *Berosus* (which also confirmeth) makes report of a Signall victorie which *Cræsus* obtained against the *Sacæans*, a Nation of the *Scythians*, in memory whereof the *Babylonians* his allies did yearly celebrate a Feast, which they called *Sacæa*: All which he performed in fourteen years.

Her. l. 5.
Athe. l. 14. c. 17

And being now confident in the continuance of his good fortune, and envious of *Cyrus* fame, doubting also, that his prosperous undertakings might in the end grow perillous to himself, he consulted with the Oracle of *Apollo*, whom he presented with marvellous rich gifts, what successe he might hope for against *Cyrus*, if he undertook him: from whom he received this riddle; Crœsus, *passing over the River* Halys, *shall dissolve a great Dominion*. For the devill being doubtfull of the successe, payed him with merchandize of both side alike, and might be inverted either way, to the ruin of *Persia*, or of his own *Lydia*.

§. III.

Crœsus *his Expedition against* Cyrus.

HEreupon *Cræsus* being resolved to stop the course of *Cyrus* fortunes, if he could, despised all the arguments used by *Sandanes* to the contrary, who desired him to fore-think, That he urged a Nation inhabiting a barren and mountainous region; a people not covered with the soft silk of worms, but with the hard skins of beasts; not fed with such meat as they fancied, but content with what they found; drinkers of water, not of wine: and in a word, a Nation warlike, enduring, valiant and prosperous; over whom if he became victorious, he could thereby enrich himself in nothing but fame, in which he already excelled: and if by them beaten, and subjected, so great would his losse appear of all things which the world hath in account, as the same could neither hastily be told, nor readily conceived.

Notwithstanding this solid coūsel, *Cræsus* having prepared a powerful army, he led the same toward *Media*, but in his passage he was arrested at *Pterium*, a City of great strength in *Cappadocia*; which while he sought by all means to surprise or to force, *Cyrus*, came on, & found the *Lydians* encamped before it. That each was inferior to other in strength or opinion, I doe not find: for out of doubt, *Cræsus*, as he excelled any Prince of that age in riches and abilitie; so was he not under any in territorie and fame that then lived.

But as *Cratippus* of *Mitylene* answered *Pompey* when he complained against the gods, because they favoured a disturber and usurper of the Common-weale against him who fought for the *Romane* libertie, That Kingdoms and Common-weals had their encrease and period from divine Ordinance: so at this time was the winter of *Cræsus* prosperitie at hand, the leaves of his flourishing fortune ready to fall, and that of *Cyrus* but in the flower and first spring. The God of all power, and not *Admetus* Herdman, *Apollo*, had given a date to the one, and a beginning of glory to the other.

When these two Armies were in view of each other, after the entertainment of divers skirmishes, the *Persians* and *Lydians* began to joyn in grosse troops: supplies from both Kings thrust on upon the falling off, and advancement of either Nations: and as the *Persians* had somewhat the better of the day, so when the dark vaile of night had hidden each Armie from the others view, *Cræsus* doubting what successe the rising Sun would bring with it, quitted the field to *Cyrus*, and with all speed possible retyred, and taking the next way into *Lydia*, recovered *Sardis* his first Citie and Regall Seat, without any pursuit made by *Cyrus* to retard him. Where being arrived, and nothing

suspecting

ſuſpecting *Cyrus* approach, or any other War for that Winter, he diſmiſſed the Souldiers, and ſent the troops of his ſundrie Nations to their own Provinces, appointing them to re-aſſemble at the end of five months, acquainting his Commanders with his intents for the renewing of the War at the time appointed.

§. IV.

The Conqueſt off Lydia *by* Cyrus.

Cyrus in the following morning finding the *Lydians* departed, put his Armie in order to purſue them, yet not ſo haſtily, and at their heels, as to be diſcovered. But having good intelligence of *Cræſus* his proceeding, he ſo meaſured his marches, as he preſented not himſelf before *Sardis*, till ſuch time as *Cræſus* had diſpoſed his Armie to their wintring garriſons: which being altogether unlooked for, and unfeared, he ſurrounded *Sardis* with his Armie; Wherein *Cræſus* having no other Companies than his Citizens and ordinary Guards, after fourteen days ſiege the ſame was entred by aſſault, and all executed that reſiſted. *Cræſus* having now neither arms to fight, nor wings to flie, *Sardis* being on all parts ſtrongly encompaſſed, thruſt himſelf into the heap and miſerable multitude of his vaſſals, and had undergone the common fortune of common perſons vanquiſhed, had not a ſon of his, who had been dumb all his life (by extremitie of paſſion and fear enabled) cried out to the Souldiers to ſpare *Cræſus*. Who thereupon being taken and impriſoned, deſpoyled of all things but the expectation of death, he was forthwith tied in fetters, and ſet on the top of a great and high heap of wood, to be conſumed to aſhes thereon. To which when the fire was ſet and kindled, remembring the diſcourſe which he had with the *Athenian* Law-giver, he thrice cried out on his name, *Solon, Solon, Solon:* and being demanded what he meant by that invocation, he firſt uſed ſilence; but urged again, he told them, That he had now found it true which *Solon* had long ſince told them, That many men in the race and courſes of their lives might well be accounted fortunate, but no man could diſcern himſelf for happy indeed, till his end.

In communi calamitate ſuam quiſque habet fortunam, Curt. Memoriam meritus perire ſui temporis vocis eſt maximum, &c. Sen. in Oct.

Of which anſwer *Cyrus* being ſpeedily informed, remembring the changes of fortune, and his own mortalitie, he commanded his miniſters of Juſtice to withdraw the fire with all diligence, to ſave *Cræſus*, and to conduct him to his preſence: Which done, *Cyrus* demanded of him, Who it was that had perſwaded him? or what ſelf reaſon had conducted him to invade his territory, and to make him of a friend an enemie? To whom he thus anſwered; It was thy proſperous, and my unproſperous deſtiny (the *Grecian* god flattering therewithall my ambition) that were the inventers and conductors of *Cræſus* War againſt *Cyrus*.

Homo qui in hominem calamitoſo miſericors eſt, meminit ſui, &c.

Cyrus being pierc't with *Cræſus* anſwer, & bewailing his eſtate, though victorious over it, did not only ſpare his life, but entertained him ever after as a King and his companion, ſhewing therein a true effect of mercy indeed. *Quæ non cauſam, ſed fortunam ſpectat.*

And herein is the reall difference diſcerned between that behaviour which we call *beneficium latronis*, and *gratiam Principis*: A theef ſometime ſparing the life of him which is in his power, but unjuſtly: A King that giveth breath, and a continuance of being, to him that was the cauſe and author of his own evill.

The report made by *Xenophon*, is, That *Cyrus* did friendly entertain *Cræſus* at the firſt ſight, not mentioning that which *Herodotus* delivers, and is here already ſet down, that he ſhould have bin burnt alive. It may very well be, that *Xenophon* pourtraying (in *Cyrus*) an heroicall Prince, thought an intent ſo cruell, fitter to be forgotten than rehearſed, as too much miſ-beſeeming a generous nature. And it is very likely, that neerneſſe of alliance might with-hold *Cyrus* (had he bin otherwiſe vicious) from ſo cruell a purpoſe againſt his grandmothers brother. Howſoever it was, the morall part of the Storie hath given much credit and reputation to the report of *Herodotus* (as to many the like it often doth) and made it paſſe for currant, though the truſt repoſed in *Cræſus* afterwards may ſeem to argue, that *Cyrus* did not uſe him inhumanly at the firſt.

For as *Herodotus* himſelf telleth us, when *Cyrus* paſt with his Armie over *Araxes* into *Scythia*, he left *Cræſus* to accompany and adviſe his ſon *Cambyſes*, Governour of the Empire in his abſence, with whom he lived all the time of *Cyrus*, & did afterward follow

Cambyſes

Cambyſes into *Egypt*, where he hardly eſcaped his tyrannous hand. What his end was, I do not find.

But in this time the races of three of the greateſt Kings in that part of the world took end; to wit, of the *Babylonians*, *Medians*, and *Lydians*; in *Balthaſar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Crœſus*.

§. V.

How Cyrus *won* Babylon.

AFter this *Lydian* War enſued the great Conqueſt of *Babylon*, which gave unto *Cyrus* an Empire ſo large and mightie, that he was juſtly reputed the greateſt Monarch then living upon earth. How long time the preparations for this great action took up, it is uncertain; only it ſeems, that ten whole years did paſſe between his taking thoſe two Cities of *Sardis* and *Babylon*; which nevertheleſſe I doe not think to have bin wholly occupied in proviſion for the *Aſſyrian* war, but rather to have bin ſpent in ſetling the Eſtate which he had already purchaſed. And hereunto perhaps may be referred that which *Cteſias* hath in his fragments, of a war made by *Cyrus* upon the *Scythians*, though related as foregoing the victory obtained againſt *Crœſus*. He telleth us, That *Cyrus* invaded *Scythia*, and being victorious over that Nation, took *Amorges* their King priſoner: but being in a ſecond battell overthrown by the wife of *Amorges*, *Sparetha*, and therein taken, the one King was delivered for the other.

Likewiſe it may be thought, that no ſmall part of thoſe troubles which aroſe in the lower *Aſia*, grew ſoon after the departure of the victorious armie, before the Conqueſt was fully eſtabliſhed.

For after *Cyrus* was returned out of *Aſia* the leſſe, many Nations, conquered formerly by *Crœſus*, and now by *Cyrus*, revolted from him; againſt whom he imployed *Pactias*, and then *Harpagus*, who firſt reduced the *Phocians* under their former obedience, and then the reſt of the *Greeks* inhabiting *Aſia* the leſſe, as the *Ionians*, *Carians*, *Æolians*, and *Lycians*, who reſolvedly (according to the ſtrength they had) defended themſelves. But in the attempt upon *Babylon* it ſelf, it is not to be doubted, that *Cyrus* employed all his forces, having taken order before-hand, that nothing ſhould be able to divert him, or to raiſe that ſiege, and make fruſtrate the work upon which he did ſet all his reſt. And great reaſon there was, that he ſhould bend all his care and ſtrength unto the taking of that citie, which beſide the fame and reputation that it held, as being head of an Empire thereon depending, was ſo ſtrongly fenced with a treble wall of great height, and ſurrounded with waters unfoordable, ſo plentifully victualled for many years, that the inhabitants were not only free from all doubt and fear of their eſtate, but deſpiſed and derided all purpoſes and power of their beſiegers.

The only hope of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, who deſpaired of carrying by aſſault a Citie ſo wel fortified and manned, was in cutting off all ſupplies of victuals and other neceſſaries: wherof though the Town was ſaid to be ſtored ſufficiently for more than 20. years, yet might it well be deemed, that in ſuch a world of people as dwelt within thoſe gates, one great want or other would ſoon appear, & vanquiſh the reſolution of that unwarlike multitude. In expecting the ſucceſs of this courſe, the beſiegers were likely to endure much travel, & all in vain, if they did not keep ſtreight watch & ſtrong guards upon all quarters.

This was hard to doe, in regard of the vaſt circuit of thoſe wals which they were to gird in, with numbers neither great enough, nor of men ſufficiently aſſured unto their commander: The conſideration whereof miniſtred unto the *Babylonians* matter of good paſtime, when they ſaw the *Lydians*, *Phrygians*, *Cappadocians*, and others, quartered about their Town to keep them in, who having bin their ancient friends and allies, were more likely to joyn with them, if occaſion were offered, than to uſe much diligence on the behalf of *Cyrus*, who had, as it were, yeſterday layd upon their necks the galling yoak of ſervitude. Whilſt the beſieged were pleaſing themſelves in this deceitfull and vain gladneſſe, that is the ordinary fore-runner of ſudden calamitie, *Cyrus*, whom the Ordinance of God made ſtrong, conſtant, and inventive, deviſed by ſo many channels and trenches as were ſufficient and capable of *Euphrates*, to draw the ſame from the walls of *Babylon*, thereby to make his approach the more facile and aſſured: which when by the labour of many hands he had performed, he

Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. 7.

he stayed the time of his advantage for the execution: for he had left certain bankes or heads un-cut, between the main river which surrounded the Citie, and his own Trenches.

Now *Balthasar*, finding neither any want or weaknes within, nor any possibilitie of approach for his enemies without, prepared an exceeding sumptuous feast, publike Playes, and other Pastimes, and thereto invited a thousand of his Princes or Nobilitie, besides his wives, curtizans, and others of that trade. This he did either to let the besiegers know, that his provisions were either sufficient, not onely for all needfull uses, but even for jollitie and excesse; or because he hoped that his enemies, under the burthen of many distresses were well neere broken; or in honour of *Bel* his most reverenced Idoll; or that it was his birth or coronation day; or for many or all these respects. And he was not contented with such magnificence as no Prince else could equall, but (using *Daniels* words) *He lifted himself up against the Lord of Heaven*: for he and his Princes, wives and concubines, made carowsing cups of the Vessels of God, in contempt of whom he praised his own puppets, made of Silver and Gold, of Brasse, Iron, Wood, and Stone; *Quanta fuit stultitia in vasibus aureis bibentes, ligneos & lapideos deos laudare? How great a foolishnesse was it* (saith S. *Hierome*) *drinking in golden Cups, to praise gods of Wood and Stone?* While *Balthasar* was in this sort triumphing, and his brains well filled with vapors, he beheld a hand, which by divine power wrote on the wall opposite unto him, certain words which he understood not: wherewith so great a fear and amazement seized him, as the ioynts of his loyns were loosed, and his knees smote one against the other. Which passion when he had in some part recovered, he cried out for his *Chaldeans*, Astrologians, and Soothsayers, promising them great rewards, and the third place of honour in the kingdome to him that could read and expound the writing: but it exceeded their Art. In this disturbance and astonishment, the Queen hearing what had past, and of the Kings amazement, after reverence done, used this speech: *There is a man in thy Kingdome, in whom is the spirit of the holy Gods, and in the dayes of thy father, light, and understanding, and wisedome, like the wisedome of the Gods, was found in him, whom the King* Nabuchodonosor, *thy father, the King (I say) thy father made chief of the Inchanters, Astrologians,* Chaldæans, *and Soothsayers, because a more excellent spirit, and knowledge, and understanding, &c. were found in him, even in* Daniel, *&c. Now let* Daniel *be called, and he will declare the interpretation.* Dan. 5. 6.

This Queen, *Josephus* takes for the grandmother; *Origen* and *Theodoret* for the mother of *Balthasar*; either of which may be true: for it appeareth, that she was not any of the Kings wives, because absent from the feast; and being past the age of dancing and banquetting, she came in upon the bruit of the miracle, and to comfort the King in his distraction. And whereas *Daniel* was forgotten and neglected by others both of younger years and times, this old Queen remembred well what he had done in the dayes of *Nabuchodonosor*, grandfather to this *Balthasar*, and kept in mind both his religion and divine gifts. *Orig. & Theod. in Dan. Joseph. Ant. 10.*

When *Daniel* was brought to the Kings presence, who acknowledged those excellent graces wherewith God had enriched him, he prayed him, together with promises of reward and honour, to read and interpret those words miraculously written; to whom *Daniel* made answer in a farre different style from that hee used towards his Grandfather: for the evill which he foretold *Nabuchodonosor*, he wished that the same might befall his enemies; but to this King (whose neglect of God, and vice, he hated) he answered in these words, *Keep thy reward to thy self, and give thy gifts to another, yet will I read the writing unto the King, and shew him the interpretation.* Which before he had performed, he gave him first the cause of Gods just judgement against him, and the reason of this terrible sentence, whereof the King and all his Wise men were utterly ignorant. Which being written at large in *Daniel*, hath this effect, That forgetting Gods goodnesse to his Father, whom all Nations feared and obeyed, and that for his pride and neglect of those benefits, as hee deprived him of his estate and understanding, so upon the acknowledgement of Gods infinite power he restored him to both. This King notwithstanding lifted himself up against the same God, and presuming both to abuse those vessels dedicated to holy uses, and neglecting the Lord of all power, praised and worshipped the dead Idols of Gold, Silver, Brasse, Iron, Stone, and Wood: and therefore those words, from the Oracle of a true God delivered, (to wit) *Mene, Tekel, Upharsin,* Dan. 5. 18. 19, 20.

gave

gave the King knowledge, that God had numbred the time of his kingdome, and finished it; That he was weighed in the ballance of Gods justice, and found too light; and that his Empire was divided and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*.

The very evening or night of this day, wherein *Balthasar* feasted and perished, *Cyrus*, either by his espiall, according to *Xenophon*, or inspired by God himself, whose ensign he followed in this warre, found the time and opportunitie to invite him: and therefore while the Kings head, and the heads of his Nobilitie were no lesse filled with the vapors of wine, than their hearts with the fear of Gods judgement, he caused all the banks and heads of his trenches to be opened and cut down with that diligence, as by them hee drew the great River of *Euphrates* dry for the present, by whose channell running, his Armie made their entrance, finding none to disturb them. All the Town lay buried (as the Poet saith) in sleep and wine: such as came in the *Persians* way, were put to the sword, unlesse they saved themselves by flight, as some did, who ran away crying, and filling the streets with an uncertain tumult.

Such *Assyrian* Lords as had revolted from *Balthasar*, and betaken themselves to the party of *Cyrus*, did now conduct a selected companie to the Kings Palace; which having easily forced, they rushed into the chamber where the King with his Princes were banquetting, slew both him and them without any mercie, who struggled in vain to keep those lives which God had newly threatned to take away. And now was the prophecie of *Jeremie* fulfilled, and that of *Esay*, two hundred years before this subversion, who in his seven and fortieth Chapter, and elsewhere, writeth this destruction so feelingly and lively, as if he had been present both at the terrible slaughter there committed, and had seen the great and unfeared change and calamitie of this great Empire; yea, and had also heard the sorrows and bewailings of every surviving soul thereunto subject. His Prophecie of this place he beginneth in these words; *Come down, and sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of* Babel: *sit on the ground, there is no Throne, &c.* And again, *Sit still and get thee into darkness, O daughter of the* Chaldæans, *for thou shalt no more be called the Lady of Kingdomes.* For though it cannot be doubted, that God used *Nabuchodonosor* and the *Chaldæans*, to punish the Idolatrie of the *Judæans*, yet *Esay* teacheth us in this place, That he did not yet forget, that the execution of his judgements was mixt with a rigorous extremitie. For (saith *Esay*) in the person of God, *I was wroth with my people, I have polluted mine inheritance, and given them into thine hand: thou didst shew them no mercy, but thou didst lay thy very heavy yoak upon the antient. I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of Hosts, and will cut off from* Babel *the name and the remnant, and the son and the nephew.* And in the thirteenth, *Every one that is found, shall be stricken thorow: and whosoever joyneth himself, shall fall by the sword, their children also shall be broken in pieces before their eies, their houses spoyled, and their wives ravished.* So as there is no Historian who was either present at this victory of *Cyrus*, or that received the report from others truly as it was, that could better leave the same to posteritie after it happened, than *Esay* hath done in many places of his Prophecies, which were written two hundred years before any thing attempted.

Jer. 27. Esay 47.

Cap. 47.

Isa. 14. To wit, Evilmerodach and Balthasar.

The greatnesse and magnificence of *Babylon*, were it not by divers grave Authors set down, might seem altogether fabulous: for, besides the reports of Saint *Hierome*, *Solinus*, and *Orosius*, *Aristotle* in the third of his *Politicks*, the second Chapter, received the report for true, That one part of the Citie knew not that the rest was taken three dayes after. Which is not impossible, if the testimonie of *Diodorus Siculus* may be taken; who finds the compasse thereof at three hundred and threescore Stadia or Furlongs, which makes five and forty miles: the walls whereof had so great a breadth, that six Chariots might passe in front theron. And of height, according to *Ctesias* and *Clitracus*, three hundred threescore and five foot, garnished with an hundred and fiftie Towers. *Strabo* in the beginning of his sixteenth Book of Geographie gives it a greater circuit, adding five and twenty furlongs more to the former compasse, reckoning the same at three hundred fourscore and five furlongs, which makes eight and fortie mile and one furlong, but finds the wall farre under that which *Diodore* reports: and so doth *Curtius* measure their thicknesse but at two and thirtie foot, and their height at an hundred cubits, which is also very much; every cubit containing a foot and half of the large measure, though to the whole circuit of the Citie he gives the same with *Siculus*, and eight furlongs more. *Herodotus* finds a greater content than *Strabo* doth, namely, foure hun-

Diod. l. 3.

dred and fourscore furlongs circle; the thickneſſe of the wall he meaſures at fiftie cubits, and the height at two hundred of the ſame regall cubit. For entrance it had an hundred gates of Braſſe, with poſts and hooks to hang them on of the ſame metall: and therefore did the Prophet *Eſay* rightly intitle *Babylon*, The Princeſſe and Glory of Kingdomes. *Her. l. 1.* *Eſay 47. & 13.*

But when *Cyrus* had wonne her, he ſtript her out of her Princely Robes, and made her a ſlave; dividing not onely all her goodly houſes, and her whole Territorie, with all the riches therein contained, among his Souldiers; but beſtowing the inhabitants themſelves as bond-ſlaves upon thoſe that had taken poſſeſſion of their goods.

Touching the reign of *Cyrus*, and the time which he enjoyed in reſt and pleaſure, I can ſay no more of it, than that it is generally agreed by all Chronologers to have laſted only ſeven years: in which time he made ſuch Conſtitutions as differ little from the Ordinances of all wiſe Kings that are deſirous to eſtabliſh a Royall power to themſelves and their poſteritie.

§. VI.

The end of Cyrus.

THe laſt warre, and the end of this great King *Cyrus*, is diverſly written. *Herodotus* and *Juſtine* deliver, That after the Conqueſt of *Aſia* the leſſe, *Cyrus* invaded the *Maſſagetes*, a very warlike Nation of the *Scythians*, governed by *Tomyris* their Queen: and that in an incounter between the *Perſians* and theſe Northern *Nomades*, *Tomyris* loſt her Armie, and her Son *Spargapiſes* that commanded it: In revenge whereof, this Queen making new levies of men of War, and following the War againſt *Cyrus*, in a ſecond battell beat the *Perſian* Armie, and taking *Cyrus* priſoner, cut off his head from his body, and caſt the ſame into a boule of bloud, uſing theſe words; *Thou that haſt all thy life time thirſted for bloud, now drink thy fill, and ſatiate thy ſelf.*

It ſhould hereby ſeem, that *Cyrus* knowing the ſtrength and multitude of thoſe frozen Nations, was perſwaded to abate their furie by ſome forcible invaſion and depopulation, becauſe in the time of *Cyaxares*, father to *Aſtyages*, thoſe *Scythians* invaded *Media* and *Aſia* the leſſe, and held the ſame in a ſervile ſubjection eight and twenty years.

This war which *Metaſthenes* calleth *Tomyrique*, laſted (ſaith he) ſix years, and took end at the end of *Cyrus*.

But in this particular I believe with *Viginier*, that this *Scythian* War was rather the ſame which *Cyrus* made againſt the *Sacians*, before the conqueſt of *Lydia*, according to *Cteſias* before cited, who calleth *Tomyris*, *Sparetha*, though he deliver the ſucceſſe of that war otherwiſe than *Herodotus* doth: The rather (ſaith *Viginier*) becauſe *Strabo* in his eleventh book reciteth, that *Cyrus* ſurprized the *Sacians* by the ſame ſtratagem by which *Juſtine* ſaith he defeated the ſon of *Tomyris*. And the ſame *Cteſias* alſo reporteth, That the laſt war which *Cyrus* made, was againſt *Amorrhæus* king of the *Derbicians*, a Nation (as the reſt) of *Scythia*; whom though he overcame, yet he then received the wound of his death, which he ſuffered three dayes after. *Vig. prim. part. Bib.* *Cte. l. 15. hiſt. part.*

Strabo alſo affirmeth, That he was buried in his own Citie of *Paſagardes*, which himſelf had built, and where his Epitaph was to be read in his time; which is ſaid to have bin this: *O vir, quicunque es, & undecunque advenis, neque enim te adventurum ignoravi: Ego ſum* Cyrus *qui Perſis imperium conſtitui, puſillum hoc terræ quo meum tegitur corpus mihi ne invideas; O thou man, whoſoever thou art, or whenceſoever thou commeſt; for I was not ignorant that thou ſhouldeſt come: I am* Cyrus *that founded the Perſian Empire, doe not envie unto me this little earth, with which my body is covered.* *Strab. l. 15.*

This Tombe was opened by *Alexander*, as *Qu. Curtius* reporteth, either upon hope of treaſure, ſuppoſed to have been buried with him, or upon deſire to honour his dead body with certain ceremonies; in which there was found an old rotten Target, two *Scythian* Bowes, and a ſword. The Coffin wherein his body lay, *Alexander* cauſed to be covered with his own garment, and a Crown of gold to be ſet upon it. Theſe things well conſidered, as they give credit to the reports of *Xenophon* and *Zonaras*, ſo they derogate much from *Herodotus*, who leaves his body in the hands of *Tomyris*. *Q. Curt.* *Xen. ped. &* *Zon. l. 1. c. 10.*

And

And surely, had *Cyrus* lost the Armie of *Persia* in *Scythia*, it is not likely, that his son would so soon have transported all his remaining forces into *Egypt*, so farre off from that quarter; the *Scythian* Nation then victorious, and bordering *Media*: neither had *Cambyses* been able in such haste to have undertaken and performed so great a Conquest. Wherefore I rather believe *Xenophon*, saying, That *Cyrus* died aged and in peace: and that finding in himself that he could not long enjoy the world, he called unto him his Nobilitie, with his two sons, *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*; or after *Xenophon*, *Tanaoxares*: and after a long Oration, wherein he assured himself, and taught others of the immortality of the Soul, and of the punishments and rewards following the good and ill deserving of every man in this life; he exhorted his sons by the strongest arguments he had, to a perpetuall concord and agreement. Many other things he uttered, which make it probable, that he received the knowledge of the true God from *Daniel*, when he governed *Susa* in *Persia*; and that *Cyrus* himself had read the Prophecie of *Esay*, wherein he was expressely named, and by God (for the delivery of his people) preordained. Which act of delivering the *Jewes* from their Captivitie, and of restoring the holy Temple and Citie of *Hierusalem*, was in true consideration the noblest work that ever *Cyrus* performed. For in other actions he was an instrument of Gods power, used for the chastising of many Nations, and the establishing of a government in those parts of the world, which was not long to continue. But herein he had the grace to be an instrument of Gods goodnesse, and a willing advancer of his Kingdome upon earth; which must last for ever, though heaven and earth shall perish.

§. VII.

Of Cyrus *his Decree for building the Temple of God in* Jerusalem.

HAving therefore spoken of his great victories, mentioned by sundrie Historians, the glory of all which was a reward of this his service done unto him that was Author of them and of all goodnesse: I hold it meet at length to speak of the Decree made in the first of his Reign, being perhaps the first that ever hee made after his possession of the *Babylonian* Empire: That the captive *Jewes* should return again into their own Territorie, and re-build the House of God in *Jerusalem*, having now endured and finished the threescore and ten years captivitie, by the Prophets foretold. For the accomplishing whereof, hee gave order to his Treasurers to furnish them with all things necessary and wanting. He also restored unto them five thousand four hundred threescore and nine Vessels of Gold and Silver, whereof *Nabuchodonosor*, the grandfather of *Balthasar*, had formerly robbed the Temple.

1 Esd. 2. 2 Esd. 7. *Psal. in hor.* The number of the *Jewes* which returned out of *Chaldaa* under their Leader *Zorobabel*, the son of *Salathiel*, and Nephew to King *Jeconias*, and *Jesus* or *Josua* the son of *Josadak*, were about fifty thousand; where, as soon as they arrived, they built an Altar

1 Esd. 3. 3. Esd. 5. Esd. 4. & 5. *Jos. Lam. 11.* to the living God, and sacrifised thereon, according to their own law, and afterward bethought themselves how to prepare materials for the rebuilding of the Temple.

But no sooner did the *Jewes* begin to lay any one stone, than the *Samaritans* and other idolatrous Nations adjoyning, gave all the impediment they could. So did the Governours of those Provinces under *Cyrus* altogether countenance the disturbers, and in no sort favoured the *Jewes*, nor the labours nor purposes they had in hand. And not onely

1 Esd. 2. 16. those which were but Provinciall Lieutenants, and other officers of lesse place, but *Cambyses* himself; who having the charge of the whole Empire, while *Cyrus* was busied o-

Esd. 2. 16. therwise, countermanded the building begun. And whereas some Authors make doubt, that whatsoever *Cambyses* did when himself had obtained the Empire, yet during the

1 Esd. 5. 33. 1 Esd. 4. 5. life of *Cyrus* there was no such impediment or prohibition: they may herein resolve themselves out of *Esdras*, That by the conspiracies of the neighbouring Nations, the building was hindered all the time of King *Cyrus* life, &c. And therefore it is true, that the *Jewes* themselves affirm, as it is written in the second of *John*, That the Temple was 46. years in setting up, having received so many hinderances from the first foundation to the second of *Darius*.

And if we seek the naturall and politique courses which moved *Cambyses* to withstand his fathers decree, as well while he governed under him, as when himself became sole

and

and ſoveraign Monarch, we ſhall find them in that Epiſtle remembred by *Eſdras*, written by *Belemus*, *Mithridates*, and the reſt, Preſidents and Counſellors in *Phœnicia*, wherein they complain that the *Jewes* were evermore rebellious and troublers of Kings; that their City being once built, they would then refuſe to pay tribute, and fall from the obedience of the Empire, as they had formerly done in the times of other Kings. Eſdr. 1. c. 4.

But that which for that preſent ſeemed the moſt forcible impediment, was, that *Cambyſes* having it in his reſolution to invade *Egypt*, and that it was a common opinion, That the *Jewes* were deſcended of thoſe Nations, becauſe they iſſued thence under *Moſes*, when they conquered *Judæa*; their Citie being once repaired and fortified, they might return to their old vomit, and give the ſame diſturbance to *Cambyſes* Conqueſt, which they did to *Sennacherib*, *Nabuchodonoſor*, and other Kings of *Babylon*. For as it is written in *Ezechiel*, Egypt *was the confidence of the houſe of* Iſrael. Ezech. c. 29.

But it is to be underſtood, as *Codoman* and others have obſerved, that *Artaxerxes*, to whom the Counſellors and Governors of *Phœnicia* complained againſt the *Jewes*, did not precede, but ſucceed *Darius Hiſtaſpes*, as in the ſixth and ſeventh chapters of *Eſdras* it is made plain: and alſo that thoſe Governors (whoſe Epiſtle ſheweth as much) did not withſtand the building of the Temple, but the fortifying and encloſing of the City, as by the reaſons given in the ſaid Epiſtle, and by the Kings anſwer, it is evident.

Alſo in the ſixt of *Ezra*, the fourteenth verſe, the kings are named in order as they governed, and *Artaxerxes* written after *Darius*; as: *And they built and finiſhed it* (to wit the Temple) *by the appointment of the God of* Iſrael, *and by the commandement of* Cyrus *and* Darius, *and* Artahſhaſte *Kings of* Perſia. Laſtly, in the ſeventh of *Ezra* it is written; *Now after theſe things, in the reign of* Artahſhaſte *King of* Perſia: which was as much as to ſay, after the finiſhing of the Temple in *Darius* time. And therefore *Artaxerxes* in the ſecond of *Eſdras* is there named by anticipation, not in his own time and place.

And thus much concerning the rebuilding of the Citie and Temple of *Hieruſalem*. Which action though proſpered by the hand of God, was very ſlowly purſued by the men whom it moſt concerned, but firſt ſet on foot by *Cyrus*. The other ordinances of *Cyrus*, with his forme and manner of government, are to be found in *Xenophon*. At his death he bequeathed the Empire unto his eldeſt ſon *Cambyſes*, appointing *Smerdis* or *Tanaoxares* his yonger ſon to be *Satrapa*, or Lieutenant of *Media*, *Armenia*, and *Caduſia*; and then died, after he had reigned (ſaith *Herodotus*) one and thirty years, or (according to *Juſtine*) but thirty.

§. VIII.

Of Cyrus *his iſſue: and whether* Atoſſa *were his daughter, or (as ſome think) were the ſame with Queen* Heſter.

CYrus had iſſue two ſons, *Cambyſes* and *Smerdis*, with three daughters, *Atoſſa*, *Meroe*, and *Artyſtona*: *Cteſias* addeth to theſe, *Amytis*. *Atoſſa* and *Meroe* their brother *Cambyſes* married; *Artyſtona*, *Darius Hyſtaſpes* obtained; ſo did hee *Atoſſa*, *Cambyſes* being dead: who (as ſome Writers have ſuppoſed) inflamed both her husbands, *Darius*, and *Xerxes* after him, to invade *Greece*, to bee avenged of the whole Nation for the cruel intent that *Aman* (whom the old Tranſlation calleth a *Macadonian*) had againſt the *Jewes*, though the opinion of *Joſephus* be more probable, who finds *Aman* to be an *Amalekite*. But it is hard to be underſtood, how *Atoſſa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, ſhould have been *Eſther*, whoſe Hiſtory ſeemes rather to appertain to the time of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, than of *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*, or of *Xerxes*. The deſire of *Atoſſa* to have *Greece* brought under the yoke of *Perſia*, was partly grounded upon the honour which thereby ſhe thought her husband might obtaine, partly upon a feminine humour of getting many brave Dames, *Corinthians*, *Athenians*, and others of that Nation to bee her bond-women. Wherefore I cannot give aſſent to the opinion of *Codoman*, who upon the neer ſound of the two names, *Atoſſa* and *Hadaſſa*, (by the latter of which *Eſther* was alſo called) makes them to have been one perſon. For though it bee true that *Eſther* concerning her parentage, a while might bee taken for a great Lady; yet *Codomans* inference is nothing probable, that ſhe ſhould therefore, and

for the great affection which the King bare unto her, be thought the daughter of *Cyrus*. Certain it is, that *Esther* did at length discover her Kindred and Nation; whereby, if Histories could be kept free from this errour, yet the people, and especially the Nobility, must needs have understood the truth: who nevertheless did so well know the parentage of *Atossa*, that for her sake, as being daughter of *Cyrus*, her son *Xerxes* was perferred to the kingdome before his elder brother, against whom also he could have pretended a very weak claim. But of these things more hereafter in fitter place.

CHAP. IV.

The estate of things from the death of CYRUS *to the reign of* DARIUS.

§. I.

Of the number and names of the Persian *Kings.*

OF the successors of *Cyrus*, and the continuance of the *Persian* Empire, there are many opinions; As that of *Metasthenes*, who hath numbred the *Persian* Kings, and their times as followeth.

Darius Medus, and *Cyrus* joyntly.	2	years.
Cyrus alone.	22	
Priscus Artaxerxes.	20	
Darius Longimanus.	37	
Darius Nothus.	19	
Ataxerxes Mnemon.	55	
Artaxerxes Ochus.	26	
Arses, or *Arsames.*	4	
Darius the last, conquered by *Alexander.*	6	

To which *Philo* agreeth; which number of years added, make in all an hundred ninetie and one. But in this Catalogue *Metasthenes* hath left out *Cambyses* and *Xerxes*, and names *Artaxerxes Assuerus* for the immediate successor of *Cyrus*; in place (saith *Melancton*) of *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes*: for *Metasthenes*, as *Melancton* conjectureth, doth not account *Cambyses* in the Catalogue, because his reign was confounded with that of *Cyrus*.

There is a second opinion, though ridiculous, of *Sedar Olam*, who finds but foure *Persian* Kings from the beginning to the end of that Empire.

Cro. Kron. fo. 135 *Genebrard*, *Schubert*, and *Beroaldus* have also a differing account from the *Greekes*; whom nevertheless *Eusebius* and most of the Latines follow, and so doth *Krentzheim*, who hath fully answered, and, as I take it, refuted all the former Authors varying from that account. For in this sort doe the *Greekes* marshall the *Persian* Kings with the times of their reigns.

Melancton gives *Cyrus* but 29.	*Cyrus* in all.	30
	Cambyses with the *Magi.*	8
	Darius Hystaspes.	36
Melanct. but 20	*Xerxes.*	21
	Artaxerxes Longimanus.	40
	Darius Nothus.	19
Melanct. but 40. *Melanct.* 26.	*Artaxerxes Mnemon.*	43
	Artaxerxes Ochus.	23
	Arsames.	3
Melanct. 4.	*Darius* the last.	6

Which numbers put together, make in all two hundred and thirty.

This

This account (as I have said) the most Chronologers, and the best learned approve. These *Persian* Princes, being all warranted by the authority of the Scriptures, as *Peucer* in his historicall Animadversions hath gathered the places; finding first *Cyrus* in the second of *Chronicles*, *ch.* 36. *ver.* 22, 23. *Ezra.* 1. *ch.* 1. *ver.* 1. and often elsewhere.

Secondly, *Cambyses* in the eleventh of *Daniel*, who may indeed be well esteemed for one of those three Kings in the second verse named, and so the marginall Commentator upon the *Geneva* understands that place; but, under correction, mistakes the matter greatly, when he saith in the same note, that *Darius Hystapes* was an enemy to the people of God, and stood against them: his great favour and liberality to the *Jews* being elsewhere proved.

Thirdly, is *Darius Hystapes* found in *Ezra* the first, *c.* 4. *v.* 5. who in the sixt verse is also named *Ahasuerus*.

Fourthly, in the eleventh of *Daniel* verse the second, *Xerxes* is plainly foretold and described, and the great War which he should make against the *Greeks* by *Daniel* remembred.

Fiftly, *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in *Ezra* the fourth, verse seven, who is also called *Arthasasta*, *c.* 4. *l.* 1. *Ezr. v.* 7. and *cap.* 7. *v.* 7

Sixtly, *Darius Nothus*, *Ezra cap.* 4. *verse* 24. and *cap.* 5. *verse* 6. *Nehem. cap.* 12. *verse* 22.

Seventhly, *Artaxerxes Mnemon* in *Nehem. c.* 2. *v.* 1. who was father to *Artaxerxes Ochus*, and *Arsames*: for *Darius* the last, he was of another Family, the Line of *Cyrus* the Great ending in *Ochus*, who descended from *Xerxes* the son of *Atossa*, *Cyrus* his daughter; and the issue male of *Cyrus* failing with his own sons.

But to proceed, *Eusebius* with the *Latines*, following the *Greeks*, apply the beginnings and ends of every *Persian* King with their Acts, to some certain *Olympiad*; As the War of *Astyages* (*Cyrus* his maternall Grand-father) and *Alyattes* (*Crœsus* his father) to the nine and fortieth *Olympiad*; The beginning of *Cyrus* reign to the beginning of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*; The taking of *Sardis* by *Cyrus* to the eight and fiftieth *Olympiad*; The invasion of *Egypt* by *Cambyses* to the third year of the threescore and third *Olympiad*, and so of the rest. Which reference with good agreement between severall forms of computation, adde the more credit unto both.

Again, this historicall demonstration is confirmed by the Astronomicall computation of *Ptolomie*, who refers the death of *Alexander* the Great, who died the 12. of *November*, in the beginning of the hundred and fortieth *Olympiad*, to the four hundred and four and twentieth year after *Nabonassar*. And the *Æra* of *Nabonassar* began on the six and twentieth of *February*: which conferred with the *Olympiad*, was in the ninth Month of the first year of the eighth *Olympiad*; So that whether we follow the accounts of the *Olympiads*, as doe the *Greek* Historians, or that of *Nabonassar* with *Ptolomie*, we shall find every memorable accident to fall out right with each computation. *Ptol. in Alm. l.* 3. *cap.* 8.

For *Ptolomy* reckons the time answerable to two hundred and four and twenty *Julian* years, and an hundred and forty days from *Nabonassar* to the sixteenth of *July* in the seventh year of *Cambyses*.

The *Greeks*, and namely, *Diodorus Siculus*, place the taking of *Egypt* by *Cambyses* in the second or third year of the threescore and third *Olympiad*, and the beginning of *Cambyses* seventh year, in the first of the threescore and fourth *Olympiad*: which first of the threescore and fourth *Olympiad* runs along with part of the two and twentieth of *Nabonassar*. The like agreement is consequently found about the beginning and end of *Cyrus*.

Likewise the twentieth of *Darius*, who succeeded *Cambyses*, is according to *Ptolomie* the two hundred and six and fortieth of *Nabonassar*, which (observing the differences of *Nabonassars Æra* and the *Olympiad*, *viz.* eight and twenty years) agrees with the third of the threescore and ninth *Olympiad*, wherein it is placed by the *Greeks*. In this *Josephus* agrees with the *Greeks* throughout, saving that he joyneth *Darius Medus*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, with *Cyrus* in the destruction of *Babylon*; which is true, and not contrary to the *Greek* computation, but may very well stand with it.

Lastly, the disagreements and confused accompts of those that follow the other Catalogue of the *Persian* kings formerly rehearsed, doth give the greater credit to this of the

Greeks, which being constant in it self, accordeth also with the computation of other Historians, and Astronomers, and likewise with the holy Scriptures.

§. II.

Of Cambyses, *and the conquering of* Egypt *by him.*

WEe will therefore according to the truth give the Empire of *Persia* to *Cambyses*, the son of *Cyrus*, though degenerate in all things, saving the desire to increase the greatnesse of his Empire: whereof he was possest in his Fathers time while *Cyrus* made war in the North. *Ctesias* with others give him a longer reign than agreeth with the *Grecian* accompt before received.

Lib. 2. c. 2. Herod. 3. pag. 83, 84, 85.

In the fift year of his sole reign, and in the third year of the threescore and third *Olympiad*, according to *Diodore* and *Eusebius*, he invaded *Egypt*, and having overthrown the King thereof, *Psammeniticus*, he not only caused him to be slain, but also did put to death all his kindred and dependants, with the most of his children.

Herodotus and *Ctesias* give for cause of this war (being no other indeed than the Ambition of *Cambyses*) that when he sent to *Amasis* King of *Egypt*, to have his daughter in marriage, *Amasis* presented him with *Nitetis* the daughter of *Apries* his predecessor, which *Cambyses* disdained.

Howsoever it were; true it is, that *Cambyses* gathered an Armie fit for such an enterprise, and caused the same to march. But before they entred *Egypt*, *Amasis* died, and left *Psammentticus*, whom *Ctesias* called *Amyrteus*, his successor; who enjoyed *Egypt* after his father (according to the best copies of *Herodotus*) but six Months, though other Chronologers give him six years.

But how long soever he held the Crown, in one battell he lost it, and was himself taken prisoner.

It is said that *Cambyses*, following therein the example of *Cyrus*, did not only spare life to the conquered King, but that he also trusted him with the government of *Egypt*, and that upon some revolt, or suspicion thereof, he caused him to be slaughtered. But the race of this King was not so extirpated, if we may beleeve *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, but that he left a son called *Inarus*, who caused the *Egyptians* to revolt both from *Xerxes* and *Artaxerxes*.

That *Psammeniticus* was at the first entreated gently by *Cambyses*, I hold it very improbable, if it be true which is also written of him, That he so much hated *Amasis* the King of *Egypt*, who died before his arrivall, that he caused his body to be drawn out of the grave, and after divers indignities used, commanded the same to be burnt, contrary to the custome both of the *Egyptians* and *Persians*. For the *Egyptians* used to powder their dead bodies with salt, and other drugs, to the end the worms might not devoure them. The * *Persians* durst not consume them with fire, which they esteemed as a God, and therefore feared to feed it with Carrion.

* Neither did the *Romans* ever consume their dead to ashes, till the time of *Sylla* Dictator, who caused his own to be devoured by that element, fearing the Law called *Talionis*, or like for like, because himself had untombed the carkasse of *Caius Marius* after his death *Herod. l. 3. Plin. l. 6. c. 54. Strab. & Just. l. 1.*

§. III.

The rest of Cambyses *his Acts.*

AFter this victory obtained in *Egypt*, *Cambyses* sent an Army into *Cyprus*, and constrained *Evelthon* King thereof to acknowledge him, who before held that Iland of the *Egyptians*.

While *Cambyses* yet busied himself in *Egypt*, he so much detested the Idolatry of that Nation, as he caused the images themselves, with the Temples wherein they were worshipped, to be torn down and defaced. This done, he directed a part of his Armie into *Lybia*, to overturne the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*; but the Devill in defence of his *oraterie* raised such a Tempest of Sand, wherewith the greatest part of that Country is covered, as the *Persians* were therewith choked and over-whelmed.

Pag. 87. 88. Herod. l. 3. Sen. l. 7

Notwithstanding which misadventure, *Herodotus* and *Seneca* report, that disdaining to be resisted, he prepared the rest of his Army, which himself meant to conduct into those parts, but that finding a beginning of those incommodities, which his first-sent troup had tryed, he changed his purpose. For though conquering Kings have power over men, yet the elements doe not obey them, according to that old *English* proverb, *Go, saith the King; Stay, saith the Tide.*

After

After his return from the attempt of *Æthiopia*, he caused *Apis* the *Egyptian* Bull, worshipped by that Nation as God, to be slain: a deed very commendable, had it proceeded from true zeal, and been executed as in service of him that onely is, and liveth. But soon afterwards, when in a dream it seemed unto him that *Smerdis* did sit in the royall throne of *Persia* (which apparition was verified in *Smerdis* the *Magus*) he gave it in charge to his favorite *Praxaspes*, to murther *Smerdis* his brother. And having married his own sisters, contrary to the *Persian* Lawes, he committed a most causeless and most detestable murder upon the one of them called *Meroe*, then by himself with child, because she bewailed the death of her brother *Smerdis*. I find it written of this *Cambyses*, That because his Predecessors observed religiously the ordinances of their Empire, he assembled his Judges, and enquired of them whether there were any Law among the *Persians* that did permit the brother to marry his own sister; it being his own intent so to doe: The Judges (who had alwayes either lawes or in distinctions store to satisfie Kings and times) made answer, That there was not any thing written allowing any such conjunction, but they notwithstanding found it in their customes, that it was alwayes left to the will of the *Persian* Kings to doe what best pleased themselves; and so as *Nauclerus* termes it, *invenerunt occasionem*: That is as much to say, as the Judges found a shift to please the King, and to secure themselves. And yet, where it concerned not the Kings private satisfaction, he caused *Sisamnus* one of his Judges, and perchance one of those which favoured his incestuous match, to by flayed alive, for an unjust judgement given, and the same his hide to be hung up over the judgement seat. After which, bestowing the fathers office on his son, he willed him to remember that the same partiality deserved the same punishment. *Her. l. 3. c. 90.*

Among other his cruelties, that which he exercised against the son of his beloved *Praxaspes* was very strange and ungrateful. For when he desired to be truly informed by him what the *Persians* thought of his conditions, *Praxaspes* answered, That his vertues were followed with abundant praise from all men; onely it was by many observed, that he took more than usuall delight in the tast of Wine: With which taxation inflamed, he used this replication; And are the *Persians* double-tongued, who also tell me that I have in all things excelled my father *Cyrus*? Thou *Praxaspes* shalt then witnesse, whether in this report they have done me right: for if at the first shot I pierce thy sons heart with an arrow, then is it false that hath been spoken; but if I misse the mark, I am then pleased that the fame be accounted true, and my subjects believed. This being spoken, he immediatly directed an arrow towards the innocent child, who falling down dead with the stroke, *Cambyses* commanded his body to be opened, and his heart being broched on the arrow, this monstrous Tyrant greatly rejoycing, shewed it to the Father, with this saying in stead of an Epitaph: *Now* Praxaspes, *thou maist resolve thy selfe, that I have not lost my wits with Wine, but the* Persians *theirs, who make such report.*

Many other barbarous cruelties he exercised, till at the last, according to the phrase of our Law, he became *felon de soy*. For when he was informed that *Patizites*, and *Smerdis* the *Magi* (*Cedrenus* writeth them *Sphendanes* and *Cimerdius*) Ministers of his domesticall affairs, taking advantage of the great resemblance between *Smerdis* the Kings brother, and *Smerdis* the *Magus*, possest themselves of the Empire, he made all haste towards *Persia*, and in mounting hastily on horseback, his sword dis-sheathing, pierced his own thigh, where-with deadly wounded, falling into an over-late and remedilesse repentance of the slaughter which he had executed upon his own brother, he soon after gave up his wicked ghost, when he had reigned eight years, accounting therein those seven Moneths in which the *Magi* governed, while he was absent.

In *Cambyses* the Male Line of *Cyrus* failed. For he had no issue either by *Atossa* or *Meroe*: yet *Zonaras* out of *Hierome* gives him a daughter called *Pantaptes*, and a son called *Orontes*, who being drowned in the river *Ophites* by *Antioch*, the same was afterward in memory of the Princes death called *Orontes*. *Zon. Com. 2. p. 117.*

He built the Citie of *Babylon* in *Egypt*, in the place where *Latopolis* was formerly seated, and that of *Meroe* in the Island of *Nilus*, calling it by the name of his sister *Meroe*.

§. IIII.

Of the inter-regnum *between* Cambyses *and* Darius.

CYrus and his two sons being now dead, and the Kingdome in the possession of one of the *Magi*, the counterfeit of *Smerdis*, the Princes, or *Satrapes*, or Provincial Governors of the Empire (to wit, *Otanes*, *Intaphernes*, *Gobrias*, *Megabysus*, *Asphatines*, *Hidarnes*, and *Darius*, who were all descended from *Achæmenes* the first *Persian* King) having discovered the fraud of this imposture, joyned their forces together, surprised and rooted out the Conspirator with his Companions and Assistants. In which action (saith *Justine*) *Intaphernes* and *Asphatines* were slain: but *Herodotus* otherwise, that they were onely wounded; for he avoweth that all the seven Princes were present at the election following.

For the Empire being now without a Governour, these Princes grew into a consultation how the same might be ordered from thence-forth. *Otanes* one of the seven did not fancie any election of Kings, but that the Nobilitie and Cities should confederate, and by just lawes defend their liberty in equality, giving divers reasons for his opinion, being as it seemed greatly terrefied by the cruelties of *Cambyses*; As first, that it was not safe to give all power to any one, seeing greatnesse it self, even in good men, doth often infect the mind with many vices, and the liberty and freedome in all things is most apt to insult, and to commit all manner of wicked outrage. Again, that tyrants do commonly use the service of wicked men, and favour them most; they usurp upon the lawes of their Country; take other mens wives by force, and destroy whom they please without judgement.

Megabysus was of another opinion, affirming that the tyrannie of a multitude was thrice more intolerable than that of one. For the multitude doe all things without judgement, runne into businesse and affairs with precipitation, like raging and overbearing flouds.

He therefore thought it safest to make election of a few, and those of the best, wisest, and most vertuous; becaus it is ever found, that excellent Counsels are ever had from excellent men.

Darius gave the third judgement, who perswaded the creation of a King, becaus even among few diuturnity of concord is seldome found, and in great Empires it doth ever happen that the discord of many Rulers hath enforc'd the election of one Supreme. It were therefore, saith *Darius*, far safer to observe the lawes of our Country, by which Kingly government hath been ordained.

The other four Princes adhered to *Darius*, and agreed to continue the same Imperiall govenment by God established, and made prosperous. And to avoyd partiality, it was accorded, that the morning following these seven Princes should mount on Horseback, and on him the kingdome should be conferred, whose Horse after the Sun-rising should first ney or bray. In the evening after this appointment was made, it is said that *Darius* consulted with the Master of his Horse *Oebarus*, who in the Suburbs of the City where the election was resolved of, caused the same Horse, whereon in the morning *Darius* was mounted, to cover a Mare, who as soon as he came into the same place, was the first Horse that brayed. Whereupon the other six Princes descended from their Horses, and acknowledged *Darius* for their Lord and King.

Herod. 3. *pag.* 100, 101.

Plato in the third of his Lawes affirmeth, that in memory of the seven Princes, whereof *Darius* himself was one, that delivered the Empire from the usurpation of the *Magi*, he divided the whole into seven governments; *Herodotus* saith, into twenty *Satrapies*.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of Darius *the sonne of* Hystaspes.

§. I.

Of Darius *his Linage.*

DArius was descended of the antient *Persian* Kings, to wit, of the *Achæmenidæ*, of which, *Cyrus* the Great was the lineall successor. For in this sort *Herodotus* derives him as before;

Cyrus the first, who had
Teispius, who begat
Ariaramnes, who was father of
Arsamnes, the father of
Hystaspes, the father of
Darius, surnamed *Celes*, the father of *Xerxes*. *Ctes. l. 4.*

Hystaspes accompanied *Cyrus* the Great, in the wars against the *Scythians*, at which time *Cyrus* being made jealous of *Darius* by a dream of his own, caused him to be sent into *Persia*, others say to be imprisoned, from whence by the death of *Cyrus* he was delivered, and made Governour of the *Persian Magi*. He afterward followed *Cambyses* into *Egypt*; he then joyned with the rest of the Princes against the *Magi*, and either by the neying of his horse, or, as others affirm, by strong hand he obtained the Empire, which he the more assured to himself by taking two of *Cyrus* Daughters, and as many of his Neeces for his wives. *Her. l. 1. & 3.*

Hystaspes, according to * *Herodotus*, had besides *Darius*, these three sons, who were great Commanders in the war which *Darius* made in *Asia* the lesse, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and *Greece*; *Atarnes*, *Artabernes*, and *Artabanus*, who diswaded *Xerxes* from the second *Grecian* warre. *Hystaspes* had also a Daughter married to *Gobryas* the Father of *Mardonius*, who commanded the Army of *Darius* in *Macedon*, and married the Daughter of *Darius*, *Artosostre* his Cosen germane.

Reineccius gives to *Hystaspes* five sons, *Darius* who succeeded *Cambyses*, *Artabanus*, *Artaphernes*, *Otanes*, and *Atarnes*, with two daughters.

* *Her. pag. 137. Pag. 154. Pag. 130. P. 101. & 102. Pag. 189, 190. Her. l. 6. p. 180. Pag. 186. 190. Pag. 179. Pag. 200. 204. & pag. 213. 285, 286. Pag. 214. 254. De Reg. Persar. Fol. 32.*

§. II.

Of Darius *his Government, and suppressing the rebellion of* Babylon.

DArius devised equall lawes whereby his subjects might be governed, the same being formerly promised by *Cyrus*. He gave accesse to all his subjects, and behaved himself so mildly to all men, that many Nations desired and offered themselves to become his Vassals: Only he layd divers payments and taxes on the people, which had not been accustomed in *Cyrus* time, to the value of fourteen thousand five hundred and threscore talents, saith *Herodotus*.

The war which *Cambyses* made a far off in *Egypt*, and the contention between the *Magi* and the Princes of *Persia*, for the Empire, gave heart to the *Babylonians* to recover their liberty, and to shake off the *Persian* yoke; whereof *Darius* being advertised, he prepared an Army to recover that City and State revolted. But finding the same a difficult work, he used the service of *Zopirus*, who for the love he bare *Darius*, did cut off his own Ears and Nose, and with other wounds yet fresh bleeding, he seemed to fly to the *Babylonians* for succour, to whom he accused the cruelty of *Darius*: who for having given him advice to give over the siege of their City, had in this sort dismembred and deformed him; whereupon the *Babylonians* gave him that credit, as they trusted him with the disposition and commandement of their greatest forces: which when *Zopirus* had obtained, after some small colourable over-throwes given to the *Persians* upon sallies, he delivered the Citie into *Darius* his hands, who had lyen before it twenty moneths. *Her. l. 3.*

§. III. *of*

§. IIII.

of Darius *his favour to the* Jewes *in building the Temple.*

IN the second year of *Darius*, he gave order that the building of the Temple at *Hierusalem* should goe on, and commanded that the same should be finished at his owne charge, and out of the revenues of the Crown. And whereas the Governours of those Provinces which are situate between *Euphrates* and the *Phœnician*, and mid-
Ezra. c. 6. land Sea (whom *Ezra* calleth the Captains beyond the River) had hindred the work in *Cambyses* his time, *Darius* gave commandement that they should not thence-forth come neer unto *Jerusalem*, to give any impediment to the building, but that they should withdraw themselves, and get them far off till all were finished, and at an end. In the old *Latine* it is written, *Procul recedite ab illis*; *With-draw your selves far from them*; In our *English*, *Be ye far from thence*, to wit, from the City and Temple now in building.

He also made a decree which concerned his own Subjects, That whosoever should thenceforth hinder the setting up of the Temple of God, that his house should be torn down, and the disturber hanged on the Gallowes made of the timber thereof. He also
Ezra 6.11. in the same decree maketh invocation to God; *That hath caused his Name to dwell there (to) destroy all Kings and People that put their hands to alter, and to destroy this house of God which is in Jerusalem, &c.* In four years after which decree (the *Jewes* being really furnished with money and all things necessary from *Darius*) the Temple was in all fi-
Ezra. 6. nished, to wit, in the beginning of the Spring, in the sixth year of *Darius Hystaspes*, and in the two and fortieth after their first return.

§. IV.

of Darius *his Scythian Warre.*

Herod. l. 4.
Just. l. 2. AFter the recovery of *Babylon* he invaded the *Scythians*, whose King *Justine* calleth *Lauthinus*; and saith, that *Darius* undertook this warre against him, because he refused him his daughter in marriage. The better to convoy his Army into *Scythia*, he built a bridge of small Vessels over the River *Ister* or *Danubius*, and gave the custody of the same in charge (among others of *Asia* the lesse) to the *Ionians* and *Æolians*, among whom was *Miltiades*, who perswaded the *Asian Grecians* to break down the bridge, to the end *Darius* might not return thereby, and if by any other way, then not without great difficulty; but the same was resisted by *Histiæus* Prince of *Milet*, a Citie of *Ionia*, which Nation being a *Colonie* of the *Greeks*, *Diodorus* calleth Traytors to their
Diod. l. 11. Countrey, because they joyned themselves to *Darius*. But the *Scythians* more elegantly termed them good slaves, for as much as they would not runne away from their Master, but were more mindfull of doing their duties, than of shaking off their bondage, when they were presented with as fair an occasion of liberty as could have been desired. For the great Armie of *Darius* entring the desart Countrey called *Bessarabia*, found in it neither people to resist them, nor any sustenance to relieve them. For the *Scythians* were then, as are the *Chrim Tartars*, their posteritie, at this day, all horse-men, using the Bow and Sword. They were not Plough-men, but Grasiers, driving their Heards from one place to another, as opportunity of Pasture led them. Standing Towns they had none, but used for Houses the Waggons wherein they carried their wives and children. These Waggons they place at every Station in very good order, making Streets and Lanes in the manner of a great Town, removeable at their pleasure. Neither hath the Emperour himself, called now the great *Chrim*, any other Citie than such as *Agora*, (as they name it) or Town of Carts. When as therefore *Darius* had wearied himself, and wasted his provision in those desolate Regions, wherein he found neither wayes to direct him, victuals to refresh him, nor any houses, fruitfull trees, or living creatures, nor any thing at all, which either he himself might make use of, or by destroying it might grieve his enemies, he began to perceive his own folly, and the danger into which he had brought him. Yet setting a good face upon a bad game, he sent brave messages to the *Scythian*, bidding him to cease his flight, and either to make triall of his valour and fortune in plain battell; Or, if he acknowledged himself the weaker, then to yeeld

by

by fair means, and become his Subject, giving him Earth and Water, which the *Persians* used to demand as a sign that all was yeelded unto them. To this challenge the *Scythian* returned an *Hieroglyphicall* answer; sending a *Bird*, a *Frog* a *Mouse*, and five *Arrows*: which dumb shew *Darius* interpreting by his own wish, thought that he did yeeld all the Elements wherein those creatures live, and his weapons withall into his hands. But *Gobryas*, one of the seven Princes, who had slain the *Magi*, construed their meaning aright, which was thus; *O ye* Persians, *get ye wings like Birds, or dive under the water, or creep into holes in the earth, for else ye shall not escape our arrows.* And this interpretation was soon verified by the *Scythians* themselves, who assailed the *Persian* camp, drave the horsemen into the trenches, and vexed the Armie with continuall Allarums day and night; were so fearlesse of this great Monarch, and so little regarded him, that within his hearing, and even in his sight, they did not forbear the pastime of coursing a Hare, which they had started by chance. By this boldnesse of theirs, *Darius* was so discouraged, that he forsook his Camp by night, making many fires, and leaving all that were sick and weak behind him, and so with all speed marched away towards the River *Ister*. He was pursued hardly by the *Scythians*, who mist him; yet arriving at the Bridge before him, perswaded the *Ionians* to depart, assuring them that the *Persian* king should never more be able to do them either good or harm. Which words had certainly been proved true, had not *Hystiæus* the *Milesian* prevailed with his people, to attend the comming of *Darius*, whom the *Scythians* did likewise fail to meet, when they returned from *Ister* to seek him out.

§. V.

Some actions of the Persians *in* Europe, *after the* Scythian *War.*

D*Arius* having thus escaped out of *Scythia*, determined the invasion of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, in which War he employed *Megabasus*, who mastered the *Pæonians*, and transplanted them, and possest *Perinthus*, *Chalcedon*, *Byzantium*, and other places, being also soon after subjected, and added to the *Persian* Empire by *Otanes*, the son of *Sysamnes*, whom *Cambyses* had excoriated for false judgement. So were the Cities of * *Selybria*, and a *Cardia* likewise taken in from the *Persian*, who having now reduced under his obeysance the best part of *Thrace*, did send his Embassadors to *Amintas* King of *Macedon* adjoyning, demanding of him by the Earth and Water, the Soveraignty over that kingdome. *Amintas* doubting his own strength, entertained the Embassadors with gentle words, and afterwards invited them to a solemne and magnificent feast; the *Persians* greatly desired that the *Macedonian* Ladies might be present: which being granted, the Embassadors, who were well filled with wine, and presumed upon their greatnesse and many victories, began to use such embracings, and other lascivious behaviour towards those Noble Ladies, as *Alexander* the Kings son, great Grandfather to *Alexander* the Great, disdaining the *Persians* barbarous presumption, besought his father to with-draw himself from the assembly, continuing notwithstanding all honourable respect towards the Embassadors, whom withall he entreated that the Ladies might refresh themselves for a while; promising their speedy return. This being obtained, *Alexander* caused the like number of well-favoured yong men to clothe themselves in the same garments, and to use the same attires which the Ladies had worn at the feast, giving them in charge, That when the *Persians* offered to abuse them, they should forthwith transpierce them with their long knives, of which they were provided for that purpose, which was accordingly performed. Charge was soon after given by *Darius* for a severe revenge of this murder. But *Alexander* somewhat before the death of *Amintas*, gave his sister *Gygea* in marriage to *Bubaris*, a principall Commander of *Darius* forces on that side, who perswading her husband how helpfull the Alliance of *Macedon* would prove for the invasion of *Attica* intended, so prevailed, as *Alexander* escaped that tempest, which threatned to fall upon him very suddenly; the war of *Asia* the lesse, called *Ionick*, falling out at the same time.

Her. l. 5.

* A maritimate City of *Thrace* to the South of *Constantinople*.

a *Cardia*, a City upon the *Chersonesus* of *Thrace*, afterward *Lysimachia*. *Pto. Paus.*

§. VI. *The*

§. VI.

The first occasion of the War which Darius *made upon* Greece, *with a rehearsall of the government in* Athens, *whence the quarrell grew.*

NOw the better to understand the reason and motives of that great War, which followed soon after, between the *Persians* and *Grecians*, it is necessary to make a short repetition of the state of *Athens*, which Citie endured the hardest and worst brunt of *Darius* invasion on that side the Sea, with admirable successe. Neither doe I hold it any impertinency to be large in unfolding every circumstance of so great a businesse as gave fire to those wars, which never could be throughly quenched, untill in the ruin of this great *Persian* Monarchy, *Persepolis* the capitall City of the Empire, was at the request of an *Athenian* Harlot consumed with a flame, as dreadfull, as in the pride of their greatnesse, the *Persians* hath raised in *Athens*.

Now therefore as out of the former books it may be gathered, how *Athens* and other parts of *Greece*, were anciently governed, the same being already set down, though scatteringly, and in severall times, among other the Contemporary occurrents of the Eastern Emperors, and the Kings of *Judea*; so I thought it very pertinent in this place to remember again the two last changes in the State of *Athens*. As for the *Lacedæmonians*, they maintained still their ancient policy under Kings, though these also after some fifteen descents were bridled by the *Ephori*.

Codrus King of the *Athenians*, in the former books remembred, who willingly died for the safety of his people, was therefore so honoured by them, as (thinking none worthy to succeed him) they changed their former government from Monarchicall to Princes for terme of life, of which *Medon* the Son of *Codrus* was the first, after whom they were called *Medontidæ*; and of these there were twelve Generations besides *Medon*, to wit,

Agestus.
Archippus, in whose times the *Greeks* transported themselves into *Ionia*, after *Troy* an hundred and fourscore years, according to *Eusebius:* which migration all other Cronologers (such as follow *Eusebius* herein excepted) find in the year after *Troy* fallen one hundred and forty.
Therssippus.
Phorbas.
Mezades.
Diogenetus, in whose time *Lycurgus* gave Laws to the *Spartans*.
Pheredus.
Ariphron.
Thespeus, in whose time the *Assyrian* Empire was overthrown by *Belochus* and *Arbaces*.
Agamnestor.
Æschylus, in whose time the *Ephori* (according to *Eusebius*) were erected in *Lacedæmon*.
Alcamenon, the last Prince for life, after whose death the *Athenians* elected *Decenniall* Governours: the former Princes for life having continued in all three hundred and sixteen years. The first of those that governed for ten years, or the first *Archon*, was
Charops, then
Æsymedes.
Elydicus.
Hippomenes.
Leocrates.
Apsander.
Erixias was the last *Archon* of the *decennal* Governours, which form continuing threescore and ten years, was then changed into *annuall* Magistrates, Maiors, or Burg-masters, of which *Theseus* was the first, according to *Pausanias:* others find *Leostratus*; and then
Anthosthenes.
Archimedes.
Miltiades.
Damasias.
Draco.
Megacles.
Solon, & others, who are the lesse to be regarded, by reason of the yearly change.

Paus. pag. 159. Dionys. l. 3. Paus. p. 163. Paus. 170. Pag. 331.

This *Solon* being a man of excellent wisdome, gave Laws to the *Athenians*, which were published, according to *Gellius*, in the three and thirtieth year of *Tarquinius Priscus*, and were in after ages derived unto the *Romanes*, and by the *Decem-viri* (Magistrates in *Rome* created for that purpose) reduced into Twelve Tables, which were the ground of the *Romane* laws. But these goodly ordinances of *Solon*, were in his own days violated, and for a while almost quite extinguished. For whereas they were framed unto the practice

practice and maintenance of a popular government; the state of *Athens* was very soon changed into a Monarchie by *Pisistratus* the son of *Hippocrates*: vvho finding the Citizens distracted into tvvo factions, whereof *Megacles* and *Lycurgus*, two Citizens of noble Families, were become the heads, took occasion by their contention and insolency to raise a third faction more powerfull than the other two, and more plausible, for that he seemed a Protector of the Citizens in generall. Having by this meanes obtained love and credit, he wounded himself, and feigned that by malice of his enemies he had like to have been slain for his love to the good Citizens; he procured a guard for his defence, and with that band of men surprising the State-house, or Cittadell of *Athens*, he made himself Lord of the town; *Hegesistratus* being then Governor. But the Citizens, who in every change of government had sought to remove themselves further and further from the form of a Monarchie, could so ill brook this usurpation of *Pisistratus*, that he was driven for lack of help, to fly the town, as soon as *Megacles* and *Lycurgus* (joyning their forces) attempted his expulsion. Yet as the building of his tyranny, founded upon the dissention of the Citizens, was ruined by their good agreement; so was it soon after wel reedified by the new breaking out of the old factions. For when *Megacles* found the power of *Lycurgus* to grow greater than his own, he did (as is the usuall practice of the weaker side) call in the common enemy *Pisistratus*, to whom he gave his Daughter in marriage; by which alliance the Family of the *Alcmæonidæ*, whereof *Megacles* was chief, became very powerfull, yet so, that *Pisistratus* by their power was made Master both of them and all the rest. But this agreement held not long; the *Alcmæonidæ*, and especially *Megacles* being incensed against *Pisistratus* for his misdemeanour towards his Wife. Wherefore they practised with the Souldiers of the Town, proceeding in their treason so secretly, and so farre, that *Pisistratus* upon the first discovery of their intent, perceived no other remedy for his affaires, than to with-draw himself to *Eretria*, where he remained eleven years. Which time being expired, having hired Souldiers out of many parts of *Greece*, he againe recovered the principality of *Athens*: after which third obtaining his estate, he governed *Athens* seventeen years, according to *Aristotle*, and reigned in all thirty and three years, saith *Elianus*, but as *Justine* hath it, four and thirty, accounting the time belike as well before as after his severall expulsions. *Herodotus* gives the Father and the Son six and thirty years; *Aristotle* five and thirty. But *Thucidides* affirmeth, that he died very old, leaving for his Successors, his two Sons, *Hippias* and *Hipparchus*, who governed the *Athenians* with such moderation, as they rather seemed the Lineall successors of a naturall Prince than of a Tyrant. But in the end, & some three years before *Hippias* was expelled out of *Athens*, his brother *Hipparchus* was murdered by *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. The cause why, and the manner how performed, *Thucidides* hath written at large. And though *Hipparchus* were charged with unnaturall lust, after *Harmodius*, yet *Plato* in his Dialogue, intituled *Hipparchus*, doth greatly magnifie him, affirming that he was a Prince of as many eminent vertues as that Age had any, altogether condemning the murderers, & authors of that scandall. *Hippias* fearing that this enterprise upon his brother had more and deeper roots than were apparent, first sought to discover the further intents of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, by a Harlot of theirs called *Lemnia*: who because she would not reveale her Companions, did cut out her own tongue. Then did *Hippias*, the better to strengthen himself, enter into a strait amity with *Æantides*, Tyrant of the City *Lampsacus*, whom he knew to be greatly favoured by *Darius*, to whose son *Hypoclus* he gave one of his Daughters in marriage. But some three years after the death of his brother, doubting I know not what strong practice against himself, he began to use the Citizens with great severity, which neither *Pisistratus* the Father, nor *Hippias* himself had ever exercised, during their usurpation till this time. And therefore the *Athenians* fearing lest that this disease might rather increase, than diminish in *Hippias*, they stirred up *Clistines* one of the noblest and best able of their City, to practise their delivery: who calling to his assistance the banished *Alcmæonidæ*, together with an Army of the *Lacedæmonians* led by *Cleomenes* their King, so affrighted *Hippias*, as by composition he gave over his estate, and the possession of *Athens*, and from thence imbarking himself, took land at * *Sigeum*, whence he went to *Lampsacus* in *Mysia* governed by *Æantides*, who presented him to *Darius*. He was deprived of his estate, as *Herodotus* and *Thucidides* agree, twenty years before the battell of *Marathon*: all which time he continued, partly with *Æantides*, at other times with *Artaphernes* Lieutenant for *Darius*,

Her. l. 12. Eretria a City of Eubœa, by others called Melane, by Stephanus Eretria.

Pol. 5. Heraclid. apud Elianum, l. 12. Just. l. 2. c. 8.

Her. l. 6. Thucid. l. 6. c. 10

Lampsacus a city of Mysia upon the Hellespont Her. l. 5. Thucid. l. 6. c. 1.

* *Sigeum* a promontory opposite to the Ile of *Tenedos*, which *Aristin. l.* *Animal calls Ida promontorium.*

Darius in *Sardis*, the *Metropolis* of *Lydia*; perswading and practising the enterprise upon *Athens*, which *Darius* in the end to his great dishonour undertook, twenty years after *Hippias* had resigned his estate.

Thus farre I have digressed from *Darius*, to the end the Reader may conceive the better the causes and motives of this warre: whereof the hope that *Hippias* had to be restored to *Athens* by the help of *Darius*, which made him solicite and perswade the *Persians* to conquer *Greece*, was one, but not the most urgent.

§. VII.

Of the Ionian *Rebellion, which was the principall cause of the wars ensuing between* Greece *and* Persia.

ANother, and a strong motive to this expedition, was the *Ionick* war, breaking out in *Asia* about the same time. The Colonies transported out of *Greece* into *Asia*, which occupied the greatest part of the Sea-coast, having enjoyed their liberty about 500. years, even from the *Ionick* migration, to the time of *Crœsus*, were by this *Lydian* King made Tributaries, and afterwards as parcell of his Dominions, were taken in by *Cyrus*, and left as hereditary Servants to the Crown of *Persia*.

But as it is the custome of Nations half conquered (witnesse *Ireland*) to rebel again upon every advantage and opportunity: so did the *Ionians*, and other *Grecians*, both in *Cyrus* his life, and after him, seek by all meanes possible to free themselves.

At this time they found such men ready to spurre them into Rebellion, as had by the *Persian* been given unto them for bridles to hold them in subjection. Every one of those Towns had a Lord to rule it, whom they (abhorring the government of one man) called their Tyrants. These Lords were very true to the *Persian*, by whose onely might they held the people in subjection. And this their dutifull affection they had well declared, when, *Darius* being in great extremity, they used all meanes to deliver him and his Armie (that otherwise had been lost) out of the *Scythians* hand. Of this great piece of service *Histiæus* the tyrant of *Miletus* expected the chief thanks, as having been chief Author of their expecting *Darius*, when the rest, either perswaded by the *Scythians*, or carried away with their own desires, were ready to have abandoned him. But it came so to passe, that *Darius* being more fearefull of the harm that *Histiæus* (being powerful and crafty) might doe to him in the future, than mindfull of the good which he had already received at his hand, found meanes to carry him along to *Susa*, where he detained him with all kind usage of a friend, yet kept such good espiall upon him, as an enemy, he could not start away. *Histiæus* had subtilty enough to discover the kings purpose, which ill agreed with his own desires. For he thought it more pleasant, and more honourable to rule as Prince in one faire Citie, having a small Territory, than to sit and feast at the great Kings table, and hear the counsels by which a large Empire was managed, being himself an idle beholder, and enjoying with much restraint of liberty, none other pleasures than a private man might bestow upon himself.

Wherefore he bethought himself of raising of some tumults in the lower *Asia*, to pacifie which, if he might be sent, as one that had great experience and authority in those quarters, it would afterwards be in his power to stay at home, and either satisfie the King with excuses, or deal as occasion shall require. Resolving upon this course, he sent very secret instructions to *Aristagoras* his kinsman, whom he had left his Deputy at *Miletus*, advising him to stirre up some Rebellion. These directions came seasonably to *Aristagoras*, who having failed in an enterprise upon the Isle of *Naxos*, through the false dealing of a *Persian* his Associate, stood in fear of disgrace, if not of some further ill that might befall him, as one that had wasted the Kings treasures to no good purpose.

Therfore he readily embraced the counsell: and the better to draw the whole Country of *Ionia* into the same course which he determined to run, he abandoned his tyranny, and did set *Miletus* at liberty. This plausible beginning wan unto him the hearts of the *Milesians*: and his proceeding with other *Ionian* Tyrants (of whom some he took and sold as slaves to their Citizens, others he chased away) caused the whole Nation to be at his command. The *Persian* Fleet, whereof he lately had been Admirall in the enterprise of *Naxos*, he had surprised in his first breaking out, together with the principall Officers,

Officers and Captains, ſo that now he thought himſelf able to deal with the great Kings forces, lying thereabout, eitheir by Land or Sea. But likely it was that the power of all *Aſia* would ſhortly be upon his neck, and cruſh both him and his aſſiſtants to pieces, unleſſe he were able to raiſe an Armie that might hold the field, which the *Ionians* alone were inſufficient to perform. Therefore he took a journey to *Sparta*, where having aſſayed in vain with many arguments, and the offer of fiftie Talents, to win to his partie *Cleomenes* King of the *Lacedemonians*: he went from thence to *Athens*, and with better ſucceſſe beſought the people to lend him their aſſiſtance. The *Athenian* Embaſſadours which had been ſent to the *Perſian* Kings Lieutenant in the lower *Aſia*, deſiring them not to give countenance to *Hippias*, now a baniſhed man, and lately their Tyrant, were a while before this returned with ill anſwers, having found very churliſh entertainment. So that the evill which they were to expect in all likelihood from the *Perſian*, made them willing to begin with him. To which purpoſe, their conſanguinitie with the *Ionians*, and the perſwaſions of *Ariſtagoras*, drew them on a pace, if perhaps his treaſure were not helping. Twenty ſhips the *Athenians* furniſhed for this voyage; to which the *Eretrians* furniſhed five more, in regard of the ancient kindneſſe that had paſſed between the *Ionians* and them. With theſe and their own forces joyned, the *Ionians* entred the River *Caiſtrus*, which falleth into the Sea by *Epheſus*: by which advantage they ſurpriſed *Sardis* when no enemy was heard of or ſuſpected; inſomuch, as *Artaphernes*, who ruled as Vice-roy in thoſe parts, had no other hope of ſafetie, than by retraiting himſelf into the Caſtle, which the *Grecians* could not force: from whence he beheld the ſlaughter of the Citizens, and the Citie flaming.

The *Perſians*, at length, mixt with the Burgers, began to encourage them to defence, and recovered the Market place, ſtrengthened by the river *Pactolus*, which ran through it; and borrowing courage from deſperation, they both defended themſelves, and charged their enemies; who well adviſing themſelves, made all the haſte they could toward the ſea ſide. But *Artaphernes* having gathered all the ſtrength he could, purſued the *Grecians*, and found them neer *Epheſus*; where ſetting reſolvedly upon them, he ſlaughtered a great part of their Armie, the reſt ſaving themſelves in *Epheſus*. In this fight *Evalcides*, Captain of the *Eretrians* periſhed: but his fame and memorie was by that excellent Poet *Simonides* preſerved. After this overthrow, the *Athenians*, which were before ſent unto *Ariſtagoras* and to the *Ionians*, could by no arguments of theirs, no not by their tears, be perſwaded to make any ſecond triall of their fortunes on that ſide the Sea.

Yet the burning of *Sardis* made a greater noiſe in the world, than the late good ſucceſſe which the *Perſians* had in one or two ſkirmiſhes, could raiſe. Wherefore the *Ionians* bravely proceeded, won a great part of *Caria*; and ſending their Fleet into the *Helleſpont*, got *Bizantium* and other Towns into their hands. Yea, the *Cyprians*, lately ſubdued by *Cambyſes*, began hereupon to take heart; and entring into confederacie with the *Ionians*, who were able to give them aide by Sea, rebelled againſt the *Perſians*.

Theſe newes comming to the ear of *Darius*, filled him with great indignation, and with an extreme hatred of the *Athenians*, upon whom he vowed to take ſharp revenge. As for the *Ionians*, his contempt of them, and their knowledge of his power, made him to think, that they would not have dared to attempt ſuch things, but by the inſtigation of thoſe, to whom the ignorance of his great might had afforded the courage to provoke him. This was the main ground of the Warre commenced by *Darius*, and purſued by *Xerxes* againſt *Athens*: To which the ſolicitation of *Hippias*, before remembred, gave onely ſome form and aſſiſtance: the buſineſſe, when once it was thus far on foot, being like enough to have proceeded, though he had periſhed ere it were advanced any further.

Some other occurrents in this *Ionian* commotion extended the quarrell of *Darius* againſt many of the Ilanders, if not againſt the whole Nation of the *Greeks*; for all of them gave to his Rebels free harbour: the Ilanders moreover did help to furniſh out a Navie of three hundred and ſixty ſail againſt him. Theſe provocations did rather breed in him a deſire to abate their pride, than any fear of harm that they were like to doe him. For what they had done at *Sardis*, was but by ſurprize. In every fight they were beaten by the *Perſians*, who had not yet loſt the fruits of their diſcipline,

wherein *Cyrus* had trained them, nor all their ancient Captains. In one Sea-fight by the Isle of *Cyprus*, the *Ionians* indeed had the upper hand; but they were *Phœnicians*, *Egyptians*, and *Cilicians*, whom they vanquished: neither was that victorie of any use to them; the *Cyprians*, in whose aide they came, being utterly beaten by the *Persian* Armie at Land, and reduced into their old subjection. So had the *Persians* likewise by open warre and fair force overthrown the *Carians* in two battels, and reclamed that Nation; as also they had recovered the Towns upon *Hellespont*, with some *Æolian* and *Ionian* Cities, when *Aristagoras* with his friends quitting *Miletus*, fled into *Thrace*, desirous to seat himself in *Amphipolis*, a Colonie of the *Athenians*. But the *Edonians*, on whose Territorie belike he landed, overthrew him, and cut his troups in pieces.

About the same time, *Histiæus*, the first mover of this insurrection, came down into those quarters; who having undertaken the performance of great matters to *Darius*, was glad to flye from his Lieutenants, by whom his double dealing was detected.

But this evasion preserved him not long. And after many vain attempts that he made, he was taken in fight by the *Persians*, and hastily beheaded, lest the King should pardon him upon remembrance of old good turns; as it seems that he would have done, by the buriall which he commanded to be given to his dead body that was crucified, and by his heavie taking of his death.

Histiæus had sought to put himself into *Miletus*; but the Citizens doubting his conditions, chose rather to keep him out, and make shift for themselves, without his help. The strength of their Citie by land, which had in old time withstood the *Lydian* Kings, and their good Fleet, which promised unto them the liberty of an open Sea, emboldened them to trie the uttermost, when very few friends were left upon that Continent to take their part. But their Navie was broken as much by threatnings as by force; many of their companions and fellow-rebels forsaking them upon hope of pardon; and many being daunted with the causelesse flight of those that should have assisted them. Neither was it long before the Town it self, being assaulted both by Land and Sea, was taken by force, the Citizens slain, their wives and children made slaves, and their goods a bootie to the *Persians*, whom for six years space they had put to so much trouble.

§. VIII.

The warre which Darius *made upon* Greece, *with the battell of* Marathon, *and* Darius *his death.*

THis Warre with good successe finished by the *Persians*, and some attempts made on *Europe* side with variable successe; *Darius* obstinate in the enterprise and Conquest of *Greece* (though at first hee pretended to make the Warre but against the *Athenians* and *Eritræans*, who joyntly assisted the *Ionians* against him, and burnt *Sardis* in *Lydia*) did now by his Embassadours demand an acknowledgement from them all: among whom, some of them not so well resolved as the rest, submitted themselves; as the *Æginets* and others. Against these, the *Athenians* being inflamed, (by the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians*) after divers encounters forc'd them to give pledges, and to relinquish the partie of the *Persians*. *Cleomenes* led the *Lacedæmonians* in this warre, and caused his companion-King *Demantus* to be deposed: who thereupon fled to *Darius*, farre the more confident of victorie, by reason of these discords, alienations, and civill warres among the *Greekes*. He therefore gave order to *Hippagoras* to prepare a Fleet of ships fit to transport his Armie over the *Hellespont*: the same consisting of an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. The charge in chief of his Armie he committed to *Datis*, accompanied and assisted by *Hippias*, the son of *Pisistratus*, expelled out of *Athens* twentie years before, and by *Artaphernes* his brother, Governour of *Sardis*, and the Sea-coast of *Asia* the lesse. These Commanders having their Companies brought down to the Sea-side, imbarked

Herod. l. 6. Whether this City or People were of Peloponnesus in Scyonia, or of *Ægea*, between Thessalia and Macedon, I do not know: but those borderers, and next the enemy, were more likely to compound than the rest far off. There is also a City called *Æginium*, not far from *Ægea*, *Livie*, 32, 33, &c.

imbarked themſelves in ſix hundred Gallies and other Veſſels; and firſt of all attempted the Iſlands called *Cyclades*, which lay in the mid-way between *Aſia* the leſſe, and *Greece*. For (obtaining thoſe places) the *Perſians* had then nothing to hinder the tranſportation of their forces over the *Ægean* Sea; but on the contrary they might alwaies both relieve themſelves in their paſſage, and ſhroud themſelves from all ſudden tempeſts and out-rage.

To this end they firſt poſſeſt themſelves of *Samos*; ſecondly, they attempted *Naxos*: Which Iſland, the inhabitants deſpairing of their own forces, abandoned. So did the people of *Delos*, of which *Apollo* was native: Which Iſland *Darius* did not only forbear to ſack, but recalling the inhabitants, he gave order to beautifie the places and Altars of Sacrifice to *Apollo* erected. And having recovered theſe and other Iſlands, the *Perſians* directed their courſe for *Eretria* in *Eubœa*: for that Citie (as already hath been ſhewed) *In Herod.* had aſſiſted the *Ionians* at the taking and firing of *Sardis*. In this Iſland the *Perſians* took ground, and beſieged *Eretria* very ſtraitly, and after ſix daies aſſault, partly by force, and in part by the treaſon of *Euphabus* and *Philagius*, they took it, ſackt it, and burnt it to the ground. Thus far the winds of proſperous fortune filled their ſayls. From *Eubœa* the *Perſians* paſt their Armie into *Attica*, conducted and guided by *Hippias*, late Prince of *Athens*, and marching towards it, they encamped at *Marathon*, in the way from the Sea, where they landed, towards *Athens*.

The *Athenians* finding the time arrived, wherein they were to diſpute with their own vertues againſt Fortune, and to caſt lots for their libertie, for their wives, their children, and their lives, put themſelves in the beſt order they could to make reſiſtance, and withall ſent away with ſpeed to the *Lacedæmonians* for ſuccour, imploying in that Negotiation one *Phidippides*; who paſſing through *Arcadia*, encountred in the way a familiar Devill, which he ſuppoſed to be *Pan*, who willed him to aſſure the *Athenians* of victorie, promiſing that ſome one of the gods ſhould be preſent at the battell, to aſſiſt them and defend them againſt the multitude of their enemies. *Phidippides* at his return ſeeing he could not bring with him any preſent ſuccours from *Sparta*, yet he thought it greatly availing to bring news from the gods, and promiſe of aſſiſtance from Heaven, which no doubt (though the device was ſomewhat likely to be his own, yet) it greatly encouraged the multitude and common people, who in all ages have bin more ſtirred up with fond Prophecies and other like ſuperſtitious fooleries, than by any juſt cauſe or ſolide reaſon.

The *Athenians* being now left to themſelves, with one thouſand only of the *Plateans* (who having been formerly defended by the *Athenians* againſt the *Thebans*, did in this extremitie witneſſe their thankfulneſſe and gratefull diſpoſition) began to diſpute, Whether it were moſt for their advantage to defend the walls of *Athens*, or to put themſelves into the field with ſuch forces as they had, the ſame conſiſting of ten thouſand *Athenians*, and one thouſand of the *Plateans*. In the end, and after great diverſitie of opinions, *Miltiades*, who perſwaded the triall by battell, prevailed.

The Armies being now in view, and within a mile of each other, the *Athenians* diſpoſed themſelves into three troups: two wings or horns, as they terme them, and the bodie of a battell. The *Perſians* when they perceived ſo ſmall a troup advancing towards them, thought the *Athenians* rather diſpoſſeſt of their underſtandings, than poſſeſt with the reſolution whereof they made ſhew. So invincible and reſiſtleſſe the *Perſians* eſteemed their own numbers to be, and that ſmall troup of their enemies then in view, rather to be deſpiſed than to be fought withall: But in concluſion, the victorie being doubtfully balanced for a while, ſometime the vertue of the *Grecians*, and ſometimes the number of the *Perſians* prevailed, the *Grecians* fighting for all that they had, the *Perſians* for that they needed not, theſe great forces of *Darius* were diordered and put in rout; the *Athenians* following their victorie even to the Sea-ſhore; where the *Perſians*, ſo many of them as loſt not their wits with their courage, ſaved themſelves in their ſhips.

The *Perſian* Armie conſiſted of an hundred thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe; of which there were ſlain in the place ſix thouſand three hundred, and of the *Grecians* an hundred fourſcore and twelve. For howſoever it came to paſſe, either by ſtrange viſions, which were afterward called *Panici terrores*, or by ſome other affright,

it seemeth that the invading Armie, after the first encounter, fought with their backs towards their enemy, and lost that number, by *Herodotus* set down, in their disorderly retrait, or rather in their flat running away. As for *Justines* report, That two hundred thousand of the *Persian* armie were slain, the same hath no appearance nor possibilitie of truth. In this fight *Hippias* the perswader of the enterprise was slain, saith *Justine* and *Cicero*; but *Suidas* tels us, That he escaped, and died most miserably in *Lemnos*.

Ad. Att.

The greatest honour of this victory was cast upon *Miltiades*, who both perswaded the triall by battell, and behaved himself therein answerably to the counsell which he gave. *Themistocles* had his first reputation in this fight, being but young and of the first beard. Those of the *Grecians*, of mark and commandement, that fell in the first encounter, were *Callimachus* and *Stesilens*. It is also said, That *Cynegyrus* following the *Persians* to their embarking, laid hands on one of their Gallies, to have held it from putting off the shore, and having his right hand cut off, he yet offered to arrest it with his left; of which also being deprived, he took hold of it with his teeth. This encounter happened in the first year of the threescore and twelfth *Olympiad*, about the time of the war made by *Coriolanus* against his fellow-*Romans*: *Alexander* the son of *Amyntas* being then King of *Macedon*, and *Phanippus* then Governour of *Athens*, according to *Plutarch*, or *Hybilides*, after *Halycarnassæus*.

In vita Arist.

This great fray thus parted, and the *Persians* returned back into the lesser *Asia*, *Miltiades* sought and obtained an imployment against the Ilanders of *Paros*, one of the *Cyclades*, and passing over his Companies in threescore and ten Gallies, after six and twentie days assault he brake his thigh, in seeking to enter it by the Temple of *Ceres*, wherewith himself being made unable, and his companies discouraged, he returned to *Athens*; where those ungratefull Citizens forgetting all his services past, and that of all other the most renowned at the battell of *Marathon*, did by the perswasion of *Xantippus*, the father of *Pericles* (who envied his fame) cast him into prison, and set on him a fine of fiftie Talents; where his weak and wounded body being not able to endure the one, nor his estate to pay the other, he after a few days ended his life.

Which envie of the better sort to each other, with their private Factions, assisted by the unthankfull and witlesse people, brought them, not many years after, from a victorious and famous Nation, to base subjection and slaverie. *Miltiades* left behind him one son called *Cymon* begotten on *Hegesipila*, daughter of *Olorus* King of *Thrace*, who (saith *Plutarch*) was neither inferior to his father in valour, nor to *Themistocles* in understanding, but exceeded them both in justice and good government.

Now *Darius* taking greater care how to recover his honour, than sorrow for the losse received in *Greece*, gave order for new levies of men, and all other warlike provisions. But the *Egyptians* revolting from his obedience (a Kingdome of great strength and revenue) greatly distracted his resolution for the re-invasion of *Greece*. The dissention also among his sons, of whom the younger being born after he was king, and by so great a mother as *Atossa*, disdaining to give place to his elder brother, born before *Darius* obtained the Empire, greatly vexed him. And lastly, death, who hath no respect of any mans affairs, gave end to all his consultations and enterprises, and joyned him to the earth of his ancestors, about a year after the battell of *Marathon*, and after that he had reigned six and thirty years. He left behind him five sons, namely, *Artabasanes*, born before he obtained the kingdom, *Xerxes* who succeeded him, *Achamenes* Governour of *Egypt*, *Masistes* and *Anabignes*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of Xerxes.

§. I.

The preparation of Xerxes *againſt Greece.*

XErxes received from his father, as hereditarie, a double Warre, one to be made againſt the *Egyptians*, which he finiſhed ſo ſpeedily, that there is nothing remaining in writing how the ſame was performed: the other againſt the *Græcians*, of which it is hard to judge, whether the preparations were more terrible, or the ſucceſſe ridiculous. In the conſultation for the proſecution of this Warre, which was chiefely bent againſt the *Athenians*, the Princes of *Perſia* were divided in opinion. *Mardonius*, who had formerly commanded in *Thrace* and *Macedon*, under *Darius*, and had alſo *Hiſtaſpes* for his grandfather, as *Xerxes* had, and married *Xerxes* his ſiſter *Artozoſtres*, perſwaded by many arguments the *Europæan* warre. But *Artabanus*, brother to the late *Darius*, and uncle to *Xerxes*, maintained the contrary counſell, laying before *Xerxes* the lamentable and ridiculous ſucceſſe of the two late invaſions, which *Darius* had made contrary to his counſell: The one in perſon upon the *Scythians*, the other by his Lieutenants upon the *Greeks*; in each of which *Darius* left to his enemies both his Armie and his Honour.

He therefore beſought *Xerxes* to be right well adviſed before he did too far imbark himſelf in this buſineſſe. For whatſoever undertaking hath deliberate and ſound counſell for conductor, though the ſucceſſe doe not alwaies anſwer the probability, yet hath Fortune nothing elſe thereof to vaunt, than the variableneſſe of his own nature, which only the divine Providence, and not any humane power, can conſtrain.

But ſo obſtinate was the reſolution of *Xerxes* in proſecution of his former intent, that *Artabanus*, whether terrefied by Viſions (as it is written of him) or fearing the Kings hatred, which he made known to all thoſe that oppoſed his deſire to this Warre (changing opinion and counſell) aſſiſted the *Grecian* Expedition with all the power hee had.

After the war of *Egypt* was ended, four years were conſumed in deſcribing and gathering an Army for this invaſion: which being compounded of all Nations ſubject to the *Perſian* Empire, conſiſted of ſeventeen hundred thouſand foot, and eighty thouſand horſemen, beſides Chariots, Camels, and other Beaſts of Carriage, if wee may believe *Herodotus*: for of this multitude, *Trogus* finds the number leſſe by ſeven hundred thouſand footmen. *Herod. l. 7.*

The Commanders of the ſeverall Nations were the Princes of the bloud of *Perſia*, either by marriage in the Kings houſe, or otherwiſe: for to theſe were all commandements of this nature given, ſome few people excepted, who had of their own Leaders.

The charge of the whole Armie was beſtowed on *Mardonius*, the ſon of *Gobrias* by a ſiſter of *Darius*, to whom were joyned ſome others of *Xerxes* his neereſt kinred, as Generalls over all; ſaving that the charge of ten thouſand ſelect *Perſians*, called the immortall Regiment (becauſe if any one of the whole number died, or were ſlain, there was another preſently choſen in his ſtead) was given to *Hydarnes*; the eightie thouſand horſemen were led by the ſons of *Datis*, who commanded the late Armie of *Darius* in *Greece*.

The Fleet of Gallies were 2200. and eight, furniſhed by the *Phœnicians*, who had Commanders of their own Nation, and by the *Cypriotes*, *Cilicians*, *Pamphilians*, *Lycians*, *Dorians*, *Carians*, *Ionians*, *Æolians*, and *Helleſpontines*; who were truſted with the furniſhing of their own Veſſels, though commanded by the Princes of *Perſia*, as by *Ariabignes*, the ſon of *Darius*, and others. The reſt of the Veſſels for tranſportation were three thouſand. There were alſo certain Gallies furniſhed by *Artemeſia*, the daughter of *Lygdames*, Princeſſe of *Halycarnaſſæus*, and the Ilands adjoyning, which her ſelf commanded. Thoſe Gallies by her prepared and furniſhed, exceeded all

all the rest of the Fleet, excepting those of *Zidon*, in which *Xerxes* him self was imbarked.

§. II.

Xerxes *Armie entertained by* Pythius: *his cutting off Mount* Athos *from the Continent: his bridge of Boats over the* Hellespont: *and the discourse between him and* Artabanus *upon the view of the Armie.*

WHen this world of an Armie was throughly furnished, he caused all the nations of which it was compounded, to make their *Rendez-vous*, and repair at *Sardis* in *Lydia*. And when he had assembled to the number of seventeen hundred thousand foot, as he entred the body of *Celænas*, he was by one *Pythius* the *Lydian* entertained, who out of his Flocks and Herds of Cattel gave food to *Xerxes* and his whole Armie. The feast ended, he also presented him with two thousand Talents of silver, and in Gold four Millions, wanting seven thousand of the *Persian Darici*; which make so many of our Markes.

The King overcome with the exceeding liberalitie of *Pythius*, did not only refuse his treasure offred, but commanded that seven thousand *Darici* should be given him to make up his four Millions; of which, so many thousands were wanting when hee made the present. But soon after, when *Pythius* besought him to spare one of his five sons from his attendance into *Greece* (becaus himself was old, and had none whom he could so well trust as his own son) *Xerxes* most barbarously caused the young man, for whom his father sought exemption, to be sundered into two parts, commanding that the one half of his carkasse should be layed on the right, and the other half on the left hand of the common way by which the Armie marched.

Two things he commanded to be done before he came to the Sea-side. The one was a passage for Gallies to be cut behind Mount *Athos*, making the same (with the half Island or Headland, whereon it stood) to be an entire Island, sundring thereby from the Continent of *Thrace* five Cities, besides the Mountain and the *Chersonesus* or Neck of Land it self: a work of more ostentation than of use, and yet an enterprise of no great wonder, the Valley which held it to the Continent having but twelve furlongs (which make about a mile and a half) to cut through, and the ditch being broad enough only for two Gallies to passe in front. The Cities so severed from the main, were *Dion*, *Olophyxus*, *Acrothoon*, *Thysus* and *Cleona*.

He also gave order, that a Bridge upon Boats should be made over the *Hellespont* between *Abidus* and *Sestos*, the Sea there having a mile of bredth, wanting an eighth part; which after the finishing, was by a Tempest torn asunder and dissevered: wherewith *Xerxes* being more enraged than discouraged, commanded those to be slain that were masters of the work, and caused six hundred threescore and fourteen Gallies to be coupled together, thereon to frame a new Bridge; which by the art and industrie of the *Phœnicians* was so well anchored to resist both winds blowing into and from the *Euxine* Sea, as the same being well boorded and rayled, the whole Army of seventeen hundred thousand Foot, and fourscore thousand Horse, with all the Moyles and Carriages, past over it into *Europe* in seven dayes and seven nights, without intermission. This transportation of Armies did *Cæsar* afterward use. And *Caligula* that mad Emperour, in imitation of *Xerxes* his Bridge, did build the like.

The Bridge finished, and the Armie brought neer to the Sea-side, *Xerxes* took a view of all his Troupes, assembled in the Plains of *Abidus*, being carried up, and seated on a place over-topping the Land round about it, and the Sea adjoyning: and after he had gloried in his own happinesse, to behold and command so many Nations, and so powerfull an Armie and Fleet, hee suddenly (notwithstanding) burst out into tears, moved with this contemplation, That in one hundred years there should not any one survive of that marvellous multitude: the cause of which sudden change of passion when he uttered to *Artabanus* his Uncle; *Artabanus* spake to the King to this effect: That which is more lamentable than the dissolution of this great Troup within that number of years by the King remembred, is, That the life it self which we enjoy is yet more miserable than the end thereof: for in those few dayes given us in the world,

there

there is no man among all theſe, or elſewhere, that ever found himſelf ſo accompanied with happineſſe, but that he oftentimes pleaſed himſelf better with the deſire and hope of death, than of living; the incident calamities, diſeaſes, and ſorrows whereto mankind is ſubject, being ſo many and inevitable, that the ſhorteſt life doth oftentimes appear unto us over-long; to avoid all which, there is neither refuge nor reſt, but in deſired death alone.

With this melancholy diſcourſe, *Xerxes* being not much pleaſed, prayed *Artabanus* not to overcaſt thoſe joyes which they had now in purſuit with ſad remembrances. And holding ſtill a doubtfull conceit, that *Artabanus* utterly condemned the invaſion of *Greece*, againſt which he had formerly given many ſtrong reaſons, deſired him to deal freely with him, Whether he were returned to his firſt reſolution, that the enterpriſe of *Greece* could not be proſperous; Or whether, according to the change of mind put into him by his late Viſion, he was confident of good ſucceſſe? *Artabanus*, notwithſtanding that he aſſured himſelf of the Kings reſolution to goe on, and dared not by any new arguments to batter the great purpoſe it ſelf, yet he told the King, That there were two things which marvellouſly affrighted him, and which the King ſhould find, as he feared, to be moſt adverſe; to wit, the Sea and the Land: The Sea, becauſe it had no where in that part of the world any Port capable of ſo great a Fleet; inſomuch, as if any tempeſt ſhould ariſe, all the Continent of *Greece* could hardly receive them, nor all the Havens thereof afford them any ſafety: and therefore when any ſuch ſhelter ſhall be wanting unto them, he prayed him to underſtand, that in ſuch a caſe of extremitie, men are left to the will and diſpoſition of Fortune, and not Fortune to the will and diſpoſition of men. The Land, beſides other incommodities, will be found by ſo much the more an enemy, by how much the unſatiate deſire of man to obtain more and more thereof, doth lead him forward: for were there no man found to give reſiſtance, yet the want of means to feed ſuch an Armie, and the Famine, which cannot be prevented, will, without any other violence offered, diſ-inable and conſume it. By theſe arguments *Artabanus* hoped to have diverted *Xerxes*, not daring perchance to utter what indeed he moſt feared, to wit, the overthrow of the Armie it ſelf both by Sea and Land, which ſoon after followed. Theſe cautions were exceeding weighty, if *Xerxes* his obſtinacie had not miſ-priſed them. For, to invade by Sea upon a perillous Coaſt, being neither in poſſeſſion of any Port, nor ſuccoured by any party, may better fit a Prince preſuming on his fortune, than enriched with underſtanding. Such was the enterpriſe of *Philip* the ſecond upon *England* in the year 1588. who had belike never heard of this Counſell of *Artabanus* to *Xerxes*, or forgotten it.

Now concerning the ſecond point, it is very likely, that *Xerxes* his Armie, which could not have in it leſſe than two millions of Soules, beſides his beaſts for Service and Carriage, ſhould after a few dayes ſuffer famine, and uſing *Machiavels* words, *Mourire ſans confeſſion; die without a knife*. For it was impoſſible for *Greece*, being a ragged, ſtrait, and mountainous Countrey, to yeeld food (beſides what ſerved themſelves) for twenty hundred thouſand ſtrangers, whom they never meant to entertain, but with the ſharpned points of their weapons, deſtroying withall whatſoever they could not well incloſe and defend. Nay, if we may believe *Herodotus*, the Army of *Xerxes*, being reviewed at *Thermopylæ*, conſiſted of five millons, two hundred eighty three thouſand, two hundred twenty men, beſides Laundreſſes, Harlots, and Horſes, and was therefore likely to endure a ſpeedy famine.

The effect of *Xerxes* his anſwer was, That it was impoſſible to provide for all things; and that whoſoever ſhould enterpriſe any great matter, if he gave the hearing to all that could be objected of accidentall inconveniences, he ſhould never perſue the ſame farther than the diſpute and conſultation: which if his Predeceſſors, the *Perſian* Kings, had done, they had never grown to that greatneſſe, or poſſeſt ſo many Kingdomes and Nations as they now did; and therefore concluded, That great enterpriſes were never undertaken without great perils. Which reſolution of *Xerxes* was not to be condemned, if any neceſſitie had enforc'd him to that warre. But ſeeing the many Nations newly conquered, which he already commanded, were more than could be conſtrained to obedience any longer than the powerfull proſperitie of the *Perſians* endured, and that *Greece* was ſeparated by the Sea from the reſt of *Xerxes* his Dominions (of whoſe reſolution his Father *Darius* had made a dear experience) the fruit of this Warre was anſwe-

answerable to the plantation, and the successe and end agreeable to the weak counsell whereon it was grounded. Furthermore, those millions of men which he transported, and yet in his own judgement not sufficient, (for he gathered in marching on, all the strength of *Thrace* and *Macedon*) were an argument, that he rather hoped to fear the *Greekes* by the fame of his numbers, than that he had any confidence in their valour and resolution, whom he conducted. For it is wisely said of those uncountable multitudes: *Non vires habent, sed pondus, & impedimenta potiùs sunt quàm auxilium*; *They are great in bulk, but weak in forces, and rather a luggage than an aide.*

Besides, as it was impossible to marshall such a world of men in one Army, so the divers Nations, speaking divers languages, bred the same confusion among the *Persian* commanders when they came to fight, as it did to the builders of *Babel*, when they came to work. Whereas if *Xerxes* had of his five millions compounded ten Armies of fiftie thousand chosen Souldiers in each, and sent them yearly into *Greece* well victualled and furnished, he had either prevailed by the sword, or forced them to forsake their territorie, or brought them into obedience by necessitie and famine, which cannot be resisted. But while *Xerxes* resolved to cut down the banks of *Greece*, and to let in a sea of men upon them, he was deceived both of his own hopes, and in their hearts whom he employed, and beaten by the *Greeks*; both by Land and Sea; yea, he himself, conducted by his fear, fled shamefully into *Asia*. A great part of his Army was buried in *Greece*: the remainder whereof, which wintred in *Thessaly*, and led by *Mardonius*, who perswaded the enterprise, was in the summer following utterly defeated, and himself slain.

§. III.

of the fights at Thermopylæ *and* Artemisium.

After such time as *Xerxes* had transported the Armie over the *Hellespont*, and landed in *Thrace*, (leaving the description of his passage alongst that Coast, and how the River of *Lissus* was drunk dry by his multitudes, and the lake neer to *Pissyrus* by his cattell, with other accidents in his marches towards *Greece*) I will speak of the encounters he had, and the shamefull and incredible overthrowes which he received. As first at *Thermopylæ*, a narrow passage of half an acre of ground, lying between the Mountains which divide *Thessalie* from *Greece*, where sometime the *Phocians* had raised a wall with gates, which was then for the most part ruined. At this entrance *Leonidas*, one of the Kings of *Sparta*, with three hundred *Lacedæmonians*, assisted with one thousand *Tegeatæ* and *Mantineans*, one thousand *Arcadians*, and other *Peloponnesians*, to the number of three thousand one hundred in the whole; besides one thousand *Phocians*, four hundred *Thebans*, seven hundred *Thespians*, and all the forces (such as they were) of the bordering *Locrians*, defended the passage two whole dayes together against that huge Armie of the *Persians*. The valour of the *Greeks* appeared so excellent in this defence, that in the first dayes fight, *Xerxes* is said to have three times leaped out of his Throne, fearing the destruction of his Armie by one handfull of those men, whom not long before he had utterly despised: and when the second dayes attempt upon the *Greeks* had proved vain, he was altogether ignorant how to proceed further, and so might have continued, had not a runnagate *Grecian* taught him a secret way, by which part of his Armie might ascend the ledge of mountains, and set upon the backs of those who kept the Straits. But when the most valiant of the *Persian* Armie had almost inclosed the small forces of the *Greeks*, then did *Leonidas*, King of the *Lacedæmonians*, with his three hundred, and seven hundred *Thespians*, which were all that abode by him, refuse to quit the place which they had undertaken to make good, and with admirable courage not onely resist that world of men which charged them on all sides; but issuing out of their strength, made so great a slaughter of their enemies, that they might well be called vanquishers, though all of them were slain upon the place. *Xerxes* having lost in this last fight, together with twenty thousand other Souldiers and Captains, two of his own brethren, began to doubt what inconvenience might befall him by the vertue of such as had not been present at these battels, with whom he knew that he shortly was to deal. Especially of the *Spartans* he stood in great fear, whose manhood had appeared singular in this triall, which caused him very carefully to enquire what numbers they could bring

bring into the field. It is reported of *Dieneces* the *Spartan*, that when one thought to have terrified him by saying, That the flight of the *Persian* arrows was so thick as would hide the sun: he answered thus; It is very good news: for then shall we fight in the cool shade.

Such notable resolution having as freely been expressed in deeds, as it was uttered in words, caused the *Persian* to stand in great doubt, when he heard that the Citie of *Sparta* could arm well-nigh eight thousand men of the like temper, and that the other *Lacedæmonians*, though inferior to those, were very valiant men. Wherefore he asked counsell of *Demaratus*, a banished King of the *Spartans*, who had alwaies well advised and instructed him in the things of *Greece*, what course were fittest to be taken in his further proceedings. The opinion of *Demaratus* was, That all the Land-forces should assemble together to defend the *Isthmus*, that streight neck of ground which joyneth *Peloponnesus* to the Continent. For which cause he advised, That three hundred ships well manned should be sent unto the Coast of *Laconia*, to spoilt he country, and to hold the *Lacedæmonians* and their neighbours busied at home, whilst *Xerxes* at his leisure having subdued the rest, might afterward bring his whole power upon them, who remaining destitute of succour, would be too weak alone to make resistance. To this purpose also the same *Demaratus* further advised, That the said Fleet of three hundred ships should seize upon the Iland then called *Cythera*, now *Cerigo*, which lying near to the Coast of *Laconia*, might serve as a fit place of *Rendezvous* upon all occasions, either of their own defence, or endamaging the enemy: whereby that ancient speech of *Chilon* the *Lacedæmonian* should be verified, that it were better for his Countrymen to have that Ile drowned in the sea, than stand so inconveniently as for them it did. What effect this counsell might have taken, had it bin followed, it is not easie to gheese. But a contrarie opinion of *Achæmenes* brother to King *Xerxes* was preferred as the safer. For the *Persian* fleet had bin sorely vexed with a grievous tempest, which continued three whole days together, wherein were lost upon the Coast of *Magnesia*, four hundred ships of war, besides other vessels innumerable, accordingly as *Artabanus* had foreseen, that if any such calamitie should overtake them, there would not be found any Harbor wide enough to give them succour. Therefore *Achæmenes* perswaded his brother not to disperse his fleet; for if (said he) after the losse of four hundred ships we shall send away other three hundred to seek adventures, then will the *Greeks* be strong enough by sea to encounter the rest of the Navie, which holding all together is invincible. To this counsell *Xerxes* yeelded, hoping that his Land-armie and fleet should each of them stand the other in good stead, whilest both held one course, and lay not far asunder. But herein he was far deceived; for about the same time that his armie had felt the valour of the *Greeks* by land, his Navie likewise made a sorrowfull proof of their skill and courage at sea. The *Grecians* fleet lay at that time at *Artemisium* in the straits of *Eubœa*, where the *Persians* thinking to incompasse them, sent two hundred sayl about the Iland to fall upon them behind, using a like stratagem to that which their King did practise against *Leonidas* in a case not unlike, but with far different successe. For that narrow channell of the sea which divideth *Eubœa* from the main, was in the same sort held by a Navie of two hundred threescore and eleven sail against the huge *Persian* Armado, as the straits of *Thermopylæ* had formerly bin maintained by *Leonidas*, till he was circumvented, as this Navie might have bin, but was not. The departure of those two hundred ships that were sent about the Iland, and the cause of their voyage, was too well known in the *Persian* fleet, and soon enough discloſed to the *Greeks*, who setting sail by night, met them with a counter-surprise, taking and sinking thirty vessels, inforcing the rest to take the Sea, where being over-taken with foul weather, they were driven upon the rocks and cast all away. Contrariwise, the Navie of the *Greeks* was increased by the arrivall of fiftie three *Athenian* ships, and one *Lemnian*, which came to their partie in the last fight. As these new forces encouraged the one side, so the fear of *Xerxes* his displeasure stirred up the other to redeem their losse with some notable exploit. Wherefore setting aside their unfortunate policie, they resolved in plain fight to repair their honour, and casting themselves into the form of a Crescent, thought so to inclose the *Greeks*, who readily did present them battell at *Artemisium*.

The fight endured from noon till night, and ended with equall losse to both parts. For though more of the *Persian* ships were sunk and taken, yet the lesser losse fell altogether

gether as heavie upon the *Greekish* fleet, which being small could worse bear it. Herein only the *Barbarians* may seem to have had the worse, that they forsook the place of fight, leaving the wrack and spoils to the enemy, who nevertheless were fain to abandon presently even the passage which they had undertaken to defend; both for that many of their ships were sorely crusht in the battell, and especially because they had received advertisement of the death of *Leonidas* at *Thermopylæ*. Before they wayed anchors, *Themistocles*, Generall of the *Athenians*, engraved upon stone at the watering place an exhortation to the *Ionians*, that either they should revolt unto the *Greeks*, or stand neutrall; which perswasion, he hoped would either take some place with them, or at the least make them suspected by the *Persians*.

§. IV.

The attempt of Xerxes *upon* Apollo's *Temple: and his taking of* Athens.

When *Xerxes* had past the straits of *Thermopylæ*, he wasted the country of the *Phocians*, and the regions adjoining: as for the inhabitants, they chose rather to flie, and reserve themselves to a day of battel, than to adventure their lives into his hands, upon hope of saving their wealth, by making proffer unto him of their service. Part of his armie he sent to spoil the Temple of *Delphi*, which was exceeding rich by means of many offerings that hath bin made by divers Kings and great personages; of all which riches it was thought that *Xerxes* had a better Inventory than of the goods left in his own Palace. To make relation of a great astonishment that fell upon the companies which arrived at the Temple to have sacked it, and of two Rocks that breaking from the Mount *Parnassus*, overwhelmed many of the *Barbarians*, it were peradventure somewhat superstitious. Yet *Herodotus*, who lived not long after, saith, That the broken Rocks remained even to his memory in the Temple of *Minerva*, whither they rowled in their fall. And surely this attempt of *Xerxes* was impious; for seeing he beleeved that *Apollo* was a god, he should not have dared to entertain a covetous desire of inriching himself by committing sacrilege upon his Temple. Wherefore it may possibly be true, that licence to chastise his impietie, in such manner as is reported, was granted unto the devill, by that Holy One, who saith, *Will a man spoyl his gods?* and elsewhere; *Hath any Nation changed their gods, which yet are no gods? Goe to the Iles of* Kittim, *and behold, and send to* Kedar, *and take diligent heed, and see whether there be any such things.* Now this impiety of *Xerxes* was the more inexcusable, for that the *Persians* alleged the burning of *Cybeles* Temple by the *Athenians*, when they set fire on the Citie of *Sardis* in *Asia*, to be the ground and cause of the waste which they made in burning of Cities and Temples in *Greece*. Whereas indeed, in the enterprise against *Delphos*, this vizzor of holy and zealous revenge falling off, discovered the face of covetousnesse so much the more ugly, by how much the more themselves had professed a detestation of the offence which the *Athenians* had committed in that kind by meer mischance.

Mal. 3. 8.
Jer. 2. 9, 10.

The remainder of that which *Xerxes* did, may be expressed briefly thus: *He came to* Athens, *which finding forsaken, he took and burnt the Cittadel and Temple which was therein.* The Cittadel indeed was defended a while by some of more courage than wisdome, who litterally interpreting *Apollo*'s Oracle; *that* Athens *should be safe in wooden walls*, had fortified that place with Boords and Palissadoes: too weak to hold out long, though by their desperate valour so well maintained at the first assault, that they might have yeelded it upon tolerable conditions, had they not vainly relied upon the prophecie: whereof (being somewhat obscure) it was wisely done of *Themistocles*, to make discretion the interpreter, applying rather the words to the present need, than fashioning the businesse to words.

§. V.

How Themistocles *the* Athenian *drew the* Greeks *to fight at* Salamis.

The *Athenians* had before the coming of *Xerxes* removed their wives and children into *Trœzene*, *Ægina*, and *Salamis*, not so highly prizing their houses and lands, as their freedome, and the common libertie of *Greece*. Nevertheless, this great

great zeal, which the *Athenians* did ſhew for the generall good of their Countrie, was ill requited by the other *Greeks*, who with much labour were hardly intreated to ſtay for them at *Salamis*, whileſt they removed their wives and children out of the Citie. But when the City of *Athens* was taken, it was preſently reſolved upon, that they ſhould forſake the Iſle of *Salamis*, and withdraw the fleet to *Iſthmus*: which neck of land they did purpoſe to fortifie againſt the *Perſians*, and ſo to defend *Peloponneſus* by land and ſea, leaving the reſt of *Greece* as indefenſible, to the furie of the enemie. So ſhould the Ilands of *Salamis* and *Ægina* have been abandoned, and the Families of the *Athenians* (which were there beſtowed as in places of ſecuritie) have been given over into mercileſſe bondage. Againſt his reſolution *Themiſtocles*, Admirall of the *Athenian* Fleet, very ſtrongly made oppoſition; but in vain. For the *Peloponneſians* were ſo poſſeſſed with fear of loſing their own, which they would not hazzard, that no perſwaſions could obtain of them to regard the eſtate of their diſtreſſed Friends and Allies. Many remonſtrances *Themiſtocles* made unto them, to allure them to abide the enemie at *Salamis*; As firſt in private unto *Eurybiades* the *Lacedæmonian*, Admirall of the whole fleet; That the ſelf ſame fear which made them forſake thoſe coaſts of *Greece*, upon which they then anchored, would afterward (if it found no check at the firſt) cauſe them alſo to diſſever the Fleet, and every one of the Confederates to with-draw himſelf to the defence of his own City and Eſtate: Then to the Councell of War, which *Eurybiades* upon this motion did call together (forbearing to object what want of courage might work in them hereafter;) he ſhewed that the fight at *Iſthmus* would be in an open Sea, whereas it was more expedient for them, having the fewer ſhips, to determine the matter in the ſtreights; and that, beſides the ſafeguard of *Ægina*, *Megara* and *Salamis*, they ſhould by abiding where they then were, ſufficiently defend *Iſthmus*; which the *Barbarians* ſhould not ſo much as once look upon, if the *Greeks* obtained victory by ſea; which they could not ſo well hope for elſewhere, as in that preſent place which gave him ſo good advantage. All this would not ſerve to retain the *Peloponneſians*, of whom one, unworthy of memorie, upbraided *Themiſtocles* with the loſſe of *Athens*, blaming *Eurybiades* for ſuffering one to ſpeak in the Councell, that had no Countrie of his own to inhabite. A baſe and ſhamefull objection it was, to lay as a reproach that loſſe, which being voluntarily ſuſtained for the common good, was in true eſtimation by ſo much the more honourable, by how much it was the greater. But this indignitie did exaſperate *Themiſtocles*, and put into his mouth a replie ſo ſharp, as availed more than all his former perſwaſions. He told them all plainly, That the *Athenians* wanted not a fairer Citie than any Nation of *Greece* could boaſt of; having well-neer two hundred good ſhips of Warre, the better part of the *Grecian* Fleet, with which it was eaſie for them to tranſport their Families and ſubſtance into any part of the World, and ſettle themſelves in a more ſecure habitation, leaving thoſe to ſhift as well as they might, who in their extremity had refuſed to ſtand by them. Herewithall he mentioned a Town in *Italie* belonging of old to the State of *Athens*, of which Town he ſaid an Oracle had foretold, That the *Athenians* in proceſſe of time ſhould build it a-new, and there (quoth he) will we plant our ſelves, leaving unto you a ſorrowfull remembrance of my words, and of your own unthankfulneſſe. The *Peloponneſians* hearing thus much, began to enter into better conſideration of the *Athenians*, whoſe affairs depended not, as they well perceived, upon ſo weak termes, that they ſhould be driven to crouch to others; but rather were ſuch, as might enforce the reſt to yeeld to them, and condeſcend even to the uttermoſt of their own demands.

For the *Athenians*, when they firſt embraced that Heroicall reſolution of leaving their grounds and houſes to fire and ruine, if neceſſitie ſhould enforce them ſo farre, for the preſervation of their liberty, did employ the moſt of their private wealth, and all the common treaſure, in building a great Navie. By theſe means they hoped (which accordingly fell out) that no ſuch calamity ſhould befall them by Land, as might not well be counterpoiſed by great advantages at Sea: Knowing well that a ſtrong fleet would either procure victory at home, or a ſecure paſſage to any other Country. The other States of *Greece* held it ſufficient, if building a few new ſhips, they did ſomewhat amend their Navie. Whereby it came to paſs, that, had they bin vanquiſhed, they could not have expected any other fortune than either preſent death, or perpetuall ſlavery; neither could they hope to be victorious without the aſſiſtance of the *Athenians*, whoſe forces by Sea

sea did equall all theirs together; the whole consisting of more than three hundred and fourscore bottomes. Wherefore these *Peloponnesians* beginning to suspect their own condition, which would have stood upon desperate points, if the Fleet of *Athens* had forsaken them, were soon perswaded, by the greater fear of such a bad event, to forget the lesser, which they had conceived of the *Persians*: and laying aside their insolent braverie, they yeelded to that most profitable counsell of abiding at *Salamis*.

§. VI.

How the Persians *consulted about giving battell: and how* Themistocles *by policie held the* Greeks *to their resolution; with the victorie at* Salamis *thereupon ensuing.*

IN the mean season the *Persians* had entred into consultation, whether it were convenient to offer battell to the *Greekes*, or no. The rest of the Captains giving such advice as they thought would best please the King their Master, had soon agreed upon the fight; but *Artemisia* Queen of *Halicarnassaus*, who followed *Xerxes* to this warre in person, was of contrary opinion: Her counsell was, that the King himself directly should march toward *Peloponnesus*, whereby it would come to passe, that the *Greek* Navie (unable otherwise to continue long at *Salamis* for want of provision) should presently be dissevered, and every one seeking to preserve his own Citie and goods, they should, being divided, prove unable to resist him, who had won so far upon them when they held together. And as the profit will be great in forbearing to give battell; so on the other side, the danger will be more (said she) which we shall undergoe, than any need requireth us to adventure upon; and the losse in case it fall upon us, greater than the profit of the victorie which we desire. For if we compell the enemies to flie, it is more than they would have done, we sitting still: but if they, as better Sea-men than ours, put us to the worst, the journey to *Peloponnesus* is utterly dasht, and many that now declare for us, will soon revolt unto the *Greeks*. *Mardonius*, whom *Xerxes* had sent for that purpose to the Fleet, related unto his Master the common consent of the other Captains, and withall this disagreeing opinion of *Artemisia*. The King well pleased with her advice, yet resolved upon following the more generall, but far-worse counsell of the rest; which would questionlesse have been the same which *Artemisia* gave, had not fear and flatterie made all the Captains utter that, as out of their own judgement, which they thought to be most comformable to their Princes determination. So it was indeed that *Xerxes* had entertained a vain perswasion of much good, that his own presence upon the shore to behold the conflict, would work among the Souldiers. Therefore he encamped upon the Sea side, pitching his own Tent on the Mount *Ægalæus*; which is opposite unto the Isle of *Salamis*, whence at ease he might safely view all which might happen in that action, having Scribes about him to write down the acts and behaviour of every Captain. The neer approach of the *Barbarians*, together with the newes of that timorous diligence which their Countrymen shewed in fortifying the *Isthmus*, and of a *Persian* Armie, marching a pace thither, did now again so terrifie and amaze the *Peloponnesians*, that no intreatie nor contestation would suffice to hold them together. For they thought it meer madnesse to fight for a Country already lost, when they rather should endeavour to save that which remained unconquered; propounding chiefly to themselves what miserie would befall them, if losing the victorie, they should be driven into *Salamis*, there to be shut up, and besieged round in a poor desolate Iland.

Hereupon they resolved forth-with to set sail for *Isthmus*: which had presently been done, if the wisedome of *Themistocles* had not prevented it. For he perceiving what a violent fear had stopt up their ears against all good counsell, did practise another course, and forth-with labour to prevent the execution of this unwholsome decree; not suffering the very hour of performance to find him busie in wrangling alteration. As soon as the Councell brake up, he dispatched secretly a trustie Gentleman to the *Persian* Captains, informing them truly of the intended flight, and exhorting them to send part of their Navie about the Iland, which incompassing the *Greekes*, might prevent their escape; giving them withall false hope of his assistance. The *Persians* no sooner heard than beleeved these good newes, well knowing that the victorie was their own assured,

assured, if the *Athenian* fleet joyned with them; which they might easily hope, considering what ability their Master had to recompence for so doing, both the Captains with rich rewards, and the People with restitution of their City, and Territories. By these means in fell out, that when the *Greeks* very early in the morning were about to waigh Anchor, they found themselves incloſed round with *Persians*, who had laboured hard all that night, sending many of their ships about the Isle of *Salamis*, to charge the enemy in rear, and landing many of their men in the Isle of *Psittalea*, which lyeth over against *Salamis*, to save such of their own, and kill such of the *Grecian* party, as by any misfortune should be cast upon the shore. Thus did meer necessitie enforce the *Graecians* to undertake the battell in the straights of *Salamis*, where they obtained a memorable victory, stemming the foremost of their enemies, and chasing the rest, who falling foul one upon another, could neither conveniently fight nor flie. I doe not find any particular occurrences in this great battell to be much remarkable. Sure it is, that the Scribes of *Xerxes* had a wearisome task of writing down many disasters that befell the *Persian* Fleet, which ill acquitted it self that day, doing no one piece of service worthy the presence of their King, or the registring of his Notaries. As for the *Greeks*, they might well seem to have wrought out that victory with equall courage, were it not that the principall honour of that day was ascribed to those of *Ægina*, and to the *Athenians*, of whom it is recorded, That when the *Barbarians* did flie towards *Phalerus*, where the Land-army of *Xerxes* lay, the ships of *Ægina* having possessed the Straights, did sinke or take them, whilest the *Athenians* did valiantly give charge upon those that kept the Sea, and made any countenance of resisting.

§. VII.

Of things following after the battell of Salamis: *and of the flight of* Xerxes.

After the victory, this *Greeks* intending by way of Scrutinie, to determine which of the Captains had best merited of them, in all this great service; every Captain, being ambitious of that honour, did in the first place write down his own name, but in the second place, as best deserving next unto himself, almost every Suffrage did concur upon *Themistocles*. Thus private affection yeelded unto vertue, as soon as her own turn was served. The *Persian* King, as not amazed with this calamity, began to make new preparation for continuance of warre; but in such fashion, that they which were best acquainted with his temper, might easily discern his faint heart through his painted looks. Especially *Mardonius*, Author of the warre, began to cast a wary eye upon his Master, fearing lest his counsell should be rewarded according to the event. Wherefore purposing rather to adventure his life in pursuit of the victorie, than to cast it away by undergoing his Princes indignation, hee advised the King to leave unto him three hundred thousand men, with which forces hee promised to reduce all *Greece* under the subjection of the *Persian* Scepter. Herewithall hee forgot not to sooth *Xerxes* with many fair words, telling him, That the cowardise of those *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, and *Cilicians*, with others of the like metall, nothing better than slaves, who had so ill behaved themselves in the late Sea-service, did not concern his honour, who had alwayes been victorious, and had already subdued the better part of *Greece*, yea taken *Athens* it self, against which the War was principally intended. These words found very good acceptance in the Kings ear, who presently betook himself to his journey homewards, making the more haste, for that he understood, how the *Greeks* had a purpose to saile to *Hellespont*, and there to break down his bridge, and intercept his passage. True it was that the *Greeks* had no such intent, but rather wished his hasty departure, knowing that hee would leave his Armie not so strong, as it should have been, had he in person remained with it. And for this cause did *Eurybiades* give counsell, that by no means they should attempt the breaking of that bridge, lest necessity should inforce the *Persians* to take more courage, and rather to fight like men, than die like beasts. Wherefore *Themistocles* did, under pretence of friendship, send a false advertisement unto this timorous Prince, advising him to convey himself into *Asia* with all speed, before his bridge were dissolved: which counsell *Xerxes* took very kindly, and hastily followed, as before is shewed. Whether it were so that he found the bridge whole, and thereby repassed into *Asia*; or whether it were torn in sunder by tempests,

and he thereby driven to imbark himself in some obscure vessell, it is not greatly materiall; though the *Greeks* did most willingly imbrace the latter of these reports. Howsoever it were, this flight of his did well ease the Country, that was thereby disburdened of that huge throng of people, which, as Locusts, had before overwhelmed it.

§. VIII.

The negotiations between Mardonius *and the* Athenians, *as also between the* Athenians *and the* Lacedæmonians, *after the flight of* Xerxes.

Mardonius with his three hundred thousand had withdrawn himself into *Thessalie*, whence he sent *Alexander*, the son of *Amyntas* King of *Macedon*, as Embassador to the *Athenians*, with promise of large amends for all their losses received; and of extending their Territories as farre as their own desires; allowing them to retain their libertie and lawes, if they would make peace with *Xerxes*, and assist him in that warre.

The *Athenians* had now re-entred their City, but not as yet brought back their wives and children; for as much as they well perceived that the place could not be secure, till the Army of *Mardonius* was broken and defeated. Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians*, understanding what fair conditions this Embassadour would propound, were perplexed with very great fear, lest he should find good and ready acceptance. Hereupon, they likewise very speedily dispatched their Embassadors for *Athens*, who arriving before the *Macedonian* had audience, used the best of their perswasion to retain the *Athenians* firm. They alleged, that neither *Xerxes* nor *Darius* had any pretence of Warre against the rest of *Greece*, but had onely threatned the subversion of *Athens*, till they and all their Confederates arming themselves in defence of that City, were drawn into the quarrell, wherein the *Athenians* without much crueltie of injustice could not leave them. Wee know, said they, that yee have endured great calamities, losing the fruit of the grounds, and being driven to forsake the Town, the houses thereof be ruined, and unfit for your habitation; in regard whereof, wee undertake to maintain as our own, your wives and children amongst us, as long as the warre shall continue, hoping that yee, who have alwaies procured libertie to others, will not now goe about to bring all *Greece* into slavery and bondage. As for the *Barbarians*, their promises are large, but their words and oathes are of no assurance. It was needlesse to use many arguments to the *Athenians*, who gave answer to *Alexander* in presence of the *Spartan* Embassadors; That whilest the Sunne continued his course, they would be enemies to *Xerxes*, regarding neither Gold nor any riches, with which hee might seek to make purchase of their libertie. Concerning the maintenance of their wives and children, it was a burden which they promised to sustain themselves, only desiring the *Lacedæmonians*, that with all speed they would cause their Armie to march, forasmuch as it was not likely, that *Mardonius* would long sit still in *Thessalie*, having once received such a peremptorie answer. In this their opinion of *Mardonius* his readinesse to invade *Attica*, they found themselves nothing deceived. For hee, as soon as *Alexander* had returned their obstinate purpose of resistance, did forthwith lead his Army towards them, and their City: they having now the second time quitted it, and conveyed themselves into places of more security abroad in the Countrie, where they expected the arrivall of their confederates. From *Athens* he sent his Agent unto them, with instructions, not only to perswade them to acceptance of the conditions before to them propounded, but with great promises to allure the principall of them to his party. His hope was, that either the people, wearied with forsaking their houses so often, would be desirous to preserve them from fire, and to have those which were already laid waste, re-edified at the Kings charges: Or if this affection took no place with them, but that needs they would relie upon their old confederates, whose succors did very slowly advance forwards, yet perhaps the leaders might be wonne with great rewards, to draw them to this purpose; all which projects, if they should fail, the destruction of *Athens* would be a good mean to please his Master, King *Xerxes*, who must thereby needs understand, that *Mardonius* kept his ground, and feared not to confront the whole power of *Greece*, in the strongest part of their own Countrie. But his expectation was beguiled in all these. For the *Athenians* so little regarded his offers, that when one *Lycidas*, or (as *Demosthenes* calls him) *Cyrcilus*

Cyrcilus, adviſed the *Senate* to accept the conditions, and propounded them to the people; all the *Senators*, & as many as abiding without the Counſail-houſe, heard what he had ſaid, immediatly ſet upon him, and ſtoned him to death; not examining whether it were fear or mony, that had moved him to utter ſuch a vile ſentence. Yea, the women of *Athens*, and in the Ile of *Salamis*, hearing of his bad counſail, and bad end, aſſembling together did enter his houſe there, and put his wife and children to the like execution. All this bravery notwithſtanding, when they perceived the ſlackneſſe of the *Peloponneſians* in giving them aid, they were fain to betake themſelves to *Salamis* again, the old place of their ſecurity. Remaining there, and ſeeing little forwardnes in thoſe whom it moſt concerned to aſſiſt them, they ſent very ſevere meſſages to *Sparta*, complaining of their ſlacknes, and threatning withall, to take ſuch courſe as might ſtand beſt with their own good, ſeeing that the common eſtate of all was ſo little regarded. Theſe meſſengers were at the firſt entertained with dilatory anſwers, which every day grew colder, when as the *Peloponneſian* Wall, builded athwart the *Iſthmus*, was almoſt finiſhed. But as the *Lacedæmonians* waxed careleſs and dull, ſo the *Athenians* hotly preſſed them to a quick reſolution, giving them plainly to underſtand, that if they ſhould hold on in thoſe dilatory courſes, it would not be long ere the City of *Athens* took a new courſe, that ſhould little pleaſe them. All this while the *Perſian* fleet lay upon the coaſt of *Aſia*, not daring to draw nearer unto *Greece*, as being now too weak at Sea. Likewiſe the *Greekiſh* Navie contained it ſelf within the Harbours upon *Europe* ſide; both to doe ſervice where need ſhould require at home; and withall to ſhun the danger which might have befallen any part of it, that (being diſtracted from the reſt) had adventured over-far. So mutuall fear preſerved in quiet the Ilands lying in the midſt of the *Ægean* Seas. But it was well and ſeaſonably obſerved by a Counſellor of *Sparta*, that the Wall upon *Iſthmus* would ſerve to little purpoſe for the defence of *Peloponneſus*, if once the *Athenians* gave ear to *Mardonius*: conſidering that many doors would be opened into that Demie-Iland, as ſoon as the Enemy ſhould by winning the friendſhip of *Athens*, become the Maſter of the Seas about it. The *Lacedæmonians* upon this admonition, making better peruſall of their own dangers, were very carefull to give ſatisfaction to the *Athenian* Embaſſadors, who not brooking their delaies, were upon point of taking leave, yea, as it ſeemed, of renouncing their alliance. Wherefore diſpatching away five thouſand *Spartans* in the evening, under conduct of *Pauſanias*, they gave audience the next day to the Embaſſadors, whoſe complaints they anſwered with vehement proteſtations of their readineſſe; deeply ſwearing that the Army of *Sparta* was already far upon the journy, and giving them leave to take up other five thouſand *Lacedæmonians*, out of the Region adjoyning, to follow after them.

The *Athenians*, though diſtaſting ſuch want of gravity, in a matter ſo important, were nevertheleſſe contented with the finall concluſion; and levying the number appointed of *Lacedæmonian* Souldiers, made what haſte they could to incamp in *Attica*. The other *Greecians* were nothing ſlack in ſending forth Companies, whoſe near approach cauſed *Mardonius* to forſake *Attica* as a rough Country, and therefore of much diſadvantage to Horſe, wherein conſiſted the beſt of his power. Before his departure he burnt the City of *Athens*, beating down the Walls of it, and ruining all that had formerly eſcaped the fury of War.

§. IX.
The great battail of Platæa.

IT were too long a rehearſall to ſhew all that happened in many skirmiſhes between the *Greeks* and him, in the Country of *Bœotia*, which *Mardonius* had choſen to be the ſeat of that War. Much time was ſpent before the quarrell was decided by the triall of one main battail: for both parties did ſtand upon their guard, each expecting when the other ſhould aſſail them.

The army of *Mardonius* contained about three hundred thouſand, which were by him choſen out of *Xerxes* his Army; to whom were adjoyned the forces of *Thebes*, *Macedony*, *Theſſaly*, and other parts of *Greece*, that now ſiding with the *Perſian*, furniſhed his Camp with fifty thouſand men. Againſt theſe the *Lacedæmonians*, *Athenians*, and their Confederates, had leavied an Army of one hundred and ten thouſand, of which forty thou-

sand were weightily armed, the rest were only assistants to these forty thousand, being armed more sleightly, as rather to make excursions and give chase, than to sustaine any strong charges.

These two armies having eleven daies confronted one the other, without performing any memorable piece of service; *Mardonius*, whose victuals began to faile, resolved to begin the fray. The *Greeks* were promised victory by an *Oracle*, if they fought in the Land of the *Athenians*, and in the plain of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, making prayers unto certain gods, Demi-gods, and Nymphs. But it was hard to find the certain place which the *Oracle* designed. For the plain of *Ceres* was indeed in the Territory of *Athens*; but there was also an old Temple of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, near unto the place where they lay at that time encamped, as likewise the memorials of those Nymphs and Demi-gods, were in the same place, upon Mount *Citharon*, and the ground served well for foot-men against horse; only the Land belonged unto the *Plataeans*, and not unto the *Athenians*.

Whilst the *Greeks* were perplexed about the interpretation of this doubtfull *Oracle*, the *Plataeans* to make all cleer, did freely bestow their land on that side the Town upon the *Athenians*.

This magnificence of the *Plataeans* caused *Alexander* the Great, many ages after, to re-edifie their City; which was ruined in the *Peloponnesian* wars.

All things being ready for battaile, the *Lacedaemonian* Generall thought it most meet, that the *Athenians* should stand opposite that day to the *Medes* and *Persians*, whom they had formerly vanquished at *Marathon*; and that he, with his *Spartans*, should entertain the *Thebans* and other *Greeks* which followed *Mardonius*, as better acquainted with their fight, and having beaten them often-times before. This being agreed upon, the *Athenians* changed place with the *Lacedaemonians*; which *Mardonius* understanding (whether fearing the *Athenians*, of whose valour the *Medes* & *Persians* had felt heavie proof, or desiring to encounter the *Spartans*, as thinking them the bravest Souldiers in *Greece*) he did also change the order of his battaile, and oppose himself to *Pausanias*. All the *Greeks* might well perceive how the Enemy did shift his wings, and *Pausanias* thereupon returned to his former Station; which *Mardonius* noting, did also the like. So one whole day was spent in changing to and fro. Some attempt the *Persians* made that day with their Archers on horse-back, who did so molest the *Greeks* at their watering place, that they were fain to enter into consultation of retiring; because they could not without much losse to themselves, and none to the enemy, lye near to that fountain which did serve all the Camp. Having therefore concluded among themselves to dislodge; and part of the Army being sent away before day-light: *Mardonius* perceived their departure in the morning, and thereupon being encouraged by their flight, (which to him seemed to proceed out of meer cowardise) he charged them in the reare with great violence. It may well be recorded as a notable example of patient valour, That the *Lacedaemonians* being over-taken by the enemies horse, and over-whelmed with great flights of Arrows, did quietly sit still, not making any resistance or defence, till the Sacrifices for victory were happily ended, though many of them were hurt and slain, and some of especiall mark lost, before any sign of good successe appeared in the entrailes.

But as soon as *Pausanias* had found in the Sacrifice those tokens, which the superstition of that Age and Country accounted fortunate; he gave the Signall of battaile: and thereupon the Souldiers, who till then did sit upon the ground, as was their manner, arose altogether, and with excellent courage received the charge of the *Barbariaus*, that came thronging upon them without any fear of such notable resistance. The rest of the *Greek* Army that was in march, being revoked by *Pausanias*, came in a-pace to succour the *Lacedaemonians:* only that part of the Army which was led by the *Athenians*, could not arrive unto the place of the great battaile, because the *Thebans*, and others *Greeks* confederated with the *Persians*, gave them check by the way. Nevertheless, the *Spartans* with other their assistants, did so well acquit themselves, that the *Persians* were vanquished, and *Mardonius* with many thousands more slain in the field; the rest fled into the Camp, which they had fortified with wooden Walls, and there defended themselves with such courage as desperate necessity inforced them unto, holding out the longer, because the *Lacedaemonians* were not acquainted with the manner of assaulting Fortresses, and Walls. In the mean time the *Athenians* having found strong opposition

of

of the *Thebanes* and *Thessalians*, did with much labour and courage obtain victory, which having not long pursued, they came to help the *Lacedæmonians*, whom they found wearily busied in assaulting the Camp, with more valour than skill. Wherefore they themselves under-took it, and in short space forced a passage through the Wall; at which breach first, and then on all sides, the *Greeks* entred with such fury, and just desire of vengeance, that of three hundred thousand they are said not to have left three thousand alive, excepting those who fled away with *Artabazus*, when as the *Persian* Army first fell to rout.

If the execution were so great, as is reported, an especiall cause of it was the foolish retrait, or rather flight into the Camp. For though it were so, that the place was well fortified, and the number of those who cast themselves into it greater than any of the Assailants; yet they being of severall Nations and Languages, and having lost their Generall with other principall Commanders, it was impossible that they in such a terrour and astonishment should make good that piece of ground, lying in the heart of an Enemie Countrey, against an Army of men, farre more valiant than themselves, and enflamed with present victory. Therefore the same wall which for a few hours had preserved their lives, by holding out the enemy, did now impale them, and leave them to the slaughtering fury of unpitifull Victors. *Artabazus* fled into *Thrace*, telling the people of *Thessaly*, and other Countries in his way, that he was sent by *Mardonius* upon some piece of service: For he well knew, that had they understood any thing of that great discomfiture, all places would have been hostile unto him, and sought with his ruine to purchase favour of the vanquishers. Therefore making so large marches, that many of his Souldiers being feeble were left behind and lost, he came to *Byzantium*, whence he shipped his men over into *Asia*. Such was the end of the vain-glorious expedition, undertaken by *Xerxes* against the *Greeks*, upon hope of Honour, and Conquest, though sorting otherwise, accordingly as *Artabazus* had fore-seen, and rather worse, for as much as it began the quarrell, which never ended before the ruine of the *Persian* Empire was effected by that Nation of the *Greeks*, despised and sought to have been brought into slavery. Hereby it may seem, that the vision appearing to *Xerxes*, was from God himself, who had formerly disposed of those things, ordaining the subversion of the *Persian* Monarchie by the *Greeks*, who thus provoked, entred into greater consideration of their own strength, and the weakenesse of their Enemies.

§. X.

The battell of Mycale, *with a strange accident that fell out in the beginning: and examples of the like.*

THe same day on which the battell was fought at *Platæa*, there was another battell fought at *Mycale*, a Promontory, or Head-land in *Asia*, where the *Persian* fleet rode.

Leutychides the *Spartan*, with *Xantippus* the *Athenian*, Admirals of the *Greek* Navie, at the request of some Ilanders and *Ionians*, did sail into those parts, to deliver the *Samians*, and procure the *Ionians* to revolt from the *Persian*. *Xerxes* himself at this time lay at *Sardis*, a City in *Lidia*, not far from the Sea-side, having left threescore thousand under the cõmand of *Tigranes*, for defence of *Ionia* and the Sea-coast. Therfore when *Artayntes* and *Ithramitres*, Admirals of the *Persian* fleet, understood that the *Greeks* bent their course towards them, they did forth-with draw their ships aground, fortifying with *Palissadoes* and otherwise, as much ground as was needful for the encamping of all their land and sea-forces. *Leutychides* at his arrivall, perceiving that they meant to keep within their strength, & resolving to force them out of it, rowed with his gally close aboord the shore, and called upon the *Ionians* (who more for fear than good will were encamped among the *Persians*) exhorting them in the *Greek* tongue to remember liberty, and use the fair occasion which they now had to recover it. Herein he did imitate *Themistocles*, who had done the like at *Eubœa*, trusting that either these perswasions would prevail, or if the *Persians* did happen to understand them, that it would breed some jealousie in them, causing them to fight in fear of their own companions. It need not seem strange, that this

very same stratagem, which little or nothing availed *Themistocles*, did now wery happily succeed. For *Xerxes* being in his full strength, it was a matter of much difficulty, to perswade those inhabitants of *Asia* to revolt; who now in his declining estate, gave a willing ear to the sweet sound of liberty. The *Persians* likewise, who in their former bravery, little regarded, and lesse feared, any treason to be contrived by their subjects, were now so wary, that from the *Samians* which were amongst them, they took away their arms; the *Milesians* whom they did suspect, but would not seem to mistrust, they placed far from them, as it were for defence of the streight passages of *Mycale*; pretending that these *Milesians* did best of all others know those places. But these devices little availed them. For the *Samians* perceiving that they were held as Traitors, took courage in the heat of the fight, and laying hold upon such weapons as came to hand, assailed the *Persians* manfully within the Camp; which examples the *Ionians* presently followed, being very glad to have found some that durst begin. It is said that while the *Greekes* were yet in a march toward the Enemies Camp, a rumour suddenly ranne in the Army, that *Mardonius* was overthrown in *Greece*, which (though perhaps it was given out by the Captains to encourage the Souldiers) was very true. For the battell of *Platæa* was fought in the morning, and this of *Mycale* in the evening of the same day.

The like report of that great battell, wherein *Paulus Æmilius* overthrew *Perseus* the last King of *Macedon*, was brought to *Rome* in four dayes, as *Livie* with others do record. And *Plutarch* hath many other examples of this kind. As that of the battell by the River *Sagra* in *Italy*, which was heard of the same day in *Peloponnesus*: That of the battell against the *Tarquinians* and the *Latines*, presently noised at *Rome*: And (which is most remarkable) the victory obtained against *Lucius Antonius*, who was Rebell to *Domitian* the Emperour. This *Lucius Antonius* being Lieutenant of the higher *Germanie*, had corrupted his Armie with gifts and promises, drawing the barbarous people to follow him, with great hope to make himself Emperour; which newes much troubling the City of *Rome*, with fear of a dangerous Warre, it was suddenly reported that *Antonius* was slain, and his Army defeated.

Hereupon many did offer sacrifice to the gods, and shew all manner of publique joy, as in such cases was accustomed. But when better inquiry was made, and the Authour of these tydings could not be found, the Emperour *Domitian* betook himself to his journey against the Rebell; and being now with his Army in march, he received advertisement by Post, of the Victory obtained, and the death of *Antonius*: whereupon remembring the rumour noised before in *Rome*, of the self-same victory, he found that the report and victory were born upon one day, though twenty thousand furlongs (which make above five and twenty hundred miles) a-sunder. It is truly said of *Plutarch*, that this last example gives credit unto many the like. And indeed it were very strange, if among so many rumours, begotten by forgery or mistakings, and fostered by credulous imagination, there should not be found (as happens in dreams among many thousand vain and frivolous) a few precisely true. Howbeit wee may find, that God himself doth sometimes use to terrifie those who presume upon their own strength, by these light means of tumultuous noises, as he raised the siege of *Samaria*, by causing a sound of Horses and Chariots to affright the *Aramites*; and as he threatned *Senacherib*, saying; *Behold, I will send a blast upon him, and he shall hear a noise, and return to his own land.* Esay 37.7. Wherefore it may well have been true, that God was pleased by such means as this, to animate the *Greekes*; who (as *Herodotus* notes) went towards the Enemies with heavie hearts, being in great fear, lest their own adventure should by no means fall out well; considering in what danger they had left their own Countrey of *Greece*, which was ready to be subdued by *Mardonius* whilest they went wandring to seek out enemies a-farre-off, upon the coast of *Asia*. But the fame of the battell fought at *Platæa* being noised among them, every man desired that his own valour in the present fight, might be some help to work out the full deliverance of *Greece*. In this alacrity of spirit, they divided themselves into two Battalions, whereof the *Athenians* led the one, by the way of the plain, directly towards the enemies Camp; the *Lacedæmonians* conducted the other, by the Mountains and streight passages, to winne the higher ground. The *Athenians* did first set upon the Campe (ere the *Lacedæmonians* could arrive on the other part) and being desirous to get all the honour of the day to themselves, did so forcibly

forcibly assault it, that they brake way through the Palissadoes and Gabions, and made themselves Masters of the place, slaying all that could not save themselves by flight. In this fight the *Samians* did good service, as is formerly mentioned.

But the *Milesians*, who upon the like jealousie, were placed by the *Persians* on the tops of *Mycale*, to defend the passages, did now (as if they had bin set of purpose to keep them from running away) put as many to the sword as fell into their hands, letting none escape, except very few, that fled through by-paths. The *Lacedæmonians* that day did little service, for the businesse was dispatched ere they came in: Onely they broke such companies as retired in whole troops; making them flie dispersed in very much disorder, whereby the *Milesians* were enabled to doe the greater execution upon them. This was the last fight of that huge Army leavied against *Greece*, which was now utterly broken, and had no means left to make offensive Warre.

§. XI.

Of the barbarous qualities of Xerxes: *with a transition from the* Persian *affairs to matters of* Greece, *which from this time grew more worthy of regard.*

Xerxes lay at *Sardis*, not farre from the place of this battell; but little mind had he to revenge either this or other his great losses, being wholly given over to the love of his Brothers Wife: with whom hee could not prevail by intreaty, nor would obtain his desire by force, because he respected much his Brother her husband: hee thought it best to make a match between his own Son *Darius*, and the Daughter of this Woman; hoping by that means to find occasion of such familiarity as might work out his desire. But whether it were so, that the chastity of the Mother did still reject him, or the beauty of the Daughter allure him, hee soon after fell in love with his own sonnes wife, being a vicious Prince, and as ill able to govern himself in peace, as to guide his Army in warre. This young Lady having once desired the King to give her the Garment which hee then wore, being wrought by his own Wife, caused the Queen thereby to perceive her husbands conversation with her, which shee imputed not so much to the beauty of her Daughter-in-law, as to the cunning of the Mother, against whom thereupon she conceived extreme hatred. Therefore at a Royall feast, wherein the custome was that the King should grant their request, she craved that the Wife of *Masistes*, her husbands brother, the young Ladies Mother, might be given into her disposition. The barbarous King, who might either have reformed the abuse of such a custome, or have deluded the importunate cruelty of his Wife, by threatning her self with the like, to whatsoever she should inflict upon the innocent Lady, granted the request; and sending for his brother, perswaded him to put away the Wife which he had, and take one of his Daughters in her stead. Hereby it seems, that he understood how villainously that poor Lady should be intreated, whom hee knew to be vertuous, and whom himself had loved. *Masistes* refused to put her away; alleging his own love, her deserving, and their common Children, one of which was married to the Kings Sonne, as reasons important to move him to keep her. But in most wicked manner *Xerxes* reviled him, saying, That hee now should neither keep the Wife which he had, nor have his Daughter whom he had promised unto him. *Masistes* was much grieved with these words, but much more, when he returned home, hee found his Wife most butcherly mangled by the Queen *Amestris*, who had caused her Nose, Lips, Ears, and Tongue to be cut off, and her Brests in like manner, which were cast unto Dogs. *Masistes* enraged with this villany, took his way with his children, and some Friends, towards *Bactria*, of which Province he was Governour, intending to rebell and avenge himself: But *Xerxes* understanding his purpose, caused an army to be levied, which cut him off by the way, putting him and all his Company to the sword. Such was the Tyrannicall condition of the *Persian* Government; and such are generally the effects of Luxury, when it is joyned with absolute power.

Yet of *Xerxes* it is noted, that hee was a Prince of much vertue. And therefore *Alexander* the Great, finding an image of his over-thrown, and lying upon the ground, said, That hee doubted, whether in regard of his vertue, hee should again erect it, or, for the mischief done by him to *Greece*, should let it lye. But surely whatsoever his other

other good qualities were, he was fooliſh, and was a coward, and conſequently mercileſſe.

Therefore we may firmly believe, that the vertue of *Cyrus* was very great, upon which the foundation of the *Perſian* Empire was ſo ſurely laid, that all the wickedneſſe and vanities of *Xerxes*, and other worſe Princes, could not overthrow it, untill it was broken by a vertue almoſt equall to that which did eſtabliſh it. In wars againſt the *Egyptians*, the fortune of *Xerxes* did continue, as at the firſt it had been, very good; but againſt the generall eſtate of *Greece*, neither he, or any of his poſterity, did ever make offenſive warre, but received many loſſes in *Aſia*, to which the laſt at *Mycale* ſerved but as an introduction; teaching the *Greeks*, and eſpecially the *Athenians*, that the *Perſian* was no better Souldier at his own doors, than in a forraign Country: whereof good triall was made forth-with, and much better proof as ſoon as the affairs of *Athens* were quietly ſetled and aſſured.

From this time forward I will therefore purſue the Hiſtorie of *Greece*, taking in the matters of *Perſia*, as alſo the eſtate of other Countries, collaterally, when the order of time ſhall preſent them. True it is, that the *Perſian* eſtate continued in her greatneſſe, many ages following, in ſuch wiſe that the known parts of the world had no other Kingdome, repreſenting the Majeſty of a great Empire.

But this greatneſſe depended onely upon the riches and power that had formerly bin acquired, yeelding few actions or none that were worthy of remembrance, excepting ſome Tragedies of the Court, and examples of that exceſſive Luxury, where-with both it, and all, or the moſt of Empires that ever were, have been enervated, made unwieldy, and (as it were) fattened for the hungry ſwords of poor and hardy Enemies. Hereby it came to paſſe, that *Xerxes* and his ſucceſſours were fain to defend their Crowns with money and baſe policies; very ſeldome or never (unleſſe it were with great advantage) daring to adventure the triall of plain battell with that little Nation of *Greece*; which would ſoon have ruined the foundations laid by *Cyrus*, had not private malice and jealouſie urged every City to envie the height of her neighbours wals, and therby diverted the ſwords of the *Greeks* into their own bowels, which after the departure of *Xerxes* began very well, and might better have continued, to hew out the way of conqueſt, on the ſide of *Aſia*.

Chap. VII.

Of things that paſſed in Greece *from the end of the* Perſian *Warre, to the beginning of the* Peloponneſian.

§. I.

How Athens *was rebuilt and fortified.*

After that the *Medes* and *Perſians* had received their laſt blow, and were utterly beaten at *Mycale*: *Leutychides*, who then commanded the *Grecian* Army, leaving the purſuit of the warre to the *Athenians*, aſſiſted by the revolted *Iones*, returned with the *Lacedæmonians* and other *Peloponneſians* to *Sparta* and other places, out of which they had been leavied. The *Athenians* in the mean while beſieged *Seſtos*, a City on the ſtrait of the *Helleſpont*, between which and *Abydus*, *Xerxes* had lately faſtned his Bridge of Boats: where the Inhabitants, deſperate of ſuccour, did not long diſpute the defence thereof, but quitted it to the *Greeks*, who entertained themſelves the Winter following on that ſide the *Helleſpont*. In the Spring they drew homeward, and having left their wives and children, ſince the invaſion of *Attica*, and the abandoning of *Athens*, in divers Iſlands, and at *Troezen*, they now found them out, and returned with them to their own places.

And though the moſt part of all their houſes in *Athens* were burnt and broken down, and

and the walls of the City over-turned, yet they reſolved firſt on their common defence, and to fortifie their City, before they cared to cover themſelves, their wives and children, with any private buildings. Whereof the *Lacedæmonians* being advertiſed, and miſliking the fortifying of *Athens*, both in reſpect that their own City of *Sparta* was unwalled, as alſo becauſe the *Athenians* were grown more powerfull by Sea, than either themſelves, or any other State of *Greece*, they diſpatched meſſengers to the *Athenians* to diſſwade them; not acknowledging any private miſlike or jealouſie, but pretending, that if the *Perſians* ſhould return to invade *Greece* a third time, the *Athenians* being in no better ſtate to defend themſelves than heretofore, the ſame would ſerve to receive their enemies, and to be made a Seat for the War, as *Thebes* had lately bin. To this the *Athenians* promiſed to give them ſatisfaction by their own Embaſſadors very ſpeedily. But being reſolved to goe on with their works by the advice of *Themiſtocles*, they held the *Lacedæmonians* in hope of the contrary, till they had raiſed their walls to that height, as they cared not for their miſlikes, nor doubted their diſturbance; and therefore (to gain time) they diſpatched *Themiſtocles* towards *Lacedæmon*, giving him for excuſe, that he could not deliver the *Athenians* reſolutions, till the arrival of his fellow-Commiſſioners, who were of purpoſe retarded. But after a while, the *Lacedæmonians* expectation being converted into jealouſie (for by the arrivall of divers perſons out of *Attica*, they were told for certain, That the walls of *Athens* were ſpeedily grown up beyond expectation) *Themiſtocles* prayed them not to beleeve reports and vain rumors, but that they would be pleaſed to ſend ſome of their own truſty Citizens to *Athens*, from whoſe relation they might reſolve themſelves, and determine accordingly. Which requeſt being granted, and Commiſſioners ſent, *Themiſtocles* diſpatched one of his own, by whom he adviſed the *Athenians*, firſt to entertain the *Lacedæmonians* with ſome ſuch diſcourſe as might retain them a few daies, and in concluſion to hold them among them, till himſelf, & the other *Athenian* Embaſſadors, then at *Sparta*, had their liberty alſo to return. Which done, and being alſo aſſured by his aſſociats and *Ariſtides*, that *Athens* was already defenſible on all parts, *Themiſtocles* demanding audience, made the *Lacedæmonians* know, That it was true that the walls of *Athens* were now raiſed to that height, as the *Athenians* doubted not the defence of their City; praying the *Lacedæmonians* to beleeve, That whenſoever it pleaſed them to treat with the *Athenians* they would know them for ſuch as right well underſtood what appertained to a Common-weale and their own ſafety, without direction & advice from any other: That they had in the war of *Xerxes* abandoned their City, and committed themſelves to the wooden Walls of their ſhips, from the reſolution of their own counſels and courage, and not thereto taught or perſwaded by others: and finally, in all that perillous war againſt the *Perſians* they found their own judgements and the execution thereof in nothing inferiour, or leſſe fortunate, than that of any other Nation, State, or Common-weale among the *Greeks*. And therefore concluded, that they determined to be Maſters and Judges of their own affairs, and thonght it good reaſon, that either all the Cities confedered within *Greece* ſhould be left open, or elſe that the Walls of *Athens* ſhould be finiſhed and maintained.

The *Lacedæmonians* finding the time unfit for quarrell, diſſembled their miſlike, both of the fortifying of *Athens*, and of the diviſion; and ſo ſuffered the *Athenians* to depart, and received back from them their own Embaſſadors.

The Walls of *Athens* finiſhed, they alſo fortified the Port *Pyreus*, by which they might under covert imbark themſelves upon all occaſions.

§. II.

The beginning of the Athenian *greatneſſe, and proſperous war made by that State upon the* Perſian.

THe *Athenians* having ſetled things in good order at home, prepared thirty Gallies for the purſuit of the war againſt the *Perſians*, to which the *Lacedæmonians* added other twenty, and with this Fleet, ſtrengthened by the reſt of the Cities of *Greece* confederated, they ſet ſail for *Cyprus*, under the conduct of *Pauſanias* the *Lacedæmonian*; where, after their landing having poſſeſt themſelves of many principall places, they imbarked the Army again, and took land in *Thrace*, recovering from the

the *Persians* by force the City *Bizantium*, now *Constantinople*: from whence *Pausanias*, behaving himself more like a Tyrant than a Captain, especially towards the *Ionians* lately revolted from *Xerxes*, was called back by the Councell of *Lacedæmon*, and not only accused of many insolent behaviours, but of Intelligence with the *Medes*, and Treason against his Country. In his stead they imployed *Dorcis*, who either gave the same cause of offence; or else the *Athenians*, who affected the first commandement in that war, practised the Souldiers to complain; though indeed the wise and vertuous behaviour of *Aristides*, Generall of the *Athenian* forces, a man of rare & incomparable sincerity, had been able to make a good Commander seem ill in comparison of himself; & therefore was much more availeable, in rendring those detested, whose vices afforded little matter of excuse. Howsoever it were, the *Lacedæmonians* being no lesse wearied of the war, than the *Athenians* were eager to pursue it, the one obtained their ease, and the other the execution and honour which they desired: for all the *Greeks* (those of *Peloponnesus* excepted) willingly subjected themselves to the commandement of the *Athenians*, which was both the beginning of their greatnesse in that present age, and of their ruin in the next succeeding. For the charge of the war being now comuitted unto them, they began to rate the confederated Cities; they appointed Receivers and Treasurers, and began to levie mony, according to their discretion, for the maintenance of the generall defence of *Greece*, & for the recovering of those places on *Europe* side, in *Asia* the lesse, and the Ilands, from the *Persians*. This tribute (the first that was ever payed by the *Greeks*) amounted to four hundred and threescore Talents; which was raised easily by the honest care of that just man *Aristides*, to whose discretion all the confederates referred themselves, and no one man found occasion to complain of him. But as the vertue of *Aristides*, & other worthy Citizens, brought unto the *Athenians* great commodity; so the desire which they conceived of encreasing their commodity, corrupted their vertue, and robbing them of the generall love, which had made them powerfull, abandoned their City to the defence of her treasure, which with her in the next age perished. For it was not long ere these four hundred and threescore Talents were raised to six hundred, nor long after that, ere their covetous tyranny had coverted their followers into slaves, and extorted from them yearly thirteen hundred Talents. The Isle of *Delos* was at the first appointed for the Treasure-house wherein these sums were laid up, and where, at the generall Assembly, the Captains of those forces, sent by the confederates, were for form sake called to consultation. But the *Athenians*, who were stronger by sea than all *Greece* besides, had lockt up the common treasure in an Island, under their own protection, from whence they might transport it at their pleasure, as afterward they did.

The generall Commander in this War was *Cimon*, the son of *Miltiades*, who first took *Eïona*, upon the River *Strimon*; then the Isle of *Sciros*, inhabited by the *Dolopes*: they mastered the *Caristii*, and brought into servitude the *Naxii*, contrary to the form of the confederacy: So did the other the inhabitants of *Greece*, if at any time they failed of their contribution, or disobeyed their commandements, taking upon them & usurping a kind of soverain authority over the rest: which they exercised the more assuredly, because they were now become Lords of the Sea, and could not be resisted. For many of the confederated Cities and Nations, weary of the war in their own persons, and given up altogether to their ease, made choice rather to pay their parts in mony, than either in men of war, or in ships; leaving the provision of both to the *Athenians*. Hereby the one grew weak in all their Sea-defences, and in the exercise of the Wars; the other greatly strengthened their Navie and their experiences, being always armed and imployed in honorable Services, at the cost of those, who having lifted them into their Saddles, were now enforced to become their footmen. Yet was the Tribute-mony, levied upon these their confederates, employed so well by the *Athenians* at the first (as ill proceedings are often founded upon good beginnings) that no great cause of repining was given. For they rigged out a great Fleet of Gallies, very well manned, wherewith *Cimon* the Admirall scouring the Asiatick Seas, took-in the City of *Phaselis*; which having formerly pretended neutrality, and refused to relieve, or any way assist the *Greeks*, were enforced to pay ten Talents for a fine, and so to become followers of the *Athenians*, paying yearly contribution.

From thence he set sail for the River *Eurymedon* in *Pamphylia*, where the *Persian* Fleet

Fleet rode, being of six hundred sayl, or (according to the most sparing report) three hundred and fifty, and having a great Land-Army, encamped upon the shoar; all which forces having been provided for advancing the Kings affairs in *Greece*, where utterly defeated in one day, and two hundred ships taken by the *Athenians*, the rest being broken to pieces, or sunk, ere ever they had swom in the *Greekish* Seas. *Cimon* having in one day obtained two great victories, the one by Sea, and the other by Land, was very soon presented with a third. For fourscore sayl of *Phænicians* (who were the best of all Sea-men, under the *Persian* command) thinking to have joyned themselves with the Fleet before destroyed, arrived upon the same Coast, ignorant of what had passed, and fearing nothing lesse than what ensued. Upon the first notice of their approach, *Cimon* weighed anchor, and meeting them at an head-Land, called *Hydra*, did so amaze them, that they onely sought to run themselves on ground; by which mean preserving few of their men, they lost all their ships. These losses did so break the courage of the *Persian*, that omitting all hope of prevailing upon *Greece*, he condescended to whatsoever Articles it pleased the *Athenians* to propound, granting liberty unto all the *Greeks* inhabiting *Asia*; and further covenanting, That none of his ships of War should sayl to the Westward of the Isles, called *Cyanea* and *Chelidonia*.

This was the most honourable peace that ever the *Greeks* made; neither did they in effect, after this time, make any war that redounded to the profit or glory of the whole Nation, till such time as under *Alexander*, they overthrew the Empire of *Persia*; in which war, few, or perhaps none of them, had any place of great command, but served altogether under the *Macedonians*.

§. III.

The death of Xerxes *by the treason of* Artabanus.

BEsides these losses, which could not easily have been repaired, the troubles of the Empire were at this time such, as gave just cause to the *Persian* of seeking peace upon any termes not altogether intollerable. For *Artabanus*, the Uncle of *Xerxes*, perceiving, that the King his Master did easily take small occasions to shed the blood of such, as in kindred or place were neer unto him, began to repose lesse hope of a safetie in remaining faithfull, than of obtaining the Soveraignty, by destroying a Prince that was so hated for his cruelty, and despised for his cowardise and misfortunes. Having conceived this Treason, he found means to execute it by *Mithridates* an Eunuch, in such close manner, that (as if he himself had been innocent) he accused *Darius* the son of *Xerxes*, and caused him to suffer death as a Parricide. Whether it be true, that by this great wickednesse hee got the Kingdome, and held it seven moneths; or whether intending the like evill to *Artaxerxes* the son of *Xerxes*, he was by him prevented and surprised, were hard to affirm any certainty. But all Writers agree upon this, That taken hee was, and with his whole family put to death by extreme torments, according to the sentence whereof the truth is more ancient than the Verse;

Rarò antecedentem scelestum
Deseruit pede pœna claudo.

Seldome the villain, though much haste he make,
Lame-footed Vengeance fails to over take.

§. IV.

The banishment of Themistocles: *his flight to* Artaxerxes *newly reigning in* Persia; *and his death.*

ARtaxerxes being established in his Kingdome, and having so compounded with the *Athenians*, as the present necessity of his affairs required, began to conceive new hopes of better fortune against the *Greeks*, than hee or his predecessors had ever hitherto found. For the people of *Athens*, when the *Persians* were chased out of *Greece*, did so highly value their own merits in that service, that they not onely thought it fit for themselves to become the Commanders over many Towns and Islands of the *Greeks*, but even within their own walls, they would admit none other forme of Government than meerly *Democraticall*. Herein they were so insolent, that no integritie nor

nor good desert was able to preserve the estate of any such as had born great office, longer than by flattering the rascall multitude, he was contented to frame all his words and deeds to their good liking.

This their intolerable demeanour much offended *Themistocles*; who, though in former times he had layed the foundations of his greatnesse upon popularity, yet now presuming upon his good services done to the State, he thought that with great reason they might grant him the liberty to check their inordinate proceedings. But contrariwise, they were so highly offended with his often rehearsing the benefits which they had received from him, that they laid upon him the punishment of *Ostracisme*, whereby hee was banished for ten years, as a man over-burthensome to the Common-wealth.

Before the time of his return was half expired, a new accusation was brought against him by the *Lacedæmonians*, who charged him of consulting with *Pausanias*, about betraying the whole Countrey of *Greece* unto *Xerxes*, Hereupon *Themistocles*, finding no place of security against the malice of two such mighty cities, was driven, after many troublesome flights, and dangerous removings, to adventure himself into *Persia*, where he found *Artaxerxes* newly setled, & was by him very honourably entertained. But the great hope which *Artaxerxes* had conceived of advancing his affairs by the counsell and assistance of *Themistocles*, proved altogether fruitlesse. For when the *Athenians*, in favour of *Inarus* the *Lybian*, (who infested *Egypt*, causing it to rebell against the *Persian*) had sent a Fleet to Sea, landing an Army in *Egypt*, and scouring those Eastern Seas, to the great hinderance of *Artaxerxes*, and (for ought that I can understand) to the manifest breach of that peace, which to their great honour they had concluded with *Xerxes*; then did the King send his Letters to *Themistocles*, requiring him to make good the hopes which he had given, of assuring the *Persian* estate against the *Greeks*.

But whether *Themistocles* perceived much unlikelinesse of good successe, in leading a great army of dastardly *Persians* against the warlike people of *Greece*; or else (as in favour of his vertue it is more commonly reported) the love of his Country would not permit him to seek honour by the ruine of it, sure it is, that being appointed by *Artaxerxes* to undertake the conduct of great forces against the *Athenians*, he decided the great conflict between thankfulnesse to his well-deserving Prince, and naturall affection to his own ill-deserving people, by finishing his life with a cup of poyson.

§. V.

How the Athenians, *breaking the peace, which to their great honour they had made with the* Persian, *were shamefully beaten in* Egypt.

THen was *Artaxerxes* driven to use the service of his own Captains in the *Egyptian* warre, wherein it appeared well, That a just cause is a good defence against a strong enemy. An *Athenian* Fleet of two hundred saile strong was sent forth under *Cimon*, to take-in the Isle of *Cyprus*: which conquest seemed easie both to make and to maintain, the *Persian* being utterly broken at Sea, and thereby unable to relieve the Island. Now although it were so, that a peace had been concluded, which was likely to have been kept sincerely by the *Persian*, who had made so good proofe of the *Græcian* valour, that he was nothing desirous to build any ships of Warre (without which the *Greeks* could receive no harm from him) whereof if any one should be found sayling towards *Greece*, the peace was immediatly broken, and if not, his whole estate; yet all the Sea-coast (no small part of his Dominions) exposed to the waste of an enemy too far over-marching him. Yet whether the *Athenians* were in doubt, lest the league which in his own worser fortunes he had made with them, he would break in theirs; and therefore sought to get such assurance into their hands, as might utterly disable him from attempting ought against them; or whether the increase of their revenues and power, by adding that rich and great Island to their Empire, caused them to measure honour by profit; they thought it the wisest way, to take whilest they might, whatsoever they were able to get and hold, and he unable to defend.

The Isle of *Cyprus* lying in the bottome of the streights between *Cilicia*, *Syria* and *Egypt*, is very fitly seated for any Prince of State, that being mighty at Sea, doth either seek to enrich himself by trade with those Countries, or to infest one or more of them

them when they are his enemies. And this being the purpose of the *Athenians*, their Ambition which had already devoured, in conceit, this Iland, was on the sudden well-nigh choaked with a greater morsell, to snatch at which, they let *Cyprus* alone, which they might easily have swallowed and digested. For *Inarus* King of the *Lybians*, confining *Egypt*, having found how greatly the Countrey was exhausted by the late Warres, and how weakly defended by very slender *Persian* Garrisons, conceived rightly, that if such small forces as the *Satrapa* or *Viceroy* could make on the sudden of his own Guards, or levie out of the ordinary Garrisons, were by him defeated, the naturalls of the Countrey not long since oppressed by *Cambyses*, and after a revolt very lately subdued by *Xerxes*, would soon break faith with him, who had no other title to that Kingdome than a good sword. Further, he perswaded himself that the people, unable to defend themselves against the *Persian* without his assistance, would easily be drawn to accept him, the author of their deliverance, for King. Neither did this hope deceive him. For having taken and cruelly slain *Achamenes* the *Viceroy*, divers Cities forthwith declared themselves for him, and proclaming him King, shewed the most of their indeavour for prosecution of the Warre. But hee considering his own weakness, and that the means of the *Egyptians* his adherents were not answerable to their desires, perceived well, that to resist the power of *Artaxerxes*, farre greater forces than his and theirs were to be procured, at what price soever hee obtained them. Therefore hearing of the great *Athenian* fleet, and knowing well the vertue of the Souldiers therein embarqued, he invited the Commanders to share with him the Kingdome of *Egypt*, as a farre greater reward of their adventure, than such an addition as that of *Cyprus* could be to their estate. Whether he or they (if things had wholly sorted according to their expectation) would have been contented with an equall share, and not have fallen out in the partition, were perhaps a divination unnecessary. He was possessed of the peoples love, they were of most power. But the issue of those affairs was such as left them nothing to communicate but misfortunes, which they shared somewhat equally.

Yet had the beginnings of their enterprise very good and hopefull successe: For they entred the Land as farre as to *Memphis*, the principall Citie; and of the Citie it self they took two parts: to the third part, which was called the White wall, they laid such hard siege, that neither those forces of the *Persians*, which then were in *Egypt*, were strong enough to remove them; neither could *Artaxerxes* well advise what means to use for the recovery of that which was lost, or for the preservation of the remainder. The best of his hope was by setting the *Lacedæmonians* upon *Athens*, to enforce the *Athenians* to look homewards to their own defence. This was the first time that the *Persian* sought to procure the assistance of the *Greeks* one against the other, by stirring them up with gold, to the entertainment of private quarrels, for the good of their common enemy. To this purpose he sent *Megabazus* to *Sparta* with much Treasure; who after great expence, finding that the *Lacedæmonians* were nothing forward in employing their whole force against the *Athenians*, whom in many conflicts of great importance they had found to be their matches, notwithstanding the absence of their Army in *Egypt*; he thought it his wisest way to employ the rest of his money and means to their relief, who had now the space of six years defended his masters right in *Egypt*. Therefore he hastily dispatched another of his name, the son of *Zopyrus*, who arriving in *Egypt*, was first encountred by the revolted people; over whom hee obtained victory, which made him master of the Countrey, whilest the *Athenians* lay busied about *Memphis* the great Citie.

It cannot be doubted, that long abode in a strange ayre, and want of supply, had much enfeebled the *Athenians*: sure it is, that when *Megabazus*, having reduced the Countrey to obedience, attempted the Citie it self, whether his former successe had amended the courage of the *Persians*, or want of necessaries made the *Athenians* inferiour to themselves, he chased them out of *Memphis*, and pursued them so neer, as they were forc'd to fortifie themselves in the Isle of *Prosopites*, where *Megabazus*, after eighteen moneths siege, turning away one part of the River by divers Trenches, assaulted the *Athenians* without impediment of waters, took their Gallies, and put all to the sword, save a few that saved themselves by flight into *Lybia*; the same entertainment had fiftie other Gallies which they sent to the succour of the first two hundred

Prosopites an Iland between the rivers of *Taly* and *Pharmuthiacus*, two of the out-lets of *Nilus* towards *Alexandria*.

hundred. For those *Athenians* having heard nothing that their Fleet and Armie was consumed, entred by the branch of *Nilus*, called *Mendesium*, and fell unawares among the *Phœnician* Gallies, and the *Persian* Armie; so as the *Persians* recovered all *Egypt*, but that part held by *Amyrteus*, and *Inarus* the King of *Lybia*, being by them taken and hanged. This was the end of the *Athenians* six years Warre in *Egypt*, and the reward of their vanity and indiscretion to undertake many enterprises at once.

Mendesius an Island in the mouth of *Nilus*, between the east-let called *Bucolicus*, and *Diolcus*: But the branch of *Nilus*, called *Mendesium* runeth into the sea by the City *Panephysis*.

§. V.

Of other Warres made by the Athenians *for the most part with good successe, about the same time.*

NOtwithstanding these overthrowes in *Egypt*, yet the *Athenians* in their homewarres waded through many difficulties, and held the reputation of their forces against the *Lacedæmonians*, *Corinthians*, and others, rather to their advantage than otherwise. For as they were beaten neer unto *Halia* by the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians*, so they obtained two great Victories soon after; the one over the *Peloponnesians*, neer unto *Cecryphalia*; the other over the *Æginets*, neer unto *Ægina*; where they sunk and carried away threescore and ten Galles of their enemies. Furthermore, they landed their forces on the sudden, and besieged *Ægina*, from whence they could not be moved, notwithstanding that the *Corinthians*, to divert them, invaded *Megara*; where, after a great fight, with equall losse, the *Corinthians*, when they returned again to set up their *Trophie*, as Victors in the former battell, were utterly broken and slaughtered be the *Athenian* Garrisons and *Megarians*, to their great losse and dishonour.

Again, as the *Athenians* were discomfited neer to *Tangra*, by the *Lacedæmonians*, who returned from the succour of the *Dorians* against the *Phocians* (at which time the *Thessalian* horse-men turned from their Allies the *Athenians*, and fought against them) so about threescore daies after, the *Athenians* entred *Bœotia* under the conduct of *Myronides*, where beating that Nation, they wan *Phocis* on the gulfe of *Oeteus*, and evened the walls of *Tanagra* to the ground. Finally, they enforced *Ægina* to render upon most base conditions; as to beat down the walls of their City, and to give them hostages for Tribute; the siege whereof they had continued, notwithstanding all their other brabbles and attempts elsewhere. Besides these victories, they sackt and spoiled many places upon the Sea-coast of *Peloponnesus*, belonging to the *Lacedæmonians*, wan upon the *Corinthians*, and overthrew the *Sicyonians* that came to their succour. These were the undertakings of the *Athenians*, and their Allies, during the time of those six years that a part of their forces made war in *Egypt*. In the end whereof they attempted *Thessalie*, perswaded thereunto by *Orestes*, but were resisted by the king *Pharsalus*, who had chased *Orestes* out of his Dominions. They also landed in *Sicyonia*, and had victory over those that resisted, after which they made truce with the *Peloponnesians* for five years, and sent *Cimon* into *Cyprus* with two hundred ships; but they were again allured by *Amyrteus* one of the race of their former Kings, who held the Marish and Wooddy parts of *Egypt* from the *Persians*, to whom they sent sixty of their ships. The rest of their Armie failing in their enterprise at *Cyprus*, and their fortunate and victorious Leader *Cimon* dying there, as they coasted the Iland, incountred a fleet of the *Phœnicians* and *Cilicians*, over both which Nations they returned victorious into *Greece*: as also those returned safe which were sent into *Egypt*.

§. VI.

Of Artaxerxes Longimanus, *that he was* Ahashueroth *the husband of Queen* Hester.

THese *Egyptian* troubles being ended, the reign of *Artaxerxes* continued peaceable; whereof the length is by some restrained unto twenty years, but the more and better Authors give him forty, some allow unto him four and forty.

He

He was a Prince of much humanity, and noted for many examples of gentlenesse. His favour was exceeding great to the *Jews*; as appeareth by the Histories of *Esdras* and *Nehemias*, which fell in his time.

To prove that this was the King who gave countenance and ayd to that great work of building the Temple, it were a needlesse travell; considering that all the late Divines have taken very much pains to shew that those two Prophets were licensed by him, and succoured in that building, in such sort as appears in their writings.

This was likewise that King *Ahashuerosh* who married *Hester*. Whereof if it be needfull to give proof, it may suffice, That *Ahashuerosh* lived in *Susa*, reigning from *India* to *Æthiopia*, and therefore must have been a *Persian*; That he lived in peace, as appears by the circumstances of the Historie, and used the counsell of the seven Princes, the authority of which Princes began under *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes*; wherefore he could be neither *Cyrus* nor *Cambyses*.

The continuall Wars which exercised King *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes*, together with the certainty of his marriages with sundry wives, from none of whom he was divorced, but left his first wife *Atossa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, alive in great honour, she being mother to *Xerxes* the succeeding King, do manifestly prove that *Hester* was not his. Whereunto is added by *Philo* the *Jew*, That at the perswasion of *Mardochæus*, *Jojachim* the high Priest the son of *Jesua*, caused the feast of *Purim* to be instituted in memory of that deliverance. Now the time of *Jojachim* was in the reign of *Artaxerxes*, at the comming of *Esdras* and *Nehemias*: *Jesua* his father dying about the end of *Darius*.

The same continuance of wars, with other his furious and tragicall loves wherewith *Xerxes* did consume such little time as he had free from war, are enough to prove, that the story of *Hester* pertained not unto the time of *Xerxes*, who lived but one and twenty years, whereas the two and thirtieth of *Ahasuerus* or *Artasastha* is expressed by *Nehemias*. Again, it is well known that *Xerxes* in the seventh year of his reign (wherein this marriage must have bin celebrated) came not near to *Susa*. Of the Princes that succeeded *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to prove that none of them could be *Ahashuerosh*, it is enough to say, that *Mardochæus* having been carried from *Hierusalem* captive, with *Jechonia*, by *Nabuchadnezzar*, was unlikely to have lived untill their times.

But of this *Artaxerxes* it is true, that he lived in *Susa*, reigned from *India* to *Æthiopia*, lived in peace, was contemporary with *Jojachim* the high Priest, and further he had happily by his Lieutenants reclaymed the rebellious *Egyptians* in that seventh year of his reign; which good fortune might well give occasion to such a Royall Feast, as is described in the beginning of *Hester*. This is the sum of the arguments, brought to prove the age of *Hesters* storie by the learned and diligent *Krentzheimius*, who addes the authorities of *Josephus*, affirming the same, and of *Philo* giving to *Mardochæus* eighteen years more than *Isaac* the *Patriarch* lived, namely, one hundred fourscore and eighteen years in all, which expire in the five and thirtieth year of this *Artaxerxes*, if we suppose him to have been carried away captive, being a Boy of ten years old.

§. VIII.

Of the troubles in Greece, *foregoing the* Peloponnesian *War*.

But it is fit that we now return to the affairs of the *Greeks*, who from this time forward, more vehemently prosecuting their civill wars, suffered the *Persians* for many ages to rest in peace: this *Egyptian* expedition being come to nought. Soon after this, the *Lacedæmonians* undertook the war called *Sacred*, recovered the Temple and Ile of *Delphos*, and delivered both to the inhabitants; but the *Athenians* regained the same, and gave it in charge to the *Phocians*. In the mean while the banished *Bœotians* re-entred their own Land, and mastered two of their own Towns possest by the *Athenians*, which they soon recovered again from them; but in their return towards *Athens*, the *Bœotians*, *Eubœans*, and *Locrians*, (Nations oppresst by the *Athenians*) set upon them with such resolution, as the *Athenians* were in that fight all slain or taken,

taken, whereby the *Bœotians* recovered their former liberty, restoring to the *Athenians* their prisoners. The Ilanders of *Eubœa* took such courage upon this, that they revolted wholly from the *Athenians*, whom when *Pericles* intended to reconquer, he was advertised that the *Megarians* (who first left the *Lacedæmonians*, and submitted themselves to *Athens*) being now weary of their yoke, had slain the *Athenians* Garrisons, and joyned themselves with the *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, and *Epidaurians*. These news hastened *Pericles* homeward with all possible speed; but ere he could recover *Attica*, the *Peloponnesians*, led by *Plistoanax* the son of *Pausanias*, had invaded it, pillaged and burnt many parts thereof, after whose return *Pericles* went on with his first intent, and recovered *Eubœa*. Finally, the *Athenians* began to treat of peace with the *Peloponnesians*, and yeelded to deliver up all the places which they held in the Country of *Peloponnesus*: and this truce was made for thirty years.

After six of these years were expired, the *Athenians* (favouring the *Mylesians* against the *Samians*) invaded *Samos* by *Pericles*, and after many repulses, and some great losses, both by Sea and Land, the Citizens were forc'd to yeeld themselves upon most lamenble conditions; Namely, to deliver up all their ships, to break down their own wals, to pay the charge of the war, and to restore whatsoever had been taken by themselves, or by their practice from the *Athenians*. In the neck of which followed that long and cruell *Peloponnesian* War, whereof I have gathered this brief following: the same contention taking beginning fifte years after the flight of *Xerxes* out of *Greece*. But because there was no Citie thereof, which either in the beginning of this war, or in the continuance of it, was not drawn into the quarrell; I hold it convenient now at the first to shew briefly the estate of the Country at that time, and especially the condition of those two great Cities, *Athens* and *Sparta*, upon which all the rest had most dependance.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Peloponnesian *War.*

§. I.

Upon what terms the two principall Cities of Greece, Athens *and* Sparta, *stood at the beginning of the* Peleponnesian *War.*

GReece was never united under the government of any one Prince or Estate, untill *Philip* of *Macedon*, and after him *Alexander*, brought them rather to a Union and League against the *Persians*, whereof they were Captains, than into any absolute subjection. For every Estate held their own, and were governed by Laws, far different, and by their own Magistrates, notwithstanding the power of the *Macedonians*, to whom they did yeeld obedience no otherwise than as to such, who were (perforce) their leaders in the *Persian* war (deemed the Generall quarrel of *Greece*) and took the profit and honour of the victory, to their own use and increase of greatnesse. But the Kings which afterward reigned in *Macedonia*, did so far enlarge their authority, that all *Greece* was by them brought under such obedience, as differed little from servitude; very few excepted, who could hardly, sometimes with arms, and sometimes with gifts, preserve their liberty; of whom the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* were chief: which two people deserved best the plague of tyranny, having first given occasion thereunto by their great ambition, which wearied and weakned all the Country by perpetuall War. For untill these two Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* distracted all *Greece*, drawing every State into the quarrell, on the one or other side; and so gave beginning to the *Peloponnesian* War (the effects whereof in true estimation ceased not, before the time that *Philip* had over-mastered all, forasmuch as every

conclusion

conclusion of one war afforded henceforth matter of some new distraction of the whole Countrey) the wars, commenced between one Citie of *Greece* and another, were neither great, nor of long continuance. All controversies were soon decided, either by the authority of the *Amphictiones*, who were the generall Councell of *Greece*, or by the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, whose aid was commonly held as good as the assurance of victory.

These *Lacedæmonians* had lived about four hundred years under one forme of Government, when the *Peloponnesian* War began. Their education was only to practise feats of Arms; wherein they so excelled, that a very few of them were thought equall to very great numbers of any other people. They were poor, and cared not much for wealth; every one had an equall portion of the common field, which sufficed to maintain him in such manner as they used. For bravery they had none, and curious building or apparell they regarded not. Their diet was simple, their feasts and ordinary meals being in common Halls, where all fared alike. They used money of yron, whereof they could not be covetous nor great hoarders. Briefly, they lived *Utopian*-like, save that they used no other occupation than War, placing all their felicity in the glory of their valour. Hereby it came to passe that in all enterprises, whereof they were partakers, the leading and high command was granted to them, and all *Greece* followed their conduct. But the *Athenians* were in all points contrary to this. For they sought wealth, and measured the honours of their victories by the profit; they used mercenary Souldiers in their wars, and exacted great tribute of their Subjects, which were for the most part Ilanders, compelled to obey them, because the *Athenian* fleet was great.

As in form of policy, and in course of life, so in conditions naturall, the difference between these two people was very much. The *Athenians* were eager and violent, sudden in their conclusions, and as hasty in the execution. The *Lacedæmonians* very slow in their deliberations, full of gravity, but very resolute, and such as would in cold bloud perform what the *Athenians* did usually in flagrant. Whereby it came to passe, that the *Lacedæmonians* had all the Estates of *Greece* depending upon them, as on men firm and assured, that sought honour and not riches; whereas the *Athenians* were followed by such as obeyed them perforce, being held in streight subjection. But the Signory of the *Athenians* was nothing large, untill such time as the *Persian Xerxes* had invaded *Greece*, pretending only a quarrell to *Athens*: For then the Citizens perceiving well, that the Town of *Athens* could not be defended against his great Army of seventeen hundred thousand men, bestowed all their wealth upon a Navie, and (assisted by the other *Grecians*) overthrew the fleet of *Xerxes*, whose Land-forces were soon after discomfited by them, and the *Greeks*, who all served under conduct of the *Spartans*. After these victories, the *Athenians* being now very mighty in fleet, reduced all the Ilands of the *Greekish* Seas under their obedience; imposing upon them a hard tribute, for maintenance (as they pretended) of War against the *Persian*; though indeed they employed their forces chiefly, to the conquest of such Ilands and haven-Towns of their Country-men, as stood out against them. All which was easily suffered by the *Lecedæmonians*, who were In-landers, and men that delighted not in expeditions to be made far from home. But afterwards perceiving the power of the *Athenians* to grow great, they held them in much jealousie, and were very apt to quarrell with them; but much more willing to breed contention between them and other Estates. Wherefore at such time as the *Thebans* would have oppressed the *Plataans*, when they of *Platæa* repaired to *Sparta* for succour, they found there no other aid, than this advice, That they should seek help at *Athens*. Hereby it was thought, that the *Athenians* should be intangled in a long and tedious War with their neighbours of *Thebes*. But it proved otherwise; for their force was now so great, that all such occasions did onely serve to increase their honour and puissance.

§. II.

How Sparta *and* Athens *entred into Warre.*

NEvertheless many Estates of *Greece* were very ill-affected to *Athens*, because that Citie grew very insolent upon sudden prosperitie, and maintaining the weaker Towns against the stronger, incroached apace upon their Neighbours, taking

their dependants from them. Especially the *Corinthians* were much inraged, because the people of the Iland *Corcyra*, their Colonie which had rebelled against them, and given them a great overthrow by Sea, was by the *Athenians* (who desired to increase their fleet by adjoyning that of *Corcyra* unto it) taken into protection, and the *Corinthians* thereby impeached of that revenge which else they would have taken. Now howsoever it were so that these dealings of the *Athenians* were not directly against the conditions of peace agreed upon among the *Greeks*, yet were the complaints made at *Sparta* so vehement, that (though with much adoe) they concluded to redresse by war the injuries done to their Allies.

First therefore, seeking religious pretences, they required the *Athenians* to expiate certain offences committed against the gods; whereto having for answer, That they themselves should expiate other the like offences, committed in *Sparta*, they began to deal plainly, and required that the people of some Towns, oppressed by the State of *Athens*, should be set at liberty; and that a decree made against those of *Megara*, whereby they were forbidden to enter any Port of the *Athenians*, should be reversed. This last point they so earnestly presse, that if they might obtain it, they promised to absist from their purpose of making War.

This they desired, not as a matter of any great importance (for it was a trifle) but only that by seeming to have obtained somewhat, they might preserve their reputation without entring into a war, which threatned them with greater difficulties apparent, than they were very willing to undergoe.

But the *Athenians* would yeeld to nothing; for it was their whole desire that all *Greece* should take notice how farre they were from fear of any other Citie. Hereupon they prepared on both sides very strongly, all that was needfull to the War; wherein the *Lacedæmonians* were Superiour, both in number and quality, being assisted by most of the Cities in *Greece*, and having the generall favour, as men that pretended to set at liberty such as were oppressed: but the *Athenians* did as far exceed them in all provisions of money, shipping, engines, and absolute power of command among their Subjects; which they held, and afterward found of greater use in such need, than the willing readinesse of friends, who soon grow weary, and are not easily assembled.

§. III.

The beginning of the Peloponnesian *Warre.*

THe first and second years expedition was very grievous to the Citie of *Athens*. For the Fields were wasted, the Trees cut down, the Countrey people driven to flye, with Wives, Children, and Cattell, into the Town; whereby a most furious pestilence grew in the City, such as before they had never felt, nor heard of. Hereunto was added the revolt of the *Mytilenians*, in the Isle of *Lesbos*, and the siege of *Plataa* their confederated City, which they durst not adventure to raise; besides some small overthrowes received. The *Lacedæmonians* assembling as great forces as they could raise out of *Peloponnesus*, did in the beginning of Summer enter the Countrey of *Attica*, and therein abide, untill victuals began to fail, wasting and destroying all things round about. The Governours of the *Athenians* would not suffer the people to issue into the field against them; for they knew the valour of their enemies: but used to send a fleet into *Peloponnesus*, which wasted as fast all the Sea-coast of their enemies, whilest they were making war in *Attica*. So the *Peloponnesians* being the stronger by Land, wan the Town of *Plataa*, which wanted rescue; the *Athenians* likewise being more mighty by Sea, did subdue *Mytilene* which had rebelled, but could not be succoured from *Sparta*. By these proceedings in that Warre, the *Lacedæmonians* began to perceive how unfit they were to deal with such enemies. For after that *Attica* was throughly wasted, it lay not greatly in their power to doe any offence equall to such harm as they themselves might, and did receive. The Confederates began to set forward very slowly in their expeditions into *Attica*; perceiving well that *Athens* was plentifully relieved with all necessaries, which came by the Sea from the Ilands that were subject unto that Estate; and therefore these invaders took but small pleasure in beholding the Walls of that mighty City, or in wasting a forsaken field, which was to them a pattern of the calamities with which their own Territorie was the whilest afflicted. Wherefore they began

began to set their care to build a strong Navie, wherein they had little good successe, being easily vanquished by the *Athenians*, who both had more and better ships, and were so skilfull in Sea-fights, that a few Vessels of theirs durst undertake a great number of the *Peloponnesians*.

§. IIII.

Of the great losse which the Spartans *received at* Pylus.

AMong other losses which the *Spartans* had felt by Sea, they received at *Pylus* a very sore blow, that compelled them to sue for peace. A fleet of *Athenian* ships bound for *Corcyra*, wasting in that passage as their manner was, the coast of *Laconia*, and all the half-Ile of *Peloponnesus*, was by contrary windes detained at *Pylus*, which is a ragged Promontory, joyning to the Main, by a strange neck of Land. Before it there lies a small barren Iland of lesse than two miles compasse, and within that a creek, which is a good harbour for ships, the force of weather being born off by the head-Land and Isle. This Promontorie the *Athenians* fortified as well as in haste they might; and what was wanting in their artificiall fortification, was supplied by the naturall strength and site of the place. By holding this piece of ground, and haven, they in reason expected many advantages against their enemies. For the Countrey adjoyning was inhabited by the *Messenians*, who in ancient times had held very strong and cruell warre with *Sparta*; and (though quite subdued) they were held in streight subjection; yet was not the old hatred so extinguished, that by the neer neighbourhood and assistance of the *Athenians*, it might not be revived. Furthermore it was thought, that many ill-willers to the *Lacedæmonians*, and as many of their bond-slaves as could escape from them, would repair to *Pylus*, and from thence make daily incursions into *Laconia*, which was not far off: Or if other hopes failed, yet would the benefit of this haven, lying almost in the mid-way between them and *Corcyra*, make them able to surround all *Peloponnesus*, and waste it at their pleasure. The newes of these doings at *Pylus* drew the *Peloponnesians* thither in all haste out of *Attica*, which they had entred a few dayes before with their whole Army: but now they brought not only their Land-forces, but all their Navie to recover this piece, which how bad a neighbour it might prove in time, they well fore-saw, little fearing the grievous losse at hand, which they there in few daies received. For when they in vain made a generall assault on all sides, both by Sea and Land, finding that small Garrison which the *Athenians* had left, very resolute in the defence, they occupied the haven, placing four hundred and twenty choyce men, all of them Citizens of *Sparta*, in the Iland before mentioned, at each end whereof is a channell that leads into the Port; but so narrow, that onely two ships in front could enter between the Isle and *Pylus*; likewise but seven or eight ships could enter at once by the further channell, between the Iland and the Main. Having thus taken order to shut up this new Town by Sea, they sent part of their fleet to fetch wood, and other stuffe, wherewith to fortifie round about, and block up the piece on all sides. But in the mean season the *Athenian* fleet hearing of their danger that were left at *Pylus*, returned thither, and with great courage entring the haven, did break and sink many of their enemies vessels; took five, and so inforced the residue to run themselves a-ground.

Now was the Town secure, and the *Spartans* abiding in the Iland as good as lost. Wherefore the Magistrates were sent from *Sparta* to the camp (as was their custome in great dangers) to advise what were best for the publike safety; who when they did perceive that there was no other way to rescue their Citizens out of the Isle, than by composition with their enemies, they agreed to entreat with the *Athenians* about peace, taking truce in the mean while with the Captains at *Pylus*. The conditions of the truce were, That the *Lacedæmonians* should deliver up all the ships which were in the coast, and that they should attempt nothing against the town, nor the *Athenians* against the camp: That a certain quantitie of Bread, Wine, and Flesh, should be daily carried into the Isle, but that no ships should passe into the Iland secretly: That the *Athenians* should carry the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadors to *Athens*, there to treat of peace, and should bring them back, at whose return the truce should end, which if in the mean time it were broken in any one point, should be held utterly voyd in all; That when the truce was expired, the

Athenians

Athenians should restore the *Peloponnesian* ships, in as good case as they received them. The Embassadors comming to *Athens*, were of opinion, that as they themselves had begun the warre, so might they end it when they pleased. Wherefore they told the *Athenians* how great an honour it was that the *Lacedæmonians* did sue to them for peace, advising them to make an end of War, whilest with such reputation they might. But they found all contrary to their expectation: For in stead of concluding upon even termes, or desiring of meet recompence for losse sustained, the *Athenians* demanded certain Cities to be restored to them, which had bin taken from them by the *Lacedæmonians* long before this warre began, refusing likewise to continue the treaty of peace, unlesse the *Spartans* which were in the Isle, were first rendred unto them as prisoners. Thus were the Embassadors returned without effect; at which time the truce being ended, it was desired from the *Athenian* Captains, that they should, according to their Covenant, restore the ships which had been put into their hands. Whereto answer was made, that the condition of the truce was, that if any one article were broken, all should be held void; now (said the *Athenians*) ye have assaulted our Garrisons, and thereby are we acquitted of our promise to restore the ships. This and the like frivolous allegations which they made, were but meer shifts; yet profit so far overweighed honour, that better answer none could be got. Then were the *Lacedæmonians* driven to use many hard means, for conveyance of victuals into the Isle; which finally was taken by force, and the men that were in it carried prisoners to *Athens*, where it was decreed that when the *Peloponnesians* next invaded *Attica*, these prisoners should all be slain. Whether fearing the death of these men, or with-held by the troubles, which (according to the *Athenians* hope) fell upon them, the *Lacedæmonians* were so far from wasting *Attica*, that they suffered their own Country to be continually over-run, both by the *Athenians*, who landed on all parts of their coast, and by those which issued out of *Pylus*; which became the Rendevous of all that were ill-affected unto them.

§. V.

How the Lacedæmonians *hardly, and to their great disadvantage, obtained a peace that was not well kept.*

THerefore they endeavoured greatly to obtain peace; which the *Athenians* would not hearken unto. For they were so puffed up with continuance of good success, that having sent a few bands of men into *Sicilie*, to hold up a faction there, and make what profit they might of the *Sicilians* quarrels; when afterward they heard that the differences in that Isle were taken away, and their bands returned without either gain or losse, they banished the Captains, as if it had been meerly through their default, that the Ile of *Sicilie* was not conquered; which (besides the longer distance) was in power to offend others, or defend it self, no whit inferiour unto *Peloponnesus*. Yet was this their over-weening much abated shortly after, by some disasters received, especially in *Thrace*, where in a battell which they lost at *Amphipolis*, *Cleon* and *Brasidas*, Generals of the *Athenian* and *Lacedæmonian* forces, were both slain; which two had most bin adversaries to the peace. As the *Athenians* by their losses were taught moderation; so the *Lacedæmonians*, who not only felt the like wounds, but through the great Navie which they had received at *Pylus*, were fain to proceed lamely in the war, against such as, through commodity of their good fleet, had all advantage that could be found in expedition, were fervently desirous to conclude the businesse, ere Fortune by any new favour should revive the insolence, which was at this time well mortified in their Enemies. Neither was it only a consideration of their present estate, that urged them to bring the treaty of peace to a good and speedy effect; but other dangers hanging over their heads, and ready to fall on them, which unlesse they compounded with the *Athenians*, they knew not how to avoyd. The estate of *Argos*, which had antient enmity with them, was now after a truce of thirty years well-nigh expired, ready to take the benefit of their present troubles, by joyning with those who alone found them work enough. *Argos* was a rich and strong Citie, which though inferiour to *Sparta* in valour, yet was not so unwarlike, nor held such ill correspondence with the neighbouring Estates, that the *Lacedæmonians* could ever farre prevail upon it, when they had little else to doe.

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This was a thing that in the beginning of this War had not been regarded. For it was then thought that by wasting the Territory of *Athens* with sword and fire, the quarrell should easily and in short time have been ended, whereby not only the *Athenians* should have bin brought to good order, but the *Corinthians*, and others, for whose sake the war was undertaken, have bin so firmly knit to the *Lacedæmonians*, that they should for love of them have abandoned the *Argives* to their own fortunes. But now the vanity of those hopes appeared, in that the *Athenians* abounding in ready mony & means to raise more, were able to secure themselves by a strong fleet, from any great harme that the *Peloponnesians*, wanting wherewith to maintain a Navie, could doe unto them; yea, as Masters of the Sea, to weary them out, as in effect already they had done. As for the Confederates of *Sparta*, they could now endure neither war nor peace; their daily travels, and many losses had so wearied and incensed them. Wherfore the *Lacedæmonians* were glad to use the occasion, which the inclination of their enemies did then afford, of making a finall peace, which with much adoe they procured, as seemed equall and easie; but was indeed impossible to be performed, and therefore all their travell was little effectuall.

The restitution of prisoners and places taken being agreed upon, it fell out by lot, that the *Lacedæmonians* should restore first. These had won more Towns upon the continent from the *Athenians*, than the *Athenians* had from them; but what they had won, they had not won absolutely. For they had restored some Towns to such of their Allies, from whom the State of *Athens* had taken them; some, and those the most, they had set at liberty (as reason required) which had opened their gates unto them as to their friends and deliverers, and not compelled them to break in as enemies. Now concerning the Towns which were not in their own hands, but had bin rendred unto their Confederates, the *Spartans* found means to give some satisfaction, by permitting the *Athenians* to retain others, which they had gotten in the War; as for the rest, they promised more than afterwards they could performe. The Cities which they had taken into protection, could not endure to hear of being abandoned, neither would they by any means yeeld themselves into the hands of their old Lords the *Athenians*, whom they had offended by revolting, notwithstanding whatsoever articles were drawn, and concluded, for their security, and betterance in time to come. This dull performance of conditions on the side of the *Spartans*, made the *Athenians* become as backward in doing those things which on their part were required; so that restoring only the prisoners which they had, they deferred the rest, untill such time as they might receive the full satisfaction, according to the agreement. But before such time as these difficulties brake out into matter of open quarrell, the *Lacedæmonians* entred into a more streight alliance with the *Athenians*, making a league offensive and defensive with them. Hereunto they were moved by the backwardness of the *Argives*, who being (as they thought) likely to have sued for peace at their hands, as soon as things were once compounded between *Athens* and *Sparta*, did shew themselves plainly unwilling to give eare to any such motion. Thinking therefore, that by cutting from *Argos* all hope of *Athenian* succour, they should make sure work, the *Spartans* regarded not the affections of other States, whom they had either bound unto them by well-deserving in the late war, or found so troublesome, that their enmity (if perhaps they durst let it appear) was little worse than friendship. It bred great jealousie in all the Cities of *Greece*, to perceive such a conjunction between two so powerfull Signiories: especially one clause threatning every one, that was any thing apt to fear, with a secret intent that might be harboured in their proud conceits, of subduing the whole Country, and taking each what they could lay hold on. For besides the other articles, it was agreed, That they might by mutuall consent adde new conditions, or alter the old at their own pleasures. This impression wrought so strongly in the *Corinthians*, *Thebanes*, and other ancient Confederates of *Sparta*, that the hate which they had born to the *Athenians* their professed enemies, was violently thrown upon the *Lacedæmonians* their unjust friends: whereby it came to passe, that they who lately had borne chief sway in *Greece*, might have been abandoned to the discretion of their enemies, as already in effect they were, had the enemies wisely used the advantage.

§. VI.

§. VI.

Of the negotiations and practices held between many States of Greece, *by occasion of the Peace that was concluded.*

THe admiration wherein all *Greece* held the valour of *Sparta* as unresistable, and able to make way through all impediments, had bin so excessive, that when by some sinister accidents, that Citie was compelled to take and seek peace, upon terms not sounding very honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as happens usually in things extreme) was changed into much contempt. For it was never thought that any *Lacedæmonian* would have endured to lay down his weapons, and yeeld himself prisoner, nor that any misfortune should have bin so great, as should have drawn that Citie to relieve it self otherwise than by force of Armes. But when once it had appeared that many of their Citizens, among whom were some of especiall mark, being overlayed by enemies, in the Iland before *Pylus*, had rather chosen to live in captivity, than to die in fight; and that *Pylus* it self, sticking as a thorne in the foot of *Laconia*, had bred such anguish in that Estate, as utterly wearying the accustomed *Spartan* resolution, had made it sit down, and seek to refresh it self by dishonourable ease: then did not only the *Corinthians* and *Thebans* begin to conceive basely of those men which were vertuous, though unfortunate; but other lesse Cities joyning with these in the same opinion, did cast their eies upon the rich and great Citie of *Argos*, of whose ability to doe much, they conceived a strong belief, because of long time it had done nothing. Such is the base condition, which through foolish envie is become almost naturall in the greater part of mankind. We curiously search into their vices, in whom, had they kept some distance, we should have discerned only the vertues; and comparing injuriously our best parts with their worst, are justly plagued with a false opinion of that good in strangers, which we know to be wanting in our selves.

The first that published their dislike of *Sparta* were the *Corinthians*, at whose vehement entreaty (though moved rather by envie at the greatnesse of *Athens* daily encreasing) the *Lacedæmonians* had entred into the present War. But these *Corinthians* did only murmure at the peace, alleging as grievances, that some towns of theirs were left in the *Athenians* hands. The *Mantineans*, who during the time of War, had procured some part of the *Arcadians* to become their followers, and forsake their dependancy upon the State of *Sparta*, did more freely and readily discover themselves; fear of revenge to come, working more effectually than indignation at things already past. The *Argives* feeling the gale of prosperous fortune that began to fill their sails, prepared themselves to take as much of it as they could stand under; giving for that purpose unto twelve of their Citizens a full and absolute commission to make alliance between them and any free Cities of *Greece* (*Athens* & *Sparta* excepted) without any further trouble of propounding every particular businesse to the multitude. When the gates of *Argos* were set thus open to all commers; the *Mantineans* began to lead the way, and many Cities of *Peloponnesus* following them, entred into this new confederacy; some incited by private respects, others thinking it the wisest way to doe as the most did. What inconvenience might arise unto them by these courses, the *Lacedæmonians* easily discerned; & therfore sent Embassadors to stop the matter at *Corinth*, where they well perceived that the mischief had bin hatched. These Embassadors found in the *Corinthians* a very rough disposition, with a gravity expressing the opinion which they had conceived of their present advantage over *Sparta*. They had caused all Cities which had not entred yet into alliance with *Argos*, to send their Agents to them, in whose presence they gave audience to the *Lacedæmonians*; the purport of whose Embassie was this: That the *Corinthians*, without breach of their oath, could not forsake the alliance which they had long since made with *Sparta*; and that reason did as well bind them to hold themselves contented with the peace lately made, as religion enforced them to continue in their antient confederacy, forasmuch as it had bin agreed between the *Spartans* and their associats, that the consent of the greater part (which had yeelded unto peace with *Athens*) should bind the lesser number to performe what was concluded, if no divine impediment withstood them. Hereunto the *Corinthians* made answer, that the *Spartans* had first begun to doe them open wrong, in concluding the War wherein they had lost many places, without

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proviſion of reſtitution; and that the very clauſe alleged by the Embaſſadours, did acquit them from any neceſſity of ſubſcribing to the late peace, foraſmuch as they had ſworn unto thoſe people whom they perſwaded to rebell againſt *Athens*, that they would never abandon them, nor willingly ſuffer them to fall again into the tyrannous hands of the *Athenians*. Wherefore they held themſelves bound both in reaſon and religion to uſe all means of upholding thoſe, whom by common conſent they had taken into protection; for that an oath was no leſſe to be accounted a divine impediment, than were peſtilence, tempeſt, or any the like accident, hindring the performance of things undertaken. As for the alliance with *Argos*, they ſaid that they would do as they ſhould find cauſe. Having diſmiſſed the Embaſſadors with this anſwer, they made haſte to joyn themſelves with *Argos*, and cauſed other States to do the like; ſo that *Sparta* and *Athens* were in a maner left to themſelves, the *Thebans* and *Megarians* being alſo upon the point to have entred into this new confederacy. But as the affections were divers which cauſed this haſty confluence of ſudden friends to *Argos*, it ſo likewiſe came to paſſe that the friendſhip it ſelf, ſuch as it was, had much diverſity both of ſincerity and of continuance. For ſome there were that hated or feared the *Lacedæmonians*, as the *Mantinæans* and *Eleans*; theſe did firmly betake themſelves to the *Argives*, in whom they knew the ſame affection to be inveterate: others did only hate the peace concluded; and theſe would rather have followed the *Spartans* than the *Argives* in war, yet rather the *Argives* in war than the *Lacedæmonians* in peace. Of this number were the *Corinthians*, who knowing that the *Thebans* were affected like unto themſelves, dealt with them to enter into the ſociety of the *Argives*, as they had done: but the different formes of government, uſed in *Thebes* and *Argos*, cauſed the *Thebans* to hold rather with *Sparta*, that was ruled by the principall men, than to incur the danger of innovation, by joyning with ſuch as committed the whole rule to the multitude.

This buſineſſe having ill ſucceeded, the *Corinthians* began to bethink themſelves of their own danger, who had not ſo much as any truce with *Athens*, and yet were unprepared for War. They ſought therefore to come to ſome temporary agreement with the *Athenians*, and hardly obtained it. For the *Athenians*, who had dealt with all *Greece* at one time, did not greatly care to come to any appointment with one Citie that had ſhewed againſt them more ſtomack than force; but gave them to underſtand, that they might be ſafe enough from them, if they would claim the benefit of that alliance, which *Athens* had lately made with *Sparta* and her dependants; yet finally they granted unto theſe *Corinthians* (which were loth to acknowlede themſelves dependants of *Sparta*) the truce that they deſired; but into private confederacie they would not admit them, being an article of the league between them and the *Spartans*, That the one ſhould not make peace nor war without the other.

Herein, as in many other paſſages, may clearly be ſeen the great advantage which abſolute Lords have, as well in Peace as in War, over ſuch as are ſerved by voluntaries. Wee ſhall hardly find any Signiorie, that hath been ſo conſtantly followed as *Sparta* was by ſo many States, and ſome of them little inferiour to it ſelf, being all as free: whereas contrariwiſe, the *Athenians* had lately, and by compulſive means gotten their Dominion, wherein they demeaned themſelves as Tyrants. But in performance of conditions agreed upon, the *Athenians* were able to make their words good, by excluding any State out of their Confederacie, and giving up ſuch places as were agreed upon: of which the *Lacedæmonians* could do neither the one nor the other. For ſuch Towns as their old Allies had gotten by their means in the late War, could not be reſtored without their conſent, which had them in preſent poſſeſſion; and particularly the Town of *Panacte*, which the *Thebans* held, could by no means be obtained from them by the *Lacedæmonians* (who earneſtly deſired it, that by reſtitution thereof unto the *Athenians*, as earneſtly demanding it, themſelves might recover *Pylus*) unleſſe that they would agree to make a private alliance with *Thebes*; which thereupon they were conſtrained to doe, though knowing it to be contrary to the laſt agreement between them and *Athens*.

The *Lacedæmonians* having broken one article of the league made between them and the *Athenians*, that by ſo doing they might enable themſelves to the performance of another, were ſhamefully diſappointed of their hopes by the *Thebans*, who did not give up the town of *Panacte*, till firſt they had utterly demoliſhed it, and made it of no worth to

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the *Athenians*. This was sought to have been excused by the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadors, who comming to *Athens* (whither they had sent home all prisoners that had been detained at *Thebes*) hoping with gentle words to salve the matter; saying, That from henceforth no enemie of *Athens* should nestle in *Panactæ*, for it was destroyed. But these Embassadors had not to deal with tame fools. For the *Athenians* told them in plain termes, That of three principall conditions agreed upon in their late League, they had not performed any one, but used such base conclusions as stood not with their honour: having made private alliance with the *Thebans*; having destroyed a Town that they should have restored; and not having forced their dependants by Warre, to make good the Covenants of the late concluded peace. Hereupon they dismissed the Embassadors with rough words, meaning with as rough deeds to anger those that sent them.

There were at that time both in *Athens* and *Sparta*, many that were ill-contented with the peace: among whom were the *Ephori*, chosen for that year, in *Sparta*, and *Alcibiades*, a powerfull young Gentleman in *Athens*. But the *Ephori*, though desiring to renew the War, yet wished that first they might get from the *Athenians* as much as was to be rendred to them by Covenant, especially *Pylus* that had so sorely troubled them. *Alcibiades*, whose Nobility, riches and favour with the people, made him desire War, as the mean whereby himself might procure some honourable employment; used all means to set the quarrel on foot, whilest the *Athenians* had yet both advantage enough, as not having rendred ought save their prisoners, and pretence enough to use that advantage of breaking the peace, by reason that the *Lacedæmonians* (though indeed against their wills) had broken all Covenants with them. Now the State of *Athens* had fully determined to retain *Pylus*, and to perform nothing that the *Lacedæmonians* should, and might require, untill they had first, without any longer halting, fulfilled all articles whereto they were bound, even to the utmost point. This was enough to make them sweat, who having already done the most that they could, had as yet got nothing in recompence, except the delivery of their Citizens, which were prisoners. But *Alcibiades* wishing a speedy beginning of open war, sent privily to the *Argives*, and gave them to understand how fitly the time served for them to associate themselves with *Athens*, which was enough to give them security against all enemies.

The *Argives*, upon the first confluence of many Estates unto their society, had embraced great hopes of working wonders, as if they should have had the conduct of all *Greece* against the *Athenians*, robbing *Sparta* of that honour, as having ill used it, and thereby leaving their old enemies in case of much contempt and disabilitie. But these sudden apprehensions of vain joy, were suddenly changed into as vain fear; which ill agreed with the great opinion that had lately bin conceived of *Argos*. For when the *Thebans* had refused their alliance; when the *Corinthians* had sought security from *Athens*; and when a false rumour was noysed abroad, *Athens*, *Thebes* and *Sparta*, were come to a full agreement upon all points of difference; then began the *Argives* to let fall their crests, and sue for peace unto the *Lacedæmonians*, who needing it as much as they, or more, yet held their gravity, and were not over-hasty to accept it. At this time, and in this perturbation, the message of *Alcibiades* came very welcome to the *Argives*, which were not now consulting how to become the chief of all others, but how to save themselves. Wherefore they sent away presently to *Athens*, their own Embassadors, accompanied with the *Mantinæans* and *Eleans*, to make a league offensive and defensive between their Estates and the *Athenians*.

Of this businesse the *Lacedemonians* knew not what to think: for well they saw, that such a combination tended to their great hurt, and therefore were desirous to prevent it; but to keep the love of the *Athenians*, the new *Ephori* thought that more was already done, than stood with their honour or profit; others held it the wisest way, having done so much, not to stick upon a little more, but rather by giving full satisfaction, to retain the friendship of that State, which was more to be valued than all the rest of *Greece*. This resolution prevailing, they sent away such of their Citizens as were best affected to the peace, who comming to *Athens*, with full commission to make an end of all controversies, did earnestly labour in the Councell-house, to make the truth of things appear, saying; That their Confederacy with the *Thebans* had tended to none other end than the recovery of *Panactæ*: concerning which Town, or any other businesse, that it much grieved

ved the *Lacedæmonians*, to see things fall out in such wise as might give to the *Athenians* cause of displeasure; but that all should be done which in reason might be required for making matters even between them; to which purpose they shewed that themselves had absolute commission. Wherefore they desired that *Pylus* might be restored to them, and especially for the present, that the negotiation with the *Argives* might be called aside. Favourable audience was given to this proposition, the rather, because they which promised amends, had power to make their words good. But all this fair likelihood of good agreement was dasht on the sudden, by the practice of *Alcibiades*, who, secretly dealing with the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadors, perswaded them well of his friendship towards their Citie, and advised them to take all care that their absolute power to conclude what they pleased in the name of *Sparta*, might not be known to the Commonaltie of *Athens*, lest the insolent multitude should thereupon grow peremptorie and yeeld to nothing, unlesse they could draw them to unreasonable conditions. The Embassadors beleeved him, and fashioned their tale in the assemblie of the people, as he had advised them. Hereupon the same *Alcibiades* taking presently the advantage, which their double dealing afforded, inveighed openly against them, as men of no sinceritie, that were come to *Athens* for no other purpose, than to hinder the people from strengthning themselves with friends, meaning to draw the *Argives* and their Adherents to their own alliance, as (contrary to their own Oath) already they had the *Thebans*. The people of *Athens*, whom a pleasing errand would very hardly have satisfied, or brought into a good opinion of the *Lacedæmonians*, (whose honest meanings had so ill been seconded, with good performance) were now so much incensed with the double dealing of the Embassadours, and the strong perswasions of *Alcibiades*, that little wanted of concluding the league with *Argos*. Yet for the present so farre did *Nicias*, an honourable Citizen, and great friend to the peace, prevail with them, that the businesse was put off, untill he himself, with other Embassadours, might fetch a better answer from *Sparta*.

It may also seem a great wonder, how so poor a trick of *Alcibiades* was able to carry a matter of so great importance, when the *Spartan* Embassadours might have cast the load upon his own shoulders, by discovering the truth: But the gravitie which was usually found in the *Lacedæmonians*, hindred them (perhaps) from playing their game handsomely against so nimble a wit; and they might vvell have been thought untrusty men, had they professed themselves such as vvould say and un-say for their most advantage.

Nicias and his Companions had a sovvre message to deliver at *Sparta*, being peremptorily to require performance of all conditions, and among the rest, that the *Lacedæmonians* should take the pains to re-build *Panactæ*, and should immediately renounce their Alliance made with the *Thebans*; letting them understand, that otherwise the *Athenians*, without further delay, would enter into confederacie with the *Argives*, and their adherents. The *Ephori* at *Sparta* had no mind to forsake the *Thebans*, assured friends to their State; but wrought so hard, that the anger of the *Athenians* was suffered to break out what way it could, which to mitigate, they would doe no more, than only (at the request of *Nicias* their honourable friend, who would not seem to have effected nothing) swear a-new to keep the Articles of the league between him and *Athens*. Immediately therefore upon return of the Embassadours, a new league was made between the *Athenians*, *Argives*, *Mantineans*, and *Eleans*, with very ample provision for holding the same common friends and enemies; wherein, though the *Lacedæmonians* were passed over with silence, yet was it manifest that the whole intent of this confederacie did bend it self chiefly against them, as in short while after was proved by effect.

At this time the *Lacedæmonians* were in ill case, who having restored all that they could unto the *Athenians*, and procured others to doe the like, had themselves recovered nothing of their own (prisoners excepted) for default of restoring all that they should. But that which did most of all disable them, was the losse of reputation, which they had not more impaired in the late Warre by misfortunes, than in sundry passages between them and the *Athenians*: to procure and keep whose Amitie, they had left sundry of their own friends to shift for themselves. Contrariwise, the *Athenians* by the treatie of peace, had recovered the most part of that which they lost in warre;

all their gettings they had retained; and were strengthened by the accesse of new Confederates.

§. VII.

How the peace between Athens *and* Sparta *was ill kept, though not openly broken.*

IT was not long ere the *Argives* and their fellowes had found businesse wherewith to set the *Athenians* on work, and make use of this conjunction. For, presuming upon the strength of their side, they began to meddle with the *Epidaurians*, whom it concerned the State of *Sparta* to defend. So, many acts of hostilitie were committed, wherein *Athens* and *Sparta* did (as principals) infest each the other, but came in collaterally, as to the aid of their severall friends.

By these occasions the *Corinthians*, *Bœotians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, and other people of *Greece*, began a-new to range themselves under the *Lacedæmonians*, and follow their ensignes. One victorie which the *Lacedæmonians* obtained by their meer valour in a set battell, neer to *Mantinæa*, against the *Argive*-side, helped well to repair their decayed reputation, though otherwise it yeelded them no great profit. The civill dissention arising shortly after within *Argos* it self, between the principall Citizens and the Commons, had almost thrown down the whole frame of the new combination. For the chief Citizens getting the upper hand, made a league with *Sparta*, wherein they proceeded so farre as to renounce the amitie of the *Athenians* in expresse words, and forced the *Mantinæans* to the like. But in short space of time the multitude prevailing, reversed all this, and having chased away their ambitious Nobilitie applied themselves to the *Athenians* as closely as before.

Besides these uprores in *Peloponnesus*, many assaies were made to raise up troubles in all parts of *Greece*, and likewise in *Macedon*, to the *Athenians*; whose forces and readinesse for execution, prevented some things, revenged other, and requited all with some prosperous attempts. Finally, the *Athenians* wanting matter of quarrell, and the *Lacedæmonians* growing wearie, they began to be quiet; retaining still that enmitie in their hearts, which they had sufficiently discovered in effects, though not yet breaking out into terms of open Warre.

§. VIII.

The Athenians *sending two Fleets to sack* Siracuse, *are put to flight, and utterly discomfited.*

DUring this intermission of open War, the *Athenians* re-entertained their hopes of subduing *Sicil*, whither they sent a Fleet so mightie, as never was set forth by *Greece* in any Age before or after.

This Fleet was very well manned, and furnished with all necessaries to so great an expedition, All which came to nought; partly by the factions in *Athens*, whence *Alcibiades*, Author of that voyage, and one of the Generalls of their Fleet, was driven to banish himself, for fear of such judgement, as else he was like to have undergone among the incensed people; partly by the invasion which the *Lacedemonians* made upon *Attica*, whilest the forces of that State were so far from home. Hereunto was added the aid of the King of *Persia*, who supplied the *Peloponesians* with mony.

Neither was the successe of things in *Sicilia* such, as without help from *Athens*, could give any likelihood of a good end in that war. For although in the beginning, the enterprise had so well succeeded, that they besieged *Siracuse*, the chief Citie of all the Iland, and one of the faireſt Towns which the *Greeks* inhabited, obtaining the better in sundrie battels by Land and Sea; yet when the Town was relieved with strong aid from *Peloponnesus*, it came to pass that the *Athenians* were put to the worse on all sides, in such wise that their Fleet was shut up into the haven of *Siracuse*, and could not issue out.

As the *Athenian* affairs went very ill in *Sicil*, so did they at home stand upon her terms, for that the *Lacedæmonians*, who had been formerly accustomed to make wearisome yearly journeys into *Attica*, which having pilled and forraged, they returned home; did

now

now by counsell of *Alcibiades* (who seeking revenge upon his own Citizens, was fled unto them) fortifie the Town of *Decelea*, which was near to *Athens*, whence they ceased not with daily excursions to harry all the Country round about, and sometimes give alarme unto the City it self. In these extremities, the perverse obstinacy of the *Athenians* was very strange; who leaving at their backs, and at their own dores, an enemy little lesse mighty than themselves, did yet send forth another fleet into *Sicil*, to invade a people no lesse puissant, which had never offended them.

It often happens, that a prosperous event makes foolish counsell seem wiser than it was; which came to passe many times among the *Athenians*, whose vain conceits *Pallas* was said to turn unto the best. But where unsound advice, finding bad proof, is obstinately pursued, neither *Pallas* nor *Fortune* can be justly blamed for a miserable issue. This second Fleet of the *Athenians*, which better might have served to convey home the former that was defeated, after some attempts made to small purpose against the *Siracusans*, was finally (together with the other part of the Navie, which was there before) quite vanquished, and bard up into the haven of *Siracuse*, whereby the camp of the *Athenians*, utterly deprived of all benefit by Sea, either for succour or departure, was driven to break up, and flye away by land; in which flight they were over-taken, routed, and quite overthrown, in such wise that scarce any man escaped.

This mischief well deserved fell upon the *Athenians*, who had wickedly condemned into exile *Sophocles* and *Pthiodorus* Generals, formerly sent into that Ile, pretending that they had taken mony for making peace in *Sicil*, wheras indeed there was not any means or possibility to have made War. Hereby it came to passe, that *Nicias*, who had the chief command in this unhappy enterprise, did rather choose to hazzard the ruin of his Country by the losse of that Army, wherein consisted little lesse than all the power of *Athens*; than to adventure his own estate, his life, and his honour, upon the tongues of shameless accusers, and the sentence of Judges before his tryall resolved to condemn him, by retiring from *Siracuse*, when wisdome and necessity required it. *For* (said he) *they shall give sentence upon us, who know not the reason of our doings, nor would give ear to any that would speak in our behalf, but altogether hearken to suspicious and vain rumors that shall be brought against us; yea these our Souldiers who now are so desirous to return in safety, will in our danger be well contented to frame their tales to the pleasure of the lewd and insolent multitude.*

This resolution of *Nicias*, though it cannot be commended (for it is the part of an honest and valiant man to doe what reason willeth, not what opinion expecteth; and to measure honour or dishonour by the assurance of his well-informed conscience, rather than by the malicious report and censure of others) yet it may be excused; since he had before his eys the injustice of his people, and had well understood that a wicked sentence is infinitely worse than a wicked fact, as being held a president and pattern whereby oppression beginning upon one, is extended as warrantable upon all. Therefore his fear of wrongfull condemnation was such, as a constant man could not easily have over-mastered; but when afterwards the Army, having no other expectation of safety than the faint hope of a secret flight, he was so terrified whith an Eclipse of the Moon, happening when they were about to dislodge, that he would not consent to have the camp break up till seven and twenty daies were past. His timorousnesse was even as foolish and ridiculous, as the issue of it was lamentable. For he should not have thought that the power of the Heavens, and the course of Nature would be as unjust as his *Athenians*, or might pretend lesse evill to the slothfull, than to such as did their best. Neither doe I think that any Astrologer can allege this Eclipse, as either a cause or prognostication of that Armies destruction, otherwise than as the folly of men did, by application, turn it to their own confusion. Had *C. Cassius* the Roman, he who slew *Julius Cæsar*, imitated this superstition of *Nicias*, he had surely found the same fortune in a case very like. But when, he retyring, the broken remainder of *Crassus* his Army defeated by the *Parthian* Archers, was advised, upon such an accident as this, to continue where he then was, till the Sun were past the sign of *Scorpio*; he made answer, that he stood not in such fear of *Scorpio*, as of *Sagittarius*. So adventuring rather to abide the frowning of the Heavens, than the nearer danger of Enemies upon earth, he made such a safe and honourable retrait, as did both shew his noble resolution, and give a fair example to that good rule,

——*Sapiens dominabitur astris.*

Thus we see that God, who ordinarily works by a concatenation of means, deprives the Governours of understanding, when he intends evill to the multitude; and that the wickednesse of unjust men is the ready mean to weaken the vertue of those who might have done them good.

§. IX.

Of the troubles whereinto the State of Athens *fell, after the great losse of the Fleet, and Armie in* Sicilia.

THe losse of this Armie was the ruin of the *Athenian* Dominion, and may be well accounted a very little lesse calamitie to that Estate, than was the subversion of the walls, when the Citie about seaven years after was taken by *Lysander*. For now began the subjects of the *Athenian* Estate to rebell, of whom, some they reduced under their obedience, others held out; some for fear of greater inconvenience were set at libertie, promising only to be their good friends, as formerly they had been their Subjects; others having a kind of libertie offered by the *Athenians*, were not therewith contented, but obtained a true and perfect libertie by force. Among these troubles it fell out very unseasonably, that the principall men of *Athens*, being wearied with the peoples insolencie, took upon them to change the forme of that Estate, and bring the government into the hands of a few. To which purpose conspiring with the Captains which were abroad, they caused them to set up the forme of an Aristocratie in the Towns of their Confederates; and in the mean time, some that were most likely to withstand this innovation, being slain at *Athens*, the Commonaltie were so dismaid, that none durst speak against the Conspirators, whose number they knew not, but every man was affraid of his neighbour, lest he should be a member of the league. In this generall fear the Majestie of *Athens* was usurped by four hundred men, who observing in shew the ancient form of proceeding, did cause all matters to be propounded unto the people, and concluded upon by the greater part of voices: but the things propounded were only such as were first allowed in private among themselves; neither had the Commonaltie any other libertie, than only to approve and give consent: for whosoever presumed any further was quickly dispatched out of the way, and no inquirie made of the murther. By these means were many Decrees made, all tending to the establishment of this new authoritie, which nevertheless endured not long. For the Fleet and Armie which then was in the Isle of *Samos* did altogether detest these dealings of the four hundred usurpers, and held them as Enemies; whereupon they revoked *Alcibiades* out of banishment, and by his assistance procured that the supplies which the *Persian* King had promised to the *Lacedæmonians*, were by *Tissaphernes* his Lieutenant, made unprofitable, through the slow and bad performance. *Alcibiades* had at the first been very well entertained in *Sparta*, whilest his service done unto that State was not grown to be the object of envie. But when it appeared that in Counsell and good performance he so far excelled all the *Lacedæmonians*, that all their good successe was ascribed to his wit and valour, then were all the principall Citizens wearie of his vertue; especially *Agis* one of their Kings, whose wife had so far yeelded her self to the love of this *Athenian*, that among her inward friends she could not forbear to call her young child by his name. Hereupon order was taken, that *Alcibiades* should be killed out of the way. But he discovering the *Spartan* treacherie, conveyed himself unto *Tissaphernes*, whom he so bewitched with his great beautie, sweet conversation, and sound wit, that he soon became the Master of that barbarous Vice-roys affections, who had free power to dispose the great Kings Treasures and Forces in those parts. Then began he to advise *Tissaphernes*, not so far forth to assist the *Lacedæmonians*, that they should quite overthrow the State of *Athens*, but rather to help the weaker side, and let them one consume another, whereby all should fall at length into the hands of the *Persian*. By this counsell he made way to other practices, wherein by strength of his reputation (as the only Favourite of so great a Potentate) he played his own game, procuring his restitution. At length his banishment being repealed by the Armie, but not by the Citizens (who then were oppressed by the four hundred) he laboured greatly to recon-

reconcile the Souldiers to the Governours; or at leaſt to divert their heat another way, and turn it upon the common Enemie. Some of the four hundred approved his motion, as being wearie of the tyrannie whereof they were partakers, partly becauſe they ſaw it could not long endure, and partly for that themſelves, being leſſe regarded by the reſt of their companions, than ſtood with their good liking, ſought to acquit themſelves of it as honeſtly as they might. But the moſt of that Faction laboured to obtain peace of the *Lacedæmonians*, deſiring chiefly to maintain both their own authoritie, and the greatneſs of their City, if they might: but if this could not be, they did rather wiſh to preſerve their own power, or ſafetie at leaſt, than the good Eſtate of the Common-wealth. Therefore they made ſundry overtures of peace to the *Lacedæmonians*, deſiring to compound in as good termes as they might, and affirming that they were fitter to be truſted than the wavering multitude; eſpecially conſidering that the City of *Sparta* was governed by an Ariſtocracie, to which form they had now reduced *Athens*. All theſe paſſages between the four hundred (or the moſt and chiefe of them) and the *Lacedæmonians*, were kept as ſecret as might be. For the City of *Athens*, hoping, without any great cauſe, to repair their loſſes, was not inclined to make compoſition, from which upon juſter ground the Enemy was much more averſe, truſting well that the diſcord of the *Athenians* (not unknown abroad) might yeeld ſome fair opportunitie to the deſtruction of it ſelf, which in effect (though not then preſently) came to paſſe. And upon this hope King *Agis* did ſometimes bring his forces from *Decelea* to *Athens*, where doing no good, he received ſome ſmall loſſes. Likewiſe the Navie of *Peloponneſus* made ſhew of attempting the City, but ſeeing no likelihood of ſucceſs, they bent their courſe from thence to other places, where they obtained victories, which in the better fortune of the *Athenians* might more lightly have bin regarded, than in this their decayed eſtate. Yet it ſeems, without any diſparagement to their wiſedome, they ſhould rather have forborn to preſent unto the Citie, or to the countries neer adjoyning, any terror of the war. For the diſſention within the wals might ſoon have done more good than could be received from the fleet or army without, which indeed gave occaſion to ſet the Citizens at unity, though it laſted not very long. The four hundred, by means of theſe troubles, were fain to reſign their authority, which they could not now hold, when the people, having taken arms to repell forreign Enemies, would not lay them down, til they had freed themſelves from ſuch as oppreſſed the State at home. Yet was not this alteration of government a full reſtitution of the ſoveraign command unto the people, or whole body of the City, but only to five thouſand; which company the four hundred (when their authoritie began) had pretended to take unto them as aſſiſtants: herein ſeeming to do little wrong or none to the commonalty, who ſeldom aſſembled in greater number. But now when the higheſt power was come indeed into the hands of ſo many, it was ſoon agreed, that *Alcibiades* and his companions ſhould be recalled from exile, and that the army at *Samos* ſhould be requeſted to undertake the govetnment: which was forthwith reformed according to the Souldiers deſire.

§. X.

How Alcibiades *won many important victories for the* Athenians; *was recalled from exile; made their Generall, and again depoſed.*

THis eſtabliſhment of things in the Citie, was accompanied with ſome good ſucceſſe in the wars. For the *Lacedæmonians* were about the ſame time overthrown at Sea, in a great battell, by the *Athenian* Fleet, which had remained at *Samos*, to which *Alcibiades* afterwards joyning ſuch forces as he could raiſe, obtained many victories. Before the Town of *Abydus*, his arrivall with eighteen ſhips, gave the honour of a great battell to the *Athenians*; he overthrew and utterly deſtroyed the fleet of the *Lacedæmonians*, commanded by *Mindarus*; took the Towns of *Cyzicus* and *Perinthus*, made the *Selymbrians* ranſome their Citie, and fortified *Chryſopolis*. Hereupon letters were ſent to *Sparta*, which the *Athenians* intercepting, found to contain the diſtreſſe of the Armie, in theſe few words: *All is loſt*; Mindarus *is ſlain*; *the Souldiers want victuals*; *we know not what to doe*.

Shortly after this, *Alcibiades* overthrew the *Lacedæmonians* in fight by land at *Chalcedon*, took *Selymbria*, beſieged and won *Byzantium*, now called *Conſtantinople*, which even

in those dayes was a goodly, rich, and very strong City. Hereupon he returned home with very great welcome, and was made high Admirall of all the Navie.

But this his honour continued not long, for it was taken from him, and he driven to banish himself again, only because his Lieutenant, contrary to the expresse command of *Alcibiades*, fighting with the enemies in his absence, had lost a great part of the Fleet.

The second banishment of *Alcibiades* was to the *Athenians* more harmful than the first; and the losse which thereupon they received, was (though more heavy to them, yet) lesse to be pitied of others, than that which ensued upon his former exile. For whereas at the first, he had sought revenge upon his own Citie; now, as inured to adversitie, he rather pitied their furie, who in time of such danger had cast out him that should have repaired their weak estate, than sought by procuring or beholding the calamitie of his people, to comfort himself after injurie received. Before they, who were instituted in the place of *Alcibiades*, arrived at the Fleet, he presented battel to *Lysander* the *Lacedamonian* Admirall, who was not so confident upon his former victorie, as to undertake *Alcibiades* himself, bringing ships more in number (notwithstanding the former losse of fifteen) than his enemies had, and better ordered than they had been under his Lieutenant. But when the decree of the people was published in the Navie, then did *Alcibiades* with-draw himself to a Town upon *Hellespont*, called *Bizanthe*, where he had built a Castle.

§. XI.

The battell at Arginusæ, *and condemnation of the victorious* Athenian *Captains by the people.*

After this time, the *Athenians* receiving many losses and discomfitures, were driven to flye into the Haven of *Mytelene*, where they were straitly besieged both by Land and Sea. For the raising of this siege necessitie inforced them to man all their vessels, and to put the uttermost of their forces into the hazzard of one battel. This battell was fought at *Arginusa*, where *Callicraditas*, Admirall of the *Lacedamonians*, losing the honour of the day, preserved his own reputation by dying valiantly in the fight. It might well have bin expected, that the ten Captains, who joyntly had command in chief over the *Athenian* fleet, should for that good daies service, and so happy a victory, have received great honour of their Citizens. But contrariwise, they were forthwith called home, and accused, as if wilfully they had suffered many of the Citizens, whose ships were broken and sunk, to be cast away, when by appointing some Vessels to take them up, they might have saved them from being drowned. Hereto the Captains readily made a very just answer, That they pursuing the victorie, had left part of the fleet, under sufficient men, to save those that were wrackt; which if it were not well accomplished, it was, because a tempest arising about the end of the fight, had hindred the performance of that, and other their intendments. This excuse availed not: For a lewd fellow was brought forth, who said, That he himself escaping in a meal-tub, had bin intreated by those who were in perill of drowning, to desire of the people revenge of their deaths upon the Captains. It was very strange, that upon such an accusation maintained with so slender evidence, men that had well deserved of their Countrie should be overthrown. But their enemies had so incensed the rascall multitude, that no man durst absolve them, save onely *Socrates* the wise and vertuous Philosopher, whose voice in this judgement was not regarded. Six of them were put to death, of whom one had hardly escaped drowning, and was with much a-doe relieved by other vessels in the storm: but the Captains which were absent escaped; for when the furie of the people was overpast, this judgement was reversed, and the accusers called into question for having deceived and perverted the Citizens. Thus the *Athenians* went about to free themselves from the infamie of injustice, but the divine Justice was not a-sleep, nor would be so deluded.

§. XII.

§. XII.

The battell at Ægos-Potamos, *wherein the whole State of* Athens *was ruined; with the end of the* Peloponneſian *war,*

THe *Peloponneſian* fleet under *Lyſander*, the year next following, having ſcowred the *Ægean* Seas, entred *Helleſpont*, where (landing ſouldiers) it beſieged and took the town of *Lampſacus*. Hereupon all the navie of *Athens*, being an hundred and fourſcore ſail, made thither in haſte, but finding *Lampſacus* taken before their comming, they put in at *Seſtos*, where having refreſhed themſelves, they ſailed to the river called *Ægos-Potamos*, which is (as we might name it) *Goats-Brook*, or the river of the *Goat* being on the continent oppoſite to *Lampſacus*: and there they caſt Anchors, not one whole league off from *Lyſander*, who rode at *Lampſacus* in the harbor. The next day after their arrival they preſented fight unto the *Peloponneſians*, who refuſed it, whereupon the *Athenians* returned again to *Ægos-Potamos*; and thus they continued five daies, braving every day the Enemy, and returning to their own harbor when it drew towards evening.

The Caſtle of *Alcibiades* was not far from the Navie, and his power in thoſe places was ſuch as might have greatly availed his countrimen, if they could have made uſe of it. For he had waged mercenaries, and making war in his own name upon ſome people of the *Thracians*, had gathered much wealth, and obtained much reputation among them. Hee perceiving the diſorderly courſe of the *Athenian* Commanders, repaired unto them, and ſhewed what great inconvenience might grow, if they did not ſoon fore-ſee and prevent it. For they lay in a rode ſubject to every weather, neither neer enough to any town where they might furniſh themſelves with neceſſaries, nor ſo far off as had bin more expedient. *Seſtos* was the next Market-town; thither both Souldiers and Mariners reſorted, flocking away from the Navie every day, as ſoon as they were returned from braving the Enemie. Therefore *Alcibiades* willed them either to lie at *Seſtos*, which was not far off, or at leaſt to conſider how neer their Enemie was, whoſe fear proceeded rather from obedience to their Generall, than from any cowardiſe. This admonition was ſo far deſpiſed, that ſome of the Commanders willed him to meddle with his own matters, and to remember that his authoritie was out of date. Had it not bin for theſe opprobrious words, he could (as he told his familiars) have compelled the *Lacedæmonians*, either to fight upon unequal terms, or utterly to quit their fleet. And like enough it was that he might ſo have done by tranſporting the light-armed *Thracians*, his confederates, and others his Followers, over the Streights, who aſſaulting the *Peloponneſians* by Land, would either have compelled them to put to Sea, or elſe to leave their ſhips to the mercy of the *Athenians*. But finding their acceptance of his good counſell no better than hath bin rehearſed, he left them to their fortune, which how evill it would be he did prognoſticate.

Lyſander all this while defending himſelf by the advantage of his Haven, was not careleſſe in looking into the demeanour of the *Athenians*. When they departed, his maner was to ſend forth ſome of his ſwifteſt Veſſels after them, who obſerving their doings, related unto him what they had ſeen. Therefore underſtanding in what careleſſe faſhion they romed up and down the country; he kept all his men a-boord after their departure, and the fift day gave eſpeciall charge to his Scouts, that when they perceived the *Athenians* diſ-imbarking, as their cuſtome was, and walking towards *Seſtos*, they ſhould forthwith return, and hang up a brazen ſhield in the Prow, as a token for him to weigh Anchor.

The Scouts performed their charge, and *Lyſander* being in a readineſſe, made all ſpeed that ſtrength of Oars could give, to *Ægos-Potamos*, where he found very few of his enemies aboord their ſhips, nor many neer them, and all in great confuſion upon the newes of his approach.

Inſomuch that the greateſt induſtrie which the *Athenians* then ſhewed, was in the eſcape of eight or nine ſhips, which knowing how much that loſſe imported, gave over *Athens* as deſperate, and made a long flight into the Iſle of *Cyprus*; all the reſt were taken, and ſuch of the Souldiers as came in to the reſcue cut in pieces. Thus was the war which had laſted ſeven and twenty years, with variable ſucceſſe, concluded in one hour, and the glory of *Athens* in ſuch wiſe eclipſed, that ſhe never afterward ſhone in her perfect light.

Immediately upon this victory, *Lyſander*, having taken ſuch Towns as readily did yeeld

yeeld upon the first fame of his exploit, set sail for *Athens*, and joyning his forces with those of *Agis* and *Pausanias*, Kings of *Sparta*, summoned the City; which finding too stubborn to yeeld, and too strong to be won on the sudden, he put forth again to Sea; and rather by terrour than violence, compelling all the Ilands, and such Towns of the *Ionians* as had formerly held of the *Athenians*, to submit themselves to *Sparta*, he did thereby cut off all provision of victuals, and other necessaries, from the City, & inforced the people by meer famine to yeeld to these conditions: That the long walls, leading from the Town to the Port, should be thrown down; That all Cities subject to their Estate, should be set at libertie; That the *Athenians* should be Masters only of their own Territories, and the fields adjoyning to their Town; And that they should keep no more than twelve Ships; That they should hold as Friends or Enemies, the same, whom the *Lacedæmonians* did, and follow the *Lacedæmonians* as Leaders in the wars.

These Articles being agreed upon, the walls were thrown down with great rejoycing of those who had born displeasure to *Athens*; and not without some consultation of destroying the City, and laying waste the Land about it. Which advice, although it was not entertained, yet were thirty Governours, or rather cruell Tyrants, appointed over the people, who recompenced their former insolencie and injustice over their Captains by oppressing them with all base and intolerable slaverie.

The only small hope then remaining to the *Athenians*, was, that *Alcibiades* might perhaps repair what their own folly had ruined. But the thirtie Tyrants perceiving this, advertised the *Lacedæmonians* thereof, who contrived, and (as now domineering in every quarter) soon effected his sudden death.

Such end had the *Peloponnesian* war. After which the *Lacedæmonians* abusing the reputation, and great power, which therein they had obtained, grew very odious to *Greece*, and by combination of many Cities against them, were dispossessed of their high authoritie, even in that very age in which they had subdued *Athens*. The greatest foil that they took was of the *Thebans* led by *Epaminondas*, under whom *Philip* of *Macedon*, father to *Alexander* the Great, had the best of his education. By these *Thebans*, the Citie of *Sparta* (besides other great losses received) was sundrie times in danger of being taken. But these haughtie attempts of the *Thebans* came finally to nothing; for the severall Estates and Signories of *Greece*, were grown so jealous one of anothers greatnesse, that the *Lacedæmonians*, *Athenians*, *Argives* and *Thebans*, which were the mightiest, associating themselves with the weaker partie, did so counterpoize the stronger, that no one City could extend the limits of her jurisdiction so far as might make her terrible to her neighbours. And thus all parts of the Country remained rather evenly ballanced, than well agreeing, till such time as *Philip*, and after him *Alexander*, Kings of *Macedon*, (whose forefathers had been dependants, and followers, yea almost meer Vassals to the Estates of *Athens* and *Sparta*) found means, by making use of their factions, to bring them all into servitude, from which they never could be free, till the *Romans* presenting them with a shew of libertie, did themselves indeed become their Masters.

CHAP. IX.

Of matters occurring with the Peloponnesian *Warre, or shortly following it.*

§. I.

How the affaires of Persia *stood in those times.*

DUring the times of this *Peloponnesian* War, and those other lesse expeditions foregoing it, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, having peaceably enjoyed a long reign over the *Persians*, left it by his death either to *Darius*, who was called *Darius Nothus*, or the Bastard, whom the *Greek* Historians (lightly passing over *Xerxes* the second, and *Sogdianus*, as usurpers, and for their short reign little to be regarded) place next unto them, or to *Xerxes* the second; who, and his brother *Sogdianus* after him (seeming to have

have bin the sons of *Hester*) held the Kingdome but one year between them, the younger succeeding his elder brother. It is not my purpose (as I have said before) to pursue the historie of the *Persians* from henceforth, by rehearsall of all the particulars, otherwise than as they shall be incident to the affairs of *Greece*. It may therefore suffice to say, That *Xerxes* the second, being a vicious Prince, did perish after a month or two, if not by surfeit, then by the trecherie of his riotous brother *Sogdianus*. Likewise of *Sogdianus* it is found, that being as ill as his brother, and more cruell, he slew unjustly *Bagorazus* a principall Eunuch, and would have done as much to his brother *Darius* the Bastard, had not he fore-seen it, and by raising a stronger army than this hated King *Sogdianus* could leavie, seized at once upon the King and Kingdome. *Darius* having slain his brother, held the Empire nineteen years. *Amyrtæus* of *Sais* an *Egyptian* rebelled against him, and having partly slain, partly chased out of the Land the *Persian* Garrisons, allied himself so firmly with the *Greeks*, that by their aid he maintained the Kingdome, and delivered it over to his posteritie, who (notwithstanding the fury of their civill Wars) maintained it against the *Persian*, all the days of this *Darius*, and of his son *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. Likewise *Amorges*, a Subject of his own, and of the Royall bloud, being Lieutenant of *Caria*, rebelled against him; confederating himself with the *Athenians*. But the great calamitie, before spoken of, which fell upon the *Athenians* in *Sicil*, having put new life into the *Spartans*, and given courage to the Ilanders and others, subject to the State of *Athens*, to shake off the yoke of their long continued bondage; It fell out well for *Darius*, that the *Lacedæmonians* being destitute of mony, wherewith to defray the charge of a great navie, without which it was impossible to advance the war against the state of *Athens*, that remained powerfull by sea, were driven to crave his assistance, which he granted unto them, first upon what conditions best pleased himself, though afterwards the Articles of the league between him and them were set down in more precise termes; wherein it was concluded, That he and they should make war joyntly upon the *Athenians*, and upon all that should rebell from either of them, and (which was highly to the Kings honour and profit) that all the Cities of *Asia*, which had formerly bin his, or his Predecessours, should return to his obedience. By this Treatie, and the war ensuing (of which I have already spoken) he recovered all that his grandfather and father had lost in *Asia*. Likewise by assistance of the *Lacedæmonians*, he got *Amorges* alive into his hands, who was taken in the citie of *Jasus*; the *Athenians* wanting either force or courage to succour him. Nevertheless *Egypt* still held out against him; the cause wherof cannot be the imploiment of the *Persian* forces on the parts of *Greece*: for he abounded in men, of whom he had enough for all occasions, but they wanted manhood, which caused him to fight with gold; which effected for him by Souldiers of other nations, and his naturall enemies, what the valour of his own Subjects was insufficient to perform. *Darius* had in marriage *Paysatis* his own sister, who bare unto him (besides other children) *Artaxerxes* called *Mnemon*, that is to say, the Mindfull, or the Rememberer, who succeeded him in the kingdom; and *Cyrus* the younger, a Prince of singular vertue, and accounted by all that knew him, the most excellent man that ever *Persia* bred after *Cyrus* the Great. But the old King *Darius*, intending to leave unto his elder son *Artaxerxes* the inheritance of that great Empire, did cast a jealous eye upon the doings of young *Cyrus*, who being Lieutenant of the lower *Asia*, took more upon him than befitted a Subject: for which cause his father sent for him, with intent to have taken some very sharp course with him, had not his own death prevented the comming of his younger son, and placed the elder in his Throne. Of the war between these brethren, and summarily of *Artaxerxes*, we shall have occasion to speak somewhat in more convenient place.

§. II.

How the thirtie Tyrants got their Dominion in Athens.

I Hold it in this place very convenient to shew the proceedings of the *Greeks*, after the subversion of the walls of *Athens*, which gave end to that war called the *Peloponnesian* war, but could not free the unhappy Country of *Greece* from civill broils. The thirtie Governours, commonly called the thirtie Tyrants of *Athens*, were chosen at the first by the people to compile a body of their law, and make a collection of such

such ancient Statutes, as were meet to be put in practice: the condition of the Citie standing as it did in that so sudden alteration. To this charge was annexed the supreme authoritie, either as a recompence of their labours, or because the necessitie of the times did so require it, wherein the Law being uncertain, it was fit that such men should give judgment in particular causes, to whose judgment the Laws themselves, by which the Citie was to be ordered, were become subject. But these thirtie, having so great power in their hands, were more carefull to hold it, than to deserve it by faithfull execution of that which was committed to them in trust.

Therefore apprehending such troublesome fellows as were odious to the Citie, though not punishable therefore by law, they condemned them to death; which proceeding was by all men highly approved, who considered their lewd conditions, but did not withall bethink themselves, how easie a thing it would be unto these thirtie men, to take away the lives of Innocents, by calling them perturbers of the peace, or what else they listed, when condemnation without true triall and proof had been once well allowed. Having thus plausibly entred into a wicked course of government, they thought it best to fortifie themselves with a sure guard, ere they brake out into those disorders, which they must needs commit for the establishing of their authoritie. Wherefore dispatching two of their own companie to *Sparta*, they informed the *Lacedæmonians*, that it was the full intent of the thirtie, to keep the Citie free from all rebellious motions: to which purpose it behoved them to cut off such as were seditious; and therefore desired the *Lacedæmonians* to send them a Garrison, which they promised at their own cost to maintain. This motion was well approved, and a Guard sent, the Captain of which was so well entertained by the thirty, that none of their misdeeds could want his high commendations at *Sparta*. Hereupon the Tyrants began to take heart, and looking no more after base and detested persons, invaded the principall men of the Citie, sending armed men from house to house, who drew out such as were of great reputation, and likely, or able to make any head against this wicked forme of government: whereby there was such effusion of bloud, as to *Theramenes* (one of the thirtie) seemed very horrible, and unable to escape vengeance. His dislike of their proceedings being openly discovered, caused his fellows to bethink themselves, and provide for their own securitie, and his destruction, lest he should make himself a Captain of the discontented (which were almost the whole Citie) and redeem his own peace with their ruin. Wherefore they selected three thousand of the Citizens, whom they thought meetest, and gave unto them some part of publike authority, the rest they disarmed; and having thus increased their own strength, and weakned their opposites, they began a-fresh to shed the bloud, not only of their private enemies, but of such whose mony, or goods, might inrich them, and enable them for the paiment of their guard. And to this purpose they concluded, that every one of them should name one man, upon whose goods he should sieze, putting the owner to death. But when *Theramenes* uttered his detestation of so wicked intent, then did *Critias*, who of all the thirtie was most tyrannicall, accuse him to the Councell, as a treacherous man, &(wheras one main privilege of the three thousand was, that none of them should suffer death at the appointment of the thirtie, but have the accustomed trial) he took upon him to strike out of that number the name of *Theramenes*, & so reduced him under the trial & sentence of that order. It was wel alleged by *Theramenes*, that his name was not more easie to be blotted out of the catalogue, than any other mans; upon which consideration, he advised them all to conceive no otherwise of his case, than as of their own, who were liable to the same form of proceeding: but every man choosing rather to preserve his own life by silence, than presently to draw upon himself the danger, which as yet concerned him little, & perhaps would never come near him; the Tyrants interpreting silence as consent, condemned him forthwith, and compelled him to drink poyson.

§. III.

The Conspiracie against the thirty Tyrants, and their deposing.

AFter the death of *Theramenes*, the thirtie began to use such out-rage, as excelled their former villanies. For, having three thousand (as they thought) firm unto them, they robbed all others without fear or shame, despoiling them of lands and

and goods,& cauſed them to flie into baniſhment,for ſafeguard of their lives. This flight of the citizens procured their liberty,and the general good of the City. For the baniſhed citizens,who were fled to *Thebes*,entred into conſultation, and reſolved to hazzard their lives in ſetting free the City of *Athens*. The very thought of ſuch a practice had bin treaſon at home,which had no other danger abroad, than might be found in the execution. Seventie men,or thereabout,were the firſt undertakers,who with their Captain *Thraſybulus* took *Phyla*, a place of ſtrength in the Territorie of *Athens*. No ſooner did the thirtie hear of their exploit,than ſeek means to prevent further danger; aſſembling the three thouſand,and their *Lacedemonian* guard, with which force they attempted *Phyla*, but were with ſome loſſe of their men repelled. Finding the place too ſtrong to be taken by aſſault, they intended to beſiege it; which purpoſe came to nought by means of ſnow that fell, and other ſtormie weather, againſt which they had not made proviſion. Retiring therefore to the City,which above all they were to make good,they left the moſt of their guard,aud two companies of Horſe, to wearie out them which lay in *Phyla*, with a flying ſiege. But it was not long ere the followers of *Thraſybulus* were increaſed from ſeventie to ſeven hundred, which adventured to give charge upon thoſe guards, of whom they cut off above an hundred and twentie. Theſe ſmall, but proſperous beginnings,added more to the number of thoſe in *Phyla*, who now with a thouſand men got entrance into *Piræus*,the ſuburb of *Athens*, lying on the Port. Before their comming the thirtie had reſolved to fortifie the Town of *Eleuſine*, to their own uſe, whereinto they might make an eaſie retrait, and ſave themſelves from any ſudden perill. It may well ſeem ſtrange,that whereas their barbarous maner of government had brought them into ſuch danger, they were ſo far from ſeeking to obtain mens good will, that contrariwiſe,to aſſure themſelves of *Eleuſine*,they got all of the place who could bear arms into their hands by a train, and wickedly (though under form of Juſtice) murthered them all. But, *Sceleribus tutum per ſcelera eſt iter*, the miſchiefes which they had already done were ſuch, as left them no hope of going backward, nor any other apparent likelihood of ſafetie, than by extending their crueltie unto all, ſeeing few or none were left, whom they could truſt. When *Thraſybulus* and his fellowes,who as yet were termed conſpirators, had taken the *Piræus*, then were the three thouſand armed again by the Tyrants, and brought to aſſault it; but in this enterpriſe *Thraſybulus* had the better, and repelled his enemies, of whom though there were ſlain to the number of ſeventie only,yet the victorie ſeemed the greater,becauſe *Critias*,and one other of the thirtie,periſhed in that fight. The death of *Critias*, and the ſtout defence of *Piræus*, together with ſome exhortations uſed by *Thraſybulus* to the Citizens, wrought ſuch effect,that the thirty were depoſed. Nevertheleſſe there were ſo many of the three thouſand, who having communicated with the thirtie in their miſdeeds, feared to be called to a ſharp account, that no peace, nor quiet form of government could be eſtabliſhed. For Embaſſadors were ſent to *Sparta*, who craving aid againſt *Thraſybulus* and his followers, had favourable audience,and a power ſent to their aſſiſtance, both by land and ſea,uuder the conduct of *Lyſander*,and his Brother; whom *Pauſanias* the *Spartan* King did follow,raiſing an Armie of the Cities confederate with the *Lacedamonians*. And here appeared firſt the jealouſie, wherein ſome people held the State of *Sparta*. The *Bœotians* and *Corinthians*, who in the late wars had bin the moſt bitter enemies to *Athens*, refuſed to follow *Pauſanias* in this expedition; alleging that it ſtood not with their oathes, to make war againſt that people, who had not hitherto broken any one article of the league: but fearing indeed, leſt the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould annex the Territorie of *Athens* to their own Demains. It is not to be doubted, that *Pauſanias* took this anſwer in good part. For it was not his purpoſe to deſtroy thoſe againſt whom he went, but only to croſſe the proceedings of *Lyſander*, whom he envied. Therefore having in ſome ſmall skirmiſhes againſt them of *Thraſibulus* his party, made a ſhew of war, finally wrought ſuch means, that all things were compounded quietly: the thirtie men, and ſuch others, as were like to give cauſe of tumults, being ſent to *Sparta*. The remainder of that tyrannicall faction, having withdrawn themſelves to *Eleuſine*,were ſhortly after found to attempt ſome innovation; whereupon the whole City riſing againſt them,took their Captains, as they were comming to Parly, and ſlew them: which done,to avoid further inconvenience, a law was made,that all injuries paſt ſhould be forgotten,and no man called into queſtion for wrongs committed. By which order,wiſely made,and carefully obſerved, the City returned to her former quietneſſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the expedition of Cyrus *the younger.*

§. I.

The grounds of Cyrus *his attempt against his brother.*

THe matters of *Greece* standing upon such terms, that no one estate durst oppose it self against that of *Lacedamon*; young *Cyrus*, Brother to *Artaxerxes* King of *Persia*, having in his fathers life-time very carefully prosecuted the war against *Athens*, did send his messengers to *Sparta*, requesting that their love might appear no less to him, than that which he had shewed towards them in their dangerous war against the *Athenians*. To this request, being generall, the *Lacedamonians* gave a suitable answer, commanding their Admirall to perform unto *Cyrus* all service that he should require of him. If *Cyrus* had plainly discovered himself, and the *Lacedamonians* bent their whole power to his assistance, very like it is, that either the kingdome of *Persia* should have bin the recompence of his deserts; or that he perishing in battell, as after he did, the subversion of that Empire had forthwith ensued. But it pleased God, rather to shew unto the *Greeks* the waies, which under the *Macedonian* Ensigns, the victorious foot-steps of their posteritie should measure; and opening unto them the riches, and withall the weaknesse of the *Persian*, to kindle in them both desire and hope of that conquest, which he reserved to another generation; than to give into their hands that mighty kingdom, whose hour was not yet come. The love which *Paryſatis* the Queen-mother of *Persia* bare unto *Cyrus* her younger son, being seconded by the earnest favour of the people, & ready desires of many principall men, had moved this young Prince, in his fathers old age, to aspire after the succession. But being sent for by his Father (as hath before bin shewed) whose meaning was to curb this ambitious youth; he found his elder brother *Artaxerxes* established so surely by the old Kings favour, that it were not safe to attempt any means of displanting him, by whose disfavour himself might easily lose the place of a Vice-roy, which he held in *Asia* the lesse, and hardly be able to maintain his own life. The neerest neighbour to *Cyrus* of all the Kings Deputies in the lower *Asia*, was *Tissaphernes*, a man compounded of cowardise, trechery, crafte, & all vices which accustomably branch out of these. This man accompanied *Cyrus* to his Father, using by the way all fair shewes of friendship, as to a Prince, for whom it might wel be thought, that Queen *Paryſatis* had obtained the inheritance of that mighty Empire. And it was very true, that *Paryſatis* had used the best of her endeavour to that purpose, alleging that (which in former ages had bin muchavailable to *Xerxes*, in the like disceptation with his elder brother) *Artaxerxes* was born whilest his father was a private man, but *Cyrus*, when he was crowned king. All which not sufficing; when the most that could be obtained for *Cyrus*, was the pardon of some presumptuous demeanour, and confirmation of his place in *Lydia*, and the parts adjoyning: then did this *Tissaphernes* discover his nature, and accuse his friend *Cyrus* to the new King *Artaxerxes*, of a dangerous treason intended against his person. Upon this accusation, whether true or false, very easily beleeved, *Cyrus* was arrested, and by the most vehement intreatie of his Mother very hardly delivered, and sent back into his own Province.

§. II.

The preparations of Cyrus, *and his first entrie into the War.*

THe form of government which the *Persian* Lieutenants used in their severall Provinces, was in many points almost Regall. For they made war and peace, as they thought it meet, not only for the Kings behoofe, but for their own reputation; usually indeed with the Kings enemies, yet sometimes one with another: which was the more easily tolerated, because their own heads were held onely at

at the Kings pleaſure, which cauſed them to frame all their doings to his wil, whatſoever it were, or they could conjecture it to be. *Cyrus* therefore being ſetled in *Lydia*, began to conſider with himſelf, the intereſt that he had in the Kingdom; the ſmall aſſurance of his brothers love, held only by his Mothers interceſſion; the diſgrace endured by his late impriſonment; and the means which he had by love of his own people, and that good neighbourhood of the *Lacedæmonians*, whom he had bound unto him, to obtain the Crown for himſelf. Neither was it expedient that he ſhould long ſit idle, as waiting till occaſion ſhould preſent it ſelf: but rather enterpriſe ſomewhat whileſt yet his Mother lived, who could procure a good interpretation to all his actions, if they were no worſe than onely queſtionable. Hereupon he firſt began to quarrell with *Tiſſaphernes*, and ſeized upon many Towns of his juriſdiction, annexing them to his own Province, which diſpleaſed not *Artaxerxes* at all, who (beſides that he was of condition ſomewhat ſimple) being truly paid by *Cyrus* the accuſtomable Tributes out of thoſe places, was well contented to ſee his brothers hot ſpirit exerciſed in private quarrels. But *Tiſſaphernes*, whoſe baſe conditions were hated, & cowardize deſpiſed, although he durſt not adventure to take armes againſt *Cyrus*, yet perceiving that the *Mileſians* were about to give up themſelves into the hands of that young Prince, as many other towns of the *Ionians* had done, thought by terrour to preſerve his reputation, and keep the town in his own hands. Wherefore he ſlew many, and many he baniſhed, who flying to *Cyrus*, were gently entertained, as bringing fair occaſion to take armes, which was no ſmall part of his deſire. In levying Souldiers he uſed great policie; for he took not only the men of his own Province, or of the Countries adjoyning, whoſe lives were ready at his will; but ſecretly he furniſhed ſome *Grecian* Captains with money, who being very good men of war, entertained Souldiers therewith, ſome of them warring in *Thrace*, others in *Theſſalie*, others elſewhere in *Greece*; but all of them ready to croſſe the Seas, at the firſt call of *Cyrus*, till which time they had ſecret inſtructions to prolong their ſeverall wars, that the Souldiers might be held in continuall exerciſe, and ready in arms upon the ſudden. *Cyrus* having ſent a power of men to beſiege *Miletus*, forthwith ſummoned theſe bands of the *Greeks*, who very readily came over to his aſſiſtance, being thirteen thouſand very firm Souldiers, and able to make head (which is almoſt incredible) againſt the whole power of *Artaxerxes*. With this Army, and that which he had levied before, he could very eaſily have forced *Miletus*, and chaſed away *Tiſſaphernes* out of *Aſia* the leſſe: but his purpoſe was not ſo to loſe time in ſmall matters, that was to be imployed in the accompliſhment of higher deſigns. Pretending therefore that the *Piſidians*, a people of *Aſia* the leſſe, not ſubject to the *Perſian*, had invaded his Territorie, he raiſed the ſiege of *Miletus*, and with all ſpeed marched Eaſtward, leaving *Tiſſaphernes* much amazed, who had no leiſure to rejoyce that *Cyrus* had left him to himſelf, when he conſidered, that ſo great an Army, and ſo ſtrong, was never levied againſt the Rovers of *Piſidia*, but rather againſt the great King his Maſter. For which cauſe taking a band of five hundred horſe, he poſted away to carry tidings to the Court, of this great preparation.

§. III.

How Cyrus *took his journey into the higher* Aſia, *and came up cloſe to his Brother.*

THE tumult which his comming brought was very great, and great the exclamations of the Queen *Statira*, againſt *Paryſatis*, the Queen-Mother, whom ſhe called the Author and occaſioner of the war. But whileſt the King in great fear was arming the high Countries in his defence, the danger haſted upon him very faſt. For *Cyrus* made great marches, having his number much increaſed by the repair of his Countrimen, though moſt ſtrengthned by the acceſſe of ſeven hundred *Greeks*, and of other four hundred of the ſame Nation, who revolted unto him from the King. How terrible the *Greeks* were to the *Barbarians*, he found by triall in a Muſter, which (to pleaſe the Queen of *Cilicia*, who had brought him aid) he made in *Phrygia*; where the *Greeks* by his direction making offer of a charge upon the reſt of his Army, which contained a hundred thouſand men, the whole Camp (not perceiving that this was but a bravery) fled amain, the victuallers and baggagers forſaking their cabbins, & running all away for very fear. This was to *Cyrus* a joyful ſpectacle, who knew very well, that his brother was followed

by men of the same temper, and the more unlikely to make resistance, because they were prest to the war against their will and dispositions, whereas his Army was drawn along by meer affection and good will. Nevertheless he found it a very hard matter to perswade the *Greeks* to passe the River of *Euphrates*. For the very length of the way which they had troden, wearied them with the conceit of the tedious return. Therfore he was driven, being yet in *Cilicia*, to seek excuses, telling them, that *Abrocomas*, one of the Kings principall Captains, and his own great enemy, lay by the River, against whom he requested them to assist him. By such devices, and excessive promise of reward, he brought them to *Euphrates*; where some of the *Greeks* considering, That who so passed the River first, should have the most thanks, and might safely return if the rest should refuse to follow them; they entred the Foords, whereby were all finally perswaded to do as some had begun: and being allured by great hopes, they resolved to seek out *Artaxerxes*, wheresoever he was to be found. The King in the mean time having raised an army of nine hundred thousand men, was not so confident upon this huge multitude, as to adventure them in triall of a plain battail. *Abrocomas*, who with three hundred thousand men, had under-taken to make good the Streights of *Syria*, which were very narrow, and fortified with a strong wall, and other defences of nature and art, which made the place to seem impregnable, had quitted the passage, and retired himself toward the Kings forces, not daring to look *Cyrus* in the face, who despairing to find any way by Land, had procured the *Lacedæmonian* fleet, by the benefit whereof to have transported his Army. I doe not find that this cowardise of *Abrocomas*, or his Souldiers, who arrived not at the Camp, till five dayes were past after the battail, received either punishment, or disgrace; for they, toward whom he withdrew himself, were all made of the same metall.

Therefore *Artaxerxes* was upon the point of returing to the uttetmost bounds of his Kingdom, untill by *Teribazus*, one of his Captains, he was perswaded not to abandon so many goodly Provinces to the enemy, who would thereby have gathered addition of strength, and (which in the sharp disputation of Title to a Kingdom is most availeable) would have grown superior in reputation. By such advice, the King resolved upon meeting with his brother, who now began to be secure, being fully perswaded that *Artaxerxes* would never dare to abide him in the field. For the King having cast up a Trench of almost fortie miles in length, about thirty foot broad, and eighteen foot deep, intended there to have encamped: but his courage failing him, he abandoned that place, thinking nothing so safe, as to be far distant from his enemies.

§. IIII.

The battail between Cyrus *and* Artaxerxes.

THe Armie of *Cyrus* having overcome many difficulties of evill wayes, and scarcitie of victuals, was much encouraged by perceiving this great fear of *Artaxerxes*; and being past this trench, marched carelessly in great disorder, having bestowed their Arms in Carts, and upon Beasts of carriage; when on the sudden one of their Vaunt-currors, brought news of the Kings approach. Hereupon with great tumult they armed themselves, and had ranged their battails in good order upon the side of the river *Euphrates*, where they waited for the comming of their enemies, whom they saw not till it was after noon. But when they saw the cloud of dust raised by the feet of that huge multitude, which the King drew after him, and perceived by their neer approach how well they were marshalled, comming on very orderly in silence, whereas it had bin expected, that rushing violently with loud clamours, they should have spent all their force upon the first brunt; and when it appeared that the fronts of the two Armies were so unequall in distent, being all embattailed in one body and square, that *Cyrus* taking his place (as was the *Persian* manner) in the middest of his own, did not with the corner, and utmost point thereof, reach to the half breadth of *Artaxerxes* his battail, who carried a front proportionable to his number, exceeding nine times that of *Cyrus*: then did the *Greeks* begin to distrust their own manhood, which was not accustomed to make proof of it self, upon such excessive oddes. It was almost incredible, that so great an Armie should be so easily chased. Nevertheless, it quickly appeared, that these *Persians*, having learned (contrary to their custome) to give charge upon their

their enemies with silence, had not learned (for it was contrary to their nature) to receive a strong charge with courage. Upon the very first offer of on-set, made by the *Greeks*, all that beastly rabble of cowards fled amain, without abiding the stroke, or staying till they were within reach of a Dart. The Chariots armed with hooks and sithes (whereof *Artaxerxes* had two hundred, and *Cyrus* not twenty) did small hurt that day, because the drivers of them leaping down, fled away on foot. This base demeanour of his enemies gave so much confidence to *Cyrus* and his Followers, that such as were about him forth-with adored him as King. And certainly, the Title had bin assured unto him that day, had not he sought how to declare himself worthy of it, ere yet he had obtained it. For, perceiving that *Artaxerxes*, who found that part of the field which lay before him void, was about to encompasse the *Greeks*, and to set upon them in the reare, he advanced with six hundred Horse, and gave so valiant a charge upon a squadron of six thousand, which lay before the King, that he brake it, slaying the Captain thereof *Artagerses*, with his own hands, and putting all the rest to flight. Hereupon his whole company of six hundred, very few excepted, began to follow the chase, leaving *Cyrus* too ill attended, who perceiving where the King stood in troop, uncertain whether to fight, or leave the field, could not contain himself, but said, *I see the man:* and presently with a small handfull of men about him ran upon his brother, whom he strake through the Curace, and wounded in the breast. Having given this stroke, which was his last, he received immediatly the fatall blow, which gave period at once to his ambition and life, being wounded under the eye with a dart, thrown by a base fellow, wherewith astonied, he fell dead from his horse, or so hurt, that it was unpossible to have recovered him, though all which were with him, did their best for his safetie; not caring afterwards for their own lives, when once they perceived that *Cyrus* their Master was slain. *Artaxerxes* caused the head and right hand of his brother to be forthwith stricken off, and shewed to his people, who now pursuing them, fled apace, calling upon the name of *Cyrus*, and desiring him to pardon them. But when this great accident had breathed new courage into the Kings troops, and utterly dismaied such *Persian* Captains, as were now, even in their own eys, no better than rebels; it was not long ere the Camp of *Cyrus* was taken, being quite abandoned; from whence *Artaxerxes* making all speed, arrived quickly at the quarter of the *Greeks*, which was about three miles from the place where *Cyrus* fell. There he met with *Tissaphernes*, who having made way through the battail of the *Greeks*, was ready now to joyn with his Master in spoiling their Tents. Had not the news, which *Artaxerxes* brought with him of his brothers death, bin sufficient to countervaile all disasters received, the exploit of *Tissaphernes* in breaking through the *Greeks* would have yeelded little comfort. For *Tissaphernes* had not slain any one man of the *Greeks*, but contrariwise, when he gave upon them, they opening their battail, drave him with great slaughter through them, in such wise, that he rather escaped as out of an hard passage, than forced his way through the squadron of the *Greeks*. Hereof the King being informed by him, and that the *Greeks*, as Masters of the field, gave chase to all that came in their sight; they ranged their Companies into good order, and followed after these *Greeks*, intending to set upon them in the rear. But these good Souldiers perceiving the Kings approach, turned their faces, and made head against him; who not intending to seek honour with danger of his life, wheeled about and fled, being pursued unto a certain Village, that lay under a Hill, on the top whereof he made a stand, rather in a bravery, than with purpose to attempt upon these bold fellows any further. For he knew well that his brothers death had secured his estate; whom he would seem to have slain with his own hand, thinking that fact alone sufficient to give reputation to his valour; and this reputation he thought that he might now preserve well enough, shewing a manly look half a mile off. On the top of this Hill therefore he advanced his Standard, a golden Eagle displaied on the top of a Spear. This ensign might have encouraged his people, had not some of the *Greeks* espied it, who not meaning that he should abide so neer them, with all their power marched toward him. The King discovering their approach, fled upon the spur; so that none remained in the place of battail, save onely the *Greeks*, who had lost that day not one man, nor taken any other harme, than that one of them was hurt with an arrow. Much they wondred that they heard no news of *Cyrus*, but thinking that he was pursuing the Army, they thought it was fittest for them,

having that day done enough, to return to their quarter, and take their Supper, to which they had good appetite, because the expectation of the Kings comming had given them no leisure to dine.

§. V.

The hard estate of the Greeks after the fight; and how Artaxerxes *in vain sought to have made them yeeld unto him.*

IT was now about the setting of the Sun, and they bringing home darke night with them, found their Camp spoiled, little or nothing being left that might serve for food: so that wanting victuals to satisfie their hunger, they refreshed their weary bodies with sleep. In the mean season *Artaxerxes* returning to his Camp, which he entred by Torch-light, could not enjoy the pleasure of his good fortune entire, because he perceived that the baseneſſe of his people, and weakneſſe of his Empire, was now plainly discovered to the *Greeks*: which gave him assurance, that if any of these who had beheld the shamefull demeanor of his Army, should live to carry tidings home, it would not be long, ere with greater forces they disputed with him for his whole Signory. Wherefore he resolved, to try all means, whereby he might bring them to destruction, and not let one escape to carry tidings of that which he had seen: to which purpose he sent them a brave message the next morning; charging them to deliver up their Arms, and come to his Gates, to await there upon his Mercie. It seems that he was in good hope to have found their high courages broken, upon report of his brothers death: but he was greatly deceived in that thought. For the *Greeks* being advertised that morning from *Arians*, a principall Commander under *Cyrus*, that his Master being slain, he had retired himself to the place of their last encamping, about eight miles from thence, whence intending to return into *Ionia*, his meaning was to dislodge the next day, awaiting for them so long if they would joyn with him, but resolving to stay no longer: they sent answer back to *Arians*, that having beaten the King out of the field, and finding none that durst resist them, they would place *Arians* himself in the Kings Throne, if he would joyn with them, and pursue the victory. Before they received any reply to this answer, the Messengers of *Artaxerxes* arrived at the Camp, whose errand seemed to the Captains very insolent: One told them, that it was not for the Vanquishers to yield their Weapons; another, that he would dye ere he yeelded to such a motion; a third asked, whether the King, as having the victory, required their Weapons; if so, why did he not fetch them? or, whether he desired them in way of friendship; for then would they first know, with what courtesie he meant to requite their kindneſſe. To this question *Phalinus* a *Grecian*, waiting upon *Tissaphenes*, answered; That the King having slain *Cyrus*, knew no man that could pretend any Title to his Kingdom, in the middest whereof he held them fast enclosed with great Rivers, being able to bring against them such numbers of men, as they wanted strength to kill if they would hold up their throats; for which cause he accounted them his prisoners. These words, to them, who knew themselves to be free, were nothing pleasant. Therefore, one told *Phalinus*, that having nothing left, but their Arms and Valour, whilest they kept their Armes, their Valour would bee serviceable; but should they yeeld them, it was to bee doubted, that their bodies would not long remain their own. Hereat *Phalinus* laughed, saying; This young man did seem a Philosopher, and made a pretty speech; but that his deep speculation shewed his wits to be very shallow, if he thought with his Arms and Valour to prevaile against the great King. It seems that *Phalinus* being a Courtier, and imployed in a businesse of importance, thought himself too profound a States-man, to be checkt in his Embassage by a bookish discourser. But his wisedom herein failed him. For whatsoever he himself was (of whom no more is known than that he brought an unhonest message to his own Countrymen, perswading them basely to surrender their Weapons, and Lives, to the mercileſſe *Barbarians*) this young Scholar by him despised, was that great *Xenophon*, who, when all the principall Commanders were surprised by treachery of the *Persians*, being a private Gentleman, and having never seen the wars before, undertook the conduct of the Army, which he brought safe into *Greece*, freeing it from all those, and from greater dangers than *Phalinus* could propound. Some there were who promised to be faithfull to the King, as they had bin to *Cyrus*, offering

their

their service in *Egypt*, where they thought *Artaxerxes* might have use of them. But the finall answer was, That without Weapons they could neither doe the King good as Friends, nor defend themselves from him as Enemies. Hereupon *Phalinus* delivered the Kings further pleasure, which was to grant them Truce, whilest they abode where they then were, denouncing Warre if they stirred thence; Whereunto he required their answer. *Clearchus* the Generall told him, they liked it. How (saith *Phalinus*) must I understand you? As choosing peace if we stay, or otherwise warr, said *Clearchus*. But whether warre or peace, quoth this politique Embassadour? To whom *Clearchus* (not willing to acquaint him with their purpose,) Let our doings tell you; and so dismissed him, no wiser than he came. All that day the *Greeks* were fain to feed upon their Horses, Asses, and other Beasts, which they rosted with Arrowes, darts, and woodden targets, thrown away by the Enemies.

§. VI.

How the Greeks *began to return home-wards.*

AT night they took their way towards *Arieus*, to whom they came at mid-night; being forsaken by four hundred foot, and forty horse, all *Thracians*, who fled over to the King, by whom how they were entertained, I doe not find. Like enough it is that they were cut in pieces; for had they been kindly used, it may well bee thought that some of them should have accompanied *Tissaphernes*, & served as Stales to draw in the rest. *Arieus* being of too base a temper, and birth, to think upon seeking the Kingdome for himself, with such assistance as might have given it unto *Cyrus*, was very well pleased to make covenant with them for mutuall assistance unto the last: Whereunto both parts having sworn, he advised them to take another way homeward, which should bee somewhat longer, yet safer and fitter to relieve them with victuals, than that by which they came. The next day, having made a wearisome march, and tyred the Souldiers, they found the Kings Army which had coasted them, lodged in certain Villages, where they purposed themselves to have encamped: towards which *Clearchus* made directly, because he would not seem by declining them to shew fear, or weakenesse. That the Kings men were contented to remove, and give place to their betters, it cannot be strange to any that hath considered their former behaviour; Nor strange, that the *Grecians*, being weary and hungry, and lying among enemies in an unknown Country, should bee very fearfull: but it is almost past beliefe, that the noise which was heard of these poor men, calling one to another tumultuously, as the present condition inforced them to do, should make the *Persians* flie out of their Camp, and so affright the great King, that in stead of demanding their Arms, he should crave peace of them. The next day very early, came messengers from *Artaxerxes*, desiring free accesse for Embassadours, to entreat of peace. Were it not that such particulars doe best open the quality of the persons, by whom things were managed, I should hold it fitter, to run over the generall passages of those times, than to dwell among circumstances. But surely it is a point very remarkable, That when *Clearchus* had willed the Messengers to bid the King prepare for battell, because the *Greeks* (as he said) wanting whereupon to dine, could not endure to hear of truce till their bellies were full; *Artaxerxes* dissembling the indignity, was contented sweetly to swallow down this pill, sending them guides, who conducted them to a place where was plenty of victuals to relieve them.

§. VII.

How Tissaphernes, *under colour of peace, betrayed all the Captains of the* Greeks.

HItherto the *Greekes*, relying upon their own vertue, had rather advanced their affairs, than brought themselves into any straights or termes of disadvantage. But now came unto them the subtile Fox *Tissaphernes*, who circumventing the Chiefe Commanders by fine sleights, did mischievously entrap them, to the extreme danger of the Army. He told them, that his Province, lying neer unto *Greece*, had caused him greatly to desire, that their deliverance might be wrought by his procurement; knowing well that in time to come, both they, and their Countrimen at home, would not bee unthankfull for such a benefit. Herewithall hee forgot not to rehearse

the great service that he had done to his Master, being the first that advertised him of *Cyrus* his intent, and having not onely brought him a good strength of men, but in the day of battell shewed his face to the *Greekes*, when all others turned their backs: that he, together with the King, did enter their Camp, and gave chase to the *Barbarians* that stood on the part of *Cyrus*. All this (quoth he) did I allege to the King, entreating that he would give me leave to conduct you safe into *Greece*; in which sute I have good hope to speed, if you will send a milde answer to him, who hath willed me to ask you, for what cause ye have borne Arms against him. The Captains hearing this, were contented to give gentle words, which *Tissaphernes* relating to the King, procured (though very hardly, as he said) that peace should be granted: the conditions whereof were, That they should passe freely through all the Kings Dominions, paying for that they took, and committing no spoil: yet that it should be lawfull for them to take victuals by force, in any place that refused to afford them an open Market. Hereupon both parties having sworn, the League was concluded, and *Tissaphernes* returning to the King to take leave, and end all businesse, came unto them again after twenty dayes, and then they set forward. This interim of twenty dayes, which *Tissaphernes* did spend at the Court, ministred great occasion of mistrust to his new Confederates. For besides his long absence, which alone sufficed to breed doubt, the Brethren, and Kindred of *Arieus*, repairing daily to him, and other *Persians* to his Souldierr, did work him and them so with assurance of pardon, and other allurements, that he daily grew more strange to the *Greeks* than formerly he had bin. This caused many to advise *Clearchus*, rather to passe forward as well as he might, than to rely upon covenants, and sit still whilest the King layed snares to entrap them. But he on the contrary perswaded them, to rest contented whilest they were well, and not to cast themselves again into those difficulties, out of which they were newly freed by the late Treatie; reciting withall their own wants, and the Kings means, but especially the Oathes mutually given and taken, wherewith hee saw no reason why the enemy should have clogged himself if hee meant mischief, having power enough to do them harm by a fair and open Warre.

Tissaphernes was a very honourable man (if honour may be valued by greatnesse and place in Court) which caused his Oath to be the more esteemed; for as much as no inforcement, or base respect, was like to have drawn it from him. But his falshood was such, both in substance and in successe, as may fitly expound that saying, which proceeded from the fountain of Truth, *I hate a rich man a lyer*. A lye may find excuse when it growes out of fear: for that passion hath his originall from weaknesse. But when Power, which is a *Character* of the *Almighty*, shall be made the supporter of untruth, the falshood is most abominable; for the offender, like proud *Lucifer*, advancing his own strength against the divine Justice, doth commit that sinne with an high hand, which commonly produceth lamentable effects, and is followed with sure vengeance. It was not long ere *Tissaphernes* found means to destroy all the Captains, whom he subtilely got into his power by a train; making the Generall *Clearchus* himself the mean to draw in all the rest. The businesse was contrived thus: Having travelled some dayes together in such wise, that the *Persians* did not encamp with the *Greeks*, who were very jealous of the great familiarity appearing between *Tissaphernes* and *Arieus*; *Clearchus* thought it convenient to root out of *Tissaphernes* his brains all causes of distrust, whereof many had grown in that short time. To which purpose obtaining private conference with him, he rehearsed the oath of Confederacie, which had past between them, shewing how religiously he would keep it; and repeating the benefits, which the *Greeks* did receive by the help of *Tissaphernes*, he promised that their love should appear to him not unfruitfull, if he would make use of their service against the *Mysians* or *Pisidians*, who were accustomed to infest his Provinces; or against the *Egyptians*, who were then Rebells to the great King. For which cause hee desired him, that whereas all divine and humane respects had linked them together, hee would not give place to any close accusation or suspition, whereby might grow sudden inconvenience to either of them, upon no just ground. The faithlesse *Persian* was very much delighted with this speech, which ministred fair occasion to the execution of his purpose. Therefore hee told *Clearchus*, that all this was by him wisely considered, wishing him further to call to mind how many wayes hee could have used to bring them to confusion, without perill to himself, especially by burning the Country, through which they were to passe, whereby they must needs

needs have periſhed by meer famine. For which cauſe he ſaid that it had bin great folly, to ſeek by perjurie, odious to God and Man, the deſtruction of ſuch as were already in his hands. But the truth was, that his own love to them had moved him to work their ſafetie, not onely for thoſe ends which *Clearchus* had recounted, of pleaſures that might redound to himſelf, and the King, by their aſſiſtance; but for that hee might by their friendſhip, hope to obtain what *Cyrus* had miſt. Finally, he invited the credulous Gentleman to Supper, and ſent him away ſo well aſſured of his good will, that he promiſed to bring all the Captains with him to the ſame place, where, in preſence of them all, *Tiſſaphernes* likewiſe promiſed to tell openly, which of them had by ſecret information ſought to raiſe diſſention between them. *Clearchus* himſelf being thus deceived, with great importunity drew all the chief Commanders, and many of the inferiour Leaders, to repair with him to the Camp of *Tiſſaphernes*, whither followed them about two hundred of the common Souldiers, as it had been to ſome common Fair. But being there arrived, *Clearchus* with other the five principall Collonels, were called into the Tent, the reſt ſtaying without, where they had not waited long ere a ſigne was given, upon which they within were apprehended, and the reſidue ſlain. Forth-with certain bands of *Perſian* Horſemen ſcoured the field, killing as many *Greeks* as they met, and riding up to the very Camp of the *Gracians*, who wondred much at the tumult, whereof they knew not the cauſe, till one, eſcaping ſorely wounded, informed them of all that had been done. Hereupon the *Greeks* took Arms in haſte, thinking that the enemy would forth-with have aſſailed their Camp. Anon they might perceive the Embaſſadors of *Tiſſaphernes*, among whom were his own brother, and *Arieus*, followed with three hundred Horſe, who called for the principall men in the Army, ſaying, that they brought a meſſage from the King, which *Arieus* delivered to this effect: That *Clearchus* having broken his faith, and the league made, was juſtly rewarded with death; that *Menon* and *Proxenus*, two other of the five Collonels, for detecting his treacherie, were highly honoured; and finally, that the King required them to ſurrender their Arms, which were due to him, as having belonged unto his ſervant *Cyrus*. When ſome altercation had followed upon this meſſage, *Xenophon* told the Embaſſadors, that if *Clearchus* had in ſuch ſort offended, it was well that hee was in ſuch ſort puniſhed: but he willed them to ſend back *Menon* and *Proxenus*, whom they had ſo greatly honoured, that by them, as by common friends to both Nations, the *Greeks* might be adviſed how to anſwer the *Perſian*. Hereunto the Embaſſadours knew not how to frame any reply, and therefore departed without ſpeaking one word more. *Clearchus*, and the other four were ſent to *Artaxerxes*, by whoſe commandement their heads were ſtricken off. I hold it not amiſſe to prevent the order of time, annexing to this perfidiouſneſſe of *Tiſſaphernes*, the reward which he afterward received. He ſaw his Province waſted by the *Greeks*, againſt whom receiving from his Maſter convenient aid of men and mony, he did ſo ill manage his affairs, that neither ſubtiltie, nor perjury (to which he failed not to have recourſe) availed him; finally, the King was jealous of his cunning head, and ſent a new Lieutenant into thoſe parts, who took it from his ſhoulders. Such was the recompence of his treacherie, which made him ſo miſtruſted at home, that the ſervice which he could not doe, he was thought upon private ends to neglect; and ſo hated abroad, that he knew not which way to flie from the ſtroke, all the world being ſhut againſt him. But now let us return to the proſperity, wherein he triumphed without great cauſe, having betrayed braver men than himſelf, and intending to bring the like miſchief upon the whole Armie.

§. VIII.

How Xenophon *heartened the* Greeks, *and in deſpight of* Tiſſaphernes *went off ſafely.*

GReat was the heavineſſe of the Souldiers, being now left deſtitute of Leaders; and no leſſe their fear of the evill hanging over their heads, which they knew not well how to avoid. Among the reſt, *Xenophon*, whoſe learning ſupplied his want of experience, finding the deep ſadneſſe of the whole Army to be ſuch as hindred them from taking any courſe of preventing the danger at hand, began to adviſe the under-

under-officers of *Proxenus* his companies, whose familiar friend he had been, to bethink themselves of some mean, whereby their safety might be wrought, and the Souldiers encouraged: setting before their eyes whatsoever might serve for to give them hope, and above all, perswading them in no wise to yeeld to the mercy of their barbarous enemies.

Hereupon they desired him to take upon him the charge of that Regiment; and so together with him, the same night calling up such as were remaining of any account, they made choice of the fittest men to succeed in the places of those who were slain, or taken. This being done, and order set down for disburdening the Armie of all superfluous impediments, they easily comforted themselves for the losse of *Tissaphernes* his assistance, hoping to take victuals by force better cheap than he had been wont to sell them; To which purpose they intended to take up their lodging two or three miles further, among some plentifull Villages, and so to proceed, marching towards the heads of those great Rivers, which lay in their way, and to passe them where they were foordable. Many attempts were made upon them by *Tissaphernes*, whom they, serving all on foot, were not able to requite for the harm which they received by the *Persian* Archers, who shot at a farther distance than the *Greeks* could reach. For this cause did *Xenophon* provide slings, wherewith he over-reached the enemy; and finding some Horses fit for service, that were employed among the carriages, he set men upon them; training likewise his Archers to shoot compasse, who had been accustomed to the point blank. By these means did he bear off the *Persians* who assailed him; and sometimes gave them chase with that band of fifty Horse, which being well backt with a firm body of footmen, and seconded with troups of the light-armed-shot and slingers, compelled the enemy to lie aloof. *Tissaphernes* not daring to come to handy-gripes with these resolute men, did possesse the tops of mountains, and places of advantage, by which they were to passe. But finally, when their valour made way through all such difficulties, he betook himself to that course, which was indeed the surest, of burning the Countrie. With great sorrow did the *Greeks* behold the Villages on fire, and thereby all hope of victuals cut off. Some advised to defend the Country, as granted by the enemy himself to be theirs; others to make more fires, if so perhaps the *Persians* might be ashamed to doe that which was the desire of such as made passage in hostile manner; But these were faint comforts. The best counsell was, that being neer unto the *Carduchi*, a people enemy to the *Persian*, they should enter into their Country, passing over some high mountains which lay between them. This course they followed, which could not have availed them, if *Tissaphernes* had begun sooner to cut off their victuals, rather than to seek to force, or to circumvent them by his fine wit.

§. IX.

The difficulties which the Greek *Armie found in passing through the Land of the* Carduchi.

ENtring upon the Land of the *Carduchi*, they were encountered with many difficulties of wayes, but much more afflicted by the fierce Inhabitants, who, accustomed by force to defend themselves against the huge Armies of the *Persian*, were no way inferiour to the *Greeks* in daring, but onely in the Art of Warre. They were very light of foot, skilfull Archers, and used the Sling well; which weapons in that mountainous Country were of much use against these poor travellers, afflicting them in seven dayes which they spent in that passage, farre more than all the power of the great King had done. Between the Territorie of these *Carduchi*, and the parts of *Armenia* confining them, ran *Centrites* a great River, upon which the *Greeks* refreshed themselves one day, rejoycing that they had so well escaped these dangers, and hoping that the remainder would prove easie. But the next morning they saw certain troops of Horse, that lay to forbid their passage. These were levied by the Kings deputies in those parts; *Tissaphernes* and his Companies having taken their way towards *Ionia*. The River was broad and deep, so that it was not possible for such as would enter it, to make resistance against those which kept the opposite bankes. To increase these dangers, the *Carduchi*, following upon them, lay on the side of a Mountain, within lesse than a mile of the water. But it was their good hap to discover a Foord, by which the greater

greater number of them paſſing over, did eaſily chaſe away the Subjects of the *Perſian*, and then ſending back the moſt expedite men, gave ſuccour to the Rear-ward, againſt which the *Carduchi* being ſleightly armed, could not on plain ground make reſiſtance hand to hand. Theſe *Carduchi* ſeem to have inhabited the Mountains of *Niphates*, which are not far from the Spring of *Tygris*, though *Ptolomy* place them far more to the Eaſt upon the River of *Cyrus* in *Media*; wherein he differs much from *Xenophon*, whoſe relation being grounded upon his own knowledge, doth beſt in this caſe deſerve credit. Of the River *Centrites* (as of many other Rivers, Towns, and Places, mentioned by *Xenophon*) I will not labour to make a conjecture, which may endure the ſeverity of a *Critike*. For *Ptolomy*, and the whole Nation of *Geographers*, adde ſmall light to this expedition: only of this laſt, I think it the ſame which falleth into *Tygris*, not much above *Artaſigarta*, ſpringing out of *Niphates*, and running by the Town of *Sardeva* in *Gordene*, a Province of *Armenia* the Great, wherein the *Greeks* having paſſed *Centrites* did arrive.

§. X.

How Teribazus *Governour of* Armenia, *ſeeking to entrap the* Greeks *with termes of feined peace, was diſappointed, and ſhamefully beaten.*

THe Army finding in *Armenia* good proviſion, marched without any diſturbance about fifty or threeſcore miles to the heads of the River *Tygris*, and paſſing over them, travailed as far further without reſiſtance, till they were encountred by *Teribazus* at the River *Teleboa*, which *Xenophon* commends as a goodly water, though ſmall, but *Ptolomy* and others omit it. *Teribazus* governed that Country for the *Perſian*, and was in great favour with *Artaxerxes*, whoſe Court may ſeem to have bin a School, where the Art of falſhood was taught as wiſedom. He deſired peace of the *Greeks*, which was made upon this condition, That they ſhould take what they pleaſed, but not burn down the Towns and Villages in their way. As ſoon as he had made this league, he leavied an Army, and beſetting the Streights of certain Mountains which they were to paſſe, hoped well to make ſuch benefit of their ſecurity, as might give him the commendation of being no leſſe craftily diſhoneſt than *Tiſſaphernes*. Yet his cunning failed of ſucceſſe. For a great ſnow fell, which cauſed the *Greeks* to make many fires, and ſcatter themſelves abroad in the Villages. *Teribazus* alſo made many fires, and ſome of his men wandred about ſeeking relief. By the fires he was diſcovered, and by a Souldier of his that was taken priſoner, the whole plot was revealed. Hereupon the *Greeks*, taking this captive with them for a guide, ſought him out; and comming upon his Camp, did ſo affright him, that before the whole Army could arrive there, the ſhout which was raiſed by the Vaunt-currors, chaſed him away. They took his Pavilion, wherein (beſides many ſlaves, that were Artificers of voluptouſneſſe) very rich furniture was left by the treacherous coward, who returned no more to challenge it. From hence the Army went Northward, and paſſing *Euphrates*, nor far below the ſprings thereof, travailed with much difficulty through deep ſnow, being followed aloof by the enemy, who durſt not approach them, but did cut off ſuch as they found ſtraggling behind. The Inhabitants of the Country, through which they marched, had their wintering houſes under ground, wherein was found great plenty of victuals, and of Cattail, which likewiſe did winter in the ſame Cellars with the owners. Having refreſhed themſelves in thoſe parts, & taken ſufficient eaſe after the miſerable journey, which had conſumed many of them with extreme cold; they departed, leading with them many bond-ſlaves, & taking away (beſides other Horſes and Cattail) ſome Colts that were bred up for the great King.

§. XI.

The paſſage of the Army to Trabyzonde, *through the Countries bordering upon the River of* Phaſis, *and other obſcure Nations.*

SO without impediment they came to the River *Phaſis*, neer whereunto the people called *Phaſiani*, *Tacchi*, and *Chalybes* were ſeated. Theſe Nations joyned together, and occupying the tops of a ledge of Mountains, which the *Greeks* were

were to passe, made countenance of war: but some companies being sent by night to seize upon a place of equall height to that whereon the enemies lay, making good the piece of ground which they had taken, secured the ascent of the rest; which caused these people to flye, every one retiring to the defence of his own. The first upon whose Countrie the *Greeks* did enter were the *Tacchi*, who convaying all their provision of victuals into strong holds, brought the Army into much want, untill with hard labour one place was forced, wherein great store of Cattail were taken; the people, to avoid captivity, threw themselves head-long down the rocks, the very women throwing down first their own children, and then casting themselves upon them. Here was taken a great bootie of Cattail, which served to feed them, travailing through the land of the *Chalybes*, of whom they got nothing but strokes. The *Chalybes* were a very stout Nation, well armed at all points, and exceeding fierce. They encountred the *Greeks* hand to hand, killing as many as they took prisoners, and cutting off their heads, which they carried away, singing and dancing, to the great grief of their companions living; who were glad, when after seven dayes journey they escaped from those continuall skirmishes, wherewith they had bin vexed by these *Barbarians*. Hence travailing through a good corn-Countrie, inhabited by an obscure Nation called the *Scythini*, they came to a rich Town, the Lord whereof, and of the Region adjoyning, used them friendly, and promised to guide them to a Mountain, whence they might discover the *Euxine* Sea. From *Gymnias* (which was the name of his Town) he led them through the Territorie of his enemies, desiring them to waste it with sword and fire. After five dayes march, they came to a Mountain called *Teches*, being (as I think) a part of the Mountains called *Moschici*, whence their guide shewed them the Sea; towards which they bent their course: and passing friendly through the Region of the *Macrones*, (with whom by means of an interpreter, found among themselves, who born in that place had bin sold into *Greece*, they made a good peace) they arrived in the Land of *Colchos*, wherein stands the Citie of * *Trabisond*, called then *Trapezus*, a Colonie of the *Greeks*. The *Colchi* entertaining them with hostility, were requited with the like; for the Army having now good leisure to repose themselves among their friends the *Trapezuntians*, did spoyl the Country thirty dayes together, forbearing onely the Borderers upon *Trabizonde*, at the Citizens request.

* *Trabisond*, a Colony of the *Greeks*, situate in the bottome of the *Euxine* Sea.

§. XII.

How the Army began at Trabizond *to provide a Fleet, wherewith to return home by Sea: how it came into the Territorie of* Synope, *and there prosequuted the same purpose.*

HAving now found an Haven Town, the Souldiers were desirous to take shipping, & change their tedious Land-journies into an easie Navigation. To which purpose *Cherisophus* a *Lacedæmonian*, one of the principall Commanders, promised by means of *Anaxibus* the *Lacedæmonian* Admirall, who was his friend, that he would provide Vessels to embark them. Having thus concluded, they likewise took order for the staying of such ships as should passe that way, meaning to use them for their navigation. Lest all this provision should be found insufficient for the transportation of the whole Army, *Xenophon* perswaded the Cities adjoyning to clear the wayes, and make an easie passage for them by Land; whereunto the Souldiers were utterly unwilling to give eare, being desirous to return by Sea: but the Countrie, fearing what inconvenience might grow by their long stay, did readily condescend to *Xenophons* request. Two ships they borrowed of the *Trapezuntians*, which they manned and sent to Sea: the one of them sailed directly into *Greece*, forsaking their Companions, who had put them in trust to bring ships into the Port of *Trabizonde*: the other took Merchants and passengers, whose goods were safely kept for the owners, but the Vessels were stayed to increase the fleet. After long aboad, when victuals began to fail, by reason that all the Land of the *Colchi*, neer unto the Camp, was already quite wasted, they were fain to embark their sick men, with the women, children, and such of the baggage as might best be spared, in those few ships which they had already provided. The rest of the Armie took their way by Land to *Cerasus*, a *Greek* Town, where the fleet likewise arrived. Here the Army being mustered, was found to consist of eight thousand & six hundred men. From hence they passed through the Country of the * *Mosynaci*, who were divided

* *Mosynaci* a Nation of *Pontus Cappadocius.*

divided into factions. The stronger partie despising their friendship, caused them to joyn them with the weaker whom they left Masters of all.

The next place of their abode was [b] *Cotyora*, a *Greek* Town likewise, and a Colonie of the *Synopians*, as *Trapezus* and *Cerasus* were; but the entertainment which here they found was very churlish, having neither an open Market afforded to them, nor the sick men that were among them admitted into any house. Hereupon the Souldiers entred the Town by force, and (committing no outrage) bestowed those which were sick in convenient lodgings, taking into their own hands the custody of the Gates. Provision for the Army they made by strong hand, partly out of the Territory of the *Paphlagonians*, partly out of the Lands belonging to the Town. These news were unwelcome to [c] *Sinope*, whence Embassadours were sent to the Camp, who complaining of these dealings, and threatning to joyn with the *Paphlagonians*, if redresse could not otherwise be had, were roundly answered by *Xenophon*, That meer necessity had enforced the Army to teach those of *Cotyora* good manners in so bad a method: letting them know, that he feared not to deal with them and the *Paphlagonian* at once; though perhaps the *Paphlagonian* would be glad to take *Sinope* it self, to which, if cause were given, they would lend assistance. Upon this answer the Embassadors grew better advised, promising all friendship that the State of *Sinope* could shew, and commanding the Town of *Cotyora* to relieve the Souldiers as well as they might. Further, they promised to assist them with shipping, letting them understand how difficult the passage by Land would prove, in regard of the many and great Rivers, as *Thermodon*, *Iris*, *Halys*, and *Parthenius*, which crossed their way. This good counsail, and the fair promises accompanying it, were kindly accepted by the Army, which well perceived, that the City of *Sinope* would spare for no cost, to be freed from such a neighbourhood. It was therfore decreed that they would passe the rest of the way by Sea; provided that if there should want such number of Vessels as might serve to imbark every one of them, then would they not put from the shore.

[b] *Cotyora* a Port-Town in the same Region.

[c] *Sinope* a Port-Town in *Leucosyria*, a Colonie of the *Milesians*.

§. XIII.

Of dissention which arose in the Armie; and how it was embarked.

HItherto the danger of enemies, and miseries of weather and wants, had kept the companie in firm unity; which now began to dissolve and to thaw, by the neighbouring air of *Greece*, warming their heads with private respects to their severall ends and purposes. Whilest they, who were sent as Agents from the Camp, remained at *Sinope*, *Xenophon* considering the strength and valour of his men, & the opportunity of the coast whereon they lay, thought it would be an honourable work to build a City in those parts, which were soon like to prove great and wealthie, in regard both of their own puissance, and of the great repair of the *Greeks* into that quarter. For this cause he made sacrifice, according to the superstition of his time and Countrie, divining of his successe by the entrails of beasts. The Sooth-sayer whom he imployed had received a great reward of *Cyrus*, for conjecturing aright, that *Artaxerxes* would not give battail in ten dayes: he therefore, having preserved his money carefully, was desirous to be soon at home, that he might freely enjoy his gettings. By him the purpose of *Xenophon* was divulged, which was interpreted according to the diversitie of mens opinions; some approving the motion, but the greater part rejecting it. They of *Sinope* and *Heraclea*, being informed of this consultation, were sore afraid, lest the povertie of the Souldiers, who had not wherewith to maintain themselves at home, should give successe to the project. Which to prevent, they promised to supply the Army with a sufficient fleet, and likewise offered mony to some of the Captains, who thereupon undertook to give the Souldiers pay, if they would presently set sail for *Greece*. One of these Captains being a banished man, desired them to follow him into *Troas*; another offered to lead them into *Chersonesus*. *Xenophon*, who desired only the common good, was pleased greatly with these propositions, and professed openly that he would have them to set forward, & hold together in any case, punishing him as a traitor that should forsake the Armie, before such time as they were arrived at their journies end. *Silanus* the Sooth-sayer, who had uttered *Xenophons* purpose, was hereby staied from out-running his fellows, and driven to abide with his wealth among poor men, longer than stood

ſtood with his good liking. Alſo the other Captains were much troubled and affraid, when they perceived, that ſhips were prepared ſufficient for their Navigation, but that the money promiſed to them, and by them to the Souldiers, came not. For the people of *Sinope*, and *Heraclea*, knowing that the Armie was now reſolved for the voyage, and that *Xenophon*, whom they feared, had perſwaded them to this reſolution, thought it the wiſeſt way to furniſh them with a Navie, whileſt they were in good readineſſe, to depart, but to keep the mony to themſelves. The Captains therefore, who being diſappointed by theſe towns, found themſelves in great danger of their men, whom they had deceived with fair hopes, repented much of their fair offers, and ſignifying as much to *Xenophon*, prayed him to make propoſition to the Armie, of taking the ſhips, & ſayling to *Phaſis*, where they might ſeize upon Lands, and plant themſelves in ſuch wiſe as ſhould ſtand beſt with their good liking. But finding him cold in the buſineſſe, they began to work the principall of their own followers, hoping by them to draw in all the reſt. Theſe news becomming publike, bred a ſuſpition of *Xenophon*, as if he had won the reſt of the Captains to his purpoſe, and meant now to carry the Army quite another way from their own home. Wherefore aſſembing the Companies, he gave them ſatisfaction, and withall complained of ſome diſorders, which he cauſed them to redreſſe. A generall inquiſition was likewiſe made of offences committed ſince the death of *Cyrus*; which being puniſhed, all things were in quiet. Shortly after came Embaſſadours from *Corylas*, Lord of the *Paphlagonians*, who ſending preſents, deſired peace of the *Greeks*: the Embaſſadours were friendly entertained, and peace concluded, which needed not to have bin fought, for that the *Greeks*, having now their fleet in a readines, did ſoon weigh Anchors, and ſet ſail for *Harmene* the Port of *Sinope*, whither *Cheriſophus* came, bringing with him a few Gallies from the Admiral *Anaxibius*, who promiſed to give the Army pay as ſoon as they came into the parts of *Greece*.

§. XIV.

Another great diſſenſion and diſtraction of the Army. How the mutiners were beaten by the Barbarians, *and reſcued by* Xenophon.

THe neerer that they approached to *Greece*, the greater was their deſire to make proviſion for themſelves, that they might not return home emptie-handed. Wherefore truſting well that if the charge of the Armie were abſolutely committed to one ſufficient man, he might the more conveniently procure the good of them all, they determined to make *Xenophon* ſole Commander of all; in whoſe favour as well the Captains as the common Souldiers were very earneſt and violent. But he, either fearing to diſpleaſe the *Lacedæmonians*, who were jealous of him already (being incenſed by that fugitive who forſook the army at *Trabizond*, flying with one of their two ſhips) or moved by ſome tokens appearing to him in the entrails that threatned ill ſucceſſe to his government, procured vvith vehement contention, that this honour vvas laid upon *Cheriſophus* a *Lacedæmonian*. It ſeems that *Xenophon*, conſidering the vexation incident to the conduct of a voluntary Army, wanting pay, did wiſely in yeelding to ſuch tokens as forbad him to accept it: eſpecially, knowing ſo well their deſire, which was, by right or by wrong, to get wealth wherſoever it might be found, without all regard of friend or foe. *Cheriſophus* had bin Generall but ſix or ſeven dayes, when he was depoſed, for having bin unwilling to rob the Town of *Heraclea*, which had ſent preſents to the Camp, and bin very beneficiall unto them in lending ſhips for their tranſportation. Two daies they had ſailed by the coaſt of *Aſia*, when being paſt thoſe great rivers, which would have given impediment to their journey by Land, they touched at *Heraclea*, where conſulting how to take their way onwards, whether by Land or Sea, one ſeditious man began to put them in mind of ſeeking to get ſomewhat for themſelves; telling them that all their proviſion would be ſpent in three dayes, and that being now come out of the enemies Country, victuals and other neceſſaries could not be had without money; for which cauſe he gave advice to ſend meſſengers into the Town of *Heraclea*, giving the Citizens to underſtand what their wants were, and demanding of them three thouſand pieces of money, called *Cyzicens*, which ſum amounteth to two thouſand and five hundred pound ſterling, or thereabout. This motion was greatly applauded, and the ſum raiſed to ten thouſand *Cyzicens* at leaſt: which to require, they thought *Cheriſophus*,

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as being Generall, the fitteſt man; others had more deſire to ſend *Xenophon*: but in vain, for they both refuſed it, and renounced the action as diſhoneſt. Leſt therefore either of theſe ſhould fail in managing the buſineſſe which agreed not with his diſpoſition, others of more impudency and leſſe diſcretion were ſent; who in ſuch wiſe delivered their inſolent meſſage, that the Citizens taking time to deliberate upon their requeſt, brought what they could out of the fields into the Town, and ſhutting the Gates, did forthwith man the Wals. When the Souldiers perceived themſelves to be diſappointed of their ravenours purpoſe, they fell to mutiny, ſaying; That their Leaders had betrayed them: and being for the more part of them *Arcadians* and *Achæans*, they forſook immediately *Cheriſophus* and *Xenophon*, chuſing new Leaders out of their own number. Above foure thouſand and five hundred they were, all heavily armed, who electing ten Captains, ſailed into the Port of *Calphas*, which is in the mid-way between *Heraclea* and *Byzantium*, with purpoſe to aſſaile the *Bythinians* on the ſudden. With *Cheriſophus* there abode two thouſand and one hundred, of whom one thouſand and foure hundred were armed weightily: *Xenophon* had two thouſand foot, three hundred whereof were lightly armed, and forty horſe; which ſmall band had done good ſervice already, and could not have bin ſpared now. *Cheriſophus* had agreed with *Cleander* Governour of *Byzantium*, to meet him at the mouth of the River *Calphas*, whither *Cleander* promiſed to bring ſome Gallies to convey him over into Greece; for which cauſe he took his way thither by Land, leaving to *Xenophon* ſuch ſhipping as he had, who paſſing ſome part of the way by Sea, landed upon the confines of *Heraclea*, and *Thraſia Aſiatica*, intending to make a cut through the mid-land Country to the *Propont*. The Mutiners who had landed at *Calphas* by night, with purpoſe to take ſpoiles in *Bythinia*, divided themſelves into ten Companies, every Captaine leading his own Regiment into ſome Village, five or ſix miles from the Sea; in the greater Towns were two Regiments quartered: and ſo was that part of the Country ſurpriſed on the ſudden, and ſacked all at one time. The place of Rendevous was an high piece of Ground, where ſome of them arrived, finding no diſturbance; others, not without much trouble and danger: two Companies were broken and defeated, only eight men eſcaped, the reſt were all put to the ſword. For the *Thracians* which had ſlipt at firſt out of the Souldiers hands, did raiſe the Country, and finding the *Greeks* loaden with booty, took the advantage of their diſorder, cutting in pieces thoſe two Regiments: which done, they attempted the reſt, encompaſſing the hill whereon they encamped. One great advantage the *Thracians* had, that being all light armed, they could at pleaſure make retrait from theſe *Arcadians* and *Achæans*, who wanting the aſſiſtance of horſe, and having neither Archers nor Slingers among them, were driven to ſtand meerly upon their defence, bearing off with greater danger, & many wounds received, the Darts and Arrows of the *Barbarians*, till finally they were driven frō their watering place, and enforced to crave parley. Whatſoever the Articles of compoſition were, the *Thracians* yeelded to all; but pledges for aſſurance they would give none, without which the *Greeks* well knew, that all promiſes of ſuch people, eſpecially ſo incenſed, were nothing worth. In the mean time *Xenophon* holding his way quietly through the In-land Region, did enquire of ſome Travellers, whether they knew ought of any *Grecian* Army, paſſing along thoſe parts: & receiving by them true information of the deſperate caſe into which theſe Gallants had fooliſhly thrown themſelves, he marched directly towards the place where they lay, taking with him for guides, them who gave him the intelligence. His horſe-men he ſent before to diſcover, & to ſcowr the waies; the light armed foot-men took the hill tops on either hand, all of them ſetting fire on whatſoever they found combuſtible: whereby the whole Country ſeemed to be on a light flame, to the great terrour of the enemies, who thought that ſome huge Army had approached. That night he encamped on a hill, within five mile of the *Arcadians*, encreaſing ſtill the number of his fires, which he cauſed haſtily to be quenched ſoon after Supper. The enemies perceiving this, thought certainly that he would have fallen upon them in the dark, which cauſed them in all haſte to diſlodge. Early in the next morning *Xenophon* comming thither in very good order, to have given battell, found that his device, to affright the *Thracians*, had taken full effect; but he marvelled that the *Greeks* were alſo departed, concerning whom he learned by enquity, that they removed at break of day, & perceived by ſignes that they had taken the way to the Port of *Calphas*, in which journey he overtook them. They embraced him and his, with great joy: confeſſing that they themſelves had

thought the same which the enemies did, looking that he should have come by night; wherein finding themselves deceived, they were affraid lest he had forsaken them, and therefore hastened away to overtake him, and joyn with him. So they arrived at the Haven of *Calphas*, where it was decreed, That whosoever from thenceforth made any motion to dis-joyn the Army, should suffer death.

§. XV.

Of divers pieces of service done by Xenophon; *and how the Army returned into* Greece. *The occasions of the War between the* Lacedæmonians *and the* Persians.

THe Haven of *Calphas* lay under a goodly head-land, that was very strong, and abounding with all kind of Grain and Fruits, except Olives. There was also Timber for building and shipping, and a very convenient Sea for a great City. All which commodities that might have allured the Souldiers to stay there, and to plant, caused them to haste away, fearing lest *Xenophon* should find some device to have settled himself and them in that place. For the greater part of them had good meanes to live at home; neither did they so much for hope of gain follow *Cyrus* in that War, as in regard of his Honour, and the love which they bare unto him: the poorer sort were such as left their Parents, Wives, and Children, to whom (though failing of the riches which they had hoped to purchase) they were now desirous to return. But whether it were so that *Xenophon* found advantage by their own superstition, to make them stay, which they greatly suspected; or whether the signes appearing in the entrails, did indeed forbid their departure; so long they were inforced to abide in the place till victuals failed; neither would the Captaines lead them forth to forrage the Country, untill the Sacrifices should promise good successe. *Cherisophus* was dead of an Ague, and his ships were gone, being returned to the *Heracleans*, of whom they were borrowed. His followers were joyned to the rest of the Armie, which the greater it was, the more provision it needed, and the sooner felt want. For which cause, he that was chosen Coronel into the place of *Cherisophus*, would needs adventure to gratifie the Souldiers with the spoil of some Villages that stood near at hand; in which enterprise he found ill successe, the whole Country lying in wait to intrap him, and an Army of Hose being sent by *Pharnabazus* the *Satrapa*, or *Vice-roy* of *Phrygia*, to the assistance of these *Bythinian Thracians*, which troups falling upon the *Greeks* that were scattered abroad in seeking booty, slew five hundred of them, and chased the rest to a certain Mountain there by. The news of this overthrow comming to *Xenophon*, he led forth a part of the Army to the rescue of those that survived, and brought them safe to the Camp; upon which the *Bythinians* made an offer that night, and breaking a *Corps du garde*, slew some, pursuing the rest to the very Tents. This new courage of the enemy, together with the present condition of the Army, so disheartened and unfurnished of necessaries, caused the *Greeks* to remove their Camp to a place of more strength; which having intrenched, and committed to the defence of such as were least able to endure travell, *Xenophon* with the firmest and best able men went forth, both to bury those which were lately slain, and to abate the pride of the *Thracians*, and their assistance. In this journey his demeanour was very honourable. For having given buriall to the dead, the Enemy was discovered, lying on the tops of the hils adjoyning, to whom (notwithstanding that the way was very rough and troublesome, so that some thought it a matter of too great danger, to leave at their backs a wood scarce passable) he marched directly, telling his men plainly, that he had rather follow the enemy with half the number, than turn his back to them with twice as many; & letting them further know, that if they did not charge the *Barbarians*, he would not fail with the greater resolution to pursue them; from whom if they could safely retire to the camp, yet what should they do there, wanting victuals to sustain them in the place, and ships to carry them away? Wherefore he willed them rather to fight well that day, having eaten their dinners, than another day fasting; and not to regard the uneasie return, which might serve to stay Cowards from runing away, but to wish unto the Enemy a fair and easie way, by which he might flye from them. These perswasions were followed with so valiant execution, that both *Persians* and *Bythinians* being chased out of the field, abandoned the Countrey forthwith, removing their Families, and leaving all that could not suddenly be conveighed away,

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to the discretion of the *Greeks*, who at good leasure gathered the Harvest of these bad Neighbours fields. This was the last sight which they had on the side of *Asia*. For they were not only suffered quietly to enjoy the spoyl of the Country, but when the opinion grew common in those parts, that it was the intent of *Xenophon* to plant a Colony on the Port of *Calpas*, Embassadors were sent from the Neighbour people, to desire friendship, and make offer of their best assistance. But the Souldiers had no mind to stay. Wherefore entring further into *Bythinia*, they took a great booty, which they carried away unto *Chrysopolis*, a city near unto *Chalcedon*, where they sold it. *Pharnabazus*, Lieutenant in *Phrygia* to *Artaxerxes*, did greatly fear, lest their long stay in that Country might breed in them a desire to visite his Province, where they might have found great wealth, and little power to guard it. Therefore he sent to the *Lacedæmonian* Admirall, entreating him with much instance and large promises to waft them over into *Europe*; to whom *Anaxibius* the Admirall condescending, promised to give the Souldiers pay, as soon as they arrived at *Byzantium*. So were they carried out of *Asia* at the intreaty of the *Persian*, who in the height of his pride had thought them so surely imprisoned with mighty Rivers, that he not only denied to permit their quiet departure, but willed them to surrender their Armes into his hands, and so to yeeld their lives to his discretion. How discourteously they were intreated by *Anaxibius*, and how to requite his injurious dealings, they seized upon *Byzantium*, which by *Xenophons* perswasion they forbare to sack; I hold it superfluous to relate. For the residue of their doings appertain little to the generall course of things. But this expedition, as in all ages it was glorious, so did it both discover the secrets of *Asia*, and stir up the *Greeks* to think upon greater enterprises, than ever their forefathers had undertaken. Likewise it was the only remarkable action which the time afforded. For the *Roman* Wars did hitherto extend no further than to the next neighbouring Towns of *Italy*; and in *Greece* all things were quiet, the *Lacedæmonians* ruling insolently, but without disturbance. True it is, that the seeds of the War shortly following, which the *Lacedæmonians* made upon *Artaxerxes*, were already sown, before these companies returned out of the high Countries of *Asia*. For the Towns of *Ionia* which had sided with young *Cyrus* against *Tissaphernes*, if not against the great King, prepared to rebell; which they thought safer, than to fall into the hands of *Tissaphernes*, who was now appointed Lieutenant, both of his old Province, and of all that had belonged to *Cyrus*. Wherefore the *Ionians* besought the *Lacedæmonians* to send them ayd, whereby to recover their liberty; and obtained their request. For a power was sent over, under conduct of *Thimbro* a *Spartan*, who bestowed his men in such Towns as had already revolted, to secure the Cities and their Fields, but not to make any offensive War.

CHAP. XI.

Of the affairs of Greece, *whilest they were managed by the* Lacedæmonians.

§. I.

How the Lacedæmonians *took courage by example of* Xenophons *Army, to make War upon* Artaxerxes.

IT seems that the *Lacedæmonians* did well perceive in how ill part *Artaxerxes* took their favour shewed unto his brother, and yet were timerous in beginning an open war against him, thinking it sufficient to take all care that no advantage might slip, which could serve to strengthen their Estate, by finding the *Persian* work beyond the Sea. But when *Xenophons* Army had revealed the baseness of those effeminate Asiatiques, and rehearsed the many victories which they themselves had gotten, upon termes of extreme disadvantage; then was all *Greece* filled with desire of undertaking upon this huge unwieldy Empire, thinking it no hard matter for the joynt-

forces of that whole Nation, to hew out the way to *Susa*, whereof one handfull had opened the passage to *Babylon*; and further, finding no power that was able to give them resistance, in all that long journy of four and thirty thousand two hundred and fifty five furlongs, spent in going and returning, which make of English miles about four thousand two hundred fourscore and one, a very painfull march of one year and three months. Nevertheless, the civill distraction wherewith *Greece* was miserably torn, and especially that hot fire of the *Theban* war, which, kindled with *Persian* gold, brake forth suddenly into a great flame, drew back out of *Asia* the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, to the defence of their own Estate; leaving it questionable, whether *Agesilaus* having both the same and far greater forces, could have wrought proportionable effects. Sure it is, that in the whole space of two years, which he spent in *Asia*, his deeds procured more commendation of magnanimity and fair behaviour, than of stout courage, and great, or profitable atchievements. For how highly soever it pleased *Xenophon*, who was his friend, and follower in this, and in other wars, to extoll his vertue; his exploits being only a few incursions into the Countries lying near the Sea, carrying no proportion to *Xenophons* own journy, which I know not whether any Age hath paralleled: the famous retrait of *Conon* the *Briton* with six thousand men from *Aquileia*, to his own Country, through all the breadth of *Italy*, and length of *France*, in despite of the Emperour *Theodosius*, being rather like it than equall. But of *Agesilaus* and his wars in *Asia* and *Greece*, we shall speak more in due place.

§. II.

The prosperous beginnings of the War in Asia.

THimbro receiving *Xenophons* men, began to take in Towns, and to entertain all such as were willing to revolt from the *Persian*, who were many, and some of them such, as had been highly beholding to the King; who seem to have had no other cause of discontent, than that they were to live under the government of *Tissaphernes*, whom all others did as vehemently hate, as the King his Master did love him. The managing of the war begun by *Thimbro*, was for his oppressions taken out of his hands, and committed to *Dercyllidas* a *Spartan*, who behaved himself as a good man of War, and a wise Commander. For whereas the rule of the low-Countries of *Asia* was divided between *Pharnabazus* and *Tissaphernes*, who did ill agree, *Pharnarbazus* being the worthier man, but the other by his Princes favour the greater, and having the chief command in those Wars against the *Greeks*; *Dercyllidas*, who did bear a private hatred to *Pharnabazus* (knowing well that *Tissaphernes* was of a mischievous nature, and would not be sorry to see his Corrivall throughly beaten, though to the Kings losse) made an appointment with *Tissaphernes*, and forthwith entred *Æolis*, which was under the jurisdiction of *Pharnabazus*, which Province in few dayes, he brought into his own power.

That Country of *Æolis* had about the same time suffered a violent alteration, which gave easie successe to the attempts of *Dercyllidas*. *Zenis* a *Dardanian* had bin Deputy to *Pharnabazus* in those parts; after whose death his wife *Mania* procured his Office, wherin she behaved her self so well, that she not only was beloved of the people under her government; but enlarged her Territory, by the conquest of certain Towns adjoyning; and sundry times gave assistance to *Pharnabazus* in his Wars against the *Mysians* and *Persians*. For she had in pay some Companies of *Greeks*, whose valour by her good usage, did her great service. But somwhat before the arrival of *Dercyllidas* in those parts, a Son-in-law of hers, called *Midias*, whom she trusted and loved much, being blinded with ambition, found means to stifle her, and kill her son of seventeen years old; which done, he seized upon two of her principall Towns, wherein her treasure lay, hoping to have been admitted into possession of her whole estate. Being denyed entrance by her Souldiers that lay in Garrison, he sent Messengers with presents to *Pharnabazus*, desiring him to make him Governour in the place of *Mania*. His presents were not onely rejected by *Pharnabazus*, but revenge of his foul treason threatned, whereby the wicked villain was driven into termes of almost utter desperation. In the mean time came *Dercyllidas*, to whom the Towns of *Mania*, that held against *Midias*, did quickly open their Gates. One onely Town stood out four dayes (against the will

will of the Citizens, who were covetous of liberty) the Governour striving in vain to have kept it to the use of *Pharnabazus*. Now remained only two Cities, *Gergethe* and *Scepsis*, which the Traytor held, who fearing all men, as being loved of none, sent Embassadours to *Dercyllidas*, desiring leave to speak with him, and pledges for his security: upon the delivery of which, he issued out of *Scepsis*, and comming into the Camp, made offer to joyn with the *Greeks* upon such conditions as might seem reasonable. But he was plainly told by *Dercyllidas*, that other condition there was none, than to set the Citizens freely at liberty. And presently upon these words they marched toward *Scepsis*. When *Midias* perceived that it was in vain to strive against the Army, and the Townsmen, who were all of one mind; he quietly went along with *Dercyllidas*, who remaining but a few hours in the City, did a sacrifice to *Minerva*, and then leading away the Garrison of *Midias*, he left the City free, and departed toward *Gergethe*. *Midias* did not forsake his Company, but followed him, earnestly intreating that he might be suffered to retain *Gergethe*: but comming to the Gates, he was bidden to command his Souldiers that they should be opened; for (quoth *Dercyllidas*) I must here likewise doe a sacrifice to *Minerva*. The Traytor, not daring to make deniall, caused his Mercenaries to open the Gates, whereby *Dercyllidas*, taking possession of the place, tendred pay to the Garrison, who did not refuse to serve under his Ensignes. This done, all the goods of *Mania* were seized upon, as belonging to one that had been subject to *Pharnabazus*, who was enemy to the *Greeks*: and so the murderous wretch was sent away naked, not knowing in what part of the World he might find any place to hide his detested head. *Dercyllidas* having in eight dayes taken nine Cities, purposed for the ease of his Confederates to winter in *Bythinia*, to which end he took Truce with *Pharnabazus*, who had not any desire of Warre. That Winter, and the Summer ensuing, the truce being continued, held; in which time, besides the wasting of *Bythinia*, the neck of Land joyning *Cherronea* to the Main, was fortified, being four or five miles in breadth; by which means eleven Towns, with much good Land belonging to them, were freed from the incursions of the wilde *Thracians*, and made fit and able to victuall the Camp. Likewise the Citie of *Atarne* was taken, which was of great strength, and very well stored with provision. After this, *Dercyllidas* had command from *Sparta*, to divert the Warre into *Caria*, where was the seat of *Tissaphernes*; for that hereby it was thought not uneasie to recover all the Towns of *Ionia*; *Pharax* the Admirall of the fleet (which was a yearly office being appointed to joyn with him. Though it was manifest that *Tissaphernes* had neglected *Pharnabazus* in time of necessity, yet was he not in his own danger requited with the like. For *Pharnabazus* having respect to the Kings service, came to assist his private enemy *Tissaphernes*, and so passing into *Caria*, they thrust Garrisons into all places of strength; which done, they marched towards *Ionia*, hoping to find the Towns ill manned for resistance. As these *Persians* were desirous to keep the Warre from their own dores, so was *Dercyllidas* willing to free his Confederates the *Ionians* from the spoil and danger of the War, by transferring it into *Caria*. For which cause he passed the River of *Meander*, and not looking to have been so soon encountred, marched carelesly through the Country: when on the very sudden the whole Army of *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* was discovered, consisting of *Persians*, *Carians*, and some Mercenary *Greeks*, who were all marshalled in very good order to present battell. The oddes was too apparent, both in numbers of men, and in readinesse, as also in advantage of ground: for the *Persian* had a great multitude of Horse, the *Greek* very few and feeble, being to fight in an open plain. Therefore all the *Ionians*, together with the Ilanders and others, of such places as bordered upon the Kings Dominions, did either betake themselves to present flight; or abiding a while for shame, did plainly discover by their looks, that they meant not to be more bold than wise. Onely *Dercyllidas* with his *Peloponnesians*, regarding their honour, prepared to endure the fight, which must needs have brought them to destruction, if the counsell of *Pharnabazus* had been followed, who perceiving the opportunity of so great a victory, was not willing to let it slip. But *Tissaphernes*, who naturally was a coward, seeing that countenance of resistance was made, began to consider what strange defence the Souldiers of *Xenophon* had shewed, and thinking that all the *Greeks* were of the like resolution, held it the wisest way to crave parley; the conclusion of which was, That a Truce should be made, to last untill *Tissaphernes* might receive answer from the King, and *Dercyllidas* from *Sparta*,

Sparta, concerning the demands propounded in the Treaty; which were on the one part, That all the *Greeks* in *Asia* might enjoy their own liberty and lawes; but contrariwise on the other side, That the *Lacedæmonians* should depart *Asia*, and leave the Towns to the Kings pleasure. This Treaty was of none effect; only it served to free the *Greeks* from the present danger, and to gain time unto *Tissaphernes*, who desired to avoid the War by procrastination, which he durst not adventure to finish by tryall of a battell.

§. III.

How the Lacedæmonians *took revenge upon the* Eleans *for old displeasure. The discontents of the* Corinthians *and* Thebans, *conceived against the State of* Sparta.

IN the mean season the *Lacedæmonians*, who found none able to withstand them in *Greece*, began to call the *Eleans* to accompt for some disgraces received by them during the late Warres, when leasure was wanting to the requitall of such petty injuries. These *Eleans* being Presidents of the *Olympiaque* games, had set a fine upon the City of *Sparta*, for Non-payment of which, they forbad them to come to the solemnity; and publiquely whipt one of them that was of note, for presuming to contend against their decree. Likewise they hindred *Agis* King of *Sparta* from doing sacrifice to *Jupiter*; and in all points used great contempt toward the *Spartans*, who now had no businesse that could hinder them from taking revenge: and therefore sent a peremptory message to the *Eleans*, commanding them to set at liberty the Cities which they held in subjection. This was the usuall pretence which they made the ground of all their Wars: though little they cared for the liberty of such Towns, which they caused afterwards to become followers, and little better than meer Vassals of the *Lacedæmonians*. In their late Wars with *Athens*, the strong opposition which they found, caused this goodly Title of liberty to work very slowly: but having now to doe with a State of great spirit and small force, it gave present successe to their desires. Two years together they sent an Army into the Country of the *Eleans*: the first year an Earth-quake (held in those times a prodigious sign, and which did alwayes forbid the prosecution of any enterprise in hand) caused them to retire: the second year, all the Towns of the *Eleans* did hastily revolt, and the City it self was driven to submission; consenting both to suffer their old subjects freely to enjoy their liberty, and to have her own Walls thrown down. Only the Presidentship of the *Olympian* games was left unto them, which it was not to be doubted that they would in time comming use modestly, finding themselves to stand at the mercy of *Sparta*. In this expedition all the *Greeks* were assistant to the *Lacedæmonians*, excepting the *Corinthians* and *Bœotians*, whose ayd having been of as much importance in the late *Peloponnesian* War, as the force of *Sparta* it self, they could not smother their dislike of their unequall division following the victory; which gave to *Sparta* the command of all *Greece*; to *Thebes* and *Corinth*, onely security against *Athens*, but such a security as was worse than the danger. For when the equall greatnesse of two mighty Estates did counterpoise each the other, it was in the power of these Neutrall Common-weals to adhere to either, as the condition of their affairs required; but when to revenge injuries, they had by mortall hatred prosecuted the Warre to extremity, leaving the one City naked of power and friends, the other mightily increased in both; it was then (if not necessary to obey the greatnesse which themselves had made, yet) foolish and dangerous to provoke it. Nevertheless, it was not the purpose of the *Spartans* to take occasion of any quarrell, which they could not finish at pleasure, till such time as they had by victory or composition made some good end with the *Persian*, toward whom they bent all their care and forces.

§. IV. *The*

§. IV.

The passage of Agesilaus *into* Asia. *His Warre with* Tissaphernes. *How* Tissaphernes *was put to death; and the Warre diverted into another Province, through perswasion and gifts of* Tithraustes *his successour. How careless the* Persian *Lieutenants were of the Kings good.*

Agesilaus newly made King of *Sparta*, was desirous to have the honour of the victory, which not without cause, he expected upon those of *Asia*; and therefore procuring a great Army to joyn with that of *Dercyllidas*, he took his way in great pomp to *Aulis* in *Bœotia*, a Haven lying opposite to the Iland of *Eubœa*; in which place *Agamemnon* (leading the power of all *Greece* to the War against *Troy*, many Ages before) had imbarked his men. In imitation of *Agamemnon*, he meant also to do sacrifice in *Aulis*, which the *Thebans*, Lords of that Country, would not permit, but saying, that the performance of such ceremonies in that place, belonged unto their Officcers; they were so unable to conceal their malice, that sending some Companies of horse, they threw down his sacrifice from the Altar. It was not then convenient time for *Agesilaus* to entangle himself and his Country in a new Warre; therefore waiting better opportunity of revenge, he quietly swallowed the contumely, and followed his main intendment. Having landed his men at *Ephesus*, he was entertained by *Tissaphernes* with a Treaty of peace, wherein *Agesilaus* peremptorily requiring that the *Persian* should restore to liberty all the *Greek* Towns in *Asia*, was promised that the King, being first informed of his demand, should send answer to his good liking, if he would in the mean while make Truce. Truce was therefore made, which *Tissaphernes* had sought, only to win time of making provision for the War, and getting supply of men and money from *Artaxerxes*, whilest *Agesilaus* was busie in setling the estates of his confederate Cities on that side of the Sea. The end of this long vacation from war was at the comming down of these forces which *Artaxerxes* had sent: at what time *Agesilaus* received a plain message from *Tissaphernes*, that either he must forthwith depart out of *Asia*, or make good his abode by strong hand. *Agesilaus* returning word, that hee was glad to hear that his enemies had by perjury deserved vengeance from heaven, prepared to invade them; and sending word to all the Towns which lay between him and *Caria*, that they should provide victuals & other necessaries for his Army, did easily make *Tissaphernes* beleeve, that his intent was to invade that Province wherein *Tissaphernes* dwelt, and which was unfit for Horse, in which part of his forces the *Persian* had most confidence. Therefore *Tissaphernes* bestowing all his Companies of foot in *Caria*, entred with his Horse into the plains of *Mæander*, hoping thereby to stop the passage of a heavie foot-army, not suffering them to passe into that Country which was fittest for their service. But the *Greeks* left him waiting there in vain, and marched directly into *Phrygia*, where they took great spoyl without resistance, till such time as the Horse-men of *Pharnabazus* met him, who in a small skirmish having the better of the *Greeks*, were the occasion that *Agesilaus* returned to *Ephesus*. Although in this last fight only twelve men were lost, yet *Agesilaus* perceiving by that tryall how hard it would be to prevail, and hold the mastery of the field, without a greater strength of Horse, took all possible care to increase that part of his forces. By which means having enabled himself, whilest Winter lasted, he entred upon the Country of *Tissaphernes*, as soon as the season of the year would permit, and not only took a great booty, but finding the Horse-men of *Tissaphernes* in the plain of *Mæander*, without assistance of their infantery, he gave them battell, and had a great victory, taking their Camp, in which he found great riches. The blame of this losse fell heavie upon *Tissaphernes*, who either upon cowardise had absented himself from the battell, or following some other businesse, was then at *Sardis*. For which cause his Master having him in distrust, and thinking that peace might be the sooner had, which he much desired, if the man, so odious to the whole Nation of the *Greeks*, were taken out of the way; he sent into those parts *Tithraustes* a *Persian*, to cut off the head of *Tissaphernes*, and succeed him in the government. Such was the end of this base and cowardly Politician, who little caring to offend Heaven, when by perjury he could advance his purposes on Earth, failed at the last, through too much over-weening of his own wisedome, even in that part of cunning wherein he thought himself most perfect; for supposing

posing, that by his great skill in subtile negotiation he should one way or other circumvent the *Greeks*, and make them wearie of *Asia*; he did not seek to finish the war, and according to his Masters wish, bring all things speedily to quiet, but rather to temporize, till he might find some opportunitie of making such end as best might stand with the Kings honour and his own. Wherein it seems that he much mistook his Princes dispositon, who though he had highly rewarded him for the aid which he did bring in his time of danger, yet would he much more gladly have taken it, if he could have found such means whereby the danger it self might have been avoided: as not loving to have war, whilest by any conditions (honourable or not) he might obtain peace. And this appeared well by the course which *Tithraustes* took at his first possession of the low-Countries. For he sent Embassadors to *Agesilaus*, in very friendly sort, letting him know, that the man who had been Author of the warre, was now taken out of the way; and that it was the Kings pleasure to let the *Greeks* enjoy their own lawes and libertie, upon condition, that they should pay him the tribute accustomed, and the Armie be forthwith dismissed. The answer to this proposition, was by *Agesilaus* referred to the Councell of *Sparta*; in the mean season he was content to transferre the war into the Province of *Pharnabazus*, at the request of *Tithraustes*, who bought his departure with thirtie Talents.

This was a strange manner of War, both on the offensive, and on the defensive part. For *Agesilaus* having entertained great hopes of vanquishing the great King, was contented to forbear his several Provinces, at the entreaty of the Lieurenants: and those Lieutenants being employed by the King to maintain his Estates against all enemies (wherein if they failed, they knew that their heads might easily be taken from their shoulders) were little offended at any losse that fell on their next Neighbour-Princes, which were subject likewise to the same Crown of *Persia*, so long as their own government could be preserved from waste and danger. The cause of this disorder on the *Persian* side, I can ascribe to nothing so deservedly, as to the corrupted estate of the Court, wherein Eunuches, Concubines, and ministers of pleasure, were able, by partiall construction, to countenance, or disgrace, the actions of such as had the managing of things abroad; and to that foolish manner of the Kings (which was so usuall that it might be called a rule) to reward or punish the Provinciall Governour, according to the benefit or losse, which the Country, given in charge unto each of them, received, during the time of his rule. Whereby it came to passe, that as every one was desirous to make his own Territorie yeeld a large increase to the Kings treasure, so no man was carefull to assist his borderers, if losse or danger might thereby grow to himself and his; but sate still as an idle beholder, when perhaps by joyning their forces, it had not been uneasie to recompence the spoyl of one Countrie, by conquering another, or defending a third from far greater miseries.

§. V.

The War and Treatie between Agesilaus *and* Pharnabazus.

Agesilaus having thus compounded with *Tithraustes*, entred *Phrygia*, burning and wasting the Country without resistance. He took the Palace of *Pharnabazus*, and by his Lieutenant drave him out of the Camp. These Actions, together with his honourable behaviour, which added much to their lustre, were more glorious than profitable. For he did not win Cities and Places of strength, which might have encreased his power, and given assurance to the rest of his proceedings: but purchased fame and high reputation, by which he drew unto him some that were discontented and stood upon bad termes with the great King; whom he lost again as easily, by means of some sleight injury done to them by his under-Captains. *Pharnabazus* did not enclose himself in any Town, for fear of being besieged, but kept the field, lying as neer as he could safely to the enemies, with whom it was not his purpose to fight, but to make some good end by composition, which he found not uneasie to doe. For the pleasures, by him formerly done to the State of *Sparta*, in the times of their most necessity, had been so great, that when he (obtaining parley) did set before their eyes his bounty towards them, and his love, which had been such, that besides many other hazzards of his person, he had for the rescue of their fleet when it was driven to run a-shore at *Abydus*, adven-

adventured to ride into the Seas as far as he could find any ground, and fight on horseback against the *Athenians)* together with his faith which had never been violated in word or deed: they knew not how to excuse their ingratitude, otherwise than by telling him, That having War with his Master, they were inforced against their will, to offend him. *Agesilaus* did make a fair offer to him, that if he would revolt from the King to them, they would maintain him against the *Persian*, and establish him free Prince of the Country wherein he was at that time onely Deputy to *Artaxerxes*. But *Pharnabazus* told him plainly, That if the King his Master did put him in trust to make war against them, he would not fail to do the best that he could as their enemy; if the charge were taken out of his hand, and he commanded to obey another, he would then shift side, and betake himself to their alliance. The issue of this parley was, That the Armie should no longer abide in *Phrygia*, nor again return into it, whilest employment could be found elsewhere. The excuse made by *Agesilaus*, and the withdrawing of his forces out of those parts, were not sufficient to appease *Pharnabazus*, whom he had not invaded for want of more necessary businesse elsewhere; but because his Country would yeeld great booty, and for the hire of thirty Talents. By this means the *Lacedæmonians* changed an honourable Friend into a hot Enemy, who afterwards requited their unthankfulnesse with full revenge.

§. VI.

The great commotions raised in Greece *by the* Thebans *and others, that were hired with gold from the* Persian.

IN the mean while *Tithraustes*, perceiving that *Agesilaus* meant nothing lesse than to return into *Greece*, and let *Artaxerxes* rest quietly in *Asia*, took a wise course, whereby the Citie of *Sparta* was not onely driven to look to her own, and give over her great hopes of subverting the Empire, but was beaten out of all that had been gotten by many late victories, and saw her Dominion restrained unto the narrow bounds of her own Territory. He sent into *Greece* fifty talents of silver, to be imploied in raising war against the *Lacedæmonians*; which treasure was by the subtle practice of him that was put in trust with it, in such wise dispersed among the principall men of the *Thebans*, *Argives* and *Corinthians*, that all those Estates having formerly born secret hate to that of *Sparta*, were now desirous of nothing so much, as of open war. And lest this great heat of the incensed multitude should, for want of present exercise, begin to faint and vanish away in idle words, occasion was found out to thrust the *Lacedæmonians* into Armes, that they themselves might seem Authors of the quarrell. Some land there was in the tenure of the *Locrians*, to which the *Thebans* had in former time layd claim; but the *Phocians* either having the better title, or finding the greater favour, had it adjudged unto them, and received yearly mony for it. This mony the *Locrians* were either hired or perswaded to pay now to the *Thebans*, who readily accepted it. The *Phocians* not meaning so to lose their Rent, made a distresse by strong hand, recovering a great deal more than their own; which the *Thebans* (as in protection of their new Tenants) requited with an invasion made upon *Phocis*, wasting that Country in the maner of open war. Such were the beginnings of professed hostility between *Thebes* & *Sparta*, & the first breaking out of their close enmity, that had long time, though hardly, bin cõcealed. For when the *Phocian* Embassadors came to *Sparta* complaining of the violence done by the *Thebans*, & requesting succour, they had very favourable audience, & ready consent to their sute; it being the manner of the *Lacedæmonians* to defer the acknowledgment of injuries received, until occasion of revenge were offered, & then to discover their indignation in cold bloud. At this time they had very good opportunity to work their own wils, having no other war to disturbe them in *Greece*, and hearing out of *Asia* no news that could offend or trouble them. Wherefore they sent *Lysander* to raise all the Countries about *Phocis*, and with such forces as he could levie, to attend the comming of *Pausanias* King of *Sparta* (for *Sparta*, as hath bin shewed before, had two Kings) who should follow him with the strength of *Peloponnesus*. *Lysander* did as he was appointed, & being of great reputation in those parts, he drew the *Orchomenians* to revolt from *Thebes*. *Pausanias* likewise raised all *Peloponnesus*, except the *Corinthians* (who refused to assist him in that enterprise) meaning to joyn with *Lysander*, & make a speedy end

of

of the war. The conſideration of ſo great a danger, approaching ſo ſwiftly, cauſed the *Thebans* to ſeek what help they could abroad, for as much as their own ſtrength was far too little to make reſiſtance againſt ſuch mightie preparations. It was not unknown to them, that many followers of the *Lacedæmonians* were otherwiſe affected in heart than they durſt utter in countenance; but the good wiſhes of ſuch people were little available, conſidering that the moſt which could be expected from them, was, that they ſhould do as little hurt as they could: by which maner of tergiverſation, the *Corinthians* did at that preſent caſt themſelves into the diſpleaſure of the *Spartans*, to the no great benefit of *Thebes*. Wherefore it was thought the ſafeſt courſe to procure the aſſiſtance of ſome Eſtate that might preſently declare it ſelf on their ſide, which would cauſe many others to follow the example, and make their party ſtrong. To this end they ſent Embaſſadours to *Athens*, excuſing old offences, as either not committed by publike allowance, or done in time of the generall war, and recompenced with friendſhip lately ſhown in their refuſall of aſſiſting *Pauſanias*, when he came in behalf of the thirtie Tyrants againſt the good Citizens of *Athens*. In regard of which, and for their own Honour ſake, they requeſted them of aid in the preſent war, offering to doe the beſt that they could for the reſtoring of *Athens* to her former eſtate and dignitie. *Thraſybulus* and his Friends, who perſecuted by the thirtie, had been well entertained at *Thebes*, procured now the Citie to make a large requitall of the courteſie which they had received. For it was decreed, that the State of *Athens* ſhould not only refuſe to aid the *Lacedæmonians* in this War; but that it ſhould aſſiſt the *Thebans*, and engage it ſelf in their cauſe. Whileſt *Pauſanias* lay ſtill, waiting the arrivall of his Confederates; *Lyſander* being deſirous to doe ſomewhat that might advance the buſineſſe in hand, came to *Haliartus*, where though *Pauſanias* did not meet him, as had been appointed, yet he attempted the Town, and was ſlain in fight by the *Thebans*, who came haſtily to the reſcue. As this victorie did incourage the *Thebans*, ſo the comming of *Pauſanias* with his great Armie did again amaze them, with preſentation of extreme danger; but their ſpirits were ſoon revived by the ſtrong ſuccour which was brought from *Athens*, in conſideration of which, and of the late battell, *Pauſanias* durſt not hazzard a new fight with them, but receiving the bodies of thoſe that were ſlain, by compoſition, departed out of their Territorie; for which, either cowardiſe or indiſcretion, he was at his return to *Sparta* condemned as a Traitor, and driven to flie into *Tegea*, where he ended his daies in baniſhment.

§. VII.

How Ageſilaus *was called out of* Aſia *to help his Country. A victory of the* Spartans. *Conon the* Athenian *aſſiſted by* Pharnabazus, *overcomes the* Lacedæmonian *Fleet; recovers the maſtery of the Seas, and rebuilds the walls of* Athens.

THis good ſucceſſe, and the confederacy made with *Athens*, gave ſuch reputation to the *Thebans*, that the *Argives*, *Corinthians*, *Eubœans*, *Locrians*, and *Acarnanes*, did forthwith ſide with them, and raiſing a ſtrong Army, determined to give battell to the *Lacedæmonians* as near as they might, to their own dores; Conſidering that the force of *Sparta* it ſelf was not great, but grew more and more by the adjunction of their Confederates. The Magiſtrates of *Sparta* perceiving the danger, ſent for *Ageſilaus*, who readily obeyed them, and promiſing his friends in *Aſia* to return ſpeedily to their aſſiſtance, paſſed the Streights of *Helleſpont* into *Europe*. In the mean time the Cities of the new league had given battell to the *Lacedæmonians*, and the remainder of their Aſſociats; but with ill ſucceſſe. For when the right wing of each part had gotten the better hand, the *Argives* and *Thebans* returning from the chaſe in ſome diſorder, were broken and defeated by the *Lacedæmonians*, who meeting them in good order, won from them the Honour which they had gotten by forcing the left wing of the *Lacedæmonians*, and made the victory of that day entirely their own. The reporters of this battell meeting *Ageſilaus* at *Amphipolis*, were by him ſent over into *Aſia*, wherein it is not likely that they brought much comfort unto his friend, who had ſince his departure ſeen the *Spartan* Fleet beaten, and *Lyſander* the Admirall ſlain. The ſame man, whoſe endeavour had brought the *Athenians* into order by advancing the Sea-forces of the *Lacedæmonians* with money, and all manner of ſupplies, was now the occaſion that the

power

power of *Athens* grew strong at Sea, when the Citie was dispoyled of her old reputation, & scarcely able to maintain an Army by Land for her defence. *Pharnabazus* considering how much it imported the king his Master, to have the *Greeks* divided into such factions as might utterly disable them from undertaking abroad, thought it the safest way for himself, during these broiles, to take such order, that he should not need any more to seek peace by intreaty and commemoration of old benefits, at their hands, who unprovoked, had sold his love for thirty Talents. To which purpose he furnished *Conon* the *Athenian* with eight ships, who had escaped when the Fleet of *Athens* was surprized by *Lysander* at *Ægos-Potamos*; giving him the command of a great *Navie*, wherewith he requited the losse received at *Ægos-Potamos*, by repaying the *Lacedæmonians* with the like destruction of their fleet at *Cnidus*. After this victory *Conon* sailed to *Athens*, bringing with him, partly as the liberality of *Pharnabazus*, partly as the fruit of his victory, so strong a *Navie*, and so much Gold, as encouraged the *Athenians* to rebuild their Wals, and think more hopefully upon recovering the Signiory which they had lost.

§. VIII.

Of sundry small victories gotten on each part. The Lacedæmonians *lose all in* Asia; *the* Athenians *recover some part of their old Dominion.*

NEvertheless, the *Lacedæmonians*, by many victories at Land, maintained for some years the honour of their Estate, endangered very greatly by this losse at Sea. For *Agesilaus* obtained the better with his horse-men from the *Thessalians*, who were accounted the best riders in *Greece*. He wasted *Bœotia*, and fought a great battell at *Coronea* against the *Thebans* and their Allies, whom he overthrew; and by his Marshall *Gylis* forraged the Country of *Locris*: which done, he returned home.

The gain of these victories was not great, & the reputation of them was, by many losses much defaced. For the *Thebans* did in the battell of *Coronea* vanquish the *Orchomenians*, who stood opposite unto them, and retired unbroken to Mount *Helicon*, opening way perforce when *Agesilaus* charged them in the return from the pursute. Likewise *Gylis* was slain with a great part of his Army by the *Locrians*; and some other exploits by the *Lacedæmonians* performed against the *Corinthians*, were repayed with equall dammage received in the parts adjoyning; many Towns being easily taken, and as easily recovered. The variety of which enterfeats was such, that the *Thebans* themselves were drawn by the losse of the haven of *Corinth*, to sue for peace, but could not get audience, till such time as the newes came of a great victory obtained by *Iphicrates*, Generall of the *Athenian* forces at *Lechæum*; whereupon the *Theban* Embassadors being sent for, and willed to doe their message, required only in scorn, to have a safe conduct given them, that they might enter into *Corinth*. From this time forward the War was made for a while only by incursions, wherein the *Achæans*, Confederates of *Sparta*, felt most losse, their whole State being endangered by the *Acarnanians*, who held with the contrary side, untill *Agesilaus* repayed these invaders with equall, or greater calamities, brought upon their own Lands, which did so afflict the *Acarnanes*, that they were driven to sue for peace. But the affaires at Sea were of most consequence, upon which the successe of all depended. For when the Towns of *Asia* perceived that the *Lacedæmonians* were not only intangled in a hard War at home, but almost disabled to passe the Seas, having lost their Fleet at *Cnidus*; they soon gave ear to *Pharnabazus*, who promised to allow that they should use their own lawes, if they would expell the *Spartan* Governours. Only the City of *Abydus* did stand firm, wherein *Dercyllidas* lay, who did his best to contain all the Towns about *Hellespont*, in the Alliance of the *Lacedæmonians*; which he could not do, because the *Athenian* Fleet under *Thrasybulus*, took in *Byzantium*, *Chalcedon*, and other places thereabout, reducing the Ile of *Lesbos* to their ancient acknowledgement of *Athens*.

§ IX. *The*

§. IX.

The base conditions offered unto the Persian *by the* Lacedæmonian. *Of sundry fights and other passages in the Warre. The peace of* Antalcidas.

ABout this time the *Spartans* began to perceive how uneasie a thing it would be, to maintain the War against men as good as themselves, assisted with the treasures of *Persia*: wherefore they craved peace of *Artaxerxes*, most basely offering not only to renounce the *Greeks* inhabiting *Asia*, and to leave them to the Kings disposition, but withall to set the Ilanders, and every Town in *Greece*, as well the little as the great, at full and absolute liberty, whereby they said that all the principall Estates of their Country would be so weakened, that no one, nor all of them should be able to stir against the great King. And sure it was, that the power of the Country being so broken and rent into many small pieces, could neither have disquieted the *Persian*, by an offensive War, nor have made any good defence against him, but would have left it easie for him in continuance of time to have taken the Cities one after another, till he had made himself Master of all. The *Spartans* were not ignorant of this, but were so carried with envie, that perceiving how the dominion of the Seas was like to return to *Athens*, they chose rather to give all from themselves and others, and make all a-like weak, than to permit that any of their own Nation should grow stronger than themselves, who so lately had commanded all. Yet this great offer was not at the first accepted, both in regard that the other Estates of *Greece*, who had in the Kings behalf joyned together against the *Lacedæmonians*, did by their severall Embassadors oppose themselves unto it; and for that it was thought safest for *Artaxerxes* rather to weaken the *Lacedæmonians* yet more, than by interposing himself to bring friends and foes on the sudden to an equality. Especially *Struthas*, whom *Artaxerxes* had sent as his *Lieutenant* into the low-Countries, did seek to repay the harm done by *Agesilaus* in those parts: which his intent appearing plain, and all hope of the peace being thereby cut off, *Thimbro* was sent into *Asia* to make Warre upon *Struthas*; and others were appointed to other places, whereby the War being scattered about, all the Iles and Towns on the firm Land, grew almost to the manner of Pyracy and Robbery, affording many skirmishes but few great actions worthy of remembrance. *Thimbro* was slain by *Struthas*, & in his place *Diphridas* was sent, who demeaned himself more warily. *Dercyllidas* was removed from his charge at *Abydus*, because he had not impeached *Thrasybulus* in his enterprises about *Hellespont*; *Anaxibius*, who succeeded him, was surprised and slain in a skirmish by *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*. *Thrasybulus* departing from *Lesbos* toward *Rhodes*, was slain by the way at *Aspendus*. The City of *Rhodes* had long before joyned with the *Lacedæmonians*, who erected there (as was their manner) an *Aristocratie*, or the Government of a few the principall Citizens; wheras contrariwise the *Athenians* were accustomed to put the Soveraignty into the hands of the people, each of them seeking to assure themselves, by erecting in the town of their Confederates a government like unto their own: which doing (where more especiall cause did not hinder) caused the Nobility to favour *Sparta*, and the Commons to encline to *Athens*. The people of *Ægina* roved upon the coast of *Attica*, which caused the *Athenians* to land an Army in *Ægina*, and besiege their Town: but this siege being raised by the assistance of the *Lacedæmonian* fleet, the Ilanders began a-new to molest *Attica*, which caused the *Athenians* to man their ships again, that returned beaten, having lost four of thirteen. The loss of these ships was soon recompenced by a victory which *Chabrias* the *Athenian* Generall had in *Ægina*, whereupon the Ilanders were fain to keep home, and leave to the *Athenians* the Seas free. It may well seem strange that the Citie of *Athens*, having but newly raised her wals, having not by any fortunate and important battell secured her estate from dangers by land; but only depending upon the assistance of such Confederats, as carried unto different ends, had often discovered themselves irresolute in the common cause, would send a fleet and an army to *Cyprus*, in defence of *Evagoras*, when the mastery of the Seas was so ill assured, that an Iland in the eie of *Pyræus*, had ability to vex the coast of *Attica*. But as the over-weening of that City did cause it usually to embrace more than it could compasse; so the insolency and shameless injustice of the people, had now bred in the chief Commanders, a desire to keep themselves far out of sight, and to seek employments at such

distance

distance as might secure them from the eies of the envious and from publike judgments, out of which few or none escaped. For which cause *Timotheus* did passe away much part of his time in the Ile of *Lesbos*; *Iphicrates* in *Thrace*; and *Chabrias* now did carry away into *Cyprus* a greater force than his Countrie could well have spared: with which he returned not when the businesse in *Cyprus* came to an end, but sought new adventures in *Egypt*; whereby arose neither thanks to himself, nor profit to his Citie, though honour both to him and it. The *Athenians* being thus careless of things at hand, had a notable blow given unto them, shortly after that *Chabrias* was gone to *Cyprus*, even within their own Haven. For *Teleutias*, a *Lacedæmonian*, being made Governour of *Ægina*, conceived a strong hope of surprizing the Navie of *Athens*, as it lay in *Piræus*; thinking a-right that it was an harder matter to encounter with ten ships prepared for the fight, than with twentie lying in harbour, whose Marriners were asleep in their Cabbins, or drinking in Taverns. Wherefore he sailed by night into the mouth of the Port, which entring at the break of day, he found (according to his expectation) most of the men on shore, and few or none left aboord to make resistance: by which means he took many ships laden with merchandizes, many fisher-men, passengers, and other Vessels, also three or four Gallies; having sunk or broken, and made unserviceable, as many of the rest as the time would suffer. About this time *Pharnabazus*, the Lieutenant of *Phrygia*, had one of the Kings daughters given to him in marriage, with whom he lived about the Court; and many officers that favoured the *Lacedæmonians* were placed in the lower *Asia*; by whose assistance the Fleet of *Sparta* grew victorious about *Hellespont*; in such wise, that perhaps they should not have needed the peace, which they themselves procured by *Antalcidas*, from the great King, the conditions whereof were such as are mentioned before, giving freedome to all the Cities of *Greece*, and dividing the Countrie into as many severall States as were pettie Boroughs in it. Thus *Artaxerxes* having bought his own peace with money, did likewise by his money become Arbitrator and decider of Controversies between the *Greeks*, disposing of their businesse in such wise as stood best with his own good. The Tenor of *Artaxerxes* his decree was, That all *Asia* and *Cyprus* should be his own; the Iles of *Lemnos*, *Imbrus*, and *Scirus* be subject to *Athens*; all other *Greek* Towns, as well the little as the great, be set at libertie; and that whosoever should refuse this peace, upon them the approvers of it should make war, the King assisting them by Land and Sea, with men, and ships, and treasure. The *Athenians* were so discouraged by their losses at Sea; the *Lacedæmonians* by revolt of their confederates, and the necessitie of maintaining many Garrisons, for which they wanted mony; and other States by the miseries of the war, wherof they saw no end; that all (excepting the *Thebans*) did consent unto these Articles. This was called the peace of *Antalcidas*: whereof the *Lacedæmonians* taking upon themselves the execution, did not only compell the *Argives* to depart out of *Corinth* (which under pretence of defending they held by Garrisons, lately thrust into it, not as Patrons, but as Lords) and the *Thebans* to leave *Bœotia* free, of which Province *Thebes* had alwaies held the government, the *Thebans* themselves being also comprehended under the name of the *Bœotians*; but caused the *Mantineans* to throw down their own Citie, and to dwell in villages: alleging that they had formerly bin accustomed so to do, though purposing indeed to chastise them, as having bin ill affected to *Sparta* in the late War. By these courses the *Lacedæmonians* did hope that all the small towns in *Greece* would, when occasion should require it, willingly follow them in their wars, as Authors of their libertie; and that the great Cities having lost all their dependants, would be unable to make opposition.

§. X.

The war which the Lacedæmonians *made upon* Olynthus. *They take* Thebes *by treason*; *and* Olynthus *by famine.*

WHilst these wars, which ended without either victory or profit, consumed the riches and power of *Greece*, the Citie of *Olynthus* in *Thrace* was grown so mighty, that she did not only command her neighbour Towns, but was also become terrible to places far removed, and to *Sparta* it self. Great part of *Macedonia*, together with *Pella*, the principall Citie of that Kingdome, was taken by the

Olynthians, who following the usuall pretence of the *Lacedæmonians*, to set at liberty the places over which King *Amyntas* did tyrannize, had almost now driven him out of his Dominions, and taken all to themselves. The Citizens of *Acanthus* and of *Apollonia* being neareſt unto the danger of those incroaching neighbous, acquainted the *Lacedæmonians* with their fear, affirming that this Dominion of the *Olynthians* would be too strong for all *Greece*, if continuance of time should give it reputation, which onely it wanted: wherefore they requested assistance, but in such termes as did sound of compulsion, protesting that either they must war upon *Olynthus*, or become subject unto her, and fight in her defence. Hereupon was made a hastie levie of men, two thousand being presently sent away, with promise to be seconded by a greater Army. Whilest these two thousand gave such beginning to the war, as agreed with their small number, the body of the Army following them, surprized the Cittadell of *Thebes*, which was betrained into the hand of *Phœbidas* the *Lacedæmonian*, by some of the Magistrates, who sought to strengthen their faction by the slavery of their Country. The *Thebans* were ill affected to *Sparta*, but had not in any point violated the peace lately made between them; which caused the *Lacedæmonians* to doubt whether this act of *Phœbidas* were more worthy of reward or of punishment. In conclusion, profit so far over-weighed honestie, that the deed was approved, many principall Citizens of *Thebes* condemned to death, many driven into banishment, and the Traitors rewarded with the government of the citie: by whose authoritie, and the force of the Garrison, the *Thebans* were compelled to serve the *Lacedæmonians*, in all, and more than all that they could require. This accesse of power having strengthened the *Lacedæmonians*, caused them to entertain the greater forces about *Olynthus*, which (notwithstanding the losse of one great battell, and some other disasters) they compelled at length by famine to render it self unto their obedience.

§. XI.

How the Thebans *recovered their libertie, driving out the* Lacedæmonian *Garrison.*

AFter this *Olynthian* War, which endured almost three years, it seemed that no Estate in *Greece* was able to make head against that of *Sparta*: but it was not long ere the *Thebans* found a means to shake off their yoak, and gave both example and means to others to doe the like. One of the banisht men found by conference with a Scribe of the *Theban* Magistrates, comming to *Athens*, that the tyrannie wherewith his Countrie was oppressed, pleased him no better than it did those who for fear of it were fled from home. Whereupon a plot was laid between these two, that soon found very good successe, being managed thus. Seven of the banished men forsook *Athens* privily, and entred by night into the fields of *Thebes*; where spending the next day secretly, they came late in the evening to the Gates like husband-men returned from work, and so passed undiscovered unto the house of *Charon*, whom *Phyllidas* the Scribe had drawn into the conspiracie. The day following, a solemn feast being then held in the Citie, *Phyllidas* promised the Governours, who were insolent and lustful men, that he would conveigh unto them that night the most beautifull Dames of the Town, with whom they should take their pleasure. Having cheared them with such hope, and plentie of good wine, he told them when the time of performance (which they urged) came, that he could not make good his promise, unlesse they would dismisse their followers, because the Gentlewomen, who attended without the Chamber, would not endure that any of the servants should see their faces. Upon this occasion the attendants were dismissed, and the Conspirators, attired like Ladies and their Maids, brought into the place; who taking advantage of the Governours loose behaviour, slew them all upon the sudden with Daggers, which they brought hidden under their garments. Then presently casting off their disguise, they went to other places, where feigning themselves to come to the Governours upon businesse, they got admittance, and likewise slew those which were of the *Lacedæmonian* faction. By the like device they brake into the prison, slew the Gaoler, & set at liberty such as they thought meet; and being followed by these desperate men, proclaimed libertie, making the death of the Tyrants known. The Captain of the Castle hearing the sudden Proclamation, thought the Rebels to be stronger than indeed they were: the Citizens contrariwise mistrusted, that it was a pra-

a practice to discover such as would be forward upon occasion of revolting. But as soon as day-light revealed the plain truth, all the people took armes and besieged the Castle, sending hastily to *Athens* for succour. The Garrison also sent for aid unto the Towns adjoyning, whence a few broken troups comming to the rescue, were defeated on the way by the horse-men of *Thebes*. On the other side the banished *Thebans* did not only make speed to assist their Countrimen, but procured some *Athenians* to joyn with them, and thereby came so strong into the Citie, that the Castle was yeelded, more through fear than any necessitie, upon condition that the Souldiers might quietly depart with their Armes; for which composition the Captain at his return to *Sparta* was put to death. When the news of the doings at *Thebes*, and the successe arrived at *Sparta*, an Armie was raised forthwith, and all things prepared as earnestly for the recovering of that Citie, as if some part of their ancient inheritance had bin taken from the *Lacedæmonians*, and not a town perfidiously usurped by them, restored to her own libertie. *Cleombrotus*, one of the Kings, was sent on this expedition, who having wearied his followers with a toilsome Winters journie, returned home without any good or harm done; leaving *Sphodrias*, with part of his Armie, at *Thespies*, to infest the *Thebans*; who doing them some displeasures, made large amends by a foolish attempt upon the Haven of *Athens*, which failing to take, he wasted the countrie adjoyning, and drave away Cattel, causing by this outrage the *Athenians* to enter with all their power into the war, out of which they were before very carefully seeking how they might possibly with-draw themselves.

CHAP. XII.

Of the flourishing estate of Thebes, *from the battell of* Leuctra, *to the battell of* Mantinæa.

§. I.

How Thebes *and* Athens *joyned together against* Sparta. *How the* Athenians *made peace for themselves, and others, out of which the* Thebans *were excluded. The battell of* Leuctra, *and beginning of the* Theban *greatnesse.*

THe *Lacedæmonians* were men of great resolution, and of much gravitie in all their proceedings; but one dishonourable rule they held, That all respects withstanding the commodity of *Sparta* were to be neglected; the practice of which doctrine, even by the best and wisest of them, did greatly blemish that Estate: but when it was put in execution by insufficient over-weening men, it seldom failed to bring upon them in stead of profit unjustly expected, both shame and losse. And so it befell them in these enterprises of *Phœbidas*, upon the Castle of *Thebes*, and *Sphodrias* upon the *Piræus*. For, howsoever *Agesilaus* did spoyl the Countrie about *Thebes*, in which he spent two Summers, yet the diligence of the *Thebans* repaired all, who by the good successe of some attempts, grew stronger than they were at the first.

The *Athenians* likewise began to look abroad, sayling to the Isle of *Corcyra*, where they ordered things at their pleasure, and having in some fights at Sea prevailed, began, as in the *Peloponnesian* War, to surround *Peloponnesus* with a Navie; afflicting so the *Lacedæmonians*, that had not the *Thebans* by their insolencie wearied their friends, and caused them to seek for peace, it had bin very likely that the end of this war, should have soon come to a good end, which nevertheless, being prosequuted by the *Thebans* (who opposed at once both these two great Estates) left the Citie of *Sparta* as much dejected, as the beginning found it proud and tyrannous. But the *Athenians* perceiving how *Thebes* encroached every day upon her weak Neighbours, not sparing such as had bin dependants upon *Athens*, and finding themselves, whilest engaged in such a war, unable to relieve their complaining friends, resolved to settle the affairs of

Greece, by renewing that form of peace which *Antalcidas* had brought from the *Persian*. Wherefore they sent Messengers to *Thebes*, peremptorily signifying, That it was their intent to finish the War, to which purpose they willed the *Thebans* to send Embassadors along with them to *Sparta*; who readily condescended, fearing otherwise that they should be left out of the Treatie of peace: which came to passe, being so wrought by the courageous wisdom of *Epaminondas*, who understood far better than his Countrimen, what was to be feared or hoped. In this Treatie the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* did soon agree; but when the *Thebans* offered to swear to the Articles in the name of the *Bœotians*, *Agesilaus* required them to swear in their own name, and to leave the *Bœotians* free, whom they had lately reduced under their obedience. Whereunto *Epaminondas* made answer, That the Citie of *Sparta* should give example to *Thebes* by setting the *Laconians* free; for that the Signorie of *Bœotia* did by as good right appertain to the *Thebans*, as that of *Laconia* to the *Spartans*. This was well and truly spoken; but was heard with no patience: For *Agesilaus* bearing a vehement hatred unto those of *Thebes*, by whom he was drawn back out of *Asia* into *Greece*, and disappointed of all the glory which he had hoped to atchieve by the *Persian* war, did now passionately urge that point of setting the *Bœotians* at libertie; and finding it as obstinately refused, he dasht the name of the *Thebans* out of the league. At the same time *Cleombrotus* the other King of *Sparta*, lay in *Phocis*, who received command from the Governours of *Sparta* forthwith to enter upon the Land of the *Thebans* with all his power; which he did, and was there slain at *Leuctra*, and with him the flower of his Armie. This battell of *Leuctra*, being one of the most famous that ever were fought between the *Greeks*, was not so notable for any circumstance foregoing it, or for the managing of the fight it self, as for the death of the King, and many Citizens of *Sparta*, but especially, for that after this battell (between which and the conclusion of the generall peace there passed but twenty daies) the *Lacedæmonians* were never able to recover the strength and reputation which had formerly made them redoubted far and neer; whereas contrariwise the *Thebans*, whose greatest ambition had in former times confined it self unto the little Region of *Bœotia*, did now begin to undertake the leading and command of many people and estates, in such wise, that soon after they brought an Armie of threescore and ten thousand strong unto the Gates of *Sparta*. So much doe the afflictions of an hard war, valiantly endured, advance the affairs of the distressed, and guide them into the way of conquest, by stiffening that resolution with a manly temper, which wealth and ease had through luxurie, retchlesnesse, and many other vices or vanities, made rustie and effeminate.

§. II.

How the Athenians *took upon them to maintain the peace of* Greece. *New troubles hence arising.* Epaminondas *invadeth and wasteth the Territorie of* Lacedæmon.

THe *Athenians* refusing to take advantage of this overthrow fallen upon their old Enemies, and new Confederates the *Lacedæmonians*; did nevertheless finely give them to understand, that their Dominion was expired, and therefore their pride might well be laid away. For taking upon themselves the maintenance of the peace lately concluded, which *Agesilaus* (perhaps of purpose to make benefit of quarrels that might arise) had left unperfect, they assembled the Deputies of all the Estates confederated at *Athens*; where the generall libertie of all Towns, as well small as great, was ratified under the stile of the *Athenians*, and their associats. Hereupon began fresh garboiles. The *Mantinæans*, claiming power by this decree to order their affairs at their own pleasure, did (as it were) in despight of the *Spartans*, who had enforced them to raze their Town, re-edifie it, and allie themselves with such of the *Arcadians* as stood worst affected to *Sparta*. The *Arcadians*, a strong Nation, consisting of many Cities, were distracted with factions; some desiring to hold good correspondency with the *Lacedæmonians*; some to weaken & keep them low; yet all pretending other ends. The *Lacedæmonians* durst not give impeachment to the *Mantinæans*, nor take upon them to correct their ill-willers among the *Arcadians*, till such time as the factions brake out into violence, & each partie called-in forrain help. Then was an Armie sent from *Sparta*, as it were in defence of the people of *Tegea*, against the *Mantinæans*, but indeed against them both. *Agesilaus* had the leading of it, but effected nothing. The *Thebans* had by this time subdued

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the *Phocians*, and were become head of the *Locrians*, *Acarnanians*, *Eubœans*, and many others; with the power of which Countries they entred *Peloponnesus* in favour of the *Arcadians*, who had, upon expectation of their comming, abstained from giving battell to *Agesilaus*. The Armie of the *Spartans* being dismissed, and *Epaminondas* joyned with the *Arcadians*, the Region of *Laconia* was invaded and spoiled: a thing so strange, that no Oracle could have found belief if any had foretold it. Almost 600. years were spent, since the *Dorians*, under the posteritie of *Hercules*, had seized upon *Laconia*, in all which time the sound of an enemies trumpet was not heard in that Countrie. Ten years were not fully past, since all *Greece* was at the devotion of the *Spartans*: but now the Region which neither *Xerxes* with his huge Armie could once look upon, nor the mightie forces of *Athens*, and other enemy-States had dared to set foot on, saving by stealth, was all on a light fire, the very smoak whereof the women of *Sparta* were ashamed to behold. All which indignitie notwithstanding, the *Lacedæmonians* did not issue out of *Sparta* to fight, but sought how to preserve the Town, setting at liberty as many of their *Heilotes* or Slaves as were willing to bear Arms in defence of the State, and somewhat pitifully entreated the *Athenians* to give them succour. From *Corinth* and some towns of *Peloponnesus* they received speedie assistance; the *Athenians* came forward more slowly, so that *Epaminondas* returned without battell, having re-builded the Citie of *Messene*, and peopled it a-new by calling home the ancient Inhabitants, whom the *Lacedæmonians* many ages before had chased away to other Countries, possessing their Territories themselves.

§. III.

The Composition between Athens *and* Sparta *for command in War against the* Thebans; *who again invade and spoil* Peloponnesus. *The unfortunate presumption of the* Arcadians.

THis journey therefore utterly defaced the reputation of the *Spartans*, in such wise, that they did no longer demand the conduct of the Armie, which was to be raised, nor any manner of precedence: but sending Embassadours from *Sparta*, and from all the Cities which held league with it, unto *Athens*, they offered to yeeld the Admiraltie to the *Athenians*, requesting that they themselves might be Generals by Land. This had been a composition well agreeing with the situation and qualitie of those two Cities; but it was rejected, because the Mariners and others that were to be employed at Sea, were men of no mark or estimation, in regard of those companies of horse and foot, whereof the Land-Armie was compounded, who being all Gentlemen or Citizens of *Athens*, were to have served under the *Lacedæmonians*. Wherefore it was agreed that the Authoritie should be divided by time, the *Athenians* ruling five daies, the *Lacedæmonians* other five, and so successively that each of them should have command of all, both by Land and by Sea. It is manifest, that in this conclusion vain ambition was more regarded than the common profit; which must of necessitie be very slowly advanced, where consultation, resolution, and performance are so often to change hands. This appeared by a second invasion of *Peloponnesus*, wherein the *Thebans* found their enemies so unable to impeach them, that having fortified *Isthmus* from Sea to Sea, as in former times they had done against *Xerxes*, they were driven out of their strength by *Epaminondas*, who forraged the Countrie without resistance. But as the Articles of this league between *Athens* and *Sparta* did, by dividing the conduct in such manner, disable the societie, and make it insufficient to those ends for which it was concluded; so the example of it wrought their good, by filling the enemies heads with the like vanitie. For the *Arcadians* considering their own numbers which they brought into the field, and having found by many trials that their people were not inferiour to others in strength of body, in courage, or in good Souldiership, thought it good reason that they should in like manner share the government, with their friends the *Thebans*; and not alwaies continue followers of others, by increasing whose greatnesse they should strengthen their own yoke. Hereupon they began to demean themselves very insolently, whereby they grew hatefull to their Neighbours, and suspected of the *Thebans* in an ill time. For, a motion of generall peace having been made (which took not effect, because the Citie of *Messene* was not abandoned to the *Lacedæmonians*) the next enterprise of the *Spartans* and their friends was upon these *Arcadians*, who relying too much upon their own worth,

were overthrown in a great battell, their calamitie being as pleasing to their Confederates, as to their Enemies.

§. IV.

The great growth of the Theban *Estate. Embassages of the* Greeks *to the* Persian; *with the reasons why he most favoured the* Thebans. *Troubles in the* Persian *Empire. The fruitlesse issue of the Embassages.*

THe *Thebans* especially rejoyced at the *Arcadians* misfortune, considering, that without their aid, the successe of all enterprises proved so ill; whereas they themselves had by their own power accomplished very well whatsoever they took in hand, and were become not onely victorious over the *Lacedæmonians*, but patrons over the *Thessalonians*, and moderators of great quarrels that had risen in *Macedonia*; where compounding the differences about that Kingdome, as pleased them best, they carried *Philip* the son of *Amyntas*, and father of *Alexander* the Great, as an Hostage unto *Thebes*. Having therefore obtained such reputation, that little seemed wanting to make them absolute Commanders of all *Greece*, they sought means of alliance with the *Persian* King, to whom they sent Embassadour the great and famous Captain *Pelopidas*, whose reputation drew *Artaxerxes* to grant unto the *Thebans* all that they desired; whereof two especiall points were, That *Messene* should remain free from the *Lacedæmonians*, and that the *Athenians* should forbear to send their ships of warre to Sea; only the latter of these two was somwhat qualified with reference to further advice. The other States of *Greece* did also send their Embassadours at the same time, of whom few or none received much contentment. For the king having found by long experience, how farre it concerned him to maintain a sure partie in *Greece*, did upon many weighty considerations resolve to bind the *Thebans* firmly unto him; justly expecting, that their greatnesse should be on that side his own securitie. The *Athenians* had been ancient enemies to his Crown; and having turned the profit of their victories upon the *Persians* to the purchase of a great Estate in *Greece*, maintained their Signorie in such puissant manner, that (sundrie grievous misfortunes notwithstanding) they had endured a terrible warre, wherein the *Lacedæmonians* being followed by most of the *Greeks*, and supplied with treasure, and all sorts of aid by *Darius Nothus*, were not able to vanquish them till their own indiscretion brought them on their knees. The *Lacedæmonians* being victorious over *Athens*, had no sooner established their Dominion at home, than they undertook the conquest of *Asia*, from which though by the commotion raised in *Greece* with *Persian* gold, they were called back, yet having renewed their power, and settled things in *Greece*, it was not unlikely, that they should upon the next advantage have pursued the same enterprise, had not they been empeached by this *Theban* Warre. But the *Thebans* contrariwise had alwayes discovered a good affection to the Crown of *Persia*. They had sided with *Xerxes* in his invasion of *Greece*; with *Darius* and the *Lacedæmonians* against *Athens*: And finally, having offered much contumelie to *Agesilaus* when he put to Sea, they drew him home by making warre on the Confederates of *Sparta*. Besides all these their good deservings, they were no Sea-men, and therefore unlikely to look abroad; whereupon if perchance they should have any desire, yet were they disabled by the want of good haven towns; which they could not seize upon without open breach of that peace, whereof they intended to become the Executors, giving libertie to all Cities that had at any time been free. Wherefore *Artaxerxes* did wholly condescend unto the requests of *Pelopidas*, as farre forth as he might, without giving open defiance to the rest of *Greece*; and by that mean he purchased his own quiet, being never afterward molested by that Nation in the lower *Asia*. The ill means which the *Greeks* had to disturb *Artaxerxes*, was very beneficiall to the Estate of *Persia* shortly after these times, in that great rebellion of all the Maritimate Provinces. For had then the affairs of *Greece* been so composed, that any one Citie might without empeachment of the rest have transported an Army to assist the revolting *Satrapæ*, or *Vice-royes* of *Caria*, *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, *Mysia*, *Lycia*, *Pisidia*, *Pamphilia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Phœnicia*; humane reason can hardly find the means, by which the Empire could have been preserved from that ruine, which the divine Counsell had deferred unto the dayes of *Alexander*. But this great conspiracie of so many large and wealthy Provinces, wanting

ting a firm body of good and hardy Souldiers, was in ſhort ſpace diſcuſſed, and vaniſhed like a miſt, without effect: theſe effeminate *Aſiatiques* wearied quickly with the travels and dangers incident to War, forſaking the common cauſe, and each man ſtriving to be the firſt, that by treaſon to his company ſhould both redeem the former treaſon to his Prince, and purchaſe with all his own promotion with encreaſe of riches. Of this commotion, which in courſe of time followed ſome actions not as yet related, I have rather choſen to make ſhort mention in this place, than hereafter to interrupt the Narration of things more important; but for that it was like a ſudden ſtorm, raſhly commenced, idlely followed, and fooliſhly layd down, having made a great noyſe without effect, and having ſmall reference to any other action agreeable; as alſo becauſe in the whole reign of *Artaxerxes*, from the War of *Cyrus* to the invaſion of *Egypt*, I find nothing (this inſurrection, and a fruitleſſe journey againſt the *Caduſians* excepted) worthy of any mention, much leſſe of digreſſion from the courſe of the buſineſſe in *Greece*. All, or the moſt of his time paſſed away ſo quietly, that he enjoyed the pleaſures which an Empire ſo great and wealthy could afford unto ſo abſolute a Lord, with little diſturbance. The troubles which he found were only, or chiefly Domeſticall; growing out of the hatred which *Paryſatis* the Queen-Mother bare unto his wife *Statira*, and to ſuch as had been the greateſt enemies to her ſonne *Cyrus*, or gloried in his death: upon whom, when by poyſon and miſchievous practices ſhe had ſatisfied her feminine appetite of revenge, thenceforth ſhe wholly applyed her ſelf to the Kings diſpoſition, cheriſhing in him the lewd deſire of marrying his own Daughter, and filling him with the perſwaſion, which Princes not endued with an eſpeciall grace, do readily entertain; That his own will was the ſupreme law of his ſubjects, and the rule by which all things were to be meaſured and adjudged to be good or evill. In this imaginary happineſs *Pelopidas*, and the other Embaſſadors of *Greece*, both found and left him; but left him by ſo much more aſſured than they found him, by how much the concluſion of this Treaty with them, being altogether to his own advantage, did ſeem to promiſe, if not the perpetuity, a long endurance of the ſame felicity to him and his, or at the leaſt) a ful ſecurity of danger from *Greece*, whence only could any danger be feared. But ſuch foundations of eternity layd by mortall men in this tranſitory world, like the Tower of *Babel*, are either ſhaken from heaven, or made vain and unprofitable, ere the frame can be raiſed to full height, by confuſion of tongues among the builders. Hereof was found a good example in the *Thebans*, & other Eſtates of *Greece* that had ſent Embaſſadours to the *Perſian*. For whereas it had been concluded, that all Towns, as well the little as the great, ſhould be ſet at liberty, and the *Thebans* made Protectors of this common peace, who thereby ſhould become the judges of all controverſies that might ariſe, and Leaders in War of all that would enter into this Confederacy; the Kings letters being ſolemnly publiſhed at *Thebes*, in the preſence of Embaſſadours drawn thither from all parts of *Greece*; when an oath was required for obſervation of the form of peace therein ſet down, a dilatory anſwer was made by the Embaſſadours, who ſaid, that they were ſent to hear the articles, not to ſwear unto them. Hereby the *Thebans* were driven to ſend unto each of the Cities to require the Oath; But in vain. For when the *Corinthians* had boldly refuſed it, ſaying, that they did not need it; others took courage by their example to do the like, diſappointing the *Thebans* of their glorious hopes, to whom this negotiation with *Artaxerxes* gave neither addition nor confirmation of greatneſſe, but left them as it found them to relye upon their own ſwords.

§. V.

How all Greece *was divided between the* Athenians *and* Lacedæmonians *on the one ſide, and* Thebans *on the other. Of the great tumult riſing in* Arcadia.

THe condition of things in *Greece* at that time did ſtand thus. *Athens* and *Sparta*, which in former times had commanded all that Nation, and each upon envie of the others greatneſſe drawn all their followers into a cruell inteſtine Warre, by which the whole Countrie, and eſpecially the Eſtates of theſe two Cities, was brought very low, did now conjoyn their forces againſt the *Thebans*, who ſought to make themſelves Lords of all. The *Eleans*, *Corinthians*, and *Achaians*, followed the party of theſe ancient governing Cities; either for the old reputation of them, & benefits received, or in diſlike

dislike of those, who by strong hand were ready to become Rulers, to which authoritie they could not suddenly aspire without some injurie and much envie. The Citie of *Thebes* abounding with men, whom necessitie had made warlike, and many victories in few years had filled with great spirits; and being so mighty independants, that she had reduced all the continent of *Greece* without *Peloponnesus* (the Region of *Attica*, and very little part beside excepted) under such acknowledgement, as wanted not much of meer Vassallage, did hope to bring all *Peloponnesus* to the like obedience, wherein already she had set good footing by her conjunction with the States of *Argos*, and of *Arcadia*. The *Argives* had been alwayes bad Neighbours to the *Spartans*, to whom they thought themselves in ancient Nobilitie Superiours, but were farre under them in valour, having been often beaten out of the field by them, and put in danger of losing all: which caused them to suspect and envie nothing more than the greatnesse and honour of *Sparta*, taking truce with her when she was at rest, and had leisure to bend her whole force against them; but firmly joyning with her enemies whensoever they found her entangled in a difficult warre. As the *Argives* were, in hatred of *Sparta*, sure friends of *Thebes*, so the *Arcadians*, transported with a great opinion of their own worthinesse, had formerly renounced and provoked against them their old Confederates and Leaders, the *Lacedæmonians*, and were now become very doubtfull adherents to the *Thebans*. In which regard it was thought convenient by *Epaminondas*, and the State of *Thebes*, to send an Armie into *Peloponnesus*, before such time as these wavering friends should fall further off, and become either Neutrall, or, which was to be feared, open enemies. And surely great cause there was to suspect the worst of them, considering that without consent of the *Thebans*, they had made peace with *Athens*, which was very strange, and seemed no lesse to the *Athenians* themselves, who holding a firm league with *Sparta* at the same time when the *Arcadians* treated with them, did nevertheless accept this new Confederacie, not relinquishing the old, because they found that howsoever these *Arcadians* were enemies to the *Lacedæmonians*, they should hereby be drawn somwhat further from their alliance with *Thebes*, which without them was unlikely to invade *Peloponnesus* with a strong Armie. But this did rather hasten, than by any means stay the comming of *Epaminondas*; who finding the way somewhat more clear for him (because the Citie of *Corinth*, which lay upon the *Isthmus*, and had been adverse to *Thebes*, was now, by miseries of this grievous warre, driven to become Neutrall) took occasion hereby, and by some disorders among the *Arcadians*, to visit *Peloponnesus* with an Armie, consisting of all the power of *Thebes*. A great tumult had risen in *Arcadia* about consecrated mony, which many principall men among them had laid hands on, under pretence of employing it to publike uses. In compounding the differences grown upon this occasion, such as had least will to render account of the money which had come into their hands, procured the Captain of some *Theban* Souldiers, lying in *Tegea*, to take prisoners many of their Country-men, as people desirous of innovation. This was done: but the up-roare thereby caused was so great, that the prisoners were forth-with enlarged, and the *Arcadians*, who had in great numbers taken Arms, with much a-doe scarce pacified. When complaint of the Captains proceedings came to *Thebes*, *Epaminondas* turned all the blame upon them, who had made the peace with *Athens*, letting them know, that hee would be shortly among them, to judge of their fidelity, by the assistance which they should give him, in that war which he intended to make in *Peloponnesus*. These Lordly words did greatly amaze the *Arcadians*, who needing not the aid of so mighty a power as he drew along with him, did vehemently suspect that great preparation to be made against themselves. Hereupon such of them as had before sought means to settle the affairs of their Countrie, by drawing things to some good conclusion of peace, did now forthwith send to *Athens* for help, and withall dispatched some of the principall among them as Embassadours to *Sparta*, by whom they offered themselves to the common defence of *Peloponnesus*, now ready to be invaded. This Embassage brought much comfort to the *Lacedæmonians*, who feared nothing more than the comming of *Epaminondis*, against whom they well knew, that all their forces, and best provisions, would be no more than very hardly sufficient. Forbearing therefore to dispute about prerogatives, they (who had been accustomed unto such a supremacie, as they would in no wise communicate with the powerfull Citie of *Athens*, till other hope of securing their own estate could not be thought upon) did now very gently yeeld to the *Arcadians*, that

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the command of the Armie in chief, ſhould be given for the time, to that Citie in whoſe Territorie it lay.

§. VI.

A terrible invaſion of Peloponneſus *by* Epaminondas.

CErtain it is, that the condition of things did at that time require a very firm conſent, and uniform care of the common ſafetie. For, beſide the great forces raiſed out of the other parts of *Greece*, the *Argives* & *Meſſenians* prepared with all their ſtrength to joyn with *Epaminondas*; who having lien a while at *Nemea*, to intercept the *Athenians*, received there intelligence, that the Army comming from *Athens* would paſſe by Sea, whereupon he diſlodged, and came to *Tegea*, which Citie, and the moſt of all *Arcadia* beſides, forthwith declared themſelves his. The common opinion was, that the firſt attempt of the *Thebans*, would be upon ſuch of the *Arcadians* as had revolted; which cauſed the *Lacedæmonian* Captains to fortifie *Mantinæa* with all diligence, and to ſend for *Ageſilaus* to *Sparta*, that he bringing with him all that ſmall force of able men which remained in the Town, they might be ſtrong enough to abide *Epaminondas* there. But *Epaminondas* held ſo good eſpiall upon his Enemies, that had not an unknow fellow brought haſty advertiſement of his purpoſe to *Ageſilaus*, who was then well onward in the way to *Mantinæa*, the Citie of *Sparta* had ſuddenly bin taken. For thither with all ſpeed and ſecrecie did the *Thebans* march, who had ſurely carried the Citie, notwithſtanding any defence that could have bin made by that handfull of men remaining within it, but that *Ageſilaus* in all flying haſte got into it with his companies, whom the Armie of his Confederates followed thither to the reſcue as faſt as it was able. The arrival of the *Lacedæmonians* and their friends, as it cut off all hope from *Epaminondas* of taking *Sparta*, ſo it preſented him with a fair advantage upon *Mantinæa*. It was the time of Harveſt, which made it very likely, that the *Mantinæans*, finding the war to be carried from their wals into another quarter, would uſe the commodity of that vacation, by fetching in their corn, and turning out their cattell into the fields, whileſt no enemy was neer that might impeach them. Wherefore he turned away from *Sparta* to *Mantinæa*, ſending his horſe-men before him, to ſeize upon all that might be found without the Citie. The *Mantinæans* (according to the expectation of *Epaminondas*) were ſcattered abroad in the country, far more intent upon their harveſt buſineſſe, than upon the war, whereof they were ſecure, as thinking themſelves out of diſtance. By which preſumption it fell out, that great numbers of them, and all their Cattell, being unable to recover the Town, were in a deſperate caſe; and the town it ſelf in no great likelihood of holding out, when the enemie ſhould have taken all their proviſion of victuals, with ſo many of the people as had not over-deerly bin redeemed, by that Cities returning to ſocietie with *Thebes*. But at the ſame time, the *Athenians* comming to the ſuccour of their Confederates, whom they thought to have found at *Mantinæa*, were very earneſtly entreated by the Citizens to reſcue their goods, and people, from the danger whereinto they were fallen, if it were poſſible by any courageous adventure to deliver thoſe who otherwiſe were given as loſt. The *Thebans* were known at that time to be the beſt Souldiers of all the *Greeks*, and the commendation of good horſemanſhip had alwaies bin given to the *Theſſalians*, as excelling in that qualitie all other Nations; yet the regard of honour ſo wrought upon the *Athenians*, that for the reputation of their Citie, which had entred into this war upon no neceſſitie of her own, but only in deſire of relieving her diſtreſſed friends, they iſſued forth of *Mantinæa*, not abiding ſo long as to refreſh themſelves, or their horſes with meat; and giving a luſtie charge upon the enemy, who as bravely received them, after a long and hot fight, they remained maſters of the field, giving by this victory a ſafe and eaſie retrait to all that were without the walls. The whole power of the *Bœotians* arrived in the place ſoon after this battell, whom the *Lacedæmonians* and their aſſiſtants were not far behind.

§. VII.

§. VII.

The great battell of Mantinæa. *The honourable death of* Epaminondas, *with his commendation.*

Epaminondas, considering that his Commission was almost now expired, and that his attempts of surprizing *Sparta* and *Mantinæa* having failed, the impression of terrour which his name had wrought in the *Peloponnesians*, would soon vanish, unless by some notable act he should abate their courage in their first growth, & leave some memorable character of his expedition, resolved to give them battell, whereby he reasonably hoped both to settle the doubtfull affections of his own Associats, and to leave the *Spartans* as weak in spirit and abilitie, as he found them, if not wholly to bring them into subjection. Having therefore warned his men to prepare for that battell, wherin victorie should be rewarded with Lordship of all *Greece*; and finding the alacritie of his Souldiers to be such as promised the accomplishment of his own desire; he made shew of declining the enemie, and intrenching himself in a place of more advantage, that so by taking from them all expectation of fighting that day, he might allay the heat of their valour, and afterward strike their senses with amazement, when he should come upon them unexpected. This opinion deceived him not. For with very much tumult, as in so great & sudden a danger, the enemie ran to Arms, necessitie enforcing their resolution. & the consequence of that daies service urging them to do as well as they might. The *Theban* Army consisted of thirty thousand foot, & three thousand horse; the *Lacedæmonians* and their friends were short of this number, both in horse and in foot, by a third part. The *Mantinæans* (because the war was in their Countrie) stood in the right wing, and with them the *Lacedæmonians*; the *Athenians* had the left wing; the *Achæans*, *Eleans*, and others of lesse account, filled the bodie of the Armie. The *Thebans* stood in the left wing of their own battell, opposite to the *Lacedæmonians*, having by them the *Arcadians*, the *Eubœans*, *Locrians*, *Sicyonians*, *Messenians*, and *Thessalians* with others, compounding the main battell; the *Argives* held the right wing; the horse-men on each part were placed in the flanks, only a troup of the *Eleans* were in rear. Before the footmen could joyn, the encounter of the horse on both sides was very rough, wherin finally the *Thebans* prevailed, notwithstanding the valiant resistance of the *Athenians*: who not yeelding to the enemie either in courage or skill, were overlayd with numbers, and so beaten upon by *Thessalian* slings, that they were driven to forsake the place, and leave their infanterie naked. But this retrait was the lesse disgracefull, because they kept themselves together, and did not fall back upon their own foot-men; but finding the *Theban* horse to have given them over, and withall discovering some Companies of foot, which had bin sent about by *Epaminondas*, to charge their battell in the rear, they brake upon them, routed them, and hewed them all in pieces. In the mean season the battell of the *Athenians* had not only to doe with the *Argives*, but was hardly pressed by the *Theban* Horsemen, in such wise that it began to open, & was ready to turn back, when the *Elean* squadron of Horse came up to the relief of it, and restored all on that part. With far greater violence did the *Lacedæmonians* and *Thebans* meet, these contending for Dominion, the other for the maintenance of their ancient honour; so that equall courage and equall losse on both sides made the hope and appearance of victorie to either equally doubtfull: unlesse perhaps the *Lacedæmonians* being very firm abiders, might seem the more likely to prevaile, as having borne the first brunt and furie of the on-set, which was not hitherto remitted; and being framed by discipline, as it were by Nature, to excell in patience, whereof the *Thebans*, by practice of a few years, cannot be thought to have gotten a habite so sure and generall. But *Epaminondas* perceiving the obstinate stiffenesse of the Enemies to be such, as neither the bad successe of their own horse, nor all the force of the *Bœotian* Armie, could abate so far, as to make them give one foot of ground; taking a choice companie of the most able men, whom he cast into the forme of a Wedge, or Diamond, by the advantage of that figure against a squadron, and by his own exceeding vertue, accompanied with the great strength and resolution of them which followed him, did open their rancks, and cleave the whole battell in despight of all resistance. Thus was the honour of that day won by the *Thebans*, who may justly be said to have carried the victorie, seeing that they remained Masters of the

the ground whereon the battell was fought, having driven the Enemie to lodge farther off. For that which was alleged by the *Athenians*, as a token that the victory was partly theirs, the ſlaughter of thoſe Mercenaries upon whom they lighted by chance in their own flight, finding them behind their Army, & the retaining of their dead bodies; it was a ceremony regardable only among the *Greeks*, and ſerved meerly for oſtentation, ſhewing that by the fight they had obtained ſomewhat, which the enemy could not get from them otherwiſe than by requeſt. But the *Thebans* arrived at the generall immediate end of battell; none daring to abide them in the field: wherof a manifeſt confeſſion is expreſſed from them, who forſake the place which they had choſen or accepted, as indifferent for triall of their abilitie and proweſſe. This was the laſt work of the incomparable vertue of *Epaminondas*, who being in the head of that Warlike troup of men, which broke the *Lacedæmonian* eſquadron, and forced it to give back in diſaray, was furiouſly charged on the ſudden, by a deſperate Company of the *Spartans*, who all at once threw their Darts at him alone; whereby receiving many wounds, he nevertheleſſe with a ſingular courage maintained the fight, uſing againſt the enemies many of their Darts, which he drew out of his own body; till at length by a *Spartan*, called *Anticrates*, he received ſo violent a ſtroke with a Dart, that the wood of it brake, leaving the yron and a peece of the trunchion in his breaſt. Hereupon he ſunk down, and was ſoon conveyed out of the fight by his friends; having by his fall ſomewhat animated the *Spartans* (who fain would have got his bodie,) but much more inflamed with revengefull indignation, the *Thebans*, who raging at this heavy miſchance, did with great ſlaughter compell their diſordered enemies to leave the field; though long they followed not the chaſe, being wearied more with the ſadneſſe of this diſaſter, than with all the travell of the day. *Epaminondas* being brought into his Tent, was told by the Phyſicians, that when the head of the Dart ſhould be drawn out of his body, he muſt needs dye. Hearing this he called for his ſhield, which to have loſt, was held a great diſhonour: It was brought unto him. He bad them tell him which part had the victory; anſwer was made, that the *Bœotians* had won the field. Then ſaid he, It is a fair time for me to dye; and withall ſent for *Iolidas* and *Diophantes*, two principall men of War, that were both ſlain; which being told him, He adviſed the *Thebans* to make peace, whileſt with advantage they might, for that they had none left that was able to diſcharge the office of a General. Herewithall he willed, that the head of the weapon ſhould be drawn out of his body, comforting his friends that lamented his death, and want of iſſue, by telling them, that the victories of *Leuctra* and *Mantinæa* were two fair daughters, in whom his memory ſhould live.

So died *Epaminondas*, the worthieſt man that ever was bred in that Nation of *Greece*, and hardly to be matched in any Age or Countrie: for he equalled all others in the ſeverall vertues, which in each of them were ſingular. His Juſtice and Sincerities, his Temperance, Wiſdome, and high Magnanimitie, were no way inferior to his Military vertue; in every part whereof he ſo excelled, that he could not properly be called a Warie, a Valiant, a Politique, a Bountifull, or an Induſtrious, and a Provident Captain. Neither was his private Converſation unanſwerable to thoſe high parts, which gave him praiſe abroad. For he was Grave, and yet very Affable and Courteous; reſolute in publique buſineſſe, but in his own particular eaſie, and of much mildneſſe: a lover of his People, bearing with mens infirmities, wittie and pleaſant in ſpeech, far from inſolence, Maſter of his own affections, and furniſhed with all qualities that might win and keep love. To theſe graces were added great ability of body, much Eloquence, and very deep knowledge in all parts of Philoſophie and Learning, wherewith his mind being enlightened, reſted not in the ſweetneſſe of Contemplation, but brake forth into ſuch effects as gave unto *Thebes*, which had ever-more bin an underling, a dreadfull reputation among all people adjoyning, and the higheſt command in *Greece*.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

Of the peace concluded in Greece *after the battell of* Mantinæa. *The voyage of* Ageſilaus *into* Egypt. *His death, and qualities; with an examination of the compariſon made between him and* Pompey *the* Roman.

THis battell of *Mantinæa* was the greateſt that had ever been fought in that Countrie between the Naturals; and the laſt. For at *Marathon*, and *Platæa*, the populous Armies of the barbarous Nations gave rather a great fame, than a hard triall to the *Grecian* valour; neither were the practice of Armes and Art Militarie, ſo perfect in the beginnings of the *Peloponneſian* War, as long continuance and daily exerciſe had now made them. The times following produced no actions of worth or moment, thoſe excepted which were undertaken againſt forrain enemies, proving for the moſt part unfortunate. But in this laſt fight all *Greece* was intereſſed, which never had more able Souldiers, and brave Commanders, nor ever contended for victory with greater care of the ſucceſſe, or more obſtinate reſolution. All which notwithſtanding the iſſue being ſuch as hath bin related, it was found beſt for every particular Eſtate, that a general peace ſhould be eſtabliſhed, every one retaining what he preſently had, and none being forced to depend upon another. The *Meſſenians* were by name compriſed in this new league; which cauſed the *Lacedæmonians* not to enter into it. Their ſtanding out hindred not the reſt from proceeding to concluſion, conſidering that *Sparta* was now too weak to offend her Neighbours, and therefore might well be allowed to ſhew that anger in ceremonies, which had no power to declare it ſelf in execution. This peace, as it gave ſome breath and refreſhing to all the Country, ſo to the Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* it afforded leaſure to ſeek after wealth by forrain employment in *Egypt*, whither *Ageſilaus* was ſent with ſome ſmall forces to aſſiſt, or indeed, as a Mercenarie, to ſerve under *Tachos* King of *Egypt* in his War upon *Syria*. *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, who had before commanded under *Acoris* King of *Egypt*, went now as a voluntarie, with ſuch forces as he could raiſe, by entreatie, and offer of good pay, to the ſame ſervice. Theſe *Egyptian* Kings deſcended from *Amyrtæus* of *Saïs*, who rebelled againſt *Darius Nothus*, having retained the Country, notwithſtanding all inteſtine diſſentions, and forrain invaſions, during three Generations of their own race, were ſo well acquainted with the valour of the *Greeks*, that by their help (eaſily procured with gold) they conceived great hope, not onely to aſſure themſelves, but to become Lords of the Provinces adjoyning, which were held by the *Perſian*. What the iſſue of this great enterpriſe might have been, had it not fallen by Domeſticall rebellion, it is uncertain. But very likely it is, that the rebellion it ſelf had ſoon come to nothing, if *Ageſilaus* had not proved a falſe Traitor, joyning with *Nectanebus*, who roſe againſt his Prince, and helping the Rebell with that Army which the mony of *Tachos* had waged. This falſhood *Ageſilaus* excuſed, as tending to the good of his own Country, though it ſeem rather, that he grudged becauſe the King took upon himſelf the conduct of the Armie, uſing his ſervice only as Lieutenant, who had made full account of being appointed the Generall. Howſoever it came to paſſe, *Tachos* being ſhamefully betrayed by them, in whom he had repoſed his chief confidence, fled unto the *Perſian*, who upon his ſubmiſſion gave him gentle entertainment; and *Nectanebus* (who ſeems to have been the Nephew of *Tachos*) reigned in his ſtead. At the ſame time the Citizens of *Mendes* had ſet up another King; to whom all, or moſt of the *Egyptians* yeelded their obedience. But *Ageſilaus* fighting with him in places of advantage, prevailed ſo far, that he left *Nectanebus* in quiet poſſeſſion of the Kingdome; who in recompence of his treaſon to the former King *Tachos*, and good ſervice done to himſelf, rewarded him with two hundred and thirtie Talents of ſilver, with which bootie ſailing homewards, he died by the way. He was a Prince very temperate, and valiant, and a good Leader in War, free from covetouſneſſe, and not reproached with any blemiſh of luſt; which praiſes are the leſſe admirable in him, for that the diſcipline of *Sparta* was ſuch as did endue every one of the Citizens (not carried away by the violent ſtream of an ill nature) with all, or the chief of theſe good qualities. He was nevertheleſſe very arrogant, perverſe, unjuſt and vain-glorious, meaſuring all things by his own will, and obſtinately proſecuting thoſe courſes, whoſe ends were beyond hope. The expedition of *Xenophon* had filled

him

him with an opinion, that by his hand the Empire of *Perſia* ſhould be overthrown; with which conceit being tranſported, and finding his proceedings interrupted by the *Thebans* and their Allies, he did ever after bear ſuch hatred unto *Thebes*, as compelled that Eſtate by meer neceſſitie to grow war-like, and able, to the utter diſhonour of *Sparta*, and the irrepairable loſs of all her former greatneſs. The commendations given to him by *Xenophon* his good friend, have cauſed *Plutarch* to lay his name in the ballance againſt *Pompey* the Great; whoſe actions (the ſolemn gravitie of carriage excepted) are very diſproportionable. Yet we may truely ſay, That as *Pompey* made great warres under ſundry Climates and in all the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, exceeding in the multitude of imployments all that were before him; ſo *Ageſilaus* had at one time or other ſome quarrell with every Town in *Greece*, had made a Warre in *Aſia*, and meddled in the buſineſs of the *Egyptians*, in which varietie he went beyond all his Predeceſſours: yet not winning any Countries, as *Pompey* did many, but obtaining large wages, which *Pompey* never took. Herein alſo they were very like; Each of them was the laſt great Captain which his Nation brough forth in time of libertie, and each of them ruined the libertie of his Countrie by his own Lordly wilfulneſſe. We may therefore well ſay, *Similia magis omnia quam paria*; *The reſemblance was neerer than the equalitie*. Indeed the freedome of *Rome* was loſt with *Pompey*, falling into the hands of *Caſar*, whom he had inforced to take Armes; yet the *Roman* Empire ſtood, the form of Government onely being changed: But the libertie of *Greece*, or of *Sparta* it ſelf, was not forfeited unto the *Thebans*, whom *Ageſilaus* had compelled to enter into a victorious Warre; yet the Signiorie, and ancient renown of *Sparta* was preſently loſt; and the freedome of all *Greece* being wounded in this *Theban* warre, and after much bloud loſt, ill healed by the peace enſuing, did very ſoon, upon the death of *Ageſilaus*, give up the ghoſt, and the Lordſhip of the whole Countrie was ſeized by *Philip* King of *Macedon*, whoſe actions are now on foot, and more to be regarded than the Contemporarie paſſages of things, in any other Nation.

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Finis Libri Tertii.

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD;

Intreating of the times from the reign of *Philip* of *Macedon*, to the eſtabliſhing of that Kingdome, in the race of *ANTIGONUS*.

THE FOURTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of Philip *the father of* Alexander *the Great, King of Macedon.*

§. 1.

What Kings reigned in Macedon *before* Philip.

THe *Greeks*, of whom we have alreadie made large diſcourſe, not as yet wearied with inteſtine War, nor made wiſe by their vain contention for ſuperioritie, doe ſtill, as in former times, continue the invaſion and vaſtation of each other.

Againſt *Xerxes*, the greateſt Monarch of that part of the world, they defended their libertie, with as happy ſucceſſe as ever Nation had, and with no leſſe honour, than hath ever been acquired by deeds of Arms. And having had a triall and experience, more than fortunate, againſt thoſe nations, they ſo little regarded what might come from them, who had ſo often forfeited the reputation of their forces, as whatſoever could be ſpared from their own diſtraction at home, they tranſported over the *Helleſpont*, as ſufficient, to entertain and buſie them withall.

But, as it commonly falleth out with every man of mark in the world, that they underfall, and periſh by the hands and harmes which they leaſt fear; ſo fared it at this time with the *Greeks*. For of *Philip* of *Macedon* (of whom we are now to ſpeak) they had ſo little regard, as they grew even then more violent in devouring each other, when the faſt-growing greatneſſe of ſuch a Neighbour-King, ſhould, in regard of their own ſafeties, have ſerved them for a ſtrong argument of union and accord. But the glorie of their *Perſian* victories, wherewith they were pampred and made proud, taught them to neglect all Nations but themſelves, and the rather to value at little the power and purpoſes of the *Macedonians*, becauſe thoſe Kings and States, which ſate nearer them than they did, had in the time of *Amyntas*, the father of *Philip*, ſo much weakned them, and won upon them, that they were not (as the *Grecians* perſwaded themſelves) in any one age, likely to recover

recover their own, much lesse to work any wonders against their borderers. And, indeed, it was not in their Philosophie to consider, That all great alterations are storm-like, sudden, and violent; and that it is then over-late to repair the decayed and broken banks, when great rivers are once swollen, fast-running, and inraged. No, the *Greeks* did rather imploy themselves, in breaking down those defences which stood between them and this inundation, than seek to rampire and re-enforce their own fields, which by the Levell of reason they might have found to have lien under it. It was therefore well concluded by *Orosius*: *Græciæ Civitates imperare singulæ cupiunt, imperium omnes perdiderunt*; *The Cities of* Greece *lost their command, by striving each of them to command all.* *Oros. l. 3. c. 12.*

The Kingdom of *Macedon*, so called of *Macedon*, the son of *Osiris*, or, as other Authors affirm, of *Jupiter* and *Æthra*, is the next Region towards the North which bordereth *Greece*; It hath to the East, the *Ægean* Sea; it is bounded on the North and North-west, by the *Thracians* and *Illyrians*; and on the South and South-west by *Thessalie* and *Epirus*.

Their Kings were of the familie of *Temenus*, of the race of *Hercules*, and by nation *Argives*; who are listed as followeth. About some six years after the translation of the *Assyrian* Empire, *Arbaces* then governing *Media*, *Caranus* of *Argos*, commanded by an Oracle, to lead a Colonie into *Macedon*, departed thence with many people, and as he was marching through that Countrie, the weather being raynie and tempestuous, he espied a great herd of Goats, which fled the storm as fast as they could, hasting them to their known place of covert. Whereupon *Caranus*, calling to mind, that he had also by another Oracle bin directed, to follow the first troup of beasts, that should either lead him, or flie before him; He pursued these Goats to the Gates of *Edessa*, and being undiscovered by the Inhabitants, by reason of the darknesse of the air, he entred their Citie without resistance, and possest it. Soon after this, by the overthrow of *Cisseus*, *Caranus* became Lord of the rest of *Macedon*, and held it eight and twenty years. *Cænus* succeeded *Caranus*, and reigned twelve years. *Tyrimas* followed *Cænus*, and ruled eight and twenty years. *Paul. Dion. Cous. Theop. Antio. 6.* *Euseb. in Chro.*

Perdiccas the first, the son of *Tyrimas*, governed one and fifty years: a Prince, for his great valour, and many other vertues, much renowned. *Solinus*, *Plinie*, *Justine*, *Eusebius*, *Theophilus Antiochenus*, and others, affirm, that he appointed a place of buriall for himself, and for all the Kings of *Macedon* his Successors, at *Ægæ*: assuring them, that the Kingdome should so long continue in his Line and Race, as they continued to lay up their bodies in that Sepulchre; wherein it is said, that because *Alexander* the Great failed, therefore the posteritie of the *Temenidæ* failed in him: a thing rather devised after the effect, as I conceive, than foretold by *Perdiccas*. *Sol. c. 14.* *Plin. l. 4. c. 10.*

Argæus succeeded unto *Perdiccas*, and ruled eight and twenty years. *Euseb. in Chro.*

Philip the first, his successor, reigned eight and twentie years.

Europus followed *Philip*, and governed six and twenty years: in whose infancie the *Illyrians* invaded *Macedon*, and having obtained a great victory, they pursued the same, to the great danger of that State. Whereupon the *Macedonians*, gathering new forces, and resolving either to recover their former losse; or to lose at once both their Kingdome and their King, they carryed him with them in his cradle into the field, and returned victorious; for they were either confident that their Nation could not be beaten (their King being present) or rather they perswaded themselves that there was no man so void of honour and compassion, as to abandon their naturall Lord, being an infant, and no way (but by the hands of his servants) able to defend himself from destruction. The like is reported by *Aimonius* of *Clotarius* the son of *Fredegunda*. *Euseb. Justin. Ammian. The. Ant. &c. Aimon. l. 3. c. 82.*

Alcetas succeeded *Æropus*, and ruled nine and twentie years.

Amyntas the first succeeded *Alcetas*, and reigned fifty years; He lived at such time as *Darius Hystaspes*, after his unprosperous return out of *Scythia*, sent *Megabazus* with an Armie into *Europe*, who in *Xerxes* name required *Amyntas* to acknowledge him for his Supreme Lord, by yeelding unto him Earth and Water. But his Embassadours, as you have heard before, were, for their insolent behaviour towards the *Macedonian* Ladies, slain by the direction of *Alexander*, who was the son of *Amyntas*, and his Successor. *Her. Eus. Just. &c.*

Alexander surnamed the Rich, the son of *Amyntas*, governed *Macedon* three and

fortie years. He did not only appease the wrath of *Megabazus*, for the slaughter of the *Persian* Embassadours, by giving *Gygæa* his Sister, to *Bubares* of the bloud of *Persia*, but by that match he grew so great in *Xerxes* grace, as he obtained all that Region between the Mountains of *Olympus* and *Hemus*, to be united to the Kingdome of *Macedon*. Yet could not these benefits buy his affection from the *Greeks*. For *Xerxes* being returned into *Asia*, and *Mardonius* made Generall of the *Persian* Armie; *Alexander* acquainted the *Greeks* with all his intents and purposes against them. He had three sons, *Perdiccas*, *Alcetas*, and *Philip*.

Her. lib. 8. Plut. Euseb. Just. &c.

Perdiccas the second, the son of *Alexander*, lived in the time of the *Peloponnesian* war, and reigned in all eight and twenty years. The wars which he made were not much remarkable: the Storie of them is found here and there by pieces in *Thucydides* his first six Books. He left behind him two sons; *Perdiccas*, who was very young; and *Archelaus*, who was base borne.

Perdiccas the third, being delivered to the custodie and care of *Archelaus*, was at seven years of age cast into a Well and drowned by his false Guardian: who excusing this fact to *Cleopatra* the mother of the young King, said, That the child in following a Goose hastily, fell thereinto by misadventure. But *Archelaus* stayed not here: for having thus dispatched his brother, he slew both his Uncle *Alcetas* the son of *Alexander* the Rich, and *Alexander* the son of this *Alcetas*, his Cousin Germain, and enjoyed the Kingdom of *Macedon* himself four and twentie years.

Plut in Gorg. Arist. in Pol. 5.

This *Archelaus*, of whom both *Plato* and *Aristotle* make mention, though he made himself King by wicked murder, yet he performed many things greatly to the profit of his Nation. It is said, That he sought by all means to draw *Socrates* unto him, and that he greatly loved and honoured *Eurypides* the Tragedian. He had two sons, *Archelaus* and *Orestes*.

Archelaus the second succeeded his father, and having reigned seven years, he was slain in hunting, either by chance, or of purpose, by *Crataus*.

Orestes his younger son was committed to the education of *Æropus*, of the royall bloud of *Macedon*, and had the same measure which *Archelaus* had measured to his Pupil; for *Æropus* murthered him and usurped the Kingdome, which he held some six years: the same who denied passage to *Agesilaus* King of *Sparta*, who desired after his return from the *Asian* expedition, to passe by the way of *Macedon* into *Greece*.

Diod Polyæn. Plut. in Demet.

This Usurper left three sons, *Pausanias*, *Argæus*, and *Alexander*. *Pausanias* succeeded his father *Æropus*, and having reigned one year, he was driven out by *Amyntas* the son of *Philip*, the son of the first *Perdiccas*, the son of *Alexander* the Rich; which *Philip* was then preserved, when *Archelaus* the Bastard slew his brother *Perdiccas*, his uncle *Alcetas*, and his son *Alexander*. This *Amyntas* reigned (though very unquietly) four and twentie years; for he was not only infested by *Pausanias*, assisted by the *Thracians*, and by his brother *Argæus*, incouraged by the *Illyrians*; and by the said *Argæus*, for two years dispossest of *Macedon*: but on the other side, the *Olynthians*, his Neighbours neer the *Ægean* Sea, made themselves for a while Masters of *Pella*, the chief Citie of *Macedon*.

Amyntas the second had by his wife *Eurydice* the *Illyrian*, three sons; *Alexander* the second, *Perdiccas* the third, and *Philip* the second, Father of *Alexander* the Great: and one Daughter called *Euryone* or *Exione*. He had also by his second Wife *Gygæa*, three Sons; *Archelaus*, *Argæus*, and *Menelaus*, afterward slain by their brother *Philip*. He had more by a Concubine, *Ptolomie* surnamed *Alorites*, of the Citie of *Alorus*, wherin he was born.

Alexander the second reigned not much above one year, in which time he was invaded by *Pausanias*, the son of *Æropus*, but defended by *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*, while he was at that time about *Amphipolis*. He was also constrained (for the payment of a great sum of mony) to leave his youngest brother *Philip* in Hostage with the *Illyrians*, who had subjected his father *Amyntas* to the payment of tribute. After this, *Alexander* being invited by the *Alevadæ* against *Alexander* the tyrant of *Pheres* in *Thessalie*, having redeemed his brother *Philip*; to draw the *Thebans* to his assistance, entred into Confederacie with *Pelopidas*, being at that time in the same Countrie, with whom he also left *Philip* with divers other principall persons, for the gage of his promises to *Pelopidas*. But *Eurydice* his mother falling in love with her Son-in-law, who had married her Daughter

Daughter *Euryone* or *Exione*, practised the death of *Alexander* her son, with a purpose to conferre the Kingdome on her Paramour, which *Ptolomy Alorites* did put in execution: by means whereof he held *Macedon* for three years, but was soon after slain by *Perdiccas* the brother of *Alexander*. *Diodore* hath it otherwise of *Philip* being made pledge; and saith, That *Amyntas* his father delivered him for hostage to the *Illyrians*, by whom he was conveyed to *Thebes*, there to be kept: others report that *Philip* (while his father was yet living) was first ingaged to the *Thebans*, and delivered for hostage a second time by *Alexander* his brother. *Diod. l. 15. & 16.*

Perdiccas the third, after he had slain *Alorites* his base brother, governed *Macedon* five years, and was then slain in a battell against the *Illyrians*, according to *Diodorus*; but *Justine* affirmeth that he perished by the practice of *Eurydice* his mother, as *Alexander* did. *Just. l. 7.*

§. II.

The beginning of Philip's *reign: and how he deliverd* Macedon *from the troubles wherein hee found it intangled.*

PHilip the second, the youngest son of *Amyntas* by *Eurydice*, having bin instructed in all knowledge requisite unto the government of a Kingdom, in that excellent education which he had under *Epaminondas*, making an escape from *Thebes*, returned into *Macedon*, in the first year of the hundred and fifth *Olympiad*, which was after the building of *Rome* three hundred fourscore and thirteen years: and finding the many enemies and dangers wherewith the Kingdom was invironed, he took on him, not as a King (for *Perdiccas* left a son, though but an infant) but as the Protector of his Nephew, and Commander of the men of war. Yet his fruitfull ambition soon over-grew his modestie, and he was easily perswaded by the people to accept both the title of King, and withall, the absolute rule of the Kingdome. And to say the truth, the necessitie of the State of *Macedon* at that time required a King both prudent and active. For, besides the incursions of the *Illyrians* and *Pannonians*, the King of *Thrace* did set up in opposition *Pausanias*; the *Athenians*, *Argæus*, sons of the late Usurper *Æropus*: each of these labouring to place in *Macedon* a King of their own election. These heavie burdens when *Philip* could not well bear, he bought off the weightiest by mony, and by fair promises unloaded himself of so many of the rest, as he ran under the remainder happily enough. For, notwithstanding that his brother *Perdiccas* had his death accompanied with four thousand *Macedonians*, beside those that were wounded and taken prisoners; and that the *Pannonians* were destroying all before them in *Macedon*; and that the *Athenians* with a Fleet by Sea, and three thousand Souldiers by Land under *Mantias*, did beat upon him on all sides & quarters of his Countrie: yet after he had practised the men of war of *Pannonia*, and corrupted them with gifts; and had also bought the King of *Thrace* from *Pausanias*, he forthwith made head against the *Athenians* his stiffest enemies; and, for the first, he prevented their recovery of *Amphipolis*, a Citie on the frontier of *Macedon*: and did then pursue *Argæus* the son of *Æropus*, set against him by the *Athenians*, and followed him so hard at the heels, in his retrait from *Æges*, that he forced him to abide the battell: which *Argæus* lost, having the greatest part of his Armie slain in the place. Those of the *Athenians*, and others which remained unbroken, took the advantage of a strong peece of ground at hand, which though they could not long defend, yet avoyding thereby the present furie of the Souldiers, they obtained of the vanquishers life and libertie to return into *Attica*. Whereupon a peace was concluded between him and the *Athenians* for that present, and for this clemencie he was greatly renowned and honoured by all the *Grecks*.

§. III.

The good successe which Philip *had in many enterprises.*

NOw had *Philip* leasure to look Northward, and to attend the *Illyrians* and *Pæonians*, his irreconcileable enemies and borderers: both which hee invaded with

so prosperous successe, as he slew *Bardillis*, King of the *Illyrians*, with seven thousand of his Nation, and thereby recovered all those places which the *Illyrians* held in *Macedon*: and withall, upon the death of the King of *Pannonia*, he pierc'd that Country, and after a main victory obtained, he enforc'd them to pay him tribute. This was no sooner done, than (without staying to take longer breath) he hasted speedily towards *Larissa*, upon the river *Peneus* in *Thessaly*, of which Town he soon made himself master; and thereby he got good footing in that Country, whereof he made use in time following. Now although he resolved either to subdue the *Thessalians*, or to make them his own against all others, because the horse-men of that Country were the best, and most feared in that part of *Europe*; yet he thought it most for his safety to close up the entrances out of *Thrace*, lest while he invaded *Thessaly* and *Greece* towards the South, those ample Nations, lying towards the North, should either withdraw him, or over-run *Macedon*, as in former times. He therefore attempted *Amphipolis*, seated on the famous river of *Strimon*, which parteth *Thrace* from *Macedon*, and won it. He also recovered *Pydna*; and (to the North of *Amphipolis*) the City of *Crenides* (sometime *Datus*) and called it after his name *Philippi*: to the people whereof Saint *Paul* afterward directed one of his Epistles. This place, wherein *Philippi* stood, is very rich in mines of gold, out of which, greatly to the advancement of *Philips* affairs, he drew yearly a thousand talents, which make six hundred thousand French Crowns.

And that he might with the more ease disburden the *Thracian* shores of the *Athenian* Garrisons, to which he had given a great blow by the taking in of *Amphipolis*, he entred into league with his fathers malicious enemies, the *Olynthians*; whom the better to fasten unto him, he gave them the City of *Pynda* with the territory, meaning nothing lesse than that they should enjoy it, or their own Estate, many years.

Now that he might by degrees win ground upon the *Greekes*, hee took the fair occasion to deliver the City of *Pheres* in *Thessaly*, from the tyrants *Lycophron* and *Tisiphonus*: who, after they had conspired with *Thebe* the wife of *Alexander*, who usurped upon the liberty of that State, they themselves (*Alexander* being murdered) held it also by the same strong hand and oppression that *Alexander* did; till by the assistance of *Philip* they were beaten out, and *Pheres* restored to her former liberty. Which act of *Philip* did for ever after fasten the *Thessalians* unto him, and, to his exceeding great advantage, binde them to his service.

§. IV.

Of the Phocian *War which first drew* Philip *into* Greece.

ABout this time, to wit, in the second year of the hundred and sixth *Olympiad*, eight years after the battell of *Mantinea*, and about the eighth year of *Artaxerxes Ochus*, began that War, called *Sacred*. Now, as all occasions concurre towards the execution of eternall providence, and of every great alteration in the World, there is some preceding preparation, though not at the first easily discerned; so did this revengefull hatred by the *Thebans*, *Thessalians*, and *Locrians*, conceived against the *Phocians*, not only teach *Philip* how he might with half a hand wrest the sword out of their fingers; but the *Greeks* themselves, beating down their own defences, to give him an easie passage; and beating themselves, to give him victory without perill, left nothing unperformed towards their own slavery, saving the title and imposition. Of this War the *Thebans* (made over-proud by their victory at *Leuctres*) were the inflamers. For at the Councell of the *Amphyctiones*, or of the generall Estates of *Greece*, in which at that time they swayed most, they caused both the *Lacedæmonians* and *Phocians* to be condemned in greater summes of money than they could well bear; the one for surprizing the Castle of *Cadmea* in the time of peace, the other for ploughing up a piece of ground belonging to the Temple of *Delphos*. The *Phocians* being resolved not to obey this Edict, were secretly set on, and encouraged by the *Lacedæmonians*: and for refusall were exposed as Sacrilegers, and accursed to all their neighbour-Nations, for whom it was then lawfull to invade, and destroy them at their pleasures.

The *Phocians* perswaded thereunto by *Philomelus*, a Captain of their own, cast the same dice of hazzard that *Cæsar* after many Ages following did; but had not the same

chance

chance. Yet they dealt well enough with all the enemies of their own Nation. And the better to bear out an ungracious quarrell, of which there was left no hope of composition, they resolved to sack the Temple it self. For seeing that for the ploughing of a piece of *Apollo*'s ground, they had so much offended their Neighbour-God, and their Neighbour-Nations, as worse could not befall them than already was intended; they resolved to take the gold with the ground, and either to perish for all, or to prevail against all that had commission to call them to account. The treasure which they took out of the Temple in the beginning of the Warre, was ten thousand talents, which in those dayes served them to wage a great many men; and such was their successe in the beginning of the war, as they won three great battels against the *Thebans*, *Thessalians* and *Locrians*; but being beaten in the fourth, their Leader *Philomelus* cast himself headlong over the Rocks.

In the mean while the Cities of *Chersonesus*, both to defend themselves against their bad neighbour *Philip*, who encroached upon them, and to draw others into their quarrell, rendred themselves to the *Athenians*. *Philip* prepareth to get them into his hands, and at the siege of *Methone* lost one of his eyes. It is said, That he that shot him, did purposely direct his arrow toward him, and that it was written on the shaft thereof: *After Philippo*; *After to Philip*: for so he was called that gave him the wound. This Citie he evened with the soil. *Plut. in Vlpian Strab. l. 8.*

The Tyrant *Lycophron* before mentioned, while *Philip* was busied on the border of *Thrace*, and the *Thessalians* ingaged in the holy war, entred *Thessaly* with new forces, being assisted by *Onomarchus*, Commander of the *Phocian* Armie, in place of *Philomelus*. For hereby the *Phocians* hoped so to entertain the *Thessalians* at home, as they should not find leasure to invade them. Hereupon was *Philip* the second time called into *Thessalie*; but both the *Thessalians* and *Macedonians* (*Philip* being present) were utterly overthrown by *Onomarchus*, and great numbers of both Nations lost. From *Thessalie*, *Onomarchus* drew speedily towards *Bœotia*, and with the same victorious Armie brake the forces of the *Bœotians*, and took from them their Citie of *Coronea*. But *Philip*, impatient of his late misadventure, after he had re-enforced his Armie, returned with all speed into *Thessalie*, there to find again the honour which he lately lost: and was the second time encountred by *Onomarchus*, who brought into the field twentie thousand foot, and five hundred horse. All this great preparation sufficed not; for *Onomarchus* was by *Philip* surmounted, both in numbers and in good fortune, his Armie overturned, six thousand slain, and three thousand taken: of which number himself being one, was among others hanged by *Philip*. Those that fled, were in part received by the *Athenian* Gallies, which sailed alongst the coast, commanded by *Chares*; but the greatest number of those that took the Sea, were therein devoured ere they recovered them. *Lycophron* was now again driven out of *Thessalie*, and *Pheres* made free as before.

§. V.

Of the Olynthian *war*. *The ambitious practices of* Philip.

FRom hence *Philip* resolved to invade *Phocis* it self, but the *Athenians* did not favour his entrance into those parts; and therefore with the help of the *Lacedæmonians*, they retrench'd his passage at the Streits of *Thermopylis*. Whereupon he returned into *Macedon*, and after the taking of *Micyberne*, *Torone*, and other Towns, he quarrelled with the *Olynthians*, whom not long before he had wooed to his alliance, and bought his peace of them. For the *Olynthians* were very strong, and had evermore both braved and beaten the *Macedonians*. It is said, that *Philip* having put to death *Archelaus* his half brother (for *Amyntas* had three sons by *Eurydice* the Mother of *Philip*, and three other sons by *Gygæa*: but *Philips* elder brother by the same Mother being dead, he determined to rid himself also of the rest) the two younger held themselves within *Olynthus*; and that the receiving of them by the *Olynthians* was the cause of the war, *Justine* affirmeth. But just quarrels are ballanced by just Princes, for to this King all things were lawfull that might serve his turn; all his affections, and passions, how divers soever in other men, were in his ambition swallowed up, and thereinto converted.

For

For he neither forbare the murder of his own brothers, the breach of faith, the buying of other mens fidelitie: he esteemed no place strong where his Asse loaden with gold might enter; nor any Citie or State unconquerable, where a few of the greatest, to be made greater, could lose the sense of other mens sorrow and subjection. And because he thought it vain to practise the winning of *Olynthus*, till he had inclosed all the power they had within their own Walls, he entred their Territorie, and by the advantage of a well-compounded and trained Armie, he gave them two overthrowes ere he sate down before the Citie it self: which done, he bought *Euthicrates* and *Lasthenes* from their people, and from the service of their Countrie and common-weale, by whose treason he entred the Town, slew his brothers therein, sackt it, and sold the Inhabitants for slaves by the drumme. By the spoil of this place he greatly enriched himself, and had treasure sufficient to buy-in other Cities withall, which he daily did. For so was he advised by the Oracle in the beginning of his undertaking, *That he should make his assaults with silver speares:* Whereupon *Horace* well and truly said,

Hor. Com. Od. 16.

——Diffidit Urbium
Portas vir Macedo, & subruit æmulos
Reges muneribus.——

By gifts the *Macedon* clave Gates asunder,
And Kings envying his estate brought under.

And it is true that he won more by corruption and fraud, than he did by force. For as he had in all the principall Cities of *Greece* his secret workers (which way of Conquest was well followed by *Philip* the second of *Spain*:) So when in the contention between the Competitors for the Kingdome of *Thrace*, he was chosen the Arbitrator; he came not to the Councell accompanied with Pietie and Justice, but with a powerfull Armie, and having beaten and slain both Kings, gave sentence for himself, and made the Kingdome his own.

§. VI.

How Philip *ended the* Phocian *warre.*

THe war still continued between the *Phocians* and the Associates of the holy war: the *Bœotians*, finding themselves unable to subsist without some present aid, sent unto *Philip* for succour, who willingly yeelded to their necessities, and sent them such a proportion of men, as were neither sufficient to master their enemies, nor to assure themselves; but yet to enable them to continue the war, and to waste the strength of *Greece*. They also sent to *Artaxerxes Ochus* for supply of treasure, who lent them thirty talents, which makes a hundred and fourscore thousand crowns: but when with these supplies they had still the worst against the *Phocians*, who held from them three of the strongest Cities within *Bœotia* it self, they then besought *Philip* of *Macedon* that hee would assist them in person, to whom they would give an entrance into their Territorie, and in all things obey his commandements in war.

Now had *Philip* what he longed for; for he knew himself in state to give the law to both, and so quitting all his other purposes towards the North, he marched with a speedy pace towards *Bœotia*, where being arrived, *Phallechus* who commanded the *Phocian* Armie, fearing to shock with this victorious King, made his own peace, and withdrew himself with a Regiment of eight thousand Souldiers into *Peloponnesus*, leaving the *Phocians* to the mercie of the Conqueror; and for conclusion he had the glory of that war called *Sacred*, which the *Grecians* with so many mutuall slaughters had continued for ten years; and, besides the glory, he possest himself of *Orchomene*, *Coronea*, and *Corsia*, in the Countrie of the *Bœotians*, who invited him to be victorious over themselves. He brought the *Phocians* into servitude, and wasted their Cities, and gave them but their Villages to inhabite, reserving unto himself the yearly tribute of threescore talents, which make six and thirty thousand French Crowns. He also hereby (besides the fame of pietie for service of the gods) obtained the same double voice in the Councell of the *Amphyctiones*,

Amphyctiones which the *Phocians* had, with the ſuperintendencie of the *Pythian* games, forfeited by the *Corinthians*, by being partakers in the *Phocian* ſacrilege.

§. VII.

How Philip *with ill ſucceſſe attempted upon* Perinthus, Byzantium, *and the* Scythians.

PHilip, after his triumphant return into *Macedon*, by the Lieutenant of his Armie *Parmenio*, ſlaughtered many thouſands of the *Illyrians* and *Dardarians*, and brought the *Thracians* to pay him the tenth part of all their revenues. But his next enterpriſe againſt the *Perinthians* ſtayed his furie. *Perinthus* was a Citie of *Thrace*, ſeated upon *Propontis*, in the mid-way between *Seſtos* and *Byzantium*, a place of great ſtrength, and a people reſolved to defend their libertie againſt *Philip*, where the *Athenians* incouraged and aſſiſted them. *Philip* ſate down before it with a puiſſant Army, made many fair breaches, gave many furious aſſaults, built many over-topping and commanding Towers about it. But he was repelled with equall violence. For whereas *Philip* thought by his continuall aſſaults to weary them, and waſte both their men and munition, they were ſupplied, not only from the *Perſian* with men and mony, and ſuccoured from *Byzantium*, which ſtood upon the ſame ſea-coaſt, but they were relieved from *Athens*, *Chio*, and *Rhodes*, by the conduction of *Phocion*, with whatſoever was wanting to their neceſſitie. But becauſe thoſe of *Byzantium*, by reaſon of their neighbourhood, and eaſie paſſage by water, gave them often and ready help; *Philip* removed the one half of his Armie, and beſieged it, leaving fifteen thouſand foot before *Perinthus*, to force it if they could: But to be ſhort, he failed in both attempts, (as all Princes commonly doe that undertake divers enterpriſes at one time) and returned into *Macedon* with no leſſe diſhonour than loſſe: whereupon he made an overture of peace with the *Athenians*, and greatly deſired it: to which though *Phocion* perſwaded them in all he could, and that by the occaſion offered they might greatly advantage their conditions; yet *Demoſthenes* with his eloquence prevailed in the refuſal. In the mean while, *Philip* having digeſted his late affront, and ſupplied his expence, by the taking of an hundred threeſcore and ten Merchants ſhips, he gathered new forces, and being accompanied with his ſon *Alexander*, led them into *Scythia*; but he was alſo unproſperous in that enterpriſe: For the *Triballi*, a people of *Mœſia*, ſet on him in his return, wounded him, and took from him the greateſt part of the ſpoils which he had gathered.

§. VIII.

How Philip *overthrowing the* Greeks *in the battell of* Chæronæa, *was choſen Captain-Generall of* Greece. *The death of* Philip.

AMong theſe Northern Nations (part of which he ſuppreſt, and part quieted) he ſpent ſome eight years; and in the ninth year, after the end of the holy War, he was by his great advantage invited again by the *Grecians* to their aſſiſtance. For the Citizens of *Amphiſſa* having diſobeyed the decree of the *Amphyctiones*, in which *Philip* had a double voice, and who by reaſon that the *Thebans* and *Locrians* gave countenance and aid to the *Amphiſſonians*, the reſt were not of themſelves able to conſtrain them, they beſought *Philip* to come in perſon to their aſſiſtance. Now you muſt think that *Philip* was not long in reſolving upon this enterpriſe; he needed no drawing on, whom nothing could keep back; nor other diſſwaſion than a maſtering power could hold thence. He therefore commanded his Armie forthwith to march; the ſame being compounded of thirty thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe; and with as much expedition as could be made, he entred *Phocis*, won *Platæa*, and brought into ſubjection all that Region.

The reſt, and eſpecially the *Athenians*, although they had good cauſe to fear that a great part of this ſtorm would fall on themſelves, yet were they diſſwaded by *Demoſthenes* from accepting ſuch reaſonable conditions of peace as *Philip* offered, and rather made choice (having drawn the *Thebans* to joyn with them) to leave the enjoying of their

eſtates

eſtates and their freedome to the chance of one battell, than to hold it either by compoſition, or by the grace of *Philip*. But this their Oratours eloquence coſt them dear. It is true, that he could far more eaſily mind them of the vertue of their Anceſtors, than make them ſuch as they were. He might repeat unto them (with words moving paſſion) the wonders they wrought at *Marathon*, but he could not transform the *Macedonians* into *Perſians*, nor draw from the dead, a *Miltiades*, an *Ariſtides*, a *Themiſtocles*, or a *Cimon*, or any of thoſe famous Commanders, whoſe great vertues they had payed with the greateſt ingratitude that ever Nation did. A *Phocion* they had, but by the ſtrength of a contrary faction he was at this time in diſgrace, and not imployed: in ſo much as when the Armies of *Philip* and the Confedrates incountred, although ſome thouſand of the *Athenians* did abide the killing, and the like number well-near of the *Thebans* died with them; yet the want of the worthy men on that ſide to hold up the reſt, and to draw them on, and the many choice Captains of the *Macedonians*, incouraged by a King of a growing fortune, as it gave to *Philip* ſo ſhining a victory, that *Alexander* by the light thereof found his way (in deſpight of all the Nations interjacent) into *Perſia*, *India*, and *Egypt*; ſo it cut to the ground, and gave end and date to all the *Grecian* glory: Yea their liberty (ſaith *Curtius*) with their large Dominion won with ſo many difficulties, continued for ſo many Ages, and ſo often defended againſt the greateſt Kings, was now loſt in a moment, and for ever loſt.

Now this adviſed King (never paſſionate to his diſadvantage) to the end he might obtain the Soveraignty over all *Greece*, and be acknowledged for their Captain-Generall againſt the *Perſians*, without any further hazzard or trouble, was content to let go thoſe *Athenians* that were taken at this battell of *Cheronæa*, as he alſo forbare to attempt any thing againſt their Citie: but in *Thebes* (which lately by the vertue of *Epaminondas* triumphed over the reſt) he lodged a Garriſon of *Macedonians*. And being ſoon after (according unto the long deſire which he had nouriſhed of this Soveraignty) by the gerall States at *Corinth*, ſtiled the firſt Commander of all the *Grecians*, and contribution of men and mony granted him, he compounded an Army of great ſtrength, and under the Commandement of *Attalus* and *Parmenio*, tranſported the ſame over the *Helleſpont* into *Aſia*, to begin the War. Of his enterpriſe againſt *Perſia*, he ſought the ſucceſſe from the Oracle at *Delphos*, from whence he received ſuch another convertible riddle, as *Cræſus* did when he attempted *Cyrus*, and was in like ſort miſtaken in the expoſition.

But as it is hard to diſcern and withſtand the flatteries of our own appetites, ſo did *Philips* ambitious deſire to invade *Perſia*, abuſe his judgement, ſo far, that the death, wherewith himſelf was threatned, he underſtood to be delivered of his enemy, whom he intended preſently to invade. Before his purpoſed departure into *Aſia*, he prepared for the marriage of his Daughter *Cleopatra*, with *Alexander* King of *Epirus*; to which feaſt and paſtimes thereat appointed, he invited all his Friends and Allies, with the principall perſons of the *Grecian* Cities, from whom he received much honour and many rich preſents: but this was indeed the feaſt of his Funerall. For having refuſed to doe juſtice to one *Pauſanias*, a Gentleman of his Guard, whom *Attalus* (greatly favoured by *Philip*) had firſt made drunk, and then left to be carnally abuſed by divers baſe perſons: this *Pauſanias* grew into ſo great a deteſtation of the Kings partiality in ſo foul a fact, as when *Philip* was paſſing towards the Theater, he drew a ſword from under his long garment and wounded him to death, when he had lived ſix and forty years, and reigned five and twenty. *Juſtine* reports it, that *Olympias* incouraged *Pauſanias* to murder the King her husband, which after his death ſhe boldly avowed, by the honour ſhe did unto *Pauſanias*, in crowning his dead body, in conſecrating his ſword unto *Apollo*, by building for him a monument, and other like Graces.

Juſt. lib. 9.

§. IX.

What good foundations of Alexanders *greatneſſe were laid by* Philip. *Of his laudable qualities and iſſue.*

NOw although he were then taken from the World, when he had maſtered all oppoſition on that ſide of the Sea, and had ſeen the fruits of his hopes, and labours, changing colour towards ripeneſſe and perfection; yet hee was here-

herein happy, that he lived to ſee his ſon *Alexander* at mans eſtate, and had himſelf bin an eie-witneſſe of his reſolution and ſingular valour in this laſt battell.

The foundation of whoſe future greatneſſe he had laid ſo ſoundly for him, with ſo plain a pattern of the buildings which himſelf meant to erect, as the performance and finiſhing was farre more eaſie to *Alexander*, though more glorious, than the beginnings unto *Philip*, though leſſe famous. For, beſides the recovery of *Macedon* it ſelf in competition between him and the ſonnes of *Æropus*, the one aſſiſted by the *Thracians*, the other by the *Athenians*, and beſides the regaining of many places poſſeſt by the *Illyrians*, the cruſhing of all thoſe Northern Kings his Neighbours, the over-throw of *Olinthus*, a State that deſpiſed the power of his Father, the many Maritimate Cities taken, of great ſtrength and ancient freedome, and the ſubjection of that famous Nation of *Greece*, which for ſo many ages had defended it ſelf againſt the greateſt Kings of the World, and won upon them; He left unto his ſon, and had bred up for him ſo many choice Commanders, as the moſt of them, both for their valour and judgement in the Warre, were no leſſe worthy of Crowns, than himſelf was that ware a Crown: For it was ſaid of *Parmenio* (whom *Alexander*, ungratefull to ſo great vertue, impiouſly murthered) That *Parmenio* had performed many things challenging eternall fame, without the King; but the King without *Parmenio* never did any thing worthy of renowne: as for the reſt of his Captaines, though content to obey the Son of ſuch a Father, yet did they not after *Alexanders* death endure to acknowledge any man Superiour to themſelves.

Of this Prince it is hard to judge, whether his ambition had taught him the exerciſe of more vices, than Nature and his excellent education had enriched him with vertues. For beſides that he was Valiant, Wiſe, Learned, and Maſter of his Affections, he had this favour of Piety, that he rather laboured to ſatiſfie thoſe that were grieved, than to ſuppreſſe them. Whereof (among many other) we find a good example in his dealing with *Arcadion* and *Nicanor*, whom, when for their evill ſpeech of *Philip*, his familiars perſwaded him to put to death, he anſwered them, That firſt it ought to be conſidered, whether the fault were in them that gave him ill language, or in himſelf; Secondly, that it was in every mans own power to be well ſpoken of; and this was ſhortly proved, for after *Philip* relieved their neceſſities, there were none within his Kingdome that did him more honour than they did. Wherupon he told thoſe that had perſwaded him to uſe violence, that he was a better Phyſician for evill ſpeech than they were.

His Epiſtles to *Alexander* his ſon are remembred by *Cicero* and *Gellius*; and by *Dion* and *Chryſoſtome* exceedingly commended. His Stratagems are gathered by *Polyænus* and *Frontinus*; his wiſe ſayings by *Plutarch*. And albeit he held *Macedon* as in his own right, all the time of his reign, yet was he not the true and next Heire thereof; for *Amyntas* the ſon of his brother *Perdiccas* (of whom he had the Protection during his infancy) had the right. This *Amyntas* he married to his daughter *Cyna*, who had by him a daughter called *Eurydice*, who was married to *Philips* baſe ſon *Aridæus*, her Uncle by the Mothers ſide: both which *Olympias*, *Philips* firſt Wife, and Mother to *Alexander* the Great, put to death; *Aridæus* by extreme torments, *Eurydice* ſhe ſtrangled.

Cic. Off. 2. Gell. l. 9. c. 3. Dion. 2. de Reg.

Philip had by this *Olympias*, the daughter of *Neoptolemus*, King of the *Moloſſians* (of the race of *Achilles*) *Alexander* the Great, and *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was married to her Uncle *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*, and was after her brother *Alexanders* death ſlain at *Sardis*, by the commandement of *Antigonus*.

By *Audata*, an *Illyrian*, his ſecond Wife, he had *Cyna*, married as is ſhewed before.

By *Nicaſipolis*, the Siſter of *Jaſon*, Tyrant of *Pheres*, he had *Theſſalonica*, whom *Caſſander*, after he had taken *Pidna*, married; but ſhe was afterward by her father-in-law *Antipater* put to death.

By *Cleopatra* the Neece of *Attalus*, he had *Caranus*, whom others call *Philip*: him *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander* the Great, cauſed to be roſted to death in a copper Pan. Others lay this murder to *Alexander* himſelf. By the ſame *Cleopatra* he had likewiſe a daughter called *Europa*, whom *Olympias* alſo murdered at the Mothers breaſt.

Athen. l. 13. c. 2. Juſt. l. 3. c.

By *Phila* and *Meda* he had no iſſue.

He had alſo two Concubines, *Arſinoe*, whom after he had gotten with child, he married to an obſcure man, called *Lagus*, who bare *Ptolomie* King of Egypt, called the Son of *Lagus*, but eſteemed the Son of *Philip*: by *Philinna*, his ſecond Concubine, a pub-

a publike Dancer, he had *Aridæus*, of whom we shall have much occasion to speak hereafter.

CHAP. II.

Of ALEXANDER *the Great.*

§. I.

A breif rehearsall of Alexanders *doings, before he invaded Asia.*

ALexander, afterwards called the Great, succeeded unto *Philip* his Father; being a Prince no lesse valiant by Nature, than by Education, well instructed, and inriched in all sorts of Learning and good Arts. He began his reign over the *Macedonians* four hundred and seventeen years after *Rome* was built, and after his own birth twenty years. The strange dreams of *Philip* his father, and that one of the gods, in the shape of a Snake, begat him on *Olympias* his Mother, I omit as foolish tales; but that the Temple of *Diana* (a work the most magnificent of the world) was burnt upon the day of his birth, and that so strange an accident was accompanied with the newes of three severall victories, obtained by the *Macedonians*, it was very remarkable, and might with the reason of those times be interpreted for ominous, & foreshewing the great things by *Alexander* afterward performed. Upon the change of the King, the Neighbour-Nations, whom *Philip* had oppreſt, began to consult about the recoverie of their former libertie, and to adventure it by force of arms. *Alexanders* young years gave them hope of prevailing, and his suspected severitie increased courage in those, who could better resolve to die, than to live slavishly. But *Alexander* gave no time to those swelling humours, which might speedily have endangered the health of his Estate. For after revenge taken upon the Conspirators against his Father, whom he slew upon his Tombe, and the celebration of his Funeralls, he first fastened unto him his own nation, by freeing them from all exactions and bodily slavery, other than their service in his Wars; and used such Kingly austeritie towards those that contemned his young years, and such clemencie to the rest that perswaded themselves of the crueltie of his disposition, as all affections being passed at home, he made a present journie into *Peloponnesus*, and so well exercised his spirits among them, as by the Counsell of the States of *Greece*, he was according to the great desire of his heart, elected Captain-Generall against the *Persians*, upon which war *Philip* had not only resolved, (who had obtained the same title of Generall Commander) but had transported under the leading of *Parmenio* and *Attalus*, a part of his Armie, to recover some places on *Asia*-side, for the safe descent of the rest.

This enterprise against the *Persian* occupied all *Alexanders* affections; those fair marks of Riches, Honour, and large Dominion, he now shot at both sleeping and waking: all other thoughts & imaginations were either grievous or hateful. But a contrary wind ariseth; for he receiveth advertisement, that the *Athenians*, *Thebans*, and *Lacedæmonians*, had united themselves against him, and, by assistance from the *Persian*, hoped for the recoverie of their former freedome. Hereto they were perswaded by *Demosthenes*, himself being thereto perswaded by the gold of *Persia*: the devise he used was more subtile than profitable; for hee caused it to bee bruited that *Alexander* was slain in a battail against the *Triballes*, and brought into the assembly a companion whom hee had corrupted, to affirm, that himself was present, and wounded in the battail. There is indeed a certain Doctrine of Policie (as Policie is now a-daies defined by falsehood and knaverie) that devised rumors & lies, if they serve the turn but for a day or two, are greatly available. It is true that common people are sometimes mockt by them, as Souldiers are by false alarums in the Wars; but in all that I have observed, I have found the success as ridiculous as the invention. For as those that find themselves at one time abused by such like bruits, doe at other times neglect their duties, when they are upon true reports, and in

in occasions perillous, summoned to assemble; so doe all men in generall condemn the Venters of such trumpery, and for them, fear upon necessary occasions to entertain the truth it self. This labour unlooked for, and losse of time, was not onely very grievous to *Alexander*, but by turning his sword from the ignoble and effeminate *Persians*, against which he had directed it, towards the manly and famous *Græcians*, of whose assistance he thought himself assured, his present undertaking was greatly disordered. But he that cannot endure to strive against the wind, shall hardly attain the Port which he purposeth to recover: and it no lesse becommeth the worthiest men to oppose misfortunes, than it doth the weakest children to bewail them.

He therefore made such expedition towards these Revolters, as that himself, with the Army that followed him, brought them the first newes of his preparation. Hereupon all stagger, and the *Athenians*, as they were the first that moved, so were they the first that fainted, seeking by their Embassadours to pacifie the King, and to be received again into his grace. *Alexander* was not long in resolving; for the *Persians* perswaded him to pardon the *Græcians*. Wise men are not easily drawn from great purposes by such occasions as may easily be taken off, neither hath any King ever brought to effect any great affair, who hath intangled himself in many enterprises at once, not tending to one and the same certain end.

And having now quieted his borderers towards the South, he resolved to assure those Nations which lay on the North-side of *Macedon*, to wit, the *Thracians*, *Triballes*, *Peones*, *Getes*, *Agrians*, and other salvage people, which had greatly vexed with incursions, not onely other of his Predecessors, but even *Philip* his Father: with all which, after divers overthrowes given them, he made peace, or else brought them into subjection. Notwithstanding this good successe, hee could not yet find the way out of *Europe*. There is nothing more naturall to man than liberty; the *Greeks* had enjoyed it over-long, and lost it too late to forget it; they therefore shake off the yoke once again. The *Thebans*, who had in their Citadell a Garrison of a thousand *Macedons*, attempt to force it; *Alexander* hastneth to their succour, and presents himself with thirty thousand foot, all old souldiers, and three thousand horse, before the City, and gave the Inhabitants some daies to resolve, being even heart-sick with the desire of passing into *Asia*. So unwilling, indeed, he was to draw bloud of the *Græcians*, by whom he hoped to serve himself elsewhere, that he offered the *Thebans* remission, if they would only deliver into his hands *Phœnix* and *Prothytes*, the stirrers up of the Rebellion. But they, opposing the mounting fortune of *Alexander*, (which bare all resistance before it, like the breaking in of the Ocean Sea) in stead of such an answer, as men besieged and abandoned should have made, demanded *Philotas* and *Antipater* to be delivered unto them; as if *Thebes* alone, then layed in the ballance of *Fortune* with the Kingdome of *Macedon*, and many other Provinces, could either have evened the scale or swayed it. Therefore in the end they perished in their obstinacy. For while the *Thebans* oppose the Army assailant, they are charged at the back by the *Macedonian* Garrison, their Citie taken and razed to the ground, six thousand slain, and thirty thousand sold for slaves, at the price of four hundred and forty talents. This the King did to the terrour of the other *Græcian* Cities.

Many arguments were used by *Cleadas* one of the prisoners, to perswade *Alexander* to forbear the destruction of *Thebes*. He prayed the King to believe that they were rather misse-led by giving hasty credit to false reports, than any way malicious; for being perswaded of *Alexanders* death, they rebelled but against his successour. He also besought the King to remember, that his father *Philip* had his education in that City, yea, that his Ancestour *Hercules* was born therein: but all perswasions were fruitlesse; the times wherein offences are committed do greatly aggravate them. Yet for the honour he bare to learning, he pardoned all the race of *Pindarus* the Poet, and spared, and set at liberty *Timoclea*, the sister of *Theagenes*, who died in defence of the liberty of *Greece* against his father *Philip*. This noble woman being taken by a *Thracian*, and by him ravished, he threatned to take her life unlesse she would confesse her treasure: she led that *Thracian* to a Well, and told him that she had therein cast it: and when the *Thracian* stooped to look into the Well, she suddenly thrust him into the mouth thereof, and stoned him to death.

Now because the *Athenians* had received into their City so many of the *Thebans*, as had

had escaped and fled unto them for succour, *Alexander* would not grant them peace, but upon condition to deliver into his hands both their Orators which perswaded this second revolt, and their Captains; yet in the end, it being a torment unto him to retard the enterprise of *Persia*, he was content that the Orators should remain, and accepted of the banishment of the Captains; wherein he was exceeding ill advised, had not his fortune, or rather the providence of God, made all the resistance against him unprofitable: for these good Leaders of the *Gracians* betook themselves to the service of the *Persian*, whom after a few dayes be invaded.

§. II.

How Alexander *passing into* Asia, *fought with the* Persians *upon the River of* Granicus.

WHen all was now quieted at home, *Alexander*, committing to the trust of *Antipater* both *Greece* and *Macedon*, in the first of the Spring did passe the *Hellespont*, and being ready to dis-imbark, he threw a Dart towards the *Asian* shore, as a token of defiance, commanding his Souldiers not to make any waste in their own Territorie, or to burn, or deface those buildings which themselves were presently, and in the future to possesse. He landed his Armie, consisting of two and thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, all old Souldiers, neer unto *Troy*, where he offered a solemn sacrifice upon *Achilles* Tombe, his maternall Ancestor.

But before he left his own coast, hee put to death without any offence given him, all his Mother-in-lawes Kinsmen, whom *Philip* his Father had greatly advanced, not sparing such of his own as he suspected. He also took with him many of his tributary Princes, of whose fidelity he doubted; thinking by unjust cruelty to assure all things, both in the present and future. Yet the end of all fell out contrary to the policy which his Ambition had commended unto him, though agreeing very well with the justice of God; for all that he had planted, was soon after withered, and rooted up; those, whom he most trusted, were the most traiterous; his mother, friends, and children, fell by such another mercilesse sword as his own, and all manner of confusion followed his dead body to the grave, and left him there.

When the knowledge of *Alexander*'s landing on *Asia* side was brought to *Darius*, he so much scorned the Army of *Macedon*, and had so contemptible an opinion of *Alexander* himself, as having stiled him his servant on a letter which he wrote unto him, reprehending his disloyaltie and audacitie (for *Darius* intitled himself King of Kings, and the Kinsman of the gods) he gave order withall to his Lieutenants of the lesser *Asia*, that they should take *Alexander* alive, whip him with rods, and then convey him to his presence: that they should sink his ships, and send the *Macedons* taken prisoners beyond the Red-Sea; belike into *Æthiopia*, or some other unhealthfull part of *Africa*.

In this sort did this glorious King, confident in the glittering, but heartlesse, multitude which he commanded, dispose of the already-vanquished *Macedonians*: But the ill destinies of men bear them to the ground, by what strong confidence soever armed. The great numbers which he gathered together and brought in one heap into the field, gave rather an exceeding advantage to his enemies, than any discouragement at all. For besides that they were men utterly unacquainted with dangers, men who by the name and countenance of their King were wont to prevail against those of lesse courage than themselves, men that took more care how to embroider with gold and silver their upper garments, as if they attended the invasion but of the Sun-beams, than they did to arm themselves with yron and steel against the sharp pikes, swords and darts of the hardie *Macedonians*; I say, besides all these, even the opinion they had of their own numbers, of which every one in particular hoped that it would not fall to his turn to fight, filled every of them with the care of their own safetie, without any intent at all to hazzard any thing but their own breath, and that of their horses, in running away. The *Macedonians*, as they came to fight, and thereby to enrich themselves with the gold and jewels of *Persia*, both which they needed; so the *Persians*, who expected nothing in that Warre but blowes and wounds, which they needed not, obeyed the King, who had power to constrain them in assembling themselves for his service; but their own fears and cowardise, which in time of danger had most power over them,

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they only then obeyed, when their rebellion against so servile a passion did justly and violently require it. For, saith *Vegetius*: *Quemadmodum bene exercitatus miles prælium cupit, ita formidat indoctus; nam sciendum est in pugna usum amplius prodesse quàm vires; As the well-practised Souldier desires to come to battail, so the raw one fears it: for we must understand, that in fight it more avails to have been accustomed unto the like, than only to have rude strength.* What manner of men the *Persians* were, *Alexander* discovered in the first encounter, before which time it is said, by those that write his story, that it was hard to judge, whether his daring to undertake the conquest of an Empire so well peopled, with a handfull of men, or the successe he had, were more to be wondred at. For at the River of *Granick*, which severeth the Territory of *Troy* from *Propontis*, the *Persians* sought to stop his passage, taking the higher ground and bank of the River to defend, which *Alexander* was forced (as it were) to clime up unto, and scale from the Level of the water. Great resistance (saith *Curtius*) was made by the *Persians*, yet in the end *Alexander* prevailed. But it seems to me, that the victory then gotten was exceeding easie, and that the twenty thousand *Persian* foot-men, said to be slain, were rather kill'd in the back, in running away, than hurt in the bosoms by resisting. For had those twenty thousand foot, and two hundred and fiftie horsemen, or after *Plutarch*, two thousand and five hundred horse-men, dyed with their faces towards the *Macedonians*, *Alexander* could not have bought their lives at so small a rate, as with the losse of four and thirty of all sorts of his own. And if it were also true, that *Plutarch* doth report, how *Alexander* encountred two of the *Persian* Commanders, *Spithridates* and *Rhæsaces*, and that the *Persian* horse-men fought with great fury, though in the end scattered; and lastly, how those *Gracians* in *Darius* his pay, holding themselves in one body upon a piece of ground of advantage, did (after mercy was refused them) fight it out to the last; how doth it then resemble truth, that such resistance having been made, yet of *Alexanders* Army there fell but twelve Footmen, and two and twenty Horsemen?

§. III.

A digression concerning the defence of hard passages. Of things following the battail of Granick.

THe winning of this passage did greatly encourage the *Macedonians*, and brought such terrour upon all those of the lesser *Asia*, as he obtained all the Kingdoms thereof without a blow, some one or two Towns excepted. For in all invasions, where the Nations invaded have once been beaten upon a great advantage of the place, as in defence of Rivers, Streights, and Mountains, they will soon have perswaded themselves, that such an enemy upon equall termes and even ground, can hardly be resisted. It was therefore *Machiavels* counsell, That he which resolveth to defend a passage, should with his ablest force oppose the Assailant. And to say truth, few Regions of any great circuit are so well fenced, that Armies of such force as may be thought sufficient to conquer them, can be debarred all entrance, by the naturall difficultie of the wayes. One passage or other is commonly left unguarded: if all be defended, then must the forces of the Country be distracted; and yet lightly some one place will be found that is defended very weakly. How often have the *Alpes* given way to Armies, breaking into *Italy*? Yea, where shall we find that ever they kept out an invader? Yet are they such as (to speak briefly) afflict with all difficulties those that travail over them; but they give no security to those that lye behind them: for they are of too large extent. The towns of *Lombardy* perswaded themselves that they might enjoy their quiet, when the Warlike Nation of the *Switzers* had undertaken to hinder *Francis* the *French* King from descending into the Dutchy of *Milan*: but whilest these Patrons of *Milan*, whom their own dwelling in those Mountains had made fittest of all other for such a service, were busied in custody of the *Alpes*; *Francis* appeared in *Lombardy*, to so much the greater terrour of the Inhabitants, by how much the lesse they had expected his arrivall. What shall we say of those Mountains, which lock up whole Regions in such sort, as they leave but one gate open? The Streights, or (as they were called) the gates of *Taurus* in *Cilicia*, and those of *Thermopylæ*, have seldome been attempted, perhaps because they were thought impregnable: but how seldome (if ever) have they been attempted in vain? *Xerxes*, and long after him, the *Romans*, forced the entrance of

Thermopylæ; *Cyrus* the yonger, and after him *Alexander*, found the Gates of *Cilicia* wide open; how strongly soever they had bin locked and barred, yet were those Countries open enough to a fleet that should enter on the back-side. The defence of Rivers how hard a thing it is, we find examples in all histories that bear good witness. The deepest have many Foords; the swiftest and broadest may be passed by Boats, in case it be found a matter of difficulty to make a bridge. He that hath men enow to defend all the length of his own bank, hath also enow to beat his enemy; and may therefore doe better to let him come over, to his loss, than by striving in vain to hinder the passage, as a matter tending to his own disadvantage, fill the heads of his Souldiers with an opinion, that they are in ill case, having their means of safeguard taken from them, by the skill or valour of such as are too good for them. Certainly, if a River were sufficient defence against an Army, the Isle of *Mona*, now called *Anglesey*, which is divided from North-Wales by an armie of the Sea, had been safe enough against the *Romans* invading it under conduct of *Julius Agricola*. But he wanting, and not meaning to spend the time in making vessels to transport his forces, did assay the foords. Whereby he so amazed the enemies attending for ships and such like provision by Sea, that surely beleeving nothing could be hard or invincible to men, which came so minded to War, they humbly intreated for peace, and yeelded the Iland. Yet the *Britaines* were men stout enough, the *Persians* were very dastards.

It was therefore wisely done of *Alexander*, to passe the River of *Granick* in face of the enemy; not marching higher to seek an easier way, nor labouring to convey his men over it by some safer means. For, having beaten them upon their own ground, he did thereby cut off no lesse of their reputation, than of their strength, leaving no hope of succour to the partakers and followers of such unable Protectors.

Soon after this victory he recovered *Sardis*, *Ephesus*, the Cities of the *Trallians*, and *Magnesia*, which were rendred unto him. The inhabitants of which, with the people of the Countrie, he received with great grace, suffering them to be governed by their own laws. For he observed it well; *Novum Imperium inchoantibus utilis clementiæ fama*; *It is commodious unto such as lay the foundations of a new Soveraignty, to have the fame of being mercifull*. He then by *Parmenio* wan *Miletus*, and by force mastered *Halicarnassæus*, which because it resisted obstinately, he razed to the ground. From whence he entred into *Caria*, where *Ada* the Queen, who had been cast out of all that she held (except the City of *Alinda*) by *Darius* his Lieutenants, presented her self unto him, and adopted him her son and successour; which *Alexander* accepted in so gracious part, as he left the whole Kingdome to her disposing. He then entred into *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*, and obtained all the Sea coasts, and subjecting unto him *Pisidia*, he directed himself towards *Darius* (who was said to be advanced towards him with a marvellous Army) by the way of *Phrygia*: For all the Province of *Asia* the lesse, bordering upon the Sea, his first victory layed under his feet.

While he gave order for the government and setling of *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*, they sent *Cleander* to raise some new Captains in *Peloponnesus*, and marching towards the North, he entred *Celenas*, seated on the River *Meander*, which was abandoned unto him, the Castle onely holding out, which also after forty dayes was given up: for so long time he gave them to attend succour from *Darius*. From *Celenas* he past on through *Phrygia* towards the *Euxine* Sea, till he came to a city called *Gordium*, the Regall seat, in former times, of King *Midas*. In this City it was, that he found the *Gordian*-knot, which when he knew not how to undoe, he cut it asunder with his sword. For there was an ancient prophecie did promise to him that could untie it, the Lordship of all *Asia*; whereupon *Alexander*, not respecting the manner how, so it were done, assumed to himself the fulfilling of the prophecie, by hewing it in pieces.

But before he turned from this part of *Asia* the lesse towards the east, he took care to clear the Sea coast on his back, and to thrust the *Persians* out of the Ilands of *Lesbos*, *Chio*, and *Coos*: the charge whereof he committed unto two of his Captains, giving them such order as he thought to be most convenient for that service; and delivering unto them fifty Talents to defray the charge; and withall out of his first spoyl gotten, he sent threescore Talents more to *Antipater* his Lieutenant in *Greece* and *Macedon*. From *Celenas* he removed to *Ancira*, now called *Angueri*, standing on the same River of *Sangarius*, which runneth through *Gordium*: there he mustered his Army, and

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then entred *Paphlagonia*, whoſe people ſubmitted themſelves unto him, and obtained freedome of tribute: where he left *Catus* Governor with one Regiment of *Macedonians* lately arrived.

Here he underſtood of the death of *Memnon*, *Darius* Lieutenant, which heartned him greatly to paſſe on towards him; for of this only Captain he had more reſpect than of all the multitude by *Darius* aſſembled, and of all the Commanders he had beſides. For ſo much hath the ſpirit of ſome one man excelled, as it hath undertaken and effected the alteration of the greateſt States and Common-weals, the erection of Monarchies, the conqueſt of Kingdomes and Empires, guided handfuls of men againſt multitudes of equall bodily ſtrength, contrived victories beyond all hope and diſcourſe of reaſon, converted the fearfull paſſions of his own followers into magnanimity, and the valour of his enemies into cowardize; ſuch ſpirits have been ſtirred up in ſundry Ages of the world, and in divers parts thereof, to erect and caſt down again, to eſtabliſh and to deſtroy, and to bring all things, Perſons and States, to the ſame certain ends, which the infinite Spirit of the *Univerſall*, piercing, moving, and governing all things, hath ordained. Certainly the things that this King did, were marvellous, and would hardly have been undertaken by any man elſe: and though his Father had determined to have invaded the leſſer *Aſia*, it is like enough that he would have contented himſelf with ſome part thereof, and not have diſcovered the River of *Indus*, as this man did. The ſwift courſe of victory, wherewith he ran over ſo large a portion of the World, in ſo ſhort a ſpace, may juſtly be imputed unto this, that he was never encountred by an equall ſpirit, concurring with equall power againſt him. Hereby it came to paſſe that his actions being limited by no greater oppoſition, than deſart places, and the meer length of tedious journies could make, were like the *Coloſſus* of *Rhodes*, not ſo much to be admired for the workmanſhip, though therein alſo praiſe-worthy, as for the huge bulk. For certainly the things performed by *Xenophon* diſcover as brave a ſpirit as *Alexanders*, and working no leſſe exquiſitely, though the effects were leſſe materiall, as were alſo the forces and power of command, by which it wrought. But he that would find the exact pattern of a noble Commander, muſt look upon ſuch as *Epaminondas*, that encountring worthy Captains, and thoſe better followed than themſelves, have by their ſingular vertue over-topped their valiant enemies, and ſtill prevailed over thoſe, that would not have yeelded one foot to any other. Such as theſe are, do ſeldome live to obtain great Empires. For it is a work of more labour and longer time, to maſter the equall forces of one hardy and well-ordered State, than to tread down and utterly ſubdue a multitude of ſervile Nations, compounding the body of a groſſe unwieldy Empire. Wherefore theſe *Parvo Potentes*, men that with little have done much upon enemies of like ability, are to be regarded as choiſe examples of worth; but great Conquerors, to be rather admired for the ſubſtance of their actions, than the exquiſite managing: exactneſſe and greatneſſe concurring ſo ſeldome, that I can find no inſtance of both in one, ſave onely that brave *Roman*, *Cæſar*.

Having thus farre digreſſed, it is now time that wee return unto our Eaſtern Conqueror; who is travelling haſtily towards *Cilicia*, with a deſire to recover the Streights thereof before *Darius* ſhould arrive there. But firſt making a diſpatch into *Greece*, he ſent to thoſe Cities, in which he repoſed moſt truſt, ſome of the *Perſian* Targets which hee had recovered in his firſt battell; upon which, by certain inſcriptions, he made them partakers of his victory. Herein he well adviſed himſelf; for he that doth not as well impart of the honour which he gains in the Wars, as he doth of the ſpoils, ſhall never be long followed of thoſe of the better ſort. For men which are either well born, or well bred, and have more of wealth than of reputation, do as often ſatisfie themſelves with the purchaſe of glory, as the weak in fortune, and ſtrong in courage, do with the gain of gold and ſilver.

The Governour of *Cilicia* hearing of *Alexanders* comming on, left ſome Companies to keep the Streights, which were indeed very defencible; and withall, as *Curtius* noteth, hee began overlate to priſe and put in execution the Counſell of *Memnon*: who in the beginning of the Wars adviſed him to waſte all the proviſions for Men and Horſe, that could not be lodged in ſtrong places, and alwayes to give ground to the Invader, till he found ſome ſuch notable advantage as might aſſuredly promiſe him the obtaining of victory. For the fury of an invading Army is beſt broken, by delayes, change

of diet, and want, eating sometimes too little, and sometimes too much, sometimes reposing themselves in beds, and more oftner on the cold ground. These and the like sudden alterations bring many diseases upon all Nations out of their own Countries. Therfore if *Darius* had kept the *Macedonians* but a while from meat and sleep, and, refusing to give or take battell, had wearied them with his light horse, as the *Parthians* afterward did the *Romans*, he might perchance have saved his own life, and his estate. For it was one of the greatest incouragements given by *Alexander*, to the *Macedonians*, in the third and last fatall battell, that they were to fight with all the strength of *Persia* at once.

Xerxes, when he invaded *Greece* and fought abroad, in being beaten, lost only his men; but *Darius* being invaded by the *Greeks*, and fighting at home, by being beaten, lost his Kingdome. *Pericles* though the *Lacedæmonians* burnt all in *Attica* to the Gates of *Athens*, yet could not be drawn to hazzard a battell: for the invaded ought evermore to fight upon the advantage of time and place. Because we read Histories to informe our understanding by the examples therein found, we will give some instances of those that have perished by adventuring in their own Countries, to charge an invading Armie. The *Romans*, by fighting with *Hannibal*, were brought to the brink of their destruction.

Pompey was well advised for a while, when he gave *Cæsar* ground, but when by the importunity of his Captains he adventured to fight at *Pharsalia*, he lost the battell, lost the freedome of *Rome*, and his own life.

Ferdinand, in the Conquest of *Naples*, would needs fight a battell with the *French* to his confusion, though it was told him by a man of sound judgement, that those Counsels which promise surety in all things, are honourable enough.

The Constable of *France* made frustrate the mighty preparation of *Charles* the Fift, when he invaded *Provence*, by wasting the Countrie, and forbearing to fight; so did the Duke of *Alva* wearie the *French* in *Naples*, and dissolve the boistrous Army of the Prince of *Orange* in the *Low-Countries*.

The *Leigers*, contrary to the advice of their Generall, would needs fight a battell with the *Bourgonians*, invading their Country, and could not be perswaded to linger the time, and stay their advantage; but they lost eight and twenty thousand upon the place. *Philip* of *Valois* set upon King *Edward* at *Chessie*; and King *John* (when the *English* were well-neer tired out, and would in short time by an orderly pursuit have been wasted to nothing) constrained the black Prince with great fury, neer *Poitiers*, to joyn battell with him: But all men know what lamentable successe these two *French* Kings found. *Charles* the fift of *France* made another kind of *Fabian*-Warfare; and though the *English* burnt and wasted many places, yet this King held his resolution to forbear blowes, and followed his advice, which told him, That the *English* could never get his inheritance by smoak; and it is reported by *Belloy* and *Herrault*, that King *Edward* was wont to say of this *Charles*, that he wan from him the Dutchy of *Guyen* without ever putting on his Armour.

But where God hath a purpose to destroy, wise men grow short-lived, and the charge of things is committed unto such as either cannot see what is for their good, or know not how to put in execution any sound advice. The course which *Memnon* had propounded, must in all appearance of reason have brought the *Macedonian* to a great perplexity, and made him stand still a while at the Streights of *Cilicia*, doubting whether it were more shamefull to return, or dangerous to proceed. For, had *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia* been wasted whilest *Alexander* was far off; and the Streights of *Cilicia* been defended by *Arsenes*, Governour of that Province, with the best of his forces; hunger would not have suffered the enemy, to stay the triall of all means that might be thought upon, of forcing that passage: or if the place could not have been maintained, yet might *Cilicia*, at better leisure have been so throughly spoiled, that the heart of his Army should have been broken, by seeking out miseries by painfull travell.

But *Arsenes* leaving a small number to defend the Streights, took the best of his Armie with him, to waste and spoil the Country; or rather, as may seem, to find himself some work, by pretence of which he might honestly run further away from *Alexander*. Hee should rather have adventured his person in custody of the Streights, whereby he might perhaps have saved the Province; and in the mean time, all that was in the fields, would have been conveighed into strong Towns. So should his Army, if it were

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driven from the place of advantage, have found good entertainment within walled Cities, and himself with his horse-men have had the lesse work in destroying that little which was left abroad. Handling the matter as he did, he gave the *Cilicians* cause to wish for *Alexanders* comming, and as great cause to the Keepers of the passage not to hinder it. For cowards are wise in apprehending all formes of danger. These Guardians of the Streights, hearing that *Arsenes* made all haste to joyn himself with *Darius*, burning down all as he went, like one despairing of the defence, began to grow circumspect, and to think that surely their Generall, who gave as lost the Countrie behind their backs, had exposed themselves unto certain death, as men that were good for nothing else but to dull the *Macedonian* swords. Wherefore, not affecting to die for their Prince and Countrie (which honour they saw that *Arsenes* himself could well forbear) they speedily followed the foot-steps of their Generall, gleaning after his Harvest. Thus *Alexander* without labour got both the entrance of *Cilicia*, abandoned by the cowardise of his Enemies, and the whole Province that had been alienated from the *Persian* side by their indiscretion.

§. IIII.

Of the unwarlike Army levied by Darius *against* Alexander. *The unadvised courses which* Darius *took in this expedition. He is vanquished at* Issus; *where his Mother, Wife, and Children are made prisoners: of some things following the battell of* Issus.

IN the mean season *Darius* approched; who (as *Curtius* reports) had compounded an Army of more than two hundred and ninety thousand Souldiers, out of divers Nations; *Justine* musters them at three hundred thousand Foot, and a hundred thousand Horse; *Plutarch* at six hundred thousand.

The manner of his comming on, as *Curtius* describes it, was rather like a masker than a man of War, and like one that took more care to set out his glory and riches, than to provide for his own safety, perswading himself, as it seemed, to beat *Alexander* with pomp and sumptuous Pageants. For, before the Armie there was carried the holy fire, which the *Persians* worshipped, attended by their *Priests*, and after them three hundred and threescore and five young-men, answering the number of the dayes of the year, covered with Scarlet; then the Chariot of *Jupiter* drawn with white Horses, with their Riders cloathed in the same colour, with rods of gold in their hands; And after it, the Horse of the *Sun*: Next after these follow ten sumptuous Chariots, in-layed and garnisht with silver and gold; and then the Vantguard of their horse, compounded of twelve severall Nations, which the better to avoid confusion, did hardly understand each others language; and these marshalled in the head of the rest, being beaten, might serve very fitly to disorder all that followed them: in the tail of these Horses the Regiment of foot marched, with the *Persians* called immortall, because if any died, the number was presently supplied: and these were armed with chains of gold, and their coats with the same metall imbroidered, whereof the sleeves were garnished with pearl; baits, either to catch the hungry *Macedonians* withall, or to perswade them that it were great incivility to cut, and to deface such glorious garments. But it was well said; *Sumptuosè indutus miles, se virtute superiorem aliis non existimet, cum in præliis oporteat fortitudine animi, & non vestimentis muniri, quoniam hostes vestibus non debellantur*; *Let no man think that he exceedeth those in valour, whom he exceedeth in gay garments; for it is by men armed with fortitude of mind, and not by the apparell they put on, that enemies are beaten.* And it was perchance from the *Roman Papyrius* that this advice was borrowed, who when he fought against the *Samnites* in that fatall battell, wherein they all sware either to prevail or dye, thirty thousand of them having apparelled themselves in white garments, with high crests, and great plumes of feathers, bade the *Roman* Souldiers to lay aside all fear: *Non enim cristas vulnera facere, & per picta atque aurata scuta transire Romanum pilum*; *For these plumed crests would wound no body, and the* Roman *pile would bore holes in painted and gilded shields.*

To second this Court-like company, fifteen thousand were appointed more rich and glittering than the former, but apparelled like Women (belike to breed the more terrour) and these were honoured with the Title of the Kings Kinsmen. Than came *Darius* himself,

himself, the Gentle-men of his Guard-robe, riding before his Chariot, which was supported with the gods of his Nation, cast and cut in pure gold; these the *Macedonians* did not serve, but they served their turns of these, by changing their massie-bodies into thin, portable and currant coyn. The head of this Chariot was set with precious stones, with two little golden Idols, covered with an open-winged-Eagle of the same metall: The hinder part being raised high whereon *Darius* sate, had a covering of inestimable value. This Chariot of the King was followed with ten thousand Horse-men, their Lances plated with silver, and their heads guilt; which they meant not to imbrue in the *Macedonian* bloud, for fear of marring their beauty. Hee had for the proper Guard of his own person, two hundred of the bloud Royall; bloud too Royall and precious to be spilt by any valorous adventure, (I am of opinion that two hundred sturdy fellowes, like the *Switzers*, would have done him more service) and these were backt with thirty thousand foot-men, after whom again were led four hundred spare horses for the King, which if he had meant to have used, he would have marshalled somewhat neerer him.

Now followed the Rearward, the same being led by *Sisygambis* the Kings Mother, and by his wife, drawn in glorious Chariots, followed by a great train of Ladies their attendants on horse-beck, with fifteen Wagons of the Kings children, and the wives of the Nobility, waited on by two hundred and fiftie Concubines, and a world of Nurses and *Eunuchs*, most sumptuously apparelled. By which it should seem that *Darius* thought that the *Macedonians* had been *Comedians* or *Tumblers*; for this troop was far fitter to behold those sports than to be present at battells. Between these and a company of slight-armed slaves, with a world of Varlets, was the Kings treasure, charged on six hundred Mules, and three hundred Camels, brought, as it proved, to pay the *Macedonians*. In this sort came the *May-game-King* into the field, incumbred with a most unnecessary train of Strumpets, attended with troups of divers Nations, speaking divers languages, and for their numbers impossible to be marshalled; and for the most part so effeminate, and so rich in gold and in garments, as the same could not but have encouraged the naked'st Nation of the world against them. Wee find it in daily experience, that all discourse of magnanimity, of Nationall Vertue, of Religion, of Liberty, and whatsoever else hath been wont to move and incourage vertuous men, hath no force at all with the common Souldier, in comparison of spoil and riches. The rich ships are boorded upon all disadvantage, the rich Towns are furiously assaulted, and the plentifull Countries willingly invaded. Our *English* nation have attempted many places in the *Indies*, and run upon the *Spaniards* head-long, in hope of their Royals of plate, and Pistolets; which, had they bin put to it upon the like disadvantages in *Ireland*, or in any poor Country, they would have turned their Peeces and Pikes against their Commanders, contesting that they had bin brought without reason to the Butchery and slaughter. It is true that the warre is made willingly, and for the most part with good successe, that is ordained against the richest Nations; for as the needy are alwayes adventurous, so plentie is wont to shun perill, and men that have well to live, do rather studie how to live well, I mean wealthily, than care to die (as they call it) honourably. *Car où il n'y a rien a gaigner que des coups, volontiers il n'y va pas. No man makes haste to the market, where there is nothing to be bought but blowes.*

Now if *Alexander* had beheld this preparation before his consultation with his Sooth-saiers, he would have satisfied himself by the out-sides of the *Persians*, and never have looked into the intrailes of Beasts for successe. For leaving the description of this second battel (which is indeed no-where well described, neither for the confusion and hasty running away of the *Asians* could it be) we have enough by the slaughter that was made of them, and by the few that fell of the *Macedonians*, to inform us what manner of resistance was made. For if it be true that threescore thousand *Persian* footmen were slain in this battell, with ten thousand of their horsemen; Or (as *Curtius* saith) an hundred thousand footmen, with the same number of horsemen, and besides this slaughter, forty thousand taken prisoners, while of *Alexanders* Armie there miscarried but two hundred and fourscore of all sorts, of which numbers *Arrianus* and other Historians cut off almost the one half; I do verily beleeve, that this small number rather died with the over-travell and pains-taking in killing their enemies, than by any strokes received from them. And surely if the *Persian* Nation (at this time degenerate and the basest of the World) had had

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any ſavour remaining of the ancient valour of their fore-fathers, they would never have ſold ſo good cheap, and at ſo vile a price, the Mother, the Wife, the Daughters, and other the Kings children; had their own honour been valued by them at nothing, and the Kings ſafetie and his eſtate at leſſe. *Darius* by this time found it true, that *Charidemus* a baniſhed *Grecian* of *Athens* had told him, when he made a view of his Army about *Babylon*, to wit, That the multitude which he had aſſembled of divers Nations, richly attired, but poorly armed, would be found more terrible to the Inhabitants of the countrey, whom in paſſing by they would devoure than to the *Macedonians*, whom they meant to aſſail; who being all old and obedient Souldiers, imbattailed in groſſe ſquadrons, which they call their *Phalanx*, well covered with Armour for defence, and furniſhed with weapons for offence of great advantage, would make ſo little accompt of his delicate *Perſians*, loving their eaſe and their palat, being withall ill armed and worſe diſciplined, as except it would pleaſe him to entertain (having ſo great abundance of treaſure to do it withall) a ſufficient number of the ſame *Grecians* and ſo to encounter the *Macedonians* with men of equall courage, he would repent him overlate, as taught by the miſerable ſucceſſe like to follow.

But this diſcourſe was ſo unpleaſing to *Darius* (who had bin accuſtomed to nothing ſo much as to his own praiſes, and to nothing ſo little as to hear truth,) as he commanded that this poor *Grecian* ſhould be preſently ſlain: who while he was a ſundring in the Tormentors hand, uſed this ſpeech to the King, That *Alexander*, againſt whom he had given this good counſell, ſhould aſſuredly revenge his death, and lay deſerved puniſhment upon *Darius* for deſpiſing his advice.

It was the ſaying of a Wiſe man: *Deſperata ejus Principis ſalus eſt, cujus aures ita formatæ ſunt, ut aſpera quæ utilia, nec quicquam niſi jucundum accipiat; That Princes ſafetie is in a deſperate caſe, whoſe ears judge all that is profitable to be too ſharp, and will entertain nothing that is unpleaſant.*

For liberty in counſell is the life and eſſence of counſell; Libertas conſilii eſt ejus vita, & eſſentia, qua erepta conſilium evaneſcit.

Darius did likewiſe value at nothing the advice given him by the *Grecian* Souldiers that ſerved him, who intreated him not to fight in the Streights: But had they been Counſellers and directors in that War, as they were underlings and commanded by others, they had with the help of a good troup of horſe-men bin able to have oppoſed the fury of *Alexander*, without any aſſiſtance of the *Perſian* foot-men. For when *Darius* was overthrown with all his cowardly and confuſed rabble, thoſe *Grecians*, under their Captain *Amyntas*, held firm, and marched away in order, in deſpight of the vanquiſhers. Old Souldiers are not eaſily diſmayed: we read in Hiſtories ancient and modern, what brave retraits have bin made by them, though the reſt of the Army in which they have ſerved, hath bin broken.

At the battail of *Ravenna*, where the Imperials were beaten by the *French*, a ſquadron of *Spaniards*, old Souldiers, came off unbroken and undiſmayed; whom when *Gaſton de Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, and Nephew to *Lewis* the twelfth, charged, as holding the victory not entire by their eſcape, he was overturned and ſlain in the place. For it is truly ſaid of thoſe men, who, by being acquainted with dangers, fear them not, That, *Neglecto periculo imminentis mali, opus ipſum quantumvis difficile aggrediuntur; They goe about the buſineſs it ſelf, how hard ſoever it be, not ſtanding to conſider of the danger, which the miſchief hanging over their heads may bring:* and as truly of thoſe that know the wars but by hear-ſay; *Quòd valentes ſunt & prævalentes ante pericula, in ipſis tamen periculis diſcedunt; They have ability enough, and to ſpare, till dangers appear; but when perill indeed comes, they get them gone.*

Theſe *Grecians* alſo that made the retrait, adviſed *Darius* to retire his Army into the plain of *Meſopotamia*, to the end that *Alexander* being entred into thoſe large fields and great Champains, he might have invironed the *Macedonians* on all ſides with his multitude; and withall they counſelled him to divide that his huge Army into parts, not committing the whole to one ſtroke of Fortune, whereby he might have fought many battails, and have brought no greater numbers at once than might have been well marſhalled & conducted. But this counſell was ſo contrary to the cowardly affections of the *Perſians*, as they perſwaded *Darius* to inviron the *Grecians* which gave the advice, and to cut them in pieces as Traitors. The infinite wiſedom of God doth not work alwayes

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by one and the same way, but very often in the alteration of Kingdoms and Estates, by taking understanding from the Governours, so as they can neither give not discern of Counsels. For *Darius* that would needs fight with *Alexander* upon a streightned piece of ground, neer unto the City of *Issus*, where he could bring no more hands to fight than *Alexander* could, (who by the advice of *Parmenio* staied there, as in a place of best advantage) was utterly overthrown, his Treasure lost, his Wife, Mother, and Children (whom the *Grecians* his followers had perswaded him to leave in *Babylon*, or elsewhere) taken prisoners, and all their train of Ladies spoiled of their rich Garments, Jewels, and Honour. It is true, that both the Queen, with her Daughters, who had the good hap to be brought to *Alexanders* presence, were entertained with all respect due unto their birth, their Honours preserved, and their Jewels and rich Garments restored unto them; and though *Darius* Wife was a most beautifull Lady, and his Daughters of excellent form, yet *Alexander* mastred his affections towards them all: only it is reported out of *Aristobulus* the Historian, that he imbraced the wife of the valiant *Memnon*, her Husband lately dead, who was taken flying from *Damascus* by *Parmenio*, at which time the Daughters of *Ochus*, who reigned before *Darius*, and the Wives and Children of all the Nobility of *Persia* in effect, fell into captivity; at which time also *Darius* Treasure (not lost at *Issus*) was seized, amounting to six thousand and two hundred talents of coin, and of Bullion five hundred talents, with a world of riches besides.

Darius himself leaving his brother dead, with divers other of his chief Captains, (casting the Crown from his head) hardly escaped.

After this overthrow given unto *Darius*, all *Phœnicia* (the City of *Tyre* excepted) was yeelded to *Alexander*, of which *Parmenio* was made Governour.

Aradus, *Zidon*, and *Biblos*, maritimate Cities of great importance, of which one *Strato* was King (but hated of the people) acknowledged *Alexander*. Good fortune followed him so fast that it trod on his heels; for *Antigonus*, *Alexanders* Lieutenant in *Asia* the lesse, overthrew the *Cappadocians*, *Paphlagonians*, and others lately revolted; *Aristodemus*, *Darius* Admiral, had his Fleet partly taken, and in part drowned by the *Macedonians* newly levied; the *Lacedæmonians* that warred against *Antipater* were beaten; four thousand of those *Greeks* which made the retrait at the last battail, forsaking both the party of *Darius* and of *Alexander*, and led by *Amyntas* into *Egypt*, to hold it for themselves, were buried there; for the time was not yet come to divide Kingdoms.

Alexander to honour *Ephestion*, whom he loved most, gave him power to dispose of the Kingdom of *Zidon*. A man of a most poor estate, that laboured to sustain his life being of the Royall bloud, was commended by the people unto him, who changed his Spade into a Scepter, so as he was beheld both a Beggar and a King in one and the same hour.

It was a good desire of this new King, when speaking to *Alexander*, he wisht that he could bear his prosperity with the same moderation, and quietnesse of heart, that he had done his adversity; but ill done of *Alexander*, in that he would not perform in himself that which he commended in another mans desire: for it was a sign that he did but accompany, and could not govern his felicity.

While he made some stay in those parts, he received a letter from *Darius*, importing the ransome of his Wife, his Mother, and his Children, with some other conditions of peace, but such as rather became a Conqueror, than one that had now been twice shamefully beaten, not vouchsafing in his direction, to stile *Alexander* King. It is true, that the *Romans*, after that they had received an overthrow by *Pyrrhus*, returned him a more scornfull answer upon the offer of peace, than they did before the triall of his force. But as their fortunes were then in the Spring, so that of *Darius* had already cast leaf; the one a resolved, well armed and disciplined Nation, the other cowardly and effeminate. *Alexander* disdained the offers of *Darius*, and sent him word, that he not onely directed his letter to a King, but to the King of *Darius* himself.

§. V.

How Alexander *besieged and won the Citie of* Tyre.

Alexander comming neer to the City of *Tyre*, received from them the present of a golden Crown, with great store of victuals, and other presents, which he took very thankfully, returning them answer, That he desired to offer a sacrifice

sacrifice to *Hercules*, the Protector of their Citie, from whom he was descended. But the *Tyrians* like not his companie within their Walls, but tell him that the Temple of *Hercules* was seated in the old City adjoyning, now abandoned and desolate. To be short, *Alexander* resolved to enter it by force: and though it were a place in all mens opinion impregnable, because the Iland whereon it was built, was eight hundred furlongs from the Main, yet with the labour of many hands, having great store of stone from the old *Tyre*, and timber sufficient from *Lybanus*, hee filled the passage of the Sea between the Iland and the Main, which being more than once carried away by the strength of the Sea upon a storm of wind, sometime by the *Tyrians* fired, and sometime torn asunder; yet with the help of his Navie which arrived (during the siege) from *Cyprus*, he overcame all difficulties and prevailed, after he had spent seven moneths in that attempt. The *Tyrians* in the beginning of the siege had barbarously drowned the messengers sent by *Alexander*, perswading them to render the City, in respect whereof, and of the great loss of time and men, he put eight thousand to the sword, and caused two thousand of those that escaped the first fury, to bee hanged on Crosses on the Sea-shore, and reserved for slaves (saith *Diodore*) thirteen thousand; *Arrianus* reckons them at thirty thousand. *Arian.* Many more had died, had not the *Zidonians*, that served *Alexander*, conveyed great numbers away by shipping unto their own Citie.

Happy it was for *Apollo* that the Town was taken: for one of the *Tyrians* having *Justin. lib. 12.* dreamt, that this god meant to forsake the City, they bound him fast with a golden chain to the Idoll of *Hercules*; but *Alexander*, like a gracious Prince, loosened him again.

It is true, that it was a notable enterprise and a difficult, but great things are made greater. For *Nabuchodonosor* had taken it before, and filled up the channell that lay between the Iland and the Main.

The government of this Territory he gave to *Philotas*, the Son of *Parmenio*; *Cilicia*, he committed to *Socrates*, and *Andromachus* Lieutenant under *Parmenio*; *Epheſtion* had charge of the Fleet, and was directed to find *Alexander* at *Gaza* towards *Egypt*.

§. VI.

How Darius *offered conditions of peace to* Alexander. Alexander *wins* Gaza; *and deals graciously with the* Jewes.

IN the mean while *Darius* sends again to *Alexander*, sets before him all the difficulties of passing on towards the East, and layeth the losse of the last battell to the streightnesse of the place: he hoped to terrifie him by threatning to encompasse him in the plain Countries, he bids him to consider, how impossible it was to passe the Rivers of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, *Araxes*, and the rest, with all such other fearfull things: for he that was now filled with nothing but fear, had arguments enovv of that nature to present unto another. All the Kingdomes betvveen the River of *Alys*, and the *Hellespont*, he offered him in Dovver vvith his beloved daughter. But *Alexander* answvered, That he offered him nothing but his own, and that which victory and his own vertue had possest him of; That he was to give conditions, and not to receive any, and that he having passed the Sea it self, disdained to think of resistance in transporting himself over Rivers. It is said, that *Parmenio*, who was now old and full of honour and riches, told the King, That were he *Alexander*, he would accept of *Darius* his offers; to which *Alexander* answered, That so would he, if he were *Parmenio*.

But he goes on towards *Egypt*, and comming before *Gaza*, *Getis* a faithfull servant to *Darius*, shuts the Gate against him, and defends the Town with an obstinate resolution, at the siege whereof *Alexander* received a wound in the shoulder, which was dangerous, and a blow on his legge with a stone. Hee found better men in this place than he did at the former battells, for he left so many of his *Macedonians* buried in the sands of *Gaza*, that he was forc'd to send for a new supply into *Greece*. Here it was that *Alexander* first began to change condition, and to exercise cruelty. For after that he had entred *Gaza* by assault, and taken *Betis*, (whom *Josephus* calleth *Babemesis*) that was weakened with many wounds, and who never gave ground to the Assailants; he bored holes through his feet, and caused him to be drawn about the street, whilest he was as yet alive; who being as valiant a man as himself, disdained to ask him either life or remission of his torments.

And

And what had he to countenance this his tyrannie, but the imitation of his Ancestor *Achilles*, who did the like to *Hector*? It is true, that cruelty hath alwayes somewhat to cover her deformity.

Lib. 11. cap. ult. From *Gaza* (saith *Josephus*) he led his Army towards *Jerusalem*, a City, for the antiquity and great fame thereof, well known unto him while he lay before *Tyre*; He had sent for some supply thither, which *Jaddus* the high Priest, being subject and sworn to *Darius*, had refused him. The *Jewes* therefore fearing his revenge, and unable to resist, committed the care of their estates and safety to *Jaddus*, who, being taught by God, issued out of the City covered with his Pontificall Robes to wit, an upper garment of purple, embroidered with gold, with his Miter, and the plate of gold wherein the name of God was written, the Priests and Levites in their rich ornaments, and the people in white garments, in a manner so unusuall, stately and grave, as *Alexander* greatly admired it. *Josephus* reports it, that he fell to the ground before the high Priest, as reverencing the name of God, and that *Parmenio* reprehended him for it. Howsoever it was, I am of opinion, that he became so confident in his enterprise, and so assured of the successe after the prophecie of *Daniel* had been read unto him, wherein he saw himself, and the conquest of *Persia* so directly pointed at, as nothing thence-forth could discourage him or fear him. He confessed to *Parmenio* (saith *Josephus*) that in *Dio* a City of *Macedon*, when his mind laboured the conquest of *Asia*, he saw in his sleep such a person as *Jaddus*, and so apparelled, professing one and the same God; by whom he was incouraged to pursue the purpose he had in hand, with assurance of victory. This apparition, formerly apprehended only by the light of his fantasie, he now beheld with his bodily eyes, wherewith he was so exceedingly pleased and imboldened, as contrary to the practice of the *Phœnicians*, (who hoped to have sack'd and destroyed *Jerusalem*) he gave the *Jewes* all, and more than they desired, both of liberty and immunity, with permission to live under their own lawes, and to exercise and enjoy their own religion.

§. VII.

Alexander *wins* Egypt: *and makes a journey to the Temple of* Hammon.

FRom *Jerusalem*, *Alexander* turned again towards *Egypt*, and entred it, where *Darius* his Lieutenant, *Astaces*, received him, and delivered into his hand the City of *Memphis*, with eight hundred talents of treasure, and all other the Kings riches. By this we see that the King of *Persia*, who had more of affection than of judgement, gave to the valianteſt man he had, but the command of one City, and to the veriest coward the government of all *Egypt*. When he had set things in order in *Egypt*, he began to travell after *God-head*, towards *Jupiter Hammon*; so fooliſh had prosperity made him. He was to passe over the dangerous and drie sands, where, when the water which he brought on his Camels back was spent, he could not but have perished, had not a marvellous showre of rain fallen upon him, when his Army was in extreme despair. All men that know *Egypt*, and have written thereof, affirme, That it never rains there: but the purposes of the Almighty God are secret, and he bringeth to passe what it pleaseth him; for it is also said, That when he had lost his way in those vast desarts, that a flight of Crowes flew before the Army; who making faster wing when they were followed, and fluttering slowly when the Army was cast back, guided them over those pathlesse sands to *Jupiter*'s Temple.

Arrian. Lib. 3. *Arrianus* from the report of *Ptolomy*, the son of *Lagus*, sayes, That he was led by two Dragons; both which reports may be a-like true. But many of those wonders and things prodigious, are fained by those that have written the Story of *Alexander*; as, That an Eagle lay hovering directly over his head at the battell of *Issus*; That a Swallow flew about his head when he slept, and could not be feared from him, till it had wakened him at *Halicarnassus*, fore-shewing the treason of *Atropus*, practised by *Darius* to have slain him; That from the yron barres of which the *Tyrians* made their defensive engines, when *Alexander* besieged them, there fell drops of bloud; and that the like drops were found in a loafe of bread, broken by a *Macedonian* Souldier, at the same time; That a Turfe of earth fell on his shoulder, when he lay before *Gaza*, out of which there flew a Bird into the air. The *Spaniards* in the conquest of the West *Indies* have many such

pretty

pretty tales; telling how they have been assisted in battell by the presence of our Lady, and by Angels riding on white horses with the like Romish miracles, which I think themselves do hardly beleeve. The strangest thing that I have read of in this kind being certainly true, was, That the night before the battell at *Novara*, all the Dogs which followed the *French* Army, ran from them to the *Switzers*, leaping and fawning upon them, as if they had been bred and fed by them all their lives, and in the morning following, *Trivulzi* and *Tremouille*, Generals for *Lewis* the twelfth, were by these imperiall *Switzers* utterly broken and put to ruine.

The place of this Idoll of *Jupiter Hammon* is ill described by *Curtius*, for he bounds it by the *Arabian Troglodites* on the South, between whom and the Territory of *Hammon*, the Region *Thebais*, or the superiour *Egypt*, with the Mountains of *Lybia*, and the River of *Nilus*, are interjacent; and on the North he joyns it to a Nation called *Nassamones*, who bordering the Sea-shore, live (saith he) upon the spoyles of shipwrack: whereas the temple or grove of this Idoll hath no Sea neer it by two hundred miles and more, being found on the South part of *Lybia*, these *Nassamones* being due West from it, in the South part of *Marmarica*. *Ptol. Asr. tab. 3.*

When *Alexander* came neer the place, he sent some of his Parasites before him to practise the Priests attending the Oracle, That their answer might be given in all things, agreeable to his mad ambition; who affected the title of *Jupiters* son. And so he was saluted, *Son of Jupiter*, by the Devils Prophet, whether prepared before to flatter him, or rather (as some think) defective in the *Greek* tongue; For whereas he meant to say *O padion*, he said *O pai dios*; that is, *O Son of Jupiter*, in stead of *O dear Son*: for which Grammaticall errour he was richly rewarded, and a rumour presently spred, that the great *Jupiter* had acknowledged *Alexander* for his own.

He had heard that *Perseus* and *Hercules* had formerly consulted with this Oracle, The one when he was employed against *Gorgon*, The other against *Anteus* and *Busiris*; and seeing these men had derived themselves from the gods, why might not he? By this it seems, that he hoped to make his followers and the world fools, though indeed he made himself one, by thinking to cover from the worlds knowledge his vanities and vices; and the better to confirm his followers in the belief of his Deity, he had practised the Priests to give answer to such as consulted with the Oracle, that it should be pleasing to *Jupiter* to honour *Alexander* as his Son.

Who this *Ammon* was, and how represented, either by a Bosse carried in a Boat, or by a Ram, or a Rams head, I see that many wise men have troubled themselves to find out; but as *Arrianus* speaks of *Dionysius*, or *Liber Pater* (who lived saith S. *Augustine*, in *Moses* time) *Ea quæ de diis veteres fabulis suis conscripsere, non sunt nimium curiosè perveſtiganda*; *We must not over-curiously search into the fables which the Antients have written of their gods.* *Curt. Lib. 4.*

But this is certain and notable, that after the Gospel began to be preached in the World, the Devill in this and all other Idols became speechlesse. For, that this *Hammon* was neglected in the time of *Tiberius Cæsar*, and in the time of *Trajan* altogether forgotten, *Strabo* and *Plutarch* witnesse.

There is found neer his Temple a Fountain called *Fons solis* (though *Ptolomy* in his third *Affrican* Table sets it farther off) that at Mid-night is as hot as boyling water, and at Noon as cold as any yce: to which I cannot but give credit, because I have heard of some other Wels of like nature, and because it is reported by S. *Augustine*, by *Diodore*, *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, *Mela*, *Solinus*, *Arrianus*, *Curtius*, and others; and indeed our Bathes in *England* are much warmer in the night than in the day.

§. VIII.

How Alexander *marching against* Darius, *was opposed very unskilfully by the Enemy.*

FRom the Temple of *Hammon* he returned to *Memphis*, where among many other learned men, he heard the Philosopher *Psammones*, who, belike understanding that he affected the title of *Jupiters* Son told him that God was the Father-King of all men in generall; and refining the pride of this haughty King, brought him to say, That God was the Father of all mortall men, but that he acknowledged none for his children save good men.

He gave the charge of the ſeverall Provinces of *Egypt* to ſeverall Governours, following the rule of his Maſter *Ariſtotle*, That *a great Dominion ſhould not be continued in the hands of any one*: whom therein the *Roman* Emperours alſo followed, not daring to commit the government of *Egypt* to any of their Senators, but to men of meaner rank and degree. He then gave order for the founding of *Alexandria* upon the Weſter-moſt branch of *Nilus*. And having now ſetled(as he could) the eſtate of *Egypt*, with the kingdomes of the leſſer *Aſia*, *Phœnicia* and *Syria*, (which being but the pawns of *Darius* his ill fortune, one happy victory would readily have redeemed) he led his Army towards *Euphrates*, which paſſage though the ſame was committed to *Mazeus* to defend, yet was it abandoned, and *Alexander* without reſiſtance paſt it. From thence he marched towards *Tigris*, a river for the ſwiftneſſe thereof called by the *Perſians*, *The Arrow*. Here, as *Curtius*, and Reaſon it ſelf tels us, might *Darius* eaſily have repelled the invading *Macedonian*: for the violent courſe of the ſtream was ſuch, as it drave before it many weighty ſtones, and thoſe that moved not, but lay in the bottom, were ſo round and well poliſhed by a continuall rolling, that no man was able to fight on ſo ſlippery a footing; nor the *Macedonian* foot-men to wade the river, otherwiſe than by joyning their hands, and enterlacing their arms together, making one weighty and entire body to reſiſt the ſwift paſſage and furious race of the ſtream. Beſides this notable help, the Channell was ſo deep towards the Eaſtern ſhore, where *Darius* ſhould have made head, as the foot-men were enforc'd to lift their Bowes, and Arrows, and Darts, over their heads to keep them from being moiſtned, and made unſerviceable by the Waters. But it was truly and underſtandingly ſayd of *Homer*,

Ariſt. Pol. l. 5.

Curt. l. 4.

Talis eſt hominum terreſtrium mens,
Qualem quotidie ducit pater virorumq; Deorumq;.

The mindes of men are ever ſo affected,
As by Gods will they daily are directed.

And it cannot be denied, that as all Eſtates of the world, by the ſurfeit of miſ-government have been ſubject to many grievous, and ſometimes mortall diſeaſes: So had the Empire of *Perſia* at this time brought it ſelf into a burning and conſuming Feaver, and thereby become frantick and without underſtanding, foreſhewing manifeſtly the diſſolution and death thereof.

But *Alexander* hath now recovered the Eaſtern ſhores of *Tigris*, without any other difficulty, than that of the nature of the place; where *Mazeus* (who had charge to defend the Paſſage both of *Euphrates* and it) preſented himſelf to the *Macedonians*, followed with certain companies of Horſe-men, as if with uneven forces he durſt have charged them on even ground, when as with a multitude farre exceeding them, he forſook the advantage which no valour of his enemies could eaſily have overcome. But it is commonly ſeen, that fearfull and cowardly men do ever follow thoſe wayes and counſels, whereof the opportunity is already loſt.

It is true that he ſet all proviſions afire wherewith the *Macedonians* might ſerve themſelves over *Tigris*, thinking thereby greatly to have diſtreſſed them; but the execution of good counſell is fruitleſſe, when unſeaſonable. For now was *Alexander* ſo well furniſhed with carriages, as nothing was wanting to the competency of the Army which he conducted. Thoſe things alſo which he ſought to waſte, *Alexander* being now in ſight, were by his Horſe-men ſaved and recovered. This *Mazeus* might have done ſome dayes before at good leaſure; or at this time with ſo great a ſtrength of Horſe-men, as the *Macedonians* durſt not have purſued them, leaving the ſtrength of their foot out of ſight and far behind.

§. IX.

The new proviſions of Darius. *Accidents foregoing the battell of* Arbela.

Darius, upon *Alexanders* firſt return out of *Egypt*, had aſſembled all the forces, which thoſe Regions next him could furniſh, and now alſo were the *Arians*, *Scythians*, *Indians*, and other Nations arrived; Nations (ſaith *Curtius*) that rather ſerved to make up the names of men, than to make reſiſtance. *Arrianus* hath numbred

numbred them with their Leaders; and finds of foot-men of all sorts ten hundred thousand, and of horse four hundred thousand, besides armed Chariots, and some few Elephants. *Curtius*, who musters the Army of *Darius* at two hundred thousand foot, and neer fifty thousand horse, comes (I think) neerer to the true number; and yet seeing he had more confidence in the multitude than in the valour of his Vassals, it is like enough that he had gathered together of all sorts some three or four hundred thousand, with which he hoped in those fair plains of *Assyria*, to have over-born the few numbers of the invading Army. But it is a rule in the Philosophy of the War;

In omni prælio non tam multitudo, & virtus indocta, quam ars & exercitium solent Veget.
præstare victoriam; *In every battell skill and practice do more towards the victory, than multitude and rude audacity.*

While *Alexander* gave rest to his army after the passage over *Tigris*, there happened an Eclipse of the Moon, of which the *Macedonians*, not knowing the cause and reason, were greatly affrighted. All that were ignorant (as the multitude alwaies are) took it for a certain presage of their overthrow and destruction, insomuch as they began not only to murmur, but to speak it boldly, That for the ambition of one man, a man that disdained *Philip* for his father, and would needs be called the son of *Jupiter*, they should all perish; For he not only enforc'd them to make war against Worlds of enemies, but against Rivers, Mountains, and the Heavens themselves.

Hereupon *Alexander* being ready to march forward, made a halt, & to quiet the minds of the multitude, he called before him the *Egyptian* Astrologers, which followed him thence, that by them the Souldiers might be assured that this defection of the Moon was a certain presage of good successe; for, that it was naturall they never imparted to the common people, but reserved the knowledge to themselves, so as a sorry Almanack-maker had been no small fool in those daies.

Of this kind of superstitious observation *Cæsar* made good use, when he fought against *Ariovistus* and the *Germans*: for they being perswaded by the casting of lots, that if they fought before the change of the Moon, they should certainly lose the battell, *Cæsar* forc'd them to abide it, though they durst not give it; wherein having their minds already beaten by their own superstition, and being resolutely charged by the *Romans*, the whole Army in effect perished.

These *Egyptians* gave no other reason than this, That the *Grecians* were under the aspect of the Sun, the *Persians* of the Moon; and therefore the Moon failing and being darkened, the state of *Persia* was now in danger of failing, and their glory of being obscured. This judgement of the *Egyptian* Priests being noysed through all the Army, all were satisfied, and their courage redoubled. It is a principle in the Warre, which, though devised since, was well observed then: *Exercitum terrore plenum Dux ad pugnam non ducat*; *Let not a Captain lead his Army to the fight, when it is possessed with matter of terrour.*

It is truly observed by *Curtius*, that the people are led by nothing so much as by superstition; yea, wee find it in all stories, and often in our own, that by such inventions, devised tales, dreams, and prophecies, the people of this Land have been carried head-long into many dangerous tumults and insurrections, and still to their own losse and ruine.

As *Alexander* drew neer the *Persian* Army, certain letters were surprized, written by *Darius* to the *Gracians*, perswading them for great summes of mony, either to kill or betray *Alexander*. But these by the advice of *Parmenio* he suppressed.

At this time also *Darius* his fair Wife, oppresst with sorrow, and wearied with travell, died. Which accident *Alexander* seemed no lesse to bewaile than *Darius*, who upon the first bruit, suspected that some dishonourable violence had been offered her; but being satisfied by an Eunuch of his own that attended her, of *Alexander*'s kingly respect towards her, from the day of her being taken, he desired the immortall Gods, That if they had decreed to make a new Master of the *Persian* Empire, then it would please them to confer it on so just and continent an enemy as *Alexander*, to whom he once again before the last tryall by battell offered these conditions of peace.

That with his Daughter in marriage he would deliver up and resign all *Asia* the less, and with *Egypt*, all those kingdoms between the *Phœnician* sea, and the River of *Euphrates*; That he would pay him for the ransome of his Mother, and his other Daughters, 30

thousand talents, and that for the performance thereof, he would leave his son *Occhus* in hostage: To this they sought to perswade *Alexander* by such arguments as they had. *Alexander* causing the Embassadors to be removed, advised with his Councell, but heard no man speak but *Parmenio*, the very right hand of his good fortune, who perswaded him to accept of these fair conditions. He told him, that the Empire between *Euphrates* and *Hellespont* was a fair addition to *Macedon*; that the retaining of the *Persian* prisoners was a great cumber, and the treasure offered for them of far better use than their persons, with divers other arguments; all which *Alexander* rejected. And yet it is probable that if he had followed his advice, and bounded his ambition within those limits, he might have lived as famous for vertue as for fortune, and left himself a Successor of able age to have enjoyed his estate, which afterward indeed he much enlarged, rather to the greatning of others than himself: who to assure themselves of what they had usurped upon his issues, left not one of them to draw breath in the world within a few years after. The truth is, That *Alexander* in going so far into the East, left behind him the reputation which he brought out of *Macedon*; the reputation of a just and prudent Prince, a Prince temperate, advised and gratefull: and being taught new lessons by abundance of prosperity, became a lover of wine, of his own flattery, and of extreme cruelty. Yea, as *Seneca* hath observed, the taint of one unjust slaughter, amongst many, defaced and withered the flourishing beauty of all his great acts and glorious victories obtained. But the *Persian* Embassadors stay his answer, which was to this effect, That whatsoever he had bestowed on the wife and children of *Darius*, proceeded from his own naturall clemency and magnanimity, without all respect to their Master, but thanks to an enemy was improper: that he made no Wars against adversity, but against those that resisted him; not against Women and Children, but against armed enemies: and although by the reiterated practice of *Darius*, to corrupt his Souldiers, and by great summes of money to perswade his friends to attempt upon his person, he had reason to doubt that the peace offered was rather pretended than meant, yet he could not (were it otherwise and faithfull) resolve in haste to accept the same, seeing *Darius* had made Warre against him, not as a King with Royall and overt-force, but as a Traytor by secret and base practice; That for the Territory offered him, it was already his own, and if *Darius* could beat him back again over *Euphrates*, which he had already past, he would then beleeve that he offered him somewhat in his own power: Otherwise he propounded to himself for the reward of the War which he had made, all those kingdomes as yet in *Darius* possession; wherein, whether he were abused by his own hopes or no, the battell which he meant to fight in the day following should determine. For in conclusion, he told them, that he came into *Asia* to give, & not to receive; That the heavens could not hold two Suns: and therefore if *Darius* would be content to acknowledge *Alexander* for his Superiour, he might perchance be perswaded to give him conditions fit for a second Person, and his Inferiour.

§. X.

The battell of Arbela: *and that it could not be so strongly fought as report hath made it.*

With this answer the Embassadors return; *Darius* prepares to fight, and sends *Mazeus* to defend a passage, which he never dared yet so much as to hazzard. *Alexander* consults with his Captains, *Parmenio* perswades him to force *Darius* his Camp by night; so that the multitude of enemies might not move terrour in the *Macedonians* being but few. *Alexander* disdains to steal the victory, and resolves to bring with him the day-light, to witnesse his valour. But it was the successe that made good *Alexanders* resolution, though the counsell given by *Parmenio* was more sound: For it is a ground in War, *Si pauci necessariò cum multitudine pugnare cogantur, consilium est noctis tempore belli fortunam tentare*, Notwithstanding upon the view of the multitude at hand, he staggers and trenches himself upon a ground of advantage, which the *Persian* had abandoned: And whereas *Darius* for fear of surprise had stood with his Army in armour all the day, and forborn sleep all the night, *Alexander* gave his men rest and store of food; for reason had taught him this Rule in the Warre, *In pugna Milites validiùs resistunt, si cibo potuque refecti fuerint, nam fames intrinsecus magis*

magis pugnat, quàm ferrum exteriùs; Souldiers do the better stand to it in fight, if they have their bellies full of meat and drink; for hunger within, fights more eagerly than steel without.

The numbers which *Alexander* had, saith *Arrianus*, were forty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse; these belike were of the *Europæan* Army: for he had besides both *Syrians*, *Indians*, *Egyptians*, and *Arabians*, that followed him out of those Regions. He used but a short speech to his Souldiers to encourage them; and I think that he needed little Rhetorick; for by the two former battels upon the River of *Granick*, and in *Cilicia*, the *Macedonians* were best taught with what men they were to encounter. And it is a true saying, *Victoria victoriam parat, animumque victoribus auget, & adversariis aufert; One victory begets another, and puts courage into those that have already had the better, taking spirit away from those that have been beaten.*

Arrianus and *Curtius* make large descriptions of this battell, fought at *Gaugamela*; They tell us of many charges and re-charges; That the victory inclined sometime to the *Persians*, sometime to the *Macedonians*; That *Parmenio* was in danger of being overthrown, who led the left wing; That *Alexander*'s Rear-guard was broken, and his carriages lost; That for the fierce and valorous encounters on both sides, Fortune her self was long unresolved on whom to bestow the Garland: And lastly, that *Alexander* in person wrought wonders, being charged in his retrait. But in conclusion, *Curtius* delivers us in account but three hundred dead *Macedonians*, in all this terrible daies work, saying, That *Ephestion*, *Perdiccas*, and others of name were wounded. *Arrianus* finds not a third part of this number slain; of the *Persians* there fell forty thousand (saith *Curtius*) thirty thousand according to *Arrianus*: Ninety thousand, if we beleeve *Diodore*. But what can we judge of this great encounter, other than that, as in the two former battels, the *Persians* upon the first charge ran away, and that the *Macedonians* pursued? For if of those four or five hundred thousand *Asians* brought into the field by *Darius*, every man had cast but a dart or a stone, the *Macedonians* could not have bought the Empire of the East at so easie a rate, as six or seven hundred men in three notorious battels. Certainly, if *Darius* had fought with *Alexander* upon the banks of *Euphrates*, and had armed but fifty or threescore thousand of this great multitude, only with Spades, (for the most of all he had were fit for no other weapon) it had been impossible for *Alexander* to have past that River so easily, much lesse the River of *Tigris*. But as a man whose Empire God in his providence had determined, he abandoned all places of advantage, and suffered *Alexander* to enter so far into the bowels of his Kingdome, as all hope and possibility of escape by retrait being taken from the *Macedonians*, they had presented unto them the choice, either of death or victory: to which election *Darius* could no way constrain his own, seeing they had many large Regions to run into from those that invaded them.

§. XI.

Of things following the battell of Arbela. *The yeelding of* Babylon *and* Susa.

Darius after the rout of his Army recovered *Arbela* the same night, better followed in his flight, than in the fight. He propounded unto them that ran after him his purpose of making a retrait into *Media*, perswading them that the *Macedonians*, greedy of spoyl and riches, would rather attempt *Babylon*, *Susa*, and other Cities filled with treasure, than pursue the vanquished. This miserable resolution his Nobility rather obeyed than approved.

Alexander soon after *Darius* his departure arrives at *Arbela*, which with a great masse of treasure, and Princely ornaments, was rendred to him: for the fear which conducted *Darius*, took nothing with it but shame and dishonour. He that had been twice beaten, should rather have sent his treasure into *Media*, than brought it to *Arbela*, so neer the place where he abid the comming of his enemies; if he had been victorious, he might have brought it after him at leasure; but being overcome, he knew it unpossible to drive Mules and Camels laden with gold from the pursuing Enemy, seeing himself, at the overthrow he had in *Cilicia*, cast the Crown from his head, to run away with the more speed. But errors are then best discerned when most incurable. *Et præterita magis reprehendi possunt quàm corrigi; It is easier to reprehend than amend what is past.*

From *Arbela Alexander* took his way towards *Babylon*, where *Mazeus*, in whom *Darius* had most confidence, rendred himself, his Children and the Citie. Also the Captain of the Castle, who was keeper of the treasure, strewed the streets with flowers, burnt Frankincense upon Altars of silver as *Alexander* passed by, and delivered unto him whatsoever was committed to his trust. The *Magi* (the *Chaldæan* Astrologers) followed this Captain in great solemnitie to entertain their new King: after these came the *Babylonian* horsemen, infinite rich in attire, but exceeding poor in warlike furniture. Between these (though not greatly to be feared) and himself, *Alexander* caused his *Macedonian* foot-men to march. When he entred the Castle, he admired the glorie thereof, and the aboundance of treasure therein found, amounting to fifty thousand talents of silver uncoyned. The Citie it self I have elsewhere described, with the Walls, the Towers, the Gates and Circuit, with the wonderfull place of pleasure about two miles in Circuit, surrounded with a wall of fourscore foot high, and on the top thereof (being under-born with Pillars) a Grove of beautifull and fruitfull trees, which it is said that one of the Kings of *Babylon* caused to be built, that the Queen and other Princesses might walk privately therein. In this Citie, rich in all things, but most of all in voluptuous pleasures, the King rested himself and the whole Army four and thirty dayes, consuming that time in banquetting, and in all sorts of effeminate exercise; which so much softned the minds of the *Macedonians*, not acquainted till now with the like delicacies, as the severe discipline of war, which taught them the sufferances of hunger and thirst, of painfull travell, and hard lodging, began rather to be forgotten, than neglected.

Arb. Alex.

Here it was that those bands of a thousand Souldiers were erected, and Commanders appointed over them, who thereupon were stiled *Chiliarchi*. This new order *Alexander* brought in, was to honour those Captains which were found by certain selected Judges to have deserved best in the late warre. For before this time the *Macedonian* companies consisted but of five hundred. Certainly the drawing down of the foot-bands in this latter age hath been the cause (saith the Mtrshall *Monluct*) that the title and charge of a Captain hath been bestowed on every *Picque-Bœuf* or Spurn-Cow; for when the Captains of foot had a thousand Souldiers under one Ensigne, and after that five hundred, as in the time of *Francis* the first, the title was honourable, and the kings were lesse charged, and far better served. King *Henry* the eighth of *England* never gave the commandement of any of his good ships, but to men of known valour, and of great estate, nay sometime he made two Gentlemen of qualitie Commanders in one ship: but all orders and degrees are fallen from the reputation they had.

While *Alexander* was yet in *Babylon*, there came to him a great supply out of *Europe*; for *Antipater* sent him six thousand foot, and five hundred horse out of *Macedon*; of *Thracians* three thousand foot, and the like number of horse; and out of *Greece* four thousand and four hundred horse, by which his Armie was greatly strengthened: for those that were infected with the pleasures of *Babylon*, could hardly be brought again, *De quitter la plume pour dormir sur la dure*; *To change from soft beds to hard boords*.

He left the Castle and Citie of *Babylon*, with the Territories about it, in charge with three of his own Captains, to wit, *Agathon*, *Minetus*, and *Appolidorus*; to supply all wants, a thousand talents: but to grace *Mazeus*, who rendred the Citie unto him, hee gave him the title of his Lieutenant over all, and took with him *Bagistines* that gave up the Castle, and having distributed to every Souldier a part of the Treasure, he left *Babylon*, and entred into the Province *Satrapene*: from thence he went on toward *Susa* in *Persia*, the same which *Ptolomy*, *Herodotus*, and *Elianus* call *Memnonia*, situate on the river *Euleus*, a Citie sometime governed by *Daniel* the Prophet. *Abulites* also, Governor of this famous Citie, gave it up to the Conqueror, with fiftie thousand talents of silver in bullion, and twelve Elephants for the warre, with all other the treasures of *Darius*. In this sort did those Vassals of fortune, lovers of the Kings prosperitie, not of his person, (for so all ambitious men are) purchase their own peace and safetie with the Kings treasures. And herein was *Alexander* well advised, that whatsoever titles he gave to the *Persians*, yet he left all places of importance in trust with his own Captains, to wit, *Babylon*, *Susa*, and *Persepolis*, with other Cities and Provinces by him conquered; for if *Darius* (as yet living) had beaten the *Macedonians* but in one battell, all the Nobilitie of *Persia* would have returned unto their naturall Lord. Those that are Traitors

Diodor. speaketh of more than forty thousand talents in bullion, and of nine millions of gold, *sub dotrica forma excusi.*

to

to their own Kings, are never to be used alone in great enterprises by those Princes that entertain them, nor ever to be trusted with the defences of any frontier-Town, or Fortresse of weight, by the rendring whereof they may redeem their liberty and estates lost. Hereof the *French* had experience, when *Don Pedro de Navarra*, being banished out of *Spain*, was trusted with *Fonterabe*, in the year 1523.

While *Alexander* spoiled *Arbela*, *Mazeus* might have furnish'd the King from *Babylon*; and while he stayed four and thirty dayes at *Babylon*, *Abulites* might have holpen him from *Susa*; and while he feasted there, *Tiridates* from *Persepolis* might have relieved him; for the great masse of Treasure was layd up in that City. But who hath sought out and friended fearfull adversity? It is certain, that benefits bind not the ambitious, but the honest: for those that are but greedy of themselves, do in all changes of fortune onely consult the conservation of their own greatnesse.

The government of *Susa*, with the Castle and Treasure, he committed to his own *Macedonians*, making *Abulites*, who rendred it unto him, his Lieutenant, as he had done *Mazeus* and others, in giving them titles, but neither trust nor power; for he left three thousand old Souldiers in Garrison to assure the place; and *Darius* mother and her children to repose themselves.

It is said that *Charles* the fift, having promised *Charles* of *Bourbon* the government of *Marseilles*, if he could have forc'd it, and whereof he made sure accompt, told some of his neerest Counsellors, that he meant nothing lesse than the performance of that promise, because he should thereby have left the Duke (revolted from his Master) very well wherewithall to have recovered his favour.

§. XII.

How Alexander *came to* Persepolis *and burnt it.*

FRom *Susa Alexander* leadeth his Army toward *Persepolis*, and when he sought to passe those Mountains which sunder *Susiana* and *Persia*, he was soundly beaten by *Ariobarzanes*, who defended against him those Streights, called *Pylæ Persidis*, or *Susides*, and after the losse of many Companies of his *Macedonians*, he was forc'd to save himself by retrait, causing his Foot to march close together, and to cover themselves with their Targets from the stones tumbled on them from the Mountain top. Yet in the end he found out another path, which a *Lycian*, living in that Country, discovered unto him, and came thereby suddenly in view of *Ariobarzanes*, who being inforc'd to fight upon even ground, was by *Alexander* broken, whereupon he fled to *Persepolis*; but (after that they of *Persepolis* had refused to receive him) he returned and gave a second charge upon the *Macedonians*, wherein he was slain. In like manner did King *Francis* the first, in the year 1515, find a way over the *Alpes*, the *Switzers* undertaking to defend all the passages, who, if their footmanship had not saved them upon the Kings descent on the other side, they had been ill payd for their hard lodging on those Hils.

Four thousand *Greeks*, saith *Curtius* (*Justine* numbers them but at eight hundred) having bin taken prisoners by the *Persians*, presented themselves to *Alexander* now in sight of *Persepolis*. These had the barbarous *Persians* so maimed and defaced, by cutting off their hands, noses, ears, and other members, as they could no way have been known to their Country-men, but by their voyces; to each of these *Alexander* gave three hundred Crowns, with new garments, and such Lands as they liked to live upon.

Tiridates, one of *Darius* his false-hearted Grandes, hearing of *Alexanders* approach, made him know that *Persepolis* was ready to receive him, and prayed him to double his pace, because there was a determination in the people to spoyl the Kings treasure. This City was abandoned by many of her Inhabitants upon *Alexanders* arrivall, and they that stayed followed the worst counsell; for all was left to the liberty of the souldiers, to spoyl and kill at their pleasure. There was no place in the world at that time, which, if it had been laid in the ballance with *Persepolis*, would have weighed it down. *Babylon* indeed, and *Susa*, were very rich; but in *Persepolis* lay the bulk and main store of the *Persians*. For after the spoyl that had been made of money, curious plate, bullion, Images of gold and silver, and other Jewels, there remained to *Alexander* himself one hundred and twenty thousand talents. He left the same number of three thousand

Macedonians

Macedonians in *Persepolis*, which he had done in *Susa*, and gave the same formall honour to the traitor *Tiridrtes*, that he had done to *Abulites*; but he that had the trust of the place was *Nicarides*, a creature of his own. The body of his Army he left here for thirty daies, of which the Commanders were *Parmenio* and *Craterus*, and with a thousand horse, and certain troups of chosen foot, he would needs view in the Winter-time those parts of *Persia*, which the Snow had covered; a fruitlesse and foolish enterprise, but as *Seneca* saies; *Non ille ire vult, sed non potest stare: He hath not a will to goe, but he is unable to stand still.* It is said and spoken in his praise, That when his Souldiers cryed out against him, because they could not endure the extreme frost, and make way, but with extreme difficulty, through the snow, thar *Alexander* forsook his horse, and led them the way. But what can be more ridiculous than to bring other men into extremity, thereby to shew how well himself can endure it? His walking on foot did no otherwise take off their wearinesse that followed him, than his sometime forbearing to drink, did quench their thirst, that could lesse endure it. For mine own little judgement, I shall rather commend that Captain that makes careful provision for those that follow him, and that seeks wisely to prevent extreme necessitie, than those witlesse arrogant fools, that make the vaunt of having endured equally with the common Souldier, as if that were a matter of great glory and importance.

We find in all the Wars that *Cæsar* made, or the best of the *Roman* Commanders, that the provision of victuals was their first care. For it was true saying of *Coligni*, Admirall of *France*; *That who so will shape that Beast* (meaning War) *must begin with his belly.*

But *Alexander* is now returned to *Persepolis*, where those Historians that were most amorous of his vertues, complain, that the opinion of his valour, of his liberality, of his clemency towards the vanquished, and all other his Kingly conditions, were drowned in drink; That he smothered in carowsing cups all the reputation of his actions past, and that by descending, as it were, from the reverend Throne of the greatest King, into the company and familiarity of base Harlots, he began to be despised both of his own and all other Nations. For being perswaded, when he was inflamed with wine, by the infamous Strumpet *Thais*, he caused the most sumptuous and goodly Castle and Citie of *Persepolis* to be consumed with fire, notwithstanding all the arguments of *Parmenio* to the contrary, who told him that it was a dishonour to destroy those things by the perswasions of others, which by his proper vertue and force he had obtained; and that it would be a most strong perswasion to the *Asians*, to think hardly of him, and thereby alien their hearts; for they might well beleeve that he which demolished the goodliest Ornaments they had, meant nothing lesse than (after such vastation) to hold their possession. *Per vinolentiam crudelitas sequitur; Cruelty doth commonly follow drunkennesse:* For it so fell out soon after, and often, in *Alexander*.

Curt. Lib. 5.

Sen. Epist. 8. 4.

§. XIII.

The Treason of Bessus *against* Darius. Darius *his death.*

ABout this time he received a new supply of Souldiers out of *Cilicia*, and goes on to find *Darius* in *Media*. *Darius* had there compounded his fourth and last Army, which he meant to have increased in *Bactria*, had he not heard of *Alexander's* comming on, with whom (trusting to such companies as he had, which was numbred at thirty or forty thousand) he determined once again to try his fortune. He therefore calls together his Captains and Commanders, and propounds unto them his resolution, who being desperate of good successe, used silence for a while. *Artabazus*, one of his eldest men of War, who had sometime lived with *Philip* of *Macedon*, brake the yce, and protesting that he could never be beaten by any adversity of the Kings, from the faith which he had ever ought him, with firm confidence, that all the rest were of the same condition (whereof they likewise assured *Darius* by the like protestation) hee approved the Kings resolution. Two only, and those the greatest, to wit, *Naburzanes* and *Bessus*, whereof the later was governour of *Bactria*, had conspired against their Master; and therefore advised the King to lay a new foundation for the Warre, and to pursue it by some such person for the present, against whom neither the gods nor fortune had in all things declared themselves to be an enemy: this preamble *Naburzanes* used, and

and in conclusion advised the election of his fellow Traitor *Bessus*, with promise that the warres ended, the Empire should again be restored to *Darius*. The King swollen with disdain, prest towards *Naburzanes* to have slain him, but *Bessus* and the *Bactrians* whom he commanded, being more in number than the rest, with-held him. In the mean while *Naburzanes* with-drew himself, and *Bessus* followed him, making their quarter a-part from the rest of the Army. *Artabazus*, the Kings faithfull servant, perswaded him to be advised and serve the time, seeing *Alexander* was at hand, and that he would at least make shew of forgetting the offence made; which the King being of a gentle dispositi-on, willingly yeelded unto. *Bessus* makes his submission, and attends the King, who re-moves his Army. *Patron*, who commanded a Regiment of four thousand *Greeks*, which had in all the former battels served *Darius* with great fidelity, and alwayes made the retrait in spight of the *Macedonians*, offered himself to guard his person, protesting against the Treason of *Bessus*; but it was not his destiny to follow their advice who from the beginning of the Warre gave him faithfull counsell, but hee inclined still to *Bessus*, who told him, that the *Greeks*, with *Patron* their Captain, were corrupted by *Alexander*, and practised the division of his faithfull servants. *Bessus* had drawn unto him thirty thousand of the Army, promising them all those things, by which the lovers of the World and themselves are wont to be allured, to wit, riches, safety, and honour.

Now the day following *Darius* plainly discovered the purposes of *Bessus*, and being overcome with passion, as thinking himself unable to make head against these ungrate-full and unnaturall Traytors, he prayed *Artabazus* his faithfull servant to depart from him, and to provide for himself. In like sort he discharged the rest of his attendants, all save a few of his Eunuches; for his Guards had voluntarily abandoned him: His *Persians* being most base cowards, durst not undertake his defence against the *Bactrians*, notwith-standing that they had four thousand *Greeks* to joyn with him, who had been able to have beaten both Nations. But it is true, that him, which forsakes himself, no man fol-lowes. It had been far more Man-like, and King-like, to have dyed in the head of those four thousand *Greeks*, which offered him the disposition of their lives, (to which *Ar-tabazus* perswaded him) than to have lyen bewailing himself on the ground, and suffe-ring himself to be bound like a slave by those ambitious Monsters that laid hand on him, whom neither the consideration of his former great estate, nor the honour he had given them, nor the trust reposed in them, nor the world of benefits bestowed on them, could move to pity: no, nor his present adversity, which above all things should have moved them, could pierce their viperous and ungratefull hearts. Vain it was indeed to hope it; for infidelity hath no compassion.

Now *Darius*, thus forsaken, was bound and laid in a Cart, covered with hides of Beasts, to the end that by any other ornament he might not be discovered; and to adde despight and derision to his adversity, they fastned him with Chains of Gold, and so drew him on among their ordinarie Carriages and Carts. For *Bessus* and *Naburzanes* perswaded themselves to redeem their lives and the Provinces they held, either by delivering him a prisoner to *Alexander*, or, if that hope failed, to make themselves kings by his slaugh-ter; and then to defend themselves by force of Arms. But they failed in both. For it was against the nature of God, who is most just, to pardon so strange villanie, yea, though against a Prince purely Heathenish and an Idolater.

Alexander having knowledge that *Darius* was retired towards *Bactria*, and durst not abide his comming, hastened after him with a violent speed, and because he would not force his footmen beyond their powers, he mounted on horse-back certain selected com-panies of them, and best armed, and with six thousand other horse, rather ran than mar-ched after *Darius*. Such as hated the Treason of *Bessus*, and secretly forsook him, gave knowledge to *Alexander* of all that had happened, informing him of the way that *Bessus* took, and how neer he was at hand: for many men of worth daily ran from him. Here-upon *Alexander* again doubled his pace, and his Vant-guard being discovered by *Bessus* his Rear, *Bessus* brought a Horse to the Cart, where *Darius* lay bound, perswading him to mount thereon, and to save himself. But the unfortunate King refusing to follow those that had betrayed him, they cast Darts at him, wounded him to death, and woun-ded the Beasts that drew him, and slew two poor Servants that attended his person. This done, they all fled that could, leaving the rest to the mercie of the *Macedonian* swords.

Polystratus

Polystratus a *Macedonian*, being by pursuit of the vanquished prest with thirst, as hee was refreshing himself with some water that he had discovered, espying a Cart with a Team of wounded beasts breathing for life, and not able to move, searched the same, and therein found *Darius* bathing in his own bloud: And by a *Persian* Captive which followed this *Polystratus*, he understood that it was *Darius*, and was informed of his barbarous Tragedy. *Darius* also seemed greatly comforted (if dying men ignorant of the living God can be comforted) that he cast not out his last sorrowes unheard, but that by this *Macedonian*, *Alexander* might know and take vengeance on those Traytors, which had dealt no lesse unworthily than cruelly with him, recommending their revenge to *Alexander* by this messenger, which he besought him to pursue, not because *Darius* had desired it, but for his own honour, and for the safety of all that did, or should after wear Crowns. He also having nothing else to present, rendred thanks to *Alexander* for the Kingly grace used towards his Wife, Mother, and Children, desiring the immortal gods to submit unto him the Empire of the whole World. As he was thus speaking impatient death pressing out his few remaining spirits, he desired water, which *Polystratus* presented him, after which he lived but to tell him, that of all the best things that the world had, which were lately in his power, he had nothing remaining but his last breath, wherewith to desire the gods to reward his compassion.

§. XIV.

How Alexander *pursued* Bessus, *and took into his grace* Darius *his Captains.*

IT was now hoped by the *Macedonians*, that their travels were neer an end, every man preparing for his return. Hereof when *Alexander* had knowledge, he was greatly grieved; for the bounded earth sufficed not his boundlesse Ambition. Many arguments he therefore used to draw on his Army farther into the East, but that which had most strength, was, that *Bessus*, a most cruell traytor to his Master *Darius*, having at his devotion the *Hyrcanians* and *Bactrians*, would in short time (if the *Macedonians* should return) make himself Lord of the *Persian* Empire, and enjoy the fruits of all their former travels. In conclusion he wan their consents to go on: which done, leaving *Craterus* with certain Regiments of foot, and *Amyntas* with six thousand horse in *Parthenia*, he enters not without some opposition into *Hyrcania*; for the *Mardons*, and other barbarous Nations, defended certain passages for a while. He passeth the river of *Zioberis*, which taking beginning in *Parthia*, dissolves it self in the *Caspian* Sea: it runneth under the ledge of Mountains, which bound *Parthia* & *Hyrcania*, where hiding it self under ground for three hundred furlongs, it then riseth again, and followeth its former course. In *Zadracarta*, or *Zeudracarta*, the same City which *Ptolomy* writes *Hyrcania*, the *Metropolis* of that Region, he rested fifteen dayes, banquetting and feasting therein.

Phataphernes, one of *Darius* his greatest Commanders, with others of his best followers, submit themselves to *Alexander*, and were restored to their places and governments. But of all other he graced *Artabazus* most highly for his approved and constant faith to his master *Darius*. *Artabazus* brought with him ten thousand and five hundred *Greeks*, the remainder of all those that had served *Darius*; He treats with *Alexander* for their pardon, before they were yet arrived, but in the end, they render themselves simply without promise or composition: he pardons all but the *Lacedæmonians*, whom he imprisoned, their Leader having slain himself. He was also wrought (though to his great dishonour) to receive *Nabarzanes* that had joyned with *Bessus* to murder *Darius*.

§. XV.

Of Thalestris *Queen of the* Amazons; *where, by way of digression, it is shewed, that such* Amazons *have been and are.*

HEre it is said that *Thalestris* or *Minothea*, a Queen of the *Amazons*, came to visit him, and her suite was, (which she easily obtained) that she might accompany him till she were made with child by him: which done (refusing to follow him into *India*) she returned into her own Country.

Plutarch

Plutarch citeth many Hiſtorians, reporting this meeting of *Thaleſtris* with *Alexander*, and ſome contradicting it. But indeed, the letters of *Alexander* himſelf to *Antipater*, recounting all that befell him in thoſe parts, and yet omitting to make mention of this *Amazonian* buſineſſe, may juſtly breed ſuſpition of the whole matter as forged. Much more juſtly may we ſuſpect it as a vain tale, becauſe an Hiſtorian of the ſame time reading one of his books to *Lyſimachus* (then King of *Thrace*) who had followed *Alexander* in all his voyage, was laught at by the King for inſerting ſuch newes of the *Amazons*; and *Lyſimachus* himſelf had never heard of. One that accompanied *Alexander*, took upon him to write his acts; which to amplifie, He told how the King had fought ſingle with an Elephant, and ſlain it. The King hearing ſuch ſtuff, caught the book, and threw it into the river of *Indus*; ſaying, That it were well done to throw the writer after it, who by inſerting ſuch fables, diſparaged the truth of his great exploits. Yet as we believe & know that there are Elephants, though it were falſe that *Alexander* fought with one; ſo may we give credit unto writers making mention of ſuch *Amazons*, whether it were true or falſe that they met with *Alexander*; as *Plutarch* leaves the matter undetermined. Therefore I will here take leave to make digreſſion, as well to ſhew the opinions of the ancient Hiſtorians, Coſmographers, and others, as alſo of ſome modern diſcoverers touching theſe warlike Women, becauſe not only *Strabo*, but many others of theſe our times make doubt, whether or no there were any ſuch kind of people. *Julius Solinus* ſeats them in the North parts of *Aſia* the leſſe. *Pom. Mela* finds two Regions filled with them; the one on the River *Thermodoon*, the other neer the *Caſpian* Sea; *Quas* (ſaith he) *Sauromatidas appellant*; *Which the people call* Sauromatidas. The former of theſe two had the *Cimerians* for their Neighbours; *Certum eſt* (ſaith *Vadianus*, who hath commented upon *Mela*) *illos proximos Amazonibus fuiſſe*; *It is certain that the* Cimerians *were the next Nations to the Amazons*. *Ptolomy* ſets them farther into the Land North-wards, neer the Mountains *Hippaci*, not far from the Pillars of *Alexander*. And that they had Dominion in *Aſia* it ſelf toward *India*, *Solinus* and *Pliny* tell us, Where they governed a people called the *Pandeans*, or *Padeans*, ſo called after *Pandea* the Daughter of *Hercules*, from whom all the reſt derive themſelves. *Claudian* affirmes, That they commanded many Nations: For he ſpeaks (largely perhaps as a Poet) thus:

Sol. c. 27. & 65. Lib. 1. Ptol. lib. 6. Aſiæ Tab. 2. Plin. l. 6. c. 20.

——*Medis levibuſque Sabais*
Imperat hic Sexus: Reginarumque ſub armis,
Barbaria pars magna jacet.

Claud. de rap. Proſerpinæ.

Over the *Medes*, and light *Sabaans* reigns
This female ſex: and under arms of Queen,
Great part of the *Barbarian* Land remains.

Diodorus Siculus hath heard of them in *Lybia*, who were more ancient (ſaith he) than thoſe which kept the banks of *Thermodoon*, a River falling into the Euxine Sea, neer *Heraclium*.

Herodotus doth alſo make report of theſe *Amazons*, whom he tels us that the *Scythians* call *Æorpatas*, which is as much as *Viricidas*, or men-killers. And that they made incurſion into *Aſia* the leſſe, ſackt *Epheſus*, and burt the Temple of *Diana*, *Manethon*, and *Aventinus* report, which they performed forty years after *Troy* was taken. At the ſiege of *Troy* it ſelf we read of *Pentheſilea*, That ſhe came to the ſuccour of *Priamus*.

Aeniad. 1. l. 3.

Am. Marcellinus gives the cauſe of their inhabiting upon the River of *Thermodoon*, ſpeaking confidently of the wars they made with divers Nations, & of their overthrow.

L. 22. c. 7.

Plutarch in the life of *Theſeus*, out of *Philochorus*, *Hellenicus*, and other ancient Hiſtorians, reports the taking of *Antiopa* Queen of the *Amazons* by *Hercules*, and by him given to *Theſeus*, though ſome affirm, That *Theſeus* himſelf got her by ſtealth, when ſhe came to viſit him aboord his ſhip. But in ſubſtance there is little difference; all confeſſing, That ſuch *Amazons* there were. The ſame Author in the life of *Pompey* ſpeaks of certain companies of the *Amazons*, that came to ayd the *Albanians* againſt the *Romans*, by whom after the battell, many Targets and Buskins of theirs were taken up: and he ſaith farther, That theſe women entertain the *Gela* and *Lelages* once a year, Nations inhabiting between them and the *Albanians*.

But

But to omit the many Authors, making mention of *Amazons* that were in the old times, *Fran. Lopez*, who hath written the navigation of *Orellana*, which he made down the river of *Amazons* from *Peru*, in the year 1542. (upon which river, for the divers turnings, he is said to have sailed six thousand miles) reports from the relation of the said *Orellana*, to the Councell of the *Indies*, That he both saw those women, and fought with them, where they sought to impeach his passage towards the East-Sea.

Hist. Ind. part. 1. c. 18.

It is also reported by *Ulrichus Schmidel*, that in the year 1542. when he sailed up the Rivers of *Paragna* and *Parabol*, that he came to a King of that Country, called *Scherves*, inhabiting under the Tropick of *Capricorn*, who gave his Captain *Ernando Riessere*, a Crown of silver, which he had gotten in fight from a Queen of the *Amazons* in those parts.

Ed. Lopez, in his description of the Kingdome of *Congo*, makes relation of such *Amazons*, telling us, That (agreeable to the reports of elder times) they burn off their right breasts, and live apart from men, save at one time of the year, when they feast and accompany them for one moneth. These (saith he) possesse a part of the Kingdome of *Monomotapa* in *Africa*, nineteen degrees to the Southward of the line: and that these women are the strongest Guards of this Emperour, all the *East-Indian Portugals* know.

I have produced these authorities in part, to justifie mine own relation of these *Amazons*, because that which was delivered me for truth by an ancient *Cacique* of *Guiana*, how upon the River of *Papamena* (since the *Spanish* discoveries called *Amazons*) that these women still live and govern, was held for a vain and unprobable report.

§. XVI.

How Alexander *fell into the* Persian *Luxurie: and how he further pursued* Bessus.

NOw as *Alexander* had begun to change his conditions after the taking of *Persepolis*: so at this time his prosperitie had so much over-wrought his vertue, as he accounted clemencie to be but baseneſſe, and the temperance which he had used all his life-time, but a poor and dejected humour, rather becomming the instructers of his youth, than the condition and state of so mighty a King as the World could not equall. For he perswaded himself that he now represented the greatnesse of the gods; he was pleased that those that came before him, should fall to the ground and adore him, he ware the robes and garments of the *Persians*, and commanded that his Nobilitie should do the like: he entertained in his Court and Camp, the same shameless rabble of Curtisans, and Sodomiticall Eunuchs, that *Darius* had done, and imitated in all things the proud, voluptuous, and detested māners of the *Persians*, whom he had vanquished. So licentious is felicity, as notwithstanding that he was fully perswaded, that the gods whom he served (detesting the vices of the invaded) assisted him in all attempts against them, he himself, contrary to the Religion he profest (which how Idolatrous soever it were, could not be but fearful unto him by neglecting it) became by imitation, & not by ignorance or education, a more foul and fearfull Monster than *Darius*, from whose tyrannie he vaunted to have delivered so many Nations. Yea those that were deerest and neerest unto him, began to be ashamed of him, entertaining each other with this, and the like scornfull discourse; That *Alexander* of *Macedon* was become one of *Darius* his licentious Courtiers; That by his example, the *Macedonians* were in the end of so many travels, more impoverished in their vertues, than inriched by their victories; and that it was hard to judge whether the Conquerors, or the Conquered were the baser slaves. Neither were these opinions so reserved, but that the noise of them came to his ears. He therefore with great gifts sought to pacifie the better sort, and those of whose judgements he was most jealous; and making it known to the Armie, that *Bessus* had assumed the title of a King, and called himself *Artaxerxes*, and that he had compounded a great Armie of the *Bactrians*, and other Nations, he had arguments enow to perswade them to goe on, to the end that all already gotten, might not with themselves (so farre ingaged) be cast away. And because they were pestered with the spoiles of so many Cities, as the whole armie seemed but the guard of their carriages, (not much unlike the warfare of the *French*) having commanded every mans fardels to be brought into the Market-place, he, together with his own, caused all to be consumed with fire. Certainly, this could not but have proved

most

most dangerous unto him, seeing the common Souldiers had more interest in these things which they had bought with their painfull travells, and with their bloud, than in the Kings ambition; had not (as *Seneca* often observed) his happy temerity overcome all things. As he was in his way, newes came to him, that *Satribarzanes*, whom he had established in his former government over the *Arrians*, was revolted; whereupon leaving the way of *Bactria*, he sought him out; but the Rebell, hearing of his comming, fled to *Bessus*, with two thousand Horse. He then went on towards *Bessus*, and by setting a great pile of wood on fire, with the advantage of a strong wind, won the passage over an high and unaccessable Rock, which was defended against him with thirteen thousand foot. For the extremity of the Flame and smoak forced them from the place, otherwise invincible. I saw in the third civill warre of *France*, certain Caves in *Languedoc*, which had but one entrance, and that very narrow, cut out in the mid-way of high Rocks, which we knew not how to enter by any ladder or engine, till at last, by certain bundles of straw, let down by an yron chain, and a waighty stone in the middest, those that defended it, were so smothered, as they rendred themselves, with their plate, mony, and other goods therein hidden. There were also some three years before my arrivall in *Guiana*, three hundred *Spaniards* well mounted, smothered to death, together with their Horses, by the Countrie-people, who did set the long dry grasse on fire to the Eastward of them, (the wind in those parts being alwayes East) so as notwithstanding their flying from the smoak, there was not any one that escaped. Sir *John Burrowes* also, with a hundred *English*, was in great danger of being lost at *Margarita*, in the *West-Indies*, by having the grasse fired behind him; but the smoak being timefully discovered, he recovered the Sea-shore with the losse of sixteen of his men. I remember these things, but to give caution to those that shall in times to come invade any part of those Countries, that they alwayes, before they passe into the Land, burn down the grasse and siege to the East of them; they may otherwise, without any other enemy than a handfull of straw set one fire, dye the death of hony-Bees, burnt out of the Hive.

§. XVII.

A Conspiracie against Alexander. *The death of* Philotas *and* Parmenio.

ALexander was, after he parted hence, no where resisted, till he came into *Aria*, to the East of *Bactria*, where the chief City of that Province, called *Artacoana*, was a while defended against him, by the revolt of *Satribarzanes*, but in the end hee received the Inhabitants to mercie. At this place his Army was re-enforced with a new supply of five thousand and five hundred foot, and neer five hundred Horse, out of *Greece*, *Thessalie*, and other places. His journey out of *Persia* into these parts, is very confusedly described. For having (as all his Historians tell us) a determination to find *Bessus* in *Bactria*, he leaves it at the very entrance, and takes the way of *Hyrcania*, from thence he wanders Northwards towards the obscure *Mardi*, upon the *Caspian*-Sea, and thence over the Mountain *Coronus* into *Aria* and *Drangiana*.

At this time it was that the treason of *Dimnus* brake out, of which *Philotas* the sonne of *Parmenio* was accused, as accessary, if not principall. This *Dimnus*, having (I know not upon what ground) conspired with some others against the life of *Alexander*, went about to draw *Nichomachus*, a young man whom he loved, into the same treason. The Youth, although he was first bound by oath to secrecy, when he heard so foul a matter uttered, began to protest against it so vehemently, that his friend was like to have slain him for security of his own life. So, constrained by fear, he made shew as if hee had been won by perswasion; and by seeming at length to like well of the businesse, he was told more at large what they were that had undertaken it. There were nine or ten of them, all men of rank, whose names *Dimnus* (to countenance the enterprise) reckoned up to *Nichomachus*. *Nichomachus* had no sooner freed himself from the company of this Traitor *Dimnus*, than he acquainted his own brother *Ceballinus* with the whole History: whereupon it was agreed between them, that *Ceballinus* (who might with least suspition) should go to the Court, and utter all. *Ceballinus*, meeting with *Philotas*, told him the whole busines, desiring him to acquaint the King therewith: which he promised

to do, but did not. Two dayes passed, and *Philotas* never brake with the King about the matter, but still excused himself to *Ceballinus* by the Kings want of leisure. This his coldnesse bred suspition, and caused *Ceballinus* to addresse himself to another, one *Metron*, Keeper of the Kings Armorie, who forth-with brought him to *Alexanders* presence. *Alexander*, finding by examination what had passed between *Ceballinus* and *Philotas*, did fully perswade himself that this concealment of the treason, argued his hand to have been in the businesse. Therefore when *Dimnus* was brought before him, he asked the Traitor no other question than this: *Wherein have I so offended thee, that thou shouldest think* Philotas *more worthy to be King than I? Dimnus* perceiving when he was apprehended, how the matter went, had so wounded himself, that he lived no longer, than to give his last groan in the Kings presence. Then was *Philotas* called, and charged with the suspition, which his silence might justly breed. His answer was, That when the practice was revealed unto him by *Nichomachus*, he judging it to bee but frivolous, did forbear to acquaint *Alexander* therewithall, untill hee might have better information. This errour of his, (if it were onely an errour) although *Alexander*, for the notorious services of his Father *Parmenio*, of his brother *Nicanor* lately dead, and of *Philotas* himself, had freely pardoned and given him his hand for assurance; yet by the iustigation of *Craterus*, he again swallowed his Princely promise, and made his enemies his Judges. *Curtius* gives a note of *Craterus* in this businesse; How he perswaded himself, that hee could never find a better occasion to oppresse his private enemy, than by pretending piety, and dutie towards the King. Hereof a Poet of our own hath given a note as much better, as it is more generall in his *Philotas*:

See how these great men cloathe their private hate,
In these fair colours of the publike good,
And, to effect their ends, pretend the State,
As if the State by their affection stood:
And, arm'd with power and Princes jealousies,
Will put the least conceit of discontent
Into the greatest rank of treacheries,
That no one action shall seem innocent:
Yea, valour, honour, bountie, shall be made
As accessaries unto ends unjust:
And even the service of the State must lade
The needfull'st undertaking with distrust;
So that base vilenesse, idle Luxurie,
Seem safer farre, than to doe worthily, &c.

Now although it were so, that the King, following the advice of *Craterus*, had resolved the next day to put *Philotas* to torment, yet in the very evening of the same night in which he was apprehended, hee called him to a banquet, and discourſed as familiarly with him as at any other time. But when in the dead of the night *Philotas* was taken in his lodging, and that they which hated him began to bind him, he cryed out upon the King in these words: *O* Alexander, *the malice of mine Enemies hath surmounted thy mercy, and their hatred is farre more constant than the word of a King.* Many circumstances were urged against him by *Alexander* himself (for the Kings of *Macedon* did in person examine the accusations of treason) & this was not the least (not the least offence, indeed, against the Kings humour, who desired to be glorified as a God) That when *Alexander* wrote unto him concerning the title given him by *Jupiter Hammon*; He answered, That he could not but rejoyce that he was admitted into that sacred Fellowship of the gods, and yet he could not but withall grieve for those that should live under such a one as would exceed the nature of man. This was (saith *Alexander*) a firm perswasion unto me, that his heart was changed, and that he held my glory in despight. See what a strange Monster Flatterie is, that can perswade Kings to kill those that doe not praise and allow those things in them, which are of all other most to be abhorred. *Philotas* was brought before the multitude, to hear the Kings Oration against him: hee was brought forth in vile garments, and bound like a Theefe; where he heard himself, and his absent Father, the greatest Captain of the World, accused; his two other Brothers, *Hector* and *Nicanor* having been lost in the present Warre. Hee was so greatly oppresst with grief,

as for a while he could utter nothing but tears, and sorrow had so wasted his spirits, as he sank under those that led him. In the end, the King asked him, In what language he would make his defence; he answered, In the same wherein it had pleased the King to accuse him; which he did, to the end that the *Persians*, as well as the *Macedonians*, might understand him. But hereof the King made his advantage, perswading the assembly, that he disdained the language of his own Country; and so with-drawing himself, left him to his mercilesse enemies.

This proceeding of the Kings, *Philotas* greatly lamented, seeing the King, who had so sharply inveighed against him, would not vouchsafe to hear his excuse. For not his enemies onely were imboldened thereby against him, but all the rest, having discovered the Kings disposition and resolution, contended among themselves, which of them should exceed in hatred towards him. Among many other arguments, which hee used in his own defence, this was not the weakest; That when *Nicomachus* desired to know of *Dimnus*, what men of mark and power were his partners in the conspiracie (as seeming unwilling to adventure himself with mean and base Companions) *Dimnus* named unto him *Demetrius* of the Kings Chamber, *Nicanor*, *Amyntas*, and some others; but spake not a word of *Philotas*, who by being Commander of the Horse, would greatly have valued the party, and have incouraged *Nicomachus*. Indeed, as *Philotas* said well for himself, it is likely that *Dimnus*, thereby the better to have heartned *Nicomachus*, would have named him, though he had never dealt with him in any such practice. And for more certain proof, that he knew nothing of their intents that practised against the King, there was not any one of the Conspirators, being many, inforc'd by torments, or otherwise, that could accuse him; and it is true, that adversity being seldome able to bear her own burden, is for the most part found so malicious, as she rather desires to draw others (not alwayes deserving it) into the same danger, than to spare any that it can accuse. Yet at the last, howsoever it were, to avoid the extremity of resistlesse and unnaturall torments, devised by his profest enemies, *Craterus*, *Cenus*, *Ephestion*, and others, *Philotas* accused his own self; being perswaded that they would have slain him forthwith. But hee failed even in that miserable hope, and suffering all that could be laid on flesh and bloud, he was forced to deliver, not what he knew, but whatsoever best pleased their ears, that were farre more mercilesse than death it self.

Of this kind of judiciall proceeding S. *Augustine* greatly complaineth, as a matter to be bewailed, saith he, with Fountains of tears. *Quid cum in sua causa quisque torquetur; & cum quæritur utrum sit nocens, cruciatur; & innocens luit pro incerto scelere certissimæ pœnas: non quia illud commisisse detegitur, sed quia non commisisse nescitur? What shall wee say to it, when one is put to torture in his own cause; and tormented whilest yet it is in question whether he be guilty; and being innocent, sufferes assured punishment for a fault, of which there is no certaintie: not because he is known to have committed the offence, but because others doe not know that he hath not committed it?* *Aug. de civit. Dei lib. 1. c. 6.*

It had been enough for *Alexanders* safety, if *Philotas* had been put to death without torment; the rest would not much have grieved thereat, because he was greatly suspected. But *Hemolaus*, who afterward conspired against him, made the Kings cruelty and delight in bloud, the greatest motive of his own ill intent. Therefore, *Seneca*, speaking of *Alexander*, saith thus; *Crudelitas minime humanum malum est; indignum tam miti animo; ferina ista rabies est sanguine gaudere & vulneribus, & abjecto hominis nomine in silvestre animal transire; Cruelty is not a humane vice, it is unworthy of so milde a spirit: it is even a beastly rage to delight in bloud and wounds, and casting away the nature of man, to become a savage Monster.* *Sen. de Clem. l. 1.*

For the conclusion of this Tragedie, *Curtius* makes a doubt, whether the confession that *Philotas* made were to give end to the torments which he could not any longer endure, or that the same was true indeed; For (saith he) in this case, they that speak truly, or they that deny falsly, come to one and the same end. Now, while the Kings hands were yet wet in bloud, he commanded that *Lyncestes*, son-in-Law to *Antipater*, who had been three years in prison, should be slain: The same dispatch had all those that *Nicomachus* had accused: others there were that were suspected because they had followed *Philotas*, but when they had answered for themselves that they knew no way so direct to win the Kings favour, as by loving those whom the King favoured, they were dismist. But *Parmenio* was yet living; *Parmenio*, who had served with

with great fidelity as wel *Philip* of *Macedon* the Kings Father, as himself; *Parmenio*, that first opened the way into *Asia*; that had depreſt *Attalus* the Kings enemy; that had alwayes, and in all hazzards, the leading of the Kings Vant-guard, that was no leſſe prudent in counſell, than fortunate in all attempts; A man beloved of the men of War, and, to ſay the truth, he that had made the purchaſe for the King of the Empire of the Eaſt, and of all the glory and fame he had: That he might not therefore revenge the death of his Son, though not upon the King, (for it was unlikely that he would have diſhonoured his fidelity in his eldeſt age, having now lived threeſcore and ten years) yet upon thoſe that by the witchcraft of flattery had poſſeſt themſelves of his affection, it was reſolved that he ſhould be diſpatcht. *Polydamas* was employed in this buſineſſe, a man whom of all other *Parmenio* truſted moſt, and loved beſt, who (to be ſhort) finding him in *Media*, and having *Cleander* and other murderers with him, ſlew him walking in his Garden, while he was reading the Kings letters. *Hic exitus* Parmenionis *fuit, militiæ domique clari viri; Multa ſine Rege proſperè, Rex ſine illo nihil magnæ rei geſſerat; This was the end of* Parmenio *(ſaith* Curtius*) who had performed many notable things without the King, but the King, without him, did never effect any thing worthy of praiſe.*

Lib. 7.

§. XVIII.

How Alexander *ſubdued the* Bactrians, Sogdians, *and other people. How* Beſſus *was delivered into his hands. How he fought with the* Scythians.

WHen theſe things had end, *Alexander* went on with his Army, and brought under his obedience the *Araſpians* or *Evergitans*; he made *Amenides* (ſometime *Darius* his Secretary) their Governour, then he ſubdued the *Arachaſians*, and left *Menon* to command over them. Here the Army, ſometimes led by *Parmenio*, finds him, conſiſting of twelve thouſand *Macedons* and *Greeks*, with whom he paſt through ſome cold Regions with difficulty enough. At length hee came to the foot of the Mountain *Taurus* towards the Eaſt, where he built a City, which he honoured with his own name, and peopled it with ſeven thouſand of his old *Macedons*, worn with age and with travells of the war. The *Arians*, who ſince he left them were revolted, he ſubdued again by the induſtrie and valour of *Caranus* and *Erigius*. And now he reſolves to find out the new King *Beſſus* in *Bactria*. *Beſſus*, hearing of his comming, prepares to paſſe over the great River of *Oxus*, which divides *Bactria* from *Sogdiana*; *Arſabazus* is made Governor of *Bactria* abandoned by *Beſſus*; The *Macedonian* Army ſuffereth for want of Water, inſomuch as when they came to the River of *Oxus*, there died more of them by drinking inordinately, than *Alexander* had loſt in any one battell againſt the *Perſians*. And it may well be; For (as *Clytus* did after object unto him) hee fought againſt women, not againſt men, and not againſt their perſons, but their ſhadowes. He found on the banks of this great River no manner of Timber or other materials, to make either boats, bridges, or raffe, but was forc'd to ſew together the Hides that covered his carriages, and ſtuffe them with ſtraw, and on them in ſix dayes to paſſe over his Army; which *Beſſus* might eaſily have diſtreſt, if he had dared but to behold the *Macedonian* Army afar off. He had formerly complained againſt *Darius* for neglecting to defend the banks of *Tigris*, and other paſſages, and yet now, when this traiterous ſlave had ſtyled himſelf a King, he durſt not perform any thing worthy of a ſlave. And therefore thoſe that were neereſt unto him, and whom he moſt truſted, to wit, *Spitamenes*, *Dataphernes*, *Catanes*, and others the Commanders of his Army, moved both by the care of their own ſafety, and by the memory of *Beſſus* his Treaſon and cruelty againſt *Darius*, bound him in the like manner that he had done his Maſter, but with this difference, that he had the chain cloſed about his neck like a maſtiffe Dog, and ſo was dragged along to be preſented to his enemy.

In the mean while *Alexander* was arrived at a certain Town inhabited with *Greeks* of *Miletum*, brought thither by *Xerxes*, when long before hee returned out of *Greece*; whoſe iſſues had well-neer forgotten their Country-language. Theſe moſt cruelly (after they had received him with great joy) he put to the ſword, and deſtroyed their City. At this place he recived *Beſſus*, and having rewarded *Spitamenes* with the reſt that delivered him, he gave the Traitor into the hands of *Oxatres*, *Darius* his brother, to bee tormented.

But

But while he now thought himself secure, some twenty thousand Mountainers assaulted his Camp; in repelling whom he received a shot in the leg, the arrow head sticking in the flesh, so as he was carried in a Horse-litter, sometime by the horsemen, sometime by the foot.

Soon after he came unto *Maracanda*, which *Petrus Perondinus* takes to be *Samarchand*, the regall City of the great *Tamerlaine*. It had in compasse threescore and ten furlongs (*Curtius* saith.) Here he received the Embassadours of the *Scythians* (called *Asians*) who offered to serve him.

The *Bactrians* are shortly again with the *Sogdians* stirred to rebellion, by the same *Spitamenes* and *Catanes*, who had lately delivered into his hands the traitor *Bessus*. Many Cities were resolvedly defended against him, all which, after victory, hee defaced and razed, killing all therein. At one of these he received a blow on the neck, which struck him to the ground, and much disabled him for many dayes after. In the mean while *Spitamenes* had recovered *Maracanda*, against whom he employed *Menedemus* with three thousand foot, and eight hundred horse.

In the heat of these tumults *Alexander* marched on (if we may beleeve *Curtius* and others) till he came to the river of *Tanais*; upon whose bank he built another *Alexandria*, threescore furlongs in compasse, which he beautified with houses within seventeen dayes after the wals built. The building of this City is said to have bin occasion of a war between him and the *Scythians*; the *Scythian* King perswading himself, that this new Town was fortified of purpose to keep him under. I doe not well understand, why the *Scythians*, offering war in such terrible manner, that *Alexander* was judged by his own Souldiers to counterfeit sickenesse for very fear, should nevertheless make sute for peace: neither find I the reason why *Alexander* (not intending the conquest of those Northern desarts, but onely the defence of his own bank) should refuse to let them alone, with whom he could not meddle further than they should agree to suffer him. Yet hereof is made a greater matter; and a victory described; in pursuit of which the *Macedons* ran beyond the bounds and monuments of *Bacchus* his expedition.

The truth is, That *Curtius* and *Trogus* have greatly mistaken this River, which they call *Tanais*. For it was the River of *Jaxartes*, that runs between *Sogdiana* and *Scythia*, which *Alexander* past over, while *Menedemus* was employed in the recovery of *Samarchand*: But *Tanais*, which divides *Asia* from *Europe*, is neer two thousand miles distant from any part of *Bactria* and *Sogdiana*, and the way desart and unknown. So that *Alexander* had (besides *Jaxartes*) the great River of *Volga* and many others to swim over, ere he could recover *Tanais*: which (from the place where he was) he could hardly have discovered with the Army that followed him, if he had employed all the time that he lived in *Asia* in that travell.

Wherefore it is enough to beleeve, that the *Asiatique Scythians*, making some offer to disturb the erection of his new City, which was like to give some hinderance to their excursions, were driven away by the *Macedonians*; and being naked of defensive Arms, easily chased some ten or twelve miles; which is the substance of *Curtius* his report. As for the limits of *Bacchus* his journey, like enough it is that *Bacchus* (if in his life-time he were as sober a man, as after his death he was held a drunken god) went not very far into that waste Country, where he could find nothing but trees and stones, nor other businesse than to set up a Monument.

Threescore of the *Macedonians* are said to have bin slain, and one thousand one hundred hurt in this fight; which might easily be in passing a great River, defended against them by good Archers. Of *Scythian* horses one thousand eight hundred were brought into the Camp, and many prisoners. It is forbidden by some Historians, and indeed it is hardly possible to set down the numbers of such as perish in battell: yet *Cæsar* commonly did it. And where the diligence of the victors hath been so inquisitive into the greatnesse of their own successe, that writers have been able to deliver such particulars by credible report, I hold i tnot unlawfull to set down what we find; especially when it serves to give light to the businesse in hand. The small number which the *Macedonians* lost; the omission of the number which they slew (a thing not usuall in *Curtius*, who forbears nothing that may set out the greatnes of *Alexander*) and the little bootie that was gotten, doe make it probable, that this war was no better than the repulsion of a few roving *Tartars* (the like being yearly performed by the *Moscovite*, without any

any boast) and therefore better omitted by some Historians, than so highly extolled as a great exploit, by others.

While *Alexander* was assuring himself of those *Scythians* bordering upon *Jaxartes*, he received the ill newes that *Menedemus* was slain by *Spitamenes*, the Army (by him led) broken, and the greatest numbers slain, to wit, two thousand foot, and three hundred horse. He therefore, to appease the rebellion, and to take revenge of *Spitamenes*, makes all the haste he can; but *Spitamenes* flies into *Bactria*. *Alexander* kills, burns, and layes waste all before him, not sparing the innocent children, and so departs, leaving a new Governour in that Province.

To repair this losse he received a great supply of nineteen thousand Souldiers out of *Greece*, *Lycia*, and *Syria*; with all which, and the old Army, he returns towards the South, and passeth the River of *Oxus*; on the South-side whereof hee built six Towns neer each other for mutuall succour. But he findes a new start-up-Rebell, called *Arimazes*, (a *Sogdian*) followed with thirty thousand Souldiers, that defended against him a strong piece of ground on the top of a high Hill; whom when *Alexander* had sought in vain to win by fair words, he made choice of three hundred young men, and promised ten talents to the first, nine to the second, and so in proportion to the rest, that could find a way to creep up to the top thereof. This they performed with the losse of some two and thirty of their men, and then made a sign to *Alexander*, that they had performed his commandement. Hereupon he sent one *Cophes* to perswade *Arimazes* to yeeld the place; who, being shewed by *Cophes* that the Army of *Macedon* was already mounted up, yeelded simply to *Alexanders* mercy, and was (with all his kinred) scourged and crucified to death; which punishment they well deserved for neglecting to keep good watch in so dangerous a time. For the place, as seems by the description, might easily have been defended against all the Armies of the World. But, what strength cannot doe, Mans wit, being the most forcible engine, hath often effected: Of which I will give you an example in a place of our own.

The Iland of *Sarke*, joyning to *Garnsey*, and of that government, was in Queen *Maries* time surprised by the *French*, and could never have been recovered again by strong hand, having cattell and corn enough upon the place to feed so many men as will serve to defend it, and being every way so inaccessible, that it might be held against the Great *Turk*. Yet by the industry of a Gentleman of the *Netherlands*, it was in this sort regained. He anchored in the road with one Ship of small burden, and pretending the death of his Merchant, besought the *French*, being some thirty in number, that they might burie their Merchant in hallowed Ground, and in the Chappell of that Isle; offering a present to the *French* of such Commodities as they had aboord; whereto (with condition that they should not come a-shore with any weapon, no not so much as with a Knife) the *French-men* yeelded. Then did the *Fleming*, put a Coffin into their Boat, not filled with a dead carkasse, but with Swords, Targets, and Harquebusses; The *French* received them at their landing; and searching every of them so narrowly as they could not hide a Pen-knife, gave them leave to draw their Coffin up the Rocks with great difficulty; some part of the *French* took the *Flemish* Boat, & rowed aboord their Ship, to fetch the commodities promised, and what els they pleased; but being entred, they were taken and bound. The *Flemings* on the Land, when they had carried their Coffin into the Chappell, shut the door to them, and taking their weapons out of the Coffin, set upon the *French*; they run to the Cliff, and cry to their Company aboord the *Fleming* to come to their succour, but finding the Boat charged with *Flemings*, yeelded themselves and the place. Thus a Fox-tail doth sometimes help well to piece out the Lions-skin that else would be too short.

§. XIX.

How Alexander *slew his own friends.*

After these *Sogdian* and *Scythian* Wars, we read of *Alexanders* killing of a Lion, and other Frivolous matters, and that he committed the Government of *Maracanda*, and the Country about-it, to *Clytus*, and how he slew him soon after, for valuing the vertue of *Philip* the father before that of *Alexander* the son, or rather because he objected to the King the death of *Parmenio*, & derided the Oracle of *Hammon*:

for

for therein he toucht him to the quick, the same being delivered in publike, and at a drunken Banquet. *Clytus*, indeed, had deserved as much at the Kings hands, as any man living had done, and had in particular saved his life, which the King well remembred when he came to himself, and when it was too late. Yet to say the truth, *Clytus* his insolency was intolerable. As he in his Cups forgat whom he offended, so the King in his (for neither of them were themselves) forgat whom he went about to slay, for the grief whereof he tare his own face, and sorrowed so inordinately, as, but for the perswasions of *Calisthenes*, it is thought he would have slain himself.

Wine begat Furie, Furie matter of Repentance: but preceding mischiefs are not amended by succeeding bewailing: *Omne vitium ebrietas & incendit, & detegit; obstantem malis conatibus verecundiam removet; ubi possedit animum nimia vis vini, quicquid mali latebat, emergit: non facit ebrietas vitia, sed protrahit; Drunkennesse both kindles & layes open every vice; it removes out of the way that shame which gives impediment unto bad attempts; where wine gets the mastrie, all the ill that before lay hidden breaks out: drunkennesse indeed rather discovers vices, than makes them.*

Soon after this, *Spitamenes*, who slew *Bessus*, and had lately revolted from *Alexander*, was murdered by his Wife, and his head presented to *Alexander*. *Spitamenes* being taken away, the *Dahans* also seized upon his fellow-conspiratour *Dataphernes*, and delivered him up. So *Alexander* being now freed from all these pettie-Rebels, disposed of the Provinces which he past over, and went on with his Army into *Gabaza*, where it suffered so much Hunger, Cold, Lightning, Thunder, and Storm, as he lost in one Tempest a thousand of his Train. From hence he invaded the *Sacans*, and destroyed their Country. Then came he into the Territory of *Cohortanes*, who submitted himself unto him, feasted him greatly, and presented him with thirty beautifull Virgins, among whom *Roxana*, afterwards his Wife, was one: which although all the *Macedonians* disdained, yet none of them durst use any freedome of speech after *Clytus* his death. From hence he directed his course towards *India*, having so increased his numbers, as they amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand armed men.

In the mean while he would needs be honoured as a god: whereto that he might allure the *Macedonians*, he employed two pernicious Parasites, *Hagis* and *Cleo*; whom *Calisthenes* opposed: For, among many other honest arguments used to the assembly, he told *Cleo*, That he thought, that *Alexander* would disdain the gift of God-head from his Vassals; That the opinion of Sanctity, though it did sometime follow the death of those, who in their life-time had done the greatest things, yet it never accompanied any one as yet living in the world. He further told him, That neither *Hercules* nor *Bacchus* were Deified at a Banquet, and upon drink (for this matter was propounded by *Cleo* at a carowsing feast: but that, for the more than manly acts by them performed while they lived, they were in future and succeeding Ages numbred among the gods. *Alexander* stood behind a partition, and heard all that was spoken, waiting but an opportunitie to be revenged on *Calisthenes*, who being a man of free speech, honest, learned, and a lover of the Kings honour, was yet soon after tormented to death; not for that he had betraied the King to others, but because he never would condescend to betray the King to himself, as all his detestable flatterers did. For in a conspiracy against the King made by one *Hermolaus* and others (which they confest) he caused *Calisthenes* without confession, accusation, or triall, to be torn asunder upon the rack: This deed unworthy of a King, *Seneca* thus censureth. *Hoc est* Alexandri *crimen æternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla bellorum felicitas redimet: Nam quoties quis dixerit, Occidit Persarum multa millia; opponitur, &* Calisthenem. *Quoties dictum erit, Occidit* Darium; *opponitur, &* Calisthenem. *Quoties dictum erit, Omnia Oceano tenus vicit, ipsum quoq; tentavit novis classibus, & Imperium ex angulo Thraciæ usq; ad orientis terminos pratulit; dicetur, sed* Calisthenem *occidit. Omnia licet antiqua Ducum Regumque exempla transierit, ex his quæ fecit nihil tam magnum erit quam scelus* Calisthenis; *This is the eternall crime of* Alexander, *which no vertue nor felicity of his in War shall ever be able to redeem: For as often as any man shall say, he slew many thousand* Persians; *it shal be replied, he did so, & he slew* Calisthenes. *When it shall be said, he slew* Darius; *it shall be replied, and* Calisthenes. *When it shall be said, he wanne all as far as the very Ocean, thereon also he adventured with unusuall Navies, & extended his Empire from a corner of* Thrace, *to the utmost bounds of the Orient; It shall be said withall, But he killed* Calisthenes. *Let him have out-gone all the ancient examples*

examples of Captains and Kings; none of all his acts make so much to his glory, as Callisthenes *to his reporach.*

§. XX.

Of Alexanders *journey into* India. *The battell between him and* Porus.

With the Army before remembred, of one hundred and twenty thousand foot and horse, *Alexander* did enter the borders of *India*, where such of the Princes, as submitted themselves unto him, he entertained lovingly, the rest he constrained, killing Man, Woman, and Child, where they resisted. He then came before *Nisa* built by *Bacchus*, which after a few daies was rendred unto him. From thence he removed to a Hill at hand, which on the top had goodly Gardens, filled with delicate fruits and Vines, dedicated to *Bacchus*, to whom he made feasts for ten dayes together. Now when he had drunk his fill, hee went on towards *Dedula*, and from thence to *Acadera*, Countries spoiled and abandoned by the Inhabitants; by reason whereof, victuals failing, he divides his Army: *Ptolomy* led one part, *Cenon* another, and himself the rest. They take many Towns, whereof that of greatest fame was *Mazage*, which had in it three hundred thousand men; but after some resistance, it was yeelded unto him by *Cleophe* the Queen, to whom again he restored it; at the siege of this City he received a wound in the legge. After this, *Nora* was taken by *Polysperchon*, and a Rock of great strength by himself: he wanne also a passage upon one *Eryx*, who was slain by his company, and his head presented to *Alexander*. This is the summe of *Alexanders* doings in those parts, before such time as he arrived at the River of *Indus*. Comming to *Indus*, he found there *Ephestion*, who (being sent before) had prepared boats for the transportation of his Army, and ere *Alexanders* arrivall, had perswaded *Omphis* King of that part of the Country, to submit himself to this great Conquerour. Therefore, soon upon *Alexanders* comming, *Omphis* presented himself with all the strength of his Country, and six and fifty Elephants, unto him; offering him his service and assistance. He made *Alexander* know, that he was an Enemy to the next two great Kings of that part of *India*, named *Abiasares* and *Porus*; wherewith *Alexander* vvas not a little pleased, hoping by this dis-union to make his own victory by far the more easie. He presented *Alexander* with a Crown of gold, so did he the rest of his Commanders, and withall fourscore talents of silver coyn; vvhich *Alexander* not only refused, but to shevv that he vvas covetous of glory, not of gold, he gave *Omphis* a thousand talents of his ovvn treasure, besides other *Persian* rarities. *Abiasares*, having heard that *Alexander* had received his enemy *Omphis* into his protection, resolved to make his own peace also: For, knowing that his own strength did but equall that of *Omphis*, and that there was no other difference between them, than that which the chance of Warre gave, hee thought it an ill match, when *Alexander*, who had already beaten under foot all the greatest Princes of *Asia*, should make himself a Party and Head of the quarrell. So had *Alexander* none now to stand in his way but *Porus*, to whom he sent a commandement, that hee should attend him at the border of his Kingdome, there to doe him homage. But from *Porus* he received this manly answer; That he would satisfie him in his first demand, which was to attend him on his borders, and that well accompanied; but for any other acknowledgement he was resolved to take counsell of his Sword. To be short, *Alexander* resolves to passe over the River *Hydaspes*, and to find *Porus* at his own home. *Porus* attends him on the farther bank with thirty thousand foot, fourscore and ten Elephants, and three hundred armed Chariots, and a great troop of Horse. If *Darius* had done the like on *Tigris*, *Alexander* had surely staied somwhat longer ere he had seen *India*. The River was four furlongs broad, which makes half a mile, and withall deep and swift. It had in it many Ilands, among which there was one well shadowed with wood, and of good capacity. *Alexander* sent *Ptolomy* up the River with a great part of the Army, shrowding the rest from the view of *Porus*: who by this device being drawn from his first incamping, sets himself down opposite to *Ptolomy*, supposing that the whole Army of *Macedon* meant to force their passage there. In the mean while *Alexander* recovers the farther shore without resistance. He orders his troops, and advanceth towards *Porus*, who at first rather beleeves, that *Abiasares* his Confederate (but now the Confederate of fortune) had bin come over *Hydaspes* to his aid, than that *Alexander* had past it.

But

But he finds it otherwise, and sends his Brother *Hagis* with four thousand horse, and a hundred armed Waggons to entertain him. Each Waggon had in it four to fight, and two to guide it; but they were at this time of little use: for there had fallen so much rain, and thereby the fields were so moistned, as the horses could hardly trot. The *Scythians* and *Dahans* had the Vant-guard, who so galled these *Indians*, as they brake their rains, and other furniture, overturning the Waggons, and those in them. *Perdiccas* also gave up the *Indian* horse-men, and the one and the other were forc'd to recoile. *Porus* moves forward with grosse of his Army, that those of his Vant-guard scattered might recover his Rear; *Alexander* being followed with *Ephestion*, *Ptolomy*, and *Perdiccas*, took on him to charge the *Indian* horse-men on the left wing, commanding *Cenus* or *Cenon* to invade the right; *Antigonus* and *Leonatus*, he directed to break upon *Porus* his battell of foot, strengthened with Elephants, *Porus* himself being carried upon one of them, of the greatest stature. By these beasts the *Macedonian* foot were most offended; but the Archers and Darters, being well guarded with the long and strong pikes of the *Macedonians*, so galled them, as being inraged, they turned head, and ran over the foot that followed them: In the end, and after a long and doubtfull fight, by the advantage of weapon, and by the courage and skilfulnesse of the *Macedonian* Captains, the victory fell to *Alexander*, who also far exceeded *Porus* in number: for besides the *Macedonians* and other Eastern and Northern Nations, *Porus* was assailed by his own Confederate and Countrie people. Yet for his own person he never gave ground otherwise than with his sword towards his enemies, till being weakened with many wounds, and abandoned by his Army, he became a prisoner to the Conqueror, from whom again he received his estate with a great enlargement.

§. XXI.

How Alexander *finished his expedition, and returned out of* India.

I Forbear to trouble my self and others with a frivolous discourse of Serpents, Apes, and Peacocks, which the *Macedonians* found in these their travels: or of those pettie Warres which *Alexander* made between the overthrow of *Porus*, and his sailing down the River of *Indus*. The descriptions of places about the head and branches thereof are better known unto us in this Age, by means of our late Navigations into those parts, than they were in any former times. The magnificence and riches of those Kings we could in no sort be perswaded to believe, till our own experience had taught us, that there were many stranger things in the World, than are to be seen between *London* and *Stanes*.

Our great traveller *Mandevile*, who died in the year 1372, and had seen so much of the World, and of the East *India*, we accompted the greatest fabler of the World; yet had he another reputation among other Nations, as well able to judge as we. Witnesse the Monument made of him in the Covent of the Friers *Guillimius* in *Liege*, where the religious of that place keep some things of his, *Comme pour honourable memoire de son Excellence; For an honourable memorie of his Excellencie*, saith *Guichardine*. *Guic. in Disc. of the Low countries.*

The Countries towards the Springs of *Indus*, and where those many Rivers of *Hydaspes*, *Zaradris*, *Acesines*, and the rest, fall into the main stream, are now possest by the great *Mogor*, the ninth from *Tamberlain*, who commands all the tract between *Persia* and *Indus* towards the West, as also a great extent of Countrie towards *Ganges*. In the mouth of *Indus*, the *Ascension*, a Ship of *London*, suffered shipwrack, in the year 1609. and some of the company travelled over Land till they came to *Agra*, the same great Citie (as I take it) which our later Cosmographers call *Nagra*, being named of old *Dionysopolis*,

Philostratus in the life of *Apollonius Tyanaus*, speaking of the expedition of *Bacchus* and *Hercules* into the East *India*, tells us, that those two great Captains (whom *Alexander* sought by all means to out-fame) when they endevoured to subject to them the *Oxidracæ*, a people inhabiting between the Rivers of *Hyphasis* and *Ganges*, they were beaten from the assault of their Cities with thunder and lightnings. This may well be understood by the great Ordnance that those people had then in use. For it is now certainly known, that the great Kings of the uttermost East, have had the use of the canon many hundreds of years since, and even since their first civilitie and greatnesse, which was long before

Alexanders

Alexander's time. But *Alexander* pierc'd not so far into the East. It sufficed, that having already over-wearied his Army, he discovered the rest of *India* by fame. The *Indian* Kings whom he had subdued, informed him, that a Prince called *Aggramenes*, who commanded many Nations beyond the River *Ganges*, was the powerfullest King of all those Regions: and that he was able to bring into the field two hundred thousand Foot, three thousand Elephants, twenty thousand Horse, and two thousand armed Chariots. With this report, though *Alexander* were more inflamed than ever to proceed in this discovery and conquest, yet all the art he had, could not perswade the Souldiers to wander over those great Desarts beyond *Indus* & *Ganges*, more terrible unto them than the greatest Army that the East could gather. Yet at the last contented they were, after many perswasive Orations, to follow him towards the South, to discover such part of the Ocean Sea, as was neerer at hand, whereunto the River of *Indus* was their infallible guide. *Alexander* seeing that it would be no otherwise, devised a pretty trick, wherewith hee hoped to beguile posteritie, and make himself seem greater than he was. He enlarged his Camp, made greater trenches, greater cabbines for Souldiers, greater Horse-stalls, and higher mangers than Horses could feed in. He caused all furniture of men and horses to be made larger than would serve for use; and scattered these Armours and Bridles about his Camp, to be kept as reliques, and wondred at by the Savages. Proportionable to these he raised up twelve great Altars to be the monument of his journies end. This was a ready way to encrease the fame of his bigness; to his greatness it could adde nothing save a suspition, that it was lesse than is thought, seeing he strove so earnestly to make it thought more than it was.

This done, he returned again to the bank of *Acesines*, and there determined to set up his fleet, where *Acesines* and *Hydaspes* incounter; where to testifie by a surer monument, how far he had past towards the East, he built by those rivers two Cities: the one hee called *Nicæa*, and the other *Bucephalon*, after the name of his beloved Horse *Bucephalus*. Here again he received a fourth supply of six thousand *Thracian* Horse-men, seven thousand Foot; and from his Lieutenant at *Babylon* five and twenty thousand Armours, garnished with silver and gold, which he distributed among his Souldiers. About these Rivers he wan many Towns, and committed great slaughter on those that resisted; It is then written of him, that assaulting a Citie of the *Oxidracans*, he leapt from the top of the wall into it, and fought, I know not how long, against all the Inhabitants; tales like those of *Bevis* of *Southampton*, frivolous and incredible. Finally, he past down the River with his fleet, at which time also the newes came unto him of a rebellion in *Bactria*, and then of the arrivall of an hundred Embassadours from a King of *India*, who submitted himself unto him. He feasted these Embassadours upon a hundred beds of gold, with all the sumptuosity that could be devised, who soon after their dispatch, returned again with a present of three hundred Horses, one hundred and thirty Waggons, and to each of them four Horses, a Thousand Targets, with many other things rare and rich.

Their entertainments ended, he sailed towards the South, passed through many obscure Nations, which did all yeeld unto him either quietly, or compelled by force: among these he builded another *Alexandria*. Of many places which he took in this passage, *Samus* was one, the Inhabitants whereof fought against him with poisoned swords, with one of which *Ptolomy* (afterward King of *Egypt*) was wounded, and cured by an herb which *Alexander* dreampt he had seen in the mouth of a Serpent.

When he came neer the out-let of *Indus* (being ignorant of the tides of the Sea) his Gallies, as they were on a sudden shuffled one upon another by the flood, so on the Ebbe they were left on the drie ground, and on the sandie banks of the River, wherewith the *Macedonians* were much amazed; but after he had a few daies observed well the course of the Sea, he past out of the rivers mouth some few miles, and after Sacrifices offered to *Neptune*, returned: and the better to inform himself, he sent *Nearchus* and *Onesicritus*, to discover the coast towards the mouth of *Euphrates*. *Arrianus* in the beginning of his sixt Book hath written this passage down the River of *Indus* at length, with the manner of the Vessels in which he transported his Army, the Commanders that were used therein, and other the marvellous provisions made.

Neer the out-lets of this River, he spent some part of the Winter, and in eighteen daies march from thence recovered *Gedrosia*, in which passage his Army suffered such

miserie

miserie for want of food, that of a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, which he carried into *India*, not the fourth part returned alive.

§. XXII.
Of Alexander's *Riot, Cruelty, and death.*

FRom *Gedrosia*, *Alexander* led his Army into *Carmania*, and so drawing neer to *Persia*, he gave himself wholly to feasting and drinking, imitating the triumphs of *Bacchus*. And though this Swinish vice be hatefull enough in it self, yet it alwayes inflamed this King to Cruelty. *For* (saith *Curtius*) *the Hang-man followed the feast, for* Aspastes, *one of his Provinciall Governors, he commanded to be slain, so as neither did the excesse of voluptuousnesse qualifie his cruelty, nor his cruelty hinder in ought his voluptuousnesse.*

While he refreshed his Army in these parts, a new supply of five thousand foot and a thousand horse, was brought him by *Cleander*, and his fellows, that had bin employed in the killing of *Parmenio*. Against these Murderers great complaint was made by the Deputies of the Provinces, in which they had commanded; and their offences were so outragious, as *Alexander* was perswaded, that, had they not altogether despaired of his return out of *India*, they durst not have committed them. All men were glad of the occasion, remembring the vertue of him, whom they had slaughtered. The end was, That *Cleander*, and the other chief, with six hundred Souldiers by them employed, were delivered over to the Hang-man: every one rejoycing that the Ire of the King was at last executed on the ministers of his Ire.

Nearchus and *Onesicritus* were now returned from the coast, and made report of an Iland rich in gold, and of other strange things; whereupon they were commanded to make some farther discoverie: which done, that they should enter the mouth of *Euphrates*, and find the King at *Babylon*.

As he drew neer to *Babylon*, he visited the Sepulchre of *Cyrus* in *Pasargada*, now called *Chalquera*: where he was presented with many rich gifts by *Orsines*, one of the Princes of *Persia*, of the race of *Cyrus*. But because *Bagoas*, an *Eunuch* in speciall favour with the King, was neglected, he not only practised certain loose fellowes to witnesse against *Orsines*, that he had robbed *Cyrus* tombe, for which hee was condemned to die; but he assisted the Hang-man with his own hands in tormenting him. At which time also *Alexander* caused *Phradites* to be slain, suspecting his greatnesse. *Caperat* (saith *Curtius*) *esse præceps ad repræsentanda supplicia, item ad deteriora credenda*; *He began head-longly to shed bloud, and to believe false reports.* It is true, that he took a way to make all men weary of his government, seeing cruelty is more fearfull, than all adventures that can be made against it.

Arianus hath a far different description of *Cyrus* tombe.

At this time it is said, that *Calanus* the Philosopher burnt himself, when he had lived threescore and thirteen years. Whether herein he followed the custome of his Countrie, being an *Indian*, or sought to prevent the grief and incommoditie of elder age, is is uncertain: but in this the Historians agree, that fore-seeing and fore-shewing *Alexanders* death, he promised to meet him shortly after at *Babylon*.

From *Pasargada* he came to *Susa*, where he maried *Statira*, *Darius* his eldest Daughter, giving her younger sister to his beloved *Ephestion*, and fourscore other *Persian* Ladies to his Captains. There were six thousand guests invited to the feast, to each of which he gave a cup of gold. Here there came unto him three thousand young souldiers, out of his conquered Provinces, whereat the *Macedonians* greatly murmured. *Harpalus*, his Treasurer in *Babylon*, having lavishly consumed the monies in his keeping, got him going with five thousand Talents, and six thousand hired Souldiers; but he was rejected in *Greece*, and there slain. *Alexander* greatly rejoyced at the fidelity of the *Greeks*, whom *Harpalus* with these forces and treasures could not stir: yet he sent commandement, that they should again receive their banished men, whereunto (fearfull of his indignation) all submitted themselves (except the *Athenians*) though they resolved, that it was a manifest preparation towards their bondage. After this there followed a marvellous discontentment in his Army, because he had resolved to send into *Macedon* all those old Souldiers which could no longer endure the travell of Warre, and to keep the rest in *Asia*. He used many Orations to satisfie them, but it was in vain during the tempest

tempest of their fury. But afterward, as Whales are drawn to the Land with a twine-threed, when they have tumbled a while, so are the unconsiderate multitude easily conducted when their first passions are evaporate. With such as were licenced to depart, he sent *Craterus*, to whom he gave the Lieutenantship of *Macedon*, *Thessaly*, and *Thrace*, which *Antipater* had held from his first departure out of *Europe*, who had beaten the rebellious *Greeks* in his absence, discharged the trust committed unto him with great fidelity, and sent him so many strong supplies into *Asia* from time to time. Certainly if *Alexander* had not taken counsell of his cups, he would have cast some better colour on this alteration, and given *Antipater* a stronger reason for his remove, than to have imployed him in the conduction of a new supply to be brought him to *Babylon*, the Warre being now at an end. For *Antipater* saw nothing in this remove, but the Kings disposition to send him after *Parmenio*, and the rest. With this *Antipater*, the King, notwithstanding his great courage, had no great appetite to grapple: Princes, though jealous, doe not stand in doubt of every man ill affected, though valiant: but there is a kind of kingly courage, compounded of hardinesse and understanding, which is many times so fearfull unto them, as they take leave both of Law and Religion, to free themselves thereof.

After he had sent for *Antipater*, he made a journey into *Media* to settle things there; where *Ephestion*, whom he favoured most of all men, dies. The King according to the greatnesse of his love, laments his losse, hangs his Physician, and bestowes upon his Monument twelve thousand talents: After which he returns to *Babylon*. Thither *Antipater* came not, but sent; and not to excuse himself, but to free himself. For if we beleeve *Curtius* (whom *Plutarch* and others gain-say) *Antipater* by his sons, *Cassander*, *Philip*, and *Iolla*, who waited on *Alexanders* cup, gave him poyson; *Thessalus* (who was of the conspiracie) having invited him to a drinking feast of purpose. For after he had taken a carouse in *Hercules* his cup, a draught of drink stronger than *Hercules* himself, he quitted the World within a few daies.

Certainly the Princes of the World have seldome found good, by making their Ministers over-great, and therby suspicious to themselves. For he that doth not acknowledge fidelity to be a debt, but is perswaded, that Kings ought to purchase it from their Vassals, will never please himself with the price given. The only restorative, indeed, that strengthens it, is the goodnes and vertue of the Prince, & his liberality makes it more diligent; so as proportion and distance be observed. It may be that *Antipater*, having commanded two or three Kingdomes ten or twelve years, knew not how to play any other part; no more than *Cæsar* did, after he had so long a time governed the *Gaules*, where hee utterly forgat the art of obedience. A most cruell and ungratefull traitor *Antipater* was, if *Curtius* do not belie him: For though he feared some ill measure upon his remove (the Tragedies of *Parmenio*, *Clytus*, and *Callisthenes*, having bin so lately acted) yet he knew nothing to the contrary, but that the King had resolved to have given him some other great government in *Asia*: The old Souldiers thence returned, having perchance desired to be governed by *Craterus*, whom they had followed in all the former Warre.

§. XXIII.

Of Alexanders *person and qualities.*

HOwsoever it were, *Alexanders* former cruelties cannot be excused, no more than his vanitie to be esteemed the son of *Jupiter*, with his excessive delight in drink and drunkennesse, which others make the cause of his fever and death. In that he lamented his want of enterprising, and grieved to consider what he should doe when he had conquered the World, *Augustus Cæsar* found just cause to deride him, as if the well-governing of so many Nations and Kingdoms, as he had already conquered, could not have offered him matter more than aboundant, to busie his brains withall. That he was both learned and a lover of learning, it cannot be doubted. Sir *Francis Bacon*, in his first book of the Advancement of Learning, hath proved it sufficiently. His liberality I know not how to praise, because it exceeded proportion. It is said, That when he gave a whole Citie to one of his servants, He, to whom it was given, did out of modesty refuse it, as disproportionable to his fortune: to whom *Alexander* replied, That he did not enquire what became him to accept, but the King to give: of which *Seneca*;

Animosa

Animosa vox videtur & regia, cum sit stultissima. Nihil enim per se quenquam decet. Refert quid, cui, quando, quare, ubi, &c. sine quibus facti ratio non constabit; habeatur personarum & dignitatum proportio, & cum sit ubiq; virtutis modus, æquè peccat quod excedit, quàm quod deficit; It seems a brave and Royall speech, whereas indeed it is very foolish. For nothing simply considered by it self beseems a man. We must regard what, to whom, when, why, where, and the like; without which considerations no act can be approved. Let honours be proportioned unto the persons: for whereas vertue is ever limited by measure, the excesse is as faulty as the defect. L. 2. de Ira. c. 1

For his Person, it is very apparent, That he was as valiant as any man, a disposition taken by it self, not much to be admired; For I am resolved that he had ten thousand in his Army as daring as himself. Surely, if adventurous natures were to be commended simply, we should confound that vertue with the hardinesse of Theeves, Ruffians, and mastiff Dogs. For certainly it is no way praise-worthy but in daring good things, and in the performance of those lawfull enterprises, in which we are employed for the service of our Kings and Common-weales.

If we compare this great Conquerour with other troublers of the world, who have bought their glory with so great destruction and effusion of bloud, I think him far inferiour to *Cæsar*, & many other that lived after him, seeing he never undertook any warlike Nation, the naked *Scythians* excepted; nor was ever encounted with any Army of which he had not a most mastering advantage, both of Weapons & Commanders, every one of his Fathers old Captains by far exceeding the best of his Enemies. But it seems Fortune and Destinie (if we may use those termes) had found out and prepared for him, without any care of his own, both heaps of Men, that willingly offered their necks to the yoke, and Kingdomes that invited and called in their own Conquerours. For conclusion, we will agree with *Seneca*, who speaking of *Philip* the Father, and *Alexander* the Son, gives this judgement of them: *Quod non minores fuere pestes mortalium, quàm inundatio, qua planum omne perfusum est, quàm conflagratio, qua magna pars animantium exaruit; They were no lesse plagues to mankind, than an overflow of waters, drowning all the level; or some burning drought, whereby a great part of living creatures are scorched up.* Nat. quæst. l. 3. c. 1.

CHAP. III.

The reign of Aridæus.

§. I.

Of the question about succession to Alexander.

THE death of *Alexander* left his Army (as *Demades* the Athenian then compared it) in such case, as was that monstrous Giant *Polyphemus*, having lost his only eye. For that which is reported in fables of that great *Cyclops*, might well be verified of the *Macedonians*: their force was intolerable, but for want of good guidance uneffectuall, and harmfull chiefly to themselves. The causes whereof (under the divine ordinance) were partly the uncertainty of Title to succession in the Kingdome of *Macedon*, partly the stubborn pride of *Alexander* himself, who thinking none worthy to be his heir, did refuse to establish the right in any one, leaving every one to his own fortune: but especially the great ambition of his followers, who all had learned of their Master to suffer no equals; a lesson soon taught unto spirits reflecting upon their own worth, when the reverence of a greater object faileth.

It hath formerly been shewed, That *Philip* (the Father of *Alexander*) governing in *Macedon* as Protector, assumed unto himself the Kingdome, not rendring it unto *Amyntas*, (the Son of his elder brother *Perdiccas*) when he grew to mans estate; but onely bestowing upon him in marriage a Daughter of his own: by which bond, and much more by his own proper strength, hee assured the Crown unto himself: *Amyntas* never attempting ought against *Philip*; though (with price of his life) he did against

againſt *Alexander* in the beginning of his reign. Wherefore *Eurydice*, the ſole iſſue of this marriage, ought in reaſon to have been acknowledged Queen after *Alexander*; as having better Title thereto, than either He or *Philip* had, when they lived, unleſſe (peradventure) ſome Law of that Nation forbad the reign of Women. But the excellent vertue of theſe two Princes had utterly defaced the right of all Pretenders, not claiming from their own bodies: and ſo great were their conqueſts, that *Macedon* it ſelf was (in regard of them) a very ſmall Appendix, and no way deſerving to be laid in ballance againſt the demand of their poſterity, had they left any able to make challenge of the Royall ſeat.

Alexander having taken many wives, had iſſue by none of the principall of them. *Barſine* the Daughter of *Artabazus* a *Perſian*, had born unto him a young Son: and *Roxane* the Daughter of *Oxyartes* (whom he had more ſolemnly married) was left by him great with child. But the baſeneſſe of the Mothers, and contempt of the conquered Nations, was generally alleged in Barre of Plea made for them, by ſome that would (perhaps) have wrought out their own ends, under the name of *Alexanders* children.

Cleopatra a ſiſter of *Alexander*, widow to the King of *Epirus*, and *Aridæus* his baſe brother (ſon to *Philip* by a Concubine of no account) who had married the Lady *Eurydice* before mentioned, were next in courſe. Of *Cleopatra* there was no ſpeech, which may give ſuſpition, that either Law or Cuſtome had made that ſex uncapable of the Soveraignty: *Aridæus* (beſides his baſtardy) was neither for perſon nor quality fit to rule as King; yet upon him the election fell, but ſlowly, and (as happeneth often) for lack of a better: when the Counſellors having over-laboured their diſagreeing wits in deviſing what was beſt, were content for very wearineſſe to take what comes next to hand.

Ptolomy (ſoon after King of *Egypt*) concurring with them who rejected all mention of the half-*Perſian* brood, King *Alexanders* children, was of opinion, that the rule of all ſhould be given to the Captains; that going for law which by the greater part of them ſhould be decreed: ſo farre was he from acknowledging any one as true Heir to the Crown.

This *Ptolomy* was called the ſonne of *Lagus*, but reputed of *Philip*: who having uſed the company of *Arſinoë Ptolomie's* mother, delivered her in marriage to *Lagus*, being great with child. Therefore, whether it were ſo that he hoped well to work his own fortune out of thoſe diſſentions, which are incident unto the conſultations of many ambitious men, equall in place, forcing them at length to redeem their quiet with ſubjection to one, deſerving regard by his bloud, and truſt for his even carriage; or whether he deſired only to get a ſhare to himſelf, which could not have come to paſſe, had all been given to one: plain enough it is, that he thought not on preferring *Aridæus* before himſelf; and therefore gave ſuch counſell as fitted his own and other mens purpoſes. Yea, this device of his took place indeed, though not in form as he had propounded it; For, it was in effect all one, to have aſſembled at *Alexanders* empty chair, as *Ptolomy* had conceived the form of their conſultations, or to ſet in the chair ſuch a King as *Aridæus*, no wiſer than the chair it ſelf. Alſo the controverſies ariſing were determined by the greater part of the Captains; by the greater part, if not in number, yet in puiſſance.

But as theſe counterfeit ſhewes of diſſembling aſpirers doe often take check by the plain-dealing of them who dare to go more directly to work: ſo was it like to have fared with *Ptolomy* and the reſt, when *Ariſtonus* another of the Captains, interpreted the very words of *Alexander*, ſaying, That he left his Kingdom to the worthieſt, as deſigning *Perdiccus*, to whom (lying at the point of death) he delivered his ring. It ſeemed good in reaſon, that *Alexander* ſhould be diſpoſer of his own purchaſes: and thoſe tokens of *Alexanders* purpoſe appeared plain enough, ſo long as no man would interpoſe anothers conſtruction: every one being uncertain how the ſecret affections of the reſt might be inclined. Many therefore, either out of their love, or becauſe they would not be of the lateſt, urged *Perdiccas* to take upon him the eſtate Royall. He was no ſtranger to the Royall bloud; yet his birth gave him not ſuch reputation, as the great favour of his dead King, with whom he had bin very inward, & that eſpecially ſince the death of *Epheſtion* (a powerful Minion) into whoſe place he was choſen. For his own worth he might wel be commended, as a good man of War, and one that had given much proof of his private valour. But very ſurly he was: which quality (joyned with good fortune) carried a ſhew of

Majeſty:

Majeſty: being checkt with miſadventure, it was called by a true name, Pride; and rewarded with death.

In the preſent buſineſſe a fooliſh over-weening did him as great harm, as it had been great happineſſe to have ſucceeded *Alexander*. For, not content to have the acclamation of the Souldiers, approving the ſentence of *Ariſtonus*, he would needs counterfeit modeſty; thinking that every one of the Princes would have intreated him to take the weighty burden of an Empire, which would be the leſſe envious, the more ſolemnity he uſed in the acceptance. It is truly ſaid, He that feigneth himſelf a Sheep, may chance to be eaten by a Wolf. *Meleager*, (a man by nature envious, and bearing a particular hatred to *Perdiccas*) took advantage of his irreſolute behaviour, and very bitterly enveighed againſt him. In concluſion, hee pronounced, That whoſoever was Heir to the Crown, the Souldiers ought to be Heirs to the Treaſure; and therefore he invited them, who were nothing ſlow, to ſhare it. This diſturbed all the Conſultation. The Captains were left alone, farre enough from agreeing, and not able to have brought any concluſion to good effect without conſent of the Souldiers, who greedy of ſpoyl, thronged about *Meleager*.

§. II.

The Election of Aridæus, *with the troubles there-about ariſing; the firſt diviſion of the Empire.*

During this up-roar, mention was made of *Aridæus* by ſome one, and entertained with good liking of many, untill at laſt it grew to the voyce of the Army. *Meleager* having with-drawn himſelf tumultuouſly from the company of the Lords, was glad of ſo fair an occaſion to make himſelf great: therefore hee produced *Aridæus*, commended him to the Souldiers, who called him by his Fathers name *Philip*, and brought him into the Palace, inveſting him in *Alexander*'s robes, and proclaiming him King. Many of the Nobles withſtood this election, but in vain: for they could not reſolve what courſe to follow, rejecting this. Only *Python*, a hot-headed man, took upon him to proclaim the Son of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, according to the counſell which *Perdiccas* at firſt had given, appointing *Perdiccas* and *Leonatus* his Protectors. But the child was not yet born, which made that attempt of *Python* vain. Finally, *Perdiccas* with ſix hundred men, and *Ptolomy* with the Kings Pages, took upon them to defend the place where *Alexanders* body lay: but the Army conducted by *Meleager*, who carried the new King about whither he liſted, eaſily brake in upon them, and inforced them to accept *Aridæus* for their Soveraign Lord. Then by the interceſſion of the ancient Captains, a reconciliation was propounded and admitted, but on neither ſide faithfully meant.

Leonatus, who was of Royall bloud, a goodly Gentleman and valiant, iſſued out of *Babylon*, being followed by all the horſe, which conſiſted (for the moſt part) of the Nobility. *Perdiccas* abode in the City (but ſtanding upon his guard) that he might be ready to take the opportunity of any commotion that ſhould happen among the infantry. The King (who was governed by *Meleager*) commanded, or gave leave to have *Perdiccas* made away; which attempt ſucceeded ill, being neither ſecretly carried, nor committed to ſure executioners. Their comming was not unexpected: and they were by *Perdiccas* rebuked with ſuch gravity, that they departed honeſter than they came; being ſorry for their bad enterpriſe. Upon the newes of this attempt, the Camp was in an up-roar, which the King ſeeking to pacifie, wanted authority, as having newly got the Crown by them, and holding it by their courteſie. The matter it ſelf afforded no good excuſes, and his indiſcretion made them worſe. Hee ſaid that no harm was done, for *Perdiccas* was alive: but their exclamations were againſt the tyrannous enterpriſe, which he imputed to *Meleager*; abandoning the ſureſt of his friends to the rage of the multitude, who were not appeaſed, untill the King by offering to reſign his eſtate unto them, renewed out of their pity that favourable affection, which had moved them to ſet him up at the firſt.

Perdiccas having now joyned himſelf with *Leonatus*, kept the fields, intending to cut off all proviſion of victuals from the Citie. But after ſundry Embaſſies paſſing between the

the King and the Nobles, (they requiring to have the Authors of sedition given up into their hands; the King, that *Meleager* might be joyned with *Leonatus* and *Perdiccas*, as a Third in government of the Army) things were compounded according to the Kings desire. *Meleager* should have done well to consider, That such men as had one day demanded his head, were not like the day following to give him a principall place among them without any new occasion offered, had not some purpose of treachery lurked under their great facility. Generall peace was renewed, and much love protested where little was intended. The face of the Court was the same which it had been in *Alexanders* time: but no longer now did the same heart give it life; and windy spirits they were which moved in the arteries. False reports were given out by appointment of *Perdiccas*, tending to his own disgrace, but in such termes as might seem to have proceeded from *Meleager*: who finding part of the drift, but not all, took it as an injury done to himself; and (as desirous of a true friendship) desired of *Perdiccas*, that such authors of discord might be punished. *Perdiccas* (as a lover of peace) did well approve the motion; and therefore agreed that a generall Muster should be made, at which time the disturbers of the common quiet should receive their punishment (as was the manner for Souldiers offending) in presence of the Army. The plot was mischievously layd. Had *Meleager* given way to seditious rumours, he must needs have incurred the general hatred of all, as a sower of dissention, & thereby with a publike approbation might have bin cut off, as having often offended in that kind: his Prince being too weak a Patron. Now seeking redresse of these disorders, he hastened his own ruine, by a lesse formall, but more speedy way. This kind of Muster was very solemn, and practised with many ceremonies, as for cleansing of the Army. The Horse-men, the Elephants, the *Macedonian* foot, the Mercenaries were each according to their quality set in array, apart from others, as if they had bin of sundry sorts, met at adventure: which done, the manner was to skirmish (as by way of exercise) according to the direction of their severall Captains. But at that time the great battell of *Macedonian* Pikes, which they called the *Phalanx*, led by *Meleager*, was of purpose bestowed in a ground of disadvantage; and the countenance of the Horse and Elephants beginning to give charge upon them, was such, as discovered no jesting pastime nor good intent. Kings were alwayes wont to fight among the horse-men: of which custome *Perdiccas* made great use that day, to the utter confusion of his enemies. For *Aridæus* was alwaies governed by him, which for the present had him in possession. Two or three dayes before, he sought the death of *Perdiccas* at the instigation of *Meleager*: now he rides with *Perdiccas* up and down about the foot-men, commanding them to deliver unto the death all such as *Perdiccas* required. Three hundred they were who were cast unto the Elephants, and by them slain, in the presence of the King (who should have defended them) and of their affrighted companions. But these three hundred were not the men whose punishment *Meleager* had expected: they were such as had followed him, when he disturbed the first consultation that was held about the election of a new King, and some of them his especiall friends. Having therefore kept himself quiet a while, as unwilling to give offence to them which had the advantage; when he saw their proceedings tend very manifestly to his destruction, he fled away into a temple, which he found no Sanctuary: for thither they sent and slew him.

The Army being thus corrected, was led into the City, where a new Councell of the Princes was held, who finding what manner of man their King was, divided all the Provinces of the Empire among themselves; leaving to *Aridæus* the office of a Visitor, and yet making *Perdiccas* his Protector, and Commander of the forces remaining with him. Then were the funerals of *Alexander* thought upon; whose body having bin seven daies neglected, was opened and embalmed by the *Egyptians*: no sign of poyson appearing, how great soever the suspicion might be. The charge of his buriall was committed to *Aridæus*: one of the Captains, who was two years preparing of a great and costly shew, making a stately Chariot in which the corps was laid; many coarses of his friends being layd in the ground before that of *Alexander* was bestowed in *Alexandria*, a City of his own building, in *Egypt*.

§. III.

§. III.

The beginning of the Lamian *Warre.*

WHileſt theſe things were in doing, or preſently after, *Antipater* and *Craterus*, two principall Noble-men, and inferiour to none of *Alexanders* followers, if not greater than any of the reſt, were buſied in *Greece* with a war which the *Athenians* more bravely than wiſely had begun in *Alexanders* life, but now did proſecute more boldly than before, upon the courage which they had taken by his death. *Alexander* not long before he died, had commanded that all the baniſhed *Greeks* (few excepted) ſhould be reſtored unto their former places. He knew the factious quality of the *Grecian* Eſtates, & therfore thought ſo to provide, that in every City he would have a ſure party. But it fell out otherwiſe: For he loſt the hearts of many more than he won by this proud injunction. His pleaſure indeed was fulfilled; yet not without great murmuring of the whole Nation, as being againſt all order of Law, and a beginning of open tyranny. The *Athenians* greatly decayed in eſtate, but retaining more than was needfull of their ancient ſpirits, forbad the execution of this decree in their Dominions; ſo did alſo the *Ætolians*, who were valiant men, and inhabited a Region well fortified by nature: yet neither of them took Armes, but ſeemed to bear themſelves, as men that had done no more than they might well juſtifie by reaſon: nevertheleſſe to prevent the worſt, the *Athenians* gave ſecret inſtructions to *Leoſthenes*, a Captain of theirs, willing him to levie an Army, but in his own name, and to keep it in a readineſſe for their uſe. This was no hard thing for *Leoſthenes* to doe: great numbers of *Greek* Souldiers being lately returned from the *Aſian* War in poor eſtate, as defrauded of their pay by the Captaines. Of theſe he had gathered up eight thouſand, when the certain newes were brought of *Alexanders* death: at which the City of *Athens* declared it ſelf, and more honourably than wiſely, proclamed open War againſt the *Macedonians* for the liberty of *Greece*. Hereupon *Leoſthenes* drew-in the *Ætolians* and ſome other Eſtates, gave battell to the *Bœotians*, who ſided with *Antipater*, and overthrew them; growing ſo faſt in reputation, and ſo ſtrong in adherents, that *Antipater* (arming in all haſte, yet ſuſpecting his own ſtrength) was fain to ſend into *Aſia* to *Craterus* for ſuccour.

Nothing is more vain than the feares and hopes of men, ſhunning or purſuing their deſtinies a farre off, which deceive all mortall wiſdome, even when they ſeem near at hand. One moneth was ſcarcely paſt, ſince nothing ſo heavily burthened the thoughts of *Antipater* as the return of *Craterus* into *Macedon*; which he then feared as death, but now deſired as the moſt likely aſſurance of his life. *Craterus*, whom *Alexander* held as of all men the moſt aſſured unto him, was ſent into *Macedon* to convey home the old Souldiers (that was the pretence) & to ſucceed *Antipater* in the government of *Macedon* and *Greece*. The ſuſpitions were ſtrong that he had a privie charge to put *Antipater* to death: neither did that which was commonly publiſhed ſound much better; which was, That *Antipater* ſhould be ſent unto the King, as Captain of the young Souldiers, newly to be levied in Europe. For *Alexander* was much inceníed againſt him by his Mother *Olympias*: and would ſometimes give out ſpeeches, teſtifying his own jealouſie and hatred of him; but yet he ſtrove to ſmother it, which in a cruell Prince betokeneth little good. Few of *Alexanders* Lieutenants had eſcaped with life: moſt of them indeed were mean perſons in regard of thoſe who followed him in his *Indian* expedition, and were therefore (perhaps) removed to make place for their betters. But if the Kings rigour was ſuch, as could find rebellious purpoſes (for ſo hee interpreted even lewd government) in baſe perſons; little might *Antipater* hope for, who having ſitten Vice-roy ten yeares in the ſtrongeſt part of the Empire, was called away to the preſence of ſo fell a Maſter, and the envie of a Court, wherein they had been his inferiours, which would now repine to ſee him their equall. Therefore whether his fear drew him to prevention, working firſt the Kings death by poyſon, given by his ſon *Iolaus*, *Alexanders* Cup-bearer; or whether it brake not forth untill opportunity had changed it into the paſſion of revenge, which was cruelly performed by his ſon *Caſſander*: great cauſe of much fear he had; which I note in this place, as the ground of effects to be produced in very few years.

At the preſent *Craterus* was ſent for, and all the Captaines of companies lying near, ſolicited

solicited to make haste. Not without cause: For in *Macedon* there could not at that time be raised more than thirteen thousand foot, and six hundred horse; which Muster was of raw Souldiers, all the force of the Country being emptyed into *Asia*. The *Thessalians* indeed who had long stood firm for *Philip* & *Alexander*, who also were the best horsemen of *Greece*, furnished him with very brave troups, that might have done great service, had their faith held out, which they changed for the liberty of *Greece*. With these forces did *Antipater* in *Thessaly* try the fortune of a battell with *Leosthenes*; rather (as may seem) fearing the increase of his enemies power, and rebellion of the *Greeks*, (were they not checkt at the first) than presuming on his strength. For *Leosthenes* had of *Athenians*, *Ætolians*, and Mercenaries, two and twenty thousand foot, besides the assistance of many petty Signories, and of some *Illyrians* and *Thracians*: of horse he brought into the field about two thousand and five hundred; but over-strong he was that way also, when once the *Thessalians* had revolted unto him. So *Antipater* lost the day; and his losse was such, that he neither was able to keep the field, nor to make a safe retrait into his own Country: therefore he fled into the Town of *Lamia*, which was well fortified, and well provided of all things necessary to bear out a siege. Thither did *Leosthenes* follow him, present him battell again, and upon refusall close up the Town with earth-works, and a wall. There will we leave him for a while, travelling in the last honourable enterprise that ever was undertaken by that great City of *Athens*.

§. IV.

How Perdiccas *employed his Army.*

King *Aridæus* living under the rule of *Perdiccas*, when all the Princes were gone each to his own Province, kept a naked Court: all his greatnesse consisting in a bare title, supported by the strength of his Protector, who cared not for him otherwise than to make use of him. *Perdiccas* had no Province of his own peculiar, neither was he like to be welcome to any whom he should visit in his government. A stronger Army that any of the rest he had, which he might easily hope in that unsetled condition of things to make better worth to him than many Provinces could have bin. The better to accomplish his desires, he closely sought the marriage of *Cleopatra*, the sister of *Alexander*; yet about the same time he either married *Nicæa* the daughter of *Antipater*, or made such love to her as blinded their eyes, who did not somewhat narrowly search into his doings.

Ariarathes the *Cappadocian*, the second of that name, and tenth king of that Country, had continued faithfull to the *Persian* Empire as long as it stood: following the example of his forefathers, even from *Pharnaces* the first that reigned in *Cappadocia*, who married *Atossa* sister to the great *Cyrus*. Some of his Ancestors had (indeed) been oppressed by the *Persian*: but what Fortune took from them at one time, Vertue restored at another, and their faithfull Princes had much encreased all. But now in the fatall Period of so great an Empire, with much wisdome, and (*Darius* being slain) with sufficient honour, he might have acknowledged the *Macedonian* in the *Persians* room. This he did not; neither did *Alexander* call him to account, being occupied with great cares. But *Perdiccas*, who had no greater businesse wherein to entertain his Army, found it expedient both for the honour of the Empire, to take that in-land Kingdome, surrounded with Provinces of the *Macedonian* conquest, and for his own particular, to have one opportune place of sure retrait, under the government of a stedfast friend. Therefore he entred *Cappadocia*, fought with *Ariarathes*, who drew into the field thirty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse (a strong Army, had it not encountred a stronger, and better trained) wan the victory, and thereby the whole Kingdome. But with much cruelty did he use the victory: for having taken *Ariarathes* prisoner, with many others, he crucified him, and as many of his Kindred as he could light upon; and so delivered that Province to *Eumenes*, whom of all men living he trusted most.

Another part of his forces he had cõmitted to *Python*, rather as to the most honourable of such as remained about him, than as to the most assured. *Python* was to subdue the *Greeks* rebelling in the high Countries of *Asia*. About twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse they were, (all old Souldiers) who, planted in Colonies by *Alexander*, to bridle the barbarous nations, were soon weary of their unpleasant habitatiõs, & the rude people

people, among whom they lived: and therefore took advantage of the preſent troubles to ſeek unto themſelves a better fortune. Againſt theſe *Python* went, more deſirous to make them his own, than to deſtroy them: which intent of his, *Perdiccas* diſcovering, did both give him in charge to put all thoſe Rebels to the ſword, giving the ſpoyles of them to his Souldiers, and further enjoyned it unto *Pythons* Captaines (his own creatures) that they ſhould ſee this commandement executed. Theſe directions for uſe of the victory, might have proved needleſſe; ſo uncertain was the victory it ſelf. A Captain of the Rebels commanding over three thouſand, corrupted by *Python*, did in the heat of the fight (which was very doubtfull) retire without neceſſity to a hill not farre off, This diſmaied the reſt, and gave the day to *Python*: who being far enough from *Perdiccas*, offered compoſition to the vanquiſhed, granting unto them their lives and liberty, under condition of laying down their armes; and hereupon he gave them his faith. Being maſter of theſe Companies, he might well have a good opinion of his own power: all power being then valued by ſtrength in followers, when as none could vaunt himſelf as free Lord of any Territory. He had thirteen thouſand foot, and eight thouſand eight hundred horſe, beſides theſe new Companions, whom needleſſe fear without great loſſe had cauſed to leave the field: but in true eſtimation all the greatneſſe whereof *Python* might think himſelf aſſured, was (and ſoon appeared to be) inherent in *Perdiccas*. For by his command were ten thouſand foot, and eight thouſand horſe, of thoſe which followed *Python*, levied; the Rulers of the Provinces carefully obeying the letters of *Perdiccas*, by which they were enjoyned to give aſſiſtance to that buſineſſe: and by vertue of the precept given unto them by *Perdiccas*, did the *Macedonians* cut in pieces all thoſe poor men who had yeelded themſelves; leaving *Python* as naked as he came forth to return unto his great Maſter.

Now was *Perdiccas* mighty above the mighty, and had fair leaſure to purſue his hopes of marriage with *Cleopatra*, and thereby to make himſelf Lord of all: but this muſt be ſecretly carryed for fear of oppoſition. How it ſucceeded, will appear when the *Lamian* War taketh ending.

§. V.

The proceſſe of the Lamian *War.*

WEe left *Antipater* hardly beſieged, wanting means to free himſelf without ſuccours from his friends in *Aſia*. Thoſe helps not appearing ſo ſoon as he expected, he came to parley with *Leoſthenes*, and would have yeelded unto any termes of reaſon, wherewith men poſſeſſed with hope of victory, do ſeldome limit their deſires. *Leoſthenes* willed him without further circumſtance to ſubmit himſelf to diſcretion. This was too much for him that had once commanded over them, who now required of him ſuch a diſhonourable compoſition. Wherefore knowing that the extremitie, from which as yet he was farre enough, could bring no worſe with it, *Antipater* prepared for the defence; and the other for winning the Town, which felt great want of victuals.

In this lingring War the *Ætolians* (whether weary of ſitting ſtill at a ſiege, or having buſineſs which they pretended at home) took their leave, and returned into their own Countrey. Their departure left the trenches ſo thinly manned, that *Antipater* found meanes to ſally out upon his enmies to their great loſſe: for many were ſlain, and *Leoſthenes* himſelf among them, ere he could be repulſed into the Town. Yet hereby the *Macedonians* were nothing relieved, their victuals waſted, and they were not ſtrong enough to deal with the *Greeks* in open fight. *Craterus* was long in comming. *Lyſimachus*, who was neareſt at hand in *Thrace*, had work too much of his own, leading no more than four thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, againſt *Seuthas* the *Thracian* King, who brought into the field above foure times that number; and though *Lyſimachus*, not without loſſe had gotten one victory, yet the enemy abounding in multitude, felt not the blow ſo much as might abate his courage. Therefore *Leonatus* was earneſtly ſolicited by *Antipaters* friends, to make all haſte to the reſcue. He had the government of *Phrygia* the leſſe, and was able to raiſe an Army of more than twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe, whether levied out of his province, or appointed unto him out of the main Army, it is uncertain. Certain it is, that he was more willing

ling to take in hand the journey into *Greece*, than *Antipater* was to have him come. For *Cleopatra* had written unto him, desiring his presence at *Pella*, the chief Citie of *Macedon*, and very kindly offering her self to be his wife; which letters he kept not so close as had bin requisite, and therefore brought himself into great suspition, that soon ended with his life. *Antiphilus*, chosen Generall by the *Athenians* in place of *Leosthenes*, hearing of his approach, forsook the siege of *Lamia*, and took the ready way to these great Conquerors of *Asia*, with purpose to give them an evill welcome home, before *Antipater* and they should joyn in one. He had (notwithstanding the departure of the *Ætolians*) the advantage of *Leonatus* in horse, by the ods of 2000. *Thessalians*; in other things he was equall with him; in cause he thought himself Superiour; in the fortune of that day he proved so: for he wan a great victory (chiefly by vertue of the *Thessalians*) which appeared the greater by the end of *Leonatus* himself; who fighting valiantly, was driven into a marish piece of ground, where he found his death, which he desperatly had sought among the *Indians*, but it waited for him at home, not far from the place of his nativity. He was the first of *Alexanders* Captaines which dyed in battell, but all, or most of the rest shall follow him the same way. After this day, the *Athenians* did never any thing suitable to their ancient glory.

The vanquished *Macedonians* were too weak to renew the fight, and too proud to flie. They betook themselves to high grounds, unfit for service on horse-back, and so abode in the sight of the enemy that day; the day following *Antipater* with his men came into their Camp, and took the charge of all. The *Athenians* perceiving their strength to be at the greatest, and fearing lest that of the enemy should increase, did earnestly seek to determine the matter quickly by another battell. But still *Antipater* kept himself on ground of advantage; which gave more than reasonable confidence to the *Greeks*, many of whom departed to their homes, accounting the enemy to be vanquished. This wretchlesnes (incorrigible in an Army of voluntaries) was very inexcusable; seeing that the victories by Land were very much defaced by losses at Sea, where the *Athenians*, labouring to have made themselves once again Masters, were put to the worst.

But now the fatall captivity of *Greece* came on, of which she never could be delivered unto this day. *Craterus* with a strong Army having made great marches from *Cilicia*, passed over into *Europe*, and comming into *Thessaly*, joyned himself with *Antipater*. The forces of *Leonatus*, *Antipater*, and *Craterus* being joyned in one, contained forty thousand weightily armed, three thousand light-armed men, and five thousand horse; of which numbers the *Greeks* wanted a thousand and five hundred in horse; in foot, eighteen thousand. Carefully therefore did *Antiphilus* labour to avoyd the necessity of a battell, untill such time as the Towns confederate should return unto the Camp those bands which had straggled from it. But those companies were so slow in comming, and *Antipater* so urgent upon the *Greeks*, that compelled they were to put the matter in hazzard without further attendance. Like enough it is, that with a little more help they had carried away the victory: for the *Thessalians* had the upper hand, and held it, untill such time as they perceived their battels (over-laid with multitude) retire unto the higher ground, which caused them also to fall back. So the *Macedonians* became Lords of the field, having little else to boast of, considering that with the losse of an hundred & thirty men, they had only purchased the death of some five hundred enemies. Yet hereof was great use made: For the *Greeks*, as not subject unto the full command of one General; and being every one desirous to preserve his own estate and City, concluded to make a treaty of peace with *Antipater*; who being a subtle Artificer, and well understanding their aptnesse to division, refused to hearken to any generall composition, but willed every city to deal apart for it self. The intent of his device was so apparent, that it was rejected; the *Greeks* choosing rather to abide the comming of their assistants, whose unreasonable carelesnesse betrayed the cause. *Antipater* and *Craterus* besieging and winning some Towns in *Thessaly*, which the Army of the Confederates wanted means and courage to relieve, wearied that Nation from attending any longer upon other mens unlikely hopes, with their own assured and present calamity.

§. VI.

Of the peace granted to Athens *by* Antipater. *Of* Demosthenes *his death.*

THe *Thessalians* falling off, all the rest soon followed severally, and sued for peace; the gentle condiions given to the most forward, inviting such as were slack. Only the *Athenians* and *Ætolians* held out. Little favour could they hope for, having been Authors of this tumult: and their fear was not great; the seat of the war being far from them. But the celerity of *Antipater* confounded all their imaginations; who sate still at *Athens*, devising upon courses of prosecuting the War to come, which came to their dores before their consultation could find issue. He was ready to enter upon their Frontiers; they had no ability to resist, and were as heartlesse as friendlesse. All that remained was to send Embassadours, desiring peace upon some good termes: necessity enforcing them to have accepted even the very worst. *Phocion*, with *Demades* the Orator, and *Xenocrates* the Philosopher, were chief of this Embassage; *Phocion*, as the most honourable; *Demades*, a strong perswader (both of them well respected by *Antipater*); and *Xenocrates*, as one admired for wisdome, gravity of manners, and vertue; but all these ornaments consisting in speculation, and therefore of lesse regard, when their admiration was to cost them much in reall effects.

Antipater calling to mind the pride of *Leosthenes*, required of the *Athenians*, that they should wholly submit themselves to his pleasure; which being (perforce) granted, hee commanded them to defray the charges of the War past, to pay a fine, and entertain a Garrison. Further, he abrogated the popular estate, committing the government of the City to those of most wealth, depriving of the right of suffrage all such as wanted a convenient proportion of riches.

About nine thousand they were, all men of good substance, to whom the administration of the Common-wealth was given; a number great enough to retain the name and form of a Democratie. But the rascall multitude of beggarly persons, accustomed to get their livings out of the common troubles, being now debarred from bearing offices and giving their voyces, cryed out, that this was a meer Oligarchie, the violent usurpation of a few incroaching upon the publike right. These turbulent fellowes (of whom King *Philip* had been wont to say, That war to them was peace, and peace war) *Antipater* planted in *Thrace*, and gave them lands to manure; leaving as few of them as he could to molest the quiet of *Athens*.

To the same end (yet withall for satisfying his own suspitions and hatred) he caused *Demosthenes* and *Hyperides*, famous Orators, with some others, to be slain. Had the death of these two, especially of *Demosthenes*, been forborn, the rest of his proceedings in this action might well have passed for very milde: whereas now, all such as either are delighted with the Orations of *Demosthenes*, or have surrendred their judgements to Authors justly admiring him, as the most eloquent of all that ever did speak and write, condemn him utterly, calling him a bloudy tyrant. Such grace and reputation doe the learned arts find in all civill Nations, that the evill done to a man, famous in one of them, is able to blemish any action, how good soever otherwise it be, or honourably carried.

Demosthenes had taken Sanctuarie in the Temple of *Neptune*, in the Isle of *Calauria*; there did *Archias* (sent with Souldiers by *Antipater* for the purpose) find him, and gently perswaded him to leave the place; but not so prevailing, he threatned violence. Then *Demosthenes* entreating a little respite, as it had been to write somewhat, secretly took poison, which he had kept for such a necessitie, and so died; rather choosing to doe the last execution upon himself, than to fall into the hands of such as hated him. Only this act of his (commendable perhaps in a Heathen man) argued some valour in him; who was otherwise too much a coward in battell, howsoever valiant in perswading to enterprises, wherein the way to very honourable ends was to be made through passages exceeding dangerous. He loved money well, and had great summes given him by the *Persian*, to encourage him, in finding work for the *Macedonians* at home. Neither did he ill (me thinks) in taking from the *Persians* which loved not his Countrey, great reward, for speaking such things as tended to his Countreys good; which he did not

cease

ceaſe to procure, when the *Perſians* were no longer able to give him recompence. Such as in tender contemplation of his death can endure no honourable, though true, mention of *Antipater*, may (if they can) beleeve *Lucian*, who tels us, That it was *Antipaters* purpoſe to have done him great honour. Sure it is, that he was a ſtedfaſt enemie to the *Macedonians*; therefore diſcretion required that he ſhould be cut off.

The matters of *Athens* being thus ordered, the chief command was left in the hands of *Phocion*, a vertuous man, and lover of his Countrie, yet applying himſelf to the neceſſitie of the times; by which commendations he had both at other times done the Citie much good, and now procured this peace, which (though grievous to free-men, yet favourable to the vanquiſhed) he endeavoured carefully to preſerve.

§. VII.

How Craterus *and* Antipater *were drawn from their* Ætolian *wars into* Aſia. *The grounds of the firſt civill war between the* Macedonian *Lords.*

SO *Antipater* with *Craterus* returned into *Macedonia*, where they ſtrengthened their friendſhip with a new alliance; *Craterus* taking *Phila*, the Daughter of *Antipater*, to Wife.

Shortly after they went againſt the *Ætolians*, whoſe povertie was not ſo eaſily daunted, as the luxurious wealth of the more powerfull State of *Athens* had bin. Their Countrie was rough and mountainous, having many places of great faſtneſs, into which they conveyed ſuch of their goods as they moſt eſteemed, and of their people, as were leaſt fit for war: with the reſt they fortified the ſtrongeſt of their Cities, and ſo abode the comming of the *Macedonians*, whom they manfully reſiſted. With great obſtinacie did the *Macedonians* contend againſt the difficulties of the places, which the *Ætolians* made good as long as their victuals held out. But when *Craterus* had ſhut up all paſſages, and utterly debarred them of relief, then were they put to a miſerable choice; either to deſcend from their ſtrong holds, and fight upon equall ground, with unequall numbers, or to endure the miſeries of hunger and cold, againſt which they could make no long reſiſtance; or to yeeld themſelves to the *Macedonians*, who, incenſed by the loſſe of many good Souldiers, were not like to leave ſo ſtubborn enemies in places which might give confidence to rebellion. In caſes of extremitie, much fineneſs of wit apprehending all circumſtances of danger, commonly doth more hurt than a blunt conſideration of that only, which at the preſent is in hand. Theſe *Ætolians* did not as yet want meat: but their enemies daily moleſted them: wherefore as yet they thought upon nothing but fighting. Fortune was gracious to their courage. For ſuch newes came out of *Aſia* into the *Macedonian* Camp, as made *Antipater* and *Craterus* think every hour a moneth, till they had rid their hands of theſe *Ætolians*, giving them whatſoever conditions they would ask: yet with purpoſe to call them to ſevere account; yea, to root them out of *Greece* by death, or by captivitie, when once they ſhould have ſettled the affairs of *Aſia*; as they hoped and deſired. But of mens purpoſes God is diſpoſer; in whoſe high counſell it was ordained, that this poor Nation ſhould continue a troubleſome bar to the proceedings of *Macedon* and *Greece*, and (when time had ripened the next Monarchie) an open gate to let the *Roman* Conquerors into thoſe and other Provinces. Likewiſe concerning the matters of *Aſia*, the reformation intended by *Antipater* and *Craterus*, was ſo far from taking effect, that it ſerved meerly as an introduction to all the civill wars enſuing.

The grounds of the *Aſiatique* expedition, which did ſet the world in an uproar, were theſe. *Antipater* and *Craterus* were of *Alexanders* Captains the mightieſt in reputation: The one, in regard of his ancient precedencie, and the preſent rule which he bare in the parts of *Europe*. The other, as of all men the beſt beloved, and moſt reſpected, both of *Alexander* and of the whole Army. Next unto theſe had *Perdiccas* been; whom the advantage of his preſence at the Kings death did make equall, or ſuperiour, to either of theſe, if not to both together. The firſt intents of *Perdiccas* were, to have conſorted with theſe two, and to have been with them a third partner in the government of all; to which purpoſe hee entertained the diſcourſe of marriage with one of *Antipaters* Daughters. But feeling in ſhort ſpace the ſtrength of that gale of wind which bore him up, he began to take wing and ſoar quite another way. *Aridæus* was a very ſimple man,

yet

yet ſerved well enough to wear the title of that Majeſtie, whereof *Perdiccas* being Adminiſtrator, and hoping to become proprietary, the practice was more ſevere than had been in the dayes of *Alexander*: the deſire to ſeem terrible, being very familiar with weak Princes, and their ambitious officers, who know no other means of preſerving themſelves from contempt, and of giving ſuch a fiery luſtre to their actions, as may dazle the eyes of the beholders. How cruelly the poor *Greeks* in the higher *Aſia* were all put to the ſword; and how tyrannouſly the King and Princes of *Cappadocia* were crucified, hath already been ſhewed. The *Piſidians* were the next who felt the wrath of theſe counterfeit *Alexanders*. One City of theirs was utterly razed; the children ſold for ſlaves, and all the reſt maſſacred. The *Iſaurians* by this example grown deſperate, when after two or three dayes triall they found themſelves unable to continue the defence, lockt themſelves into their houſes, and ſet the Town on fire, into the flame whereof the young men did throw themſelves, after that they had a while repelled the *Macedonians* from the walls.

Theſe exploits being performed, the Army had no other work than to ſift the aſhes of the burnt City for gold and ſilver; but *Perdiccas* had buſineſſe of greater importance troubling his brains. Nothing was more contrary to his ends, than to ſit ſtill without employment, letting his Souldiers grow idle about him, whileſt others grew great, and took deep root in their ſeverall Provinces. He purpoſed therefore to tranſport his forces into *Europe*, under pretence of bringing the King into *Macedonia*, the ſeat of his Anceſtors, and head of the Empire. The Kings preſence would make the Offices of his Vice-Royes (during the time) actually voyd; *Antipater* with *Craterus* being once in caſe of private men, and only *Perdiccas* holding authority, the match with *Cleopatra* might eaſily be made. So ſhould greatneſſe meet with a good title; and what more could be wiſhed? Some impediment the power of *Ptolomy* might give, who held *Egypt* well fortified with men, but much better with love of the people; yet if the buſineſſe proſpered in *Macedonia*, like enough it was that either *Ptolomy* would follow of himſelf, or be driven to come to reaſon. *Antigonus* likewiſe then governing in *Phrygia*, a buſie-headed man, and ill affected to the ſide, was to be looked into and made away, for fear of further trouble. So thought *Perdiccas*, and was deceived in ſo thinking. *Antigonus* was as good a man of War, of as deep a judgement, as high a ſpirit, and as great undertaking, as any of *Alexanders* Captains. His imployments had been leſſe than ſome of theirs, which made him alſo the leſſe reſpected. But his thoughts were as proud as theirs: for he valued himſelf by his own worth, not by the opinions of other men; with carefull attention had hee watched *Perdiccas*, and ſounded the depth of his purpoſes, which it was now high time to diſcover. For *Perdiccas* having with a jealous eye pryed into the demeanour of *Antigonus*, and finding him no way fit for his turn, cauſed him to be charged with ſuch accuſations, as might ſuffice to take away his life, eſpecially by a Judge that ſought his death. This device *Antigonus* would not ſeem to perceive, but prepared himſelf in ſhew to make anſwer, indeed, to make eſcape; which eaſily he did, putting himſelf and his Son *Demetrius* aboord of ſome *Athenian* Gallies, that carried him to *Antipater*, laden with ſuch tidings as finiſhed the *Ætolian* War before mentioned.

As the comming of *Antigonus* made *Craterus* and *Antipater* manifeſtly perceive their own danger: ſo his flight gave *Perdiccas* to underſtand that his intentions were layd open, and muſt now be juſtified by the ſword. Therefore he prepared as faſt as he could, not onely for defence, but (as having on his ſide the Kings name) to meet with them at home, who were nothing ſlack in providing to encounter him. *Ptolomy* being adverti-ſed of theſe proceedings, and conſidering how neerly they concerned him, ſided with *Antipater*. To his government of *Egypt* he had annexed the Dominion of *Cyrene*, not without conſent of the chiefe Citizens; and now in the midſt of theſe garboyles he celebrated the funerall of *Alexander* with great ſolemnity, purchaſing thereby to himſelf much good will and many partakers, notwithſtanding the terrible report of the Kings Army comming againſt him.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

Perdiccas *his voyage into* Egypt, *and his death.*

Perdiccas, uncertain which way to bend his main power, at length resolved to set upon *Ptolomy*; leaving *Eumenes* to keep to his use, against *Craterus* and *Antipater*, the parts of *Asia* bordering upon *Europe*.

It may seem strange, that he did not rather make head against those who were to come out of *Greece* with a great number, and of more able men than *Ptolomy* could bring. Perhaps he thought to make a quick end with *Ptolomy*; or beleeved that *Craterus* would not be ready for him soon enough. Sure it is that he took a bad course, and made it worse with ill handling.

Ptolomy by his sweet behaviour allured many to his partie, without help of any bad arts. *Perdiccas* contrariwise was full of insolencie, which never failed to be rewarded with hatred; that is truly defined, An affection founded upon opinion of an unjust contempt. The whole storie of his proceedings in *Egypt* is not worth relation: for he did nothing of importance; but (as a wilfull man) tired his followers, and wasted them in hard enterprises without successe. His most forceable attempt was upon a little Town, called the *Camels Wall*: thither he marched by night, with more haste than good speed; for *Ptolomy* preventing him, did put himself into the place, where behaving himself not only as a good Commander, but as a stout Souldier, he gave the foil to *Perdiccas*, causing him to retire with losse, after a vehement, but vain, assault continued one whole day. The night following, *Perdiccas* made another journy, (which was his last) and came to the divisions of *Nilus*, over against *Memphis*. There with much difficultie he began to passe over his Armie into an Iland, where he meant to incamp. The current was strong, the water deep, and hardly foordable. Wherefore he placed his Elephants above the passage, to break the violence of the stream, and his horse-men beneath it, to take up such as were carried away by swiftnesse of water. A great part of his Armie being arrived on the further bank, the channell began to wax deep; so that whereas the former companies had waded up to the chin, they who should have followed could find no footing. Whether this came by the rising of the water, or slitting away of the ground; (the earth being broken with the feet of so many Men, Horse, & Elephants) no remedy there was, but such as had passed must repasse again, as well as they might: for they were too weak for the enemie, and could not be relieved by their fellowes. With great confusion therefore they committed themselves to the river, wherein above two thousand of them perished, a thousand were devoured by Crocodiles, a miserable spectacle even to such as were out of danger; such as were strong and could swim, recovered the Camp, many were carried down the stream, and driven to the contrary bank, whereby they fell into the hands of their enemies.

This misfortune exasperated the Souldiers against their Generall, giving libertie to their tongues, which long time had concealed the evill thoughts of their hearts. While they were thus murmuring, newes came from *Ptolomy*, which did set them in an up-roar. *Ptolomy* had not only shewed much compassion on those who fell into his hands alive, but performed all rights of funerall to the dead carkasses, which the river had cast upon his side: and finally, sent their bones and ashes to be interred by their Kinsmen or Friends. This did not only move the common Souldiers, but made the Captains fall to mutinie, thinking it unreasonable to make warre upon so vertuous and honourable a person, to fulfill the pleasure of a Lordly ambitious man, using them like slaves. The sedition growing strong, wanted only a head, which it quickly found. *Python* was there, who inwardly hated *Perdiccas*, for the disgrace which he had suffered by his procurement, after the victorie upon the rebellious *Greeks*. *Python* had lived in honourable place about *Alexander*; he was in the division of the Provinces made Governour of *Media*, he had followed *Perdiccas*, and being in all things (the Protectorship excepted) equall to him, had nevertheless been scornfully used by him, which now he requited. Drawing together a hundred of the Captains, and a good part of the Horse, which consisted of the Gentrie, (the footmen having declared themselves before) he entred the Tent of *Perdiccas*, where without further circumstance they all ranne upon him, and slew him. Such end had the proud mis-governing authoritie of *Perdiccas*. Hee might have lived

as

as great as any, could he have suffered any as great as himself; yea, peradventure master of all, had he not been too masterly over those which were already his.

The next day *Ptolomie* came into the Camp, where he was joyfully received; he excused himself of things past, as not having been Author, or given cause of the warre, and was easily beleeved: the favour of the Armie being such toward him, that needs they would have made him Protector in the room of *Perdiccas*. But this hee refused. It was an Office fit for one that would seek to increase his greatnesse with his trouble. *Ptolomie* was well enough already; wherefore, for his own quiet he forbare to accept it, and for their well-deserving of him, he procured that honourable charge to *Pythou*, and to *Aridæus* the Captain, who having had some companies of Souldiers, to furnish with their attendance the solemnities of *Alexanders* Funerals, did with them adhere to him against *Perdiccas*.

In the middest of these businesses came news of two great victories obtained by *Eumenes*; which newes, had they arrived two or three dayes sooner, had been entertained with joyfull acclamations; and would have given such reputation to *Perdiccas*, as had caused both his private maligners to continue his open flatterers, and his open enemies to have accepted any tolerable composition. But these good tidings comming in ill time, when death had stopped the ears which would have given them welcome, found bad acceptance, as shall be shewed hereafter.

§. IX.

Victories of Eumenes *in the lower* Asia.

BEfore we proceed in the relation of things happening about the person of the King, it is meet that we speak of those businesses in the lower *Asia*, which were handled by *Eumenes* with notable dexterity, whilest *Perdiccas* was occupied in the *Egyptian* Wars. *Alcetas* the brother of *Perdiccas*, and *Neoptolemus*, had received command from *Perdiccas* to be assistant to *Eumenes*, and to follow his directions. But *Alcetas* made flat answer that he would not; alleging the backwardnesse of his men to bear Arms against so great a person as *Antipater*, and a man so much honoured as *Craterus*. *Neoptolemus* was content to make fair shew, but inwardly he repined at the precedency given to *Eumenes*, as thinking himself the better man. *Eumenes* discovering, through the counterfeited looks of *Neoptolemus*, the mischief lurking in his heart, wisely dissembled with him, in hope to win him by gentle behaviour, and sweet language, that commonly are lost, when bestowed upon arrogant creatures. Yet the better to fortifie himself, that he might stand upon his own strength, he raised out of the Countries under his jurisdiction, about six thousand horse, giving many privileges to such as were serviceable, and training them well up. Not without great need. For when upon advertisement of the great preparations made by *Craterus* and *Antipater* (who had newly passed the *Hellespont*) for the invasion of his Provinces, he willed *Neoptolemus* to come to him with all his power; *Neoptolemus* did (indeed) advance, but in hostile manner, though unprovoked, presented him battell. *Neoptolemus* had secretly covenanted with *Antipater* to lay open the way for him to the conquest of *Asia*, which now intending to perform, hee was shamefully disappointed. For though his footmen, being all *Macedonians*, had much the better, and prevailed far upon *Eumenes* his battels; yet were his horse driven out of the field, and himself compelled, with a few of them, to run away, leaving naked the backs of his *Macedonian* foot-men to be charged by *Eumenes*, who forced them in such wise, that casting down their Pikes, they cryed for mercy, and gladly took their oath to doe him faithfull service. *Antipater* and *Craterus* endeavoured with many goodly promises to draw *Eumenes* into their society, who contrariwise offered himself as a mean of reconciliation, between *Perdiccas* and *Craterus*, whom he dearly loved; professing withall his hatred to *Antipater*, and constant faith to the cause which he had undertaken to maintain.

Whilest these negotiations were on foot, *Neoptolemus* came with his broken crue to *Antipater*, and his Associates, vilifying *Eumenes*, & calling him a Scribe (at which foolish railing they laught) but extolling the vertue of *Craterus* (as well he might) with high commendations; assuring them, that if *Craterus* did but once appear, or that his voyce were but heard by any *Macedonian* in *Eumenes* his Camp, the victory was wonne; for they

they would all forth-with revolt unto him. Earnestly therefore he desired them to give him ayd against *Eumenes*, and especially requested that *Craterus* might have the leading of the Armie to be sent. Their own affections did easily lead them to condescend to his motion: and good hope there was, that the reputation of *Craterus* might prevail as much as the force which he drew along. For he had in the middest of *Alexanders* vanities, when others (imitating their King) betook themselves to the *Persian* fashions of garments and customes, retained the ancient *Macedonian* form of behaviour, and apparrell; whereby he became very gracious with the common Souldiers, who beheld these new tricks of *Asia* with discontented eyes, as reproachfull and derogatory to the manners of their native Countrey. So *Antipater* took the way toward *Cilicia*, to hold *Perdiccas* at bay, and to joyn with *Ptolomy*. *Craterus* used great celerity, to have taken *Eumenes* revelling (as hee hoped) according to the common fashion of Captains, after a great victory. But he had a wary and well-advised enemy to encounter, who kept good espiall upon him, and with much wisedome fore-saw all that was to be feared, and the means of prevention, which his courage did not fail to execute. *Eumenes* was not ignorant that *Craterus* was able to defeat him without battell, yea without stroke; him therefore he feared more than the Army following him: (yet the Army following him was such, as much exceeded his own in foot-men, but was inferiour in horse-men) and thought it more uneasie to keep the *Macedonians* from revolting to him, than from knowing him. Hereupon he took in hand a strange piece of work, which desperation of all courses else taught him, and wise managing prosperously accomplished. He gave out reports, that *Neoptolemus* was returned with such company as he could gather together, & had gotten *Pigres* (a Captain of no great estimation, who lay not far off) to joyn with him. Having animated his men against *Neoptolemus*, whom he knew to be despised & hated among them, (as having bin vanquished by some of them, and forsaken others in plain field, whilst they valiantly fought in his quarrel) he took great care to keep them from receiving any intelligence of the enemies matters. Peremptorily he commanded that no messenger nor trumpeter should be admitted; & not herewith satisfied, he placed against *Craterus* no one *Macedonian*, nor any other that much would have regarded him had he bin known: but *Thracians*, *Cappadocians* and *Persians*, under the leading of such, as thought more highly of none, than of *Perdiccas* and himself. To these also he gave in charge, that without speaking or hearkning to any word, they should run upon the enemy; and give him no leasure to say, or do any thing but fight. The directions which he gave to others, he did not fail to executte in his own person: but placing himself in the right wing of his battell, opposite to *Neoptolemus*, who (as he understood) conducted the left wing on the contrary side, he held the *Macedonians* arranged in good order, and ready to charge the enemy as soon as the distance would give leave. A rising piece of ground lay between them, which having ascended, the Armies discovered each other: but that of *Eumenes* every way prepared for the fight, the other wearied with long journies, which over-hastily they had made, seeking the deceitfull issue of frivolous hopes. Then was it high time for *Craterus* (having failed in surprising them as enemies) to discover himself to his old friends, and fellow souldiers, of whom he could see none. *Phœnix* a *Tenidian*, & *Artabazus* a *Persian*, had the leading of that side, who mindfull of their instructions, began to give upon him, with such countenance as told him his errour; which to redeem, he bad his men fight, and redeem the day, and take the spoyl to themselves; but the Bear whose skin he sels, is not yet caught. The ground whereon the battell was fought gave most advantage to the horse, who encountred very roughly on all parts: especially about *Eumenes* and *Neoptolemus*; who as soon as they had discovered one another, could not contain themselves, but with great rage met body to body, & letting loose their bridles, grappled so violently together, that their horses ran from under them, leaving both of them tumbling on the ground. *Neoptolemus* rose first up, but *Eumenes* had his sword first drawn, wherewith he houghed the other, causing him to fall down & fight upon one knee. In this conflict they received many wounds, but *Neoptolemus* giving slight ones, took such as were deadly, by which he dyed in the place, and was there (being half-dead, half-alive) stripped by his mortall enemy, whose revilings he requited, lying even at the last gasp, with one wound in the groin, dangerous had it not wanted force. The death of *Neoptolemus* caused his followers to run away upon the spurre, and seek shelter behind the battels of their foot. They were nothing hotly pursued. For *Eumenes* pained himself to carry

succour

succour to his left wing, which he suspected much to be distressed; but found accompanied with the same fortune, that had assisted him when he fought in person. *Craterus* had gallantly borne himself a while, and sustained the impression of *Artabazus* and *Phœnix* with more courage than force; holding it nothing agreeable with his honour to retire and protract the fight, when he was charged by men of little estimation or note. Otherwise it is not unlikely, that he might have either carried the day, or preserved himself to a better adventure by giving ground, as the rest (when he and *Neoptolemus* were slain) did. But whilest he sought to preserve his reputation, he lost his life by the fall of his horse, or his falling from his horse, through force of a wound received; upon which accident he was trampled under foot by many that knew him not, and so perished unknown, till it was too late to know it. *Eumenes* comming to the place where he lay, made great lamentation, as having alwaies loved and honoured *Craterus*, of whose death he was now become the instrument. The vanquished Army entertained a treaty of peace with *Eumenes*, making shew of willingnesse to become his followers; but their intent was only to refresh themselves, which (by his permission) having done, they stole away by night, and fled toward *Antipater*.

This battell fought within ten dayes of the former, wan to *Eumenes* more reputation than good will: for his own Souldiers took the death of *Craterus* heavily; and the Armies lying further off were inraged with the news. But other matters there were which incented men against him, besides the death of *Craterus*, whereof it manifestly appeared, that he was as sorry as any that pretended greater heavinesse. His Army wanted pay. This was a great fault; which he wisely amended by giving to them the spoyl of such Towns as were ill-affected to him. So he redeemed the love of his own men, who of their meer motion appointed unto him a Guard for defence of his person. Others were not so easie to be reconciled. They who had been Traytors to *Perdiccas*, hated him for his faithfulnesse, as greatly, as they thought he would hate them for their falshood; neither found they any fairer way of excusing their late revolt, than by accusing and condemning the side which they had forsaken. Wherfore they proclamed *Eumenes* a Traitor, and condemned him to die: but it was an easier matter to give that sentence, than to put it in execution.

§. X.

Quarrels between Eurydice *the Queen, and* Python *the Protector. Python resigns his office, into which* Antipater *is chosen.*

Python and *Aridæus* being chosen Protectors of King *Aridæus*, and the children of *Alexander*, took the way to *Asia* the lesse, conducting the Armie through *Syria*. Of these two, *Python* was the greater in reputation, yet far too weak to sustain so important a charge. For *Eurydice* wife to King *Aridæus*, was come to her husband, a Lady of a masculine spirit, well understanding what she was or should be, and thinking her self able to support the weight which fortune layd upon her foolish husband, being due to her own title. Her Mother *Cyna*, sister to *Alexander*, by her Father King *Philip*, was married (as hath been shewed) to *Amyntas*, who was the right Heir to the Kingdom of *Macedon*, being the only son of King *Perdiccas*, *Philips* elder brother.

This *Cyna* was a warlike woman; she had led Armies, and (as a true sister of *Alexander*) fighting hand to hand with *Caria* Queen of the *Phrygians*, a *Virago* like unto her self, had slain her. She brought up this *Eurydice* in the same unwomanly Art of Warre, who now among the Souldiers began to put in practice the rudiments of her education, to the small contentment of *Python*, that could not brook her too curious intermedling in his charge. Whether it were so, that *Python* had some purpose to advance the son of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, to the Kingdome, (as once he had sought to do;) or whether the Queen did suspect him of some such intent; or whether only desire of rule caused her to quarrell with him; quarrell she did, which disturbed the proceeding against *Eumenes*. The Army having shaken off such a rank-rider as *Perdiccas*, would not afterward be reigned with a twined threed. *Python* bearing himself upon his office, took upon him to give directions in the Kings name, which the Queen did oftentimes controll, using the same name, with more authority, and better liking of the Souldiers.

Python seeing this, would needs resign his office, whether upon wearinesse of the contentions daily growing, or on purpose to bring the Queen into envie, it is uncertain. Perhaps he thought, that now being the far worthiest man in the Camp, he should be intreated to retain the place, and have his authority confirmed, or (as might be) increased, were it but for want of a fit Successor. *Eurydice* was nothing sorry at this course; for now she thought to mannage the affairs of the Empire at her own will, being freed from the troublesome assistance of a Protector. But the souldiers disappointed both her & *Python* of their contrary expectations; choosing *Antipater*, the only powerfull man of *Alexanders* Captains, then living, into the room of *Python*. Hereat the Queen fretted exceedingly, and began to deal earnestly with the *Macedonians* that they should acknowledge no Lord save only the King their Soveraign. Yet she failed of her purpose, being hindred (as may seem) by three things: the apparent weakenesse of her husband; the growth of *Alexanders* children, who (though born of out-landish women) were bred in the *Macedonian* Camp; and the mightinesse of *Antipater*, who commanding a great Army near at hand, arrived in few daies at the Camp, and enforced *Eurydice* to hold her self content. *Antipater* was of such power, that he needed not to work by any close devices as *Perdiccas* had done: he had no concurrents, all the Governors of Provinces that remained alive, acknowledged him their better; yea many of them he displaced out of hand, putting others in their rooms. This done, he took the King, Queen, and Princes along with him into *Macedonia*, leaving *Antigonus* General of the Royall Army: to whom for his good services done, and to be done against *Eumenes*, he gave the rule of *Susiana*, besides his former Provinces, and committed into his hands the government of *Asia* during that War.

§. XI.

Antigonus *Lieutenant of* Asia, *wins a battell of* Eumenes, *and besiegeth him in* Nora: *He vanquisheth other followers of* Perdiccas.

HEre begins the greatnesse of *Antigonus*, whose power in few years over-growing the rest, wanted little of spreading it self over the whole Monarchie. He was to make War upon *Eumenes*, *Alcetus* the brother, and *Attalus* the brother-in-law to *Perdiccas*: work enough to keep his Army imployed in the publike service, till such time as he might find occasion to make use of it in his own businesse. The first of these which he undertook was *Eumenes*, with whom *Alcetus* and *Attalus* refused to joyn, having unseasonably contended with him in time of common danger about the chief place. *Eumenes* had an Army strong in number, courage, and all needfull provisions; but obedient only at discretion. Therefore *Antigonus* tryed all ways of corrupting his Souldierr; tempting first the whole Army with letters: which practice failing by the cunning of *Eumenes* (who made shew as if he himself had scattered abroad those letters to try the faith of his men) he dealt apart with such Captains as he thought most easie to be won. Of these Captains one rebelled, breaking out too hastily before any help was near him, yet looking so carelesly to himself, that he and his were surprised, when he thought his enemies far off. Another follower of *Eumenes* (or rather of good fortune, which he thought now to be in company with *Antigonus*) kept his treachery secret, reserving it for the time of execution. Upon confidence of the treason which this false man *Apollonides* had undertaken, *Antigonus* presented battel to *Eumenes*; in the heat whereof *Apollonides*, General of the horse to *Eumenes*, fled over to the contrary side, with such as he could get to follow him: but was closely followed by some, whose company he desired not. *Eumenes* perceiving the irrecoverable mischief which this traiterous practice had brought upon him, pursued the villain, & cut him off before he could thrust himself into the troups of *Antigonus*, and boast of his treachery. This was some comfort to *Eumenes* in the losse of that battell, which disabled him utterly to keep the field, & left it very hard for him to make a safe retrait. Yet one thing he did which much amazed his enemies, and (though a matter of small importance) caused *Antigonus* himself to admire his high resolution. It was held no small part of the victory to get possession of the dead bodies. *Eumenes*, whilest *Antigonus* held him in chase, turned out of the way, and fetching a compasse, returned to the place where the battell had been fought; there he burned (according the manner of the time) the bodies of his own men,

men, and interred the bones and ashes of the Captains and common Souldiers apart, raising up heaps of earth as mountains over them, and so went his way. As this bold adventure bred in the *Macedonians* (returned to their Camp) great admiration of his brave spirit: so the newes which *Menander* (who was set to look unto their carriages) brought and published among them, enticed them to love him as their honourable friend. Hee had found *Menander* in an open Plain, carelesse, as after an assured victory, and loaden with the spoyles of many Nations, the rewards of their long service; all which he might have taken: but fearing left such a purchase should prove a heavie burden to him, whose chief hope consisted in swift expedition, he gave secret warning to *Menander* to flie to the mountains, whilest he detained his men (whom authority could not have restrained) by this sleight, setting them to bait their horses. The *Macedonians* extolled him for this courtesie, as a noble Gentleman, that had forborn when it lay in his power to strip them out of all their wealth, and make their children slaves, and to ravish their wives: but *Antigonus* told them, that he had not forborn to do this out of any good will to them; but out of meer sublety had avoyded those precious fetters, which would have hindred his speedy flight. He told them true. For *Eumenes* did not only think all carriages to be over-burdensome, but the number of his men to be more troublesome than availeable in his intended course. Wherefore he sent them from him as fast as he could, wishing them to shift for themselves; and retaining only five hundred horse, and two hundred foot. When he had wearied *Antigonus* a while in following him up and down, he came to *Nora*: where again keeping no more about him than necessitie required to make good the place, he lovingly dismissed all the rest. *Nora* was a little fortresse in the borders of *Lycaonia* and *Cappadocia*, so strongly situated, that it seemed impregnable, and so well victualled and stored with all necessaries, that it might hold out for many years. Thither did *Antigonus* follow him, with more desire to make him his friend, than to vanquish him in War. To this purpose he entertained parley with him, but in vain. For, whereas *Antigonus* offered him pardon and his love; *Eumenes* required restitution of his Provinces, which could not be granted without *Antipaters* consent. Then was *Nora* closed up; where *Antigonus* leaving sufficient strength for continuance of the siege, took his journy into *Pisidia*, against *Alcetus* and *Attalus*, with whom he made short work. He came upon them unexpected, and seised on passages, which wanted not men, but such a Captain as *Eumenes*, to have defended them. *Alcetus* and *Attalus*, as they had been too secure before his comming, so were they too adventurous, in fighting at the first sight, upon all disadvantages: and their folly was attended with suitable event. *Attalus* with many principall Captains was taken; *Alcetus* fled to the City of *Termessus*, where the love of the younger sort toward him was so vehement, that stopping their ears against all perswasions of the ancient men, they needs would hazzard their lives and their Country in his defence. Yet this availed him nothing: for the Governors of the Town having secretly compounded with *Antigonus*, caused the young men to sally out; and using the time of advantage, they with their servants did set upon *Alcetus*, who unable to resist, slew himself. His dead body was conveyed to *Antigonus*, and by him barbarously torn, was caast forth without buriall. When *Antigonus* was gone, the young men interred the carcasse with solemn funerals, having once been minded to set on fire their own town in revenge of his death. Such favour had he purchased with courteous liberality: but to make an able Generall, one vertue, how great soever, is insufficient.

§. XII.

Ptolomie *wins* Syria *and* Phœnicia. *The death of* Antipater.

WHilest these things were in doing, the rest of the Princes lay idle, rather seeking to enjoy their Governments for the present, than to confirm or enlarge them. Only *Ptolomie* looking abroad, wan all *Syria* and *Phœnicia*: an action of great importance, but not remarkeable for any circumstance in the managing. He sent a Lieutenant with an Army, who quickly took *Laomedon* prisoner, that ruled there by appointment of *Antipater*, and formerly of *Perdiccas*; but (as may seem) without any great strength of Souldiers, far from assistants, and vainly relying upon the authoritie which had given him that Province, and was now occupied with greater cares, than with seeking to maintain him in his Office.

Antipater was old and sickly, desirous of rest, and therefore contented to let *Antigonus* pursue the dispatch of those businesses in *Asia*. He had with him *Polysperchon*, one of the most ancient of *Alexanders* Captains, that had lately suppressed a dangerous insurrection of the *Ætolians*, which Nation had stirred in the quarrell of *Perdiccas*, prevailing far at the first, but soon losing all that they had gained, whilest *Atipater* was abroad in his *Cilician* expedition. In this *Polysperchon Antipater* did repose great confidence; so far forth, that (suspecting the youth of his own Son *Cassander* of insufficiencie in so great a charge) he bequeathed unto him on his death-bed the government of *Macedon* and *Greece*, together with his office of Protectorship. So *Antipater* died, being fourscore years old, having alwayes travelled in the great affairs of mighty Princes, with such reputation, that *Alexander* in all his greatnesse was jealous of him, and the successors of *Alexander* did either quietly give place unto him, or were unfortunate in making oppositions. In his private qualities he was a subtle man, temperate, frugall, and of a Philosophicall behaviour, not unlearned, as having been Scholar to *Aristotle*, and written some Histories. He had been much molested by *Olympias*, *Alexanders* mother, whom after the death of her Son, he compelled to abstain from comming into *Macedonia*, or entermedling in matters of Estate: yea, at his own death he gave especiall direction, that no woman should be permitted to deal in the administration of the Empire. But this precept was soon forgotten; and yet ere long, by sorrowfull experience approved to have been sound and good.

§. XIII.

Of Polysperchon, *who succeeded unto* Antipater *in the Protectorship. The insurrection of* Cassander *against him.*

Polysperchon was very skilfull in the Art of Warre, having long time been Apprentise in that occupation; other qualities, requisite in so high an Office as hee under-went, either Nature had not given to him, or Time had robbed him of them. He managed his businesse more formally than wisely, as a man of a second wit, fitter to assist, than command in chief. At the first entrance upon the stage, he called to counsell all his friends, wherein for weighty considerations (as they who weighed not the contrary reasons held them) the Queen *Olympias* was revoked out of *Epyrus* into *Macedon*, that the presence of *Alexanders* mother might countenance and strengthen their proceedings. For, the condition of the times requiring, that the Governours of Provinces abroad should keep greater Armies, than were needfull or easie to be retained about the person of the King in *Macedonia*; it seemed expedient, that the face of the Court should be filled with all Majesty, that might give authority to the Injunctions from thence proceeding, and by an awfull regard contain within the limited bounds of dutie such as could not by force have been kept in order, being strong, and lying too farre off.

Such care was taken for prevention of imaginary dangers and out of sight, whilest present mischiefes lay unregarded in their bosomes. *Cassander*, the Sonne of *Antipater*, was not able to discover that great sufficiencie in *Polysperchon*, for which his father had reposed in him so much confidence: neither could he discern such odds in the quality of himself and *Polysperchon*, as was in their fortune. Hee was left Captain of one thousand; which Office by practice of those times was of more importance, than the title now seems to imply. Hee should thereby have been as Camp-master, or Lieutenant generall to the other: a place no way satisfying his ambition, that thought himself the better man. Therefore hee began to examine his own power, and compare with the forces likely to oppose him. All that had relyed on his father, were his own assured, especially such as commanded the Garrisons bestowed in the principall Cities of *Greece*. The like hope was of the Magistrates, and others of principall authority, in those Common-weals, whose forms had been corrected by *Antipater*, that they would follow the side, and draw-in many partakers: it concerned these men in their own particular to adhere unto the Captains, by whom their faction was up-held; and by whom the rascall multitude, covetous of re-gaining the tyrannous power which they had formerly exercised over the principall Citizens, were kept in order, obeying their betters perforce. Besides all these helps, *Cassander* had the secret love of Queen

Eurydice,

Erydice, who had in private rendred him such curteſie, as was due onely to her husband. But neither the Queens favour, nor all his other possibilities, gave him confidence to break out into open rebellion; becauſe he saw *Polysperchon* much reverenced among the *Macedonians*, and strong enough to suppresse him, before he could have made head. Therefore he made shew of following his pleasures in the Countrie, and calling many of his friends about him, under pretence of hunting, advised with them upon the safest course, and most free from all suspicion. The necessitie was apparent of raising an Armie, before the businesse was set on foot; and to doe this, opportunitie presented him with fair means. *Ptolomie* had by fine force, without any commission, annexed *Syria* to his government of *Egypt* and *Cyrene*: this was too much either for the King to trust him with, or for him to part with. *Antigonus* upon the first newes of *Antipaters* death, began to lay hold upon all that he could get, in such sort, that he manifestly discovered his intent of making himself Lord of all *Asia*. These two therefore stood in need of a civill war; which *Cassander* wel noted, & presumed withall, That the friendship which had passed between his father and them, would avail him somewhat. Whereupon he secretly dispatched messengers to them both; and within a little while conveyed himself on a sudden over the *Hellespont*, that he might in person advance the businesse with greater speed. Much perswasion is needlesse in winning a man to what he desireth. *Antigonus* coveting nothing more, than to find *Polysperchon* work, by raising some commotion in *Greece*. Yet (as formalities must not be neglected) *Cassander* did very earnestly presse him, by the memorie of his Father, and all requisite conjurations, to assist him in this enterprise; telling him, that *Ptolomie* was ready to declare for them, and urging him to a speedy dispatch. *Antigonus* on the other side repaied him with the same coin, saying, That for his own sake, and his dead Fathers, whom he had very dearly loved, he would not fail to give him all manner of succour. Having thus feasted one another with words, they were nothing slack in preparing the common means, leading to their severall ends.

§. XIV.

The unworthy courses held by Polysperchon, *for the keeping down of* Cassander.

GReat necessitie there was of timely provision. For, *Polysperchon* needed no other instructions to inform him of *Cassanders* drift, than the newes of his departure. He was not ignorant of the ready disposition, which might be found in *Antigonus* and *Ptolomie*, to the strengthening of rebellion; and well he knew that one principall hope of *Cassander* was reposed in the confidence of such as ruled in the *Grecian* Estate. Therefore (loving to work circumspectly) he called another Councell, wherein it was concluded, That the Popular form of Government should be erected in all the Cities of *Greece*; the Garrisons withdrawn; and that all Magistrates and principall Men, into whose hands *Antipater* had committed the supreme authoritie, should forthwith be either slain or banished. This was a sure way to diminish the number of *Cassanders* friends, and to raise up many enemies to him in all quarters. Yet hereby was discloſed both an unthankfull nature in *Polysperchon*, and a factious malice in his adherents. For, how could he be excused of extreme ingratitude, that for hatred of the son went about to dishonour the Fathers actions, whose onely bountie had inabled him to doe it? Or what could be said in their defence, who sought to destroy many worthie men, friends to the State, by whom the *Greeks* were held restrained from stirring against the *Macedonians*? and in opposition to their private enemie, gave the rule of things to base Companions, and such as naturally maligned the Empire? But as in mans body, through sinews newly issuing from one branch, a finger is more vexed by inflammation of his next neighbour, than by any distemper in the contrary hand: so in bodies politique, the humours of men, subdivided in faction, are more inraged by the disagreeable qualities of such as curb them in their neerest purposes, than they are exasperated by the generall opposition of such as are divided from them in the main trunk. Hereby it comes to passe, that contrary religions are invited to help against neighbour Princes; bordering enemies drawn-in, to the part in civill warres; and ancient hatred called to counsell against injurious friends. Of this fault nature is not guiltie; shee hath taught the arm to offer it self unto manifest losse in defence of the head: They are depraved affections

affections, which render men sensible of their own particular, and forgetfull of the more generall good, for which they were created.

The decree, whereby the *Greeks* were presented with a vain shew of libertie, ran under the Kings name; but so, as one might easily discern, that *Polysperchon* had guided his pen. For the main point was, That they should follow such directions, as *Polysperchon* gave, and treat with him about all difficulties. In the rest it contained such a deal of kindnesse, as proceeding on a sudden from those who had kept them in hard subjection, might well appear to have some other root than the pretended good will; and was of it self too base and unfit for a King to use toward his conquered Subjects, and often-subdued Rebels.

§. XV.

Of the great commotions raised in Athens *by* Polysperchons *decree. The death of* Phocion.

NEvertheless the *Athenians* with immoderate joy entertained this happy-seeming Proclamation, and sought how to put it in execution without further delay. But *Nicanor*, Captain of the Garrison, which kept one of their Havens, called *Munychia*, in the lower part of the Town, would needs take longer time of deliberation, than was pleasing to their hastie desires.

Nicanor, as a trustie follower of *Cassander*, was by him shifted into the place, and *Menillus* (that was Captain there before) discharged, when *Antipater* was newly dead. His comming to *Athens* was no way gratefull to the Citizens, who soon after hearing the newes of *Antipater*'s death, cried out upon *Phocion*, saying, That he had sufficient intelgence of that accident, and might, by advertising them in due time, have put into their hands a fair opportunitie of thrusting out the *Macedonians*. But these exclamations argued no more than a desire to shake off the *Macedonian* yoke. Farre more grievously would they have been offended, had they known the instructions which *Cassander* had given to *Nicanor*, and his resolution to follow them. It was concluded, That he should not onely retain *Munychia*, any injunction to the contrary notwithstanding; but that hee should find means to thrust some companies into *Piræus*, and fortifie that also, which was the principall haven, against the high-town. How to accomplish this, he rather wanted some reasonable pretence, than good abilitie. But the *Athenians* were not long in giving him sufficient cause to do that, which he would have done without any cause given. They desired him to come unto their Councell, assembled in the *Piræus*, there to consider of the Kings Proclamation: whither upon *Phocions* word and safe conduct he came, and earnestly pressed them to hold with *Cassander* in the war which was ready to break forth. Contrariwise, they urged him first of all, to make them masters of their own, which how to use, they might consult afterwards. Each of them refusing to condescended unto the others demand; the *Athenians* (who did alwayes measure justice by profit, yet seldom thrived by that course) practised with *Dercillus*, a Captain following *Polysperchon*, and then lying neer at hand, that he should enter into the Town, and take *Nicanor* prisoner. But *Phocion*, who then governed in *Athens*, a man very unlike to the rest of the Citizens, being nothing pleased with such a trick of politick dishonestie, did quietly suffer him to depart and save himself.

Nicanor hereupon began to devise upon taking *Piræus*; not as following now the project of *Cassander*, but prosecuting his own just revenge. He levied as many Souldiers as he could, and drew them closely into *Munychia*; which done, he issued into *Piræus*, took it, and intrenched himself therein, to the exceeding discomfort of the *Athenians*, who lately impatient of his keeping the one Haven saw him now Master of both. *Alexander*, the son of *Polysperchon*, came thither shortly after with an Armie. Then were the Citizens in great hope of recovering all, and addressed themselves unto him; who made fair shewes, intending meer mischief; which they perceived not, being blinded with the vain Epistles of his Father, and of *Olympias* the old Queen. *Olympias*, taking upon her to command, before she durst well adventure to return into *Macedon*, had peremptorily charged *Nicanor* to restore to the *Athenians* the places which hee held: but hee would first consider more of the matter. *Polysperchon* had further ordained, that the Isle of *Samos* should be rendred unto them: a goodly offer, had it accorded with his power

and

and meaning. He was (indeed) so far from purposing to let them have *Samos*, that as yet he did not throughly intend to let them have themselves. The commoditie of their Havens was such, as he would rather get into his own hands, than leave in theirs; yet rather wished in theirs, than in *Cassanders*. His Son *Alexander*, not ignorant of this, made fair shew to the *Athenians*, and spent much labour in communing with *Nicanor*, but suffered not them, for whom he seemed to labour, to intermeddle with the businesse. Hereupon the Citizens grew jealous, and the displeasure they conceived against him, they poured out upon *Phocion*, depriving him of his office. This was done with much tumult: banished men and strangers thrusting themselves into the assembly of the Citizens, who distracted with sundrie passions, growing out of their present misfortunes, thought every one that best could inveigh against things past, a most likely man to find some remedie for the evill threatning them. In this hurly-burly was *Alexander* devising how he might come to some good point of composition with *Nicanor*, & held much privie conference with him; which he could not so secretly carry, but that his negotiation was discovered, whereby the uproare in the Town was so far increased, that *Phocion* with many of his friends were accused, and driven to seek safeguard of their lives by flight. So they came to *Alexander*, who entertained them gently, and gave them his letters of commendation to his father, desiring him to take them into his protection.

Polysperchon was in the Countrie of *Phocis*, ready to enter with an Army into *Attica*. Thither came *Phocion* with his companions, hoping well that the letters which they brought, and their own deserts, (having alwaies been friends to the *Macedonians*, as far as the good of their Countrie gave leave) should be enough to get patronage to their innocencie. Besides all this, *Dinarchus* a *Corinthian*, *Polysperchons* familiar friend, went along with them (in an evill hour) who promised to himself and them great favour, by means of his acquaintance. But *Polysperchon* was an unstable man, very earnest in what he took in hand, yet, either for want of judgement in following them, or of honestie in holding the best of them, easily changing his intended courses, and doing things by the halves, which made him commonly fail of good successe. For fear of *Cassander* he had offered wonderfull kindnesse to the *Athenians*; this had caused them to love him: out of their love he gathered hope of deceiving them, which made him to change his mind, and seek how to get into his own hands those keys, with which *Cassander* held them fast lockt up: finding himself disappointed of this purpose, and suspected as a false dishonourable man, he stood wavering between the contrary allurements of profit and reputation. To keep the *Athenians* perforce at his devotion, would indeed have done well: but the effecting of this began to grow desperate; and many Towns of importance in *Greece* began to cast their eys upon his proceeding in that action. Wherefore hee thought it the wisest way to redeem their good opinion, by giving all contentment unto the popular faction, which was then grown to be Master of that Citie. And in good time for this purpose were the *Athenian* Embassadours come, treading (as one may say) upon *Phocions* heels, whom they were sent to accuse. These had solemn audience given to them in the Kings presence, who was attended by many great Lords, and for ostentations sake was glorified with all exteriour shews of Majestie; yet all too little to change *Aridæus* into *Alexander*: for he did nothing there, but either laugh or chafe, as he saw others doe. For beginning of the businesse *Polysperchon* commanded that *Dinarchus* should be tortured and slain. This was enough to testifie his heartie affection to the Commonaltie of *Athens*, in that he spared not his old acquaintance for their sake; whose Embassadours he then bad to speak. When their errand was done, and answer to it made by the accused, who had no indifferent hearing, *Phocion* and the rest were pronounced guilty of treason; but to give sentence, and doe the execution upon them, was (for honours sake) referred unto the Citie of *Athens*, because they were Burgesses. Then were they sent away to *Athens*, where the rascall multitude, not suffering them to speak for themselves, condemned them to dye. So they perished being innocent. But the death of *Phocion* being very conspicuous, made the fortune of the rest to be of the lesse regard. Five and fortie times had he been chosen Governour of the Citie, never suing for the place, but sent for when he was absent, so well was his integritie known, and so highly valued, even of such as were no pretenders to the same vertue. He was a good Commander in War, wherein though his actions were not very great, yet were they of good importance,

and

and never unfortunate. Never did the Citie repent of having followed his counsell: nor any private man of having trusted his word. *Philip* of *Macedon* highly esteemed him; so, and much more did *Alexander*, who (besides other signs of his love) sent him two hundred talents of silver, and offered to bestow upon him of four Cities in *Asia* any one which he would choose. But *Phocion* refused these and other gifts, howsoever importunately thrust upon him; resting well contented with his honest povertie: wherein he lived above fourscore years, and then was compelled by the unjust judgment of wicked men, to drink that poyson, which by just judgment of the righteous God, so infected the Citie of *Athens*, as from that day forwards it never brought forth any worthy man resembling the vertue of their Ancestors.

§. XVI.

Of Polysperchon *his vain expedition against* Cassander.

NOt long after these things were done, *Cassander*, with such forces as *Antigonus* lent him, entred into *Piræus*; which newes drew *Polysperchon* headlong into *Attica*, with a great Armie, but so il victualled, that he was fain to depart without any thing done. Only he had given some impediment to the enemie; who, not contented with defending what he held, began to look out, and make new purchases abroad. Finding therfore himself unable to drive *Cassander* out of *Athens*, he left his son *Alexander*, with such number of men as exceeded not the proportion of victuals, to withstand his further incroaching. The greatest part of his Armie he carried into *Peloponnesus*, to make the Countrie sure to himself, wherein *Cassander* had many Friends.

His doings in *Peloponnesus* were such, as they had been in other parts of *Greece*. First, he began to fight with Edicts, restoring the Democratie, or Popular form of government. He commanded that the principall Citizens, that had by *Antipater* been made Rulers, should be either slain, or driven into exile. This decree took immediate effect in most places: The vulgar sort being very readie to seal the Charter of their freedome and authoritie, with the bloud of those who had kept them in subjection. Yet many Cities there were, which delighted in the rule of the chief Citizens; and many which wished well to *Cassander*, especially they of *Megalopolis*, on whom *Polysperchon* meant to inflict an exemplarie punishment of disobedience to him, which he termed Rebellion. *Megalopolis* had in it fifteen thousand serviceable men, well furnished of necessaries, and resolved to endure the worst. And need there was of such resolution. For *Polysperchon* comming thither with all his power, did so much, that he overthrew, by a Mine, three of their Bulwarks, and all the space of wall between them. But the Defendants manfully repelled the *Macedonians* which came up to the breach; and at the same time with great labour they raised up an inner wall, to bear out the next assault. The Assailants having failed to carry the Town at the first attempt, took much pain to clear the ground, and make fair way for their Elephants, whose violence was likely to overthrow all that came in their way. But the Towns-men perceiving their drift, prepared boords driven through with long nails, which they used as gal-throps, bestowing them sleightly covered, with the points upwards, in the way by which the beasts were to passe. Neither did they set any to encounter them in front, but appointed certain light-armed men to beat upon their sides with arrows and Darts, as they were instructed by some that had learned the manner of that fight in the *Asian* Wars. Of these provisions they made happy use in the next assault. For, by them were the Elephants (wherein the enemie chiefly trusted) either sorely hurt, or driven back upon the *Macedonians*, whom they trampled under feet. *Polysperchon* came as ill furnisht for long abode to *Megalopolis* as before to *Athens*. Therefore being neither able to dispatch the businesse quickly, nor to take such leasure as was requisite, he forsook the siege, with some losse, and much dishonour, leaving some part of his Army to lye before the Town for his credit.

After this he sent *Clitus*, his Admirall, to Sea, to joyn with *Aridæus* that was come out of *Phrygia*, and to cut off all succour which might come to the enemie out of *Asia*. *Cassander* also sent his whole fleet under *Nicanor*, who taking along with him some ships of *Antigonus*, came to the *Propontis*, where he fought with *Clitus*, and was beaten. But *Antigonus* hearing of the over-throw, gathered together the ships that were escaped,

and

and manning them very well, sent out *Nicanor* again, assuring him of the victorie, as well he might. For he sent out sufficient numbers of light-armed men, whom he caused to be wafted over the streights in small Vessels by night; these before day-light setting upon *Clitus*, drave his men, that lay securely on the land, head-long into their ships; in which tumult *Nicanor* arriving did assail them so lustily, that few or none escaped him.

This losse at Sea, together with his bad successe by Land, brought *Polysperchon* into great contempt. He had a good facultie in penning bloudie decrees, but when the execution was referred to his own sword, he could find the matter more difficult. Wherefore the *Athenians*, perceiving that he had left them to shift for themselves, and was not able to give them protection against the enemy which lay in their bosomes, came to agreement with *Cassander*; accepting a governour of his appointment; and restoring all things to the same state wherein *Antipater* had left them. The like inclination to the partie of *Cassander*, was found in very many Cities of *Greece*, which daily and willingly revolted unto him, as to an industrious man, and likely to prevail in the end. Thus was the whole Countrie set in a combustion, uneasie to be quenched; which presented unto *Antigonus* an opportunitie, that he neglected not, of making himself Lord of *Asia*.

§. XVII.

Antigonus *seeks to make himself an absolute Lord: and thereupon treats with* Eumenes, *who disappointeth him*, Phrygia *and* Lydia *won by* Antigonus.

ANtigonus had in *Antipaters* life-time a firm resolution, to make unto himself the utmost benefit that he might of the Armie committed to his charge. And in fair season for advancement of his purposes came the newes of *Antipaters* death; even then, when all the businesse in *Pisidia* was dispatched, and no more employment for the Armie remaining, save onely the continuance of the siege of *Nora*, a small thing of it self, but as hard as a greater matter; and requiring few men, but much time; when time of all things was most precious. *Eumenes* lay in that Fort of *Nora*, able to make the place good, and hoping that the mutabilitie, to which the present Estate was manifestly subject, would in continuance of some years (which he might abide) work more for him, than his enemies in that space could work against him. His most fear was, that for want of exercise in that narrow Castle, his men & horses might grow sickly and unserviceable: which made him to practise many devices of keeping them in health and lustie. But when he had continued shut up in this manner about a year, his hopes came to good passe, and he was eased of his cares by *Antigonus* himself, whose forces held him besieged.

Antigonus knowing the great sufficiencie of *Eumenes*, and considering his fidelity shewed unto *Perdiccas*, thought that he could not find in all the world a fitter man than him, to employ in managing those high designs, wherein he doubted not that he should be withstood by the mightiest Princes of the Empire. He sent therefore to *Eumenes* by one that was friend to them both, acquainting him with some part of his intent, and promising to make him a better Lord than ever he had bin, and the next man to himself, if things fel out as he desired: in regard whereof he required only his friendship, & therupon sent him an oath to take; which done, he might at his good pleasure issue safely out of *Nora*, and enjoy his perfect libertie. *Eumenes* perusing the form of the oath, did perceive the meaning of *Antigonus*; which was, rather to make him his follower than his fellow. For whereas in a few words, it mentioned the King and Princes of the bloud, rather to keep the *Decorum*, than upon any loyall intent; the binding words and sum of all were such, as tied him fast only to *Antigonus*, omitting all reservation of duty to the King or any other. This he liked not, holding it unseemly to become a sworn man to him, with whom he had fought for the masterie; and being assured that his voluntarie assistance, which way soever he gave, would be more acceptable, and farre more honourable, than the course propounded. Yet would he not therefore break off the negotiation, and wait for some better occasion of inlargement, which might perhaps be long in comming: but seeming to be well agreed with *Antigonus*, he prepared to give up his Hold and depart. As for the oath it self, when he came to take it, he made shew of dislike, in that it was not solemn enough

enough for such personages as they were, who could not be too ceremonious in testifying their allegiance. The *Macedonians* which lay incamped before *Nora*, liked his words, and gave him leave to put in *Olympias*, and the children of *Alexander*, binding himself to them and their adherents, as well as to *Antigonus*; and so he departed.

Antigonus had taken upon him, as soon as he came down to the Sea-side, to remove some of the Governours of the Provinces, behaving himself according to the authoritie which he had received of *Antipater*, to exercise in the time of war. Neither did he want sufficient pretence whereby to justifie his proceedings. For if *Polysperchon* might lawfully hold the Protectorship, which the old man doting on his death-bed bequeathed unto him, as a legacie, without consent of the Princes and Souldiers; why might not he himself as well retain the Lieutenantship of *Asia*, that was granted unto him for the generall good of the State, in presence of the whole Armie, by the King, and by *Antipater*, who had power to ordain what should seem convenient whilst he lived, not to dispose of things that should happen after his death? To give a fair colour to his ambition, this was enough: if any were not herewith satisfied, hee had threescore thousand footmen, ten thousand horse, and thirtie Elephants in a readinesse to answer them.

The first that perceived his drift, and provided to resist him, was *Aridæus* Governor of *Phrygia*; who fortified the Towns of his own Province, and sought to have won *Cizicum*, a fair Haven Town, and seated very conveniently for him, but was fain to goe away without it. Hereupon *Antigonus* took occasion to command him out of the countrie. *Aridæus* was so far from obeying him, that he sent forces to relieve *Eumenes*. Nevertheless finding that he was unable of himself to make long resistance, he took such companies as he could draw along with him, and so passed over into *Europe*, to complain at the Court. The like fortune had *Clitus*, who ruled in *Lydia*, and sought the like remedy of his fortune, with some hope at the first (for both of them were entertained with very good words) which quickly vanished, and grew desperate, when they were beaten at Sea, as hath already been declared.

§. XVIII.

Antigonus *pursues* Eumenes. Eumenes *having authoritie from the Court, raiseth great war against* Antigonus *in defence of the Royall house.*

Antigonus having thus gotten into his hands all, or most of all *Asia* the lesse, was able to have entred *Macedon*, and seized upon the Court; which that he forbare to doe, it proceeded (as may seem) from some of these reasons. It would have bred as much jealousie in *Cassander*, as fear in *Polysperchon*, which might have brought them to termes of reconciliation; It would ask more time than he could spare; and the envie which followed the Protectorship was such, as he that had power enough without the office, ought rather to shun, than to pursue. Besides all this, it was manifest that *Eumenes* would not only refuse to take his part, but would make war upon him in defence of the Royall house, to which it was found that *Antigonus* did not stand well-affected. Against him therefore he bent his course, and with an Armie of twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, made great haste toward *Cilicia*, hoping to suppresse him before he should be able to make head.

Eumenes was one of those few that continued faithfull to their dead master, which being well known in the Court, he had commission sent unto him from thence to raise an Armie, and make war upon *Antigonus*, taking of the Kings treasure as much as he should need. Other letters also there were directed to all the Governours of Provinces, requiring them to give assistance to *Eumenes*, and be ordered by his direction: especially to the Captains of the old Souldiers, called the *Argyraspides*, or silver-shielded bands, commandement was given to be at his appointment. He had of his old followers gathered together two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, before this authority was given him: but now he purposed with all the strength which he could make, to fight with *Antigonus* in defence of the Royall bloud. *Olympias* had written to him, desiring him to bring help to her, and her Nephew the son of *Alexander*; and in the mean time to give her his advice in that which *Polysperchon* required of her: for shee was

desirous

desirous to return into *Macedon*, but suspected his ambition, as not contained within lawfull bounds. *Eumenes* therefore counselled her to remain in *Epirus*, till such time as he could bring the warre to a good issue; which done, he promised that his faith and care should not be wanting to the seed of *Alexander*.

Strange it is to consider, that in all the Empire, scarce any one could be found among the Noble-men, in whom *Alexanders* mother, wives, and children, might repose firm confidence, saving onely this *Eumenes*, a stranger to the *Macedonian* bloud, born at *Cardia*, a Citie of *Thrace*. His reputation was no more than his own vertue had made it; his followers obeyed at their own discretion; and compelled he was to travail as farre as *Persia*, to gather together an Army sufficient to resist the enemies that pursued his heels.

§. XIX.

How the Princes of Macedon *stood affected mutually.* Olympias *takes* Aridæus *and* Eurydice, *whom she cruelly puts to death.*

NOw, forasmuch as in this present Warre all the Rulers of the Provinces did entermeddle; and great alterations happened, not onely in the parts of *Asia*, but *Macedon* it self, which brought a new face unto the State, by the extirpation of the Royall house of *Philip* and *Alexander*: I hold it convenient in this place, before we enter into the particulars of the Warre it self, to shew briefly how the great ones did mutually stand affected; and by what passions they were drawn into those courses, which over threw most of them, and out of their ruines built the greatnesse of a few: as likewise to what extremity the faction brake out in *Macedon* it self, about the main controversie of the title to the Crown, whereupon all other quarrels were or should have been depending.

Aridæus the King, being simple and fearfull, did onely what he was bidden.

Polysperchon, desirous to continue long in Office, had a purpose to advance the son of *Alexander* by *Roxane* to the Kingdome, and become Governour to a King of his own making.

Eurydice the Queen discovering plainly this intent, and meaning nothing lesse than to let her husband serve as a Stale, keeping the throne warm till another were grown old enough to sit in it, grew acquainted with *Cassander*, who hated the memory of *Alexander*, and was therefore the fitter for her turn.

Cassander held fresh in mind the danger wherein his family had been through *Alexanders* malice, together with the indignity offered to himself by *Alexander*, who knocked his head against a wall for deriding one that adored him after the *Persian* maner. The displeasure hereof, and the pleasure which he took in the amorous Queen, made him to resolve, both to suppresse the linage which he hated, and to maintain his beloved mistresse, either by supporting her weak husband, or by taking her to be his own wife.

The rest of the Lords held it a thing indifferent who reigned over all, so as they might reign in their severall Countries, and establish their authority in such wise, that it might not be taken from them.

Among these, *Ptolomy* and *Antigonus* were well enough already, if their ambition would have suffered them to see it.

Pitho and *Seleucus* lying farre off, and being strong, had some good hope to encroach upon their neighbours. Against these, *Pencestes*, and some others, which much adoe hardly made resistance, untill such time as *Eumenes* came to them; who propounded to himself great matters, which he lived not to accomplish.

Olympias the old Queen (as it is common with step-dames) hated the children of her husband by his other wives. It was thought that she had given poison to *Aridæus*, which failing to take away his life, had much impaired both his body and wits. Now she considering, that *Eumenes* was too full of business to come home so soon as she wished that he should; and that *Cassander* daily prevailed in *Greece*: thought it the best way to joyn with *Polysperchon*, & set up, as King, her Nephew *Alexander*, the son of *Roxane*, removing *Aridæus* before *Cassander* were able to defend him. To this intent she procured men among her kindred in *Epirus*, and so took her way towards *Polysperchon*,

who joyning with her, entred into *Macedon*.

Eurydice hearing these news, wrote very earnestly to *Cassander*, praying him to set aside all other businesse, and come to succour her. She her self by entreaty, gifts, and promises, drew to her partie as many of the *Macedonians* as she could, untill she thought her own side strong enough; and then taking her husband with her, went boldly forth against *Olympias*, and the Traitor *Polysperchon*.

These two Queens met armed, as if the matter should have been determined by their own hands, which ended without any stroke stricken, by the revolt of those who followed *Eurydice*. For as soon as the *Macedonians* beheld *Olympias*; calling to mind her former Estate, and the victorious reigns of her husband and son, they refused to lift any weapon against her. *Eurydice* finding her self thus forsaken, fled towards *Amphipolis*, but was intercepted, and made prisoner with her husband.

Olympias having obtained this victory without bloud, thought that all things would succeed as easily, and upon the same considerations for which they had refused to bear Arms against her, the *Macedonians* would not stick to maintain her, whatsoever her proceedings were. Having therefore shut up *Aridæus* and his wife in a close room, where they could scarce turn round, she fed them through a little hole, till after a while it came in her head (for fear lest the people should have commiseration of him, that had reigned almost six years and a half) to put them to death. So she delivered *Aridæus* to some barbarous *Thracians*; who took away his life by cruell torments: to *Eurydice* she sent a sword, a halter, and a cup of poison, willing her to choose the instrument of her own death; who praying that the like presents might one day be sent to *Olympias*, yeelded her neck to the halter, having spent her last curses not in vain. *Nicanor* the brother of *Cassander*, and a hundred the chief of his friends, did *Olympias* then choose out, all whom she commanded to be slain. His brother *Iolaus* that was already dead and buried, she accused of poison given to *Alexander*, and thereupon caused his Tomb to be thrown down, and his bones to be scattered abroad. The *Macedonians* wondring at this fury, began to condemn themselves, and the folly of *Polysperchon*, who had, quite contrary to *Antipaters* charge given on his death bed, called this outragious woman to the government of the Empire.

§. XX.

How Cassander *was revenged upon* Olympias.

†. I.

The great expedition of Cassander. Olympias *shuts her self into* Pydna, *where* Cassander *besieged her.* Æacides *King of* Epirus, *comming to succour* Olympias, *is forsaken, and banished by his own Subjects.*

Cassander at that time lay before *Tegea*, in *Peloponnesus*; whither when all these ill tidings were brought to him, he never staied to take the City, nor to give order for the State of things in that Countrie, (though *Alexander* the son of *Polysperchon* were there with an Armie) but compounding with them of *Tegea*, he willed his associats to look to themselves as well as they could, till his retutn; and so in all haste he took his journey towards *Macedon*, carried headlong with the greedie desire of just revenge. The *Ætolians* had taken the Streights of *Thermopylæ*, in favour of the Queen & *Polysperchon*, to hinder his passage; but he, not willing to misspend any time in dealing with them, got together as many ships as he could, great and small, with which hee transported his Army into *Thessaly*. There he divided his companies, appointing some under *Callas*, a subtile Captain, to hold *Polysperchon* busied, who then lay incamped neer to *Perhæbia*, with the rest he marched directly against *Olympias*. She, having once prevailed by the respect given to her dignity, took more care how to appear Majesticall, than to make her self strong. To this end she made a solemn progresse to *Pydna*, a Sea-town, and well fenced, having in her company all the flowr of the Court, especially the great Ladies, among whom was *Roxane*, and her young son *Alexander*, heir to the great *Alexander*, by his grand-mothers designment: who during his minority

kept

kept his Soveraign power in her own hands. But all this pomp served to little use, against the violence of the enemy, that soon presented himself before the walls; only it fed the besieged with a vain hope of succour, that would from all parts arrive, to rescue persons of their quality. And hereof there soon appeared fair likelihood, which as soon vanished, and went away in smoak.

For *Æacides* King of *Epirus*, made great haste to bring succour to *Olympias* his cousen, with whom *Deodamia* his daughter was also shut up. Nevertheless, his Subjects were nothing forward in this expedition; but finding certain passages taken in the way by *Cassanders* men, they called upon him to retire, & quit the enterprise. The Kings importunitie urging them to proceed, and the obstinate refusall of the Army, brake out at length into such termes, that when he had raged in vain against the multitude, his authority, with which he thought to have prevailed upon them, was by them taken from him, and he compelled to forsake his Kingdom, and to wander up and down in forrain Countries a banished man, his people joyning with the enemy, against whom he had led them forth to war.

Pydna in the mean time was closed up streightly, both by Sea and Land, so that neither any could issue out of the City, nor any relief be conveyed into it, but it held out as long as any food was left, no memorable service being done there, whilst great actions were managed abroad.

§. II.

A continuation of Olympias *her story.* Polysperchon *defeated. Extreme famine in* Pydna. Olympias *yeelds to* Cassander.

NOw, though order of time require it, that we should rehearse the doings of *Eumenes* & *Antigonus* in this place, leaving *Olympias* yet a while to the hour of her destiny; which grows the faster upon her, because she may discern it comming: yet that we may not be compelled to interrupt the course of our narration, by inserting her Tragedie in the midst of things not manifestly coherent with it; we will here (as ellewhere we have done, and elsewhere must) continue to an end one History, that we may not be therewith distracted, when we shall come to the relation of another. All the hope of the besieged, remaining in *Polysperchon*, was in like manner disappointed, as their former trust had bin, which was reposed in the succours of the *Epirot*. For *Callas*, who was sent against him, found the means to corrupt the greatest part of his Army with money, leaving him within a little while so slenderly accompanied, that he was fit for no other businesse of war, than a swift retrait. When famine had so far prevailed in the City, that the horses were killed as a precious food, many men, feeding on the dead carcasses of their fellows, and saw-dust being given to the Elephants for provender; some of the Souldiers obtaining the Queens leave, (who could not deny it) others, without asking leave, yeelded themselves to the enemy, and were by him gently relieved, and sent abroad into the Country. The news of the Queens affairs, dispersed by these men, did so affright her well-willers, that such as had reserved themselves to the event, came in apace, and submitted them to *Cassander*. At length, when the mortalitie was so great in the Town, that the living were even poysoned with the noysome sent of the dead; *Olympias* bethought her self of stealing away by Sea in a Galley that she had: wherewith her succesſe was as bad as in the rest. For God had appointed this Town, by her chosen as a place of refuge, to be unto her as a house of torment, and a Jaol out of which she should not be delivered, but unto an evill death. Being therfore utterly broken with miseries, which daily afflicted her and the other Ladies, unaccustomed to so wretched a kind of life, she offered composition, & with much labor hardly obtained of *Cassander* (who having fetcht her Gally out of the Haven, accounted himself as good as master of her body) a grant of her own life. Immediatly upon her apprehension, *Pella*, the chief City of the Kingdome, was yeelded to *Cassander*. *Amphipolis* did stand out: for *Aristonus* (to whom *Olympias* had given charge of such forces as were left abroad in the Country, taking courage from the succesſe of some petty services wherein he had prevailed) began to promise himself great unlikelihoods. But *Olympias*, to win *Cassanders* favour, very earnestly required him up-

on his faith to her, that he should give it up. He did so, and presently after was killed by his private enemies, that were set on by *Cassander*, who partly hated him upon old respects, partly doubted him, as a man likely to seek innovation.

† III.

The death of Olympias, *and her conditions.*

WHen *Olympias* had now heard sorrowfull tidings of all her friends, she her self was called into question, & accused in an allembly of the *Macedonians*, for the murthers (they were so stiled in her affliction, which in time of prosperity she called justice) by her committed. There was she being not heard, nor called to speak) condemned to die. The sute was commenced and prosecuted against her, by the kindred of those whom she had slain. But it was at *Cassanders* instigation, who (to hasten the execution) sent her word, that he would furnish her with a ship, and other necessaries, to save her self by flight: which when she refused, saying, that she would plead for her self, and tell her own tale; he dissembled no longer, but sent unto her such men, as hated her most, who took away her miserable life. She was daughter, and sister, unto two Kings of *Epirus*; wife, and mother, unto two the mightiest Kings, of that, or many other ages; a stout Lady, and of unreproveable chastity; but her ambition was boundlesse, her hatred unappeasable, and her fury in revenge most unwomanly. Her perverse conditions made her husband seek other wives and Concubines, which caused her to hate both him, and them. She was thought privie to her husbands death; after which, very cruelly she slew his late wife *Cleopatra*, having first murdered one of her two children in her armes, and with a beastly fury broiled the other alive in fire, in a copper bason. For these things, her son *Alexander* (otherwise loving her well) forbad her to meddle in the government of *Macedon*. But God, more severe unto cruell Tyrants, than only to hinder them of their wils, permitted her to live and fufill the rest of her wickednesse, (which was his justice upon the adulteries of *Philip*, and the oppression done by him and others;) after all which, He rewarded her malice, by returning it upon her own head.

†. IV.

Cassander *celebrates the funerall of* Aridæus *and* Eurydice; *and seeks to make himself King of* Macedon.

AFter her death, *Cassander* gave honourable buriall to *Aridæus* and *Eurydice*, among their Progenitors, Kings of *Macedon*. And looking further into his own possibilities of greatnesse, he married the Lady *Thessalonica*, whom he had taken at *Pydna*, being the daughter of King *Philip*, by another of his wives; that by her he might have some title to the Crown. For the same end he committed *Roxane*, and her young son to close prison, removing thereby some part of his impediment. And, the better to encrease his fame, and purchase love, built a City, called by his own name *Cassandria*, that soon grew to be very great and powerfull. He re-edified likewise *Thebes* in *Greece*, and restored it unto the old inhabitants, after it had lain twenty years waste, being utterly razed by *Alexander*. By these means, especially by the restauration of *Thebes*, whereunto all *Greece* voluntarily contributed, he grew so strong, that few remained enemies unto him; and they, with much labour, hardly could resist him. Leaving him therefore daily prevailing in *Greece*, we will return to them, who contended in *Asia*, for lesse titles, but larger Provinces, with greater forces.

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the great Lordship which ANTIGONUS *got in* Asia.

§. I.

The journey of Eumenes *into* Persia. *His wise dealing with those that joyned with him.*

EUMENES, having joyned unto his company the *Argyraspides*, made haste into the Eastern parts, to take possession of those Countries, according to his commission, and strengthen himself against *Antigonus*. Hee took his journey through *Cœlosyria* and *Phœnicia*, hoping to reclaim those Provinces, usurped with the rest of *Syria* (as hath been shewed) by *Ptolomy*, to the Kings obedience. But to effect this, his haste of his passing forward was too great, his Army too little, and the readinesse of the people, to return their due obedience, none at all. Besides all which impediments, one inconvenience troubled him in all his proceedings, making them the lesse effectuall. The Captains of the *Agyraspides* were so froward, that they scorned to repair to him, and take his directions; and their fidelity was so unsteady, that he might more easily have dealt with open traitors. It was not expedient, that he, being Generall, should weaken his authority by courting them; neither lay it in his power to keep them in order by cõpulsion. Therfore he feigned, that *Alexander* had appointed unto him, in a dream, a place for their meeting, namely, in a rich pavilion, wherein an emptie throne was placed, as if *Alexander* himself had been present at their consultations. Thus he freed himself from their vain pride; but of their faith he could have no assurance. Yet when *Ptolomy* requested them, and *Antigonus* bribed them to forsake him, they continued (though not without considering of the matter) to take his part. So he marched on, sending before him the Kings warrant; which *Pytho* and *Seleucus* refused to obey; not as rejecting the Kings authority, but excepting the person of *Eumenes*, as a man condemned to die by the *Macedonian* Army, for the death of *Craterus*. *Eumenes*, knowing well that he was not to rely upon their assistance, who stood otherwise affected than his affairs required, and were not to be dealt with by perswasion, sought passage by strong hand through the Country of *Babylon*, in such wise that *Seleucus*, having in vain assaied to hinder him, by opening the sluces of *Euphrates*, was glad at length to grant him friendly way, as desirous to be rid of him. Thus he came to *Peucestes* and the rest of the Eastern Lords, who were glad of his company, because of the differences between *Pytho*, *Seleucus*, and themselves. Yet the contention about superiority grew very hot among them, every one finding matter enough to feed his own humour of self-worthinesse. But the former device of assembling in one pavilion, made all quiet; the conclusion ever being sure to follow that which *Eumenes* propounded, who was both wisest in giving advice, and best able to reward, by means of the authority given him, to take what he pleased of the Kings treasures. By these means he won to himself many of those, who had most power to doe good or hurt.

§. II.

How Antigonus, *comming to set upon* Eumenes, *was driven off with losse.*

ANtigonus, hearing that *Eumenes* lay in the Province of *Susa*, had an earnest desire to follow him, and drive him further from the Kings treasures, which were kept there. To which end, as soon as he had made himself strong enough, he removed out of *Mesopotamia*, where he had wintered; and taking to him *Pytho* and *Seleucus*, with their men, he marched directly against the enemies, with intent to give them battell. *Eumenes* had fortified the Castle of *Susa*, and was retired back toward *Persia*, keeping the River of *Tigris* between him and his pursuers. The passages of the River were well guarded, and good espiall kept upon *Antigonus*, to observe which way he took.

Before he came to *Tigris* it self, he was to passe over *Coprates*, a great River, and not foordable, which he sought to doe by small vessels, whereof he had no great store. A great part of his Army had gotten over, when *Eumenes*, who kept a bridge upon *Tigris*, came with a thousand horse, and four thousand foot, to see their demeanour: and finding them out of order, charged them, brake them, and drave them headlong back into *Coprates*, wherein most of them were drowned; very few escaping with life, except four thousand that yeelded themselves prisoners in sight of *Antigonus*, that was not able to relieve them. This losse made *Antigonus* glad to fall off; and the heat of that Countrie in the dog-dayes, breeding diseases in his Army, by which many perished, caused him to remove as farre as into *Media*. So he took *Python* with him; (leaving *Seleucus* to besiege the Castle of *Susa*) and seeking to go the neerest way, passed through savage Nations, that continually vexing him with skirmishes, slew great numbers of his men, before he could arrive in *Media*, with his troups that were quite heart-broken.

§. III.

of Eumenes *his cunning. A battell between him and* Antigonus.

After his departure, *Eumenes* with his associates fell into consultation, about the remainder of their businesse. Fain he would have had them to enter upon those Provinces, which *Antigonus* had left behind him; to which also the Captains of the *Argyraspides* or *Silver shield* were very inclinable, as desiring to draw neerer to *Greece*. But *Peucestes*, and the rest, whose dominions lay in the high Countries, had more care of their own particular Estates, and would needs march Eastward. These carried it; for the Army was not strong enough to divide it self into parts.

When they came into *Persia*, *Peucestes*, ruling there, feasted them royally, and sought by all means to win the Souldiers love to himself. *Eumenes* perceiving whereunto those doings tended, suffered him a while to keep good chear, till the time of war drew neer. Then did he feign an Epistle, directed, as from *Orontes* Governor of *Armenia*, to *Peucestes* himself: The purport whereof was; that *Olympias* had vanquished *Cassander*, and sent over a great Army under *Polysperchon*, to joyn with *Eumenes*. These newes, as they filled the Camp with vain joy, so they wrought in all mens minds a great willingnesse to obey *Eumenes*, by whom was the likeliest appearance of their preferment; wherein they dealt wisely, hee being farre the most sufficient Commander, as they found soon after. For when *Antigonus*, comming out of *Media*, drew neer unto them, *Eumenes* by some mischance was fallen sick, and fain to be carried in a Litter; the Army marched in very bad array, and was likely to have been forced to take battell in that disorder. But *Eumenes*, when the rest of the Captains were amazed, was carried about the Army in his Litter, and upon the sudden did cast his men into so good form, that *Antigonus*, perceiving him a far off, could not refrain from giving him deserved commendations. Yet he did not cease to promise great rewards to the Captains, and all sorts of men, if they would forsake *Eumenes*: which hopes deceiving him, he came to the triall of a battell. *Eumenes* had more Elephants that *Antigonus*; otherwise, he was inferiour in number both of horse and foot by a third part. The battell was fought with variable successe, and great losse on both sides, continuing a great part of the day, and of the night following. Yet the victory was uncertain. For *Eumenes* could not force his men to lye farre from their carriages: by which means *Antigonus* (who had a more absolute command over his) incamping on the ground whereon they fought, had in his power the dead bodies; which was accounted the sign of victory; for he buried his own, and gave leave to his enemies craving it, to do the like. But a greater sign of victory had *Eumenes*. For he abode still in the same place, and not only buried his men very honourably, at great leisure, but held the Countrie round about; whereas *Antigonus* was glad (having tarried but one day) to steal away by night, and return into *Media*, from whence he came.

§. IV. *of*

§. IV.

Of divers stratagems practised by Antigonus, *and* Eumenes, *one against the other.*

THus did the Warre continue doubtfull, and was protracted to a greater length, each part having stout Souldiers, and skilfull Generalls: but the side which had hitherto prevailed, being hindred by the equall authority of many, from pursuing all advantages to the best, *Antigonus* grew daily weaker, in men and reputation, so that to repair himself he could find no way safer, than to put all to adventure. He knew that his enemies lay in their wintering places, quartered far asunder, so that if hee could suddenly come among them, he was likely to put them in great distresse. Between him and them, the way was not long, being only nine daies journey, but very bad through a rough drie wildernesse, hardly passable. Another way, fairer and leading through a Country well peopled, but requiring 25. daies journey, he forsook, partly for the length, partly, and chiefly, because he would come undiscovered. So therefore taking his journy in the dead of winter, he forbade unto his men the use of fire by night, because he would not have them descried a farre off. This commandement had been well observed four or five daies, when continuance of time (as commonly) breeding negligence, and the cold weather pinching them, they were bold to cherish themselves, being neer to their waies end. The light of these fires gave notice of their comming; which being reported to *Peucestes*, and other Captains, they were so astonished with the sudden danger, that in all haste they betook themselves to flight. But *Eumenes*, meeting with the newes, began to hearten his affrighted companions, promising to make *Antigonus* march leisurely, and willing them to abide, and draw up their men together. They could scarce believe him; yet they were content to be ruled, and did as he appointed, who failed not in making his word good. He took with him some companies of the readiest men, wherewith hee occupied certain tops of mountains, looking toward the Camp of *Antigonus*: there he chose a convenient ground to incamp upon, and made great store of fires in sundry places, as if the whole Armie had been present. This was a sorrowfull spectacle to *Antigonus*, who thought himself prevented of his purpose; and began to fear lest he should be compelled to fight, whilest his men were tired with a long and painfull journey. Therfore he resolved to turn aside, and take the way to such places, as might better serve to refresh his Army. This he did with great care and circumspection, at the first, as knowing how ready *Eumenes* would be upon all advantages. But after a while, considering that no enemy stirred about him, he began to pause, and think in himself, that somewhat or other was not fallen out according to his opinion. To be the better informed in the matter, he caused some Inhabitants of that desart to be taken, and brought before him; of whom hee learned, that they had seen no other Army than his thereabout, but onely a few men that kept fires on the hill tops. It vexed him exceedingly to find that hee had been so deluded. Therefore he went against these troups with great fury, meaning to take sharp vengeance on them, for having so deceived him. But by this time, sufficient strength was arrived there, which could not be forced without much businesse, and long stay. All the Army was come, save only *Eudamus*, Captain of the Elephants, who, besides those beasts, had no more than four hundred horsemen in his company. *Antigonus* hearing of this supply comming to his enemies, sent above two thousand horse, and all his light-armed foot-men, to cut it off by the way. *Eudamus* being fallen into this danger, was fain to place his Elephants round about his carriages, and so to defend himself as well as he could; for his horsemen, overlaied with multitudes, were quickly broken, and driven to run away upon the spurre. Neither knew they, who sate upon the Elephants, which way to turn them, for on all sides they received wounds, and were not able to requite them with the like. In this extremity there appeared brave troups of horse and foot, that came unexpected to the rescue; and charging the assailants upon the back, drave them to seek their own safety by speedy flight. These were sent by *Eumenes*; who though he knew not what his adversary meant to do, yet he knew very well what was fittest for him to doe: and therefore, playing both games himself, provided the remedy.

§. V. *The*

§. V.

The conspiracie of Peucestes *and others, against* Eumenes *his life.*

BY these means *Eumenes* wonne great honour, and was by the whole Army acknowledged a most expert Generall, and well worthy of the chief command. But *Peucestes*, and the other Captains, guilty of their own much insufficiency, were so transported with envie, that they could no longer contain their vile thoughts, but held communication, as upon a necessary point, how they might find means to murder him.

Surely, it is great injustice to impute the mischief contrived against worthy men, to their own proud carriage, or some other ill deserving: For, though it often happen, that small vices do serve to counterpoise great vertues; (the sense of evill being more quick and lasting than of good) yet he shall bewray a very foolish malice, that, wanting other testimonie, will think it a part of wisedome, to find good reason of the evills done to vertuous men, which oftentimes have no other cause than vertue it self. *Eumenes*, among many excellent qualities, was noted to be of singular courtesie, of a very sweet conversation among his friends, and carefull by all gentle means to win their love, that seemed to bear him any secret ill affection. It was his meer vertue that overthrew him, which even they that sought his life acknowledged. For they concluded that he should not be slain, before the battell were fought with *Antigonus*, wherein they confessed that it stood best with their safety, to be governed by his direction. Of this treason he was quickly advertised by *Endamus*, to whom he had done many pleasures, and by some others of whom he used to borrow money when he needed not, to the end that they should be carefull of his good, for fear of losing their own. Considering therefore, and discoursing with himself of the villany intended against him, he made his last Will, and burnt all his Writings that contained any matter of secret: which done, hee revolved many things in his mind; being doubtfull what course he were best to follow. All the Nobles of the Empire stood ill affected to the Royall bloud, excepting those which were with him, that were more in number than in worth. How things at that time stood in *Macedon* and *Greece*, either he knew not, or, knowing the truth, knew nothing that might incourage him to seek their help, that needed his. To make his own peace with *Antigonus*, had been against his faith to *Olympias*, and the Princes, that had committed this great power into his hands. For which cause also it may be thought, that he forbare either to lose the battell willingly, or to flie into *Cappadocia*, and make shift for himself among his old friends. At length he resolved to do his best against the common enemy, and afterwards to look to himself as well as he might.

§. VI.

The last battell between Antigonus *and* Eumenes.

THe Souldiers, especially those old bands of the *Silver-shields*, finding *Eumenes* perplexed, and not knowing the cause, entreated him not to doubt of the victory, but onely to bring them into the field, and set them in array; for the rest, they alone would take sufficient order. The like alacritie was generally found in the common Souldiers faces; but the chief Commanders were so mischievously bent against him, that they could not endure to think of being beholding to him for the victory. Yet hee ordered the battell so well, that, without their own great fault, they could hardly fail of getting the upper hand.

Before the Armies came to joyning, a horse-man from the side of *Eumenes*, proclamed with a loud voice unto the followers of *Antigonus*, That their wickednes in fighting against their own Fathers, would now be punished, as it well deserved. This was not spoken in vain. For the *Silver-shields* were men of threescore or seventy yeers old, and strengthened more by continuall exercise, than decayed by age, and excelling in courage, as having passed through greater dangers, than any like to bee presented in that fight.

Therefore *Antigonus* his men (who had often been beaten by them, and were now to trie their last hope with these resolute warriours, the most Ancient and best regarded of all

all *Alexanders* Souldiers) grew very pensive, and advanced heavily, suspecting their own cause, and fearing that the threatnings uttered would prove true.

Antigonus was now again far the stronger in horse, which gave him cause of great hope; the ground, on which they were to fight, being a plain levelled field. Placing therefore himself and his son *Demetrius* in the right wing, and committing the left wing to *Python*, he did set forward couragiously against the Enemies, that were ready to give him a sharp entertainment.

Eumenes took unto him *Peucestes*, with the rest of the Lords, and stood in the left wing of his battail, in the face of *Antigonus*; meaning both to prevent the Traitors, his Companions, of all means to make head against him on the sudden; and (withall) to give proof of his own valour, which perhaps he should no more doe, in the face of all his Enemies. In the right wing, opposite unto *Python*, he bestowed the weakest of his horse and Elephants, under one *Philip*, an honest man, and (which was enough at such a time) obedient: commanding him to protract the fight, and make a reasonable retrait, expecting the event of the other side.

So they joyned very fiercely; *Antigonus*, labouring to make himself master of all; *Eumenes*, to die an honourable death, or to win such a victory upon his open enemies, as might give him leisure and opportunity to deal with his false friends.

The footmen of *Antigonus*, being even in their own opinions, far inferiour to those whom they must encounter, were at the first brunt presently defeated by the *Silver-shields*, who slew above five thousand of them, losing of their own not one man. But in Horse, *Eumenes* was so over-matched, that he could not repell *Antigonus*, who pressed him very hard, but was fain to stand wholly upon defence. Yet his courage wrought so well by example, among his followers, that the Enemy could not win one foot of ground upon him, untill such time as *Peucestes*, with one thousand five hundred Horse, withdrew himself out of the battell, leaving his companions fighting to defend his back.

Then did *Eumenes* desperately rush amongst his Enemies, labouring to break open the way unto *Antigonus* himself. And though he failed of his purpose; yet with great slaughter he did so beat upon them which came in his way, that the victory hung a long time in suspence, uncertain which way to incline.

The ground whereon they fought, being of a slight sandie mould, through the trampling of horses, men, and Elephants, did cast up such a cloud of dust, as hindred the prospect, so that no man could see what was done a little from him. *Antigonus* finding this advantage, dispatched away some companies of horse, that passed undiscovered beyond *Eumenes* his battails, and came to his carriages, which lay about half a mile from the place of fight, slenderly guarded, (for that the whole body of the Army lay between them and danger) and therefore easily taken. Had *Peucestes* retired himself no further than unto the carriages, he might not onely have defended them, but peradventure have surprised those which came to surprise them, and so have done as good a piece of service as a better man. But he was gotten somewhat further, to a place, where out of danger he might expect the event: and *Eumenes* was so over-laboured both in body and mind, that he could not possibly give an eye to every place, being not well able to continue where he was.

It happened so, that the Elephants meeting together, those of *Antigonus* had the better hand; whereupon *Eumenes*, finding himself every way over-charged, began to give back, and withdrew himself and his companies in good order, to the other side of the battail, where *Philip* (as he was directed) had by fighting and retiring together, kept that wing from losse. The *Antigonians* had felt so much of *Eumenes* that day, that they were well content to let him depart quietly, and wished not to see him come again, as fain he would have done.

The losse of the carriages was reported unto him, as soon as he had any leisure to hear how things went: whereupon he presently ordered his men for a fresh charge, and sent for *Peucestes* that was not far off, requesting him to bring in his men, and renew the fight, whereby he trusted, not only to recover their own goods, but to enrich themselves with the spoils of the enemies. *Peucestes* not onely refused to joyn with him, but immediately withdrew himself into a safer place, where he might be further from such dangerous temptations.

By

By this the night grew on; and both Armies, wearied with fighting, were desirous to return into their Camps. Yet *Antigonus* conceived hope of doing somewhat more, and therefore taking half his horsemen, he waited upon *Eumenes* a part of his way homewards, but found no opportunity to offend him: the other half he committed to *Python*, willing him to set upon the *Silver-shields* in their retrait; which yet he forbare to doe, because it appeared too full of danger. So the battail ended; wherein *Antigonus* had not so much the better in horse, as the worse in foot: but the spoil which he got, by surprising his enemies carriages, made amends for all his other losses.

§. VII.

How Eumenes *was betrayed to* Antigonus, *and slain.*

Eumenes, comming into his Camp, and finding the *Silver-shields* extremely discontented with their misfortune, began to cheer them up, and put them in hope of recovering all with advantage. For their brave demeanour that day had so crushed the enemy, that he had no power left, wherewith to abide them in open field, and was much lesse able to draw their Carts after him, through that great wilderneſſe, over the high mountains.

But these perswasions availed nothing. *Peucestes* was gone; the other Captains would needs return into the high Countries; and the Souldiers had no desire either to flie or to fight, but onely to recover their goods. Wherefore *Teutamus*, one of the two Captains of the *Silver-shields*, (who had in former times readily consented unto traiterous motions, in hope of gain, but was letted by his partner *Antigenes*) finding, as he thought, a fit occasion of making himself great, and winning the love of those bands, dealt secretly with *Antigonus*, requesting him to restore unto those old Souldiers their goods, which he had taken, being the onely reward of their services, in the wars of *Philip* and *Alexander*.

Antigonus, as a subtile man, knew very well, that they which requested more than they had reason to expect, would also with little entreatie, perform a great deal more than they promised; and therefore he lovingly entertained the messengers, filling them with hopes of far greater matter than they desired, if they would put *Eumenes* into his hands, by whom they were seduced to make war against him. This answer pleased them so well, that they forthwith devised how to deliver him alive. Wherefore comming about him, as at other times, to do their dutie, and pretending more joy of their victory, than sorrow of their losse, which they said they would redeem by another fight; in the middest of this goodly talk, they leapt upon him, caught hold of his sword, and bound him fast. So they haled him away; and stopping their ears against all perswasions, would not yeeld so far, as to loosen one of his hands, and let him kill himself, but brought him alive (that was their own Generall, under whom they had obtained many victories) as it had been in triumph, into the Camp of their enemies.

The presse of men, running out of the Camp to see him, was so great, that *Antigonus* was fain to send a guard of horse-men and Elephants, to keep him from being smothered; whom he could not suddenly resolve, either to kill or save. Very few they were that sued for his life, but of these, *Demetri* the son of *Antigonus* was one; the rest were desirous to be rid of him quickly; thinking belike, that if he were saved, he would soon be the chief in reputation, for his great ability. So after long deliberation, *Antigonus* concluded that it was the safest way to put him to death; which intending to have done by famine (perhaps because he would keep it a while in his own power, to reverse the sentence, as desiring, if it might be, to have him live his friend) haste of other businesse made him doe it by the sword.

To this end came all the travails of that worthy Generall *Eumenes*; who had with great wisdome, fidelity, and patience, laboured in vain to uphold the family which God had purposed to cast down. He is reckoned among the notable examples of Fortunes mutability, but more notable was his government of himself, in all her changes. Adversity never lessened his courage, nor prosperity his circumspection. But all his vertue, industrie, and wit, were cast away, in leading an Army, without full power, to keep it in due obedience. Therefore it was not ill answered by *Gaspar de Coligny*, Admirall of *France* in our daies, to one that foretold his death, which ensued soon after in the massacre

sacre of *Paris*; That rather than to lead again an Army of Voluntaries, he would die a thousand times.

Antigonus himself gave to the body of *Eumenes* honourable Funerall; and rewarded the Treason, wrought against him, with deserved vengeance. One chief Captain of the *Silver-shields* he burnt alive; many of the other Captains he slew; and to the whole multitude of the *Silver-shields*, that had betraied so worthy a Commander, he appointed a Leader that should carry them into far Countries, under pretence of wars; but with a privie charge, to consume them all, as perjured wretches, letting none of them return alive unto his friends and kindred, or so much as once behold the Seas that beat upon the shores of *Greece* and *Macedon*.

§. VIII.

How Antigonus *slew* Python, *and occupied* Media. *How he removed Governours of Provinces, and made himself Lord of* Persia, *carrying away* Peucestes.

THe two Armies being joyned thus in one, were carried into *Media*, where they spent the rest of the Winter: the common Souldier idly; the principall men intentively bent unto the businesse ensuing. *Python* began to consider his own deservings; for the whole war had been chiefly maintained by the strength and riches of his Province. Besides, he thought himself as good a man as *Antigonus*, unlesse it were in the Souldiers opinion, which he judged easie to be purchased with gifts, and therefore spared not to assay them with great liberality. But in following this course he was driven by necessity to trust many, of whom he stumbled upon some, that were unsecret, and others, bearing him no sincere affection. Thus was his purpose discovered to *Antigonus*, who (nothing like to *Python*) dissembled his indignation, and rebuked the informers, as breeders of dissention between him, and his honourable friend, unto whom he meant to commit the Government of all those Countries: his own businesse calling him into the lower *Asia*. These reports, comming daily to his ears, did finely delude *Python*. By his greatnesse with *Alexander*; his authority in that Province where they lay, whereof he was Governour; and the love of the Souldiers which he had bought with money; he was strong enough to maintain, even an offensive war. But what need had he to use the sword, when he was likely without contention, to obtain more than his own asking? Therefore he came as soon as he was sent for, to take his farewell of *Antigonus*, and to divide the Provinces with him, that meant nothing lesse than to yeeld to any such division. As soon as he came, he was taken, and accused, condemned to die, and slain out of hand. For *Antigonus*, having begun with *Eumenes* his ancient friend, was not afterward restrained by any consideration of old acquaintance, from cutting down indifferently all that stood in his way: but swam carelesly through the bloud, wherein at the first he doubtfully waded.

When this businesse was ended, he appointed a new Governour in *Media*, to order the Province, and a Captain, to suppresse all commotions: thinking belike, that the power and authority, so divided, would hardly agree in one against him, from whom both were derived.

After this he marched into *Persia*, where he was entertained as absolute Lord of *Asia*. There began he to shew how well he understood his own mightinesse. For he placed and displaced at his owvn pleasure, Governors in all Provinces, leaving none in Office, that were not his own creatures, except such as lay too far off to bee dislodged easily.

Peucestes, who ruled in *Persia*, thought with good cheer to redeem old offences, but was deceived, having to doe with one that could not be taken with such baits: hee was carried away, and feasted with goodly words of promise, that never after took effect. Thus he, that envied the vertue of his friend, was driven to flatter (in vain) the fortune of his enemie, after which he led a most contemptible life, till he died obscurely a man forgotten.

§. IX. *How*

§. IX.

How Seleucus *was chased out of* Babylon *by* Antigonus. *The great riches of* Antigonus.

Seleucus was the next in this visitation; one that had from time to time continued in the same tenor of good will to *Antigonus*, and now gave proof of his hearty affection toward him, by making the Captain of the Castle of *Susa* to meet him on the way, rendring unto him that strong Peece, and all the treasures therein bestowed. This offer was so great, that *Antigonus* (though having in his hands the Keeper of the place) could hardly beleeve it; but used him with excessive kindnesse, for fear so good a mood should change. In that Castle he found all the treasures of *Alexander*, with the Jewels of the *Persian* Kings, which, added to his former store of mony, made up 15. thousand talents. Having all this, he might well account himself a happy man, if riches were sufficient to happinesse. But large dominion was the marke at which he aimed; therefore he proceeded, with intent to leave no Country behind his back, that should not acknowledge him for Soveraign Lord. Comming to *Babylon*, he was entertained by *Seleucus* with all possible demonstration of love, and honoured with presents beseeming the Majesty of a King. All this he accepted with great gravity, as being due to him; and began to require an account of the revenues of that Province. This demand *Seleucus* held unreasonable; saying, That it was not deedfull for him to render unto any man an account of that Province, which was given unto him, in respect of his many good services to the State. But whether he spake reason or no, it sufficed, that *Antigonus* was powerfull; who urged him daily to come to a reckoning. Manifest it was, that neither want of money, nor any other necessity, moved *Antigonus* to presse him thus, but onely the desire to pick matter of quarrell against him, whereof it was likely that he should find such issue, as *Python* and *Peucestes* had done. Therefore taking with him only fifty horse, he conveyed himself away, and fled into *Ptolomies* Dominions; desiring him to protect him from such a man as went about to oppresse all, that in former times had been his betters, or at least his equalls. *Antigonus* was glad of his flight; for now all those Countries were yeelded unto him without battail, whereas to fight with *Seleucus* for them, he wanted all pretence; and to kill him it was not his desire, having received many benefits of him, and those not intermixed, as commonly it happens, with any injuries. Yet it is reported, that the *Chaldæans* brought a strange Prophecie to *Antigonus*, bidding him look well to himself, and know, that if *Seleucus* did escape his hands, he should recover *Babylon*, yea, win all *Asia*, and kill *Antigonus* in battail. Easie beleevers may give credit to this tale. Had it been true, methinks, *Antigonus* rather should have hanged those *Chaldæans*, for giving him no warning till it was too late, than sent pursuers (as they say that he did) after him, whom the destinies preserved for so great purposes. When he had setled things at *Babylon*, he took his journy into *Cilicia*, where he wintered. There he took up ten thousand talents more of the Kings treasures, and casting his accounts, found his yearly in-come to amount unto eleven thousand Talents.

Chap. V.

Of the great War between Alexanders *Captains: and how they assumed the name and state of Kings.*

§. I.

The combination of Ptolomy, Cassander, *and others against* Antigonus. *Their demands, and his answer.*

His great riches, and the rest of his power, made *Antigonus* dreaded, envied, and suspected, whereby he quickly was embarked in a new War. *Ptolomie*, *Cassander*, and *Lysimachus*, had privily combined themselves together, intending to hinder his further growth, and bring him to more reason than of his own accord he seemed like to yeeld unto. Of their practices he had some notice; the good

good entertainment given unto *Seleucus*, giving him sufficient cause of mistrust. Therefore he sent Embassadors to them severally, entreating them to continue firm in their love toward him, that would be ready to requite them with the like. The cold answers which they made, occasioned his hasty preparation against the most forward of them, which was *Ptolomy*, it being likely that a good Army should prevail more than a fair message. Therefore, as soon as the season of the year would permit, he took the way toward *Syria*, & was encountred by Embassage from them all. These told him, that their Lords did much rejoyce at his victory, obtained against *Eumenes* their common enemy, and the honour that he had thereby gotten. In which war, forasmuch as they being his Confederates, must have endured great losse, with hazard of their whole Estates, if the contrary faction had prevailed; they held it very just, that all should be partakers in the fruits of that voyage, wherein they had been all adventurers. Wherefore they desired him, that making between them all an equall division of the treasures that were in his hands, (a thing easie to be done) he would also take some convenient order for enlarging their Dominions, according to the rate of his new purchaces. This might best be to every ones liking, if he would make over *Cappadocia*, with *Lycia*, to *Cassander*; and *Phrygia*, bordering upon the *Hellespont*, to *Lysimachus*: for whereas his own Dominions were so much extended Eastward by his late victory, he might well spare some of those Western Provinces, to those that were seated in the West. As for *Ptolomy*, he would not crave any new addition, but rest contented within his own Territories. Provided alwaies, that *Seleucus* their common friend, and partner in the late warre, might be restored to his own, out of which he had been driven so injuriously, that all of them were forced to take it deeply to heart; requiring amends, with his friendly consent unto their demands, which otherwise they must labour to obtain with armed hands.

Antigonus knew, that after many losses received, hee should yet be able to redeem peace whensoever he lifted, with these, or perhaps with easier conditions. Neither was hee so weak, to give away quietly any part of his strength into the hands of such bad friends, for fear only, lest it should be taken from him perforce. Rather he hoped that he should be able to find them work, more than enough to defend their own. Therefore he roundly answered the Embassadours, that it was no part of his meaning to communicate with other men the profit of that victory, which he alone without other mens help had obtained. Though indeed they had already sufficiently gained by him, if they could see it, having by his means kept their governments, whereof they were like to be dispossessed by *Polisperchon*, and the councell of estate in *Macedon*. But what marvell was it, if they considered not how he had saved them, seeing one of them had forgotten the time, when comming to him as a fugitive, and begging succour, he was by his meer bounty relieved, and enabled to get all that he now held? *Cassander* did not (said he) in those dayes command me to surrender Provinces, and give him his equall share of my treasures; but (for his Fathers sake) desired me to pitty him, and help him against his enemies: which I did; by lending him an army, and Fleet, on confidence whereof hee now presumes to threaten me. As for *Seleucus*, how can he complain of wrong, that durst not stay to plead his right? I did use him well; but his conscience told him that he had deserved ill: else he would not have fled. Let them that so curiously search into my doings, consider well their own, which some of them can hardly justifie. I am now in the way to *Syria*, meaning to examine *Ptolomies* proceedings, and after him to deal with others, if they continue to provoke me.

§. II.

The preparation and beginnings of the Wars.

WHen the Embassadours were dismissed with this answer, nothing was thought upon but Warre. *Antigonus* perceiving that he should be invaded from *Europe*, as soon as he was entred into *Syria*; left his Nephew *Ptolomy* to guard the Sea-coast, and hinder *Cassander* from landing in *Asia*: giving him also charge, to drive out of *Cappadocia* some that were alreadie sent over to molest him. Likewise he dispatched Messengers into *Greece* and *Cyprus*, not unfurnished of money; to draw friends to his side, and raise up troubles to his enemies. Especially, he laboured to

make himself the strongest by Sea; to which purpose he rather hastened, than foreslowed his journy into *Syria*, that he might get possession of Mount *Libanus*, which afforded many excellent cõmodities for building of a Navie. Therfore, having erected Beacons, & laid post-horses throughout all *Asia*, to give swift advertisement of all occurrences, he invaded *Syria*, that was not held against him by any power sufficient to maintain the field.

Ptolomy lay in *Egypt*, the strength and heart of his Dominion, where he was beloved and honoured of the people as their naturall Lord: his other Provinces he kept with a few Garrisons, better serving to contain the people within obedience, than to confront a forreign enemy. So *Antigonus* took many Cities and Places of that Country, and began to set great numbers of Artificers on work in making ships, which was one of his most earnest cares. In these businesses he consumed a year and three moneths; not idly. For hee took *Joppe*, and *Gaza*, which were yeelded unto his discretion, and well used. The strong City of *Tyrus* held out long, but was compelled in the end by famine, to render it self upon composition, that *Ptolomies* Souldiers might depart with their Arms; which was permitted.

Ptolomy was not asleep, whilest these things were in doing, though he kept himself within the bounds of *Egypt*, as indeed it behooved him to doe. His forces were not able to stand against *Antigonus* in plain field, but likely they were to increase, which made him willing to protract the time. Nevertheless by Sea (where his enemy was as yet unready) he sent his Fleet into all quarters, whereof *Seleucus* had the chief command.

Seleucus passed with an hundred sail along the coast of *Syria*, in the full view of *Antigonus*, and his Army, to their no little discomfort. He landed in *Cyprus*, which was then governed by many petty Lords; of whom the greatest adhered to *Ptolomy*, the rest were by the Factors of *Antigonus*, bought for him with gold, but now redeemed by the *Egyptian* with sharp steel.

The same commodity of aid by Sea encouraged the President of *Caria* (called also *Cassander*, but not the son of *Antipater*, howsoever by the painfull and learned writer *Reinerus Reineccius*, he is, by some oversight, counted for the same) to declare for *Ptolomy* and his Confederates, and busily employ in their quarrell all his forces, which he had hitherto kept in good neutrality, and thereby enjoyed rest; but now he threw himself into dangerous war, choosing rather to undergoe trouble at hand, than to fall under certain ruine, though somewhat further distant, which would have overwhelmed him, if *Antigonus* had beaten all the rest.

§. III.

How each party sought to win the assistance of Greece. Antigonus *his declaration against* Cassander. Alexander *the son of* Polysperchon *revolteth from* Antigonus *who had set him up.*

IN the mean season all care possible was taken on both sides, to assure unto them the people of *Greece*, whose aid, which way soever inclined, was of great importance. Herein at the first, *Antigonus* sped so well by large effusion of his treasure, that he drew to him the *Lacedæmonians*, and other *Peloponnesians*, of whom he waged eight thousand, and caused *Polysperchon* (who had a good while made hard shifts) to rowse himself again, and taking upon him the title of Captain of *Peloponnesus*, to make head against *Cassander*.

These hopefull beginnings encouraged him to proceed further in the same kind. Wherefore to make *Cassander* the more odious, he called together both his own Souldiers, and all the *Greeks* and *Macedonians* that were to be found thereabouts. To these he declared, that *Cassander* had very cruelly slain *Olympias*, mother to the great *Alexander*, and not herewith contented, had shut up in close prison the poor Lady *Roxane*, *Alexanders* wife, and his sonne begotten on her body. That all this proceeded from a desire to make himself King over the *Macedonians*; which well appeared by his enforcing the Lady *Thessalonica*, Daughter to King *Philip*, a match unfit for a man of no greater parentage than he, to joyn with him in marriage. That in meer despight of those dead Princes, *Philip* and *Alexander*, he had planted the *Olynthians*, rooted out by *Philip*, in a new City by him built, and called by his own name *Cassandria*; and had re-edified the City of *Thebes*, which for the great treason of the Inhabitants, was levelled with the ground

by

by the victorious hand of *Alexander*. For theſe reaſons he required them to make a decree, that *Caſſander* ſhould reſtore to abſolute liberty the Lady *Roxane*, and her ſon; and ſhould yeeld obedience to the Lord Lieutenant Generall of the Empire, (by which name *Antigonus* himſelf was underſtood) or elſe ſhould be reputed a Traitor, and open Enemie to the State. Furthermore he propounded, that all the Cities of *Greece* ſhould be reſtored into freedome: this hee did, not becauſe he was carefull of their good, but for the need which he had of their aſſiſtance.

Theſe things being decreed, *Antigonus* was perſwaded, that not onely the *Greeks* would adhere unto him, as to their loving Patron, and fall off from *Caſſander*; but that the rulers of Provinces, who had hitherto ſuſpected him as a man regardfull of nothing but his own benefit, would correct their opinion, and think him the moſt faithfull of all others to the Royall bloud. But concerning his loyalty to the young Prince, the world was too wiſe to be deceived with vain ſhews. His undertaking for the liberty of the *Greeks* was more effectuall, and got eaſie belief, in regard of his preſent hatred to *Caſſander*. Yet herein alſo *Ptolomie* ſtrove to be as earneſt as he, making the like decree, in hope to win to himſelf that valiant Nation, which afforded men far more ſerviceable in war, than were to be found in any Province of the Empire.

And this indeed was the point at which both ſides aimed. Wherein *Antigonus* thinking to make all ſure, deceived himſelf, not without great coſt. For he gave to *Alexander* the ſon of *Polyſperchon* five hundred talents, willing him to ſet the war on foot in *Peloponneſus*, whereby it might appear, that on his ſide was meant nothing elſe, than what was openly pretended.

In *Peloponneſus*, *Caſſanders* men had with much bloud-ſhed, grievouſly afflicted the contrary faction, and he himſelf perceiving, that they were more eaſily ſpoiled as enemies, than retained as friends, thought it the beſt way to make what uſe he could of them, that were not long like to continue his. Finally, perceiving that *Alexander* came furniſhed with plentie of gold, wherewith he was able, not onely to win the doubtfull, but to corrupt ſuch as might ſeem beſt aſſured; he thought it a part of wiſedome, to ſurrender upon fair conditions, that which he could not aſſure himſelf to hold any long time by force. Therefore he ſent one to deal with *Alexander* about the matters in controverſie, telling him, that *Antigonus* was very skilfull in ſetting men together by the ears, not caring who prevailed, but only deſiring to have them weary themſelves, whileſt he was buſied elſewhere; that ſo at length he might find opportunity to ſet upon the ſtronger. If therefore *Alexander* were ſo wiſe, as to keep in his purſe the five hundred talents which he had, and without ſtroke ſtriken, to receive the whole Lordſhip of *Peloponneſus*, it ſhould be freely put into his hands by *Caſſander*: Provided, that he ſhould from thenceforth renounce all confederacy made with *Antigonus*, and enter into a ſure and faithfull league with *Ptolomy*, *Caſſander*, and the reſt of the Confederates. Otherwiſe he might well perſwade himſelf, that the Country which his Father could not keep, when he was indeed the Lieutenant of the Empire, ſhould not in haſte be won by him, that was onely the Factor of a proud injurious man, ſo ſtiling himſelf, but not acknowledged by others.

Alexander had lived a while with *Antigonus* ſince the begining of theſe wars; among whoſe followers it was not hard to diſcover the intent, (which he did not carry very ſecret) of making himſelf abſolute Lord of all. Therefore he was ſoon entreated to accept ſo good an offer; and did not ſtick to enter into that league, whereby he was to become a free Lord, and ſubject unto no mans controll.

Howbeit, this his honour continued not long, ere he loſt both it and his life together, by treaſon of the *Sicyonians*; who thinking thereby to have made themſelves free, were ſoon after vanquiſhed in battail by *Crateſipolis*, *Alexanders* wife, a diſcreet and valiant Lady. She in revenge of her husbands death, crucified thirty of the Citizens taken in fight; and having by ſeverity taught them obedience, did afterwards continue her Army in good order, and governed thoſe places that ſhe held, with the commendation of her Subjects and Neighbours.

§. IIII.

The Ætolians *rise against* Cassander *in favour of* Antigonus, *and are beaten. A fleet and land-army of* Antigonus *utterly defeated by* Ptolomies *Lieutenant. In what termes the war stood at this time.* Antigonus *draws neerer to* Greece.

Antigonus, when he found, that with so much money he had only bought an enemy, began to raise troubles to *Cassander* and his other adversaries in *Greece*, by stirring up the *Ætolians* against them: Likewise he laboured to win to his party the Ilands in the *Greek* Seas, by whose assistance he might be the better able to deal with *Ptolomy*, that greatly prevailed by reason of his strong Fleet. But neither of these attempts had the successe which he expected. The *Ætolians*, a factious Nation, and alwaies envying the greatnesse of their Neighbours, were often in commotion, but so, that commonly their gains equalled not their losses. *Cassander* wan some of their own Country, fortified the *Acarnanians* against them, and compelled *Glaucias*, King of the *Illyrians*, whom he vanquished in battail, to forsake their side, and bind himself to bear no Armes against *Cassanders* friends.

On the other side, as many petty Ilands were drawn to joyn with *Antigonus*: so the Fleet of the Rhodians under *Theodatus*, who was Admirall to *Antigonus*, passing along the coast of *Asia* towards *Cyprus*, with an Army under conduct of *Perilaus* marching on the shore for mutuall assistance, was quite overthrown by *Ptolomies* Navie. *Polyclytus*, who in *Ptolomies* behalf had been sent into *Peloponnesus* against *Alexander*, finding no need of his service in that Country, because *Alexander* was come over to their side, returned homewards, and by the way heard of the course which these *Antigonians* held, whom he very cunningly surprised. He rode with his Fleet behind a Cape, which the enemies were to double; his Land-forces he placed in ambush, whereinto *Perilaus* falling was taken prisoner, with many of his men, and many were slain, making little resistance. *Theodat* the Admirall perceiving this, made all haste to help his fellows that were on Land, but whilest he with all his Fleet were intentive onely to that businesse, *Polyclytus* appeared at their backs; who as soon as he perceived their disorder, hastened about the Cape, and charging them behind, suffered not one of them to escape him. These ill tidings caused *Antigonus* to deal with *Ptolomy* about some composition. First, he sent Embassadors; afterwards they met in person. But *Antigonus* would not yeeld unto the demands of *Ptolomy*: so the parley was vain.

Hitherto each part seemed to have indifferently sped in the war, and thereby to have equall cause of hope and fear. This late victory, with the good successe of his affairs in *Cyprus*, did seem to make amends to *Ptolomy* for his losses in *Syria*. Likewise the revolt of *Alexander* from *Antigonus* did equall the confederacy made between the *Ætolians* and him; as also those petty skirmishes, that had been in *Asia* the lesse, to *Antigonus* his advantage, were sufficiently recompensed by others of like regard, but adverse to him, and by the troubles brought upon his estates in those parts by the two *Cassanders*.

Contrariwise, *Antigonus* valued the losse of his men, mony, and ships, no otherwise than as the paring of his nails, that were left long enough, and would easily grow anain, but the enlargement of his Territory by addition of *Syria*, he prized at a higher rate; as if thereby he had fed upon a limb of *Ptolomy* his enemy, and strengthened the body of his own Empire. Concerning other accidents, whereof the good were hitherto sufficient to counterpoize the bad, he meant to proceed as occasion should direct, which commonly is not long wanting to them, that want no mony.

That which most molested him, was the attempts of his enemies upon *Asia* the lesse; wherein though as yet they had gotten little, yet had he cause to fear, lest the people, being tied unto him by no bond of allegeance, might upon small occasion revolt from him, to men of as honourable reputation as he himself. To prevent this, and to be neerer to *Greece*, he held it expedient for him to be there in person, where his affairs did seem to prosper the worse, by reason of his absence. Therefore he left part of his Army in *Syria* under his son *Demetrius*, to whom, being then but two and twenty yeers old, he appointed many ancient Captains as assistants, or rather as Directors: the rest he carried with him into *Phrygia*, where he meant to winter.

§. V. *How*

§. V.

How Lysimachus *and* Cassander *vanquished some enemies, raised against them by* Antigonus. *The good successe of* Antigonus *in* Asia *and* Greece: *with the rebellion of many Cities against* Cassander.

THe comming of *Antigonus* into those parts, wrought a great alteration in the processe of his businesse thereabouts. For his enemies had short leisure to think upon molesting him in *Asia*: they themselves were held over-hardly to their own work on *Europe* side. *Seuthes* a King of the *Thracians*, joyning with some Towns that rebelled against *Lysimachus*, brought also the bordering *Scythians* into the quarrell. All these relied upon *Antigonus*, who was to help them with money and other aid. The *Ætolians* likewise took courage, and rose against *Cassander*, having *Æacides*, lately restored to the Kingdome of *Epirus*, their assistant. But *Lysimachus* gave unto his Rebells no time to confirm themselves. He suddenly presented himself before two of the Cities that had rebelled, and compelled them by fear to return unto their former duty. Hee fought a battell with the *Scythians*, and wilde *Thracians*, and drave them out of the Countrey. Finally, hee overcame *Seuthes*; and following the heat of his victory, slew *Pausanias* in battell, whom *Antigonus* had sent over with an Armie; and all his men he did either put to ransome, or fill up with them his own Bands. The like successe had *Philip*, *Cassanders* Lieutenant, against the *Ætolians*. For hee wasted their Countrey; fought with the *Epirotes*, that came to help them: and after the victory, fought again with their forces joyned in one, overthrowing them, and killing *Æacides* that unfortunate King. Finally, he drave the *Ætolians* out of most of their Country, and forced them ro seek their safety among the wilde Mountains. Of the *Epirotes* hee sent as prisoners to *Cassander*, the principall authors of the Kings restitution, and of the present War.

Yet these actions required some time, and wearied *Antigonus* his adversaries with painfull travell; after which they remained onely savers. *Antigonus* himself at fair leisure wan all *Caria* the whilest, and sent Armies into *Peloponnesus*, and other parts of *Greece*, bestowing liberty upon all the Cities hee took out of *Cassanders* hands. The whole Country of *Peloponnesus* (excepting *Sicyon* and *Corinth*) with the Isle of *Eubœa*, and many places of the firm Land, were by those means won to be his in true and vehement affection, ready to doe or suffer any thing for him that had made so evident a demonstration of his readinesse, to give them the liberty indeed, which others had promised in idle words. Many States desirous of the same benefit, would fain have shewed their good will; but they were kept in by *Cassanders* Garrisons, who was too wise to trust them loose. Therefore *Antigonus* made shew as if hee would passe over into *Macedon*: by which terrour he forced *Cassander* to repair thither in all haste, with the best of his strength, leaving many good Towns of *Greece* so weakly guarded, that well they might take courage to help themselves, if any forreign succour appeared. The aid which they desired was not long wanting. The Lieutenant of *Antigonus*, taking the advantage of *Cassanders* departure, entred the Country; drave his Garrisons out of divers Cities; forced the Governour of *Athens* to enter into league with their Lord; wanne the Citadell of *Thebes*; and set the people at liberty. This last action was somewhat remarkeable. For *Thebes* had not long before been raised out of her old-ruines by the meer power of *Cassander*; of which act hee was accused by *Antigonus*, as if it had been some hainous crime. Yet now the same *Antigonus* winneth the City, and the love of the Inhabitants, onely by expelling him that was their Founder. So much are men readier to thank the Increaser, than the Author of their good; and rather to look forward upon those hopes, which vainly they extend beyond all measure, than backward upon their miserable nullity, that held them uncapable of being any thing.

§. VI.

Victories of Ptolomy *by Sea. A great battell at* Gaza, *which* Ptolomy *and* Seleucus *wan, against* Demetrius *the sonne of* Antigonus.

AS the presence or neerenesse of *Antigonus* gave life to his affairs in the lower *Asia* and *Greece*; so the designes of his enemies, taking advantage of his absence, ruined the very foundations of those great works in the Eastern parts, wherewith in the year preceding he had over-topped them. The Isle of *Cyprus*, whose Princes wavered between contrary affections, inclining one while to *Antigonus*, another while faintly regarding their covenant with *Ptolomy*, was visited by an *Egyptian* Fleet, wherewith *Ptolomy*, in his own person easily reduced them to a more setled order, putting some to death, carrying others away prisoners, and leaving a Lieutenant of his own appointment, Governour of the whole Country. With the same Fleet he ran alongst the Sea-coasts, wasting a great part of *Caria* and *Cilicia*, with the spoiles of which he enriched his followers, and returned loaden to *Cyprus*. *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus*, hearing frequent reports of the miseries, wherewith his Fathers subjects were oppressed, made all haste out of *Syria* to the rescue, taking only his Horses and light-armed Foot with him, because the businesse required expedition. But in vain did hee tire himself and his followers, in hasty seeking of one, that by lanching out into the deep, could in a few minutes delude the labour of so many dayes, if need had so required. Answerable to the vanity of this expedition was the successe. For *Ptolomy* was gone, before *Demetrius* came into *Cilicia*. Neither was it certain, whether having lightned his ships of their burthen in *Cyprus*, hee would return upon those maritime Countries, or make towards *Syria*, where his comming was expected. He was indeed gone into *Egypt*, and there with *Seleucus* was describing a Royall Army, which he levied with all convenient speed, for the recovery of *Syria*. This was more than *Demetrius* knew. Therefore he was fain to choose out of uncertainties the most likelihood, and return the way that he came, with all his companies, which were fitter for service in the open field, than to be bestowed in Garrisons among the *Cilicians*. Hee had scarce refreshed his men and Horses in *Syria*, when the newes arrived of *Ptolomie's* comming with a puissant Army, to give him battell. Hereupon he called to counsell his principall friends, who advised him to give way to the time, and expect some better opportunity in the future, being a young man, and weakly furnished with means to resist such ancient and famous Generalls, as *Ptolomy* and *Seleucus*. This counsell seemed rather to proceed from the cold temper of those aged men that gave it, than from any necessity growing out of the present businesse. For *Demetrius* considering himself to be the son of *Antigonus*, and now Generall of his Fathers Army, thought his own title weightie enough to be laid in ballance against the bare names of those two great Commanders. Neither found hee much reason that should move him to distrust his forces, as insufficient. His men were better exercised than the enemies, and promised as much as could be required. Therefore perswading himself, that such oddes of number, and of great fame, would rather serve to adorn his victory, than hinder him in obtaining it, he resolved to put the matter to triall, without expecting the advantage of more help. So animating his Souldiers with hope of spoil and rewards, hee abode the comming of the Enemies at *Gaza*, with purpose to encounter them, as soon as they had finished their wearisome journey over the Desarts of *Arabia*.

Ptolomie and *Seleucus* issuing out of so rich a Province as *Egypt*, came so well provided of all necessaries, that their Army felt not any great grievance of the evill way, when battell was presented them, which confidently they undertook. In all things else they had the ods of *Demetrius*; of Elephants they were utterly unprovided. But how to deal with those beasts they were not ignorant. They had prepared a kind of Palisado, fastened strongly together with chains, and sharpened in such a manner, that the Elephants could not seek to break upon it, without receiving much hurt. The rest of their forces (which (besides that they had advantage in multitude) were heartened with many fortunate services, by them performed that year, whilest the enemies had wearied themselves, either with vain journeys, or long and dulling expectation,) they disposed in such order, as best answered to the form, wherein *Demetrius* was embattelled. The fight began, and was maintained with equall courage, for a long time, each part striving

striving more to win honour, than to satisfie any other passion, as having little cause of hatred, or revenge. But after some continuance, the greater number holding better out, the errour of *Demetrius*, who upon no necessity would needs fight a baitell with disadvantage, began to appear by his losses. He had committed himself to Fortune, having more to lose by her than he could get: but in this fight shee was idle, and left all to be decided by strong hands; unlesse it may be said, that the terrour brought upon his men, by the losse of his Elephants, was bad luck. Those beasts were in that kind of warre hardly to bee resisted on plain ground; and therefore at the first they made great spoil amongst *Ptolomies* men. Afterward seeking to break through the Palisado, they were sorely hurt, and every one of them taken. This disaster caused the Horse-men of *Demetrius* to faint. They had laboured hard, and prevailed little, till now perceiving that all must lye upon their hands, who were ill able to make their own places good, they began to shrink, and many of them to provide for their safety by timely flight, which example the rest quickly followed. When *Demetrius* had stroven so long in vain to make his men abide, that he himself was likely to be lost; he was fain to give place to the stronger, making a violent retrait as far as to *Azotus*, which was about thirty miles from the place of battell. A great part of his carriages was in *Gaza*, whither some of his company turned aside, hoping to save such goods, as in haste they could pack up. This foolish covetousnesse was their destruction, and the losse of the Town. For whilest they, forgetfull of the danger, had filled the streets with sumpter-Horses, and cloyed up the gates, thronging, some to get in and fetch; others, to carry out what they had already loaden, *Ptolomies* Army brake in without resistance, taking them with their goods and the City altogether.

This victory restored unto *Ptolomy* the best part of *Syria*, a Province more easie in those times to get, than to keep; and opened the way unto all the greatnesse of *Seleucus*. For between *Gaza* and *Phœnicia* no place offered resistance. In *Cœlosyria* and *Phœnicia*, some Towns held out a while, but were soon taken in by *Ptolomy*. Among these were the great Cities of *Tyrus* and *Sidon*; of which *Sidon* was given up by the Inhabitants; *Tyrus* by the Garrison, falling to mutiny against their Captain, who trusting to the strength of it, had made great vaunts, but was pardoned by *Ptolomy*, and honourably entertained in respect of his fidelity.

§. VII.

How Seleucus *recovered* Babylon, *and made himself Lord of many Countries in the highest* Asia. *The* Æra *of the Kingdome of the* Greeks, *which began with the Dominion of* Seleucus.

WHile *Ptolomy* followed his businesse with such prosperity, *Seleucus* took leave of him, and went up to *Babylon*, to try his own fortune; which he found so favourable, that recovering first his own Province, he became at length master of the better part of *Alexanders* purchases.

This expedition of *Seleucus* was very strange, and full of unlikelihoods. His train consisted of no more than eighteen hundred foot, and two hundred horse, a number too small to have been placed as Garrison, in some one of those main great Cities, against which he carried it into the higher *Asia*. But little force is needfull to make way into strong places, for him that already stands possessed of their hearts which dwell within the wals. The name of *Seleucus* was enough; whom the *Babylonians* had found so good a Governour, that none of them would find courage to resist him; but left that work to *Antigonus* his own men, wishing them ill to speed. Some of the *Macedonians* that were in those Countries, had the like affection; others made a countenance of warre, which by easie compulsion they left off, and followed new Ensignes. This added courage to the people, who came in apace, and submitted themselves joyfully to *Seleucus*. In a defection so generall, it was not a safe course for the *Antigonians*, to thrust themselves into the Towns of most importance: for every man of them should have been troubled with daily enemies in his own lodging. It remained that they should issue forth into the field, and try the matter by fight. But the treason of one principall man who revolted to the enemy, with more than a thousand Souldiers following him, so dismayed the rest, that

that they did no more than seek to make good one strong place, wherein were kept the Hostages and Prisoners, that *Antigonus* held for his security in those quarters. This Castle, belike, they had not fortified in times of leisure, against dangers, that were not then apparent. *Seleucus* quickly took it; and so got the entire possession of *Mesopotamia* and *Babylon*.

Antigonus had bestowed in *Media* and *Persia*, forces convenient for defence of those Provinces, that were the utmost of his Dominion. In the Countries about *Euphrates* he had not done the like: for his own great Army lay between them and all enemies. Therefore when the victory at *Gaza* had opened unto *Seleucus* the way into those parts; hee found little impediment in the rest of his businesse. Having now gotten what he sought, it behoved him to seek how he might keep his gettings: for his own forces were too small, and his friends were ill able to lend him any more. That which his friends could not doe for him, his enemies did. *Nicanor*, to whom *Antigonus* had committed his Army in *Media*, joyning unto himself, out of *Persia* and other Countries, all needfull help, came, with ten thousand Foot, and seven thousand Horse, either to save all from being lost, or to drive *Seleucus* out of that which he had won.

Against this power, *Seleucus* had onely four hundred Horse, and somewhat above three thousand Foot, wherewith to oppose himself: his large Conquest of unwarlike Nations having yeelded him many loving Subjects, but few Souldiers. Therefore when his enemies were neer to the River of *Tigris*, he withdrew himself from the place where his resistance was expected, into certain marishes not farre off; where hee lay secretly waiting for some advantage. *Nicanor* thought that he had been fled, and was the lesse carefull in fortifying his Camp. In recompence of this vain security, his Camp was taken by surprise, the first night of his arrivall; the *Satrapa*, or Lieutenant of *Persia*, together with sundry of the Captains, were slain; hee himself was driven to flee for his life into the desarts, and the whole Army yeelded unto *Seleucus*: whose gentle demeanour, after the victory, drew all *Media*, *Susiana*, and the Neighbour Provinces, to acknowledge him their Lord without any further stroke stricken.

This victory of *Seleucus* gave beginning unto the new stile, of *The Kingdome of the Greeks*, an accompt much used by the *Jewes*, *Chaldæans*, *Syrians*, and other Nations in those parts. I will not make any long disputation about the first year of this *Æra*. The authority of that great Astrologer *Ptolomy*, from which there is no appeal, makes it plain, that *the five hundred and nineteenth year of* Nabonassar, *was the fourscore and second year of this accompt*. Other inference hereupon is needlesse, than that note of the learned *Gauricus*, *That the first of these years was reckoned compleat, at* Babylon, *together with the end of four hundred thirty and eight years after* Nabonassar. With the observation of the *Saturn*, recorded by *Ptolomy*, agrees (as it ought) the calculation of *Bunting*; finding the same Planet to have been so placed in the sign of *Virgo*, as the *Chaldæans* had observed it, in the same year; which was from *Nabonassar* the five hundred and nineteenth; from *Seleucus* the fourscore & second year; and the last of the hundred thirty and seventh *Olympiad*. These observations of the celestiall bodies, are the surest marks of time: from which he that wilfully varies, is inexcusable. As for such occurrences in History, and the years of succeeding Princes (that are not seldome ambiguous, by reason of unremembred fractions) if they seem to be here-against, it is not greatly materiall. Yet thus much is worthy of note; that these years of the *Greeks* were not reckoned in all Countries from one beginning; as plainly appears in the difference of one year, that is found between actions, related by the severall Authors of the two Books of the *Maccabees*, who follow divers accompts. He that shall adhere to the time defined by *Ptolomy*, may apply the other supputations thereunto, as being no farther from it, than a years distance.

Pol. Almag. lib. 11. cap. 7. & 8.

L. Gauric. in annot. ad locum citatum.

§. VIII. *How*

§. VIII.

How Ptolomy *loſt all he won in* Syria. *What the cauſes were of the quiet obedience, performed unto the* Macedonians, *by thoſe that had been ſubject unto the Perſian Empire. Of divers petty enterprizes, taken in hand by* Antigonus *and* Demetrius, *with ill ſucceſſe.*

IN a happy hour did *Seleucus* adventure to goe up to *Babylon*, with ſo few men as his friend could then well ſpare: for had he ſtaied longer upon hope of getting more Souldiers, *Ptolomy* could have ſpared him none at all. *Demetrius* the ſon of *Antigonus*, having loſt the battail at *Gaza*, received from *Ptolomy* all his own goods, his Pages, and Servants, in free gift, and therewithall a courteous meſſage, to this effect: That no perſonall hatred was the ground of this War, which he and his Confedrates held with *Antigonus*; but only termes of honour, wherein they would ſeek to right themſelves after ſuch maner, that other friendly Offices, without reference to the quarrell, ſhould not be forgotten.

This Noble dealing of *Ptolomy*, did kindle in *Demetrius* an earneſt deſire of requiting him, with ſome as brave liberality. Which to effect, he gathered together the remainder of his broken troups; drew as many as could be ſpared, out of the Garriſons in *Cilicia*, or other Provinces thereabouts, and advertiſing his Father of his misfortune, beſought him to ſend a new ſupply, wherewith he might redeem his honour loſt. *Antigonus* upon the firſt news of this overthrow, had ſaid, That the victory which *Ptolomy* wan upon a beardleſſe Boy, ſhould be taken from him by bearded men: yet upon deſire that his ſon, whom he tenderly loved, ſhould amend his own reputation, he was content to make a ſtand in *Phrygia*. *Ptolomy* hearing of *Demetrius* his preparations, did nevertheleſſe follow his own buſineſſe in *Cæloſyria*; thinking it enough to ſpend part of his Army under *Cilles* his Lieutenant, againſt the remnant of thoſe, that had been already vanquiſhed, when *Cilles* too much undervalued the power of ſuch an Enemy. Hee thought that this young Gallant, having lately ſaved his life by flight, would now bee more carefull of having a fair way at his back, than adventurous in ſetting further forward, than urgent reaſon ſhould provoke him. In this confidence he paſſed on without all fear; as one that were already Maſter of the field, and ſhould meet with none, that would iſſue out of their places of ſtrength, to make reſiſtance. When *Demetrius* was informed of this careleſſe march; he took the lighteſt of his Army, and made his journey with ſuch diligence, one whole night, that early in the morning, he came upon *Cilles* unexpected, and was on the ſuddain, without any battail, Maſter of his Camp: taking him alive, with his Souldiers, and their carriages all at once.

This exploit ſerved not only to repair the credit of *Demetrius*, which his loſſe at *Gaza* had almoſt ruined: but further it enabled him, to recompence the bounty of *Ptolomy*, with equall favour, in reſtoring to him *Cilles*, with many other of his friends, accompanied with rich preſents. But neither was *Ptolomy* ſo weakned by this loſſe, nor *Demetrius* ſo emboldned by his victory, that any matter of conſequence thereupon enſued. For *Demetrius* feared the comming of *Ptolomy*; and therfore he fortified himſelf in places of advantage: *Ptolomy* on the other ſide was loth to engage himſelf in an enterpriſe, wherein he might perceive, that if the comming of *Antigonus* found him entangled, he ſhould either be driven to make a ſhamefull retrait, or a dangerous adventure of his whole eſtate, in hope of not much more than already he poſſeſſed.

Antigonus, indeed, was nothing ſlow in his way towards *Syria*; whither hee made all haſte, not ſo much to relieve his ſon, as to embrace him. For he rejoyced exceedingly, that the young man had ſo well acquitted himſelf, and being left to his own advice, performed the office of a good Commander. Wherefore to increaſe the reputation of this late victory, he brought ſuch forces, as might ſerve to re-conquer all *Syria*: meaning, that the honour of all ſhould be referred unto the good foundation laied by his ſon; whom from this time forwards, he imploied in matters of greateſt importance.

Ptolomy had now leſſe reaſon to encounter with *Antigonus*, than before his comming to have aſſailed the Camp of *Demetrius*. Yet he made it a matter of conſultation; as if

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he had dared more than he meant. But all his Captains adviſed him to retire into *Egypt*, alleging many good arguments to that purpoſe: which they might well perceive to be agreeable to his own intent, by his propounding that courſe; not without remembrance of the good ſucceſſe againſt *Perdiccas*, in the like defenſive war. So he departed out of *Syria*, preſerving his honour; as being rather led by mature deliberation, than any ſudden paſſion of fear: and he departed at fair leiſure, not onely carrying his treaſures along with him, but ſtaying to diſmantle ſome principal Cities, that he thought moſt likely to trouble him in the future. All the Country that he left at his back, fell preſently to *Antigonus*, without putting him to the trouble of winning it by pieces: ſo eaſie was it in thoſe times, for the Captain of a ſtrong Army, to make himſelf Lord of a great Province.

We may juſtly wonder, that theſe Kingdoms of *Syria*, *Media*, *Babylon*, and many other Nations, (which the victory of *Alexander* had over-run with ſo haſty a courſe, as gave him not leiſure to take any good view of them) were ſo eaſily held not onely by himſelf, but by the Captains of his Army after him. The hot contentions for ſuperiority between the King of *Iſrael*, and thoſe of *Damaſcus*; between *Egypt*, and *Babylon*; *Babylon* and *Nineve*; the *Perſians* and many Countries; argue a more manly temper, to have once been in thoſe people; which are now ſo patient of a forraign yoke, that like Sheep or Oxen, they ſuffer themſelves to be diſtributed, fought for, won, loſt, and again recovered by contentious Maſters; as if they had no title to their own heads, but were born to follow the fortune of the *Macedonians*. This will appear the more ſtrange, if we ſhall conſider, how the ſeverall States of *Greece* (many of which had never poſſeſſed ſo large Dominion, as might cauſe their ſpirits to ſwell beyond their ability) did greedily embrace all occaſions of liberty: and how theſe proud Conquerours were glad to offer it, deſiring to have them rather friends than ſervants, for fear of further inconvenience.

It muſt therefore be noted, that moſt of theſe Countries had alwaies been ſubject unto the rule of Kings, or petty Lords, whom the *Babylonians* and *Perſians* long ſince had rooted out, and held them in ſuch bondage, that few of them knew any other Law, than the command of forraign Maſters. This had utterly taken from them all remembrance of home-born Princes, and incorporated them into the great body of the *Perſian* Empire: ſo that wanting within themſelves all ſoveraign power, or high authority, the life and ſpirit of every Eſtate; they lay as dead, and were bereaved of motion, when that Kingdom fell, whereof they lately had been members.

Why the *Perſian Satrapa*, or Princes of that Empire, did not when *Darius* was taken from them, as the *Macedonian* Captains, after the death of *Alexander*, ſtrive to lay hold upon thoſe Provinces, which had many ages bin ſubject unto them, and ſcarce four years in quiet poſſeſſion of their enemies; or why at leaſt they contended not (when the terrible name of that great Conquerour did ceaſe to affright them) to get their ſhares among his followers, if not wholly to diſpoſſeſſe them of their new purchaſes: it is a queſtion wherein, who is not ſatisfied, may find no leſſe reaſon to ſuſpect the Hiſtory, than authority to confirm it. For we ſeldome read, that any ſmall Kingdom, prevailing againſt a far greater, hath made ſo entire a conqueſt, in the compaſſe of ten years, as left unto the vanquiſhed no hope of recovery nor means to rebell; eſpecially when ſuch diſorders, or rather utter confuſion hath enſued, by the fury of civill war among the Victors.

The cauſe why the *Macedonians* held ſo quietly the *Perſian* Empire, is well ſet down by *Machiavell*; and concerns all other Kingdoms, that are ſubject unto the like form of Government: the ſum whereof is this; Whereſoever the Prince doth hold all his Subjects under the condition of ſlaves, there is the conqueſt eaſie, and ſoon aſſured: Where ancient Nobility is had in due regard, there is it hard to win all, and harder to keep that which is won. Examples of this are the Turkiſh Empire, and the Kingdome of *France*. If any invader ſhould prevail ſo far upon Turkie, that the great *Sultan* and his Children (for Brethren he uſeth not to ſuffer alive) were taken or ſlain: the whole Empire would quickly bee wonne, and eaſily kept, without any danger of rebellion. For the Baſſaes, how great ſoeuer they may ſeem, are meer ſlaves; neither is there in all that large Dominion, any one man, whoſe perſonall regard could get the people to follow him in ſuch an attempt, wherein hope of private gain ſhould not countervail

countervail all apparent matter of fear. Contrariwise, in *France*, it were not enough for him that would make a conquest, to get into his hands the King and his Children; though he further got the better part of the Country, and were by farre the strongest in the field. For, besides the Princes of the Royall bloud, there are in that Kingdom store of great men; who are mighty in their severall Countries, and having certain Royalties and Principalities of their own, are able to raise Warre in all quarters of the Realm; whereunto the remembrance of their own ancient Families, and long continued Nobility, will alwayes stirre up and inflame them: so that untill every one piece were won, and every one (an endlesse work) of the chief Nobility brought under or destroyed, the victory were not compleat, nor well assured. It is true, that such power of the Nobility, doth often-times make way for an Invader; to whom the discontentments of a few can easily make a fair entrance. But such assistants are not so easily kept, as they are gotten; for they look to be satisfied at full, in all their demands; and having what they would, they soon return to their old allegeance, upon condition to keep what they have, unlesse they be daily hired with new rewards: wherein it is hard to please one man, without offending another as good as himself. The *Turk*, on the other side, needs not to fear any peril, that might arise from the discontented spirits of his principall men. The greatest mischief that any of them could work against him, were the betraying of some frontier Town, or the wilfull losse of a battail: which done, the Traitor hath spent his sting, and must either fly to the enemy, whereby he loseth all that hee formerly did hold; or else, in hope of doing some further harm, he must adventure to excuse himself unto his Master, who seldome forgives the Captain, that hath not strived by desperate valour against misfortune. As for making head, or arming their followers against the great *Sultan*, and so joyning themselves unto any Invader; it is a matter not to be doubted: for none of them have any followers or dependants at all, other than such as are subject unto them, by vertue of their Offices and Commissions. Now as this base condition of the principall men, doth leave unto them no means, whereby to oppose themselves against the flourishing estate of their Prince; so would it weaken both their power and their courage in giving him assistance, if adversity should make him stand in need of them. For there is scarce any one among the *Turks* Bassaes, or Provinciall Governours, that knows either from whence he was brought, or from whom descended, nor any one among them, that by the losse and utter ruin of the *Turkish* Empire, can lose any foot of his proper inheritance; and it is the proper inheritance of the subject, which is also a Kingdom unto him, which makes him fight with an armed heart against the Conquerer, who hath no other device painted on his Ensigne, than the picture of slavery.

As in the *Turkish* Empire, so was the *Persian*, void of liberty in the Subjects, and utterly destitute of other Nobility, than such as depended upon meer favour of the Prince. Some indeed there were of the Royall bloud, and others, descended from the Princes that joyned with *Darius*, the Son of *Hystaspes*, in oppressing the *Magi*: these were men of reputation in *Persia*, but their reputation consisted onely in their Pedigree, and their safety in not medling with affaires of State, which made them little esteemed. In what small account these *Persian* Princes were held, it may appear by this, that the Kings Uncles, Cousin Germans, and Brethren, were called by the Kings, *Their Slaves*, and so did stile themselves, in speaking unto these great Monarchs. That upon every light occasion of displeasure they were handled as Slaves, it is easie to bee discerned, in that example of cruelty, practised by *Xerxes* upon his own brother *Masistes*; which hath been formerly noted, in place more convenient. As for the *Satrapæ*, or Governours of the Provinces, it is needlesse to cite examples, proving them to have been meer slaves: it may suffice, that their heads were taken from them at the Kings will; that is, at the will of those Women and Eunuchs, by whom the King was governed.

To this want of Nobility in *Persia*, may be added the generall want of liberty convenient among the people: a matter no lesse available, in making easie and sure the conquest of a Nation, than is the cause assigned by *Machiavell*. For as *Æsope* his Asse did not care to run from the enemies, because it was not possible, that they should load him with heavier burthens, than his Master caused him daily to bear: so the Nations, that endure the worst under their own Princes, are not greatly fearfull of a forraign yoke;

Nor

Nor will be hasty to shake it off, if by experience they find it more light, than was that whereunto they had been long accustomed. This was it that made the *Gascoignes* bear such faithfull affection to the Kings of *England*; for that they governed more mildely than the *French*: this enlarged the *Venetian* jurisdiction in *Lombardy*; for the Towns that they won, they won out of the hands of Tyrannous oppressors: & this did cause the *Macedonians*, with other Nations, that had been subject unto the posterity of *Alexanders* followers, to serve the *Romans* patiently, if not willingly; for that by them they were eased of many burthens, which had been imposed upon them by their own Kings.

So that of this tamenesse, which we find in those that had been subjects of the *Persian* Kings, the reasons are apparent. Yet some of these there were, that could not so easily be contained in good order by the *Macedonians*: for they had not indeed been absolutely conquered by the *Persian*. Such were the *Sogdians*, *Bactrians*, and other Nations about the *Caspian* Sea. Such also were the *Arabians* bordering upon *Syria*: against whom *Antigonus* sent part of his Army; thinking therewith to bring them under, or rather to get a rich booty. The Captains that he sent, fell upon the *Nabatheans*, at such time as they were busied in a great Mart; wherein they traded with the more remote *Arabians*, for Mirrh, Frankincense, & other such commodities. All or most of these rich wares, together with five hundred talents of silver, and many prisoners, the *Macedonians* laid hold upon: for their comming was sudden & unexpected. But ere they could recover *Syria*, the *Nabatheans* overtook them, & finding them weary with long marches, made such a slaughter, that of four thousand foot, and six hundred horse, onely fifty horse escaped. To revenge this losse, *Demetrius* was set out with a great power: yet all in vain; for he was not resisted by any Army, but by the naturall defence of a vaste Wilderneesse, lack of water, and of all things necessary. Therefore he was glad to make peace with them; wherein hee lost not much honour: for they craved it, and gave him presents. Returning from the *Nabatheans*, he viewed the Lake *Asphaltites*, whence hee conceived hope of great profit that might bee raised, by gathering the Sulphure. With this good husbandry of his son, *Antigonus* was well pleased, and appointed men to the work: but they were slain by the *Arabians*, and so that hope vanished.

These petty enterprises, with the ill successe accompanying them, had much impaired he good advantage against *Ptolomy*: when the news of *Seleucus* his victories in the high Countries, marred all together. For neither was the losse of those great and wealthy Provinces, a matter to be neglected, neither was it safe to transport the warre into the parts beyond *Euphrates*, whereby *Syria* and the lower *Asia* should have been exposed to the danger of ill-affected Neighbours. A middle course was thought the best; and *Demetrius* with fifteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse, was sent against *Seleucus*. These forces being sent away, *Antigonus* did nothing, and his son did lesse. For *Seleucus* was then in *Media*; his Lieutenants about *Babylon* withdrew themselves from necessity of fight; some places they fortified and kept; *Demetrius* could hold nothing that he got, without setting in Garrison more men than hee could spare, neither did he get much; and therefore was fain to set out the bravery of his expedition, by burning and spoiling the Country; which he did thereby the more alienate, and as it were acknowledge to belong unto his enemy, who thenceforth held it as his own assured.

Antigonus had laid upon his son a peremptory commandement, to return unto him at a time prefixed: reasonably thinking (as may seem) that in such an unsettled state of things, either the Warre might be ended, by the fury of the first brunt; or else it would be vain to strive against all difficulties likely to arise, where want of necessaries should frustrate the valour, that by strength of time was like to become lesse terrible to the Enemy. *Demetrius* therefore leaving behind him five thousand foot, and a thousand horse, rather to make shew of continuing the warre, than to effect much, where himself with greater forces could do little more than nothing, forsook the enterprise, and went back to his Father.

§. IX.

§. IX.

A generall peace made and broken. How all the house of Alexander *was destroyed.*

THese ambitious heads, having thus wearied themselves with uneffectuall travell, in seeking to get more than any one of them could hold; were contented at length to come to an agreement: wherein it was concluded, that each of them should hold quietly, that which at the present he had in possession. As no private hatred, but meer desire of Empire, had moved them to enter into the war; so was it no friendly reconciliation, but only a dulnesse growing upon the slow advancement of their severall hopes, that made them willing to breathe awhile, till occasion might better serve to fight again.

Besides that main point, *Of retaining the Provinces which every man held*, there were two Articles of the peace, that gave a fair, but a false colour, to the businesse; *That the son of* Alexander *by* Roxane, *should be made King when he came to full age*; and, *That all the Estates of* Greece *should be set at libertie*. The advancement of young *Alexander* to his Fathers kingdome, seems to have been a matter forceably extorted from *Antigonus*; in whom was discovered a purpose, to made himself Lord of all. But this, indeed, more neerly touched *Cassander*. For in his custodie was the young Prince and his Mother: neither did he keep them in a sort answerable to their degree; but as close prisoners, taken in that warre, wherein they had seen the old Queen *Olympias* taken and murdered, that sought to put them in possession of the Empire. The mutuall hatred and fear between them, rooted in these grounds, of injuries done, and revenge expected; upon this conclusion of peace, grew up faster than any time before, in the heart of *Cassander*: who saw the *Macedonians* turn their favourable expectation, towards the son of their late renowned King.

All this either little concerned *Antigonus*; or tended greatly to his good. The young Prince must first have possession of *Macedon*: whereby *Cassander* should be reduced to his poor office, *of Captain over a thousand men*, if not left in worse case. As for them that held Provinces abroad, they might either do as they had done under *Aridæus*; or better, as being better acquainted with their own strength. He in the mean time, by his readinesse to acknowledge the true Heir, had freed himself from that ill-favoured imputation, of seeking to make himself Lord of all that *Alexander* had gotten.

The like advantage had he in that Article, *of restoring the Greeks to their libertie*. This libertie had hitherto been the subject of much idle discourse: but it never took effect. *Antigonus* held scarce any Town of theirs, *Cassander* occupied most of the Countrie: which if he should set free, he must be a poor Prince; if not, there was matter enough of quarrell against him, as against a Disturber of the common peace.

In the mean season, the Countries lying between *Euphrates* and the *Greek* seas, together with a great Armie, and mony enough to entertain a greater, might serve to hold up the credit of *Antigonus*, and to raise his hopes as high as ever they had been.

With much disadvantage doe many men contend against one that is equall to them all in puissance. *Cassanders* friends had left him in an ill case; but he could not doe withall: for where every one mans help is necessarie to the warre, there may any one make his own peace, but no one can stand out alone, when all the rest are wearie. The best was, that he knew all their affections: which tended to no such end as the becomming Subjects unto any man, much lesse to the son of an *Asiatique* woman, of whom they had long since refused to hear mention. Therefore he took a short course, and caused both the child and his Mother to be slain: freeing thereby himself in a trice, from the dangerous necessitie of yeelding up his government, which he must have done when the child had come to age. *Roxane* was a Lady of singular beautie, which was perhaps the cause, why *Perdiccas* desired to have her son, being as yet unborn, proclaimed Heir to the great *Alexander*. Immediatly upon the death of *Alexander*, she had used the favour (if it were not love) of *Perdiccas*, to the satisfying of her own bloudy malice, upon *Statira*, the Daughter of King *Darius*, whom *Alexander* had likewise married, according to the custome of those Countries, wherein pluralitie of wives is held no crime. For, having by a counterfeit Letter, in *Alexanders* name, gotten his poor Lady into her hands, shee did, by assistance of *Perdiccas*, murder her and her Sister, and threw their

bodies into a Well, causing it to be filled up with earth. But now, by Gods just vengeance, were she and her son made away, in the like secret fashion; even at such time as the neer approaching hope of a great Empire had made her life, after a wearisome imprisonment, grow deerer unto her than it was before.

The fact of *Cassander* was not so much detested in outward shew; as inwardly it was pleasing unto all the rest of the Princes. For now they held themselves free Lords of all that they had under them; fearing none other change of their estates, than such as might arise by chance of warre; wherein every one perswaded himself of successe, rather better than worse. Hereupon all of them (except *Lysimachus* and *Seleucus*, that had work enough at home) began to rowze themselves: as if now the time were come, for each man to improve his own stock. *Antigonus* his Lieutenants were busie in *Peloponnesus*, and about *Hellespont*: while their Master was carefull in following other, and some greater matters that were more secretly to be handled. He pretended the libertie of *Greece*: yet did the same argument minister unto *Ptolomy* matter of quarrell, against both him and *Cassander*; *Ptolomie* complaining (as if he had taken the matter deeply to heart) that *Antigonus* had put Garrisons into some Towns, which ought, in fair dealing, to be set at liberty. Under colour of redressing this enormitie, he sent an Army into *Cilicia*, where he won four Towns, and soon after lost them, without much labour of his own or his enemies.

After this, putting to sea with a strong Fleet, he ran along the coast of *Asia*, winning many places: and in that voyage allured unto him a nephew of *Antigonus* (a good Commander, but discontented with the ill requitall of his services) whom finding shortly, as false to himself as he had been to his own Uncle, he was fain to put to death, But in doing these things, his desire to set the *Greeks* at libertie, appeared not so plain, as hee wished that it should: for their case was no way bettered by his molesting *Antigonus* in *Asia*. Therefore to get the love of that valiant Nation, he made at the last an expedition into *Greece* it self: where having set free some little Ilands, and landed in *Peloponnesus*, he raised so great an expectation of finishing the long-desired work, that *Cratesipolis*, the Widow of *Alexander*, *Polysperchons* son, gave up into his hands the Towns of *Sycion* and *Corinth*.

Ptolomie had conceived a vain belief, that the *Greeks*, emboldened by his countenance and assistance, would all of them take heart and rise up in arms; whereby with little labour their libertie might be gotten; and he be acknowledged as Author of this immortall benefit. But long servitude had well-neer extinguished the ancient valour of that Nation: and their ill fortune, in many likely attempts to recover freedome, had so tired their spirits, that they would no more stir in pursute thereof; but sate idly still, as wishing it to fall into their mouthes.

The *Lacedæmonians*, about these times, began to fortifie their Town with walls; trusting no longer in their vertue (for both it, and the discipline that upheld it, were too much impaired) that had been a wall to their Town and Territorie.

The *Athenians* were become as humble servants, as they had been in times past insolent Masters: erecting as many statuaes in honour of *Demetrius Phalereus*, as there were daies in the year. This *Demetrius* was now their Governour; and he governed them with much moderation: but in spight of their hearts, as being set over them by *Cassander*. By this base temper of the principall Cities, it is easie to gather, how the rest of the Country stood affected. *Ptolomie* could not get them to set their helping hands to their own good, and to furnish him with the promised supplies of mony and victuals. Credible it is, that he had a true meaning to deliver them from thraldome; as judging the commoditie that would arise by annexing them to his partie, a matter of more weight than the losse that *Cassander* should receive thereby, who could hardly retain them, if once *Antigonus* took the work in hand. But when he found such difficultie in the businesse, hee changed his purpose; and renewing his former friendship with *Cassander*, he retained *Sicyon* and *Corinth* in his own possession.

Before the comming of *Ptolomie* into *Greece*, *Cassander* had been held occupied with very much work. For (besides his pains taken in warres among barbarous Princes) hee found means to allure unto himself the Lieutenants of *Antigonus*, that were in *Peloponnesus*, and about *Hellespont*: making his own advantage of their discontentments. By the like skilfull practice hee freed himself from a greater danger, and made

those

those murthers which he had committed seem the lesse odious, by teaching his enemies to doe the like. Old *Polysperchon*, that had made so great a stir in the reign of *Aridæus*, did after the death of *Roxane* and her child, enter again upon the Stage: leading in his hand another son of the great *Alexander*, and meaning to place him in his Fathers Throne.

The name of this young Prince was *Hercules*: he was begotten on *Barsine* the daughter of *Artabazus* a *Persian*; but had been lesse esteemed than the son of *Roxane*, either for that his Mother was held no better than a Concubine, or else perhaps, in regard of the favour which *Perdiccas*, and after him *Olympias*, did bear unto *Roxane*. At this time the death of his brother had moved such compassion, and regard of his being *Alexanders* onely living child, had procured unto him such good will, that the demand which *Polysperchon* made in his behalf, was deemed very just and honourable. There were indeed more hearts than hands, that joyned with this young Prince: yet wanted he not sufficient strength of hands, if the heart of him that least ought, had not been most false. *Cassander* had raised an Armie to withstand his entrie into *Macedon*: but little trust could he repose in that Armie, whose wishes he perceived to be with *Hercules*. Therefore he assailed *Polysperchon* himself with gifts and promises; wherewith at length he prevailed so far, that the old Villain was contented to murder his Pupill; choosing rather with many curses and foul dishonour, to take the offered Lordship of *Peloponnesus*, and Commander of an Armie; than to purchase a noble fame with dangerous travell, in maintaining his faith, unto both his dead and living Soveraigns.

Antigonus had not all this while bin asleep; though his losses were hitherto the chief witnesses of his having been a stirrer in these commotions. He thought it enough for him at the present to retain his own: and therefore took order for the recoverie of those places which *Ptolomie* had taken pains to win. As for the rest, it no way grieved him to see *Cassander* incur the generall hatred of men by committing those murders of which the profit was like to redound unto him that was the most powerfull, or to see *Polysperchon* and *Ptolomie* sweat in a busie war against *Cassander*. If they would have continued their quarrels, he could well have afforded them leasure, and have thought the time well spent in beholding their contentions. For he was throughly perswaded, that when the rest had wearied themselves in vain with long strife, his armies and treasures, wherein he exceeded them all, would bring all under. According to these haughtie conceits, he demeaned himself among his followers; looking big upon them, and like a King before his time. This was it that caused so many of them to revolt from him: but it was no great losse to be forsaken by those that looked with envious eyes upon that fortune whereon their own should have depended. Against this envie of his men, and the malice of others, *Antigonus* busily sought a remedie, such as was like to give him a goodly title to the whole Empire.

Cleopatra, Sister unto the great *Alexander*, lay for the most part in *Sardes*: whom he had a great desire to take to wife. This his desire was not without good hope: for howsoever she discovered much unwillingnesse thereunto, yet was she in his power, and might therefore be entreated, were it only for fear of being enforced. But it was not his purpose to get her by compulsive means: either because his fancie, being an old man, was not over-violent; or rather because his ambition, whereunto all his affections had reference, could have made small use of her, by doing such apparent wrong. She had been married unto *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, after whose death she came to her brother in *Asia*; hoping belike to find a new husband in his Camp. But neither any of those brave Captains, that were, in times following so hot in love with her, durst then aspire unto her marriage: nor did her brother, full of other cares, trouble himself with providing her of an husband. She therefore, being a lustie widow, suffered her bloud so far to prevail against her honour, that she supplied the want of an husband by entertainment of Paramours. *Alexander* hearing of this, turned it to a jest: saying, That she was his sister, and must be allowed this libertie, as her portion of the Empire. When by his death the Empire lay in a manner void, and the portion due to her therein grew, in mens opinion, greater than it had been: then did many seek to obtaine her, while shee her selfe desired only a proper man, with whom shee might lead a merry life. To this purpose did she invite *Leonatus* unto her; who made great haste, but was cut off by death ere he came to her presence. Now at the last, after long

tarrying, she had her choice of all the great Commanders: *Antigonus*, *Ptolomie*, *Lysimachus*, and *Cassander*, being all her earnest wooers. All these (*Antigonus* excepted) had wives already; *Ptolomie* had many wives, and many Concubines, whom he respected as much as his wives, being noted of too much dotage in that kind. This hindred not his suite: peradventure it advanced it, by giving to *Cleopatra* some hope of mutuall toleration. To him therefore she bequeathed her self, and was taking her journy from *Sardes* towards him; when *Antigonus* his Deputie in that Citie, made her to stay, untill his Masters further pleasure should be known. *Antigonus* had now a Wolf by the ears: he neither could well hold her, nor durst let her goe. She would not be his wife; he had no honest pretence to force her; and to keep her prisoner, had bin the way, by which he might have incurred a generall hatred, lasting perhaps beyond her life; as the course taken by *Cassander* against *Roxane* (a Ladie lesse respected than *Alexanders* own sister) did well testifie. Therefore he thought it the wisest way to procure her death: for to let any other enjoy the commodity of so fair a title to the kingdom, it was no part of his meaning. To this purpose he sent instructions to the Governour of *Sardes*, willing him in any case to doe it secretly. So the fact was committed, and certain women about her put in trust with the murder: which women afterwards were put to death, as mischievous conspirers against the life of that good Ladie. So was *Antigonus* freed from blame, at the least in his own opinion: but the world was lesse foolish, than to be so deluded. How the murther was detected, we need not aske: for seldome is that bloudie crime unrevealed, and never so ill smothered, as when great persons are the Authors.

Thus was the whole race of *Philip* and *Alexander* the great extinguished, and it was extinguished by the hands of such as thought upon nothing lesse than the execution of Gods justice, due unto the crueltie of these powerfull, but mercilesse Princes. Wherfore the ambitious frames, erected by these Tyrants, upon so wicked foundations of innocent bloud, were soon after cast down, over-whelming themselves or their children, with the ruins, as the sequell will declare.

§. X.

How Demetrius, *the son of* Antigonus, *gave libertie to* Athens, *expelling the Garrisons of* Cassander *out of those parts. The immoderate honour decreed by the* Athenians *to* Antigonus *and* Demetrius.

NOne being left alive that had any title to the Kingdome; it stood with good reason, that they which were Lords of the Provinces, acknowledging no Superiour, should freely professe themselves Kings in name, as they were already in substance. Yet had this name il-beseemed the weaker, while the strongest of all did forbear it: neither seemed it convenient in the judgment of *Antigonus*, to crown his last action with such a title, as if he had attained unto greatnesse by that foul murder, the infamie whereof he was carefull how to discharge from his own head. He purposed therfore to undertake a plausible enterprise, even the libertie of *Greece*: whereby it was apparent, that he might get such honour as would not only drown all bad reports, but make him be thought equall to any name of royaltie, whereof in seeming modestie, he was not covetous. To this purpose he delivered a strong army, with a Navie of two hundred and fiftie sail, and five thousand talents of silver, unto *Demetrius* his son: willing him to begin at *Athens*, and thence to proceed, in setting all the Countrie free.

Demetrius came to *Athens* before he was expected: so that without resistance he entred the Haven; it being thought that a fleet of *Ptolomie*, *Cassanders* good friend, had bin arrived. But when it was known, both who he was, and what was the cause of his coming; the joy of the Citizens brake out into loud acclamations: *Demetrius Phalereus* forsook the town, and withdrew himself to *Thebes* under safe conduct; only the Garrison in *Munychia* strove to make good that piece, which after a while was won upon them by force. During the siege of *Munychia*, *Demetrius* went to *Megara*, whence he expelled the Garrison of *Cassander*, and so restored the Citie to libertie.

I think it not impertinent, sometimes to relate such accidents, as may seem no better than meer trifles: for even by trifles are the qualities of great Persons as well

discloſed

discloſed, as by their great actions; becauſe in matters of importance, they commonly ſtrain themſelves, to the obſervance of generall commended rules; in leſſer things they follow the current of their own Natures. The Lady *Crateſipolis* lay in *Patras*, and had a great deſire to ſee *Demetrius*; hoping, belike, that ſhe might by his means better her eſtate, and recover her Towns of *Sycion* and *Corinth*, detained by *Ptolomie*; to whoſe Lieutenant, in thoſe places, *Demetrius* before his departure out of *Greece*, offered mony for the ſurrender of them. Yet the onely buſineſſe pretended was love. He being advertiſed hereof, left his forces in the Country of *Megara*, and taking a company of his lighteſt armed, for guard of his perſon, made a long journey to meet with her. This troup alſo, he cauſed to lodge a great way from his Tent, that none might ſee her when ſhee came. As cloſely as the buſineſſe was carried, ſome of his enemies had gotten knowledge of it; whereby they conceived good hope, that the diligence of a very few men might overthrow all the great preparations of *Antigonus*; and bring him to any termes of reaſon, by taking his dear ſonne priſoner. Their project fell but a little ſhort of the effect. For they came ſo ſuddenly upon him, that he had no better ſhift, than to muffle himſelf in an old cloak, and creep away diſguiſed; leaving them to ranſack his Tent. There was in this Prince a ſtrange medly of conditions; eſpecially an extreme diſſoluteneſſe in wanton pleaſures, and a painfull induſtry in matter of Warre. He was of a moſt amiable countenance, a gentle nature, and a good wit; excellent in deviſing Engines of Warre, and curious in wotking them with his own hands. He knew better how to reform his bad fortune, than how to rule his good. For adverſitie made his valour more active: proſperity puffed him with over-weening, wherein he thought that he might do what he liſted. His fortune was changeable, as were his qualities: turning often round, like the picture of her wheel, till ſhe had wound up the threed of his life, in ſuch manner as followeth to be ſhewed.

Returning to his Camp, and finiſhing his buſineſſe at *Megara*; he reſolved no longer to attend the iſſue of a ſiege, to aſſail *Munychia* by force, that ſo he might accompliſh the liberty of *Athens*: which, untill it was fully wrought out, he refuſed to enter into the Citie. *Munychia* was ſtrongly fortified: yet by continuance of the aſſault, the multitude without, through help of their Engines that ſcoured the walls, prevailed upon the reſolution of thoſe that lay within it, and wan the place in two dayes. The walls, and all the defences of that piece againſt the Citie, were levelled with the ground, and ſo was it freely put into the Citizens hands, to whom withall was given their liberty, with promiſe to aid them in maintaining it.

The fame of this action was lowder, than of any other victory gotten by *Demetrius* with greater skill and induſtry. For the *Athenians*, having forgotten how to employ their hands, laboured to make up that defect with their tongues: converting to baſe flattery, that eloquence of theirs which the vertues of their Anceſtors had ſuited unto more manly arguments.

They decreed unto *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* the name of Kings; they conſecrated the place in which *Demetrius* leaped from his Chariot, when he entred their City, and built there an Altar, calling it of *Demetrius the alighter*; they called them by the names of the *gods their Saviours*, ordaining that every year, there ſhould be choſen a Prieſt of theſe gods; and further, that ſuch as were employed by their State, in dealing with either of theſe two Princes, ſhould not be called Embaſſadours, but *Theori*, or *Conſulters with the gods*; like as were they, whom they ſent unto the Oracle of *Jupiter* or *Apollo*.

It were a frivolous diligence to rehearſe all their flatteries, theſe being ſo groſſe. Hereby they not onely corrupted the young Prince; but made that acclamation, which beſt would have pleaſed the old man, to be of no uſe. For he could not handſomely take upon him the name of King, as impoſed by the *Athenians*, unleſſe he would ſeem to approve their vanity, in loading him with more than humane honours. Yet was he ſo tickled with this their fine handling him, that when their *Theori* or *Conſulters* came ſhortly after, deſiring him to relieve them with Corn and Timber to build ſhips; he gave them almoſt a hundred thouſand quarters of wheat, and matter ſufficient to make a hundred Gallies. So gracious was his firſt Oracle: or rather ſo weak is great power in reſiſting the aſſaults of flattery.

§. XI.

The great victorie of Demetrius *against* Ptolomie *in* Cyprus. *How* Antigonus *and* Demetrius *took upon them the stile of Kings; wherein others followed their example.*

FRom this glorious work, *Antigonus* called away *Demetrius*, unto a busineſſe of greater difficultie; meaning to employ his ſervice againſt *Ptolomie*, in *Cyprus*. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he was willed to eſtabliſh a generall Counſell, that ſhould treat of matters concerning the common good of the Countrie. About the ſame time *Antigonus* withdrew his own Garriſon out of *Imbros*, committing their libertie entire, into the peoples hands; whereby it might appear, that as he would not permit any other to oppreſſe the *Greeks*, ſo would he be farre from doing it himſelf. This was enough to hold his reputation high, among theſe new purchaſed Friends: it followed, that hee ſhould convert his forces, to the winning of ground upon his Enemies.

A pittifull Tragedie had lately hapned in *Cyprus*, through the indiſcretion of *Menelaus*, *Ptolomies* brother, and his Lieutenant in that Iſle. *Nicocles*, King of *Paphos*, was entred into ſome practice with *Antigonus*: yet not ſo far that he thought himſelf paſt excuſe; by which confidence, he was perhaps the more eaſily detected. To cut off this negotiation, and the falſ-hearted King of *Paphos* at one blow, *Menelaus* was ſent thither: who ſurrounding *Nicocles* his houſe with Souldiers, required in *Ptolomies* name, to have him yeelded to the death. *Nicocles* offered to clear himſelf; but *Menelaus* told him, that dye he muſt, and bad him come forth quietly. This deſperate neceſſitie cauſed the unhappy King to rid himſelf of life: and his death ſtrook ſuch an impreſſion into his wife, that ſhe not onely ſlew her ſelf, but perſwaded the wives of her husbands brethren to do the like. Alſo thoſe brethren of *Nicocles*, unto whom *Ptolomie* had intended no ill, being amazed with the ſuddenneſs of this calamitie, did ſhut up the Palace, and ſetting it on fire, conſumed it, with all that was in it, and themſelves together.

Whatſoever the crime objected was; *Nicocles* periſhed as a man innocent, becauſe he was not ſuffered to make his anſwer. Of this ſad accident, though *Menelaus* deſerved the blame, for his rigorous proceeding; yet it is to be thought, that much diſlike fell alſo upon *Ptolomie*: as men that are grieved, caſt an ill affection even upon thoſe that gave the furtheſt removed occaſion.

Not long after this, *Demetrius* came into *Cyprus*, with a power ſufficient, againſt any oppoſition that *Ptolomie* was like to make. The *Cypriots* did little or nothing againſt him, either becauſe they had ſmall ſtrength, or for that they held it a matter indifferent, whom they acknowledged as their Lord, being ſure that they ſhould not themſelves have the rule of their own Countrie. *Menelaus* therefore, out of his Garriſons, drew forth an Armie, and fought with *Demetrius*. But he was beaten, and driven to ſave himſelf within the walls of *Salamis*, where he was ſo hardly beſieged, that without ſtrong ſuccour, he had no likelihood to make good the place, much leſſe to retain poſſeſſion of the whole Iland. His greateſt help at the preſent was the fidelitie of his Souldiers; whom no rewards could win from him, nor good uſage (when any of them were taken priſoners, and inrolled in the enemies bands) keep from returning to him, with the firſt opportunitie. Moſt of them were Mercenaries: but all their goods were in *Egypt*, which was enough to keep them faithfull. Yet could not this their reſolution have ſtood long againſt the ods of number, which *Demetrius* had of men as reſolute, and againſt his terrible Engines of batterie, if *Ptolomie* had not haſted to the reſcue.

Ptolomie brought with him a hundred and forty Gallies, beſides two hundred ſhips of burden, for tranſporting his Armie and Carriages. This Fleet made a terrible ſhew, when it was deſcried a-farre; though more than half of it was unfit for ſervice in fight at Sea. Wherefore to make the opinion of his forces the more dreadful, *Ptolomie* ſent unto *Demetrius* a threatning meſſage: willing him to be gone, unleſſe he would be overwhelmed with multitudes, and trampled to death in a throng. But this young gallant repaied him with words of as much braverie, promiſing to let him eſcape, upon condition, that he ſhould withdraw his Garriſons out of *Sycion* and *Corinth*.

Demetrius had no more than one hundred and eighteen Gallies; but they were, for the moſt part, greater than thoſe of *Ptolomie*; better ſtored with weapons fit for that ſervice;

vice; and very well furnished with Engines in the prows, to beat upon the enemie. Nevertheless he stood in great doubt of threescore gallies that lay in the Haven of *Salamis*, lest *Menelaus* with them should set upon his back: in which case, it was very likely that all would goe very ill with him. Against this mischief, he bestowed ten of his own Gallies in the mouth of that Haven, to keep *Menelaus* from issuing forth, and setting his horsemen on the shore, to give what assistance they could, he with the rest of the Fleet, puts to Sea against *Ptolomie*.

The fight began early in the morning, and continued long, with doubtfull successe. The generals were not ranged opposite one to the other; but held each of them the left wing of his own fleet. Each of them prevailed against the squadron wherewith he encountred; but the successe of *Demetrius* was to better purpose. For his victorie in one part was such, as caused others to fall out of order, and finally drave all to betake themselves unto speedy flight. As for *Ptolomie*, he was fain to leave his advantage upon the enemie in one part of the fight, that he might relieve and animate those of his own which needed him in another: wherein he found his losse over-great to be repaired, by contending any longer against the fortune of that day; and therefore he laboured onely to save himself, in hope of better event, that might follow some other time.

There fell out in this battell no unusuall accident; yet was the victory greater than could have been expected. The occasions whereof were, partly the great skill in Sea-services, which the *Greeks* and *Phœnicians*, that were with *Demetrius*, had, above those which followed *Ptolomie*: partly the good furniture of the Ships, wherein consisted no lesse, than in the qualitie of those with whom they were manned. Further, we may reasonably judge, that the two hundred ships of burthen, carrying the strength of *Ptolomies* Army, did not more encourage his own men, and terrifie his enemies the day before the fight, than breed in each part the contrarie affections, when in the beginning of the fight they fell off, and stood aloof. For though it were fitting that they should so doe; yet a multitude, prepossessed with vain conceits, will commonly apprehend very slight occasions to think themselves abandoned. Besides all this, the expectation that *Menelaus*, issuing with his fleet out of *Salamis*, should charge the enemies in stern, was utterly frustrate. He was kept-in perforce, by the ten ships appointed to bar up the mouth of the Haven: which they manfully performed, as great necessitie required.

Such disappointment of expectation doth much abate the courage of men in fight; especially of the assailants: whereas on the contrarie, they that find some part of their fears vain, doe easily gather hopefull spirits, and conceive an opinion of their own abilitie, to doe more than they thought upon, out of their not suffering the harm that they had imagined.

Whatsoever the causes of this victorie were, the fruit was very great. For *Ptolomie* had no more than eight Gallies that accompanied him in his flight: all the rest of his fleet was either taken or sunk. Neither did *Menelaus* any longer strive against the violence of fortune; but yeelded up all that he held in *Cyprus*, together with his Armie, consisting of twelve thousand foot, and a thousand and two hundred horse, and those Gallies in the Haven of *Salamis*. The same dejection of spirit was found in the common Souldier, as well that was taken at Sea, as that had served the *Egyptian* by Land; none of them reposing any more confidence in *Ptolomie*, but willingly becomming followers of a new Lord, whose Armie they now increased.

It was generally believed, that much more depended on the event of this fight, than the Isle of *Cyprus*, for which they contended. Wherefore the common expectation was great; especially *Antigonus*, whom it most concerned, was deeply perplexed with cares, thinking every day a year, till he were advertised of the issue. In this mood *Aristodemus* found him, a noble flatterer, whom *Demetrius* had honoured with the Message of these good newes. *Aristodemus* had bethought himself of a trick, whereby to double the welcome of his joyfull errand: Hee caused his ships to ride at Anchor, a good distance from the shore; he himself landed in a Cock-boat, which he sent immediatly back to the ship; and so all alone he went forward, looking very sadly, that no part of his tidings might appear in his countenance. Report of his arrivall (for it was not known where he had been) came presently to *Antigonus*, who sent Messenger after Messenger to meet him on the way, and bring speedy word how all went. But neither any answer, nor so much of a look, as might intimate the purport of his errand, could be won from this de mure

demure Gentleman. Thus marched he fair and softly forward with a great throng at his heels (that served well to set out his Pageant) untill he came in sight of *Antigonus*, who could not contain himself, but went down to meet him at the Gate, and hear the newes. Then did *Aristodemus*, upon the sudden, with a high voyce salute *Antigonus* by the name of King, uttering the greatnesse of the victorie (with as much pomp, as before he had covered it with silence) in the hearing of all the people; who with loud acclamations, gave that name of King, both to *Antigonus* and his son *Demetrius*. *Antigonus*, in requitall of the long suspence, wherein *Aristodemus* had held him, sayd, That it should also be long ere he received his reward. But the Title of King, together with the Diademe, which his friends did set on his head, he could not wish a fairer occasion to assume: wherefore he readily accepted them, and sent the like to his son.

When it was once noysed abroad, that *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* called themselves Kings; it was not long ere their fellows were ready to follow the good example. *Ptolomie* his friends would by no means endure, that their Lord should be thought a man dejected for the losse of a fleet; therefore they saluted him also King. *Lysimachus* in *Thrace* had boldnesse enough to put the Diademe about his own head. *Seleucus* had, before this time, among the barbarous people, taken upon him as King: but now he used the stile indifferently, as well among the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*, as in dealing with others. Only *Cassander* held himself contented with his own name: whereby, howsoever he might shadow his pride, he no way lessened the fame of his crueltie against his Masters house. But the name which he forbore, his sons after him were bold to usurp, though with ill successe, as will appear, when they shall enter upon the Stage, whereon these old Tragedians, under new habits, as no longer now the same persons, begin to play their parts, with bigger looks, and more boisterous actions, not with greater grace and judgement, than in the Scenes already past.

Chap. VI.

Of the Wars between the Kings of Egypt, Asia, Macedon, Thrace, *and others: untill all* Alexanders *Princes were consumed.*

§. I.

The Expedition of Antigonus *against* Egypt, *with ill successe.*

All the rest of these Kings had taken that name upon them, in imitation of *Antigonus* himself, as beseeming his greatnesse: which was such as gave him hope to swallow them up together with their new titles. Being not ignorant of his own strength, he resolved to single out *Ptolomie*, and make him an example to others: who should hardly be able to stand, when the greatest of them was fallen. To this purpose he prepared an army of eighteen thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, with fourscore and three Elephants: as likewise a fleet of hundred and fiftie Gallies, and a hundred ships of burthen. The Land forces he commanded in person: of the Navie *Demetrius* was Admirall.

When all was ready for the journey, the Sea-men advised him to stay yet eight daies longer, and expect the setting of the *Pleiades*. But his hastie desire to prevent all preparations for resistance that *Ptolomie* should make, rejected this counsell; imputing it rather to their fear than skill: wherefore he departed from *Antigonia* (a Town which he had built in *Syria*, and called after his own name, that was soon changed into *Seleucia*, by his mortall enemie) and came to *Gaza*, where he met with his Fleet. The neerer that he drew to *Egypt*, the more haste he made: thinking by celeritie to prevail more than by his great power. Hee caused his Souldiers to carry ten dayes provision of Victuals; and had many Camels loaden with all necessaries for passing the Desarts,

over

over which he marched with no small toil, though he met with no resistance. At Mount *Cassius*, which is near adjoyning to *Nilus*, he saw his Fleet riding at Anchor, not far from the shore, in ill case, and many Ships wanting. It had been sorely beaten with foul weather, wherein some were lost, others driven back to *Gaza*, or scattered elsewhere into such creeks as they could recover: *Demetrius* himself, with the best and strongest vessels, did so long beat it up against the wind, that all his fresh water was spent; in which extremity, he and all his must have perished, had not the tempest ceased when it did, and *Antigonus* appeared in sight, from whom these over-wearied, thirsty and Sea-beaten Souldiers received relief. After these painful travels, there followed a War no lesse painfull than to little purpose; for *Ptolomy* had so fortified all the passages upon the Civer of *Nilus*, as he assured himself either to end the war there, or if his guards should happen to be forc'd, yet could it not be done but so much to the weakning of the Assailants, as he should afterward, with a second Army (which he held entire) entertain the Invader upon advantage enough. All that *Antigonus* sought, was to come to blows speedily: *Ptolomy* on the contrary, to beat *Antigonus* by the belly. It is true that *Nilus* gave him water enough, but wood he had none to warm it, and while *Antigonus* assaulted the Rampiers, raised upon the River, in vain, *Ptolomy* assaied the faith of his souldiers, with good successe; for with great gifts, and greater promises, he ferried them over so fast, as had not *Antigonus* thrust some assured Regiments upon the passages next the enemy, and in the mean while taken a resolution to return, *Ptolomy* had turned him out of *Egypt* ill attended.

Some of them indeed he laid hands on, in the way of their escape, and those he put to death with extreme torments; but in all likelihood with the same ill successe that *Perdiccas* had formerly done, when he invaded *Egypt*, had he not readily removed his Army further off, from the noyse of their entertainment, that had already been won from him. To prevent therefore as well the present danger of his stay, as the shame following a forc'd retrait, he secretly practised the advice of his Councell, upon whom the burthen must be laid of his entrance, and leaving *Egypt*.

It is indeed lesse prejudiciall in such like cases, that errors, dishonours, and losses, be laid on Counsellors and Captains, than on Kings; on the Directed, than on the Director: for the honour and reputation of a Prince is far more precious than that of a Vassall. *Charls* the fift, as many other Princes have done, layd the losse and dishonour he received in the invasion of *France*, by the way of *Provence*, to *Antonie de Leva*, whether justly or no, I know not; but howsoever, all the Historians of that time agree, that the sorrow thereof cost that brave Captain his life. Certainly to give any violent advice in doubtfull enterprises is rather a testimony of love, than of wisdom, in the giver; for the ill successe is alwaies cast upon the Counsell, the good never wants a Father, though a false one, to acknowledge it. Yet I have sometime known it, that great Commanders, who are for the present in place of Kings, have not onely been disswaded, but held, in a kind by strong hand, from hazzarding their own persons, and yet have those kind of Mutiners never been called to a Marshals Court.

§. II.

How the Citie of Rhodes *was besieged by* Demetrius.

THis departure of *Antigonus*, left behind it many dead carcasses, and a great deal of joy in *Egypt*. *Ptolomy* held a solemn Feast, and sent Messengers abroad, loaden with glad news, to *Seleucus*, *Lysimachus*, and *Cassander*, his Confederates: strongly encouraging all that side, with the report of this his late felicity, though it appeared but in a defensive War. *Antigonus* on the contrary, flattered himself with another interpretation, calling the joys of his enemies for witnesses of his own greatness, seeing they arose but from so little things: his enemies being but bare savers by the last bargain, and himself, as he supposed, having lost but a little time, and no part of his honour in the late retrait. Howsoever it were, yet he meant to follow his affairs henceforth in another fashion; for that which he could not cleave a-sunder by great blows, he purposed by little and little to pare off, by cutting off the branches first, to fell the

the Tree it self with the more facility. To effect which, he resolved (leaving the great ones to grow awhile) to root up the Dependants of his Enemies: Dependants, whom the fore named Confederates should be forc't either to relieve, or to lose; and hereby he doubted not to draw them into the field, where the advantage of power, and of all other warlike provision promised him victory.

At this time the Citie of *Rhodes* was very mighty, being well governed, and having long held it self in good Neutrality; it drew the better part of all the trade of those parts, and therein a great deal of riches to it self; to maintain which, and to increase it, it furnished and kept on the Seas a Fleet of well armed Ships, by which it not onely beat off all Pyrates and petty Theeves, but the reputation of their strength was thereby so much increased, as all the neighbour Princes sought their alliance and confederacy.

In this so dangerous a time (in which they must either refuse all that sought them, and so stand friendlesse and apart; or joyn themselves to some one, and thereby forgoe the peace, by which their greatnesse had grown) their affections carryed them to the *Egyptian*: both because the greatest part of their trade lay that way, as also for that *Antigonus* his disposition, greatnesse, and neighbourhood was fearfull unto them. This affection of theirs, with some other passages more apparent, gave argument of quarrel to *Antigonus*, who began to declare himself against them by petty injuries, of taking some of their ships, with such other grievances, while he made a more weighty preparation, to pursue the War against them openly and strongly. All things soon after ordered according to the greatnesse of the enterprise, he employed his Son *Demetrius* against them in their own Iland, who brought such terrour upon the Citizens, that laying aside all respect of friendship and honour, they offered him their assistance and service against whomsoever. *Demetrius*, who knew from whence this change came, and that the alteration was perswaded by fear, and not by love; raised his demands to an intolerable height, requiring a hundred Hostages to be delivered him, and liberty to lodge in their Port as many ships of War as himself pleased. These conditions more properly to be imposed upon a State already conquered, than on those who as yet had heard of nothing but a constrained assistance, restored unto the *Rhodians* their lost courage, & made them resolve to defend their liberty to the last man: this taught them to infranchise all their able bondmen, and wisely rather to make them their fellow-Citizens, than to make themselves fellow-slaves with them.

Demetrius having refused the fair conditions offered (as the *Rhodians* the fearfull ones propounded unto them) makes preparation for a long siege, and finding no appearance to carry the place in furie, he set in hand with his Engines of battery; in the invention and use of which, he did never shew himself a greater Artisan, than in this War. But in conclusion, after the Citizens had sustained all the assaults given them for a whole year, after many brave sallies out of the Town, and the famine which they endured within the Town, which had proved far more extreme, if *Ptolomy* had not with many hazzards relieved them, *Demetrius* by mediation of the *Grecian* Embassadors, gave over the siege; a hundred hostages they gave him for performance of the peace made, but with exception of all the Magistrates and Officers of the Citie.

Hereunto *Demetrius* was brought by the usuall policie of War, and state: for while with the flower of all his fathers forces he lay before *Rhodes*, *Cassander* recovered many of those places in *Greece*, which *Demetrius* had formerly taken from him; neither did *Cassander* make the War as in former times, by practice and surprise, but by a strong and well compounded army, which he himself led as far as into *Attica*, and therewith greatly distressed and endangered *Athens* it self. On the other side (though with lesse successe) did *Polysperchon* invade *Peloponnesus*. These dangerous undertakings upon *Greece*, advised the *Athenians* and *Aetolians* to dispatch their Embassadors towards *Demetrius*, and advised *Demetrius* rather to abandon the enterprise of *Rhodes*, than to abandon the great honour which he had formerly gotten by setting all *Greece* at liberty.

Demetrius was no sooner out of the Iland, than that the *Rhodians* erected statues in honour of *Lysimachus* and *Cassander*; but for *Ptolomy*, whom they most affected, and from whom they received their most relief, they consulted with the Oracle of *Jupiter*, whether it were not lawfull to call him a *god*. The Priests which attended in the Temple of *Hammon*, gave the same fair answer for *Ptolomy*, which they had formerly done for *Alexander* his

his Master; for as *Alexander* consulted the Oracle with an Army at his heels, so was *Ptolomy* at this time Lord of the soil: and yet was this a far more cleanly creation than that done by the *Athenians*, who deified *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* by decree of the people. A mad age it was, when so many of *Alexanders* Captains could not content themselves with the stile of Kings, but that they would needs be called gods.

§. III.

How Demetrius *prevailed in* Greece. Cassander *desires peace of* Antigonus, *and cannot obtain it. Great preparations of War against* Antigonus.

Demetrius comming with a strong Fleet and Armie into *Greece*, quickly drave *Cassander* out of *Attica*, and pursuing his fortune, chased him beyond the straits of *Thermopylæ*. Herein his reputation did muuh avail him; which was so great, that six thousand of his enemies Souldiers revolted unto him. So, partly by the greatnesse of his name, partly by force, he recovered in short space all that *Cassander* held in those straits, and giving libertie unto the people, he bestowed upon the *Athenians* those peeces, which had been fortified against them, to block them up. Then went hee into *Peloponnesus*, where hee found the like, or more easie successe: for he suddenly took *Argos*, *Corinth*, *Sicyon*, and the most of the Country, bestowing liberty upon such as needed it. The Town of *Sicyon* he translated by consent of the Citizens, from the old seat into another place, and called it after his own name, *Demetrius*. This done, he betook himself to his pleasure. At the *Isthman* games, hee caused himself to be proclamed Captain Generall of *Greece*, as *Philip* and *Alexander* had been in former times: whereupon (as if he were now become as great as *Alexander*) he despised all others, making it a matter of jest, that any, save himself or his father, should usurp the Name of King. But in his behaviour hee was so farre unlike to a King, that in all the time of his leasure, he deserved none other name than of a drunken *Palliard*. Yet were the *Athenians* as ready as ever to devise new honours for him: among which they made one Decree, That whatsoever King *Demetrius* should command, ought to be held sacred with the gods, and just with men.

All *Greece* being now at the disposition of *Antigonus*, *Cassander* stood in great fear, lest the war should fall heavily upon him in *Macedon*: which to avoyd, he knew no better way than to make peace with his enemies betimes. And to that purpose he sent Embassadours; but had no better answer from *Antigonus*, than that he should submit his whole estate to his discretion. This proud demand made him look about him, and labour hard in solliciting his friends, both to assist him, and take heed to themselves; neither found he them slow in apprehending the common danger: for *Lysimachus* knew that if once *Cassander* had lost *Macedon*, *Demetrius* would soon be Master of *Thrace*. Neitheir were *Ptolomie* and *Seleucus* ignorant of that which was like to befall them, if *Antigonus* were suffered to put himself in quiet possession of those Provinces in *Europe*. Wherefore it was agreed, that with joyut forces they should all together set upon the commrn enemy.

Hereof *Antigonus* had notice: but scorned all their preperations, saying, That he would as easily scatter them, as a flock of birds are driven away with a stone. With these conceits he pleased himself, and no way hindred the proceedings of his Enemie. He lay at that time in his Town of *Antigonia* (a name that it must shortly lose) where he was carefully providing to set out some stately game and Pageants, in ostentation of his glory. But thither was brought unto him the tumultuous newes of *Lysimachus* his victories about *Hellespont*. For *Cassander* had committed unto *Lysimachus* part of his forces, wherewith to passe over into *Asia*, while he himself with the rest should oppose *Demetrius* on *Europe* side. So *Lysimachus* passing the *Hellespont*, began to make hot War upon the subjects of *Antigonus*; getting some of the Cities in those parts, to joyn with him by fair means: winning others by force, and wasting the Country round about.

To represse this unexpected boldnesse, *Antigonus* made hasty journies, and came soon enough to recover his losses, but not strong enough to drive *Lysimachus* home, or compell him to come to battell. *Lysimachus* waited for the comming of *Seleucus*; keeping

ping himself the whileſt from neceſſity of fighting. But *Babylon* was far off; and *Seleucus* his preparations were too great to be ſoon in a readineſſe. The Winter alſo did hinder his journy: which inforced them on both ſides to reſt in ſome quiet, without performing any matter of importance. This delay of debating the quarrell in open field, held all thoſe Nations in a great ſuſpence, and bred much expectation. Yet might all have come to nothing, had not *Antigonus* been ſo forward, that he refuſed to yeeld upon any peaceable conditions. At length *Seleucus* drew neer with a mighty Army of his own (for he had gathered ſtrength in that long time of leaſure, which *Antigonus* had given him) and with great aid from *Ptolomie*, that was joyned with his forces.

To help in this needfull caſe, *Demetrius* was called over into *Aſia* by his Fathers letters: which he readily obeyed. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he made peace with *Caſſander*, upon reaſonable termes: to the end he might not be driven to leave any part of his Army for defence of the Country; and that his journy might be without any ſuch blemiſh of reputation, as if hee had abandoned his Dependants: for one Article of the peace was, That all the Cities of *Greece* ſhould be at liberty. *Caſſander* was glad to be ſo rid of an Enemy that was too ſtrong for him. Yet would this league have done him little good, if things had fallen out contrariwiſe than they did in *Aſia*; ſeeing the ratification thereof was referred unto *Antigonus*. It ſufficed, that for the preſent, every one found means to clear himſelf of all incumbrances elſe-where, to the end that each of them might freely apply himſelf to the tryall of the main controverſie in *Aſia*.

§. IV.

How Antigonus *was ſlain in a great battell at* Ipſus, *neer unto* Epheſus; *wherein his whole eſtate was loſt.*

Seleucus, with his Sonne *Antiochus*, joyning with *Lyſimachus*, compounded a great Armie, which was (all conſidered) not inferiour to that of the *Enemy*. In greatneſſe of name (that helpeth much in all Warres, but eſpecially in the Civill) they were rather unanſwerable than unequall to their adverſaries: for *Antigonus* had of long time kept them under with a maſtering ſpirit, and had been reputed a King indeed, when the reſt were held but Uſurpers of the Title. Likewiſe *Demetrius* was generally acknowledged a brave Commander, having given proof of his worth in many great ſervices of all kinds, and enriched the art of war with many inventions, which even his enemies, and particularly *Lyſimachus*, did much admire. *Seleucus*, who had ſome times flattered *Antigonus*, and fearfully ſtoln away from him to ſave his life, with young *Antiochus*, a Prince not heard of before this journy; and *Lyſimachus*, that had lived long in a corner, hardly keeping his own from the wilde *Thracians*; wanted much in reputation, of that which was yeelded to their oppoſites: yet ſo, that as ancient Captains under *Philip* and *Alexander*, two of them were held worthy enough to receive any benefit that fortune might give, and the third a Prince of great hope, whereof he now came to make experience.

The Souldiers, on both ſides, were for the moſt part hardy and well exerciſed: many of them having ſerved under *Alexander*; though of thoſe old Companies, the long ſpace of two and twenty years had conſumed the greateſt number. But concerning their affections, the followers of *Seleucus* were eaſily perſwaded, that in this battell they muſt either get the upper hand, or put in extreme danger all that belonged unto the Confederate Princes; whereas *Antigonus* his men could diſcern no other neceſſitie of fighting, than the obſtinate quality of their Lord, that needs would be Maſter of all. *Antigonus* had about threeſcore and ten thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and threeſcore and fifteen Elephants. His enemies were ſix thouſand ſhort of him in number of their foot; in horſe they had the oddes of five hundred; of Elephants they had four hundred, and an hundred and twenty armed Chariots of War: which helps, though they little had availed the *Perſians*, yet were they not to be deſpiſed, in the hands of a good Captain.

Antigonus himſelf, either troubled with the unexpected greatneſſe of his enemies forces, or preſaging little good like to enſue, grew very penſive, communing much in private

private with his ſon whom he commended to the Army as his Succeſſor: whereas in former times he had never been ſo jocund, as towards the houre of battell, nor had been accuſtomed to make his ſon, or any other, private to his counſell, before it required execution. Other tokens of bad luck, either foregoing the fight, or afterwards deviſed, I hold it needleſſe to recount. *Diana* of *Epheſus* dwelt neer to the place of battell, a buſie goddeſſe in many great fights; and therefore likely to have been thruſt into the fable, if any matter, neerly reſembling a miracle, had chanced.

It is eaſie to beleeve, that theſe two ſo gallant Armies, containing well neer all the ſtrength of *Alexanders* whole Empire, performed a notable fight, being led by ſuch worthy Commanders, and whom the iſſue thereof did highly concerne. Yet are few of the particulars recorded: an eaſie loſſe in regard of the much variety, wherewith every ſtory aboundeth in this kinde. The moſt memorable things in the battell, were theſe: *Demetrius* with his beſt force of horſe, charged valiantly upon young *Antiochus*; whom when he had broken, and put to flight, he was ſo tranſported with the heat of his good ſucceſſe, that he never gave over his purſuit, but left his Father naked, and loſt thereby both him, and the victory. For when *Seleucus* perceived this advantage, he enterpoſed his Elephants, between *Demetrius* and the Phalanx of *Antigonus*; and with many troupes of horſe offering to break upon the enemies battell, whereſoever it lay moſt open, he did ſo terrifie the *Antigonians*, that a great part of them rather choſe to revolt from their Lord, whileſt they were fairely invited, than to ſuſtaine the fury of ſo dangerous an impreſſion. This cowardize, or rather treaſon of ſome diſcouraged others; and finally, caſt them all into flight; expoſing their Generall to the laſt end of his deſtinies. *Antigonus* was then foureſcore yeers old, very fat and unwildy, ſo that he was unapt for flight, if his high ſpirit could have entertained any thought thereof. He had about him ſome of his moſt truſty followers, and as many others as he could hold together. When one that perceived a great troupe making towards his perſon, told him, *Sir King, yonder company meanes to charge you*; He anſwered, *Well may they; for who defends me? but anon* Demetrius *will relieve us.* Thus expecting to the very laſt, that his ſon ſhould come to the reſcue, he received ſo many Darts into his body, as took away his lately ambitious, but then fearefull hopes, together with his troubleſome life.

His great ability in matter of Armes, together with his unſatiable deſire of Empire, have ſufficiently appeared in the whole Volume of his actions. He was more feared by his enemies, than loved by his friends; as one that could not moderate his fortune, but uſed inſolence toward all alike, as if it had been ſome vertue neereſt repreſenting a Kingly Majeſty. This was the cauſe that ſo many of his followers revolted to his enemies; and finally, that a great part of his Army forſook him in his laſt neceſſity. For thoſe Kings and Princes that call all the carefull indeavours of their Vaſſalls, onely duty and debt; and are more apt to puniſh the leaſt offences, than to reward the greateſt ſervices: ſhall finde themſelves upon the firſt change of fortune, (ſeeing it is love onely that taies by adverſity) not onely the moſt friendleſſe, but even the moſt contemptible, and deſpiſed of all other. This *Antigonus* found true in part, while he lived; in part he left it to be verified upon his ſon.

§. V.

How Demetrius, *forſaken by the Athenians after his overthrow, was reconciled to* Seleucus *and* Ptolomy, *beginning a new fortune, and ſhortly entering into quarrels.*

FOr *Demetrius*, at his returne from the idle purſuit of young *Antiochus*, finding all quite loſt, was glad to ſave himſelf, with foure thouſand horſe and five thouſand foot, by a ſpeedy retrait unto *Epheſus*, whence he made great haſte unto *Athens*, as to the place, that for his ſake would ſuffer any extremity. But whileſt he was in the middeſt of his courſe thither, the *Athenian* Embaſſadours met him with a decree of the people, which was, that none of the Kings ſhould bee admitted into their City. Theſe were Embaſſadours, not *Theori*, or Conſulters with the Oracle. It was a ſhameleſſe ingratitude in the *Athenians*, to reward their Benefactor, in his miſerie, with ſuch a decree: neither did any part of his calamity more afflict the unfortunate

Prince than to see his adversity despised by those whom he had thought his surest friends. Yet was he fain to give good words. For he had left many of his ships in their Haven, of which he now stood in great need; and therefore was fain to speak them fair, that sometimes had grosly flattered him. But he shall live to teach them their old language, and speak unto them in another tune. When he had gotten his ships, he sailed to the *Isthmus*, where he found nothing but matter of discomfort. His Garrisons were every where broken up; the Souldiers having betaken themselves to his enemies pay. So that he was King onely of a small Army and Fleet, without money or meanes wherewith ro sustain him and his followers any long time. All the rest, or the greatest part of his Fathers large Dominion, was now in dividing among the Conquerers, and those few places which as yet held for him (having not perchance heard the worst of what had happened) he no way knew how to relieve: for to put himself into the field on that side of the Sea, he had no power; and to inclose himself in any of them, how strong soever, were but to imprison his fortune, and his hopes, or therein indeed to bury himself and his estate: He therefore creeping thorow those bushes that had fewest briers, fell upon a corner of *Lysimachus* his Kingdom, whereof he gave all the spoile that was gotten, to his Souldiers, his own losses having been too great to be repayed again by small prizes.

In the meane while the Confederate Princes had wherewithall to busie themselves, in the partition of those Provinces, of which their late victory had made them Lords: wherein *Seleucus* had a notable advantage by being present, and Master of the field; for neither *Ptolomy* nor *Cassander* were at the overthrow given, having onely sent certain troupes to re-inforce the army which *Seleucus* led, who took hold of a part of *Asia* the lesse, and all *Syria*, being no otherwise divided from his own Territory, than by the River of *Euphrates*. For there had not any order been taken by the Confederates, for the division of all those Lands: because they did not expect so prosperous an issue of that war, which they made onely in their own common defence. It was therefore lawfull for *Seleucus*, to make the best benefit that he could of the victory, at which nevertheless others did repine; and though they neither could nor durst accuse him of ill dealing for the present, yet seeing the over greatnesse of *Seleucus* brought no lesse danger to the rest of the new Kings, than that of *Antigonus* had done, they consulted upon the same reason of State as before, how to oppose it in time. Neither was *Seleucus* ignorant of what they had determined; for he read it in the Law universall of Kingdomes and States, needing no other intelligence. Hereupon they forget friendships on all sides, and cure themselves of all unprofitable passion, the hatred of each to other, and their loves being laid on the one side, against their profits on the other, were found so far too light, as *Seleucus*, who had to day slain *Antigonus* the father, and driven *Demetrius* the son out of *Asia*, sought to morrow how to match himself with *Stratonica*, *Demetrius* his Daughter, and so by *Demetrius* to serve his turne against *Lysimachus*.

The story of this *Stratonica*, with whom young *Antigonus*, the son of *Seleucus* fell so passionately in love, and so distempered, as *Seleucus* his father, to save his sons life, gave her (though shee were his wife) unto him; and how his passion was discovered by his pulse, is generally noted by all Writers. But neither did this alliance between *Seleucus* and *Demetrius*; between *Ptolomy* and *Lysimachus*; between *Demetrius* and *Cassander*; between *Demetrius* and *Ptolomy*; though for the present it brought him again into the rank of Kings; otherwise tye any of them to each other, than the marriages between Christian Kings have done in latter times, namely between the *Austrians*, the *Aragonians*, the *French*, and other Princes; neither have the Leagues of those elder times been found more faithfull, than those of the same latter times have been, as in the stories of *Charles* the eighth of *France*, and of *Charles* the Emperour, of *Francis* the first, and of the Kings of *Naples*, Dukes of *Millan*, and others, the Reader may observe: between whom from the yeer of our Lord, *One thousand foure hundred ninety and five*, when *Charles* the eighth undertook the Conquest of *Naples*, to the yeer *One thousand five hundred fifty and eight*, when *Henry* the second died; the Histories of those times tell us, that all the bonds, either by the Bed or by the Booke, either by Weddings, or Sacramentall Oaths, had neither faithfull purpose nor performance. Yet did *Demetrius* reap this profit by giving his daughter to his enemy *Seleucus*, that he recovered *Silicia* from *Plistarchus*, the brother of *Cassander*, who had gotten it as his

his share in the division of *Antigonus* his possessions: for the Intruder was not strong enough to hold it by his proper forces from him, that entred upon it as a lawfull heire, neither would *Seleucus* lend him any help, as by the rule of Confederacy he should have done against the common enemy. So *Plistarchus* with very angry complaint, as well against *Seleucus* as *Demetrius*, went unto *Cassander*; whither *Phila*, their sister, followed him shortly, to pacifie them both, and keep all quiet; being sent for that purpose by *Demetrius* her husband, that was not strong enough to deale with *Cassander*; & therefore glad to make use of that bond of alliance betwixt them, whereof in his own prosperity, he never took notice to the others good. About the same time he took to wife a daughter of *Ptolomy* (plurality of wives being familiar with these *Macedonians*, that had learned it in their Eastern conquests) and so was he by two marriages rather freed from two enemies, than strengthened with two friends; for neither of them wished him any good, otherwise than might seem to advance their own ambitious desires.

Seleucus and *Ptolomy* could both of them have been contented better, that *Demetrius*, with help of their countenance, should seek his fortune somewhat farther off, than settle his estate under their noses. Particularly, *Seleucus* thought that *Cilicia* lay very fitly for himself: and *Ptolomy* had a great appetite (which yet he concealed a while) to the Isle of *Cyprus*. Now whether it were so, that *Seleucus* would fain have set his new father-in-law upon the neck of *Lysimachus*; or whether he were indeed greedy of the bargain; he offered to buy of *Demetrius* for ready money, his late purchase of *Cilicia*. Hereunto *Demetrius* would not hearken, but meant to keep as much land as he could, having already found in *Cilicia* twelve thousand talents of his fathers treasure, that would serve him to make sport a while. This refusall so displeased *Seleucus*, that in angry terms he demanded the Cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, to be surrendred unto him; which were the only places in *Syria*, that had not followed the fortune of the late great battell. In stead of giving them up, *Demetrius* took present order to have them better maned; and spake it stoutly, That were he overcome a thousand times, yet would he not hire *Seleucus* to become his Son-in-law. In this quarrell *Seleucus* was generally reprehended, as one of a malignant disposition, that would break friendship with his Father-in-law for two Towns, from whom he had already taken more than well he knew how to governe. But the fire consumed it self in words, which had it fastened upon armes, like it is that the weaker should have found friends out of envie to the stronger.

§. VI.

How Demetrius *won the City of Athens, and prevailed in Greece, but lost in Asia. Of troubles in Macedon following the death of* Cassander.

IN the meane while, the *Athenians* not knowing how to use the liberty which *Demetrius* had bestowed on them, were fallen by sedition, under the Tyranny of *Lachares*. Through which alteration their distempered City was so weakened, that it seemed ill able to keep off the punishment due to their late ingratitude. This advantage hastened him, whom they had once called their *God and Saviour*, to present himself unto them, in the habit of a revenging fury. He brought against them all the force that he could well spare from other employments, which were at that time perhaps the more, because his doubtfull Eastern friends, were unwilling to give impediment to any businesse, that might entangle him in *Greece*. His first enterprise in *Athens* had ill successe; a great part of his fleet perishing in a tempest. But he soon repaired the losse; and (after some victories in *Peloponnesus*, where he wan divers Towns that had fallen from him) returning to the enterprise, wasted the Country of *Attica*, and cut off all relief from the City, both by Land and Sea.

Athens was not able to feed the great multitude within it any long time: for it stood in a barren soil, and wanted now the command of those Ilands, and places abroad, from whence it was wont to be stored with victuals; being also destitute of meanes to keep such a Navie, as might bring in supply, or dare to do any thing at Sea, against that of *Demetrius*. Yet was there some hope of succour from *Ptolomy*, who (trusting thereby to win the love of *Greece*) had loaden an 150. ships with corne, and sent them to relieve the hungry City. But these hundred and fifty were unable to deale with three hundred

good fighting ships, which *Demetrius* had; rather they feared to become a prey to him, and therefore hasted them away betimes, as having done enough, in adventuring to come so neer that they might be descried. This brake the heart of the people, among whom the famine was so extreme, that a Father and his Son did fight for a dead mouse, which dropped down between them from the house top. Wherefore they sent Embassadours to yeeld up the Town, and crave pardon, having so far offended, that out of desperation, they made it a capitall offence to propose any motion of peace. Yet were they fain to abolish this decree: rather because they knew not what else to doe, than because they hoped to be forgiven.

Demetrius, contented with the honour of the victory, did not onely forbare to take away the lives of these unthankfull men, which they had submitted unto his mercy; but out of his liberality gave them food, and placed in Office amongst them such as were most acceptable to the people. Nevertheless he was grown wiser than to trust them so far as he had done in times past. And therefore, when (among other flattering acclamations) they bade him take their Havens, and dispose of them at his pleasure; he was ready to lay hold upon the word, and leave a sure Garrison within their walls, to keep them honest perforce. After this he went into *Peloponnesus*, vanquished the *Lacedæmonians* in two battels, and was in very faire possibility to take their City: when the dangerous newes of *Lysimachus* and *Ptolomy*, that prevailed faster upon him elsewhere, than himself did upon his enemies in *Greece*, called him in all haste. *Lysimachus* had won many Towns in *Asia*; *Ptolomy* had gotten all the Isle of *Cyprus*, except the City of *Salamis*, wherein *Demetrius* had left his Children and Mother, that were straightly besieged. Whilest he was bethinking himself which way to turn his face, a notable piece of businesse offered it self, which thrust all other cares out of his head.

Cassander was lately dead in *Macedon*, and soon after him, *Philip* his eldest son, whose two yonger brethren, *Antipater* and *Alexander*, sought for the Kingdom. In this quarrell *Thessalonica* the Daughter of King *Philip*, whom *Cassander* had married, seemed better affected to *Alexander*, than to her elder son: who thereupon grew so enraged, that most barbarously he slew his own Mother. The odiousnesse of this fact gave a fair lustre to *Alexanders* cause: drawing the generality of the *Macedons* to take his part, as in revenge of the Queens death, upon that wicked parricide *Antipater*. But *Antipater* was so strongly backed by *Lysimachus*, whose daughter he had married; that *Alexander* could not hope to make his party good without some forraign aide. For which cause he called in both *Pyrrhus* and *Demetrius*; who how they dealt with him, it will soon appeare in the following Tragedy, of him and his brother. Their Father *Cassander* had been one that shifted well for himself, at such time as every man sought how to get somewhat, in the ill ordered division of the Empire. He was cunning in practice, and a good Souldier: one of more open dealing than were his Companions, but withall more impudent, rudely killing those, whom others would more wisely have made away. He deeply hated the memory of *Alexander*, that had knocked his head against a wall, upon some opinion of contempt. With *Olympias* he had an hereditary quarrell, derived from his father, whom she could not abide. Her feminine malice did so exasperate him, by cruelty that she used against his friends, both alive and dead; as it made him adventure upon shedding the Royall bloud: wherewith, when once he had stained his hands, he did not care how far he proceeded in that course of murder. His carefulnesse to destroy those women and children, whose lives hindred his purpose, argues him to have been rather skilfull in matters of arms, than a valiant man: such cruelty being a true mark of cowardize, which fears a-far off the dangers, that may quietly passe away: and seeks to avoid them by base and wicked meanes, as never thinking it self safe enough, untill there be nothing left, that carries likelihood of danger. Of *Olympias* and *Roxane* it may be said, that they had well deserved the bloudy end which over-took them; yet ill beseemed it *Cassander* to doe the office of a Hang-man. But *Alexanders* children had by no law of men, deserved to die for the tyranny of their Father. Wherefore, though *Cassander* died in his bed, yet the divine Justice brought swords upon his wife and children, that well revenged the cruelty of this bloudy man, by destroying his whole house as he had done his Masters.

§. VII.

§. VII.

of Pyrrhus *and his doings in Macedon. The death of* Cassanders *children.* Demetrius *gets the Kingdome of Macedon; prevailes in war against the Greeks; Loseth reputation in his war against* Pyrrhus, *and in his civill Government, and prepares to win Asia. How all conspire against* Demetrius. Pyrrhus *and* Lysimachus *invade him, his Army yeelds to* Pyrrhus, *who shares the Kingdome of Macedon with* Lysimachus.

Pyrrhus, the Son of that unfortunate Prince *Æacides*, which perished in war against *Cassander*, was hardly preserved, being a suckling Infant, from the fury of his Fathers enemies. When his Fosterers had conveighed him to *Glaucias* King of *Illyria*; the deadly hatred of *Cassander* would have bought his life with the price of two hundred Talents. But no man can kill him that shall be his heire. *Glaucias* was so farre from betraying *Pyrrhus*, that he restored him by force to his Fathers Kingdome, when he was but twelve yeers of age. Within the compasse of six yeers, either the indiscretions of his youth, or the rebellious temper of his Subjects, drave him out of his Kingdome, and left him to trie the world anew. Then went he to *Demetrius* (who married his sister) became his Page, followed him a while in his wars, was with him in the great battell of *Ipsus*, whence he fled with him to *Ephesus*; and was content to be hostage for him, in his reconciliation with *Ptolomy*. In *Egypt* he so behaved himself, that he got the favour of *Berenice*, *Ptolomies* principall wife; so that he married her daughter, and was thereupon sent home, with mony and men, into *Epirus*; more beholding now to *Ptolomy*, than to *Demetrius*. When he had fully recovered the Kingdome of *Epirus*, and was settled in it, then fell out that busines between the children of *Cassander*, which drew both him and *Demetrius* into *Macedon*.

Antipater, the elder of *Cassanders* sons, was so far too weak for *Pyrrhus*, that he had no desire to attend the coming of *Demetrius*, but made an hasty agreement, & divided the Kingdom with his younger brother *Alexander*; who likewise felt the aide of *Pyrrhus* so troublesome, that he was more willing to send him away, than to call in such another helper. For *Pyrrhus* had the audacity to request, or take as granted, by strong hand, *Ambracia*, *Acarnania*, and much more of the Country, as the reward of his pains: leaving the two brethren to agree as well as they could about the rest. Necessity enforced the brethren to composition: but their composition would not satisfie *Demetrius*, who took the matter hainously, that he was sent for, and made a foole, to come so far with an Army, and finde no work for it. This was a frivolous complaint; whereby it appeared, that *Demetrius* had a purpose to doe as *Pyrrhus* had done, and so much more, by how much he was stronger. Hereupon it seemed to *Alexander* a wise course, to remove this over-diligent friend, by murdering him upon some advantage. Thus *Demetrius* reported the story, and it might be true; though the greatest part, and perhaps the wisest, beleeved it not. But the issue was, that *Alexander* himself was feasted and slain by *Demetrius*; who took his part of the Kingdome, as a reward of the murder; excusing the fact so well, by telling his own danger, and what a naughty man *Cassander* had been, that all the *Macedonians* grew glad enough to acknowledge him their King. It fell out happily, that about the same time *Lysimachus* was busied in war with a King of the wilde *Thracians*: for thereby he was compelled to seek peace of *Demetrius*, which to obtain, he caused the remainder of *Macedon* to be given up; that is, the part belonging to *Antipater*, his Son-in-law. At this ill bargaine *Antipater* grievously stormed, though he knew not how to amend it: yet still he stormed; untill his Father-in-law, to save the labour of making many excuses, took away his troublesome life. Thus in haste, with a kind of neglect, and as it were to avoid molestation, were slaine the children of *Cassander*: of *Cassander* that had slain his own Masters children, in a wise course of policy, with carefull meditation (so much the more wicked as the more long) studying how to erect his own house, that fell down upon his grave, ere the earth on it was throughly settled.

It might be thought, that such an accesse of Dominion, added much to the greatness of *Demetrius*. But in deed it shewed his infirmity; and thereby made him neglected by many, and at length hated by all. For he had no art of civill Government: but thought (or shewed by his actions that he thought) the use and fruit of a Kingdom, to be none

other, than to doe what a King liſted. He gave himſelf over to Women and Wine, laughing openly at thoſe which offered to trouble him with ſupplications, and the tedious diſcourſe of doing juſtice. He had more ſkill in getting a Kingdom, than in ruling it: war being his recreation, and luxury his nature. By long reſt (as ſix yeers reign is long to him, that knows not how to reign one yeer) he diſcovered ſo much of his worſt conditions, as made the people both weary of his idleneſſe; and the Souldiers of his vanity. He was freed from care of matters in *Aſia*, by hearing that all was loſt: though more eſpecially, by hearing that *Ptolomie* had with great honour, entertained and diſmiſſed his mother and children. This affoorded him the better leiſure, of making war in *Greece*; where he vanquiſhed the *Thebans*, and won their City twice in ſhort ſpace, but uſed his victory with mercy. Againſt *Lyſimachus* he would fain have done ſomewhat (the peace between them notwithſtanding) at ſuch time as he was taken by the *Thracians*; but *Lyſimachus* was freely diſmiſſed, and in good caſe to make reſiſtance ere *Demetrius* came; ſo as this journy purchaſed nothing but enmity. Another expedition he took in hand againſt *Pyrrhus*, with no better, or rather with worſe event. *Pyrrhus* held ſomewhat belonging to *Macedon*, which he had indeed as honeſtly gotten, as *Demetrius* the whole Kingdom; he had alſo made excurſions into *Theſſaly*. But there needed not any handſome pretence of quarrell, ſeeing *Demetrius* thought himſelf ſtrong enough, to over-run his enemies Country, with two great Armies. It is a common fault in men, to deſpiſe the vertue of thoſe, whom they have known raw Novices in that faculty, wherein themſelves are noted as extraordinary. *Pyrrhus* was a Captain, whom latter ages, and particularly the great *Hannibal*, placed higher in the rank of Generals, than either *Demetrius*, or any of *Alexanders* followers. At this time, he miſſed that part of the Army, which *Demetrius* led, and fell upon the other half: which he overthrew, not with more commendations of his good conduct, than of his private valour, ſhewed in ſingle combat againſt *Pantauchus*, *Demetrius* his Lievtenant; who being a ſtrong man of body, challenged this young Prince to fight hand to hand, and was utterly beaten. The loſſe of this battell did not ſo much offend the *Macedonians*, as the gallant behaviour of *Pyrrhus* delighted them. For in him they ſeemed to behold the lively figure of *Alexander* in his beſt quality. Other Kings did imitate, in a Counterfeit manner, ſome of *Alexanders* graces, and had good ſkill in wearing Princely veſtures: but (ſaid they) none, ſave *Pyrrhus*, is like him in deed, in performing the office of a Captain.

Theſe rumours were not more nouriſhed by the vertue of the *Epirot*, than by diſlike of their own King; whom they began to diſ-eſteeme, not ſo much in regard of his unprofitable journey into *Epirus* (for he had waſted much of the Country, and brought home his Army in good caſe) as of his inſolence, that grew daily more and more intolerable. His apparrell ſeemed, in the eyes of the *Macedons*, not onely too ſumptuous and new-fangled, but very unmanly; and ſerving chiefly to bee a daily witneſſe, how much he contemned them and their good opinions. Of his ſouldiers lives he was retchleſſe: and ſuffered unwiſely this un-princely ſentance to eſcape out of his mouth; That *the more of them died, the fewer he was to pay*. He made a mockery of juſtice; and (as it were, to publiſh unto all his Subjects, how little he eſteemed it or them) having by a ſhew of popularity invited Petitioners, and with a gratious countenance entertained their Supplications, he led the poor ſuters after him in great hope, till coming to a bridge, he threw all their writings into a River; pleaſing himſelf, in that he could ſo eaſily and ſo boldly delude the cares of other men. By theſe courſes he grew ſo odious, that *Pyrrhus* gathered audacity, and invading *Macedon*, had almoſt won it all with little reſiſtance. *Demetrius* lay then ſick in his bed: who recovering health, and taking the field, had ſuch great oddes of ſtrength, as made *Pyrrhus* glad to forſake his winnings and be gone,

At length he began to have ſome feeling of the generall hate; which to redreſſe, he did not (for he could not) alter his own conditions; but purpoſed to alter their idle diſcourſes of him, by ſetting them on work in ſuch an action, wherein his beſt qualities might appeare; that is, in a great War. His intent was to invade *Aſia*, with a Royall Army: wherein the fortune of one battell might give him as much, as the fortune of another had taken from him. To this end, he firſt made peace with *Pyrrhus*; that ſo he might leave all ſafe and quiet at home. Then did he compoſe a mighty Army,

of

of almoſt a hundred thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſes with a Navie of five hundred ſaile, wherein were many ſhips, far exceeding the greatneſſe of any that had been ſeen before; yet ſo ſwift and uſefull withall, that the greatneſſe was leaſt part of their commendation.

The terrible fame of theſe preparations, made *Seleuchus* and *Ptolomy* ſuſpect their own forces, and labour hard with *Lyſimachus* and *Pyrrhus*, to joyn againſt this ambitious ſon of *Antigonus*, that was like to prove more dangerous to them all, than ever was his father. It was eaſily diſcerned, that if *Demetrius* once prevailed in *Aſia*, there could be no ſecurity for his friends in *Europe*, what league ſoever were of old concluded. Therefore they reſolved to begin with him betimes, and each to invade that quarter of *Macedon*, that lay next his own Kingdom. *Lyſimachus* came firſt, and againſt him went *Demetrius* with a great part of his Army: but whileſt he was yet on the way, newes were brought into his Camp, that *Pyrrhus* had won *Berrhæa*. The matter was not over great: were it not, that minds prepared with long diſcontent, are ready to lay hold upon ſmall occaſions of diſlike. All the camp was in uproare: ſome wept, others raged, few or none did forbeare to utter ſeditious words, and many deſired leave of *Demetrius*, to goe to their own houſes, meaning indeed to have gone to *Lyſimachus*.

When *Demetrius* perceived the bad affection of his Army, he thought it the wiſeſt way, to lead the *Macedonians* further off from *Lyſimachus* their own countriman, againſt *Pyrrhus* that was a ſtranger: hoping by victory againſt the *Epirot*, to recover the love of his followers, in ſuch ſort that he might afterwards at leiſure deale with the other. But herein his wiſedom beguiled him. For the Souldiers were as haſty as he, to meet with *Pyrrhus*; not intending to hurt him, but longing to ſee that noble Prince, of whom they daily heard the honourable fame. Some ſpake of his valour; ſome enquired, others anſwered, of his perſon, his armour, and other tokens whereby he might be known; as particularly, by a paire of Goats hornes, that he wore on his creſt. It was not likely, that theſe men ſhould hurt him. Divers of them ſtole away, and ran over into *Pyrrhus* his camp: where the newes that they brought, were better welcome than their perſons. For they ſaid, and it was true, that if the *Macedonians* might once get ſight of *Pyrrhus*, they would all ſalute him King. To trie this, *Pyrrhus* rode forth, and preſented himſelf bareheaded in view of the camp, whither ſome were ſent before to prepare his welcome. The newes of his arrivall found a generall applauſe, and every one began to look out, with deſire to ſet eye on him. His face was not ſo well known as his Helmet; therefore he was admoniſhed to put it on: which done, all came about him, and proffered their ſervice; neither were there any, that ſpake for *Demetrius*; onely ſome (and they the moſt moderate of tongue) bade him be gone betimes, and ſhift for himſelf. So *Demetrius* threw aſide his maſkers habit, and attyring himſelf poorly, did fearfully ſteale away out of his own camp, deſerving well this calamity: whether it were ſo, that he would not hearken to the good counſell of his friends, or whether his behaviour deprived him of ſuch friends, as would dare to let him heare the unpleaſant ſound of neceſſary truth.

Whileſt *Pyrrhus* was making this triumphant entry into the Kingdom of *Macedon*; *Lyſimachus* came upon him very unſeaſonably, and would needs have half: ſaying, that he had done as much as *Pyrrhus* in the war; and therefore had reaſon to challenge his part of the gain. The bargain was quickly made, and the diviſion agreed upon: each of them being rather deſirous to take his part quietly, than to fight for the whole; as hoping each of them, to work his fellow quite out of all, upon better opportunity.

§. VIII.

How Demetrius *gathering forces, enterpriſed many things with ill ſucceſſe, in Greece and Aſia. How he was driven upon* Seleucus, *and compelled to yeeld himſelf. His impriſonment and death*

THe *Athenians* were as unthankfull to *Demetrius* in this his adverſity, as they had been in former times. For they preſently forſook his friendſhip, and called *Pyrrhus* out of *Macedon* to bee their Patron. *Demetrius*, when he went againſt *Lyſimachus*, had left a great part of his forces in *Greece*, under his ſon *Antigonus*. Therefore it is like, that he had ſoon gotten an Army, though *Phila* his wife (who

(who is highly commended for a wife and vertuous Lady) did poyſon her ſelf, upon deſperate grief for his misfortune. The firſt, upon whom he attempted to ſhew his anger, were the *Athenians* that had well deſerved it. He began to lay ſiege to their Town: but was pacified by *Crates* the Philoſopher, whom they had made their ſpoke-man; and taking fair words in ſtead of ſatisfaction, paſſed over into *Aſia*, with eleven thouſand Souldiers, meaning to trie his fortune againſt *Lyſimachus*, for the Provinces of *Lydia* and *Caria*.

At his firſt coming into thoſe parts, fortune ſeemed to ſmile upon him. For many good Towns, willingly, or by compulſion, yeelded to his obedience. There were alſo ſome Captains that fell from *Lyſimachus* to him, with their companies and treaſures. But it was not longer ere *Agathocles* the ſon of *Lyſimachus*, came upon him with an army ſo ſtrong, that it was not for *Demetrius* his good, to hazzard his laſt ſtoek againſt it. Wherefore, he reſolved to paſſe through *Phrygia* and *Armenia*, into *Media*, and the Provinces of the higher *Aſia*; truſting to finde a Kingdom ſomewhere in thoſe remote quarters. The execution of this counſell was grievouſly impeached by *Agathocles:* who purſued him cloſe, and cut off all his proviſions, driving him to take which wayes he could, without following his intended courſe. In many ſkirmiſhes *Demetrius* vanquiſhed this troubleſome enemy: nevertheleſſe, he could not be ſhaken off, but continued afflicting the poor titulary King, with extreme famine. At length, in paſſing the river *Lycus*, ſo many of *Demetrius* his men were loſt, that the reſt could no longer make reſiſtance: but were driven to travell with ſuch ſpeed as might well be called a plaine flight. So that with famine, peſtilent deſeaſes following famine, and other accidents of war, eight thouſand of them were conſumed: the reſt, with their Captain, eſcaped into *Cilicia*. *Seleucus* had gotten poſſeſſion of *Cilicia*, whileſt *Demetrius* was occupied in *Greece:* yet was it no part of *Demetrius* his errand, to lay claime to the Country; but with vehement and humble letters he beſought his Son-in-law, to call to mind their alliance, and to pitty him in his great miſery. Theſe letters, at the firſt wrought well with *Seleucus*, and he condeſcended to the requeſt: yet conſidering further how *Demetrius* had carried himſelf, when he recovered ſtrength after the battell at *Ipſus*, he changed his purpoſe, and went againſt him with an Army.

Many treaties were held between them; of which none took effect, through the jealouſie of *Seleucus*. Therefore, meer deſperation enforced *Demetrius* to fight like a mad man, and his furies got him ſome victories, though of ſmall importance. At length ſickneſſe took and held him forty dayes, in which time, a great number of his few men, ran to the enemy. This notwithſtanding he ſtill held out, and once had like to have taken *Seleucus* in his bed, had not his coming been diſcovered by fugitives, that gave alarme. Finally, when all his Army had forſaken him, and left him with a few of his friends to ſhift for himſelf, he was compelled by the laſt of thoſe adherents (for even ſome of thoſe few forſook him) to yeeld unto *Seleucus*.

Seleucus hearing this, was exceeding glad, and ſent him very comfortable meſſages. But the approbation of his own humanity, by his followers, was ſuch, as renewed his jealous thoughts; and hindred him from admitting *Demetrius* to his preſence, though otherwiſe he uſed him with as much favour, as any priſoner could wiſh. He was kept under ſure guard in a demy-Iſland, wherein were goodly Walkes, Orchards, and Parkes for hunting. He had all that he aſked royally, and friends allowed to viſit him, at his, and their pleaſure. Only his liberty was reſerved unto the coming of young *Antiochus* and *Stratonica*, out of the high countries. In this ſort he ſpent three yeers, living merily all the while (as one that now enjoyed the happineſſe, which with ſo much travell and bloud-ſhed, he had ſought in vain) and then dyed, leaving to his ſon *Antigonus*, the ſame which his father had left unto himſelf; that is, friends and hope. His aſhes were honourably buried in *Corinth*; his qualities have appeared in his actions, and the fortune of his Houſe will ſhew it ſelf hereafter, in times and places convenient.

§. IX.

§. IX.

The death of Ptolomy, *of* Lyſimachus, *and of* Seleucus, *that was laſt of* Alexanders *Captains: with other occurrences.*

ABout the ſame time that *Demetrius* died, died alſo *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, a vertuous Prince, war-like, gentle, bountifull, and (which in thoſe times was a rare commendation) regardfull of his word. He had, by many Wives and Concubines many children, out of whom he ſelected *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, and cauſed him to reign together with himſelf, two or three yeers before he died, that ſo he might confirm him in the inheritance of the Kingdom. At this, *Ptolomy Ceraunus* (for all of that houſe aſſumed the name of *Ptolomy*) was grievouſly incenſed. But no man cared for his anger. Therefore he went to *Seleucus*, who gave him loving entertainment. There were now onely two of *Alexanders* Captains left, *Seleuchus* and *Lyſimachus*. Theſe two needs would fight for it, who ſhould be the longeſt liver of that brave Company. The true ground of their quarrell, was their neer equality or ſtrength, and want of one to part them. The pretence was the murders which *Lyſimachus* had committed upon many of his Nobles, together with his poyſoning *Agathocles* his eldeſt ſon: whoſe wife and children fled unto *Seleucus* for aid.

The *Macedons*, after ſeven moneths pauſe, having ſpent their firſt heat of admiration, began to hearken ſo well to *Lyſimachus*, their naturall Country-man, that they forſook *Pyrrhus*, upon none other ground than becauſe he was an Alien. This they had known well enough before: but they did him no great wrong in taking lightly from him, that they lightly gave him. *Lyſimachus* had reigned about five yeers alone, when the City of *Lyſimachia* (built by him, and called after his name) falling by an earthquake, appeared, by events, to have fore-ſhewed the fall of his houſe. His own jealouſie, and the inſtigation of a mother-in-law, cauſed him to poyſon his ſon *Agathocles*; which drew upon him that War, wherein (after the loſſe of all his fifteen children that were taken away by divers accidents) he periſhed himſelf.

Seleucus was encountred by *Lyſimachus* on *Aſia* ſide, where one battell concluded the war, with *Lyſimachus* his death. It pleaſed *Seleucus* more than the victory, that he was the laſt of all the great Heroes that followed *Alexander*. For now he ſeemed to himſelf as Lord and Heir of all the conquered World. So he paſſed over into *Macedon*, to take poſſeſſion of *Europe*, where there was none to withſtand him. But there he ended his dayes, and within ſeven moneths followed *Lyſimachus*, and others of his fellows, by a bloody death, being treacherouſly ſlain by *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, whoſe friend and Patron he had been. Seventy and ſeven yeer old he was, when he fought with *Lyſimachus*, and *Lyſimachus* was ſeventy and foure. With them ended the generation of old Captains, that had ſeen the dayes as it were of another World under the *Perſian*: yet was there left one equall to any of them in the Art of War: even *Pyrrhus* the Epirot, of whom we ſpake before; that is now ready to enter into war with the *Romans*, a more war-like people than *Alexander* himſelf did ever encounter. Of which war, and of which people, it is needfull that we here make mention, as of a ſtory more important, than any likely to enſue in *Greece*, or in the great Kingdoms that were held by *Alexanders* Succeſſours, with leſſe (and ſtill decreaſing) vertue, than was that, by which they were firſt purchaſed.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The growth of Rome : and settling of the Eastern Kingdoms.

§. 1.

How the Romanes enlarged their Dominions in Italy, *from the death of* Tullus Hostilius, *unto such time as they were assailed by* Pyrrhus.

HOw *Rome* was founded by *Romulus*; settled in good order by *Numa Pompilius*; and by many (though small) victories, it gathered strength, unto such time as it became the head of *Latium*, by the conquest of *Alba*, in the reign of *Tullus Hostilius*: it hath been already noted, in due order of time. But whereas now the *Roman* greatnesse beginneth to encounter the power of *Greece*; and extending it self out of *Italy*, to overwhelm the Dominions of other States and Princes: I hold it convenient (as in like cases I have done) briefly to set down the growth of this mighty City, in a compendious relation of those many actions, which could not have been delivered in the ages, wherein they were severally performed, without much interruption of the History, that was then occupied in matter more important.

After the death of *Tullus Hostilius* (who when he had reigned two and thirty yeers, was burnt together with his house by lightning) *Ancus Martius*, Grand-childe to *Numa Pompilius* by his daughter, and not much unlike him in disposition, succeeded in the Kingdom of *Rome*. He walled the City about; enlarged it with the Hill *Aventine*, which he enclosed; built a bridge over *Tybris*, and the City of *Ostia* upon the Sea, sixteen miles distant from *Rome*. Finally, having reigned 24. yeers, he died, and by his last Will he left his children in charge with one *Lucumon*, the son of *Damaratus*, a *Corinthian*, who avoiding *Cypselus* King of *Corinth* his tyranny, had fled into *Hetruria*, and dwelt in *Tarquinii*, by the name of which Town he was afterwards called *Tarquinius*. From that City in *Hetruria* coming to *Rome*, and encouraged by some ominous occurrents, together with his wife *Tanaquils* prophecy, he grew a favorite of *Ancus Martius*; by his *Grecian* wit humouring the factions of the *Romane* Court, insomuch, that after his decease he became not onely Protectour to the children, but Governour to the Citie. He doubled the number of Senatours, and enlarged the Centurions of Horsmen: neither was he lesse eminent in war, than in peace: for he prevailed often against the *Tuscans*, and from his victories, the chiefest ornaments of triumph took their originall. When this *Lucius Tarquinius* had reigned 38. yeers, he was slain by the sons of *Ancus Martius*, to whom he had been left Guardian. But *Tanaquil* his wife, perceiving what was done, informed the people, from out of an high Turret, that her Husband was wounded, and sick, but not dangerously. And withall signified unto them, that in the *interim* of his sicknes, one *Servius Tullius*, whom from his birth she alwayes propheſied to be born to great hopes (the son of *P. Corniculanus* and *Ocrisia*, a well descended, but captive woman) brought up in her house, and husband unto her daughter, should supply her husbands place, in governing the State, untill his recovery: which government; being thus at first obtained by cunning, he afterwards usurped as his right. He first ordained Ratements, Subsidies, and Valuations of the peoples wealth; among whom, at that time, fourscore thousand were mustered, of which number consisted their whole corporation; and by distinction of Dignities, Ages, Trades, and Offices, he managed the Kingdom in as good sort, as if it had been a private household. At length, having two daughters of different natures, the one milde and gentle, the other fierce and outragious: and finding also that the two sons of *Tarquinius Priscus*, *Sextus* and *Aruns*, which had been committed unto his tuition, were of different dispositions, proportionably answering to his daughters; he (willing to adde water, not oile, to fire) gave the milde daughter to *Sextus* the hot-headed son, and the violent, to *Aruns* the gentle in marriage. But whether by intended courses, or by accident, it hapned; the two milde ones being made away, the furious natures were readily joyned in marriage:

who

who ſoon concurring, and calling the Senate together, began to lay claim to the Kingdom. Upon this tumult, *Servius Tullius* haſtening to the Senate, (where he thought by authority to have bridled inſolency) was thrown down the ſtaires, and going home ſore bruiſed, was ſlain by the way, when he had reigned 44. yeers. Then *Tullia* his daughter, firſt proclaiming her Huſband *Tarquinius Superbus* King; returning home, enforced her Coachman to drive his Chariot over her fathers corps; whereupon the ſtreet had the denomination of wicked ſtreet. This *Tarquine*, exerciſing cruelty without juſtice, and tyranny without mercy, upon the people and Senators; having tired himſelf and them at home, uſed the ſame rage of treachery upon his borders. He took *Ocriculum*, *Sueſſa*, *Pometia*, and the *Gabii*. The iſſue of beſieging *Ardea*, a town eighteen miles diſtant from *Rome*, was of bad ſucceſſe. In the heat of which war, his ſon *Sextus Tarquinius* violently raviſhed that chaſte Lady *Lucretia*, his kinſman *Collatines* wife: who in way of expiation for ſo unchaſte a deed, thought good to waſh out thoſe ſpots of infamy with her own bloud; ſo having firſt bequeathed the revenge unto her father *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, her huſband *Collatine*, and *Junius Brutus*) ſhe kill'd her ſelf: whereupon (chiefly by *Junius Brutius* his reſolution) *Tarquinius Superbus*, with his wife & children, was depoſed and baniſhed; and fled to *Porſenna* King of *Hetruria* for ſuccour, in the five and twentieth yeer of his reign, and the two hundred forty and fourth from the building of their City: in which ſpace *Rome* had ſcarce gotten poſſeſſion of fifteen miles round about her.

Junius Brutus by the help of *Collatine*, having expelled *Tarquine*, and freed his Country from that heavie yoak of bondage, inforced the people by ſolemne oath, never to admit any government by Kings amongſt them: whereupon they ranſacked their Kings goods, conſecrated their fields to *Mars*, and conferred the government of the State upon *Brutus* and *Collatine*. But becauſe the name of King was odious in their eares, they changed the manner of their government, from perpetuall to annuall, and from a ſingle government to a double; leſt perpetuall or ſole dominion might be ſome motive to uſurpation; and in ſtead of Kings they called them Conſuls, ſignifying, as it may be interpreted, Providers: that their titles might remember them of their place, which was to be alwayes mindfull of their Citizens welfare. And yet was it ſo hard ſettling of troubled waters, that the people, after this innovation of State, ſcarce daring to aſſure themſelves of their own ſecurity, enforced *Tarquinius Collatine* to reſign up his authority, fearing that tyranny would be hereditary, and ſuppoſing that the very name and affinity with the houſe of *Tarquine*, ſavoured already of their condition. In his roome was ſubſtitute *Valerius Publicola*, who that he might (as his name importeth) be gracious in the peoples eyes, gave liberty, in matters of controverſie, to appeale from the Conſuls to the people: and that he might as well in goods as in perſon, avoid occaſion of ſuſpition, cauſed his own houſe to be pulled down, becauſe it was built in a place defencible, as if it had been a Cittadell. Neither was *Brutus* any wayes deficient in matter of greater moment; which concerned as well the peoples ſafety, as their favour: for having got intelligence, that ſome greener wits, and in the firſt rank his own ſons, were itching after innovations, hoping to reſtore the baniſhed Kings; he cauſed them, publickly in the Market-place, to be whipt, and then to be brought all unpartially to the block.

Hitherto the *Romans*, having by the unblemiſhed integrity of *Brutus*, well appeaſed all inbred quarrels at home, now hereafter imployed their military deſignements againſt Forrainers: firſt, for their liberty; ſecondly, for enlarging of their poſſeſſions; and laſtly, for defending their confederate Provinces, and extending their Empire. For *Rome*, ſituated as it were in the mid-way between *Latium* and the *Tuſcans*, having as yet but narrow bounds, being in her minority, could not but give occaſion of offence to her neighbours; untill by main oppoſition, having prevailed againſt her borderers, ſhe uſed them as inſtruments, whereby to obtain the reſt.

Their firſt war, in the firſt yeer of Conſuls, was againſt *Porſenna* King of *Hetruria*: who being over-perſwaded by *Tarquines* lamentation, came to *Rome*, together with the baniſhed King, and with great forces, to ſeat him again in his Kingdom.

In the firſt conflict, *Horatius Cocles*, having long time born the main brunt of his enemies, on the bridge over *Tibris*, at length, feeling himſelf too faint to ſtand againſt ſo many, cauſed the bridge behind him to be broken down, and with his armour, leaping into

into the River, like a hunted Stagge, refreshed his hot spirits, and returned safe to his fellowes, with the like resolution to sustain a new charge. *Porsenna*, although by this he had well-nigh won the hill *Janiculus*, which is the very entrance into the City, and found the victory, in a maner, assuredly his own: yet admiring their valour, and terrefied by the constant resolution of *Mutius Scævola* (who having by errour slain *Porsenna* his Secretary, in stead of the King himself, did in scorne of torments threatned, burn off his own hand) he thought it not any whit prejudiciall either to his safety, or credit, to enter league with them at the worst hand. And yet the edge of *Tarquinius* his spleen was not quite abated, though *Arnus* his son, and *Brutus*, his enemy, in single combat, had slain each other. And here the *Romans*, although they lost *Brutus* got the field; and their Ladies, whose Champion he was, for their chastity, not for beauty, mourned the losse of him one whole yeer. Into his place, for the residue of his yeer, was subrogated *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, afther to *Lucretia*: and in his roome (deceasing naturally before the yeer expired) *Horatius Pulvillus*.

Tarquine, upon his overthrow, feeling the fates disastrous, thought it no boot to strive against the stream, but spent the residue of his time, which was about fourteene yeers, privately at *Tusculum*. Yet his Son-in-law *Mamilius Tusculanus*, stomaching a-fresh at those old repulses, because *Porsenna* had made peace with the *Romans*, and denied further succour unto the *Tarquines*, mustered up his *Latines*, and gave battell to the *Romans*, at the Lake *Regillum*; where the conflict was fierce, and the issue uncertain, untill *Aulus Posthumus*, the *Roman* Dictator, (for they had created this Magistracy greater than Consuls, purposely for this war, when first it was expected) to exasperate his Souldiers courage, threw their own Ensignes amidst the Enemies; and *Cossus*, or *Spurius Cassius*, (Master of the Horse-men, an assistant Officer to the Dictator) commanded to take off their bridles, that they might run with free violence, to recover again their Ensignes. This fight was so well performed, that a report went of *Castor* and *Pollux*, two gods, who came on milk-white Steeds, to be eye-witnesse of their valour, and fellow-helpers of their victory; for the Generall consecrated a Temple to them, as a stipend for their paines. After this the *Romans* fierce spirits, having no object of valour abroad, reflected upon themselves at home; and the sixteenth yeer after the Kings expulsion, upon instigation of some desperate banckrouts, thinking themselves wrongfully oppressed by the Senate and Consuls, they made an uproare in the holy Mount; untill by *Mevenius Agrippa*, his discreet allusion, of the inconvenience in the head and bellies discord, to that present occasion, they were reconciled to the Senate: with condition, that they might have some new Magistrates created, to whom they might appeale in cases of variance, and make them Solicitors in all their controversies, the Consuls authority notwithstanding. This was enacted, and they were called the Tribunes of the people. After this attonement among themselves, they had continuall War with the *Latines*, concerning their bounds and limits, and with other neighbouring States. Among these, the *Volsci* and *Æqui* held them longest; who made War of themselves upon the *Romans*: whereby they lost the best City in their whole jurisdiction, *Corioli*.

In this conquest, *T. Martius* got the surname of *Coriolanus*: a name honorable then, as driven from a great victory; although, by reason of the poverty of the Town, a *Roman* General, in after times, would have been ashamed of that title. But yet these graces had bin no occasion of disparagement, had he not afterwards in a great time of dearth, advised to sell corne, which they procured from *Sicil*, at too high a rate, to the people, whereupon *Decius Mus*, their Tribune, in their behalf, accused him, & after judgement banished him. *Coriolanus* flying to the *Volsci*, whom lately before he had vanquished, incensed them to renue their forces again; which being committed unto him, & to *Attius Tullus*, he prevailed in field, so far forth, that he was come within four or five miles of the City. Incamping there, he made so sharp war, and was at such defiance with his Country, that he would not relent by any supplication of Embassadours, untill his mother *Veturia*, and *Volumnia* his wife, with a pittifull tune of deprecation, shewing themselves better Subjects to their Country than friends to their Son and Husband, were more available to *Rome* than was any force of Armes. Hereupon *Coriolanus* dismissing his Army, was after put to death among the *Volsci*, as a Traitor, for neglecting such opportunity: or (as others surmise) living with them untill old age, he died naturally.

Not

Not long after this the *Veii* in *Hetruria*, provoked the *Romans*; againſt whom the *Fabii*, three hundred and ſix in number, all of one Family, intreated and obtained, that they onely might be employed, as it had been in a private quarrell. Theſe *Fabii*, after ſome good ſervices, lying incamped at *Cremera*, were circumvented, and all ſlain: one onely of that whole houſe had been left, by reaſon of infancy, at home; from whom afterward ſprang *Fabius Maximus*, who vanquiſhed *Hannibal*.

In proceſſe of time, the *Romans* were alſo troubled with the *Volſci*, at the hill of *Algidum*, two miles from *Rome*; where *Lucius Minutius* their Conſul, with his whole army, had been diſcomfited, had not *L. Quintius Cincinatus* choſen Dictator, and taken from the plough to the higheſt honour in *Rome*, with ſucceſſe anſwerable to his expedition, diſperſed his enemies, and freed his country in the ſpace of ſixteen dayes. In the continuance of this *Volſcian* war, it was that *Appius Claudius*, one of the ten men, whom they had two yeers before choſen Governours of the State, and Inactors of *Solons* laws amongſt them, procured from *Athens* (abrogating in the mean while the Conſuls, and all other Magiſtrates) would have raviſhed *Virginia*, the daughter of *T. Virginius*, Captain of a company, and lying then in a camp at *Algidum*. Hereupon the people in an uproare took the Hill *Aventine*, and after much variance, enforced the ten men to reſign up their authority again to new Conſuls.

After this, either new quarrels, or deſire to revenge old loſſes drew the *Romans* into a new war againſt the *Veientes* and their adherents, upon whom, having tried their forces with diverſity of Captaines, and variety of event, they vanquiſhed the *Faliſci*, and the *Fidenates*, and utterly ſubdued the *Veientes*. In conquering the *Faliſci*, *Furius Camillus* ſhewed no leſſe integrity than fortitude. For when a Schoolmaſter, by training forth into the *Roman* camp, many children of the principall Citizens, thought to betray the Town, yeelding them all up as hoſtages: *Camillus* delivered this Traitor bound unto his Souldiers, willing them to whip him back into the City; which forthwith yeelded unto him in reverence of his juſtice. The ſiege of *Veii* was ten yeers, and ſo troubleſome, that the *Romans* were there firſt inforced to winter abroad under beaſts ſkins (to which they were the more eaſily induced, becauſe then firſt they received pay) and to make vowes never to return without victory.

At length winning the City by a Mine, they got ſo large ſpoils, that they conſecrated their tenths to *Apollo Pythius*: and the whole people in generall were called to the ranſacking of the City. But yet they were no leſſe unthankfull to *Camillus* for his ſervice, than before they had been to *Coriolanus*; for they baniſhed him the City, upon ſome occaſion of inequality in dividing the ſpoiles: yet he requited their unkindneſſe with a new peece of ſervice againſt the fury of the *Gaules*; who being a populous Country, and very healthfull, the fathers (as ſometimes now) lived ſo long, that the ſons, deſtitute of meanes, were enforced to roave abroad, ſeeking ſome place where to ſet up their reſt: and withall being a Nation vaſte in body, rude by nature, and barbarous in conditions, wandred as Rovers over many Countries. Some of them lighting on *Italy*, ſet upon *Cluſium* a Town in *Hetruria*: whereof *Rome* having information, (and being carefull of her Confederate Towns) ſent Embaſſadours, warning them to deſiſt from ſuch injurious enterpriſes. But the barbarous people, not regarding the meſſage, upon ſome injurie offered by the *Roman* Embaſſadours, converted their forces from *Cluſium* towards *Rome*; and giving a great overthrow unto the *Romans*, by the River *Allia*, upon the ſixteenth day before the Calends of *Auguſt* (which day was after branded for unluckie, and called *Allienſis* in the *Roman* Kalendar) they haſtned towards the City. Then was *Rome* the true map of miſery and deſolation. For ſome leaving the City; ſome creeping into holes; Prieſts hiding their reliques; and every one ſhifting for himſelf ere the enemy came; *Rome* was abandoned as indefenſible. The Veſtall Virgins, in this tumult, were ſafely conveyed away; the Ancients of the City, gathering boldneſſe out of deſperate fear, did put on their Robes, and taking their leave of the world, did ſet themſelves in Thrones, in their ſeverall houſes, hourly expecting the meſſengers of death, and meaning to dye, as they had lived, in State. The younger ſort, with *M. Manlius* their Captain, took upon them to make good the Capitall.

By this the *Gaules* were entred the City, who ſeeing all quiet, at firſt ſuſpected ſome ambuſh; afterward finding all ſecure, they fell to the ſpoile, committing all to the fire and ſword. As for the old Senatours, they ſate in their Majeſty with a grave reſolution,

having first reverenced them as gods, anon they tried whether they would die like men. When the City was throughly rifled, they attempted the Capitall: which held them work for the space of seven moneths. Once they were like to have surprised it by night, but being descried by the gagling of Geese, *M. Manlius* did awaken, and kept them from entrance. At length a composition was agreed upon: the *Gaules* being weary, and the *Romans* hungry. The bargain was, that the *Gaules* should take a thousand pound weight in gold, to desist from their siege. Whilest the gold was in weighing, the *Gaules*, with open insolency, made their weights too heavie: *Brennus* their Captain, casting his sword into the ballance, and with a proud exprobration, saying, that the vanquished must be patient perforce. But in the midst of this cavilling came *Furius Camillus* with an Army from *Ardea*, (where he had lived in his banishment) and fell upon the *Gaules* with such violence, that he dispersed their troups, quenched the fire of the City with their bloud, forcing them to restore the spoiles with advantage, and forbear the gold, in accepting which they had lately been so nice. Further, having rid the City of them, he so hotly pursued them thorow a great part of *Italy*, that the remainder of their Army which escaped from him, was very small. Other Armies of the *Gaules*, which followed this first, had the like ill successe. They were often beaten by the *Romans*; especially the victories of *M. Torquatus*, and of *M. Valerius Corvinus* (each of which in single fight slew a severall Champion of the *Gaules*) abated their presumption, and restored courage to the *Romans*. *Camillus*, for his notable service, was afterwards accounted a second *Romulus*.

The people, after this destruction of their City, were earnestly bent to go to the *Veii* to inhabit; but *Camillus* disswaded them.

About the same time, somewhat before the siege of *Veii* they changed their government from Consuls to military Tribunes. The government of these also, after some yeers, was by civill dissention interrupted: so that one while Consuls ruled, another while there was an Anarchy. Then the Tribunes were restored and ruled again, till after many yeers expired, the Consular authority was established, it being enacted, that one of the Consuls should alwaies be a Plebeian. This was after the building of the City 365. yeers. And now *Rome*, by suppression of her neighbour Countries, creeping well forward out of her Minority, dares set forth against the warlike *Samnites*, who dwelt almost one hundred and thirty miles off: situated between *Campania* and *Apulia*. These did so strongly invade the *Campanians* their neighbours, that they forced them to yeeld themselves subjects to *Rome*, and undergoe any conditions of Tribute, or whatsoever else to obtain protection: which the *Romans*, although both Countries had been their Confederates, yet not willing that the greater, like fish, should devour the lesse, easily allowed of; aiming themselves at the good situation of *Campania*, the abundance of Corne and Wine, pleasant Cities and Towns, but especially *Capua* it self, the faireſt City then in all *Italy*,

The families of the *Papyrii* and *Fabii* were most imployed in the managing of this War, which endured the space of fifty yeers. And in this season were the *Romans* oftentimes dangerously encountred by the *Samnites*, as when *T. Veturius* and *Sp. Posthumius* were Consuls, and discomfited by *Pontius* at *Caudium*, with no small ignominy: and when *Q. Fabius Gurges* lost the field with three thousand men. But for those losses, many great victories made large amends; The greatest whereof were gotten by *L. Papyrius*, and by *Quintus Fabius Maximus*.

The *Samnites* drew the *Hetrurians* into their quarrell. But the force of the *Samnites* was well broken, ere the *Hetrurians* (the greater and richer, but lesse warlike Nation) began to stir. So the one and the other of these two Countries, became at length, tributary to *Rome*. In the continuance of this long war it was, (though in time of truce between the *Romans* and *Samnites*) that the *Latines* began to challenge equall freedom in the Corporation of *Rome*, and right in bearing office, so that they required to have one of the Consuls yeerly chosen out of them.

This demand of the *Latines* was not unreasonable. For the *Romans* themselves were a Latine Colony; besides all which, they made offer to change their name, and to be all called *Romans*. But the *Romans* were too proud to admit any such capitulation. So a great battell was fought between them: wherein the fortune of *Rome* prevailed, by the vertue of the Consuls.

Manlius

Manlius Torquatus and the elder *Decius* were then Consuls, whom the Soothsayers advertised, that the side should be victorious which lost the Generall in fight. Hereupon *Decius* the Consull exposed his life to the enemy, and purchased victory (as was beleeved) by his death. In which kind of devoting himself for his Army, the son of this *Decius* being after Consull, did imitate his father in the *Hetrurian* war. But (as *Tully* well notes) it was rather the desperate resolution of these *Decii*, that purchased victory, by rushing into the midst of the enemies, wherein their Souldiers followed them, than any great commendation of such a religion, as required the lives of so worthy Citizens, to be sacrificed for their Country. The discipline of *Manlius* was no less resolute, than the valour of *Decius*. He forbade any one to forsake his place, and fight single with an enemy. For breach of which order he caused his own son to be put to death, who had slain a Captain of the *Latines*, being challenged in single fight.

When the *Latines*, the *Æqui*, *Volsci*, *Hernici*, *Campani*, *Samnites*, and *Hetrurians*, with some other people, were brought under obedience; it was a vain labour for any people of *Italy* to contend against the *Romans*.

Yet the *Sabines* adventured to try their fortune, and found it bad. For *Curius Dentatus*, the *Roman* Consull, wasting all their Country with fire and sword, from the River *Nar* and *Velia*, to the *Adriatique* Sea, brought them into quiet subjection.

The last of the *Italians* that made triall of the *Roman* arms, were the *Tarentines* and their adherents. These had interposed themselves as mediatours between the *Romans* and *Samnites*; with a peremptory denunciation of War, unto that party which should dare to refuse peace by them tendred. These threats which discovered their bad affection unto *Rome*, ended in words; but when the *Samnites* were utterly subdued, matter enough of quarrell was found to examine their ability of performance.

The *Romans* complained that certain ships of theirs were robbed, and sent Embassadours unto *Tarentum*, to require amends. Upon some wrong done to these Embassadours, was laid the foundation of that War, wherein the *Lucans*, *Messapians*, *Brutians*, and *Apulians*, joyning with the *Tarentines*, procured the *Samnites*, and other Subjects of *Rome* to rebell and take their part. But some experience of the *Roman* strength, taught all these people to know their own weaknesse. Wherefore they agreed to send for *Pyrrhus*, by whose aid (being a *Grecian*, as the *Tarentines* also were) great hope was conceived, that the Dominion of *Rome* should be confined unto more narrow bounds than all *Italy*, which already in a manner it did over-spread.

§. II.

How Pyrrhus *warred upon the* Romans, *and vanquished them in two battells.*

Pyrrhus, forsaken by the *Macedonians*, and unable to deale with *Lysimacus*, was compelled a while to live in rest: which he abhorred no lesse than a wiser Prince would have desired. He had a strong Army, and a good Fleet, which in that unsettled estate of things, was enough to purchase a Kingdom: but the fall of *Demetrius* had so increased the power of *Lysimacus*, that it was no point of wisdom to make an offensive war upon him, without far greater forces: *Antigonus*, the son of *Demetrius*, held *Corinth* at the same time, and some other Towns, with the remainder of his Fathers Army and treasures, left in his hand. Upon him it is like that *Pyrrhus* might have won; but it was better to let him alone, that he might serve to give some hindrance to *Lysimacus*.

In this want of imployment, and covetous desire of finding it, the *Tarentine* Embassadours came very fitly to *Pyrrhus*: and they came with brave offers, as needing no other aid than his good conduct, which to obtain, they would cast themselves under his protection. They had in their companie some of the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, *Messapians*, and others; which promised, in behalf of their severall Nations, as much as could be desired. This encouraged *Pyrrhus*, and filled him with hopes of goodly conquests; that he might enlarge his Empire to the West, as far as *Alexander* had gotten Eastward; and still by one victory open the gate unto another. To which effect it is said, that once he answered *Cyneas* his chief Counsellour, asking what he meant to doe after every of the victories which he hoped to get: that having won *Rome*, he would soon be Master of all *Italy*; that, after *Italy* he would quickly get the Isle of *Sicil*; that,

out of *Sicill*, he would passe over into *Affrick*, and win *Carthage*, with all the rest of the Country; and being strengthened with the force of all these Provinces, he would be too hard for any of those that were now so proud and troublesome. But *Cyneas* enquired yet further, what they should doe, when they were Lords of all. Whereunto *Pyrrhus* (finding his drift) answered pleasantly, that they would live merrily; a thing (as *Cyneas* then told him) that they presently might doe, without any trouble, if he could be contented with his own.

Nevertheless, this *Italian* expedition seemed unto *Pyrrhus* a matter of such consequence, as was not to be omitted, in regard of any scholasticall disputation. Wherefore he prepared his Army, of almost thirty thousand men, well sorted, and well trained souldiers: part of which he sent over before him under *Cyneas*, with the rest he followed in person. At his coming, he found the *Tarentines*, very prompt of tongue, but in matter of execution, utterly careless to provide for the war. Wherefore he was fain to shut up their Theater, and other places of pleasure and resort, enforcing them to take armes, and making such a strict muster, as was to them very unpleasing, though greatly behooving to their estate.

Whilest he was occupied with these cares, *Lævinus* the *Roman* Consul drew neer, and began to waste *Lucania*, a Province confederate with the *Tarentines* in this War.

The *Lucanians* were not ready to defend their own Country; the *Samnites* were careless of the harm, that fell not (as yet) upon themselves; the *Tarentines* were better prepared than they would have been, but their valour was little: all of these had been accustomed to shrink for feare of the *Roman* fortitude: and therefore it fell out happily, that *Pyrrhus* relied more upon his own forces, than the issue of their vaunting promises. He was now driven either to set forward with those that himself had brought into *Italy*, and the assistance of the *Tarentines*, wherein little was to be reposed; or else to weaken the reputation of his own sufficiency, which by all meanes he was carefull to uphold. In good time a great part of his forces, that had been scattered by foule weather at Sea, were safely come to him: with which he resolved to assay the valour of the *Romans*, against whom he proudly marched.

Lævinus the Consul was not affrighted with the terrible name of a great King; but came on confidently to meet him, and give him battell ere all his adherents should be ready to joyne with him. This boldnesse of the *Roman*, and the slackenesse of the *Messapians*, *Lucanians*, *Samnites*, and others, whom the danger most concerned, caused *Pyrrhus* to offer a treaty of peace: requiring to have the quarrell between the *Romans* and his *Italian* friends, referred to his arbitrement. Whether he did this to win time, that the *Samnites* and their fellowes might arrive at his Camp; or whether, considering better at neer distance, the weight of the businesse which he had taken in hand, he were desirous to quit it with his honour; the short answer that was returned to his proposition, gave him no meanes of either the one or the other: for the *Romans* sent him this word, that *they had neither chosen him their Judge, nor feared him their enemy.*

Hereupon both Armies hastned their march unto the River of *Siris*: *Lævinus* intending to fight before the arrival of the *Samnites*; *Pyrrhus*, to hinder him from passing that River, untill his own Army were full. Upon the first view of the *Roman* Camp, it was readily conceived by *Pyrrhus*, that he had not now to doe with barbarous people, but with men well trained in a brave discipline of War: which caused him to set a strong *Corps de garde* upon the passage of the river, that he might not be compelled to fight, untill he saw his best advantage. But he quickly found, that this new enemy was not only skilfull in the Art of War, but courageous in execution. For the *Roman* Army entred the Foord, in face of his *Corps de garde*; and their horse, at the same time began to passe the River in sundry places: which caused the *Greeks* to forsake the defence of their bank, and speedily retire unto their Camp.

This audacity forced *Pyrrhus* to battell; wherewith he thought it best to present them, ere the whole Army had recovered firme footing, and were in order. So directing his Captaines how to marshall his battels; himself with the horse, charged upon the *Romans*: who stoutly received him as men well exercised in sustaining furious impressions. In this fight, neither did his courage transport him beyond the duty of a carefull Generall; nor his providence in directing others, hinder the manifestation of his personal valour. It behooved him indeed to do his best; for he never met with better

 opposers.

oppoſers. Once, and ſhortly after the fight began, his horſe was ſlain under him: afterwards, he changed armour with a friend; but that friend paid his life for the uſe of his Kings armour, which was torne from his back. This accident had almoſt loſt him the battell: but he perceiving it, diſcovered his face, and thereby reſtored courage to his men, and took from the *Romans* their vain joy. The fight was obſtinate, and with the greater loſſe (at leaſt of more eminent men) on *Pyrrhus* his ſide, as long as onely ſpeer and ſword were uſed. But when the Elephants were brought into the wings, whoſe unuſuall form and terrible aſpect, the horſes of the *Romans* (unaccuſtomed to the like) were not able to ſuſtain; then was the victory quickly gotten. For the *Roman* battels, perceiving their horſe put to the rout, and driven out of the field; finding alſo themſelves both charged in flanke, and over-borne, by the force and huge bulke of thoſe ſtrange beaſts; gave way to neceſſitie, and ſaved themſelves, as well as they could, by haſtie flight: in which conſternation, they were ſo forgetfull of their diſcipline, that they tarried not to defend their Camp, but ran quite beyond it, leaving both it, and the honour of the day, entirely to *Pyrrhus*.

The fame of this victory was ſoon ſpread over *Italy*; and the reputation was no leſſe than the fame. For it was a matter very rare to be heard, that a *Roman* Conſul, with a ſelect Army, ſhould loſe in plain battell, not onely the Field, but the Camp it ſelf, being ſo notably fortified as they alwaies were. And this honour was the more bravely won by *Pyrrhus*, for that he had with him none of his *Italian* friends, ſave the unwarlik *Tarentines*. Neither could he well diſſemble his content that he took, in having the glory of this action peculiarly his own, at ſuch time as he blamed the *Lucans* and *Samnites*, for coming (as we ſay) a day after the Faire. Nevertheleſſe he wiſely conſidered the ſtrength of the *Romans*, which was ſuch, as would better endure many ſuch loſſes, than he could many ſuch victories. Therefore he thought it good to compound with them, whileſt with his honour he might; and to that purpoſe he ſent unto them *Cyneas* his Embaſſadour, demanding only to have the *Tarentines* permited to live at reſt, and himſelf accepted as their eſpeciall friend. This did *Cyneas*, with all his cunning, and with liberall gifts labour to effect: but neither man nor woman could be found in *Rome*, that would take any bribe of him; neither did their deſire of recovering their captives, or their danger, by the riſing of many States in *Italy* againſt them, ſo inclin them to peace, as the vehement exortation of *Appius Claudius*, an old and blinde Senatour, did ſtirre them up to make good their honour by war. So they returned anſwer, that whileſt *Pyrrhus* abode in *Italy*, they would come to no agreement with him.

Such was the report that *Cyneas* made at his return, of the *Roman* puiſſance and vertue, as kindled in *Pyrrhus* a great deſire of confederacie with that gallant City. Hereupon many kind Offices paſſed between them: but ſtill when he urged his motion of peace, the anſwer was; *He muſt firſt depart out of Italy, and then treat of peace.*

In the meane ſeaſon, each part made proviſion for war; the *Romans* levying a more mighty army than the former; and *Pyrrhus* being ſtrengthened with acceſſe unto his forces of all the Eaſt parts of *Italy*. So they came to triall of a ſecond battell, wherein (though after long and cruell fight) the boiſterous violence of the Elephants gave to *Pyrrhus* a ſecond victory. But this was not altogether ſo joyfull as the former had been: rather it gave him cauſe to ſay, that ſuch another victory would be his utter undoing. For he had loſt the flower of his Army in this battell: and though he drave the *Romans* into their Camp, yet he could not force them out of it, nor ſaw any likelihood of prevailing againſt them, that were like to be relieved with daily ſupplies, whileſt he ſhould be driven to ſpend upon his old ſtock. Neither could he expect that his Elephants ſhould alwaies ſtand him in ſtead. A little knowledge of their manner in fight would ſoon teach the *Romans*, that were apt Schollers in ſuch learning, how to make them unſerviceable. Wherefore he deſired nothing more, than how to carry his honour ſafe out of *Italy*: which to doe (ſeeing the *Romans* would not help him, by offering or accepting any fair conditions of peace, or of truce) he took a ſleight occaſion, preſented by fortune, that followeth to be related.

§. III.

The great troubles in Macedon and Sicill. How Pyrrhus, *being invited into Sicill, forsook Italie; wan the most of the Isle; and lost it in short space.* Pyrrhus *returns into Italie, where he is beaten by the Romans, and so goes back to his own Kingdom.*

WHen *Ptolomie Ceraunus* had traiterously murdered his Benefactor and Patron *Seleucus*, he presenly seized upon all the Dominions of *Lysimachus* in *Europe*, as if they had been the due reward unto him, that had slain the Conqueror. The houses of *Cassander* and *Lysimachus* were then fallen to the ground: neither was there in *Macedon* any man of strength and reputation enough to advance himself against *Ceraunus*. The friends of *Lysimachus* were rather pleased to have him their King, that had (as he professed) revenged their Lords death; than any way offended with the odiousnesse of his fact, by which they were freed from subjection, to one, against whom they had stood in opposition. Many there were, that upon remembrance of his fathers great vertue, gathered hope of finding the like in *Ceraunus*: perswading themselves that his reign might prove good, though his entrance had been wicked. These affections of the *Macedonians* did serve to defeat *Antigonus* the son of *Demetrius*, that made an attempt upon the Kingdom. As for *Antigonus* the son of *Seleucus*, he was far off, and might be questioned about some part of *Asia*, ere he should be able to bring an Army neer unto *Europe*. Yet he made great shew of meaning to revenge his Fathers death: but being stronger in money than in armes, he was content, after a while, to take fair words, and make peace with the murtherer. While these three strove about the Kingdom, *Pyrrhus*, who thought his claim as good as any of theirs, made use of their dissention: threatning war, or promising his assistance to every one of them. By these means he strengthened himself, and greatly advantaged his *Italian* voyage, which he had then in hand: requesting money of *Antiochus*, ships of *Antigonus*, and souldiers of *Ptolomie*, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and lent him a strong power of *Macedonian* Souldiers, and of Elephants (covenanting to have them restored at two yeers end) more for fear than for love: that so he might free himself from trouble, and quietly enjoy his Kingdom.

Thus *Ptolomie* grew mighty on the sudden; and the power that by wicked means he had gotten, by means as wicked he encreased.

All *Macedon* and *Thrace* being his, the strong City of *Cassandria* was held by *Arsinoe* his sister, the widow of *Lysimachus*, who lay therein with her young children. Her he circumvented by making love to her, and (according to the fashion of those times, wherein Princes regarded no degree of consanguinity) taking her to wife, with promise to adopt her children: a promise that he meant not to performe; for it was not long, ere he slew them, and drave her into exile.

In the pride of this good successe, which his villanie found, vengeance came upon him from a far, by the furie of a Nation that he never heard of. *Belgius* a Captain of the *Gaules*, having forced his passage through many Countries, unto the confines of *Macedon*, sent a proud message to *Ceraunus*, commanding him to buy peace with money, or otherwise, to look for all the miseries of war. These *Gaules* were the race of those, that issued out of their Country, to seek new seates in that great expedition, wherein *Brennus* took and burnt the City of *Rome*. They had divided themselves, at their setting forth, into two companies; of which the one fell upon *Italie*; the other, passing through the Countries that lye on the Northerne side of the *Adriatick* Sea, made long abode in *Pannonia*, and the Regions adjoyning, where they forced all the neighbour Princes to redeem peace with tribute, as now they would have compelled *Ceraunus* to doe: unto whose borders they came about an hundred and eight yeers after such time as their fellows had taken *Rome*.

When their Embassadours came to *Ptolomie*, asking what he would give: his answer was, that he would be contented to give them peace, but it must be with condition, that they should put into his hands their Princes as hostages, and yeeld up their armes; for otherwise, he would neither pardon their boldnesse, nor give any credit to their words. At this answer, when it was returned, the *Gaules* did laugh; saying, That they would soon confute with deeds, the vanitie of such proud words. It may seem strange,

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that he, who had given away part of his Army unto *Pyrrhus*, for very feare; ſhould be ſo confident in undertaking more mighty enemies. The King of the *Dardanians* offered to lend him twenty thouſand men againſt the *Gaules*: but he ſcorned the offer; ſaying, That he had the children of thoſe, which under the conduct of *Alexander* had ſubdued all the Eaſt. Thus he iſſued forth againſt all the barbarous people with his famous *Macedonians*, as if the victory muſt needs have followed the reputation of a great name. But he ſoon found his great errour when it was too late. For the Enemies were not only equall in ſtrength of body, and fierceneſſe of courage, but ſo far ſuperiour to the *Macedonians* in number, that few or none eſcaped their furie. *Ptolomie* himſelf grievouſly wounded, fell into their hands, whileſt the battell continued; and they preſently ſtrook off his head, which they ſhewed to his men, on the top of a Lance, to their utter aſtoniſhment.

The report of this great overthrow filled all *Macedon* with ſuch deſperation, that the people fled into walled Towns, and abandoned the whole Country as loſt. Onely *Soſthenes*, a valiant Captain, animating as many as he could, gathered a ſmall Army, with which he many times got the upper hand, and hindred *Belgius* from uſing the victory at his whole pleaſure. In regard of this his vertue, the Souldiers would have made him King; which title he refuſed, and was contented with the name of a Generall. But (as miſchiefes doe ſeldom come alone) the good ſucceſſe of *Belgius* drew into *Macedon*, *Brennus*, another Captain of the *Gaules*, with an hundred and fifty thouſand foot, and fifteen thouſand horſe; againſt which mighty Army, when *Soſthenes* with his weak troups made oppoſition, he was eaſily beaten, and the *Macedonians* again compelled to hide themſelves within their wals, leaving all their Country to the ſpoil of the *Barbarians*.

Thus were the *Macedonians* deſtitute of a King, and trodden down by a Nation that they had not heard of, in leſſe than fifty yeers after the death of *Alexander*, who ſought to diſcover and ſubdue unknown Countries, as if all *Greece*, and the Empire of *Perſia* had been too little for a King of *Macedon*.

Very ſeaſonably had theſe newes been carried to *Pyrrhus* in *Italy*, who ſought a faire pretext of relinquiſhing his War with the *Romans*; had not other tidings out of *Sicil* diſtracted him, and carried him away in purſuit of nearer hopes. For after the death of *Agathocles*, who reigned over the whole Iſland, the *Carthaginians* ſent an Army to conquer *Sicil*, out of which, by him, they had been expelled. This Army did ſo faſt prevail, that the *Sicilians* had no other hope to avoid ſlavery, then in ſubmitting themſelves to the rule of *Pyrrhus*; whom, being a *Grecian*, and a noble Prince, they thought it more for their good to obey, than to live under the well known heavie yoak of *Carthage*. To him therefore the *Syracuſans*, *Leontines*, and *Agragentines*, principall Eſtates of the Iſle, ſent Embaſſadours, earneſtly deſiring him to take them into his protection.

It grieved *Pyrrhus* exceedingly, that two ſuch notable occaſions of enlarging his Dominions, ſhould fall out ſo unluckily, both at one time. Yet whether he thought the buſineſſe of *Sicil* more important, or more full of likelihood; or whether perhaps he beleeved (as came after to paſſe) that his advantage upon *Macedon* would not ſo haſtily paſſe away, but that he might find ſome occaſion to lay hold on it at better leaſure; over into *Sicil* he tranſported his army, leaving the *Tarentines* to ſhift for themſelves; yet not leaving them free as he found them, but with a Garriſon in their town to hold them in ſubjection.

As his departure out of *Italy* was rather grounded on head-long paſſion, than mature advice; ſo were his actions following, untill his returne unto *Epirus*, rather many and tumultuous, than well ordered or note-worthy. The Army which he carried into that Iſle, conſiſted of thirty thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe: with which, ſoon after his deſcent into *Sicil*, he forc't the *Carthaginians* out of all, in effect, that they had therein. He alſo won the ſtrong City of *Eryx*, and having beaten the *Mamertines* in battell; he began to change condition, and turne Tyrant. For he drave *Soſtratus* (to whom his cruelty was ſuſpect) out of the Iſland, & put *Thenon* of *Siracuſe* to death, being jealous of his greatneſs; which two perſons had faithfully ſerved him, and delivered the great and rich City of *Syracuſe* into his hands. After this, his fortunes declined ſo faſt, as he ſerved himſelf, and ſalved the diſ-reputation of his leaving *Sicil*, by an Embaſſage ſent him from the *Tarentines*, and *Samnites*, imploring his preſent help againſt

against the *Romans*, who since his leaving *Italy*, had wel-neer dispossest them of all that they had.

Taking this fair occasion, he imbarked for *Italy*; but was first beaten by the *Carthaginian* Gallies in his passage, and secondly assailed in *Italy* it self, by eighteen hundred *Mamertines*, that attended him in the straits of the Country. Lastly, after he had recovered *Tarentum*, he fought a third battell with the *Romans*, led by *M. Curius*, who was victorious over him, and forc't him out of *Italy* into his own *Epirus*.

A Prince he was far more valiant than constant, and had he been but a Generall of an Army for some other great King or State, and had been directed to have conquered any one Country or Kingdom, it is to be thought, that he would have purchased no lesse honour than any man of war, either preceeding or succeeding him; for a greater Captain, or a valianter man, hath been no where found. But he never stayed upon any enterprise; which was, indeed, the disease he had, whereof not long after he died in *Argos*.

§. IV.

How Antigonus, *the son of* Demetrius, *delivered Macedon from the Gaules. How* Pyrrhus *won the Kingdom of macedon from* Antigonus.

THe vertue of *Sosthenes* being too weak to defend the kingdom of *Macedon*; and the fortune which had accompanied him against *Belgius*, failing him in his attempts against *Brennus*: the *Macedonians* were no lesse glad to submit themselves unto the government of *Antigonus*, than they had been formerly desirous to free themselves from the impotent rule of his father *Demetrius*. His coming into the Country with an Army, Navie, and Treasure beseeming a King, did rather breed good hope in the people, than fill them with much confidence: for he was driven to use against the *Barbarians*, only those forces which he brought with him, having none other than good wishes of the *Macedons* to take his part. *Brennus* with the main strength of his Army, was gone to spoil the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, having left no more behind him, than he thought necessarie to guard the borders of *Macedon* and *Pannonia*; which were about fifteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse. These could not be idle, but thought to get somewhat for themselves, in the absence of their fellowes: and therefore sent unto *Antigonus*, offering to sell him peace, if he would pay well for it; which by the example of *Ceraunus*, he had learnt (as they thought) not to refuse. *Antigonus* was unwilling to weaken his reputation by condescending to their proud demands: yet he judged it unfit to exasprate their furious choler, by uncourteous words or usage, as *Ceraunus* had over-fondly done. Wherefore he entertained their Embassadours in very loving and sumptuous manner, with a royall feast: wherein he exposed to their view such abundance of massie gold and silver, that they were not so much delighted with the meat, as with sight of the vessels, wherin it was served. He thought hereby to make them understand how great a Prince he was, & how able if need required, to wage a mighty army.

To which end, he likewise did shew unto them his Camp and Navy, but especially his Elephants. But all this bravery served onely to kindle their greedy appetites; who seeing his ships heavy loaden, his Camp full of wealth, and ill fortified, (himself as it seemed) secure, and his men, both in strength and courage, inferiour unto the *Gaules*, thought all time lost, wherein they suffered the present possessors to spend the riches which they accounted assuredly their own. They returned therefore to their companions with none other news in their mouthes than of spoile and purchase: which tale carried the *Gaules* head-long to *Antigonus* his Camp, where they expected a greater booty, than the victory over *Ceraunus* had given to *Belgius*. Their coming was terrible and sudden; yet not so sudden, but that *Antigonus* had notice of it, who distrusting the courage of his own men, dislodged somwhat before their arrivall, and conveighed himself, with his whole army and carriage, into certain woods adjoyning, where he lay close.

The *Gaules*, finding his Camp forsaken, were not hasty to pursue him but fell to ransacking the emptie Cabbins of the Souldiers; in hope of finding all that was either lost or hidden. At length, when they had searched every place in vaine, angry at their lost

loſt labour, they marched with all ſpeed towards the Sea-ſide; that they might fall upon him, whileſt he was buſie in getting his men and carriages a ſhip-board. But the ſucceſs was no way anſwerable to their expectation. For being proud of the terrour which they had brought upon *Antigonus*, they were ſo careleſſe of the Sea-men, that without all order, they fell to the ſpoile of what they found on the ſhore, and in ſuch ſhips as lay on ground.

Part of the Army had left *Antigonus*, where he lay in covert; and had ſaved it ſelf by getting aboard the fleet: in which number were ſome well experienced men of war: who diſcovering the much advantage offred unto them, by the deſperate preſumption of their enemies, took courage, and encouraged others to lay manly hold upon the opportunity. So the whole number, both of Souldiers and Mariners, landing together, with great reſolution, gave ſo brave a charge upon the diſordered *Gaules*, that their contemptuous boldneſſe was thereby changed into ſudden fear, and they, after a great ſlaughter, driven to caſt themſelves into the ſervice of *Antigonus*.

The fame of this victory cauſed all the barbarous Nations in thoſe quarters to re-entertain their ancient beleef of the *Macedonian* valour: by which the terrible and reſiſtleſſe oppreſſors of ſo many Countries were overthrown.

To ſpeak more of the *Gaules* in this place, and to ſhew how, about theſe times, three Tribes of them paſſed over into *Aſia* the leſſe, with their wars and conqueſts there; I hold it needleſſe: the victorious Armies of the *Romans* taming them hereafter in the Countries which now they wan, ſhall give better occaſion to rehearſe theſe matters briefly.

Howſoever the good ſucceſſe of *Antigonus* got him reputation among the barbarous people, yet his own Souldiers, that without his leading had won this victory, could not thereupon be perſwaded to think him a good man of war: knowing that he had no intereſt in the honour of the ſervice, wherein his conduct was no better than creeping into a wood.

This (as preſently will appear) was greatly helpfull unto *Pyrrhus*: though as yet he knew not ſo much. For *Pyrrhus*, when his affaires in *Italy* ſtood upon hard termes, had ſent unto *Antigonus* for help: not without threats, in caſe it were denied. So was he ſure to get either a ſupply, wherewith to continue his war againſt the *Romans*, or ſome ſeeming honourable pretence, to forſake *Italy*, under colour of making his word good, in ſeeking revenge. The threats which he had uſed in bravery, meer neceſſity forced him at his return into *Epirus*, to put in practiſe.

He brought home with him eight thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe: an Army too little to be employed, by his reſtleſſe nature, in any action of importance; yet greater than he had meanes to keep in pay. Therefore he fell upon *Macedon*; intending to take what ſpoile he could get, and make *Antigonus* compound with him, to be freed from trouble. At his firſt entrance into this buſineſs, two thouſand of *Antigonus* his ſouldiers revolted unto *Pyrrhus*; and many Cities, either willingly or perforce, received him. Such fair beginnings eaſily perſwaded the courage of this daring Prince to ſet upon *Antigonus* himſelf, and to hazzard his fortune, in triall of a battell, for the whole Kingdom of *Macedon*.

It appeares, that *Antigonus* had no deſire to fight with this hot warriour; but thought it the wiſeſt way, by protracting of time, to weary him out of the country. For *Pyrrhus* overtook him in a ſtreight paſſage, and charged him in the reare; wherein were the *Gaules* and the Elephants, which were thought the beſt of his ſtrength: a manifeſt proof that he was in retrait. The *Gaules* very bravely ſuſtained *Pyrrhus* his impreſſion; yet were broken at length (when moſt of them were ſlain) after a ſharp fight: wherein it ſeems that *Antigonus* keeping his *Macedonian Phalanx* within the ſtreight, and not advancing to their ſuccour, took away their courage by deceiving their expectation. The Captaines of the Elephants were taken ſoon after; who finding themſelves expoſed to the ſame violence that had conſumed ſo many of the *Gaules*, yeelded themſelves, and the beaſts. All this was done in full view of *Antigonus* & his *Macedonians*, to their great diſcomfort; which emboldned *Pyrrhus* to charge them where they lay in their ſtrength. Where the *Phalanx* could be charged onely in a front, it was a matter of extreme difficulty (if not impoſſible) to force it. But the *Macedonians* had ſeen ſo much, that they had no deſire to fight againſt *Pyrrhus*; who diſcovered ſo well their affections, that he

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adventured to draw neer in person, and exhort them to yeeld. Neither the common Souldier nor any Leader refused to become his follower. All forsooke *Antigonus*, a few horsemen excepted, that fled along with him to *Thessalonica*; where he had some small forces left, and money enough to entertain a greater power, had he known where to levie it. But whilest he was thinking how to allure a sufficient number of the *Gaules* into his service; whereby he might repaire his losse: *Ptolomie*, the son of *Pyrrhus*, came upon him, and easily defeating his weake forces, drave him to flie from the parts about *Macedon*, to those Towns afar off in *Peloponnesus*, in which he had formerly lurked, before such time as he looked abroad into the world, and made himself a King.

This good successe revived the spirits of the *Epirot*, and caused him to forget all sorrow of his late mis-fortunes in the *Roman* War: so that he sent for his son *Helenus* (whom he had left with a Garrison, in the Castle of *Tarentum*) willing him to come over into *Greece*, where was more matter of conquest, and let the *Italians* shift for themselves.

§. V.

How Pyrrhus *assailed Sparta without successe. His enterprise upon Argos, and his death.*

Pyrrhus had now conceived a great hope that nothing should be able to withstand him; seeing that in open fight he had vanquished the *Gaules*, and beaten *Antigonus*, and won the Kingdome of *Macedon*. There was not in all *Greece*, nor, indeed, in all the Lands that *Alexander* had won, any Leader of such name and worth, as deserved to be set up against him: which filled him with the opinion that he might doe what he pleased. He raised therefore an Army, consisting of five and twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and four and twenty Elephants; pretending war against *Antigonus*, and the giving liberty to those Towns in *Peloponnesus*, which the same *Antigonus* held in subjection; though it was easily discovered, that such great preparations were made, for accomplishment of some designe more important than war against a Prince already vanquished, and almost utterly dejected. Especially the *Lacedæmonians* feared this expedition, as made against their State. For *Cleonymus*, one of their Kings, being expelled out of his Country, had betaken himself to *Pyrrhus*: who readily entertained him, and promised to restore him to his Kingdom. This promise was made in secret; neither would *Pyrrhus* make shew of any displeasure that he bare unto *Sparta*; but contrariwise professed, that it was his intent, to have two of his own younger sons trained up in that City, as in a place of noble discipline. With such colours he deluded men, even till he entred upon *Laconia*; where presently he demeaned himself as an open enemy; excusing himself and his former dissembling words with a jest; *That he followed herein the Lacedæmonian custome, of concealing what was truly purposed.* It had been, indeed, the manner of the *Lacedæmonians*, to deale in like sort with others, whom, in the time of their greatnesse, they sought to oppresse: but now they complained of that, as falshood, in *Pyrrhus*, which they alwayes practised in wisedom, till it made them distrusted, forsaken, and almost contemptible. Nevertheless, they were not wanting to themselves in this dangerous extremity. For the old men and women laboured in fortifying the Town; causing such as could beare armes to reserve themselves fresh against the assault: which *Pyrrhus* had unwisely deferred, upon assurance of prevailing.

Sparta was never fortified, before this time, otherwise than with armed Citizens: soon after this (it being built upon uneven ground, and, for the most part, hard to approach) the lower & more accessible places, were fenced with wals, at the present only trenches were cast, & barricadoes made with carts, where the entrance seemed most easie. Three dayes together it was assailed by *Pyrrhus* exceeding fiercely; and no lesse stoutly defended. The desperate courage of the Citizens preserved the town the first day; whereinto the violence of *Pyrrhus* had forced entrance the second day, but that his wounded horse threw him to the ground, which made his Souldiers more mindfull of saving the person of their King, than of breaking into the City, though already they had

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torn in ſunder the Barricadoes. Preſently after this, one of *Antigonus* his Captains got into *Sparta* with a good ſtrength of men; and *Areus* the King returned out of *Crete* (where he had been helping his friends in war) with two thouſand men, little knowing the danger, in which his own Country ſtood, untill he was almoſt at home. Theſe ſuccours did not more animate the *Spartans*, than kindle in *Pyrrhus* a deſire to prevail againſt all impediments. But the third dayes work ſhewed how great his errour had been, in forbearing to aſſault the Town at his firſt coming. For he was ſo manfully repelled, that he ſaw no likelihood of getting the place, otherwiſe than by a long ſiege: in which tedious courſe he had no deſire to ſpend his time.

Antigonus had now raiſed an Army, though not ſtrong enough to meet the Enemy in plain field, yet able to hinder all his purpoſes. This made *Pyrrhus* doubtfull what way to take; being diverſly affected, by the difficulty of his enterpriſe in hand, and the ſhame of taking a repulſe in his firſt attempt. Whileſt he was thus perplexed, letters came from *Argos*, inviting him thither; with promiſe to deliver that City into his hands.

Civill diſſention raging then hotly in *Argos*, cauſed the heads of ſeverall factions to call in *Pyrrhus* and *Antigonus*; but the coming of theſe two Princes taught the Citizens wit, and made them deſirous to rid their hands of ſuch powerfull aſſiſtants, as each of the two Kings pretended himſelf to be. *Antigonus* told the *Argives*, that he came to ſave them from the tyrannie of *Pyrrhus*: and that he would be gone, if they needed not his help. On the other ſide, *Pyrrhus* would needs perſwade them, that he had none other errand, than to make them ſafe from *Antigonus*; offering in like manner, to depart, if they ſo deſired.

The *Argives* took ſmall pleaſure in hearing the Fox and Kite at ſtrife, which of them ſhould keep the Chickens from his enemy: and therefore prayed them both to divert their powers ſome other way. Hereunto *Antigonus* readily condeſcended, and gave hoſtages to aſſure his word: for he was the weaker, and ſtood in need of good will. But *Pyrrhus* thought it enough to promiſe: Hoſtages he would give none to his inferiours: eſpecially meaning deceipt. This made them ſuſpect his purpoſe to be ſuch, as indeed it was. Yet he leſſe regarded their opinions, than to hold them worthy of aſſurance, by giving ſuch a bond, as he intended to break ere the next morning.

It was concluded, that a Gate of the City ſhould be opened by night unto *Pyrrhus*, by his Complices within *Argos*: which was accordingly performed. So his Army without any tumult entred the City: till the Elephants, with Towers on their backs, cloyed the way, being too high to paſſe the Gate. The taking off, and ſetting on again of thoſe Towers, with the trouble thereto belonging, did both give alarme to the Citie, and ſome leaſure to take order for defence, before ſo many were entred, as could fully maſter it. *Argos* was full of ditches, which greatly hindred the *Gaules* (that had the Vantguard) being ignorant of the wayes in the dark night. The Citizens, on the other ſide, had much advantage, by their knowledge of every by-paſſage: and ſetting upon the enemies on all ſides, did put them to great loſſe and more trouble.

Pyrrhus therefore underſtanding by the confuſed noiſe, and unequall ſhoutings of his own men, that they were in diſtreſſe, entred the City in perſon, to take order for their relief, and aſſurance of the place. But the darkneſſe, the throng, and many other impediments, kept him from doing any thing of moment, untill break of day. Then began he to make his paſſage by force, and ſo far prevailed, that he got into the Market-place. It is ſaid, that ſeeing in that place the Image of a Wolfe and a Bull, in ſuch poſiture as if they had been combatant, he called to minde an Oracle, which threatned him with death, when he ſhould behold a Bull fighting with a Wolfe: and that hereupon he made retrait.

Indeed, the coming of *Antigonus* to the reſcue, the diſorder and confuſion of his own men, with divers ill accidents, gave him reaſonable cauſe to have retired out of the City, though the Wolfe and Bull had been away. The tumult was ſuch, that no directions could be heard; but as ſome gave back, ſo did others thruſt forward, and the *Argives* preſſing hard upon him, forced *Pyrrhus* to make good his retrait with his own

own ſword. The tops of the houſes were covered with women, that ſtood looking on the fight. Among theſe was one, that ſaw her own ſon in dangerous caſe, fighting with *Pyrrhus*. Wherefore ſhe took a tile-ſtone, or ſlate, and threw it ſo violently down on the head of *Pyrrhus*, that he fell to ground aſtoniſhed with the blow; and lying in that caſe, had his head cut off.

Thus ended the reſtleſſe ambition of *Pyrrhus*, together with his life: and thus returned the Kingdome of *Macedon* to *Antigonus*; who forthwith poſſeſſed the Army, the body and the children of his Enemy. The body of *Pyrrhus* had honourable buriall, and was given by *Antigonus* unto *Helenus* his ſon; which young Prince he graciouſly ſent home into his fathers Kingdome of *Epirus*. From this time forwards, the race of *Antigonus* held the Kingdome of *Macedon*; the poſterity of *Seleucus* reigned over *Aſia* and *Syria*; and the houſe of *Ptolomy* had quiet poſſeſſion of *Egypt*: untill ſuch time as the Citie of *Rome*, ſwallowing all up, digeſted theſe, among other Countries, into the body of her owne Empire.

Finis Libri quarti.

THE

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD;

Intreating of the times from the ſettled rule of ALEXANDERS Succeſſors in the Eaſt, untill the ROMANS, prevailing over all, made Conqueſt of ASIA and MACEDON.

THE FIFTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the firſt Punick War.

§. I.

A diſcuſſion of that probleme of Livie; Whether the Romans could have reſiſted the great Alexander. *That neither the Macedonian nor the Roman Souldier, was of equall valour to the Engliſh.*

THat queſtion handled by *Livie*, *Whether the great* Alexander *could have prevailed againſt the Romans, if after his Eaſtern conqueſt, he had bent all his forces againſt them*, hath been, and is the ſubject of much diſpute; which (as it ſeems to me) the arguments on both ſides do not ſo well explain, as doth the experience that *Pyrrhus* hath given of the *Roman* power in his dayes. For if he, a Commander (in *Hannibals* judgement) inferiour to *Alexander*, though to none elſe, could with ſmall ſtrength of men, and little ſtore of mony, or of other needfull helps in war, vanquiſh them in two battels, and endanger their Eſtate, when it was well ſettled, and held the beſt part of *Italy*, under a confirmed obedience: what would *Alexander* have done, that was abundantly provided of all which is needfull to a Conquerour, wanting onely matter of employment, coming upon them before their Dominion was half ſo well ſettled? It is eaſie to ſay, that *Alexander* had no more than thirty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe (as indeed, at his firſt paſſage into *Aſia*, he carried over not many more) and that the reſt of his followers were no better than baſe effeminate *Aſiatiques*. But he that conſiders the Armies of *Perdiccas*, *Antipater*, *Craterus*, *Eumenes*, *Ptolomie*, *Antigonus* and *Lyſimachus*, with the actions by them performed, every one of which (to omit others) commanded onely ſome fragment of this dead Emperours power, ſhall eaſily finde, that ſuch a reckoning is far ſhort of the truth.

It were needleſſe to ſpeak of Treaſure, Horſes, Elephants, Engines of battery, and

the like: of all which the *Macedonian* had abundance; the *Roman* having nought, save men and armes. As for Sea-forces; he that shall consider after what sort the *Romans*, in their first *Punick* War, were trained in the rudiments of Navigation; sitting upon the shoare, and beating the sand with poles, to practice the stroke of the Oare, as not daring to lanch their ill-built vessels into the Sea; will easily conceive how far too weak they would have proved in such services.

Now for helpers in War; I do not see why all *Greece* and *Macedon*, being absolutely commanded by *Alexander*, might not well deserve to be laid in ballance against those parts of *Italy*, which the *Romans* held in ill-assured subjection. To omit therefore all benefit that the Eastern world, more wealthy, indeed, than valiant, could have affoorded unto the *Macedonian*: let us onely conjecture, how the States of *Sicil* and *Carthage*, neerest neighbours to such a quarrell (had it happened) would have stood affected. The *Sicilians* were for the most part *Grecians*; neither is it to be doubted, that they would readily have submitted themselves unto him, that ruled all *Greece* besides them. In what termes they commonly stood, and how ill they were able to defend themselves, it shall appeare anon. Sure it is, that *Alexanders* coming into those parts, would have brought excessive joy to them that were fain to get the help of *Pyrrhus*, by offering to become his subjects. As for the *Carthaginians*, if *Agathocles* the Tyrant of *Syracuse*, hated of his people, and ill able to defend his own besieged City, could by adventuring to saile into *Africk*, put their Dominion, yea, and *Carthage* it self, in extreme hazzard; shall we think that they would have been able to withstand *Alexander*? But why doe I question their ability, seeing that they sent Embassadours, with their submission, as far as *Babylon*, ere the War drew neer them? Wherefore it is manifest, that the *Romans* must, without other succour, than perhaps of some other few *Italian* friends (of which yet there were none that forsook them not, at some time, both before and after this) have opposed their valour and good military discipline, against the power of all Countries to them known, if they would have made resistance. How they could have sped well, in undertaking such a match; it is uneasie to finde in discourse of humane reason. It is true, that vertue and fortune worke wonders: but it is against cowardly fooles, and the unfortunate: for whosoever contends with one too mighty for him; either must excell in these, as much as his enemy goes beyond him in power; or else must looke both to be overcome, and to be cast down so much the lower, by how much the opinion of his fortune and vertue renders him suspected, as likely to make head another time against the vanquisher. Whether the *Roman* or the *Macedonian* were in those dayes the better Souldier, I will not take upon me to determine: though I might without partiality, deliver mine own opinion, and preferre that Army, which followed not only *Philip* and *Alexander*, but also *Alexanders* Princes after him, in the greatest dangers of all sorts of War, before any, that *Rome* either had, or in long time after did send forth. Concerning fortune, who can give a rule that shall alwayes, hold? *Alexander* was victorious in every battell that he fought: and the *Romans* in the issue of every war. But forasmuch as *Livie* hath judged this a matter worthy of consideration; I think it a great part of *Romes* good fortune, that *Alexander* came not into *Italy*: where in three yeers after his death, the two *Roman* consuls, together with all the powers of that State, were surprized by the *Samnites*, and enforced to yeeld up their arms. We may therefore permit *Livie* to admire his own *Romans*, and to compare with *Alexander* those Captains of theirs, which were honoured sufficiently, in being thought equall to his followers: that the same conceipt should blind our judgement, we cannot permit without much vanity.

Now in deciding such a controversie, me thinks it were not amisse, for an *Englishman*, to give such a sentence between the *Macedonians* and *Romans*, as the *Romans* once did (being chosen Arbitrators) between the *Ardeates* and *Aricini*, that strove about a piece of land; saying, that it belonged unto neither of them, but unto the *Romans* themselves.

If therefore it be demanded, whether the *Macedonian*, or the *Roman* were the best Warriour? I will answer: The *Englishman*. For it will soon appeare to any that shall examine the noble acts of our Nation in war, that they were performed by no advantage of weapon; against no savage or unmanly people; the enemy being far superiour unto us in number, and all needfull provisions, yea as well trained as we, or commonly better, in the exercise of War.

In

In what ſort *Philip* wan his Dominion in *Greece*; what manner of men the *Perſians* and *Indians* were, whom *Alexander* vanquiſhed; as likewiſe of what force the *Macedonian Phalanx* was, and how well appointed, againſt ſuch armes as it commonly encountred: any man, that hath taken paines to reade the foregoing ſtory of them, doth ſufficiently underſtand. Yet was this *Phalanx* never, or very ſeldom, able to ſtand againſt the *Roman* armies; which were embattelled in ſo excellent a forme, as I know not whether any Nation beſides them have uſed, either before or ſince. The *Roman* weapons likewiſe, both offenſive and defenſive, were of greater uſe than thoſe with which any other Nation hath ſerved, before the fiery inſtruments of Gun-powder were known. As for the enemies with which *Rome* had to doe, we finde, that they which did over-match her in numbers, were as far over-matched by her in weapons; and that they, of whom ſhe had little advantage in arms, had as little advantage of her in multitude. This alſo (as *Plutarch* well obſerveth) was a part of her happineſſe; that ſhe was never over-laid with two great wars at once.

Hereby it came to paſſe, that having at firſt increaſed her ſtrength by acceſſion of the *Sabines*; having won the State of *Alba*, againſt which ſhe adventured her own ſelf, as it were in wager, upon the heads of three Champions: and having thereby made her ſelf Princeſſe of *Latium*, ſhee did afterwards by long war, in many ages, extend her Dominion over all *Italy*. The *Carthaginians* had well-neer oppreſſed her: but her Souldiers were Mercenary; ſo that for want of proper ſtrength, they were eaſily beaten at their own doores. The *Ætolians*, and with them all, or the moſt of *Greece*, aſſiſted her againſt *Philip* the *Macedonian*: he being beaten, did lend her his help to beat the ſame *Ætolians*. The wars againſt *Antiochus*, and other *Aſiatiques*, were ſuch as gave to *Rome* ſmall cauſe of boaſt, though much of joy: for thoſe oppoſites were as baſe of courage, as the lands which they held were abundant of riches. *Sicil*, *Spain*, and all *Greece*, fell into her hands, by uſing her aide to protect them againſt the *Carthaginians* and *Macedonians*.

I ſhall not need to ſpeak of her other conqueſts: it was eaſie to get more when ſhee had gotten all this. It is not my purpoſe to diſgrace the *Roman* valour (which was very noble) or to blemiſh the reputation of ſo many famous victories: I am not ſo idle. This I ſay; That among all their wars, I finde not any, wherein their valour hath appeared comparable to the *Engliſh*. If my judgement ſeem over-partiall, our wars in *France* may help to make it good.

Firſt therefore it is well known, that *Rome* (or perhaps all the world beſides) had never any ſo brave a Commander in war as *Julius Cæſar*: and that no *Roman* army was comparable unto that which ſerved under the ſame *Cæſar*. Likewiſe, it is apparent, that this gallant Army, which had given faire proof of the *Roman* courage, in good performance of the *Helvetian* war, when it firſt entred into *Gaule*; was nevertheleſſe utterly diſheartned, when *Cæſar* led it againſt the *Germans*. So that we may juſtly impute all that was extraordinary in the valour of *Cæſars* men, to their long exerciſe, under ſo good a Leader, in ſo great a war. Now let us in generall compare with the deeds done by theſe beſt of *Roman* Souldiers, in their principall ſervice; the things performed in the ſame Country, by our common *Engliſh* Souldiers, levied in haſte, from following the Cart, or ſitting on the ſhop-ſtall: ſo ſhall we ſee the difference. Herein will we deale fairly, and beleeve *Cæſar* in relating the acts of the *Romans:* but will call the *French* Hiſtorians to witneſſe, what actions were performed by the *Engliſh*. In *Cæſars* time *France* was inhabited by the *Gaules*, a ſtout people, but inferiour to the *French*, by whom they were ſubdued; even when the *Romans* gave them aſſiſtance. The Country of *Gaule* was rent in ſunder (as *Cæſar* witneſſeth) into many Lordſhips: ſome of which were governed by petty kings, others by the multitude, none ordered in ſuch ſort as might make it appliable to the neereſt Neighbour. The factions were many, and violent: not onely in general through the whole Country, but betweeen the petty States, yea in every City, and almoſt in every houſe. What greater advantage could a Conquerour deſire? Yet there was a greater. *Arioviſtus*, with his *Germans*, had over-run the Country, and held much part of it in ſubjection, little different from meer ſlavery: yea, ſo often had the *Germans* prevailed in war upon the *Gaules*, that the *Gaules*, (who had ſometimes been the better Souldiers) did hold themſelves no way equall to thoſe daily Invaders. Had *France* been ſo prepared unto our *Engliſh* Kings, *Rome* it ſelf by this time, and long ere

this time, would have been ours. But when King *Edward* the third began his war upon *France*, he found the whole Country settled in obedience to one mighty King; a King whose reputation abroad, was no less than his puissance at home; under whose ensigne, the King of *Bohemia* did serve in person; at whose call the *Genowayes*, and other Neighbour States, were ready to take armes; finally, a King unto whom one (*a*) Prince gave away his Dominion, for love; (*b*) another sold away a goodly City and Territory for mony. The Country lying so open to the *Romans* and being so well fenced against the *English*; it is note-worthy, not who prevailed most therein (for it were meer vanity to match the *English* purchases with the *Roman* conquest) but whether of the two gave the greater proof of military vertue. *Cæsar* himself doth witnesse, that the *Gaules* complained of their own ignorance in the Art of war, and that their own hardinesse was overmastered by the skill of their enemies. Poor men, they admired the *Roman* Towers, and Engines of battery, raised and planted against their walles, as more than humane workes. What greater wonder is it, that such a people was beaten by the *Romans*; than that the *Caribes*, a naked people, but valiant, as any under the skie, are commonly put to the worse by small numbers of *Spaniards*? Besides all this, we are to have regard of the great difficulty that was found, in drawing all the *Gaules*, or any great part of them, to one head, that with joynt forces they might oppose their assailants: as also the much more difficulty of holding them long together. For hereby it came to passe, that they were never able to make use of opportunity: but sometimes compelled to stay for their fellowes; and sometimes driven to give or take battell upon extreame disadvantages, for fear lest their companies should fall asunder: as indeed, upon any little disaster, they were ready to break, and return every one to the defence of his own. All this, and (which was little lesse than all this) great oddes in weapon gave to the *Romans* the honour of many gallant victories. What such help? or what other worldly help, than the golden mettle of their Souldiers, had our *English* Kings against the *French*? Were not the *French* as well experienced in feats of war? Yea, did they not think themselves therein our superiours? Were they not in arms, in horse, and in all provision, exceedingly beyond us? Let us heare what a *French* writer saith of the inequality that was between the *French* and *English*, when their King *John* was ready to give the on-set upon the *Black Prince*, at the battell of *Poitiers*. John *had all advantages over* Edward, *both of number, force, shew, Country and conceit, (the which is commonly a consideration of no small importance in worldly affaires) and withall, the choice of all his horsemen (esteemed then the best in Europe) with the greatest and wisest Captaines of his whole Realme*. And what could he more?

a The Dolphin of Viennois.
b The King of Maiorca.

John de Serres.

JEAN auoit tout l'auantage par dessus EDOVARD, le nombre, la force, le lustre, le pay, le preuuge (qui n'est pas commancement une consideration de peu d'importance aux affaires du monde) & auec soy l'élite de sa Cauallerie, lors estimeela meilleure de tout son Royaume.

I think it would trouble a *Roman* antiquary to finde the like example in their Histories; the example I say, of a King, brought prisoner to *Rome*, by an army of eight thousand, which he had surrounded with forty thousand, better appointed, and no lesse expert Warriours. This I am sure of, that neither *Syphax* the *Numidian*, followed by a rabble of half Scullions, as *Livie* rightly termes them, nor those cowardly Kings, *Perseus* and *Gentius*, are worthy patternes. All that have read of *Cressi* and *Agincourt*, will beare me witnesse, that I doe not alledge the battell of *Poitiers*, for lack of other, as good examples of the *English* vertue: the proof whereof hath left many a hundred better marks in all quarters of *France*, then ever did the valour of the *Romans*. If any man impute these victories of ours to the long bow, as carrying farther, piercing more strongly, and quicker of discharge than the *French* Crosse-bow: my answer is ready; That in all these respects, it is also (being drawn with a strong arme) superiour to the Musket; yet is the Musket a weapon of more use. The Gun and the Crosse-bow are of like force, when discharged by a Boy or Woman, as when by a strong Man: weaknesse or sicknesse, or a sore finger makes the long Bow unserviceable. More particularly, I say, that it was the custome of our Ancestors, to shoot, for the most part, *point blank*: and so shall he perceive, that will note the circumstances of almost any one battell. This takes away all objection: for when two Armies are within the distance of a Butts length, one flight of arrowes, or two at the most can be delivered before they close. Neither is it in generall true, that the long Bow reacheth farther, or that it pierceth more strongly than the Crosse-bow: but this is the rare effect of an extraordinarie arme; whereupon can be grounded no common rule. If any man shall aske, How then came it to passe, that the *English* wan so many great battels, having no advantage

to

to help him? I may, with beſt commendation of modeſty, referre him to the *French* Hiſtorian: who relating the victory of our men at *Crevant*, where they paſſed a bridge, in face of the enemy, uſeth theſe words: *The Engliſh comes with a conquering bravery, as he that was accuſtomed to gain every-where, without any ſtay: he forceth our guard placed upon the bridge to keep the paſſage.* Or I may cite another place of the ſame Author, where he tells, how the *Britons*, being invaded by *Charles* the eighth, King of *France*, thought it good policy to apparell a thouſand and five hundred of their own men in *Engliſh* Caſſocks; hoping that the very ſight of the *Engliſh* red croſſe, would be enough to terrifie the *French*. But I will not ſtand to borrow of the *French* Hiſtorians (all which, excepting *De Serres*, and *Paulus Æmylius*, report wonders of our Nation:) the propoſition which firſt I undertook to maintain; *That the military vertue of the Engliſh, prevailing againſt all manner of difficulties, ought to be preferred before that of the Romans, which was aſſiſted with all advantages that could be deſired.* If it be demanded, why then did not our Kings finiſh the conqueſt, as *Cæſar* had done? my anſwer may be (I hope without offence) that our Kings were like to the race of the *Æacidæ*, of whom the old Poet *Ennius* gave this note; *Bellipotentes ſunt magis quàm ſapienti potentes*; *They were more warlike than politick.* Whoſo notes their proceedings, may finde, that none of them went to work like a Conquerour, ſave onely King *Henry* the fifth; the courſe of whoſe victories it pleaſed God to interrupt by his death. But this queſtion is the more eaſily anſwered, if another be firſt made. Why did not the *Romans* attempt the conqueſt of *Gaule* before the time of *Cæſar*? why not after the *Macedonian* war? why not after the third *Punick*, or after the *Numantians*? At all theſe times they had good leiſure: and then eſpecially had they both leiſure & fit opportunity, when under the conduct of *Marius*, they had newly vanquiſhed the *Cimbri*, and *Teutones*, by whom the country of *Gaule* had been piteouſly waſted. Surely the words of *Tully* were true; That with other Nations the *Romans* fought for Dominion, with the *Gaules* for preſervation of their own ſafety.

Therefore they attempted not the conqueſt of *Gaule*, untill they were Lords of all other Countries, to them known. We on the other ſide, held onely the one half of our own Iſland; the other half being inhabited by a Nation (unleſſe perhaps in wealth and numbers of men ſomewhat inferiour) every way equall to our ſelves; a Nation anciently and ſtrongly allied to our enemies the *French*, and in that regard enemy to us. So that our danger lay both before and behinde us: and the greater danger at our backs; where commonly we felt, alwayes we feared, a ſtronger invaſion by land, than we could make upon *France*, tranſporting our forces over Sea.

It is uſuall with men, that have pleaſed themſelves in admiring the matters which they find in ancient Hiſtories; to hold it a great injury done to their judgement, if any take upon him, by way of compariſon, to extoll the things of later ages. But I am well perſwaded, that as the divided vertue of this our Iſland, hath given more noble proofe of it ſelf, than under ſo worthy a Leader, that *Roman* Army could do, which afterwards could win *Rome*, and all her Empire, making *Cæſar* a *Monarch*; ſo hereafter, by Gods bleſſing, who hath converted our greateſt hinderance, into our greateſt help, the enemy that ſhall dare to try our forces, will finde cauſe to wiſh, that avoiding us, he had rather encountred as great a puiſſance as was that of the *Roman* Empire. But it is now high time, that, laying aſide compariſons, we return to the rehearſall of deeds done: wherein we ſhall finde, how *Rome* began, after *Pyrrhus* had left *Italy*, to ſtrive with *Carthage* for Dominion, in the firſt *Punick* War.

§. II.

The eſtate of Carthage before it entred into war with Rome.

THe City of *Carthage* had ſtood above ſix hundred yeers, when firſt it began to contend with *Rome* for the maſtery of *Sicil*. It fore-went *Rome* one hundred and fifty yeers in antiquity of foundation: but in the honour of great atchievements, it excelled far beyond this advantage of time. For *Carthage* had extended her Dominion *Africa* it ſelf, from the Weſt part of *Cyrene*, to the ſtreights of *Hercules*, about one thouſand and five hundred miles in length, wherein ſtood three hundred Cities. It had ſubjected all *Spain*, even to the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, together with all the

Islands in the *Mediterranean* Sea, to the West of *Sicil*; and of *Sicil* the better part. It flourished about seven hundred and thirty yeers, before the destruction thereof by *Scipio*: who, besides other spoiles, and all that the Souldiers reserved, carried thence four hundred and seventy thousand weight of silver, which make of our mony (if our pounds differ not) fourteen hundred and ten thousand pound sterling. So as this glorious City ran the same fortune, which many other great ones have done, both before and since. The ruine of the goodliest pieces of the world fore-shews the dissolution of the whole.

About one hundred yeers after such time as it was cast down, the Senate of *Rome* caused it to be re-built: and by *Gracchus* it was called *Junonia*: it was again and again abandoned and re-peopled, taken and re-taken; by *Gensericus* the *Vandal*, by *Belisarius* under *Justinian*, by the *Persians*, by the *Egyptians*, and by the *Mahometans*. It is now nothing. The seat thereof was exceeding strong: and while the *Carthaginians* commanded the Sea, invincible. For the Sea compassed it about, saving that it was tied to the main by a neck of land; which passage had two miles and more of breadth (*Appian* saith, three miles and one furlong) by which we may be induced to beleeve the common report, that the City it self was above twenty miles in compasse; if not that of *Strabo*, affirming the circuit to have been twice as great.

It had three walls without the wall of the City; and between each of those, three or foure streets, with vaults under ground, of thirty foot deep, in which they had place for three hundred Elephants, and all their food: over these they had stables for four thousand horse, and Granaries for their provender. They had also lodgings in these streets, between these out-walls, for four thousand horse-men, and twenty thousand foot-men, which (according to the discipline used now by those of *China*) never pestered the City. It had towards the South part, the Castle of *Byrsa*; to which *Servius* gives two and twenty furlongs in compasse, that make two miles and a half. This was the same piece of ground which *Dido* obtained of the *Lybians*, when she got leave to buy onely so much Land of them, as she could compasse with an Oxe hide. On the West side it had also the salt Sea, but in the nature of a standing pool; for a certain arm of Land, fastened to the ground, on which the City stood, stretched it self towards the West continent, and left but seventy foot open for the Sea to enter. Over this standing Sea was built a most sumptuous *Arsenall*, having their Ships and Gallies riding under it.

The form of their Common-weal resembled that of *Sparta*; for they had titulary Kings, and the *Aristocraticall* power of Senators. But (as *Regius* well observeth) the people in later times usurped too great authority in their Councels. This confusion in government, together with the trust that they reposed in hired Souldiers, were helping causes of their destruction in the end. Two other more forcible causes of their ruine, were their avarice and their cruelty. [a] Their avarice was shewed both in exacting from their Vassals (besides ordinary tributes) the one [b] half of the fruits of the earth; and in conferring of great offices, not upon gentle & mercifull persons, but upon those who could best tyrannize over the people, to augment their treasures. Their cruelty appeared, in putting them to death without mercy, that had offended through ignorance: the one of these rendred them odious to their Vassals, whom it made ready upon all occasions, to revolt from them: the other did break the spirits of their Generals, by presenting in the heat of their actions abroad, the fear of a cruell death at home. Hereby it came to passe, that many good Commanders of the *Carthaginian* forces, after some great losse received, have desperately cast themselves, with all that remained under their charge, into the throat of destruction; holding it necessary, either to repaire their losses quickly, or to ruine all together: and few of them have dared to manage their own best projects, after that good form, wherein they first conceived them, for fear lest the manner of their proceeding should be mis-interpreted: It being the *Carthaginian* rule, to crucifie, not onely the unhappy Captain, but even him, whose bad counsell had prosperous event. The faults, wherewith, in generall, they of *Carthage* are taxed, by *Roman* Historians, I finde to be these; lust, cruelty, avarice, craft, unfaithfulnesse,

a *In Pol. Arist. l. 2. c. 9.*

b The *Turks*, at this day, do also take the one half of the poor mans corn, that labours the earth: yea, they take tribute both of the bodies, & of the souls of the *Christians* their Vassals, by bereaving them of their ablest children, & bringing them up in the *Mahometan* Religion. The *Irish* take the fourth sheaf: & were wont to eat up with their horsmen, footmen, & dogs, what they pleased, of the other three parts remaining. The husbandman and the yeoman of *England*, are the freest of all the World: And reason good: for of them have the bodies of our victorious Armies been compounded. And it is the free-man, and not the slave, that hath courage and the sense of shame deserved by cowardise. How free the *English* yeomen have been in times not long since past, *Fortescue* hath shewed in his praise of our countries laws. But I may say, that they are more free now than ever: and our Nobility and Gentry more servile. For, since the excessive bravery and vain expence of our *Grandes* hath taught them to raise their Rents, since by Inclosures, and dismembring of Manors, the Court Baron, and the Court Leet, the Principalities of the Gentry of *England*, have been dissolved, the Tenants having payed unto their Lords their rack Rent, owe them now no service at all, and (perchance) as little love.

neſſe, and perjury. Whether the *Romans* themſelves were free from the ſame crimes, let the triall be referred unto their actions. The firſt league between *Carthage* and *Rome*, was very ancient: having been made the yeer following the expulſion of *Tarquine*. In that league the *Carthaginians* had the ſuperiority, as impoſing upon the *Romans* the more ſtrict conditions. For it was agreed, that the *Romans* ſhould not ſo much as have trade in ſome part of *Africk*, nor ſuffer any ſhip of theirs to paſſe beyond the headland, or cape, then called the *fair Promontory*, unleſſe it were by force of tempeſt: whereas on the other ſide, no Haven in *Italy* was forbidden to the *Carthaginians*. A ſecond league was made long after, which (howſoever it hath pleaſed *Livie* to ſay, that the *Romans* granted it, at the *Carthaginians* intreaty) was more ſtrict than the former: prohibiting the *Romans* to have trade in any part of *Africa*, or in the Iſland of *Sardinia*. *Liv. Dec. 1. l. 7.*

By theſe two treaties it may appear, that the *Carthaginians* had an intent not only to keep the *Romans* (as perhaps they did other people) from getting any knowledge of the ſtate of *Africk*; but to countenance & uphold them, in their troubling all *Italy*, whereby they themſelves might have the better means to occupy all *Sicil*, whileſt that Iſland ſhould be deſtitute of *Italian* ſuccours. Hereupon we finde good cauſe of the joy that was in *Carthage*, and of the Crown of gold, weighing twenty and five pound, ſent from thence to *Rome*, when the *Samnites* were overthrown. But the little ſtate of *Rome* prevailed faſter in *Italy*, than the great power of *Carthage* did in *Sicil*. For that mighty Army of three hundred thouſand men, which *Hannibal* conducted out of *Africk* into *Sicil*, wan only two Cities therein: many great fleets were devoured by tempeſts; and howſoever the *Carthaginians* prevailed at one time, the *Sicilians*, either by their own valour, or by the aſſiſtance of their good friends out of *Greece*, did at ſome other time repaire their own loſſes, and take revenge upon thoſe Invaders. But never were the people of *Carthage* in better hope of getting all *Sicil*, than when the death of *Agathocles* the Tyrant, had left the whole Iſland in combuſtion; the eſtate of *Greece* being ſuch, at the ſame time, that it ſeemed impoſſible for any ſuccour to be ſent from thence. But whileſt the *Carthaginians* were buſie in making their advantage of this good opportunity; *Pyrrhus*, invited by the *Tarentines* and their fellows, came into *Italy*; where he made ſharp war upon the *Romans*. Theſe news were unpleaſing to the *Carthaginians*, who, being a ſubtle Nation, eaſily fore-ſaw, that the ſame buſie diſpoſition which had brought this Prince out of *Greece* into *Italy*, would as eaſily tranſport him over into *Sicil*, as ſoon as he could finiſh his *Roman* war. To prevent this danger, they ſent *Mago* Embaſſadour to *Rome*; who declared in their name, that they were ſorry to hear what miſadventure had befallen the *Romans*, their good friends, in this war with *Pyrrhus*; and that the people of *Carthage* were very willing to aſſiſt the ſtate of *Rome*, by ſending an Army into *Italy*; if their help were thought needfull, againſt the *Epirots*. *Xen. Graec. hiſt. l. 1.*

It was indeed the main deſire of the *Carthaginians*, to hold *Pyrrhus* ſo hardly to his work in *Italy*, that they might, at good leiſure, purſue their buſineſſe in *Sicil*: which cauſed them to make ſuch a goodly offer. But the *Romans* were too high-minded: and refuſed to accept any ſuch aid of their friends, leſt it ſhould blemiſh their reputation, and make them ſeem unable to ſtand by their own ſtrength. Yet the meſſage was taken lovingly, as it ought; and the former league between *Rome* and *Carthage* renued; with covenants added, concerning the preſent buſines; That if either of the two Cities made peace with *Pyrrhus*, it ſhould be with reſervation of liberty, to aſſiſt the other, in caſe that *Pyrrhus* ſhould invade either of their Dominions. All this notwithſtanding, and notwithſtanding that the ſame *Mago* went and treated with *Pyrrhus*, uſing all means to ſound his intentions (a matter very difficult, where one upon every new occaſion, changeth his own purpoſes) yet *Pyrrhus* found leaſure to make a ſtep into *Sicil*: where, though in fine he was neither getter nor ſaver, yet he clean defeated the purpoſes of *Carthage*, leaving them, at his departure from thence, as far from any end, as when they firſt began.

So many diſaſters in an enterpriſe, that from the firſt undertaking had been ſo ſtrongly purſued, through the length of many generations, might well have induced the *Carthaginians* to beleeve, that an higher providence reſiſted their intendment. But their deſire of winning that fruitfull Iſland, was ſo inveterate, that with unwearied patience, they ſtill continued in hope of ſo much the greater an harveſt, by how much their coſt and pains therein buried had been the more. Wherefore they re-continued their

their former courses; and by force or practice, recovered in few yeers all their old possessions: making peace with *Syracuse*, the chief City of the Island, that so they might the better enable themselves to deal with the rest.

Somewhat before this time, a troup of *Campanian* Souldiers, that had served under *Agathocles*, being entertained within *Messana* as friends, and finding themselves too strong for the Citizens, took advantage of the power that they had to do wrong; and with perfidious cruelty, slue those that had trusted them; which done, they occupied the City, Lands, Goods, and Wives of those whom they had murdered. These Mercenaries called themselves *Mamertines*. Good Souldiers they were: and like enough it is, that meer desperation of finding any that would approve their barbarous treachery, added rage unto their stoutnesse. Having therefore not any other colour of their proceedings, than *the law of the stronger*, they over-ran all the Country round about them.

In this course, at first, they sped so well, that they did not onely defend *Messana* against the Cities of *Sicil* Confederate; to wit, against the *Syracusians*, and others, but they rather wan upon them; yea, and upon the *Carthaginians*, exacting tribute from many Neighbour places. But it was not long, ere fortune turning her back to these *Mamertines*, the *Syracusians* wan fast upon them, and finally, confining them within the walls of *Messana*, they also with a powerfull Army besieged the City. It hapned ill, that about the same time a contention began between the *Syracusian* Souldiers, then lying at *Megara*, and the Citizens of *Syracuse*, and Governours of the Common-wealth; which proceeded so far, that the Army elected two Governours among themselves, to wit, *Artemidorus* and *Hieron*, that was afterward King. *Hieron*, being for his yeers excellently adorned with many vertues, although it was contrary to the policy of that State, to approve any election made by the Souldiers; yet for the great clemency he used at his first entrance, was by generall consent established and made Governour. This office he rather used as a Scale, thereby to climb to some higher degree, than rested content with his present preferment.

In brief, there was somewhat wanting, whereby to strengthen himself within the City; and somewhat without it, that gave impediment to his obtaining, and safe keeping of the place he sought; to wit, a powerfull party within the Town, and certain mutinous troups of Souldiers without, often and easily moved to sedition and tumult. For the first, whereby to strengthen himself, he took to Wife the daughter of *Leptines*, a man of the greatest estimation and authority among the *Syracusians*. For the second, leading out the Army to besiege *Messana*, he quartered all those companies, which he held suspected, on the one side of the City, and leading the rest of his Horse and Foot unto the other side, as if he would have assaulted it in two severall parts, he marched away under the covert of the Town walls, and left the Mutiners to be cut in pieces by the assieged: So returning home, and levying an Army of his own Citizens, well trained and obedient, he hasted again towards *Messana*, and was by the *Mamertines* (grown proud by their former victory over the Mutiners) incountred in the plains of *Mylæum*, where he obtained a most signall victory, and leading with him their Commander captive into *Syracuse*, himself by common consent was elected and saluted King. Hereupon the *Mamertines*, finding themselves utterly enfeebled, some of them resolved to give themselves to the *Carthaginians*, others to crave assistance of the *Romans*: to each of whom the severall factions dispatched Embassadours for the very same purpose.

The *Carthaginians* were soon ready to lay hold upon the good offer: so that a Captain of theirs got into the Castle of *Messana*, whereof they that had sent for him gave him possession. But within a little while, they that were more inclinable to the *Romans*, had brought their Companions to so good agreement, that this Captain, either by force, or by cunning, was turned out of doores, and the Town reserved for other Masters.

These news did much offend the people of *Carthage*; who crucified their Captaine, as both a Traitor and Coward; and sent a Fleet and Army to besiege *Messana*, as a Town that rebelled, having once been theirs. *Hieron* the new-made King of *Syracuse* (to gratifie his people, incensed with the smart of injuries lately received) added his forces to the *Carthaginians*, with whom he entred into a league, for exterminating the

Mamertines

Mamertines out of *Sicil.* So the *Mamertines* on all ſides were cloſed up within *Meſſana:* the *Carthaginians* lying with a Navie at Sea, and with an Army on the one ſide of the Town, whileſt *Hieron* with his *Syracuſians*, lay before it on the other ſide.

In this their great danger came *Appius Claudius* the *Roman* Conſul, with an Army to the ſtreights of *Sicil:* which paſſing by night with notable audacity, he put himſelfe into the Town, and ſending Meſſengers to the *Carthaginians*, and to *Hieron*, required them to depart; ſignifying unto them that the *Mamertines* were now become confederate with the people of *Rome*, and that therefore he was come to give them protection, even by force of War, if reaſon would not prevaile.

This meſſage was utterly neglected; And ſo began the War between *Rome* and *Carthage*; wherein it will then be time to ſhew on which part was the juſtice of the quarrell, when ſome actions of the *Romans* lately foregoing this, have been firſt conſidered.

§. III.

The beginning of the firſt Punick war. That it was unjuſtly undertaken by the Romans.

WHen *Pyrrhus* began his wars in *Italy*, the City of *Rhegium*, being well affected to *Rome*, and not onely fearing to be taken by the *Epirot*, but much more diſtruſting the *Carthaginians*, as likely to ſeize upon it in that buſie time, ſought aide from the *Romans*, and obtained from them a Legion, conſiſting of foure thouſand ſouldiers, under the conduct of *Decius Campanus*, a *Roman* Prefect; by whom they were defended and aſſured for the preſent. But after a while, this *Roman* Garriſon, conſidering at good leaſure, the fact of the *Mamertines*, committed in *Meſſana* (a City in *Sicil*, ſituate almoſt oppoſite to *Rhegium*, and no otherwſe divided than by a narrow Sea, which ſevereth it from *Italy*) and rather weighing the greatneſſe of the booty, than the odiouſneſſe of the villany, by which it was gotten; reſolved finally, to make the like purchaſe, by taking the like wicked courſe. Confederating therefore themſelves with the *Mamertines*, they entertained their Hoſts of *Rhegium*, after the ſame manner; dividing the ſpoil, and all which that State had among themſelves.

When complaint was made to the Senate and people of *Rome*, of this outrage; they finding their honour thereby greatly ſtained (for no Nation in the world made a more ſevere profeſſion of juſtice, than they did during all the time of their growing greatneſſe) reſolved, after a while, to take revenge upon the offenders. And this they performed ſhortly after, when they had quenched the fires, kindled in *Italy* by *Pyrrhus*. For, notwithſtanding that thoſe *Romans* in *Rhegium* (as men for the fouleneſſe of their fact, hopeleſſe of pardon) defended themſelves with an obſtinate reſolution: yet in the end, the aſſailants forced them; and thoſe which eſcaped the preſent fury, were brought bound to *Rome*, where, after the uſuall torments by whipping inflicted, according to the cuſtome of the country, they had their heads ſtricken from their ſhoulders, and the people of *Rhegium* were again reſtored to their former liberty and eſtates.

This execution of Juſtice being newly performed, and the fame thereof ſounding honourably through all quarters of *Italy:* meſſengers came to *Rome* from *Meſſana*, deſiring help againſt the *Carthaginians*, and *Syracuſians*, that were in a readineſſe to inflict the like puniſhment upon the *Mamertines*, for the like offence. A very impudent requeſt it was, which they made: who having both given example of that villanny to the *Roman* Souldiers, and helpen them with joynt forces to make it good, doe intreat the Judges to give them that aſſiſtance, which they were wont to receive from their fellow-theeves.

The *Romans* could not ſuddenly reſolve, whether the way of honeſty or of profit were to be followed; they evermore pretended the one, but they many times walked in the other. They conſidered, how contrary the courſe of ſuccouring the *Mamertines* was to their former counſels and actions: ſeeing for the ſame offences they had lately put to torment, and to the ſword, their own Souldiers, and reſtored the oppreſſed to their liberty. Yet when they beheld the deſcription of the *Carthaginian* Dominion, and that they were already Lords of the beſt part of *Aſrica*, of the *Mediterran* Iſlands, of a great part of *Spaine*, and ſome part of *Sicil* it ſelf; whileſt alſo they feared, that *Syracuſe* therein

therein seated (a City in beauty and riches, little at that time inferiour to *Carthage*, and far superiour to *Rome* it self) might become theirs; the safety of their own estate spake for these *Mamertines*: who, if they (driven to despaire by the *Romans*) should deliver up *Messana*, with those other holds that they had, into the hands of the *Carthaginians*, then would nothing stand between *Carthage* and the Lordship of *Sicil*: for *Syracuse* it self could not, for want of succour, any long time subsist, if once the *Carthaginians* that were Masters of the Sea, did fasten upon that passage from the maine Land. It was further considered; that the opportunity of *Messana* was such, as would not onely debarre all succours out of the continent, from arrivall in *Sicil*; but would serve as a bridge, whereby the *Carthaginians* might have entrance into *Italy*, at their own pleasure.

These considerations of profit at hand, and of preventing dangers, that threatned from a-far, did so prevail above all regard of honesty, that the *Mamertines* were admitted into Confederacy with the *Romans*, and *Ap. Claudius* the Consull, presently dispatcht away for *Messana*: into which he entred, and undertook the protection of it, as is shewed before. The besiegers were little troubled with his arrivall; and lesse moved, with his requiring them to desist from their attempt. For they did far exceed him in number of men; the whole Island was ready to relieve them in their wants; and they were strong enough at Sea, to hinder any supply from getting into the Town. All this *Appius* himself well understood: and against all this he thought the stiffe metall of his *Roman* Souldiers a sufficient remedy. Therefore he resolved to issue out into the field, and to let the enemies know, that his coming was to send them away from the Town; not to be besieged by them within it.

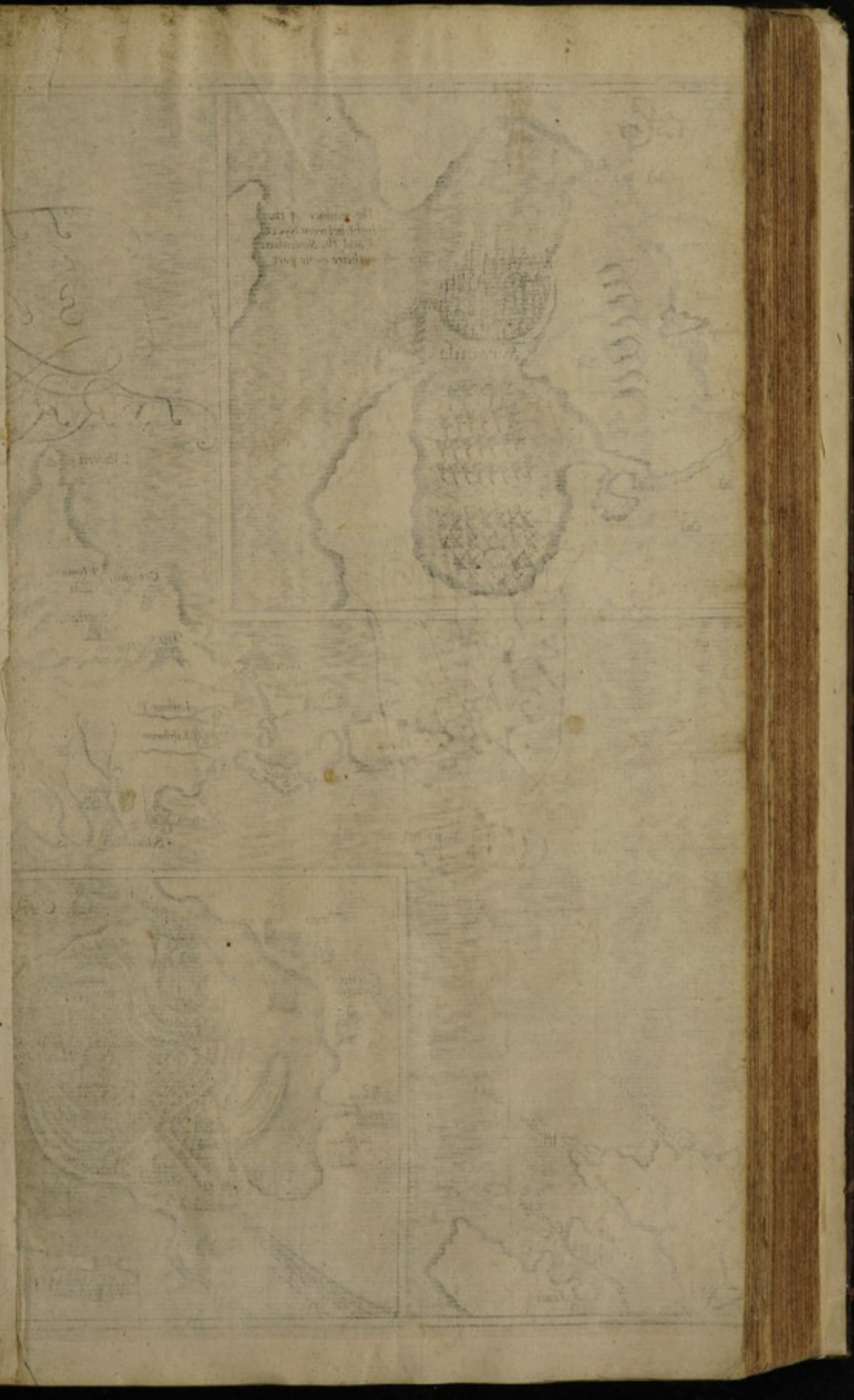
In executing this determination, it was very beneficiall to him, that the enemy lay encamped in such sort, as one quarter was not well able to relieve another in distresse. *Hieron* was now exposed to the same danger, whereinto he had wilfully cast his own mutinous followers not long before: onely he was strong enough (or thought so) to make good his own quarter, without help of others. Against him *Ap. Claudius* issued forth, and (not attempting, by unexpected sally, to surprise his trenches) arranged his men in order of battell, wherewith he presented him. The *Syracusian* wanted not courage to fight; but surely he wanted good advice: else would he not have hazzarded all his power against an enemy of whom he had made no triall; when it had been easie, and as much as was requisite, to defend his own Camp. It may be, that he thought to get honour, wherewith to adorne the beginning of his reign. But he was well beaten, and driven to save himself within his trenches: by which losse, he learned a point of wisdom, that stood him and his Kingdom in good stead all the dayes of his life. It was a foolish desire of revenge, that had made the *Syracusians* so busie, in helping those of *Carthage*, against the *Mamertines*.

Had *Messana* been taken by the *Carthaginians*, *Syracuse* it self must have sought help from *Rome*, against those friends which it now so diligently assisted. *Hieron* had (in respect of those two mighty Cities) but a small stock, which it behooved him to governe well: such another losse would have made him almost bankrupt. Therefore he quietly brake up his Camp, and retired home: intending to let them stand to their adventures, that had hope to be gainers by the bargain. The next day, *Claudius* perceiving the *Sicilian* Army gone, did with great courage, and with much alacrity of his Souldiers, give charge upon the *Carthaginians*: wherein he sped so well, that the enemy forsook both field and camp, leaving all the Country open to the *Romans*; who having spoiled all round, without resistance, intended to lay siege unto the great City of *Syracuse*.

These prosperous beginnings, howsoever they animated the *Romans*, and filled them with hopes of attaining to greater matters, than at the first they had expected: Yet did they not imprint any forme of terrour in the City of *Carthage*, that had well enough repaired greater losses than this; in which no more was lost than what had been prepared against the *Mamertines* alone, without any suspicion of War from *Rome*.

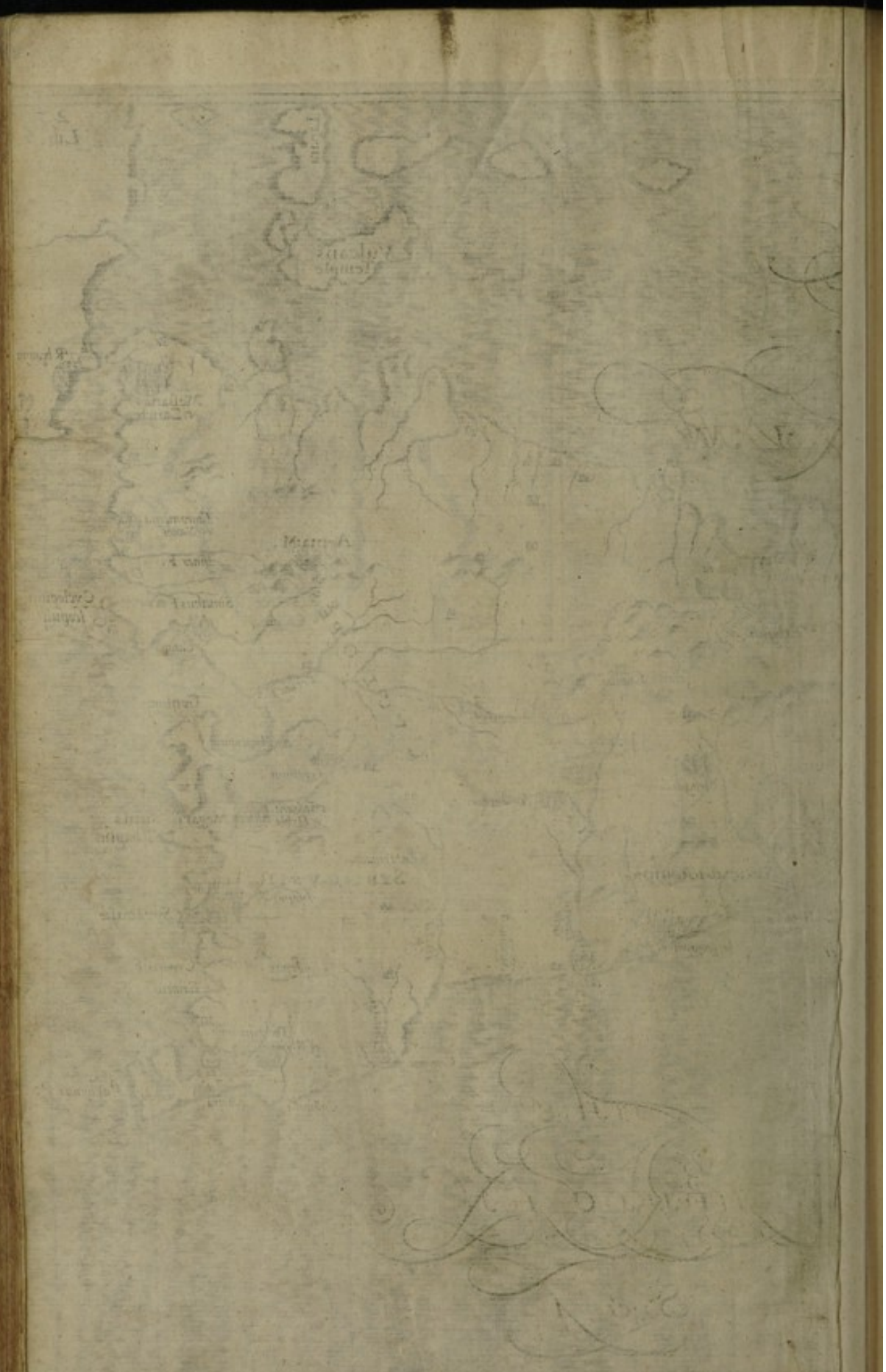
Now in this place I hold it seasonable, to consider of those grounds, whereupon the *Romans* entred into this war; not how profitable they were, nor how agreeable to rules of honesty (for questionless the enterprise was much to their benefit, though as much to their shame) but how allowable in strict termes of lawfulnesse; whereupon they built

all



370
The manner of the fight, between Nycias and the Siraculans in theire owne port
Syracusa
Motyra
Panormus
Crinisus
Elyma
Macella
Segesta
Eryx
Veneris erycinae
Drepanum
Phorbantia
Acithius F.
Lilybaeum
Hiera
Aegusa
Selinus F.
Entella
Mazara
Selinus
Thermae
Heraclia Minoa
Utica
Arsenal
Castra Cornelya
Macra
Gephyra
Hippo Diarrytus
Appollonis pmont
Carthage
Tunis
Aquae ductus
Tunis

Lipara
Vulcans Temple
Rhegium
Messana or Zancle
Tauromenia or Naxos
Aetna M.
Asines F.
Simethus F.
Cyclopum scopuli
Catana
Himera
Himera F.
Erbessus
Enna
Terias F.
Trotilum
Chrysas F.
CYCLOPES
Morgentium
Leontium
Herbesus
Hactorium
Megara or Hybla
Megaris Sinus
Thapsus
Trinacia
SYRACVSII
Anapus F.
Syracusæ
SICANIA REGIO
Heraclia or Minoa
Agrigentum
Agragas F.
Himera or Gela F.
Sicanus F.
Hypsa F.
Gela
Lepas
Cyparis F.
Erineus
Diana F.
The overthrow of Nicias
Elorus
Camerina
Callipolis
Motya
Pachynus P.
THE AFRICAN SEA



all their allegations in maintenance thereof. That the *Mamertines* did yeeld themſelves, and all that they had, into the *Romans* hands (as the *Campanes*, diſtreſſed by the *Samnites*, had done) I cannot finde: neither can I finde how the meſſengers of thoſe folk, whereof one part had already admitted the *Carthaginians*, could be enabled to make any ſuch ſurrendry in the publick name of all.

If therefore the *Mamertines*, by no lawfull ſurrendry of themſelves and their poſſeſſions, were become ſubject unto *Rome*, by what better title could the *Romans* aſſiſt the *Mamertines*, againſt their moſt ancient friends the *Carthaginians*, than they might have aided the *Campanes*, againſt the *Samnites*, without the ſame condition? which was (as they themſelves confeſſed) by none at all. But let it be ſuppoſed, that ſome point ſerving to cleare this doubt, is loſt in all Hiſtories. Doubtleſſe it is, that no company of Pyrates, Theeves, Out-laws, Murderers, or ſuch other Malefactors, can by any good ſucceſſe of their villany, obtain the priviledge of civill ſocieties, to make league or truce; yea, or to require fair war: but are by all means, as moſt pernicious vermine, to be rooted out of the world. I will not take upon me to maintain that opinion of ſome *Civilians*, that a Prince is not bound to hold his faith with one of theſe; it were a Poſition of ill conſequence: This I hold; that no one Prince or State can give protection to ſuch as theſe, as long as any other is uſing the ſword of vengeance againſt them, without becoming acceſſary to their crimes. Wherefore we may eſteem this action of the *Romans* ſo far from being juſtifiable, by any pretence of Confederacy made with them; as that contrariwiſe, by admitting this neſt of Murderers and Theeves into their protection, they juſtly deſerved to be warred upon themſelves, by the people of *Sicil*; yea, although *Meſſana* had been taken, and the *Mamertines* all ſlain, ere any newes of the Confederacy had been brought unto the beſiegers. The great *Alexander* was ſo far perſwaded herein; that he did put to ſword all the *Branchidæ* (a people in *Sogdiana*) and razed their City, notwithſtanding that they joyfully entertained him as their Lord and King; becauſe they were deſcended from a company of *Mileſians*, who to gratifie King *Xerxes*, had robbed a Temple, and were by him rewarded with the Town and Country, which theſe of their poſterity enjoyed. Nevertheleſſe, in courſe of humane juſtice, long and peaceable poſſeſſion gives *jus acquiſitum*, a kinde of right by preſcription unto that which was firſt obtained by wicked meanes: and doth free the deſcendants from the crime of their Anceſtors, whoſe villanies they doe not exerciſe. But that the ſame generation of Theeves, which by a deteſtable fact hath purchaſed a rich Town, ſhould be acknowledged a lawfull company of Citizens, there is no ſhew of right. For even the Conqueror that by open War obtaineth a Kingdom, doth not confirme his title, by thoſe victories which gave him firſt poſſeſſion: but length of time is requiſite to eſtabliſh him, unleſſe by ſome alliance with the ancient inheritors, he can better the violence of his claime, as did our King *Henry* the firſt, by his marriage with *Maude*, that was daughter of *Malcolme*, King of the *Scots*, by *Margaret*, the Neece of *Edmund Ironſide*. Wherefore I conclude, that the *Romans* had no better ground (if they had ſo good) of juſtice, in this quarrell, than had the *Gothes*, *Hunnes*, *Vandalls*, and other Nations, of the wars that they made upon the *Roman* Empire, wherein *Rome* her ſelf, in the time of her viſitation, was burnt to the ground.

§. IV.
Of the Iſland of Sicil.

†. I.
The quality of the Iſland: and the firſt inhabitants thereof.

THE defence of the *Mamertines*, or the poſſeſſion of *Meſſana*, being now no longer ſince the firſt victories of *Appius Claudius*, the objects of the *Roman* hopes; but the Dominion of all *Sicil* being the prize, for which *Rome* and *Carthage* are about to contend: it will be agreeable unto the order, which in the like caſes we have obſerved, to make a brief collection of things concerning that noble Iſland, which hath been the ſtage of many great acts, performed as well before and after, as in this preſent War.

That

That *Sicil* was sometimes a *Peninsula*, or *Demie-Isle*, adjoyning to *Italy*, as a part of *Brutium* in *Calabria*, neer unto *Rhegium*, and afterward by violence of tempest severed from the same: it is a generall opinion of all antiquity. But at what certain time this
Plin.l.2.c.91. Sil.l.5. division happened, there is no memoriall remaining in any ancient writer. *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Dionysius* affirme, that it was caused by an earth-quake; *Silius* and *Cassiodorus* doe think it to have been done by the rage and violence of the tide, and surges of the Sea. Either of these opinions may be true; for so was *Eubœa* severed from *Bœotia*; *Atalante* and *Macris* from *Eubœa*; *Sillie* here in *England*, from the Cape of *Cornwall*; and *Brittain* it self (as may seem by *Verstigans* arguments) from the opposite continent of *Gaule*. But for *Sicil*, they which lend their eares to fables, doe attribute the cause of it to *Neptune* (as *Eustathius* witnesseth) who with his three-forked Mace, in favour of *Jocastus*, the son of *Æolus*, divided it from the maine land, and so made it an Island, which before was but a *Demie-Isle*; that by that means he might the more safely inhabit, and
Orion.l.4.c.14. Diod.l.5. Ovid.de Fast.4. possesse the same. *Diodorus Siculus*, moved by the authority of *Hesiodus*, ascribeth the labour of sundring it from *Italy*, to *Orion*: who that he might be compared to *Hercules* (cutting through the rocks and mountaines) first opened the *Sicilian* streights, as *Hercules* did those of *Gibralter*.

They which value the Islands of the mid-land Sea, according to their quantity and content, doe make this the greatest, as *Eustathius* and *Strabo*, who affirme this, not only to excell the rest for bignesse, but also for goodnesse of soile. As concerning the forme of this Island, *Pomponius Mela* saith, it is like that Capitall letter of the *Greek*, which they call *Delta*, namely, that it hath the figure of a triangle; which is generally known to be true. That the whole Island was consecrated to *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, all old writers with one consent affirme. To *Ceres* it was dedicated, because it first taught the rules of setting and sowing of Corn: to *Proserpina*, not so much for that she was from hence violently taken by *Pluto*, as because (which *Plutarch* and *Diodorus* do report for truth) that *Pluto*, as soon as she, uncovering her self, first shewed her self to be seen of him, gave her the Dominion thereof.

Of the fertility and riches of this Country, there is a famous testimonie written by *Cicero*, in his second Oration against *Verres*, where he saith, that *Marcus Cato* did call it the *Granary* and *Store-house of the Common-wealth*, *and the Nurse of the vulgar sort*. The same *Cicero* doth adde in that place; that it was not only the Store-house of the people of *Rome:* but also that it was a well-furnished treasure. For without any cost or charge of ours (saith he) it hath usually clothed, maintained and furnished our greatest armies
Strabo l.6. with leather, apparrell and corne. *Strabo* reporteth almost the same thing of it. Whatsoever *Sicilie* doth yeeld (saith *Solinus*) whether by the sun, and temperature of the aire, or by the industry and labour of man, it is accounted next unto those things that are of best estimation: were it not that such things as the earth first putteth forth, are extremely over-grown with saffron. *Diodorus Siculus* saith, that in the fields neer unto *Leontium*, and in divers other places of this Island, wheat doth grow of it self without any labour or looking to of the husbandman. *Martianus* sheweth, that there were in it six Colonies, and sixty Cities: there are that reckon more, whereof the names are found scatteringly in many good Authors.

Now besides many famous acts, done by the people of this Island, as well in peace as War, there be many other things which have made it very renowned, as the birth of *Ceres*; the ravishing of *Proserpina*; the Giant *Encelladus*; the mount *Ætna*, *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, with other antiquities and rarities; besides those learned men, the noble *Mathematician*, *Archimedes*, the famous *Geometrician*, *Euclides*, the painfull Historian *Diodorus*, and *Empedocles*, the deep Philosopher.

That *Sicil* was at first possessed and inhabited by Giants, *Læstriogones* and *Cyclopes*, barbarous people, and uncivill; all histories and fables do jointly with one consent averre. Yet *Thucydides* saith, that these savage people dwelt onely in one part of the Island. Afterward the *Sicani*, a people of *Spaine*, possessed it. That these *Sicani* were not bred in the Isle (although some so think) *Thucydides* and *Diodorus* doe very constantly avouch.

Of these it was named *Sicania*. These *Sicani* were invaded by the *Siculi*; who, inhabiting that part of *Latium*, whereon *Rome* was afterward built, were driven by the *Pelasgi* from their own seats, & finding no place upon the Continent, which they were able to master

master and inhabite, passed over into this Iland, three hundred years before the *Greeks* sent any Colonies thither: and (saith *Philistus*) eighty years before the fall of *Troy*. These *Siculi* gave the name of *Sicilia*, to the Iland; and making war upon the *Sicani*, drave them from the East and Northene part thereof, into the West and South. At their landing, they first built the City *Zancle*, afterward called *Messana*; and after that, *Catana*, *Leontine*, and *Syracuse* it self, beating from thence the *Aetolians*, who long before had set up a Town in that place. As for the name of *Syracuse*, it was not known, till such time as *Archias* of *Corinth* (long after) won that part of the Iland from the *Siculi*; Neither did the *Siculi* at their first arrivall dispossesse the *Aetolians* thereof, but some hundred years after their descent, and after such time as they had founded the Cities before named with *Nea*, *Hybla*, *Trinacria*, and divers others.

After these *Siculi* came another nation out of *Italy*, called *Morgetes*; who were thence driven by the *Oenotrians*. These sat down in that part of *Sicil*, where they afterward raised the Cities of *Morgantum*, and *Leontium*. For at this time the *Siculi* were divided, and by a civill war greatly infeebled. Among these ancient stories, we find the last voyage, and the death of *Minos*, King of *Crete*. *Thucydides*, an Historian of unquestionable sincerity, reports of *Minos*, that he made conquest of many Ilands: and some such business, perhaps, drew him into *Sicil*. But the common report is, that he came thither in pursuit of *Dædalus*. The tale goes thus: *Dædalus* fleeing the revenge of *Minos*, came into *Sicil*, to *Cocalus*, King of the *Sicani*, and during his abode there, he built a place of great strength, neer unto *Megara*, for *Cocalus* to lay up his treasure in; together with many notable works, for which he was greatly admired and honoured.

Among the rest, he cast a Ram in gold, that was set up in the Temple of *Venus Erycina*; which he did with so great Art, as those that beheld it, thought it rather to be living, than counterfeit.

Now *Minos*, hearing that *Cocalus* had entertained *Dædalus*, prepares to invade the Territory of *Cocalus*; but when he was arrived, *Cocalus* doubting his own strength, promiseth to deliver *Dædalus*. This he performes not, but in the mean while, kils *Minos* by treason, and perswades the *Cretans*, *Minos* his followers, to inhabit a part of *Sicil*; the better (as it seems) to strengthen himself against the *Siculi*. Hereunto the *Cretans* (their King being dead) gave their consent, and builded for themselves the City of *Minoa* after the name of the King *Minos*. After, they likewise built the Town of *Engium*, now called *Gange*: and these were the first Cities, built by the *Greeks* in *Sicil*, about two ages before the war of *Troy*; for the grand-children of *Minos* served with the *Greeks* at the siege thereof.

But after such time as the *Cretans* understood, that their King had by treason been made away; they gathered together a great Army, to invade *Cocalus*: and landing neer unto *Camicus*, they besieged the same five years, but in vain. In the end (being forced to returne, without any revenge taken) they were rackt on the coast of *Italy*, and having no means to repair their ships, nor the honour they had lost, they made good the place whereon they fell, and built *Hyria*, or *Hyrium*, between the two famous Ports of *Brundusium* and *Tarentum*. Of these *Cretans* came those Nations, afterward called *Iapyges* and *Messapii*.

After the taking of *Troy*, *Egestas* and *Elymus*, brought with them certain troups into *Sicil*, and seated themselves among the *Sicani*; where they built the Cities of *Egesta* and *Elyma*.

It is said, that *Æneas* visited these places in his passage into *Italy*: and that some of the *Trojans*, his followers, were left behind him, in these Towns of *Sicil*: whereof there want not good Authors, that make *Æneas* himself the founder.

About the same time, the *Phœnicians* seized upon the Promontories of *Pachinus*, and *Lilybæum*, and upon certain small Isles adjoyning to the main Iland: which they fortified, to secure the trades that they had with the *Sicilians*; like as the *Portugals* have done in the *East-India*, at *Goa*, *Ormus*, *Mosambique*, & other places. But the *Phœnicians* stayed not there; for after they had once assured their descents, they built the goodly City of *Panormus*, now called *Palerma*.

These we finde, were the Nations that inhabited the Isle of *Sicil*, before the warre of *Troy*, and ere the *Greeks* in any numbers began to straggle in those parts.

It may perchance seem strange to the Reader, that in all ancient stories, he findes one

and the same beginning of Nations, after the floud; & that the first planters of all parts of the World were said to be mighty and Giant-like men; and that, as *Phœnicia, Egypt, Lybia* and *Greece*, had *Hercules, Oreſtes, Antæus, Typhon*, and the like; as *Denmarke* had *Starchaterus*, remembred by *Saxo Grammaticus*; as *Scythia, Britanie*, and other Regions had Giants for their first inhabitants; so this Isle of *Sicil* had her *Lestrigones* & *Cyclopes*. This discourse I could also reject for fained and fabulous, did not *Moses* make us know, that the *Zamzummims, Emims, Anakims*, and *Og* of *Basan*, with others, which sometime inhabited the Mountains and Desarts of *Moab, Ammon*, and Mount *Seir*, were men of exceeding strength and stature, and of the races of Giants: and were it not, that *Tertullian*, S. *Augustine, Nicephorus, Procopius, Isidore, Plinie, Diodore, Herodotus, Solinus*, *Plutarch*, and many other Authors, have confirmed the opinion. Yea, *Vesputius*, in his second Navigation into *America*, hath reported that himself hath seen the like men in those parts. Again, whereas the self-same is written of all Nations, that is written of any one; as touching their simplicity of life, their mean fare, their feeding on acorns and roots, their poor cottages, the covering of their bodies with the skins of beasts, their hunting, their armes, and weapons, and their warfare, their first passages over great Rivers and Arms of the Sea, upon rafts of trees tied together; and afterward, their making boats first of twigs and leather, then of wood; first with Oares, and then with Sail; that they esteemed as gods, the first finders out of Arts; as of Husbandry, of Lawes, and of Policy: it is a matter, that makes me neither to wonder at, nor to doubt of it. For they all lived in the same newnesse of time, which we call *Ola time*, and had all the same want of his instruction, which (after the Creator of all things) hath by degrees taught all Mankinde. For other teaching had they none, that were removed far off from the *Hebrewes*, (who inherited the knowledge of the first Patriarchs) than that from variable effects they began, by time and degrees, to finde out the causes: from whence came Philosophy Naturall; as the Morall did from disorder and confusion; and the Law from cruelty and oppression.

Saxo G. in præfat. hist.

Tertul. de Resurr. August. de Civit. Dei lib. 15. Et quæst. in Gen. Nicep. lib. 2. c. 37. Procop. lib. 2. de Bello Goth. Plin. lib. 7. cap. 2.

But it is certain, that the Age of *Time* hath brought forth stranger and more incredible things, than the Infancy. For we have now greater Giants for vice and injustice, than the World had in those dayes, for bodily strength; for cottages, and houses of clay and timber, we have raised Palaces of stones; we carve them, we paint them, and adorn them with gold, insomuch as men are rather known by their houses, than their houses by them; we are fallen from two dishes, to two hundred; from water, to wine and drunkennesse; from the covering of our bodies with the skins of beasts, not only to silk and gold, but to the very skins of men. But to conclude this digression, *Time* will also take revenge of the excess, which it hath brought forth; *Quam longa dies peperit, longiorque auxit, longissima subruet: Long time brought forth, longer time increased it, and a time, longer than the rest, shall overthrow it.*

†. II.

The plantation of the Greeks *in* Sicill.

WHen the first inhabitants had contended long enough about the Dominion of all *Sicill*: it happened, that one *Theocles*, a *Greek*, being driven upon that coast by an Easterly wind, and finding true the commendations thereof, which had been thought fabulous, being delivered only by Poets, gave information to the *Athenians* of this his discovery, & proposed unto them the benefit of this easie conquest offering to become their guide. But *Theocles* was as little regarded by the *Athenians*, as *Columbus*, in our Grand-fathers times, was by the *English*. Wherefore he took the same course that *Columbus* afterwards did. He over-laboured not himself in perswading the Noble *Athenians* (who thought themselves to be well enough already) to their own profit; but went to the *Chalcidians*, that were needy and industrious, by whom his project was gladly entertained. By these was built the City of *Naxus*, and a Colony planted of *Eubœans*.

But the rest of the *Greeks* were wiser than our Westerne Princes of *Europe*: for they had no Pope, that should forbid them to occupy the void places of the World. *Archias* of *Corinth* followed the *Eubœans*, and landed in *Sicill*, neer unto that City, called

called afterward * *Syracuse*: of which, that part only was then compassed with a wall, which the *Ætolians* called *Homothermon*; the *Greeks*, *Nasos*; the *Latines Insula*. He with his *Corinthians* having overcome the *Siculi*, drave them up into the Country: and after a few years, their multitude increasing, they added unto the City of the Iland, that of *Acradina*, *Tycha*, and *Neapolis*, So as well by the commodity of the double Port, capable of as many ships, as any Haven of that part of *Europe*, as by the fertil ty of the soyle, *Syracuse* grew up in great haste, to be one of the goodliest Towns of the world. In short time the *Greeks* did possesse the better part of all the Sea-coast; forcing the *Sicilians* to withdraw themselves into the fast and mountainous parts of the Iland, making their Royall residence in *Trinacia*.

Some seven years after the arrivall of *Archias*, the *Chalcidians*, encouraged by the successe of the *Corinthians*, did assail, & obtain the city of *Leontium*, built and possest by the *Siculi*. In brief, the *Greeks* win from the *Siculi*, and their Associates, the cities of *Catana* and *Hybla*, which in honour of the *Megarians* that forc't it, they called *Megara*.

About 45. years after *Archias* had taken *Syracuse*; *Antiphemus*, and *Entimus*, the one from *Rhodes*, the other from *Crete*, brought an Army into *Sicil*, and built *Gela*; whose Citizens, one hundred and eight year after, did erect that magnificent and renowned city of *Agrigentum*, governed according to the Lawes of the *Dorians*.

The *Syracusians* also, in the seventieth year after their plantation, did set up the city of *Acra*, in the Mountains; and in the ninetieth year *Casmena*, in the Plains adjoyning; and agin in the hundred and thirtieth year of their dwelling in *Syracuse*, they built *Camerina*: and soon after that, *Enna*, in the very Center of the Iland. So did the *Cumani* about the same time, recover from the *Siculi* the city of *Zancle*, which they had founded in the straight between *Sicil* and *Italy*. They of *Zancle* had been the founders of *Himera*.

Not long after this, *Dorieus* the *Lacedæmonian* built *Heraclia*; which the *Phœnicians*, and *Carthaginians*, fearing the neighbourhood of the *Spartans*, soon after invaded and ruined, though the same were again ere long re-edified.

Selinus also was built by a Colony of *Megara*: and *Zancle* was taken by the *Messenians*; who having lost their own Country, gave the name thereof unto this their new purchase. Such were the beginnings of the greatest cities in this Iland.

* *Syracuse*, as *Cicero* relates, was the greatest, & most goodly City of all that the *Greeks* possest. For the situation is both strong, & of an excellent prospect from every entrance, by Land, or Sea. The Port was (for the most part) environed with beautifull buildings: and that part which was without the City, was on both sides banked up, and sustained with beautifull wals of Marble. The city it selfe was one of the greatest of the world: for it had in compasse (as *Strabo* reporteth) without the treble wall thereof, 180. furlongs, which make of our miles about 18. It was compounded of foure Cities, (*Strabo* saith, of five) to wit, *Insula*, *Acradina*, *Tycha*, & *Neapolis*: of which greatness the ruines & foundations of the wals do yet witnesse. After such time as the *Dores* of *Peloponnesus* had driven out the *Sicilians*, this goodly city for a long time became the seat of Tyrants. The first whereof was *Gela*: The second, *Hiero* the elder: the third, *Thrasybulus*: the fourth and fift, *Dionysius* the elder, & younger: the sixt, *Dion*; the seventh *Agathocles*: the eighth, *Pyrrhus*; the ninth, *Hiero* the younger; the tenth & last, *Hieronymus*, who being slain at *Leontium*, at length the *Romans* conquered it under the conduct of *Marcellus*.

†. III.

Of the Government and affairs of Sicil, *before* Dionysius *his tyranny.*

THe most part of the cities in *Sicil*, were governed by the rule of the people, till such time as *Phalaris* began to usurp the state of *Agrigentum*, and to exercise all manner of tyranny therein.

This was that *Phalaris*, to whom *Perillus*, the cunning Artificer of a detestable Engine, gave an hollow Bull of brasse, wherein to include men, and scorch them to death: praising the device with this commendation; That the noise of one tormented therein, should be like unto the bellowing of a Bull. The Tyrant gave a due reward to the Inventer; by causing the first tryall to be made upon himself. He reigned one and thirty years, saith *Eusebius*; others give him but sixteen: Howsoever it were, one *Telemachus* in the end, fell upon him with the whole multitude of *Agrigentum*, and stoned him to death; being thereto animated by *Zeno*, even whilest the Tyrant was tormenting the same *Zeno*, to make him confesse some matter of conspiracy.

After the death of *Phalaris*, the Citizens recovered their liberty, and enjoyed it long, till *Thero* usurped the government of the Common-weale: at which time also *Panætius* made himself Lord of *Leontium*, & *Cleander* of *Gela*: but *Cleander* having ruled seven years, was slain by one of the Citizens. *Cleander* being dead, his brother *Hippocrates* succeeded in his room, and greatly afflicted the people of *Naxos*, of *Zancle*, or *Messena*, and of *Leontium*; whom with divers others of the ancient inhabitants, he forced to acknowledge him their Lord. He also made war with the *Syracusians*, and, in the end, got from them by composition, the City of *Camerina*. But when he had reigned seven years, he was slain in a battell against the *Siculi*, before *Hybla*.

At this time did the *Syracusians* change their forme of government, from Popular to *Aristocratical*; a preparation towards a principality, whereinto it was soon after changed.

After the death of *Hippocrates*, *Gelon* (descended from the *Rhodians*, which together with the *Cretans* had long before, among other of the *Greeks*, seated themselves in *Sicil*) that had commanded the forces of *Hippocrates*, in the former war, with notable success, became Lord of *Gela*. He, after his Masters death, breaking the trust committed unto him by *Hippocrates* over his children, and being in possession of *Gela*, took the occasion and advantage of a contention in *Syracuse*, between the Magistrates and the People. For comming with a strong Army to the succour of the governours, driven out by the multitude, they elected him their Prince, being the first, and (indeed) the most famous, that ever governed the *Syracusians*. This change happened in the second year of the three-score and twelfth Olympiad; wherein the better to establish himself, he took to wife the Daughter of *Thero*, who had also usurped the state of *Agrigentum*.

Paus. lib.6.

Now this *Gelon*, the son of *Dinomenes*, had three brethren; *Hiero*, *Polyzelus*, and *Thrasybulus*: to the first of which he gave up the City of *Gela*, when he had obtained the Principality of *Syracuse*. For, after that time, all his thoughts travelled in the strengthening, beautifying, and amplifying of *Syracuse*. He defaced *Camerina*, that a little before was fallen from the obedience of the *Syracusians* who built it, and brought the Citizens to *Syracuse*. The *Megarians* that had moved a war against him, he overcame; the richer sort he brought unto *Syracuse*; and the people he sold for slaves. In like manner dealt he with other places upon the like occasion. Not long after this, *Thero*, a Prince of the *Agrigentines*, having dispossest *Terillus* of his City *Himera*; the *Carthaginians* were drawn into the quarrell by *Anaxilus*, Lord of *Messena*, Father-in-law to *Terillus*: and *Gelon* was also solicited by his Father-in-law, *Thero*. *Gelon* was content, and in fine, after divers conflicts, the *Carthaginians*, and other *Africans*, led by *Amilcar*, were overthrown by *Gelon*: and an hundred and fifty thousand of them left their bodies in *Sicil*.

Herod. & Dio.

This *Gelon* it was, to whom the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* sent for succour, when *Xerxes* with his huge army past the *Hellespont*. He, for their relief having armed thirty thousand Souldiers, and two hundred ships, refused nevertheless to send them into *Greece*, because they refused him the commandement of one of their Armies, either by Sea, or Land. So he used to their Embassadours only this saying, *That their Spring was withered*; accounting the Army, by him prepared, to be the very flower of the *Greek* Nation.

The *Carthaginians*, after this great loss received, fearing the invasion of their owne Country, sent to *Gelon* by their Embassadours, to desire peace, who grants it them on these conditions: That from thenceforth they should not sacrifice their children to *Saturne*; That they should pay him 2000. talents of silver, and present him with two armed ships, in sign of amity. These conditions the *Carthaginians*, not only willingly accepted, but with the two thousand talents, and the ships for war, they sent unto *Demarata*, *Gelons* wife, a crown, valued at an hundred talents of gold, with other presents. Whereby we see, that some Nations, and some Natures, are much the better for being well beaten. The wars ended, & *Sicil* in peace, *Gelon* beautified the Temples of the gods, and erected others in honour of them. So being exceedingly beloved and honoured of his Subjects, he left the World, and left for his successour his brother *Hiero*. *Philistus* and *Pliny* report, That, when his body was burnt, according to the custome of that Age, a Dog of his, which alwayes waited on him, ran into the fire, and suffered himself to be burnt with him.

To *Gelon*, *Hiero* his brother succeeded, a man rude, cruell, covetous, and so suspicious of his brethren *Polyzelus*, and *Thrasybulus*, as he sought by all means to destroy them. Notwithstanding all this, by the conversation which he had with *Simonides*, he became of better condition, and greatly delighted with the study of good Arts. Divers quarrels he had, as well with *Theron* of *Agrigentum*, as with other Cities: all which he shortly after compounded, and gave a notable overthrow to the *Carthaginians*, whom *Xerxes* had incited to invade *Sicil*, fearing the succours which *Gelon* had prepared, to aid the *Grecians*, against him. He also overthrew in battail *Thrasydæus*, the son of *Theron*, and thereby restored the *Agrigentines* to their former liberty. But in the end, he lost the love of the *Syracusians*; and after he had reigned eleven years, he left the Kingdome to his brother *Thrasybulus*, who became a most unjust and bloudy Tyrant. *Thrasybulus* injoyed his Principality no longer than ten moneths. For, notwithstanding the force

force of mercenary Souldiers; which he entertained for his guards, he was beaten out of *Syracuſe* by the Citizens; to whom, being beſieged in *Acradina*, he reſtored the government, and was baniſhed the Iland. From whence he ſailed into *Greece*, where he died a private man, among the *Locrians*.

And now had the *Syracuſians* recovered again their former liberty, as all the reſt of the Cities did, after which they had never ſought, had the Succeſſors of *Gelon* inherited his vertue, as they did the Principality of *Syracuſe*. For in all changes of Eſtates, the preſervation ought to anſwer the acquiſition. Where a liberall, valiant, and adviſed Prince, hath obtained any new Signiory, and added it to that of his owne, or exalted himſelfe from being a private man, to the dignity of a Prince, it behoveth the Succeſſour to maintain it by the ſame way and art, by which it was gotten.

To conclude, *Syracuſe* (though not without blowes, ere that ſhe could cleanſe her ſelfe of the creatures and lovers of *Gelon*) was now againe become Miſtreſſe of her ſelfe, and held her ſelfe free, well-neer threeſcore years, to the time of *Dionyſius*, though ſhe were in the mean while greatly endangered by a Citizen of her owne, called *Tindario*.

Now, to prevent the greatneſſe of any one among them, for the future, they deviſed a kind of baniſhment of ſuch among them, as were ſuſpected; taking patterne from the *Athenian Oſtraciſme*. They called this their new deviſed judgement of exile, *Petaliſmus*, wherein every one wrote upon an Olive leafe (as at *Athens* they wrote upon ſhels) the name of him, whom he would have expelled the City. He that had moſt ſuffrages againſt him, was baniſhed for five years. Hereby in a ſhort time, it came to paſſe that thoſe of judgement, and beſt able to governe the Common-weale, were by the worſt able, either ſuppreſt, or thruſt out of the City. Yea, ſuch as feared this Law, though they had not yet felt it, withdrew themſelves as ſecretly as they could, ſeeking ſome place of more ſecurity, wherein to maintain themſelves. And good reaſon they had ſo to do; ſeeing that there is nothing ſo terrible in any State, as a powerfull and authorized ignorance. But this Law laſted not very long. For their neceſſity taught them to aboliſh it, and reſtore againe the wiſer ſort unto the Government; from which, the Nobility having practiſed to baniſh one another, the State became altogether Popular. But after a while, being invaded by *Ducetius*, King of the *Sicilians*, that inhabited the inner part of the Iland (who had already taken *Enna*, and ſome other of the *Grecian* Cities, and overthrowne the Army of the *Agragentines*) the *Syracuſians* ſent forces againſt him, commanded by an unworthy Citizen of theirs, called *Bolcon*. This their captain made nothing ſo much haſt to finde out *Ducetius*, againſt whom he was imployed, as he did to flee from the Army, he led, as ſoone as *Ducetius* preſented him battell. So for want of conduct, the greateſt number of the *Syracuſians* periſhed.

But making better choice among thoſe whom they had baniſhed, they levie other troups: by whom, in concluſion, *Ducetius* being beaten, ſubmitteth himſelfe, and is conſtrained to leave the Iland for a time. Yet it was not long ere he returned again, and built the City *Collatina* on the Sea-ſide.

Ducetius being dead; all the *Greek* Cities did in a ſort acknowledge *Syracuſe*: *Trinacria* excepted; which alſo by force of armes, in the fourſcore and fift Olympiad, they brought to reaſon.

But they do not long enjoy this their Superintendency. For the Citizens of *Leontium*, being oppreſt by them, ſeek aid from the *Athenians*, about the ſixt year of the *Peloponneſian* Warre. In this ſuit they prevailed by the eloquence of *Gorgias* their Orator; and got an hundred *Athenian* Gallies to ſuccour them, under the leading of *Laches*, and *Charœades*. To this fleet, the *Leontines*, and their partners, added one hundred more; with which forces, and with ſome ſupplies brought by *Sophocles*, *Pythodorus*, *Eurymedon* and other *Athenian* Captains, they invaded the Territories of the *Syracuſians*, and their partiſans; wanne and loſt divers places; took *Meſſana*; and, in the ſeventh year of the *Peloponneſian* Warre, loſt it again. They alſo at the ſame time, attempted *Hymera*, but in vain. The fire of this quarrell took hold upon many Cities, which did invade each others Territory with great violence. But when they had wearied themſelves on all hands, and yet could ſee none iſſue of the war, the *Leontines*, without the advice of the *Athenians*, came to an accord with the *Syracuſians*, and were admitted

admitted into their ſociety, with equall freedome. So the *Athenians*, who hoped to have greatned themſelves in *Sicil*, by the diviſion and civill war, were diſappointed of their expectation, by the good agreement of the *Sicilians*, and fain to be gone with the broken remainder of their fleet. This they knew not how to amend; but (according to the cuſtome of popular Eſtates) by taking revenge upon their own Commanders. So they baniſhed *Pythodorus*, and *Sophocles*, & laid an heavy fine upon *Eurymedon*. Shortly after this, followed the moſt memorable war, that ever was made by the *Greeks* in *Sicil*: which was that of the *Athenians*, againſt the *Selinuntines* and *Syracuſians*, in favour of the Cities of *Egeſta*, *Leontium*, and *Catana*. They of *Selinus* had oppreſt the *Egeſtans*; and they of *Syracuſe* the *Leontines*, and the *Catanians*: which was the ground of the war. For the *Athenians* undertook the protection of their old friends: and, in hatred of the *Athenians*, aid from *Lacedemon* was ſent to the *Syracuſians*. The *Lacedæmonians* dealt plainly, having none other end, than that which they pretended, namely, to help a people of their owne Tribe, that craved their ſuccour, being in diſtreſſe. The *Athenians* ſcarce knew what to pretend: for their preparations were ſo great, as diſcovered their intent to be none other, than the conqueſt of the whole Iland. Yet they which had called them in, were ſo blinded with their own paſſions, that they would not beleeve their owne eyes; which preſented unto them a Fleet and Army, far greater, than the terrible report of fame had made it.

In this expedition, the city of *Athens* had engaged all her power; as regarding, not only the greatneſs of the enterpriſe, but the neceſſity of finiſhing it in a ſhort ſpace of time. For the *Lacedæmonians* (as hath already been ſhewed in due place) ſtood at that time in ſuch broken terms of peace with *Athens*, as differed not much from open war. wherefore it was thought neceſſary, either to ſpare coſt in this great expedition, or altogether to forbear it: which was likely to be hindred by wars at home, if their proceedings were ſlack abroad. And ſurely, had not the deſire of the *Athenians* been over-paſſionate, the arguments of *Nicias* had cauſed them to abſtain from ſo chargeable a buſineſs, and to reſerve their forces for a more needfull uſe. But young counſels prevailed againſt the authority of ancient men, that were more regardfull of ſafety than of honour.

Of this buſineſs, mention hath been already made, in that which we have written of the *Peloponneſian* war. But what was there delivered in generall termes, as not concerning the affairs of *Greece*, otherwiſe than by conſequence, doth in this place require a more perfect relation, as a matter, wherein the whole State of *Sicil* was like to have felt a great converſion.

Though *Alcibiades* had prevailed againſt *Nicias*, in exhorting the people to this great voyage; yet *Nicias*, together with *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus*, was appointed to be one of the chief Commanders therein.

Theſe had commiſſion and direction, as wel to ſuccour the *Segeſtans*, & to re-eſtabliſh the *Leontines*, caſt out of their places by the *Syracuſians*; as alſo by force of armes, to ſubject the *Syracuſians*, and all their adherents in *Sicil*, and compell them by tribute, to acknowledge the *Athenians* for their ſupream Lords. To effect which, the fore-named Captaines were ſent off, with an hundred and thirty Gallies, and five thouſand one hundred Souldiers, beſides the thirty ſhips of burden, which tranſported their victuals, engines, and other munitions for the war: and theſe were *Athenians*, *Mantineans*, *Rhodians*, and *Candians*: there were, beſides theſe, ſix thouſand *Megarians* light-armed, with thirty horſemen.

Thucyd. l.6.c.9. With theſe troups & fleets they arrive at *Rhegium*, where the *Rhegians* refuſe to give them entry; but ſell them victuals for their money. From thence they ſent to the *Egeſtans*, to know what treaſure they would contribute towards the war, ſeeing for their ſakes they had entred thereinto. But they found by their anſwers, that theſe *Egeſtans* were poor, and that they had abuſed the *Athenian* Embaſſadours with falſe ſhewes of gold, having in all but 30. talents. The *Athenians* further were diſcouraged, when they found that the *Rhegians*, their ancient friends, and allied unto the *Leontines*, refuſed to truſt them within their Wals. Hereupon *Nicias* adviſeth to depart towards the *Selinuntines*, and to force them, or perſwade them to an agreement with the *Egeſtans*; as likewiſe to ſee what diſburſements the *Egeſtans* could make; and ſo returne again into *Greece*, and not to waſte *Athens* in a needleſſe war. *Alcibiades*, on the other ſide, would

ſolicite

ſolicite the cities of *Sicil* to confederacy againſt the *Syracuſians* & *Selinuntines*, whereby to force them unto reſtitution of all that they had taken from the *Leontines*. *Lamachus*, he perſwades them to aſſail *Syracuſe* it ſelf, before it were prepared againſt them. But in the end (being excluded out of divers Cities) they ſurpriſe *Catana*: and there they take new counſell how to proceed. Thence they imployed *Nicias* to thoſe of *Egeſta*, who received from them thirty talents towards his charges; and one hundred and twenty talents more there were of the ſpoiles they had gotten in the Iland. Thus the Summer being ſpent in idle conſultations, and vain attempts, the *Athenians* prepare to aſſail *Syracuſe*. But *Alcibiades* having been accuſed at home, in his abſence, was ſent for back by the *Athenians* to make his anſwer: and the Army was left to the conduct of *Nicias* and *Lamachus*. Theſe Commanders obtain a landing place very neer unto *Syracuſe*, by this device.

They imploy to *Syracuſe* an inhabitant of *Catana*, whom they truſt; and inſtruct him; to promiſe unto the *Syracuſians*, that he would deliver into their hands all the *Athenians* within *Catana*. Hereupon the *Syracuſians* draw thitherward with their beſt forces. But in the mean while, the *Athenians*, ſetting ſail from *Catana*, arrive at *Syracuſe*, where they land at fair eaſe, and fortifie themſelves againſt the Town. Shortly after this, they fight, and the *Syracuſians* had the loſs: but the *Athenians*, wanting horſe, could not purſue their victory to any great effect. They then retire themſelves, with a reſolution to refreſh their Army at *Catana*, for the winter-ſeaſon. From thence they made an attempt upon *Meſſana*, hoping to have taken it by an intelligence, but in vain. For *Alcibiades* had diſcovered ſuch as were Traitors within the City to the *Meſſanians*. This he now did, in deſpight of his own Citizens, the *Athenians*; becauſe they had recalled him from his command, with a purpoſe either to have put him to death, or to have baniſhed him: whereof being aſſured by his friends, he took his way towards the *Lacedæmonians*, and to them he gave miſchievous counſell againſt his country. While this winter yet laſted, the *Syracuſians* ſend Embaſſadors to *Lacedæmon*, and *Corinth*, for aid: as likewiſe the *Athenian* Captains in *Sicil*, ſend to *Athens* for ſupplies. Which both the one and the other obtained.

In the ſpring following (which was the beginning of the eighteenth year of the *Peloponneſian* war) the *Athenians* in *Sicil* ſail from the Port of *Catana* to *Megara*, forſaken of the Inhabitants; from whence, for raging the Country, they obtain ſome ſmall victories over the ſtraggling *Syracuſians*: and at their return to *Catana*, they receive a ſupply of two hundred men at arms, but without horſe, which they hoped to furniſh in the Iland from the *Segeſtans*, and other their adherents: they were alſo ſtrengthened with a company of Archers, and with three hundred talents in money.

Hereupon they take courage, and incampe neer *Syracuſe*, upon the banks of the great Port, repelling the *Syracuſians*, that ſallyed to impeach their intrenchments. They alſo received from their Confederates four hundred horſe-men, with two hundred other horſe, to mount their men at arms. *Syracuſe* was now in effect blockt up, ſo as hardly any ſuccours could enter, but ſuch as were able to force their paſſage: yet the *Athenians* receive divers loſſes; among which it was not the leaſt, that *Lamachus*, one of their beſt Commanders, was ſlain.

In the mean while, *Gylippus* and *Python*, with the *Lacedæmonian* & *Corinthian* forces, arrive, and take land at *Hymera*. The Citizens of *Hymera*, and of *Gela*, together with the *Selinuntines*, joyne with them; ſo that with theſe and his own troups, *Gylippus* adventured to march over-land toward *Syracuſe*. The *Syracuſians* ſend a part of their forces to meet him and conduct him. The *Athenians* prepare to encounter them, expecting his arrivall neer unto the City upon a place of advantage. At the firſt encounter they had the better of their enemies, by reaſon that the *Syracuſian* horſe-men could not come to fight in thoſe ſtraights: but ſoon after, *Gylippus* charging them again, brake them, and conſtrained *Nicias* to fortifie himſelfe within his Campe. Whereupon *Nicias* made the ſtate of his affairs known, by his letters to the *Athenians*; ſhewing, that without great ſupplies by Sea and Land, the enterpriſe would be loſt, together with the ſmall Army remaining. Theſe letters received, the *Athenians* appoint two other Generals, *Eurymedon* and *Demoſthenes*, to joyne with *Nicias*: the one they diſpatch preſently with ſome ſupplies; the other they ſend after him in the Spring following.

In the mean while, *Gylippus* at *Syracuſe*, fights with the *Athenians* both by Sea and Land,

Land, sometimes with ill, and at other times with good successe: but in conclusion, he took from their Fort, neer unto *Syracuse*, the Promontory called *Plymmyrium*; wherein the *Athenians* lost their treasure, and a great part of all their provisions. Notwithstanding which losse, and that the *Athenians* themselves, in *Greece*, were (in effect) besieged within *Athens*, by the *Lacademonians*; yet were they most obstinate in prosecuting the War in *Sicil*, and dispatched away *Demosthenes* with new succours. *Demosthenes*, in his way towards *Sicil*, encountred with *Polyanthes* the *Corinthian*, with his fleet: both the Captaines being bound for *Sicil*, the one to succour *Nicias*, the other *Gylippus*. The losse between them was in effect equall; and neither so broken, but that each of them prosecuted the enterprise they had in hand. But before the succours arrived to either, *Gylippus* and *Ariston* had assailed the *Athenians* in the great Port of *Syracuse*, and in a Sea fight put them to the worst, to the great discouragement of the *Athenians*. On the neck of this, *Demosthenes* arrived with threescore and thirteen Gallies, charged with footmen; and (blaming the sloath of *Nicias*) he invaded the *Syracusians* the same day that he arrived. But he made more haste than he had good speed, being shamefully beaten, and repulsed with great loss. Hereupon *Demosthenes* and *Eurymedon* determine to rise up from before *Syracuse*, and returne to the succour of *Athens*: but *Nicias* disputed to the contrary, pretending that he had good intelligence within *Syracuse*, whereby he learned, that the towne could not long hold out.

Whatsoever *Nicias* his intelligence was; upon the arrivall of a new supply into the Towne, the *Athenians* had all consented to depart, and to lodge at *Catana*: had not an Eclipse of the Moone, boding (as was thought) ill successe caused them to defer their departure. But this superstition cost them dear. For the *Syracusians*, *Lacedamonians*, and *Corinthians*, with threescore and seventeen saile of Gallies, entred the great Poet of *Syracuse*, wherein the *Athenians* kept their fleet, & whereon they had fortified themselves. The *Athenians*, in the same Port encountred them with fourscore and six Gailies, commanded by *Eurymedon*: in which the *Athenian* fleet was beaten, by the lesser number, and *Eurymedon* slain. Now, though it were so, that the *Syracusians* received the more loss by land (for the fight was generall) yet when the *Athenians* were beaten by sea, in which kinde they thought themselves invincible, they were wonderfully cast downe. For it was well said of *Gylippus*, to the *Syracusians*; *When any people doe finde themselves vanquished in that manner of fight, and with those weapons, in which they perswade themselves that they exceed all others, they not only lose their reputation, but their courage.* The *Athenians*, besides the Gallies sunk and wrackt, had seventeen taken, and possest by the enemy: and with great labour and losse they defended the rest from being fired, having drawn them within a *Palisado*, in one corner of the port, unadvisedly: for it is as contrary to a Sea-war, to thrust ships into a straight room and corner, as it is to scatter foot in a plain field against horse; the one subsisting by being at large, the other by close imbattailing.

The *Syracusians*, having now weakned the *Athenian* fleet, resolve to imprison them within the Port. And to that purpose they range all their Gallies in the mouth of the Haven, being about a mile over, and there they came to *Anchor*; filling the out-let with all manner of Vessels; which they man most strongly, because the *Athenians*, being now made desperate, should not with double ranks of Gallies break through the *Syracusian* fleet; which lay but single, because they were forc't to range themselves over all the Out-let of the Port. They therefore, not only mored themselves strongly by their *Anchors*, but chained the sides of their Gallies together, and laid behind them again certain ships, which served in the former warre for victuallers: to the end, that if any of their Gallies were sunk; or the chain, which joyned them to their fellowes, broken, the *Athenians* might yet finde themselves, a second time, intangled and arrested. To disorder also those *Athenian* Gallies, which came on in forme of a wedge, to break through, and force a passage, the *Syracusians* had left within these Gallies and Ships, inchained together, a certain number of loose ones, to stop their course and fury. For where the way of any vessell, using oare or sailes, is broken, and their speed foreslowed, they cannot force with any weight and violence, the resistance opposing.

On the other side, the *Athenians* knew that they were utterly lost, except with an invincible resolution they could make their way, and break downe this great bridge of boats; or (at least) force a passage through them in some part or other: which they re-

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ſolve to hazard, with all their ſhipping (to the number of one hundred & ten, of all ſorts) and with all the ſtrength of their Land-army, in them imbarqued. But the Gallies, which were within the bridge of boats, did ſo diſorder the *Athenian* fleet, ere they came to force the bridge, as albe t ſome few of them had broken through the chains, yet being ſtopt with the ſhips without, and aſſailed by other looſe Gallies of the *Syracuſians*, which were purpoſely left at large in the ſea, they were either taken or ſunk. Three great diſadvantages the *Athenians* had: the firſt, that fighting within a Haven, and (as it were) in a ſtraight, they had no room to turn themſelves, nor to free themſelves one from another, being intangled; the ſecond, that having overpeſtered their Gallies with Souldiers, who uſed offenſive arms of darts and ſlings, they had not place upon the decks to ſtretch their arms; the third was, the diſcomfortable end for which they fought, namely, to force a paſſage, by which they might ſave themſelves by running away. To be ſhort, the fight was no leſs terrible than the confuſion: the ſlaughter great on all ſides; and the noiſe, and the cryes, ſo lowd and lamentable, as that no direction could be heard. But in the end, the *Athenians*, as many as ſurvived, were beaten back to the Land, with loſs of threeſcore of their Gallies, broken, ſunk, or abandoned. The *Syracuſians* did alſo loſe twenty of theirs, with *Python*, Commander of the *Corinthians*. The reſt of the *Athenian* Gallies, running themſelves into the bottome of the Port, ſaved themſelves by the help and countenance of the Land-army there fortified. In this deſperate eſtate, the *Athenian* Commanders go to counſell. *Demoſthenes* perſwades them to furniſh with freſh Souldiers thoſe few Gallies which remained; and while the *Syracuſians* were triumphing, and made ſecure by their preſent victory, to ſet upon them, and forcing their way out of the Port, to return to *Athens*. This was no ill counſell. For, as we have heard of many great Captains (yea, the greateſt number of all that have been victorious) that have neglected the ſpeedy proſecution of a beaten enemy; ſo might we produce many examples of thoſe, who, having ſlept ſecurely in the boſome of good ſucceſs, have been ſuddenly awaked, by the re-allied Companies of a broken Army, and have thereby loſt again all the honour and advantage formerly gotten. But *Nicias* oppoſeth the advice of *Demoſthenes*: Others ſay, that the Sea-men were againſt it. Whereupon abandoning their Gallies, they all reſolve to march over land to the Cities of their Confederates, till ſome more favourable fortune ſhould call them thence. On the other ſide, *Gylippus*, and other the *Lacedæmonian* and *Corinthian* captains, with *Hermocrates*, exhort the *Syracuſians* to put themſelves preſently into the field, and to ſtop all the paſſages, leading to thoſe Cities of their enemies, to which the *Athenians* might make retrait. But many were weary, and many were wounded, and many of them thought that they had done enough for the preſent. Which humour in ſome of our Commanders at *Cadez*, loſt us both the *Indian* fleet, and the ſpoiles of many other neighbour places. *Hermocrates*, the *Syracuſian*, finding it a loſt labour, to perſwade his Countrimen to any haſty proſecution, deviſed this good ſtratagem, whereby to gain time; not doubting, but that after a day or two, he ſhould draw them willingly out. He ſent two or three horſe-men out of *Syracuſe* by night, willing them to find *Nicias*, and (after they had aſſured him, that they were of the *Athenians* faction) to give him advice not to march away overhaſtily from the place, wherein he was fortified; alledging that the *Syracuſians* had lodged their Army, which could not long ſtay there, upon the paſſages and places of advantage, leading towards the cities of their Allies. Theſe tidings *Nicias* eaſily beleeved, and put off his journey to the third day. For men newly beaten, are (for the moſt part) more fearfull than wiſe; and to them, every thiſtle in the field, appears, by night, a man at armes.

The third day (leaving all their Gallies, and all their baggage) they remove; being pierced and purſued with the lamentable out-cries of thoſe that were ſick and hurt: whom they abandon to the cure of their enemies ſwords. The reſt march away, to the number of forty thouſand; and make their firſt paſſage by force, over the River of *Anapus*, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of their enemies. But being every day charged in their marches, and by the *Syracuſian* horſe-men, beaten in from forraging and proviſion of food, they grow weak and heartleſs. The *Syracuſians* alſo poſſeſs the Mountain *Lepas*, by which they were to paſs towards *Camerina*, and thereby force them to fall back again towards the Sea-coaſt, and to take what way they could: being unable to proceed in their journey intended. Many hard ſhifts they made, in difficult paſſages,

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and blinde marches by night; which they were fain to endure, as having none other means to escape from the enemy that pursued them, and held them waking with continuall skirmishing. To keep all in order, *Nicias* undertook the leading of the Vaunt-guard; and *Demosthenes* conducted the Rear. At the River *Erineus*, *Nicias* takes the start of a whole nights march, leaving *Demosthenes* to make the retrait: who being incompassed, and overprest with numbers, in the end renders himself. The conditions he obtained, were far better than he could have hoped for; and the faith of his enemies far worse than he suspected. For he was afterward, with *Nicias*, murdered in prison. The Army of *Demosthenes* being dissolved, they pursue *Nicias* with the greater courage: who being utterly broken, upon the passage of the River *Assinarus*, rendred himself to *Gylippus*, upon honest conditions. *Gylippus* sought to preserve him, and to have had the honour to have brought these two to *Sparta*; *Nicias*, as a Noble Enemy to the *Lacedæmonians*, and who, at the overthrow which they received at *Pylus* by the *Athenians*, had saved the lives of the vanquished; *Demosthenes*, as one that had done to *Lacedæmon* the greatest hurt. *Hermocrates* also, the Commander of the *Syracusian* Army, dissuaded the rest, by all the art he had, for using any barbarous violence, after so noble a victory. But the cruell and cowardly sort, (cowardise and cruelty being inseparable passions) prevailed, and caused these brave Captains to be miserably murdered; one part of their Souldiers to be starved in loathsome prisons; and the rest, sold for slaves. This was the successe of the *Sicilian* warre: which took end at the River *Assinarus*, the four and twentieth day of *May*, in the fourscore and eleventh Olympiad.

The *Athenians* being beaten out of *Sicil*; the *Egestans* (for whose defence, against the *Selinuntines*, this late war had been taken in hand) fearing the victorious *Syracusians*, sought help from the *Carthaginians*; to whom they offered themselves, and their City, as their vassals. The *Carthagians*, though ambitious enough of enlarging their Diminion in *Sicil*, yet considering the prosperity of the *Syracusians*, and their late victories over the *Athenians*, they stayed a while to dispute of the matter, whether they should refuse or accept the offer made unto them: for the *Selinuntines* were straightly allied to the *Syracusians*, as may appear by what is past. In the end the *Senators* of *Carthage* resolve upon the enterprise; and (by a trick of their *Punick* wit) to separate the *Syracusians* from the *Selinuntines*, they send Embassadors to *Syracuse*: praying that City, as in the behalf of the *Egestans*, to compell the *Selinuntines* to take reason, and to rest content with so much of the lands in question, as they of *Syracuse* should think meet to allow them. The *Syracusians* approved the motion; for it tended to their own honour. But the *Selinuntines* would make no such appointment: rather they took it ill, that the *Syracusians*, with whom they had run one course of fortune, in the *Athenian* war, should offer to trouble them, by interposing as Arbitrators, in a business that themselves could end by force. This was right as the *Carthaginians* would have it. For now could they of *Selinus* with an ill grace crave aid of *Syracuse*; and the *Syracusians* as ill grant it unto those, that had refused to stand to the Arbitrement, which the *Carthaginians* would have put into their hands. Hereupon, an Army of three hundred thousand men is set out from Carthage, under the conduct of *Hannibal*, Nephew to that *Amilcar*, who (as you have heard before) was overthrown with the great *Carthaginian* Army at *Himera* by *Gelon*. *Hannibal* was exceeding greedy of this imployment, that he might take revenge as well of his Uncles, as of his Fathers death; the one of them having been slain by the *Himerans*, the other by those of *Selinus*. Both the Cities, *Hannibal*, in this war, won by force of arms, sackt them, and burnt them; and having taken three thousand of the *Himerans* prisoners, he caused them to be led unto the place, where *Amilcar* was slain, and buried them there.

After this followed some trouble at *Syracuse*, occasioned by the banishment of *Hermocrates*, who had lately been General of the *Syracusian* forces, against the *Athenians*. The malice of his enemies had so far prevailed with the ingratefull multitude, that he was condemned to exile for his meer vertue, at such time as he was aiding the *Lacedæmonians*, in their war against *Athens*; wherein he did great service. All the honester sort within *Syracuse* were sorry for their injury done unto him, and sought to have him repealed. *Hermocrates* himself, returning into *Sicil*, gathered an Army of six thousand; with which he began to repair *Selinus*; & by many noble actions laboured to win

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the love of his Citizens. But the faction that opposed him was the stronger. Wherfore he was advised to seize upon a Gate of *Syracuse*, with some strength of men; whereby his friends within the Towne, might have the better means to rise against the adverse party. This he did: but presently the multitude fell to arms, and set upon him; in which conflict he was slain. But his Son-in-law, *Dionysius*, shall make them wish *Hermocrates* alive again.

†. IV.

Of Dionysius *the Tyrant: and others, following him, in* Syracuse.

THe *Syracusians* had enjoyed their liberty about threescore years, from the death of *Thrasybulus*, to the death of *Hermocrates*: at which time *Dionysius* was raised up by God, to take revenge, as well of their cruelty toward strangers, as of their ingratitude towards their own best Citizens. For before the time of *Dionysius*, they had made it their pastime, to reward the vertue of their worthiest Commanders with death, or disgrace: which custome they must now be taught to amend.

Dionysius obtained the principality of *Syracuse*, by the same degrees, that many others, before him, had made themselves masters of other Cities, and of *Syracuse* it self. For, being made *Prator*, and commanding their Armies against the *Carthaginians*, and other their enemies, he behaved himselfe so well, that he got a generall love among the people, and men of war. Then began he to follow the example of *Pisistratus*, that made himselfe Lord of *Athens*; obtaining a band of six hundred men, to defend his person: under pretence, that his private enemies, being traiterously affected to the State of *Syracuse*, had layed plots how to murder him, because of his good services. He doubled the pay of his Souldiers; alledging, that it would incourage them to fight manfully: but intending thereby to assure them to himself. He perswaded the Citizens, to call home, out of exile, those that had been banished, which were the best men of *Syracuse*; and these were afterwards, at his devotion, as obliged unto him by so great a benefit. His first favour, among the *Syracusians*, grew from his accusation of the principall men. It is the delight of base people to reign over their betters: wherefore, gladly did he help them to break down, as fetters imprisoning their liberty, the bars that held it under safe custody. Long it was not, ere the chief Citizens had found whereat he aimed. But what they saw, the people would not see: and some that were needy, and knew not how to get Offices without his help, were willing to help him, though they knew his purposes to be such, as would make all the City to smart. He began early to hunt after the tyranny; being but five and twenty years of age when he obtained it: belike it was his desire to reign long. His first work, of making himself absolute Lord in *Syracuse*, was, the possession of the Citadel, wherin was much good provision, and under it the Gallies were mored. This he obtained by allowance of the people; and having obtained this, he cared for no more, but declared himself without all shame or fear. The Army, the chief Citizens, restored by him from banishment; all the needy sort within *Syracuse*, that could not thrive by honest courses; and some neighbour-towns, bound unto him, either for his help in war, or for establishing the faction, reigning at that present, were wholly affected to his assistance. Having therefore gotten the Cittadell into his hands, he needed no more, save to assure what he had already. He strengthened himself by divers marriages; taking first to wife the daughter of *Hermocrates*; and after her, two at once; the one a *Locrian*, *Doris*, by whom he had *Dionysius*, his Successor; the other, *Aristomache*, the daughter of *Hipparinus*, and sister to *Dion*, honourable men in *Syracuse*; which bare unto him many children, that served to fortifie him with new alliances.

Yet it was not long, ere some of the *Syracusians* (envying his prosperity) incited the multitude, and took armes against him, even in the novelty of his Rule. But their enterprise was more passionately, than wisely governed. He had shamefully been beaten by the *Carthaginians* at *Gela*: which, as it vexed the *Sicilian* men at armes, making them suspect that it was his purpose to let the *Carthaginians* wast all, that he might afterwards take possession of the desolate places; so it inflamed them with a desire to free themselves from his tyranny. They departed therefore from him, and marched hastily to *Syracuse*, where they found friends to help them: there they forced his Palace, ransacked

sacked his treasures, and so shamefully abused his wife, that for the grief thereof she poisoned her self. But he followed their heels apace; and firing a Gate of the City by night, entred soon enough to take revenge, by making a speedy riddance of them. For he spared none of his known, no not his suspected enemies. After that, he grew so doubtfull of his life, as he never durst trust Barber to trim him, nor any person, no not so much as his brother, to enter into his chamber, unstript and searched. He was the greatest Robber of the people that ever reigned in any State, and withall the most unrespectively cruell.

After this, he separated with fortification that part of the City, called the Iland, from the rest; like as the Spaniard did the Citadell of *Antwerpe*: therein he lodged his Treasures, and his Guards.

He then began to make war upon the free Cities of *Sicil*: but while he lay before *Herbesse*, an in-land Town, the *Syracusians* rebelled against him; so, as with great difficulty he recovered his Citadell: from whence, having allured the old Souldiers of the Campanians, who forced their passage through the City, with one thousand and two hundred horse, he again recovered the mastery over the *Syracusians*. And when a multitude of them were busied in gathering in their harvest, he disarmed all the Towns-men remaining, and new strengthened the Fort of the Iland, with a double wall. He inclosed that part also, called *Epipoles*; which, with threescore thousand labourers, he finished within three weeks, being two leagues in compass. He then built two hundred new Gallies; and repaired one hundred and ten of the old; forged one hundred and forty thousand Targets, with as many swords, and head-peeces, with fourteen thousand corslets; and all other sutable armes. Which done, he sent word to the *Carthaginians*, (greatly infeebled by the plague) That except they would abandon the *Greek* Towns, which they held in *Sicil*, he would make war upon them: and, not staying for answer, he took the spoil of all the *Phœnician* ships, and merchandize, within his Ports; as King *Philip* the second did of our *English*, before the war in our late Queens time. He then goes to the field with fourscore thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and sends his brother *Leptines* to sea, with two hundred Gallies, and five hundred ships of burden. Most of the Towns which held for *Carthage* yeelded unto him; saving *Panormus*, *Segesta* or *Egesta*, *Ancyra*, *Motya*, and *Entella*. Of these, he first wan *Motya* by assault, and put all therein to the sword; but before *Egesta* he lost a great part of his Army, by a sally of the Citizens. In the mean while *Himilco* arrives; but, ere he took land, he lost in a fight at Sea, with *Leptines*, fifty ships of war, and five thousand Souldiers, besides many ships of burden. This notwithstanding, he recovered again *Motya* upon his first descent. From thence marching towards *Messana*, he took *Lypara*, and (soon after) *Messana*, and razed it to the ground. Now began *Dionysius* greatly to doubt his estate. He therefore fortified all the places he could, in the Territory of the *Leontines*, by which he supposed that *Himilco* would passe toward *Syracuse*; and he himself took the field again, with four and thirty thousand foot; and one thousand horse. Now, hearing that *Himilco* had divided his Army into two parts, marching with the one half over-land, and sending *Mago* with the other by Sea: he sent *Leptines*, his brother to encounter *Mago*. But *Leptines* was utterly beaten by the *Carthaginians*; twenty thousand of his men were slain, and an hundred of his Gallies lost. It is very strange, and hardly credible, which yet good Authors tell us; That one City should be able to furnish five hundred sail of ships, and two hundred Gallies: (for, so many did *Syracuse* arme in this war) and more strange it is, that in a battail at Sea, without any great Artillery, or Musket-shot, twenty thousand should be slain in one fight. In all our fights against the *Turkes*, of which that at *Lepanto* was the most notable, we hear of no such number lost; nor in any other fight by Sea, that ever happened in our age, nor before us. When *Charles* the fift went to besiege *Algier*, he had in all his fleet, transporters and others, but two hundred and fifty sail of ships, and threescore and five Gallies: for the furnishing of which fleet, he sought help from all the Cities and ports of *Spain*, *Naples*, and the rest of *Italy*. But in old times it was the manner to carry into the field, upon extremity, as many as were needfull, of all that could bear armes, giving them little wages, or other allowance: in our dayes it is not so; neither indeed, is it often requisite. Upon this overthrow, *Dionysius* postes away to *Syracuse*, to strengthen it: *Himilco* followes him, and besiegeth the Town by Land and Sea. But the

Tyrant,

having received aid from the *Lacedæmonians*, under the conduct of *Pharacidas*, puts himself to Sea, to make provision for his Citizens, who, in his absence, take twenty of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, and sink four. Hereupon, finding their own successe prosperous, and that of the Tyrant exceeding ill; having also at the present weapons in their hands, they consult how to recover their liberty. And this they had done, had not *Pharacidas* the *Lacedæmonian* resisted them. It also fell out, to his exceeding advantage, that the plague was so increased, and so violent among the *Carthaginians*, as it is said, that above an hundred thousand of them died thereof. He therefore, with the power that he could gather together, sets upon them both by Sea and Land; and having slain great numbers of them, forceth *Himilco* to desire peace. This peace *Dionysius* sold him for a great sum of money; on condition, that he should steal away with his *Carthaginians* only: which he basely accepted, betraying the rest of the *Africans* and *Spaniards*. Yet no faith was kept with him: for he was pursued, and left many of his *Carthaginians* behind him. The rest of the *Africans* fell under the swords of their enemies; only the *Spaniards*, after they had a while bravely defended themselves, were (after their submission) entertained, and served the Conquerour.

Many such examples of perfidious dealing have I noted in other places, and can hardly forbear to deliver unto memory the like practices, when they meet with their matches: That which hapned unto *Monsieur de Piles*, was very suitable to this treachery, wherewith *Dionysius* pursued *Himilco*. I was present when *De Piles* related the injury done unto him. He had rendred S. *John d' Angelie* to the *French* King *Charles* the ninth, who besieged him therein. He rendred it, upon promise made by the faith of a King, that he should be suffered to depart in safety, with all his followers. Yet in presence of the King himself, of the Duke of *Anjou* his brother, Generall of his Army, of the Queen Mother, and of divers Dukes and Marshals of *France*, he was set upon and broken in his March; spoiled of all that he had, and forced to save his life by flight; leaving the most of his Souldiers dead upon the place; the Kings hand and faith warranting him to march away with ensigns displaid, and withall his goods and provisions, no whit availing him. It needs not therefore seem strange, that an Heathen Tyrant should thus break his faith, since Kings, professing Christianity, are bold to do the like, or command their Captains to do it for them.

Dionysius, after this great victory, took care to re-edifie *Messena*. *Mago*, who stayed in *Sicil*, to hold up the *Carthaginians* therein, is again beaten by *Dionysius*; who is also beaten by the *Tauromenians*. A new supply of fourscore thousand Souldiers is sent from *Carthage* to *Mago*, but these take egges for their money, and make peace with *Dionysius*, leaving the *Sicilians* in *Tauromenium*, to shift for themselves: whom *Dionysius*, after a long siege, overcame, and gave their City to his mercenary Souldiers.

He then past into *Italy*, obtained divers victories there, brought the *Rhegians* on their knees, forced them to pay him one hundred and fourscore thousand crowns, to furnish him with threescore Gallies, and to put in an hundred pledges, for assurance of their future observance of covenants. This he did, not with any purpose to perform unto them the peace that they had so dearly bought; but that having taken from them their Gallies, he might besiege them, and ruine them utterly, with the more ease. Now to the end he might not, without some colour, falsifie the faith that he had given to them; he pretended to want victuall for his Army, at such time as he seemed ready to depart out of *Italy*, and sent to them to furnish him therewith, promising to return them the like quantity at his comming home to *Syracuse*.

His resolution was, that if they refused to furnish him, he would then make their refusall the cause of his quarrell: if they yeelded to aid him with the proportion which he desired, that then they should not be able, for want of food, to endure a siege any long time against him. For, to ruine them he had fully determined, at what price soever. And great reason he had to take revenge of them, if he had done it fairly, and without breach of faith. For when in the beginning of his reign, he desired them to bestow a daughter of some of their Nobility upon him for a wife; they answered, that they had not any one fit for him, save the Hang-mans daughter. Princes do rather pardon ill deeds, than villanous words. *Alexander* the great forgave many sharp swords, but never any sharp tongues; no, though they told him but truly of his errours.

and certainly, it belongs to those that have warrant from God, to apprehend Princes; and to none else, especially in publick.

It is said, that *Henry* the fourth of *France*, had his heart more inflamed against the Duke of *Biron*, for his over-bold and biting taunts, that he used against him before *Amiens*, than for his conspiracy with the *Spaniard* or *Savoyan*: for he had pardoned ten thousand of such as had gone farther, & drawn their swords against him. The contemptuous words that Sir *John Parret* used of our late Queen *Elizabeth*, were his ruine; and not the counterfeit letter of the *Romish* Priest produced against him. So fared it with some other, greater than he, that thereby ran the same, and a worse fortune, soon after.

To be short, he made them know new bread from old. He assaulted their Town on all sides, which he continued to doe eleven moneths, till he won it by force. He used his victory without mercy, specially against *Phyton*, who had commanded within it. 10

Some other wars he made with the *Carthaginians*, after the taking and razing of this City; and those with variable successe. For, as in one encounter he slue *Mago*, with ten thousand *Africans*: so the son of *Mago* beat him, and slue his brother *Leptines*, with fourteen thousand of his Souldiers. After which he bought his peace of the *Carthaginians*, as they had formerly done of him; following therein the advice of Prosperity and Adversity, as all Kings and States doe.

When he had reigned eight and thirty years, he died: some say in his bed, peaceably, which is the most likely, though others report it otherwise. A cruell man he was, and a faithlesse; a great Poet, but a foolish one. He entertained *Plato* a while, but afterward, for speaking against his tyranny, he gave order to have him slain, or sold for a slave. For he could endure no man that flattered him not beyond measure. His Parasites therefore stiled his cruelty, *The hate of evill men*; and his lawless slaughters, *The ornaments and effects of his justice*. True it is, that flatterers are a kind of vermine, which poyson all the Princes of the World; and yet they prosper better than the worthiest and valianteſt men doe: and I wonder not at it, for it is a world: and, as our *Saviour Christ* hath told us, *The World will love her own*. 20

To this *Dionysius* his son of the same name succeeded, and inherited both his Kingdome and his Vices. To win the love of the People, he pardoned, and released out of prison, a great number of persons, by his Father lockt up and condemned. Withall, he remitted unto his Citizens divers payments, by his Father imposed upon them. Which done, and thereby hoping that he had fastned unto himself the peoples affections; he cast off the sheeps skin, and put on that of the wolf. For being jealous of his own Brethren, as men of more vertue than himself, he caused them all to be slain; and all the kindred that they had by their Mothers side. For *Dionysius* his Father (as hath been said) had two Wives; *Doris* of *Locris*, and *Aristomache* a *Syracusian*, the sister of *Dion*, which Brother-in-law of his he greatly enriched. 30

By *Doris* he had this *Dionysius*, who succeeded unto him: and by *Aristomache* he had two Sons and two Daughters: of which the elder, called *Sophrosine*, he gave in marriage to his eldest son, and her half-brother *Dionysius*; the younger, called *Areta*, he bestowed on his Brother *Theorides*: after whose death *Dion* took her to wife, being his Neece. 40

This *Dion*, a just and valiant man, finding that *Dionysius* had abandoned all exercise of vertue, and that he was wholly given over to sensuality, prevailed so much with *Plato*, whose Disciple he had been, as he drew him into *Sicil*, to instruct the young King. And having perswaded the King to entertain him, he wrought so well with him, as *Dionysius* began to change condition; to change Tyranny into Monarchy; and to hold the Principality that he had, rather by the love of his People, and his Nationall Lawes, than by the violence of his Guards and Garrisons. But this goodnesse of his lasted not long. For *Philistus* the Historian, and other his Parasites, that hated *Dions* severity, wrought him out of the Tyrants favour, and caused him soon after to be banished out of *Sicil*, to the great grief of the whole Nation. For whereas *Dion* had made offer to the King, either to compound the quarrels between him and the *Carthaginians*, of whom *Dionysius* stood in great fear; or (at least) if they refused it to furnish him with fifty Gallies at his own charge, during the war against them: his enemies 50

found

found means, by sinister interpretation, to convert his good will into matter of treason. They told *Dionysius*, that all the great commendations, given of *Plato*, had tended to none other end, than to soften his mind, and to make him neglect his owne affairs, by the study of Philosophy; whilest *Dion* in the mean time having furnished fifty Gallies, under colour of the Kings service, had it in his own power either to deliver to the *Syracusians* their former liberty, or to make himself Lord and Soveraign of their State.

It is likely, that the honest and liberall offer which he made, to serve the King with so great a preparation, at his own charge, begot him many enemies. For they that had served the King for none other end than to raise and enrich themselves, and had already been raised and enriched, thought themselves bound to make the same offer that *Dion* had made, if the King had had the grace to conceive it aright. But the covetous and ignorant cowards, that had neither the knowledge, nor the daring that *Dion* had, were bold to stile his Love and Liberality, Pride and Presumption; and heartned the young King in his oppressing, and eating up his own people, of whose spoiles they themselves shared no small portion. I have heard it, That when *Charles* the fifth had the repulse at *Algier*, in *Africa*, *Ferdinando Cortese*, one of the bravest men that ever *Spain* brought forth, offered unto the Emperour, to continue the siege at his owne charge. But he had never good day after it. For they that envied his victories, and his conquest of *Mexico* in the *West-Indies*, perswaded the Emperour, that *Cortese* sought to value himself above him; and to have it said, that what the Emperour could not, *Cortese* had effected, and was therefore more worthy of the Empire, than he that had it.

When *Dion* was newly banished, the Tyrant was contented, at first to send him the revenues of his Lands, and permit him to dispose of his movables, at his own pleasure: not without giving hope to recall him in short time. Had he continued in this good mood, like enough it is, that *Dion* would have been well pleased to live well, as he did, at *Athens*. But after some time, *Dionysius* made Port-sale of this Noble-mans goods, and thereby urged him to take another course, even to seek the restitution of his Countrey to liberty. The vertues of *Dion*, especially his great liberality, had purchased much love in *Greece*. This love made him suspected and hated of the Tyrant: but it stood him in good stead, when he sought to raise men, with whose help he might returne into *Sicil*. Yet he got not above eight hundred (for he carryed the matter closely) to follow him in his adventure. But many of them were men of quality, and fit to be Leaders. Neither did he doubt of finding in *Syracuse*, as many as should be needfull, that would readily assist him. Therefore he landed boldly in *Sicil*, marched to *Syracuse*, entred the City without resistance, armed the multitude, and won all, save the Citadell.

Dionysius was then absent in *Italy*, but he quickly had advertisement of this dangerous accident. Wherefore he returned hastily to *Syracuse*: whence, after many vain treaties of peace, and some forcible attempts to recover the Town, he was fain to depart; leaving yet the Castle to the Custody of *Apollocrates* his eldest Sonne. Yet ere he went, his Minion *Philistus*, comming with a strength of men to assist him, was beaten, taken, and put to death by torment. But *Dion*, for the recovery of his Countries liberty, had the same reward that all worthy men have had from popular Estates. He was disgraced, assaulted, and forced to abandon the City. He retired himselfe to the *Leontines*, who received him with great joy. Soon after his departure from *Syracuse*, new troups enter the Castle: they sally out, assail, spoyle, and burn a great part of the City. *Dion* is sent for, with humble request: yet, ere he could arrive, *Dionysius* his Souldiers were retired; and the Towns-men thinking themselves secure, shut the gates against *Dion*. But the next night they of the Castle sally again, with greater fury than ever; they kill Man, Woman, and Child, and set fire in all parts of the Town. In this their extremity *Dion* comes the second time to their succour; the love of his Countrey surmounting all the injuries that he had received. He sets upon the Garrison of the Castle, with the one part of his Army; and quencheth the fire every where kindled, with the other part. In conclusion, after he had conquered both the fire and the sword, that had wel-near burnt to ashes, and depopulated *Syracuse*, he recovered the Castle, with the munition and furniture thereof, and sent *Apollocrates*

after *Dionysius* his Father, into *Italy*. But their malice, of whom he had best deserved, and whom he had loved most, gave an untimely end to his dayes. For he was soone after his victory, murdered by *Gylippus*; who after he had, with ill successe, a while governed *Syracuse*, was slain with the same Dagger, with which he had murdered *Dion*.

Ten years after the death of *Dion*, *Dionysius*, with the assistance of his friends in *Italy*, recovers his estate, and returnes to *Syracuse*, driving *Nysæus* thence, whom he found Governour therein. The better sort of the Citizens, fearing more than ever, his cruelty, flee to *Icetes*, a *Syracusian* borne, and then ruling the *Leontines*. *Icetes* enters into confederacy with the *Carthaginians*, hoping by their assistance, not only to prevail against *Dionysius*, but by the hatred of the *Syracusians* towards *Dionysius*, to make him also Lord of their City. The *Syracusians*, being deservedly afflicted on all sides, send to the *Corinthians* for succour. *Icetes* also sends thither, and disswades the *Corinthians*, as well as he can, from intermedling in the businesse. He tels them, by his Messengers, That he had entred into league with the *Carthaginians*, who were so strong by Sea, that it was not in the power of *Corinth*, to land an Army in *Sicil*. But the *Corinthians*, being by this treason of *Icetes*, more inraged than disswaded, sent *Timoleon* with nineteen Gallies, to deliver *Syracuse* from tyranny. In the mean while, *Icetes* had entred *Syracuse*, and with the help of the *Carthaginians*, driven *Dionysius* into the Castle, where he besieged him.

Icetes, being himself a Tyrant in *Leontium*, rather sought how to inlarge his power, than how to deliver his Countrey. Therefore, hearing that *Timoleon* was arrived at *Rhegium*, he sent to perswade him, to return his fleet; for that all things were (in effect) established in *Sicil*. The *Carthaginian* Gallies were also in the same Port of *Rhegium*, whose Captains advised *Timoleon* to get him gone in peace. They had far more Gallies there than he had, and were like to compell him, if he would not be perswaded. *Timoleon*, finding himself over-mastered, makes request to the *Carthaginian* Captaines, that they would be pleased to enter into *Rhegium*, and there, in an open assembly of the people, to deliver unto him those arguments, for his return, which they had used to him in private; that he might, by publick testimony, discharge himself to the Senate of *Corinth*.

The *Carthaginians*, perswading themselves, that a victory obtained by a few fair words, was without loss, and far more easie, than that of many blowes, and wounds, yeelded to *Timoleons* desire. But while the Orations were delivering, *Timoleon*, favoured by the *Rhegians*, stole out of the preasse; and having set sail, before the Gates were opened to the *Carthaginians*, he recovered the Port of *Tauromenium*, where he was joyfully received by *Andromachus* the Governor. From thence he marched toward *Adranum*, where surprising *Icetes* his Army, he slew a part thereof, and put the rest to run. It is the nature of victory to beget friends. The *Adranitans* joyned with him, and so did *Mamercus*, the Tyrant of *Catana*. *Dionysius* also sent to *Timoleon*, offering to surrender the Castle of *Syracuse* into his hands, as thinking it better to yeeld up himself, and the places which he could not defend, unto the *Corinthians*, than either to *Icetes*, whom he disdained, or to the *Carthaginians*, whom he hated. Now *Timoleon*, who, within fifty daies after his arrivall, had recovered the Castle of *Syracuse*, and sent *Dionysius* to *Corinth*, to live there a private man, was still invaded by the armies, and molested by the practices of *Icetes*. For he besieged the *Corinthians* within the castle of *Syracuse*, and attempted (but in vain) the murder of *Timoleon*.

The *Corinthians* send unto *Timoleon* a supply of two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, which are stayed in *Italy* by foule weather. *Icetes* is strengthned with threescore thousand *Africans*, brought unto him by *Mago* (all which he lodgeth within *Syracuse*) and with an hundred and fifty Gallies, to keep the Port. This was the first time that ever the *Carthaginians* had dominion within the wals of that City. With this great Army *Icetes* assaileth the Castle. *Timoleon* sends them victuals, and succour, in small boats, by night, from *Catana*. *Mago* and *Icetes* do therefore resolve to besiege *Catana*; but they were no sooner on their way towards it, with part of their forces, than *Leon*, Captain of the *Corinthians*, sallied out of the Castle, and took that part of *Syracuse*, called *Acradina*, which he fortified.

In the mean while, the two thousand *Corinthians* arrive: with whom, and two thousand other Souldiers, *Timoleon* marched toward *Syracuse*. *Mago* abandoneth *Icetes*

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being frighted out of *Sicil* (which he might easily have conquered) with an idle rumour of treason. This made him returne to *Carthage*; where the generall exclamation against his cowardize, did so much affright him, that for fear of further punishment he hanged himself. *Timoleon* enters the City, and beats down the Castle (which he called *the nest of Tyrants*) to the ground. But he found the City, when the strangers were fled, in effect desolate; so as their horses did feed on the grass growing in the market-place. Therefore he writes to *Corinth* for people to re-inhabit it. Ten thousand are sent out of *Greece*; many come from *Italy*; others from other parts of the Iland.

But a new storm ariseth. *Asdrubal* and *Amilcar*, *Carthaginians*, arrive about *Lilybæum*, with threescore and ten thousand Souldiers, transported (with all their provisions) in a thousand ships of burden, and two hundred Gallies. *Timoleon* marcheth thither, and chargeth this great Army upon the passage of a River.

A tempest of rain, hail, and lightning, with boysterous windes, beating upon the faces of the *Carthaginians*, they are utterly broken, ten thousand slain, five thousand taken, with all their carriages and provisions: among which there were found a thousand corslets guilt and graven. After this, *Timoleon* gave an overthrow to *Icetes*, & following his victory, took him, with his son *Eupolemus*, and the Generall of his horse, prisoners; whom he caused all to be slain: and afterwards (which was imputed to him for great cruelty) he suffered *Icetes* his wives & daughters to be put to death. But this was the revenge of God upon *Icetes*, who (after the murder of *Dion*) had caused *Arete*, *Dions* wife, and a young child of his, with *Aristomache* his sister, to be cast into the Sea.

He again prevailed against *Mamercus* Tyrant of *Catana*, and won *Catana* it self. *Mamercus* fled to *Hippon* Tyrant of *Messena*: but *Timoleon*, pursuing him, won the town; delivering *Hippon* to his Citizens, who tormented him to death. The same end had *Mamercus*, and all other the Tyrants in *Sicil*.

Finally, he made peace with the *Carthaginians*, on condition that they should not passe the River of *Lycus*. After this, he lived in great honour among the *Syracusians*, till his death; and was solemnly buryed by them in the Market-place of their City: the day of his Funerals being for ever ordained to be kept holy among them.

After such time as *Timoleon* had delivered *Syracuse* from the tyranny of *Dionysius*, and brought peace to the whole Iland; the Inhabitants enjoyed their liberty in peace, about twenty years. The Cities and Temples were repaired; the Trade renewed; the Merchant sailed in safety; and the Labouring men enjoyed the fruits of the earth in quiet. But it was impossible that a Nation which neither knew how to govern, nor how to obey; which could neither endure Kings, nor men worthy to be Kings, to govern them; should any long time subsist.

Twenty years after the death of *Timoleon*, there started up one *Agathocles* among them, a man of base birth, and of baser condition, who from a Begger, to a common Souldier; from a Souldier to a Captain; and so from degree to degree, rising to be a Prætor; finally, became Lord and Soveraigne of the *Syracusians*. Many fortunes he ran, and under-went as many dangers, ere he obtained the principality. For he had more than once attempted it, and was therein both beaten and banisht. A passing valiant man he was, and did notable service, as well for those by whom he was employed, as also for the *Syracusians*, and against them. For in their wars against those of *Enna*, and the *Campanes*, he did them memorable service: and on the contrary, as memorable service for the *Murgantines* against the *Syracusians*. For being entertained by the people of *Murgantia*, and made Generall of their forces, he sackt *Leontium*; and besieged *Syracuse* so straightly, that the Citizens were driven to crave aid, even from their ancient and naturall enemies, the *Carthaginians*. *Amilcar* was sent by the *Carthaginians* to relieve *Syracuse*. With him *Agathocles* wrought so well, that he got him to make peace between himself and the *Syracusians*; binding himself by promise and oath to remain a friend and servant to the State of *Carthage*, for ever after. *Amilcar* entertained the business, and compounded the quarrels between *Agathocles* and the *Syracusians*. *Agathocles* is chosen Prætor; he entertains five thousand *Africans*, and divers old Souldiers of the *Murgantines*, under colour of a purpose to besiege *Herbita*. With these, and with the assistance of the poor and discontented *Syracusians* (the City also being divided into many factions) he assails the Senators, kils all his enemies and opposites;

divides the ſpoile of the rich among the poor; and gives liberty to his Souldiers, to rob, to raviſh, and to murder, for two whole dayes and nights, without controlement: the third day, when they had blunted their barbarous appetites, and ſtrewed the ſtreets with ten thouſand dead carkaſſes, beſides thoſe that had broken their necks over the wals; their fury had no further ſubject to work on.

Agathocles, in an aſſembly of the people (being an eloquent knave) perſwaded them, that, for the violent ſickneſs, by which the commonwealth was utterly conſumed, he found no better, than the violent remedies which he had adminiſtred; and that he affected no other thing than the reducing of the ſtate from an Oligarchy, or the rule of a few tyrannous Magiſtrates, to the ancient and indifferent Democraty, by which it had been governed, from the firſt inſtitution, with ſo great glory and proſperity. This he did, to have the Crown clapt on his head (as it were) perforce. For, as he knew that he had left none living, within the City, fit, nor able, to exerciſe the office of a Magiſtrate: ſo knew he right well, that all they which had aſſiſted in the murder and ſpoil of their fellow Citizens, had no other hope of defence, than the ſupport of a lawleſs Lord, who had been partaker with them in their villanies and cruelties committed. So as this rabble, his Oration ended, proclaimed him King: again and again ſaluting and adoring him, by that name, as if it had been given to him by ſome lawfull election. Hence had our King *Richard* the third a piece of his pattern; but the one was of baſe, the other of Kingly parents; the one took liberty from a common-weal, the other ſought only to ſucceed in a Monarchy; the one continued his cruelty to the end, the other, after he had obtained the Crown, ſought, by making good lawes, to recover the love of his people.

The life of this Tyrant is briefly written by *Juſtine*; more largely and particularly by *Diodorus Siculus*: the ſumme whereof is this. The ſame *Amilcar* that had brought him into *Syracuſe*, and that had lent him five thouſand men to help in the maſſacre of the Citizens, was alſo content to wink at many wrongs, that he did unto the Confederates of the *Carthaginians*. It was the purpoſe of *Amilcar*, to ſettle *Agathocles* in his tyranny, and to let him vexe and waſt the whole Iland: becauſe it was thereby like to come to paſs, that he ſhould reduce all *Sicil* into ſuch terms as would make it become an eaſie prey to *Carthage*. But when the Cities, confederate with the *Carthaginians*, ſent their Embaſſadours, with complaint of this ill dealing, to *Carthage*; the *Punick* faith (ſo much taunted by the *Romans*, as no better than meer falſhood) ſhewed it ſelf very honourable in taking order for the redreſs. Embaſſadours were ſent to comfort the *Sicilians*, and to put *Agathocles* in mind of his covenants; *Amilcar* was recalled home into *Africk*, and a new Captain appointed to ſucceed in his charge, with ſuch forces, as might compell *Agathocles* to reaſon, if otherwiſe he would not hearken to it. All this tended to ſave their Confederates, from ſuffering ſuch injuries in the future. For that which was paſt (ſince it could not be recalled) they took order to have it ſeverely puniſhed. *Amilcar* was accuſed ſecretly, and by way of ſcrutiny: the ſuffrages being given, but not calculated; and ſo reſerved untill he ſhould return. This was not ſo cloſely handled, but that *Amilcar* had ſoon notice of it. In managing his buſineſs with *Agathocles*, it is likely that he had an eye to his own profit, as well as to the publick benefit of his Country. For he had made ſuch a compoſition with the *Syracuſian*, as gave him not only means to weaken others, but to ſtrengthen himſelf, both in power and authority, even againſt the *Carthaginians*. Such is commonly the cuſtome of thoſe, that hope to work their own ends by cunning practices, thinking to deal ſubtlely and finely, they ſpin their threads ſo ſmall, that they are broken with the very wind. *Amilcar* ſaw, that his *Carthaginians* had a purpoſe to deal ſubſtantially; and that therefore it would be hard for him, to make them follow his crooked devices: which if he could not doe, it was to be expected, that their anger would break out into ſo much the greater extremity, by how much the more they had concealed it. Therefore he followed the example, which ſome of his foregoers had taught him; and, for fear of ſuch a death as the Judges might award him, he ended his own life in what ſort he thought beſt. This deſperation of *Amilcar* ſerved to inform *Agathocles* of the *Carthaginians* intent. He ſaw they would not be deluded with words, and therefore reſolved to get the ſtart of them in action. He diſſembled no longer; but, in ſtead of ſpoile and robbery, made open war upon all their Adherents. He had made the better part of *Sicil* his own, ere the

Carthaginian

Carthaginian forces arrived: which thinking to have incountred an ill-eſtabliſhed Tyrant, found him ready, as a King, to defend his own, and give them ſharp entertainment. They were beaten by him; and their Navie was ſo Tempeſt-beaten, that they could neither doe good by Land, nor Sea, but were glad to leave their buſineſs undone, and returne into *Africk*.

The *Carthaginians* prepare a new fleet: which being very gallantly manned and furniſhed, was broken by foule weather; and the beſt part of it caſt away, even whileſt it was yet within kenning of their City. But *Amilcar*, the ſon of *Giſco*, gathering together the remainders of his ſhip-wrack, was bold to paſſe over into *Sicil*, and landed not far from *Gela*; where *Agathocles* was ſoon ready to examine the cauſe of their comming. Many skirmiſhes paſſed between them, in which (commonly) the *Syracuſian* had the better. But his good ſucceſſe begat preſumption; whereby he loſt a battell more important than all the other fights. One adverſe chance is enough to overthrow the ſtate of a Tyrant, if it be not upheld by great circumſpection. The war was ſoon transferred to the wals of *Syracuſe*; within which *Agathocles* was cloſed up, and driven to make his laſt defence by their help, who may be judged to have loved him not very greatly. But the Inhabitants of *Syracuſe*, after that great Maſſacre of the principall men, made in the beginning of this new Tyranny, were (for the moſt part) ſuch, as had been either mercinary Souldiers, infranchiſed ſlaves, or baſe and needy people; helpers in eſtabliſhing the preſent Government, and Executioners of the murders, and ſpoyle committed in that change. If there were any other (as ſome there were) they were ſo well obſerved, and (withall) ſo fearfull, that they durſt not ſtir. But it was enough that they all agreed in the common defence of themſelves and their City; Famine was likely to grow upon them, and inforce them to change their reſolution. In this neceſſity *Agathocles* adventured upon a ſtrange courſe, which the event commended as wiſe. He imbarqued as many as he thought meet, in thoſe veſſels that rode in the Haven; and committing the government of the City to his brother *Antander*, willed the people to be of good courage, for that (as he told them) he had bethought himſelf of a mean, both to raiſe the ſiege, and to repair all other loſſes. A *Carthaginian* fleet lay in the mouth of the Haven, both to hinder the entrance of victuallers, and to keep the beſieged from iſſuing forth.

Now, at ſuch time as *Agathocles* was ready to depart, advertiſement came, that many ſhips of burden, laden with corn, and other proviſions, were drawing neer unto *Syracuſe*. To intercept theſe the *Carthaginians* hoiſe ſail, and lanch forth into the deep. They were not far gone, when they might behold *Agathocles*, iſſuing forth of the Port, with purpoſe (as they thought) to give convoy unto his victuallers. Hereupon they wheele about, and make amain toward him, as thinking him the better booty. He neither abode their comming, nor fled back into the City, but made all ſpeed towards *Africk*; and was purſued by the *Carthaginians*, as long as the day would give them light. In the mean ſeaſon the victuallers were gotten to *Syracuſe*; which was the more plentifully relieved by their comming, for that *Agathocles* had unburdened the place of no ſmall number. When the *Carthaginian* admirall perceived, firſt, that by purſuing two fleets at once, he had miſſed of them both; and ſecondly, that *Agathocles* returned not again, but was gone to ſeek his fortune elſewhere, he thought it good to purſue thoſe that were fled, and to attend ſo well upon them, that they ſhould not have leiſure to do miſchief in ſome other part.

The *Carthaginian* Navie followed *Agathocles* (whether by chance, or by relation of ſuch as had met with him at Sea) directly towards *Africk*, and overtook him after ſixe dayes. He had (at the firſt) a great ſtart of them; ſo that (belike) they rowed hard, and wearyed themſelves in ſeeking their own misfortune: for he fought with them, and beat them; and, having ſunk or taken many, drave the reſt to flye which way they could, laden with ſuch ſtrange tidings of his voyage.

When *Agathocles* had landed his men in *Africk*, then did he diſcover unto them his project, letting them underſtand, that there was no better way to divert the *Carthagians*, not only from *Syracuſe*, but from all the Ile of *Sicil*, than by bringing the war to their own doors. For here (ſaid he) they have many that hate them, and that will readily take armes againſt them, as ſoon as they perceive that there is an Army on foot, which dares to look upon their wals. Their Townes are ill fortified, their people untrained,

and

and experienced in dangers; the mercenary forces, that they levy in these parts, will rather follow us than them, if we offer greater wages than they can give: which we may better promise and make good, by letting him have some share with us in all the wealth of the *Carthaginians*, than our enemies can do, by making some addition to their stipends. Thus he talked, as one already Master of all the riches in *Africk*; and with many brave words encouraged his men so well, that they were contented to set fire on all their ships (reserving one or two to use as Messengers) to the end that no hope should remain, save only in victory. In this heat of resolution, they win by force two Cities; which after they had throughly sacked, they burnt to the ground: as a mark of terrour to all that should make resistance. The *Carthaginians* hearing this, are amazed; thinking that *Amilcar* is broken, and his whole Army destroyed in *Sicil*. This impression so dismales them, that when they know the truth of all, by such as had scaped in the late Sea fight, yet still they fear, and know not what. They suspect *Amilcars* faith, who had suffered *Agathocles* to land in *Africk*: they suspected their principal Citizens at home, of a meaning to betray *Carthage* unto the enemy; they raise a great Army, and know not to whose charge they may safely commit it.

There were at that time two famous Captains in the City, *Hanno* and *Bomilcar*; great enemies, and therefore the more unlikely to conspire against the common-wealth. These are made Generals of the Army levied, which far exceeded the forces of *Agathocles*. But it seldome happens, that dissension between Commanders produceth any fortunate event. Necessity drave *Agathocles* to fight: and the courage of his men, resolved to deal with the whole multitude of the *Carthaginians*, made easie the victory against the one halfe of them. For *Bomilcar* would not stir, but suffered *Hanno* to be cut in pieces.

The reputation of this great victory, brought over a King of the *Africans*, from the *Carthaginian* society, to take part with *Agathocles*: who pursuing his victory, winneth many Towns, and sends word to *Syracuse* of his good success. The *Carthaginians* also send into *Sicil*, willing *Amilcar*, their Generall, to succour the State of *Africk*, which was in danger to be lost, whilest he was travelling in the conquest of *Sicil*. *Amilcar* sends them five thousand men: all his forces he thought it not needfull to transport; as hoping rather to draw *Agathocles* back into *Sicil*, than to be drawn home by one, that could scarce retain his own Kingdome. But these good hopes had a bad issue. He spent some time in winning a few Towns that adhered unto the *Syracusians*: and having brought his matters to some good order, he conceived a sudden hope of taking *Syracuse* by surprise. It was a pretty (though tragicall) accident, if it were true, as *Tullie* relates it. *Amilcar* had a dream which told him that he should sup the next day within *Syracuse*. His fancy begot this dream, and he verily beleeved it. He made more haste than good speed toward the City: and comming upon it on the sudden, had good hope to carry it. But his enemies were prepared for him, and had laid an ambush to intrap him, whereinto he fell. So he was caryed prisoner into the City; in which it was likely that he had no great chear to his supper: for they struck off his head, and sent it into *Africk* (a welcome present) to *Agathocles*.

This good successe of things at home, did put such courage into the *Sicilian* Army, that *Agathocles* was bold to wear a Crown, and stile himself *King of Africk*. He had allured *Ophellas*, King of the *Cyrenians*, to take his part, by promises to deliver the Country into his hands: for that (as he said) it was sufficient unto himself to have diverted the *Carthaginians* from *Sicil*, wherein (after this war ended) he might reigne quietly. *Ophellas* came with a great Army, and was friendly entertained. But the traiterous *Sicilian*, taking an advantage, did murther this his assistant; and afterwards by good words, and great promises, drew all the *Cyrenian* Army to follow him in his Wars. Thus his villany found good success; and he so prevailed in *Africk*, that he got leasure to make a step into *Sicil*. Many Towns in *Sicil* had embraced a desire of recovering thair liberty; thinking it high time to fight at length for their own freedome, after that they had so long been exposed, (as a reward of victory) either unto Aliens, or to Tyrants of their owne countrey. These had prevailed far, and gotten many to take their parts, as in a common cause: when the comming of *Agathocles* abated their high spirits, and his good successe in many fights, compelled them to Obedience. Out of

Sicil

Sicil he returned into *Africk*, where his affairs stood in very bad terms. *Archagathus*, his sonne had lost a battell; and (which was worse) had ill means to help himself: his Army being in mutiny for lack of pay. But *Agathocles* pacified the tumult, by the accustomed promises of great booty and spoyle. It had now been time for him to offer peace to the *Carthaginians*: which to obtain, they would (questionlesse) have given to him both money enough to pay his army, and all that they then held in *Sicil*. For their City had been distressed, not only by this his war, but by the treason of *Bomilcar*, who failed not much of making himself Tyrant over them. But ambition is blind. *Agathocles* had all his thoughts fixed upon the conquest of *Carthage* it self: out of which dream he was awaked, by the losse of a battell, not so memorable in regard of any accident therein, as of the strange events following it. The *Carthaginians*, after their great misfortunes in this war, had renewed their old sacrifices of children to *Saturne*: from which they had abstained ever since they made peace with *Gelon*. And now they made choice of some, the goodliest of their prisoners, taken in the battell, to offer unto the said Idoll, in way of thankfulness for their victory. The fire, with which these unhappy men were consumed, caught hold upon the lodgings neerest unto the Altar; and spreading it self farther through the Campe, with the destruction of many men, caused such a tumult as is usuall in the like cases. At the same time, the like accident of fire burnt up the Pavilion of *Agathocles*. Hereupon both the Armies fled away, each of them beleeving, that the noyse in the adverse Campe, was a signe of the enemies comming to invade it. But the *Carthaginians* had a safe retrait: *Agathocles*, by a second errour, fell into a new calamity. In the beginning of this his flight in the dark, he met with his own *African* Souldiers; and thinking them to be enemies, (as indeed the one half of them had revolted from him, to the *Carthaginians*, in the last battell) he began to assail them, and was so stoutly resisted, that he lost in this blinde fight above four thousand of his men. This did so discourage his proud heart, that, being fallen from the neer hope of taking the City of *Carthage*, unto some distrust of his own safety, he knew no more how to moderate his present weak fears, than lately he had known how to govern his ambition. Therefore he took the way that came next into his head; which was, to steal closely a-boord his ships, with his younger son (the elder he suspected of Incest, and of Ambition) and so to flye into *Sicil*; thinking it the best course to shift for himself, as wanting vessels wherein to transport his Army. His elder son *Archagathus*, perceiving his drift, arrested him and put him under custody: but by means of a sudden tumult, he was let loose, escaped, and fled alone, leaving both his sonnes behind him. His flight being noysed through the Army, all was in uproar; and extremity of rage caused not only the common Souldier, but even such as had been friends to the Tyrant, to lay hold upon his two sons, and kill them. That this flight of *Agathocles* was extreamly base, I need not use words to prove: That his fear was truly, as all fear is said to be, a passion, depriving him of the succours which reason offered, the sequell doth manifest. His forsaken Souldiers, being now a headless company, and no longer an Army to be feared, obtained nevertheless a reasonable composition from the *Carthaginians*: to whom they sold those places, whereof they had possession, for nineteen talents. Likewise, *Agathocles* himself, having lost his Army, did nevertheless, by the reputation of this late war, make peace with *Carthage* upon equall termes.

After this, the Tyrant being delivered from forain enemies, discovered his bloudy nature, in most abominable cruelties, among the *Sicilians*. His wants and his fears, urged him so violently, that he was not satisfied with the spoiles of the rich, or the death of those whom he held suspected: but in a beastly rage depopulated whole Cities. He devised new engines of torment; wherein striving to exceed the Bull of *Phalaris*, he made a frame of brass, that should serve to scorch mens bodies, and withall give him leave to behold them in their misery. So devilish is the nature of man, when reason, that should be his guide, is become a slave to his brutish affections. In these mischiefs he was so outragious, that he neither spared Sexe, nor Age; especially, when he was informed of the slaughter of his children in *Africk*. But this was not the way to preserve his estate: it threw him into new dangers. They whom he had chased out of their Country took armes against him, and drave him into such fear, that he was fain to seek the love at *Carthage*, which by ruling well he might have had in *Sicil*. He freely delivered

livered into the *Carthaginians* hands, all those Towns of the *Phœnicians* in *Sicil*, belonging unto them, which were in his possession. They requited him honourably, with great store of corne, and with four hundred talents of gold and silver. So (though not without much trouble & hazard) he prevailed against the Rebels, and setled his estate. Having no further business left in *Sicil*, he made a voyage into *Italy*. There he subdued the *Brutians*, rather by terrour of his name than by any force, for they yeelded at his first comming. This done, he went to the Isle of *Lipara*, and made the Inhabitants buy peace with one hundred talents of gold. But when he had gotten this great summe, he would needs exact a greater; and finding plainly that they had no more left, he was bold to spoyle the Temples of their gods. Herein (me thinks) he did well enough. For how could he beleeve those to be gods, that had continually given deaf ears to his horrible perjuries? Then he returned richly home, with eleven ships loaden with gold: all which, and all the rest of his fleet, were cast away by foul weather at Sea; one Gally excepted, in which he himself escaped, to suffer a more miserable end. A grievous sickness fell upon him, that rotted his whole body, spreading it self through all his veins and sinews. Whilest he lay in this case, all desiring his end, save only *Theogenia* (a wife that he had taken out of *Egypt*) and her small children: his Nephew, the sonne of *Archagathus*, before mentioned, and a younger sonne of his own, began to contend about the Kingdome. Neither did they seek to end the controversie by the old Tyrants decision; they regarded him not so much. But each of them laid wait for the others life: wherein the Nephew sped so well, that he slew his Uncle, and got his grandfathers Kingdome, without asking any leave. These tydings wounded the heart of *Agathocles* with fear and sorrow. He saw himself without help, like to become a prey to his ungracious Nephew, from whom he knew that no favour was to be expected, either by himself, or by those, whom only he now held dear, which were *Theogenia* and her children. Therefore he advised her and them to fly before they were surprised: for that otherwise they could by no means avoid, either death, or somewhat that would be worse. He gave them all his treasures and goods, wherewith he even compelled them (weeping to leave him desolate in so wretched a case) to imbark themselves hastily, and make speed into *Egypt*. After their departure, whether he threw himself into the fire, or whether his disease consumed him, there was none left that cared to attend him; but he ended his life as basely, as obscurely, and in as much want as he first began it.

After the death of *Agathocles* it was, that the *Mamertines*, his Souldiers, traiterously occupied *Messana*, and infested a great part of the Iland. Then also did the *Carthaginians* begin to renew their attempts of conquering all *Sicil*. What the Nephew of *Agathocles* did, I cannot find. Likely it is that he quickly perished. For the *Sicilians* were driven to send for *Pyrrhus* to help them, who had marryed with a daughter of *Agathocles*. But *Pyrrhus* was soon weary of the Country (as hath been shewed before) & therefore left it; prophecying that it would become a goodly champion field, wherein *Rome* and *Carthage* should fight for superiority. In which businesse, how these two great Cities did speed, the order of our story will declare.

§. V.

A recontinuation of the Roman war in Sicil. *How* Hieron, *King of* Syracuse, *forsook the Carthaginians, and made his peace with* Rome.

WHen *Appius Claudius*, following the advantage of his victory gotten at *Messana*, brought the war unto the Gates of *Syracuse*, and besieged that great City; *Hieron* found it high time for him to seek peace: knowing that the *Carthaginians* had neither any reason to be offended with him, for helping himself by what means he could, when they were not in case to give him assistance; and foreseeing withall, that when once he had purchased his quiet from the *Romans*, it would be free for him to sit still, without fear of molestation, whilest *Rome* and *Carthage* were fighting for the mastery. In this good mood the new *Roman* Consuls *M. Valerius*, and *C. Octacilius* found him, and readily embraced the offer of his friendship. Yet they made use

use of their present advantage, and sold him peace for an hundred (some say two hundred) Talents.

These Consuls had brought a great Army into *Sicil*: yet did they nothing else in effect, than bring over *Hiero* to their side. If the *Syracusian* held them busied (which I find not, otherwise than by circumstances, as, by the summe of money imposed upon him, and by their performing none other piece of service) all the whole time of their abode in the Iland; then was his departure from the friendship of *Carthage*, no lesse to his honour than it was to his commodity. For by no reason could they require, that he should suffer his own Kingdome to run into manifest perill of subversion, for their sakes that should have received all the profit of the victory: seeing they did expose him to the whole danger, without straining themselves to give him relief. But the *Carthaginians* had lately made good proof of the strength of *Syracuse*, in the dayes of *Agathocles*: and therefore knew, that it was able to bear a very strong siege. And hereupon it is like that they were the more slack, in sending help: if (perhaps) it were not some part of their desire, that both *Rome* and *Syracuse* should weaken one the other, whereby their owne work might be the easier against them both. Yet indeed, the case of the besieged City was not the same, when the *Romans* lay before it, as it had been when the *Carthaginians* attempted it. For there was great reason to try the uttermost hazard of war against the *Carthaginians*, who sought no other thing than to bring it into slavery: not so against the *Romans*, who thought it sufficient if they could withdraw it from the party of their enemies. Besides, it was not all one to be governed by *Agathocles*, or by *Hiero*. The former of these cared not what the Citizens endured, so long as he might preserve his own tyranny: the latter, as a just and good Prince, had no greater desire than to win the love of his people by seeking their commodity; but including his own felicity within the publick, laboured to uphold both, by honest and faithful dealing. Hereby it came to pass that he enjoyed a long and happy reign, living dear to his own Subjects, beloved of the *Romans*, and not greatly molested by the *Carthaginians*; whom, either the consideration, *That they had left him to himself, ere he left their society*, made unwilling to seek his ruine; or their more earnest businesse with the *Romans*, made unable to compasse it.

§. V. I.

How the Romans *besiege and win* Agrigentum. *Their beginning to maintain a fleet. Their first losse, and first victory by sea. Of sea-fight in generall.*

Hieron, having sided himself with the *Romans*, aideth them with victuals and other necessaries: so that they, presuming upon his assistance, recall some part of their forces. The *Carthaginians* finde it high time to bestirre them; they send to the *Ligurians*, and to the troups they had in *Spain*, to come to their aid; who being arrived, they made the City of *Agrigentum* the seat of the war, against the *Romans*, filling it with all manner of munition.

The *Roman* Consuls, having made peace with *Hieron*, return into *Italy*; and, in their places, *Lucius Posthumus* and *Quintus Mamilius* arrive. They go on towards * *Agrigentum*: and finding no enemy in the field, they besiege it, though it were stuffed with fifty thousand Souldiers. After a while, the time of harvest being come, a part of the *Roman* Army range the Countrey to gather corne, and those at the siege grow negligent; the *Carthaginians* sally furiously, and indanger the *Roman* Army, but are in the end repelled into the town with great losse; but by the smart felt on both sides, the Assailants redoubled their guards, and the besieged kept within their covert. Yet the

* *Agrigentum* was a goodly City, built by the *Grecians*, under conduct of *Antiphemus* & *Pystilus*. The compasse was ten miles about the wals: and it had sometimes in it eight hundred thousand Inhabitants. This City, by reason of the fertility of the soyle, and the neighbour-hood of *Carthage*, grew in a short space from small beginnings, to great glory and riches. The plenty and luxury thereof was so great, as it caused *Empedocles* to say, that the *Agrigentines* built Palaces of such sumptuosity, as if they meant to live for ever; and made such feasts, as if they meant to dye the next day. But their greatest pomp and magnificence, was in their goodly temples, and theatres, water-conduits, & fish-ponds: the ruines whereof at this day are sufficient arguments, that *Rome* it self could never boast of the like. In the Porch of the temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, (by which we may judge of the Temple it self) there was set out on one side the full proportion of the Giants, fighting with the gods, all cut out in polished marble of divers colours; a work the most magnificent and rare that ever hath been seen: on the other side the warre of *Troy*, and the encounters which hapned at that siege; with the personages of the Heroes that were doers in that war; all of the like beautifull stone, and of equall stature to the bodies of those men in ancient times: In comparison of which, the latter works of that kind, are but petty things, and meer trifles. It would require a volume to expresse the magnificence of the Temples of *Hercules*, *Æsculapius*, *Concord*, *Juno Lucina*, *Chastitie*, *Proserpina*, *Castor & Pollux*, wherin the Master-peeces of those exquisite Painters and Carvers *Phidias*, *Zeuxis*, *Myron*, & *Polycletus*, were to be seen. But in processe of time it ran the same fortune that all other great Cities have done, and was ruined by divers calamities of war: whereof this war present brought unto it not the least.

Romans

Romans, the better to assure themselves, cut a deep trench between the wals of the City and their Camp: and another on the out-side thereof; that neither the *Carthaginians* might force any suddenly, by a sally, nor those of the Country without, break upon them unawares: which double defence kept the besieged also from the receiving any relief of victuals, and munitions, whilest the *Syracusian* supplies the assailants with what they want. The besieged send for succour to *Carthage*, after they had been in this sort pent up five moneths. The *Carthaginians* imbark an Army, with certain Elephants, under the command of *Hanno*; who arrives with it at *Heraclea*, to the West of *Agrigentum*. *Hanno* put himself into the field, and surpriseth *Erbesus*, a City wherein the *Romans* had bestowed all their provision. By means hereof, the famine without grew to be as great, as it was within *Agrigentum*; and the *Roman* Camp no lesse straightly assieged by *Hanno*, than the City was by the *Romans*: insomuch, as if *Hieron* had not supplyed them, they had been forced to abandon the siege. But seeing that this distresse was not enough to make them rise, *Hanno* determined to give them battell. To which end departing from *Heraclea*, he makes approach unto the *Roman* Camp. The *Romans* resolve to sustain him, and put themselves in order. *Hanno* directs the *Numidian* horsemen to change the Vantguard, to the end to draw them further on; which done, he commands them to returne as broken, till they came to the body of the Army, that lay shadowed behinde some rising ground. The *Numidians* performe it accordingly; and while the *Romans* pursued the *Numidians*, *Hanno* gives upon them, and having slaughtered many, beats the rest into their Trenches.

After this encounter, the *Carthaginians* made no other attempt for two moneths, but lay strongly encamped, waiting untill some opportunity should invite them. But *Annibal* that was besieged in *Agrigentum*, as well by signs as messengers, made *Hanno* know how ill the extremity which he endured, was able to brook such dilatory courses. *Hanno* thereupon, a second time, provoked the Consuls to fight: But his Elephants being disordered by his own Vantguard, which was broken by the *Romans*, he lost the day: and with such as escaped, he recovered *Heraclea*. *Annibal* perceiving this, and remaining hopelesse of succour, resolved to make his own way. Finding therefore that the *Romans*, after this dayes victory, wearied with labour, and secured by their good fortune, kept negligent watch in the night; he rusht out of the Town, with all the remainder of his Army, and past by the *Roman* camp without resistance. The Consuls persue him in the morning, but in vain: sure they were, that he could not carry the City with him, which with little a-doe the *Romans* entred, and pitifully spoiled. The *Romans*, proud of this victory, pursued rather to follow the direction of their present good fortunes, than their first determinations. They had resolved in the beginning of this War, only to succour the *Mamertines*, and to keep the *Carthaginians* from their own coasts: but now they determine to make themselves Lords of all *Sicil*; and from thence, being favoured with the winde of good successe, to sail over into *Africk*. It is the disease of Kings, of States, and also of private men, to covet the greatest things, but not to enjoy the least; the desire of that which we neither have nor need, taking from us the true use and fruition of what we have already. This curse upon mortall men, was never taken from them since the beginning of the World unto this day.

To prosecute this War, *Lucius Valerius* and *Titus Otacilius*, two new Consuls, are sent into *Sicil*. Whereupon, the *Romans* being Masters of the field, many in-land towns gave themselves unto them. On the contrary, the *Carthaginians* keeping still the Lordship of the Sea, many maritimate places became theirs. The *Romans* therefore, as well to secure their own coasts, often invaded by the *African* fleets, as well to equall themselves in every kind of warfare with their enemies, determine to make a fleet. And herein fortune favoured them with this accident, that being altogether ignorant in ship-wrights craft, a storme of wind thrust one of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, of five banks, to the shore.

Now had the *Romans* a pattern, and by it they began to set up an hundred *Quinqueremes* which were Gallies, rowed by five on every bank; and twenty, of three on a bank: and while these were in preparing, they exercised their men in the feat of rowing. This they did after a strange fashion. They placed upon the Sea-sands

many

many seats, in order of the banks in Gallies, whereon they placed their water men, and taught them to beat the sand with long boares, orderly, and as they were directed by the Master, that so they might learn the stroke of the Gally, and how to mount and draw their Oares.

When their fleet was finished, some rigging and other implements excepted, *C. Cornelius*, one of the new Consuls (for they changed every year) was made Admirall: who being more in love with this new kind of warfare, than well advised, past over to *Messana* with seventeen Gallies, leaving the rest to follow him. There he stayed not, but would needs row along the coast to *Lipara*, hoping to doe some piece of service. *Hannibal* a *Carthaginian* was at the same time Governour in *Panormus*; who being advertised of this new Sea mans arrivall, sent forth one *Boodes*, a Senatour of *Carthage*, with twenty Gallies to entertain him. *Boodes*, falling upon the Consul unawares, took both him and the fleet he commanded. When *Hannibal* received this good newes, together with the *Roman* Gallies, and their Consull; he grew no lesse foolish hardy than *Cornelius* had been. For he, fancying to himself to surprize the rest of the *Roman* fleet, on their own coast, ere they were yet in all points provided; sought them out with a fleet of fifty sail: wherewith falling among them, he was well beaten, and leaving the greater number of his own behinde him, made an hard escape with the rest: for of one hundred and twenty Gallies, the *Romans* under *Cornelius* had lost but seventeen, so as one hundred and three remained, which were not easily beaten by fifty.

The *Romans*, being advertised of *Cornelius* his overthrow, make haste to redeem him, but give the charge of their fleet to his Colleague, *Duilius*. *Duilius*, considering that the *Roman* vessels were heavy and slow, the *African* Gallies having the speed of them, devised a certain Engine in the prow of his Gallies, whereby they might fasten or grapple themselves with their enemies, when they were (as we call it) boord and boord, that is, when they brought the Gallies sides together. This done the weightier ships had gotten the advantage, and the *Africans* lost it. For neither did their swiftnesse serve them, nor their mariners craft; the vessels wherein both Nations fought, being open: so that all was to be carryed by the advantage of weapon, and valour of the men. Besides this, as the heavier Gallies were accidentally likely to crush, and crack the sides of the lighter and weaker, so were they by the reason of their breadth, more steady; and those that best kept their feet, could also best use their hands. The example may be given between one of the long boats of his Majesties great ships, and a *London Barge*.

Certainly, he that will happily perform a fight at Sea, must be skillfull in making choice of Vessels to fight in: he must beleeve, that there is more belonging to a good man of War, upon the waters, than great daring; and must know, that there is a great deal of difference, between fighting loose or at large, and grappling. The Guns of a slow ship pierce as well, and make as great holes, as those in a swift. To clap ships together, without consideration, belongs rather to a mad man, than to a man of war: for by such an ignorant bravery was *Peter Strossie* lost at the *Azores*, when he fought against the *Marquesse of Santa Cruz*. In like sort had the Lord *Charles Howard*, Admirall of *England*, been lost in the year 1588. if he had not been better advised, than a great many malignant fools were, that found fault with his demeanour. The *Spaniards* had an Army aboord them; and he had none: they had more ships than he had, and of higher building and charging; so that, had he intangled himself with those great and powerfull Vessels, he had greatly endangered this Kingdom of *England*. For twenty men upon the defences, are equall to an hundred that boord and enter; whereas then, contrariwise, the *Spaniards* had an hundred, for twenty of ours to defend themselves withall. But our Admirall knew his advantage, & held it: which had he not done, he had not been worthy to have held his head. Here to speak in generall of Sea-fights (for particulars are fitter for private hands than for the Presse,) I say, that a fleet of twenty ships, all good sailers, and good ships, have the advantage, on the open Sea, of an hundred as good ships and of slower sailing. For if the fleet of an hundred sail keep themselves near together, in a grosse squadron; the twenty ships, charging them upon any angle, shall force them to give ground, and to fall back upon their own next fellowes: of which so many as intangle, are made unserviceable or lost. Force them they may easily, because the twenty ships, which give themselves scope, after they have given one broad side of Artillery, by clapping

clapping into the wind, and staying, they may give them the other: and so the twenty ships batter them in pieces with a perpetuall volly; whereas those, that fight in a troup, have no room to turn, and can alwaies use but one and the same beaten side. If the fleet of an hundred sail give themselves any distance, then shall the lesser fleet prevail, either against those that are a-rear and hindmost, or against those, that by advantage of over-sailing their fellowes keep the winde: and if upon a Lee-shore, the ships next the wind be constrained to fall back into their own squadron, then it is all to nothing, the whole fleet must suffer shipwrack, or render it self. That such advantage may be taken upon a fleet of unequall speed, it hath been well enough conceived in old time; as by that Oration of *Hermocrates*, in *Thucydides*, which he made to the *Syracusians*, when the *Athenians* invaded them, it may easily be observed.

Of the Art of War by Sea, I had written a Treatise, for the Lord *Henry*, *Prince of Wales*; a subject, to my knowledge, never handled by any man, ancient or modern: but God hath spared me the labour of finishing it, by his losse; by the losse of that brave Prince; of which, like an Eclipse of the Sun, we shall find the effects hereafter. Impossible it is to equall words and sorrowes; I will therefore leave him in the hands of God that hath him. *Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent.*

But it is now time to return to the beaten *Carthaginians*; who by losing their advantage of swift boats, and boording the *Romans*, have lost fifty sail of their Gallies: as on the other side, their enemies by commanding the Seas, have gotten liberty to sail about the West part of *Sicil*; where they raised the siege layed unto *Segesta* by the *Carthaginians*, and won the Town of *Macella*, with some other places.

§. VII.

Divers enterfeats of warre, between the Romans *and* Carthaginians, *with variable successe. The* Romans *prepare to invade* Africk: *and obtain a great victory at Sea.*

THe victory of *Duilius*, as it was honoured at *Rome*, with the first Navall Triumph, that was ever seen in that City; so gave it unto the *Romans* a great incouragement, to proceed in their wars by Sea; whereby they hoped, not only to get *Sicil*, but all the other Iles between *Italy* and *Africk*, beginning with *Sardinia*, whither soon after they sent a fleet for that purpose. On the contrary side, *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian*, lying in *Panormus*, carefully waited for all occasions, that might help to recompence the late misfortune: and being advertised, that some quarrell was grown between the *Roman* Souldiers, and their Auxiliaries, being such as caused them to incampe apart, he sent forth *Hanno* to set upon them; who taking them unawares, buried four thousand of them in the place. Now during the continuance of the Land-war in *Sicil*, *Hannibal*, who had lately been beaten by Sea, but escaped unto *Carthage*, meaning to make amends for his former errour, obtained the trust of a new fleet, wherewith he arrived at *Sardinia*: the conquest of which Iland, the *Romans* had entertained for their next enterprise. Now it so fell out, that the *Romans*, crossing the Sea from *Sicil*, arrived in the port where *Hannibal* with his new fleet anchored. They set upon him unawares, and took the better part of the fleet which he conducted; himself hardly escaping the danger. But it little availed him to have escaped from the *Romans*. His good friends the *Carthaginians*, were so ill pleased with this his second unfortunate voyage, that they hanged him up for his diligence: for (as it hath been said of old) *Non est bis in bello peccare*; *In war it is too much to offend twice.*

After this, it was long ere any thing of importance was done by the Consuls, till * *Panormus* was besieged: where, when the *Romans* had sought in vain to draw the *Cartha-*

* If we may give credit to Antiquities, which *Fazellus* a diligent writer, hath left us in his history of Sicil: *Panormus*, now called *Palermo*, is one of the first cities that hath been built in all *Europe*. For whereas *Thucydides* seems to make it a Colonie of the *Phœnicians*; *Ranzonus*, in libello de *Panormo lib.* 6. affirmes that it was first and long before the time which *Thucydides* set down founded by the *Chaldæans*, & *Damascenes*. To prove which he tels us of two inscripions upon marble in the *Hebrew* Character found at *Panormus* in the time of *William* the second, King of *Sicil*, that were then beheld of all the Citizens & other strangers, which being translated into Latine, say as followeth; *Vivente Isaac filio Abrahæ, & regnante in Idumea, atque in valle Damascene, Esau filio Isaac, ingens Hebræorum manus, quibus adjuncti sunt multi Damasceni, atque Phœnices, profecti inhanc triangularem insulam sedes perpetuas locaverunt in hoc amœnissimo loco, quem Panormum nominaverunt.* In the other marble are found these words; *Non est alius Deus præter unum Deum; non est alius potens præter eundem Deum, &c. Hujus Turris Præfectus est Saphu filius Eliphaz, filii Esau fratris Jacob filii Isaac, filii Abraham: & Turris quidem ipsi nomen est Beythsed. Turri huic proximæ nomen est Pharah.* And this inscription (saith *Fazellus*) was found intire in the Castle *Beych*, in the year 1534. Now whether these inscriptions were truly as ancient, as these men beleeve they were, I leave every man to his own faith. But that the City was of aged times, it appears by *Thucydides*, who affirmeth; when the Greeks past first into *Sicil*, that then the *Phœnicians* inhabited *Panormus*: which certain it is they did in the first *Punick* war; wherein the *Carthaginians*, who were *Phœnicians*, from whom the *Romans* (*A. Aquilius*, and *C. Cornelius*, commanding this Army) took it. And when *Marcellus* besieged *Syracuse*, it sent him in aid 3000 Souldiers. But it was rather confederate, than subject to the *Romans*. For *Cicero* against *Verres*, names it among the free cities of *Sicil*. After *Syracuse* destroyed, it became the first city and Regall seat, as well of the *Goths* and *Saracens* in that Iland, as of the Emperours of *Constantinople*; of the *Normans*, *French*, and *Arragonians*, which honour it holds this day, and is much frequented, for the excellent wine which growes about it.

ginians

ginians into the field; being unable to force that great City, because of the strong Garrison therein bestowed: they then departed from thence, and took certain In-land Towns, as *Mytistratum*, *Enna*, *Camerina*, *Hippana*, and others, between *Panormus* and *Messana*.

The year following, *C. Atilius* the Consull who commanded the *Roman* fleet, discovered a company of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, ranging the coast: &, not staying for his whole number, pursued them with ten of his. But he was well beaten for the hast he made, and lost all, save the Gally which transported him: wherein himself escaped with great labour. But ere all was done, the rest of *Atilius* his fleet was gotten up: who renewing the fight, recovered from the *Carthaginians* a double number of theirs; by which the victory remaining doubtfull, both challenge it. Now to try at once, which of these two Nations should command the Seas, they both prepare all they can. The *Romans* make a fleet of three hundred and thirty Gallies; the *Carthaginians*, of three hundred and fifty, * *Triremes*, *Quadriremes*, and *Quinqueremes*.

The *Romans* resolve to transport the war into *Africk*, the *Carthaginians*, to arrest them on the coast of *Sicil*. The numbers, with which each of them filled their fleet, was (perhaps) the greatest that ever fought on the waters. By *Polybius* his estimation, there were in the *Roman* Gallies an hundred and forty thousand men; and in those of *Carthage*, an hundred and fifty thousand: reckoning one hundred and twenty Souldiers, and three hundred rowers to every Gally, one with the other. The *Roman* fleet was divided into four parts, of which the three first made the form of a Wedge or Triangle; the two first squadrons making the Flanks, and the third squadron, the Base: the point thereof (wherein were the two Consuls as Admirals) looking toward the enemy, and the middle space lying empty. Their Vessels of carriage were towed by the third squadron. After all came up the fourth, in forme of a *Crescent*; very well manned, but exceeding thin: so that the hornes of it incloséd all the third squadron, together with the corner of the first and second. The order of the *Carthaginian* fleet I cannot conceive by relation; but, by the manner of the fight afterwards, I conjecture, that the front of their fleet was thin, and stretched in a great length, much like to that which the *French* call *Combat en haye*, a long front of horse, and thin: which forme, since the Pistoll prevailed over the Lance, they have changed. Behinde this first outstretched front, their Battalions were more solid: for *Amilcar*, Admirall of the *Carthaginians* had thus ordered them, of purpose, (his Gallies having the speed of the *Romans*) that, when the first fleet of the *Romans* hasted to break through the first Gallies, they should all turn tail, and the *Romans* pursuing them (as after a victory) disorder themselves, and, for eagernesse of taking the Run-awayes, leave their own three squadrons far behind them. For so it must needs fall out; seeing that the third squadron towed their horse boats, and victuallers; and the fourth had the Rearward of all. According to *Amilcars* direction it succeeded. For when the *Romans* had charged, and broken the thin front of the *Carthaginian* first fleet, which ran away, they forthwith gave after them with all speed possible, not so much as looking behind them for the second squadron. Hereby the *Romans* were drawn near unto the body of the *Carthaginian* fleet, led by *Amilcar*, and by him (at the first) received a great losse, untill their second squadron came up, which forced *Amilcar* to betake him to his Oares. *Hanno* also who commanded the right wing of the *Carthaginian* fleet, invaded the *Roman* Rearward, and prevailed against them. But *Amilcar* being beaten off, *Marcus Atilius* fell back to their succour, and put the *Carthaginians* to their heels; as not able to sustain both squadrons. The Rear being relieved, the Consuls came to the aid of their third Battalion, which towed the victuallers, which was also in great danger of being beaten by the *Africans*: but the Consuls, joyning their squadrons to it, put the *Carthaginians* on that part also to running.

This victory fell unto the *Romans*, partly by the hardinesse of their Souldiers; but principally, for that *Amilcar*, being first beaten, could never after joyne himself unto any of his other squadrons, that remained, as yet in a fair likelihood of prevailing, so long as they fought upon equall termes, and but squadron to squadron. But *Amilcar* forsaking the fight, thereby left a full fourth part of the *Romane* fleet uningaged, and ready to give succour to any of the other parts that were oppreſt. So as in conclusion, the *Romans* got the honour of the day: for they lost but four and twenty of theirs; whereas

* The *Quinquiremes* are Gallies, wherein every Oare hath five men to draw it: the *Quadriremes* had four to an Oare: and the *Triremes*, three. Some have thought, that the *Quinqueremes* had five ranks of Oars, one over another; and the other Gallies (raueably) fewer. But had this been so, they must then have had five decks each over other: which hath seldome been seen in ships of a thousand tuns, neither could the third, fourth, & fift ranks, have reached unto the water with the Oares.

whereas the *Africans* loſt thirty that were ſunk, and threeſcore and three that were taken.

Now, if *Amilcar*, who had more Gallies than the *Romans*, had alſo divided his fleet into four ſquadrons, (beſides thoſe that he ranged in the front to draw on the enemies, and to ingage them) and that, whileſt he himſelf fought with one ſquadron that charged him, all the reſt of the enemies fleet had been at the ſame time entertained, he had prevailed: but the ſecond ſquadron, being free, came to the reſcue of the firſt, by which *Amilcar* was oppreſt: and *Amilcar*, being oppreſt and ſcattered, the Conſuls had good leiſure to relieve both the third and the fourth ſquadron, and got the victory.

Charles the fift, among other his Precepts to *Philip* the ſecond his ſonne, where he adviſeth him concerning War againſt the *Turkes*, tels him, that in all battels between them and the *Chriſtians*, he ſhould never fail to charge the *Janiſars* in the beginning of the fight, & to ingage them at once with the reſt. For (ſaith he) the *Janiſars*, who are alwaies reſerved intire in the Rear of the battell, and in whom the *Turke* repoſeth his greateſt confidence; come up in a groſs body, when all the troups on both ſides are disbanded and in confuſion; whereby they carry the victory before them without reſiſtance. By the ſame order of fight, and reſervation, did the *Romans* alſo prevail againſt other Nations. For they kept their *Triarii* in ſtore (who were the choice of their Army) for the up-ſhot and laſt blow. A great and victorious advantage it hath ever been found, to keep ſome one or two good troups to look on, when all elſe are disbanded and ingaged.

§. VIII.

The Romans *prevail in* Africk. Atilius *the Conſul propoundeth intolerable conditions of peace to the* Carthaginians. *He is utterly beaten, and made priſoner.*

NOw the *Romans*, according to their former reſolution, after they had repaired and re-victualled their fleet, ſet ſail for *Africa*, and arrived at the *Promontory* of *Hercules*, a great Head-land, ſomewhat to the Eaſt of the Port of *Carthage*, and ſome forty leagues from *Heraclea* in *Sicil*, where *Amilcar* himſelf as yet ſtaid. From this Head-land (leaving the entrance into *Carthage*) they coaſted the Eaſt-ſide of the *Promontory*, till they came to *Clypea*, a Town about fifty *Engliſh* mile from it. There they diſ-embarked, and prepared to beſiege *Clypea*; which, to eaſe them of labour, was yeelded unto them. Now had they a Port of their own on *Africa* ſide; without which all invaſions are fooliſh. By this time were the *Africans* alſo arrived at their own *Carthage*, fearing that the *Roman* fleet and army had directed themſelves thither: but being advertiſed that they had taken *Clypea*, they made proviſions of all ſorts, both by Sea and Land, for their defence. The *Romans* ſend to *Rome* for directions, and in the mean while waſte all round about them. The order given from the Senate, was, That one of the Conſuls ſhould remain with the Army, and that the other ſhould returne, with the fleet into *Italy*. According to this direction, *Manlius* the Conſul is ſent home to *Rome*; whither he carryed with him twenty thouſand *African* Captains, with all the *Roman* fleet and Army; except forty ſhips, fifteen thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, that were left with *Atilius*.

With theſe forces, *Regulus* eaſily wan ſome Towns and places that were unwalled, and laid ſiege to others. But he performed no great matter, before he came to *Adis*. Yet I hold it worthy of relation, that near unto the River of *Bagrada*, he encountred with a Serpent of one hundred and twenty foot long, which he ſlue, not without loſſe of many Souldiers, being driven to uſe againſt it ſuch engines of war, as ſerved properly for the aſſaulting of Towns. At *Adis* he met with the *Carthaginian* Army, whereof the Captains were *Hanno* and *Boſtar*, together with *Amilcar*, who had brought over out of *Sicil* five thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe to ſuccour his Country. Theſe (belike) had an intent, rather to weary him out of *Africa*, by wary protraction of time, than to undergoe the hazard of a main fight. They were carefull to hold themſelves free, from neceſſity of comming to blowes: yet had they a great deſire, to ſave the Town of *Adis* out of his hands. Intending therefore to follow their generall purpoſe, and yet to diſturbe him in the ſiege of *Adis*, they incampe neer unto him, and

ſtrongly

strongly (as they think) on the top of an hill: but thereby they lose the services, both of their *Elephants*, and of their horse-men. This disadvantage of theirs, *Regulus* discovers, and makes use of it. He assails them in their strength, which they defend a while, but in fine the *Romans* prevail, and force them from the place, taking the spoile of their camp. Following this their good fortune at the heels, they proceed to * *Tunis* a City within sixteen miles of *Carthage*, which they assault and take.

By the losse of this battail at *Adis*, and more especially by the losse of *Tunis*, the *Carthaginians* were greatly dismayed. The *Numidians*, their next Neighbours towards the West, insult upon their misfortunes; invade, and spoil their Territory, and force those that inhabite abroad, to forsake their villages and fields, and to hide themselves within the wals of *Carthage*. By reason hereof, a great famine at hand threatens the Citizens. *Atilius* findes his own advantage, and assures himself that the City could not long hold out: yet he feared lest it might defend it self, untill his time of Office, that was near expired, should be quite run out, whereby the new Consuls were like to reap the honour of obtaining it. Ambition therefore, that hath no respect but to it self, perswades him to treat of peace with the *Carthaginians*. But he propounded unto them so unworthy and base conditions, as thereby their hearts, formerly possessed with fear, became now so courageous and disdainfull, that they resolved, either to defend their liberty, or die to the last man. To strengthen this their resolution, there arrived at the same time a great troup of *Greeks*, whom they had formerly sent to entertain. Among these was a very expert Souldier, named *Xantippus*, a *Spartan*: who being informed of what had passed, and of the overthrow which the *Carthaginians* received neer unto *Adis*, gave it out publickly; that the same was occasioned by default of the Commanders, and not of the Nation. This bruite, ran till it came to the Senate; *Xantippus* is sent for; gives the reason of his opinion; and in conclusion, being made Generall of the *African* forces, he puts himself into the field. The Army which he led, consisted of no more than twelve thousand foot, and four thousand horse, with an hundred Elephants. No greater were the forces wherewith the *Carthaginians* fought for all that they had, Liberties, Lives, Goods, Wives, and Children: which might well make it suspected, that the Armies by Sea, before spoken of, were mis-numbred; the one consisting of an hundred and forty thousand, and the other of an hundred and fifty thousand: were it not commonly found that they which use the service of mercenary Souldiers, are stronger abroad, than at their own doors.

* This city was taken from the Turks by *Charles* the fift in the year 1536. and was one of the three Keyes, which he gave in charge to *Philip* the second his son to keep safe; to wit, this *Tunis*, the Key of *Africa*: *Flushing*, the Key of the *Netherlands*: and *Kadez*, the Key of *Spain*. But two of these *Philip* so lost, that he never found them again; the third, our *Englishmen* were bold, in the time of the renowned Queen *Elizabeth*, to wring out of his hands: where we staid not to pick any lock, but brake open the doors, and having rifled all, threw it into the fire.

Xantippus, taking the field with this Army, marched directly towards the *Romans*; and ranging his troups upon fair and levell ground, fittest both for his Elephants and Horse, presented them battell. The *Romans* wondred much, whence this new courage of their enemies might grow: but confident they were, that it should soon bee abated. Their chief care was, how to resist the violence of the Elephants. Against them they placed the *Velites*, or light-armed Souldiers, as a *forlorne hope*; that these might, either with darts and other casting weapons, drive back the beasts upon the enemies, or at least break their violence, and hinder them from rushing freely upon the Legions. To the same end, they made their battails deeper in file, than they had been accustomed to do. By which means, as they were the lesse subject unto the impression of the Elephants; so were they so much the more exposed unto the violence of horse, wherein the enemy did far exceed them. The Elephants were placed by *Xantippus*, all in one rank, before his Army; which followed them at a reasonable distance: his horsemen, and some light-armed foot, of the *Carthaginians Auxiliaries*, were in the wings. The first onset was given by the Elephants, against which the *Velites* were so unable to make resistance, that they brake into the battalions following, and put them into some disorder. In this case, the depth of the *Roman* battail was helpfull. For when the beasts had spent their force, in piercing through a few of the first ranks; the squadrons nevertheless persisted in their order, without opening. But the *Carthaginian* horse, having at the first encounter, by reason of their advantage in number, driven those of *Atilius* out of the field, began to charge the *Roman* battalions in flank, and put them in great distress; who being forced to turn face every way, could neither pass forward nor yet retire; but had very much adoe to make good the ground whereon they stood. In the mean while, such of the *Romans*, as had escaped the fury of the Elephants, and left them at their backs,

fell upon the *Carthaginian* Army, that met them in very good array. It was no even match. The one were a disordered Company, wearyed with labour and hurt; the other, fresh, and well prepared, to have dealt with the enemy upon equall termes. Here was therefore a greater slaughter with little fight; the *Romans* hastily recoyled to the body of their Army, which being surrounded with the enemy, and spent with travail, fell all to rout, upon the defeat of these troups, that open the way to a generall overthrow. So the *Carthaginians* obtained a full victory; destroying the whole *Roman* Army, save two thousand, and taking five hundred prisoners, together with *Atilius* the Consull. Of their own they lost no more than eight hundred Mercenaries, which were slain, when the fight began, by two thousand of the *Romans*: that wheeling about to avoid the Elephants, bare down all before them; and made way even to the *Carthaginian* trenches. These were the two thousand that escaped, when the whole Army behinde them was routed. All the rest were either taken or slain. Hereby fortune made the *Romans* know, that they were no less her vassals, than were the *Carthaginians*: how insolent soever they had been in their proposition of peace, as if they had purchased from her the inheritance of their prosperity, which she never gave nor sold to any mortall man. With what joy these newes were welcommed, when they came to *Carthage*, we may easily conjecture; and what great things the vertue of one man hath often brought to pass in the world, there are many examples to prove, no less than this of *Xantippus*: all of them confirming that sentence of *Eurypides*, *Mens una sapiens, plurium vincit manus*; *Many mens hands equall not one wise minde.*

After this great service done to the *Carthaginians*, *Xantippus*, returned into *Greece*; whether for that he was more envyed than honoured, or for what other cause, it is unknown.

The death of *Atilius Regulus* the Consull, was very memorable. He was sent from *Carthage* to *Rome*, about the exchange & ransome of prisoners on both sides: giving his faith to return if the busines were not effected. When he came to *Rome*, and plainly saw that his Country should lose by the bargain: so far was he from urging the Senate unto compassion of his own misery, that he earnestly perswaded to have the prisoners in *Africk* left to their ill destinies. This done, he returned to *Carthage*: where for his pains taken, he was rewarded with an horrible death. For this his constancy and faith, all Writers highly extoll him. But the *Carthaginians* seem to have judged him an obstinate and malicious enemy, that neither in his prosperity would hearken to reason, nor yet in his calamity would have the naturall care, to preserve himself and others, by yeelding to such an office of humanity, as is common in all wars (not grounded upon deadly hatred) only in regard of some small advantage. Whatsoever the *Carthaginians* thought of him; sure it is, that his faithfull observance of his word given, cannot be too much commended. But that grave speech, which he made in the Senate, against the exchange of prisoners, appears, in all reason, to have proceeded from a vain-glorious forwardnesse, rather than from any necessity of State. For the Exchange was made soon after his death; wherein the *Romans* had the worse bargain, by so much as *Regulus* himself was worth. As for the authority of all Historians, that magnifie him in this point; we are to consider, that they lived under the *Roman* Empire: *Philinus*, the *Carthaginian*, perhaps did censure it otherwise. Yet the death which he suffered with extreme torments, could not be more grievous to him than it was dishonourable to *Carthage*. Neither do I think that the *Carthaginians* could excuse themselves herein; otherwise than by recrimination: saying, That the *Romans* deserved to be no better intreated, for as much as it was their ordinary practice to use others in the like sort. Cruelty doth not become more warrantable, but rather more odious, by being customary. It was the *Roman* fashion, to whip almost to death, and then to behead, the Captains of their enemies whom they took, yea although they were such as had alwayes made fair wars with them. Wherefore it seems not meet, in reason, that they should cry out against the like tyrannicall insolency in others, as if it were lawfull only in themselves.

The consideration both of this misfortune, that rewarded the pride of *Atilius* his intolerable demands; and of the sudden valour, whereinto the *Carthaginians* fear was changed by meer desperation; cals to remembrance, the like insolency of others in prosperity, that hath bred the like resolution in those, to whom all reasonable grace hath been

been denyed. In ſuch caſes I never hold it impertinent, to adde unto one, more teſtimonies; approving the true rules, from which our paſſions carry us away.

In the year 1378. the *Genowaies* won ſo faſt upon the *Venetians*, as they not only drave their Gallies out of the Sea, but they brought their own fleet within two miles of *Venice* it ſelf. This bred ſuch an amazement in the Cities of *Venice*, that they offered unto the *Genowaies* (their ſtate reſerved) whatſoever they would demand. But *Peter Doria*, blown up with many former victories, would hearken to no compoſition; ſave the yeelding of their City and State to his diſcretion. Hereupon the *Venetians*, being filled with diſdain, thruſt out to Sea with all their remaining power, and aſſail *Doria* with ſuch deſperate fury, that they break his fleet, kill *Doria* himſelf, take nineteen of his *Gallies*, fourſcore boats of *Padoa*, and four thouſand priſoners, recover *Chiozza*, and all the places taken from them; and following their victory, enter the Port of *Genoa*, enforcing the *Genowaies* baſely to beg peace, to their extream diſhonour and diſadvantage, being beaten; which, being victorious, they might have commanded, to their greateſt honour and advantage. The like hapned to the Earl of *Flanders*, in the year 1380. when having taken a notable, and withall an over-cruell revenge upon the *Gantois*, he refuſed mercy to the reſt, who in all humility, ſubmitting themſelves to his obedience, offered their City, goods, and eſtates, to be diſpoſed at his pleaſure. This when he had unadviſedly refuſed, and was reſolved to extinguiſh them utterly; they iſſue out of their City with five thouſand choſen men, and armed with a deſperate reſolution, they charge the Earl, break his Army, enter *Bruges (pell-mell)* with his vanquiſhed followers; and enforce him to hide himſelf under an heap of ſtraw, in a poor cottage; out of which with great difficulty he eſcaped, and ſaved himſelf. Such are the fruits of Inſolency.

§. IX.

How the affairs of Carthage proſpered after the victory againſt Atilius: *How the* Romans, *having loſt their fleet by tempeſt, reſolve to forſake the Seas: The great advantages of a good fleet in warre, between Nations divided by the Sea.*

BY the reputation of this late victory, all places that had been loſt in *Africk*, returne to the obedience of *Carthage*. Only *Clypea* ſtands out; before which the *Carthaginians* ſit down, and aſſail it, but in vain: For the *Romans*, hearing of the loſſe of *Atilius*, with their forces in *Africk*, and withall, that *Clypea* was beſieged, make ready a groſs Army, and tranſport it in a fleet of three hundred and fifty Gallies, commanded by *M. Æmilius*, and *Ser. Fulvius*, their Conſuls. At the *Promontory* of *Mercurie*, two hundred *Carthaginian* Gallies, ſet out of purpoſe, upon the bruit of their comming, encounter them: but greatly to their coſt. For the *Romans* took by force an hundred and fourteen of their fleet, and drew them after them to *Clypea*; where they ſtaid no longer, than to take in their own men that had been beſieged: and this done, they made amain toward *Sicil*, in hope to recover all that the *Carthaginians* held therein. In this haſty voyage they deſpiſe the advice of the Pilots, who pray them to find harbour in time, for that the ſeaſon threatned ſome violent ſtormes, which ever hapned between the riſing of *Orion*, and of the * *Dog-ſtarre*. Now although the Pilots of the *Roman* fleet had thus fore-warned them of the weather at hand, and certified them withall, that the South coaſt of *Sicil* had no good Ports, wherein to ſave themſelves upon ſuch an accident: yet this victorious Nation was perſwaded, that the wind and ſeas feared them no leſſe, than did the *Africans*; and that they were able to conquer the Elements themſelves. So refuſing to ſtay within ſome Port, as they were adviſed, they would needs put out to Sea; thinking a matter much helping their reputation, after this victory againſt the *Carthaginian* fleet, to take a few worthleſs Towns upon the coaſt. The mercileſs winds in the mean while overtake them, and neer unto *Camerina*, overturn and thruſt headlong on the rocks, all but fourſcore

* There is no part of the World, which hath not ſome certain times of outragious weather beſide their accidental ſtormes. Wee have upon our coaſt a Michaelmas ſtaw that ſeldome or never failes: In the weſt *Indies*, in the moneths of *Auguſt* and *September*, thoſe moſt forcible winds, which the *Spaniards* call the *Nortes*, or North winds, are very fearfull: and therefore they that navigate in thoſe parts, take harbor till thoſe moneths take end. *Charles* the fift being as ill adviſed, in paſſing the Seas towards *Algire*, in the Winter quarter contrary to the counſell of *A. Doria*; as he was in like unſeaſonable times to continue his ſiege before *Metz* in *Lorraine*, loſt an hundred and forty ſhips by tempeſt, and fifteen Gallies, with all in effect in them, of men, victuallers, horſes, and munition: a loſſe no leſſe great, than his retrait, both from before the one and the other, was extreme diſhonourable.

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of three hundred and forty ships: so as their former great victory was devoured by the Seas, before the fame thereof recovered *Rome*.

The *Carthaginians*, hearing what had hapned, repair all their warlike vessels hoping once again to command the Seas: they are also as confident of their land-forces since the overthrow of *Atilius*. They send *Asdrubal* into *Sicil* with all their old Souldiers, and an hundred and forty Elephants imbarqued in two hundred Gallies. With this Army and fleet he arrives at *Lilybæum*; where he begins to vexe the *Partisans* of *Rome*. But adversity doth not discourage the *Romans*: They build in three moneths (a matter of great note) one hundred and twenty ships; with which, & the remainder of their late shipwrack, they row to *Panormus*, or *Palerma*, the chief City of the *Africans* in *Sicil*, and surround it by Land and Water: after a while they take it, and leaving a Garrison therein, return to *Rome*.

Very desirous the *Romans* were to be doing in *Africk*: to which purpose they imploied *C. Servilius*, and *C. Sempronius*, their Consuls. But these wrought no wonders. Some spoil they made upon the coasts of *Africk*: but Fortune robbed them of all their gettings. For in their return, they were first set upon the sands, and like to have perished, neer unto the lesser *Syrtes*, where they were fain to heave all over-boord, that so they might get off: then, having with much adoe doubled the Cape of *Lilybæum*, in their passage from *Panormus* towards *Italy*, they lost an hundred and fifty of their ships by foul weather. A greater discouragement never Nation had; the god of the wars favoured them no more, than the god of the waters afflicted them. Of all that *Mars* enricht them with upon the Land, *Neptune* robbed them upon the Seas. For they had now lost, besides what they lost in fight, four hundred and six Ships and Gallies, with all the munition and Souldiers transported in them.

The exceeding damage hereby received, perswaded them to give over their Navigation, and their fight by Sea, and to send only a Land-army into *Sicil*, under *L. Cæcilius*, and *F. Furius*, their Consuls. These they transport in some threescore ordinary passage boats, by the straights of *Messana*, that are not above a mile and a half broad from land to land. In like sort, the overthrow which *Atilius* received in *Africa*, occasioned chiefly by the Elephants, made them lesse cholerick against the *Carthaginians*, than before; so that for two years after, they kept the high and woody grounds, not daring to fight in the fair and champion Countries. But this late resolution of forsaking the Seas lasted not long. For it was impossible for them to succour those places which they held in *Sicil*, without a Navie, much lesse to maintain the war in *Africa*. For whereas the *Romans* were to send forces from *Messana* to *Egesta*, to *Lilybæum*, and to other places in the extreme West parts of *Sicil*, making sometimes a march of above an hundred and forty *English* mile by land, which could not be performed without an Army, & the provisions that follow it, in lesse than fourteen dayes; the *Carthaginians* would passe it with their Gallies, in eight and forty hours.

An old example we have, of that great advantage of transporting Armies by water, between *Canutus*, and *Edmond Ironside*. For *Canutus*, when he had entred the *Thames* with his Navie and Army, and could not prevaile against *London*, suddenly imbarqued; and sailed to the West, landed in *Dorset-shire*, so drawing *Edmond* and his Army thither. There finding ill entertainment, he again shipt his men, and entred the *Severne*, making *Edmond* to march after him, to the succour of *Worcester-shire*, by him greatly spoyled. But when he had *Edmond* there, he sailed back again to *London*: by means whereof, he both wearied the King, and spoiled where he pleased, ere succour could arrive. And this was not the least help, which the *Netherlands* have had against the *Spaniards*, in the defence of their liberty, that being Masters of the Sea, they could passe their Army from place to place, unwearyed, and entire, with all the Munition and Artillery belonging unto it, in the tenth part of the time, wherein their enemies have been able to doe it. Of this, an instance or two. The Count *Maurice* of *Nassau*, now living, one of the greatest Captains, and of the worthiest Princes, that either the present or preceding Ages have brought forth, in the year 1590. carryed his Army by Sea, with forty Canons, to *Breda*: making countenance either to besiege *Boisleduc*, or *Gertreviden Berg*; which the enemy (in prevention) filled with Souldiers, and victuals. But as soon as the wind served, he suddenly set sail, arriving in the mouth of the *Menze*, turned up the *Rhine*, and thence to *Yssell*, and sate down before *Zutphen*. So before the *Spaniards* could

could march over-land round about *Holland*, above fourscore mile, and over many great Rivers, with their Cannon and carriage, *Zutphen* was taken. Again, when the *Spanish* Army had overcome this wearisome march, and were now far from home, the Prince *Maurice*, making countenance to sail up the *Rhine*, changed his course in the night; and sailing down the stream, he was set down before *Hulst* in *Brabant*, ere the *Spaniards* had knowledge what was become of him. So this Town he also took, before the *Spanish* Army could return. Lastly, the *Spanish* Army was no sooner arrived in *Brabant*, than the Prince *Maurice*, well attended by his good fleet, having fortified *Hulst*, set sail again, and presented himself before *Nymegen* in *Gelders*, a City of notable importance, and mastered it.

And to say the truth, it is impossible for any maritime Countrey, not having the coasts admirably fortified, to defend it self against a powerfull enemy, that is master of the Sea. Hereof I had rather, that *Spain* than *England* should be an example. Let it therefore be supposed, that King *Philip* the second had fully resolved to hinder Sir *John Norris* in the year 1589. from presenting *Don Antonio*, King of *Portugale*, before the gates of *Lysborne*; and that he would have kept off the *English*, by power of his land-forces; as being too weak at Sea, through the great overthrow of his mighty *Armado*, by the fleet of Queen *Elizabeth*, in the year foregoing. Surely, it had not been hard for him, to prepare an Army, that should be able to resist our eleven thousand. But where should this his Army have been bestowed? If about *Lisborne*; then would it have been easie unto the *English*, to take, ransack, and burn the Town of *Croin*, and to waste the Countrey round about it. For the great and threatning preparations of the Earle of *Altemira*, the Marquesse of *Seralba*, and others, did not hinder them from performing all this. Neither did the hasty levy of eight thousand under the Earle of *Andrada*, serve to more effect, than the increase of honour to Sir *John Norris*, and his Associates: considering that the *English* charged these, at *Puente de Burgos*, and passing the great Bridge, behinde which they lay, that was flanked with shot, and barricadoed at the further end, routed them, took their campe; took their Generals standard with the Kings Armes, and pursued them over all the Countrey, which they fired. If a Royall Army, and not (as this was) a Company of private adventurers, had thus begun the war in *Galicia*; I think it would have made the *Spaniards* to quit the guard of *Portugale*, and make haste to the defence of their St. *Jago*, whose Temple was not far from the danger. But, had they held their first resolution; as knowing, that Sir *John Norris* his main intent was, to bring *Don Antonio*, with an Army, into his Kingdome, whither comming strong, he expected to be readily and joyfully welcomed: could they have hindred his landing in *Portugale*? Did not he land and *Penicha*, and march over the Country to *Lysborne*, six dayes journey? Did not he (when all *Don Antonio* his promises failed) passe along by the River of *Lysborne* to *Cascaliz*, and there, having won the Fort, quietly imbarque his men, and depart? But these, though no more than an handfull, yet were they *Englishmen*. Let us consider of the matter it self; what another Nation might doe, even against *England*, in landing an Army, by advantage of a fleet, if we had none. This question, *Whether an invading Army may be resisted at their landing upon the coast of England, were there no fleet of ours at the Sea to impeach it*; is already handled by a learned Gentleman of our Nation, in his observations upon *Cæsars* Commentaries, that maintains the affirmative. This he holds only upon supposition; *in absence of our shipping*: and comparatively, as that it is a more safe and easie course, to defend all the coast of *England*, than to suffer any enemy to land, and afterwards to fight with him. Surely I hold with him, that it is the best way, to keep our enemy from treading upon our ground; wherein, if we fail, then must we seek to make him wish, that he had stayed at his owne home. In such a case, if it should happen, our judgements are to weigh many particular circumstances, that belong not unto this discourse. But making the question generall, and positive, *Whether England, without help of her fleet, be able to debarre an enemy from landing*; I hold that it is unable so to do: and therefore I think it most dangerous to make the adventure. For the incouragement of a first victory to an enemy, and the discouragement of being beaten to the invaded, may draw after it a most perillous consequence.

It is true, that the Marshall *Monluc*, in his Commentaries, doth greatly complain, that by his wanting forces, wherewith to have kept the frontier of *Guyenne*, they of the *Protestant*

Proteſtant Religion, after the battail of *Moncontour*, entred that Country, and gathered great ſtrength and relief thence; for if the King (ſaith he) would have given me but reaſonable means, *j'euſſe bien gardé à Monſieur l' Admiral de faire boire ſes Chevaux en la Garonne*; *I would have kept the Admiral from watering his horſes in the River of Garonne*. *Monſieur de Langey*, on the contrary ſide, prefers the not fighting upon a frontier with an invading enemy, & commends the delay; which courſe the Conſtable of *France* held againſt the Emperour *Charles*, when he invaded *Provence*. Great difference I know there is, and a diverſe conſideration to be had, between ſuch a countrey as *France* is, ſtrengthened with many fortified places; and this of ours, where our Rampars are but of the bodies of men. And it was of invaſions upon firm land, that theſe great Captaines ſpake: whoſe entrances cannot be uncertain. But our queſtion is of an Army to be tranſported over Sea, and to be landed again in an enemies countrey, and the place left to the choice of the invader. Hereunto I ſay, That ſuch an Army cannot be reſiſted on the coaſt of *England*, without a fleet to impeach it; no, nor on the coaſt of *France*, or any other Countrey: except every Creek, Port, or ſandy Bay, had a powerfull Army, in each of them, to make oppoſition. For let his whole ſuppoſition be granted; That *Kent* is able to furniſh twelve thouſand foot, and that thoſe twelve thouſand be layed in the three beſt landing places within that Countrey, to wit, three thouſand at *Margat*, three thouſand at the *Neſſe*, and ſix thouſand at *Folkſton*, that is ſomewhat equally diſtant from them both; as alſo that two of theſe troups (unleſſe ſome other order bethought more fit) be directed to ſtrengthen the third, when they ſhall ſee the enemies fleet to bend towards it: I ſay, that notwithſtanding this proviſion, if the enemy, ſetting ſail from the Iſle of *Wight*, in the firſt watch of the night, and towing their long boats at their ſternes, ſhall arrive by dawne of day at the *Neſſe*, and thruſt their Army on ſhore there; it will be hard for thoſe three thouſand that are at *Margat*, (twenty and four long miles from thence) to come time enough to re-enforce their fellowes at the *Neſſe*. Nay, how ſhall they at *Foulkſton* be able to doe it, who are nearer by more than half the way? ſeeing that the enemy, at his firſt arrivall, will either make his entrance by force, with three or four hundred ſhot of great Artillery, and quickly put the firſt three thouſand, that were intrenched at the *Neſſe*, to run; or elſe give them ſo much to doe, that they ſhall be glad to ſend for help to *Foulkſton*, and perhaps to *Margat*: whereby thoſe places will be left bare. Now let us ſuppoſe, that all the twelve thouſand *Kentiſh* Souldiers arrive at the *Neſſe*, ere the enemy can be ready to diſ-embarque his Army, ſo that he ſhall finde it unſafe, to land in the face of ſo many, prepared to withſtand him; yet muſt we beleeve, that he will play the beſt of his own game; and (having liberty to go which way he liſt) under covert of the night, ſet ſail towards the Eaſt, where what ſhall hinder him to take ground, either at *Margat*, the *Downes*, or elſewhere, before they at the *Neſſe* can be well aware of his departure? Certainly, there is nothing more eaſie than to do it. Yea the like may be ſaid of *Waymouth*, *Purbecke*, *Poole*, and of all landing places on the South Coaſt. For there is no man ignorant, that ſhips, without putting themſelves out of breath, will eaſily out-run the Souldiers that coaſt them. *Les Armees ne volent point en poſte*; *Armies neither flye, nor run poſt*, ſaith a Marſhall of *France*. And I know it to be true, that a fleet of ſhips may be ſeen at Sun-ſet, and after it, at the *Liſard*; yet by the next morning they may recover *Portland*, whereas an Army of foot ſhall not be able to march it in ſix dayes. Again, when thoſe troups lodged on the Sea-ſhores, ſhall be forced to run from place to place in vain, after a fleet of ſhips; they will at length ſit down in the mid-way; & leave all at adventure. But ſay it were otherwiſe; that the invading enemy will offer to land in ſome ſuch place, where there ſhall be an Army of ours ready to receive him; yet it cannot be doubted, but that when the choice of all our trained bands, and the choice of our Commanders and Captains, ſhall be drawn together (as they were at *Tilburie* in the year 1588.) to attend the perſon of the Prince, and for the defence of the City of *London*: they that remain to guard the coaſt, can be of no ſuch force, as to encounter an Army like unto that, wherewith it was intended that the Prince of *Parma* ſhould have landed in *England*.

The Iſle of *Tercera* hath taught us by experience, what to think in ſuch a caſe. There are not many Ilands in the world, better fenced by nature, and ſtrengthned by art: it being every where hard of acceſſe; having no good harbour wherein to ſhelter a Navie

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of friends, and upon every cove or watering place a Fort erected, to forbid the approach of an enemies boat. Yet when *Emanuel de Sylva*, and *Monsieur de Chattes*, that held it to the use of *Don Antonio*, with five or six thousand men, thought to have kept the *Marquesse of Santa Cruz*, from setting foot on ground therein; the Marquesse having shewed himself in the Road of *Angra*, did set sail, ere any was aware of it, and arrived at the *Port des Moles*, far distant from thence; where he wan a Fort, and landed, ere *Monsieur de Chattes*, running thither in vain, could come to hinder him. The example of *Philip Strossie*, slain the year before, without all regard of his worth, and of three hundred *French* prisoners murdered in cold bloud; had instructed *de Chattes*, and his followers, what they might expect at that Marquesse his hands: Therefore it is not like, that they were slow in carrying relief to *Port des Moles*. Whether our *English* would be perswaded to make such diligent haste, from *Margat* to the *Nesse*, and back again, it may be doubted. Sure I am, that it were a greater march than all the length of *Tercera*; whereof the *French-men* had not measured the one half when they found themselves prevented by the more nimble ships of *Spaine*.

This may suffice to prove, that a strong Army, in a good fleet, which neither foot, nor horse is able to follow, cannot be denyed to land where it list, in *England*, *France*, or elsewhere, unlesse it be hindred, encountred, and shuffled together, by a fleet of equall, or answerable strength.

The difficult landing of our *English*, at *Fayal*, in the year 1597. is alledged against this: which example moves me no way to think, that a large coast may be defended against a strong fleet. I landed those *English* in *Fayal* my self, and therefore ought to take notice of this instance. For whereas I find an action of mine cited, with omission of my name; I may by a civill interpretation, think, that there was no purpose to defraud me of any honour; but rather an opinion, that the enterprize was such, or so ill managed, as that no honour could be due unto it. There were indeed some which were in that voyage, who advised me not to undertake it: and I hearkened unto them somewhat longer than was requisite, especially, whilest they desired me to reserve the title of such an exploit (though it were not great) for a greater person. But when they began to tell me of difficulty: I gave them to understand, the same which I now maintain, that it was more difficult to defend a coast, than to invade it. The truth is, that I could have landed my men with more ease than I did; yea without finding any resistance, if I would have rowed to another place, yea even there where I landed, if I would have taken more company to help me. But, without fearing any imputation of rashnesse, I may say, that I had more regard of reputation, in that businesse, than of safety. For I thought it to belong unto the honour of our Prince and Nation, that a few Ilanders should not think any advantage great enough, against a fleet set forth by *Q. Elizabeth*: and further, I was unwilling, that some *Low-Countrey* Captains, and others, not of mine own squadron, whose assistance I had refused, should please themselves with a sweet conceit (though it would have been short, when I had landed in some other place) *That for want of their help I was driven to turn tail*. Therefore I took with me none, but men assured, Commanders of mine owne squadron, with some of their followers, and a few other Gentlemen, voluntaries, whom I could not refuse; as, Sir *William Brook*, Sir *William Harvey*, Sir *Arthur Gorges*, Sir *John Skot*, Sir *Thomas Ridgeway*, Sir *Henry Tinnes*, Sir *Charles Morgan*, Sir *Walter Chute*, *Marcellus Throckmorton*, Captain *Laurence Kemis*, Captain *William Morgan*, and others such as well understood themselves and the enemy: by whose help, with Gods favour, I made good the enterprize I undertook. As for the *working of the Sea*, *the steepnesse of the Cliffes*, and other troubles, that were not new to us, we overcame them well enough. And these (notwithstanding) made five or sixe companies of the enemies, that sought to impeach our landing, abandon the wall, whereon their Musketiers lay on the Rest for us, and won the place of them without any great losse. This I could have done with lesse danger, so that it should not have served for example of a rule, that failed even in this example: but the reasons before alledged, (together with other reasons well known to some of the Gentlemen above named, though more private, than to be here laid down) made me rather follow the way of bravery, and take the shorter course; having it still in mine own power to fall off when I should think it meet. It is easily said, that *the Enemy was more than a Coward*; (which yet was more than we knew) neither will I magnifie such a small piece of service, by seeking to prove him better: whom had I thought

thought equall to mine own followers, I would otherwise have dealt with. But for so much as concernes the proposition in hand; he that beheld this, may well remember that the same enemy troubled us more in our march towards *Fayal*, than in our taking the shore; that he sought how to stop us in place of his advantage, that many of our men were slain or hurt by him, among whom Sir *Arthur Gorges* was shot in that march; and that such, as (thinking all danger to be past, when he had won good footing) would needs follow us to the Town, were driven by him, to forsake the pace of a man of war, and betake themselves to an hasty trot.

For end of this digression, I hope that this question shall never come to tryall; his Majesties many movable Forts will forbid the experience. And although the *English* will no lesse disdain, than any Nation under heaven can do, to be beaten upon their own ground, or elsewhere by a forraign enemy; yet to etertain those that shall assail us, with their own beef in their bellies, and before they eat of our *Kentish* Capons, I take it to be the wisest way. To do which, his Majesty, after God, will imploy his good ships on the Sea, and not trust to any intrenchment upon the shore.

§. X.

How the Romans *attempt again to get the mastery of the Seas. The victory of* Cæcilius *the* Roman *Consul at* Panormus: *The siege of* Lilybæum. *How a* Rhodian *Gally entred* Lilybæum *at pleasure, in despight of the* Roman *fleet. That it is a matter of great difficulty to stop the passage of good ships. The* Romans *by reason of grievous losses received, under* Claudius *and* Junius *their Consuls, abandon the Seas again.*

WHen, without a strong Navy, the *Romans* found it altogether impossible, either to keep what they had already gotten in *Sicil*, or to enlarge their Dominions in *Africa* or elsewhere, they resolved once again, notwithstanding their late misadventures, to strengthen their fleet and ships of war. So causing fifty new Gallies to be built, & the old to be repaired, they gave them in charge (together with certain Legions of Souldiers) to the new Consuls, *C. Atilius*, & *L. Manlius*. On the other side, *Asdrubal* perceiving that the *Romans*, partly by reason of the shipwrack which they had lately suffered, partly by reason of the overthrow which they received by *Xantippus* in *Africa*, were less daring then they had been in the beginning of the war: & withall, that one of the Consuls was returned into *Italy*, with the one half of the Army, & that *Cæcilius*, with only the other half, remained at *Panormus*: he removed with the *Carthaginian* forces from *Lilybæum* towards it, hoping to provoke *Cæcilius* to fight. But the Consul was better advised. For when *Asdrubal* had made his approaches somewhat neer the Town, *Cæcilius* caused a deep trench to be cut, a good distance without the ditch of the City: between which and his trench he left ground sufficient, to embattail a Legion of his Souldiers. To these he gave order that they should advance themselves, and passe over the new trench, till such time as the *African* Elephants were thrust upon them. From those beasts he commanded them to retire, by slow degrees till they had drawn on the Elephants to the brink of the new trench, which they could by no means passe. This they performed accordingly. For when the Elephants were at a stand, they were so gawled & beaten, both by those Souldiers that were on the inside of the trench, and by those that lay in the trench it self, that being inraged by their many wounds, they brake back furiously upon their own foot-men, and utterly disordered them. *Cæcilius* espying his advantage, sallied with all the force he had; and charging the other troups, that stood embattailed, he utterly brake them, and put them to their heels; making a great slaughter of them, and taking all their Elephants.

The report of this victory being brought to *Rome*; the whole state, filled with courage, prepared a new fleet of two hundred sail, which they sent into *Sicil*, to give end to that war, that had now lasted fourteen years. With this fleet and Army the *Romans* resolve to attempt *Lilybæum*, the only place of importance which the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil*; and all (indeed) save *Drepanum*, that was near adjoyning. They set down before it, and possesse themselves of all the places of advantage neer unto it, especially of such as command the haven, which had a very difficult entrance. They also beat to the ground

sixe Towers of defence; and by forcible engines weaken so many other parts of the City, as the defendants begin to despair. Yet *Himilco*, Commander of the place, faileth not in all that belongs to a man of War. All that is broken he repaireth with admirable diligence; he maketh many furious sallies, and giveth to the *Romans* all the affronts that possibly could be made. He hath in Garrison (besides the Citizens) ten thousand Souldiers; among which there are certain Lievtenants, and other petty officers, that conspire to render and betray the Town. But the matter is revealed by an *Achæan*, called *Alexon*, who had formerly in danger of the like treason, saved *Agrigentum*. *Himilco* useth the help of *Alexon*, to assure the hired Souldiers, & imployeth *Hannibal* to appease the troups of the *Gaules*, which did waver, and had sent their agents to the enemy. All promise constancy and truth; so that the Traitors, being unable to perform what they had undertaken, are fain to live in the *Roman* campe as fugitives, that had wrought no good whereby to deserve their bread. In the mean while, a supply of ten thousand Souldiers is sent from *Carthage* to their relief, having *Hannibal* the son of *Amilcar* for their Conductor: who, in despight of all resistance, entred the Port and City, to the incredible joy of the besieged. The old Souldiers, together with the new Companies, (thereto perswaded by *Himilco* with hope of great reward) resolve to set upon the *Romans* in their trenches, and either force them to abandon the siege, or (at least) to take from them, or set on fire, their engines of battery. The attempt is presently made, and pursued to the uttermost, with great slaughter on both sides. But the *Romans*, being more in number, and having the advantage of the ground, hold still their places, and with extreme difficulty defend their engines.

They of *Carthage* desire greatly to understand the state of things at *Lilybæum*; but know not how to send into the Town. A certain *Rhodian* undertakes the service; and having received his dispatch, sails with one Gally to *Ægusa*, a little Iland near *Lilybæum*. Thence, taking his time he steered directly with the Port; and having a passing swift Gally, he past through the best of the Channel, and recovered the water-gate, ere any of those, which the *Romans* had to guard the Port, could thrust from the shores on either side.

The next day, neither attending the covert of the dark night, nor dreading to be boorded by the *Roman* Gallies, who waited his returne, he set sail, and shipped his Oares (his Gally being exceeding quick of steerage, and himself expert in all parts of the channell) recovered the Havens mouth, and the Sea, in despight of all the pursuit made after him. Then, finding himself out of danger of being encompassed by many, he turned again towards the mouth of the Haven, challenging any one, if any one durst come forth, to undertake him. This enterprise, and the well performing of it, was very remarkable, and much wondred at in those dayes: and yet, where there was no great Artillery, nor any other weapons of fire, to kill a farre off, the advanture which this *Rhodian* made was not greatly hazardous. For in this Age, a valiant and judicious man of war will not fear to passe by the best appointed Fort of *Europe*, with the help of a good Tide, and a leading gale of wind: no, though forty pieces of great Artillery open their mouthes against him, and threaten to tear him in pieces.

In the beginning of our late Queens time, when *Denmark* and *Sueden* were at Warre, our *East-land* fleet, bound for *Leif-land*, was forbidden by the King of *Denmark* to trade with the subjects of his enemies, and he threatned to sink their ships if they came through the straights of *Elsenour*. Notwithstanding this, our Merchants (having a ship of her Majesties, called the *Minion*, to defend them) made the adventure, and sustaining some Vollies of shot, kept on their course. The King made all the provision he could, to stop them, or sink them, at their return. But the *Minion*, commanded (as I take it) by *William Burrough*, leading the way, did not only passe out with little losse, but did beat down, with Artillery, a great part of the Fort of *Elsenour*; which at that time was not so well rampard, as now perhaps it is: and the fleet of Merchants that followed him, went through without any wound received. Neither was it long since, that the Duke of *Parma*, besieging *Antwerp*, and finding no possibility to master it, otherwise than by famine, laid his Cannon on the banke of the River, so well to purpose, and so even with the face of the water, that he thought it impossible for the least boat to passe by. Yet the Hollanders and Zelanders, not blown up by any wind of glory, but comming to find a good market for their Butter and Cheese, even the poor

men, attending their profit when all things were extream dear in *Antwerpe* passed in boats of ten or twelve Tonne, by the mouth of the Dukes Cannon, in despight of it; when a strong Westerly winde, and a Tide of flood favoured them; as also with a contrary wind, and an ebbing water, they turned back again: so as he was forced, in the end, to build his Stockado overthwart the River, to his marvellous trouble and charge.

The Fort Saint *Philip* terrified not us in the year 1596. when we entred the Port of *Caliz*, neither did the Fort at *Puntal*, when we were entred beat us from our anchoring by it; though it plaid upon us with four demi-cannons within point blanque, from six in the morning till twelve at noon. The siege of *Ostend*, and of many other places, may be given for proofe, how hard a matter it is to stop the passage of a good ship, without another as good to encounter it. Yet this is true, that where a Fort is so set, as that of *Angra* in *Tercera*, that there is no passage along beside it, or that the ships are driven to turne upon a bow-line towards it, wanting all help of wind and tide; there, and in such places, is it of great use, and fearfull: otherwise not.

But to returne to our adventurous *Rhodian*: He arrives in safety at *Carthage*, and makes them know the estate of *Lilybæum*. Others also, after this, take upon them to do the like, and performe it with the same success. The *Romans* therefore labour to choak the channell; and, for that purpose, fill many Merchants ships with great stones, and sink them therein. The force of the *Tides* clears it again in part: but they grounded so many of those great bellied boats in the best of the entrance, as at last it made a manifest rising and heap, like a ragged Iland, in the passage. Hereby it came to passe, that a *Carthaginian* Gally, taking her course by night, and not suspecting any such impediment, ran her selt aground thereon, and was taken. Now comes that brave *Rhodian*, thinking to enter, as he had done before: but this *Carthaginian* Gally, a little before taken, gave him chase, and gathered upon him; he finds what she is, both by her form and by her swiftness: and being not able to run from her, resolved to fight with her. But she is too well manned for him, so that he is beaten and taken.

Lilybæum, after this, is greatly distressed; the Souldiers being worn with labour and watching. But in this despair there rose so violent a tempest, as some of the *Romans* wooden Towers, by which they over-topt the wals of *Lilybæum*, were over-turned. A *Greek* Souldier undertakes to fire those that were fallen, and performs it: for the fire was no sooner kindled, but being blown unto by the bellowes of a tempest, it increased so fast, as it became resistless, and in the end burned all to ashes, and melted the brazen heads of the battering Rams. Hereupon, despair and wearinesse hinder the *Romans* from repairing their Engines: so that they resolve, by a long siege, to starve the defendants.

Upon relation of what had past, a supply of ten thousand souldiers is sent from *Rome*, under *M. Claudius*, the Consull. He arrives at *Messana*, and marcheth over land to *Lilybæum*: where having re-inforced the Army, and supplyed the Gallies with new Rowers, he propounds the surprise of *Drepanum*, a City on the other side of the Bay of *Lilybæum*. This service the Captains and Souldiers willingly embrace. So the Consull embarques his troups, and arrives on the sudden in the mouth of the Port. *Adherbal* is Governour of the Town, a valiant and prudent man of war, who being ignorant of the new supply arrived at *Lilybæum*, was at first amazed at their sudden approach; but haivng recovered his spirits, he perswades the Souldiers, rather to fight abroad, then to be encloseđ. Herewithall he promiseth great rewards to such, as by their valour shall deserve them; offering to lead them himself, and to fight in the head of his fleet. Having sufficiently encouraged his men, he thrust into the Sea towards the *Romans*. The Consull, deceived of his expectation, cals back the formost Gallies, that he might now marshall them for defence. Hereupon some row backward, some forward, in great confusion. *Adherbal* finds and followes his advantage, and forceth the Consull into a Bay at hand, wherein he rangeth himself, having the land on his back: hoping thereby to keep himself from being incompassed. But he was thereby, and for want of Sea-room, so straightned, as he could not turn himself any way from his enemies, nor range himself in any order. Therefore when he found no hope of resistance, keeping the shore on his left hand, he thrust out of the Bay with

thirty

thirty Gallies, besides his own, and so fled away: all the rest of his fleet to the number of ninety and four ships, were taken or sunk by the *Carthaginians*. *Adherbal* for this service is greatly honoured at *Carthage*; and *Claudius*, for his indiscretion and flight, as much disgraced at *Rome*.

The *Romans*, notwithstanding this great losse, arme threescore Gallies, with which they send away *L. Junius*, their Consul, to take charge of their businesse in *Sicil*. *Junius* arrives at *Messana*, where he meets with the whole remainder of the *Roman* fleet, those excepting which rode in the Port of *Lilybæum*. One hundred and twenty Gallies he had: and besides these, he had gotten together almost eight hundred ships of burthen, which were laden with all necessary provisions for the Army. With this great fleet he arrives at Syracuse, where he stayes a while; partly to take in corn, partly to wait for some, that were too slow of sail, to keep company with him along from *Messana*. In the mean time he dispatcheth away towards *Lilybæum* his Questors or Treasurers; to whom he commits the one half of his victuallers, with some Gallies for their convoy.

Adherbal was not careless after his late victory: but studied how to use it to the best advantage. The ships and prisoners that he had taken, he sent to *Carthage*. Of his own Gallies he delivered thirty to *Carthalo*, who had threescore and ten more under his own charge; and sent him to try what good might be done against the *Roman* fleet in the Haven of *Lilybæum*. According to his direction, *Carthalo* suddenly enters the mouth of that Haven, where he finds the *Romans* more attentive to the keeping in of the besieged *Carthaginians*, than to the defence of their own against another fleet. So he chargeth them, boords, and takes some, and fires the rest. The *Roman* Camp takes alarm, and hastens to the rescue. But *Himilco*, Governour of the Town, is not behind hand; who sallies out at the same time, and putting the *Romans* to great distresse, gives *Carthalo* good leisure to go through with his enterprise.

After this exploit, *Carthalo* ran all along the South coast of *Sicil*, devising how to work mischief to the enemy; wherein Fortune presented him with a fair occasion, which he wisely managed. He was advertised by his Scouts, that they had discryed, near at hand, a great fleet, consisting of all manner of Vessels. These were the victuallers, which the Consul *Junius*, more hastily then providently, had sent before him towards *Lilybæum*. *Carthalo* was glad to hear of their comming: for he and his men were full of courage, by reason of their late victories. Accompting therefore the great multitude of *Roman* Hulks approaching, to be rather a prey than a fleet likely to make strong opposition, he hastens to encounter them. It fell out according to his expectation. The *Romans* had no mind to fight: but were glad to seek shelter in an open Road, full of rocks under a covert of a poor Town, belonging to their party; that could help to save them only from the present danger, by lending them engines and other aid, wherewith to beat off the *Carthaginians* that assailed them. *Carthalo* therefore, having taken a few of them, lay waiting for the rest, that could not long ride under those rocks, but would be forced by any great change of wind, either to put out into the deep, or to save their men, how they could, by taking land, with the loss of all their shipping. Whilest he was busied in this care, the Consull *Junius* drew near, and was discovered. Against him *Carthalo* makes out, and finds him altogether unprepared to fight, as being wholly ignorant of that which had hapned. The Consul had neither means to flie, nor ability to fight. Therefore he likewise ran into a very dangerous Creek; thinking no danger so great as that of the enemy. The *Carthaginian* seeing this, betakes himself to a Station between the two *Roman* fleets; where he watcheth, to see which of them would first stir, with a resolution to assault that, which should first dare to put it self into the Sea. So as now all the three fleets were on the South coast of *Sicil*, between the Promontory of *Pachinus* and *Lilybæum*; a Tract exceeding dangerous, when the wind stormed at South. The *Carthaginians*, who knew the times of tempest, and their signes, finding (belike) some swelling billow (for so we do in the West of *England*, before a Southernly storm) hasted to double the Cape of *Pachinus*, thereby to cover themselves from the rage at hand. But the *Romans*, who knew better how to fight than how to Navigate, and never found any foul weather in the entrailes of their beasts, their Soothsayers being all land-prophets, were suddenly overtaken with a boisterous South wind, and all the Gallies forced against the rocks, and utterly wrackt.

This calamity so discouraged the *Romans*, that they resolved again to forsake the Seas, and trust only to the service of their Legions upon firm ground. But such a resolution cannot long hold. Either they must be strong at sea, or else they must not make war in an Iland, against those that have a mightier fleet. Yet are they to be excused, in regard of the many great calamities which they had suffered through their want of skill. Here I cannot forbear to commend the patient vertue of the *Spaniards*. We seldome or never find, that any Nation hath endured so many misadventures and miseries, as the *Spaniards* have done, in their *Indian Discoveries*. Yet persisting in their enterprises with an invincible constancy, they have annexed to their Kingdome so many goodly Provinces, as bury the remembrance of all dangers past. Tempests and shipwracks, famine, overthrows, mutinies, heat & cold, pestilence, and all manner of diseases both old and new, together with extreme poverty, and want of all things needfull, have been the enemies wherewith every one of their most noble discoverers, at one time or other, hath encountred. Many years have passed over some of their heads in the search of not so many leagues: yea more than one or two have spent their labour, their wealth, and their lives, in search of a golden kingdome, without getting further notice of it, than what they had at their first setting forth. All which notwithstanding, the third, fourth, and fift undertakers, have not been disheartned. Surely, they are worthily rewarded with those Treasuries and Paradises which they enjoy; and well they deserve to hold them quietly, if they hinder not the like vertue in others, which (perhaps) will not be found.

§. XI.

The City of Eryx *is surprised by the* Romans, *& recovered by* Amilcar, *who stoutly holds war with them five years. The* Romans, *having emptied their common treasury, build a new fleet at the charges of private men. The great victory at Sea of* Luctatius *the Consull; whereby the* Carthaginians *are forced to crave peace. The conditions of the peace between* Rome *and* Carthage.

THe *Romans* were carefull to supply with all industry, by land, the want of strength at sea. Therefore they continue the siege of *Lilybæum*, and seek to make sure to themselves all places, whither the enemies ships could not bring relief. The Consull *Junius*, to cure the wound of dishonour, which he had received, bethought him what enterprises to undertake. In the end he resolved to attempt the Mountain and City of *Eryx*, with the Temple of *Venus Erycina*: which was the faireſt and richest of all the Iland; and of these, by cunning or treason, he got possession. *Eryx* was commodiously seated between *Drepanum* and *Panormus*; so that it seemed a fit place for a Garrison, that should restrain the *Carthaginians* from making roads into the country. Wherefore *Junius* fortified both the top of the Mountain, and the first entrance of the passage from the bottome, (both of which places were very defensible) with a good strength of men. But shortly after, in the eighteenth year of this war, the *Carthaginians* set forth *Amilcar*, surnamed *Barcas*, Father of the great *Hannibal*, with a fleet and Army, who sailing to the coasts of *Italy*, did throughly repay the spoyles which the *Romans* made in *Africa*. For he first of all wasted and destroyed the Territories of the *Locrians*, and of the *Bruttians*, that were dependants of *Rome*. Then entred he into *Sicil*, and finding there no walled City in the *Carthaginians* power, that served fitly to infest the *Romans*, he occupied a piece of ground of great advantage, and lodged his Army thereon; to confront as well the *Romans*, that were in *Panormus*, as those that kept about *Eryx*, putting himself between both Armies with admirable resolution.

The place that *Amilcar* had seized upon, was not only very strong by situation, but had the command of a Port: whereby it gave him opportunity to scoure all the coast of *Italy* with his fleet, wasting all along as far as to *Cuma*. In the Isle of *Sicil* he held the *Romans* to hard work: lying near unto *Panormus*, where in three years abode he did many notable acts, though not of much consequence, for that the enemy could never be drawn to hazard the main chance. Having wearied himself and the *Romans* long enough about *Panormus*, he undertook a strange piece of work at *Eryx*. The *Roman* Legions, placed there by *Junius*, on the top, and at the bottome of the Mountain,

were

were very strongly lodged. Nevertheless *Amilcar* found a way, lying towards the Sea-side, by which he conveighed his men into the City of *Eryx*, that was about the middest of the ascent, ere the enemy knew of it. By this it came to passe, that the *Romans* which kept the top of the mountain, were straightly held (as it were) besieged. And no less was *Amilcar* himself restrained, by both of these Garrisons, and such as came to relieve them. There he found them pastime about two years more; hoping still to weary out those that lay over his head, as they on the contrary did their best, to thrust him out of those quarters.

At this time, all the care, both of the *Romans* and of the *Carthaginians*, was bent unto the prosecuting of this business at *Eryx*. Wherein it seems true (as *Hannibal*, in *Livie*, spake unto *Scipio*) that the affairs of *Carthage* never stood in better terms, since the beginning of the war, than now they did. For whereas the *Romans* had utterly forsaken the Seas, partly by reason of their great losses; partly upon confidence of their land-forces, which they held resistless; *Amilcar*, with a small Army, had so well acquited himself, to the honour of his countrey, that by the tryall of five years war, the *Carthaginian* Souldier was judged equall, if not superior to the *Roman*. Finally, when all, that might be, had been devised and done, for the dislodging of this obstinate Warriour: no way seemed better to the Senate of *Rome*, than once again to build a fleet; whereby, if the mastery of the Sea could once be gotten, it was likely that *Amilcar*, for lack of supply, should not long be able to hold out. But in performing this, extreme difficulty was found. The common treasury was exhausted: and the cost was not little, that was requisite unto such an enterprise. Wherefore there was none other way left, than to lay the burden upon private purses. Divers of the principall Citizens undertook to build (each at his own charges) one *Quinquereme*, which example wrought so well, that they, whose ability would not serve to doe the like, joyned with some others, and laying their money together, concurred two or three of them, in building of another; with condition to be repayed, when the war was finished. By this voluntary contribution, they made and finished two hundred new *Quinqueremes*: taking for their pattern, that excellent swift rowing Gally which they had gotten from the *Rhodian*, in the Port of *Lilybæum*, as was shewed before. The charge of this fleet was committed to *C. Lutatius Catulus*; who past with the same into *Sicil* the Spring following, and entred the Port of *Drepanum*, indeavouring by all means to have forced the City. But being advertised that the *Carthaginian* fleet was at hand, and being mindfull of the late losses which his Predecessors had received; he was carefull to put himself in order, against their arrivall. *Liv. Dec. 3. l. 10.*

Hanno was Admiral of the *Carthaginian* fleet; a man (as his actions declare him) wise in picture, exceedingly formall, and skilfull in the art of seeming reverend. How his reputation was first bred, I do not find; but it was upheld by a factious contradiction, of things undertaken by men more worthy than himself. This quality procured unto him (as it hath done to many others) both good liking among the ancient sort, whose cold temper is adverse from new enterprises, and therewithall an opinion of great foresight, confirmed by every loss received. More particularly, he was gratious among the people, for that he was one of the most grievous oppressours of their subject Provinces; whereby he procured unto the *Carthaginians* much wealth, but therewithall such hatred, as turned it all to their great loss. He had ere this being imployed against the *Numidians* and wild *Africans*, that were more like to Rovers than to Souldiers, in making War. Of those fugitive Nations he learned to neglect more manly enemies, to his own great dishonour, and to the great hurt of *Carthage*; which lost not more by his bad conduct, than by his malicious counsel, when, having shewed himself an unworthy Captain, he betook himself to the long Robe. Yet is he much commended in *Roman* Histories, as a temperate man; and one that studied how to preserve the League between *Carthage* and *Rome*. In which regard, how well he deserved of his own Country, it will appear hereafter: how beneficiall he was to the *Romans*, it will appear, both hereafter, and in his present voyage; wherein he reduced the *Carthaginians* to a miserable necessity of accepting, upon hard conditions, that peace which he thence-forth commended.

Hanno had very well furnished his Navie, with all needfull provisions for the Souldiers at *Eryx*: (for dexterity in making preparation was the best of his qualities) but he had

had neither been carefull in training his Mariners, to the practice of Sea-fight, nor in manning his Gallies with ſtout fellowes. He thought, that the fame of a *Carthaginian* fleet was enough, to make the unexpert *Romans* give way: forgetting, that rather the reſiſtleſſe force of tempeſts, than any other ſtrength of oppoſition, had made them to forſake the ſeas. Yet in one thing he had either conceived aright, or elſe was ſent forth well inſtructed. It was his purpoſe, firſt of all to ſail to *Eryx*, and there to diſcharge his ſhips of their lading: and having thus lightned himſelf, he meant to take aboord ſome part of the Land-army, together with *Amilcar* himſelf, by whoſe help he doubted not, but that he ſhould be able to make his enemy repent of his new adventure to Sea. This was a good courſe, if it could have been performed. But *Catulus* uſed all poſſible diligence, to prevent the execution of this deſign: not becauſe he was informed of the enemies purpoſe, but that he knew it to be the beſt for them, & for that he feared no danger ſo greatly, as to encounter with *Amilcar*. Wherfore although the weather was very rough, and the ſeas went high, when the *Carthaginian* fleet was diſcried; yet he rather choſe to fight with the enemy, that had the winde of him, than to ſuffer his convoy to paſſe along to *Eryx*, upon unlikely hope of better opportunity in the future. All that *Hanno* ſhould have done, *Catulus* had performed. He had carefully exerciſed his men in Rowing; he had lightned his Gallies of all unneceſſary burthens; and he had taken aboord the choyce men of the *Roman* Land-ſouldiers. The *Carthaginians* therefore, at the firſt encounter were utterly broken and defeated, having fifty of their Gallies ſtemmed and ſunk, and ſeventy taken, wherein were few leſſe than ten thouſand men, that were all made priſoners: the reſt, by a ſudden change of wind, eſcaping to the Ile of *Hieroneſus*.

The ſtate of *Carthage*, utterly diſcouraged by this change of fortune, knew not whereon to reſolve. Means to repair their fleet in any time there were none left; their beſt men of war by Sea were conſumed; and *Amilcar*, upon whoſe valour and judgement the honour and ſafety of the Common-weal reſted, was now ſurrounded by his enemies in *Sicil*, where he could not be relieved. In this extremity, they make diſpatch unto *Amilcar* himſelf, and authorized him to take what courſe ſhould ſeem beſt unto his excellent wiſdome, leaving all concluſions to his election and ſole counſail.

Amilcar, whom no adverſity, accompanied with the leaſt hope or poſſibility of recovery, had ever vanquiſhed, looking over every promiſe, true or falſe, that the preſent time could make him, (for to attend any thing from the future he was not able) reſolved to make triall, whether his neceſſity might be compounded upon any reaſonable termes. He therefore ſent to *Lutatius* the Conſull an overture of peace: who conſidering it well, gathered ſo many arguments from the preſent poverty of the *Roman* State, waſted beyond expectation in the former war, that he formerly hearkned unto it. So, in concluſion, an accord was made, but with proviſion, That it ſhould hold none otherwiſe, than if the Senate and People of *Rome* would ratifie it with their allowance.

The conditions were: Firſt, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould clearly abandon the Iſle of *Sicil*. Secondly, that they ſhould never undertake upon *Hieron* King of *Syracuſe*, nor invade any part of his Territories, nor the Territories of any of his Friends and Allies. Thirdly, that they ſhould ſet at liberty, and ſend back into *Italy*, all the *Romans*, whom they held priſoners, without ranſome. Laſtly, that they ſhould pay unto the *Romans* two thouſand and two hundred talents; which make, as the *French* reckon the talent, thirteen hundred and twenty thouſand crowns: the ſame to be delivered within twenty years next following.

Theſe Articles were ſent to *Rome*, where they were not throughly approved: but ten Commiſſioners were ſent into *Sicil*, to make perfect the agreement. Theſe Commiſſioners added a thouſand talents to the former ſum, and required a ſhorter time of paiment. Further alſo they took order, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould not only depart out of *Sicil* it ſelf, but ſhould alſo with-draw their Companies out of all other Ilands between it and *Italy*, renouncing their whole intereſt therein.

Such was the end of the firſt *Punick Warre*, that had laſted about twenty four years without intermiſſion; in which time the *Romans* had loſt, by fight or ſhipwrack, about ſeven hundred *Quinqueremes*, & the *Carthaginians* about five hundred: the greatneſſe of which loſſes, doth ſerve to prove the greatneſſe both of theſe two Cities, and

of

of the War it self; wherein I hold good the judgement of *Polybius*, That the *Romans*, in generall, did shew themselves the braver Nation; and *Amilcar*, the most worthy Captain.

CHAP. II.

Of divers actions passing between the first and second Punick Warres.

§. 1.

Of the cruell Warre begun between the Carthaginians *and their owne Mercenaries.*

THe *Romans* having partly by force, and partly by composition, thrust the *Carthaginians* out of *Sicil*, & all the little Ilands thereunto adjacent, gave them rather means and leisure to help themselves in a following war, than cause to hold themselves contented with the present peace. It is an ancient and true rule, *Quòd leges à victoribus dicuntur, accipiantur a victis*; *That lawes are given by the Conquerors, and received of the conquered.* But the *Romans* had either forgotten the answer that was made unto them, by one of the *Privernates*; or else had forgotten to follow it in this weighty business. For when one of *Privernum*, after a rebellion, defending in the Senate the cause of his City, was demanded by a Senator, *What peace the Romans might hope for, or assure themselves of, if they quitted their present advantage over them*; he answered in these words, *Si bonam dederitis, & fidam & perpetuam; si malam, haud diuturnam*; *If the peace be good and faithfull that you give us, it will be perpetuall; if it be ill, then of little continuance.* To this answer the Senate, at that time gave such approbation, that it was said, *Viri & liberi vocem auditam; an credi posset, ullum populum, aut hominem deniq; in ea conditione, cujus eum pœniteat, diutius quam necesse sit mansurum? that it was the speech of a manly, and free man; for who could beleeve, that any people, or indeed any one man, would continue longer in an over-burdened estate, than meer necessity did enforce?* Now, if the *Romans* themselves could make this judgement of those Nations, who had little else besides their manly resolution, to defend their liberty; surely, they grosly flattered themselves, in presuming that the *Carthaginians*, who neither in power nor in pride, were any way inferiour unto themselves, would sit down any longer by the losse and dishonour received, than untill they could recover their legs, and the strength which had a while failed them, to take revenge. But occasion, by whom (while well entertained) not only private men, but Kings and publick States, have more prevailed, than by any proper prowesse or vertue, with-held the tempest from the *Romans* for a time, and turned it most fearfully upon *Africa*, and the *Carthaginians* themselves.

For after the first *Punick* war was ended, *Amilcar*, leaving *Eryx*, went to *Lilybæum*, from whence most conveniently the Army might be transported into *Africk*: the care of which business he committed unto *Gesco*, to whom as to a man of approved sufficiency, he delivered over his charge. *Gesco* had an especiall consideration of the great sums, wherein *Carthage* was indebted unto these Mercenaries; and withall, of the great disability to make payment. Therefore he thought it the wisest way, to send them over (as it were) by handfuls a few at a time; that so the first might have their dispatch, and be gone, ere the second or third Companies arrived. Herein he dealt providently. For it had not been hard to perswade any small number, lodged within so great a City as *Carthage*, unto some such reasonable composition, as the present emptinesse of the common Treasury did require: so that the first might have been friendly discharged, and a good president left unto the second and third, whilest their disjunction had made them

them unable to recover their whole due by force. But the *Carthaginians* were of a contrary opinion. They thought to find, in the whole Army, some that would be contented to gratifie the Publique State, by remitting a great part of their owne due: and hoped, by such an example, to draw all the multitude to the like agreement and capitulation. So they detained the first and second commers; telling them, that they would make an even reckoning with all together. Thus every day the number increased, and many disorders (a thing incident among Souldiers) were committed; which much disquieted the City, not accustomed unto the like. In this regard it was thought fit, to remove them all to some other place, where they might be less troublesome. This must be done by some colourable words of perswasion: for their number was already so great, that it was not safe to offend them too far. Wherefore it is devised, that they should all attend the comming of their fellowes, at *Sicca*: receiving every one a piece of gold, to bear his charges in the mean while.

This motion is accepted, and the Souldiers began to dislodge; leaving behinde them their wives, their children, and all their baggage, as meaning shortly to fetch away all, when they came back for their pay. But the *Carthaginians* have no fancy to their returning into the Town; and therefore compell them to truss up their fardels, that they might have none occasion left to make any errands thither. So to *Sicca* they removed, with all their goods; and there lay waiting for newes of their fellowes arrivall, and their own pay. Business they had none to do, and therefore might easily be drawn to mutiny: the whole argument of their discourse inclining them to nothing else. Their daily talk was, how rich they should be, when all their money came in; how much would fall to every single share: and for how long time the City was behind hand with them in reckoning. They were all grown Arithmeticians; and he was thought a man of worth, that could find most reason to increase their demands, to the very highest, even beyond their due. No part of their long service was forgotten; but the comfortable words and promises of their Captains, leading them forth to any dangerous fight, were called to mind, and so many obligations, not to be cancelled, without satisfying their expectation by some unordinary largesse.

Thus the time passeth away, untill the whole army being arrived, and lodged in *Sicca*, *Hanno* comes thither to clear the accompt. Now is the day come, wherein they shall all be made rich; especially if they can hold together, in maintaining stoutly the common cause. So think they all; and assemble themselves to hear what good newes this messenger had brought: with a full resolution to help his memory, in case he should happen to forget any part of the many promises made to them; all which were to be considered in their Donative. *Hanno* begins a very formal Oration; wherein he bewails the poverty of *Carthage*; tels them how great a sum of mony is to be paid unto the *Romans*; reckons up the excessive charges whereat the Common-wealth had been in the late war; and finally desires them to hold themselves contented with part of their pay, and out of the love which they bare unto the City, to remit the rest. Few of them understood his discourse: for the *Carthaginian* Army was composed of sundry Nations, as *Greeks*, *Africans*, *Gaules*, *Ligurians*, *Spaniards*, and others; all of different languages. Yet they stared upon him, & were (as I think) little pleased with his very gesture. But when such as conceived the whole tenor of his speech, had informed the rest what cold comfort he brought; they were all enraged, and fared like mad-men, so that nothing would serve to appease them.

Hanno would fain have asswaged their fury, but he knew not how: for he less understood their dissonant lowd noises, than they did his Oration. An Army collected out of so many Countries, that have no one language common to all, or to the greater part of them, is neither easily stirred up to mutiny, nor easily pacified, when once it is broken into outrage. The best that *Hanno* can do, is to use the help of Interpreters and Messengers. But these Interpreters mistake his meaning; some for want of skil; others of set purpose; and such as deliver his errands in the worst sense, are best beleeved. Finally, they think themselves much abused by the *Carthaginians*, and resolve to demand their own in peremptory terms, at a nearer distance. In this mood they leave *Sicca*, and march as far as *Tunis*, that is within a very little of *Carthage*, and there they incampe.

Now begin the *Carthaginians* to find their own errour. It is a good rule,

Curandum

Curandum inprimis, ne magna injuria fiat
Fortibus & miseris.

Have speciall care, that valiant poverty
Be not oppreſt with too great injury.

But this proud City, having neglected the rule, hath alſo been careleſs in providing to ſecure her ſelf againſt the inconvenience that might follow. She had ſuffered the whole multitude, whereunto ſhe was like to give cauſe of diſcontent, to joyn it ſelf into one body, when the ſeverall troups might eaſily have been diſperſed: ſhe hath turned out of her gates the wives, children, and goods of theſe poor men, which had ſhe retained in ſhew of kindneſs, ſhe might have uſed them as Hoſtages for her own ſafety; and by imploying a miſerable penni-father, in her negotiation with men of War, ſhe hath weakned the reputation of her braveſt Captains, that might beſt have ſerved to free her from the threatning danger. Yet likely it is, that *Amilcar* had no deſire to be uſed as an inſtrument in defrauding his own Souldiers of their wages: eſpecially conſidering, that as he beſt could bear witneſs of their merits, ſo was he not ignorant, that means to content them were not wanting, if the Citizens had been willing thereunto. Hereunto may be added a probable conjecture, that *Hanno*, with his complices, who at this very time was a bitter enemy to *Amilcar*, had the boldneſs to impoſe the blame of his own wretched counſell, upon the liberall promiſes made by the Captains. *Amilcar* therefore did wiſely, in ſuffering thoſe that maligned him, to have the managing of their own plot, and to deal the cards which themſelves had ſhuffled. This they continue to do as fooliſhly as they had at firſt begun. They furniſh a market at *Tunis*, for the Souldiers; whom they ſuffer to buy what they liſt and at what price they liſt. They ſend ever and anon ſome of their Senatours into the Campe; who promiſe to ſatisfie all demands, as far forth as it ſhould be poſſible. And thus by ſhifting from one extreme to another, they make the Souldiers underſtand, into what fear the City was driven; which cannot chooſe but add much inſolency to the paſſions already ſtirred up.

This ſudden change of weather, & the true cauſe of it, is quickly found by the Army, which thereupon growes wiſe, and finding the ſeaſon fit, labourſto make a great harveſt. Money muſt be had, and without any abatement. This is granted. Many have loſt their horſes in publike ſervice of the State. The State ſhall pay for them. They had lived ſome years, by making hard ſhift, without receiving their allowance of victuals from *Carthage*. If they had lived, they wanted not meat; therefore what was this to the *Carthaginians*? Was it not all one, whether the ſhips did bring in proviſion, or their Captain direct them where to fetch it? But this would not ſerve. They ſaid that they had been ſometimes driven to buy; and that (ſince they could not remember how much, or at what rate they bought) they would be paid for their proviſion during the whole time, and according to the deareſt price that wheat had borne, whileſt the War laſted. Such are now the demands of theſe Mutiners; who might eaſily have been ſatisfied with far leſs charges, and far more honour, by receiving their due at the firſt. But now they make no end of craving. For whileſt the *Carthaginians* are perplexed, about this Corn-mony; the Souldiers have deviſed many more tricks, whereby to extort a greater ſum of money, without all regard of ſhame. Since therefore no good end could be found of theſe controverſies which daily did multiply, it was thought convenient, that one of the *Carthaginians*, which had commanded in *Sicil*, ſhould be choſen by the Souldiers, to reconcile all differences. Hereunto the Army condeſcended, and made choiſe of *Geſco*: partly out of good liking to him, who had ſhewed himſelf at all times a friendly man to them, and carefull of their good, eſpecially when they were to be tranſported into *Africk*: partly out of a diſlike which they had conceived of *Amilcar*; for that he had not viſited them in all this buſie time. So *Geſco* comes among them; and to pleaſe them the better, comes not without money: which might give better countenance to his proceedings, than barren eloquence had done to the negotiation of *Hanno*. He cals unto him firſt of all the Captains, and then the ſeverall Nations apart; rebuking them gently for that which had paſſed; adviſing them temperately concerning the preſent; and exhorting them to continue their love unto the State, which had long entertained

ned them, and would needs alwaies be mindfull of their good services. After this he began to put had to his purse, offering to give them their whole pay in hand; and then after to consider of other reckonings at a more convenient time. This had been well accepted, and might have served to bring all to a quiet pass, if two seditious ring-leaders of the multitude had not stood against it.

There was in the Camp one *Spendius*, a sturdy fellow, and audacious, but a slave; that in the late war had fled from a *Roman*, whom he served, and therefore stood in fear, lest he should be delivered back to his Master; at whose hands he could expect no less, than to be whipt and crucified. This wretch could find no better way to prolong his own life, than by raising such troubles as might serve to withdraw men from care of private matters, and make his own restitution impossible, were his Master never so importunate. With *Spendius* there associated himself one *Matho*, an hot-headed man, that had been so forward in stirring up the tumult, as he could not choose but fear, lest his own death should be made an example, to deterre others from the like seditious behaviour. This *Matho* deals with his Countrimen the *Africans*; telling them, that they were in far worse condition, than either the *Gaules*, the *Greeks*, the *Spaniards*, or any forrein mercenaries. For (saith he) *These our companions have no more to do, than to receive their wages, and so get them gone: but we that are to stay behinde in* Africa, *shall be called to another manner of accompt, when we are left alone; so that we shall have cause to wish that we had returned home beggers, rather then loaden with the money, which (little though it be) shall break our backs. Ye are not ignorant, how tyrannically those our haughty masters of* Carthage *doe reign over us. They think it reasonable, that our lives and goods should be at their disposition; which they have at other times been accustomed to take from us even without apparent cause, as it were to declare their soveraignty: what will they now doe, seeing that we have demeaned our selves as freemen, and been bold to set a good face on the matter, demanding our own, as others have done? Ye all do know, that it were a very shame for us, if having been as forward in every danger of war, as any other men, we should now stand quaking like slaves, and not dare to open our mouths, when others take liberty to require their due. This notwithstanding ye may assure your selves, that we are like to be taught better manners, as soon as our fellowes are gone: in regard of whom they are content to shadow their indignation with a good, but a forced countenance. Let us therefore be wise, and consider that they hate and fear us: their hatred will shew it self when their fear is once past: unlesse we now take our time, and whilest we are the stronger, enfeeble them so greatly, that their hatred shall not be able to do us wrong. All their strength consisteth in money, wherewithall they have hired others against us, and us against others. At the present they have neither money nor friends. The best army that ever served them, whereof we are no small part, lies at their gates, ready to help us if we be men. A better opportunity cannot be expected: for were our swords once drawn, all* Africk *would rise on our side. As for the* Carthaginians, *whither can they send for help? The case it self is plain. But we must quickly resolve. Either we must prevent the diligence of* Gesco, *by incensing these* Gaules *and* Spaniards, *and procuring them to draw blood; or else it behoveth us to please our good Masters, by joyning with them against our fellowes, yea by offering to forgive unto them all our wages, if so (peradventure) they may be won to forgive us, or not over cruelly to punish our faults committed. He is most worthily a wretched slave, that neither hath care to win his Masters love, nor the courage to attempt his own liberty.*

By such perswasions *Matho* wins the *African* Souldiers to his own purpose. They are not now so greedy of mony, as of quarrell; which he that seeketh will not misse to find. When *Gesco* therefore offered to pay them their whole stipend presently, but referred their other demands, for horses and victuals, to some other more convenient time; they break into great outrage, and say, that they will have all, even all at once and that out of hand. In this tumult, the whole Army flock together about *Matho* and *Spendius*; whose diligence is not wanting to add more fuell to the fire already blazing. *Matho* and *Spendius* are the only men to whom the Souldiers will hearken: if any other stand up to make a speech, a showre of stones, flying about his ears, puts him to silence, that he shall never afterwards speak word more. Neither stay they to consider what it is that any man would say: enough hath been said already by those good spokesmen; so that no other word (though perhaps to the same purpose) can be heard, save only *Throw, throw.*

Now

Now the rebellion begins to take forme. *Matho* and *Spendius* are chosen Captains; who, followed by a desperate crue of Ruffians, will suffer no man to make his own peace, but pursue their own ends, under fair pretence of the common cause. All which notwithstanding, *Gesco* is not wanting to the good of his Country, but adventures himself upon their fury. One while he deals with the Captains, and other principall men; taking them by the hand, and giving gentle words: another while he works with the severall Nations, putting them all in hope of their own hearts desire, if any reason would content them. None of them are so sullen as the *Africans*: indeed none of them had so good cause. They require him peremptorily to give them their own, and not to feed them with words. The truth is, that they are not so covetous as they seem: but will be more glad of an ill answer, than of a good payment. This is more than *Gesco* knowes: he sees not that *Matho* hath any more than bare words to bestow upon them. Wherefore, as rebuking their inconsiderate heat, he tels them, That they may do well, if they stand in want of money, to seek it of their Captain *Matho*. This is enough. Shall he both defraud them and deride them? They stay no longer, but lay violent hands upon the treasure that he had brought; yea upon him also, and all that are with him: as intending to take this in part of payment, and, for the rest, to take another course. *Matho* and *Spendius* are glad of this. It had little pleased them to see their fellowes begin to grow calme, by his fair language: wherefore they cast into bonds both him, and all the *Carthaginians* that they can find; that so the Army may be freed from danger of good *admonition*, which they call Treason. After this followes open war. *Matho* solicites all *Africk*, and his Embassadours are every where well entertained. Neither is it needfull to use perswasion: the very fame of this rebellion sufficeth to draw the whole country into it. Now must the *Carthaginians* be plagued for those oppressions, with which they have plagued others. It is true that adversity hath never been untold of her errours: and as she is ever assured to hear her own, so commonly with her own she undergoes those of other men. The *Africans* finding the *Carthaginians* hang under the wheele, tell them boldly, that their Impositions were mercilesse; that they took from them the one half of their corn; that they doubled their tributes in all things else; and that they inflicted upon their vassals the greatest punishment for the least offences. These cruelties the *Carthaginians* themselves have forgotten: but the people, that have suffered so much, retain all in perfect memory. Wherefore not only such as can bear Armes are ready to doe service in this great commotion; but the very women bring forth their Jewels, and other ornaments, offering all to sale for the maintenance of so just a quarrell. By this great forwardnesse, and liberall contribution, *Matho* and *Spendius* are supplied with a strong aid of threescore and ten thousand *Africans*: and are moreover furnished with money, not only to satisfie the present appetite of their men; but sufficient to continue the war begun, though it should be of long endurance.

§. II.

Divers observations upon this war with the Mercenaries.

†. I.

Of Tyranny, and how Tyrants are fain to use the help of Mercenaries.

HEre let us rest a while, as in a convenient place, whence we may take a prospect of the subject, over which we travell. Behold a tyrannicall City, persecuted by her own Mercenaries with a deadly war. It is a common thing, as being almost necessary, that a tyranny should be upheld by Mercenarie forces: it is common that Mercenaries should be false: and it is common that all war made against Tyrants, should be exceeding full of hate and cruelty. Yet we seldome hear, that ever the ruine of a tyranny is procured or sought by those that were hired to maintain the power of it: and seldome or never do we read of any war that hath been prosecuted with such inexpiable hatred, as this that is now in hand.

That which we properly call tyranny, is, *A violent form of government, not respecting the good of the subject, but only the pleasure of the Commander.* I purposely forbear to say, that it is the unjust rule of one over many: for very truly doth *Cleon* in *Thucydides* tell the

the *Athenians*, that their dominion over their subjects, was none other, than a meer tyranny; though it were so, that they themselves were a great City, and a popular estate. Neither is it peradventure greatly needfull, that I should call this form of commanding, *violent*: since it may well and easily be conceived, that no man willingly performs obedience to one regardless of his life and welfare; unlesse himself be either a mad man, or (which is little better) wholly possessed with some extreme passion of love. The practice of tyranny, is not alwayes of a like extremity: for some Lords are more gentle than others, to their very slaves; and he that is most cruell to some, is milde enough towards others, though it be but for his own advantage. Nevertheless, in large Dominions, wherein the Rulers discretion cannot extend it self unto notice of the difference which might be found between the worth of severall men, it is commonly seen, that the taste of swe etness, drawn out of oppression, hath so good a relish, as continually inflames the Tyrants appetite, and will not suffer it to be restrained with any limits of respect. Why should he seek out bounds to prescribe unto his desires, who cannot endure the face of one so honest, as may put him in remembrance of any moderation? It is much that he hath gotten by extorting from some few: by sparing none, he should have riches in goodly abundance. He hath taken a great deal from every one: but every one could have spared more. He hath wrung all their purses, & now he hath enough: but (as Covetousness is never satisfied) he thinks that all this is too little for a stock, though it were indeed a good yearly Income. Therefore he deviseth new tricks of robbery, and is not better pleased with the gains, than with the Art of getting. He is hated for this, & he knows it well: but he thinks by cruelty to change hatred into fear. So he makes it his exercise, to torment and murder all whom he suspecteth: in which course, if he suspect none unjustly, he may be said to deal craftily; but if Innocency be not safe, how can all this make any conspirator to stand in fear, since the Traitor is no worse rewarded, than the quiet man? Wherefore he can think upon none other security, than to dis-arm all his Subjects; to fortifie himself within some strong place; and, for defence of his Person and State, to hire as many lusty Souldiers as shall be thought sufficient. These must not be of his own Country: for if not every one, yet some one or other may chance to have a feeling of the publick misery. This considered, he allures unto him a desperate rabble of strangers, the most unhonest that can be found; such as have neither wealth nor credit at home, and wil therefore be careful to support him, by whose only favour they are maintained. Now lest any of these, either by detestation of his wickedness, or (which in wicked men is most likely) by promise of greater reward than he doth give, should be drawn to turn his sword against the Tyrant himself: they shall all be permitted to do as he doth; to rob, to ravish, to murder, and to satisfie their own appetites, in most outrageous manner being thought so much the more assured to their Master, by how much the more he sees them grow hateful to all men else. Considering in what age, and in what language I write; I must be fain to say, that these are not dreams: though some *Englishman* perhaps that were unacquainted with History, lighting upon this leaf, might suppose this discourse to be but little better. This is to shew, both how tyranny growes to stand in need of mercenary Souldiers, and how those mercenaries are, by mutuall obligation, firmly assured unto the Tyrant.

†. II.

That the Tyranny of a City over her Subjects is worse, than the tyranny of one man: and that a tyrannicall City must likewise use mercenary Souldiers.

NOw concerning the tyranny wherewith a City or State oppresseth her subjects; it may appear some waies to be more moderate, than that of one man: but in many things it is more intolerable. A City is jealous of her Dominion; but not (as is one man) fearfull of her life: the less need hath she therefore to secure her self by cruelty. A City is not luxurious in consuming her treasures, and therefore needs the lesse to pluck from her Subjects. If war, or any other great occasion, drive her to necessity of taking from her Subjects more than ordinary summes of money; the same necessity makes either the contribution easie, or the taking excusable. Indeed no wrongs are so grievous & hateful, as those that are insolent. *Remember* (saith *Caligula* the Emperor,

to

to his Grand-mother *Antonia*) *that I may doe what I list, and to whom I list*: these words were accounted horrible, though he did her no harm. And *Juvenal* reckons it, as the compelment of all torments, inflicted by a cruel *Roman* Dame upon her slaves, that whilest she was whipping them, she painted her face, talked with her Gossips, and used all signs of neglecting what those wretches felt. Now seeing that the greatest grievances wherewith a domineering State offendeth her Subjects, are free from all sense of indignity: likely it is, that they will not extremely hate her, although desire of liberty make them weary of her Empire. In these respects it is not needfull, that she should keep a Guard of licentious cut-throats, and maintain them in all villany, as a *Dionysius* or *Agathocles* must do: her own Citizens are able to terrifie, and to hold perforce in obedience, all male-contents. These things, considered alone by themselves, may serve to prove, That a City is scarce able to deserve the name of a Tyrannesse, in the proper signification.

All this notwithstanding, it shall appear, that the miseries, wherewith a Tyrant loadeth his people, are not so heavy, as the burdens imposed by a cruell City. Not without some appearance of truth, it may be said, that Lust, and many other private passions, are no way incident to a City or Corporation. But to make this good, we shall have need to use the help of such distinctions, as the Argument in hand doth not require. Was not *Rome* lascivious, when *Cato* was fain to rise and leave the Theater, to the end, that the reverend regard of his gravity might not hinder the people, from calling for a shew of naked Courtisans, that were to be brought upon the open stage? By common practice, and generall approved custome, we are to censure the quality of a whole State; not by the private vertue or vice of any one man, nor by metaphysicall abstraction of *the universall* from *the singular*; or of *the Corporation*, from *those of whom it is compounded*. I say therefore, (as I have said elsewhere) That it were better to live under one pernicious Tyrant, than under many thousands. The reasons proving this, are too many to set down, but few may suffice. The desires of one man, how inordinate soever, if they cannot be satisfied, yet they may be wearyed; he is not able to search all corners; his humour may be found, and soothed; age or good advice, yea, or some unexpected accident may reform him; all which failing; yet is there hope, that his successour may prove better.

Many Tyrants have been changed into worthy Kings: and many have ill used their ill-gotten Dominion, which, becoming hereditary to their posterity, hath grown into the most excellent form of Government, even a lawfull Monarchy. But they that live under a tyrannicall City, have no such hope: their Mistresse is immortall, and will not slacken the reins, untill they be pulled out of her hands, and her own mouth receive the bridle of a more mightier Chariotter. This is wofull: yet their present sufferings make them lesse mindfull of the future. New flies, and hungry ones, fall upon the same sore, out of which others had already sucked their fill. A new Governour comes yearly among them, attended by all his poor kindred and friends, who mean not to return home empty to their hives, without a good lading of wax and honey. These flie into all quarters, and are quickly acquainted with every mans wealth, or whatsoever else, in all the Province, is worthy to be desired. They know all a mans enemies, and all his fears: becomming themselves, within a little space, the enemies that he feareth most. To grow into acquaintance with these masterfull guests, in hope to win their friendship, were an endlesse labour, (yet it must be undergone) and such as every one hath not means to go about: but were this effected, what availeth it? The love of one Governour is purchased with gifts: the Successour of this man, he is more loving than could be wished in respect of a fair Wife or Daughter: then comes the third, perhaps of the contrary faction at home, a bitter enemy to both his fore-goers, who seeks the ruine of all that have been inward with them. So the miseries of this tyranny are not simple, but interlaced (as it were) with the calamities of civill war. The *Romans* had a Law *De Repetundis*, or, *Of Recovery*, against extorting Magistrates: yet we finde, that it served not wholly to restrain their provinciall Governours; who presuming on the favour of their own Citizens, and of their kindred and friends at home, were bold in their Provinces, to work all these enormities rehearsed; though somewhat the more sparingly, for fear of judgement. If the subjects of *Rome* groaned under such oppressions, what must we think of those that were Vassals unto *Carthage*? The *Romans* imposed no burthensome

tributes; they loved not to hear, that their Empire was grievous; they condemned many noble Citizens for having been ill Governours. At *Carthage* all went quite contrary: the rapines newly divised by one Magistrate, served as presidents to instruct another; every man resolved to doe the like, when it should fall to his turne; and he was held a notable Statesman, whose robberies had been such, as might afford a good share to the common treasure. Particular examples of this *Carthaginian* practice are not extant: the government of *Verres* the *Roman* in *Sicil*, that is lively set out by *Tullie*, may serve to inform us, what was the demeanour of these *Punick* Rulers, who stood in fear of no such condemnation, as *Verres* underwent. By prosecuting this discourse, I might infer a more generall proposition; That a City cannot govern her subject Provinces so mildly as a King: but it is enough to have shewed, That the tyranny of a City is far more intolerable, than that of any one most wicked man.

Sutable to the cruelty of such Lords, is the hatred of their subjects: and again, sutable to the hatred of the subjects, is the jealousie of their Lords. Hence it followed, that, in wars abroad, the *Carthaginians* durst use the service of *African* souldiers; in *Africk* it self they had rather be beholding to others, that were farther fetcht. For the same purpose did *Hannibal*, in the second *Punick war*, shift his Mercenaries out of their own countries; *Vt Afri in Hispania, Hispani in Africa, melior procul ab domo futurus uterq; miles, velut mutuis pignoribus obligati stipendia facerent; that the Africans might serve in Spain, the Spaniards in Africk, being each of them like to prove the better Souldiers, the farther they were from home, as if they were obliged by mutuall pledges.* It is disputable, I confesse, whether these *African* and *Spanish* hirelings, could properly be termed *Mercenaries*: for they were subject unto *Carthage*, & carried into the field, not only by reward, but by duty. Yet seeing their duty was no better than enforced, and that it was not any love to the State, but meer desire of gain, that made them fight; I will not nicely stand upon propriety of a word, but hold them, as *Polybius* also doth, no better than Mercenaries.

Liv. Dec. 3. l. 1.

†. III.

The dangers growing from the use of mercenary Souldiers, and forrain Auxiliaries.

THe extreme danger, growing from the imployment of such Souldiers, is well observed by *Machiavel*: who sheweth, that they are more terrible to those whom they serve, than to those against whom they serve. They are seditious, unfaithfull, disobedient, devourers, and destroyers of all places and Countries, whereinto they are drawn; as being held by no other bond, than their own commodity. Yea, that which is most fearfull among such hirelings, is, that they have often, and in time of greatest extremity, not only refused to fight, in their defence, who have entertained them, but revolted unto the contrary part; to the utter ruine of those Princes and States that have trusted them. Those mercenaries (saith *Machiavel*) which filled all *Italy* when *Charles* the eight of *France* did passe the *Alpes*, were the cause that the said *French* King won the Realm of *Naples* with his Buckler without a Sword. Notable was the example of *Sforza*, the Father of *Francis Sforza*, Duke of *Millan*; who being entertained by Queen *Joane* of *Naples*, abandoned her service on the sudden, and forced her to put her self into the hands of the King of *Aragon*. Like unto his father was *Francis Sforza*, the first of that race, Duke of *Millan*; who being entertained by the *Millanois*, forced them to become his slaves, even with the very same army which themselves had levied for their own defence. But *Lodowick Sforza*, the son of this *Francis*, by the just judgement of God, was made a memorable example unto posterity, in losing his whole estate by the treachery of such faithless Mercenaries, as his own father had been. For, having waged an army of *Switzers*, and committed his Dutchy, together with his person, into their hands, he was by them delivered up unto his enemy the *French* King, by whom he was inclosed in the Castle of *Loches* unto his dying day.

The like inconvenience is found, in using the help of forrain Auxiliaries. We see, that when the Emperor of *Constantinople* had hired ten thousand *Turks* against his neighbour Princes; he could never, either by perswasion or force, set them again over the sea upon *Asia* side; which gave beginning to the Christian servitude, that soon after followed.

followed. *Alexander* the son of *Cassander*, sought aid of the great *Demetrius*: but *Demetrius*, being entred into his Kingdome, slue the same *Alexander*, who had invited him, and made himself King of *Macedon*. *Syracon* the *Turke* was called into *Egypt* by *Samar* the *Soldan*, against his opposite: but this *Turke* did settle himself so surely in *Egypt*, that *Saladine* his successor became Lord thereof; and of all the *holy Land*, soon after. What need we look about for examples of this kind? Every Kingdome, in effect, can furnish us. The *Britains* drew the *Saxons* into this our Country; & *Mac Murrough* drew the *English* into *Ireland*; but the one and the other soon became Lords of those two kingdomes.

Against all this may be alledged, the good successe of the united Provinces of the *Netherlands*, using none other than such kinde of Souldiers, in their late war. Indeed these *Low-countries* have many goodly & strong Cities, filled with Inhabitants that are wealthy, industrious, and valiant in their kind. They are stout Sea-men, and therein is their excellency; neither are they bad at the defence of a place well fortified: but in open field they have seldome been able to stand against the *Spaniard*. Necessity therefore compelled them to seek help abroad: and the like necessity made them forbear to arm any great numbers of their own. For, with money raised by their Trade, they maintained the War: and therefore could ill spare unto the Pike and Musket, those hands, that were of more use in helping to fill the common purse. Yet what of this? they sped wel. Surely they sped as ill as might be, whilest they had none other than mercenary Souldiers. Many fruitless attempts, made by the Prince of *Orenge*, can witnesse it: and that brave Commander Count *Lodowick* of *Nassau*, felt, to his grief, in his retrait from *Græningham*; when, in the very instant that required their service in fight, his Mercenaries cried out aloud for money, and so ran away. This was not the only time, when the hired Souldiers of the States, have either sought to hide their cowardize under a shew of greedinesse; or at least, by meer covetousnes, have ruined in one hour the labour of many moneths. I will not stand to prove this by many examples: for they themselves will not deny it. Neither would I touch the honour of *Monsieur* the Duke of *Anjou*, brother to the *French* King; save that it is folly to conceal what all the world knowes. He that would lay open the danger of forrain Auxiliaries, needeth no better pattern. It is commonly found, that such Aiders make themselves Lords over those, to whom they lend their succour: but where shall we meet with such another as this *Monsieur*, who, for his protection promised, being rewarded with the Lordship of the Country, made it his first work, to thrust by violence a galling yoak upon the peoples neck? Well, he lived to repent it, with grief enough. Even whilest he was counterfeiting unto those about him, that were ignorant of his plot, an imaginary sorrow for the poor Burghers of *Antwerpe*, as verily beleeving the Town to be surprised and won; the death of the Count S. *Aignan*, who fell over the wall, and the Cannon of the City, discharged against his own troups, informed him better what had hapned; shewing, that they were his own *French* who stood in need of pity. Then was his feigned passion changed into a very bitter anguish of mind, wherein, smiting his breast, and wringing his hands, he exclaimed, *Helas, mon dieu, que veux tu faire de moy? Alas, my God, what wilt thou doe with me?* So the affairs of the *Netherlands* will not serve to prove, that there is little danger in using Mercenary Souldiers, or the help of forrain Auxiliaries. This notwithstanding, they were obedient unto necessity, and sought help of the *English*, *Scots*, and *French*: wherein they did wisely, and prospered. For when there was in *France* a King, partaker with them in the same danger; when the Queen of *England* refused to accept the Soveraignty of their Country, which they offered, yet being provoked by the *Spaniard* their enemy, pursued him with continuall war; when the heir of *England* reigned in *Scotland*, a King too just & wise (though not ingaged in any quarrell) either to make profit of his neighbours miseries, or to help those that had attempted the conquest of his own inheritance: then might the *Netherlanders* very safely repose confidence in the forces of these their Neighbour Countries. The Souldiers that came unto them from hence, were (to omit any other commendations) not only regardfull of the pay that they should receive, but well affected unto the cause that they took in hand: or, if any were cold in his devotion, unto the side whereon he fought, yet was he kept in order, by remembrance of his own home, where the *English* would have rewarded him with death, if that his faith had been corrupted by

by the *Spaniard*. They were therefore trusted with the custody of Cities; they were held as friends, and patrons: the necessity of the poorer sort was relieved, before the pay-day came, with *lendings*, and other helps, as well as the ability of the States could permit. When three such Princes, reigning at one time, shal agree so wel, to maintain against the power of a fourth, injurious (or at least so seeming to them all) a Neighbour-Country of the same religion, and to which they all are lovingly affected: then may such a country be secure of her Auxiliaries, and quietly intend her Trade, or other business, in hope of like success. But these circumstances meet so seldome, as it may well hold true in generall: *That mercenary and forraign auxiliary forces are no lesse dangerous, than the enemy against whom they are entertained.*

§. IIII.

That the moderate government of the Romans *gave them assurance to use the service of their own subjects in their wars. That in mans nature there is an affection breeding tyranny, which hindreth the use and benefit of the like moderation.*

HEre it may be demanded, whether also the *Romans* were not compelled to use service of other souldiers in their many great wars, but performed all by their own Citizens? for if it were their manner to arm their own subjects, how hapned it, that they feared no rebellion? if strangers, how then could they avoid the inconveniences above rehearsed? The answer is, that their Armies were compounded usually of their own Citizens, and of the *Latines* in equall number: to which they added, as occasion required, some companies of *Campanes*, *Hetrurians*, *Samnites*, or other of their subjects, as were either interessed in the quarrell, or might best be trusted. They had, about these times, (though seldome they did imploy so many) ten *Roman* Legions; a good strength, if all other help had been wanting; which served to keep in good order their subjects, that were alwaies fewer in the army than themselves. As for the *Latines*, if consanguinity were not a sufficient obligation; yet many priviledges and immunities, which they injoyed, made them assured unto the State of *Rome*: under which they lived almost at liberty, as being bound to little else, than to serve it in war. It is true, that a yoke, how easie soever, seems troublesom to the neck that hath bin accustomed to freedom. Therefore many people of *Italy* have taken occasion of severall advantages, to deliver themselves from the *Roman* subjection. But still they have bin reclaimed by war, the Authors of rebellion hath sharply bin punished, and the people by degrees have obtained such liberty, as made them esteem none otherwise of *Rome*, than as the common city of all *Italy*. Yea, in processe of time it was granted unto many Cities, and those far off removed, even to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, where S^t. *Paul* was born, that all the Burgesses should be free of *Rome* it self. This favour was conferred absolutely upon some; upon some, with restraint of giving voyce in election of Magistrates, or with other such limitation as was thought fit. Hereunto may be added, that it was their manner, after a great conquest, to release unto their new subjects half of their tribute which they had bin wont to pay to their former Lords, which was a ready way to bring the multitude into good liking of their present condition; when the review of harder times past, should rather teach them to fear a relapse, than to hope for better in the future, by seeking innovation. Neither would it be forgotten, as a speciall note of the *Romans* good government, That when some, for their well-deserving, have had the offer to be made Citizens of *Rome*, they have refused it, and held themselves better contented with their own present estate. Wherefore it is no marvell, that *Petellia*, a City of the *Brutians* in *Italy*, chose rather to endure all extremity of war, than, upon any condition, to forsake the *Romans*; even when the *Romans* themselves had confessed, that they were unable to help these their subjects, and therefore willed them to look to their own good, as having been faithfull to the utmost. Such love purchased these mild Governours, without impairing their Majesty thereby. The sum of all is; they had, of their own, a strong army; they doubled it by adjoyning thereunto the *Latines*; and they further increased it, as need required, with other help of their own subjects: all, or the most of their followers, accounting the prosperity of *Rome* to be the common good.

Liv. Dec. 1. l. 3.

Liv. ibid.

The moderate use of soveraign power being so effectuall, in assuring the people

unto

unto their Lords, and consequently in the establishment or inlargement of Dominion: it may seem strange, that the practice of tyranny, whose effects are contrary, hath been so common in all ages. The like, I know, may be said of all Vice and Irregularity, whatsoever. For it is lesse difficult, (whosoever think otherwise) and more safe, to keep the way of Justice and Honesty, than to turn aside from it; yet commonly our passions do lead us into by-paths. But where Lust, Anger, Fear, or any the like Affection, seduceth our reason; the same unruly appetite, either bringeth with it an excuse, or, at least-wise, taketh away all cause of wonder. In tyranny it is not so: for as much as we can hardly descry the passion, that is of force to insinuate it self into the whole tenour of a Government. It must be confessed, that lawlesse desires have bred many Tyrants: yet so that these desires have seldome been hereditary, or long-lasting; but have ended commonly with the tyrants life, sometimes before his death; by which means the government hath been reduced to a better forme. In such cases, the saying of *Aristotle* holds, *That tyrannies are of a short continuance*. But this doth not satisfie the question in hand. Why did the *Carthaginians* exercise tyranny? Why did the *Athenians*? Why have many other Cities done the like? If in respect of their generall good; how could they be ignorant, that this was an ill course for the safety of the Weal publick? If they were led hereunto by any affection; what was that affection wherein so many thousand Citizens, divided and subdivided within themselves by factions, did all concurre, notwithstanding the much diversity of temper, and the vehemency of private hatred among them? Doubtlesse, we must be fain to say, That Tyranny is, by it self, a vice distinct from others. A Man, we know, is *Animal politicum*, apt even by Nature, to command or to obey; every one in his proper degree. Other desires of Mankinde, are common likewise unto brute beasts; and some of them, to bodies wanting sense: but the desire of rule belongeth unto the nobler part of reason; whereunto is also answerable an aptnesse to yeeld obedience. Now as hunger and thirst are given by nature not only to Man and Beast, but unto all sorts of Vegetables, for the sustentation of their life: as Fear, Anger, Lust, and other affections are likewise naturall, in convenient measure, both unto Mankinde, and to all creatures that have sense, for the shunning or repelling of harm, and seeking after that which is requisite: even so is this desire of ruling or obeying, ingrafted by Nature in the race of Man, and in Man only as a reasonable creature, for the ordering of his life, in a civill form of Justice. All these in-bred qualities are good and usefull. Nevertheless, Hunger and Thirst are the Parents of Gluttony and Drunkennesse, which, in reproach, are called beastly, by an unproper terme: since they grow from appetites, found in lesse worthy creatures than beasts, and are yet not so common in beasts, as in men. The effects of Anger, and of such other Passions as descend no lower than unto brute beasts, are held lesse vile; and perhaps not without good reason: yet are the more pernicious. But as no corruption is worse by sharper Lawes, as being in generall more horrible, and punished more grievously, than of that which is best; there is not any Passion, that nourisheth a vice more hurtfull unto Mankind, than that which issueth from the most noble root, even the depraved Affection of ruling. Hence arise those two great mischiefs, of which hath been an old question in dispute, whether be the worse; That all things, or that nothing should be lawfull. Of these, a dull spirit, and overloaden by fortune, with power, whereof it is not capable, occasioneth the one; the other proceedeth from a contrary distemper, whose vehemency the bounds of Reason cannot limit. Under the extremity of either, no Country is able to subsist: yet the defective dulnesse, that permitteth any thing, will also permit the execution of Law, to which meer necessity doth enforce the ordinary Magistrate; whereas tyranny is more active, and pleaseth it self in the excesse, with a false colour of justice. Examples of stupidity, and unaptnesse to rule, are not very frequent, though such natures are every where to be found: for this quality troubles not it self in seeking Empire; or if by some errour of fortune, it encounter therewithall, (as when *Claudius*, hiding himself in a corner, found the Empire of *Rome*) some friend, or else a wife, is not wanting to supply the defect, which also cruelty doth help to shadow. Therefore this Vice, as a thing unknown, is without a name. Tyranny is more bold, and feareth not to be known, but would be reputed honourable: for it is *prosperum & felix scelus, a fortunate mischief*, as long as it can subsist. *There is no reward or honour* (saith *Peter Charron*) *assigned unto those, that know*

Arist. pol. l. 5. c. 12.

how to increase, or preserve humane nature: all honours, greatnesse, riches, dignities, Empires, triumphs, trophees, are appointed for those, that know how to afflict, trouble, or destroy it. Cæsar and *Alexander*, have un-made and slain, each of them; more than a million of men: but they made none, nor left none behind them. Such is the errour of Mans judgement in valuing things according to the common opinion. But the true name of Tyranny, when it growes to ripeness, is none other than *Feritie*: the same that *Aristotle* saith to be worse than any vice. It exceedeth indeed all other vices, issuing from the passions incident both to Man and Beast; no less than Perjury, Murder, Treason, and the like horrible crimes, exceed in villany, the faults of Gluttony and Drunkenness, that grow from more ignoble appetites. Hereof *Sciron*, *Procrustes*, and *Pityocamptes*, that used their bodily force to the destruction of Mankinde, are not better examples, than *Phalaris*, *Dionysius*, and *Agathocles*, whose mischievous heads were assisted by the hands of detestable Ruffians. The same barbarous desire of Lordship, transported those old examples of *Feritie*, and these latter Tyrants, beyond the bounds of reason: neither of them knew the use of Rule, nor the difference between Freemen and slaves.

The rule of the husband over the wife, and of parents over their children, is naturall, and appointed by God himself; so that it is alwayes, and simply, allowable and good. The former of these, is as the dominion of Reason over Appetite; the latter is the whole authority, which one Freeman can have over another. The rule of a King is no more, nor none other, than of a common Father over his whole country: which he that knowes what the power of a Father is, or ought to be, knowes to be enough. But there is a greater and more Masterly rule, which God gave unto *Adam*, when he said; *Have dominion over the fish of the Sea, and over the fowle of the aire, and every living thing that moveth upon the earth*: which also he continueth unto *Noah* and his children, saying, *The fear of you (and the dread of you) shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every fowle of the aire, upon all that moveth upon the earth, and upon all the fishes of the Sea: into your hands are they delivered.* He who gave this dominion unto Man, did give also an aptitude to use it. The execution of this power hath since extended it self, over a very great part of Mankinde. There are indeed no small numbers of men, whose disability to governe themselves, proves them, according to *Aristotles* doctrine, to be naturally slaves.

Gen.2.28. Gen.9.2. *Arist.Pol.1. c.3.*

Yet find I not in Scripture any warrant to oppress men with bondage: unless the lawfulness thereof be sufficiently intimated, where it is said, That a man shall not be punished for the death of a servant, whom he hath slain by correction, if the servant live a day or two, because *he is his money*: or else by the captivity of the *Midianitish* girls, which were made bond-slaves, and the Sanctuary had a part of them for the *Lords tribute*. Doubtless the custome hath been very ancient: for *Noah* laid this curse upon *Canaan*, that he should be *a servant of servants*; and *Abraham* had of *Pharaoh*, among other gifts, *men-servants and maid-servants*, which were none other than slaves. Christian Religion is said to have abrogated this old kinde of servility: but surely they are deceived that think so. Saint *Paul* desired the liberty of *Onesimus*, whom he had won unto Christ: yet wrote for this unto *Philemon* by way of request, craving it as a benefit, not urging it as a duty. Agreeable hereto is the direction, which the same Saint *Paul* giveth unto servants: *Let every man abide in the same calling wherin he was called: art thou called, being a servant? care not for it, but if thou maist be made free, use it rather.* It is true, that Christian religion hath procured liberty unto many; not only in regard of piety, but for that the Christian Masters stood in fear of being discovered by their slaves, unto the persecutors of religion. *Mahomet* likewise, by giving liberty to his followers, drew many unto his impiety: but whether he forbade it, as unlawfull, unto his sectators, to hold one another of them in bondage, I cannot tel; save that by the practice of the *Turks* and *Moors*, it seems he did not. In *England* we had many bond-servants, untill the time of our last civill wars; and I think that the Laws concerning Villenage are still in force, of which the latest are the sharpest. And now, since slaves were made free, which were of great use and service, there are grown up a rabble of Rogues, Cutpurses, and other the like trades; slaves in Nature, though not in Law.

Exod.21.21. Num.30.40. Gen.9.25 Gen.12.16. Epist.to Phile. vers.14. 1 Cor.7.20,21.

But whether this kinde of dominion be lawfull, or not; *Aristotle* hath well proved, that it is naturall. And certainly, we finde not such a latitude of difference in any creature,

creature, as in the nature of man; wherein (to omit the infinite distance in estate of the elect & reprobate) the wisest excel the most foolish, by far greater degree, than the most foolish of men doth surpass the wisest of beasts. Therefore when Commiseration hath given way to Reason, we shall find, that nature is the ground even of Masterly power, and of servile obedience, which is thereto correspondent. But it may be truly said, that some countries have subsisted long without the use of any servility; as also it is true, that some countries have not the use of any tame cattell. Indeed the affections which uphold civill rule, are (though more noble) not so simply needfull, unto the sustentation either of our kind, as are Lust, and the like; or of every one, as are hunger and thirst; which notwithstanding are the lowest in degree. But where most vile and servile dispositions have liberty to shew themselves begging in the streets, there may we more justly wonder, how the dangerous toile of Sea-faring men can find enough to undertake them, than how the swarme of idle vagabonds should increase, by access of those, that are weary of their own more painfull condition. This may suffice to prove, that in Mankind there is found, ingraffed even by Nature, a desire of absolute dominion: whereunto the general custome of Nations doth subscribe; together with the pleasure which most men take in flatterers, that are the basest of slaves.

This being so, we find no cause to marvell, how Tyranny hath been so rife in all ages, & practised, not only in the single rule of some vicious Prince, but ever by consent of whole Cities and Estates: since other vices have likewise gotten head, and born a generall sway, notwithstanding that the way of vertue be more honourable, and commodious. Few there are that have used well the inferiour Passions: how then can we expect, that the most noble affections should not be disordered? in the government of wife and children, some are utterly careless, and corrupt all by their dull connivency: others, by masterly rigour, hold their own bloud under condition of slavery. To be a good Governour is a rare commendation: and to prefer the Weal publick above all respects whatsoever, is the Vertue justly termed *Heroicall*. Of this Vertue many ages afford not many examples. *Hector* is named by *Aristotle* as one of them; & deservedly, if this praise be due to extraordinary height of fortitude, used in defence of a mans own Country. But if we consider, that a love of the generall good cannot be perfect, without reference unto *the fountain of all goodnesse*: we shall find, that no morall vertue, how great soever, can by it self, deserve the commendation of *more than Vertue*, as the *Heroicall* doth. Wherefore we must search the Scriptures, for patterns hereof; such as *David*, *Josaphat*, and *Josias* were. Of Christian Kings, if there were many such, the world would soon be happy. It is not my purpose to wrong the worth of any, by denying the praise where it is due, or by preferring a lesse excellent. But he that can find a King religious, and zealous in Gods cause, without enforcement, either of adversity, or of some regard of state; a procurer of a generall peace and quiet; who not only useth his authority, but addes the travell of his eloquence, in admonishing his Judges to do justice; by the vigorous influence of whose Government, civility is infused, even into those places, that have been the dens of savage Robbers and Cut-throats; one that hath quite abolished a slavish *Brehon* Law, by which a whole Nation of his subjects were held in bondage; and one, whose higher vertue and wisdome doth make the praise not only of Nobility and other ornaments, but of abstinence from the bloud, the wives, and the goods of those that are under his power, together with a world of chief commendations belonging unto some good princes, to appear lesse regardable: he, I say, that can find such a King, findeth an example, worthy to adde unto vertue an honourable title, if it were formerly wanting. Under such a King, it is likely, by Gods blessing, that a Land shal flourish, with increase of Trade, in Countries before unknown; that Civility and Religion shall be propagated, into barbarous and heathen Countries; and that the happiness of his subjects, shall cause the Nations far off removed, to wish him their Soueraign. I need not adde hereunto, that all the actions of such a King, even his bodily exercises, do partake of vertue; since all things tending to the preservation of his life and health, or to the mollifying of his cares, (who fixing his contemplation upon God, seeketh how to imitate the unspeakable goodnesse, rather than the inaccessible majesty, with both of which himself is indued, as far as humane nature is capable) do also belong to the furtherance of that common good, which he procureth. Lest any man should think me transported with admiration, or other affection, beyond the bounds of reason; I adde hereunto,

hereunto, that such a King is nevertheless a man, must dye, and may erre: yet wisdome and fame shall set him free, from *error*, and from death, both with and without the help of time. One thing I may not omit, as a singular benefit (though there be many other besides redounding unto this King, as the fruit of his goodness. The people that live under a pleasant yoke, are not only loving to their Severaign Lord, but free of courage, and no greater in muster of men, than of stout fighters, if need require: whereas on the contrary, he that ruleth as over slaves, shall be attended in time of necessity, by slavish minds, neither loving his person, nor regarding his or their own honour. Cowards may be furious, & slaves outragious, for a time: but among spirits that have once yeelded unto slavery, universally it is found true, that *Homer* saith, *God bereaveth a man of half his vertue, that day when he casteth him into bondage.*

Hom. Odyss. l. 17.

Of these things, I might perhaps more seasonably have spoken, in the generall discourse of Government: but where so lively an example of the calamity following a tyrannicall rule, and the use of Mercenaries, thereupon depending, did offer it self, as is this present business of the *Carthaginians*; I thought that the note would be more effectuall, than being barely delivered, as out of a common place.

§. III.

How the war against the Mercenaries was diversly managed by Hanno *and* Amilcar, *with variable successe. The bloudy counsels of the Mercenaries; and their finall destruction.*

BEing now to return unto those Mercenaries, from whom I have thus far digressed, I cannot readily finde, by what name henceforth I should call them. They are no longer in pay with the *Carthaginians*; neither care they to pretend, that they seek their wages already due; so that they are neither Mercenaries, nor Mutiners. Had they all been subjects unto *Carthage*, then might they justly have been termed Rebels: but *Spendius*, and others, that were the principall part of them, ought none allegiance to that State, which they endeavoured to subvert. Wherefore I will borrow the name of their late occupation, and still call them Mercenaries, as *Polybius* also doth.

These, using the advantage of their present strength, besieged * *Vtica* and *Hippagreta*, Cities of great importance, as being seated upon the western Haven of *Carthage*, where it is divided by a neck of land; *Hippagreta* standing inwards upon the great Lake, *Vtica* further out upon the Sea. Neither was the Campe at *Tunis* abandoned, which lay fitly to hinder the *Carthaginians* from passing up into the countrey: for *Matho* and *Spendius* wanted not men to follow the war in all parts at once.

How the *Carthaginians* were amazed with this unexpected perill, any man may conceive. But the business it self awakes them hastily. They are hardly prest on all sides; and therefore travelled their brains to the uttermost, how to shake off these furious dogs from their shoulders, who, sometimes by night, sometimes by day, came unto the very wals of their City. In this exigent, *Hanno* was made their Generall: who failed not in his accustomed diligence of making all good preparation: but had gotten together whatsoever was needfull, as well to relieve a Town besieged, as to batter and assail any place defended against him. With these provisions, and with an hundred Elephants, he came to *Vtica*, so suddenly, that the enemies as men surprised, forsook their Trenches, and retired themselves unto a rising piece of woody ground, where they might be safe against the violence of his beasts. *Hanno*, thinking that he had to doe with *Numidians*, whose custome was, after any loss, to flie two or three whole dayes journey off; presently entred the Town; to shew himself after this his victory. But these good fellowes, against whom he was to war, had learned of *Amilcar*, to retire and to fight again, many times in one day, as need required. Therefore as soon as they perceived, that he knew not how to use a victory; they assailed their own camp, and with great slaughter, drave the *Carthaginians* out of it, forcing them to hide themselves within *Vtica*; and got possession of all the store that *Hanno* had brought for the relief of the Town. This bad beginning *Hanno* followed with sutable indiscretion: losing the benefit of many fair opportunities, and suffering the enemies to take possession of all the entrance from *Carthage* to the firm land.

* *Vtica* is seated in the great bay that enters towards *Carthage*, not far within the Promontory of *Apollo*. At this time it is called *Porto Ferina*, or *Biserta*, and by the *Africans* themselves, *Geral Melba*. *Niger* saith, that the town it self is ruined, and the place wheron it stood, now called *Mazachares*. It was very ancient, & built before *Carthage*, saith *Silius*. As it flourished before *Carthage* was set up, so did it after *Carthage* was thrown down by the *Romans* in the third *Punick* war. Famous it was by the death of *Cato* the younger, who held it against *Cæsar*. *Victor* that worthy Divine, was Bishop thereof in the time of *Genserick* the *Arrian*, who lived all the time of that Tyrant, and hath written the story of his cruelties.

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The *Carthaginians* perceiving this, were exceedingly troubled, and did therefore let fall their shete-anchor; sending to the field their great Captain *Amilcar*, whom they furnished with ten thousand foot of supply, and seventy elephants. *Amilcar* had work enough to do, before he should be able to meet with the enemy upon equall ground. For, besides other places of advantage that the Mercenaries had occupied, *Hanno* had suffered them to win the only bridge, by which the River *Macra*, or *Bagradas*, was passable unto these, that were to travell into the Continent. This River had not many foords, nor those easie for a single man to get over: but upon them all was kept such guard, as gave to *Amilcar* little hope of prevailing in seeking way by force. As for the Bridge it self, *Matho* and his followers were there lodged: and had there built a town, wherein to lye commodiously, intentive only to the custody thereof. But *Amilcar* had observed, that the very mouth of *Bagradas* used to be sometimes cloyed with sand and gravell, that was driven in by certain customary winds, and could not be driven out again, by force of that slow river, till the wind failing, or changing, suffered the weight of the waters, to disburden their channell. Hereof he made use; and taking his opportunity passed the River, contrary to all expectation, either of the enemy, or of his own Citizens.

There was no need to bid *Spendius* look about him, when once it was heard, that *Amilcar* was come over *Bagradas*: all the Mercenaries were troubled with the newes; knowing that they were no longer to deale with the improvident gravity of *Hanno*, but with an able spirit, even with their own Master in the Art of War, whom they admired, though they hated him. But this fear was soon changed into presumption; when more than fifteen thousand of their own society, were come from *Vtica*, and other ten thousand from the guard of the Bridge. Their Army was far greater, than that of *Amilcar*; and they were, in their own judgement, the better men; upon which confidence, they resolved to charge him on all sides, and beat him down, in despight of his worth and reputation. With this resolution they attend upon him, watching for some advantage, and still exhorting one another to play the men, and give the onset. Especially they that followed him in the Rear, had a great mind to begin the fight; whereunto their promptnesse was such, as took from them their former circumspection. *Amilcar* held his way toward the Bridge, keeping himself on plain grounds, that were fittest for the service of his Elephants, which he placed in front of his Army. Neither made he shew of any desire to fight, but suffered the rashnesse of his enemies to encrease, till it should break into some disorder. At length perceiving, that with more boldnesse than good heed, they followed him so near, as would be little for their good, if he should turn unto them, he hasted his march, even to such a pace, as made a shew little differing from plain flight. The Mercenaries presently fell upon his skirts; beleeving, that for fear of them he was ready to run away. But whilest they confusedly, as in sudden opinion of victory, were driven at the heels of those that had the Rear; *Amilcar* wheeled about, and met them in the face, charging them hotly, but in very good order, so that, amazed with the apprehension of unexpected danger, they fled without making any resistance. In this overthrow there were six thousand of the Mercenaries slain, and about two thousand taken, the rest fled, some to the Campe at *Vtica*, others to the town at the Bridge; whither *Amilcar* followed them so fast, that he wan the place easily; the enemies being thence also fled unto *Tunes*, as not having recollected their spirits to make it good.

The fame of this victory, together with the diligence of *Amilcar* in pursuing it, caused many townes revolted, partly by fear, partly by force, to return to their former obedience. Yet was not *Matho* wanting to himself in this dangerous time. He sent about *Numidia* and *Africk*, for new supplies; admonishing the people, now or never, to do their best, for the recovery of their freedome; he perswaded *Spendius*, and *Autaritus*, that was a Captain of the *Gaules*, to wait upon *Amilcar*, and alwayes to keep the higher grounds, or at least, the foot of some hill, where they might be safe from the Elephants; and he himself continued to presse the Town of *Hippagreta* with an hard siege. It was necessary for *Amilcar*, in passing from place to place, as his businesse required, to take such wayes as there were: for all the Country lay not levell. Therefore *Spendius*, who still coasted him, and once gotten a notable advantage of ground; the *Carthaginians* lying in a plain, surrounded with hils, that were occupied by the Mercenaries, with their

Numidian

Numidian and *African* succours. In this difficulty, the fame of *Amilcar* his perſonall worth did greatly benefit his Country. For *Naravaſus*, a young gentleman commanding over the *Numidians*, was glad of this occaſion, ſerving to get the acquaintance and love of ſo brave a man, which he much deſired: and therefore came unto *Amilcar* ſignifying his good affection to him, with offer to do him all ſervice. *Amilcar* joyfully entertained this friend, promiſed unto him his own daughter in marriage; and ſo wan from the enemies two thouſand horſe, that following *Naravaſus* turned unto the *Carthaginians* ſide. With this help he gave battell unto *Spendius*: wherein the *Numidian* laboured to approve his own valour to his new friend. So the victory was great: for there were ſlain ten thouſand of *Spendius* his fellowes, and four thouſand taken priſoners; but *Spendius* himſelf with *Autarius* the *Gaule*, eſcaped to do more miſchief. *Amilcar* dealt very gently with his priſoners: pardoning all offences paſt, and diſmiſſing as many as were unwilling to become his followers; yet with condition, that they ſhould never more bear arms againſt the *Carthaginians*; threatning to take ſharp revenge upon all that ſhould break this Covenant.

This humanity was vehemently ſuſpected by *Matho*, *Spendius*, and *Autarius*, as tending to win from them the hearts of their Souldiers. Wherefore they reſolved to take ſuch order, that no man among them ſhould dare to truſt in the good nature of *Amilcar*, nor to hope for any ſafety whileſt *Carthage* was able to do him hurt. They counterfeited letters of advertiſement, wherein was contained, that ſome of their company, reſpective only of their private benefit, and careleſs of the generall good, had a purpoſe to betray them all unto the *Carthaginians*, with whom they held intelligence; and that it was needful to look well unto *Geſco*, and his companions, whom theſe traitors had a purpoſe to inlarge. Upon this Theme *Spendius* makes an oration to the Souldiers, exhorting them to fidelity; and ſhewing with many words, that the ſeeming humanity of *Amilcar*, toward ſome, was none other than a bait, wherewith to intrap thm all at once together; as alſo telling them what a dangerous enemy *Geſco* would prove, if he might eſcape their hands. Whileſt he is yet in the midſt of his tale, were letters come to the ſame purpoſe. Then ſteps forth *Autarius*, and ſpeaks his mind plainly: ſaying, that it were the beſt, yea, the only way, for the common ſafety, to cut off all hope of reconciliation with *Carthage*; that if ſome were deviſing to make their own peace, it would go hard with thoſe that had a care of the war; that it were better to make an end of *Geſco* his life, than to trouble themſelves with looking to his cuſtody; that by ſuch a courſe every one ſhould be ingaged in the preſent Action, as having none other hope left, than in victory alone; finally, that ſuch as would ſpeak here-againſt, were worthy to be reputed Traitors. This *Autarius* was in great credit with the Souldiers, & could ſpeak ſundry languages, in ſuch ſort, that he was underſtood by all. According to his motion therefore it was agreed, that *Geſco*, and all the other priſoners, ſhould forthwith be put to horrible death, by torments. Nevertheleſſe there were ſome, that for love of *Geſco* ſought to alter his intended cruelty; but they were forthwith ſtoned to death, as a Document unto others; and ſo the Decree was put in execution. Neither were khey therewithall contented, but further ordained, that all *Carthaginian* priſoners which they took, ſhould be ſerved in like ſort: and that the ſubjects or friends of *Carthage*, ſhould loſe their hands, and ſo be ſent home: which rule they obſerved ever afterwards.

Of this cruelty I need ſay no more, than that it was moſt execrable ferity. As for the counſell of uſing it, it was like unto the counſell of *Achitophel*; *All Iſrael ſhall hear, that thou art abhorred of thy father; then ſhall the hands of all that are with thee be ſtrong*. Such are the fruits of deſperation. He that is paſt all hope of pardon, is afraid of his own fellowes, if they be more innocent; and to avoid the puniſhment of leſſe offences, committeth greater. The cowardize of offenders, and the revengefull ſpirits of thoſe that have been wronged, are breeders of this deſperation: to which may be added ſome deficiency of Lawes, in diſtinguiſhing the puniſhments of malefactors, according to the decree of their ſeverall crimes. A coward thinks all proviſion too little for his own ſecurity. *If Phocas be a coward* (ſaid the Emperour *Mauritius*) *then is he murderous*. To be ſtedfaſt and ſure, in taking revenge, is thought a point of honour, and a defenſative againſt new injuries. But wrongfully: for it is oppoſite to the rule of Chriſtianity; and ſuch a quality diſcovered, makes them deadly enemies, who otherwiſe

wise would have repented, and sought to make amends, for the wrong done in passion. This was it which wrought so much woe to the *Carthaginians*; teaching *Matho*, and his *Africans*, to suspect even their gentleness, as the introduction to extreme rigour. Like unto the errors of Princes and Governours, are the errours of Lawes. Where one and the same punishment is awarded unto the lesse offence, and unto the greater; he that hath adventured to rob a man, is easily tempted to kill him, for his own security.

Against these inconveniences, Mercy and Severity, used with due respect, are the best remedies. In neither of which *Amilcar* failed. For as long as these his old souldiers were any way likely to be reclaimed by gentle courses, his humanity was ready to invite them. But when they were transported with beastly outrage, beyond all regard of honesty and shame, he rewarded their villany with answerable vengeance, casting them unto wilde beasts to be devoured.

Untill this time *Hanno*, with the Army under his command, had kept himself apart from *Amilcar*, and done little as may seem, for that nothing is remembred of him since his late losses. Neither was *Amilcar* sorry to want his help; as being able to do better without him. But when the war grew to such extremity, as threatned utter ruine to the one or the other side: then was *Hanno* sent for, and came to *Amilcar*, with whom he joyned his forces. By this accesse of strength *Amilcar* was not enabled to do more than in former times; rather he could now perform nothing: such was the hatred between him and his unworthy Colleague. The Towns of *Vtica* and *Hippagreta*, that had stood alwayes firm to the *Carthaginian* party, did now revolt unto the enemy, murdering all the Souldiers that they had in Garrison, and casting their bodies forth, without suffering them to be buryed. The provisions brought by sea, for maintenance of the Army, were lost in foul weather; and *Carthage* it self stood in danger of being besieged, about which *Matho* and *Spendius* consulted, whilest one of the *Carthaginian* Generals did (as it were) bind the others hands.

It hath in all Ages been used as the safest course, to send forth, in great Expeditions, two generals of one Army. This was the common practice of those two mighty Cities *Athens* and *Rome*, which other States and Princes have often imitated; perswading themselves, that great Armies are not so well conducted by one, as by two: who out of emulation to excell each other, will use the greater diligence. They have also joyned two chief Commanders in equall commission, upon this further consideration; the better to restrain the ambition of any one, that should be trusted with so great a strength. For hereof all common-weals have been jealous, having been taught by their examples that have made themselves Tyrants over those Cities and States that have imployed them. In this point the *Venetians* have been so circumspect, as they have, for the most part, trusted strangers, & not their own in all the wars which they have made. It is true, that the equall authority of two commanding in chief, serveth well to bridle the ambition of one or both, from turning upon the Prince or State that hath given them trust: but in managing the war it self, it is commonly the cause of ill successe. In wars made near unto *Rome* it self, when two good friends were Consuls, or such two at least, as concurred in one desire of *Triumph*, which honour (the greatest of any that *Rome* could give) was to be obtained by that one years service; it is no marvell, though each of the Consuls did his best, and referred all his thoughts unto none other end than victory. Yet in all dangerous cases, when the Consuls proceeded otherwise than was desired, one Dictator was appointed, whose power was neither hindred by any partner, nor by any great limitation. Neither was it indeed the manner, to send forth both the Consuls to one war; but each went whither his lot called him, to his own Province; unlesse one businesse seemed to require them both, and they also seemed fit to be joyned in the administration. Now although it was so, That the *Romans* did many times prevaile with their joynt Generals: yet was this never so seldome, without as much concord, as any other vertue of the Commanders. For their modesty hath often been such, that the lesse able Captain, though of equall authority, hath willingly submitted himself to the other, and obeyed his directions. This notwithstanding, they have many times, by ordaining two Commanders of one Army, received great and most dangerous overthrowes; whereof in the second *Punick* war we shall finde examples. On the contrary side, in their wars most remote, that were alwayes managed by one, they seldome failed

failed to win exceeding honour, as hereafter shall appear. Now of those ten Generals, which served the *Athenians* at the battell of *Marathon*, it may truly be said, that had not their temper been better, than the judgement of the people that sent them forth, and had not they submitted themselves to the conduction of *Miltiades*; their affairs had found the same successe which they found at other times, when they coupled *Nicias* and *Alcibiades* together in *Sicil*: the one being so over-wary, and the other so hasty, as all came to nought that they undertook: whereas *Cimon* alone, as also *Aristides*, and others, having sole charge of all, did their Country and Common-weal most remarkable service. For it is hard to find two great Captains of equall discretion and valour; but that the one hath more of fury than of judgement, and so the contrary, by which the best occasions are as often overslipt, as at other times many actions are unseasonably undertaken. I remember it well, that when the prince of *Conde* was slain after the Battell of *Jarnac*, (which Prince, together with the admiral *Chastillan*, had the conduct of the *Protestant* Army) the *Protestants* did greatly bewail the losse of the said Prince, in respect of his Religion, person, and birth; yet comforting themselves, they thought it rather an advancement, than an hinderance to their affairs. For so much did the valour of the one out-reach the advisednesse of the other, as whatsoever the Admirall intended to win by attending the advantage, the Prince adventured to lose, by being over-confident in his own courage.

But we need no better example, than of the *Carthaginians* in this present businesse: who, though they were still sick of their ill grounded love to *Hanno*, and were unwilling to disgrace him; yet seeing that all ran towards ruine, through the discord of the Generals, committed the decision of their controversies, unto the Army that served under them. The judgement of the Army was, that *Hanno* should depart the Camp: which he did, and *Hannibal* was sent in his stead, one that would be directed by *Amilcar*, and that was enough.

After this, the affairs of *Carthage* began to prosper somewhat better. *Matho* and *Spendius* had brought their Army neer unto the City; and lay before it, as in a siege. They might well be bold to hope and adventure much, having in their Campe above fifty thousand, besides those that lay abroad in Garrisons. Nevertheless, the City was too strong for them to win by assault: and the entrance of victuals they could not hinder, if any should be sent in by friends from abroad.

Hieron, King of *Syracuse*, though during the wars in *Sicil* he assisted the *Romans*, and still continued in their alliance, yet now sent succours to the *Carthaginians*: fearing their fall, and consequently his own; because if no other State gave the *Romans* somewhat to trouble their digestion, the Principality of *Syracuse* would soon be devoured by them. The *Romans* also gave them some slender assistance, and, for the present, refused good offers made unto them by the Mercenaries. This they did to shew a kinde of noble disposition; which was indeed but counterfeit, as the sequell manifestly proved.

Whilest *Matho* and his followers were busily pressing the City, *Amilcar* was as diligent in waiting at their backs, and cutting off all that come to their supply: so that finding themselves more straightly besieged by him, than *Carthage* was by them, they purposed to desist from their vain attempt, and try some other course. Hereupon they issue into the field: when *Spendius*, and one *Zarcas* an *African* Captain assisting the rebellion, take upon them to find *Amilcar* work; leaving *Matho* in *Tunis*, to negotiate with their friends and take a generall care of the businesse. The Elephants of *Carthage*, and horse of *Naravasus*, made *Spendius* fearfull to descend into the Plains. Wherefore he betook himself to his former method of war, keeping the mountains, and rough grounds, or occupying the straightest passages, wherein the desperate courage of his men might shew it self, with little disadvantage. But *Amilcar* had more skill in this Art, than could be matched by the labour of *Spendius*. He drew the enemy to many skirmishes; in all which the successe was such, as added courage to his own men, and abated the strength and spirit of the Rebels. Thus he continued, provoking them night and day: still intrapping some of them, and sometimes giving them the overthrow in plain battell: untill at length he got them into a straight, whence ere they should get out, he meant to take of them a good account. Their judgement was enough to perceive their own disadvantage; and therefore they had the lesse stomach to fight:

fight; but a waiting for help from *Tunis*. *Amilcar* prudently foreseeing, that necessity might teach them to dare impossibilities, used the benefit of their present fear, and shut them close up with Trench and Rampart. There they waited miserably, for succour that came not: and having spent all their victuals, were so pinched with hunger, that they fed upon the bodies of their prisoners. This they suffred patiently, as knowing that they had not deserved any favour from *Carthage*: and hoping, that their friends at *Tunis* would not be unmindfull of them. But when they were driven to such extremity, that they were fain to devour their own companions, and yet saw none appearance or likelihood of relief: their obstinacy was broken, and they threatned their Captains with what they deserved, unless they would go forth to *Amilcar*, and seek such peace as might be gotten. So *Spendius*, *Zarxas*, and *Autarius*, fell to consultation, wherein it was resolved to obey the multitude, and yeeld themselves, if it were so required, unto the death, rather then perish by the hands of their own Companions. Hereupon they send to crave parlie, which is granted; and these three come forth to talk with *Amilcar* in person. What they could say unto him, it is hard to conjecture: yet by the conditions which *Amilcar* granted, it seems that they took the blame upon themselves, and craved pardon for the multitude. The conditions were, that the *Carthaginians* should choose, out of the whole number of these enemies, any ten whom they pleased, to remain at their discretion; and that the rest should all be dismissed, each in his shirt, or in one single coat. When the peace was thus concluded; *Amilcar* told these Ringleaders, that he chose them presently, as part of the ten, & so commanded to lay hands on them: the rest he forthwith went to fetch with his whole Army in order. The Rebels, who knew not that peace was concluded upon so gentle Articles, thought themselves betrayed: and therefore amazedly ran to arms. But they wanted Captains to order them: and the same astonishment, that made them break the Covenants of peace, whereof they were ignorant, gave unto *Amilcar* both colour of justice, in accomplishing revenge, and ease in doing the execution. They were all slain: being forty thousand, or more, in number.

This was a famous exploit: and the news thereof exceeding welcome to *Carthage*; and terrible to the revolted Cities of *Africk*. Henceforward *Amilcar*, with his *Naravasus*, and *Hannibal*, carryed the war from Town to Town, and found all places ready to yeeld: *Vtica* and *Hippagreta* only standing out, upon fear of deserved vengeance; and *Tunis*, being held by *Matho*, with the remainder of his Army. It was thought fit to begin with *Tunis*, wherein lay the chief strength of the enemy. Comming before this Town, they brought forth *Spendius*, with his fellowes, in view of the defendants, and crucified them under the wals; to terrifie those of his old companions, that were still in armes. With this rigour the siege began; as if speedy victory had been assured. *Hannibal* quartered on that part of *Tunis*, which lay toward *Carthage*; *Amilcar* on the opposite side: too far asunder to help one another in sudden accidents; and therefore it behoved each to be the more circumspect.

Matho from the wals beheld his own destiny, in the misery of his companion, and knew not how to avoid it otherwise than by a cast at dice with fortune. So he brake out upon that part of the *Carthaginian* Army, that lay secure, as if all danger were past, under the command of *Hannibal*: and with so great and unexpected fury he sallied, that after an exceeding slaughter, he took *Hannibal* prisoner; on whom, and thirty the most noble of the *Carthaginian* prisoners, he presently revenged the death of *Spendius* by the same torture. Of this *Amilcar* knew nothing, till it was too late; neither had he strength enough remaining, after this great loss, to continue the siege; but was fain to break it up, and remove unto the mouth of the River *Bagradas*, where he incamped.

The terrour was no less within *Carthage*, upon the fame of this losse, than had been the joy of the late great victory. All that could bear arms, were sent into the field, under *Hanno*; whom, it seems, they thought the most able of their Captains surviving the late accidents of War. If there were any Law among them forbidding the imployment of one sole Generall near unto their City (for they are known to have trusted one man abroad) the time did not permit, in this hasty exigent, to devise about repealing it. But thirty principall men are chosen by the Senat, to bring *Hanno* to *Amilcars* camp, and by all good perswasions to reconcile them. This could not be effected in one day. It nearly touched *Amilcar* in his honour, that the careles speesse of *Hannibal* seemed

to be imputed unto him, by sending his enemy to moderate his proceedings. Nevertheless after many conferences, the authority of the Senators prevailed; *Amilcar & Hanno* were made friends; and thenceforth, whilest this war lasted, *Hanno* took warning by *Hannibals* calamities, to follow good directions, though afterwards he returned to his old and deadly hatred.

In the mean season *Matho* was come abroad, as meaning to use the reputation of his late success, whilest it gave some life unto his businesse. He had reason to do as he did: but he wanted skill to deal with *Amilcar*. The skirmishes, and light exercises of war, wherein *Amilcar* trained his *Carthaginians*, did so far abate the strength, and withall diminish the credit of *Matho*; that he resolved to try the fortune of one battail: wherein either his own desire should be accomplished, or his cares ended. To this conclusion the *Carthaginians* were no less prone, than *Matho*: as being weary of these long troubles, and insupportable expences; confident in the valour of their own men, which had approved it self in many trials; and well assured of *Amilcar* his great worth, whereunto the enemy hath not what to oppose. According to this determination, each part was diligent in making provision: inviting their friends to help; and drawing forth into the field, all that lay in Garrison.

The issue of this battail might have been foretold, without help of witchcraft. *Matho*, and his followers, had nothing whereon to presume, save their daring spirits, which had been well cooled by the many late skirmishes, wherein they had learned how to run away. The *Carthaginians* had reason to dare, as having been often victorious: and in all points else they had the better of their enemies; especially (which is worth all the rest) they had such a Commander, as was not easily to be matched in that Age. Neither was it likely that the desire of liberty should work so much, in men accustomed to servitude, as the honour of their State would, in citizens, whose future & present good lay all at once ingaged in that adventure. So the *Carthaginians* wan a great victory, wherein most of the *Africans* their enemies were slain; the rest fled into a Town, which was not to be defended, & therefore they all yeelded; and *Matho* himself was taken alive. Immediately upon this victory, all the *Africans* that had rebelled, made submission to their old masters: *Vtica* only, and *Hippagreta* stood out, as knowing how little they deserved of favour. But they were soon forced, to take what conditions best pleased the victours. *Matho* and his fellowes were led to *Carthage* in triumph; where they suffered all torments that could be devised, in recompence of the mischiefs which they had wrought in this war. The war had lasted three years, and about four moneths, when it came to this good end: which the *Carthaginians*, whose subjects did not love them, should with lesse expence, by contenting their Mercenaries, have prevented in the beginning.

§. IIII.

How the Mercenaries of the Carthaginians, *that were in* Sardinia, *rebelled: and were afterwards driven out by the Ilanders. The faithlesse dealing of the* Romans *with the* Carthaginians, *in taking from them* Sardinia, *contrary to the peace.*

WHilest *Matho* and *Spendius* were making terrible combustion in *Africk*; other Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians* had kindled the like fire in *Sardinia*: where murdering *Bostar* the Governour, and other *Carthaginians*, they were in hope to get, and hold that Iland to their own use. Against these, one *Hanno* was sent with a small Army (such as could be spared in that busie time) consisting likewise of Mercenaries, levied on the sudden. But these companies that followed *Hanno*, finding it more for their safety, & present profit, to joyn themselves with those that were already revolted, than to indanger themselves by battail, for the good of that common-weal, of which they had no care; began to enter into practice with the *Sardinian* Rebels, offering to run one course of fortune with them in their enterprise. This their offer was kindly taken; but their faith was suspected. Wherefore to take away all jealousie and distrust, they resolved to hang up their Commander *Hanno*, and performed it. A common practice it hath been in all Ages, with those that have undertaken the quarrell of an unjust war, to enjoyne the performance of some notorious and villainous act,

to

to those that come in to them as seconds, with offer to partake, and to assist the impious purposes which they have in hand. It is indeed the best pawn, that desperate men can deliver to each other, to performe some such actions, as are equally unpardonable to all.

By such a kinde of cruelty did the ungratefull *Mantineans* murder a Garrison of *Achaians*, sent unto them for their defence against the *Lacedæmonians*, by *Aratus*; who, when he had formerly possest himself of their City, by right of war; did not only spare the sack and spoil thereof, but gave them equall freedome, with the rest of the Cities united. These *Revolts* are also common in our Court wars; where, in the conquests of new fortunes, and making of new parties, and factions, without the depression or destruction of old friends, we cannot be received and trusted by old enemies. *Ceſont les coups de vieille eſcrime. These* (say the *French*) *be the blowes of the old art of fencing.*

These Mercenaries in *Sardinia* were no whit lesse violent in their purpose, than were *Spendius*, and his associates: only they wanted a *Matho* among them, to negotiate with the inhabitants of the Province. The Ilanders were no lesse glad, than the souldiers, that the *Carthaginians* were expelled the Country: but they could not agree about the profit of the victory. The *Sardinians* thought that it was enough, if they rewarded the souldiers for their pains taken. Contrariwise, the souldiers were of opinion, that the title of the *Carthaginians* to that Ile, was devolved unto themselves, by right of conquest. The same quarrell would (in likelihood) have risen between *Spendius* with his Mercenaries, & their *African* friends; if the common desire of both had once taken effect: unless the riches of *Carthage* had served to content them all. But in *Sardinia*, where there was none other valuable reward, than possession and rule of the Country; the matter was not easily taken up. So they fell to blowes; which how they were dealt, I know not; but finally the Mercenaries were driven out, and compelled to save themselves in *Italy*. Before their departure out of *Sardinia*, they had invited the *Romans* into it; with as good right, as the *Mamertines* had called them into *Sicil*. Yet this offer was refused, upon reasons that follow.

Some *Italian* Merchants had relieved *Matho* and *Spendius* with corn: of whom the *Carthaginians* took almost five hundred, and held them in prison. Hereof was made a great complaint: so that the *Romans* sent Embassadours to *Carthage*, requiring satisfaction. It was no time for the *Carthaginians* to dispute: they quietly yeelded to release them all. This was so kindely taken, that they forbad all their Merchants, to trade thenceforth with the Rebels; admonishing them to carry all provisions to *Carthage*. And upon the same reason, did they forbear to meddle with *Sardinia*, or to accept the City of *Vtica*, offering it self unto their subjection. This might have served, as a notable example of the *Roman* faith, to all posterity: had not the issue proved, that it was meer regard of greater profit, which kept them so temperate, no longer than the hope lasted of thriving better thereby, than they should have done by open breach of faith. The whole estate of *Carthage* depended at that time, upon the vertue of *Amilcar*: who, had he been overthrown by *Spendius* or *Matho*, in one main battail, that mighty City must either have fallen into the barbarous hands of mercilesse villains, or have humbled her self under protection of the *Romans*, with whom she had lately striven for superiority. That extreme necessity, whereinto *Matho* reduced the City, by the fortune of one sally made out of *Tunis*, is enough to prove, that *Carthage* was not far from such a miserable choise. Wherefore it was not unwisely done of the *Romans*, to make such demonstration of kindnesse, and honourable dealing, as might invite a rich, but sinking ship, to run her self aground upon their shore. But when all was well ended in *Africk*, and the *Carthaginians* began to prepare for the recovery of *Sardinia*: then did Ambition put off her goodly vizour. The *Romans* perceiving that *Carthage*, beyond their hope, had recovered her feet again; began to strike at her head. They entertained the proffer of those Mercenaries, that were fled out of *Sardinia*; and they denounced war against this enfeebled and impoverished City, under a shameless pretence; *that the preparations made for* Sardinia, *were made indeed against Rome it self*. The *Carthaginians* knew themselves unable to resist; and therefore yeelded to the *Romans* demand; renouncing unto them all their right in *Sardinia*. But this was not enough. They would have twelve hundred talents, in recompence belike (for I see not

not what reason they could alledge) of the great fear which they had endured, of an invasion from *Carthage*. It is indeed plain, that they impudently sought occasion of war. But necessity taught the *Carthaginians* patience; and the money was payed, how hardly soever it was raised. From this time forward, let not *Rome* complain of the *Punick* faith, in breach of Covenants: she her self hath broken the peace already, which *Amilcar* purposeth to make her dearly repent; but what *Amilcar* lives not to perform, shall be accomplished by *Hannibal* his renowned sonne.

§. V.

How the affairs of Carthage *went between the* African *Rebellion, and the second* Punick *Warre.*

THe injurious dealing of the *Romans*, expressing their desire to pick a quarrell; served to instruct the *Carthaginians* in a necessary lesson; That either they must make themselves the stronger, or else resolve to be obedient unto those that were more mighty. In a City long accustomed to rule, the braver determination easily took place: and the best means were thought upon, for the increase of puissance and Empire. The strength, and the jealousie of the *Romans*, forbad all attempts upon the Mediterran Seas; but the riches of *Spain*, that lay upon the *Ocean*, were unknown to *Rome*: wherefore that Province might serve, both to exercise the *Carthaginians* in war, and to repair their decayed forces, with all needfull supplies. Of the *Spanish* Expedition, the charge and soveraign trust was committed unto *Amilcar*: upon whom his Countrey did wholly repose it self; in hope to recover strength by his means, that had saved it from ruine.

Hanno, with some other envious men that were of his faction, took little pleasure in the generall love and honour, which daily increased towards *Amilcar* and his friends. Yet could they not deny him to be the most worthy of command in all the City: only they commended peace and quietnesse; advising men to beware of provoking the *Romans*, in whose amity they said, that the felicity of *Carthage* did consist. By such discourses, harsh to the ears of good Citizens, who had feeling of the wrong done to their Common-weal, they got none other reputation, than of singularity: which the ignorant sort suspected to be wisdome.

But the glory of *Amilcar* was continually upheld and enlarged, by many notable services that he did, to the singular benefit of his Country. He passed the straights of *Hercules*, (now called the straights of *Gibralter*) and landed on the western coasts of *Spain*; in which Country, during nine years that he lived there, he subjected unto the State of *Carthage* the better part of all those Provinces. But finally in a battell that he fought with a Nation in *Portugale*, called the *Vettones*, (defending himself a long time with an admirable resolution) he was invironed and slain: carrying with him to the grave the same great honour and fame, by which in many signall victories, he had acquired the name of a second *Mars*.

After the death of *Amilcar*, *Asdrubal* his son in law was made Generall of the *Carthaginian* forces in *Spain*. This was a good man of war; but far better in practice and cunning than in deeds of armes. By his notable dexterity in matter of negotiation, he greatly enlarged the Dominion of *Carthage*: adding so many subjects and confederates thereunto, that the *Romans* began to grow jealous again of this hasty increase. He built a goodly City, upon a commodious Haven, in the Kingdome of *Granado*, opposite to that of *Oran* in *Africa*, and gave it the name of *New Carthage*, which to this day it nearly retaineth, being called now * *Carthagena*. With this successe of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, the *Romans* were not a little troubled; but began to accuse their own negligence. For whereas they had formerly taken so much pains to beat them out of the Ile of *Sicil*, as suspecting their neighbourhood there; they had now, by cumbring themselves in a war of far lesse importance, (whereof I shall speak anon) given them leisure without interruption, to recover upon their own Continent, a Dominion by far exceeding, both in the bodies of men and in revenue, that which the *Romans* had taken from them. But how to help this, at the present they know not; for they daily expected to be invaded by the *Gaules*, their ancient enemies, and nearest neighbours to the West. But he needeth little help of force, that knoweth himself to be feared: it is enough if he requeſt,

* The *Spaniards* have since built a City of the same name in the West Indies: which being peopled by them in the year 1532. was sacke by the *English* in the year 1585.

request, since his request shall have the vertue of a command.

Yet were the *Romans* utterly destitute of all good colour, that might help them to intermeddle in *Spain*. The *Spaniards* were then unacquainted with *Rome*, whereof (in probability) they scarce had heard the name: so that there were no *Mamertines*, nor other such Rebels, to call in *Roman* succours, but in the enterprise of *Sardinia*, the *Romans* had learned an impudent pretence, that might also serve their turn in *Spain*. For though it were apparent, that the *Spanish* affairs had no relation to the peace between these two Cities; and though it were nothing likely, that *Asdrubal* had any purpose, to extend his victories unto the gates of *Rome*, or to any of the *Roman* frontiers: yet (as if some such matter had been suspected) they sent unto him, requiring that he should forbear to proceed any further, than to the River of *Iberus*. In addressing their messengers, rather to *Asdrubal*, than to the City of *Carthage*; they seem to have hoped, that howsoever the generality of the *Carthaginians* had sweetly swallowed many bitter pils, to avoid all occasion of war with *Rome*, yet the bravery of one man might prove more fastidious, and resenting the injury, return such answer, as would intangle his whole Country in the quarrell, that they so much desired; and might embrace at leisure, when once they had found apparent cause. But *Asdrubal* finely deluded their expectation. He pretended no manner of dislike at all: and whereas they would have this insolent covenant inserted into the Articles of peace; he took upon him to do it, of his own power, with such appearance of conformity to their will, that they went their wayes contented, and sought no further.

If it had been so, that the State of *Carthage*, thereunto pressed by the *Romans*, for fear of present war, had ratified this new composition made by *Asdrubal*; yet should it not have stood bound in honour, to observe the same carefully, unless an oath had also been extorted, to make all sure. But since all passed quietly, under the bare authority of *Asdrubal*, this Capitulation was none other in effect than a second breach of peace; whereof the *Romans* might be accused more justly, than they could accuse the *Carthaginians* of perjury, (as they after did) for refusing to stand to it.

By this Treaty with *Asdrubal*, the *Romans* wan some reputation in *Spain*. For when it was once conceived by the *Spaniards*, that the City which would needs be mistresse over them, stood in fear her self, of receiving blowes from a stouter Dame; there were soon found some, that by offering themselves to the protection of *Rome*, became (as they thought) fellow-servants with *Carthage*. But the *Carthaginians* will shortly teach them another lesson. The *Saguntines*, a people on the South-side of *Iberus*, entred into confederacy with the *Romans*, and were gladly accepted. Surely it was lawfull unto the *Romans*, to admit the *Saguntines*, or any other people (neither subject, nor open enemy in war to the *Carthaginians*) into their society: and unlawful it was unto the *Carthaginians*, to use violence towards any that should thus once become confederate with *Rome*. Nevertheless, if we consider the late agreement made with *Asdrubal*, we shall find that the *Romans* could have none other honest color of requiring it, than an implicit covenant of making the River *Iberus* a bound, over which they themselves would not pass, in any Discovery or Conquest by them intended to be made upon *Spain*: in which regard, they might have some honest pretence to require the like of the *Carthaginians*; though *Rome* as yet had no foot, on the one side of *Iberus*, whereas *Carthage*, on the other side of that River, held almost all the Country. Howsoever it were, this indignity was not so easily digested, as former injuries had been. For it was a matter of ill consequence, that the Nations which had heard of no greater power than the *Carthaginian*, should behold *Saguntum* resting securely among them, upon confidence of help from a more mighty City. Wherefore either in this respect, or for that the sense is most feeling of the latest injuries, or rather for that now the *Carthaginians* were of power to do themselves right: war against *Saguntum* was generally thought upon, let the *Romans* take it how they list. In such termes were the *Carthaginians*, when *Asdrubal* died, after he had commanded in *Spain* eight years: (being slain by a slave, whose master he had put to death) and the Great *Hannibal*, son of the Great *Amilcar*, was chosen Generall in his stead.

§. VI.

The estate of Greece *from the death of* Pyrrhus, *to the reign of* Philip *the sonne of* Demetrius *in* Macedon.

IN the long term of the first *Punick* war; and the vacation following, between it and the second; the estate of *Greece*, after the death of *Pyrrhus*, was grown somewhat like unto that, wherein *Philip* of *Macedon* had found it; though far weaker, as the an after-spring. The whole Country had recovered by degrees, a form of liberty: in petty tyrannies (bred of those inferiour Captains, which in the times of generall combustion, had seised each upon such towns as he could get) were, by force or accident, extirpated, and reformed; & some States were risen to such greatnes, as not only served to defend themselves, but to give protection to others. This conversion to the better, proceeded from the like dissensions and tumults in *Macedon*, as had been in *Greece*, when *Philip* first began to encroach upon it. For after many quarrels and great wars, about the Kingdome of *Macedon*, between *Antigonus* the elder, *Cassander*, *Demetrius*, *Lysimachus*, *Seleucus*, *Pyrrhus*, and the *Gaules*: *Antigonus* the son of *Demetrius*, finally got and held it, reigning six and thirty years; yet so, that he was divers times thence expelled, not only by the *Gaules*, and by *Pyrrhus*, as hath been already shewed, but by *Alexander* the son of *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot*, from whose father he had hardly won it. This hapned unto him, by the revolt of his souldiers, even at such time, as having overthrown with great slaughter an Army of the *Gaules*, he was converting his forces against the *Athenians*, whom he compelled to receive his Garrisons. But his young son *Demetrius* raised an Army, wherewith he chased *Alexander*, not only out of *Macedon*, but out of his own *Epirus*, and restored his father to the Kingdome.

By the help of this young Prince *Demetrius* (though in another kind) *Antigonus* got into his possession the Citadell of *Corinth*; which was justly termed *the fetter of Greece*. The Citadell called *Acrocorinthus*, stood upon a steep rocky hill on the North side of the town, and was by nature and art so strong, that it seemed impregnable. It commanded the town; which was of much importance, as occupying the whole breadth of the *Isthmus*, that running between the *Ægean* and *Ionique* Seas, joyneth *Peloponnesus* to the main of *Greece*. Wherefore he that held possession of this Castle was able to cut off all passage by land, from one half of *Greece* unto the other; besides the commodity of the two Seas, upon both of which, this rich and goodly City had commodious havens. *Alexander*, the son of *Polysperchon*; and after his death, *Cratesipolis* his wife, had gotten *Corinth* in the great shuffling of Provinces and Towns, that was made between *Alexanders* Princes. Afterwards it passed from hand to hand, untill it came, I know not how, to one *Alexander*; of whom I finde nothing else, than that he was thought to be poisoned by this *Antigonus*, who deceived his wife *Nicæa* thereof, and got it from her by a trick. The device was this. *Antigonus* sent his young *Demetrius* to *Corinth*, willing him to court *Nicæa*, and seek her marriage. The foolish old widow perceived not how unfit a match she was for the young Prince, but entertained the fancy of marriage; wherto the old King was even as ready to consent, as was his son to desire, and came thither in person to solemnize it. Hereupon all *Corinth* was filled with sacrifices, feasts, plaies, and all sorts of games: in the middest of which, *Antigonus* watched his time, and got into the Castle, beguiling the poor Lady, whose jealousie had been exceeding diligent in keeping it. Of this purchase he was so glad, that he could not contain himself within the gravity beseeming his old age. But as he had stollen it; so was it again stollen from him: neither lived he to revenge the losse of it, being already spent with age.

Demetrius, the son of this *Antigonus*, succeeding unto his father, reigned ten years. He made greater proof of his vertue before he was King, than after. The *Dardanians*, *Ætolians*, and *Achæans*, held him continually busied in war; wherein his fortune was variable, and for the more part ill. About these times the power of the *Macedonians* began to decay: and the *Gracians* to cast off their yoke.

Philip, the only son of *Demetrius*, was a young child when his father died; and therefore *Antigonus*, his uncle, had the charge of the Kingdome, during the minority of the Prince;

Prince; but he assumed the name and power of a King, though he respected *Philip* as his own son, to whom he left the Crown at his death; This *Antigonus*, was called the *Tutor*, in regard of his protectorship; and was also called *Doson*, that is as much as, *Willgive*, because he was slow in his liberality. He represſed the *Dardanians* and *Thessalians*, which molested his Kingdome, in the beginning of his reign. Upon confidence of this good service, he took state upon him, as one that rather were King in his own right, than only a Protector. Hereupon the people fell to mutiny; but were soon appeased by fair words, and a seeming unwillingnesse of his to meddle any more with the Government. The *Achaians* took from him the city of *Athens*, soon after *Demetrius* his death; and likely they were to have wrought him out of all, or most that he held in *Greece*, if their own estate had not been endangered by a neerer enemy. But civil dissension, which had overthrown the power of *Greece*, when it flourished most; overthrew it easily now again, when it had scarcely recovered strength after a long sickneſſe; and gave to this *Antigonus* no lesse authority therein, than *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, got by the like advantage.

These *Achaians* from small beginnings, had increased in short time to great strength and fame: so that they grew the most redoubted Nation of all the *Greeks*. By the equality of their Lawes, and by their clemency (notwithstanding that they were a long time held under by the *Macedonians* and *Spartans*) they did not only draw all others by their love and alliance, but induced, through their example, the rest of the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, to be governed by one Law, and to use one and the same sort of weights, measure, and money.

Aratus, the *Sicyonian*, was the first that united them again; and gave them courage, after that they had been by the *Macedonian* Captains divided into many Principalities. In elder times they were governed by Kings, as most of the great Cities of *Greece* were; to which kind of rule they first subjected themselves, after the descent of the *Heraclidæ*, when *Tisamenus* the son of *Oreſtes* possest the Territory of *Achaia*. In this estate they continued to the time of *Gyges*; after whom, when his sons sought to change the Legall government of their Predecessors into Tyranny, they expelled them, and made their State popular; as seeming most equall. This form of Common-weal had continuance, with some small changes according to the diversity of times, till the reign of *Philip* and *Alexander* Kings of *Macedon*: who tempest-like overturned all things in that part of the world. For those twelve Cities, called *the Cities of alliance*, whereof *Helice*, and *Bura* or *Olenus*, the Sea had eaten up a little before the Battail of *Leuctres*; were, by disturbance of the *Macedonians*, divided from each other, and trained into a war, no lesse fooliſh than cruell, among themselves. But in the one hundred and four and twentieth *Olympiad*, in which, or near it, *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*, *Lysimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, left the world; two of ten remaining Cities and people, namely, the *Patrenses* and the *Dimæi*, united themselves, and laid the foundation of that generall accord, and re-union, which after followed. For having been, some of them *Partisans* with sundry *Macedonian* Captains, and others having been governed by petty Kings; they began to fasten themselves in a strong league of amity, partly, in the *Olympiad* before spoken of, and partly, at such time as *Pyrrhus* made his first voyage into *Italy*. Now after the uniting of the *Patrenses* and *Dimæi*, to whom also the Cities of *Titræa*, and *Phara*, joyned themselves; *Ægira* chased out her Garrisons: and the *Burians*, killing their Kings, entred with the *Ceraunians* into the same Confederacy. These Cities, for twenty and five years, used the same form of Government with the *Achaians*; who by a Senatory and two Prætors, ordered all things in their Common-weal; and soon after by one Prætor, or Commander: of which, *Marcus Carynensis* was the first, and *Aratus* the second.

This *Aratus* was a noble young Gentleman of *Sicyon*, who living at *Argos* in exile, whilest his Country was oppressed by Tyrants, found means, through the help of other banished men, to enter their own city by night, with ladders; whence they chased the Tyrant, and restored the people to liberty. This was in the time of *Antigonus Gonatas* King of *Macedon*, a Prince more busie in watching what to get among the *Greeks*, than wise in looking to his own. For fear of *Antigonus*, the *Sicyonians* enter into the *Achaian* league: which though at that time it received more increase by their accession than it added strength to them; yet the benefit of this conjunction served well enough against

against *Antigonus*, whose subtlety was somewhat greater than his valour. As the industry and counsail of *Aratus* delivered his Country from bondage, and fortified it by the *Achaian* league; so further, by his great liberality, with the exceeding great cost of 150. talents, he pacified the inexplicable controversies, between the banished *Sicyonians*, which returned with him, & the other Citizens that had possession of these mens Lands; as also with the same money he drew many others to assist him in those enterprises following, that redounded to the singular good of all *Achaia*. The money he obtained of *Ptolemy Energetes* King of *Egypt*; who partly had a desire to hold some strong & sure friendship in *Greece*, partly was delighted with the conversation of *Aratus* himself, that made a dangerous voyage to him into *Egypt*, and fed his pleasure in goodly pictures, with the gift of many curious pieces, wherein the workmen of *Sicyon* excelled.

The first of *Aratus* his great attempts, was the surprize of the *Acrocorinthus* or Citadell of *Corinth*; which he wan by night, being thereinto guided by some theeves that he had hired for the purpose, who living in the place, had practised to rob *Antigonus* his treasury, passing in and out by a secret path among the rocks. Yet was he fain to fight for it, ere he could get it: though indeed *Antigonus* his souldiers were rather overcome by their own fear, than by any force of the assailants; as mistrusting lest the *Achaians* were more in number, than in truth they were, and having lost the advantages of the place already, upon which they had presumed, before they were aware of any enemy.

In these kind of night-services, ambushments, surprises, and practices, *Aratus* was very cunning, adventurous, and valiant: in open field, and plain battail, he was as timorous. By this strange mixture of cowardize and courage, he ministred argument of disputation, to Philosophers and others; Whether a valiant man (as he was esteemed, and in some cases approved) might look pale and tremble, when he began battail; and whether the vertue of Fortitude were diversified, by the sundry natures of men, & in a manner confined unto severall sorts of action. In resolving which doubts it may be said, that all vertue is perfected in men by exercise, wherein they are trained by occasion: though a naturall inclination standeth in need of little practice; whereas the defect hereof must be supplyed with much instruction, use, good successe, and other help, yet hardly shall grow absolute in generall. Such was *Aratus* in matter of Warre. In sincere affection to his Country he was ur reprovable, and so acknowledged: as his following actions will truly testifie.

When *Acrocorinthus* was taken, and joyned unto the Common-wealth of *Achaia*, the *Megarians* revolted soon after from *Antigonus*, and entred into the same Corporation. So did the *Troezenians*, and the *Epidaurians*: whereby this new erected State grew so powerfull, that it adventured to take *Athens*, from the *Macedonians*, & *Argos* & *Megalopolis*, from tyrants that held them. The enterprise upon the *Athenians* was of none effect. For though *Aratus* wasted the Ile of *Salamis*, to shew his strength, and sent home the *Athenian* prisoners, without ransome, to allure the City by shew of love; yet the *Athenians* stirred neither against him, nor for him, as being now grown honest slaves to the *Macedonians*. Upon *Argos* the adventure was carryed more strongly. The *Achaians* came sometimes to the gates of the City, but the people stirred not: once they entred it, and might have won it, if the Citizens would have lent any help to the recovery of their own freedome; sundry times, and with diverse events, they fought with the Tyrants, (who rose up one after another in *Argos*) in open field, and slue one of them in battail; but all sufficed not: untill at length *Aristomachus* the Tyrant was so terrified, perswaded, and hired by *Aratus*, that he consented to resigne his Estate. The like did *Xenon* the Tyrant of *Hermione*, and *Cleonymus*, that had oppressed the *Phliasians*.

Whilest this business with the *Argives* was on foot, *Lysiadas* the Tyrant of *Megalopolis*, was so well handled by *Aratus*, that, without compulsion, he gave liberty to his City, and annexed it to the Councell of *Achaia*: whereby he got such credit, that he was chosen Generall of their forces (which was a yearly Office, and might not be held two years together by one man:) every second year, for a certain while, he and *Aratus* succeeded one another by turnes. But those late Tyrants, and new Citizens, *Lysiadas* and *Aristomachus*, were carried with private passion from care of the generall good; in which courses they opposed *Aratus*, to the great hurt of *Achaia*, as shall appear in due time.

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The *Achæans* having obtained so much puissance and reputation, that *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt* was become Patron of their Alliance, and (in title of honour) Generall of their forces by Sea and Land; made open War upon *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus Gonatas*, for the liberty of *Athens*. It is strange and worthy of noting, That when *Aratus* in this quarrell had lost a battail, the *Athenians* wore Garlands, in sign of joy; to flatter their good Lords the *Macedonians*, that had won the victory. Such were now the *Athenians* become; in whom the rule was verified, that holds true in generall of the multitude, *Aut humiliter servit, aut superbe dominatur*; *It is either base in service, or insolent in command.* Nevertheless when *Demetrius* was dead, *Aratus* performed that by money, which he could not by force; and corrupting the Captain of the *Macedonian* Garrison, purchased liberty to the *Athenians*, who thenceforth held good correspondence with the *Achæans*, loving them, and speaking well of them, which was all that they could do: but into their Corporation they entred not, scorning it belike, in regard of their own out-worn glory.

Now as the Common-wealth of *Achaia* daily increased within *Peloponnesus*, by justice and honesty; so did the *Ætolians*, in the utter part of *Greece*, yea and within *Peloponnesus* it self, wax very powerfull, by sturdinesse of body, and rude courage in fight, without help of any other vertue. They had stoutly defended themselves against *Antipater* and *Craterus*; partly by daring to do and suffer much, partly by the natural strength and fastnesse of their Country; but especially by the benefit of the time, which called away these famous Captains to other businesse, as hath been related. They had molested *Cassander*, in favour of *Antigonus*, & were themselves as much plagued by him, & by the *Acarnanians*, a little, but a stout Nation, that took his part. Afterwards they had to do with *Demetrius*, the son of the first *Antigonus*, and more or lesse with all the Kings of *Macedon* succeeding him. They likewise held often war with the *Acarnanians*, *Athamanians*, *Epirots*, and many Cities in *Peloponnesus*: so that they were hardned with perpetuall travail; seldome putting off their Armour. But their hardinesse ill deserved the name of valour, seeing they had no regard of honesty or friendship, measuring all things by their own intolent wils, and thinking all people base-minded, that were not as fierce and outragious as themselves.

These *Ætolians* had lately made great spoils in *Peloponnesus*, and occupied a good part of the Countrey. They had invaded the friends of the *Achæans*; taken and sacked *Pallene*; where although they were soundly beaten by *Aratus*, yet their desire of gain made them make a new voyage thither, as to a Country wherein somewhat was to be gotten. But they were forced to look another way, by *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus Gonatas*: who prest them so hardly, that they were driven to seek help of the *Achæans*; which they obtained. The war which the *Achæans* made upon *Demetrius*, without *Peloponnesus*, in *Attica*, though it tended to expelling the *Macedons* out of *Greece*, yet the benefit thereof redounded chiefly unto the *Ætolians*, at whose instance it was set on foot: for thereby were the *Macedonian* forces diverted from them. Neither was this good turn unacknowledged; though very basely the *Ætolians*, giving thanks in words, devised how to requite the benefit with some great mischief. They saw that the *Achæans* were desirous to bring all *Peloponnesus* into their Alliance & Corporation: of which intent, the *Lacedæmonians* were very jealous. Wherefore these *Ætolians* laboured earnestly, to set the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achæans* together by the ears: hoping that if this might come to passe, they themselves should be called in to help (it skilled not on what side) and so get no small share, both in booty and Territory. Neither did they forbear to communicate this their device unto *Antigonus*; offering to make him partaker of their gain, whom they knew to be offended with the many losses, that this Kingdome had sustained by the *Achæans*. Of this plot *Aratus* was aware: who therefore determined to suffer many indignities, rather than to give the *Lacedæmonians* cause to take Arms. But this resolution was taken somewhat too late: & not altogether in his own power to hold. He had been meddling with the *Arcadians*, that were dependants of *Lacedæmon*: and thereby had provoked the *Lacedæmonians* to look about them; seeing that all *Peloponnesus*, excepting themselves, the *Eleans*, and a few *Arcadians* their friends (who also were attempted) was alreay become *Achean*.

The City of *Sparta* was in ill case about these times; and subject to the injuries of any stronger neighbour. *Pyrrhus* had greatly weakned it; The *Ætolians* entring *Laconia* with an

an Army, had carryed away fifty thousand slaves; and, which was worse, their discipline was corrupted, Avarice and Luxury reigned among them, the poor was oppressed by the rich, and the generosity of spirit, that had sometime been their general vertue, was hardly now to be found among the best of them. There were left in *Sparta* no more than seven hundred natural Citizens; of whom not above one hundred had Lands: all the rest were needy people, and desirous of innovation. Hereupon followed intestine sedition; which endangered the City most of all. *Agis* a good King, who sought to reform the disorders of the State, exhorted the people to a strict observation of *Lycurgus* his lawes. To which purpose he caused them to passe an Act, for the abolishing of all debts, and equall division of Lands. All the younger, and poorer sort were glad of this: but the rich men opposed it. These had recourse unto *Leonidas* the other King, (for in *Sparta* were two Kings) who took their part: being himself a dissolute man, as one trained up in the Court of *Syria*, whence also he had his wife. In this contention *Leonidas* was expelled the City, and a new King chosen in his stead. But *Agis* his friends & Counsailors in this enterprise, abused his good meaning to their own private commodity. They were hasty to take away all debts, and cancell all bonds, for they themselves were deeply indebted: but the division of Lands they afterwards hindred, because their own possessions were great. Hence arose a tumult in *Sparta*, which these men increased by their foul oppression of the poorer Citizens. So that in fine, *Leonidas* was brought home, and restored to his Kingdome, and the two adverse Kings driven to take Sanctuary; out of which, *Cleombrotus*, the late-made King, was dismissed into exile: but *Agis* was trained forth, drawn into prison, and there by his enemies condemned and strangled, together with his Mother, and his old Grand-mother. The like to this was never known in *Sparta*: and (which is the more odious) this cruelty proceeded from the *Ephori*, Magistrates that should have given Patronage to the lawes, using their power, and more power than to them belonged, against a King, that had proceeded orderly in reforming the City as the law required.

The death of *Agis* was much lamented by all good Citizens; and served to establish the impotent rule of a few tyrannicall oppressors. In which case *Aratus* might well hope to adjoin *Lacedæmon* to the *Achæans* Common-wealth: though it were great injustice to take such advantages, and attempt by force, that which would have redounded to the generall good of *Peloponnesus*, and to the benefit of *Sparta* it self, if it could have been wrought by perswasion.

But the same man who redressed the disorders of *Sparta*, and revenged the death of *Agis*, did also requite the injust attempts of the *Achæans*, even in their own kinde: obtruding upon them by force an union of all *Peloponnesus*, though little to their good liking, for that the *Lacedæmonians* and their King, should have been the principall; not they and their Prætor. *Leonidas* having thus caused *Agis* to be slain, took his wife that was very rich and beautifull, and gave her in marriage (perforce) to his own son *Cleomenes*. This young prince fell greatly inamoured on his wife, and sought to win her affection, as well as he had her person. He discoursed much with her about the purpose of her former husband *Agis*, and by pitying his misfortune, began to entertain a desire of accomplishing that, wherein *Agis* had failed. So comming himself to be King, whilest he was very young, he gladly embraced all occasions of War: for that he hoped by strong hand to effect that, which *Agis* by proceeding formally, in so corrupt an estate of the City, had attempted to his own ruine. Therefore when the *Ephori* gave him in charge, to take and fortifie *Athenæum*, a Temple on the marches of *Laconia*, to which both they and the *Megalopolitans* pretended title, he readily performed it. Hereof *Aratus* made no complaint, but sought to take by surprize *Tegea* & *Orchomenus*, Cities then confederate with the *Lacademonians*: wherin, his intelligence failing, he lost the labor of a painful nights travel, & discovered his enmity to *Sparta*; of which *Cleomenes* was nothing sorry. By these degrees the war began. In the entrance whereto *Aratus* had discovered the *Ætolian* practice, and therefore would have stayed the quarrel from proceeding too far. But *Lysiadas* and *Aristomachus* would needs fight, and he could do none other than be ruled by them; especially seeing *Cleomenes* was so urgent. *Aristomachus* was at that time Generall of the *Achæans*, (He and *Lysiadas* being of great account, since they had abandoned their tyranny) who sent unto *Aratus*, lying then in *Athens*, and required his assistance in a journey to be made into *Laconia*. No disswasions of *Aratus* would serve,

therefore

therefore he came in person, and took part of a business, little pleasing him in the present, and less in the future. When he met with *Cleomenes*, he durst not fight; but opposed himself against *Aristomachus*, who desired to give battail. Yet had the *Achæans* twenty thousand foot, and one thousand horse, in their Army: whereas *Cleomenes* had no more than five thousand in all. This gave reputation to the *Lacedæmonian*, & raised an ill report upon *Aratus*; which *Lysiadas* helped to make worse, by accusing his cowardize. Nevertheless the *Achæans* would not fall out with *Aratus* their Benefactor, but chose him their Generall the year following; against *Lysiadas* his accuser that sued for the place. Being Generall himself, it behoved him to confute, with deeds, the slanderous words of *Lysiadas*. Therefore he purposed to set upon the *Eleans*: but was met withall on the way, near unto the Mount *Lycæus*, by *Cleomenes*; who vanquished him in a great battail, and drave him to hide himself all night for fear, so that he was thought to have been slain. This misadventure *Aratus* recompenced by a trick of his own more naturall occupation: performing with his broken Army, that which could hardly have been expected, had he been victorious. For whilest there was no suspicion of any great matter that he could undertake; he suddenly wrought with some of the *Mantinæans*, who did let him into their city. These *Mantinæans*, (whom he had thus brought to his purpose) had once before joyned themselves with the *Achaians*; but shortly upon fear, or some other passion, they gave themselves to the *Ætolians*; and from the *Ætolians*, presently after this victory, to *Cleomenes*, from whom immediately they were thus won. For this their levity they were not punished, but freely admitted now again into the *Achæan* society. As this good success repaired the credit of *Aratus*; so another battail almost ruined it. *Cleomenes* and he encountred near unto *Megalopolis*; where the *Achæans* had somewhat the better at the first, but their Generall durst not follow his advantage. Thereupon *Lysiadas*, of whom we spake before, grew somewhat impatient with anger; & taking with him all the horse, brake upon the *Lacedæmonians*, whom he routed at the beginning, but pursuing them too far into places of hard passage, he was slain by them and his followers driven back upon their own Companions; in such sort, that finally all the Army was disordered and put to flight. This was a great losse and incensed the *Achæans* against *Aratus*: yet their indignation proceeded no further, than that they refused to make any longer contribution, towards the pay of those Mercenaries which he had waged. This *Aratus* took patiently, and followed the war nevertheless; wherein though *Cleomenes* wan some Towns, and *Aratus* got the better in one small fight, yet little of importance was done; the *Achæans* being weary, and the *Spartan* King intentive to another business.

Cleomenes having led into the field all that were like to hinder his purpose, and tired them with painfull journeys, forsook the *Achæan* war on a sudden, and came unexpected home to *Sparta*, where he slew the *Ephori*, and restored by force the ancient discipline of *Lycurgus*. Then gave he an account of his doings: and shewing by what degrees the *Ephori* had incroched upon the power of Kings, & many disorders had grown in the City; he justified his proceedings, and forthwith began to make equal division of the Lands, reducing all to the first institution. He also supplyed the defect of Citizens, by choosing new, out of such as were friends to the State, and valiant men: so that henceforth his Country might not altogether stand in need of Mercenary help, as it lately had done, to save it self from the *Ætolians*, *Illyrians*, and such other enemies. All this was dispatched in great haste; the *Spartans* well satisfied, and *Cleomenes* himself ready in the field, ere his enemies could take any advantage of these his domesticall troubles.

The *Achæans* hearing of this great alteration in *Sparta*, thought that it would be long ere *Cleomenes* durst issue forth of the City, for fear of some rebellion. But it was not long ere they heard, that he had wasted all the Country of *Megalopolis*, had ranged over all *Arcadia* at his pleasure; and was admitted into *Mantinæa*; and ready to take other places, even of *Achaia*. These newes displeased them not a little: but they must patiently endure to hear worse. For when *Cleomenes* had shaken off the power of the *Ephori*, that curbed his authority, he proceeded more roundly in his work, being better obeyed and by better men. His *Lacedæmonians* resumed their ancient courage; and he himself had the heart to demand the Principality of *Greece*. He did not therefore henceforth contend about the possession of a few Towns: but adventured to win or lose all.

all. The *Ætolians*, in favour of his attempt, declared themselves on his side: and whereas he had gotten *Mantineæ*, *Tegea*, and other places, to which they had some title, they willingly renounced all their interest unto him.

Aratus did apprehend the danger of his Country, and saw that *Antigonus*, with the *Ætolians*, or perhaps without them, would shortly make an end of that, which *Cleomenes* had thus begun. Therefore he advised how to provide against the worst, and either to repair all, or (if it could not be) to save all from utter ruine. The office of Generall, when it was next put upon him, he refused; fearing to be so far prest, as to hazard in one battail all the force of his Country, to which as he had never any affection, nor perchance courage, so was his manner of warfare otherwise. For he commonly attempted by surprise, and defended upon the advantage of place, after the manner of the *Irish*, and of all other Nations, overcharged with numbers of men. Yet did he not forsake the care of the Weal-publique, though in aiming at the generall good, it seems that private passion drew him into an ill course. He saw, that *Megalopolis* could not be defended without making a dangerous hazard of battail; that *Mantineæ* had not only opened her gates unto *Cleomenes*, but slain the *Achæan* Garrison that lay therein; that other Towns had yeelded unto him, without compulsion; and that *Aristomachus*, once Tyrant of *Argos*, and since Generall of the *Achæans*, was now revolted unto the enemy, following the fortune of *Cleomenes*. *Ptolemy* was too far of to help; and the nearness of *Antigonus* was very dangerous; yet might be usefull, if this King would (as *Polybius* saith) like others, be friend or enemy, as should best agree with his own profit. To make triall hereof, *Aratus* practised with some of *Megalopolis*, whom he found apt unto his purpose; and instructed them how to deal both with *Antigonus*, and the *Achæans*.

The City of *Megalopolis* had been well affected to the *Macedonians*, ever since the time of *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, who had obliged it unto him by some especiall benefits. At this time it lay neerest unto the danger; was very faithfull, and therefore deserved succour; yet could not well be relieved by the *Achæans*, with their own proper strength. Wherefore it was thought meet, that Embassadours should be sent unto the Generall Councel of *Achaia*, requesting leave and good allowance, to try the favour of *Antigonus* in their necessity. This was granted, for lack of what else to answer: and the same Embassadours dispatched away to *Antigonus*. They did their own errand briefly; telling him of the good will and respect which their City had of long time borne unto him and his Predecessors; of their present need; and how it would agree with his honour to give them aid. But when they delivered the more generall matter; wherein *Aratus* had given them instruction; shewing how the ambition of *Cleomenes*, and violence of the *Ætolians*, might redound to his own great loss or danger, if the one and the other were not in time prevented; how *Aratus* himself did stand affected; and what good likelihood there was of reducing the *Achæans* under the Patronage of *Macedon*: then began *Antigonus* to lend a more attentive ear to their discourse. He embraced the motion: and to give it the more life, he wrote unto the *Megalopolitans*, that his help should not be wanting, so far forth, as it might stand with the *Achæans* good liking. Particularly he commended himself by these Messengers to *Aratus*; assuring them, that he thought himself highly bound to this honourable man, whose former actions he now perceived, not to have been grounded upon any hatred to the *Macedonians*, but only upon a just and worthy love to his own Nation. With this answer they returned to *Megalopolis*: & are presently sent away to the Councell of *Achaia*; there to make some speedy conclusion, as the necessity of the time required. The *Achæans* were glad to hear, that *Antigonus* was so inclinable to their desire; & therefore were ready to entertain his favour, with all good correspondence. Hereunto *Aratus* gave his consent; and praised the wisdome of his Countrimen, that so well discerned the best and likeliest means of their common safety: adding nevertheless, that it were not amisse, first of all to try their own ability; which if it failed, then should they do well to call in this gracious Prince, and make him their Patron and Protector. Thus he shewed himself moderate; in that which himself of all others did most wish: to the end, that he might not afterward sustain the common reprehension, if any thing fell out amisse; since it might appear, that he had not been Author of this Decree, but only followed, and that leisurably, the generall consent.

Nevertheless

Nevertheleis, in true eſtimation, this fitneſs of *Aratus* might have been uſed, with his greater commendation, in a contrary courſe For it had bin more honourable to make an end of the war, by yeelding unto *Cleomenes* that power which they gave unto *Antigonus*: ſince thereby he ſhould both have freed his country from all further trouble, and withall, ſhould have reſtored unto the univerſall ſtate of *Greece*, that honourable condition, whereof the *Macedonians* had bereſt it. But it is commonly found, (which is great pity) that Vertue, having riſen to honour by degrees, and confirmed it ſelf, (as it were) in the ſeat of principality, by length of time, and ſucceſs of many actions, can ill endure the haſty growth of any others reputation, wherewith it ſees it ſelf likely to be overtopped. Other cauſe to deſpiſe the *Lacedæmonians* there was none, than that they lately had been in dangerous caſe: neither could any reaſon be found, why *Aratus* ſhould prefer *Antigonus* before *Cleomenes*, than that he had ſtood in doubt of the one, when he thought himſelf more mighty than the other. Wherefore he was juſtly plagued, when he ſaw his own honours reverſed by the inſolent *Macedonians*: and in ſtead of living as a companion with *Cleomenes*, that was deſcended of a long race of Kings, the poſterity of *Hercules*, was fain to do ſacrifice unto *Antigonus*, as unto a god, and was finally poyſoned by *Philip*, whoſe Nobility was but of five deſcents, and whom perhaps he might have ſeen his fellowes, if he had not made them his Lords. By this inclination to the *Macedonians*, the love of *Ptolemy* was loſt: who forthwith took part with *Cleomenes*; though he did not ſupply him with ſuch liberality, as he had uſed to the *Achæans*; being warned, as may ſeem, by their example, to be more wary both in truſting and diſburſing. *Cleomenes* himſelf, whileſt this buſineſs with *Antigonus* was a-foot, paſſed through *Arcadia* with an Army, and laboured by all means to draw the *Achæans* to battell. At the City of *Dymes* in *Achaia* were aſſembled all the remaining forces of the Nation; with which it was concluded to make triall, whether perhaps they might amend their eſtate, without ſeeking help of the *Macedonian*. Thither went *Cleomenes*, & there fought with them; where he had ſo great a victory, that the enemy was no longer able to keep the open field. The calamity was ſuch, that *Aratus* himſelf durſt not take upon him to be their Generall, when his turn came in the next election. Wherefore the *Achæans* were compelled to ſue for peace; which was granted upon this eaſie condition: That they ſhould not arrogate unto themſelves the command of *Peloponneſus*, but ſuffer the *Lacedæmonians* (as in former ages) to be their Leaders in war. Hereunto if they would condeſcend, he promiſed unto them, that he would preſently reſtore all places taken from them, and all his priſoners ranſom-free: alſo that they ſhould enjoy their own Laws and Liberties without moleſtation. This gentle offer of *Cleomenes* was very pleaſing to the *Achæans*: who deſired him to come to the City of *Lerna*, where a Parliament ſhould be held, for the concluſion of the War.

Now ſeemed the affairs of *Greece* likely to be ſetled in better order, than they had ever been ſince the beginning of the *Peloponneſian* Wars, yea, or ſince the *Perſian* invaſion: when God, who had otherwiſe diſpoſed of theſe matters, hindred all with a draught of cold water, which *Cleomenes* drank in great heat, and thereupon fell extreme ſick, and ſo could not be preſent at *Lerna*, but cauſed the Parliament to be deferred to another time. Neverthleſs he ſent home the chief of his priſoners, to ſhew that he meant none other than good faith. By this fair dealing he confirmed the *Achæans* in their deſire of his friendſhip: who aſſembled again at *Argos*, there to eſtabliſh the League. But *Aratus* was violently bent againſt it, and ſought by great words, and terrible threats, to make his Countrimen afraid of reſolving. When all would not ſerve turn, he betook himſelf to his cunning; and ſent word to *Cleomenes*, that he ſhould do well to leave his Army behind him, and come alone into *Argos*, receiving hoſtages for ſafety of his perſon. *Cleomenes*, was already far on his way, when he met with this advertiſement; and took it in ill part, that he ſhould be thus deluded. For it had been an eaſie matter, to have told him ſo much at the firſt, and not have made him come ſo far with an Army, which afterwards he muſt diſmiſſe. Yet that which chiefly ſeems to have troubled him, was the drift of his oppugners; who ſought thereby, either to make him wait without the gates, and deal only with themſelves and their Meſſengers, or if he would adventure himſelf into the City, then to deprive him of all Royall ſhew, that might breed reſpect of him in the multitude. This was that indeed which *Aratus* feared, & for which he ſought to hinder his comming thither in perſon; leſt the people, hearing the promiſes

of *Cleomenes* ratified by his own mouth, ſhould preſently be won with his gentle words, and finiſh the bargain without more adoe. Therefore *Cleomenes* wrote unto the whole Councell, bitterly complaining againſt theſe juggling tricks: and *Aratus* was not far behinde with him, in as bitter an Oration. So between fear of the one, and reverence of the other, the Aſſembly knew not how to proceed, but abruptly brake up, leaving all, as it were to fortune. *Cleomenes* took his advantage of their preſent weakneſſe, and renewed the War. Many Cities yeelded unto him willingly; many he forced; and partly by force, partly by terrour, he wan *Argos*, which never King of *Sparta* before him could do. In this caſe *Aratus* ſent his own ſonne to *Antigonus*, intreating him to defer no time, but come preſently to relieve the diſtreſſed *Achæans*. *Antigonus* gave good words as could be wiſhed: ſaving that he utterly refuſed to doe any thing, unleſſe he might firſt have *Acrocorinthus* put into his hands. This demand was ſomewhat like unto that of the Hunter, who promiſed to help the horſe againſt his enemy the Stagge: but with condition, that the horſe ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be ſaddled and bridled. *Aratus* was herewithall contented, but wanted all honeſt colour to do it: ſeeing the *Corinthians* had no way deſerved to be thus given away to the *Macedonians*. Yet at length an occaſion was found; for that the *Corinthians*, perceiving what he intended, were minded to arreſt him. So he withdrew himſelf out of their City, and ſent word to *Antigonus*, that their Caſtle ſhould be ready to let him in. The *Corinthians* on the other ſide ran to *Cleomenes*; who loſt no time, but made haſte with them to *Corinth*, where he ſought how to get poſſeſſion of their Caſtle, or at leaſt to ſave it from *Antigonus*, by ſurrounding it within Trenches, that none might iſſue nor enter without his leave. Whileſt this was doing, he took ſpeciall order, that *Aratus* his houſe and goods within the Town, ſhould be kept for the Owner; to whom he ſent Meſſenger after Meſſenger, deſiring him to come to agreement, and not to bring in the barbarous *Macedonians*, and *Illyrians*, to *Peloponneſus*; promiſing, that if he would hearken to theſe perſwaſions, then would he give him double the ſame penſion, which he had been wont to receive of King *Ptolemy*. As for the Caſtle of *Corinth*, which was the gate of *Peloponneſus*, and without which none could hold aſſured ſoveraignty of the Country; he deſired that it might not be committed unto his own diſpoſition, but be joyntly kept by the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achæans*. All this entreaty ſerved to no purpoſe. For *Aratus*, rejecting utterly the motion, ſent his own ſon as an Hoſtage to *Antigonus*; and laboured with the *Achæans*, to put *Acrocorinthus* into his hands. Which when *Cleomenes* underſtood, he ſeiſed upon the goods of *Aratus* in *Corinth*, and waſted all the Countrey of *Sicyon*, whereof this his Adverſary was native.

Antigonus in the mean time drew near to the *Iſthmus*; having paſſed with his Army through *Eubœa*, becauſe the *Ætolians* held the ſtraights of *Thermopyla* againſt him. This they did, either in favour of *Cleomenes*, which they pretended; or in doubt of the greatneſs, whereunto the *Macedonians* might attain by the good ſucceſs of this journy. At his comming thither he found the *Lacedæmonians* ready to forbid his entrance: and that with ſufficient ſtrength; yet with no purpoſe to hazzard battell, but rather to weary him thence with hunger, againſt which he came not well provided. *Antigonus* therefore laboured hard to make his way by force; but he was not able ſo to doe: he ſecretly got into the *Corinthian* Haven; but was violently driven out again, with great loſs of men; finally he reſolved to turn aſide, and ſeek a paſſage over the gulfe of *Corinth*, to *Sicyon*, or ſome other part of *Achaia*; but this required much time, and great preparation, which was not eaſily made.

In this perplexity, newes from *Argos* came by Sea, that greatly comforted *Antigonus*, and no leſs troubled his enemies. The *Achæans* were gotten into that City; and the Garriſon which *Cleomenes* had left therein, though it was not driven out of the Citadel, yet was hardly diſtreſſed, and ſtood in need of preſent help. *Argos* had alwayes been enemy to *Sparta*, and well affected to the Kings of *Macedon*. When *Cleomenes* took it, he forbare to chaſe out thoſe whom he moſt ſuſpected, partly at the entreaty of friends, and partly, for that they all made ſhew to be glad of his proſperity. They were glad indeed of *Cleomenes* his victories, both in *Argos* and elſewhere, as many as hoped tha the would cauſe all debters to be diſcharged from their creditors, as he had lately done in *Sparta*. But that which *Cleomenes* had done in *Sparta*, was agreeable to the *Spartan* inſtitution: in other places, where it would have been tyrannicall, he did it not. Thereupon,

ſuch

such as were disappointed of their unjust hopes, began to turn good Common-wealths men; and called him Tyrant for his doings at home, because he would not do the like abroad. So they took their time, invited the *Achæans*, assailed his Garrison, cut in pieces the rescue that he sent, and compelled him at length to forsake the defence of *Corinth*, and look unto the enemies that were behind his back. For when he understood by continual messengers, that his men which held the Citadell at *Argos* were almost lost: he began to fear lest his labour in guarding the entry should grow frivolous; the *Achæans* in the mean while spoiling all that lay within. Therefore he forsook his custody of the *Isthmus*, and made all haste towards *Argos*: which if he could save, he meant to trust fortune with the rest. And so far he prevailed at his comming to *Argos*, that both *Argives* and *Achæans* were glad to house themselves, leaving him Master of the streets: when the horsemen of *Antigonus* were discovered afar off, hasting to relieve the Citizens; and *Antigonus* himself (to whom *Corinth* was yeelded, as soon as the *Spartan* had turned his back) following apace with the body of his Army. *Cleomenes* therefore had no more to do, then to make a safe retrait. This he did, and got him home into *Laconia*: losing in short space all, or most of that which he had been long in getting.

Antigonus having shewed himself at *Argos*, and commended the Citizens, went into *Arcadia*; where he wan such Castles as were held for *Cleomenes*, and restored them to the old Possessors. This done, he took his way to *Ægium*, where was held a Parliament by the *Achæans*; to whom he declared the cause of his comming, and spake brave words, that filled them with hope. The *Achæans* were not behind with him; but made him Captain-Generall over them and their Confederates: and further entred into covenant with him, That they would not deal with any Prince or State, either by writing or Embassadour, without his consent. All this while and somewhat longer, *Aratus* was the only man, that seemed to rule the Kings heart: carrying him to *Sicyon* his own Town, (for Winter was come on) where he not only feasted him as a great Prince, but suffered more than humane honours, as sacrifices and the like, to be done unto him. This example of *Aratus* and his *Sicyonians*, was followed by the rest of *Achaia*: which had made (forsooth) a very wise bargain, if in stead of *Cleomenes*, that would have been a King, it had obtained the protection of a God. But this God was poor, and wanting wherewith to pay his *Macedonians*, imposed the burthen upon the *Achæans*. This was hardly taken: yet worse must be indured in hope of better. Neither was *Aratus* himself over-carefully respected; when the statues of those Tyrants, which he had thrown down in *Argos*, were again erected by *Antigonus*; or when the statues which he had erected, of those that had taken *Acrocorinthus* with him, were all thrown down by the same King, and one only left unto himself at his earnest intreaty. It might therefore appear, that this God was also spightfull. Nevertheless in taking revenge upon those that offended him, *Aratus* did satisfie his own passion by the aid of these *Macedonians*. For with extreme torments he did put *Aristomachus* to death, who had been ohce Tyrant of *Argos*: afterwards Generall of the *Achæans*, and from them revolting unto *Cleomenes*, did fall at length into their hands. In like sort handled he (though not as yet) the *Mantinæans*, for their ingratitude and cruelty shewed to the *Achæans*. For he slew all the principall Citizens, and sold the rest, men, women, and children, all for bondslaves: dividing the spoyl; two parts to the *Macedonians*, and the third to the *Achæans*. The Town it self was given by *Antigonus* to the *Argives*; who peopled it with a Colony of their own; and *Aratus* having charge of this business, caused it to be new-named *Antigonia*. Surely of this cruelty there can be no better excuse, than even the flattery which *Aratus* was driven to use to *Antigonus*: forasmuch as it was a token of servility, whereinto they had urged and brought him; whom he, as in revenge thereof, did thus requite. But leaving to speak of this change, which the comming in of the *Macedonian* wrought in the Civil State of the *Achæans*, let us return unto this war against the *Lacedæmonian*.

The next Summer *Antigonus* wan *Tegea*, *Mantinæa*, *Orchomenus*, *Heræa*, & *Telphussa*: *Mantinæa* he dispeopled, as was said before; in *Orchomenus* he placed a Garrison of his *Macedonians*; the rest he restored to the *Achæans*, with whom he wintred at *Ægium*, where they held a Parliament. Once only *Cleomenes* had met him this year; & that was on the borders of *Laconia*, where he lay ready to defend his own Territory. The reason

reason why he stirred no further, nor followed *Antigonus* to *Mantinæa*, & to those other Towns that he wan, was this: He had few Souldiers, and had not money enough to wage more. *Ptolemy* the *Egyptian* promised much, but would perform nothing, unlesse he might have *Cleomenes* his own Mother, and his children in pledge. These were sent into *Egypt*, yet the aid came not. For *Ptolemy* was slow; as dealing in the businesse of *Greece*, rather for his mindes sake, than upon any apprehension of necessity. *Cleomenes* therefore provided for himself, as well as his own ability would serve. He manumised all the *Helotes*, which were the *Lacedæmonian* slaves: taking money for their liberty, and arming two thousand of them after the *Macedonian* fashion. Having thus increased his forces, he came on the sudden to *Megalopolis*, that lay secure, as having defended it self in more dangerous times, and having now *Antigonus* near at hand in *Ægium*. The town he wan: but after he was entred, all that were fit to bear Armes rose hastily against him; and though they could not drive him out, yet saved the multude, to whom they gave a Port free for their escape. He sent after the Citizens, offering their Town and goods to them again, if they would be of his party. But they bravely refused his offer: wherefore he sacked and ruined it, carrying with him to *Sparta* a great booty that he found therein. These newes astonished the *Achæans* at *Ægium*: who thereupon brake up their Parliament. *Antigonus* sent hastily for his *Macedonians*, out of their wintering places: but they were so long in comming, that *Cleomenes* was safely gone home. Therefore he returned them back to their lodgings, and went himself to *Argos*, there to pass the rest of his unlucky winter, somewhat further from the eyes of the grieved *Achæans*. When he had lain a while at *Argos*, *Cleomenes* was at the gates, with no great number of men, yet with more than *Antigonus* had then about him. The *Argives* perceiving that their Country would be spoiled, if *Antigonus* did not issue into the field, were very earnest with him to go forth and fight. But he was wiser than to be moved with their clamors and suffered them to see their villages burnt, to bid him resign his Office of Protector unto some that were more valiant; and to satisfie their passions with foolish words; rather than he would be overcome in fight, and thereby lose more honour than could easily be repaired. By this *Cleomenes* had his desire, in weakning the reputation of his enemy: though he thereby added neither followers, nor other strength unto *Lacedæmon*.

Afterwards, when the season was more fit for war, *Antigonus* gathered together all his troups; meaning to requite these bravadoes of his enemy, with the conquest of *Sparta*. *Cleomenes*, on the other side, laboured to keep the war from his own gates; and therefore entred upon the Country of *Argos*, where he made such havock, as drew *Antigonus* thither, from his intended invasion of *Laconia*. Many great affronts the *Macedonian* was fain to endure, in coasting of the *Spartan* King; that ranging over the Country of the *Argives*, *Phliasians*, and *Orchomenians*, drave a Garrison of his out of *Oligyrtis*; and did sacrifice, as it were before his face, in the suburbs of *Argos*, without the Temple of *Juno*, that was shut up; sending unto him in scorn, to borow the keys. These were light things; yet served to dis-hearten the *Achæan* side, and to fill the enemy with courage, which was no matter of light importance. Therefore he concluded to lay apart all other regard of things abroad, and to put all to hazzard; by setting up his rest, without any more delay, upon *Sparta* it self. He had in his Army eight and twenty thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, collected out of sundry Nations, as *Macedonians*, *Illyrians*, *Gaules*, *Epirots*, *Bœotians*, *Acarnanians*, and others; together with the *Achæans*; and their friends of *Peloponnesus*. *Cleomenes* had of all sorts twenty thousand, with which he lay at *Selasia*: fortifying slightly the other passages into *Laconia*, through which the *Macedonians* were not likely to seek entrance. *Antigonus*, comming unto *Selasia*, found his enemy so strongly encamped, upon and between the hils of *Eva* and *Olympus*, that he was constrained to spend much time there, before he could advance any one foot: neither lay it in his power to come hastily to blowes, which he greatly desired, without the hazard of his whole Army, in assailing their well defenced Camp. But at length (as it happens, when men are weary both of their hopes and fears) both Kings being resolved to make an end one way or other; *Antigonus* attempted with his *Illyrians*, to force that part which lay on the hill *Eva*. But his *Illyrians* were so ill seconded by the *Achæan* foot, that the *Spartan* horse, and light-armed foot, incamped in the straight valley between those hils, issuing forth, fell upon their skirts, and not only

disordered

disordered them, but were like to have endangered all the rest. If *Cleomenes* himself had stood in that part of the battail, he would have made great use of such a fair beginning. But *Euclydas*, his brother, a more valiant than skilful Souldier, commanded in that wing: who neither followed this advantage, nor took such benefit as the ground afforded, whereon he lay. *Philopœmen* the *Arcadian* of *Megalopolis*, who afterwards proved a famous Captain, served then on horse, as a private young man, among the *Achæans*. Hee seeing that all was like to goe to rout, if their *Illyrians* were driven to fall back upon the Army following them; perswaded the Captains of the *Achæan* horse, to break upon the *Spartan* Mercenaries. But they would not: partly despising his youth and want of charge; partly, for that *Antigonus* had given order, that they should keep their places, untill they received a sign from him, which was not as yet. *Philopœmen* perceiving them to be more orderly than well advised, intreated some of his own Countrimen to follow him, gave a charge on the *Spartans*, and forced them, not only to leave the *Illyrians*, but seek how to save themselves. Being so far advanced, he found the place which the *Illyrians* had attempted, like enough to be won, through the unskilfulness of him that held it. Wherefore he allighted, and perswaded the men at Armes his Companions to do the like: the folly of *Euclydas* being manifest, who kept the top of the hill, and stirred not to hinder those that ascended, but waited for them in a Plain, where they might fight upon even termes. So he recovered the Hill top; where though he was sore hurt, yet he made good the place that he had gotten, untill the whole Army came up to him; by which the *Lacedæmonians* were beaten from it, with great slaughter of them in their descent. This overthrow, and death of *Euclydas*, made *Cleomenes* lose the day: who fighting bravely on the other side, upon *Olympus*, against *Antigonus* himself, was like to have been surrounded and lost, if he had not withdrawn himself with an extraordinary speed. In this battel ended the glory of *Lacedæmon*, which, as a light ready to go out, had with a great, but not long blaze, shined more brightly of late, than in many ages past.

Cleomenes fled unto *Sparta*; where he had no desire to stay, finding only two hundred left, of six thousand *Spartans* that he had led unto this battail, and most of his hired Souldiers dead, or gone away. So he perswaded his people to yeeld themselves unto *Antigonus*; and promising to do all that should at any time lye in his own power, for their good, he hasted away to the Sea-side (where he had shipping long before provided against all that might happen) and imbarqued himself for *Egypt*. He was lovingly entertained by *Ptolemy Euergetes*, who undertook to restore him to his Kingdome, and (perhaps) meant no less, as being much delighted with his gallant behaviour, and qualities. In the mean season, he had a pension allowed him, of four and twenty Talents, yearly. But this *Ptolemy* died; and his son *Ptolemy Philopater* succeeded him: a vicious young Prince, wholly governed by lewd Women, and base Men, unminded of all vertue, and hating any in whom it was found. When therefore *Cleomenes* was desirous to return into *Greece*, whither the troubles in *Peloponnesus* did seem to invite him; *Ptolemy* and his Minions, would neither give him aid; nor yet dared to dismisse him (as he desired) to try his own friends in *Greece*, because he was too well acquainted with the weakness of *Egypt*: nor well knew how to detain him against his will. At length they devised matter against him, and made him prisoner. The last act of him was, that with thirty of his Countrymen, he undertook a desperate enterprize: breaking out of the prison, and provoking the *Alexandrians* to rebell and seek their liberty. In which attempt he slew some enemies of his that he met; and having walked up and down the streets without resistance (no man offering to take his part, or which is very strange, to fight against him on the Kings behalf) he, and his Companions, agreed together to be ministers of their own death. Upon his dead body *Ptolemy* was bold to shew his indignation: and slue his Mother and Children, that had been sent thither as Hostages, together with the wives of his Adherents, as many as were there, attending upon the old Queen. Such was the end of *Cleomenes*, a generous Prince, but Son of *Leonidas*, who had caused *Agis*, with his Mother and Grand-mother, to come to such a bloudy end, as now befell his owne Wife, Son, and Grand-children.

After the victory at *Sellasia*, *Antigonus* without resistance entred *Sparta*: wherein to never the force of any Enemy, before him, could make way. He kindly intreated

the Citizens, and left them to their own lawes and Government: tarrying there no longer than two or three dayes; after which he haſtned out of *Peloponneſus*, and never returned. The cauſe of his ſpeedy departure was, an advertiſement that he received out of *Macedon*; how the *Illyrians* over-ran, and deſtroyed the Country. Had theſe newes come a little ſooner, or had *Cleomenes* either deferred the fight, a few dayes longer, or at leaſt-wiſe tarried a few dayes after the fight, in *Sparta*; the Kingdome of *Lacedemon* would have ſtood, and perhaps have extended it ſelf over all *Greece*. But God had otherwiſe determined.

Antigonus fought a great battell with the *Illyrians*, and overcame them. Yet therein he caught his bane: not by any wound, but by over-ſtraining his voyce; wherewith he brake a vein that bled inwardly, and in ſhort ſpace finiſhed his life, who was troubled before with a conſumption of the lungs. His Kingdom deſcended unto *Philip* the ſon of *Demetrius*, being then a boy: as alſo about the ſame time it was, that *Antiochus*, ſurnamed (I know not why) *the Great*; and *Ptolemy Philopater*, began to reign in *Aſia* and *Egypt*; Boyes all. Of theſe, *Ptolemy*, though old enough to love Harlots, when he firſt was King, yet continued a Boy all the ſeventeen years of his reign. The unripe age of *Philip* & *Antiochus*, bred ſuch inteſtine inconvenience to their Kingdomes, as is uſuall in the minority of Princes: but their elder years brought them acquainted with the *Romans*; upon which occaſion, when it comes, we ſhal more ſeaſonably ſpeak of them, and of their Kingdomes, more at large.

§. VII.

How the Illyrians *infeſted the coaſt of* Greece; *and how they were ſubdued by the* Romans.

WHileſt things thus paſſed in *Greece*, and whileſt the *Carthaginians* were buſie in their conqueſt of *Spain*; the *Romans* had found themſelves work among the *Sardinians* and *Corſicans*, that were eaſily ſubdued at firſt, and eaſily vanquiſhed again, when they rebelled. They made alſo war with the *Illyrians*, wherein they got much honour with little pain. With the *Gaules* they had much adoe, that laſted not long; being rather, as *Livy* ſaith, a tumult than a war. So that by all theſe light exerciſes their valour was hardly kept from ruſt. How the got the Ilands in the *Mediterran* Sea, it hath been ſhewed before: of their dealings with the *Illyrians* and *Gaules*, it is not meet to be utterly ſilent.

Liv. lib. 21.

The *Illyrians* inhabited the Country now called *Slavonia*; a troubleſome Nation, impatient of reſt, and continually making war for gain, without either regard of friend or foe. They were invited by *Demetrius*, king of *Macedon*, to help the *Mydionians* his friends, that were beſieged by the *Ætolians*; for that they refuſed to be of their ſociety. Before the *Illyrians* ſuccours came, the *Mydionians* were ſo far ſpent, that the *Ætolians* contended about the booty: the old Prætor, or chief Magiſtrate of their Nation, who was going out of his office, claiming to have the honour of the victory, and the diviſion of the ſpoyl to be referred unto him; for that he had in a manner brought the ſiege to an end, and won the town: others, that were in hope to be choſen into the Office, contradicting this, and deſiring that old orders might be kept. It was a pretty ſtrife, and ſomewhat like to that of the *French* in latter ages, who thought upon dividing the prey, before they had won the victories, which anon they loſt, at *Poitiers* and *Agincourt*. The *Ætolians* wiſely compounded the difference, ordering it thus, That the old, and the new Prætor ſhould be joyntly intituled in the victory, and have equall authority in diſtribution of the gettings. But the *Illyrians* finiſhed the ſtrife much more elegantly, and after another faſhion. They arrived and landed ere any was aware of them; they fell upon the *Ætolians*; and though good reſiſtance was made, yet got the victory, partly by force of their multitude, partly by the help of the *Mydionians*, that were not idle in their own buſines, but ſtoutly ſallied out of the town. Many of the *Ætolians* were ſlain, more were taken, their camp and all their baggage was loſt: the *Illyrians* took the ſpoyl, and went their way; the *Mydionians* erected a Trophie, inſcribing the names both of their old and new Magiſtrate (for they alſo choſe new officers at the ſame time) as the *Ætolians* had directed them by example.

The ſucceſſe of this voyage highly pleaſed *Agron* King of the *Illyrians*: not only in regard

regard of the mony, wherewith *Demetrius* had hired his aſſiſtance; or of the booty that was gotten; but for that having vanquiſhed the ſtouteſt of the *Greeks*, he found it not uneaſie to enrich himſelf by ſetting upon the leſſe warlike. For joy of this he feaſted, and drank ſo immoderately, that he fell into a *Pleuriſie*, which in few dayes ended his life. His Kingdome, together with his great hopes, he left unto *Teuta* his wife.

Teuta gave her people free liberty to rob all ſorts at Sea, making no difference between friend and foe; as if ſhe had been ſole Miſtreſs of the ſalt Warers. She armed a fleet and ſent it into *Greece*; willing her Captains to make war where they found advantage, without any further reſpect. Theſe fell on the weſtern coaſt of *Peloponneſus*; where they invaded the *Eleans*, and *Meſſanians*. Afterwards they returned along by *Epirus*, and ſtayed at the City of *Phœnice*, to take in victuals and other neceſſaries. There lay in *Phœnice* eight hundred *Gaules*, that having been Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians*, went about to betray, firſt *Agrigentum*, then *Eryx*, to the *Romans*; but failing to do either, they nevertheleſs revolted, and were for their miſdeeds diſarmed and ſent to ſea by the *Romans*, yet entertained by theſe *Epirots*, and truſted to lye in Garriſon within their Town. The *Gaules* were ſoon grown acquainted with the *Illyrians*, to whom they betrayed *Phœnice*; which deſerved none other, in truſting them. All *Epirus* was preſently in arms, and haſtned to drive out theſe unwelcome gueſts. But whileſt the *Epirots* lay before the Town, there came news into their Camp, of another *Illyrian* Army, that was marching thitherward by land, under one *Scerdilaidas*, whom Queen *Teuta* had ſent to help his fellowes. Upon this advertiſement, a part of them is ſent away towards *Antigonia*, to make good that Town, and the ſtraights adjoyning, by which theſe new commers muſt enter into their Countrey; another part of them remains at *Phœnice*, to continue the ſiege. Neither the one nor the other ſped well in their buſineſſe. For *Scerdilaidas* found means to joyn with his fellowes; and they that were beſieged within *Phœnice*, ſallied out of the Town, and gave ſuch an overthrow to the *Epirots*, as made them deſpair of ſaving their Countrey, without great and ſpeedy help from abroad. Wherefore Embaſſadors were ſent to the *Achæans* and *Ætolians*: craving their help, with very pitifull terms of intreaty. They obtained their ſuit; neither was it long, before an Army, ſent by theſe two Nations, was ready in *Epirus*, to preſent battail unto *Scerdilaidas*. But *Scerdilaidas* was called home by letters from *Teuta* the Queen, that ſignified a rebellion of ſome *Illyrians* againſt her: ſo that he had no mind to put his forces to hazard, but offered compoſition, which was accepted. The agreement was, That the *Epirots* might ranſome their Town, and all their people that were priſoners; and that the *Illyrians* ſhould quietly depart with all their booty and ſlaves. Having made this profitable and honourable bargain, the *Illyrians* returned into their own country by land, ſending their booty away by Sea.

At their comming home, they found no ſuch great trouble, as that which they brought, or had occaſioned in this voyage. For, in fulfilling the commandement of their Queen, they had taken many *Italian* Merchants, whiles they lay at *Phœnice*; and made them good prize. Hereof the complaints, made unto the *Roman* Senate, were ſo frequent, that Embaſſadours were ſent to require of *Teuta*, that ſhe ſhould abſtain from doing ſuch injuries. Theſe Embaſſadours found her very jolly; both for the riches which her fleet had brought in; and for that ſhe had, in ſhort ſpace, tamed her rebels, and brought all to good order, ſave only the town *Iſſa*, which her forces held ſtraightly beſieged. Swelling with this proſperity, ſhe could hardly afford a good look to the *Romans*, that found fault with her doings; and calling them by a true name, *Pirucy*, required amends. Yet when their ſpeech was ended, ſhe vouchſafed to tell them, That injury in publick ſhe would do them none: as for private matters, no account was to be made of them; neither was it the manner of Kings to forbid their ſubjects to get commodity, how they beſt could by Sea. But (ſaid the younger of the two Embaſſadours) we *Romans* have a manner, and a very laudable one, to take revenge in publick, of thoſe private wrongs that are born out by publick authority: therefore we ſhall teach you, God willing, to reform your Kingly manners, and learn better of us. Theſe words the Queen took ſo impatiently, that no revenge could ſatisfie her, but the death of him that had ſpoken them. Wherefore, without all regard of the common Law of Nations, ſhe cauſed him to be ſlain: as if that had been the way to ſet her heart at reſt; which was indeed the mean to diſquiet and afflict it ever after.

The

The *Romans*, provoked by this outrage, prepare two great Armies; the one by Sea, consisting of two hundred sail, commanded by *C. Fulvius*; the other by Land, led by *A. Posthumus*. They trouble not themselves any more with requiring satisfaction: for this injury is of such nature, as must be requited with mortall war. It is indeed contrary to all humane Law, to use violence towards Embassadours: the reason and ground whereof, seems to be this; that since without mediation, there would never be an end of war and destruction, therefore it was equally received by all Nations, as a lesson taught by Nature, that Embassadours should passe freely, and in safety, between enemies. Nevertheless, as I take it, this generall Law is not without limitation. For if any King or State lay hold upon Embassadours sent by their enemies, not unto themselves, but unto some third, whom they should draw into the quarrell; then it is as lawfull to use violence to those Embassadors (thus employed to make the war more terrible) as it is to kill the men of war, & subjects of an enemy. And so might the *Athenians* have answered it when they slew the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadours, that were sent to *Xerxes*, to draw him into a war upon the *Athenians*. Neither are those Embassadours, which practice against the person of that Prince, in whose Countries they reside, warranted by any law whatsoever. For whereas the true office of an Embassadour residing, is the maintenance of amity; if it be not lawfull for one Prince to practice against the life of another; much less may an Embassadour do it without incurring justly the same danger of punishment, with other Traitors; in which case, his place gives him no priviledge at all. But we will leave this dispute to the *Civilians*; and go on with the revenge, taken by the *Romans*, for the slaughter of their Embassadour *Coruncanus*.

The *Illyrian* Queen was secure of the *Romans*, as if they would not dare to stir against her. She was indeed in an errour, that hath undone many of all sorts, greater and less than she, both before and since: *Having more regard unto fame, than unto the substance of things*. The *Greeks* were at that time more famous than the *Romans*; the *Ætolians* and *Epirots* had the name of the most warlike people in *Greece*; these had she easily vanquished, and therefore thought, that with the *Romans* she should be little troubled. Had she considered that her whole Army, which wrought such wonders in *Greece*, was not much greater than of ten thousand men; and that nevertheless, it prevailed as much by oddes of number, as by valour, or skill in armes; she would have continued to use her advantage against those that were of more fame than strength, with such good caution, that she should not have needed to oppose her late-gotten reputation, against those that were more mighty than her self. But she was a woman, and did what she listed. She sent forth a greater fleet than before, under *Demetrius* of *Pharos*; with the like ample commission to take all that could be gotten. This fleet divided it self, and one part of it fell with [a] *Dyrrachium*, the other with *Corcyra*. *Dyrrachium* was almost surprised by the *Illyrians*; yet was it rescued by the stout Citizens. In [b] *Corcyra* the *Illyrians* landed, wasted the Isle, and besieged the Town. Hereupon the *Ætolians* and *Achæans* where called in to help; who came, and were beaten in a fight at Sea: losing, besides others of less note, *Marcus Carynensis*, the first Prætor of *Achaia*, whom *Aratus* succeeded. The Town of *Corcyra*, dismayed with this overthrow, opened the gates unto *Demetrius Pharius*, who took possession of it with an *Illyrian* Garrison: sending the rest of his forces to besiege *Dyrrachium*. In the mean season, *Teuta* was angry with her Captain *Demetrius*: I know not why; but so, as he resolved to try any other course, rather than to trust her.

[a] *Dyrrachium*, sometime called *Epidamus*, and now *Durazzo*, seated upon the *Adriatick* sea, between the Ilands of *Pharos* and *Corcyra*.

[b] *Corcyra*, an Iland of the *Adriatick* sea, not far from *Durazzo*, called now *Corfu*, and in the possession of the *Venetians*.

The *Romans* were even ready to put to Sea, though uncertain which way to take, when advertisement was brought to *C. Fulvius* the Consull, of *Demetrius* his fear and discontent. Likely it was that such an occasion might greatly help to advance the business in hand. Wherefore the Consull sailed thither; where he found the Town of *Corcyra* so well prepared to his hand by *Demetrius*, that it not only received him willingly, but delivered into his power the *Illyrian* Garrison, and submitted it self unto the *Roman* protection.

After this good beginning, the Consull sailed along the coast to [c] *Apollonia*; accompanied with *Demetrius*, whom he used thenceforth as his counsellor and guide. To *Apollonia* came also *Posthumus*, the other Consull, with the Land-Army, numbred at twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Thence they hasten towards *Dyrrachium*, which the *Illyrians* had besieged; but upon news of the *Roman* army they disperse themselves.

[c] *Apollonia*, a City near *Dyrrachium*, or *Durazzo*, upon the Sea-coast. *Pintus* cals it *Sissipolis*.

From

From thence the *Romans* enter *Illyria*, and take *Partheniа*; beat the *Illyrians* by sea, take twenty of their ships, and enforce the Queen *Teuta* to forsake the coast, and to cover her self in *Rison* far within the Land. In the end, part of the *Romans* hast them homeward, and leave the best places of *Illyria* in the hands of *Demetrius*; another part staies behind, and prosecutes the war, in such sort, that *Teuta* was forced to beg peace; which she obtained upon miserable conditions; to wit, That she should quit the better part of *Illyria*, and pay tribute for the rest; and from thenceforth never send any of her ships of war towards the coasts of *Greece*, beyond the Iland of *Lissa*: except it were some one or two vessels unarmed, and by way of Trade.

After this *Illyrian* war, the *Romans* sent Embassadours into divers parts of *Greece*, signifying their love to their country, and how, for good will thereunto, they had made war with good success upon *Teuta*, and her people. They hoped, belike, that some distressed Cities would take this occasion, to desire their patronage: which if it hapned, they were wise enough to play their own games. But no such matter fell out. The Embassadours were only rewarded with thanks; and a decree made at *Corinth*, That the *Romans* thenceforth might be partakers of the *Isthmian* pastimes. This was an idle courtesie, but well meant by the vain *Greeks*, & therefore well taken by the *Romans*: who by this *Illyrian* expedition got nothing in *Greece*, save a little acquaintance, that shall be more hereafter.

§. VIII.

Of the war between the Romans *and* Gaules, *somewhat before the comming of* Hannibal *into* Italy.

THe *Gaules* that dwelt in *Lombardy*, were the next, against whom the *Romans* took Armes. These were a populous Nation, and often molested *Rome*; sometimes with their own forces, and sometimes with the assistance of those that inhabited *France*. Once their fortune was good, when they took *Rome* and burnt it: though the issue of that war proved not answerable to the beginning, if we may give credit unto *Roman* Historians. In following times their success was variable, and commonly bad. Many overthrowes they received; and if they got any victory, it yeelded them no profit, but was soon extorted out of their hands. They were indeed more fierce than well advised: lightly stirred up to war, and lightly giving over. At the first brunt, they were said to be more than men; but when that was past, less than women. The *Romans* were acquainted with their temper, by long experience, and knew how to handle them: yet gave alwayes carefull heed to their approach, were it only bruited. For the danger of them was sudden, and uncertain; by reason of their neighbourhood and want of intelligence among them. Few of their attempts upon *Rome* were called wars, but *tumultus Gallici*, *tumults of the Gaules*: and rightly. For they gave many alarms to *Italy*, and used to rise with great Armies: but after a few dayes march, and sometimes before their setting forth, any small occasion served to disperse them. Having received an overthrow, they would rest ten or twelve years, sometimes twenty or thirty: till they were stirred up again, by younger heads, unacquainted with the danger. Whilest they rested, the state of *Rome*, that against these made only defensive war, had leisure to grow, by setting upon others. Herein God provided well for that Monarchy, which he intended to raise: that the *Gaules* never fell upon *Italy* with a mighty power, in the time of any other great and dangerous war. Had they attempted to conquer it, whilest *Pyrrhus* was travelling in the same enterprize; or in either of the two former *Punick* wars: it may be doubted what would have become of this imperious City. But it seems that the *Gaules* had no better intelligence in the affairs of *Italy*, than strangers had in *Gaule*. At least, they knew not how to use their times: & were therefore like to smart, whensoever the enemies, whom they had much provoked, and little hurt, should finde leisure to visit them at their own home: which was now after the first *Punick* War. Once before this, the *Romans* had been bold, to set upon the *Gaules* in their own Country: and that was three years before the comming of *Pyrrhus* into *Italy*. At that time the *Senones*, a Tribe of the *Gaules*, invading *Hetruria*, and besieging *Arretium*, had won a great battail, and slain *L. Caecilius*, with the most of his Army. *Manius Curius* the new Consull, sent Embassadours to them, to treat about ransome of prisoners. But these Embassa-

Embaſſadours they ſlew. Therefore when fortune turned to the better, the *Romans* followed it ſo well, that they expelled theſe *Senones* out of their Country, and ſent a colony of their own to inhabit it. This cauſed the [a] *Boji*, another people of *Gaule*, to fear the like meaſure: who thereupon took arms, and drew the *Hetrurians* to their ſide. But the *Romans* overthrew them in two great battails; and thereby made them ſue for peace, which laſted untill the end of this *Illyrian* war.

a There were divers nations of the Boji, as in *Pannonia*, *Illyria*, *Germany*, in *Bourbonois*, in *France*, and in *Aquitaine*; but theſe Boji were of *French* race, and dwelt at this time about mouth of the river *Po*.

It vexed the *Gaules* to ſee a *Roman* colony planted in their Country; who had been accuſtomed to enlarge their bounds, by driving out their neighbours perforce. Wherefore they laboured with the *Tranſalpines* (ſo the *Romans* called thoſe in *France*, as lying from them beyond the *Alpes*, though to us they were neerer; like as they called *Ciſalpines*, or *by-hither the Alpes*, thoſe who dwelt between them and the Mountains) to draw them to their party: reaſonably preſuming, that as their disjunction had cauſed their loſſe, ſo their union might recompence it, with large amends. But the buſineſs was ſo fooliſhly carryed, that the *Ciſalpines* and *Tranſalpines* fell together by the ears, putting the *Romans* only to *a tumult*, without further trouble of war. Soon after, they were urged by a greater indignity, to go more ſubſtantially to work. For *C. Flaminius*, a popular man in *Rome*, propoſed a Decree, which was ratified by the people; That, beſides one Colony already planted in the territory of the *Senones*, as many more ſhould be carryed thither, as would ſerve to people the whole Country between *Ancona* and *Ariminum*: exterminating utterly thoſe *Gaules*. Such an offer, were it made in *England*, concerning either *Virginia*, or *Guiana* it ſelf, would not over-joy the Multitude. But the commonalty of *Rome* took this in ſo good part, notwithſtanding all danger joyned with the benefit, that *Flaminius* had ever after their good will.

This dreadfull Preſident extremely diſpleaſed the *Boji*, who being neighbours to *Ariminum*, feared the like diſplantation. And becauſe the reſt of the *Gaules* had reaſon to reſolve, that themſelves alſo ſhould be rooted out by degrees; the great Nation of the *Inſubrians*, which inhabited the Dutchy of *Milan*, joyned with the *Boji*, & upon a common purſe entertained the *Geſſates*, nations about *Rhodanus*, wageable as the *Switzers* in theſe times. The *Geſſates* having received a great impreſt, come to the field under the conduct of their Kings *Concolitanus* and *Aneroeſtus*: who with the *Boji* and *Inſubrians*, compound an Army of fifty thouſand foot, and twenty thouſand horſe, and thoſe of the beſt men, and beſt appointed, that ever invaded the *Roman* Territory; to whom the *Senogalli*, that had been beaten out of their poſſeſſions, gave a great increaſe of ſtrength. On the contrary ſide, the *Venetians*, and the [b] *Cenomanni*, adhered to the *Romans*: as better beleeving in their proſperity and riſing fortune. For fear of whoſe incurſions therefore, the *Gaules* were forced to leave a good part of their Army, on the frontier of *Milan*: with the reſt of their forces they entred into *Tuſcane*. The *Romans* hearing of this danger, ſend *Æmilius* to *Rimine*, to ſtop their paſſage; and in the place of *C. Atilius* their other Conſul, who then was in *Sardinia*, they imploy one of their Prætors, for the defence of *Tuſcane*.

b *Cenomanni* are the people about *Bergamo*, on the North ſide of the river *Po* in *Italy*. There were alſo of theſe *Cenomanni* in *France*, and inhabited the Country of *Main*.

Being at this time greatly troubled with the conſideration of this powerfull Army, which the *Gaules* had aſſembled, they cauſed a view to be taken, as well of all their own forces, as of thoſe of their Allies: who were no leſſe willing than themſelves, to oppoſe the incurſions of the barbarous people; fearing, as they had cauſe, that their own deſtruction could not be prevented otherwiſe, than by the good fortune of *Rome*. The numbers, found in this Muſter, deſerve to be recorded: becauſe they ſet out the power of the *Romans* in thoſe dayes. With the Conſuls they ſent forth to the war four Legions of their own: every Legion conſiſting of five thouſand two hundred foot, and three hundred horſe; and of their Allies, thirteen thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe. There were alſo appointed for ſupplies (if any miſadventure came to theſe) of the *Sabines* and *Hetrurians* fifty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, which Army was to be lodged in the border of *Hetruria*. Of the *Umbri* and *Sarſinates*, which inhabited the *Apenines*, there were twenty thouſand; and of the *Venetians* and *Cenomans*, other twenty thouſand: which latter Armies were directed to invade the *Boji*, that forcing them to defend their own Territories, the Generall Army of the *Gaules* ſhould be thereby greatly diminiſhed. There were beſides theſe, to be ready againſt all uncertain chances of warre, thirty thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe, garriſoned in *Rome* it ſelf, of their own people; and of their Allies, thirty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe. Over and

above

above these great troups; in the Roll of the *Latines*, that was sent unto the Senate, there were numbred fourscore thousand foot, and five thousand horse; in that of the *Samnites*, seventy thousand foot, and of horse seven thousand; in that of the [g] *Japyges* & *Messapyges*, fifty thousand foot, and sixteen thousand horse; the *Lucans* sent a list of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse; the [h] *Marsi*, [i] *Marrusini*, [k] *Ferentani*, and the *Vestini*, of twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse. The *Romans* had also two Legions in *Sicil*, and about *Tarentum*, containing eight thousand four hundred foot, and four hundred horse. So as of the *Romans* and *Campanes* joyntly, reckoning men armed, and fit to bear arms, there were registred two hundred and fifty thousand foot; and of horse three and twenty thousand: of which, reckoning the *Romans* apart, there were an hundred and fifty thousand foot, and about six thousand horse. Calling up the whole forces of all the Provinces in *Italy*, both of the *Romans* and their confederates, it amounted to seven hundred thousand foot, & seventy thousand horse. But the number is somewhat mis-cast by *Polybius*; not with a purpose to inrich himself by the dead payes: for where he reckons nine hundred horse too many, he fals short nine thousand two hundred of the foot.

How great soever this muster was, it seems to have been like unto that, which *Lodowick Sforza* made, when *Lewis* the twelfth invaded *Milan*; at what time, the better to encourage himself and his subjects, he took a Roll of all persons able to bear armes, within the Dutchy, though indeed he were never able to bring a teath [f] part of them into the field. Certain it is, that the battels of *Trebia*, *Thrasymene*, and *Cannæ*, did not consume any such proportion, as was answerable to this large accompt. Yet were the *Romans* fain to arme their slaves, even for want of other Souldiers, after their overthrow at *Cannæ*. Wherefore the marvell is not great, that the *Carthaginians* and others were little terrified with report of such a multitude For all heads are not fit for Helmets: though the *Roman* Citizens were, in generall, as good fighting men, as elsewhere might be found.

Notwithstanding all these counter preparations, the *Gaules* keep on their way: and entring into *Tuscane*, destroy, and put to fire and sword, all that lay before them. From thence they march directly towards *Rome*; hoping to finde the *Romans* rather in deliberation, than in the field. But their intelligence fails them. For the *Roman* Army, sent into *Tuscane*, having taken some other way than they did, and finding that it had missed of them, came again fast after them, to arrest them in their journey. Hereof when they heard the rumour, fearing to be charged on their backs, they turned head: and in the same evening discovered the *Roman* Army, by whom they incamped. It was now a matter of apparent necessity, that fight they must. Wherefore they helped themselves with a stratagem, that shewed no great fineness of wit, but such as wel beseemed those that had none other occupation than war; and stood them in good stead at the present In the dead of the night, they cause their foot to march away, but not far, leaving their horse in guard; to whom they give order to come off at the first light of day, with such a speed, as might rather argue a running away, than a retrait; as if they had not dared to abide battell. The *Romans*, interpreting this their hasty departure as the *Gaules* desired they should, follow them in disorder. The *Gaules* return, charge them, and kill six thousand upon the place; the rest take a piece of ground of advantage, & defend themselves, till *L. Æmilius*, being at *Ariminum*, comes to their succour. Upon the comming of the Consull, the *Gaules* consult, whether they should give the *Romans* battell, or forbear. In which dispute, *Anerostus*, one of their Kings, perswades them, rather to return into their own Countries; where, after they had disposed of the great spoils and riches which they had gotten, they should then renew the war, being without carryage, pester, or other impediment. This advice they all embrace; for, seeing they that were Mercenaries, had obtained what they came for, to wit, the spoils of their enemies, they thought it wisdome, to hazzard neither it, nor themselves any further.

This indeed had been a good resolution, if they had taken it, before the enemy had been in sight. But as well in the wars of these later ages, as in former times, it hath ever been found extreme dangerous, to make a retrait in the Head of an Enemies Army. For although they that retire, do often turn head; yet in alwayes going on from the pursuing enemy, they find, within a few miles, either straight, hedge, ditch or place of disadvantage, which they are inforced to passe in disorder. In such cases, the Souldier knowes

[g] *Japyges* and *Messapyges* seem to be one Nation; who are also called *Salentines*, *Peucetians*, *Apulians*, and *Calabrians*. The Country is now *Apulia*, containing the Northermost head-land of *Calabria*.

[h] A people of the kingdome of *Naples*.

[i] *Ptolemy* cals them a people of *Italy*.

[k] A people of *Campania*, called to this day *Ferentines*, saith *Leander*.

knowes it as well as the Captain, that he which forsakes the field, perceives and fears some advantage of the Enemies. Fear, which is the betrayer of those succours that reason offereth, when it hath once possest the heart of man, it casteth thence both courage and understanding. They that make the retrait, are alwayes in fear to be abandoned; they that lead the way, fear to be ingaged: and so the hindmost treads on his heels that is foremost, and consequently, all disband, run, and perish, if those that favour the retrait be not held to it by men of great courage. The miserable overthrow that the *French* received in *Naples*, in the year 1503. upon a retrait made by the *Marques* of *Sal*, doth testifie no lesse. For although a great troup of *French* horse sustained the pursuing Enemy a long time, and gave the foot leisure to trot away; yet being retarded by often turnings, the *Spanish* foot overtook, and defeated them utterly. During the wars between the *Imperials* and the *French*, *Borsi* and *Mont* were lost at *Brignolles*, who in a bravery would needs see the enemy, before they left the field. So was *Strosi* overthrown by the *Marques* of *Marignan*, because he could not be perswaded to dislodge the night before the *Marques* his arrivall. Therefore did the *French* King *Francis* the first wisely: when without respect of *point of honour*, he dislodged from before *Landersey*, by night; as many other the most advised Captains, (not finding themselves in case to give battell) have done. *Je ne trouve point* (saith the Marshall *Monluc*) *au fait des armes chose si difficile, qu'une retraitte; I finde nothing in the art of war so difficult as to make a safe retrait.* A sure rule it is, that there is less dishonour to dislodge in the dark, than to be beaten in the light. And hereof *M. de la None* gives this judgement of a dayes retrait, made in *France*; presently before the battell at *Moncountour*. For (saith he) staying upon our reputation, in shew, *not to dislodge by night*; we lost our reputation indeed, by dislodging by day: whereby we were forced to fight upon our disadvantage, and to our ruin. And yet did that wo thy Gentleman *Count Lodowick* of *Nassau*, brother to the late famous *Prince of Orange*, make the retrait at *Moncountour* with so great resolution, as he saved the one half of the *Protestant* Army, then broken and disbanded; of which my self was an eye-witnesse, and was one of them that had cause to thank him for it.

Now the *Gaules*, embracing the safe advice (as they take it) of one of their Kings, turn their backs to the enemy, and their faces homeward. *Æmilius* followes them as near as he can, without ingaging himself, attending his advantage. In the mean while, *C. Atilius* the other Consull, with the Legions of *Sardinia*, lands at *Pisa*; so as the *Gaules* inclosed between two Armies, are forced to fight. They therefore equally strengthen their Rear and Front. To sustain *Emilius*, they appoint the *Gessates*, and the *Milanois*; in the Front they range the *Piemontois*, and the rest of the *Gaules* inhabiting upon the River of *Po*. The manner of the fight *Polybius* describeth at large: which was well fought of all hands. But in the end the *Gaules* fell; and so did *Atilius* the Consull: who died in the place, accompanied with the two Kings of the *Gaules*, *Concolitanus* and *Aneroestus*; with forty thousand of their Vassals.

After this fatall overthrow, the *Gaules* lost courage; and, ere long, all that they held in *Italy*. For they were invaded the year following this overthrow, by the new Consuls, *Fulvius* and *Manlius*. The *Romans* knew well how to use their victory: they gave not ten, twenty, or thirty years time to the *Gaules*, to repair their forces, as the *Gaules* had done to them. These new Consuls beat the *Boii*; but by reason of the great rains that fell, and the great pestilence that reigned, they were compelled for that present to surcease. In the second year, *Furius* and *Flaminius* invade the *Milanois*; and prevail very far, being strongly assisted by the *Cenomanni* and the *Venetians*. Nevertheless these Consuls were revoked out of their Province, by the Senate of *Rome*, and compelled to resign their Office: because the *Augures*, or *Soothsayers*, had found, that some token or other of the Birds (in which, and all sorts of their divination, the *Romans* were extremely superstitious) had not only foreshewed little good, when they were chosen, but had also nullified the election. *C. Flaminius*, receiving letters of this revocation from the Senate, and being otherwise advertised of the contents, was not hasty to open them: but first gave battell unto the enemies, vanquished them, and spoiled their Country; then perused the letters; and returning home obtained a triumph, fore against the will of the Senate, and not altogether with good liking of the people, who yet bare him out, for that he sided in faction with the Commonalty, though a man of great Nobility.

This

This was that *Flaminius*, who had propounded the Decree, for dividing the Country of the *Senones* among the people of *Rome*. He was the first, or one of the first, that understanding the Majesty of *Rome* to be indeed wholly in the people, and no otherwise in the Senate, than by a way of Delegacy, or grand Commission; did not stand highly upon his birth and degree, but courted the multitude, and taught them to know and use their power, over himself and his fellow Senators, in reforming their disorders. For this, the Commons highly esteemed him, and the Senators as deeply hated him. But he had the surer side, and found imitators, that rose by the same art, which in processe of time, grew the only or chief way to preferment.

Flaminius and his Colleague, being disposed, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, & *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, were chosen Consuls, for the rest of that year. The *Gaules* about this time desired peace; & were like to have obtained it: though the new Consuls were against it, as fearing to want work. But when thirty thousand of the *Gessates*, following their King *Britomarus*, were come over the *Alpes*, and joyned with the *Insubrians*: all other discourse, than of present war, was at an end. So the Consuls hasted into their Province, where they besieged *Acerræ*, a town not far from *Novara* (so far had the *Romans* pierced already) in the Dutchy of *Milan*. To divert them from this siege, *Britomarus* sat down before *Clastidium*, a town in the same Tract, with a great part of his forces: leaving the rest, with the *Insubrians*, to attend upon the Consuls at *Acerræ*, and to look to the defence of *Milan*. But this would not suffice, to make the *Romans* break up their siege. *Marcellus*, taking with him the greatest part of the horse, and six hundred foot lightly armed, thought to deal well enough with those at *Clastidium*. *Britomarus* heard of the Consuls comming, and met him upon the way: so suddenly, that the *Romans* had no leisure to rest themselves after their journey, but were compelled instantly to fight: Herein *Britomarus* had done well, if he had not forthwith, in a rash bravery, lost his game at a cast. He had advantage enough in number, both of horse and foot: but he thought so well of his own personall valour, that he rode out single before his Army, provoking any one to fight with him. *Marcellus* was no less daring, than the barbarous King: whether more wise in this action, I will not dispute; he was more fortunate, and that sufficed to commend him. He slue and disarmed *Britomarus*, in the presence of both Armies: whereby his own men took such courage, and his enemies were so dismaied, that without much trouble of fight the *Romans* obtained a great victory.

This was the third and last time, that ever any *Roman* Generall slue the Generall of the enemies, with his own hand. To this kinde of victory, belonged a peculiar triumph; whereof only *Romulus*, *Cossus*, and this *Marcellus*, had the honour: yet I dare say, that the two *Scipio's*, and divers of the *Roman* Captains, especially *Cæsar*, were better men of war than any of these three; though they never offered up to *Jupiter*, *Opima Spolia*, *The Armour of a Generall slain by themselves, when they were Generals*, nor perhaps affected so to do.

After this victory, *Acerræ* was yeelded to the *Romans*; and *Milan* soon after: with all that belonged to the *Cisalpines*, or *Gaules*, that dwelt in *Lumbardie*. Thus was that valiant and mighty Nation, that had so many years vexed the State of *Rome*, and in former times taken the City it self, brought to nothing in a short time; their pleasant and fertile Territory possest by the *Romans*; and the remainder of their Nation, inhabiting *Italy*, so many as would not subject their necks to the *Roman* yoke, either forced to abandon their Countreys, or to hide themselves in the cold and barren Mountains, like Outlawes and Theeves. And thus did the *Romans* spend the three and twenty years, following the peace made with *Carthage*. In part of which time, they were at such leisure, that they closed up the Temple of *Janus*: which they never did before, (it standing alwayes open, when they had any war) save once, in the reign of *Numa*; nor in long time after, untill the reign of *Augustus*. But this their present happiness was not to last long: a dangerous war, and perhaps the greatest that had ever been, was to come unto their gates; which being well ended, they might boldly undertake, to extend their Monarchy as far as their ambition could reach.

Chap. III.

Of the second Punick Warre.

§. I.

The Wars of Hannibal *in* Spain. *Quarrels between the* Romans *and* Carthaginians. Hannibal *besiegeth and taketh* Saguntum, *whilest the* Romans *are busied with the* Illyrians. *War proclaimed between* Rome *and* Carthage.

Hannibal, the son of *Amilcar*, was about six and twenty years old, when he was chosen Generall of the *Carthaginian* forces in *Spain*. He was elected by the Army, as soon as *Asdrubal* was dead: & the election was ratified by the State of *Carthage*; wherewith *Hanno* & his Complices were nothing pleased. This was now the third of the *Barchine* family (so called of *Amilcar*, whose surname was *Barcas*) that had command in chief, over the men of war. Which honour would perhaps have been lesse envied, by these domesticall enemies, if the Allies and Friends of the *Barchine* house, had not also borne the whole sway in government, and been the only men regarded, both by the Senate and the people. This generall good will, as it was first purchased by the most worthy deserts of *Amilcar* in saving his Country from imminent ruine, inlarging the Dominion thereof, and inriching it with treasures and great revenues; so was it retained, by the same good arts, among his friends and followers. *Hanno* therefore, and his Partisans, being neither able to taxe the vertue of their enemies, that was unreprovable; nor to performe the like services unto the Common weal; had nothing left, whereby to value themselves, excepting the generall reprehension of War, and cautelous advice of not provoking the *Romans*. This they seasoned other-whiles with detraction; saying, that the *Barchine* faction went about to oppresse the liberty of the City. But their malicious words were unregarded; and if it were factious, to bear ill will to *Rome*, then were all the Citizens (very few excepted) no lesse *Barchine*, than *Hannibal* himself. For it was long since apparent, that the oath of the *Romans*, to the articles of peace, afforded no security to *Carthage*, were she never so quiet, and officious; unlesse she would yeeld to become their subject. Since therefore the peace was like to hold no longer, than untill the *Romans* could finde some good advantage, to renew the war: it was rather desired by the *Carthaginians*, that whilest their own state was in good case, the war should begin; than that in some unhappy time of famine or pestilence, or after some great losse of Army or Fleet, they should be driven to yeeld unto the impudent demands of their enemies; and to give away basely their lands and treasures, as they had lately done; or miserably fight, upon termes of disadvantage.

This disposition of his countrimen, *Hannibal* well understood. Neither was he ignorant (for his father, and other friends, had long time devised of this businesse) that in making war with the *Romans*, it was no small advantage to get the start of them. If once he could bring an Army into *Italy*, without molestation; there was good hope, that he should find friends and assistance, even of those people, that helped to increase the *Roman* armies in forrain wars. But this could never be effected, if the matter were openly disputed at *Carthage*. For it was to be doubted, that the *Carthaginians*, how glad soever they would be, to hear that he had set the war on foot, would nevertheless be slow and timorous, as commonly men are in the beginning of great enterprises, if the matter were referred to their deliberation. Which if it should happen, then were the *Romans* like to be made acquainted, not only with the generalities of his purpose, but with such particulars as must be discoursed of, in procuring allowance to his design. This might suffice to disorder the whole Project. Wherefore, he resolved to lay siege unto *Saguntum*, which might seem not greatly to concern the *Romans*, and would highly please the *Carthaginians*, that had fresh in mind the indignity of that *Spanish* Towns alliance with her half friends. So should he assay both the patience of his enemies, and the disposition of his own Citizens.

Having

Having thus concluded, he nevertheless went fair and orderly to work: and beginning with those that lay next in his way, approaching unto *Saguntum* by degrees. This he did (saith *Livie*) to give some colour to his proceedings: as if he had not principally intended the war against *Saguntum*, but had been drawn thither by course of business. Yet reason teacheth plainly, that without regard of such formalities, it was needfull to finish the conquest of the rest, before he did any thing that should provoke the Romans. First therefore he entred upon the Territory of the * *Olcades*; and having besieged *Althæa* (*Livie* calleth it *Carteia*) their chief City, he became, in a few dayes, Master not only thereof, but of all the other Towns of their Country. This Nation which he first undertook, being subdued, and the winter at hand, he rested his Army in new *Carthage*, or *Carthagena*; and imparted liberally to the Souldiers, the spoils he had gotten in his late Conquest.

In the Spring following, he pursued the war against the [a] *Vaccæi*: and without any great difficulty, wan first *Salmantica*, now called *Salamanca*; and after it, [b] *Arbucala*, by assault: though not without a long siege, and great difficulty. But in his return, he was put to the height, both of his courage, and of his Martiall judgement. For all such of the *Vaccæi*, as were able to bear armes, being made desperate, by the spoil of their country, with those of *Salamanca*, and of the *Olcades*, that had escaped in the late overthrow, joyning themselves with the *Toletans*; compounded an Army of an hundred thousand able men: and stayed *Hannibal* on the banks of the River *Tagus*, which runneth to the Sea by *Lisborne* in *Portugale*. These four Nations, having had experience of *Hannibals* invincible courage, and that he never saw enemy, upon whom he durst not give charge; were throughly resolved, that his naturall valour would at this time no less neglect the cold advice of discretion, than at other times it had seemed to doe, when the like great occasion perswaded him to use it. But he that makes himself a body of Crystall, that all men may look through him, and discern all the parts of his disposition, makes himself (withall) an Asse: and thereby teacheth others, either how to ride, or drive him. Wise men, though they have single hearts in all that is just & vertuous; yet they are like Coffers with double bottomes: which when others look into being opened, they see not all that they hold, on the sudden, and at once. It is true, that this subtle *Carthaginian*, when he served under *Asdrubal*, was, of all the men of mark in the Army, the most adventurous, but that which may beseem a Captain, or inferiour Commander, doth not alwayes become a Chief; though it hath sometime succeeded well with such great ones, as have been found more fortunate, than wise. At this time, our great Man of war knew as well how to dissemble his courage, as at other times to make it good. For he with-drew himself from the River-side, as if fearfull to foord it; thereby to draw over that great multitude, from their banks of advantage. The *Spaniards*, apprehending this in such sort, as *Hannibal* desired that they should; thrust themselves in fury and disorder, into the swift stream, with a purpose to charge the *Carthaginians*, abandoning (as they thought for fear) the defences on the contrary side. But when *Hannibal* saw them in their way, and well near over; he turned back his Elephants to entertain them at their landing: and thrust his Horse-men, both above and beneath them, into the River. These carrying a kinde of *Lance de Gay*, sharp at both ends, which they held in the middest of the staffe; had such an advantage over the foot, that were in the River, under their strokes, clattered together, and unable to move or shift their bodies, as on firme ground: that they slue all those, (in a manner) without resistance, which were already entred into the water; and pursued the rest, that fled like men amazed, with so great a slaughter, as from that day forward, there was not any *Spaniard*, on that side the River of *Iberus*, (the *Saguntines* excepted) that had the daring to lift up their hands against the *Carthaginians*.

The *Saguntines*, perceiving the danger towards them; cryed before they were hurt. They sent Embassadours to *Rome*, and bemoaned themselves, as likely to suffer that, which afterwards they suffered indeed; onely because of their alliance and friendship with this honourable City, which the *Carthaginians* hated. This tale moved the Senate, but much more a report, that *Saguntum* was already besieged. Hereupon some cry out, that War should be proclaimed by Land and Sea; as also that the two Consuls should be sent with Armies, the one into *Spain*, the other into *Africk*. But others went

* A people (saith *Stephanus*) neer the River of *Ebro*. But in the old description of *Spain*, in *Ortelius*, they are found near *Tagus*, and by *Sadar*, not far from New *Carthage*.

[a] A people of *Castile* the old.

[b] *Arbucala*, or *Albricala*, an in-land City of the *Vaccæi* in *Aragon*.

more *Roman*-like to work, and carryed it. So it was only concluded; that Embassadours should be sent into *Spain*, to view the state of their confederates: which were indeed none other, than the *Saguntines*. For if *Hannibal* intended war against *Rome*, it was likely, that he would give them, ere it were long, a more plausible occasion to take armes against him: if he had no such purpose, yet would it be in their power, to determine what they listed themselves, upon the report of these Embassadours; and this their gravity, in being not too rash at first, would serve to countenance their following Decree. Of these Embassadours *Livie* reports, that they found *Hannibal* before *Saguntum*, but could not get audience of him, and therefore went to *Carthage*, where also they were not regarded, nor heard. But *Polybius* an Historian of sincerity less questionable, tels, that they found him at *Carthagena*, & had conference with him, though such as left them doubtfull. This is more agreeable to the rest of *Hannibal* his whole course. And surely we might wonder, why the *Carthaginians* should afterwards admit a more peremptory Embassage (as *Livie* confesseth) and fall to disputation about the covenants of peace; if they had rejected that which was sent upon none other pretence, than prevention of war.

Whilest the Embassadours passed to and fro, *Hannibal* prepared not only his forces, but some *Roman* pretences, against *Saguntum*. He found out *Mamertines*, or people that should do as the *Mamertines* in *Sicil* had done for the *Romans*; and implore his help against the *Saguntines*. These were the *Turdetani*, a Nation adjoyning to *Saguntum*, & having many quarrels with them: (as happens commonly among neighbours) of which, *Hannibal* himself had hatched some. Finding therefore such an occasion, whatsoever it was, as made him able to say, that the *Saguntines* had first provoked him, ere he meddled with them; he made no more ado, but sat down with his whole power before their Town. He was now more secure, than he had formerly been of his own Citizens: for that they had not entertained the *Roman* Embassadours, with any trembling reverence, as of late years they had been wont. Nevertheless, he was glad of any handsome colour, to shadow his actions, not only because the War, which he so much desired, was not proclaimed; but that he might not be checked in his course, as an open enemy, before he could set foot in *Italy*. The *Romans* had the like, though contrary desire. They were glad of the quarrell: as hoping, that *Carthage*, with all thereto belonging, should thereby in short space become their own. Yet were they not hasty to threaten, before they were ready to strike; but meant to temporize, untill they had an Army in readiness to be sent into *Spain*, where they thought to make *Saguntum*, the seat of the War.

In the mean while, *Demetrius Pharius*, whom the *Romans* had made King over a great part of *Illyria*, rebelled against them: either for that he found himself over-straightly tyed up by them, with hard conditions, or rather because he was of an unthankfull disposition. The commotion of the *Gaules*, and afterward the fame of the *Carthaginian* war, emboldned him to despise his Benefactors and Patrons: whom he ought to have defended and aided, in all perils, even with the hazzard of his whole estate, which he had received of their gift. But he was a Traitor to his own Queen; and therefore dealt according to his kinde, with those that had rewarded him for being such. First, he built ships, and spoiled the Iles of *Greece*; against the covenants to which he was bound. Then he adventured further, and seised upon some places, that the *Romans* kept in their own hands. If he had begun sooner, or rather if he had stayed somewhat longer, he might have sped better. For the businesse with the *Gaules*, was ended; with *Hannibal*, not throughly begun, when he declared himself, by his doings, an enemy, and was vanquished. The *Roman* Consul, *Æmilius*, was sent against him: who in seven dayes wan the strong town of *Dimalum*; and thereby brought such terrour upon the Country round about, that Embassadours were sent from all places, to yeeld themselves, without putting him to further pains. Only the City of *Pharus*, in which *Demetrius* lay, prepared to resist: which he might have done long, if the hot-headed Rebell had not been too foolish. *Æmilius* landed a great part of his Army, in the Isle of *Pharus*, by night; and bestowed them in covert, presenting himself the next morning, with twenty ships before the town, and offering to force the Haven. *Demetrius* with all his power issued out against the Consull, and was soon intercluded from the town, by those that lay in ambush. Wherefore he fled away through by-paths to a creek, where he had shipping

ready

ready for him, and imbarqued himself: leaving all his estate unto them, of whose liberality he first had it.

This business, though it wer soon dispatched, yet prevented it not the siege of *Saguntum*; before which *Hannibal* sate down, ere *Æmilius* was landed in *Illyria*. In the beginning of the siege, the *Carthaginians* were much discouraged, by reason of the brave sallies made by the *Saguntines*; in one of which, their Generall received a dangerous wound in the thigh, that caused him to lye many dayes unable to move. Nevertheless he was not unmindfull of his work in the mean while; but gave order to raise certain movable Towers, that might equall those which were built on the wals of the City; and to prepare to batter the curtains, and make a breach. These being finished and applyed, had soon wrought their effect. A great and large breach was made, by the fall of divers Towers, and a great length of wall; whereat an hot assault was given: but it was so well sustained by the *Saguntines*, as the *Carthaginians* were not only beaten from the breach, and out of some ground within the Town, which upon the first fury they had won; but they were pursued even to their own trenches and camp. Nevertheless the *Carthaginian* Army, whe rein were about an hundred and fifty thousand men, did so weary the Townsmen with continuall travail, that at length it got within the wals; and was only hindred from taking full possession of the City, by some counter-works of the *Saguntines*, that were also ready to be won. In this extremity, there was one *Alcon* a *Saguntine*, that conveyed himself out of the Town, to treat with *Hannibal* for some accord. But the conditions which the *Carthaginian* offered were so severe, and without all compass of honour, as *Alcon* durst not return to propound them to his Countrymen. For *Hannibal* demanded all that they had; gold, silver, plate, and other riches within the City: yea, the City it self to be abandoned by the Citizens; promising, that he would assign some other place for their habitation: not allowing them, to carry out with them any other thing, wherewith to sustain themselves, than the cloathes on their backs or other armes, to defend them, than their nailes and teeth. Yet might they far better have submitted themselves unto this miserable appointment, (seeing thereby they might have injoyed their lives, and saved the honour of their wives and daughters) then to have rested at the discretion of the Conquerour, as soon after they did: by whom their wives and daughters were defloured before their own faces; and all put to sword, that were above fourteen years of age. For it was a poor comfort, which a great number of them took; when not daring to fight, and sell their bloud at the dearest rate, they shut themselves up like most wretched creatures in their own houses, and therein burnt themselves with all that they had: so dying unrevenged. The treasures found in *Saguntum*, which were very great; *Hannibal* kept, therewith to pay his Army: the slaves, and other booty, he divided among his Souldiers, reserving some things of choice, wherewith to present his friends at *Carthage*, and to animate them unto the War.

These tidings exceedingly vexed the *Romans*, who had good cause to be angry at their own slowness, in forbearing to send help unto the *Saguntines*, that held out eight moneths, looking still for succour, but in vain. Wherefore they determined to repair their honour, by taking sharp revenge. To this end they sent Embassadours again to *Carthage*: demanding only, *Whether it were by generall consent and allowance of the Carthaginians, that* Hannibal *had made warre upon* Saguntum: which if they granted (as it seemed they would) then to give them defiance. Hereunto answer was made, in the Senate of *Carthage*, to this effect; That this their second Embassage, howsoever qualified with milde words, was indeed more insolent than the former. For in that, they only required justice against *Hannibal*; but in this, the very State and Commonwealth of *Carthage*, was urged to plead guilty, or not guilty. But (said the *Carthaginian* speaker) whether the generall of our Army in *Spain*, in besieging *Saguntum*, have only followed his own counsail; or whether he did it, by direction from us: it is not the question which the *Romans* ought to aske us. That which is indeed worthy examination or dispute, is; *Whether it were lawfull or unlawfull for* Hannibal *to do as he hath done*. For it belongs to us, to call our own Commanders in question, and to punish them according to their faults & errors; to you, to challenge us, if we have done any thing contrary to our late League and contract. It is true, that in our negotiation with *Lutatius* the Consull, the Allies of both Nations were comprehended: but the *Saguntines* were not

not then of your Allies, and therefore no parties to the peace then made; for of your Allies in the future, or of ours, there was no dispute. As touching the last agreement, between you and *Asdrubal*, wherein you will say, that the *Saguntines* were comprehended by name; it is you that have taught us how to answer that particular. For whatsoever you found in the Treaty between us and *Lutatius*, to your own disadvantage, you cast it upon your Consuls presumption as promising those things, for which he had no warrant from the Senate and people of *Rome*. If then it be lawfull for the *Romans*, to disavow the actions of their Consuls and Commanders, concluding any thing without punctuall and precise warrant; the same liberty may we also assume, and hold our selves no way bound in honour, to performe those bargains, which *Asdrubal* hath made for us, without our commandement and consent.

This was an impertinent answer, and little better than a meer cavill. For *Lutatius* the Consul, in his Treaty of peace with the *Carthaginians*, had expresly referred the allowance thereof to the people of *Rome*. It had been therefore much better, to have dealt plainly; and to have alledged, That after this League was made, and confirmed on both parts, it was broken by the *Romans*, in robbing the *Carthaginians* of the Isle of *Sardinia*, and withall of twelve hundred talents: which perjury the State of *Carthage*, being now grown able, would revenge with open War. As for the *Saguntines*, it little skilled that the *Romans* had admitted them into confederacy, and forthwith inserted their names into the Treaty of peace with *Asdrubal*: seeing that the Treaty with *Asdrubal*, and all other businesse between *Rome* and *Carthage*, following the violence and breach of peace, in taking away *Sardinia*, were no better than *Roman* injuries, as implying this commination, *Do whatsoever we require; else will we make War, without regard of our oath, which we have already broken.*

But this the *Carthaginians* did not alledge, forgetting, in heat of contention (as *Polybius* takes it) the best of their Plea. Yet since *Livie* himself doth remember and acknowledge, that the taking of *Sardinia* from the *Carthaginians*, did inflame the spirit of *Amilcar* with desire of revenge: we may reasonably think, that the mention of this injury was omitted, not so much upon forgetfulness, as for that it was not thought convenient, by ripping up such ancient matter of quarrell, to shew that the war, now towards, had long been thought upon, and like to be made with extraordinary force, in other manner than heretofore. In conclusion, the *Carthaginian* Senate moved the *Roman* Embassadors, to deliver unto them in plain termes the purposes of those that sent them, and the worst of that, which they had long determined against them: as for the *Saguntines*, and the confining of their Armies within *Iberus*; those were but their pretences. Whereupon *Q. Fabius* gathering up the skirt of his gown, as if somewhat had been laid in the hollow thereof, made this short reply: I have here (quoth he) in my Gown skirt both Peace and War: make you (my Masters of the Senate) election of these two, which of them you like best, and purpose to imbrace. Hereat all cried out at once; Even which of them you your self have a fancy to offer us. Marry then (quoth *Fabius*) take the War, and share it among you. Which the assembly willingly accepted.

This was plain dealing. To wrangle about pretences, when each part had resolved to make War, it was meerly frivolous. For all these disputes of breach of peace, have ever been maintained by the party unwilling, or unable to sustain the War. The rusty sword, and the empty purse, do alwayes plead performance of covenants. There have been few Kings or States in the World, that have otherwise understood the obligation of a Treaty, than with the condition of their own advantage: and commonly (seeing peace between ambitious Princes and States, is but a kinde of breathing) the best advised have rather begun with the sword, than with the trumpet. So dealt the *Arragonois* with the *French* in *Naples*; *Henry* the second of *France*, with the Imperials, when he wrote to *Brissac*, to surprise as many places as he could, ere the war brake out; *Don John* with the Netherlands, and *Philip* the second of *Spain*, with the *English*, when in the great *Imbarge* he took all our ships and goods in his Ports.

But *Hannibal*, besides the present strength of *Carthage*, and the common feeling of injuries received from these enemies, had another private and hereditary desire, that violently carried him against the *Romans*. His father *Amilcar*, at what time he did sacrifice, being ready to take his journey into *Spain*, had solemnly bound him by oath, to pursue them with immortall hatred, and to work them all possible mischief, as soon as he

he should be a man, and able. *Hannibal* was then about nine years old, when his father caused him to lay his hand upon the Altar, and make this vow: so that it was no marvel, if the impression were strong in him.

That it is inhumane, to bequeath hatred in this sort, as it were by Legacy, it cannot be denyed. Yet for mine own part, I do not much doubt, but that some of those Kings, with whom we are now in peace, have received the like charge from their Predecessors, that as soon as their coffers shall be full, they shall declare themselves enemies to the people of *England*.

§. II.

Hannibal *takes order for the defence of* Spain, *and* Africk. *His journey into* Italy.

WArre being thus proclaimed, *Hannibal* resolved not to put up his sword which he had drawn against the *Saguntines*, untill he had therewith opened his passage unto the gates of *Rome*. So began the second Punick War; second to none, that ever the Senate and people of *Rome* sustained. *Hannibal* wintred at *Carthagena*; where he licensed his *Spanish* Souldiers to visit their friends, and refresh themselves against the Spring. In the mean while he gave instructions to his brother *Asdrubal*, for the government of *Spain* in his absence. He also took order, to send a great many troups of *Spaniards* into *Africk*, to equall the number of *Africans* formerly drawn thence into *Spain*; to the end, that so the one Nation might remain as pledges and gages for the other. Of the *Spaniards*, he transported into *Africk* thirteen thousand; eight hundred and fifty foot, and twelve hundred horse; also eight hundred slingers of the * *Baleares*. Besides these he selected four thousand foot, all young men, and of quality, out of the best Cities of *Spain*; which he appointed to be garrisoned in *Carthage* it self, not so much in regard of their forces, as that they might serve for hostages: for among those four thousand, the best of the *Spanish* Citizens, and those that swayed most in their severall States, had their Sons or Kinsmen. He also left with his brother, to guard the coasts and Po ts, fifty and seven Gallies; whereof thirty seven were presently armed, and appointed for the war. Of *Africans* and other Nations, strangers, he left with him above twelve thousand foot, and two thousand horse, besides one and twenty Elephants.

* *Majorca, & Minorca.*

Having in this sort taken order for the defence of *Spain* aud *Africk*; he sent discoverers before him, to view the Passages of the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, and of the *Alpes*. He also sent Embassadours to the Mountainers of the *Pyrenes*, and to the *Gaules*, to obtain a quiet passage: that he might bring his Army entire into *Italy*, and not be compelled to diminish his forces, by any War in the way, till he came to encounter the *Romans*. His Embassadours and Discoverers being returned with good satisfaction; in the beginning of the Spring, he past over the River of *Iberus*, with an Army consisting of fourscore and ten thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. All those parts of *Spain*, into which he had not entred before, he now subdued: and appointed *Hanno* (not that old enemy of his house, who sate stil at *Carthage*) to govern *Spain* on the East side of *Iberus*; to whom he left an Army of ten thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Being arrived at the borders of *Spain*, some of his *Spanish* Souldiers returned home, without asking leave: which that others might not also do, or attempt, he courteously dismissed many more that seemed willing to be gone. Hereby it came to passe, that the journey seemed the lesse tedious unto those that accompanyed him; as being not enforced by compulsion. With the rest of his Army, consisting now but of fifty thousand foot, and nine thousand horse, he past the *Pyrenes*, and entred into *Gaule*. He found the *Gaules* that bordered upon *Spain*, ready in Armes, to forbid his entrance into their Country: but won them, with gentle speech, and rich presents that he bestowed upon their Leaders, to favour his Expedition. So without any molestation, he came to the bank of *Rhodanus*; where dwelt, on each side of the River, a people called *Volcæ*. These were unacquainted with the cause of his comming; and therefore sought to keep him from passing over the water. But he was greatly assisted by some of those *Gaules*, that inhabited on the West side of *Rhodanus*, to wit, by those of *Vivarets* and *Lyonnois*. For although many of them had transported themselves & their goods, into the Country of *Dauphine* thinking

thinking to defend the further bank against him: yet such as remained, being very desirous to free their country of so many ill guests, were better pleased to have their Countrymen well beaten, which had abandoned them, than to have their own store of corne and cattell wasted, by the long stay of so great an Army, as lay upon them. For which reason, they helped him to make boats; informed him of another more easie passage, higher up the River: & lent him guides. When the Vessels for transportation of his Army were in readinesse; he sent *Hanno*, the son of *Bomilcar*, up the River: himself in the mean while making countenance to enter the Foord below. The end of this labour, was: that *Hanno* charging the *Gaules* unawares upon their own side, and *Hannibal*, at the same time, passing the River in their faces, the further bank was won, though with some difficulty; and the enemies dispersed. Yet was he greatly troubled in conveying over his Elephants; who marvellously feared the water. He was therefore driven to make raffes of trees, and cover them with earth and Turfe; whereof he fastned one to each bank, that might serve as a bridge, to and from another of the same sort, but loose upon which the beasts were towed over.

Having past this first burnt, and overcome both the rage of the River, and of those that defend it, he was visited by the Princes of the *Gaules Cisalpines*, that inhabited *Piemont* and *Milan*, who lately had revolted from the *Romans*. These informed him of the passages of the *Alpes*; that they were not so difficult, as common report made them; and from these he received guides, with many other encouragements. All which notwithstanding, he found himself extremely incombred by the *Savoyans*; and lost, both of his carriages, and of his *Carthaginians*, more than willingly he would, or had formerly thought that he should. For he was twice mainly assailed by them, before he could recover the plain Countreys on the other side. And whereas his journey over the Mountains cost him fifteen dayes travail, he was every day, more or less, not only charged by those Mountainers, but withall extremely beaten with grievous weather and snow: it being the beginning of Winter, when he began, and overcame this passage. But the fair and fertile Plains, which were now ready to receive them; with the assistance and conduct of the *Cisalpine Gaules*, who by their proper forces had so often invaded the *Roman* Territory: gave them great comfort and encouragement to go on: having nothing else of difficulty remaining, but that which from the beginning they made accompt to over-come, by their proper valour and resolution; namely, the *Roman* Armies, and resistance.

§. III.

How the Romans *in vain solicited the* Spaniards *and* Gaules *to take their part. The rebellion of the* Cisalpine Gaules *against the* Romans.

THe Countries of *Spain* and *Gaule*, through which the *Carthaginians* marched thus far, had been solicited before, by the same *Roman* Embassadours, who had denounced the war at *Carthage*. These, as they were instructed by the Senate, took *Spain* in their way homeward from *Carthage*, with a purpose to draw into the *Roman* Alliance, as many of the Cities and Princes as they could; at least to disswade them from contracting any friendship with the *Carthaginians*. The first which they attempted, were the *Volcians*, a people in *Spain*; from whom, in open assembly, they received by one that spake for the rest, this uncomfortable answer: With what face (saith he) can ye *Romans* perswade us to value your Alliance, or to prefer it before the friendship of the *Carthaginians*; seeing we are taught by the example of the *Saguntines*, to be more wise than so; For they, relying on your faith and promised assistance, have been utterly rooted out, & destroyed by the *Carthaginians*; whom they might else have held their assured friends, and good neighbours, as we, and other the people of *Spain* have found them. Ye may therefore be gone, with this resolution from us, That for our parts (and so I think, I may answer for the rest of our Country-men) the *Romans* henceforth are not to expect any kindness at our hands; who are resolved, never to make account of their protection, nor amity. From the *Volcians*, the Embassadours took their way towards the *Gaules*; using their best arguments to perswade them not to suffer the *Carthaginians* to pass into *Italy*, through their Territory: and withall greatly glorifying themselves,

selves, their strength, and large Dominion. But the *Gaules* laught them to scorne, and had hardly the patience, to hear them speak. For shall we (said one of their Princes) by resisting *Hannibals* passage into *Italy*, entertain a war which is not meant to be made against us? Shall we hold the war among our selves, and in our own Territory, by force which marcheth with a speedy pace from us, toward our ancient enemies? Have the *Romans* deserved so well of us, and the *Carthaginians* so ill, that we should set fire on our own houses, to save theirs from burning? No, we know it well, that the *Romans* have already forced some Nations of ours, out of their proper Territory and inheritance: and constrained others, as free as themselves, to pay them tribute. We will not therefore make the *Carthaginians*, our enemies; who have no way as yet offended us, nor we them.

With this unpleasing answer the Embassadours returned home: carrying no good newes, of friends likely to help them; but rather some assurance from the people of *Massilia*, which were confederates with *Rome*, that the *Gaules* were determined to take part with their enemy. Of this inclination, the *Cisalpine Gaules* gave hasty proof. For when the newes was brought into *Italy*, that the *Carthaginians* had passed *Iberus*, and were on the way towards *Rome*; this alone sufficed to stirre up the *Boji*, and *Insubrians*, against the *Romans*. These people were lately offended at the plantation of new *Roman* Colonies, at *Cremona*, and *Placentia*, within their Territories. Relying therefore upon the *Carthaginian* succour, which they supposed to be now at hand; they laid aside all regard of those hostages, which they had given to the *Romans*, and fell upon the new Colonies. The Towns it seems they could not win; for *Hannibal* shortly after failed to get them. But they forced the *Roman* Commissioners, (who belike were abroad in the Country) to flie to *Modena*: where they besieged them. The siege of *Modena* had continued some small time; when the *Gaules*, having little skill in assaulting Cities, waxed weary, and seemed desirous to have peace, and to come to some good accord with the *Romans*. This they did of purpose, to draw on some meeting; that they might therein lay hand upon the *Roman* Deputies, thereby to redeem their Hostages, in way of exchange. And it fell out, in part, according to their wish. For the *Romans* sent out Embassadours to treat with them, and to conclude a peace; whom they detained. *Manlius* the Prætor, who lay in these quarters with an Army, hearing this outrage; marched in all haste to the relief of the besieged. But the *Gaules*, having laid a strong ambush in a wood joyning to the way, fell upon the Prætor so opportunely, as he was utterly overthrown, and all his followers left dead in the place, a few excepted, that recovered, by fast running, a little village, but defensible; upon the River of *Po*. When this was heard at *Rome*, *C. Atilius*, another of the Prætors, was hastily sent, to relieve the besieged, with a Legion, and five thousand of the *Roman* associates: which forces were taken out of the Consuls Army, and supplyed by a new levy.

As the *Gaules* were too rash and hasty; so were the *Romans* too slow, and indeed too ill-advised, in the beginning of this war. They were not perswaded, that *Carthage*, which had almost servilely endured so many indignities, in time of the late peace; would be so brave and couragious on the sudden, as to attempt the conquest of *Italy* it self. Wherefore they appointed one of their Consuls to make warre in *Spain*, the other in *Africk*: resting secure of all danger at home. *Titus Sempronius* took his way toward *Africk*, with an hundred and sixty *Quinqueremes*, or Gallies of five to an oare, which preparation may seem to threaten even the City of *Carthage*, to which it shall not come near. *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the other Consul, made all possible haste, by the way of *Genoa*, into *Provence*; and used such diligence, having the winde also favourable, as in five dayes he recovered *Massilia*. There he was advertised, of *Hannibal* his having passed the River of *Rhodanus*, whom he thought to have found busie yet a while in *Spain*. *Hannibal* had also newes of the Consuls arrivall: whereof he was neither glad, nor sorry, as not meaning to have to do with him. Each of them sent forth Scouts to discover the others number and doings: *Hannibal*, about five hundred *Numidians*; *Scipio* three hundred of his better appointed *Roman* horse. These met and fought, and the *Numidians* were beaten: yet could not the *Romans* greatly brag, having slain only two hundred, and lost of their own, one hundred and forty. But when *Scipio* drew near, to have met with the *Carthaginians*; he found, that they were gone three dayes before; and that (as he then found assuredly true) with an intent to look upon the wals of *Rome*.

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This interrupted his intended voyage into *Spain*. Nevertheleſſe he ſent away thither his brother *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, with the greateſt part of his fleet and Army, to try what might be done againſt *Aſdrubal* & the other *Carthaginian* Lieutenants in the Country. He himſelf, taking with him a few choice bands, returned by Sea to *Piſa*; and ſo paſſing through *Tuſcane* into *Lumbardie*, drew together the broken troups of *Manlius* & *Atilius* that lately had been beaten by the *Gaules*: with which forces he made head againſt the enemy, thinking to find him over-laboured, with travail of his painfull journey.

§. IV.

Scipio *the* Roman *Conſul overcome by* Hannibal *at* Ticinum: *Both of the* Roman *Conſuls beaten by* Hannibal, *in a great battell at* Trebia.

FIve Moneths *Hannibal* had ſpent in his tedious journey from *Carthagena*; what great muſter he could make, when he had paſſed the *Alpes*, it is not eaſily found. Some reckon his foot at an hundred thouſand, and his horſe at twenty thouſand; others report them to have been only twenty thouſand foot, and ſix hundred horſe. *Hannibal* himſelf in his Monument which he raiſed, in the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, agreeth with the latter ſumme. Yet the *Gaules*, *Ligurians*, and others that joyned with him, are likely to have mightily increaſed his Army, in ſhort ſpace. But when he marched Eaſtward from the banks of *Rhodanus*, he had with him eight and thirty thouſand foot, & eight thouſand horſe; of which, all ſave thoſe remembred by himſelf in the Inſcription of his Altar in *Juno*'s Temple, are like to have periſhed by diſeaſes, enemies, Rivers, and Mountains; which miſchiefs had devoured, each their ſeverall ſhares.

Having newly paſſed the *Alpes*, and ſcarce refreſhed his wearyed Army in the Country of *Piemont*; he ſought to win the friendſhip of the [a] *Taurini*, who lay next in his way. But the *Taurini* held war at that time with the *Inſubrians*, which were his good friends; and refuſed (perhaps for the ſame cauſe) his amity. Wherefore he aſſaulted their Town; and wan it by force in three daies. Their ſpoil ſerved well to hearten his Army; and their calamity, to terrifie the Neighbour places. So the *Gaules*, without more adoe, fell unto his ſide: many for fear, many alſo for good-will, according to their former inclination. This diſpoſition ran through the whole Country: which joyned, or was all in readineſs to joyn with the *Carthaginians*; when the newes of *Scipio* the Conſul his arrivall, made ſome to be more adviſed, than the reſt. The name of the *Romans* was terrible in thoſe quarters; what was in the *Carthaginians*, experience had not yet laid open. Since therefore the Roman Conſul was already gotten through the moſt defenſible paſſages, ere any ſpeech had been heard of his approach: many ſate ſtill for very fear, who elſe would fain have concluded a League with theſe new-come friends; and ſome, for greater fear, offered their ſervice againſt the *Carthaginians*, whom nevertheleſs they had wiſhed well to ſpeed.

[a] These dwelt about *Turine*, a goodly City, now ſubject unto the Duke of *Savoy* which from them took the name of *Auguſta Taurinorum*.

This wavering affection of the Province, whereinto they were entred, made the two Generals haſten to the tryall of a battail. Their meeting was at *Ticinum*, now called *Pavia*; where each of them wondred at the others expedition: *Hannibal* thinking it ſtrange that the Conſul, whom he had left behinde him on the other ſide of the *Alpes*, could meet him in the face, before he had well warmed himſelf in the Plains; *Scipio* admiring the ſtrange adventure of paſſing thoſe Mountains, and the great ſpirit of his Enemy. Neither were the Senate at *Rome* little amazed at *Hannibals* ſucceſs, and ſudden arrivall. Wherefore they diſpatched a Meſſenger in all haſte unto *Sempronius*, the other Conſul, that was then in *Sicilia*, giving him to underſtand hereof: & letting him further know, that whereas he had been directed to make the war in *Africa*, it was now their pleaſure that he ſhould forbear to proſecute any ſuch attempt, but that he ſhould return the Army under his charge, with all poſſible ſpeed, to ſave *Italy* it ſelf. According to this order, *Sempronius* ſent off his Fleet from *Lilybæum*; with direction to land the Army at *Ariminum*, a Port Town not far from *Ravenna*: quite another way from *Carthage*, whither he was making haſte. In the mean while, *Scipio* and *Hannibal* were come ſo near, that fight they muſt, ere they could part aſunder. Hereupon both of them prepared the mindes of their Souldiers, by the beſt arguments they had: unto which *Hannibal* added the Rhetorick of a preſent example, that he ſhewed upon certain priſoners

prisoners of the *Savoians*, which he brought along with him, fitted for the purpose, into *Italy*. For these, having been no less miserably fettered and chained, than sparingly fed; and withall so often scourged on their naked bodies, as nothing was more in their desire, than to be delivered from their miseries by any kinde of present death, were brought into the middle of the Army: where it was openly demanded, which of them would fight hand to hand with some other of his Companions, till the one of them were slain, with condition, being the Victor, to receive his liberty, and some small reward. This was no sooner propounded, than all of them together accepted the offer. Then did *Hannibal* cause lots to be cast, which of them should enter the List, with such weapons, as the Chieftains of the *Gaules* were wont to use in single combats. Every one of these unhappy men wished, that his own lot might speed; whereby it should at least be his good fortune, to end his miseries by death, if not to get a reward by victory. That couple, whose good hap it was to be chosen, fought resolvedly: as rather desiring, than fearing death; and having none other hope, than in vanquishing. Thus were some few couples matched, it skilled not how equally: for all these poor creatures were willing, upon whatsoever uneven termes, to ridde themselves out of slavery. The same affection that was in these Combatants, and in their fellowes which beheld them, wrought also upon the *Carthaginians*, for whom the spectacle was ordained. For they deemed happy, not only him, that by winning the victory had gotten his liberty, together with an horse and armour: but even him also, who being slain in fight, had escaped that miserable condition, unto which his Companions were returned. Their Generall perceiving what impression this dumbe shew had wrought in them, began to admonish them of their own condition, speaking to this effect: That he had laid before them an example of their own estates: seeing the time was at hand, wherein they were all to runne the same fortune, that these slaves had done; all to live victorious and rich; or all to die, or (which these prisoners esteemed far more grievous) to live in a perpetuall slavery: That none of them all, in whom was common sense, could promise to himself any hope of life by flight; since the Mountains, the Rivers, the great distance from their own Countries, and the pursuit of mercilesse Enemies, must needs retrench all such impotent imaginations. He therefore prayed them to remember, that they, who had even now praised the fortune both of the Victor, and of the vanquished, would make it their own case; seeing that there was never any in the world, appointed with such a resolution, that had ever been broken, or beaten by their enemies. On the contrary, he told them that the *Romans*, who were to fight upon their own soil, and in view of their own Towns; who knew as many wayes to save themselves by flight, as they had bodies of men to fight withall, could no way entertain such a resolution as theirs: seeing the same necessity, (to which nothing seems impossible) did no way presse them, or constrain them. In this sort did *Hannibal*, with one substantiall argument, *That there was no mean between victory and death*, encourage his Companions. For, (saith a great Captain of *France*) *La commodite de la retraitte advance la fuite*; *The commodity of a retrait, doth greatly advance a flat running away.*

Scipio on the other side, after that he had given order for the laying of a bridge over the River of *Ticinus*, did not neglect to use the best arguments and reasons he could, to encourage the Army he led: putting them in mind of the great conquests and victories of their Ancestors; against how many Nations they had prevailed; and over how many Princes, their Enemies, they had triumphed. As for this Army commanded by *Hannibal*, although it were enough to tell them, that it was no better than of *Carthaginians*, whom in their late war they had so often beaten, by Land and Sea; yet he prayed them withall to consider, that at this time it was not only so diminished in numbers, as it rather seemed a troup of Brigants and Theeves, than an Army likely to encounter the *Romans*, but so weather-beaten, and starved, as neither the men, nor horses, had strength or courage to sustain the first charge that should be given upon them. Nay (said he) yee your selves may make judgement what daring they have now remaining, after so many travails and miseries; seeing when they were in their best strength, after they had past the *Roan*, their horse-men were not only beaten by ours, and driven back to the very Trenches of their Camp, but *Hannibal* himself, fearing our approach, ran head-long towards the *Alpes*: thinking it a lesse dishonour, to die there by frost, famine, and precipitation, then by the sharp swords of the *Romans*, which had so often cut down his people,

people, both in *Africa*, and in *Sicil*. It was not long after this, ere the two Generals met: each being far advanced before the gross of his Army, with his Horse; and the *Roman* having also with him some light-armed foot, to view the ground, and the enemies countenance. When they discovered the approach one of the other; *Scipio* sent before him his horsemen of the *Gaules*, to begin the fight, and bestowing his Darters in the void ground between their troups, to assist them: himself with his *Roman* men at armes, followed softly in good order. The *Gaules* (whether desirous to try the metall of the *Carthaginians*, or hoping thereby to get favour of the *Romans*) behaved themselves courragiously, & were as courragiously opposed. Yet their foot that should have aided them, shrank at the first brunt, or rather fled cowardly away, without casting a Dart; for fear of being troden down by the enemies horse. This notwithstanding the *Gaules* maintained the fight and did more hurt than they received; as presuming that they were well backt. Neither was the Consull unmindfull to relieve them: their hardiness deserving his aid; and the hasty flight of those that should have stood by them, admonishing him that it was needfull. Wherefore he adventured himself so far, that he received a dangerous wound; and had been left in the place, if his son (afterward surnamed *Africanus*) had not brought him off: though others give the honour of this rescue to a *Ligurian* slave. Whilest the *Romans* were busied in helping their Consull; an unexpected storme came driving at their backs, and made them look about how to help themselves. *Hannibal* had appointed his *Numidian* light-horse, to give upon the *Romans* in flank, and to compass them about, whilest he with his men at Armes sustained their charge, and met them in the face. The *Numidians* performed this very well: cutting in pieces the scattered foot, that ran away at the first encounter; and then falling on the backs of those, whose looks were fastned upon *Hannibal* and *Scipio*. By this impression, the *Romans* were shuffled together, and routed: so that they all betook them to their speed, and left unto their enemies the honour of the day.

When *Scipio* saw his horsemen thus beaten, and the rest of his Army thereby greatly discouraged; he thought it a point of wisdome, having lost so many of his Fleet upon the first puffe of the winde, to take Port with the rest, before the extremest of the tempest overtook him. For he saw by the lowring morning what manner of day it was like to prove. Therefore his battail of foot being yet unbroken, he in a manner stole the retrait; and recovered the bridge over *Ticinus*, which he had formerly built. But notwithstanding all the haste that he made, he left six hundred of his Rear behinde him: who were the last that should have passed, and staid to break the bridge. Herein he followed this rule of a good man of war, *Si certamen quandoque dubium videatur, tacitam miles arripiat fugam: fuga enim aliquando laudanda*: which must be understood in this sort: *If a Generall of an Army, by some unprosperous beginnings doubt the successe; or finde his Army fearfull or wavering, it is more profitable to steal a safe retrait, than to abide the uncertain event of battail.*

It was two dayes after, ere *Hannibal* could pass the River; *Scipio* the whilest refreshing his men, and easing himself of his wound in *Placentia*. But as soon as *Hannibal* presented his Army before the Town, offering battail to the *Romans*, who durst not accept it, nor issue forth of their Camp; the *Gaules*, that hitherto had followed *Scipio* for fear, gathered out of his fear, courage to forsake him. They thought that now the long-desired time was come, in which better Chieftains and Souldiers, than *Aneroestus*, *Britomarus*, and *Gessates*, were come to help them: if they had the hearts to help themselves. Wherefore the same night they fell upon the *Roman* Camp; wounded and slue many; especially of those guards that kept watch at the gate; with whose heads in their hands, they fled over to the *Carthaginians*, and presented their service. *Hannibal* received them exceeding courteously, and dismist them to their own places: as men likely to be of more use to him, in perswading the rest of their Nation to become his Confederates, than in any other service at the present.

About the fourth watch of the night following, the Consull stole a retrait, as he had done before; but not with the like ease and security. *Hannibal* had a good eye upon him, and ere he could get far, sent the *Numidians* after him: following himself with all his Army. That night the *Romans* had received a great blow, if the *Numidians*, greedy of spoil, had not staid to ransack their camp: and thereby given time to all, save some few in Rear, that were slain or taken, to pass the River of *Trebia*, and save themselves.

Scipio,

being both unable to travell by reason of his wound, and withall, finding it expedient to attend the comming of his fellow-Consul; incamps himself strongly upon the banks of *Trebia*. Necessity required that he should so doe; yet this diminished his reputation. For every day more and more of the *Gaules* fell to the *Carthaginian* side; among whom came in the *Boji*, that brought with them the *Roman* Commissioners, which they had taken in the late Insurrection. They had hitherto kept them as pledges, to redeem their own hostages: but now they deliver them up to *Hannibal*, as tokens & pledges of their affections towards him; by whose help they conceived better hope of recovering their own men and lands. In the mean while, *Hannibal*, being in great scarcity of victuals, attempted the taking of *Clastidium*, a Town wherein the *Romans* had laid up all their store and munition. But there needed no force; a *Brundusian*, whom the *Romans* had trusted with keeping it, sold it for a little money.

The newes of these disasters, brought to *Rome*, filled the Senate and People, rather with a desire of hasty revenge, than any great sorrow for their loss received; seeing that in a manner, all their foot, wherein their strength and hope consisted, were as yet entire. They therefore hasted away *Sempronius*, that was newly arrived, towards *Ariminum*, where the Army, by him sent out of *Sicil*, awaited his comming. He therefore hasted thither; and from thence he marched speedily towards his Colleague: who attended him upon the banks of *Trebia*. Both the Armies being joyned in one, the Consuls devised about that which remained to be done: *Sempronius* receiving from *Scipio* the relation of what had passed since *Hannibals* arrivall; the fortune of the late fight; and by what error or misadventure the *Romans* were therein foiled: which *Scipio* chiefly laid on the revolt and treason of the *Gaules*.

Sempronius, having received from *Scipio* the state of the affairs in those parts; sought by all means to try his fortune with *Hannibal*, before *Scipio* were recovered of his wounds, that thereby he might purchase to himself the sole glory of the victory, which he had already, in his imagination, certainly obtained. He also feared the election of the new Consuls: his own time being well-near expired. But *Scipio* perswaded the contrary; objecting the unskilfulnesse of the new-come souldiers: and withall, gave him good reason, to assure him that the *Gaules*, naturally unconstant, were upon termes of abandoning the party of the *Carthaginians*; those of them inhabiting between the rivers of *Trebia* and *Po*, being already revolted. *Sempronius* knew all this as well as *Scipio*: but being both guided and blinded by his ambition, he made haste to finde out the dishonour which he might otherwise easily have avoided. This resolution of *Sempronius* was exceeding pleasing to *Hannibal*: who feared nothing so much as delay and loss of time. For the strength of his Army, consisting in strangers, to wit, in *Spaniards* and *Gaules*; he no lesse feared the change of affection in the one, than the impatience of the other: who being far from their own home, had many passions moving them to turn their faces towards it. To further the desire of *Sempronius*, it fell out so, that about the same time, the *Gaules*, inhabiting near unto *Trebia*, complained of injuries done by the *Carthaginians*. They did not supply *Hannibal* with necessaries, as he supposed that they might have done; although he daily reprehended their negligence, telling them, that for their sakes, and to set them at liberty, he had undertaken this Expedition. Seeing therefore how little they regarded his words, he was bold to be his own Carver; and took from them by force, as much as he needed of that which they had. Hereupon they flie to the *Romans* for help: and, to make their tale the better, say that this wrong is done them, because they refused to joyn with *Hannibal*. *Scipio* cared not much for this: he suspected their falshood, and was assured of their mutability. But *Sempronius* affirmed, that it stood with the honour of *Rome*, to preserve their Confederates from suffering injury: and that hereby might be won the friendship of all the *Gaules*. Therefore he sent out a thousand horse: which comming unlooked for upon *Hannibal* his forragers, and finding them heavy loaden, cut many of them in pieces, and chaced the rest even into their own camp. This indignity made the *Carthaginians* sally out against them: who caused them to retire faster than they came. *Sempronius* was ready to back his own men; and repelled the enemies. *Hannibal* did the like. So that at length all the *Roman* Army was drawn forth; and a battell ready to be fought, if the *Carthaginian* had not refused it.

This victory (for so the Consul would have it called) made the *Romans* in generall

desirous to try the main chance in open field: all the perswasions of *Scipio* to the contrary notwithstanding. Of this disposition *Hannibal* was advertised by the *Gaules*, his spies, that were in the *Roman* Camp. Therefore he bethought himself how to help forward the victory by adding some stratagem to his forces: he found in the hollow of a water-course, over-grown with high reed, a fit trench to cover an ambush. Therein he cast his brother *Mago* with a thousand choyce horse, and as many foot. The rest of his Army, after they had well warmed, and well fed themselves in their camp, he led into the field, and marched towards the Consul. Early in the morning, he had sent over *Trebia* some companies of *Numidian* light-horse, to brave the enemy, and draw him forth to a bad dinner, ere he had broken his fast. *Sempronius* was ready to take any opportunity to fight: and therefore not only issued out of his Camp, but foorded the River of *Trebia*, in a most cold and miserable day; his foot being wet almost to the arme-holes: which, together with the want of food, did so enfeeble and cool their courages, as they wanted force to handle the armes they bare. Strong they were in foot, as well of their own Nation, as of the *Latines*: having of the one sixteen, of the other twenty thousand. The masse of these they ranged in a grosse Battalion guarded on the flanks with three thousand horse; thrusting their light-armed, & Darters, in loose troups in the head of the rest, in the nature of a Vantguard. The *Carthaginian* numbers of foot were in a manner equal to their enemies; in horse they had by far the better, both in number and goodnesse. When therefore the *Roman* horse, ranged on the flanks of their foot, were broken by the *Numidians*; when their foot were charged both in front and flank, by the *Spaniards*, *Gaules*, and Elephants; when finally the whole Army was unawares prest in the Rear, by *Mago* and his two thousand, that rose out of their place of ambush; then fell the *Romans*, by heaps, under the enemies swords: & being beaten down, as well fighting in disorder, as flying towards the River, by the horsemen that pursued them, there escaped no more of six and thirty thousand, than ten thousand of all sorts, Horse and Foot.

Three great errours *Sempronius* committed, of which every one deserved to be recompensed with the loss that followed. The first was, that he fought with *Hannibal* in a Champain, being by far inferiour in horse, and withall, thereby subject to the *African* Elephants, which in inclosed or un-even grounds and wood-lands, would have bin of no use. His second error was, that he made no discovery of the place upon which he fought; whereby he was grosly over-reacht, and insnared, by the ambush which *Hannibal* had laid for him. The third was, that he drencht his footmen with empty stomacks, in the River of *Trebia*, even in a most cold and frosty day, whereby, in effect, they lost the use of their limbs. For, as one saith well, *There is nothing more inconvenient and perillous, than to present an army tyred with travel, to an enemy fresh and fed; since where the strength of body faileth, the generosity of minde is but as an unprofitable vapour.*

The broken remainder of the *Roman* Army, was collected by *Scipio*, who got therewith into *Placentia*; stealing away the same night, which was exceeding rainy, from the *Carthaginians*, who either perceived him not, because of the showres; or would not perceive him, because they were over wearyed. *Sempronius* escaped with extreme danger, flying through the Country that was over-run by the enemies horse. He was attended by more, than were requisite in a secret flight; yet by fewer, than could have made resistance, if the enemy had met with him. Nevertheless he got away, and came to *Rome*, where he did his office in chosing new Consuls for the year following: and then returned into his Province, with a fresh supply against *Hannibal*.

§. V.

The departure of Hannibal *from the Cisalpine Gaules into Hetruria.* Flaminius *the Roman Consul slain, and his Army destroyed by the Carthaginians, at the Lake of Thrasymene.*

THe Winter growing on apace, was very sharp, and unfit for service: to the great contentment of the *Romans*, who, being not able to keep the field, lay warme in *Placentia*, and *Cremona*. Yet *Hannibal* did not suffer them to rest very quiet; but vexed them with continuall Alarms: assayled divers places, and taking some; beating the *Gaules* their adherents, and winning the *Ligurtians* to his party, who presented him, in token of their faithfull love, with two *Roman* Questors, or Treasurers,

Treasurers, two Colonels, and five Gentlemen, the Sons of Senators, which they had intercepted. These, and in generall all such prisoners as he had of the *Romans*, he held in straight places, loaden with irons, and miserably fed: those of their followers he not only well intreated, but sent them to their Countries without ransome; with this protestation, That he therefore undertook the War in *Italy*, to free them from the oppression of the *Romans*. By these means he hoped, and not in vain, to draw many of them to his party and assistance. But the *Gaules* were not capable of such perswassions. They stood in fear, lest he should make their Country the seat of War, and perhaps take it from them. They were also more grieved than reason willed them, at his feeding upon them, and wasting their territory. Wherefore some of them conspired against his life; others admonished him of the danger: and these that gave him the advice, were ready soon after to practice against him; but were in like sort detected. He was therefore glad to use Perwigs of hair, and false beards of divers colours; to the end that he might not be deseryed, nor known, to those that should undertake to make him away. Fain he would have passed the *Appenines*, upon the first appearance of Spring; but was compelled by the violence of weather, to tarry among the *Gaules*, till he had seen more swallowes than one. At length, when the yeare was somewhat better opened, he resolved to take his leave of these giddie companions, & bring the war neerer to the gates of *Rome*. So away he went, having his Armie greatly increased with *Ligurians* and *Gaules*; more serviceable friends abroad, than in their own Countrie. That the passage of the *Appenine* Mountaines was troublesome, I hold it needlesse to make any doubt. Yet since the *Roman* Armies found no memorable impediment, in their marches that way: the great vexation which fell upon *Hannibal*, when he was travelling through and over them, ought in reason to be imputed rather to the extremity of Winter, that makes all wayes foule, than to any intolerable difficultie in that journey. Nevertheless, to avoid the length of way, together with the resistance and fortifications, which may not improbably be thought to have been erected upon the ordinary passages towards *Rome*: he chose at this time, though it were with much trouble, to travell through the Fens and rotten grounds of *Tuscane*. In those Marishes and bogs, he lost all his Elephants, save one, together with the use of one of his eyes; by the moistnes of the air, and by lodging on the cold ground, and wading through deep mire and water. In brief, after he had with much adoe recovered the firme and fertile Plaines; he lodged about *Arretium*: where he somewhat refreshed his wearied followers, and heard newes of the *Roman* Consuls.

C. Flaminius, and *Cn. Servilius* had of late been chosen Consuls for this year: *Servilius* a tractable man, and wholly governed by advice of the Senate; *Flaminius* an hot-headed popular Orator; who having once been robbed (as he thought) of his Consulship, by a device of the Senators, was afraid to be served so again, unlesse he quickly finished the war. This jealous Consul thought it not best for him to be at *Rome*, when he entred into his Office, lest his adversaries, by faining some religious impediment, should detain him within the City, or find other business for him at home, to disappoint him of the honour that he hoped to get in the war. Wherefore he departed secretly out of the Town; and meant to take possession of his Office, when the day came, at *Ariminum*. The fathers (so the Senators were called) highly displeased with this, revoked him by Embassadors: but he neglected their injunction; and hasting to meet with the *Carthaginians*, took his way to *Arretium*, where he shortly found them.

The fiery disposition of this Consul, promised unto *Hannibal* great assurance of victory. Therefore he provoked, with many indignities, the vehement nature of the *Roman*: hoping thereby to draw him unto fight, ere *Servilius* came with the rest of the Army. All the Conntry between *Fesulæ* and *Arretium* he put to fire and sword, even under the Consuls nose; which was enough to make him stir, that would not have sitten still, though *Hannibal* had been quiet. It is true that a great Captain of *France* hath said; *Pays gaste n' est pas perdu*; *A wasted Country is not thereby lost*. But by this waste of the Country, *Flaminius* thought his own honour to be much impaired; and therefore advanced towards the Enemy. Many advised him (which had indeed been best) to have patience a while, and stay for his Colleague. But of this he could not abide to hear: saying, that he came not to defend *Arretium*, whilest the *Carthaginians* went burning down all *Italy* before them, to the gates of *Rome*. Therefore he took horse,

and commanded the Army to march. It is reported as ominous, that one of their Ensignes stuck so fast in the ground, as it could not be plucked up by the Ensign-bearer. Of this tale, whether true or false, *Tully* makes a jest; saying, that the cowardly knave did faintly pull at it (as going now to fight) having hardly pitched it into the earth. Neither was the answer of *Flaminius* (if it were true) disagreeable hereto: for he commanded that it should be digged up, if fear had made the hands too weak to lift it: asking withall, whether letters were not come from the Senate, to hinder his proceedings. Of this their jealousie, both he and the Senate that did give him cause, are likely to repent.

All the Territory of *Cortona*, as far as to the Lake of *Thrasymene*, was on a light fire; which whilest the Consul thought to quench with his enemies bloud, he pursued *Hannibal* so unadvisedly, that he fell with his whole Army into an ambush cunningly laid for him, between the Mountains of *Cortona* and the Lake. There was he charged unawares, on all sides, (save only where that great Lake of *Perusia* permitted neither his enemies to come at him, nor him to flye from them) knowing not which way to turn, or make resistance. So was he slain in the place, accompanied with fifteen thousand dead carkasses of his Countrymen. About six thousand of his men, that had the Vantguard, took courage, as for the most part it happens, out of desperation; and breaking through the enemies, that stood in their way, recovered the tops of the Mountains. If these had returned, and given charge upon the *Carthaginians* backs, it was thought that they might have greatly amended, if not wholly altered, the fortune of the day. But that violence of their fear, which, kindled by necessity, had wrought the effects of hardiness, was well asswaged, when they ceased to despair of saving their lives by flight. They stood still, in a cold sweat, upon the Hill-top, hearing under them a terrible noise, but not any way discovering how things went, because of the great fogge that held all that morning. When it grew toward noon the ayre was cleared, and they might plainly discern the lamentable slaughter of their fellowes. But they staid not to lament it: for it was high time, they thought, to be gone ere they were descryed and attached by the enemies horse. This they should have thought upon sooner, since they had no minde to return unto the fight. For descryed they were, and *Maharbal* sent after them; who over-took them by night in a Village, which he surrounded with his horse: and so they yeelded the next day, rendring up their armes, upon his promise of their lives and liberties.

This accord *Hannibal* refused to confirm; saying, That it was made by *Maharbal* without sufficient warrant, as wanting his authority to make it good. Herein he taught them (yet little to his own honour) what it was to keep no faith: and fitted them with a trick of their own. For if it were lawfull unto the *Romans*, to alter covenants, or adde unto them what they listed; if the *Carthaginians* must be fain to pay certain hundreds, and yet more hundreds of talents, besides their first bargain; as also to renounce their interest in *Sardinia*, and be limited in their *Spanish* Conquests, according to the good pleasure of the *Romans*, whose present advantage is more ample, than the conditions of the late concluded peace: then can *Hannibal* be as a *Roman*, as themselves; and make them know, that perfidiousnesse gaineth no more in prosperity, than it loseth in the change of fortune. Fifteen thousand *Italian* prisoners, or thereabout, he had in his hands: of which, all that were not *Romans*, he set free without ransome; protesting, as he had done before, that it was for their sakes, and to free them and others from the *Roman* tyranny, that he had undertaken this war. But the *Romans* he kept in straight prison, and in fetters, making them learn to eat hard meat. This was a good way to breed in the people of *Italy*, if not a love of *Carthage*, yet a contempt of *Rome*: as if this war had not concerned the generall safety, but only the preserving of her own neck from the yoke of slavery, which her over-strong enemies would thrust upon her in revenge of her oppressions. But an ancient reputation, confirmed by succesſe of many ages, is not lost in one or two battels. Wherefore more is to be done, ere the *Carthaginians* can get any *Italian* Partisans.

Presently after the battell of *Thrasymene*, *C. Centronius*, with four thousand *Roman* horse, drew near unto the Camp of *Hannibal*. He was sent from *Ariminum* by *Servilius* the other Consul, to increase the strength of *Flaminius*: but, comming too late, he increased only the misadventure. *Maharbal* was employed by *Hannibal*, to intercept this company;

company; who finding them amazed with report which they had newly heard of the great overthrow, charged them, and brake them: and killing almost half of them, drave the rest unto an high piece of ground, whence they came down, and simply yeelded to mercy the next day. *Servilius* himself was in the mean while skirmishing with the *Gaules*; against whom he had wrought no matter of importance, when the newes was brought him of his Colleagues overthrow and death in *Hetruria*; that made him hasten back to the defence of *Rome*.

In these passages it is easie to discerne the fruits of popular jealousie, which perswaded the *Romans* to the yearly change of their Commanders in the wars; which greatly endangered, and retarded the growth of that Empire. Certain it is, that all men are far better taught by their own errours, than by the examples of their foregoers. *Flaminius* had heard, in what a trap *Sempronius* had been taken up but the year before, by this subtle *Carthaginian*; yet suffered he himself to be caught soon after in the same mannner. He had also belike forgotten, how *Sempronius*, fearing to be prevented by a new Consul, and ambitious of the sole honour of beating *Hannibal* in battell, without help of his companion *Scipio*, had been rewarded with shame and losse; else would he not, contrary to all good advice, have been so hasty to fight, before the arrivall of *Servilius*. If *Sempronius* had been continued in his charge, it is probable that he would have taken his companion with him the second time, and have searched all suspected places, proper to have shadowed an ambush: both which this new Consull *Flaminius* neglected. We may boldly avow it, that by being continued in his government of *France* ten years, *Cæsar* brought that mighty Nation, together with the *Helvetians* and many of the *Germans*, under the *Roman* yoke; into which parts had there been every year a new Lievtenant sent, they would hardly, if ever, have been subdued. For it is more than the best wit in the World can doe, to inform it self, within one years compasse, of the nature of a great Nation, of the Factions of the Places, Rivers, and of all good helps, whereby to prosecute a War to the best effect. Our Princes have commonly left their Deputies in *Ireland* three years; whence by reason of the shortnesse of that their time, many of them have returned as wise as they went out; others have profited more, and yet when they began but to know the first rudiments of War, and government, fitting the Country, they have bin called home, & new Apprentices sent in their places, to the great prejudice both of this and that Estate. But it hath ever been the course of the World rather to follow old errours than to examine them: and of Princes and Governours to uphold their slothfull ignorance, by the old examples and policy of other ages and people; though neither likenes of time, of occasion, or of any other circumstance, have perswaded the imitation.

§. VI.

How Q. Fabius *the* Roman *Dictator, sought to consume the force of* Hannibal, *by lingring War.* Minutius *the Master of the Horse honoured and advanced by the People, for bold and successefull attempting; adventures rashly upon* Hannibal, *and is like to perish with his Army, but rescued by* Fabius.

GReatly were the *Romans* amazed at this their ill success, and at the danger apparent; which threatned them in more terrible manner, than ever did war since *Rome* it self was taken. They were good Souldiers; and so little accustomed to receive an overthrow, that when *Pyrrhus* had beaten them, once and again, in open field, all *Italy* was strangely affected with his successe, and held him in admiration, as one that could work wonders. But *Pyrrhus* his quarrell was not grounded upon hate: he only sought honour, and fought (as it were) upon a bravery: demeaning himself like a courteous enemy. This *Carthaginian* detested the whole *Roman* name; against which he burned with desire of revenge. *Ticinum*, *Trebia*, and *Thrasymene*, witnessed his purpose, & his ability, which to withstand, they fled unto a remedy that had long been out of use, and created a Dictator. The Dictators power was greater than the Consuls, and scarcely subject unto controll of the whole City. Wherefore this Officer was seldome chosen, but upon some extremity, and for no longer time than six moneths. He was to be named by one of the Consuls, at the appointment of the Senate: though it were so, that the Consul (if he stood upon his prerogative) might name whom he pleased. At this time the

one Consul being dead, and the other too far off, the People took upon them, as having supreme authority, to give the Dignity by their election, to *Q. Fabius Maximus*; the best reputed man of war in the City. *Novum factum novum consilium expetit. Contrary windes, contrary courses.* *Q. Fabius* chose *M. Minutius Rufus* Master of the horse: which officer was customarily as the Dictators Lievtenant; though this *Minutius* grew afterwards famous, by taking more upon him.

The first act of *Fabius*, was the reformation of somewhat amisse in matter of Religion: a good beginning, and commendable; had the Religion been also good. But if it were true (as *Livie* reports it) that the Books of *Sibyl* were consulted, and gave direction in this businesse of devotion; then must we beleeve, that those books of *Sibyl*, preserved in *Rome*, were dictated by an evill spirit. For it was ordained, that some Vow, made in the beginning of this war to *Mars*, should be made anew, and amplified; as having not been rightly made before: also that great playes should be vowed unto *Jupiter*, and a Temple to *Venus*; with such other trumpery. This vehemency of superstition, proceeds alwaies from vehemency of fear. And surely this was a time, when *Rome* was exceedingly distempered with passion: whereof that memorable accident, of two women that suddenly died, when they saw their sons return alive from *Thrasymene*, may serve to bear witness though it be more properly an example of motherly love. The wals and towers of the City were now repaired and fortified; the bridges upon Rivers were broken down; and all care taken for defence of *Rome* it self. In this tumult, when the Dictator was newly set forth against *Hannibal*, word was brought that the *Carthaginian* fleet had intercepted all the supply, that was going to *Cn. Scipio* in *Spain*. Against these *Carthaginians*, *Fabius* commanded *Servilius* the Consul to put to Sea; and taking up all the ships about *Rome* and *Ostia* to pursue them: whilest he, with the Legions, attended upon *Hannibal*. Four Legions he had levied in haste: and from *Arminum* he received the Army which *Servilius* the Consul had conducted thither.

Liv. lib. 22.

With these forthwith he followed apace after *Hannibal*; not to fight, but to affront him. And knowing well, what advantage the *Numidian* horse had over the *Romans*, he alwayes lodged himself on high grounds, and of hard access. *Hannibal* in the mean while, pursuing his victory, had ranged over all the Country, and used all manner of cruelty towards the inhabitants; especially to those of the *Roman* Nation, of whom he did put to the sword, all that were able to bear arms. Passing by *Spoletum* and *Ancona*, he incamped upon the *Adriatick* shores; refreshed his diseased, and over-travelled Companies, armed his *Africans* after the manner of the *Romans*, and made his dispatches for *Carthage*; presenting his friends, which were in effect all the Citizens, with part of the spoils that he had gotten. Having refreshed his army, fed his horses, cured his wounded Souldiers, and (as *Polybius* hath it) healed his horse heels of the scratches, by washing their pasternes in old wine: he followed the coast of the *Adriatick* Sea towards *Apulia*, a Northerne Province of the Kingdome of *Naples*; spoiling the *Marrucini*, and all other Nations lying in his way. In all this ground that he over-ran, he had not taken any one City: only he had assayled *Spoletum*, a Colony of the *Romans*; and finding it well defended, presently gave it over. The malice of a great Army is broken, and the force of it spent in a great siege. This the *Protestant* Army found true at *Poictiers*, a little before the battel of *Moncountour*; and their victorious enemies, anon after, at S. *Jean d' Angely*. But *Hannibal* was more wise. He would not engage himself in any such enterprise, as should detain him, and give the *Romans* leave to take breath. All his care was to weaken them in force and reputation: knowing, that when once he was absolute Master of the field, it would not be long ere the walled Cities would open their gates, without expecting any engine of battery. To this end he presented *Fabius* with battell, as soon as he saw him; and provoked him with all manner of bravadoes. But *Fabius* would not bite. He well knew the differences between souldiers bred up, ever since they were boyes, in war and in bloud, trained & hardned in *Spain*, made proud and adventurous by many victories there, and of late by some notable acts against the *Romans*; and such, as had no ofter seen the enemy, than bin vanquished by him. Therefore he attended the *Carthaginian* so neer, as he kept him from stragling too far; and preserved the country from utter spoil. He inured his men by little and little, and made them acquainted with dangers by degrees; and he brought them first to look on the Lyon afar off, that in the end he might sit on his tail.

Now

Now *Minutius* had a contrary disposition, and was as fiery as *Flaminius*; taxing *Fabius* with cowardize and fear. But all stirred not this well-advised Commander. For wise men are no more moved with such noise, than with winde bruised out of a bladder. There is nothing of more indiscretion and danger, than to pursue misfortune: it wasteth it self sooner by sufferance, than by opposition. It is the invading Army that desires battell: and this of *Hannibal*, was both the invading and victorious. *Fabius* therefore suffered *Hannibal* to cross the *Appenines*, and to fal upon the most rich and pleasant Territory of *Campania*; neither could he by any arguments be perswaded to adventure the *Roman* Army in battell: but being far too weak in horse, he alwayes kept the Hils and fast grounds. When *Hannibal* saw he could by no means draw this wary Dictator to fight, that the Winter came on, and that the Towns stood firm for the *Romans*, whose Legions were in sight, though afar off; he resolved to rest his Army, that was loaden with spoil, in some plentifull and assured place, till the following spring. But ere this can be done he must passe along by the Dictators camp, that hung over his head upon the hils of *Cellicula*, and *Casilinum*: for otherway there was none, by which he might issue out of that goodly garden-country, which he had already wasted, into places more abundant of provision for his wintering. It was by meer errour of his guide, that he first entred within these straights. For he would have been directed unto *Cassinum*, whence he might both assay the fair City of *Capua*, which had made him friendly promises under hand, and hinder the *Romans* from comming near it to prevent him. But his guide misunderstood the *Carthaginian* pronuntiation, and conducted him awry another way, from *Cassinum* co *Casilinum*, whence *Fabius* hoped that he should not easily escape. Now began the wisdome of *Fabius* to grow into credit; as if he had taken the *Carthaginians* in a trap, and won the victory without blowes. But *Hannibal* reformed this opinion, and freed himself, by a sleight invention, yet serving the turn as well as a better. In driving the country, he had gotten about two thousand Kine, whose hornes he dressed with dry faggots, and setting fire to them in the dark night, caused them to be driven up the hils. The spectacle was strange, and therefore terrible; especially to those that knew it to be a work of a terrible enemy. What it should mean, *Fabius* could not tell; but thought it a device to circumvent him, and therefore kept within his Trenches. They that kept the hill tops were horribly affraid, when some of these fiery Monsters were gotten beyond them, and ran therefore hastily away, thinking that the enemies were behind their backs; and fell among the light-armed *Carthaginians*, that were no less afraid of them. So *Hannibal*, with his whole Army, recovered sure ground without molestation: where he staid till the next morning, and then brought off his light footmen, with some slaughter of the *Romans*, that began to hold them in skirmish. After this, *Hannibal* made semblance of taking his journey towards *Rome*: and the Dictator coasted him in the wonted manner; keeping still on high grounds, between him & the City, whilest the *Carthaginian* wasted all the Plains. The *Carthaginian* took *Geryon*, an old ruinous Town in *Apulia*, forsaken by the Inhabitants, which he turned into Barnes and Store houses for winter, and incamped under the broken wall. Other matter of importance he did none: but the time passed idly, till the Dictator was called away to *Rome*, about some business of Religion, and left the Army in charge with *Minutius* the Master of the horse.

Minutius was glad of this good occasion to shew his own sufficiency. He was fully perswaded, that his *Romans*, in plain field would be too hard for the *Africans* and *Spaniards*: by whom if they had been foiled already twice or thrice, it was not by open force, but by subtilty and ambush, which he thought himself wise enough to prevent. All the Army was of his opinion; and that so earnestly, as he was preferred, by judgement of the Souldiers, in worthynesse to command, before the cold and wary *Fabius*. In this jollity of conceit, he determined to fight. Yet had he been peremptorily forbidden so to do, by the Dictator; the breach of whose command was extreme perill of death. But the honour of the victory, which he held undoubtedly his own; and the love of the Army, and the friends that he had at home bearing office in *Rome*, were enough to save him from the Dictators rods and axes, took he the matter never so hainously. *Hannibal* on the other side was no lesse glad, that he should play with a more adventurous gamester. Therfore he drew near, & to provoke the *Romans*, sent forth a third

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part of his Army to waste the Country. This was boldly done, seeing that *Minutius* incamped hard by him: but it seems, that he now despised those whom he had so often vanquished. There was a piece of high ground between the two Camps; which because it would be commodious to him that could occupy it, the *Carthaginians* seized upon by night with two thousand of their light armed. But *Minutius*, by plain force, wan it from them the next day; and intrenching himself thereupon, became their neerer neighbour.

The main business of *Hannibal* at this time was, to provide abundantly, not only for his men, but for his horses, which he knew to be the chief of his strength; that he might keep them in good heart against the next summer: if besides this he could give the *Romans* another blow, it would increase his reputation, incourage his own men, terrifie his enemies, and give him leave to forrage the Country at will. Since therefore *Minutius* did not in many dayes issue forth of his Camp, the *Carthaginian* sent out (as before) a great number of his men, to fetch in harvest. This advantage *Minutius* wisely espied, and took. For he led forth his Army, and setting it in order, presented battail to *Hannibal*, that was not in case to accept it, even at his own Trenches. His horses, and all his light Armature, divided into many companies, he sent abroad against the forragers; who being dispersed over all the fields, and loaden with booty, could make no resistance. This angred *Hannibal*, that was not able to help them; but worse did it anger him, when the *Romans* took heart to assail his Trenches. They perceived that it was meer weakness, which held him within his Campe, and therefore were bold to despise his great name, that could not resist their present strength. But in the heat of the business, *Asdrubal* came from *Geryon* with four thousand men, being informed of the danger, by those that had escaped the *Roman* horse. This imboldned *Hannibal* to issue forth against the *Romans*; to whom nevertheless he did not such hurt, as he had received.

For this piece of service *Minutius* was highly esteemed by the Army, and more highly by the people at *Rome*, to whom he sent the newes, with somewhat greater boast than truth. It seemed no small matter, that the *Roman* Army had recovered spirit, so far forth that it dared to set upon *Hannibal* in his own camp; and that in so doing, it came off with the better. Every man therefore praised the Master of the Horse, that had wrought this great alteration; and consequently, they grew as far out of liking with *Fabius*, and his timorous proceedings, thinking that he had not done any thing wisely, in all his Dictatorship: saving that he chose such a worthy Lievtenant; whereas indeed in no other thing he had so greatly erred. But the Dictator was not so joyfull of a little good luck, as angry with the breach of discipline; and fearfull of greater danger, thereon likely to ensue. He said that he knew his own place, and what was to be done; that he would teach the Master of the horse to do so likewise; and make him give account of what he had done, if he were Dictator: speaking it openly, That good successe issuing from bad counsell was more to be feared, than calamity; for as much as the one bred a foolish confidence, the other taught men to be wary. Against these sermons every one cryed out, especially *Metellus*, a Tribune of the people: which office warranted him to speak, and do what he list, without fear of the Dictator. Is it not enough (said he) that this our onely Man, chosen to be Generall, and Lord of the Town, in our greatest necessity, hath done no manner of good, but suffered all *Italy* to be wasted before his eyes, to the utter shame of our State; unlesse he also hinder others, from doing better than himself can, or dares? It were good to consider what he means by this. Into the place of *C. Flaminius* he hath not chosen any new Consul all this while; *Servilius* is sent away to Sea, I know not why; *Hannibal* and he, have as it were taken Truce; *Hannibal* sparing the Dictators grounds: (for *Hannibal* had indeed forborn to spoil some grounds of *Fabius*, that so he might bring him into envy and suspicion,) and the Dictator giving him leave to spoil all others, without impeachment. Surely his drift is even this: he would have the war to last long, that he himself might be long in office, and have the sole Government both of our City and Armies. But this must not be so. It were better, that the Commonalty of *Rome*, which gave him this authority, should again take it from him and conferre it upon one more worthy. But lest, in moving the people hereto, I should seem to doe him injury; thus far forth I will regard his honour: I will

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only propound, That the Master of the Horse may be joyned in equall authority with the Dictator; a thing not more new, nor lesse necessary, than was the election of this Dictator, by the People.

Though all men, even the Senators, were ill perswaded of the course which *Fabius* had taken against *Hannibal*, as being neither plausible, nor seeming benefic all at the present; yet was there none so injurious, as to think that his generall intent and care of the Weal publique, was less than very honourable. Whereas therefore it was the manner, in passing of any act, that some man of credit and authority, besides the propounder, should stand up, and formally deliver his approbation; not one of the principall Citizens was found so impudent, as to offer that open disgrace, both unto a worthy Personage, and (therewithall) unto that dignity, whose great power had freed the State at severall times, from the greatest dangers. Only *C. Terentius Varro*, who the year before had been Prætor, was glad of such an opportunity, to win the favour of the Multitude. This fellow was the son of a Butcher, afterwards became a Shop-keeper; and being of a contentious spirit, grew by often brabling, to take upon him as a Pleader, dealing in poor mens causes. Thus by little and little he got into Office; and rose by degrees, being advanced by those, who in hatred of the Nobility favoured his very basenesse. And now he thought the time was come, for him to give a hard push at the Consulship; by doing that, which none of the great men, fearing or favouring one another, either durst or would. So he made an hot invective, not only against *Fabius*, but against all the Nobility; saying, That it grieved them to see the people doe well, and take upon them what belonged unto them, in matter of Government; That they sought to humble the Commons by poverty, and to impoverish them by Warre; especially by war at their own doors, which would soon consume every poor mans living; and finde him other work to think upon, than matter of State. Therefore he bade them to be wise; and since they had found one (this worthy Master of the Horse) that was better affected unto them and his Country, to reward him according to his good deserts; and give him authority, according as was propounded by the Tribune, that so he might be encouraged and enabled to proceed as he had begun. So the Act passed.

Before this busie day of contention, *Fabius* had dispatched the election of a new Consull, which was *M. Atilius Regulus*, in the room of *C. Flaminius*: and, having finished all requisite businesse, went out of Town, perceiving well, that he should not be able to withstand the multitude in hindering the decree. The newes of *Minutius* his advancement, was at the campe as soon as *Fabius*: so that his old Lieutenant, and new Colleague, began to treat with him as a Companion; asking him at the first, in what sort he thought it best to divide their authority: whether that one, one day; and the other, the next; or each of them successively, for some longer time, should command in chief. *Fabius* briefly told him, That it was the pleasure of the Citizens, to make the Master of the horse equall to the Dictator, but that he should never be his superior: He would therefore divide the Legions with him, by lot according to the custome. *Minutius* was not herewith greatly pleased; for that with half of the Army he could not work such wonders as other wise he hoped to accomplish. Nevertheless he meant to do his best, and so taking his part of the Army, incamped about a mile, and a half from the Dictator. Needfull it was (though *Livie* seems to taxe him for it) that he should so doe. For where two severall Commanders are not subordinate one unto another, nor joyned in Commission, but have each intire and absolute charge of his own followers, there are the forces (though belonging to one Prince or State) not one, but two distinct Armies: in which regard, one Camp shall not hold them both, without great inconvenience. *Polybius* neither findes fault with this distinction, nor yet reports, that *Fabius* was unwilling to command in chief successively (as the two Consuls used) with *Minutius*, by turnes. He saith that *Minutius* was very refractary; and so proud of his advancement, that continually he opposed the Dictator: who thereupon referred it to his choyce, either to divide the forces between them, as is said before, or else to have command over all by course. This is likely to be true. For Natures impatient of subjection, when once they have broken loose from the rigour of authority, love nothing more, than to contest with it: as if herein consisted the proof and assurance of their liberty.

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It behoved the Master of the horse to make good the opinion which had thus advanced him. Therefore he was no less carefull of getting occasion to fight than was *Fabius* of avoiding the necessity. That which *Minutius* and *Hannibal* equally desired, could not long be wanting. The country lying between them was open and bare, yet as fit for ambush, as could be wished: for that the sides of a naked valley adjoyning, had many & spacious caves; able, some one of them, to hide two or three hundred men. In these lurking places *Hannibal* bestowed five hundred horse, and five thousand foot; thrusting them so close together, that they could not be discovered. But lest by any misadventure they should be found out, and buryed in their holes; he made offer betimes in the morning, to seize upon a piece of ground that lay on the other hand: whereby he drew the eyes and the thoughts of the *Romans*, from their more needfull care, to business little concerning them. Like unto this was the occasion, which not long before had provoked *Minutius* to adventure upon the *Carthaginians*. Hoping therefore to increase his honour, in like sort as he got it, he sent first his light armature, then his horse, and at length (seeing that *Hannibal* seconded his own troups with fresh companies) he followed in person with the Legions. He was soon caught, & so hotly charged on all sides, that he knew neither how to make resistance, nor any safe retrait. In this dangerous case, whilest the *Romans* defended themselves losing many, and those of their best men: *Fabius* drew near, in very good order to relieve them. For this old Captain, perceiving afar off, into what extremity his new Colleague had rashly thrown himself and his followers, did the office of a good Citizen; and regarding more the benefit of his Country, than the disgrace which he had wrongfully sustained, sought rather to approve himself by hasting to do good, than by suffering his enemy to feel the reward of doing ill. Upon *Fabius* his approach, *Hannibal* retired: fearing to be well wetted with a showre, from the cloud (as he termed the Dictator) that had hung so long on the Hill-tops. *Minutius* forthwith submitted himself to *Fabius*; by whose benefit he confessed his life to have been saved. So from this time forwards the war proceeded coldly, as the Dictator would have it; both whilest his Office lasted which was not long, and likewise afterwards, when he delivered up his charge unto the Consuls, that followed his instructions.

Servilius the Consul had pursued in vain a *Carthaginian* fleet, to which he came never within kenning. He ran along all the coast of *Italy*; took hostages of the *Sardinians* and *Corsicans*; passed over into *Africk*; and there negligently falling to spoyl the country, was shamefully beaten aboord his ships, with the losse of a thousand men. Weighing anchor therefore in all haste, he returned home by *Sicil*; and (being so required by the Dictators letters) repaired to the camp, with his fellow-Consul, where they took charge of the Army.

§. VII.

The Roman *people, desirous to finish the war quickly, choose a rash and unworthy Consul. Great forces levyed against* Hannibal. Hannibal *taketh the* Romans *provisions in the Castle of* Cannæ. *The new Consuls set forth against* Hannibal.

WIth little pleasure did they of the poorer sort in *Rome* hear the great commendations that were given to *Fabius* by the principall Citizens. He had indeed preserved them from receiving a great overthrow; but he had neither finished the war, nor done any thing in appearance thereto tending. Rather it might seem that the reputation of this his one worthy act, was likely to countenance the slow proceedings or perhaps the cowardize (if it were no worse) of those that followed him, in protracting the work to a great length. Else, what meant the Consuls to sit idle the whole winter, contrary to all former custome; since it was never heard before, that any *Roman* Generall had willingly suffered the time of his command to run away without any performance: as if it were honourable to do just nothing? Thus they suspected they knew not what; and were ready every man to discharge the grief and anger of his own private losse, upon the ill administration of the publick.

This affection of the people, was very helpfull to *C. Terentius Varro*, in his suit for the Consulship. It behoved him to strike, whilest the Iron was hot: his own worth being little or none, and his credit over-weak, to make way into that high Dignity. But the

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Comminalty were then in such a mood, as abundantly supplyed all his defects. Wherein to help, he had a kinsman, *Bibius Herennius*, then Tribune of the People; who spared not to use the liberty of his place, in saying what he listed, without all regard of truth, or modesty. This bold Orator stuck not to affirm, that *Hannibal* was drawn into *Italy*, and suffered therein to range at his pleasure, by the Noblemen; That *Minutius* indeed with his two Legions, was likely to have been overthrown, and was rescued by *Fabius* with the other two: but, had all been joyned together, what they might have done, it was apparent, by the victory of *Minutius* when he commanded over all as Master of the horse; That without a *Plebeian* Consul, the war would never be brought to an end; That such of the *Plebeians* as had long since been advanced to honour by the people, were grown as proud as the old Nobility, and contemned the meaner sort, ever since themselves were freed from contempt of the more mighty; That therefore it was needfull to choose a Consul, who should be altogether a *Plebeian*, a meer new man, one that could boast of nothing but the Peoples love, nor could wish more, than to keep it, by well deserving of them. By such perswasions the Multitude was won, to be wholly for *Terentius*: to the great vexation of the Nobles, who could not endure to see a man raised for none other vertue, than his detracting from their honour; and therefore opposed him with all their might. To hinder the desire of the People, it fell out, or at least was alledged, that neither of the two present Consuls could well be spared from attending upon *Hannibal*, to hold the Election. Wherefore a Dictator was named for that purpose; and he again deposed: either (as was pretended) for some religious impediment, or because the Fathers desired an *Inter-regnum*, wherein they might better hope to prevail in choice of the new Consuls. This *Inter-regnum* took name and being in *Rome*, at the death of *Romulus*; and was in use at the death of other Kings. The order of it was this. All the Fathers, or Senators, who at the first were an hundred parted themselves into *Tens* or *Decuries*, and governed successively, by the space of five dayes, one *Decurie* after another in order: yet so, that the *Lictors*, or *Virgers*, carrying the *Fasces*, or bundles of rods and axes, waited only upon the chief of them with these Ensigns of power. This custome was retained in times of the Consuls; and put in use, when by death, or any casualty, there wanted ordinary Magistrates of the old year, to substitute new for the year following. The advantage of the Fathers herein was, that if the election were not like to go as they would have it, there needed no more, than to slip five dayes, and then was all to begin a new: by which interruption, the heat of the Multitude was commonly well asswaged. Upon such change of those, that were Presidents of the election, it was also lawfull unto new Petitioners, to sue for the Magistracies that lay void: which otherwise was not allowed; but a time limited, wherein they should publickly declare themselves to seek those offices. But no device would serve against the generall favour borne unto *Terentius*. One *Inter-regnum* passed over, and the malice of the Fathers, against the vertue (as it was beleeved) of this mean, but worthy man, seemed so manifest, that when the People had urged the businesse to dispatch, only *Terentius* was chosen Consul: in whose hand it was left, to hold the election of his Colleague. Hereupon all the former Petitioners gave over. For whereas men of ordinary mark had stood for the place before, it was now thought meet, that, both to supply the defect, and to bridle the violence of this unexpert, and hot-headed man, one of great sufficiency, and reputation, should be joyned with him, as both Companion and opposite. So *L. Æmilius Paulus*, he who few years since had overcome the *Illyrians*, and chased *Demetrius Pharius* out of his Kingdome, was urged by the Nobility to stand for the place; which he easily obtained, having no Competitor. It was not the desire of this honourable man, to trouble himself any more in such great businesse of the Common-wealth. For, notwithstanding his late good service, He, and *M. Livius* that had been his companion in office, where afterwards injuriously vexed by the people, and called unto judgement: wherein *Livius* was condemned, and *Æmilius* hardly escaped. But of this injustice they shall put the *Romans* well in minde each of them in his second Consulship, wherein they shall honourably approve their worth; the one of them nobly dying, in the most grievous losse; the other bravely winning, in the most happy victory that ever befell that Common-wealth.

These new Consuls, *Varro* and *Paulus*, omitted no part of their diligence in preparing for the war: wherein though *Varro* made the greater noise, by telling what wonders

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he would work, and that he would aske no more, than once to have a sight of *Hannibal*, whom he promised to vanquish the very first day: yet the providence and care of *Paulus* travelled more earnestly toward the accomplishment of that, whereof his fellow vainly boasted. He wrote unto the two old Consuls *Servilius* and *Atilius*, desiring them to abstain from hazard of the main chance; but nevertheless, to ply the *Carthaginians* with daily skirmish, and weaken them by degrees: that when he and his Colleague should take the field, with the great Army which they were now levying, they might finde the four old Legions well accustomed to the enemy, and the enemy well weakened to their hands. He was also very strict in his Musters; wherein the whole Senate assist him so carefully, as if in this Action they meant to refute the slanders, with which *Terentius* and his adherents had burdened them. What number of men they raised, it is uncertain. Fourscore thousand foot, at the least, and six thousand horse, they were strong in the field, when the day came, which *Varro* had so greatly desired, of looking upon *Hannibal*.

Hiero the old King of *Syracuse*, as he had relieved the *Carthaginians*, when they were distressed by their own Mercenaries; so did he now send help to *Rome*, a thousand Archers, and Slingers, with great quantity of Wheat, Barly, and other provisions: fearing nothing more, than that one of these two mighty Cities should destroy the other, whereby his own estate would fall to ruine, that stood upright, by having them somewhat evenly ballanced. He gave them also counsell, to send forces into *Africa*; if (perhaps) by that means they might divert the war from home. His gifts, and good advice were lovingly accepted; and instructions were given to *Titus Otacilius* the Prætor, which was to goe into *Sicil*, that he should accordingly pass over into *Africk*, if he found it expedient.

The great Levies, which the *Romans* made at this time, do much more serve to declare their puissance, than any, though larger accompt by Poll, of such as were not easily drawn into the field, and fitted for service. For, besides these Armies of the Consuls, and that which went into *Sicil*, twenty five thousand, with *L. Posthumius Albinus*, another of the Prætors, went against the *Gaules*, to reclaim that Province, which the passage of *Hannibal* through it, had taken from them. The contemplation of this their present strength might well embolden them to doe as they did. They sent Embassadors to *Philip*, the son of *Demetrius*, King of *Macedon*, requiring him to deliver into their hands *Demetrius Pharius*: who, having been their subject, and rebell, was fled into his Kingdome. They also sent to the *Illyrians*, to demand their tribute; whereof the day of payment was already past. What answer they received, it is not known: only this is known, that *Demetrius Pharius* was not sent unto them; and that *Philip* henceforth began to have an eye upon them, little to their good. As for the *Illyrian* money, by the shifts that they were driven soon after to make, it will appear, that the one half of it (how little soever) would have been welcome to *Rome*, and accepted, without any cavill about forfeiture for *non-payment* of the whole.

Whilest the City was busied in these cares, the old Consuls lay as near unto *Hannibal* as possibly they could without incurring the necessity of a battell. Many skirmishes they had with him; wherein their success, for the most part, was rather good than great. Yet one mischance not only blemished the honour of their other services, but was indeed the occasion to draw on the misery following. *Hannibal* for the most part of that time, made his abode at *Geryon*; where lay all his store for the Winter. The *Romans* to be near him, lodged about *Cannusium*; and, that they might not be driven to turn aside for all necessaries, to the loss of good opportunities, they bestowed much of their provisions in the Castle of *Canna*: for the town was razed the year before. This place *Hannibal* wan, and thereby not only furnished himself, but compelled his enemies to want many needfull things, unless they would be troubled with far carriage. Besides this, and more to his advantage, he enabled himself to abide in that open Country, fit for the service of his horse, longer than the *Romans*, having so many mouthes to feed, could well endure to tarry; without offering battell, which he most desired. Of this mishap when *Servilius* had informed the Senate, letting them understand how this Peece taken by *Hannibal*, would serve him to command no small part of the Country adjacent; it then seemed needfull, even unto the Fathers themselves, to adventure a battell with the *Carthaginian*, rather than suffer him thus to take root in the ground

of

of *Italy*. Nevertheleſſe anſwer was returned unto *Servilius*, that he ſhould have patience yet awhile: for that the Conſuls would ſhortly be there, with a power ſufficient to do as need required.

When all things were ready in the City, and the ſeaſon of the year commodious to take the field, the two Conſuls, with their Army, ſet forth againſt *Hannibal*: This was alwayes done with great ſolemnity: eſpecially, whenſoever they went forth to warre againſt any noble or redoubted Enemy. For Sacrifices, and ſolemne Vowes, were made unto *Jupiter*, and the reſt of their gods, for good ſucceſs and victory: which being performed, the Generals in warlike attire, with an honourable train of the principall men, (not only ſuch as were of their kindred and alliance, or followed them to the war, as Voluntaries, for love, but a great number of others that meant to abide at home,) were accompanyed on their way, and diſmiſſed with friendly leave-taking, and good wiſhes. At this time, all the Fathers, and the whole Nobility, waited upon *Æmilius Paulus*, as the only Man, whom they thought either worthy of this honour, or likely to doe his country remarkable ſervice. *Terentius* his Attendants were the whole multitude of the poorer Citizens; a troup no leſſe in greatneſs, than the other was in dignity. At the parting, *Fabius* the late Dictator, is ſaid to have exhorted the Conſul *Paulus*, with many grave words, to ſhew his magnanimity, not only in dealing with the *Carthaginians*, but (which he thought harder) in bridling the outragious folly of his fellow-Conſul. The anſwer of *Paulus*, was, That he meant not again to run into danger of condemnation by offending the multitude; that he would doe his beſt for his Country: but if he ſaw his beſt were likely to be ill taken, he would think it leſſe raſhneſs to adventure upon the Enemies ſword, than upon the malice of his own Citizens.

§. VIII.

Diſſenſion between the two Roman *Conſuls. Whether it be likely, that* Hannibal *was upon point of flying out of* Italy, *when the* Romans *preſſed him to fight. The great battail of* Cannæ.

THeſe new Generals, arriving at the Camp, diſmiſſed *M. Atilius*, one of the laſt years Conſuls, requeſting it becauſe of his age and weakneſſe: *Servilius* they retained with them, as their Aſſiſtant. The firſt thing that *Æmilius* thought neceſſary, was, to hearten his Souldiers with good words; who out of their bad ſucceſs hitherto, had gathered more cauſe of fear, than of courage. He willed them to conſider not only now, their victories in time paſt againſt the *Carthaginians*, and other more warlike Nations than were the *Carthaginians*, but even their own great numbers: which were no leſs than all that *Rome* at the preſent was able to ſet forth. He told them in what danger their Country ſtood; how the ſtate and ſafety thereof reſted upon their hands; uſing ſome ſuch other common matter of perſwaſion. But the moſt effectuall part of this Oration, was, That *Hannibal* with this his terrible Army, had not yet obtained one victory by plain force and valour: but that only by deceit and ambuſh he had ſtolne the honour, which he had gotten at *Trebia* & *Thraſymene*. Herewithall he taxed the inconſiderate raſhneſs of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*; of whom the one ſaw not his enemies, untill he was ſurrounded by them; the other ſcarce ſaw them, when they ſtruck off his head, by reaſon of the thick miſt, through the darkneſſe whereof he went groping (as it were blinde-fold) into their ſnares. Finally, declaring what advantages they had againſt the Enemy; and how deſtitute the Enemy was of thoſe helps, by which he had hitherto prevailed againſt them; he exhorted them to play the men, and do their beſt. They were eaſily perſwaded: for the contemplation of their own multitude, and confidence of the *Roman* vertue in matter of Armes, gave them cauſe to think, that under a Captain ſo well experienced, and every way ſufficient, as *Æmilius* was known to be, they ſhould eaſily prevail againſt the *Carthaginians*, that came ſhort of them in all things elſe, ſave craft; which would not alwayes thrive. But in one thing they miſtook the meaning of their Generall. It was his deſire that they ſhould have heart to fight; not that they ſhould loſe the patience of a waiting a convenient ſeaſon. But they, having pre-conceived a victory, thought all delayes to be impediments: and thereby ſought to robbe themſelves of their beſt help; which

was, good conduct. They remembred what talk they had heard at *Rome*: and were themselves affected with the vulgar desire, of ending the war quickly; wherein since *Æmilius* had acknowledged, that the advantage was theirs, why did he make them forbear to use it? Thus thought the common Souldier: and thus also thought the Consul *Terentius*; who was no less popular in the Camp, than he had been in the City. Expectation is alwayes tedious; and never more, than when the Event is of most importance. All men longed, both at *Rome*, and in the Army, to be freed from the doubtfull passions of Hope and Fear: therefore *Terentius*, who hastened their desire to effect, was likely to win more thanks, than should his Colleague, though greater in performance.

Thus whi'e the *Romans* think themselves to have the better of their enemies, they fall into an inconvenience, than which few are more dangerous; *Dissension* of their chief Commanders. *Varro* would fight: *Æmilius* would so too, but said that it was not yet time; why? because the enemy must shortly dislodge, and remove hence, into places less fit for his horse. But shall the *Romans* wait, till *Hannibal*, having eaten up his last years provisions, return into *Campania* to gather a second Harvest? This would (said *Varro*) savour too much of *Q. Fabius*: And your haste (said *Paulus*) doth savour no less of *C. Flaminius*. Their deeds were like their words: for they commanded by turnes interchangeably every day. *Æmilius* lodged six miles from *Hannibal*, where the ground was somewhat uneven. Thither if the *Carthaginians* would take pains to come; he doubted not to send them away in such haste, as they should not leave running til they were out of *Italy*. But they came not. *Terentius* therefore the next day descended into the Plains; his Colleague holding him, and beseeching him to stay. Nevertheless he sate down close by *Hannibal*: who, as an unbidden guess, gave him but rude welcome and entertainment. The *Carthaginian* Horse, and light armature, fell upon the *Roman* Vant-courrers; and put the whole Army in tumult, whilest it was yet in march: but they were beaten off, not without loss, for that the *Romans* had among their *Velites*, some troups weightily armed, whereas the *Carthaginians* had none. The day following, *Æmilius*, who could not handsomely withdraw the Army out of that level ground, incamped upon the River *Aufidus*; sending a third part of his forces over the water, to lye upon the Easterne bank, where they entrenched themselves. He never was more unwilling to fight, than at this present: because the ground served wholly for the advantage of his enemy; with whom he meant to deal, when occasion should draw him to more equall termes. Therefore he stirred not out of his Trenches; but fortified himself; expecting when *Hannibal* should dislodge, and remove towards *Geryon*, *Canna*, or some other place, where his store lay, for want of necessaries: whereof an Army forraging the Country, was not likely to carry about with it sufficient quantity, for any long time.

Here it would not be passed over with silence, That *Livie* differeth much in his Relation from *Polybius*: telling many strange tales, of the misery into which *Hannibal* had been driven; and of base courses that he devised to take, if the *Romans* could have retained their patience a little longer. He had (saith *Livie*) but ten dayes provision of meat. He had not money to pay his souldiers. They were an unruly Rabble, gathered out of several Nations, so that he knew not how to keep them in order; but that from murmuring, they fell to flat exclamations, first, about their Pay, and Provant, and afterwards for very famine. Especially the *Spaniards* were ready to forsake him, and run over to the *Roman* side. Yea *Hannibal* himself was once upon the point, to have stoln away into *Gaule* with all his horse, and left his foot unto their miserable destinies. At length for lack of all other counsail, he resolved to get him as far as he could from the *Romans*, into the Southermost parts of *Apulia*; to the end, that both his unfaithful Souldiers might finde the more difficulty in running from him; and that his hunger might be relieved with the more early harvest. But whilest he was about to put this device in execution, the *Romans* pressed him so hard, that they even forced him to that, which he most desired, even to fight a battail upon open Champain ground: wherein he was victorious. It was not uncommendable in *Livie*, to speak the best of his own Citizens; and, where they did ill, to say, That, without their own great folly, they had done passing well. Further also he may be excused; as writing only by report. For thus he saith, *Hannibal de fuga in Galliam (dicitur) agitasse*; Hannibal (*is said*) *to have*

have bethought himself of flying into Gaule: where he makes it no more than a matter of hear-say; as perhaps was all the rest of this Relation. As for the process it self, it is very incredible. For if *Hannibal*, comming out of *Gaule*, through the *Marishes* and *Bogs* of *Hetruria*, could finde victuals enough, and all things needfull unto his Army, the Summer foregoing: what should hinder him to do the like this year; especially seeing he had plaid the carefull husband in making a great harvest; since he had long been Master of the open field; and besides, had gotten, by surprise, no small part of the *Romans* provisions? Sutable hereunto is all the rest. If *Hannibal* had taken nothing but corn and cattell, his Souldiers might perhaps have fallen into mutiny for pay. But he brought gold with him into *Italy*: and had so well increased his stock, since he came into that Country, that he had armed his *African* Souldiers, all *Roman*-like, and loaded his followers with spoil: having left wherewith to redeem as many of his own, as were taken by the enemy; when the *Romans* were not willing, as finding it not easie, to do the like. In this point therefore, we are to attend the generall agreement of Historians: who give it as a principall commendation unto *Hannibal*, That he alwayes kept his Army free from sedition, though it were composed of sundry Nations; no lesse different in Manners, Religion, and almost in Nature, than they were in languages: and well might he so do, having not only pronounced, That which of his men soever fought bravely with an Enemy, was thereby a *Carthaginian*; but solemnly protested and swore, (besides other rewards) to make as many of them, as should deserve and seek it, free Citizens of *Carthage*. The running away into *Gaule*, was a senseless device. *Hannibal*, being there with his whole Army, took so little pleasure in the Country and People, that he made all haste to get him out of it. And what should he now do there with his horse? or how could he be trusted, either there or elsewhere? yea, how could he desire to live; having betrayed all his Army, and relinquished his miserable foot, to the butchery of their enemies? This tale therefore *Plutarch* omitteth; who in writing the life of *Hannibal* takes in a manner all his directions from *Livie*. But of this & the like it is enough to say, That all Historians love to extoll their own Country-men; and where a loss cannot be dissembled, nor the honour of the victory taken from the Enemy, & given unto blind Fortune, there to lay all the blame on some strange misgovernment of their own forces: as if they might easily have won all, but lost all through such folly, as no Enemy can hope to finde in them another time.

Now let us return back to the two Armies, where they lye encamped on the River *Aufidus*. *Varro* was perswaded, that it concerned him in honour, to make good his word unto the people of *Rome*: and since he had thus long waited in vain, to get the consent of *Paulus*, now at length to use his own authority; and, without any more disputing of the matter, to fight when his own day came. When therefore it was his turn to command; at the first break of the day he began to passe the River, without staying to bid his Colleague good morrow. But *Paulus* came to him, and sought, as in former times, to have disswaded him from putting the estate of his Country to a needless hazzard. Against whose words and substantiall arguments, *Terentius* could alledge none other than *point of Honour*. *Hannibal* had presented them battell at their Trenches: should they endure this Bravado? He had sent his *Numidians* over the River but even the day before, who fell upon the *Romans* that were fetching water to the lesser Camp; and drave them shamefully to run within their defences, which also they made offer to assail: must this also be suffered? He would not endure it: for it could not but weaken the spirit of the *Roman* Souldier; which as yet was lively, and full of such courage, as promised assured victory. When *Æmilius* perceived, that he could not hinder the obstinate resolution of his Companion, he took all care, that what he saw must be done, might be done well. Ten thousand *Roman* foot he caused to be left behinde, in the greater camp opposite unto the *Carthaginian*, to the intent, that either *Hannibal* might be compelled to leave behind him some answerable number, for defence of his Trenches: (which out of his paucity he was less able to spare from the battail, than were the *Romans*) or that these ten thousand, falling upon the *Carthaginian* Camp, when the fight began, and taking it with all the wealth therein, might thereby (as commonly do such accidents) terrifie and distract the Enemies in the heat of fight. This done, the two Consuls went over the water with their Army to the lesser Camp, whence also they drew forth their men, and ranged them in order of battail: the ground

on the East part of the River, seeming perhaps more fit for marshalling of their Army. *Hannibal* was glad of this, as he had great cause; and without any delay passed likewise over, somewhat higher up the stream, which ran from the South; leaving in his own camp so many, as he thought would serve to defend it, and no more. To encourage his men; He bad them look about them, and view the ground well, upon which they were to fight. They did so. And could you (said he) pray for any greater fortune than to joyn battail with the *Romans* upon such a levell ground, where the stronger in horse are sure to prevail? They all assented to him; and shewed by their countenances, that they were very glad of it. Well then (said he further) ye are first of all to thank the gods, that have brought them hither; and then Us, that have trained them along, and drawn them into necessity of playing for their lives, where they are sure to lose them. As for these *Romans*, I was fain to encourage you against them, when ye met them first: but now ye may even encourage your selves, by calling to minde that they are the men, whom ye have as often beaten as seen. Of one thing only I will put you in minde: That whereas hitherto you fought for other respects, as, to drive them before you out of *Gaule*; and to win the open Country, and fields of *Italy*; both of which ye have obtained: now are ye to fight for the Towns themselves, and all the riches within them; which this victory shall make yours. Therefore play the stout Souldiers: and ere many hours passe, ye shall be Lords of all that the *Romans* hold.

When he had said this; his brother *Mago* came to him, whom he had sent to view the countenance of the enemy. *Hannibal* asked him, what newes; and what work they were likely to have with these *Romans*? Work enough (answered *Mago*) for they are an horrible many. As horrible a many as they are (thus *Hannibal* replyed) I tell thee, brother, that among them all, search them never so diligently, thou shalt not find one man, whose name is *Mago*. With that he fell a laughing, and so did all that stood about him: which gladded the souldiers, who thought their Generall would not be so merry, without great assurance. Whether it were so, that *Hannibal*, in the pride of his victories already gotten, valued one *Mago* above many thousand *Romans*; or whether he intimated, that the *Romans* were no lesse troubled with thinking upon *Mago* and his Companions, than was *Mago* with beholding their huge multitude; or whether he meant only to correct the sad mood of his brother with a jest, and shew himself merry unto the Souldiers: this his answer was more manly, than was the relation of his discoverer. But if *Hannibal* himself had been sent forth by *Mago*, to view the *Romans*, he could not have returned with a more gallant report in his mouth, than that which Captain *Gam*, before the battail of *Agincourt*, made unto our King *Henry* the fift: saying, that of the *Frenchmen*, there were enow to be killed; enow to be taken prisoners, and enow to run away. Even such words as these, or such pleasant jests as this of *Hannibal*, are not without their moment; but serve many times, when battail is at hand, to work upon such passions, as must govern more of the businesse: especially, where other needfull care is wanting; without which they are but vain boasts.

In this great day, the *Carthaginian* excelled himself; expressing no lesse perfection of his military skill, than was greatnesse in his spirit and undertakings. For to omit the commodiousnesse of the place, into which he had long before conceived the means to draw his enemies to battail; He marshalled his Army in such convenient order, that all hands were brought to fight, where every one might doe best service. His Darters, and Slingers of the *Baleares*, he sent off before him, to encounter with the *Roman Velites*. These were loose troops, answerable in a manner to those, which we call now by a *French* name, *Enfans Perdues*; but when we use our own termes, *the forlorne hope*. The grosse of his Army following them, he ordered thus. His *Africans*, armed after the *Roman* manner, with the spoils which they had gotten at *Trebia*, *Thrasymene*, or elsewhere; and well trained in the use of those weapons that were of more advantage, than those wherewith they had formerly served; made the two wings, very deep in File. Between these he ranged his *Gaules* and *Spaniards*, armed each after their own Countrey manner; their shields alike; but the *Gaules* using long broad swords, that were forcible in a down-right stroak; the *Spaniards*, short and well-pointed blades, either to strike or thrust; the *Gaules*, naked from their navell upwards, as confident in their own fiercenesse: the *Spaniards*, wearing white cassocks embroidered with purple.

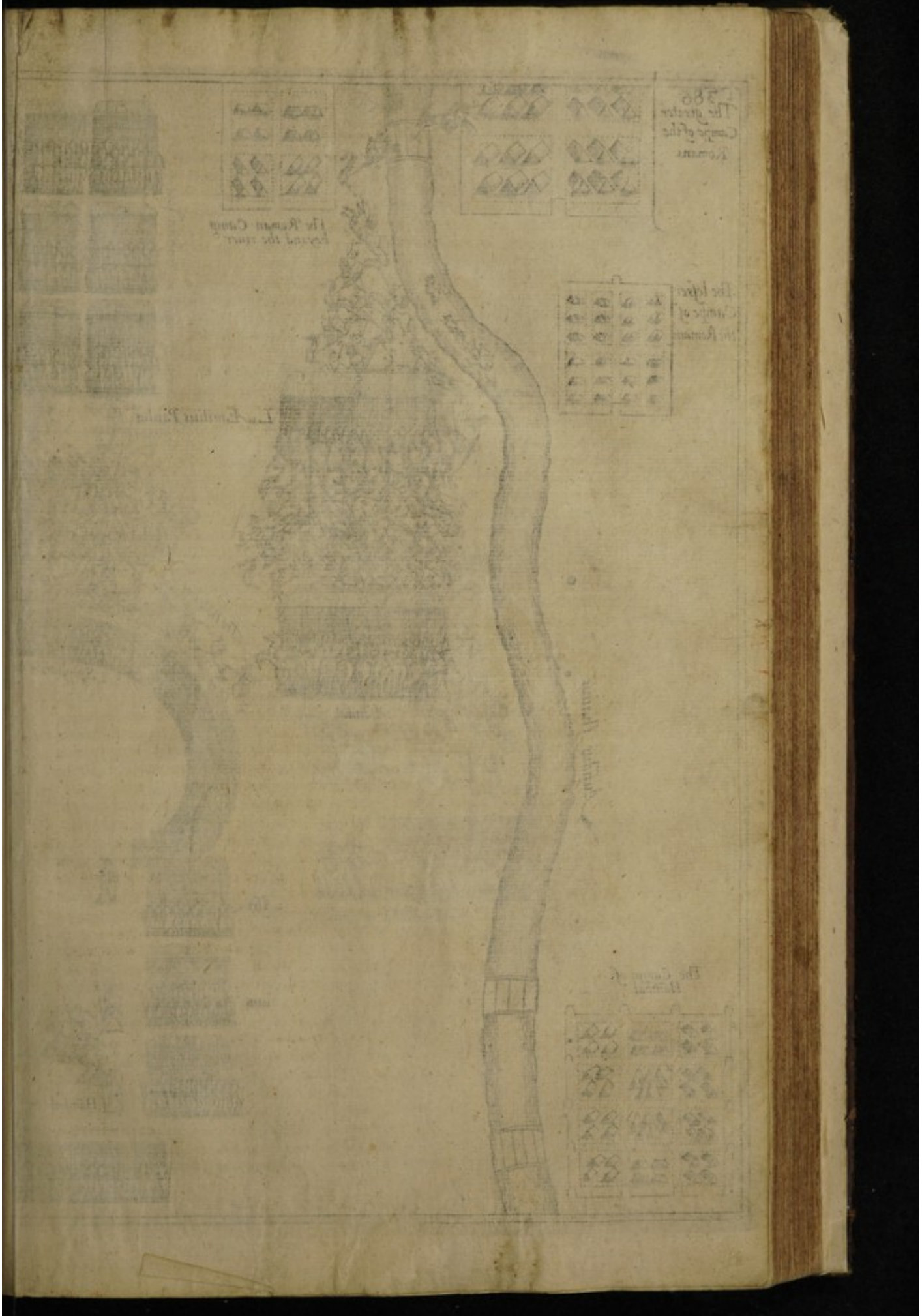
This

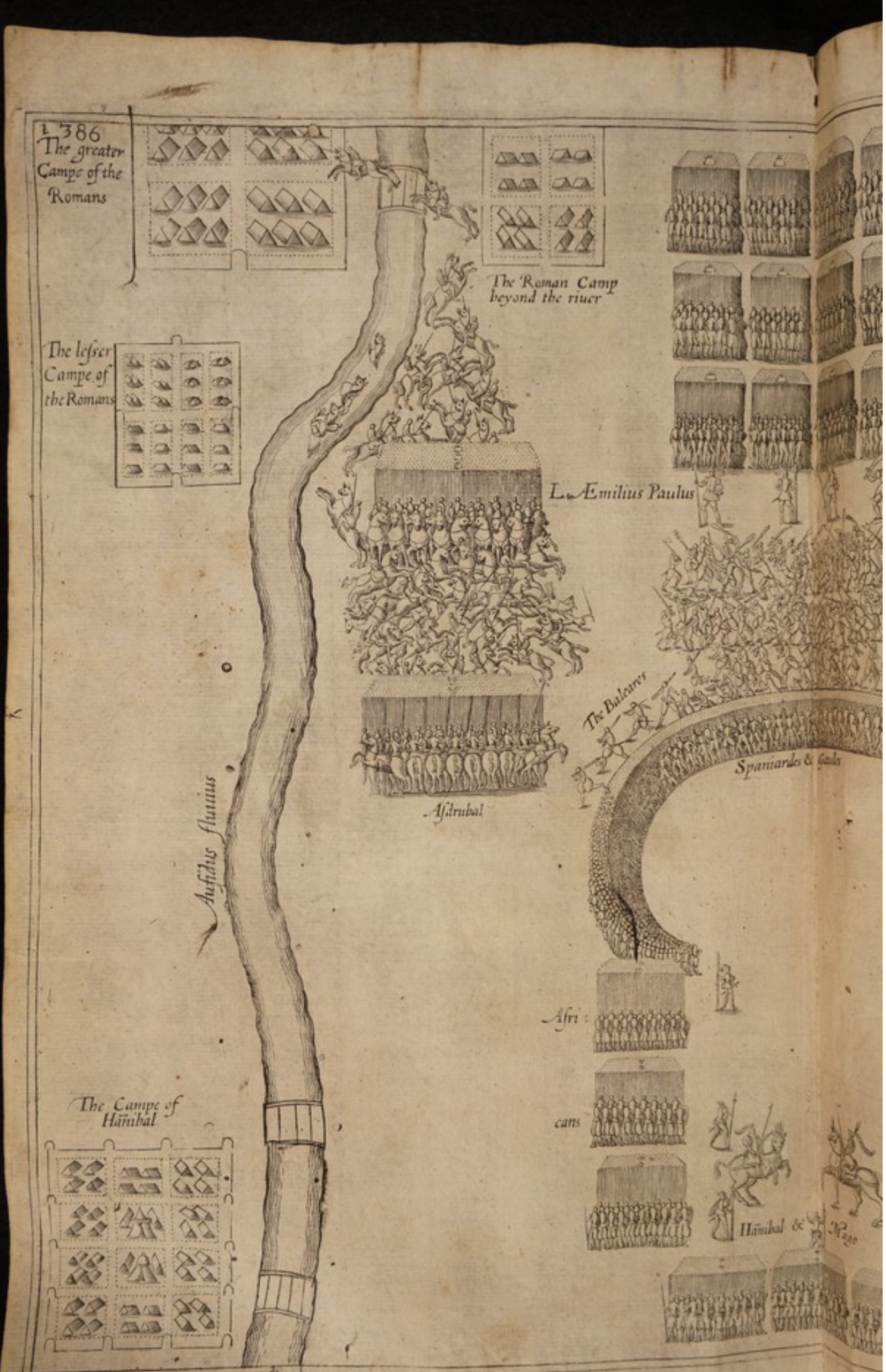
This medley of two Nations, differing as well in habit and furniture, as in quality, made a gallant shew; and terrible, because strange. The *Gauls* were strong of body, and furious in giving charge, but soon wearyed, as accustomed to spend their violence at the first brunt, which disposition all that come of them have inherited to this day. The *Spaniards* were lesse eager, but more wary; neither ashamed to give ground, when they were over-pressed; nor afraid to return, and renew the fight, upon any small encouragement. As the roughnesse of the one, and patience of the other, served mutually to reduce each of them to a good and firm temper; so the place which they held in this battail, added confidence joyntly unto them both. For they saw themselves well and strongly flanked with *Carthaginians* and other *Africans*; whose name was grown terrible in *Spain*, by their Conquests; and in *Gaule*, by this their present war. Since therefore it could not be feared, that any great calamity should fall upon them, whilest the wings on either side stood fast: these *Barbarians* had no cause to shrink, or forbear to imploy the uttermost of their hardinesse, as knowing that the enemy could not presse far upon them, without further ingaging himself than discretion would allow. Hereunto may be added that great advantage, which the *Carthaginian* had in horse: by which he was able, if the worst had hapned, to make a good retrait. The effect of contraries is many times alike. Desperation begetteth courage; but not greater, nor so lively, as doth assured Confidence. *Hannibal* therefore caused these *Gaules* and *Spaniards* to advance; leaving void the place wherein they had stood, and into which they might fall back, when they should be overhardly pressed. So, casting them into the form of a *Crescent*, He made them as it were his Vant-guard: the two points of this great half Moon, that looked toward the empty space from which he had drawn it, being narrow and thin, as serving only to guide it orderly back, when need should require; the foremost part of the Ring, swelling out toward the enemies, being well strengthned and thickned against all impression. The circle hereof seemeth to have been so great, that it shadowed the *Africans*, who stood behind it: though such figures, cut in brasse, as I have seen of this Battail, present it more narrow; with little reason, as shall anon appear: as also in the same figures it is omitted, That any Companies of *Africans*, or others, were left in the Rear, to second the *Gaules* and *Spaniards*, when they were driven to retrait; though it be manifest, that *Hannibal* in person stood between the last ranks of his long Battalions, and in the head of his Rear; doubtlesse well accompanied with the choice of his own Nation. Between the left Battalion and the River *Ausidus*, were the *Gaules* and *Spanish* horse, under the command of *Asdrubal*: On the right wing, toward the wide Plains, was *Hanno* (*Livie* saith *Maharbal*) with the *Numidian* light-horse. *Hannibal* himself, with his brother *Mago*, had the leading of the Rear. The whole summe of *Hannibals* Army in the field this day, was ten thousand horse, and forty thousand foot; his enemies having two to one against him in foot; and He, five to three against them in horse.

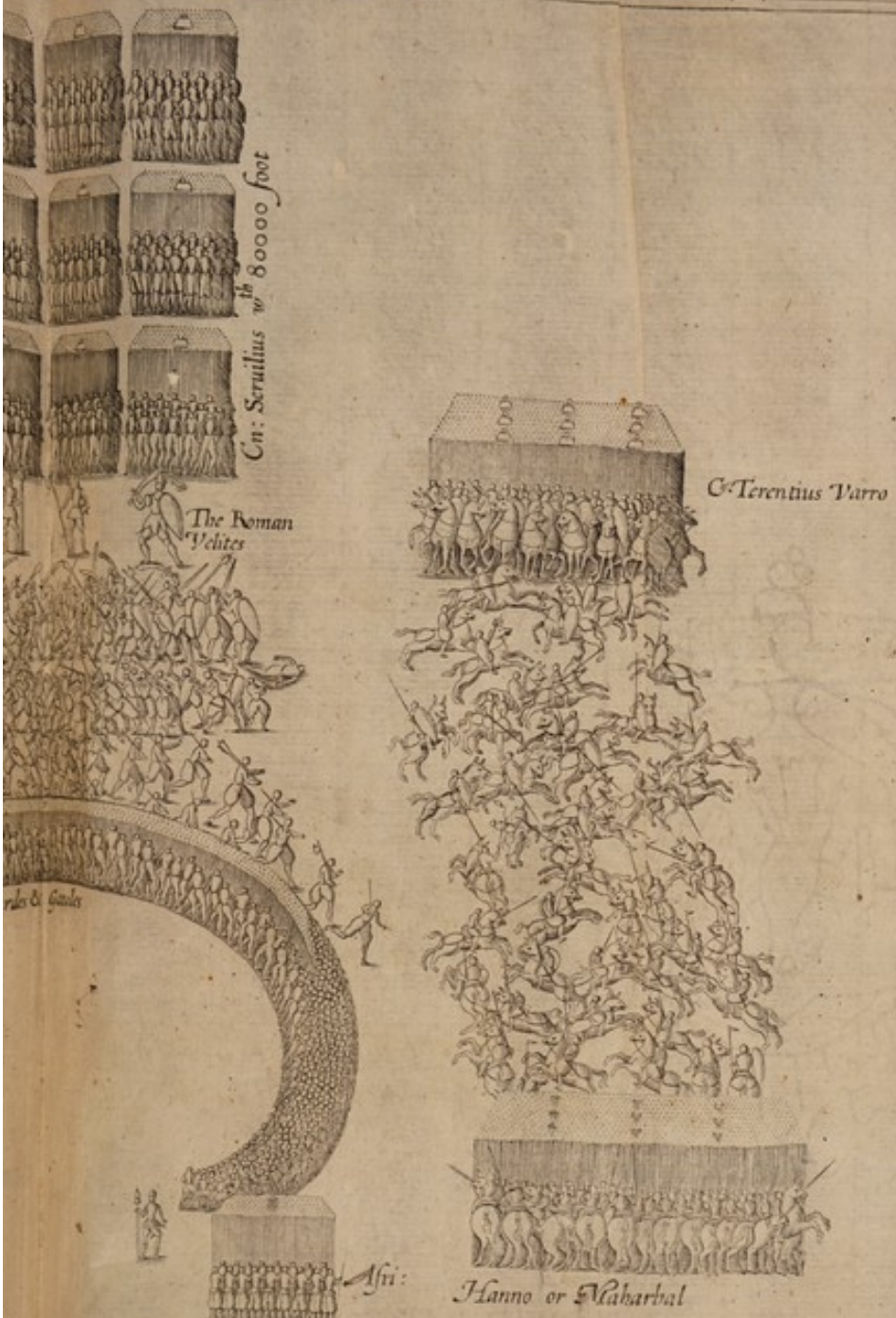
The *Roman* Army was marshalled in the usuall forme: but somewhat more narrow, and deep than was accustomed; perhaps, because this had been found convenient against the *Carthaginians*, in the former war. It was indeed no bad way of resistance against Elephants, to make the Ranks *thick and short*, but the Files long; as also to strengthen well the Rear, that it might stand fast compacted as a wall, under shelter whereof the disordered troups might re-ally themselves. Thus much it seemes, that *Terentius* had learned of some old Souldiers; and therefore he now ordered his Battailes accordingly, as meaning to shew more skill, than was in his understanding. But the *Carthaginians* had here no Elephants with them in the field: their advantage was in Horse; against which, this manner of imbattailing was very unprofitable, forasmuch as their charge is better sustained in front, than upon a long flank. As for *Æmilius*, it was not his day of command: He was but an Assistant; and in such cases it happens often, that wise men yeeld for very wearinesse unto the more contentious. Upon the right hand, and toward the River, were the *Roman* horse-men, under the Consul *Paulus*: On the left wing, was *C. Terentius Varro* the other Consul, with the rest of the horse, which were of the *Latines*, and other associates: *Cn. Servilius* the former years Consul, had the leading of the battail. The Sun was newly risen, and offended neither part; the *Carthaginians* having their faces Northward, the *Romans* toward the South.

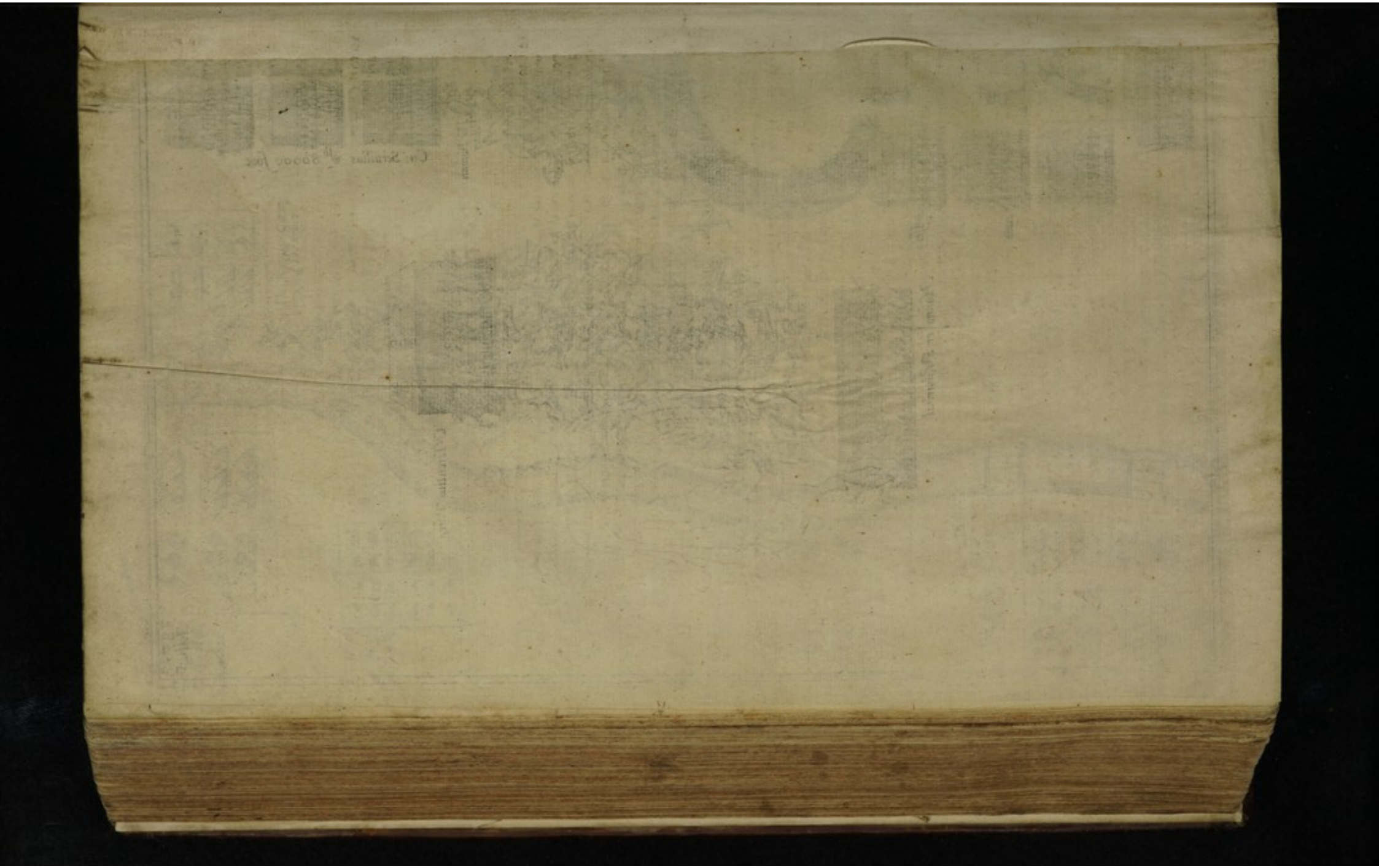
After some light skirmish, between the *Roman Velites*, and *Hannibal* his Darters and

slingers of the Baleares: *Asdrubal* brake upon the Consul *Paulus*, and was roughly encountred; not after the manner of service on horse-back, used in those times, wheeling about *Alman-like*; but each giving on in a right line, Pouldron to Pouldron, as having the River on the one hand, and the shoulder of the foot on the other hand; so that there was no way left, but to to pierce and break thorow. Wherefore they not only used their Lances and Swords; but rushing violently amongst the Enemies, grasped one another: and so their horses running from under them, fell many to the ground; where starting up again, they began to deal blowes like foot-men. In conclusion, the *Roman* horse were over born, and driven by plain force to a staggering recoile. This the Consull *Paulus* could not remedy. For *Asdrubal*, with his boisterous *Gaules* and *Spaniards*, was not to be resisted by these *Roman* Gentlemen, unequall both in number, and in horsmanship. When the battails came to joyning, the *Roman* Legionaries found work enough, and somewhat more than enough, to break that great *Crescent*, upon which they first fell: so strongly for the while, did the *Gaules* and *Spanish* foot make resistance. Wherefore the two points of their battail drew towards the midst; by whose aid, these opposites were forced to disband, and flye back to their first place. This they did in great haste and fear: and were with no lesse haste, and folly pursued. Upon the *Africans* that stood behinde them, they needed not to fall foul; both for that there was void room enough; and forasmuch as the Rear, or Hornes of this Moon, pointed into the safe retrait, where *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians* was ready to re-enforce them, when time should require. In this hasty retrait, or flight of the *Gaules* and *Spaniards*, it hapned, as was necessary, that they who had stood in the limb or utter compass of the half Moon, made the innermost or concave surface thereof (disordered and broken though it were) when it was forced to turn the inside outward: the horns or points thereof, as yet, untouched, only turning round, & recoyling very little. So the *Romans*, in pursuing them, were inclosed in an half circle; which they should not have needed greatly to regard, (for that the sides of it were exceeding thin and broken; and the bottome of it, none other than a throng of men routed, and seeming unable to make resistance) had all the enemies foot been cast into this one great body, that was in a manner dissolved. But whilest the Legions, following their supposed victory, rushed on upon those that stood before them, and thereby unwittingly engaged themselves deeply within the principall strength of the Enemies, hedging them in on both hands; the two *African* Battalions on either side advanced so far, that getting beyond the Rear of them, they enclosed them, in a manner, behinde: and forward they could not pass far, without removing *Hannibal* and *Mago*; which made that way the least easie. Hereby it is apparent, That the great *Crescent*, before spoken of, was of such extent, as covered the *Africans*, who lay behind it undiscerned, untill now. For it is agreed, that the *Romans* were thus empaled *unawares*; and that they behaved themselves, as men that thought upon no other work, than what was found them by the *Gaules*. Neither is it credible, that they would have been so mad, as to run head-long, with the whole bulk of their Army, into the throat of slaughter; had they seen those weapons bent against them at the first, which when they did see, they had little hope to escape. Much might be imputed to their heat of fight, and rashnes of inferiour Captains: but since the Consul *Paulus*, a man so expert in war, being vanquished in horse, had put himself among the Legions; it cannot be supposed, that he and they did wilfully thus engage themselves. *Asdrubal*, having broken the troups of *Roman* horse, that were led by the Consul *Paulus*, followed upon them along the River side, beating down and killing, as many as he could, (which were almost all of them) without regard of taking prisoners. The Consul himself was either driven upon his own Legions, or wilfingly did cast himself among them; as hoping by them to make good the day, notwithstanding the defeat of his horse. But he failed of this his expectation. Nevertheles he cheared up his men as well as he could, both with comfortable words, and with the example of his own stout behaviour: beating down and killing many of the enemies with his own hand. The like did *Hannibal* among his *Carthaginians*, in the same part of the battail; and with better suces. For the Consul received a blow from a sling, that did him great hurt: and though a troup of *Roman* Gentlemen, riding about him, did their best to save him from further harme; yet was he so hardly laid at, that he was compelled, by wounds and weakness, to forsake his horse. Hereupon all his company




1386
The greater Campe of the Romans
The Roman Camp beyond the riuer
The lesser Campe of the Romans
L. Æmilius Paulus
The Baleares
Spaniardes & Gaules
Asdrubal
Aufidus fluuius
Afri
cans
The Campe of Hānibal
Hānibal &
Mago


Cn: Scrutius wth 80000 foot
The Roman Velites
C. Terentius Varro
Hanno or Maharbal
Asri:
cans



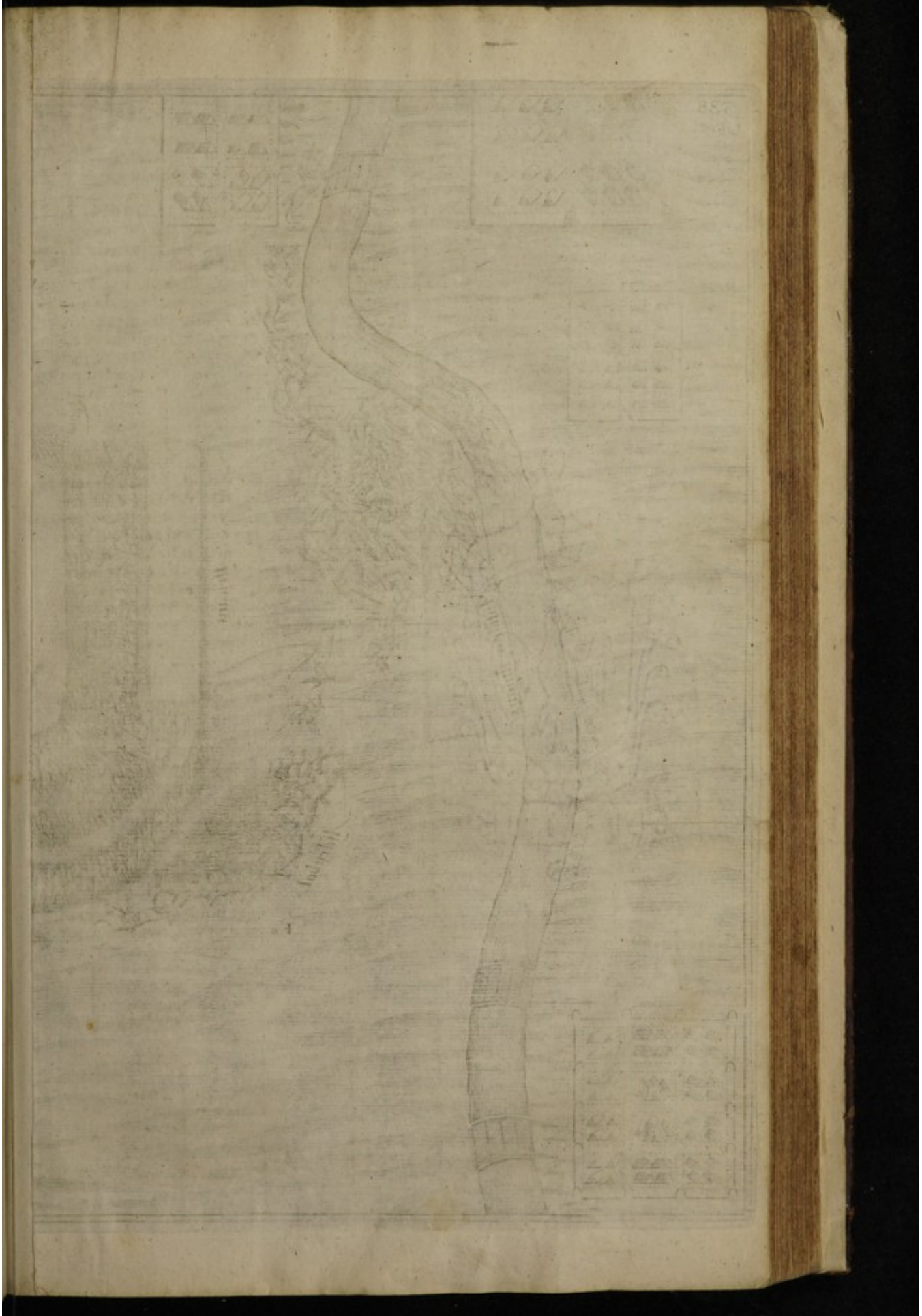
company alighted, thinking that the Consul had given order so to do: as in many battails, the *Roman* men at armes had left their horses, to help their foot in distresse. When *Hannibal* (for he was near at hand) perceived this, and understood that the Consul had willed his horse men to dismount; He was very glad of it, and pleasantly said, *I had rather he would have delivered them unto me, bound hand & foot*: meaning that he had them now almost as safe, as if they were so bound. All this while *C. Terentius Varro*, with the horse of his associates, in the left wing, was marvellously troubled by *Hanno* (or *Maharbal*) and the *Numidians*: who beating up and down about that great sandy Plain, raised a foul dust; which a strong South wind, blowing there accustomarily, drave in- to the eyes and mouthes of the *Romans*. These, using their advantage both of number and of lightnesse, wearyed the Consull and his followers exceedingly: neither giving, nor sustaining any charge, but continually making offers, and wheeling about. Yet at the first they seemed to promise him an happy day of it. For when the battails were even ready to joyn; five hundred of these *Numidians* came pricking away from their fellowes, with their shields cast behind their backs, (as was the manner of those which yeelded) and, throwing down their armes, rendred themselves. This was good luck to begin withall, if there had been good meaning. *Varro* had not leisure to examine them; but caused them, unweaponed as they were, to get them behind the Army, where he bade them rest quietly till all was done. These crafty adventurers did as he bade them, for a while; till they found opportunity to put in execution the purpose, for which they had thus yeelded. Under their Jackets they had short swords and poniards; besides which, they found other scattered weapons about the field of such as were slain, and therewithall flew upon the hindmost of the *Romans*, whilest all eyes and thoughts were bent another way: so that they did great mischief, and raised yet a greater terror. Thus *Hannibal*, in a plain levell ground, found means to lay an ambush at the back of his enemies. The last blow, that ended all fight and resistance, was given by the same hand which gave the first. *Asdrubal*, having in short space broken the *Roman* troups of horse, and cut in pieces all, save the Company of *Æmilius* that rushed into the gross of his foot, and a very few besides, that recovered some narrow passage, between the River and their own Battalions; did not stay to charge upon the face of the Legions, but fell back behind the Rear of his own, and fetching about, came up to the *Numidians*: with whom he joyned, and gave upon *Terentius*.

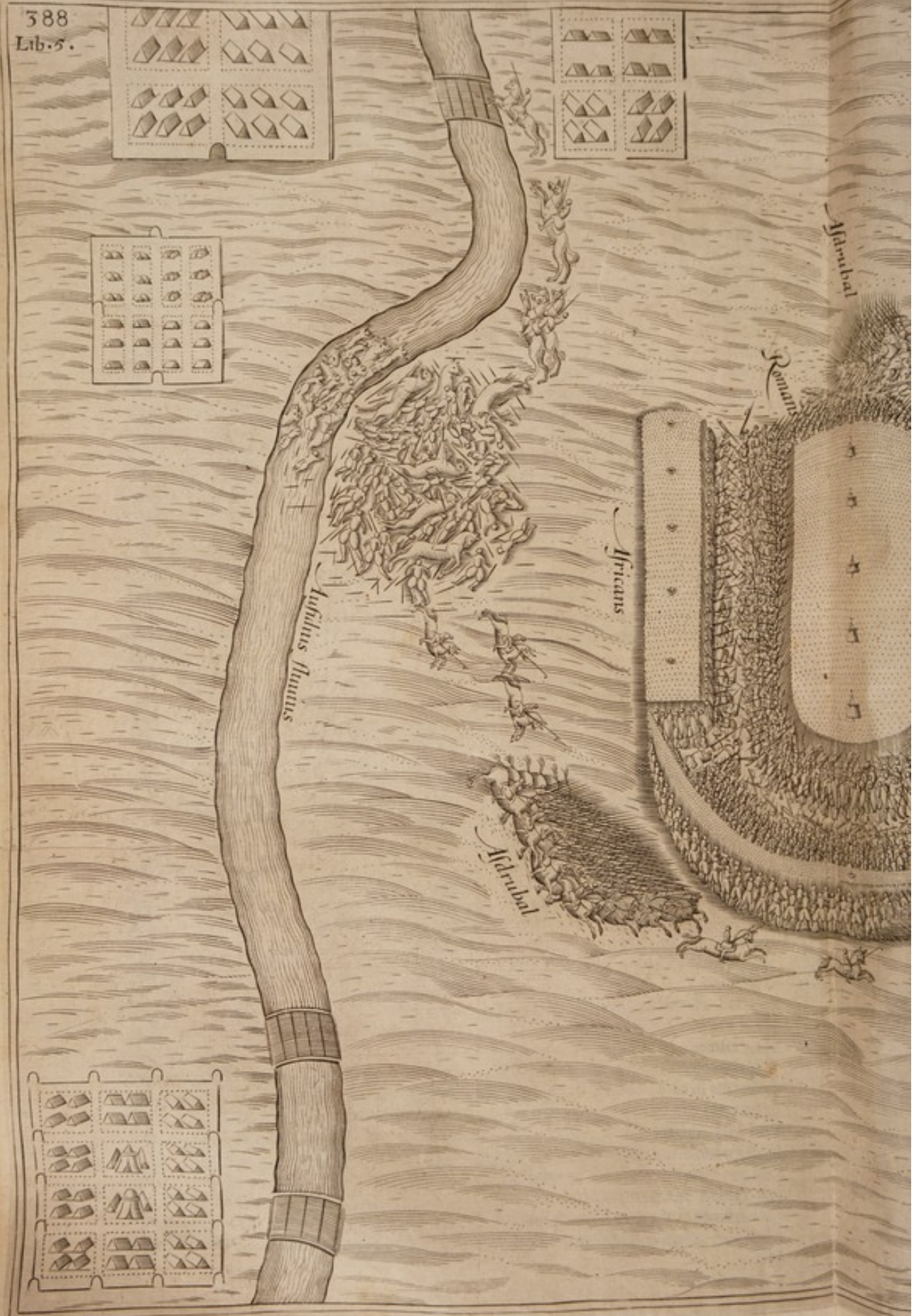
This fearfull cloud, as it shewed at the first appearance what weather it had left behinde it, on the other side: so did it prognosticate a dismall storme unto those upon whom it was ready now to fall. Wherefore *Terentius* his followers, having wearied themselves much in doing little, and seeing more work toward, than they could hope to sustain; thought it the best way, to avoid the danger by present flight. The Consul was no less wise than they, in apprehending the greatnes of his own perill; nor more desperate, in striving to work impossibilities: it being impossible, when so many shrank from him, to sustain the impression alone, which he could not have indured with their assistance. Now he found that it was one thing to talk of *Hannibal* at *Rome*; and another, to incounter him. But of this, or of ought else, excepting hasty flight, his present leisure would not serve him to consider. Close at the heels of him and his flying troups, followed the light *Numidians*, appointed by *Asdrubal* unto the pursuit, as fittest for that service. *Asdrubal* himself, with the *Gaules* and *Spanish* horse, compassing about, fell upon the backs of the *Romans*; that were ere this hardly distressed, and in a manner surrounded on all parts else: He brake them easily; who before made ill resistance, being inclosed, and laid at on every side, not knowing which way to turn. Here began a pitifull slaughter: the vanquished multitude thronging up and down, they knew not whither or which way, whilest every one sought to avoid those enemies, whom he saw neareſt. Some of the *Roman* Gentlemen that were about *Æmelius*, got up to horse, and saved themselves: which though it is hardly understood how they could do; yet I will rather believe it, than suppose that *Livie* so reporteth, to grace thereby his History with this following tale. *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, galloping along by a place where he saw the Consul sitting all blouded upon a stone, intreated him to rise and save himself; offering him his assistance and horse. But* Paulus *refused it; willing* Lentulus *to shift for himself, and not to lose time: saying, That it was not his purpose to be brought again into judgement by the People, either as an accuser of his Colleague, or as guilty himselfe*

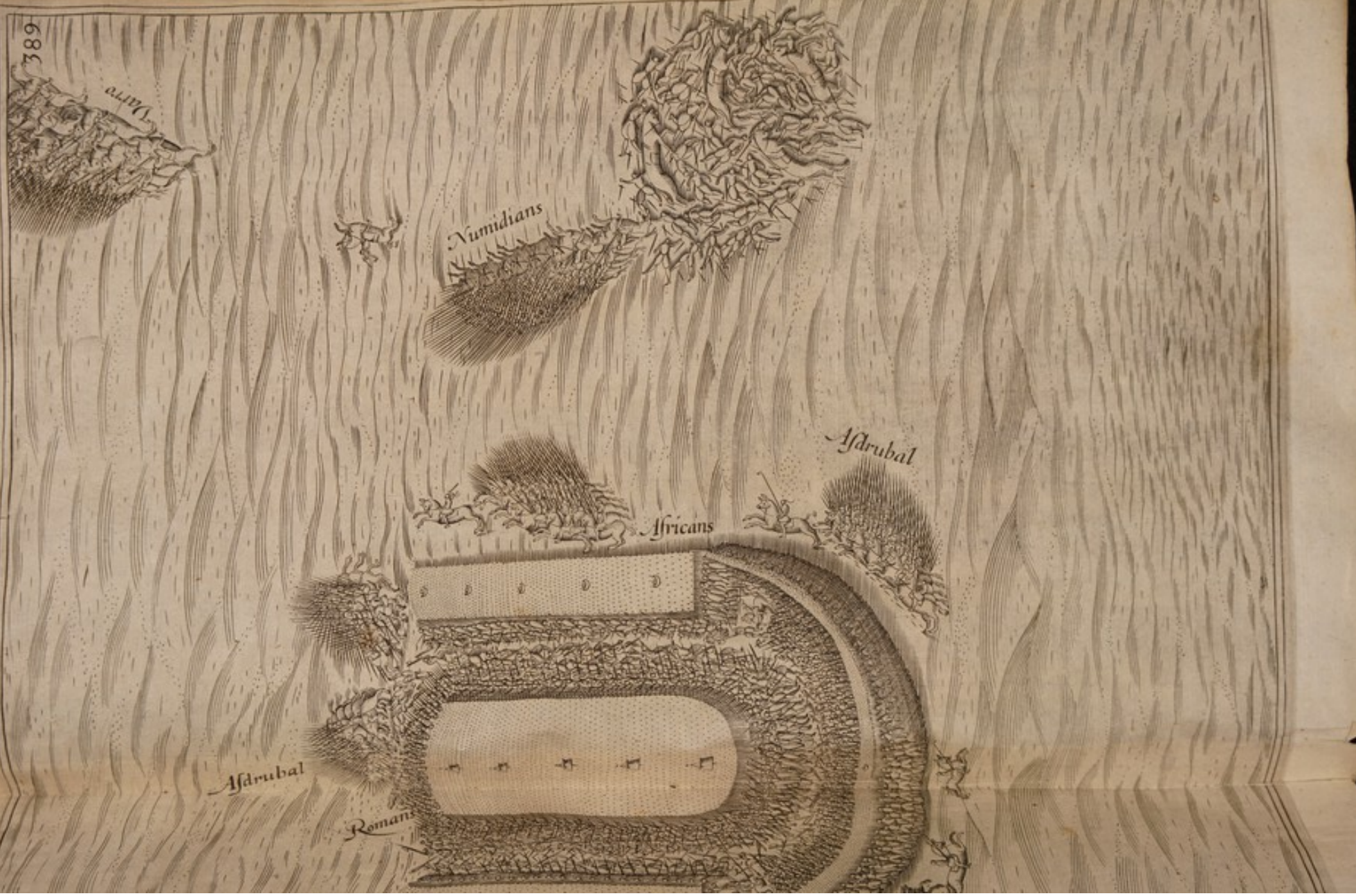
ſelf of that dayes loſſe. Further, he willed Lentulus *to commend him to the Senate, and in particular to* Fabius: *willing them to fortifie Rome, as faſt as well they could, and telling* Fabius, *that he lived and died mindfull of his wholeſome counſail.* Theſe words (peradventure) or ſome to like purpoſe, the Conſul uttered to *Lentulus*, either when againſt his will he was drawn to that Battail, or when he beheld the firſt defeat of his Horſe; at what time he put himſelf in the head of his Legions. For I doubt not, but *Hannibal* knew what he ſaid a good while before this; when he thought the Conſul and his troup, in little better caſe than if they had been bound. The whole Groſſe of the *Romans*, was incloſed indeed as within a ſack; whereof the *African* Battalions made the ſides; the *Spaniards*, *Gaules*, and *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians*, the bottome; and *Aſdrubal* with his horſe, cloſed up the mouth: in which part, they firſt of all were ſhuffled together, and began the Rout, wherein all the reſt followed. *Æmilius* therefore, who could not ſit his horſe, whileſt the battail yet laſted, and whileſt the ſpaces were ſomewhat open, by which he might have withdrawn himſelf; was now (had he never ſo well been mounted) unable to flye, having in his way ſo cloſe a throng of his own miſerable followers, and ſo many heaps of bodies, as fell apace in that great Carnage. It ſufficeth unto his honour, That in the Battail he fought no leſſe valiantly, than he had warily before, both abſtained himſelf, and diſſwaded his fellow-Conſul, from fighting at all. If, when the day was utterly loſt, it had lien in his power to ſave his own life unto the good of his country, never more needing it; I ſhould think, that he either too much diſeſteemed himſelf; or being too faintly minded, was weary of the World, and his unthankfull Citizens. But if ſuch a reſolution were praiſe-worthy in *Æmilius*, as proceeding out of *Roman* valour, then was the *Engliſh* vertue of the Lord *John Talbot*, Viſcount *Liſle*, ſon to that famous Earle of *Shrewsbury*, who died in the Battell of *Chaſtillon*, more highly to be honoured. For *Æmilius* was old, grievouſly, if not mortally, wounded, and accomptable for the overthrow received: *Talbot* was in the flowre of his youth, unhurt, eaſily able to have eſcaped, and not anſwerable for that dayes misfortune, when he refuſed to forſake his Father; who foreſeeing the loſſe of the battail, and not meaning to ſtain his actions paſt by flying in his old age, exhorted this his noble ſon to be gone and leave him.

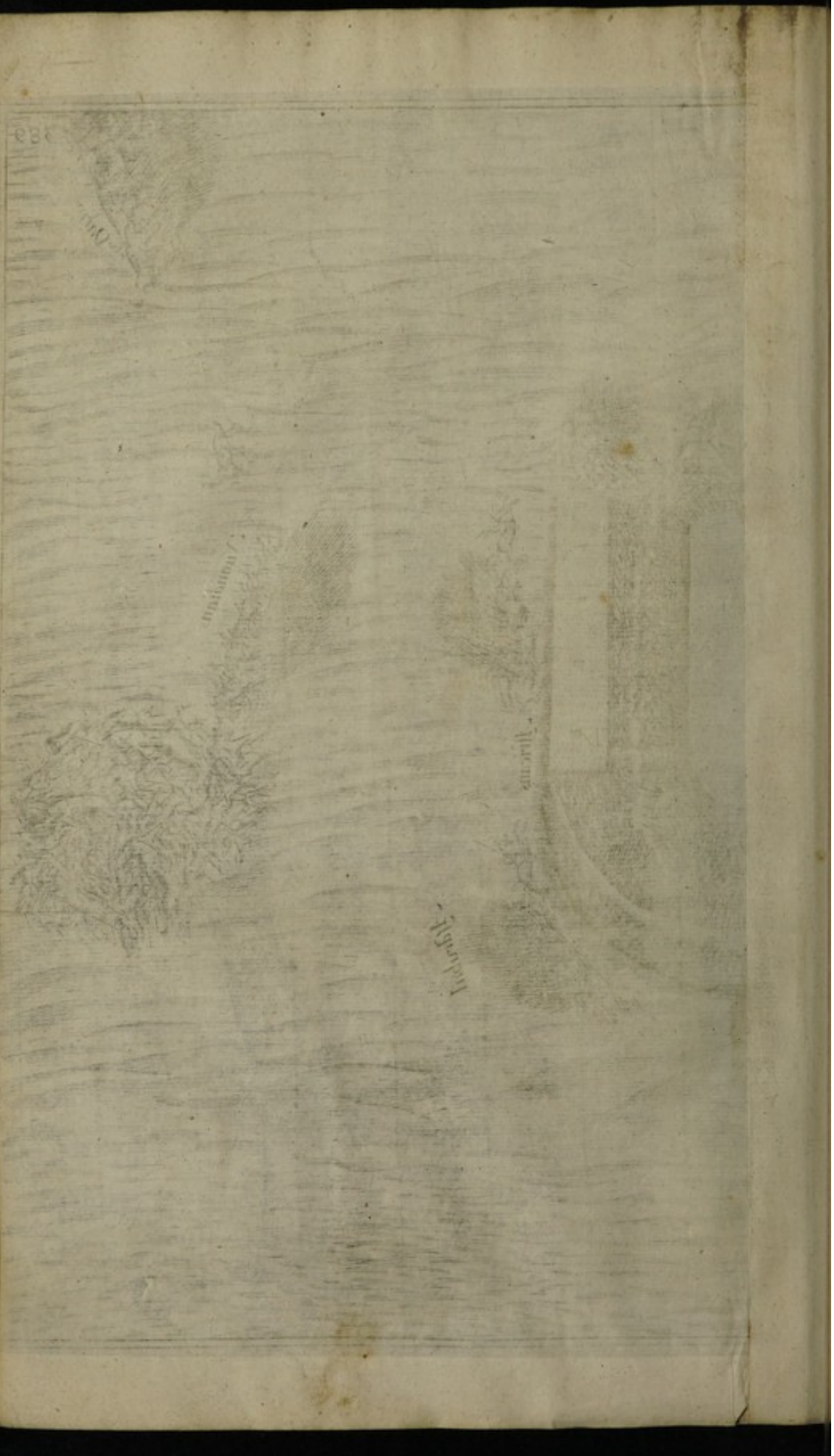
In this terrible overthrow died all the *Roman* foot, ſave two or three thouſand, who (as *Livie* ſaith) eſcaped into the leſſer camp; whence the ſame night, about ſix hundred of them brake forth, and joyning with ſuch of thoſe in the greater camp, as were willing to try their fortune, conveyed themſelves away ere morning, about four thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe, partly in whole troups, partly diſperſed, into *Cannuſium*: the next day the *Roman* camps, both leſſe and greater, were yeelded unto *Hannibal* by thoſe that remained in them. *Polybius* hath no mention of this eſcape: only he reports, that the ten thouſand, whom *Æmilius* had left on the Weſt ſide of *Aufidus* (as was ſhewed before) to ſet upon the camp of *Hannibal*, did as they were appointed; but ere they could effect their deſire, which they had well-near done, the battail was loſt: and *Hannibal*, comming over the water to them, drave them into their own camp; which they quickly yeelded, having loſt two thouſand of their number. Like enough it is, that at the firſt ſight of *Hannibal*, comming upon them with his victorious Army, a greater number of theſe did flie; and thereby eſcaped, whileſt their fellowes, making defence in vain, retired into their camp, and held the enemy buſied. For about two Legions they were (perhaps not half full, but made up by addition of others, whoſe fault or fortune was like) that having ſerved at *Cannæ*, were afterwards extremely diſgraced by the State of *Rome*, for that they had abandoned their companions fighting. Of the *Roman* horſe what numbers eſcaped, it is uncertain: but very few they were that ſaved themſelves in the firſt charge, by getting behinde the River; and *Terentius* the Conſul recovered *Venuſia*, with threeſcore and ten at the moſt in his company. That he was ſo ill attended, it is no marvel: for *Venuſia* lay many miles off to the Southward; ſo that his neareſt way thither, had been through the midſt of *Hannibals* Army, if the paſſage had been open. Therefore it muſt needs be, that when once he got out of ſight, he turned up ſome by-way; ſo diſappointing the *Numidians* that hunted *contre*. Of ſuch as could not hold pace with the Conſul, but took other wayes, and were ſcattered over the fields; two thouſand, or thereabout, were gathered up by the *Numidians*, and made priſoners: the reſt were ſlain, all ſave three hundred; who diſperſed themſelves in flight, as chance led

Liv. lib. 19.




Asdrubal
Romans
Africans
Rubicus Amnis
Asdrubal


Varro
Numidians
Asdrubal
Africans
Asdrubal
Romans



led them, and got into sundry Towns. There died in this great Battail of *Cannæ*, besides *L. Æmilius Paulus* the Consul, two of the *Roman* Quæstors or Treasurers, and one and twenty Colonels or Tribunes of the Souldiers, fourscore Senators, or such as had borne office, out of which they were to be chosen into the Senate. Many of these were of especiall mark, as having been *Ædiles*, Prætors or Consuls: among whom was *Cn. Servilius*, the last years Consul, and *Minutius*, late Master of the horse. The number of prisoners, taken in this battail, *Livie* makes no greater than three thousand foot, & three hundred horse: too few to have defended for the space of one half hour, both the *Roman* Camps; which yet the same *Livie* saith, to have been over-cowardly yeelded up. We may therefore do better, to give credit unto one of the prisoners, whom the same Historian shortly after introduceth, speaking in the Senate, and saying, That they were no less than eight thousand. It may therefore be, that these three thousand were only such as the Enemy spared, when the fury of Execution was past: but to these must be added about five thousand more, who yeelded in the greater camp, when their company were either slain or fled. So the reckoning fals out right: which the *Romans*, especially the Consul *Varro*, had before cast up (as we say) without their Host; nothing so chargeable, as now they finde it. On the side of *Hannibal* there died some four thousand *Gaules*, fifteen hundred *Spaniards* and *Africans*, and two hundred horse or thereabouts: a losse not sensible, in the joy of so great a victory; which if he had pursued, as *Maharbal* advised him, and forthwith marched away towards *Rome*; it is little doubted, but that the war had presently been at an end. But he beleeved not so far in his own prosperity; and was therefore told, That *he knew how to get, not how to use a victory.*

§. IX.

Of things following the battail at Cannæ.

NOt without good cause doth *Polybius* reprehend those two Historians, *Fabius* the *Roman*, and *Philinus* the *Carthagian*: who regarding more the pleasure of them, unto whose honour they consecrated their travails, than the truth of things, and information of posterity, magnified indifferently, whether good or bad, all actions and proceedings, the one of his *Carthaginians*, the other of his *Roman* Quirites, and Fathers conscript. No man of sound judgement will condemn this liberty of censure, which *Polybius* hath used. For, to recompence his juniority (such as it was) he produceth substantiall arguments, to justifie his own Relation; and confuteth the vanity of those former authors, out of their own writings, by conference of places ill cohering: which pains is to be suspected, that he would not have taken, had he been born in either of these two Cities, but have spared some part of his diligence, and been contented to have all men think better and more honourably than he deserved, of his owne Country. The like disease it is to be feared, that we shall hereafter finde in others; and shall have some cause to wish, that either they were somewhat lesse *Roman*, or else, that some works of their opposite Writers were extant, that so we might at least hear both sides speak: being henceforth destitute of *Polybius* his help, that was a man indifferent. But since this cannot be, we must be sometimes bold, to observe the coherence of things; and beleeve so much only to be true, as dependeth upon good reason, or (at least) fair probability. This attentive circumspection is needfull at the present: such is the repugnancy, or forgetfulness, which we find in the best Narration of things following the Battail of *Cannæ*. For it is said, that foux thousand foot and horse gathered together about the Consul *Terentius* at *Venusia*, that others to the number of ten thousand got into *Cannusium*, choosing for their Captains, young *P. Scipio*, and *Ap. Claudius*; yet that the Consul *Terentius Varro*, joyning his company unto those of *Scipio* at *Cannusium*, wrote unto the Senate, that he had now well-near ten thousand men about him; that these letters of the Consul were brought to *Rome*, when the Senate was newly risen, that had been taking order for pacifying those tumults in the City, which grew upon the first bruit of the overthrow; and yet, that Embassadours from *Capua* (after some consultation, whether it were meet to send any, or without further circumstance, to side with *Hannibal*) were sent unto *Terentius*, and found him at *Venusia*, a pretty while before he wrote those letters, which overtook (in a manner) at *Rome* the first newes of the overthrow

overthrow. Among such incoherences, I hold it the best way, to omit so much as hath not some particular connexion with matter ensuing: mutuall dependency in things of this nature, being no small argument of truth.

When *Hannibal* had sacked the *Roman* camp, and trussed up the spoils, forthwith he dislodged, and marched away into *Samnium*; finding a disposition in the *Hirpines*, and many other people thereabout, to forsake the *Roman* party, and make alliance with *Carthage*. The first town that opened the gates unto him, was *Cossa*, where he laid up his baggage: and leaving his brother *Mago* to take in other places, He hasted into *Campania*. The generall affection of the multitude, in all the Cities of *Italy*, was inclinable unto him; not only in regard of their grievous losses, sustained abroad in the fields, which the *Romans* themselves, who could not hinder him from spoiling the Country, especially the poorer sort of them, did hardly indure; but in a loving respect unto that great courtesie (as it seemed) which he used unto such of them as became his prisoners. For as at other times, so now after this great victory at *Canna*, He had lovingly dismissed as many of the *Italian* Confederates of *Rome*, as fell into his hands: rebuking them gently for being so obstinate against him that had sought to deliver them from bondage. Neither spared he to win their love by gifts; pretending to admire their valour; but seeking indeed, by all wayes and means, to make them his, whilest all other motives were concurrent. At this time also he began to deal kindly (though against his nature) with the *Roman* prisoners; telling them, that he bore no mortall hatred unto their Estate; but being provoked by injuries, sought to right himself and his Country; and fought with them, to try which of these two Cities, *Rome* or *Carthage*, should bear soveraign Rule, not, which of them should be destroyed. So he gave them leave to choose ten of their number, that should be sent home to treat with the Fathers about their ransome: and together with these, he sent *Carthalo* a Noble man of *Carthage*, and Generall of his Horse, to feel the disposition of the Senate; whether it were bowed as yet by so much adversity, and could stoop unto desire of peace. But with the *Romans* these arts prevailed not, as shall be shewed in due place. The people of *Italy*, all, or most of them, save the *Roman* Colonies, or the *Latines*, were not only weary of their losses past; but entertained a deceivable hope, of changing their old Society for a better. Wherefore not only the *Samnites*, *Lucans*, *Bruttians*, and *Apulians*, ancient enemies of *Rome*, and not untill the former generation utterly subdued, began to re-assume their wonted spirits: but the *Campans*, a Nation of all other in *Italy* most bound unto the State of *Rome*, and by many mutuall affinities therewith as straightly conjoyned, as were any save the *Latines*, changed on a sudden their love into hatred; without any other cause found, than change of fortune.

Campania, is the most goodly and fruitfull Province of *Italy*, if not (as some then thought) of all the Earth: and the City of *Capua*, answerable unto the country, whereof it was Head, so great, fair, and wealthy, that it seemed no lesse convenient a seat of the Empire, than was either *Rome* or *Carthage*. But of all qualities, bravery is the least requisite unto soveraign command. The *Campans* were luxurious, idle, and proud: and valuing themselves like Jayes by their feathers, despised the unfortunate vertue of the *Romans* their Patrons and Benefactors. Yet were there some of the principall among them, as in other Cities, that bore especiall regard unto the Majesty of *Rome*, and could not indure to hear of Innovation. But the *Plebeian* faction had lately so prevailed within *Capua*, that all was governed by the pleasure of the Multitude; which wholly followed the direction of *Pacuvius Calavius* an ambitious Noble-man, whose credit grew, and was up-held by furthering all popular desires: whereof, the conjunction with *Hannibal* was not the least. Some of the *Capuans* had offered their city to the *Carthaginians* shortly after the battail of *Thrasymene*: whereupon chiefly it was, that *Hannibal* made his journey into *Campania*: the Dictator *Fabius* waiting upon him. At that time, either the neerenesse of the *Roman* Army, or some other fear of the *Capuans*, hindred them from breaking into actuall rebellion. They had indeed no leisure to treat about any article of new Confederacy: or had leisure served, yet were the multitude (whose inconstant love *Hannibal* had won from the *Romans*, by gentle usage, and free dismissing of some prisoners in good account among them) unable to hold any such negotiation, without advice of the Senate; which mainly impugned it. So they that had promised to yeeld up their town to *Hannibal*, & meet him on the way, with some of their nobility that should assure him

him of all faithful meaning, were driven to sit still in a great perplexity: as having failed to let in this their new friend, yet sufficiently discovered themselves, to draw upon them the hatred of the *Romans*. In this case were no smal number of the Citizens: who thereupon grew the more incensed against their Senate, on whom they cast all the blame, easily pardoning their own cowardize. The people holding so tender a regard of liberty; that even the lawful government of Magistrates grieved them, with an imaginary oppression; had now good cause to fear lest the Senators would become their Lords indeed, and by help of the *Romans* bring them under a more straight subjection, than ever they had endured. This fear being ready to break into some outrage, *Pacuvius* made use of, to serve his own ambition. He discoursed unto the Senate, as they sate in Counsel, about these motions troubling the city: and said, That he himself had both married a *Roman* Lady, and given his Daughter in marriage to a *Roman*: but, that the danger of forsaking of the *Roman* party was not now the greatest: for that the people were violently bent to murder all the Senate, and after to joyn themselves with *Hannibal*; who should countenance the fact, and save them harmless. This he spake, as a man well known to be beloved himself by the People, and privie unto their designes. Having throughly terrified the Senate, by laying open the danger hanging over them: He promised nevertheless to deliver them all, and to set things in quiet, if they would freely put themselves into his hands; offering his oath, or any other assurance that they should demand for his faithful meaning. They all agreed. Then shutting up the Court, and placing a guard of his own followers about it, that none might enter, nor issue forth, without his leave; He called the people to assembly: and speaking as much ill of the Senate, as he knew they would be glad to hear, he told them, that these wicked Governours were surprised by his policy, and all fast, ready to abide what sentence they would lay upon them. Only thus much he advised them, as a thing which necessity required, That they should choose a new Senate, before they satisfied their anger upon the old. So rehearsing unto them the names of one or two Senators; he asked what their judgement was of those. All cryed out, that they were worthy of death. Choose then (said he) first of all some new ones into their places. Hereat the multitude, unprovided for such an election, was silent; until at last some one or other adventured to name whom he thought fit. The men so nominated, were utterly disliked by the whole Assembly; either for some known fault, baseness and insufficiency; or else even because they were unknown, and therefore held unworthy. This difficulty in the new Election appearing more and more, whilest more were to be chosen; (the fittest man to be substituted, having been named among the first, and not thought fit enough) *Pacuvius* intreated, and easily prevailed with the people, that the present Senate might for this time be spared, in hope of amends hereafter; which (doubtless) they would make, having thus obtained pardon of all offences past. Henceforth, not only the people, as in former times, honoured *Pacuvius*, and esteemed him their Patron; but the Senators also were governed by him, to whom they acknowledged themselves indebted, for saving all their lives. Neither did the Senate fail after this by all obsequiousness, to court the People; giving the reines unto their lawless Wil, who else were likely to cast them down. All the city being thus of one mind; onely fear of the *Romans* kept them from opening their gates to *Hannibal*. But after the Battail at *Canna*, this impediment was removed: and few there were that would open their mouthes to speak against the Rebellion. Yet forasmuch as three hundred principall Gentlemen of the *Campans*, did then serve the *Romans* in the Ile of *Sicil*; the Parents and Kinsmen of these prevailed so far, that Embassadours were sent unto *Terentius* the Consul; to see his present case, and what it could minister of Hope or Fear. These, whersoever they found him, found him weakly attended, and as weak in spirit, as in followers. Yet they offered him formally the service of their State; and desired to know what he would command them. But he most basely lamented unto them the greatness of the *Roman* misfortune: saying, that all was lost; and that the *Campans* must now, not help the *Romans*, who had nothing left wherewith to help themselves, but make war in their defence against the *Carthaginians*; as the *Romans* had sometimes done for the *Campans* against the *Samnites*. Hereunto he is said to have added a foolish Invective against *Hannibal* and his *Carthaginians*: telling, How he had taught them to make bridges of slaughtered carkases, & to feed upon mans flesh; with such other stuffe, as only bewrayed his own fear. As for the *Campans* themselves,

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He put them in mind of their present strength: they having thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse; with money, and all provisions, in abundance. Thus he dismissed them, prouder than they came, and filled them with conceit of getting a great Lordship; whereas before they were somewhat timorous in adventuring to seek their own liberty. Having reported this at *Capua*: the same Embassadours were dispatched away to *Hannibal*, with whom they easily made alliance, upon these conditions; that the *Campans* should be absolutely free, and ruled by their own Lawes; That no Citizens of theirs should be subject unto any *Carthaginian* Magistrate, in what case soever, whether in War or Peace; and that *Hannibal* should deliver unto the *Campans* three hundred *Roman* prisoners, such as themselves would chose, whom they might exchange for their Gentlemen which were in *Sicil.*

Against all this Negotiation, *Decius Magius*, an honourable Citizen, opposed himself earnestly: using, in vain, many perswasions, to the wilfull and head-strong Multitude; whom he put in minde of *Pyrrhus* and the *Tarentines*, wishing them not to change old friends for new acquaintance. This did he, when they were sending Embassadours unto *Hannibal*, and this also did he, when the new alliance was concluded; but most earnestly, when a *Carthaginian* Garrison was entring the town: at which time he gave advice, either to keep it out, or to fall upon it, and to cut it in pieces, that by such a notable piece of service, they might make amends unto the *Romans*, whom they had forsaken.

Advertisement hereof was given to *Hannibal*: who lying about Naples not farre off, sent for *Magius* to come speak with him in the camp. This *Magius* refused: alledging, that he was, by the late concluded Articles, free from subjection unto any *Carthaginians*; and therefore would not come. *Hannibal* thereupon hasted himself towards *Capua*: forbearing to attempt any further upon *Naples*; which he thought to have taken in his way by *Scalado*, but found the wals too high, and was not well provided to lay siege unto it. At *Capua* he was entertained with great solemnity and pomp: all the people issuing forth of the town, to behold that great Commander, which had won so many noble victories. Having taken his pleasure in the sight of that goodly City, and passed over his first entertainments; He came into their Senate: where he commended their resolution, in shaking off the *Roman* yoke; promising, that ere long all *Italy* and *Rome* it self, should be driven to acknowledge *Capua* as chief, and receive Law from thence. As for *Decius Magius*, who openly took part with the *Romans* their enemies; He prayed them, that they would not think him a *Campan*, but a traitor to the State, and use him accordingly, giving sentence out of hand upon him, as he deserved. This was granted: and *Magius* delivered unto *Hannibal*: who unwilling to offend the *Capuans*, at his first comming, by putting so great a man to death, yet fearing that they might sue for his liberty, if he kept him alive, thought it best to send him away to *Carthage*. Thus *Hannibal* setled his friendship with the *Campanes*: among whom, only this *Decius Magius* had openly dared to speak against him; being assisted by *Perolla* the sonne of *Pacuvius*. This *Perolla* would have murdered *Hannibal*, whilest he was at supper, the first night of his comming; had not his fathers authority kept him from attempting any such attempt. All the town (besides) were so earnest in the love of their new Society, that they are said to have murdered all the *Romans*, upon whom at the present they could lay hand; or, (which is all one) to have smothered them to death in an hot Bath.

The same course of fortune, with those of *Capua*, ran some other towns thereabouts, which depended on this, as their Mother-City. *Nola*, *Nuceria*, *Naples*, *Casiline*, and *Acerræ*, were the Cities next adjoyning, that stood out for the *Romans*. Against these *Hannibal* went, thinking to finde them weakly manned; as they were indeed, though stoutly defended.

The *Romans* at this time were not in case, to put Garrisons into all their walled towns; but were fain to leave all places, except a few of the most suspected, unto the faith and courage of the inhabitants. *Rome* it self was in extreame fear of *Hannibals* comming, at the first report of the overthrow at *Canna*: and the grief of that losse was so generall, and immoderate, that it much disturbed the provision against apparent danger. It was hard to judge, whether the losse already received, or the fear of destruction presently threatning, were the more terrible. All the Senators found work enough, to stint the noise and lamentable bewailings, whereof the streets were full. Courtiers were

sent

sent forth, to bring assured tidings how all went: whereof when Letters from the Consul *Varro* had throughly enformed them, they were so amazed, that they ran into barbarous superstition; and taking direction (as was said) from their fatall books buried alive two men and women, *Gaules* and *Greeks*, in their Oxe-market. If the books of *Sibyl* gave them such instructions; we may justly think that *Sibyl* her self was instructed by the Divel. Yet is it not improbable, that extremity of fear caused them to hearken to wicked Sooth-sayers; whose detestable counsels they afterwards for their own honour (as ashamed of such Authors) imputed to the books of *Sibyl*. An Embassador was sent to *Delphi*, to consult with the oracle of *Apollo*; & enquire with what prayers and supplications they might pacifie the gods, and obtain an end of these calamities. This is enough to discover the greatnes of their fear; though not serving to give remedy. At that time came Letters out of *Sicil*, from the Prætor *Otacilius*, whom the Senate had appointed, if he found it meet, to pass over into *Africk*. In these were contained newes of one *Carthaginian* fleet that wasted the kingdome of *Hieron* their good friend & confederate; & of another fleet, riding among the Iles *Ægatis*, which was in readines to set upon *Lilybæum*, and the rest of the *Roman* Province, if the Prætor stirred aside to the rescue of *Hieron*.

In the midst of these extremities, it was thought needfull to call home *Terentius* the Consul, that he might name a Dictator, to take soveraign charge of the Weal publique, with absolute power, as necessity required. It must needs seem strange, that all sorts of people went forth to meet the Consul, and bid him welcome home, giving him thanks *for that he had not despaired of the Weal-publick*. But this was done (as may seem) by order from the Senate: which therein (doubtless) provided wisely for upholding the generall reputation. If this comming into the City had renewed the lamentations and outcries of the people: what else would have followed, than a contempt of their wretchednes, among those that were subject unto their Dominion? Now in finding this occasion (though indeed he gave it not) of bestowing upon him their welcome, and thanks; they noised abroad a fame, which came perhaps unto the ears of *Hannibal*, of their Magnanimity and Confidence: that might seem grounded on their remaining strength. This therefore was wisely done. But whereas *Livie* would have us think, that it was done generously, and out of great spirit; let me be pardoned, if I beleeve him not. It was done fearfully, and to cover their grief: had they dared to shew their indignation, they would have struck off his head; as in few years after, *Cn. Fulvius* had his life brought into question, and was banished by them, being less blame-worthy, for a smaller offence. *M. Junius*, by appointment of the Senate, was nominated Dictator; and *T. Sempronius*, Master of the horse. These fell presently to mustering of Souldiers, of whom they raised four new Legions, and 1000. horse: though with much difficulty; as being fain to take up some that were very boyes. These four Legions are elsewhere forgotten in accompt of the forces levied by this Dictator; and two Legions only set down, that had been enrolled in the beginning of the year for custody of the City. So it may be, that these two Legions being drawn into the field; four new ones of *Prætextati*, or striplings were left in their places. In such raw Souldiers, and so few, little confidence was to be reposed; for which reason they increased their number, by adding unto them 8000. sturdy slaves, that were put in hope of liberty, if they should deserve it by manfull service. This not sufficing, the Dictator proclaimed, That whosoever ought money & could not pay it, or had committed any capitall offence, should forthwith be discharged of his debt or punishment, if he would serve in the War. To arme these Companies, they were fain to take down out of their Temples and Porches, the spoils of their enemies that had been there set up: among which, were 6000. Armours of the *Gaules*, that had been carryed in the Triumph of *C. Flaminius*, a little before the beginning of this War. To such mockery had God brought the pride of the *Romans*, as a due reward of their insolent oppressions, that they were fain to issue forth of their own gates, in the habit of strangers, when *Hannibal* was ready to encounter them with his *Africans*, armed *Roman-like*.

Liv. lib. 16.

Liv. lib. 18.

Liv. lib. 23.

About the same time it was that *Carthalo* with the Agents of the prisoners taken at *Canna*, came to *Rome*. *Carthalo* was not admitted into the City, but commanded, whilest he was on the way, to be gone ere night out of the *Roman* Territory. To the messengers of the captives audience was given by the Senate. They made earnest Petition to be ransomed at the publick charge; not only the tears and lamentation of their poor kinsfolk, but the great need, wherein the City then stood, of able Souldiers, commending their

their ſuit; which yet they obtained not. Beſides the generall cuſtome of the *Romans* (held by long Tradition, and ſtrengthened by a notable Precedent, when *Regulus* was overthrown, and taken priſoner in the former War) not to be too tender of ſuch as had yeelded to the enemy; much was alledged againſt theſe who now craved ranſome: but the ſpecial point was, that they were wilfully loſt ſince they might have ſaved themſelves, as others did. It ſufficed not unto theſe poor men, to ſay, that their offence was no greater than the Conſuls; they were told, that this was great preſumption. The truth was, the State wanted money; and therefore could not want excuſes, whereby to avoid the diſburſement: whether it were ſo, or not, that any ſuch Plea was held about this matter of redemption, as we finde recorded. Neither muſt we regard it, that the ſlaves which were armed for the war, are ſaid to have coſt more, than the ſum did amount unto, that would have ranſomed theſe priſoners. For this is but a tale, deviſed to countenance the *Roman* proceedings, as if they had been ſevere; when as indeed they were ſutable to the preſent fortune, poor and ſomewhat beggarly. Hereof it is no little proofe, That *Hannibal* valued thoſe *Roman* ſlaves, whom he had taken in the Camp among their Maſters, at no more, than every one the third part of a common Souldiers ranſome: and likely it is, that he offered them at the price, whereat he thought them current. But if we ſhould ſuppoſe, that by trading with *Hannibal*, a better bargain for ſlaves might have been made, than was by the State at home, in dealing with private men; yet muſt we withall conſider, that theſe private men did only lend theſe ſlaves for a while unto the Common-wealth, and were afterwards contented *to forbear the price of them* (when by order of the Senate they were enfranchiſed) untill the War ſhould be ended. If *Hannibal* would have given ſuch long day of payment, it is likely that the *Romans* would have been his Chapmen: but, ſeeing he dealt only for ready money, they choſe rather to ſay, We will not give, than, We cannot. The like auſterity, upon the ſame reaſon, but contrary pretence, was uſed toward the Souldiers that eſcaped from that great Battell. Theſe were charged for having fled: as the priſoners were, for not flying, when they might have done ſo. True it is, that in ſuch caſes (if ever) that which they call *Raggione del Stato*, may ſerve for an excuſe: when the Common-wealth, being drivn to a miſerable exigent, is fain to help it ſelf, by doing injuries to private men. And ſo dealt the *Romans* now: condemning all thoſe that had ſerved at *Canna*, to be tranſported into *Sicil*; and there to ſerve, not as others did, untill they had fulfilled twenty years in the Wars, or elſe were fifty years of age, but untill this War ſhould be ended, how long ſoever it laſted, and that without reward. The ſame thrifty cenſure was afterwards laid upon others, for their miſ-behaviour: but never upon any man of quality, ſave only (a good while after this, at better leiſure) upon *Cecilius Metellus*, and a few other hare-brain'd fooles his companions; who, being frighted out of their wits, with the terrour of ſo great a loſſe, were deviſing, after the battell, which way to run out of *Italy*, when *Hannibal* as yet had ſcarce one town within it. The inequality of this rigour grew ſhortly diſtaſtfull to the Commonalty: and was openly blamed by *a Tribune of the people*; nevertheleſs it was quietly digeſted, the excuſe being no leſſe apparent than the fault.

Liv. l. 24.

Liv. l. 25.

M. Junius the Dictator, having diſpatched all needfull buſineſſe within the Citie, took the field with five and twenty thouſand men. What he did with this Army, I cannot finde: nor more of him than this, That he ſpent the time about *Campania*; where (as may be preſumed) he was not idle. To him therefore perhaps it may be aſcribed, that *Hannibal* did no greater evill: for of any evill done to *Hannibal*, by the *Romans*, in this their weak eſtate, only *Marcellus* had the honour. *Marcellus*, being then one of the Prætors, lay at *Oſtia*, with a Fleet ready to ſet ſail for *Sicil*, having one Legion aboord his ſhips; and fifteen hundred other Souldiers newly taken up: with which forces he was to defend that Iland, and do what harm he could in *Africk*. But hearing of the overthrow at *Canna*, he ſent theſe of his new Levie to *Rome*, for defence of the City; and marched haſtily with his Legion toward *Canuſium*: delivering the Fleet, empty of Souldiers, to *P. Furius* his Colleague. Thence was he called by the Magiſtrates, and chief Citizens of *Nola*, to help them: who were like to be forced by the multitude (affected, as were the reſt of the *Campanes*) to let in the *Carthaginian*; and knew not how to avoid this otherwiſe, than by ſeeming to deliberate about the articles of this new confederacy. Wherefore he made great journeys thitherward; and arrived even time enough

enough to prevent the Enemy. Many idle walks *Hannibal* made betwixt *Nola* and *Naples*: assaying by fair words and terrible threats the one and the other City. *Naples* was strong, and not infected with any the least touch of disloyalty: had also a sure Haven, whereby it stood in the less fear of sustaining much inconvenience, by spoyl of the Lands and Villages abroad in the Country. But at *Nola* it was thought a valuable consideration, That *Hannibal* was Master of the field: which if he laid wast, all the poor people were utterly undone. So thought the Multitude: & such talk used some, that had little fear of their own private want or poverty, but a great desire to gratifie the *Carthaginian*. Of these, one *L. Bantius* was chief; a stout young Gentleman, and Souldier of especiall mark, well beloved in the City, and one that had done good service to the *Romans*; but was found by *Hannibal* half dead at *Cannæ*; and after much gentle usage, good attendance, and cure of his wounds, friendly dismissed with liberall gifts. He therefore thought, that it concerned him in honour, to return the greatest thanks he could unto so courteous an enemy. *Marcellus* perceiving this, wrought upon the same easie nature of the Gentleman: and taking notice of him, as if it had been by chance, seemed to wonder, why one that had so well deserved of the *Roman* state, had not repaired unto him the Prætor, who desired nothing more than such acquaintance. So with many commendations, gifts, and loving entertainment, being himself also a man highly reputed for his personall valour, he made this *Bantius* so far in love with him, that nothing could be attempted within *Nola*, against the *Romans*, whereof he had not presently advertisement. At the comming of *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* removed from about *Nola*; and assayed, as formerly he had done, the *Neapolitans*: but they had lately taken in a *Roman* Garrison; upon confidence whereof they gave him a peremptory answer, to his discontent. Thence went he to *Nuceria*, which he took by composition; and so returned back again to *Nola*. He was not ignorant, what good affection the common people of *Nola* bore unto him: who although they durst not stir in his quarrell, being over-awed by the *Roman* Garrison; yet if they saw *Marcellus* hardly bestead, and forced to turn his care from watching them within, to repelling the enemies assailing him without, like enough it seemed, that they would not be wanting unto the accomplishment of their own desires. He therefore brought his Army close to the Town, and skirmished often with *Marcellus*: not in hope thereby to do much good, but only to make shew of a meaning to force the Town; which he sought in the mean while to take by intelligence. In the night time there passed messages between him and the Citizens his partakers: whereby it was concluded, That if once *Marcellus*, with all his forces, could be trained into the field, the multitude within the Town should presently rise; and seizing upon the gates, exclude him as an Enemy. Of this Negotiation *Marcellus* was advertised: and fearing lest the Conspirators would shortly adventure, even to find him busied within the City, whilest the *Carthaginians* should scale the wals; he thought it the surest way, to cut off the Enemies hope, and send him away betimes. Wherefore ordering his men in three companies, within three severall gates, looking towards the enemy: he gave a straight command, that all the Citizens should keep their houses. Thus he lay close a good part of the day, to the enemies great wonder; against whom he had customarily issued forth before more early, every day, to skirmish. But when it was further noted, that the wals were bare, and not a man appearing on them; then thought *Hannibal*, that surely all was discovered, and *Marcellus* now busied with the Citizens. Whereupon he bad his men bring ladders, and make ready for the assault: which was done in all haste. But when the *Carthaginians* were at the very wals, and thought nothing less, than that the *Romans* would meet them in the field: suddenly the middle gate was opened, whereat *Marcellus*, with the best and oldest of his Souldiers, brake forth upon them, with a great noise, to make his unexpected sally the more terrible. Whilest the *Carthaginians*, much out of order, were some of them flying before *Marcellus*, the rest making head against him: the other two gates opened, whereat in like sort issued they of the new levied Companies, upon the enemies backs. The sudden terrour was more available unto the *Romans*, than their force; yet the Execution was so great, that this was accounted as a victory, and reputed one of the bravest Acts performed in all that War, forasmuch as hereby it was first proved, that *Hannibal* might be overcome. After this *Marcellus*, being freed from his enemies that were departed, took a strict account of the Citizens of *Nola*; condemning above

threescore and ten of high Treason, whose heads he struck off; and so leaving the town in quiet obedience unto their Senate, went and incamped hard by about *Suessula*. *Hannibal* in the mean season was gone to *Acerra*: where being excluded, he thought it no wisedome to lose time in perswasions, but laid siege unto it, and began on all sides to close it up. This terrified the People, who knew themselves unable to hold out. Therefore, before his Works were finished, and they quite surrounded; they stole out by night, and left him the Town empty: which he sacked and burnt. Then hearing newes of the Dictator, that he was about *Casiline*, thither went *Hannibal*; as being unwilling that an enemy so near should disquiet him at *Capua*; where he meant to Winter. It seems, or rather indeed it is plain, that the late victory of *Marcellus* had nothing abated the spirit of the *Carthaginian*: who durst with a small part of his Army seek out the Dictator, that had with him the heart of the *Roman* strength. Wherefore the joy of his Enemies, upon so slight an occasion as the death of some two thousand of his men, at the most, and those not slain in plain battail, but by a sudden eruption; witnesseth chiefly, in what great fear they stood of *Hannibal*, and how Crest-fallen they were: that having three years since demanded at *Carthage* the body of *Hannibal*, to be delivered unto their pleasure, by his own Citizens; could now please themselves, as with good newes, to hear, That in a skirmish not far from *Rome*, he appeared to be a man, and not resistlesse. At *Casilinum* the Dictator was not: but many Companies of *Italians*, Confederates of *Rome*, were gotten into the Town, and held it. Five hundred of the *Prænestines* there were, and about four hundred of *Perusia*, with some of the *Latines*. All these had the good hap, to come too late to the battail at *Cannæ*, being sent by their severall States to the Camp: whither whilest they were marching the tidings of that great misfortune encountred them, and sent them back sorrowfull; for they loved well their Lords the *Romans*, under whose government they lived happily. So came they all, one after another, to *Casiline*, where they met and stayed. Neither had they stayed there long, ere they heard newes from *Capua*, How that great City became the Ring-leader of all the *Campanes* into rebellion. The people of *Casiline* were affected as they of *Capua*: and therefore sought how to rid their hands of those *Prænestines* and their fellowes; but the Souldiers were too hard for them, and after many trains laid one for another, at last they slew all the Townsmen in a night, and fortified the Western part of the Town (for it was divided by the River *Vulturnus*) against the Enemy. If they had run away with the goods, and pretended, that these of *Casiline* were as the rest of the *Campanes*, all Traitors; they themselves might have been reputed, as no better than the *Mamertines*. But their constancy in defence of the place witnesseth, upon what honest reasons they surprised it. *Hannibal* came thither, thinking to have encountred with greater forces: but these few found him more work than he expected. Divers assaults he gave, but was still repelled with losse: and many sallies they made, with variable event. The Enemy mined; and they countermined: opposing so much industry to his force, that he was driven to close them up, and seek to win them by famine. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, that was Master of the horse, lay with the *Roman* Army higher up the River: who fain would have relieved *Casiline*, but that the Dictator being gone to *Rome* about some matters of Religion, had given him an expresse charge not to fight till his return. *Marcellus* from *Suessula* could not come: his way being stopped by the overflowings of *Vulturnus*; the *Nolans* also beseeching him not to leave them, who were in danger of the *Campanes*, if he departed. Thus it is reported: but if the water stayed his journey, such entreaties were needless. Neither is it like that the Dictator tarryed at *Rome* so long, as till extream famine had consumed the Garrison in *Casiline*. Wherefore it may be thought, that the Town was lost, because the *Romans* durst not adventure to raise the siege. Barrels of corn were sent by night, floting down the River; and when some of these, being carryed awry by an Eddie of water, stuck among the Willowes on the bank, whereby this manner of relief was discovered and prevented; *Gracchus* cast a great quantity of Nuts into the stream, which faintly sustained the poor besieged men. At length when all food was spent, and whatsoeuer grew green under the Wals was gathered for Sallets, the *Carthaginians* ploughed up the ground; whereon the besieged presently sowed Rape-seed. *Hannibal* seeing this, admired their patience; and said, That he meant not to stay at *Casiline* untill the Rapes were grown. Wherefore though hitherto he had refused to hearken unto any Composition,

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as intending to make them an example to all others, by punishing their obstinacy: yet now he was content, to grant them their lives at an indifferent ransome; which when they had paid, he quietly dismissed them, according to his promise. Seven hundred *Carthaginians* he placed in *Casilinе*, as a Garrison for defence of the *Campanes*; unto whom he restored it. To the *Prænestine* Souldiers great thanks were given, and loving rewards; among which they had offer, in regard of their vertue, to be made Citizens of *Rome*. But their present condition pleased them so well, that they chose rather to continue, as they were in *Prænestе*: which is no weak proof, of the good estate wherein the Cities flourished, that were subject to the *Roman* Government. This siege of *Casilinе* was not a little beneficiall to the *Romans*; as having long detained *Hannibal*, and consumed much of his time, that might otherwise have been better spent. For winter overtook him long before he could dispatch the businesse: which how to quit with his honour he knew not, when he was once engaged. Therefore he wintred at *Capua*: where he refreshed his Army, or rather corrupted it, as all Historians report, and made it effeminate; though, effeminate as it was, He therewithall did often beat the *Romans* in following times, as shall appear hereafter.

§. X.

Of the great supply that was decreed at Carthage *to be sent to* Hannibal *into* Italie. *How by the malice of* Hanno, *and sloth or parsimony of the* Carthaginians, *the supply was too long deferred. That the riches of the* Carthaginians *grew faster, than of the* Romans. *Of* Fabius *and other old* Roman *Historians, how partiall they were in their writings.*

WHen *Mago*, the son of *Amilcar*, had spent some time about the taking in of such *Italians*, as fell from the *Romans* after the battell at *Canna*; his brother *Hannibal* sent for him to *Capua*, and thence dispatched him away to *Carthage*, with the joyfull message of Victory. He told the *Carthaginian* Senate with how many *Roman* Generals his brother had fought, what Consuls he had chased, wounded or slain, how the stout *Romans*, that in the former war never shunned any occasion of fight, were now grown so calm, that they thought their Dictator *Fabius* the only good Captain, because he never durst adventure to come to battell; That not without reason their spirits were thus abated, since *Hannibal* had slain of them above two hundred thousand, and taken above fifty thousand prisoners. He further told them of the *Brutians*, *Apulians*, *Samnites*, *Lucans*, and other people of *Italy*, that followed the fortune of those great victories, had revolted unto the *Carthaginians*. Among the rest he magnified *Capua*, as a goodly City, and fit to be not only (as already it was) Head of all the *Capuans*, but the chief seat of their Dominion in *Italy*: and there he informed them, how lovingly his brother had been entertained, where he meant to rest that winter attending their supply. As for the war, He said it was even at an end, if they would now pursue it closely, and not give the *Romans* any breathing time, wherein to re-collect themselves, and repair their broken forces. He willed them to consider, that the war was far from home, in the Enemies Country: that so many battels had much diminished his brothers Army: that the Souldiers, who had so well deserved, ought to be considered with liberall rewards; and that it was not good to burden their new *Italian* friends, with exactions of money, corn, and other necessaries; but that these things must be sent from *Carthage*; which the victory would requite with large amends. Finally, he caused the golden rings, taken from the fingers of the *Roman* Knights that were slain, to be powred out openly in the Court: which being measured, filled (as some say) three bushels; or (as others would rather have it) no more than one; adding, that by this might appear the greatnesse of the *Roman* calamity, for as much as none but the * principall of that order, were accustomed to wear that ornament.

Who so considers the former *Punick Warre*, may easily find, that the State of *Carthage* never did receive, in all the durance thereof, any such hopeful advertisements from their Captains abroad. Wherefore it is no marvell, if the errand of *Mago* found extraordinary welcome. In the vehemency of this joy, *Himilco*, a Senator adverse to the faction of *Hanno*, is said to have demanded of that great perswader unto peace with *Rome*, Whether

* Thus *Livie* reports it; and credible it is, that while *Rome* was poor, the bravery of private men was not altogether so great, as the Law would have permitted, though otherwise *Jus Annuli*, *The wearing of the Ring*, was the generall priviledge of the *Roman* Equites.

Whether he were ſtill of opinion, that *Hannibal* ſhould be yeelded up unto the *Romans*; or whether he would forbid them to give thanks unto the gods, for this their good ſucceſs. Hereunto though it be not likely that *Hanno* made the ſame formall anſwer, which *Livie* puts into his mouth, calling the *Carthaginian* Senators *Patres conſcripti*, by a term proper to the *Romans*; and putting them in minde of his own ſhamefull overthrow received at the Ilands *Ægateis*: yet the ſumme of his ſpeech appears to have been no leſſe malicious than it is ſet down, forasmuch as *Hannibal* himſelf, at his departure out of *Italy*, exclaimed againſt the wickedneſs of this *Hanno*; ſaying, that his hatred againſt the *Barchines*, had oppreſſed their Family, when otherwiſe it could not, with the ruine of *Carthage*. Therefore it may well be, that he made ſuch a jeſt of theſe victories, as is reported; ſaying, It ill beſeemed him, who had vanquiſhed the *Romans* to call for more help as if he had been beaten; or him, that had taken their camp, filled forſooth with ſpoil, to make requeſt for meat & money. To theſe cavils, if anſwer were needful, it might be ſaid, That other booty than of horſes and ſlaves, little was to be found in the *Roman* camp: the beſt of the Souldiers carrying no other wealth into the field, than a few * ſilver ſtuds in the bridles and trappings of their horſes. If *Hannibal* had taken any main convoy of money and proviſions, going to ſupply all wants of a great army in ſome other Province, (as the two *Scipio*'s are afterwards ſaid to have done, when they wan the camp of *Aſdrubal*, that carryed along with him all the wealth of *Spain*, in his journey towards *Italie*) then might ſuch an objection more juſtly have bin made unto his demand of a ſupply. But the moſt likely part of *Hanno* his Oration, and wherein he beſt might hope to prevail, contained a perſwaſion to uſe their fortune with moderation; and now to ſeek peace, whileſt they had ſo much the better in war.

* *Liv. l.* 22.

What would have been the iſſue of this counſell, if it had bin followed, it were not eaſie to ſay. For though it be likely, that the *Roman* pride would have brooked much indignity, in freeing *Italie* from the danger of war; yet it is not likely, that the faith, ſo often broken to the *Carthaginians* in former times, would have bin kept entire, when any opinion of good advantage had called for revenge of ſo many ſhamefull overthrowes; ſince after this war ended, and a new league concluded, no ſubmiſſive behaviour could preſerve *Carthage* from ruine, longer, than untill ſuch time as *Rome* was at leiſure from all other wars. This counſell therefore of *Hanno*, though it might ſeem temperate, was indeed very peſtilent; and ſerved only to hinder the performance of a noble reſolution. For it was concluded by a main conſent of the Senate, that forty thouſand *Numidians*, forty Elephants, and great abundance of ſilver, ſhould be ſent over to *Hannibal*: and that, beſides theſe, twenty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, ſhould be levied in *Spain*; not only to ſupply, as need ſhould require, the Armies in their Province, but to be tranſported into *Italy*.

This great aid, had it been as carefully ſent, as it was readily decreed, the *Roman* Hiſtorians would not have found cauſe, to taxe the retchleſſe improvidence of *Hannibal*, in forbearing to march directly from *Cannæ* to *Rome*, or in refreſhing his Army among the delights of *Capua*: the next years work would have finiſhed the buſineſſe, with leſſe dangerous adventure; and the pleaſures, which his men enjoyed among the *Campanes*, would have been commended, as rewards by him well thought upon, wherewith to animate both them and others, that were to be imployed in the following Warre. But either the too much careleſneſſe of thoſe, that were loth to make haſte in laying out their money, before extreme neceſſity required it; or the crafty malice of *Hanno*, and his fellowes, working upon the private humours of men, that had more feeling of their own commodity, than ſenſe of the publick need; utterly perverted, and made unprofitable in the performance, the order that had been ſo well ſet down. The * Elephants were ſent: and ſome money peradventure, uncertain it is how long after. But thoſe great forces of threeſcore thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, came not into *Italy*, till much was loſt of that which already had been gotten, and a great part of the old *Carthaginian* Army, was firſt conſumed by time, and ſundry accidents of warre. Only ſome ſmall numbers, no way anſwering unto the proportion decreed, were ſent into *Spain*; and the journey of *Aſdrubal* thence through *France* into *Italy* much talked of, but he not enabled thereunto, till many years were paſt, and the *Romans* had recovered their ſtrength.

* *Liv. l.* 26.

Here we may note, what great riches the *Carthaginians* drew into their City, both by

by the Tributes received from their subjects, and by their wealthy Trade of Merchandize. For it is not long, since the Warre of the Mercenaries, and the perfidious tyranny of the *Romans*, extorting in time of greatest necessity twelve hundred talents; had exceedingly impoverished *Carthage*: which was before brought into great want, even by the expence of so much money, as was to be disbursed for redeeming of peace, after the losse of *Ægatis*. Yet we see, what great Armies of *Numidians*, and *Spaniards*, besides those already on foot, are appointed to the service in *Italy*, and how little the *Carthaginians* fear the want of money in these chargeable undertakings: whereas the *Romans* on the other side, having three or four years together been forced to some extraordinary cost, are fain to go upon credit, even for the price of those slaves, which they bought of their own Citizens to arme for their defence. Such advantage in means to enrich their Treasury, had the wealthy Merchants of *Carthage*, trading in all parts of the *Mediterran* Sea, even from *Tyrus* their Mother-City in the bottome of the straights unto the great Ocean, above the *Romans*: who lived on the fruits of their ground, and received their Tributes from people following the same course of life. When time therefore was come, that the hatred of *Rome* found leisure to shew it selfe, in the destruction of *Carthage*; the impudence of *Roman* falshood, in seeking an honest colour wherewith to shadow the intended breach of faith, discovered plainly whence the jealousie was bred, that this mighty City would again rebell. For the *Carthaginians*, having given up hostages, even before the *Roman* Army did set forth, to performe whatsoever should be enjoyned them, with condition, that their City might not be destroyed; and having accordingly, when they were so required, yeelded up all their weapons, and engines of Warre; the *Romans* told them plainly, That the City of *Carthage*, which was the body of the Citizens, should be friendly dealt withall, but the Town must needs be demolished, and removed into some other place, that should be twelve miles distant from the Sea. For (said the *Romans*) This Trade of Merchandice, by which ye now live, is not so fit for peaceable men, such as ye promise to become hereafter, as is the Trade of Husbandry; an wholesome kind of life, and enduing men with many laudable qualities which enable their bodies, and make them very apt for conversation. This villainous dealing of the *Romans*, though sugred with glosing words, plainly shewes, what good observation the elder *Cato* had made of the hasty growth of *Carthage* in riches. For, when being demanded his opinion in the Senate about any matter whatsoever it were, he added still this conclusion, *Thus I think, and that Carthage should be destroyed*; He may seem, not only to have had regard unto that present wealth, which at his being there he had found in the City, but much more unto these times, and the great height whereunto it rose, even suddenly as we see, out of many calamities, whilest the *Romans* thought, that it had not been in case to dare so terrible a War.

But as the *Carthaginians*, in gathering wealth, were more industrious and skilfull than the *Romans*; so came they far short of them in the honourable care of the publick good: having every one, or most of them, a more principall regard of his own private benefit. This made them (besides the negligence commonly found in victors) when the first heat of their affection (wherein they concluded to pursue the war strongly) was over-past, go more leisurely to work, than had been requisite in the execution. It was easie for *Hanno* to perswade covetous men, that they should first of all defend their own in *Spain*. This might be done with little charges. Afterwards, when that Province was secured, they might send an Army into *Italy*; so going to work orderly by degrees. For it were no wisdome to commit all the strength of the Common-wealth to one hazzard of fortune, against the enemies; or (which perhaps were worse) to the government of an ambitious man, and his brethren; who having once (if they could so do) finished the war, might easily make *Hannibal* a King, and subdue *Carthage*, with the forces that they had given him to the conquest of *Rome*.

* Of such ambition *Hanno* directly accused *Hannibal*, saying, that he made war, that so he might live compassed with Legions, as knowing no other way to make himself a King. *Liv. l.* 21.

By such malicious working of *Hanno*, and by their own slackness, incredulity, dulness, or niggardize, the *Carthaginians* were perswaded rather to make small disbursments in *Spain*, than to set up all their rest at once in *Italy*. Yet was it indeed impossible to hold a Country of so large extent, and so open a coast as that of *Spain*, free from all incursion of the Enemy: especially the affection of the Naturals being, (as in a new conquest) ill established. A better way therefore it had been, to make a running Warre, by which

which the *Romans* might have been found occupied, even with the ordinary *Carthaginian* Garrisons or some little addition thereunto. For if it were thought meet, to defer the prosecution of their main intendment against *Rome* it self, untill such time as every little thorne were pulled out of the sides of so great a Province, then must *Emporiæ* have been besieged and forced: which, by reason of alliance with the *Massilians*, gave unto the *Romans*, at all times when they pleased, a ready and secure Harbour. But the town of *Emporiæ*, was too strong to be wonne in haste: it had long defended it self against the *Barbarians*; having not above four hundred paces of wall to the main Land, and exceedingly well fortified: a great *Spanish* Town of the same name, lying without it, that was three miles in compass, very strong likewise, and friend unto the *Græcians*, though not over much trusted. Wherfore to force this town of *Emporiæ*, that was, besides the proper strength, like to be so well assisted by the *Massilians*, *Romans*, and some *Spaniards*, would have been a work of little lesse difficulty, than was the *Roman* warre (in appearance) after the battell at *Cannæ*: yea, it had been in effect none other, than to alter the seat of the war; which *Hannibal* had already fixed, with better judgement, near unto the gates of *Rome*. The difficulty of this attempt, being such as caused it altogether to be forborn; great folly it was, to be much troubled about expelling the *Romans* utterly out of *Spain*: whom they might more easily have diverted thence, and drawn home to their own doors, by making strong war upon their City. For even so the *Romans* afterwards removed *Hannibal* into *Africk*, by sending an Army to *Carthage*; and by taking the like course, they now endeavoured to change the seat of the war transferring it out of *Italy* into *Spain*. But the private affections of men, regarding the common good no otherwise, than as it is accessary to their own purposes, did make them easily wink at opportunities, and hope, that somewhat would fall out well of it self, though they set not to their helping hands. *Hanno* was a malicious wretch: yet they that thought him so, were well enough contented to hearken unto his discourses, as long as they were plausible, and tended to keep the purse full. In the mean while they suffered *Hannibal*, and all the noble house of *Amilcar*, to weary themselves in travell for the Common-wealth: which all *Carthage* in generall highly commended, but weakly assisted; as if the industry of these *Barchines* had bin somewhat more than needful. Surely the *Carthaginians*, in generall, were far lesse honourable than the people of *Rome*: not only in government of their subject Provinces, but in administration of their own estate; few of them preferring the respect of the Weal publick above their private interest. But as they thrived little in the end, by their parsimony used toward their own Mercenaries, when the former *Roman* war was finished: so the conclusion of this war present, will make them complain, with feeling sighes, of their negligence in supplying *Hannibal*, after the victory at *Cannæ*; when gladly they would give all their Treasures, to redeem the opportunity, that now they let passe, as if it were cost enough to send a few handfuls into *Spain*.

That both the *Spanish* businesse, and the state of *Africk* it self, depended wholly, or for the most part, upon successe of things in *Italie*, the course of actions following will make manifest. Particularly, how matters were ordered in *Spain* by the *Carthaginian* Governours, it is very hard, and almost impossible to set down. For, though we must not reprehend, in that worthy Historian *Livie*, the tender love of his own Countrey, which made him give credit unto *Fabius* and others; yet must we not, for his sake, beleeve those lyes, which the unpartiall judgement of *Polybius* hath condemned, in the Writers that gave them originall. It were needlesse to rehearse all that may be found *Pol. l. 1.* in *Polybius*, concerning the untruth of that *Roman* Historian *Fabius*. One example may suffice. He saith of *Amilcar* and his men at *Eryx*, in the former war, That, having clean spent their strength, and being even broken with many miseries, they were glad to submit themselves unto the *Romans*. Contrary hereunto we finde in *the life of Amilcar*, set down by *Æmilius Probus*, That *Eryx* was in such sort held by the *Carthaginians*, that it seemed to be in as good condition, as if in those parts there had not been any war. These words, being referred to the brave resolution of the *Carthaginian* souldiers, and the singular vertue of their Generall, infusing such spirit into them, may be taken as not over liberall. For in the treaty of peace between *Amilcar* and *Catulus* when the *Roman* first of all required, that this Garrison of *Eryx* should lay down their Arms and forsake *Sicil*, threatning, that otherwise he would not talk of any composition:

Amilcar

Amilcar boldly bad him chuſe, whether he would talk of it or no; for that the Armes which his Country had put into his hands to uſe againſt her enemies, it was not his purpoſe to yeeld up unto them. Now ſince the *Romans*, contrary to their cuſtome upon like advantages, were content to let *Amilcar* have his wil, & not to ſtand with him upon point of honour, whileſt otherwiſe they might quietly rid their hands of him; plain enough it is, that they were farre from thinking him a man conſumed with miſeries, as *Fabius* would have him ſeem. Hereunto agrees the relation of *Polybius*: who flatly, and by name, chargeth *Fabius* with untruth, ſaying, that howſoever *Amilcar* and his Souldiers had endured all extremity, yet they behaved themſelves as men that had no ſenſe thereof; and were as far from being either vanquiſhed or tyred, as were their Enemies. Such being the difference between *Fabius* (as alſo perhaps between other old Writers of the *Roman* ſtory) & thoſe that had more regard of truth, than of flattering the mighty city of *Rome*: we muſt take it in good part, that howſoever *Livie* introduceth *Hanno*, in one place, joyning very fooliſhly his own ſhamefull overthrow at the Ilands * *Ægateis*, with the great ſervices of *Amilcar* at *Eryx*, as if both of them had had a like event; yet [a] elſwhere he forbeareth not to put a more likely tale (though with as impudent a commemoration of his own unhappy conduct) into the ſame *Hanno* his mouth, making him ſay, That the affairs of *Carthage* went never better, than a little before the loſſe of their Fleet in that battail at Sea: wherein himſelf was Generall. Now, concerning the doings of the *Scipio*'s in *Spain*, there is cauſe to wiſh, that this *Fabius*, with *Val. Antias*, & others of the like ſtamp, had either written (if they could not write more temperately) nothing at all; or that the tender affection of *Livie* to his *Rome*, had not cauſed him to think too well of their relations; which are ſuch as follow.

* *Egatis inſulis Eryce quæ ante oculos prope ponte, &c.* *Liv. l. 21.*

[a] *Liv. l. 23.*

§. XI.

Strange reports of the Roman *victories in* Spain, *before* Aſdrubal *the ſon of* Amilcar *followed thence his brother* Hannibal *into* Italy.

IT hath been ſhewed already, how *P. Cornelius Scipio* the Conſul returning from *Gaule* into *Italy*, to encounter with *Hannibal* at his deſcent from the *Alpes*, ſent before him his brother *Cneus*, with part of his Fleet and Army, into *Spain*. Two *Roman* Legions, with fourteen thouſand foot of the Confederates, and twelve hundred horſe, had been allotted unto the Conſul, therewith to make war in *Spain* againſt *Hannibal*: who, ſince he was marching into *Italy* with the ſtrength of his Army, *P. Scipio* beleeved, that a good part of theſe his own forces might well be ſpared from the *Spaniſh* Expedition; & therefore made bold to carry ſome of the number back with him, ſending on his brother with the reſt, as his Lievtenant. *Publius* himſelf remained in *Italy* all the time of his Conſulſhip: which being expired, he was ſent Proconſul into *Spain* by the Senate, with an Army of eight thouſand men, and a Fleet of thirty Gallies.

The Acts of theſe two Brethren in their Province, were very great; and as they are reported, ſomewhat marvellous. For they continually prevailed in *Spain*, againſt the *Carthaginians*: whom they vanquiſhed in ſo many battails, and withdrew from their Alliance ſo many of the *Spaniards* their Confederates; that we have cauſe to wonder, how the enemy could ſo often finde means to repair his forces, and return ſtrong into the field. But as the *Romans*, by pretending to deliver the Country from the tyranny of *Carthage*, might eaſily win unto their Confederacy, as many as were galled with the *African* yoke, and durſt adventure to break it: ſo the ancient reputation of the firſt Conquerors might ſerve to arme the Naturals againſt theſe Invaders; and to reclaim thoſe, that had revolted unto the *Romans*, were it only by the memory of ſuch ill ſucceſſe, as the like rebellions in former times had found. Hereto may be added the *Carthaginian* Treaſure: which eaſily raiſed Souldiers, among thoſe valiant, but (in that Age) poor, and gold-thirſty Nations. Neither was it of ſmall importance, that ſo many of the *Spaniards* had their children, kinſmen, and friends, abroad with *Hannibal* in his *Italian* Wars; or ſerving the *Carthaginians* in *Africk*. And peradventure, if we durſt be bold to ſay it, the victories of the *Scipio*'s were neither ſo many, nor ſo great, as they are ſet out by *Livie*. This we may be bold to ſay, that the great Captain *Fabius*, or *Livie* in his perſon, maketh an objection unto *Scipio*, which neither *Scipio*, nor *Livie* for him, doth

doth answer, That *if* Asdrubal *were vanquished, as* Scipio *would say, by him in* Spain: *strange it was, and as little to his honour, as it had been extreamly dangerous to* Rome, *that the same vanquished man should invade* Italy. And it is indeed an incredible narration, That *Asdrubal*, being enclosed on all sides, and not knowing how to escape out of battell, save only by the steep descent of Rocks, over a great River that lay at his back, ran away with all his money, Elephants, and broken troups, over *Tagus*, directly towards the *Pyrenees*, and so toward *Italy*; upon which he fell with more than threescore thousand armed Souldiers. Neither do I see, how it hangs well together, That he chose a piece of ground very defensible, but most incommodious for his retrait, if he should happen to be vanquished; and yet, that he sent all his money and Elephants away before him, as not intending to abide the enemy: Or how it could be true, that these his Elephants, being so sent before, could hinder the *Romans* (for so have they said to have done in the last battell between him and *Scipio*) from breaking into his Camp. Wherefore we can no more than be sorry, that all *Carthaginian* records of this War, and *Spanish*, (if there were any) being utterly lost, we can know no more thereof, than what it hath pleased the *Romans* to tell us; unto whom it were no wisdome to give too much credit. In this regard, I will summarily run over the doings of the *Scipio*'s in *Spain*; not greatly insisting on particulars, whereof there is no great certainty.

Cn. Cornelius landed at *Emporiæ*, an Haven town, not far within the *Pyrenees*, retaining still the same name with little inflexion. That by the fame of his clemency he allured many Nations to become subject unto *Rome*, as the story begins of him, I could easily beleeve, if I understood by what occasion they had need to use his clemency, or he to give such famous example thereof, being a meer stranger, and having no jurisdiction in the Country. Yet it is certain, that he was a man very courteous, and one that could well insinuate himself into the love of the *Barbarians*; among whom, his dexterity in practice had the better successe, for that he seemed to have none other errand, than setting them at liberty. This pretext availed with some: others were to be hired with money: and some he compelled to yeeld by force or fear; especially when he had won a battail against *Hanno*. Into all Treaties of accord, made with these people, likely it is, that he remembred to insert this Article, which the *Romans* in their Alliances never forgate, unless in long times past, and when they dealt with the *Carthaginians*, or their Superiors; *Majestatem Pop. Rom. comiter conservent*, which is; as *Tullie* interprets it, *That they should gently* (or *kindely*) *uphold the Majesty of the People of Rome*. This was in appearance nothing troublesome: yet implyed it indeed an obscure covenant of subjection. And in this respect it may be true, That the *Spaniards* became *ditionis Romanæ*; *of the Roman jurisdiction*; though hereafter they will say, they had no such meaning. That part of the Country wherein *Scipio* landed, was newly subdued by *Hannibal* in his passage toward *Italy*; and therefore the more easily shaken out of obedience. Particularly in the *Bargusians*; *Hannibal* had found at his comming among them such an apprehension of the *Roman* greatnesse, as made him suspect, that any light occasion would make them start from the *Carthaginians*. Wherefore he not only appointed *Hanno* Governour over them, as over the rest of the Province between *Iberus* and the *Pyrenees*, but made him also their *Lord*; that is, (as I conceive it; for I do not think he gave the Principality of their Country unto *Hanno* and his Heirs,) He made him not onely Lievtenant-generall over them, in matters of War, and things concerning the holding them in obedience to *Carthage*; but took from them all inferiour Officers of their own, leaving them to be governed by *Hanno* at his discretion. These therefore had good cause to rejoyce at the comming of *Scipio*: with whom, others also (no doubt) found reasons to joyn; it being the custome of all conquered Nations in hatred of their present Lords, to throw themselves indiscreetly into the protection of others, that many times prove worse than the former. So were the *Neapolitans*, and *Milanois*, in the age of our Grand-fathers, weary by turns of the *Spaniards* and *French*; as more sensible still of the present evill which they felt, then regardfull of the greater mischief, whereinto they ran by seeking to avoid it. This bad affection of this Province, would not suffer *Hanno* to temporize. Ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, *Hannibal* had left unto him: besides which, it is like, that some forces he was able to raise out of his Province. Therefore he adventured a battail with *Scipio*; wherein he was overthrown and taken. Following this victory, *Scipio* besieged *Stissum*, a town hard by, and won it,

Orat. pro Cor. Balbo.

Liv. lib. 21.

Pol. lib. 3.

it. But *Asdrubal* having passed *Iberus*, and comming too late to the relief of *Hanno*, with eight thousand foot, and a thousand horse, fell upon the *Roman* Sea-forces, that lay not far from *Tarracon*, whom he found careless, as after a victory, roaving abroad in the country; and with great slaughter drave them aboord their ships. This done, he ran up into the Country, where he withdrew the *Ilergetes* from the *Roman* party, though they had given Hostages to *Scipio*. *Scipio* in the mean season was gone to visit and aide his Fleet: where having set things in order, he returned back, and made toward *Asdrubal*; who durst not abide his comming, but withdrew himself again over *Iberus*. So the *Ilergetes* were compelled by force; having lost *Athanagia* their chief City, to pay a fine to the *Romans*, and increase the number of their Hostages. The *Ausetani* likewise, Confederates of the *Carthaginians*, were besieged in their chief Town: which they defended thirty dayes; hoping, in vain, that the sharp Winter, and great abundance of Snow that fell, would have made the *Romans* to dislodge. But they were fain at length to yeeld: and for this their obstinacy, they were amerced twenty talents of silver. During the siege, the *Lacetani* came to help their distressed Neighbours; and were beaten home by *Scipio*, leaving twelve thousand of their Company dead behind them. I cannot but wonder, how these *Lacetani*, that are said to be the first which embraced the friendship of *Scipio*, should, without any cause remembred, become *Carthaginian* on the sudden, in the next newes that we hear of them. As also it is strange, that all the Sea-coast Northward of *Iberus*, having lately become voluntarily *ditionis Romanæ, subject unto Rome*, should, in continuance of the Story, after a few lines, hold War against *Scipio*, without any resistance of the *Carthaginians*. Neither can I beleeve, that *Asdrubal*, as it were by a charme, stirred up the *Ilergetes*, making them lay aside all care of their Hostages, and take Armes in his quarrell; whilest himself had not the daring to stand against *Scipio*, but ran away, and saved himself beyond *Iberus*. *Philinus* perhaps, or some *Carthaginian* Writer, would have told it thus: That *Scipio* adventuring too far into the Country, was beaten by *Asdrubal* back to his ships, whence he durst not stir, untill Winter came on: at what time the *Carthaginian* returned into the heart of his Province, leaving some few Garrisons to defend those places, that after *Scipio* won, by returning upon them, unlooked for through a deep snow. As for the *Lacetani*, *Ilergetes*, and the rest, we may reasonably think, that they sought their own benefit: helping themselves one while by the *Romans* against the *Carthaginians*; and contrariwise, upon sense of injuries received, or apprehension of more grievous tyranny, under which they feared to be brought by these new Masters, hearkening again unto the comfortable promises of those, that had ruled them before. For that it was their intent to live uuder their own Country Lawes, and not under Governours sent from *Rome* or *Carthage*, their demeanour in all Ages following may testifie: even from henceforth unto the dayes of *Augustus Cæsar*, till when they were never throughly conquered. *Liv. lib. 21.*

The year following this, *Cn. Scipio* had a victory against the *Carthaginians* in fight at Sea; or rather came upon them unlooked for, while they rode at Anchor, most of their men being on shore. All their ships, that ran not too farre on ground, he took: and thereby grew Master of the whole coast; landing at pleasure, and doing great hurt in all places that were not well defenced. After this victory, above one hundred and twenty Nations, or petty Estates in *Spain*, are said to have submitted themselves unto the *Romans*, or given Hostages: whereby *Asdrubal* was compelled to flye into the utmost corners of the land, and hide himself in *Lucitania*. Yet it followes, that the *Ilergetes* did again rebell; that *Asdrubal* hereupon came over *Iberus*; and that *Scipio* (though having easily vanquished the *Ilergetes*) went not forth to meet him, but stirred up against him the *Celtiberians*, that lately were become his subjects, and had given him hostages. These took from the *Carthaginian* three Towns, and vanquished him in two battails; wherein they slew fifteen thousand of his men, and took four thousand prisoners. Then arrived *P. Scipio*, with the supply before mentioned: and hence forward the two brethren joyntly administred the business in *Spain*.

The *Carthaginians* being occupied in the *Celtiberian Warre*; the two *Scipio*'s did *haud cunctanter, without both fear or doubt*, passe over *Iberus*, and besieged *Saguntum*. Little cause of doubt had they, if *Cn.* had already subdued many Nations beyond it; and, among many others, the same *Celtiberians*, that with their proper forces were able to vanquish *Asdrubal*.

Asdrubal. Bostar, the Governor of *Saguntum*, a simple man, suffered himself to be perswaded by one *Acedux* a *Spaniard*, that the only way to get the favour and hearty good will of the countrey, was by freely restoring unto them their hostages; as resting without any pledge, assured of their faith. But the crafty *Spaniard*, being trusted with this message and restitution of the hostages, carryed them all to the *Roman* Generals: perswading them, as he had done *Bostar*, to make the Liberality their own. Hereby the *Romans* purchased much love, if the tale were true; and if it were not rather true, as afterward, and ere this we finde that all the *Spanish* Hostages were left in new *Carthage*. I am weary of rehearsing so many particularities, whereof I can beleeve so few. But since we find no better certainties, we must content our selves with these.

The year following was like unto this: *Asdrubal* must be beaten again. The two *Scipio*'s divide their forces: *Cn.* makes war by Land, *P.* by Sea. *Asdrubal*, with much labour and entreaty, hath gotten four thousand foot, and five hundred horse out of *Africk*: He repairs his Fleet; and provides every way to make resistance. But all his chief Sea-men, and Masters of his Ships, revolt unto the *Romans*: because they had been chidden the last year for their negligence, which had betrayed the Navie. The revolt of these ship-masters animates to rebellion the *Carpetians*, or *Carpetani*, an In-land people about *Toledo*, in the very Center of *Spain*. These do much mischief, so that *Asdrubal* is fain to make a journey to them. His sudden comming cuts off some of them, that were found scattered abroad in the fields. But they, making head, so valiantly assail him, that they drive him for very fear, to encamp himself strongly on an high piece of ground; whence he dares not come forth to give them battail. So they take a Town by force, wherein he had laid up all his provisions; and shortly make themselves Masters of the Country round about. This good successe breeds negligence; for which they dearly pay. *Asdrubal* comes upon them, takes them unprepared, beats them, kils the most of them, and disperseth the rest; so that the whole Nation yeeldeth to him the next day. Then come directions from *Carthage*, that *Asdrubal* should lead his Army forth into *Italy*; which we may wonder, why the *Carthaginians* would appoint him to do, if they had been informed by his letters in what hard case he was; and had so weakly supplyed him, as is shewed before. But thus we find it reported: and that upon the very rumour of this his journey, almost all *Spain* was ready to fall to the *Romans*. *Asdrubal* therefore sends word presently to *Carthage*, That this must not be so: or, if they will needs have it so, that then they must send him a successor, and well attended with a strong Army, which to imploy they should finde work more than enough; such notable men were the *Roman* Generals. But the Senate of *Carthage* is not much moved with this excuse; *Asdrubal* must needs be gone: *Himilco*, with such forces as are thought expedient for that service, both by land and sea, is sent to take the charge of *Spain*. Wherfore *Asdrubal* hath now no more to do, than to furnish himself with store of mony, that he might have wherewithall to win the friendship of the *Gaules*; through whose Countries he must passe, as *Hannibal* had done before him. The *Carthaginians* were greatly to blame, for not remembring to ease him of his care. But since it can be no better, he layes great Impositions upon all the *Spaniards* his subjects: and having gotten together as much treasure as he could, onward he marcheth toward *Iberus*. The *Scipio*'s hearing these newes, are carefull how to arrest him on the way. They besiege *Ibera* (so called of the Rivers name running by it) the richest town in all those quarters, that was confederate with *Asdrubal*: who thereupon steps aside to relieve it. The *Romans* meet him and fight a battell with him: which they win the more easily, for that the *Spaniards*, his followers, had rather be vanquished at home, than get the victory, & afterwards be haled into *Italy*. Great numbers are slain: and few should have escaped, but that the *Spaniards* ran away ere the battails were fully joyned. Their Campe the *Romans* take and spoil: whereby (questionlesse) they are marvellously enriched; all the mony that could be raked together in *Spain* being carryed along in this *Italian* expedition. This dayes event joynes all *Spain* to the *Romans*, if any part of the Country stood in doubt before; and puts *Asdrubal* so far from all thought of travelling into *Italy*, that it leaves him small hope of keeping himself safe in *Spain*. Of these exploits advertisements is sent to *Rome*; and Letters to the Senate, from *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, whereof the Contents are; That they have neither mony, apparell, nor bread, wherewith to sustain their Army and Fleet; That all is wanting: so as unlesse they may be supplied from

Liv. lib. 23.

Rome

Rome, they can neither hold their forces together, nor tarry any longer in the Province. These Letters come to *Rome* in an evill season; the State being scarcely able, after the loss at *Cannæ*, to help it self at home. Yet relief is sent: how hardly, and how much to the commendations of that love and care, which the private Citizens of *Rome* bare unto the Common-wealth, shall be inserted elsewhe e, into the relation of things whereof the truth is less questionable. At the comming of this supply, the two *Scipio*'s pursue *Asdrubal*, and hunt him out of his lurking holes. What else can we think, that remember the last newes of him, and how fearfully he mistrusted his own safety? They find him, and *Mago* and *Amilcar* the son of *Bomilcar*, with an Army of threescore thousand men, besieging *Illiturgi*: (which the learned *Ortelius*, and others, probably conjecture to have stood, where *Carinnena* is now in the Kingdome of *Aragon*; for there was *Illiturgis*, afterwards called *Forum Julii*, quite another way) a Town of the *Ilergetes* their neareſt Neighbours, for having revolted unto the *Romans*. The town is greatly distressed; but most of all, for want of victuals. The *Romans* therefore brake through between the Enemies Camps, with terrible slaughter of all that resist them: and having victualled the place, incourage the towns-men to defend their wals as stoutly, as they should anon behold them fighting manfully with the besiegers, in their behalf. So they issue forth, about sixteen thousand against threescore thousand: and killing more of the enemies, than themselves were in number, drave all the three *Carthaginian* Commanders, every one out of his quarter; and took that day, besides prisoners and other booty, fifty and eight Ensignes. *Liv. lib. 23.*

The *Carthaginian* Army, being thus beaten from *Illiturgi*, fall upon *Incibili*, that stood a little Southward from the mouth of *Iberus*. The *Spaniards* are blamed, as too greedy of earning money by war, for thus re-inforcing the broken *Carthaginians*. But it may be wondred, whence the *Carthaginians* had money to pay them: since *Asdrubal* was lately driven to poll the Countrey, wanting money of his own; and being beaten in his journey, had lost his wealthy carriages, when his Camp was taken after the battell by *Ibera*. Howsoever it happens, the *Carthaginians* (according to their custome) are beaten again at *Incibili*: where there were of them above thirteen thousand slain, *Liv. ibid.* and above three thousand taken; besides two and forty Ensigns, and nine Elephants. After this, (in a manner) all the people of *Spain* fell from them unto the *Romans*. Thus could *Fabius*, *Valerius*, *Antius*, or some other Historian, to whom *Livie* gave credit, conquer all *Spain* twice in one year, by winning famous victories; whereof these good Captains, *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, perhaps were not aware.

The *Romans* notwithstanding this large access of Dominion, winter on their own side of *Iberus*. In the beginning of the next year, great Armies of the *Spaniards* rise against *Asdrubil*; and are overthrown by him. *P. Scipio*, to help these his friends, is forced to make great haste over the River. At *Castrum Album*, a place in the midway between new *Carthage* and *Saguntum*, famous by the death of the great *Amilcar*, *Publius Scipio* incampeth: and stores the place with victuals, being strong and defensible; as intending to make it his seat for a while. But the Countrey round about is too full of Enemies: the *Carthaginian* horse have charged the *Romans* in their march, and are gone off clear; falling also upon some stragglers, or such as lagged behinde their fellowes in march, they have cut off two thousand of them. Hereupon it is thought behovefull, to retire unto some place more assured. So *Publ.* withdrawes himself unto *Mons victoriæ*: that rising somewhat Eastward from *Incibili*, over-looketh the Southerne Out-let of *Iberus*. Thither the *Carthaginians* pursue him: His brother *Cn.* repairs unto him; and *Asdrubal* the son of *Gesco*, with a full Army, arrives to help his Companions. As they lie thus near incamped together, *P. Scipio* with some light-armed, going closely to view the places thereabouts, is discovered by the enemies: who are like to take him, but that he withdrawes himself to an high piece of ground; where they besiege him, untill his brother *Cn.* fetcht him off. After this (but I know not why) *Castulo*, a great city of *Spain*, whence *Hannibal* had taken him a wife, joyneth with the *Romans*; though being farre distant from them, and seated on the head of the River *Bætis*. Nevertheless the *Carthaginians* passe over *Iberus*, to besiege *Iliturgi* again, wherein lodgeth a *Roman* garrison; hoping to win it by famine. We may justly wonder, what should move them to neglect the rebellion of *Castulo*, yea and the *Roman* Army lying so close by them, and to seek adventures further off, in that very place, wherein they had been so grievously beaten

the year before. But thither they goe: and thither followes them *Cn. Scipio* with one Legion: who enters the Town by force, breaks out upon them the next day, and in two battels kils above twelve thousand, and takes more than a thousand of them prisoners, with six and thirty Ensigns. This victory (doubtlesse) is remarkable: considering that the greatest *Roman* Legion at this time, consisted of no more than five thousand men. The vanquished *Carthaginians* besiege *Bigarra*: but that siege is also raised by *Cn. Scipio*. Thence the *Carthaginians* remove to *Munda*; where the *Romans* are soon at their heels. There is a great battail fought, that lasteth four hours, wherein the *Romans* get a notable victory: and a more notable would have gotten, had not *Cn. Scipio* been wounded. Thirty nine Elephants are killed, and twelve thousand men; three thousand prisoners taken, and seven and fifty Ensigns. The *Carthaginians* flie to *Auringes*; and the *Romans* pursue them. *Cn. Scipio* in a Litter is carryed into the field, and vanquished the *Carthaginians* again: but kils not half so many of them, as before; good cause why, for there are *fewer* of them left to fight. Notwithstanding all these overthrowes, the *Spaniards*, a people framed even by nature to set war on foot, quickly fill up the broken troups of *Asdrubal*, who having also hired some of the *Gaules*, adventures once more to try his fortune with the *Romans*. But he is beaten again: and loseth eight thousand of his men; besides Prisoners, Elephants, Ensignes, and other appurtenances. After so many victories, the *Romans* are even ashamed to leave *Saguntum* enthralled unto the *Carthaginians*; since, in behalf of that City, they had at first entred into this war. And well may we think it strange, that they had not recovered it long before, since we may remember, that long before this they had won all the Countrey once and again. But it must not be forgotten, that they had ere now besieged *Saguntum*; and were fain (as appears) to go their way without it: so as they need not to blush, for having so long forborne to do that, which ere now they had attempted, but were unable to performe. At the present they won *Saguntum*: and restored the possession thereof unto such of the poor dispersed Citizens, as they can finde out. They also waste and destroy the Country of the *Turdetani*, that had ministred unto *Hannibal* matter of quarrel against the *Saguntines*. This last action (questionlesse) was much to their honour; and wherein we may be assured, that the *Carthaginians* would have disturbed them if they had been able.

Liv. lib. 24.

But overlooking now this long continuance of great victories, which the *Romans* have gotten in *Spain*, other print or token of all their brave exploits, we can perceive none, than this recovery of *Saguntum*: excepting the stopping of *Asdrubals* journey; which was indeed of greatest importance, but appertaining to their own defence. For they have landed at *Emporia*, an Haven town, built and peopled by a Colony of the *Phocæans*, kin to the *Massilians*, friends to the *Romans*; They have easily wonne to their party, lost, recovered, and lost again, some petty bordering Nations of the *Spaniards*, that are carried one while by perswasion, other-whiles by force, and sometimes by their own unsetled passions; and now finally they have won a Town, whereof the *Carthaginians* held intire possession, who had rooted out the old inhabitants. Wherefore we may easily beleeve, that when they took *Saguntum* (if they took it not by surprise; which is to be suspected, since in this Action we finde no particulars remembred, as when the same place was taken by *Hannibal*) they had gotten the better of their Enemies in some notable fight. In like sort also must we think, that all those battails lately remembred, after every one of which *Asdrubal* sate down before some place, that had rebelled, or seemed ready to rebell, were prosperous unto the *Carthaginians*. For it is not the custome of Armies vanquished, to carry the war from Town to Town, and beleaguer Cities of their Enemies; but to fortifie themselves within their own places of strength, and therein to attend the levy and arrivall of new supplies. And surely, if the *Romans* had been absolute Masters of the field, when they won *Saguntum*, they would not have consumed a whole year following, in practising only with the *Celtiberians* the next adjoyning people. Yet made they this, little lesse than two years business. Of these *Celtiberians* we hear before, That they have yeelded up themselves unto the *Romans*; for security of their faith, given Hostages to *Scipio*; and, at his appointment, made warre against the *Carthaginians*, with their proper forces. Wherefore it is strange, that they are now thus hardly wrought; and not without expresse condition of a great summe, hired to serve in the *Roman* camp. How this may hold together I cannot perceive;

perceive; unleſs pehaps in thoſe daies it were the *Roman* cuſtome, or rather the cuſtome of ſome bad Author whom *Livie* followes, to call every meſſenger, or ſtraggler, that entred their camp, an Hoſtage of that people from whom he came.

The *Celtiberians* at length, hired with great rewards, ſend an Army of thirty thouſand to help the *Romans*: out of which, three hundred the fitteſt men are choſen, and carryed into *Italy*, there to deal with their Country-men that follow *Hannibal* in his wars. But if any of theſe three hundred return back into *Spain*, it is to be feared, that he brings with him ſuch newes of the riches and welfare of *Hannibals* men, that all his fellowes at home are the leſs unwilling to follow *Aſdrubal*, when he ſhall next have a deſire to lead them into *Italy*. Hereof we finde more than probability, when theſe mercenary *Celtiberians* meet the *Carthaginian* Army in the field. The two *Scipio's*, preſuming on this acceſs of ſtrength, divide their forces, and ſeek out the Enemies, who lie not far off with three Armies. *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Amilcar*, is neareſt at hand; even among the *Celtiberians*, at *Anitorgis*. With him *Cn. Scipio* doubts not to take good order: but the fear is, that this one part of the *Carthaginian* forces being deſtroyed; *Mago* the ſon of *Geſco*, hearing the newes, will make uſe of their diſtance, which is five dayes march, and, by running into the furtheſt parts of the Country, ſave themſelves from being overtaken. *Publius* therefore muſt make the more haſte, and take with him the better ſouldiers, that is, two parts of the old *Roman* Army; leaving the third part, and all the *Celtiberians*, to his brother. He that hath the longer journey to make, comes ſomewhat the ſooner to his lives end. *Mago*, and *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Geſco*, are not ſtudying how to run away: they finde no ſuch neceſſity. They joyne their forces together; meet with *Publius Scipio*; and lay at him ſo hardly, that hee is driven to keep himſelf cloſe within his Trenches: wherein he thinks himſelf not well aſſured. Eſpecially he is vexed by *Maſaniſſa*, Prince of the *Maſſæſyli*, *Numidians*, bordering upon *Mauritania*, in the Region called now *Tremizen*: to whom the chief honour of this ſervice is aſcribed, for that he becomes afterward Confederate with the *Romans*. In this dangerous caſe, *P. Scipio* gets intelligence, that *Indibilis* a *Spaniſh* Prince, is coming with ſeven thouſand and five hundred of the *Sueſſetani*, to joyn with his Enemies. Fearing therefore to be ſtraight ſhut up, and beſieged, he iſſues forth by night, to meet with *Indibilis* upon the way; leaving *T. Fonteius* his Lievtenant, with a ſmall company to defend the camp. He meets with *Indibilis*; but is not able, according to his hope, to defeat him at the firſt incounter. The fight continues ſo long, that the *Numidian* horſe appear (whom he thought to have been ignorant of his departure) and fall upon the *Romans* on all ſides: neither are the *Carthaginians* far behinde; but come ſo faſt upon him in Rear, that *P. Scipio*, uncertain which way to turne, yet fighting and animating his men, where need moſt requireth, is ſtruck through with a lance, and ſlain: very few of his Army eſcaping the ſame deſtiny, through benefit of the dark night. The like end hath *Cn. Scipio* within nine and twenty dayes after. At his meeting with *Aſdrubal*, the *Celtiberian* Mercenaries all forſake him; pretending that they had war in their owne Country. If *Anitorgis*, where *Aſdrubal* then lay, were, as *Ortelius* following *Beuterus* takes it, a *Celtiberian* town; this was no vain pretence, but an apparent truth. But we may juſtly beleeve, that they were won by *Aſdrubal*, and eaſily perſwaded to take as much money for not fighting, as they ſhould have had for hazarding their lives. *Cn. Scipio* therefore being unable to ſtay them, and no leſs unable, without their help, either to reſiſt the enemy, or to joyn with his brother, maketh a very violent retrait; herein only differing from plain flight, that he keeps his men together. *Aſdrubal* preſſeth hard upon him: and *Mago*, with *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Geſco*, having made an end of *Publius*, haſten to diſpatch his brother after him. *Scipio* ſteals from them all by night; but is overtaken the next day by their horſe, and arreſted, in an open place of hard ſtony ground, where growes not ſo much as a ſhrub, unfit for defence of his Legions againſt ſuch enemies. Yet a little Hill he findes of eaſie aſcent on every ſide; which he takes for want of a more commodious place, and fortifies with pack-ſaddles, and other luggage, for default of a better Palliſado. Theſe weak defences the *Carthaginians* ſoon tear in ſunder: and, breaking in on all hands, leave very few of them alive; that ſaving themſelves, I know not how, within ſome woods adjoyning, eſcape unto *T. Fonteius*, whom *Publius* had left in his camp, as is before ſaid. It is a terrible overthrow, they ſay, out of which no man eſcapes. Yet, how they that were thus hemmed in on

every side, in so bare a ground as afforded not a shrub to cover them, could break out, and shrowd themselves within woods adjoyning, I should much wonder; did not a greater miracle following call away mine attention. *T. Fonteius* is in *P. Scipio's* camp, on the North side of *Iberus*, fearfull (as may be supposed) of his own life; since his Generall, with two parts of the *Roman* Army, had little hope to remain long safe within it. Thither comes *L. Martius*, a young *Roman* Gentleman of a notable spirit: who having gathered together the scattered Souldiers, and drawn some Companies out of their Garrisons, makes a pretty Army. The Souldiers, being to chose a Generall by most voices, prefer this *L. Martius* before *Fonteius* the Lievtenant, as well they may. For *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Gesco*, comming upon them; this *L. Martius* so encourageth his men, (fondly weeping when he led them forth, upon remembrance of their more honourable Generals lately slain) and admonisheth them of their present necessity, that he beats the *Carthaginians* into their Trenches. A notable victory perhaps he might have gotten, but that he wisely sounds the retrait; reserving the fury of his Souldiers to a greater occasion. The *Carthaginians* are at first amazed, and wonder whence this new boldness growes, in enemies lately vanquished, and now again little better than taken: but when they see, that the *Roman* dares not follow his advantage, they returne to their former security; and utterly despising him, set neither *Corps de garde* nor Sentinell, but rest secure, as if no enemy were near. *Martius* therefore animates his Souldiers with lively words; and tels them, That there is no adventure more safe, than that which is furthest from suspition of being undertaken. They are soon perswaded to follow him, in any desperate piece of service. So he leads them forth by night, and steals upon the Camp of *Asdrubal*: where finding no guard, but the enemies fast asleep, or very drowsie, He enters without resistance, fires their Cabbines, and gives a terrible alarm; so that all affrighted the *Carthaginians* runne head-long one upon another, they know not which way. All passages out of their Camp, *Martius* hath prepossessed, so that there is no way to escape, save by leaping down the Rampart: which as many do, as can think upon it, and run away toward the Camp of *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Amilcar*, that lay six miles off. But *Martius* hath way-laid them. In a Valley between their two camps he hath bestowed a *Roman* cohort, and I know not what number of Horse; so that into this Ambush they fall every one, and are cut in pieces. But lest perchance any should have escaped, and give the alarm before his comming; *Martius* hastens to be there as soon as they. By which diligent speed, He comes early in the morning upon this further camp: which with no great difficulty he enters, and partly by apprehension of danger which the Enemies conceived, when they beheld the *Roman* shields, foule, and bloudied with their former execution, He drives head-long into flight, all that can save themselves from the fury of the sword. Thirty seven thousand of the enemies perish in this nights work; besides a thousand eight hundred and thirty, taken prisoners. Hereunto *Valerius Antius* addes, that the camp of *Mago* was also taken, and seven thousand slain: and that in another battail with *Asdrubal*, there were slain ten thousand more; besides four thousand three hundred and thirty taken prisoners. Such is the power of some Historians. *Livie* therefore hath elsewhere well observed, That there is none so intemperate, as *Valerius Antius*, in multiplying the numbers that have fallen in battails. That, whilest *Martius* was making an Oration to his souldiers, a flame of fire shone about his head, *Livie* reporteth as a common tale, not giving thereto any credit: and temperately concludeth, That this Captain *Martius* got a great name; which he might well doe, if with so small forces, and in such distress, He could clearly get off from the Enemies, and give them any parting blow, though it were far less than that which is here set down.

Of these occurrents *L. Martius* sent word to *Rome*, not forgetting his own good service, whatsoever it was, but setting it out in such wise, as the Senate might judge him worthy to hold the place of their Vice-gerent in *Spain*: which the better to intimate unto them, He stiled himself Propretor. The Fathers were no leis moved with the tidings than the case required: and therefore took such carefull order, for supplying their forces in *Spain*, that although *Hannibal* came to the gates of *Rome*, ere the companies levied to serve that Province, could be sent away; yet could they not stay a tide for defence of the City it self, but shipped them in all haste for *Spain*. As for the title of Propretor, which *Martius* had assumed, they thought it too great for him, and were

offended

offended at his presumption in usurping it: foreseeing well, that it was a matter of ill consequence, to have the Souldiers abroad make choice, among themselves, of those that should command Armies and Provinces. Therefore *C. Claudius Nero* was dispatched away, with all convenient haste, into *Spain*: carrying with him about six thousand of the *Roman* foot, and as many of the *Latines*, with three hundred *Roman* horse, and of the *Latines* eight hundred.

It happened well, that about these times, the affairs of *Rome* began to prosper in *Italy*, and afforded means of sending abroad such a strong supply: otherwise the victories of *Martius* would ill have served, either to keep footing in *Spain*, or to stop the *Carthaginian* Armies from marching towards the *Alpes*. For when *Claudius*, landing with his new forces, took charge of that remainder of the Army, which was under *Martius* and *Fonteius*; he found surer tokens of the overthrowes received, than of those miraculous victories, whereof *Martius* had made his vaunts unto the Senate. The *Roman* party was forsaken by most of the *Spanish* friends: whom how to reclaim, it would not easily be devised. Yet *Claudius* advanced boldly towards *Asdrubal* the brother of *Hannibal*: whom he found among the *Ausetani*, near enough at hand, incamped in a place called *Lapides atri*; out of which there was no issue, but only through a straight, whereon the *Roman* seized at his first comming. What should have tempted any man of understanding to incamp in such a place, I do not find: and as little reason can I find in that which followed. For it is said, That *Asdrubal*, seeing himself thus lockt up, made offer to depart forthwith out of all *Spain*, and quit the Province to the *Romans*, upon condition that he and his Army might be thence dismissed; That he spent many dayes, in entertaining parlee with *Claudius* about this business; That night by night he conveighed his footmen (a few at a time) through very difficult passages, out of the danger; and that finally taking advantage of a misty day, He stole away with all his Horse and Elephants, leaving his Camp empty. If we consider, that there were at the same time, besides this *Asdrubal*, two other *Carthaginian* Generals in *Spain*; we shall find no lesse cause to wonder at the simplicity of *Claudius*, who hoped to conclude a bargain for so great a Countrey, with one of these three Chieftains, than at the strange nature of those passages, through which the footmen could hardly creep out by night, the Horse and Elephants easily following them in a dark misty day. Wherefore in giving belief to such a tale, it is needfull that we suppose, both the danger wherein the *Carthaginians* were, and the conditions offered for their safe departure, to have been of far lesse value. Howsoever it was; neither this, nor ought else that the *Romans* could do, served to purchase any new friends in *Spain*, or to recover the old which they had lost. Like enough it is, that the old Souldiers, which had chosen *Martius* their Propretor, took it not well, that the Senate, regardless of their good deserts, had repealed their election, and sent a Propretor whom they fancied not so well. Some such occasion may have moved them to desire a Proconsul, and (perhaps) young *Scipio* by name: as if a title of greater dignity were needfull to work regard in the *Barbarians*; and the beloved memory of *Cn.* and *Publius*, likely to do good, were it revived in one of the same family. Whether upon these, or upon other reasons; *C. Claudius* was recalled out of the Province; and *Publius* the son of *P. Scipio* sent Proconsul into *Spain*.

This is that *Scipio*, who afterward transferred the war into *Africk*: where he happily ended it, to the great honour and benefit of his Country. He was a man of goodly presence, and singularly wel conditioned: especially he excelled in Temperance, Continency, Bounty, and other vertues that purchase love; of which qualities what great use he made, shall appear in the tenour of his Actions following. As for those things that are reported of him, savouring a little too much of the great *Alexanders* vanity; How he used to walk alone in the Capitoll, as one that had some secret conference with *Jupiter*; How a Dragon (which must have been one of the gods; and, in likelihood, *Jupiter* himself) was thought to have conversed with his Mother, entring her Chamber often, and vanishing away at the comming in of any man; and how of these matters he nourished the rumour, by doubtfull answers; I hold them no better than fables, devised by Historians, who thought thereby to adde unto the glory of *Rome*: that this noble City might seem, not only to have surpassed other Nations in vertue of the generality, but also in great worth of one single man. To this end nothing is left out, that might serve to adorne this *Roman* Champion. For it is confidently written, as matter

of unquestionable truth, That when a Proconsull was to be chosen for *Spain*, there durst not any Captain of the principall Citizens offer himself as Petitioner for that honourable, but dangerous charge; That the people of *Rome* were much astonished thereat; That when the day of Election came, all the Princes of the City stood looking one another in the face, not one of them having the heart to adventure himself in such a desperate service; and finally, that this *P. Cornelius Scipio*, being then about four and twenty years of age, getting up on an high place where he might be seen of all the multitude, requested and obtained, that the office might be conferred upon him. If this were true, then were all the victories of *L. Martius* no better than dreams: and either very unreasonable was the fear of all the *Roman* Captains, who durst not follow *Claudius Nero*, that not long before was gone into *Spain* Propretor; or very bad intelligence they had out of the Province, which *Asdrubal* the *Carthaginian*, as we heard even now, was ready to abandon. But upon these incoherences, which I find in the too partiall *Roman* Historians, I do not willingly insist.

P. Scipio was sent Proconsul into *Spain*; & with him was joyned *M. Junius Syllanus*, as Propretor, and his Coadjutor. They carryed with them ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, in thirty *Quinquereme* Gallies. With these they landed at *Emporia*; and marched from thence to *Tarracon* alongst the Sea-coast. At the fame of *Scipio*'s arrivall, it is said, that Embassages came to him apace from all quarters of the Province: which he entertained with such a majesty, as bred a wonderfull opinion of him. As for the enemies, they were greatly affraid of him: and so much the greater was their fear, by how much the lesse they could give any reason of it. If we must beleeve this, then must we needs beleeve, that their fear was even as great as could be: for very little cause there was, to be terrified with the fame of so young a man, which had as yet performed nothing. All the Winter following (or, as some think, all the next year) he did nothing: but spent the time perhaps, as his foregoers had done, in treating with the *Spaniards*. His first enterprize was against new *Carthage*: upon which he came unexpected, with five and twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; his Sea forces coasting him, and moderating their course in such wise, that they arrived there together with him. He assailed the Town by Land and Sea; and won it by assault the first day. The *Carthaginians* lost it, by their too much confidence upon the strength of it: which caused them to man it more slenderly, than was requisite. Yet it might have been well enough defended, if some Fisher-men of *Tarracon* had not discovered unto *Scipio*, a secret passage unto the wals; whereof the Townsmen themselves were either ignorant, or thought (at least) that their enemies could have no notice. This City of new *Carthage*, resembled the old and great *Carthage* in situation; standing upon a demy-Iland, between an Haven and a great Lake. All the Western side of the wals, and somewhat of the North, was fenced with this Lake: which the Fisher-men of *Tarracon* had sounded; and finding some part thereof a shelf, whereon at low water men might passe knee-deep, or (at most) wading up to the Navill, *Scipio* thrust thereinto some companies of his men; who recovered the top of the wals without resistance: the place being left without guard; as able to defend it self by the naturall strength. These falling suddenly upon the backs of the *Carthaginians* within the City, easily forced a gate, and gave free entrance to the *Roman* Army. What booty was found within the Town, *Livie* himself cannot certainly affirm; but is fain to say, That some *Roman* Historians told lies without measure, in way of amplification. By that small proportion of riches, which was afterward carried by *Scipio* into the *Roman* Treasury, we may easily perceive how great a vanity it was to say, That all the wealth of *Africk* and *Spain* was heaped up in that one Town. But therein were bestowed all the *Spanish* Hostages: (or at least of the adjoyning Provinces) whom *Scipio* intreated with singular courtesie; restoring them unto their kindred and friends, in such gracious manner, as doubled the thanks due to so great a benefit. Hereupon a Prince of the *Celtiberians*, and two petty Kings of the *Ilergetes* and *Lacetani*, neareſt Neighbours to *Tarracon*, and dwelling on the North-side of *Iberus*, forsook the *Carthaginian* party, and joyned with the *Romans*. The speech of *Indibilis*, King of the *Ilergetes*, is much commended; for that he did not vaunt himself, as commonly fugitives use, of the pleasure, which he did unto the *Romans*, in revolting from their enemies, but rather excused this his changing side, as being thereto compelled by injuries of the *Carthaginians*, and invited by the honourable dealing of

Scipio

Scipio. This temperate estimation of his new professed friendship, was indeed no unsure token, that it should be long-lasting. But if the *Ilergetes* had long ere this (as we have heard before) forsaken the *Carthaginian* party, and stoutly held themselves as friends to *Cn. Scipio*: then could nothing have been devised more vain, than this Oration of *Indibilis* their King; excusing, as new, his taking part with the same, when he should have rather craved pardon for his breach of alliance, formerly contracted with the Father and the Uncle. Most likely therefore it is, that howsoever the two elder *Scipio*'s had gotten some few places among these their Neighbours, and held them by strength; yet were the *Romans* never masters of the Country, till this worthy Commander, by recovering their Hostages from the *Carthaginians*, and by his great munificence in sending them home, won unto himself the assured love and assistance of these Princes. The *Carthaginian* Generals, when they heard of this losse, were very sorry: yet nevertheless they set a good face on the matter; saying, That a young man, having stoln a Town by surprise, was too far transported, and over-joyed, but that shortly they would meet with him, and put him in mind of his Father and Uncle; which would alter his mood, and bring him to a more convenient temper.

Now if I should here interpose mine own conjecture; I should be bold to say, That the *Carthaginians* were at this time busie, in setting forth towards *Italy*; and that *Scipio*, to divert them, undertook new *Carthage*, as his Father and Uncle, upon the like occasion, sate down before *Ibera*. And in this respect I would suppose, that it had not been much amisse, if the passage over the Lake had been undiscovered, and the Town held out some longer while. For howsoever that particular Action was the more fortunate, in comming to such good issue upon the first day: yet in the generality of the business, between *Rome* and *Carthage*, it was more to be wished, that *Asdrubal* should be stayed from going into *Italy*, than that half of *Spain* should be taken from him. Whereas therefore he had nothing left to do, that should hinder his journey; *Mago*, and *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Gesco*, were thought sufficient to hold *Scipio* work, in that lingring War of taking and retaking Towns, whilest the main of the *Carthaginian* forces, under *Asdrubal*, the son of *Amilcar*, went to a greater enterprise: even to fight in tryall of the Empire. But the *Roman* Historians tell this after another fashion; and say, That *Asdrubal* was beaten into *Italy*: whither he ran for fear, as thinking himself ill assured of the *Spaniards*, as long as they might but hear the name of *Scipio*. *Scipio*, say they, comming upon *Asdrubal*; his Vant-currers charged so lustily the *Carthaginian* horse, that they drave them into their Trenches: and made it apparent, even by that small piece of service, how full of spirit the *Roman* Army was, and how dejected the Enemy. *Asdrubal* therefore by night retired out of that even ground, and occupied an Hill, compassed on three sides with the River, very steep of ascent, and not easie of access on the foreside; by which himself got up, and was to be followed by the *Romans*. On the top of it there was a Plain, whereon he strongly encamped himself: and in the mid-way, between the top and root of the Hill, was also another Plain; into which he descended, more upon bravery, that he might not seem to hide himself within the Trenches, than for that he durst adventure his Army to the hazzard of a battail, for which this was no equall ground. But such advantage of place could not save him from the *Romans*. They climed up the Hill to him; they recovered even footing with him; drove him out of this lower Plain, up into his Camp on the Hill top: whither although the ascent were very difficult, and his Elephants bestowed in the smoothest places to hinder their approach; yet compassing about, and seeking passage where it was hardest to be found; but much more strongly breaking their way, where the *Carthaginians* had got up before them, they drave both men and Elephants head-long, I know not whither: for it is said, that there was no way to flye. Out of such a battell, wherein he had lost eight thousand men, *Asdrubal* is said to have escaped; and gathering together his dispersed troups, to have marched toward the *Pyrenees*, having sent away his Elephants ere the fight began. Nevertheless, *Mago*, and *Asdrubal* the son of *Gesco*, are reported after this to have consulted with him about this War; and finally to have concluded, that go he needs must, were it but to carry all the *Spaniards* as far as might be, from the name of *Scipio*. How likely this was to have been true, it shall appear at his comming into *Italy*; whence these incoherent relations of the *Spanish* affairs have too long detained us.

§. XII.

§. XII.

The great troubles that Hannibal *raised in all quarters, to the City of Rome.* Posthumius *the Roman Generall, with his whole Army, is slain by the Gaules.* Philip *King of Macedon enters into a League with* Hannibal, *against the Romans. The Romans joyning with the Ætolians, make war upon* Philip *in Greece: and afterwards conclude a peace with him, the better to intend their businesse against the Carthaginians.*

WEE left *Hannibal* wintering at *Capua*: where he and his new Confederates rejoyced (as may be thought) not a little, to hear the good newes from *Carthage* of such mighty aide, as was decreed to be sent thence unto him. In former times he had found work enough, to carry the *Romans* corn into his own barns, and to drive away their Cattell to *Geryon*: his victories affording him little other profit, than sustenance for his Army; by making him master of the open field. He might perhaps have forced some walled towns in like sort as he did *Geryon*, and the Castle of *Casinæ*: but had he spent much time, about the getting of any one place well defended; the hunger, that his Army must have endured the Winter and Spring following, untill corne were ripe, would have grievously punished him for such imployment of the Summer. This may have been the reason, why he forbore to adventure upon *Rome*, after his victory at *Cannæ*. For had he failed (as it was a matter of no certainty) to carry the City at his first comming; want of victuals would have compelled him to quit the enterprise. Yea many of the people that opened so hastily their gates unto him, upon the fresh bruit of his glorious successe would have taken time of deliberation, and waited perhaps the event of another battail; if being, either for want of means to force the City, or of necessaries to continue a siege before it, repelled (as might seem) from the wals of *Rome*, he had presented himself unto them with a lessened reputation, somewhat later in the year; when time to force their obedience was wanting, unless they would freely yeeld it. But this great part of the care and travell was past, when so many States of *Italy* were become his: the year following, the *Samnites*, and other old enemies of *Rome*, were like to receive a notable pleasure of their new alliance with *Carthage*, by helping to lay siege unto that proud City, which so long had held them in subjection. Thus the winter was passed over joyfully, saving that there came not any tidings of the preparations, to second the welcome report of those mighty forces, that were decreed and expected. The Spring grew on: and of the promised supply there arrived no more, than only the Elephants. How late it was e're these came, I finde not: onely we finde, that after this he had above thirty of them; whereas all, save one, that he brought over the *Alpes*, had been lost in his journey through the Marishes of *Hetruria*. Very bad excuse of this exceeding negligence, they that brought the Elephants could make unto *Hannibal*. If they were his friends, they told him truly, what mischiefs the perswasion of *Hanno* wrought among the too niggardly *Carthaginians*. Otherwise, they might perhaps informe him, that it was thought a safer, though a farther way about, to passe along through *Spain* and *Gaule*, as he himself had done; and increase the Army, by hyring the *Barbarians* in the journey; than to commit the main strength of their City, to the hazzard of the Seas: especially waming a commodious Haven, to receive the Fleet that should carry such a number of Men, Horses, and Elephants, with all needfull provisions. With these allegations *Hannibal* must rest content; and seek, as well as he can, to satisfie his *Italian* Confederates. Therefore when time of the year served, He took the field: and having finished what rested to be done at *Casilinum*, sought to make himself Master of some good Haven-town thereabout; that might serve to entertain the *Carthaginian* Fleet, or take from his Enemies at home all excuse, which they might pretend by want thereof. To the same purpose, and to do what else was needfull, He sent *Himilco* unto the *Locrians*, and *Hanno* to the *Lucans*: not forgetting at once to assay all quarters of *Italy*, yea, the Iles of *Sicil* and *Sardinia*; since the siege of *Rome* must needs be deferred unto another year. *Hanno* made an ill journey of it, being met, or overtaken, by *T. Sempronius Longus*: who slue above two thousand of his men; with the loss of fewer than three hundred *Romans*. But *Himilco* sped far better. By help of the *Brutians*, his good friends, he won *Petellia*, or *Petilia* by force; after it had held out some moneths. He won likewise *Consentia*, and *Croton*, that was forsaken by the Inhabitants. Also the City of *Locri*, which

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was of great importance, yeelded unto him: as did all other places thereabout; except only the Town of *Rhegium*, over against *Sicil.*

The great faith of the *Petilians* is worthy to be recorded, as a notable testimony of the good government, under which the *Roman* subjects lived. As for the *Samnites*, *Campanes* and others, whose earnestnesse in rebellion may seem to prove the contrary; we are to consider, That they had lately contended with *Rome* for Soveraignty, and were now transported with ambition: which reason can hardly moderate, or benefits allay. The *Petilians*, in the very beginning of their danger, did send to *Rome* for help: where their messengers received answer from the Senate, That the publick misfortunes had not left means, to relieve their Associates that were so far distant. The *Petilian* Messengers (Embassadours they are termed; as were all others, publickly sent from Cities of the *Roman* subjection, that had a private jurisdiction within themselves) fell down to the ground, and humbly besought the Fathers, not to give them away: promising to do and suffer whatsoever was possible, in defence of their Town, against the *Carthaginians*. Hereupon the Senate fell to consultation again: and having throughly considered all their forces remaining, plainly confessed, that it was not in their power to give any relief. Wherefore these Embassadours were willed to return home, and to bid their Citizens provide hereafter for their own safety, as having already discharged their faith to the utmost. All this notwithstanding, the *Petilians* (as was said) held out some moneths: and having striven in vain to defend themselves, when there was no apparent possibility gave to the *Carthaginians* a bloudy victory over them; being vanquished as much by famine, as by any violence of the Assailants.

The *Romans* at this time were indeed in such ill case, that *Hannibal* with a little help from *Carthage*, might have reduced them into terms of great extremity. For whereas, in a great bravery, before their loss at *Canna*, they had shewed their high mindes, by entertaining the care of things far off, notwithstanding the great war that lay upon them so near at hand: it now fell out miserably all at once, that their fortune abroad was no whit better than at home. *L. Posthumius Albinus* their Prætor they had sent, with an Army of five and twenty thousand, into *Gaule*; to the *Illyrian* King *Pineus* they had sent for their tribute due, whereof the pay-day was past; willing him, if he desired forbearance, to deliver Hostages for his performance of what was due; and to *Philip* King of *Macedon* they had sent, to require, that he should deliver up unto them *Demetrius Pharius* their Subject and Rebell, whom he had received. But now from all quarters they hear tidings, little suitable to their former glorious conceits. *Posthumius* with all his Army was cut in pieces by the *Gaules*, in such sort, that scarce ten men escaped. The manner of his overthrow was very strange. There was a great Wood, called by the *Gaules*, *Litana*; through which he was to pass. Against his comming, the Enemies had sawed the trees so far, that a little force would serve to cast them down. When therefore *Posthumius*, with his whole Army, was entred into this dangerous passage, the *Gaules* that lay about the wood, began to cast down the trees: which falling one against another, bore all down so fast, that the *Romans* were overwhelmed, Men and Horses; in such wise, that no more escaped, than is said before. How this tedious work of sawing so many trees, could take desired effect, and neither be perceived, nor made frustrate, either by some winde, that might have blown all down before the *Romans* entred, or by some other of those many accidents, whereto the device was subject; I do not well conceive. Yet some such thing may have been done: and what failed in the stratagem, supplyed with the Enemies sword. It is not perhaps worthy to be omitted, as a monument of the savage condition, wherewith *Lombardie*, a Country now so Civill, was infected in elder times, That of *Posthumius* his skull, being cleansed and trimmed up with gold, a drinking cup was made, and consecrated in their principall Temple, as an holy vessel, for the use of the Priest in their solemnities. Of this great overthrow, when word was brought to *Rome*; the amazement was no less than the calamity. But sorrow could give no remedy to the mischief: and anger was vain, where there wanted forces to revenge. Tribute from the *Illyrians* there came none: neither do I find, that any was a second time demanded; this we find, That with *Pleuratus*, and *Scerdiletus Illyrian* Kings, as also with *Gentius*, who reigned within a few years following, the *Romans* dealt upon even termes; entreating their assistance against *Philip* and *Perseus*; not commanding their duty, as Vassals. The *Macedonian* troubled them yet a little further. For having

having assured his affairs in *Greece*, and enjoying leisure to look into the doings abroad, He sent Embassadours to *Hannibal*: with whom he made a league, upon these conditions; That the King in person should come into *Italy*, and with all his forces, by Land and Sea, assist the *Carthaginians* in the *Roman* war, untill it were finished; That *Rome*, and all *Italy*, together with all the spoil therein to be gotten, should be left entire unto the State of *Carthage*; and that afterwards *Hannibal*, with his Army should passe into *Greece*, and there assist *Philip*, untill he had subdued all his enemies: (which were the *Ætolians*, *Thracians*, King *Antiochus*, and others) leaving semblably unto him the full possession of that countrey, and the Iles adjoyning. But such predisposition of Kingdomes and Provinces, is lightly comptrolled by the divine Providence, which therein shewes *It* selfe; not (as *Herodotus* falsly termes it, and like an *Atheist*) envious or malicious, but very just and majesticall, in upholding that unspeakable greatnes of Soveraignty, by which *It* rules the whole World, and all that therein is.

The first Embassadours that *Philip* sent, fell into the *Romans* hands, in their journey towards *Hannibal*: and being examined what they were, adventured upon a bold lie, saying, That they were sent from the King of *Macedon* to *Rome*, there to make a League with the Senate and people, and offer his help in this time of great necessity. These newes were so welcome, that the joy thereof took away all care of making better inquiry. So they were lovingly feasted, and freely dismissed with guides that should lead them the way, and shew them how to avoid the *Carthaginians*. But they being thus instructed concerning their journey, fell wilfully into the camp of *Hannibal*: who entertained them after a better fashion; and concluded the business, about which they came, upon the points before remembred. In their return homeward, they happened again unluckily to be descryed by the *Roman* Fleet; which mistrusting them to be of the *Carthaginian* party, gave them chace. They did their best to have escaped: but being overtaken, they suffered the *Romans* to come aboord; and trusting to the lie that once had served them, said it again, That having been sent from King *Philip*, to make a league with the People of *Rome*, they were not able by reason of the *Carthaginians* lying between, to get any farther than to *M. Valerius* the Prætor, unto whom they had signified the good affection of the King their Master. The tale was now less credible than before: and (which marred all) *Gesco*, *Bostar*, and *Mago*, with their followers, *Carthaginians* that were sent with them from *Hannibal* to ratifie the agreement, being presently detected, made the matter apparent. Wherefore a little inquisition served to finde all out: so that at length *Hannibals* own letters to King *Philip* were delivered up, and the whole businesse confected. The Embassadours and their followers were sent close prisoners to *Rome*; where the chief of them were cast into prison; and the rest sold for bond-slaves. Yet one of their ships that escaped, carryed word into *Macedon* of all that had happened. Whereupon new Embassage was sent, that went and returned with better speed; concluding, as was agreed before; only with some losse of time.

The *Romans* were exceedingly perplexed: thinking with what heavy weight this *Macedonian* war, in an evill hour, was likely to fall upon them, when their shoulders were over-burdened with the load of the *Carthaginian*. Yet they took a noble resolution, and sutable unto that, whereby they kept off the storme, that else would have beaten upon them from *Spain*. They judged it more easie, with small forces to detain *Philip* in *Greece*, than with all their strength to resist him in *Italy*. And herein they were in the right. For, that the very reputation of a King of *Macedon*, joyning with *Hannibal* in such a time, would have sufficed to shake the allegeance, not only of the *Latines*, and other, their most faithfull Subjects, but even of the *Roman* Colonies, that held all priviledges of the City, it will appear by the following successe of things. *M. Valerius* the Prætor, with twenty *Quinquereme* Gallies, was appointed to attend upon the *Macedonian*, and to set on foot some commotion in *Greece*; or to nourish the troubles already therein begun. *Philip* was busie about the Sea towns, that looked towards *Italy*, setting upon *Apollonia*; and thence falling upon *Oricum*; which he won, and so returned to *Apollonia* again. The *Epirots* craved help of *M. Valerius*: or rather accepted his kinde offers; who had none other businesse to do. The Garrison that *Philip* had left in *Oricum*, was strong enough to hold the Towns-men in good order; but not to keep out the *Romans*: of whose daring to attempt any thing against him, on that side the Sea, *Philip* as then had no suspition. *Valerius* therefore easily regained the Town; and sent thence a thousand

thousand men, under *Nævius Crispus*, an undertaking and expert Captain; which got by night into *Apollonia*. These made a notable sallie; and brake into *Philips* Trenches with so great slaughter, that they forced him to forsake his camp, and raise the siege. The King purposed (as it is said) to have departed thence by Sea: but *Valerius*, comming with his fleet from *Oricum*, stopped up the mouth of the River, so that he was fain to burn his ships, (which belike were no better than long boats) and depart ill furnished of carriages, by Land. After this *Valerius* dealt with the *Ætolians*, a Nation alwayes enemy to the Crown of *Macedon*: and easily perswaded them (being so affected, as hath else-where been shewed) to make strong war on *Philip*: wherein he promised them great assistance from the *Romans*. That which most moved the troublesome spirits of the *Ætolians*, was the hope of getting *Acarnania*: after which they had gaped long; and whereof the *Roman* was as liberall in making promise, as if already it had been his own. So a league was madde between them: and afterward solemnly published at *Olympia*, by the *Ætolians*; and by the *Romans*, in their *Capitoll*. The conditions were, that from *Ætolia* to *Corcyra*, in which space *Acarnania* was contained, all the Countrey should be subdued, and left unto the *Ætolians*, the pillage only to be given to the *Romans*. And that if the *Ætolians* made peace with *Philip*, it should be with Provision, to hold no longer than whilest he abstained from doing injurie to the *Romans*, or their Associates. This was indeed the only point, whereat *Valerius* aimed, who promised as much on the *Romans* behalf, That they should not make peace with the *Macedonian*, unlesse it were with like condition of including the *Ætolians*. Into this league was place reserved for the *Lacedæmonians* and *Eleans*, as to those that had made or favoured the side of *Cleomenes* against the *Macedonian*, to enter at their pleasure. The like regard was had of *Attalus*, *Plenratus*, and *Scerdilætus*: the first of which reigned at *Pergamus*, in *Asia* the lesse, a Prince hereafter much to be spoken of; the other two held some part of *Illyria*, about which the *Romans* were so far from contending with them, that gladly they sought to get their friendly acquaintance. But the names of these Associates are thrust into the Treaty, rather to give it countenance, than for any readinesse which they disclose to enter thereinto. The *Ætolians* alone, & chiefly *Scopas* their Prætor, with *Dorymachus* and others, are yet a while the only men of whom the *Roman* Generals must make much; as the late *French* King, *Henry* the fourth, when he had only the title of *Navarre*, was said to court the Maiors of *Rochel*. *Philip* was not idle, when he heard whereunto the *Ætolians* tended. He repaired his Army; made a countenance of war upon the *Illyrians*, and other his borderers, that were wont in times of danger to infest the Kingdome of *Macedon*; wasted the Country about *Oricum* and *Apollonia*; and overrunning the *Pelagonians*, *Dardanians*, and others, whom he held suspected, came down into *Thessaly*, whence he made shew as if he would invade *Ætolia*. By the fame of this Expedition, He thought to stir up all the *Greeks* adjoyning, against the *Ætolians*; whom they generally detested as a nest of Robbers, troublesome to all the Country. To which purpose, and to hinder the *Ætolians* from breaking into *Greece*, He left *Perseus*, his son and heir, with four thousand men, upon their borders: with the rest of his Army, before greater businesse should overtake and entangle him, He made a long journey into *Thrace*, against a people called the *Medes*, that were wont to fall upon *Macedon*, whensoever the King was absent. The *Ætolians* hearing of his departure, armed as many as they could against the *Acarnanians*; in hope to subdue those their daily enemies, and win their little Country, ere he should be able to return. Hereto it much availed, that the *Romans* had already taken *Oeniadæ* and *Naxos*, *Acarnanian* Towns, conveniently situated to let in an Army; and consigned them unto the *Ætolians*, according to the tenor of the contract lately made with them. But the stout resolution of the *Acarnanians*, to die (as we say) every mothers son of them, in defence of their Countrey; together with the great haste of the *Macedonian* (who layed aside all other businesse) to succour these his friends; caused the *Ætolians* to forsake their enterprise. When this Expedition was given over, the *Romans* and *Ætolians* fell upon *Ancyra*, which they took: the *Romans* assailed by Sea, the *Ætolians* by Land. The *Ætolians* had the Town, and the *Romans* the spoil.

For these good services *M. Valerius* was chosen Consull at *Rome*; and *P. Sulpitius* sent in his stead, to keep the war on foot in *Greece*. But besides the *Roman* help, *Attalus* out of *Asia* came over to assist the *Ætolians*. He was chiefly moved by his own jea-

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louſie of *Philips* greatneſs: though ſomewhat alſo tickled with the vanity of being choſen by the *Ætolians* their principall Magiſtrate; which honour, though no better than titulary, he took in very loving part. Againſt the forces which *Attalus* and the *Romans* had ſent, being joyned with the main power of *Ætolia*, *Philip* tried the fortune of two battails: and was victorious in each of them. Hereupon, theſe his troubleſome neighbours deſired peace of him, and uſed their beſt means to get it. But when the day appointed for the concluſion thereof, was come: their Embaſſadours, in ſtead of making ſubmiſſion, propoſed unto him ſuch intolerable conditions, as ill beſeemed vanquiſhed men to offer: and might therefore well teſtifie, that their minds were altered. It was not any love of peace, but fear of being beſieged in their own Towns, that had made them deſirous of compoſition. This fear being taken away, by the incouragements of *Attalus* and the *Romans*, they were as fierce as ever: and thruſt a garriſon of their own, and ſome *Roman* friends, into *Elis*; which threatened *Achaia*, wherein *Philip* then lay. The *Romans*, making a cut over the ſtraight from *Naupactus*, waſted the country in a terrible bravery: wherein *Philip* required him; comming upon them in great haſt from the *Nemean* Games (which he was then celebrating) and ſending them faſter away, but nothing richer, than they came.

In the heat of this contention, *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*, fearing the growth of *Attalus*, no leſs than *Attalus* held ſuſpected the power of *Philip*, ſent a Navie into *Greece*, to aſſiſt the *Macedonian* party. The like did the *Carthaginians*: and upon greater reaſon; as being more intereſſed in the ſucceſs of his affairs. *Philip* was too weak by Sea: and though he could man ſome two hundred ſhips, yet the veſſels were ſuch, as could not hold out againſt the *Roman Quinqueremes*. Wherefore it behoved him, to uſe the help of his good friends the *Carthaginians*. But their aide came ſomewhat too late: which might better at firſt have kept thoſe Enemies from faſtening upon any part of *Greece*, than afterward it could ſerve to drive them out, when they had pierced into the bowels of that country. Ere *Philip* could attempt any thing by Sea, it was needful that he ſhould correct the *Eleans*, bad neighbours to the *Achaians* his principall Confederates. But in aſſailing their Town, he was encountred by the *Ætolian* and *Roman* garriſon, which drave him back with ſome loſs. In ſuch caſes, eſpecially where God intendeth a great converſion of Empire, Fame is very powerfull in working. The King had received no great detriment, in his retrait from *Elis*: rather he had given teſtimony of his perſonall valour, in fighting well on foot, when his horſe was ſlain under him. He had alſo ſoon after taken a great multitude of the *Eleans*, to the number of four thouſand, with ſome twenty thouſand head of Cattell, which they had brought together in a place of ſafety, as they thought, when their Country was invaded. But it had hapned, that in his purſuit of the *Roman* forragers about *Sicyon*, his horſe running haſtily under a low tree, had torn off one of the hornes, which (after the faſhion of thoſe times) the King wore in his Creſt. This was gathered up by an *Ætolian*, who carryed it home, & ſhewed it as a token of *Philips* death. The horn was well known, and the tale beleeved. All *Macedon* therefore was in an uproar: and not only the borderers, ready to fall upon the Countrey, but ſome Captains of *Philip*, eaſily corrupted; who thinking to make themſelves a fortune in that change of things, ranne into ſuch treaſon, as they might better hope to make good, than to excuſe. Hereupon the King returned home, leaving not three thouſand men, to aſſiſt his friends the *Achæans*. He alſo took order, to have Beacons erected, that might give him notice of the enemies doings, upon whom he meant ſhortly to return. The affairs of *Macedon*, his preſence quickly eſtabliſhed. But in *Greece* all went ill-favouredly: eſpecially in the Ile of *Eubœa*, where one *Plator* betraied to *Attalus* and the *Romans*, the Town of *Oreum*, ere *Philip* could arrive to help it: where alſo the ſtrong City of *Chalcis* was likely to have been loſt, if he had not come the ſooner. He made ſuch haſty marches, that he had almoſt taken *Attalus* in the City of *Opus*: This City, lying over againſt *Eubœa*, *Attalus* had won, more through the cowardize of the people, than any great force that he had uſed: now becauſe the *Roman* Souldiers had defrauded him in the ſack of *Oreum*, and taken all to themſelves; it was agreed, that *Attalus* ſhould make his beſt profit of the *Opuntians*, without admitting the *Romans* to be his ſharers. But whileſt he was buſie, in drawing as much mony as he could out of the Citizens: the ſudden tidings of *Philips* arrivall, made him leave all behinde him, and run away to the Sea-ſide, where he got aboord his ſhips, finding the *Romans*

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gone before, upon the like fear. Either the indignity of this miſadventure, or tydings of *Pruſias* the *Bithynian* his invaſion upon the kingdome of *Pergamus*, made *Attalus* returne home, without ſtaying to take leave of his friends. So *Philip* recovered *Opus*, won *Torone*, *Tritonos*, *Drymus*, and many ſmal towns in thoſe parts; performing likewiſe ſome actions, of more bravery than importance, againſt the *Ætolians*. In the mean ſeaſon, *Machanidas*, the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, had been buſie in *Peloponneſus*; but hearing of *Philips* arrivall, was returned home.

The *Lacedæmonians*, hearing certain report of *Cleomenes* his death in *Egypt*, went about to chooſe two new kings, & to conform themſelves to their old manner of government. But their eſtate was ſo far out of tune, that their hope of redreſſing things within the City, proved no leſs unfortunate, than had been their attempts of recovering a large dominion abroad. *Lycurgus* a tyrant roſe up among them: upon whom ſucceeded this *Machanidas*, and ſhortly after came *Nabis*, that was worſe than both of them. They held on the *Ætolian* and *Roman* ſide, for fear of the *Achæans*, that were the chief Confederates of *Philip*, and hated extremely the name both of Tyrant and *Lacedæmonian*. But of theſe we ſhall ſpeak more hereafter.

Philip entring into *Achaia*, and ſeeing his preſence had brought the contentment of aſſurance to that Countrey; ſpake brave words to the Aſſembly of their States, ſaying, That he had to do with an Enemy, that was very nimble, and made warre by running away. He told how he had followed them to *Chalcis*, to *Orcum*, to *Opus*, and now into *Achaia*: but could no where finde them, ſuch haſte they made, for fear of being overtaken. But flight, he ſaid, was not alwaies proſperous: he ſhould one day light upon them; as ere this he ſundry times had done, and ſtill to their loſſe. The *Achaians* were glad to hear theſe words; and much the more glad, in regard of his good deeds accompanying them. For he reſtored unto their Nation ſome Towns that were in his hand, belonging to them of old. Likewiſe to the *Megalopolitans* their Confederates, he rendered *Aliphera*. The *Dymæans*, that had been taken by the *Romans*, and ſold for ſlaves, he ſought out, ranſomed, and put in quiet poſſeſſion of their own City. Further, paſſing over the *Corinthian* Gulfe, he fell upon the *Ætolians*, whom he drave into the mountains and woods, or other their ſtrongeſt holds, and waſted their Country. This done, he took leave of the *Achæans*, and returned home by Sea, viſited the people that were his ſubjects, or dependants; and animated them ſo well, that they reſted fearleſſe of any threatning danger. Then had he leiſure to make war upon the *Dardanians*, ill neighbours to *Macedon*: with whom nevertheleſs he was not ſo far occupied, but that he could go in hand with preparing a fleet of an hundred gallies, whereby to make himſelf Maſter of the Sea; the *Romans* (ſince the departure of *Attalus*) having not dared to meet or purſue him, when he lately ran along the coaſt of *Greece*, faſt by them where they lay.

This good ſucceſſe added much reputation to the *Macedonian*, and emboldened him to make ſtrong war upon the *Ætolians*, at their own doores. As for the *Romans* either ſome diſpleaſure, conceived againſt their Confederates, or ſome fear of danger at home, when *Aſdrubal* was ready to fall upon *Italy*, cauſed them to give over the care of things in *Greece*, and leave their friends there to their own fortunes. The *Ætolians* therefore being driven to great extremity, were fain to ſue for peace unto *Philip*; and accept it, upon what ever conditions it beſt pleaſed him. The agreement was no ſooner made, than *P. Sempronius* with ten thouſand foot, a thouſand horſe, and thirty five gallies, came over in great haſte (though ſomewhat too late) to trouble it. Hearing how things went in *Ætolia*, he turned aſide to *Dyrrachium* & *Apollonia*, making a great noiſe, as if with theſe his own forces he would work wonders. But it was not long ere *Philip* came to viſit him, and found him tame enough. The King preſented him battell, but he refuſed it: and ſuffering the *Macedonians* to waſte the Countrey round about, before his eies, kept himſelf cloſe within the wals of *Apollonia*, making ſome overtures of peace: which cauſed *Philip* to return home quietly. The *Romans* had not ſo great cauſe to bediſpleaſed with the *Ætolians*, as had *Philip*, to take in evil part the demeanor of the *Carthaginians*. For notwithſtanding the royall offer that he made them, to ſerve their turn in *Italy*, and aſſiſt them, in getting their hearts deſire, before he would expect any requital: they had not ſent any fleet, as in reaſon they ought, and as (conſidering his want of ſufficient ability by Sea) it is likely they were bound, either to ſecure the tranſportation

of his Army, or to free his coast from the *Roman* and *Ætolian* Piracies. Onely once they came to his help, which was at his last journey into *Achaia*. But they were gone again before his arrivall: having done nothing, and pretending fear of being taken by the *Romans*, even at such time as *Philip*, with his own Navie, durst boldly pass by Sea, and found none that durst oppose him. This retchless dealing of the *Carthaginians*, may therefore seem to have been one of *Hanno* his tricks, whereof *Hannibal* so bitterly complained. For it could not but grieve this malicious man exceedingly, to hear that so great a King made offer to serve in person under *Hannibal*, and required the assistance of the same *Hannibal*, as of a man likely to make Monarchs, and alter the affairs of the world at pleasure. Therefore he had reason, such as envie could suggest, to perswade the *Carthaginians* unto a safe and thrifty course: which was, not to admit into the fellowship of their *Italian* wars so mighty a Prince; whom change of affection might make dangerous to their Empire; or his much affection unto *Hannibal*, more dangerous to their liberty. Rather they should do well to save charges, and feed the *Macedonian* with hopes; by making many promises of sending a fleet and some other succours. This would cost nothing, yet would it serve to terrifie the *Romans*, and compell them to send part of their forces from home, that might finde this Enemy work abroad. So should the *Roman* Armies be lessened in *Italy*; and *Philip*, when once he was ingaged in the warre, be urged unto the prosecution, by his own necessity: putting the *Carthaginians* to little or no charges; yea, scarce to the labour of giving him thanks. Now if it might come to pass, as *Hannibal* every day did promise, that *Rome*, and all *Italy* should within a while be at the devotion of *Carthage*: better it were, that the City should be free, so as the troublesome *Greeks* might addresse their complaints unto the *Carthaginians*, as competent Judges between them and the *Macedonian*, than that *Hannibal*, with the power of *Africk*, should wait upon *Philip*, as his Executioner, to fulfill his will and pleasure, in doing such injuries, as would both make the name of a *Carthaginian* hatefull in *Greece*, and oblige *Philip* to be no less impudent, in fulfilling all requests of *Hannibal*. Whether the counsell of *Hanno* and his fellowes were such as this, or whether the *Carthaginians*, of their own disposition, without his advice, were too sparing, and careless, the matter (as farre as concerned *Philip*) came to one reckoning. For they did him no manner of good, but rather dodged with him, even in their little courtesie which they most pretended. And this perhaps was part of the reason, why he began the building of an hundred Gallies, as if he would let them and others know, whereto his proper strength would have reached, had he not vainly given credit to faithlesse promises. When therefore the *Ætolians* had submitted themselves already: and when the *Romans* desired his friendship, as might be thought, for very fear of him, with reputation enough, and not as a forsaken Client of the *Carthaginians*, but a Prince able to have succoured them in their necessity, he might give over the warre, and, without reprehension, leave them to themselves. For he had wilfully entred into trouble for their sakes; but they despised him, as if the quarrell were meerly his own, and he unable to manage it.

The vanity of which their conceits would appear unto them, when they should see, that with his proper strength he had finished the warre, and concluded it highly to his honour. So the year following it was agreed, by the mediation of the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, and others, That the *Romans* should retain three or four Towns of *Illyria*, which they had recovered in this war, being part of their old *Illyrian* conquest: Places no way belonging to the *Macedonian*; and therefore perhaps inserted into the covenants, that somewhat might seem to have been gotten. On the other side, the *Atintanes* were appointed to return under the obedience of *Philip*: who, if they were (as *Ortelius* probably conjectures) the people of the Countrey about *Apollonia*, then did the *Romans* abandon part of their gettings; whereby it appears, that they did not give peace, as they would seem to have done, but accepted it, upon conditions somewhat to their losse.

The Confederates and Dependants of the *Macedonian*, comprehended in this Peace, were *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, the *Achæans*, *Bœotians*, *Thessalians*, *Acarnanians*, and *Epirots*. On the *Roman* side were named, first, the people of *Ilium*, as an honourable remembrance of the *Romans* descent from *Troy*; then, *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*; *Pleuratus* an *Illyrian* Prince; and *Nabis* the tyrant of *Lacedæmon*; together with the *Eleans*, *Messenians*, and

and *Athenians*. The *Ætolians* were omitted, belike, as having agreed for themselves before. But the *Eleans* and *Messenians*, followers of the *Ætolians*, (and by them, as is most likely, comprised in their league with *Philip*) were also inserted by the *Romans*; that were never slow in offering their friendship to small and feeble Nations. As for the *Athenians*, they stood much upon their old honour; and loved to bear a part, though they did nothing, in all great actions. Yet the setting down of their names in this Treaty, served the *Romans* to good purpose: forasmuch as they were a busie people, and ministred occasion to renew the War, when means did better serve to follow it.

§. XIII.

How the Romans *began to recover their strength by degrees. The noble affection of the* Romans, *in relieving the publick necessities of their Common-weal.*

IT was a great fault in the *Carthaginians*, that embracing so many Enterprises at once, they followed all by the halves: and wasted more men and money to no purpose, than would have served (if good order had been taken) to finish the whole Warre, in farre shorter space; and make themselves Lords of all that the *Romans* held. This errour had become the less harmfull, if their care of *Italy* had been such as it ought. But they suffered *Hannibal* to weary himself with expectation of their promised supplies: which being still deferred from year to year, caused as great opportunities to be lost, as a Conquerour could have desired. The death of *Posthumius*, and destruction of his whole Army in *Gaule*; the begun rebellion of the *Sardinians*; the death of *Hiero* their friend in *Syracuse*; with great alterations, much to their prejudice, in the whole Isle of *Sicil*; as also that War, of which we last spake, threatned from *Macedon*; happening all at one time; and that so nearly after their terrible overthrow at *Cannæ*, among so many revolts of their *Italian* Confederates; would utterly have sunk the *Roman* State; had the *Carthaginians*, if not the first year, yet at least the second, sent over to *Hannibal* the forces that were decreed. It is not to be doubted, that even this diversity of great hopes, appearing from all parts, administred matter unto *Hanno*, or such as *Hanno* was, whereupon to work. For though it were in the power of *Carthage*, to performe all that was decreed for *Italy*: yet could not that proportion hold, when so many new concurrences brought each along with them their new care; and required their severall Armies. This had not been a very bad excuse, if any one of the many occasions offered had been throughly prosecuted: though it stood with best reason, that the foundation of all other hopes and comforts, which was the prosperity of *Hannibal* in his *Italian* War, should have been strengthened; whatsoever had become of the rest. But the slender Troups, wherewith the *Carthaginians* fed the Warre in *Spain*; the lingring aide which they sent to uphold the *Sardinian* rebellion, when it was already well-near beaten down; their trifling with *Philip*; and (amongst all these their attempts) their hasty catching at *Sicil*: little deserved to be thought good reasons of neglecting the main point, whereto all the rest had reference. Rather every one of these Actions, considered a part by it self, was no otherwise to be allowed, as discreetly undertaken, or substantially followed; than by making supposition. That the care of *Italy* made the *Carthaginians* more negligent in all things else. Yet if these allegations would not serve to content *Hannibal*, then must he patiently endure to know, that his own Citizens were jealous of his Greatnesse, and durst not trust him with so much power, as should enable him to wrong the State at home.

Whatsoever he heard or thought, *Hannibal* was glad to apply himself to Necessity; to feed his *Italian* friends with hopes; and to trifle away the time about *Nola*, *Naples*, *Cumæ*, and other places: being loth to spend his Army in an hard siege, that was to be reserved for a work of more importance. Many offers he made upon *Nola*, but alwayes with bad sadnes. Once *Marcellus* fought a battel with him there: yet under the very Walles of the Town; having the assistance of the Citizens, that were grown better affected to the *Roman* side, since the Heads that inclined them to rebellion, were cut off. About a thousand men *Hannibal* in that fight lost: which was no great marvell; his forces being then divided, and imployed in sundry parts of *Italy* at once. *Naples* was even in those dayes, a strong City; and required a years work to have taken it by force.

Wherefore the earneſt deſire of *Hannibal* to get it, was alwayes fruſtrate. Upon the town of *Cumæ* they of *Capua* had their plot, and were in hope to take it by cunning. They ſent to the chief Magiſtrates of the *Cumans*, deſiring them (as being alſo *Campans*) to be preſent at a ſolemne ſacrifice of the Nation, where they would conſult about their generall good: promiſing to bring thither a ſufficient guard, to aſſure the whole Aſſembly from any danger that might come by the *Romans*. This motion the *Cumans* made ſhew to entertain; but privily ſent word of all to *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the *Roman* Conſul.

Gracchus was a very good man of war, and happily choſen Conſul in ſo dangerous a time. His Colleague ſhould have been *Poſthumius Albinus*, that was lately ſlain by the *Gaules*: after whoſe death *Marcellus* was choſen, as being judged the fitteſt man to encounter with *Hannibal*. But the *Roman* Augures either found ſome religious impediment that nullified the election of *Marcellus*; or at leaſt they fained ſo to have done, becauſe this was the firſt time, that ever two *Plebeian* Conſuls were choſen together. *Marcellus* therefore gave over the place; and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, the late famous Dictator, was ſubſtituted in his room. But *Fabius* was detained in the City, about matters of religion or ſuperſtition: wherewith *Rome* was commonly, eſpecially in times of danger, very much troubled. So *Gracchus* alone, with a Conſular Army, waited upon *Hannibal* among the *Campans*: not able to meet the enemy in field; yet intentive to all occaſions, that ſhould be preſented. The *Volones*, or Slaves, that lately had been armed, were no ſmall part of his followers. Theſe and the reſt of his men, he continually trained: and had not a greater care, to make his Army skilfull in the exerciſes of war, than to keep it from quarrels that might ariſe by upbraiding one another with their baſe conditions.

Whileſt the Conſull was thus buſied at *Linternum*, the Senators of *Cumæ* ſent him word of all that had paſſed between them and the *Capuans*. It was a good occaſion to fleſh his men, and make them confident againſt the Enemie; of whom hitherto they had bad experience. *Gracchus* therefore put himſelf into *Cumæ*: whence he iſſued at ſuch time, as the Magiſtrates of that City were expected by the *Campans*. The Sacrifice was to be performed by night, at a place called *Hamæ*: three miles from *Cumæ*. There lay *Marius Alfius* the chief Magiſtrate of *Capua*, with fourteen thouſand men; not wholly intent either to the Sacrifice, or to any danger that might interrupt it; but rather deviſing how to ſurpriſe others, than fearing himſelf to be aſſailed. The Conſul therefore, ſuffering none to goe forth of *Cumæ*, that might bear word of him to the Enemies, iſſued out of the town when it grew dark: his men being well refreſhed with meat and ſleep, the day before, that they might hold out the better in this nights ſervice. So he came upon the *Capuans* unawares, and ſlew more than two thouſand of them, together with their Commander, loſing not above a hundred of his own men. Their camp he took; but tarried not long to rifle it, for fear of *Hannibal*, who lay not farre off. By this his providence, he eſcaped a greater loſs, than he had brought upon the Enemies. For when *Hannibal* was informed how things went at *Hamæ*, forthwith he marched thither: hoping to finde thoſe young ſouldiers, and ſlaves, buſied in making ſpoile, and loading themſelves with the booty. But they were all gotten ſafe within *Cumæ*; which partly for anger, partly for deſire of gaining it, and partly at the urgent entreaty of the *Capuans*, *Hannibal* aſſailed the next day. Much labour, and with ill ſucceſſe, the *Carthaginians* and their fellowers ſpent about this town. They raiſed a wooden Tower againſt it, which they brought cloſe unto the wals; thinking thereby to force an Entry. But the Defendants, on the inſide of the wall, raiſed againſt this an high Tower; whence they made reſiſtance, and found means at length to conſume with fire the work of their Enemies. While the *Carthaginians* were buſie in quenching the fire, the *Romans*, ſallying out of the town at two gates, charged them valiantly, and drave them to their Trenches, with the ſlaughter of about fourteen hundred. The Conſull wiſely ſounded the Retrait, ere his men were too far engaged, and *Hannibal* in a readineſs to requite their ſervice. Neither would he, in the pride of his good ſucceſs, adventure forth againſt the Enemy; who preſented him battell the day following, near unto the wals. *Hannibal* therefore, ſeeing no likelihood to prevail in that which he had taken in hand, brake up the ſiege, and returned to his old camp at *Tifata*. About theſe times, and ſhortly after, when *Fabius* the other Conſull had taken the field; ſome ſmall towns were recovered by the *Romans*, and the people ſeverely puniſhed for their revolt.

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The *Carthaginian* Army was too small, to fill with garrisons all places that had yeelded; and withall to abide (as it must do) strong in the field. Wherefore *Hannibal*, attending the supply from home, that should enable him to strike at *Rome* it self, was driven in the mean time to alter his course of war: and, instead of making (as formerly he had done) a general invasion upon the whole Country, to passe from place to place; and wait upon occasions, that grew dayly more commodious to the enemy, than to him. The Country of the *Hirpines* and *Samnites* was grievously wasted by *Marcellus*, in the absence of *Hannibal*: as also was *Campania*, by *Fabius* the Consul; when *Hannibal* having followed *Marcellus* to *Nola*, and received there the losse before mentioned, was gone to winter in *Apulia*. These people shewed not the like spirit in defending their lands, and fighting for the *Carthaginian* Empire, as in former times they had done, when they contended with the *Romans*, in their own behalf, to get the Soveraignty. They held it reason, that they should be protected by such as thought to have dominion over them: whereby at once they overburdened their new Lords; and gave unto their old, the more easie means to take revenge of their defection.

The people of *Rome* were very intentive, as necessity constrained them, to the work that they had in hand. They continued *Fabius* in his Consulship: and joyned with him *Marcus Claudius Marcellus*; whom they had appointed unto that honour the year before. Of these two, *Fabius* was called the *Shield*: and *Marcellus* the *Roman Sword*. In *Fabius* it was highly, and upon just reason, commended, That being himself Consul; and holding the Election, he did not stand upon nice points of formality, or regard what men might think of his ambition, but caused himself to be chosen with *Marcellus*; knowing in what need the City stood of able Commanders. The great name of these Consuls, and the great preparations which the *Romans* made, served to put the *Campani* in fear, that *Capua* it self should be besieged. To prevent this, *Hannibal*, at their earnest entreaty, came from *Arpi*: (where he lay, hearkening after newes from *Tarentum*) and, having with his presence comforted these his friends, fell on the sudden upon *Puteoli*, a Sea-town of *Campania*; about which he spent three dayes in vain, hoping to have wonne it. The garrison in *Puteoli* was six thousand strong: and did their duty so well, that the *Carthaginian*, finding no hope of good successe, could only shew his anger upon the fields there, and about *Naples*; which having done, and once more (with as ill successe as before) assailed *Nola*, he bent his course to *Tarentum*: wherein he had very great intelligence. Whilest he was in his progresse thither; *Hanno* made a journey against *Beneventum*: and *T. Gracchus*, the last years Consul, hasting from *Nuceria*, met him there; and fought with him a battell. *Hanno* had with him about seventeen thousand foot, *Brutians* and *Lucans* for the most part: besides twelve hundred horse; very few of which were *Italians*, all the rest, *Numidians* and *Moores*. He held the *Roman* work four hours, ere it could be perceived to which side the victory would incline. But *Gracchus* his souldiers, which were all (in a manner) the late-armed slaves, had received from their Generall a peremptory denunciation, That this day or never they must purchase their liberty, bringing every man for price thereof, an enemies head. The sweet reward of liberty was so greatly desired, that none of them feared any danger in earning it: howbeit that vain labour, imposed by their Generall, of cutting off the slain enemies heads, troubled them exceedingly; and hindred the service by imployment of so many hands in a work so little concerning the victory. *Gracchus* therefore finding his own errour, wisely corrected it: proclaiming aloud, That they should cast away the heads, and spare the trouble of cutting off any more; for that all should have liberty immediately after the battell, if they wonne the day. This encouragement made them run headlong upon the Enemy; whom their desperate fury had soon overthrown, if the *Roman* horse could have made their part good against the *Numidian*. But though *Hanno* did what he could, and pressed so hard upon the *Romans* battell, that four thousand of the slaves, (for fear either of him, or of the punishment which *Gracchus* had threatned before the battell unto those that should not valiantly behave themselves) retired unto a ground of strength; yet was he glad at length to save himself by flight, when the Grosse of his Army was broken; being unable to remedy the losse. Leaving the field, he was accompanied by no more than two thousand, most of which were horse; all the rest were either slain or taken. The *Roman* Generall gave unto all his Souldiers that reward of liberty which he had promised: but unto those four thousand, which had recoyled

unto the Hill, he added this light punishment; That as long as they served in the wars, they should neither eat nor drink otherwise than standing, unlesse sickneſſe forced them to break his order. So the victorious army returned to *Beneventum*: where the newly enfranchised Souldiers were feasted in publick by the townſ-men; some sitting, some standing, and all of them having their heads covered (as was the custome of slaves manumised) with caps of white wooll. The picture of this Feast (as a thing worthy of remembrance) was afterward hung up in a Table by *Gracchus*, in the Temple of Liberty; which his father had built and dedicated. This was indeed the first battell, worthy of great note, which the *Carthaginians* had lost since the comming of *Hannibal* into *Italy*: the victories of *Marcellus* at *Nola*, and of this *Gracchus* before at *Hama*, being things of small importance.

Thus the *Romans* through industry, by little and little, repaired the great Breach in their Estate, which *Hannibal* had made at *Cannæ*. But all this while, and long after this, their Treasury was so poor, that no industry nor art could serve to help it. The fruits of their grounds did only (and perhaps hardly) serve to feed their Towns and Armies, without any surplusage, that might be exchanged for other needfull commodities. Few they were in *Italy* that continued to pay them tribute: which also they could worse do than before; as living upon the same trade; and subject to the same inconveniencies, which enfeebled *Rome* it self. *Sicil* and *Sardinia*, that were wont to yeeld great profit, hardly now maintained the *Roman* Armies, that lay in those Provinces, to hold them safe, and in good order. As for the Citizens of *Rome*, every one of them suffered his part of the detriment, which the Common-wealth sustained, and could now do least for his Countrey, when most need was: as also the number of them was much decreased; so as if money should be raised upon them by the *Poll*, yet must it be farre lesse, than in former times. The Senate therefore diligently considering the greatneſſe of the warre within the bowels of *Italy*, that could not be thence expelled, without the exceeding charge of many good Armies; the perill, wherein *Sicil* and *Sardinia* stood, both of the *Carthaginians*, and of many among the Naturals declining from the friendship or subjection of *Rome*; the threats of the *Macedonian*, ready to land in the Eastern parts of *Italy*, if they were not at the cost to finde him work at home; the greater threats of *Asdrubal*, to follow his brother over the *Alpes*, as soon as he could rid himself of the *Scipio's* in *Spain*; and the poverty of the Common-wealth, which had not money for any one of these mortall dangers; were driven almost even to extream want of counsell. But being urged by the violence of swift necessity, signified in the letters of the two *Scipio's* from *Spain*; they resolved upon the only course, without the which the City could not have subsisted.

They called the people to assembly; wherein *Quintus Fulvius* the Prætor laid open the publick wants; and plainly said, That in this exigent, there must be no taking of money for victuall, weapons, apparell, or the like things needfull to the Souldiers; but that such as had stuffe, or were Artificers, must trust the Common-wealth with the Loan of their commodities and labours, untill the warre were ended. Hereunto he so effectually exhorted all men, especially the Publicans or customers, and those which in former times had lived upon their dealing in the common Revenues, that the charge was undertaken by private men; and the Army in *Spain*, as well supplyed, as if the Treasury had been full. Shortly after this, *Marcus Attilius Regulus*, and *Publius Furius Philus*, the *Roman* Censors; taking in hand the redresse of disorders within the City, were chiefly intentive to the correction of those, that had mis behaved themselves in this present warre. They began with *L. Cecilius Metellus*; who after the battell at *Cannæ*, had held discourse with some of his Companions, about flying beyond the Seas; as if *Rome*, and all *Italy*, had been no better than lost. After him they took in hand those, that having brought to *Rome* the message of their fellowes made prisoners at *Cannæ*, returned not back to *Hannibal*, as they were bound by oath; but thought themselves thereof sufficently discharged, in that they had stepped once back into his Camp; with pretence of taking better notice of the Captives names. All these were now pronounced infamous by the Censors: as also were a great many more; even whosoever had not served in the warres, after the terme which the Lawes appointed: Neither was the note of the Censors at this time (as otherwise it had used to be) hurtfull only in reputation: but greater weight was added thereunto, by this Decree of the Senate,

Senate, following; *That all such as were noted with infamy by these Censors, should be transported into* Sicil, *there to serve untill the end of the Warre, under the same hard conditions, that were imposed upon the Remainder of the Army beaten at* Cannæ. The office of the Censors was, to take the List and accompt of the Citizens; to chooſe or displace the Senatours; and to set notes of disgrace (without further punishment) upon those, whose unhoneſt or unseemly behaviour fell not within the compass of the Law. They took also an account of the *Roman* Gentlemen: amongst whom they distributed the publick Horses of service, unto such as they thought meet; or took them away for their mis behaviour. Generally, they had the oversight of mens lives and manners: and their censure was much reverenced and feared; though it extended no further, than to putting men out of rank; or making them change their Tribe; or (which was the most that they could doe) causing them to pay some Duties to the Treasury, from which others were exempted. But besides the care of this generall Taxe, and matters of Morality, they had the charge of all publick Works; as mending of High-wayes, Bridges, and Water-courses; the reparations of Temples, Porches, and such other buildings. If any man incroached upon the Streets, High-wayes, or other places that ought to be common; the Censors compelled him to make amends. They had also the letting out of Lands, Customes, and other publick Revenues to farme: so that most of the Citizens of *Rome* were beholding unto this Office; as maintaining themselves by some of the Trades thereto belonging. And this was no small help to conserve the dignity of the Senate: the commonalty being obnoxious unto the Censors; which were alwayes of that Order, and carefull to uphold the reputation thereof. But the Commonweal being now impoverished by Warre, and having small store of Lands to let, or of customes that were worth the farming; *Regulus* & *Philus* troubled not themselves much with perusing the Temples, or other decayed places, that needed reparations: or if they took a view of what was requisite to be done in this kinde; yet forbore they to set any thing in hand, becauſe they had not wherewith to pay. Herein again appeared a notable generosity of the *Romans*. They that had been accustomed in more happy times, to undertake such pieces of work, offered now themselves as willingly to the Censors, as if there had been no such want: promising liberally their cost and travell; without expectation of any payment, before the end of the Warre. In like sort, the Masters of those slaves, that lately had been infranchised by *Gracchus*, were very well contented to forbear the price of them, untill the City were in better case to pay. In this generall inclination of the Multitude, to relieve, as farre forth as every one was able, the common necessity; all the goods of Orphans, and of Widowes living under Patronage, were brought into the Treasury; and there the Questor kept a Book of all that was laid out for the sustenance of these Widowes and Orphans: whileſt the whole stock was used by the City. This good example of those which remained in the Town, prevailed with the Souldiers abroad: so that (the poorer sort excepted) they refused to take pay; and called those *Mercenaries*, that did accept it, when their Country was in so great want.

The twelve hundred Talents, wrongfully extorted from the *Carthaginians*; nor any injuries following, done by the *Romans* in the height of their pride; yeelded half so much commodity, as might be laid in ballance against these miseries, whereinto their Estate was now reduced. Nevertheleſs if we consider things aright the calamities of this Warre did rather inable *Rome* to deal with those Enemies, whom she forthwith undertook, than abate or slacken the growth of that large Dominion, whereto she attained, ere the youngeſt of those men was dead, whose names we have already mentioned. For by this hammering, the *Roman* metall grew more hard and solide: and by paring the branches of private fortunes, the Root and Heart of the Commonwealth was corroborated. So grew the City of *Athens*, when *Xerxes* had burnt the Town to ashes, and taken from every particular Citizen, all hope of other felicity, than that which rested in the common happineſse of the universality. Certain it is, (as Sir *Francis Bacon* hath judiciously observed) That a State, whose dimension or stemme is small, may aptly serve to be foundation of a great Monarchy: which chiefly comes to passe, where all regard of domesticall prosperity is laid aside; and every mans care addressed to the benefit of his Country. Hereof I might say that our Age hath seen a great example, in the united Provinces in the Netherlands; whose present riches,

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and ſtrength grew chiefly from that ill aſſurance, which each of their Towns, or almoſt of their Families, perceived it ſelf to hold, whileſt the generality was oppreſſed by the Duke of *Alva*; were it ſo, that the people had thereby grown as warlike, as by extreme induſtry, and ſtraining themſelves to fill their publick Treaſury, they are all grown wealthy, ſtrong at Sea, & able to wage great Armies for their ſervices by Land. Wherefore if we value at ſuch a rate as we ought, the patient reſolution, conformity to good Order, obedience to Magiſtrates, with many other Vertues, and above all other, the great love of the Common-weal, which was found in *Rome* in theſe dangerous times: we may truly ſay, That the City was never in greater likelihood to proſper. Neither can it be deemed otherwiſe, than that if the ſame affections of the people had laſted, when their Empire, being grown more large and beautifull, ſhould in all reaſon have been more dear unto them; if the riches and delicacies of *Aſia* had not infected them with ſenſuality, and carryed their appetites mainly to thoſe pleaſures, wherein they thought their well-being to conſiſt; if all the Citizens and Subjects of *Rome* could have beleeved their own intereſt to be as great, in thoſe wars which theſe latter Emperours made for their defence, as in theſe which were managed by the Conſuls: the Empire, founded upon ſo great vertue, could not have been thrown down by the hands of rude *Barbarians*, were they never ſo many. But unto all Dominions God hath ſet their periods: Who though he hath given unto Man the knowledge of thoſe waies, by which Kingdomes riſe and fall; yet hath left him ſubject unto the affections, which draw on theſe fatall changes, in their times appointed.

§. XIIII.

The Romans *win ſome Towns back from* Hannibal. Hannibal *wins* Tarentum. *The ſiege of* Capua. *Two victories of* Hannibal. *The journey of* Hannibal *to the gates of* Rome. Capua *taken by the* Romans.

AS the people of *Rome* ſtrained themſelves to the utmoſt, for maintaining the Warre: ſo their Generals abroad omitted no part of induſtry, in ſeeking to recover what had been loſt. The Town of *Caſilme*, *Fabius* beſieged. It was well defended by the *Carthaginian* garriſon; and likely to have been relieved by thoſe of *Capua*, if *Marcellus* from *Nola*, had not come to the aſſiſtance of his Colleague. Nevertheleſs, the place held out ſo obſtinately, that *Fabius* was purpoſed to give it over: ſaying, that the enterpriſe was not great; yet as difficult, as a thing of more importance. But *Marcellus* was of a contrary opinion. He ſaid, That many ſuch things, as were not at firſt to have been under-taken by great Commanders, ought yet, when once they were taken in hand, to be proſequuted unto the beſt effect. So the ſiege held on: and the Town was preſſed ſo hard, that the *Campans* dwelling therein grew fearfull, and craved parlee; offering to give it up, ſo as all might have leave to depart in ſafety, whither they pleaſed. Whileſt they were thus treating of conditions: or whileſt they were iſſuing forth, according to the compoſition already made; (for it is diverſly reported) *Marcellus* ſeizing upon a Gate, entred with his Army, and put all to ſword that came in their way. Fifty of thoſe that were firſt gotten out, ran to *Fabius* the Conſul, who ſaved them, and ſent them to *Capua* in ſafety; all the reſt were either ſlain, or made priſoners. If *Fabius* deſerved Commendations, by holding his word good unto theſe fifty; I know not how the ſlaughter of the reſt, or impriſonment afterward of ſuch as eſcaped the heat of execution, could be excuſed by *Marcellus*. It may be that he helped himſelf, after the *Roman* faſhion, with ſome æquivocation, but he ſhall pay for it hereafter. In like ſort was *Mount Marſam* in *Gaſcoigne* taken by the Marſhall *Monluc*, when I was a young man in *France*. For whileſt he entertained parlee about compoſition; the beſieged ranne all from their ſeverall guards, upon haſty deſire of being acquainted with the conditions propoſed. The Marſhall therefore diſcovering a part of the Wals unguarded, entred by *Scalado*, and put all ſave the Governour unto the ſword. Herein that Governour of *Mount Marſam* committed two groſs errours; the one, in that he gave no order for the Captains and Companies, to hold themſelves in their places; the other, in that he was content to parlee without Pledges for aſſurance given and received. Some ſuch overſight the Governour of *Caſilme* ſeemeth to have committed; yet neither the advantage taken by *Marcellus*, or by *Monluc*, was very honourable.

rable. When this Work was ended, many ſmall Towns of the *Samnites*, and ſome of the *Lucans* and *Apulians*, were recovered: wherein were taken, or ſlain about five and twenty thouſand of the Enemies; and the Country grievouſly waſted by *Fabius*, *Marcellus* lying ſick at *Nola*.

Hannibal in the mean while was about *Tarentum*; waiting to hear from thoſe, that had promiſed to give up the Town. But *M. Valerius* the *Roman* Propretor had thruſt ſo many men into it, that the Traitors durſt not ſtir. Wherefore the *Carthaginian* was fain to depart, having wearied himſelf in vain with expectation. Yet he waſted not the Countrey, but contented himſelf with hope, that they would pleaſe him better in time following. So he departed thence toward *Salapia*: which he choſe for his wintring place; and began to victuall it when Summer was but half paſt. It is ſaid, that he was in love with a young Wench in that Town, in which regard if he began his winter more timely than otherwiſe he required, He did not like the *Romans*; whom neceſſity inforced, to make their Summer laſt as long as they were able to travell up and down the Country.

About this time began great troubles in *Sicil*, whither *Marcellus* the Conſul was ſent, to take ſuch order for the Province, as need ſhould require. Of the doings there, which wore out more time than his Conſulſhip, we will ſpeak hereafter.

The new Conſuls, choſen at *Rome*, were *Q. Fabius* the ſonne of the preſent Conſull, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the ſecond time. The *Romans* found it needfull for the publique ſervice, to imploy oftentimes their beſt able men: and therefore made it lawfull, during the war, to recontinue their Officers, and chooſe ſuch as had lately held their places before; without regarding any diſtance of time, which was otherwiſe required. The old *Fabius* became Lieutenant unto his ſon: which was perhaps the reſpect, that moſt commended his ſonne unto the place. It is noted, That when the old man came into the Camp, and his ſonne rode forth to meet him: eleven of the twelve Lictors, which carried an axe with a bundle of rods before the Conſul, ſuffered him, in regard of due reverence, to paſſe by them on horſe-back, which was againſt the cuſtome. But the ſon perceiving this, commanded the laſt of his Lictors to note it: who thereupon bade the old *Fabius* alight, and come to the Conſul on his feet. The father chearfully did ſo; ſaying, *It was my mind, ſonne, to make tryall, whether thou diddeſt underſtand thy ſelf to be Conſul.* *Caſius Altinius* a wealthy Citizen of *Arpi*, who after the battell at *Cannæ*, had holpen the *Carthaginian* into that Town, ſeeing now the fortune of the *Romans* to amend; came privily to this Conſul *Fabius*, and offered to render it back unto him, if he might be therefore well rewarded. The Conſul purpoſed to follow old examples: and to make this *Altinius* a pattern to all traytors; uſing him as *Camillus* and *Fabricius* had done thoſe that offered their faithfull ſervice againſt the *Faliſci*, and King *Pyrrhus*. But *Q. Fabius* the father, was of another opinion: and ſaid, it was a matter of dangerous conſequence, That it ſhould be thought more ſafe to revolt from the *Romans*, than to turn unto them. Wherefore it was concluded, that he ſhould be ſent to the Town of *Cales*, and there kept as priſoner; untill they could better reſolve, what to do with him, or what uſe to make of him. *Hannibal* underſtanding that *Altinius* was gone and among the *Romans*, took it not ſorrowfully; but thought this a good occaſion to ſeize upon all the mans riches, which were great. Yet that he might ſeem rather ſevere, than covetous, he ſent for the wife and children of *Altinius* into his camp: where having examined them by torment, partly concerning the departure and intentions of this fugitive, partly, and more ſtrictly, about his riches, what they were, and where they lay, He condemned them, as partakers of the treaſon, to be burnt alive; and took all their goods unto himſelf. *Fabius* the Conſul ſhortly after came to *Arpi*: which he wonne by *Scalado*, in a ſtormy and rainy night. Five thouſand of *Hannibals* Souldiers lay in the town; and of the *Arpines* themſelves, there were about three thouſand. Theſe were thruſt formoſt by the *Carthaginian* Garriſon; when it was underſtood, that the *Romans* had gotten over the Wall, and broken open a Gate. For the Souldiers held the townſ-men ſuſpected; and therefore thought it no wiſdome to truſt them at their backs. But after ſome little reſiſtance, the *Arpines* gave over fight, and entertained parley with the *Romans*: proteſting, that they had been betrayed by their Princes: and were become ſubject to the *Carthaginians*, againſt their wils. In proceſſe of this diſcourſe, the *Arpine* Prætor went unto the *Roman* Conſul: and receiving his faith for ſecurity of the Town,

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presently made head against the garrison. This notwithstanding, like it is that *Hannibals* men continued to make good resistance. For when almost a thousand of them, that were *Spaniards*, offered to leave their companions, and serve on the *Romans* side, it was yet covenanted, that the *Carthaginians* should be suffered to passe forth quietly, and return to *Hannibal*. This was performed: and so *Arpi* became *Roman* again, with little other losse, than of him that had betrayed it. About the same time *Clisternum* was taken by *Sempronius Tuditanus*, one of the Prætors: and unto *Cneus Fulvius*, another of the Prætors, an hundred & twelve Gentlemen of *Capua* offered their service upon no other condition, than to have their goods restored unto them, when their City should be recovered by the *Romans*. This was a thing of small importance: but considering the generall hatred of the *Campans* towards *Rome*, it served to discover the inclination of the *Italians* in those times; and how their affections recoyled from *Hannibal*, when there was no appearance of those mighty succours, that had been promised from *Carthage*. The *Consentines* also, and the *Thurines*, people of the *Brutians*, which had yeelded themselves to *Hannibal*, returned again to their old allegiance. Others would have followed their example, but that one *L. Pomponius*, who of a Publican had made himself a Captain, and gotten reputation by some petty exploits in forraging the Countrey, was slain by *Hanno*; with a great multitude of those that followed him. *Hannibal* in the mean while had all his care bent upon *Tarentum*; which if he could take, it seemed that it would stand him in good stead, for drawing over that help out of *Macedon*, which his *Carthaginians* failed to send. Long he waited, ere he could bring his desire to pass: and being loth to hazzard his forces, where he hoped to prevail by intelligence; He contented himself with taking in some poor Towns of the *Salentines*. At length, his Agents within *Tarentum*, found means to accomplish their purpose, and his wish. One *Philcas*, that was of their conspiracy, who lay at *Rome* as Embassadour, practising with the Hostages of the *Tarentines*, and such as had the keeping of them, conveighed them by night out of the City. But he and his company the next day were so closely pursued, that all of them were taken, and brought back to *Rome*, where they suffered death as traytors. By reason of this cruelty, or severity, the people of *Tarentum* grew to hate the *Romans* more generally and earnestly than before. As for the Conspirators, they followed their business the more diligently as knowing what reward they were to expect, if their intention should happen to be discovered. Wherefore they sent again to *Hannibal*: and acquainting him with the manner of their plot, made the same composition with him for the *Tarentines*, which they of *Capua* had made before. *Nico* and *Philomenes*, two the chief among them, used much to goe forth of the Town on hunting by night; as if they durst not take their pleasure by day, for fear of the *Carthaginians*. Seldome or never they missed of their game: for the *Carthaginians* prepared it ready for their hands, that they might not seem to have been abroad upon other occasion: From the camp of *Hannibal*, it was about three daies journey to *Tarentum*, if it should have marched thither with his whole Army. This caused his long abode in one place the less to be suspected: as also to make his enemies the more secure, He caused it to be given out, that he was sick. But when the *Romans* within *Tarentum*, were grown careless of such his neighbourhood, and the Conspirators had set their businesse in order; He took with him ten thousand the most expedite of his horse and foot; and long before break of day, made all speed thitherward. Fourscore light horse of the *Numidians* ran a great way before him, beating all the wayes, and killing any that they met, for fear lest he, and his troup following him, should be discovered. It had been often the manner of some few *Numidian* horse, to do the like in former times. Wherefore the *Roman* Governour, when he heard tell in the evening, that some *Numidians* were abroad in the fields, took it for a sign, that *Hannibal* was not as yet dislodged; and gave order, that some companies should be sent out the next morning, to strip them of their booty, and send them gone. But when it grew dark night; *Hannibal* guided by *Philomenes*, came close to the town: where according to the tokens agreed upon, making a light to shew his arrivall; *Nico*, that was within the town, answered him with another light, in sign that he was ready. Presently *Nico* began to set upon one of the Gates, and to kill the watchmen. *Philomenes* went toward another gate: and whistling (as was his manner) called up the Porter; bidding him make hast, for that he had killed a great Bore, so heavy, that scarce two men could stand under it. So the Porter opened the wicket: and

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forthwith entred two young men, loaden with the Bore; which *Hannibal* had prepared large enough, to be worthy the looking on. While the Porter stood wondring at the largeness of the beast, *Philomenes* ran him through with his Bore-spear: and letting in some thirty armed men, fell upon all the watch; whom when he had slain, he entred the great gate. So the Army of *Hannibal* entring *Tarentum* at two Gates, went directly toward the Market place, where both parts met. Thence they were distributed by their Generall, and sent into all quarters of the City, with *Tarentines* to be their guides. They were commanded to kill all the *Romans*, and not to hurt the Citizens. For better performance hereof, *Hannibal* willed the Conspirators, that when any of their friends appeared in sight, they should bid him be quiet, and of good chear. All the Town was in an uproar: but few could tell what the matter meant. A *Roman* trumpet was unskilfully sounded by a *Greek* in the Theater: which helped the suspition, both of the *Tarentines*, that the *Romans* were about to spoil the Town; and of the *Romans*, that the Citizens were in commotion. The Governour fled into the Port: and taking boat, got into the Citadell, that stood in the mouth of the Haven; whence he might easily perceive the next morning, how all had passed. *Hannibal* assembling the *Tarentines*, gave them to understand, what good affection he bore them; inveighed bitterly against the *Romans*, as tyrannous oppressours; and spake what else he thought fit for the present. This done, and having gotten such spoil as was to be had of the Souldiers goods in the Town, he addressed himself against the Citadell; hoping that if the Garrison would sally out, he might give them such a blow, as should make them unable to defend the Piece. According to his expectation it partly fell out. For when he began to make his approaches, the *Romans* in a bravery sallying forth, gave charge upon his men: who fell back of purpose according to direction, till they had drawn on as many as they could, and so far from their strength, as they durst adventure. Then gave *Hannibal* a sign to his *Carthaginians*, who lay prepared ready for the purpose: and fiercely setting upon the Enemy, drave him back with great slaughter, as fast as he could runne; so that afterwards he durst not issue forth. The Citadell stood up on a Demi-Iland, that was plain ground; and fortified only with a Ditch and Wall against the Town, whereunto it was joyned by a cawsey. This cawsey *Hannibal* intended to fortifie in like sort against the Citadell; to the end that the *Tarentines* might be able, without his help, to keep themselves from all danger thence. His work in few dayes went so well forward, without impediment from the besieged, that he conceived hope of winning the piece it self, by taking a little more pains. Wherefore he made ready all sorts of engines, to force the place. But whilest he was busied in his works, there came by sea a strong supply from *Metapontum*: which took away all hope of prevailing; and made him return to his former counsell. Now forasmuch as the *Tarentine* fleet lay within the haven, and could not pass forth, whilest the *Romans* held the Citadell: it seemed likely that the Town would suffer want, being debarred of accustomed trade and provisions by Sea: whilest the *Roman* garrison by help of their shipping, might easily be relieved, and enabled to hold out. Against this inconvenience, it was rather wished by the *Tarentines*, than any way hoped, that their fleet could get out of the haven; to guard the mouth of it, and cut off all supply from the Enemy. *Hannibal* told them, that this might well be done: for that their Town standing in plain ground, and their streets being fair and broad, it would be no hard matter to draw the Gallies over land, and lanch them into the Sea without. This he undertook, and effected: whereby the *Roman* garrison was reduced into great necessity; though with much patience it held out, and found *Hannibal* oftentimes otherwise busied, than his affairs required.

Thus with mutuall loss on both sides, the time passed: and the *Roman* forces, growing dayly stronger, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, with *Appius Claudius*, lately chosen Consuls, prepared to besiege the great City of *Capua*. Three and twenty Legions the *Romans* had now armed. This was a great and hasty growth from that want of men, and of all necessaries, whereinto the losse at *Cannæ* had reduced them. But to fill up these Legions, they were fain to take up young Boyes that were under seventeen years of age: and to send Commissioners above fifty miles round, for the seeking out of such Lads as might appear serviceable, and pressing them to the Wars; making yet a Law, that their years of service, whereinto they were bound by order of the City, should be reckoned, for their benefit, from this their beginning so young, as if they had been of lawfull age.

Before

Before the *Roman* Army drew near, the *Campans* felt great want of victuall, as if they had already been besieged. This happened partly by sloth of the Nation, partly by the great waste and spoyl, which the *Romans* had in fore-going years made upon their grounds. They sent therefore Embassadours to *Hannibal*; desiring him to succour them ere they were closed up, as they feared to be shortly. He gave them comfortable words, and sent *Hanno* with an Army to supply their wants. *Hanno* appointed them a day; against which they should be ready with all manner of carriages, to store themselves with victuals, that he would provide. Neither did he promise more than he performed. For he caused great quantity of grain, that had been laid up in Cities round about, to be brought into his Camp, three miles from *Beneventum*. Thither at the time appointed, came no more than forty Carts or Wagons, with a few pack-horses, as if this had been enough to victuall *Capua*. Such was the retchlesness of the *Campans*. *Hanno* was exceeding angry hereat: and told them they were worse than very beasts; since hunger could not teach them to have greater care. Wherefore he gave them a longer day; against which he made provision to store them throughly. Of all these doings word was sent to the *Roman* Consuls, from the Citizens of *Beneventum*. Therefore *Q. Fulvius* the Consul, taking with him such strength as he thought needful for the service, came into *Beneventum* by night; where with diligence he made inquiry into the behaviour of the Enemy. He learned, that *Hanno* with part of his Army was gone abroad to make provisions; that some two thousand Wagons, with a great rabble of Carters and other Varlets, lay among the *Carthaginians* in their Camp; so that little good order was kept: all thought being set upon a great harvest. Hereupon the Consul bade his men prepare themselves to assail the enemies camp: and leaving all his impediments within *Beneventum*, he marched thitherward so early in the morning, that he was there with the first break of day. By comming so unexpected, he had well near forced the camp on the sudden. But it was very strong, and very well defended: so that the longer the fight continued, the less desire had *Fulvius* to lose more of his men in the attempt; seeing many of them cast away, and yet little hope of doing good. Therefore he said, that it were better to go more leisurely and substantially to work; to send for his fellow-Consul, with the rest of their Army; and to lye between *Hanno* and home; that neither the *Campans* should depart thence, nor the *Carthaginians* be able to relieve them. Being thus discoursing, and about to sound the retrait; he saw that some of his men had gotten over the enemies Rampart. There was great booty; or (which was all one to the Souldier) an opinion of much that might be gotten in that Camp. Wherefore some Ensign-bearers threw their Ensignes over the Rampart, willing their men to fetch them out, unless they would endure the shame and dishonour following such a losse. Fear of such ignominie, than which nothing could be greater, made the Souldiers adventure so desperately; that *Fulvius*, perceiving the heat of his men, changed his purpose, and incouraged those that were somewhat backward, to follow the example of them that had already gotten over the Trenches. Thus the camp was wonne: in which were slain above sixe thousand; and taken above seven thousand, besides all the store of victuals, and carriages, with abundance of booty, that *Hanno* had lately gotten from the *Roman* Confederates. This misadventure, and the nearer approach of both the Consuls, made them of *Capua* send a pitifull Embassage to *Hannibal*: putting him in minde of all the love that he was wont to protest unto their City; and how he had made shew to affect it no lesse than *Carthage*. But now, they said it would be lost, as *Arpi* was lately, if he gave not strong and speedy succour. *Hannibal* answered with comfortable words: and sent away two thousand horse, to keep their grounds from spoil, whilest he himself was detained about *Tarentum*, partly by hope of winning the Citadell, partly by the disposition, which he saw in many Towns adjoyning, to yeeld unto him. Among the Hostages of the *Tarentines*, that lately had fled out of *Rome*, and being overtaken, suffered death for their attempt; were some of the *Metapontines*, and other Cities of the *Grecks*, inhabiting that Eastern part of *Italy*, which was called of old, *Magna Græcia*. These people took to heart the death of their Hostages, and thought the punishment greater than the offence. Wherefore the *Metapontines*, as soon as the *Roman* garrison was taken from them to defend the Citadel of *Tarentum*, made no more adoe, but opened their gates to *Hannibal*. The *Thurines* would have done the like, upon the like reason, had not some companies lyen in their Town;

Town; which they feared that they should not be able to master. Nevertheless, they helped themselves by cunning: inviting to their gates *Hanno* and *Mago*, that were near at hand: against whom whilst they proffered their service to *Atinius* the *Roman* Captain, they drew him forth to fight, and recoyling from him, closed up their gates. A little formality they used in pretending fear, lest the enemy should break in together with the *Romans*, in saving *Atinius* himself, and sending him away by Sea; as also in consulting a small while (because perhaps many of their chief men were unacquainted with the practice) whether they should yeeld to the *Carthaginian* or no. But this disputation lasted not long: for they that had removed the chief impediment, easily prevailed in the rest; and delivered up the Town to *Hanno* and *Mago*. This good successe, and hope of the like, detained *Hannibal* in those quarters, whilest the Consuls fortifying *Beneventum* to secure their backs, addressed themselves to the siege of *Capua*.

Many disasters befell the *Romans*, in the beginning of this great enterprise. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, a very good man of War, that had of late been twice Consul, was slain, either by treachery of some *Lucans*, that drew him into ambush, or by some *Carthaginian* stragglers, among whom he fell unawares. His body, or his head, was very honourably interred, either by *Hannibal* himself, or (for the reports agree not) by the *Romans*; to whom *Hannibal* sent it. He was appointed to lie in *Beneventum*, there to secure the back of the Army that should besiege *Capua*. But his death hapned in an ill time, to the great hinderance of that businesse. The Volones or Slaves lately manumised, forsook their Ensigns, and went every one whither he thought good, as if they had been discharged by the decease of their Leader; so that it asked some labour to seek them out, and bring them back into their Camp. Nevertheless, the Consuls went forward with their work, & drawing near to *Capua*, did all acts of hostility, which they could. *Mago* the *Carthaginian*, and the Citizens of *Capua* gave them an hard welcome, wherein above fifteen hundred *Romans* were lost. Neither was it long ere *Hannibal* came thither, who fought with the Consuls, and had the better; insomuch, that he caused them to dislodge. They removed by night, and went severall waies: *Fulvius* towards *Cannæ*, *Claudius* into *Lucania*. *Hannibal* followed after *Claudius*, who having led him a great walk, fetcht a compasse about, and returned to *Capua*. It so fell out, that one *Marcus Centenius Penula*, a stout man, & one that with good commendations had discharged the place of a Centurion, lay with an Army not far from thence, where *Hannibal* rested, when he was weary of hunting after *Claudius*. This *Penula* had made great vaunts to the *Roman* Senate, of wonders which he would work, if he might be trusted with the leading of five thousand men. The Fathers were unwilling in such a time, to reject the vertue of any good Souldier, how mean soever his condition were. Wherefore they gave him the charge of eight thousand: and he himself being a proper man, and talking bravely, gathered up so many voluntaries, as almost doubled his number. But meeting thus with *Hannibal*, he gave proof of the difference between a stout Centurion, and one able to command in chief. He and his fellowes were all (in a manner) slain, scarce a thousand of them escaping. Soon after this, *Hannibal* had word, that *Cneus Fulvius* a *Roman* Prætor with eighteen thousand men was in *Apulia*, very careless, and a man insufficient for the charge which he held. Thither therefore he hasted to visit him: hoping to deal the better with the main strength of *Rome*, which pointed at *Capua*, when he should have cut off those forces, that lay in the Provinces about, under men of small ability. Comming upon *Fulvius*, he found him and his men so jolly, that needs they would have fought the first night. Wherefore it was not to be doubted, what would happen the day following. So he bestowed *Mago* with three thousand of his lightest armed, in places thereabout most fit for ambush. Then offering battell to *Fulvius*, he soon had him in the trap: whence he made him glad to escape alive; leaving all, save two thousand of his followers, dead behind him.

These two great blowes, received the one presently after the other, much astonished the *Romans*. Nevertheless, all care was taken, to gather up the small reliques of the broken Armies: and that the Consuls should go substantially forwards with the siege of *Capua*: which was of great consequence, both in matter of reputation, and in many other respects. The two Consuls sate down before the Town, and *C. Claudius Nero*, one of the Prætors, came with his Army from *Sueſſula*, to their assistance. They made Proclamation That [illegible] would issue out of *Capua* before a certain day prefixed, should

have his pardon, and be ſuffered to enjoy all that unto him belonged: which day being paſt, there ſhould be no grace expected. This offer was contumeliouſly rejected; the *Capuans* relying on their own ſtrength, and the ſuccours attended from *Hannibal*. Before the City was cloſed up, they ſent meſſengers to the *Carthaginian*; which found him at *Brunduſium*. He had made a long journey in hope of gaining the *Tarentine* Citadell: of which expectation failing, he turned to *Brunduſium*, upon advertiſement that he ſhould be let in. There the *Capuans* met him, told him of their danger with earneſt words; and were with words as bravely re-comforted. He bade them conſider, how a few dayes ſince he had chaſed the Conſuls out of their fields; and told them, that he would preſently come thither again, and ſend the *Romans* going as faſt as before. With this good anſwer the Meſſengers returned, and hardly could get back into the City; which the *Romans* had almoſt intrenched round. As for *Hannibal* himſelf, he was of opinion, that *Capua*, being very well manned, and heartily devoted unto his friendſhip, would hold out a long time, and thereby give him leiſure to do what he thought requiſite among the *Tarentines*, and in thoſe Eaſtern parts of *Italy*; whileſt the *Roman* Army ſpent it ſelf in a tedious ſiege. Thus he lingred, & thereby gave the Conſuls time, both to fortifie themſelves at *Capua*, and to diſpatch the election of new Magiſtrates in *Rome*; whileſt he himſelf purſued hopes that never found ſucceſs.

Claudius and *Fulvius*, when their terme of office was expired, were appointed to continue the ſiege at *Capua*; retaining the ſame Armies as Proconſuls. The Townſ-men often ſallied out; rather in a bravery, than likelihood to work any matter of effect; the Enemy lying cloſe within his Trenches, as intending without other violence, to ſubdue them by famine. Yet againſt the *Campan* horſe (for their foot was eaſily beaten) the *Romans* uſed to thruſt out ſome troups, that ſhould hold them skirmiſh. In theſe exerciſes the *Campans* uſually had the better, to the great grief of their proud Enemy; who ſcorned to take foile at the hands of ſuch Rebels. It was therfore deviſed, that ſome active and couragious young men ſhould learn to ride behinde the *Roman* men at arms; leaping up, and again diſmounting lightly, as occaſion ſerved. Theſe were furniſhed like the *Velites*, having each of them three or four ſmall darts: which alighting in time of conflict, they diſcharged thick upon the Enemies horſe; whom vanquiſhing in this kind of ſervice, they much diſheartned in the main. The time thus paſſing, and famine daily increaſing within the City, *Hannibal* came at length, not expected by the *Romans*: and taking a Fort of theirs, called *Galatia*, fell upon their Camp. At the ſame time the *Capuans* iſſued with their whole power, in as terrible manner as they could deviſe: ſetting all their multitude of unſerviceable people by the wals, which with a loud noiſe of Pans and Baſons, troubled thoſe that were occupied in fight. *Appius Claudius* oppoſing himſelf to the *Campans*, eaſily defended his Trenches againſt them; and ſo well repreſſed them, that he drave them at length back into their City. Nevertheleſs, in purſuing them to their gates, He received a wound that accompanyed him in ſhort ſpace after to his grave. *Q. Fulvius* was held harder to his task by *Hannibal*, and the *Carthaginian* Army. The *Roman* camp was even at point to have been loſt; and *Hannibal* his Elephants, of which he brought three and thirty, were either gotten within the rampart, or elſe (for the report varies) being ſome of them ſlain upon it, fell into the ditch; & filled it up in ſuch ſort, that their bodies ſerved as a bridge unto the Aſſailants. It is ſaid, that *Hannibal* in this tumult cauſed ſome fugitives that could ſpeak Latine wel, to proclaim aloud as it were in the Conſuls name, That every one of the Souldiers ſhould ſhift for himſelf, and flie betimes unto the next hils, for as much as the Camp was already loſt. But all would not ſerve. The fraud was detected: and the Army having ſitten there ſo long, had at good leiſure ſtrongly intrenched it ſelf, ſo as little hope there was to raiſe the ſiege by force.

This did extremely perplex the *Carthaginian*. The purchaſe of *Capua* had (as was thought) with-held him from taking *Rome* it ſelf: and now his deſire of winning the *Tarentine* Citadell, had well-near loſt *Capua*; in reſpect of which, neither the Citadell, nor the City of *Tarentum* were to have been much regarded. Falling therefore into a deſperate anger with himſelf and his hard fortune, that of ſo many great victories he had made no greater uſe: on the ſudden he entertained an haughty reſolution, even to ſet upon *Rome*; and carry to the wals of that proud City, the danger of Warre that threatned *Capua*. This he thought would be a mean, to draw the *Roman* Generals, or

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one of them at least, unto the defence of their owne home. If they rose from the siege with their whole Army, then had he his desire: If they divided their forces, then was it likely, that either he or the *Campans*, should well enough deal with them apart. Neither did he despair, that the terrour of his comming might so astonish the multitude within *Rome*, as he might enter some part or other of the City. His only fear was, lest the *Campans*, being ignorant of his purpose, should think he had forsaken them; and thereupon forthwith yeeld themselves to the Enemy. To prevent this danger, he sent letters to *Capua* by a subtle *Numidian*: who running as a fugitive into the *Roman* Camp, conveighed himself thence over the innermost Trenches into the City. The journey to *Rome* was to be performed with great celerity: no small hope of good success resting in the suddenne sse of his arrivall there. Wherefore he caused his men, to have in a readiness ten dayes victuals; and prepared as many boats, as might in one night transport his Army over the River *Vulturnus*. This could not be done so closely, but that the *Roman* Generals, by some fugitives, had notice of his purpose. With this danger therefore they acquainted the Senate; which was therewith affected, according to the diversity of mens opinions, in a case of such importance. Some gave counsell to let alone *Capua*, yea, and all places else, rather then to put the Town of *Rome* into perill of being taken by the enemy. Others were so far from allowing of this, as they wondred how any man could think, that *Hannibal*, being unable to relieve *Capua*, should judge himself strong enough to win *Rome*; and therefore stoutly said, That those Legions, which were kept at home for defence of the City, would serve the turn well enough, to keep him out and send him thence, if he were so unwise as to come thither. But it was finally concluded, that Letters should be sent to *Fulvius* & *Claudius*, acquainting them perfectly with the forces, that at the present were in *Rome*: who, since they knew best what the strength was which *Hannibal* could bring along with him, were best able to judge, what was needfull to oppose him. So it was referred unto the discretion of these Generals at *Capua*, to do as they thought behoovefull: and if it might conveniently be, neither to raise their siege, nor yet to put the City of *Rome* into much adventure. According to this Decree of the Senate, *Q. Fulvius* took fifteen thousand foot, and a thousand horse, the choice of his whole Army: with which he hasted toward *Rome*, leaving *App. Claudius*, who could not travell by reason of his wound, to continue the siege at *Capua*.

Hannibal having passed over *Vulturnus*, burnt up all his boats; and left nothing that might transport the Enemy, in case he should offer to pursue or coast him. Then hasted he away toward *Rome*, staying no longer in any one place, than he needs must. Yet found he the Bridges over *Liris* broken down by the people of *Fregellæ*: which as it stopped him a little on his way; so it made him the more grievously to spoyle their lands, while the Bridges were in mending. The nearer that he drew to *Rome*, the greater waste he made: his *Numidians* running before him: driving the Country, and killing or taking multitudes of all sorts and ages, that fled out of all parts round about. The messengers of these newes came apace, one after another into the City; some few bringing true advertisements; but the most of them reporting the conceits of their own fear. All the streets and Temples in *Rome* were pestered with women, crying, and praying, and rubbing the Altars with their hair, because they could do none other good. The Senators were all in the great Market, or place of Assembly; ready to give their advice, if it were asked, or to take directions given by the Magistrates. All places of most importance were stuffed with souldiers: it being uncertain, upon which part *Hannibal* would fall. In the midst of this trepidation, there came newes that *Quintus Fulvius*, with part of the Army from *Capua*, was hasting to the defence of the City. The Office of a Proconsull did expire, at his returne home, and entry into the Gates of *Rome*. Wherefore, that *Fulvius* might lose nothing by comming into the City in time of such need, an Act was passed, That he should have equall power with the Consuls during his abode there. He and *Hannibal* arrived at *Rome*, one soon after another: *Fulvius* having been long held occupied in passing over *Vulturnus*; and *Hannibal* receiving impediment in his journey, as much as the Country was able to give. The Consuls, and *Fulvius*, incamped without the gates of *Rome*, attending the *Carthaginian*. Thither they called the Senate: and as the danger grew nearer and greater; so took they more carefull and especiall order against all occurrences. *Hannibal* came to the River *Anio* or *Anien*, three miles from the Town; whence he advanced with two thousand horse,

and rode along a great way under the Wals, viewing the site thereof, and considering how he might best approach it. But he either went, or (as the *Roman* Story saith) was driven away, without doing or receiving any hurt. Many tumults rose in this while among the people; but were suppressed by care and diligence of the Senators. Above the rest one accident was both troublesome, and not without perill. Of *Numidians* that had shifted aside, and fallen (upon some displeasures) from *Hannibal* to the *Romans*, there were some twelve hundred then in *Rome*: which were appointed by the Consuls, to passe through the Town, from the Mount *Aventine*, to the Gate *Collina*, where it was thought that their service might be usefull, among broken wayes, and Garden wals lying in the suburbs. The faces of these men, and their furniture, wherein they differed not from the followers of *Hannibal*; bred such mistaking, as caused a great uproar among the people: all crying out that *Aventine* was taken, and the Enemy gotten within the wals. The noise was such, that men could not be informed of the truth: and the streets were so full of cattell, and husbandmen, which were fled thither out of the Villages adjoyning, that the passage was stopt up: and the poor *Numidians* pitifully beaten from the house tops, with stones and other weapons that came next to hand, by the desperate multitude, that would have run out at the Gates, had it not been certain who lay under the Wals. To remedy the like inconveniences, it was ordained, *That all which had been Dictators, Consuls, or Censors, should have authority as Magistrates, till the Enemy departed.* The day following *Hannibal* passed over *Anien*, and presented battell to the *Romans*, who did not wisely if they undertook it. It is said, that a terrible showre of rain, caused both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* to return into their severall Camps: and that this happened two dayes together, the weather breaking up and clearing as soon as they were departed asunder: certain it is, that *Hannibal*, who had brought along with him no more than ten dayes provision, could not indure to stay there, untill his victuals were all spent. In which regard the *Romans*, if they suffered him to waste his time and provisions, knowing that he could not abide there long, did as became well advised men: if they offered to fight with him, and either had the better or were parted (as is said) by some accident of weather, the commendations must be given to their fortune. The terror of *Hannibals* comming to the City, how great so ever it was at the first, yet after some leisure, and better notice taken of their forces, which appeared lesse than the first apprehension had formed them, was much and soon abated. Hereunto it helped well, that at the same time the supply appointed for *Spain*, after the death of the two *Scipio's*, were sent out of the Town, & went forth at the gate, whilst one *Carthaginian* lay before another. In all *Panick terrours*, as they are called, whereof there is either no cause known, or no cause answerable to the greatnesse of the sudden consternation; it is a good remedy to do somewhat quite contrary to that which the danger would require, were it such as men have fashioned it in their amazed conceits. Thus did *Alexander* cause his souldiers to disarme themselves, when they were all on a sudden in a great fear of they wist not what. And thus did *Clearchus* pacifie a fooliſh uproar in his Army, by proclaiming a reward unto him that could tell who had sent the Asse into the Camp. But in this present example of the *Romans*, appears withall a great magnanimity: whereby they sustained their reputation, and augmented it no lesse, than by this bold attempt of *Hannibal* it might seem to have been diminished. Neither could they more finely have checked the glorious conceits of their enemies, and taken away the disgrace of that fear, which clouded their valour at his first coming; than by making such demonstrations, when once they had recovered spirit, how little they esteemed him. To this purpose therefore that very piece of ground, on which the *Carthaginian* lay encamped, was sold in *Rome*: and sold it was nothing under the value, but at as good a rate, as if it had been in time of peace. This indignity comming to his ear, incensed *Hannibal* so much, that he made port-sale of the Silver-smithes shops, which were near about the Market or Common place in *Rome*; as if his own title to the houses within the Town were no whit worse, than any *Roman* Citizens could be unto that piece of ground, whereon he raised his Tent. But this counter-practise was nothing worth. The *Romans* did seek to manifest that assurance which they justly had conceived; *Hannibal*, to make shew of continuing in an hope, which was already past. His victuals were almost spent: and of those ends, that he had proposed unto himself, this journey had brought forth none other, than the fame of his much daring. Wherefore he brake up his Camp: and doing what

spoil

spoil he could of the *Roman* Territory, without sparing religious places, wherein wealth was to be gotten, he passed like a tempest over the Country, and ran toward the Eastern Sea so fast, that he had almost taken the City of *Rhegium* before his arrivall was feared or suspected. As for *Capua*, he gave it lost: and is likely to have cursed the whole faction of *Hanno*, which thus disabled him to relieve that fair City, since he had no other way to vent his grief.

Q. Fabius returning back to *Capua*, made Proclamation a new, that whoso would yeeld, before a certain day, might safely do it. This, and the very return of *Fulvius*, without any more appearance of *Hannibal*, gave the *Capuans* to understand, that they were abandoned, and their case desperate. To trust the *Roman* pardon proclaimed, every mans conscience of his own evill deserts, told him, that it was a vanity: and some faint hope was given, by *Hanno* and *Bostar*, Captains of the *Carthaginian* Garrison within the Town, that *Hannibal* should come again; if means could only be found, how to convey such Letters unto him as they would write. The carriage of the Letters was undertaken by some *Numidians*: who running as fugitives, out of the Town into the *Roman* camp, waited fit opportunity to make an escape thence with their packets. But it hapned ere they could conveigh themselves away, that one of them was detected by an harlot following him out of the Town; and the Letters of *Bostar* and *Hanno* were taken and opened, containing a vehement intreaty unto *Hannibal*, that he would not thus forsake the *Capuans* and them. For (said they) we came not hither to make Warre against *Rhegium* and *Tarentum*, but against the *Romans*: whose Legions, whersoever they lye, there also should the *Carthaginian* Army be ready to attend them; and by taking of such course, have we gotten those victories at *Trebia*, *Thrasymene*, and *Cannæ*. In fine, they besought him, that he would not dishonour himself, and betray them to their enemies, by turning another way; as if it were his only care, that the City should not be taken in his full view: promising to make a desperate sally, if he would once more adventure to set upon the *Roman* Camp. Such were the hopes of *Bostar* and his fellow.

But *Hannibal* had already done his best: and now began to faint under the burden of that Warre, wherein as afterward he protested he was vanquished by *Hanno* and his Partisans in the *Carthaginian* Senate, rather than by any force of *Rome*. *Liv. lib. 26.*
It may well be, as a thing incident in like cases, that some of those which were besieged in *Capua*, had been sent over by the *Hannonians*, to observe the doings of *Hannibal*, and to check his proceedings. If this were so, justly might they curse their own malice, which had cast them into this remediless necessity. Howsoever it were, the Letters directed unto *Hannibal*, fell (as is shewed) into the *Roman* Proconsuls hands; who cutting off the hands of all such counterfeit fugitives, as carried such messages, whipt them back into the Town. This miserable spectacle brake the hearts of the *Campans*, so that the multitude crying out upon the Senate, with menacing termes, caused them to assemble and consult, about the yeelding up of *Capua* unto the *Romans*. The bravest of the Senators and such as a few years since, had been most forward in joyning with *Hannibal*, understood well enough whereunto the matter tended. Wherefore one of them invited the rest home to supper: telling them, that when they had made good chear, he would drink to them such an health, as should set them free from that cruell revenge, which the Enemies sought upon their bodies. About seven and twenty of the Senators there were, that liking well of this motion, ended their lives together, by drinking poyson. All the rest hoping for more mercy than they had deserved, yeelded simply to discretion. So one of the Town-gates was set open; whereat a *Roman* Legion, with some other Companies, entring, disarmed the Citizens; apprehended the Carthaginian Garrison; and commanded all the Senators of *Capua* to go forth into the *Roman* camp. At their comming thither, the Proconsuls laid yrons upon them all, and commanding them to tell what store of gold and silver they had at home, sent them into safe custody; some to *Cales*, others to *Theanum*. Touching the generall multitude, they were reserved unto the discretion of the Senate: yet so hardly used by *Fulvius* in the meane while, that they had little cause of hope or comfort in this adversity. *Ap. Claudius* was brought even to the point of death, by the wound which he had lately received: yet was he not inexorable to the *Campans*; as having loved them well in former times, & having given his daughter in mariage to that *Pacuvius*, of whom we spake before. But this facility

of his Colleague, made *Fulvius* the more hasty in taking vengeance: for fear, lest upon the like respects, the *Roman* Senate might prove more gentle, than he thought behoovefull to the common safety, and honour of their State. Wherefore he took the pains to ride by night unto *Theanum*, and from thence to *Cales*: where he caused all the *Campan* prisoners to suffer death; binding them to stakes, and scourging them first a good while with rods; after which he struck off their heads.

This terrible example of vengeance, which the *Carthaginians* could not hinder, made all towns of *Italy* the less apt to follow the vain hope of the *Campans*: and bred a generall inclination, to return upon good conditions to the *Roman* side. The *Atellans*, *Calatines* and *Sabatines*, people of the *Campans*, that in the former change had followed the fortune of *Capua*, made also now the like submission, for very fear and want of ability to resist. They were therefore used with the like rigour, by *Fulvius*: who dealt so extremely with them all, that he brought them into desperation. Wherefore some of their young gentlemen burning with fire of revenge, got into *Rome*: where they found means by night-time, to set on fire so many houses, that a great part of the City was like to have been consumed. The beginning of the fire in diverse places at once, argued that it was no casualty. Wherefore liberty was proclaimed unto any slave, and other sufficient reward to any free man, that should discover who those Incendiaries were. Thus all came out; and the *Campans* being detected by a slave of their own (to whom, above his liberty promised, was given about the sum of an hundred marks) had the punishment answerable to their deserts. *Fulvius* hereby being more and more incensed against this wretched people, held them in a manner as prisoners within their Wals: and this extreme severity caused them at length to become Suppliants unto the *Roman* Senate; that some period might be set unto their miseries. That whereupon the Senators resolved in the end, was worse than all that which they had suffered before. Only two poor women in *Capua* (of which one had been an harlot) were found not guilty of the late rebellion. The rest were, some of them, with their wives and children sold for slaves, and their goods confiscated; others laid in prison, and reserved to further deliberation: but the generality of them, commanded to depart out of *Campania* by a certain day, and confined unto severall places, as best liked the angry victors. As for the town of *Capua*, it was suffered to stand, in regard of the beauty and commodious site: but no corporation or form of polity was allowed to be there in; only a *Roman* Provost was every year sent to governe over those that should inhabit it, and to do justice. This was the greatest act, and most important, hitherto done by the people of *Rome*, after many great losses in the present war. After this, the glory of *Hannibal* began to shine with a more dim light than before: his oil being far spent; and that which should have revived his flame, being unfortunately shed; as shall be told in place convenient.

§. XV.

How the Carthaginians, *making a party in* Sardinia *and* Sicil, *held War against the* Romans *in those Islands, and were overcome.*

WHilest things passed thus in *Italy*, the commotions raised in *Sardinia* and *Sicil* by the *Carthaginians* and their friends, were brought to a quiet and happy end by the industrious valour of the *Romans*. The *Sardinian* rebellion was great and sudden: above thirty thousand being up in armes, ere the *Roman* forces could arrive there to suppress it. One *Harsicoras* with his son *Hyestus*, mighty men in that Iland, were the Ring leaders; being incited by *Hanno* a *Carthaginian*, that promised the assistance of his country. Neither were the *Carthaginians* in this enterprise so careless, as in the rest of their main undertakings, about the same time. Yet it had been better if their care had been directed unto the prosecution of that main business in *Italy*; whereon this and all other hopes depended. For it would have sufficed, if they could have hindred the *Romans* from sending an Army into *Sardinia*. *Harsicoras* with his followers might well enough have served to drive out *Quintus Mutius* the Prætor: who lay sick in the Province; and not more weak in his own body, than in his train. But whilest they sought revenge of that particular injury, whereof the sense was most grievous; they neglected the opportunity of requiting those that had done them wrong, and of the securing themselves from all injuries in the future. Their fortune also in this enter-

enterprise was such, as may seem to have encouraged them from being at the like charge, in cases of more importance. For whereas they sent over *Asdrubal*, surnamed *the Bald*, with a competent fleet and Army, assisted in this expedition by *Hanno* the Author of the rebellion, and by *Mago* a Gentleman of the *Barchine* house, and neer kinsman to *Hannibal*: it so fell out, that the whole fleet, by extremity of foul weather, was cast upon the *Baleares*; so beaten, and in such evill plight, that the *Sardinians* had even spent their hearts, and were in a manner quite vanquished, ere these their friends could arrive to succour them.

Titus Manlius was sent from *Rome* with two and twenty thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, to settle the estate of that Iland, which he had taken in, and annexed unto the *Roman* dominion, long before this, in his Consulship. It was a laudable custome of the *Romans*, to preserve and uphold in their severall provinces, the greatnesse and reputation of those men, and their families, by whom each Province had been first subdued unto their Empire. If any injury were done unto the Provincials, if any grace were to be obtained from the Senate, or whatsoever accident required the assistance of a Patron; the first Conquerour, and his race after him, were the most ready and best approved means, to procure the benefit of the people subdued. Hereby the *Romans* held very sure intelligence, in every Province, and had alwayes in readinesse fit men to reclaim their Subjects, if they fell into any such disorder, as would otherwise have required a greater charge and trouble. The comming of *Manlius* retained in obedience all that were not already broken too far out. Yet was *Harsicoras* so strong in field, that *Manlius* was compelled to arme his Mariners: without whom he could not have made up that number of two and twenty thousand, whereof we have spoken before: he landed at *Calaris*, or *Carallis*, where mooring his ships, he passed up into the Countrey, and sought out the Enemy. *Hyostus*, the sonne of *Harsicoras*, had then the command of the *Sardinian* Army left unto him by his father, who was gone abroad into the Countrey, to draw in more friends to their side. This young gentleman would needs adventure to get honour, by giving battell to the *Romans* at his own discretion. So he rashly adventured to fight with an old Souldier: by whom he received a terrible overthrow; and lost in one day above thirty thousand of his followers. *Hyostus* himself, with the rest of his broken troups, got into *Cornus*, the chief Town of the Island: whither *Manlius* pursued them. Very soon after this defeature came *Asdrubal* with his *Carthaginians*; too late to win all *Sardinia* in such haste as he might have done, if the tempest had not hindred his voyage: yet soon enough, and strong enough to save the Town of *Cornus*, and to put a new spirit into the Rebels. *Manlius* hereupon withdrew himself back to *Calaris*: where he had not stayed long, ere the *Sardinians* (such of them as adhered to the *Roman* party) craved his assistance, their Countrey being wasted by the *Carthaginians*, and the rebels, with whom they had refused to joyn. This drew *Manlius* forth of *Calaris*: where, if he had stayed a little longer, *Asdrubal* would have sought him out with some blemish to his reputation. But the fame of *Asdrubal* and his company, appears to have been greater than was their strength. For after some triall made of them in few skirmishes, *Manlius* adventured all to the hazzard of a battell; wherein he slew twelve thousand of the enemies; and took of the *Sardinians* and *Carthaginians* three thousand. Four hours the battell lasted; and victory at length fell to the *Romans*, by the flight of the Islanders, whose courages had been broken in their unprosperous fight, not many dayes before. The death of young *Hyostus*, and of his father *Harsicoras*, that slew himself for grief, together with the captivity of *Asdrubal* himself, with *Mago* and *Hanno* the *Carthaginians*, made the victory the more famous. The vanquished Army fled into *Cornus*; whither *Manlius* followed them, and in short space won the Town. All other Cities of the Isle that had rebelled, followed the example of *Cornus*, and yeelded unto the *Roman*; who, imposing upon them such increase of tribute, or other punishment, as best sorted with the nature of their severall offences, or their ability to pay, returned back to *Calaris* with a great booty, and from thence to *Rome* leaving *Sardinia* in quiet.

The war in *Sicil* was of greater length, and every way more burdensome to *Rome*: as also the victory brought more honour and profit, for that the *Romans* became thereby, not only favers of their own, as in *Sardinia*; but Lords of the whole Country, by annexing the City and dominion of *Syracuse*, to that which they enjoyed before. Soon after

after the battell of *Cannæ*, the old King of *Syracuse* died; who had continued long a stedfast friend unto the *Romans*, and greatly relieved them in this present war. He left his kingdome to *Hieronymus* his grand-child, that was about fifteen years of age; *Gelo* his sonne, that should have been his heir, being dead before. To this young King his successour, *Hiero* appointed fifteen tutors: of which the principall were *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and *Themistius*; who had married his daughters, or the daughters of *Gelo*. The rest were such, as he judged most likely to preserve the Kingdome, by the same art, whereby himself had gotten and so long kept it. But within a little while, *Andronodorus* waxing weary of so many coadjutors, began to commend the sufficiency of the young Prince, as extraordinary in one of his years; and said, that he was able to rule the kingdome without help of any Protector. Thus by giving over his own charge, he caused others to do the like: hoping thereby to get the king wholly into his hands; which came to passe in a sort, as he desired. For *Hieronymus*, laying aside all care of government, gave himself wholly over to his pleasures: or, if he had any regard of his Royall dignity, it was only in matter of exterior shew; as wearing a Diadem, with ornaments of purple, and being attended by an armed guard. Hereby he offended the eyes of his people, that had never seen the like in *Hiero*, or in *Gelo* his sonne. But much more he offended them, when by his insolent behaviour, suitable to his outward pompe, he gave proof, that in course of life, he would revive the memory of Tyrants dead long since, from whom he took the pattern of his habit. He grew proud, lustfull, cruell, and dangerous to all that were about him: so that such of his late tutors as could escape him by flight, were glad to live in banishment: the rest, being most of them put to death by the Tyrant; many of them dying by their own hands, to avoid the danger of his displeasure, that seemed worse than death it self. Only *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and one *Thrasō* continued in grace with him, and were his Counsellors, but not of his Cabinet. These, howsoever they agreed in other points, were at some dissension about the main point of adhering, either to the *Romans*, or to the *Carthaginians*. The two former of them were wholly for the Kings pleasure, which was set on change: but *Thrasō*, having more regard of his honour and profit, was very earnest to continue the amity with *Rome*. Whilest as yet it remained somewhat doubtfull which way the King would incline, a conspiracy against his person was detected by a Groome of his; to whom one *Theodorus* had broken the matter. *Theodorus* hereupon was appprehended, and tormented; thereby to wring out of him the whole practice, and the names of the undertakers. Long it was ere he would speak any thing: but yeelding (as it seemed) in the end, unto the extremity of the torture, he confessed, that he had been set on by *Thrasō*; whom he appeached of the treason, together with many more, that were near in love or place unto *Hieronymus*. All these therefore were put to death, being innocent of the crime wherewith they were charged. But they that were indeed the Conspirators, walked boldly in the streets, and never shrunk for the matter: assuring themselves, that the resolution of *Theodorus* would yeeld to no extremity. Thus they all escaped, and soon after found means to execute their purpose. The King himself, when *Thrasō* was taken out of the way, quickly resolved upon siding with the *Carthaginians*, whereto he was very inclinable before. Young men, when first they grow Masters of themselves, love to seem wiser than their fathers, by taking different courses. And the Liberality of *Hiero* to the *Romans*, in their great necessity, had of late been such, as might have been termed excessive, were it not in regard of his providence; wherein he took order for his own Estate, that depended upon theirs. But the young Nephew taking little heed of dangers farre off, regarded only the things present; the weakenesse of *Rome*, the prevalent fortunes of *Carthage*, and the much money that his grand-father had layed out in vain, to shoulder up a falling house. Wherefore he dealt with *Hannibal*: who readily entred into good correspondence with him; that was maintained by *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, *Carthaginians* borne, but grand-children of a banished *Syracusian*. These grew into such favour with *Hieronymus*, that they drew him whither they listed. So that when *App. Claudius* the *Roman* Prætor, hearing what was towards, made a motion of renewing the Confederacy, between the people of *Rome*, and the King of *Syracuse*; his messengers were dismissed with an open scoffe. For *Hieronymus* would needs have them tell him the order of the fight at *Cannæ*, that he might thereby learn how to accommodate himself; saying, that he could hardly beleeve the *Carthaginians*;

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ſo wonderfull was the victory as they reported it. Having thus diſmiſſed the *Romans*, he ſent Embaſſadours to *Carthage*, where he concluded a league: with condition, at firſt, that a great part of the Iſland ſhould be annexed to his Dominion; but afterward, that he ſhould reign over all *Sicil*; and the *Carthaginians* reſt ſatisfied with what they could get in *Italy*. At theſe doings *Appius Claudius* did not greatly ſtir: partly for the indignities that were offered; partly for that it behoved not the *Romans* to entertain more quarrels, than were enforced upon them by neceſſity; and partly (as may ſeem) for that the reputation, both of himſelf, and of his City, had received ſuch blemiſh, by that which hapned unto him in his journey, as much diſcountenanced him when he came into *Sicil*, and forbade him to look big. The money that *Hiero* had beſtowed formerly upon the *Romans*, wherewith to relieve them in their neceſſity, this *Appius* was to carry back unto him: it being refuſed by the *Roman* Senat, with greater bravery than their preſent fortune would allow. But in ſtead of returning the money with thanks, as he had been directed, and as it had been noiſed abroad that he ſhould do: the war againſt *Philip* King of *Macedon* (whereof we have ſpoken before) compelled the *Romans* to lay aſide their vain-glory, and ſend word after him, that he ſhould conſign that money over to *Marcus Valerius*; of whoſe voyage into *Greece*, the City had not otherwiſe wherewith to bear the charge. This was done accordingly, and hereby *Claudius* (which name in the whole continuance of that Family is taxed with pride) his errand was changed, from a glorious oſtentation of the *Roman* magnanimity, into ſuch a pitifull tune of thankſ-giving, as muſt needs have bred ſorrow and commiſeration in ſo true a friend as *Hiero*; or, if it were delivered after his death, matter of paſtime and ſcorn, in *Hieronymus* the new King.

But whileſt *Hieronymus* was more deſirous of war, than well reſolved how to begin it: his own death changed the form of things, and bred a great innovation in the ſtate of *Syracuſe*; which thereby might have proſpered more than ever, had it been wiſely governed. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, of whom we ſpake before, were ſent about the Countrey with two thouſand men, to ſolicite the Towns, and perſwade them to ſhake off their obedience to the *Romans*. The King himſelf with an Army of fifteen thouſand horſe and foot, went to *Leontium*, a City of his own Dominion: hoping that the fame of his preparation, would make the whole Iſland fall to him in all haſte; and accept him for Soveraign. There the Conſpirators took him on the ſudden, as he was paſſing through a narrow ſtreet: and ruſhing between him and his guard, ſtrook him dead. Forthwith liberty was proclaimed: and the ſound of that word ſo joyfully anſwered by the *Leontines*, that the guard of *Hieronymus* had little courage to revenge their Maſters death. Yet, for fear of the worſt, a great largeſs was promiſed unto the Souldiers, with rewards unto their Captains; which wrought ſo effectually, that when many wicked acts of the murdered King were reckoned up, the Army, as in deteſtation of his bad life, ſuffered his carkaſſe to lie unburyed. Theſe newes ran quickly to *Syracuſe*; whither ſome of the Conſpirators, taking alſo of the Kings horſes, poſted away; to ſignifie all that had paſſed, to ſtirre up the people to liberty, and to prevent *Andronodorus*, if he or his fellowers would make offer to uſurp a tyranny. The *Syracuſians* hereupon preſently took armes, and made themſelves maſters of their own City. *Andronodorus* on the other ſide fortified the Palace, and the Iſland; being yet uncertain what to do: between deſire of making himſelf a ſoveraign Lord, and fear of ſuffering puniſhment as a Tyrant, if his enterpriſe miſ-carried. His wife *Demarata*, that was the daughter of *Hiero*, cheriſhed him in his hopes: putting him in minde of that wel-known Proverb, which *Dionyſius* had uſed; *That a Tyrant ſhould keep his place, till he were haled out of it by the heels, and not ride away from it on horſe-back.* But fear, and better counſell, prevailed ſo far, that *Andronodorus*, having ſlept upon the matter, diſſembled his affections, and deferred his hope unto better opportunity. The next day he came forth, and made a ſpeech unto the people; telling them, that he was glad to ſee, how prudently they behaved themſelves in ſo great a change; that he had ſtood in fear, leſt they would not have contained themſelves within the bounds of diſcretion; but rather have ſought to murder all without difference, that any way belonged to the Tyrant; and that, ſince he beheld their orderly proceeding, and their care, not to raviſh their liberty perforce, but to wed it unto them for ever; he was willingly come to them forth of his ſtrength, and ſurrendred up the charge committed unto him, by one that had bin an evill

evill master both to him and them. Hereupon great joy was made, and Prætors chosen (as in former times) to govern the City, of which *Andronodorus* was one, and the chief. But such was his desire of Soveraignty, and so vehement were the instigations of his wife, that shortly he began to practice with *Hippocrates*, *Epicides*, and other Captains of the Mercenaries; hoping to make himself strong by their help, that were least pleased with the change. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* had been with the *Syracusian* Prætors, and told them, that being sent from *Hannibal* to *Hieronymus*, they, according to instructions of their Captain, had done him, whilest he lived, what service they could; and that now they were desirous to return home. They requested therefore that they might be friendly dismissed, and with a convoy, that might keep them from falling into the hands of the *Romans*, and set them safe at *Locri*. This was easily granted; both for that the *Syracusian* Magistrates were well contented to earn thanks of *Hannibal*, with such a little courtesie; and for that they thought it expedient, to rid their Town quickly of this troublesome couple, which were good souldiers, and gracious with the Army, but otherwise lewd men. It was not the desire of these two *Sicilians*, to be gone so hastily as they made shew; they were more mindfull of the business for which *Hannibal* had sent them. Wherefore they insinuated themselves into the bosomes of such as were most likely to fill the Army with tumult, especially of the *Roman* fugitives, and those that had cause to mistrust what should become of themselves, when the *Romans* and *Syracusians* were come to agreement. Such instruments as these, *Andronodorus* had great need of: as also of many other, to help him in his dangerous attempt. He found *Themistius*, that had married *Harmonia*, the sister of *Hieronymus*, ready to take his part; as being carryed with the like passions of his own, and of his wife. But in seeking to increase the number of his adherents, he revealed the matter to one, that revealed all to the rest of the Prætors. Hereupon it followed, that he, and *Themistius*, entring into the Senate, were slain out of hand: and afterward accused to the people, of all the evill which they had done, whilest *Hieronymus* lived, as by his authority; and now since attempted, in seeking to usurp the tyranny themselves. It was also declared, that the daughters of *Hiero* and *Gelo* were accessary to this dangerous treason: and that the unquiet spirits of these women would never cease to work, untill they had recovered those royall ornaments and Soveraign power, whereof their family was now dispossessed. These daughters therefore of *Hiero* and *Gelo* were also condemned to die, and executioners presently sent by the enraged people, to take away their lives. *Demarata* and *Harmonia* had perhaps deserved this heavy sentence: but *Heraclea*, the daughter of *Hiero*, and wife of *Sosippus*, being altogether innocent, was murdered, together with her two young daughters, in the hasty execution of this rash judgement. Her husband *Sosippus* was a lover of the Common-wealth; and in that respect so hated by *Hieronymus*, that being sent Embassadour to King *Ptolemy*, *&c.* he durst not return home, but stayed in *Egypt* as a banished man. This consideration, when it was too late, together with some pitifull accidents accompanying the slaughter, so affected the multitude, that (pardoning themselves) all cryed out upon the Authors of so foule a butcherie. Being thus incensed against the Senate; and knowing not otherwise how to satisfie their anger, they called for an election of new prætors, in the room of *Andronodorus* and *Themistius*, that were lately slain: meaning to substitute such in their places, as the Senators should have little cause to like. At the election were present a great rout, not only of the poorer Citizens, but of souldiers that pressed into the throng. One of these, named *Epicides* Prætor; another named *Hippocrates*: and the lesse that the old Prætors and Senators approved this nomination, the more eager was the multitude; and by a generall cry forced them to be accepted. These being made Prætors did what they could to hinder the agreement that was in hand, between the *Syracusians* and the *Romans*. But having striven in vain, and seeing that the people stood in fear of *Ap. Claudius*, and of *Marcellus* that was lately come into *Sicil*; they gave way unto the time, and suffered the old league of *Hiero* to be re-confirmed, which afterward they purposed to dissolve by practise. The *Leontines* had some need of a garrison; and to them was sent *Hippocrates* the Prætor, attended by such fugitives, and mercenary souldiers, as were most burdensome to *Syracuse*. Thither when he came, he began to do many acts of hostility against the *Romans*: first in secret, afterward more openly & boldly. *Marcellus*, rightly understanding the purpose of these two brethren, sent word unto the *Syracusians*, that they had already broken

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the league; and that the peace would never be kept sincerely, untill this turbulent pair of brethren were expelled the Island. *Epicides*, fearing to sustain the blame of his brothers proceedings, and more desirous to set forward the war, than to excuse any breach of peace; went himself unto the *Leontines*, whom he perswaded to rebell against the *Syracusians*. For he said, that since they had all of late served one Master, there was little reason why the *Leontines* should not be enfranchised by his death, as well as the *Syracusians*; yea or much rather, all things considered; since in their streets the Tyrant was slain, and liberty first proclaimed. Wherefore, since they of *Syracuse* were not contented to enjoy the freedome purchased among the *Leontines*; but thought it good reason, that they should bear Dominion over those that had broken the Chain, wherewith both the one and the other were bound: his advice was, that such their arrogancy should be checked betimes, ere it could get any colour of right by prescription. Hereunto occasion was given by one article of the League, made of late by the *Romans* and *Syracusians*. For it was agreed, *That all which had been subject to* Hiero *and* Hieronymus, *should henceforth be Vassals unto the State of Syracuse*. Against this article, if the *Leontines* would take exception, and thereby challenge their own due; *Epicides* told them, that in this noveltie of change, they had fit opportunity to recover the freedome, which their fathers had lost not many ages before. Neither was it unreasonable, which this crafty *Carthaginian* propounded; if the *Leontines* had been subdued by the same hand, which took liberty from the *Syracusians*. But seeing they had long since yeelded unto *Syracuse*, and been subjected unto that City, by what forme soever it was governed; this claim of liberty was rather seasonable, than just. Nevertheless, the motion of *Epicides* was highly approved: insomuch that when messengers came soon after from *Syracuse*, to rebuke the *Leontines*, for that which they had done against the *Romans*; and to denounce unto *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, that they should get them gone, either to *Locri*, or whither else they listed, so that they stayed not in *Sicil*: word was returned, That they of *Leontium* had not requested the *Syracusians*, to make any bargains for them with the *Romans*, nor thought themselves bound to observe the covenants, which others without warrant had made in their names. This peremptory answer was forthwith reported unto *Marcellus* by the *Syracusians*; who offered him their assistance in doing justice upon the *Leontines* their Rebels; with condition, That when the Town was taken, it might be theirs again. *Marcellus* required no better satisfaction: but forth-with took the businesse in hand, which he dispatched in one day. At the first assault *Leontium* was taken, all save the Castle; whereinto *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* fled: and stealing thence away by night, conveighed themselves into the towne of *Herbesus*. The first thing that *Marcellus* did, when he had wonne the Towne, was the same, which other *Roman* Captains used after victory, to seek out the fugitive *Roman* slaves and renegado's, whom he caused all to die: the rest both of the Townsmen and Souldiers, he took to mercy, forbearing also to strip or spoyle them. But the fame of his doings was bruited after a contrary sort. It was said, that he had slain Man, Woman, and Childe, and put the Town to sack. These newes met the *Syracusian* Army upon the way, as it was going to joyne with *Marcellus*, who had ended his businesse before. About eight thousand Mercenaries there were, that had been sent forth of *Syracuse*, under *Sosis* and *Dinomenes*, two of the Prætors, to serve against the *Leontines* and other rebels. These Captains were honest men, and well affected to their Countrey: but the Souldiers that followed them, had those diseases, with which all mercenaries are commonly infected. They took the matter deeply to heart, that their fellow souldiers (as now they termed those against whom they went) had been so cruelly butchered: and hereupon they fell to mutiny; though what to demand, or with whom to be angry, they could not tell. The Prætors therefore thought it best, to turne their unquiet thoughts another way, and set them awork in some place else: for as much as at *Leontium* there was no need of their service. So towards *Herbesus* they marched; where lay *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, the architects of all this mischiefe, devising what further harme they might doe; but now so weakely accompanied, that they seemed unable to escape the punishments belonging to their offences past. Hereof the two brethren were no lesse well aware: and therefore adventured upon a remedy little lesse desperate than their present case. They issued forth of *Herbesus* unarmed, with Olive branches in their hands, in manner of Suppliants; and so presented themselves to the Army. Six hundred men of *Crete* were in the vantguard; that

that had been well uſed by *Hieronymus*: and ſome of them greatly bound unto *Hannibal*, who had taken them priſoners in the *Italian* war, and lovingly diſmiſſed them. Theſe *Cretians* therefore welcomed the two brethren, and bade them be of good chear, ſaying, That no man ſhould do them harme, as long as they could uſe their weapons. Herewithall the Army was at a ſtand; and the rumour of this accident ran ſwiftly from man to man, with generall approbation. The Prætors thought to help the matter by ſeverity, which would not ſerve. For when they commanded theſe two traitors to be laid in Irons, the exclamation was ſo violent againſt them, that fain they were to let all alone, and return, uncertain what courſe to take, unto *Megara*, where they were lodged the night before. Thither when they came, *Hippocrates* deviſed a trick, whereby to help himſelf, and better the uncertain caſe wherein he ſtood. He cauſed Letters, of his own penning, to be intercepted by ſome of his moſt truſty *Cretans*, directed (as they made ſhew) from the *Syracuſian* Prætors to *Marcellus*. The contents hereof were, That *Marcellus* had well done, in committing all to the ſword among the *Leontines*: but that it further behoved him, to make the like diſpatch of all the mercenaries belonging to *Syracuſe*; which were offenſive, all of them in generall, to the liberty of the City, and the peace with *Rome*. When this counterfeit Epiſtle was openly rehearſed, the uproar was ſuch, that *Soſis* and his fellow Prætor, were glad to forſake the Camp, and flie for their lives. All the *Syracuſians* remaining behind, had been cut in pieces by the enraged Souldiers, if the two Artificers of the ſedition had not ſaved their lives; rather to keep them as pledges, and by them, to win their friends within the Town, than for any good will. They perſwaded alſo a miſchievous knave, that had ſerved amongſt the *Leontines*, to juſtifie the bruit of *Marcellus* cruelty, and to carry home the newes to *Syracuſe*, as an eye-witneſs. This incenſed not only the multitude, but ſome of the Senate; and filled the whole town with cauſeleſſe indignation. In good time (ſaid ſome) was the avarice and cruelty of the *Romans* detected: who, had they in like ſort gotten into *Syracuſe*, would have dealt much worſe, where their greedy appetites might have been tempted with a far greater booty. Whileſt they were thus diſcourſing, and deviſing how to keep out the wicked *Romans*, *Hippocrates* with his Army came to the gates, exhorting the Citizens to let him in, unleſs for want of help, they would be betrayed to their enemies. The Prætors, with the beſt and wiſeſt of the Senate, would fain have kept him out: but the violence of the ſouldiers to force a gate, was no whit greater, than the head-ſtrong fury of thoſe within the Town, that laboured to break it open. So he entred, and immediately fell upon the Prætors, whom (being forſaken by all men) he put to the ſword, and made ſlaughter of them and their followers untill night. The next day he went openly to work: and, after the common example of Tyrants, gave liberty unto all ſlaves and priſoners; and being fortified with adherents of the worſt and baſeſt ſort, made himſelf and his brother Prætors, in Title, but in effect, Lords of *Syracuſe*.

When *Marcellus* was advertiſed of this great alteration, he thought it no time for him to ſit ſtill, and attend the further iſſue. He ſent Embaſſadours to *Syracuſe*, that were not admitted into the Haven, but chaſed out as enemies. Then drew he near with his Army: and lodging within a mile and a half of the Town, ſent before him, ſome to require a parlee. Theſe were entertained without the wals by the two new Prætors: to whom they declared, That the *Romans* were come thither, not with purpoſe to do hurt, but in favour of the *Syracuſians*, which were oppreſſed by Tyrants; and to puniſh thoſe that had murdered and baniſhed ſo many of the principall Citizens. Wherefore they required, that thoſe worthy men, their Confederates, which were chaſed out of the Town, might be ſuffered to returne and enjoy their own; as alſo that the Authors of the great ſlaughter lately committed, might be delivered up. Hereto *Epicides* briefly anſwered, that if their errand had been to him, he could have told what to ſay to them: but ſince it was directed unto others, they ſhould doe well to return, when thoſe to whom they were ſent, had the government in their hands. As for the war which they threatned, he told them, they ſhould finde by experience, That to beſiege *Syracuſe* was another manner of work, than to take *Leontium*. Thus he ſent them gone; and returned back into the City. Immediately began the ſiege, which endured longer than the *Romans* had expected, The quick and eaſie winning of *Leontium*, did put *Marcellus* in hope, that ſo long a circuit of wals as compaſſed *Syracuſe*, being manned

with no better kinde of Souldiers, than those with whom he had lately dealt, would in some part or other, be taken at the first assault. Wherefore he omitted no violence or terrour in the very beginning; but did his best both by Land and Sea. Nevertheless all his labour was disappointed, and his hope of prevailing by open force, taken from him by the ill success of two or three of the first assaults. Yet was it not the vertue of the Defendants, or any strength of the City, that bred such despair of hasty victory. But there lived at that time in *Syracuse Archimedes* the noble Mathematician: who at the request of *Hiero* the late King, that was his kinsman, had framed such engines of War, as being in this extremity put in use, did more mischief to the *Romans* than could have been wrought by the Canon, or any instruments of Gun-powder; had they in that age been knowne. This *Archimedes* discoursing once with *Hiero*, maintained that it were possible to remove the whole earth out of the place wherein it is, if there were some other earth, or place of sure footing, whereon a man might stand. For proof of this bold assertion, he performed some strange works; which made the King entreat him to convert his study unto things of use: that might preserve the City from danger of enemies. To such Mechanicall works, *Archimedes*, and the Philosophers of those times, had little affection. They held it an injury done unto the liberall sciences, to submit learned Propositions, unto the workmanship, and gain, of base handy-crafts men. And of this opinion *Plato* was an author: who greatly blamed some Geometricians, that seemed unto him to prophane their science, by making it vulgar. Neither must we rashly task a man so wise as *Plato*, with the imputation of supercilious austerity, or affected singularity in his reprehension. For it hath been the unhappy fate of great inventions to be vilified, as idle fancies, or dreams, before they were published: and being once made known, to be under-valued; as falling within compasse of the meanest wit; and things that every one could well have performed. Hereof (to omit that memorable example of *Columbus* his discovery, with the much different sorts of neglect, which he under-went before and after it) in a familiar and most homely example, we may see most apparent proof. He that looks upon our *English Brewers*, and their Servants, that are daily exercised in the Trade; will think it ridiculous to hear one say, that the making of *Malt*, was an invention, proceeding from some of an extraordinary knowledge in naturall Philosophy. Yet is not the skill of the inventors any whit the less, for that the labour of workmanship growes to be the trade of ignorant men. The like may be said of many handy-crafts: and particularly in the Printing of Books; which being devised, and bettered, by great scholars and wise men, grew afterward corrupted by those, to whom the practice fell; that is, by such, as could slubber things easily over, and feed their workmen at the cheapest rate. In this respect therefore, the Alchymists, and all others that have, or would seem to have any secret skill, whereof the publication might do good unto mankinde; are not without excuse of their close concealing. For it is a kinde of injustice, that the long travels of an understanding brain, beside the losse of time, and other expence, should be cast away upon men of no worth; yeeld less benefit unto the Author of a great work, than to meer strangers; and perhaps his enemies. And surely, if the passion of Envie have in it any thing allowable and naturall, as having Anger, Fear, and other like Affections: it is in some such case as this; and serveth against those, which would usurp the knowledge, wherewith God hath denied to indue them. Nevertheless, if we have regard unto common charity, and the great affection that every own ought to bear unto the generality of mankind, after the example of him *that suffereth his sunne to shine upon the just, and unjust*: it will appear more commendable in wise men, to enlarge themselves, and to publish unto the world, those good things that lye buried in their own bosomes. This ought specially to be done, when a profitable knowledge hath not annexed to it some dangerous cunning, that may be perverted by evill men to a mischievous use. For if the secret of any rare *Antidote*, contained in it the skill of giving some deadly and irrecoverable poison: much better it were, that such a jewell remain close in the hands of a wise and honest man; than being made common, binde all men to use the remedy, by teaching the worst men how to do mischief. But the works which *Archimedes* published, were such as tended unto very commendable ends. They were Engines, serving unto the defence of *Syracuse*; not fit for the *Syracusians* to carry abroad, to the hurt & oppression of others. Neither did he altogether publish the knowledge, how to use them, but reserved so much to his own

direction; that after his death more of the same kinde were not made, nor those of his own making were employed by the *Romans*. It sufficed unto this worthy man, that he had approved unto the vulgar, the dignity of his Science; and done especiall benefit to his Country. For to enrich a Mechanicall trade, or teach the Art of murdering men, it was besides his purpose.

Marcellus had caused certain of his *Quinquereme* Gallies to be fastned together, and Towers erected on them to beat the defendants from the wal. Against these *Archimedes* had sundry devices; of which any one sort might have repelled the assailants: but all of them together shewed the multiplicity of his great wit. He shot heavy stones & long pieces of timber, like unto the yeards of ships; which brake some of the Gallies by their force and weight. These afflicted such as lay farre off. They that were come nearer the wals, lay open to a continuall volly of shot, which they could not endure. Some with an yron grapple were taken by the prow and hoysted up, shaking out all the men, and afterwards falling down into the water. Some by strange Engines were lifted up into the ayre, where turning round a while, they were broken against the wals or cast upon the rocks: and all of them were so beaten that they durst never come to any second assault. In the like sort was the Land army handled. Stones and timber, falling upon it like hail, did not only over-whelme the men, but brake down the *Roman*-engines of battery; and forced *Marcellus* to give over the assault. For the remedy hereof it was conceived, that if the *Romans* could early before day get near unto the wals, they should be (as it were) under the *point blank*, and receive no hurt by these terrible Instruments; which were woond up hard to shoot a great compasse. But this vain hope cost many of the assailants lives: For the shot came down right upon them: and beating them from all parts of the wall, made a great slaughter of them, all the way as they fled, (for they were unable to tarry by it) even till they were gotten very farre off. This did so terrifie the *Romans*, that if they perceived any piece of timber, or a ropes end, upon the wals, they ranne away, crying out, that *Archimedes* his engines were ready to discharge. Neither knew *Marcellus* how to overcome these difficulties, or to take away from his men, that fear, against the cause whereof he knew no remedy. If the engines had stood upon the wals, subject to firing, or any such annoyance from without; he might have holpen it by some device, to make them unserviceable. But all, or the most of them were out of sight, being erected in the streets behind the wals; where *Archimedes* gave directions how to use them. Wherefore the *Roman* had no other way left, than to cut off from the Town all provision of victuals, both by Land and by Sea.

This was a very desperate piece of work. For the enemies having so goodly an Haven; the Sea in a manner free; and the *Carthaginians* that were strong by Sea, willing to supply them: were not likely so soon to be consumed with famine, as the besiegers to be wearied out, by lying in Leaguer before so strong a City, having no probability to carry it. Yet, for want of better counsell to follow, this was thought the best, and most honourable course.

In the mean while, *Himilco*, Admirall of a *Carthaginian* Fleet, that had waited long about *Sicil*, being by *Hippocrates* advertised of these passages, went home to *Carthage*, and there so dealt with the Senate, that five and twenty thousand Foot, three thousand Horse, and twelve Elephants, were committed unto his charge, wherewith to make war upon the *Romans* in *Sicil* by Land. He took many Towns; and many that had anciently belonged unto the *Carthaginians*, did yeeld unto him. To remedy this mischief and to stay the inclination of men, which following the current of Fortune, beganne to turn unto the *Carthaginians*; *Marcellus* with a great part of his Army, rose from *Syracuse*, and went from place to place about the Island. He took *Pelorus* and *Herbesus*, which yeelded unto him. He took also *Megara* by force and sackt it: either to terrifie others that were obstinate, especially the *Syracusians*, or else because *Rome* was at this time poor, and his Army must have somewhat to keep it in heart. His especiall desire was to have saved *Agrigentum*: whither he came too late; for *Himilco* had gotten it before. Therefore he returned back toward *Syracuse*; carefully, and in as good order as he could, for fear of the *Carthaginian* that was too strong for him. The circumspection that he used, in regard of *Himilco*, stood him in good stead against a danger that he had not mistrusted. For *Hippocrates*, leaving the charge of *Syracuse* unto his brother, had lately issued out of the City, with ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse,

horſe, intending to joyne his forces with *Himilco*. *Marcellus* fell upon him, ere either was aware of the other: and the *Romans*, being in good order, got an eaſie victory againſt the diſperſed and half unarmed *Syracuſians*. The reputation hereof helped a little to keep the *Sicilians* from rebellion. Yet it was not long, ere *Himilco*, joyning with *Hippocrates*, ranne over all the Iſland at his pleaſure, and preſented battail to *Marcellus*, even at his Trenches; but the *Roman* wiſely refuſed it. *Bomilcar* alſo a *Carthaginian*, entred with a great fleet into the Haven of *Syracuſe*, and victualled the City. After this, the diſpoſition of the Iſlanders changed ſo again, that although another Legion was come from *Rome*, which eſcaped from *Himilco*, and ſafely arrived at *Marcellus* his Campe: yet many places revolted unto the *Carthaginians*, and ſlew or betrayed the *Roman* Garriſons.

In the midſt of theſe troubles, Winter enforced both parts to take breath a while: and *Marcellus*, leaving ſome of his Army before *Syracuſe*, that he might not ſeem to have given over the ſiege, went unto *Leontium*, where he lay intentive to all occaſions. In the beginning of the Spring he ſtood in doubt, whether it were better to continue the laborious work of beſieging *Syracuſe*, or to turn all his forces to *Agrigentum*, againſt *Himilco* and *Hippocrates*. But it would greatly have impaired his reputation, if he had gone from *Syracuſe*, as unable to prevail: and he himſelf was of an eager diſpoſition, ever unwilling to give ground, or to quit, as not feiſible, an enterpriſe that he had once taken in hand. He came therefore to *Syracuſe*: where though he found all the difficulties remaining as before; and no likelihood to take the City by force or famine; yet was he not without hope, that continuance of time would bring forth ſomewhat, which might fulfill his deſire. Eſpecially he aſſayed to prevaile by treaſon, againſt which no place can hold out. And to this end he dealt with the *Syracuſian* Gentlemen that were in his Camp; exhorting them to practiſe with their friends that remained in the City. This was not eaſie for them to do, becauſe the Town would hearken to no parlee. At length a ſlave unto one of theſe baniſhed men, making ſhew to runne away from his Maſter, got into *Syracuſe*; where he talked in private with ſome few, as he had been inſtructed. Thus began *Marcellus* to have intelligence within the City: whence the Conſpirators uſed to ſend him advertiſement of their proceedings, by a fiſher-boat that paſſed forth in the night: but when they were grown to the number of fourſcore, and thought themſelves able to effect ſomewhat of importance, all was diſcovered; and they like Traitors, put to death. In the mean while, one *Damaſippus* a *Lacedæmonian*, that had been ſent out of the Town as an Embaſſadour to *Philip* King of *Macedon*, was fallen into the hands of *Marcellus*. *Epicides* was very deſirous to ranſome him: and many meetings were appointed for that purpoſe, not farre from the wals. There, one of the *Romans* looking upon the wall, and wanting the more compendious Art of Geometry, fell to numbring the ſtones: and making an eſtimate of the height, judged it leſs than it had been formerly deemed. Herewith he acquainted *Marcellus*: who cauſing better notice to be taken of the place; and finding that ladders of no extraordinary length would reach it; made all thing ready, and waited a convenient time. It was the weakeſt part of the Town, and therefore the moſt ſtrongly guarded: neither was there hope to prevail by force againſt *Archimedes*, if they failed to take it by ſurpriſe. But a fugitive out of the Town brought word, that a great feaſt was to be held unto *Diana*, which was to laſt three dayes: and that, becauſe other good cheer was not ſo plentifull within the City, as in former times, *Epicides*, to gratifie the people, had made the more large diſtribution of wine. A better opportunity could not be wiſhed. Wherefore *Marcellus* in the dead of the Feſtivall night, came unto the wals, which he took by *Scalado*. *Syracuſe* was divided into four parts (or five, if *Epipolæ* were reckoned as one) each of which were fortified as diſtinct Cities. When therefore *Marcellus* had gotten ſome pieces, he had the commodity of a better and ſafe lodging, with good ſtore of booty; and better opportunity than before, to deal with the reſt. For there were now a great many, as well of thoſe in *Acradina* & the Iſland, inner parts of the Towo, as of thoſe that were already in the hands of *Marcellus*, that began to hearken unto compoſition, as being much terrified by the loſſe of thoſe parts, which the *Romans* had taken and ſackt. As for the weapons of *Archimedes*, little harme, or none they did, unto thoſe that were ſheltred under ſtrong houſes: although it may ſeem, that the inner wals were not altogether unfurniſhed of his help; ſince they held out a good while, and were not taken by

by force. The *Roman* fugitives and Renegado's, were more carefull than ever to defend the reſt of the City: being ſure to be rewarded with cruell death, if *Marcellus* could prevail. *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*, were daily expected; and *Bomilcar* was ſent away to *Carthage*, to bring help from thence. It was not long ere *Hippocrates* and *Himilco* came: who fell upon the old Camp of the *Romans*, whileſt *Epicides* ſallied out of *Acradina* upon *Marcellus*. But the *Romans* made ſuch defence in each part, that the Aſſailants were repelled. Nevertheleſs, they continued to beſet *Marcellus*: whom they held in a manner as ſtraightly beſieged, as he himſelf did beſiege the Town. But the peſtilence at length conſumed, together with the two Captains, a great part of the Army, and cauſed the reſt to diſſodge. The *Romans* were (though ſomewhat leſs) afflicted with the ſame peſtilence, inſomuch that *Bomilcar* did put the City of *Carthage* in hope, that he might be taken where he lay, if any great forces were ſent thither. This *Bomilcar* wanted no deſire to do his Countrey ſervice: but his courage was not anſwerable to his good will. He arrived at *Pachynus* with a ſtrong fleet: where he ſtaid; being loth to double the Cape; for that the winds did better ſerve the enemy than him. Thither ſailed *Epicides* out of *Syracuſe*: to acquaint him with the neceſſities of the City; and to draw him on. With much intreaty, at length he came forward: but meeting with the *Roman* fleet, that was ready for him, he ſtood off into the deep, and ſailed away to *Tarentum*, bidding *Sicil* farewell. Then durſt not *Epicides* return into *Syracuſe*, but went to *Agrigentum*: where he expected the iſſue; with a very faint hope of hearing any good newes.

The *Sicilian* Souldiers that remained alive of *Hippocrates* his Army, lay as near as they could ſafely, unto *Marcellus*, and ſome of them, in a ſtrong town three miles off. Theſe had done what good they could to *Syracuſe*, by doing what hurt they could unto the *Romans*. But when they were informed, that the State of *Sicil* was given as deſperate by the *Carthaginians*: they ſent Embaſſadours to treat of peace; and made offer to compound, both for themſelves, and for the Town. Hereunto *Marcellus* willingly gave eat: for he had ſtayed there long enough; and had cauſe to fear, that after a little while, the *Carthaginians* might come thither ſtrong again. He therefore agreed, both with the Citizens, and with the Souldiers that lay abroad; That they ſhould be Maſters of their own, enjoying their liberty and proper lawes; yet ſuffering the *Romans* to poſſeſſe whatſoever had belonged unto the Kings. Hereupon they, to whom *Epicides* had left his charge, were put to death; new Prætors choſen; and the gates even ready to be opened unto *Marcellus*: when ſuddenly the *Roman* fugitives diſturbed all. Theſe perceiving their own condition to be deſperate, perſwading the other Mercenary Souldiers, That the Citizens had bargained only for themſelves, and betrayed the Army to the *Romans*. Wherefore they preſently took Armes, and fell upon the new choſen Prætors; whom they ſlew, and made election of ſix Captains that ſhould command over all. But ſhortly it was found out, that there was no danger at all to the Souldiers; excepting only the fugitives. The Treaty was therefore again ſet on foot, and wanted little of concluſion: which yet was delayed; either by ſome fear of the Citizens, that had ſeen (as they thought) proof of the *Roman* avarice in the ſack of *Epipolæ*, *Tyche*, and *Neapolis*, the parts already taken; or by ſome deſire of *Marcellus* to get the Town by force, that he might uſe the liberty of a Conqueror, & make it wholly ſubject to *Rome*. *Mericus* a *Spaniard* was one of the ſixe Captains that had been choſen in the laſt commotion: a man of ſuch faith, as uſually is found in Mercenaries; holding his own particular benefit above all other reſpects. With this Captain, *Marcellus* dealt ſecretly: having a fit inſtrument, of the ſame Nation, one *Belligenes*, that went in company with the *Roman* Embaſſadors, daily paſſing to and fro. This crafty Agent perſwaded *Mericus*, That the *Romans* had already gotten all *Spain*: and that if ever he purpoſed to make his own fortune good, either at home in *Spain*, or any where elſe; it was now the only time to do it; by conforming himſelf to the will of the *Roman* Generall. By ſuch hopes the *Spaniſh* Captain was eaſily won, and ſent forth his own brother among the *Syracuſian* Embaſſadours to ratifie the covenant with *Marcellus*.

This under-hand dealing of *Marcellus* againſt the *Syracuſians*, cannot wel be commended as honeſt: neither was it afterwards throughly approved at his comming to *Rome*. For the benefits of *Hiero* to the *Romans* had been ſuch, as deſerved not to be requited with the ruine of his Country: much leſſe, that the miſeries of his people, oppreſſed (though partly through their own folly) by an Army of Mercenaries, ſhould miniſter

unto

unto the people of *Rome*, advantage against them. The poor Citizens could not make good their parts against the hired Souldiers; and therefore were fain to yeeld unto the time, and obey those Ministers of *Hannibal*, that ruled the Army. But as long as they were free after the death of *Hieronymus*; and now of late, when they had gathered courage by the flight of *Epicides*: it had been their chief care to maintain amity with the people of *Rome*. They had lately slain many the principall of *Epicides* his followers; and many of themselves had also been slain, both lately and in former times, because of this their desire unto the peace. What though it were true, that the Rascality, and some ill advised persons, joyned with the souldiers in hatred of the *Romans*, by occasion of the slaughter which they heard to be done at *Leontium*, and afterward beheld in those parts of their own City which was taken? Ought therefore the Roman Generall, in a treaty of peace held with the *Syracusians*, to make a bargain under-hand against them, with a Captain of the Mercenaries? These things were objected against *Marcellus*, at his return home: but the Senators thought it a great deal better, to comfort the *Syracusians* with gentle words, and promise of good usage in time to come; than to restore the booty, and give over the Dominion of a City, so great, wealthy, strong, and many wayes important. Nevertheless if we consider the many inconveniences and great mischiefs whereunto *Syracuse* was obnoxious; both by evill neighbours, and by that very form of policy, after which it was governed: we may truly affirme, That it received no small benefit, by becomming subject unto *Rome*. For thereby it was not only assured against all forraign enemies, domesticall conspiracies, and such Tyrants as of old had reigned therein: but freed from the necessity of banishing, or murdering, the most worthy Citizens; as also from all factions, intestine seditions, and a thousand the like miseries, that were wont to grow out of the jealousie, wherein they held their liberty in vain. Neither enjoyed that City, from her first foundation, any such long time of happiness, as that wherein it flourished, when it rested secure under the protection of *Rome*; and was no more molested, by the disease of ambition; wherewith by *Marcellus* his victory it was throughly cured. But such benefit, arising from wrongs done, serves not to make injustice the more excusable: unless we should approve the answer of that Thief, who being found to have stollen a silver cup from a sick man, said, *Hee never leaves drinking.*

By the treason of *Mericus*, the *Roman* Army was let into possession of all *Syracuse*: wherein, the booty that it found, was said to have been no lesse, than could be hoped for, if they had taken *Carthage* it self; that maintained war by Land and Sea against them. All the goodly works and Imageries, wherewith *Syracuse* was marvellously adorned, were carried away to *Rome*; and nothing left untouched; save only the houses of those banished men, that had escaped from *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, into the *Roman* Camp. Among other pitifull accidents; the death of *Archimedes* was greatly lamented, even by *Marcellus* himself. He was so busie about his Geometry, in drawing figures, that he hearkened not to the noyse, and uproar in the City; no, nor greatly attended the rude Souldier that was about to kill him. *Marcellus* took heavily the death of him; and caused his body to be honourably buried. Upon his Tombe (as he had ordained in his life-time) was placed a *Cylinder* and a *Sphere*, with an inscription of the proportion between them; which he first found out. An invention of so little use, as this may seem, pleased that great Artist better, than the devising of all those engins, that made him so famous. Such difference is in the judgement of learned men, and of the vulgar sort. For many an one would think the money lost, that had been spent upon a son, whose studies in the University had brought forth such fruit, as the proportion between a *Sphere* and a *Cylinder*.

After the taking of *Syracuse*, all the Towns in *Sicil* yeelded unto the *Romans*, except *Agrigentum* and a few places thereabout. At *Agrigentum* lay *Epicides* with one *Hanno* a *Carthaginian*, and *Mutines* an *African*, that was lately sent from *Hannibal*. This *Mutines* by many good pieces of service, had added some credit to the beaten *Carthaginian* side; and withall made his own name great. By his perswasions, *Hanno* and *Epicides* adventured to meet *Marcellus* without the Town, and not behave themselves as men expecting to bee besieged. Neither was he more valiant in counsell, than in execution. Once and again he set upon the *Romans*, where they lay encamped, and drove them fearfully into their Trenches. This bred envie in *Epicides* & *Hanno*: especially in *Hanno*,

that having been lately sent from *Carthage*, with commission and authority from the State, thought himself wronged greatly by *Hannibal*; in that he had sent unto him this *Mutines*, to be his companion, and to take upon him, like as good a man as himself. The indignity seemed the greater, when *Mutines* being to step aside unto *Heraclea*, for the pacifying of some troubles there among the *Numidians*; advised (as directing *Hanno* and *Epicides*) not to meddle with the enemy, untill his return. So much therefore the rather would *Hanno* fight: and offered battell unto *Marcellus*, before he fought it. It is like, that a great part of the *Roman* Army was left behinde in *Syracuse*, as need required: which made the *Carthaginians* the better able to deal with those that came against them. But whatsoever disproportion was between the two Armies; far greater were the oddes between the Captains. For howsoever the people of *Carthage* would give authority by favour; yet could they not give worth and ability, in matter of war. The *Numidians*, having before conceived some displeasure against their Captains: and being therefore some of them gone away to *Heraclea*; were much more offended, when they saw that the vain-glorious envie of *Hanno* carried him unto the fight, upon a foolish desire to get victory, without the help of *Mutines* their Countreyman. Wherefore they sent unto the *Roman* General, and bade him be confident; for that it was not their purpose to shew themselves his enemies that day, but only look on, and see the proud *Carthaginians* well beaten, by whom they had been misused. They made good their promise, and had their desire. For *Marcellus*, finding likelihood of truth in their message, did so lustily set upon the enemies, that he brake them at the first charge; and with the slaughter of many thousands, drove them back into *Agrigentum*.

If *Hanno* could have been contented, to follow the directions of one, that was a better man of War than himself, and not have hazzarded a battell without need; the *Romans* would shortly have been reduced into termes of great difficulty in their *Sicilian* War. For *Marcellus* was shortly after to leave the Province; and soon upon his departure, there landed in the Iland a supply of eight thousand foot, and three thousand *Numidian* horse, that were sent from *Carthage*. The fame of this new Army drew many of the *Sicilians* into rebellion. The *Roman* Army consisting (for the most part) of the Legions of *Canna*, took it very hainously, that no good service done, could bring them into the favour of the Senate; but that, as banished men, they were sent far from home, and not suffered to return back to *Rome* with their Generall. *Mutines* had pacified his countrimen the *Numidians*, & like an honest man, did what he could for those whom he served, without contending against the foolish pride of *Hanno*; finding that there was a great alteration; and a greater might have been, if the Army lately overthrown had been entire. *M. Cornelius* the *Roman* Prætor, used all diligence, both to pacifie his own men, and to hinder the *Carthaginians*. He recovered those In-land Towns that had rebelled: and though he could not hinder *Mutines* from over-running all the Countrey; yet he hindred the Countrey from revolting unto *Mutines*. Above threescore Towns, great and small, the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil*: of which *Agrigentum* was the principall, and far bigger than any of the rest. Thence issued *Mutines* as often as he pleased, in despight of the *Romans*: not only to the succour of his own adherents, but to the great waste of those that followed the contrary part. But *Hanno*, in stead of being pleased with all these good services, was filled more and more with envie, against the man that performed them. He had (belike) received instruction from old *Hanno* at *Carthage*, not to suffer *Hannibal*, or any *Hannibalian*, to have share in the honour of these *Sicilian* Wars: which were therefore perhaps the more diligently supplied; whilest *Italie* was neglected, that should have been regarded more than all the rest. Wherefore to shew his authority, and that it was not in the power of *Hannibal*, to appoint unto him an Assistant, or Director: He took away from *Mutines* his charge, and gave it to his own sonne; thinking thereby to discountenance the man, and make him little esteemed, as one out of Office, among the *Numidians*. But it fell out quite contrary: and this spightfull dealing occasioned the losse of whatsoever the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil*. For the *Numidians* were so incensed by the indignity offered unto their Countryman, being such a brave commander, that they offered him their service to requite the wrong; and were thenceforth absolutely at his own disposition. *M. Valerius Lævinus*, the *Roman* Consul, was newly come into the Province, when this fell out: and with him did *Mutines* enter into intelligence. For he could no longer brook

these

theſe indignities; but being neither a *Carthaginian*, nor favoured by thoſe that bore all the ſway in *Carthage*: He thought it the wiſeſt way, to play the beſt of his owne game, and forſake that City, which was likely to periſh by the evill counſell that governed it. He did not therefore, as his Countrymen had lately done, content himſelf to ſee his Adverſaries reap the bitter fruits of their owne malicious over-weening: and to ſuffer that harme, in doing whereof he would not bear a part; but conſpired againſt them to deliver up *Agrigentum*, and to help to expell them utterly out of *Sicil*. The Conſull was glad of his friendſhip; and carefully followed his advertiſements. Neither was there much cunning needfull, to the performance of that which *Mutines* had undertaken: For he with his *Numidians* did forcibly ſieze upon a gate; whereat they let in ſome *Roman* Companies, that lay near in a readineſſe for the purpoſe. *Hanno*, when firſt he heard the noiſe, thought it had been no worſe matter, than ſome ſuch tumult of the *Numidians*, as he had been well acquainted with of late. But when, making haſte to pacifie the trouble, he ſaw and heard, the *Romans* intermixed, among thoſe diſcontented followers of *Mutines*, forthwith he betook himſelf to flight: and ſaving himſelf, with *Epictades*, in a ſmall Bark, ſet ſail for *Africk*; leaving all his Army and Adherents in *Sicil*, to the mercy of the *Romans*, that henceforward continued maſters of the whole Iland.

Lævinus the Conſul having taken *Agrigentum*, did ſharp execution of juſtice upon all the Citizens. The principall of them he ſcourged with rods, and afterwards beheaded, as was the manner of the *Romans*: all the reſt of them he ſold for ſlaves, and confiſcated their goods; ſending home to *Rome* the money that was raiſed of the booty. This was indeed a time, wherein *Rome* ſtood in no leſſe neceſſity of gold, than of ſteele: which may have been the reaſon, why *Lævinus* dealt ſo cruelly with the *Agrigentines*. Nevertheleſſe the fame of ſuch ſeverity bred a terrour among all the Dependants of the *Carthaginians*, ſo that in great haſte they ſought to make their peace. About forty Towns yeelded themſelves quickly unto the *Romans*; twenty were delivered up by Treaſon; and ſixe only ſtayed to be wonne by force. Theſe things done, *Lævinus* returned home to *Rome*, carrying with him about four thouſand men from *Agatirna*; that were a company of out-lawes, bankrouts, and baniſhed men, accuſtomed to live by ſpoile of others in theſe troubleſome times. He beſtowed them about *Rhegium* in *Italy*, where they might exerciſe their own occupation againſt the *Brutians*; a theeviſh kinde of people, that were enemies unto thoſe of *Rhegium*, and to the *Romans*. As for *Mutines*, he was well rewarded, and made Citizen of *Rome*: where he lived in good accompt; accompanying the two *Scipio's* in their journey againſt *Antiochus*, and therein doing (as it is ſaid) very eſpeciall ſervice. So by this enterpriſe of *Sicil*, the *Carthaginians* waſted much of their forces, that with greater profit might have been employed in *Italy*: leaving yet unto the *Romans*, in the end of this warre, the entire poſſeſſion of this Iland; which they wanted when it began.

§. XVI.

How the war paſſed between the Romans *and* Hannibal *in* Italy, *from the taking of* Capua *to the great victory at* Metaurus.

SHortly after the winning of *Capua*, *Marcellus* came to *Rome*: where for his good ſervices done in the Iland of *Sicil*, he had granted unto him the honour of the leſſer Triumph, which was called *Ovation*. The greater Triumph was denyed him: becauſe he had not finiſhed the warre, but was fain to leave his Army behinde him in the Province. He ſtayed not long in *Rome*, before he was again choſen Conſull together with *M. Valerius Lævinus*, who ſucceeded him in the government of *Sicil*, and was, at the time of his election, making war againſt King *Philip* in *Greece*. Great Complaint was made againſt the Conſul *Marcellus*, by the *Syracuſians*, for that which he had done unto them: they alledging their great friendſhip to the people of *Rome*, in the time of their late King *Hiero*; and affirming, that their City did never willingly break the alliance, excepting when it was oppreſſed by ſuch Tyrants, as were not greater enemies to *Rome* than to all good men that lived in *Syracuſe*. The Conſul, on the other ſide, reckoned the labours and dangers whereunto they had put him: willing them to bemoan themſelves to the *Carthaginians* that had holpen them in their neceſſity; and not unto the

the *Romans* whom they had kept out. Thus each part having some good matter to alledge, the Senate made such an end of the controversie, as best agreed with the benefit of their own Common-wealth: blaming the too much rigour of *Marcellus*; yet not restoring the booty that he had taken, nor making the *Syracusians* free from their subjection, but comforting them with gentle words, and hopefull promises, as hath been shewed before. The two new Consuls *Marcellus* and *Lævinus*, were appointed to make war as their lots should fall out; the one in *Italy*, the other in *Sicil*. The Isle of *Sicil* fell unto *Marcellus*; which Province he willingly changed with his Colleague; to the end that the *Syracusians* (whose cause had not as yet been heard in the Senate) might not seem hindred by fear, from uttering their grievances freely. Afterwards, when his business with them was dispatcht, he gently undertook the patronage of them: which remained long in his Family, to the great benefit of their Country in times following. So *Valerius*, the other Consul, was sent into *Sicil*, whose doing there have been already rehearsed: but *Marcellus* was employed against *Hannibal*.

Before the Consuls departed out of *Rome*, they were much troubled with pressing of Souldiers to the war, and most of all, with getting Mariners for their Navie. They were all of the poorer sort, that used to be employed in Sea-services, especially in rowing. These could not live without present wages: neither was there money enough in the Treasury to give them pay. Wherefore it was ordained, that they should be set out at the expence of private men; who in this necessity of the State, were driven to sustain all publick charges. Hereat the people murmured, and were ready to fall into sedition; had not the Consuls deferred the matter unto further consideration. The Senate could ill tell, what to determine or doe, in a case of such extremity. For manifest it was, that the multitude had already endured so much, as well it could undergoe; and somewhat more, than could with honesty have been imposed upon it. Nevertheless it was impossible to maintain the war against the *Carthaginians*, or to keep the *Macedonian* out of *Italy* without a strong fleet. Wherefore, some were of opinion; That since the common Treasure was so empty, the people must be forced, by right or wrong, to take the burden upon them. At last the Consuls began to say, That no perswasions would be so effectuall with the people, as good examples: and that if the Senators would follow the Consuls, like it was that the people also would follow the Senate. Wherefore they propounded, and it was immediately concluded, That every one of them should bring forth, and put into the Treasury, all the money that he had; and that no Senator should keep any vessell of gold, or plate whatsoever; excepting one Salt-seller, and a Bowle wherewith to make their offerings unto the gods; as also a Ring for himself, with such other tokens of ingenuity for his wife and children, as every one did use, and those of as small value as might be. This advice of the Consuls was not more thankfully accepted by the Senate, than the ready performance thereof by the Senate was highly applauded, and hastily followed by the Gentlemen of *Rome*. Neither did the Commonalty refuse to do that, which their betters had openly done before them. For since the publick necessity could no otherwise be holpen; every one was contented, that his private estate should run the same fortune with the Common-wealth, which if it suffered wrack, in vain could any particular man hope to enjoy the benefit of his proper substance. This magnanimity deserved well that greatnesse of Empire, whereof it was the foundation.

Convenient order being thus taken for an Army and Fleet: *Marcellus* went forth of the City against *Hannibal*; & *Lævinus* toward *Sicil*. The Army of *Hannibal* was greatly diminished, by long and hard service: neither did his *Carthaginians* seem to remember him, and think upon sending the promised supply, or any such proportion as he needed. His credit also among his *Italian* friends, was much weakned, by the loss of *Capua*: which gave them cause to look unto themselves; as if in his help there were little trust to be reposed, when they should stand in need. This he well perceived; yet could not tell how to remedy. Either he must thrust Garrisons into all Towns that he suspected, and thereby so diminish his Army, that he should not be able to keep the field: or else he must leave them to their own fidelity, which now began to waver. At length his jealousie grew so outragious, that he sacked and wasted those places that he was unable to defend: thinking that the best way to enrich himself; and make unprofitable to his enemies, the purchase from which he could not hinder them. But by this example, many were quite alienated from him; and some of those, whom before he had least cause

to

to doubt. The town of *Salapia* yeeded unto *Marcellus*; and betrayed unto him a gallant Regiment of *Numidian* horse, the best of all that served under *Hannibal*; which was a greater losse, than the Town it self. *Blasius* the author of this rebellion, could not bring his desire to effect; without getting the consent of one *Dasius*, that was his bitter enemy. Wherefore he brake the matter to this *Dasius* in private; and was by him accused unto *Hannibal*. But when he was convented and charged of Treason, he so stoutly denyed it, and by way of recrimination, so vehemently pressed his accuser with the same fault: that *Hannibal* thought it a matter devised out of meer malice; knowing well what enemies they were; and seeing that neither of them could bring any proof of what he affirmed. This notwithstanding, *Blasius* did not cease to presse his adversary anew, and urge him from time to time, with such lively reasons; that he who could not be beleeved by *Hannibal*, was contented at length to win the favour of *Marcellus*. Presently after this, the Consul took by force, *Maronea* and *Meles*, Towns of the *Samnites*, wherein he slew about three thousand of *Hannibal* his men.

Hannibal could not look to all at once: but was fain to catch advantages; where he might get them; the *Romans* now being grown stronger in the field than he. The best was, that his *Carthaginians*, having wearyed themselves with ill speed in many petty enterprises, and laid aside all this while the care of *Italy*, to follow business of far less importance; had now at length resolved, to send presently the great supply, that had been so long promised and expected. This if they had done in better season; *Rome* it self might have been strucken down, the next year after that great blow received at *Cannæ*. But since that which is past cannot be amended; *Hannibal* must force himself to make a good countenance; and tell his followers; that this mighty succour would come time enough. For *Masanissa* was at *Carthage* with five thousand *Numidians*, ready to set sail for *Spain*; whither when he came, it was appointed that *Asdrubal* should forthwith take his journey into *Italy*, of which there had been so much talk. These newes did not more comfort *Hannibal* & his followers, than terrifie the *Romans*. Wherefore each did their best; the *Romans* to prevent the threatning mischief, and win as much as they could upon *Hannibal*, before the comming of his brother; *Hannibal*, on the contrary, to hold his own, and weaken the *Romans* as much as he was able. He had intelligence, that *Cn. Fulvius*, a *Roman* Prætor lay near unto *Herdonea* to get the Town by practice. It was not long since near unto the same place, another *Cn. Fulvius* had lost his Army. Therefore *Hannibal* made great marches thitherward; & came to *Herdonea* ere *Fulvius* heard news of his approach. As soon as he came, he offered battail to the *Roman* Prætor; who accepted it with more haste than good speed. The *Roman* Legions made good resistance a while, till they were compassed round with the *Carthaginian* horse. Then fell they to rout; and great slaughter was made of them. *Fulvius* himself, with twelve *Tribunes* or *Coronels*, were lost: of the common Souldiers, that were slain, the number is uncertain; some reporting seven, others thirteen thousand. The Town of *Herdonea*, because it was at point to have yeelded unto *Fulvius*, *Hannibal* did set on fire: and putting those to death that had practised with the Enemy, carryed away the multitude; whom he bestowed among the *Thurians* and *Metapontines*. The Consul *Marcellus* hearing of this, wrote unto the Senate: and exhorted them to be of good cheer; for that he would shortly abate the enemies pride. He followed the *Carthaginian* apace; and overtaking him at *Numistro* in the Country of the *Lucans*, fought with him a battell: which beginning at nine of the clock in the morning, lasted untill night; & ended, by reason of the darkness, with uncertain victory. Afterward *Hannibal* departed thence into *Apulia*, whither *Marcellus* followed him. At *Venusia* they met, and had many skirmishes; but none of importance. *Hannibal* removed often; and sought to bring the enemy within danger of some ambush. But *Marcellus*, though he was very eager of battail, would yet adventure nothing, but by open day-light, and upon fair ground.

Thus passed the time away, untill *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Q. Fulvius*, he that lately had taken *Capua*, were chosen Consuls. *Fabius* considering how much the *Roman* affairs were bettered by the taking of *Capua*, purposed that year to besiege *Tarentum*: which if he could win; like it was, that scarce one good City would afterwards remain true to *Hannibal*. Wherefore he vehemently exhorted his Colleague, and *Marcellus*, (to whom was continued the command of those Legions that served under him the year before) to presse the *Carthaginian* so hard, as he might have no leisure to help

Tarentum.

Tarentum. *Marcellus* was very glad of this charge: for he thought no *Roman* fitter than himselfe, to deal with *Hannibal* in open field. He followed him therefore to *Cannusium*, and thence from place to place: desiring ever to come to battail, but upon equall termes. The *Carthaginian* had not minde to hazzard much in fight: but thought it enough to entertain his enemy with skirmish; as being desirous to keep his Army strong untill the comming of *Asdrubal*. Yet could he not avoid the importunity of *Marcellus*, nor brook the indignity of being daily braved. He therefore bade his men to be lusty, and to beat soundly this hot-spirited *Roman* Captain, that would never suffer them to be at quiet; untill they once had cooled well his courage, by letting him bloud. Hereupon followed a battail; wherein *Hannibal* had the victory; took fixe Ensignes; and slew of the *Romans* almost three thousand, among which were some of mark. *Marcellus* was so impatient of this dishonour, that he rated his men, as Pesants, and base cowards: telling them, that they were the first of the *Roman* Legions, which had been beaten by *Hannibal*, by plain force and manhood, without being circumvented by any stratagem. With these and many other the like words, which they were ashamed to hear, he did so vexe them; that thinking themselves better able to endure any violence of the enemy, than such displeasure of their Generall; they besought him to pardon them, and lead them forth once again to fight. He did so: and placing those Companies formost, that had lost their Ensignes the day before, bade them be carefull to winne a victory; whereof the newes might be at *Rome*, before the report of their shamefull overthrow. *Hannibal* was angry, to see that nothing could make this Enemy quiet: and therefore was ready to fight again; since all other motives continued the same, and his men had been heartned by the late victory. But the *Romans* were stirred up with desire of revenge, and of repairing their honour lost, which affections gave a sharp edge unto their valour: whereas the *Carthaginians* were grown dull, and weary by seeing themselves disappointed of their hope; and the enemy, notwithstanding their late victory, as ready to molest them as before. In this second battail *Marcellus* got the victory: which he purchased at so dear a rate; that neither he, nor *Hannibal*, had great cause to vaunt, the second night. For if eight thousand of the *Carthaginians* were slain, and three thousand of the *Roman* side, in this next battail, the difference was no greater, than even to recompence the late received overthrow: especially since the number of the *Romans* that were wounded, was so great, as disabled *Marcellus* from pursuing *Hannibal*; who dislodged by night. Nevertheless it sufficed, that *Fabius* the Consull hereby got leisure, to follow his businesse at *Tarentum* without any disturbance. *Q. Fulvius* the other Consul about the same time, took in many of the *Hirpines*, *Lucans*, and *Volscentes*, that willingly yeelded themselves, and betrayed the Garrisons of *Hannibal* that lay in their Towns: whom *Fulvius* entertained in loving sort; gently rebuking them for their errours past, without punishing those that had been authors, or busie doers in the rebellion. That rabble of *Sicilian* theeves, which *Lavinus* had lately brought from *Agaterna*, was then also set on work to besiege *Caulonia*, a Towne of the *Brutians*: and nothing was omitted, that might serve to divert *Hannibal*, from the succour of *Tarentum*.

Q. Fabius the Consul, having taken *Manduria* a Town of the *Salentines*, sate down before *Tarentum*: making all preparation that seemed needfull to carry it either by assault or long siege. Of the Garrisons in the Town, a good part were *Brutians*, placed there by *Hannibal*, under a Captain of their own Nation. This Captain fell in love with a *Tarentine* wench; whose brother served under *Fabius*. Hereof she gave notice by letters to her brother, as thinking belike to draw him from the *Roman* side; by telling him how rich, and of what great accompt her lover was. But her brother made the Consul acquainted with these newes: and said, that if the *Brutian* were farre in love, he might perhaps be wonne, by intreaty of his Mistris, to doe what she would have him. The Consul hearing this, and finding likelihood in the matter, willed his souldier to convey himself into the Town as a fugitive, and try what good might be done. It fell out according to his desire. The Souldier grew acquainted with this *Brutian* Captain: and partly by his own perswasions, partly by the flattering entreaty of his sister; wanne him to betray the Town to the *Romans*. When they had agreed upon the businesse, and resolved how to order it; the same Souldier got out of the Town by night, and acquainted the Consul with his proceedings: telling him in which part

that

that *Brutian* kept watch, and what might conveniently be done. So in the night time, *Fabius* gave an alarm to the City; especially about those parts of the wall, which were farthest from the place where he meant to enter. The Captains in the Town, prepared to make resistance in those places, where the noise did threaten them with greatest likelihood of danger. But *Fabius* himself with the choice of his men, came in great silence to the quarter of the *Brutians*: who being wrought by their Captain, helped the *Romans* to get up, and break open the next gate, whereat the Army was let in. The *Tarentines* and *Carthaginian* Souldiers, made head against *Fabius* in the Market place: but (as hapneth in like cases, where the main confidence is already taken away) not very obstinately. *Nico*, *Democrates*, and *Philomenes*, with those that before had let in *Hannibal*, used now the last of their courage in dying against the *Romans*. *Carthalo*, who commanded the Garrison within the Town, offered himself prisoner: hoping to be well used, because of his hospitality that had passed between his Father and the Consul. But he was slain by the way, ere he could come at *Fabius*. The *Romans* did put all indifferently to the sword, in such sort, that they spared few of the *Brutians*. This slaughter of the *Brutian*, was thought to have been made by appointment of the Consull, to the end that he might seem to have wonne the Town by force and not by treason: though he thereby failed of his purpose; and neither had the glory which he expected, nor preserved his reputation of faithfull dealing, and keeping his word. The booty found in *Tarentum* was very great: whereof the *Roman* Treasury, whither it was carryed, had great need. As for the Imageries, and other curiosities that were in the City, *Fabius* was contented to let them alone: and being told of some Idols that seemed worthy to be carryed away, being very goodly pieces, in such habit & posture as if they were fighting: he said, Let us leave unto the *Tarentines* their angry gods.

Hannibal being gotten clear from *Marcellus*, fell upon those that besieged *Caulonia*. They fled at his comming: but he was so near, that they were fain to betake them to a hill, which served to no other purpose, than to bear off the first brunt. There they defended themselves a little while, and then they yeelded. When this businesse was done, he hasted away to relieve *Tarentum*. But when he came within five miles of the City, he had news that it was lost. This grieved him: yet he said no more than this, *The* Romans *have also their* Hannibal; we have lost *Tarentum* in such sort as we got it. That he might not seem to turn back amazed, or in any fear of the victorious Consull; he incamped a few dayes together, so near as he was unto *Tarentum*: and thence departing to *Metapontum*, bethought himself how to take *Fabius* in a trap. He caused the chief of the *Metapontines* to write unto *Fabius*, and offer to betray into his hands, the *Carthaginian* Garrison; with condition, that he should in that respect, forgive them all offences past. These letters were sent by two young men of the same city; who did their errand so well, that the Consul wrote back by them unto the *Metapontines*, and appointed the day, when they should expect him. Hereof *Hannibal* was exceeding glad: and at good leisure made ready his ambushes for the wary *Fabius*. But whether some secret notice of the plot were given; or whether indeed (as it is related) some tokens in sacrificing, terrified the superstitious *Roman*; the journey to *Metapontum* was deferred. Hereupon the same two Messengers were employed again: but being apprehended, and threatned with torture, they discovered all.

This year was happy to the *Romans*, in all their warres: for they got every where, save only at *Caulonia*; where they lost a company of such lewd fellowes, that it may seem good fortune, to have so been rid of them. But their common poverty, and disability to maintain their charge, continued, and grew greater than it was before. Thirty *Roman* Colonies were then in *Italy*: of which, twelve refused to contribute any longer to the Wars. For it was considered; that the Legions of *Canna*, and those unhappy Companies that had been beaten under the one and the other *Cn. Fulvius*, were transported into *Sicil*; where they lived, in a sort, as banished men. This grieved their friends at home, and made them reckon up the more diligently those other miseries which they daily felt. Ten years together they had been exhausted with levies of men, and impositions of money: in every of which years they had received some notable overthrow. In this case the least that they could fear; or rather the best that they could hope; was to fall into the hands of the enemy to be made prisoners. For *Hannibal* did gently send home their people that was taken by him: whereas the *Romans* did banish from their homes

homes, those that had escaped. It was therefore likely to come to passe within a while, that they should be all consumed: since new souldiers were dayly pressed forth of their Towns; and the old ones never returned. Such talk was frequent among those of the Colonies: especially where they that were transported into *Sicil*, had most compassionate friends. Wherefore it was concluded by the people of *Ardea*, *Sutrium*, *Alba*, and other good Towns, to the number of twelve, That they should boldly deny unto the *Romans* their farther help. This was thought the likeliest way to obtain peace: whereof otherwise they saw little hope, as long as *Hannibal* lived. When the Consuls heard the Embassadours of these Towns make such declaration, and protest their disability of giving any farther help: they were much amazed. They willed the Embassadours to returne home, and bring a better answer, forasmuch as this was none other than treason: they bade them to consider, that the people were not *Campans* or *Tarentines*, but the off-spring of the *Romans*; and no lesse partakers of the Empire, than they that inhabited the Mother-City. But all would not serve, the Embassadours continuing to protest, that they had already done what they could; and that they had remaining, neither men, nor money. It was well for the *Romans*, that the other eighteen Colonies did not imitate these twelve; but shewed themselves willing to undergo whatsoever should be layed upon them, without shrinking under the burden. This their offer was so highly pleasing to the Consuls; that the Embassadors of those faithfull Colonies, were brought unto the Senate, and produced into the Assembly of the people: where, with commemoration of all their former good services, this their present love unto the State was magnified, and thanks accordingly bestowed upon them; with promise, that it should not be forgotten. As for the Embassadours of those twelve Colonies, that refused to contribute; it was thought best, neither to retain them in the City, nor yet to dismisse them, nor take any notice of them at all; but leave them to their own consideration of their ill deserving.

It may greatly be doubted, what the example of these twelve people would have wrought in those that were so willing to help the State, if *Asdrubal* had been then comming into *Italy*. For then must the *Romans* have betaken themselves wholly to their own defence; whereas now, to the great comfort of their subjects, they employed their forces in the conquest of *Italy*, with hopefull and fortunate successe. Nevertheless, they were fain to open their most privie treasury; and thence take out the gold that had been laid up to serve them in cases of greatest extremity. Of the money thus extracted, one quarter was delivered to *Fabius* the Consull, to set him well out against the *Tarentines*; all the rest was sent into *Spain* to *Scipio*, for the maintenance of his Army; and to provide that *Asdrubal* might not passe from thence into *Italy*. It is likely that *Fabius* did not spend all his money; finding such easie successe at *Tarentum*, as was shewed before. But to stop the journey of *Asdrubal*; neither the money sent into *Spain*, nor any victories won by *Scipio* could suffice. Nevertheless it fell out happily for the people of *Rome*, that this year, and the next were spent, before his comming; and they better prepared, than at less warning they could have been, to entertain him. Here it were not amiss to note, That since the *Romans*, being in so great necessity of money, were driven to furnish the Army in *Spain*, with the greatest part of all their stock that was left: it must needs be, that either the booty taken in new *Carthage*, was far less than fame had reported it; or else that *Scipio* had not as yet won it: howsoever *Livie* rather inclines to those, who say that he got it soon after his arrivall.

M. Claudius Marcellus, & *T. Quintius Crispinus*, were chosen Consuls after *Fabius* and *Fulvius*. In their year it was, that *Asdrubal* took his journey out of *Spain*, though he came not into *Italy* untill the year following. After the great battell at *Cannæ*, *Hannibal* had lost much time about *Cumæ* and *Naples*, in seeking to make himself Master of a good Haven; for the landing of those succours that were promised from *Carthage*. The hope that he reposed in *Philip*, caused him to turn his principall care to the Easterne parts of *Italy*; where he made ready a fair entrance for the *Macedonian*, if he had been ready to come; but since his hope was vanished, and the long promised succour of *Asdrubal* was (though farre later than had been expedient) ready to arrive: he began to deal with the people of *Hetruria*, through whose Countries his brother was to passe, that therein he might make a party against the *Romans*. The loss of *Capua*, *Tarentum*, and many other towns, might have terrified all other of the *Italian* towns, from hearkening

to

to any solicitation of the *Carthaginians*. Yet the poverty of the *Romans*, & the wearines of their adherents, together with the fame of a greater Army comming than that which *Hannibal* brought into *Italy*; did imbolden many of the *Hetrurians*, especially the *Aretines*, to take such counsell as they thought most expedient for themselves, without regard of their fidelity to *Rome*. The *Roman* Senate, hearing the rumour of their conspiracy, sent *Marcellus* the new chosen Consull into *Hetruria*: whose comming did so terrefie them, that they rested quiet for a while. All the year following they were devising how to break out: as contrariwise the *Roman* Propretors, partly by terrour of severe judgements and inquisitions; and partly by the force of two or three Legions, with which they visited all suspected places, kept them honest against their wils, and took many Hostages for better assurance. The two Consuls had an earnest desire, to make strong War upon *Hannibal* without more temporising: perswading themselves, that in battell they should be too strong for him. *Crispinus* had further his particular desire, to make his Consulship notable by the winning of some good Town: as *Fulvius* and *Fabius* had gotten honour by *Capua* and *Tarentum*. Therefore he went about the siege of *Locri*; one of the best Cities which the *Carthaginian* then held in *Italy*: and brought thither all sorts of engines; sending for a Fleet out of *Sicil* to help him. But *Hannibal* was not slow to relieve the City: the fame of whose approach, made *Crispinus* desist from his enterprise, and retire unto his Colleague, that lay at *Venusia*. Thither followed *Hannibal*; to whom the Consuls daily offered battell. This great man of War had no need to stand upon his reputation: which was already so confirmed, that his refusing to fight, was not likely to be ascribed unto fear; but rather deemed as part of his wisdome. He entertained the Consuls with many light skirmishes, and sought to take them at some advantage; reserving his own numbers as full as he could, unto a time of greater imployment. In this lingring manner of War, *Marcellus* took no pleasure: but sought to compell the Enemy to battell, whether he would or no. The Admirall of the *Roman* Fleet about *Sicil*, *L. Cincius*, was commanded again to assail the Town of *Locri*: which might well enough be forced, if *Hannibal* continued as he began, to trifle away the time at *Venusia*. To the same purpose a part of the Garrison that lay in *Tarentum*, was appointed to go by land to the assistance of *Cincius*. But *Hannibal* had an eye behinde him. He laid an ambush in the way, between *Tarentum* and *Locri*, whereinto the *Romans* fell: and having lost above three thousand of their Company, were well glad, the rest of them, to quit their enterprise, and save their own lives within *Tarentum*. As for the Consuls, it was the desire of *Hannibal* to waste their Army by little and little: which to doe, he neglected no advantage. There lay between him and them an Hillock, overgrown with wood, that seemed fit to cover a number of men: who lying there undiscerned, might fall upon such as should straggle from the *Roman* camp; and cut them off. Therefore he sent thither by night some companies of *Numidians*: whom he willed to keep themselves close, and attend their best advantage. To this piece of ground the Consuls thought it fit to remove their camp: *Marcellus* thinking that he never lay near enough unto *Hannibal*. Thither therefore both of them rode to view the place, accompanied with the son of *Marcellus*, a few Colonels, and other principall men: and not many more than two hundred horse, most of them *Hetrurians*. The *Numidian* Centinel gave warning of their approach to his fellowes who discovered not themselves, until they had surrounded the Consuls and their train. The Consuls, as necessity compelled them, defended themselves: hoping to be quickly relieved from their campthat was near at hand. But the *Hetrurians* ran away from them, at the first: and left them in that great danger, to the weak assistance of no more than forty horse-men, that were of the Colonie of *Fregella*. These *Fregellans* abode by the Consuls, and did what they could to have brought them safe off. But when *Marcellus* was stricken thorow with a Lance, and fell down dead; then began every one to shift for himself, and escape as they might. *Crispinus* the other Consul, had his deaths wound, being stricken with two Darts; and young *Marcellus* was likewise wounded; yet these two recovered their camp: The rest of the Colonels and Officers, together with the Lictors that carried the bundles of Rods and Axes before the Consuls, were all slain or taken. To the dead body of the Consul *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* gave honourable Funeral, according to the custome of those times: and bestowing his ashes in a silver pot, covered it with a crown of gold; and so sent them to young *Marcellus*, to be by him interred, where he thought good.

Presently after this, *Crispinus* bethought himself, how that the signet Ring of *Marcellus* was faln into the custody of *Hannibal*; who might use it to his own purposes, ere that which had hapnnd were well known abroad. Wherefore he sent word unto all the Towns about; that his Colleague was slain, and that *Hannibal* had gotten his Ring: wishing them in that regard, to give no credit unto any letters therewithall signed. This providence of *Crispinus* was not more than requisite: For his messenger was but a little before come to *Salapia*, when another Messenger arrived there sent from *Hannibal*, bringing letters in the name of *Marcellus*, and sealed with the captive Ring; whereof the contents were: That it was his purpose to come the same night unto *Salapia*; where he willed, that the Souldiers of the Garrison should be in a readinesse, for such imployment as he should think needfull. The device was plain, and no lesse plain was the revengeful minde which he bare against that City; because of his brave *Numidian* companies that had therein been betrayed. The *Salapians* hereupon bethought themselves, how to take their enemy in his own snare. They sent back the Messenger, which was a *Roman* fugitive, without letting him perceive any sign of distrust in them. This done, they prepared all things in a readiness, for the entertainment of such a friend. Late in the night he came thither; with a troup of *Roman* fugitives armed *Roman*-like, leading the way. These all talking Latine together, called unto the Watch, and bade open the gate, for the Consul was there. The gate was opened fair and leisurely, and the Port-cullis drawn up no higher than needs it must be, to let them enter. But when sixe hundred of them were gotten in, down fell the Port-cullis again: and they that thought to have taken others, were taken themselves; being laid at on all hands by the *Salapians*, that quickly made an end with them.

Hannibal being thus over-reached with this stratagem, hasted away to *Locri*; whereunto *Cincius* the Admirall of the *Roman* fleet about *Cicil*, did lay hard siege. The first appearance of the *Numidians*, *Hannibal* his Vantcurrors, made the *Romans* in all confused haste, run to their ships: leaving all their engines, and whatsoever was in their Camp, to the enemies disposition.

The *Roman* Senate hearing of these accidents, sent unto *Crispinus* the surviving Consul, and requested him to name a Dictator that might take charge of the Comwon-wealth, and dispatch the election of new Magistrates, with other businesse; whereunto himself was disabled by his hurts. He did so: and soon after died. Then was it thought needfull, that new Consuls should be chosen out of hand: forasmuch as two *Roman* Armies lay so near unto the Enemy, without any General. Especially it was desired, that Election should be made of such men as were not only valiant, but well advised: since the best, and most fortunate of their great Darers, *M. Marcellus*, by losing himself so strangely, had given them a fair warning, not to commit their Army unto rash heads. Among those that stood for the Consulship, *C. Claudius Nero*, was the most eminent. He was of great Nobility, a good Souldier, and one, whose many services in this present War, did forcibly commend unto the place. Yet he seemed a little too violent; and one, whose temper needed the allay of a more stayed wit. The fathers therefore endeavoured to joyn unto him in the Consulship, *M. Livius*: one that had borne the same Office long before. This *M. Livius* had been Consul with *L. Æmilius Paulus*, in the year foregoing the beginning of this Warre. After their Consulship, wherein they did good service, they had both of them been called into judgement by the people: and this *Livius* condemned; *Æmilius* hardly escaping. Though it hath been once already noted; yet I cannot forbear to remember it again: how it pleased God to upbraid the unthankfull *Romans*, with the malicious judgement, given by their multitude upon honourable men. For in the battel of *Canna*, it was apparent, what lamentable effects the memory of their injustice wrought: when *L. Æmilius* rather chose to yeeld to the froward ignorance of his Colleague; and afterward to die in the greatest overthrow that ever fell upon the State of *Rome*, than by resisting the pernicious courses of *Terentius Varro*, to cast himself anew upon the danger of the popular fury. As for *M. Livius*, he is even now ready, and will so continue, to tell the people of their faults in a divers manner. Eight years together after his condemnation, had he been absent out of the city, and lived in his countrey Grange; still vexing himself with the indignity of his condemnation. *Marcellus* and *Lævinus*, being Consuls two or three years agoe, had brought him into *Rome*: where he lived private in discontented sort, as might appear,

both

both by his careleſneſs in apparell, and by the wearing of his long hair and beard; which in that time were the badges of men afflicted. Very lately he was compelled by the Cenſors, to poll his hair, and come into the Senate: where he uſed to ſit ſilent, and ſignifie his aſſent or diſlike to what was propoſed, either in ſhort formal words, or in paſſing from ſide to ſide, when the houſe was divided. At length it hapned, that in ſome buſineſſe weightily concerning one that was his kinſman; he ſtood up and made a ſet ſpeech: whereby he drew all the Fathers to attention; and bade them enquire of him, and take better notice, what he was, and what he had been. The Senate was much altered ſince he had left it; many brave men were loſt; new ones were choſen; ſuch as rather ſerved to fill up the number, than to anſwer to the dignity of the place: and they that were left of ancient ſtanding, had even ſpent their Vertues to no great effect. Wherefore all began to ſay; that it was great pity, ſo worthy and able a man as this *Livius*, had been all this while forgotten; one of whom the Common-wealth ſtood in great need, yet had not uſed in this dangerous war. Now ſeeing that the Conſuls ought, one of them, to be choſen a *Patrician*, the other of neceſſity a *Plebeian*: and ſince neither *Fabius*, nor *Valerius Lævinus*, being both of them *Patricians*, could be joyned with *Claudius Nero*: every one was of opinion, that there could not be choſen and coupled together, two fitter men than *C. Claudius*, and this *Marcus Livius*. But *Livie* would not endure to hear of this. He ſaid it was unreaſonable, that one condemned as a diſhoneſt man, ſhould afterwards be choſen Ruler of the City. If they had done ill to truſt him with one Conſulſhip, what meant they then to offer him another? With theſe, and the like phraſes he reſiſted their deſires: till by perſwaſions, and examples rehearſed, of ſuch as had patiently digeſted injuries done by the people, and repayed good for evill; he was contented to accept the honour.

Here we may behold a true figure of that Embleme, with which *Themiſtocles* checked the ingratitude of the *Athenians*: reſembling himſelf to a Plane-tree, the branches and boughes whereof men break in fair weather; but run under it for ſhelter in a ſtorme. Such unthankfulneſſe, to well-deſerving men, is not rarely found in the outragious multitude. Neither was the late example hereto much unlike, of *Philip* the ſecond King of *Spain* his dealing with the Duke of *Alva*. For although he had committed the Duke to priſon, upon ſome ſmall offence conceived, without all regard of his former deſerts: yet when his intended conqueſt of *Portugal*, required the ſervice of a man more than ordinarily ſufficient; he ſtood no longer upon the ſcanning of late diſpleaſures; but employed the ſame Duke, whom he had newly diſgraced. Thus is wiſdome often taught by neceſſity.

It was a dangerous year toward, when *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius* were choſen Conſuls. *Aſdrubal* was already come into *France*, and waited only, to have the wayes of the Alpes thawed by warm weather, for his paſſage into *Italy*. The *Romans* uſed at this time the ſervice of three and twenty Legions: and wanted not imployment for many more, if they had known how to levie and maintain them. Of theſe which they had, four ſerved in *Spain*, two in *Sicil*, and two in *Sardinia*: the reſt were ſo diſpoſed, in ſeverall parts of *Italy*, where need ſeemed to require, that only two Legions were left to each of the Conſuls. But the Conſuls were men of execution: and would not be tyed to the punctuall obſervance of what the Senate thought fit. *M. Livius* would not ſtirre out of *Rome*, againſt ſo mighty a power as followed *Aſdrubal*, untill he had firſt obtained, that he might carry with him as many as could well be ſpared from other imployments; and thoſe, or the moſt of them, choſen Companies. It was true, that two Legions appointed to ſerve under *Lucius Porcius* a Prætor of that year, among the *Ciſalpine Gaules*, might be reckoned as an additament to the forces of *Livius*; to whom th War againſt *Aſdrubal* was allotted. So might alſo two other Legions, that were among the *Salentines*, near unto *Tarentum*, under another of the Prætors, be accounted a part of *Claudius* his Army, that was ſent againſt *Hannibal*. Nevertheleſſe, the Conſuls, by the eſpeciall inſtance of *Livie*, did obtain, that all might be left to their own diſcretion. For newes came, that *Aſdrubal* was already paſſing the Alpes; the *Ligurians*, who dwelt in the Country about *Genua*, with their neighbour people, were in readineſſe to joyne with him; and *L. Porcius* ſent word, that he would adventure no further, than he ſafely might. When all was ordered as themſelves thought beſt, the two Conſuls went forth of the City; each his ſeveral way. The people of *Rome* were now quite otherwiſe affected,

affected, than they had been, when *L. Æmilius Paulus* and *C. Terentius Varro*, were sent against *Hannibal*. They did no longer take upon them, to direct their Generals, or bid them dispatch, and win the victory betimes: but rather they stood in fear, lest all diligence, wisdome and valour should prove too little. For since few years had passed, wherein some one of their Generals had not been slain; and since it was manifest, that if either of these present Consuls were defeated, or put to the worst; the two *Carthaginians* would forthwith joyne, and make short work with the other: it seemed a greater happinesse than could be expected, that each of them should returne home Victor; and come off with honour, from such mighty opposition, as he was like to finde. With extream difficulty had *Rome* held up her head, ever since the battell of *Cannæ*: though it were so, that *Hannibal* alone, with little help from *Carthage*, had continued the War in *Italy*. But there was now arrived another sonne of *Amilcar*; and one, that in his present Expedition, had seemed a man of more sufficiency than *Hannibal* himself. For whereas in that long and dangerous march, through barbarous Nations, over great Rivers and Mountains, that were thought unpassable, *Hannibal* had lost a great part of his Army: this *Asdrubal* in the same places, had multiplyed his numbers; and gathering the people, that he found in the way, descended from the Alpes like a rowling Snow-ball, far greater than he came over the Pyrenees at his first setting out of *Spain*. These considerations, and the like, of which fear presented many unto them; caused the people of *Rome*, to wait upon their Consuls out of the Town, like a pensive train of Mourners: thinking upon *Marcellus* and *Crispinus*; upon whom in the like sort they had given attendance the last year; but saw neither of them returne alive, from a lesse dangerous War. Particularly, old *Q. Fabius* gave his accustomed advice to *M. Livius*, that he should abstain from giving, or taking battell, untill he well understood the Enemies condition. But the Consul made him a froward answer, and said, that he would fight the very first day: for that he thought it long, till he should either recover his honour by victory; or by seeing the overthrow of his own unjust Citizens, satisfie himself with the joy of a great, though not an honest revenge. But his meaning was better than his words.

Of the overthrow that *Asdrubal* received in *Spain* by *Scipio*, a little before he took his journey into *Italy*; such mention hath already been made, as agreed with the report of that noble Historian *Livie*. Yet I think it not amisse to adde in this place, what may be gathered out of the remaining fragments of *Polybius* his History concerning that accident: *Asdrubal* had wrestled with many difficulties in *Spain*; by reason of those Captains that were sent from the City of *Carthage*, to joyn with him in the administration of that Province: they being, as it may seem, of the *Hannonian* faction; which is to say, thus far forth Traytors, that they preferred the advantage of their own side, before the good of their Common-wealth. In what particulars they wronged this worthy sonne of *Amilcar*, and how they hindred his courtes undertaken, it cannot be known: since of those books, wherein *Polybius* hath exactly handled these matters, there are to us remaining only a few broken pieces. But by the spightfull dealing of *Hanno* in *Sicil* with *Mutines*, a better man of War than himself, whom *Hannibal* had sent into the Iland: we may conceive, that against the brother of *Hannibal* it was thought needfull, by these mischievous Partizans of *Hanno*, to use the violent opposition of more earnest malice. Nevertheless, *Asdrubal* was a good Patriot: and therefore endured patiently such indignities, as *Mutines* could not long digest. His journey into *Italy* being resolved upon: he lay with part of the Army at *Betula*, not far from the Mines of silver; whence be was to furnish his Expeditions. Thither came *Scipio*: and drave him out of his Camp; though he were strongly lodged, before the other *Carthaginian* Captains could, or would come to his assistance. The overthrow seems not to have been so great, as it must have been supposed, if no way lay open to those that fled. Rather it appears, that *Asdrubal* dealt like a provident man, and seeing that his Camp was likely to be forced, sent away all his money with his Elephants before him: but staid behind himself to sustain the *Romans* a while, untill his carriages might be out of danger. Herein he had his desire. Afterwards, he gathered his broken troups together: and retyred in such sort, that *Scipio* thought it not good to pursue him, and so passed over *Tagus*. Then taking unto him the forces assigned for his expedition, he marched away toward the Pyrenees: leaving the care of *Spain* unto his brother *Mago*, and to *Asdrubal* the

Excerpt. e Polyb. hist. l. 10. *&* 11.

the sonne of *Gesco*; that thought himself the fittest man for the administration thereof. Fain would *Scipio* have stopped him on his journey, by sending to defend against him the ordinary way of the mountains. But whether *Asdrubal* took another way, or whether he forced the guards that *Scipio* had set to keep the Pyrenees (as the defence of hard passages commonly sorts to no good effect) he was not letted in his voyage by any such impediment. Comming into *Gaule* and following the steps of his brother *Hannibal*: he found the Nations that lay in his way, so well affected, either to him or to his mony that no passages were defended against him, nor any sort of resistance made; but he, and his Army well entertained, and their number much increased, by access of such as were desirous to take his pay. Of these he had the better choice: for that he was driven to winter in their Country; whilest that the passages of the Alpes were closed up with Ice and Snow. The Mountainers likewise, that had so greatly molested *Hannibal* in his journy over the Alps, were easily won to take part with *Asdrubal*; when he travelled thorow their Country. For these poor men, at the first comming of *Hannibal*, were verily perswaded, that it was his purpose to rob them of their cattell; and to make spoil of that little wealth which they had painfully scraped together out of the desolate rocks. But now in process of time, they were better informed. Therefore understanding, that there were two mighty Cities, far dis-joyned asunder, which made War upon each other, by Land and Sea; and that the Alps did only lye in the way: they gladly condescended to take their part in the fortune of the Invaders. The like affection upon greater cause, was afterward found in the *Cisalpine Gaules*. The *Ligurians* also joyned with *Asdrubal*: and so would the *Hetrurians* have done, if he had arrived in their Country. There was no other *Roman* Army near, than *L. Portius* with his two Legions; of whom there was no great fear. Therefore did *Asdrubal* set upon *Placentia*, a *Roman* Colony: in hope to make his comming the more terrible, by the destruction of that Town. But there he lost a great deal of time, and finally was driven to quit the enterprise: by undertaking which, he gave the *Roman* Consuls leisure to make ready for him; and caused his brother *Hannibal* (who upon the first bruit of *Asdrubal* his so timely, and easily passing the Alpes, was about to leave his wintring Camps, and go forth to meet with him) to sit still a while, as well aware, that *Placentia* would not be taken in haste.

C. Claudius Nero the *Roman* Consul, made what speed he could to meet with *Hannibal*, and stop him from joyning with his brother. He had about forty thousand foot, and five hundred horse: with which he daily offered battell to the *Carthaginians*; and had of him the better in many skirmishes. *Hannibal* was once driven to make a tedious march from the borders of the *Salentines* and *Apulians*, into the Country of the *Brutians*, there to encrease his forces; which were otherwise too weak for the journey intended. Afterward comming to *Grumentum*, a Town of the *Lucans*; he there fought unprosperously with *Nero* the Consul. Nevertheless, he got off, and marched away to *Venusia*. But *Nero* followed him, and had there again the better of him. Wherefore he was driven to return to *Metapontum*: where joyning with *Hanno*, that had made ready a good Army, he assayed again, to make way by force to his brother. So he passed onward, and came again to *Venusia*, having *Nero* still at his heels. Thence went he over the River *Aufidus*, to *Canusium*, where he sate down, not far from the place, in which he had obtained his most memorable victory. There also did *Nero* sit down by him: and both of them rested, without making offer to fight. It seemed perhaps unto *Hannibal*, who knew the Countrey very well; that his brother might with little impediment, overcome the way to *Canusium*: where if he could once again deal with both the Consuls, and all the *Roman* forces together, he had reason to hope for such another victory, as once he had gotten in the same open Country. If this had so faln out; *Rome* would have been undone for ever. But the *Carthaginians* should not have needed to with any second victory, in the naked *Campans* about *Cannæ*; if such an Army as this which *Asdrubal* now brings, had come to second *Hannibal*, when he was in his full strength; and the *Romans* not able to keep the field. Wherefore this worthy Generall had good reason afterward to say that *Hanno* was the man, who by delaying the supply, did beat him out of *Italy*; which else no power of the *Romans* could have done.

Whilest *Nero* waited upon the *Carthaginians*, and thought it enough to hinder them from meeting with the Army that was comming to their succour: he was advertised of

Asdrubal his approach; by Letters and Messengers intercepted, as they were going to *Hannibal*. These gave notice, that *Asdrubal* had left the siege of *Placentia*, and drew onwards apace: being already come within two hundred miles of his brother; notwithstanding all opposition that could be made by *Livie* the Consul. Of these news *Claudius Nero* was nothing joyfull. For if *Hannibal* could once be joyned as head, unto that great body of an Army, which *Asdrubal* brought with him: it was most apparent, that howsoever the fortune of *Rome* should avoid, for the present, any great calamity; yet the very continuance of so strong a war at home, would enforce the *Latines*, and other faithfull Associates, to faint under the burden; as twelve of the thirty *Roman* Colonies had already done. Wherefore he resolved, that it were better to make any desperate adventure, than to suffer the conjunction of two such malevolent Planers: whose pestilent influence, if not on the sudden, yet within few years, was like to work most lamentable effects. It seemed apparent, that his Colleague was unable to stay the progresse of *Asdrubal*: neither were there any good Legions in a readinesse, that could do service in such a needfull case; excepting those, that were already employed under the two Consuls. Hereupon he concluded, that it was not expedient for him to tye himself to his owne charge, which was the warre against *Hannibal*: but rather that it behoved him, to help where more necessity required; and to carry part of his forces unto his Colleague. This could not be without much danger. Yet since the meeting of the two *Carthaginian* brethren, was farre more dangerous to the *Roman* Common-wealth: it seemed the best way to put Fortune in trust, with that which was of the lesse importance. Sixe thousand foot, and a thousand horse he therefore took, that were the very choice of his Army: and making shew, as if he would only step aside, to do some small piece of service near at hand; away he posted as fast as he could, to assist his fellow Consul. His Messengers ran before him, to give warning to all Towns by which he was to passe, that they should be ready to meet him with victuals, and all other necessaries for his Army. *Livius* the other Consul, at that time, lay encamped near unto *Sena Gallica*; and *Asdrubal* within half a mile of him. In sixe dayes *Nero* had finished his journey thither; and when he drew near, sent Messengers before him, to give notice of his comming. *Livie* thought it fittest that he should stay in some place of covert untill dark night, and then enter secretly into the Camp: lest the Enemy, perceiving this access of strength, should accordingly frame his counsels. This was done: and a token given, that the Colonels, Captains, and all Souldiers, aswell horse as foot, that *Nero* had brought with him, should be lodged and entertained by men of their own sort. Their Company was somewhat increased by Voluntaries that joyned with him on the way. Nevertheless it was not needfull that the Quarter which received them, should be enlarged; since they had brought with them nothing but their armes. The next day they held a Counsell of Warre: wherein some were of opinion, that it was best for these new arrived Companies to refresh themselves a few dayes after their weary journey, before they should be drawn forth to battell. But against this, *Nero* was very earnest: and besought his Colleague, to make use of him out of hand; that he might betimes return to his own camp, ere *Hannibal* should have notice of his absence. The Souldiers also of *Nero* were full of spirit; perceiving that the honour of the victory was like to be theirs: forasmuch as the battell would not have been undertaken, without this their comming to help. Finally, it was agreed when the Councell brake up, that the signe of battell should be hung out; which was commonly a purple coat over the Generals Pavilion.

Asdrubal was no less willing than the *Romans* to come to battell, having long desired it, and hitherto not found occasion before. But when he had put his men in order, and was riding before the head of his Army, to behold the Enemies countenance: it seemed to him, that they were more than they had been; and some of their armes and horses looked as though they had wanted dressing, after a long journey. Hereupon he began to with-draw his Army back into the camp: and gave order, that if no prisoners could be taken, by whom he might be certified of the truth; yet should there good observation be made, whether the Enemies camp were enlarged, or no; or what other alteration could be noted, that might shew their forces to be increased. The camp, as hath been said was not extended: but the trumpet, that sounded only once in the Quarter of *L. Porcius* the Prætor, did now, contrary to former custome, sound twice in the

the quarter of *Livius* the Consul. Hereat *Asdrubal* greatly mused: and being well acquainted with the *Roman* orders, held this for a sure token, that the other Consul was there arrived. How this might be, if *Hannibal* were alive, and in good case, he was not able to conjecture: but thought it the best way, to goe leisurely to work, till he might be better informed. Upon confidence in his own forces, he had not cared hitherto, how near he lay to the *Romans*; nor troubled himself perhaps with over-strongly fortifying his own camp. Yet when he now perceived, that somewhat was fallen out beside his expectation, he changed his resolution; and held it no dishonour to remove a little further off. So he dislodged secretly by night, intending to get over the River *Metaurus*; whereby to keep himself as long as he could, from necessity of battell. But whether it were so, that his guides did steal away from him in the dark, so that he could not find the way to the Foords; or whether his carriages were too heavie, and hindred his speed: far he had not gone, ere the Consul *Nero* was at his heels with all the *Roman* horse, and stayed him from passing any further. Soon after came *L. Porcius* with the light armature: whom the other Consul followed anon with all the Legions; in good order, and ready for battell. *Asdrubal*, seeing himself overtaken with necessity to fight, omitted no care and circumspection. His *Gaules*, in whom he reposed least confidence, he placed in his left wing upon a Hill, which the Enemie should not, without much difficulty, be able to climbe: in the right wing he stood himself with his *Africans* and *Spaniards*; his *Ligurians* he placed in the midst; and his Elephants he bestowed in the front of his battels. On the *Roman* side, *Nero* had the leading of the right wing, *Livius* of the left, and *Porcius* of the battell. Both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* well understood, how much depended upon the fortune of this day; and how little hope of safety there was unto the vanquished. Only the *Romans* herein seemed to have had the better in conceit and opinion; that they were to fight with men desirous to have fled from them. And, according to this presumption, came *Livius* the Consull with a proud bravery, to give charge on the *Africans*, by whom he was so sharply entertained, that the victory seemed very doubtfull. The *Africans* and *Spaniards* were stout Souldiers, and well acquainted with the manner of the *Roman* fight. The *Ligurians* also were a hardy Nation, and not accustomed to give ground; which they needed the less, or were able now to doe, being placed in the midst. *Livius* therefore, and *Porcius* found strong opposition: and with great slaughter on both sides, prevailed little or nothing. Besides other difficulties, they were exceedingly troubled by the Elephants, that brake their first ranks; and put them in such disorder, as the *Roman* Ensigns were driven to fall back. All this while *Claudius Nero*, labouring much in vain against a steep Hill, was unable to come to blowes with the *Gaules*, that stood opposite unto him, but out of danger. This made *Asdrubal* the more confident; who, seeing his own left wing safe, did the more boldly and fiercely make impression on the other side, upon the left wing of the *Romans*. But *Nero* perceiving that the place wherein he stood, was such as would compell him to remain idle till the fight were ended; took a part of his forces, and led them round behinde the forces of *Porcius* and *Livius*: which having compassed, he fell upon *Asdrubal*, and charged him in the flank. Here began the victory to be manifest on the *Roman* side. For *Nero*, finding none to resist him in front, ran all along the depth of *Asdrubal* his battell: and falling upon the skirts thereof, disordered the Enemies, and put all to rout. Of the *Spaniards* therefore and *Africans*, that were laid at on every side, the greatest part was slain. The *Ligurians* and *Gaules* escaped as they could; and saved themselves by timely flight. Of the Elephants four were taken alive: the rest were slain: some by the Enemies weapons, others by their own guides that rode them. For when any of them, being sore wounded, began to waxe unruly, and rush back upon their own battels following them, the guide had in readiness a Mallet, and a Chizzel, wherewith he gave them a stroke between the eares, in the joynt of the neck, next unto the head, wherewith he killed the beasts upon a sudden. This speedy way of preventing such harme as the Elephants, being hurt, were wont to do to the squadrons following them, is said to have been the device of *Asdrubal* himself, who dyed in this battell.

Great commendations are given to *Asdrubal*, both by *Polybius* and by *Livie*. He is said at all times to have shewed himself worthy of *Amilcar* his father, and *Hannibal* his brother: to have striven with great patience against many difficulties, whereinto he fell

fell by the means of those Captains that were sent from *Carthage* into *Spain*; to have performed in this last battell all duties of a worthy Generall; and finally, when he saw the losse irrepairable, to have ridden manfully into the thickest of his Enemies; where, fighting bravely, he was slain. Of the number that died with him in this battell, the report of *Livie*, and of *Polybius* do very much disagree. For *Livie* saith that the *Carthaginians* had no lesse an overthrow, than was that which they gave to the *Romans* at *Cannæ*; that fifty sixe thousand of them were slain, five thousand and four hundred taken prisoners, and above four thousand *Roman* citizens, whom they had captives with them, delivered; and set at liberty. He saith also, that of the *Romans* and their Associates there were slain eight thousand: and of the booty, that it was exceeding great; not only in other kindes, but in gold and silver. Concerning the booty, *Polybius* hath no mention of it. Likely it is to have bin as rich as *Livie* reporteth it; for *Asdrubal* came well stored with mony. But *Polybius* (who had no desire to make this battell of *Metaurus*, a parallel unto that of *Cannæ*) reports no more than about ten thousand of the *Carthaginian* side; & two thousand of the *Roman*, to have bin slain. The number of the prisoners he doth not mention: but only saith, That some of the *Carthaginian* Princes were taken alive; and that all the rest died in the battell. Whereby it may seem that they were all *Barchines*: forasmuch as they preferred the honour of themselves, and of their country, above their lives.

The joy of this victory was no lesse in *Rome*, than had been the fear of the event. For ever since it were known in what sort *Nero* had left his Army, the whole City was troubled, as much as lately at *Hannibal* his comming thither. Men thought it strange, that the Consull should make such a great adventure, as thus to put the one half of all the *Roman* forces unto hazzard of the Dice. For what if *Hannibal* should chance to have notice of this his departure, & either pursue him, or set upon the Army that staid behind, much weakned, and without a Generall? Thus did they talk; yet reserving their censure unto the successe; with liberty to approve or condemn, according to the issue. In the mean time the people filled the Market-place, the Women ran to the temples, with Vowes and Prayers; and the Senators were daily in counsell, waiting still ready at hand upon the Magistrates; as if some great matter were likely to fall out, that would aske every ones help. In brief, they were all so full of melancholy, that when the first newes of victory came, there were not many that would beleeve it. Afterwards, when Messengers arrived from the Coniuls, with Letters containing all that had passed, there was not only great and joyfull concourse of all sorts of men unto the Temples, but the very face of the City was altered; and men from thenceforth began to follow their private business; making contracts one with another (which they had long forborn to do) and attending their own affairs in such wise, as if *Hannibal* were already driven out of *Italy*.

Nero returning to his camp, threw forth openly the head of *Asdrubal* before the *Carthaginians*: and producing his *African* prisoners bound, sent two of them loose to give *Hannibal* notice of what had hapned. These two prisoners might have served well enough to certifie *Hannibal* of the mis-adventure, without doing wrong to the dead body of *Asdrubal*: especially since *Hannibal*, in honourable, and far different manner, had given buriall to *Gracchus* and *Marcellus*; yea, to all the *Roman* Generals, whose carkasses fell into his hands. But it may seem, that howsoever the People of *Carthage* wanted much of the generous disposition, which was found among the *Romans*, in their love unto the Common-weal: yet in dealing with enemies, they were far more civill; and lesse prone to the insolency of revenge. The best excuse of this outrage done by *Nero*, is, that he hoped much more by the sudden terrour of such a spectacle, than by the simple relation of that which had passed, to make a deep impression of fear into the *Carthaginians*. It may also be said, That he forgot himself, being over-joyed with the greatnesse of his prosperity. For it was the battell of *Metaurus* that weighed down the ballance, and turned the Tide of the *Roman* fortune: which being then at the lowest Ebbe, ceased not after wards to flow, till it could not be contained within any banks. *Hannibal* having lost in this unhappy fight (besides the worthy Gentleman his brother) all the hope that so long sustained him in *Italy*, with-drew himself into the Country of the *Brutians*: and thither he caused all the *Lucans*, that were of his party, to remove; as likewise all that dwelt in *Metapontum*. For he wanted men to defend so many places as he held at the present, because they lay too far asunder.

Where-

Wherefore he drew them all into a leſſer compaſs in the utmoſt corner of *Italy*, it being a country of much faſtneſs, and the people exceedingly devoted to his ſervice. In this buſineſs *Nero* gave him no memorable impediment: either becauſe *Hannibal* was too ſtrong for him, having all his forces united; or becauſe it is likely that this remove of the *Lucans* and *Metapontines*, was not before the end of Summer, when their harveſt was gathered in: at what time the Senate called him home to *Rome*. *M. Livius* the other Conſull tarryed among the *Ciſalpine Gaules* untill the end of ſummer; there to ſet things in ſuch order as he thought requiſite: which done, he wrote unto the Senate, that there was no more need of him and his Army in that Province, but that *L. Porcius*, with the two Legions that were there before, might very well diſcharge the place. For this cauſe, he deſired leave to returne home; and that he might bring his Army with him. The Senate well underſtood his meaning: which was, to have the honour of triumph as he well deſerved. But foraſmuch as it was well known what intereſt *Nero* had in the late victory: order was ſo given, that not only *Livie* with his Army ſhould come home; but likewiſe *Nero*, though leaving his Army behinde him, to confront *Hannibal*. So the honour of triumph was granted to them both: in the pomp whereof, *Livie* made the greater ſhew, as riding in a Chariot, and followed by his Souldiers; becauſe in his Province, and upon his day of command, the victory was gotten: his Army alſo being preſent at the triumph. But *Nero*, that rode on horſe back, and without ſuch attendance, was the more extolled by the People and Souldiers; by whom, the victory was in a manner wholly aſcribed unto his great worth. Neither wanted *L. Veturius Philo*, and *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, Lievtenants to the Generals, the due acknowledgement of their good ſervice. For they were commended unto the People, as men worthy to be choſen Conſuls: and Conſuls they were choſen for the year following. But nothing was done by them, worthy of memory in their Conſulſhip. Neither indeed from this year, which was the thirteenth of the preſent war, untill the eighteenth year wherein it ended, was there any matter of importance wrought in *Italy*; ſave only the taking of *Locri* from the *Carthaginians* by ſurpriſe. For *Hannibal* wanted ſtrength, wherewith to make any great offer: and the *Romans* had little minde to provoke him; but thought it well that he was quiet. Such opinion had they conceived of him, that though all about him went to ruine, yet in him alone they thought there was force enough to hold himſelf upright. And ſurely, very notable are the commendations given unto him by *Polybius*, whom *Livie* therein followes: That making war upon a People, of all other the moſt warlike, he obtained ſo many victories by his own good conduct: & that leading an Army, compounded of ſo many ſundry nations, *Africans*, *Spaniards*, *Gaules*, *Carthaginians*, *Italians*, & *Greeks*, which were, neither in Language, Lawes, Conditions or any other thing, one like to another; he held them all in ſuch good order, that they never fell to ſedition among themſelves, or againſt their General. But that which *Livie* adds hereto, is yet perhaps of greater admiration: That he ſuſtained his Army, without help from other places, from this time forward, upon the hungry ſoile of the *Brutians*: which, when it was beſt manured in time of peace, could hardly ſuffice to nouriſh the Inhabitants. It is therefore apparent, that by his proper worth and vertue, he kept his Army in ſuch order and obedience, rather than by any greatneſſe of reward and booty: ſince, after the death of *Aſdrubal*, hee made no invaſion upon the wealthier parts of *Italy*, but held himſelf ſtill among the poor *Brutians*. Where we muſt leave him; untill he be drawn into *Africk* by *Scipio*; whoſe doings will henceforth entertain, and lead us unto the end of this War.

§. XVII.

How P. Cornelius Scipio *the Roman made entire conqueſt of Spain.*

†. I.

How the Carthaginians were driven by Scipio *from the Continent into the Iſle of Gades.*

MAgo and *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Geſco*, took upon them the charge of *Spain*, when *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Amilcar* departed thence into *Italy*. Theſe agreed together, that *Mago* ſhould make a voyage to the *Baleares*; there to levie a ſupply of men;

men: and *Asdrubal* with-draw himself into *Lusitania* (which is now *Portugal*) whither the *Romans* had ill means to follow; being altogether unacquainted in those parts. *Mago* had soone ended his businesse, and returned into *Spain*: where he met with one *Hanno* (the same perhaps that had lately been imployed in *Sicil*) who brought new forces out of *Africk*, and came to succeed in place of *Asdrubal* the *Barchine*. It is not unlikely that *Spain* was now the better, and more readily furnished with men, and all things needfull from *Carthage*; when that son of *Amilcar*, whose authority had been greatest, was thence departed. For hereby might the factious diligence of old *Hanno* approve it self, against that noble race of Warriours; when it should appear, that things did prosper much the better by being left unto the handling of other men. Whether it were upon desire to make good some such opinion raised of him at home, or whether upon confidence in the forces that he brought over: *Hanno* took the field, and led *Mago* with him; as purposing afresh to set upon the *Romans*. So he entred into the country of the *Celtiberians*, not very far from new *Carthage*: where, by mony, and over perswasions, he levied above nine thousand men.

P. Scipio in the mean while contained himself in the Eastern parts of *Spain*: attentive, as it may seem, to the proceedings of *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Amilcar*; against whom, he is reported by some Writers to have sent part of his forces into *Italy*, to the assistance of *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius* the Consuls. But hearing of the levie made by *Hanno* and *Mago* among the *Celtiberians*, he sent *M. Syllanus* the Propretor, with ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse. *Syllanus* got intelligence by some fugitive *Celtiberians*, who became his guides, that their Countrimen incamped apart from the *Carthaginians* in great disorder: as men fearing no danger, becaus they were at home. Wherefore as closely as he was able, he drew neer to these *Celtiberians*: and falling upon them on the sudden, gave them such an overthrow, that *Hanno* and *Mago* comming to their succour, instead of heartening and re-inforcing them, became partakers of the loss. *Mago* saved himself with all the horse, and old Companies of foot, which were about two thousand: and in ten dayes journey brought them safe to *Asdrubal*. The rest of the *Africans* were either slain or taken: among whom, *Hanno* had the ill luck to be taken prisoner; though he kept himself out of the fight untill all was lost. As for the *Celtiberians*, they knew better how to make shift; and saved most of themselves by running into the woods.

It could no otherwise be, but that *Scipio* was much troubled with the danger wherein *Italy* stood, by the comming thither of *Asdrubal*. Ten thousand foot, and eighteen hundred horse he did therefore send out of *Spain* (as it is reported by some Authors) to the defence of his own Country; or was perhaps, about to send them: and thereupon remained at new *Carthage*, intentive to the necessity and successe of his Countrimen at home. But when he had word of the great victory at *Metaurus*, which fell out long before the end of the Summer, then might he well adventure, to take in hand the entire conquest of *Spain*; which must needs be much alienated from the *Carthaginians*, by the report of such an overthrow. The *Spanish* Souldiers that served under *Hannibal*, and those that had been sent over into *Africk*, were as pledges heretofore, by whom their Country was held obnoxious to the *Carthaginians*. But when it was noised abroad, that all which had followed *Asdrubal* into *Italy*, were fallen into the hands of the *Romans*; and that *Hannibal* with his army was closed up in a straight, whence he could not get out: then did it greatly behove the *Spaniards* to conform themselves unto the will of the Victors. That it was the successe of things in *Italy*, which gave such confidence unto *Scipio*; it was the more probable, becaus he took not this great enterprise in hand, until the summer was almost spent. *Asdrubal* therefore used the benefit of the season; and by disposing his Army into many Garrisons, hindered the Enemy from doing any great exploit before winter. So the very length of way, and the time of the year, caused *Scipio* to return back: without any other matter performed, than that his brother *L. Scipio* took by assault the Town of *Oringis*.

Against the next years danger, *Asdrubal* prepared a great Army: and spared not cost, nor travell, in strengthening himself, for the tryall of his last fortune in *Spain*. With seventy thousand foot, four thousand horse, and two and thirty Elephants, he took the field: which number I beleeve, that he could hardly have raised, without boldly denying the truth of those reports that came from *Italy*. *Scipio* thought his *Roman* Legions

too

too weak to incounter with such a multitude. Wherefore he judged it needfull to use the help of his *Spanish* friends. But the death of his Father and Uncle, that were cast away by the treason of such false Auxiliaries, made him on the other side very doubtfull, of relying upon those, that might perhaps betray him in his greatest need. Yet since one *Colchus*, that was Lord of eight and twenty towns, had promised him the last Winter, to raise three thousand foot, and five hundred horse for his service: he resolved to make use of those, and some few others, that might help to make a shew; and yet not be able to do any great harme, if they would revolt. So with five and forty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, he sought out the Enemy; near unto whom he incamped. At his first comming, *Mago* and *Masanissa* fell upon him; with hope to take him unprepared, whilest he was making his lodgings. But he laid certain troups of horse in covert: which, breaking upon them unexpected, caused them to fall off. They made at first an orderly retreat: but being more hardly pressed, they shortly betook themselves to plain flight. After this incounter, which added some courage to the *Romans*, and abated the presumption of the *Carthaginians*, there were daily skirmishes between the horse and light armature, on both sides; wherein was nothing done of importance. *Asdrubal* drew forth his Army, and arranged it before his Trenches: the like did *Scipio*; each of them to shew that he durst fight, yet not proceeding any farther. Thus they continued many daies: *Asdrubal* being still the first that issued forth in the morning; and the first that, in the evening, withdrew himself into his Trenches. The *Spanish* Auxiliaries were placed on both sides in the wings; the *Carthaginians* were in the midst, with their Elephants before them; and opposite to these on the other side were the *Roman* Legions. When they had in this order confronted one another, though at farre distance, many dayes together: it grew to be the common opinion, that they should shortly meet in the same form; and be matched on each part, with the enemies long before designed. But *Scipio*, when he purposed indeed to fight, altered the form of his Army; and withall, came forth earlier than he had been wont. He caused his men and horses to be well fed betimes in the morning before day: and then sent forth his horse and light armature, to train out the *Carthaginians* with their bellies empty: using herein the same trick, whereby he might remember that *Hannibal* had beaten his father in the battell of *Trebia*. His *Roman* Legions he bestowed in the wings; his *Spaniards* in the battell. *Asdrubal* sent forth his horse in all haste, to entertain the *Romans*; whilest he himself arranged his men, in their wonted order at the Hill foot, upon which he incamped. In the skirmishes of the horse it could not be discerned which part had the better: since, being over-pressed on either side, they had a safe retrait unto their foot; and one troup seconding another by course, returned to charge. This fight was protracted by *Scipio* to a great length: because his men, having well fed themselves, were like to hold out better than the enemy. But about noone he caused his wings to advance a good pace; leaving their battell of *Spaniards* far behinde them, that came on leisurely, according to direction. The *Spanish* Mercenaries that stood in *Asdrubal* his wings, were no way comparable, save only in number, to the *Latine* and *Roman* Souldiers that came against them; for they were fresh Souldiers, levied in haste; and fighting only in respect of their pay. Being therefore charged in front by the Legions, and in flank, at the same time, by the *Roman Velites*, and by some cohorts, that were appointed to wheel about for the same purpose, they were sorely pressed; and with much difficulty made resistance. The *Carthaginians* would fain have succoured them; but that they durst not stir out of their places, because of the *Spanish* battell which was comming against them; though it were as yet far off. Thus the best part of *Asdrubal* his Army stood idle, untill the wings were broken. For, had he adventured to meet with the *Spaniards*, he must have cast himself into the open space that lay before him between the *Roman* wings: to the depth whereof when he had arrived, he should have found himself inclosed in such sort, as was the Consul *Paulus* at the battell of *Canna*. Wherefore he did only imploy his Elephants; which did, according to their manner, no greater harm to his Enemies, than to his friends. When they were chafed with wounds, they could no longer be ruled by their guides: but ran, as chance led them, and troubled both parts; or those perhaps the more, that were the more unwilling to kill them. In processe of the fight, the *Romans*, who had well refreshed their bodies in the morning, endured lusty; when the others began to faint with travell and heat of the day.

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Wherefore perceiving their advantage, they followed it the more hotly; and gave not over, till they had forc't the enemy to change his place, and run from him. *Asdrubal* did his best to have made an orderly retrait; and afterward again, to have caused his men turn head at the Hill foot. But the *Romans* would not suffer the victory to be so extorted from them: neither was it easie to put fresh courage into the vanquished, led by the obstinate passion of fear, which hearkens to no perswasion. The Camp of *Asdrubal* had that day been taken, if a storm of rain, which fell violently on the sudden, and bred some superstition in the *Romans*, had not caused them to give over.

The same night *Asdrubal* gave no rest to his men: but caused them, hungry, and over-laboured as they were, to take pains in fortifying the camp; wherein he feared to be assaulted. But little assurance could he have in the strength of his Trenches, when he had lost the hearts of his *Spanish* Souldiers. One *Attanes*, that was Lord of the *Turdetani*, fled from him to the *Romans*, with a great Band of his subjects: many followed this example; and soon after two strong Towns were yeelded up to *Scipio*, and the Garrisons betrayed. It seems that the perverse fortune of this late battell, whereupon *Asdrubal* had set his rest, bred in the *Spaniards* a disposition, to beleeve the more easily those reports which they heard from *Italy*. For henceforward, they never did good office to the *Carthaginians*. *Asdrubal*, perceiving this, withdrew himself, and marched away faster than an ordinary pace, toward the Ocean Sea. *Scipio* followed the next morning, and overtaking the *Carthaginians* with his horse, caused them so oft ento make stand, that they were at length attached by the *Roman* Legions. Here began a cruell slaughter: for there was no resistance made, but all fell to rout, save only seven thousand that with *Asdrubal* himself recovered a very strong piece of ground, which they fortified in haste. The place he made shift a while to defend: but wanting there necessaries to sustain himself long, he was forsaken by some of those few, that continued hitherto partakers of his fortune. Wherefore he resolved to make shift for one; and stealing from his Company by night away to the Sea side, that was not farre thence, he took shipping, and set sail for *Gades*. When *Scipio* understood that *Asdrubal* was thus gone, he left *Syllanus* with ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, to besiege their camp (which was not taken in haste, for *Mago* and *Masanissa* staid in it) whilest he with the rest of the Army did what was needfull in the Country abroad. It was not long ere *Mago* and *Masanissa* followed *Asdrubal* to *Gades*: and their Army dispersed it self; some flying over to the *Romans*, others taking what way they liked. So upon all the Continent of *Spain*, there were only three Towns left, *Illiturgi*, *Castulo*, and *Astapa*, that made continuance of war against the *Romans*: of which only *Castulo* had a *Carthaginian* garrison, consisting of such as had saved themselves by flight in the late overthrows. Hereby it seems that the report of those Historians was ill grounded, who said, that *Castulo* yeelded long since unto the *Romans*; though *Hannibal* took a wife in that City. For this was one of the last three towns that held out on the *Carthaginian* side. *Illiturgi* had sometimes bin inclinable to the *Romans*; if not altogether at their devotion. Yet after the death of the two elder *Scipio's*, following too earnestly the *Carthaginian* fortune, it not only rebelled, but with great cruelty betrayed and slew the poor men that escaped thither from the overthrows. *Astapa* was a town that still adhered to the *Carthaginians*; and, which was worse, had thriven by the spoyle of the *Romans* and their Confederates. Wherefore (though not untill the next year) *Scipio* went against these, and took himself *Illiturgi*, and *Castulo*: *Illiturgi* by assault, and with a general slaughter of the Inhabitants; *Castulo*, by treason of one *Cerdubellus*. *Astapa* was taken by *Lucius Marcius*; or rather destroied by the Inhabitants. For a great pile of wood was raised in the Market-place: whereinto was thrown all the gold, and silver, with whatsoever else was precious; the women and children standing by it under a sure guard, that should kill and burn them if the *Romans* got into the Town. This provision being made, all the Inhabitants that could bear Armes, rushed forth desperately, and fell upon the *Roman* Camp; where striving beyond their power, they were every one slain. Then was the Town forthwith set on fire, by those that had taken charge to do it: and many of the *Romans* consumed with the flame; whilest they rushed over-hastily to catch the gold and silver, which they saw lying on the pile ready to melt.

Asdrubal being beaten into the Iland of *Gades*, found no cause of long stay there: but returned home to *Carthage*, with seven Gallies: leaving *Mago* behind him, to wait upon occasion,

occasion, if any should be offered. He visited in his way home, *Syphax* King of the *Massæsili*, a people of the *Numidians*, hoping to win him to the friendship of the *Carthaginians*. But he met with *Scipio*, as it were with his evil Angel, in the Kings port: who landing at the same time, carryed *Syphax* quite another way. For *Scipio* having driven the *Carthaginians* out of *Spain*, did forthwith bethink himself, how to finish the war, by putting them to the like distresse in *Africk*. Hereunto it seemed that the help of *Syphax* would be much available: a King that had many times fallen out with the *Carthaginians*, and sustained much hurt by their procurement; of which in all likelihood he might easily be moved to seek revenge. He had also bin beholding to *P.* & *Cn. Scipio*, that sent him over a Captain into *Africk*; who instructed him so well in marshalling his forces, as he thereby often became victorious. Upon these reasons, the *Numidian* King sent Embassadors to *Rome*, and made league with the city in time of great extremity. So that hereby *P. Scipio* conceived hope of laying a good foundation to the War, which he intended in *Africk*, upon the friendship of this ill neighbour to the *Carthaginians*. For which cause he sent over *C. Lælius* his Embassador, to deal with *Syphax*: who declaring that the *Carthaginians* did very ill in *Italy*, and had nothing now at all to doe in *Spain*, easily perswaded the King to take part with those that had the better and were without question his better friends. Only *Syphax* requested that the *Roman* Generall should visit him in person, to conclude the League; by which he was to enter into conditions of more importance, than in any former Treaty. Hereto *Scipio* condescended; thinking the friendship of so great a King, that was neighbour to *Carthage*, and not far distant from *Spain*, well worthy of the adventure. So with two *Quinquereme* Gallies he took Sea, and arrived in the Kings Port, at the same time with *Asdrubal*. This would have bin very dangerous unto him, had he bin descryed by his enemies further at Sea: but in the Haven they forbare to make offer one upon the other. *Syphax* might well be proud; seeing at one time, two such Captains of two most powerfull Cities, came to desire his friendship. He would have brought them to treat of peace: but the *Roman* excused himself, by want of such Commission from the Senate. He feasted them together: and shortly dismissed *Scipio*, with whom he readily entred into Covenant; which in time of performance, he as readily brake.

†. II.

Funerall games held by Scipio. *A Duell between two Spanish Princes. A digression concerning Duels.*

Scipio returning into *Spain*, and resting that Winter, took vengeance the next year, upon those of *Illiturgi*, *Castulo*, & *Astapa*, as hath been said before. The conquest of the Country being then in a manner at an end; he performed at new *Carthage*, with great solemnity, some Vowes that he had made, and honoured the memory of his Father and Uncle, with funerall games, especially of those that fought at sharp, according to the manner of the times. Neither was it needfull that he should trouble himself with preparing slaves for that spectacle, to hazard their lives, as was used in the City of *Rome*: for there were enow, that either offered themselves as Voluntaries, or were sent from their Princes, to give proof in single combat, of the valour that was in their severall Countreys. Some also there were, that being in contention, which they could not, or would not otherwise end, agreed to refer the decision of their Controversies, to tryall of the sword, in single fight. Among these, the most eminent, were *Corbis* and *Orsua*; Cosen-germans: that contended for the principality of a Town called *Ibes*. *Corbis* was the elder, and the elder brothers son: wherefore he claimed the Lordship, as eldest of the house, after the manner of our *Irish Tanistry*. But the father of *Orsua* stood lately seized of the principality: which, though himself received by the death of his elder brother; yet this his son would not let it go back, but claimed to hold it as heir unto his father, and old enough to rule. Fain would *Scipio* have compounded the matter. But they answered peremptorily, That all their friends and kindred had already laboured in vain, to take up that quarrel; and that neither God nor Man, but only *Mars*, their god of battell, should be Umpire between them. So they had their wils: and the elder, who was also the stronger, and more skilfull at his weapon, easily vanquished the fool-hardinesse of the younger.

Such combats have been very ancient; and perhaps more ancient, than any other kinde of fight. We read of many performed before the Warre of *Troy*; by *Theseus*, *Hercules*, *Pollux*, and others: as also of two more at the Warre of *Troy*, the one between *Paris* and *Menelaus*; the other between *Hector* and *Ajax*. Neither want there examples of them among the *Hebrewes*: whereof that between *David* and *Goliah*; and others performed by some of *Davids* Worthies, against those that challenged them, are greatly celebrated. Unto the same kinde appertains the fight between twelve of the Tribe of *Juda*, and as many of the *Benjamites*. The *Romans* had many of them: whereof that was principal, in which they ventured their Dominion upon the heads of three brethren the *Horatii*, against the three brethren, *Curatii*, that were *Albans*. The combat of *Manlius Torquatus*; and shortly after, of *Valerius Corvinus*, with two Champions of the *Gaules*, which challenged any *Roman*; were of less importance, ae having only reference to bravery. In *England* there was a great Combat fought between *Edmond Ironside*, and *Canutus* the *Dane*, for no lesse matter than the Kingdome. The use of them was very frequent in the *Saxon* times; almost upon every occasion, great or small. In the reign of *Edward* the third, who sustained the party of *Mountfort*, against the Earle of *Bloys*, contending for the Dutchy of *Britain*; there was a fight for honor of the Nations, between thirty of the *Britons*, and thirty *English*: two of which *English*, were *Calverlie*, a brave Captain; and that Sir *Robert Knolles*, who afterwards became a renowned Commander in the *French* wars, & did highly honour his bloud, whereof the Lord *Knolles* is descended. It were infinite to reckon the examples of the like, found in *English French*, and *Italian* Histories. Most of them have been combats of bravery, and of *gayeté de cœur*, as the *French* term it; for honour of severall Nations; for love of Mistresses; or whatsoever else gave occasion unto men, desirous to set out themselves. But besides those of this sort, there are two other natures of combats; which are, either upon accusation for life; or upon triall of Title and Inheritance, as in *Writ of right*. And of this latter kind, was that, of which we spake even now, between *Corbis* and *Orsua*. Unto these (me thinks) may be added, as of different condition from the rest, the combat upon Wager; such as were that between *David* and *Goliah*, or that between the *Horatii* and *Curatii*: in which without regard of Title, the Dominion of Nations, one over the other, is adventured upon the head of Champions. Upon an accusation for life, there was a combat appointed between the Lord *Henry* of *Boulinbrook* Duke of *Hereford*, and *Moubray* Duke of *Norfolk*. There was a combat performed by Sir *John Ansley* and one *Cattrington*: whom *Ansley* charged with treason: and proved it upon him, by being victorious. The like was fought between *Robert* of *Mountfort*, and *Henry* of *Essex*. The like also, between a *Navarrois*, and one *Welsh* of *Grimsby*, whom the *Navarrois* accused of treason: but, being beaten in fight, confessed that he had belyed him, and was therefore drawn and hanged. Whether our tryall by battell do determine, that the false accuser, if he be vanquished, shall suffer the punishment which had been due to the offender, if the accusation had been proved; I cannot affirme. But we every where find, That if he which is accused of treason, or, according to the customes of *Normandy*, of Murder, Rape, or burning of places (offences punished by death) be overcome, He shall suffer the pains appointed for those crimes. In combats for tryall of right, it is not so: neither is the Appellant or Defendant bound to fight in person, but he may try it by his Champion, as did *Paramour* and *Low*, or offered to do, in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. And in this case, he that is beaten or yeeldeth, loseth only his cause, not his life. Neither are the combats upon accusation, or tryall of right, fought in open field, as are those of bravery; but in *Camp close*, that is, within rails. Now this tryall by combat was so ordinary in *France*, before the time of S. *Lewis* and *Philip the fair* his grand-child, as every Lord of Fee, Ecclesiasticall or Temporall, had power to grant it within his own Jurisdiction. And it seemeth, that the *French* Kings, and other Lords, made their profit hereby. For in the * *Memorials of the Chamber of Accounts*, is found an Article to this effect: That if a Combat were once accepted, and after, by consent of the Lord, were taken up, each of the parties should pay two shillings six pence; but if it were performed, then should the party vanquished forfeit an hundred and twelve shillings. And upon this custome grew the *French* Proverbe, which they use when as any man hath had an hard and unjust judgement; saying, That *He was tryed by the Law of Loray, or Berne; ou le battu paye l' amende*, where he that is beaten gives the recompence. Of these frequent trials

An. 21. Ric. 2.

An. 3. Ric. 2.

An. 9. Henr. 2.

* *Si homines de Loraco vadia Duelli tenere dederint, &c.*

trials by battell that great learned man *Yvo*, Bishop of *Chartres*, did often complain, and specially against the *French* Church-men: as appears by * his Letters to the Bishop of *Orleans*, to the Arch-deacon of *Paris*, to *Rembert* Archbishop of *Sens*, and to others; wherein he rebukes the judgement of their Churches, that had ratified such challenges of combat. But this liberty and kinde of tryall, was retrenched by S. *Lewis*, and *Philip the fair*; so that no man could decree or grant it, save the King himself. It hath since been regranted, though more sparingly, by the *French* King, as to the Lord of *Carogues*, against *Jaques le Gris*; and to *Julian Romero* the *Spaniard*, against *Moro* his countriman: wherein Sir *Henry Knevet*, Father to the Lord *Knevet* now living, was Patron to *Romero* that had the victory; and lastly to the Lord of *Chast*. Now in those challenges, upon accusation of Treason, Murder, or other offence deserving death (and in those only) the rule held, That *le defendeur estoit tenu de proposer ces deffences par un dementir; The defendant was bound to plead not guilty, by giving the accuser the Lie*: otherwise it was concluded, that the Defendant did *taisiblement confesser le crime; silently confesse the crime*. But after such time as *Francis* the *French* King, upon some dispute about breach of Faith, had sent the *Lie* unto the Emperor *Charles* the fift, thereby to draw him to a personall combat: every petty companion in *France*, in imitation of their Master, made giving of the *Lie* mortality it self, holding it a matter of no small glory, to have it said, That the meanest Gentleman in *France* would not put up, what the great Emperor *Charles* the fift had patiently endured.

* *Clerici vestri nuper ad nos revertentes, qui causae Comitis Theobaldi Aurelianis interfuerint, retulerunt nobis, quod quidam miles Domini Rodulphi quendam militem Comitis ad Monomachiam provocaverit, & hanc provocationem Ecclesiae vestrae judicio confirmaverit, &c.*

From this beginning is derived a challenge of combat, grounded upon none of those occasions that were known to the Ancient. For, the Honour of Nations, the Tryall of Right, the Wager upon Champions, or the Objection and Refutation of capitall offences, are none of them, nor all of them together, the argument of half so many Duels, as are founded upon meer private Anger, yea, or upon matter *seeming* worthy of anger in the opinion of the Duellists. So that in these dayes, wherein every man takes unto himself a Kingly liberty, to offer, accept, and appoint personall combats, the giving of the *Lie*, which ought to be the Negation only in accusations for life, is become the most fruitfull root of deadly quarrels. This is held a word so terrible, and a wrong so unpardonable, as will admit no other recompence, than the bloud of him that gives it. Thus the fashion, taken up in haste by the *French* Gentlemen, after the pattern of their King, is grown to be a custome: whence we have derived a kind of Art and Philosophy of quarrell; with certain grounds and rules, from whence the points of honour, and the dependencies thereof, are deduced. Yea there are (among many no less ridiculous) some so mysticall curiosities herein, as that it is held a far greater dishonour, to receive from an enemy a slight touch with a Cane, than a sound blow with a Sword: the one having relation to a slave, the other to a souldier. I confess that the difference is pretty: though for my own part, if I had had any such Italianated enemy in former times, I should willingly have made with him such an exchange; and have given him the point of honour to boot.

But let us examine indifferently the offence of this terrible word, the *Lie*; with their conditions who are commonly of all other the most tender in receiving it. I say, that the most of these, who present death on the points of their swords to all that give it them; use nothing so much in their conversation and course of life, as to speak and swear falsly. Yea it is thereby, that they shift and shuffle in the World, and abuse it. For how few are there among them, which, having assumed and sworn to pay the monies & other things they borrow, do not break their word and promise as often as they ingage it? Nay, how few are there among them, that are not *Lyers by Record*, by being sued in some Court or other of Justice, upon breach of word or bond? For he which hath promised that he will pay money by a day, or promised any thing else, wherein he faileth; hath directly lyed to him to whom the promise hath been made. Nay, what is the profession of love that men make now-adayes? What is the vowing of their service, and of all they have, used in their ordinary complements, and (in effect) to every man whom they bid not good morrow, or salute, other than a courteous and Court-like kinde of lying? It is (saith a wise *French* man, deriding therein the Apish custome of his Country) *un marché & complot fait ensemble, se mocquer, mentir, & piper les uns les autres*; *A kind of merchandise, and complot made among them, to mock, belie, and deride each other*: and so far now-adayes in fashion, and in use; as he that useth it not, is accounted either dull

dull or Cynicall. True it is notwithſtanding (omitting the old diſtinction) that there is great difference between theſe mannerly and complementall lies, with thoſe which are ſometime perſwaded by neceſſity upon breach of promiſe; and thoſe which men uſe out of cowardize and fear: the latter confeſſing themſelves to be in greater awe of men, than of God; a vice of all other ſtiled the moſt villanous. But now for the *Lie* it ſelf, as it is made the ſubject of all our deadly quarrels in effect: to it I ſay, That whoſoever giveth another man the *Lie*, when it is manifeſt that he hath lied, doth him no wrong at all; neither ought it to be more hainouſly taken, than to tell him, he hath broken any promiſe which he hath otherwiſe made. For he that promiſeth any thing, tels him, to whom he hath promiſed, that he will perform it; and, in not performing it, he had made himſelf a Lier. On the other ſide, He that gives any man the *Lie*, when he himſelf knowes that he, to whom it is given, hath not lied; doth therein give the *Lie* directly to himſelf. And what cauſe have I, if I ſay that the Sun ſhines when it doth ſhine, and that another fellow tels me I lie, for it's midnight; to proſecute ſuch an one to death, for making himſelf a fooliſh Ruffian, and a lyer in his own knowledge? For he that gives the *Lie* in any other diſpute, than in defence of his Loyalty, or Life; gives it impertinently, and Ruffian-like. I will not deny but it is an extream rudeneſſe to taxe any man in publick with an untruth (if it be not pernicious, and to his prejudice againſt whom the untruth is uttered:) But all that is rude, ought not to be civillized with death. That were more to admire and imitate a *French* cuſtome, and a wicked one, than to admire and to follow the counſell of God. But you will ſay, that theſe diſcourſes favour of cowardize. It is true; if you call it cowardize to fear God or hell: whereas he that is truly wiſe, and truly valiant, knowes that there is nothing elſe to be feared. For againſt an Enemies ſword, we ſhall find ten thouſand ſeven-penny-men (waged at that price in the wars) that fear it as little, or perchance leſſe, than any profeſt Sword-man in the world. *Diligentiſsima in tutela ſui Fortitudo; Fortitude is a diligent preſerver of it ſelf.* It is (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) a mediocrity between doubting and daring. *Sicut non Martyrem pœna: ſic nec fortem pugna; ſed cauſa: As it is not the puniſhment that makes the Martyr: ſo it is not fighting that declares a valiant man; but fighting in a good cauſe.* In which, whoſoever ſhall reſolvedly end his life, reſolvedly in reſpect of the cauſe, to wit, in defence of his Prince, Religion, or Countrey: as he may juſtly be numbred among the Martyrs of God; ſo may thoſe that die with malicious hearts, in private combats, be called the Martyrs of the Devill. Neither do we indeed take our own revenge, or puniſh the injuries offered us, by the death of the injurious. For the true conqueſt of revenge is, to give him, of whom we would be revenged, cauſe to repent him: and not to lay the repentance of another mans death upon our own conſciences; *Animaſq; in vulnere ponere; And to drown our ſoules in the wounds and blood of our enemies.* Hereupon you will again ask me, if I condemn, in generous and noble ſpirits, the defence of their honours, being preſt with injuries? I ſay that I do not, if the injuries be violent. For the Law of Nature, which is a branch of the Eternal Law: & the Lawes of all Chriſtian Kings and States; do favour him that is aſſailed, in the ſlaughter of the aſſailant. You will ſecondly aske me, Whether a Noble-man, or a Gentleman, being challenged by *Cartel* by one of like quality, be not bound in point of honour to ſatisfie the challenger in private combat? I anſwer, that he is not: becauſe (omitting the greateſt, which is the point of Religion) the point of the Law is directly contrary and oppoſite to that, which they call the point of honour; The Law which hath dominion over it, which can judge it, which can deſtroy it; except you will ſtile thoſe Acts honourable, where the Hang-man gives the Garland. For, ſeeing the Lawes of this Land have appointed the Hang-man to ſecond the Conqueror, and the Lawes of God appointed the Devill to ſecond the Conquered, dying in malice: I ſay, that he is both baſe & a fool, that accepts of any *Cartel* ſo accompanied. To this perchance it wil be anſwered, That the Kings of *England*, & other Chriſtian Kings, have ſeldome taken any ſuch advantage over men of quality, who upon even terms have ſlain their private enemies. It is true, that as in times of trouble and combuſtion they have not often done it; ſo did our Noble-men and Gentlemen in former ages, in all important injuries, ſue unto the King, to approve themſelves by battell and publique combat. For as they dared not to brave the Law; ſo did they diſdain to ſubmit themſelves unto the ſhamefull revenge thereof; the ſame revenge (becauſe it deteſteth murder) that hath declared againſt a common Cut-purſe or other Theeves:

Nay

Nay let it be granted that a pardon be procured for such offenders: yet is not the man-slayer freed from his pardon. For these two remedies hath the party grieved notwithstanding; that is, to require justice by Grand Assize, or by battell, upon his appeal, which (saith Sir *Thomas Smith*) is not denyed; and he further saith (for I use his own words) That if the Defendant (to wit, the man-slayer) be convinced either by great Assize or by Battell, upon that appeal; the man-slayer shall dye notwithstanding the Princes pardon. So favourable (saith the same learned Gentleman) are our Princes, and the law of our Realme, to justice and to the punishment of bloud violently shed. It may further be demanded, how our Noble-men and Gentlemen shall be repaired in honour, where an enemy, taking the start either in words or blowes, shall lay on them an infamy unsufferable? I say, that a Marshals Court will easily give satisfaction in both. And if we hold it no disgrace to submit our selves for the recovery of our Debts, Goods, and Lands; & for all things else by which the lives of our selves, our wives, and children are sustained, to the Judges of the Law; becaus it may be felony to take by violence even that which is our own: why should we not submit our selves unto the Judges of honour in cases of honour; because to recover our reputation by strong hand, may be murder? But yet again, it may be objected, That the losse of honour ought to be much more fearfull unto us, than either the losse of our goods, of our lands, or of our lives; and I say so too. But what is this honour, I mean honour indeed, and that which ought to be so dear unto us, other than a kind of History, or fame following actions of vertue, actions accompanyed with difficulty or danger, and undertaken for the publick good? In these, he that is imployed and trusted, if he fail in the performance, either through cowardize, or any other base affection; it is true that he loseth his honour. But the acting of a private combat, for a private respect, and most commonly a frivolous one, is not an action of vertue, because it is contrary to the Law of God, and of all Christian Kings: neither is it difficult, because even and equall in persons and armes: neither for a publick good, but tending to the contrary; because the loss or mutilation of an able man, is also a loss to the Common-weal.

Sir *Thomas Smith* in his Com. wealth of *England*.

Now that a Marshall of *England* hath power to save every mans fame and reputation, as far as reputation may sustain injury by words, I think no man doubteth. For so repent us of any evill words that we have given, and to confesse that we have done him wrong, unto whom we have given them, is a sufficient satisfaction; and as it may fall out, more than sufficient. For he that gives ill words in colour, and suddenly denies them, or repents himself of them upon advisement hath the disadvantage in point of reputation. Concerning blowes, which are indeed not to be given but to those that are servile, whether sufficient recompence will be made for them, it shall appear by a notable example of a most worthy Gentleman *Monsier de Plessis*, that was stricken in *France* not long since by a Baron of the same Nation. The satisfaction which was given him by a judgement of the Constable and Marshals of *France*, was this. In the open Court, wherein the Constable gave judgement, *M. de Plessis* was set in a chair under the degrees where the Constable and Marshals sate: the Baron, who had given him the blow, did kneel before him on both his knees, holding in his right hand a sword with the point towards himself, and in his left hand the like cudgel or bastinado, wherewith he had stricken *M. de Plessis*; both which weapons he delivered into *Plessis* hands, submitting himself to such revenge, as it should please him to take with either of those weapons; the Constable and Marshals having formerly left it to the will of *Plessis*, to use his own discretion in the revenge of his own wrongs. Now whether the Baron had reason to please himself, as one beforehand in point of honour, (who struck *M. de Plessis* like a Ruffian comming behind him, and having the advantage of company, and his horses ready, shifted himself away on the sudden; but being afterwards taken, was taught to repent himself in this shamefull manner:) or whether *Monsier de Plessis* (of whose valour no man doubted) had not far juster cause to rest satisfied, since he might at his pleasure have beaten or wounded his enemy, but forgave him: let any wise man judge. To this, if it be said, That the Baron was constrained to make his submission, that his repentance was enforced, and not voluntary; and therefore no disgrace unto him: I answer, that one may say as well, that it is no disgrace to a Theef, when he is brought to the Gallowes, to repent him of the Robberies by him committed, because his repentance also is constrained. And it is true, that enforced repentance is no

no grace in respect of a force, but in respect of the fact: which (but for our sins to God) makes all repentance shamefull; because all forced repentance is inflicted upon us for somewhat unworthy of a Gentleman, and of an honest man. Nay, voluntary repentance it self, as it hath relation to men, ariseth either out of the fear of the ill that may befall us, or out of the acknowledgement of our own weakness. Certainly, as wise men, and valiant men do rather deride petty injuries or sudden injuries, that are not offered from malice fore-thought, than revenge them: so men, apt to quarrell, do commonly suspect their own valour; and rather desire, that therby the world should beleeve them to be of great daring, than know any such resolution in themselves. For he that knowes himself indeed to be an honest man, scornes to hunt after opinion.

Now the same power which the Constable and Marshals of *France* have, hath also a Marshall of *England*, or his Deputies; by whose judgement in all disputes of honour, every mans reputation may be preserved, we may therefore as well submit our selves to the Judge of honour in all disputes of honour, as we do submit our selves in all controversies of livelihood and life, to the Judges of the Law. And, out of doubt, the institution of this Court of Chevalrie in *England*, in *France*, and elsewhere; was no lesse charitable than politick. For the bl ood of man, violently spilt, doth not bring forth *honybees*, as that of Buls doth, which sting but the fingers or the face: but it produceth that monstrous beast, *Revenge*, which hath stung to death, and eaten up, of severall nations, so many noble personages; as there is nothing more lamentable, nor more threatning the wrath of God upon supreme Governours, than the permission.

His Majesty therefore (which *Henry* the fourth of *France* also endeavoured) hath done a most Kingly and Christian-like deed in *Scotland*, which the most renowned of all his Predecessors could never do: in beat ng down and extinguishing that hereditary prosecution of malice, called *the deadly feud*; a conquest, which shall give him the honour of Prudence and Kingly power for evermore. And we have cause to hope, that his royall care shall be no lesse hap y in preventing the like mischief, which threatens *England*, by the audacious, common, and brave, yet outragious vanity of Duellists.

Unto this that I have spoken of lying, and of man-slaughter, it must be added, That each of these are of great Latitude, and worthy of reproo and vengeance proportionably, more or lesse, in their severall degrees. There is much difference between Lies of necessity upon breach o promise, or complementall lies; and such pernicious lies, as proceed from fear and cowardize, or are uttered by false witnesses: the former sort being excusable by weaknesse or levity; the latter being altogether detestable. No lesse, if not more, difference there is, between killing of a man in open field, with even weapons; & that killing, which the Scripures call *killing by guile*, *dolo* or *per insidias*; though our Lawes do not much distinguish them in punishment. For in the latter, God, forsaking his own priviledge, commandeth that the *guilfull* murderer be drawn by force, from the protection o his Altar. Neither is every guilefull murder performed by the sword, nor by *overt* violence: but there is a guilfull murder also, by poysoning; and by the pen, or by practice. For such distinction is found, between comming presumptuously upon a man, *to slay h m with guile*; and *lying in wait for blood*, *privily*, *for the innocent*, *without a cause*, upon hope of spoile, after such manner as *the net is spread before the eyes of the birds*. *Francis* the first Queen *Mary* of *England*, and the Kings Majesty now reigning, have given notable testimony of their justice, upon three Noble men, who committed *guilfull murder*. Of the first kinde, King *Francis* upon the Lord of *Talard*: who being (saith the *French* Historian) *de haute & ancienne lignee*, *& supporte de plusieurs grandes alliances*; *who l eing of high and ancient linage*, *and supported by divers great alliances*, of which the Cardina l of *Bellay* (in especiall favour with the King) was one, was not withstanding delivered over into the hands of the Hangman. *Queen Mary*, upon a Noble man of her own Religion, and in many other respects very dear unto her. *His Majesty*, upon a Baron of *Scotland*; wh se house was no lesse anc ent and faithfull, than himself valiant, and greatly friended both at home and abroad. Of killing guilfully by poyson, and of punishment following such wicked Artisans, every age hath had too many examples. Of k ll ng guilfully by the pen (that I may not spake of any *English* Judge) the Author o the *French Recherches* gives unto us two notable instances: the one of *des Essars*, who (saith *Pasquier*) *fit mourir Montaigu grand Maistre de France*, *pour contenter l' opinion celuy dont il estoit lors idolastre*; *& Dieu permit que depuis il fut*

Exod. 21.

Exod. 21. 14. Prov. 1. 11.

Lib. 5 cap. 18. & cap. 11.

il fut pendu & estranglé; Who caused Montaign great Master of France to die to content his mind (to wit, the Duke of Burgoyne) *whom at that time Eshars worshipped as his Idol: but God permitted, that he himself was soon after hanged and strangled.* The other was of the Great *Francis* the first, upon his Chancellor *Poyet*: who, to satisfie the Kings passion, practised the destruction of the Admirall *Chabot*; a man most nobly descended, and of great service. For as in other men, so in Kings, the passion of love growes old, and wears out by time. So the Kings affection being changed towards the Admiral, he charged him with some offences which he had formerly committed: The Admirall presuming upon the great good service which he had done the King in *Piemont*, & in the defence of *Marseilles* against the Emperour, gave the King other language than became him, and desired nothing so much, as a publike triall. Hereupon the King (it being easie to provoke an ill disposition) gave commission to the Chancellor, as President, and other Judges, upon an information of the Kings advocate, to question the Admirals life. The Chancellor, an ambitious man, and of a large conscience, (which is not rare in men towards the law) hoping highly to content the King; wrought with some of the Judges with so great cunning; with others, with so sharp threats; and with the rest, with so fair promises; as albeit nothing could be proved against the Admirall, worthy of the Kings displeasure, yet the Chancellor subscribed, and got others to subscribe, to the forfeiture of his Estate, Offices, and Liberty; though not able to prevail against his life. But what was the Chancellors reward (the King hating falshood in so great a Magistrate) other than his own degradation, arraignment, and condemnation? *Belle leçon certes* (saith *Pasquier*) *a tout Juge pour demeurer tousiours en soy, & ne laisser fluctuer sa conscience debans les vagues d'une imaginaire faveur, qui pour fin de jeu le submerge; A fair lesson to all Judges, to dwell alwaies in themselves, and not to suffer their consciences to float upon the waves of imaginary favour, which in the end overwhelms them.* And as for the Admiral, though it might have bin answered unto his friends, if any bewail his calamity as undeserved, That he was tryed according to his own desire, by the Laws of his Country, and by the Judges of Parliament; yet the Kings justice, surmounting all other his passions, gave back unto him his Honour, his Offices, his Liberty, and his Estate.

§. III.

The last Acts of Scipio *in Spain. His return to Rome, where he is chosen Consul.*

THe last businesse that troubled *Scipio* in *Spain*, grew by the rebellion of the people, and mutiny of his Souldiers. He fell dangerously sick, in such sort, that the rumor of his death ran current throughout *Spain*. This encouraged *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, petty kings, that had forsaken the *Carthaginians*, & followed *Scipio* a while before, to take arms against the *Romans*. They were vainly perswaded, that after the *Carthaginians* were driven out, they themselves should become the mightiest in all *Spain*. But seeing now, that things were no way answerable to the greatnesse of their hopes; they thought it best, to take the present advantage, and hammer out their own fortunes. So they rashly fell upon the *Suessetani* and *Sedetani*, Confederates of the *Romans*; and wasted their Countrey. Part of the *Roman* Army lying at *Sucro*, in stead of making head against these Rebels, grew to be affected with the like distemper. They had not reaped such profit of the *Roman* conquests, as might satisfie their desires; or as they thought easie to be gotten, if they might be their own Carvers. Wherefore, when the death of *Scipio* was reported, they thought that the time served very well, to enrich themselves with the spoyle of the Country. Many outrages they committed: and, which was greatest of all, driving away their Colonels, that should have bridled their fury; they chose out of their own number two base fellowes, *Albinus Calenus*, and *Atrius Umber*, to their Commanders. These took upon them all the Ensigns of Proconsuls, or Propretors; as if this their election had been like to that, wherein *Lucius Marcius* was chosen by the Souldiers, after the death of the two *Scipio's*. But whilest they were devising what exploits they might doe, for the enriching of themselves, in a time of such combustion as was expected; there arrived more certain news, that *Scipio* was both alive, and in good health. There came also new Colonels, sent unto them from their Generall: who mildly rebuking their want of consideration, and seeming to be glad that they had no further

over-

over-shot themselves; led them to *Carthagena*, there to receive their pay. Before their comming, *Scipio* had resolved to do exemplary justice on the principal offenders; and to put the whole multitude of them in fear of what they had deserved. Therefore he caused *Syllanus* to make ready the Companies which lay before in the Town, as it were to make an Expedition against *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*: he caused *Albius* and *Atrius* with some thirty other of their Complices, to be secretly apprehended in their lodgings; he called the Mutiners to Assembly; and having them unarmed as they were, encircled round by *Syllanus* and his companies, prepared for the purpose; he bitterly inveighed against them all as Traitors. This done, *Albius* and *Atrius*, with the other prisoners were haled to the stake; where they were whipt and beheaded, as was the *Roman* custome toward such offenders. The rest of the Souldiers, to the number of eight thousand, were caused to take their oath of obedience anew; and received every man his pay when he was sworn.

Mandonius & *Indibilis* continued in arms; notwithstanding that they had certain word of *Scipio* his life and health. Well they could have been contented to be quiet: but by the severity used to the *Roman* Souldiers, they stood in fear, as being *Spaniards*, and greater offenders, of harder measure. *Scipio* went against them, and found them in a valley, that was scarce large enough to hold all their Army. In the entrance thereof he fought with them: and sending *Lelius* with all his horse to fetch a compass about the hils, and charge them in rear, he overthrew them. *Indibilis* and *Mandonius* had after this, no hope remaining to preserve themselves and their estates, otherwise than by making submission. *Mandonius* therefore came to *Scipio*: and humbly craving pardon, both for himself and for his brother *Indibilis*, obtained his request; yet so, that they were taught to acknowledge themselves lesse free Princes, than formerly they had been.

Afterwards *Scipio* went toward *Gades*: and was met on the way by *Masanissa*; who secretly promised to do him all service, if the people of *Rome* would send him to make war in *Africk*. Unto *Mago* that lay in *Gades*, came directions from *Carthage*, that letting all care of *Spain* alone, he should thence depart from his Fleet into *Italy*; and there wage an Army of *Gaules* and *Ligurians*, to joyn with *Hannibal*. For this purpose, was money sent unto him from *Carthage*; and he himself laid hold upon all that he could find in the town of *Gades*; without sparing either private men, the common treasury, or the Temples. In his voyage thence, he landed at *Carthagena*; hoping to have taken it by surprise. But he failed in the attempt; and was so beaten to his ships, that he returned back to repose himself a while at *Gades*. The *Gaditanes*, offended with the robberies and spoil that he had made at his taking leave of them, would not suffer him again to enter into their City. By this he foresaw, that it would not be long ere they became *Roman*. Wherefore sending Messengers into the Town, to complain of this uncourteous dealing, he allured their Magistrates forth unto him; whom, notwithstanding all the excuse that they could make, he whipt and crucified. This done, he followed his former intended voyage; bidding *Spain* farewell for ever.

The Isle and City of *Gades*, was yeelded to the *Romans*, presently after the departure of *Mago*. Then did *Scipio* deliver up the Province, to those that were sent from *Rome* to succeed him therein: & himself with ten ships returned home. At his comming to *Rome*, he made suit for the honour of a triumph. But it was denied him: for that it had as yet bin granted unto no Proconsul, excepting to such, as received that dignity after a Consulship, as it were by prorogation. But, to make amends for this repulse, the election of new Consuls being then in hand, by general voice of the city *P. Cornelius Scipio* was chosen Consul; and *P. Licinius Crassus* joyned with him. This *Crassus*, being high Priest, or Bishop of the *Romans*, might not, by the custome of those times, go far from the City; as being to intend the matters of their superstition: though *Cæsar*, and others, who in ages following held the same office, were stayed by no such religious impediment, from being far & long absent. Hereby it came to passe, that *Scipio*, desiring to have the war transferred into *Africk*, was in no danger to lose that honourable charge, by any mischance of lot, in the division of Provinces; for that his Colleague was not capable of employment so far off.

§. XVIII.

§. XVIII.

Scipio *obtains leave to make war in Africk. His preparations. Of* Masaniſſa *who was joyned with* Scipio. *The victories againſt* Asdrubal *and* Syphax.

Prb. Cornelius Scipio, and *P. Licinius Craſſus,* entring into their Conſulſhip, held a meeting of the Senate in the Capitol: wherein it was decreed, that *Scipio* ſhould be allowed, to beſtow part of the money which he had brought out of *Spain* into the treaſurie; upon the ſetting forth of ſolemn plays, that he had vowed to make whileſt he was buſied in his *Spaniſh* wars. This helped wel to revive the memory of his victories already gotten; and to give hope unto the People of greater victories in the war, which he intended to make in *Africk*. To the ſame purpoſe, did the *Spaniſh* Embaſſages avail much in the Senate; eſpecially that of the *Saguntines*: who magnified his actions highly and deſervedly; ſaying, That they were the moſt happy of all their countrimen, ſince they being preſent, had ſeen him choſen Conſul, and ſhould carry home ſuch joyful news. The *Saguntine* Embaſſadors were lovingly entertained by the Senate; as their faith to *Rome* (though coſtly it were both to them and to the *Romans*) had well deſerved. Nevertheleſs, when *Scipio* propoſed, that *Africk* might be decreed unto him for his Province, there wanted not many, even of the principal men, that vehemently gainſaid him. Of theſe was *Q. Fabius Maximus* the chief: who ſeems to have been troubled with that diſeaſe, which too often cauſed men, renowned for long approved vertue, to look aſquint upon the actions of thoſe, that follow them in the ſame kinde. He alleaged many reaſons againſt the purpoſe of the Conſul: whereof the chief were, That the Treaſury was unable to ſuſtain the charges of a war in *Africk*; and that it was extreamly perillous to hazard ſo great forces where they could not at pleaſure be recalled unto the defence of *Rome* it ſelf, if need required. Hereunto he added many words concerning the danger wherein *Italy* ſtood, not only of *Hannibal*, but of *Mago* his brother, that was arming the *Ligurians*: as alſo concerning the honour of the Conſul; which would (he ſaid) be greater in ſetting *Italy* free from enemies, than it could be in doing any harm to *Africk*. Neither did he forget, both to elevate the *Spaniſh* wars, as of leſs moment than the intended voyage againſt *Carthage*, nor withall to lay great blame upon *Scipio*, for having ſuffered *Aſdrubal* to paſs into *Italy*: ſhewing, that it was greatly to be feared, leſt the like might happen again; and that a new Army, notwithſtanding the good ſucceſs of *Scipio*, (if it hapned to be good) might be ſent from *Carthage*, to the utter endangering of *Rome*, whileſt the *Roman* forces were employed abroad. But the main point which he urged, was, That neither the Senate had ordained, nor the People commanded, *Africk* to be that year a Province: which the Conſul nevertheleſs propounded in ſuch wiſe, as if it were a matter already concluded, and no longer to be argued. *Scipio* on the other ſide, inſiſted upon this one point; That it was better to make an offenſive, than a defenſive war: eſpecially againſt ſuch as the *Carthaginians*, who being ill provided of able men at home, did furniſh themſelves, by help of mony, with levies made abroad. As for the care of *Italy*, he doubted not, but *P. Licinius* his Colleague would be as well able to diſcharge it now, as others had done in times of greater danger. So promiſing to draw *Hannibal* into *Africk*, for defence of his own home; & taxing as civilly as he could, the envy of *Fabius*, which withſtood ſuch a gallant enterpriſe, he propoſed the matter again to the Senate. Much altercation there was about the maner of his proceeding: foraſmuch as it was noiſed abroad, that if he could not bring the Senate to his mind, he would carry it by the people. This offended many of the ancients: who reſented in this honourable man, a little ſpice of that arrogancy, which in following ages grew to be much hotter, in thoſe that had commanded long abroad. But in concluſion, *Scipio* refered himſelf wholly to the Senates good will and pleaſure; whereby he obtained thus much, That the Ile of *Sicil* might be appointed unto him for his Province; with leave to paſſe over into *Africk*, if he found it expedient.

Want of money, and no great liking to his voyage, made the *Roman* Senate have little care to furniſh out *Scipio* to the war, by him intended upon *Africk*. Herewithall it fell out, that *Mago*, comming on the ſudden from the *Baleares* to *Genua*, and winning the Town, bred a fear of no leſſe terrible invaſion upon *Italy*, than that which *Aſdrubal* had lately made. He could not indeed raiſe any great Army of the *Ligurians*: for that he found them diſtracted with civill wars. Therefore he was driven to make choiſe of his

his party; and to help those whom he thought fittest for his turn, against the others. This troublesome business, though it occupied more of his time than he could willingly have spared: yet it got him reputation by his victories; and made the unsteady *Gauls* ready to enter into his pay. Hereupon the dispersed Legions of the *Romans*, that under Proconsuls, and Prætors, lay ready to be employed where need should require; were directed unto the borders of *Lombardie* and *Liguria*, there to make head against *Mago*. But all his menaces passed away in vapour. For a fleet, either comming to his aid from *Carthage*, or by him sent thither (the report is uncertain) loaden with the booty that he had taken, fell into the hands of the *Roman* Prætor, that governed in *Sardinia*. This did much disable him: and though after a while, there came letters from *Carthage*, together with store of mony, heartning him in his proceedings; yet some impediments which he found, and that fatall voyage of *Scipio* into *Africk* disturbed all; and made him be re-called home.

Against *Hannibal* was nothing done this year. Neither was any thing done by him, of which the *Roman* Historians have been pleased to take notice. Only it is said, that he spent the Summer by the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, where he raised an Altar, with a huge Title of all that he had performed, graven in *Punick* and *Greek* letters. Such accompt of winnings past, is commonly in Gamesters that are at the height of their fortune, a cause of remission and carelessnesse; in those that are upon the losing hand, a cause both of the same for the present, and shortly after of dejection, when they finde a notable change. A great pestilence, infesting both the *Carthaginian* and the *Roman* Camp, is said to have been the occasion of this years idleness; which fell out not much amiss for the City of *Rome*, that was marvellously impoverished by this war; and had already tried the utmost way to defray the charges, which grew insupportable. To relieve the present necessity, it was well thought upon, that a great part of *Campania* (not many years since confiscated) should be sold, or let out: in which bargain, that the City might receive no losse, the tenth part of the fine was ordained as a reward unto the detectors of lands concealed.

Of this, or other money, none was given to *Scipio*. Neither was he allowed to make presse of Souldiers for his *African* voyage; neither did he over-much labour to obtain it. That which the Senate refused, the people did for him: or rather they did it for themselves; that were therein wiser than the Senate. It is usually found in Councels of estate, that the busie, or obstinate heads of a few, do carry all the rest. And many times men make a surrender of their own judgements, to the wisdome that hath gotten it self a name, by giving happy direction in troubles forepast. Therefore, he that reposeth himself upon the advice of many, shall often finde himself deceived: the counsell of those many being wholly directed by the Empire of a few, that over-sway the rest. *Q. Fabius* was accounted the Oracle of his time: for his wary nature sorted well with the businesse, that fell out in the chief of his imployment. Unto him therefore *Q. Fulvius* adhered, with other of the Senators, that were grown old in following one course; from which they could not shift, as the change of times required. But the People (who though they could not well advise, and deliberate, yet could well apprehend) embraced the needfull resolution of *Scipio*: in such sort, that besides his *Roman* forces, he had from divers parts of *Italy* about seven thousand Voluntaries. He had also provision from the severall Towns: Corn, Iron, Canvas for sails, Axes, Beed-hooks, Hand-mils, and the like implements; Fire for building of ships, many thousands of Targets, Helmets, and Spears of all kindes: every place furnished him with that commodity, which it best could afoord.

Unto this willingnesse of the People, the diligence of *Scipio* was correspondent. In the compass of five and forty dayes, he had both fell'd his Timber, built, and lanched twenty *Trireme*, and ten *Quinquereme* Gallies; wherewith he transported his Army into *Sicil*. In *Sicil* he found, besides other forces, two Legions, that had served at *Cannæ*: which were old Souldiers, and (as he himself well knew) not guilty of the overthrow; for which they had long undergone a heavy censure. They had served under *Marcellus* and *Lævinus*, at the taking of many Cities and strong pieces: in which regard, they were like to be of good use to him in *Africk*, where would be store of such employment. For increasing the number of his horse, he pressed three hundred *Sicilians*, all wealthy young men, and such as loved well their ease. These he afterward discharged from the War highly,

highly to their contentment: but with condition, that they should deliver their Horse and Arms, to as many *Roman* Gentlemen, which he brought over with him for the purpose. Whilest he was providing to have things in a readiness for *Africk*, the banished *Locrians* that followed the *Roman* side, made him acquainted with an intelligence, whereby they hoped to recover their City. Some handicrafts-men, that wrought for the *Carthaginians* in one of the Citadels of *Locri*, (for there were two in the Town) being taken prisoners by the *Romans*, promised to betray the place, if they might be ransomed and rewarded. *Scipio* being advertised of this gave order to have the attempt made by night: which happily succeeded; & that Citadel was surprised. The other Citadel was strongly defended by the *Carthaginian* Garrison, which sent to *Hannibal* for aide. The *Romans* in like sort, fearing lest their own paucity should make them too weak for *Hannibal*, craved help of the Consul *Scipio*. The Towns-men were doubtfully affected: but the best, and most of them inclining to the *Romans*, kept *Hannibal* out; whom the comming of *Scipio* caused thence to depart; and caused likewise the *Carthaginian* Garrison to abandon the other Citadel. Many outrages were committed by the *Roman* Souldiers, that were left by *Scipio* in custody of the Town. Wherefore a vehement complaint was made by the *Locrians* unto the *Roman* Senate: not only against those of the Garrison: but much more against *Pleminius* the Captain, who gave bad example, and was worse than all the rest. Besides many Murders, Robberies, Rapes, and other villanies, the Temple of *Proserpina*, that had a great fame of sanctity, was spoyled by these barbarous Theeves. The *Locrians* therefore advised the Senate to make present amends to the goddesse for this sacriledge: saying, that the like had never been committed, without notorious revenge by her taken upon the Authors. The Senate gave good ear to this complaint, comforted the *Locrians*, and redressed the injuries done unto them; sent for *Pleminius*, with other principall offenders; whom they cast into prison, and used according to their deserts: as also they restored unto *Proserpina* her mony twice told. But old *Q. Fabius* was not herewithall contented. He laid much of the blame upon *Scipio*, that had placed such a man in *Locri*; and had not carefully hearkened to the complaints made against him, but suffered him to runne on in these his wicked courses. By the sharp invective that *Fabius* made, others took courage to speak what they pleased, as well against the demeanour of *Scipio*, as against the dissoluteness of his Army; which lay, as they said, idle in *Sicil*, neither mindfull of any service toward, nor fit for it if need should require. Finally, things were so far urged, that ten Legats were sent over into *Sicil*, together with the Prætor appointed for that Iland; two of the Tribunes, and one of the Ædiles; who should examine these matters; and either cause the General to return into *Italy*, or continue him in his charge, as they thought fit. The end of all was, they found him so well prepared against *Carthage*, as that they hastned him on his journey, and gave him high commendations at their return.

Scipio had already employed *Lælius* in *Africk*, rather to make discovery, than to work any other great effect of war. He took a great booty: and struck no little terrour into the *Carthaginians*; who saw their affairs to be upon tearms of change. But the greatest fruit of his journey was, That speaking with *Masanissa*, he well informed himself of the state of *Africk*; and knew what was to be expected of those two Kings, that had promised to joyn with the *Romans* at their landing.

Concerning *Masanissa* his revolt from the *Carthaginians*, and his compact made under-hand with the *Romans*, *Livie* doth professe, That there was no such evident cause thereof at the present; but that the long continuance of his faith and constancy, in following times, must help to prove, that this his change, was not without some good cause. But *Appianus* (an Historian far inferiour to *Livie*, both in worth and time) gives one reason so probable of this, and many accidents thereto belonging, as that it carries with it a great appearance of necessary truth. Only the doubt is, How it could any way come to passe, that the knowledge of such a matter should have escaped the diligence of *Livie*, if it had been true: unlesse we should beleeve, that he wilfully forbare to rehearse a Tragedie; the sorrow whereof would cause men to think amiss of *Scipio*. Howsoever it was, thus * *Appian* tels it: and many circumstances of things done, confirm it. *Asdrubal*, the son of *Gesco*, had a fair daughter, whom both King *Syphax* and *Masanissa* loved. *Masanissa*, being brought up at *Carthage*, and being withall a goodly Gentleman of person, and excellent in qualities, was chosen by *Asdrubal* to bee his son-in-law. When

Liv. lib. 29.

* *Appian. Alex. de Bell. Pun.*

When the virgin was betrothed unto him, he went into *Spain*, and there did great service. But afterwards, the *Carthaginian* Senate thought the marriage of *Asdrubals* daughter to be a matter of State: and bestowed her upon *Syphax*, without standing to acquaint her father or *Masanissa* therewithall. This they did, for that *Syphax* was the more mighty Prince; and for that the indignity of the repulse, had made him become their enemy. Hereof *Masanissa* was advertised; and forthwith entred into intelligence with *Scipio*, secretly as he thought; yet not so secretly, but some notice was taken of it: which would have cost him his life, had he not with great circumspection conveighed himself home into his fathers Kingdome. Thus far forth we may beleeve *Appianus*: all the narration well cohering with things past, and following. Only it seems, that howsoever *Sophonisba*, the daughter of *Asdrubal*, was promised by the *Carthaginians* unto *Syphax*: yet since this their courtesie proceeded from fear, he thought it wisdome to continue and increase the same their fear, by making fair promises to the *Romans*, untill *Asdrubal had sent for his daughter from Carthage*, & the marriage was consummated. In other matters concerning the war it self, wherein *Appian* differs much from *Livie*, and from *Polybius*, whom (as appears by the broken pieces of his works remaining) *Livie* did follow; it will be no offence, to take little heed unto his reports.

Liv. lib. 29.

Masanissa was the sonne of *Gala*, a King of the *Numidians*: whose father dying, the Crown descended, by order of the Country, unto *Desalces* the brother, not unto *Masanissa* the son. But this Uncle of *Masanissa* shortly dyed: and his elder sonne, who took possession of the kingdome, was vanquished, and slain in battell by a Rebel, that made himself Protector over the younger which was a childe. The Traitor fortified himself against *Masanissa*, whose returne he feared, by Alliances with the *Carthaginians* and *Syphax*. But all would not serve: He and his Pupill, were dispossessed of their Estates by *Masanissa*; that was a skilfull Warriour, and well beloved for the memory of his father *Gala*. The *Carthaginians* in reason would have been glad, that *Masanissa*, who had done them notable service, was thus confirmed in his Estate, had they not been guilty of the injury by them done unto him; whilest his Uncle or Cousin reigned, and he seemed unlikely to stand them in any stead. But *Syphax*, by their procurement, and perhaps by his own malice, towards his Corrival, warred upon him; and over-charging him with numbers, drave him out of his Kingdome. Nevertheless *Masanissa* still retained the hearts of his people; & thereby remained strong enough, to infest both *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians*; though he was often put in distresse, by great forces that were sent against him. He therefore keeping much about the lesser *Syrtis*, between the borders of the *Carthaginians* and the Nation of the *Garamants*, expected the comming of the *Romans*: yet so, as he made long roads over all the Country, even as far as *Hippo*; and when *Lelius* arrived thereabouts, exhorted and encouraged him to hasten on *Scipio* to the invasion of *Africk*.

But *Syphax*, in whose great aide and succour was reposed more hope of good successe, than could be expected from the good will of poor *Masanissa*, sent an Embassage into *Sicil* about the same time, which was little pleasing unto *Scipio*. He excused himself of his promise lately made: and signified his alliance with the *Carthaginians*; adding, That he could not choose but fight for the defence of *Africk*, wherein he was born and reigned; and for the defence of his beloved wives Country, if it were invaded. Nevertheless he promised to remain a Neuter, so long as the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* held war abroad, far enough from *Africk*, as hitherto they had done. This message hastened *Scipio* in his expedition, much more than any perswasion could have done. For the promised assistance of *Syphax* had not a little advanced his enterprise; in procuring both the assent of the Senate, and the forwardnesse of many Adventurers. Lest therefore the failing of this hope, should work too great a change in common opinion, He thought it the best way, to prevent all discourse, and set the war undertaken immediately on foot. The Embassadours he dismissed in haste, with letters to their King: wherein he willed him to consider, that what he had promised, he had also sworn; and therefore should do well to make it good. Having sent them away, He called his Souldiers together; and bade them make ready for the voyage, which he intended no longer to defer. For, said he, *Masanissa* hath been with *Lelius*: and *Syphax* hath newly sent to mee; greatly wondring upon what I should thus stay; and saying, That they will provide for themselves, if I fail their expectation by tarrying any longer. This fine

tale

tale prevented all further inquisition, that might else have been made concerning the message of these Embassadors, whose followers had been seen walking up and down *Syracuse*. And lest any thing should afterwards break out, that might hinder the business, *Scipio* immediately sent about his fleet unto *Lilybæum*: and requesting by letters *M. Pomponius*, that was Prætor in *Sicil*, to meet him there; hasted thither with his Army. At *Lilybæum* he agreed with the Prætor, about the division of the Legions between them, which to leave behinde for defence of the Iland; and which to carry with him into *Africk*. What numbers he transported, it is not certain: some Historians reckoning only ten thousand foot, and two and twenty hundred horse; others increasing them to five and thirty thousand, horse and foot. Concerning his directions for embarking, and other matters belonging to their course, I hold it needlesse to set them down: since they were points of ordinary care, and which it is like that neither he, when he took his voyage into *Spain*, nor others upon like occasions, have omitted; they being also word for word set down by an Historian, who borrowed them from *Livie*, and fitted them to a Prince of later age.

This *Roman* Army landed in *Africk*, near to a fore-land then called the *fair Promontorie*: which how far it was from *Carthage*, or toward what point of the Compasse, I cannot precisely affirm; because it is uncertain, whether it were that Cape or Headland which bore the name of *Mercurie*, and lay to the North-east of *Carthage*; or whether that of *Apollo*, which lay Northerly from *Carthage*, and by West. The comming of *Masanissa* unto *Scipio* at his first arrivall, help to confirm the opinion of *Xylander*, who thinks the *fair Promontorie* to have been the same, that was also called *Mercuries Cape*, since with little difficulty *Masanissa* might come thither from the lesser *Syrtis*, whereabout was his common abiding. But forasmuch as without any memorable impediment soon after his arrivall, *Scipio* encamped before *Vtica*, that stood Westward from *Carthage* beyond the River *Bagradas*: it may rather seem, that he landed within the Promontorie of *Apollo*, whence the way to *Vtica* was not long. This is also strongly proved; for that out of *Carthage* were sent, the next day, five hundred horse to trouble him in his dis-embarking. Neither was it so hard for *Masanissa*, that roved about the Countrey with a troup of horse, to finde out the *Romans*, though they landed far from the place to the which he usually resorted, like as before he had met with *Lælius* at *Hippo* that was farther off; as it would have been for *Scipio*, with his Army and Carriages, to overcome the trouble of a long journey, and fetch a great compass to *Vtica*, by Land; when he might have disembarqued nearer unto it. Nevertheless it may pass as a conjecture, That *Scipio* came first of all to *Emporia*, a plentifull Region about the lesser *Syrtis*; since he gave charge to the Masters of his ships, at the setting forth from *Lilybæum*, to shape their course for that coast. The Countrey thereabout was very rich, and fit for sustenance of an Army: neither were the Inhabitants warlike, or well provided to make resistance. Thus much perhaps *Masanissa* had signified unto *Lælius*, when he spake with him at *Hippo*: thinking that the *Romans*, howsoever they made brave promises, would not come strong enough to fight *at head*. But when he saw their Fleet and Army to be such, as not only served to invade the lands of *Carthage*, but threatned a conquest of the City and whole Estate: then might he better advise them to set sail for *Vtica*, and make war upon the Enemies at their own doors.

The *Carthaginians* had at that time neither any Captain of great worth at home, nor better Army than of raw Souldiers; that were levied, or to be levied in haste. *Asdrubal* the son of *Gesco*, the same that had lately been chased out of *Spain* by *Scipio*, was their best man of war. And good enough perhaps he was thought by *Hanno* and his fellowes, of whose faction he was: or if ought were wanting in him, yet his Riches and Nobility, together with the affinity of King *Syphax*, made him passable. He was then with the King his son-in-law, working him no doubt against the *Romans*: when letters were brought from *Carthage*, both to *Syphax* and to him, informing them of the Invasion: entreating the one of them to give assistance, and commanding the other to make his repair unto the City, where he was chosen Generall. But ere these could be ready, *Scipio* had beaten the troup of *Carthaginian* horse, that were sent out of the City to disturb his landing; and slain *Hanno* a young Gentleman, that was their Leader. He had also taken and sacked a Town of the *Carthaginians*: wherein, besides other booty, he took eight thousand prisoners; all which he conveighed aboord his Hulks or Ships of

burden, and sent them back loaden into *Sicil*. He took likewise a Town called *Salera*, which he held and fortified. In *Salera* lay another *Hanno*, with four thousand *Numidian* horse: whose service being fitter for the field, than for defence of walled places, made *Scipio* to perceive the unskilfulness of their Leader, that had thus housed them. Wherefore he sent *Masanissa* before him: who rode up to the gates; and, by making a bravado, trained out the improvident *Hanno* so far, that he drew him unto a place, where the *Romans* lay in wait for him. The victory was easily gotten, and *Hanno* either taken, or slain. With those that fled, the *Romans* entred *pell-mell* into the town, which presently they made their own. Thence went *Scipio* to *Vtica*, a City of great importance, of which mention hath been formerly made, and sate down before it. Forty dayes he spent about it, assailing it both by Land and Sea, and using all his engines of battery, whereof he had plenty, yet was in no likelihood of prevailing. And now the Summer was quite spent: so that it was time for him to choose a place, and fortifie his Winter-Camp, which must be well stored against the year following. Whilest thus necessity urged him to leave *Vtica*: and shame of taking the repulse in his first great enterprise, rather than any hope of better successe, caused him to stay there: *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* gave him the honour of a fair pretence to leave the siege. *Asdrubal* had made a Levie of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse: yet adventured not with this ill-trained Army to draw near unto the *Romans* before the comming of *Syphax*. *Syphax* brought with him unto *Carthage* fifty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse: which joyning unto the forces of *Asdrubal*, they marched bravely toward *Scipio*; who thereby took occasion to dislodge. He chose for his Winter-Camp the banks of an Inlet, that had good harbour for his Navie. His foot-men he lodged on a Promontory, joyning to the Continent by an arme of Land: his horse-men he bestowed upon lower ground, on the other shoar: in the bottome of the *Creek* he moored his ships; and there he quartered the Mariners, with all that belonged unto the Fleet. The whole camp he strongly fortified, and so attended the season of the year, when it should serve him again to fight. Of cattell and other booty *Masanissa* had brought in great store, by driving the Country, before the comming of *Asdrubal* and *Syphax*. Corn also he had gotten some; and great store was sent him from *Sicil* and *Sardinia*. Likewise apparell for his Souldiers, was sent from home, or from *Sardinia*: though scarce enough to serve turne, for that it was a matter of more cost. The ships that brought these things, he fraighted homewards with such part of his booty, as he could best spare; especially with captives to be sold for slaves. *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* encamped near unto *Scipio*: not so strongly fortifying themselves, as did the *Romans*, either for that they wanted the severe institution, which the *Romans* used in the discipline of war, or for that they presumed upon their multitude, against which they found in *Scipio* no disposition to issue forth of his strength, and fight. So the Winter passed without action.

When Spring drew near, *Scipio* thought it good to assay his old friend the *Numidian* King, if perhaps he might be won by perswasions to forsake the *Carthaginians*. It was considered, that those *Barbarians* were naturally unconstant; and particularly, that *Syphax* had given proof before this of his much levity. It might therefore be hoped, That having wearyed himself, by lodging a whole Winter in the Camp: and being peradventure no less weary with satiety of his wife, who had caused him to enter into this war: he might be moved with a little entreaty to withdraw himself home into his Kingdome, and rest a *Neuter*. But it is not unlikely, that such a friend as this King, had been highly entertained and honoured in the City of *Carthage*, which was near at hand, as often as during this Winter it had pleased him, or as he had been invited, to make a step thither and repose himself a while: his wife Queen *Sophonisba* lying also there at the same time, to cherish him in his resolution. Howsoever it were, *Syphax* did only make an overture of peace: propounding it as reasonable, That *Hannibal* should be recalled out of *Italy* by the *Carthaginians*: and that the *Romans* in like sort should quietly depart out of *Africk*, and so make an end of the war: wherewith now both *Africk* and *Europe* were disquieted. Unto this would not *Scipio* at the first give ear: yet being pressed earnestly by many messages from *Syphax*, and desiring to continue the intercourse of Embassadors; he began to make shew, as if he would consider of the motion He was given to understand by those whom he had sent unto the King, That the Enemies had their camps without any great defence of earth, full of wooden Cabbins,

bins, and covered with boughs: and that the *Numidians*, such of them as came first with *Syphax*, used coverings of Mats and Reeds; others, that came later, had thatched their lodgings with drie boughs and leaves: under which they lay carelesly without their Trenches. Upon this advertisement he bethought himself, That it would not be hard for him to set their camps on fire, and thereby give them a notable overthrow. Without help of some such straragem, he foresaw that it would be a work of great difficulty for him, to proceed in his wars when time should serve. It was a plain open Country wherein he lay: and the Enemies had great advantage of him in number, especially in horse; which, upon such ground, could not be resisted by the *Roman* Legions. The longer therefore that he thought upon the matter; the more needfull he found it for himself, to make some sudden attempt upon their Camp. To this end he sent many Embassadours, under pretence of treating about the Peace; but indeed of purpose to discover all that might concern the intended surprise. With these Embassadours he sent, as Attendants, many old Souldiers, disguised like slaves; that wandring (as it were) idle up and down the Camp, might observe the waies and entrances, with whatsoever else was needfull. When he had learned as much as he desired: upon the sudden he sent word to *Syphax*, that it was vain to hold any longer Treaty, forasmuch as he could not get the consent of his Councell of war; without whose approbation, all that himself could do, was no more, than the good will of one man. This he did, to the end that, without any breach of faith, he might put his design in execution. The Truce being thus cut off, *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* were very pensive: as having lately perswaded themselves, that their trouble was almost at an end. But since it could be no better, they began to devise, by what art they might draw *Scipio* out of his Camp, and provoke him to battail in those Plains. This if they could do, they hoped to make his Councell of war repent as greatly the refusal of peace, as did *Marcus Atilius* after the like presumption. But if he should refuse to come forth of his Trenches, what else remained than to besiege him? Which they themselves were well able to do by land; and the *Carthaginian* Fleet should do by Sea, that was making ready for the purpose. By such discourses these two comforted themselves; recompencing (in conceipt) the losse of their hopes past, with that of victory to come. But herein they were extreamly and worthily disappointed: for that consulting about the future, they provided not against present danger, but continued in the same negligence, which was grown upon them by the long discourse of peace. As for *Scipio*, he was not idle; but made preparation out of hand, as it were to do somewhat against *Vtica*. Two thousand Souldiers he had made ready, and appointed to take the same piece of ground, whereon he lay against *Vtica* before. This he did, partly to keep secret that which he had in hand, lest being suspected by his own Souldiers, the Enemy might happen to have notice of it; partly to hinder those of *Vtica* from setting upon the few, that he purposed to leave behinde him in his Camp. He caused his men that night to sup well, and betimes; that they might be ready for the journey. After supper, he appointed such Companies as he thought fit, to the defence of his Camp; all the rest of the Army he led forth, about nine of the clock at night. The *Carthaginians* lay from him seven miles and an halfe: whom he purposed to undertake himself with the one half of his army; the other half he committed to *Lælius* and *Masanissa*, whom he sent before him to set upon the camp of *Syphax*, that was farther off. It was his meaning, that the camp of *Syphax* should be on a light fire, ere he would meddle with the *Carthaginians*. For the fire might seem to have taken hold by casualty upon the *Numidians*, that lay farther off: whereas if it first appeared in the camp of *Asdrubal*, it would be suspected as the doing of enemies, and give *Syphax* warning to look to himself. To this end therefore *Scipio* marched fair and softly; that *Lælius* & *Masanissa*, who had a longer journey, and were to fetch a compasse about for fear of being discovered, might have time to get before him, and do their feat. It was about two or three of the clock in the morning, when the camp of *Syphax* began to blaze: which not only the *Numidians*, but their King himself, imputed unto casualty; as thinking themselves safe enough from enemies, for that the *Carthaginians* lay interposed between them and the danger. Wherefore as if there were no more to doe, some, starting half asleep; and others, that had sitten up late at drinking, ranne out of their Cabbins to quench the fire. But so great was the tumult, that they neither could rightly understand in what case they were, nor give any remedy to the mischance, as it

was supposed. Many were smothered and burnt in the flame, which grew greater and greater: many, leaping into the Trenches for fear of the sudden mischief, were trampled to death by the multitude that followed them. They that escaped the fire, fell upon the enemies sword, which was ready to receive them. Especially *Masanissa*, that best knew the Countrey, did great execution upon them; having laid all the wates, by which he foresaw that they would seek to escape. The *Carthaginians* perceiving this fire, thought none other than that it was a pitifull mischance: so that some ran out to help the poor *Numidians*; carrying only what would serve to quench the fire. Others ran up to the Rampart: where, fearlesse of any danger toward themselves, they stood beholding the greatnesse of the flame, and lamenting the misfortune. This fell out right as *Scipio* would have it. He therefore lost no time: but setting upon those that were running towards the *Numidians*, he killed some, and pursued the rest back into their camp, which in a little while he made to burn as bright, as did that of *Syphax*. *Asdrubal* seeing this, and knowing that the *Romans* were there did not stand to make resistance, but shifted only for himself, and escaped with a few of his horse about him. If *Hannibal*, or any of the *Barchine* faction, had been taken in such a manner: it is more than probable, that old *Hanno* would have judged him worthy to be crucified. It would then have been said, that with lesse than one half of thirty thousand men, he might at least have given some bad recompence, to them that were taking pains in kindling these fires, had he not been only carefull how to save his own fearfull head. Nevertheless *Polybius* acknowledgeth, and it is most likely to have been true, That if *Asdrubal*, or any of those about him, would have striven to shew valour, when the Camp was once on fire: He should not thereby have done any manner of good, because of the tumult and consternation. I shall not need to tell what a fearfull thing it was, to hear the cries of so many thousands that perished by fire and sword, or to behold the cruell flame that consumed them; which (as *Polybius* affirms) none *that hath being* is able to describe. It is enough to say, That of those many thousands, very few did escape; which accompanied *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* in their severall wayes of flight. Besides these also there were some scatterers, especially of the *Numidians*, that saved themselves in the dark: but they were not many, as after shall appear. Surely it must needs have been very hard to tell, how many were burnt or otherwise made away, and what numbers escaped in the dark of night. Wherefore *Livie*, who in the rest of this Relation, as often elsewhere, doth follow *Polybius*, may seem to have followed some lesse worthy Author, and him no good Arithmetician, in casting up the summe. For he reckons only two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, to have escaped; forty thousand to have perished by sword or fire: and above six thousand to have been taken prisoners: the whole number of all which together, is far short of fourscore and thirteen thousand, which were in these two Camps.

Excerpt. è Polyb. lib. 14.

Asdrubal, putting himself into the next town that was very strongly fortified, thought there to find the *Romans* work, untill the *Carthaginians* at good leisure might repair their Army. He had with him no more than two thousand foot, and five hundred horse: which he thought sufficient to defend the Town; if the Towns-men would not be wanting to themselves. But he found the Inhabitants of the place very earnest in contention, whether it were better to fight, or to yeeld. Unto this disputation, he well foresaw, that the arrivall of *Scipio* would soon give an end. Wherefore, lest they should lay hold upon him, and seek the Victors favour by delivering him up; he shrunk away betimes, and made all hast to *Carthage*. As for the town which he left; it opened the gates to *Scipio*, at his first comming: and thereby preserved it self from all manner of losse. The two next Towns adjoyning would needs be valiant, and make countenance of war: but their strength not being answerable, they were soon taken by *Scipio*; who abandoned them to the pleasure of his Souldiers. This being done, he returned to the siege of *Vtica*.

The *Carthaginians* were sore troubled, as they had good reason, when, in stead of either Peace or Victory, which they lately hoped for, they heard newes of such a lamentable overthrow. Necessity enforced them to make hasty provision for the future: but how to doe it, few of them saw any means. Some gave advice to crave peace of *Scipio*: others, to send for *Hannibal* out of *Italy*; but the most, and they which finally prevailed, were of opinion, That notwithstanding the losse of this Army, they might well

defend

defend themselves against the *Romans*, by raising new forces: especially, if *Syphax* would not leave them. It was therefore concluded, That they should bend all their care this way, levying in all hast another Army; and sending Embassadours to deal with *Syphax*, who lay then at a Town called *Abba*, not passing eight miles from *Carthage*. Immediately the same their unfortunate Commander, *Asdrubal* the son of *Gesco*, was employed to make new levies of men: and Queen *Sophonisba* went forth with Embassadours to her husband *Syphax*; who having gathered together as many as he could of his subjects that had escaped from the late slaughter, was thinking to return into his own Kingdome. *Sophonisba* laboured so with her husband, that at length she won him to her own desire. And it fell out at the same time, that four thousand *Spaniards*, waged by the *Carthaginians*, were brought over to serve in *Africk*. Of these were made such brave reports, as if their courage, and the Armes which they used, were not to be resisted. Even the multitude within *Carthage* beleeved these tales, and were more glad than they had cause to be; which is great wonder, since in one Age, the whole countrey of *Spain* had been twice conquered; first, by the *Carthaginians* themselves, and after by the *Romans*. But with *Syphax* these tales prevailed much: which the *Carthaginian* Embassadors helped with a lye; saying, That there were come ten thousand of these terrible *Spaniards*. Upon this confidence, the people of *Carthage* and their friends gathered such spirit, that in thirty dayes they made up an Army, consisting wel-near of thirty thousand men, reckoning the *Spaniards*, and *Syphax* with his *Numidians* in the number. So they incamped in a Region called, *The great Fields*, about five dayes journey from *Vtica*. *Scipio* hearing of this, came from *Vtica* thither, to visit them: leaving behinde him his impediments, with some part of his Army, to make a shew of continuing the siege. Two or three dayes, after the meeting of both armies, passed away in skirmish, without any great thing done. It had now been time for *Asdrubal* to follow the example of the *Roman Fabius*, and seek to weary out the Enemy by delayes. But either (which is likely) he was a farre worse Commander, or else, it was not in his power to give such directions as best pleased himself. The fourth day the Armies met in battail: wherein the *Romans* were marshalled by *Scipio* after their wonted manner, having their *Italian* horse in the right wing; and *Masanissa* with his *Numidians* in the left. On the contrary side, *Asdrubal* and his *Carthaginians* had the right wing; *Syphax*, the left; and the *Spaniards*, the battail. The victory was gotten without many blowes: for the untrained followers of *Syphax* and *Asdrubal*, could not sustain the first charge of the *Italians*, or of *Masanissa*. Only the *Spaniards* fought a long time, even untill they were all in a manner slain: rather as men desperate, and not hoping for mercy, since they were thus come over to fight against *Scipio*, who had otherwise deserved of them, than upon any likelihood or conceit of victory. This their obstinacy was beneficiall to those that fled; for that it hindred the *Romans* from making any great pursuit. Hereby *Asdrubal*, and *Syphax* escaped: *Asdrubal*, to *Carthage*; and *Syphax* home to his owne Kingdome: whither his wife was either gone before, or immediately followed him.

Scipio having thus gotten the mastery of the field, took counsail about the prosecution of the war. It was resolved upon as the best course, That he himself, with part of the Army, should attempt the Cities round about him: and that *Masanissa*, with his *Numidians*, and *Lælius*, with some of the *Roman* Legions, should follow after *Syphax*; not permitting him to take rest within his own Kingdome, where easily else he might repair his forces, and put them to new trouble. This advice, it seems that *Masanissa* gave: who knew best the quality of the *Numidians*; and what good might be done among them, by the reputation of a victory. The least that could be expected, was his restitution into his own Kingdome, usurped by *Syphax*: which to accomplish, it no lesse concerned the *Romans* at the present, than it did himself. According to this order concluded, *Lælius* was sent away with *Masanissa*: and *Scipio* stayed behinde, carrying the war from town to town. Many places yeelded for fear; many were taken by force; and all the subjects of *Carthage* wavered in their fidelity, as if the time were now come, wherein they might take notice of those unreasonable burdens, which their proud Masters had laid upon them for maintenance of the war in *Spain* and *Italy*. What to doe in this case, the *Carthaginians* could hardly resolve. Fortune was their enemy; they had lost their Armies, and many of their Towns: neither durst they make bold to trouble their own subjects with any violent exaction of men or money; who nevertheless of

their own free will were likely to give little help. Very much it grieved them to send for *Hannibal* out of *Italy*: yet since there was no other hope remaining, than in him and his good Army; it was decreed, That Embassadours should be forthwith sent to call him home. Some there were that gave advice, to set out a fleet against that of *Scipio*, that rode before *Vtica*, weakly manned, and easie to be taken, whilest *Scipio* himself was busied in the Iland Countreys. Some were of opinion, That it should be their principall care, to fortifie by all means the City of *Carthage*: upon the safety whereof they said all depended: adding, that whilest they were true, and at unity among themselves, they might well enough subsist, and expect those opportunities, with which Fortune (doubtlesse) would present them. These counsels were not rejected; but order was forthwith taken, both for all things concerning the defence of the City, and for the attempt upon the *Roman* fleet at *Vtica*. Nevertheless, it was considered, that thereby they should only protract the warre; without any advancing their own affairs towards likelihood of victory, no, though it should fall out, that all the ships at *Vtica* might be taken or destroyed. Wherefore the determination held concerning *Hannibal*, That he should immediately come over into *Africk*, as the last refuge of *Carthage*. The Councell was no sooner broken up, than all the Senators betook themselves to the execution of that which was decreed: some, to the fortification of the Town: some, to make ready the Fleet; and some, appointed thereunto, forthwith to embarque themselves for *Italy*.

In this their trepidation *Scipio* come to *Tunes*, a City in those dayes very strong, and standing in prospect almost of every part of *Carthage*. This place, or rather some defensible piece adjoyning, he easily took; the garrison forsaking it, and running away as soon as he drew near. But whilest he was about there to incamp, and fortifie himself against the City, he might perceive the *Carthaginian* Fleet setting forth, and making towards *Vtica*: What this meant, he readily conceived; and stood in great fear, lest his own ships that were very ill prepared for Sea-fight (as being heavily loaden with engines of battery, and wholly disposed in such order, as was most convenient for assaulting the town) should make bad resistance, against a fleet appointed for that speciall service. Wherefore he hasted away towards *Vtica*, to assist with his presence in this needfull case. It fell out well, that he had sent his carriages, and all the great booty which he drew along with him, thither before, at his going to *Tunes*. For had not he now made great expedition, he should have come too late. Neither could he indeed have been there in due time, if the *Carthaginians* had used such diligence as was convenient. But they rested one night in harbour by the way: and at their comming to *Vtica*, they tarried a while to make a bravado; presenting themselves in order of battell, as if the *Romans* would have put forth to Sea against them. But *Scipio* had no such intent: he thought it would be sufficient, if he could preserve his Gallies. As for the pleasure of their bravery at Sea; it should little avail the *Carthaginians*, if they got nothing by it, and lost their whole estate by Land. Wherefore he took his ships of burden, and fastning them together with cables, in four ranks, one behind another, made a four fold bridge over the Channell of the Haven; whereon he placed a thousand of his choice men, with store of Darts, and other casting weapons, to make defence. Some open spaces he left, whereat his Frigots, and other small Vessels, might run out and back again upon any advantage or need: but these he covered with planks, using the masts and yards of his ships in stead of rafters, to joyne all together, that his men might help one another, and the bridge it self not be torne asunder. Scarce was this work finished, when the *Carthaginians*, seeing none issue forth against them, came into the Haven. The fight between them and the *Romans* that were in the Hulks, was rather like to the assaulting of a wall, than to any Sea-fight. For they that stood upon the bridge, had sure footing, and threw their weapons downwards, with their whole strength and violence; which the *Carthaginians* out of their Gallies, that were lower and unsteady, could not do. But the *Roman* Frigots & long boats, adventuring forth from behind the bridge, were greatly over-born by the force of the Gallies; and were one occasion of that small loss which followed. They that stood upon the Bridge were neither able to relieve them, nor yet could freely bestow their weapons among the *Carthaginians*, as before; for fear of hurting these their friends, that were intangled and mixed among the enemies. The *Carthaginians* had brought with them grappling hooks, hanging at Iron chains. These they threw upon the masts and yards which served as arches to joyn the bridge together: then rowing

ing backwards, they tore all asunder, in such sort, that one ship followed another, and all the first rank was broken, or defaced. The Defendants had no other way, than to save themselves as hastily as they could, by shifting into the next rank of ships, that lay behinde them untouched. Neither did the *Carthaginians* trouble themselves any further in this laborious work: but having haled away sixe ships of burden, and towed them out of the Haven, returned home to *Carthage*. Their welcome was greater than their victory: because among so many grievous losses, only this exploit had succeeded well, though it were of small importance.

Whilest things thus passed about *Carthage*, *Lælius* and *Masanissa*, in their journey against *Syphax*, found as good successe as could be desired. The fame of the victories already gotten, restored *Masanissa* to his Kingdome, without farther contention: the *Masæsyli*, his subjects, joyfully receiving him, & forsaking the usurpers. But here they stayed not: neither indeed would *Syphax* permit them to be quiet. He had such abundance of men and horses, that he felt not greatly the losses past: and therefore being solicited by *Asdrubal* and *Sophonuba*, he prepared again for warre. But beside the instigation of his beloved wife, the losse of the *Masæsyli* would let him take no rest: neither was it the purpose of *Lælius* and *Masanissa*, to give him any breathing time. It is common in men, to depart no lesse unwillingly from that which they have gotten by extortion, than from their proper inheritance; but to think all alike their own, whereof they are in possession, be the title unto some part never so unjust. Hereunto alludes the fable of the young Kite; which thought that she had vomited up her own guts, when it was only the garbage of some other fowle, that she had hastily swallowed, and was not able to digest. But whether or no, *Syphax*, like the young Kite, beleeved the Kingdome of the *Masæsyli* to be part of his entrails: *Lælius* and *Masanissa* will shortly give him somewhat that shall make him cast his gorge. For to this purpose chiefly are they come so farre. It concerned the *Romans* to dispossesse (if it might be) the King, whose false and hollow friendship towards them, had been converted into strong enmity; as also to set in his place another, who might do them such good offices, as *Syphax* had lately done unto the *Carthaginians*. How easily this might be effected, *Masanissa* knew best, as being well acquainted with the nature of those Countries, wherein, even to this day though there be many strong Towns, yet the fortune of a battail is enough, to translate the Kingdome from one Competitor to another. So they met with *Syphax*, who came against them with no lesse an Army, than his former, and marshalled in the *Roman* order, according to the skill, which he had learned of the *Roman Centurion*, long agoe sent unto him out of *Spain* from *Cn. Scipio*. But though he could teach his men how to march in order; yet could he not teach them to fight couragiously. They were a rabble of all sorts gathered up in hast: and few of them had seen warre before. Encamping neer unto the *Romans*, it fell out, as commonly, that some small troups of horse on both sides, encountred one another in the mid-way: and they that had the worst, were seconded by other of their fellowes. By continuance of the skirmish, more and more were drawn out from either Camp: so that at length *Syphax*, unwilling to dis-hearten his men by taking any foil at their first meeting with the Enemy, came up with all his horse, which were the best part of his forces, and therewith over-charged *Masanissa*, whose numbers were farre lesse. But whilest he was prosecuting his hope of victory: some *Roman* squadrons of Foot came against him through their own troups of horse; which fell to the sides, and made a lane for them. So their battail standing now more firm, than a little before; *Syphax* was unable, though he laboured much in vain, to make them give ground. *Masanissa* likewise, and his troups grew confident upon this assistance: and charging afresh the Enemy, that could not make way forward, caused him to give back. Herewithall the Legions came in sight: which terrified so the *Numidian* horse, that they began presently to dis-band. Fain would *Syphax* have stayed them from flight: and to that end made head in person against the *Romans*; with hope, that his men would be ashamed to leave him. But it fell out unhappily, that he was cast from his horse, which received a wound, and so taken prisoner. Of others that were slain or taken, the multitude was not great. It sufficed, that they forsook the place, and fled, and that their King, upon whom all depended, was in the *Romans* hand. *Masanissa* told *Lælius*, that this victory should make an end of the *Numidian* war, if presently they hasted away to *Cirta* the chief City of the Kingdome; whither he himself desired

to

to be sent before with the Horse, carrying *Syphax* along with him. Hereunto *Lælius* agreed. *Masanissa* coming to *Cirta*, before any newes of the Kings mischance was there arrived, called out the chief of the City to parlee: wherein by many fair promises and threats, but especially by shewing unto them *Syphax* bound, he prevailed so farre, that the gates were forthwith opened unto him; and every one strove to get his favour, that was like to be their King hereafter. Among the rest, Queen *Sophonisba* yeelded her self into his hands, and vehemently besought him, that she might not be delivered up unto the *Romans*. Her youth, and excellent beauty, so commended her suit, that *Masanissa* forthwith granted it; & to make good his promise, marryed her himself that very day: thereby to prevent *Lælius* and *Scipio* from determining otherwise of her, since she was his wife. But *Lælius*, when he came thither, took the matter hainously, so that at first he would have haled her away, together with *Syphax* and other prisoners, and have sent her unto *Scipio*. But being over intreated by *Masanissa*, he suffered the matter to rest a while as he found it, and referred all to *Scipio*'s discretion: to whom he sent away *Syphax* and other captives immediately; following shortly after himself with *Masanissa*, when they had done what was needfull in the Kingdome.

At the comming of *Syphax*, there was great joy in the *Roman* Camp: the mighty Armies which he had lately brought into the field; and his entertainment of *Scipio* and *Asdrubal*, both at one time, when *Rome* and *Carthage* together sought his friendship; with such other commemoration of his past and present fortune, ministring to every one a large argument of discourse. *Scipio* demanded of him, what had moved him, not only to forsake the *Roman* friendship, but to make war upon them, unprovoked. He briefly answered, That his wife had moved him so to do; calling her a Fury, and a pestilent creature: and saying, that *Masanissa* was no wiser than himself, since he had now taken the same woman to his wife, who would shortly draw him to the same courses. Hereat *Scipio* was greatly troubled: and stood in great doubt, lest this perillous woman should deprive him of *Masanissa*, as she had done of *Syphax*. It was not long, ere *Masanissa* and *Lælius* came unto him: both of whom together he lovingly welcommed; and highly commended in publick, for their notable service in this Expedition. Then taking *Masanissa* apart, he brake with him, as touching *Sophonisba*: letting him understand, that the *Romans* had title to her head, and that she was a mischievous enemy of theirs. Wherefore he intreated him to moderate his affections: and not to deface the memory of his great services already done (for which he should be highly rewarded to his own contentment) by committing a great offence upon little reason. *Masanissa* blusht, and wept: and finally promised to be governed by *Scipio*, whom he nevertheless intreated, to think upon his faith given to *Sophonisba*, that she should not be delivered into the *Romans* power. So he departed to his own Tent, where, after some time spent in agony, he called unto him a servant of his that had the custody of his poyson (which Princes used then to have in a readinesse, against all mischances that might make them unwilling to live:) and tempering a potion for *Sophonisba*, sent it unto her with this message; That gladly he would have had her to live with him as his wife: but since they who had power to hinder him of his desire, would not yeeld thereto, he sent her a cup, that should preserve her from falling alive into the hands of the *Romans*; willing her to remember her birth and estate, and accordingly to take order for her self.

At the receit of this Message and Present, she only said; That if her husband had no better token to send unto his new wife, she must accept of this; adding, That she might have dyed more honourably, if she had not wedded so lately before her funerall. And herewithall she boldly drank off the poison. Thus *Livie* reporteth. But *Appian* varies from this; and sets it down agreeably to that which hath been spoken before, concerning the præcontract between *Masanissa* and *Sophonisba*. He saith, That after the taking of *Syphax*, Embassadours from *Cirta* met with *Lælius* and *Masanissa* upon their way thither, yeelding up their City, and the Kings Palace: and that *Sophonisba*, for her own private, sent messengers to excuse her marriage with *Syphax*, as made against her will, by compulsion of those in whose power she was. *Masanissa* readily admitted this excuse; and accepted her to wife. But when *Scipio* had received information from *Syphax*, how cunning in perswasion *Sophonisba* was; and that all her thoughts laboured for the good of *Carthage*; he fell out about her with *Masanissa* at his returne, and challenged her, as a part of the booty belonging to the *Romans*. *Masanissa* said, she

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was his own wife, and unto him betrothed many years before. But *Scipio* would not hear of this: or if it were true, yet he said it was no reason, that *Masanissa* should keep her in possession, as long as it was disputable, unto whom she might appertain. Wherefore he willed him first of all to produce her, and then afterwards to make his claim unto her, wherein he should have no wrong. Hereuithall he sent to fetch her away: and *Masanissa* accompanied the messengers, as it were to deliver her: but making her acquainted with the necessity, gave unto her a cup of poison, wherewith she ended her life, before they came that should have apprehended her. So he shewed unto the *Romans* her dead body, which he royally interred. The sudden violence of *Masanissa* his love, and the ready consent of *Sophonisba* to marry with him: adde not so much credit unto this relation of *Appian*, as doth the want of all other evident cause (which *Livie* notes) of the sudden falling out between him and the *Carthaginians*, under whom he had been trained up, and done them great service. Howsoever it were, *Scipio*, hearing of this tragicall accident, sent for *Masanissa*, and comforted him as well as he could, lest his melancholy should lead him to some inconvenience. Having therefore gently rebuked him for his rashnesse, he brought him forth in presence of the Army: where extolling his noble acts, and shewing how highly he had deserved of the City of *Rome*, he proclaimed him King, and gave unto him a Crown of gold, with other Royall ornaments. This was indeed the ready way to divert his thoughts from the sad remembrance of that which was past, unto the more chearfull contemplation of good fortune, that began to smile upon him. *Lib. 28.*

This was the first time that the *Romans* took upon them to create or proclaim a King. Which honour though *Masanissa* well deserved: yet would not the Title have redounded unto his great benefit; neither should he have been much beholding to them for it, if he had not by their means recovered possession of his Country, together with the greatest part of *Syphax* his Dominions. It seemeth not unlikely, that had he remained a *Neuter* in these wars, and sustained himself with his troup of horse, in such sort as he did before the comming of the *Romans*; he might nevertheless have recovered his proper inheritance, by the love of his own subjects without other help, when *Syphax* had once or twice been vanquished. As for the inlargement of his Kingdome, it was not more than he deserved: neither were the *Romans* then in case, to make a conquest of *Numidia* for themselves; neither could they have wished a fitter opportunity, than of such a man, upon whom to bestow it, that was their assured friend, and passable withall among the *Numidians*, as being (for the *Masæsyli* were a *Numidian* Tribe) a great Prince of the same Nation. Yet this liberality of the *Romans*, was noised abroad as very glorious: & the *Romans* themselves, in a politick sort of gravity, took highly upon them; as if even their saluting him by the name of *King*, had been a matter of great consequence. He thrived indeed well after it: and by their maintenance waxed mighty in times following, incroaching upon his neighbours on all sides; but most of all upon the State of *Carthage*, whereat they were little displeased. Hence it grew that *Vermina* the son of *Syphax* (of whom we shall shortly speak more) which held some pieces of his fathers Kingdome, desiring friendship of the *Romans*, & promising by all means to deserve their love, requested therewithall, that they would call him *King*. But though it were so, that never any before him had made this a matter of suit: yet the *Roman* Senate was *puntilious* herein, and answered very gravely, That it was not their custome to give the honour of that appellation, save only unto such Kings, as had greatly deserved of their City. Thus they made it a matter of State, and in processe of time grew so proud of this their imaginary prerogative, that they imputed as a singular benefit unto Kings, that no way depended upon them, the salutation by * *that name*, though it were not accompanied with any other favour or profit thence redounding. *Liv. lib. 31.* * *Cæsar. Comm. lib. 1.*

§. XIX.

The Carthaginians desire Truce, and break it.

THe *Carthaginians* were extreamly dismayed, when they heard of the great calamity, that was befalne their good friend *Syphax*, and understood that *Masanissa* their mortall enemy, had got possession of his Kingdome. To increase their fear, *Scipio* returned again to *Tunes* in view of their City: where he made an end of that Fortification, which he had begun at his last being there. The *Carthaginians*

naus had neither forces, nor courage, to withstand him: but their hearts so failed them, that they sent forth unto them thirty Embassadours, Princes of the city, which were their Privie Councel, to make suit for peace. These being admitted into the presence of *Scipio*, did not only prostrate themselves on the ground; but kissed the * feet of him, and of those that sate in Councell with him.

* Excerpt. è Polyb. lib. 15. Liv. lib. 30.

Answerable to this base adoration was their speech that followed. They confessed themselves to have unjustly broken the Peace between them and *Rome*; and to have deserved whatsoever punishment it should please the *Romans* to inflict upon them. Yet they humbly besought *Scipio* and the rest, that in common regard of those misfortunes, whereto all men are subject, they would shew mercy unto the City of *Carthage*, and let it remain, as a monument of their clemency; which, by the folly of her Citizens, had now twice deserved to be overthrown. Herewithall they did not forgot, to lay the blame upon *Hannibal*: who without their appointment had begun the War; and was maintained in his doings by a Faction, without the good liking of the whole City. By this it appears, that these Embassadours were no *Barchines*: but rather, that they were *Hanno*, and the choice of his company; who had now their long desired work in hand, of suing unto the *Romans* for peace. Whatsoever they were, it must needs be that they were most insolent men over those that were subject unto their power, for they would not have made such adoration to the *Romans* in their own necessity unlesse they themselves had expected the like, where they had the advantage.

It was not unknown to *Scipio*, or to his assistants, in what poor case the city of *Rome* then was; and how unable to defray the charges of continuing the war. Neither were the *Carthaginians*, notwithstanding the losse of so many Armies, in such ill case, as the *Romans* themselves had very lately been. For they had money enough, wherewith to wage more men: they had a City far stronger than *Rome*; and they had the Sea free. But they wanted the *Roman* resolution: and therefore distrusted the wals of *Carthage*; though *Utica*, a weaker City, had all this while held out against *Scipio*, and could not yet be forced by him and his army, though so often victorious in the field. *Scipio* therefore accepted their submission and told them, That though he came into *Africk*, to make a conquest, and not Peace: yet having the Conquest as it were in his hand, he would not deny to grant them the Peace which they desired; for thereby should all Nations understand, that the people of *Rome* did follow the rule of Justice, both in making war, and in concluding it. The Conditions which he imposed upon them, were these; That they should render up unto him all the prisoners that they had taken, together with all *Renegadoes* and fugitive slaves: That they should withdraw their Armies out of *Italy* and *Gaule*: That they should not meddle in *Spain*, nor yet in any Iland between *Italy* and *Africk*: That they should deliver up all their ships of war, save twenty; and that they should pay a great summe of money, with certain hundred thousand bushels of wheat and barley. To consider of these Articles, he gave them three dayes: and when they had approved them, he granted a Truce; that they might send Embassadours unto the *Roman* Senate.

This done, *Masanissa* was dismissed, and went home into his Kingdome, as if the war had been already at an end. *Syphax* was a little before sent with *Lælius* unto *Rome*: where the fame of these victories filled men with joy, and gave hope, that the long endured miseries would be shortly at an end. Wherefore all the Temples were set open; and an holy day appointed for thansgiving and supplication to their gods. *Lælius* was accompanied with Embassadors from King *Masanissa*: who gratulating the happy successe of the *Romans* in their *African* war, and giving thanks unto the Senate for the benefits done by *Scipio* unto their Master, made request for the *Numidians*, such as were now his subjects and prisoners in *Rome*, that they might be bestowed upon him, who by rendring them to liberty, should do an act very plausible, that would make him gracious among his people in the beginning of his reign. The *Roman* Senate were not behinde with *Masanissa* in complement: but shewing themselves to be highly pleased with all that *Scipio* had done, and should do for him, they called him King again; released his *Numidians* that were captives; and sent him two purple Cassocks, that had each of them one gold button, with such other presents, as in time of their poverty might serve to testifie their good will. Scarcely were these and *Lælius* gone from *Rome*, when the newes came, that Embassadors from *Carthage* were arrived to desire peace. These Embassadors

were

were not admitted into the City, but were lodged without: untill *Lælius* being sent for, came back from *Ostia*, to be present when their demands were to be heard. Then was audience given them in the Temple of *Bellona*; that stood in the Suburbs. The errand of these Embassadours, was peace, but the meaning of them and of their City, was onely to win time, and get respite for war; untill *Hannibal* and *Mago* should come out of *Italy*, either to chase the *Romans* out of *Africk*, or to obtain peace for *Carthage*, by terrour of their great names and Armies, upon more easie conditions. Wherefore they made an idle discourse of the League, that was concluded between them and *Lutatius Catulus*, at the end of the former war. This League they said, all things well considered, did still remain in force: neither had there since been any war at all, between the people of *Rome* and the *Carthaginians*. For it was only *Hannibal*, that without any leave from *Carthage*, had of his own head besieged and razed the Town of *Saguntum*: and after that adventured in like sort, without Commission, to pass the *Alpes*, and trouble (as he had done) the quiet of *Italy*. This being so, their Message was none other, than to desire, that the League before spoken of, made in the time of *Catulus*, might hereafter stand in force; as indeed it hitherto did, and ought to do. The Senators had cause to wonder at this tale, hearing these Embassadours make (as it were) a jest of a warre, that had been so terrible. Wherefore they asked them a great many questions, concerning that peace made by *Lutatius*, and other passages following between the two Cities. But they excused themselves, by their age: (for they were all young men) and said, That those things were beyond their knowledge and remembrance. Forthwith it appeared, That all was but colluſion, and that they sought no other than to gain time, untill they might repair the war. Wherefore they were sent home in company of *Lælius*, without any conclusion at all of peace; and, in effect, without answer. This notwithstanding, we find in *Polybius*, That the Senate received advertisement from *Scipio*, of that which had passed between him and the *Carthaginians* in this Treaty of peace, approved the Conditions by him propounded, and gave him licence thereupon, to proceed unto conclusion. This may with good reason be beleeved, since it was not unknown, that if the war continued, all these goodly hopes must rest upon the most uncertain issue of one battel between *Hannibal* and *Scipio*: wherein if fortune should be averse to them, their forces in *Africk* were no better than quite lost. *Excerpt. è Polyb. lib. 15.*

Matters thus hanging in suspence, before the *Carthaginian* Embassadours came back from *Rome*, a Fleet out of *Sicil*, wherein were two hundred ships of burden, and thirty Gallies, being bound for *Africk*, to victuall the *Roman* Camp, was over-taken by foul-weather at Sea, and hardly escaping wrack, was dispersed, and driven aground in divers parts of the Bay of *Carthage*, even in view, and under command of the City. There was at that time, as we find in *Appian*, and may gather out of *Polybius*, a great dearth of victuals in *Carthage*, which caused the people to cry out upon their Magistrates, that they should not let such a booty escape them, saying, that the danger of famine was greater and worse, than of breaking Truce. Whether it were so that hunger urged them, or that they yielded to their own greedy desires: the multitude in *Carthage* understood (as it seems) that all this discourse of Peace in hand, was no better than meer mockery, and therefore cared not for observation of particular points, when they meant deceit in the whole. It was the manner in *Carthage*, as likewise in *Alexandria*, for all the rascality, together with women and boyes, to be medling in uproars: the clamors of the boyes being in such tumults no lesse violent than of the men. Wherefore it is no marvail, if little regard were had of reason, or of honour, in any such commotion. A Fleet was sent out under *Asdrubal*, to gather up the dispersed *Roman* ships of burden (for the Gallies, by force of Oars, recovered the station whereto their camp adjoyned) and bring them into *Carthage*; which was done. *Scipio* was hereat much offended: not only for the loss; and for that the Town was thereby relieved; but for that by this breach of Truce, he foresaw the intention of the *Carthaginians* to renew the war, and put him to more trouble. Wherefore he sent Embassadours unto them, both to require satisfaction for the injury done; and to deterre them from entertaining any other hope, than in the peace which they had so much desired. These gave the *Carthaginians* to understand, That Letters were come from *Rome* unto *Scipio*, with allowance to conclude the Peace; upon those conditions which he had propounded. But (say they) *we hold it strange, That ye, who so lately have cast your selves to the ground before us, & kissed our feet* *App. de bell. Punico.* *Excerpt. è Polyb. lib. 15.*

after

after an unusuall manner of humility, confessing your selves to have perfidiously broken the League that was between us, and thereby to have deserved such punishment as is due unto Rebels; should so soon forget what ye then uttered, and run headlong again into the same crimes, for which ye acknowledged your selves worthy to be destroyed, having only recourse unto our mercy. We are not ignorant, that it is the confidence which ye repose in Hannibal, *that thus emboldens you. Yet were it not amisse, that ye should consider, how long he hath been pent up in a corner of* Italy, *among the* Brutians; *where he is in a manner besieged, and unable to stir: so that ye are like to find his help wanting in your greatest need. Or let it be supposed, that he were now in* Africk, *and ready to give us battail: yet should it well agree with your wisdome, to doubt what might befall; remembring that he is a man, and not invincible. Now if it should happen that he were overcome, what refuge have ye left unto your selves against hereafter? What gods will ye either swear by, to be beleeved, or call upon in your misery? What words, and lamentable gesture will ye henceforth use, to move compassion? Surely ye have already wasted all your force of perswasion, and shall not again deceive us, if ye refuse the grace, whereof at this present ye are capable.* It is no marvell though the *Carthaginians* were angry, when they heard themselves upbraided with the base demeanour of their Embassadors. For it was not the general opinion of the city, that the Truce was broken by themselves: though it had pleased *Hanno*, or such as were of his faction, to gratifie the *Romans* with all manner of submission; and to renounce not only their hope of the future, but all justification of matters past. And indeed it seems, that the *Roman* Embassadours were very much delighted, in the rehearsall of that point which was yeelded unto them, as knowing that thereon depended the justice of the quarrell. But the *Carthaginians* took this in so ill part, that hardly they could retrain from doing violence unto the men, who had used unto them such insolent speeches. Yet the fury of the multitude was in some sort appeased; either by *Hanno*, whom *Appian*, (I know not why) cals *Hanno the Great*: or by the very reverence, due unto the place of those that had uttered such liberall words. So they were dismissed in friendly sort, although it were without answer to their Proposition. There were also two gallies appointed for their safe convoy home; though with little intent of good unto their persons. *Asdrubal* was then in the mid-way, as men sailed from *Carthage* towards *Utica*. He, whether only desirous to please the multitude, of whose disposition he was informed, or whether directed by publick order to cut off these Embassadours in their way homeward, lay waiting for them behind a Cape, that was a little beyond the mouth of the river *Bagradas*. Their Convoy having brought them on the way, as farre as to the mouth of *Bagradas*, wished them a good voyage; and so took leave of them, as if they had been then in safety, since the *Roman* Camp was even in sight. The Embassadours took this in ill part; not as fearing any danger toward, but thinking themselves too much neglected, forasmuch as their attendants did so abruptly leave them. But no sooner had they doubled the Cape, than *Asdrubal* fell upon them, in such manner, as they might well discern his purpose; which was to have stemmed them. They rowed hard therefore: and being in a *Quinquereme*, that had more banks of Oares, than had any Gallie of *Asdrubal*, they slipt away, and made him over-shoot himself. Yet he gave them chase, and had well-near surprised them. But they discovered some *Roman* Companies on the shoar over against them, and therefore adventured to runne their Vessell aground: whereby they saved their own lives, though a great part of their company were slain, or hurt. This practice of the *Carthaginians* was inexcuseable: and for the same cause perhaps were the Citizens heartned in such a dishonourable attempt, by those that were desirous to continue the war; that thereby they might be driven to studie nothing else, than how to get the victory, as having none other hope remaining. Yet likely it is, that the same fear, which had caused them to make such earnest suit for peace, would also have caused them to be better advised, than thus to abandon all hope of Treaty; had they not been given to understand, that *Hannibal* was already landed in *Africk*, in whom they reposed no small confidence, but verily perswaded themselves, that he would change their fortune, and teach the *Romans* to hold themselves contented with more easie conditions, than were those that *Scipio*, in the pride of his fortune, had of late propounded.

§. XX.

§. XX.

In what sort Hanniball *spent the time after the battel of* Metaurus: *The doings of* Mago *in* Italy. Hannibal *and* Mago *called out of* Italy. *How the* Romans *were diversly affected by* Hannibals *departure.*

EVer since the loss of that battell at *Metaurus*, *Hannibal* remained in the Countrey of the *Brutians*, waiting for another supply from *Carthage*. The *Roman* Consuls that succeeded unto *Claudius* and *Livius*, by whom *Asdrubal* was overcome and slain, were contented to be quiet all their year. Neither did *Licinius* the Colleague of *Scipio*, ought worthy of remembrance against *Hannibal*, being hindred by the pestilence that was in his Army. *Sempronius* the Consul, who followed *Licinius*; and *Cn. Servilius Capio*, who followed *Sempronius*, were earnestly bent to have done somewhat: but their diligence was in a manner fruitless. In some skirmishes with *Hannibal*, they had the better; in some the worse: and a few poor Towns they got from him, as it were by stealth; his care being more to preserve his Army, than to keep those places that were weak.

The *Romans* had at this time so many great pieces of work in hand, that their chief enemy was become not the chief part of their care. Their thoughts were mainly bent upon *Africk*, wherein they were at no small charges to maintain the Army, which (as was hoped) should bring the War to a short and happy conclusion. They stood nevertheless in much fear of *Mago*, the brother of *Hannibal*: who took exceeding pains among the *Ligurians* and *Gaules* to raise an Army, wherewith to kindle anew the War in *Italy*, that began to wax cold. *Mago* solicited also the *Hetrurians*, and found them so ready to stir in his behalf, that if he could have entred their Country strong, it might have proved no less needfull for *Scipio* to returne home out of *Africk*, than shortly it was for *Hannibal* to make speed unto the defence of *Carthage*. These dangers caused the *Romans* to imploy one of their Consuls or Proconsuls, with an Army, among the *Hetrurians*; another among the *Gaules*; and a third among the *Ligurians*: forasmuch as it was uncertain, upon which side *Mago* would break out. Being thus busied, it is no wonder though they forbore to overcharge *Hannibal* with any great power.

As for *Mago*, when things were in some readiness for his setting forwards, he met in the Country of the *Insubrians*, which is about *Milan*, with *M. Cornelius* the *Roman* Proconsul, and *P. Quintilius Varrus* one of the Prætors. With these he fought a battell, wherein though his vertue shewed it self worthy of his Father and Brethren; yet his fortune was *Carthaginian*. The fight continued a long while doubtfull; in such sort that the *Roman* Commanders began to distrust the issue. Wherefore *Quintilius* the Prætor, taking unto him all the *Roman* Horse, thought to have shaken the Enemies to pieces. The Legions at the same time gave a loud shout: & strained themselves hard, as if at that brunt the victory should have been carryed before them. But *Mago* opposed his Elephants to the Horse: the service of those beasts being fitter for such use, than against the squadrons of Foot. The figure, sent, and braying of these Elephants, did so affright the Horse, that they started aside, and were scattered over the field; their Riders being unable to manage them. Hereby the *Numidians* got advantage upon them: whose manner of fight was more available against those that were loose, than against the troups that were close and thick. Then fell the Elephants upon the Legions: which entertained them after the accustomed manner, with a shour of darts, and killed four of them; causing all the rest to give back. This notwithstanding the same Legions were so vehemently pressed by the Enemy; that more for shame of running away, than by any great force to make resistance, they held their ground. The Proconsul therefore brought up those forces, which he had kept unto the last, to succour where need should most require. Against these, *Mago* imployed some of his *Gaules*, whom he had in readiness for the like occasion. But the *Gaules* discharged their parts very ill. They were soon beaten off, and recoiled so hastily, that they brought fear upon all the rest. When *Mago* saw that his men began to shrink, He put himself in the head of his Army; and held them so well to it, that keeping their order, they made a fair Retrait, with their faces toward the Enemy. But at length he received a grievous wound in his thigh; whereof shortly after he dyed. He was taken up, and carryed out of danger by some of his owne

men: the rest of them, after little further resistance, provided every one for himself: So the *Romans* obtained victory, not without great cost: as purchasing the death of about five thousand enemies, with the losse of two thousand and three hundred of the Prætors Army, besides those that dyed of the Proconsuls Legions; also besides divers Colonels, Captains, and Gentlemen of mark that fell in this hot piece of service. Neither were there any prisoners taken; whereby it may seem that the Enemies did not fall to rout, before they had recovered some ground that might assure them from pursuit. However it were, this victory would have much imported for the assurance of *Italy*, if the State of *Carthage* could longer have permitted these valiant sonnes of *Amilcar* to abide therein. But *Mago* with-drawing himself (by easie journeys, because of his wound) into *Liguria*, found there Embassadours from *Carthage* attending him: who gave him to understand the pleasure of their City, which was, That both he and *Hannibal* should presently repair home with all their forces; not staying any longer to think upon the conquest of *Italy*, since *Carthage* it self was ready to be lost. He obeyed this Commandement, and imbarqued shortly his Army; but dyed of his wound about *Sardinia*, in the way homewards.

About the same time *Hannibal* received the like command from *Carthage*, to returne into *Africk*. He heard it with great impatience; gnashing his teeth, and groaning, and hardly keeping in the tears, that were ready to burst out, whilest the Embassadors were delivering their errand. When their message was done; He told them, That *this was yet plain dealing. For*, said He, *They that now directly bid me come home, have long agoe done their best to hale me out of* Italy; *though more closely and crookedly they went to work, by stopping the supply that should have enabled me to manage the War here.* Scipio *therefore shall not need to brag, that he hath drawn me home by the heels: it is* Hanno *that hath wrought this noble feat; & overwhelmed the house of the* Barchines, *for lack of other means to do it, with the ruine of* Carthage. He had before prepared a Fleet in readinesse, doubting that which after came to pass: wherein he imbarqued, besides his own men, as many of the *Italians* as were content to be partakers of his fortune. Many there were, that shrunk back from him, and refused to do service in this expedition: of whom, such as he could take, he slew; not sparing those that fled into the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, which had been held an inviolable Sanctuary unto that day. He was indeed then wholly transported with rage; and departed out of *Italy* no less passionate, than men are wont to be, when they leave their own Countreys to go into exile. He looked back unto the shore: accusing both gods and men; and cursing his own dulnesse, in that he had not led his Army from *Canna*, hot and bloudyed as it was, directly unto the wals of *Rome*. With such vexation of spirit He quitted the possession of *Italy*: wherein he had lived almost half his time.

If it could have been foretold unto the *Romans*, in the first beginning of this Warre, with what exceeding joy in times following they should entertain the newes of *Hannibal* his departure out of *Italy*: they would (I think) lesse earnestly have pressed the *Carthaginians* to send him over thither. When sure advertisement was brought unto the City, that *Hannibal* was gone with all his Army: an Holy-day was appointed for thanksgiving unto their gods; and extraordinary great sacrifices publickly made, for joy of such happy tydings. Yet old *Q. Fabius* was of opinion, That the danger did still remain the same, though the place were changed: for that *Hannibal* at his comming into *Africk*, would find *P. Scipio* other manner of work, than he had been troubled with at any time before; and would do greater matters in his own Country, than ever he was able to performe abroad in a land of strangers. The remove of the War from their own doors, and the conceit of that victory for which they hoped; was enough to make them presume further, than at other times they would have done. When therefore the *Saguntine* Embassadours brought unto them a great mass of Gold and Silver, together with some Agents of the *Carthaginians* taken by them in *Spain*: only the *Carthaginian* prisoners were accepted: the treasure was rendred back unto the *Saguntines* that had surprised it. Upon like confidence of the future, a little before this, order was taken for the repayment of those moneys that had bin borrowed in time of more necessity from private men. Hence also proceeded the severe chastisement laid upon those 12. Colonies, that for want either of means or of good will, had refused to give aid to the *Romans*. They were commanded, and inforced to give double the number of Foot to that which they had

had been wont to set out for the Wars, with a proportion of Horse answerable to the very most of their ability. So confident were the *Romans* grown (though their wealth were not as yet suitable to the greatness of their spirit) upon the good success of the battell at *Metaurus*, and the hopes which they repoſed in *Scipio*. All this notwithstanding, when they considered more nearly of that which might happen: and were informed that the terrible Army, whereof *Italy* had been few daies since discharged, was landed safe in *Africk*: they began to revolve a thousand fearfull matters in their heads, and to stand in doubt, lest *Q. Fabius* (who died about the same time) would be found a true Prophet. For, bethinking themselves of that which might comfort them in their hopes: they found in the victories against *Syphax* & *Asdrubal* no specialty of such great worth, as might promise the like success against another manner of Generall, followed by other manner of men, than were either of those two. The *Numidian* King had been wont to bring into the field a rascall multitude of half skullions, that were good for nothing; being himself a fit Captain for such Souldiers. Likewise *Asdrubal* the son of *Gesco*, was a Commander well thought of by the *Carthaginian* Senate, but otherwise, one, that in the field was only good at saving himself by a swift retrait. But now there came an Army of men, hardened from their childhood with incredible patience, fleshed many hundred times in *Roman* bloud, and wearing the spoils, not only of good Souldiers, but of brave Captains, by them slain. Such talk used the people of *Rome*, saying, That *Scipio* was like to meet in battell with many that had slain *Roman* Prætors, yea, and Consuls with their own hands; with many that had been first in getting over the Trenches of severall *Roman* Camps, or in winning the tops of wals at the siege of towns; briefly, that he should now be opposed by an Army, as good as ever had served in war, and following the dreadfull name of *Hannibal*.

§. XXI.

Hannibal *in Africk prepares to fight with* Scipio; *treats with him about peace in vain; loseth a battell at Nedagara, and perswades the Carthaginians to sue for peace. Of the peace granted from Rome to Carthage.*

HAnnibal disembarqued his Army at *Leptis*, almost an hundred miles from *Carthage*, Eastward from the Headland of *Mercurie*, and somewhat more than one degree to the South. He was ill provided of Horse; which it was not easie for him to transport out of *Italy*. Therefore it behoved him to land, as he did, somewhat farre from the enemy; that he might furnish himself of these and the like needfull helps against the day of battell. From *Leptis* he passed on to *Adrumetum*, and so along through the In-land Country gathering friends unto him by the way. *Tychæus* a *Numidian* Prince, and familiar friend of *Syphax*, was said to have in those dayes the best Horses of service, that were to be found in *Africk*. Him therefore did *Hannibal* allure unto his party: making him understand, that if the *Romans* got the victory, it should be easie for *Masanissa*, by their countenance and help to oppresse both him, and as many other of the neighbour Princes as hindred his prospect. This argument, and the fame of him that used it, prevailed with *Tychæus*; who shortly after brought unto the *Carthaginian* two thousand Horse. *Appian* further addes, That *Mezetullus*, (the same who had made himself Protector over *Masanissa* his Cousins; and was Head of a Family, and adverse to the *Numidian* Kings of that race) brought to *Hannibal* another thousand Horse: as likewise, that *Vermina* the Son of *Syphax*, holding a great part of his Fathers Kingdome, began at the same time to assail the places that yeelded obedience to *Masanissa*. This *Vermina*, as we find in *Livie*, came with more than 16. thousand men (for he lost more than so many) to succour *Hannibal* when it was too late.

The *Carthaginians* were at this time in such hard estate, or (at least) so impatient of the state wherein they were; that they could not attend the leisure of those preparations, which would have made the victory assured. When they considered the worth of *Hannibal*, and the greatnesse of his Acts: it offended them to think, that they had been so base as to make humble suit unto the *Romans* for peace; whilest they had such a brave Champion alive, to maintain their cause by Warre. But when as they bethought themselves of their own sufferings, which, for want of *Roman* magnanimity to endure

them appeared greater than indeed they were: then cryed they out earnestly that it was no time to linger, but presently to fight; that so they might see an end of these troubles, either good or bad: and to this purpose they sent their Mandates to *Hannibal*: requiring him without any further protraction, to do what he could doe out of hand. *Hannibal* made answer, That they were his good Lords, and had power to dispose of him and his Army: but since he was Generall of their forces, He thought it reasonable that they should suffer him to do as a Generall ought to do; and to choose his own times. Nevertheless, to give them satisfaction, He made great marches to *Zama*; and there encamped.

The breach of Truce made by the *Carthaginians*: The violence done to his Embassadors: and the news of *Hannibal* his being landed in *Africk*, made *Scipio* to understand the resolution of the *Carthaginians*, which was, not to yeeld unto any conditions unprofitable for themselves, as long as they were able to make resistance. Wherefore he sent unto *Masanissa*: and informed him of all that was fallen out; praying him to come away with speed, and lay all other businesse apart. Ten *Roman* Companies, of Horse and Foot together, *Masanissa* had with him; that were lent unto him by *Scipio*, to do him service in the establishing and inlarging of his Kingdome. But he well understood, that those and many more besides all his own forces, would but little avail him; if *Hannibal* should drive the *Romans* out of *Africk*. Wherefore taking such order as he could upon the sudden, for the safety of his own kingdome; with four thousand Horse, and six thousand Foot, he made all haste unto *Scipio*.

Soon after the beginning of these new troubles, the *Carthaginian* Embassadours that had been at *Rome*, returned back under the conduct of *Lelius* and *Fulvius*: who brought them safe into the *Roman* Camp. There when they arrived & understood what had lately passed, especially how their Citizens had behaved themselves towards the *Roman* Embassadors: they made little doubt, how their own heads should answer for such notorious outrage. To confirm them in this opinion:

M. Babius one of the late Embassadors that had bin in *Carthage*, being left by *Scipio* to take charge of the Camp, laid hands upon them and detained them; sending word unto his Generall, who was gone abroad to make War in the Countrey, that he had them in his power, and that now the *Carthaginians* might be repaid in their own Coyn, for the injury by them lately done. *Scipio* was very glad to hear of this; and commanded *Babius* to use them with all possible courtesie, and send them safe home. By thus doing, He brake the hearts of his enemies, & caused them to acknowledge themselves (which was a great victory) far less honourable than the *Romans*. This notwithstanding, he made more cruel War upon them than before: taking their Towns by force; and putting them to sack, without hearkning to any Composition. It was the manner of the *Romans*, as often as they took a Town by assault, to put all that came in their way to the sword, whatsoever they were, without regard. This they did, to make themselves terrible: and the better to work such impression in the minds of those, with whom they had to do, they used oftentimes to kill the very Dogs and other Beasts, that ran athwart them in the streets; hewing their bodies asunder: as men delighted in shedding of bloud. This being their practice at other times: it is likely that now they omitted no piece of cruelty; when they meant to give proof of their vehement indignation, and revengefull minds, for the injuries received. Hence it partly grew, that the *Carthaginians* were so earnest in pressing *Hannibal* to fight.

Excerpt. è Polyb. lib. 10.

Hannibal being incamped at *Zama*, sent forth his Scouts and Spies, to discover where the *Romans* lay, what they were doing, and as much as might be, of their demeanour. Some of these were taken & brought unto *Scipio*: who in stead of trussing them up, gave them free leave to view his Camp at pleasure, appointing one to conduct them up and down, and shew them whatsoever they desired. This done, He gave them leave to depart; & sent them away safe unto their Generall. *Hannibal* understanding this, admired the bravery and courage of his enemy: with whom on the sudden he grew desirous to have an Enter-view, and personall conference; and signified so much unto him by a messenger sent of purpose. Of this motion the *Roman* liked well: and returned answer, that He would meet him shortly in a place convenient. The next day *Masanissa* came with his Army: whom *Scipio* taking with him, removed unto a Town called *Nedagara*; near unto which he sate down, in a place otherwise commodious, and close

by

by a water that might opportunely serve his Camp. Thence he sent word unto the *Carthaginian*, That the time and place did fitly serve, if he had ought to say to him. *Hannibal* thereupon removed from *Zama*, and came within four miles of the enemy: where he incamped well to his own good liking in all things else; excepting that his men were driven to take much pains, in fetching their water somewhat farre off. Then was order taken for their meeting: and the two Generals each of them with a troup of Horse, rode forth of their Camps, till they came unto a piece of ground; which was before well searched for fear of ambush. There they will their followers to stand off: and themselves with each of them one Interpreter, encountred each other in the mid-way between their Companies. They remained a while silent, viewing one the other with mutuall admiration. Then began the *Carthaginian*, saluting the *Roman*, to deliver his minde to this effect: That it had been better both for *Carthage*, and *Rome*, if they could have limited & contained their ambition within the shores of *Africk* and of *Italy*; for that the Countreys of *Sicil* and of *Spain*, about which their fathers and themselves had striven, were no sufficient recompence for so many Fleets as had been lost, and of so much bloud as had been shed, in making those costly purchases. But since things past could not be recalled: He said, That it was meet for them to consider, unto what extreme dangers their own Cities had been exposed, by the greedy desire of extending their Empires abroad; and that it was even time for them now at length to make an end of their obstinate contention, and pray the gods to endue them with greater wisdome hereafter. And to such peaceable disposition, He affirmed that his own years, and long tryall of Fortune, both good and evill, had made him inclinable. But much he feared, that *Scipio*, by want of the like experience, might rather fixe his minde upon uncertain hopes, than upon a contemplation of that mutability, whereto all humane affairs are subject. *Yet* (said he) *mine own example may peradventure suffice to teach thee moderation. For I am that same* Hannibal, *who after my victory at Cannæ, won the greatest part of* Italy: *and devised with my self, what I should do with your City of* Rome, *which I hoped verily to have taken. Once I brought mine army to your wals, as thou hast since brought thine to ours of* Carthage: *but now, see the change! I stand here entreating thee to grant us peace. This may serve as a document of Fortunes instability. I have fought with thy father* Scipio: *He was the first of the* Roman *Generals that ever met me in the field. I did then little think, that the time would come, that I should have such business, as now at the present, with his son. But this is even one of Fortunes pageants, whereof she hath many. And thou maist have experience of the like in thy self, who knowes how soon? Think upon* M. Atilius: *If he would have hearkned unto such perswasions, as I now use to thee, he might have returned home to* Rome *an happy man, and so maist thou doe now, if any reasonable offer will give thee satisfaction. How saist thou? Canst thou be contented, that all* Spain, Sicil, Sardinia, *and whatsoever Ilands else are situate between* Italy *and* Africk *be abandoned by the* Carthaginians *for ever, and left unto the* Romans, *to bear dominion therein? Thou shalt have glory enough by effecting thus much: and the* Romans *may well be glad of such a bargain. As for us, our own quiet shall henceforth give us contentment. And the same contentment of ours, shall make us faithfully observe the peace with you. But if thou thinkest all too little, I must desire thee to ponder well how great an hazzard thou must undergoe for obtaining a very little more, than that which thou maist have without contention. It is now in thine own power to lay hold upon good fortune, if it please thee: stay but untill to morrow night, and thou maist take such fortune as it please the gods. The issue of battail is uncertain, and many times beguileth expectation. Men and steel we shall each of us bring into the field; but of the victory neither of us hath assurance. Let us therefore without more adoe make peace. And do not tell me that some false-hearted Citizens of ours dealt fraudulently of late in the like treaty: It is I* Hannibal *that now desire peace with thee, which I would never do, if I thought it not expedient for my countrey. And thinking it expedient, I will alwayes maintain it, like as I have maintained, unto my power, as long as the gods did not envie me, the war by me begun.*

Hereunto *Scipio* made answer, That it was no ambitious desire of ruling in *Sicil* and in *Spain* which had moved the *Romans* to enter into this or the former War: but that the defence of the *Mamertines*, and afterwards of the *Saguntines*, their confederates, had caused them to put on those armes; which the gods by the finall issue of the Wars had approved, and would approve to be most just. As for the mutability of Fortune, he

he said, that he was not thereof ignorant; and that without any note of insolence or overweening, he might well refuse the conditions offered. *For was it not plain that all these Countreys, with which the* Carthaginians *now so willingly departed, were already won from the* Romans? *If*, said he, *these conditions had bin propounded whilest as yet ye detained some part of* Italy, *they might peradventure not have been rejected. But as the case now stands, I see no reason why I should remit unto you any one piece of these my former demands, to which the* Carthaginians *have yeelded already, and thought me to be gracious in dealing so moderately. Rather I say, that the injuries which they have done me since, have made them unworthy of obtaining peace upon so friendly terms. But I cannot blame thee,* Hannibal, *though thou wouldst be glad to make thy Citizens understand, from how much of their burden they are by thy means eased. Only thou must think, that in like sort it concerns me in honour not to let them be gainers or savers by the wrongs which they have done of late. Thou knowest well, that besides those offers which thou here hast made, they were well contented to restore unto us ransome-free, all prisoners that they have of ours, to pay us five thousand talents, to deliver up their Gallies, and to deliver hostages for assurance of fair dealing. And must they now be discharged of all this by their breach of truce, their spoiling of our fleet, and their violating our imbassadours? Not so. But if they can be contented, besides all this, to make such amends as I shall require, for these injuries newly done; then will I take advice with my counsell what answer to give you; otherwise you may even prepare for war, and blame your own selves for that I have denied you peace.*

Hereupon they brake off: and returned each to his own Camp, with no other newes than war; bidding their Souldiers prepare for a battell, wherein should be decided the quarrell between *Rome* and *Carthage*. The next morning at break of day they issued into the field: a notable march, and such as hath very seldome been found; whether we regard the Generals, their Armies, the two Cities that contended, or the great importance of the battell at hand. *Scipio* ordered his men after the *Roman* manner: placing first the *Hastati*, divided into their Maniples, or small Battalions, with a reasonable distance between them: Not far behind these followed the *Principes*, likewise divided; and so after them the *Triarii*. But herein *Scipio* altered a little the ordinary custome of the *Romans*: He placed not the Maniples of his *Principes* opposite unto the void spaces between the *Hastati*, that so the *Hastati*, as was usuall, might fall back between the *Principes*; but he placed them directly one behind another, as it were, in File. This he did, because of the Elephants, whereof *Hannibal* had many. For of those beasts the danger was lesse whilest there was open way to let them through. Therefore he took such order, that when they had passed through the spaces between the first Battalions, they should not come upon the *Principes* in Front. Unto his *Velites*, or those of the light armature that were to begin the fight, he gave direction, that when they found themselves to be overcharged, either by the Enemies, or (which was most to be feared) by the Elephants, they should run back through those lanes that were between the Maniples; and that those which were swiftest, or otherwise best able, should continue on their flight, until they were got behind all their own Army; thereby leaving room enough unto those that were wounded, or cast behind, to save themselves on the void ground, that was betwixt the first and second, or the second and third battels, without cloying up the way between the Maniples, which he desired to keep open. His *Italian* horse he placed in the left wing, under *C. Lælius*. In the right wing was *Masanissa* with his *Numidians*. He himself riding up and down, exhorted his men to do valiantly; using words, not many, but forcible. He bade them remember what they had atchieved, since their comming into *Africk*. He told them, that if this day were theirs, the Warre was at an end: and that their victory in this War, should make them Lords of all the World, for that afterwards, none would be found able to resist them. On the contrary, if they were beaten, he asked them whither they would flie. They were far from home, yea, and far from their own standing Camp: neither was there any place in *Africk*, that would give them shelter: if they fell into the *Carthaginians* hands, they knew what to expect. And therefore there was none other way, but death or victory: unlesse they would live like wretched slaves under most mercilesse enemies. In such necessity, he said, that they which consider themselves to be, and take resolution answerable thereunto, have never been known to fail of getting victory.

Hannibal on the other side placed his Elephants, that were more than fourscore, in Front

Front of his Battell. Next behind these, he made his Vantguard all of Mercenaries, *Ligurians, Gaules, Baleares*, and *Moores*. Then followed his Battell, which was of *Carthaginians* & *Africans*, more interessed in the quarrel than were those Mercenaries; though not so good souldiers: but to help (if it might be) their want of courage, they had with them four thousand *Macedonians*, lately sent from King *Philip*. More than the space of a furlong behind these came his Rereward, consisting of those brave Souldiers which had served him in his *Italian* wars; and were the only men, in whom he reposed any confidence. Opposite to *Lælius*, in his own right wing he bestowed the *Carthaginian* Horse. *Tycheus* and the *Numidians* he placed in his left wing against *Masanissa*. He was indeed farre too weak for the Enemy in Horse, both in number and in goodnesse. For *Tycheus* and *Metzetullus* had no more than three thousand; and those not so well exercised, as were the four thousand of *Masanissa*. The *Carthaginians* also were no more, nor none other than such as could be levied in the hast of a few dayes; and the remainder of those, that had of late been often vanquished, and accustomed to flye. But it was no time for *Hannibal*, neither had he perhaps authority, to make these his companions alight and serve on foot, setting better men in their saddles. All that he could have done, was to stay a little longer, and expect more help. Had *Vermina* the son of *Syphax* come thither, as he did in few dayes after, with sixteen thousand and upwards, the most of them Horse, the advantage of number might have served well to supply all other defect. Yet since the Lords of *Carthage* would brook no delay, *Hannibal* must be fain to comfort himself with the hope that he reposed in his old *Italian* souldiers; whose vertue had wrought greater wonders, when it was more strongly opposed. He encouraged therefore his men, with words agreeable to their several conditions: promising unto the Mercenaries bountifull rewards; threatning the *Carthaginians* with inevitable servitude if they lost that day: but especially animating his old fellow-souldiers, by the many victories which they had obtained against far greater numbers. He bade them to look upon the Enemies, and make an estimate, whether they were any thing like so many as that huge Army which they had slaughtered at *Cannæ*. He willed them to remember, That it was one *P. Scipio*, even the father of this man, whom they had first of all compelled to run away. He told them, that these Legions, which they yonder beheld, were for the most part of them, the very worst of the *Roman* Souldiers; even such, as for their dastardly slight out of sundry battels, could no longer be trusted to bear Armes in their own Countrey. As for the rest, they were young men, the sons of Cowards, and bred up in the continuall fear of those weapons, by which their fathers were daily slain or chased. Wherefore he intreated these his old companions, upon whose vertue he meant wholly to repose himself, that they would this day strive to make good their honour, and to purchase the fame of *men invincible*.

Such exhortations used the two Generals before the fight. When they drew near together, the *Numidian* horsemen on both sides began to skirmish. The Trumpets, and other instruments of war, sounded to battell: and *Hannibal* commanded his Elephants to break upon the *Romans*. Of these Elephants (as they were alwaies an uncertain kinde of help) those that stood near unto the point of the left wing, turned back for fear: and ran upon their own *Numidian* horse; which they affrighted and disordered. *Masanissa* espying this, gave charge upon the same *Numidians*; and not suffering them to re-ally themselves, drave them quite out of the field. The rest of those beasts made a great spoil of the *Roman Velites*, whom they followed into the spaces between the Maniples: but without any harme to the Battalions themselves; which gave them open way, accordingly as *Scipio* had well provided. Divers of them receiving many wounds, and growing therewith furious, could no longer be governed; but ran back upon the right point of their own battell, and beyond that into the open field. Herewithall they disordered the *Carthaginian* Horse which were in that wing: against whom they gave to *Lælius* the same advantage that *Masanissa* had against the *Numidians*; which he used in like sort. In the mean while, the battels of foot advanced, and drew near together with a slow and stately pace, till they were almost within a weapons cast: at what time they gave a shout, and ran one at the other. The Mercenaries for a time seemed both in audacity, and in quickneſse to have the better of the *Romans*; wounding many, and doing more harme, than they took. But the *Roman* discipline after a while prevailed against the boisterous violence of these untrained *Barbarians*. Whereunto it helped not a little, that the battell

of

of the *Principes*, following somewhat near after the *Hastati*, encouraged their fellowes; and shewed themselves ready, if need were, to relieve them. Contrariwise, the Mercenaries, received no manner of help or comfort, from those that should have seconded them. For the new-levied *Carthaginians* and *Africans*, when they saw their hired Souldiers give back, did also themselves retire. This caused the *Lagurians*, *Gaules*, and the rest, to think themselves betrayed: whereupon they enclined unto flight. The *Carthaginian* Battell was herewith more terrified than before, so as it refused to give way unto the Mercenaries for their safe retrait, and yet withall forbore to make head against the Enemies, that pursued them. It was no time to aske them what they meant by this: Fear and Indignation caused those that were at once chased by the *Romans*, and betrayed, as they thought, by their own fellowes, to turne their armes with an heedlesse fury against both the one and the other. Thus were many of the *Carthaginians* beaten down and slain, through their own indiscretion, by their own Mercenaries. The *Roman Hastati* in like sort, fighting with desperate men in a throng, had their hands so full of work, that the *Principes* were fain to come up unto them, and help to over-bear this great medley of enemies, that were together by the ears among themselves. In this place was made a great slaughter, both of the Mercenaries and of the *Carthaginians*: which, hindering one another, could neither fight, nor easily flye. Such of them as escaped, ran towards *Hannibal*: who kept his ground, and would not stir one foot, to help or save these Run-awaies. He caused his men to bend their Pikes at those of his own side, that would have rushed upon him: whom he thereby compelled to turn aside beyond his battell, and save themselves in the open field. The ground, over which the *Romans* were now to march, ere they could meet with *Hannibal*, was covered with heaps of dead bodies and weapons; and so slippery with bloud, that *Scipio* began to stand in great doubt, lest the orders of his Battalions should be dissolved in passing that way. In such case, if he should fight with that warlike Army, which he saw before him, remaining yet entire, and without fear expecting him; He might be well assured to receive a notable overthrow. He caused therefore the *Hastati* to make a stand there where they were, opposite to the main battell of the *Hannibalians*. Then drawing up his *Principes* and *Triarii*, he placed them, when they had overcome the bad way, all in one Front with the *Hastati*, and made of them his two Cornets. This done, he advanced towards *Hannibal*: who entertained him after another manner, than ever he had been received in his life before. All the dayes work till now, seemed to have been a matter of pastime, in regard of the sharp Conflict, that was maintained between these notable Souldiers. The *Romans* were encouraged by their having prevailed all the day before: they were also far the more in number. But these old Souldiers of *Hannibal* were fresh; (and perhaps the better men.) They fought with such obstinate resolution, that no man gave back one foot; but rather chose to die on the ground whereon he stood. So that, after a long time, it was uncertain which part had the worse: unless it may seem, that the *Romans* were beginning to shrink; for as much as the return of *Masanissa* and *Lelius* from pursuit of the Enemies Horse, is said to have been *most happy* and in a *needfull time*. These upon a sudden charged the *Hannibalians* in Rere; and over-bearing them by meer violence, compelled them to fall to Rout.

Excerpt. è Polyb. lib. 15.

In this battell there eyed of the *Romans* fifteen hundred and upwards: on the *Carthaginian* side, above twenty thousand; besides as many that were taken; of whom, *Sopater* Captain of the *Macedonians* was one. The singular skill that *Hannibal* shewed in this his last fight, is highly commended by *Polybius*, and was acknowledged, as *Livie* reports, by *Scipio* himself. But the the Enemies were too strong for him in Horse: and being enjoyned, as he was, by the State of *Carthage*, to take battell with such disadvantage, he could work no marvels. He saved himself with a few horse; and stayed not in his journey, till he came to *Adrumetum*. Thence he was sent for to *Carthage*; from which he had been absent six and thirty years. At his comming into the Senate, He said plainly, That there was none other way left, than to take such peace as could be gotten. Wherefore the *Carthaginians* not knowing what other course to take, resolved to send Embassadours again, and try the favour of *Scipio*, whose Armes they could not now resist.

Scipio having spoiled the Enemies Camp, returned back to *Vtica*: where he found *P. Lentulus* newly arrived, with fifty Gallies and an hundred Ships of burden. With this

this Fleet, and that which he had before, He thought it best to make towards *Carthage*: rather of purpose to terrifie the City, than with any hope to take it. His Legions he committed unto *Cn. Octavius*, whom he willed to meet him there by land. Then sending *Lælius* away to *Rome* with newes of the victory, set sail from *Utica* towards *Carthage*. He was encountred on the way by ten Embassadours from the City: who bearing up with the admirall Gally, began to use the pitifull gesture of suppliants. But they received none other answer, than that they should meet him at *Tunes*, where he would give them audience. So rowing along before the City, and viewing it more in bravery, than with meaning to attempt it, he returned back to *Utica*, and called back *Octavius* thither, with whom in person He set forwards to *Tunes*. As they were in their journey thither, they heard the newes, that *Vermina* the son of *Syphax*, was comming with an Army of more horse than Foot, to the succour of those that were already vanquished. This *Vermina* seems to have been both careless of getting intelligence how things passed, and very defective in all other duties requisite in the Commander of an Army. Part of the *Roman* foot, with all their power of Horse, was sent against him: which did not only beat him, but so compass him in, that he hardly escaped himself with a few; leaving fifteen thousand of his followers dead behinde him, and twelve hundred taken prisoners. If this good company had been with *Hannibal* at *Nadagara*, they should have been far better conducted, and might well have changed the Fortune of the day; which the *Carthaginian* lost by default of Horse. But God had otherwise determined. It is not to be doubted, that this victory, though it were no great accesse unto the former, yet served well to daunt the *Carthaginians*, and imprint in them the greater fear of *Scipio*. When he came to *Tunes*, there met him thirty Embassadours from *Carthage*: whose behaviour, though it was more pitifull than it had been before, yet procured it less commiseration, by reason of their late false dealing, after they had in like sort humbled themselves. Nevertheless it was considered, what a long and laborious work it would prove, to besiege the mighty City of *Carthage*. And particularly, *Scipio* stood in great doubt, lest the honour of this war, if it were protracted, should be taken out of his hands, and given to one of the Consuls. *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, that Consul who had charge of the war against *Hannibal* at such time as he departed out of *Italy*: was bold to pass over into the Ile of *Sicil* (as it were in chase of *Hannibal* by him terrified and driven away) with a purpose thence to have proceeded into *Africk*, and taken from *Scipio* the command of the Army there. But a Dictator was chosen of purpose, to restrain the ambition of this Consul *Servilius*. After him followed *Tiberius Claudius*, who made suit for the same Province of *Africk*: and was therein so earnest, that though neither the Senate, nor People, would grant him his desire; yet he needs would be going, procuring only leave of the Senate, that he being Consul might joyn with *Scipio*, were it with no more than equall authority. But ere he could have his Fleet, and all things in a readiness for the journey, wherein no man cared to further him, Winter came on, and he was only tost at Sea with foul weather; first upon the Coast of *Hetruria*, and afterwards by *Sardinia*; where his Consulship expired, and so he returned home a private man. Then came the joyfull newes to *Rome*, of the victory obtained against *Hannibal*, and that the war was now even at an end. Yet was *Lentulus* the new Consul so passionate, in desiring *Africk* for his Province, That he said he would suffer nothing to pass in the Senate, untill he had first his will. Much adoe there was about this: and after many contentions, both in the Senate, and before the people, at last it was ordered, That if peace were granted, it should be granted by *Scipio*; if the war continued, *Scipio* should have command therein by Land, and the Consul at Sea. The ambition of these men, caused *Scipio* to give the more favourable answer unto the *Carthaginian* Embassadours. He willed them to consider what they had deserved: and in regard thereof, to think themselves well dealt withal, in that he was contented to leave unto them their liberty and their own Lawes, without appointing any Governour over them, or Garrison to hold them in subjection; leaving also unto them their possessions in *Africk*, such as they were at the beginning of this war. As touching the rest he was at a point, that, before he either granted them peace or truce, they should make satisfaction for wrongs which they had done, whilest the late Treaty was in dependance. Hereunto if they would yeeld, then required He, *That immediately they should deliver up to the* Romans *all prisoners, fugitives, & renegado's, that they had of theirs: likewise all their Gallies, excepting ten: & all their Elephants. That they should make*

no

no warre at all thenceforth out of Africk, neither yet within Africk, without licence of the Romans: That the Countries, Towns, goods whatsoever, belonging any wise unto Masanissa, *or to any of his Ancestors, which were in their possession, should be all by them restored unto him: That they should finde corn for the* Roman *Army, and wages for their Auxiliaries, during the time of Truce, untill the Peace were fully concluded: that they should pay ten thousand Talents of Silver, in the term of fifty years, by two hundred Talents a year, and that for observance of Conditions, they should give an hundred hostages: such as* Scipio *would choose, being none of them under fourteen years of age, nor above thirty.*

With these conditions the Embassadours returned home, and reported them unto the City. They were very unpleasing; and therefore one *Gesco* stood up to speak against them: and exhorted the people, who gave good attention, that they should not condescend unto such intolerable demands. But *Hannibal* perceiving this, and noting withall what favourable audience was given to this vain Oratour, by the unquiet, yet unwarlike Multitude, was bold to pull him down from his standing, by plain force. Hereat all the people murmured, as if their common liberty were too much wronged, by such insolence of this presumptuous Captain. Which *Hannibal* perceiving, rose up and spake unto them, saying; That they ought to pardon him, if he had done otherwise than the customes of the City would allow; forasmuch as he had been thence absent ever since he was a Boy of nine years old, untill he was now a man of five and forty. Having thus excused himself of the disorder, he discoursed unto them concerning the Peace: and perswaded them to accept it, as wanting ability to defend themselves, had the Demands of the Enemy been yet more rigorous. Finally, upon good advice, they resolved to yeeld unto the Conditions propounded by *Scipio*: to whom they paid out of hand five and twenty thousand pounds weight in Silver, in recompence of damages, and injuries by them done to his Fleet and Embassadours. *Scipio* granted them Truce for three moneths, in which time they might negotiate with the State of *Rome*, about confirmation of the League. But herewithall he gave injunction, that they should neither in the mean while send Embassadours any whither else, nor yet dismiss any Embassadours to them sent, without first making him acquainted what they were, and what their errand was.

At this time *Hanno*, and they of his Faction, were become wise and honourable men, by the miseries whereinto *Carthage* was fallen through their malicious counsels. *Asdrubal*, surnamed *the Kid*, a venerable man, and a great friend of *Hanno*, was chief of the Embassages which they sent to *Rome* for obtaining peace. They went thither in company of *Scipio* his Embassadours, who related unto the Senate and People these joyfull newes. About the same time arrived at *Rome* Embassadours from *Philip* King of *Macedon*: who, together with the *Carthaginians*, were fain to wait a while for audience, till the election of new Consuls then in hand was finished; and order taken, for the provinces of them, and the new Prætors. Then were the *Macedonian* Embassadours called into the Senate: who first answering unto some points, wherein the *Romans* had lately signified unto their King, that they found themselves grieved; returned the blame upon those *Greeks* themselves, that had made their complaint at *Rome*. Then accused they *Marcus Aurelius*: who being one of the three Embassadours, that had lately been sent from *Rome* unto King *Philip*, tarried in *Greece* behind his fellowes, and there leving men, made war upon the King, without any regard at all of the League, that was between him and the *Romans*. Further they desired of the Senate, That one *Sopater*, a *Macedonian* Gentleman, with other of their Countri-men, that had lately served *Hannibal* for Pay; and being taken prisoners in *Africk*, were kept in bonds by *Scipio*, might be released and delivered unto them. Unto all this *M. Furius*, whom *Aurelius* had sent to *Rome* for that purpose, made a sharp answer. He said, that the *Greeks* which were confederate with *Rome*, endured so many injuries at the hands of *Philip*, that *M. Aurelius* was fain to stay behinde, to help them as he might; which else were like to be brought under the Kings subjection. As for *Sopater*, he affirmed him to be one of the Kings Counsell, and very inward with him: one that served not for money, but carryed money with him, and four thousand men, sent from the King to the aid of *Hannibal*. About these points, when the *Macedonian* Embassadours could make unto the Senate no good answer, they were willed to return, and tell their Master, That war he sought,

and

and war he ſhould find, if he proceeded as he had begun. For in two main points He had broken the League, that was between him and the *Romans*: firſt, in that he had wronged their Confederates; and ſecondly, in that he had aided their Enemies againſt them with men and money.

Theſe quarrels with *Philip*, that promiſed to open a way into *Greece* and the Eaſtern Countreys, helped well the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadours in their ſolicitation of Peace. They appeared a very reverend company, when they entred into the Senate: and *Aſdrubal* above the reſt was much reſpected, as one, whoſe good offices had kept the *Romans* from neceſſity of ſending Embaſſadours to *Carthage*, upon the like errand. He liberally granted, that the juſtice of the quarrell had been wholly on the *Romans* ſide; ſaying, that it was the fault of ſome violent men, through which the Peace was broken. Yet could he not altogether excuſe the City that had been too vehement in the proſecution of bad counſell. But if *Hanno* and himſelf might have had their wils, the *Carthaginians*, even at the beſt of their Fortune, ſhould have granted the peace which they now deſired. Herewithall he commended the moderation of the *Romans*, as no ſmall argument of their valour; by which alwaies they had been victorious. To the ſame effect ſpake the reſt of the Embaſſadours: all of them entreating to have the peace ratified; though ſome with more lamentable words than others, according to the diverſity of their ſtile. They had patience enough to endure ſuch reproof of Perjury, as they themſelves might have laid upon the *Romans*, if their diligence and fortune had been ſuch as the *Romans* was. Among the reſt, when one of the Senators demanded, by what gods they would ſwear to keep the peace hereafter: *Aſdrubal* made anſwer; *Even by the ſame gods, that are ſo ſevere unto thoſe that violate their Leagues.*

Lentulus the Conſul, interpoſing the authority of his office, would have hindred the Senate from proceeding unto concluſion of peace; for that hereby he was like to loſe the honour which he purpoſed to get by making war in *Africk*. But the matter was propounded unto the people, in whom reſted the Soveraign Command of *Rome*; and by them referred wholly unto the pleaſure of the Senate. So it was decreed, That *Scipio*, with ten Delegates, ſent unto him from *Rome* of purpoſe, ſhould make a League with the *Carthaginians*, upon ſuch Conditions as ſeemed beſt: which were none other, than the ſame which he had already propounded. For this favour the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadours humbly thanked the Senate; and craved licence, that they might viſit their Countrimen, which were priſoners in *Rome*: afterwards, that they might ranſome and carry home with them ſome that were their ſpeciall friends; of whom they gave in writing almoſt two hundred names. Whereupon the Senate ordained, that two hundred of thoſe Priſoners, which the Embaſſadours would chooſe, ſhould be ſent over into *Africk*, and be freely reſtored to liberty by *Scipio*, when the peace was fully concluded. So they took leave, and returned home, in company of the ten Delegates, that were appointed by the Senate to joyn with *Scipio* in commiſſion.

At their comming into *Africk*, the peace was given, and accepted, without any controverſie or diſputation. The Priſoners, Fugitives and Renegado's, were delivered up to *Scipio*: likewiſe the Gallies, and the Elephants. *Scipio* took more vengeance upon the Renegado's than upon the Fugitives; and upon thoſe of the *Romans*, than upon the *Latines* or other *Italians*. The *Latines* he beheaded: the *Romans* he crucified. About the firſt payment of their money, the *Carthaginians* were ſomewhat troubled. For though perhaps their common Treaſury could have ſpared two hundred Talents for the preſent; yet ſince the penſion was annuall, and to continue fifty years: it was thought meet to lay the burden upon the Citizens. At the collection of the ſum there was piteous lamentation, as if now the *Roman* yoke had begun to pinch them; ſo as many, even of the Senators, could not forbear weeping. Contrariwiſe, *Hannibal* could not refrain from laughter. For which when he was checked by *Aſdrubal Haedus*, and told, That it worſt of all beſeemed him to laugh, ſince he had been the cauſe why all others did weep; He anſwered, *That Laughter did not alwayes proceed from joy; but ſometimes from extremity of indignation: Yet*, ſaid He, *My laughter is more ſeaſonable, and leſſe abſurd, than your tears. For ye ſhould have wept when ye gave up your ſhips and Elephants, and when ye bound your own hands from the uſe of armes, without the good leave of the* Romans *firſt obtained. This miſerable condition keeps us under, and holds us in aſſured ſervitude. But of theſe matters ye had no feeling. Now, when a little money is wrung out of your private purſes,*

purses, ye have thereof some sense. God grant that the time come not hereafter, wherein ye shall acknowledge, that it was the very least part of your misery for which ye have shed these tears. Thus discoursed *Hannibal* unto those, who tasting the bitter fruits of their own malicious counsell, repented when it was too late; and instead of cursing their own disorders, which had bred this grievous disease, accused the Physician, whose noble endeavours had been employed in procuring the remedy.

Scipio being to take leave of *Africk*, produced *Masanissa*, and magnified him in presence of the Army, with high commendations not undeservedly. To him also he consigned over those towns of King *Syphax*, which the *Romans* at that present held: wherein, to say truth, he gave him but his due; and that which otherwise he knew not well how to bestow. But the love of the *Romans*, and friendship of *Scipio*, was fully answerable, now and hereafter, to all the deservings of this *Numidian* King. About *Carthage* there rested no more to be done. Wherefore the *Romans* embarqued themselves for *Sicil*: where when they arrived at *Lylibæum*, *Scipio* with some part of his Army took his way home to *Rome* by land; and sent the rest before him thither by Sea. His journey through *Italy* was no lesse glorious than any triumph: all the people thronging out of the Towns and Villages, to do him honour as he passed along. He entred the City in Triumph: neither was there ever before, or after, any triumph celebrated with so great joy of the people, as was this of *Scipio*; though, in bravery of the pomp, there were others in time shortly following, that exceeded this. Whether *Syphax* were carryed through the City in this Triumph, and dyed soon after in prison; or whether he were dead a while before; it cannot be affirmed. Thus much may be avowed, That it was a barbarous custome of the *Romans*, to insult over the calamities of mighty Princes, by leading them contumeliously in Triumph; yea, though they were such, as had alwaies made fair and courteous war. But hereof we shall have better example ere the same age passe. It was neither the person of *Syphax*, nor any other glory of the spectacle, that so much beautified the Triumph of *Scipio*; as did the contemplation of that grievous war past, whereof the *Romans* had bin in a manner *without hope that ever they should set* Italy *free.* This made them look cheerfully upon the Author of so great a conversion; and filled them with more joy, than they well could moderate. Wherefore they gave to *Scipio* the Title of the *African:* stiling him by the name of that Province which he had subdued. This honourable kinde of surname, taken from a conquered Province, grew afterwards more common, and was usurped by men of less desert: especially by many of the *Cæsars*, who sometimes arrogated unto themselves the title of Countreys, wherein they had performed little or nothing; as if such glorious Attributes could have made them like in vertue unto *Scipio* the *African.*

Excerpt. è Polyb. lib. 16.

CHAP. IV.

Of Philip *the father of* Perseus *King of* Macedon: *his first Acts and War with the* Romans, *by whom he was subdued.*

§. I.

How the Romans grew acquainted in the East-Countries, and desirous of War there. The beginning of many Princes, with great Wars, at one time. The Ætolians over-run Peloponnesus. Philip *and his Associates make war against the Ætolians. Alteration of the State in Sparta. The Ætolians invade Greece and Macedon, and are invaded at home by* Philip.

Plut. in vita Tertulli.

OF the great similitude found in worldly events, the limitation of *matter* hath been assigned as a probable cause. For since Nature is confined unto a subject that is not unbounded; the works of Nature must needs be finite, and many of them resemble one the other. Now in those actions, that seem to have their whole dependance upon the will of man, we are lesse to wonder, if we finde lesse variety: since it is no great portion of things which is obnoxious

obnoxious unto humane power; and since they are the same affections, by which the wils of sundry men are over-ruled, in managing the affairs of our daily life. It may be observed in the change of Empires, before those times whereof we now write, how the *Assyrians* or *Chaldeans* invaded the kingdome of the *Medes*, with two hundred thousand Foot, and threescore thousand Horse: but failing in their intended conquest, they became subject within a while themselves unto the *Medes* and *Persians*. In like manner *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, fell upon the *Greeks* with such number of men, as might have seemed resistlesse. But after that the *Persians* were beaten home again, their Empire was never secure of the *Greeks*: who at all times of leisure from intestine Warre, devised upon that conquest thereof, which finally they made under the great *Alexander*. If *Nabuchodonosor* with his rough old Souldiers, had undertaken the *Medes*: or *Cyrus* with his wel-trained Army, had made attempt upon *Greece*; the issue might, in humane reason, have been farre different. Yet would it then have been expedient for them to employ the travell and vertue of their men, rather than the greatnesse of their names against those people; that were no lesse valiant, though lesse renowned, than their own. For the menacing words used by *Cyrus*, and some small displeasures done to the *Greeks* (in which kinde it may be, that *Nabuchodonosor* likewise offended the *Medes* and *Persians*) were not so available to victory, as to draw on revenge in the future. Great Kingdomes, when they decay in strength, suffer as did the old Lion, for the oppression done in his youth; being pinched by the Wolfe, gored by the Bull, yea and kickt by the Asse. But Princes are often carried away from reason, by mis-understanding the language of Fame: and despising the vertue that makes little noise, adventure to provoke it against themselves; as if it were not possible that their own glory should be foiled by any of lesse-noted excellence. Against the same stone, whereat *Xerxes*, and before him (as I take it) *Evilmerodach*, had stumbled, *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot* hath dasht his foot. He was not indeed the King of all *Greece*; though most of mark, and a better Souldier than any other *Greekish* King, when he entred into war against the *Romans*. This war he undertook as it were for his minds sake: having received no injury; but hoping by the glory of his name, and of the *Greeks* that served under him, to prevail so easily against the barbarous *Romans*, that they should only serve as a step to his further intended conquests, of *Sicil* and *Africk*. But when the *Romans* by their victory against *Pyrrhus*, had found their own vertue to be of richer metall, than was the more shining valour of the *Greeks*: then did all the bravery of the *Epirot* (his Elephants and whatsoever else had served to make him terrible) serve only to make the *Romans*, in time following, to think more highly of themselves. For since they had overcome the best Warriour in *Greece*, even Him, that, being thus beaten by them, could in a year after make himself Lord of *Greece* and *Macedon*: what should hinder them from the conquest of all those unwarlike Provinces, which in compasse of 12. years a *Macedonian* King of late memory had won? Certainly there was hereunto requisite no more, than to bring to their own devotion by some good means, the whole Country of *Greece*: all the rest, this done, would follow of it self. How to deal with the *Greeks*, *Philip* and *Alexander* had shewed away: which, or perhaps a better, they might learn, by getting more acquaintance with the Nation.

* The King of *Spain* pretended invincible Navie, being beaten out of the British Seas, invited us to those of *Spain*: and having broken the greatest Fleet that ever the *Spaniards* gathered together, we never made account of any of his preparations after that time.

When therefore the first Punick war was ended, which followed soon after the wars of *Pyrrhus* and of the *Tarentines*: then were the *Romans* at good leisure to hearken after newes in *Greece*; and to entertain any good occasion, that should be on that side presented. They had also then a strong Fleet: and were become, though not otherwise very skilfull Mariners, yet good fighters at Sea. So it fell out as happily as could be wished, that the *Illyrian* Queen *Teuta* made at the same time cruell war upon the *Greeks*: wasting their Countrey, and sacking their Towns, only because they were unable to resist, though they had done her none offence. Into this quarrell if the *Romans* were desirous to enter; the Queen was not slow to give them cause. And their happy accomplishing of that war which they made with Her, was, in their own opinion, a matter not unworthy to make their Patronage to be desired by the *Greeks*. But no such thing happened: though they sent Embassadours, as it were to offer themselves; by signifying, that for love of *Greece* they had undertaken this *Illyrian* war. Thus began the first acquaintance betwixt the *Greeks* and *Romans*: which afterwards encreased very hastily, through the indiscretion of King *Philip* the *Macedonian*; whose business

Lib. 5. c. 2. §. 7.

with them, being now the ſubject of our ſtory, it is meet that we ſhould relate (though ſomewhat briefly) the beginning of his reign, and his firſt Actions. It was like to prove a buſie time in the world, when, within the ſpace of 4. years, new Kings began to reign in the moſt of all Countries known; and 3. of them young boies, in 3. of the greateſt kingdomes. This hapned from the third year of the hundred thirty ninth Olympiad, unto the third of the Olympiad following. For in this time died *Seleucus Ceraunus* King of *Aſia* and *Syria* in whoſe room ſucceeded his brother *Antiochus*, afterwards called *the Great*. *Ptolemy Philopater* ſucceeded in the Kingdome of *Egypt* unto his father *Energetes*. And *Philip* the ſon of *Demetrius*, being 16. or 17. years old, received the Kingdome of *Macedon*, together with the Patronage of the *Achæans* and moſt of the *Greeks*, by the deceaſe of his Uncle *Antigonus Doſon*, that was called the Tutor or Protector. About the ſame time alſo was the like change in *Cappadocia*, *Lacedæmon*, and the Countries about Mount *Taurus*. For *Ariarathes* then began his reign in *Cappadocia*. *Lycurgus* found means to make himſelf King over the *Lacedæmonians*, whoſe Common-weal, ſince the flight of *Cleomenes*, had continued in a manner headleſſe; and *Achæus*, a kinſman of *Antiochus*, but a Rebell unto him, occupied the Regions near unto Mount *Taurus*, and kept a while the State of a mighty King. Laſtly, in the ſecond and third years of the 100. and fortieth Olympiad it was, that open war brake out between *Rome* and *Carthage*; and that *Hannibal* began his great Invaſion upon *Italy*. Thoſe troubles of the Weſtern world, which were indeed the greateſt, we have already followed unto an end: Of *Antiochus*, *Ptolemy*, and the reſt; we ſhall ſpeak hereafter, when the *Romans* find them out.

Philip, ſoon after the beginning of his reign, came into *Peloponneſus*; greatly deſired of the *Achæans*, and many others his dependants. That Country, having freed it ſelf by the help of *Antigonus* from the danger (accounted great) of an eaſie ſubjection unto *Cleomenes*; was now become no leſſe obnoxious to the *Macedonian*, than it ſhould have been to the *Spartan*: and therewithall it lay open unto the violence of the *Ætolians*; who deſpiſed even the *Macedonian* Kings, that were Patrons thereof. The *Ætolians* were no men to be idle: nor were much addicted unto any other Art than war. Therefore wanting employment, they fell upon the *Meſſenians* that were their own Clients, and (excepting the *Eleans*, that were anciently of their conſanguinity) the only good friends which they had at the preſent in *Peloponneſus*. Their invaſion was no leſſe unexpected, than it was unjuſt: whereby with greater eaſe they made ſpoil of the Countrey; finding none prepared to make reſiſtance. The *Achæans*, were called by the *Meſſenians* to help: which they did the more willingly; becauſe the *Ætolians* paſſing without leave through their Territory, had (as was their manner) done what harm they liſted. Old *Aratus* could hardly abide theſe *Ætolians*; as both knowing well their nature, and remembring the injuries, wherewith moſt ingratefully they had requited no ſmall benefits done to them by the *Achæans*. He was therefore ſo haſty to fall upon this their Army, that he could hardly endure to ſtay few dayes untill the time of his own Office came; being choſen Prætor of the *Achæans* for the year following. But his anger was greater than his courage: and he ſhewed himſelf a man fitter (as hath been already noted of him) for any other ſervice, than leading of an Army. He ſuffered them to paſſe quietly along with their booty, through a part of the Country, wherein he might very eaſily have diſtreſſed them; and afterwards preſſed them ſo near, when they had recovered ground of advantage, that they eaſily defeated all his Army. So they departed home rich, and well animated to return again. As for the *Achæans*, they got hereby only the friendſhip of the *Meſſenians*: with whom, by licence of King *Philip*, they made Confederacy. Shortly after, the *Ætolians* invaded *Peloponneſus* again; having no more to do, than to paſſe over the narrow Straights of the *Corinthian* Bay, called now the Gulph of *Lepanto*, where they might land in the Countrey of the *Eleans*. There joyned with them, in this their ſecond invaſion, a great number of the *Illyrians*: who neglecting that Condition impoſed upon them by the *Romans*, of ſetting out no ſhips of war unto the coaſt of *Greece*: made bold to ſeek adventures again, and did great miſchief. *Demetrius Pharius*, a creature of the *Romans*, commanded a part of theſe *Illyrians*: who ſhortly repented him of this his voyage; which cauſed him to loſe his Kingdome, as is ſhewed before. But this *Demetrius* went another way, & fell upon the Ilands of the *Cyclades* in the *Ægean* ſea: whence returning, he did ſome good offices for King *Philip*, or his friends. The reſt of the *Illyrians* under *Scerdilaidas*, or *Scerdiletus*, having

Lib. 5. cap. 2. §. 6. Ibid.

Chap. 3. §. 1.

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gotten what they could else-where by roving at Sea, accompanied the *Ætolians* into *Peloponnesus*: who made greater havock in the Country now, than in their former Expedition, and returned home without finding any resistance.

Of these things great complaint was made unto *Philip*, when he came to *Corinth*. And because men were desirous to satisfie themselves with some speedy revenge: there were that urged to have some grievous punishment laid upon the *Lacedæmonians*, who were thought underhand to have favoured the *Ætolians*, in meer despight of the *Achæans* and *Macedonians*, by whom themselves had lately been subdued. It is true, that the *Lacedæmonians* had been so affected: and (which was worse) at the arrivall of *Philip*, they slew such friends of his, as having checked their inclination, seemed likely to appeach them of the intended rebellion. Neither durst they well commit themselves to judgement: but intreated the King, that he would abstain from comming to them with an Army: since their Town was lately much disquieted with civill discord, which they hoped soon to appease, and meant alwayes to remain at his devotion. *Philip* was easily satisfied with this: not for that he (or rather old *Aratus*, who then wholly governed him) did mis-understand the *Lacedæmonians*: but for that a greater work was in hand, which ought not to be interrupted. There met at *Corinth* in presence of the King, the Embassadours of the *Achæans*, *Bœotians*, *Epirots*, and *Acarnanians*: all complaining upon the *Ætolians*: and desiring to have war decreed against them, by common assent. *Philip* sent his letters unto the *Ætolians*, requiring them to make ready their answer in some convenient time: if they could alledge any thing in excuse of that which they had done. They returned word, that a Diet should be holden at *Rhium* for that purpose: whither if it pleased him to come, or send, he should be well informed of them and their whole meaning. The King prepared to have been there at the day. But when the *Ætolians* understood this for certain, they adjourned the Councell unto a further time: saying, That such weighty matters ought not to be handled, save in the great Parliament of all *Ætolia*. This trick of Law notwithstanding, open war was proclaimed against them. And they, as it were to shew how well they had deserved it, made election of *Scopas* to be their Prætor, that was Author of these Invasions made on *Peloponnesus*, and the only man, in a sort, upon whom they must have laid the blame of these actions, if they would have shifted it from the publick.

After this, *Philip* went into *Macedon*, where he prepared busily for the war against the year following. He also assayed the *Illyrian*, *Scerdilaidas*, with fair words and promises, whom he easily won from the *Ætolian* side, forasmuch as the *Ætolians* had cousened him of his share, when he was partner with them in their late robberies. In like sort the *Achæans*, who had first of all others proclaimed the war in their own Countrey, sent unto the *Acarnanians*, *Epirots*, *Messenians*, and *Lacedemonians*: requesting them forthwith to declare themselves, and to denounce war unto the *Ætolians*; without staying (as it were) to await the event. Hereunto they received divers answers according to the qualities of those with whom they dealt. The *Acarnanians*, a free-hearted and valiant, though a small Nation, and bordering upon the *Ætolians*, of whom they stood in continuall danger; said, that they could not honestly refuse to shew their faithfull meaning in that war, which was concluded by generall assent. The *Epirots* that were more mighty, were nevertheless more cunning and reserved: so that they stood upon a needless point, and desired to be held excused, untill *Philip* (of whose meaning they needed not to have made any doubt) should first proclaim the war. The *Messenians*, for whose cause the war was undertaken, excused themselves, by reason of a Town which the *Ætolians* held upon their borders, and said, that they durst not be over-bold, untill that bridle were taken out of their mouthes. As for the *Lacedæmonians*, the chief of them studied only, how to manage the treason for which their City had been so lately pardoned: and therefore dismissed the Embassadours of the Confederates, without any answer at all. They had three years together continued subject against their wils to the *Macedonians*, expecting still when *Cleomenes* should return out of *Egypt* to reign over them again, and maintain, as he was wont, the honour of their City. In this regard they chose not any Kings, but were contented with the rule of *Ephori*. Of these there were some, that thought the publique safety to consist, in holding their faith with the *Macedonian* that had preserved them. And hereto they referred all their counsails: being perhaps a little moved with respect of the benefit, which might redound

unto themſelves, by adhering firmly to thoſe which at the preſent bore rule over them. Others, and thoſe the greater part, were ſtill devi ſing, how to make all ready for *Cleomenes* againſt his return; and ſought to joyn with the *Ætolians*, which were the moſt likely to give him ſtrong aſſiſtance. The *Macedonian* faction had the more authority, and durſt more freely ſpeak their minds: but the contrary ſide was the the more paſſionate, & ſpared not by murders or any other violent courſes, to ſet forward their deſire. Neither did it ſuffice, that about theſe times there came certain report of *Cleomenes* his death. For it was the liberty and honour of *Sparta*, which theſe intended: fancying unto themſelves the glory of their Anceſtors in ſuch Ages paſt, as were not like to come again. *Cleomenes* was, they knew, the moſt able man to reſtore them unto their greatneſſe and luſtre; which once he had in a manner performed: But ſince he was dead, and that, without injury to his well-deſerving vertue, they might proceed to the election of new Kings: Kings they would have, and thoſe of the race of *Hercules*, as in former times; for that without ſuch helps, they muſt continue little better than ſubjects unto the *Macedonian*, and far leſs by him reſpected, than were the *Achæans*. Thus were they tranſported by contemplation of their old Nobility and fame. Some of the moſt working ſpirits among them, procured the *Ætolians* to ſend an Embaſſie to *Sparta*: which propounded the matter openly unto the people, whereof no one of the Citizens durſt have made himſelf the Author. Much diſputation, and hot, there was, between thoſe of the *Macedonian* party, and theſe their oppoſites: in ſuch wiſe that nothing could be concluded; untill by maſſacre or baniſhment of all, or the chief, that ſpake againſt the *Ætolians*, the diverſity of opinion was taken quite away. Then forthwith a League was concluded between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Ætolians*: without all regard of the *Macedonians* or *Achæans*, who had ſpared the City, when they might have deſtroyed it. Then alſo they went in hand with the election of new Kings: wherein their diligence was ſo nice, and ſo regardfull of their ancient Lawes, as touching the chooſing of the one King, that we may juſtly wonder, how they grew ſo careleſſe in making choice of the other. In the one of their Royall Families they found *Ageſipolis*, the ſon of *Ageſipolis*, the ſon of King *Cleombrotus*: and him they admitted to reign over them, as heir apparent to his grandfather. This *Ageſipolis* was a young Boy, ſtanding in need of a Guardian: & had an Uncle his Fathers brother, that was fit for the Government. Yet becauſe the Law required, that the ſon, how young ſoever, ſhould have his fathers whole right and title: the *Lacedæmonians*, though ſtanding in need of a man, were ſo punctuall in obſervation of the Law, that they made this childe their King, and appointed his Uncle *Cleomenes* to be his Protector. But in the other branch of the Royall Family, though there was no want of heirs: yet would not the people trouble themſelves about any of them, to examine the goodneſs of his Claim, but made election of one *Lycurgus*, who having no manner of title to the Kingdome, beſtowed upon each of the *Ephori*, a Talent, and thereby made himſelf be ſaluted King of *Sparta*, and a Gentleman of the race of *Hercules*. This *Lycurgus*, to gratifie his Partiſans, and to approve his worth by action, invaded the Countrey of the *Argives*: which lay open and unguarded, as in a time of peace. There he did great ſpoil, and won divers Towns; whereof two he retained, and annexed unto the State of *Lacedæmon*. After ſuch open hoſtility, the *Lacedæmonians* declared themſelves on the *Ætolian* ſide; and proclaimed war againſt the *Achæans*.

Thus the beginnings of the war fell out much otherwiſe, than the *Achæans* and their Confederates had expected, when they firſt made preparation. *Philip* was not ready: the *Epirots* gave uncertain anſwer: the *Meſſenians* would not ſtir: all the burden muſt lye upon themſelves and the poor *Acarnanians*, whom the *Ætolians*, by favour of the *Eleans*, could invade at pleaſure, as they were like to do; and by help of the *Lacedæmonians*, could aſſail on all parts at once. It was not long ere the *Ætolians*, paſſing over the Bay of *Corinth*, ſurpriſed the Town of *Ægira*: which if they could have held, they ſhould thereby grievouſly have moleſted the *Achæans*, for that it ſtood in the mid-way between *Ægium* and *Sycion*, two of their principall Cities, and gave open way into the heart of all their Countrey. But as *Ægira* was taken by ſurpriſe: ſo was it preſently loſt again, through greedineſſe of ſpoile; whileſt they that ſhould have made it their firſt care, to aſſure the place unto themſelves, by occupying the citadel and other pieces of ſtrength, fell heedleſly to ranſack private houſes, and thereby gave

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the Citizens leave to make head, by whom they were driven with great slaughter back unto their Fleet. About the same time, another *Ætolian* Army landing among the *Eleans*, fell upon the Western Coast of *Achaia*; wasting all the Territory of the *Dymæans* and other people, that were first beginners of the *Achæan* Confederacy. The *Dymæans* and their neighbours made head against these Invaders; but were so well beaten, that the enemy grew bolder with them than before. They sent for help unto their Prætor, and to all the Towns of their Society in vain. For the *Achæans* having lately been much weakened by *Cleomenes*, were now able to do little of themselves: neither could they get any strength of Mercenaries; forasmuch as at the end of *Cleomenes* his war, they had covetously with-held part of their due from those that served them therein. So through this disability of the *Achæans*, and insufficiency of their Prætor; the *Dymæans*, with others, were driven to with-hold their contribution heretofore made for the publick service, & to convert the money to their own defence. *Lycurgus* also with his *Lacedæmonians*, began to win upon the *Arcadians*, that were confederate with *Philip* & the *Achæans*.

Philip came to the borders of the *Ætolians*, whilst their Army was thus employed a far off in *Peloponnesus*. The *Epirots* joyned all their forces with him: and by such their willing readiness, drew him to the siege of a Frontier piece, which they desired to get into their own hands; for that, by commodity thereof, they hoped shortly to make themselves Masters of *Ambracia*. There he spent forty dayes, ere he could end the business; which tended only to the benefit of the *Epirots*. Had he entred into the heart of *Ætolia* at his first comming in; it was thought that he might have had an end of the war. But it happens oft, that the violence of great Armies is broken upon small Towns or Forts: and not seldome, that the importunity of Associates, to have their own desires fulfilled, converts the preparations of great Kings to those uses for which they never were intended; thereby hindering the prosecution of their main designs. Thus was our King *Henry* the eight led aside, and quite out of his way, by *Maximilian* the Emperor to the siege of *Tournay*: at such time as the *French* King *Lewis* the twelfth, hearing that the strong City of *Terwin* was lost, and that his Cavallery, wherein rested his chief confidence, two thousand were beaten by the Earl of *Essex* with seven hundred *English*; was thinking to withdraw himself into *Britain*, in fear that *Henry* would have come to *Paris*.

The stay that *Philip* made at *Ambracus*, did wondrously embolden the *Ætolians*: in such sort, as their Prætor *Scopas* adventured to lead all their forces out of the Countrey; and therewith not only to over-run *Thessalie*, but to make impression into *Macedon*. He ran as far as to *Dium*, a City of *Macedon* upon the *Ægean* Sea: which, being forsaken by the Inhabitants at his comming, he took, and razed to the ground. He spared neither Temple, nor any other of the goodly buildings therein, but overturned all: and among the rest, he threw down the Statua's that were there erected, of the *Macedonian* Kings. For this he was highly honoured by his Country-men at his return; forasmuch as hereby they thought their Nation to be grown terrible, not only (as before) unto *Peloponnesus*, but even to *Macedon* it self. But this their pride was soon abated; and they rewarded shortly at home in their own Countrey, for their pains taken at *Dium*. *Philip* having dispatched his work at *Ambracus*, made a strong invasion upon *Ætolia*. He took *Phoetiæ*, *Metropolis*, *Oeniade*, *Pæanium*, *Elæus*, and divers other Towns and Castles of theirs: of which he burnt some, and fortified others. He also beat the *Ætolians* in sundry skirmishes: and wasted all the Countrey over, without receiving any harme. This done, while he was about to make a cut over the Straights into *Peloponnesus*, and to do the like spoil in the Countrey of the *Eleans*, whereto he was vehemently solicited by the *Achæan* Embassadours; news came out of *Macedon*, that the *Dardanians* were ready with a great Army to fall upon the Countrey. These *Dardanians* were a barbarous people, divided by Mount *Hæmus* from the Northern part of *Macedon*, and were accustomed to seek booty in that wealthy Kingdome, when they found their own times. Having therefore intelligence, that *Philip* was about to make a journey into *Peloponnesus*; they purposed in his absence, which they thought would be long, to get what they could for themselves in his Countrey; as had been their manner upon the like advantages. This made the King to dismisse the *Achæan* Embassadours, (whom he should have accompanied home with his Army) and to bid them have patience until another year. So he took his way homewards: and as he was passing out of *Acarnania* into *Epirus*, there repaired unto him *Demetrius Pharius*, with no more than

one Ship; that was newly chased out of his Kingdome by the *Romans*. This *Demetrius* had lately shewed himself a friend to *Antigonus Doson* in the wars of *Cleomenes*: and returning in his last Voyage from the *Cyclades*, was ready at their first request, to take part with *Philips* Captains. These, or the like considerations, made him welcome unto the *Macedonian* King: whose Counsellor he was ever after. The *Dardanians* hearing of the Kings return, brake up their Army, and gave over for the present their invasion of *Macedon*, towards which they were already on their way.

All that summer following the King rested at *Larissa* in *Thessalie*, whilest his people gathered in their Harvest. But the *Ætolians* rested not. They avenged themselves upon the *Epirots*: whom for the harmes by them and *Philip* done in *Ætolia*, they requited with all extremities of War, among which, the most notable was the ruine of the most famous Temple of *Dodona*. When Winter grew on, & all thought of war, until another year, was laid aside: *Philip* stole a journey into *Peloponnesus*, with five thousand Foot, & about four hundred Horse. As soon as he was within *Corinth*, He commanded the gates to be shut, that no word should be carryed forth of his arrivall. He sent privily for old *Aratus* to come thither unto him: with whom he took order, when, and in what places, he would have the *Achæan* Souldiers ready to meet him. The enemies were then abroad in the Countrey, with somewhat more than two thousand Foot, and an hundred Horse; little thinking to meet with such opposition. Indeed they had little cause to fear: since the *Achæans* themselves were not aware that the King was in their Land with his *Macedonians*; untill they heard, that these two thousand *Eleans*, *Ætolians*, and their fellowes, were by him surprised, and all made prisoners, or slain. By this exploit which he did at his first comming, *Philip* got very much reputation, and likewise he purchased both reputation and love, by divers actions immediately following. He won *Psophis*, an exceeding strong Town, in the borders of *Arcadia*, which the *Eleans* and *Ætolians* then held. He won it by assault at his first comming: wherein it much availed him, that the Enemy, not beleeving that he would undertake such a piece of work at such an unseasonable time of the year, was careless of providing even such store of weapons, as might have served to defend it. The Town was preserved by the King from sack; and given to the *Achæans*, of his own meer motion, before they requested it. Thence went he to *Lasion*, which yeelded for very fear; hearing how easily he had taken *Psophis*. This Town also he gave to the *Achæans*. The like liberality he used towards others, that had ancient title unto places by him recovered. Then fell he upon the Country of *Elis*, where was much wealth to be gotten: for that the people were addicted to husbandry, and lived abroad in Villages; even such as were of the wealthier sort among them. So he came to the City of *Olympia*: where having done sacrifice to *Jupiter*, feasted his Captains, and refreshed his Army three dayes; He proceeded on to the spoil of those, that had taken pleasure to share with the *Ætolians*, in the spoils of their otherwise-deserving neighbours. Great abundance of Cattell he took, with great numbers of slaves, and much wealth of all sorts, such as could be found in rich villages. Then fell he in hand with the Towns, whereinto a great multitude of the Country-people were fled. Some of these were taken at the first assault. Some yeelded for fear. Some prevented the labour of his journey, by sending Embassadours to yeeld before he came. And some that were held with Garrisons against their wils, took courage to set themselves at liberty, by seeing the King so near: to whose Patronage thenceforth they betook themselves. And many places were spoiled by the *Etolian* Captains; because they distrusted their ability to hold them. So the King won more Towns in the Countrey, than the sharpnesse of winter would suffer him to stay there dayes. Fain he would have fought with the *Ætolians*: but they made such hast from him, that he could not overtake them, till they had covered themselves within the Town of *Samicum*; where they thought to have been safe. But *Philip* assaulted them therein so forcibly, that he made them glad to yeeld the place; obtaining license to depart, with their lives and armes. Having performed so much in this expedition, the King reposed himself a while in *Megalopolis*, and then removed to *Argos*, where he spent all the rest of the winter.

Before the Kings arrivall in *Peloponnesus*, the *Lacedæmonians*, with *Lycurgus* their new King, had gotten somewhat in *Arcadia*, & threatned to do great matters. But when they were admonished, by the calamity that fell upon the *Eleans*, of the danger hanging over their own heads; they quitted their winnings, and withdrew themselves home.

This

This *Lycurgus*, as he had no other right to the Kingdome of *Sparta*, than that which he could buy with money, ſo was he neither free from danger of conſpiracies made againſt him; nor from thoſe jealouſies, with which Uſurpers are commonly perplexed. There was one *Chilon*, of the Royall bloud, that thinking himſelf to have beſt right unto the Kingdome, purpoſed to make way thereunto by maſſacre of his oppoſites; & afterwards to confirm himſelf, by propounding unto the multitude ſuch reformation of the State as was moſt popular: namely, by making an equal diſtribution of all the lands among the whole number of the Citizens, according to the ancient inſtitution of that Commonwealth. He won to his party ſome two hundred men, with whom he fel upon the *Ephori*, as they were together at ſupper, and ſlew them all. Then went he to *Lycurgus* his houſe: who perceiving the danger, ſtole away and fled. It remained that he ſhould give account of theſe doings to the people, and procure them to take part with him. But their minds being not hereto prediſpoſed; they ſo little regarded his goodly offers, as even whileſt he was uſing his beſt perſwaſions, they were conſulting how to apprehend him. *Chilon* perceived whereabout they went, and ſhifted preſently away. So he lived afterwards among the *Achæans* a baniſhed man, & hated of his own people. As for *Lycurgus*, he returned home: & ſuſpecting thenceforth all thoſe of *Hercules* his race, found means to drive out his fellow-King young *Ageſipolis*; whereby he made himſelf Lord alone. His doings grew to be ſuſpected in ſuch ſort, as once he ſhould have been apprehended by the *Ephori*. But though his actions hitherto might have been defended; yet rather than to adventure himſelf into judgement, he choſe to flie for a time, and ſojourn among his friends the *Ætolians*. His wel-known vehemency in oppoſition to the *Macedonians*, had procured unto him ſuch good liking among the people, that in his abſence they began to conſider the weakneſs of their own ſurmiſes againſt him; and pronouncing him innocent, recalled him home to his Eſtate. But in time following, he took better heed unto himſelf: not by amending his condition (for he grew a Tyrant, and was ſo acknowledged) but by taking order, that it ſhould not be in the power of the Citizens to expell him when they liſted. By what actions he got the name of a Tyrant; or at what time it was, that he chaſed *Ageſipolis* out of the City; I do not certainly find. Like enough it is, That his being the firſt of three uſurpers, which followed in order one after another, made him to be placed in the rank of Tyrants; which the laſt of the three very juſtly deſerved. Whatſoever he was toward ſome private Citizens, in the war againſt *Philip*, he behaved himſelf as a provident man, and carefull of his Countries good.

§. II.

How Philip *was miſadviſed by ill Counſellors: who afterwards wrought treaſon againſt him; and were juſtly puniſhed. He invadeth the* Ætolians *a ſecond time: and forceth them to ſue for peace: which is granted unto them.*

WHileſt the King lay at *Argos* deviſing upon his buſineſſe for the year following, ſome ambitious men that were about him, ſtudied ſo diligently for their own greatneſſe, as they were like to have ſpoiled all that he took in hand. *Antigonus Doſon* had left unto *Philip* ſuch Counſellors, as to him did ſeem the fitteſt men for governing of his youth. The chief of theſe was *Apelles*; that had the charge of his perſon, & alſo the ordering of his Treaſures. This man, ſeeming to himſelf a great Politician, thought that he ſhould do a notable piece of ſervice to his Prince, if he could reduce the *Achæans* unto the ſame degree of ſubjection, wherein the *Macedonians* lived. To bring this to paſſe; during the late Expedition he had cauſed ſome of the *Macedonians* to thruſt the *Achæans* out of their lodgings, and to ſtrip them of the booty that they had gotten. Proceeding further, as occaſion fell out, he was bold to chaſtiſe ſome of that Nation; cauſing his Miniſters to take and whip them. If any of them offered (as there were ſome of them that could not refrain) to help their fellowes; them he laid by the heels, and puniſhed as Mutiners. Hereby he thought to bring it to paſſe by little and little, that they ſhould be qualified with an habite of blind obedience; and think nothing unjuſt that pleaſed the King. But theſe *Achæans* were tenderly ſenſible in matters of liberty: whereof if they could have been contented to ſuffer any little

little diminution, they needed not have troubled the *Macedonians* to help them in the war against *Cleomenes*. They bemoaned themselves unto old *Aratus*; and besought him to think upon some good order, that they might not be oppressed by degrees. *Aratus* forthwith dealt earnestly with the King; as in a matter more weighty than at first it might seem. The King bestowed gracious words upon those that had been wronged, and forbade *Apelles* to follow the course begun. Hereat *Apelles* was inwardly vexed, though he dissembled his choler for a time. He thought so well of his own Project, that he could not endure to lay it aside; being perhaps unable to do the King any valuable service, in businesse of other nature. He purposed therefore hereafter to begin at the head; since, in biting at the tail, the fish had shot away from his mouth. It could not otherwise be than that among the *Achæans* there were some, who bore no hearty affection to *Aratus*. These he enquired out, and sending for them, entertained them with words of Court; promising to become their especiall friend, and commend them unto the King. Then brake he his purpose with the King himself: letting him know, that as long as he continued to make much of *Aratus*, he must be fain to deal precisely with the *Achæans*, and as it were by Indenture, according to the letter of the Contract: whereas if he would be pleased, to give countenance unto those others whom he himself commended, then should the *Achæans*, and all other *Peloponnesians*, be quickly brought to conform themselves unto the duty of obedient Subjects. By such perswasions, he drew the King to be present at *Ægium*, where the *Achæans* were to hold election of a new Prætor. There with much more labour, than would have been needfull in a businesse of more importance, the King by fair words and threatnings together, obtained so much, That *Eperatus*, a very insufficient man, but one of *Apelles* his new favourites, was chosen Prætor, in stead of one more worthy, for whom *Aratus* had laboured. This was thought a good introduction unto greater matters that should follow. The King from thence passed along by *Patræ* and *Dyma*, to a very strong Castle held by the *Eleans*, which was called *Tichos*. The garrison yeelded it up for fear, at his first comming: whereof he was glad, for that he had an earnest desire to bestow it upon the *Dymæans*, as he presently did.

The King thought it strange, that all this while he heard of no messengers from the *Eleans*, to sue for peace. For at his departure out of their Countrey the last Winter, he had let loose one *Amphidamus* a Captain of theirs, that was his prisoner; because he found him an intelligent man, and one that undertook to make them forsake their alliance with the *Ætolians*, and joyn with him upon reasonable termes. This if they could be contented to do, he willed *Amphidamus* to let them understand, That he would render unto them freely all prisoners which he had of theirs; That he would defend them from all forrain invasion; and that they should hold their liberty entire, living after their own Lawes, without paying any manner of Tribute, or being kept under by any garrison. These conditions were not to be despised, if they had found credit as they might have done. But when *Philip* came to the Castle of *Tichos*, and made a new invasion upon their Countrey: then began the *Eleans*, (that were not before over-hasty to beleeve such fair promises) to suspect *Amphidamus* as a Traitour, and one that was set on work for no other end, than to breed a mutuall diffidence between them and the *Ætolians*. Wherefore they purposed to lay hands upon him, and send him prisoner into *Ætolia*. But he perceived their intent, and got away to *Dyma*: in good time for himself; in better for *Aratus*. For the King (as was said) marvailing what should be the cause, that he heard no newes from the *Eleans*, concerning the offers which he had made unto them by *Amphidamus*: *Apelles* his Counsellor thereby took occasion to supplant *Aratus*. He said that old *Aratus*, and his son together, had such devices in their heads, as tended little to the Kings good: And long of them he said it was, that the *Eleans* did thus hold out. For when *Amphidamus* was dismissed home, the two *Arati*, (the father and the son) had taken him aside and given him to understand, that it would be very prejudiciall to all *Peloponnesus*, if the *Eleans* once became at the devotion of the *Macedonian*: And this was the true cause, why neither *Amphidamus* was very carefull in doing this message, nor the *Eleans* in hearkning to the Kings offers. All this was a falsehood, devised by *Apelles* himself, upon no other ground than his own malice. *Philip* had no sooner heard this tale, but in a great rage he sent for the two *Arati*, and bade *Apelles* rehearse it over again to their faces. *Apelles* did so, and with a bold countenance, taking

talking to them as to men already convicted. And when he had said all the rest, ere either *Philip* or they spake any word; He added this clause as it were in the Kings name: Since the King hath found you such ungratefull wretches; it is his meaning to hold a Parliament of the *Achæans*, and therein having made it known what ye are, to depart into *Macedon*, and leave you to your selves. Old *Aratus* gravely admonished the King; That whensoever he heard any accusation, especially against a friend of his own, or a man of worth, He should forbear a while to give credit, untill he had diligently examined the business. For such deliberation was Kingly, and he should never thereof repent him. At the present he said there needed no more, than to call in those that had heard his talk with *Amphidamus*, and especially him that had brought this goodly tale to *Apelles*. For it would be a very absurd thing, That the King should make himself the Author of a report in the open Parliament of *Achaia*, whereof there was none other evidence, than one mans *yea*, and anothers *no*. Hereof the King liked well; and said that he would make sufficient inquiry. So passed a few daies: wherein whilest *Apelles* delayed to bring in the proof which indeed he wanted, *Amphidamus* came from *Elis*, and told what had befaln him there. The King was not forgetfull, to examine him about the conspiracy of the *Arati*: which when he found no better than a meer device against his honourable friends; he entertained them in loving manner as before. As for his love to *Apelles*, though it was hereby somewhat cooled; yet by means of long acquaintance and daily employment, no remission therein could be discerned.

The unrestfull temper of *Apelles*, having with much vehemency brought nothing to pass, began (as commonly Ambition useth) to swell and grow venemous for want of his free motion. He betakes himself to his cunning again: and as before, being checkt in his doings with those of the vulgar, he had prepared a snare for the *Arati*: so failing of them, he thinks it wisdome to lay for the King himself, and for all at once which were about him. In such manner sometime, the Spider thought to have taken the Swallow which drave away flyes out of the chimny; but was carved (net and all) into the Aire by the bird, that was too strong to be caught and held by the subtle workmanship of a Cob-web. Of the four that next unto *Apelles* were left by *Antigonus* in chief place about *Philip*; *Taurion*, his Lievtenant in *Peloponnesus*, and *Alexander* Captain of the Guard, were faithfull men, and such as would not be corrupted. The other two, *Leontius* Captain of the *Targettiers*, and *Megaleas* chief of the Secretaries, were easily won to be at *Apelles* his disposition. This politician therefore studied how to remove the other two from their places, and put some Creatures of his own into their rooms. Against *Alexander* he went to work the ordinary way, by calumniation and privy detraction. But for the supplanting of *Taurion* he used more fineness; loading him with daily commendations, as a notable man of war, and one, whom for his many vertues the King might ill spare from being alwaies in his presence. By such Art he thought to have removed him, as we say, *Out of Gods blessing into a warme Sun*. In the mean season *Aratus* retired himself; and sought to avoid the dangerous friendship of the King by forbearing to meddle in affairs of State. As for the new Prætor of *Achaia*, lately chosen by such vehement instance of the King; He was a man of no dispatch, and one that had no grace with the people. Wherefore a great deal of time was lost, whilst *Philip* wanted both the money and the Corn, wherewith he should have been furnished by the *Achæans*. This made the King understand his own errour; which he wisely sought to reform betimes. He perswaded the *Achæans* to rejourn their Parliament from *Ægium*, to *Sycion*, the Town of *Aratus*. There he dealt with the old man and his son, perswading them to forget what was past; and laying all the blame upon *Apelles*, on whom therefore he intended to keep a more diligent eye. So by the travell of these worthy men, he easily obtained what he would of the *Achæans*. Fifty talents they gave him out of hand; with great store of Corn: and further decreed, That so long as he himself in person followed the wars in *Peloponnesus*, he should receive ten talents a moneth. Being thus enabled, he began to provide shipping, that so he might invade the *Ætolians*, *Eleans*, and *Lacedæmonians*, that were maritime people, at his pleasure, and hinder their excursions by Sea.

It vexed *Apelles* beyond measure, to see things go forward so well without his help; even by the ministry of those whom he most hated. Wherefore he entred into conspiracy with *Leontius* and *Megaleas*: binding himself and them by Oath, to crosse and

bring

bring to nought, as well as they were able, all that the King should take in hand. By so doing, they thought to bring it to passe, that very want of ability to do any thing without them, should make him speak them fair, and be glad to submit himself to their directions. The King it is like had stood in some awe of them whilest he was a child, and therefore these wise men perswaded themselves, that by looking big upon him, and imputing unto him all that fell out ill through their own misgovernment of his affairs, they might rule him as a childe still. *Apelles* would needs go to *Chalcis*, there to take order for the provisions, which were to come that way out of *Macedon*: The other two staid behinde with the King, to play their parts, all more mindfull of their wicked oath, than of their duty.

His Fleet and Army being in a readinesse: *Philip* made countenance, as if he would have bent all his forces against the *Eleans* to whose aid therfore the *Aetolians* sent men, little fearing that the mischief would have fallen, as soon after it did, upon themselves. But against the *Eleans* and those that came to help them, *Philip* thought it enough to leave the *Achæans*, with some part of his and their Mercenaries. He himself with the body of his Army putting to Sea, landed in the Ile of *Cephalenia*: whence the *Aetolians*, dwelling over against it, used to furnish themselves of shipping, when they went to rove abroad. There he besieged the Town of *Palæa*, that had been very serviceable to the Enemy against him and his Confederates; and might be very usefull to him, if he could get it. Whilest he lay before this Town, there came unto him fifteen ships of war from *Scerdilaidas*; and many good Souldiers, from the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, and *Messenians*. But the Town was obstinate; and would not be terrified with numbers. It was naturally fenced on all parts save one, on which side *Philip* carryed a Mine to the wall, wherewith he overthrew two hundred foot thereof. *Leontius* Captain of the *Targettiers*, was appointed by the King to make the assault. But he, remembring his covenant with *Apelles*, did both wilfully forbear to do his best; and caused others to do the like. So the *Macedonians* were put to foile, and many slain, not of the worst Souldiers; but such as had gotten over the breach, and would have carried the Town, if the Treason of their Captain, and some by him corrupted, had not hindred the victory. The King was angry with this, but there was no remedy; and therefore he thought upon breaking up the siege. For it was easier unto the Townesmen to make up the gap in their wall, than for him to make it wider. Whilest he stood thus perplexed and uncertain what course to take: the *Messenians* and *Acarnanians* lay hard upon him, each of them desirous to draw him into their own Countrey. The *Messenians* alledged, that *Lycurgus* was busie in wasting their Countrey: upon whom the King might come unawares in one day; the *Etesian* windes which then blew, serving fitly for his Navigation. Hereto also *Leontius* perswaded; who considered that those windes, as they would easily carry him thither, so would they detain him there perforce (blowing all the Dog-dayes and make him spend the Summer to small or no purpose. But *Aratus* gave better counsell, and prevailed: he shewed how unfitting it were, to let the *Aetolians* over-run all *Thessaly* again, and some part of *Macedon*, whilest the King withdrew his Army farre off to seek small adventures. Rather, he said that the time now served well to carry the war into *Aetolia*: since the Prætor was gone thence abroad on roving, with the one half of their strength. As for *Lycurgus*; he was not strong enough to do much harm in *Peloponnesus*: and it might suffice, if the *Achæans* were appointed to make head against them. According to this advice, the King set sail for *Aetolia*, and enters the Bay of *Ambracia*, which divided the *Aetolians* from *Acarnania*. The *Acarnanians* were glad to see him on their borders, and joyned with him as many of them as could bear arms, to help in taking vengeance upon their bad neighbours. He marched up into the in-land Countrey: and taking some places by the way, which he filled with Garrisons to assure his Retrait; He pussed on to *Thermum*, which was the Receptacle of the *Aetolians*, and surest place of defence in all extremities. The Countrey round about was a great fastnesse, environed with rocky Mountains of very narrow, steep, and difficult ascent. There did the *Aetolians* use to hold all their chief meetings, their Fairs, their election of Magistrates, and their solemn Games. There also they used to bestow the most precious of their goods, as in a place of greatest security. This opinion of the naturall strength, had made them careless in looking unto it. When *Philip* therefore had overcome the bad way, there was nothing else to do than to take spoil:

whereof

whereof he found such plenty, that he thought the pains of his journey well recompenced. So he loaded his Army: and consuming all that could not be carryed away, forgot not to raze a goodly Temple, the chief of all belonging unto the *Ætolians*; in remembrance of their like courtesie, shewed upon the Temples of *Dium* and *Dodona*. This burning of the Temple, might (questionlesse) more for the Kings honour have been forborn. But perhaps he thought, as *Monsieur du Gourgues* the French Captain told the *Spaniards* in *Florida*, That they which had no faith, needed no Church. At his return from *Thermum*, the *Ætolians* laid for him: which that they would do, he beleeved before; and therefore was not taken unawares Three thousand of them there were that lying in ambush, fell upon his skirts: but he laid a Counter-ambush for them, of his *Illyrians*; who staying behinde the rest, did set upon the backs of the *Ætolians*, whilest they were busily charging in Rear the Army that went before. So with slaughter of the enemy, he returned the same way that he came: and burning down those places that he had taken before, as also wasting the Countrey round about him, He safely carried all that he had gotten aboard his fleet. Once the *Ætolians* made countenance of fight, issuing out of *Stratus* in great bravery. But they were beaten home faster than they came, and followed to their very gates.

The joy of this victorious expedition being every way compleat, and not deformed (as commonly happens) by any sinister accident; it pleased the King to make a great feast unto all his friends and Captains. Thither were invited among the rest *Leontius*, with his fellow *Megaleas*. They came because they could not choose: but their heavy looks argued, what little pleasure they took in the Kings prosperity. It grieved them to think, that they should be able to give no better account unto *Apelles*, of their hindering the Kings businesse; since *Apelles* himself, as will be shewed anon, had played his own part with a most mischievous dexterity. Finding *Aratus* on the way home to his Tent: they fell to reviling him, throwing stones at him, so that they caused a great uprore; many running in (as happens in such cases) to take part with the one or the other. The King sending to inquire of the matter, was truly informed of all that had passed. Which made him send for *Leontius* and his fellowes. But *Leontius* was gotten out of the way: *Megaleas*, and another with him, came. The King began to rate them for their disorder: and they, to give him froward answers: insomuch, as they said at length, That they would never give over, till they had rewarded *Aratus* with a mischief as he deserved. Hereupon the King committed them to ward. *Leontius* hearing of this, comes boldly to the King, with his *Targettiers* at his heels: and with a proud grace demanded, who it was that had dared to lay hands upon *Megaleas*, yea and to cast him into prison? Why said the King, it was even I. This resolute answer, which *Leontius* had not expected, made him depart both sad and angry; seeing himself out-frowned, and not knowing how to remedy the matter. Shortly after *Megaleas* was called forth to his answer, and was charged by *Aratus* with many great crimes. Among which were, The hinderance of the Kings victory at *Palea*, and the Compact made with *Apelles*: matters no lesse touching *Leontius*, that stood by as a looker on, than *Megaleas* that was accused. In conclusion, the presumptions against him were so strong, and his answers thereto so weak; that he, and *Crinon* one of his fellowes, were condemned in twenty Talents: *Crinon* being remanded back to prison; and *Leontius* becomming Bail for *Megaleas*. This was done upon the way home-wards, as the King was returning to *Corinth*.

Philip dispatched well a great deal of businesse this year. For as soon as he was at *Corinth*, he took in hand an Expedition against the *Lacedæmonians*. These and the *Eleans* had done what harm they could in *Peloponnesus*, whilest the King was absent. The *Achæans* had opposed them as well as they could; with ill successe, yet so, as they hindred them from doing such harm as else they would have done. But when *Philip* came, he over-ran the countrey about *Lacedæmon*: & was in a maner at the gates of *Sparta*, ere men could well beleeve that he was returned out of *Ætolia*. He took not in this Expedition any Cities, but made great waste in the fields: and having beaten the enemy in some skirmishes, carryed back with him to *Corinth* a rich booty of cattell, slaves, and other Country spoil. At *Corinth* he found attending him, Embassadours from the *Rhodians* and *Chians*, that requested him to set *Greece* at quiet, by granting peace unto the *Ætolians*. They had gracious audience: and he willed them to deal first with the *Ætolians*, who if they would make the same request, should not finde him unreasonable. The

Ætolians

Ætolians had sped ill that year: neither saw they any likely hopes for the years following. The Army that they had sent forth to waste *Thessaly* and *Macedon*, found such opposition on the way; that not daring to proceed, it returned home without bringing any thing to effect. In the mean season they had been grievously afflicted, as before is shewed, by *Philip* in the centre of their own Countrey. All *Greece* and *Macedon* was up in armes against them, and their weak Allies the *Eleans* and *Lacedemonians*. Neither was it certain, how long the one or other of these their *Peloponnesian* friends should be able to hold out, since they were not strong enough to keep the field, but had already suffered those miseries of war, which by a little continuance would make them glad, each to seek their own peace, without regard of their Confederates. Wherefore the *Ætolians* readily entertained this negotiation of Peace: and taking truce for thirty daies with the King, dealt with him by intercession of the same Embassadours, to intreat his presence at a Diet of their nation, that should be held at *Rhium*; whither if he would vouchsafe to come, they promised that he should finde them conformable to any good reason.

Whilest these things were in hand, *Leontius* and *Megaleas* thought to have terrified the King, by raising sedition against him in the Army. But this device sorted to no good effect. The souldiers were easily & quickly incensed against many of the Kings friends, who were said to be the cause, why they were not rewarded with so much of the booty, as they thought to belong of right unto them. But their anger spent it self in a noise, and breaking open of doors, without further harm done. This was enough to inform the King (who easily pacified his men with gentle words) that some about him were very false. Yea the Souldiers themselves, repenting of their insolence, desired to have the Authors of the tumult sought out, and punished according to their deserts. The King made shew as if he had not cared to make such inquisition. But *Leontius* and *Megaleas* were afraid, lest the matter would soon come out of it self to their extream danger. Wherefore they sent unto *Apelles*, the Head and Architect of their treason; requesting him speedily to repair unto *Corinth*, where he might stand between them and the Kings displeasure. *Apelles* had not all this while been wanting to the businesse, undertaken by him and his treacherous companions. He had taken upon him, as a man that had the Kings heart in his own hand: and thereby was he grown into such credit, that all the Kings Officers in *Macedon* and *Thessaly* addressed themselves unto him, and received from him their dispatch in every businesse. Likewise the *Greeks* in all their flattering Decrees, took occasion to magnifie the vertue of *Apelles*, making slight mention (only for fashion sake) of the King: who seemed no better than the Minister and Executioner of *Apelles* his will and pleasure. Such was the arrogancy of this great man, in setting himself out unto the people: but in managing the Kings affairs, he made it his speciall care, that money and all things needfull for the publique service, should be wanting. Yea he enforced the King, for very need, to sell his own Plate and houshold vessels: thinking to resolve these and all other difficulties, by only saying, *Sir, be ruled wholly by me, and all shall be as you would wish.* Hereto if the King would give assent, then had this Politician obtained his hearts desire. Now taking his journey from *Chalcis* in the Isle of *Eubœa*, to the City of *Corinth* where *Philip* then lay: he was fetcht in with great pomp and royalty, by a great number of the Captains and Souldiers; which *Leontius* and *Megaleas* drew forth to meet him on the way. So entring the City with a goodly train, he went directly to the Court, and towards the Kings chamber. But *Philip* was well aware of his pride, and had vehement suspition of his falshood. Wherefore one was sent to tell him, that he should wait a while, or come another time, for the King was not now at leisure to be spoken with. It was a pretty thing, that such a check as this made all his attendants forsake him, as a man in disgrace; in such sort, that going thence to his lodging, he had none to follow him save his own Pages. After this, the King vouchsafed him now and then some slender graces: but in consultations, or other matters of privacy, he used him not at all. This taught *Megaleas* to look to himself, and run away betimes. Hereupon the King sent forth *Tarrion* his Lieutenant of *Peloponnesus*, with all the *Targettiers*, as it were to do some piece of service, but indeed of purpose to apprehend *Leontius* in the absence of his followers. *Leontius* being taken, dispatched away a messenger presently to his *Targettiers*, to signifie what was befallen him: and they forthwith sent unto the King in his behalf. They made request, That if any other thing were objected against him, he might not be called

called forth to triall before their return: as for the debt of *Megaleas*, if that were all the matter, they ſaid they were ready to make a purſe for his diſcharge. This affection of the ſouldiers made *Philip* more haſty then elſe he would have been, to take away the Traitors life. Neither was it long, ere letters of *Megaleas* were intercepted, which he wrote unto the *Ætolians*; vilifying the King with opprobrious words, and bidding them not to hearken after peace, but to hold out a while, for that *Philip* was even ready to ſink under the burden of his own poverty. By this the King underſtood more perfectly the falſhood, not onely of *Megaleas*, but of *Apelles*; whoſe cunning head had laboured all this while to keep him ſo poor. Wherefore he ſent one to purſue *Megaleas* that was fled to *Thebes*. As for *Apelles*, he committed both him, his ſon, and another that was inward with him, to priſon; wherein all of them ſhortly ended their lives. *Megaleas* alſo, neither daring to ſtand to triall, nor knowing whither to flie, was weary of his own life; and ſlew himſelf about the ſame time.

The *Ætolians*, as they had begun this war upon hope of accompliſhing what they liſted in the Nonage of *Philip*: ſo finding that the vigour of this young Prince tempered with the cold advice of *Aratus*, wrought very effectually toward their overthrow; they grew very deſirous to make an end of it. Nevertheleſſe, being a turbulent Nation, and ready to lay hold upon all advantages, when they heard what was happened in the Court, the death of *Apelles*, *Leontius*, and *Megaleas*, together with ſome indignation thereupon conceived by ſome of the Kings Targettiers, they began to hope anew, that theſe troubles would be long laſting, and thereupon brake the day appointed for the meeting at *Rhium*. Of this was *Philip* nothing ſorry. For being in good hope throughly to tame this unquiet Nation; he thought it much to concern his own honour, that all the blame of the beginning and continuing the War ſhould reſt upon themſelves. Wherefore he willed his Confederates to lay aſide all thought of peace, and to prepare for War againſt the yeer following; wherein he hoped to bring it to an end. Then gratified he his *Macedonian* Souldiers, by yeelding to let them winter in their own Country. In his return homeward, he called into judgement one *Ptolomy*, a companion with *Apelles* and *Leontius* in their Treaſons: who was therefore condemned by the *Macedonians*; and ſuffered death. Theſe were the ſame *Macedonians*, that lately could not endure to hear of *Leontius* his impriſonment; yet now they think the man worthy to die that was but his adherent. So vain is the confidence, on which Rebels uſe to build, in their favour with the Multitude.

During his abode in *Macedon*, *Philip* won ſome bordering Towns, from which the *Dardanians*, *Ætolians*, and other his ill neighbours, were accuſtomed to make rodes into his Kingdome: when he had thus provided for ſafety of his own; the *Ætolians* might well know what they were to expect. But there came again Embaſſadors from the *Rhodians* and *Chians*, with others from *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, and from the Citie of *Bizantium*, re-continuing the former ſolicitation about the peace. This faſhion had been taken up in matters of *Greece*, ever ſince the Kings that reigned after *Alexander*, had taken upon them to ſet the whole Country at liberty: No ſooner was any Province or City in danger to be oppreſſed and ſubdued by force of war, but preſently there were found Interceſſors, who pitying the effuſion of *Greekiſh* blood, would importune the ſtronger to relinquiſh his advantage. By doing ſuch friendly offices in time of need, the Princes and States abroad ſought to binde unto them thoſe people, that were howſoever weak in numbers, yet very good ſouldiers. But hereby it came to paſſe, that the more froward ſort, eſpecially the *Ætolians*, whoſe whole Nation was addicted to falſhood and robbery, durſt enter boldly into quarrels with all their neighbours: being well aſſured that if they had the worſt, *The love of Greece* would be ſufficient for to redeem their quiet. They had, ſince the late Treaty of Peace, done what harm they could in *Peloponneſus*: but being beaten by the *Achæans*, and ſtanding in fear to be more ſoundly beaten at home, they deſired now, more earneſtly than before, to make an end of the War as ſoon as they might. *Philip* made ſuch anſwer unto the Embaſſadours, as he had done the former yeer; That he gave not occaſion to the beginning of this War, nor was at the preſent affraid to continue it, or unwilling to end it: But that the *Ætolians*, if they had a deſire to live in reſt, muſt firſt be dealt withall, to ſignifie plainly their determination, whereto himſelf would return ſuch anſwer as he ſhould think fit.

Philip had at this time no great liking unto the Peace, being a young Prince, and in hope to increase the honour which he daily got by the War. But it happened in the middest of this Negotiation, that he was advertised by letters out of *Macedon*, what a notable victory *Hannibal* had obtained against the *Romans* in the battell at *Thrasymene*. These letters he communicated unto *Demetrius Pharius*: who greatly encouraged him to take part with *Hannibal*: and not to sit still, as an idle beholder of the *Italian* War. Hereby he grew more inclinable than before unto Peace with the *Ætolians*: which was concluded shortly in a meeting at *Naupactus*. There did *Agelaus* an *Ætolian* make a great Oration: telling, how happy it was for the *Greeks*, that they might at their own pleasure dispute about finishing War between themselves, without being molested by the *Barbarians*. For when once either the *Romans* or *Carthaginians* had subdued one the other; it was not to be doubted, that they would forthwith look Eastward, and seek by all means to set footing in *Greece*. For this cause he said it were good, that their Country should be at peace within it self: and that *Philip*, if he were desirous of War, should lay hold on the opportunity, now fitly serving to enlarge his Dominion, by winning somewhat in *Italy*.

Such advice could the *Ætolians* then give, when they stood in fear of danger threatning them at hand: but being soon after weary of rest, as being accustomed to enrich themselves by pillage, they were so far from observing and following their own good counsell, that they invited the *Romans* into *Greece*, whereby they brought themselves and the whole Country (but themselves before any other part of the Country) under servitude of strangers. The Condition of this Peace was simple, That every one should keep what they held at the present, without making restitution, or any amends for dammages past.

§. III.

Philip, *at the perswasion of* Demetrius Pharius, *enters into League with* Hannibal *against the Romans. The tenour of the League between* Hannibal *and* Philip.

THis being agreed upon: the *Greeks* betook themselves to quiet courses of life; and *Philip* to prepare for the businesse of *Italy*, about which he consulted with *Demetrius Pharius*. And thus passed the time away, till the great battell of *Cannæ*: after which he joyned in league with *Hannibal*, as hath been shewed before. *Demetrius Pharius* bore great malice unto the *Romans*; and knew no other way to be avenged upon them, or to recover his own lost Kingdom, than by procuring the *Macedonian*, that was in a manner wholly guided by his counsell, to take part with their enemies. It had otherwise been far more expedient for *Philip*, to have supported the weaker of those two great Cities against the more mighty. For by so doing, he should perhaps have brought them to peace upon some equall terms; and thereby, as did *Hiero*, a far weaker Prince, have both secured his own Estate, and caused each of them to be desirous of chief place in his friendship. The issue of the counsell which he followed, will appear soon after this. His first quarrell with the *Romans*; the trouble which they and the *Ætolians* did put him to in *Greece*; and the Peace which they made with him for a time, upon such Conditions that might easily be broken, have been related in another place, as belonging unto the second Punick War. Wherefore I will onely here set down the tenour of the League between Him and *Carthage*; which may seem not unworthy to be read, if onely in regard of the form it self then used: though it had been over-long to have been inserted into a more busie piece.

THE

The Oath and Covenants between HANNIBAL Generall of the Carthaginians, and XENOPHANES, Embassadour of PHILIP King of Macedon.

THis is the League ratified by oath, which Hannibal *the Generall, and with him* Mago, Myrcal, *and* Barmocal, *as also the Senators of Carthage that are present, and all the Carthaginians that are in his Army, have made with* Xenophanes *the son of* Cleomachus *Athenian, whom King* Philip *the son of* Demetrius *hath sent unto us, for himself and the Macedonians, and his Associates: Before* Jupiter, *and* Juno, *and* Apollo: *before* * the God of the Carthaginians, Hercules *and* Tolaus: *before* Mars, Triton, Neptune: *before* the Gods *accompanying Arms, the* Sun, *the* Moon, *and the* Earth: *before* Rivers *and* Meddows, *and* Waters: *before all the* Gods *that have power over Carthage: before all the* Gods *that rule over Macedon, and the rest of Greece: before all the* Gods *that are Presidents of War, and present at the making of this League.* Hannibal *the Generall hath said, and all the Senators that are with him, and all the Carthaginians in his Army:* Be *it agreed between You and Us, that this Oath stand for friendship and loving affection, that We become friends, familiar, and brethren, Upon Covenant,* that *the safety of the Lords the Carthaginians, and of* Hannibal *the Generall, and those that are with him, and of the Rulers of Provinces of the Carthaginians, using the same Laws, and of the Vticans, and as many Cities and Nations as obey the Carthaginians, and of the Souldiers & Associates, and of all Towns and Nations with which we hold friendship in Italy, Gaule, and Liguria, & with whom we shall hold friendship, or make alliance hereafter in this Region; be preserved by King* Philip *and the Macedonians, and such of the Greeks as are their Associates.* In like manner *shall King* Philip *and the Macedonians, and other the Greeks his Associates, be saved and preserved by the Carthaginian Armies, and by the Vticans, and by all Cities and Nations that obey the Carthaginians, and by their Associates and Souldiers, and by all Nations and Cities in Italy, Gaule, and Liguria, that are of our Alliance, or shall hereafter joyn with Us in Italy.* We *shall not take Counsell one against the other, nor deal fraudulently one with the other. With all readinesse and good will, without deceit or subtlety, We shall be enemies unto the enemies of the Carthaginians, excepting those Kings, Towns, and Havens, with which We have already league and friendship. We also shall be enemies to the enemies of King* Philip, *excepting those Kings, Cities, and Nations, with which we have already league and friendship. The War that We have with the Romans, have Ye also with them, untill the* Gods *shall give Us a new and happy end. Ye shall aid Us with those things whereof we have need, and shall do according to the Covenants between Us. But if the* Gods *shall not give unto You and Us their help in this War against the* Romans *and their Associates; then if the Romans offer friendship,* We *shall make friendship in such wise, that Ye shall be partakers of the same friendship, With Condition,* That *they shall not have power to make War upon You: Neither shall the Romans be Lords over the Corcyræans, nor over those of Apollonia, nor Dyrrhachium, nor over Pharus, nor Dimalle, nor the Parthini, nor Atintania. They shall also render unto* Demetrius Pharius *all those that belong unto him, as many as are within the Romans Dominions. But if the Romans (after such peace made) shall make War upon You or Us; We will succour one another in that War, as either shall have need. The same shall be observed in War made by any other, excepting those Kings, Cities, and States, with whom we hold already league and friendship.* To this league *if We or Ye shall think fit to adde or detract, such addition or detraction shall be made by our common consent.*

* Dæmon.

§. IIII.

How Philip *yeelded to his naturall vices, being therein soothed by* Demetrius Pharius. *His desire to tyrannize upon the free States his Associates: With the troubles into which he thereby fell, whilest he bore a part in the second Punick War. He poisoneth* Aratus: *and grows hatefull to the Achæans.*

HItherto *Philip* had carried himself as a vertuous Prince. And though with more commendation of his wisdome, he might have offered his friendship to the *Romans*, that were like to be oppressed, than to the *Carthaginians*, who had the better hand: yet this his medling in the Punick War, proceeded from a royall greatnesse of minde, with a desire to secure and increase his own estate, adding therewithall reputation to his Country. But in this businesse he was guided (as hath been said) by *Demetrius Pharius*: who, looking throughly into his nature, did accommodate himself to his desires: and thereby shortly governed him as he listed. For the vertues of *Philip* were not indeed such as they seemed. He was lustfull, bloody, and tyrannicall: desirous of power to do what he listed, and not otherwise lifting to do what he ought, than so far forth, as by making a fair shew he might breed in men such good opinion of him, as should help to serve his turn in all that he took in hand. Before he should busie himself in *Italy*, he thought it requisite in good policy, to bring the *Greeks* that were his Associates, under a more absolute form of subjection. Hereunto *Apelles* had advised him before: and he had liked reasonably well of the course. But *Apelles* was a boysterous Counsellor, and one that referring all to his own glory, thought himself deeply wronged, if he might not wholly have his own way, but were driven to await the Kings opportunity at other times. *Demetrius Pharius* could well be contented to observe the Kings humours: and guided, like a Coach-man, with the reins in his hand, those affections which himself did onely seem to follow. Therefore he grew daily more and more in credit: so as, without any manner of contention, he supplanted *Aratus*; which the violence of *Apelles* could never do.

There arose about these times a very hot Faction among the *Messenians*, between the Nobility and Commons: their vehement thoughts being rather diverted (as happens often after a forreign War) unto domestical objects, than allayed and reduced unto a more quiet temper. In processe of no long time, the contention among them grew so violent, that *Philip* was intreated to compound the differences. He was glad of this: resolving so to end the matter, that they should not henceforth strive any more about their Government: for that he would assume it wholly to himself. At his coming thither, he found *Aratus* busie among them to make all friends, after a better manner than agreed with his own secret purpose. Wherefore he consulted not with this reverend old man: but talked in private with such of the *Messenians* as repaired unto him. He asked the Governors, what they meant to stand thus disputing: and whether they had not Laws to bridle the insolence of the unruly Rabble: Contrariwise, in talking with the heads of the popular Faction, he said it was strange, that they being so many, would suffer themselves to be opposed by a few; as if they had not hands to defend themselves from Tyrants. Thus whilest each of them presumed on the Kings assistance; they thought it best to go roundly to work, ere that he were gone that should countenance their doings. The Governours therefore would have apprehended some seditious Orators, that were, they said, the stirrers up of the multitude unto sedition. Upon this occasion, the people took Arms: and running upon the Nobility and Magistrates, killed of them in a rage, almost two hundred. *Philip* thought, it seems, that it would be easie to worry the Sheep, when the Dogs their guardians were slain. But his falshood and double dealing was immediately found out. Neither did the younger *Aratus* forbear to tell him of it in publick, with very bitter and disgracefull words. The King was angry at this. But having already done more than was commendable, or excusable: and yet further intending to take other things in hand wherein he should need the help and countenance of his best friends; he was content to smother his displeasure, and make as fair weather as he could. He led old *Aratus* aside by the hand; and went up into the Castle of *Ithome*, that was over *Messene*. There he pretended to do sacrifice: and sacrifice he did. But it was his purpose to keep the place to his own use:

uſe; for that it was of notable ſtrength, and would ſerve to command the further parts of *Peloponneſus*, as the Citadel of *Corinth*, which he had already, commanded the entrance into that Country. Whileſt he was therefore ſacrificing, and had the entrals of the beaſt delivered into his hands, as was the manner; he ſhewed them to *Aratus*, and gently aſked him, whether the tokens that he ſaw therein did ſignifie, That being now in poſſeſſion of this place, he ſhould quietly go out of it, or rather keep it to himſelf. He thought perhaps, that the old man would have ſoothed him a little; were it onely for deſire to make amends for the angry words newly ſpoken by his ſon. But as *Aratus* ſtood doubtfull what to anſwer, *Demetrius Pharius* gave this verdict: *If thou be a Sooth-ſayer, thou mayſt go thy wayes, and let ſlip this good advantage; if thou be a King, thou muſt not neglect the opportunity, but hold the Oxe by both his horns.* Thus he ſpake; reſembling *Ithome* and *Acrocorinthus* unto the two horns of *Peloponneſus*. Yet would *Philip* needs hear the opinion of *Aratus*: who told him plainly, That it were well done to keep the place, if it might be kept without breach of his faith unto the *Meſſenians*: But if, by ſeizing upon *Ithome*, he muſt loſe all the other Caſtles that he held, and eſpecially the ſtrongeſt Caſtle of all that was left unto him by *Antigonus*, which was his credit; then were it far better to depart with his ſouldiers, and keep men in duty, as he had done hitherto, by their own good wills, than by fortifying any ſtrong places againſt them, to make them of his friends become his enemies.

To this good advice, *Philip* yeelded at the preſent: but not without ſome diſlike thenceforth growing between him and the *Arati*; whom he thought more froward than beſeemed them, in contradicting his will. Neither was the old man deſirous at all, to deal any longer in the Kings affairs, or be inward with him. For, as he plainly diſcovered his tyrannous purpoſes; ſo likewiſe he perceived, that in reſorting to his houſe, he had been diſhoneſt with his ſons wife. He therefore ſtaid at home: where at good leaſure he might repent, that in deſpight of *Cleomenes*, his own Countri-man, and a temperate Prince, he had brought the *Macedonians* into *Peloponneſus*.

Philip made a Voyage out of *Peloponneſus* into *Epirus*, wherein *Aratus* refuſed to bear him company. In this journey he found by experience what *Aratus* had lately told him, That unhoneſt counſells are not ſo profitable in deed, as in appearance. The *Epirots* were his followers and dependants; and ſo they purpoſed to continue. But he would needs have them ſo to remain, whether they purpoſed it or not. Wherefore to make them the more obnoxious unto his will, he ſeized upon their Town of *Oricum*, and laid ſiege to *Apollonia*; having no good colour of theſe doings: but thinking himſelf ſtrong enough to do what he liſted, and not ſeeing whence they ſhould procure friends to help them. Thus in ſtead of ſetling the Country, as his intended Voyage into *Italy* required: he kindled a fire in it which he could never quench, untill it had laid hold on his own Palace. Whileſt he was thus labouring to binde the hands that ſhould have fought for him in *Italy*, *M. Valerius* the *Roman* came into thoſe parts; who not onely maintained the *Epirots* againſt him, but procured the *Ætolians* to break the Peace, which they had lately made with him.

Thus began that War; the occurrents whereof we have related before, in the place whereto it belonged. In mannaging whereof, though *Philip* did the offices of a good Captain: yet when leiſure ſerved, he made it apparent that he was a vicious King. He had not quite left his former deſire, of oppreſſing the liberty of the *Meſſenians*; but made another journey into their Country, with hope to deceive them as before. They underſtood him better now than before; and therefore were not haſty to truſt him too far. When he ſaw that his cunning would not ſerve, he went to work by force; and calling them his enemies, invaded them with open War. But in that War he could doe little good; perhaps, becauſe none of his Confederates were deſirous to help him in ſuch an enterpriſe. In this attempt upon *Meſſene*, he loſt *Demetrius Pharius*; that was his Counſellor and Flatterer, not his Perverter; as appears by his growing daily more naught in following times. The worſe that he ſped, the more angry he waxed againſt thoſe that ſeemed not to favour his injurious doings. Wherefore, by the miniſtery of *Taurion*, his Lievtenant, he poyſoned old *Aratus*; and ſhortly after that, he poyſoned alſo the younger *Aratus*: hoping that theſe things would never have been known, becauſe they were done ſecretly, and the poyſons themſelves were more ſure than manifeſt in operation. The *Sicyonians*, and all the people of *Achaia*, decreed unto

Aratus more than humane honours, as Sacrifices, Hymns, and Proceſſions, to be celebrated every yeer twice, with a Prieſt ordained unto him for that purpoſe; as was accuſtomed unto the *Heroes*, or men, whom they thought to be tranſlated into the number of the gods. Hereunto they are ſaid to have been encouraged by an Oracle of *Apollo*: which is like enough to have been true, ſince the help of the Divell is never failing to the increaſe of Idolatry.

The loving memory of *Aratus* their Patron, and ſingular Benefactour, could not but work in the *Achæans* a marvellous diſlike of that wicked King which had made him thus away. He ſhal therefore hear of this hereafter, when they better dare to take counſell for themſelves. At the preſent, the murder was not generally known or beleeved: neither were they in caſe to ſubſiſt, without his help that had committed it. The *Ætolians* were a moſt outragious people, great darers, and ſhameleſſe robbers. With theſe the *Romans* made a league: whereof the Conditions were ſoon divulged, eſpecially that main point, concerning the diviſion of the purchaſe which they ſhould make, namely, That the *Ætolians* ſhould have the Country and Towns; but the *Romans* the ſpoil, and carry away the people to ſell for ſlaves. The *Achæans*, who in times of greater quiet, could not endure to make ſtraight alliance with the *Ætolians*, as knowing their uncivill diſpoſition; were much the more averſe from them, when they perceived how they had called in the *Barbarians* (for ſuch did the *Greeks* account all other Nations except their own) to make havock of the Country. The ſame conſideration moved alſo the *Lacedæmonians* to ſtand off a while, before they would declare themſelves for the *Ætolians*, whoſe friendſhip they had embraced in the late war. The induſtry therefore of *Philip*, and the great care which he ſeemed to take of the *Achæans* his Confederates, ſufficed to retain them: eſpecially, at ſuch time, as their own neceſſity was thereto concurrent. More particularly he obliged unto himſelf the *Dymæans* by an ineſtimable benefit: recovering their Town, after it had been taken by the *Romans* and *Ætolians*; and redeeming their people whereſoever they might be found, that had been carried away captive, and ſold abroad for ſlaves. Thus might he have blotted out the memory of offences paſt; if the malignity of his naturall condition had not otherwhiles broken out, and given men to underſtand, that it was the Time, and not his Vertue, which caused him to make ſuch a ſhew of goodneſſe. Among other foule acts, whereof he was not aſhamed; He took *Polycratia* the wife of the younger *Aratus*, and carried her into *Macedon*: little regarding how this might ſerve to confirm in the people their opinion, that he was guilty of the old mans death. But of ſuch faults he ſhall be told, when the *Romans* make war upon him the ſecond time: for, of that which happened in this their firſt Invaſion, I hold it ſuperfluous to make repetition.

§. V.

Of Philopœmen *Generall of the Achæans: and* Machanidas, *Tyrant of Lacedæmon. A battell between them, wherein* Machanidas *is ſlain.*

IT happens often, that the deceaſe of one eminent man diſcovers the vertue of another. In the place of *Aratus* there ſtood up *Philopœmen*: whoſe notable valour, and great ſkill in Arms, made the Nation of the *Achæans* redoubtable among all the *Greeks*, and careleſſe of ſuch protection, as in former times they had needed againſt the violence of their neighbours. This is that *Philopœmen*: who being then a young man, and having no command, did eſpeciall ſervice to *Antigonus* at the battell of *Sellaſia* againſt *Cleomenes*. Thence forward untill now he had ſpent the moſt part of his time in the Iſle of *Crete*: the Inhabitants whereof being a valiant people, and ſeldome or never at peace between themſelves; he bettered among them his knowledge, and practice in the Art of War. At his return home, he had charge of the Horſe: wherein he carried himſelf ſo ſtrictly, travelling with all the Cities of the Confederacy to have his followers well mounted, and armed at all pieces: as alſo he ſo diligently trained them up in all exerciſe of ſervice, that he made the *Achæans* very ſtrong in that part of their forces. Being afterward choſen Prætor or Generall of the Nation, he had no leſſe care to reform their military diſcipline throughout, whereby his Country might be ſtrong enough to defend it ſelf, and not any longer (as in former times) need to depend upon the help of others. He perſwaded the *Achæans* to cut off their vain

expence

expence of bravery, in apparell, houſhold-ſtuffe, and curious fare, and to beſtow that coſt upon their Armes: wherein by how much they were the more gallant, by ſo much were they like to prove the better Souldiers, and ſutable in behaviour, unto the pride of their furniture. They had ſerved hitherto with little light Bucklers, and ſlender Darts, to caſt afar off; that were uſefull in ſkirmiſhing at ſome diſtance, or for ſurpriſes, or ſudden and haſty Expeditions, whereto *Aratus* had been moſt accuſtomed. But when they came to handie-ſtrokes, they were good for nothing, ſo long as they were wholly driven to rely upon the courage of their Mercenaries. *Philopœmen* altered this: cauſing them to arme themſelves more weightily, to uſe a larger kind of ſhield, with good ſwords, and ſtrong pikes, fit for ſervice at hand. He taught them alſo to fight in cloſe order, and altered the form of their embattelling: not making the Files ſo deep as had been accuſtomed, but extending the Front, that he might uſe the ſervice of many hands.

Eight moneths were ſpent of that yeer, in which he firſt was *Prætor* of the *Achæans*; when *Machanidas* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon* cauſed him to make trial, how his ſouldiers had profited by his diſcipline. This *Machanidas* was the ſucceſſor unto *Lycurgus*, a man more violent than his fore-goer. He kept in pay a ſtrong Army of Mercenaries: and he kept them not onely to fight for *Sparta*, but to hold the City in obedience to himſelf perforce. Wherefore it behoved him not to take part with the *Achæans*, that were favorers of liberty; but to ſtrengthen himſelf by friendſhip of the *Ætolians*: who, in making Alliances, took no further notice of vice or vertue, than as it had reference to their own profit. The people alſo of *Lacedæmon*, through their inveterate hatred unto the *Argives*, *Achæans*, and *Macedonians*; were in like ſort (all or moſt of them) inclinable to the *Ætolian* Faction. Very unwiſely. For in ſeeking to take revenge upon thoſe, that had lately hindred them from getting the Lordſhip of *Peloponneſus*; they hindred themſelves thereby from recovering the Maſtery of their own City. This affection of the *Spartans*, together with the regard of his own ſecurity, and no ſmall hope of good that would follow, ſuffered not *Machanidas* to be idle; but alwaies made him ready to fall upon his neighbours backs, and take of theirs what he could, whileſt they were enforced, by greater neceſſity, to turne face another way. Thus had he often done, eſpecially in the abſence of *Philip*: whoſe ſudden coming into thoſe parts, or ſome other oppoſition made againſt him, had uſually made him faile of his attempts. At the preſent he was ſtronger in men, than were the *Achæans*, and though his own men better Souldiers than were theirs.

Whileſt *Philip* therefore was buſied elſe-where, he entred the Country of the *Mantinæans*: being not without hope to doe as *Cleomenes* had done before him; yea and perhaps to get the * *Lordſhip of Peloponneſus*, as having ſtronger friends and weaker oppoſition, than *Cleomenes* had found. But *Philopœmen* was ready to entertain him at *Mantinæa*; where was fought between them a great battell. The Tyrant had brought into the field upon Carts a great many of engines, wherewith to beat upon the Squadrons of his enemies, and put them in diſorder. To prevent this danger, *Philopœmen* ſent forth his light armature a good way before him; ſo as *Machanidas* was faine to doe the like. To ſecond theſe, from the one and the other ſide came in continuall ſupply; till at length all the Mercenaries, both of the *Achæans* and of *Machanidas*, were drawn up to the fight: being ſo far advanced, each before their own Phalanx, that it could no otherwiſe be diſcerned which preſſed forward, or which recoyled, than by riſing of the duſt. Thus were *Machanidas* his engines made unſerviceable, by the interpoſition of his own men; in ſuch manner as the Cannon is hindred from doing execution, in moſt of the battels fought in theſe our times. The Mercenaries of the Tyrant prevailed at length: not onely by their advantage of number, but (as *Polybius* well obſerveth) by ſurmounting their oppoſites in degree of courage; wherein uſually the hired Souldiers of Tyrants exceed thoſe that are waged by free States. For as it is true, that a free people are much more valiant than they which live oppreſſed by Tyranny, ſince the one, by doing their beſt in fight, have hope to acquire ſomewhat beneficiall to themſelves, whereas the other do fight (as it were) to aſſure their own ſervitude: ſo the Mercenaries of a Tyrant, being made partakers with him in the fruits of his proſperity, have as good cauſe to maintain his quarrell as their own; whereas they that ſerve under a free State, have no other motive to doe manfully, than their bare ſtipend. Further than this, when a free State hath gotten the victory, many companies (if not all) of forreign Auxiliaries are

* *Excerpt. è Pol. l. 11. Plut. in vita Philopœmen.*

Polyb. ibid.

are presently cast; & therfore such good fellows, will not take much pains to bring the war to an end. But the victory of a Tyrant, makes him stand in need of more such helpers; because that after it he doth wrong to more, as having more subjects; and therefore stands in fear of more, that should seek to take revenge upon him. The stipendiaries therfore of the *Achæans*, being forced to give ground, were urged so violently in their retrait by those of *Machanidas*, that shortly they betook themselves to flight; & could not be staid by any perswasions of *Philopœmen*, but ran away quite beyond the battell of the *Achæans*. This disaster had been sufficient to take from *Philopœmen* the honour of the day; had he not wisely observed the demeanour of *Machanidas*, and found in him that errour which might restore the victory. The Tyrant with his Mercenaries gave chace unto those that fled: leaving behind him in good order of battell his *Lacedæmonians*; whom he thought sufficient to deale with the *Achæans*, that were already disheartned by the flight of their companions. But when this his rashnesse had carried him out of sight, *Philopœmen* advanced towards the *Lacedæmonians* that stood before him. There lay between them athwart the Country a long ditch, without water at that time; and therefore passable (as it seemed) without much difficulty, especially for Foot. The *Lacedæmonians* adventured over it, as thinking themselves better souldiers than the *Achæans*; who had in a maner already lost the day. But hereby they greatly disordered their own Battell; and had no sooner the foremost of them recovered the further bank, than they were stoutly charged by the *Achæans*, who drave them headlong into the ditch again. Their first rankes being broken, all the rest began to shrink: so as *Philopœmen* getting over the ditch, easily chaced them out of the Field. *Philopœmen* knew better how to use his advantage, than *Machanidas* had done. He suffered not all his Army to disband and follow the chace, but retained with him a sufficient strength, for the custody of a bridg that was over the ditch, by which he knew that the Tyrant must come back. The Tyrant with his Mercenaries returning from the chace, looked very heavily when he saw what was fallen out. Yet, with a lusty troupe of Horse about him, he made towards the bridg: hoping to find the *Achæans* in disorder; and to set upon their backs, as they were carelesly pursuing their Victory. But when he and his Company saw *Philopœmen* ready to make good the bridg against them; then began every one to look, which way he might shift for himself. The Tyrant, with no more than two in his company, rode along the ditch side; and searched for an easie passage over. He was easily discovered by his purple Cassock, and the costly trappings of his Horse. *Philopœmen* therefore leaving the charge of the bridg unto another, coasted him all the way as he rode; and falling upon him at length in the ditch it self, as he was getting over it, slew him there with his own hand. There died in this Battell on the *Lacedæmonians* side about four thousand: and more than four thousand were taken prisoners. Of the *Achæan* Mercenaries, probable it is, that the losse was not greatly eared for; since that War was at an end, and for their mony they might hire more when they should have need.

§. VI.

Philip *having peace with Rome, and with all Greece, prepares against Asia. Of the Kings of Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, and their Images. Of the Galatians.*

BY this victory the *Achæans* learned to think well of themselves. Neither needed they indeed after a while (such was their discipline and continuall exercise) to account themselves in matter of war inferiour to any, that should have brought against them no great oddes of number. As for the *Macedonian*, he made no great use of them. But when he had once concluded peace with the *Romans* and *Ætolians*, he studied how to enlarge his Dominion Eastward; since the fortune of his friends the *Carthaginians* declined in the West. He took in hand many matters together, or very neerly together, and some of them not honest: wherein if the *Achæans* would have done him service, they must, by helping him to oppresse others that never had wronged him, have taught him the way how to deale with themselves. He greatly hated *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, who had joyned with the *Romans* and *Ætolians* in war against him.

This

This *Atalus*, though a King, was ſcarce yet a Nobleman, otherwiſe than as he was ennobled by his own, and by his Fathers vertue. His fortune began in *Philetærus* his Uncle: who being guelded, by reaſon of a miſhap which he had when he was a childe, grew afterwards thereby to be the more eſteemed: as great men in thoſe times repoſed much confidence in Eunuchs, whoſe affections could not be obliged unto wives or children. He was entertained into the family of *Docimus*, a Captain following *Antigonus the firſt*; and after the death of *Antigonus*, he accompanied his Maſter, that betook himſelf to *Lyſimachus* King of *Thrace*. *Lyſimachus* had a good opinion of him; and put him in truſt with his money and accounts. But when at length he ſtood in fear of this King, that grew a bloody Tyrant; he fled into *Aſia*, where he ſeized upon the Town of *Pergamus*, and nine thouſand talents belonging to *Lyſimachus*. The town and money, together with his own ſervice, he offered unto *Seleuchus the firſt*, that then was ready to give *Lyſimachus* battell. His offer was kindly accepted, but never performed; for that *Seleuchus*, having ſlain *Lyſimachus*, died ſhortly after himſelf, before he made uſe of *Philetærus* or his money. So this Eunuch ſtill retained *Pergamus*, with the Country round about it; and reigned therein twenty yeers as an abſolute King. He had two brethren: of which the elder is ſaid to have been a poor Carter; and the younger perhaps not much better, before ſuch time they were raiſed by the fortune of this Eunuch. *Philetærus* left his Kingdom to the elder of theſe, or to the ſon of the elder, called *Eumenes*. This *Eumenes* enlarged his Kingdom; making his advantage of the diſſention between *Seleuchus Calinicus* and *Antiochus Hierax*, the ſons of the *ſecond Antiochus*. He fought a battell with *Hierax* neer unto *Sardes*, and won the victory. At which time, to animate his men againſt the *Gaules* that ſerved under his Enemy, he uſed a pretty device. He wrote the word *Victory* upon the hand of his Soothſayer, in ſuch colours as would eaſily come of: and when the hot liver of the beaſt that was ſacrificed, had cleanly taken the print of the letters, He publiſhed this unto his Army as a Miracle; plainly foreſhewing that the gods would be aſſiſtant in that Battell.

* *Jul. Front. Strat. l. 1. c. 11.*

After this Victory, he grew a dreadfull enemy to *Seleuchus*: who never durſt attempt to recover from him, by War, the Territory that he had gotten and held. Finally, when he had reigned two and twenty yeers, he died by a ſurfeit of over-much drink, and left his Kingdom to *Attalus*, of whom we now entreat, that was ſon unto *Attalus* the youngeſt brother of *Philetærus*. *Attalus* was an undertaking Prince, very bountifull, and no leſſe valiant. By his own proper forces he reſtored his friend *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian* into his Kingdom, whence he had been expelled. He was grievouſly moleſted by *Achæus*: who ſetting up himſelf as King againſt *Antiochus the Great*, reigned in the leſſer *Aſia*. He was beſieged in his own City of *Pergamus*: but by the help of the *Tectoſages*, a Nation of the *Gauls*, whom he called over out of *Thrace*, he recovered all that he had loſt. When theſe *Gauls* had once gotten footing in *Aſia*, they never wanted employment, but were either entertained by ſome of the Princes reigning in thoſe quarters, or interpoſed themſelves, without invitation; and found themſelves work in quarrels of their own making. They cauſed *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia* to ceaſe from his war againſt *Bizantium*. Whereunto when he had condeſcended; they nevertheleſſe within a while after invaded his Kingdom. He obtained againſt them a great victory; and uſed it with great crueltie, ſparing neither age nor ſex. But the ſwarm of them increaſing, they occupied the Region about *Helleſpont*: where, in ſeating themſelves, they were much beholding unto *Attalus*. Nevertheleſſe, preſuming afterwards upon their ſtrength, they forced their Neighbour Princes and Cities to pay them tribute: in the ſharp exaction whereof, they had no more reſpect unto *Attalus*, than to any that had worſe deſerved of them. By this they compelled him to fight againſt them: and he being victorious compelled them to contain themſelves within the bounds of that Province, which took name from them in time following, and was called *Galatia*. Yet continued they ſtill to oppreſſe the weakeſt of their neighbours, and to fill up the Armies of thoſe that could beſt hire them.

The Kings reigning in thoſe parts, were the poſterity of ſuch, as had ſaved themſelves and their Provinces, in the ſlothfull reign of the *Perſians*; or in the buſie times of *Alexander*, and his *Macedonian* followers. The *Cappadocians* were very ancient. For the firſt of their line had married with *Atoſſa*, ſiſter unto the great King *Cyrus*. Their Country was taken from them by *Perdiccas*, as is ſhewed before. But the ſon of that King,

King, whom *Perdiccas* crucified, eſpying his time while the *Macedonians* were at civill wars among themſelves; recovered his Dominion, and paſſed it over to his off-ſpring. The Kings of *Pontus* had alſo their beginning from the *Perſian* Empire; and are ſaid to have iſſued from the royall houſe of *Achæmenes*. The *Paphlagonians* derived themſelves from *Pylæmenes*, a King that aſſiſted *Priamus* at the war of *Troy*. Theſe, applying themſelves unto the times, were alwayes conformable unto the ſtrongeſt. The Anceſtors of *Pruſias* had begun to reign in *Bythinia*, ſome few generations before that of *the great Alexander*. They lay ſomewhat out of the *Macedonians* way: by whom therefore, having other employment, they were the leſſe moleſted. *Calantus*, one of *Alexanders* Captains, made an expedition into their Country, where he was vanquiſhed. They had afterwards to do with a Lievtenant of *Antigonus*, that made them ſomewhat more humble. And thus they ſhuffled, as did the reſt, untill the reign of *Pruſias*, whom we have already ſometimes mentioned.

§. VII.

The Town of Cios taken by Philip, *at the inſtance of* Pruſias, *King of Bythinia, and cruelly deſtroyed. By this and the like actions,* Philip *grows hateſull to many of the Greeks: and is warred upon by* Attalus *King of Pergamus, and by the* Rhodianss

Pruſias, as a neighbour King, had many quarrels with *Attalus*; whoſe greatneſſe he ſuſpected. He therefore ſtrengthened himſelf, by taking to wife the daughter of *Philip*; as *Attalus*, on the contrary ſide, entred into a ſtrict Confederacy with the *Ætolians*: *Rhodians*, and other of the *Greeks*. But when *Philip* had ended his *Ætolian* war, and was deviſing with *Antiochus* about ſharing between them two the Kingdome of *Egypt*, wherein *Ptolomy Philopater*, a friend unto them both, was newly dead; and had left his ſon *Ptol. Epiphanes*, a young childe, his heir: the *Bythinian* entreated this his Father-in-law to come over into *Aſia*, there to win the Town of the *Ciani*, and beſtow it upon him. *Pruſias* had no right unto the Town, nor juſt matter of quarrell againſt it: but it was fitly ſeated for him, and therewithall rich. *Philip* came, as one that could not well deny to help his Son-in-law. But hereby he mightily offended no ſmall part of *Greece*. Embaſſadours came to him whileſt he lay at the ſiege, from the *Rhodians*, and divers other States: intreating him to forſake the enterpriſe. He gave dilatory, but otherwiſe gentle anſwers: making ſhew as if he would condeſcend to their requeſt, when he intended nothing leſſe. At length he got the Town: where, even in preſence of the Embaſſadours, of whoſe ſolicitation he had ſeemed ſo regardfull, he omitted no part of cruelty. Hereby he rendred himſelf odious to his neighbours, as a perfidious and ernell Prince. Eſpecially his fact was deteſted of the *Rhodians*, who had made vehement interceſſion for the poor *Ciani*: and were advertiſed by Embaſſadors of purpoſe ſent unto them from *Philip*, That, howſoever it were in his power to win the Town as ſoon as he liſted, yet in regard of his love to the *Rhodians*, he was contented to give it over. And by this his clemency, the Embaſſadors ſaid, that he would manifeſt unto the world what ſlanderous tongues they were, which noiſed abroad ſuch reports, as went of his falſhood and oppreſſion. Whileſt the Embaſſadours were declaming at *Rhodes* in the Theater to this effect; there came ſome that made a true relation of what had hapned: ſhewing that *Philip* had ſacked and deſtroyed the Town of *Cios*, and, after a cruell ſlaughter of the Inhabitants, had made ſlaves of all that eſcaped the ſword. If the *Rhodians* took this in great deſpight, no leſſe were the *Ætolians* inflamed againſt him: ſince they had ſent a Captain to take charge of the Town; being warned before by his doings at *Lyſimachia* and *Chalcedon* (which he had withdrawn from their Confederacy to his own) what little truſt was to be repoſed in the faith of this King. But moſt of all others was *Attalus* moved with conſideration of the *Macedonians* violent ambition, and of his own eſtate. He had much to loſe; and was not without hope of getting much, if he could make a ſtrong party in *Greece*. He had already, as a new King, followed the example of *Alexanders* Captains, in purchaſing with much liberality the love of the *Athenians*; which were notable Trumpeters of other mens vertue, having loſt their own. On the friendſhip of the *Ætolians* he had cauſe to preſume; having bound them unto him by good offices, many and great, in their late war

war with *Philip*. The *Rhodians* that were mighty at Sea, and held very good intelligence with the *Egyptians*, *Syrians*, and many other Princes and States, he eaſily drew into a ſtreight alliance with him, by their hatred newly conceived againſt *Philip*.

Upon confidence in theſe his friends, but moſt of all, in the ready aſſiſtance of the *Rhodians*, *Attalus* prepared to deale with the *Macedonian* by open war. It had been unſeaſonable to procraſtinate, and expect whereto the doings of the enemy tended; ſince his deſire to faſten upon *Aſia* was manifeſt, and his falſhood no leſſe manifeſt, than was ſuch his deſire. They met with him ſhortly not far from *Chios*, and fought with him a battell at Sea: wherein though *Attalus* was driven to run his own ſhip on ground, hardly eſcaping to land: though the Admirall of the *Rhodians* took his deaths wound: and though *Philip* after the battell took harbor under a Promontory, by which they had fought, ſo that he had the gathering of the wracks upon the ſhore: Yet foraſmuch as he had ſuffered far greater loſſe of ſhips and men, than had the enemie; and ſince he durſt not in few dayes after put forth to Sea, when *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* came to brave him in his Port; the honour of the victory was adjudged to his enemies. This notwithſtanding, *Philip* afterwards beſieged and won ſome towns in *Caria*: whether onely in a bravery, and to deſpight his oppoſites: or whether upon any hopeful deſire of conqueſt, it is uncertain. The ſtratagem, by which he won *Prinaſſus*, is worthey of noting. He attempted it by a mine: and finding the earth ſo ſtony, that it reſiſted his work; he nevertheleſſe commanded the Pioners to make a noiſe under ground; and ſecretly in the night time he raiſed great mounts about the entrance of the mine, to breed an opinion in the beſieged, that the work went marvellouſly forward. At length he ſent word to the Townſ-men, that by his undermining, two acres of their wall ſtood onely upon woodden props, to which if he gave fire, and entred by a Breach, they ſhould expect no mercy. The *Prinaſſians* little thought, that he had fetcht all his earth and rubbiſh by night a great way off, to raiſe up thoſe heaps which they ſaw; but rather that all had been extracted out of the mine. Wherefore they ſuffered themſelves to be outfaced, and gave up the Town as loſt, which the enemy had no hope to win by force. But *Philip* could not ſtay to ſettle himſelf in thoſe parts. *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* were too ſtrong for him at Sea, and compelled him to make haſte back into *Macedon*; whither they followed him all the way in manner of purſuit.

§. VIII.

The Romans, after their Carthaginian war, ſeek matter of quarrell againſt Philip. *The Athenians upon ſlight cauſe, proclaim war againſt* Philip; *moved thereto by* Attalus; *whom they flatter.* Philip *wins divers Towns; and makes peremptory anſwer to the* Roman *Embaſſadour. The furious reſolution of the Abydeni.*

These *Aſiatique* matters, which no way concerned the *Romans*, yet ſerved well to make a noiſe in *Rome*; and fill the peoples heads, if not with a deſire of making war in *Macedon*, at leaſt with a conceit that it were expedient ſo to doe. The *Roman* Senate was perfectly informed of the ſtate of thoſe Eaſtern Countries; and knew, that there was none other Nation than the *Greeks*, which lay between them and the Lordſhip of *Aſia*. Theſe *Greeks* were factious, and ſeldome or never at peace. As for the *Macedonian*; though length of time, and continuall dealings in *Greece* ever ſince the reignes of *Philip* and *Alexander*, had left no difference between him and the Naturalls: yet moſt of them abhorred his Dominion, becauſe he was originally forſooth a *Barbarian*: many of them hated him upon ancient quarrels: and they that had been moſt beholding unto him, were nevertheleſſe weary of him, by reaſon of his perſonall faults. All this gave hope, that the affaires of *Greece* would not long detaine the *Roman* Armies: eſpecially ſince the diviſions of the Country were ſuch, that every petty Eſtate was apt to take counſell apart for it ſelf; without much regarding the generality. But the poore Commonalty of *Rome* had no great affection to ſuch a chargeable enterpriſe. They were already quite exhauſted, by that grievous war with *Hannibal*: wherein they had given by Loan to the Republike, all their mony: neither had they as yet received, neither did they receive untill fifteene or ſixteene yeers after this, their whole ſum back again. That part of payment alſo which was already made, being not in preſent mony, but much of it in Land: it behoved them to reſt a while; and beſtow the more

more diligence in tilling their grounds, by how much they were the leſſe able to beſtow coſt. Wherefore they took no pleaſure to hear, that *Attalus* and the Rhodians had ſent Embaſſadours to ſolicite them againſt *Philip*, with report of his bold attempts in *Aſia:* or that *M. Aurelius*, their Agent in *Greece*, had ſent letters of the ſame tenour to the Senate, and magnified his intelligence, by ſetting out the preparations of this dangerous enemy, that ſolicited not onely the Towns upon the Continent, but all the Iſlands in thoſe Seas, viſiting them in perſon, or ſending Embaſſadours, as one that meant ſhortly to hold war with the *Romans* upon their own ground. *Philip* had indeed no ſuch intent: neither was he much too ſtrong, either of himſelf, or by his alliance in *Greece*, to be reſiſted by *Attalus* and the Rhodians; eſpecially with the help of the *Ætolians* their good friends, and (in a manner) his own profeſſed enemies. But ſuch things muſt be publiſhed abroad, if onely to prediſpoſe men unto the war, and give it the more honeſt colour.

Philip was a man of ill condition; and therefore could not thrive by intermedling in the affaires of thoſe that were more mighty than himſelf. He was too unſkilfull, or otherwiſe too unapt, to retain his old friends: yet would he needs be ſeeking new enemies. And he found them ſuch, as he deſerved to have them: for he offered his helpe to their deſtruction, when they were in miſery, and had done him no harm. It behoved him therefore, either to have ſtrained his forces to the utmoſt in making war upon them; or in deſiſting from that injurious courſe, to have made amends for the wrongs paſt, by doing friendly offices of his own accord. But he, having broken that League of peace, which is of all other the moſt naturall, binding all men to offer no violence willingly, unleſſe they thinke themſelves juſtly provoked; was afterwards too fondly perſwaded, that he might well be ſecure of the *Romans*, becauſe of the *written* Covenants of peace between him and them. There is not any forme of oath, whereby ſuch Articles of peace can be held inviolable, ſave onely * *by the water of Styx*, that is, by *Neceſſitie:* which whileſt it bindes one party, or both unto performance making it apparent, that he ſhall be a loſer who ſtarts from the Conditions; it may ſo long (and ſo long onely) be preſumed, that there ſhall be no breach. Till *Hannibal* was vanquiſhed, the *Romans* never hearkened after *Philip:* for neceſſity made them let him alone. But when once they had peace with *Carthage*; then was the River of *Styx* dryed up: and then could they ſwear as * *Mercurie* did in the Comedy, by their own ſelves, even by their good ſwords, that they had good reaſon to make war upon him. The voyage of *Sopater* into *Aſrick*, and the preſent war againſt *Attalus*, were matter of quarrell as much as needed: or if this were not enough; the *Athenians* helped to furniſh them with more.

* *Sir Francis Bacon de ſap. Veterum.*

* *Plaut. Amphitr.*

The *Athenians*, being at this time Lords of no more than their own barren Territory, took ſtate upon them nevertheleſſe, as in their ancient fortune. Two young Gentlemen of *Acarnania* entring into the Temple of *Ceres*, in the dayes of Initiation, (wherein were delivered the myſteries of Religion, or rather of idolatrous ſuperſtition, vainly ſaid to be availeable unto felicity after this life) diſcovered themſelves by ſome impertinent queſtions, to be none of thoſe that were initiated. Hereupon they were brought before the officers: and though it was apparent, that they came into the place by meer errour, not thinking to have therein done amiſſe; yet, as it had been for ſome haynous crime, they were put to death. All their Countri-men at home took this in ill part; and ſought to revenge it as a publike injury, by war upon the *Athenians*. Procuring therefore of *Philip* ſome *Macedonians* to help them, they entred into *Attica:* who waſted it with fire and ſword; & carried thence a great booty. This indignity ſtirred up the high-minded *Athenians*; and made them think upon doing more, than they had ability to performe. All which at the preſent they could doe, was to ſend Embaſſadours to king *Attalus*; gratulating his happy ſucceſſe againſt *Philip*, and intreating him to viſit their City. *Attalus* was hereto the more willing, becauſe he underſtood that the *Roman* Embaſſadors, hovering about *Greece* for matter of intelligence, had a purpoſe to be there at the ſame time. So he went thither, accompanied, beſides his own followers, with ſome of the *Rhodians*. Landing in the *Piræus*, he found the *Romans* there, with whom he had much friendly conference: they rejoycing that he continued enemy to *Philip*; and he being no leſſe glad, when he heard of their purpoſe to renew the war. The *Athenians* came out of their City, all the Magiſtrates, Prieſts, and Citizens, with their wives and children, in as ſolemne a pomp as they could deviſe, to meet and honour the King. They entertained

tained the *Romans* that were with him, in very loving manner: but towards *Attalus* himſelf they omitted no point of obſervance, which their flattery could ſuggeſt. At his firſt coming into the City, they called the people to Aſſembly: where they deſired him to honour them with his preſence, and let them hear him ſpeak. But he excuſed himſelf; ſaying, That with an evil grace he ſhould recount unto them thoſe many benefits, by which he ſtudied to make them know what love he bore them. Wherefore it was thought fit, that he ſhould deliver in writing, what he would have to be propounded. He did ſo. The points of his Declaration were; firſt, what he had willingly done for their ſake: then, what had lately paſſed between him and *Philip*: laſtly, an exhortation unto them, to declare themſelves againſt the *Macedonian*, whileſt he with the *Rhodians* and the *Romans*, were willing and ready to take their part: which if they now refuſed to do, he proteſted, that afterwards it would be vain to crave his help. There needed little intreaty: for they were as willing to proclaim the war, as he to deſire it. As for other matters, they loaded him with immoderate honours: and obtained, That unto the ten Tribes, whereof the body of their Citizens conſiſted, ſhould be added another, and called after his name; as if he were in part one of their Founders. To the *Rhodians* they alſo decreed a Crown of Gold, in reward of their vertue; and made all the *Rhodians* free Citizens of *Athens*.

Thus began a great noiſe of war, wherein little was left unto the *Romans* for their part; *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* taking all upon them. But while theſe were vainly miſſpending the time, in ſeeking to draw the *Ætolians* to their party: that contrary to their old manner were glad to be at quiet: *Philip* won the Towns of *Maronea* and *Ænus*, with many other ſtrong places about the *Helleſpont*. Likewiſe paſſing over the *Helleſpont*, he laid ſiege unto *Abydus*; and won it, though he was fain to ſtay there long. The Town held out, rather upon an obſtinate reſolution, and hope of ſuccour from *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, than any great ability to defend it ſelf againſt ſo mighty an Enemy. But the *Rhodians* ſent thither onely one *Quadrireme* Gallie: and *Attalus* no more than three hundred men, far too weak an aid to make good the place. The *Roman* Embaſſadours wondred much at this great negligence of them that had taken ſo much upon them.

Theſe Embaſſadours, *C. Claudius*, *M. Æmylius*, and *P. Sempronius*, were ſent unto *Ptolomy Epiphanes* King of *Egypt*, to acquaint him with their victory againſt *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginians*; as alſo to thank him for his favour unto them ſhewed in that war; and to deſire the continuance thereof, if they ſhould need it againſt *Philip*. This *Egyptian* King was now in the third or fourth yeer of his reign, which (as his father *Philopater* had done before him) he began a very young boy. The courteſie for which the *Romans* were to thank him, was, that out of *Egypt* they had lately been ſupplied with corn, in a time of extreme Dearth; when the miſeries of War had made all their own Provinces unable to relieve them. This meſſage could not but be welcome to the *Egyptian*: ſince it was well known, how *Philip* and *Antiochus* had combined themſelves againſt him, conſpiring to take away his Kingdom. And therefore it might in reaſon be hoped, that he, or his Councell for him, ſhould offer to ſupply the *Romans* with corn: ſince this their *Macedonian* Expedition concerned his Eſtate no leſſe than theirs.

But as the errand was for the moſt part complementall; ſo had the Embaſſadours both leiſure and direction from the Senate, to look unto the things of *Greece* by the way. Wherefore they agreed, that *M. Æmylius* the youngeſt of them ſhould ſtep aſide, and viſit *Philip*, to trie if he could make him leave the ſiege of *Abydus*; which elſe he was like to carry. *Æmylius*, coming to *Philip*, tells him, that his doings are contrary to the League that he had made with the *Romans*. For *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, upon whom he made war, were Confederate with *Rome*: and the Town of *Abydus*, which he was now beſieging, had a kinde of dependancy upon *Attalus*. Hereto *Philip* anſwered, That *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* had made war upon him: and that he did onely requite them with the like. *Do you alſo* (ſaid *Æmylius*) *requite theſe poor Abydeni with ſuch terrible War, for any the like Invaſion by them firſt made upon you?* The King was angry to hear himſelf thus taken ſhort: and therefore he roundly made anſwer to *Æmylius*; *It is your youth, Sir, and your beauty, and* (above all,) *your being a* Roman, *that makes you thus preſumptuous. But I would wiſh ye to remember the League that ye have made with me, and to keep it: If ye do otherwiſe, I will make ye underſtand, that the Kingdome, and Name of*

Macedon is in matter of War, no lesse noble than the Roman. So he dismissed the Embassadour; and had the Town immediately yeelded to his discretion. The people had entertained a resolution, to have died every one of them, and set their Town on fire; binding themselves hereto by a fearfull oath, when *Philip* denied to accept them upon reasonable conditions. But having in desperate fight, once repelling him from the Breach, lost the greatest number of their Youth: it was thought meet by the Governours and Ancients of the City to change this resolution; and take such peace as could be gotten. So they carried out their Gold and Silver to *Philip*: about which whilst they were busie, the memory of their oath wrought so effectually in the younger sort; that, by exhortation of the Priests, they fell to murdering their women, children, and themselves. Hereof the King had so little compassion, that he said, he would grant the *Abydeni* three dayes leisure to die: and to that end forbade his men to enter the town; or hazzard themselves in interrupting the violence of those mad fools.

§. IX.

The Romans *decree war against* Philip, *and send one of their Consuls into Greece, as it were in defence of the Athenians their Confederates. How poor the Athenians were at this time both in quality and estate.*

THis calamity of the *Abydeni*, was likened by the *Romans* unto that of the *Saguntines*: which indeed it neerly resembled; though *Rome* was not alike interessed in the quarrell. But to help themselves with pretence for the War, they had found out another *Saguntum*, even the Citie of *Athens*: which if the *Macedonian* should win, then rested there no more to do, than that he should presently embarque himself for *Italy*, whither he would come, not as *Hannibal* from *Saguntum*, in five moneths, but in the short space of five dayes sailing. Thus *P. Sulpitius* the Consul told the multitude, when he exhorted them to make War upon *Philip*; which at his first propounding they had denied. The example of *Pyrrhus* was by him alledged; to shew, what *Philip*, with the power of a greater Kingdome, might dare to undertake: as also the fortunate voyage of *Scipio* into *Africk*; to shew the difference of making War abroad, and admitting it into the bowels of their own Gountry. By such arguments was the Commonalty of *Rome* induced to beleeve, that this War with the *Macedonian* was both just and necessary. So it was decreed: and immediately the same Consul hasted away towards *Macedon*, having that Province allotted unto him before, and all things in a readinesse, by order from the Senate; who followed other Motives than the people must be acquainted with. Great thanks were given to the *Athenian* Embassadours, of their constancy (as was said) in not changing their faith at such times as they stood in danger of being besieged. And indeed great thanks were due to them, though not upon the same occasion. For the people of *Rome* had no cause to think it a benefit unto themselves; that any *Greek* Town, refusing to sue unto the *Macedonian* for peace, requested their help against him. But the Senate, intending to take in hand the Conquest of the Eastern parts, had reason to give thanks unto those, that ministred the occasion. Since therefore it was an untrue suggestion, That *Philip* was making ready for *Italy*: and since neither *Attalus*, the *Rhodians*, nor any other State in those quarters, desired the *Romans* to give them protection: these busie-headed *Athenians*, who falling out with the *Acarnanians*, and consequently with *Philip*, a matter of May-game, (as was shewed before) sent Embassadours into all parts of the World, even to *Ptolomy* of *Egypt*, and to the *Romans*, as well as to *Attalus* and others their neighbours; must be accepted as cause of the War, and Authors of the benefit thence redounding.

Nevertheless as it loves to fall out where the meaning differs from the pretence; the doings of *P. Sulpitius* the Consul were such, as might have argued *Athens* to be the least part of his care. He sailed not about *Peloponnesus*, but took the ready way to *Macedon*, and landing about the River of *Apsus*, between *Dyrrhachium* and *Apollonia*, there began the War. Soon upon his coming, the *Athenian* Embassadours were with him, and craved his help: whereof they could make no benefit whilest he was far from them. They bemoaned themselves as men besieged, and intreated him to deliver them.

them. For which cauſe he ſent unto them *C.Claudius* with twenty Gallies, and a competent number of men: but the main of his forces he retained with him, for the proſecution of a greater deſigne. The *Athenians* were not indeed beſieged: onely ſome Rovers from *Chalcis*, in the Iſle of *Eubœa*, and ſome bands of adventurers out of *Corinth*, uſed to take their ſhips, and ſpoile their fields, becauſe they had declared themſelves againſt King *Philip*, that was Lord of theſe two Towns. The robberies done by theſe Pyrats and Free-booters, were by the more eloquent than war-like *Athenians, in this declining Age of their* Fortune and Vertue, called a Siege. From ſuch detriment the arrivall of *Claudius*, and ſhortly after of three *Rhodian* Gallies, eaſily preſerved them. As for the *Athenians* themſelves, they that had been wont, in ancient times to undertake the conqueſts of *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, and *Cicil*; to make war upon the great *Perſian* King, and to hold ſo much of *Greece* in ſubjection, as made them redoubtable unto all the reſt; had now no more than three ſhips, and thoſe open ones, not much better than long boats. Yet thought they not themſelves a whit the worſe men, but ſtood as highly upon the glory and vertue of their Anceſtors, as if it had been ſtill their own.

§. X.

The Town of Chalcis in Eubœa taken and ſackt by the Romans and their Aſſociates, that lay in Garriſon at Athens. Philip *attempteth to take Athens by ſurpriſe: waſteth the Countrie about, and makes a journey into Peloponneſus. Of* Nabis *the Tyrant of Lacedæmon, and his wife.* Philip *offers to make war againſt* Nabis *for the Achæans. He returneth home through Attica, which he ſpoileth again: and provides againſt the Enemies. Some exploits of the Romans. Divers Princes joyn with them. Great labouring to draw the Ætolians into the war.*

PHilip returning home from *Abydus*, heard news of the *Roman* Conſul his being about *Apollonia*. But ere he ſtirred forth to give him entertainment, or perhaps before he had well reſolved, whether it were beſt a while to ſit ſtill, and trie what might be done for obtaining of peace, or whether to make oppoſition, and reſiſt theſe Invaders with all his forces: he received advertiſement from *Chalcis* of a grievous miſhap there befallen him, by procurement of the *Athenians*. For *C.Claudius* with his *Romans*, finding no ſuch work at *Athens* as they had expected, or was anſwerable to the fame that went abroad, purpoſed to do ſomewhat that might quicken the war, and make his own imployment better. He grew ſoon weary of ſitting as a Scar-crow, to ſave the *Athenians* grounds from ſpoile; and therefore gladly took in hand a buſineſſe of more importance. The Town of *Chalcis* was very negligently guarded by the *Macedonian* Souldiers therein, for that there was no Enemy at hand: and more negligently by the Townſ-men, who repoſed themſelves upon their Garriſon. Hereof *Claudian* having advertiſement, ſailed thither by night, for fear of being deſcried: and arriving there a little before break of day, took it by Scalado. He uſed no mercy, but ſlew all that came in his way: and wanting men to keep it, (unleſſe he ſhould have left the heartleſſe *Athenians* to their own defence) he ſet it on fire; conſuming the Kings Magazines of Corn, and all proviſions for War, which were plenteouſly filled. Neither were he and his Aſſociates contented with the great abundance of ſpoil which they carried aboard their ſhips, and with inlarging all thoſe, whom *Philip*, as in a place of moſt ſecurity, kept there impriſoned: but to ſhew their deſpight and hatred unto the King, they overthrew and brake in pieces the Statues to him there erected. This done, they haſted away towards *Athens*: where the news of their exploit was like to be joyfully welcomed. The King lay then at *Demetrias*, about ſome 20. miles thence; whither when theſe tidings, or part of them, were brought him, though he ſaw that it was too late to remedy the matter; yet he made all haſte to take revenge. He thought to have taken the *Athenians*, with their truſty friends, buſie at work in ranſacking the Town, and loading themſelves with ſpoil: but they were gone before his coming. Five thouſand light-armed foot he had with him, and three hundred horſe: whereof leaving at *Chalcis* onely a few to bury the dead, he marched from thence away ſpeedily toward *Athens*: thinking it not unpoſſible to take his enemies, in the joy of their Victory, as full of negligence, as they had taken *Chalcis*. Neither had he much failed of his expectation, if a Foot-poſt that ſtood Scout for the City upon the borders, had not deſcried

him afar off, and swiftly carried word of his approach to *Athens*. It was mid-night when this Post came thither: who found all the Town asleep, as fearlesse of any danger. But the Magistrates, hearing his report, caused a trumpet out of their Citadell to sound the Alarm, and with all speed made ready for defence. Within a few hours *Philip* was there: who seeing the many lights, and other signes of busie preparation usuall in such a case, understood that they had news of his coming; and therefore willed his men to repose themselves till it were day. It is like, that the paucity of his followers did help well to animate the Citizens, which beheld them from the walls. Wherefore though *Claudius* were not yet returned (who was to fetch a compasse about by sea, and had no cause of haste) yet having in the Town some mercenary Souldiers, which they kept, of their own, besides the great multitude of Citizens; they adventured to issue forth at a gate, whereto they saw *Philip* make approach. The King was glad of this; reckoning all those his own, that were thus hardy. He therefore onely willed his men to follow his example; and presently gave charge upon them. In that fight he gave singular proof of his valour: and beating down many of the Enemies with his own hands, drave them with great slaughter back into the City. The heat of his courage transported him further than discretion would have allowed, even to the very gate. But he retired without harm taking; for that they which were upon the Towers over the gate, could not use their casting weapons against him, without much indangering their own people that were thronging before him into the City. There was a temple of *Hercules*, a place of exercise, with a Grove, and many goodly Monuments besides, neer adjoyning unto *Athens*: of which he spared none; but suffered the rage of his anger to extend, even unto the sepulchres of the dead. The next day came the *Romans*, and some Companies of *Attalus* his men from *Ægina*; too late in regard of what was already past: but in good time to prevent him of satisfying his anger to the full, which as yet he had not done. So he departed from thence to *Corinth*, and hearing that the *Achæans* held a Parliament at *Argos*, he came thither to them unexpected.

The *Achæans* were devising upon war: which they intended to make against *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*: who being started up in the room of *Machanidas*, did greater mischief than any that went before him. This Tyrant relied wholly upon his mercenaries: and of his subjects had no regard. He was a cruell oppressor; a greedy extortioner upon those that lived under him; and one that in his naturall condition smelt rankly of the Hangman. In these qualities, his wife *Apega* was very fitly matched with him, since his dexterity was no greater in spoiling the men, than hers in fleecing their wives; whom she would never suffer to be at quiet, till they had presented her with all their *jewels* and *apparell*. Her husband was so delighted with her property, that he caused an Image to be made, lively representing her; and apparelled it with such costly garments as she used to wear. But it was indeed an Engine, serving to torment men. Hereof he made use, when he meant to trie the vertue of his Rhetorick. For calling unto him some rich man, of whose money he was desirous; he would bring him into the room where this counterfeit *Apega* stood, and there use all his art of perswasion, to get what he desired, as it were by good will. If he could not so speed, but was answered with excuses; then took he the refractory denier by the hand, and told him, that perhaps his Wife *Apega* (who sate by in a Chair) could perswade more effectually. So he led him to the Image, that rose up and opened the arms, as it were for imbracement. Those arms were full of sharp iron nails, the like whereof was also sticking in the breasts, though hidden with her clothes: and herewith she griped the poor wretch, to the pleasure of the Tyrant, that laughed at his cruell death. Such, and worse (for it were long to tell all here that is spoken of him) was *Nabis* in his government. In his dealings abroad he combined with the *Ætolians*, as *Machanidas* and *Lycurgus* had done before him. By these he grew into acquaintance with the *Romans*; and was comprehended in the League which they made with *Philip*, at the end of their former War. Of *Philopœmens* vertue he stood in fear; and therefore durst not provoke the *Achæans*, as long as they had such an able Commander. But when *Cycliades*, a far worse Captain, was their Prætor, and all, or the greatest part of their Mercenaries were discharged; *Philopœmen* being also gone into *Crete*, to follow his beloved occupation of War; then did *Nabis* fall upon their Territory; and wasting all the fields, made them distrust their own safety in the Towns.

Liv. lib. 32.

Excerp. è Polyb. lib. 13.

Against

Againſt this Tyrant the *Achæans* were preparing for War, when *Philip* came among them; and had ſet down what proportion of Souldiers every City of their Corporation ſhould furniſh out. But *Philip* willed them not to trouble themſelves with the care of this buſineſſe; forasmuch as he alone would eaſe them of this War, & take the burden upon himſelf. With exceeding joy and thanks they accepted of this kinde offer. But then he told them, That, whileſt he made War upon *Lacedæmon*, he ought not to leave his own Towns unguarded. In which reſpect he thought they would be pleaſed to ſend a few men to *Corinth*, and ſome Companies into the Iſle of *Eubœa*; that ſo he might ſecurely purſue the War againſt *Nabis*. Immediatly they found out his device; which was none other, than to engage their Nation in his War againſt the *Romans*. Wherefore their Prætor *Cycliadas* made him anſwer, That their Laws forbade them to conclude any other matters in their Parliament, than thoſe for which it was aſſembled. So paſſing the Decree, upon which they had agreed before, for preparing War againſt *Nabis*, he brake up the Aſſembly, with every mans good liking; whereas in former times, he had been thought no better than one of the Kings Paraſites.

It grieved the King to have thus failed in his purpoſe with the *Achæans*. Nevertheleſſe he gathered up among them a few Voluntaries; and ſo returned by *Corinth* back into *Attica*. There he met with *Philocles* one of his Captains, that with two thouſand men had been doing what harm he might unto the Countrie. With this addition of ſtrength, he attempted the Caſtle of *Eleuſine*, the Haven of *Pyreus*, and even the City of *Athens*. But the *Romans* made ſuch haſte after him by Sea, thruſting themſelves into every of theſe places; that he could no more than wreak his anger upon thoſe goodly Temples, with which the Land of *Attica* was at that time ſingularly beautified. So he deſtroyed all the works of their notable Artificers, wrought in excellent Marble; which they had in plenty of their own; or, having long ago been Maſters of the Sea, had brought from other places, where beſt choice was found. Neither did he onely pull all down: but cauſed his men to break the very ſtones, that they might be unſerviceable to their reparation. His loſſe at *Chalcis* being thus revenged upon *Athens*, he went home into *Macedon*: and there made proviſion, both againſt the *Roman* Conſul that lay about *Apollonia*; and againſt the *Dardanians*, with other his bad neighbours, which were likely to infeſt him. Among his other cares he forgot not the *Ætolians*: to whoſe Parliament, ſhortly to be held at *Naupactus*, he ſent an Embaſſage, requeſting them to continue in his friendſhip. Thus was *Philip* occupied.

Sulpitius the *Roman* Conſul encamped upon the River of *Apſus*. Thence he ſent forth *Apuſtius* his Lievtenant, with part of the Army, to waſte the borders of *Macedon*. *Apuſtius* took ſundry Caſtles and Towns; uſing ſuch extremity of ſword and fire at *Antipatria*, the firſt good Town which he won by force, that none durſt afterwards make reſiſtance, unleſſe they knew themſelves able to hold out. Returning towards the Conſul with his ſpoil, he was charged in the Reer, upon the paſſage of a brook, by *Athenagoras* a *Macedonian* Captain: but the *Romans* had the better, and killing many of theſe enemies, took priſoners many more, to the increaſe of their booty, with which they arrived in ſafety at their Camp. The ſucceſſe of this Expedition, though it were not great, yet ſerved to draw into the *Roman* friendſhip thoſe that had formerly no good inclination to the *Macedonian*. Theſe were *Pleuratus*, the ſon of *Scerdilaidas* the *Illyrian*: *Aminander* King of the *Athamanians*, and *Bato* the ſon of *Longarus*, a Prince of the *Dardanians*. They offered their aſſiſtance unto the Conſul, who thanked them: and ſaid, That he would ſhortly make uſe of *Pleuratus* and *Bato*, when he entred into *Macedon*: but that the friendſhip of *Aminander*, whoſe Country lay between the *Ætolians* and *Theſſaly*, might be perhaps available with the *Ætolians*, to ſtir them up againſt *Philip*.

So the preſent care was wholly ſet upon the *Ætolian* Parliament at hand. Thither came Embaſſadours from the *Macedonian*, *Romans*, and *Athenians*. Of which, the *Macedonian* ſpake firſt, and ſaid: That as there was nothing fallen out, which ſhould occaſion the breach of peace between his Maſter and the *Ætolians*; ſo was it to be hoped, that they would not ſuffer themſelves, without good cauſe, to be carried away after other mens fancies. He prayed them to conſider, how the *Romans* heretofore had made ſhew, as if their war in *Greece* tended onely to the defence of the *Ætolians*, and yet notwithſtanding had been angry, that the *Ætolians*, by making peace with *Philip*, had no longer

need of such their Patronage. What might it be that made them so busie, in obtruding their protection upon those that needed it not? Surely it was even the generall hatred, which these *Barbarians* bore unto the *Greeks*. For even after the same sort had they lent their help to the *Mamertines*: and afterwards delivered *Syracuse*, when it was oppressed by *Carthaginian* Tyrants, but now both *Syracuse* & *Messana*, were subject unto the Rods and Axes of the *Romans*. To the same effect he alledged many examples, adding, That in like sort it would happen to the *Ætolians*: who if they drew such masters into *Greece*, must not look hereafter to hold, as now, free Parliaments of their own, wherein to consult about War and Peace: the *Romans* would ease them of this care, and send them such a Moderator, as went every yeer from *Rome* to *Syracuse*. Wherefore he concluded, that it was best for them, whilest as yet they might, and whilest one of them as yet could help the other, to continue in their League with *Philip*: with whom if at any time, upon light occasion, they hapned to fall out, they might as lightly be reconciled: and with whom they had three yeers ago made the peace which still continued; although that the very same *Romans* were then against it, who sought to break it now. It would have troubled the *Romans*, to frame a good answer to these objections. For the *Macedonian* had spoken the very truth, in shewing whereunto this their Patronage, which they offered with such importunity, did tend. Wherefore the *Athenians* were set on by them to speak next: who had store of eloquence, and matter of recrimination enough, to make *Philip* odious. These affirmed, that it was a great impudence in the *Macedonian* Embassadour, to call the *Romans* by the name of *Barbarians*: knowing in what barbarous manner his own King had, in few dayes past, made War upon the gods themselves, by destroying all their Temples in *Attica*. Herewithall they made a pitifull rehearsall of their own calamities: and said, that if *Philip* might have his will, *Ætolia*, and all the rest of *Greece*, should feel the same that *Attica* had felt; yea, that *Athens* it self, together with *Minerva*, *Jupiter*, *Ceres*, and other of the gods, were like to have felt, if the Walls and the *Roman* arms had not defended them.

Then spake the *Romans*: who excusing, as well as they could, their own oppression of all those, in whose defence they had heretofore taken Arms, went roundly to the point in hand. They said, that they had of late made War in the *Ætolians* behalf, and that the *Ætolians* had without their consent made peace: whereof since the *Ætolians* must excuse themselves, by alledging that the *Romans*, being busied with *Carthage*, wanted leisure to give them aid convenient; so this excuse being now taken away, and the *Romans* wholly bent against their common Enemy, it concerned the *Ætolians* to take part with them in their war and victory, unless they had rather perish with *Philip*.

It might easily be perceived, that they which were so vehement, in offering their help ere it was desired, were themselves carried unto the War by more earnest motives, than a simple desire to help those friends, with whom they had no great acquaintance. This may have been the cause, why *Dorymachus* the *Ætolian* Prætor shifted them off a while with a dilatory answer: though he told his Countri-men, That by reserving themselves, till the matter were inclined one way or other, they might afterwards take part with those that had the better fortune. His answer was, first, in generall terms; That over-much haste was an enemy to good counsell: for which cause they must further deliberate, ere they concluded. But coming neerer to the matter in hand, he passed a Decree, *That the* Prætor *might at any time call an Assembly of the States, and therein conclude upon this businesse; any Law to the contrary notwithstanding*: whereas otherwise it was unlawfull to treat of such affaires, excepting two of their great Parliaments, that were held at set times.

§. XI.

The meeting of Philip *with the* Romans, *and skirmishing with them on his borders. The Ætolians invade his Dominions, and are beaten home. Some doings of* Attalus *and the* Roman *Fleet.*

PHilip was glad to hear, that the *Romans* had sped no better in their solicitation of the *Ætolians*. He thought them hereby disappointed in the very beginning, of one great help; and meant himself to disappoint them of another. His son *Perseus*, a very boy, was sent to keep the Streights of *Pelagonia* against the *Dardanians*; having with him

him ſome of the Kings Councell, to govern both him and his Army. It was judged, as may ſeem, that the preſence of the Kings ſon, how young ſoever, would both encourage his Followers, and terrifie the Enemies, by making them at leaſt beleeve, that he was not weakly attended. And this may have been the reaſon, why the ſame *Perſeus*, a few yeers before this, was in like manner left upon the borders of *Ætolia* by his father; whom earneſt buſineſſe called thence another way. No danger of enemies being left on either hand: it was thought that the *Macedonian* Fleet under *Heraclides*, would ſerve to keep *Attalus*, with the *Rhodians* and *Romans*, from doing harm by Sea, when the Kings back was turned: who took his journey Weſtward againſt *Sulpicius* the Conſul.

The Armies met in the Country of the *Deſſaretii*, a people in the utmoſt borders of *Macedon* towards *Illyria*, about the Mountains of *Candavia*; that running along from *Hæmus* in the North, untill they joyn in the South with *Pindus*, incloſe the Weſtern parts of *Macedon*. Two or three dayes they lay in ſight the one of the other, without making offer of battell. The Conſul was the firſt that iſſued forth of his Camp into the open field. But *Philip* was not confident in the ſtrength which he had then about him; and therefore thought it better to ſend forth ſome of his light-armed Mercenaries, and ſome part of his horſe, to entertain them with ſkirmiſh. Theſe were eaſily vanquiſhed by the *Romans*, and driven back into their Camp. Now although it was ſo, that the King was unwilling to hazzard all at firſt upon a Caſt, and therefore ſent for *Perſeus* with his Companies, to increaſe his own forces: yet being no leſſe unwilling to loſe too much in reputation; he made ſhew a day after, as if he would have fought. He had found the advantage of a place fit for ambuſh, wherein he beſtowed as many as he thought meet of his Targettiers: and ſo gave charge to *Athenagoras*, one of his Captains, to provoke out the *Romans* to fight; inſtructing both him and the Targettiers, how to behave themſelves reſpectively, as opportunity ſhould fall out. The *Romans* had no miſtruſt of any ambuſh, having fought upon the ſame ground a day before. Wherefore perhaps they might have ſuſtained ſome notable detriment, if the Kings directions had been well followed. For when *Athenagoras* began to fall back, they charged him ſo hotly, that they drave him to an haſty flight, and purſued him as hard as they were able. But the Captains of the Targettiers, not ſtaying to let them run into the danger, diſcovered themſelves before it was time; and thereby made fruſtrate the work, to which they were appointed. The Conſul hereby gathered, that the King had ſome deſire to trie the fortune of a battell: which he therefore preſented the ſecond time; leading forth his Army, and ſetting it in order, with Elephants in the front: a kinde of help which the *Romans* had never uſed before, but had taken theſe of late from the *Carthaginians*. Such are the alterations wrought by Time. It was ſcarce above fourſcore yeers ere this, that *Pyrrhus* carried Elephants out of *Greece* into *Italy*, to affright the *Romans*, who had never ſeen any of thoſe beaſts before. But now the ſame *Romans* (whileſt poſſibly ſome were yet alive, which had known that Expedition of *Pyrrhus*) come into *Macedon*, bringing Elephants with them: whereof the *Macedonians* and *Greeks* have none. *Philip* had patience to let the Conſul brave him at his Trenches: wherein he did wiſely; for the *Roman* had greater need to fight, than he. *Sulpicius* was unwilling to looſe time: neither could he without great danger, lying ſo neer the Enemy, that was ſtrong in horſe, ſend his men to fetch in corn out of the fields. Wherefore he removed 8. miles off: preſuming that *Philip* would not adventure to meet him on even ground; and ſo the more boldly he ſuffered his Forragers to over-run the Country. The King was nothing ſorry of this; but permitted the *Romans* to take their good pleaſure: even till their preſumption, and his own ſuppoſed fear, ſhould make them careleſſe: When this was come to paſſe, he took all his horſe, and light-armed foot, with which he occupied a place in the mid-way, between the Forragers and their Camp. There he ſtayed in covert with part of his forces, to keep the paſſages that none ſhould eſcape. The reſt he ſent abroad the Country, to fall upon the ſtragglers: willing them to put all to the ſword, and let none run home with news to the Camp. The ſlaughter was great: and thoſe which eſcaped the hands of them that were ſent abroad to ſcowre the fields, lighted all or moſt of them upon the King and his companies in their flight: ſo as they were cut off by the way. Long it was ere the Camp had news of this. But in the end there eſcaped ſome: who though they could not make

any

any perfect relation how the matter went: yet by telling what had hapned to themselves, raised a great multitude. *Sulpicius* hereupon sends forth all his horse, and bids them help their fellows where they saw it needfull: He himself with the Legions followed. The companies of horse divided themselves, accordingly as they met with advertisements upon the way, into many parts: not knowing where was most of the danger. Such of them as lighted upon *Philips* Troops, that were canvassing the field, took their task where they found it: But the main bulk of them fell upon the King himself. They had the disadvantage; as coming fewer, and unprepared, to one that was ready for them. So they were beaten away; as their fellows also might have been, if the King had well bethought himself, and given over in time. But while, not contented with such an harvest, he was too greedy about a poor gleaning; the *Roman* Legions appeared in sight: which emboldened their horse to make a re-charge. Then the danger apparent, enforced the *Macedonians* to look to their own safety. They ran which way they could: and (as men that lie in wait for others, are seldome heedfull of that which may befall themselves) to escape the Enemy, they declined the fairest way; so as they were plunged in Marishes and Bogs, wherein many of them were lost. The Kings horse was slain under him: and there had he been cast away, if a loving subject of his had not alighted, mounted him upon his own horse; and delivered him out of perill, at the expence of his own life, that running on foot was overtaken and killed.

In the common opinion *Philip* was charged with improvident rashnesse; & the Consul, with as much dulnes, for his dayes service. A little longer stay would have delivered the king from these enemies without any blow: since when all the fields about them were wasted, they must needs have retired back to the Sea. On the other side, it was not thought unlikely, That if the *Romans* following the King, had set upon his Camp, at such time as he fled thither, half amazed with fear of being either slain or taken, they might have won it. But that noble Historian, *Livie*, (as is commonly his manner) hath judiciously observed, That neither the one, nor the other, were much too blame in this dayes work. For the main body of the Kings Army lay safe in his Camp; and could not be so astonished with the losse of two or three hundred horse, that it should therefore have abandoned the defence of the Trenches. And as for the King himself, he was advertised, that *Pleuratus* the *Illyrian*, and the *Dardanians*, were fallen upon his Country; when they found the passage thereinto open, after *Perseus* was called away from custody of the Streights. This was it which made him adventure to do somewhat betimes; that he might set the *Romans* going the sooner, and afterwards look unto his troublesome neighbours. In consideration of this, *Philip* was desirous to cleer himself of the *Romans*, as soon as he might. And to that purpose he sent unto the Consul; requesting a day of truce for buriall of the dead. But in stead of so doing, he marched away by night, and left fires in his Camp to beguile the enemy, as if he had not stirred out of the place. *Sulpicius*, when he heard of the Kings departure, was not slow to follow him. He overtook the *Macedonians* in a place of strength, which they had fenced (for it was a wooddy ground) by cutting down trees, and laying them athwart the way where it was most open. In making of such places good, the *Macedonian Phalanx* was of little use; being a square battell of pikes, not fit for every ground. The Archers of *Crete* were judged, and were indeed, more serviceable in that case. But they were few; and their arrows were of small force against the *Roman* shields. The *Macedonians* therefore helped them by flinging of stones. But to no purpose. For the *Romans* got within them; and forced them to quit the place. This victory (such as it was) laid open unto the Consul some poor Towns thereabout; which partly were taken by strong hand, partly yeelded for fear. But the spoil of these, and of the fields adjoyning, was not sufficient to maintain his Army; and therefore he returned back to *Apollonia*.

The *Dardanians*, hearing that *Philip* was come back, withdrew themselves apace out of the Country. The King sent *Athenagoras* to wait upon them home; whilest he himself went against the *Ætolians*. For *Damocritus* the Prætor of the *Ætolians*, who had reserved himself and his Nation unto the event of things, hearing report, that *Philip* was beaten once and again; as also that *Pleuratus* and the *Dardanians* were fallen upon *Macedon*; grew no lesse busie on the sudden, than before he had been wise. He perswaded his Nation to take their time: and so, not staying to proclaim War, joyned his forces with *Amimander* the *Athamanian*; and made invasion upon *Thessaly*. They took, and cruelly

cruelly ſacked a few Towns: whereby they grew confident; as if, without any danger, they might do what they liſted. But *Philip* came upon them ere they looked for him: and killing them as they lay diſperſed, was like to have taken their Camp, if *Aminander* more warie than the *Ætolians*, had not helped at need, and made the Retrait through his own mountainous Country.

About the ſame time the *Roman* Fleet, aſſiſted by *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, had taken ſome ſmall Iſlands in the *Ægean* Sea. They took likewiſe the Town of *Oreum* in the Iſle of of *Eubœa*; and ſome other places thereabout. The Towns were given unto *Attalus*, after the ſame Compact that had formerly been made with the *Ætolians*: the goods therein found were given unto the *Romans*; and the people, for ſlaves. Other attempts on that ſide were hindred; either by foul weather at Sea; or by want of daring, and of meanes.

§. XII

Villius *the* Roman *Conſul waſtes a yeer to no effect. War of the Gaules in Italy. An Embaſſadour of the Romans to Carthage,* Maſaniſſa, *and* Vermina. *The Macedonian prepares for defence of his Kingdom: and* T. Quintius Flaminius *is ſent againſt him.*

THus the time ran away: and *P. Villius* a new Conſul, took charge of the War in *Macedon.* He was troubled with a mutiny of his oldeſt Souldiers: whereof two thouſand, having ſerved long in *Sicil* and *Aſrick*, thought themſelves much wronged, in that they could not be ſuffered to look unto their own eſtates at home. They were (belike) of the Legions that had ſerved at *Cannæ*: as may ſeem by their complaint, of having been long abſent from *Italy*; whither faine they would have returned, when by their Colonels they were ſhipped for *Macedon.* How *Villius* dealt with them, it is uncertaine. For the Hiſtory of his yeer is loſt: whereof the miſſe is not great, ſince he did nothing memorable. *Valerius Antias*, as we finde in *Livie*, hath adorned this *Villius* with a great exploit againſt *Philip*. Yet ſince *Livie* himſelf, an Hiſtorian to whom few of the beſt are matchable, could finde no ſuch thing recorded in any good Author; we may reaſonably beleeve, that *Villius* his yeer was idle. *Liv. lib.* 32

In the beginning of this *Macedonian* war, the *Romans* found more trouble than could have been expected with the *Gaules*. Their Colony of *Placentia*, a goodly and ſtrong Town, which neither *Hannibal*, nor after him *Aſdrubal*, had been able to force; was taken by theſe *Barbarians*, and burnt in a manner to the ground. In like ſort *Cremona* was attempted; but ſaved her ſelf, taking warning by her neighbours calamity. *Amilcar* a *Carthaginian*, that ſtayed behinde *Aſdrubal*, or *Mago* in thoſe parts; was now become Captain of the *Gaules*, in theſe their enterpriſes. This when the *Romans* heard, they ſent Embaſſadours to the *Carthaginians*: giving them to underſtand, That if they were not weary of the peace, it behoved them to call home, and deliver up, this their Citizen *Amilcar*; who made war in *Italy*. Hereunto it was added (perhaps leſt the meſſage might ſeem otherwiſe to have ſavoured a little of ſome feare) That of the fugitive ſlaves belonging to the *Romans*, there were ſome reported to walk up and down in *Carthage*: which if it were ſo, then ought they to be reſtored back to their Maſters; as was conditioned in the late peace. The Embaſſadours that were ſent on this errand, had further charge to treat with *Maſaniſſa*, as alſo with *Vermina* the ſon of *Syphax*. Unto *Maſaniſſa*, beſides matter of complement, they were to ſignifie what pleaſure he might doe them, by lending them ſome of his *Numidian* Horſe, to ſerve in their war againſt the *Macedonian*. *Vermina* had entreated the Senate, to vouchſafe unto him the name of King: and promiſed thereafter to deſerve it, by his readineſſe in doing them all good offices. But they were ſomewhat ſcrupulous in the matter: and ſaid, That having been, and being ſtill (as they took it) their Enemy, He ought firſt of all to deſire peace; for that the name of King, was an honour which they uſed not to conferre upon any, ſave onely upon ſuch as had royally deſerved it at their hands. The authority to make peace with him; was wholly committed unto theſe Embaſſadours, upon ſuch termes as they ſhould think fit; without further relation to the Senate and People. For they were then buſied with greater cares. The *Carthaginians* made a gentle anſwer, That they wholly diſclaimed *Amilcar*: baniſhing him, and confiſcating his goods. As for the Fugitives: they had reſtored as many as they could finde; and would in that point, as far as was requiſite,

requisite, give satisfaction to the Senate. Herewithall they sent a great proportion of Corn to *Rome*; and the like unto the Army that was in *Macedon*. King *Masanissa* would have lent unto the *Romans* two thousand of his *Numidian* horse: but they were contented with half the number; and would accept no more. *Vermina* met with the Embassadours, to give them entertainement, on the borders of his Kingdom; and without any disputation, agreed with them upon terms of peace.

Thus were the *Romans* busied in taking order for their *Macedonian* War, that they might pursue it strongly, and without interruption. As for *Amilcar* and his *Gaules*: they laid siege unto *Cremona*; where *L. Furius* a *Roman* Prætor came upon them, fought a battell with them, and overcame them. *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian* died in this battell: and the fruit of the victory was such, as both made amends for losses past, and left the worke easie to those, that afterwards should have the managing of war among those *Gaules*. So was there good leisure to think upon the businesse of *Macedon*: where *Philip* was carefully providing to give contentment unto his Subjects, by punishing a bad Counsellour whom they hated; as also to assure unto himself the *Achæans*, by rendring unto them some Towns that he held of theirs; and finally to strengthen his Kingdom, not onely by exercising and training his people, but by fortifying the passages that led thereinto out of *Epirus*. This was in doing, when *Villius*, having unprofitably laboured to finde way into *Macedon*, taking a journey (as *Sulpicius* had done before him) wherein he could not be supplied with victuals, determined at length to trie a new course. But then came advertisement, that *T. Quintius Flaminius* was chosen Consull, and had *Macedon* allotted him for his Province; whose coming was expected; and he very shortly arrived at the Army.

§. XIII.

The Romans begin to make war by negotiation. T. Quintius *wins a passage against* Philip. *Thessaly wasted by* Philip, *the Romans, and Ætolians. The Achæans forsaking the Macedonian, take part with the Romans. A treaty of peace, that was vaine.* Philip *delivers Argos to* Nabis *the Tyrant, who presently enters into League with the Romans.*

THe *Romans* had not been wont in former times, to make War after such a trifling manner. It was their use, to give battell to the Enemie, as soon as they met with him. If he refused it, they besieged his Towns: and so forced him to trie the fortune of a day, with his disadvantage in reputation, when he had long forborne it (as it would be interpreted) upon knowledge of his own weakenesse. But in this their War with *Philip*, they began to learne of the subtle *Greeks*, the art of Negotiation: wherein hitherto they were not grown so fine, as within a little while they proved. Their Treasury was poor, and stood indebted, * many yeers after this unto private men, for part of those monies that had been borrowed in the second Punick War. This had made the Commonalty averse from the *Macedonian* War; and had thereby driven the Senators, greedy of the enterprize, to make use of their cunning. Yet being weary of the slow pace wherewith their businesse went forward, they determined to increase their Army, that they might have the lesse need to relie upon their Confederates. So they levied eight thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse (the greater part of them of the *Latines*) which they sent with *T. Quintius Flaminius*, the new Consul, into *Macedon*. Their Navie, and other meanes could well have served, for the setting forth and transportation of a greater Army: but by straining themselves to the most of their ability, they should (besides other difficulties incident unto the sustenance of those that are too many and too far from home) have bred some jealousie in their friends of *Greece*, and thereby have lost some friends, yea, perhaps have increased the number of their enemies, more than of their own Souldiers. This present augmentation of the forces was very requisite; for that *Attalus*, about the same time, excused himself unto them, by his Embassadours; requesting that either they would undertake the defence of his Kingdome against *Antiochus*, who invaded it; or else that they would not take it uncourteously, that he quitted the War with *Philip*, and returned home, to looke unto that which more concerned him. Their answer was remarkable. They said, That it was not their manner to use the aide of their friends, longer than their friends had good opportunity, and could also bee well contented to affoord it; That they could not

* *Liv. lib.* 34.

not honeſtly take part with *Attalus*, their good friend though he were, againſt *Antiochus*, whom they held in the like account; but, That they would deale with *Antiochus* by Embaſſadors, and (as common friends unto both of the kings) do their beſt to perſwade an atonement between them. In ſuch loving faſhion did they now carry themſelves, towards their good friend the King *Antiochus*; who reciprocally at their intreaty, withdrew his Army from the kingdom of *Attalus*. But how little they regarded theſe terms of friendſhip, after that once they had made an end with *Philip*, it will very ſoon appear.

T. Quintius haſting away from *Rome*, came betimes into his Province, with the ſupply decreed unto him; which conſiſted, for the moſt part, of old Souldiers, that had ſerved in *Spaine* and *Aſrick*. He found *Villius* the old Conſul, (whom at his coming he preſently diſcharged) and King *Philip* of *Macedon*, encamped one againſt the other, in the Streights of *Epirus*; by the river of *Apſus*, or *Aous*. It was manifeſt, that either the *Romans* muſt fetch a compaſſe about, and ſeek their way into *Macedon*, through the poor Country of the *Deſſaretians*; or elſe win, by force, that paſſage which the King defended. In taking the former way; they had already two yeers together miſ-ſpent their time, and been forced to returne back without profit, for want of victualls: whereof they could neither carry with them ſtore ſufficient, nor finde it on the way. But if they could once get over theſe Mountains, which divided the South of *Epirus* from *Theſſaly*, then ſhould they enter into a plentifull Country; and, which by long dependance on the *Macedonian*, was become (in a manner) part of his Kingdom, whereof it made the South border. Nevertheleſſe, the deſire of winning this paſſage, was greater than the likelihood. For the river of *Apſus*, running along through that valley which alone was open between the Mountains, made it all a deep *Mariſh* and unpaſſable Bogge: a very narrow way excepted, and a path cut out of the maine rock by mans hand. Wherefore *Quintius* aſſailed to climbe in the Mountains: but finding himſelf diſappointed of this hope, through the diligence of his enemy, who neglected not the guard of them that was very eaſie; he was compelled to ſit ſtill, without doing any thing for the ſpace of forty dayes.

This long time of reſt gave hope unto *Philip*, that the war might bee ended by compoſition, upon ſome reaſonable terms. He therefore ſo dealt with ſome of the *Epirots*, (among whom he had many friends) that He and the Conſul had a meeting together. But nothing was effected. The Conſul would have him to ſet all Towns of *Greece* at liberty; and make amends for the injuries, which he had done to many people in his late Wars. *Philip* was contented to give liberty to thoſe whom he had ſubdued of late: but unto ſuch, as had been long ſubject unto him and his Anceſtors, He thought it againſt all reaſon, that he ſhould relinquiſh his claime and dominion over them. He alſo ſaid, That as far forth as it ſhould appeare that he had done wrong unto any Town or people whatſoever, He could well be pleaſed to make ſuch amends, as might ſeem convenient in the judgement of ſome free State, that had not been intereſſed in thoſe quarrells. But herewithall *Quintius* was not ſatisfied. There needed (he ſaid) no judgement or compromiſe; foraſmuch as it was apparent, that *Philip* had alwayes been the invader; and had not made War, as one provoked, in his own defence. After this altercation, when they ſhould come to particulars: and when the Conſul was required to name thoſe Towns, that he would have to be ſet at liberty; the firſt that he named were the *Theſſalians*: Theſe had been ſubjects (though conditionall) unto the *Macedonian* Kings, ever ſince the dayes of *Alexander* the Great, and of *Philip* his Father. Wherefore, as ſoon as *Flaminius* had named the *Theſſalians*; the King in a rage demanded what ſharper condition He would have laid upon him, had he been but vanquiſhed. And herewithall abruptly he flang away; refuſing to heare any more of ſuch diſcourſe.

After this the Conſull ſtrove in vaine two or three dayes together, to have prevailed againſt the difficulties of that paſſage which *Philip* kept. When he had well wearied himſelf, and could not reſolve what courſe to take: there came to him an Heardſ-man ſent from *Charopus* a Prince of the *Epirots* that favoured the *Romans*, who having long kept beaſts in thoſe Mountains, was throughly acquainted with all by-paths, & therefore undertook to guide the *Romans*, without any danger, to a place where they ſhould have advantage of the Enemy. This guide, for fear of treacherous dealing, was faſt bound: and being promiſed a great reward, in caſe he made good his word, had ſuch Com-

Companies as was thought fit, appointed to follow his directions. They travelled by night (it being then about the full of the Moon) and rested in the day-time, for fear of being discovered. When they had recovered the hill-tops, and were above the *Macedonians*, (though undiscovered by them, because at their banks) they raised a great smoke, whereby they gave notice of their successe unto the Consul. Some skirmishes; whilest these were on their journy, *T. Quintius* had held with the *Macedonians*; thereby to avert him from thought of that which was intended. But when on the third morning he saw the smoke arise more and more plainely, and thereby knew that his men had attained unto the place whither they were sent, he pressed as neer as he could unto the Enemies Camp, and assailed them in their strength. He prevailed as little as in former times, untill the shoutings of those that ran down the hill, & charged *Philip* on the back, astonished so the *Macedonians*, that they betook themselves to flight. The King, upon first apprehension of the danger, made all speed away to save himself. Yet anon considering, that the difficulty of the passage must needs hinder the *Romans* from pursuing him: he made a stand at the end of five miles, and gathered there together his broken troups, of whom he found wanting no more than two thousand men. The greatest losse was of his Camp and provisions: if not rather perhaps of his reputation; for that now the *Macedonians* began to stand in fear, lest being driven from a place of such advantage, they should hardly make good their party against the Enemy, upon equall ground. Neither was *Philip* himself much better perswaded. Wherefore he caused the *Thessalians*, as many of them as in his hasty retrait he could visit, to forsake their Towns and Country, carrying away with them as much as they were able, and spoiling all the rest. But all of them could not be perswaded, thus to abandon (for the pleasure of their King) their ancient habitations, and all the substance which they had gotten. Some there were that forcibly resisted him; which they might the better doe, for that he could not stay to use any great compulsion. He also himself took it very grievously, that he was driven to make such waste of a most pleasant and fruitful Country, which had ever been well affected unto him: so that a little hinderance did serve, to make him break off his purpose, and withdraw himselfe home into his Kingdome of *Macedon*.

The *Ætolians* and *Athamanians*, when this fell out, were even in a readinesse to invade *Thessaly*; whereinto the wayes lay more open, out of their severall Countries. When therefore they heard for certainty, that *Philip* was beaten by the *Romans*: they foreslowed not the occasion, but made all speed, each of them to lay hold upon what they might. *T. Quintius* followed them within a little while: but they had gotten so much before his coming, that he, in gleaning after their harvest, could not finde enough to maintain his Army. Thus were the poore *Thessalians*, of whose liberty the *Romans* a few dayes since had made shew to be very desirous, wasted by the same *Romans* and their Confederates; not knowing which way to turne themselves, or whom to avoide. *T. Quintius* won *Phaleria* by assault: *Metropolis* and *Piera* yeelded unto him. *Rhage* he besieged: and having made a faire breach, yet was unable to force it; so stoutly it was defended both by the Inhabitants, and by a *Macedonian* garrison therein. *Philip* also at the same time, having somewhat recollected his spirits, hovered about *Tempe* with his Army, thrusting men into all places, that were like to be distressed. So the Consull, having well-neer spent his victuals, and seeing no hope to prevaile at *Rhage*; brake up his siege, and departed out of *Thessaly*. He had appointed his ships of burden to meet him at *Anticyra*, an Haven Town of *Phocis*, on the Gulph of *Corinth*: which Country being friend to the *Macedonian*, he presently invaded; not so much for hatred unto the people, as because it lay conveniently seated between *Thessaly* and other regions, wherein he had businesse, or was shortly like to have. Many Towns in *Phocis* he won by assault: many were yeelded up unto him for fear; and within short space he had (in effect) mastered it all.

In the meane time *L. Quintius* the Consuls brother, being then Admirall for the *Romans* in this war, joyned with King *Attalus* and the *Rhodian* Fleet. They won two Cities in *Eubœa*; and afterward laid siege unto *Cenchree*, an Haven and Arcenall of the *Corinthians* on their Easterne Sea. This enterprise did somewhat help forward the *Achæans*, in their desire to leave the part of *Philip*; since it might come to passe, that *Corinth* it self, ere long time were spent; and that *Cenchree*, with other places appertaining

to

to *Corinth*, now very ſhortly ſhould be rendred unto their Nation, by favour of the *Romans*.

But there were other motives, inducing the *Achæans* to preferre the friendſhip of the *Romans*, before the patronage of *Philip*; whereto they had been long accuſtomed. For this King had ſo many waies offended them in time of peace, that they thought it the beſt courſe to rid their hands of him; whileſt being intangled in a dangerous War, he wanted means to hinder the execution of ſuch counſell as they ſhould hold the ſafeſt. His tyrannous practiſes to make himſelf their abſolute Lord: his poyſoning of *Aratus* their old Governour: his falſe dealing with the *Meſſenians*, *Epirots*, and other people their Confederates, and his own dependants: together with many particular outrages by him committed; and cauſed them long ſince to hold him as a *neceſſary evill*, even whileſt they were unable to be without his aſſiſtance. But ſince by the vertue of *Philopœmen*, they were grown ſomewhat confident in their own ſtrength, ſo as without the *Macedonians* help they could as well ſubſiſt, as having him to friend: then did they onely think how *evill* he was; and thereupon rejoyce the more, in that he was become no longer *neceſſary*. It angred him to perceive how they ſtood affected: and therefore he ſent murderers to take away the life of * *Philopœmen*. But failing in this enterpriſe; and being detected, he did thereby onely ſet fire to the Wood, which was throughly dry before, and prepared to burn. *Philopœmen* wrought ſo with the *Achæans*, that no diſcourſe was more familiar with them, than what great cauſe they had to withdraw themſelves from the *Macedonian*. *Cycliadas*, a principal man among them, and lately their Prætor, was expelled by them, for ſhewing himſelf paſſionate in the cauſe of *Philip*; and *Ariſtænus* choſen Prætor, who laboured to joyne them in ſociety with the *Romans*.

* *Plut. in vit. Philopœm. Iuſt. l. 29.*

Theſe news were very welcome to *T. Quintius*. Embaſſadours were ſent from the *Romans* and their Confederates, King *Attalus*, the *Rhodians* and *Athenians*, to treat with the *Achæans*, making promiſe, that they ſhould have *Corinth* reſtored unto them, if they would forſake the *Macedonian*. A Parliament of the *Achæans* was held at *Sycion*, to deliberate and reſolve in this weighty caſe. Therein the *Romans* and their adherents deſired the *Achæans* to joyne with them in making War upon *Philip*. Contrariwiſe, the Embaſſadours of *Philip*, whom he had alſo ſent for this buſineſſe, admoniſhing the *Achæans* of their Alliance with the King, and of their faith due unto him; requeſted them, that they would be contented to remain as Neuters. This moderate requeſt of *Philips* Embaſſadors did no way advance their Maſters cauſe. Rather it gave the *Achæans* to underſtand, That he, who could be ſatisfied with ſo little at their hands, knew himſelf unable to gratifie them in any reciprocall demand. Yet were there many in that great Councell, who remembring the benefits of *Philip* and *Antigonus*, laboured earneſtly for the preſervation of the ancient League. But in fine, the ſenſe of late injuries, and expectation of like or worſe from him in the future; prevailed againſt the memory of thoſe old good turns, which he (and *Antigonus* before him) had partly ſold unto them, & partly had uſed as baits, whereby to allure them into abſolute ſubjection. Neither was it perhaps of the leaſt importance; That the *Romans* were ſtrong, and likely to prevail in the end. So after much altercation, the Decree paſſed, That they ſhould thence-forward renounce the *Macedonian*, and take part with his enemies in this War. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* they forthwith entred into ſociety: with the *Romans* (becauſe no League would be of force, untill the Senate and people had approved it) they forbore to decree any ſociety at the preſent, untill the return of thoſe Embaſſadors from *Rome*, which they determined to ſend thither of purpoſe. The *Megalopolitans*, *Dymeans*, and *Argives*, having done their beſt for the *Macedonian*, as by many reſpects they were bound, roſe up out of the Councell, and departed before the paſſing of the Decree; which they could not reſiſt, nor yet with honeſty thereto give aſſent. For this their good will, and greater, which they ſhortly manifeſted, the *Argives* had ſo little thank; that all the reſt of the *Achæans* may be the better held excuſed, for eſcaping how they might, out of the hands of ſo fell a Prince.

Soon after this, upon a ſolemn day at *Argos*, the affection of the Citizens diſcovered it ſelf ſo plainly, in the behalf of *Philip*, that they which were his Partiſans within the Town, made no doubt of putting the City into his hands, if they might have any ſmall aſſiſtance. *Philocles* a Lievtenant of the Kings, lay then in *Corinth*, which he had manfully defended againſt the *Romans* and *Attalus*. Him the Conſpirators drew to

Argos; whither coming on a ſudden, and finding the multitude ready to joyn with him, he eaſily compelled the *Achæan* Garriſon to quit the place.

This getting of *Argos*, together with the good defence of *Corinth*, and ſome other Towns, as it helped *Philip* a little in his reputation, ſo they gave him hope to obtain ſome good end by Treaty, whileſt as yet with his honour he might ſeek it: and when (the Winter being now come on) a new Conſul would ſhortly be choſen; who ſhould take the work out of *Titus* his hands, if it were not concluded the ſooner. *Titus* had the like reſpect unto himſelf; and therefore thought it beſt, ſince more could not be done, to pre-diſpoſe things unto a Concluſion, for his own reputation. The meeting was appointed to be held on the Sea-ſhore, in the *Bay* then called the *Malian*, or *Lamian Bay*, now (as is ſuppoſed) the *Gulf of Ziton*, in the *Ægean Sea*, or *Archipelago*. Thither came *Titus* with *Aminander* the *Athamanian*; an Embaſſador of *Attalus*; the Admirall of *Rhodes*; and ſome Agents for the *Ætolians* and *Achæans*. *Philip* had with him ſome few of his own Captains, and *Cycliadas*, lately baniſhed for his ſake out of *Achaia*. He refuſed to come on ſhore: though fearing (as he ſaid) none but *the immortall Gods*: yet miſdoubting ſome treachery in the *Ætolians*. The demands of *Titus* in behalf of the *Romans*, were, That he ſhould ſet all Cities of *Greece* at liberty; deliver up to the *Romans* and their Confederates, all priſoners which he had of theirs, and Renegadoes; likewiſe whatſoever he held of theirs in *Illyria*: and whatſoever about *Greece* or *Aſia* he had gotten from *Ptolomy* then King of *Egypt*, after his fathers death. *Attalus* demanded reſtitution to be made, entire of Ships, Towns, and Temples by him taken and ſpoiled in the late War between them. The *Rhodians* would have again the Country of *Peræa*, lying over againſt their Iſland; as alſo that he ſhould withdraw his garriſons out of divers Towns about the *Helleſpont*, and other Havens of their friends. The *Achæans* deſired reſtitution of *Argos* and *Corinth*: about the one of which they might, not unjuſtly, quarrell with him; the other had been long his own by their conſent. The *Ætolians* took upon them angerly, as Patrons of *Greece*: willing him to depart out of it, even out of the whole Country, leaving it free; and withall to deliver up unto them, whatſoever he held that had at any time been theirs. Neither were they herewithall content: but inſolently declaimed againſt him, for that which he had lately done in *Theſſaly*; corrupting (as they ſaid) the rewards of the Victors, by deſtroying, when he was vanquiſhed, thoſe Towns, which elſe they might have gotten. To anſwer theſe malapart *Ætolians*, *Philip* commanded his Gallie to be rowed neerer the ſhore. But they began to plie him afreſh: telling him that he muſt obey his betters, unleſſe he were able to defend himſelf by force of Arms. He anſwered them (as he was much given to gybing) with ſundry ſcoffes; and eſpecially with one, which made the *Roman* Conſul underſtand what manner of companions theſe *Ætolians* were. For he ſaid, That he had often dealt with them; as likewiſe the beſt of the *Greeks*; deſiring them to abrogate a wicked law, which permitted them *to take ſpoile from ſpoile*: yet could he get no better an anſwer, than *that they would ſooner take* Ætolia *out of* Ætolia. *Titus* wondred what might be the meaning of this ſtrange Law. So the King told him, That they held it a laudable cuſtome, as often as War happened between their friends, to hold up the quarrell, by ſending Voluntaries to ſerve on both ſides, that ſhould ſpoile both the one and the other. As for the liberty of *Greece*, he ſaid it was ſtrange that the *Ætolians* ſhould be ſo carefull thereof, ſince divers Tribes of their own, which he there named, were indeed no *Grecians*: wherefore he would fain know, whether the *Romans* would give him leave to make ſlaves of thoſe *Ætolians*, which were no *Greeks*. *Titus* hereat ſmiled, and was no whit offended, to hear the *Ætolians* well ratled up; touching whom he began to underſtand, how odious they were in all the Country. As for that generall demand of ſetting all *Greece* at liberty, *Philip* acknowledged, that it might well beſeem the greatneſſe of the *Romans*; though he would alſo conſider, what might beſeem his own dignity. But that the *Ætolians*, *Rhodians*, and other petty Eſtates, ſhould thus preſume, under countenance of the *Romans*, to take upon them, as if by their great might he ſhould be thereunto compelled: it was, he ſaid, a ſtrange and ridiculous inſolence. The *Achæans* he charged with much ingratitude; reciting againſt them ſome Decrees of their own; wherein they had loaden both *Antigonus* and him, with more than humane honours. Nevertheleſſe he ſaid, that he would render *Argos* unto them: but as touching *Corinth*, that he would further deliberate with *Titus* himſelf.

Excerp. è Polyb. lib. 17.

Thus

Thus he addreſſed himſelf wholly to the *Roman* Generall; unto whom if he could give ſatisfaction, he cared little for all the reſt. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, his late war (he ſaid) was onely defenſive; they having been the offerers: or if he gave them any occaſion, it was onely in helping *Pruſias*, his ſon-in-law; neither did he ſee why they ſhould rather ſeek amends at his hands, than he at theirs. For whereas they complained, that ſpoiling a Temple of *Venus*, he had cut down the Grove, and pleaſant walks thereabouts: what could he do more, than ſend Gardners thither with young plants; if one King of another would ſtand to aſk ſuch recompence? Thus he jeſted the matter out: but offered nevertheleſſe, in honour of the *Romans*, to give back the Region of *Perræa* to the *Rhodians*; as likewiſe to *Attalus*, the Ships and Priſoners of his, whereof he had then poſſeſſion. Thus ended that dayes conference, becauſe it was late: *Philip* requiring a nights leiſure to think upon the Articles, which were many, and he ill provided of Counſell, wherewith to adviſe about them. *For your being ſo ill provided of Counſell* (ſaid *Titus*) *you may even thank your ſelf; as having murdered all your friends, that were wont to adviſe you faithfully.* The next day *Philip* came not, untill it was late at night; excuſing his long ſtay by the weightineſſe of the things propounded, whereon he could not ſuddenly tell how to reſolve. But it was beleeved, that he thereby ſought to abridge the *Ætolians* of leiſure to rail at him. And this was the more likely, for that he deſired conference in private with the *Roman* Generall. The ſum of his diſcourſe, as *Titus* afterward related it, was, That he would give the *Achæans* both *Argos* and *Corinth*; as alſo that he would render unto *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* what he had promiſed the day before; likewiſe to the *Ætolians*, that he would grant ſome part of their demands; and to the *Romans*, whatſoever they did challenge. This when *Titus* his aſſociates heard, they exclaimed againſt it, ſaying, That if the King were ſuffered to retain any thing in *Greece*, he would ſhortly get poſſeſſion of all which he now rendred up. The noiſe that they made came to *Philips* ear: who thereupon deſired a third day of meeting; and proteſted, that if he could not perſwade them, he would ſuffer himſelf to be perſwaded by them. So the third day they met early in the morning: at what time the King intreated them all, that they would with ſincere affection hearken unto good offers of peace; and immediately conclude it, if they could like well of thoſe Conditions which he had already tendred; or otherwiſe, that they would make truce with him for the preſent, and let him ſend Embaſſadours to *Rome*, where he would referre himſelf to the courteſie of the Senate.

This was even as *Quintius* would have it: who ſtood in doubt, leſt a new Conſul might happen to defraud him of the honour, which he expected by ending of the War. So he eaſily prevailed with the reſt to aſſent hereunto: foraſmuch as it was Winter, a time unfit for ſervice in the War; and ſince, without authority of the Senate, he ſhould be unable to proceed reſolvedly either in War or Peace. Further, he willed them to ſend their ſeverall Embaſſadors to *Rome*, which intimating unto the Senate what each of them required, ſhould eaſily hinder *Philip* from obtaining any thing to their prejudice. Among the reſt, he perſwaded King *Aminander* to make a journey to *Rome* in perſon: knowing well, that the name of a King, together with the confluence of ſo many Embaſſadors, would ſerve to make his own actions more glorious in the City. All this tended to procure that his own command of the Army in *Greece* might be prorogued. And to the ſame end had he dealt with ſome of the Tribunes of the people at *Rome*: who had already (though as yet he knew not ſo much) obtained it for him, partly by their authority, partly by good reaſons which they alledged unto the Senate.

The Embaſſadours of the *Greeks*, when they had audience at *Rome*, ſpake bitterly againſt the King, with good liking of the Senate; which was more deſirous of victory, than of ſatisfaction. They magnified the honourable purpoſe of the *Romans*, in undertaking to ſet *Greece* at liberty. But this (they ſaid) could never be effected; unleſſe eſpeciall care were taken, that the King ſhould be diſpoſſeſſed of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, & *Demetrias*. In this point they were ſo vehement, producing a Map of the Country, and making demonſtration how thoſe places held all the reſt in ſervility; that the Senate agreed to have it even ſo as they deſired. When therfore the Embaſſadors of *Philip* were brought in, and began to have made a long Oration; they were briefly cut off in the middeſt of their Preface, with this one demand: *Whether their Maſter would yeeld up Corinth, Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*. Hereto they made anſwer, That concerning thoſe places,

the King had given them no direction or commission what to say or do. This was enough. The Senate would no longer hearken to *Philips* desire of peace; wherein they said he did no better than trifle. Yet might his Embassadours have truly said, That neither the *Ætolians*, *Achæans*, nor any of their fellows, had in the late Treaty required by name, that *Chalcis* and *Demetrias* should be yeelded up. For which of them indeed could make any claim to either of these Towns? As for *Corinth*, whereto the *Achæans* had some right; (though their right were no better, than that, having stoln it from one *Macedonian* King in a night, they had, after mature deliberation, made it away by bargain unto another) *Philip* had already condescended to give it back unto them. And this perhaps would have been alledged, even against the *Greeks*, in excuse of the King, by some of *T. Quintius* his friends; that so he might have had honour to conclude the war, if a succession had been decreed unto him. But since he was appointed to continue Generall: neither his friends at *Rome*, nor he himself, after the returne of the Embassadours into *Greece*, cared to give care unto any talk of peace.

Philip seeing that his *Achæans* had forsaken him, and joyned with their common enemies; thought even to deal with them in the like manner, by reconciling himself unto *Nabis*, whom they hated most. There were not many yeers past, since the *Lacedæmonians* under *Cleomenes*, with little other help than their own strength, had been almost strong enough both for the *Macedonians* and *Achæans* together. But now the condition of things was altered. *Nabis* his force consisted, in a manner, wholly in his Mercenaries: for he was a Tyrant, though stiling himself King. Yet he sorely vexed the *Achæans*: and therefore seemed to *Philip* one likely to stand him in great stead, if he could be won. To this purpose it was thought meet, that the Town of *Argos*, which could not otherwise be easily defended, should be consigned over into his hands; in hope, that such a benefit would serve to tie him fast unto the *Macedonian*. *Philocles* the Kings Lievtenant, who was appointed to deal with *Nabis*, added further, That it was his Masters purpose to make a streight alliance with the *Lacedæmonian*, by giving some daughters of his own in marriage unto *Nabis* his sons. This could not but be well taken. Yet *Nabis* made some scruple in accepting the Town of *Argos*; unless by decree of the Citizens themselves he might be called into it. Hereabout *Philocles* dealt with the *Argives*: but found them so averse, that, in open assembly of the people, they detested the very name of the Tyrant, with many railing words. *Nabis* hearing of this, thought he had thereby a good occasion to rob and fleece them. So he willed *Philocles*, without more a doe, to make over the Town which he was ready to receive. *Philocles* accordingly did let him with his Army into it by night; and gave him possession of the strongest places therein. Thus dealt *Philip* with the *Argives*: who for very love had forsaken the *Achæans*, to take his part. Early in the morning, the Tyrant made himself master of all the gates. A few of the principall men, understanding how things went, fled out of the City at the first tumult. Wherefore they were all banished, and their goods confiscated. The rest of the chief Citizens that stayed behind, were commanded to bring forth, out of hand, all their Gold and Silver. Also a great imposition of mony was laid upon all those that were thought able to pay it. Such as made their contribution readily, were dismissed without more a doe. But if any stood long upon the matter: or played the theeves in purloyning their own goods; they were put to the whip, and besides losse of their wealth, had their torments to boot. This done, the Tyrant began to make popular laws: namely, such as might serve to make him gracious with the rascall multitude: abrogating all debts, and dividing the Lands of the rich among the poor. By such art of oppressing the great ones, it hath been an old custome of Tyrants, to assure themselves of the Vulgar for a time.

As soon as *Nabis* had gotten *Argos*, He sent the newes to *T. Quintius*; and offered to joyne with him against *Philip*. *Titus* was glad of it: so as he took the paines to crosse over the Streights into *Peloponnesus*, there to meet with *Nabis*. They had soon agreed (though King *Attalus*, who was present with the Consul, made some cavill touching *Argos*) and the Tyrant lent unto the *Roman*, six hundred of his Mercenaries of *Crete*: as also he agreed with the *Achæans*, upon a Truce for four moneths, reserving the finall conclusion of peace between them untill the War of *Philip* should be ended; which after this continued not long.

§. XIIII.

§. XIIII.

The battell at Cynoſcephalæ, wherein Philip *was vanquiſhed by* T. Quintius.

Titus Quintius, as ſoon as he underſtood that he was appointed to have command of the Army, without any other limitation of time, than during the pleaſure of the Senate; made all things ready for diligent purſuit of the War. The like did *Philip*: who having failed in his negotiation of peace, and no leſſe failed in his hopes of getting *Nabis* to friend in that War; meant afterwards wholly to rely upon himſelf.

Titus had in his Army about ſix and twenty thouſand: and *Philip* a proportionable number. But neither of them knew the others ſtrength, or what his Enemy intended to do. Onely *Titus* heard that *Philip* was in *Theſſaly*, and thereupon addreſſed himſelf to ſeek him out. They had like to have met unawares, neer unto the City of *Pheræ*: where the vant-currers on both ſides diſcovered each other; and ſent word thereof unto their ſeverall Captains. But neither of them were over haſty to commit all to hazard upon ſo ſhort warning. The day following each of them ſent out three hundred Horſe, with as many light-armed Foot, to make a better diſcovery. Theſe met, and fought a long while: returning finally back into their ſeverall Camps, with little advantage unto either ſide. The Country about *Pheræ* was thick ſet with trees: and otherwiſe full of gardens and mud-walls; which make it unproper for the ſervice of the *Macedonian Phalanx*. Wherefore the King diſlodged, intending to remove back into *Scotuſa*, in the Frontier of *Macedon*; where he might be plentifully ſerved with all neceſſaries. *Titus* conceived aright his meaning: and therefore purpoſed alſo to march thitherwards; were it onely to waſte the Country. There lay between them a great ledge of hils, which hindered the one from knowing what courſe the other took. Nevertheleſſe they encamped not far aſunder, both the firſt and the ſecond night; though neither of them underſtood what was become of the other. The third day was very tempeſtuous; and forced each of them to take up his lodging where he found it by chance. Then ſent they forth diſcoverers again, in greater number than before. Theſe meeting together, held a long fight, wherein at firſt the *Macedonians* had the worſe. But *Philip* anon ſent in ſuch ſtrong ſupply; that if the reſiſtance of the *Ætolians* had not been deſperate, the *Romans* their fellows had been driven back into their Camp. Yet all reſiſtance notwithſtanding, the *Macedonians* prevailed: ſo that *Titus* himſelf was fain to bring forth his Legions, that were not a little diſcouraged, by the defeat of all their Horſe, to animate thoſe which were in flight.

Plut. in vit. T. Q. Flam.

It was altogether beſides the Kings purpoſe to put the fortune of a battell in truſt that day, with ſo much of his Eſtate as might thereon depend. But the newes came to him thick and tumultuouſly, how the enemies fled, and how the day was his own, if he could uſe an occaſion, the like whereof he ſhould not often finde. This cauſed him to alter his purpoſe: inſomuch as he embattelled his men; & climbed up thoſe hils, which, for that the knops thereon had ſome reſemblance unto Dogs heads, were called, by a word ſignifying as much, *Cynoſcephalæ*. As ſoon as he was on the hill-top; it did him good to ſee that they of his own light armature were buſie in fight, almoſt at the very Camp of the Enemies; whom they had repelled ſo far. He had alſo liberty to chooſe his ground, as might ſerve beſt his advantage; foraſmuch as the *Romans* were quite driven from all parts of the Hill. But of this commodity he could make no great uſe: the roughneſſe of the place among thoſe *Dogs heads*, as they were called, ſerving nothing aptly for his *Phalanx*. Nevertheleſſe he found convenient roome, wherein to marſhall the one part of his Army: and gave order unto his Captains, to follow with the reſt; embattelling them as they might. Whileſt he was doing this: He perceived that his Horſemen and light armature began to ſhrink; as being fallen upon the *Roman* Legions, by force whereof they were driven to recoyle. He ſets forward to help them: and they no leſſe haſtily draw unto him for ſuccour; having the *Romans* not far behind them.

As the Legions began to climbe the Hill; *Philip* commanded thoſe of his *Phalanx* to charge their pikes, and entertain them. Here *Titus* found an extreme difficult piece

of work. For this *Phalanx* being a great square battell of armed pikes, like in all points to those which are now used in our modern Wars: and being in like manner used, as are ours; was not to be resisted by the *Roman* Targettiers, as long as the *Phalanx* it self held together undissolved. The *Macedonians* were embattelled in very close order: so that two of them stood opposite to one of the *Romans*; as also the pikes of the first rank had their points advanced two or three foot before their fore-man. Wherefore it is no marvell if the *Romans* gave back; every one of them being troubled (as it were) with ten enemies at once; and not able to come neerer to the next of them, than the length of a dozen foot, or thereabout. *Titus* finding this, and not knowing how to remedy it, was greatly troubled: for that still the *Phalanx* bare down all which came in the way. But in the mean while he observed, That they which were appointed by *Philip* to make his left wing, were not able through the much unevenness of the ground, to put themselves in order: so as either they kept their places on the Hill-tops; or else (which was worse) upon desire either of beholding the pastime, or of seeming to be partakers in the work, ran foolishly along by the side of their fellows, which were occupied in fight.

Of this their disorder he made great and present use. He caused the right wing of his battell to march up the Hill against these ill-ordered troups: his Elephants leading the way, to increase the terrour. The *Macedonians* were readier to dispute what should be done in such a case, than well advised what to do; as having no one man appointed to command that part in chief. Indeed if they should have done their best, it could not have served; since the ground whereon they stood, made their weapons unusefull. For let it be supposed, that *Philip* having six and twenty thousand in his Army (as he is said to have been equall to the Enemy in number) had four thousand Horse, four thousand Targettiers, and four thousand light-armed: so shall there remain fourteen thousand Pikes; whereof himself had embattelled the one half in a *Phalanx*; the other half in the left wing, are they whom *Quintius* is ready now to charge. The *Phalanx* having usually sixteen in File, must, when it consisted of seven thousand, have well-neer four hundred and forty in rank: but four hundred would serve, to make a Front long enough; the other forty or seven and thirty Files might be cut off, and reckoned in the number of the Targettiers, or light-armed. Allowing therefore, as *Polybius* doth, to every man of them three foot of ground: this Front must have occupied twelve hundred foot, or two hundred and forty paces; that is, very neer a quarter of a mile in length. Such a space of open Champain, free from incumberance of Trees, Ditches, Hillocks, or the like impediments, that must of necessity disjoyn this close battell of the *Phalanx*; was not every-where to be found. Here at *Cynoscephalæ Philip* had so much room, as would onely suffice for the one half of his men; the rest were fain to stand still and look about them, being hindered from putting themselves in order, by the roughness of the *Dogs heads*. But the *Romans*, to whom all grounds were much alike, were not hindred from coming up unto them; nor found any difficulty in mastering those Enemies, whose feet were in a manner bound by the discommodity of the place. The very first impression of the Elephants, caused them to give back; and the coming on of the Legions, to betake themselves to flight. A *Roman* Tribune or Colonell, seeing the victory on that part assured, left the prosecution of it unto others: and being followed by twenty Ensignes or Maniples, that is, (as they might fall out) by some two thousand men, took in hand a notable piece of work; and mainly helpfull to making of the victory compleat. He considered that *Philip*, in pursuing the right wing of the *Romans*, was run on so far, as that himself with his fellows, in mounting the Hill to charge the left wing of the *Macedonians*, was already gotten above the Kings head. Wherefore he turned to the left hand, and making down the Hill after the Kings *Phalanx*, fell upon it in the Rere. The hindermost ranks of the *Phalanx*, all of them indeed save the first five, were accustomed, when the battels came to joyning, to carry their pikes upright; and with the whole weight of their bodies to thrust on their fore-men: and so were they doing at the present. This was another great inconvenience in the *Macedonian Phalanx*. That it served neither for offence nor defence, except onely in Front. For though it were so, that *Alexander*, when he was to fight with *Darius* in *Mesopotamia*, arranged his *Phalanx* in such order, that all the four sides of it were as so many Fronts looking sundry wayes,

Excerp. è Polyb. lib. 17.

waies, becauſe he expected that he ſhould be encompaſſed round: yet is it to be underſtood, that herein he altered the uſuall form; as alſo at the ſame time he embattelled his men in looſe order, that ſo with eaſe they might turn their weapons which way need ſhould require. Likewiſe it is to be conſidered, That *Alexanders* men being thus diſpoſed, were fit onely to keep their own ground; not being able to follow upon the enemy, unleſſe their hindmoſt ranks could have marched backwards. But in this preſent caſe of *Philip*, there was no ſuch proviſion for reſiſtance. Therefore his men, being otherwiſe unable to help themſelves, threw down their weapons & fled. The king himſelf had thought until now, that the fortune of the battel was every where alike, & the day his own. But hearing the noiſe behind him, and turning a little aſide with a troup of horſe, to ſee how all went; when he beheld his men caſting down their weapons, and the *Romans* at his back on the higher ground; he preſently betook himſelf to flight. Neither ſtaid he afterwards in any place (except onely a ſmall while about *Tempe*, there to collect ſuch as were diſperſed in this overthrow) untill he was gotten into his own kingdom of *Macedon*.

There died of the *Roman* Army in this battell, about ſeven hundred: of the *Macedonians* about eight thouſand were ſlain; and five thouſand taken priſoners.

§. XV.

T. Quintius *falleth out with the Ætolians, and grants truce unto* Philip, *with conditions upon which the peace is ratified. Liberty proclaimed unto the Greeks. The Romans quarrell with* Antiochus.

THe *Ætolians* wonderfully vaunted themſelves; and deſired to have it noiſed through all *Greece*, that the victory at *Cynoſcephalæ* was gotten (in a manner) wholly by their valour. They had gotten indeed the moſt of the booty by ſacking the *Macedonian* Camp, whileſt the *Romans* were buſied in the chaſe. *Titus* therefore being offended both at their vain-glory, and at their ravenous condition; purpoſed to teach them better manners, by regarding them as ſlightly, as they thought highly of themſelves. He alſo well perceived, That by uſing them with any extraordinary favour, he ſhould greatly offend the reſt of his confederates in *Greece*; who deteſted the *Ætolians* much more vehemently, than ever they had done the *Macedonians*. But this diſpleaſure brake not forth yet a while.

After the battell, *Titus* made haſte unto *Lariſſa*, a City in *Theſſaly*, which he preſently took. Before his coming, *Philip* had ſent thither one of his Courtiers to burn all his letters, and paſſages whatſoever in writing, betwixt him and others: of which many were there kept. It was well done of the King, that among the cares of ſo much adverſity, he forgot not to provide for the ſafety of his friends. Yet by thus doing, they of *Lariſſa* might well perceive, that he gave them as already loſt. Wherefore we finde not that they, or any of their neighbours, did make delay of opening their gates to *Titus*. At the ſame time, the Town of *Leucas*, bordering upon *Acarnania*, was taken by the *Roman* Fleet, and very ſoon after, all the *Acarnanians*, a warlike Nation, and in hatred of the *Ætolians* ever true to *Philip*; gave up themſelves unto the *Romans*, hearing of the victory at *Cynoſcephalæ*. The *Rhodians* alſo were then in hand with the conqueſt of *Pærea*, a Region of the Continent over againſt the Iſland; whereof they had demanded reſtitution, in the late Treaty of Peace. They did herein more manly, than any other of the *Greeks*: foraſmuch as they awaited not the good leaſure of the *Romans*; but with an Army of their own, and ſome help which they borrowed of the *Achæans* and other their friends, gave battell to *Dinocrates* the Kings Lievtenant, wherein they had the victory, and conſequently recovered the whole Province. It angred *Philip* worſe than all this, that the *Dardanians* gathered courage out of his affliction, to invade his Kingdome; waſting and ſpoiling, as if all had been abandoned to their diſcretion. This made him gather an Army in all haſte of 6000. Foot, and 500. horſe: wherewith coming upon them, he drave them, with little or no loſſe of his own, and great ſlaughter of theirs, haſtily out of the Kingdom. Which done, he returned to *Theſſalonica*.

In this one enterpriſe he had ſucceſſe anſwerable to his deſire: but ſeeing what bad fortune accompanied his affaires, in all other parts at the ſame time, he thought it wiſdome to yeeld unto neceſſity; and therefore ſent in all haſte *Limnæus* and *Demoſthenes* with

with *Cycliadas* the banished *Achæan*, in whom he repoſed much confidence, Embaſſadours unto *Titus*. Theſe had conference a long while in private, which *Titus* and ſome of his *Roman* Colonels: by whom they were gently entertained, and in very friendly wiſe diſmiſſed. It ſeems that they had Commiſſion, to refer all unto *Titus* his own diſcretion; as *Philip* himſelf in few daies after did. There was granted unto him a Truce for fifteen daies: in which time, the King himſelf might come and ſpeak with the *Roman* Generall. In the mean ſeaſon, many ſuſpicious rumours went of *Titus*, as if he had been corrupted with great rewards from the King, to betray the *Greeks* his Confederates. Of theſe bruits the *Ætolians* were chief authors: who being wont to regard neither friendſhip nor honeſtie, where profit led them a wrong way, judged alike of all men elſe. But againſt the day appointed for the meeting betwixt him and *Philip*, *Titus* had ſent letters unto his Aſſociates; willing them to have their Agents ready by a time appointed, at the entrance of *Tempe*, where the treaty ſhould be held. There when they were all aſſembled, they entred into conſultation before the kings arrival, what ſhould be moſt expedient for the common benefit of them all, and for every ſtate in particular. The poor king *Aminander* beſought them all, and eſpecially the *Romans*, that they would think upon him; and, conſidering his weakneſſe which he confeſſed, make ſuch proviſion, that after the *Romans* had turned their backs, and were gone home, *Philip* might not wreak his anger upon him who was not able to reſiſt. Then ſpake *Alexander*, one of the *Ætolians*: who commending *Titus* forſomuch as he had thus aſſembled the Confederates to adviſe upon their own good, and had willed them to deliver their minds freely: added, That in the main of the purpoſe which he had in hand, he was utterly deceived: for that by making peace with *Philip*, he could neither aſſure the *Romans* of their quiet, nor the *Greeks* of their liberty. There was, he ſaid, none other end to be made of the war, which could agree either with the purpoſe of the Senate and people of *Rome*, or with the fair promiſes made by *Titus* himſelf unto the *Greeks*, than the chaſing of *Philip* quite out of his kingdom. And to this effect he made a long diſcourſe. But *Titus* anſwered, That this *Ætolian* was ill acquainted, either with the good pleaſure of the Senate and people of *Rome*, or with the laudable cuſtoms which they generally held: for that it was not the manner of the *Romans*, to ſeek the utter deſtruction of any King or Nation, at ſuch time as they firſt made war with them; untill by ſome rebellion they found it a matter of neceſſity, to take ſuch a rigorous courſe. And hereof he alledged the *Carthaginians* as a notable example: adding, That victory, to generous minds, was onely an inducement to moderation. As concerning the publick benefit of *Greece*, it was (he ſaid) expedient, that the kingdom of *Macedon* ſhould be greatly weakened and brought low; not that it ſhould be utterly deſtroyed: foraſmuch as it ſerved as a bar to the *Thracians*, *Gaules*, and a multitude of other ſalvage Nations, which would ſoon over-flow the whole continent of *Greece*, if this kingdom were not interpoſed. Wherefore he concluded, that if *Philip* would yeeld unto thoſe demands, wherewith he had preſſed him in the former Treaty; then was there no reaſon to deny him peace. As for the *Ætolians*: if they thought otherwiſe, it ſhould be at their own pleaſure, to take counſell apart for themſelves as they thought good. Then began *Phaneas*, another of the *Ætolians*, to ſay, that all was come to nothing; for that ere long, *Philip* would trouble all the *Greeks*, no leſſe than he had done in time before. But *Titus* interrupted him, and bade him leave his babling; ſaying, That himſelf would take ſuch order, as that *Philip*, were he never ſo deſirous, ſhould thenceforth not have it in his power to moleſt the *Greeks*.

The next day King *Philip* came thither: whom *Titus* uſed friendly: and ſuffering him to repoſe himſelf that night, held a Councell the day following; wherein the King yeelded unto all that had bin required at his hands; offering yet further to ſtand to the good pleaſure of the Senate, if they would have more added to the Conditions. *Phaneas* the *Ætolian*, inſulting over him, ſaid, It was to be hoped, that he would then at length give up to the *Ætolians* a many of Towns, (which he there named) bidding him ſpeak whether he would or no. His anſwer was, that they might take them all. But *Titus* interpoſing himſelf, ſaid it ſhould be otherwiſe. Theſe were *Theſſalian* Towns, and ſhould be all free: one of them onely excepted, which not long ago had refuſed to commit it ſelf to the faith of the *Romans*, & therefore ſhould now be given to the *Ætolians*. Hereat *Phaneas* cried out, that it was too great an injury, thus to be defrauded of the

Towns

Towns that had ſometime belonged unto their Common-weale. Rather he willed *Titus* to conſider, that by an ancient Covenant between him and the *Romans*, all the towns taken ought to be their own, and the *Romans* to have nothing ſave the pillage and captives. It is true, that there had been ſuch a condition in the former war: but it ceaſed to be of any validity, as ſoon as the *Ætolians* made peace with *Philip*. And thus much *Titus* gave them to underſtand; aſking them whether they thought it reaſonable, that all the towns in *Greece*, which had let in the *Romans* by compoſition, ſhould be delivered into ſubjection of the *Ætolians*. The reſt of the Confederates were very much delighted with theſe angry paſſages between the *Romans* and the *Ætolians*: neither had they great reaſon to fear any hard meaſure; ſince *Titus* was ſo earneſt in behalf of thoſe *Theſſalians*, to give them liberty, though they had ſtood out againſt him, even till very fear made them open their gates. Wherefore they oppoſed not themſelves; but gave their conſent willingly unto a Truce for four Moneths.

The chief cauſe that moved *Titus* to grant peace ſo readily to the *Macedonians*, beſides that laudable cuſtom by him before alledged, was, the fame of *Antiochus* his coming with an army from *Syria*, and drawing neer toward *Europe*. He had alſo perhaps yet a greater motive; even the conſideration that his ſucceſſor might happen to defraud him of the honour, if the war ſhould happen to be protracted. And he was in the right. For when his letters, together with Embaſſadors from the *Macedonian*, and ſundry States of *Greece*, came unto *Rome*, new Conſuls were choſen: who (eſpecially the one of them) ſtood very earneſtly againſt the peace; alledging frivolous matter of their own ſuſpition, in hope to get the honour of concluding the war. The Senate began to be doubtfully affected, between the Embaſſadours of *Philip*, offering to ſtand to whatſoever was demanded; and the letters of *Titus*, preſſing them to accept this offer, on the one ſide, and the importunity of the Conſul on the other; who ſaid, that all theſe goodly ſhews were fraudulent, and that the King would rebell, as ſoon as the Army was called out of *Greece*. But the matter was taken out of the Senators hands by two of the Tribunes, that referred it to an Aſſembly of the People; by whoſe ſoveraigne authority it was concluded, that peace ſhould be granted to the King. So ten Embaſſadors were ſent from *Rome*, over into *Greece*: in which number were they that had been Conſuls before *Titus*: and it was ordained by their advice, that *Titus* ſhould go through with the buſineſſe of Peace. Theſe would very fain have retained thoſe three important Cities of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*, untill the eſtate of *Greece* were ſomwhat better ſettled. But finally, *Titus* prevailed ſo, that *Corinth* was (though not immediately) rendred unto the *Achæans*; and all the other *Greek* towns which *Philip* held, as well in *Aſia* as in *Greece*, reſtored unto liberty.

The Conditions of the Peace granted unto *Philip*, were, That before the celebration of the next * *Iſthmian Games*, He ſhould withdraw his Garriſons out of all the *Greek* towns which he held, and confine them over to the *Romans*: That he ſhould deliver up unto them all Captives that he had of theirs, and all Renegado's: Likewiſe all his ſhips of war, reſerving to himſelf onely five of the leſſer ſort, and one of extraordinary greatneſſe, wherein ſixteen men laboured at every oare: Further, that he ſhould pay a thouſand talents, the one half in hand, the other in ten yeers following, by even portions. Hereto * *Livie* adds, That he was forbidden to make war out of *Macedon*, without permiſſion of the Senate. But I finde not that he obſerved this Article, or was at any time charged with the breach of it. Four hundred talents he had already delivered to *Titus*, together with his younger ſon *Demetrius*, to remain as hoſtage for his true dealing in this matter of peace, at ſuch time as he lately ſent his Embaſſadors to *Rome*: when it was promiſed, that the money, and his ſon, ſhould be reſtored back unto him, if the Senate were not pleaſed with the agreement. Whether this money were reckoned as part of the thouſand talents, I cannot finde: and it ſeemeth otherwiſe, foraſmuch as young *Demetrius*, who, together with thoſe four hundred talents, was given for hoſtage, remained ſtill in cuſtody of the *Romans*, as a part of the bargain which *Titus* formerly had made. Letters alſo were then ſent by *Titus* unto *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*: giving him to underſtand, what agreement was made with *Philip* in behalf of the *Greeks*; and how the Senate held it reaſonable, that the *Ciani*, moſt miſerably ſpoiled and oppreſſed by *Philip*, to gratifie this *Bithynian* his ſon-in-law, ſhould be reſtored to liberty, and permitted to enjoy the ſame benefit of the *Romans*, which other of their Nation did.

* *Except. è Pol. Legat. 9.*

* *Liv. lib. 33.*

did. What effect these letters wrought, it was not greatly materiall; since the *Romans* were shortly busied with *Antiochus*, in such wise, that they had not leisure to examine the conformity of *Prusias* to their will.

All *Greece* rejoyced at the good bargain which *Titus* had made with *Philip*. Onely the *Ætolians* found themselves agrieved that they were utterly neglected: which was to the rest no small part of their contentment. The *Bœotians* continued to favour the *Macedonian*; and thereby occasioned much trouble unto themselves. There were some among them well-affected to the *Romans*: who, seeing how things were like to go, made their complaint unto *Titus*; saying, that they were no better than lost, for the good will which they had borne unto him; unless at this time, when he lay close by them with his Army, their Prætor, which was head of the opposite Faction, might be made away. *Titus* refused to have a hand in the execution, yet nevertheless did animate them in their purpose. So they committed the fact, and hoped to have kept themselves undiscovered. But when the murder came out, and somewhat was confessed by those which were put to torture: the hatred of the people brake out violently against the *Romans*: in such wise, that howsoever they durst not take Arms against them, yet such of them as they found straggling from their Camp, they murdered in all parts of the country. This was detested within a while, and many of the dead bodies found. Hereupon *Titus* requires of the *Bœotians*, to have the murderers delivered into his hands; and for five hundred souldiers, which he had lost by them, to have paid unto him five hundred talents. In stead of making any such amends, they paid him with excuses; which he would not take as good satisfaction. He sends Embassadours to the *Achæans* and *Athenians*, informing them what had hapned: and requested them not to take it amisse, though he dealt with these their friends as they had deserved. Herewithall he falls to wasting their country; and besiegeth two such towns of theirs, as did seem to be most culpable of the murders lately done. But the Embassadors of the *Achæans* and *Athenians* (especially of the *Achæans*, who offered, if he needed them, to help him in this war; yet besought him rather to grant peace unto the *Bœotians*) prevailed so far with him, that he was pacified with 30. talents, and the punishment of such as were known offenders.

In like sort, though not so violently, were many States of *Greece* distracted: some among them rejoycing that they were free from the *Macedonian*; others greatly doubting, that the *Roman* would prove a worse neighbour. The *Ætolian* would have been glad of any Commotion; and therefore published rumours abroad, That it was the purpose of the *Romans*, to keep in their own hands all those places, wherein *Philip* lately had his Garrisons. Little did they, or the rest of the *Greeks*, conceive, that this *Macedonian* war served as an introduction to the war to be made in *Asia* against King *Antiochus*; where grew the fruit, that was to be reaped of this and many other victories. Wherefore to stay the progresse of bad rumors, when the *Isthmian games* were held, which in time of peace were never without great solemnity and concourse; *Titus* in that great assembly of all *Greece*, caused proclamation to be made by sound of Trumpet to this effect, That the Senate and people of *Rome*, and *Titus Quintius Flaminius* the Generall, having vanquished King *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, did will to be at liberty, free from Impositions, free from Garrisons, and living at their own Laws, the *Corinthians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Eubœans*, *Achæans* of *Phthiotis*, *Magnesians*, *Thessalians*, and *Perrhæbians*. The suddennesse of this Proclamation astonished men: so as though they applauded it with a great shout, yet presently they cried out to hear it again, as if they durst scarce credit their own ears. The *Greeks* were Craftsmasters in the Art of giving thanks, which they rendred now to *T. Quintius* with so great affection, as that they had well-neer smothered him, by thronging officiously about him.

This good will of the *Greeks*, was like to be much more available unto the *Romans* in their war against *Antiochus*, than could have been the possession of a few Towns, yea, or of all those Provinces which were named in the Proclamation. Upon confidence hereof, no sooner were the *Isthmian games* at an end, than *Titus*, with the *Romans* that were of his Councell, gave audience to *Hagesianax* and *Lysias*, king *Antiochus* his Embassadors: whom they willed to signifie unto their Lord, That he should do well to abstain from the free cities in *Asia*, and not vex them with war: as also to restore whatsoever he had occupied, belonging to the Kings, *Ptolomy* or *Philip*. Moreover they willed him by these his Embassadors, that he should not passe over his Army into *Europe*;

adding,

adding, That ſome of them would viſit him in perſon ere it were long, to talk with him further concerning theſe points. This done, they fell to accompliſhing their promiſes unto the *Greeks*; to the reſt they gave what they had promiſed. But the *Phocians* and *Locrians* they gave unto the *Ætolians*; whom they thought it no wiſdom to offend overmuch, being ſhortly to take a greater work in hand. The *Achæans* of *Phthiotis* they annexed unto the *Theſſalians*; all ſave the town of *Thebes* in *Phthiotis*, the ſame which had been abandoned by *T. Quintius* to the *Ætolians* in the laſt Treaty with *Philip*. The *Ætolians* contended very earneſtly about *Pharſalus* and *Leucas*. But they were put off with a dilatory anſwer, and rejected unto the Senate: for howſoever ſomewhat the Councell might favour them, yet was it not meet that they ſhould have their will, as it were in deſpight of *Titus*. So the *Achæans* were reſtored *Corinth*, *Triphylia*, and *Herea*. So the *Corinthians* were made free indeed, (though the *Romans* yet a while kept the *Acrocorinthus*) for that all which were partakers of the *Achæan* common-wealth, enjoyed their liberty in as abſolute manner as they could deſire. To *Pleuratus* the *Illyrian* were given one or two places, taken by the *Romans* from *Philip*: and upon *Aminander* were beſtowed thoſe Caſtles, which he had gotten from *Philip* during this war; to reign in them, and the grounds which they commanded, as he did among his *Athamanians*. The *Rhodians* had been their own Carvers. *Attalus* was dead a little before the Victory; and therefore loſt his ſhare. Yet many that were with *Titus* in Councell, would have given the towns of *Oreum* and *Eretria*, in the Iſle of *Eubœa*, to his ſon and ſucceſſor King *Eumenes*. But finally it was concluded, that theſe as well as the reſt of the *Eubœans*, ſhould be ſuffered to enjoy their liberty. *Oreſtis*, a little Province of the kingdom of *Macedon*, bordering on *Epirus*, and lying towards the *Ionian* Sea, had yeelded unto the *Romans* long ere this, and ſince continued true to them: for which cauſe it was alſo ſet at liberty, and made a free eſtate by it ſelf.

Theſe buſineſſes being diſpatcht, it remained, that all care ſhould be uſed, not how to avoid the war with King *Antiochus*, but how to accompliſh it with moſt eaſe and proſperity. Wherefore Embaſſadours were ſent, both to *Antiochus* himſelf, to pick matter of quarrell; and about unto others, to pre-diſpoſe them unto the aſſiſting of the *Romans* therein. What ground and matter of War againſt this King, the *Romans* now had, or ſhortly after found: as alſo how their Embaſſadors and Agents dealt and ſped abroad; I refer unto another place.

CHAP. V.

The Wars of the Romans *with* Antiochus *the Great, and his Adherents.*

§. I.

What Kings of the races of Seleucus *and* Ptolomie *reigned in Aſia and Egypt before* Antiochus *the Great.*

Seleucus Nicator, the firſt of his race, King of *Aſia* and *Syria*, died in the end of the hundred twenty and fourth *Olympiad*. He was treacherouſly ſlain by *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, at an Altar called *Argos*; having (as is ſaid) been warned before by an Oracle, to beware of *Argos*, as the fatall place of his death. But I never have read that any mans life hath been preſerved, or any miſchance avoided by the predictions of ſuch Divelliſh Oracles. Rather I beleeve, that many ſuch predictions of the Heathen gods, have been ante-dated by their Prieſts; or by others, which deviſed them after the event.

Antiochus Soter, the ſon and heir of this *Seleucus*, was dearly beloved of his father: who ſurrendred unto him his own wife *Stratonica*, when he underſtood how much the young Prince was enamoured on her. Wherefore *Ptolomy Ceraunus* had great cauſe to fear, that the death of *Seleucus* would not be unrevenged by this his Succeſſour. But *Antiochus* was contented to be pacified, either with gifts, or perhaps onely with faire words, containing himſelf within *Aſia*; and letting *Ceraunus* enjoy that quietly, which he

he had purchaſed in *Europe*, with the blood of *Seleucus*. It is ſaid of this *Antiochus*, that although he married with the Queen *Stratonica* in his fathers life, yet out of modeſty he forbore to imbrace her, till his father was dead. So that perhaps his inceſtuous love was partly, if not chiefly, the cauſe of his not proſecuting that revenge; whereunto Nature ſhould have urged him. Afterwards he had wars with *Antigonus Gonatas*, and with *Nicomedes* King of *Bithynia*. Alſo *Lutarius* and *Leonorius*, Kings or Captains of the *Gauls*, were ſet upon him by the ſame *Nicomedes*. With theſe he fought a great battell: wherein, though otherwiſe the enemies had all advantage againſt him, yet by the terrour of his Elephants, which affrighted both their horſes and them, he won the victorie. He took in hand an enterpiſe againſt *Ptolomy Philadelphus*: but finding ill ſucceſſe in the beginning, he ſoon gave it over. To this King *Antiochus Soter* it was, that *Berosus* the *Chaldæan* dedicated his Hiſtory of *Aſſyria*; the ſame which hath ſince been excellently falſified by the Friar *Annius*. He left behind him one ſon, called *Antiochus Theos*; and one daughter, called *Apame*, that was married unto the King of *Cyrene*. So he died about the end of the hundred twenty and ninth *Olympiad*, or the beginning of the *Olympiad* following, in the fiftieth or one and fiftieth yeer of *the Kingdome of the Greeks*, when he had reigned nineteen yeers.

Genebrard. l. 2. Juſt. Mart. in Paræn.

Antiochus, ſurnamed *Theos*, or the *god*, had this vain and impious title given to him, by flattery of the *Mileſians*; whom he delivered from *Timarchus*, a Tyrant that oppreſſed them. He held long and difficult, but fruitleſſe war with *Ptolomy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*; which finally he compounded, by taking to wife *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolomy*.

Of theſe two Kings, and of this Lady *Berenice*, S. *Hierom* and other Interpreters have underſtood that Prophecy of *Daniel*: *The Kings daughter of the South ſhall come to the King of the North to make an agreement*; and that which followeth.

Dan. 11. 6.

Ptolomy Philadelphus was a great lover of Peace and Learning; and (ſetting apart his inceſtuous marriage with his own ſiſter *Arſinoe*) a very excellent Prince: howſoever, the worthieſt of all that race. It was he that built, and furniſhed with Books, that famous Library in *Alexandria*: which to adorn, and to honour the more, he ſent unto *Eleazar*, then high Prieſt of the *Jews*, for the Books of *Moſes* and other Scriptures. The benefits of this King unto the *Jews* had formerly been very great: for he had ſet at liberty as many of them, as his father held in ſlavery throughout all *Egypt*; and he had ſent unto the * Temple of God in *Jeruſalem* very rich Preſents. Wherefore *Eleazar*, yeelding to the Kings deſire, preſented him with an *Hebrew* copie: which *Ptolomy* cauſed to be tranſlated into *Greek*, by ſeventy two of the moſt grave and learned perſons that could be found among all the Tribes. In this number of the 72. Interpreters, or (as they are commonly called) the *Seventy*, *Jeſus* the ſon of *Syrach*, is thought by *Genebrard* to have been one: who that he lived in this Age, it ſeems to me very ſufficiently proved by *Janſenius*, in his Preface unto *Eccleſiaſticus*. The whole paſſage of this buſineſſe between *Philadelphus* and the high Prieſt, was written (as [a] *Joſephus* affirms) by *Ariſtæus* that was employed therein. Forty yeers *Ptolomy Philadelphus* was King; reckoning the time wherein he joyntly reigned with his father. He was exceedingly beloved of his people; and highly magnified by Poets, and other Writers. Towards his end he grew more voluptuous, than he had been in his former yeers: in which time he boaſted, that he alone had found out the way how to live for ever. If this had been referred unto his honourable deeds, it might have ſtood with reaſon: otherwiſe, the Gout, with which he was often troubled, was enough to teach him his own errour. He was the firſt of the Kings, derived from *Alexanders* Succeſſors, that entred into League with the *Romans*: as alſo his off-ſpring was the laſt among thoſe Royall Families, which by them was rooted up.

* *Aug. de civit. Dei. l. 18. c. 42.*

[a] *Joſ. ant. l. 12. cap. 2.* Concerning that Book which now goes under the name of *Ariſtæus*; many learned men, & among the reſt, *Ludovicus Vives*, hold ſuſpicion that it is counterfeit, & the invention of ſome late Author. Surely if it were to be ſuſpected in the time of *Vives*; it may be now much more juſtly ſuſpected: ſince a new Edition of it is come forth, *purged from faults*, (as the Papiſts term thoſe Books, wherein they have changed what they pleaſe) and ſet forth by *Middendorpius* at *Colen*, An. Dom. 1578.

Antiochus Theos had another wife, called *Laodice*, at ſuch time as he married with *Berenice* the daughter of this *Ptolomy*. After his ſecond marriage, he uſed his firſt wife with no better regard, than if ſhe had been his Concubine. *Laodice* hated him for this: yet adventured not to ſeek revenge, untill her own ſon *Seleucus Callinicus* was of ability to be King. This was two or three yeers after the death of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*: at what time ſhe poyſoned her huſband *Theos*; and, by permiſſion of *Seleucus* her ſon, murdered

Berenice,

Berenice, together with a ſonne that ſhe had borne to *Antiochus*. *Juſtine* reports, that *Berenice* ſaved her ſelfe, together with the yong Prince her childe, a while in the Sanctuary at *Daphne*: and that not only ſome Cities of *Aſia* prepared to ſuccour her, but her brother *Ptolomy Evergetes*, King of *Egypt*, came to reſcue her with an Army; though too late, for ſhe was ſlaine before. *Juſt. lib. 27.*

With ſuch cruelties *Seleucus Callinicus*, ſucceeding unto his Father, that had fifteene yeares beene King, began his reigne. His ſubjects were highly offended at his wicked nature; which they diſcovered in his firſt entrance. Wherefore it was like, that his Eſtate would have beene much endangered, if *Ptolomy Euergetes*, who came againſt him, had not beene drawne backe into his owne Countrey, by ſome Commotions there in hand. For there were none that would beare armes againſt *Ptolomy*, in defence of their owne King: but rather they ſided with the *Egyptian*; who tooke *Laodice* the Kings mother, and rewarded her with death as ſhe had well deſerved. Wherefore *Seleucus*, being freed from this invaſion, by occaſion of thoſe domeſticall troubles which recalled *Euergetes* home into *Egypt*; went about a dangerous piece of worke, even to make Warre upon his owne ſubjects, becauſe of their bad affection towards him; when as it had bin much better, by well deſerving, to have changed their hatred into love. A great Fleet he prepared: in furniſhing and manning whereof he was at ſuch charges, that he ſcarce left himſelfe any other hope, if that ſhould miſcarry. Herein he embarqued himſelfe; and putting to Sea, did meet with ſuch a tempeſt, as devoured all ſave himſelfe, and a very few of his friends that hardly eſcaped. This calamity, having left him nothing elſe in a manner than this naked body, turned nevertheleſſe to his great good; as anon after it ſeemed. For when his ſubjects underſtood in what ſort the gods (as they conceived it) had puniſhed him for his offences: they had commiſeration of his Eſtate; and, preſuming that he would thenceforth become a new man, offered unto him their ſervice with great alacritie. This revived him, and filled him with ſuch ſpirit; as thinking himſelfe well enough able to deale with the *Egyptian*, he made ready a mighty Army for that purpoſe. But his fortune was no better at Land, than it had beene at Sea. Hee was vanquiſhed by *Ptolomy* in a great battel: whence he eſcaped hardly; no better attended, than after his late ſhipwracke. Haſting therefore back to *Antioch*; and fearing that the enemy would ſoone be at his heeles; He wrote unto his brother *Antiochus Hierax*, who lay then in *Aſia*, praying him to bring ſuccour with all ſpeed; and promiſing, in recompence of his faith and diligence, the Dominion of a great part of *Aſia*. *Antiochus* was then but fourteene yeares old, but extremely ambitious; and therefore glad of ſuch an occaſion to make himſelfe great. Hee levied a mighty Army of the *Gaules*; wherewith he ſet forward to help his brother, or rather to get what he could for himſelfe. Hereof *Ptolomy* being advertiſed: and having no deſire to put himſelfe in danger more then he needed; tooke Truce with *Seleucus* for tenne yeares. No ſooner was *Seleucus* freed from this care of the *Egyptian* War, but his brother *Antiochus* came upon him, and needs would fight with him, as knowing himſelfe to have the better Army. So *Seleucus* was vanquiſhed againe; and ſaved himſelfe with ſo few about him, that he was verily ſuppoſed to have periſhed in the battell. Thus did Gods Iuſtice take revenge of thoſe murders by which the Crowne was purchaſed; and ſetled (as might have beene thought) on the head of this bloudy King. *Antiochus* was very glad to heare of his brothers death, as if thereby he had purchaſed his hearts deſire. But the *Gaules*, his Mercenaries, were gladder then hee. For when he led them againſt *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, being in hope to get honour by making a Conqueſt in the beginning of his Reigne: theſe perfidious Barbarians tooke counſell againſt him, and deviſed how to ſtrippe him of all that he had. They thought it very likely, that if there were none of the Royall houſe to make head againſt them; it would be in their power, to doe what ſhould be beſt pleaſing to themſelves, in the lower *Aſia*. Wherefore they laid hands on *Antiochus*; and enforced him to ranſome himſelfe with money, as if he had beene their lawfull Priſoner. Neither were they ſo contented; but made him enter into ſuch Compoſition with them, as tended but little to his honour. In the meane while *Seleucus* had gathered a new Armie: and prepared once more to try his fortune againſt his brother. *Eumenes* hearing of this, thought the ſeaſon fit for himſelfe, to make his profit of their diſcord. *Antiochus* fought with him, and was beaten: which is no great marvell, ſince he had great reaſon to ſtand in no leſſe feare of the *Gaules*, his own ſouldiers, than

than of the enemy with whom he had to deal. After this, *Eumenes* won much in *Asia*; whilest *Antiochus* went against his brother. In the second battell, fought between the brethren, *Seleucus* had the upper hand: and *Antiochus Hierax* or *the Hawk*, (which surname was given him, because he sought his prey upon every one, without care whether he were provoked or not) soared away as farre as he could, both from his brother, and from his own *Gaules*. Having fetcht a great compasse through *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*, He fell at length in *Cappadocia*; where his father-in-law King *Artamenes* took him up. He was entertained very lovingly in outward shew; but with a meaning to betray him. This he soon perceived: and therefore betook him to his wings again; though he knew not well, which way to bend his flight. At length he resolved to bestow himself upon *Ptolemy*; his own conscience telling him, what evill he had meant unto *Seleucus* his brother; and therefore what little good he was reciprocally to expect at his hands. Infidelity can finde no sure harbour. *Ptolemy* well understood the perfidious and turbulent nature of this *Hierax*. Wherefore he laid him up in close prison: whence though by means of an harlot, he got out; yet flying from his keepers, he fell into the hands of theeves, by whom he was murthered. Near about the same time died *Seleucus*. The *Parthians* and *Bactrians* had rebelled against him, during his wars with his brother. He therefore made a journey against *Arsaces* founder of the *Parthian* Kingdome: wherein his evill fortune, or rather Gods vengeance, adhered so closely to him, that he was taken prisoner. *Arsaces* dealt friendly with him, and dismissed him, having every way given him royall entertainment: but in returning home, he brake his neck by a fall from his horse, and so ended his unhappy reign of twenty years. He had to wife *Laodice* the sister of *Andromachus*, one of his most trusty Captains: which was father unto that *Achæus*, who making his advantage of this affinity, became shortly after (as he stiled himself) a King; though rather indeed, a great troubler of the world in those parts. By *Laodice* he had two sons; *Seleucus* the third, surnamed *Ceraunus*; and *Antiochus* the third, called afterwards *the Great*.

Seleucus Ceraunus reigned only three years; in which time he made War upon *Attalus* the first, that was King of *Pergamus*. Being weak of body through sickness, and in want of money, he could not keep his men of War in good order: and finally he was slain by treason of *Nicanor* and *Apaturius* a *Gaule*. His death was revenged by *Achæus*, who slew the Traitors, and took charge of the Army: which he ruled very wisely, and faithfully a while; *Antiochus* the brother of *Seleucus* being a Child.

§. II.

The beginning of the Great Antiochus *his reign. Of* Ptolemy Euergetes, *and* Philopater, *Kings of Egypt. War between* Antiochus *and* Philopater. *The rebellion of* Molo: *an expedition of* Antiochus *against him. The recontinuance of* Antiochus *his Egyptian war: with the passages between the two Kings: the victory of* Ptolemy, *and peace concluded. Of* Achæus, *and his rebellion; his greatness, and his fall.* Antiochus *his expedition against the Parthians, Bactrians, and Indians. Somewhat of the Kings reigning in India, after the death of the Great* Alexander.

ANtiochus was scarcely fifteen years old, when he began his reign, which lasted fixe and thirty years. In his minority, he was was wholly governed by one *Hermias*, an ambitious man, and one which maligned all vertue, that he found in any of the Kings faithful servants. This vile quality in a Counsellor of such great place, how harmfull it was unto his Lord, and finally unto himself; the successe of things will shortly discover.

Soon after the beginning of *Antiochus* his reign, *Ptolemy Euergetes* King of *Egypt* died; and left his heir *Ptolemy Philopater*, a young Boy likewise, as hath elsewhere been remembred. This was that *Euergetes*, who relieved *Aratus* & the *Achæans*: who afterwards took part with *Cleomenes*; & lovingly entertained him, when he was chased out of *Greece* by *Antigonus Gonatas*. He annexed unto his Dominion the Kingdome of *Cyrene* by taking to wife *Berenice*, the daughter of King *Magas*. He was the third of the *Ptolemies*; and the last good king of that race. The name of *Euergetes*, or *the doer of good*, was given to him by the *Egyptians*; not so much for the great spoils which he brought home, after his victories

ctories in *Syria*; as for that he recovered some of those Images or Idols, which *Cambyses*, when he conquered *Egypt*, had carried into *Persia*. He was ready to have made War upon the *Jewes*, for that *Onias* their high Priest, out of meer covetousnes of mony, refused to pay unto him his yearly tribute of 20. talents: but he was pacified by the wisdome of *Josephus* a *Jew*, to whom afterwards he let in farm the Tributes and customes that belonged unto him in those parts of *Syria* which he held. For *Cœlosyria*, with *Palastina*, and all those parts of the Country that lay neareſt unto *Egypt*, were held by the *Egyptian*; either as having fallen to the share of *Ptolemy* the first, at such time as the great *Antigonus* was vanquished and slain in the battell at *Ipsus*; or as being won by this *Euergetes*, in the troublesome and unhappy reign of *Seleucus Callinicus*. The victories of this *Euergetes* in *Syria*, with the contentions that lasted for many succeeding ages between the *Ptolemies* and the *Seleucidæ*; were all foretold by *Daniel* in the Prophecie before cited, which is expounded by *S. Hierome*. This *Ptolemy Euergetes* reigned six & twenty years; and died towards the end of the hundred thirty and ninth Olympiad. It may seem by that which we find in the Prologue unto *Jesus* the son of *Syrach* his book, that he should have reigned a much longer time. For *Siracides* there saith that he came into *Egypt* in the eight and thirtieth year, when *Euergetes* was King. It may therefore be, That either this King reigned long together with his father: or that those eight and thirty years were the years of *Jesus* his own age; if not perhaps reckoned (as the *Jewes* did otherwhiles reckon) from some notable accident that had befallen them.

Not long after the death of *Euergetes*, *Hermias* the Counsellor, and in a manner the Protector of King *Antiochus*, incited his Lord unto war against the *Egyptian*; for the recovery of *Cœlosyria* and the Countries adjoyning. This counsell was very unseasonably given, when *Molo*, the Kings Lieutenant in Media, was broken out into rebellion, and sought to make himself absolute Lord of that rich Country. Nevertheless *Hermias*, being more froward than wise, maintained stiffely, that it was most expedient and agreeable with the Kings honour, to send forth against a rebellious Captain, other Captains that were faithfull; whilest he in person made War upon one that was like himself, a King. No man durst gain-say the resolution of *Hermias*; who therefore sent *Xenætas* an *Achæan*, with such forces as he thought expedient, against the Rebel; whilst in the mean season an Army was preparing for the Kings expedition into *Cœlosyria*. The King having marched from *Apamea* to *Laodicea*, and so over the Desarts into the Vally of *Massias*, between the Mountains of *Libanus* and *Anti-libanus*; found his way there stopped by *Theodotus* an *Ætolian*, that served under *Ptolemy*. So he consumed the time there a while to none effect: and then came news, that *Xenætas*, his Captain, was destroyed with his whole Army; and *Molo* thereby become Lord of all the Country, as far as unto *Babylon*.

Xenætas, whilest he was yet on his journey, and drew near to the River of Tygris; received many advertisements, by such as fled over unto him from the Enemy, That the followers of *Molo* were, for the most part, against their wils drawn by their Commander to bear arms against their King. This report was not altogether false; but *Molo* himself stood in some doubt lest his followers would leave him in time of necessity. *Xenætas* therefore making shew, as if he had prepared to pass the River by Boats in face of his enemy; left in the night time such as he thought meet to defend his Camp; and with all the flour of his Army went over Tygris, in a place ten miles lower than *Molo* his Camp. *Molo* heard of this, and sent forth his horse to give impediment: but hearing that *Xenætas* could not so be stopped, He himself dislodged, and took his journey towards *Media*; leaving all his baggage behind him in his Camp. Whether he did this, as distrusting the faith of his own souldiers; or whether thereby to deceive his Enemy; the great folly of *Xenætas* made his stratagem prosperous For *Xenætas*, having born himself proudly before, upon the countenance of *Hermias*, by whom he was advanced unto this charge; did now presume that all should give way to his authority, without putting him to much trouble of using the sword. Wherefore he suffered his men to feast with the provisions which they found ready in the forsaken Camp: or rather he commanded them so to do, by making Proclamation, That they should cherish up themselves against the journey, which he intended to take the next day, in pursuit of the Rebels that fled. And to the same purpose he busied himselfe, in transporting the remainder of his Army, which he had left on the other side of Tygris. But *Molo* went

no further that day, than he could easily return the same night. Wherefore understanding what good rule the Kings men kept: he made such haste back unto them, that he came upon them early in the morning; whilest they were yet heavy with the Wine and other good cheer that they had spent at supper. So *Xenetas* and a very few with him, died fighting in defence of the Camp: the rest were slaughtered without making resistance; and many of them ere they were perfectly awake. Likewise the Camp on the other side of Tygris, was easily taken by *Molo*: the Captains flying thence, to save their own lives. In the hear of this victory, the Rebell marched unto *Seleucia*, which he presently took: and, mastering within a little while the Province of *Babylonia*, and all the Country down to the red Sea, or Bay of *Persia*, He hasted unto *Susa*; where at his first comming he won the City: but failing to take the Castle that was exceeding strong, returned back to *Seleucia*, there to give order concerning this businesse.

The report of these things comming to *Antiochus*, whilest he lay (as is said before) in the Vale of *Mapsyas*; filled him with great sorrow, and his Camp with trouble. He took counsell what to do in this needfull case; and was well advised by *Epigenes*, the best man of War he had about him, to let alone this enterprise of *Celosyria*; and bend his forces thither, where more need required them. This counsell was put in execution with all convenient haste. Yet was *Epigenes* dismissed by the way, and soon after slain, by the practice of *Hermias*; who could not endure to hear good counsell given, contrary to his own good liking and allowance. In the journey against *Molo*, the name and presence of the King was more available, than any oddes which he had of the Rebell in strength. *Molo* distrusted his own followers: and thought, that neither his late good success, nor any other consideration, would serve to hold them from returning to the Kings obedience; if once they beheld his person. Wherefore he thought it safest for him to assail the Kings Camp in the night time. But going in hand with this, He was discovered by some that fled over from him to the King. This caused him to return back to his Camp: which by some errour, took alarm at his return; and was hardly quieted, when *Antiochus* appeared in sight. The King was thus forward in giving battell to *Molo*, upon confidence which he had that many would revolt unto him. Neither was he deceived in this his belief. For not a few men or Ensignes: but all the left wing of the enemy which was opposite unto the King, changed side forthwith as soon as ever they had sight of the Kings person; and were ready to do him service against *Molo*. This was enough to have won the victory: but *Molo* shortned the work, by killing himself; as did also divers of his friends, who for fear of torments, prevented the Hang-man with their own swords.

After this Victory came joyfull newes, that the Queen *Laodice* daughter of *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, which was married unto *Antiochus* a while before, had brought forth a son. Fortune seemed bountifull unto the King: and therefore he purposed to make what use he could of her friendly disposition while it lasted. Being now in the Eastern parts of his kingdome, He judged it convenient to visit his frontiers, were it only to terrifie the *Barbarians*, that bordered upon him. Hereunto his Counsellor *Hermias* gave assent: not so much respecting the Kings honour, as considering what good might thereby happen to himself. For if it should come to passe, that the King were taken out of the world by any casualty: then made he no doubt of becomming Protector to the young Prince; and thereby of lengthening his own Government. *Antiochus* therefore went against *Artabazanes*, who reigned among the *Atropatians*; having the greatest part of his kingdome situate between the *Caspian* and *Euxine* Sea. This barbarous King was very old and fearfull; and therefore yeelded unto whatsoever conditions it pleased *Antiochus* to lay upon him. So in this journey *Antiochus* got honour, such as well contented him; and then returned homewards. Upon the way, a Physitian of his brake with him as concerning *Hermias*; informing him truly how odious he was to the people; and how dangerous he would be shortly unto the Kings own life. *Antiochus* beleeved this, as having long suspected the same *Hermias*; but not daring for fear of him to utter his suspitions. It was therefore agreed, that he should be made away on the sudden: which was done, he being trained forth by a sleight, a good way out of the Camp, and there killed without warning or disputation. The King needed not to have used so much art in ridding his hands of a man so much detested. For howsoever he seemed gracious whilest he was alive: yet they that for fear had been most obsequious to

him

him, whilest he was in case to do them hurt, was as ready as the foremost, to speak of him as he had deserved, when once they were secure of him: yea, his wife and children, lying then at *Apamea*, were stoned to death by the wives and children of the Citizens; whose indignation brake forth the more outrageously, the longer that it had been concealed.

About these times, *Achæus* (of whom we spake before) thinking that *Antiochus* might happen to perish in some of these expeditions which he took in hand; was bold to set a Diademe upon his own head, and take upon him as a King. His purpose was to have invaded *Syria*: but the fame of *Antiochus* his returning thitherwards, made him quit the enterprise; and study to set some handsome colour on his former presumption. It is very strange that *Antiochus* neither went against *Achæus*; nor yet dissembled the notice which he had taken of these his traiterous purposes: but wrote unto him, signifying that he knew all, and upbraiding him with such infidelity, as any offender might know to be unpardonable. By these means he emboldned the Traitor: who being already detected, might better hope to maintain his former actions by strong hand, than to excuse them or get pardon by submission. *Antiochus* had at that time a vehement desire to recover *Cœlosyria*, or what else he could, of the Dominions of *Ptolemy Philopater* in those parts. He began with *Seleucia*, a very strong City near to the mouth of the River *Orontes*; which ere long he won, partly by force, partly by corrupting with bribes the Captains that lay therein. This was that *Seleucia*, whereto *Antigonus the Great*, who founded it, gave the name of *Antigonia*: but *Seleucus* getting it shortly after, called it *Seleucia*; and *Ptolemy Euergettes* having lately won it, might if it had so pleased him, have changed the name into *Ptolemais*. Such is the vanity of men, that hope to purchase an endless memoriall unto their names, by works proceeding rather from their greatness, than from their vertue; which therefore no longer are their own, than the same greatness hath continuance. *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, he that before had opposed himself to *Antiochus*, and defended *Cœlosyria* in the behalf of *Ptolemy*; was now grown sorry, that he had used so much faith & diligence, in service of an unthankful and luxurious Prince. Wherefore as a Mercenary, he began to have regard to his own profit: which thinking to find greater, by applying himself unto him that was (questionlesse) the more worthy of these two Kings; he offered to deliver up unto *Antiochus*, the Cities of *Tyrus* and *Ptolemais*. Whilest he was devising about this treason, and had already sent messengers to King *Antiochus*: his practice was detected, and he besieged in *Ptolemais* by one of *Ptolemies* Captains, that was more faithfull than himself. But *Antiochus* hasting to his rescue, vanquished this Captain who met him on the way: and afterwards got possession, not only of *Tyrus* and *Ptolemais*, with a good Fleet of the *Egyptian* Kings that was in those Havens: but of so many other Towns in that Countrie, as emboldned him to think upon making a journey into *Egypt* it self. *Agathocles* and *Sosibius* bore all the sway in *Egypt* at that time: *Ptolemy* himself being loth to have his pleasures interrupted, with businesse of so small importance, as the safety of his Kingdome. Wherefore these two agreed together, to make provision as hastily, and yet as secretly as might be for the War: and nevertheless at the same time, to presse *Antiochus* with daily Embassadours to some good agreement. There came in the heat of this business, Embassadors from *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, and *Cyzicus*, as likewise from the *Ætolians*; according to the usuall courtesie of the *Greeks*, desiring to take up the quarrell.

These were all entertained in *Memphis*, by *Agathocles* and *Sosibius*: who intreated them to deal effectually with *Antiochus*. But whilest this treaty lasted, great preparations were made at *Alexandria* for the War: wherein these two Counsellors perswaded themselves reasonably, that the victory would be their own; if they could get, for mony, a sufficient number of the *Greeks* to take their parts. *Antiochus* heard only what was done at *Memphis*, and how desirous the Governours of *Egypt* were to be at quiet: whereunto he gave the readier belief, not only for that he knew the disposition of *Ptolemy*, but because the *Rhodians*, and other Embassadors, comming from *Memphis*, discoursed unto him all after one maner, as being all deceived by the cunning of *Agathocles* & his fellow: *Antiochus* therefore having wearied himself, at the long siege of a Town called *Dulow*

moneths, with promise that he would be ready to hearken unto equall Conditions, when they should be offered. It was not his meaning to be so courteous, as he would fain have seemed, but only to lull his enemies asleep, whilest he took time to refresh himself; and to bring *Achæus* to some good order, whose treason daily grew more open and violent. The same negligence which he thought the *Egyptian* would have used, He used himself; as presuming, that when time of the year better served, little force would be needfull; for that the Towns would voluntarily yeeld unto him, since *Ptolemy* provided not for their defence. Nevertheless, he gave audience to the Embassadours, and had often conference with those that were sent out of *Egypt*: pleasing himself well, to dispute about the justice of his quarrell; which he purposed shortly to make good by the sword, whether it were just or no. He said, that it was agreed between *Seleucus* his Ancestor, and *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagi*, That all *Syria*, if they could win it from *Antigonus*, should be given in possession to *Seleucus*: and that this bargain was afterwards ratified, by generall consent of all the Confederates, after the battell at *Ipsus*. But *Ptolemies* men would acknowledge no such bargain. They said that *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagi*, had won *Cœlosyria*, and the Provinces adjoyning, for himself: as also that he had sufficiently gratified *Seleucus*, by lending him forces to recover his Province of *Babylon*, and the Countries about the River of *Euphrates*. Thus whilest neither of them greatly cared for peace; they were in the end of their disputation, as far from concluding, as at the beginning. *Ptolemy* demanded restitution; *Antiochus* thought, that he had not as yet gotten all that was his own: Also *Ptolemy* would needs have *Achæus* comprehended in the League between them, as one of their Confederates; But *Antiochus* would not endure to hear of this, exclaiming against it as a shamefull thing, that one King should offer to deal so with another, as to take his rebell into protection, and seek to joyn him in Confederacy with his own Soveraign Lord. When the Truce was expired, and *Antiochus* prepared to take the field again: contrary to his expectation, he was informed, That *Ptolemy*, with a very puissant Army, was comming up against him out of *Egypt*. Setting forward therefore to meet with the Enemy, he was encountred on the way by those Captains of *Ptolemy*, that had resisted him the year before. They held against him the passages of *Libanus*, whence nevertheless he drave them: and proceeding onward in his journey, won so many places, that he greatly encreased his reputation; and thereby drew the *Arabians*, with divers of the bordering people, to become his followers. As the two Kings drew near together: many Captains of *Ptolemy* forsook his pay, and fled over to *Antiochus*. This notwithstanding, the *Egyptian* had the courage to meet his enemy in the field. The battell was fought at *Raphia*: where it was not to be decided, whether the *Egyptians* or *Asiatiques* were the better Souldiers, (for that the strength of both Armies consisted in Mercenaries, chiefly of the *Greeks*, *Thracians*, and *Gaules*;) but whether of the Kings was the more fortunate. *Ptolemy*, with *Arsinoe* his Sister and Wife, rode up and down encouraging his men; the like did *Antiochus* on the other side: each of them rehearsing the brave deeds of his Ancestors; as not having of their own, whereby to value themselves. *Antiochus* had the more Elephants, as also his being of *Asia*, had they been fewer, would have beaten those of *Africk*. Wherefore by the advantage of those beasts, He drave the Enemies before him, in that part of the battell wherein he fought himself. But *Ptolemy* had the better men by whose valour he brake the Grosse of his enemies battell, and won the victory; whilest *Antiochus* was heedlesly following upon those, whom he had compelled to retire. *Antiochus* had brought into the field above seventy thousand foot, and six thousand horse; whereof though he lost scarce ten thousand foot, and not four hundred horse; yet the fame of his overthrow took from him all those places which he had lately won. When therefore he was returned home to *Antioch*: He began to stand in fear, lest *Ptolemy* and *Achæus*, setting upon him both at once, should put him in danger of his whole Estate. This caused him to send Embassadors to the *Egyptian*, to treat of peace; which was readily granted; it being much against the nature of *Ptolemy* to vexe himself thus with the tedious businesse of War. So *Ptolemy* having staid three moneths in *Syria*, returned home into *Egypt*, clad with the reputation of a Conqueror; to the great admiration of his subjects and of all those that were acquainted with his voluptuous and slothfull condition.

Achæus was not comprised in the league between these two Kings: or if he had been

been included therein; yet would not the *Egyptian* have taken the pains, of making a second expedition for his sake. The best was, that he thought himself strong enough, if fortune were not too much against him, to deal with *Antiochus*. Neither was he confident without great reason: for besides his many victories, whereby he had gotten all that belonged unto *Antiochus* on this side of *Taurus*, he had also good successe against *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*; that was an able man of war, and commanded a strong Army. Neither was he, as *Molo* the Rebell had been, one of mean regard otherwise, and carryed beyond himself by apprehending the vantage of some opportunity: but Cousin-german to the King, as hath been shewed before; and now lately the Kings brother-in-law, by taking to wife a younger daughter of the same *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, which was also called *Laodice*, as was her sister the Queen, *Antiochus* his wife. These things had added Majesty unto him, and had made his followers greatly to respect him, even as one to whom a Kingdome was belonging. Neither made it a little for him, That King *Ptolemy* of *Egypt* held him in the nature of a friend: and that King *Antiochus* was now lately vanquished in the battell at *Raphia*, and had thereby lost all his gettings in *Syria*. But all these hopes and likelihoods came to nothing: for the King of *Pontus*, if he would meddle in that quarrell between sons-in-law, had no reason to take part against the more honourable. As for the Egyptian, he was not only slothfull, but hindred by a rebellion of his own subjects, from helping his friends abroad. For the people of *Egypt*, of whom *Ptolemy*, contrary to the manner of his Progenitors, had armed a great number to serve in the late expedition; began to entertain a good opinion of their own valour, thinking it not inferiour to the *Macedonian*. Hereupon they refused to suffer as much as formerly they had done: since they less esteemed, than they had done, the force of the Kings mercenary *Greeks*; which had hitherto kept them in straight subjection. Thus brake out a war between the King and his subjects: wherein though the ill-guided force of the multitude was finally broken; yet King *Ptolemy* thereby wasted much of his strength, and much of his time, that might have been spent, as he thought, much better in revelling; or, as others thought, in succouring *Achæus*. As for *Antiochus*, He had no sooner made his peace with the *Egyptian*, than he turned all his care to the preparation of war against *Achæus*. To this purpose he entred into League with *Attalus*; that so he might distract the forces of his Rebell, and find him work on all sides. Finally, his diligence and fortune were such, that within a while he had pent up *Achæus* into the City of *Sardes*; where he held him about two years besieged. The City was very strong, and well victualled: so as there appeared not, when the second year came, any greater likelihood of taking it, than in the first years siege. In the end, one *Lagoras* a *Cretan* found means how to enter the Town. The Castle it self was upon a very high rock, and in a manner impregnable; as also the Town-wall apjoyning to the Castle, in that part which was called *the Sawe*, was in like manner situate upon steep Rocks, and almost inaccessible; that hung over a deep bottome, whereinto the dead carkases of Horses, and other beasts, yea, and sometimes of men, used to be thrown. Now it was observed by *Lagoras*, that the Ravens and other birds of prey, which haunted that place by reason of their food which was there never wanting, used to flye up unto the top of the Rocks, and to pitch upon the wals, where they rested without any disturbance. Observing this often, he reasoned with himself, and concluded that those parts of the wall were left unguarded, as being thought unapproachable. Hereof he informed the King: who approved his judgement, and gave unto him the leading of such men, as he desired for the accomplishing of the enterprise. The successe was agreeable to that which *Lagoras* had afore conceived: and though with much labour, yet without resistance, he scaled those rocks, and whilest a generall assault was made) entred the town in that part, which was at other times unguarded, then unthought upon. In the same place had the *Persians*, under *Cyrus*, gotten into *Sardes*; when *Cræsus* thought himself secure on that side. But the Citizens took not warning by the example of a losse many ages past: and therefore out of memory. *Achæus* held still the Castle: which not only seemed by nature impregnable, but was very well stored with all necessaries, & manned with a sufficient number, of such as were to him well assured. *Antiochus* therefore was constrained to waste much time about it: having none other hope to prevail, than by famishing the inclosed. Besides the usuall tediousnesse of expectation, his businesse called him thence away into the higher *Asia*, where the *Ba-*

Etrians

etrians, and *Parthians* with the *Hyrcanians*, had erected kingdomes taken out of his Dominions, upon which they still incroached. But he thought it not safe, to let *Achæus* break loose again. On the other side there were some Agents of *Ptolemy* the *Egyptian*, and good friends unto *Achæus*; that made it their whole study, how to deliver this besieged Prince. If they could rescue his person, they cared for no more: but presumed that when he should appear in the Countries under *Taurus*, he would soon have an Army at command, and be strong enough to hold *Antiochus* as hardly to work as at any time before. Wherefore they dealt with one *Bolis* a *Cretan*, that was acquainted well with all the waies in the Countrey, and particularly with the by-paths and exceeding difficult passages among those Rocks, whereon the Castle of *Sardes* stood. Him they tempted with great rewards, which he should receive at the hands of *Ptolemy*, as well as of *Achæus*; to do his best for performance of their desire. He undertook the business: and gave such likely reasons of bringing all to good effect, that they wrote unto *Achæus*, by one *Arianus*, a trusty messenger, whom *Bolis* found means to conveigh into the Castle. The faith of these Negotiators *Achæus* held most assured. They also wrote unto him in privie Characters, or Ciphers, wherewith none save he and they were acquainted: whereby he knew, that it was no fained device of his Enemies, in the name of his friends. As for the messenger, he was a trusty fellow, and one whom *Achæus* found by examination, heartily affected unto their side. But the Contents of the Epistle, which were, that he should be confident in the faith of *Bolis*, and of one *Cambylus* whom *Bolis* had won unto the businesse, did somewhat trouble him. They were men to him unknown: and *Cambylus* was a follower of *Antiochus*; under whom he had the command of those *Cretans*, which held one of the Forts that blocked up the Castle of *Sardes*. Never theless other way to escape he saw none, than by putting himself to some adventure. When the messenger had therefore passed often to and fro, it was at length concluded, That *Bolis* himself should come speak with *Achæus*, and conduct him forth. There was none other than good faith meant by any of the rest, save only by *Bolis* and *Cambylus*; which were *Cretans*, and (as all their Countrimen,* same few excepted, have been, and still are,) false knaves. These two held a consultation together, that was, as *a Polybius* observes it, rightly *Cretical*: neither concerning the safety of him whose deliverance they undertook, nor touching the discharge of their own faith; but only how to get most with least adoe and danger to themselves. Briefly they concluded, That first of all they would equally share between them ten Talents, which they had already received in hand: and then, That they would reveal the matter to *Antiochus*; offering to deliver *Achæus* unto him, if they might be well rewarded both with present money, and with promise of consideration answerable to the greatnesse of such a service, when it should be dispatched. *Antiochus* hearing this promise of *Cambylus*, was no lesse glad, than were the friends of *Achæus* well pleased with the comfortable promises of *Bolis*. At length when all things were in readines on both sides, and that *Bolis* with *Arianus* was to get up into the Castle, and conveigh *Achæus* thence: He first went with *Cambylus* to speak with the King, who gave him very private audience; and confirmed unto him by word of mouth the assurance of his liberall promises. And after that, putting on the countenance of an honest man, and of one that was faithfull unto *Ptolemy*, whom he had long served, he accompanied *Arianus* up into the Castle. At his comming thither, he was lovingly entertained; yet questioned at large by *Achæus*, touching all the weight of the businesse in hand. But he discoursed so well, and with such gravity; that there appeared no reason of distrusting either his faith or judgement. He was an old Souldier, had long been a Captain under *Ptolemy*, and did not thrust himself into this businesse; but was invited by honourable and faithful men. He had also taken a safe course, in winning (as it seemed) that other Countriman of his, who kept a Fort that stood in their way; and thereby had already sundry times given safe passage and repassage unto *Arianus*. But against all these comfortable hopes, the importance of so great an adventure stirred up some diffidence. *Achæus* therefore dealt wisely, and said, that he would yet stay in the Castle a little longer: but that he meant to send away with *Bolis* three or four of his friends; from whom when he received better advertisement, concerning the likelihood of the enterprise, then would he issue forth himself. Hereby he took order, not to commit himself wholly unto the faith of a man unknown. But as *Polybius* well notes, he did not consider that he

* Among these few I do not except one, calling himself *Eudæmon*. *John Andrew a Cretan*, who in one of his late shameless Libels, wherein he traduceth out King, Religion, & Countrey, with all the good and worthy men of whom he could learn the names, hath by inserting my name twice belied me; in calling me a *Puritan*, and one that hath been dangerous unto my Soveraign. It is an honour to be ill spoken of by so diligent a supporter of Treasons, and Architect of Lies in regard whereof I may not deny him the commendation of Cretitisme no lesse voluminous, than he immultiplicity of names is beyond any the *Cretians* in elder times, that were alwaies Lyars, evel beasts, and slow bellies.

a Pol. hist l. 8.

to play'd the *Cretian* with a man of *Crete*: which is to say, that he had to do with one, whose knavery could not be avoided by circumspection. *Bolis* and *Cambilus* had laid their plots thus, That if *Achæus* came forth alone, then should he easily be taken by the ambush prepared for him: if he were accompanied with many of his friends, then should *Asiaeus* be appointed to lead the way, as one that of late had trodden it oft; & *Bolis* following behinde, should have an eye upon *Achæus* to prevent him, not only from escaping in the tumult, but from breaking his own neck, or otherwise killing himself: to the end that being taken alive, he might be to *Antiochus* the more welcome Present. And in such order came they now forth: *Asiaeus* going before as Guide; the rest following as the way served, and *Bolis* in the Rear. *Achæus* made none acquainted with his purpose, till the very instant of his departure. Then signified he the matter to his Wife *Laodice*; and comforting her with hope as well as he could, appointed four of his speciall friends to bear him company. They were all disguised: and one of them alone took upon him to have knowledge of the *Greek* tongue, speaking and answering as need should require for all, as if the rest had been *Barbarians*. *Bolis* followed them, craftily devising upon his business and much perplexed. For (saith *Polybius*) *though he were of* Crete, *and prone to surmise any thing to the mischief of another*; yet could he not see in the dark, n or know which of them was *Achæus*, or whether *Achæus* himself were there. The way was very uneasie, and in some places dangerous; especially to those that knew it not. Wherefore they were fain to stay in divers places, and help one another up or down. But upon every occasion they were all of them very officious towards *Achæus*, lending him their hands, and taking such care of him, as easily gave *Bolis* to understand, that he was the man: and so by their unseasonable duty, they undid their Lord. When they came to the place where *Cambylus* lay in wait, *Bolis* whistled, and presently clasped *Achæus* about the middle, holding him fast that he could not stir. So they were all taken by the Ambush, and carryed forthwith to *Antiochus*; who sate up watching in his Pavilion, expecting the event. The sight of *Achæus*, brought in bound unto him, did so astonish the King that he was unable to speak a word, and anon brake out into weeping. Yet was he before informed of the plot, which might have kept him from admiration: as also the next morning betimes, assembling his friends together, he condemned *Achæus* to a cruel death: which argues, that he was not moved with pity towards this unhappy man. Wherefore it was the generall regard of calamities, incident unto great fortunes, that wrung from him these tears: as also the rarity of the accident, that made both him and his friends to wonder: though it be so, that such a course as this of his, in imploying two mischievous knaves against one Traitor, doth not rarely succeed well; according to that *Spanish* Proverb, *A un traydor dos alleveſos*. The death of *Achæus* brought such astonishment upon those which held the castle, that after a while they gave up the place and themselves unto the King; whereby he got entire possession of all to him belonging in the lesser *Asia*.

Some years passed after this, ere *Antiochus* was ready for his expedition against the *Parthians* and *Hyrcanians*. The *Parthians* were a little Nation of obscure beginnings, and commonly subject unto those that ruled in *Media*. In the great shuffling for Provinces, after the death of *Alexander*, the Government over them was committed by *Antipater*, to one *Philip*, a man of small regard: shortly they fell to *Eumenes*, then to *Antigonus*: and from him, together with the *Medes*, to *Seleucus*; under whose posterity they continued untill the Reign of *Seleucus Callinicus*, being ruled by Lieutenants of the *Syrian* Kings. The lustfull insolency of one of these Lieutenants, together with the misfortune of *Callinicus*, that was vanquished and thought to be slain by the *Gaules*; did stir up *Arsaces*, a noble man of the Country, to seek revenge of injuries done, and animate them to rebell. So he slew the Kings Lieutenant; made himself king of the *Parthians*, and Lord of *Hyrcania*; fought prosperously with those that disturbed him in his beginnings; and took *Seleucus Callinicus* prisoner in battell, whom he royally entertained and dismissed. Hereby he won reputation as a lawfull king: and by good government of his Countrey, procured unto himself such love of his Subjects, that his name was continued unto his successours; like as that of the *Ptolemies* in *Egypt*, and that of the *Cæsars* afterwards in *Rome*. Much about the same time the *Bactrians* rebelled: though these at length, and all belonging unto the *Seleucidæ* beyond *Euphrates*, increased the *Parthians* dominion. Now *Antiochus* went against them with so strong an army,

that

that they durſt not meet him in plain field; but kept themſelves in woods or places of ſtrength, and defended the Straights and paſſages of mountains. The reſiſtances they made availed them not. For *Antiochus* had with him ſo great a multitude, and ſo well ſorted, as he needed not to turn out of the way, from thoſe that lay fortified againſt him, in Woods and Straights between their mountains; it being eaſie to ſpare out of ſo great a number, as many as fetching a compaſſe about, might either get above the enemies heads; or come behinde, and charge them on the back. Thus did he often imploy againſt them his light armature: wherewith he cauſed them to diſlodge, and give way unto his Phalanx; upon which they durſt not adventure themſelves in open ground. *Arſaces*, the ſecond of the name, (for his father was dead before this) was then King of *Parthia*: who though he was confident in the fidelity of his own ſubjects; yet feared to encounter with ſo mighty an Invader. His hope was, that the bad waies and Deſarts would have cauſed *Antiochus*, when he was at *Ecbatane* in *Media*, to give over the journey, without proceeding much further. This not ſo falling out: He cauſed the Wels and Springs in the Wilderneſs, through which his Enemy muſt paſs, to be dammed up and ſpoiled. By which means, and the reſiſtance before ſpoken of, when he could not prevail, He withdrew himſelf out of the way; ſuffering the Enemy to take his pleaſure for a time, in waſting the Countrey: wherein without ſome victory obtained, he could make no long abode. *Antiochus* hereby found, That *Arſaces* was nothing ſtrongly provided for the War. Wherefore he marched through the heart of *Parthia*: and then forward into *Hyrcania* where he wan *Tambrace*, the chief City of that Province. This indignity and many other loſſes, cauſed *Arſaces* at length, when he had gathered an Army that ſeemed ſtrong enough, to adventure a battell. The iſſue thereof was ſuch as gave to neither of the Kings hope of accompliſhing his deſires, without exceeding difficulty. Wherefore *Arſaces* craved peace, and at length obtained it: *Antiochus* thinking it not amiſſe, to make him a friend, whom he could not make a ſubject.

The next expedition of *Antiochus*, was againſt *Euthydemus* King of the *Bactrians*; one that indeed had not rebelled againſt him or his Anceſtors: but having gotten the Kingdome from thoſe that had rebelled, kept it himſelf. With *Euthydemus* he fought a battell by the River *Arius*, where he had the victory. But the victory was not ſo greatly to his honour, as was the teſtimony which he gave of his own private valour, in obtaining it. He was thought that day to have demeaned him more courageouſly, than did any one man in all his Army. His horſe was ſlain under him; and he himſelf received a wound in his mouth, whereby he loſt ſome of his teeth. As for *Euthydemus*, He withdrew himſelf back unto the furthermoſt parts of his Kingdome, and afterwards protracted the War, ſeeking how to end it by compoſition. So Embaſſadours paſſed between the Kings: *Antiochus* complaining, That a Countrey of his was unjuſtly uſurped from him: *Euthydemus* anſwering, That he had won it from the children of the Uſurpers: and further, That the *Bactrians*, a wilde Nation, could hardly be retained in order, ſave by a King of their own; for that they bordered upon the *Scythians*, with whom if they ſhould join, it would be greatly to the danger of all the Provinces that lay behinde them. Theſe allegations, together with his own wearineſs, pacified *Antiochus*, and made him willing to grant Peace, upon reaſonable Conditions. *Demetrius*, the ſon of *Euthydemus*, being a goodly gentleman, and employed by his father, as Embaſſador in this Treaty of Peace, was not a little available unto a good concluſion: for *Antiochus* liked him ſo well, that he promiſed to give him in marriage, one of his own daughters; and therewithall permitted *Euthydemus* to retain the Kingdome, cauſing him nevertheleſs to deliver up all his Elephants; as alſo to bind himſelf by oath, to ſuch Covenants as he thought requiſite.

So *Antiochus* leaving the *Bactrian* in quiet, made a journey over Caucaſus, and came to the borders of *India*, where he renewed with *Sophagaſenus*, King of the *Indians*, the ſociety that had been between their Anceſtors. The *Indians* had remained ſubject unto the *Macedonians* for a little while, after *Alexanders* death. *Eumenes* in his War againſt *Antigonus*, raiſed part of his forces out of their Countrey. But when *Antigonus* (after his victory) turned Weſtward, and was overbuſied in a great civill War: then did one *Sandrocottus*, an *Indian*, ſtir up his Country men to rebellion; making himſelf their Captain, and taking upon him, as protector of their liberty. This Office

fice and Title he soon changed, though not without some contention, into the Name and Majesty of a King. Finally he got unto himself (having an Army of six hundred thousand men) if not all *India*, yet as much of it as had bin *Alexanders*. In this estate he had well confirmed himself, ere *Seleucus Nicator* could find leisure to cal him to account. Neither did he faint, or humble himself at the comming of *Seleucus*: but met him in the field, as ready to defend his own, so strongly and well appointed, that the *Macedonian* was contented to make both peace and affinity with him, taking only a reward of fifty Elephants. This League, made by the Founders of the *Indian* and *Syrian* kingdoms, was continued by some Offices of love betwen their children, and now renewed by *Antiochus*: whose number of Elephants were increased thereupon, by the *Indian* king, to an hundred & fifty: as also he was promised, to have some treasure sent after him; which he left one to receive. Thus parted these two great kings. Neither had the *Indians*, from this time forwards in many generations, any business worthy of remembrance with the western countries. The posterity of *Sandrocottus* is thought to have retained that kingdome unto the dayes of *Augustus Cæsar*: to whom *Porus*, then reigning in *India*, sent Embassadors with presents, and an Epistle written in *Greek*, wherein among other things, he said, That he had command over six hundred Kings. There is also found, scattered in sundry Authors, the mention of some which held that kingdome in divers Ages, even unto the time of *Constantine the Great*: being all peradventure of the same race. But *Antiochus*, who in this Treaty with *Sophagasenus* carried himself as the worthier person, receiving Presents, and after marching home through *Drangiana* and *Carmania*, with such reputation, that all the Potentates, not only in the higher *Asia*, but on the hither side of *Taurus*, humbled themselves unto him, and called him *The Great*: saw an end of his own greatness within few years ensuing, by presuming to stand upon points with the *Romans*; whose Greatnesse was the same in deed, that his was only in seeming.

§. III.

The lewd reign of Ptolemy Philopater *in Egypt: with the tragicall end of his favorites, when he was dead.* Antiochus *prepares to war on the young childe* Ptolemy Epiphanes, *the son of* Philopater. *His irresolution in preparing for divers wars at once. His voyage towards the Hellespont. He seeks to hold amity with the Romans, who make friendly shew to him; intending nevertheless to have war with him. His doings against the Hellespont; which the Romans made the first ground of their quarrell to him.*

THis expedition being finished, *Antiochus* had leisure to repose himself a while; and study which way to convert the terrour of his puissance, for the enlargement of his Empire. Within two or three years *Ptolemy Philopater* died: leaving his son *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, a young Boy, his successor in the kingdome; unlikely by him to be well defended against a neighbour so mighty and ambitious. This *Ptolemy* surnamed *Philopater*, that is to say, *a lover of his Father*, is thought to have had that surname given him in meer derision; as having made away both his Father and Mother. His young years being newly past, his childhood when he began to reign, may seem to discharge him of so horrible a crime, as his Fathers death: yet the beastlinesse of all his following life, makes him not unlike to have done any mischief, whereof he could be accused. Having won the battell at *Raphiah*, He gave himself over to sensuality; and was wholly governed by a Strumpet called *Agathoclea*. At her instigation He murdered his own wife and sister; which had adventured her self with him, in that only dangerous action by him undertaken and performed with honour. The Lieutenantships of his Provinces, with all Commands in his Army, and Offices whatsoever, were wholly referred unto the disposition of this *Agathocles*, and her brother *Agathocles*, and *Oenanthe* a filthy bawd that was mother unto them both. So these three governed the Realm at their pleasure, to the great grief of all the Countrey, till *Philopater* died: who having reigned seventeen years, left none other son than *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, a childe of five years old, begotten on *Arsinoe* that was his sister and wife. After the Kings death *Agathocles* began to take upon him, as protector of young *Epiphanes*, and Governor of the Land. He assembled the *Macedons* (which were the kings ordinary forces in pay, not all born in *Macedonia*, but the race of those that abode in *Egypt* with *Ptolemy the first*,

and

and would not be accounted *Egyptians*; as neither would the Kings themselves) and bringing forth unto them his sister *Agathocles*, with the young King in her armes; began a solemne oration. He told them, That the deceased father of this their King, had committed the childe into the armes of his sister; but unto the faith of them: on whose valiant right hands, the whole state of the kingdome did now relye. He besought them therefore that they would be faithfull, and, as great need was, defend their King against the treason of one *Tlepolemus*, an ambitious man; who traiterously went about to set the Diademe upon his owne head, being a meere stranger to the Royall bloud. Herewithall he produced before them a witnesse, that should justifie his accusation against *Tlepolemus*. Now though it were so, that he delivered all this with a fained passion of sorrow, and counterfeiting teares: yet the *Macedons* that heard him, regarded not any word that he spake; but stood laughing, and talking one to another, what a shameless dissembler he was to take so much upon him, as if he knew not how greatly he was hated. And so brake up the Assembly: he that had called it, being scarce aware how. *Agathocles* therefore, whom the old Kings favour had made mighty, but neither wise nor well qualified, thought to goe to worke, as had formerly been his manner; by using his authority, to the suppression of those that he distrusted. He haled out of a Temple the mother-in-law of *Tlepolemus*; and cast her into prison. This filled *Alexandria* with rumors, and made the people (though accustomed to suffer greater things, whilest they were committed in the old kings name) to meet in knots together, and utter one to another their mindes; wherein they had conceived extreme hate, against these three pernicious Mis-governours of the old King. Besides their consideration of the present injurie done to *Tlepolemus*, they were somewhat also moved with feare of harme; which in way of requitall, *Tlepolemus* was likely to doe unto the Citie. For he was thought a man most unapt for Government, as afterwards he proved, yet no bad Souldier, and well beloved of the Armie. It was also then in his power, to stop the provision of victuals which was to come into *Alexandria*. As these motives wrought with the people, so by the remedy which *Agathocles* used, were the *Macedons* more hastily, and more violently stirred unto uproare. He secretly apprehended one of their number, whom he suspected of conspiracie against him; & delivered him unto a follower of his own, to be examined by torture. This poore Souldier was carried into an inner roome of the Palace, and there stripped out of all his apparell to be tormented. But whilest the whippes were brought forth, and all things even in a readinesse for that purpose, there was brought unto the minister of *Agathocles*, a sad report of *Tlepolemus* his being at hand. Hereupon the Examiner, and his Torturers, one after another, went out of the roome; leaving *Moeragenes* the Souldier alone by himselfe, and the doors open. He perceiving this, naked as he was, conveighed himselfe out of the Palace, and got unto the *Macedonians* of whom he found some in a Temple there by at dinner. The *Macedonians* were as fierce in maintenance of their Priviledges, as are the *Turkes Janizars*. Being assured therefore that one of their fellowes had thus beene used, they fell to Armes in a great rage, and began to force the Palace: crying out, That they would see the King, and not leave him in possession of such a dangerous man. The whole multitude in the City, with lowd clamours, made no lesse adoe than the Souldiers, though to lesse effect. So the old Bawd *Oenanthe* fled into a Temple: her Sonne and Daughter stayed in the Court, until the King was taken from them; and they, by his permission which he easily gave, and by appointment of those that now had him in their hands, delivered up to the furie of the people. *Agathocles* himselfe was stabbed to death, by some which therein did the office of friends; though in manner of enemies. His sister was dragged naked up and downe the streets; as was also his mother, with all to them belonging: the enraged multitude committed upon them a barbarous execution of justice; biting them, pulling out their eyes, and tearing them in pieces.

These troubles in *Egypt*, served well to stir up King *Antiochus*; who had very good leasure, though he wanted all pretence, to make war upon young *Ptolomy*. *Philip* of *Macedon* had the same desire to get what part he could of the childes estate. But it happened well, that *Ptolomy Philopater* in the *Punicke* Warre, which was now newly ended, had done many good offices unto the *Romans*. Unto them therefore the *Egyptians* addressed themselves, and craved helpe against these two kings: who though they secretly maligned one the other; yet had entred into covenant to divide betweene them

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all that belonged unto this *Orphan*; whose Father had been Confederate with them both. So * *M. Lepidus* was sent from *Rome*, to protect from all violence the King of *Egypt*; especially against *Antiochus*. As for the *Macedonian*; He was very soon found busied, with war at his own doors. Also *Scopas* the *Aetolian*, being a Pensioner to the *Egyptian*, was sent into *Greece* to raise an Army of Mercenaries. What *Lepidus* did in *Egypt*, I do not finde: and therefore think it not improbable, that he was sent thither only one of the three Embassadors, in the beginning of the War with *Philip*, as hath been shewed before. As for *Scopas*; he shortly after went up into *Syria* with his Army: where winning many places, among the rest of his Acts, he subdued the *Jewes*; who seem to have yeelded themselves a little before unto *Antiochus*, at such time as they saw him prepare for his War, & despaired of receiving help from *Egypt*. But it was not long, ere all these victories of *Scopas* came to nothing. For the very next year following, which was (according to *Eusebius*) the same year that *Philip* was beaten at *Cynoscephalæ*; *Antiochus* vanquished *Scopas* in battail, and recovered all that had been lost. Among the rest, the *Jewes* with great willingness returned under his obedience; and were therefore by him very gently entreated.

* *Iust. lib. 30.*

Liv. lib. 31.

Vide Ioseph. Ant. Iud. lib. 12. c. 3.

The Land of *Egypt* this great King did forbear to invade; and gave it out, that he meant to bestow a daughter of his own in marriage unto *Ptolemy*: either hoping, as may seem, that the Countrey would willingly submit it self unto him, if this young child should happen to miscarry; or else that greater purchase might be made in the Western parts of *Asia*, whilest *Philip* was held over-laboured by the *Romans*. It appears that he was very much distracted; hunting (as we say) two Hares at once with one Hound. The quarrels between *Attalus*, *Philip* and the *Grecks*, promised to afford him great advantage, if he should bring his Army to the *Hellespont*. On the other side, the state of *Egypt* being such as hath been declared, seemed easily to be swallowed up at once. One while therefore he took what he could get in *Syria*: where all were willing (and the *Jewes* among the rest, though hitherto they had kept faith with the *Egyptian*) to yeeld him obedience. Another while, letting *Egypt* alone, He was about to make invasion upon *Attalus* his Kingdome; yet suffered himself easily to be perswaded by the *Roman* Embassadors, and desisted from that enterprise. Having thus far gratified the *Romans*; He sends Embassadours to the Senate, to conclude a perfect amity between him and them. It is not lightly to be overpassed, That these his Embassadours were lovingly entertained at *Rome*; and dismissed, with a Decree and answer of the Senate, altogether to the honour of King *Antiochus*. But this answer of the *Romans* was not sincere; being rather framed according to regard of the Kings good liking, than of their own intent. They had not yet made an end with *Philip*: neither would they gladly be troubled with two great wars at once. Wherefore, not standing much upon the nice examination of what belonged unto their honour, they were content to give good words for the present. In the mean time *Antiochus* fights with *Scopas* in *Syria*, and shortly prepares to win some Towns elsewhere, belonging unto *Ptolemy*; yet withall he sends an Army Westward, intending to make what profit he can of the distractions in *Greece*. Likewise it is considerable, as an argument of his much irresolution, How notwithstanding his attempts upon both of their Kingdomes, he offered one of his daughters to *Ptolemy*, and another to *Eumenes* the son of *Attalus*, newly King of *Pergamus*: seeking each of their friendships, at one and the same time, when he sought to make each of them a spoile. Thus was he acting and deliberating at once; being carryed with an inexplicable desire of repugnancies, which is a disease of great, and overswelling fortunes. However it was, He sent an Army to *Sardes* by Land, under two of his sons: willing them there to stay for him; whilest he himself with a Fleet of an hundred Gallies, and two hundred other vessels, intended to pass along by the Coasts of *Cilicia* and *Caria*, taking in such places as held for the *Egyptian*. It was a notable act of the *Rhodians*, that, whilest the war of *Philip* lay yet upon their hands, they adventured upon this great *Antiochus*. They sent unto him a proud Embassage: whereby they gave him to understand, That if he passed forward beyond a certain Promontory in *Cilicia*, they would meet him and fight with him; not for any quarrell of theirs unto him; but because he should not joyn with *Philip* their enemy, and help him against the *Romans*. It was insolently done of them, neither seemed it otherwise, to prescribe such limits unto the King: yet he tempered himself, and without any shew of indignation gave a gentle answer; partly himself to their Embassadours;

sadors; partly unto their whole city, by Embassadors which he thither sent. He shewed his desire to renew the ancient Confederacies between his Ancestors and them: & willed them not to be afraid, lest his coming should tend unto any hurt, either of them, or of their confederates. As touching the *Romans* whom they thought that he would molest: they were (he said) his very good friends; whereof, he thought there needed no better proof, than the entertainment and answer by them newly given to his Embassadors.

The *Rhodians* appear to have been a cunning people, and such as could foresee what weather was like to happen. This answer of the King, and the relation of what had passed between his Embassadors and the Senate, moved them not a whit, when they were informed shortly after, that the *Macedonian* war was ended at the battail of *Cynoscephalæ*. They knew that *Antiochus* his turn would be next; and prepared to be forward on the stronger side. Wherefore they would not be contented to sit still; unless the towns on the South coast of *Asia*, belonging to *Ptolemy* their friend and Confederate were suffered to be at quiet. Herein also they did well; for that they had ever been greatly beholding to all the race of the *Ptolemies*. They therefore in this time of necessity, gave what aid they could unto all the subjects of the *Egyptian* in those parts. In like manner did King *Eumenes*, the son of *Attalus*, prognosticate as concerning the war that followed, between *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. For when King *Antiochus* made a friendly offer, to bestow one of his daughters upon him in marriage: He excused himself, and would not have her. *Attalus* and *Philetærus*, his brethren, wondred at this. But he told them, that the *Romans* would surely make war upon *Antiochus*; and therein finally prevail. Wherefore he said, that by abstaining from this affinity, it should be in his power to joyn with the *Romans*, and strengthen himself greatly with their friendship. Contrariwise, if he leaned to *Antiochus*: as he must be partaker in his overthrow; so was he sure to be oppressed by him, as by an over-mighty neighbour, if he hapned to win the victory.

Antiochus himself wintred about *Ephesus*; where he took such order as he thought convenient for reducing of *Smyrna* and *Lampsacus* to obedience; that had usurped their liberty, and obstinately strove to maintain it, in hope that the *Romans* would protect them. In the beginning of the Spring he sailed unto the *Hellespont*: where having won some Towns that *Philip* had gotten not long before this, he passed over into *Europe* side; and in short space mastered the *Chersonesus*. Thence went he to *Lysimachia*: which the *Thracians* had gotten & destroied, when *Philip* withdrew his garrison thence, to imploy it in the *Roman* war. The *Ætolians* objected as a crime unto *Philip*, in the conference before *T. Quintius*, that he had oppressed *Lysimachia*, by thrusting thereinto a garrison. Hereupon *Philip* made answer, that his garrison did not oppresse the town but save it from the *Barbarians*: who took and sackt it, as soon as the *Macedonians* were gone. That this answer was good and substantiall, though it were not acceptable as such, might appear by the miserable case, in which *Antiochus* found *Lysimachia* at his comming thither. For the town was utterly razed by the *Barbarians*; and the people carried away into slavery. Wherefore the King took order to have it re-edified: as also to redeem those that were in bondage; and to recollect as many of the Citizens, as were dispersed in the Country thereabout. Likewise he was carefull to allure thither, by hopefull promises, new inhabitants, and to repleniſh the City with the wonted frequency. Now to the end that men should not be terrified from comming thither to dwell by any fear of the neighbour *Thracians*: he took a journey in hand against those barbarous people, with the one half of his Army; leaving the other half to repair the City. These pains he took; partly in regard of the convenient situation, and former glory of *Lysimachia*; partly for that he thought it highly redounding unto his own honour, to recover and establish the dominion in those parts which his fore-father *Seleucus Nicator* had won from *Lysimachus*, & thereby made his Kingdome of greater extent, than it occupied in any following time. But for this ambition he shal dearly pay: and as after that victory against *Lysimachus*, the death of King *Seleucus* followed shortly; so shall a deadly wound of the Kingdome founded by *Seleucus* ensue very speedily, after the reconquest of the same Country, which was the last of *Seleucus* his purchases.

§. III.

§. IIII.

The Romans hold friendly correspondence with Antiochus, *during their war with* Philip: *after which they quarrell with him. The doings of* Hannibal *at Carthage: whence he is chased by his enemies, and by the Romans: His flight unto the King* Antiochus. *The Ætolians murmure against the Romans in Greece. The war of the Romans and Achæans, with* Nabis *the Tyrant of Lacedæmon. The departure of the Romans out of Greece.* T. Quintius *his Triumph. Peace denied to* Antiochus *by the Romans.*

FOr the *Romans*, though they were unable to smother their desire of war with *Antiochus*, whereof notice was already taken both by their friends and by their enemies: yet was it much against their will to keep the rumour on foot, which they meant shortly to make good, of this intended war, so long as they wanted matter of quarrell; whereof they were furnished, by this enterprise of the Kings about *Lysimachia*. It was not long, since King *Attalus*, a friend and a helper of the *Romans* in their war with *Philip*, could obtain of them none other help against *Antiochus*, than Embassadors to speak for him, because the one of these Kings was held no lesse a friend than the other. Neither did there afterwaads pass between them any other offices, than very friendly. *Antiochus* at the request of their Embassadors, withdrew his Invasion from the Kingdome of *Pergamus*: also very shortly after he sent Embassadors to them, to make a perfect League of amity between them. This was whilest as yet they were busied with *Philip*, and therefore had reason to answer his good will with good acceptation: as they did in outward shew. But when the *Macedonian* war was at an end, and all, or most of all the States in *Greece*, were become little better than Clients unto the *Romans*: then was all this good correspondence changed into terms of worse, but more plain meaning. For *T. Quintius*, with his ten counsellors sent from *Rome*, requited (as hath bin * shewed before) with a commination of war, this Kings gratulation of their victory; as also his long-professed amity, and desire to continue in the same.

* chap. 4. §. 8.

These ten Counsellors were able to inform *T. Quintius*, and acquaint him with the purpose of the Senate: whereof yet it seems that he was not ignorant before; since, in regard of *Antiochus*, he was the more inclinable unto peace with *Philip*. It was therefore agreed, when they divided themselves to make progress through divers quarters of *Greece* for the execution of their late Decree, That two of them should visit King *Antiochus*; and the rest, where occasion served, use diligence to make a party strong against him. Neither was the Senate at *Rome* unmindfull of the business: wherein lest *T. Quintius*, with his ten Assistants, should happen to forget any thing to their parts belonging; *L. Cornelius* was sent from *Rome*, of purpose to deal with the King about those controversies, that were between him and *Ptolemy*. What other private instructions *Cornelius* had; we may conjecture by the managing of this his Embassage. For coming to *Selymbria*: and there understanding that *P. Vilius* and *L. Terentius*, having bin sent by *Titus*, were at *Lysimachia*, He hastned thither; whither also came *P. Lentulus* (another of the ten Counsellors) from *Bargilla*, to be present at the Conference. *Hegesianax* and *Lysias* were also there; the same, who had lately brought from *Titus* those peremptory Conditions, which the Embassadours present shall expound unto their Master. After a few dayes *Antiochus* returned from his *Thracian* Expedition. The meeting and entertainment between him and these *Romans*, was in appearance full of love. But when they came to treat of the business in hand; this good mood was quite altered. *L. Cornelius*, in two or three words, briefly delivered his errand from *Rome*: which was, That *Antiochus* had reason to deliver back unto *Ptolemy* those Towns of his, whereof he had lately gotten possession. Hereunto he added, and that very earnestly, That he must also give up the Towns of late belonging unto *Philip*; and by him newly occupied. For what could be more absurd, than such folly in the *Romans*, as to let *Antiochus* enjoy the profit of that war, wherein they had laboured so much, and he done nothing? Further he warned the King, that he should not molest those Cities that were free: and finally he demanded of him, upon what reason he was come over with so great an Army into *Europe*; for that other cause of his journey there was none probable, than a purpose to make war upon the *Romans*? To this the King made answer, That he wondred why the *Romans* should so trouble themselves, with thinking

upon the matters of *Asia*: wherewith he prayed them to let him alone; even as he, without such curiosity, suffered them to do in *Italy* what they thought good. As for his comming over into *Europe*: they saw well enough what business had drawn him thither; namely the war against the barbarous *Thracians*: the rebuilding of *Lysimachia*, and the recovery of Towns to him belonging, in *Thrace*, & *Chersonesus*. Now concerning his title unto that country, He derived it from *Seleucus*: who made conquest thereof, by his victory against *Lysimachus*. Neither was it so, that any of the places in controversie between him and the other Kings, had been still of old belonging to the *Macedonians* or *Egyptians*, but had been seized on by them, or by others from whom they received them, at such time as his Ancestors, being Lords of those Countries, were hindred by multiplicity of business, from looking unto all that was their own. Finally he willed them, neither to stand in fear of him, as if he intended ought against them from *Lysimachia*, since it was his purpose to bestow this city upon one of his sons, that should reign therein: nor yet to be grieved with his proceedings in *Asia*; either against the free cities, or against the King of Egypt; since it was his meaning to make the free Cities beholding unto himself, and to joyn ere long with *Ptolemy*, not only in friendship, but in a bond of near affinity. *Cornelius* having heard this, and being perhaps unable to refute it; would needs hear further, what the Embassadors of *Smyrna* and of *Lampsacus*, whom he had there with him, could say for themselves. The Embassadours of *Lampsacus* being called in, began a tale; wherein they seemed to accuse the King before the *Romans*, as it were before competent Judges. *Antiochus* therefore interrupted them, and bade them hold their peace, forasmuch as he had not chosen the *Romans*, but would rather take the Citizens of *Rhodes*, to be Arbitrators between him and them.

Thus the Treaty held some few daies, without any likelihood of effect. The *Romans*, having not laid their complaints in such sort, as they might be a convenient foundation of the war by them intended: nor yet having purpose to depart well satisfied, and thereby to corroborate the present peace, were doubtfull how to order the matter, in such wise as they might neither too rudely, like boistrous *Gallo-Greeks*, pretend only the goodness of their swords; nor yet over-modestly, to retain among the *Greeks* an opinion of their justice, forbear the occasion of making themselves great. The King on the other side was weary of these tedious guests; that would take none answer, and yet scarce knew what to say. At length came newes, without any certain author, That *Ptolemy* was dead. Hereof neither the King, nor the *Romans*, would take notice, though each of them were desirous to hasten into *Egypt*: *Antiochus*, to take possession of the Kingdome, and *L. Cornelius*, to prevent him thereof, and set the Country in good order. *Cornelius* was sent from *Rome* Embassadour both to *Antiochus* and to *Ptolemy*: which gave him occasion to take leave, and prepare for his *Egyptian* voyage. Both he, and his fellow Embassadours, had good leave to depart all together: and the King forthwith made ready, to be in *Egypt* with the first. To his son *Seleucus* he committed his Army, and left him to overlee the building of *Lysimachia*: but all his Sea-forces he took along with him, and sailed unto *Ephesus*. Thence he sent Embassadors to *T. Quintius*: whom he requested to deal with him in this matter of peace, after such sort as might stand with honesty and good faith. But as he was further proceeding on his voyage, he was perfectly informed that *Ptolemy* was alive. This made him bear another way from *Egypt*: and afterwards a tempest, with a grievous shipwrack, made him without any further attempt on the way, glad to have safely recovered his Port of *Seleucia*. Thence went he to *Antiochia*, where he wintred: secure as might appear, of the *Roman* war.

But the *Romans* had not so done with him. During the Treaty at *Lysimachia*, (at leastwise not long before or after it) one of their Embassadours that had been sent unto the *Macedonian*, gave him counsell, as in a point highly tending to his good; not to rest contented with the peace which was granted unto him by the *Romans*, but to desire society with them, whereby they should be bound to have the same friends and enemies. And this he advised him to do quickly, before the War brake out with *Antiochus*, lest otherwise he might seem, to have awaited some fit occasion of taking Armes again. They who dealt thus plainly, did not mean to be satisfied with weak excuses In like manner some of the *Greeks*, were solicited; and particularly the *Aetolians*,

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That conſtantly and faithfully they ſhould abide in the friendſhip of the people of *Rome*. It was needleſs to ſay plainly whereto this entreaty tended: the froward anſwer made by the *Ætolians*, declares them to have well underſtood the purpoſe. They complained, that they were not alike honoured by the *Romans* after the victory, as they had been during the War. They that ſo complained were the moſt moderate of them. Others cryed out that they had been wronged, and defrauded of what was promiſed unto them: upbraiding withall the *Romans*, as men to them beholding; not only for their victory over *Philip*, but even for helping them to ſet foot in *Greece*, which elſe they never could have done. Hereto the *Roman* gave gentle anſwers: telling them that there was no more to do, than to ſend Embaſſadors to the Senate, and utter their griefs; and then ſhould all be well.

Such care took the *Romans* in *Greece*, for their War intended againſt *Antiochus*. The fame hereof arriving at *Carthage*, gave matter unto the enemies of *Hannibal*, wherewith both to pick a thank of the *Roman* Senate, and to chaſe out of their city this honourable man, whom they ſo greatly hated. He had of late exerciſed his vertue againſt them in the Civill adminiſtration; and given them an overthrow, or two, in the long Robe. The Judges at that time bore all the ſway in *Carthage*: holding their places during life; and having ſubject unto them, the lives, goods, and fame of all the reſt. Neither did they uſe this their power with moderation: but conſpired in ſuch wiſe together, that who ſo offended any one of them, ſhould have them all to be his enemies; which being once known, He was ſure to be ſoon accuſed and condemned. In this their impotent rule of the city *Hannibal* was choſen Prætor. By vertue of which Office, though he was ſuperior unto them during that year: yet had it not been their manner to bear much regard unto ſuch an annuall Magiſtrate, as at the years end muſt be accountable to them, if ought were laid unto his charge. *Hannibal* therefore ſending for one of the Queſtors, or Officers of the Treaſury, to come and ſpeak with him: the proud Quæſtor ſet lightly thereby, and would not come. For he was of the adverſe Faction to *Hannibal*; and men of his place were to be choſen into the Order of Judges: in contemplation whereof, he was filled already with the ſpirit of future Greatneſs. But he had not to do with ſuch a tame Prætor, as were they that had occupied the place before. *Hannibal* ſent for him by a Purſivant; and having thus apprehended him, brought him into judgement before a publique aſſembly of the people. There he not only ſhewed what the undutifull ſtubbornneſſe of this Quæſtor had been; but how unſufferable the inſolency of all the Judges at the preſent was: whoſe unbridled power made them to regard neither Lawes nor Magiſtrates. To this Oration when he perceived that all the Citizens were attentive and favourable; He forthwith propounded a Law, which paſſed with the generall good liking; That the Judges ſhould be choſen from year to year, and no one man be continued in that Office two years together. If this Law had been paſſed, before he paſſed over *Iberus*: it would not perhaps have been in the power of *Hanno*, to have brought him unto neceſſity of reforming another grievance, concerning the *Roman* Tribute. This Tribute the *Carthaginians* were fain to levie by Taxation laid upon the whole Commonalty, as wanting money in their publique Treaſury, wherewith to defray either that, or divers other needfull charges. *Hannibal* conſidering this, began to examine the publique Revenues; and to take a perfect note, both how much came into the Treaſurie, by wayes and means whatſoever; and in what ſort it was thence laid out. So he found, That the ordinary charges of the Common-wealth did not exhauſt the Treaſury: but that wicked Magiſtrates, and corrupt Officers, turning the greateſt part of the monies to their own uſe, were thereby fain to load the people with needleſs burdens. Hereof he made ſuch plain demonſtration, That theſe Robbers of the common Treaſure were compelled to reſtore, with ſhame, what they had gotten by knavery: and ſo the *Carthaginians* were freed from the neceſſity of making ſuch poor ſhifts, as formerly they had uſed, when they knew not the value of their own Eſtate. But as the vertue of *Hannibal* was highly commended by all that were good Citizens: ſo they of the *Roman* Faction, which had, ſince the making of the peace untill now, little regarded him, began to rage extremely; as being by him ſtript of their ill-gotten goods and ill-employed authority, both at once, even when they thought themſelves to have been in full poſſeſſion of the vanquiſhed *Carthage*. Wherefore they ſent letters to their friends

at *Rome*: wherein they complained, as if the *Barchine* Faction grew strong again, and *Hannibal* would shortly be in armes. Questionless, if oppressing the City by injustice, and robbing the Treasury, were the only way to hold *Carthage* in peace with *Rome*: these Enemies to the *Barchines* might well cry out, That having done their best already to keep all in quiet, they saw none other likelihood than of War. But having none other matter to alledge, than their own inventions: they said, That *Hannibal* was like unto a wilde beast, which would never be tamed: That secret messages past between him, and King *Antiochus*: and that he was wont to complain of idleness, as if it were harmfull to *Carthage*; with what else to like effect they could imagine. These accusations they directed not unto the Senate: but addressing their letters craftily, every one to the best of his own friends at *Rome*, and such as were Senators; they wrought so well, that neither publique notice of their Conspiracy was taken at *Carthage*, nor the authority of the *Roman* Senate, wanting to the furtherance of their malicious purpose. Only *P. Scipio* is said to have admonished the *Fathers*, that they should not thus dishonourably subscribe, and become seconds to the accusers of *Hannibal*: as if they would oppresse, by suborning or countenancing false witnesses against him; the man, against whom in war they had not of long time prevailed, nor used their victory in such base manner, when they obtained it. But the *Romans* were not all so great-minded as *Scipio*: they wished for some such advantage against *Hannibal*, and were glad to have found it. Three Embassadours they sent over to *Carthage*, *C. Servilius*, *Q. Terentius*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*: whose very names import sufficient cause of bad affection to *Hannibal*. These having past the Sea, were entertained by those that had procured their comming; and, being by them instructed how to carry themselves, gave out, That they were sent to end some controversies, between the *Carthaginians* and *Masanissa*. But *Hannibal* had kept such good espiall upon the *Romans*, that he knew their meaning well enough: against which he was never unprepared. It were enough to say, That he escaped them by slight: but in the actions of so famous a man, I hold it not impertinent to rehearse the particularities. Having openly shewed himself, as was his manner, in the place of Assembly, He went forth of the Town when it began to wax dark, accompanied with two; which were ignorant of his determination; though such as he might well trust. He had appointed Horses to be in a readiness at a certain place: whence riding all night, He came to a Tower of his own by the Sea-side. There had he a ship furnished with all things needfull; as having long expected the necessity of some such journey. So bee bade *Africk* farewell; lamenting the misfortune of his Countrey, more than his owne. Passing over to the Ile of *Cercina*: He found there in the Haven some Merchants ships of *Carthage*. They saluted him respectively: and the chief among them began to enquire, whither he was bound. He said, He went Embassadour to *Tyre*: and that he entended there in the Iland to make a sacrifice; whereto he invited all the Merchants, and Masters of the Ships. It was hot weather: and therefore he would needs hold his Feast upon the shore; where, because there wanted covert, He made them bring thither all their sails and yards to be used in stead of Tents. They did so; and feasted with him till it was late at night: at which time he left them there asleep: and putting to Sea, held on his course to *Tyre*. All that night, and the day following, He was sure not to be pursued. For the Merchants did neither make haste to send any newes of him to *Carthage*, as thinking him to be gone Embassadour: neither could they, without some loss of time, such of them as made most speed homeward, get away from *Cercina*; being busied a while in fitting their tackle. At *Carthage*, the miss of so great a person was diversly construed. Some ghessed aright, that he was fled. But the more common opinion was, That the *Romans* had made him away. At length came news where he had been seen: and then the *Roman* Embassadors, having none other errand thither, accused him (with an evill grace) as a troubler of the Peace; whereby they only discovered the mischief by them intended against him, and the malice of their Senate; missing the while their purpose, and causing men to understand, that he fled not thus without great reason.

Hannibal comming to *Tyre*, the Mother-City of *Carthage*, was there entertained Royally: as one, in whose great worth and honour the *Tyrians*, by reason of affinity between their Cities, thought themselves to have interest. Thence went he to *Antioch*; and, finding the King departed, visited his son in *Daphne*: who friendly welcom-

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med him, and sent him unto his Father at *Ephesus*, that exceedingly rejoyced at his coming.

As *Antiochus* had cause to be glad, in that he had gotten *Hannibal*: so had the *Romans* no great cause to be therefore sorry; otherwise than as they had much disgraced themselves, by discovery of their impotent malice, in chasing him thus out of his Countrey. For it would not prove alike easie unto this great Commander to make stout Souldiers of base *Asiatiques*; as it had been by his training and discipline, to make very serviceable and skilfull men of War of the *Spaniards*, *Africans*, *Gaules*, and other Nations, that were hardy, though unexperienced. Or were it supposed, that one mans worth, especially being so extraordinary, could alter the nature of a cowardly people: yet was it therewithall considerable, that the vanities of *Antiochus*, the pride of his Court, the baseness of his Flatterers, and a thousand other such vexations, would be far more powerfull in making unprofitable the vertue of *Hannibal*, now a desolate and banished man, than had been the villany of *Hanno* and his Complices, hindering him in those actions wherein he had the high Command, and was seconded by his warlike brethren. Wherefore the name of this Great *Carthaginian*, would only help to ennoble the *Roman* Victory: or if it further served to hearten *Antiochus*, and make him less carefull to avoid the war; then should it further serve, to justifie the *Romans* in their quarrell. And it seems indeed that it was no little part of their care, to get a fair pretence of making war. For *Antiochus*, as is said before, having newly sent Embassadors to *T. Quintius*, requiring that the Peace might faithfully be kept: it was not probable, that he had any meaning to take Arms; unless by meer violence he were thereto enforced. Only the *Ætolians* were greatly suspected, as a turbulent people, desirous of innovation, and therefore practising with this Great King; whom they wished to see among them in *Greece*. In this regard, and to appease them; they had of late been answered with gentle words by one of the ten Counsailers, That the Senate would grant them whatsoever with reason they should ask. But this promise was too large, and unadvised. For when their Embassadors came to *Rome*, the Senate would grant them nothing; but wholly referred them to *T. Quintius*, who favoured them least. Hereat they murmured, but knew not how to right themselves otherwise than by speaking such words, as might hasten the *Romans* out of *Greece* for very shame; who had no desire to be thence gone.

The daily talk at *Rome* was of war with *Antiochus*; but in *Greece*, when the *Romans* would leave the Country. For the *Ætolians* were wont to upbraid the rest of the *Greeks* with the vain liberty which the *Romans* had proclaimed, saying, That these their Deliverers had laid heavier fetters upon them, than formerly they did wear; but yet brighter and fairer, than those of the *Macedonian*: likewise, that it was a gracious act of *Titus*, to take from the legs of the *Greeks* their chain, and tie it about their necks. There was indeed no cause of tarrying longer in *Greece*, if the *Romans* had no other meaning than what they pretended. For *Philip* had made no delay, in accomplishment of that which was laid upon him: all the Towns of *Greece* were at liberty, and the whole Country at peace, both with the *Romans*, and within it self. As for *Antiochus*; He made it his daily suit, That the Peace between him and *Rome*, such as it was, might be confirmed, and strengthened by a League of more assurance. Nevertheless, *T. Quintius* would needs fear that *Antiochus* meant forthwith to seize upon *Greece*, as soon as he and his Army were thence departed. And in this regard, he retained still in his own hands *Chalcis*, *Demetrius*, and the *Acrocorinthus*: by benefit of which Towns, he might the better withstand the dangerous Invasion like to be made by *Antiochus*. Sutable unto the doings of *Quintius* were the reports of the ten Embassadours, that had ben sent over to assist him; when they returned back into the City. *Antiochus*, they said, would questionless fall upon *Greece*: wherein he should find not only the *Ætolians*, but *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedemon*, ready to give him entertainment. Wherefore there was none other way, than to do somewhat against these their suspected enemies: especially against *Nabis*, who could worst make resistance; whilest *Antiochus* was far away in *Syria*, and not intentive to his business. These reports went not only current through the City, among the Vulgar; but found such credit with the chief of the Senate, that in the following year, against which time it was expected that *Antiochus* should be ready to take his great enterprise in hand; *P. Cornelius Scipio* the *African*, desired, and obtained, a second Consulship, with intention to be Generall in the War, against the King and his

Hannibal.

Hannibal. For the present, the business with *Nabis* was referred unto *Titus*; to deal with him as he thought good. This would be a fair colour of his longer tarriance in *Greece.* Therefore he was glad of the employment: whereof also he knew that many of the *Greeks* would not be sorry; though for his own part, he wanted all good pretence of taking it in hand. For *Nabis* had entred into friendship with him, two or three years before this, as is already shewed, whilest he had war with *Philip*: and had further been contented for the *Romans* sake to be at peace with the *Achæans*; neither since that time had he done any thing, whereby he should draw upon himself this War. He was indeed a detestable Tyrant, and hated of the *Achæans*; as one, that besides his own wicked Conditions, had formerly done to them great mischief. *Titus* therefore had a plausible Theme, whereon to discourse before the Embassages of all the Confederate Cities; which he caused to meet for that purpose at *Corinth.* He told them, That in the war with *Philip*, not only the *Greeks*, but the *Romans* themselves, had each their motives apart (which he there briefly rehearsed) that should stir them up and cause them to be earnest. But in this which he now propounded to them concerning *Nabis*, the *Romans* had none other interest, than only the making perfect of their honour, in setting all *Greece* at liberty: which noble action was in some sort maimed, or incompleat, whilest the noble City of *Argos* was left in subjection to a Tyrant, that had lately occupied it. It therefore belonged unto them, the *Greeks*, duly to consider, whether they thought the deliverance of *Argos* a matter worthy to be undertaken; or whether otherwise to avoid all further trouble, they could be well contented to leave it as it was. This concerned them, and not the *Romans*: who in taking this work in hand, or letting it alone, would wholly be ruled by the *Greeks* themselves. The *Athenian* Embassadour made answer hereunto very eloquently, and as pleasing as he could devise. He gave thanks to the *Romans* for what was past; extolled their vertues at large; and magnified them highly in regard of this their proposition: wherein unrequested they freely made offer to continue that bounty, which at the vehement request of their poor Associates, they had already of late extended unto the *Greeks.* To this he added, That great pity it was to hear, such notable vertue and high deserts ill spoken of by some: which took upon them, out of their own imagination, to foretell what harm these their Benefactors meant to do hereafter: when as Thankfulness rather would have required an acknowledgement of the benefits and pleasures already received. Every one found the meaning of this last clause, which was directly against the *Ætolians.* Wherefore *Alexander* the *Ætolian* rose up, and told the *Athenians* their own: putting them in mind of their ancient glory, in those times when their City had been the Leader of all *Greece*, for defence and recovery of the liberty generall: from which honour they were now so far faln, that they became Parasites unto those whom they thought most mighty; and by their base assentation, would lead all the rest into servitude. Then spake he against the *Achæans*, Clients that had been along time unto the *Macedonian*; and Souldiers of *Philip*, untill they ran away from his adversity. These, he said, had gotten *Corinth*, and must now have war be made for their sakes, to the end that they might also bee Lords of *Argos*: whereas the *Ætolians*, that had first made war with *Philip*, and alwaies been friends unto the *Romans*, were now defrauded of some places, anciently to them belonging. Neither did he thus contain himself, but objected unto the *Romans*, fraudulent dealing: forasmuch as they kept their Garrisons in *Demetrias*, *Chalcis*, and the *Acrocorinth*; having been alwayes wont to profess, That *Greece* could never be at liberty, whilest those places were not free. Also now at last, what else did they seek by this discourse of war with *Nabis*, than businesses wherewith to find themselves occupied, that so they might have some seeming cause of abiding longer in the Country? But they should do well if they meant as they spake, to carry their Legions home out of *Greece*: which could not indeed be free, till their departure. As for *Nabis*; the *Ætolians* themselves did promise, & would undertake, That they would either cause him to yeeld to reason, and relinquish *Argos* freely, withdrawing thence his Garrison; or else compell him by force of Armes to submit himself to the good pleasure of all *Greece*, that was now at unity. These words had been reasonable, if they had proceeded from better men. But it was apparent, that no regard of the common liberty wrought so much with these *Ætolians*; as did their own ravenous desire of oppressing others, and getting unto themselves, that worse would use it, the whole Dominion in *Greece*, which *Philip*

had

had lost. Neither could they well dissemble this; making it no small part of their grievance, That the old League was forgotten: wherein it had been covenanted, That the *Romans* should enjoy the spoil of all, but leave the Towns and Lands in possession of the *Ætolians*. This, and the remembrance of a thousand mischiefs by them done in former times, made the whole assembly, especially the *Achæans*, cry out upon them: entreating the *Romans* to take such order before they went, that not only *Nabis* might be compelled to do right; but the *Ætolian* theeves be enforced to keep home, and leave their neighbours in quiet. All this was highly to the pleasure of *Titus*: who saw, that by discountenancing the *Ætolians*, He was become the more gracious with all the rest. But whether it pleased him so well that *Antiochus* his Embassadors did presently after lie hard upon him, to draw the peace to some good conclusion, it may be greatly doubted. He cast them off with a sleight answer: telling them, that the ten Embassadors or Counsellors which had been sent unto him from *Rome*, to be his assistants in these matters of weight, were now returned home; and that, without them, it was not in his power to conclude upon any thing.

Now concerning the *Lacedæmonian* war: it was very soon ended. For *Titus* used the help of all his confederates; and made as great preparation against *Nabis*, both by Land and Sea, as if he should have had to do with *Philip*. Besides the *Roman* forces, King *Eumenes* with a Navie, and the *Rhodian* Fleet, were invited to the service: as also *Philip* of *Macedon* sent aid by Land; doing therein poorly, whether it were to get favour of the *Romans*; or whether to make one among the number, in seeking revenge upon *Nabis*, that had done him injury. But the most forward in this Expedition were the *Achæans*, who set out ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse. As for the *Ætolians*: rather to hold good fashion, and sound their dispositions, than in hope to speed, their help was required; whereof they excused themselves as well as they thought best. Thus are the *Achæans* now become the prime friends of the *Romans* in *Greece*; having removed the *Ætolians* from that degree of favour: like as they themselves hereafter (though not in all haste) shall be supplanted of the same *Lacedæmonians*, against whom they are now marching.

Some of the *Argives*, more bold than wise, began a conspiracy against the *Lacedæmonians* that held their Town; meaning to open their gates unto the *Roman*. But ere *Titus* drew near, they were all detected and slain: excepting a very few, that escaped out of the Town. The fame of this Commotion, caused the Army to march apace toward *Argos*; with hope to be there, before things were at quiet. But there was no stir within the Wals: the execution done upon the first movers, having terrified all the rest of the Citizens. *Titus* then thought it better, to assail *Nabis* in the head of his strength at *Lacedæmon*, than to consume time about other places; especially at *Argos*: for the freedome whereof since the War was made, pity it were, that the calamities of the war should thereon fall most heavily.

Nabis had in readiness an Army of fifteen thousand, wherewith to defend himself against these Invaders. Five thousand of them were Mercenaries: the rest, of his own Countrey; but such as were of all others the worst, as manumised slaves, malefactors and base peasants, unto whom his Tyranny was beneficiall. Of the good and worthy Citizens he stood in doubt; and since he could not hope to win their love, his meaning was to hold them quiet by fear. He called them all to an assembly: and compassing them round in with his Army, told them of the danger that was toward him and them. If they could agree within themselves; they might, he said, hope the better to withstand the common Enemy. But forasmuch as turbulent heads were invited by light occasions, to raise tumults, and work dangerous treason: it seemed unto him the safest, and (withall) the mildest course, to arrest before-hand, and put in ward, all those whom he found most reason to suspect. So should he keep them innocent perforce; and thereby preserve not only the City and his own person from danger, but them also from the punishment, which else they might have incurred. Hereupon he cites and apprehends about fourscore of them; whom he leads away to prison, and the next night putteth them all to death. Thus was he sure that they neither should offend, nor yet break loose. As for the death of them, if it should happen to be noised abroad: what could it else do than terrifie the people; who must thereby understand, that it was a mortall crime to be suspected? And to the same purpose his cruelty extended it self unto

some

ſome poor wretches: whom he accuſed of a meaning to flie to the Enemy. Theſe were openly whipt through all the ſtreets, and ſlain. Having thus affrighted the Citizens: He turned the more fredly, all his thoughts toward the Enemy, that came on apace. He welcommed them with a ſally: wherein, as commonly happens, the Souldiers of the Town had the better at firſt; but were at length repelled with loſs. *Titus* abode not many dayes before *Sparta*: but over-ran the Country; hoping belike to provoke the Tyrant forth to battail. The *Roman* Fleet at the ſame time with King *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, laid ſiege unto *Gytthium*, the only or principall Town that *Nabis* had. Likely they were to have taken it by force, when there appeared hope of getting it by treaſon. There were two Governours within the Town equall in authority: whereof the one, either for fear, or deſire of reward, had a purpoſe to let in the *Romans*. But the other finding what was in hand, and being ſomewhat more faithfull, ſlue the Traitor; after whoſe death, he himſelf alone made the better defence. Yet when *T. Quintius* with part of his Army came thither to *Gytthium*: this Captain of the Town had not the heart to abide the utterm oſt, and await what either Time or his Maſter might do for him, but was contented to give up the place: yet upon Condition, to depart in ſafety to *Sparta* with his Garriſon. *Pythagoras*, the ſon-in-law of *Nabis*, and brother unto his wife, was come from *Argos*, whereof he had the Government, with a thouſand Souldiers Mercenaries and two thouſand *Argives*: it being (as may ſeem) the Tyrants purpoſe, to relieve *Gytthium*: which he thought would have held longer out. But when they heard that it was loſt, then began they to think upon finiſhing the war, by ſome reaſonable Compoſition. *Pythagoras* therefore was ſent his Embaſſadour to *Titus*: requeſting only that he would appoint a time and place for *Nabis* to meet and ſpeak with him. This was granted. In that Parlee the Tyrant ſpake very reaſonably for himſelf: proving, that he ſuffered wrong, and had done none, and that by many good arguments: whereof the ſum was, That whatſoever they now did, or could object unto him, was of elder date than the League which they had made with him. Whereupon he inferred, That neither for his keeping the town of *Argos*, nor for any other cauſe by them alledged, they ought to make war upon him; ſince *Argos*, and all other their allegations whatſoever, had not hindered them, in time of their more need of him, from entring into that League with him; which was never broken on his part, nor ought to be on theirs. But *Quintius* was not herewith ſatisfied. He charged him with tyranny; & gave inſtance, as eaſily he might, of divers barbarous cruelties by him committed. In all which points foraſmuch as they knew this *Nabis* to be guilty, before they made Peace and Confederacy with him; it was expedient, that ſome other cauſe of this Invaſion ſhould be alledged. Wherefore he ſaid further, That this tyrant had occupied *Meſſene*, a town Confederate with the *Romans*: That he had bargained to joyn with *Philip*; when he was their enemy, not only in League, but alſo in affinity: and that his Fleet had robbed many of their ſh ps, about the Cape of *Malea*. Now touching this Piracy, ſince in the Articles by *Titus* propounded unto *Nabis*, there was no reſtitution mentioned, other than of ſhips, by him taken from the *Greeks* his neighbours, with whom he had long held war: it may ſeem to have been objected, only by way of Complement, and to enlarge the volume of thoſe complaints, that were otherwiſe very frivolous. As for *Meſſene*, and the bargain of Alliance made with *Philip*: they were matters foregoing the League, that was made between the *Romans* and this tyrant; and therefore not to have been mentioned. All this it ſeems that *Ariſtænus*, the Prætor of the *Achæans*, very well perceived: who therefore doubting leſt the *Romans*, (that were wont to talk ſo much of their own juſtice, honour, and faithfull dealing) ſhould now relent, and forbear to moleſt him, who, though a wicked man, was yet their Confederate, and had never done them wrong; framed his diſcourſe to another end. He entreated *Nabis* to conſider well of his own eſtate; and to ſettle his fortunes, whileſt he might do it without hazzard: alledging the examples of many tyrants that had ruled in the neighbour-cities, and therein committed great outrages; yet were afterwards contented to ſurrender their Eſtates, and lived in great ſecurity, honour, and happineſſe, as private men. Thus they diſcourſed untill night. The next day *Nabis* was contented to relinquiſh *Argos*; and requeſted them, to deliver unto him in writing their other demands, that he might take counſell with his friends. The iſſue of all was, that, in regard of the charges, whereat the Confederates muſt be, for maintenance of an Army to lie in Leaguer all

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that Winter (as there was no hope of making short work) before the City of *Sparta* they were contented to make peace with the Tyrant, upon such Conditions as *Titus* should think meet. Besides the restitution of *Argos*, and all the places thereon depending; *Titus* propounded many other Conditions to *Nabis*, and some of them very grievous. He would not suffer the *Lacedæmonian* to have ought to do in the Ile of *Crete*; no, nor to make any Confederacies, nor war, either in that Iland or elsewhere; not to build any Town or Castle upon his own Lands; not to keep any other shipping, than two small Barks; besides many other troublesome injunctions; with imposition of an hundred talents in silver to be paid out of hand, and fifty talents yearly, for eight years next ensuing. For observance of these Covenants he demanded five hostages, such as he himself should name; and one of them to be the Tyrants own son. If it had been the meaning of *Titus*, to withdraw the war from *Nabis*, because it was not grounded upon justice: then had it been enough, if not more than enough, to take *Argos* from him; which he himself did offer, though it were for fear, to deliver up. But if it were thought reasonable, to dispense a little with the *Roman* faith, in regard of the great benefit which thereby might redound unto the state of their best friends in *Greece*, by the extirpation of this tyranny: then should this enterprise, when once it was taken in hand, have bin prosecuted unto the very utmost. As for this middle course which the *Romans* held: as it was not honourable unto them, to enrich themselves by the spoil of one that had not offended them; nor pleasing to the *Achæans*, who judged it ever after a great blemish to the noble acts of *Titus*: so did it minister unto the *Ætolians*, and to such as curiously pried into the faults of those which took upon them to be Patrons of *Greece*, no barren subject of malicious discourse. For since *Philip*, a King, and descended of many famous Kings, might not be suffered by these Masterly *Romans*, to hold any one of those Countries or Towns in *Greece*, that had belonged unto his Ancestors: it was thought very strange, that *Lacedæmon*, once the most famous City among all the *Greeks*, was by the same *Romans* left in possession of a tyrant, that had usurped it [illegible] yesterday: and he therein rooted by their authority, as their friend and Confederate. *Nabis* on the other side thought himself unmercifully dealt withall, by the self-same *Romans*, whose amity he had preferred in time of a doubtfull war, before the love and affinity of the *Macedonian* King, that had committed the City of *Argos* into his hands. But falsly had he dealt with the *Macedonian*: and falsly was he dealt with by those, to whom he did betake himself. Among these Articles propounded, there was nothing that pleased him, save only that for the banished *Lacedæmonians*, (of whom a great number were in the *Roman* Camp; having among them *Agesipolis* the natural King of *Sparta*, that being a young childe was driven out by *Lycurgus* the first of the Tyrants) there was made no provision, to have them restored unto their City and Estates; but only leave required for as many of their wives, as would be so contented, to live abroad with them in banishment. Wherefore he forbore to give consent unto these demands: and sustained an assault or two; hoping belike that the enemies would soon be weary. But his fearfull nature shortly overcame the resolution; which the sense of these injuries had put into him. So yeelding unto all that had been propounded, He delivered the hostages; and thereupon obtained peace, that was confirmed afterwards at *Rome* by the Senate and People. From this time forward, He thought the *Romans* far more wicked than himself; and was ready upon the first advantage, to do them all the mischief that he could.

The *Argives* had heard newes that *Lacedæmon* was even at point of being taken. This erected them, and gave them heart to think upon their own good. So they adventured to set upon the Garrison; which was much weakened, by the remove of the three thousand carryed thence by *Pythagoras* to help the tyrant at *Sparta*. There needed unto their liberty no more, than that all of them joyntly should set their hands to the getting of it, which no sooner they did than they obtained it. Presently after this came *T. Quintius* to *Argos*, where he was joyfully welcommed. He was deservedly acknowledged as author of that benefit, whereon the Citizens had layed hold without staying for him: and that he might the better entitle himself thereto, he caused the liberty of the *Argives* to be proclaimed at the *Nemæan* games; as ratifying it by his authority. The City was annexed again to the Councell of *Achaia*; whereby the *Achæans* were not more strengthened, than the *Argives* themselves were secured from danger of relapse,

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into the same extremities out of which they had newly escaped.

After this, *Titus* found little business or none wherewith to set on work his Army in *Greece*. *Antiochus* was about to send another Embassage to *Rome*, desiring peace and friendship of the Senate. Things being therefore in appearance wholly disposed unto quiet, *Scipio* the *African*, that was chosen Consul at *Rome*, could not have his desire, of being sent Commander into *Greece*. The un-sincere meaning of *Antiochus*, and the tumultuous disposition of the *Ætolians*, were held as considerations worthy of regard: yet not sufficient causes of making war. Neither appeared there any more honest way, of confuting the *Ætolians*, and of throughly perswading all the *Greeks* (which was not to be neglected, by those that meant to assure unto themselves the patronage of *Greece*) that the good of the Countrey was their sole intent: than by withdrawing thence their Legions, and leaving the Nation unto it self, till occasion should be ripe, and call them over again. Wherefore after *Titus* had spent a Winter there, without any matter of employment, either found, or at any near distance appearing, he called an Assembly of Delegates, from all parts of *Greece* to *Corinth*: where he meant to bid them farewell. There he recounted unto them all that had passed since his comming into those parts; and willed them to value the *Roman* friendship according to the difference of estate, wherein the *Romans* found and left them. Hereto he added some wholesome counsell; touching the moderate use of their liberty, & the care which they ought to have of living peaceably and without faction. Lastly he gave up *Acrocorinthus* to the *Achæans*; withdrawing thence the *Roman* Garrison, and promising to do the like (which very soon he did) at *Chalcis* and *Demetrias*; that so it might be known, what lyers the *Ætolians* were, who had accused the *Romans*, of a purpose to retain those places. With joyfull acclamations did the *Greeks* testifie their good liking of that which *Titus* had said and done: as also at his request they agreed, to ransome and enlarge all *Romans*, that had been sold into their Countrey by *Hannibal*.

Thus *Titus* crowned his actions in *Greece* with an happy end: and by leaving the Countrey before his departure was urged, left therein behinde him the memory of his vertue and benefits untainted by jealousie and suspicion of any evil meaning. At his comming to the City, He had the honour of a Triumph; which was the goodliest of all that *Rome* had untill that day beheld. Three dayes together the shew of his pomp continued: as being set out with the spoils of a Countrey, more abundant in things worthy of such a spectacle, than any wherein the *Romans* had before made War. All sorts of Armes, with Statues and curious pieces of Brasse or Marble, taken from the Enemy, were carried in the first dayes Pageant. The second day, was brought in, all the treasure of Gold and Silver: Some in the rude Masse unwrought; some in divers sorts of Coin; and some in Vessels of sundry kindes, that were the more highly prized by the workmanship. Among these were ten shields, all of Silver; and one of pure Gold. The third day *Titus* himself entred the City in his Triumphant Chariot. Before him were carryed an hundred and fourteen Crowns of Gold, bestowed upon him by divers Cities. There were also led the beasts for Sacrifice; the Prisoners, and the hostages: among which, *Demetrius*, the son of King *Philip*, and *Armenes* the son of *Nabis*, were principall. After him followed his Army; and (which added much grace, and good liking to the shew) the *Roman* Captives, by his procurement redeemed from slavery in *Greece*.

Not long after this triumph, He procured audience of the Senate for many Embassages, that were come out of *Greece* and *Asia*. They had all very favourable answers, excepting those of King *Antiochus*: whom the Senate would not hear, but referred over to *T. Quintius*, and the ten that had bin his Counsellors; because their business was said to be somewhat intricate. Hereat the Kings Embassadors wondred. They said unto *Titus* and his Associates, that they could not discern wherein consisted any perplexity of their message. For all treaties of peace and friendship, were either between the Victor and the vanquished; between those, that having warred together, were upon equall terms of advantage; or between those that had lived alwaies in good agreement, without any quarrell. Unto the Victor, they said, that the vanquished must yeeld; and patiently endure the imposition of some Covenants, that else might seem unreasonable. Where War had been made, and no advantage gotten; there was it usuall to demand and make restitution of things and places claimed, gotten or lost; accordingly as both parts could

could agree. But between those which had never fallen out, there ought no Conditions of establishing friendship to be proposed: since it was reasonable, that each part should hold their own; and neither carry it self as superiour to the other, in prescribing ought that might be troublesome. Now of this last kind, was the league and friendship that had been so long in conclusion, betwixt *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. Which being so: they held it strange, that the *Romans* should thus insist on points no way concerning them, and take upon them to prescribe unto the King, what Cities of *Asia* he should set at liberty, from what cities they would give him leave to exact his wonted Tributes; either putting or not putting his Garrisons into them, as the Senate should think fit. Hereto *Quintius* answered, that since they went so distinctly to work, He would also do the like. Wherefore he propounded unto them two Conditions, and gave them their choyce whether to accept: Either that it should be lawful for the *Romans* to take part in *Asia* with any that would seek their friendship; Or if King *Antiochus* misliked this, and would have them forbear to meddle in *Asia*, that then he should abandon whatsoever he had gotten in *Europe*. This was plain dealing, but no reasonable nor pertinent answer, to that which the Kings Embassadors had propounded. For if the *Romans* might be hired to abstain from *Asia*, by the gift of all that *Antiochus* had lately won in *Europe*: then did not the affairs of *Smyrna*, *Lampsacus*, or any other *Asiatiques*, whom they were pleased to reckon as their Confederates, binde them in honour to make War with a King that sought their love, and had never done them injury. But they knew very well, that *Antiochus* could not without great shame be so base, as to deliver up unto them the City of *Lysimachia*, whereon he had of late been at so much cost; in building it up even from the foundation, and repeopling it with Inhabitants, that had all been dispersed, or captive to the *Barbarians*. And so much the Embassadors with great indignation alledged: saying, That *Antiochus* desired friendship of the *Romans*; but so, as it might stand with his honour. Now in point of honour, the *Romans* took upon them as if their cause were far the superiour. For it was, they said, their purpose to set at liberty those towns which the King would oppresse and hold in subjection: especially since those towns were of *Greekish* bloud and language; and fell, in that regard, under the patronage which *Rome* had afforded unto all *Greece* besides. By this colour they might soon have left *Antiochus* King of not many subjects on the hither side of *Euphrates*. Neither did they forbear to say, That unless he would quit what he held in *Europe*, it was their meaning not only to protect those which relyed upon them in *Asia*, but therein to make new Alliances: namely (as might be understood) with such as were his subjects. Wherefore they urged his Embassadors to come to a point, and tell them plainly which of these two Conditions their King would accept. For lack of a pleasing answer, which the Embassadors could not hereto make, little wanted of giving presently defiance to the King. But they suffered themselves to be entreated, & were contented once again to send over *P. Villius*, & others that had bin already with the king at *Lysimachia*; by whom they might receive a final answer, whether these demands made by *Quintius* and his Associates would be accepted, yea, or no. By this respite of time, and the fruitless Treaties ensuing, *Antiochus* got the leisure of two years, or thereabouts, to prepare for War; finding in the *Romans* all that while, no disposition to let him live in peace.

§. V.

Of the long Wars which the Romans *had with the Gauls, Ligurians, and Spaniards. Of* M. Porcius Cato. *Injuries done by* Masanissa *to the Carthaginians, that sue to the Romans for justice in vain.*

THe *Insubrians*, *Boians*, and other of the *Cisalpine Gaules*, together with the *Ligurians*; made often and (in a manner) continuall war upon the *Romans* in *Italy*, even from such time as *Hannibal* and his brother *Mago* departed thence, untill such time as they themselves were utterly subdued: which was not, before the *Romans* were almost at the very height of their Empire. These Nations, having served under *Mago* for wages, and afterwards having gotten *Amilcar* a *Carthaginian*, to be Leader unto them all, as hath been already shewed; by this their fellowship in

Arms, grew to be such willing partakers each of others fortune, that seldome afterwards either the *Gauls* or *Ligurians* did stir alone; but that their Companions, hearing it, were ready to second them. How the *Romans* first prevailed, and got large possessions in *Gallia Cisalpina*, now called *Lumbardie*; it hath been long since rehearsed between the first and second *Punick* Wars. As also it hath since appeared, how they lost the greatest part of their hold in that Country, by means of *Hannibal* his passage there-through. Neither is it likely that the re-conquest would have been more difficult or tedious unto the *Romans*, than was the first purchase: if, besides the greater employments which they had of their Armies abroad, their forces appointed unto this war, had not been distracted by the *Ligurians*; that alwaies made them to proceed warily, having an eye to the danger at their backs. The *Ligurians* were a stout Nation, light and swift of body; well practised in laying ambushes, and not discouraged with any overthrow, but forthwith ready to fight again. Their Countrey was mountainous, rough, woody, and full of straight and dangerous passages. Few good Towns they had; but many Castles, exceedingly well fortified by nature: so as without much labour, they could neither be taken or besieged. They were also very poor; and had little or nothing that might give contentment unto a victorious Army that should spoyle their Land. In these respects, they served excellently well to train up the *Roman* Souldiers to hardness and military patience: teaching them (besides other exercises of War) to endure much, and live contented with a little. Their quarrel to *Rome*, grew partly from their love unto the *Gaules*, their neighbours and companions; partly from their delight in robbing and spoiling the Territory of their borderers, that were subject unto *Rome*. But their obstinate continuance in the war which they had begun, seems to have been grounded upon the Condition of all Salvages; To be friends or foes, by custome, rather than by Judgement: and to acknowledge no such vertue in Leagues, or formal conclusions of peace, as ought to hinder them from using their advantage; or taking revenge of injuries when they return to minde. This quality is found in all, or most of the West-Indians: who, if they be demanded a reason of the Wars between them and any of their neighbours, do use commonly this answer, *It hath still been the custome for us and them, to fight one against the other.*

Ch. 2. §. 8. of this Book.

Divers overthrowes, though none that were great, these *Ligurians* gave unto the *Romans*: but many more, and greater, they received. Often they sought peace, when they found themselves in distress, and brake it again as often, when they thought it profitable so to do. The best was, that as their Country was a good place of exercise unto the *Romans*, so out of their own Country they did little harm: not sending any great Armies far from home; perhaps, because they knew not how to make war, save on their own ground.

The Country of *Spain*, as it was the first part of the Continent out of *Italy* that became subject unto the *Romans*: so was it the last of all their provinces, which was wholly and throughly by them subdued. It is likened in figure by some Geographers unto an Oxe-hide: & the *Romans* found in it the property of that Oxe-hide which *Calanus* the *Indian* shewed unto the Great *Alexander*, as an Embleme of his large Dominions. For treading upon any side of it, the further parts would rise from the ground. And thus was it with *Spain*. Seldome did it happen that those parts from which the *Roman* Armies lay fartheſt, were not up in rebellion. The *Spaniards* were a very hard Nation, and easily stirred up to arms; but had not much knowledge in the art of war, nor any good Captains. They wanted also (which was their principal hinderance) good intelligence among themselves: and being divided into many small Signiories, that had little other communion than of language, they seldome or never provided in general for the common good of their Country; but made it their chief care, each of them to look unto their own Territory. Such private respects made them often to fall asunder, when many had united themselves together, for chasing out of the *Romans*. And these were the causes of their often overthrowes: as desire of liberty, rather than complaint of any wrong done to them, was the cause of their often taking arms.

The *Carthaginians* had been accustomed, to make evacuation of this Cholerick *Spanish* humour; by employing, as Mercenaries in their wars abroad, those that were most likely to be unquiet at home. They had also taken Souldiers from one part of the Country, and used them in another: finding means to pay them all, out of the profits

which

which they raised upon the whole Countrey; as being far better husbands, and of more dexterity than were the *Romans*, in that kinde. But contrariwise, the *Romans*, using the service of their own Legions, and of their sure friends the *Latines*, had litt'e business for the *Spaniards*; and therefore were fain to have much business with them. *Spain* was too far distant, and withal too great for them to send over Colonies thither, whereby to hold it in good order, according to the course that they took in *Italy*. Wherefore it remained, that they should alwaies maintain such Armies in the Country, as might serve to hold it in obedience perforce; and such heedfull Captains as might be still ready to oppose the *Barbarians* in their first Commotion. This they did; and thereby held the Country; though seldome in peace.

Very soon after the departure of *Scipio*, there was raised War in *Spain* against the *Romans*, even upon the same generall ground, that was the foundation of all the *Spanish* Wars following. It was thought unreasonable, that the *Spaniards* should one while help the *Carthaginians* against the *Romans*, and another while the *Romans* against the *Carthaginians*; basely forgetting to help themselves against those that were strangers, yet usurped the Dominion over them. But the forces which *Scipio* had left behinde him in that Country, being well acquainted with the manner of War in those parts, suppressed this rebellion by many victories: and, together with subjection, brought peace upon the Countrey; which lasted five years. This Victory of the *Romans*, though it happily ended the War: yet left it still remaining the cause of the War; which after five years brake out again. The *Spaniards* fought a battell with the *Roman* Proconsull, whom they slew; and had a great Victory, that filled them with greater hopes. Yet the happy success of their Wars in *Greece*, made the *Romans* think it enough to send thither two Prætors, and with each of them some two Legions. These did somewhat: yet not so much, but that *M. Porcius Cato*, who was Consull the year following, and sent into that Province; found at his comming little less to do, than the reconquering of all *Spain*. But it fell out happily, that all the *Spaniards* were not of one minde: some were faithfull to *Rome*; and some were idle beholders of the pains that others took. Yet when *Cato* had won a great Victory upon the chiefest of them; they rose against him in many parts of the Country, and put him unto much new trouble. Whilest he was about to make a journey against those that were as yet unsubdued: some of the lately vanquished, were even ready to rebell. He therefore disarmed them: which they took so heavily, that many of them slew themselves for very grief. Hearing of this, and well understanding that such desperation might work dangerous effects; He called unto him the principall among them: and commending unto them peace and quietness, which they never had disturbed but unto their own great losse, He prayed them to devise what course might be taken for holding them assured unto *Rome*, without further trouble. None of them could, or would give counsell in a matter of this nature. Having therefore talked with them once or twice, and finding their invention barren in this kinde of Subject; He gave expresse charge, That upon a day appointed they should throw down the wals of all their Towns. Afterwards he carryed the war about from place to place; and with singular industry finished it in short time. Neither thought he it any disgrace to him or to *Rome*, in this time of danger, to imitate the *Carthaginians*, and hire an Army of the *Celtiberians*, against other of their Countrimen: excusing the indignity, such as it seemed, with a jest, That if he were vanquished and slain, then should he need to pay them nothing; whereas if he had the Victrry, He could pay them with the enemies money. Finally, He brought the War to so good end, that in long time after, though *Spain* were often troublesome, yet was it in no danger of being lost. He increased also the publique Revenues in that Province, by causing some Mines of Iron and Silver to be wrought, that had before lain unregarded. Herein he did benefit the Common-wealth by a vertue much agreeable to his own peculiar disposition.

For this *M. Cato* was not only very notable in the Art of War, which might well be then termed the occupation of the *Romans*; but so well furnished with all other useful qualities, that very little was wanting in him, which might seem requisite to the accomplishment of a perfect man. He was very skilful in the *Roman* Lawes, a man of great Eloquence, and not unprofitable in any business either private or publique. Many books he wrote: whereof the principal were, of the *Roman* antiquities, & of husbandry. In matter

of husbandry he was notable, and thereby most increased his substance; being of mean birth, and the first of his house. Strong of body he was, and exceeding temperate: so as he lived in perfect health to very old age. But that which most commended him unto the better sort of the *Romans*, was his great sincerity of life, abstinence from bribes, and fashioning himself to the ancient laudable Customes of the City. Herein he had merited singular commendations, if the vehemency of his nature had not caused him to malign the vertue of that noble *Scipio* the *African*, and some other worthy men; that were no lesse honest than himself, though far less rigid, and more gallant in behaviour. Otherwise, He was a very good Citizen, and one of such temper, that he could fashion himself to all occasions; as if he were never out of his Element. He loved business so well, or rather hated vice so earnestly; that even unto the end of his life, He was exercised in defending himself or accusing others. For at the age of fourscore and six years, he pleaded in his own defence: and four years after, he accused *Sergius Galba* unto the people. So began the Nobility of *Cato* his family; which ended in his great grand-child *M. Cato* the *Vtican*: one that being of like vertue and fervency, had all his good purposes dasht, and was finally wearied out of his life, by men of such nobility and greatness as this his Ancestor had continually vexed.

The *Spanish* Wars, after *Cato* his departure out of the Country, though they were not very dangerous, yet were they many; and the Country seldome free from insurrection, in one part or other. The *Roman* Prætors therefore, of which two every year were sent over Commanders into *Spain* (that was divided into Governments) did rarely fail of such work, as might afford the honour of Triumph. One slew thirteen thousand *Spaniards* in a battell: another took fifty Towns; and a third enforced many States of the Countrey to sue for peace. Thus every one of them, or most of them, did some laudable service; and yet so, that commonly there were of men, towns, and people, new that rebelled, in stead of the old that were slain, taken, or reclaimed. At the causes hereof, I have already pointed; and therefore think it enough to say, That the business in *Spain* required not the imployment of a *Roman* Consul, from such time as *Cato* thence departed, untill the *Numantian* War broke out, which was very long after.

In all other Countries to the West of the *Ionian* Seas, the *Romans* had peace; but so had not the *Carthaginians*. For when *Hannibal* was gone from them, and that the enemies of the *Barchine* House promised all felicity which *Rome* could grant, unto themselves and their obedient City: *Masanissa* fell to disputing with the sword, about the title to the best part of their Lands. He began with *Emporia*, a fruitful Region about the lesser *Syrtis*: wherein, among other Cities, was that of *Leptis*, which daily paid a Talent unto *Carthage* for Tribute. This Country the *Numidian* challenged; and by winning some part of it, seemed to better his claim unto the whole. He had a great advantage: for that the *Carthaginians* might not make any War, without leave obtained from their Masters the *Romans*. They had none other way of redress, than by sending to *Rome* their Complaint of his doings. And surely they wanted not good matter to alledge, if the Judges had been impartial. For besides that *Scipio*, in limiting out to them their bounds, had left them the possession of this Country: *Masanissa* himself, now very lately pursuing a Rebell that fled out of his Kingdome, desired leave of the *Carthaginians*, for himself to passe through it in his way to *Cyrene*: thereby acknowledging (had it otherwise been questionable) that the Country was theirs. This notwithstanding, *Masanissa* had wherewith to justifie his proceedings, especially unto the *Roman* Senate. He gave the *Fathers* to understand by his Embassadors, what faithlesse people the *Carthaginians* were, and how ill affected to the State of *Rome*. There had lately been sent unto them from *Hannibal*, one that should perswade them to take part with *Antiochus*. This man they had examined upon some suspicion of his errand; yet neither arresting him nor his ship, had thereby afforded him means to escape. Hence the *Numidian* concluded, that certainly it was their purpose to rebell; and therefore good policy to keep them down.

As for the Country of *Emporia*: it had alwaies, he said, been theirs that were able to hold it by strong hand: and so belonged sometime unto the *Numidian* Kings; though now of late it was in possession of the *Carthaginians*. But if the truth were known, the Citizens of *Carthage* had not any very warrantable title unto any more ground, than

that

that whereon their City stood; or scarcely to so much. For they were no better than strangers in *Africk*, that had gotten leave there to build upon so much ground, as they could encompass with an Oxe-hide cut into small thongs. Whatsoever they held without such a compass, was purchased by fraud, and wrongfull encroachments. This considered, *Masanissa* requested of the Senate, that they would not adjudge unto such usurpers, the Countrey sometimes appertaining to the Ancestors of him their assured friend. The *Romans* having heard these allegations on both sides, found the matter so doubtfull, that they could not on the sudden tell what to determine. Wherfore, because they would do nothing rashly; they sent over three Embassadors, of whom *P. Scipio* the *African* was one and the chief, to decide the controversie: yet secretly giving them instructions, to leave all as they found it, without making any end one way or other. The Embassadors followed their directions, and left all doubtful. So was it likely, that *Masanissa* with a strong army should quickly prevail against those that could no more than talk of their right, and exclaim against the wrong. By such Arts were the *Carthaginians* held, not only from stirring in favour of King *Antiochus*, if they had there to any disposition; but were prepared by little and little, unto their final destruction: that came upon them, when the *Romans* had leisure to express the utmost of their hatred.

§. VI.

The Ætolians labour to provoke Antiochus, Philip, *and* Nabis, *to war upon the* Romans, *by whom they hold themselves wronged and disgraced.* Nabis *besiegeth* Gyttheum, *and wasteth some part of* Achæa. *The exact skill of* Philopœmen *in advantage of ground: whereby he utterly vanquisheth* Nabis. Antiochus *being denied peace by the* Romans, *joyns with the* Ætolians. *The* Ætolians *surprize* Demetrias; *and by killing* Nabis, *their Confederate, seize upon* Sparta. *But they are driven out by the Citizens: who at* Philopœmen *his perswasions annex themselves to the* Achæans.

ALL *Greece* being at peace, and the *Roman* Armies thence departed: it grieved much the *Ætolians* to think, that they who had promised unto themselves the whole spoil of *Philip*, and the highest reputation among the *Greeks*; were not only disappointed of their covetous hopes, but quite forsaken by their ancient dependants; and of all other the most unregarded. Yet was there made a great access to their Estate; by adding much unto them, of that which had been taken from the *Macedonian*. This might well have sufficed them, if their desires had not been immoderate; and their indignation more vehement, than their desire. But they were not so pleased with that which they had, since they thought it no more than part of their due: as they were vexed with the deniall of that which they claimed, and with finding themselves to be wholly disesteemed, wherein they thought that they had unsufferable wrong. Wherefore they devised, in a Parliament which they shortly held, by what means they best might right themselves; and give the *Romans* a sorrowfull knowledge of the difference between their enmity and friendship. To this purpose they soon agreed, as concurring all in one affection; That they would not only perswade *Antiochus* to make war upon the *Romans*, as one to whom the *Romans* had long refused peace; but that they would deal with the King of *Macedon* their ancient enemy, and with *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, to joyn all together in a new Confederacy: whose joynt forces could not in all likelihood, but far surmount those of the *Romans*, *Achæans*, *Rhodians*, and King *Eumenes*, with all that were of their Faction. This was a great enterprise, which the *Ætolians* took in hand; and well beseeming them, for they were great darers. They sent Embassadors to all these Kings, with perswasions, as they thought most forcible. But *Philip* was irresolute; and *Antiochus* willing to try first all other courses. *Nabis* the *Lacedæmonian*, who neither (as *Philip*) had lost much, nor (as *Antiochus*) was in fear of any War; yet shewed himself of all other the most forward: and not staying so much as to seek any good pretence, began immediately to lay siege unto *Gyttheum*, that had been lately taken from him by the *Romans*. The *Achæans*, to whose care chiefly *Titus* at his departure had commended the affairs of *Peloponnesus*, were not slow to admonish *Nabis* of his duty: neither would they have staid long from repressing his violence by open war; had not some of them thought

it wisdome to ask Counsell of the *Romans*, and particularly of *T. Quintius*, before they engaged themselves in a business of such importance. Whilst thus they spent the time in sending Embassadors, and were advised by *Quintius* to let all alone, and to wait for the comming of the *Roman* forces, that would shortly be amongst them: *Nabis* was bold to give them juster cause of complaint, by wasting their own Territory.

Philopœmen was then Pretor of the *Achæans*, who had long been absent in *Crete*; making War there for his minds sake and recreation. Unto him the *Achæans* referred themselves, giving him leave to order the War at his pleasure; either staying till the *Romans* came, or doing otherwise, as he should think best. He made all haste to relieve *Gytheum* by Sea; fearing lest the Town, and the *Achæan* Garrison within it, should be lost, if he used any delay. But *Philopœmen* was so bad a Sea-man, that he knew not a strong Ship from a rotten. He made a *Quadrireme* Gally his Admirall, that had fourscore years agoe been counted a gallant Vessell, in the Navie of *Antigonus Gonatas*. Neither was the rest of his Fleet so good, as might encounter with that of the *Lacedæmonian*. Only it fell out well, that he committed himself to a light Pinnace or Brigandine, that fought better with her wings, than with her talons. For his admirall Gally was stemmed at the first; and being rotten with age, sprang so many leaks, and took in water so fast, that she was fain to yeeld without further resistance. When the rest of the Fleet saw what was become of their Admirall, all were presently discouraged, and saved themselves with what speed they could. But *Philopœmen* was not herewith daunted. If he had failed in Sea-service, which was none of his Occupation, He said, that he would make amends by Land. The Tyrant withdrew part of his Army from the siege of *Gytheum*, to stop the *Achæans*, if they should invade his Countrey. But upon these which were placed in guard of *Laconia*, *Philopœmen* came unexpected, fired their Camp, and put all, save a very few of them, to the sword. Then marched he with all his Army towards *Lacedæmon*: within ten miles wherof he was when the tyrant met him, that had already taken *Gytheum*. It was not expected that *Nabis* would have been ready for them so soon. Or if he should come from *Gytheum*, with any part of his forces: yet was it thought that he must overtake them, and charge them in Rere. They marched therefore almost securely, in a long troup reaching some five miles; having their Horse, and the greatest part of their Auxiliaries at their backs, to bear off any sudden impression. But *Nabis*, who formerly understood, or at least suspected, what course they would take, appeared in the front of them with all his Army; encamped there where they meant to have lodged. It was the custome of *Philopœmen*, when he walked or travelled abroad with his friends, to mark the situation of the Countrey about him; and to discourse what might befall an Army marching the same way. He would suppose, that having with him there such a number of Souldiers, ordered and sorted in such manner, and marching towards such a place; he were upon that ground encountred by a greater Army, or better prepared to the fight. Then would he put the question, Whether it were fit for him to hold on his way, retire, or make a stand? What piece of ground it were meet for him to seize upon? and in what manner he might best do it? in what sort he should order his men? where bestow his carriages, and under what Guard? in what sort encamp himself? and which way march the day following? By such continuall meditation, He was grown so perfect, that he did never meet with any difficulty, whence he could not explicate himself and his followers. At this time he made a stand: and having drawn up his Rere, He encamped near unto the place where he was; within half a mile of the Enemy. His baggage with all thereto belonging, he bestowed on a Rock; encompassing them round with his Souldiers. The ground was rough, the wayes bad, and the day almost quite spent; so as *Nabis* could not at the present greatly molest him. Both Armies were to water at one Brook; whereto the *Achæans* lay the nearer. This watering therefore was first to minister the like occasion of skirmish. *Philopœmen* understood this; and laid an ambush in place convenient; whereinto the Mercenaries of *Nabis* fell, and were slaughtered in great numbers. Presently after this, he caused one of his own Auxiliaries to go to the Tyrant, as a fugitive, and tell him, that the *Achæans* had a purpose to get between him and *Lacedæmon*; whereby they would both debar his return into the City, and withall encourage the people to take Armes for the recovery of their freedome. The Tyrant hearing this, marched hastily away; and left his Camp, which hardly otherwise would have been forced.

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Some companies he made to ſtay behind, and ſhew themſelves upon the Rampart, thereby to conceal his departure. But *Philopœmen* was not ſo to be beguiled. He eaſily won the Camp, and gave chaſe to *Nabis*: whoſe followers being overtaken, had no courage to turn about & make head. The enemies being thus diſperſed & fled into woods where they lay in covert all that day: *Philopœmen* conceived aright, that their fear & neceſſity would teach them to creep homewards, and ſave themſelves, when it grew dark. Wherefore in the evening, when he had gathered together all thoſe of his light-armature, which had followed the chaſe whileſt it was day, he led forth the reſt that had well refreſhed themſelves, and occupied the two moſt ordinary paſſages unto *Lacedæmon*. So *Nabis* his men, when it was dark night, perceiving in *Philopœmens* Camp great ſtore of lights; thought that all had been at reſt: and therefore adventured to make an eſcape home. But they were ſo way-laid, that hardly one quarter of them got into *Sparta*. Thirty daies together after this, did *Philopœmen* waſt the Country round about, whileſt *Nabis* durſt not iſſue forth of his town; and then returned home, leaving the tyrant in a manner without forces.

The *Roman* Embaſſadors were then in *Greece*, and *T. Quintius* among them, labouring to make their party ſtrong againſt *Antiochus* and *Nabis*, whom they knew to be ſolicited by the *Ætolians*. Very fair countenance they alſo made unto *Philip*; and with comfortable promiſes drew him to make ſhew, what ſoever he thought, of good correſpondence. They promiſed to reſtore unto him his ſon: and were contented to let him hope, that he ſhould receive other favours at their hands; and regain poſſeſſion of many places, by them taken from him. Thus did the *Romans* prepare for war againſt *Antiochus* in *Greece*, whileſt their Embaſſadours that were with him in *Aſia*, denied otherwiſe to grant him Peace, than if he would yeeld unto one of the Conditions, by them ſo often propounded. The long abſence of this King in *Syria*, where he had accompliſhed the marriage between *Ptolemy* and his daughter; together with the death of young *Antiochus* the Kings ſon, which happened during the Treaty, and hindered, or ſeemed to hinder the King from giving audience in perſon to the Embaſſadors; cauſed them to return home to *Rome*; as uncertain of their anſwer as at their ſetting forth. One thing that might have been, and partly was, beneficiall unto them, they brought to paſſe during their abode at *Epheſus*; either by cunning, or (as *Livie* rather thinks) by chance. Finding *Hannibal* there, they diſcourſed often with him, and blamed him for having thus fled unto *Antiochus*, upon a cauſeleſs ſuſpition wherein he held the *Romans*; that honoured his vertue, and intended him no harm. Many have affirmed that *P. Scipio* was one of theſe Embaſſadors; and that he, among other diſcourſes with *Hannibal*, demanded once, *Which of all the famous Captains that had lived*, Hannibal *judged the moſt worthy?* So *Hannibal* gave to *Alexander* of *Macedon* the firſt place: to *Pyrrhus* the ſecond: and the third he challenged unto himſelf. But *Scipio*, who thought his own title better, than that it ought to be ſo forgotten, asked yet further, What wouldſt thou have ſaid then, *Hannibal*, if thou hadſt vanquiſhed me? To whom the *Carthaginian* replyed, Then would not I have given the firſt place to *Alexander*, but have claimed it as due unto my ſelf. Now whether this were ſo, or otherwiſe, the often and friendly conference of *Hannibal* with the *Roman* Embaſſadors, made him ſuſpected of *Antiochus*; who therefore did forbear a while to uſe his counſell. Yet afterwards, when *Hannibal* perceived this change in the King, and plainly deſired him to tell the cauſe thereof, heard what it was; he eaſily recovered his former grace and credit. For he told how his Father had cauſed him to ſwear at the Altars, when he was a little boy, that he never ſhould be friend unto the *Romans*. Wherefore he willed the King not to regard any vain ſurmiſes: but to know thus much, that ſo long as he thought upon war with *Rome*, ſo long would *Hannibal* do him all good ſervice: whereas contrariwiſe, if he intended to make peace, then ſhould it behove him to uſe the counſell of ſome other man.

The *Ætolians*, and their friends, were no leſs buſie all this while, in making their party ſtrong againſt the *Romans*, than were the *Romans* in muſtering up their friends in *Greece*. They had ſo often dealt with *Antiochus*, vaunting much of their own forces, and arrogating to themſelves the honour of the victory againſt *Philip*, that finally they prevailed with him; eſpecially when the *Roman* Embaſſadors had left him without hope of peace, unleſſe he would buy it at too dear a rate. They dealt in like ſort with the *Macedonian*.

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But in vain. He understood the *Romans*, and himself, too well. Wherefore it concerned them to improve their own forces to the uttermost: as knowing that all the burthen must lie upon *Antiochus* and themselves, without help from any, save only from some few that were discontented in *Greece*. Whilest they were about this, and had with them an Embassador of the King *Antiochus*, that animated them to resolution, the *Athenian* Embassadours, whom *Titus* had requested to be at their meeting, stayed their vehemency a little; by exhorting them, not to conclude rashly, without first hearing the *Romans*, that lay near at hand. For want of a ready answer hereto, they were contented to approve the motion. *Titus* hearing this, thought the business worthy of his presence. For since *Antiochus* had now declared himself against the *Romans*, it would be no small piece of service, to withdraw from his friendship, those by whose encouragement he had made the adventure. Wherefore he came to their *Panætolium*, or great Assembly of the Nation; where he forgot nothing that might serve to appease them. He willed them to consider the weight of the enterprise which they took in hand; whereby *Greece* was like to become a Champaign field, on which to the ruine of the Country, the *Romans* and King *Antiochus*, that commanded no small part of the World, should fight for the Mastery: the *Ætolians*, as Masters in that kinde of Fence, setting them on, and becomming * *the Sticklers*. As for those grievances which did thus exasperate them, and urge them to such violent courses, he willed them to consider how slight they were, and how much better they might do, to send Embassadors to *Rome*, that should either plead their right in the Senate, or (if their right unto the places which they claimed, were not good) make request to have what they desired: than thus to set the world in an uproar, and be afterwards the first that should repent it. But what he said, or could say, it skilled not much. They had already done ill, to make the Embassador of the King, whose help they had sought, wait so long for an answer, and stay doubting what good end they should make with the *Romans*. Neither was it newes unto them, to hear those comfortable words; that, by sending to *Rome*, they might happen to obtain what they desired; either as their right, or else by way of favour. For with such Terms had they been feasted once already: and were by the Senate rejected unto *Titus*: who having it in his own power, gave them no satisfaction; yet would now again refer them to the Senate. This were only loss of time, and might abate their credit with *Antiochus*. Wherefore without more ado they made a Decree, That King *Antiochus the Great* should be intreated to come over into *Greece*, as well to set the Countrey at liberty, as also to decide the controversies depending between the *Romans* and *Ætolians*. Such a Decree they would not have made, had they not understood the Kings minde before. Having made it, they forgot no point of bravery, whereby to vaunt themselves to the Kings Embassadours, and against the *Romans*. *Titus* desired of their Prætor, to let him see a Copy of this new Decree. The Prætor answered, That then he had other things to do: but that this Decree, and their further answer, they would shortly let him know, if he came to their Camp in *Italy* upon the river of *Tibris*. Gentler words would have done better, as the *Ætolians* are like to understand hereafter. But having thus begun, they meant henceforth to go roundly to work. The care of the war they referred unto the more private Councell of their Nation; that no occasion might slip, in waiting for the Authority of a generall assembly. The *Apocleti* (so were the privie Councell of *Ætolia* called) went as hotly to work as any of the youngest heads could have done. They laid a plot, how to get into their hands at one time the Towns of *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and *Sparta*: to each of which they sent men for the purpose. *Demetrias* they took upon the sudden; entring some of them as friends, to conduct home a principall man of the City: who for speaking words against *T. Quintius*, had been driven to flee thence; but was, by intercession of those that loved him, again re-called. His *Ætolian* companions, that were not many, seized upon a Gate; whereat they let in a troup which they had left not far behind them: and so fell to murdering the chief of the *Roman* Faction. At *Chalcis* they sped not so well. Thither also they had a banish'd man to bring home: but they came so strong, that their purpose was discovered, and the Town prepared to defend it self against them. Being therefore demanded the cause of this hostility, they gave a gentle answer, saying, That they came not thither as enemies, but only to deliver the Town from the *Romans*; who more insolently domineered over it, than ever the *Macedonians* had done. By which Rhetorick they prevailed no more, than they could do by plain force.

* *Liv. l. 35.*

force. For the Towns-men replyed, That they neither found any abridgement of their liberty, nor needed any Garrison to keep them from the *Romans*, from whom they neither feared any danger, nor received injury. So this business was dasht. The attempt upon *Sparta* was more strange and desperate. *Nabis* their good friend, was Lord of the Town, styling himself King: but more truly by all men called Tyrant. He had welnear lost all, by means of the overthrow which *Philopœmen* had lately given him: since he durst not stir abroad; and daily expected the mischief, that on all sides threatned him. Wherefore he sent messengers, one after another, to the *Ætolians*; requesting them, That as he had not been slow to stir in their behalf, but adventured himself upon the utmost of danger, when all others were backward; so they would be pleased to send him what help they might, since his bad fortune had caused him presently to need it. It hath been often said, That the ravenous *Ætolians* were only true to themselves, and regarded neither faith nor friendship, otherwise, than as it might conduce to their own ends. And so dealt they now. For since *Nabis* his mercenary forces, which upheld his Tyranny, were in a manner consumed: they thought it expedient for their Estate, to put him out of the way; and, by so doing, to assure *Lacedæmon* unto themselves. To this purpose, they sent thither *Alexamenus*, one whom they thought a man fit for such a work. To him they gave a thousand Foot, and thirty Horse, chosen for the purpose. These thirty were by *Demœritus* the Prætor brought into the Counsell of the *Apœleti*, where they were commanded to be no wiser than they should be, nor to think that they were sent to make war with the *Achæans*, or to do ought else, save only what *Alexamenus* should command them; which were it never so desperate, and in seeming against all reason; yet must they understand, that unless they performed it, they should have no good welcome home. So *Alexamenus* came to the Tyrant, whom he encouraged with brave words: telling him that *Antiochus* was already in *Europe*, and would be anon in *Greece*, meaning to cover all the Land and Sea with his mighty Armies; and that the *Romans* were like to finde other manner of work, than of late with *Philip*: since the Elephants of this great King, without other help, would suffice to tread them down. As for the *Ætolians*, he said, that if need should so require, they would presently send away to *Lacedæmon* all the forces that they could raise: But that they were very desirous at the present, to make as goodly a muster as they could, before the great king; which caused them to send him thither afore with no greater company. Hereupon he willed *Nabis* to take heart; bring forth his men, that had bin long pent up in the City; and train them without the wals: as if shortly he should employ them in work of conquest, rather than defence. *Nabis* was glad of this: and daily exercised his men in the field: riding up and down with this *Alexamenus*, and no more than three or four horse about him, from one point to another, to order and behold them. During this time of exercise, *Alexamenus* made it his fashion, to step aside alone to his *Ætolians*, and say somewhat as he thought fit: which done, he still returned again to *Nabis*. But when he saw time for the great work which he had in hand; he then went aside to his thirty horsemen, and bade them remember the task enjoyned them at their setting forth; telling them, that they were all in case of banished men, unless they would anon come up to him, and help him to finish that which they should see him take in hand. Herewithall the Tyrant began to draw near them: and *Alexamenus* making towards him, charged him on the sudden, and struck him down. The thirty *Ætolians* never stood to deliberate upon the matter, but all flew in; and, before any succour could arrive, had made an end of this wretched *Nabis*. Presently upon the fact committed, the Tyrant his Mercenaries ran unto the dead body: where in stead of seeking revenge, they stood foolishly gazing as beholders. *Alexamenus* with his *Ætolians* hasted into the City, and seized on the Palace: where he fell to ransacking the Treasure; and troubled himself with none other care, as though all were already done. Such of his followers as were dispersed in the Town, did also the like; with the greater indignation of the Citizens: who seeing themselves free by the death of the Tyrant, could not indure to see those that had slain him, begin to tyrannize anew. Wherefore all the town was shortly in arms: and for lack of another Captain, they took a little Boy of the Royall stock, that had been brought up with *Nabis* his children; whom they mounted upon a good Horse, and made him their Chief. So they fell upon the *Ætolians* that were idly straggling about; and put them all to the sword. *Alexamenus* with

with not many of his Company, were slain in keeping the Citadel: and those few that escaped thence into *Arcadia*, were taken by the Magistrates; who sold them all as bond-slaves. In this doubtfull Estate of things at *Lacedæmon*, *Philopœmen* came thither: who calling out the chief of the City, and speaking such words unto them, as *Alexamenus* should have done after he had slain the Tyrant; easily perswaded them for their own good and safety, to incorporate themselves with the *Achæans*. Thus by the enterprise, no lesse dishonourable than difficult, of the *Ætolians*; and the small, but effectuall, travell of *Philopœmen*, the *Achæans* made a notable purchase: and *Lacedæmon*, that had hitherto bin governed either by Kings, or by Tyrants that called themselves Kings, became the member of a Common-wealth, whereof the name had scarce any reputation, when *Sparta* ruled over all *Greece*.

§. VII.

Antiochus, *perswaded by* Thoas *the Ætolian, comes over into Greece ill attended. Sundry passages between him, the Ætolians, Chalcidians, and others. He wins Chalcis, and thereby the whole Ile of Eubœa. The vanity of the Kings Embassadors and the Ætolians, with the civill answer of* Titus *to their discourse, before the Achæans. That it concerned the Greeks to have desired peace between the Romans and* Antiochus, *as the best assurance of their own liberty. Of many petty Estates that fell to the King. Of* Aminander; *and an idle vanity, by which King* Philip *was lost.* Hannibal *gives good counsell in vain. Some Towns won in Thessaly. The King retires to Chalcis, where he marrieth a young wife, and revels away the rest of Winter. Upon the comming of the Roman Consul all forsake* Antiochus. *He with two thousand Ætolians keeps the Straights of Thermopylæ. He is beaten, and flees into Asia: leaving all in Greece unto the victors.*

ANtiochus was troubled much in *Asia* with *Smyrna* and *Lampsacus*, that would not hearken to any Composition He thought it neither safe nor honourable, to leave them Enemies behind him; and to win them by force, was more than hitherto he was able. Yet was he desirous, with all speed convenient, to shew himself in *Greece*; where he had bin told, that his presence would effect wonders. It was said, that in all the country there was a very small number, which bore hearty affection unto the *Romans*: That *Nabis* was already up in arms: That *Philip* was like a Bandog in a chain, desiring nothing more, than to break loose; and that the *Ætolians*, without whom the *Romans* had done nothing, nor nothing could have done, were ready to confer upon him the greatness, which they had unworthily bestowed upon insolent *Barbarians*. Of all this the least part was true. Yet that which was true made such a noise, as added credit unto all the rest. Whilest therefore the king was thinking to send *Hannibal* into *Africk*, there to molest the *Romans*, & so give him the better leisure of using his own opportunities in *Greece*: *Thoas* the *Ætolian* came over to him, and bad him lay all other care aside, for that his countrimen had already taken *Demetrias*, a Town of main importance, that should give him entertainment, whence he might proceed as became the greatness of his vertue & fortune. This did serve to cut off all deliberation. As for *Hannibal*, *Thoas* was bold to tel the king, first, that it was not expedient for him to divide his forces at such a time, when the very reputation of his numbers brought into *Greece*, might serve to lay open unto him all places, without need of using violence: and secondly, That in any such great enterprise there could not be chosen a more unfit man to be employed in the kings service, than was that famous *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*. For he said, that the king should as greatly feel the losse of a fleet or Army perishing under such a notable commander if his fortune were bad, as if the same had miscarryed under one of meaner quality: whereas nevertheless if *Hannibal* prevailed, *Hannibal* alone should have all the honour, & not *Antiochus*. In this regard he was of opinion, that such a renowned Warriour should be alwaies near unto the Kings person, to give advice: which being followed as often as it was found commodious, the good success would wholly redound unto the honour of him that had the soveraign Command; even of the King himself. *Antiochus* gladly hearkned unto this admonition; being jealous of the vertue, that shined brighter than the Majesty of his own fortune. And thereupon he laid aside the determination, which tended more to the advancement of his desires, than did any thing else by him then or after thought upon.

Presently

Presently after this, He made ready for *Greece*. Before his setting forth, in a frivolous pomp of ceremony, he went up from the Sea-side to *Ilium*; there to do sacrifice to *Minerva* of *Troy*. Thence passing over the *Ægean* Sea, He came to *Demetrias*. *Eurylochus* the *Magnetian*; the same whom the *Ætolians* had lately waited on home, when by that pretext they won *Demetrias*; was now the chief man, and ruler of his Nation. He therefore with his Countrimen, in great frequency, came to do their duties to the King *Antiochus*, and bid him welcome. The King was glad of this: and took it as a sign of good luck, to be so entertained at the beginning. But it may be suspected, that the *Magnetians* found not the like cause of joy. For whereas they had expected a Fleet and Army somewhat like to that of *Xerxes*: they saw three hundred ships; of which, no more than forty were serviceable for the Wars, with an Army of ten thousand Foot, five hundred Horse, and six Elephants. The *Ætolians* no sooner heard of his comming than they called a Parliament, and made a Decree, whereby they invited him into their country. He knew before that they would so do; and was therefore well onward on his way towards them, when they met him that brought the Decree. At his coming to *Lamia*, the *Ætolians* gave him as joyfull entertainment as they could devise. Being brought into their Councell, he made an Oration: wherein he desired them to hold him excused, that he came not followed with a greater Army. This was, he said, in true estimation, a sign of his good will: in that he staid not to make all things ready, but hasted unto their aide, even whilest the season was unfit for Navigation. Yet it should not be long, ere the hope of all those which had expected him, would be satisfied unto the full. For it was his meaning to fill all *Greece* with Armies, and all the Sea-coast with his Fleets. Neither would he spare for any charge, travel, or danger, to follow the businesse which he had undertaken: even to drive the *Romans* and their authority out of *Greece*; leaving the Country free indeed, and the *Ætolians* therein the chief. Now as the Armies that were following him, should be very great; so was it his meaning, that all provisions to them belonging should be correspondent; because he would not be any way burdensome unto his Confederates. But at the present he must needs intreat them, having thus hastily come over unto their aid, unprovided of many necessaries, that they would help him with Corn and other victuals, whereof he stood in need. So he left them to their consultation: the conclusion whereof was, after a little dispute, (for a vain motion was made by some, that the differences between the *Romans* and them, should be put by Compromise to the decision of *Antiochus*) that they would yeeld unto the Kings desire, and assist him with all their forces. Here we may observe, how vain a thing it is for an absolute Prince to engage himself, as did *Antiochus*, in a businesse of dangerous importance upon the promised assurance of a State that is meerly popular. For if the vehemency of *Thoas*, and some other of that Faction, had not prevailed in this Councell; the *Ætolians*, for gain of two or three Towns, yea, for hope of such gain that might have deceived them, were like to have abandoned this King their friend, unto the discretion of the *Romans*. And what remedy had there been, if this had so fallen out? He could have bemoaned himself to *Thoas*, and complained of the wrong: but he must have been contented with this answer, That the fault was in those of the opposite side; whom *Thoas* would therefore have pronounced to be very wicked men. It happened much better for the present, though in the future it proved much worse, both for him, and for the *Ætolians*. He was chosen Generall of all their forces: and thirty Commissioners were appointed to be about him, as a Councell of War for the Nation. These armed such as readily they could, whilest it was in dispute where they should begin the War. *Chalcis* was thought the meetest place to be first undertaken: whither if they came suddenly, they should not peradventure need to use much force. The King had brought with him into *Ætolia* but a thousand Foot, leaving the rest behinde him at *Demetrias*. With these he hasted away directly toward *Chalcis*; being overtaken by no great number of the *Ætolians*, which accompanied him thither. At his comming, the Magistrates, and some of the chief Citizens, issued forth to parle with him. There the *Ætolians* began, as they had lately done before, to tell, how the *Romans* had only in words and false semblance, set *Greece* at liberty. But such liberty as might be true and usefull, they said, would never be obtained; untill by removing the necessity of obeying their pleasure that were most mighty, every severall estate had where to finde redress of any pressure. And to this end was the great *Antiochus* come thither; a King well

well able to counterpoise, yea to overweigh the *Romans*: who nevertheless desired them only, so to joyn with him in League, as that if either the *Romans* or he should offer them wrong, they might keep it in their power, to seek redresse at the others hands. The *Chalcidians* made hereto the same answer, which, to the like allegations, they had made not long before: That their freedome was not imaginary, but absolute; for which they were to thank the *Romans*; without whose good liking, they would enter into no new confederacy. That which they spake of themselves, they could likewise affirm of all the *Greeks*: forasmuch as none of them paid any tribute, was kept under by any Garrison, or lived otherwise than by their own *Lawes*, and without being tied unto conditions which displeased them. Wherefore they wondred, why the King should thus trouble himself to deliver Cities that were already free. But since he, and the *Ætolians*, requested their friendship; they besought both him and the *Ætolians*, to do a friendly Office, in departing from them quietly, and leaving them in such good case as they were. With this answer the King departed: for he was not, as then, strong enough to force them. But very soon after, he brought thither a greater power, which terrified them, and made them yeeld: before all the succours could arrive, which *Titus* had sent for their defence.

The chief City of *Eubœa* being thus gotten, all the rest of the Iland shortly yeelded to *Antiochus*. Four or five hundred *Roman* Souldiers, that came over late to have defended *Chalcis*, reposed themselves at *Delium*, a little town of *Bœotia*, lying over against the Iland; where was a Temple and Grove, consecrated unto *Apollo*, that had the priviledge of an inviolable Sanctuary. In this place were some of them walking, & beholding the things there to be seen, whilest others were busied as they found cause, without fear of any danger; as being in such a place, and no war hitherto proclaimed. But *Menippus* one of *Antiochus* his Captains, that had wearied himself in many vain Treaties of peace took advantage of their carelesnes, and used them with all extremity of war. Very few of them escaped: fifty were taken, and the rest slain. Hereat *Quintius* was grieved: yet so, as it pleased him well to consider, that his *Romans* had now more just cause than before, to make war upon the King.

Antiochus liked wel these beginnings, and sent Embassadors into all quarters of *Greece*; in hope, that his reputation should perswade very many to take his part. The wiser sort returned such answer, as the *Chalcidians* had done. Some reserved themselves untill he should come among them: knowing that either, if he came not, he must hold them excused for not daring to stir; or if he came, the *Romans* must pardon their just fear, in yeelding to the stronger. None of those that lay far off, joyned with him in true meaning, save the *Eleans*, that alwaies favoured the *Ætolians*, and now feared the *Achæans*. Little reason there was, that he should think to draw the *Achæans* to his party. Nevertheless he assayed them, upon a vain hope, that the envie which *Titus* was said to bear unto *Philopœmens* vertue, had bred a secret dislike between that Nation and the *Romans*. Wherefore both he and the *Ætolians* sent Embassadors to the Councell at *Ægium* that spared not brave words, if the *Achæans* would have been so taken. The Kings Embassador told of great Armies and fleets that were comming; reckoning up the *Dahans*, *Medians*, *Elimeans*, and *Caducians*; names that were not every day heard of, and therefore as he thought, the more terrible. Then told he them what notable men at Sea, the *Sydomans*, *Tyrians*, *Aradians*, and *Pamphilians* were; such indeed as could not be resisted. Now concerning money and all warlike furniture: it was, he said, well known, that the Kingdomes of *Asia* had alwaies thereof great plenty. So as they were much deceived: who considering the late war made against *Philip*, did think that this with *Antiochus* would prove the like: the case was too far different. Yet this most powerfull King, that for the liberty of *Greece* was come from the utmost parts of the East; requested no more of the *Achæans*, than that they would hold themselves as neutrall, and quietly look on, whilest he took order with the *Romans*. To the same effect spake the *Ætolian* Embassador, and further added, that in the battel at *Cynoscephalæ*, neither *Titus* had done the part of a General, nor the *Romans* of good Souldiers: but that both he and his Army had bin there destroyed, had they not been protected by vertue of the *Ætolians*, which carried the day. *Titus* was present at the Councel, and heard all this: to which he made as fit answer, as could have been desired. He told the *Achæans*, That neither the Kings Embassadour, nor the *Ætolian*, did so greatly labour to perswade those unto whom they addressed

addreſſed their Orations; as to vaunt themſelves the one unto the other. So as a man might well diſcern, what good correſpondence in vanity it was, that had thus linked the King and the *Ætolians* together. For even ſuch brags as here they made before the *Achæans*, who knew them to be lyars, had the *Ætolians* alſo made unto King *Antiochus*: proclaiming the victory over *Philip* to be meerly their Act: and the whole Countrey of *Greece* to be dependent on them. Interchangeably had they been feaſted by the King, with ſuch tales as his Embaſſador told even now; of *Dahans*, and *Arabians*, and *Elimæans*, and a many others: that were all but a company of *Syrians*, ſuch as were wont to be ſold about for bond-ſlaves, and good for little elſe. Theſe divers names of raſcall people were, he ſaid, like to the diverſity of Veniſon, wherewith a friend of his at *Chalcis* (no ſuch vaunter as were theſe Embaſſadors) had ſometime feaſted him. For all that variety, whereat he wondred, was none other, as his Hoſt then merrily told him; than ſo many pieces of one tame ſwine, dreſt after ſeverall faſhions, with variety of ſawces. Setting therefore aſide this vanity of idle pomp: it were good to make judgement of the great King, by his preſent doings. He had notwithſtanding all this great noiſe, no more than ten thouſand men about him: for which little Army he was fain in a manner to beg victuals of the *Ætolians*; and take up money at uſury, to defray his charges. And thus he ran up and down the Country; from *Demetrias* to *Lamia*; thence back to *Chalcis*; and being there ſhut out, to *Demetrias* again. Theſe were the fruits of lies: wherewith, ſince both *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians* had each deluded other; meet it was that they ſhould, as perhaps already they did, repent, whileſt wiſer men took heed by their example. To a favourable Auditory much perſwaſion is needleſs. The *Achæans* did not love ſo wel the *Ætolians*, as to deſire that they ſhould become Princes of *Greece*: but rather wiſhed to ſee them, of all other, made the vrieſt abjects. Wherefore they ſtood not to hearken after newes, what *Antiochus* did, how he ſped in *Eubœa*, or what other Cities were like to take his part: but readily proclaimed War againſt him, and againſt the *Ætolians*.

How the hatred between theſe two Nations grew inveterate; ſufficiently appears in the ſtory foregoing. Now have they gotten each their Patrons; the one, the *Romans*; the other, King *Antiochus*. Herein did each of them unwiſely: though far the greater blame ought to be laid on the turbulent ſpirits of the *Ætolians*. For when the *Romans* departed out of *Greece*, and left the Country at reſt: there was nothing more greatly to have been deſired, than that they might never finde occaſion to return with an Army thither again. And in this reſpect ought the *Greeks* to have ſought, not how *Smyrna* and *Lampſacus* might recover their liberty (which had never been held a matter worth regarding, untill now of late) but how the powers of the Eaſt and Weſt, divided and kept aſunder by their Countrey, as two Seas by an *Iſthmus*, or neck of land, might be kept from overflowing the bar that parted them. Neither had the *Romans* any better pretence for their ſeeking to make free thoſe baſe *Aſiatiques*, who originally were *Greekiſh*; than the general applauſe, wherewith all the nation entertained this their loving offer. Yet were *Lyſimachia*, and the Towns in *Thrace*, lately gotten by *Antiochus*, pretended as a very great cauſe of feat, that ſhould move them to take arms even in their own defence. But if all *Greece* would have made interceſſion, and requeſted that things might continue as they were, promiſing joyntly to aſſiſt the *Romans*, with their whole forces both by Land and Sea, whenſoever King *Antiochus* ſhould make the leaſt offer to ſtir againſt them: then had not only this quarrell been at an end; but the *Roman* Patronage over the Country, had been far from growing, as ſoon after it did, into a Lordly rule.

The *Achæans* were at this time, in a manner the only Nation of *Greece*, that freely and generouſly declared themſelves altogether for the *Romans*, their friends and benefactors. All the reſt gave doubtfull anſwers of hope unto both ſides: or if ſome few, as did the *Theſſalians*, were firm againſt *Antiochus*; yet helped they not one another in the quarel, nor ſhewed themſelves his enemies, till he preſſed them with open force. The *Bœotians* willingly received him, as ſoon as he entred upon their borders, not ſo much for fear of his power, as in hatred of *Titus* and the *Romans*, by whom they had been ſomewhat hardly uſed. *Aminander* the *Athamanian*, beſides his old friendſhip with the *Ætolians*, was caught with a bait, which it may be doubted, whether he did more fooliſhly ſwallow, or *Antiochus* caſt out. He had married the daughter of an *Arcadian*, that was an

idle-headed man, and vaunted himself to be descended from *Alexander* the Great: naming his two sons, in that regard, *Philip* & *Alexander*. *Philip*, the elder of these brethren, accompanied his sister to the poor Court of *Athamania*: where having made his folly known, by talking of his Pedegree; He was judged by *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, a man fit for their turns. They made him beleeve, that in regard of his high parentage, and the famous memory of *Alexander* his forefather; it was their purpose, to do their best for the conquest of *Macedon* to his behoof: since no man had thereto so good title as he. But for the enabling of them hereunto; it behoved him to draw *Aminander* to their party, that so they might the sooner have done with the *Romans*. *Philip* was highly pleased herewith; and by perswasions of himself, or of his sister, effected as much as they desired. But the first piece of service done by this imaginary King (whether it proceeded from his own phrenzie in hope to get love of the *Macedonians* that should be his subjects: or whether from some vanity in King *Antiochus* that employed him) wrought more harm to his friends, than he and *Aminander* were able to good. There were two thousand men committed to his leading: with which he marched unto *Cynoscephalæ*, there to gather up the bones of the slaughtered *Macedonians*; whom their King had suffered all this while to lie unburied. The *Macedons* troubled not themselves to think on this charitable act, as if it were to them any benefit at all: but King *Philip* took it in high indignation; as intended meerly unto his despight. Wherefore he presently sent unto the *Romans*; and gave them to understand, that he was ready with all his power to aid them wherein soever they should be pleased to use him.

The *Ætolians*, *Magnetians*, *Eubœans*, *Bœotians*, and *Athamanians*, having now all joyned with him; *Antiochus* took counsell of them about the prosecution of the War in hand. The chief question was, Whether it were meet for him to invade *Thessaly*, that would not hearken to his perswasions; or whether to let all alone untill the Spring: because it was now mid-winter. Some thought one thing, and some another; confirming each his own sentence, with the weightiest reasons which he could alledge; as in a matter of great importance. *Hannibal* was at this meeting: who had long been cast aside, as a vessell of no use, but was now required to deliver his opinion. He freely told the King, That what he should now utter, was even the same which he would have spoken, had his counsell at any time before been asked since their comming into *Greece*. For the *Magnetians*, *Bœotians*, and other their good friends, which now so willingly took their parts: what were they else than so many poor estates, that wanting force of their own, did adjoyn themselves for fear unto him, that was strongest for the present; and would afterwards, when they saw it expedient, be as ready to fall to the contrary side, alledging the same fear for their excuse? Wherefore he thought it most behoovefull to win King *Philip* of *Macedon* unto their party: who (besides that being once engaged, he should not afterwards have power to recoyle and forsake them at his pleasure) was a mighty Prince; and one that had means to sustain the *Roman* War with his proper forces. Now that *Philip* might be easily perswaded to joyn with them; the benefit likely to redound unto himself, by their society, was a very strong Argument: though indeed what need was there, of proving by inference the likelihood of this hope: For, said Hee, *These* Ætolians *here present; and namely, this* Thoas, *being lately Embassadour from them into* Asia, *among other Motives which he then used to excite the King unto this Expedition, insisted mainly on the same point. He told us that* Philip *was moved beyond all patience, with the Lordly insolence of the* Romans: *likening that king to some wild beast, that was chained or lockt up within some grate, and would fain break loose. If this be so: let us break his chain, and pull down the grate, that he may regain his liberty, and satisfie his angry stomack, upon those that are common enemies to us and him. But if it prove otherwise, and that his fear be greater than his indignation: then shall it behove us to look unto him; that he may not seek to please his good masters the* Romans, *by offending us. Your son* Seleucus *is now at* Lysimachia, *with part of your Army: if* Philip *will not hearken to your Embassage, let* Seleucus *be in readinesse to fall upon* Macedon, *and find him work to defend his own on the other side, without putting us here to trouble. Thus much concerning* Philip, *and the present war in* Greece. *But more generally for the managing of this great enterprise, wherein you are now embarqued against the* Romans, *I told you my opinion at the beginning: whereto had you then given ear, the* Romans *by this time should have heard other news, than that* Chalcis *in* Eubœa *was become ours.* Italy & Gaul *should have bin on fire with war, and*

little

little to their comfort, they should have understood, that Hannibal *was again come into* Italy. *Neither do I see what should hinder us even now from taking the same course. Send for all your Fleet & Army hither (but in any case let ships of burden come along with them, loaden with store of victuals: For as the case now stands, we have here too few hands, and too many mouthes) Wherefore let the one half be imployed against* Italy; *whilest you in person with the other half, tarrying on this side the* Ionian *Sea, may both take order for the affairs of* Greece, *and therewithall make countenance, as if you were even ready to follow us into* Italy: *yea, and be ready to follow us indeed, if it shall be requisite. This is my advice; who though perhaps I am not very skilfull in all sorts of war; yet how to war with the* Romans, *I have been instructed by long experience, both to their cost and mine own. Of this Counsell which I give, I promise you my faithfull and diligent service for the execution: but what counsel soever you please to follow, I wish it may be prosperous.* Many were pleased with the great spirit of the man, and said he had spoken bravely; but of all this was nothing done; save only that one was sent into *Asia*, to make all things ready there. In the mean while they went in hand with *Thessaly*; about which they had before disputed. There when they had won one Town by force, many other places, doubting their own strength, were glad to make submission. But *Larissa*, that was chief of the Country, stood out: not regarding any terrible threats of the King, that lay before the wals with his whole Army. This their faith and courage was rewarded by good fortune. For *M. Fabius*, a *Roman* Proprætor, did send help thither. Likewise *Philip* of *Macedon* professed himself enemy unto *Antiochus*; whereby the fame of the succour comming to *Larissa*, grew such, as wrought more than the succour could have done, had it arrived. For *Antiochus* perceiving many fires on the Mountains tops afar off; thought that a great Army of *Romans* and *Macedonians* had been comming upon him. Therefore excusing himselfe by the time of the year; He brake up his siege, and marched away to *Chalcis*. At *Chalcis* he fell in love with a young Maiden, daughter unto a Citizen of the Town; whom, without regard of the much disproportion that was between them, both in years and fortune, He shortly married; and so spent the winter following as delightfully as he could, without thinking upon the War in hand. His great men and Captains followed his example; and the souldiers as readily imitated their Captains: in such wise, that when he took the field, he might evidently perceive in what loose manner of discipline his Army had passed the winter. But *M. Acilius Glabrio*, the *Roman* Consul, shal meet him very shortly, and help him to reclaim them from this looseness of nuptiall Revels, by setting them to harder exercise.

M. Acilius was chosen Consul with *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*. The war against *Antiochus* fell to him by lot; whereas otherwise He was no way so honourable, as *Nasica*, his Colleague: unto whom fell a charge, of far less credit and importance. *Nasica*, besides the great Nobility of his Family, had bin long since, in time of the *Punick War*, crowned with the title of *The best man in Rome*: when the Senate for very fear and superstition, durst not have so pronounced him, had they not so thought him, as being commanded by Oracle, that none other man than the very best, should entertain an old stone, which they Devil then taught them to call *The Mother of the gods*. But no prerogative of Birth, Vertue, or good Opinion, gave such advantage to the better man, as to make choice of his own Province; or arrogate more unto himself, than his lot should afford him. This unpartiall distribution of employments, helped well to maintain peace and concord. *P. Scipio* therefore was appointed to make War against the *Bojians*; wherein he purchased the honour of a Triumph, nothing so glorious as was that of his Colleague; though purchased with harder service, requiring the more ability in matter of War. But *M. Acilius* went over into *Greece*, with ten thousand foot, two thousand horse, and fifteen Elephants. *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt*, notwithstanding his late Alliance with King *Antiochus*; and *Philip* King of *Macedon*; had lately sent Embassadors to *Rome*, making offer to come each of them in person with all his forces into *Aetolia*, there to assist the Consul in this War. *Ptolemy* sent also gold and silver, toward the defraying of charges; as one that meant none other than good earnest. But he was too young and dwelt too far off. So his money was returned unto him with thanks; and his loving offer as lovingly refused. Unto *Philips* Embassadors answer was made, that this his friendly offer was gratefully accepted: and that the Senate and People of *Rome* would think themselves beholding to him, for the assistance that he should give to *Acilius* the

Consul. *Masanissa* likewise, and the *Carthaginians*, did strive, which of them should be most forward in gratifying the *Romans*. Each of them promised a great quantity of grain; which they would send partly to *Rome*, partly to the Army in *Greece*. And herein *Masanissa* far out-went the poor City of *Carthage*; as also in that he offered to lend the Consul five hundred horse, and twenty Elephants. On the other side, the *Carthaginians* undertook to set out a Fleet at their own charges: and to bring in at one payment, all the Tribute-money which was behind, & ought to be discharged by many yearly pensions. But the *Romans* did neither think it good, to let them arm a Fleet; nor would let them redeem themselves out of Tribute, by paying all at once. As for the Corn, it was accepted, with condition, that they should be contented to receive the price of it.

The hasty and ridiculous issue of this War, that began with such noise and preparations, were hardly credible: were not the difference exceeding great between the *Roman* and the *Asiatique* souldier. *Antiochus* had gotten this Spring a few towns of *Acarnania*, after the same manner as he had prevailed in other parts of *Greece*; partly by fair words, and treason of the Rulers; partly by terror, that was like to prove their excuse, when they should again forsake him. But King *Philip* and *Fabius* having recovered many places; and the *Roman* Consul being arrived, against whom none made resistance; he was glad to withdraw himself. *Aminander* fled out of his *Athamania*: which the *Macedonian* took and enjoyed; as in recompence of his good service to the *Romans*. *Philip* the brother of *Aminanders* wife, was taken by the Consul; made a mocking-stock, and sent away prisoner to *Rome*. The *Thessalians* used much more diligence in returning to their old friends, than they had done in yeelding to the King. All their Cities one after another, gave up themselves: the Garrisons of *Antiochus*, compounding only for their own lives, and departing unarmed: yet so, that a thousand of them stayed behinde, and took pay of the *Romans*. This did wonderfully perplex *Antiochus*; who having withdrawn himself to *Chalcis*, and hearing how things went, cryed out upon his friends: and said, That they had betrayed him. He had taken a great deal of toyle during one half of a winter, and spent the other half in such Nuptials, as were little to his honour: after which in time of need, he found all the promises of the *Ætolians* meerely verball: and himself reduced into terms of great extremity. He therefore admired *Hannibal* as a wise man, yea, a very Prophet, that had foreseen all this long before. Nevertheless, He sent word to the *Ætolians*, that they should now make ready all their forces: as considering their own need to be no lesse than his. But the *Ætolians* had cause to think, that they themselves were shamefully disappointed by *Antiochus*; who having promised to do great wonders, was in all this while seconded by no greater numbers out of *Asia*, than so many as would fill up the same ten thousand which he first brought over. Yet came there some of them, though fewer than at any time before, which joyned with him. Hereat the King was angry: and could get no better satisfaction, than that *Thoas* and his fellowes had done their best in vain, to have made all the Nation take Arms. Since therefore neither his own men came over to him out of *Asia*, nor his friends of *Greece* would appear in this time of danger: He seized upon the Straights of *Thermopyla*; as meaning to defend them against the *Romans*, untill more help should come.

L. 3. c. 6 §. 3. Of the Straights of *Thermopyla*, there hath been spoken enough * before, upon many occasions: and then chiefly, when they were defended by *Leonidas* against the huge Army of *Xerxes*. Wherefore it may easily be conceived, how the *Romans*, that landed about *Apollonia*, and so came onwards into *Thessaly*, were unable to passe that Ledge of Mountains, dividing the one half of *Greece*; unlesse they could win this difficult entrance. But there was great difference between *Leonidas* and *Antiochus*. The former of these, with an handfull of men, defended this passage two or three daies together, against a World of men comming to invade the Country. The latter, having taken upon him to do great miracles, and effect what he listed himself in *Greece*: did commit himself unto the safety of this place, when he was charged by not many more than he had in his own Army. There whilest he lay, He sent earnest messengers one after another to the *Ætolians*, entreating them not to forsake him thus; but at least wise now to help, and keep the tops of the mountains, lest the *Romans*, finding any by-path, should come down upon him. By this importunity, he got of them two thousand, that undertook to make good the few passages: by which only and not without extreme difficulty, it was possible for the Enemy to ascend. The *Roman* Consull in like sort prepared to force

the

the Straights; without staying to expect King *Philip*: that was hindered by sickness from accompanying him. He had with him *M. Porcius Cato*, and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, that had both of them been Consuls. These he sent forth by night with two thousand men, to try whether by any means they could get up to the *Ætolians*. He himself encouraged his Army: not only by telling them with what base conditioned enemies they had to deal: but what rich kingdomes *Antiochus* held, that should bountifully reward them if they were victors. This was on the day before the battell. All that night *Cato* had a sore journey (for what hapned unto *L. Valerius* it is uncertain, save only that he failed in his intent) and so much the worse, for that he had no skilfull guide. Seeing therefore his men exceedingly tyred, with climbing up steepy Rocks and crooked waies: He commanded them to repose themselves; whilest he, being a very able man of body, took in hand the discovery, accompanied with no more than one of like mettle to himself. After a great deal of trouble, he found at length a path: which he took to be, as indeed it was, the best way leading unto the Enemies. So thither he brought his men; and held on the same path till toward break of day. It was a place not hanted, because in time of peace, there was a fair way through the Straights below, that required no such trouble of climbing; neither had this entrance of the *Thermopylæ* been so often the Seat of War, as might cause any travellers to search out the passages of those desolate Mountains. Wherefore the way that *Cato* followed, though it were the best: yet did it lead him to a bog at the end, which would suffer him to pass no further. So he staid there untill day-light: by which he discovered both the Camp of the *Greeks* underneath him; and some of the *Ætolians* very near unto him, that were keeping watch. He therefore sent forth a lusty Crue of his men, whom he thought fittest for that service; and willed them by any means to get him some prisoners. This was effected: and he thereby understood, that these *Ætolians* were no more than six hundred; as also that King *Antiochus* lay beneath in the Valley. So he presently set upon the *Ætolians*, overthrew them, slew a great part of them, and chased the rest, that by flying to their Camp, guided him unto it. The fight was already begun between the Armies below: and the *Romans*, that had easily repelled the Kings men, and driven them into their Camp, found it in a manner a desperate piece of work to assault the Camp it self, which occupied the whole breadth of the Straights; was notably fortified; and not only defended by *Antiochus* his long Pikes, which were best at that kinde of service; but by Archers & Slingers that were placed over them on the Hill-side, and powred down a showre of weapons on their heads. But *Cato* his approach determined the matter. It was thought at first that the *Ætolians* had been comming to help the Kings men: but when the *Roman* armes and ensigns were discovered, such was the terrour, that none made offer of resistance; but all of them forsook the camp, and fled. The slaughter was not great: for that the badness of the way did hinder the *Roman* Army from making pursuit. Yet this daies losse drave *Antiochus* out of *Greece*, who directly fled to *Chalcis*; and from thence with the first opportunity, got him back into *Asia*.

All the Cities that had imbraced the friendship of *Antiochus*, prepared forthwith to entertain the *Romans*, and intreat for pardon: setting open their gates; and presenting themselves unto the Consul, in manner of suppliants. Briefly, in few dayes all was recovered that *Antiochus* had gained: the *Ætolians* only standing out, because they knew not what else to do. Neither did the Consul give them any respite. At his returne from *Chalcis*, he met with King *Philip*, that having recovered health, came to joyn with him against *Antiochus*: over whom since the victory was already gotten, He did gratulate unto the *Romans* their good successe; and offered to take part with them in the *Ætolian* War. So it was agreed, That the Consul should besiege *Heraclea*; and *Philip Lamia*; at the same time. Each of them plied his work hard; especially *Philip*, who fain would have taken *Lamia* before the Consul should come to help him. But it could not be. For his *Macedonians* that used to work by Myne, were overmuch hindered by the stony ground. Yet was *Lamia* even ready to be taken, when the Consul, having won *Heraclea*, came thither; and told *Philip*, that the spoil of these towns was a reward unto those that had fought at *Thermopylæ*. Herewith *Philip* must be contented; and therefore went his way quietly. But *Acilius* that could so ill indure to see *Philip* in likelihood of thriving by the *Romans* victory got not *Lamia* himself: untill such time as another Consul was ready to ease him of his charge.

The losse of *Heraclea* did so affright the *Ætolians*, that they thought no way safer than to desire peace. Yet had they sent unto King *Antiochus* presently after his flight: intreating him not to forsake them utterly, but either to return with all those forces which he had purposed to bring into *Greece*; or if any thing with-held him from comming in person, at least wise to help them with money and other aide. They prayed him to consider, that this did not only concern him in honour; but appertained unto his own safety: since it would be much to his hurt, if the *Ætolians* being wholly subdued, the *Romans*, without any enemies at their backs, might set upon him in *Asia*. He considered well of this, and found their words true. Therefore he delivered unto *Nicander*, one of their Embassadors, a sum of money, that might serve to defray the charges of the War: promising that ere long he would send them strong aid, both by Land and Sea. *Thoas*, another of their Embassadors, He retained with him: who willingly stayed, that he might urge the King to make his word good. But when *Heraclea* was taken from them; then did the *Ætolians* lay aside all hope of amending their fortune by the help of *Antiochus*; and made suit unto the Consul to obtain peace, upon any reasonable Condition. The Consul would scarce vouchsafe to give them audience, but said, He had other business in hand; only he granted them ten daies of Truce, and sent *L. Valerius Flaccus* with them to *Hypata*; willing them to make him acquainted with as much as they would have delivered unto himself. At their comming to *Hypata*; they began, as men favouring their own cause, to alledge how well they had deserved of the *Romans*. Whereto *Flaccus* would not hearken. He told them plainly, That the memory of such good offices past, was quite obliterated by the malice which they had shewed of late. Wherefore he willed them to acknowledge their fault, and to entreat pardon. Better they thought to do so even betimes, than to stay till they were reduced into terms of more extremity. Hereupon they agreed to commit themselves unto the faith of the *Romans*; and to that effect sent Embassadors to the Consul. This phrase of *committing unto the faith*; signified, in their use of it, little else than the acknowledgement of a fault done, and the craving of pardon. But the *Romans* used those words in another sense; and counted them all one, as * *yielding to discretion*. Wherefore when the Consul heard them speak in this manner: He asked them whether their meaning were agreeable to their words. They answered that it was: and shewed him the decree of their Nation, lately made to this purpose. Then said he; I command you first of all, That none of you presume to go into *Asia*, upon any business private or publick: then, That ye deliver up unto me *Dicæarchus* the *Ætolian*, *Menestratus* the *Epirot*, *Aminander* the *Athamanian*, and such of his Countrimen as have followed him in revolting from us. Whilest he was yet speaking: *Phaneas* the Embassador interrupted him; and prayed him not to mistake the custome of the *Greeks*, who had yeelded themselves *unto his faith*; *not unto slavery*. *What?* (said the Consul) *Do ye stand to plead Custome with me, being now at my discretion? Bring hither a chain.* With that, chains were brought; and an iron collar by his appointment fitted unto every one of their necks. This did so affright them, that they stood dumb and knew not what to say. But *Valerius* and some others entreated the Consul, not to deal thus hardly with them, since they came as Embassadors; though since, their Condition was altered. *Phaneas* also spake for himself: and said, That neither he, nor yet the *Apoclets* or ordinary Councell for the Nation, were able to fulfill these injunctions; without approbation of the generall Assembly. For which cause he entreated yet further ten daies respite; and had granted unto him Truce for so long.

* *Lege extra p. è Polyb. 13.*

This surceasance of War, during ten, and other ten dayes together, began presently after the taking of *Heraclea*: when *Philip* had been commanded away from *Lamia*, that else he might have won. Now because of the indignity herein offered unto that King, and to the end that he might not return home with his Army, like one that could not be trusted in employment: especially the *Romans* being like hereafter to have further need of him in the continuance of this War: He was desired to set upon the *Athamanians*, and some other petty Nations their borderers, whilest the Consul was busie with the *Ætolians*; taking for his reward, all that he could get. And he got in that space all *Athamania*, *Perrhæbia*, *Aperantia*, and *Dolopia*. For the *Ætolians*, hearing what had befallen their Embassadors, were so enraged, That although they were very ill provided for War, yet they could not endure to hear more talk of Peace. And it happened, that

that *Nicander* about the same time was come back from *Antiochus*, with mony & hopefull promises: the *Romans* abiding still about *Heraclea* & *Philip* having lately risen from before *Lamia*, yet not being far gon thence. His mony *Nicander* conveighed into *Lamia*, by very unusuall dexterity. But he himself being to passe further to the Assembly of the *Ætolians*, there to make report of his Embassage; was very much perplexed about this his journey, which lay between the *Roman* and *Macedonian* Camps. Yet he made the adventure: and keeping as far as he could from the *Roman* side, fell upon a Station of *Macedonians*; by whom he was taken, and led unto their King. He expected no good; but either to be delivered unto the *Romans*, or used ill enough by *Philip*. But it seems, that the King had not hitherto concocted well the indignity, of his being sent away from *Lamia*. For he commanded his servants to entreat *Nicander* friendly: and he himself being then at supper, did visit him as soon as he rose up: giving him to understand, That the *Ætolians* did now reap the fruits of their own madnesse; forasmuch as they could never hold themselves contented, but would needs be calling strangers into *Greece*. They had pleased themselves well, in their acquaintance first with the *Romans*, and then with King *Antiochus* but himself, being their neighbour, they could never well endure. It was now therefore, he said, high time for them to have regard unto his friendship, whereof hitherto they never made any triall: for surely their good affection, one unto the other, would be much more available unto each of them, than their mutuall catching of advantages; whereby they had wrought themselves much displeasure. Thus much the King willed *Nicander* to signifie unto his Countrimen; and privately to hold in mind the courtesie which he then did him, in sending him safe home. So giving him a Convoy to guard him to *Hypata*, he lovingly dismissed him. For this benefit, *Nicander* was alwaies after dutifully affected to the crown of *Macedon*: so as in the war of *Persens* he made himself suspected unto the *Romans*, and therefore was had away to *Rome*, where he ended his life.

When the Consul understood, that the *Ætolians* refused to make their submission in such wise as he required it: he forthwith meant to prosecute the war against them, without any longer forbearance. They were preparing to make head against him at *Naupactus*: whither he therefore directly marched, to try what they could or durst. The siege of *Naupactus* was of greater length, than the *Romans* had preconceived it: for it was a strong City, and well manned. But *Acilius* stood upon point of honour; wherin he thought that he should have been a loser by rising from before it without Victory. So he staid there well-neer all the following time of his Consulship; whilest the *Macedonian* king and the *Achæans* made far better use of the *Roman* Victory. *Philip*, as is said before, being allowed to take in such places as had revolted unto *Antiochus*, and were not hitherto reclaimed, won the strong City of *Demetrias*, and with an hasty course of Victory, subdued the *Athamanians* and others. The *Achæans* called to account the *Eleans* and *Messenians*: which had long been addicted to the *Ætolian* side; and followed it, in taking part with *Antiochus*. The *Eleans* gave good words; whereby they saved themselves from trouble a while. The *Messenians* being more stout, before they were invaded, had none other help when the *Achæan* Prætor wasted their Countrey, than to offer themselves unto the *Romans*. *Titus* was then at *Corinth*: to whom they sent word, That at his Commandement their gates should be opened; but that unto the *Achæans* it was not their meaning to yeeld. A message from *Titus* to the *Achæan* Prætor, did suffice to call home the Army, and finish the War: as also the peremptory Command of the same *Titus*, caused the *Messenians* to annex themselves unto the *Achæans*, and become part of their Common-weal. Such was now the Majesty of a *Roman* Embassador. *Titus* did favour the *Achæans*; yet could not like it wel, that either they or any other should take too much upon them. He thought it enough, that they had their liberty, and were strong enough to defend it against any of their neighbours. That they should make themselves great Lords, and able to dispute with the *Romans* upon even terms, it was no part of his desire. They had lately bought the Ile of *Zacynthus*; which had once bin *Philips*, and was afterward given by him to *Amynander*, who sent a Governor thither. But when *Amynander* in this present war, was driven out of his own Kingdome by *Philip*; then did the Governour of *Zacynthus* offer to sell the Iland to the *Achæans*; whom he found ready Chapmen. *Titus* liked not of this: but plainly told them, That the *Romans* would be their own Carvers, and take what they thought good, of the Lands belonging to

their

their Enemies; as a reward of the victory which they had obtained. It was bootleſſe to diſpute. Wherefore the *Achæans* referred themſelves unto his diſcretion. So he told them, that their Commonwealth was like a Tortoiſe, whereof *Peloponneſus* was the ſhel: and that, holding themſelves within that compaſſe, they were out of danger; but if they would needs be looking abroad, they ſhould lie open to blowes, which might greatly hurt them. Having ſetled things thus in *Peloponneſus*, he went over to *Naupactus*: where *Glabrio* the Conſul had lain two moneths, that might have been far better ſpent. There, whether out of compaſſion which he had upon the *Ætolians*, or out of diſlike of King *Philips* thriving ſo faſt: he perſwaded the Conſul to grant unto the beſieged, and to the whole Nation, ſo long truce, that they might ſend Embaſſadors to *Rome*; and ſubmitting themſelves, crave pardon of the Senate. Moſt like it is, that *Naupactus* was in great danger: elſe would not the *Ætolians* have made ſuch earneſt ſuit as they did unto *Titus*, for procuring of this favour. But if *Glabrio* had bin ſure to carry it in any ſhort ſpace, it may well be thought he would not have gone away without it; ſince the winning of that Town, wherein was then the whole flour of the Nation, would have made the promiſed ſubmiſſion much more humble and ſincere. When they came unto *Rome*, no entreaty could help them to better Conditions, than one of theſe two; That either they ſhould wholly ſubmit themſelves to the good pleaſure of the Senate; Or elſe pay a thouſand talents, and make neither peace nor war with any, further than as the *Romans* ſhould give approbation. They had not ſo much money: neither could they well hope to be gently dealt withall, if they ſhould give themſelves away *unto diſcretion*; which what it ſignified, they now underſtood. Wherefore they deſired to have it ſet down, in what points, and how far forth they ſhould yeeld unto the good pleaſure of the Senate. But hereof they could get no certain anſwer: ſo that they were diſmiſſed as enemies, after long and vain attendance.

Whileſt the *Ætolians* were purſuing their hopes of peace, the Conſul had little to do in *Greece*; & therefore took upon him gravely to ſet things in order among the tractable *Achæans*. He would have had them to reſtore the baniſhed *Lacedæmonians* home into their Country; and to take the *Eleans* into the fellowſhip of their Commonwealth. This the *Achæans* liked well enough: but they did not like it, that the *Romans* ſhould be medling in all occurrences. Wherefore they deferred the reſtitution of the baniſhed *Lacedæmonians*: intending to make it an Act of their own meer grace. As for the *Eleans*, they were loth to be beholding to the *Romans*, and thereby to diſparage the *Achæans*: into whoſe Corporation they were deſirous to be admitted, and ſaw that they ſhould have their deſire, without ſuch compulſive mediation.

The *Roman* Admirall *C. Livius*, much about the ſame time, fought a battell at Sea with *Polyxenidas*, Admirall to the King *Antiochus*. King *Eumenes* brought help to the *Romans*, though it was not great: and five and twenty ſail of *Rhodians* came after the battell, when they were following the Chaſe. The Kings Fleet was the better of ſail; but that of the *Romans* the better manned. Wherefore *Polyxenidas* being vanquiſhed in fight, was yet out of danger; as ſoon as he betook himſelf to a ſpeedy retrait.

And ſuch end had the firſt years war between King *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. After this, as many of the *Greeks* as had followed the vain hopes of the *Ætolians*, were glad to excuſe themſelves by fear; thinking themſelves happy when by Embaſſadors they had obtained pardon. On the contrary ſide, *Philip* of *Macedon*, Arch-enemy of late unto the *Romans*, did now ſend to gratulate this their victory: and, in recompence of his good affection, had reſtored unto him *Demetrius* his younger ſon; whom ſome few years they had kept as an hoſtage. Alſo King *Ptolemy* of *Egypt*, gratulating the *Roman* Victory, ſent word how greatly all *Aſia* and *Syria* were thereby terrified. In which regard he deſired the Senate not to foreſlow time; but to ſend an Army, as ſoon as might be, into *Aſia*: promiſing, that his aſſiſtance, wherein ſoever it pleaſed them to uſe it, ſhould not be wanting. This *Ptolemy* was the ſon-in-law of king *Antiochus*: but he was the friend of fortune. He underſtood long before, as did all that were indifferent beholders of the contention, that the *Romans* were like to have the upper hand. The ſame did *Antiochus* now begin to ſuſpect, who had thought himſelf a while as ſafe at *Epheſus*, as if he had been in another world: but was told by *Hannibal*, That it was not ſo far out of *Greece* into *Aſia*, as out of *Italy* into *Greece*, and that there was no doubt but the *Romans* would ſoon be there, and make him trie the chance of a battell for his kingdome.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

Lucius Scipio, *having with him* Publius *the African his elder brother, for his Lievtenant, is sent into Greece. He grants long Truce to the Ætolians, that so he might at leisure passe into Asia. Much troublesome businesse by Sea, and divers fights. An invasion upon* Eumenes *his Kingdome; with the siege of Pergamus, raised by an handfull of the Achæans.* L. Scipio *the Consul comes into Asia: where* Antiochus *most earnestly desireth peace, and is denied it. The battell of* Magnesia: *wherein* Antiochus *being vanquished, yeeldeth to the Romans good pleasure. The conditions of the peace. In what sort the Romans used their victory.* L. Cornelius Scipio, *after a most sumptuous triumph over* Antiochus, *is surnamed The Asiatique, as his brother was stiled The African.*

Lvcius Cornelius Scipio, the brother of *P. Scipio* the *African*, was chosen Consul at *Rome* with *C. Lælius*. *Lælius* was very gracious in the Senate: and therefore being desirous (as generally all Consuls were) of the more honourable employment, offered to refer to the arbitrement of the Senate, if *L. Cornelius* would be so pleased, the disposition of their Provinces; without putting it to the hazzard of a Lottery. *Lucius* having talked with his brother *Publius*, approved well of the motion. Such a question had not of long time bin put unto the Fathers: who therefore were the more desirous to make an unblamable Decree. But the matter being otherwise somewhat indifferent, *P. Scipio* the *African* said openly thus much, That if the Senate would appoint his brother to the war against *Antiochus*, He himself would follow his brother in that war, as his Lievtenant. These words were heard with such approbation, that the controversie was forthwith at an end. For if *Antiochus* relied upon *Hannibal*, and should happen to be directed wholly by that great Captain, what better man could they oppose, than *Scipio*: that had bin victorious against that same great Worthy? But indeed a worser man might have served well enough the turn. For *Hannibal* had no absolute command, nor scarce any trust of great importance: excepting now and then in consultation: where his wisdome was much approved, but his liberty and high spirit as much disliked. It is worthy of remembrance, as a sign of the freedome that he used in his censures, even whilest he lived in such a Court. *Antiochus* mustered his Army in presence of this famous Captain: thinking, as may seem, to have made him wish, that he had bin served by such brave men in *Italy*. For they were gallantly decked, both Men, Horses, and Elephants, with such costly furniture of gold, silver, and purple, as glittered with a terrible bravery on a Sun-shine day. Whereupon the King, well pleasing himself with that goodly spectacle, asked *Hannibal* what he thought; and whether all this were not enough for the *Romans*. *Enough* (said *Hannibal*) *were the Romans the most covetous men in all the world:* meaning that all his cost upon the backs of cowardly *Asiatiques*, was no better than a spoil to animate good Souldiers. How little this answer pleased the king, it is easie to guess. The little use that he made of this *Carthaginian*, testifies that his dislike of the man, caused him to lose the use of his service, when he stood in greatest necessity thereof.

The *Scipio*'s made all haste away from *Rome* as soon as they could. They carried with them, besides other Souldiers newly prest to the war, about five thousand Voluntaries, that had served under *P. Africanus*. There was also a Fleet of thirty *Quinqueremes* Gallies, and twenty *Triremes* newly built, appointed unto *L. Æmilius Regillus*, that was chosen Admirall the same year for that voyage. At their comming into *Greece*, they found the old Consul *Glabrio* besieging *Amphyssa* a City of the *Ætolians*. The *Ætolians* after that they were denied peace, had expected him once again at *Naupactus*. Wherefore they not only fortified that Town, but kept all the passages thereto leading; which heedlesly, as in a time of confusion, they had left unregarded the last year. *Glabrio* knowing this, deceived their expectation, and fell upon *Lamia*: which being not long since much weakened by *Philip*, and now by him attempted on the sudden; was carried at the second assault. Thence went he to *Amphyssa*: which he had almost gotten, when *L. Scipio*, his successor, came with thirteen thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, and took charge of the Army. The Town of *Amphyssa* was presently forsaken by the Inhabitants: but they had a Castle, or higher Town, that was impregnable; whereinto they all retired. The *Athenian* Embassadors had dealt with *P. Scipio*, in behalf of the *Ætolians*:

lians: entreating him to ſtand their friend, and help them in obtaining ſome tolerable condition of peace. He gave them gentle words, and willed them to perſwade the *Ætolians*, that they ſhould faithfully and with true meaning deſire it. This was gladly taken. But many meſſages paſſing to and fro: though *Publius* continued to put them in good hope; yet the Conſul make ſtill the ſame anſwer, with which they had bin chaſed from *Rome*. The Concluſion was, That they ſhould ſue for a longer time of reſpite from war: whereby at more leiſure they might attend ſome better diſpoſition of the Senate; or any helpfull commodity which time ſhould afford. So they obtained half a years truce: after which, the winter was like to afford them another half years leiſure of breathing. Hereof were they not more glad, than was *P. Scipio*: who thought all time loſt, which with-held the War from paſſing over into *Aſia*.

The buſineſs of *Ætolia* being thus laid aſide, and the old Conſul *Glabrio* ſent home into *Italy*, the *Scipio's* marched into *Theſſaly*; intending thence to take their way by Land, through *Macedon* and *Thrace* unto the *Helleſpont*. Yet they conſidered, that hereby they muſt commit themſelves unto the loyalty of King *Philip*: who might either do them ſome miſchief by the way, if he were diſpoſed to watch a notable advantage: or at the leaſt, would he be unfaithful; though he were not ſo couragious, yet might he take ſuch order with the *Thracians*, that even for want of victuals, if by no greater inconvenience, they ſhould be diſgracefully forced to return. He had promiſed them the utmoſt of his furtherance: wherein, whether he meant ſincerely, they thought to make ſome triall; by cauſing a Gentleman to ride Poſt unto him, and obſerve his doings as he ſhould take him on the ſudden. The King was merry at a feaſt, and drinking when the Meſſenger came: whom he lovingly bade welcome; and ſhewed him the next day, not only what proviſion of victuals he had made for the Army, but how he had made bridges over the rivers, and mended the bad waies by which they were to paſſe. With theſe good newes *Gracchus* returned back in haſte unto the *Scipio's*: who entring into *Macedon*, found all things in a readineſs, that might help to advance their journey. The King entertained them royally, and brought them on their way, even to the *Helleſpont*: where they ſtayed a good while, untill their Navie was in readineſs to tranſport them into *Aſia*.

Much was done at Sea in the beginning of this year; though, for the moſt part, little of importance. *Polyxenidas*, the Admirall of *Antiochus*, was a baniſhed *Rhodian*: true to the King; and deſirous of revenge upon his Countrymen, that had expelled him. He, hearing that the *Rhodian* Fleet was at *Samos*, the *Romans* and *Eumenes* having not as yet put to Sea, thought to do ſomewhat upon thoſe that were ſo early in their diligence, before their fellowes ſhould arrive to help them. Yet went he craftily to work, and ſent word, as in great ſecrecy, to the *Rhodian* Admirall, That if the ſentence of his baniſhment might be repealed, He would, in requitall thereof, betray all the Kings Fleet. After many paſſages to and fro, this was beleeved: and the *Rhodian* Admirall grew ſo careleſſe, expecting ſtill when he ſhould receive a watch-word from *Polyxenidas* that he himſelf was taken by *Polyxenidas* in his own Haven. The Kings Fleet ſetting forth from *Epheſus* by night; and, for fear of being diſcovered, reſting one day in harbour by the way, came the ſecond night to *Samos*: where, by morning it was ready to enter the Haven. *Pauſiſtratus* the *Rhodian* Admirall ſeeing this, thought it his beſt way of reſiſtance to beſtow his men on the two head-lands or points of the Haven; ſo to guard the mouth of it: for that he ſaw no likelihood of defending himſelf by Sea. But *Polyxenidas* had already landed ſome Companies in another part of the Iland: which falling upon the back of *Pauſiſtratus*, compelled him to alter his directions, and command his men aboord. This could not be without great confuſion: ſo as the enemies took him out of all order, and ſunk or boorded all his Navie, five excepted, that by a ſudden device made ſhift to eſcape. Each of them hung out a burning Creſcent upon two poles, at the Beak-head; and then rowed forwards directly upon the enemy: who having not bethought himſelf what ſhift to make againſt ſuch unexpected danger of firing, was content to give way unto theſe deſperate Gallies; for fear leſt they ſhould burn, together with themſelves, a part of the Kings fleet.

Not long after this, the *Romans* had ſome loſs by tempeſt: whereof *Polyxenidas* could not take ſuch advantage as he had hoped; becauſe, putting to Sea for that purpoſe, he was driven back again by the like foul weather. But the *Rhodians*, to ſhew that they

they were not diſcouraged, ſet forth twenty other Gallies: the *Romans* alſo with King *Eumenes*, repaired their fleet; and all of them together, in great bravery, preſented battell to *Polyxenidas* before the Haven of *Epheſus*. When he durſt not accept it: they went from place to place, attempting many things, as either they were entreated by the *Rhodians*, or perſwaded by ſome appearing hopes of doing good. Yet performed they little or nothing: for that one while they were hindred by ſtormes at Sea; and another while by ſtrong reſiſtance made againſt them at Land.

Eumenes with his Fleet was compelled to forſake them; and return home to the defence of his own Kingdome. For *Antiochus* waſted all the grounds about *Elea* and *Pergamus*: and leaving his ſon *Seleucus* to beſiege the royall City of *Pergamus*, did with the reſt of his Army ſpoile the whole Country thereabout. *Attalus* the brother of king *Eumenes*, was then in *Pergamus*; having with him no better men to defend the City, than were they that lay againſt it. Wherefore he had reaſon to ſtand in fear; being too much inferior in number. There came to his aid a thouſand foot, and an hundred horſe of the *Achæans*: old ſouldiers all, and trained up under *Philopœmen*, whoſe Scholar, in the art of war, *Diophanes* their commander was. This *Diophanes*, beholding from the wals of *Pergamus*, which was an high town, the demeanour of the enemy; began to diſdain that ſuch men as they ſhould hold them beſieged. For *Seleucus* his army which was encamped at the hill-foot, ſeeing that none durſt ſally forth upon them, grew ſo careleſs: as otherwiſe than by ſpoyling all behind their backs, they ſeemed to forget that they were in an enemies country. *Diophanes* therefore ſpake with *Attalus*: and told him that he would go forth to viſit them. *Attalus* had no liking to this adventure; for he ſaid, that the match was nothing equal. But the *Achæan* would needs have his wil: & iſſuing forth, encamped not far from the enemy. They of *Pergamus* thought him little better than mad. As for the beſiegers, they wondred at firſt what his meaning was: but when they ſaw that he held himſelf quiet, they made a jeſt of his boldnes; & laughed to ſee with what an handful of men he looked ſo ſtoutly. So they returned unto their former negligence & diſorders. Which *Diophanes* perceiving, He commanded all his men to follow him, even as faſt as they wel might: and he himſelf, with the hundred horſe, brake out on the ſudden upon the ſtation that was next at hand. Very few of the enemies had their horſes ready ſadled, but more few, or none had the hearts to make reſiſtance: ſo as he drave them all out of their Camp; & chaſed them as far as he might ſafely adventure, with great ſlaughter of them, and no loſs of his own. Hereat all the Citizens of *Pergamus* (who had covered the wals of the town, men and women, to behold this ſpectacle) were very joyfull; and highly magnified the vertue of theſe *Achæans*. Yet would they not therefore iſſue forth of their gates, to help the *Achæans* in doing what remained to be done. The next day *Seleucus* encamped half a mile further from the Town, than he had done before: and againſt him went forth *Diophanes* the ſecond time; who quietly reſted a while in his old Station. When they had ſtayed many hours, looking who ſhould begin: *Seleucus*, in fair order as he came, withdrew himſelf toward his lodging that was further off. *Diophanes* moved not whileſt the enemy was in ſight: but as ſoon as the ground between them hindred the proſpect, he followed them in all haſte, and ſoon overtaking them with his horſe, charged them in Rere; ſo as he brake them, and with all his forces purſued them at the heels, to their very Trenches. This boldneſs of the *Achæans*, and the baſeneſs of his own men, cauſed *Seleucus* to quit the ſiege, little to his honour. Such being the quality of theſe *Aſiatiques*, *Philopœmen* had cauſe to tell the *Romans*, That he envied their victory. For when *Antiochus* lay feaſting at *Chalcis* after his marriage, and his ſouldiers betook themſelves to Riot, as it had bin in a time of great ſecurity: a good man of war might have cut all their throats, even as they were tipling in their victualling houſes; which *Philopœmen* ſaid that he would have done, had he bin Generall of the *Achæans*, and not as he then was, a private man.

Antiochus was full of buſineſs: and turning his care from one thing to another, with a great deal of travell, brought almoſt nothing to paſſe. He had been at *Pergamus*: into which *Eumenes*, leaving the *Romans*, did put himſelf with a few of his Horſe and light armature. Before *Pergamus* he left his ſon, as before hath been ſhewed, and went to *Elea*: whither he heard that *Æmylius* the *Roman* Admiral was come to bring ſuccour to *Eumenes*. There he made an Overture of peace: about which to conſult, *Eumenes* was ſent for by *Æmylius*, and came from *Pergamus*. But when it was conſidered, that no concluſion could be made without the Conſul: this Treaty brake off. Then followed the

the overthrow newly mentioned; which caused *Seleucus* to give over the siege of *Pergamus*. Afterwards, four or five Towns of scarce any worth or note were taken by the King: and the *Syrian* Fleet, being of seven and thirty Saile, was beaten by the *Rhodian* which was of like number. But of this victory the *Rhodians* had no great cause to rejoyce: for that *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, who, together with *Apollonius* a Courtier of *Antiochus*, was Admiral of the *Syrians*, did them in a manner as great hurt as they could do to *Apollonius*; and having the victory taken out of his hands by *Apollonius* his flight, yet made such a retrait, that the *Rhodians* durst not far adventure upon him. Now of these Actions which were but as Prefaces unto the war, the last and greatest was a victory of the *Romans* by Sea, against *Polyxenidas* the Kings Admirall. The battell was fought by *Myonnesus* a Promontory in *Asia*: where *Polyxenidas* had with him fourscore and nine Gallies; and five of them greater than any of the *Romans*. This being all the strength which he could make by Sea: we may note the vanity of those brags, wherewith *Antiochus* vaunted the last year, That his *Armada* should cover all the shores of *Greece*. The *Romans* had eight and fifty Gallies; the *Rhodians* two and twenty: the *Roman* being the stronger built, and more stoutly manned; the *Rhodians* more light-timbred and thin planckt, having all advantage of speed, and good Sea-men. Neither forgot they to help themselves by the same device, with which five of their Gallies had lately escaped from *Samos*. For with fire in their prowes they ran upon the enemy: who declining them for fear, laid open his side: and was thereby in greater danger of being stemmed. After no long fight, the Kings Navy hoysted sail: and, having a fair wind, bore away toward *Ephesus* as fast as they could. Yet forty of their Gallies they left behind them: whereof thirteen were taken, all the rest burnt or sunk. The *Romans* and their fellowes lost only two or three ships: but got hereby the absolute Mastery of the Sea.

The report of this misadventure, may seem to have taken from *Antiochus* all use of reason. For as if no hope had bin remaining to defend those places that he held in *Europe*, he presently with-drew his Garrisons from *Lysimachia*: which might easily have been kept even till the end of Winter following, and having reduced the besiegers (if the siege had been continued obstinately) unto termes of great extremity. He also gave over the siege of *Colophon*: and laying aside all thought save only of defence, drew together all his Army; and sent for help to his Father-in-law, King *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*.

Thus the *Roman* Consull, without impediment, not only came to the *Hellespont*, but had yeelded unto him all places there, belonging to *Antiochus* on *Europe* side. The Fleet was also then in a readiness to transport him over into *Asia*: where *Eumenes* had taken such care before, that he landed quietly at his own good ease; even as if the Country had been his already. The first newes that he heard of the enemy, was by an Embassadour that came to sue for peace. This Embassador declared in his Masters name, That the same things which had hindered him from obtaining peace of the *Romans* heretofore, did now perswade him, that he should easily come to good agreement with them. For in all disputations heretofore, *Smyrna*, *Lampsacus*, and *Lysimachia*, had been the places about which they varyed. Seeing therefore the King had now already given over *Lysimachia*, and was further purposed, not to strive with the *Romans* about *Lampsacus* and *Smyrna*: what reason was there, why they should need to trouble him with war? If it was their desire, that any other Towns upon the Coast of *Asia*, not mentioned by them in any former Treaties, should be also set at liberty, or otherwise delivered into their hands: the King would not refuse to gratifie them therein. Briefly, let them take some part of *Asia*: so as the bounds, dividing them from the King, might not be uncertain, and it should be quietly put into their hands. If all this were not enough, the King would likewise bear half the charges, whereat they had been in this War. So praying the *Romans* to hold themselves contented with these good offers, and not to be too insolent upon confidence of their fortune, he expected their answer. These offers which to the Embassador seemed so great, were judged by the *Romans* to be very little. For they thought it reasonable, that the King should bear all the charges of the war, since it began through his own fault: and that He should not only depart out of those few Towns, which he held in *Æolis* and *Ionia*, but quite out of *Asia the lesse*, and keep himself on the other side of Mount *Taurus*. When the Embassadour therefore saw, that

that no better bargain could be made, He dealt with *P. Scipio* in private: and to him he promised a great quantity of gold, together with the free restitution of his son; who (it is uncertain by what mischance) was taken prisoner, and most honourably entertained by the King. *Scipio* would not hearken to the offer of gold: nor otherwise to the restitution of his son, than upon Condition, That it might be with making such amends for the benefit, as became a private man. As for the publique businesse: He only said thus much, That since *Antiochus* had already forsaken *Lysimachia*, and suffered the war to take hold on his own Kingdome; there was now none other way for him, than either to fight, or yeeld to that which was required at his hands. Wherefore, said he, tell your King in my name, that I would advise him to refuse no Condition whereby he may have peace.

The King was not any whit moved with his advice. For seeing that the Consull demanded of him no lesse, than if he had been already subdued: little reason there was that he should fear to come to battell; wherein he could lose, as he thought, no more, than by seeking to avoid it he must give way. He had with him threescore and ten thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse; besides two and fifty Indian Elephants; and many Chariots armed with hooks or sythes, according to the manner of the Eastern Countries. Yet was he nothing pleased, to hear that the Consul drew near him apace, as one hastening to fight. But howsoever he was affected; He made so little shew of fear, that hearing *P. Scipio* to lie sick at *Elaa*, He sent thither unto him his son without ransome: as one both desirous to comfort this noble Warriour in his sickenesse, and withall not desirous to retain the young Gentleman for a pledge of his own safety. Thus ought his bounty to be constant. Otherwise it might be suspected, That herein he dealt craftily. For since he could have none other ransome of *Scipio*, than such as an honourable man, that had no great store of wealth, might pay: better it was to do such a courtesie before the battell, as would afterwards have been little worth; than to stay untill the *Romans*, perhaps victorious, should exact it at his hands. *P. Scipio* was greatly comforted with the recovery of his son: so as the joy thereof was thought, to have been much available unto his health. In recompence of the Kings humanity, He said only thus much unto those that brought him this acceptable Present, *I am now able to make your King none other amends, than by advising him not to fight untill he shall hear that I am in the Camp.* What he meant by this, it is hard to conjecture. *Antiochus* resolved to follow his counsell: and therefore withdrew himself from about *Thyatira*, beyond the River of *Phrygius* or *Hyllus*, unto *Magnesia* by *Sypilus*: where encamping, he fortified himself as strongly as he could. Thither followed him *L. Scipio* the Consul, and sate down within four miles of him. About a thousand of the Kings Horse, most of them *Gallo-Greeks*, came to bid the *Romans* welcome: of whom at first they slew some; and were anon, with some losse, driven back over the River. Two dayes were quietly spent, whilest neither the King nor the *Romans* would passe the water. The third day the *Romans* made the adventure: wherein they found no disturbance; nor were at all opposed, untill they came within two miles and a half of *Antiochus* his Camp. There as they were taking up their lodging, they were charged by three thousand Horse and Foot: whom the ordinary *Corps de garde* repelled. Four dayes together after this, each of them brought forth their Armies; and set them in order before the Trenches, without advancing any further. The fift day the *Romans* came half way forward, and presented battail; which the King would not accept. Thereupon the Consul took advice what was to be done. For either they must fight upon whatsoever disadvantage, or else resolve to abide by it all winter, far from any Country of their friends, and therefore subject unto many difficulties: unlesse they would stain their honour by returning far back, to winter in a more convenient place; and so defer the war untill the next Spring. The *Roman* Souldier was throughly perswaded of that Enemies base temper. Wherefore it was the generall Cry, That this great Army should be assailed, even in the Camp where it lay: as if rather there were so many beasts to be slaughtered, than men to be fought with. Yet a day or two passed, in discovering the fortifications of *Antiochus*, and the safest way to set upon him. All this while *P. Scipio* came not. Wherefore the King, being loth to dishearten his men, by seeming to stand in fear of the Enemy, resolved to put the matter to triall. So when the *Romans* took the field again, and ordered their Battels:

He alſo did the like; and advanced ſo far, that they might underſtand his meaning to fight.

The *Roman* Army conſiſted of four Legions, two *Roman* and two *Latine*: in each of which were five thouſand and four hundred men. The *Latines*, as uſually, were in the points; the *Roman*, in the mean battell. All of them, according to their wonted form, were divided into *Maniples*. The *Haſtati* had the leading: after them followed the *Principes*, at ſuch diſtance as was uſuall; and laſt of all, the *Triarii*. Now beſide theſe, there were about three thouſand *Auxiliaries*; partly *Achæans*, and partly ſuch as belonged to *Eumenes*: which were placed in an equall Front beyond the *Latines* in the right wing. Utmoſt of all (ſave ſome five hundred *Cretians*, and of the *Trallians*) were almoſt three thouſand Horſe: of which, *Eumenes* had brought thither eight hundred; the reſt being *Roman*. The left wing was fenced by the bank of the River: yet four troups of Horſe were placed there, though ſuch help ſeemed in a manner needleſſe. Two thouſand Voluntaries, *Macedonians* and *Thracians*, were left to guard the Camp. The Conſul had with him ſixteen *African* Elephants, which he beſtowed in his Rere: foraſmuch as had they come to fight with thoſe of *Antiochus*, they only would have ſerved to diſcourage his men; as being ſure to be beaten: the *Indian* being far the greater, and more courageous beaſts: whereof *Antiochus* had likewiſe much advantage in number.

The Kings Army being compounded of many Nations, diverſly appointed, and not all accuſtomed to one manner of fight, was ordered according to the ſeverall kindes, in ſuch wiſe as each might be of moſt uſe. The main ſtrength of his Foot conſiſted in ſixteen thouſand, armed all *Macedonian*-like, and called *Phalangiers*. Theſe he placed in the midſt, and divided into ten Battalions: every one having two and thirty in File, and fifty in Front. Between every Battalion were two Elephants, goodly beaſts, and ſuch as being adorned with Frontals, high Creſts, Towers on their backs, and beſides him that governed the Elephant, four men in every Tower, made a gallant and terrible ſhew. On the right hand of theſe were fifteen hundred horſe of the *Gallo-Greeks*: then, three thouſand Barbd Horſe: and a Regiment of almoſt a thouſand Horſe, called the *Agema*, that were all *Medians*, the choice of the Countrey, and accompanied by ſome others. All which Troups of Horſe, divided in their ſeverall kindes, do ſeem to have followed one another in depth, rather than to have been ſtretched out in Front. Adjoyning unto theſe, were ſixteen Elephants together in one flock. A little further to the right hand, was the Kings own Regiment; called the *Argyraſpides*, or *Silverſhields*, by a name borrowed from their furniture, but nothing like ſo valiant as thoſe of the ſame name, that had ſerved under Great *Alexander*: then, twelve hundred Archers on horſeback, three thouſand light-armed Foot, two thouſand and five hundred Archers of *Myſia*; with four thouſand ſlingers and Archers of the *Cirtæans*, and *Elymæans*. On the left hand of the *Phalangiers*, were placed the like numbers of *Gallo-Greeks*, and Barbd Horſe: as alſo two thouſand horſe that were ſent from *Ariarathes*, with two thouſand and ſeven hundred of divers Nations; and a Regiment of a thouſand Horſe more lightly armed, that were called *The Kings Troup*, being *Syrians*, *Phrygians*, and *Lydians*. In Front of all theſe Horſe were the Chariots armed with hooks or ſythes, and the *Dromedaries*, whereon ſate *Arabians* with long Rapiers, that would ſerve to reach from thoſe high Camels. Beyond theſe were, as in the right wing, a rable of many Nations, *Carians*, *Cicilians*, *Pamphylians*, *Piſidians*, *Cyrtæans*, *Elymæans*, and many others, having alſo with them ſixteen Elephants. *Antiochus* himſelf commanded in the right wing: *Seleucus* in the left: and three of his principall Captains commanded over the *Phalangiers*.

The firſt onſet was given by the *Dromedaries*, and armed Chariots: of which the one, being like to terrifie the Horſe; the other, to break the Squadrons of the Foot; *Eumenes* with a few light-armed *Cretians*, Archers, Darters, and Slingers, eaſily made fruſtrate the danger threatned by them both. For with ſhoutings, and noiſes, and ſome wounds, they were driven out of the field; and running back upon their own men, did the ſame harm which they had intended to the Enemies. Wherefore the *Roman* Horſe following this advantage, charged upon the left wing: whereas they found no reſiſtance; ſome being out of order; others being without courage. It is ſhamefull to rehearſe, and ſo ſtrange, that it may hardly ſeem credible: that the *Phalangiers*, with

with such variety of *Auxiliaries*, made little or no resistance; but all of them fled, in a manner, as soon as they were charged. Only the King, *Antiochus* himself, being in the left wing of his own battail: and seeing the *Latines*, that stood opposite unto him, weakly flanked with Horse: gave upon them courageously, and forced them to retire. But *M. Æmilius*, that had the Guard of the *Roman* Camp, issued forth with all his power to help his fellowes: and, what by perswasion, what by threats, made them renew the fight. Succour also came from the right wing, where the *Romans* were already victorious: whereof when *Antiochus* discovered the approach; He not only turned his Horse about, but ran away upon the spur without further tarriance. The Camp was defended a little while: and with no great valour; though by a great multitude that were fled into it. *Antiochus* is said to have lost in this battell fifty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse; besides those that were taken. Of the *Romans*, there were not slain above three hundred Foot, and four and twenty Horse: of *Eumenes* his followers five and twenty.

Antiochus fled to *Sardes*, and from thence to *Apamea*, the same night; hearing that *Seleucus* was gone thither before. He left the custody of *Sardes*, and the Castle there, to one whom he thought faithfull. But the Towns-men and Souldiers were so dismayed with the greatnesse of the Overthrow; that one mans faith was worth nothing. All the Towns in those parts, without expecting summons, yeelded up themselves by Embassadours: whom they sent to the *Romans*, whilest they were on the way. Neither were many dayes spent, ere *Antiochus* his Embassadour was in the Camp: having none other errand, than to know what it would please the *Romans* to impose upon the King his Master. *P. Scipio* was now come to his brother, who obtained leave to make the answer, because it should be gentle. They required no more than they had lately done: which was, that he should quite abandon his Dominions on this side *Taurus*. For their charges in that War, they required fifteen thousand Talents: five hundred in hand; two thousand and five hundred, when the Senate and people of *Rome* should have confirmed the peace; and the other twelve thousand, in twelve years next ensuing, by even portions. Likewise they demanded four hundred talents for *Eumenes*; and some store of Corn, that was due to him upon a reckoning. Now besides twenty hostages which they required, very earnest they were to have *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, and *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, with some others who had stirred up the King to this war, delivered into their hands. But any wise man might so easily have perceived, that it would be their purpose to make this one of their principall demands; as no great art was needfull to beguile their malice. The Kings Embassador had full commission, to refuse nothing that should be enjoyned. Wherefore there was no more to do, than to send immediately to *Rome* for the ratification of the Peace.

There were new Consuls chosen in the mean while at *Rome*, *M. Fulvius*, & *Cn. Manlius Volso*. The *Ætolians* desired peace, but could not obtain it: because they would accept neither of the two Conditions to them before propounded. So it was decreed; That one of the Consuls should make war upon the *Ætolians*; the other, upon *Antiochus* in *Asia*. Now though shortly there came newes that *Antiochus* was already vanquished in battell, and had submitted himself unto all that could be required at his hands: yet since the State of *Asia* was not like to be so throughly setled by one Victory, but that many things might fall out worthy of the *Romans* care; *Cn. Manlius*, to whom *Asia* fell by lot, had not his Province changed.

Soon after this, came the Embassadours of King *Antiochus* to *Rome*, acompanied with the *Rhodians* and some others: yea, by King *Eumenes* in person; whose presence added a goodly lustre to the businesse in hand. Concerning the peace to be made with King *Antiochus*, there was no disputation: it was generally approved. All the trouble was about the distribution of the purchase. King *Eumenes* reckoned up his own deserts, and comparing himself with *Masanissa* hoped that the *Romans* would be more bountifull to him than they had been to the *Numidian*, since they had found him a King indeed, whereas *Masanissa* was only such in title; and since both he and his Father had alwayes been their friends, even in the worst of the *Roman* fortune. Yet was there much adoe to make him tell what he would have: He still referring himself to their courtesie; and they desiring him to speak plain. At length he craved that they would bestow upon him, as much of the Country by them taken from *Antiochus*, as they had

had no purpose to keep in their own hands. Neither thought he it needfull, that they should trouble themselves with the care of giving liberty to many of the *Greek* Towns, that were on *Asia* side. For since the most of those Towns had been partakers with the King in his War; it was no reason that they should be gainers by his overthrow. The *Rhodians* did not like of this. They desired the Senate to be truly Patrons of the *Grecian* liberty; and to call to minde, that no small part of *Greece* it self had been subject unto *Philip*, and served him in his War: which was not alledged against them as a cause why they should not be made free, after that *Philip* was overcome. But the main point whereon they insisted, was this, That the Victory of the *Romans* against King *Antiochus* was so great, as easily might satisfie the desires of all their friends. The Senate was glad to hear of this; and very bountifully gave away so much, that every one had cause to be well pleased.

Such end had the war against King *Antiochus*: after which, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, returning home, had granted unto him the honour of a Triumph: the pomp whereof exceeded in riches, not only that of *Titus Quintus Flaminius*, but of any ten that *Rome* had beheld untill that day. Now forasmuch as the surname of *The African* had been given unto *P. Scipio*, it was thought convenient by some, to reward *L. Scipio* with the title of *the Asiatique*: which the fortune of his Victory had no lesse deserved, though the vertue, requisite to the purchase thereof, was no way correspondent.

§. IX.

The Ætolians, and the Gallo-Greeks, vanquished by the Roman Consuls Fulvius *and* Manlius. Manlius *hardly obtains a Triumph: being charged (among other objections) with attempting to have passed the bounds appointed as fatall to the Romans by* Sibyl. *of* Sibyls *Propheſies; the Books of* Hermes; *and that Inscription*, Simoni Deo Sancto. *The ingratitude of Rome to the two* Scipio's: *and that beginning and faction among the Roman Nobility.*

Marc. Fulvius and *Cn. Manlius* had the same charge divided between them, which *L. Cornelius Scipio*, now stiled *Asiaticus*, had lately undergone. It was found more than one mans work, to look at once to *Greece* and to *Asia*. And for this reason was it apparent, that *L. Scipio* had granted so long a Truce to the *Ætolians*. But since, in this long *Interim* of *Truce*, that haughty little Nation had not sought to humble it self to the *Roman Majesty*, it was now to be brought unto more lowly terms than any other of the *Greeks*. The best was that so great a storm fell not unexpected upon the *Ætolians*. They had foreseen the danger, when their Embassadours were utterly denyed peace at *Rome*: and they had provided the last remedy; which was, to entreat the *Rhodians* and *Athenians* to become intercessours for them. Neither were they so dejected, with any terrible apprehensions, that they could not well devise, even upon helping themselves, by repurchase of Countries lost, where they spied advantage.

Poor King *Aminander* lived in exile among them, whilst *Philp* of *Macedon* kept for him, possession of his Lands and Castles. But the *Athamanians* (besides that many of them bore a naturall affection to their own Prince) having been long accustomed to serve a Mountain Lord, that conversed with them after an homely manner; could not endure the proud and insolent manner of command, used by the Captains of *Philip* his Garrisons. They sent therefore some few of them to their King, & offered their service towards his restitution. At the first there were only four of them; neither grew they, at length, to more than two and fifty, which undertook the work. Yet, assurance, that all the rest would follow, made *Aminander* willing to try his fortune. He was at the borders with a thousand *Ætolians*, upon the day appointed: at what time his two and fifty adventurers, having divided themselves into four parts, occupied, by the ready assistance of the multitude, four of the chief Towns in the Country, to his use. The fame of this good successe at the first; with divers letters running from place to place, whereby men were exhorted to do their best in helping forward the Action, made the Lievtenants of *Philip* unable to think upon resistance. One of them held the Town of *Theium* a few dayes; giving thereby some leisure unto his King to pro-

provide for the rescue. But when he had done his best, he was forced thence and could only tell *Philip*, whom he met on the way, that all was lost. *Philip* had brought from home six thousand men; of whom, when the greater part could not hold out, in such a running march, he left all save two thousand behinde him, and so came to *Athenæum*, a little *Athamanian* Castle, that still was his, as being on the frontier of *Macedon*. Thence he sent *Zeno*, who had kept *Theium* a while, to take a place lying over *Argithea*, that was chief of the Country. *Zeno* did as he was appointed: yet neither he, nor the King had the boldnesse to descend upon *Argithea*, for that they might perceive the *Athamanians*, all along the hill sides, ready to come down upon them, when they should be busie. Wherefore nothing was thought more honourable than a safe retrait: especially when *Aminander* came in sight with his thousand *Ætolians*. The *Macedonians* were called back, from-wards *Argithea*, and presently withdrawn by their King towards his own borders. But they were not suffered to depart in quiet at their pleasure. The *Athamanians* and *Ætolians* way-laid them, and pursued them so closely, that their retrait was in manner of a plain flight, with great losse of men and armes, few of those escaping, that were left behinde, as to make a countenance of holding somewhat in the Country, untill *Philip* his return.

The *Ætolians* having found the businesse of *Athamania* so easie, made an attempt in their own behalf, upon the *Amphilochians* and *Aperantians*. These had belonged unto their Nation, and were lately taken by *Philip*; from whom they diligently revolted, and became *Ætolians* again. The *Dolopians* lay next; that had been ever belonging to the *Macedonian*, and so did still purpose to continue. These took Armes at first: but soon laid them away; seeing their neighbours ready to fight with them in the *Ætolian* quarrell, and seeing their own King so hastily gone, as if he meant not to return.

Of these victories the joy was the lesse, for that newes came of *Antiochus* his last overthrow, and of *M. Fulvius* the new Consull his hasting with an Army into *Greece*. *Aminander* sent his excuses to *Rome*, praying the Senate not to take it in despight, that he had recovered his own from *Philip* with such help as he could get. Neither seems it that the *Romans* were much offended to hear of *Philip* his losses: for of this fault they neither were sharp correctors, nor earnest reprovers. *Fulvius* went in hand with the businesse, about which he came, and layed siege to *Ambracia*, a goodly City, that had been the chief seat of *Pyrrhus* his Kingdome. With this he began, for that it was of too great importance to be abandoned by the *Ætolians*: yet could not by them be relieved, unlesse they would adventure to fight upon equall ground. To help the *Ambracians*, it was not in the *Ætolians* power: for they were, at the same time, vexed by the *Illyrians* at sea, and ready to be driven from their new conquest, by *Perseus* the son of *Philip*, who invaded the Countries of the *Amphilochians* and *Dolopians*. They were unable to deal with so many at once; and therefore as earnestly sought peace with the *Romans*, as they stoutly made head against the rest. In the mean while the *Athenian* and *Rhodian* Embassadors came, who besought the Consull to grant them peace. It helped well that *Ambracia* made strong resistance, and would not be terrified, by any violence of the Assailants, or danger that might seem to threaten. The Consul had no desire to spend half his time about one City, and so be driven to leave unto his successour the honour of finishing the War. Wherefore he gladly hearkened unto the *Ætolians*, and bade them seek peace with faithfull intent, without thinking it overdear, at a reasonable price; considering with how great a part of his Kingdome their friend *Antiochus* had made the same purchase. He also gave leave to *Aminander*, offering his service as a mediatour, to put himself into *Ambracia*, and try what good his perswasions might do with the Citizens. So after many demands and excuses, the conclusion was such as was grievous to the weaker, but not unsufferable. The same Embassadors of the *Athenians* and *Rhodians*, accompanyed those of the *Ætolians* to *Rome*, for procuring the confirmation of Peace. Their eloquence and credit was the more needfull in this intercession, for that *Philip* had made a very grievous complaint about the losse of those Countries, which they had lately taken from him. Hereof the Senate could not but take notice; though it did not hinder the peace, which those good Mediatours of *Rhodes* and *Athens* did earnestly solicite. The *Ætolians* were bound to uphold the Majesty of the people of *Rome*, and to observe divers Articles, which made them the lesse free, and more obnoxious to the *Romans*, than

any people of *Greece*; they having been the first that called these their Masters into the Country. The Ile of *Cephalenia* was taken from them by the *Romans*: who kept it for themselves (as not long since they had gotten *Zacynthus* from the *Achaans*, by stiffely pressing their own right) that so they might have possession along the coast of *Greece*, whilest they seemed to forbear the Country. But concerning those places, whereto *Philip*, or others might lay claim, there was set down an order so perplexed, as would necessarily require to have the *Romans* Judges of their controversies, when they should arise. And hereof good use will be shortly made: when want of employment elsewhere, shall cause a more Lordly Inquisition to be held, upon the affairs of *Macedon* and *Greece*.

Cn. Manlius, the other Consull, had at the same time war in *Asia*, with the *Gallo-Grecks* and others. His Army was the same that had followed *L. Scipio*; of whose victory, his acts were the consummation. He visited those Countries on the hither side of *Taurus*, that had scarce heard of the *Romans*; to whom they were abandoned by *Antiochus*. Among these there were some petty Lords, or Tyrants, some free Cities, and some that were together at wars, without regard of the great alteration that hapned in *Asia*. From every of these he got somewhat; and by their quarrels found occasion to visit those Provinces, into which he should else have wanted an errand. He was even loaden with booty, when, having fetcht a compasse about *Asia*, he came at length upon the *Gallo-Greeks*. These had long domineered over the Country: though of late times, it was rather the fame & terror of their fore-passed acts, than any present vertue of theirs, which held them up in reputation. Of the *Romans* they had lately such triall, when they served under King *Antiochus*, as made them to acknowledge themselves far the worse men. Wherefore they thought it no small part of their safety, that they dwelt upon the River *Halys*, in an In-land Country, where those enemies were not very like to search them out. But when such hopes failed; and when some Princes of their own Nation, that had been friends of *Eumenes*, exhorted the rest to yeeld: then was no counsell thought so good, as to forsake their houses and Countrey, and, with all that they could carry or drive, to betake themselves unto the high mountains of *Olympus* and *Margana*. These mountains were exceeding hard of ascent, though none should undertake the custody. Being therefore well manned and victualled for a long time; as also the naturall strength being helpt by such fortification as promised greatest assurance: it was thought, that the Consul would either forbear the attempt of forcing them, or easily be repelled, and that finally, when he had stayed there a while, winter, and much want, should force him to dislodge. Yet all this availed not. For, whereas the *Gallo-Greeks* had been careless of furnishing themselves with casting weapons, as if stones would have served well enough for that purpose: the *Romans*, who came far otherwise appointed, found greater advantage in the difference of Armes than impediment in disadvantage of ground. Archers and Slingers did easily prevail against casters of stones; especially being such as were these *Gallo-Greeks*, neither exercised in that manner of fight, nor having prepared their stones before-hand, but catching up what lay next, the too great, and the too little, oftner than those of a fit size. Finally the *Barbarians*, wanting defensive Armes, could not hold out against the Arrowes and the weapons of the *Roman* light armature: but were driven from a peece of ground, which they had undertaken to make good, up into their Camp on the top of the mountain; and being forced out of their Camp, had none other way left, than to cast themselves headlong down the steep rocks. Few of the men escaped alive: all their wives, children and goods became a prey unto the *Romans*. In the very like manner, were the rest of that Nation overcome soon after, at the other mountain: only more of them saved themselves by flight, as having fairer way at their backs.

These wars being ended: *Fulvius* and *Manlius* were appointed by the Senate, each of them to retain as Proconsull, his Province for another year. *Fulvius*, in his second year, did little or nothing. *Manlius* gave peace to those whom he had vanquished; as likewise to *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*, and some others, not by him vanquished, but submitting themselves for fear of the *Roman* armes. He drew from them all, what profit he could: and laid upon them such conditions, as he thought expedient. He also did finish the league of peace with *Antiochus*; whereto he swore, and received the Kings oath

oath by Embassadors, whom he sent for that purpose. Finally, having set in order the matters of *Asia*, he took his way toward the *Hellespont*, loaden with spoil, as carrying with him (besides other treasures) all that the *Gallo-Greeks* had in so many years extorted from the wealthy Provinces that lay round about them. Neither did this Army of *Manlius* return home, rich in money alone, or cattell, or things of needfull use, which the *Roman* Souldier had been wont to take as the only good purchase; but furnished with sumptuous houshold-stuffe, and slaves of price, excellent Cooks, and Musicians for banquets, and in a word, with the seeds of that luxury, which finally over-grew and choaked the *Roman* vertue.

The Country of *Thrace* lay between *Hellespont* and the Kingdome of *Macedon*, which way *Manlius* was to take his journey homeward. *L. Scipio* had found no impediment among the *Thracians*: either for that he passed through them, without any such booty as might provoke them; or perhaps rather, because *Philip* of *Macedon* had taken order, that the *Barbarians* should not stir. But when *Manlius* came along with a huge train of baggage, the *Thracians* could not so well contain themselves. Neither was it thought, that *Philip* took it otherwise than very pleasantly, to have this *Roman* Army robbed, & well beaten on the way. He had cause to be angry, seeing how little himself was regarded, and what great rewards were given to *Eumenes*. For he understood, and afterwards gave the *Romans* to understand, that *Eumenes* could not have abidden in his own Kingdome, if the people of *Rome* had not made war in *Asia*: whereas contrariwise, *Antiochus* had offered unto himself three thousand talents, and fifty ships of war, to take part with him and the *Ætolians*, promising moreover to restore unto him all the *Greek* Cities, that had been taken from him by the *Romans*. Such being the difference between him and *Eumenes*, when the war began: he thought it no even dealing of the *Romans*, after their victory, to give away not only the half of *Asia*, but *Chersonesus*, and *Lysimachia* in *Europe*, to *Eumenes*; whereas upon himself they bestowed not any one Town. It agreed not indeed with his Nobility to go to *Rome* and beg Provinces in the Senate, as *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians* had lately done. He had entertained lovingly the two *Scipio's*, whom he thought the most honourable men in *Rome*; and was grown into near acquaintance with *Publius*, holding correspondence with him by letters, whereby he made himself acquainted with the wars in *Spain* and *Africk*. This perhaps he deemed sufficient, to breed in the *Romans* a due respect of him. But *Eumenes* took a surer way. For the *Scipio's* had not the disposing of that which they won from *Antiochus*: as neither indeed had *Manlius*, nor the ten Delegates assisting him; but the Senate of *Rome*, by which those Delegates were chosen, and instructed how to proceed. When *Philip* therefore saw these upstart Kings of *Pergamus*, whom he accounted as base companions, advanced so highly, and made greater than himself; yea himself unregarded, contemned, and exposed to many wrongs: then found he great cause to wish, that he had not so hastily declared himself against *Antiochus*, or rather that he had joyned with *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, by whom he might have been freed from his insolent Masters. But what great argument of such discontentednesse the *Macedonian* had, we shall very shortly be urged to discourse more at large. At the present it was beleeved, that the *Thracians* were by him set on, to assail the *Romans* passing through their Country. They knew all advantages; & they fell, unexpected, upon the carriages that were bestowed in the midst of the Army; whereof part had already passed a dangerous wood through which the baggage followed; part was not yet so far advanced. There was enough to get, and enough to leave behinde: though both the getting and the saving, did cost many lives, as well of the *Barbarians*, as of the *Romans*. They fought untill it grew night: and then the *Thracians* withdrew themselves; not without as much of the booty, as was to their full content. And of such trouble there was more, though lesse dangerous, before the Army could get out of *Thrace* into *Macedon*. Through the Kingdome they had a fair march into *Epirus*; and so to *Apollonia*, which was their handle of *Greece*.

Liv. lib. 39.

To *Manlius*, and to *Fulvius*, when each of them returned to the City, was granted the honour of Triumph. Yet not without contradiction: especially to *Manlius*, whom some of the ten Delegates, appointed to assist him, did very bitterly taxe, as an unworthy commander. Touching the rest of their accusation; it sufficeth that he made good answer, and was approved by the chief of the Senate. One clause is worthy of more particular consideration. Reprehending his desire to have hindred the peace with *Antiochus*;

they

Liv. lib. 38. they said, *That with much ado he was kept from leading his army over* Taurus, *and adventuring upon the calamity threatned by* Sibyls *verses, unto those that should passe the fatall bounds.* What calamity or overthrow this was, wherewith *Sibyls* prophecy threatned the *Roman* Captain or Army, that should passe over *Taurus*, I do not conceive. *Pompey* was the first, that marched with an Army beyond those limits: though the victories of *Lucullus* had opened unto him the way, and had before hand won, in a sort, the Countries on the other side of the Mount; which *Lucullus* gave to one of *Antiochus* his race, though *Pompey* occupied them for the *Romans*. But we finde not, that either *Lucullus* or *Pompey* suffered any losse, in presuming to neglect the bounds appointed by *Sibyl*. Indeed the accomplishment of this prophecy, fell out near about one time, with the restitution of *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt*, that was forbidden unto the *Romans* by the same *Sibyl*. It may therefore seem to have had reference unto the same things, that were denounced, as like to happen upon the reduction of the *Egyptian* King. Whether the Oracles of *Sibyl* had in them any truth, and were not, as *Tullie* noteth, *sowed at randome in the large field of Time*, there to take root, and get credit by event; I will not here dispute. But I hold this more probable, than that the restitution of *Ptolemy* to his Kingdome by *Gabinius* the *Roman*, should have any way betokened the comming of our Saviour: as some both ancient and modern Christian Writers have been well pleased to interpret *Sibyl* in that prophecy. Of the *Sibylline* predictions, I have sometimes thought reverently: though not knowing what they were (as I think few men know) yet following the common belief and good authority. But observation of the shamefull Idolatry, that upon all occasions was advanced in *Rome* by the books of *Sibyl*, had well prevailed upon my credulity, and made me suspect, though not the faith and pious meaning, yet the judgement of *Eusebius*: when that learned and excellent work of Master *Casaubon* upon the Annales of Cardinall *Baronius*, did altogether free me from mine errour; making it apparent, That not only those prophecies of *Sibyl*, wherein Christ so plainly was shewed, but even the books of *Hermes*, which have born such reputation, were no better than counterfeited pieces, and at first entertained (whosoever devised them) by the undiscreet zeal of such, as delighted in seeing the Christian Religion strengthened with forrein proofs. And in the same rank, I think, we ought to place that notable History, reported by *Eusebius* from no mean Authors, Of the honour which was done to *Simon Magus* in *Rome*; namely of an Altar to him erected, with an inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, that is, *To Simon the holy god*. For what can be more strange, than that a thing so memorable, and so publique, should have been quite omitted by *Tacitus*, by *Suetonius*, by *Dion*, and by all which wrote of those times? Philosophers and Poets would not have suffered the matter to escape in silence, had it been true; neither can it be thought that *Seneca*, who then lived and flourished, would have obstained from speaking any word of an argument so famous. Wherefore I am perswaded, that this inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, was, by some bad *Criticisme*, taken amisse in place of *Semoni Sango*: a title four hundred years older than the time of *Simon Magus*. For the goods of one *Vitruvius* a Rebell, had many ages before been consecrated *Semoni Sango*, that is, *To the Spirit or Demi-god Sangus*, in whose Chappell they were bestowed. So as either by the ill shape of the old *Roman* letters, or by some spoil that time had wrought upon them; it might easily come to passe, that the words should be misse-read, *Simoni Sancto*, and that some Christian who had heard of *Simon Magus*, but not of *Sangus*, thereupon should frame the conjecture, which now passeth for a true History. Such conjectures, being entertained without examination, find credit by Tradition, whereby also, many times, their fashion is amended, and made more Historicall, than was conceived by the Author. But it cannot be safe, to let our faith (which ought to stand firm upon a sure foundation) lean over-hardly on a well painted, yet rotten post.

Tull. de Divin. lib. 2.

Isaac. Casaub. Exercita. 1. ad Annal. Baron. 10. & 11.

Eusch. Eccl hist. cap. 13.

Now concerning the Triumph of *Cn. Manlius*, it may be numbred among a few of the richest, which ever the City beheld. Out of that which he brought into the Treasury, was made the last payment of those monies which the common-wealth had borrowed from private men, in the second *Punick War*. So long was it, that *Rome* had still some feeling of *Hannibal*: which being past, there was remaining neither care, nor memory, of any danger. This Triumph of *Manlius* was deferred by him, even so long as he well could: for that he thought it not safe, to make his entrance into the City, untill

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the heat of an Inquisition, then raging therein, should be allayed. The two *Scipio's* were called one after other, into judgement, by two Tribunes of the people; men, only by this accusation, known to Posterity. *P. Scipio* the *African*, with whom they began, could not endure that such unworthy men should question him, of purloyning from the Common Treasury, or of being hired with bribes by *Antiochus*, to make an ill bargain for his Country. When therefore his day of answer came; he appeared before the Tribunes, not humbly as one accused, but followed by a great train of his friends and Clients, with which he passed through the middest of the Assembly, and offered himself to speak. Having audience, he told the people, That upon the same day of the year he had fought a great battell with *Hannibal*, and finished the *Punick War* by a signall victory. In memory whereof, he thought it no fit season to brabble at the Law; but intended to visit the *Capitol*, and there give thanks to *Jupiter*, and the rest of the gods, by whose grace, both on that day and at other times, he had well and happily discharged the most weighty businesse of the Common-weal. And hereto he invited with him all the Citizens: requesting them, *That if ever since the seventeenth year of his life, untill he now grew old, the honourable places by them conferred upon him, had prevented the capacity of his age, and yet his deserts had exceeded the greatness of those honourable places: then would they pray, that the Princes and great ones of their City might still be like to him.* These words were heard with great approbation: so as all the people, even the Officers of the court followed *Scipio*, leaving the Tribunes alone, with none about them, excepting their own slaves and a Cryer, by whom ridiculously they cited him to judgement, untill for very shame, as not knowing what else to do, they granted him, unrequested, a further day. After this, when the *African* perceived that the Tribunes would not let fall their suit, but enforce him to submit himself to a disgracefull triall: he willingly relinquished the City, and his unthankfull *Romans*, that could suffer him to undergo so much indignity. The rest of his time he spent at *Liternum*: quietly with a few of his inward friends, and without any desire of seeing *Rome* again. How many years he lived, or whether he lived one whole year, in this voluntary banishment; it is uncertain. The report of his dying in the same year, with *Hannibal* and *Philopœmen*, as also of his private behaviour at *Liternum*, render it probable, that he out-lived the Tribune-ship of his accusers; who meant to have drawn him back to his answer, if one of their Colleagues (as one of them had power to hinder all the rest from proceeding) had not caused them to desist. Howsoever it was; the same Tribunes went more sharply to work with *L. Scipio the Asiatique*. They propounded a Decree unto the People, touching money received of *Antiochus*, & not brought into the common Treasury; that the Senate should give charge unto one of the Prætors, to inquire, and judicially determine thereof. In favour of this Decree, an Oration was made by *Cato*, the supposed author of these contentions, & instigator of the Tribunes. He was a man of great, but not perfect, vertue, temperate, valiant, and of singular industry; frugall also, both of the publique, and of his own; so as in this kinde he was even faulty: for though he would not be corrupted with bribes, yet was he unmercifull and unconscionable, in seeking to increase his own wealth, by such means as the Law did warrant. Ambition was his vice; which being poysoned with envie, troubled both himself and the whole City, whilest he lived. His mean birth caused him to hate the Nobility, especially those that were in chief estimation. Neither did he spare to bite at such as were of his own rank, men raised by desert, if their advancement were like to hinder his: but lately before this, when *Glabrio*, whose Lievtenant he had been at *Thermopylæ*, was his Competitor for the Censorship, and likely to carry it, he took an Oath against him, which was counted as no better than malicious perjury, That he had not brought into the common Treasury some vessels of gold and silver, gotten in the Camp of *Antiochus*. Now the hatred which he bare unto the *Scipio's* grew partly, (besides his generall spight at the Nobility) from his own first rising, wherein he was countenanced by *Fabius Maximus*, who brooked not the *African*; partly from some check, that was given unto himself, in the *African* voyage, by *P. Scipio*, whose Treasurer he then was. For when *Cato* did utter his dislike of the Consul's bad husbandry (judging Magnificence to be no better) in some peremptory manner; *Scipio* plainly told him, That he had no need of such double diligence in his Treasurer. Wherefore, either not caring what lies he published, or for want of judgement, thinking unworthily of the vertue that was far above him, *Cato* filled *Rome* with untrue reports against his Generall; whose

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noble deeds confuted sufficiently the author of such false tales. And thus began the hatred: which being no: regarded nor thought upon by the *Scipio's*, whilest it was nourished by their enemy, brake out upon advantage, especially against *L. Scipio*: his brother being dead, or out of the way. A severe inquiry and judgement being appointed of purpose against *Scipio*, matters were so carried, that he was soon condemned in a sum of money, far exceeding his ability to pay. For *non-payment*, his body should have been laid up in prison: but from this rigour of the Law he was freed by *Tiberius Gracchus*, the same Tribune who had caused the suit against the *African* to be let fall. In his estate, which was confiscated to the use of the City, when there neither appeared any sign of his having been beholding to *Antiochus*, nor was found so much as what he had been condemned to pay; then fell his accusers, and all whose hands had been against him, into the indignation of *the People*. But for this was *L. Scipio* no whit the better. His kindred, friends, and Clients, made such a Collection for him, as would have set him in better estate than before, if he had accepted it. He took no more than such of his own goods, as were of necessary use, being redeemed for him by his neareſt friends.

And thus began the civill war of the *Tongue*, in the *Roman* pleadings: which had either not been, or not been much regardable, untill now, since the Punick War. Security of danger from abroad, and some want of sufficient employment, were especiall helps to the kindling of this fire; which first caught hold upon that great Worthy, to whose vertue *Rome* was indebted, for changing into so great security her extreme danger. But these factious contentions did no long while contain themselves within heat of words, and cunning practice. For when the Art of leading the multitude, in such quarrelsome businesse, grew to perfection, they that found themselves overmatched by their adversaries at this kind of weapon, began to make opposition, first, with clubs and stones, afterward with swords; and finally, proceeded from frayes and murders in the streets, unto battail in the open field. *Cornelia*, daughter of *Scipio* the *African*, a Lady of rare vertue, that in honour of her two sons was more commonly named *Mother of the Gracchi*, saw those her two sons whilest they were but young, slaughtered in *Rome*, together with some of their friends, by those whom they opposed, and their death not revenged by order of Law, but rather approved by the Senate. At these times the Senators began to take upon them Authority, more than was to them belonging. They conferred upon the Consuls all the whole power of the City, under this form, *Let the Consuls provide, that the Commonweal receive no detriment*. By this decree of theirs, and by their proclaiming any Citizen *enemy to the State*, they thought to have won a great advantage over the multitude. But after the death of *C. Gracchus*, and of *Saturninus* a popular man; whom by such authority they did put out of the way; it was not long ere *Marius* a famous Captain of theirs, was so condemned, who by force of armes returned into the City, and murdered all the principall Senators: whereupon began the civill wars; which giving unto *Sylla*, who prevailed therein, means to make himself absolute Lord of *Rome*, taught *Cæsar*, a man of higher spirit, to affect and obtain the like soveraign power, when by the like Decree of the Senate he was provoked. It is true, that never any Consul had finally cause to rejoyce, of his having put in execution such authority to him committed by the Senate. But as the fury of the multitude in passing their Lawes, by hurling of stones, and other violence, made the City stand in need of a Soveraign Lord: so the vehemency of the Senate, in condemning as enemies those that would not submit themselves, when they were over-topped by voyces in the House, did compell *Cæsar*, or give him at least pretence, to right himself by arms: wherewith prevailing against his adversaries, he took such order, that neither Senate nor people, should thenceforth be able to do him wrong. So by intestine discord, the *Romans* consuming all or most of their principall Citizens, lost their own freedome, and became subjects unto the arbitrary government of one: suffering this change in three generations, after this beginning of their insolent rule, wherein they took upon them as the highest Lords on earth, to do even what they listed. Yet had not *Rome* indeed attained hitherto unto compleat greatnesse, nor beleeved of her self as if she had, whilest a King sate crowned on the Throne of *Alexander*, continuing and upholding the reputation of a former Empire. Wherefore this consummation of her honour was thought upon betimes. How it was effected, the sequel will discover.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The second Macedonian VVarre.

§. III.

The Condition wherein those Princes and Estates remained, which were associates of the Romans, when the warre with Antiochus *was finished. The Romans quarrell with* Philip. *They deal insolently with the Achæans. The Macedonian, being unready for war, obtains peace at Rome, by his son* Demetrius; *of whom thenceforth he becomes jealous.*

AFTER the overthrow of *Antiochus*, although *Philip* of *Macedon*, *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, the Commonweal of the *Achæans*, and all other the States of *Greece*, were governed by the same Lawes and Magistrates, as they formerly had been, before the arrivall of the *Romans* in those parts: yet in very truth (the publique declaration excepted) they were none other than absolute vassals to the People of *Rome*. For of those five Prerogatives belonging to a Monarch, or unto Soveraign power, in whomsoever it rest; namely, *To make Lawes*, *To create Magistrates*, *To arbitrate Peace and War*, *To beat Mony*, and *to reserve* (as the French call it) *le dernier Ressort*, or *the last Appeals*, the *Romans* had assumed four; and the greatest of them so absolutely, that is, *The Appeal*, or last resort, as every petty injury offered to each other by the forenamed Kings or States, was heard and determined either by the *Roman* Embassadours, or Commissioners, in those places whence the Complaint came, or otherwise by the Senators themselves within *Rome*, from whose arbitrement, or direction, if either King or Common-weals declined, He or they were beaten, and inforced to obedience, or had their Estates and Regalities utterly dissolved. Nevertheless it is true, that they had their own Lawes, and Officers of their own ordaining: yet so, as neither the Lawes were of force, when the *Romans* interposed their will to the contrary, neither was their election of Magistrates so free, as that they had not therein especiall regard unto the good pleasure of these their Masters.

And to such degree of servitude the severall Estates of *Greece* did bow very gently: either as being thankfull for their deliverance from a yoke more sensibly grievous; or, as being skilfull in the Art of flattery, and therein taking delight, since therein consisted their chief hope of thriving; or, as being more fearfull of displeasing the strongest, than mindfull of their own honour. But *Eumenes* living further off, & being most obsequious unto the *Romans*, was not, of long time, questioned about any of his doings: his conformity unto them in matter of war & peace, together with the diversion of their thoughts another way, giving him leave to use his own even as he listed, untill they should otherwise dispose of him. Neither was it a little available to him, that his Kingdome bordered upon the Nations, by them not throughly subdued. For upon the same reason (as well as upon his own high deserts) were they very loving unto *Masanissa*, and to his House, untill *Carthage* was ruined, and their Dominion setled in *Africk*: as likewise afterwards to the Kings of *Mauritania*, *Cappadocia*, and others: holding people in subjection unto themselves, by the Ministery of Kings; especially of such Kings, as were usefull and obsequious unto them.

Now the *Macedonian* was of a more noble temper; and shewed himself not forgetfull of his own former greatnesse, the honour of his race, or the high reputation of his kingdome. But such magnanimity was none otherwise construed by the *Romans*, then as want of due reverence to their estate, and a valuation of himself against them: which, in the pride of their fortune, they could not indure. Wherefore notwithstanding that he had lately given passage to their Armies through his Country, prepared the waies for them, and furnished them both with victuals, and other things needfull, to transport them over the *Hellespont* into *Asia*, against *Antiochus*: yet upon the complaint of *Eumenes* and the States of *Thessaly* and *Thrace*, he was commanded to abandon the Cities of *Ænus* and *Maronea*,

Maronea, with all Pieces and places demanded by any of his neighbours; whereof many of them he had lately conquered, by direction or licence, even from the *Romans* themselves.

These Towns of *Ænus* and *Maronea* had been part of *Lysimachus* his Kingdome: who from *Thrace* Northwards, and to the Northwest, extended his Dominion very far. He is thought to have made himself Lord of *Transylvania*: in which Province it is said, * That innumerable Medals of gold have been found, in the age of our Grand-fathers, each of them weighing two or three Crowns, and stamped with his Image on the one side, on the other side with *Victory*. Of all these Lordships, the possession, or rather the title (for he lived not to settle his estate in *Europe*) fel to *Seleucus Nicator* by right of war, wherein he vanquished and slew *Lysimachus*: as also, by the like right, *Ptolemy Ceraunus* thought them his own, when he had murdered *Seleucus*. But the inundation of the *Gaules*, which the Kingdome of *Macedon* could not sustain, did shortly and easily wash away from that crown, together with the more part of *Thrace*, all those heaps of land newly thereto annexed. Somewhat of this was afterwards regained by *Antigonus* the son of *Demetrius*, and his successors: though not much; for they were otherwise busied. The fury of the *Gaules* being over-past, those Countreys which lately had been oppressed by them, recovered their liberty; and not only held it, but learned, some of them, especially the *Dardanians* and wilde *Thracians*, to finde their advantages, and make use of them, even upon *Macedon*. Against the mischiefs commonly done by these, King *Philip* did provide the most convenient remedies: by shutting up the waies, whereby the *Dardanians* might enter into his Kingdome; and by occupying *Lysimachia*, with some other Towns in *Thrace*, which he fortified, as Bulwarks of his own Countrey, against the *Barbarians*. Now, although it behoved him thus to do, for the defence of his own estate: yet forasmuch as these Towns were, in a manner, at absolute liberty, his possession of them was thought to partake more of violence than of justice. And in this respect he was formerly accused by the *Ætolians*, of wrongfull usurpation and oppression, in his having occupied *Lysimachia*. Hereto he made a good answer. That his Garrison did only save it from the *Thracians*: who as soon as he thence withdrew his men, did seize upon the Town, and ruine it. The like perhaps he might have said, touching *Ænus* and *Maronea*; That they were places unable to defend themselves, and Gates, by which the *Barbarians* might have entrance into his Kingdome. But this Plea had not availed him, in the disputation about *Lysimachia*: and in the present question, the *Romans* were not without their own title; since *Antiochus* had gotten all the Country thereabout, whilest *Philip* was busied in his former war: and since they, by their victory, had gotten unto themselves all the title, which *Antiochus* thereto could pretend. Wherefore he only submitted his right unto the good pleasure of the Senate: referring it unto their disposition, Whether *Ænus* and *Maronea* should be set at liberty: whether left in his hand, or whether bestowed upon *Eumenes*; who begged them, as an appendix to *Lysimachia* and *Chersonesus*, that were already his by their gift. What they would determine, he might easily perceive, by the demeanor of their Embassadors towards him: who sitting as Judges between him and all that made complaint upon him, gave sentence against him in every controversie. Nevertheless, he sent Embassadors to *Rome*, there to maintain his right unto these Towns; wherein he thought, that equity (if it might prevail) was wholly on his side. For he had holpen their Consuls in the war against *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*: wherein whatsoever he had gotten for himself, was now taken from him by their Embassadors: and would they now deprive him of those two towns, lying so fitly for the guard of his kingdome, which he had gotten to himself out of the ruins of *Antiochus*, like as out of his own ruins *Antiochus* had gotten in those quarters a great deal more? By such allegations either he was likely to prevail, or at leastwise to gain time, wherein he might bethink himself what he had to do. It was not long ere he had word from *Rome*, That the Senate were no more equall to him, than had been their Embassadors. Wherefore, considering how insolently the *Maronites* had behaved themselves, in pleading against him for their liberty, he took counsell of his own passions; and (as by nature he was very cruell) gave order to *Onomastus*, that was Warden of the Sea-coasts, to handle these *Maronites* in such sort, as they might have little joy of the liberty by them so earnestly desired. *Onomastus* employed *Cassander*, one of the King's men dwelling in *Maronea*, and willed him to let in the *Thra-*

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* *Hist. of Hungary by Mart. Fumee. lib. 5.*

cians by night, that they might sack the Town, and use all cruelties of war. This was done: but so ill taken by the *Roman* Embassadors who had better notice, than could have been feared, of these proceedings; that the King was by them directly charged with the crime, and called more strictly, than became his Majesty, to an accompt. He would have removed the blame from himself, and layed it even upon the *Maronites*: affirming, that they, in heat of their Factions, being some inclinable to him, other some to *Eumenes*, had fallen into such outrage, that they had cut one anothers throats. And hereof he willed the Embassadors to enquire among the *Maronites* themselves: as well knowing, that they who survived, were either his own friends; or so terrified and amazed by the late execution of his vengeance among them, that they durst not utter an offensive word. But he found the *Romans* more severe, and more throughly informed in the business, than to rest contented with such an answer. He was plainly told, That if he would discharge himself of the crime objected; he must send *Onomastus* and *Cassander* to *Rome*, there to be examined as the Senate should think fit. This did not a little trouble him. Yet he collected his spirits, and said, that *Cassander* should be at their disposition: but concerning *Onomastus*, who had not been at *Maronea*, nor near to it, he requested them not to presse him; since it stood not with his honour so lightly to give away his friends. As for *Cassander*, because he should tell no tales; He took order to have him poysoned by the way. By this we see, that the doctrine, which *Machiavel* taught unto *Cæsar Borgia*, to imploy men in mischievous actions, and afterwards to destroy them when they have performed the mischief, was not of his own invention. All ages have given us examples of this goodly policy, the latter having been apt scholars in this lesson to the more ancient: as the reign of *Henry* the eighth, here in England, can bear good witnesse; and therein especially the Lord *Cromwell*, who perished by the same unjust Law that himself had devised, for the taking away of another mans life.

Such actions of *Philip* made an unpleasant noise at *Rome*, & were like to have brought upon him the war which he feared, before he was ready to entertain it. Wherefore he employed his younger son *Demetrius* as Embassador unto the Senate: giving him instructions, how to make answer to all complaints, and withall to deliver his own grievances in such wise, that it ought were amisse, yet might it appear that he had been strongly urged to take such courses. The sum of his Embassage was, to pacifie the *Romans*, and make all even for the present. *Demetrius* himself was known to be very acceptable unto the Senate; as having been well approved by them, when he was Hostage in *Rome*: and therefore seemed the more likely to prevail somewhat; were it only in regard that would be born unto his person.

Whilest this business with the *Macedonian* hung in suspence, and whilest he, by his readinesse to make submission, seemed likely to divert from himself some other way the *Roman* armes: the same Embassadors, that had been Judges between him and his neighbours, made their progresse through the rest of *Greece*; and took notice of the controversies, which they found between some Estates in the Country. The greatest cause that was heard before them, was the complaint of the banished *Lacedæmonians* against the *Achæans*. It was objected unto the *Achæans*, That they had committed a grievous slaughter upon many Citizens of *Lacedæmon*: That unto this cruelty they had added a greater, in throwing down the wals of the City: as also further, in changing the Lawes, and abrogating the famous Institutions of *Lycurgus*. Hereto *Lycortas*, the Prætor of the *Achæans*, made answer, That these banished *Lacedæmonians*, who now took upon them to accuse the Nation that had once protected them, were notoriously known to be the men, who had themselves committed that murder, whereof shamelesly they laid the blame upon others: the *Achæans* having not only called those unto judgement, that were supposed to be chief Authors of a Rebellion against both them and the *Romans*: and these Plaintiffes having slain them, upon private, though just hatred, as they were comming to make answer for themselves. Concerning their throwing down the Wals of *Lacedæmon*, he said it was most agreeable to *Lycurgus* his Ordinance: who, having perswaded his Citizens to defend their Town and liberty by their proper vertue, did inhibit unto them all kindes of fortifications: as the Retraits and Nests either of Cowards, or (whereof *Lacedæmon* had wofull experience) of Tyrants and Usurpers. Further he shewed, how the same Tyrants that had built these wals

and hemmed in the *Spartans*, had also quite abolished *Lycurgus* his ordinances; and governed the City by their own lawlesse Will. As for the *Achæans*, they communicated their own Lawes, which they held for the best, or else would soon change them and take better, unto the *Lacedæmonians*; whom they found without Lawes, or any tolerable forme of policy. For conclusion, *Lycortas* plainly told *App. Claudius*, the chief of the Embassadors, That he and his Countrymen held it strange, being friends and faithfull Allies of the *Romans*, to see themselves thus constrained, to answer and give account of their actions, as vassals & slaves unto the *people of Rome*. For if they were indeed at liberty: why might not the *Achæans* as well require to be satisfied about that which the *Romans* had done at *Capua*, as the *Romans* did busie themselves, to take account how things went at *Lacedæmon*? for if the *Romans* would stand upon their greatnesse; and intimate as they begun, that the liberty of their friends was nothing worth, longer than should please themselves to ratifie it: then must the *Achæans* have recourse unto those Agreements that were confirmed by oath, and which without perjury could not be violated; as reverencing, and indeed fearing the *Romans*, but much more, the immortall gods. To this bold answer of *Lycortas* *Appius* found little to reply. Yet taking state upon him; he pronounced more like a Master than a Judge, that if the *Achæans* would not be ruled by fair means, and earn thanks whilest they might; they should be compelled with a mischief, to do what was required at their hands, whether they would or no. This altercation was in the Parliament of the *Achæans*, which groned to hear the Lordly words of *Appius*. Yet fear prevailed above indignation: and it was permitted unto the *Romans* to do as they listed. Hereupon the Embassadors restored some banished and condemned men: but the *Roman* Senate, very soon after, did make void all judgements of death or banishment, that had been laid by the *Achæans*, upon any Citizen of *Lacedæmon*; as likewise they made it a matter of disputation, whether or no the City and Territory of *Lacedæmon* should be suffered to continue a member of the *Achæan* Common-wealth; or, taken from them and made as it had been an Estate by it self. By bringing such a matter into question, the *Romans* well declared, that they held it to depend upon their own will, how much or how little any of their Confederates should be suffered to enjoy: though by contributing *Sparta* to the councell of *Achaia*, they discovered no lesse, as to them seemed, the love which they bare unto the *Achæans*, than the power which they had over them.

Into such slavery had the *Greeks*, and all Kings and Common-weals whatsoever, bordering upon any part of the Mediterran Seas, reduced themselves, by calling in the *Romans* to their succour. They wanted not the good counsel and perswasions of many wise and temperate men among them; they had also the examples of the *Italians*, *Spaniards*, *Gaules*, and *Africans*, all subdued by the *Romans*; and, by seeking Patronage, made meer Vassals; to instruct them, what in the like case they should expect: yet could not the true reasons of Estate and Policy so prevail with them, but their private passions, and neighbouring hatred, which hath evermore bought revenge at the price of self-ruine, brought them from the honour which they enjoyed, of being free Princes and cities, into most base and fearfull servility.

All this made well for *Philip* of *Macedon*: who though he saw the *Greeks* very far from daring to stir against those, by whom both he and they were kept in awe; yet was he not without hope, that (few of them excepted, whom the *Romans* by freeing from his subjection, had made his implacable enemies) in hearty affection all the countrey would be his, whensoever he should take Armes, as shortly he was like to do. Young *Demetrius*, comming home from *Rome*, brought with him the desired ratification of peace; though qualified with much indignity soon following. He had been lovingly used at *Rome*, and heard with great favour in the Senate. There, being confounded with the multitude of objections, whereto his youth, unskilfull in the Art of wrangling, could not readily make answer: it was permitted unto him, to read such brief notes as he had received from his Father, and out of those the Senate were contented to gather satisfaction; more for *Demetrius* his own sake, as they then said, and wrote into *Macedon*, than for any goodnesse in the defence. Such pride of theirs, in remitting his faults at the intreaty of his son, together with some insolence of his son, growing (as appeared) from this favour of the *Romans*; did increase in *Philip* his

his hatred unto *Rome*, and breed in him a jealousie of his too forward son. To set him forward in these passions, there came daily new Embassadors from *Rome*, some bringing one commandement, some another; and some requiring him to fulfill those things, which had been imposed upon him by their fore-goers. Neither were there wanting that observed his countenance: and when he had fulfilled all that was required at his hands; yet laid it to his charge, that he had done things unwillingly, and would be obedient no longer than he needs must. With these Embassadors yong *Demetrius* was conversant: rather perhaps out of simplicity, and for that they made much of him, than for any ambitious respect; yet a great deal more than was pleasing to his father. So the rumour grew current through all *Macedon*, That *Perseus*, the elder son of the King, should not succeed unto his father; but that the Diademe should be conferred upon *Demetrius*, if not by some other pretence, yet by meer favour of the *Romans*. This offended not only *Perseus*, but *Philip* himself: who suspected his younger son, as more *Roman* than his own; and accordingly mis-construed all his doings. But ere we proceed unto the bitter fruits of this jealousie; it will not be amisse to speak of some memorable accidents that were in the mean time.

§. II.

The death of Philopœmen, Hannibal, *and* Scipio. *That the Military profession is of all other the most unhappy; notwithstanding some examples, which may seem to prove the contrary.*

THE *Romans* wanting other matter of quarrell in the Continent of *Greece*, had of late been so peremptory with the *Achæans*; that they seemed not unlikely to take part against them, in any controversie that should be moved. Hereupon the *Messenians*, who against their will were annexed unto the *Achæan* Commonwealth, having long been of a contrary Faction thereto; grew bold to withdraw themselves from that Society, with purpose to set up again the Estate of their own, severed from communion with any other. This was the device of some that were powerfull in their City; who finding the multitude only inclinable to their purpose, and not overstrongly affected in the businesse; were carefull to seek occasion of reducing things to such passe, that all their Citizens might be entangled in a necessity of standing out, and of not returning to the *Achæan* League. And hereupon they began to do some acts of hostility; whereby it was probable that bloud should be drawn, and either side so far exasperated, that little hope of agreement would be left. Upon the fame of their commotion and proceedings; *Philopœmen*, then Prætor of the *Achæans*, levied such forces as he could in haste, and went against them. Many principall Gentlemen of the *Achæans*, especially of the *Megalopolitans*; were soon in a readinesse to wait upon him. Besides these, which were all, or for the most part, horse; he had some Auxiliaries out of *Thrace* and *Crete*, that usually were kept in pay. Thus accompanied, he met with *Dinocrates*, Captain of the *Messenians*; whom he charged, and forced to run. But whilest his horsemen were too earnest in following the chase; there arrived by chance a supply of five hundred from *Messene*, which gave new courage unto those that fled. So the Enemies began to make head again: and with the help of those, who very seasonably came to their aide, compelled *Philopœmens* horsemen to turn back. *Philopœmen* himself had long been sick of an Ague, and was then very weak: yet the greatnesse of his courage would not suffer him to be negligent of their safety, which had so willingly adventured themselves under his conduct. He took upon him to make the Retrait: and suffering his horsemen to passe along by him in a narrow lane, he often turned about against the *Messenians*; whom the reputation, and the knowledge of his great worth, did terrifie from approaching over near to him. But it fell out unhappily, that being cast to ground by a fall off his horse, and being withall in very weak plight of body, he was unable to get up again. So the Enemies came upon him, and took him; yet scarce beleeved their fortune to be so good, although their eyes were witnesses. The first messenger that brought these newes to *Messene*, was so far from being beleeved, that he was hardly thought to be in his right wits. But when the truth was affirmed by many reports, all the City ran forth to meet

him, and behold the spectacle seeming so incredible. They caused him to be brought into the Theater, that there they might satisfie themselves with beholding him. The greatest part of them had compassion on his mis-fortune: and in commemoration both of his vertue, and of the singular benefits by him done unto them, especially in delivering them from *Nabis* the Tyrant: began to manifest their good will for his delivery. Contrariwise, *Dinocrates* and his faction were desirous hastily to take away his life: because they held him a man implacable, and one that would never leave any disgrace, or injury, done to him, unrevenged. They durst not one trust another with the keeping of him: but committed him into a strong vault under ground, that had been made for the custody of their Treasure. So thither they let him down fast bound, and with an engine laid an heavy stone upon the mouth of the Vault. There he had not stayed long, ere his enemies had concluded his present death. The Hangman of the City was let down unto him, with a cup of poyson, which *Philopœmen* took in his hand: and asking no more than whether the Horsemen were escaped, and particularly whether *Lycortas* was safe; when he heard an answer to his minde, he said it was well: and so with a chearfull countenance, drank his last draught. He was seventy years old, and weakned with long sickness, whereby the poyson wrought the sooner, and easily took away his life. The *Achæans*, when they missed him in their flight, were marvellously offended with themselves, for that they had been more mindfull to preserve their own lives, than to look unto the safety of so excellent a Commander. Whilest they were devising what to do in such a case: they got advertisement of his being taken. All *Achaia* was by this report vehemently afflicted: so as Embassadours were forthwith dispatched unto *Messene*, craving his enlargement: and yet preparation made withall, to obtain it by force, in case that fair means would not serve. *Lycortas* was chosen Generall of the Army against *Messene*: who comming thither, and laying siege to the Town, enforced it in short space to yeeld. Then *Dinocrates* knowing what he was to expect, laid hands upon himself, and made an end of his own life. The rest of those that had been partakers in the murder, were compelled to wait in bonds upon the ashes of *Philopœmen* that were carryed home in solemne pomp to *Megalopolis*; where they were all of them slain at his funerall, as sacrifices to his Ghost whom they had offended. *Q. Martius*, a *Roman* Embassador, was then in *Greece*; whence, upon one occasion or other, the *Roman* Embassadors were seldome absent. He would have entermedled in this businesse of *Messene*, had not *Lycortas* made short work, and left him nothing to do.

About the same time was *T. Quintius Flaminius* sent Embassador to *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*: not so much to withdraw him from prosecuting the war against *Eumenes*, as to entreat him that he would deliver *Hannibal*, the most spightful enemy in all the world unto the Senate and People of *Rome*, into his hands. *Prusias* (therein unworthy of the Crown he wore) did readily condescend: or rather (as *Livie* thinks) to gratifie the *Romans*, he determined either to kill *Hannibal*, or to deliver him alive to *Flaminius*. For upon the first conference between the King and *Flaminius*, a troup of Souldiers were directed to guard and environ the lodging where *Hannibal* lay. That famous Captain having found cause before this to suspect the faith of *Prusias*, had devised some secret sallies underground to save himself from any treasonable and sudden assault. But finding now that all parts about him were fore-closed, he had recourse to his last remedy: which he then was constrained to practice, as well to frustrate his enemies of their triumphing over him, as to save himself from their torture and mercilesse hands; who, as he well knew, would neither respect his famous enterprises, his honour, nor his age. When therefore he saw no way to escape, nor counsell to resort unto, he took the poison into his hand, which he always preserved for a sure Antidote against the sharpest diseases of adverse fortune; which being ready to swallow down, he uttered these words: *I will now* (said he) *deliver the* Romans *of that fear which hath so many years possest them; that fear, which makes them impotient to attend the death of an old man. This victory of* Flaminius, *over me, which am disarmed, and betrayed into his hands, shall never be numbred among the rest of his heroicall deeds: No, it shall make it manifest to all the Nations of the world, how far the ancient* Roman *vertue is degenerate and corrupted. For such was the nobleness of their forefathers, as when* Pyrrhus *invaded them in* Italy, *& was ready to give them battell at their own doors, they gave him knowledge of the treason intended against him by poy-*

son:

son; whereas these of a latter race; have employed Flaminius, *a man who hath heretofore been one of their consuls, to practise with* Prusias, *contrary to the honor of a King, contrary to his Faith given, and contrary to the Laws of Hospitality, to slaughter or deliver up his own Guest.* He then cursing the person of *Prusias, and all his, and desiring the immortal gods to revenge his fidelity*, drank off the poyson, and dyed.

In this yeer also (as goon Authors have reported) to accompany *Philopæmen* and *Hannibal*, died *Scipio* the *African*; these being all of them, as great Captains as ever the world had; but not more famous than unfortunate. Certainly, for *Hannibal*, whose Tragedy we have now finished, had he been Prince of the *Carthaginians*, and one who by his authority might have commanded such supplies, as the War which he undertook, required; it is probable, that he had torn up the *Roman* Empire by the roots. But he was so strongly crost by a cowardly and envious Faction at home, as his proper vertue, wanting publike force to sustaine it, did lastly dissolve it self in his own, and in the Common misery of his Country and Common-weale.

Hence it comes, to wit, from the envy of our equals, and jealousie of our Masters, be they Kings or Common-weales, that there is no profession more unprosperous than that of men of war, and great captaines, being no Kings. For besides the envy and jealousie of men, the spoyles, rapes, famine, slaughter of the innocent, vastation and burnings, with a world of miseries laid on the labouring man, are so hateful to God, as with good reason did *Monluc* the Marshal of *France* confess, That, *were not the mercies of God infinite, & without restriction, it were in vain for those of his profession to hope for any portion of them: seeing the cruelties, by them permitted and committed, were also infinite.* Howsoever, this is true, That the victories which are obtained by many of the greatest Commanders, are commonly either ascribed to those that serve under them, to Fortune, or the cowardise of the Nation against whom they serve. For the most of others, whose vertues have raised them above the level of their inferiours, and have surmounted their envy: yet have they been rewarded in the end, either with disgrace, banishment, or death. Among the *Romans*, we finde many examples hereof; as *Coriolanus*, *M. Livius*, *L. Æmilius*, and this our *Scipio*, whom we have lately buried. Among the *Greeks* we read of not many, that escaped these rewards. Yea long before these times, it was a Legacie that *David* bequeathed unto his victorious Captaine *Joab*. With this fare *Alexander* feastned *Parmenio*, *Philotas*, and others; and prepared it for *Antipater* and *Cassander*. Hereunto *Valentinian* the Emperor invited *Ætius*: who, after many other victories, overthrow *Attila* of the *Hunnes*, in the greatest battel for the well fighting and resolution of both Armies, that ever was stricken in the world; for there fell of those that fought, beside run-awayes, an hundred and fourscore thousand. Hereupon it was well and boldly told unto the Emperour by *Proximus*, That in killing of *Ætius*, he had cut off his own right hand with his left: for it was not long after, that *Maximus* (by whose perswasion *Valentinian* slew *Ætius*) murdered the Emperor; which hee never durst attempt *Ætius* living. And besides the the loss of that Emperour, it is true, That with *Ætius*, the glory of the Westerne Empire was rather dissolved, than obscured. The same unworthy destiny, or a far worse, had *Belisarius*; whose undertakings and victories were so difficult and glorious, as after-ages suspected them for fabulous. For he had his eyes torne out of his head by *Justinian*: and he died a blinde begger. *Narses* also, to the great prejudice of Christian Religion, was disgraced by *Justine*. That rule of *Cato* against *Scipio*, hath been well observed in every age since then; to wit, That the Common-weale cannot be accounted free, which standeth in awe of any one man. And hence have the *Turkes* drawne another Principle, and indeed, a *Turkish* one, That every warlike Prince should rather destroy his greatest men of war, than suffer his own glory to be obscured by them. For this cause did *Bajazet* the second dispateh *Bassa Acomat*; *Selim*, strangle *Bassa Mustapha*; and most of those Princes bring to ruine the most of their *Visiers*. Of the *Spanish* Nation, the great *Gonsalvo*, who drave the *French* out of *Naples*: and *Ferdinando Cortese*, who conquered *Mexico*; were crowned with nettles, not with Lawrel. The Earles of *Egmond* and *Horn* had no heads left them to wear garlands on. And that the great Captaines of all Nations have been paid with this copper Coine; there are examples more than too many. On the contrary, it may be said, That many have acquired the State of Princes, Kings, and Emperours, by their great ability in matter of War. This I confess. Yet must it be had withall

in consideration, that these high places have been given or offered unto very few, as rewards of their military vertue; though many have usurped them, by the help and favour of those Armies which they commanded. Neither is it unregardable, That the Tyrants which have oppressed the liberty of free Cities: and the Lievtenants of Kings or Emperours, which have traiterously cast down their Masters, and stepped up into their seats; were not all of them good men of war: but have used the advantage of some commotion, or many of them by base and cowardly practices, have obtained those dignities, which undeservedly were ascribed to their personal worth. So that the number of those that have purchased absolute greatness by the greatness of their warlike vertue; is farre more in seeming than indeed. *Phocas* was a souldier, and by the help of the Souldiers he got the Empire from his Lord *Mauritius*: but he was a coward; and with a barbarous cruelty, seldome found in any other then cowards, he slew first the children of *Mauritius*, a Prince that never had done him wrong, before his face, and after them *Mauritius* himself. This his bloody aspiring was but as a debt, which was paid unto him again by *Heraclius*: who took from him the Imperial Crown, unjustly gotten; and set it on his own head. *Leontius* laid hold upon the Emperour *Justine*, cut off his nose and eares, and sent him into banishment: but Gods vengeance rewarded him with the same punishment, by the hands of *Tiberius*; to whose charge he had left his own men of war. *Justine*, having recovered forces, lighted on *Tiberius*, and barbed him after the same fashion, *Philippicus* commanding the forces of *Justine*, murdered both the Emperour and his son. *Anastasius*, the vassal of this new Tyrant, surprised his Maher *Philippicus*, and thrust out both his eyes. But with *Anastasius*, *Theodosius* dealt more gently: for having wrested the Scepter out of his hands, he enforced him to become a Priest. It were an endless and a needless work to tell, how *Leo* rewarded this *Theodosius*, how many others have been repaid with their own cruelty, by men alike ambitious and cruel; or how many hundreds, or rather thousands, hoping of Captaines to make themselves Kings, have by Gods justice miserably perished in the attempt. The ordinary, and perhaps the best way of thriving by the practice of Armes, is to take what may be gotten by the spoyle of Enemies, and the liberality of those Princes and Cities, in whose service one hath well deserved. But scarce one of a thousand have prospered by this course. For that observation, made by *Salomon*, of unthankfulness in this kinde, hath been found belonging to all Countries and Ages: *A little City, and a few men in it, and a great King came against it, and compassed it about, and builded Forts against it: And there was found a poor and wiseman therein, and he delivered the City by his wisdome: but none remembred this poor man.* Great Monarchs are unwilling to pay great thanks, lest thereby they should acknowledge themselves to have been indebted for great benefits: which the unwiser sort of them think to savour of some impotency in themselves. But in this respect they are oftentimes cousened and abused; which proves that weakness to be in them indeed, whereof they so gladly shun the opinion. Contrariwise, free Estates are bountiful in giving thanks, yet so, as those thanks are not of long endurance. But concerning other profit which their Captaines have made, by enriching themselves with the spoyle of the Enemy, they are very inquisitive to search into it; and to strip the well-deservers out of their gettings: yea most injuriously to rob them of their own, upon a false supposition: that even they whose hands are most clean from such offences, have purloyned somewhat from the common Treasury. Hereof I need not to produce examples: that of the two *Scipio's* being so lately recited.

Eccl. 9. 14. & 15

In my late Soveraignes time, although for the wars, which for her own safety, she was constrained to undertake, her Majesty had no less cause to use the service of Martial men both by Sea and Land, then any of her Predecessors for many yeers had: yet according to the destiny of that profession, I do not remember that any of hers, the Lord Admiral excepted, her eldest, and most prosperous Commander, were either enriched, or otherwise honoured, for any service by them performed. And that her Majesty had many advised, valiant, and faithful men, the prosperity of her affaires did well witness, who in all her dayes never received dishonor, by the cowardise or infidelity of any Commander, by her self chosen and imployed.

For as all her old Captaines by Land died poor men, as *Malbey*, *Randol*, *Drewry*, *Reade*, *Wilford*, *Layton*, *Pellam*, *Gilbert*, *Constable*, *Bourchier*, *Barkeley*, *Bingham*, & others:

so

ſo thoſe of a later and more dangerous imployment, whereof *Norrice* and *Vere* were the moſt famous, and who have done as great honor to our Nation (for the means they had) as ever any did; thoſe (I ſay) with many other brave Colonels, have left behind them (beſides the reputation which they purchaſed with many travels and wounds) nor title nor eſtate to their poſterity. As for the L. *Thomas Burrough*, and *Peregrine Berty*, L. *Willoughby* of *Ersby*, two very worthy and exceeding valiant Commanders, they brought with them into the world their Titles and Eſtates.

That her Majeſty in the advancement of her Men of war did ſooner believe other men than her ſelf, a diſeaſe unto which many wiſe Princes, beſides her ſelf, have been ſubject; I ſay that that ſuch a confidence, although it may ſeem altogether to excuſe her Noble Nature, yet can it not but in ſome ſort accuſe her of weakneſs. And exceeding ſtrange it were, were not the cauſe manifeſt enough, that where the proſperous actions are ſo exceedingly prized, the Actors are ſo unproſperous and ſo generally neglected. The cauſe, I ſay, which hath wrought one and the ſame effect in all times, and among all Nations, is this, that thoſe which are neereſt the perſon of Princes (which Martial men ſeldome are) can with no good grace commend, or at leaſt magnifie a profeſſion far more noble than their own, ſeeing therein they ſhould onely mind their Maſters of the wrong they did unto others, in giving leſs honor and reward to men of far greater deſerving, and of far greater uſe than themſelves.

But his Majeſty hath already paid the greateſt part of that debt. For beſides the relieving by Penſions all the poorer ſort, he hath honored more Martial men than all the Kings of England have done for this hundred yeers.

He hath given a Coronet to the Lord *Thomas Howard* for his chargeable and remarkable ſervice, as well in the yeer 1588. as at *Calix*, the Ilands, and in our own Sea; having firſt commanded as a Captain, twice admiral of a Squadron, and twice Admiral in chief. His Majeſty hath changed the Baronies of *Montjoy* and *Burley* into Earldomes; and created *Sidney* Vicount, *Knelles*, *Ruſſel*, *Carew*, *Danvers*, *Arundel* of Warder, *Gerald*, and *Chicheſter*, Barons, for their governments and ſervices in the *Netherlands*, *France*, *Ireland*. and elſwhere.

§. III.

Philip, *making proviſion for war againſt the Romans, deals hardly with many of his own ſubjects. His negotiation with the Baſtarnæ. His cruelty. He ſuſpecteth his ſon* Demetrius. Demetrius *accuſed by his brother* Perſeus; *and ſhortly after ſlain by his fathers appointment.* Philip *repenteth him of his ſons death, whom he findeth to have been innocent: and intending to revenge it on* Perſeus, *he dieth.*

QUintius Martius the *Roman* Embaſſador, who travelled up and down, ſeeking what work might be found about *Greece*, had received inſtruction from the Senate, to uſe the utmoſt of his diligence in looking into the Eſtate of *Macedon*, At his return home, that he might not ſeem to have diſcovered nothing, he told the *Fathers*, That *Philip* had done whatſoever they enjoyned him; yet ſo, as it might appear, that ſuch his obedience would laſt no longer, than meer neceſſity ſhould enforce him thereunto. He added further, That all the doings and ſayings of that King did wholly tend unto rebellion, about which he was deviſing. Now it was ſo indeed, that *Philip* much repented him of his faithful obſequiouſneſs to the *Romans*, and foreſaw their intent, which was, to get his Kingdome into their own hands; with ſafety of their honour, if they could finde convenient means; or otherwiſe (as to him ſeemed apparent) by what means ſoever. He was in an ill caſe: as having been already vanquiſhed by them; having loſt exceedingly both in ſtrength and reputation, having ſubjects that abhorred to hear of War with *Rome*; and having neither neighbour nor friend, that, if he were thereto urged, would adventure to take his part: yet he provided as well as he could deviſe, againſt the neceſſity which he daily feared. Such of his own people as dwelt in the maritime Towns, and gave him cauſe to ſuſpect that they would do but bad ſervice againſt the *Romans*, he compelled to forſake their dwellings, and removed them all into *Emathia*. The Cities and Country, whence theſe were tranſplanted, hee filled with a multitude of *Thracians*, whoſe faith he thought a great deal more aſſured

againſt

againſt thoſe enemies that were terrible to the *Macedonians*. Further, he deviſed upon alluring the *Baſtarnæ*, a ſtrong and hardy Nation, that dwelt beyond the river of *Danubius*, to abandon their ſeat, and come to him with all their multitude: who beſides other great rewards, would help them to root out the *Dardanians*, and take poſſeſſion of their Country. Theſe were like to do him notable ſervice againſt the *Romans*; being not onely ſtout fighting men, but ſuch, as being planted in thoſe quarters by him, would bear reſpect unto him alone. The leaſt benefit that could be hoped by their arrival, muſt be the utter extirpation of the *Dardanians*; a People alwayes troubleſome to the Kingdom of *Macedon*, whenſoever they found advantage. Neither was it judged any hard matter, to perſwade thoſe *Baſtarnæ*, by hope of ſpoyle, and other incitements, unto a more deſperate Expedition, through *Illyria*, and the Countries upon the *Adriaticke* Sea, into *Italy* it ſelf. It was not known who ſhould withſtand them upon the way: rather it was thought, that the *Scordiſci*, and peradventure ſome others, through whoſe Country they were to paſs, would accompany them againſt the *Romans*, were it only in hope of ſpoyle. Now to facilitate the remove of theſe *Baſtarnæ* from their own habitations, into the Land of the *Dardanians*, upon the border of *Macedon*; a long and tedious journey unto them, that carried with them their wives and children: *Philip* with gifts did purchaſe the good will of ſome *Thracian* Princes, Lords of the Countries through which they were to paſs. And thus he ſought means to ſtrengthen himſelf, with help of the wilde Nations, which neither knew the *Romans*, nor were known unto them; ſince he was not like to finde aſſiſtance from any civil Nation, about the whole compaſs of the *Mediterranean* Seas. But theſe devices were long ere they took effect: ſo as the *Baſtarnæ* came not before ſuch time as he was dead; his death being the overthrow of that purpoſe. In the mean time he neglected not the trayning of his men to war, and the exerciſe of them in ſome ſmall Expeditions againſt thoſe wilde people that bordered upon him, and ſtood worſt affected toward him.

But theſe his counſels and proceedings were miſerably diſturbed by the calamities that fell upon him, both in his Kingdome, and in his own houſe. The Families and whole Townſhips, which he had cauſed much againſt their wils to forſake their ancient dwellings, and betake themſelves to ſuch new habitations, as he in his diſcretion thought meeter for them, were vehemently offended at the change. Yet their anger at firſt contained it ſelf within words: he having done them no great wrong in that alteration, otherwiſe than by neglecting their affection to the places wherein they had long lived: which alſo he did unwillingly, being himſelf over-ruled by neceſſity, that ſeemed apparent. This evil therefore would ſoon have been determined, had not his cruel and vindicative nature made it worſe. He could not pardon words proceeding from juſt ſorrow: but imputed all to traiterous malice; and accordingly ſought revenge where it was needleſs. In his rage he cauſed many to die: among whom were ſome eminent men; and few or none of them deſervedly. This increaſed the hatred of the people, and turned their former exclamations into bitter curſes. Which grew the more general, when the King in a barbarous and baſe fury, miſtruſting all alike whom hee had injured, thought himſelf unlike to be ſafe, untill he ſhould have maſſacred all the children of thoſe parents, whom tyrannically he had put to death. In the execution of this his unmanly pleaſure, ſome accidents, more tragical than perhaps he could have deſired, gave men cauſe to think (as they could not in reaſon think otherwiſe) that, not without vengeance powred on him from Heaven, he felt the like miſery in his own children. It is hard to ſay what the *Romans* intended, in the extraordinary favour which they ſhewed unto *Demetrius*, the Kings younger ſon. It may well be (though it may be alſo ſuſpected) that they had no purpoſe to make and nouriſh diſſention between the brethren, but only to cheriſh the vertue and towardlineſs of *Demetrius*; like as we find it in their Hiſtories. But their notable favour towards this young Prince, and his mutual reſpect of them, bred extream jealouſie in the fathers head. If any cuſtome of the *Romans*, the manner of their life, the faſhion of their apparel, or the unſightly contriving and building (as then it was) of the Town of *Rome*, were jeſted at in ordinary diſcourſe and table-take; *Demetrius* was ſure to be preſently on fire, defending and praiſing them, even in ſuch points as rather needed excuſe. This, and his daily converſation with their Embaſſadours as often as they came, gave his father cauſe.

cause to think, that he was no fit partaker of any counsell held against them. Wherefore he communicated all his devices with his elder son *Perseus*: who fearing so much lest his brother should step between him and the succession, converted wholly unto his destruction, that grace which he had with his father. *Perseus* was then thirty years old, of a stirring spirit, though much defective in valour. *Demetrius* was younger by five years, more open and unwary in his actions, yet thought old and crafty enough, to entertain more dangerous practises, than his free speeches discovered. The jealous head of the King having entertained such suspicions, that were much increased by the cunning practice of his elder son, a slight occasion made the fire break out, that had long lain smothered. A Muster and ceremonious lustration of the Army, was wont to be made at certain times with great solemnity. The manner of it at the present was thus: They cleft in twain a bitch, and threw the head and forepart, with the entrails, on the right hand, and the hinder part on the left hand of the way which the Army was to passe. This done the armes of all the Kings of *Macedon*, from the very first originall, were born before the Army. Then followed the King between his two sons: after him came his own band, and they of his guard; whom all the rest of the *Macedonians* followed. Having performed other ceremonies, the Army was divided into two parts: which under the Kings two sons, charged each other in manner of a true fight, using poles, and the like, in stead of their pikes and accustomed weapons. But in this present skirmish there appeared some extraordinary contention for the victory: whether happening by chance, or whether the two Captains did over-earnestly seek each to get the upper hand, as a betokening of their good successe in a greater tryall. Some small hurt there was done, and wounds given, even with those stakes, untill *Perseus* his side at length recoyled. *Perseus* himself was sorry for this, as it had been some bad presage: but his friends were glad, and thought, that hereof might be made good use. They were of the craftier sort: who, perceiving which way the Kings favour bent, and how all the courses of *Demetrius* led unto his own ruine, addressed their services to the more malicious and crafty head. And now they said, that this victory of *Demetrius* would afford matter of complaint against him; as if the heat of his ambition had carryed him beyond the rules of that solemn pastime. Each of the brethren was that day to feast his own companions, and each of them had spies in the others lodging, to observe what was said and done. One of *Perseus* his Intelligencers behaved himself so indiscreetly, that he was taken & well beaten by three or four of *Demetrius* his men, who turned him out of doors. After some store of wine, *Demetrius* told his companions, that he would go visit his brother, and see what cheer he kept. They agreed to his motion, excepting such of them as had ill handled his brothers man: yet he would leave none of his train behinde, but forced them all to bear him company. They, fearing to be ill rewarded for their late diligence, armed themselves secretly to prevent all danger. Yet was there such good espiall kept, that this their comming armed was forthwith made known to *Perseus*: who thereupon tumultuously locked up his doors, as if he stood in fear to be assaulted in his house. *Demetrius* wondred to see himself excluded, and fared very angerly with his brother. But *Perseus* bidding him be gone as an enemy, and one whose murdrous purpose was detected, sent him away with an entertainment no better than defiance. The next day the matter was brought before the King. The elder brother accused the younger unto the father of them both. Much there was alledged, & in effect the same that hath been here recited, save that by misconstruction all was made worse. But the main point of the accusation, and which did aggravate all the rest, was, That *Demetrius* had undertaken this murder, and would perhaps also dare to undertake a greater, upon confidence of the *Romans*; by whom he knew that he should be defended and born out. For *Perseus* made shew, as if the *Romans* did hate him; because he bore a due respect unto his father, and was sorry to see him spoyled, and daily robbed of somewhat by them. And for this cause he said it was, that they did animate his brother against him: as also that they sought how to win unto *Demetrius* the love of the *Macedonians*. For proof hereof he cited a letter, sent of late from *Titus Quintius* to the King himself: whereof the contents were, That he had done wisely in sending *Demetrius* to *Rome*; and that he should yet further do well to send him thither again, accompanied with a greater and more honourable train of *Macedonian* Lords. Hence he enforced, That this counsell was given by *Titus*, of purpose to shake the allegiance of those, that

should

ſhould wait upon his brother to *Rome*; and make them, forgetting their duties to their old King, become ſervants to this young traitor *Demetrius*. Hereto *Demetrius* made anſwer, by rehearſing all paſſages of the day and night foregoing, in ſuch manner as he remembred them, and had conceived of them: bitterly reprehending *Perſeus*, that convered matters of paſtime, and what was done or ſpoken in wine, to ſuch an accuſation, whereby he ſought his innocent brothers death. As for the love which the *Romans* did bear him, he ſaid that it it grew, if not by his own vertue, at leaſtwiſe from their opinion thereof: ſo as by any impious practice, he were more like to loſe it wholly, than to increaſe it. In this wretched pleading there wanted no ſuch paſſions, as are incident to fathers, children, and brethren, beſides thoſe that are common to all Plaintiffes and Defendants, before ordinary Judges. The King pronounced like a father, though a jealous father, That he would conclude nothing upon the exceſſe or errour, whatſoever it were, of one day and night, nor upon one hours audience of the matter, but upon better obſervation of their lives, manners, and whole carriage of themſelves both in word and deed. And herein he may ſeem to have dealt both juſtly and compaſſionately. But from this time forward he gave himſelf over wholly to *Perſeus*: uſing ſo little conference with his yonger ſon, that when he had matters of weight in hand, ſuch eſpecially as concerned the *Romans*, he liked neither to have him preſent, nor near unto him. Above all, he had eſpeciall care, to learn out what had paſſed between *Demetrius* and *T. Quintius*, or any other of the *Roman* great ones. And to this purpoſe he ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome*, *Philocles* & *Apelles*; men whom he thought no way intereſſed in the quarrels between the brethren, though indeed they altogether depeuded on the elder, whom they ſaw the more in grace. Theſe brought home with them a letter, ſaid to be written by *Titus* (whoſe ſeal they had counterfeited) unto the King. The contents whereof were, A deprecation for the yong Prince; with an intimation, as by way of granting it, That his youthful and ambitious deſires had cauſed him to enter into practices unjuſtifiable, againſt his elder brother, which yet ſhould never take effect: for that *Titus* himſelf would not be author, or abettor of any impious device. This manner of excuſe did forcibly perſwade the king to think his ſon a dangerous Traytor. To ſtrengthen him in this opinion, one *Didas*, to whom he gave *Demetrius* in cuſtody, made ſhew as if he had pitied the eſtate of the unhappy Prince, and ſo wrung out of him his ſecret intentions, which he ſhortly diſcovered unto *Philip*. It was the purpoſe of *Demetrius* to flye ſecretly to *Rome*; where he might hope not only to live in ſafety, from his father and brother, but in greater likelihood, than he could finde at home, of bettering ſuch claim as he had in reverſion unto the Crown of *Macedon*. Whatſoever his hopes and meanings were, all came to nought through the falſhood of *Didas*; who, playing on both hands, offered unto the Prince his help for making the eſcape, and in the mean while revealed the whole matter to the King. So *Philip* reſolved to put his ſon to death, without further expence of time. It was thought behovefull to make him away privily, for fear leſt the *Romans* ſhould take the matter to heart, and hold it as a proof ſufficient, at leaſt, of the Kings deſpight againſt them, if not of his meaning to renew the war. *Didas* therefore was commanded to rid the unhappy Prince out of his life. This accurſed Miniſter of his Kings unadviſed ſentence, firſt gave poyſon to *Demetrius*: which wrought neither ſo haſtily, nor ſo ſecretly, as was deſired. Hereupon he ſent a couple of Ruffians, to finiſh the tragedy: who villainouſly accompliſhed their work, by ſmothering that Prince, in whoſe life conſiſted the greateſt hope of *Macedon*.

In all the race of *Antigonus* there had not been found a King, that had thus cruelly dealt with any Prince of his own bloud. The houſes of *Lyſimachus* and *Caſſander* fell either with themſelves, or even upon their heels; by inteſtine diſcord and jealouſies, grounded on deſire of ſoveraign rule, or fear of loſing it. By the like unnaturall hatred, had almoſt bin cut off the lines of *Ptolemy* and of *Seleucus*: which, though narrowly they eſcaped the danger, yet were their kingdomes thereby grievouſly diſtempered. Contrariwiſe, it was worthy of extraordinary note, how that upſtart family of the Kings of *Pergamus* had raiſed it ſelf to marvellous greatneſſe, in very ſhort ſpace, from the condition of meer ſlavery: whereof a principall cauſe was, the brotherly love maintained by them, with ſingular commendation of their piety. Neither was *Philip* ignorant of theſe examples; but is ſaid to have propounded the laſt of them to his own children, as a pattern for them to imitate. Certainly he had reaſon ſo to do: not

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more in regard of the benefit which his enemies reaped by their concord, than in remembrance of the tender fosterage, wherewith King *Antigonus* his Tutor had faithfully cherished him in his minority. But he was himself of an unmercifull nature; and therefore unmeet to be a good perswader unto kindly affection. The murders by him done upon many of his friends, together with the barbarous outrages, which for the satiating of his bloud-thirsty appetite, he delightfully had committed upon many innocents, both strangers, and subjects of his own; did now procure vengeance down from Heaven, that rewarded him with a draught of his own poyson. After the death of his son, he too late began to examine the crimes that had been objected; and to weigh them in a more equall ballance. Then found he nothing that could give him satisfaction, or by good probability induce him to think, that malice had not been contriver of the whole processe. His only remaining son *Perseus* could so ill dissemble the pleasure which he took in being freed from all danger of competition, as there might easily be perceived in him a notable change, proceeding from some other cause, than the remove of those dangers which he had lately pretended. The *Romans* were now no lesse to be feared than at other times; when he, as having accomplished the most of his desires, left off his usuall trouble of minde, and carefulnesse of making provision against them. He was more diligently courted, than in former times, by those that well understood the difference betwen a rising and a setting Sun. As for old *Philip*, he was left in a manner desolate, some expecting his death, and some scarce enduring the tediousnesse of such expectation. This bred in the King a deep melancholy; and filled his head with suspitious imaginations; the like whereof he had never been slow to apprehend. He was much vexed: and so much the more, for that he knew neither well to whom, nor perfectly whereof to complain. One honourable man, a Cousin of his, named *Antigonus*, continued so true to *Philip*, that he grew thereby hatefull to *Perseus*: and thus becomming subject unto the same jealous impressions which troubled the King, became also partaker of his secrets. This Counsellor, when he found that the anger conceived against *Perseus* would not vent it self, and give ease to the King, untill the truth were known whether *Demetrius* were guilty or no of the treason objected; as also that *Philocles* and *Apelles*, (the Embassadors which had brought from *Rome* that Epistle of *Flaminius*, that served as the greatest evidence against *Demetrius*) were suspected of forgery in the businesse: made diligent inquiry after the truth. In this doing, he found one *Xychus*, a man most likely to have understood what false dealing was used by those Embassadors. Him he apprehended, brought to the Court, and presented unto the King: saying, that this fellow knew all, and must therefore be made to utter what he knew. *Xychus* for fear of torture, uttered as much as was before suspected: confessing against himself, that he had been employed by the Embassadors in that wicked piece of businesse. No marvell, if the Fathers passions were extreme, when he understood that by the unnaturall practice of one son, he had so wretchedly cast away another, far more vertuous and innocent. He raged exceedingly against himself, and withall against the Authors of the mischief. Upon the first newes of this discovery, *Apelles* fled away, and got into *Italy*; *Philocles* was taken: and either forasmuch as he could not deny it when *Xychus* confronted him, yeelded himself guilty; or else was put to torture. *Perseus* was now grown stronger, than that he should need to flye the country: yet not so stout as to adventure himself into his fathers presence. He kept on the borders of the Kingdome towards *Thrace*, whilest his father wintred at *Demetrias*. *Philip* therefore, not hoping to get into his power, this his ungracious son, took a resolution, to aliene the Kingdome from him, and confer it upon *Antigonus*. But his weak body, and excessive grief of minde, so disabled him in the travell thereto belonging, that ere he could bring his purpose to effect, he was constrained to yeeld to nature. He had reigned about two and forty years: alwayes full of trouble; as vexed by others, and vexing himself with continuall wars; of which that with the *Romans* was most unhappy, and few or none of the rest found the conclusion, which a wise Prince would have desired, of bringing forth together both honour and profit. But for all the evill that befell him, he might thank his own perverse condition: since his Uncle, King *Antigonus*, had left unto him an estate, so great, and so well settled, as might it easie for him, to accomplish any moderate desires, if he had not abhorred all good counsell. Wherefore he was justly punished by feeling the difference between the imaginary happinesse of a Tyrant, which he affected, and

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the life of a King, whereof he little cared to perform the duty. His death, even whileſt yet it was only drawing near, was fore-ſignified unto *Perſeus*, by *Caligenes* the Phyſician, who alſo concealed it a while from thoſe that were about the Court. So *Perſeus* came thither on the ſudden, and took poſſeſſion of the Kingdome: which in fine he no leſſe improvidently loſt, than he had wickedly gotten.

§. IV.

How the Baſtarnæ fell upon Dardania. The behaviour of Perſeus *in the beginning of his reign. Some wars of the Romans: and how they ſuffered* Maſaniſſa *cruelly to oppreſſe the Carthaginians. They quarrelled with* Perſeus. *They allow not their Confederates to make war without their leave obtained. The Treaſon of* Callicrates, *whereby all Greece became more obnoxious to Rome, than in former times. Further quarrels to* Perſeus. *He ſeeks friendſhip of the Achæans, and is withſtood by* Callicrates. *The Romans diſcover their intent of warring upon him.*

IMmediately upon the death of *Philip*, came the *Baſtarnæ* into *Thrace*; where order had been taken, long before, both for the free paſſage, and for the indemnity of the Country. This compact was friendly obſerved, as long as no other was known than that *Philip* did live to recompence all that ſhould be done, or ſuſtained, for his ſervice. But when it was heard, that a new King reigned in *Macedon*, and not heard withall, that he took any care what became of the enterprize: then was all daſht and confounded. The *Thracians* would no longer afford ſo good markets unto theſe ſtrangers, as formerly they had done. On the other ſide, the *Baſtarnæ* would not be contented with reaſon, but became their own carvers. Thus each part having loſt the rich hopes repoſed in *Philip*, grew carefull of thriving in the preſent; with little regard of right or wrong. Within a while they fell to blowes; and the *Baſtarnæ* had the upper hand, ſo as they chaſed the *Thracians* out of the plain Countries. But the victors made little uſe of their good fortune. For whether by reaſon of ſome overthrow, received by them in aſſaulting a place of ſtrength; or whether becauſe of extreme bad weather, which is ſaid to have afflicted them as it were miraculouſly: all of them returned home, ſave thirty thouſand, which pierced on into *Dardania*. How theſe thirty thouſand ſped in their voyage, I do not finde. It ſeems that by the careleſſe uſing of ſome victories, they drew loſſe upon themſelves: and finally took that occaſion, to follow their companions back into their own Country.

As for *Perſeus*, he thought it not expedient, in the novelty of his reign, to embroile himſelf in a war ſo dangerous, as that with the *Romans* was likely to prove. Wherefore he wholly gave his minde to the ſetling of his Eſtate, which well done, he might afterwards accommodate himſelf, as the condition of his affairs ſhould require, either for war or peace. To prevent all danger of rebellion, he quickly took away the life of *Antigonus*. To win love of his people, he ſate perſonally to hear their cauſes in judgement, (though herein he was ſo over-diligent and curious, that one might have perceived this his vertue of juſtice to be no better than fained) as alſo he gratified them with many delightfull ſpectacles, magnificently by him ſet forth. Above all, he had care to avoid all neceſſity of war with *Rome*: and therefore made it his firſt work, to ſend Embaſſadors thither, to renew the league; which he obtained, and was by the Senate ſaluted King, and friend unto the State. Neither was he negligent in ſeeking to purchaſe good will of the *Greeks*, and other his neighbours: but was rather herein ſo exceſſively bountifull, that it may ſeem a wonder how in few years, to his utter ruine, he became ſo griping and tenacious. His fear was indeed the maſtring paſſion, which over-ruled him, and changed him into ſo many ſhapes, as made it hard to diſcern which of his other qualities were naturally his own. For proof of this, there is requiſite no more, than the relation of his actions paſt and following.

The *Romans* continued, as they had long, buſie in wars againſt the *Spaniards* and *Ligurians*; people often vanquiſhed, and as often breaking forth into new rebellion. They alſo conquered *Iſtria*; ſubdued the rebelling *Sardinians*; and had ſome quarrels, though to little effect, with the *Illyrians* and others. Over the *Carthaginians* they bore (as ever ſince the victory) a heavy hand: and ſuffered *Maſaniſſa* to take from them what he liſted.

listed. The *Carthaginians*, like obedient Vassals to *Rome*, were affraid, though in defence of their own, to take armes: from which they were bound by an Article of peace, except it were with leave of the *Romans*. *Masanissa* therefore had great advantage over them, and was not ignorant how to use it. He could get possession by force, of whatsoever he desired, ere their complaining Embassadors could be at *Rome*: and then were the *Romans* not hardly entreated to leave things as they found them.

So had he once dealt before, in taking from them the Country of *Emporia*: and so did he use them again and againe; with pretence of title, where he had any; otherwise, without it. *Gala* the Father of *Masanissa* had wonne some land from the *Carthaginians*; which afterward *Syphax* wanne from *Gala*, and within a while, restored to the right owners, for love of his wife *Sophonisba*, and of *Asdrubal* his father-in law. This did *Masanissa* take from them by force: and by the *Romans* (to whose judgement the case was referred) was permitted quietly to hold it. The *Carthaginians* had now good experience, how beneficial it was for their Estate, to use all manner of submissive obedience to *Rome*. They had scarcely digested this injury, when *Masanissa* came upon them againe, and took from them above seventy Towns and Castles, without any colour of right. Hereof by their Embassadors, they made lamentable complaint unto the *Roman* Senate. They shewed how grievously they were oppressed by reason of two Articles in their League: That they should not make war out of their own Lands; nor with any Confederates of the *Romans*. Now although it were so that they might lawfully withstand the violence of *Masanissa*, invading their Countrey, howsoever he was pleased to call it his: yet since he was Confederate with the *Romans*, they durst not presume to bear defensive armes against him, but suffered themselves to be eaten up, for fear of incurring the *Romans* indignation. Wherefore they intreated, that they might have fairer justice; or be suffered to defend their own by strong hand; or at least, if right must wholly give place to favor, That the *Romans* yet would be pleased to determine, how far forth *Masanissa* should be allowed to proceed in these outrages. If none of these petitions could be obtained, then desired they, that the *Romans* would let them understand, wherein they had offended since the time that *Scipio* gave them peace; and vouchsafe to inflict on them such punishment as they themselves in honour should think meet: for that better and more to their comfort it were, to suffer at once what should be appointed by such Judges; than continually to live in fear, and none otherwise draw breath, than at the mercy of this *Numidian* Hangman. And herewithal the Embassadors threw themselves prostrate on the ground, weeping; in hope to move compassion.

Here may we behold the fruits of their envy to that valiant house of the *Barchines*; of their irresolution in prosecuting a war so important, as *Hannibal* made for them in *Italy*; and of their half-penny-worthing in matter of expence when they had adventured their whole estate in the purchase of a great Empire. Now are they servants, even to the servants of those men, whose fathers they have often chased, slain, taken & sold as bondslaves in the streets of *Carthage*, and in all cities of *Africk* & *Greece*. Now have they enough of that *Roman* peace, which *Hanno* so often and so earnestly desired. Only they want peace with *Masanissa*, once their mercenary; and now their master, or rather their tormentor; out of whose cruel hands, they beseech their masters to take the office of correcting them. In such case are they, and adore the *Romans*, whom they see flourishing in such prosperity as might have been their owne. But the *Romans* had far better entreated *Varro*, who lost the battel at *Cannæ*; than *Hannibal* that wan it was used by the *Carthaginians*: they had freely bestowed, every man of them, all his private riches upon the Commonwealth, and employed their labours for the publike, without craving recompence: as also they had not thought it much, though being in extream want, to set out an Army into *Spaine*, at what time the enemy lay under their own wals. These were no *Carthaginian* vertues: and therefore the *Carthaginians*, having fought against their betters, must patiently endure the miseries belonging to the vanquished. Their pitiful behaviour bred peradventure some commiseration; yet their tears may seem to have been mistrusted, as proceeding no less from envy to the *Romans*, than from any feeling of their own calamity. They thought themselves able to fight with *Masanissa*: which estimation of their forces was able to make them, after a little while, enter into comparisons with *Rome*. Wherefore they obtained not such leave as they sought,

of defending their own right by armes: but contrariwise, when without leave obtained, they presumed so far, the destruction of *Carthage* was thought an easie punishment of that offence. At the present, they received a gentle answer; though they had otherwise little amends. *Gulussa* the son of *Masanissa* was then in *Rome*; and had not as yet craved audience. He therefore was called before the Senate; where he was demanded the reason of his coming; and had related unto him the complaint made by the *Carthaginians* against his father. He answered, That his Father not being throughly aware of any Embassadors thither sent from *Carthage*, had therefore not given him instructions, how to deal in that business. Onely it was known, that the *Carthaginians* had held Councel divers nights, in the Temple of *Æsculapius*: whereupon he himself was dispatched away to *Rome*, there to intreat the Senate, that these common enemies of the *Romans*, and of his Father, might not be overmuch trusted; especially against his Father, whom they hated most maliciously, for his constant faith to the people of *Rome*. This answer gave little satisfaction. Wherefore the Senate replyed, that for *Masanissa* his sake, they had done, and would do, whatsoever was reasonable; but that it stood not with their justice, to allow of this his violence, in taking from the *Carthaginians* those Lands, which by the covenants of the League, were granted unto them freely to enjoy. With this milde rebuke they dismissed *Gulussa*; bestowing on him friendly presents (as also they did on the *Carthaginians*) and willed him to tell his Father, that he should do well to send Embassadors, more fully instructed in this matter. This happened when the *Macedonian* war was even ready to begin: at which time the *Romans* were not willing too much to offend, either the *Carthaginians* (for fear of urging them unseasonably to rebellion) or *Masanissa*, at whose hands they expected no little help. So were they aided both by the *Carthaginians*, and *Masanissa*: by the *Carthaginians*, partly for fear, partly for hope of better usage in the future; by *Masanissa*, in way of thankfulness; though if it had happened (which was unlikely) that they should be vanquished, he made none other account, than that all *Africk* round about him, and *Carthage* therewithal, should be his own.

In the midst of all these cares, the *Romans* had not been unmindful of *Perseus*. They visited him daily with Embassadours; that is, with honourable spies to observe his behaviour. These he entertained kindely at first, until (which fell out ere long) he perceived whereto their diligence tended. First they quarrelled with him about the troubles in *Dardania*: neither would they take any satisfaction, until the *Bastarnæ* were thence gone; though he protested, that he had not sent for them. Afterward they pried narrowly into his doings; and were no less ill contented with good offices, by him done, to sundry of his neighbours, than with those wrongs, which (they said) that he did unto other some. Where he did harm to any, they called it, making war upon their friends: Where he did good, if they called such his bounty, seeking friends to take his part against them. The *Dolopians*, his subjects, (upon what occasion it is uncertain) rebelled, and with exquisite torments slew *Euphranor*, whom he had appointed their Governour. It seemes that *Euphranor* had played the Tyrant among them. For they were a people without strength to resist the *Macedonian*: and therefore unlikely to have presumed far, unless either they had been extreamly provoked; or else were secretly animated by the *Romans*. Whatsoever it was that bred this courage in them, *Perseus* did soon allay it, and reclaime them by strong hand. But the *Romans* took very angerly this presumption of the King: even as if he had invaded some Country of their *Italian* Confederates, and not corrected his own rebels at home. Faine they would have had him to draw in the same yoke with the *Carthaginians*; whereunto had he humbled once his neck, they could themselves have done the part of *Masanissa*; though *Eumenes*, or some other fit for that purpose, had been wanting. And to this effect, they told him, That the Conditions of the League between them were such as made it unlawful, both to his Father heretofore, and now to him, to take arms without their licence first obtained.

To the same pass they would also faine have reduced the *Greeks*, and generally all their adherents, even such as had entred into league with them upon equal termes: whom usually they rewarded with a frown, whensoever they presumed to right themselves by force of Arms, without seeking first the Oracle at *Rome*. Hereof the *Acheans* had good experience: whose confidence in their proper strength, made them otherwhiles bold to be their own carvers, and whose hope of extraordinary favour at *Rome* caused them

them the more willingly to refer their causes to arbitrement. For when they went about to have chastised the *Messenian* by war; *T. Quintius* rebuked them, as too arrogant, in taking such a work in hand, without his authority: yet by his authority he ended the matter, wholly to their good liking. Semblably at other times were they reprehended, even with Lordly threats, when they took upon them to carry any business of importance, by their own power, without standing unto the good grace of the *Romans*. Who nevertheless upon submission, were apt enough to do them right. Thus were they tamed by little and little, and taught to forget their absolute liberty, as by which they were not like to thrive; especially in usurping the practice of Arms, which belonged only to the Imperial City. In learning this hard lesson, they were such untoward schollers, that they needed, and not long after felt, very sharpe correction. Yet was there no small part of blame to be imputed unto their Masters. For the *Roman* Senate, being desirous to humble the *Achæans*, refused not only to give them such aide as they requested, and as they challenged by the tenour of the League between them; but further, with a careless insolencie, rejected this honest and reasonable petition, That the Enemy might not be supplyed from *Italy*, with victuals or arms. Herewith not content, the Fathers, as wearied with dealing in the affaires of *Greece*, pronounced openly, That if the *Argives*, *Lacedæmonians*, or *Corinthians* would revolt from the *Achæans*; they themselves would think it a business no way concerning them. *Pol. Leg. 51. & 53.*

This was presently after the death of *Philopæmen*; at what time it was believed, that the Common-wealth of *Achaia* was like to fall into much distress; were it not upheld by countenance of the *Romans*. All this notwithstanding; when *Lycortas* Prætor of the *Achæans* had utterly subdued the *Messenians* farre sooner than was expected; and when as not only no town rebelled from the *Achæans*, but many entered into their corporation; then did the *Romans* with an ill-favoured grace, tell the same Embassadors, to whose petition they had made such bad answer (and who as yet were not gone out of the Citie,) That they had straightly forbidden all manner of succour to be carried to *Messene*. Thus thinking, by a fained gravity, to have served their own turnes; they manifested their condition; both to set on the weaker against the stronger and more suspected; and also to assume unto themselves a Soveraigne power, in directing all matters of war, which dissemblingly they would have seemed to neglect. In like manner dealt they with all their Confederates: not permitting any of them to make war; whether offensive or defensive; though it were against meer stangers; without interposing the authority of the Senate and people of *Rome*: unless peradventure, sometimes they winked at such violence, as did help towards the accomplishment of their own secret malice. Now these *Roman* Arts, howsoever many (for gainful or timerous respects) would seem to understand them; yet were generally displeasing unto all men endued with free spirits. Only the *Athenians*, once the most turbulent Citie in *Greece*, having neither subjects of their own that might rebel, nor power wherewith to bring any into subjection; for want of more noble argument wherein to practise their eloquence that was become the whole remainder of their ancient commendations, were much delighted in flattering the most mighty. So they kept themselves in grace with the *Romans*, remained free from all trouble, untill the war of *Mithridates*: being men unfit for action, and thereby innocent; yet bearing a part in many great actions, as Gratulators of the *Roman* victories, and Pardon-cravers for the vanquished. Such were the *Athenians* become. As for those other Common-weales and Kingdomes that with over-nice diligence, strove to preserve their Liberties and Lands, from consuming by piece-meale: they were to be devoured whole, and swallowed up at once. Especially the *Macedonian*, as the most unpliant, and wherein many of the *Greeks* began to have affiance, was necessarily to be made an example, how much better it were to bow, than to break.

Neither *Perseus* nor the *Romans* were ignorant, how the *Greeks* at this time stood affected. *Perseus*, by reason of his neer neighbourhood, and of the daily commerce between them and his subjects, could not want good information of all that might concern him, in their affaires. He well knew, that all of them now apprehended the danger which *Philopæmen* had long since foretold, of the miserable subjection, whereinto *Greece* was likely to be reduced, by the *Roman* Patronage. Indeed they not onely perceived the approaching danger, but as being tenderly sensible of their liberty, felt

themſelves grieved with the preſent ſubjection, whereto already they were become obnoxious. Wherefore though none of them had the courage, in matters of the publike to fall out with the *Romans*, yet all of them had the care to chooſe among themſelves none other Magiſtrates, than ſuch as affected the good of their Country, and would for no ambition, or other ſervile reſpect, be flatterers of the greatneſs which kept all in fear. Thus it ſeemed likely, that all domeſtical conſpiracies would ſoon be at an end; when honeſtie, and love of the Common-weale, became the faireſt way to preferment. Of this careful proviſion for the ſafety of *Greece*, the *Romans* were not throughly advertiſed: either becauſe things were diligently concealed from their Embaſſadors, whom all men knew to be little better then ſpies; or becauſe little account was made of that intelligence, which was brought in by ſuch Traitors (of whom every Citie in *Greece* had too many) as were men unregarded among their own people, and therefore more like to ſpeak maliciouſly than truly; or prehaps becauſe the Embaſſadours themſelves, being all Senators, and capable of the greateſt Office or charge, had no will to finde out other matter of trouble, than was fitting to their own deſires of employment. But it is hard to conceale that which many know, from thoſe that are feated or flattered by many. The *Achæans* being to ſend Embaſſadors to *Rome*, that ſhould both excuſe them, as touching ſome point wherein they refuſed to obey the Senate; and inform the Senate better in the ſame buſineſs; choſe one *Callicrates*, among others, to go in that Embaſſage. By their making choice of ſuch a man, one may perceive the advantage, which miſchievous wretches, who commonly are forward in purſuing their vile deſires, have againſt the plaine ſort of honeſt men, that leaſt earneſtly thruſt themſelves into the troubleſome buſineſs of the weale publike. For this *Callicrates* was in ſuch wiſe tranſported with ambition, that he choſe much rather to betray his Countrie, than to let any other be of more authority than himſelf therein. Wherefore in ſtead of well diſcharging his credence, and alledging what was meeteſt in juſtification of his people, he uttered a quite contrary tale; and ſtrongly encouraged the *Romans*, to oppreſs both the *Achæans*, and all the reſt of *Greece*, with a far more heavy hand. He told the Senate, that it was high time for them, to look unto the ſettling of their authoritie, among his froward Countrimen, if they meant not wholly to forgo it. For now there was taken up a cuſtome, to ſtand upon points of confederacie, and laws: as if theſe were principally to be had in regard, any injunction from *Rome* notwithſtanding.

Hence grew it, that the *Achæans*, both now, and at other times, did what beſt pleaſed themſelves, and anſwered the *Romans* with excuſes: as if it were enough to ſay, That by ſome condition of League, or by force of ſome Law, they were diſcharged or hindred from obeying the decrees of the Senate. This would not be ſo, if hee, and ſome other of his opinion, might have their wils: who ceaſed not to affirme, That no Columnes, or Monuments erected, nor no ſolemn oath of the whole Nation, to ratifie the obſervance of Confederacie or ſtatute, ought to be of force, when the *Romans* willed the contrary. But it was even the fault of the *Romans* themſelves, that the multitude refuſed to give ear unto ſuch perſwaſions. For howſoever in popular Eſtates, the ſound of libertie uſed to be more plauſible, than any diſcourſe tending againſt it; yet if they which undertook the maintenance of an argument, ſeeming never ſo bad, were ſure by their ſo doing, to procure their own good; the number of them would increaſe apace, and they become the prevalent faction. It was therefore ſtrange how the *Fathers* could ſo neglect the advancement of thoſe, that ſought wholly to enlarge the amplitude of the *Roman* majeſty. More wiſely, though with ſeditious and rebellious purpoſe, did the *Greeks*; who many times, yea and ordinarily, conferred great honours, upon men otherwiſe of little account or deſert; only for having uttered ſome brave words againſt the *Romans*. The *Fathers* hearing theſe and the like reaſons, wherewith he exhorted them to handle roughly thoſe that were obſtinate, and by cheriſhing their friends, to make their party ſtrong; reſolved to follow this good counſel, in every point; yea to depreſs all thoſe that held with the right, and to ſet up their own followers, were it by right or by wrong. And to this end, they not only dealt thenceforth more peremptorily with the *Achæans*, than had been their manner in former times; but wrote at the preſent unto all Cities of *Greece*, requiring them to ſee that their mandate (which was concerning the reſtitution of thoſe that were baniſhed out of *Lacedæmon*) ſhould be fulfilled. Particularly in behalf of *Callicrates*, they adviſed all men to be ſuch,

Polyb. Leg. 58.

and

and ſo affected, as he was, in their ſeveral common-weales. With this diſpatch, *Callicrates* returned home a joyful man: having brought his Country into the way of ruine, but himſelf into the way of preferment. Nevertheleſs he forbore to vaunt himſelf of his eloquence uſed in the Senate. Onely he ſo reported his Embaſſage, that all men became fearful of the danger, wherewith he threatened thoſe that ſhould preſume to oppoſe the *Romans*. By ſuch Arts he obtained to be made Prætor of the *Achæans*: in which Magiſtracy, as in all his courſes following, he omitted nothing, that might ſerve to manifeſt his ready obſequiouſneſs unto thoſe whom he had made his Patrons.

Now as the *Romans* by threatning termes wan many flatterers, and loſt as many true friends: ſo *Perſeus* on the other ſide, thinking by liberal gifts, and hopeful promiſes, to aſſure unto himſelf thoſe that ill could brook his enemies; got indeed a multitude of partakers, though little honeſter than his enemies had. Thus were all the Cities of *Greece* diſtracted with factions: ſome holding with the *Romans*, ſome with the *Macedonian*, and ſome few, reſpecting onely the good of the Eſtates wherein they lived. Hereat the Lords of the Senate were highly offended; and thought it an indignity not ſufferable, That a King, no better than their vaſſal, ſhould dare to become head of a faction againſt them. This therefore muſt be reckoned in the number of his treſpaſſes: whereof if not any one alone, yet all of them together, ſhall afford them juſt occaſion to make war upon him. *Perſeus* having finiſhed his buſineſs among the *Dolopians*, made a journey to *Apollo* his Temple at *Delphi*. He took his Army along with him: yet went, and returned in ſuch peaceable and friendly wiſe, that no place was the worſe for his journey, but the good affection towards him generally increaſed thereby. With thoſe that were in his way, he dealt himſelf; to ſuch as lay further off, he ſent Embaſſadors or letters: praying them, That the memory of all wrongs whatſoever, done by his father, might be buried with his father; ſince his own meaning was to hold friendſhip ſincerely with all his neighbours. The *Romans* perhaps could have been pleaſed better, if he had behaved himſelf after a contrary faſhion, and done ſome acts of hoſtility in his paſſage. Yet as if he ought not to have taken ſuch a journy, without their licence; this alſo was made a valuable matter, and caſt into the heap of his faults. He labored greatly to recover the love of the *Achæans*: which his father had ſo loſt, that by a ſolemn decree, they forbade any *Macedonian* to enter their territories. It was jealouſie perhaps, no leſs then hatred, which cauſed them, at the firſt, to make ſuch a decree. For howſoever *Philip* had by many vile acts, eſpecially by the death of the two *Arati*, given them cauſe to abhor him; yet in the publike adminiſtration of their eſtate, he had, for the more part, been to them ſo beneficial, that not without much ado, and at length, without any general conſent, they reſolve to forſake him. Wherefore it was needful, even for preſervation of concord among them, to uſe all circumſpection, that he might not, by his agents, negotiate, and hold intelligence with any, in a country towards him ſo doubtfully affected: eſpecially when by hearkening to his meſſages, they might make themſelves ſuſpected by their new friends. But the continuance of this decree, beyond the time of War, and when all danger of innovation was paſt, was uncivil, if not inhumane; as nourithing deadly hatred, without leaving means of reconciliation. And hereof the *Achæans* reaped no good fruit. For although they were not, in like ſort, forbidden the kingdome of *Macedon*: yet underſtanding what would be due to them, if they ſhould adventure thither, none of them durſt ſet foot therein. Hence it came to paſs, that their bondmen, knowing a ſafe harbour, out of which their maſters could not fetch them, ran daily away in great numbers: exceedingly to the loſs of ſuch, as made of their ſlaves very profitable uſe. But *Perſeus* took hold upon this occaſion: as fitly ſerving to pacifie thoſe, whoſe enmity faine he would have changed into love. He therefore apprehended all theſe fugitives, to ſend them home againe: and wrote unto the *Achæans*, That as for good will unto them, he had taken paines to reſtore back their ſervants, ſo ſhould they do very well to take order for keeping them, that hereafter they might not run away again. His meaning was readily underſtood, and his letters kindly accepted by the greater part; being openly rehearſed by the Prætor, before the Councel. But *Callicrates* took the matter very angerly; and bade them be adviſed what they did: for that this was none other, than a plain device, to make them depart from the friendſhip of the *Romans*. Herewithal he took upon him, ſomewhat liberally, to make the *Achæans* beforehand acquainted with the War, that was comming up on *Perſeus* from *Rome*. Hee told

told them how *Philip* had made preparations for the same war; how *Demetrius* had been made away, because of his good affection to the *Romans*; and how *Perseus* had since his being King, done many things, tending to the breach of peace. Briefly, He rehearsed all those matters, which were afterwards alledged by the *Romans*; the invasion of the *Bastarna*, upon the *Dardanians*; the Kings journey against the *Dolopians*; his voyage to *Delphi*; and finally, his peaceable behavior, which was (he said) a dangerous temptation of men to his party. Wherefore he advised them to expect the event of things, and not over-hastily to enter into any degree of friendship with the *Macedonians*. Hereto good answer was made by the Pretors brother: That *Callicrates* was too earnest in so light a matter; and that, being neither one of the Kings Cabbinet, nor of the *Roman* Senate, he made himself too well acquainted with all that had passed, or was like to follow. For it was well known, that *Perseus* had renewed his League with the *Romans*; that he was by them saluted King, and friend to the Estate; and that he had lovingly entertained their Embassadors: This being so; why might not the *Achæans*, as wel as the *Ætolians*, *Thessalians*, *Epirots*, and all the *Greeks*, hold with him such correspondence, as common humanity required? Nevertheless *Callicrates* was grown a man so terrible, by his *Roman* acquaintance, that they durst not over-stiffely gainesay him. Therefore the matter was referred unto further deliberation: and answer made the whilst, That since the King had only sent a letter without an Embassador, they knew not how to resolve. Better it was to say thus, than that they were afraid to do as they thought most reasonable and convenient. But when *Perseus* herewith not contented, would needs urge them further, and send Embassadors: then were they faine, without any good pretence, to put on a countenance of anger, and deny to give audience: which was proof sufficient (to one that could understand) of the condition wherein they lived. For harkening to this advice of *Callicrates*; they were soon after highly commended by a *Roman* Embassador: whereby it became apparent, that the *Romans* intended War upon the *Macedonian*; though hitherto no cause of War was given.

Liv. lib. 42.

§. V.

How Eumenes *King of* Pergamus *was busied with* Pharnaces, *the* Rhodians, *and others. His hatred to the* Macedonian: *whom he accuseth to the* Roman *Senate. The Senate honors him greatly, and contemnes his enemies the* Rhodians *with the causes thereof. The unusual stoutness of the* Macedonian *Embassadors.* Perseus *his attempt upon* Eumenes. *The brotherly love between* Eumenes *and* Attalus. Perseus *his device to poyson some of the* Roman *Senators: whereupon they decree war against him, and send him defiance. Other things concerning the justice of this war.*

Eumenes King of *Pergamus* had been troubled about these times, by the Kings *Pharnaces* and *Mithridates*, his neighbours. He had taken the right course, in making first his complaint to the *Romans*: by whom he was animated with comfortable words, and promise, That they, by their authority, would end the business to his content. But in conclusion, by the help of the Kings, *Prusias* and *Ariarathes*, he ended the war himself; and brought his Enemies to seek and accept peace, on such conditions as pleased him to give them. After this, being at good leisure; he began to consider how the affaires of *Macedon* stood under *Perseus*. His hatred to *Perseus*, wis very great: and therefore he was glad to understand, that the hatred of the *Romans*, to the same his Enemy was as great, and withal notorious. Now, besides his ancient and hereditary quarrel with the *Macedonian*; it vexed him exceedingly, That his own honors (whereof the *Greeks*, prodigal in that kind, had heaped immoderate store on his father and him) began to wax every where stale: whilst *Perseus*, either by his currying favour or by the envy born to the *Romans*, had gotten their best liking and wishes. For despight of this indignity, He stirred up the *Lycians* against the *Rhodians* his old friends: and in helping these rebels was so violent, that he proceeded, in a manner, open War. But smal pleasure found he in these poor and indirect courses of revenge.

Pol. Leg. 56. & 59.

The *Lycians* could not be saved by his Patronage from severe and cruel chastisement, given to them by the *Rhodians*. This tendered him contemptible: as likewise, his acts of hostility, little different from robberies, made him hateful to those which loved him before. As for his honours in the Cities of *Greece*; they not onely continued

Polyb. Leg. 74.

falling

falling into neglect; but were abrogated by a decree of the *Achæans*, as too unmeasured, misbeseeming them to give, and affected by him beyond the proportion of his deservings. All this (which he needed not to have regarded, had he not been too vainely ambitious) befel him; especially for his being over-serviceable to the *Romans*, and for his malice to that noble Kingdom; which if it fell, the liberty of *Greece* was not like to stand. Now for the redress hereof, he thought it vaine to strive any longer with bounty, against such an Adversary, as by hopeful promises alone, without any great performance, had over-topped him in the general favour. And therefore he resolved even to overturn the foundations of this popularity, by inducing the *Romans* utterly to take away from the eyes of men this Idol, the *Macedonian* Kingdom, which all so vainely worshipped. Neither would it prove a difficult matter, to perswade those that were already desirous: rather he was like to be highly thanked, for setting forward their wishes; and perhaps to be recompenced with some piece of the kingdom, as he had been rewarded, for the like service, when *Antiochus* was vanquished. *Liv. lib. 42.*

To this end he made a second voyage to *Rome*: where though he had little to say, which they knew not before, yet his words were heard with such attention, as if they had contained some strange novelty, and so pondered by the Fathers, as if the weight of them were to turn the ballance, that before was equal. The death of *Demetrius*, the expedition of the *Bastarnæ* into *Dardania*, that of *Perseus* himself against the *Dolopians*, and to *Delphi*, the great estimation of the *Macedonian* in *Greece*, his intermeddling in businesses of his neighbours, his riches and his great provisions, were all the material points of *Eumenes* his discourse. Only he descended unto particulars, having searched into all (as he professed) like unto a Spie. He said, that *Perseus* had thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, of his own, money in a readiness to entertaine ten thousand Mercenaries for ten yeers, armes to furnish a number thrice as great; The *Thracians* his friends at hand, ready, at a call, to bring him Souldiers as many as he should require; and that he prepared victuals for ten yeers, because he would not be driven, either to live upon spoyle, or to take from his own Subjects. Herewithall he prayed them to consider, that King *Seleucus*, the son and successour of *Antiochus* the Great, had given his daughter *Laodice* in marriage to *Perseus*; *Perseus* not wooing, but *Seleucus* offering the match; That King *Prusias* of *Bithynia*, by earnest suite, had gotten to wife the sister of *Perseus*, and that these marriages were solemnized with great concourse of Embassages from all quarters. Neither spared he to tell them, (though seeming loth to utter it plainly) That even the envy to their Estate was the cause, why many that could not endure to hear of amity with *Philip*, were now grown marvellously well affected to his son. All this, and some facts of *Perseus*, which might either be denied or justified, (as that he had procured the death of some which were friends to the *Romans*, and that he had expelled *Abrypolis* the *Illyrian*, who invaded *Macedon*, out of his kingdom, or Lordship) *Eumenes* failed not to amplifie unto the most: saying, that he thought it his duty to forewarne them: since it would be to himself a great shame, if *Perseus* got the start of him, and were in *Italie* making war upon the *Romans*, ere *Eumenes* could come thither to tell them of the danger.

It were too great folly, to believe that the *Romans* stood in fear of *Perseus*, lest he should set upon them in *Italie*. Nevertheless, forasmuch as they loved not to make war without faire pretence, not onely of wrong done to them or their associates, but of further hurt intended: great thanks were given to *Eumenes*, who had every way furnished them with such goodly colour, to beautifie their intendment. Now though it were so that he told them little else than what they knew before: yet his person, and the manner of his coming, made all seem greater. For if upon any relation made by their own Embassadors, or upon tales devised by their flatterers and spies, they had warred against *Perseus*, ere he had committed any open act of hostility against them; their injustice and oppression would have been most manifest. But when the wrongs to them done were so notorious, and the danger threatning them so terrible, that such a Prince as *Eumenes* came out of his own kingdome, as far as from *Asia*, to bid them look to themselves; who could blame them, if they took the speediest order to obtaine their own right and security? Toward this justification of the war, and magnifying the necessity that enforced them thereto, their more than usual curiosity, in concealing what *Eumenes* had uttered in the Senate, when they could not but understand that his errand

was

was well known; helped not a little. The *Macedonian* and *Rhodian* Embassadors were at *Rome*, provided of answers to the words, which they knew before-hand that he would speak; and with matter of recrimination. The vanity, either of him, or of some about him, seems to have disclosed all: when the weariness of the *Fathers*, in hiding that which all men knew, made a notable shew of some fearful apprehension; against which, it behoved their wisdome to neglect no possible remedy. Wherefore careless audience was given to the *Rhodian* Embassadors; who accused *Eumenes*, as one more troublesome to *Asia*, than *Antiochus* had ever been, and a provoker of the *Lycians* to rebellion. The *Rhodians* had with great pompe conveighed by sea unto *Perseus*, his bride *Laodice*; which friendly office, as the *Macedonian* bountifully requited, so the *Romans* despightfully accepted. Hence it grew, that when the *Lycians*, as already vanquished, were settling themselves in their obedience to the people of *Rhodes*, Embassadors came from *Rome* with strange news, which gave new life to the rebellion. For the Senate pronounced, That it stood not with the manner of the *Romans*, to alien quite from their own protection any people or Nation by them vanquished: and that the *Lycians* were by them assigned unto those of *Rhodes*, not as meer vassals, but as dependants and associates. For proof hereof, they referred themselves unto the commentaries of the ten Embassadors; whom they had sent to dispose of things in *Asia*, after the victory against King *Antiochus*. Hereat *Eumenes*, *Masanissa*, the *Aetolians*, and all other Kings or Estates that were beholding to *Rome* for increasing the number of their subjects, had cause to finde themselves agrieved, if they well considered the matter: since by force of this or the like decree, those their subjects might easily be made their fellows, whensoever it should please the Senate: though it were so, that al men knew the present meaning of the Senate: which was only to plague the *Rhodians* for their good will to *Perseus*, by setting them and the *Lycians* together by the ears. The *Fathers* could therefore see no reason to dislike *Eumenes*, upon this complaint made by the *Rhodian* Embassadors; which indeed more neerly touched themselves. Rather they honoured the King so much the more: for that others (as they would needs take it) conspired against him, because of his love to *Rome*.

Vel. Leg. 60. & 61.

Liv. lib. 41.

But the *Macedonian* Embassage they heard not so carelesly as angrily: though peradventure it well contented them to finde cause of anger. For whereas at other times all care had been taken, to pacifie them with gentle words and excuses: now heard they plainer language, and were told, That King *Perseus* desired much to give them satisfaction, concerning any deed or word of his, that might savour of hostility; but that, if his travel in this kinde proved vaine, then would he be ready to defend himself by armes, and stand to the chance of war, which often fals out contrary to expectation. These big words may seem to have proceeded from the vehemency of *Harpalus*, that was chief of the Embassadors; rather than from instruction given by the King, with whose faint heart they agreed not. Yet was there good reason, why *Perseus* himself might, at this time, think to speed better by a shew of daring, than he was like to do by any submission. For the eyes of all *Greece* being now cast upon him, as on the greatest hope of deliverance from the *Roman* servitude; it was not expedient, that he should lessen, or perhaps utterly cut off, the general expectation, and the good affection born to him, which thereon depended, by discovering his too much weakness of spirit, unanswerable to a work of such importance. Wherefore he, or his Embassador for him, was bold to set a good countenance on a game not very bad, but subject (in appearance) to fortune; which might have been his, had he known how to use it.

Now that this bravery (as better it may be termed than courage) proceeded from the Kings own heat; it appeares by his daring to adventure soon after, on a practice that more justly might anger the *Romans*, and give them fairer shew of reason to make war upon him. It was known that *Eumenes*, in returning home, would take *Delphi* in his way, and there do sacrifice to *Apollo*. *Perseus* deadly hating him, and thirsting after his blood, resolved to way-lay him, and by making there of him a sacrifice, to rid his own hands of a most mischievous enemy. So there were appointed three or four stout ruffians to do the murder: who placing themselves behind a broken mud-wall, on the side of a very narrow path leading up from the Sea to the Temple, did thence assault the King; whom they sorely bruised with great stones, and left for dead. They might have finished their work, such was the opportunity of the place which they had chosen; but fear of being

being apprehended, made them, without staying to see all sure, flee in such hast, that they killed one of their own companions, who could not hold pace with them; because he should not discover them. *Eumenes* was conveighed away to the little Ile of *Ægina*, where he was cured: being all the while kept so secretly, that the fame of his death was current in *Asia*. Hence it came, that his brother *Attalus* took upon him as King, and either took or would have taken to wife (supposing it belike a matter of State) *Stratonica* the daughter of king *Ariarathes*, whom he then thought the widow of *Eumenes*. It may wel be numbred among the rare examples of brotherly love, That when the king turned alive home, *Attalus* going forth to meet him and do his duty, as in former times, received none other check than, *that he should forbear to marry with the Queen until he were wel assured of the Kings death*. More than this, *Eumenes* never speak of these matters; but bequeathed at his death, unto the same brother, both his wife and kingdom. Alikewise *Attalus* forbore to attempt any thing to the prejudice of the king his brother: though the *Romans* (with whom he continued and grew in special favour, when *Eumenes* fel into their hatred) were in good readiness, to have transferred the kingdom from his brother to him. By such concord of brethren was the kingdom of *Pergamus* raised and upheld; as might also that of *Macedon* have been, if *Demetrius* had lived and employed his grace with the *Romans*, to the benefit of *Perseus*.

It is likly that *Perseus* was very glad, when he understood that his ministers had both accomplished his will, and had saved all from discovery. But as he was deceived in the maine point, and heard shortly after, that *Eumenes* lived, so was he beguiled in that other hope, of the concealment; which he vainly esteemed the less material. For he had written to one *Praxo*, a Gentlewoman of *Delphi*, to entertain the men whom he sent about this business: and she, being apprehended by *C. Valerius*, a *Roman* Embassadour, then attending upon the matters of *Greece*, was carried to *Rome*. Thus all came to light. *Valerius* also brought with him to *Rome*, out of *Greece* one *Rammius*, a Citizen of *Brundusium*; who comming newly from the Court of *Macedon*, loaden with a dangerous secret, had presently sought out the Embassador, and thereof discharged himself. *Brundusium* was the ordinary Port for ships passing between *Italy* and *Greece*. There had *Rammius* a faire house; wherein he gave entertainment, being a wealthy man, to Embassadors, and other honourable personages, both *Romans* and *Macedonians*, journying to and fro. By occasion of such his hospitality, he was commended to *Perseus*, and invited into *Macedon* with friendly letters; as one, whose many courtesies to his Embassadors, the King was studious to requite. At his comming he was much made of; and shortly, with more familiarity than he expected or desired, made partaker of the Kings secret. The summe of all was, That he must needs do a turn, in giving to such of the *Romans* as the King should hereafter name, a poyson of rare quality; sure in operation, yet not to be perceived either in the taking or afterward. He durst not refuse to accept this employment: for fear lest the vertue of this medicine should be tryed upon himself. But being once at liberty, he discovered all. *Rammius* was but one man, and one whom the King had never seen before, nor was like to see againe: and therefore, besides that the Kings denial ought to be as good as such a fellows affirmation, the accusation was improbable. Thus did *Perseus*, in time shortly following, answer for himself; and in like sort concerning the attempt upon *Eumenes*: denying to have had any hand, either in the one or other: yet withal professing; That such objections were not to be made unto a King, to prove the rightfulness of making war upon him; but rather unto a subject pleading for his life in judgement. But howsoever the *Romans* neglected the getting of stronger proof (which might have been easie) than any that we finde by them produced: yet the base and cowardly temper of *Perseus* was very suitable to these practices. Neither did the Senate greatly stand to dispute the matter with him: these his treacheries being held inexcusable. And as for his Royal Estate, wherein he supposed that they ought not to touch him for such private offences, it gave him no priviledge: they judging him to have offended in the nature of a King. Herein surely they wanted not good reason. For if he might not lawfully make war upon *Eumenes* their confederate, that is, if he might not send men to waste the kingdome of *Pergamus*, or to besiege the Townes: might he send Ruffians to murder the King? If it were no less breach of the league to destroy the Senators by fire or famine, then by violence of the sword, was it lawful for him to do it by poyson? Wherefore they presently decreed war against him; and sent Embassadours

dours to denounce it unto him, unleſs he would yeeld to make ſuch amends as they ſhould require. He ſeemed at this time to have been ſo confident in the general favour of *Greece*, and other comfortable appearances, that if he deſired not war, yet he did not fear it: or at leaſt he thought by ſhew of courage, to make his enemies more calm. He cauſed the Embaſſadors to dance attendance, till being weary, they departed without audience. Then called he them back, and bade them do their errand. They made a tedious rehearſal of all matters, which they had long bin collecting againſt him, and wherewith *Eumenes* had charged him: adding thereto, that he had entertained long and ſecret conference in the Ile of *Samothrace*, with Embaſſadours ſent to him out of *Aſia*, about ſome ill purpoſe. In regard of all which they peremptorily required ſatisfaction; as was their manner when they intended to give defiance. Better they might have ſtood upon the evidence, brought againſt him by *Rammius* and *Praxo*. For if thoſe accuſations could be verified, then wanted they not good ground whereon to build: of which otherwiſe they were deſtitute; it being no fault in a King, to be ſtrong, wel-beloved, and wel-friended. *Perſeus* anſwered, for the preſent, in a rage; calling the *Romans*, greedy, proud, inſolent, and underminers of him by their daily Embaſſadors, that were no better than meer ſpies. Finally, he promiſed to give them in writing their full anſwer: which was to this effect; That he would no longer ſtand to the league made between them and his father; and renewed by himſelf indeed only for fear; but wiſhed them to deſcend to more equal conditions; whereupon he, for his part, would adviſe, as they might alſo do for theirs.

Polyb. Legat. 9. *Liv. lib. 33.* In the form of the league between *Philip* and the *Romans*, as is ſet down by *Polybius*, we find no condition, binding the *Macedonian* to any inconvenience in the future; excepting thoſe which he immediately performed. But *Livie* inſerts a clauſe, whereby he was expreſly forbidden to make any war abroad, without leave of the *Romans*. It is moſt likely, that all the *Roman* confederates were included in this peace: whereby every one of the neighbours round about *Macedon*, entring ſhortly into league with *Rome*, did ſo bind the Kings hands, that he could no more make war abroad, then if he had been reſtrained by plain covenant. And thus might that ſeem an article of the peace, which never was agreed upon, but only was inferred by conſequence. Now if the *Romans* would urge this point further, and ſay, that the *Macedonian* might not bear defenſive arms, without their permiſſion; then had *Perſeus* very juſt reaſon to find himſelf aggrieved. For ſince they had allowed his father, without controle, to make war in *Thrace*, (whileſt they themſelves were unacquainted with the *Thracians*) and elſewhere abroad, though he asked not their licence: why ſhould they now interpret the bargaine after another faſhion? Was it now become lawful for him to chaſtiſe his own Rebels, or to repay an *Illyrian* that invaded *Macedon*? By ſuch allegations he maintained the right of his cauſe, in very milde ſort; when it was too late. At the preſent, by diſclaiming the league as unjuſt, he miniſtred occaſion unto the Embaſſadors, to give him defiance. Having heard the worſt of their meſſage, he commanded them to be gone out of his Kingdom in three dayes. But either he ſhould have been leſs vehement, or more conſtant in his reſolution. For if his heart could ſerve him to undertake the war, he ſhould couragiouſly have managed it, and have faln to work immediately, whileſt the Enemie was unprepared; not have loſt opportunitie, as now and often he did, in hope of obtaining a worſe peace than the former.

§. VI.

§. VI.

The Romans solicit the Greeks, to joyn with them in the war against Perseus. *How the Greeks stood affected in that war. The timorousness of* Perseus. Martius *a Roman Embassador deludes him with hope of peace. His forces. He takes the field, and wins part of Thessaly. The forces of* Licinius *the Roman Consul: and what assistants the Romans had in this war. Of Tempe in Thessaly; and what advantages the Macedonian had, or might have had; but lost by his fear.* Perseus *braves the Romans, fights with them, knows not how to use his victorie, sues for peace, and is denied it by the vanquished.* Perseus *having the worse in a skirmish, forsakes all the Countrey lying without Tempe. The Bœotians rebel against the Romans, and are rigorously punished. The Roman Commanders unfortunate in the war against* Perseus. *The vex the Greeks their friends; for whose ease the Senate makes provision, having heard their complaints. The flattering Alabanders.*

SO long had the *Romans* been seeking occasion to take in hand this *Macedonian* war, that well they might have been ready for it, when it came; and not (as they were) behinde hand in provisions. But it was on a sudden that they met with a confluence of good pretences to make the war: whereof, if no one alone had weight enough, yet all of them together seemed more than sufficient. This opportunity of making their cause honest in common opinion, was not to be neglected: though otherwise they were unprepared for the action. Wherefore knowing, or having reason to believe, that their own strength was such as would prevaile in the end; they hastily embraced the faire occasion of beginning, and referred other cares to the diligence of Time. Neither was this their unreadiness a smal help, towards examining the disposition of the *Greeks* and others; who must afterwards dearly pay for any backwardness found in their good will. There was not indeed any cause to fear, that all of the *Greeks* or other Eastern people should conspire together, and take part with the *Macedonian*: such was the dissention between their several Estates; howsoever the generality of them were inclined the same way. Nevertheless Embassadours were sent to deal with them all; and to crave their help against *Perseus*, or rather to demand it, in no less ample manner, than heretofore they had yeelded it against *Philip* and *Antiochus*, in wars pretending the liberty of *Greece*. The Embassadors used as gentle words for fashions sake, as if they had stood in doubt that their request might happen to be denied. But the *Greeks* were now grown well acquainted with such *Roman* courtesie: and understood that not only such as made refusal, but even they who might seem to have granted half unwillingly, were like to hear other manner of words, when once this business was ended. Wherefore none of them were scrupulous in promising the best of their help to the *Romans*: the * *Achæans* and *Rhodians*, which were chief among them, being rather doubtful, even when they had done their best, lest it should be ill taken, as if they had halted in some part of their duty. It is strange, that men could be so earnest to set up the side, whereof they gladly would have seen the ruine. The vulgar sort was every where addicted to *Perseus*; of the Nobles and Rulers, if some were vehemently *Roman*, they wanted not opposers, that were wholly *Macedonian*; yea, the wisest and most honest, who regarded only the benefit of their Country, wished better to *Perseus* than to the *Romans*. And of this number *Polybius* the chief of Historians was one: who though He * judged the victory of *Perseus*, like to prove hurtful unto *Greece*, yet wished he the *Romans* ill to thrive, that so the *Greeks* might recover perfect liberty: for his endevours in which course, he was at length tyrannically handled, as shall be shewed hereafter. This considered, it appears, that an extraordinary fear, and not only reverence of the Imperial City, made the *Achæans*, and other Estates of *Greece*, thus conformable to the *Romans*. The occasion of this their fear, may be justly imputed unto the timorous demeanor of *Perseus* himself. He had undertaken a war, whereof the benefit should redound, not only to his own Kingdome, but unto all that were oppressed by the *Romans*. Yet no sooner were some few companies brought over-sea, to make a countenance of meaning somwhat against him, than he began to speak the enemy faire, and sue for Peace at *Rome*. Since therefore it was known, that every smal thing would serve to terrifie him: and consequently, that it should at all times be in the *Romans* power, by

* *Polyb. Leg. 72. 73. & 80.*

* *Pol. Leg. 77.*

by giving him any tolerable conditions of peace, to take revenge at leisure upon those which had assisted him: little cause was there why any should adventure to partake with him. He made indeed a great noise; leading about his army; taking by force or composition some few Towns, and soliciting all to joyn with him. But wise men could not be so beguiled. For at the same time, he sought all means of pacification: and to that end, made humble suit unto the *Roman* Embassadours. *Q. Martius*, the chief of those Embassadours, and a man of more fineness in cunning than was usual among the *Romans*, made shew of inclination to the Kings desire; and gave out such comfortable words, that the King entreated, and obtained a meeting at the River *Peneus*. There did *Martius* very gently rebuke the King, and charge him with those crimes that are before mentioned. Whereto though *Perseus* made none other answer, than the same which they could have made for him, yet the Embassadours, and especially *Martius*, took it in good part, as therewith satisfied: and advised him to give the like satisfaction to the Senate. That this might conveniently be done, a truce was agreed upon. Thus had *Martius* his desire; which was, to make the King lose time. For *Perseus* had all things then in readiness, and might have done much, ere the *Roman* Army could have been in *Greece*. But by the interposition of this truce, he no way increased his forces; hee suffered a most convenient season, of winning upon the enemy, to slip away; and obtained in recompence nothing else, than leisure and vaine hope. Yet was he pleased herewith, as it had bin with some victory: publishing a copy of the disputation beetween him and the *Romans*, whereby he gave men to understand, how much he had the better, and what great hope there was of peace. He sent Embassadors also to the *Rhodians*, of whose good will to him he was best perswaded; not only to let them know how much he was superiour in cause; but to intreat them, that they would take upon them, as Moderators, to compound the differences between him and the *Romans*, if perhaps, notwithstanding the goodness of his cause, he should be denied peace. These were poor helpes. For hereby it appeared, that his late standing upon point of Honour, was no better than meer vanity, his own safety being the utmost of his ambition. This his fearfulness might seem excusable, and the blame thereof to appertaine unto the *Greeks*; who deceived his expectation, by being wanting to him in time of a necessity, that was partly their own: had it not been his office, who took upon him as their Champion, to give such a manly beginning to the war, as might encourage all others to follow him. But his timorous quality being found, men grew daily more and more averse from him, and were careful, not to put their shoulders to a falling wall. The *Rhodians*, among whom he had many stout partizans, desired him not to crave any thing at their hands, in which they might seem to do against the good liking of the *Romans*. The *Bœotians* also, who had entered of late into a strict society with the *Macedonian*, renounced it now, and made the like with the *Romans*: to whom further, in a sort, they yeelded themselves as vassals. Neither was *Martius* contented to accept their submission under a general form; but caused their several Towns to make covenant apart, each for it self; to the end, that being thus distracted into many little Common-weales, they might not (were they never so desirous to rebel) have such force to do hurt, as when they agreed, and were incorporated in one, under the Citie of *Thebes*. This work, of separating the *Bœotians* from *Thebes* their head, was more than *Agesilaus* could effect, or *Epaminondas* would suffer, then when all *Greece* followed the *Lacedæmonians*. So far more availeable to *Thebes*, being destitute of help from abroad, was the vertue of *Epaminondas* and a few brave Citizens, than was the society with King *Perseus*, against a number not so great as followed the *Lacedæmonians*.

Martius brought this to effect, whilest the King sate still, as being bound by the truce: and having done this, he turned to the City; where vaunting what he had wrought by his craft, he was commended, and (though some reproved it as dishonest) employed againe by the Senate, with commission to deale as he should think expedient. Touching the Embassadours which *Perseus* had sent; audience was given to them, for that they should not plainly see how their master was deluded: but neither excuse, nor intreaty, would serve their turn: the Senate being resolved before hand what to do. It was enough that they were admitted into the City, and had thirty daies respite allowed them to depart out of *Italy*: whereas they, who came last on the same errand, did their message without the wals, in the Temple of *Bellona* (the usual place of giving audience to

open

open enemies, or to such Commanders, as might not, by reason of some custome enter the City) and had only the short warning of eleven daies, to be gone out of *Italy*. Neither did this poor courtesie serve alone to hide the craft of *Martius*, as if he had meant none other than good earnest: but it was a likely mean, both to keep a long while from *Perseus* the knowledge of his businesse, and to stagger his resolution, when he should need it most firm.

And accordingly it fell out. For *Licinius* the *Roman* Consul was at *Apollonia*, in a manner as soon, as the *Macedonian* Embassadors were with their King at *Pella*. Which, though it were enough to have rouzed *Perseus*, and have made him lay aside all cowardly hope of getting pardon, yet was he content to deliberate a while, Whether it were not better to offer himself tributary to the *Romans*, and to redeem their good will with some part of his Kingdome, that so he might enjoy the rest; than to put all at once to hazard. But finally, the stoutest counsell prevailed; which also was the wisest, and so would have proved, had it been stoutly and wisely followed. He now began, as if the war had not begun untill now, to do what should have been done long afore. He caused all his forces to be drawn together; and appointed their Rendevous at *Citium*, a Town in *Macedon*. All being in readinesse, he did royall sacrifice, with an hundred beasts, to I know not what *Minerva*, that was peculiarly honoured in his Country: and then with all his Courtiers, and those of his guard, set forward to *Citium*. His army he found consisting of nine and thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, whereof about twelve thousand foot, and a thousand horse were strangers, of sundry nations, most part *Thracians*; the rest of his own *Macedonians*. These he animated with lively speeches; laying before them the glory of their ancestors, the insolency of the *Romans*, the goodnesse of his cause, the greatnesse of his provisions, and the many advantages which they had of the Enemy, especially in numbers. They answered him cheerfully, with loud acclamations, and bade him be of good courage. From all cities of *Macedon* there came likewise messengers, offering to help him with money and victuals, according to their severall abilities. He gave them thanks: but answered, That his own provisions would abundantly suffice, willing them only to furnish him with carts, for his engines and munition.

Out of his own Kingdome he issued forth into *Thessaly*: knowing that the *Romans* were to pass through that Countrey, in their journey towards him. Some Towns of *Thessaly* opened their gates unto him, without making offer to defend themselves; some he balked, thinking them too strong or well manned; and some he won by force. Of these last was *Nyle*; a Town thought impregnable, and therefore, not more stoutly than proudly defended by the inhabitants, who gave contumelious language to the assailants. It was taken by reason of a sally; which the Townsmen rashly made, and being driven back, received the *Macedonians*, that entred pell mell with them at the gate. All cruelty of war was practised here: to the greater terrour of the obstinate. So *Velatia* and *Connus* (townes of much importance, especially *Connus*, which stood in the straights of *Ossa*, leading into *Tempe*) yeelded at the first. Having well fortified this passage, the King marched onwards to *Sicurium*, a towne seated on the foot of mount *Ossa*; where he rested a while, expecting news of the Enemy.

Licinius the Consul brought with him only two *Roman* Legions: being promised other strength of auxiliaries, which was thought sufficient. *Eumenes* and *Attalus* his brother came to him in *Thessaly*, with four thousand foot, and a thousand horse. Thither also came, from every part of *Greece*, such aid as the severall Estates could afford, or thought expedient to send: which from the most of them was very little. Of the Kings abroad; *Masanissa* sent thither his son *Misagenes*, with a thousand foot, as many horse, and two and twenty Elephants. *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*, by reason of his affinity with *Eumenes*, was friend to the *Romans*, and had sent to *Rome* his young son, there to be brought up: yet he did little or nothing in this war; perhaps because *Eumenes* himself began within a while, but when it was too late, to be otherwise advised than he had been in the beginning. *Prusias* was content to be a looker on: as being allied to *Perseus*, and yet fearing the *Romans*. *Antiochus* and *Ptolemy* (though *Ptolemy* was then young, and under Tutors) had businesse of their own; the *Syrian* meaning to invade the *Egyptian*: yet each of them promised help to the *Romans* which they cared not to perform. *Gentius* the *Illyrian* was inclinable to the *Macedonian*,

yet made good countenance to the *Romans*, for fear. It was a pretty trick, wherewith *M. Lucretius*, the *Roman* Admirals brother, ſerved him, for this his counterfeit good will. This King had four and fifty ſhips, riding in the haven of *Dyrrachium*, uncertain to what purpoſe: all which *Lucretius* took away, after a very kinde ſort; making ſhew to beleeve, That for none other end than to ſerve the *Romans*, their good friend *Gentius* had ſent thither this fleet. But whatſoever *Gentius* thought in the beginning; he fooliſhly loſt both his Kingdome and himſelf, in the end of this war; by offering, rather than giving, his help to *Perſeus*.

With none other company than what he brought over the ſea, *Licinius* came into *Theſſaly*: ſo tyred with a painfull journey, through the mountainous country of *Athamania*, which ſtood in his way from *Epirus*; that if *Perſeus* had been ready, attending his deſcent into the Plains, the *Romans* muſt needs have taken a great overthrow. He refreſhed himſelf and his wearied army, by the River *Penens*; where he encamped, attending his auxiliaries, that came in as faſt as they could. It was not any ſlender help, that could enable him to deal with *Perſeus*. Therefore he reſolved, to abide where he then was, and keep his trenches, untill his numbers were ſufficiently increaſed: contenting himſelf in the mean while, to have gotten quiet entrance into the Country. The land of *Theſſaly*, in which theſe two armies lay, was better affected to the *Romans*, than any part of *Greece* beſides: as having been freed by them from a more heavy yoke of bondage to the *Macedonian*, when there was little hope or expectation of ſuch a benefit. It was generally rich, fruitfull, and abounding in all things needfull to mans life. In the midſt of it, but ſomewhat more to the Eaſt, was that beautifull valley of *Tempe*, ſo exceedingly full of all delights, that the name was often uſed at large, to ſignifie the moſt pleaſant and goodly places. This valley of it ſelf was not great; but adding to it thoſe huge mountains *Oſſa* and *Olympus* (famous in Poeſie) with their Spurs or Branches, by which it was on all ſides encloſed; it occupied the better part of *Theſſaly*. And this way were the *Romans* to enter into *Macedon*; unleſs they would make an hungry journey, through the countrey of the *Daſſaretians*, as in the former war with *Philip*, they had long, in vain, attempted to do. *Perſeus* therefore had no ſmall advantage, by being maſter of the ſtraights leading into *Tempe*: though far greater he might have had, if by miſ-ſpending of time he had not loſt it. For if in defending the ragged paſſages of theſe mountains, he were able to put the *Romans* often to the worſe; yea to win upon them (for a while) every year more than other, both in ſtrength and reputation: queſtionleſs he might have done far greater things, had he ſeized upon the ſtraights of *Aous*, which his father once kept, and defended all the Country behinde the mountains of *Pindus*. Surely not without extreme difficulty, muſt the *Romans* have either travelled by land, with all their carriages and impediments, through places wherein was no relief to be found; or elſe have committed their Armies, and all things thereto needfull, unto the mercy of Seas that were very dangerous; if they would have fought other way into *Macedon*, than through the heart of *Greece*: upon neither of which courſes they once deviſed, notwithſtanding any trouble which they found in this preſent war. It may perhaps be ſaid, that the *Greeks*, and others whom the King muſt have left on his back, would have made him unable to defend any places too far from his own home. But they were all, excepting the *Theſſalians*, better affected now to him, than they had been to his father in the former war. The *Ætolians*, upon whom the *Athamanians* depended, grew into ſuſpicion with the *Romans* (as we ſhall finde anon) even as ſoon as they met with *Perſeus*. The *Bœotians*, how politickly ſoever *Martius* had wrought with them, adventured themſelves deſperately in the *Macedonian* quarrell: what would they have done, if he at firſt had done his beſt? The *Rhodians*, *Illyrians*, yea and *Eumenes* himſelf, after a while began to waver, when they ſaw things go better with *Perſeus*, than they had expected. So that if in ſtead of diſcouraging his friends, by ſuing baſely for peace; he had raiſed their hopes, by any brave performance in the beginning; and increaſed the number of his wel-willers, yea and bought down with money (as he might have done) ſome of his enemies, and among them, *Eumenes*, who offered for good recompence, to forget his broken head: then might the *Romans* perhaps have bin compelled to forſake their imperious patronage over *Greece*; and to render the liberty, by them given, entire; which (otherwiſe was but imaginary. Such benefit of this war, ſince it was hoped for afterwards, might with greater reaſon have bin

expected

expected at first, from greater advantages. But as a fearfull company running from their enemies, till some river stay their flight; are there compelled by meer desperation to do such acts, as done, while the battell lasted, would have won the victory: so fell it out with *Perseus*. In seeking to avoid the danger of that war, whereof he should have sought the honour; he left his friends that would have stood by him, and gave them cause to provide for their own safety: yet being overtaken by necessity, he chose rather to set his back to the mountains of *Tempe*, and defend himself with his proper forces; than to be driven into such misery, as was inevitable, if he gave a little further ground. What was performed by him or the *Romans*, all the while that he kept his footing in *Thessaly*, it is hard to shew particularly, for that the history of those things is much perished. Wherefore we must be contented with the sum.

The Consul having no desire to fight, untill such time as all his forces were arrived; kept within his trenches, & lay still encamped by the River of *Penens*, about three miles from *Larissa*. That which perswaded the Consul to protract the time, did contrariwise incite the King, to put the matter unto a hasty triall. Wherefore he invited the *Romans* into the field; by wasting the land of the *Pheræans* their confederates. Finding them patient of this indignity; he grew bold to adventure even unto their trenches: out of which if they issued, it was likely, that his advantage in horse would make the victory his own. At his comming they were troubled; for that it was sudden: yet no way terrified; as knowing themselves to be safely lodged. They sent out a few of King *Eumenes* his horse, and with them some light armed foot, to entertain skirmish. The Captain, and some other of these were slain: but no matter of importance done; for that neither *Licinius*, nor *Eumenes*, found it reasonable to hazzard battel. Thus day after day, a while together, *Perseus* continued offering battail: which they still refused. Hereby his boldnesse much increased; and much more his reputation: to the grief of those who being so far come to make a Conquest, could ill digest the shame, that fell upon them by their enduring these bravadoes. The Town of *Sycurium*, where *Perseus* then lay, was twelve miles from the *Romans*: neither was there any convenient watering in that long march, which used to take up four hours of the morning; but he was fain to bring water along with him in carts, that his men might not be both weary and thirsty when they came to fight. For remedy of these inconveniences, he found out a lodging, seven miles nearer to the enemy: whom he visited the next day by the Sun rising. His comming at such an unusuall hour, filled the Camp with tumult: in so much as though he brought with him only his horse and light armature, that were unfit to assail the trenches, yet the Consull thought it necessary, and resolved to give check to his pride. Wherefore he sent forth his brother *C. Licinius*, King *Eumenes*, *Attalus*, and many brave Captains, with all his power of horse, his Velites, and all the rest of his light armature, to try their fortune: he himself remaining in the Camp, with his Legions in readinesse. The honour of this morning, was the *Macedonian* Kings; for he obtained the victory in a manner entire (though the *Thessalians* made a good retrait) with little losse of his own. But he discovered his weakneſse ere night, by hearkening, as Princes commonly do, to counsail given by one of his own temper. For whereas the *Romans* were in great fear lest he should assault their camp; and to that purpose, upon the first newes of his successe, his Phalanx was brought unto him by the Captains, though unsent for: he nevertheleſse took it for sound advice, which indeed was timorous and base, To work warily, and moderate his victory; by which means it was said, that either he should get honest conditions of peace, or at leastwise many companions of his fortune. Certainly it was like, that his good fortune would exalt the hope and courage of his friends. Yet had it been greater, and had he won the *Roman* Camp, his friends would have been the more, and the bolder. But over-great was his folly, in hoping then for peace: and in suing for it, even when he had the victory; what else did he, than proclaim unto all which would become his partakers, that neither good nor bad fortune should keep him from yeelding to the *Romans*, whensoever they would be pleased to accept him? At this time the joy of his victory would admit none of these considerations. He had slain of the *Roman* horse two hundred, and taken of them prisoners the like number. Of their foot he had slain about two thousand: losing of his own no more than twenty horse and forty foot. The *Roman* Camp, after this disaster, was full of heavinesse and fear: it being much doubted that

the enemy would set upon it. *Eumenes* gave counsell to dislodge by night, and remove to a surer place beyond the River *Peneus*. The Consul, though ashamed to professe, by so doing, in what fear he stood; yet thought it better to acknowledge the losse past, than by standing on proud termes, to draw upon himself a greater calamity. So he passed the River in the dead of the night, and encamped more strongly on the further side. The *Aetolians* were sorely blamed for this losse: as if rather a traiterous meaning, than any true fear, had occasioned their flight, wherein the rest of the *Greeks* followed them. Five of them that were men of especiall mark, had been observed to be the first which turned their backs: an observation likely to cost them dear, at a time of better leisure. As for the *Thessalians*, their vertue was honoured with reward: so as the *Greeks* might learn, by examples of either kinde, that if they would shun indignation, or incur favour, then must they adventure no lesse for their Lords the *Romans*, than gladly they would do for their own liberty. Thus fared it with the Consul and his Army. *Perseus* came the next day to correct the former dayes errour; which how great it was, he not untill then found. The *Romans* were gotten into a place of safety; whither they could never have attained, if the King had either prested his victory, or given better heed to them that night: his light armature alone being sufficient to have routed them whilest they were conveying themselves to the other side of *Peneus*. But it was vain to tell what might have been done, since there was no remedy. The *Romans* were beaten, even the flower of their City, The Gentlemen of *Rome*; out of whom were chosen their Senators, and consequently the Generals themselves, Prætors, Consuls, and all that bore office or command among them; yea, they were beaten so shamefully, that they stole away by night, and suffered him to gather up the spoils of them without resistance, as yeelding themselves overcome. With such brave words did the King set out the glory of his action; dividing the spoils among his followers. But there was much wanting within him, to have made his honour sound. He came nearer to the *Romans*, and encamped at *Mopselus*, a place in the mid-way between *Tempe* and *Larissa*: as if it were his meaning to presse them somewhat harder. Nevertheless he was easily perswaded to use the occasion, which he seemed to have, of obtaining peace. Therefore he sent unto the Consul, and offered to yeeld unto the same Conditions, wherein his Father had been bound to the *Romans*; if the war might so take end. It were needlesse here again to shew the folly of this his course. Towards the accomplishment of this desired peace, there was in the Consul no greater power than to grant a truce, whilest Embassadors might go to *Rome*: it resting in the Senate and People to approve the conditions and ratifie the league. And of such a truce granted by *Martius*, he had lately found no small discommodity redounding. But *Licinius* dealt plainly, and returned answer, That other hope of peace there was none; save that *Perseus* would yeeld both his Kingdome and person, simply and absolutely, to discretion of the Senate. A manly part it was of *Licinius* to be so resolute in adversity. On the other side, it argued a very faint heart in *Perseus*, that having received an answer so peremptory he still persisted, making vain offers of greater tribute. Finding that the peace which he so much desired, could not be purchased with mony, the King withdrew himself back to *Sycurium*. There he lay hearkening what the Enemy did; whose forces were well repaired by the comming of *Misagenes* the son of *Masanissa*, with the aide before mentioned. This distance between the King and them, caused the *Romans* to wax the more bold in making their harvest: about which businesse they ranged over all the fields. Their careless demeanour gave him hope to do some notable exploit: which he attempted, both upon their Camp, and upon those that were abroad. The Camp he thought to have fired on the sudden: but the alarm being taken in good season, he failed in the enterprize. As for the forragers; he had a good hand upon them, if he could have withdrawn it, and given over in time. But whilest he strove to force a guard, he was visited by the Consul; by whom either in a skirmish of horse, or (for the report is divers) in a great battell, he was overcome. This misadventure, whether great or small, caused *Perseus*, after a few dayes, to fall back into *Macedon*; as being naturally given to fear danger, even where none was; whereby what losse he felt, will appear hereafter. He left all behinde him, save only *Tempe*, weakly guarded: and consequently an easie prey to the *Romans*.

After the Kings departure, *Licinius* went straight unto *Connus*; hoping to have taken it,

it, and ſo to have gotten entrance into *Tempe*. But finding the work too hard, he returned back unto the *Perræbians* and others; from whom he won ſome towns, and among the reſt, *Lariſſa*. There were ſundry towns thereabout, bearing the ſame name of *Lariſſa*: ſo that this which the Conſull took, may ſeem not to have belonged unto the *Theſſalians*; unleſſe, perhaps, after his victory, *Perſeus* did greater acts than we find recorded, and got ſome part of *Theſſaly*.

Of matters happening in *Greece* at this time, it is hard to give a preciſe account; for that the hiſtories of them are greatly defective. One may think it ſtrange, that the *Bœotians*, whom a *Roman* Embaſſadour could terrifie, and bring altogether to his own will, ſhould not be afraid of a *Roman* Army, then on foot in *Greece*, and a Navie on their coaſt. But more ſtrange it is, that the *Thebans*, from whom their dependants were taken by the Act of *Martius*, were more true to *Rome*, than other petty towns, which by that ſame diſtraction of the *Bœotians*, became within themſelves more abſolute, than formerly they had been. The cauſes hereof were to have been ſought among the changes happening in their variable factions: whereof the knowledge is now loſt. Some of them rebelled, and were throughly puniſhed by *Lucretius* the *Roman* Admirall: who got ſo much by ſpoyling them, that he would have brought others to rebell in like ſort, if by extreme oppreſſion he could have driven them ſo far. Neither was *Licinius* the Conſul undiligent in the ſame kinde. What his doings were, after ſuch time as he was at leiſure from *Perſeus*, I finde nowhere mentioned. Only this is ſaid in generall; That in the war which he made, he cruelly and covetouſly demeaned himſelf. *Liv. lib. 44.*

After the ſame faſhion dealt they, that commanded in the year following; *Hoſtilius* the Conſul, and *Hortenſius* the Admirall, or Prætor of the Fleet. *Hoſtilius* ſhewed more of his induſtry, in picking quarrels with the Confederates of *Rome*, than in proſecuting the war againſt the *Macedonian*. For concerning the *Roman* war upon his Kingdome, after that the Conſul had fought paſſage in vain over certain mountains, *Perſeus* ſeemed, in a manner, free from it. He was troubled indeed on that ſide which looked towards *Illyria*, by *Ap. Claudius*, whom the Conſull ſent thither with an Army of four thouſand, and who, by levies made upon the Confederates, doubled this his Army. But *Claudius* thinking to have taken *Vſcana*, a border town of *Illyria*, by treaſon, came thither in ſuch careleſſe order, that the inhabitants which had made ſhew of treaſon, with purpoſe only to train him into danger; ſallied forth upon him, overthrew him, and chaſed him ſo far, that hardly he eſcaped with the fourth part of his company. Yet this town of *Vſcana*, ſhortly after became *Roman*: which howſoever it happened, *Perſeus* very ſoon recovered it, and many other places therewithall: *Cotys* a *Thracian* King, ſecuring him on the one ſide of *Macedon*; and *Cephalus* an *Epirot*, revolted from the *Romans*, on the other, *Perſeus* likewiſe made a painfull journey into *Ætolia*; where he was promiſed to be admitted into *Stratus*, that was the ſtrongeſt City in that Region. Of this hope though he were diſappointed by thoſe of the *Romans* faction, yet in his return home, he took in *Aperantia*; and ſhortly heard good newes, that *Ap. Claudius* was again throughly beaten by *Clevas*, one of his Lievtenants. Such ſucceſſe had the *Macedonian* war under *Hoſtilius*. The ſame Conſul offended much the *Greeks*, by the ſtrict inquiſition which his Embaſſadours made into mens affection towards *Rome*. For theſe Embaſſadours travelling thorow all the Cities of *Peloponneſus*, gave out ſpeeches tending to ſhew, That they liked no better of thoſe who ſought not by might and main to advance their buſineſſe, than of thoſe which were of the *Macedonian* faction. Their meaning was, to have accuſed by name, in the Parliament of *Achaia*, *Lycortas* that worthy Commander, who nobly followed the ſteps of *Philopœmen*, and together with him, his ſon *Polybius*, who ſoon after was Generall of the *Achæan* horſe, but more notable by that excellent hiſtory which he wrote, than by his great employments, which he well and honourably diſcharged. The ſum of the accuſation ſhould have been; That theſe were not hearty friends unto the *Romans*, but ſuch as abſtained from raiſing troubles, more for lack of opportunity than for any love to the common quiet. But ſince no colour of truth could be found, that might give countenance to ſuch a tale; it was thought better, for the preſent, to let it alone, & give gentle words, as if all were well. In like manner dealt they among the *Ætolians*: They demanded hoſtages; and found ſome in the Councell that approved the motion: as alſo among *Polyb. Leg. 74.*

the *Acarnanians*, there were that entreated to have *Roman* garrisons bestowed in their towns. But neither the one nor the other of these propositions took effect. They of the *Roman* faction, accused not only such as were inclinable to the *Macedonian*, but also the good Patriots; making it no lesse than a matter of treason, to be a *Grecian* in *Greece*. On the contrary side, there wanted not some, who roundly told these pick-thanks of their base flattery; rating them openly, in such sort, that one of them hardly escaped being stoned, even in presence of the Embassadours. Thus was all full of accusations, and excuses: among which the Embassadours carryed themselves, as men that could beleeve none ill; though it were well enough known what they thought. The best was, that an order from the Senate was brought into *Greece*, and published, to this effect: That it should be free for all men, to refuse obedience to any *Roman* Magistrate, imposing any burthen for the present war, unlesse it were such, as the Senate had likewise thought meet. Of this decree the whole Country was glad: for it was, or seemed, a good remedy of many inconveniences. But they that standing on priviledge hereof, refused to fulfill every commandement, were numbred among the Patriots; which in the end of this war proved little better, if not worse, than to have been Traytors. The Senate was driven to set down this order, by reason of many & vehement complaints brought to *Rome*, concerning the wrongs done by *Roman* Magistrates, and especially by the Admirals, *Lucretius* and *Hortensius*. *Lucretius* was condemned in a great sum of money, for the wrongs by him done: highly to the commendation of the *Romans*, in that they loved not to have their subjects oppressed. *Hortensius* being still in office, had warning to amend.

Among the great number of Embassages that came to *Rome* about this time, either to seek redresse of injuries, or to offer their services: it is note-worthy, that from *Alabanda*, a town of the lesser *Asia*, there was presented unto the Senate, and well accepted, a most base piece of flattery. These *Alabanders* brought three hundred horsemens targets, and a crown of gold, to bestow upon *Jupiter* in the Capitol. But having a desire to gratifie the *Romans* with some exquisite token of their dutifull obedience, wherein they would be singular; and being not able to reach unto any great performance: they built a Temple, unto the town *Rome*, and appointed anniversary games to be celebrated among them, in honour of that *goddesse*. Now who can wonder at the arrogant folly of *Alexander*, *Antigonus*, *Ptolemy*, and the like vain men, that would be thought gods; or at the shamefull flattery of such as bestowed upon men, and not the most vertuous of men, divine honours; when he sees a town of houses, wherein powerfull men dwell, worshipped as a goddesse; and receiving (without scorn of the givers, or shame of the Present) the title of *Deity*, at the gift of such a rascall City as *Alabanda*?

§. VII.

Q. Martius the Roman Consul, with extreme difficulty and danger, enters into Tempe. The cowardize of Perseus *in abandoning Tempe. The town of Dium quitted by* Martius; *repaired and fortified by the King. The Romans attempt many places, with ill successe. Their affairs in hard estate.* Martius *a cunning and a bad man.* Polybius *sent Embassadour to* Martius *from the Achaans.* Polybius *his honest wisedome beneficiall to the Achaans. King* Eumenes *growes averse from the Romans.* Perseus *negotiates with* Antiochus, *and* Eumenes. *His false dealing with* Gentius *King of Illyria; whom he draws into the Roman war. He sends Embassadours to the Rhodians; who vainly take upon them to be arbitrators between him and the Romans.* Perseus *loseth a mighty succour of the Bastarna, by his wretched parsimony.*

AFter two years of the *Macedonian* war, things were further out of tune in *Greece*, than when the war began; which had been thought likely to reform all those Countries, and bring them to what passe the *Romans* desired; as it did in the end. *Perseus* had hitherto the better, and was stronger now, than when he lived in peace. He had enlarged his borders on the *Illyrian* side; his friends, in all parts of *Greece*, took courage daily; and his reputation grew such, as caused those that were before wholly *Roman*, to suspect what the issue of the war might prove, and thereupon to become wise for themselves. Contrariwise, *Licinius*, & *Hostilius* the Consuls, had one after the

the other spent their time in vain, seeking way into *Macedon*; and defaced the glorious enterprize of conquest, by many losses received. The *Roman* Admirals had so demeaned themselves, that many towns even of the best affected to *Rome*, kept them out by force. Generally, the fear was great on the *Roman* side; and the Army much lessened, not only by casualties of war, but by the facility of the Tribunes or Colonels, or else of the Consul himself (for they laid the blame one upon the other) in licensing the souldiers to depart. *Quintius Martius* the new Consul, who succeeded unto *Hostilius*, was to amend all this: which nevertheless was more than he knew how to do; though he brought with him a strong supply of men. He began hotly to set the war on foot, which a long time had slept. And he began the right way: not seeking to force the straights that were surely guarded, but taking pains to climb the mountains which were thought able to forbid all passage over them, without help or need of any custody. The King heard of his approach; and being uncertain what way he meant to take, distributed his own forces, to the defence of all places which might give entrance, or permit assent. But the Consul proceeded in his jorney: with hope, either not to be discovered by the Enemy, or to break through all opposition, or at leastwise, to fight on as convenient ground, as they should have that lay to stop him, and at length, if all failed, to make a safe retreat. He sent before him four thousand of his most expedit foot, to discover the waies. Two daies was this company troubled, in overcoming the difficulty of no more than fifteen miles: after which they had sight of the Enemy, that lay to deny their passage. They occupied therefore a safe piece of ground; and sent back word to the Consul, where they were; intreating him to hasten unto them: which he did. The *Macedonians* were not a whit dismayed at his arrivall; but met him, and fought with him, two or three daies together; each returning to their own Camp at night, with little losse on either side. This bickering was on the narrow ridge of a mountain, which gave scarcely room unto three to march in front. So that very few hands came to be employed: all the rest were beholders. In this case it was impossible to get forwards: yet a shame to return. Wherefore *Martius* took the only course remaining; and indeed the best: Part of his men he left with *Popilius*, to attend upon the *Macedonians*: whilest he, with the rest, fetcht a compasse about, and sought out wayes that never had been troden. Herein he found extreme difficulty: which notwithstanding he overcame. Besides the troubles commonly incident to such journeys, through places unfit for habitation: he was compelled, by labour of hand, to make paths where none were, yea, where Nature might seem to have intended, that none should be. So steep he found the descent of the mountains, in this way which he took: that of seven miles, which they travelled the first day, his men were compelled, for the more part, to rowle themselves down; as not daring to trust their feet. Neither was this the worst. For they met with rocks, that stood one over another, so upright, and cumbersome to get down; that their Elephants were affraid of that giddy prospect, and casting their governours, made a terrible noise, which affrighted the horses, and bred great confusion. Having therefore gone, or wallowed, four miles of this grievous journey; there was nothing more desired by the souldiers, than that they might be suffered to creep back again, the same way which they had come. But shift was made to let down the Elephants, by a kinde of bridges, like unto falling draw-bridges whereof the one end was joyned to the edge of the cliffe; the other sustained by two long posts, fastened in the ground below. Upon these two posts, or poles, (which indeed, not being very strong, since it was intended that they should be either cut or broken) were fastened two rafters, answerable in length to the distance, between the higher and the lower fall: so as the end of one bridge might reach to the beginning of another. These were covered with planks and turfe; that they might seem continent with the ground; so to make the beasts adventurous to go upon them. If there were a plain of any good extent from the foot of a rock, to the next downfall; then might the bridge be shorter. When an Elephant was gone a pretty way, upon one of these; the posts upholding the frame were cut asunder; thereby causing him to sink down unto the next bridge; whence he was conveyed in like manner, to the third, and onward still to the very bottome. Thus went they down sliding, some on their feet, others on their buttocks, till they came to an even valley. By this it appears, how throughly provided the

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Romans used to be in their journeys, of things needfull in all occasions: as also what inestimable pains they took in this descent, about the conveyance of themselves and all their carriages down the mountains. The next day they rested; staying for *Popilius* and his company, who hardly or perhaps never, should have overtaken them, if the Enemy had followed, and set upon him from aloft. The third and fourth dayes journeys were like unto the first: save that custome, and the nearnesse to their wayes end without meeting enemy, caused them the better to endure the labour.

Perseus could not be ignorant of the *Romans* comming towards him: since they fought with his men upon the passage, three dayes together; he lying so nigh, that he might welnear have heard the noise. Yet was he so possessed with fear; that he neither stirred to help his own men, or to hinder the Consull, nor made any provision for that which might fall out; but as one void of counsell, sate hearkening after the event. Four only passages there were, leading into *Tempe*: the first by *Connus*; which the *Romans* were unable to force: the second and third were the same which *Martius* had attempted in vain, and another like unto it: the last, by the City of *Dium* out of *Macedon*. All these were sufficiently guarded: and whosoever would seek any other way, must be fain to take such pains as *Martius* had undergone. The entrance by *Dium* was fairer than any of the rest: whereof only the King had benefit; for that his enemies could not get thither, save through the valley it self, into which they must first pierce another way. *Dium* stood upon the foot of the huge mountain *Olympus*, about a mile from the sea: of which mile, the River *Helicon* becomming there a lake, and called *Baphyras*, took up the one half; the rest being such as might easily have been fortified. Besides all these, there was in the midst of *Tempe*, a passage which ten men might easily keep: where the spurs of the mountains, reaching far into the valley; drew near to the very banks of *Peneus*, a goodly and deep river which ran through it. Wherefore nothing had been more easie, than to make the Consul repent him of his troublesome journey: if *Perseus* could have seen his own advantages. For the *Roman* Army was not only in ill case to fight, after the vexation of that miserable travell: but must needs have either perished for want of victuals, or been inforced to return the same way that he came, if the King had made good the straight of *Dium*. To have returned, and climbed up with their Elephants and carriages, against those rocks, from which, with extreme labour, they could hardly get down, it seems a matter of impossibility: especially considering how the enemy from above their heads, would have beaten upon them; being now aware of the path which they had taken, though he knew it not when they stole away from him. It may therefore be thought strange, that the *Romans* did not rather take their journey into *Macedon*, from the side of *Illyria*, whence that Kingdome had often been invaded, as lying open on that part: than put themselves to the trouble of breaking into *Tempe*, whence, after that they were arrived, there was no means to escape, without forcing one of those passages, which they despaired to win. But the cowardize of *Perseus* did commend the counsell by them followed, as wise. For he no sooner heard that the Enemy was come over the Mountains into *Tempe*; than he fared like one out of his wits; saying, That he was vanquished, and had lost all without battail. Herewithall he began to take out of *Dium*, what he could carry away in haste; and straightwaies abandoned the Town. In the same vehemency of amazement, he sent a strait commandement to *Thessalonica*, that the Arsenall there should be set on fire, and to *Pella*, that his treasures there should be cast into the sea: as if the *Romans* were like presently to be masters of these two Cities. *Niceas*, who was appointed to drown the treasure, performed it as hastily as well as he could: though soon after, his master grew sorry for the losse; and it was all, in a manner, recovered by Divers from under the water. But *Andronicus*, who had charge to set fire on the Kings Arsenall, deferred the execution; foreseeing that repentance might follow: and so he prevented the dammage. Whether *Niceas*, for his absolute and blinde obedience, or *Andronicus*, for his carefull providence, merited the greater commendation, or more easie pardon; it rested in the King to interpret. The reward of their service, was this. *Perseus* growing ashamed of his mad cowardize, that appeared in this hasty direction; caused them both to be slain. Also those poor men, which had fetcht his treasure out of the Sea by their diving, were payed their wages after the same sort: that so there might be no witnesse of the Kings base folly. Such end must they fear, who are

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privy to dishonourable actions of great Princes. If *Perseus* would have gone surely to work, for the hiding of his fault; then must he so royally have behaved himself, that no man might beleeve him to be the author of any unworthy act or counsail. But his vertue was of no such capacity. He thought it enough to lay the blame upon others. And therefore, having called *Hippias* away (the Captain which had stopped the Consull on the top of the mountain) and *Asclepiodatus*, from defence of the passages, whereto they were by him appointed: he rated them openly; saying, that they had betrayed unto the Enemy the gates and bars of *Macedon*. Of this reproach, if they would discharge themselves, by laying it upon him, to whom of right it belonged: then might they have sped as did *Nicias* and *Andronicus*.

The Consul *Martius* had great cause to rejoyce, for that the King so hastily relinquished his possession of *Tempe*, and all the passages leading thereinto: since the *Roman* Army, this notwithstanding, was hardly able to subsist, for want of victuals. He took *Dium* without resistance, and thence went forward into *Macedon*: wherein having travelled about a dayes journey, and gotten one town that yeelded, he was compelled by meer lack of food for his men, to return back towards *Thessaly*. His fleet came to him, in this time of necessity, well appointed to have holpen him in the war: but having left behinde, at *Magnesia*, the ships of burthen, which carryed the provisions. Wherefore it fell out happily, that one of his Lievtenants had been carefull to occupy the Castles about *Tempe*, which were forsaken by the *Macedonians*: for by those wayes only might corn be brought into the Army. To meet the sooner with this corn, which was most desirously expected, he forsook *Dium*, and went to *Phila*; by which foolish journey (if not worse than foolish) he lost more, than a little the longer fasting had been worth. It is probable that his carts, with all or the most of his store, were lost among the mountains: for otherwise it had been madnesse to put himself on such an enterprise, so slenderly provided, as that without enforcement, or sight of the Enemy, he should be fain to quit it. Howsoever it was: men thought him a coward, or at least a bad man of war; since he thus recoyled and gave off, when it most behooved him to have prosecuted the action.

By understanding the folly, or cowardize of *Martius*; the King recollected himself, understood his own error; sought to hide it by such poor means as have been shewed, and laboured to make what amends he could. He quickly repossessed the town of *Dium*, which he hastily repaired, finding it dis-mantled by the *Romans*. This done, he encamped strongly by the River of *Enipeus*: meaning there to stop the Enemies proceeding all that Summer. Lesse diligence, more timely used, would have been enough, not only to have delivered *Martius* into his hand, who had beguiled him with an idle hope of peace, but to have given him such a noble victory, as might cause the *Romans* to seek a good end of the war upon fair conditions, and not to begin again in haste. Yet this recovery and fortification of *Dium*, was to the Consul an exceeding hinderance. For little or nothing could afterward be done toward the conquest in hand, in all the continuance of his office. Only the town of *Heraclea*, standing on the River of *Peneus*, five miles from *Dium*, was taken by force, or rather by a trick of climbing upon mens heads, somewhat after the manner of our tumblers. But it made such defence as it could, and was not given up for fear. After this, *Martius* did set a bold face towards *Dium*, as if he would have taken it again, and have driven the King further off: though his intent or hope was nothing like so great: his chief care, being to provide for his wintering. He sent the Admirall to make attempt upon the Sea-towns, *Thessalonica*, *Cassandrea*, *Demetrias*, and others. All these were assayed: but in vain. The fields about *Thessalonica* were wasted; and some companies, that sundry times adventured forth of the Town, were still put to the worse. As for the Town it self; there was danger in comming near it, either by land or Sea; by reason of the engins, which shot from the wals, and reached unto the fleet. Wherefore the Admirall setting sail from thence, ran along by *Ænia*, and *Antigonea*, (landing near to each of them; and both doing and receiving hurt) untill he came to *Pallene* in the territory of *Cassandrea*. There King *Eumenes* joyned with him, bringing twenty ships of War: and five other were sent thither from King *Prusias*. With this accesse of strength, the Admirall was bold to try his fortune at *Cassandrea*: which was bad. There was a new ditch lately cast by *Perseus*, before the town: which while the *Romans* were filling up, question was made, what became of the earth taken thence

thence, for that it lay not upon the bank. By this occasion, it was learned, that there were arches in the town-wall filled up with that earth, & covered with one single row of brick. Hence the Admirall gathered hope of making way into the town, by sapping the wals. To this work he appointed such as he thought meetest: giving an alarm to the other side of the town, thereby to shadow his attempt. The breach was soon made. But whilst the *Romans* were shouting for joy, & ordering themselves for the assault: the Captains within the town perceived what was done, and sallying forth unexpected, gave a fierce charge on the companies that were between the ditch & the wall; of whom they slew about sixe hundred, and suffered few to escape unwounded. This disaster, and the want of good successe on that part of the town which King *Eumenes* assailed (a supply in the mean while entring the town by sea) caused the siege to break up. *Torone* was the next place which the Admiral thought meet to attempt: and thence likewise he was repelled. Finding this too well manned; he made way towards *Demetrias*: whereinto *Euphranor*, a *Macedonian* Captain, was gotten before his comming, with such forces, as were not only sufficient to have defended the Town, if the Admirall had laid siege to it, but to keep the land about it from spoil; or at least (as they did) to make the enemy pay dear for all that he there got. This *Euphranor* had taken his journey to *Demetrias*, by *Meliboea*; whither the Consul (that he might not be quite without work) had sent his Lievtenant to besiege it: and by the terrour of his appearing suddenly over their heads, caused the besiegers to dislodge in all haste, setting their Camp on fire.

Such fortune attended on the *Romans*; or rather, so far was their ability short of their Enterprises; ever since their Consull (whether dastardly, or carelesly) most unlike a good Commander, had let go his hold of *Macedon*, by forsaking *Dium*: Yea, it is to be suspected, that some greater harm befell them, or at least, that they were in some greater danger, than is expressed in the broken remaining History of this war. For *Martius* perswaded the *Rhodians* by *Agesipolis* their Embassador, who came to him at *Heraclea* about other businesse of lesse importance, That they should do well to interpose themselves as mediators, and seek to finish the War. Now, although *Polybius* do most probably conjecture, that this was rather a malicious device of *Martius*, craftily seeking to bring the *Rhodians* in danger (as anon it fell out) by their opposing the resolution of the Senate; than that it proceeded from any true fear in him, either of *Perseus*, or of *Antiochus*, who had then an Army on foot: yet since he made shew of fear, it is like withall, that somewhat had happened, which might make his fear seem not counterfeit. And so were the *Rhodians* moved to think of him; not only for that the extraordinary courtesie, both of him and of the Admirall, towards their Embassadour, comming from proud natures, did argue diffidence, where there was no ambition to cause it; but much more, for that shortly after the Embassadors of *Perseus*, and of *Gentius* the *Illyrian*, did set out their businesse at *Rhodes*, not more with the strength of a good fleet, which the *Macedonian* had gotten, than with the honour of some victory, wherein he had lately slain great numbers of the *Roman* horse. Thus much we finde intimated; though the time, place, or other circumstances of the fight, be not specified. And hereto may be referred, the report of those that were sent from *Rome* to view the estate of *Martius* his Army. For they found the Consul wanting meat, the Admiral wanting men, and, for those few that he had, wanting both money and clothes: and *Ap. Claudius* the Prætor, who lay on the frontier of *Illyria*, so unable to invade *Macedon*, that contrariwise, he was in extreme danger, so as either he must quickly be sent for thence, or a new army be sent thither to him. Wherefore it may seem, that some blow had been taken on the *Illyrian* side, which made all to halt; or at least, that the *Romans* with greater losse, than is before spoken of, had been driven from some of the Towns which they besieged.

Polyb. Legat. 80.

Polyb. Leg. 87.

Now although it were so, that *Martius* in very few of his actions, behaved himself like a man of war: yet in exercise of *Cunning*, which one hath most aptly termed, *a crooked or sinister kinde of wisdome*, he dealt as a craftsmaster, with a restlesse working diligence. This indeed neither proved his sufficiency, nor commended his honesty: since thereby he effected nothing to his own benefit; and nevertheless out of envie, vain-glory, or such delight as weak and busie headed men take, in creating inexplicable troubles, he directly made opposition to the good of his Country. At such time as *Perseus*, by the successe of his doings against *Hostilius*, had gotten much reputation, and

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was thought likely to invade *Thessaly*; *Archo*, *Lycortas*, and other good Patriots among the *Achæans*, judged it expedient for their Nation to help the *Romans*, as in a time of adversity, whom in prosperity they loved not to flatter. Wherefore *Archo* proposed a decree, which passed: That the *Achæans* should send their whole power into *Thessaly*, and participate with the *Romans* in all danger. So the Army was levied: and *Polybius*, with others, sent Embassadors unto *Martius*, to certifie him thereof, and know his pleasure. *Polybius* found the Consull busie in finding passage through *Tempe* into *Macedon*. He went along with the Army; and awaited the Consuls leisure till they came to *Heraclea*; where finding the time convenient, he presented the Decree, and offered the service of his Nation, wherein soever it should be commanded. *Martius* took this very kindely; but said, That he needed now no manner of help. Forthwith *Polybius* dispatched home his companions, to signifie thus much: tarrying himself behind in the Camp. After a while, word was brought to *Martius*, that *Ap. Claudius* desired, or rather imperiously required, of the *Achæans*, five thousand men, to be sent him into *Epirus*. It was manifest, that *Appius* had need of these men; and that if he were strong in field, he might do notable service, by distracting the forces of *Perseus*. But the *Labyrinthian* head of *Martius* could not allow of such plain reason. He called unto him *Polybius*, to whom he declared, that *Appius* had no need of such aide, and therefore willed him to return home, and in any wise take order that the men might not be sent, nor the *Achæans* be put to such needlesse charges. Away went *Polybius*, musing, and unable to resolve, whether it were for love to the *Achæans*, that the Consul was so earnest in this business; or rather for envie, and to hinder *Ap. Claudius* from doing any thing, since himself could do nothing. But when *Polybius* was to deliver his opinion in the Councell touching this matter; then found he a new doubt, that more nearly concerned his own self, and those of his party. For as he was sure to incurre the great indignation of the Consul, if he should neglect what was given him in charge; so was it manifest on the other side, that the words by *Martius* uttered to him in private, would prove no good warrant for him and his friends, if openly they should refuse to help *Claudius*, alledging that he had no need: In this case therefore, he had recourse unto the Decree of the Senate: which exempted men from necessity of doing what the *Roman* Commanders should require, unlesse by speciall order from the Senate, the same were likewise appointed. So for lack of warrant from the Senate, this demand of *Appius* was referred unto the advice of the Consul: by whom it was sure to be made frustrate. Hereby the *Achæans* were savers, of more than an hundred and twenty Talents: though *Polybius* himself ran into danger of *Appius* his displeasure; and for such honest dealing in his countries behalf, was afterwards rewarded by the *Romans* with many a long years imprisonment. *Polyb. Legat. 78.*

Whether it were by the like policy of *Martius*, that King *Eumenes* grew cold in his affection to the *Romans*; or whether this King began when it was too late, to stand in fear lest the fire, which he himself had helped to kindle, would shortly take hold on his own lodging; or whether the regard of money were able to oversway all other passions: it is hard to determine: since they that had better means to know the truth, have not precisely affirmed any certainty. One report is, that *Eumenes* did not so much as give any help to *Martius*: but comming to have joyned with him, in such friendly manner as he did with the former Consuls, was not entertained according to his liking; and thereupon returned home in such anger, that he refused to leave behinde him certain horse of the *Gallo-Greeks*, being requested to have done it. If this were true, and that his brother *Attalus* tarrying behinde with the Consul, did the *Romans* good service: then is the reason apparent, of the hatred, borne afterwards by the Senate to *Eumenes*, and the love to *Attalus*. But it is more generally received; that *Eumenes* gave a willing ear to *Perseus* his desire of accord, for meer desire of gain. And it might well be, that covetousnesse drew him on, in the course, whereinto indignation first led him. Howsoever it befell; *Perseus* caused *Eumenes* to be sounded, and found him so tractable, that he was bold to solicite him by an Embassage. The tenour of his advertisements, both to *Eumenes* & *Antiochus*, was: That there could be no perfect love between a King and a free city: that the *Romans* had quarrell alike to all Kings, though they dealt with no more than one at a time, and used the help of one against another; that *Philip* was oppressed by them, with the help of *Attalus*; *Antiochus*, with the help of *Philip* and *Eumenes*; and now *Perseus* assailed,

assailed with help of *Eumenes* and *Prusias*. Herewith he willed *Eumenes* to consider, that when *Macedon* was taken out of their way, they would be doing with him in *Asia*; wich lay next at hand; yea, that already they began to think better of *Prusias*, than of him. In like sort he admonished *Antiochus*, not to look for any good conclusion of his war with the *Egyptian*, so long as the *Romans* could make him give over, by denouncing their will and pleasure. Finally, he requested both of them, either to compell the *Romans* to surcease from their war upon *Macedon*; or else to hold them as common enemies unto all Kings. *Antiochus* lay far out of the *Romans* way: and therefore was little troubled with such remonstrances. *Eumenes* was more nearly toucht; and as he felt part of this to be true, so had he reason to stand in doubt of the rest. Yet when he should give answer; he began to offer a bargain of peace for money. He thought the *Romans* to be no lesse weary, than *Perseus* was affraid. Wherefore he promised for his own part, That if he might have fifteen hundred Talents for withdrawing his hand from this war, then would he remain a Neuter therein: and that for some greater qnantity of money (how much I finde not) he would also bring the *Romans* to condescend unto peace: and for assurance of his true meaning herein, he offered to give hostages. *Perseus* liked well to receive the hostages: but not to lay out the money; especially before hand, as was required. He would fain have peace with *Rome*, and not with *Eumenes* only. For procuring of this, he promised to be at any reasonable cost; but he would lay down the money in the Temple at *Samothrace*: whence it should be delivered unto *Eumenes*, after that the peace was fully concluded and ratified. The Isle of *Samothrace* was *Perseus* his own: and therefore *Eumenes* thought the money no nearer to him, being there, than if it remained in *Pella*. Besides, his labour deserved somewhat, howsoever the businesse might happen to succeed: so that needs he would have part of his wages in *prest*. Thus the two Kings did no more, than lose time; and *Eumenes* grew suspected of the *Romans*, as a Traitor.

After the same manner dealt *Perseus* with King *Gentius* the *Illyrian*. He had attempted this *Illyrian* before; who dealt plainly, and said, That without money he could not stir. Hereunto *Perseus* loved not to hearken; thinking, that his Treasures would serve at the last cast, to deliver him from all his fears. But when the *Romans* had gotten within *Tempe*, then did his fear urge him to prodigality; so as he agreed to pay three hundred Talents which *Gentius* demanded for a recompence. So the bargain was soon made, and pledges on both sides delivered for performance. This was openly done by *Perseus*, to the end that all his Army might have comfort, by such accesse of strength to their party. Presently upon the bargain made, Embassadors were sent to *Rhodes*, from both *Perseus* and *Gentius*: who desired the *Rhodians*, to take upon them, as arbitrators, between *Perseus* and the *Romans*, and to bring the war to an end. The *Rhodians* thinking that *Martius* the Consul was no lesse desirous of peace than the *Macedonian*, arrogantly promised, that they, by their authority, would make peace; wishing the Kings to shew themselves conformable. But the *Roman* Senate, hearing proud words to the same effect, from the *Rhodian* Embassadors; gave an answer as disdainfull, angry, and menacing, as they could devise: so as this vain glory of the *Rhodians* was throughly chastised; and more throughly should have been, if their submission had not been as humble, as their folly was proud. Such use of *Gentius* his friendship, made *Perseus*, without laying out one ounce of silver. Now fain he would have hastened this young and rash *Illyrian* to enter with all speed into the War: but then must the money be hastened away. *Pantauchus* the *Macedonian* Embassador, who remained with *Gentius* exhorted him daily to begin the War by land and sea, whilest the *Romans* were unprovided. But finding what it was that made all to stay; he sent word to *Perseus*. Hereupon ten Talents were sent to *Pantauchus*: who delivered it to the young King, as earnest of that which followed. More followed indeed; and sealed up with the seal of the *Illyrians*; but carryed by *Macedonians*, and not too fast. Before this money came into *Illyria*, *Gentius* had layed hands upon two *Roman* Embassadors, and cast them into prison. Which *Perseus* no sooner heard, than he recalled his Treasure-bearers, and sent them with their load to *Pella*; for that now the *Illyrian* was of necessity to make war with the *Romans*, whether he were hired thereto or not.

There came about the same time, through *Illyria*, to the aid of *Perseus*, under one *Clondicus* a petty King, ten thousand horse and ten thousand foot of the *Gaules*, which

Liv. lib. 44. Plutarc. in vit. Æmil.

were

were (as *Plutarch* hath it) the *Bastarnæ*. These had before-hand made their bargain, and were to receive present pay at the first. At their entry into the Kingdome, *Perseus* sent one to them, desiring their Captains to come visit him, whom he promised to gratifie with goodly rewards; hoping that the multitude would take good words for payment. But the first question that their Generall asked, was, Whether the King had sent money to give their souldiers their pay in hand, according to his bargain? Hereto the messenger had not what to answer. Why then (said *Clondicus*) tell thy Master, that the *Gauls* will not stir one foot further, untill they have gold, as was agreed, and hostages. *Perseus* hereupon took counsell: if to utter his own opinion before men so wise that they would not contradict him, were to take counsell. He made an invective against the incivility and avarice of the *Bastarnæ*: who came with such numbers, as could not but be dangerous to him and to his Kingdome. Five thousand horse of them he said would be as many as he should need to use; and not so many, that he should need to fear them. It had been well done, if any of his Counsellors would have told him, That there wanted not employment for the whole Army of them, since without any danger to the Kingdome, they might be let out, by the way of *Perræbia*, into *Thessaly*: where wasting the Countrey, and filling themselves with spoil, they should make the *Romans* glad to forsake *Tempe*, even for hunger and all manner of want; therein doing the King notable service, whether they won any victory or not. This, and a great deal more, might have been alledged, if any man had dared to give advice freely. In conclusion, *Antigonus*, the same messenger that had been with them before, was sent again, to let them know the Kings minde. He did his errand: upon which followed a great murmur of those many thousands that had been drawn so far to no purpose. But *Clondicus* asked him now again, Whether he had brought the money along with him to pay those five thousand, whom the King would entertain. Hereto when it was perceived that *Antigonus* could make no better answer, than shifting excuses, the *Bastarnæ* returned presently towards *Danubius*, wasting the neighbour parts of *Thrace*; yet suffering this crafty messenger to escape unhurt: which was more than he could have well expected.

Thus dealt *Perseus*, like a carefull Treasurer, and one that would preserve his mony for the *Romans*, without diminishing the sum. But of this painfull Office he was very soon discharged by *L. Æmylius Paulus* the new Consul: who in fifteen dayes after his setting forth from *Italy*, brought the kingdome of *Macedon* to that end, for which God had appointed over it a king so foolish and so cowardly.

§. VIII.

Of L. Æmylius Paulus *the Consul. His journey. He forceth* Perseus *to discamp. He will not hazard battell with any disadvantage. Of an Eclipse of the Moon.* Æmylius *his superstition. The battell of Pydna.* Perseus *his flight. He forsakes his Kingdome: which hastily yeelds to* Æmylius. Perseus *at Samothrace. He yeelds himself to the Roman Admirall, and is sent prisoner to* Æmylius.

BY the War of *Macedon*, the *Romans* hitherto had gotten much dishonour. Which, though it were not accompanyed with any danger, yet the indignity so moved them, that either * they decreed that Province to *L. Æmylius Paulus*, without putting it, as was otherwise their manner, to the chance of lot, between him and his fellow Consull; or at least were gladder that the lot had cast it upon him, than that so worthy a man was advanced to the dignity of a second Consulship. He refused to propound unto the Senate any thing that concerned his Province; untill by Embassadours, thither sent to view the estate of the War, it was perfectly understood, in what condition both the *Roman* forces, and the *Macedonian*, at the present remained. This being throughly known to be such, as hath been already told, the Senate appointed a strong supply, not only to the Consull, but unto the Navie, and likewise to the Army that lay between *Illyria* and *Epirus*; from which *Ap. Claudius* was removed, and *L. Anicius* sent thither in his place. *Æmylius*, before his departure from *Rome*, making an Oration to the People, as was the custome, spake with much gravity and authority. He requested those that thought themselves wise

* Plut. in vita Æmyl.

enough to manage this war, either to accompany him into *Macedon*, and there assist him with their advice; or else to govern their tongues at home, and not take upon them to give directions by hearsay, and censure by idle reports: for he told them plainly, that he would frame his doings to occasions; not to the expectation of the multitude. The like speech of his father *L. Æmylius*, who died valiantly in the Battell of *Canna*, might well be living in some of their memories; which was enough to make them conform themselves the more gladly unto the instructions given by a wise and resolute Consul.

All his businesse within the City being dispatched, *Æmylius* was honourably attended, at his setting forth on his journey, with an especiall hope of men, that he should finish the war: though that he should finish it so soon & happily, was more than could have bin hoped or imagined. Ht came to *Brundusium*: whence, when the winde came fair, he set sail at break of day, and arrived safely at the Isle of *Corcyra* before night. Thence passed he to *Delphi*: where having done sacrifice to *Apollo*, after the fifth day he set forwards to the Camp, and was there in five dayes more. So are there but five of the fifteen dayes remaining, in which he finished the war.

Perseus lay strongly encamped at *Dium*; having spared no labour of men & of women to fortifie the banks of *Enipeus*, where it was foordable in dry weather: so as there was little hope, or none, to force him; and consequently, as little possibility to enter that way into *Macedon*. One great inconvenience troubling the *Romans*, and much disabling them to make attempt upon *Dium*, was lack of fresh water. For there were ten miles between *Dium* and *Tempe*; all the way lying between the Sea shore and the foot of *Olympus*, without any Brook or Spring breaking forth on that side. But *Æmylius* found present remedy for this, by digging Wels on the shore; where he found sweet Springs: as commonly there is no shore that wants them, though they rise not above the ground. Want of this knowledge was enough to hinder *Martius* from taking up his lodging any nearer to the Enemy, than the Towe of *Heraclea*, on the River of *Peneus*; where he had watering at pleasure, but could performe no service of any worth. Yet when the *Roman* Camp had such means to lye close to the *Macedonian*, as it presently did, the passage onward being defended as hath been shewed, seemed no lesse difficult than before. Wherefore it was necessary to search another way: which by enquiry was soon found out. There was a narrow passage over *Olympus*, leading into *Perrhæbia*; hard of ascent, but slenderly guarded, and therefore promising a fair journey. *Martius* either had not been informed hereof, or durst not attempt it; or perhaps could not get his Souldiers to make the adventure; they fearing lest it would prove such a piece of work as had been their march over *Ossa* into *Tempe*. But *Paulus* was a man of greater industry, courage, and ability to command. He had reformed, even at his first comming, many disorders in the *Roman* Camp: teaching the souldiers among other good lessons, to be obedient and ready in execution; without troubling themselves, as had been their manner, to examine the doings and purposes of their Generall. And now he appointed about five thousand men to this enterprise; whereof he committed the charge unto *Scipio Æmylianus* and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, his own sons by nature, but adopted; the one of them, by a son of *Scipio* the *African*; the other, by one of the *Fabii*. *Scipio* took with him some light-armed *Thracians* and *Cretians*; but his main strength was of Legionaries. For the Kings guard, upon the mountain, consisted in a manner, wholly of Archers and Slingers: who, though, at some distance they might do notable service against those that should climb up unto them; yet when the darknesse took away their aim, they were like to make a bad nights work, being to deal with those that were armed to fight at hand. To conceal the businesse about which they went, *Scipio* and *Fabius* took a wrong way towards the Fleet; where victuals were provided for their journy: it being noised, that they were to run along the coast of *Macedon* by sea, and waste the country. All the way that they were passing the mountains (which was about three dayes) the Consul made shew of a meaning to set upon *Perseus* where he lay, rather to divert the Kings attention from that which was his main Enterprise, than upon any hope to do good, in seeking to get over *Enipeus*. The channel of *Enipeus*, which received in Winter time a great fal of waters from the mountains, was exceeding deep and broad; and the ground of it was such, as though at the present it lay wel-near all dry, yet it served not for those that were weightily armed to fight upon. Wherefore *Æmylius* employed none save his *Velites*; of whom the Kings light armature

mature had advantage at far distance, though the *Romans* were better appointed for the close. The Engines from off the Towers which *Perseus* had raised on his own bank, did also beat upon the *Romans*, and gave them to understand, that their labour was in vain. Yet *Æmylius* persisted as he had begun; & recontinued his assault, such as it could be, the second day. This might have served to teach the *Macedonians*, that some greater work was in hand: since otherwise a good Captain, as *Æmylius* was known to be, would not have troubled himself with making such bravado's, that were somewhat costly. But *Perseus* looked only unto that which was before his eyes: untill his men, that came running fearfully down the Mountain, brought word into the camp, that the *Romans* were following at their backs. Then was all full of tumult; and the King himself no lesse (if not more) amazed than any of the rest. Order was forthwith given to dislodge: or rather without order, in all tumultuous haste, the Camp was broken up, and a speedy retrait made to *Pydna*. Whether it were so, that they which had custody of the passage were taken sleeping, or whether they were beaten by plain force, *Scipio* and *Fabius* had very good successe in their journey. It may well be, that they slept untill the *Romans* came somwhat near to them; and then taking alarm, when their arrowes and slings could do little service, were beaten at handy-strokes: so as the different relations that are cited by *Plutarch* out of *Polybius*, and an Epistle of *Scipio*, may each of them have been true. Thus was an open way cleared into *Macedon*: which had been effected by *Martius* in the year foregoing; but was closed up again, through his not prosecuting so rich an opportunity.

Perseus was in an extreme doubt what course to take, after this unhappy beginning. Some gave advice to man his Towns, and so to linger out the War: having been taught by the last years example, how resolute the people were in making defence. But far worse counsell prevailed: as generally it doth in turbulent and fearfull deliberations. The King resolved to put all at once to hazzard of battell: fearing belike to put himself into any one Town, lest that should be first of all besieged; and he therein (as cowardly natures alwayes are jealous) not over-carefully relieved. This was even that same that *Æmylius*, or any invader, should have desired. So a place was chosen near unto *Pydna*, that served well for the *Phalanx*, and had likewise on the sides of it some pieces of higher ground, fit for the Archers and light armature. There he abode the comming of the enemy; who stayed not long behinde him. As soon as the *Romans* had sight of the Kings Army; which with greater fear than discretion, had hasted away from them, forsaking the Camp that was so notably well fortified: they desired nothing more, than to give battell immediately: doubting lest otherwise the King should change his minde, and get further off. And to this effect *Scipio* brake with the Consul; praying him not to lose occasion by delay. But *Æmylius* told him, that he spake like a young man; and therefore willed him to have patience. The *Romans* were tyred with their journey; had no Camp wherein to rest themselves; nor any thing there, save only the bare ground whereon they trod. For these, and the like respects, the Consul made a stand: and shewing himself unto the *Macedonian*, who did the like, in order of battell, gave charge to have the Camp measured out and entrenched behinde the Army; whereinto, at good leisure, be fel back, without any manner of trouble. After a nights rest, it was hoped both by the *Romans* and the *Macedonians*, that the matter should be determined; each part thinking their own Generall too blame, for that they had not fought the same day. As for the King, he excused himself by the backwardnesse of the enemy, who advanced no further; but kept upon ground serving ill for the *Phalanx*: as on the other side, the Consul had the reasons before shewed, which he communicated to those about him the next day.

That evening (which followed the third of *September*, by the *Roman* account) *C. Sulpicius Gallus*, a Colonel, or Tribune of a Legion, who had the former year been Prætor, foretold unto the Consul, and with his good liking) unto the Army, an Eclipse of the Moon, which was to be the same night: willing the souldiers not to be troubled therewith, for that it was naturall, and might be known long before it was seen. It was the manner of the *Romans*, in such eclipses to beat Pans of Brasse, and Basons, as we do in following swarm of Bees; thinking that thereby they did the Moon great ease, and helped her in her labour. But this prognostication of *Sulpitius* converted their superstition into admiration of his deep skill, when they saw it verified. Contrariwise

trariwise, the *Macedonians* howled and made a great noyse, as long as the Eclipse lasted: rather perhaps because it was their fashion, than for that they were terrified therewith, as with a prodigie betokening their losse; since their desire to fight was no whit lessened by it. I will not here stand to dispute, Whether such Eclipses do signifie, or cause any alteration in civill affairs, and matters that have small dependance on naturall complexion: for the argument is too large More worthy of observation it is, how superstition captivates the wisdome of the wisest, where the help of true religion is wanting. *Æmylius*, though he were sufficiently instructed concerning this defect of the Moon, that it was no supernatural thing, nor above the reach of humane understanding, so as he should need to trouble himself with any devout regard thereof: yet could he not refrain from doing his duty to this Moon, and congratulating with sacrifice her delivery, as soon as she shone out bright again: for which he is commended even by *Plutarch*, a sage Philosopher, as a godly and religious man. If *Sulpicius* perhaps did not assist him in this foolish devotion, yet is it like, that he, being a Senatour, and one of the Councell for war, was partaker the next morning in a sacrifice done to *Hercules*; which was no lesse foolish. For a great part of the day was vainly consumed, ere *Hercules* could be pleased with any sacrifice, and vouchsafe to shew tokens of good luck in the entrails of the beasts. At length, in the belly of the one and twentieth sacrifice, was found a promise of victory to *Æmylius*: but with condition, That he should not give the onset. *Hercules* was a *Greek*, and partiall, as nearer in alliance to the *Macedonian* than to the *Roman*. Wherefore it had been better to call upon the new goddesse, lately canonized at *Alabanda*; or upon *Romulus*, founder of their City, on whom the *Romans* had bestowed his Deity; or (if a God of elder date were more authenticall) upon *Mars* the Father of *Romulus*, to whom belonged the guidance of military affairs; and who therefore would have limited his favour, with no injunctions contrary to the rules of war.

Now concerning the Battel; *Æmylius* was throughly perswaded, that the king meant to abide it: for that otherwise he would not have stayed at *Pydna*, when as, a little before, his leisure served to retire whither he listed, the *Romans* being further off. In regard of this, and perhaps of the tokens appearing in the Sacrifices, the Consul thought that he might wait upon advantage, without making any great haste. Neither was it to be neglected, that the morning Sun was full in the *Romans* faces: which would be much to their hinderance all the forenoon. Since therefore *Perseus* kept his ground, that was commodious for the *Phalanx*, & *Æmilius* sent forth part of his men to bring in Wood and Fodder, there was no likelihood of fighting that day. But about ten of the clock in the morning, a small occasion brought to passe that, which whereto neither of the Generals had over-earnest desire.

A Horse brake loose at watering, which two or three of the *Roman* souldiers followed into the river, wading after him up to the knees. The Kings men lay on the further bank; whence a couple of *Thracians* ran into the Water, to draw this horse over to their own side. These fell to blowes, as in a private quarrel; and one of the *Thracians* was slain. His Countrimen seeing this, hasted to revenge their fellowes death, and followed those that had slain him over the river. Hereupon company came in, to help on each part, until the number grew such, as made it past a fray, and caused both the Armies to be careful of the event. In fine, each of the Generals placed his men in order of battell, accordingly as the manner of his country, & the arms wherewith they served, did require. The ground was a flat levell, save that on the sides a few hillocks were raised here and there; whereof each part might take what advantage it could. The *Macedonians* were the greater number, the *Romans* the better souldiers, and better appointed. Both the King and the Consul encouraged their men with lively words: which the present condition could bountifully affoord. But the King, having finished his Oration, and sent on his men, withdrew himself into *Pydna*: there to do sacrifice, as he pretended, unto *Hercules*. It is the lesse marvell, that he durst adventure battell, since he had bethought himself of such a stratageme, whereby to save his own person. As for *Hercules*, he liked not the sacrifice of a Coward: whose unseasonable devotion could be no better than hypocrisie. For he that will pray for a good Harvest, ought also to Plow, Sowe, and Weed his Ground. When therefore the King returned to the battel, he found it no better than lost: and he, in looking to his own safety, caused it to be lost altogether, by beginning the flight.

The

The acts of this day, such as we finde recorded, are, That the *Roman* Elephants could do no manner of good; That the *Macedonian Phalanx* did so stoutly presse onwards, and beat off all which came before it, as *Æmylius* was thereat much astonished; that the *Peligni* rushing desperately on the *Phalanx*, were over-borne; many of them slain, and the squadrons following them so discouraged herewith, as they retired apace towards an hill. These were the things that fell out averse to the *Romans*; and which the Consul beholding is said to have rent his coat-armour for grief. If the King with all his power of horse, had in like manner done his devoyre, the victory might have been his own. That which turned the fortune of the battell, was the same which doubtlesse the Consul expected, even from the beginning: the difficulty or almost the impossibility of holding the *Phalanx* long in order. For whilest some of the *Romans* small battalions pressed hard upon one part of it, and others recoyled from it; it was necessary (if the *Macedonians* would follow upon those which were put to the worse) that some files having open way before them, should advance themselves beyond the rest that were held at a stand. This comming so to passe, admonished the Consull what was to be done. The long pikes of the *Macedonians* were of little use, when they were charged in flank by the *Roman* Targettiers; according to the direction given by *Æmylius*, when he saw the front of the enemies great battell become unequall, and the ranks in some places open, by reason of the unequall resistance which they found. Thus was the use of the *Phalanx* proved unavailable against many small squadrons, as it had been formerly in the battell of *Cynoscephalæ*: yea this form of embattailing was found unserviceable against the other, by reason, that being not every where alike distressed, it would break of it self; though here were little such inconvenience of ground, as had been at *Cynoscephalæ*. *Chap. 4 §. 14.*

Perseus, when he saw his battell begin to rout, turned his bridle presently, and ran amain towards *Pella*. All his horse escaped, in a manner untouched, and a great number followed him; the little harm which they had taken, witnessing the little good service which they had done. As for the poor foot, they were left to the mercy of the Enemy: who slew above twenty thousand of them; though having little cause to be furious, as having lost in that battell, only some fourscore, or sixscore men at the most. Some of the foot, escaping from the execution, overtook the King and his company in a wood; where they fell to rayling at the horsemen, calling them cowards, traytors, and such other names, till at length they fell to blowes. The King was in doubt lest they had ill meaning to himself: and therefore turned out of the common way, being followed by such as thought it good. The rest of the company dispersed themselves: every one as his own occasions guided him. Of those that kept along with their King, the number began within a while to lessen. For he fell to devising upon whom he might lay the blame of that daies misfortune, which was most due to himself: thereby causing those that knew his nature, to shrink away from him, how they could. At his comming to *Pella*, he found his Pages and houshold servants, ready to attend him, as they had been wont. But of his great men that had escaped from the battell, there was none appearing in the Court. In this melancholy time, there were two of his Treasurers that had the boldnesse to come to him, and tell him roundly of his faults. But in reward of their unseasonable admonitions, he stabbed them both to death. After this, none whom he sent for would come at him. This boded no good. Wherefore standing in fear, lest they that refused to come at his call, would shortly dare some greater mischief, he stole out of *Pella* by night. Of his friends he had with him only *Evander* (who had been employed to kill *Eumenes* at *Delphi*) and two other. There followed him likewise about 500. *Cretians*, more for love of his money than of him. To these he gave of his plate, as much as was worth about fifty talents, though shortly he cousened them of some part thereof; making shew as if he would have redeemed it, but never paying the money. The third day after the battell he came to *Amphipolis*, where he exhorted the Towne-men to fidelity, with tears: and his own speech being hindered by tears, appointed *Evander* to speak what himself would have uttered. But the *Amphipolitans* made it their chief care to look well to themselves. Upon the first fame of the overthrow, they had emptied their town of two thousand *Thracians* that lay there in garrison: sending them forth under colour of a gainfull employment, and shutting the gates after them. And now to be rid of the King, they plainly

bade *Evander* to be gone. The King hearing this, had no minde to tarry: but embarking himself and the treasure which he had there, in certain vessels that he found in the river *Strymon*, passed over the Isle of *Samothrace*: where he hoped to live safe, by priviledge of the religious Sanctuary therein.

These miserable shifts of the King make it the lesse doubtfull, how all the Kingdome fell into the power of *Æmylius*, within so few daies after his victory. *Pydna*, which was neerest at hand, was the last that yeelded. About six thousand of the souldiers, that were of sundry Nations, fled out of the battell into that Town; and prepared for defence: the confused rabble of so many strangers hindering all deliberation and consent. *Hippius*, who had kept the passage over *Ossa* against *Martius*, with *Pantauchus*, who had been sent Embassadour to *Gentius* the *Illyrian*, were the first that came in: yeelding themselves, and the Town of *Beræa*, whither they had retired out of the battell. With the like message came others from *Thessalonica*, from *Pella*, and from all the Towns of *Macedon*, within two dayes: the losse of the head bereaving the whole body of all sense and strength. Neither did they of *Pydna*, stand out any longer, when they knew that the King had forsaken his Country: but opened their gates upon such termes, that the sack of it was granted to the *Roman* Army. *Æmylius* sent abroad into the Country, such as he thought meetest, to take charge of other Cities: he himself marching towards *Pella*. He found in *Pella* no more than three hundred Talents; the same whereof *Perseus* had lately defrauded the *Illyrian*. But within a very little while he shall have more.

It was soon understood, that *Perseus* had taken Sanctuary in the Temple at *Samothrace*: his own letters to the Consull confirming the report. He sent these letters by persons of such mean condition, that his case was pityed, for that he wanted the service of better men. The scope of this writing was, to desire favour: which though he begged in terms ill beseeming a King, yet since the inscription of his Epistle was, *King Perseus to the Consul Paulus*; the Consul, who had taken from him his Kingdome, and would not allow him to retain the Title, refused to make any answer thereunto. So there came other letters, as humble as could be expected: whereby he craved and obtained, that some might be sent to confer with him about matters of his present estate. Nevertheless, in this conference, he was marvellous earnest, that he might be allowed still to retain the name of King. And to this end it was, perhaps, that he had so carefully preserved his Treasure, unto the very last: flattering himself with such vain hopes as these; That the *Romans* would neither violate a Sanctuary, nor yet neglect those great riches in his possession; but compound with him for money, letting him have his desire to live at ease, and to be called King. Yea, it seems that he had indeed, even from the beginning, a desire to live in this Isle of *Samothrace*: both for that in one of his consultations about the War, he was dehorted by his friends, from seeking to exchange his Kingdome of *Macedon*, for * such a paltry Iland; and for that he offered to lay up the money which *Eumenes* demanded, in the holy Temple that was there. But he findes it otherwise. They urge him to give place unto necessity, and without more adoe, to yeeld to the discretion and mercy of the people of *Rome*. This is so far against his minde, that the conference breaks off without effect. Presently there arrives at *Samothrace Cn. Octavius* the *Roman* Admirall, with his fleet: who assayes, as well by terrible threats, as by fair language, to draw the King out of his lurking hole; wherein, for fear of imprisonment; he had now already imprisoned himself. When all would not serve, a question was moved to the *Samothracians*; How they durst pollute their Temple, by receiving into it one that had violated the like holy priviledge of Sanctuary, by attempting the murder of King *Eumenes* at *Delphi*? This went to the quick. The *Samothracians*, being now in the power of the *Romans*, take this matter to heart; and send word to the King, that *Evander*, who lives with him in the Temple, is accused of an impious fact, committed at *Delphi*, whereof unlesse he can clear himself in judgement, he must not be suffered to prophane that holy place, by his abiding in it. The reverence borne to his Majesty, now past, makes them forbear to say, that *Perseus* himself is charged with the same crime. But what will this avail, when the minister of the fact being brought into judgement, shall (as is to be feared) appeach the author? *Perseus* therefore willeth *Evander* to have consideration of the little favour that can be expected at the *Romans*

* *Liv. lib. 42.*

mans hand; who are like to be presidents and overseers of this judgement: so as it were better to dye valiantly, since none other hope remains, than hope to make good an ill cause; where though he had a good plea, yet it could not help him. Of this motion *Evander* seems to like well: and either kils himself, or hoping to escape thence, by deferring the time as it were to get poyson wherewith to end his life, is kiled by the Kings commandement. The death of this man, who had stuck to *Perseus* in all times of need, makes all the Kings friends that remained hitherto, to forsake him: so as none are left with him, save his wife and children, with his Pages. It is much to be suspected, that they which leave him upon this occasion, will tell perillous tales, and say, that the King hath lost the priviledge of this holy Sanctuary, by murdering *Evander* therein. Or if the *Romans* will affirm so much, who shall dare to gainsay them? Since therefore there is nothing but a point of formality, and even that also lyable to dispute, which preserves him from captivity; he purposeth to make an escape, and flye, with his Treasures, unto *Cotys* his good friend, into *Thrace*. *Oroandes*, a *Cretian*, lay at *Samothrace* with one ship, who easily was perswaded to waft the King thence. With all secrecy the Kings money, as much as could be so conveyed, was carryed aboord by night; and the King himself, with his wife and * children (if rather it were not true, that he had with him only * *Philip* his elder son, who was only by adoption his son, being his * brother by nature) with much adoe got out at a window by a rope, and over a mud wall. At his coming to the Sea-side, he found no *Oroandes* there: the *Cretian* had played a *Cretian* trick, and was gone with the money to his own home. So it began to wax clear day, whilest *Perseus* was searching all along the shoar: who had stayed so long about this, that he might fear to be intercepted ere he could recover the Temple. He ran therefore amain towards his lodging: and thinking it not safe to enter it the common way, lest he should be taken, he hid himself in an obscure corner. His Pages missing him, ran up and down making inquiry; till *Octavius* made Proclamation, That all the Kings Pages, and *Macedonians* whatsoever, abiding with their master in *Samothrace*, should have their lives and liberty, with all to them belonging, which they had either in that Isle, or at home in *Macedon*, conditionally, That they should presently yeeld themselves to the *Romans*. Hereupon they all came in. Likewise *Ion*, a *Thessalonian*, to whom the King had given the custody of his children, delivered them up to *Octavius*. Lastly, *Perseus* himself, with his son *Philip*, accusing the gods of *Samothrace*, that had no better protected him, rendered himself and made the *Roman* victory compleat. If he had not trusted in those gods of *Samothrace*, but employed his whole care in the defence of *Macedon*, without other hope of living, than of reigning therein; he might well have brought this war to an happier end. Now, by dividing his cogitations, and pursuing, at once, those contrary hopes of saving his Kingdome by arms, and himself by flight, he is become a spectacle of misery, and one among the number of those Princes, that have bin wretched by their own default. He was presently sent away to *Æmylius*; before whom he fell to the ground so basely, that he seemed thereby to dishonour the victory over himself, as gotten upon one of abject quality, and therefore the lesse to be esteemed. *Æmylius* used to him the language of a gentle Victor: blaming him, though mildly, for having, with so hostile a minde, made war upon the *Romans*. Hereto good answer might have been returned by one of better spirit. As for *Perseus*, he answered all with a fearfull silence. He was comforted with hope of life, or (as the Consull termed it) almost assurance; for that such was the mercy of the people at *Rome*. After these good words, being invited to the Consuls Table, and respectively entreated, he was committed prisoner to *Q. Ælius*.

* *Plut. in vit. Æmil. Liv. lib. 45. Liv. lib. 42.*

Such end had this *Macedonian* War, after four years continuance: and such end therewithall had the Kingdome of *Macedon*; the glory whereof, that had sometime filled all parts of the World then known, was now translated unto *Rome*.

§. IX.

§. IX.

Gentius, *King of the Illyrians, taken by the Romans.*

ABout the same time, and with like celerity, *Anicius* the *Roman* Prætor, who succeeded unto *App. Claudius*, had the like successe against King *Gentius* the *Illyrian*. *Gentius* had an Army of fifteen thousand; with which he was at *Lissus*, ready to assist King *Perseus* as soon as the money should come, whereof he had received only ten Talents. But *Anicius* arested him on the way, fought with him, overcame him, and drave him into * *Scodra*. This Town was very defensible by nature, besides the help of fortification; and strongly manned with all the force of *Illyria*; which, assisted with the Kings presence, made it seem unpossible to be won, in any not a very long time. Yet *Anicius* was confident in his late victory; and therefore presented his Army before the wals, making countenance to give an assault. The *Illyrians*, that might easily have defended themselves within the Town, would needs issue forth and fight. They were it seems, rather passionate than couragious: for they were beaten; and thereupon forthwith began amazedly to treat about yeelding. The King sent Embassadors; by whom, at first, he desired truce for three daies, that he might deliberate concerning his estate. It ill became him, who had laid violent hands on the *Roman* Embassadors, to have recourse to such meditation. But he thought his own fault pardonable, in as much as hitherto there was no greater harm done by him, than the casting of those Embassadors into prison, where they were still alive. Having obtained three daies respite, he passed up a River, within half a mile of the *Roman* Camp, into the Lake of *Scodra*, as it were to consult the more privately; though indeed, to hearken whether the report were true, that his brother *Caravantius* was comming to his rescue. Finding that no such help was toward, it is wonder, that he was so foolish as to return into *Scodra*. He sent messengers craving accesse unto the Prætor before whom having lamented his folly past (which, excepting the dishonesty, was not so great as his folly present) he fell down humbly, and yeelded himself to discretion. All the Towns of his kingdome, together with his wife, children, brother, friends, were presently given up. So this war ended in thirty daies: the People of *Rome* not knowing that it was begun, untill *Perpenna*, one of the Embassadors that had been imprisoned, brought word from *Anicius* how all had passed.

* Called now *Scutari*.

§. VII.

How the Romans behaved themselves in Greece and Macedon after their victory over Perseus.

NOw began the *Romans* to swell with the pride of their fortune; and to look tyrannically upon those that had been unmannerly toward them before, whilest the war with *Perseus* seemed full of danger. The *Rhodian* Embassadors were still at *Rome*, when the tidings of these victories were brought thither. Wherefore it was thought good to call them into the Senate, and bid them do their errand again. This they performed with a bad grace; saying, that they were sent from *Rhodes* to make an overture of peace; forasmuch as it was thought, that this war was no lesse grievous to the *Romans* themselves, than to the *Macedonians* and many others: but that now they were very glad, and in behalf of the *Romans* did congratulate with the Senate and people of *Rome*, that it was ended much more happily than had been expected. Hereto the Senate made answer, That the *Rhodians* had sent this Embassage to *Rome*, not for love of *Rome*, but in favour of the *Macedonian*; whose partizans they were, and should so be taken. By these threats, and the desire of some (covetous of the charge) to have War proclaimed against *Rhodes*; the Embassadours were so affrighted, that in mourning apparell, as humble suppliants, they went about the City, beseeching all men, especially the great ones, to pardon their indiscretion; and not to prosecute them with vengeance, for some foolish words. This danger of Warre from *Rome* being known at *Rhodes*, all that had been

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any whit averse from the *Romans* in the late War of *Macedon*, were either taken and condemned, or sent prisoners to *Rome*; excepting some that slew themselves for fear, whose goods also were confiscated. Yet this procured little grace; and lesse would have done, if old *M. Cato*, a man by nature vehement, had not uttered a milde sentence, and advertised the Senate, That in decreeing war against *Rhodes* they should much dishonour themselves, and make it thought, that * rather the wealth of that City, which they were greedy to ransack, than any just cause, had moved them thereto. This consideration, together with their good deserts in the wars of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, helped well the *Rhodians*: among whom, none of any mark remained alive, save those that had been of the *Roman* faction. All which notwithstanding, many years passed, ere by importunate suit, they could be admitted into the society of the *Romans*: a favour which till now they had not esteemed; but thought themselves better without it, as equall friends.

* *Cæsar. in orat. apud Sallust. de Conjurat. Catilinæ.*

With the like, or greater severity, did the *Romans* make themselves terrible in all parts of *Greece*. *Æmylius* himself made progresse through the Country; visiting all the famous places therein, as for his pleasure: yet not forgetting to make them understand what power he had over them. More than five hundred of the chief Citizens in *Demetrias* were slain at one time by those of the *Roman* faction, and with help of the *Roman* souldiers. Others fled, or were banished, and their goods confiscated. Of which things, when complaint was made to the Consul, the redresse was such as requited not the pains of making supplication. His friends, that is to say, those which betrayed unto the *Romans* the liberty of their Countrey, he feasted like a King, with excessive chear; yet so, that he had all things very cheap in his Camp: an easie matter, since no man durst be backward in sending provisions, nor set on them the due price. Embassadors likewise were sent from *Rome*; some, to give order for setling the estate of *Macedon*, towards which they had more particular instruction from the Senate, than was usual in such cases; and some, to visit the affairs of *Greece*. The Kingdome of *Macedon* was set at liberty by *Æmylius* and the Embassadors, his assistants, who had order therefore from the Senate. But this liberty was such as the *Romans* used to bestow. The best part of it was, That the Tribute which had been payed unto the Kings, was lessened by half. As for the rest, the Country was divided into four parts, and they forbidden commerce one with the other. All the Nobility were sent captive into *Italy*, with their wives and children, as many as were above fifteen years old. The ancient Lawes of the Country were abrogated; and new given by *Æmylius*. Such mischief the Senate thought it better to do, at the first alteration of things in this Province, and in the time of Conquest, than otherwise to leave any inconvenience that should be worse in the future. But concerning the *Greeks*, that were not subjects to *Rome*, the things done to them could deserve no better name than meer tyranny, yea, and shamelesse perjury; were it not so, that the familiar custome, among Princes and great Estates, of violating Leagues, doth make the Oathes of confederation seem of no validity. The Embassadors that were sent to visit the *Greeks*, called before them all such men of note, from every quarter, as had any way discovered an unserviceable disposition towards the *Romans*. These they sent to *Rome*; where they were made sure enough. Some of these had sent letters to *Perseus*, which fell at length into the *Romans* hands: and in that respect, though they were no subjects; yet wanted there not colour, for using them as traytors, or at least as enemies. But since only two men were beheaded, for having been openly on the *Macedonian* side; and since it is confessed, that the good *Patriots* were no lesse afflicted in this inquisition, than they that had sold themselves to the King: this manner of proceeding was inexcusable Tyranny. With the *Achæans* these Embassadors were to deal more formally: not so much because that Common-wealth was strong; (though this were to be regarded by them, having no Commission to make or denounce War) and like to prove untractable, if manifest wrong were offered; as for that there appeared no manner of sign, by letters, or otherwise, whereby any one of the *Achæans* could be suspitiously charged to have held correspondence with the *Macedonian*. It was also so, that neither *Callicrates*, nor any of his adherents, had been employed by the Nation, in doing or offering their service to the *Romans*; but only such as were the best *Patriots*. Yet would not therefore the Embassadors neglect to use the benefit of the time: wherein, since all men trembled for fear of *Rome*, the season served fitly to rank the *Achæans* with the rest.

And

And hereto *Callicrates* was very urgent: fearing, and procuring them to fear in behalf of him and his friends, that if some sharp order were not now taken, he and his fellowes should be made to pay for their mischievous devices, ere long time passed. So the Embassadours came among the *Achæans*: where one of them, in open assembly of the Nation, spake as *Callicrates* had before instructed him. He said, that some of the chief among them, had with money and other means befriended *Perseus*. This being so, he desired that all such men might be condemned; whom, after sentence given, he would name unto them. After sentence given (cryed out the whole assembly) what justice were this? Name them first, and let them answer; which if they cannot well doe, we will soon condemn them. Then said the *Roman* boldly, that all their Prætors, as many as had led their Armies, were guilty of this crime. If this were true, said *Xenon*, a temperate man, and confident in his innocence, then should I likewise have been friend to *Perseus*: whereof if any man can accuse me, I shall throughly answer him, either here presently, or before the Senate at *Rome*. Upon these words of *Xenon* the Embassador laid hold, and said that even so it were the best way, for him and the rest to purge themselves before the Senate at *Rome*. Then began he to name others, and left not untill he had cited above a thousand; willing them to appear and answer before the Senate. This might even be termed the captivity of *Greece*; wherein so many of the honestest and worthiest men were carried from home, for none other cause, than their love unto their Countrey; to be punished according to the will of those, who could not endure that vertue, and regard of the publick liberty, should dwel together in any of the *Greeks*. At their comming to *Rome*, they were all cast into prison, as men already condemned by the *Achæans*. Many Embassages were sent from *Achaia* (where it is to be wondred, that any such honest care of these innocent men could be remaining: since honesty had been thus punished as a vice, in so many of the worthiest among them) to informe the Senate, that these men were neither condemned by the *Achæans*, nor yet held to be offenders. But in stead of better answer, it was pronounced; That the *Senate thought it not expedient for the Country, that these men should return into Achaia*. Neither could any solicitation of the *Achæans*, who never ceased to importune the Senate for their liberty, prevail at all; untill after seventeen years, fewer than thirty of them were inlarged, of whom that wise and vertuous man *Polybius* the great Historian, was one. All the rest were either dead in prison, or having made offer to escape, whether upon the way before they came to *Rome*, or whether out of Jayle, after that they were committed thereto, suffered death as malefactors.

This was a gentle correction, in regard of what was done upon the *Epirots*. For the Senate being desirous to preserve the *Macedonian* Treasure whole; yet withall, to gratifie the Souldiers, gave order, that the whole Country of *Epirus* should be put to sack. This was a barbarous and horrible cruelty; as also it was performed by *Æmylius* with mischievous subtilty. Having taken leave of the *Greeks*, and of the *Macedonians*, with bidding them well to use the liberty bestowed upon them by the people of *Rome*; hee sent unto the *Epirots* for ten of the principal men out of every City. These he commanded to deliver up all the Gold and Silver which they had; and sent along with them, into every of their Towns, what companies of men he thought convenient, as it were to fetch the money. But he gave secret instructions to the Captains, that upon a certain day by him appointed, they should fall to sack, every one the Town wherein to he was sent. Thus in one day were threescore and ten Cities, all confederate with the *Romans*, spoiled by the *Roman* Souldiers; and besides other acts of hostility in a time of peace, a hundred and fifty thousand of that Nation made slaves. It may be granted, that some of the *Epirots* deserved punishment, as having favoured *Perseus*. But since they among this people, that were thought guilty of this offence; yea, or but coldly affected to the *Romans*, had been already sent into *Italy*, there to receive their due; and since this Nation, in generall, was not only at the present in good obedience, but had even in this war done good service to the *Romans*: I hold this act so wicked, that I should not beleeve it, had any one Writer delivered the contrary. But the truth being manifest by consent of all, it is the lesse marvellous that God was pleased to make *Æmylius* childeless, even in the glory of his triumph, how great soever otherwise his vertues were.

In such manner dealt the *Romans*, after their victory, with the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*.

ans. How terrible they were to other Kingdomes abroad, it will apear by the efficacy of an Embassage sent from them to *Antiochus*; whereof before we speak, we must say somewhat of *Antiochus* his foregoers, of himself, and of his affairs about which these Embassadours came.

§. XI.

The war of Antiochus *upon Egypt brought to end by the Roman Embassadours.*

Antiochus the Great, after his peace with the *Romans*, did nothing that was memorable in the short time following of his reign and life. He died the six and and thirtieth year after he had worn a Crown, and in the seventeenth or eighteenth of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*; while he attempted to rob the Temple of *Bel*, or (according to *Justine*) of *Jupiter*. He left behind him three sons, *Seleucus*, *Philopator*, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, *Demetrius Soter*; and one daughter, *Cleopatra*, whom he had given in marriage to *Ptolemy Epiphanes* King of *Egypt*. *Seleucus*, the fourth of that name, and the eldest of *Antiochus* his sons; reigned in *Syria* twelve years, according to *Eusebius*, *Appian*, and *Sulpitius*: though *Josephus* give him but seven. A Prince, who as he was slothfull by nature, so the great losse which his father *Antiochus* had received, took from him the means of managing any great affair. Of him, about three hundred years before his birth, *Daniel* gave this judgement, *Et stabit in loco ejus vilissimus & indignus decore regio.* Dan. 11. 21. *And in his place* (speaking of *Antiochus*, the Father of this man) *shall start up a vile person, unworthy the honour of a King.* Under this *Seleucus*, those things were done which are spoken of *Onias* the high Priest, in these words, and other to the same effect: *What time as the holy City was inhabited with all peace, because of the godlinesse of* Onias *the Priest, it came to passe, that even the King did honour the place, and garnished the Temple with great gifts.* 2 Mac. 3. And all that is written in the third Chapter of the second of *Maccabees*, of *Simon* of *Benjamin*, who by *Apollonius* betrayed the Treasures of the Temple: and of *Heliodorus* sent by the King to seize them; of his miraculous striking by God, and his recovery at the prayers of *Onias*; of the Kings death, and of his successour *Antiochus Epiphanes*. It is therefore from the reign of this King, that the books of the *Maccabees* take beginning. Which books seem not to be delivered by one and the same hand. For the first book, although it touch upon *Alexander* the Great, yet it hath nothing else of his story; nor of the acts of his successors, till the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the brother & successor of this *Seleucus*; from whom downward to the death of *Simon Maccabaus* (who died in the hundred threescore & seventeenth year of the *Greeks* in *Syria*) that first book treateth. The Author of the second book, although he take the Story somewhat further off, by way of a Procœme, yet he endeth with the hundred and one and fiftieth year of the *Grecian* reign, and with the death of *Nicanor*, slain by *Judas*: remembring in the fourth Chapter the practice of *Jason* the brother of *Onias*, who after the death of *Seleucus*, prevailed with *Antiochus Epiphanes*, his successor, for the Priesthood. 1 Mac. 12. It is also held by *Jansenius*, and other grave Writers, that it was in the time of this *Onias*, that *Arius* King of the *Spartans* sent Embassadors to the *Jewes*, as to their brothers and kinsmen. Which intelligence between them and the *Greeks*, *Jonathan* the brother and successor of *Judas*, remembreth in the Preamble of that Epistle, which he himself directed to the people of *Sparta* by *Numenius* and *Antipater* his Embassadours, whom he employed at the same time to the Senate of *Rome*; repeating also the former Letters word by word, which *Arius* had sent to *Onias* the high Priest, whereto *Josephus* addes, that the name of the *Lacedæmonian* Embassador was *Demoteles*, and that the Letters had a square Volume, and were sealed with an Eagle holding a Dragon in her claws. *Supra Eccl. 5.*

Now to this *Seleucus*, the fourth of that name, succeeded *Antiochus Epiphanes*, in the hundred and seven and thirtieth year of the *Greeks* in *Syria*. He was the second son of the Great *Antiochus*: and he obtained his kingdome by procuring the death of the King his brother; which also he usurped from his brothers son.

Ptolemy Philometor, his Nephew by his sister *Cleopatra*, being then very young, had been about seven years King of *Egypt*.

Ptolemy Epiphanes, the Father of this King *Philometor*, had reigned in *Egypt* four and twenty year, in great quiet, but doing little or nothing that was memorable. *Philip*

of

Strab. lib. 16. *Just. Lib. 35.* *Euseb. in Chron.* *App. de bell. Syr. Ant. 12. c. 5.*

of *Macedon*, and the great *Antiochus*, had agreed to divide his Kingdome between them, whileſt he was a childe. But they found ſuch other buſineſſe ere long with the *Romans*, as made them give over their unjuſt purpoſe; eſpecially *Antiochus*, who gave with his daughter in marriage, unto this *Ptolemy*, the Provinces of *Cœloſyria*, *Phenice*, and *Judæa*, which he had won by his victory over *Scopas*, that was Generall of the *Egyptian* forces in thoſe parts. Nevertheleſſe, *Ptolemy* adhered to the *Romans*: whereby he lived in the greater ſecurity. He left behinde him two ſons; this *Ptolemy Philometor*, and *Ptolemy Phyſcon*, with a daughter *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was wife to the elder of her brethren, and after his death to the younger, by whom ſhe was caſt off, and her daughter taken in her ſtead. Such were the marriages of theſe *Egyptian* Kings.

Ptolemy Philometor, ſo called (that is, the lover of his mother) by a bitter nick-name, becauſe he ſlew her, fell into hatred with his ſubjects, and was like to be chaſed out of his Kingdome, his younger brother being ſet up againſt him. *Phyſcon* having a ſtrong party, got poſſeſſion of *Alexandria*; and *Philometor* held himſelf in *Memphis*, craving ſuccour of King *Antiochus* his Uncle. Hereof *Antiochus* was glad: who under colour to take upon him the protection of the young Prince, ſought by all means poſſible to poſſeſſe himſelf of that Kingdome. He ſent *Apollonius* the ſon of *Mneſthens* Embaſſadour into *Egypt*, and under colour to aſſiſt the Kings Coronation, he gave him inſtructions to perſwade the governors of the young King *Philometor*, to deliver the King his Nephew, with the principall places of that Kingdome, into his hands; pretending an extraordinary care and deſire of his Nephews ſafety and well doing. And the better to anſwer all arguments to the contrary, he prepared a forcible Army to attend him. Thus came he alongſt the coaſt of *Syria* to *Joppe*, and from thence on the ſudden he turned himſelf to-
2 Mac. 4. wards *Jeruſalem*; where, by *Jaſon* the Prieſt, (a Chaplain fit for ſuch a Patron) he was with all pomp and ſolemnity received into the City. For though lately, in the time of
2 Mac. 3. *Seleucus*, the brother and predeceſſour of *Epiphanes*, that impious Traytor *Simon* of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, Ruler of the Temple, when he would have delivered the treaſures thereof to *Apollonius* Governour of *Cœloſyria* and *Phœnicia*, was diſappointed of his wicked purpoſe by miracle from heaven; the ſaid *Apollonius* being ſtrucken by the Angell of God, and recovering again at the prayer of *Onias*: yet ſufficed not this example to terrifie others from the like ungodly practices. Preſently upon the death of *Seleucus*, this *Jaſon*, the brother of *Onias*, ſeeking to ſupplant his brother, and to obtain the Prieſthood for himſelf, offered unto the King three hundred and threeſcore talents of ſilver,
2 Mac. 4. with other rents and ſums of money. So he got his deſire, though he not long enjoyed it.

This naughty dealing of *Jaſon*, and his being over-reached by another in the ſame kinde, cals to mind a by-word taken up among the *Achæans*, when as that miſchievous *Callicrates*, who had been too hard for all worthy and vertuous men, was beaten at his own weapon, by one of his own condition. It went thus:

One fire than other burns more forcibly,
One Wolfe than other Wolves does bite more ſore,
One Hawk than other Hawks more ſwift does fly.
So one moſt miſchievous of men before,
Callicrates, *falſe knave as knave might be,*
Met with Menalcidas *more falſe than he.*

And even thus fell it out with *Jaſon*: who within three years after was betrayed, and overbidden by *Menelaus* the brother of *Simon*, that for three hundred talents more obtained the Prieſthood for himſelf: *Jaſon* thereupon being forced to flye from *Jeruſalem*, and to hide himſelf among the *Ammonites*.

From *Jeruſalem Antiochus* marched into *Phœnicia*, to augment the numbers of his men of war, and to prepare a fleet for his expedition into *Egypt*; with which, and with a
1 Mac. 1. 17. mighty army of land-forces, *He went about to reign over Egypt, that he might have the dominion of two Realmes, and entred Egypt with a mighty company; with Chariots and Elephants, with Horſemen, and with a great Navie, and moved war againſt* Ptolemæus
V. 18, 19, 20, &c. *King of Egypt; but* Ptolemæus *was afraid of him, and fled, & many were wounded to death. He wan many ſtrong Cities, and took away the ſpoils of the Land of Egypt.* Thus was fulfilled

Prophecy of *Daniel*. *He ſhall enter into the quiet and plentifull Provinces, and he ſhall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers fathers.* Never indeed had any of the Kings of *Syria* ſo great a victory over the *Egyptians*, nor took from them ſo great riches. For he gave a notable overthrow to the Captains of *Ptolomy*, between *Peluſium* and the Hill *Caſſius*, after which he entred and ſackt the greateſt and richeſt of all the Cities of *Egypt*, *Alexandria* excepted, which he could not force. In concluſion, after that *Antiochus* had ſmitten *Egypt*, *he turned again, and went up towards Iſrael and Jeruſalem with a mighty people, and entred proudly into the Sanctuary, and took away the golden Altar, and the Candleſtick for the light, and all the inſtruments thereof, and the table of the Shew-bread, and the pouring Veſſels, and the Bolls, and the golden Baſons, and the Vail, and the Crowns, and the golden Apparrell. He took alſo the Silver, and the gold, and the precious Jewels, and the ſecret Treaſures: and when he had taken away all, he departed into his own Land, after he had murdered many men.* Dan.11.24. Hier.in Dan. Mac.1.1.c.1.

It was about the beginning of the *Macedonian* war that *Antiochus* took in hand this *Egyptian* buſineſſe. At what time he firſt laid claime to *Cœloſyria*, juſtifying his title by * the ſame allegations which his father had made; and ſtiffely averring, that this Province had not been conſigned over to the *Egyptian*, or given in dowrie with *Cleopatra*. Eaſie it was to approve his right unto that which he had already gotten, when he was in a faire way to get all *Egypt*. The *Achæans*, *Rhodians*, *Athenians*, and other of the *Greeks*, &c. preſſed him, by ſeverall Embaſſages, to ſome good concluſion. But his anſwer was, that if the *Alexandrians* could be contented to receive their King his Nephew *Philometor*, the elder brother of the *Ptolomies*, then ſhould the war be preſently at an end; otherwiſe not. Yet when he ſaw, that it was an hard piece of work to take *Alexandria* by force: he thought it better to let the two brothers conſume themſelves with inteſtine war than by the terrour of his arms, threatning deſtruction unto both of them, to put into them any deſire of comming to agreement. He therefore withdrew his forces for the preſent; leaving the *Ptolomies* in very weak eſtate, the younger almoſt ruinated by his invaſion; the elder hated and forſaken by his people. Lib.6. * Cap.5.ſect.2. Polyb.Leg.81. 82.

But how weak ſoever theſe *Egyptians* were, their hatred was thought to be ſo ſtrong that *Antiochus* might leave them to the proſecution thereof; and follow, at good leiſure, his other buſineſſe at *Jeruſalem*, or elſwhere. So after the ſack of *Jeruſalem*, he reſted him a while at *Antioch*, and then made a journey into *Cilicia*, to ſuppreſſe the Rebellion of the *Thracians* and others in thoſe parts, who had been given, as it were, by way of dowry to a Concubine of the Kings, called *Antiochis*. For Governour of *Syria* in his abſence he left one *Andronichus*, a man of great authority about him. In the mean while, *Menelaus* the brother of *Simon*, the ſame who had thruſt *Jaſon* out of the Prieſthood, and promiſed the King three hundred talents for an In-come, committing the charge of the Prieſthood to his brother *Lyſimachus*, ſtole certain Veſſels of gold out of the Temple: whereof he preſented a part to *Andronicus* the Kings Lievtenant, and ſold the reſt at *Tyre*, and other Cities adjoyning. This he did, as it ſeemeth, to advance the payment of the three hundred talents promiſed; the ſame being now by *Soſtratus* eagerly demanded. Hereof when *Onias* the Prieſt (formerly diſpoſſeſſed by *Jaſon*) had certain knowledge, being moved with zeal, and deteſting the ſacriledge of *Menelaus*, he reproved him for it; and fearing his revenge, he withdrew himſelf into a Sanctuary at *Daphne*.

Daphne was a place of delight adjoyning as a ſuburb to *Antioch*. In compaſſe it had about ten miles: wherein were the Temples of *Apollo* and *Diana*, with a Grove, ſweet Springs, banquetting places, and the like; which were wholly, in a manner, abuſed to luſt and other ſuch voluptuouſneſſe. Whether it were well done of *Onias* to commit himſelf to the protection of *Apollo* and *Diana*, or to claim priviledge from the holineſſe of a ground conſecrated to any of the Heathen gods, I will not ſtand to diſcourſe. Onely I ſay for mine own opinion, that the inconvenience is far leſſe, to hold this book as Apocryphall, than to judge this fearfull ſhift which *Onias* (though a vertuous man) made for his life, either commendable or allowable, as the book ſeems to do. As for this refuge, it could not ſave the life of the poor old man: *for* Menelaus *taking* Andronicus *apart, prayed him to ſlay* Onias. *So when he came to* Onias, *he counſelled him craftily, giving him his right hand with an oath, and perſwaded him to come out of the Sanctuary; ſo he ſlew him incontinently without any regard of righteouſneſſe.* Hereof Mac.2.4.

when complaint was made to *Antiochus* after his return out of *Cilicia*, *He took away*
2 *Mac.*4.38. Andronicus *his garment of purple, and rent his clothes, and commanded him to be led throughout the City; and in the same place where he had committed the wickednesse against* Onias, *he was slain as a murderer.* In taking revenge of this innocent mans death, I should have thought that this wicked King had once in his life time done Justice. But presently after this, at the suit of one *Ptolomy*, a Traitor to *Ptolomy Philometor*, he condemned innocent men to death, who justly complained against *Menelaus*, and his brother *Lysimachus*, for a second robbing of the Temple, and carrying thence the Vessels of gold remaining. Hereby it is manifest, that he was guided by his own outragious will, and not by any regard of justice: since he revenged the death of *Onias*, he slew
Verse 47. those that were in the same cause with *Onias*; *Who, had they told their cause, yea, before the Scythians, they should have been heard as innocent.* By reason of such his unsteadiness, this King was commonly termed *Epimanes*, that is, Mad, in stead of *Epiphanes*, which signifieth Noble, or Illustrious.

2 *Mac.*5.1. After this, *Antiochus* made preparation for a second voyage into *Egypt, and then were there seen throughout all the City of Jerusalem, forty dayes long, horsmen running in the aire with robes of gold, and as bands of Spear-men, and as troups of Horsmen set in array, encountring and coursing one against another.* Of these prodigious signes, or rather forewarnings of God, all Histories have delivered us, some more, some lesse. Before the destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Vespatian*, a Star in the form of a sword appeared in the Heavens directly over the city, after which there followed a slaughter like unto this of *Epi-*
*Plin.l.2.c.*57. *phanes*, though far greater. In the *Cymbrian* wars, *Pliny* tells us, that Armies were seen fighting in the aire from the morning till the evening.

In the time of Pope *John* the eleventh, a fountain poured out blood in stead of water, in or neer the City of *Genoa*; soon after which the City was taken by the *Saracens*,
Mercur. Vipera de Prodig. lib.8 Vipera de prisco & sacro instituto. with great slaughter. Of these and the like prodigious signes, *Vipera* hath collected many, and very remarkable. But this one seemeth to me most memorable, because the most notorious. All men know, that in the Emperour *Nero*, the off-spring of the *Cæsars*, as well naturall as adopted, took end; whereof this notable signe gave warning.

Sutton Galba. When *Livia* was first married to *Augustus*, an Eagle let fall into her arms a white Hen, holding a Laurell branch in her mouth. *Livia* caused this Hen to be carefully nourished, and the Laurell branch to be planted: of the Hen came a fair increase of white Poultrie; and from the little branch there sprang up in time a Grove of Laurell: so that afterwards, in all triumphs, the Conquerours did use to carry in their hands a branch of Bayes taken out of this Grove; and after the triumphs ended, to set it again in the same ground: which branches were observed, when they hapned to wither, to fore-shew the death of those persons who carried them in triumph. And in the last yeer of *Nero*, all the broods of the white Hens died, and the whole Grove of Bayes withered at once. Moreover, the heads of all the *Cæsars* Statues, and the Scepter placed in *Augustus* his hand, were stricken down with lightning. That the Jews did not think such strange signes to be unworthy of regard; it appears by their calling upon *God*, and praying, that these tokens might turn to good.

Now, as the first voyage of *Antiochus* into *Egypt* was occasioned by discord of the two brethren therein reigning; so was this second Expedition caused by their good agreement. For the elder *Ptolomy* being left in *Memphis*, not strong enough to force his brother, who had defended *Alexandria* against all the power of their Uncle; thought it the best way to seek entrance into that royall City, rather by perswasion than by arms. *Physcon* had not yet forgotten the terrour of the former siége: the *Alexandrines*, though they loved not *Philometor*, yet loved they worse to live in scarcity of victuals (which was already great among them, and like to grow extreme) since nothing was brought in from the Country; and the friends of the younger brother saw no likelihood of good issue to be hoped for without reconciliation. These good helps, and above all these, the loving disposition of *Cleopatra*, who then was in *Alexandria*, encouraged *Philometor*, in his purpose. But that which made him earnestly desirous to accomplish it, was the fear wherein he stood of his Uncle. For though *Antiochus* was gone out of *Egypt* with his Army; yet had he left behind him a strong Garrison in *Pelusium*: retaining that City, which was the Key of *Egypt*, to his owne

own use. This consideration wrought also with *Physcon*, and with those that were about him; so as by the vehement mediation of *Cleopatra* their sister, the two brethren made an end of all quarrels.

When the news of this accord was brought to *Antiochus*, he was greatly enraged: for notwithstanding that he had pretended no other thing than the establishment of the King *Philometor* his Nephew, and a meaning to subject his younger brother unto him, which he gave in answer to all Embassadours; yet he now prepared to make a sharpe warre upon them both. And to this end he presently furnished and sent out his Navy towards *Cyprus*, and drew his land Army into *Cœlosyria*, ready to enter *Egypt* the Spring following. When he was on his way as far as *Rhinocorura*, he met with Embassadours sent from *Ptolemy*. Their errand was partly to yeeld thanks to *Antiochus* for the establishing of *Philometor* in his Kingdome; partly to beseech him, That he would rather be pleased to signifie what he required to have done in *Egypt*, which should be performed, than to enter it as an enemy with so puissant an Army. But *Antiochus* returned this short answer, That he would neither call back his Fleet, nor withdraw his Army, upon any other condition; than that *Ptolemy* should surrender into his hands, together with the City of *Pelusium*, the whole Territory thereto belonging: and that he should also abandon and leave unto him the Ile of *Cyprus*, with all the right that he had unto either of them, for ever. For answer unto these demands, he set down a day certaine, and a short one. Which being come and past, without any accord made, the *Syrian* Fleet entred *Nilus*, and recovered as well those places which appertained to *Ptolemy* in *Arabia*, as in *Egypt* it self; for *Memphis*, and all about it, received *Antiochus*, being unable to resist him. The King having now no stop in his way to *Alexandria*, passed on thitherwards by easie journies.

Of all these troubles past, as well as of the present danger wherein *Egypt* stood, the *Romans* had notice long ago. But they found, or were contented to finde, little reason for them to intermeddle therein. For it was a civil warre: and wherein *Antiochus* seemed to take part with the juster cause. Yet they gave signification, that it would be much displeasing unto them, to have the Kingdome of *Egypt* taken from the rightful owners. More they could not, or would not do; being troubled with *Perseus*; and therefore loath to provoke *Antiochus* too far. Nevertheless, the *Egyptian* Kings being reconciled, and standing joyntly in need of helpe against their Uncle, who prepared and made open war against them both: it was to be expected, that not only the *Romans*, but many of the *Greeks*, as being thereto obliged by notable benefits, should arme in defence of their Kingdome. *Rome* had been sustained with food from *Egypt*, in the war of *Hannibal*; when *Italie* lying waste, had neither corn nor money wherewith to buy sufficient store. By helpe of the *Egyptian* had *Aratus* laid the foundation of that greatnes, whereto the *Achæans* attained. And by the like helpe had *Rhodes* been defended against *Demetrius Poliorcetes*. Neither were these friendly turns, which that bountiful house of the *Ptolemyes* had done for sundry people abroad; ill followed, or seconded, by other as bad in requital: but with continuance of sutable beneficence, from time to time encreased. Wherefore the two brothers sent abroad confidently for ayde; especially to the *Rhodians* and *Achæans*, who seemed most able to give it effectually. To the *Romans* *Physcon* and *Cleopatra* had sent, a yeer since: but their Embassadours lay still in *Rome*. Of the *Achæans* they desired in particular, that *Lycortas* the brave warriour might be sent unto them, as General of all the *Auxiliaries*, and his son *Polybius*, General of the Horse. Hereunto the *Achæans* readily condescended: and would immediately have made performance, if *Callicrates* had not interposed his mischievous art. He whether seeking occasion to vaunt his obsequiousnes to the *Romans*; or much rather envying those noble Captaines whose service the Kings desired; withstood the common voyce; which was, That their Nation should, not with such smal numbers as were requested, but with all their power, be ayding unto the *Ptolemies*. For it was not now (he said) convenient time to entangle themselves in any such business, as might make them the less able to yeeld unto the *Romans* what help soever should be required in the *Macedonian* war. And in this sentence, he, with those of his faction, obstinately persisted; terrifying others with big words, as it were in behalf of the *Romans*. But *Polybius* affirmed, that *Martius*

the late Consul had signified unto him, that the *Romans* were past all need of help: adding further, that a thousand foot and two hundred horse, might well be spared to the aid of their Benefactors, the *Egyptian* Kings, without disabling their Nation to perform any service to the *Romans*; for as much as the *Achæans* could without trouble, raise thirty or forty thousand Souldiers. All this notwithstanding, the resolution was deferred from one meeting to another; and finally broken by the violence of *Callicrates*. For when it was thought that the Decree should have passed; he brought into the Theater where the Assembly was held, a Messenger with letters from *Martius*: whereby the *Achæans* were desired to conform themselves to the *Roman* Senate; and to labour, as the Senate had done, by sending Embassadors to set *Egypt* in peace. This was an advice against all reason. For the Senate had indeed sent Embassadors to make peace; but as in a time of greater business elswhere, with such milde words, that nothing was effected. Wherefore it was not likely that the *Achæans* should do any good in the same kinde. Yet *Polybius* and his friends durst not gaine-say the *Roman* Councel; which had force of an injunction. So the Kings were left in much distress; disappointed of their expectation. But within a while was *Perseus* overcome: and then might the Embassadour, sent from the *Roman* Senate, perform as much as any Army could have done.

Audience had been lately given by the Senate, unto those Embassadours of *Physcon* and *Cleopatra*: which having stayed more than a whole yeer in the City, brought nothing of their business to effect until now. The Embassadors delivered their message in the name of those that had sent them: though it concerned (which perhaps they knew not) *Philometor*, no less than his brother and sister.

In this ambassage of *Ptolemie*, now requesting help from *Rome*, appeared a notable change of his fortune,, from such as it had been before three or four yeers last past. For in the beginning of these his troubles, which began with the *Macedonian* War; either he, or *Eulæus*, or *Lenæus* (upon whom the blame was afterwards laid) which had the government of him, thought his affaires in such good estate, that not only he determined to set upon *Antiochus* for *Cœlosyria*, but would have interposed himself between the *Romans* and *Perseus*, as a competent Arbitrator; though it fell out well, that his Embassadour was by a friend perswaded to forget that point of his errand. From these high thoughts he fell on the sudden, by the rebellion of his brother and subjects, to live under protection of the same *Antiochus*. And now at such time as by atonement with his brother and subjects, he might have seemed to stand in no need of such protection, he hath remaining none other help whereby to save both his kingdom & life, than what can be obtained by their intercession which were employed against him. This miserable condition of him, his brother and sister shewed it self, even in the habit of those Embassadours. They were poorly clad; the haire of their heads and beards overgrown, as was their manner in time of affliction; and they carried in their hands branches of Olive. Thus they entered into the Senate, and there fell, groveling and prostrate, upon the floor, Their garments were not so mean and mournful, nor their looks and countenances so sad and dejected, but that their speech was than either of the other far more lamentable. For having told in what danger their King and Countrey stood; they made a pittiful and grievous complaint unto the Senate, beseeching them to have compassion of their Estate, and of their Princes, who had alwayes remained friendly & faithful to the *Romans*. They said that the people of *Rome* had so much heretofore favored this *Antiochus* in particular, and were of such account and authority, with all other Kings and Nations; as if they pleased but to send their Embassadours, and let *Antiochus* know that the Senate was offended with his undertaking upon the King their Confederate; then would he presently raise his siege from before *Alexandria*, and with-dray his Army out of *Egypt* into *Syria*. But that if the Senate protracted any time, or used any delay; then should *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra* be shortly driven out of their Realms, and make repaire to *Rome*, with shamful dishonour to the Senate and people thereof, in that, in the extream dangers of all their fortunes, they had not vouchsafed to relieve them.

Polib. leg. 72.

The Lords of the Senate moved with compassion, sent incontinently *C. Popilius Lenas*, *C. Decimius* and *A. Hostilius*, as Embassadours to determine and end the war between those Kings. In commission they had first to find King *Ptolemy*, and then *Antiochus*, and

to

to let them both understand, that unlesse they surceased, and gave over Arms, they would take that King no more for a friend to the Senate and people of *Rome*, whom they found obstinate, or using delay. So these *Romans*, together with the *Alexandrine* Embassadours, took their leave, and went onward their way within three dayes after.

Whilest *Popilius* and his fellowes were on their way toward *Egypt*, *Antiochus* had transported his Army over *Lustne*, some forty miles from *Alexandria*. So near was he to the end of his journey, when the *Roman* Embassadors met him. After greeting and salutations at their first encounter, *Antiochus* offered his right hand to *Popilius*: but *Popilius* filled it with a Roll of paper, willing him to read those Mandates of the Senate before he did any thing else. *Antiochus* did so; and having a little while considered of the businesse, he told *Popilius*, That he would advise with his friends, and then give the Embassadors their answer. But *Popilius*, according to his ordinary blunt manner of speech, which he had by nature, made a Circle about the King with a Rod which he held in his hand, willing him to make him such an answer as he might report to the Senate, before he moved out of that Circle. The King astonished at this so rude and violent a Commandement, after he had stayed and pawsed a while, I will be content (quoth he) to do whatsoever the Senate shall ordain. Then *Popilius* gave unto the King his hand, as to a Friend and Allie of the *Romans*.

Thus *Antiochus* departed out of *Egypt*, without any good issue of his costly Expedition, even in such manner as * *Daniel* had propheſied long before: yea, fulfilling every particular circumstance, both of returning, and of doing mischief to *Jerusalem* after his return; like as if these things had rather been historified than foretold by the Prophet. As for the *Roman* Embassadors, they stayed a while, and setled the kingdome of *Egypt*, leaving it unto the elder brother, and appointed the younger to reign over *Cyrene*. This done, they departed towards *Cyprus*, which they left, as it had been, in the power of the *Egyptian*, having first sent away *Antiochus* Fleet, which had already given an overthrow to the *Egyptian* ships.

Dan. 11. 29, 30, &c.

§. XII.

How the Romans were dreadfull to all Kings. Their demeanour towards Eumenes, Prusias, Masanissa, *and* Cotys. *The end of* Perseus *and his children. The instability of Kingly Estates. The Triumphs of* Paulus, Anicius, *and* Octavius. *With the Conclusion of the Work.*

BY this peremptory demeanour of *Popilius*, in doing his Message, and by the readie obedience of King *Antiochus* to the will of the Senate; we may perceive how terrible the *Romans* were grown, through their conquest of *Macedon*. The same *Popilius* had bin well contented, a year before this, to lay aside the roughnesse of his natural condition, & to give good language to the *Achæans* and *Ætolians*, when he went Embassador to those people of *Greece*, that were of far lesse power than the King *Antiochus*. Likewise, *Antiochus* had with good words, and no more than good words, dismissed other Embassadors which came from *Rome*, in such sort, as they complained not, much lesse used any menacing termes, though he performed nothing of their request. But now the case was altered. So found other Kings as well as *Antiochus*.

Eumenes sent to *Rome* his brother *Attalus*, to gratulate the victory over *Perseus*, and to crave help or countenance of the Senate against the *Gallo-greeks*, which molested him. Very welcome was *Attalus*, and lovingly entertained by most of the Senators: who bad him be confident, and request of the Senate his brothers kingdome for himself; for it should surely be given him. These hopefull promises tickled *Attalus* with such ambition, that he either approved, or seemed to approve the motion. But his honest nature was soon reclaimed by the faithfull counsell of *Stratius* a Physitian; whom *Eumenes* had sent to *Rome* of purpose to keep his brother upright. So, when he came into the Senate, he delivered the errand about which he had bin sent, recounting his own services done to the *Romans* in the late war, * where withall he forgat not to make of his brother as good mention

* Liv. lib. 45.

mention as he could: and finally, requested, That the Towns of *Ænus* and *Maronea*
*Polyb. Leg. 93. might be bestowed upon himself. * By his omitting to sue for his brothers Kingdome, the Senate conceived opinion, that he meant to crave another day of audience for that businesse alone. Wherefore to make him understand how gracious he was, they not only granted all his desire; but in the presents which they gave unto him (as was their custome to Embassadors that came with an acceptable message) they used singular magnificence.
Polyb. ibid. Nevertheless *Attalus* took no notice of their meaning, but went his way, contented with what they had already granted. This did so highly displease the Senate, that whilest he was yet in *Italy*, they gave order for the liberty of *Ænus* and *Maronea*: thereby making uneffectuall their promise; which otherwise they could not, without shame, revoke. And as for the *Gallo-Greeks*, which were about to invade the Kingdome of *Pergamus*; they sent Embassadors to them, with such instructions, as rather encouraged than hindered them in their purpose. The displeasure of the Senate being so manifest; *Enmenes* thought it worthy of his labour to make another voyage to *Rome*. He might well blame the folly of his second voyage thither, for this necessity of the third: since, by his malice to *Perseus*, he had laid open unto these ambitious Potentates the way to his own doors. No sooner was he come into *Italy*, than the Senate was ready to send him going. It was not thought expedient to use him as an enemy, that came to visit them in love: neither could they, in so doing, have avoided the note of singular inconstancy: and to entertain him as a friend, was more then their hatred to him, for his ingratitude, as they deemed it, would permit. Wherefore they made a Decree, That no King should be suffered to come to *Rome*; and by vertue thereof sent him home, without expence of much further complement.

Prusias King of *Bithynia* had been at *Rome* somewhat before; where he was welcommed after a better fashion. He had learned to behave himself as humbly as the proud *Romans* could expect or desire. For, entring into the Senate, he lay down, and kissed the threshold, calling the *Fathers* his gods and saviours; as also he used to wear a Cap, after the manner of slaves newly manumised, professing himself an enfranchised bondman of the people of *Rome*. He was indeed naturally a slave, and one that by such abject flattery kept himself safe; though doing otherwise greater mischief than any wherewith *Perseus* had been charged. His errand was, besides matter of complement, to commend unto the Senate the care of his son *Nicomedes*, whom he brought with him to *Rome*, there to receive education. Further petition he made to have some Towns added to his kingdom: whereto, because the grant would have bin unjust, he received a cold answer. But concerning the Wardship of his son, it was undertaken by the Senate: which, vaunting of the pleasure lately done to *Egypt*, in freeing it from *Antiochus*, willed him thereby to consider, what effectuall protection the *Romans* gave unto the children of Kings, that were to their patronage commended.

But above all other Kings, *Masanissa* held his credit with the *Romans* good. His quarrels were endlesse with the *Carthaginians*: which made the friendship of the *Romans* to him the more assured. In all controversies they gave judgement on his side: and whereas he had invaded the Countrey of *Emporia*, holding the Lands, but unable to win the Towns; the *Romans* (though at first they could finde no pretext, whereby to countenance him in this oppression) compelled finally the *Carthaginians* both to let go all their hold, and to pay five hundred Talents to the *Numidian*, for having hindered him of his due so long. Now indeed had *Rome* good leisure to devise upon the ruine of *Carthage*: after which, the race of *Masanissa* himself was shortly by them rooted up. But hereof the old King never dreamed. He sent to *Rome* one of his sons, to congratulate the victory over *Perseus*; and offered to come thither himself, there to sacrifice for joy unto *Jupiter* in the *Capitol*. His good will was lovingly accepted; his son rewarded; and he entreated to stay at home.

Cetys the *Thracian* sent Embassadors to excuse himself touching the aide by him given to *Perseus*, for that the *Macedonian* had him bound by hostages; and to intreat, That his son, which was taken with the children of *Perseus*, might be set at liberty, for convenient ransome. His excuse was not taken; since he had voluntarily obliged himself to *Perseus*, by giving hostages without necessity: Yet was his sonne given back to him ransome-free; with admonition, to carry himself better toward the

Romans

Romans in time following. His Kingdome lay between *Macedon* and some barbarous Nations; in which respect, it was good to hold him in fair terms.

As for those unhappy Kings *Perseus* and *Gentius*, they were led through *Rome*, with their children and friends, in the Triumphs of *Æmylius* and *Anicius*. *Perseus* had often made suit to *Æmylius*, that he might not be put to such disgrace: but he still received one scornfull answer, That it lay in his own power to prevent it; whereby was meant, that he might kill himself. And surely, had he not hoped for greater mercy than he found, he would rather have sought his death in *Macedon*, than to have bin beholding to the courtesie of his insolent enemies for a wretched life. The issue of the *Roman* clemency, whereof *Æmylius* had given him hope, was no better than this: After that he, and his fellow King, had been led in chains through the streets, before the Chariots of their triumphing Victors, they were committed to prison, wherein they remained without hope of release. It was the manner, that when the Triumpher turned his Chariot up towards the *Capitol*, there to do sacrifice, he should command the captives to be had away to prison, and there put to death: so as the honour of the Vanquisher, and misery of those that were overcome, might be both together at the utmost. This last sentence of death was remitted unto *Perseus*: yet so, that he had little joy of his life; but either famished himself, or (for it is diversly reported) was kept watching perforce by those that had him in custody; and so dyed for want of sleep. Of his sons, two died; it is uncertain how. The youngest called *Alexander* (only in name like unto the Great, though destined sometimes perhaps by his father, unto the fortunes of the Great) became a Joyner, or Turner, or, at his best preferment, a Scribe under the *Roman* Officers. In such poverty ended the Royall house of *Macedon*: and it ended on the sudden; though some eight-score years after the death of that Monarch, unto whose ambition this whole Earth seemed too narrow.

If *Perseus* had known it before, that his own son should one day be compelled to earn his living by handi-work, in a painfull Occupation; it it like, that he would not, as in a wantonnesse of Soveraignty have commanded those poor men to be slain, which had recovered his treasures out of the sea, by their skill in the feat of diving. He would rather have been very gentle, and would have considered, that the greatest oppressors, and the most undertroden wretches, are all subject unto the One high Power, governing all alike with absolute command. But such is our unhappinesse; in stead of that blessed counsel, *Do as ye would be done unto*, a sentence teaching all moderation, and pointing out the way to felicity; we entertain that arrogant thought, *I will be like to the most High*: that is, I will do what shall please my self. One hath said truly:

——*v v*——*Et qui nolunt occidere quenquam* *Juven. sat. 10.*
Posse volunt.——

Even they that have no murdrous will,
Would have it in their power to kill.

All, or the most have a vain desire of ability to do evill without controll: which is a dangerous temptation unto the performance. God, who best can judge what is expedient, hath granted such power to very few: among whom also, very few there are, that use it not to their own hurt. For who sees not that a Prince, by racking his Soveraign authority to the utmost extent, enableth (besides the danger to his own person) some one of his own sons or nephews to root up all his progeny? Shall not many excellent Princes, notwithstanding their brotherhood, or other nearnesse in bloud, be driven to flatter the Wife, the Minion, or perhaps the Harlot that governs one, the most unworthy of his whole house, yet reigning over all? the untimely death of many Princes which could not humble themselves to such flattery; and the common practice of the *Turkish* Emperours to murder all their brethren, without expectiug till they offend, are too good proofs hereof. Hereunto may be added, that the heir of the same *Roger Mortimer*, who murdered most traiterously and barbarously King *Edward* the second, was, by reason of a marriage, proclaimed, in time not long after following, heir apparent to the Crown of *England*: which had he obtained, then had all the power of *Edward* fallen into the race of his mortall enemy, to exercise the same upon the Line of that unhappy King. Such examples of the instability whereto all mortall affairs are

subject;

subject; as they teach moderation, and admonish the transitory gods of Kingdoms, not to authorize by wicked precedents, the evill that may fall on their own posterity: so do they necessarily make us understand, how happy that Country is, which hath obtained a King able to conceive and teach, That * *God is the surest and sharpest Schoolemaster that can be devised, for such Kings, as think this world ordained for them, without controlement to turn it upside-down at their pleasure.*

* The true Law of free Monarchies.

Now concerning the Triumph of *L. Æmylius Paulus*, it was in all points like unto that of *T. Quintius Flaminius*: though far more glorious, in regard of the Kings own person, that was led along therein, as part of his own spoyls; and in regard likewise both of the Conquest and of the Booty. So great was the quantity of Gold and Silver carryed by *Paulus* into the *Roman* Treasury, that from thenceforth, untill the civill wars which followed upon the death of *Julius Cæsar*, the Estate had no need to burthen it self with any Tribute. Yet was this noble Triumph likely to have been hindered by the souldiers; who grudged at their Generall, for not having dealt more bountifully with them. But the Princes of the Senate over-ruled the People and Souldiers herein, and brought them to reason by severe exhortations. Thus *Paulus* enjoyed as much honour of his victory as men could give. Nevertheless, it pleased God to take away from him his two remaining sons, that were not given in adoption: of which, the one dyed five dayes before the Triumph; the other three dayes after it. This losse he bore wisely: and told the People, That he hoped to see the Common-wealth flourish in a continuance of prosperity; since the joy of his victory was requited with his own private calamity, in stead of the publique.

Chap. 3. §. 4.

About the same time, *Octavius* the Admirall, who had brought *Perseus* out of *Samothrace*: and *Anicius* the Prætor, who had conquered *Illyria*, and taken King *Gentius* prisoner; made their severall triumphs. The glory of which magnificent spectacles, together with the confluence of Embassages from all parts; and Kings, either visiting the Imperiall City, or offering to visit her, and do their duties in person; were enow to say unto *Rome*, *Sume superbiam*, *Take upon thee the Majesty that thy deserts have purchased.*

BY this which we have already set down, is seen the beginning and end of the three first Monarchies of the world; whereof the Founders and Erectors thought, that they could never have ended. That of *Rome* which made the fourth, was also at this time almost at the highest. We have left it flourishing in the middle of the field; having rooted up, or cut down all that kept it from the eyes and admiration of the world. But after some continuance, it shall begin to lose the beauty it had; the storms of ambition shall beat her great boughes and branches one against another; her leaves shall fall off, her limbs wither, and a rabble of barbarous Nations enter the field, and cut her down.

Now these great Kings, and conquering Nations, have bin the subject of those ancient Histories, which have been preserved, and yet remain among us; and withall of so many tragical Poets, as in the persons of powerfull Princes, and other mighty men have complained against infidelity, Time, Destiny, and most of all against the Variable successe of worldly things, and Instability of Fortune. To these undertakings, these great Lords of the world have been stirred up, rather by the desire of Fame, which ploweth up the Aire, and soweth in the Winde; than by the affection of bearing rule, which draweth after it so much vexation and so many cares. And that this is true, the good advice of *Cineas* to *Pyrrhus* proves. And certainly, as Fame hath often been dangerous to the living, so is it to the dead of no use at all; because separate from knowledge. Which were it otherwise, and the extreme ill bargain of buying this lasting discourse, understood by them which are dissolved; they themselves would then rather have wished, to have stolen out of the world without noyse, than to be put in minde, that they have purchased the report of their actions in the world, by rapine, oppression, and cruelty: by giving in spoyle the innocent and labouring soul to the idle and insolent, and by having emptied the Cities of the world of their ancient Inhabitants, and filled them again with so many and so variable sorts of sorrowes.

Since the fall of the *Roman* Empire (omitting that of the *Germanes*, which had neither greatnesse nor continuance) there hath been no State fearfull in the East, but that

of

of the *Turk*: for in the Weſt any Prince that hath ſpred his wings far over his neſt, but the *Spaniard*; who ſince the time that *Ferdinand* expelled the *Moores* out of *Granado*, have made many attempts to make themſelves Maſters of all *Europe*. And it is true, that by the treaſures of both Indies, & by the many kingdoms which they poſſeſs in *Europe*, they are at this day the moſt powerful. But as the *Turke* is now counterpoiſed by the *Perſian*, ſo in ſtead of ſo many Millions as have been ſpent by the the *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Netherlands* in a defenſive war, and in diverſions againſt them, it is eaſie to demonſtrate, that with the charge of two hundred thouſand pound continued but for two yeers, or three at the moſt, they may not only be perſwaded to live in peace, but all their ſwelling and overflowing ſtreams may be brought back into their natural channels and old banks. Theſe two Nations, I ſay, are at this day the moſt eminent, and to be regarded; the one ſeeking to root out the Chriſtian Religion altogether, the other the truth and ſincere profeſſion thereof; the one to joyn all *Europe* to *Aſia*, the other the reſt of all *Europe* to *Spaine*.

For the reſt, if we ſeek a reaſon of the ſucceſſion and continuance of this boundleſs ambition in mortal men, we may add to that which hath been already ſaid; That the Kings and Princes of the world have alwayes laid before them the actions, but not the ends of thoſe great Ones which preceeded them. They are always tranſported with the glory of the one, but they never minde the miſery of the other, till they finde the experience in themſelves. They neglect the advice of God, while they enjoy life, or hope it; but they follow the counſel of Death, upon his firſt approach. It is he that puts into man all the wiſdom of the world, without ſpeaking a word; which God with all the words of his Law, promiſes, or threats, doth infuſe. Death, which hateth and deſtroyeth man, is believed; God, which hath made him, and loves him, is alwayes deferred. *I have conſidered* (ſaith *Salomon*) *all the works that are under the Sun, and behold, all is vanity and vexation of ſpirit*: but who believes it till Death tels it us? It was Death, which opening the conſcience of *Charles* the fift, made him enjoyn his ſon *Philip* to reſtore *Navarre*; and King *Francis* the firſt of *France*, to command that juſtice ſhould be done upon the Murderers of the *Proteſtants* in *Merindol* and *Cabrieres*, which till then he neglected. It is therefore death alone that can ſuddenly make man to know himſelf. He tels the proud and inſolent, that they are but Abjects, and humbles them at the inſtant; makes them cry, complaine, and repent; yea, even to hate their forepaſſed happineſs. He takes the account of the rich, and proves him a beggers a naked begger, which hath intereſt in nothing, but in the gravel that fils his mouth. He holds a Glaſs before the eyes of the moſt beautiful, and makes them ſee therein their deformity and rottenneſs; and they acknowledge it.

O eloquent, juſt, and mighty Death! whom none could adviſe, thou haſt perſwaded what none have dared, thou haſt done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou only haſt caſt out of the world and deſpiſed: thou haſt drawn together all the far ſtretched greatneſs, all the pride, cruelty, and ambition of man, and covered it all over with theſe two narrow words, *Hic jacet*.

Laſtly, whereas this Book, by the title it hath, cals it ſelf, *The firſt part of the General Hiſtory of the World*, implying a *ſecond* and *third* Volume; which I alſo intended, and have hewn out; beſides many other diſcouragements, perſwading my ſilence; it hath pleaſed God to take that glorious *Prince* out of the world, to whom they were directed; whoſe unſpeakable and never enough lamented loſs hath taught me to ſay with *Job*, *Verſa eſt in Luctum Cithara mea, & Organum meum in vocem flentium.*

FINIS.

To The Reader.

The use of Chronologicall Tables is needfull to all Histories, that reach to any length of time; and most of all, to those that are most generall: since they cannot, like Annalls, yeerly set down all occurrences not cohærent. This here following, may serve as an Index to the present part of this work, pointing unto the severall matters, that having fallen out at one time, are far dis-joyned in the relation. Certainly it is not perfect, neither do I think that any can be. For howsoever the yeers of the first Patriarchs may seem to have been well-neer compleat, yet in the reigns of the Kings of Juda and Israel, we finde many fractions, and the last yeer, or yeers, of one King reckoned also as the foremost of another. The same is most likely to have fallen out in many other, though not so precisely recorded. Hereto may be added the divers and imperfect forms of the yeer, which were in use among sundry Nations, causing the * Sommer moneths, in processe of some ages, to fall into the winter; and so breeding extreme confusion in the reckoning of their times. Neither is it a small part of trouble, to choose out of so many, and so utterly disagreeing computations, as have already gotten authority, what may probably be held for truth. All this, and a great deale more, is to be alledged, in excuse of such errour, as a more intentive and perfect Calculator shall happen to finde herein. It may serve to free the book, and likewise the Reader (if but of mean judgement) from any notorious Anachronicisme; which ought to suffice. The book indeed will need it, even in that regard; not onely for some errours of the Presse, in the numbring of yeers, but for some hastie mis-reckonings of mine own, which I desire to have hereby reformed, in hope that the printing of this Table shall not want carefull diligence. The Reader, if he be not offended with the rest, shall finde reason to be pleased with this, as tending wholly to his own ease.

* See lib. 2. cap. 3. sect. 6.

The titles over the Columns, have reference to that which follows under them, as will readily be conceived. Where two titles, or more, are over the head, as [Rome / Nabonassar] there do the numbers underneath proportionably answer, the higher to the higher, the lower to the lower. For example, The walls of Jerusalem were finished in the 319. yeer from the building of Rome, and in the 314. from Nabonassar. In like manner it is to be understood, That Jehosaphat began his reign in the 3774. of the Julian Æra, in the 3092. of the world, and in the 99. yeer of the Temple. This needs not more illustration, nor indeed so much, to those that are acquainted with works of this kinde. To avoid prolixity, I have forborn to insert those yeers, which I finde not signed with some regardable accident, as with the birth or death of some Patriarch; the beginning of some Kings reign; some change of Government; some battell fought, or the like. So of the 13. yeers wherein Sylvius Capetus reigned over the Latines, I note onely the first, that is, omitting all between the 4. of Jehosaphat, wherein Capetus began, unto the 17. wherein Sylvius Aventinus succeeded, and wherein Jehoram first reigned with Jehosaphat his father. For I thought it vain to have filled up a page with 12. lines of idle ciphers, numbring forth 2.3.4.5. and so still onwards, till I had come to the first of Aventinus, and the 17. of Jehosaphat. In setting down the Kings, there is noted over the head of every one, what place he held in order of succession: as whether he were the first, second, fifth, seventh, or so forth, in rank of those that reigned in his countrey, without notable interruption: Before the name is the first yeer of his reign; at the end or foot of the name (as the space gives leave) is the whole number of yeers in which he reigned, in the spaces following underneath, are those yeers of his, which were concurrent with the beginning of some other King, or with the yeer of any remarkable accident. Where two numbers, or more, are found before one Kings name; there it is to be understood, that the same yeer belonged not onely to the King then beginning, but unto some one, or more of his foregoers: as the first yeer of Jehoram King of Israel, was the same with the second of his brother Ahaziah, and the 22. of his father Ahab. So where two or three names are found in one space, as in the 3077. yeer of the World, Zimri, Tibni, and Omri, it is meant, that every one of them reigned in some part of the same yeer, which is reckoned the second of Ela, and the first of Omri. Particularly, under the reigns of the Egyptian Kings, are set down the yeers of those Dynasties, which it was thought meet to insert; as likewise otherwhiles, the day, the moneth, upon which Nabonassar's yeer began, which, how it varied from other yeers, may be found in the place last above cited.

Concer-

To the Reader.

Concerning the Æra, *or account of yeers, from* Iphitus, *who began the* Olympiads, *from* Rome *built, from* Nabonassar, *and the like; as much as was thought convenient hath been said, where due place was, in the book it self: so as it remaineth onely to note, that under the title of* Olympiads, *is set down, first the number of the* Olympiad, *and beneath it, the yeer of that* Olympiad: *as that* Cyrus *began his reign in* Persia, *in the* 55. Olympiad, *and the first yeer thereof.*

Now, for that the yeers of the world, of the Olympiads, *of* Rome, *of* Nabonassar, *and other, had not beginning in one moneth, but some of them in March, some in April, some about Midsommer, and some at other times: the better to expresse their severall beginnings, some painfull Chronologers have divided them proportionably in their severall Columns, opposing part of the one yeer to part of the other: not (as I have here done) cutting all overthwart with one straight line, as if all had begun and ended at one time. But this labour have I spared, as more troublesom than usefull, since the more part would not have apprehended the meaning, and since the learned might well be without it. It will onely be needfull to observe, that howsoever the* Æra *of the* Olympiads *be* 24. *yeers elder than that of* Rome, *and* 29. *than that of* Nabonassar, *yet the reign of some King may have begun at such a time of the yeer as did not sute with this difference. But hereof I take little regard. The more curious will easily finde my meaning: the vulgar will not finde the difficulty. One familiar example will explain all. Queen* Elizabeth *began her reign the* 17. *of November, in the yeer of our Lord* 1558. *She was crowned, held a Parliament, brake it up, threw down Images, and reformed many things in religion, all in her first yeer, yet not all in that yeer* 1558. *but the greater part in the yeer following, whether we begin with the first of January, or with the* 25. *of March. The like may be otherwhiles found in this Table, but so, as the difference is never of a whole yeer.*

The Julian *Period, which I have placed as the greater number, over the yeers of the World, was delivered by that honourable, and excellently learned* Joseph Scaliger: *being accommodated to the* Julian *yeers, now in use among us. It consisteth of* 7980. *yeers, which result from the multiplication of* 19. 28. *and* 15. *that is, of the Cycle of the Moon, the Cycle of the Sun, and the yeers of an Indiction. Being divided by any of these, it leaves the number of the present yeer, or if no fraction remain, it shews the last yeer of that Cycle to be current. For example, in the* 4498. *of this Period, when was fought the great battell of* Cannæ, *the Prime or golden number was* 14. *the Cycle of the Sun,* 18. *and consequently the Dominicall letter* F. *as may be found by dividing the same number of the* Julian *Period* 4498. *by* 19. *for the Prime, by* 28. *for the Cycle of the Sun. This* Julian *Period, after the present accompt, alwaies exceeds the yeers of the world by* 682. *Besides the former uses, and other thence redounding, it is a better Character of a yeer, than any other* Æra (*as,* From the beginning of the World, From the Floud, From *Troy* taken, *or the like*) *which are of more uncertain position. More I shall not need to write, as touching the use or explication of these Tables. Neither was thus much requisite to such as are conversant in works of this kinde: it sufficeth if hereby all be made plain enough to the vulgar.*

A CHRONOLOGICALL TABLE.

Years of the Julian Period, World, Patriarchs, &c.

	Julian. The World, and Adam									
	683 1. Ada 930									
	813 131	1. Seth 912								
	918 236	106	1. Enos 905							
	1008 326	196	91	1. Cainan. 910	*All the years of the Patriarchs, wherein they begat children, died, or performed any thing, are reckoned compleat: which is inferred out of the addition of the years before they begat children, unto those that followed; making alwaies a compleat summe, Gen. 5.*					
	1078 396	266	161	71	1. Mahalalel 895					
	1143 461	331	226	136	66	1 Jared 962				
	1305 623	493	388	298	228	163	1. Enoch. 265			
	1370 688	558	453	363	293	228	66	1. Methusela 969		
	1557 875	745	640	550	480	415	253	188	1. Lamech. 777	
Adam dyed about the end of the year.	1612 930	800	695	605	535	470	308	243	56	
Enoch translated.	1669 987	857	752	662	592	527	365	300	113	
Seth died about the end of this year.	1724 1042	912	807	717	647	582		355	168	
	1739 1057		822	732	662	597		370	183	1. Noah. 950

	Julian. The World	Enos.	Cainan	Mahalaleel.	Jared.	Methuselah.	Lamech.	Noah	Sem.				
Enos dyed.	1822 1140	905	815	745	680	453	266	84					
Cainan dyed.	1917 1235		910	842	775	548	361	179					
Mahalaleel dyed this yeer.	1972 1290			895	830	603	416	234					
Jared dyed.	2104 1422					735	584	366					
Flood threatned, Gen. 6.3.	2219 1537					850	663	481					
	2241 1559					872	685	503	1. Sem 600				
Lamech dyed.	2333 1651					964	777	595	93				
Methuselah died 5th yeer a little before the Flood. Noah entreth into the Ark C.7 § 8 & 9. The Flood.	2338 1656					969		600	98				
The Flood ceaseth. Noah issued out of the Ark.	2339 1657							601	99				
	Julian. World. Flood.	Noah.	Sem.	1. Arphaxad. 438									
	2341 1659	603	101										
	2376 1694 37	638	136	36	1. Salah. 433						11	54	
	2406 1724 67	668	166	66	31	1. Heber. 464						164	
	2440 1758 101	702	200	100	65	35	1. Peleg.		Kings of Assyria.				
	2470 1788 131	732	230	130	95	65	31	1. Ken. 239	1. Nimrod. 114				
	2502 1820 163	764	262	162	127	97	63	33	33	1. Sarug. 230	Kings of Egypt.		
Vide lib. 2 c. 2. § 2.	2530 1848 191	692	290	190	155	125	91	63	61	29	1 1. Cham 161		
	2532 1850 193	694	292	192	157	127	93	63	63	31	3	1. Nabur. 148	
	2561 1879 222	823	321	221	186	156	122	92	92	69	32	30	1. Terah. 205
	2584 1902 245	846	344	244	209	179	145	115	2 1. Belus. 65	83	55	53	24

	Julian. World. Flood.	Noah.	Sem.	Arphaxad.	Salah.	Heber.	Peleg.	Reu.	Assyria.	Sarug.	Egypt.	Nahor.	Terah.	Kings of Sicyon.	
	1618 1936 270	880	378	378	245	213	179	149	35	117	89	87	58	1 1. Aegyeus. 3	
	2649 1967 316	911	409	809	274	244	210	180	1. Ninus, 52	148	120	118	89	32	
	2670 1988 331	932	430	330	295	265	231	201	22	169	11	139	110	2 1. Europs, 45	
The last year of Peleg his life.	2678 1996 339	940	438	338	303	273	239	209	30	177	149	147	118	9	
The death of Nahor.	2679 1997 340	941	439	339	304	274		210	31	178	150	148	119	10	
Noah died this year.	2688 2006 349	950	448	348	313	283		219	40	187	159		128	19	
The 16. Dynastie in Egypt, *Vid.* l. 2. c. 3 §. 3. 4. 5 &c.	2691 2009 352		451	351	316	286		222	43	190	1 1. Saite-rarum or Osiris.		131	22	1. Abram. 275
	2701 2019 362		461	361	326	296		232	1. Semiramis. 42	200	11		141	32	11
The last year of Reu.	2708 2026 369		463	368	333	303		239	8	207	18		148	39	18
	2715 2033 376		475	375	340	310			15	214	25		155	1. Telxion or Sethon, 20	25
The last of Sarug.	2731 2049 392		491	391	356	326			31	230	41		171	17	41

	Julian. World. Flood.	Sem.	Arphaxad.	Salah.	Heber.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Terah.		Sicyon.	Abram.
	2739 2053 396	495	395	360	330	35	45	175	4 1. Apis, 25		45
	2743 2061 404	503	403	368	338	5 2. Ninus, 28	53	183	9		53
	2760 2078 421	520	420	385	355	18	70	200	5 1. Thelxion or Thelasion, 52		70
Abram receives the promise. Terah dies in Haran. L. 2. c. 1. §. 1, 2, 3.	2765 2083 426	525	425	390	360	23	75	205	6		75

	Julian. World. Prepsis.	Sem.	Arphaxad.	Salah.	Heber.	Abram.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.
Abram enters into Canaan, and descends into Egypt. The first of the 430 years of servitude.	2766 2084 1	526	426	391	361	76	24	76	7
Abram returns into Canaan.	2767 2085 2	527	427	392	362	77	25	77	8
Abram his victory over Chodorlaomer, and other Kings. L. 2. c. 1. §. 8, 9, &c.	2775 2093 10	535	435	400	370	85	33	85	16
Ismael borne.	2777 2095 12	537	437	402	372	87	35	87	18
Arphaxad dyes.	2778 2096 13	538	438	403	373	88	36	88	19

	Julian. World promise	Sem.	Salah.	Heber.	Abraham.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	
	2781 2099 16	541	406	376	91	6 1. Arius, 30	91	22	
Isaac born when Abraham was 100. years old compleat. 101. current.	2791 2109 25	551	416	386	101	11	101	32	1. Isaac 180
The last year of Salah.	2806 2126 43	568	433	403	118	28	118	49	18
	2811 2129 46	571		406	121	7 1. Aralius, 40	121	52	21
	2812 2130 47	572		407	122	2	122	6 1. Ægi' 34	22
Sarai the wife of Abraham died this year.	2827 2145 62	587		422	137	17	137	16	37
Isaac took Rebecca to wife, when he was 40. years old compleat.	2831 2149 66	591		426	141	21	141	20	41
The last year of Sem.	3840 2158 75	600		435	150	30	150	29	50
	Julian. World. promise	Heber.	Abraham.	Isaac.	Jacob.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argives.
	2846 2164 81	441	156	56		36	156	7 1. Thurimachus. 45	
	2851 2169 86	446	161	61	1 Iacob. 147	8 1. Belus. 30	161	6	1 1. Inachus, 50
Abraham died this year.	2865 2183 100	460	175	75	15	15	175	20	15
Heber dyed this year.	2869 2187 104	464		79	19	19	179	24	19
The 17. Dynastie, called of the Shepheards, beginning this year, lasted 103 years.	2891 2199 116			91	31	9 1. Armæthres. 38	191 1	36	31
	2760 1209 126			101	41	11	201 11	1 1 Leucippus. 53	41
	2901 2219 136			111	51	21	211 21	11	2 1. Phoroneus, 60
The Flood of Ogyges, a thousand and twenty years before the Olympiads. See lib. 1. c. 7. §. 2.	2919 2237 154			129	69	29 1. Belocus Priscus, 35	229 39	29	19
	2942 2260 177			152	92	24	252 62	52	42	1. Iasseph. 11
	2944 2262 179			154	94	26	254 64	9 1 Mossapius, 47	44	3
See L. 2. c. 2. §. 6.	2952 2270 187			162	102	34	3. & 4. 1. Typhon, & after him Hercul. 7.	9	52	11
	2954 2272 189			164	104	11 1 Belus. 52	3 74	11	54	13

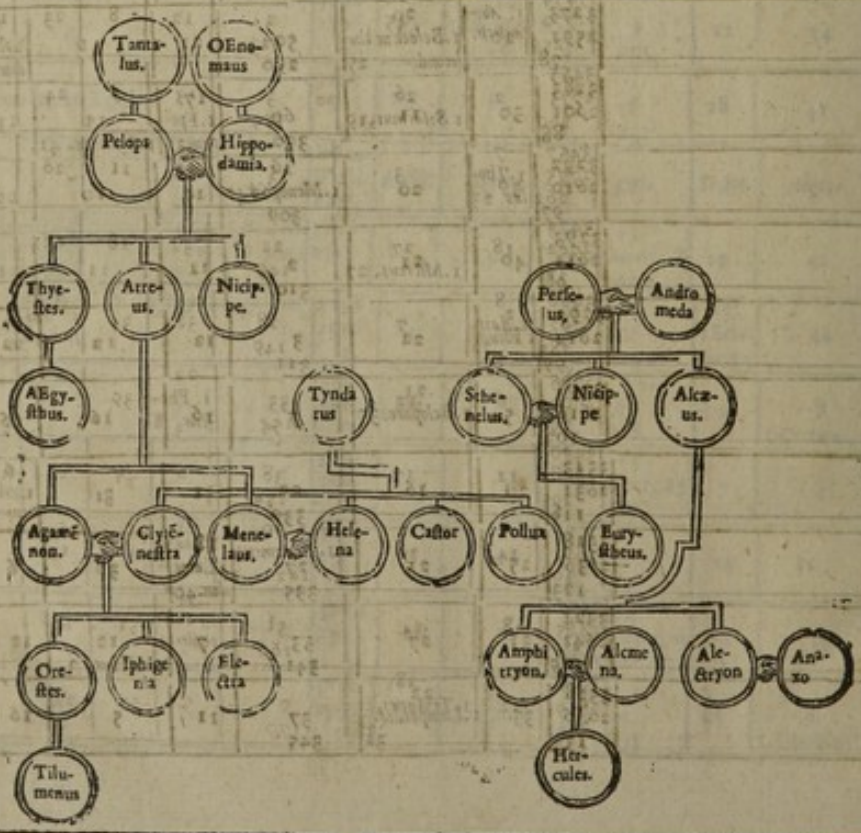
	Julian. World. promise			Isaac.	Jacob.	Assyria	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argives.	
Joseph sold into Egypt.	2959 2277 194			169	109	6	1. Orus. 79. 115	16	59	18
	2961 2279 196			171	111	8	3 81	18	3 1. *Apis.* 35	20
The last year of Isaac.	2970 2288 205			180	120	17	12 90	27	10	29
Israel into Egypt.	2980 2298 215				130	27	22 100	37	20	39
The eighteenth Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 348. years.	2984 2302 219		1		134	31	26 1	41	24	43
	2991 2309 226				141	38	33 8	10 1. *Pereus.* 46	31	50
	2996 2314 231				146	43	38 13	6	4 1. *Argus.*	55
Jacob dyes in Egypt.	2997 2315 232				147	44	39 14	7	2	

	Julian. World. promise	Joseph.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argives.		
	3006 2324 241	65	12 1. *Altades.* 32	48 23	16	11		
	3037 2355 272	96	32	79 54	11 1. *Plemnaus.* 48	42		
	3038 2356 273	97	13 1. *Mamitus.* 30	80 55	2	43		
The last year of Joseph.	3051 2369 286	110	14	93 68	15	56		
	3066 2384 301		29	108 83	30	5 1. *Pirasus, or Criasus.* 54		
	3068 2386 303		14 1. *Mancaleus.* 20	110 85	32	3		
	3074 2392 309		7	6 1. *Sesostris the Great.* 33 91	38	9		
	3085 2403 320		18	12 102	12 1. *Orthopolis,* 63	20		
	3098 2416 333		15 1. *Spherus, or Ipherus,* 20	25 115	14	33		
	3107 2425 342		10	7 1. *Sesostris the second.* 14 124	23	42		
	3116 2434 351	1. *Moses* 120	19	10 133	32	51		

	Julian. World. promise	Moses	Assyria	Egypt.	Sicyon	Argives.		
	3118 2436 353	3	16 1. Mamilus, or Mamerlius, 30	12 135	34	53		
	3120 2438 355	5	3	14 137	36	6 1. Phorbas, 35		
	3121 2439 356	6	4	8 1. Orus, 2. or Busiris, 38. 138.	37	2	Athenians.	
	3148 2466 383	33	17 1. Sparetus, 40	28 165	13 1. Marathius 30	29		
	3151 2469 386	36	4	31 168	4	32	1 1. Cecrops 50	
Moses visits his brethren the Israelites, kils an Egyptian, and flies into Midian.	3155 2473 390	40	8	35 172	8	7 1. Tripas, 46	5	
	3159 2477 394	44	12	9 1. Thermutis, or Acencheres, Q. 12. 176.	12	5	9	
	3171 2489 406	56	24	10 1. Rathoris, or Achoris. 9. 188.	24	17	21	
	3178 2469 413	63	31	8 195	14 1. Marathus. 20	24	28	
	3180 2498 415	65	33	11 1. Cheneres, 16 197	3	26	30	
	3188 2506 423	37	18 1. Ascatades. 40	9 205	11	34	38	
Moses his wandring into Egypt.	3195 2513 430	80	8	16 212	18	41	45	
	Julian. World. Exod.	Moses.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argos.	Athens	
The Passover. Israel delivered out of Egypt. Pharaoh drowned. The Law given. The first of the 480. years from Exodus to the building of the Temple.	3196 2514 1	81	9	12 1. Acherres, 8 213	19	42	46	
The Flood of Deucalion, and conflagration of Phaeton about this time.	3198 2516 3	83	11	3 215	15 1. Ebireus 55	44	48	
	3201 2519 6	86	14	6 218	4	8 1. Cretopus, 21	2 1. Cranaus 10	
	3204 2522 9	89	17	13 1. Oberres, 15 221	7	4	4	
	3211 2529 16	96	24	8 228	14	11	3 1. Amphictyon. 13	
	3219 2537 24	104	32	14 1. Armesu, or Danaus. 5. 236	22	19	9	
	3222 2540 27	107	35	4 239	25	9 1. Sthenelus. 11	12	

	Julian World Exod.	Moses.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argos.	Athens	
	3223 2541 28	108	36	5 240	26	2	4 Erisbeus, 50	
	3224 2542 29	109	37	15 1 Rameſſes. 68 241	27	3	2	Troy.
	3228 2546 33	113	19 1. Amyntas, 4	5 245	31	7	6	
	3229 2547 34	114	2	6 246	32	8	7	1 1. Dardanus. 6
	3233 2551 38	118	6	10 250	36	10 1. Danaus, 50	11	5
The last year of Moses.	3235 2553 40	120	8	12 252	38	3	13	7
	Julian World. Exod.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argos.	Athens	Troy.
The Israelites enter the Land of Promise.	3236 2554 41	1 1. Iosue 18	9	13 253	1 39	4	14	8
	3253 2571 58	18	26	30 270	16 1. Corax. 30	21	31	25
	3254 2572 59	2 1 Othoniel, 40	27	31 271	2	22	32	26
	3273 2591 78	20	20 1. Belochus the second. 25	50 290	21	41	5 1. Pandion 40	45
	3283 2601 88	30	11	60 300	17 1. Epopeus 35	11 1 Lynceus. 41	11	55
	3292 2610 97	39	20	16 1. Memphis 40 309	10	10	20	64
	3293 2611 98	40	21	2 310	11	11	21	2 1. Erichthonius, 46
	3294 2612 99	3 1 Ehud 80	22	3 311	12	12	22	2
	3298 2616 103	5	21 1. Belopares 30	7	16	16	26	6
	3313 2631 118	20	16	22 330	31	31	6 1. Erichthonius 50	21
	3318 2636 123	25	21	27 335	18 1 Lamedon. 40	36	6	26
	3324 2642 129	31	27	33 341	7	12 1. Abbas, 2.	12	32
	3328 2646 133	35	22 1. Lamprides. 32	37 345	11	5	16	36

The 19. Dynastie: of the Larthes, 194. years, See L.2. c.26.§.4.	3332 2650 137	39	5	17 1. Zethus, or Sethosis, 55 1	15	9	20	40
	3339 2657 144	46	12	8 8	22	16	27	3 1. Trot 60
Tantalus *in Phrygia.*	3347 2665 152	54	20	16 16	30	13 1. Prætus, 17	35	9
	3358 2676 163	65	21	27 27	19 1. Sicyon, 45	12	46	20
	3360 2678 165	67	23 1. Sosares, 20	29 29	3	14	48	22
	3363 2681 168	70	4	32 32	6	17	7 1. Cerupt. the second 40	25
Pelops *in Pisa, who gave name to Peloponnesus.*	3364 2682 169	71	5	33 33	7	14 1 Acrisius, 31	2	26
Ion *and* Xuthus *the sons of* Hellen. See lib.2.c.17.§.6.	3374 2692 179	4 1 Debora & Ba. 40	15	43 43	17	11	12	36
	3380 2698 185	7	24 1. Lampares. 30	49 49	23	17	18	42
	3387 2705 192	14	15	18 1. Ramses, 66 56	30	24	25	49
After the death of Acrisius, the Kingdom of the Argives was divided into many small parts, and overgrown by that of Mycena, whereof some Kings descended from Perseus, others from Pelops, as in the Pedegree following.	3394 2712 199	21	15	8 63	37	31	32	56



	Julian Period. Fixed.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Mycenæ.	Athens.	Troy.
	3399 2717 204	26	20	13 68	42		37	4 1. Ilus, 55
	3402 2720 207	29	23	16 71	45	1 Eurysthe-us. 45	40	4
	3403 2721 208	30	24	17 72	20 1. Polybus, 40	2	8 1 Pandi-one 25	5
	3410 2728 215	37	25 1. Pannias, 45	24 79	8	9	8	12
	3414 2732 219	5 1 Gedeon. 40	5	28 82	12	13	12	16
Pandion chased out of his Kingdom, which is recovered by his son Ægeus, in few years after. The omission of this interregnum, and reckoning the years in the forty eight of Ægeus, or the numbring them apart by themselves, breeds answerable difference in the times of the Athenians following, as of Menesthe-us, Carops, and the rest.	3427 2745 232	14	28	41 96	25	26	25	29
	3432 2750 237	19	23	46 101	30	31	9 1 Ægeus, 40	34
Oedipus in Thebes.	3443 2761 248	30	34	57 112	21 1. Inachus, 4	42	12	45
	3447 2765 252	34	38	61 116	5	1. Atreus and Thyestes, 63	16	49
	3453 2771 258	40	44	19 1. Amenophis, 40 122	11	7	22	55
	3454 2772 259	6 1. Abimelech.	45	2 123	12	8	23	5 1. Laomedon. 36
	3455 2773 260	2	26 1 Sosarmus, 19	3 124	13	9	24	2
	3457 2775 262	7 1. Tholas 23	3	5 126	15	11	26	4
	3474 2762 379	18	27 1. Mitreus, 27	22 143	32	28	43	21
	3480 2792 285	8 1. Iair. 22	7	28 149	38	34	10 1. Thesus, 50.	27
	3485 2803 290	6	12	33 154	22 1. Phestus, 8	39	6	32
	3490 2808 295	11	17	38 159	6	44	11	6 1. Priamus. 40
	3493 2811 298	14	20	20 1. Ammenemes 162 26	23 1. Adrastus, 4	47	14	4
	3497 2815 302	18	24	51 166	24 1. Polyphides 31	51	18	8
	3501 2819 306	22	28 1. Teutanes, 32	9 170	5	55	22	12

	Julian Period. Exod.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Mycenæ.	Athens.	Troy.
	3502 2820 307	9 1. Ibsa. 6	2	10 171	6	56	23	13
	3508 2826 313	10 1. Ibzan. 7	8	16 177	12	62	29	19
	3510 2828 315	3	10	18 179	14	64	11 1. Mnestheus 24	
	3512 2830 317	5	12	20 181	16	1. Agamemnon. 18	3	23
	3515 2833 320	11 1. Elon 10	15	23 184	19	4	6	26
The war of Troy began this year.	3519 2837 324	5	19	21 1. Thuaris, 7 188	23	8	10	30
	3525 2843 330	12 1. Abdon. 8	25	7 194	29	14	16	36
The 20. Dynastie, called of the Diospolitans, began this year in Egypt, and lasted 178. years, See lib. 2 cap. 26. §. 4.	3526 2844 331	2	26	20 1. Dynastie, 178	30	15	17	37
	3528 2846 333	4	28	3	25 1. Pelasgus, 25	17	19	39
Troy taken 408. years, before the beginning of the Olympiads, See lib. 2. c. 14. §. 1.	3529 2847 334	5	29	4	2	18	20	40. Troy taken.

	Julian. World Exod.	From Troy taken.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Mycenæ.	Athens	The Kingdom of the Latines
	3530 2848 335	1	6	30	5	3	1. Aegyptus. 6.	21	
	3533 2851 338	4	13 1. Samson, 20	29 1. Tentenes 40	8	6	4	24	1 1. Æneas,
	3534 2852 339	5	2	2	9	7	5	12 1. Demophoon. 33	2
	3536 2854 341	7	4	4	11	9	1. Orestes, 70	3	2 1. Ascanius, 3
	3548 2866 353	19	16	16	23	26 1. Zeuxippus. 31	13	15	13
	3553 2871 358	2	14 1. Eli, 40	21	28	6	18	20	18
	3567 2885 372	38	15	35	42	20	32	13 1. Oxintes, 12	32
	3573 2891 378	44	21	30 1. Thyreus 30	48	26	38	7	38
	3574 2892 379	45	22	2	49	27	39	8	3 1. Syl. Postburnus. 2.

	Julian. World. Exod.	From Troy taken.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Mycenæ.	Athens.	The kingdome of the Latines.
The Sicyonian Kings ended in Zeucippus.	3579 2897 384	50	27	7	54	32	44	14 1 Aphilus, 1.	6
	3580 2898 385	51	28	8	55		45	15 1 Timætes, 8.	7
	3588 2906 393	59	36	16	63		53	16 1. Melanthus, 37	15
	3593 2911 398	64	15 1. Samuel, & after him Saul, 40.	21	68		58	6	20
	3603 2921 408	74	11	31 1. Derelus. 40.	78		68	16	4 1. Sylvius Æneas, 31.
	3606 2924 411	77	14	4	81		1 Tisamenus. 2	19	4
The descent of the Heraclidæ into Peleponnesus, gave end to the Kingdom of Mycenæ, and beginning to the Kingdome of Sparta, Corinth, and Messene, the Kings whereof, I forbear to insert into this table.	3609 2927 414	80	17	7	84			22	7
	3625 2943 430	96	33	23	100			17 1. Codrus 21	23
	Julian. World. Exod.		From Troy taken.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athens	Latins.	
	3633 2951 438		104	1. David, 40.	31	108	9	31	
	3634 2951 439		105	2	32	109	10	5 1. Syl. Latinus, 50	
	3643 2961 448		114	11	32 1. Eupales. 38.	118	19	10	
The Medontidæ succeed unto the Athenian Kings, after the death of Codrus. See lib. 2. c. 17. §. 10.	3646 2964 451		117	14	4	121	1 1. Medon, 20.	13	
	3666 2984 471		137	34	24	141	2 1. Agastus. 36	33	
Vaphres raigneth in Egypt, See L: 2. c. 26 §. 5.	3673 2991 478	Temple. 1	144	1. Salomon, 40	31	148	8	40	
Salomon began to build the Temple 480. yeers compleat after the deliverance out of Egypt.	3676 2994 481	3	147	4	34	151	11	43	
	3681 2999	6	152	9	33 1. Leosthenes, 45	156	16	48	
	3684 3002	9	155	12	4	159	19	6 1. Syl. Alba.	
	3692 3010	17	163	20	12	1. Sesac 26 167	27	9	
	3702 3020	27	173	30	22	11 177	3 1. Archippus, 19	19	

	Julian World.	Temple	From Troy taken.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athens.	Latines
The 21. Dynastie in Ægypt, which lasted 130. years.	3704 3022	29	175	32	24	13 1	3	21
The Ionick migration after the taking of Troy, 180. years. See L.2.c.17.§.6.	3709 3027	34	180	37	29	18 6	8	26

	Julian. World. Temple	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athens	Latins.
	3713 3031 38	148	1 1. Rehoboam. 17	1 1. Jeroboam. 22	33	22 10	12	30
	3718 3036 43	189	6	6	38	1. Chemmis, 50. 15	17	35
	3721 3039 46	192	9	9	41	4 18	4 1 Tecsippus, 41	38
	3723 3041 48	194	11	11	43	6 20	3	7 1 Syl. A[illegible]tys, [illegible]
	3726 3044 51	197	14	14	34 1. Pyrithiades. 30	9 23	6	4
	3730 3048 55	201	2 1. Abijam, 3	18	5	13 27	10	8
	3733 3051 58	204	3 1. Asa. 41	21	8	16 30	13	11
	3734 3052 59	205	2	22 2 1. Nadab. 2.	9	17 31	14	12
	3735 3053 60	206	3	2 3 1. Baasha, 24	10	18 32	15	13
	3749 3067 74	220	17	15	24	32 46	29	8 1. Sy[illegible] Cap. 2
	3756 3074 81	227	24	22	35 1. Ophrateus. 20	39 53	36	8
	3758 3076 83	229	26	24 4 1. Ela, 2.	3	41 55	38	10
Of those Israelitish Kings, See lib.2.c.19.§.5.	3759 3077 84	230	27	2 1 { Zimri. 1 6. Tibni. 7. Omri 12	4	42 56	39	11
	3762 3080 87	233	30	4	7	45 59	3 1 Phorbas, 31	14
	3768 3086 93	239	36	10	13	1. Cheops, 56. 65	7	20
	3770 3088 95	241	38	12 8 1. Ahab, 22.	15	3 67	9	22
	3774 3092 99	245	4 1. Jehosaphat. 25	5	19	7 71	13	26

	Julian. World. Temp.	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athens.	Latins.	
	3776 3094 101	247	3	7	50 1. Ophratanes. 50	9 73	15	28	
	3777 3095 102	248	4	8	2	10 74	16	9 1. Syl. Capetus, 13	
¶ Jehoram *his sundry beginnings to reign.* See lib. 2. c. 20. §. 1. & 2.	3790 3108 115	261	17 5 1 *Jehoram.*	21 9 1. *Abazia*, 2	15	23 87	29	10 1. Syl. Tyberinus 8	
	3791 3109 116	262	18 2	22 10 1 *Jehoram*	16	24 88	30	2	
	3793 3111 118	264	20 0	3	18	26 90	6 1. Mezedes. 30	4	
	3793 3113 120	266	22 1. *Jehoram again*, 8.	5	20	28 92	3	6	
Jehosaphat *dyes, and* Jehoram *reigns alone.*	3798 3116 123	269	25 4	8	23	31 95	6	11 1. Syl. Agrippa.	
	3802 3120 127	273	8 6 1. *Abazia.* 1	12	27	35 99	10	5	
	3803 3121 128	274	7 1. *Athalia.* 7	11 1. *Jehu*, 28	28	36 100	11	6	
	3809 3125 134	280	7 8 1. *Joas*, 40.	7	34	42 106	17	12	
Carthage built. L. 2. c. 22. §. 6.	3819 3137 144	290	11	17	44	52 116	27	22	
	3825 3143 148	294	15	21	48	65 120	1. Diognetus, 28	26	
	3824 3142 149	295	16	22	49	1 Cypherus, 50. 121	2	27	
	3826 3144 151	297	18	24	17 ? reliq. pars 1. Assyr. dorum, 42	3 123	4	29	
	3831 3149 156	302	23	12 1. *Jehoahaz*, 17	6	8 128	9	34	
The end of the 21. *Dynastie. The Dynasties following omit.*	3833 3151 158	304	25	3	8	10 130	11	36	
	3839 3157 164	310	31	9	14	16	17	12 1 Syl. Alladius, 19	
Joas *reigned with his Father.* L. 2. c. 22. §. 7.	3845 3163 170	316	37	15 13 1. *Joas.*	20	22	23	7	
Joas *reigns alone.*	3847 3165 172	118	39	1. *Joas*, 16	22	24	25	9	
	3848 3166 173	319	40 9 1. *Amazia*, 20	2	23	25	26	10	

	Julian. World. Temple	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athens.	Latines	
	3851 3169 176	332	4	5	26	28	8 1 Pherebas. 19	13	
	3858 3166 183	329	11	12	33	35	8	15 1. Syl. Aventinus 37	
	3862 3180 187	333	15	16 14 1 Jeroboam. 41	37	39	12	5	
	3868 3186 193	339	21	7	19 1. Sardanapalus. 20	45	18	11	
	3870 3188 195	341	23	9	3	47	9 1. Ariphron. 20	12	
	3874 3192 199	345	27	13	7	1. Micerinus 6	5	16	
	Julian. World Temple	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athens	Latins.	Medla
L.2.C.22.§.11.	3877 3195 202	348	1. Interregnum. 11 years.	16	10	4	8	19	
	3880 3198 205	351	4	19	13	2. Bocchoris. 44	11	22	
L.2.C.22 §.12.	3887 3205 212	358	11	26	20. Sardanapalus slain.	8	18	29	
L.2.c.33.§.1.& 4.	3888 3206 213	359	10 1. Uzzia, o Azaria, 52	27		9	19	30	1 1. Ar baces.
	3890 3208 215	361	3	29	1	11	10 1 Thespo- rus, 37.	32	3
L.2.c.23.§.4.	3892 3210 217	363	5	31	1 Belesus or Phul. 48	13	3	34	5
	3895 3213 220	366	8	34	4	16	6	14 1. Syl. Procas 22	8
L.2.c.23.§.1.	3903 3221 228	374	16	1. Interregnum 23. years.	12	24	14	9	16
	3910 3234 241	387	29	14	25	37	27	22	2 1 Jasanus, 3
	3917 3235 242	388	30	15	26	38	11 1. Agamestor.	23	2
	3918 3236 243	389	31	16	27	39	2	15 1 Syl. Amulius. 44	3
	2924 3242 249	395	37	22	33	1. Assaria & after him Amyntas. 6	8	7	9
Zacharia began at the very end of the year. L.2.c.23.§.1.	3925 3143 250	396	38	23 15 Zacharias six Months.	34	2	9	8	10

	Julian. World. Temple	Troy.			Iuda.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt.	Athens	Latins	Media.
	3926 3244 251	397			39	16 Shallum [illegible] 17 Menahem 10	35	3	10	9	11
This year nearly concurs with the first of Menahem.	3927 3245 252	398			40	1	36	4	11	10	12
	3930 3248 255	401			43	4	39	1. Sabtecus the Ethiopian, 15	14	13	15
	3937 3255 262	408	Iphit.	Olympiads.	50	18 1 Pekahia 2	46	4	12 1 Aeschylus, 23	20	22
The beginning of the Olympiads. L. 2. c. 23. §. 5.	3938 3256 263	409	1	1 1	51	2	47	9	2	21	23
	3939 3257 264	410	2	1 2	52	19 1. Peka Romelia	48	10	3	22	24
L. 2. c. 23. §. 6.	3940 3258 265	411	3	1 3	11 1 Jotha 16	2	2 Tiglath Phul. Assar, 2	11	4	23	25
	Julian World. Temple	Iphit.	Olym.	Iuda.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt.	Athens	Latins	Media.	
	3946 3264 271	9	3 1	7	8	7	17	10	29	3 1. Medidus, 40	
	3955 3273 280	18	5 2	16 12 1. Ahaz 16	17	16	26	19	38	10	
	3959 3277 284	22	6 2	5	1. Interregnum 7 years.	20	30	23	42	14	
	3960 3278 285	23	6 3	6	2	21	31	13 1. Alcmeno, 2	43	15	
	Julian World. Temple	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olym.	Iuda.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt.	Athens	Romãs	Media.
Rome *built*, Lib. 2. chap. 24 §. 5. Carops *the first, governing in Athens for ten years: after whom succeeded six, chosen each after other for the like time; hence the Office became Annuall.*	3962 3280 287	1	25	7 1	8	4	23	33	1 1. Carops 10	1 1 Romulus, 37	17
	3966 3284 291	5	29	8 1	12	20 1 Hosea 9	27	37	5	5	21
The Æra of Nabonassar. L. 2. c. 25. §. 1.	3967 3285 292	6 1	30	8 2	13	2	3 1. Salmanassar, or Nabonassar 10	38	6	6	22
Ezekiah *began in the very end of this year.* L. 2. 25. §. 1.	3968 3286 293	7 2	31	8 3	14 13 Ezekiah 29	3	2	39	7	7	23
This year concurs with the first of Ezekiah. *Ibid.*	3969 3287 294	8 4	32	8 4	15 1	4	3	40	8	8	24
The beginning of the first Messenian War. Whereof see L. 2. c. 27. §. 4. *It lasted 20. years.*	3971 3289 296	10 5	34	9 2	3	6	5	42	10	10	26
Samaria is besieged by Salmanassar.	3972 3290 297	11 6	35	9 3	4	7	6	43		11	27

The Captivity of the ten Tribes.	3974 3292 299	13 8	37	10 1	6	9	8	45		13	29
	3976 3294 301	15 10	39	10 3	8		10 4 1. Saosduchin. 7	47		15	31
L. 2. c. 26. §. 7.	3980 3298 305	19 14	43	14 3	12	*Kings of the Chaldeans.*	5	1. Sechon. 33		19	35
Senacheribs *Army destroyed, and he slain.* L. 2. c. 25. §. 2.	3982 3300 307	21 16	45	12 1	14		7	3		21	37
	3983 3301 308	22 17	46	12 2	15	1. Merodach, or Mardocempadus	1 1. Assaraddan. 10	4		22	38
	3986 3304 311	25 20	49	13 1	18	4	4	7		25	4 1 Cardi cesar. 13
Merodach *gets the whole Empire. This year or in the end of the year foregoing. An eclipse of the Moon.*	3993 3311 318	32 27	56	14 4	25	1 1. Merodach, 40	11	14		32	8
	Julian Period.	*Rome. Nabon*	*Iphit.*	*Olym.*	*Juda.*	*Caldea.*	*Egypt.*	*Rome.*	*Media.*	*Lydia.*	
Two eclipses of the Moon, in the second year of Mardocempadus.	3994 3312 319	33 28	57	15 1	26	2	15	33	9		
	3997 3319 322	36 31	60	15 4	29	5	18	36	12	1 1. Gyges, 38	
	3998 3316 323	37 32	61	16 1	14 1. Manasses. 55	6	19	37	13	2	
	3999 3317 324	38 33	62	16 2	2	7	20	Interregnum one year	5 1 Deioces. 53	3	
	4000 3318 325	39 34	63	16 3	3	8	21	1 1. Numa Pompilius. 43	2	4	
L. 2. c. 27. §. 2.	4013 3331 338	52 47	76	19 4	16	21	1 Interregnum, 2	14	15	17	
	4015 3333 340	54 49	78	20 2	18	23	1. 12. Princes, 15	16	17	19	
The beginning of the second Messenian War, which lasted about 18. years. L. 2. 27. §. 4.	4020 3347 354	68 63	92	23 4	32	37	11 1. Psammeticus 43	30	31	33	
L. 2. c. 28. §. 3.	4033 3351 358	72 67	96	24 4	36	2 1. Ben-Merodach, 21	5	34	35	37	
	4035 3353 360	74 69	98	25 2	38	3	7	36	37	2 1. Ardys, 49	
	4043 3361 368	82 77	106	27 2	46	11	15	1 1. Tullus Hostilius 32	45	9	
	4052 3370 377	91 86	115	29 3	55	20	24	10	6 1. Phraortes, 24	18	
	4053 3371 378	92 87	116	29 4	15 1. Amon, 2	21	25	11	2	19	

	Iulian. World. Templ.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Juda.	Chaldea.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media.	Lydia.
The expedition of the Scythians, L. 2. c. 28. §. 3. & 4.	4054 3372 379	93 88	117	30 1	2	3 1. Nabulasser, 35	26	12	3	20
	4055 3373 380	94 89	118	30 2	16 1. Josias, 31.	2	27	13	4	21
L. 2. c. 28. §. 1.	4073 3391 398	112 107	136	34 4	19	20	1. Neco, 17.	31	22	39
	4075 3393 400	114 109	138	35 2	21	22	3	4 1. Ancus Marcus 34	24	41
	4076 3394 401	115 110	139	35 3	22	23	4	2	7 1 Cyaxares, 40.	42
	4084 3402 409	123 118	147	37 3	30	31	12	10	9	3 1. Sadyattes, 12
L. 2. c. 28. §. 1. & 2.	4085 3402 410	124 119	148	37 4	17 Ichoaz. 3 months	32	13	11	10	2
Nabuchodonosor *had reigned one year with his Father, which is to be regarded in Astronomi call observations concerning his time.* L. 2. c. 25 § 1 & c. 28. §. 6.	4086 3404 411	125 120	149	38 1	18 1. Jehoiakim,	33	14	12	11	3
	4089 3407 414	128 123	152	38 4	4	1. Nabuchodonosor the great, 44.	17	15	14	6
	4090 3408 415	129 124	153	39 1	5	2	1 Psammis, 12	16	15	7
	4096 3414 421	135 130	159	40 3	10 1. Jeconias 3 months by Zedekiah 11 years	8	7	22	21	4 1 Halyattes 57
Zedekiah *his journey to Babylon,* L. 2. c. 28. §. 6.	4099 3417 424	138 133	161	41 2	4	11	10	5 1. L. Tarquin. Priscus, 38.	24	4
	4102 3420 427	141 136	165	42 1	7	14	1 Apries or Hophra.	4	27	7
Jerusalem taken by Nabuchodonosor, *with whose* 18. *for the more part, and partly with whose* 19. *this year concurres.*	4106 3424 431	145 140	169	43 1	11	18	5	8	31	11
	Iulian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Captivity.	Chaldea.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media.	Lydia.
Jerusalem destroyed.	4107 3425	146 141	170	43 2	1	19	6	9	32	12
Egypt *conquered by* Nabuchodonosor. L. 3. c. 1. §. 8. & 9.	4111 3429	150 145	174	44 2	5	23	1. Phar. Hophra slain, and the kingdome of Egypt conquered 40 years by Ycaroyes.	13	36	16
	4116 3434	155 150	179	45 3	10	28	6	18	8 1. Astyages, 35	21
Nabuchodonosor *lives wilde: and his kingdome is governed by others for him, during seven years.* L. 3. c. 1. §. 13.	4125 3443	164 159	188	47 4	19	37 1. Evilmerodac.	15	27	10	30
	4127 3445	166 161	190	48 2	21	9 1. Niglisar, & Nitocris 4.	17	29	12	32

	Julian and World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Juda.	Chaldea.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media.	Lydia.	
Nebuchadnezzar recovers his sense and kingdome.	4131	170	194	49	25	43 1 Laborosardach. 9. mon.	21	33	16	36	
	3449	165		2							
L. 3. c. 1. § 6. The 37. of Jeconia his captivity compleat, and he enlarged.	4133	172	196	49	27	1 Evilmerodach. 26	23	35	18	38	
	3451	167		4							
	4137	176	200	50	31	5	27	4 1. Servius Tullius 44	22	42	
	3455			4							
Forty years after the conquest of Egypt past, Amasis began his reign: this being inclusively the 41. and therefore the next year seems concurrent with Amasis his 1	4151	190	214	45	54	19	Amasis, 34	15	9 1. Consuls or Duum viri. 28	56	
	3469	185		2							
	4153	192	216	54	47	21	2	17	3	5 1. Crœsus. 14	
	3471			4							
	Julian. World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Persia	Caldea.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media.	Lydia.	Jewes.
	4154	193	217	55	1 1. Cyrus in Persia 23	22	3	18	4	2	48
	3472	188		1							
The seven Sages of Greece.	4159	198	222	56	6	1 Balthasar. 17	8	23	9	7	53
	3477	193		2							
Pisistratus makes himself Tyrant in Athens.	4164	203	227	57	11	6	13	28	14	12	58
	3482	198		3							
	4166	205	229	58	13	8	15	30	16	14 Crœsus taken by Cyrus.	60
	3484	200		1							
The end of the Chaldean Empire.	4175	214	238	60	22	17 Balthasar slain.	24	39	25		69
	3493	209		2							
	4176	215	239	60	23	1. Darius the Mede. 2	23	40	26		70
	3494	210		3							
The beginning of Cyrus his Empire.	4177	216	240	60	1. Cyrus. 7	2	26	41	Years from 1. Cyrus		Zorobabel.
His Edict of liberty to the Jewes.	3495	211		4							
	4181	220	244	61	5		30	7 L. Tarquinius Superbus. 25	5	Onely Zorobabel and Nehemias are remembred as governours of the Jewes, unto the 32 of Artaxerxes Mnemon. But there were many before Nehemias, as himself witnesseth Ch. 5 v. 15. so that the stories of them, their number and names are uncertain.	
	3499	215		4							
	4184	223	247	62	2 1. Cambyses. 7		33	4	8		
	3502	218		3							
The 2. first years of Psammeticus, and part of the third may be added to the years of his father, if it be true that Cambyses won Egypt presently on the death of Amasis, L. 3. c. 4. §. 2.	4186	225	249	63	3		1. Psammeticus. 3	6	10		
	3504	220		1							
The conquest of Egypt by Cambyses.	4188	227	251	63	5		3	8	12		
	3506	222		3							
	Julian. World	Rome. Nabon.	Iphitus	Olymp.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece	Jewes.	From Cyrus.	
Cambyses reigned seven years and five months, so as his last year was filled up by the Magi, and (as may seem) a good part of the next, L. 3. c. 4. §. 4.	4191	230	254	64	3 The Magi one year.		11			15	
	3509	225		2							
	4192	231	255	64	1. Darius Hystaspis. 36		12			16	
	3510	226		3							

	Julian World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olym.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Iews & from Cyrus.
	4197 3515	236 231	260	65 4	6		17	Hippias the son of Pisistratus Tyrant in Athens.	21
	4204 3522	243 238	267	67 3	13 Babylon, which had revolted, is taken by Darius		42		28
The Tarquines expelled Rome. L. 4. c. 1. §. 1.	4205 3523	244 239	268	67 4	14		25		29
The Carthaginians first League with Rome. L. 5. c. 1. §. 2.	4206 3524	245 240	269	68 1	15		Brutus & Publicola } Consuls.		30
L. 3. c. 5. §. 4.	4211 3529	250 245	274	69 2	20 Darius his expedition against the Scythians				35
	4212 3530	251 246	275	69 3	21			The Athenians and Ionians take Sardes.	36
	4222 3540	261 256	285	72 1	31		Sp. Cassius & Post. Cominius Consuls.	The battail of Marathon.	46
	4226 3544	265 260	289	73 1	35	Ægypt revolteth against Darius.			50
	4228 3546	267 262	291	73 3	4 1. Xerxes, 21				50
The Law Agraria in Rome propounded, for division of Lands: which bred great commotion.	4229 3547	268 263	292	73 4	2	Egypt recovered by Xerxes.	Proc. Virginius. Sp. Cassius } Cons.		52
An Eclipse of the Sun. L. 3. c. 6. §. 2.	4233 3551	272 267	296	74 4	6. The great master of Xerxes his army at Sardes.				57
L. 3. c. 6. § 3. & 6.	4234 3552	273 268	297	75 1	7			The battails at Thermopylæ, Artemisium, and Salamis.	58
L. 3. c. 6. §. 9, 10, & 11.	4235 3553	274 269	298	75 2	8. Xerxes his tragicall love.			The battail of Platæa and Mycale.	59
L. 3. c. 7. §. 1. & 2.	4237 3555	276 271	300	75 4	10			The Athenians rebuild their walls, and lay the foundation of their Dominion.	62
	4244 3562	283 278	307	77 3	17			The great victories of Simon, at Eurymedon and elsewhere.	68
L. 3. c. 7. §. 3.	4248 3566	287 282	311	78 3	21. The death of Xerxes by the treason of Artabanus.				72
	4249 3567	288 283	312	78 4	1. Artaxerxes Longimanus. 40.			Themistocles being banished flies to Artaxerxes.	73
	4251 3569	290 285	314	94 2	3	Inarus set up as King by the Egyptians.			75
L. 3. c. 7. §. 5. & 7.	4255 3573	294 289	318	80 2	7. The marriage of Hester.	Inarus vanquished by the Persians.			79. Esdras commeth to Jerusalem. Daniel his 70. weeks, or 490. years accomplish.
	4264 3582	303 298	327	82 3	16		The Decemviri chosen to compound a body of the Roman Laws.	Hippocrates the great Physitian, and Democritus the Philosopher flourish.	10

The Account from the Solution of the Captivity, is the same with that from Cyrus.	Julian. Period.	Rome. Nabon.	Ipeitus.	Olym.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Years, from Cyrus and Daniel.
	4265 3583	304 299	328	82 4	17		The decemviri chosen for a second year, are reproached, and forced the place 1. year.	Simons voyage to Cyprus, in which he dyed.	89 11
Nehemias comes to Jerusalem.	4268 3586	307	331	83 3	20			A league for 36. years, between Athens & Sparta.	92 14
	4272 3590	311 306	335	84 3	24		Tribunes of the Soldiers in stead of Consuls. Dionys. Li. 11. The decemviri in the 3. year.		96 18
	4273 3591	312 307	336	84 4	25			The conquest of Samos by the Athenians and Periclis.	97 19
	4278 3596	317 312	341	86 1	30			The Athenians & the Corcyreans against the Corinthians	102 24
The walls of Jerusalem finished. Nehemias returns to King Artaxerxes.	4280 3598	319 314	343	86 3	32				104 26
L. 3. c. 8. § 1.	4283 3601	322 317	346	87 2	25			The first year of the Peloponnesian War.	107 29
L. 3. c. 9. § 1. L. 3. c. 8. § 1.	4289 3607	328 323	352	88 4	6. Xerxes 2 months. 7. Sogdianus 8 months			The victory of the Athenians at Pylus.	113 35
L. 3. c. 9. § 1.	4290 3608	329 324	353	89 1	8 1. Darius Nothus. 19.				114 36
L. 3. c. 8. § 5. & 6.	4292 3610	331 326	355	89 3	3			A truce and treable some peace between Athens and Sparta.	116 38
L. 3. c. 9. § 1. & c. 8. § 8.	4301 3619	340 335	364	91 4	12. Tyrus rebelleth against the Persians, and hath no King that reigns [illegible]	1. 1. Amyrtæus, 6		The Athenian forces in Sicil utterly destroyed.	125 48
Cap. 8. § 9.	4302 3620	341 336	365	92 1	13. Darius enters into confederacy with the Spartans.	2		The government of the 400. in Athens, which was suppressed the year following.	128 50
The Carthaginians invade Sicil with an Army of 300000. L. 5. c. 1 § 4. † 3.	4304 3622	343 338	367	92 3	15	4		The Athenians begin to recover strength.	125 50
L. 3. c. 8 § 10.	4306 3624	345 340	369	93 1	17	6		Alcibiades & his many valiant exploits from banishment in Athens, is made General, & subdueth Agina.	130 52
	4307 3625	346 341	370	93 2	18	2 1. Nephores, 6		The battail at Arginusæ.	131 53
	4308 3626	347 342	371	93 3	19	2		Dionysius the elder usurps tyranny in Syracuse.	132 54
L. 3. c. 8. § 12.	4309 3627	348 343	372	93 4	9 1. Artaxerxes Mnemon. 43	3		The battail at Argos, Potamos, &c.	133 55
	4311 3629	350 345	374	94 2	3	5	The first of Veii, lasted 10 years.		135 57
L. 3. c. 10 § 1.	4313 4631	352 347	376	94 4	The expedition of Cyrus against Artaxerxes.	3. 1. Acoris, 12.		Socrates put to death. The 30. tyrants put, driven in Athens.	137 59

	Julian and World.	Rome. and Nabon.	Iphit.	Olympiads.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Iewes From Cyrus Daniel.
L.3.c.11.§.4.	4318 3636	357 352	381	96 1	10	6		Agesilaus warreth in Asia.	142 64
L.3.c.11.§.7.	4320 3638	359 354	383	96 3	12	8		The victory of Conon at Gnidus &c.	144 64
	4321 3639	360 355	384	96 4	13	9	Veii taken by Camillus.	Xenophon and Plato flourish.	145 67
	4325 3643	364 350	388	97 4	17	1. Diomedon in the first of his year, and after him Nephereschis had been reigned seven yeers.	The honorable victory of Camillus over the Falisci.		149 71
L.4.c.7.§.1. L.3.c.11.§.9.	4326 3644	365 360	389	98 1	18	2	Rome taken and burnt by the Gauls.	The Peace of Antalcidas.	150 72
	4327 3645	376 361	390	98 2	19	4 1. Nectanebus. 18			151 73
	4332 3650	371 366	395	99 3	24	6	M. Manlius Capitolinus put to death.	The Lacedemonians take the Citadel of Thebes by treason.	156 78
L.3.c.11.§.11.	4336 3654	375 370	399	100 3	28	10		The Thebans recover their Citadel, and make fierce war upon the Lacedemonians.	160 82
	4340 3658	379 374	403	101 3	32	14	Tribunes of the people created, to grant to office, proposed populo Lani, Licinius, that one of the Consuls should be still a Plebeian.		164 86
L.3.c.12.§.1.	4343 3661	382 377	406	102 2	35	17		The famous battail of Leuctra.	167 89
L.3.c.12.§.4.	4345 3363	384 379	408	102 4	37	1. Tabes. 2. Ruthen reigned only 10 years to Tabes. 3. Mnev. 6. but the story of him greatly mixt.	L. Sextius a Plebeian, and L. Aemilius, Consuls.	The hasty growth of the Theban Estate.	169 91
	4351 3669	390 385	414	104 2	43 Many Provinces rebell against Artaxerxes, and are soon subdued.	7		The great battail of Mantinea, Epaminondas dies	175 97 Jonathan
L.3.c.12.§.8.	4352 3670	391 386	415	104 3	10 1. Ochus. 23	8. Tacnus betrayed by Agesilaus. 1. Nectanebus. 18		Peace in Greece. The Arcadians unlesse those Cities by conference from Lacedem to their aide.	176 about this 98 time High Priest.
	4354 3672	393 388	417	105 1	3	3		1 Philip King of Macedon 24 ye. & part of the 25	178 100
L.4.c.1.§.4.	4359 3677	398 393	422	106 2	8	8		6. The Phocian war begins.	183 105
	4364 3682	403 398	427	107 3	13. Ochus reconquers Egypt.	13. Nectanebus flieth into Æthiopia.		11	188 110
L.4.c.1.§.6.	4368 3686	407 402	431	108 3	17			15. The end of the Phocian War.	192 114
L.5.c.1.§.4.1.4.	4369 3687	408 403	432	108 4	18			16. Timoleon his voyage into Sicil.	193 115
	4370 3688	409 404	433	109 1	19	Nabonassar. Novemb. the 17		17. Philip wasteth Illyria, and draws the Thessalians to follow him.	194 116
After this the years from Cyrus and Daniel are too few, by one.	4375 3693	414 409	438	110 2	11 1. Arses 3.			22	199 Jaddus 121 Priest, 16

	Julian and World.	Rome, and Nabon.	Iphit.	Olympiads	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Iewes From Cyrus Daniel.
	4376 3694	415 410	439	110 3	2			23 The battail of Cheronea. Philip chosen Captain Generall of the Greeks.	2 199 121
	4378 3696	417 412	441	111 1	12 1. Darius 6 years and somewhat more.	Nab. n. Novemb. 15		25 Philip slain by Pausanias. Alexander 12 years, 11. years and five months.	4 201 123
	4379 3697	418 413	442	111 2	2			2 Thebes razed by Alexander.	5 202 124
	4380 3698	419 414	443	111 3	3			3 Alexander passeth into Asia.	6 203 125
L. 4. c. 7. §. 1.	4381 3699	420 415	444	111 4	4 The battail of Issus.			4	7 204 126
L. 4. c. 2. §. 5. 6. & 7. & L. 5 c. 2. § 8.	4382 3700	421 416	445	112 1	5		The Gauls enter into league with the Romans.	5 Alexander wins Tyre and Egypt.	8 205 127
	Julian World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.					
An Eclipse of the Moon.	4383 3701	422 417	446	112 2	6 The battail of Arbela.				9 206 128
L. 4. c. 2. §. 13.	4384 3702	423 418	447	112 3	7 Darius slain by Bessus.				7 10 207 129
					Macedon.	Ægypt.		Greece.	Romes	Iewes. Daniel.
	4385 3703	424 419	448	112 4	8. Alexander chaseth Antigonus, he goes to Greece. Parmenio and Philotas.					11 130
	4386 3704	425 420	449	113 1	9 Alexander passeth into Bactriana Cyrus and Caspiasea.					12 131
Alexander died 17. days before the summer Solstice. From Nabonassar hitherto are collected 424. years: and hence to the reign of Augustus, 294. The sum is 718. years, which agrees with this accompt. Ptolem. Almagest. l. c 3. 8.	4390 3708	429 424	453	114 1	13. Alexander dies at Babylon.	Nabon. Novemb. 12				16 135
	4391 3709	430 425	454	114 2	1. Aridæus, 6. and 4. months.	1 1. Ptolemie Lagi. 39	L. 3. c. 3. § 1. 2. & 3.	The Lamian Warre.		1. Olimpias, 13 136
	4394 3712	433 428	457	115 1	4	4. Ptolemie Lagi in Egypt. { Nab. Nov. 11	L. 4. c. 3. § 8 & 9.	Victories of Eumenes.		4 139
	4395 3713	433 429	458	115 2	5. Antigonus sent against Eumenes.	5				5 140
Aridæus slain by Olympias Antigonus beaten by Eumenes.	4397 3715	436 431	460	115 4	7	7				7 142
Eumenes betrayed to Antigonus, Olympias slain by Cassander. Antigonus graves deadwall.	4398 3716	441 432	461	116 1	1. Cassander. 15	8		Thebes recaisted by Cassander.		8 143
Some place the beginning of Seleucus in this 12 from Alexander, by which accompt he reigned 32 years.	4402 3720	441 436	465	117 1	5	12 Nabonassar. Novemb. 9.	Demetrius beaten at Gaza by Ptolemy and Seleucus.			12 147
Peace between Alexanders Captains: with division of Provinces.	4403 3721	442 437	466	117 2	6	13				13 148

	Iulian. and World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria and the Kingdome of the Greeks.	Greece.	Romans.	Jewes. Danie.
The Æra of the Kingdome of the Greeks.	4404 3722	443 438	467	117 3	7	14	1 1. Seleucus, 30 1	Lib. 4. c. 5. §. 7		14 149
Alexanders Captains assume the name of Kings.	4406 3724	445 440	469	118 1	9	16 Ptolemy overcome by Demetrius at Cyprus.	3 3	Athens set free by Demetrius the son of Antigonus.		16 151
L. 4. c. 6. §. 4.	4413 3731	452 447	476	119 4	16	23	10. The battail at Ipsus, wherein Antigonus was slain. 10			23 158
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	772	488		1			51			199	Cn. Cornelius.
	4457	490	520	130	22	29	5		Regulus passeth into Africk.	12	M. Attil. Reg.
	3772	491		4			54			202	Cn. Cornelius
L. 5. c. 1. § 8.	4458	497	521	131	23	30	6	Marcus Carymensis Praetor of the Achaeans.	Regulus taken prisoner.	13	L. Manlius.
	3776	492		1			55			202	Q. Cedius.
	4463	502	526	132	28	35	11	Aratus recovers Sicyon, & joyns it to the Achaeans.		18	L. Caecilius.
	3781	497		2			60			208	C. Furius.
The Roman Consuls beaten at Lilybaeum. The beginning of the Parthian Kingdome.	4464	504	427	132	29	36	12		Regulus his death.	19	C. Atilius.
	3782	498		2			61			209	L. Manlius.
	4465	504	528	132	30	37	13		Shipwrack & unhappy fight of the Romans at Sea.	20	P. Claudius. Pulcher, and L. Junius
	3783	499		4			62			210	
	4467	506	530	133	32	1. Ptolemy Euergetes 26	15			22	L. Caecilius.
	3785	501		3			64			212	M. Fabius.
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	3787	503		4			66			214	C. Atilius.
	4472	511	535	134	2 Demetrius 10	6	4		Lutatius his great victory at Ægates.	27	C. Lutat. Catul.
	3790	506		3			69			217	A. Posthumus.
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	3791	507		4			70			218	A. Manlius.
	4473	513	537	135	3	8 Nabon. Ol. 22	6			Simon the just 28 219	C. Claudius.
	7392	508		1			71				M. Sempronius
The war with the Mercenaries ended.	4476	515	539	135	5	10	8		The Romans take Sardinia from the Carthaginians.	3	Gracchus.
	3794	510		3			73			221	Falco.
	4482	521	545	137	1 Antigonus Doson, 10	16	14			9	Lepidus.
	3800	516		1			79			227	Malleolus.
	4483	522	546	137	2	17	15		A Roman Embassadour slain by Queen Teuta.	12	M. Æmylius.
	3801	517		2			80			230	M. Junius.
L. 5. c. 2. § 7.	4485	524	548	137	4	19	17		Teuta, Queen of Illyria, subdued by the Romans	10	L. Posthumius.
	3803	519		4			82			234	C. Fulvius.
L. 5. c. 5. § 1.	4489	528	552	138	8	23	1. Seleucus Ceraunus. 3			16	L. Æmylius.
	3807	523		4			86			224	C. Atilius.
Flaminius was also Consul this year. See L. 5. c. 2. § 8.	4492	531	555	139	11	26	1. Antiochus the Great, 36.		Marcellus his victory over the Gaules about Milan.	19	C. Cornelius.
	3810	526		3			89			237	M. Marcellus
L. 5. c. 5. § 2.	4493	532	556	139	12	1. Ptolemy Philopater. 27	2			20	L. Cornelius.
	3811	527		4			90			238	M. Minutius
	4494	533	557	140	4 1. Philip. 42	2	3			20	L. Veturius.
	3812	528		1			91			239	C. Lutatius.

	Julian World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olympiads.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria & kingdome of the Greeks.	Greece.	Rome.	Jewes and Danica	Consuls.
Hannibal taketh Saguntum.	4495	534	558	140	2	3	4			22	L. Æmylius.
	3813	529		2			92			240	M. Livius.
The beginning of the second Punick war.	4496	534	559	140	3	4	5	L. 5. c. 3. §. 4.	The 2d battle of Ticinus and Trebia.	23	P. Cor. Scipio.
	3814	529		3			93			241	T. Sempronius
The occurrents of this year, are referred by Polyb. l. 5. to the 3. of the 140 Olymp. This battell of Thessalie was fought in the spring: the Olympian year began at the summer solstice. Hannibal and Marcellus.	4497	535	560	140	4. Sol. Eclips. Liv. l. 22. Feb. 11. reckoning by Jul. year.	5. War in Syria between Antiochus and Ptol.	6	Philip and the Athenians at peace with the Romans.	The battell of Thrasymene.	24	C. Flaminius.
	3815	530		4			94			242	Cn. Servilius.
Hiero King of Syracuse dyes. Hieronymus succeeds.	4498	537	561	141	5	6. Nabonassars year begins Mar. 26.	7		The great battell at Cannæ.	25	C. Terent. Varro.
	3816	532		1			95			243	L. Æm. Paul.
	4499	538	562	141	6	7	8		Posthumius the Pro-Consul slain by the Gauls.	26	L. Posthumius.
	3817	533		2			96			244	T. Semp. Grac. Q. Fabius.
The two Scipio's slain in Spain. Hannibal wins Tarentum.	4502	541	565	142	9	10	11	Philip and the Athenians war with the Dardani & Romans in Greece.	Syracuse won by Marcell. Capua besieged	247 L. Ostius bie priest	Ap. Claudius.
	3829	536		1			99				Q. Fulvius.
Hannibal at the wals of Rome.	4503	542	566	142	10	11	12		Young Scipio sent into Spain. Capua won by the Romans.	2	Cn. Fulvius.
	3821	537		2			100			248	P. Sulpitius.
	4507	546	570	143	14	15	16		The battail at Metaurus.	6	C. Clau. Nero.
	3825	561		2			104			252	M. Livius.
	4508	547	571	143	15	16	17		Scipio drives the Carthaginians quite out of Spain	7	Q. Cæcilius.
	826	542		3			105			253	L. Veturius.
	510	549	573	144	17	1. Ptolemy Epiphanes	19		Scipio invades Africk.	9	Cethegus.
	328	544		1			107			255	P. Sempronius.
	511	550	574	144	18	2	20		King Syphax taken.	10	Servilius, and
	329	545		2			108			256	Servilius.
	451	551	575	144	19	3	21		Hannibal vanquished by Scipio.	11	T. Claudius,
	383	546		3			109			257	M. Servilius.
The end of the second Punick war, and beginning of the Macedonian war with Philip. This year and the next were three eclipses of the Moon.	451	552	576	144	20	4	22		Scipio triumphs over Carthage.	12	Lentulus.
	383	547		4			110			258	Petus.
	451	555	579	145	13. Philip overcome at the River Apsus, by the Romans.	7	25		L. 5. c. 4. §. 1. 3.	15	T. Q. Flamin.
	383	550		3			113			261	Sex. Ælius.
L. 5. c. 5. §. 14.	451	556	580	145	The battail at Cynoscephalæ.	8	26	Liberty of Greece proclaimed by the Romans.		16	Cethegus. Q. Minutius.
	383	551		4	24		114			262	
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	383	552		1			115			263	Marcellus.
C. 5. §. 5.	4519	558	582	146	26	10	28	war upon Nabis the tyrant.		18	M. Cato.
	3837	553		2			116			264	L. Valerius.
C. 5. §. 7.	4522	51	585	147	29	13	31. Antiochus at Chalcis.			21	L. Quintius.
	3840	5		1			119			267	Cn. Domitius.
	4523	5	586	147	30	14	32 Antiochus vanquished at Thermopylæ. 120.		The great victory of L. Scipio over Antiochus in Asia which gave beginning to the Roman Empire.	22	Acil., Glabrio.
	3841	5		2						268	Nasica.
	4524	5	587	147	31	15	33	c 5 §. 8.		23	L. Scipio.
	3842	55		3			121			269	C. Lælius.

	Julian World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olym-piads.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria & kingdome of the Greeks.	Greece.	Rome.	Jewes and Daniel	Consuls.
L. 5. c. 5. §. 9.	4527	566	590	148	34	18	36		Scipio Nasica hath himself two Rome.	26	Lepidus.
	3845	561		2			124			272	Flaminius.
	4528	567	591	148	35	19	6 1. Seleucus Philopator, 12. yrs.			27	S. Postumius.
	3846	562		3			125			273	Q. Martius.
L. 5. c. 6. §. 2.	4531	570	594	149	38	22	4		Scipio, Nasica, and Philippus were the Truly glorious Six years after	30	Marcellus,
	3849	565		2			128			2-6	Q. Fabius.
L. 5. c. 6. §. 3.	4532	571	595	149	39 The tyranny of Philip, for his Dominion ceased to Rome, and fell the same year.	23	5			31	Paulus
	3850	566		3			129			277	Cn. Bebius.
Cap. 6. §. 4.	4533	572	596	149	40	24	6	Civil wars between the Achæans, and all the Greeks.		32	Cethegus.
	3851	567		4			130			278	M. Bebius.
	4534	573	597	150	41	1. Ptolemeus Philometor, and his brother Physcon.	7			33	A. Postumius.
	3852	568		1			131			279	Piso.
	4535	574	598	150	42 1. Perseus, 11. or 12. years.	2	8			34	Piso.
	3853	569		2			132			280	Manlius.
An Eclipse of the Moon the 7. of Philometor, 573. years, and 206 days from the beginning of Nabonassar, which agrees with this account. It was by Julian years, the 15th of April, about one of the clock in the morning.	4540	579	603	151	6	7	7 1. Antiochus Epiphanes. 12.			39	Sp. Postumius
	3858	574		3			137			285	Scævola.
	4541	580	604	151	7	8	2		See l. cap. 6 §. 11		L. Postumius
	3859	575		4			138				M. Popilius.
	4543	582	606	151	9 The beginning of the war of Perseus	10	4		c. 6. 6	288	P. Licinius.
	3861	577		2			140				C. Cassius.
	4545	584	608	152	11	12. Egypt invaded by Antiochus under pretence of helping one King against the other.	6			290	Martius.
	3863	579		4			142				Servilius.
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	4547	586	610	153	Macedon made a Roman Province.	14	8	The captivity of the best wittes of Greece.	Triumphs in Rome	C. 6. 9. 10. & 12.	Petus.
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FINIS.

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FINIS.

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