Chapter 4: Of the two Contemporary Empires of the Babylonians and Medes

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<294>

CHAP, IV.

Of the two Contemporary Empires of the Babylonians and Medes.

By the fall of the *Assyrian* Empire the Kingdoms of the *Babylonians* and *Medes* grew great and potent. The Reigns of the Kings of *Babylon* are stated in *Ptolemy's* Canon: for understanding of which you are to note that every King's Reign in that Canon began with the last *Thoth* of his predecessor's Reign, as I gather by comparing the Reigns of the *Roman* Emperors in that Canon with their Reigns recorded in years, months, and days, by other Authors: whence it appears from that Canon that *Asserhadon* died in the year of *Nabonassar* 81, *Saosduchinus* his successor in the year 101, *Chyniladon* in the year 123, *Nabopolassar* in the year 144, and *Nebuchadnezzar* in the year 187. All these Kings, and some others mentioned in the Canon, Reigned successively over *Babylon*, and this last King died in the 37th year of *Jechoniah*'s captivity, 2 *Kings* xxv. 27. and therefore *Jechoniah* was captivated in the 150th year of *Nabonassar*.

<295>

This captivity was in the eighth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Reign, 2 *Kings* xxiv. 12. and eleventh of *Jehoiakim*'s: for the first year of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Reign was the fourth of *Jehoiakim*'s, *Jer.* xxv. 1. and *Jehoiakim* Reigned eleven years before this captivity, 2 *Kings* xxiii. 36. 2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 5, and *Jechoniah* three months, ending with the captivity; and the tenth year of *Jechoniah*'s captivity, was the eighteenth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Reign, *Jer.* xxxii. 1. and the eleventh year of *Zedekiah*, in which *Jerusalem* was taken, was the nineteenth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Jer.* lii. 5, 12. and therefore *Nebuchadnezzar* began his Reign in the year of *Nabonassar* 142, that is, two years before the death of his father *Nabopolassar*, he being then made King by his father; and *Jehoiakim* succeeded his father *Josiah* in the year of *Nabonassar* 139; and *Jerusalem* was taken and the Temple burnt in the year of *Nabonassar* 160, about twenty years after the destruction of *Nineveh*.

The Reign of *Darius Hystaspis* over *Persia*, by the Canon and the consent of all Chronologers, and by several Eclipses of the Moon, began in spring in the year of *Nabonassar* 227: and *in the fourth year of King* Darius, in the 4th day of the ninth month, which is the month Chisleu, <296> when the Jews had sent unto the house of God, saying, should I weep in the fifth month as I have done these so many years? the word of the Lord came unto Zechariah, saying, speak to all the people of the Land, and to the Priests, saying; when ye fasted and mourned in the fifth and seventh month even those seventy years, did ye at all fast unto me? Zech. vii. Count backwards those seventy years in which they fasted in the fifth month for the burning of the Temple, and in the seventh for the death of *Gedaliah*; and the burning of the Temple and death of *Gedaliah*, will fall upon the fifth and seventh *Jewish* months, in the year of *Nabonassar* 160, as above.

As the *Chaldæan* Astronomers counted the Reigns of their Kings by the years of *Nabonassar*, beginning with the month *Thoth*, so the *Jews*, as their Authors tell us, counted the Reigns of theirs by the years of *Moses*, beginning every year with the month *Nisan*: for if any King began his Reign a few days before this month began, it was reckoned to him for a whole year, and the beginning of this month was accounted the beginning of the second year of his Reign; and according to this reckoning the first year of *Jehojakim* began with the month *Nisan*, *Anno Nabonass*. 139, tho' his Reign <297> might not really begin 'till five or six months after; and the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, and first of *Nebuchadnezzar*, according to the reckoning of the *Jews*, began with the month Nisan, Anno Nabonass. 142; and the first year of Zedekiah and of Jeconiah's captivity, and ninth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, began with the month *Nisan*, in the year of *Nabonassar* 150; and the tenth year of Zedekiah, and 18th of Nebuchadnezzar, began with the month Nisan in the year of Nabonassar 159. Now in the ninth year of *Zedekiah*, *Nebuchadnezzar* invaded *Judæa* and the cities thereof, and in the tenth month of that year, and tenth day of the month, he and his host besieged *Jerusalem*, 2 *Kings* xxv. 1. *Jer*. xxxiv. 1, xxxix. 1, and lii. 4. From this time to the tenth month in the second year of *Darius* are just seventy years, and accordingly, upon the 24th day of the eleventh month of the second year of Darius, the word of the Lord came unto Zechariah,—— and the Angel of the Lord said, Oh Lord of Hosts, how long wilt thou not have mercy on Jerusalem, and on the cities of Judah, against which thou hast had indignation, these threescore and ten years, Zech. i. 7, 12. So then the ninth year of Zedekiah, in which this indignation against *Jerusalem* and the cities of *Judah* began, commenced with the month *Nisan* in <298> the year of *Nabonassar* 158; and the eleventh year of *Zedekiah*, and nineteenth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in which the city was taken and the Temple burnt, commenced with the month *Nisan* in the year of *Nabonassar* 160, as above.

By all these characters the years of *Jehoiakim*, *Zedekiah*, and *Nebuchadnezzar*, seem to be sufficiently determined, and thereby the Chronology of the *Jews* in the Old Testament is connected with that of later times: for between the death of *Solomon* and the ninth year of *Zedekiah* wherein *Nebuchadnezzar* invaded *Judæa*, and began the Siege of *Jerusalem*, there were 390 years, as is manifest both by the prophesy of *Ezekiel*, chap. iv, and by summing up the years of the Kings of *Judah*; and from the ninth year of *Zedekiah* inclusively to the vulgar *Æra* of *Christ*, there were 590 years: and both these numbers, with half the Reign of *Solomon*, make up a thousand years.

In the [1] end of the Reign of *Josiah*, *Anno Nabonass*. 139, *Pharaoh Nechoh*, the successor of *Psammitichus*, came with a great army out of *Egypt* against the King of *Assyria*, and being denied passage through *Judæa*, beat the Jews at Megiddo or Magdolus before Egypt, slew Josiah their King, marched to Carchemish or *Circutium*, a town of *Mesopotamia* upon *Euphrates*, <299> and took it, possest himself of the cities of *Syria*, sent for *Jehoahaz* the new King of *Judah* to *Riblah* or *Antioch*, deposed him there, made *Jehojakim* King in the room of *Josiah*, and put the Kingdom of *Judah* to tribute: but the King of *Assyria* being in the mean time besieged and subdued, and *Nineveh* destroyed by *Assuerus* King of the *Medes*, and *Nebuchadnezzar* King of Babylon, and the conquerors being thereby entitled to the countries belonging to the King of Assyria, they led their victorious armies against the King of *Egypt* who had seized part of them. For *Nebuchadnezzar*, assisted [2] by Astibares, that is, by Astivares, Assuerus, Acksweres, Axeres, or Cy-Axeres, King of the Medes, in the [3] third year of Jehoiakim, came with an army of Babylonians, Medes, Syrians, Moabites and Ammonites, to the number of 10000 chariots, and 180000 foot, and 120000 horse, and laid waste Samaria, Galilee, Scythopolis, and the Jews in Galaaditis, and besieged Jerusalem, and took King Jehoiakim alive, and $\frac{4}{100}$ bound him in chains for a time, and carried to *Babylon Daniel* and others of the people, and part of what Gold and Silver and Brass they found in the Temple: and in [5] the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, which was the twentieth of *Nabopolassar*, they routed the army of *Pharaoh Ne* <300> choh at *Carchemish*, and by pursuing the war took from the King of *Egypt* whatever pertained to him from the river of *Egypt* to the river of *Euphrates*. This King of *Egypt* is called by *Berosus*, [6] the *Satrapa* of *Egypt*, *C*\alphale-Syria, and *Ph*\alphanicia; and this victory over him put an end to his Reign in *Cœle-Syria* and *Phænicia*, which he had newly invaded, and gave a beginning to the Reign of *Nebuchadnezzar* there: and by the conquests over *Assyria* and *Syria* the small Kingdom of *Babylon* was erected into a potent Empire.

Whilst *Nebuchadnezzar* was acting in *Syria*, [7] his father *Nabopolassar* died, having Reigned 21 years; and *Nebuchadnezzar* upon the news thereof, having ordered his affairs in *Syria* returned to *Babylon*, leaving the captives and his army with his servants to follow him: and from henceforward he applied himself sometimes to war, conquering *Sittacene*, *Susiana*, *Arabia*, *Edom*, *Egypt*, and some other countries; and sometimes to peace, adorning the Temple of *Belus* with the spoils that he had taken; and the city of *Babylon* with

magnificent walls and gates, and stately palaces and pensile gardens, as *Berosus* relates; and amongst other things he cut the new rivers *Naarmalcha* and *Pallacopas* above *Babylon* and built the city of *Teredon*.

<301>

Judæa was now in servitude under the King of Babylon, being invaded and subdued in the third and fourth years of Jehoiakim, and Jehoiakim served him three years, and then turned and rebelled, 2 King. xxiv. 1. While Nebuchadnezzar and the army of the Chaldæans continued in Syria, Jehojakim was under compulsion; after they returned to Babylon, Jehojakim continued in fidelity three years, that is, during the 7th, 8th and 9th years of his Reign, and rebelled in the tenth: whereupon in the return or end of the year, that is in spring, he sent [8] and besieged Jerusalem, captivated Jeconiah the son and successor of Jehoiakim, spoiled the Temple, and carried away to Babylon the Princes, craftsmen, smiths, and all that were fit for war: and, when none remained but the poorest of the people, made [9] Zedekiah their King, and bound him upon oath to serve the King of Babylon: this was in spring in the end of the eleventh year of Jehoiakim, and beginning of the year of Nabonassar 150.

Zedekiah notwithstanding his oath [10] revolted, and made a covenant with the King of Egypt, and therefore *Nebuchadnezzar* in the ninth year of Zedekiah [11] invaded Judæa and the cities thereof, and in the tenth Jewish month of that year besieged Jerusalem again, and in the ele <302> venth year of Zedekiah, in the 4th and 5th months, after a siege of one year and an half, took and burnt the City and Temple.

Nebuchadnezzar after he was made King by his father Reigned over *Phænicia* and *Cæle-Syria* 45 years, and [12] after the death of his father 43 years, and [13] after the captivity of *Jeconiah* 37; and then was succeeded by his son *Evilmerodach*, called *Iluarodamus* in *Ptolemy*'s Canon. *Jerome* [14] tells us, that *Evilmerodach* Reigned seven years in his father's life-time, while his father did eat grass with oxen, and after his father's restoration was put in prison with *Jeconiah* King of *Judah* 'till the death of his father, and then succeeded in the Throne. In the fifth year of *Jeconiah*'s captivity, *Belshazzar* was next in dignity to his father *Nebuchadnezzar*, and was designed to be his successor, *Baruch* i. 2, 10, 11, 12, 14, and therefore *Evilmerodach* was even then in disgrace. Upon his coming to the Throne [15] he brought his friend and companion *Jeconiah* out of prison on the 27th day of the twelfth month; so that *Nebuchadnezzar* died in the end of winter, *Anno Nabonass*. 187.

Evilmerodach Reigned two years after his father's death, and for his lust and evil manners was slain by his sister's husband *Neriglissar*, or *Nergalassar*, *Nabonass*. 189, according to the Canon.

<303>

Neriglissar, in the name of his young son *Labosordachus*, or *Laboasserdach*, the grand-child of *Nebuchadnezzar* by his daughter, Reigned four years, according to the Canon and *Berosus*, including the short Reign of *Laboasserdach* alone: for *Laboasserdach*, according to *Berosus* and *Josephus*, Reigned nine months after the death of his father, and then for his evil manners was slain in a feast, by the conspiracy of his friends with *Nabonnedus* a *Babylonian*, to whom by consent they gave the Kingdom: but these nine months are not reckoned apart in the Canon.

Nabonnedus, or *Nabonadius*, according to the Canon, began his Reign in the year of *Nabonassar* 193, Reigned seventeen years, and ended his Reign in the year of *Nabonassar* 210, being then vanquished and *Babylon* taken by *Cyrus*.

Herodotus calls this last King of Babylon, Labynitus, and says that he was the son of a former Labynitus, and of Nitocris an eminent Queen of Babylon: by the father he seems to understand that Labynitus, who, as he tells us, was King of Babylon when the great Eclipse of the Sun predicted by Thales put an end to the five years war between the Medes and Lydians; and this was the great Nebuchadnezzar. Daniel [16] calls the last King of Babylon, Belshazzar, and saith that Nebuchadnezzar was his father: and Josephus <304> tells us, [17] that the last King of Babylon was called Naboandel by the Babylonians, and Reigned seventeen years; and therefore he is the same King of Babylon with Nabonnedus or Labynitus; and this is more agreeable to sacred writ than to make Nabonnedus a stranger to the royal line: for all nations were to serve Nebuchadnezzar and

his posterity, till the very time of his land should come, and many nations should serve themselves of him, Jer. xxvii. 7. Belshazzar was born and lived in honour before the fifth year of Jeconiah's captivity, which was the eleventh year of Nebuchadnezzar's Reign; and therefore he was above 34 years old at the death of Evilmerodach, and so could be no other King than Nabonnedus: for Laboasserdach the grandson of Nebuchadnezzar was a child when he Reigned.

Herodotus [18] tells us, that there were two famous Queens of Babylon, Semiramis and Nitocris; and that the latter was more skilful: she observing that the Kingdom of the Medes, having subdued many cities, and among others Nineveh, was become great and potent, intercepted and fortified the passages out of Media into Babylonia; and the river which before was straight, she made crooked with great windings, that it might be more sedate and less apt to <305> overflow: and on the side of the river above Babylon, in imitation of the Lake of Mæris in Egypt, she dug a Lake every way forty miles broad, to receive the water of the river, and keep it for watering the land. She built also a bridge over the river in the middle of Babylon, turning the stream into the Lake 'till the bridge was built. Philostratus saith, [19] that she made a bridge under the river two fathoms broad, meaning an arched vault over which the river flowed, and under which they might walk cross the river: he calls her Mηδεια, a Mede.

Berosus tells us, that Nebuchadnezzar built a pensile garden upon arches, because his wife was a Mede and delighted in mountainous prospects, such as abounded in Media, but were wanting in Babylonia: she was Amyite the daughter of Astyages, and sister of Cyaxeres, Kings of the Medes. Nebuchadnezzar married her upon a league between the two families against the King of Assyria: but Nitocris might be another woman who in the Reign of her son Labynitus, a voluptuous and vicious King, took care of his affairs, and for securing his Kingdom against the Medes, did the works above mentioned. This is that Queen mentioned in Daniel, chap. v. ver. 10.

<306>

Josephus [20] relates out of the *Tyrian* records, that in the Reign of *Ithobalus* King of *Tyre*, that city was besieged by *Nebuchadnezzar* thirteen years together: in the end of that siege *Ithobalus* their King was slain, Ezek. xxviii. 8, 9, 10. and after him, according to the *Tyrian* records, Reigned *Baal* ten years, *Ecnibalus* and Chelbes one year, Abbarus three months, Mytgonus and Gerastratus six years, Balatorus one year, Merbalus four years, and *Iromus* twenty years: and in the fourteenth year of *Iromus*, say the *Tyrian* records, the Reign of *Cyrus* began in *Babylonia*; therefore the siege of *Tyre* began 48 years and some months before the Reign of Cyrus in Babylonia: it began when Jerusalem had been newly taken and burnt, with the Temple, Ezek. xxvi and by consequence after the eleventh year of *Jeconiah*'s captivity, or 160th year of *Nabonassar*, and therefore the Reign of *Cyrus* in *Babylonia* began after the year of *Nabonassar* 208: it ended before the eight and twentieth year of Jeconiah's captivity, or 176th year of Nabonassar, Ezek. xxix. 17. and therefore the Reign of *Cyrus* in *Babylonia* began before the year of *Nabonassar* 211. By this argument the first year of Cyrus in Babylonia was one of the two intermediate years 209, 210. Cyrus invaded Babylonia in the year of Nabo <307> nassar 209; [21] Babylon held out, and the next year was taken, Jer. li. 39, 57. by diverting the river *Euphrates*, and entring the city through the emptied channel, and by consequence after midsummer: for the river, by the melting of the snow in *Armenia*, overflows yearly in the beginning of summer, but in the heat of summer grows low. [22] And that night was the King of Babylon slain, and Darius the Mede, or King of the Medes, took the Kingdom being about threescore and two years old: so then Babylon was taken a month or two after the summer solstice, in the year of *Nabonassar* 210; as the Canon also represents.

The Kings of the *Medes* before *Cyrus* were *Dejoces*, *Phraortes*, *Astyages*, *Cyaxeres*, or *Cyaxares*, and *Darius*: the three first Reigned before the Kingdom grew great, the two last were great conquerors, and erected the Empire; for *Æschylus*, who flourished in the Reigns of *Darius Hystaspis*, and *Xerxes*, and died in the 76th Olympiad, introduces *Darius* thus complaining of those who persuaded his son *Xerxes* to invade *Greece*; [23]

Τοιγάρ σφιν ἔργον ἐστὶν ἐξειργασμένον Μέγιστον, ἀιείμνηστον ὁιον ὀυδέπω,

<308>

Έξ ὅυτε τιμὴν Ζεὺς ἄναξ τὴνδ΄ ὤπασεν Έν΄ ἄνδρα πάσης Ἀσιάδος μηλοτρόφου Ταγειν, ἔχοντα σκηπτρον ἐυθυντήριον Μηδος γὰρ ἠν ὁ πρωτος ἡγεμῶν στρατου Ἀλλος δ΄ ἐκείνου παις τόδ΄ ἔργον ἤνυσε Φρένες γὰρ ἀυτου θυμὸν ὀιακοστρόφουν. Τρίτος δ΄ ἀπ΄ ἀυτου Κυρος, ἐυδαίμων ἀνὴρ, &c.

They have done a work
The greatest, and most memorable, such as never happen'd,
For it has emptied the falling Sufa:
From the time that King Jupiter granted this honour,
That one man should Reign over all fruitful Asia,
Having the imperial Scepter.
For he that first led the Army was a Mede;
The next, who was his son, finisht the work,
For prudence directed his soul;
The third was Cyrus, a happy man, &c.

The Poet here attributes the founding of the *Medo-Persian* Empire to the two immediate predecessors of *Cyrus*, the first of which was a *Mede*, and the second was his son: the second was *Darius* the *Mede*, the immediate predecessor of *Cyrus*, according to *Daniel*; and therefore the first was the father of *Darius*, that is, <309> *Achsuerus*, *Assuerus*, *Oxyares*, *Axeres*, Prince *Axeres*, or *Cy-Axeres*, the word *Cy* signifying a Prince: for *Daniel* tells us, that *Darius* was the son of *Achsuerus*, or *Ahasuerus*, as the *Masoretes* erroneously call him, of the seed of the *Medes*, that is, of the seed royal: this is that *Assuerus* who together with *Nebuchadnezzar* took and destroyed *Nineveh*, according to *Tobit*: which action is by the *Greeks* ascribed to *Cyaxeres*, and by *Eupolemus* to *Astibares*, a name perhaps corruptly written for *Assuerus*. By this victory over the *Assyrians*, and subversion of their Empire seated at *Nineveh*, and the ensuing conquests of *Armenia*, *Cappadocia* and *Persia*, he began to extend the Reign of one man over all *Asia*; and his son *Darius* the *Mede*, by conquering the Kingdoms of *Lydia* and *Babylon*, finished the work: and the third King was *Cyrus*, a happy man for his great successes under and against *Darius*, and large and peaceable dominion in his own Reign.

Cyrus lived seventy years, according to *Cicero*, and Reigned nine years over *Babylon*, according to *Ptolemy*'s Canon, and therefore was 61 years old at the taking of *Babylon*; at which time *Darius* the *Mede* was 62 years old, according to *Daniel*: and therefore *Darius* was two Generations younger than *Astyages*, the grandfa <310> ther of *Cyrus*: for *Astyages*, according to both [24] *Herodotus* and *Xenophon*, gave his daughter *Mandane* to *Cambyses* a Prince of *Persia*, and by them became the grandfather of *Cyrus*; and *Cyaxeres* was the son of *Astyages*, according [25] to *Xenophon*, and gave his Daughter to *Cyrus*. This daughter, [26] saith *Xenophon*, was reported to be very handsome, and used to play with *Cyrus* when they were both children, and to say that she would marry him: and therefore they were much of the same age. *Xenophon* saith that *Cyrus* married her after the taking of *Babylon*; but she was then an old woman: it's more probable that he married her while she was young and handsome, and he a young man; and that because he was the brother-in-law of *Darius* the King, he led the armies of the Kingdom until he revolted: so then *Astyages*, *Cyaxeres* and *Darius* Reigned successively over the *Medes*; and *Cyrus* was the grandson of *Astyages*, and married the sister of *Darius*, and succeeded him in the Throne.

Herodotus therefore [27] hath inverted the order of the Kings Astyages and Cyaxeres, making Cyaxeres to be the son and successor of Phraortes, and the father and predecessor of Astyages the father of Mandane, and grandfather of Cyrus, and telling us, that this Astyages married Ariene <311> the daughter of Alyattes King of Lydia, and was at length taken prisoner and deprived of his dominion by Cyrus: and Pausanias hath copied after Herodotus, in telling us that Astyages the son of Cyaxeres Reigned in Media in the days of Alyattes King of Lydia. Cyaxeres had a son who married Ariene the daughter of Alyattes; but this son was not the father of Mandane, and grandfather of Cyrus, but of the same age with Cyrus: and his true name is preserved in the name of the Darics, which upon the conquest of Cræsus by the conduct of his General Cyrus, he coyned out of the gold and silver of the conquered Lydians: his name was therefore Darius, as he is called by Daniel; for Daniel tells us, that this Darius was a Mede, and that his father's name was Assuerus, that is Axeres or

Cyaxeres, as above: considering therefore that Cyaxeres Reigned long, and that no author mentions more Kings of Media than one called Astyages, and that Æschylus who lived in those days knew but of two great Monarchs of Media and Persia, the father and the son, older than Cyrus; it seems to me that Astyages, the father of Mandane and grandfather of Cyrus, was the father and predecessor of Cyaxeres; and that the son and successor of Cyaxeres was called Darius. Cyaxeres, <312> [28] according to Herodotus, Reigned 40 years, and his successor 35, and Cyrus, according to Xenophon, seven: Cyrus died Anno Nabonass. 219, according to the Canon, and therefore Cyaxeres died Anno Nabonass. 177, and began his Reign Anno Nabonass. 137, and his father Astyages Reigned 26 years, beginning his Reign at the death of Phraortes, who was slain by the Assyrians, Anno Nabonass. 111, as above.

Of all the Kings of the *Medes*, *Cyaxeres* was greatest warrior. *Herodotus* [29] saith that he was much more valiant than his ancestors, and that he was the first who divided the Kingdom into provinces, and reduced the irregular and undisciplined forces of the *Medes* into discipline and order: and therefore by the testimony of *Herodotus* he was that King of the *Medes* whom *Æschylus* makes the first conqueror and founder of the Empire; for *Herodotus* represents him and his son to have been the two immediate predecessors of *Cyrus*, erring only in the name of the son. *Astyages* did nothing glorious: in the beginning of his Reign a great body of *Scythians* commanded by *Madyes*, [30] invaded *Media* and *Parthia*, as above, and Reigned there about 28 years; but at length his son *Cyaxeres* circumvented and slew them in a feast, and made the rest fly to their <313> brethren in *Parthia*; and immediately after, in conjunction with *Nebuchadnezzar*, invaded and subverted the Kingdom of *Assyria*, and destroyed *Nineveh*.

In the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, which the *Jews* reckon to be the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*, dating his Reign from his being made King by his father, or from the month *Nisan* preceding, when the victors had newly shared the Empire of the *Assyrians*, and in prosecuting their victory were invading *Syria* and *Phænicia*, and were ready to invade the nations round about; God [31] threatned that *he would take all the families of the North*, that is, the armies of the *Medes*, *and* Nebuchadnezzar *the King of* Babylon, *and bring them against* Judæa *and against the nations round about, and utterly destroy those nations, and make them an astonishment and lasting desolations, and cause them all to drink the wine-cup of his fury; and in particular, he names <i>the Kings of* Judah *and* Egypt, *and those of* Edom, *and* Moab, *and* Ammon, *and* Tyre, *and* Zidon, *and the Isles of the Sea, and* Arabia, *and* Zimri, *and all the Kings of* Elam, *and all the Kings of the* Medes, *and all the Kings of the North, and the King of* Sesac; *and that after seventy years, he would also punish the King of* Babylon. Here, <314> in numbering the nations which should suffer, he omits the *Assyrians* as fallen already, and names the Kings of *Elam* or *Persia*, and *Sesac* or *Susa*, as distinct from those of the *Medes* and *Babylonians*; and therefore the *Persians* were not yet subdued by the *Medes*, nor the King of *Susa* by the *Chaldæans*; and as by the punishment of the King of *Babylon* he means the conquest of *Babylon* by the *Medes*; so by the punishment of the *Medes* he seems to mean the conquest of the *Medes* by *Cyrus*.

After this, in the beginning of the Reign of *Zedekiah*, that is, in the ninth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, God threatned that he would give the Kingdoms of Edom, Moab, and Ammon, and Tyre and Zidon, into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon, and that all the nations should serve him, and his son, and his son's son, until the very time of his land should come, and many nations and great Kings should serve themselves of him, Jer. xxvii. And at the same time God thus predicted the approaching conquest of the *Persians* by the *Medes* and their confederates: *Behold*, saith he, *I* will break the bow of Elam, the chief of their might: and upon Elam will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of heaven, and will scatter them towards all those winds, and there shall be no <315> nation whither the outcasts of Elam shall not come: for I will cause Elam to be dismayed before their enemies, and before them that seek their life; and I will bring evil upon them, even my fierce anger, saith the Lord; and I will send the sword after them 'till I have consumed them; and I will set my throne in Elam, and will destroy from thence the King and the Princes, saith the Lord: but it shall come to pass in the latter days, viz. in the Reign of Cyrus, that I will bring again the captivity of Elam, saith the Lord. Jer. xlix. 35, &c. The Persians were therefore hitherto a free nation under their own King, but soon after this were invaded, subdued, captivated, and dispersed into the nations round about, and continued in servitude until the Reign of *Cyrus*: and since the *Medes* and *Chaldæans* did not conquer the *Persians* 'till after the ninth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, it gives us occasion to enquire what that active warrior *Cyaxeres* was doing next after the taking of Nineveh.

When *Cyaxeres* expelled the *Scythians*, [32] some of them made their peace with him, and staid in *Media*, and presented to him daily some of the venison which they took in hunting: but happening one day to catch nothing, *Cyaxeres* in a passion treated them with opprobrious <316> language: this they resented, and soon after killed one of the children of the *Medes*, dressed it like venison, and presented it to *Cyaxeres*, and then fled to *Alyattes* King of *Lydia*; whence followed a war of five years between the two Kings *Cyaxeres* and *Alyattes*: and thence I gather that the Kingdoms of the *Medes* and *Lydians* were now contiguous, and by consequence that *Cyaxeres*, soon after the conquest of *Nineveh*, seized the regions belonging to the *Assyrians*, as far as to the river *Halys*. In the sixth year of this war, in the midst of a battel between the two Kings, there was a total Eclipse of the Sun, predicted by *Thales*; [33] and this Eclipse fell upon the 28th of *May*, *Anno Nabonass*. 163, forty and seven years before the taking of *Babylon*, and put an end to the battel: and thereupon the two Kings made peace by the mediation of *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*, and *Syennesis* King of *Cilicia*; and the peace was ratified by a marriage, between *Darius* the son of *Cyaxeres* and *Ariene* the daughter of *Alyattes*: *Darius* was therefore fifteen or sixteen years old at the time of this marriage; for he was 62 years old at the taking of *Babylon*.

The next year *Ezekiel*, in another prophesy, thus enumerates the principal nations who had been subdued and slaughtered by the conquering sword of *Cyaxeres* and *Nebuchadnezzar*. Asthur is there and all her company, viz. in *Hades* or the lower parts of the earth, where the dead bodies lay buried, *his graves are about* <318> him: all of them slain, fallen by the sword, which caused their terrour in the land of the living. There is Elam, and all her multitude round about her grave, all of them slain, fallen by the sword, which are gone down uncircumcised into the nether parts of the earth, which caused their terrour in the land of the living; yet have they born their shame with them that go down into the pit. — There is Meshech, Tubal, and all her multitude [34]; her graves are round about him: all of them uncircumcised, slain by the sword, though they caused their terrour in the land of the living. ————— There is Edom, her Kings, and all her *Princes*, which with their might are laid by them that were slain by the sword. ———— There be the Princes of the North all of them, and all the Zidonians, which with their terrour are gone down with the slain, Ezek, xxxii. Here by the Princes of the North I understand those on the north of *Judæa*, and chiefly the Princes of *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*, who fell in the wars which *Cyaxeres* made in reducing those countries after the taking of *Nineveh*. *Elam* or *Persia* was conquered by the *Medes*, and *Susiana* by the *Babylonians*, after the ninth, and before the nineteenth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*: and therefore we cannot err much if we place these conquests in the twelfth <319> or fourteenth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*: in the nineteenth, twentieth, and one and twentieth year of this King, he invaded and [35] conquered *Judæa*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, the *Philistims* and *Zidon*; and [36] the next year he besieged *Tyre*, and after a siege of thirteen years he took it, in the 35th year of his Reign; and then he [37] invaded and conquered *Egypt*, *Ethiopia* and *Libva*; and about eighteen or twenty years after the death of this King, *Darius* the *Mede* conquered the Kingdom of *Sardes*; and after five or six years more he invaded and conquered the Empire of *Babylon*: and thereby finished the work of propagating the *Medo-Persian* Monarchy over all *Asia*, as *Æschylus* represents.

Now this is that *Darius* who coined a great number of pieces of pure gold called *Darics*, or *Stateres Darici*: for *Suidas*, *Harpocration*, and the Scholiast of *Aristophanes* [38] tell us, that these were coined not by the father of *Xerxes*, but by an earlier *Darius*, by *Darius* the first, by the first King of the *Medes* and *Persians* who coined gold money. They were stamped on one side with the effigies of an Archer, who was crowned with a spiked crown, had a bow in his left hand, and an arrow in his right, and was cloathed with a long robe; I have seen one of them in gold, and another in silver: they <320> were of the same weight and value with

the *Attic Stater* or piece of gold money weighing two *Attic* drachms. *Darius* seems to have learnt the art and use of money from the conquered Kingdom of the *Lydians*, and to have recoined their gold: for the *Medes*, before they conquered the *Lydians*, had no money. *Herodotus* [39] tells us, that *when* Crœsus was preparing to invade Cyrus, a certain Lydian called Sandanis advised him, that he was preparing an expedition against a nation who were cloathed with leathern breeches, who eat not such victuals as they would, but such as their barren country afforded; who drank no wine, but water only, who eat no figs nor other good meat, who had nothing to lose, but might get much from the Lydians: for the Persians, saith Herodotus, before they conquered the Lydians, had nothing rich or valuable: and $\frac{[40]}{[40]}$ Isaiah tells us, that the Medes regarded not silver, nor delighted in gold; but the Lydians and Phrygians were exceeding rich, even to a proverb: Midas & *Crœsus*, saith [41] *Pliny*, infinitum possederant. Jam Cyrus devicta Asia [auri] pondo xxxiv millia invenerat, præter vasa aurea aurumque factum, & in eo folia ac platanum vitemque. Qua victoria argenti quingenta millia talentorum reportavit, & craterem Semiramidis cujus pondus quindecim talentorum colligebat. Talen <321> tum autem Ægyptium pondo octoginta capere Varro tradit. What the conqueror did with all this gold and silver appears by the *Darics*. The *Lydians*, according to [42] *Herodotus*, were the first who coined gold and silver, and *Cræsus* coined gold monies in plenty, called *Cræsei*; and it was not reasonable that the monies of the Kings of *Lydia* should continue current after the overthrow of their Kingdom, and therefore *Darius* recoined it with his own effigies, but without altering the current weight and value: he Reigned then from before the conquest of *Sardes* 'till after the conquest of *Babylon*.

And since the cup of *Semiramis* was preserved 'till the conquest of *Cræsus* by *Darius*, it is not probable that she could be older than is represented by *Herodotus*.

This conquest of the Kingdom of *Lydia* put the *Greeks* into fear of the *Medes*: for *Theognis*, who lived at *Megara* in the very times of these wars, writes thus, [43]

Πίνωμεν, χαρίεντα μετ ' ἀλλήλοισι λέγοντες, Μηδὲν τὸν Μήδων δειδιότες πολεμον.

Let us drink, talking pleasant things with one another, Not fearing the war of the Medes.

<322>

And again, [44]

Αὐτὸς δὲ στρατὸν ὑβριστὴν Μήδων ἀπέρυκε Τησδε πόλευς, ἵνα σοι λαοὶ ἐν ἐυφροσύνηι Ἡρος ἐπερχομένου κλειτὰς πέμπωσ ἐκατομβας, Τερπόμενοι κιθάρηι καὶ ἐρατηι θάλιηι, Παιάνωντε χοροις, ἰαχωσί τε, σὸν περὶ βωμόν. Ἡ γὰρ ἔγωγε δέδοικ ', ἀφραδίην ἐσορων Καὶ στάσιν Ἑλλήνων λαοφθόρον ἀλλὰ σὺ Φοιβε, Ἡλαος ἡμετέρην τήνδε φύλασσε πόλιν.

Thou Apollo drive away the injurious army of the Medes From this city, that the people may with joy Send thee choice hecatombs in the spring, Delighted with the harp and chearful feasting, And chorus's of Pœans and acclamations about thy altar. For truly I am afraid, beholding the folly And sedition of the Greeks, which corrupts the people: but thou Apollo, Being propitious, keep this our city.

The Poet tells us further that discord had destroyed *Magnesia*, *Colophon*, and *Smyrna*, cities of *Ionia* and *Phrygia*, and would destroy the <323> *Greeks*; which is as much as to say that the *Medes* had then conquered those cities.

The *Medes* therefore Reigned 'till the taking of *Sardes*: and further, according to *Xenophon* and the Scriptures, they Reigned 'till the taking of *Babylon*: for *Xenophon* [45] tells us, that after the taking of *Babylon*, *Cyrus* went to the King of the *Medes* at *Ecbatane* and succeeded him in the Kingdom: and *Jerom*, [46] that Babylon was taken by Darius King of the Medes and his kinsman Cyrus: and the Scriptures tell us, that *Babylon* was destroyed by a nation out of the north, *Jerem.* l. 3, 9, 41. by the Kingdoms of Ararat Minni, or *Armenia*, and Ashchenez, or *Phrygia minor*, *Jer.* li. 27. by the *Medes*, *Isa.* xiii. 17, 19. by the Kings of the Medes and the captains and rulers thereof, and all the land of his dominion, *Jer.* li. 11, 28. The Kingdom of *Babylon* was numbred and finished and broken and given to the Medes and Persians, *Dan.* v. 26. 28. first to the *Medes* under *Darius*, and then to the *Persians* under *Cyrus*: for *Darius* Reigned over *Babylon* like a conqueror, not observing the laws of the *Babylonians*, but introducing the immutable laws of the conquering nations, the *Medes* and *Persians*, *Dan.* vi. 8, 12, 15; and the *Medes* in his Reign are set before the *Persians*, *Dan.* ib. & v. 28, & viii. 20. <324> as the *Persians* were afterwards in the Reign of *Cyrus* and his successors set before the *Medes*, *Esther* i. 3, 14, 18, 19. *Dan.* x. 1, 20. and xi. 2. which shews that in the Reign of *Darius* the *Medes* were uppermost.

You may know also by the great number of provinces in the Kingdom of *Darius*, that he was King of the *Medes* and *Persians*: for upon the conquest of *Babylon*, he set over the whole Kingdom an hundred and twenty Princes, *Dan.* vi. 1. and afterwards when *Cambyses* and *Darius Hystaspis* had added some new territories, the whole contained but 127 provinces.

The extent of the *Babylonian* Empire was much the same with that of *Nineveh* after the revolt of the *Medes*. Berosus saith that Nebuchadnezzar held Egypt, Syria, Phænicia and Arabia: and Strabo adds Arbela to the territories of *Babylon*; and saying that *Babylon* was anciently the metropolis of *Assyria*, he thus describes the limits of this *Assyrian* Empire. *Contiquous*, [47] saith he, to Persia and Susiana are the Assyrians: for so they call Babylonia, and the greatest part of the region about it: part of which is Atturia, wherein is Ninus [or Nineveh; and Apolloniatis, and the Elymæans, and the Parætacæ, and Chalonitis by the mountain Zagrus, and the fields near Ninus, and Dolomene, and Chalachene, and Chazene, and Adiabene, and <325> the nations of Mesopotamia near the Gordyæans, and the Mygdones about Nisibis, unto Zeugma upon Euphrates; and a large region on this side Euphrates inhabited by the Arabians and Syrians properly so called, as far as Cilicia and Phœnicia and Libya and the sea of Egypt and the Sinus Issicus: and a little after describing the extent of the *Babylonian* region, he bounds it on the north, with the *Armenians* and *Medes* unto the mountain *Zagrus*; on the east side, with *Susa* and *Elymais* and *Parætacene*, inclusively; on the south, with the *Persian Gulph* and *Chaldæa*; and on the west, with the *Arabes Scenitæ* as far as *Adiabene* and *Gordyæa*: afterwards speaking of Susiana and Sitacene, a region between Babylon and Susa, and of Parætacene and Cossæa and Elymais, and of the Sagapeni and Siloceni, two little adjoining Provinces, he concludes, [48] and these are the nations which inhabit Babylonia eastward: to the north are Media and Armenia, exclusively, and westward are Adiabene and Mesopotamia, inclusively; the greatest part of Adiabene is plain, the same being part of Babylonia: in same places it borders on Armenia: for the Medes, Armenians and Babylonians warred frequently on one another. Thus far Strabo.

When *Cyrus* took *Babylon*, he changed the Kingdom into a Satrapy or Province: whereby <326> the bounds were long after known: and by this means *Herodotus* [49] gives us an estimate of the bigness of this Monarchy in proportion to that of the *Persians*, telling us that *whilst every region over which the King of* Persia *Reigned in his days, was distributed for the nourishment of his army, besides the tributes, the* Babylonian *region nourished him four months of the twelve in the year, and all the rest of* Asia *eight: so the power of the region*, saith he, is *equivalent to the third part of* Asia, *and its Principality, which the* Persians *call a* Satrapy, is far the best of all the *Provinces*.

Babylon [50] was a square city of 120 furlongs, or 15 miles on every side, compassed first with a broad and deep ditch, and then with a wall fifty cubits thick, and two hundred high. *Euphrates* flowed through the middle of it southward, a few leagues on this side *Tigris*: and in the middle of one half westward stood the King's new Palace, built by *Nebuchadnezzar*; and in the middle of the other half stood the Temple of *Belus*, with the old Palace between that Temple and the river: this old Palace was built by the *Assyrians*, according to [51] *Isaiah*, and by consequence, by *Pul* and his son *Nabonassar*, as above: *they founded the city for the* Arabians, *and set up the towers thereof*, *and raised the* <327> *Palaces thereof*: and at that time *Sabacon* the *Ethiopian* invaded *Egypt*, and made great multitudes of *Egyptians* fly from him into *Chaldæa*, and carry

thither their Astronomy, and Astrology, and Architecture, and the form of their year, which they preserved there in the *Æra* of *Nabonassar*: for the practice of observing the Stars began in *Egypt* in the days of *Ammon*, as above, and was propagated from thence in the Reign of his son *Sesac* into *Afric*, *Europe*, and *Asia* by conquest; and then *Atlas* formed the Sphere of the *Libyans*, and *Chiron* that of the *Greeks*, and the *Chaldæans* also made a Sphere of their own. But Astrology was invented in *Egypt* by *Nichepsos*, or *Necepsos*, one of the Kings of the lower *Egypt*, and *Petosiris* his Priest, a little before the days of *Sabacon*, and propagated thence into *Chaldæa*, where *Zoroaster* the Legislator of the *Magi* met with it: so *Paulinus*,

Quique magos docuit mysteria vana Necepsos:

And *Diodorus*, ^[52] they say that the Chaldæans in Babylonia are colonies of the Egyptians, and being taught by the Priests of Egypt became famous for Astrology. By the influence of the same colonies, the Temple of *Jupiter Belus* in *Babylon* seems to have been erected in the form of the <328> *Egyptian* Pyramids: for ^[53] this Temple was a solid Tower or Pyramid a furlong square, and a furlong high, with seven retractions, which made it appear like eight towers standing upon one another, and growing less and less to the top: and in the eighth tower was a Temple with a bed and a golden table, kept by a woman, after the manner of the *Egyptians* in the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon* at *Thebes*; and above the Temple was a place for observing the Stars: they went up to the top of it by steps on the outside, and the bottom was compassed with a court, and the court with a building two furlongs in length on every side.

The *Babylonians* were extreamly addicted to Sorcery, Inchantments, Astrology and Divinations, *Isa*. xlvii. 9, 12, 13. *Dan*. ii. 2, & v. 11. and to the worship of Idols, *Jer*. l. 2, 40. and to feasting, wine and women. *Nihil urbis ejus corruptius moribus*, *nec ad irritandas illiciendasque immodicas voluptates instructius*. *Liberos conjugesque cum hospitibus stupro coire*, *modo pretium flagitii detur*, *parentes maritique patiuntur*. *Convivales ludi tota Perside regibus purpuratisque cordi sunt: Babylonii maxime in vinum* & quæ ebrietatem sequuntur effusi sunt. *Fæminarum convivia ineuntium in principio modestus est habitus; dein summa quæque amicula exuunt*, *paulatimque* <329> *pudorem profanant: ad ultimum*, *honos auribus sit*, *ima corporum velamenta projiciunt*. *Nec meretricum hoc dedecus est*, *sed matronarum virginumque*, *apud quas comitas habetur vulgati corporis vilitas*. *Q. Curtius*, lib. v. cap. 1. And this lewdness of their women, coloured over with the name of civility, was encouraged even by their religion: for it was the custom for their women once in their life to sit in the Temple of *Venus* for the use of strangers; which Temple they called *Succoth Benoth*, the Temple of Women: and when any woman was once sat there, she was not to depart 'till some stranger threw money into her bosom, took her away and lay with her; and the money being for sacred uses, she was obliged to accept of it how little soever, and follow the stranger.

The *Persians* being conquered by the *Medes* about the middle of the Reign of *Zedekiah*, continued in subjection under them 'till the end of the Reign of *Darius* the *Mede*: and *Cyrus*, who was of the Royal Family of the *Persians*, might be *Satrapa* of *Persia*, and command a body of their forces under *Darius*; but was not yet an absolute and independant King: but after the taking of *Babylon*, when he had a victorious army at his devotion, and *Darius* was returned from *Babylon* into *Media*, he revolted from <330> *Darius*, in conjunction with the *Persians* under him; ^[54] they being incited thereunto by *Harpagus* a *Mede*, whom *Xenophon* calls *Artagerses* and *Atabazus*, and who had assisted *Cyrus* in conquering *Cræsus* and *Asia minor*, and had been injured by *Darius*. *Harpagus* was sent by *Darius* with an army against *Cyrus*, and in the midst of a battel revolted with part of the army to *Cyrus*: *Darius* got up a fresh army, and the next year the two armies fought again: this last battel was fought at *Pasargadæ* in *Persia*, according to ^[55] *Strabo*; and there *Darius* was beaten and taken Prisoner by *Cyrus*, and the Monarchy was by this victory translated to the *Persians*. The last King of the *Medes* is by *Xenophon* called *Cyaxares*, and by *Herodotus*, *Astyages* the father of *Mandane*: but these Kings were dead before, and *Daniel* lets us know that *Darius* was the true name of the last King, and *Herodotus*, ^[56] that the last King was conquered by *Cyrus* in the manner above described; and the *Darics* coined by the last King testify that his name was *Darius*.

This victory over *Darius* was about two years after the taking of *Babylon*: for the Reign of *Nabonnedus* the last King of the *Chaldees*, whom *Josephus* calls *Naboandel* and *Belshazzar*, ended in the year of *Nabonassar* 210, nine years be <331> fore the death of *Cyrus*, according to the Canon: but after the translation of the Kingdom of the *Medes* to the *Persians*, *Cyrus* Reigned only seven years, according to [57] *Xenophon*; and spending the seven winter months yearly at *Babylon*, the three spring months yearly at *Susa*, and the two

summer months at *Ecbatane*, he came the seventh time into *Persia*, and died there in the spring, and was buried at *Pasargadæ*. By the Canon and the common consent of all Chronologers, he died in the year of *Nabonassar* 219, and therefore conquered *Darius* in the year of *Nabonassar* 212, seventy and two years after the destruction of *Nineveh*, and beat him the first time in the year of *Nabonassar* 211, and revolted from him, and became King of the *Persians*, either the same year, or in the end of the year before. At his death he was seventy years old according to *Herodotus*, and therefore he was born in the year of *Nabonassar* 149, his mother *Mandane* being the sister of *Cyaxeres*, at that time a young man, and also the sister of *Amyite* the wife of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and his father *Cambyses* being of the old Royal Family of the *Persians*.

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[1] 2 King. xxiii. 29, &c.
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- [2] Eupolemus apud Euseb. Præp. l. 9. c. 39. 2 King. xxiv. 2, 7.
- [3] Dan. i. 1.
- [4] Dan. i. 2. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6.
- [5] Jer. xlvi. 2.
- [6] Apud Joseph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 11.
- [7] Beros. apud Joseph. Ant. l. 10. c. 11.
- [8] 2 King. xxiv. 12, 14. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10.
- [9] 2 Kings xxiv. 17. Ezek. xvii. 13, 16, 18.
- [10] Ezek. xvii. 15.
- [11] 2 King. xxv. 1, 2, 8. Jer. xxxii. 1, & xxxix 1, 2.
- [12] Canon. & Beros.
- [13] 2 King. xxv. 27.
- [14] Hieron, in Isa. xiv. 19.
- [15] 2 King. xxv. 27. 29, &c.
- [16] Dan. v. 2.
- [17] Jos. Ant. l. 10. c. 11.
- [18] Herod. l. 1. c. 184, 185.
- [19] Philost. in vita Apollonii. l. 1. c. 15.
- [20] Jos. cont. Apion. l. 1. c. 21.
- ^[21] Herod. l. 1. c. 189, 190, 191. Xenoph. l. 7. p. 190, 191, 192. Ed. Paris.
- [22] Dan. v. 30, 31. Joseph. Ant. l. 10. c. 11.
- [23] Æsch. Persæ v. 761.
- [24] Herod. l. 1. c. 107, 108. Xenophon Cyropæd. l. 1. p. 3.

- [25] Cyropæd. l. 1. p. 22.
- [26] Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 228, 229.
- [27] Herod. l. 1. c. 73.
- [28] Herod. l. 1. c. 106, 130.
- ^[29] Herod. l. 1. c. 103.
- [30] Herod. ib.
- [31] Jer. xxv.
- [32] Herod. l. 1. c. 73, 74.
- [33] Herod. Ibid. Plin. l. 2. c. 12.
- [34] *The* Scythians.
- [35] Jer. xxvii. 3, 6. Ezek. xxi. 19, 20 & xxv. 2, 8, 12.
- [36] Ezek. xxvi. 2. & xxix. 17, 19.
- [37] Ezek. xxix. 19. & xxx. 4, 5.
- [38] Suid. in Δαρεικός & Δαρεικούς. Harpocr. in Δαρεικός. Scoliast in Aristophanis. Εκκλησιαζουστον. v. 598.
- [39] Herod. l. 1. c. 71.
- [40] Isa. xiii. 17.
- [41] Plin. l. 33. c. 3.
- [42] Herod. l. 1. c. 94.
- [43] Theogn. Γνωμαι, v. 761.
- [44] Ibid. v. 773.
- [45] Cyrop. l. 8.
- [46] Comment. in Dan. v.
- [47] Strabo. l. 16. initio.
- [48] Strab. l. 16. p. 745.
- [49] Herod. l. 1. c. 192.
- ^[50] Herod. l. 1. c. 178, &c.
- ^[51] Isa. xxiii. 13.
- [52] Diod. l. 1. p. 51.

- [53] Herod. l. 1. c. 181.
- ^[54] Suidas in ἀρίσταρχος. Herod. l. 1. c. 123, &c.
- [55] Strabo. l. 15. p. 730.
- ^[56] Herod. l. 1. c. 127, &c.
- [57] Cyrop. l. 8. p. 233.