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A
VINDICATION
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
SEPTUAGINT
FROM THE

Misrepresentations

OF

The Learned SCALIGER, DUPIN, Dr. HODY,
Dr. PRIDEAUX, and other *modern Criticks*.

Magna est veritas, et prævalebet.

L O N D O N :

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T H E

P R E F A C E.



CONTROVERSY borders so near upon, and is so apt to degenerate into Strife and Contention, that it has always been my Opinion, That nothing but some very justifiable and powerful Motive ought to prevail upon any Man, to engage therein. And therefore, if the Reasons which I am now going to lay before the Reader, for the present Undertaking, shall be found to stand this Test; I flatter myself, that I shall want no other Recommendation to his Favour.

I own very freely, that I have none of the common Excuses to make upon this Occasion. I cannot say that I have been solicited, or even so much as encouraged by any Friend, either to write, or to publish these Remarks; I cannot pretend that any Copies of them, perfect or imperfect, had got Abroad, with or without my Knowledge: Neither can I alledge, that I was under any particular Obligation to engage

in this Controversy ; and much less, I hope, will it be imagined, that I could be moved thereto from the Prospect of any Advantage to myself. But the Truth of the Matter is this :

The Purport of the History of ARISTEAS is to inform us, at what Time, and by whose Means, the Jewish Scriptures were first translated out of Hebrew into Greek, with many other remarkable Circumstances relating thereto : The Book was certainly wrote many Years before the coming of our blessed Saviour ; and some of the greatest and most learned Writers of Antiquity have owned and cited it as the genuine Work of him whose Name it bears. But all this notwithstanding, so it has happen'd, that several very worthy and eminent Writers of late Years have not only pretended to doubt, but have even undertaken to demonstrate, that the true ARISTEAS could not be the Author of this History ; and consequently, that it is nothing but a spurious Piece, and forged on Purpose by some Alexandrian Jew, the better to gain Credit to that Version of the Holy Scriptures, which has since pass'd under the Name of the Septuagint. Now, as it would be neither generous nor just to deprive ARISTEAS of the Honour of such a Work, nor to condemn those great and excellent Writers of Weakness and Credulity, who have espoused it as genuine, without a fair and impartial Hearing and Examination into the Grounds of such Accusations ;

cusations ; I am willing to believe, that if I had no other View but only to discover on which Side the Truth lies, a farther and more particular Enquiry into this Matter would not be unacceptable to the Learned.

But this is not all: The Translation of the Septuagint was the only received Version of the Scriptures in the Days of our blessed Saviour ; and his Apostles, and their immediate Successors, made Use of the same, and of no other, in all the Churches which they planted ; neither did any of the succeeding Fathers, Confessors, and Martyrs of the Primitive Church, for Four hundred Years and upwards, acknowledge any other Translation of the Scriptures, as genuine and authentic, but only this. Nay, further ; Not only the first Christians, but all the Hellenistical Jews, in all Parts of the World, for near Three hundred Years before the Birth of Christ, and for a considerable Time after, owned and received the same Translation with the highest Marks of Approbation : Neither did any of their Doctors ever pretend to call the Truth of it in question, till they found, to their Shame and Confusion, that the first Christians clearly and unanswerably demonstrated from thence, that Jesus Christ was the promised Messiah ; and that all the Prophecies of the Old Testament pointed to, and were exactly fulfilled in his Divine Person. From this Time they began to look out for the most plausible Pretences that they could invent

to invalidate the Authority of this Version. They alledged that the Hebrew Text, which was then only in their own keeping, and which they could alter or translate as they pleased, was the only authentic WORD OF GOD; and thereupon they set several private Hands upon making such Translations from it, as they thought most consonant to their own mistaken Notions concerning the Promises that had been made to their Fathers; and then did all they could to obtrude such private and obscure Versions upon the World, in Opposition to the most solemn, the most publick, and the most authentic Translation that any Age could ever boast of. The Success, however, was many Hundreds of Years before it fully answered their Expectation. For, from the first planting of Christianity; to the late Revival of Learning in the West, the Septuagint always maintained its Credit and Authority, and was allowed the Preference to all other Versions in all the Churches of Christ. But for about Two hundred Years past, it must be owned, that many learned Men have chimed in with the Jews, and seem to think, that almost any of our modern Versions from the present Hebrew Copies are preferable to this most antient one of the Septuagint. But, finding that they could not with any Colour of Reason maintain this Position, if the History of ARISTEAS was allowed to be genuine, they have called in all the Aids of Criticism to their Assistance, in Hopes of being able, by such Means, to make it pass for a Forgery. Now, since it thus appears,

pears, that the Honour of ARISTEAS is not the only, nor the chief Thing at Stake, but that the Credit and Authority of this most antient Version of the Holy Scriptures, is openly and avowedly struck at through his Sides by the Generality of our modern Criticks; I thought it would not be Time ill-spent to look a little more narrowly into the State of this Controversy, so far as it relates to the said History. And when I had gone through what I had proposed, I was unwilling to depend altogether upon my own, and have therefore taken the Liberty to submit the whole to the Judgment of the Publick.

Besides several Literals, the READER is desired to correct the following *Errata*.

Page 2, l. 18 read *and had*. P. 4, l. 24 read *προσπεποιημένων*. P. 9, l. 37 read *omnino*. P. 12, l. 33 read *τῶν*. P. 19, l. 1 read *world*. P. 25, l. 30 read *πιστης*. P. 55, l. 10 read *Suppositions*. P. 74, l. 28 read *Lecttu*. P. 76, l. 16 read *Man*. P. 82, l. 5 andundry other Places, for *Bernice* read *Berenice*. P. 89, l. 31 dele the word *Stet*. P. 92, l. 27 read *Getæ*. P. 96, l. 23 read *have been made*. P. 98, l. 21 for *Μετες*, read *Ἔσπερ*, and for *μντηρα* read *Μητέρα*. L. 31 read *Word*. P. 112, l. 11 for *the former* read *Pyrrhus*. P. 113, l. 3 read *Lagida*. P. 121, l. 16 read *Vorstius*, P. 139, l. 31 read *Judaus*. L. 32 dele *. L. 35 dele *Seçt. 3*. P. 147, l. 21 for *equareti* read *equaret*. P. 148, l. 13 and 25 dele *thousand*. P. 150 l. 2 read *Ætolians*. P. 151, l. 1 for 102, &c. read 302, &c. P. 155, l. 25 read TAAANTOY.

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A
VINDICATION
O F
The History of *Aristeas*,
F R O M
The MISREPRESENTATIONS
O F
MODERN CRITICKS.



RISTEAS is the only antient Writer now extant, to whom we are indebted for the History of the Translation of the Holy Scriptures out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*. And the Account which he gives thereof is to this Effect; That this Version was made in the Reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, King of *Egypt*, and during the Time that *Eleazer* officiated as High Priest at *Jerusalem*; That *Ptolemy* having, by the Advice and Assistance of *Demetrius Phalerus*, a noble and learned *Albenian*, made a considerable Progress in erecting and furnishing a Royal Library at *Alexandria* with all the Books that could be any way procur'd, he was likewise persuaded by the same Person, to endeavour to get a Copy

B of

of the sacred Books of the *Jews*, and to have them translated into *Greek*, and repositèd therein; That upon this Motion, *Ptolemy* sent *Andreas* and this same *Aristeas*, two Noblemen of his Court, on a solemn Embassy to *Eleazar*, to demand an authentic Copy of the said Books, and Six able Persons out of each of the Twelve Tribes, to translate them into the *Greek* Language; That, the better to induce the High Priest to consent to this Request, he not only set at Liberty above an Hundred Thousand Captive *Jews*, and paid the Ransom for them out of his own Treasury, before the Ambassadors set out from *Egypt*; but likewise sent along with them many rich and costly Presents to the Chief Priests and Temple at *Jerusalem*; That, upon his Ambassador's Arrival in that City, they were well received by *Eleazar*, and the rest of the Priests and Rulers; had several Conferences with them upon the Subject Matter of their Embassy, and were also kindly instructed in many Points relating to the Nature and Design of those Books, and of the *Jewish* Polity; That a fair and beautiful Copy of the said Books was wrote out in *Hebrew*, and Seventy-two fit Persons chosen out of the Twelve Tribes to translate them into *Greek*, as was desir'd; That the Ambassadors return'd in a convenient Time with the said Books and Interpreters to *Alexandria*; That the King expressed the highest Satisfaction upon their Arrival, and appointed a proper Place, and all necessary Conveniences for them, in a small Island near the City, where they might retire, and proceed upon and finish the Business they came for; That in the Space of Seventy-two Days they went through the whole, and agreed unanimously upon the Translation which they had made; That the said Translation was first read to, and exceedingly approved of in, a full Assembly of
all

all the *Jews* then residing at *Alexandria*; That the same was afterwards presented to, and well received by the King, and by him ordered to be carefully repositèd in the Royal Library; That the said Interpreters having thus perform'd the Business they came for, were sent Home again with ample Recommendations, and loaded with Presents for themselves, as well as for the High Priest, and other chief Persons at *Jerusalem*; And lastly, That all this happen'd within the Time that King *Ptolemy* was married to his Sister *Arfinoe*, and while *Menedemus* the Philosopher resided at the *Egyptian* Court. Now, to confirm the Truth of this Account, we have the concurrent Testimonies of several other antient Writers; which therefore we shall, in the next Place, beg leave to lay before the Reader.

IN the first Chapter of the second Book of the *Maccabees* we read of one *Aristobulus* of the Stock of the anointed Priests; who in the 188th Year of the *Æra* of Contracts was the Head of the *Jews* at *Alexandria*; and who had been Preceptor to *Ptolemy Euergetes* the Second, the then reigning Prince in *Egypt*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* * and *Origen* † inform us, That one *Aristobulus* wrote certain Books of Commentaries on the Law of *Moses*, which he address'd to *Ptolemy Philometor*: And *Eusebius* ‖ expressly assures us, That the *Aristobulus* who wrote those Commentaries or Explanations upon *Moses*, was the self-same Person with the *Aristobulus* mention'd in the first Chapter of the second Book of the *Maccabees*; and that he address'd his Work to *Ptolemy Philometor* in the

* *Stromatum* l. 1. p. 342. Ed. Par. 1641.

† *Origines contra Celsum*. l. 4. p. 198. Ed. Cantabr. 1677.

‖ *Præpar. Evangel.* l. 8. c. 9. p. 375. Ed. Par. 1628. *Clemens Alexandrinus* says the same, *Strom.* 5. p. 595. only by an Error of the Transcribers *Φιλάδελφος* is put for *Φιλομητωρ*.

Third Year of his Reign * ; which was concurrent with the 135th Year of the Æra of Contracts ; and only about 70 Years after the Death of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. Now these Commentaries were still extant when *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Origen* and *Eusebius* wrote ; and the Account which *Aristobulus* therein gives to *Ptolemy Philometor*, in relation to the Translation of the Scriptures into *Greek*, agrees exactly with the foregoing Account of *Aristeas* : His Words, as I find them cited by *Clemens* and *Eusebius* †, are to this Effect ; “ It
 “ is evident, says *Aristobulus*, addressing himself
 “ to *Ptolemy Philometor*, That *Plato* had read our
 “ Law, and that he had diligently consider’d eve-
 “ ry Part thereof. For, before *Demetrius Phalere-*
 “ *us*, and even before *Alexander*, and the Empire
 “ of the *Persians*, others had given an Account
 “ of the *Israëlites* coming out of *Egypt* ; of the
 “ Miracles which God had wrought upon that
 “ Occasion ; and of their taking Possession of the

* In libro Posteriori Chronicorum ad Numerum 1841. et in Canone Græco, ad Num. Α Ω Μ.

† Πραξ. Evangel. l. 13. c. 12. p. 663. ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστοβέλου Βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ προσηρονημένων. This *Aristobulus* is distinguished by *Clemens Alex.* and *Eusebius* by *Aristobulus* the Peripatetic. And as such is quoted by *Euseb.* Præp. Evang. p. 323. 375. 663. and by *Clemens*, 342. 595.

Note, There is no Inconsistency in making *Aristobulus* in the *Maccabees*, and the *Aristobulus* who presented the Commentaries to *Ptolemy Philometor*, in the 3d Year of his Reign, to be the same Person. For, supposing him to be 85 Years old, when the Letter was wrote to him from *Jerusalem*, he might be born in the 103d Year of the Æra of Contracts ; he might write his Commentaries and present them to *Philometor* in the 135th Year of the same Æra, and the 32d of his Age ; about the Year 142, he might be appointed Preceptor to *Philometor*’s Brother, then about 12 Years old ; and in the Year 188, about 21 Years after this young Prince came to the Crown, and while both were as yet living, he might very well retain the old Title of being called *Ptolemy*’s Master ; i. e. The Preceptor to *Ptolemy Euergetes*, the second of that Name.

“ promised

The History of ARISTEAS. §

“ promised Land ; and also an Exposition of
“ the whole Law. So that it is evident, that
“ that great Philosopher borrow’d many Things
“ from our Books: For he was a Man of great
“ Reading, as was also *Pythagoras*, who borrow’d
“ many of his choicest Tenets from our Institu-
“ tions. But the whole and compleat Translation
“ of all whatsoever relates to our Law, was made
“ at the earnest Request of *Ptolemy*, surnamed
“ *Philadelphus*, one of your Royal Progenitors,
“ under the Care and Super-intendency of *Deme-
“ trius Phalereus*, to whom the ordering and con-
“ ducting the same was chiefly committed.

THE next that we shall produce as an Evidence in this Cause, is *Philo the Jew*; a Man born and bred in *Alexandria*, under all the Advantages of Birth and Fortune; and so great a Master of Philosophy and Eloquence, that it was said of him proverbially, ἢ φίλων Πλατωνίζει, ἢ Πλάτων φιλονίζει. It is upon good Grounds * affirm’d, that this extraordinary Person was born about the Year of *Rome* 723, and that he wrote most or all of his Pieces, about the Time that *Jesus Christ* was born, or at least many Years before he began to make his Appearance in publick, and to own himself to be the promised *Messiah* and Saviour of the World. Now the Account which this Writer gives of the Translation of the Holy Scriptures into *Greek*, is to this Purpose †; “ The Laws,
“ says he, were originally wrote in the *Chaldean*

* See Dr. *Allix's* Judgment of the antient *Jewish* Church against the *Unitarians*. Chap. 6. p. 78—80. Ed. Lond. 1699.

† *Philo de Vita Moſis*, l. 2. p. 657—660. Ed. Par. 1640.

Hic porro Vir in dicendo copioſus, in ſententiis locuples, in divinæ Scripturæ Intelligentiâ ſublimis atq; excelfus, variam ac multiplicem ſacrorum Voluminum expolitionem edidit. — Ejuſ ſcripta digna judicata ſunt, quæ *Roma* in Bibliothecis Publicis conſecrarentur. *Euseb. Hiſt. Eccl.* l. 2. c. 18. p. 58, 59. Ed. Par. 1659.

“ Language, and were preserved in that Tongue
 “ only, so long as other Nations were not ap-
 “ prized of their Value : But after they came to
 “ be better known by the more frequent Conver-
 “ sation and Intercourse between the *Jews* and
 “ other Nations, and that their Fame was there-
 “ by more and more proclaimed and spoken of
 “ every-where ; some, being concerned that they
 “ should have been so long confined to a small Part
 “ of Mankind, and that the *Greeks* knew so little
 “ of them, took care to have them translated
 “ into *Greek*, by skilful Interpreters. And be-
 “ cause it was a great and most useful Work, it
 “ was undertaken, not by private Persons, or
 “ by any petty Prince or Governor, but by
 “ the greatest and most famous King of his Time.
 “ This was *Ptolemy*, surnamed *Philadelphus*, the
 “ third King of *Egypt*, reckoning from *Alexander*
 “ the Great ; a Prince adorned with all Royal Vir-
 “ tues beyond all of that or any former Age ;
 “ and whose Glory and Renown, on Account of
 “ the many magnificent Structures which he erect-
 “ ed in several Cities and Countries, is to this
 “ Day so celebrated, that any great and noble
 “ Work, is from him called *Philadelphian*. As
 “ the Family of the *Ptolemies* in general out-shined
 “ all others ; so *Philadelphus* did no less surpass
 “ all the rest of his own House : For, he did as
 “ many praise-worthy Things as all the rest of his
 “ Family put together ; so that he excell’d all of
 “ his own Race, as much as the Head does the Body.
 “ Now this great and excellent Prince, being de-
 “ sirous of learning our Law, caused it to be tran-
 “ slated out of *Chaldee* into *Greek*, having sent Am-
 “ bassadors for that Purpose to the High Priest of
 “ the *Jews*, who then governed in that Nation with
 “ Supreme and Royal Authority. The High Priest
 “ being pleased with the Message, as it well became
 “ him to be, and believing that such a Thing
 “ could

“ could never have entered into the King’s Heart,
“ without the Interposition of Divine Providence,
“ gladly comply’d with his Request, and sent
“ him such a Number of Interpreters, as were re-
“ puted to be the most learned among the *Jews*,
“ and the best skill’d in the *Hebrew* and *Greek*
“ Languages. These Men, upon their Arrival
“ at *Alexandria*, gave the King great Satisfaction
“ by their wise and learned Discourses; and on
“ the other Hand they were not less pleas’d with
“ the kind and obliging Reception they met with
“ from him. He first tried them by proposing
“ to each certain uncommon Questions; which
“ they answer’d briefly and pertinently *extem-*
“ *pore*, because it was not a Place for long Dis-
“ courses. And when they had given the King
“ the Satisfaction which he required upon the se-
“ veral Questions that had been put to them, they
“ next set about the Work which they came for.
“ And as they considered with themselves, how
“ weighty an Affair it was to undertake to tran-
“ slate a Body of Laws, which had been given by
“ Divine Inspiration, and where it would be a
“ Crime to add or diminish any Thing, or to
“ transpose, or in any respect to depart from the
“ true and genuine Sense and Meaning of the
“ Words; they made it their Business in the first
“ Place, to look out for some fit and unpolluted
“ Place near the City, to which they might re-
“ tire. For within the Walls they liked no Place,
“ by reason that it was full of all Sorts of Ani-
“ mals, and not free from Diseases and dead Bo-
“ dies, but chiefly on Account of the vicious
“ Lives of the Citizens. Over-against *Alexandria*
“ there is a small Island call’d the *Pharos*, which
“ is joined to the City by a small Neck of Land,
“ and which is washed on all Sides, not by a
“ boisterous Sea, but by a shallow smooth Water.

“ This Place they pitch’d upon to retire to, as
 “ the fittest for their Purpose, and where nothing
 “ could interrupt or disturb them in their Medi-
 “ ations. Wherefore, taking the sacred Books in
 “ their Hands, and lifting them up to Heaven,
 “ they besought God that he would Bless their
 “ Undertaking: Then seating themselves in this
 “ Recess, and having no other Witnesses, but
 “ the Parts of Nature, the Earth, Air, Water,
 “ and the Heavens, the Mysteries of which they
 “ were then going to reveal, (for the Creation of
 “ the World is placed as an Introduction to the
 “ Law) they were seized, as it were, with a Di-
 “ vine Enthusiasm, and they prophesied, not one,
 “ one Thing, and another, another; but all and
 “ each of them the self-same Things, without so
 “ much as the difference of one Word; as if
 “ they had been severally guided by one and the
 “ same invisible Power. Now, who knows not
 “ the Copiousness of every Language, and especi-
 “ ally of the *Greek*; so that the same Sentence may
 “ be translated divers ways, by making Use some-
 “ times of some Words, and sometimes by using
 “ others of the same Import and Signification.
 “ But it is affirmed, that this was not the Case
 “ of these Interpreters, who all agreed in the
 “ very same Words of their Translation, as be-
 “ ing the most proper and significant, and the
 “ best adapted to express the true and genuine
 “ Sense and Meaning of the Original. For, as
 “ in Geometry and Logic, we always make Use
 “ of the same Words to express Things by,
 “ without any Change or Variety; so in this
 “ Translation, the Words which they have made
 “ Use of, are so well adapted to the Subject,
 “ that no other Words could have suited it so
 “ well. And this is confirmed by daily Expe-
 “ rience; for, whether a *Chaldean* learn the *Greek*
 Tongue,

“ Tongue, or a Greek the Chaldean, it is won-
“ derful to observe the exact Conformity between
“ the Scriptures in each of those Languages :
“ Yea, we even adore the Harmony and Agree-
“ ment between the one and the other, and look
“ upon the Persons who made this Version, not
“ barely as Translators, but as Persons chosen
“ and set apart by Divine Appointment, and
“ Prophets, to whom it was given to compre-
“ hend and express the Sense and Meaning of
“ *Moses* in the fullest and clearest Manner. And
“ therefore, to this Day there is a solemn Feast
“ kept every Year at *Alexandria*; when, not
“ only the *Jews*, but many others, go over to
“ the Island of *Pbaros*, to Worship in the Place
“ where this Translation was first made, and to
“ return God Thanks for so great a Benefit.

JOSEPHUS is the next that I shall mention; an Author of Royal Descent, and a Native of *Jerusalem*; an Historian, who has justly merited the glorious Character of being, of all Writers the most Industrious, and the greatest Lover of Truth *; and who has indeed acquired to himself a more lasting Fame, by his immortal Works, than if he had possessed and enjoyed the highest Titles and Dignities. In the 13th Year of *Domitian*, and 93d of our Lord, he finished his Books of the *Jewish Antiquities*; and a few Years after, he composed two more against *Apion*

* J. Scaligeri Prolegom. ad Opus de Emendatione Temporum, p. 16. Ed. Genev. 1629. Diligentissimus καὶ φιλαληθέστατος omnium Scriptorum *Josephus*.

Hic vir omnium tum temporis Judæorum præstantissimus fuit, non modo Popularium suorum, sed etiam Romanorum Judicio: adeo ut ipse quidem in Urbe Roma Statua donatus sit; libri vero ab eo conscripti in Bibliotheca Publica fuerint collectari—. Dignus omino cui fides adhibeatur. *Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 9.* Ed. Par. 1659.

a Grammarian of *Alexandria*; and in both of them, we meet with very full and ample Testimonies, as to the Genuineness of the History which we have now under Consideration. In the Introduction to his Antiquities, he excuses, or rather justifies his writing and publishing them in *Greek*, in this Manner; * “ I found, says he, that *Ptolemy* the Second, a Prince exceedingly addicted to the liberal Sciences, and a great Collector of Books, took no small Pains to get our Law and Constitution translated into *Greek*: And that *Eleazar*, who, for Virtue, was not inferior to any of our High Priests, did not refuse to comply with his Request; which he certainly would have done, if it had not been an old Custom with us, not to hide or conceal any Thing from others, which is in itself good and honest; and therefore, as there are many now, who, like that Prince, are desirous of learning our History, I thought it would become me likewise, after the Example of that magnanimous Priest, to write it in that Language which is now most generally known and understood”. In his second Book against *Apion* ||, he speaks yet more fully to our Purpose; for, after having taken Notice of the Honour done to the *Jews* by *Alexander* the Great, and the Privileges which *Ptolemy Soter* granted them at *Alexandria* and *Cyrene*, he subjoins; “ And after him, *Ptolemy*, surnamed *Philadelphus*, not only set all the captive *Jews* at Liberty, but also frequently gave them Money: And, which is the most remarkable, he had a great Desire to know our Laws, and to read our Scriptures: He therefore sent to desire that proper

* *Josephi Opera*. Ed. Ox. 1720. Vol. 1. p. 2.

|| *Josephi Opera*, Ed. Ox. 1720. Vol. 2. p. 1365.

“ Persons

“ Persons might be made choice of, and sent to
“ him, to interpret the Law; and to the End
“ that the Books might be carefully and correct-
“ ly copied, he committed the Care of the whole
“ Affair, not to such Persons as might offer them-
“ selves by chance; but to *Demetrius Phalereus*,
“ the most eminent Man of his Age for Learn-
“ ing; and to *Andreas* and *Aristeas*, two of the
“ most considerable Noblemen of his Court”.

But if these Testimonies are not sufficient to satisfy the Reader, he may turn over to the 2d Chapter of the 12th Book of his Antiquities; where he will find that *Josephus* was so far from having the least Doubt about the History of *Aristeas*, that he has there not only inserted an Abridgment thereof, but likewise refers to the History itself, as the genuine Work of him whose Name it bears, for a more full and particular Account of this great Transaction: Which is so full, so clear, and so undeniable a Confirmation of the Truth of the History, that I think I may very well be excused from quoting any more of the *Jewish* Writers upon this Head.

As for the Christian Writers of the first and purest Ages of the Church, it must be confess'd, that as none of them has undertaken to give us a compleat History of this Affair, so in the short and imperfect Accounts which we meet with here and there in their Writings relating thereto, they differ now and then in some Particulars from one another. Their Testimony, however, I take to be so material upon the Whole, that I hope I shall be excused; if I take the Liberty to quote some few Passages from three or four of the most considerable of them.

JUSTIN MARTYR flourished about the Middle of the second Century; he was train'd up in all the Learning of the Philosophers; but, what is infinitely more to his Honour, he became afterwards

wards one of the most illustrious Disciples of the Cross; infomuch that many Ages after he was dead and gone, an unexceptionable Judge * both of Men and Books, Characterizes him as a *Man that came little behind the Apostles themselves, either in Point of Time or Vertue.* Now the Account which this Writer gives us of the Translation of the Holy Scriptures into *Greek*, in one Place of his Writings †, is to this Effect: “ If any Man
 “ will say, that the Writings of *Moses* and the
 “ Prophets were first publish’d in *Greek*, he may
 “ certainly be inform’d from *Histories wrote even by*
 “ *Gentiles themselves*, that *Ptolemy King of Egypt*,
 “ having a Mind to erect a Library at *Alexan-*
 “ *dria*, caused Books to be brought thither from
 “ all Parts to fill it; and being informed, that
 “ the *Jews* kept with great Care antient Histo-
 “ ries written in *Hebrew*, and being desirous to
 “ know what they contain’d, sent to *Jerusalem*
 “ for Seventy learned Men, who understood the
 “ *Hebrew* and the *Greek* Languages, and order’d
 “ them to translate those Books; and to the End
 “ they might be the more quiet and free from
 “ Noise, and thereby be enabled the sooner to
 “ make this Translation, he caused to be built
 “ for them (not in the City, but) in the Island of
 “ *Pharos*, Seven Furlongs from *Alexandria*, as
 “ many little Houses as there were Interpreters,
 “ that each might there apart by himself make

* Mr. Reeves in a Preliminary Discourse to his excellent Translation of *Justin Martyr’s* Apology for the Christians (p. 8.) cites *Photius* (Cod. 234) as mentioning *Justin Martyr* with this most Honourable Character; *άνηρ έτε τῶ χρονω πόρρω των Αποστόλων, έτε τῆ άρετῆ.* And the Character that *Photius* gives of him elsewhere, (Cod. 125,) is this: *Est autem vir ille ad Philosophia tum Nostra, tum potissimum profana summum evectus fastigium, multiplicisq; Eruditionis, et Historiarum Copia circumfluens, &c.*

† In cohortatione ad Græcos, p. 13, 14. Ed. Par. 1615.

“ his

“ his Version. And he enjoined those, who ser-
“ ved them, to do them all Sorts of good Offi-
“ ces, but to prevent their conferring together,
“ that he might know by the Conformity of their
“ Versions, whether their Translation was true
“ and exact. And finding afterwards, that these
“ Seventy Persons did not only agree in the Sense,
“ but also in the same Terms, so that there was
“ not one Word in any one of their Versions,
“ which was not in all the other, but that they
“ all wrote Word for Word the same Expressions;
“ he was surpriz’d with Admiration; and not
“ doubting but that this Version was made by
“ the Spirit of God, he heaped Honours upon
“ the Interpreters, whom he considered as Men
“ holy and dear unto God, and sent them Home
“ loaden with Presents to their own Country.
“ And as to the Books, he received them with
“ that Veneration which was due to them, and
“ looking on them as Divine Books, he placed
“ them in his Library. These Things, which
“ we now relate unto you, O *Greeks!* are not
“ Fables or feigned Stories: For we ourselves
“ having been at *Alexandria*, did there see the
“ Ruins of those little Houses in the Island of
“ *Pbaros* then still remaining; and what we now
“ tell you of them, we had from the Inhabitants
“ of the Place who had received it from their
“ Fore-fathers by undoubted Tradition. All
“ which you may be also sufficiently informed of
“ by others; and more especially by those wise
“ and worthy Men, *Philo* and *Josephus*, who have
“ wrote the History thereof, as well as by many
“ others. But if any who are given to Contra-
“ diction, should object to us and say, *That those*
“ *Books do not belong to us, but to the Jews; be-*
“ *cause that to this Day they are carefully prefer-*
“ *ved in their Synagogues; and that we only vainly*
“ *boast*

“ *boast that our Religion is contained in them* : Let
 “ such Persons consult the Books themselves, and
 “ from the Things contained in them, they will
 “ quickly see, that we, and not the *Jews*, pro-
 “ fess and teach the Doctrines which they deliver.
 “ For, inasmuch as the Books of our Religion
 “ are still to this Day preserved by the *Jews*, it
 “ ought to be looked upon as a Thing so ordered
 “ by *Divine Providence* : For, to prevent all Ca-
 “ lumnies and evil Surmises, as if we had forged
 “ or corrupted the Books to which we appeal for
 “ the Truth of our Religion, we produce and ap-
 “ peal to those very Books, which the *Jews*
 “ themselves, to this Day, keep and make Use
 “ of in their Synagogues.

AND in another Place *, and upon another
 Occasion, he writes thus : “ There were of old,
 “ among the *Jews*, certain Prophets of God,
 “ who, by the Spirit of Prophecy foretold many
 “ Things long before they came to pass ; which
 “ Prophecies, being committed to Writing by
 “ the Prophets themselves in the *Hebrew* Tongue
 “ then vulgarly spoken, the Kings that then
 “ reigned in *Judea* caused to be carefully pre-
 “ served. But when *Ptolemy*, King of *Egypt*,
 “ was setting up his Library, and was very in-
 “ quisitive about the most curious Collection of
 “ all Sorts of Books, being informed of these
 “ prophetic Writings, he sent to the High Priest
 “ † of the *Jews*, who was at that Time invested
 “ with

* Apol. 2. pro Christianis, p. 72.

† I translate this Passage according to the Emendation of the late learned and worthy Dr. *Grabe*; who, in the room of the Word *Ἡρώδης*, in the Original, substitutes the Word *ἱερεῖς*; which most assuredly was the original Reading. Since it cannot be thought that *Justin Martyr*, who appeals to *Philo* and *Josephus* for the Truth of this Story, could be so ignorant, or so forgetful, as to insinuate that this Translation was not made till the

“ with the Regal Power, to request of him a
 “ Copy of these Prophecies. Whereupon the
 “ High Priest sent them unto him written in the
 “ Hebrew Language. But the Contents of them
 “ being not intelligible to the *Egyptians* in that
 “ Tongue, he sent a second Message to desire
 “ him to send him Interpreters to translate them
 “ into the Greek Language. Which being done,
 “ these Books thus translated, are still in Being
 “ among the *Egyptians* even to this Day; and
 “ Copies of them are now likewise in the Hands
 “ of the *Jews* every where; which though they
 “ read, they do not understand, but blindly take
 “ Christians for their Enemies, and whenever it
 “ is in their Power, treat us as cruelly as you do.

IRENEUS was early instructed in the Christian Faith, by *Papias* and *St. Polycarp*, two of the beloved Apostle's Disciples; he succeeding *St. Potbin* in the Metropolitan See of the *Gauls*; and whether we consider him as a meek, humble and holy Teacher, turning many unto Righteousness, or as a well-appointed and invincible Champion, triumphing over Heresy and Error, his Memory will always be precious to, and his Authority of great Weight with all sincere Christi-

the Days of *Herod*. Nor is the Objection, which others make to this Emendation, of any Force; as if he had meant *Herod* and not the High Priest; because of the Word *Βασιλεύοντι*; for we read in *Eusebius*, that from the *Babylonish*

Captivity to the Time that *Pompey* took *Jerusalem*, the High Priests were invested with the *Hist. Eccl. l. 1. c. 6. p. 19.*

Regal as well as Sacerdotal Power; *Reversi de- tum e Babylonia, Optimatum imperio et paucorum dominatu deinceps uti capere. Rerum enim summa penes Pontifices erat; donec Pompeius Hierosolymam Exrughnavit.* Then it follows: τὸν δὲ ἐκ προγόνων διαδοχῆς εἰς ἐκεῖνο τῷ καιρῷ διαρκέσαντα

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ τε ὁμῶ καὶ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑ, Ἀριστόβουλος ὄνομα ἦν αὐτῷ. δίσμιεν ἐπὶ Ρώμην ἅμα τέκνοις ἐκπεμψας. Ὑπεκάνω μὲν τῷ τούτῳ ἀδελφῷ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην παραδίδοσι.

ans.

ans. His five Books against the Heresies of the *Valentinians* and other *Gnosticks*, are justly supposed to have been wrote about the Year of our Lord 190: And the Account which he gives in them* of the Translation of the Holy Scriptures into *Greek*, and of the Authority of the Version of the *Septuagint*, is this; “ Before the *Romans* “ came to be Masters of the World, and while “ as yet the *Macedonians* were in Possession of “ *Asia*, *Ptolemy* the — of *Lagus*, being intent upon “ adorning the Library which he had erected at “ *Alexandria*, with all Sorts of valuable Books, “ requested the *Jews* to let him have their Books “ translated into *Greek*. They therefore, being “ then still subject to the *Macedonians*, sent Se- “ venty of their Nation, who were accounted the “ most skilful in the Holy Scriptures, and in the “ two Languages, to do what he desired of “ them. But the King, fearing that if they were “ permitted to sit all together, they might “ agree to impose a false Translation upon him, “ and being therefore desirous to make a thorough “ Trial of their Skill and Fidelity, he separated “ them from one another, and commanded each “ of them to translate all the Books of Scrip- “ ture apart: And when afterwards they met “ together in his Presence, and compared their “ Translations with one another, God was glo- “ rified, and the Scriptures were believed to be “ truly Divine; every one of the Translations “ being found to agree with all the rest in all “ Things, without any manner of Variation, ei- “ ther in the Sense or in the Words, from the “ Beginning to the End; so that by this Means

* *Contra Hæreses* l. 3. c. 21. Ed. Paris 1710. *Lactantius* quotes the same Passage in his *Ecclesiastical History*, l. 5. c. 8. p. 173. 174.

* all the Gentiles who were then present, might
“ be convinced that this Translation was made
“ by the Inspiration of God. Neither is it at
“ all to be wondered, that God should thus
“ miraculously guide and direct them in this
“ Work ; since we read that after the Se-
“ venty Years Captivity in *Babylon*, God by
“ his Holy Spirit assisted and enabled *Esdra*s to
“ digest all the Writings of the old Prophets,
“ and to restore the Law of *Moses* to its origi-
“ nal Purity — Now, seeing this Translation
“ of the Holy Scriptures was made long before
“ our Lord came down from Heaven ; and be-
“ fore the Name of a Christian was ever heard
“ of ; they must be very *bold* indeed, and *lost to*
“ *all Sense of Shame*, who would now translate
“ the Scriptures another way, because they find
“ that out of these we can undeniably prove, that
“ the Son of God is already come into the
“ World. For, the Faith which we profess,
“ must be well grounded, and the only true one,
“ and not forged ; since we can so evidently prove
“ it out of those Scriptures, which have been
“ translated in the Manner that we have menti-
“ oned, and which the Church has always re-
“ ceived without any Variation. For, from the
“ Beginning of Christianity, the Apostles have
“ agreed with, and confirm this Translation ;
“ and the Translation is agreeable and consonant
“ to the Tradition of the Apostles. For *Peter*,
“ and *John*, and *Matthew*, and *Paul*, and all
“ the rest, and all their Followers, quote all
“ the Prophecies just as they stand now in the
“ *Septuagint*.

THE next that appeared early in Defence of
the Christian Cause, was *Tertullian* ; a Man who
employ'd all the Treasures of Wit, Eloquence
and Learning, in the Service of our most excel-

lent Religion ; and whose Writings will never perish, but in the last Catastrophe of the World itself. About the Year of our Lord 200, he wrote that celebrated Piece, intituled, *An Apologetick (for the Christians) against the Gentiles* ; and therein he gives this Account of the Translation of the *Hebrew Scriptures into Greek* * :

“ But in order to bring Men to a more perfect
 “ and powerful Knowledge of the Divine Na-
 “ ture, and also of the Methods of his Wisdom,
 “ and the Laws of his Will, GOD has added
 “ to the Light of Nature, an Instrument in
 “ Writing, for the Instruction of those who are
 “ willing to be at the Pains of enquiring after
 “ him, and desirous to find him in their Enqui-
 “ ries, and to believe him when found, and serve
 “ him when believed. For in all Ages from the
 “ Beginning, he made Choice of the most emi-
 “ nent Persons for Justice and Innocence, and
 “ endued them with Divine Power and Autho-
 “ rity, to declare and make known to the World,
 “ that there is but one only GOD ; that it is he
 “ who created all Things, and formed Man out
 “ of the Earth ; (for he, indeed, is the true
 “ *Prometheus*) who hath wisely appointed Times
 “ and Seasons for all Things, from the Begin-
 “ ning to the End ; who hath shewn himself to
 “ be the Sovereign Avenger of all Wickedness,
 “ by bringing a Deluge of Water upon the Earth,
 “ and by raining Fire and Brimstone from Hea-
 “ ven ; who has expressly declared how, and by
 “ what Means he will be worshipp’d and aton’d,
 “ and what Rewards he will bestow upon those
 “ that conform thereto ; though you are either
 “ ignorant thereof, or wilfully forsake the same ;
 “ and finally, who will come at the last Day,

* Apologetic. adversus Gentes, c. 18. p. 17, 18. Ed. Par. 1675.

“ and

“ and raise the Dead, and judge the Word, and
“ crown the Righteous with a glorious Immorta-
“ lity, and condemn the Wicked to Everlast-
“ ing Fire. These Things were once the Subject
“ of our Wit, and Ridicule, as they are now of
“ yours: We have been Heathens, as you are;
“ for Men are not born, but made Christians.
“ As to those excellent Personages I mentioned,
“ and who were so extraordinarily assisted, they
“ were called *Prophets*, from their Office of fore-
“ telling Things to come. The Oracles which
“ they delivered, and the Miracles which they
“ wrought, in Confirmation of their divine Missi-
“ on, were consign’d to Writing; and the Books
“ in which they are treasured up, have been, and
“ are still carefully preserved to this Day; nor
“ are they now at this Time kept secret or hid
“ from us. For the most learned of the *Pto-*
“ *lemies*, surnamed *Philadelphus*, and the most
“ curious Man living, in all Sorts of Literature,
“ being minded, as I suppose, to rival *Pisistratus*
“ in the Glories of a Library, among other choice
“ Pieces, fam’d either for their Antiquity, or the
“ Rarities they contained, by the Advice of *De-*
“ *metrius Phalereus*, the most accomplish’d Scho-
“ lar of his Time, sent to the *Jews* for their sa-
“ cred Writings in their own Mother Tongue,
“ and which were in their Hands alone; for the
“ Prophets were raised up out of this Nation,
“ and the Prophecies addressed to them, as a pe-
“ culiar People, and chosen of God out of re-
“ spect to their Fore-fathers. Those who are
“ now called *Jews* went heretofore by the Name
“ of *Hebrews*, and therefore both the Letters and
“ the Language in which those Books were writ-
“ ten, were *Hebrew*. But to the End that the
“ Knowledge of them might be no longer con-
“ cealed, the *Jews* gratified the King in his Re-

“ quest, and sent him Seventy-two Interpreters
 “ to translate them into *Greek*; which is likewise
 “ attested by *Menedemus* the famous Asserter of
 “ Providence, who greatly admired those Men,
 “ on Account of the Conformity of their Noti-
 “ ons with his own. We have likewise the Testi-
 “ mony of *Aristeas* for the Truth of this, who
 “ composed a Book in *Greek* upon the same Sub-
 “ ject. And in *Ptolemy's* Library, near the
 “ Temple of *Serapis*, among other Curiosities,
 “ the *Hebrew*, Copy from which this Translation
 “ was made, is shewn to this Day. And besides
 “ all this, the *Jews* frequently and publickly on
 “ every Sabbath Day read this Translation; they
 “ are tolerated to do it, and pay a Tax for the
 “ Toleration. Whoever hears them, will find
 “ the Worship of one GOD; and whoever will
 “ be at the Pains to understand them, will find
 “ himself necessitated to believe them.

COTEMPORARY with *Tertullian* flourished *Cle-
 mens Alexandrinus*; a Man of singular Virtue and
 extensive Knowledge; and highly celebrated by
Theodorit *, *St. Jerom* †, *St. Maximus* ††, *St. Cyril*
 of *Alexandria* ‡, and other ancient Writers. The
 Account which he gives us of this Translation
 differs little or nothing from those already menti-
 oned. “ It is reported, says he §, that the Holy
 “ Scriptures, consisting of the Books of the Law

* *Theodorit* calls him *ἱερός ἀνὴρ, καὶ πολυπειρία ἀπαντας ἀπολιπῶν*. L. 1. de Hæret. fab. c. 1.

† According to *St. Jerom*, he is *omnium Eruditissimus*. Epist. 84. ad Magnum.

‡ *St. Maximus* styles him *φιλόσοφος τῶν φιλοσόφων*. Diss. cum Pyrrho. p. 774.

§ *St. Cyril* of *Alexandria*, calls him *ἀνδρα ἐλλόγιμον καὶ εἰλομαθῆ, καὶ ἀναγνωσμάτων ἑλληνικῶν πολυπραγμονήσαντα καθος, ὡς ὀλίγοι ταχὰ πρὸ αὐτοῦ*. L. 7. in *Julian*. p. 231.

§ *Strom.* l. 1. p. 341, 342.

“ and of the Prophets, were translated out of He-
“ brew into Greek, in the Reign of *Ptolemy* the
“ Son of *Lagus*; or, as others say, in the Reign
“ of *Ptolemy*, surnamed *Philadelphus*; and that
“ *Demetrius Phalereus* took great Pains in the
“ Affair, and did all that he possibly could to get
“ them accurately translated. For, while as yet
“ the *Macedonians* were in Possession of *Asia*, the
“ King took great Pains to adorn his Library at
“ *Alexandria*, with all Sorts of Books; and there-
“ fore was desirous that the *Jews* who dwelt in
“ *Jerusalem*, should translate the Prophecies,
“ which they kept in their Archives, into the
“ Greek Language. They therefore, being still
“ subject to the *Macedonians*, sent to him Seventy
“ of the most Honourable of their Elders, such
“ as were best skill’d in the Scriptures, and the
“ most expert in the *Greek* Tongue, together with
“ the sacred Books. And when they had each
“ of them apart translated all the Prophecies,
“ upon comparing them together, it was found
“ that they all agreed exactly with one another,
“ both in the Sense and in the very Words. For
“ such was the Will of God, who was pleased
“ to take this Method, to provide an accurate
“ Translation of the Holy Scriptures for the In-
“ struction of the *Greeks*. Neither was it at all
“ unbecoming of the Wisdom of God, that he,
“ who at first inspired the Prophets, should now
“ by the same Spirit guide the Interpreters, and
“ enable them to make a Translation in all Points
“ the same, as if the first Writers themselves
“ had publish’d their own Prophecies in the *Greek*
“ Tongue. For we read likewise, that, upon
“ the Scriptures being corrupted, during the *Ba-*
“ *bylonish* Captivity, *Esdra*s did, by Divine Inspi-
“ ration, correct and restore them again to their
“ original Purity.

EUSEBIUS is an Author so well known, and in such high Esteem, and has given the World such convincing Proofs of his consummate Knowledge in the History and Antiquities of the *Jews, Greeks, Egyptians* and *Phenicians*, that his Testimony alone, one would think, should be sufficient, at this distance of Time; and after the Loss of so many antient Records which he had the Perusal of, to establish the Credit and Authority of any antient Author against the combin'd Forces of all our *Modern Criticks* put together. He was made Bishop of *Cesarea* about the Year of our Lord 315, and much about the same Time he wrote that incomparable Work of his *de præparatione Evangelica* *; which, being intended as an Apparatus or Introduction to his Demonstration of the Truth of the Christian Religion, one of the great Points which he therein labours to prove, is, *That the Books of the Old Testament, out of which the Christians prove the Truth of their Religion, were translated into Greek long before the coming of our Saviour.* And so thoroughly was he satisfied of the History of *Aristeas* being wrote at the Time it pretends to, and by the Person whose Name it bears, that he has not only inserted an Epitome thereof into that Work in the very Words of the Author himself, but does rest the Proof of that important Article intirely upon his single Testimony and Authority. His Words are these †;

“ For when that happy Time was drawing near,
 “ when the glad Tidings of Salvation were to be
 “ preached to all Nations far and near, under
 “ the *Roman Emperors*; and consequently that
 “ it became necessary that the Prophecies concern-
 “ ing Christ, which for many Ages had been hid

* Tillemont. Mem. Eccl. Tom. 7. p. 1. Ed. Brux.

† *Euseb. Præp. Evang.* l. 8. c. 1. p. 349—355. 370—375.

“ from

“ from the rest of the World, and were lock’d up
“ in the *Hebrew* Tongue, should be published
“ and made known to all other Nations who were
“ ordained to be called to the Knowledge of the
“ Truth ; GOD, who is the Author of all good
“ Things, and who sees all Things before they
“ come to pass, was pleased, by a peculiar Act
“ of his Providence, to take Care that the Pro-
“ phesies relating to the great Author and Foun-
“ der of our Religion, should be accurately tran-
“ slated and repositied in publick Libraries, for
“ the Benefit and Perusal of all Mankind. For
“ which Reason, he put it into the Heart of King
“ *Ptolemy* to cause the sacred Books of the *Jews*
“ to be translated into *Greek*, to the End that
“ from his Store, all other Nations and People
“ might be furnish’d with them likewise. For,
“ as on the one Hand, the *Jews* would never
“ have consented to have their sacred Books com-
“ municated to us ; so on the other, Divine Pro-
“ vidence took Care by this Means to give us a
“ Translation of them ; and that by the Care
“ and Labour of such Persons as were in the
“ greatest Esteem with the *Jews* themselves for
“ their Wisdom and Learning in the *Hebrew*
“ Tongue. And to this *Aristeas* bears Witness ;
“ a Man not only of the first Rank for Learn-
“ ing, but one likewise who was in great Credit
“ with *Ptolemy*, surnamed *Philadelphus*, and was
“ an Eye-witness to the whole Affair. For, in
“ his Reign, yea by his especial Care, the sacred
“ Books of the *Jews* were translated into *Greek*,
“ and placed in his Libraries at *Alexandria*. But
“ let us hear *Aristeas* himself relating this whole
“ Affair, in his own Words — .

ST. CYRIL, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, lived at
a Time when the *Arian Heresy* met with great
Countenance and Encouragement, not only at the

Imperial Court, but even from many of the Bishops themselves. But neither the Influence of the Emperor nor the Example of the others could ever prevail upon this Apostolic Man to prefer the Subtilty of human Wisdom before the Simplicity of the Gospel of Christ. About the Year 347 * wrote those excellent Cataphetical Discourses wherein he explains, in a Manner adapted to the Capacities, the chief Articles of the Christian Faith: And to the End that his Hearers might be the better, and more firmly grounded and strengthened therein, he earnestly recommends the Study of the Holy Scriptures to them, in the Words †: “ Read the Scriptures, says he
 “ that is, read the Twenty-two Books of the
 “ Old Testament, which the Seventy-two Interpreters translated into *Greek*. For, when after the Death of *Alexander* the Great, his Empire was divided into the *Babylonian*, the *Macedonian*, the *Asian*, and the *Egyptian*; *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, one of those that reigned in *Egypt*, a most learned Prince, and a great Collector of Books, being informed by *Demetrius Phalereus* (by whose Advice he was governed in all Things relating to his Library of the Books of the Law and of the Prophets) and thinking it much better to apply for them in a friendly way, rather than by Force; and knowing that what is obtained by Force might be corrupted, or negligently complied with; but what is gotten willingly and upon Deliberation, might be depended upon as true and authentic; he sent many Presents for the Temple at *Jerusalem*, and prevail’d upon *Eleazar*, who was at that Time the High Priest, to send

* Tillemont. Mem. Eccl. Tom. 8. p. 2. p. 714.

† S. Cyrilli Opera. Catech. 4. §. 20, 21. pag. 64, 65. Ed. Ox. 1703.

“ him Six Persons out of each of the Twelve
“ Tribes, to translate them into *Greek*. And
“ then next, that he might make Trial whether
“ the said Books were really divinely inspired or
“ not; and taking all possible Care that they
“ should not confer with one another, he appointed
“ to each of them a separate House in the
“ Island called *Pbaros*, near *Alexandria*, and com-
“ manded each of them to translate all the Scrip-
“ tures apart. And after they had finished their
“ several Translations in the Space of Seventy-two
“ Days, in different Houses, and without confer-
“ ring at all with one another; he called them all
“ together, and found that all their Translations
“ agreed, not only in Sense, but even Word for
“ Word with one another. For this Work
“ was not performed by their Skill in Philology,
“ or by any other human Means; but the Holy
“ Spirit, who inspired the Prophets of old, as-
“ sisted and enabled them to make this Transla-
“ tion.

I might next produce the Testimonies of St. *Epiphanius*, and even of St. *Jerom* himself in Be- half of the History of *Aristeas*. For the latter, in his Preface to the *Pentateuch* *, tells us, “ That
“ he could not imagine who first invented the
“ Story of the Cells at *Alexandria*, since neither
“ *Aristeas*, who was one of the chief Men in
“ King *Ptolemy*’s Guards (*ejusdem Ptolemæi ὑπερασ-
“ τῆς*) nor *Josephus*, who wrote long after him,
“ make mention of any such Thing”. From
which Words it appears, that whatever Doubts
he might have about the Cells, yet, that nei-
ther he himself, nor any Body else, had as yet
questioned the Truth of the History of *Aristeas*.
And as for *Epiphanius* †, who was born in Pa-

* Epist. 104. Ed. Antwerp.

† Tillemont. Mem. Eccl. Tom. 10. p. 2. p. 322, 349.

lestine, and had lived many Years in *Egypt*; who was made Bishop of *Salamine* in *Cyprus* about the Year 367, and wrote his Book *de Ponderibus et Mensuris*, about the Year 392, Seven Years after *St. Jerom* had made him a Visit in his way Home from *Rome* to the *East*. He likewise not only expressly mentions this Treatise of *Aristeas* *, and appeals to the same for the Truth of some Things relating to the Translation of the *Septuagint*; but likewise mentions several other Particulars, for which he owns he had no other Authority but Hear-say and Tradition: Which being no ways material to the Point before us, we shall take no further Notice of them in this Place.

THE last, tho' not the least considerable Evidence that I shall produce in this Cause, shall be the great *St. Austin*; the most learned Man, and the foundest Divine that the *Western Churches* have to boast of. He was made Bishop of *Hippa* in *Numidia* in the Year 395 †; and being informed that *St. Jerom* had Thoughts of translating the Holy Scriptures out of *Hebrew* into *Latin*, he wrote a Letter to him, intreating him, in the Name of all the *African Churches*, to apply himself to the making of a new Translation of the Scriptures into *Latin* from the *Septuagint*, rather than to attempt to translate them into *Latin* directly from the *Hebrew* ‡. Whether this Letter came to his Hands before he began upon this Work, is uncertain; but we know assuredly, that he went on with and finished his Translation from the *Hebrew* as he proposed; which being looked upon as done with an Intention to derogate from the Authority of the *Septuagint*, met with great Opposition from several

* *De Mensuris et Ponderibus*, §. 3. Tom. 2. Ed. Par.

† *Histoire Ecclesiastique* par M. *Fleury*, Tom. 5. l. 20. p. 37. Ed. Par.

‡ *Idem*, l. 21. p. 191.

eminent Divines, and particularly from St. *Austin*, who would never suffer it to be read in his Diocese *. This great Man afterwards wrote that incomparable Work of his *de Civitate Dei*, between the Years 413 and 426 † : And the Account which he therein gives of the Version of the *Septuagint*, as well as of this which was made by St. *Jerom*, is so pertinent to our Purpose, that tho' it be somewhat prolix, I cannot forbear inserting it here at length. “ These sacred Writings, “ says he ‡ , meaning the Books of the Old “ Testament, *Ptolemy*, one of the Kings of *Egypt*, “ was very desirous to read, and to have in his “ own Possession. For, when upon the Death of “ *Alexander* the Great, who had conquered all “ *Asia*, and even almost the whole World, the “ great Men that accompanied him, divided his “ vast Empire among themselves ; the Kingdom “ of *Egypt* fell to the Share of the *Ptolemies*. “ The first of whom, called *Ptolemy* the Son of “ *Lagus*, carried many of the *Jews* captive into “ *Egypt*. The next that succeeded him, was “ *Ptolemy* surnamed *Philadelphus*, who set all those “ *Jews* at Liberty, whom his Father had carried “ away into Captivity ; and moreover sent many “ magnificent Presents to the Temple of God “ at *Jerusalem*, requesting of *Eleazar*, who was “ then High Priest, to send him a Copy of those “ Scriptures, which he had heard were wrote by “ Inspiration ; and which therefore he greatly de- “ sired to have, to place in that noble Library which “ he was then erecting at *Alexandria*. Now, after “ that the High Priest had sent him those Books “ in *Hebrew*, he further desired to have some In- “ terpreters sent him ; whereupon the same High

* *Walton's Prolegom.* 5. §. 5.

† *Histoire Eccl. de Fleury.* Tom. 5. l. 23. p. 385, 386, &c.

‡ *De Civitate Dei*, lib. 18. c. 42, & 43.

“ Priest sent him Seventy-two; that is, out of
 “ each of the Twelve Tribes, Six of the most
 “ skilful in both Languages, whose Translation
 “ is now commonly called the *Septuagint*. We are
 “ inform’d indeed by Tradition, that there was
 “ such a wonderful, amazing, and most divine
 “ Harmony and Agreement in the very Word
 “ which they made use of, that, although each of
 “ them translated all the Books apart by himself
 “ (for so it pleased the King to make Trial of
 “ their Fidelity) yet that when they came to be
 “ compared, they neither differed from one ano-
 “ ther in any one Word, nor in the ordering and
 “ placing of them: But as if all their several
 “ Translations had been the Work of one and
 “ the same Interpreter, they all perfectly agreed
 “ in one and the same Translation, because they
 “ were all really and truly guided and assisted
 “ therein, by one and the same Divine Spirit.
 “ And God was therefore pleased thus miracu-
 “ lously to assist and enable them to make this
 “ Translation of the Holy Scriptures, not only
 “ for the fuller Manifestation of their divine Ori-
 “ ginal and Authority, but also to the End that
 “ so authentic a Translation of them might be
 “ made Use of afterwards by the Believing Gen-
 “ tiles, as we see it is at this Day. For, although
 “ several others have since translated the Holy
 “ Scriptures out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*, such as
 “ *Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion*, and the unknown
 “ Author of that Translation, which is commonly
 “ called the *Fifth Edition*; yet nevertheless, the
 “ Church receives and acknowledges none other
 “ as authentic, but only this of the *Septuagint*;
 “ insomuch that most of the Christians of the
 “ *Greek Church* scarcely know whether there be
 “ any other Translation or not. And from this
 “ Translation of the *Septuagint*, was that Version
 “ made

“ made into the *Latin* Tongue, which all the
“ *Latin* Churches make Use of. And although
“ in our Days, *Jerom* the Presbyter, a most learn-
“ ed Man, and well versed in all the three Lan-
“ guages, has translated the Scriptures into *Latin*,
“ not from the *Greek*, but from the *Hebrew*; and
“ although the *Jews* acknowledge that these his
“ learned Labours are very exact; and more-
“ over accuse the *Septuagint* of many Errors; yet
“ nevertheless, the Churches of Christ still believe,
“ that no one Man’s Labours ought to be preferred
“ to the Authority of the *Septuagint*, which was
“ made in so solemn a Manner, and by so great
“ a Number of able Men especially appointed by
“ *Eleazar* for that Purpose. For, even upon
“ the Supposition, that there might be some
“ Doubt as to the miraculous Gifts which they
“ were endued with, yet, if it should be only
“ granted, that Seventy learned Men might meet
“ and confer together, as others do upon the like
“ Occasions, and that they should all agree upon
“ one and the same Translation; no one Man’s
“ Work, surely, after that, would deserve to be
“ preferred to the joint and unanimous Transla-
“ tion of so many. But since the Spirit of God
“ was pleased to manifest himself in so wonderful
“ a manner in those Men, we must certainly con-
“ clude, that all Translations whatsoever from
“ the *Hebrew*, must, if true, agree exactly with
“ the *Septuagint*: Or if they do not, we must
“ believe that the Spirit of Prophecy itself made
“ the Difference. For the self-same Spirit which
“ inspired the Prophets when they wrote, was
“ likewise in the Seventy Interpreters, when they
“ translated the Scriptures. And while they were
“ under such a Divine Power and Influence, no-
“ thing hindered but that they might either tran-
“ slate the Words literally, or alter, or add to,

“ or diminish from them, as the Spirit, by which
 “ they were guided, thought fit. And besides
 “ this shewed demonstrably, that they were no
 “ servilely tied down to the Letter, as common
 “ Interpreters are, but that they were filled with
 “ and infallibly guided by the same Spirit which
 “ spoke in the Prophets before them. Some in
 “ deed have thought that the *Greek Copies* of
 “ the *Septuagint* might be corrected by the *He-*
 “ *brew*: But yet, they did not dare to leave out
 “ what the *Hebrew* had not, and the *Septuagint*
 “ had; but only added what they found in the
 “ *Hebrew*, and the *Septuagint* had not; distin-
 “ guishing such Additions at the Beginning of
 “ each Verse, by certain Marks, which they
 “ called *Asterisks*. And those Things which
 “ were not in the *Hebrew*, but which the *Septua-*
 “ *gint* had, they likewise distinguished by cer-
 “ tain Marks called *Obelisks*: And many *Greek*
 “ as well as *Latin Copies* so distinguished, are
 “ every where to be met with to this Day. But
 “ such Things as are neither omitted nor added,
 “ but which differ only sometimes in Words, and
 “ sometimes in the Sense; they are to be found
 “ no otherwise but by comparing of one Copy
 “ with the other. Now therefore, if we would
 “ act as becomes us, and look for nothing in the
 “ Scriptures, but what the Spirit of God has de-
 “ clared by the Ministry of Men, we ought to
 “ conclude that whatever is in the *Hebrew* and not
 “ in the *Septuagint*, the Spirit of God would
 “ not reveal the same to the Seventy, but only
 “ to the old Prophets; and that whatever is in
 “ the *Septuagint*, and not in the *Hebrew*, the same
 “ Spirit chose rather to reveal to the Seventy
 “ than to them; thus shewing that these, as well
 “ as those, were divinely inspired. For thus the
 “ same Spirit has been pleased to reveal some
 “ Things

“ Things to *Isaiab*, and others to *Jeremiab* ; and
“ sometimes the same Thing to several Prophets ;
“ and at other times the same Thing in a diffe-
“ rent Manner to one and the same Prophet.
“ And therefore whatever is found pure and in-
“ corrupt either in the *Hebrew* or the *Septuagint*,
“ we must ascribe to one and the same Spirit ;
“ with this Difference only, that the sacred Pen-
“ men of the *Hebrew* Scriptures wrote first in
“ point of Time, and as Prophets ; and that the
“ Seventy afterwards only interpreted the same
“ Scripture, in a prophetic Manner, and under
“ the same divine Direction, For, as they who
“ lived at different Times, were enabled to pro-
“ phesy concerning the same Things by one and
“ the same Spirit ; so these, being kept apart
“ from one another, and yet with one Voice
“ agreeing in their Translations, evidently de-
“ monstrated that they were guided and directed
“ by the same individual Divine Spirit.

PERHAPS the learned and inquisitive Reader will begin to think that I have dwelt too long upon bare Authorities. The Truth is, many more Citations, and those by no Means Foreign to our Purpose, might easily be produced. But as these may probably be sufficient, and as I am neither inclined to tire the Reader's Patience, nor have Leisure enough my self to deal in Superfluities, these, for the present, shall suffice. I shall therefore, in Imitation of a late learned Writer * on the other Side of the Question, take the Liberty, in the next Place, to lay down what appears to me to be the Truth of the whole Matter, in a few short Propositions. And then lastly, I shall come to the main Point which I proposed to my self in this Treatise ; and endeavour to shew, that

* Dr. *Prideaux*, in his *Connexion, &c.* Vol. 2. part 1. p. 34.
after

after all the Dust, which the Criticks of late Years have raised against the Authority of *Aristeas*; and after all the learned Pains which they have taken to discredit his History; yet that nothing hinders but that we may and ought still to look upon it as a genuine History, and wrote by him whose Name it bears. The Propositions, which I shall take the Liberty to lay down, are these:

First; That as far as I am able to judge, it appears, that the Authors, whose Testimonies I have produced, were Men of that Reputation, Probity, Learning and Judgment, that in all Matters of Fact and History, which they expressly deliver and vouch for, either upon their own Knowledge, or upon the Credit of others, they deserve and claim a Right to our Belief, as much as any other Historian or Historians whatsoever; those only excepted, who wrote by Divine Inspiration.

Secondly; That by the Testimonies of *Josephus* and *Eusebius*, it is as clearly, expressly, and undeniably proved, as any Historical Fact can be, that there was such a Person as *Aristeas* belonging to the Court of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*; that he was a Man of Learning and in great Credit with his Prince; and that the History of the *Septuagint*, which to this Day goes under his Name, was really and truly wrote by him.

Thirdly; That, from the Testimony of *Aristobulus* in *Eusebius*, it appears, that long before the Time of *Alexander* the Great, some imperfect Accounts of the *Jewish* Laws and Polity, and of the Wonders which God had wrought for that People, upon divers Occasions, had been communicated to the Nations bordering on *Judaea*; and that

that it was from such Memoirs more especially, that *Plato* and *Pythagoras* learned and borrowed the choicest of their Notions and Institutions.

Fourthly; That, from the Testimonies of *Aristobulus*, *Philo* and *Josephus*, supported by the unanimous Voice and Suffrage of all the Fathers of the primitive Church, it appears, that all the Books of the Old Testament were translated out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*, in the Reign, and at the Request of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, the Second of his Race, and the most renowned Prince of that Age.

Fifthly; From the unanimous Testimonies of *Aristeas*, *Aristobulus*, *Josephus*, *Eusebius*, and others, it appears that this Translation was first undertaken by the Counsel and Advice, and afterwards conducted and carried on under the Care and Direction of *Demetrius Phalereus*, the best and politest Scholar, as well as the greatest Statesman of his Time.

Sixthly; From the Testimonies of *Aristeas*, *Josephus*, *Eusebius*, and others, it appears, that *Eleazar* the High Priest of the *Jews*, took all possible Care to make Choice of, and to send to *Alexandria*, Seventy-two of the most learned, eminent, and skilful Men of his Nation, to translate the Scriptures out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*, as the King had desired of him to do.

Seventhly; That from the Testimonies of *Philo*, *Justin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, and others, it appears, that GOD was pleased, for great and wise Reasons known then only to himself, but since fully and clearly discovered to us, to favour and promote this Work, in a wonderful and miraculous

raculous Manner, by pouring out upon these Interpreters the Spirit of Prophecy, and thereby enabling them to make a Translation of the Holy Scriptures into *Greek*, in all respects equal in Authority to the original *Hebrew* itself.

Eighthly; That from the Testimonies of *Philo* and *Justin Martyr*, it appears, that, for the Space of Four Hundred Years and upwards, the *Jews* of *Alexandria* never failed to celebrate a solemn Feast once every Year, in Commemoration of this great Event.

Ninthly; That from the Testimonies of *Aristeas*, *Justin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, and others it appears, that, for many Years after the Birth of our Saviour, as well as for the whole Time before, the *Hellenistical Jews*, in all Parts of the World, received this Translation as authentic, and accordingly read the same and no other in their Synagogues every Sabbath-day.

Tenthly and lastly; That from the unanimous Testimony of all the Fathers of the first and purest Ages of the Church, it appears, that the Apostles and their Successors made all or most of their Citations from, and thereby confirmed the Divine Authority of this Translation of the Scriptures; And in a Word, that for the first four Centuries and more, the whole Catholic Church, neither made Use of, nor acknowledged any other Scriptures as authentic, but this Translation only; nor suffered any other Versions to be read in any of the Churches of Christ, but such only as were made from this of the *Septuagint*.

THEY who will be at the Pains to compare these Positions with those laid down by the reverend

read and learned Author of the History of the Connexion of the Old and New Testament *, will quickly observe such a wide and manifest Difference between the one and the other, as is not to be reconciled. To my Apprehension, the Hand of Providence appears so visibly and eminently throughout this whole Affair, that he that runs may read it. In the Fulness of Time, *Messiah* the Prince was to be born; the obstinate *Jews* were to be rejected; the unbelieving Gentiles were to be called; and the glad Tidings of Salvation were to be preached to all Nations. All these Things had been fully declared and foretold to the *Jews* by all their Prophets; and their Prophecies had been committed to Writing, and were carefully preserved among them in those sacred Books, which we, by way of Eminence, call the Scriptures. But alas! the Language in which they were originally written, was now become a dead Language: It was now understood only by the Priests, and Scribes, and Elders; and the Bulk of the People knew nothing of it, but as it was interpreted to them in the Language then vulgarly spoken in *Judæa*. Now the Case standing thus, what Benefit could the Gentiles receive from those Divine Writings, while they continued lock'd up in a Language understood by none, but only by some few of the Learned among the *Jews* themselves? How were they afterwards to be convinced from the Prophecies contained in those Books concerning the *Messiah*, that they were all really and truly fulfilled and verified in the Person of the Blessed Jesus? Were they to wait for his Appearance, and then to apply to the Chief Priests and Rulers of the *Jews*, to know of them, whether the old Prophecies were fulfilled

* Vol. 2. p. 1. p. 34, &c.

in him; and whether he was indeed the Christ or not? No, surely! They, who refused to believe in him themselves, would have been the unfittest Persons in the World to apply to upon such an Occasion. God therefore, out of his infinite Wisdom and Goodness, took a most effectual Way, to give Light to them that sat in Darkness, and to make his saving Health known unto all Nations. He raised up a great and mighty King from among the Gentiles themselves. He endued him with Learning and Wisdom, and with all other Royal Virtues, far exceeding all the other Princes of his Time. He put it into his Heart to send a publick and solemn Embassy to the High Priest at *Jerusalem*, to demand an exact and compleat Copy of their sacred Books, and a sufficient Number of Interpreters to translate them into *Greek*. The High Priest being thereunto likewise moved by the Spirit of God, readily complies. He sends Six Interpreters out of every Tribe, to perform the Work. God himself endues them with the Spirit of Prophecy. They make a perfect and compleat Translation. The Originals are placed in the Royal Library at *Alexandria*. *Aristeas*, one of those that were sent to *Jerusalem* upon this Embassy, and who was an Eye-witness of the whole Affair, writes an Account thereof in a Letter to his Brother. The *Jews* of *Alexandria* approve of the Translation, as done with the utmost Fidelity and Exactness. They keep a solemn Feast every Year in the Island of *Pharos*, in Commemoration thereof. They make Use of the same ever afterwards in their Synagogues all over the World, where the *Greek* Language was spoken. The Truth hereof is vouched by all the most antient *Jewish* Writers; by *Aristobulus*, by *Philo Judæus*, and by *Josephus*. The Holy Apostles and Evangelists; the Primitive

five Fathers and Martyrs; and in a Word, the whole Christian Church, for Ages together, receive, use, and always appeal to this Translation, and to no other, as the only authentic and infallible Word of GOD. When I consider these Things, I confess, I know not which to be astonished at most; at the infinite Wisdom and Goodness of GOD in so providentially taking Care to furnish the Christian Church with an authentic Translation of the *Hebrew* Scriptures! or at the unparallel'd Boldness, shall I say, or Blindness of those Modern Writers, who call themselves Christians, and at the same Time take the Liberty to treat this whole Story as a meer Fiction and Imposture! If this be a Digression, I beg Pardon for it. The principal Design of these Papers being to shew that *Aristeas* was no Cheat, no Impostor, no Enemy to Religion or Learning, but in reality a very good Friend to both; my whole Care for the future shall be to attend and wait upon the Criticks, humbly to know, what it is that he has said or done to set them almost one and all so violently against him.

Now to the End that I may acquit my self of this Task, with as much Satisfaction to the Reader, and with as little Offence to the Criticks as possible; I shall take a more particular View of the History itself, than I have hitherto done: And in doing of this, as I go along, I shall point out all the several Passages which have given Offence; and endeavour to shew, that notwithstanding all the Out-cry that has been raised against them of late Years, yet that in reality there is nothing in them, but what the true *Aristeas*, were he now living, and in as great Credit with the learned World as he was two Thousand Years ago with his Royal Master, might very safely own, and

stand to, without any Reflection upon, or Derogation to his Veracity, Knowledge or Judgment.

HE begins with an Address to his Brother *Philocrates*, setting forth *, “ That having always
 “ had a strong Inclination to the Study of religious Matters, he voluntarily offered to go himself on an Embassy to *Eleazar* the High Priest
 “ at *Jerusalem*, who had the sacred Books of the *Jews* in his keeping. And that many Things
 “ having occurred to his own Knowledge, as well during his Embassy as afterwards, relating to
 “ the Business he went upon; he thought it would be an useful and acceptable Thing to his Brother,
 “ who was likewise a studious and curious Man, to give him an Account thereof; and
 “ more especially, as he had upon a former Occasion, sent him such Memoirs as he could get
 “ from the *Jewish* Priests in *Egypt*, relating to the Affairs of that Nation.” Now in all this there is certainly nothing but what one Brother may very well be allowed to write to another. Nor have the Criticks made any material Objection to it. The only Doubt is, Whether the Citation of *Alexander Polybistor* from *Aristeas* †, was taken out of the Memoirs here mentioned, or not. The Point indeed is not very material either way: But, if it was, as the learned *Dr. Hody* ‡ seems to grant, it is plain then, that the true *Aristeas* was not only a learned Man and a Writer, but that he did also write some Things concerning the *Jews*; and consequently that it is the more probable that he was likewise the Author of that History which still goes under his Name.

* *Aristeas's* Hist. p. 1—3, Ed. Ox. 1692. 8º.

† *Euseb. Præp. Evang.* l. 9. c. 25. p. 430. 431.

‡ *De Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus.* l. 1. c. 1. §. 2. Ed. Ox. 1705.

HAVING thus briefly dispatched the Preface, we come now to the History it self. “*Demetrius Phalereus*, says *Aristeas* *, having the Royal Library committed to his Care, did all that he could to make a Collection of all the Books in the World ; and for this Purpose he either bought, or caused to be transcribed, all the Books that he could hear of. Being asked one Day in my Hearing, *How many he had already collected?* he answer’d the King, *Above Two Hundred Thousand ; but that he hoped in a short Time to make them up Five Hundred Thousand.* He then said, *That he was informed, that the Books of the Law of the Jews deserved to be sought after, and to have a Place in his Library.* To which the King answered ; *Then what hinders that you do not get them ? for I have left it to you to take what Measures you think fit, in all Matters relating to this Business.* *Demetrius* replied, *Those Laws want to be interpreted ; for the Jews in their own Country, in like manner as the Egyptians, make Use of a Character, and have a Language peculiar to themselves. Some think it is the Syrian Character and Language ; but they are mistaken that say so ; for they are very different from one another.* Whereupon the King said, *That he would write to the High Priest of the Jews, and get every Thing that was requisite from him.*” Now here the Criticks begin to triumph, as if they had already gained their Point. For, from this very Paragraph they think to be able to convict *Aristeas* of the Crime which they would lay to his Charge. Let us see then how this Matter will come out.

* *Aristeas's Hist.* p. 4, 5.

LODOVICUS VIVES † was the first that broke the Ice in this Controversy ; but without entering into Particulars. And next to him succeeded *Joseph Scaliger* * ; a Man of great and excellent Parts ; and from whose plentiful Store of Learning, all the Criticks since have borrow'd most of their Arguments against this History. Now this learned Writer, on the one Hand admits it, as a Thing beyond all Controversy that the Holy Scriptures were translated into *Greek* in the Reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* ; and yet on the other, he thinks he has sufficient Authority to deny that *Demetrius Phalereus* had any Concern therein ; and from thence he infers, that this History must have been forged by some later Writer. Now, in the first Place, I do not very well see how this excellent Person could admit one Part of the Story and deny the other ; since we have no Authority for the one, but what is equally clear and express for the other. And should it once be admitted, that *Aristobulus* or *Josephus* were mistaken as to the Part which they have allowed *Demetrius Phalereus* to have had therein ; I do not know but that a Critick of less Candor than *Scaliger*, would make Use of that as an Argument to prove, that they might likewise be mistaken as to the Time or Prince in whose Reign the Translation itself was made. But to let this pass ;

I desire to know in the next Place, upon what Authority *Scaliger* pretends to deny that *Demetrius Phalereus* could have any Hand in this Affair ? Now for Proof of this, we are referred to *Diogenes Laertius* ; who again refers us to the Testimony

† In his Notes upon St. *Austin* de Civitate Dei, l. 18. c. 42.

* Animadversiones in *Eusebij* Chronologica ad Numerum *Eusebianum*, 1734.

of one *Hermippus* : His Words are to this Effect ;
 “ *Hermippus*, says *Laertius* *, tells us, That after
 “ the Death of *Cassander*, *Demetrius Phalereus*,
 “ being afraid of *Antigonus*, retired to the Court
 “ of *Ptolemy Soter* ; and that after having lived a
 “ long time at his Court, he, among other Things,
 “ advis’d the King to bestow the Kingdom of
 “ *Egypt* upon his Sons by *Eurydice*. But that the
 “ King having, contrary to his Advice, resign’d
 “ the Crown to his Son by *Berenice* ; the young
 “ King, after the Death of his Father, sent him
 “ away from Court, and ordered him to be kept
 “ safe in one of the Provinces, until he should
 “ resolve what to do with him. And that after
 “ this, *Demetrius* lived in a melancholy Way ;
 “ until that by Accident he was bit in the Hand
 “ by an Asp, as he lay asleep ; which put an End
 “ to his Life : Thus far *Hermippus*.” And since
 the Criticks are pleas’d to lay such a mighty Stress
 upon his Authority, I hope they will not be of-
 fended, if I take the Liberty to enquire, first,
Who this Hermippus was ? and when, and where
he lived ? Secondly, *Whether his Account of De-*
metrius Phalereus be really inconsistent with that of
Aristeas, or not ? And, Thirdly and lastly ; *If*
it be, which of the two deserve most to be believed ?

As to the first Point ; In antient Authors we
 meet but with two or three of this Name. One
 was an *Athenian* ; another was a Native of *Smyr-*
na ; and the third was a Native of *Berytus* in
Phœnicia. The first was a Poet, and the Author
 of fundry Comedies and Fables †, and is fre-
 quently cited by *Athenæus* ‡, *Pollux* §, *Stephanus* **,

* In vita *Demetrii*.

† *Suidas*, in voce *Ἑρμιππος*.

‡ L. 1. p. 18. c. Ed. Lugd. 1612. l. 15. p. 699. a.

§ *Onomast.* l. 2. Sægm. 125. p. 215. l. 3. Sægm. 125. p. 332.
 l. 7. §. 124. p. 832, &c. Ed. Amstel. 1706.

** *De Urbibus*, in Voce *Ταίραπος*.

and

and others ; but he is not concerned in the present Controversy. The second is thought by *Vossius* * to have flourished in the Reign of *Ptolem. Evergetes* ; but *Jonsius* † proves that he cannot be placed earlier than the Reign of *Ptolemy Philopator*, or rather, than that of his Son and Successor *Ptolemy Epiphanes* ; about Eighty or Ninety Years after *Ptolemy Philadelphus* began his Reign. And for any Thing that we know certainly to the contrary, he might live even many Years later than this. The third was brought up under *Philobyblius*, and flourished under the Emperor *Adrian* ; and wrote about the Year of our Lord 130 †. And *Diogenes Laertius*, who often quotes *Hermippus*, but always without any certain Distinction, wrote his Lives of the Philosophers about the Year of our Lord 210 ¶. So that whether the *Hermippus*, whom he so frequently quotes, was the *Smyranean* or the *Berytian*, is not always certain, and for the most part, can only be collected from Circumstances and Conjecture. Thus the *Hermippus* cited in the Preface to his Lives **, is probably the *Smyranean*, because his Quotation there is taken from the first Book of *Hermippus* *περὶ Μαΐγων* : And we are informed by *Pliny* ***, who wrote his Natural History before *Hermippus* the *Berytian* was born, that *Hermippus Smyrneus* had wrote very fully upon the whole Art of Ma-

* De Historicis Græcis, l. 1. c. 16. p. 103. Ed. Ludg. Batav. 1651.

† De Scriptoribus Hist. Philosoph. l. 2. c. 9. p. 164. Ed. Francof. 1659.

‡ Suidas in Voce Ἑρμιππος, et in Voce Νικάνωρ.

§ *Jonsius* de Scriptoribus Hist. Philosoph. l. 3. c. 12. *H. Dodwellio* longe Junior videtur, et ad Tempora Constantini rejicitur. *Fabricius* in Notis ad *Diog. Laert.* Biblioth. Græc. T. 4. c. 19. p. 601.

** In Proœmio. Segm. 8. p. 7. Ed. Amstel. 1692.

*** Tom. 2. l. 30. c. 2. p. 522. Ed. Paris. 1723. *Hermippus* de tota ea arte diligentissime scripsit.

gic. And on the other Hand we may as probably conclude, That if this Piece of History relating to the Disgrace of *Demetrius Phalereus*, be inconsistent with that that of *Aristeas*, *Hermippus* the *Smyranean* could not be the Author thereof; because it is not likely that *Josephus* would have given him the Character of being a great and accurate Historian, ἀνὴρ περὶ πᾶσαν ἰστορίαν ἐπιμελής, as he does *; had he been the Author of a Fact, which *Josephus* could not but know must effectually destroy the Credit of a History, which he had taken the Pains to abstract himself; and for the Truth of which, he had made himself, as I may say, a Guarantee, by inserting the same into the Body of his own History of the Antiquities of the *Jewish Nation* †. *Scaliger* indeed takes it for granted, That the *Hermippus* here quoted by *Laertius*, is the *Smyranean*. And the learned Dr. *Hody* ‖ has taken no small Pains to vindicate the Character of the same Person. But all this, notwithstanding I cannot help saying, That the Doctor seems to me to have intirely overlook'd the main Point in question. For the Strefs of the Argument does not lie upon this; Whether *Hermippus* the *Smyranean* was an Author of great Credit and Reputation, or not? But, Whether he, or the *Berytian*, was the Author of the Passage which we now are considering? Now, had our learned *Anti-Aristean* offered any Argument, or even any Conjecture, to make it more probable, that the Passage in question was taken from the Writings of the Elder, rather than from those of the later *Hermippus*, it would possibly have been saying something to the Purpose. But since he has not thought fit so much as to aim at any Thing like this; and since *Josephus*, who

* Contra Apionem, l. 1. p. 1345.

† Antiquit. l. 12. c. 2. p. 508—519.

‖ De Bibliorum Textib. Original. l. 1. c. 2, 3, 4, 5.

certainly

certainly was as good a Judge, and had better Opportunities of informing himself as to this Matter, than any modern Critick can pretend to, has tacitly acquitted the Elder; I cannot see what should hinder us from concluding, that the Person here quoted by *Laertius* was *Hermippus* the *Berytian*, and not the *Smyranean*. And what still more inclines me to be of this Opinion, is, That it is allowed that *Hermippus* the *Berytian* was a Man of Learning, and the Author of many Things *; and that about this Time, I find his Works more frequently cited by the best Authors than those of the other. As for Instance; *Tertullian* † cites a Work of his, wherein he treated largely of all Things relating to Dreams. *Clemens Alexandrinus* ‖ quotes another Work of his *de Septenario*. *Athenæus* ‡ quotes *Hermippus* as the Author of a Book *περὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν*; and that this Work was wrote by *Hermippus* the *Berytian*, and not the *Smyranean*, may be inferred from that Passage in *Clemens Alexandrinus* *, where he expressly quotes *Hermippus* the *Berytian*, as the Author of a Work upon the same Subject. *Origen* § quotes *Hermippus* as the Author of a Work *de Legislatoribus*; and so does *Athenæus* †† more than once: And therefore we may conclude, that both speak of one and the same Work. And since *Athenæus* often cites and distinguishes *Hermippus* the Elder, by the Name of *Hermippus Smyrnæus* **, and *Hermippus Callimachus* ***;

* Suidas in Voce Ἑρμιππος.

† De Anima, c. 46. p. 299.

‖ Strom 6. p. 686.

‡ Deipnosoph. l. 10. p. 443. a.

* Strom. 1. p. 306.

§ Contra Celsum, l. 1. p. 13. Ed. Cantab. 1677.

†† Deipnosoph. l. 4. p. 154. d. l. 13. p. 555. l. 14. p. 619. b.

** Ibid. l. 7. p. 327. a. b.

*** Ibid. l. 2. p. 58. e. l. 5. p. 213. f. l. 15. p. 696. f.

which

which he omits to do, as often as he mentions this Work *de Legislatoribus*, we may fairly presume that he quotes it as the Work of *Hermippus* the *Berytian*, and not of the other: And accordingly *Vossius* the Elder * expressly ascribes the same to him. And if this be the Case, it is not improbable, but that among the Lives of other famous Law-givers, he might likewise have inserted that of *Demetrius Phalereus*, who was very famous, not only on Account of the many good Laws and Regulations which he made in the State of *Athens*, while he govern'd there †; but likewise for the Part which he acted in *Egypt*, by assisting *Ptolemy Soter* to compose a new Body of Laws for the Use of that newly acquired Kingdom ‡. And from this Work of *Hermippus* the *Berytian*, I shall take the Liberty to conclude, That *Diogenes Laertius* took the Story which has occasioned this Enquiry, unless any one can shew me better Reasons to persuade me to believe the contrary.

As to the second Particular which I propos'd to consider, I confess, I am not yet thoroughly satisfied, whether this Account of *Demetrius Phalereus* be really inconsistent with that of *Aristeas*, or not. The Story, as related by *Hermippus*, consists of so many Particulars, and yet is comprized in so few, and in such general Words, that it is altogether impossible to form any Judgment from them alone, as to the precise Time when each Particular happened. And therefore, if we would rightly understand *Hermippus* here,

* De Historicis Græcis, l. 2. c. 12. p. 220.

† Cicero Orat. pro Rabirio Postumo, T. 3. p. 325. Ed. Par. 1684. Idem de Legibus, l. 2. Sect. 25, 26. p. 487, 488. Vol. 2. Ed. Lond. 1681. Strab. Geograph. l. 9. p. 398. Ed. Par. 1620.

‡ Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 3. c. 17. p. 208. Ed. Var. Lugd. Bat. 1701.

we must necessarily call in to our Assistance, such other Authors as have treated more fully of those Affairs. As for Instance; *Hermippus* says, “That after the Death of *Cassander*, *Demetrius Phalereus* being afraid of *Antigonus*, fled to *Ptolemy Soter*”. Now, from this Passage, *Vossius* * has endeavoured to invalidate *Hermippus*’s Evidence intirely; alledging that *Demetrius Phalereus* withdrew into *Egypt*, immediately after his Expulsion from *Athens*, which was about Eight Years before the Death of *Cassander*. But as the Passage in *Diodorus Siculus* †, from which he would prove this, does by no Means come fully up to his Purpose; and since *Strabo* §, a Writer of unquestionable Authority, does likewise relate that *Demetrius Phalereus* did not go into *Egypt*, till after the Death of *Cassander*, I think it would be unjust to quarrel with *Hermippus* upon this Score. The Points that I think the most material to be cleared up here, are, *Who this Antigonus was, whom Demetrius Phalereus was so much afraid of?* And, *Whether he fled into Egypt immediately upon the Death of Cassander, or not?* *Vossius* ‡ thought that the *Antigonus* here mentioned, was the Father of *Demetrius Poliorcetes*: But, as *Dr. Hody* ** has

* De Translatione 70 Interpretum, c. 2. p. 6. Edit. Hage Comitum 1661.

† Biblioth. Hist. l. 20. p. 756. Ed. Han. 1604. Δημήτριος δὲ ὁ Φαληρεὺς ---- περὶ τῆς αὐτονομίας διαληχθεὶς, καὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας, ἔφυγε παραπομπῆς, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὰς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀπογινώσκων, ἐφυγεν εἰς τὰς Θήβας, ὕστερον δὲ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον εἰς Αἴγυπτον. *Demetrius autem Phalereus* — cum de libera Jurisdictione, suaq; Incolumitate differuisset, ut cum comitatu dmitteretur, impetravit. Et Athenas retineri haud posse videns, Thebas, atq; inde ad *Ptolemaum* in *Aegyptum* per fugit.

§ Geograph. l. 9. p. 398. b.

‡ De Translat. 70 Interpret. c. 2. p. 5, 6.

** De Bibl. Text. Origin. l. 1. c. 4. Sect. 6. p. 15.

well

well observed, this cannot be admitted; because this *Antigonus* was killed in the Battle of *Ipsus*, several Years before *Cassander* himself died. On the other Hand, Dr. *Hody* * is pleased to assert, *That the Antigonus here referred to, was one of the Sons of Cassander.* But, *Does Hermippus say or intimate any such Thing?* No; he leaves us intirely in the Dark as to this Particular. *How then does he prove his Assertion?* By the Testimony of *Eusebius* †; who, it is pretended, says, *That Antigonus and Alexander succeeded to Cassander.* But, *Is this Testimony supported by any other more antient Authority?* No; not one besides this is pretended. On the contrary, *Justin* § and *Pausanias* ‡ *Porphyry* **, and *Dexippus* ††, expressly assure us, that the Names of *Cassander's* three Sons, were *Philip, Antipater* and *Alexander* ‡‡. *How then can Eusebius be excused?* Very easily, if I am not much mistaken. *Eusebius* undoubtedly wrote the two Names short, thus; ΑΝΤΙΠ και ΑΛΕΧ. Κασσάνδρου υιοί: And some of his Transcribers soon after, might by an easy Mistake, copy the Words thus, ΑΝΤΙΓ. και ΑΛΕΧ. Κασσάνδρου υιοί. And upon this Mistake of writing a Γ for a Π, and nothing else, as far as I can see, does the learned Doctor ground his Opinion; *That the second Son of Cassander was*

* Idem ibid.

† In Can. Chronol. Græco ad Num. 1719.

§ Lib. 16. c. 1.

‡ In Bœoticis, p. 287.

** *Chronicorum* libro 1. Secundum Græca, p. 63.

†† *Chronicorum* libro 1. Secundum Græca, p. 58.

‡‡ And with them agrees *Diodorus Siculus*, who tells us expressly, that it was *Antipater* that murdered his Mother; and that *Alexander* was afterwards treacherously murder'd by *Demetrius*. *Vid. Excerpta ex libro 21. Sect. 7. p. 863.*

called *Antigonus*; and that in Opposition to the Authority of all other antient Writers. But if the Testimony of *Eusebius*, as it stands now in our Copies, should still be insisted upon as the true and genuine Reading; be it so, with all my Heart; provided the Testimony of the same *Eusebius*, a few Lines before, in the same Page, relating to *Demetrius Phalereus*, be also allowed to be genuine. For there he makes *Demetrius Phalereus* resign the Government of *Athens*, and arrive in *Egypt* in one and the same Year. Which, if true, would destroy all *Hermippus's* Credit at once. The Truth is, whatever Face the Doctor might put upon this Matter, it appears very plain to me, that he must have been exceedingly perplexed about this *Antigonus*; since rather than not make *Demetrius Phalereus* afraid of some Body, he would make him afraid of one of the Descendants of that House, to whom he owed his greatest Grandeur, and from whose Interest we have not the least Reason to believe that he ever swerved. And for my Part, when the Doctor's Hand was in, I wonder he did not say, that *Demetrius Phalereus* had advised *Theffalonice* to favour her Younger Son against the Elder (as he is said to have done the Elder against the Younger in *Egypt*.) And that therefore he might well be afraid of *Antipater*, alias *Antigonus*, and thereupon think it expedient to look out for a safer Place in *Egypt*. But to come nearer to the Point: Although *Hermippus* seems to be but little obliged to the Doctor for this Part of his Vindication; yet I cannot but in Justice to him, say, *That I think he may still be brought of, with Honour enough as to this Particular; and that without derogating in the least from the Credit of better Authors than himself. Antipater, the Father of Cassander, died in the Fourth*
 Year

Year of the 114th Olympiad * ; and left *Polyperchon* Governor of the Kings: Whereupon *Cassander* withdrew into *Asia* to solicit *Antigonus* and *Ptolemy* to assist him to recover *Macedonia*. In the Third Year of the 115th Olympiad †, he returned with powerful Succours into *Greece*; took *Athens*, and constituted *Demetrius Phalereus* Governor thereof; and the next Year he recovered the Kingdom of *Macedonia*. In the Second Year of the 118th Olympiad, and Seventeen from the Death of *Alexander*, *Demetrius Poliorcetes* came with a powerful Fleet from *Asia*; and restored the *Athenians* to their antient popular Government ††. Hereupon *Demetrius Phalereus* was safely conducted to *Thebes* ‡, where he resided several Years * *, and probably upon all Occasions behaved like a faithful and grateful Friend to *Cassander* and his Family. *Cassander* died in the Third Year of the 120th Olympiad †††, Twenty-five or Twenty-six Years after the Death of *Alexander* the Great. *Philip* his eldest Son died soon after him ** . *Antipater* his second Son, about Three Years after this, put his Mother *Theffalonic* to Death * *. *Alexander* her youngest Sonresents this barbarous Usage of his Mother; and invites *Pyrrhus* from *Epirus*, and *Demetrius Poliorcetes* from *Greece*, to come and help him to re-

* According to *Diod.* he died in the 4th Year of the 114th Olymp. l. 18. p. 653. probably towards the latter End thereof.

† *Id.* l. 18. p. 667.

‡ *Id.* l. 20. p. 756.

‡† *Id.* l. 20. p. 756. *Plut.* in vita *Demetrii*. Vol. 1. p. 892. Ed. Par. 1624.

* * * *Plutarch.* de Adulatoris et Amici discrimine. Vol. 2. p. 69. c. d. Ed. Par. 1624.

†† *Enseb.* Canon. Chron. ad Num. 1719.

** *Fustin.* l. 16. c. 1. *Pausan.* in *Boeoticis*, p. 287.

* * * *Id.* *ibid.*

venge the Death of his Mother upon his Brother *Antipater* *. *Antipater* hereupon abdicates *Macedonia*, and takes Sanctuary with *Lyfimachus* in *Thracia*; *Demetrius Poliorcetes* moves into *Macedonia*; meets *Alexander*, and treacherously murders him; and then takes Possession of *Macedonia*, in the second Year of the 121st Olympiad †; and Twenty-nine Years after the Death of *Alexander* the Great. The next Year, *Demetrius Poliorcetes* being threatned on one Side with an Invasion by *Lyfimachus* and *Antipater*; and on the other, being suspicious of the *Bæotians*; he headed an Army himself against *Lyfimachus* and *Antipater*; and sent his Son *Antigonus*, afterwards surnamed *Gonatas*, who might then be about Twenty-one Years old, against the *Bæotians*. Whereupon *Demetrius Phalereus*, who, till this Time, had lived in *Thebes*, and no doubt had been very active in stirring the *Bæotians* up to take Part with *Antipater*, the only surviving Son of *Cassander*, and at that Time an Exile in *Thracia*, thought proper for his own Safety, to retire into *Egypt*; where he was honourably received and entertained by *Ptolemy Soter* †. Now, from these several Particulars, what can be more evident, than that the *Antigonus*, which *Hermippus* says, *Demetrius Phalereus* was afraid of, was not the Son of *Cassander*, but the Son of *Demetrius Poliorcetes*; and that he fled from *Thebes* into *Egypt*, not immediately, but

* *Justin.* l. 16. c. 1. *Plut.* in *Pyrrho* et *Demetr.* *Pausan.* in *Bæotic.* p. 287.

† *Id.* *Ibid.*

‡ *Vaillant Hist. Ptolemaorum Ægypti Regum, ad Ann. Ptolemi* 1^{mi}, 31^{mam}. p. 19, 20. *Ed. Amstel.* 1701. *Ex Pausania in Attic.*

The learned *Mr. Dodwell* places the flight of *Demetrius Phalereus* into *Egypt* yet later than this by Eight Years; though, I think erroneously. *De Ætate Dicæarchi.* p. 54.

about

about Five Years after the Death of his great Friend *Cassander*?

PERHAPS the Reader will begin to think, that I have taken more Pains to settle this Point than was needful; and that, instead of confuting *Hermippus's* Testimony, I have, by this short Deduction, given new Life and Strength to it. But poor is that Cause: and poorer still must the Defender of it be, who stands in fear of Truth, even from the Mouth of an Adversary. On the other Hand, I am much mistaken, if the clearing up of this Point, will not go a great way to shew, how weakly and inconclusively they have argued, who, from this Passage, would pretend to prove, that *Demetrius Phalereus* could not be employed by *Ptolemy Philadelphus* in any Business after his Father's Death. *Hermippus* says, That *Demetrius Phalereus* fled into *Egypt* after the Death of *Cassander*, μετὰ τὸν Κασσάνδρου θάνατον; and I have proved, that this does not imply, that he fled immediately after his Death; nay, I have shewn, that according to *Hermippus's* own Testimony, this did not happen till at least Five Years after his Death. *Hermippus* afterwards tells us, That *Demetrius Phalereus* fell into Disgrace with *Ptolemy Philadelphus* after the Death of *Ptolemy Soter*, μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτήν: Whereupon Dr. *Hody* * asserts, That this happened immediately after the Death of *Ptolemy Soter*; *Statim post mortem Ptolemæi Soteris*. The Adverb *Statim*, I must confess, is a most essential Word here. But, under favour, I must desire to know what Warrant the Doctor had for foisting it into his Translation?

* De Bibliorum Textib. Original, l. 1. c. 5. Sect. 4. p. 18. C. 6. Sect. 2. p. 19. &c.

None in the least from his great Favourite *Hermippus*, I am very sure. For all that he says is *That Demetrius Phalereus fell into Disgrace with Ptolemy Philadelphus, after the Death of Ptolemy Soter*; but whether immediately, or how long after, he does not say. Does it follow, that because the Time is left indefinite, it must therefore be understood to have happened immediately? I grant this would best suit the Doctor's Purpose. For, the whole Strength of his Argument lies in this single supplemental Word. But I must beg Leave on the other Hand to observe, That this is not only *gratis dictum*, but directly contrary to *Hermippus's* way and manner of expressing himself in this Place. When he speaks of the Flight of *Demetrius Phalereus*, he says, it happened *μετὰ τὸν Κασσάνδρου θάνατον*: Shall we then say, That this ought to be translated *Statim post mortem Cassandri*? No; I have shewn that it must be understood to mean Five Years at least after the Death of *Cassander*, to make *Hermippus* consistent with himself, as well as with other antient Writers. Presently after *Hermippus* tells us, *That Demetrius Phalereus fell into Disgrace with Philadelphus μετὰ τὴν Πτολεμαίου Σοῦτος Ἰελευσίην*. Now, is there any manner of Difference between this Expression and the former? If there be, I desire to be informed wherein it consists; if there be none, I desire to know why it may not be understood to mean Three, Four, Five, or any other Number of Years after the Death of *Ptolemy Soter*. Nay, I desire to know why it ought not to be so understood, if such a Construction of the Words should happen to be most agreeable to, and consistent with, what other antient Writers have delivered concerning the same Person. And if so, wherein, I pray, will this Testimony of *Hermippus* contradict that of *Aristeas*? Did *Demetrius Phalereus*
enter

enter into any dangerous Plot or Conspiracy with *Eurydice*, or with her Son *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, to defeat the Succession of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*? If he did, how came he to keep in favour with *Ptolemy Soter* to his dying Day; when neither the Wife nor the Son could support their own Interest with him; but were forced to fly some Years before his Death; the former to *Miletus* * in *Asia Minor*; and the other to the Court of *Seleucus* † in *Syria*? If *Demetrius Phalereus* only endeavoured to dissuade the old King from resigning his Crown to either of his Sons, in his own Life-time; as *Heraclides*, an Author of much greater Antiquity than *Hermippus* the *Berytian*, seems to intimate †; where was the great Harm in so doing? Might not this be one good Reason why the old King preserved a more than ordinary Esteem for him to the last? Might not this give Occasion to the Story, as *Hermippus* relates it? Might it not be the Work of some Years, before those that had been some how or other made privy to such a Piece of Advice, could work it up and improve it into such a Crime as to ruin this great Man in the Opinion of *Philadelphus*? And while his Enemies were contriving and lying in wait for a proper Opportunity to ruin his Interest with the young King, might he not be employ'd about furnishing the Royal Library at *Alexandria* with Books; and among the rest, with the sacred Books of the *Jews*, as *Aristeas*, and many other Authors say he was? And if so, what will become of this famous Testimony of *Hermippus*? This *Argumentum πολυβύλλητον*, as Dr. *Hody* learnedly calls it **, against the Credit and Autho-

* *Plut.* in *vita Demetrii*, Vol. 1. p. 911. f.

† *Appian.* in *Syriac.*, p. 128. e. Ed. Stephani 1592.

‡ *Diog. Laert.* in *vita Demetrii*.

** *De Bibl. Textib. Orig.* l. 1. c. 2. Sect. 5. p. 9.

rity of our History? May we not, without an Offence to *Hermippus*, still venture to conclude that the Difference between *Aristeas* and him, is not so great, not so irreconcilable, as many of our *modern Criticks* would insinuate?

BUT Thirdly; Admitting, for Argument's sake, that the *Hermippus* here quoted by *Laertius* is the *Smyranean*, and not the *Berytian*; and that his Testimony is directly contrary to that of *Aristeas*; let us consider how the Evidence will stand on each Side, and which of the two deserves most to be credited. The Point in question is this, Whether *Demetrius Phalereus* advised *Ptolemy Philadelphus* to get the sacred Books of the *Jews* translated into *Greek*; and whether the King thereupon committed the Care and Superintendency of that Affair to him, or not? *Aristeas*, who was a Man of Learning, and in great Credit and Authority at the Court of *Philadelphus*, and who was an Eye-witness to the whole Affair, and wrote the History thereof at the Time, maintains the *Affirmative*. *Aristobulus*, who was likewise a Man of great Learning, and of the Stock of the Anointed Priests; and who presented his Commentaries on the Law of *Moses* to *Ptolemy Philometor*, and was afterwards made Preceptor to *Ptolemy Euergetes* the second of that Name, confirms the same Account. Then comes *Josephus*, the most learned Historian, and the best acquainted with the Antiquities of the *Jews* of any Man before or since his Time; and he publishes and maintains the same Thing in the Face of the whole World. And for a further Confirmation not only of the Particulars now in question, but of the whole History of the Translation of the *Septuagint*, as delivered by *Josephus*; *Justin Martyr*

tyr refers the *Greeks* to many other Histories then extant, though now unfortunately lost. Now, what have the Criticks on the other Hand to alledge in Opposition to such clear, such express, such illustrious Testimonies? Why; if we are to believe the great *Scaliger*, the History of *Aristeas* is nothing but a mere Forgery; and could not be wrote by that *Aristeas* whose Name it bears: If we are to believe the learned *Dr. Hody*, it is indeed very antient, but still it is suppositious; and all the other Authors I have mentioned, have copied only from him; and consequently are thereby disqualified from being admitted as proper Evidences upon this Occasion. Now, in order to clear up Matters, give me Leave in the first Place to ask, How does it appear that *Aristobulus* took his Account from that of *Aristeas*? Does *Clemens Alexandrinus* say any such Thing? No. Does *Eusebius*? No. Does any other antient Author, or does *Aristobulus* himself say so? No. We have not the least intimation in all Antiquity that *Aristobulus* founded his Testimony upon the Authority of the History of *Aristeas*. Does not the Doctor's Position then, *That all the Authors I have mentioned have only copied after Aristeas*, stand unsupported by any Proof whatsoever? May it not therefore be as easily rejected as admitted? But to go as far as we can to oblige these Gentlemen, let it be suppos'd, That *Aristobulus* did or did not copy after *Aristeas*; what will they get by it? If he did copy after *Aristeas*; is not this a clear and undeniable Proof, that the History of *Aristeas* was then owned by all the *Jews* at *Alexandria*, as a true History, and wrote by the Person whose Name it bears? If he did not copy from *Aristeas*, might he not learn the same Thing by Tradition; and even from the next immediate

Descendants of those of his own Nation, who had been Witnesses to the whole Transaction? And in either Case, what greater Confirmation would any Man desire for the Truth of the History of *Aristeas*? Then, as for *Josephus*; he copies after *Aristeas*, 'tis true; but is that a Reason for rejecting his Testimony? The Commentaries of *Aristobulus* were extant in his Time, and long after: And *Justin Martyr* assures us, that in his Days there were many other Writers who had given the same Account of the Translation of the *Septuagint* that *Josephus* does. Now, might not *Josephus* have had the Perusal of those Commentaries, as well as the Christian Writers? Might not he have seen and examined all those other Histories which gave any Account of this Translation? And if he did, is it not plain and evident, that he must have singled out the History of *Aristeas* from all the rest; and that he has epitomized and incorporated it into his own History, as the best and most authentic of them all? And can there be a better Proof than this, that, to his Time, it was universally acknowledged and received as a true History, and as the genuine Work of him whose Name it bears? To return then to the main Point: The Facts in question are related by *Aristeas*; and they are supported and confirmed by the clear and express Testimonies of *Aristobulus* and *Josephus*, two unexceptionable Compurgators. On the other Hand, *Scaliger*, Dr. *Hody*, and other modern Criticks tell us, That this whole History of *Aristeas* is nothing but a mere *Forgery*; and to prove this, they produce the single Testimony of one *Hermippus*. But would such Proof as this be admitted as sufficient to take away the Character or Reputation of another Person, in any Court, or before any Judicature in the World? It is written in the Law of
Moses;

Moses * ; and it is confirmed in the Gospel of *Jesus* † ; one Witness shall not rise up against a Man for any Iniquity, or for any Sin, in any Sin that he committeth ; *At the Mouth of Two Witnesses, or at the Mouth of Three Witnesses, shall every Matter be established.* Now, supposing that *Aristeas* could bring no Body to speak to his Character, what would a Court of Judicature do in such a Case ? Would they condemn him upon the Testimony of one single Witness ? No ; surely. But, if he could bring one or two Persons of undoubted Credit and Reputation to speak to his Character, what would a Court of Judicature do in such a Case ? Why, without all Doubt, they would look upon the Prosecution as malicious, and grant him a Copy of his Indictment.

BUT further ; Since our *modern Criticks* are pleased to lay so great a Stress upon this Testimony of *Hermippus*, let us enquire a little more narrowly into the intrinsic Value thereof. For, if it should be found not quite consistent with what other Writers of equal or better Credit than himself have related touching the same Thing ; or if it should appear that he has given false Evidence upon other Occasions ; no Man, I presume, will be so hardy hereafter, as to set his Evidence in Competition with that of *Aristeas* ; and much less with the joint Testimonies of *Aristobulus* and *Josephus*. Now, as to the first, I shall produce the Testimonies of *Cicero* and *Suidas* ; the former of which plainly intimates ‡, That *Demetrius Phalereus* did not die by being accidentally bit in the Hand by an Asp, as *Hermippus* says he did ; but that he was con-

* Deut. 19. 15.

† Mat. 18. 16. 2 Cor. 13. 1. John 8. 17.

‡ In Oratiōe pro Rabirio Posthūmo. Tom. 3. p. 325. Ed. Par. 4^{to}. 1684.

denn'd to lose his Life, by placing an Asp upon his Body. And the other reports the Story in a manner very different from both: His Words are these *; “ *Demetrius Phalereus* being expell'd “ *Athens*, came into *Egypt*; and living with *Pto-* “ *lemy Soter*, he died of the Bite of an Asp, and “ was buried near *Diospolis* in the Province cal- “ led *Busiris*”. Now, here we may observe that these Accounts are utterly inconsistent with one another: *Hermippus* says, that he was bit by an Asp accidentally; and *Cicero* intimates plainly, that the Asp was laid upon his Body on purpose to take away his Life. Again, *Hermippus* says, That this happened in the Reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and after the Death of *Ptolemy Soter*; but the Author, from whom *Suidas* took his Account, says, that it happened in the Lifetime of *Ptolemy Soter*. Now, for my Part, I am not at all concerned for the Truth of the Story either way: For, to speak freely, I believe neither of them. And all that I mention them for is this; That while the Testimony of *Hermippus* stands thus contradicted upon Record, I think it cannot be imagined, that we should pay any great Deference to his Testimony, when urged in Opposition to that of *Aristeas*. Nay, I think it will lie upon our *modern Criticks* either to clear up and reconcile these Accounts to one another; or, they must hold us excus'd, if we take the Liberty intirely to reject this favourite Testimony of theirs. But secondly; Is this the only Mistake that *Hermippus* has been guilty of? I answer; No. Has his Evidence then been questioned by others? Has it been contradicted upon other Occasions? I answer again; Yes, very frequently. *Hermippus* ascribes a Saying to *Thales*, which others

* In Voce Δημήτριος.

ascribe to *Socrates* *. He tells us the Story of *Anaxagoras's* Condemnation one way ; and *Hieronymus* tells the same another way †. He gives one Reason why *Aristotle* was called a *Peripatetic* ; and others assign another ‡. He tells us, that *Menedemus* having taken Sanctuary in the Temple of *Amphiarus*, was by a publick Decree of the *Bœotians* commanded to remove from thence, because the Golden Cups were lost during his Abode there ; and that thereupon he fled to *Antigonus*, and soon after died for Grief: But what says *Heraclides* to all this? Refert *Heraclides*, says *Laertius* ‡, *his omnino contraria* ; *Heraclides*, says he, tells the Story quite contrariwise. He says *Plato* died at a Nuptial Feast ** ; but *Cicero* says, he died writing at Home ††. He says *Plato* died aged 81 Years ; but *Neanthes* says, he died in the 84th Year of his Age †† : And *Menagius*, in his Notes upon the Place, prefers the Opinion of *Neanthes* to that of *Hermippus*. He tells us a wild and romantic Story about the Death of *Heraclides* ; but *Demetrius Magnestus* and others give quite another Account thereof * *. He says, that *Chrysisippus*, having drank a Draught of Sweet Wine, was all of a sudden taken with a swimming of the Head, and that he died in Five Days after ; but others say, that he died suddenly of a Fit of Laughter * *. He says, that *Pythagoras* was kill'd by the People of *Syracuse* in *Sicily* ; but *Dicearchus* and *Heraclides* affirm,

* *Diog. Laert.* l. 1. Sect. 33. p. 20.

† *Id.* l. 2. Sect. 13, 14. p. 87, 88.

‡ *Id.* l. 5. Sect. 2. p. 269.

‡ *Id.* l. 2. Sect. 142, 143. p. 162.

** *Id.* l. 3. Sect. 2. p. 165.

‡ In *Dialogo de Senectute*.

†† *Laert.* l. 3. Sect. 2, 3. p. 164, 165. *Neanthes* lived in the Reign of *Philadelphus*.

* * *Id.* l. 5. Sect. 89, 90, 91. p. 314, 315.

* * *Id.* l. 7. Sect. 184, 185. p. 479, 480.

that

that he died in *Italy* *. More Instances to the same Purpose might be produced, if it were necessary †: And I might enlarge upon these more fully; but I fear I should tire the Reader's Patience. Upon the whole therefore, I shall take the Liberty to add, That if what I have said upon this Head, should not convince our Adversaries, I hope some one or other of them will be so charitable as to shew me wherein I am mistaken: But if it does, I would then flatter myself, that we shall no more be teased hereafter about this Testimony of *Hermippus*.

HAVING thus made Peace between *Aristeas* and *Hermippus*; or at least shewn, that the latter has not Credit enough to hurt *Demetrius Phalereus*; I may now safely proceed some little way further. In the next Place then, *Aristeas* tells us ||; “ That, having often discoursed with *Sofibius* and “ *Andreas*, two great Men at Court, concerning “ the getting of those *Jews* released, whom *Ptolemy* “ *Soter* had taken and brought with him out of “ *Judea*; and thinking that this might be a proper “ Time to intercede for them, he laid hold of the “ Opportunity and said **; Let it not displease “ the King, if upon this Occasion I take the Liberty to suggest one Thing. The Laws which “ we desire not only to transcribe, but likewise to “ get translated into our own Language, belong to “ the whole Nation of the *Jews*; with what Decency then can you send Ambassadors to them “ upon such an Errand, while so many of their “ Countrymen are detained here in Slavery?

* *Diog. Laert.* Id. l. 8. Sect. 40, 41. p. 520, 521.

† Id. l. 8. Sect. 1. l. 8. Sect. 56, 68, 69, 85. l. 9. Sect. 3, 4. 27. l. 9. Sect. 43. Col. cum Athen, l. 2.

|| *Arist.* Hist. p. 5.

** Id. p. 6, 7.

“ Where-

“ Wherefore, if you expect to meet with Success
“ in this Negotiation, let me beseech you to ex-
“ tend your Royal Clemency and Generosity to
“ those poor and distressed *Jews*, who live here with
“ us in Bondage: And more especially, since the
“ same GOD, who has given them a Law, has
“ likewise showered down many peculiar Blessings
“ upon you and your Kingdom — You ex-
“ ceed all the Kings of the Earth in Magnifi-
“ cence and Nobleness of Mind; be pleased
“ therefore to set these poor People at Liberty—
“ * Hereupon the King lifting up his Head, and
“ looking upon me with a pleasing Countenance,
“ said; *How many Thousands, think you, may there*
“ *be of them?* Then *Andreas*, who stood just by
“ him, answered; Somewhat more than One
“ Hundred Thousand. *And does Aristeas then*
“ *ask a small Matter?* replied the King:
“ To which *Sosibius*, and others that stood by,
“ answered; But to release so many would be
“ an Offering to the most High GOD, and a
“ Token of a pious and grateful Mind, well
“ becoming so magnanimous a Prince. For,
“ since GOD hath raised you to the highest Ho-
“ nours, and crowned you with Glory above
“ all your Ancestors; it is but fitting, that in
“ Token of your Gratitude, you should offer
“ unto him the best and greatest Gifts. —
“ † Then the King not only consented to do
“ as he had been advised; but likewise order’d,
“ That a Ransom should be paid for them, at
“ and after the Rate of Twenty Drachmes for
“ each Head, young and old, out of his own
“ Treasury; which amounted in the Whole to
“ 660 Talents, and upwards.

* *Ibid.* p. 8.

† *Ibid.* p. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.

“ THIS done, continues *Aristeas* *, *Demetrius*
 “ delivered his Opinion to the King, concerning
 “ the manner of getting a Copy of the Books
 “ of the *Jews*, in this manner: Seeing you have
 “ commanded me, O King, to provide such
 “ Books for your Library as are still wanting,
 “ and to correct and compleat those which may
 “ have received Damage, I have taken no small
 “ Pains about both; and do now further represent,
 “ that the Books containing the Laws of the *Jews*,
 “ with some few others relating to the same
 “ People, are wanting. For, they are wrote in
 “ the *Hebrew* Language or Character; but with-
 “ out taking due Care (as they that understand
 “ the Language, say) to fix and ascertain the
 “ true Reading of the Text; because no Prince
 “ has as yet made it any Part of his Care, to
 “ get the same done as it ought to be. It
 “ would therefore be a right Thing, to get ex-
 “ act Copies of those Books, and to place them
 “ in your Library; because the Laws which they
 “ contain are contrived with more Wisdom, and
 “ with a greater regard to Purity than any others;
 “ infomuch that it may from thence be conclud-
 “ ed, that they are of a Divine Original. And
 “ from hence it comes, that all other Authors,
 “ Poets as well as Historians, have forbore to
 “ make any mention either of those Books, or
 “ of the People who live under the Laws con-
 “ tained in them; because, as *Hecateus* the *Ab-*
 “ *derite* affirms, They are of a more than ordi-
 “ nary, pure, and venerable Nature. There-
 “ fore, if it seem good unto you, O King, let
 “ Letters be wrote to the High Priest at *Jerusa-*
 “ *lem*; requesting of him to lend to you Six El-
 “ ders out of every Tribe, such as are of the

* *Arist.* Hist. p. 12, 13, 14.

“ most

“ most unblemished Lives, and the most skilful
“ in their own Law ; to the End, that by dili-
“ gently observing wherein they unanimously
“ agree, and by carefully taking the true Sense
“ and Meaning of the Words, we may get a
“ compleat and accurate Translation of the
“ Whole. All Happiness ever attend you.”

I shall not trouble the Reader here with any of the Remarks which have been made upon the Number of the *Jews* which were released ; nor upon the particular Price which was set upon each Head ; nor yet upon the total Value of the Ransom which the King paid upon this Occasion : These Points shall be considered more particularly hereafter. But, I hope I may be excused, if, for the better Illustration of my Subject, I take the Liberty to offer two or three Observations of a different Nature. And first, I desire it may be observed, That *Demetrius Phalereus* (though a *Greek* by Birth, yet) was not so ignorant of the Religion, Customs and Polity of the *Jews*, as many would have us believe. The *Greeks* in general were by this Time much better acquainted with the *Jews* than in former Ages. About Twelve or Thirteen Years after the Death of *Alexander* the Great, *Hecateus* the *Abderite* * wrote a Book on purpose to give the *Greeks* an Account of their Religion, Laws and Polity ; and he had taken Care to inform himself so well from *Jews* themselves, and had wrote so particulatly, and spoken so honourably of them in his History, that a certain Heathen Writer †, long after, made the same Objections to it, that some of our *modean Criticks* have lately made to the History of *Aristeas*. Now, this Book, De-

* *Joseph. contra Apion.* l. 1. p. 1347 — 1350.

† *Vid. Orig. contra Celsum,* l. 1. p. 13.

metrius Pbalereus here owns, that he had seen and perused : And he farther plainly enough hints, that he had likewise discoursed and consulted with some other learned and intelligent Persons of the same Nation, upon this Affair. Wherefore, we are not at all to wonder, that he talks so pertinently upon a Subject seemingly so much out of his way ; nor that he proposes so uncommon a Method for coming at a true and compleat Translation of the sacred Books of the *Jews*. Secondly ; I desire it may be observed, how judiciously *Demetrius Pbalereus* represents the principal Difficulty that attended this Work. The Books, says he, are wrote in the *Hebrew* Language and Character : Why then, say you, should this create any more Difficulty, than if they had been wrote in any other Language and Character ? May not any Book wrote in the *Greek* Language and Character be easily translated into any other Language by any Person sufficiently skill'd in both ? And if so ; why might not a Book in *Hebrew* be likewise translated into *Greek* by any Person sufficiently skill'd in each of them ? Now to this he answers, That the Difficulty does not lie merely in the Language or Character, as such, but in that *Ἀμελέσερον δὲ, καὶ ἔχ' ὡς ὑπάρχει, σεσημαίνει* ; which the Translators of *Aristeas* seem to me to have intirely mistaken, or rather to have made Nonsense of it. The whole Passage runs thus ; *τυγχάνει γὰρ Ἑβραϊκοῖς γράμμασι καὶ φωνῇ λεγόμενα ἀμελέσερον δὲ, καὶ ἔχ' ὡς ὑπάρχει, σεσημαίνει* : which they translate into *Latin* in this manner ; *Constant enim Literis Hebraicis ; sed negligentius, nec ita ut se habent (ut ab intelligentibus perhibetur) conscripti* : That is in *English* : *They are wrote in the Hebrew Character ; but after so negligent a manner, that they are not wrote (as I am inform'd by those who understand them) as they are or should be.* Which is forcing
Demetrius

Demetrius either to talk Nonsense, or to insinuate that there was not at that Time a perfect Copy of the sacred Books of the *Jews* any where extant in the World ; than which nothing can be more diametrically opposite to the whole Scope of his Letter. The Truth of the Matter therefore was undoubtedly this: He had been inform'd, that the *Hebrew* Scriptures were wrote without Vowels or Points ; and consequently that they might be read several ways ; and that therefore the true Reading of them could only be learned from the *Jews* themselves. He therefore most judiciously observes, that the Difficulty of getting a good and authentic Translation of them, did not so much lie in the Language and Character, as such, as in this, that the *Jews* themselves had taken no Care to fix and ascertain the true Reading of the Text, any other way but by Tradition and *Viva Voce*. Which certainly heighten'd the Difficulty to such a Degree, as made it absolutely impossible for any but *Jews* ; and not for all of them neither ; but only for such of them as had learned the true Reading of the Text from others, to make a good and authentic Translation from the same. Thirdly ; Although *Demetrius Phalereus* does not here expressly propose it ; yet I submit it to the Reader, whether he does not here fairly hint at the Method, which others more explicitly tell us the King afterwards took to satisfy himself about the Truth and Genuineness of this Translation : Why send for so many Interpreters ? Why for Six out of every Tribe ? The Reason is now plain. The *Hebrew* was become a dead Language ; and the true Reading of the sacred Text was not fixed and ascertained by any known Rules. What more likely way then could he advise the King to take, than to send for some out of every Tribe ? What

more effectual, what better, what other way cou'd he take to be assured that they rightly understood the true Reading of the Text, or to prevent their combining together to impose upon him, than to put each of them upon making a Translation apart by himself? Was there any other way but this, to obtain that τὸ σύμφωνον ἐκ τῶν πλείονων, which *Demetrius* here so particularly recommends? But to return;

ARISTEAS, having thus acquainted his Brother with his own Success in behalf of the captive *Jews*; and with the Method which *Demetrius Phalereus* proposed for obtaining the Books that were wanted; comes next and acquaints him, that, pursuant to the Advice laid down in the abovementioned Epistle, the King wrote to the High-Priest of the *Jews*, in manner following* :

King PTOLEMY to ELEAZAR the High-Priest; Health and Happiness :

“ **S** E I N G it hath come to pass that many
 “ of the *Jews* are here living in our Coun-
 “ try; whereof some were carried away by the
 “ *Persians*, when they were Masters of these Parts
 “ of the World; and others were taken and
 “ brought hither in my Father's Time; and
 “ since he not only took many of those that he
 “ brought along with himself, into his Army, and
 “ gave them extraordinary Encouragement, but
 “ likewise found the former so faithful to him, that
 “ he built sundry Places of Strength, and commit-
 “ ted them to their Care, the better to keep the
 “ old Inhabitants in awe: We, in like manner,
 “ have distinguished our Reign by many Acts

* *Arist. Hist.* p. 14, 15, 16. compared with *Euseb. Præp. Evang.* l. 8. c. 4. p. 352.

“ of Generosity ; and more especially to your
“ Countrymen ; having set above 100,000 of
“ them at Liberty ; and paid a suitable Ran-
“ som for each Head, to the several Persons who
“ claimed a Right to them : And where we have
“ found that they have been ill-used by our Peo-
“ ple, we have taken Care to do them Justice.
“ Herein we persuade ourselves, we have acted
“ piously, and testified our Gratitude to the most
“ High God, who hath preserved our Kingdom
“ in Peace, and advanced the same to the highest
“ Pitch of Glory and Renown. Moreover, those
“ of them who were of a fit Age and Constitu-
“ tion, we have taken into our Army ; and those
“ whom we found qualified to serve about our
“ Person, we have preferred to suitable Posts in
“ our Court. But, seeing it is our earnest De-
“ sire, not only to gratify these, but all other
“ Jews throughout the whole World ; and even
“ those who are yet unborn ; we have resolved
“ to get your Law translated out of *Hebrew*
“ into *Greek* ; so that it may be placed in our
“ Library, with many other Royal Books. You
“ will therefore do us a most acceptable Piece of
“ Service, if you will please to send unto us Six
“ Elders out of every Tribe ; such as are of the
“ most unblemished Lives, and well versed in the
“ Law, and who are sufficiently qualified to
“ undertake a Translation of the same ; to the
“ End that, by comparing the Labours of many,
“ the true Sense of the Text may be discovered ;
“ and we may get a Translation thereof suitable
“ to the Dignity and Importance of the Subject.
“ For, from this Work, we likewise persuade
“ ourselves we shall reap no small Glory. We
“ have therefore sent *Andreas* the chief Captain
“ of our Body-Guards, and *Aristeas* ; two Men
“ in great Credit and Honour with us, to treat

“ with you about this Affair, and to bring our
 “ Offerings to the Temple, and One Hundred
 “ Talents in Money to be applied either to fa-
 “ cred or other Uses, as you shall see fit. And
 “ if you will please to write to us about any
 “ Thing, it will not only be very acceptable,
 “ but we shall look upon it as a Mark of your
 “ Friendship for us: For we will immediately
 “ grant, whatever you shall think fit to request
 “ of us. *Farewel.*

THIS Letter being delivered to *Eleazar*, he answered the same, as follows*:

ELEAZAR *the High-Priest, to King*
 PTOLEMY *his true Friend; Health;*

“ IF you, and Queen *Arfinoe* your Sister, and
 “ your Children are in Health, it is well,
 “ and as we wish; for we are likewise well.
 “ Having received your Letter, we rejoice ex-
 “ ceedingly on Account of your Noble Purpose
 “ and Design. Wherefore we assembled the
 “ whole Multitude together, and read your Let-
 “ ter to them; that they might all be apprized
 “ of your Piety and Devotion to our God. And
 “ we likewise shewed unto them the Twenty
 “ Golden, and Thirty Silver Cups, which you
 “ sent; and also the Five Dishes, and the Ta-
 “ ble to place the Offerings upon, and the Hun-
 “ dred Talents in Money, which you sent to be
 “ laid out in such other Things as may be want-
 “ ing about the Temple. All which *Andreas*
 “ and *Aristeas*, who have so deservedly Merited
 “ your Royal Favour, and who have no less en-

* Hist. *Arist.* p. 17, 18, 19. *Euseb.* Præp. Evang. l. 3. c. 5. p. 353, 354.

“ deared

“ deared themselves to us by their own personal
“ Accomplishments and Behaviour, have brought
“ with them, and delivered safe into our Hands.
“ They have also communicated to us all your
“ Commands; and on the other Hand, we have
“ sent by them a suitable Answer: For, in all
“ Things wherein we can serve you, even although
“ it should not be altogether agreeable to our
“ own Sentiments, we are resolved to comply;
“ which we hope you will look upon as a sure
“ Pledge of our Friendship and Love. For you
“ have heaped many Favours, and such as ought
“ never to be forgotten, upon our Nation. Where-
“ fore we forthwith offered Sacrifices for you,
“ and for your Sister, and for your Children, and
“ for your Friends; wherein all the Multitude
“ joined with us; and earnestly besought God,
“ whose Providence over-rules all Things, to
“ grant you your Heart’s Desire in every Thing,
“ and to preserve your Kingdom in Peace and
“ Glory. And to the end that your Noble
“ Design of getting our Holy Law translated,
“ may be crowned with the desired Success, we
“ have made choice of Six able and worthy El-
“ ders out of each of our Tribes, and have sent
“ them to you with a Copy of our Law. You
“ will therefore, O King, do a right and accep-
“ table Thing, if, when these Men have finish’d
“ the Work they come for, you will be pleas’d
“ to send them back again to us in Safety. Fare-
“ wel.

SEVERAL Observations might be made upon these Letters; but my Design at present being only to vindicate *Aristeas* from the Imputation of Forgery, I shall here confine my self to what relates more particularly to that Point. *John*

Gerard Vossius *, and *Isaac* his Son †, as well as several other very learned Writers of the last Century ††, being unwilling either to condemn the History of *Aristeas*, or to reject altogether the Testimony of *Hermippus*, had supposed, that this Version of the *Septuagint* might have been made during the Time that *Ptolemy Philadelphus* is said to have reigned jointly with his Father. Now, hereupon the reverend and learned Dr. *Hody* steps forth, and, like an intrepid and well accoutred Champion, (as he flatters himself **) undertakes to prove from thence, that the History of *Aristeas* must be a mere Fiction and Imposture. Let us see then how he makes this appear. The Two *Vossius*'s, as we have observed, supposed that the Holy Scriptures were translated by the *Septuagint*, during the joint Reign of *Ptolemy Soter*, and his Son *Philadelphus*: The Doctor not only admits, that they were translated at the Time by them supposed, but likewise promises to prove the same afterwards, or at least to give some probable Reasons for it ††. The Place he refers to, is the Second Chapter of the Second Book of his learned Work, *de Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus*, &c. I then turned to the Place; and when I had read the same, I found it necessary to go a little further, and to consult the two or three Chapters next after it; and upon the Whole, I found the Doctor's Hypothesis to be, That the Holy Scriptures were translated into *Greek*, during the joint Reigns of *Ptolemy Soter* and *Philadelphus* his Son; but not at the Request of either

* De Historicis Græcis. l. 1. c. 12. p. 73.

† De Translatione 70 Interpretum, c. 2. p. 5.

‡ *Dion Petavius* in *Epiphan.* de Mensuris et Pond. I. *Bapt.* Ricciolus Chronol. T. 1.

** De Bibliorum Text. Origin. l. 1. c. 6. Sect. 2.

†† Idem ibid.

of those Kings, or under the Care of *Demetrius Phalereus*, or by the *Septuagint*, as the two *Vossius's* supposed; but by some of the *Alexandrian Jews*, for the Use of the rest of their brethren who had lost or forgot the *Hebrew Tongue*, and therefore wanted such a Translation. Nay further; I found that the Doctor's Opinion was, That no more of the Scriptures was translated at this Time but only the Five Books of *Moses*. On the other hand, the Doctor observes, that according to the History of *Aristeas*, the Version of the *Septuagint* could not be made but at some distance of Time after the Death of *Ptolemy Soter*. And therefore, says he, if I can prove, that the Scriptures were translated into *Greek* by the *Alexandrian Jews*, for their own Use, during the joint Reign of the Father and Son; it will then necessarily follow, That the History of *Aristeas* must be a Forgery. Now, in order to come at the Truth of this Matter, I will in the first Place admit, that, according to the History of *Aristeas*, the Version of the *Septuagint* could not be made till some Years after the Death of *Ptolemy Soter*. And then in the next Place, if he can prove as well as he can assert, I will likewise readily own, that *Aristeas* must have been an Impostor, and that he deserves more hard Names, and much worse Treatment, if possible, than even the Doctor himself has yet thought fit to bestow upon him *.

* Subolet jam tandem fumus iste, quem credulis tot seculis IMPOSTOR vendidit. *Hyperaspistes* ille ex aula pulsus, in latebras suas *Alexandrinæ* demittitur, unde in ipsum Regis Palatium perfricta fronte irrepserat. Qui Asylum in Serapeo querebat, idem jam in Synagoga invenitur, nugas machinans, et crepundia credulis meditans. *Hod. contra Arist.* l. 1. c. 1. Sect. 18. He that would see more of the learned Doctor's polite Epithets, may consult the following Places; l. 1. c. 1. Sect. 21. where he calls him in so many Words, a cunning Liar, and an Impostor, l. 1. c. 2. Sect. 5. l. 1. c. 3. Sect. 2. c. 6. Sect. 11, where he calls this History, *The Fable of Aristeas*, &c.

To come to the Point then : The History of *Aristeas* is, as we have seen, supported and confirmed by the Testimonies of *Aristobulus*, *Philo Judæus*, and *Josephus*; Authors who were all *Jews* by Birth as well as Profession; and who flourish'd either before, or at the Time, or soon after the Birth of our Saviour. Now, has the Doctor any Testimonies to produce for his Assertions of equal Antiquity or Authority with these? No; in all his learned Labours there is nothing of this Nature to be found. How then does he prove his Assertions? Why; he first produces the Testimonies of Two or Three of the *Rabbinical* Writers; and then he quotes Three or Four of the Christian Writers of the lower Ages *. But is he fully satisfied with such Authorities as these himself? By no means: He first puts a Question upon them, in these Words; *Leviora hæc neque magni momenti Testimonia* †; And then he tacitly answers the same in the Affirmative, by immediately subjoining, *Graviora quæ sequuntur*. As if he had said, *I own these Testimonies are little or nothing to the Purpose; but those that I am now coming to shall clinch the Matter home*. Now, who are they, I pray, who are to do the Doctor such a signal Piece of Service? Why truly, no less Men than *Irenæus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Anatolius*, a Bishop of *Laodicea* §. Good and sufficient Witnesses, I own. But, will the Doctor be determined in all Matters relating to this Affair by their Testimony, or will he not? If they are Men of that Probity, Veracity and Judgment, that their Evidence may be intirely relied upon in this Affair; why does the Doctor, contrary

* De Bibl. Text. Origin. l. 2. c. 2.

† Id. ibid.

§ Id. ibid.

to the exprefs Testimony of the Two first, presume to assert, That there was nothing Miraculous in this Translation? Why does he, contrary to the exprefs Testimony of all the Three, assert, That this Translation was not made at the Request of either of the *Ptolemy's*, nor yet by Seventy-two Persons sent from *Jerusalem* to *Alexandria*, for this particular Purpose? If their Testimony is not to be taken whole and intire as they gave it; if he thinks he may take the Liberty to reject their Evidence as to these and the like Particulars; why may not I take the same Liberty with them, and, in my turn, reject that Part of their Evidence which seems to interfere with that of *Aristeas*? If he may take the Liberty to reject one Part of their Testimony, notwithstanding that the same stands confirmed and supported by *Philo Judæus*, by *Justin Martyr*, by *Tertullian*, by *Eusebius*, and by many others; may not I, upon much better Grounds, be allowed to reject the other Part, as being inconsistent not only with what the same Authors, but likewise with what *Aristobulus* and *Josephus* have delivered upon the same Subject? May we not then still, after all that the Doctor has been able to say to the contrary, venture to assert, That he has not produced any one single clear and unexceptionable Authority, nor any Shadow of Proof in Support of his Hypothesis; *That the Holy Scriptures were translated during the joint Reigns of Ptolemy Soter and Philadelphus his Son; but that the same was made, not by the Order or at the Request of either of those Kings, or under the Care of Demetrius Phalereus; but only by some of the Alexandrian Jews for their own private Use?* May not *Aristeas*, after all, be the same plain, honest, and undesigning Man, which all the antient *Jews* as well as *Christians* believed him to be? But though thus much might suffice

suffice as an Answer *ad hominem* ; yet I cannot leave this Head without observing, That it does not appear to me, that *Irenæus* or *Clemens Alexandrinus* differed so much from the other Fathers of the Church upon this Point, as the Doctor imagines. For, as to that Passage of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, to which the Doctor refers * ; the most that can be said of it is only this ; That he tells us, that some thought that this Translation was made in the Time of *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus* ; and others, that it was made at the Request of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* : But as to his own Opinion, it is very plain from another Passage †, where he quotes the Testimony of *Aristobulus* with Approbation, and which *Eusebius* has given us more at large, that he intirely agreed with him, that it was made in the Reign of *Philadelphus* ; and under the particular Care and Inspection of *Demetrius Phalereus*, consonant to what *Aristeas* writes on the same Subject. As for *Irenæus*, his Words, as we find them now in our printed Copies †, are these ; πρὸ γὰρ τῆς Ῥωμαίου κρατῦναι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν, *ΕΤΙ τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν Ἀσίαν κατεχόντων, Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγος φιλοτιμύμενος. &c. i. e. *Prius enim quam Romani Imperium suum confirmassent, cum Macedones adhuc Asiam obtinerent, Ptolemæus Lagi--Bibliothecam, quam Alexandriæ exstruxerat, omnium Gentium libris, quotquot lectuo digni essent, exornare contendens, petiit ab Hierosolymitanis, ut ipsorum Scripturas Græco Sermone interpretatas acciperet.* Now here the only Question is, *How the Words Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγος ought to be translated ?* Some Word or other must be understood to make it Sense. If we suppose the Word *υἱὸς* to be understood ; the Words must then be translated

* Strom. i. p. 341, 342.

† Ibid.

‡ Contra Hæres. l. 3. c. 21. *Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 5. c. 8.*

thus,

thus, *Ptolemy the Son of Lagus*: If we suppose the Word *απόγονος* or *ἐγγονος* to be understood, we may then translate the Words thus, *Ptolemy the Grand-son of Lagus*. If we take the first, we make *Irenæus* contradict all other Authors that wrote before him on this Subject: If we take the latter, he agrees exactly with them. If we take the first, it will accord but ill with the preceding Words, *cum Macedones adhuc Asiam obtinerent*. For how could the Word *adhuc* with any Propriety be applied to *Ptolemy the Son of Lagus*, the very first of the *Macedonians* that reigned in *Egypt*? If we take the latter, the Coherence of the whole is plain and easy; and *Irenæus* is consistent with himself, as well as with all the other more antient Writers. Who then would hesitate one Moment, which of the two to chuse? As for *Anatolius*, although it appears from the Character which *Eusebius* * gives of him, that he must have been a Man of great Learning; yet, to speak my Opinion of him freely, I think his Testimony in relation to the present Point, is of little or no Weight either one way or the other. For, first, *Valesius* in his Notes upon the Place, observes, That according to *Eusebius* and *Syncellus*, *Agathobulus* the Philosopher lived in the Time of the Emperor *Adrian*; and therefore he justly doubts whether *Anatolius* was not greatly mistaken in saying, *That the two Agathobulus's were more antient than Philo and Josephus*. Secondly; *Anatolius* intimates as if he had read the Works of *Philo* and *Josephus* †; and yet in Opposition to them, and without producing any but his own Authority for the same, he ascribes that to the Father and Son, which they both ascribe to the Son only. Thirdly; Both

* Hist. Eccl. l. 7. c. 32. p. 284—287.

† Id. ibid. p. 287.

Valesius * and *Scaliger* † own that *Anatolius* is greatly mistaken in saying, That the *Aristobulus* who wrote the Commentaries on the Law of Moses, was one of those that translated the Scriptures into Greek; as also in affirming, That the *Aristobulus* who wrote those Commentaries, dedicated them to *Ptolemy Soter*, or to *Philadelphus*, his Son and Successor. And so sensible was *Scaliger* of these *παρορμήματα*; that he takes Occasion from thence to expostulate with the Criticks of his own Time in these Words, *Vide quam iniqui sint hodierni Scriptores erga eos, qui aliquid humanitus peccant, quum in illis vetustissimis Scriptoribus tot hallucinationes, ἀναρχοισμὸς, ἀνισορροίαὶ deprehendamus.* Now this being the Case with regard to this Passage of *Anatolius*, I will submit it to any Men to judge, whether he must not be exceedingly at a Loss for Evidence, who is obliged to lay the Stress of his Cause upon such a Testimony as this.

THE learned Doctor, in his Dissertation upon the History of *Aristeas*, seems to me to have had Two Things chiefly in View: The first is, To confute *Isaac Vossius's* Notion; that is, to shew, that *Vossius's* Hypothesis, as to the Time when this Translation was made by the *Septuagint*, is inconsistent with the History of *Aristeas*; and consequently that either the one or the other must be given up. As to which I am very free to own, that I think he is in the right; and therefore he or any Body else shall have my free Consent to do what they please with *Vossius's* Hypothesis. The second is to prove positively, That this Translation was made during the joint Reign of *Ptolemy Soter* and *Philadelphus* his Son; or else, that it was not made till many Years after the Death of

* In Notis ad Locum.

† In Animadversionibus *Enseb.* ad Num. 1841. p. 142.

Ptolemy Soter; or perhaps not till towards the latter End of the Reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*; and consequently, that, take it which way you please, the History of *Aristeas* must be a Forgery. For, if it can be proved, that this Translation was made in the Life-time of *Ptolemy Soter*, then, says the Doctor, the History of *Aristeas* will not agree therewith, and consequently must be deemed a Forgery: Or, if it can be proved, that it was not made till Ten or more Years after the Death of *Ptolemy Soter*, then, says the Doctor again, long before that, *Demetrius Phalereus* was dead; and consequently the History of *Aristeas* which speaks of him as living, must be a Forgery. Thus we see what Pains he takes to beset poor *Aristeas* on all Sides.

IT is visible from several Places of the Dissertation, that the learned Author was not a little delighted with the Advantages which he had gain'd over his Adversary, during the several literary Skirmishes which they had with one another for several Years together. And possibly this might flesh and animate him to hunt and beset, and even to think that he could run down *Aristeas* himself. How well he has succeeded in the first Part of his Attempt, which was to prove, that this Translation was made by certain *Alexandrian Jews* for their own private Use, during the joint Reign of *Ptolemy Soter*, and *Philadelphus* his Son, we have just now seen. Proceed we then in the next Place to consider, what Proof he has to shew, that, if this Translation was not made at the Time he has pitched upon, it could not be made till many Years after the Death of *Ptolemy Soter*.

Now to prove, that, according to *Aristeas*, this Translation could not be made before the 12th Year at least of the Reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*,

delphus, Dr. Hody argues thus * ; “ From the Letter of *Eleazar* the High Priest, it appears, that “ when this Translation was made, the King was “ then married to his Sister *Arsinoe*. But *Arsinoe* “ the Sister of *Philadelphus* was first married to “ *Lysimachus* King of *Thracia*, and afterwards to “ *Ceraunus* King of *Macedonia*, as *Memnon*, *Justin*, “ and *Pausanias* testify. Whence it follows, says “ he, that she could not be married to *Philadelphus* “ till after *Ceraunus*’s Death. But *Ceraunus* “ was killed in the 6th Year of the Reign of “ *Ptolemy Philadelphus* ; and how long afterwards “ she lived a Widow, is uncertain. But that she “ lived at least Six Years a Widow, may be gathered from the Age of his Children by his “ former Wife ; the eldest of which in all probability was not born till the 10th Year of his “ Reign ; so that in all likelihood, *Philadelphus* “ did not marry her till about the 12th Year of “ his Reign. But though the Doctor states his Argument thus, and a little afterwards † tells us, *That he lays no small Stress upon it* ; yet his Heart seems to have misgiven him as to the Length of Time. For thus he concludes, somewhat more warily upon the Whole § ; *Hoc saltem evidenter apparet, Arsinoen, Sororem Philadelphi, cujus mentio tanquam conjugis ipsius in Aristeana Pontificis Epistola, non factam fuisse illius conjugem, nisi annis aliquot post Mortem Ptolemæi Lagi*. And much to the same Purpose Dr. *Prideaux* tells us **, “ That “ they who believe the History of *Aristeas* to be “ genuine, cannot place the Translation of the “ *Septuagint* sooner than the 8th Year of *Ptole-*

* De Bibl. Text. Orig. l. 1. c. 6. Sect. 10.

† Id. ibid. Sect. 12.

§ Idem, l. 1. c. 6. Sect. 10.

** Connexion of the History of the Old and New Testament, Vol. 2. part 1. p. 27.

“ *my Philadelphus*, (or the 6th from the Death
“ of his Father) because then, says he, it would
“ be before *Ptolemy Philadelphus* married *Arfinoe*
“ his Sister, whom *Eleazar* in his Epistle, which
“ that Author makes him to have written to
“ this Prince, calls his Queen and his Sister.

DR. HODY in the very next Paragraph tells us *, *That he knew full well, that it was the Opinion of some of the Moderns, that Arfinoe the Sister and Wife of Philadelphus, was a different Person from that Arfinoe, who was first married to Iysimachus, and afterwards to Ptolemy Ceraunus.* But then he immediately rejects it as a rash and groundless Opinion. But for my Part, I heartily wish he had named them, and directed us to the Places where this their Opinion is to be found; for then he would not only have paid due Honour to their Names, but possibly might have saved me much Trouble: For, I cannot help thinking, but that they that thought so (whoever they were) were certainly much in the right of it.

I am sensible how difficult a Thing it is, at this distance of Time, and after the Loss of so many antient Records, to be very particular and exact in settling a Point of this Nature. But, if the Reader will be content with such Lights as History affords; and will allow me, where History is silent, to fill up the Vacancies with probable Conjectures; I will then endeavour to give him, tho' not perhaps all the Satisfaction that he may wish for, yet possibly much more than he will be able to get upon any other Scheme. The Conditions, I hope, will not be thought unreasonable; and therefore, upon the Presumption that they will not, I shall, without any more Ceremony, take

* De Bibl. Text. Origin. l. i. c. 6. Sect. 10. p. 26.

the Liberty to proceed, and submit the following Particulars to his Consideration. And,

First; I observe, that it is agreed on all hands, that *Alexander* the Great died at *Babylon* in the first Year of the 114th Olympiad; but whether near the Beginning, or towards the latter End thereof, is not so certain. *Petavius* * places his Death on the 19th Day of *July*, (in the 4390th Year of the Julian Period) and consequently very near the Beginning of that Year: But Bishop *Usher* † places his Death on the 22d Day of *May* (and in the 4391st Year of the Julian Period) and therefore very near the latter End of the same Year. It is not, I own, very material to our present Purpose, which of the Two is in the right. But however, for Order's sake, we will here take Bishop *Usher's* Account; and then it will follow, that *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus* enter'd upon the Government of *Egypt*, about the Middle of the 4391st Year of the Julian Period; and about the Beginning of the Second Year of the 114th Olympiad ‡.

§ *Secondly*; *Diodorus Siculus* ** informs us, That in the same Year, *Ptolemy*, being certainly inform'd that *Perdiccas* designed to dispossess him of the Government of *Egypt*, entered into a Confederacy with *Antipater* against him. And the same Historian tells us, That a little after this *Craterus* married *Pbila*, *Antipater's* eldest Daughter ††.

* De Doctrina Temporum, l. 10. c. 24.

† In Anal. Vet. Testam. ad Ann. Period. Julian. 4391.

‡ *Diod. Sicul.* l. 18. p. 628.

** *Bibl. Hist.* l. 18. p. 634, 635.

†† *Ibid.* l. 18. p. 637, 638.

Who,

Who, we may suppose, might then be about Eighteen Years old.

Thirdly; The same Historian * acquaints us, that in the Third Year of the 114th Olympiad, *Perdiccas* marched with a great Army to invade *Egypt*. Whereupon *Antipater* left *Antigonus*, *Craterus*, and *Neoptolemus* to watch *Eumenes*; and marched himself with another Army to the Assistance of *Ptolemy*. But while he was on the Way, News was brought him from *Cappadocia*, that *Eumenes* had defeated and killed *Craterus*; and from *Egypt*, that *Perdiccas* having miscarried in several Attempts to pass the *Nile*, his own Generals had revolted, and put him to Death. Whereupon *Antipater* made a new Partition of the Provinces; giving the Government of *Babylon* to *Seleucus*; and sending *Antigonus* and *Cassander*, against *Eumenes*, and confirming *Ptolemy* in the Government of *Egypt*, &c. and then returned with *Arideus* and *Eurydice* his Queen into *Macedonia*. And probably, upon this new Partition of the Empire, and confirming the Government of *Egypt* to *Ptolemy*, it might be agreed that he should marry *Eurydice*, another of *Antipater's* Daughters; who might then be about Fifteen Years old. And *Ptolemy* might the rather be desirous of this Match, as well out of Gratitude for the Readiness *Antipater* had shewn to come to his Assistance against *Perdiccas*, as to strengthen himself in his new Government by so potent an Alliance, against any other Enemies that might afterwards rise up against him.

Per. Jul. 4392—3.
Olymp. 114. 3.

* Bibl. Hist. l. 18. p. 644—648.

Fourthly; Pursuant to the Treaty concluded last Year, *Eurydice*, aged Sixteen Years, was sent early this Year into *Egypt*, and marry'd to *Ptolemy*; and was accompanied by *Bernice* her Cousin, who could not be less than Eighteen Years old; being then a Widow, and having a Son called *Magas*, and Two Daughters by *Philip* her late Husband *. And the same Year, *Nicanor*, one of *Ptolemy's* Generals, marched with an Army into *Syria* and *Phœnicia*; and subdued those Provinces †. And *Ptolemy* himself took *Jerusalem* on the Sabbath-day; and carried away 100,000 *Jews* captive into *Egypt* §; many of whom he afterwards settled in *Lybia* and *Cyrene*, then likewise but lately conquered.

Fifthly; In the Second Year of the 115th Olympiad, we may place the Birth of *Ptolemy*, afterwards surnamed *Ceraunus*, the eldest Son of *Ptolemy Soter*, by *Eurydice* the Daughter of *Antipater*. And in the next Year after, we may place the Birth of *Pyrrhus*, the Son of *Æacides*, King of *Epirus*. And in the Fourth Year of the same Olympiad, we may place the Birth of *Arsinoe*, the Daughter of *Ptolemy Soter* by *Eurydice*. And in the same Year, *Demetrius*, afterwards surnamed *Poliorcetes*, aged Nineteen Years, by the Advice of his Father *Antigonus*, married *Phila* **, the

* *Pausan.* in *Attic.* p. 6.

† *Diod.* l. 18. p. 650. *Appian* in *Syriacis*, p. 121. *Pausan.* in *Attic.* p. 5.

§ *Joseph.* *Antiquit.* l. 12. c. 1, 2. *Euseb.* in *Chronico.*

** Hanc *Demetrio* admodum Juveni suavit Pater, ut ætate sibi non respondentem, sed majorem duceret. *Plus.* in *Vita Demetrii*, p. 895.

Daughter of *Antipater*, and Widow of *Craterus*, aged Twenty-four Years.

Sixthly; In the Beginning of the First Year of the 116th Olympiad, *Cassander* recovered Possession of the Kingdom of *Macedonia*, and married *Thessalonice*, Daughter of *Philip*, and Sister to *Alexander* the Great. The same Year *Antigonus* made himself Master of all *Asia*, from the *Helespont* to the *Indus*; and *Seleucus* fled from *Babylon*, and took Sanctuary with *Ptolemy* in *Egypt*. And towards the Close of this Year we may place the Birth of *Philip*, the eldest Son of *Cassander* by *Thessalonice*, and of *Stratonice*, the Daughter of *Demetrius* by *Phila*.

Per. Jul. 4398—9.
Olymp. 116. 1.

Seventhly; In the Second Year of the 116th Olympiad, we may place the Birth of *Antigonus Gonatas*, the Son of *Demetrius Poliorcetes* by *Phila*; and of *Antipater*, the Second Son of *Cassander* by *Thessalonice*.

Per. Jul. 4399—4400.
Olymp. 116. 2.

Eighthly; We learn from *Diodorus Siculus* *, That about the Middle of the Third Year of the 116th Olympiad, *Demetrius Poliorcetes* was Twenty-two Years old; and that *Antigonus*, his Father, left him then in *Syria*, with an Army to watch *Ptolemy's* Designs on that Side; while he himself marched into the lesser *Asia* with another Army, to oppose *Cassander's* Projects in those Parts. And in the same Year we may place the Birth of *Alexander*, the Third Son of *Cassander* by

Per. Jul. 4400—4401.
Olymp. 116. 3.

* Bibl. Hist. l. 19. p. 709.

Thessalonice. And in the next or Fourth Year of the same Olympiad, we may place the Birth of *Lysandra*, the Second Daughter of *Ptolemy* by *Eurydice*.

Per. Jul. 4401—2.
Olymp. 116. 4.

Ninthly; In the First Year of the 117th Olympiad, *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus* gave Battle to *Demetrius Poliorcetes* near *Gaza*, and intirely routed him*.

Per. Jul. 4402—3.
Olymp. 117. 1.

But some Time after, *Ptolemy* quitted *Syria*; and destroyed *Ace*, a City in *Syro-Phœnicia*; and likewise *Joppa*, *Samaria*, and *Gaza* of *Syria*, and then returned into *Egypt* with all the Forces and Riches that he could collect together †. And many Strangers, seeing his Clemency and Humanity, followed him; and among the rest *Ezechias* one of the Chief Priests of the *Jews*; from whose Informations *Hecateus* composed his History of that People ‖. In the same Year *Seleucus* recovered *Babylon*; and thereupon obtain'd the Surname of *Nicator*. And accordingly *Eusebius* reckons this the first Year of the Æra of the *Seleucidæ*. And in this Year, or the next, we may place the Birth of *Ptolemais*, the Third Daughter of *Ptolemy* by *Eurydice*.

Per. Jul. 4403—4.
Olymp. 117. 2.

Tenthly; In the Third Year of the 117th Olympiad, *Ptolemy* fell in Love with and married *Bernice*, then about Twenty-nine Years old. And this he might now think himself the more at Liberty to do, the good Understanding between him and *Cassander*, *Eurydice's* Brother, being by

Per. Jul. 4404—5.
Olymp. 117. 3.

* *Bibl. Hist.* l. 19. p. 715, 718.

† *Ibid.* p. 721.

‖ *Joseph. Contra Apion.* l. 1. p. 1347.

this Time much abated; and all Things tending to an open Rupture with him.

Eleventhly; Ptolemy, having the Year before sent Leonides with a considerable Force into Cilicia*, provided a Fleet this Year, and went himself against Antigonus. He first took Pbaselis, then Xanthus, and next Caumus; and at last sailed to the Island of Cos; where he continued some considerable Time †. Bernice accompanied him in all these Expeditions: And in this Year, and during the Time of their Residence in the Island of Cos, we must place the Birth of Ptolemy (afterwards surnamed Philadelphus) the Son of Ptolemy Soter by Bernice ¶.

Twelfthly; About the Beginning of the First Year of the 118th Olympiad, Ptolemy set Sail from Myndus, with a great Fleet, for Greece. In his Passage he touched at Andros, and restored that People to their Liberty. Then he proceeded to Sicyon and Corinth, which were then in his own Possession, with Design to restore all the Grecian Cities to their Liberty. But the Greeks delaying to supply him with Money and Provision, as they promised, he grew out of humour with them; and thereupon made Peace with Cassander, upon condition that each should keep what Cities they had: And then he set Sail for Egypt §.

* Diod. Sicul. l. 20. p. 742.

† Id. l. 20. p. 746.

‡ Callimach. in Hymn. ad Delum, v. 160—170. Theocrit. in Idyl. 17. v. 56—70.

§ Diod. Sicul. l. 20. p. 751.

Thirteenthly; This Year *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, by the Command of his Father, sailed from *Ephesus* with a great Fleet for *Athens*; and restored that City to their Liberty, after *Demetrius Phalereus* had governed it Ten Years *. Which done, he married *Eurydice*, the Widow of *Opheltas* or *Ophellias*, Prince of *Cyrene* †. But after having stayed some Time, and received all possible Honours at *Athens*, he was obliged to sail for *Cyprus*; where he obtained a signal Victory over *Ptolemy's* Forces by Sea and Land. The News whereof being carried to *Antigonus*, he thereupon assumed the Name and Stile of King; and gave *Demetrius* the same Title. And their Example was immediately followed by *Ptolemy*, *Seleucus*, *Lysimachus*, and *Cassander* ‡. The same Year *Maggas* was made Governour of *Cyrene* by the Interest of *Bernice* his Mother.

Fourteenthly; In the Third Year of the 118th Olympiad, *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* made great Preparations by Sea and Land to invade *Egypt*. But meeting with more Difficulties in putting that Enterprize in execution than they expected, they were forced to return Home again without being able to effect any Thing to the purpose. Whereupon *Ptolemy*, in token of his Thankfulness for so great a Deliverance, not only offered many costly Sacrifices to the Gods, but likewise made a great Feast, at which he treated all his Friends in a most splendid manner. For this I take to be the

* *Diod. Sicul. l. 20, p. 756--761.*

† *Plutarch. in vita Demetrii, p. 894.*

‡ *Diod. Sicul. l. 20, p. 756--761.*

true Sense of these Words; Πτολεμαῖος δὲ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν πολεμίων περιχαρὴς γενόμενος, καὶ εὖσας τοῖς θεοῖς χαριστήρια, τὰς εἰλῆς εἰσία λαμπρῶς: And not, as some have imagined, that he kept one certain Day as a Festival for this Deliverance, and then appointed the same to be observed every Year afterwards in Commemoration thereof*. The next Year *Demetrius Poliorcetes* made War upon the *Rhodians*, and laid Siege to their City. And in the same Year I shall take the Liberty to place the Birth of *Arfinoe*, the Daughter of *Ptolemy* by *Bernice*. For, that he had two Sons of the same Name; viz. *Ptolemy* by *Eurydice* his first Wife; and afterwards another *Ptolemy* by *Bernice* his second Wife, is allowed on all Sides. And therefore, as he had one Daughter, called *Arfinoe*, by the former; I see no reason why he might not give the same Name likewise to another of his Daughters by the latter † and more especially, as the Name of his own Mother was *Arfinoe*. But we shall have occasion to consider this Matter more particularly hereafter.

Fifteentbly; In the Second Year of the 119th Olympiad, *Demetrius Poliorcetes* married *Deidamia*, the Sister of *Pyrrbus* †. And in the same Year, having recovered many Cities in *Peloponnesus*, and obliged *Ptolemy* and *Cassander's* Governours to surrender *Sicyon* and *Corinlb* into his Hands, he was declared General of all *Greece*; as *Philip* and *Alexander* had been in their Times †.

* *Diod. Sicul.* l. 20. p. 770--772.

† *Plutarch.* in vita *Demetrii*, p. 900.

‡ *Id.* *ibid.* *Diod. Sicul.* l. 20. p. 786.

But the next Year, there being a powerful Confederacy formed against *Antigonus* *, he first made Peace with *Cassander*, and then set Sail for *Asia*, in order to join and assist his Father †. For *Lyfimacchus* had already invaded his Territories towards the *Hellepont*; *Ptolemy* had marched out of *Egypt* with a great Army, and had conquered all *Cæle-Syria*; and *Seleucus* was got as far as *Cappadocia*, with another powerful Army to join *Lyfimacchus* ‖.

Sixteenthly; In the Beginning of the Fourth Year of the 119th Olympiad, was fought the Battle of *Ipsus* in *Phrygia* **; where *Antigonus* was killed; aged, according to *H. Cardianus*, Eighty-one Years §; but according to *Porphiry*, Eighty-six Years ††. *Demetrius* fled, first to *Ephesus*, and then to *Cilicia*, and from thence, with his Mother *Stratonice*, and all the Treasure that he could collect together, to *Salamis* in *Cyprus* * *. In this Battle *Antiochus*, the Son of *Seleucus*, commanded the Horse, and therefore could not be less than Twenty-two Years old, which agrees well enough with the Time that *Alexander* gave Wives to his Generals, and among the rest, *Apame* the Daughter of *Artabazus*, to *Seleucus* * * *.

* *Diod. Sicul.* l. 20. 787, 788.

† *Id.* l. 20. p. 789, 790, 791.

‖ *Id.* l. 20. p. 791, 792.

** *Arrian. de Rebus Alexand.* l. 7. *Plut. in Pyrrho.* *Appian. in Syriac.* p. 122.

§ *Lucian. in Maxeçioss.*

†† In *Græcis Eusebian. Scalig.*

* * *Plut. in vita Demetrii.* *Diod. Excerpta ex l. 21. Sect. 1.*

* * *Plut. in Demetrio,* p. 903.

Pyrrhus likewise, who was then but Seventeen Years old, and accompanied *Demetrius* out of *Greece* behaved gallantly upon the Occasion ||. After the Death of *Antigonus*, the conquering Princes divided his large Dominions among themselves: But not being able to agree intirely about the Partition, they fell into Parties; and *Seleucus* sided with *Demetrius*, and *Ptolemy* with *Lyfimachus* *.

Seventeenthly; About the Beginning of this Year, *Lyfimachus* married *Arfinoe*, the Daughter of *Ptolemy* by *Eurydice*, then aged Seventeen Years. Per. Jul. 4414-15. Olymp. 120. 1.

The most Reverend Arch-bishop *Usher* †, and the learned *Vaillant* **, upon the Authority of *Justin* ††, and *Memnon* **, agree that this *Arfinoe* was the Daughter of *Ptolemy* by *Eurydice*; and consequently Sister to *Ptolemy Ceraunus* by the Mother's, as well as by the Father's Side. And the young Lady being, at this Time, of an Age fit to be married, is a further Confirmation that she could not be the Daughter of *Ptolemy Soter* by *Bernice*. But what puts the Thing beyond all Controversy, is, that *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, when he pretended to court this very Lady in Marriage many Years afterwards, pleaded the *Egyptian* Custom for it ***. Which allowed a Brother to marry a Sister by the same Mother as well as Father ***; whereas the *Greeks* only allowed a

|| *Plus.* in *Pyrrho*.

* *Plus.* in *Demetrio*. Appian. in *Syriac.* p. 122. *stet.*

† *Annal. Vet. Testam.* ad *Ann. Period.* Jul. 4414. p. 462.

** *Hist. Regum Syriæ*, p. 18.

†† *L.* 17. c. 2. *lib.* 24. c. 2.

* Apud *Photium*, *Cod.* 224. c. 9.

** *Memnon* apud *Phot.* *Cod.* 224. c. 15.

*** *Dion. Cass.* l. 42. p. 201. Ed. *Hanov.* 1606. *Pausan.* in *Attic.* p. 6.

Brother

Brother to marry a Sister by the same Father, but not by the same Mother*.

THE same Year, *Seleucus*, after the Example of *Lysimachus*, sent to *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, and demanded *Stratonice*, his Daughter by *Phila*, in Marriage, then aged Sixteen Years. Which *Demetrius* consenting to, he accompanied his Daughter from *Athens* to *Syria*; and about the close of the Year, he met *Seleucus* at *Oroffon*, where the Nuptials were solemniz'd. Then, returning to *Cilicia*, he sent his Wife *Phila*, to her Brother *Cassander*, to make an Apology for his Conduct in that Province. And in the Interim *Deidamia* came to him from *Athens*; where she soon after died †. And some short Time after the Death of this Lady, *Seleucus* brought about a Reconciliation between *Ptolemy* and *Demetrius*; in virtue whereof, the latter sent *Pyrrhus*, as a Hostage for his good Behaviour, into *Egypt*; and *Ptolemy* on the other Side promised to give *Demetrius*, *Ptolemais* his youngest Daughter by *Eurydice*, then Eleven Years old, in Marriage ||.

Eighteenthly; In the Third Year of the 120th Olympiad, died *Cassander*, after Per. Jul. 44¹⁶⁻¹⁷. he had governed *Macedonia* Nine- Olymp. 120. 3. teen Years §. He left Three Sons by *Thessalonice*; viz. *Philip*, Eighteen Years old; *Antipater* Seventeen Years old; and *Alexander* Sixteen Years old ††. But *Philip* dying soon after his Father, mighty Struggles arose between

* Corn. Nepos in præfatione. Not. 3. Ed. Delph. Par. 1675. Potter's Archæol. Græca, l. 1. c. 26. p. 170.

† Plut. in vita *Demetrii*.

|| Vaillant Hist. *Ptolemaorum*. p. 19. Ex Plut. in vit. *Demetr.* et *Pyrrhi*.

§ *Dexip.* et *Porphyr.* in Græcis *Eusebianis Scaligeri*.

†† *Justin.* l. 16. c. 1. *Pausanias* in *Bæotic.* p. 287, &c.

Antipater and *Alexander* about the Succession *. And the same Year, *Pyrrhus* married *Antigone*, one of the Daughters of *Bernice*; by her first Husband; whereupon being assisted by *Ptolemy* with Ships and all other Necessaries, he returned to *Epirus*; and obliged *Neoptolemus* to acknowledge his right, and to admit him to reign in that Kingdom jointly with himself †.

Nineteenthly; In the Fourth Year of the 120th Olympiad, *Antipater* married *Eurydice* a Daughter of *Lysimachus*; Per. Jul. 44 18--18. Olymp. 120. 4. And *Alexander* sent Ambassadors into *Egypt*, to demand *Lysandra*, one of *Ptolemy's* Daughters by *Eurydice* the Sister of *Cassander*, then aged Sixteen Years, in Marriage; which *Ptolemy* consenting to, he sent her into *Macedonia*, under the Care of *Menelaus* his Brother †. And the same Year, *Stratonice* brought *Seleucus* a Daughter, called *Phila*; who was afterwards married to *Antigonus Gonatas* **. The next Year, *Pyrrhus* made Per. Jul. 44 18--19. Olymp. 121. 1. himself Master of the whole Kingdom of *Epirus*. And to shew his Gratitude to *Ptolemy* and *Bernice*, for the Assistance which they had given him, he called the Son which he had by *Antigone* this Year, *Ptolemy*; and he built a new City in the *Chersonesus* of *Epirus*, and called it *Bernice* ††.

* *Just.* l. 16. c. 1. *Pausanias* ut supra.

† *Plut.* in *Pyrrho*. — *Pausanias* in *Attic.* p. 9, 10.

‡ *Vaillant* Hist. *Ptolemaeorum*, p. 19.

** *Vaillant* Hist. *Regum Syriæ*, p. 19.

†† *Plutarch.* in *Pyrrho*.

Twentiethly; In the Second Year of the 121st Olympiad, *Antipater* put his Mother *Thessalonice* to Death. And *Alexander* in Revenge called in *Demetrius Poliorcetes* from Greece, to his Assistance. Whereupon *Antipater* fled for Protection to *Lysimachus*. But while *Lysimachus* was persuading *Antipater* to come to an Agreement with his Brother, *Demetrius* treacherously killed *Alexander*; and then seized upon the Kingdom of *Macedonia* *. And this obliged *Lysandra* to retire to the Court of *Lysimachus*, to her Sister *Arfinoe*. And while these Things were doing in *Macedonia*, *Ptolemy Soter* retook *Cyprus*: But *Demetrius's* Wife and Children, who were then in *Salamine*, he treated with great Generosity, and then sent them honourably Home to him †.

21stly. In the Third Year of the 121st Olympiad, *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, being threatned with an Invasion from *Lysimachus* and *Antipater* on one Side, and having a Mistrust of the *Bæotians* on the other; he headed an Army himself against *Lysimachus*; and sent his Son *Antigonus*, afterwards surnamed *Gonatas*, then about Twenty-one Years old, against the *Bæotians* †. But *Lysimachus*, being then at War with the *Getæ*, made Peace with *Demetrius*, and agreed to restore to him that Part of *Macedonia*, which had formerly been allotted to *Antipater* his Son in Law. The same Year *Lysimachus* was taken Prisoner by

* *Justin.* l. 16. c. 1. *Plut.* in *Pyrrho* et *Demetrio*. *Pausan.* in *Bæotic.* p. 287.

† *Plut.* in *Demetrio*.

‡ *Vaillant Hist. Ptolemaorum*, p. 19, 20.

Dromichetes the King of the *Gete*; who treated him with great Civility ††, and soon after restored him to his Liberty again. And in this Year probably *Demetrius Phalereus* withdrew from *Thebes*, and went into *Egypt* to *Ptolemy Soter*. And the next Year, being the Fourth Year of the same Olympiad, *Agathocles*, the Son of *Lysimachus* married *Lysandra* the Daughter of *Ptolemy* by *Eurydice*, and Widow of *Alexander* the youngest Son of *Cassander*. And in the same Year, we may place the Birth of *Arsinoe*, the Daughter of *Lysimachus* by *Arsinoe*, the Daughter of *Ptolemy* by *Eurydice*.

Per. Jul. 4421--22,
Olymp. 121. 4.

22dly. In the First Year of the 123^d Olympiad, *Eleazar* the Brother of *Simon* the Just, succeeded him in the High-Priesthood at *Jerusalem*; and continued in that Office Thirty-two Years*. And *Demetrius*, having laid a Scheme the Year before this to recover all his Father's Dominions, *Seleucus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Lysimachus*, confederated against him; and brought over *Pyrrhus* to join with them. The Result whereof was, that this Year *Demetrius* was driven out of *Macedonia*; and forced to make his Escape to *Cassandrea*; where *Phila* his Wife, aged Fifty-three Years, poisoned herself for Grief †. From thence *Demetrius* sailed first for *Athens*, and afterwards to *Miletus* in *Asia*; where he met *Eurydice* the Wife of *Ptolemy*, with her Daughter *Ptolemais*, then aged Twenty-three Years, formerly betrothed to

Per. Jul. 4426--27,
Olymp. 123. 1.

†† *Strab.* l. 7. p. 302, 305.

* *Euseb.* in canone Chronologico Latino et Græco, ad N^o. 1729.

† *Plut.* in *Demetrio* et *Pyrrho*. *Pausanas* in *Asticis*, p. 11.

him.

him. Whom therefore he now married, and had a Son by her called *Demetrius*, who afterwards reigned in *Cyrene* *. *Eurydice* was at this Time in the Forty-ninth or Fiftieth Year of her Age; and yet Dr. *Hody* †, in the Heat of his Disputes with *Vossius*, would fain persuade us, that *Demetrius* not only married *Ptolemæis* the Daughter, but that he likewise had a Son by the Mother, called *Corrabus*, for which he cites *Plutarch's* Life of *Demetrius*. But had the learned Doctor look'd a little more carefully into that Life, he would have found, that the *Eurydice*, by whom *Demetrius* had that Son, was the young Widow of *Ophellas* Prince of *Cyrene*; and not *Eurydice* the Wife of *Ptolemy Soter*, who long before this was past Child-bearing. Upon *Demetrius's* withdrawing himself, *Lysimachus* and *Pyrrhus* at first divided *Macedonia* between them: But before the End of the next Year, *Lysimachus* fell out with *Pyrrhus*, and forced him to return Home to *Epirus*; and then took Possession of the whole Kingdom of *Macedonia* for himself †. In this Year we may place the Birth of *Demetrius*, the Son of *Demetrius Poliorcetes* by *Ptolemæis*. Soon after which, *Demetrius*, after many fruitless Attempts to retrieve his Affairs, surrendered himself to *Seleucus*. And then wrote to his Son *Antigonus* in *Greece*, to look upon him as dead; and ordered all Persons to obey him accordingly **.

* *Plutarch. in vita Demetrii.*

† De Bibl. Text. Orig. l. 1. c. 6. Sect. 6. Note 2. p. 21.

‡ *Justin, l. 16. c. 3. Pausan. in Attic. p. 9.*

** *Plut. in Demetrio.*

23dly. In the Fourth Year of the 123^d Olympiad, *Ptolemy Soter*, having governed *Egypt* full Thirty-eight Years, resigned †† the Crown to his Son *Ptolemy* by *Bernice*, afterwards surnamed *Philadelphus*, who was then just entered into the Twenty-fourth Year of his Age. But others say *, That *Ptolemy* did not wholly resign at this Time, but only that he admitted *Philadelphus* to reign jointly with himself. Probably this Matter had been a long Time under Consideration; for *Eurydice*, the Mother of *Ceraunus*, had left *Egypt* about Three Years before this; which it is not likely she would have done, had she then had any Hopes left of her Son's succeeding to his Father. However, *Ceraunus* still continued in *Egypt*, till he found that the Thing was just going to be put in Execution; and then, thinking himself no longer safe in *Egypt*, he fled to *Seleucus* in *Syria*; who, having Compassion on him, as the Son of a Friend, received and entertained him very honourably †. And if what *Memnon* says ** be true; that *Seleucus* promised to assist him, after the Death of his Father, to recover *Egypt*; that Promise must have been made at this Time, and not after the Death of *Lysimachus*, as *Memnon* seems to intimate.

IN this Year, and perhaps soon after *Ptolemy Soter* had put the Government, either in Whole or in Part, into the Hands of his Son *Philadelphus*, I think we ought to place his Marriage

†† *Justin*, l. 16. c. 2.

* *Lucianus* in *Maurologos*. *Porphyrius* in *Græcis Eusebianis*,

† *Appian*. in *Syriacis*, p. 128.

** *Memnon* apud *Photium*, Cod. 124. c. 13.

with *Arsinoe*, his Sister by the Mother as well as by the Father, who was then in the Twentieth Year of her Age. The Adversaries of *Aristeas* may look sour and grumble as much as they please at this; but I defy them to produce so much as one single Testimony in all Antiquity, or even any Shadow of Probability, that *Ptolemy Philadelphus* ever married *Arsinoe* the Widow of *Lysimachus*, one obscure, stupid Scholiast only excepted*; of whose Name, Age, or Character we are intirely ignorant. On the other hand, not to insist upon the Improbability, that *Ptolemy Philadelphus* should fall in Love with a Woman, who had not only deliberately contrived the Destruction, and imbrued her Hands in the Blood of her Son-in-law, but had likewise contracted so close a Friendship with *Ceraunus* his declared Enemy, as to make him privy to, if not the Executioner of, that horrid Tragedy; nor yet upon the Disparity of Age between them; *Philadelphus* being only about Thirty-two Years old, and she about Forty, at the Time when this Marriage is pretended to have made; I say, not to insist upon these, and the like Improbabilities, I think several other good and sufficient Reasons may be given in support of my Assertion. For, First; I have proved before, that the *Arsinoe*, whom *Lysimachus* married, was only half Sister to *Philadelphus*; that is, his Sister by the Father, but not by the Mother. Whereas *Pausanias* † is express, *That the Arsinoe, whom Philadelphus married, was his Sister by the Mother, as well as by the Father.* His Words are these; Οδτις ὁ Πτολεμαῖος Ἀρσινόης ἀδελφῆς ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἑραθεῖς, ἔγνημεν αὐτὴν, Μακεδόσιν ἐδαμῶς ποιῶν Ἐνομιζόμενα, Αἰγυπτίους

* Viz. The Scholiast upon *Theocritus*.

† In *Atticis*, p. 6.

μεῖτοι, ὃν ἦρχε. i. e. This *Ptolemy* (meaning *Philadelphus*) falling in Love with *Arsinoe* his Sister by the Mother's side as well as by the Father's, married her; a Thing indeed intirely condemned by the Laws of *Macedonia*; but allowed by the Laws of the *Egyptians*, over whom he reigned. Secondly; *Pausanias* informs us further, That *Ptolemy Philadelphus* had two Wives; viz. *Arsinoe* his Sister, and *Arsinoe* the Daughter of *Lyfimachus*: But contrary to the Scholiast upon *Theocritus*, he tells us moreover, That *Arsinoe* his Sister was his first Wife; and that upon her dying without leaving any Children behind her, he next married *Arsinoe* the Daughter of *Lyfimachus*, by whom he had those that survived himself. The Place has been either very little understood, or very much tortured to make it contradict the History of *Aristeas*: But the learned and impartial Reader shall judge for himself, whether the Criticks have hit upon his true meaning, or not. The Words of *Pausanias* are these *; Οἱ δὲ οἱ παῖδες ἐγένοντο ἔξ Ἀρσινόης, ἢ τῆς ἀδελφῆς. Λυσιμάχου δὲ θυγατρὸς. Τὴν δὲ οἱ συνοικίσαντα ἀδελφὸν, κατέλαβεν ἔτι πρότερον ἀποθανεῖν ἄπαιδα. Which Words are commonly translated thus; *Huic filii ex Arsinoe non sane sorore, sed ea quæ Lyfimachi filia fuit, nati sunt. Nam soror, quam sibi Matrimonio junxerat, antequam pareret, Diem suum obiit.* Whereas I take the true Import of *Pausanias's* Words to be this; *Huic liberi superstites extiterunt ex Arsinoe, non sorore, sed Lyfimachi filia. Nam ita contigit, quod soror ejus, quæ illi prius Matrimonio juncta fuit, decesserat, nullis post se liberis relictis.* And to shew that this is the genuine Sense of these Words, the Reader will be pleased to observe, That the Intention of *Pausanias* in

* In *Articis*, p. 7.

this Place, is not to tell how many Children were born to *Ptolemy* by either or both of his Wives, but only that he left several Legitimate Children behind him, and who their Mother was. So that, as we know that he left a Daughter as well as a Son, the Word *παῖδες*, ought not to be translated *fili*; but *liberi*; which comprehends Females as well as Males. And then again, the Propriety of *Pausanias*'s Expression ought carefully to be minded, in using the Word *ἀπαις*. For had his Meaning been, that *Arsinoe* died before she had any Children by *Ptolemy*; that would have been a very improper Word to have made use of; as may be gathered from *Julius Pollux**, who tells us, that ἡ δὲ μὴ ἴκτυσα κατὰ τὴν στείον; and elsewhere †; ἡ δὲ μὴ ἴκτυσαν, στείον ἐστίν i. e. *Mulier, quæ non parit, vocatur Sterilis*; and, *Mulierem autem non parientem, Vocabis Sterilem*: Whereas the Word *ἀπαις* § has quite another meaning, ὁ δὲ ἐν ἔχῳ παῖδας, ἀπαις καὶ ἀτενος. Μῆτηρ δὲ μὴ ἔχῳ ἡντίεσα, ἀμύλων; Ἔο. i. e. *filiis autem Carens, Orbis, vel ἀτενος dicitur: Quemadmodum matrem non habens, Ἀμύλων dicitur: Ἀπαιτῶς vero qui patrem non habet ----. Sic etiam appellantur, qui Parentes amisere, quos alio nomine Orphanos appellamus.* So that a Person who has lost his Father or Mother, may with as much Sense be said never to have had either, as it can from this Passage be inferred, That *Arsinoe* the Sister of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* never had any Children by him. But as this would be a ridiculous Inference in the first Case; so on the other Side, since *Pausanias* makes Use of this Word, I conceive we may still believe, with *Eleazar* and

* *Onomastic.* l. 3. c. 2. Sect. 15. Vol. 1. p. 273.

† *Ibid.* l. 3. c. 4. Sect. 49. Vol. 1. p. 291.

§ *Ibid.* l. 3. c. 2. Sect. 25, 26. Vol. 1. p. 278, 279.

Aristeas, that *Arsinoe* the Sister of *Philadelphus* had several Children by him, though none of them happened to live so long as to survive her. And I must farther crave leave to add, That I know not of any other Queen *Arsinoe*, to whom the Story in *Plutarch* * can so properly be applied as to this very Lady; who having lost her Son, and perhaps the last of all her Children, was so immoderately grieved thereat, that it required the Address of a Courtier, as well as the Ingenuity of a Philosopher, to prevail upon her to leave off her Lamentation for so irreparable a Loss. Thirdly; That *Philadelphus* was married to his Sister *Arsinoe*, before the Death of *Lyfimachus*, appears further from the Story of *Sotades*, as it is told by *Athenæus* † and *Plutarch* ‡. For this Man, it seems, was a Poet, and took very unbecoming Liberties with the Actions and Characters of Princes. When he was at *Alexandria*, says *Athenæus*, he used to rail against *Lyfimachus*; and when he was at the Court of *Lyfimachus*; he took the like freedom with *Ptolemy Philadelphus*: Wherefore, continues *Athenæus*, he met with his Deserts. For, having reproached *Ptolemy Philadelphus* in a very gross manner, for marrying his Sister *Arsinoe*, he was cast into Prison at *Alexandria*; and after he had made his Escape from thence, and thought himself out of danger, he was taken by *Patroclus* one of *Ptolemy's* Governors, and put into a Leaden Vessel, and then thrown into the Sea and drowned. Now, if *Philadelphus* was married to his Sister *Arsinoe*, before *Lyfimachus* died, as this Story plainly proves he was, does it not irre-

* *Plutarch*. de consolatione ad Apollonium, Vol. 2. p. 111, 112.

† *Deipnosophist*. l. 14. c. 4. p. 620, 621.

‡ *De Liberis Educandis*, Vol. 2. p. 11.

fragably shew, that *Ptolemy Soter* had two Daughters, called *Arsinoe*; viz. one by *Eurydice*, who was at this Time Wife to *Lyfimachus*; and another by *Berenice*, who was at the same Time married to *Philadelphus*? Does not this evidently shew, that *Philadelphus* married his Sister, while he was yet a Youth himself? Does it not agree perfectly well with the Testimony of another grave and learned Historian? *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, says *Herodian* *, being grown old and in a dangerous State of Health, was under no small Concern for his Son *Commodus*, who was then just come of Age, lest he should give himself up to Drunkenness and other vicious Pleasures. And what increased his Concern the more was, the Knowledge that he had learned from History of the Failings and Miscarriages of those Princes, who happened to be advanced too young (*ἢ ἰερότητι* †) to the Helm of Government ---. And then, among other Instances, he brings in this of *Philadelphus*, who fell in Love with his own Sister, contrary to the Laws of the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*. But to bring the matter yet nearer home; Fourthly; I think it may be proved from an Author of unquestionable Authority as well as Antiquity, That *Philadelphus* married his Sister *Arsinoe* in the Lifetime of his Father and Mother. The 17th Idyllium of *Theocritus* is a Panegyric upon *Ptolemy*

* L. 1. p. 3, 4.

† *Hippocrates* divided the Life of Man into Seven Ages; From the 1st to the 7th he is called *Puerulus*, *παιδίον*; from the 7th to the 14th, *Puer*, *πῦς*; from the 14th to the 21st, *Adolescens*, *μεγαλίον*; from the 21st to the 28th, *Juvenis*, *ἰεανίσκος*; from the 28th to the 35th, *Vir*, *ανήρ*; from the 35th to the 42^d, *Senex*, *γέρον*; and from the 42^d to the 49th, *Decrepitus*, *πρεσβύτης*. *Jul. Pollux. Onomast.* l. 2. c. 1. Sect. 4. p. 153.

Philadelphus, and it was undoubtedly wrote after the Death of his Father and Mother, and while *Arfinoe* his Sister and Wife was yet living. Now, in celebrating the Praises of this Prince, he begins from his Father, *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*; deducing his Pedigree from *Hercules*; and advancing him to equal Rank and Honours among the GODS with *Alexander* the Great. Then he comes to his Mother *Berenice*, and after taking Notice of the Virtues of her Mind, as well as of the Charms of her Person, he observes, That no Couple ever loved one another so well as they did; and that their mutual Love was so remarkably great, that, to enjoy her Company, *Ptolemy* committed the Care of every Thing to his Children. The Words, according to the *Latin* Translation, are these;

Itaq; nullam unquam mulierem viro tantum placuisse ferunt,

Quantum Ptolemæus suam amavit conjugem.

Et quidem redamatus est multo plus.

Sicq; liberis confidens suis, Domum committit totam,

Cum amans in amantis torum ascendit.

V. 38---42.

Now these Words, *Sicq; liberis confidens suis, Domum committit totam*, in my opinion, plainly intimate, not only that *Ptolemy Soter* resigned his Crown to his Son *Philadelphus*; but likewise, that *Arfinoe* his Sister was become his Consort in the Throne, before the old King died. And I think this may receive a further Confirmation from another Passage towards the End of the same Poem. For, as here, he plainly intimates that *Arfinoe* was married to *Philadelphus* her Brother, immediately upon his Accession to the Crown; so there, in all his Acts of Piety (for so they were

then esteemed) towards the Memory of his deceased Parents, we find that she always bore a Part with him. As soon as his Father died, he built Temples to his Memory; as soon as his Mother died, he did the same for her; and he erected Statues in Gold and Ivory, and appointed Anniversary Sacrifices and Oblations to be made to both; and in all these Acts, *Theocritus* * tells us, that the excellent *Arsinoe*, the fondest Wife, and the most loving Sister, always joined with him. Can any Man then, after all this, make any Doubt, whether she was his first Wife or not? Can it, after all this, be made a Question, whether he married her in the Life-time of his Father, or afterwards? No Body, surely, that reads this little (but beautiful) Poem with attention, can be at a loss which Side to take. I will therefore only crave leave to add, that, as from this, the Time of their Marriage may be thus ascertained; so from the 15th Idyllium of the same Poet, I think we may likewise conclude, that they lived many Years together in the same happy State. That Poem was wrote to do honour to *Arsinoe* the Daughter of *Berenice*, who is there compared to the beautiful *Helen*:

* The Words of *Theocritus* are these; v. 121--130.

*Solus hic priorum parentum, adhuc callida in pulvere
Transcendens pedum detergit vestigia.*

Matri chara et patri odorata templa condidit.

Inq; his ex auro atq; ebore ipsos insignes statuit,

Ut omnibus mortalibus sint opitulatores.

Multa vero pingua exta boum incendit,

Mensibus circumactis in aris rubentibus,

Et ipse, et EXIMIA CONJUX: qua nulla praestantior

Sponsam domi mulier ulnis amplectitur,

Ex animo diligens fratrem atq; maritum.

But

But that it could not be wrote till many Years after the Death of *Ptolemy Soter*, is evident from these Lines ;

Multa præclara facinora a te facta sunt, O Ptolemæe,

Postquam ad superos pater migravit.

Idyl. 15. v. 47, 48.

Wherefore, unless we would make *Theocritus* perfectly ridiculous, it must be acknowledged that *Philadelphus* married *Arsinoe* his Sister, immediately upon his Accession to the Throne ; and that they lived together for many Years afterwards in all mutual Love and Happiness. Fifthly ; That *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and *Arsinoe* his Sister and Wife, (*ipse, et eximia conjux*) really performed those Acts of Piety and Devotion to their deceased Parents, which *Theocritus*, in the abovementioned Poems, ascribes to them, may be abundantly proved from sundry antient Coins and Medals, still to be seen in the Cabinets of the Curious. The learned *Spanheim* * gives us the Cuts of two fine Medals, with two Heads joined together on each Side, and with the Word ΘΕΩΝ inscribed over one of the Couple, and ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ over the other : So there is no room to doubt, but that they were struck by this royal and grateful Pair, in commemoration of the Apotheosis of *Soter* and *Berenice*, their most dear and loving Parents. And the same Conclusion may be made from those other antient Coins, which we find likewise described by those learned

* De usu et Præstantia Numismatum, Tom. 1. p. 422, 423. Ed. Lond. 1707.

Antiquaries, *Seguin* *, *Beger* †, and *Vaillant* ††. But, Sixthly; Though from these Considerations it may with the greatest Probability be concluded, That *Arfinoe* was married to her Brother at the Time we have mentioned, and that she survived her Mother *Berenice*; yet how long *Berenice* lived after the Death of *Ptolemy Soter*, or how long *Arfinoe* survived her Mother, are Points, which, at this distance of Time, can no way be resolved but by Conjecture. *Vaillant* ** thinks that *Berenice* lived to the Eleventh Year of *Philadelphus*; and if so, it seems probable that *Arfinoe* her Daughter did not survive her above Four Years. And one Reason why I am inclined to be of this Opinion, is taken from a Medal mentioned by the learned *Harduin* in his Notes upon *Pliny* ††: Which on one Side represents the Head of a Woman veil'd, with the *Lotus* upon it; and on the other a double *Cornucopiae*, or *Rhyton* ‡, with this Inscription round about it, ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ. And on one Side of the *Rhyton*, Λ. ΑΓ. and on the other ΠΑ. Now this Medal was undoubtedly struck in Honour of *Arfinoe* the Sister and Wife of *Philadelphus*; and from the Numeral Letters Λ. ΑΓ. the learned *Harduin* supposes, that it was

* *Selecta Nummata Antiqua*. p. 54--57. Ed. Par. 1684.

† In *Thesauro Brandenburgico*, Vol. 3. p. 30--32.

‡ *Hist. Ptolemaeorum*, p. 40.

** *Id. ibid.* p. 30, 38.

†† *Ad lib.* 36. c. 14. *Not.* 19. p. 736. Vol. 2. Ed. Par. 1723.

‡ Videtur id vasis genus primi Regis *Ptolemai Philadelphi* jussu constructum, ad Ornamentum statuarum *Arfinoes* excogitatum fuisse. Id enim sinistra manu gestant, omnibus temporariis fructibus plenum, inuente opifice, etiam quam *Amaltheæ* corna. id esse opulentius et Fortunatius. *Athen. Deipnosoph.* l. 11. p. 427.

struck in the 33^d Year of that King's Reign; which to me does not at all seem probable. But if I may be permitted to offer a Conjecture upon a Medal which I never saw, I suspect that Time may have wore out and defaced one of the Strokes of the Numeral Letters; and that they ought to be read thus, L. N Γ; importing, that it was struck in Memory of *Arfinoe* in the 53^d Year of the *Lagidæ* *; which coincides with the 15th Year of *Philadelphus*. But whether any Stress is to be laid upon this, or upon the other Conjecture of *Vaillant*, I will not pretend to be positive; tho' I think it very probable, that if she did not live to the 15th Year of *Philadelphus*, she did not die much sooner, as will more fully appear hereafter. Seventhly, and lastly; to confirm what has been already advanced, I might enlarge upon those noble and costly Monuments; those *Munera Amoris*, as *Pliny* elegantly calls them, which *Philadelphus* consecrated to the Memory of this beloved Sister of his; such as the Temple, which he began to build at *Alexandria*, and which was designed to be all inlaid with the Magnet-Stone, so as to keep her Image, which was to be of Iron, always suspended in the Air, without any other visible Support †; that stately Obelisk, which was Eighty Cubits in Length, and which with great Art and Expence he caused to be brought from the Quarries near *Syene*, and erected before the *Arfinoeum* ‡; and that Statue of inestimable Value, which was Four Feet in Length, and made out

* *Vaillant* in his History of the *Ptolemies*, gives us another Medal, marked with the Numeral Letters L. M ⊙; shewing that it was struck in the 49th Year of the *Lagidæ*, p. 38.

† *Plin.* Hist. Nat. l. 34. Sect. 32. p. 667.

‡ *Id.* l. 36. Sect. 14. p. 735, 736.

of one intire Topaz-Stone † ; all which most certainly were Works worthy of and well becoming a great and magnanimous Prince in the Flower of his Age ; but can with no propriety be thought to have been undertaken by him in the Decline of Life , and after he came to be worn out with Infirmities himself. But I hope, I have said enough to make good what I proposed ; and therefore I shall now proceed to others Matters.

24^{thly} ; In the First Year of the 124th Olympiad, *Demetrius Poliorcetes* died
 Per. Jul. 443^o—443¹. in his Confinement in Syria.
 Olymp. 124. 1. And soon after died *Ptolemy Soter* in Egypt, aged Eighty-four Years * ; leaving his Son *Philadelphus* in Possession of Egypt, Phœnicia, Arabia, Syria, Lybia, Ethiopia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Lycia, Caria, and the Cyclades ; comprehending in the whole 33,339 Cities † . And towards the End of the same Year, *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, not finding *Seleucus* so ready to assist him to recover his Father's Dominions, as he expected, removed to the Court of *Lysimachus*, where Two of his Sisters were married ; and by whose Interest probably he imagined, he might succeed better with *Lysimachus*, than he had done with *Seleucus*.

25^{thly} ; In the Second Year of the 124th Olympiad, *Arsinoe* the Wife of *Lysimachus*, laid a Plot to take
 Per. Jul. 443¹—443². away the Life of *Agathocles*, the
 Olymp. 124. 2. eldest Son of her Husband by a former Wife ;

† *Pin. Hist. Nat. l. 37. Sect. 32. p. 781.*

* *Lucian. in Μεταπολίτεις.*

† *Theocrit. Idyl. 17.*

and the old King could have no Quiet, till he consented to her wicked Design. Some say, she contrived this Plot, because she was afraid, that if he succeeded to his Father, he would murder her Children. And others alledge, That she did it out of Revenge, because he had refused to violate his Father's Bed with her. *Pausanias* *, who mentions both these Reasons, says, that she took away his Life by secret Means. But *Mem-*
moriz † tells the Story somewhat differently; for he says, That she first gave him a Dose of Poison secretly; but finding that he brought it up again, without doing the Mischief she intended, she cast him into Prison; and that there *Ptolemy Ceraunus* her Brother murdered him with his own Hands. Now here, by the way, give me leave to ask; *Had there been a good Understanding between Ptolemy Philadelphus, and Lyfimachus; or had the former been married to a Daughter of the latter at this Time, as our modern Criticks pretend to say he was; is it likely that Lyfimachus would have suffered his rival and mortal Enemy to come and take Sanctuary in his Court?* If *Arfinoe* was such a wicked and abandoned Woman, as she is here represented to be, could *Ptolemy Philadelphus* only be ignorant thereof, when all the rest of the World rung with it? Or, had these profound Politicians been of his Council, and recommended a Person of such a Character for a Wife to him afterwards, would he have thought himself obliged to them for such Advice? No, surely; had they presumed to mention any such Thing to him, I doubt, he would have treated them much worse than they pretend to say he treated *Demetrius Pbalereus* upon another Occasion.

* In *Atticis*, p. 9.

† Apud *Photium*, cod. 224. c. 9. p. 714.

26thly; Upon the Death of *Agathocles*, *Lyfandra* fled with her Children to *Seleucus* at *Babylon* to implore his Protection; and several of *Lyfimachus's* Governours revolted from him *. And *Lyfimachus* himself being informed that *Seleucus* was coming against him with a powerful Army, he passed over into *Asia*, and mustering up what Forces he could get together, resolved to wait for the Enemy in *Phrygia*; where a bloody Battle was fought about the Beginning of this Year; and *Lyfimachus* was killed upon the spot †. Towards the latter End of the same Year, and about Seven Months after this Battle, *Seleucus* passed over into *Europe*, with Design to end his Days in *Macedonia*, his Native Country. And as he was on his Way, *Ptolemy Ceraunus* came, and made his Submission to him; and he received and treated him in a manner suitable to his Birth †. And in return for these, as well as former Kindnesses, *Ceraunus* watched the first Opportunity that offered, and treacherously murdered *Seleucus* his Benefactor. Then he got *Seleucus's* Army to declare for himself; marched into *Macedonia*; courted and married *Arfinoe* his Sister; put her two Sons by *Lyfimachus* to Death; (the Eldest being but Sixteen, and the other under Three Years old;) banished *Arfinoe* to *Samothracia*; and then seized upon the Kingdom of *Macedonia* for himself §. *Antigonus Gonatas*, the Son of *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, upon the News of the

* *Pausanias* in *Atticis*, p. 9. *Memnon* apud *Phot.* cod. 224. c. 9. *Appian.* in *Syr.* p. 130.

† *Idem* cum *Justin.* l. 17. c. 1, 2.

‡ *Memnon*, c. 13. *Appian.* p. 128. *Justin.* l. 17. c. 2.

§ *Justin.* l. 24. c. 2, 3. *Memnon*, c. 15.

Death of *Seleucus*, made great Preparations by Sea and Land, and hastened as much as possible to invade *Macedonia*; but *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, having timely Notice of his Design, attacked and destroyed his Fleet by Sea, and forced *Antigonus* himself to march back again into *Bœotia* *.

27thly; About the Middle of the First Year of the 125th Olympiad, *Pyrrhus*, being invited by the *Tarentines* to come and assist them against the *Romans*, first passed over into *Italy*. But before he set out upon this Expedition, he applied to *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, *Antigonus Gonatas*, and *Seleucus*, for such Succours as they could best spare; whereupon the first assisted him with Men; the second with Ships; and the last with Money. And the more to oblige and engage *Ceraunus*, who was his nearest as well as most dangerous Neighbour, he married one of his Daughters, and left his eldest Son *Ptolemy* Guardian of *Epirus*, under the Protection of his new Father-in-law.

28thly; About the Beginning of the Second Year of the 125th Olympiad, the *Gauls* invaded *Macedonia*; and *Ptolemy Ceraunus* was taken alive, and torn to Pieces by them †. And about the latter End of the same Year, they invaded *Greece*; but, attempting to plunder the Temple at *Delphos*, they met with many Disasters; and

* *Memnon* apud *Phot.* cod. 224. c. 15.

Justin. l. 17. c. 2. l. 18. c. 1.

† *Justin.* l. 24. c. 4, 5. l. 25. c. 2, *Pausan.* in *Phocicis*, p. 335.

were at last forced to retreat with the Loss of almost their whole Army ||.

29^{thly} ; About the Beginning of the Fourth Year of the 125th Olympiad, Per. Jul. 4437—38. Olymp. 125. 4. *Antigonus Gonatas*, having made Peace with *Antiochus Soter*, recovered the Kingdom of *Macedonia*, after having reigned Ten Years in *Greece*; computing, not from the Death of *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, but from the Year that he surrendered himself to *Seleucus*. And in the same Year *Antigonus* by a Stratagem, defeated another great Body of the *Gauls*, who had made an Irruption into *Macedonia*, which gained him so great a Reputation, that for some Time, neither, they nor any other of his barbarous Neighbours attempted to give him any Disturbance *.

30^{thly} ; In the First Year of the 126th Olympiad, being the 47th of the *Lagida*; and the 9th of *Philadelphus*; *Antigonus Gonatas*, being before in Possession of several Cities in *Peloponnesus*, and now strengthened by the Accession of *Macedonia*, probably resolved upon the Conquest of *Sparta*: Whereupon the *Lacedemonians* applying to *Ptolemy Philadelphus* for Succour, he immediately sent a powerful Fleet to their Assistance; which, meeting with that of *Antigonus*, intirely defeated the same. The *Greek* and *Roman* Historians, 'tis true, are silent as to this Particular; (unless one Passage in *Justin* † may be

|| *Pausan.* in *Phocicis*, p. 340. *Justin.* l. 24. c. 6, 7, 8.

* *Justin.* l. 25. c. 1, 2.

† *Justin.* l. 26. c. 2. Interea *Antigonus* cum multiplici bello, et *Ptolemai* Regis, et *Spartanorum* premeretur, &c.

thought

thought to relate thereto) but it is as true, that there is nothing in any of them, nor in the Circumstances of those Times, any ways repugnant thereto. And therefore, if for other Reasons it should appear probable hereafter, that the Holy Scriptures were translated into Greek about this Time, I can see no Reason why the Authority of *Aristeas* should be called in question for saying, That the Seventy Interpreters were made the more welcome by *Philadelphus*, because they came to him about the Time that he had gained a considerable Victory over *Antigonus* by Sea *.

31stly; About the latter End of the Second Year of the 126th Olympiad, *Pyrrbus* returned from his Wars in *Italy* and *Sicily*; and invaded the Kingdom of *Macedonia*, and forced *Antigonus* to retire to *Thessalonica*; where having got together what Forces he could raise, he ventured another Battle with *Ptolemy* the Son of *Pyrrbus*, by whom he was again intirely routed; narrowly escaping himself with only Seven Persons to accompany him †. And the next Year *Ptolemy Philadelphus* sent Ambassadors with great Presents to *Rome*, to sollicit an Alliance with them. Whereupon the *Romans*, glad that so great a King had set such a Value upon their Friendship, sent Ambassadors of their own into

Per. Jul. 4439-40.
Olymp. 126. 2.

Per. Jul. 4440-41.
Olymp. 126. 3.

* Hist. *Arist.* p. 58. Bishop *Usher's* Words upon this Occasion are these;

Contigitq; ut eo venirent illi Tempore, quo Rex navali adversus Antigonum pralio victoria fuit potitus. Cujus Naumachia, ob Historiarum hujus temporis defectum, nulla alibi facta reperitur mentio. Annal. Vet. Testamenti, ad Ann. Per. Jul. 4437.

† *Justin.* l. 25. c. 3. *Plutarch.* in *Pyrrho.*

Egypt, to confirm the said Alliance *. And in this Year *Vaillant* † places the Death of *Berenice* the Mother of *Philadelphus*.

32dly; This Year *Pyrrhus* being invited into *Peloponnesus* to assist *Cleomenes* against the *Lacedemonians*, he marched with a great Army into those Parts; and in his Absence *Antigonus* recovered many Cities in *Macedonia*; and then followed *Pyrrhus* with another Army into *Peloponnesus*. But this Expedition proved fatal to the former; for he and his Son *Ptolemy* were both killed in the City of *Argos*. Whereupon *Antigonus Gonatas* generously gave *Helenus*, another of his Sons, his Liberty, and sent him Home to his Brother *Alexander*, with his Father's Remains; and then again took Possession of the Kingdom of *Macedonia* himself †. In the same Year, *Magas* the Governour of *Cyrene*, hearing that his Mother *Berenice* was dead in *Egypt*, revolted and marched with a great Army against *Ptolemy Philadelphus*; but was forced to return back to quell a Sedition at Home. And the next Year *Ptolemy* marched with a great Army to reduce the *Cyreneans* again to his Obedience; but being informed, that the *Gauls*, who served in his Army, had formed a Design to seize upon *Egypt*, he returned Home again, and put them all to Death **.

* Liv. l. 14. Eutrop. l. 2. Val. Maxim. l. 4. c. 3.

† Hist. *Ptolemaeorum*, p. 30, 38.

‡ *Justin.* l. 25. c. 4, 5. *Plut.* in *Pyrrho*. Val. Max. l. 5. c. 1.

** *Pausanias* in *Attic*. p. 6.

33^{dly}; In the Third Year of the 127th Olympiad, being the 53^d of the *Lagide*, and the 15th of *Philadelphus*, we may place the Death of *Arsinoe*, his most beloved and much lamented Sister and Wife. She had several Children by him; but none of them lived to survive her. And in the next Year, we may likewise place the Marriage of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* with *Arsinoe* the Daughter of *Lyfimachus* by *Arsinoe* the Daughter of *Eurydice*, then Twenty-four Years old.

Per. Jul. 4444-45.
Olymp. 127. 3.

Per. Jul. 4445-46.
Olymp. 127. 4.

34^{tly}; In the First Year of the 128th Olympiad, we may place the Marriage of *Magas* King of *Cyrene*, with *Apame* the Daughter of *Antiochus Soter*. And also the Birth of *Ptolemy*, afterwards surnamed *Euergetes*, by *Arsinoe* the Daughter of *Lyfimachus*. And in the next Year we may place the Birth of *Berenice* the Daughter of *Magas* by *Apame* or *Arsinoe* the Daughter of *Antiochus Soter*; and also the Birth of *Berenice* the Daughter of *Philadelphus* by *Arsinoe* the Daughter of *Lyfimachus*. And in the next Two Years we may place the Wars of *Antigonus Gonatas* with the *Asian Gauls*; with *Alexander* King of *Epirus*; and with the *Lacedemonians*, and *Athenians*, and *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, their Confederate*. And about the same Time probably it was, that *Magas* King of *Cyrene* prevailed upon *Antiochus Soter*, his Father-in-law, to break with *Ptolemy Philadelphus*; whereupon *Philadelphus* made Inroads upon and ravaged all the Countries under the Dominion of

Per. Jul. 4446-47.
Olymp. 128. 1.

Per. Jul. 4447-48.
Olymp. 128. 2.

* *Justin*, l. 26. c. 2.

Antiochus; and thereby put it out of his Power to invade *Egypt*, as he had proposed to do †.

35^{thly}; In the Third Year of the 129th Olympiad, died *Antiochus Soter* King of *Syria*, and was succeeded by his Son *Antiochus*, afterwards surnamed *Θεός*. And in the Fourth Year of the 130th Olympiad died *Magas* King of *Cyrene*; after a Reign of Fifty Years ‡. Before his Death, and in order to put an End to the Quarrels that had subsisted so long between him and his Brother, he contracted his Daughter *Berenice* to young *Ptolemy* the Son of *Philadelphus*. But her Mother, pretending that this Contract was made against her Consent, sent for *Demetrius* the Son of *Demetrius Poliorcetes* by *Ptolemais*, and Brother to *Antigonus Gonatas* King of *Macedonia*, under pretence of marrying her Daughter to him, and making him King of *Cyrene*: But instead of marrying the Daughter, he intrigued with the Mother; and presuming too much upon her Interest, he behaved insolently to the Royal Family, and disoblged the Soldiery; which rendering him odious first to the young Princess, and afterwards to the People, he was taken in Bed with the Mother, and put to Death; but her Life was spared at the Intercession of her Daughter **. And soon after she retired to her Brother *Antiochus Θεός* in *Syria*; and *Berenice* was conducted to *Alexandria*, about Three Years, as we may suppose, after the Death of *Magas*; and in the Third Year of the 131st Olympiad.

† *Pausanias* in *Atticis*. p. 6.

‡ *Athen. Deipnosoph.* l. 12. c. 12. p. 550.

** *Justin*, l. 26. c. 3.

36^{thly}; *Antiochus* having had Wars for several Years after this with *Philadelphus*, they concluded a Peace at last; Per. Jul. 4466--67. Olymp. 133. 1. and *Antiochus* agreed to put away his Wife *Laodice*, by whom he had Two Sons, *Seleucus* and *Antiochus*; and to marry *Berenice*, *Ptolemy's* Daughter, then about Nineteen Years old; and *Ptolemy* gave his Daughter a prodigious Dowry, and accompanied her himself into *Syria*; where he was magnificently received by *Antiochus*; and being much taken with the Beauty of a Statue of *Diana*, he begged it of his new Son-in-law, and brought it with him into *Egypt*. Soon after which *Arfinoe* the Queen, being taken very ill, was warned in a Dream, that her Sicknefs was occasioned by that Statue's being brought away from *Syria*; it was thereupon sent back again. But the Queen did not long survive the same; for she died about the latter End of the Third Year of the 133^d Olympiad; and *Ptolemy Philadelphus* himself died about Per. Jul. 4469--70. Olymp. 133. 4. the Beginning of the Fourth Year of the same Olympiad, after a long and glorious Reign of Forty Years.

37^{thly}; The same Year *Ptolemy Euergetes*, aged Twenty-three Years, succeeded his Father, and married *Berenice*, the Daughter of *Magas* late King of *Cyrene**, and consequently his first Cousin, then about Twenty-two Years old. But the Nuptials were scarcely solemnized, before he was called away into *Syria* to the Relief of his Sister *Berenice*. For, *Antiochus* having taken

* *Appian. in Syriacis*, p. 130.

Justin. l. 27. c. 1.

Val. Maxim. l. 9. c. 10, 14.

Home again *Laodice* his first Wife, she soon after caused him to be murdered, and likewise his Son by *Berenice*; whereupon *Berenice* shut herself up in *Daphne*, in order to gain Time, and to prevent the like Design upon her own Life. But before her Brother, or any of the *Grecian* Cities could come to her Relief, she was likewise barbarously murdered. But *Ptolemy*, though he came too late to save his Sister, yet was not slack in revenging her Death upon her Enemies. For he soon after took *Laodice*, and put her to Death; and afterwards he ravaged and pillaged all the *Syrian* Provinces from Mount *Taurus* to the River *Indus* †. It would be foreign to my Design to prosecute the History of these Times any further; and therefore I shall take leave to conclude this little Narrative with the Two or Three following Observations. The First is this; That *Ptolemy Euergetes* married *Berenice* soon after his Inauguration, and before he set out upon his *Syrian* Expedition. This appears from these Words of *Catullus* *;

*Qua Rex tempestate novo auctus Hymenæo
Vastatum fines iverat Assyrios,
Dulcia nocturnæ portans vestigia Rixæ,
Quam de Virgineis gesserat Exuviiis.*

Secondly; I would observe, that the Words *Brother* and *Sister*, are applied to, and comprehend Cousins, Uncles, Aunts, Nephews and Nieces, as well as those who are begotten by the same Father, or

† *Justin.* l. 27. c. 1.

Polyb. l. 5. p. 402, 403.

Hierom. in *Daniel.* c. 11.

Appian. in *Syriac.* p. 130.

* De coma *Berenices*, *Carm.* 66. v. 11--14.

born of the same Mother. For thus *Catullus* again, who is only the Interpreter of *Callimachus*, calls *Ptolemy Euergetes Berenice's Brother* * :

*At tu non orbum luxti deserta cubile,
Sed FRATRIS CARI flebile discidium :
Quum penitus mæstas exedit cura medullas.*

But that she was not his Sister by Father or Mother, but his first Cousin by *Magas*, King of *Cyrene*, and Brother to *Philadelphus* by *Berenice*, we have shewn already from *Justin*; and is yet further evident from these Lines of the same Poet †,

*Anne bonum oblita es FACINUS, quo Regium
adepta es
Conjugium, quo non fortius ausit alis?*

Which not only alludes, but even plainly points to her heroic Conduct in *Cyrene*; in order to free herself from the Tyranny of *Demetrius*; and to make Way for her Marriage with young *Ptolemy* according to her Father's last and dying Appointment; and has no relation to *Berenice* the Sister of *Euergetes*, (whom *Philadelphus* married to *Antiochus*, and who was now shut up in *Daphne*) as the *French* Editor of *Catullus* in *Usum Delphini*, upon the Authority of *Hyginus*, would very injudiciously persuade his Readers. And this leads me to observe, Thirdly and lastly; That the Antiquaries need be in no Pain hereafter, about the Genuineness of the *Monumentum Adulitanum*, as it is called. For, if *Callimachus* calls *Ptolemy Euergetes* and *Berenice* his Wife,

* Ibid. v. 21--23.

† Ibid. v. 27, 28.

Brother and Sister; though in reality they were only First Cousins; then well might *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and *Arsinoe* the Daughter of *Lyfimachus* by his Half-Sister *Arsinoe*, be likewise called Brother and Sister, as they are in the Inscription upon that famous Monument, which begins thus *;

Rex Magnus Ptolemæus, filius Regis Ptolemæi & Reginae Arsinoes, deorum fratrum; Regis Ptolemæi et Reginae Berenices, deorum sospitatorum Nepos; ex patre quidem Hercule Jovis filio, ex matre vero Dionysio Jovis itidem filio oriundus: Accepto a patre Regno Ægypti, &c. Bellum gessit in Asia, &c.

And besides, that the *Arsinoe* here mentioned, and who is called the Sister of *Philadelphus*, is in reality no other but *Arsinoe* the Daughter of *Lyfimachus*, and Mother of *Euergetes*; and that it cannot be understood to be intended for her, who was first married to *Philadelphus*, and who was his Sister by the same Father and Mother, is evident to a Demonstration from the very Words of the Inscription itself; which distinguishes and deduces *Euergetes's* Pedigree from *Hercules* the Son of *Jupiter* by the Father's Side, and from *Dionysius* or *Bacchus*, another Son of *Jupiter*, by the Mother's Side. As for the learned Antiquaries, I am persuaded they will make no Scruple to submit intirely to the Authority of this most antient Monument; and to believe with me, that as *Arsinoe* the Daughter of *Lyfi-*

* De Monumento Adulitano, vid. Relations de divers Voyages Curieux, Tom. 1. Ed. Par. 1666. Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. l. 3. p. 604. Spanheim de Usu et Præstantia Numismatum, Tom. 1. p. 422, 423. Beger. Theaur. Brandenburg, Tom. 3. p. 31.

mackus, and Mother of *Euergetes*, has the same Honours paid to her Memory here, as *Berenice* the Wife of *Ptolemy Soter*, so she lived and died in great Love and Amity with her Husband *Philadelphus*. But how the Adversaries of *Aristeas* will be able to reconcile this to the Hypothesis, which they have adopted, chiefly upon the Authority of the Scholiast upon *Theocritus*, I shall leave them to consider at their Leisure.

I have now gone through what I proposed, in relation to the Marriage of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* with his Sister *Arsinoe*. And I hope I have made it appear to the Satisfaction of the Reader, that he married her either immediately, or soon after his Accession to the Throne of *Egypt*; and that they lived many Years together in the most perfect Love and Harmony; and consequently that there is no room to doubt but that she had several Children by him, tho' none of them happened to live so long as to survive her. And having done this, I shall now submit it to the Judgment of the Reader, whether the Circumstance of *Eleazar's* taking Notice of *Arsinoe* the Sister and Wife of *Philadelphus*, and of their Children, in his Letter to this Prince, is to be looked upon as a Mark of Forgery or not? And who deserve most to be censured; *Aristeas*, who has consigned nothing to Posterity, but what may still be found to be perfectly consistent with the Histories of the Times in which he wrote? Or, those *modern Criticks*, who first charge him with their own Blunders and Mistakes, and then set

* In Poetico Astronomico, c. 25. p. 400. Inter Mythologos Latinos. Ed. var. Anistel. 1681.

up a Hue-and-cry against him, as if he was one of the arrantest Impostors that ever lived?

I hope the Reader will excuse the Liberty I have taken in tracing the Marriages of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and other Princes his Cotemporaries, in so particular a Manner as I have done. The Opinion that *Philadelphus* first married a Daughter of *Lyfimachus*; and after that, the Widow of the same Prince, has prevailed so generally amongst the best and most learned of our modern Historians, that I could not prevail with myself, either to call the same in question, or to substitute another in its room, without giving my Reason for the same at large. And as for those Criticks who aim at nothing but the Discovery of the Truth, I am willing to hope that they will have as little Reason as any Body to be displeas'd with the Length thereof, since from the Method that I have pursued, they will have it in their Power the more easily to discover whether, in the Course of my Inquiry, I have advanced any Thing contrary to Probability, and the Truth of History, or not. But should it after all be thought, that I have spent more Time upon this Point than was necessary, all the Satisfaction that I can make, is only to assure the Reader, that, in answering the remaining Objections against the History of *Aristeas*, I shall carefully avoid falling into the like Mistake.

I have before observed, that *Scaliger*, one of the most learned Men of his Age, was the first that pretended to disprove the History of *Aristeas*. And I am now to observe further, that in order to support this Charge, he makes Use of Two Arguments. The first is founded upon the Testimony of *Hermippus*; which has been already fully considered. The other seems at first Sight
to

to be grounded upon the Authority of Scripture, and is to this Effect: “*Aristeas*, says he, * makes Six Interpreters to have been chosen out of each of the Twelve Tribes of *Israel*, and sent to *Alexandria* upon this Occasion; as if the Twelve Tribes had been then in Being; whereas Ten of them had been carried away into *Media* in the Days of *Hezekiah*; so that there were no others but only the Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin* at this Time in *Judea*.” And from hence he concludes, That a Person who could tell such a manifest Untruth as this, deserves no Credit in any Thing else that he says. And this Argument has been frequently made Use of by several learned Men since, such as *Junius*, *Rivet*, *Vorstus*, and others. But the learned *Dr. Prideaux* being aware, as we may suppose, that *Scaliger* had greatly overshot himself in asserting absolutely, That none of the Ten Tribes were then remaining, admits that some of them might return from *Babylon* with the other Two Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, and settle among them in *Judea*; but then he adds †, “But tho’ some of the other Tribes joined themselves to the *Jews* on their Return from the *Babylonish* Captivity, and thereby the Names of these Tribes might still be preserved among their Descendants, yet it is not to be supposed, that all were so; but that some of the Names of those other Tribes were wholly lost, and no more in Being in the Time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and that therefore no such Choice (as *Aristeas* mentions) could then be made out of them for composing of the Version of the *Septuagint*. But,

* *Animadvers.* in *Euseb.* ad *Num.* 1734. p. 133.

† Connexion of the History of the Old and New Testament, Part 2. B. 1. p. 36. Sect. 4.

with

with all due Submission to the Authority of such great Names, I think it will be no difficult Matter to shew, that there is not the least Foundation for either of these Opinions; and consequently, that *Aristeas* has been very unjustly blamed on this Account. For, first; I suppose it will not be denied but that *Josephus*, who was born and bred in *Judea*, and who had made the Antiquities of his own Nation his favourite Study, might know as much of this Matter, as *Scaliger*, who was born in *Germany* about 1500 Years after; or as *Dr. Prideaux*, who was born in *England* about 100 Years still later. Now *Josephus* * assures us, That *Eleazar* the High-Priest of the *Jews* did make Choice of Six out of each of the Twelve Tribes of *Israel*, and that he sent them to *Alexandria* to make this Version. But had *Aristeas* forged this Story, as it is now pretended, could *Josephus* have been ignorant thereof at the Time that he wrote his History? Or, can it be imagined, that he would have told such a Story after *Aristeas*, had he not then known it to be a Fact beyond all Possibility of Contradiction? Secondly; It is very well known that *St. Jerom* lived many Years in *Palestine*; that he was very conversant with the *Jews*; and that he would omit nothing that lay in his Power to weaken the Authority of the *Septuagint*. I would ask then; Was it known or believed in his Time, that several of the Twelve Tribes had been intirely lost ever since the *Babylonish Captivity*; or that the Jewish Nation, after their Return from *Babylon*, consisted only of the Two Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, or was it not? If it was; How came he to omit so material an Argument against the History of *Aristeas*; and consequently against the Version

* *Antiq. Jud.* l. 12. c. 2.

of the *Septuagint*? If it was not; upon what Grounds can any modern Writer pretend to assert any such Thing now? But further; Thirdly; That none of the Twelve Tribes were intirely lost in the Days of our blessed Saviour and his Apostles; but that some of the Descendants of each of them were then in Being, and scattered and dispersed all over the *Greek* Cities and Colonies in *Asia*, *Egypt*, and elsewhere, is evident from the general Epistle of St. *James* ||, which is directed to them in these express Words; Ταῖς δώδεκα φυλαῖς ταῖς ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ; that is, to the Twelve Tribes dispersed among the *Greeks*. For, so I think the Words ought to be translated; since it cannot be thought that St. *James* would write an Epistle in *Greek*, and send it to any but those who lived among the *Greeks*, and who consequently understood that Language. But above all, I think I am sufficiently warranted for translating the Words, ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ in this manner; since it cannot be denied, but that St. *John* in his Gospel has made Use of them in the same Sense: *Then said the Jews among themselves, says he* *, *Whither will he go, that we shall not find him? Will he go* (ὡς ἰνὴ διασπορὰν τῶν Ἑλλήνων) *unto the Cities and Plantations of the Greeks, and teach them?* Now, if there were some of the Descendants of each of the Twelve Tribes dispersed, and living at this Time among the *Greeks*; Can it be supposed, that there were not likewise many more out of each of them living at the same Time in *Judea*? But, why do I ask such a Question? Does not St. *Paul*, in his Speech to *Agrippa*, and before all the *Jews*, affirm in so many Words, That the Twelve Tribes were then living in

|| *James*, c. 1. v. 1.

* *John*, c. 7. v. 35.

Judea; and waiting for the Accomplishment of the Promise which GOD had made unto their Fathers? *And now*, says he †, *I stand and am judged for the Hope of the Promise made of GOD unto OUR FATHERS; unto which Promise OUR TWELVE TRIBES* (Δωδεκάφυλον ἡμῶν) *instantly serving GOD Day and Night, HOPE to come.* And agreeable to what *St. Paul* here asserts in *Terminus*; does not *Hegesippus* *, the first and most antient Writer of Church History, further inform us, That it was the Custom for ALL THE TRIBES to come up every Year to *Jerusalem*, to celebrate the Passover; and that it was at one of those Anniversary Meetings, that *St. James*, the first Bishop of that City, suffered Martyrdom? Can it then after this be made a Question, whether the Twelve Tribes were then still in Being, or not? Can any Thing be more repugnant to the Truth of History, than to say, That any of them were intirely lost, before *Ptolemy Philadelphus* sent to *Eleazar* the High-Priest for the Seventy-two Interpreters?

BUT if it should still be urged, that the Ten Tribes of *Israel* were carried away by *Salmanaser* into *Assyria*; and that none of them ever returned afterwards to their own Country again; and consequently that *St. James* and *St. Paul* must be understood figuratively, when they speak of the Twelve Tribes of *Israel* as subsisting in their Days: I answer, That never was any Opinion taken up upon slighter Grounds than this, or more repugnant to the best and most authentic Accounts that we have of the Transactions of those Times. In the 17th Chapter of the Second Book of *Kings*, and the 6th Verse, we read both

† *Acts*, c. 26. v. 6, 7.

* Quoted by *Eusebius*, *Hist. Eccl.* l. 2. c. 23. p. 64.

in the *Hebrew* and in the *Greek*, that *Salmanaser* King of *Assyria* took *Samaria*, and carried *Israel* away into *Assyria*. But in the 18th Chapter, and the 10th and 11th Verses, the *Greek* Version has it, that in the 6th Year of *Heze-*
Per. Jul. 3993.
chiab, and the 9th of *Hosea*, *Samaria* was taken, and that the King of *Assyria* did carry away *Samaria* into *Assyria*; from whence, I think, we may conclude, that *Israel* and *Samaria* here are Synonymous Terms; and that nothing more is meant by saying, That *Israel* was carried away into *Assyria*; but only this, That the King, Princes, and other great Men together with a considerable Number of the Inhabitants of *Samaria* and other Cities then dependent thereon, were carried away into *Assyria*: By which Means a final End was put to the Kingdom of *Israel*; and a Way opened for the Return of those that remained behind, to their Allegiance to the Kings of *Judab*, (from whom they had long revolted) and to the public Worship of the only true God at *Jerusalem*. For, that the whole Body of the Ten Tribes were not carried away; and that *Hezekiab*, some Time after this, sent a solemn Invitation to those that remained in their several Cities and Tribes, to return to their Duty, is evident from the 30th Chapter of the Second Book of *Chronicles*; where we are expressly told; “ That *Hezekiab* sent to all *Israel* “ and *Judab*, and wrote Letters also to *Ephraim* “ and *Manasseb*, that they should come to the “ House of the LORD at *Jerusalem*, to keep the “ Passover unto the LORD GOD of *Israel*; and “ that the King and all the Congregation established a Decree to make Proclamation throughout all *Israel* from *Beer-sheba* even to *Dan*, “ that they should come to keep the Passover “ unto the LORD GOD of *Israel* at *Jerusalem*, “ for

“ for they had not done it of a long Time in
 “ such Sort as it was written. So the Posts went
 “ with the Letters from the King and his Prin-
 “ ces, throughout ALL ISRAEL and JUDAH,
 “ and according to the Commandment of the
 “ King, saying, YE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL
 “ turn again unto the LORD GOD of Abra-
 “ ham, Isaac, and Israel, and he will return to
 “ the Remnant of you that are escaped out of the
 “ Hands of the King of Assyria. And be not
 “ like your Fathers, and like your Brethren, which
 “ trespassed against the LORD GOD of their
 “ Fathers, who therefore gave them up to Desola-
 “ tion, as ye see. Now be ye not stiff-necked, as
 “ your Fathers were ; but yield yourselves unto the
 “ LORD, and enter into his Sanctuary, which he
 “ hath sanctified for ever : And serve the LORD
 “ your GOD, that the fierceness of his Wrath
 “ may be turned away from you. For, if ye turn
 “ again unto the LORD, your Brethren and
 “ your Children shall find Compassion before them
 “ that lead them Captive, so that they shall come
 “ again into this Land : For the LORD your
 “ GOD is gracious and merciful, and will not
 “ turn away his Face from you, if ye return unto
 “ him. So the Posts passed from City to City,
 “ through the Country of Ephraim and Manas-
 “ seh, even unto Zebulun : But they laughed them
 “ to Scorn, and mocked them. Nevertheless,
 “ divers of Asher, and Manasseh, and of Zebu-
 “ lun, humbled themselves, and came to Jerusa-
 “ lem.” And then it follows a little after, “ That
 Ver. 18. “ a Multitude of the People, even many
 “ of Ephraim and Manasseh, Issachar
 “ and Zebulun, were present, and partook of
 Ver. 25, 26. “ this Passover : And all the Con-
 “ gregation of Judah, with the Priests
 “ and the Levites, and all the Congregation that
 “ cam :

“ came out of *Israel*, and the Strangers that came
“ out of the Land of *Israel*, and that dwelt in
“ *Judab*, rejoiced. So that there was great Joy
“ in *Jerusalem*: For since the Time of *Solomon*
“ the Son of *David*, King of *Israel*, there was
“ not the like in *Jerusalem*.” Now, is it not very
apparent from these Words, that after the Cap-
tivity of *Salmanaser*, there were many of the Ten
Tribes still remaining in all the Cities of *Israel*,
from *Dan* to *Beer-sheba*? And may we not
guess from the Reception that *Hezekiab*’s Mes-
sengers met with, that many of them were Men
of no small Quality and Distinction? But tho’
Hezekiab did not meet with all the Returns that
so kind an Invitation deserved, we find that, about
100 Years after this, *Josiab* his great Grandson
brought about a thorough Reformation through-
out all the Land of *Israel*: For we read in the
34th and 35th Chapters of the Second Book of
Chronicles, that “ *Josiab* did that which was right
“ in the Sight of the LORD, and walked in the
“ Ways of *David* his Father, and declined nei-
“ neither to the Right Hand, nor to the Left;
“ That in the Twelfth Year of
“ his Reign he began to purge Per. Jul. 4085.
“ *Judab* and *Jerusalem* from the high Places,
“ and the Groves, and the carved Images, and
“ the molten Images; and so he did in the Cities
“ of *Manasseb*, and *Ephraim*, and *Simeon*, even
“ unto *Naphtali*, and in all the Places round
“ about; and that, when he had broken down
“ the Altars and the Groves, and had beaten
“ the graven Images into Powder, and cut down
“ all the Idols throughout all the Land of *Israel*,
“ he returned to *Jerusalem*.” And the same sacred
Historian further informs us, “ That the same
“ religious Prince took away all the Abomina-
“ tions out of all the Countries that pertained to
“ the

“ the Children of *Israel*, and made all that were
 “ found in *Israel* to serve, even to serve the LORD
 Per. Jul. 4091. “ their GOD ; and moreover, that
 “ in the 18th Year of his Reign, he
 “ kept a Passover unto the LORD in *Jerusalem* ;
 “ where all *Israel* and *Judab* were present ; and
 “ that there was no Passover like to that kept
 “ in *Israel*, from the Days of *Samuel* the Pro-
 “ phet ; neither did all the Kings of *Israel* keep
 “ such a Passover as *Josiah* kept, and all *Judab*,
 “ and *Israel*, and the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem* †.

† *Josephus*, in the 14th Chapter of the 9th Book of his Antiquities, tells us, That *Salmanaser* τὴν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἡγεμονίαν ἀρδην ἠράνισε. καὶ πάντα τὸν λαὸν μετώκισεν εἰς τὴν Μηδίαν καὶ Περσίδα. That is, that he put a final End to the Government of the *Israelites*, and carried away all the People into *Media* and *Persia*. But we are not to understand these last Words in so strict a Sense, as if *Salmanaser* had carried away all the Ten Tribes to a Man ; or indeed in any other Sense but only this, That he carried away the Heads and chief Families, that is, all the People whom he might think capable of raising any new Disturbances or Insurrections afterwards. For that many, even of the Tribe of *Manasseh*, and much more of each of the other Tribes, remained in *Samaria* after this, is evident from the latter Part of the same Chapter ; where he tells us, That the *Cutheans* or *Samaritans*, as often as the *Jews* were in a State of Prosperity, pretended to be akin to them, as being descended from *Joseph* ; but, when in Adversity, they disclaimed that Relation, under pretence that they were only a Colony from another Country. But if this should not be thought sufficient to prove, that the Words, *all the People*, ought to be understood in a limited Sense : There is another Passage in the 4th Chap. of the 10th Book of his Antiquities, which will clear up this Point, beyond all Possibility of Doubt ; for there, speaking of *Josias*, he expressly informs us that Μετὰ δὲ πάντα, ὁ Βασιλεὺς Ἰωσίας πορευθεὶς ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ τὰς ἄλλας τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, ὅσοι τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν καὶ τὴν δουλείαν τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων διέεχον, ἀφείναι μὲν τὰς ἀσεβεῖς πράξεις, καὶ τὰς πρὸς τὰς πρὸς τὰς ἀλλοτρίους Θεοὺς ἐσκυταλιπτεῖν ἐπιτιμῶν, τὸν δὲ πατριὸν καὶ μέγιστον Θεὸν εὐσεβεῖν, καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐχόμενον, &c. i. e. Post hæc, autem Rex JOSIAS, AD ALIOS ETIAM EX ISRAELITIS profectus, qui in CAPTIVITATEM ET SERVITIUM NON ABDUCTI FUERANT AB ASSYRIIS, illis persuasit, ut impie agere desisterent, deorumque alienorum cultum relinquerent, patrium vero Deum et maximum pie colerent ; eiq; adhererent, &c.

I am not given to violent Passions, nor very apt to wonder much at vulgar Errors; but, I confess, when I consider these Passages of Scripture, I cannot help being greatly astonished, that two such Men as *Scaliger* and *Dr. Prideaux*, should assert, That all the Ten Tribes, to a Man, were carried away into *Assyria*; or, That any of them were so wholly lost after this, as never to be heard of any more. And what makes such an Opinion still more surprizing in the latter, is, that he gives very good Reasons elsewhere * to prove, “ That *Josiah* reigned over the whole Land of “ *Israel* in the same Extent, in which it had been “ held by *David* and *Solomon*, before it was divided into Two Kingdoms; and that his Reformation went through all of it; and was executed by him, not only in *Bethel*, where one of *Jeroboam’s* Calves stood, but also in every other Part thereof, and with the same Sovereign Authority as in *Judea* itself.”

I might in the next Place shew, That though *Nebuchadnezzar* afterwards took the City *Jerusalem*, burnt the Temple, and carried away great Numbers of the People to *Babylon*; yet it is so far from being true that he carried all of them away; or, that he left none but the Poor of the Land to be Vine-dressers and Husbandmen, that we read † that he made *Gedaliah* Governour of the Cities of *Judab*; “ and committed unto “ him Men, Women and Children, and of the “ Poor of the Land, that were not carried “ away captive unto *Babylon*: And that when “ all the Captains of the Forces which were

† Connexion of the Old and New Test. Part 1. B. 1. p. 52, 53.

* Jerem. c. 40. v. 5—9.

“ in the Fields, even they and their Men, heard
 “ that the King of *Babylon* had made *Gedaliab*
 “ Governor in the Land, they came unto him
 “ to *Mizpab* ; and that he swore unto them, and
 “ to their Men, saying, *Fear not to serve the*
 “ *Chaldeans ; dwell in the Land, and serve the*
 “ *King of Babylon, and it shall be well with you.*”

But I shall forbear enlarging upon this Subject * ; and shall only crave Leave to observe upon the Whole ; *First* ; That as the Kings and Princes of *Israel* and *Judab* had been the main Promoters of Idolatry and Irreligion among the People ; so God in a more particular and exemplary Manner executed his Vengeance upon them, by giving them up into the Hands of their Enemies, and putting a final End to that Form of Government, and to that Power which they had so often and so grievously abused. *Secondly* ; That though the Royal Houses of *Samaria* and *Jerusalem*, who would not serve the LORD GOD of their Fathers, were thus justly punished, by being made Prisoners and Slaves to the most Idolatrous People upon Earth ; yet God was merciful to the Bulk of his People, who had been seduced by the Wantonness of those that had been set over them : So that many of them were suffered to remain in all the Cities of *Israel* and *Judab* ; and those that had been carried away with their Princes and Leaders, were after a Time permitted to return to their own Country again. *Thirdly* ; That the Command of *Cyrus* for permitting those that had been carried away into Captivity to return to *Jerusalem*, was general, and extended to all Persons whatsoever, in all Places within his Dominions. “ The LORD, says the Text †, stirred up the

* Vid. *Jerem.* c. 50. v. 19, 20.
Ezek. c. 45. v. 8.

† *Ezra*, c. 1. v. 1—5.

“ Spirit of Cyrus, King of Persia, that he made
 “ a Proclamation throughout all his Kingdom,
 “ and put it also in Writing, saying, *Thus saith*
 “ *Cyrus King of Persia, the LORD GOD of*
 “ *Heaven hath given me all the Kingdoms of the*
 “ *Earth, and he hath charged me to build him an*
 “ *House at Jerusalem, which is in Judea. Who*
 “ *is there among you of all his People? His GOD*
 “ *be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem;*
 “ *which is in Judah, and build the House of the*
 “ *LORD GOD of Israel; he is the GOD*
 “ *which is in Jerusalem. And whosoever remain-*
 “ *eth in any Place where he sojourneth, let the Men*
 “ *of his Place help him with Silver, and with Gold;*
 “ *and with Beasts, besides the Free-will Offering for*
 “ *the House of GOD that is in Jerusalem.*” And

though the Text mentions none of these that returned at this Time, in particular and by Name, but only the chief of the Fathers of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, and the Priests and the *Levites*; yet there is no room to doubt but that many of the Descendants of those, whom *Salmanaſer* caused to be carried away into *Aſſyria*, joined and returned with them. For the Text assures us, that many others, namely, all those whose Spirit God had raised to go up, accompanied them; which can have reference to none but those of the other Ten Tribes, who had been much longer absent from their Country, and therefore probably stood in need of an over-ruling Power to encourage them to quit the Places where they had been so long settled, and to undertake so hazardous a Journey. And agreeable hereto, we may likewise conclude, that as the Two Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin* returned and came again unto *Jerusalem* and *Judah*, every one into his City †; so likewise

† Ezra, c. 2. v. 1.

those of the Ten Tribes, who came up with them, returned every one into his City: For we read, that immediately after this Return, and before any Thing was undertaken at *Jerusalem*, all *Israel* dwelt in their Cities §; and that when the Seventh Month was come, and the Children of *Israel* were in their Cities ||, the People gathered themselves as one Man, to *Jerusalem*; and thereupon the first Thing they did, was to build the Altar of the God of *Israel*, and to offer Burnt-offerings thereon. And that the People which thus gathered themselves from all the Cities of *Israel*, as one Man, to *Jerusalem*, consisted of all the Twelve Tribes of *Israel*, is further manifest, from the subsequent Accounts, which the same Historian gives us of the Dedication of the Temple, and of the Passover which they kept soon after. For there he tells us *,

“ That the House of God was finished in the
 “ Sixth Year of the Reign of *Darius* the King;
 “ and that the Children of *Israel*, the Priests and
 “ the *Levites*, and the rest of the Children of the
 “ Captivity, kept the Dedication of the same
 “ with Joy; and offered at the Dedication
 “ thereof, an Hundred Bullocks, Two Hundred
 “ Rams, Four Hundred Lambs; and for a Sin-
 “ offering for ALL ISRAEL, Twelve He-Goats,
 “ according to the Number of the Tribes of *Is-*
 “ *rael* †. That the Children of the Cap-
 “ tivity

§ *Ezra*, c. 2. v. 70.

|| — c. 3. v. 1, 2.

* — c. 6. v. 15—22.

† Anno autem Regni Darii nono, vigesimo tertio Die Mensis duodecimi, qui nostris dicitur Adar, Macedonibus vero Dystrus, sacerdotes ac Levitæ cum reliqua Israelitarum multitudine (καὶ τὸ ἀλλοτῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν πλῆθος) hostias immo-

“ tivity kept a Passover upon the Fourteenth
 “ Day of the First Month ; that the Passover
 “ was killed for all the Children of the Capti-
 “ vity ; and that the Children of *Israel*, which
 “ were come again out of Captivity, did eat,
 “ and kept the Feast of Unleavened Bread ; for
 “ the LORD had made them joyful, and turned
 “ the Heart of the King of *Assyria* unto them,
 “ to strengthen their Hands in the Work of the
 “ House of GOD, the GOD of *Israel*.” Much
 more might be said upon this Subject : But these
 Passages being, in my humble Opinion, abund-
 antly sufficient to prove, that the *Jewish* Na-
 tion, after the *Babylonish* Captivity, as well as be-
 fore, consisted of all the Twelve Tribes of *Israel* ;
 and that it is so far from being certain, that any
 of them were wholly lost about this Time, that
 it is more than probable, that the Punish-
 ment which GOD was pleased to inflict upon them
 for their Sins, did not consist in the utter De-
 struction of any one or more of their Tribes ;
 or even in the removing of all or any of them
 wholly from the Cities of their Inheritance ; but
 in the utter Subversion of their Civil Government ;
 in the Cessation or Intermision of the Temple-
 Worship ; and in such other Calamities and Af-
 flictions as are generally the Concomitants of a
 foreign Yoke. These Things, I say, being now
 sufficiently proved, I shall only beg Leave to
 observe, *Fourthly and lastly* ; That I hope it will
 not be pretended after this, that *Aristeas* is any

immolarunt, pro renovata post captivitatem pristina felicitate, proq; recepto Novo Templo, Tauros centum, Arietes ducentos, Agnos quadringentos, et Hircos Duodecim pro Numero Tribuum, (totidem enim sunt tribus Israeliticæ, τοσαύται γὰρ εἰσιν αἱ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν φύλαι) ut Peccata earum uniuersusq; expiarent. *Jos. Antiq.* l. 11. c. 4. p. 480.

ways to be blamed for saying, *That all the Twelve Tribes were in being, when Ptolemy Philadelphus sent to Eleazar the High-Priest at Jerusalem for Six Elders out of each of them, to translate their sacred Writings into Greek; or that Eleazar could be under any Difficulty to comply with such a Request:* And more especially, as we are assured by a Writer † of undoubted Credit, That the Jews after the *Babylonish* Captivity, as well as before, had been very careful in preserving the Genealogies of all their Families, from the Time that they came out of *Egypt*, even unto the Reign of *Herod* the Great; who being discontented at the Meanness of his own Birth, and finding that he could no way make out his Pedigree from any of the ancient Families of the *Israelites*, caused all the public Registers of them to be destroyed. As for *Dr. Prideaux's* other Doubts, arising, as he pretends, from the Improbability, that there could be such a Number of learned Men in all *Judea* at this Time, so thoroughly skilled in the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Languages, as that out of them a Choice could be made of Six for each Tribe, fully qualified for this Work; I am unwilling to pass such a Censure upon them as I think they deserve; and shall therefore take my Leave of this Objection.

ANOTHER Accusation against our Author, and upon which no small Stress has been laid, is taken from the Costs and Expences, which, according to *Aristeas*, attended this Translation. Mr. Professor *Hody* *, in his polite way, is pleased to tell us, that such as will seriously consider the Matter, cannot doubt but that *Aristeas* forged the several Sums said to be expended upon this

† *Africanus* apud *Euseb.* Hist. Eccl. l. 1. c. 7. p. 23.

* *De Bib. Textib.* Original. l. 1. c. 16. p. 73.

Occasion. Dr. *Pocock*, who, for his consummate Knowledge in the Oriental Languages, can never be sufficiently valued, thinks, that the whole Revenue of *Egypt* could scarcely amount to such a Sum *. And the reverend and learned Author of the *Connexion*, who, I suppose, thought he understood the Value of Money as well as any Body, concludes, that whatever the Revenues of *Egypt* might be, yet that *Ptolemy Philadelphus* could not be such a DUPE as to part with so large a Sum of Money, for what at that Time made only a Part of One of our present Bibles. Some perhaps, who have been wont to look upon every Oracle of God as a Treasure infinitely exceeding all Price or Estimation, may think this but a very coarse Sort of a Complement upon the Holy Scriptures; and especially from the Pen of a learned and pious Divine, as I really believe Dr. *Prideaux* was. And others, peradventure, who know how difficult a Thing it is to settle an Account of Ten or Twenty Years standing in our own Days, may imagine that this, which was a Transaction above Two Thousand Years ago, might as well have been let alone as meddled with now; and more especially, as we have not the least Hint given us by any Author in all Antiquity, that any Body ever found fault either with the King for his Generosity upon this Occasion, or with his Minister for representing him in so amiable a Light. But however, since so many learned Men of late have taken the Freedom to insult *Aristeas* for transmitting such an Account to Posterity; and since Dr. *Prideaux*, more particularly, has thought fit to make Use of his great Skill in Numbers, to demonstrate the Incredibi-

* In *Rabbinic. et Talmudic. Exposit.*

lity thereof; I hope I shall likewise be excused, on the other hand, if I take the Liberty in my turn, to inquire a little more narrowly into the Validity of what he has been pleased to offer upon this Head.

ARISTEAS, says he*, “ makes *Ptolemy* “ advance an incredible Sum of Money for the “ obtaining of this Version. For, according to “ him, *Ptolemy* expended in redeeming the Cap- “ tive *Jews*, that were in his Kingdom, 660 “ Talents; in Vessels of Silver sent to the “ Temple, 70 Talents; in Vessels of Gold, 50 “ Talents; and in precious Stones to adorn and “ imbellish these Vessels to the Value of Five “ Times the Gold, that is 250 Talents; in a “ Gift for Sacrifices and other Uses of the Tem- “ ple, 100 Talents. And then he gave to each “ of the Seventy-two Interpreters at their first “ coming Three Talents apiece in Silver, that “ is, 216 Talents in the Whole; and lastly to “ each of them at their parting, Two Talents “ in Gold, and a Gold Cup of a Talent Weight; “ all which put together, make in the Sum total “ 1046 Talents of Silver, and 516 Talents of “ Gold; which being reduced to our Sterling “ Money, amounts to *One Million, Nine Hun- “ dred and Eighteen Thousand, Five Hundred Thirty- “ seven Pounds, Ten Shillings* (l. 1,918,537 s. 10.) “ and if we add hereto the Value of other Gifts, “ which, according to *Aristeas*, were bestowed “ on these Seventy-two Elders by the Bounty of “ the King, and the Charges, which it cost him “ in fetching them to *Alexandria*, maintaining “ them there, and sending them back again to “ *Jerusalem*, this may be computed to mount “ that Sum to near *Two Millions* Sterling,

* Connexion, Part 2. B. 1. p. 37.

“ (l. 2,000,000) which may well be reckoned
“ to be above Twenty Times as much as that
“ whole Library was ever worth. And who
“ can then believe, that this Narrative, which
“ makes *Ptolemy* expend so much for ONE SIN-
“ GLE BOOK in it, and which neither he, nor
“ any of his Court, as long as they continued
“ Heathens, could have any great Value for,
“ can be a true and genuine History?”

THUS the learned Author of the Connexion argues: And indeed it must be confessed, that, were we to compare the Sum total as he has cast it up here, with the Revenue or Income of an *English* Deanery, or even with that of the best Bishoprick in the King's Gift, it would seem to be an incredible Purchase for any one Book; and especially, if what he says further be true, that *Ptolemy* could have no great Value for it, as long as he continued a Heathen. But on the other hand, if we consider this as a Transaction of a great and generous King, who knew perfectly well both how to improve, and how to dispose of his Revenues in the best and noblest manner; the Sum perhaps will not appear so incredible as it is here represented. *Theocritus* tells * us, That he ruled over 33,339 Cities: And if we may suppose, that the Annual Tribute which they paid him, amounted but to Ten Talents of Silver, and one Talent of Gold, one with another; which is not a very high Estimate, considering that the Taxes of *Alexandria* alone, at the lowest Computation, have been reckoned to amount to l. 1,500,000 Sterling, *per Annum*, and upwards †; his Revenue at this

* Idyl. 17.

† Dr. *Arbutnot's* Dissertations on antient Coins, Weights and Measures, p 193. Ed. Lond. 1727.

Rate must have amounted unto 333,390 Talents of Silver, and 33,339 Talents of Gold; which according to the Doctor's way of Computation at *l. 206 s. 5.* for a Talent of Silver; and *l. 3300* for a Talent of Gold, amounts in Sterling Money to the Sum of *l. 178,680,387 s. 10.* I know not what our *Anti-Aristeans* will say to such an immense Revenue as this; neither will I pretend to answer for the same. But, if they will take the Trouble to audit and examine the Account themselves upon their own Principles, and to make what Abatements they shall think fit; I am much mistaken, if, after all, there will not still be enough left to enable *Ptolemy Philadelphus* to expend Two Millions of Money upon any Work that he should set his Heart upon.

Secondly; We are inform'd by *Appian* *, that *Ptolemy Philadelphus's* Land Forces consisted of 200,000 Foot; 40,000 Horse; 2000 Chariots, and 300 Elephants; and that upon Occasion he could fit out to Sea 4300 Ships and Vessels of all Kinds; and that the Money in his Treasury amounted to 740,000 Talents. And if we may suppose that only $\frac{1}{10}$ Part of this Money was in Gold, and the other $\frac{9}{10}$ Parts in Silver; the Gold will amount unto 74,000 Talents; and the Silver to 666,000 Talents; and both together, according to the Doctor's way of reckoning, will amount in Sterling Money to *l. 381,562,500.* Now, it is perfectly indifferent to me, whether *Appian* is here to be understood, as if the Royal Revenues of *Egypt* amounted to so much *Communibus Annis*; or, whether he only meant that *Philadelphus* had generally such

* In Praefatione, p. 6.

a Sum of Money as this at his Command. For, taking it either way, I submit it to the candid Reader to determine, what Business any *modern Critic* whatsoever has, to find fault with a Prince so immensely rich, and so eminently famous for the Grandeur of his Mind, for laying out Two Millions of Money upon a Book, which none, not even the greatest of the *Gentile* Monarchs before him, had ever seen; and which, abstracting from the peculiar Modes and Rites of Worship which were therein prescribed to the *Jews*, was able to teach him more true History, and more sound Philosophy, than all the wise Men of the World besides? *Appian* was a Native of *Alexandria*; and for the Truth of this Account, he appeals to the publick Registers of that City; which he assures us were then still extant and to be seen when he wrote. What are we to do then in this Case? Are we to treat this Historian as our learned Criticks have done *Aristeas*; and say, *That he has forged this Account on purpose to magnify the Glory of his own Country?* *Appian* has here given us a noble Idea of the Grandeur and Riches of *Philadelphus*, and *Aristeas* has given us an Instance of his Generosity perfectly consistent therewith: Shall we then condemn the former? or, shall we acquit the latter?

Thirdly; If the Reader is yet under any Doubt as to the Riches and magnificent Disposition of this illustrious Prince; let him call to Mind the Character which *Philo Judeus* has given of him, and which has been already mentioned *; let him consider the *Pharos* which he built in an Island of the same Name near *Alexandria*; which

* Sect. 3.

cost him 800 Talents *, and was reckoned one of the Wonders of the World; let him consider that Canal which he caused to be made for the Conveniency of Navigation, from the Red-Sea to the Bitter-Springs; and which was 37 Miles in length, 100 Foot broad, and 40 Foot deep; and what an immense Sum it must cost him to finish such a Work †. And, to mention no more, let him read the Account which *Calixenus* the *Rhodian* has given us of one of his Shews at *Alexandria*, the Cost of which amounted to 2239 Talents and 50 Mina's; and likewise the Description of the Royal Tent which he caused to be erected within the Verge of the Court upon that Occasion, which, with its Furniture, was valued at 10,000 Talents §: I say, let any Reader lay all these Things together, and then tell me, whether he, that could afford to spend 2200 Talents upon a Shew, and for his Diversion, would think much to lay out a less Sum for a more substantial and durable Entertainment? If 800 Talents was well laid out upon the *Pbaros* at *Alexandria*; can any Man think, that twice that Value, or indeed that any Sum could be too much to be given for that which Providence intended should give Light to the whole World?

Fourthly and lastly; If the Veracity of all or any of these Authors should likewise be called in Question; or, if any one should still insist, that the Sum which *Aristeas* tells us *Ptolemy* advanced upon this Occasion, was so great as to exceed all Belief; I would humbly beg Leave to offer the

* *Plin.* Vol. 2. p. 739.

† *Plin.* Vol. 1. p. 341.

§ *Apud. Athenaeum*, l. 5. p. 196---203.

following Case to be considered. In the Twenty-second Chapter of the First Book of *Cbronicles*, we read, That *David* in his Poverty had prepared for the House of the LORD an Hundred Thousand Talents of Gold, and a Thousand Thousand Talents of Silver. And in the 29th Chapter of the same Book, we are further informed, That he gave out of his own private Estate besides, Three Thousand Talents of Gold, of the Gold of *Ophir*, and Seven Thousand Talents of refined Silver. And if we reduce these Four several Sums into Sterling Money, and then add them all together; the Sum total, according to the Doctor's way of reckoning by *Attic* Talents, will be found to amount unto *Five Hundred Forty-seven Millions, Five Hundred Ninety-three Thousand, Seven Hundred and Fifty Pounds*, Sterling. But if we reckon the same, by the Doctor's *Hebrew* Talents, the Sum total will then be found to amount to *Eleven Hundred Ninety-four Millions, Seven Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds*, Sterling. A Sum far exceeding all the Gold and Silver of all Kinds at this Day in all the Kingdoms and States of *Europe*! Now, I would be glad to be informed, by any Divine, or other Critic whatsoever, whether they can shew any probable way, how a Prince who reigned over so small a Country as *Judea*, could acquire such an immense Sum of Money as this comes to? If they can, I shall be as forward as any to congratulate them upon the Discovery thereof. But, should they at last be forced to confess, that they can by no Means account for the same; will they therefore treat the sacred Historian in the same unbecoming Manner as they have treated *Aristeas*? Will they presume to say, That the inspired Penman has forged these Numbers, on purpose to magnify the Grandeur of that peerless Fabric?

Fabric? Far be such Impiety from every honest Heart! What other Answer then may we expect to this Difficulty? Will they be so candid as to own at last, that we are still so much in the Dark as to the real Value of the Money of those Times, that no certain Computation can now be made thereof? If this should be acknowledged to be the Case here; I would then be glad to know, why *Aristeas* may not hope to meet with some Indulgence likewise, upon the same Score?

HITHERTO we have proceeded upon the Notions commonly received about the Value of Money among the Antients; and if nothing more were necessary but only to silence an Adversary, perhaps what I have already offered might be sufficient for that Purpose. But the Truth is, I have that regard for the Reader's Satisfaction, that I should be very unwilling to take my Leave of this Objection in so abrupt a manner. I shall therefore, in the next Place, take the Liberty to offer such Conjectures as have occurred to me upon this Head; which, if they do not intirely remove the Difficulties complained of, may yet possibly serve to render them not altogether so formidable as they have hitherto appeared to be. And,

First; I suspect that our *Anti-Aristeans* have greatly erred in computing the Weight and Value of the Gold Talent. The antient *Greeks* reckoned their Money by Talents, Minas and Drachms, just as we compute *English* Money by Pounds, Shillings and Pence. And with them, as with us, Silver was the chief Coin. And the *Attic* Ponderal and Numeral Talent of Silver were exactly equal to one another; as our Pound Sterling was originally exactly equal to a Pound
Weight

Weight of Silver. And as the Pound Sterling, when it consisted of Twelve Ounces, as well as now that it consists but of Four Ounces of Silver, was then and is still the common Measure by which we compute the Value of Gold as well as Silver; so I imagine, that the *Attic* Silver Talent, whether more or less in Weight, was the common Measure by which the antient *Greeks* computed the Value of their Gold as well as Silver. Now, the Pound Sterling being with us the common Measure for valuing of all Sorts of Coins, whether Gold or Silver; I would ask, *If one Man were said to be worth l. 10,000 Sterling in Gold, and another worth l. 10,000 Sterling in Silver; what is here meant thereby?* Will any one say, That because the one has his *l. 10,000* Sterling in Gold, and the other has his *l. 10,000* Sterling only in Silver, and because one Pound Weight of Gold is equal in Value to Sixteen Pound Weight of Silver, that therefore the first is Sixteen Times richer than the other? No, surely; no Body with us would be so ridiculous as to reckon after this manner. If it were required to know the Weight of *l. 10,000* Sterling in Gold, and of *l. 10,000* Sterling in Silver; would any Body answer, that the Weight of the Gold was equal to the Weight of the Silver; or that either of them was equal to Ten Thousand Pounds of our Troy Weight? No; such Answers would be every whit as ridiculous as the other. A Person of any Skill in Money would consider, That one Pound Sterling in Silver is equal in Weight but to Four Ounces of Silver; and therefore, reckoning Twelve Ounces to the Pound Weight, he would say, that *l. 10,000* Sterling in Silver, is equal in Weight only to 3,333 Pounds and 4 Ounces of Silver. And in like manner, upon the Supposition that one Pound

Weight

Weight of Gold is equal in Value to Sixteen Pound Weight of Silver, and consequently that one Pound Sterling in Gold is equal in Weight but to Five Pennyweight of Gold, he would conclude, that *l.* 10,000 Sterling in Gold is equal in Weight only to 2500 Ounces, or to 208 Pounds and 4 Ounces of Gold; and consequently that the Weight of the Gold which goes to make up *l.* 10,000 Sterling, is just equal to $\frac{1}{16}$ Part of the Weight of the Silver that goes to make up the same Sum. Now, as the Pound Sterling here in *England* is thus made the common Measure for Gold as well as Silver; by which Means one Pound Sterling in Silver is equal in Value to one Pound Sterling in Gold; though at the same Time, the Weight of the latter is but the $\frac{1}{16}$ Part of the former: So I conceive that an *Attic* Talent in Silver was equal in Value to an *Attic* Talent in Gold; and that the only Difference between them lay in this; That when they came to pay or receive any Sum or Sums of Money, whatever the Weight of the Silver Talent was set at, the Gold Talent was equal in Weight only to $\frac{1}{16}$, $\frac{1}{12}$, or $\frac{1}{13}$ Part of the same, more or less, according to the established Proportion between Gold and Silver at the Time. Now, if we proceed upon this Foot, and suppose the *Attic* Talent to have been equal in Value to *l.* 193 *s.* 15. of our Money, as it has been lately computed by a learned Hand; and consequently equal in Weight to $64\frac{7}{12}$ Pound Weight of Silver; and if we suppose the Proportion of Gold to Silver to have been as Thirteen to One; and consequently that $4\frac{4}{5}$ Pound Weight of Gold was equal in Value to one Talent of Silver; and if we accordingly cast up the Value and Weight of the above-mentioned 1046 Talents in Silver, and 516 Talents in Gold; the former will be found

to

to amount unto *l.* 202,662. *s.* 10. Sterling, and to be equal in Weight and Value to 67,554 Pounds and Two Ounces of Silver; and the latter will be found to amount unto *l.* 99,975 Sterling; and to be equal in Weight and Value to 2563 $\frac{6}{13}$ Pound Weight of Gold: And both Sums together will amount to no more but *l.* 302,637. *s.* 10. Sterling. So that if any of our Money Criticks for the future should think, that *l.* 1,918,537. *s.* 10 Sterling was too great a Sum for *Ptolemy Philadelphus* to advance for procuring a Translation of the *Hebrew* Scriptures into *Greek*, they may, if they please, take back and return above Five Parts out of Six to the right Owner thereof; and still there will be enough left to answer all *Aristeas's* Demands.

IF it should be objected, that this is a new way of computing the Value of Gold Talents; I answer, that whatever Opinion some may entertain of it, yet I cannot but think it more than probable, not only that the *Greeks*, but that all other Nations, where Gold and Silver was coined, and passed by Tale, computed the Gold Talent as I have done. For, though our modern Writers have taken upon themselves to make a Talent of Gold equal in Weight to a Talent of Silver; and consequently to make the one 10, 12, 13, or 16 times more valuable than the other; yet I doubt they would find it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to prove, that the Antients computed the Value of any of their Money Talents after this manner. Whereas on the other hand, I think, many Instances may be produced to shew, that all those Countries which reckoned by Talents, Minas, and Drachms, had but one Money or Silver Talent, which was the common Measure, by which all Gold as well as Silver was valued, and to which they were both ultimately reduced.

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Thus

Thus *Julius Pollux* informs us, That the Talent was the highest Denomination for Gold and Silver*; and that the *Attic* Silver Talent consisted of 6000 Drachms, or of 60 Minas of 100 Drachms each †; and as to their Gold, he further tells us, That the *Aureus* or Golden *Stater* of the *Athenians* was equal in Weight to Two *Attic* Drachms §; and that the Proportion of Gold to Silver was as Ten to One ||. So that one *Aureus*, of the Weight of Two Drachms, was equal in Value to, and consequently in all Receipts and Payments was taken and paid away for Twenty *Attic* Drachms of Silver. And 300 such *Aurei* were equal in Value to one Talent of Silver. Now this being the Case, I would desire to know, whether an *Athenian* that was to pay a Talent of Money in Gold, would have been thought to have discharged his Obligation by paying 300 *Aurei*, or 600 Drachms of Gold, which is here reckoned to be equal in Value to a Talent of Silver? Or whether, according to the modern way of Computation, he must have paid 6000 Drachms of Gold, which was equal in Value to Ten Talents of Silver?

BUT farther; That the Talent by which all Gold as well as Silver was estimated, was the Silver Talent, may be evidently collected from several Passages of *Xenophon's* Works. Thus in his Institutions of *Cyrus* we read, That *Armenius*

* Τάλαντον μέγιστον ἐστὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ Ἀργυρίου μέρος. *J. Pollux*, l. 9. c. 6. Sect. 52.

† Idem, l. 9. c. 6. Sect. 59, 86.

§ Idem, l. 4. c. 24. Sect. 173.

|| Idem, l. 9. c. 6. Sect. 76.

computed his Riches altogether by the Silver Talent: Tell me (says Cyrus to him) what Money you have: Λέξον ᾧ ἢ πῶσα ῥήματα. To which Armenius answers; The Money which I have, together with the Treasures which my Father left me, being reduced to Silver, amounts to more than Three thousand Talents: Χρήματα ᾧ, ἔρη, σὺν τοῖς Θησαυροῖς οἷς ὁ πατήρ κατέλιπεν, ἔσιν, Εἰς Αἰγύπτιον Δοσιθόντα, Τάλαντα ὡλέω τῶν τετρακλίων †. Again; In his History of the Grecian Affairs, he tells us, That Tithraustes the Persian General sent Timocrates the Rhodian into Greece with a Sum of Money in GOLD, to bribe the Grecian Cities to break with the Lacedemonians. But how does he express himself upon this Occasion? Does he say, that the Persian sent such or such a Number of Gold Talents? No, nothing like it. How then? Why, his Words are these; Interim Tithraustes suspensus aliquantisper Animo, quid potissimum ageret, tandem in Græciam Timocratem Rhodium mittit; datoque huic Auro, quod Argenti talenta quinquaginta æquareti, (δὲς χρυσίον ἐς πεντήκοντα τάλαντα Ἀργυρίῳ) operam daret, Imperat, ut id in Præsides Civitatum distribueret ‡. Now, had the Greeks known any thing of a Gold Talent equal in Value to ten Silver Talents; What Occasion was there for this Periphrasi. here? Instead of saying, that the Persian General sent a Sum of Money in Gold equal in Value to fifty Talents of Silver; might he not in fewer Words, and with more Propriety, have told us at once, according to the modern Way of Computation, that he sent five Talents of GOLD? But Xenophon is not to be taught by us, either how to write, or how to count Money. Lastly; In his Account of the Expedition of Cyrus the Younger,

† De Institutione Cyri, l. 3. p. 68. Ed. Par. 1625.

‡ Hist. Græc. l. 3. p. 502.

he tells us, * That that Prince, being apprehensive of being forced to come to an Engagement with his Brother sooner than he intended, consulted *Silanus* the Soothfayer thereupon; and that, upon *Silanus*'s prophesying, that there would be no Battle in ten Days, he promised to make him a Present of ten Talents, in case his Prediction should prove true. Accordingly, ten Days passed, and no Battle happened, and *Cyrus* complied with his Promise. But how did he comply with it? Was he at Liberty to have paid the ten Talents in Silver, if he had so thought fit? Yes, certainly. And what would ten thousand Talents in Silver have amounted to? To 60,000 Drachms. Did he then pay him in Silver? No; the Payment was made in Gold. And how was the Gold reckoned? By the Talent? No. How then? Why, the Historian tells us, that it was reckoned by *Daricks*; and that *Cyrus* gave *Silanus* 3000 Pieces of that Coin, for the ten Talents which he had promised him. Now we are informed by others, † That a *Darick* was a *Persian* Gold Coin, equal in Weight and Value to the *Aureus*, or Golden *Stater* of the *Athenians*; and consequently, that 3000 *Daricks* were exactly equal to ten thousand Talents, or 60,000 Drachms of Silver. Now from these Instances, who does not see, that a Talent, among the antient *Greeks*, was a nominal Thing, just as a Pound Sterling is with us; that it was the common and invariable Measure, by which all Gold, as well as Silver, was estimated; and, in a Word, that, as eighty Penny-weight of Silver, or five Penny-weight of

* De Expeditione Cyri, l. 1. p. 262, 359.

† *Jul. Pollux*, l. 9. c. 6. Sect. 59. Scholiast. in *Aristophan. Εκκλησίας*. 598. p. 455. Ed. Amst. 1710. *Suidas* in Voce *Δαρείκως*. Ὑπεργράθει δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὁ συγκεκριλασίμενον εἰς ἈΓΓΥΡΙΟΥ ΔΑΚΤΟΝ, εἶναι μὲν τρισχιλίας καὶ διακοσίας μυριάδας. *Diod.* l. 1. p. 31. d.

Gold, makes a Pound Sterling with us ; so 6000 Drachms of Silver, or 300 *Aurei*, or 600 Drachms of Gold, made a Talent with them.

Many more Instances to the like Purpose might easily be produced ; but the following, in Addition to what I have already mentioned, will, I hope, be sufficient. The Furniture of the Tent which *Ptolemy Philadelphus* erected, upon Occasion of the Shew which he exhibited to the People of *Alexandria*, as above-mentioned, consisted of many rich Hangings, Statues, Pictures, Gold and Silver Vessels, and other Ornaments : But, in casting up the Value of the whole, *Calixemus* does not make use of one Sort of Talent for the Gold, and another for the Silver, and other Things ; but tells us, that the Whole amounted to ten thousand Talents of Silver; εἰς μυρία τάλαντα Ἄργυρίς †. And when he comes to cast up the Costs and Expences of the Shew, which consisted likewise of a great Variety of Gold and Silver Vessels, and other Ornaments, he tells us, that they amounted, in the Whole, to 2239 Talents, and 50 *Mina's* ; καὶ ἐγένετο τὸ δαπάνημα τῆ Νομίματι 2239 τάλαντα δισχίλια διακόσια τριάκοντα ἑνέα, Μινῶν πεντήκοντα ‡. And as for the *Romans*, we are certain, that, in all their Transactions with the *Greeks*, and other Eastern Nations, they constantly reckon by the Silver Talent. Thus *Polybius* § tells us, That in the Treaty between the *Romans* and *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, it was agreed, That the latter should pay to the former 12,000 *Attic* Talents of fine Silver in twelve Years, by twelve equal Payments ; and that each Talent should not weigh less than 80 *Roman* Pounds. And we read in

† Apud *Athenæum*, l. 5. p. 197.

‡ Apud *Eundem*, l. 5. p. 203.

§ *Polyb.* in *Excerptis*, c. 35. p. 842.

Livy *, That one of the Conditions of Peace offered by the *Roman* General to the *Ætolian*, was, That the latter should pay to the former 500 Talents of Silver down ; and 500 Talents more afterwards : And that, upon their Application to the *Roman* Senate for some Mitigation thereof, all the Favour that they could obtain, was, That if they chose to pay the Money in Gold, rather than in Silver, they might do it ; provided they paid one Drachm of Gold for ten Drachms of Silver. And *Polybius* †, who has likewise recorded the same Treaty at large, though he differs from *Livy* as to the Sum Total, yet he agrees with him in this ; That they were permitted to pay one Third Part of the Sum imposed upon them in Gold ; provided they paid one *Mina* of Gold for every ten *Mina*'s of Silver. Now, here it is observable, That it is not said, that for every ten Talents of Silver, they might pay one Talent of Gold ; but that they might, if they pleased, pay a certain Number of Talents in Gold, at and after the Rate of one Drachm or *Mina* of Gold, for ten Drachms or *Mina*'s of Silver. Which plainly shews, that the *Romans* knew of no other but the Silver Talent ; and that they looked upon the same as the Common Measure, by which all Payments in Gold, as well as in Silver, were to be made ; at least, in all their Transactions with the *Greeks*, and other Eastern Nations. And thus much, I hope, may be sufficient to shew, that in reducing the Value of *Ptolemy*'s Presents from L. 1,918,537,10, to

* L. 38. c. 8, 11. De pecuniæ summa, quam penderent, pannonibusq; ejus, nihil ex eo, quod cum consule convenerat, mutatum. Pro argento, si aurum dare mallet, darent ; dum pro Argenteis decem, aureus unus valeret.

† In *Excerptis*, c. 28. p. 828—834. Αντ̄ τρῑτα μ̄ρους τῆς Ἀργυρίης, χρυσιον̄ ἐὰν βουλω̄σθαι Διδδ̄ν̄τες, ΤΩΝ ΔΕΚΑ ΜΝΩΝ ΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΥ, ΧΡΥΣΙΟΥ ΜΝΑΝ Διδδ̄τες.

the Sum of *l.* 102,637,10, I have not proceeded arbitrarily, and without good Grounds for so doing †.

But if the Sum of *l.* 302,637,10 should still be thought too much for *Ptolemy Philadelphus* to expend upon this Occasion; it must be observed, that we have hitherto computed the Value of his Presents, &c. by *Attic Talents*. But the Learned know very well, that almost every Country had a Talent of their own; and that although all Talents, generally speaking, were subdivided into 60 *Mina's*, and each *Mina* into 100 *Drachms*; yet that in every Country where *Mina's* and *Drachms* were used, they differed in Weight, and consequently in Value, from those of other Countries, in Proportion to the Weight of the Talent made use of in each respective Country †. And therefore, in a Question concerning the Value of Presents made by an *Egyptian King*, I think it would have been but fair in the Criticks to have settled the Weight and Value of the *Egyptian Money-Talent*, before they had pretended to cast up the Value of such Presents in *English Money*. But had they thought fit to have clear'd up this Point first, perhaps they would not have found such Cause to triumph over *Aristeas*, as they have imagined to themselves. All Authors agree,

‡ After I had finished these Remarks, I met with a Book printed at *Amsterdam* in the Year 1700, and intituled, *Othonis Sperlingii Consilarii Regii et V. I. D. Dissertatio de Nummis numis tam veterum quam recentiorum*: And as I had the Satisfaction to observe, That that learned Writer has espoused the same Notion about the antient way of computing by Talents, that I have advanced here; I am persuaded, that the Reader, who has yet any Doubt about it; and will take the Trouble to peruse what he has said upon the same Subject, and particularly his 4th Chapter *de Nummis aestimato sumptis*, will not think his Time ill spent.

† *Ful. Pol.* l. 9. c. 6. Sect. 86. p. 1068. *Plin.* l. 35. p. 705. *Aul. Gel.* l. 3. c. 17.

that the *Attic* Silver Talent consisted of 6000 Drachms †: And we learn from *Livy* and *Polybius*, That the *Attic* Silver Talent was equal in Value to 80 *Roman* Pounds §. And *Pliny* assures us, upon the Authority of *Varro*, That the *Egyptian* Talent was likewise equal to 80 *Roman* Pounds ||. And the same is confirmed by *Galen* **, who tells us, That the *Attic* and *Egyptian* *Mina* consisted each of 16 Ounces: And every Body knows that 60 times 16 Ounces is exactly equal to 80 *Roman* Pounds. And since *Cleopatra* informs us farther ††, That this *Mina*, which consisted of 16 Ounces, was the *Ponderal* *Mina*, I think we are sufficiently warranted to conclude, upon the whole, That the *Ponderal* Talent of the *Egyptians* was the same with that of the *Greeks*, and that they were each equal in Weight to 80 *Roman* Pounds.

Now this Point being settled, the next, and indeed the main Question, is, Whether the *Egyptian* Silver Talent was equal in Weight to their *Ponderal* Talent, or not? Or, if the one was heavier or lighter than the other, What Proportion the one bore to the other? Now, though it may be granted, that the *Attic* Silver Talent might be equal in Weight to their *Ponderal* Talent; and although it has been generally asserted, that one *Egyptian* Silver Talent was equal in Weight and Value to two *Attic* Silver Talents; yet, if I might presume to offer my Opinion, I should say, That the greater Probability lies on the other Side, which maintains, That the *Egyptian* Money Talent was much lighter

† J. Pol. l. 9. c. 6. Sect. 85, 86. p. 1067.

§ *Livii* l. 38. c. 11. *Polyb. in Excerpt. de Legationibus*, c. 35. p. 842.

|| L. 33. p. 614.

** *De Pond. et Mensur.* c. 3. *Inter Opera Hippocr. et Galeni*, Tom. 13. p. 976.

†† *Ex libris Cosmesticis Cleopatrae*, *ibid.* c. 10. p. 981.

in Weight than the Ponderal Talent. For as to that Passage of *Festus*, from which some have pretended to prove, that one *Alexandrian* Talent was equal in Weight and Value to two *Attic* Talents, we are assured, by a very good Judge in these Kind of Matters, that nothing can be concluded from thence, to be depended upon *. On the other hand, some Copies of *Julius Pollux* make the *Egyptian* Money Talent equal in Value only to 500 *Attic* Drachms; and others, to 1500 †. *Cleopatra* tells us, That there was an *Egyptian* Drachm, which was equal in Weight only to the sixth Part of an *Attic* Drachm †: And if so, there must likewise have been an *Egyptian* Talent equal in Value only to 1000 *Attic* Drachms. And *Hero* **, in one Place, tells us, That the *Ptolemaic* Money Talent was equal in Value to 1500 *Attic* Drachms: And in another, That the *Ptolemaic* *Mina* was equal to one Fifth of the *Æginean* *Mina*; and consequently, that the *Ptolemaic* Money Talent was equal to 2000 *Attic* Drachms. Now, in such Diversity of

* *Talentorum non unum genus: Atticum est sex Millium Denarium: Rhodium et Cistophorum, quatuor Millium et quingentorum Denarium. Alexandrinum Duodecim Millium Denarium. Neapolitanum sex Denarium. Syracusanum Trium Denarium. Rheginum Victoriati. Upon which the learned Ant. Augustinus observes; Mendosus hic locus est, et qui non patitur Emendationem. Hoc unum certum est, Talentorum non unum esse genus, et Atticum esse sex Millium Denarium: Cætera incerta sunt.*

† *Jul. Pol. l. 9. c. 6. Sect. 85, 86. Τοῦτ' οὐ μὴν οὐκ ἀκαταρῆν ὅτι τὸ μὲν Ἀττικὸν τάλαντον ἑξακισχιλίας ἑδνατο δραχμαῖς Ἀττικαῖς. Τὸ δὲ Βαβυλωνίον, ἑπτακισχιλίας. Τὸ δὲ Αἰγυπτίου μυρίας. Τὸ δὲ Σύρων πεντακισίας καὶ τετρακισχιλίας. Τὸ δὲ Κελίκων τρισχιλίας. Τὸ δὲ Αἰγυπτίων πεντακισίας καὶ χιλίας. Vid. etiam Notas et Emendationes in Locum.*

‡ *Apud Galenum de Ponder. et Mensuris. Tom. 12. c. 10. Δραχμὴ δὲ καὶ ἄλλη ὁμωνύμως καλεῖται Αἰγυπτιακή, ἥτις ἕκτον μέρος ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς Δραχμῆς ἀγροσα ὀβελόν α.*

** *Vid. Notas in Jul. Pol. l. 9. c. 6. Sect. 85, 86. p. 1067, 1068.*

Accounts concerning the *Egyptian* Talent, who will take upon himself, at this Time of Day, to say positively, by which, or, whether by any of them, the Gold and Silver was valued, which *Aristeas* tells us *Ptolemy* expended upon this Occasion? For my own Part, I own, I cannot but look upon it as a Piece of great Presumption in any Body, to pretend to compute, to any tolerable Exactness, what the Value of the Whole would amount to in Sterling Money. But if I were to guess, I would chuse to value the *Egyptian*, or *Ptolemaic* Money Talent, at 1500, or at 1000 *Attic* Drachms, rather than at the highest or lowest of the above-mentioned Rates. And then, upon the Supposition, that the *Attic* Talent was equal to 80 *Roman* Pounds, that the Proportion of Gold to Silver was as 10 to 1; that the *Roman* Ounce was equal to our *Averdupois* Ounce, or to $437\frac{1}{2}$ Grains *Troy*; and that one Ounce *Troy* of Silver is equal in Value to 5 s. Sterling; the Calculation would stand thus: One *Roman* Pound is equal to $12 \times 437\frac{1}{2}$ Grains = 5250 Grains: And 80 *Roman* Pounds are equal to 420,000 Grains. And these divided by 480, the Number of Grains in our Ounce *Troy*, gives 80 *Roman* Pounds, or one *Attic* Talent equal to 875 Ounces *Troy*. And if we take the $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{6}$ Part of this, the Weight of the *Egyptian* Silver Talent will be found to be equal to 218,75 Ounces *Troy*, or to 145,8333 Ounces *Troy*; and the Value of the former, in Sterling Money, will be found to be equal to l. 58. 13. 9.; and that of the latter, to be l. 36. 9. 2. And the Value of 516 Talents in Gold, and of 1046 Talents in Silver, will amount, in Sterling Money, to l. 85,421. 17. 6.; or to l. 56,947. 18. 4. respectively; and the Weight of the *Egyptian*, or *Ptolemaic* Talent in Silver, will be equal to 18,23 Pounds, or to 12,1528 Pounds *Troy*; and the

the Weight of an *Egyptian* or *Ptolemaic* Talent in Gold will be equal to 1,832 Pounds, or, to 1,21528 Pounds of our *Troy* Weight. And as either of these Weights of the Gold and Silver Talent will be found to agree very well with *Aristeas*, who tells us, in one Place, † That *Ptolemy Philadelphus* made a Present to each of the LXXII Interpreters, of *three Talents of Silver*, together with the *Boy* that brought the said *three Talents* to each of them; and in another §, That he made a Present to each of them afterwards of a small Drinking Cup of a Talent of Gold: So, on the other hand, I hope it will not be disputed but that this great and generous Prince might, upon this Occasion, expend such a Sum (or twice as much) as either of those last mentioned, without putting himself to any Inconveniency; and consequently, that *Aristeas*, in the Account which he has given us thereof, has been far enough from exceeding the Bounds of Probability *.

Another

† Hist. *Arist.* p. 95. Edit. Ox. 1692. Ἐκάστῳ δὲ τρία τάλαντα προστάξεν ἀργυρίᾳ δίδδιναι, καὶ τὸν ἀποκαταστήσει τὰ παῖδα.

§ Id. p. 102. Ἐκάστῳ ἔδωκε — καὶ χρυσίᾳ τάλαντα δύο καὶ ΚΥΛΙΚΙΟΝ ΤΑΛΑΝΤΟΝ.

* *Josephus* (*Antiquit.* l. 12. c. 4. p. 528, 529.) informs us, That *Hircanus*, the Son of one *Joseph*, who had farmed the Revenues of *Syria*, *Phanicia*, and *Judea*, of *Ptolemy Euergetes*, for many Years, being sent by his Father to congratulate that King upon the Birth of one of his Sons, and to make a Present to him in his Name upon that Occasion, purchased an Hundred choice Boys, and an Hundred choice Maids at the Price of a Talent a Head: Which done, he put a Talent more into the Hands of each of the said Boys and Girls, and then repaired to Court, and made a Present of the Hundred Boys, with the Hundred Talents which they carried, to the King; and likewise made a Present of the Hundred Girls, and the Hundred Talents which they carried, to the Queen. Now, if the *Egyptian* Silver Talent did not exceed Twelve or Eighteen of our *Troy* Pounds

Another Objection, of near Affinity to the last, and which therefore I shall take the Liberty to mention in the next Place, is taken from the different Accounts given by *Aristeas* and *Josephus*, as to the Sum of Money which *Ptolemy Philadelphus* paid for the Redemption of those Captive Jews, which he set at Liberty at the Request of *Aristeas*, and other great Men of his Court. If *Ptolemy*, say the Criticks, expended 660 Talents upon this Occasion, and paid no more but 20 Drachms for each, the whole Number of the Redeemed must have amounted unto 198,000; whereas *Aristeas* says, that the whole Number amounted to no more but about 100,000. And on the other hand, say they, If *Ptolemy* expended no more upon the Whole than 460 Talents, and paid at and after the Rate of 120 Drachms for each Captive, as *Josephus* has it; then the Number of the Redeemed could amount to no more than 23,000; whereas the same Author assures us, that the whole Number amounted to about 120,000. So that these two Authors not only differ widely from one another, but are even inconsistent with themselves. The Charge, I must own, seems, at first sight, perplexing enough: But how far, or whether it will at all affect the main Cause, is not quite so evident. According to our present Copies of *Aristeas* and *Josephus*, each contradicts himself. And what then? Does it follow, that because

in Weight, as we have here supposed; it is not improbable but that the Price which *Hyrchanus* gave upon such an Occasion for Two Hundred choice Boys and Girls, might amount unto a Talent a Head, and each of them might easily carry another Talent (or at least the Value thereof in Gold) in their Hands. But, how these Things can be reconciled to the Modern Notion, That the *Egyptian* or *Alexandrian* Money Talent was equal in Weight and Value to Two, or even to One *Attic* Talent, that is, to 160, or even to 80 of our *Averdupois* Pounds, I own, exceeds my Capacity to explain.

Aristeas

Aristeas contradicts or is inconsistent with himself as to this one Particular, therefore he did not write the *History of the Seventy Interpreters*? If so, then, by the same Rule, *Josephus*, who likewise contradicts and is inconsistent with himself upon the same Head, did not write the *History of the Antiquities of the Jews*. But this, I flatter myself, few Criticks will be so hardy as to affirm. What other Conclusion then are we to draw from these Inconsistences and Contradictions? If I may presume to offer my Opinion, I would say, That many an old Author has suffered greatly under the Hands of careless Transcribers; and that some one or more of them, instead of keeping up to the Purity of the Text, have grossly corrupted the same in both these Writers. I can easily admit, that one Author may tell a Story one Way, and another may differ from him, and tell the same Story with different Circumstances: But I can never be persuaded to think that *Josephus*, who had perused the History of *Aristeas*, and who has only abridged the same, could give an Account of this Affair, so widely different from the Original, as we have it now; and much less, that either of them, or even that any Impostor, could be so weak, as to contradict themselves in so gross a Manner as has been represented.

Is it possible then, you'll say, to reconcile these Authors to themselves, or to one another? Yes, with a little Attention, I think, it may be done. Let us begin with *Josephus*, who seems to have suffered the least, and who therefore is best able to help out, and to explain his own Meaning. In the first Place, he tells us, That the Number of the Redeemed amounted to about 120,000; and that the Price *, or Ran-

* Antiq. Jud. l. 12. c. 2. p. 508.

son, which the King paid for each, was 120 Drachms †. The Sum Total therefore amounted unto 14,400,000 Drachms, or to 2,400 Talents. Wherefore I make no manner of Doubt, but that *Josephus*, instead of saying in one Place §, That the Sum Total was at first computed to amount unto 400 Talents, wrote, That the Sum Total was computed to amount to 2,400 Talents; and consequently, that, instead of the Words, *ωλειόνων ἢ υταλάντων*, he wrote, *ωλειόνων ἢ βυταλάντων*. So that, instead of the Words *τέτρακισίων ταλάντων*, in our present Copies, it ought to be read, *δισχιλίων τετρακισίων ταλάντων*. And in like manner, when he comes afterwards to tell us more exactly what the Sum Total amounted unto ||, I make no question but that, instead of saying, that it amounted unto 460 Talents and upwards, he wrote, that it amounted unto 2,460 Talents and upwards; and consequently, that instead of the Words *τάλαντα ᾗ ὑπὲρ υξ τῶ λύτρων ἐγένετο*, he wrote, *τάλαντα ᾗ ὑπὲρ βυξ τῶ λύτρων ἐγένετο*. So that, instead of the Words *ἑξήκοντα καὶ τετρακίσια* in our present Copies, it ought to be read, *δισχιλία τετρακίσια καὶ ἑξήκοντα*. Now, by the Help of this small Emendation, all the Difficulties in *Josephus* will vanish intirely, and his Account of this Affair will be perfectly consistent with itself. For 120,000 Captives, at 120 Drachms each, comes just to 2400 Talents: And if we suppose the Number of Children, that were likewise redeemed at the same Rate, to have been tween 3000 and 3500, the Total of the Ransom Money will amount unto 2,460 Talents and up-

† Ibid. p. 510.

§ Ibid. p. 510.

|| Ibid. p. 510, 511.

wards,

wards, exactly as *Josephus* says it did. And this being the Case, I humbly submit it, whether he must not be either very ignorant, that can doubt whether Transcribers could be so negligent as to drop a single Letter, or to mistake one for another, now and then ; or very ill-natured, if he can think much to admit of one single Letter more into the Text, than our present printed Copies have, in order to reconcile so great and so valuable an Author as *Josephus*, to himself.

As to *Aristeas*, the Faults, indeed, are more numerous in him : For the Transcribers have not only left out β , the numeral Letter for 2000, in the Sums Total, and dropt the numeral Letter ϵ , in the Price that was paid for each Head ; but have likewise, by an easy Mistake, changed a γ into a χ , and thereby made the Number of Talents above 2000, to be 600 instead of 400. But as all these Mistakes in the Original may be now easily rectified from the Abstract thereof in *Josephus*, I shall only beg Leave to observe farther, That as *Aristeas* lived and wrote in *Alexandria*, so we must conclude, that the Talents here spoken of, were *Egyptian*, and not *Attic* Talents. And therefore, since 20 *Egyptian* Drachms were equal only to $3\frac{1}{3}$, or at most to 5 *Attic* Drachms, which would have been but a very trifling Ransom for so great a King to have paid ; I think it is a further Confirmation, that the Price was fixed at 120 *Egyptian* Drachms, as *Josephus* has it now, and as *Aristeas* undoubtedly had it at first. But that these 120 *Egyptian* Drachms were equal to 30 *Jewish* Shekels, or had any relation to the Price of an *Hebrew* Servant, according to the Law of *Moses*, is one of the most groundless Notions that I have met with ; and which I would fain excuse, for the Sake of some great and worthy

worthy Names, who have espoused it, if I could tell how.

I do not wonder that some Criticks, who have taken so much Pains to reduce the Reputation and Authority of several great and excellent ancient Writers to the same Level with their own, should have taken the Advantage of the Mistakes of Transcribers, in order to lessen the Credit and Authority of *Josephus*. But there is another Passage in the same Author, which has been often insisted upon in this Controversy, and for which I question much whether they will be able to find any Excuse at all. It was the general Belief of the Primitive Church, That the whole Canon of the *Old Testament* was translated into *Greek* at this Time, and upon this Occasion. But our modern Criticks, as if they were resolved to dispute their Ground Inch by Inch, insist upon it, That if any such Translation was made, it could be only the *Law*, or the Five Books of *Moses*; and for this they quote the Authority of *Aristeas*, now they think it will make for their Purpose; and likewise the Testimonies of *Aristobulus* and *Philo Judæus*: But, above all, say they, *Josephus* more expressly tells us, in the Preface to his *Antiquities*, That they did not translate for *Ptolemy* the whole *Scriptures*, but the *Law* only *. Now, I must confess, I could not but be greatly surprized at such positive Assertions; since I had often consulted the Originals themselves, but could never meet with any thing in them that I could fairly turn to this Sense. Whether the Fault lies on my Side, for want of a sufficient Skill in the *Greek* Language; or on theirs, for putting a wrong Construction upon those Authors Words; the

* Connexion of the Old and New Testament, Part 2. Book 1. P. 45.

learned Reader must determine. *Demetrius Phalereus*, in his Representation to the King, tells him †, Τῶ νόμῳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων Βιβλία σὺν ἑτέροις ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἀπολείπει. Τυγχάνει γὰρ Ἑβραϊκοῖς γράμμασι ἢ φωνῇ λεγόμενα · i. e. *Legum Judaicarum libri cum paucis quibusdam aliis desunt. Constant enim literis Hebraicis.* Now, if the Word Νόμῳ should be understood, in a strict Sense, to mean no more but the five Books of *Moses*, what can be the Meaning of those other Words, σὺν ἑτέροις ὀλίγοις τισὶν ; I know some candid Criticks ‖ have endeavoured to insinuate, as if *Demetrius Phalereus* had contradicted himself, in saying here, That there were only a few other Books wanting ; whereas he had told the King, but a little before, that there wanted about 300,000 Volumes to compleat his Library. But any Body that will be at the Pains to consider the Words immediately following these, will, in my Opinion, plainly see, that the few Books which he here tells the King were wanting, were *Hebrew* Books ; Books wrote in the *Hebrew* Language. And if they were not the Books of the Prophets, and the *Hagiographa*, which, together with the five Books of *Moses*, made up the Canon of the *Hebrew* Scriptures, I shall be glad to be informed, what other Books he could more probably mean.

As for *Pbilo Judæus* *, it must be admitted, that he speaks only of the Law of *Moses* : But then it ought to be observed likewise, that the Reason why he mentions that only was, because he was then writing the Life of *Moses*, as a Law-giver. So that, for him to mention the other

† *Aristeas*, p. 13.

‖ *Vide Hodium de Textibus Bibl. Original. l. 1. c. 13. §. 4. p. 66.*

* *De Vita Mosis*, l. 1. p. 658—660.

Books of Scripture upon such an Occasion, was not at all necessary. But if it was an Omission in him, it is abundantly made up by the Testimony of *Aristobulus*, a more ancient Writer, who tells us expressly, That the whole and compleat Translation of all whatsoever related to the Law of *Moses*, was made at the earnest Request of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and under the Care of *Demetrius Phalereus*: So that, unless our Criticks will deny that the other Books of Scripture had any relation to the Law of *Moses*, I cannot imagine what could induce them to appeal to him, as an Evidence on their Side.

But their chief Dependance, it seems, is upon *Josephus*: Let us then see how the Case stands with him. In his Second Book against *Apion* ||, he tells us, that ὁ ὃ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλάδελφος ἐπικληθεὶς, — ἐπιθυμητὴς ἐγένετο τῶν γράμματα τὰς ἡμετέρας νόμους · i. e. that *Ptolemy, surnamed Philadelphus, was desirous to learn, or to be informed about our Laws.* Very well: Does he stop here? No; he immediately subjoins, καὶ ταῖς τῶν Ἱερῶν Γραφῶν Βιβλοῖς ἐντυχεῖν · i. e. and to procure the Books of the Holy Scriptures. So that, from this Passage, nothing can be more evident, than that he desired to get not only the Law, but likewise all the other Books of Scripture, translated into Greek. What then could induce *Dr. Prideaux*, and others, to quote *Josephus*, as if he had expressly affirmed, that they did not translate for *Ptolemy* the whole Scriptures, but the Law only? Why, it seems, *Josephus*, in the Preface to his *Antiquities*, after having told us, that *Ptolemy Philadelphus* was wonderfully desirous to get the Law and Constitution of the *Jews* translated into Greek, comes,

|| Volum. 2. p. 1365.

a little afterwards, and tells us *, Οὐ γὰρ πᾶσαν ἐκεῖθεν ἔρδη λαβεῖν τὴν Ἀναγραφὴν, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ μόνον τὰ τῷ Νόμῳ παρέδοσαν οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξήγησιν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. i. e. as Dr. Hudson renders the Words; *Neque enim totam Scripturam accipere illi contigit, sed legem solam ei tradiderunt, qui ad eam interpretandam missi fuerant Alexandriam.* And from the Words thus render'd, it is inferred, that, according to Josephus, the Seventy Interpreters did not translate the whole Scriptures, but the Law only. But, with great Submission to better Judgments, I would be glad to be informed, what Authority any Translator has to render the Words Πᾶσαν Ἀναγραφὴν, by *Totam Scripturam*, thereby meaning *The Holy Scriptures*? I have consulted several Lexicons, but in none of them have I found the Word rendered in this Sense. Ἀναγραφὴ, says Constantinus, *Rescriptio, Relatio in Scripta, Perscriptio & Acta, Descriptio, Traditio, Inscriptio, Commentarius, Breviarium, &c.* Ἀναγραφή, says Henry Stephens, *Scriptio vel Perscriptio, Acta, Commentarius, Breviarium, Descriptio, &c.* And consonant hereto, we may observe, that Josephus himself, in the very first Section of this Preface, uses the Word Ἀναγραφὴ to signify any History. Aristeas † applies it to those Commentaries or Memoirs upon the Jewish Affairs, which, he tells us, he had sent to his Brother, before he wrote his History of the Septuagint. Appian, who was a Native of Alexan-

* Tom. 1. p. 2. § 3.

† Aristeas Hist. p. 3. Καὶ πρῶτον δὲ διέπεμψαμὲν σοι, πρὸς τὸν ἐν Ὀμῶν ἀριστομνημονεύτων εἶναι τὴν ἀναγραφὴν, ἣν μετέλαβον μετὰ τῶν κατὰ τὴν λογιστικὴν Αἰγυπτίων λογιστῶν ἀρχιερέων πρὸς τὸ γένος τῶν Ἰουδαίων. I. e. *Misi autem & ante ad te litteras, qua putarem scitu digna, commentarios, quos consecuti sumus in Aegypto literatissima ab eruditissimis inter Judaeos sacerdotibus.* See also p. 96.

dria, makes use of the same Word, to signify any Publick Record || ; and so does *Athenæus* *, *Diodorus Siculus* †, and *Porphiry* **, not to mention many more. Again : In the foregoing Translation, the Words ἀλλ' αὐτὰ μόνα τὰ τῆς Νόμου, are rendered by these, *Legem Solam*. But by what Authority is this done? Does the Word *Law* comprehend every thing relating to the Law? If it does, then the Expression will include the Prophets and the *Hagiographa*, as well as the Law, and the former were translated upon this Occasion, as well as the latter. If it does not, the Words are certainly wrong translated ; and *Josephus's* Meaning must be, that they translated not only the Law itself, but likewise all the other Books of Scripture relating thereto. *Dr. Bernard* therefore, in my Opinion, comes much nearer to the true Sense of the Words in Question, who translates them thus ; *Neque enim omnem descriptionem à Translatoribus accepit, quando ea tantummodo quæ legis sunt, bi qui ad explanationem missi fuerant Alexandriam, tradiderunt*. This Translation differs widely from the other ; neither have I any thing to object to it, save only this ; That being a little too literal, it does not give us so clear an Idea of *Josephus's*

|| In Præfat. p. 6. Ἐς γὰρ δὴ τοσοῦτο παροσκαδῆς καὶ σεραπῆς ἐν τῇ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΩΝ ἈΝΑΓΡΑΦΩΝ φαίνεται σεραγαγῶν τε καὶ καταλιπῶν i. e. Totum enim hoc apparet ex regiiis tabulis adhuc extantibus, in quas referebantur hujusmodi omnia.

* Πτολεμαῖος ἡ μεταπειλάμωνος αὐτῆς, καὶ ἦκειν κίλδουας μετὰ τῇ βιβλίῳ ἐν οἷς αἱ ἀναγραφῆς εἰσι τῆς συντάξεις λαμβανόντων. Athenæus, l. 11. p. 493, 494.

† *Diodorus Siculus* likewise uses the Word ἀναγραφή for any History, sacred or profane, l. 1. p. 6. d. p. 19. b. p. 28. d. p. 29. b. p. 44. c. l. 17. p. 590. b.

** *Sanchoniathon*, says *Porphiry*, composed his History, ἐκ τῆς κατὰ πόλιν ἐραμνημάτων. καὶ ἦδ' ἐς τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀναγραφῶν. Ex singularum urbium commentariis, et templorum monumentis. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 1. § 9. p. 31.

Meaning, as were to be wished. And therefore, if I may be allowed to offer my Opinion, I would chuse to translate the Words thus; *Neque enim omnes de rebus Judaicis Commentarios à Translationibus accepit, sed ea Solum, quæ ad Legem pertinebant, hi qui ad Interpretationem exornandam missi fuerant Alexandriam, tradiderunt.* And I am the more encouraged to translate the Words in this Manner; because I think it is not only more intelligible in itself, but likewise perfectly agreeable to the Context. In the two first Sections of the Preface he gives us the Reasons which induced him to write his *Antiquities*. But being sensible that it might be objected, That *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, who was a learned, as well as a great Prince, having long before obtained a Translation of the Holy Scriptures into *Greek*; an Undertaking of this Kind might seem unnecessary, or superfluous: To obviate the same, he observes, in the third Section, That it was true, that *Ptolemy* had caused the Law and Constitutions of the *Jewish* State to be translated into *Greek*: but then he adds, That the *Seventy* carried with them and translated only those Books which concerned, or appertained to, or which made up the *Code* of their Laws; that is, their *sacred and inspired Books*; whereas they had many other *Records* besides, relating to their Affairs, which those Interpreters did not carry with them, but which he had carefully perused, in order to set the Antiquities of the *Jews* in a fuller and clearer Light. And therefore, although he owns that the Holy Scriptures do indeed contain an infinite Number of great and astonishing Events *; yet upon the Whole, he concludes, That a compleat History of the Antiquities of the

* In Præfat. § 3. Μνεία ἡ ἐστὶ τὰ δηλόμιστα διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν γεγραμμένων, &c.

Jews, was still wanting; and consequently, that the Work which he had undertaken was neither unnecessary, nor superfluous; but, on the contrary, much to be desired, and highly useful †. This, as I apprehend it, is the true and genuine Sense and Meaning of this Place. *Josephus* does sufficiently intimate elsewhere, That all the Holy Scriptures were translated into *Greek*, at the Request of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. He does not assert any thing repugnant thereto in this Passage, and all that can be fairly inferred from it, is only this, That while the *Jewish* State subsisted, they had many other ancient Books, Records, and Memoirs relating to their Affairs, besides the Holy Scriptures; and that from the Whole he composed a compleat History of their Antiquities. And if this be the Truth of the Matter, as I really think it is, I would then be glad to know how the Criticks, who have spared no Pains to wrest his Words to a quite different Meaning, will be able to excuse their Conduct herein.

Dr. *Hody* has taken a great deal of Pains to prove that *Philadelphus* did not erect his Library, or rather, did not apply himself to adorn the same, 'till many Years after he began to reign ‖. But though he is pleased to conclude his Arguments upon this Subject with a ἕπερ ἔδει δεῖξαι, quod erat Demonstrandum; yet, in my Opinion, he states his Proposition in such ambiguous Terms, and his Proofs are so far from reaching the Point which he contends for, that I shall chuse to leave it to any Body that understands what *Demonstration* means, to determine how well he has succeeded

† Ibid. Τὸ σύνολον ἢ μάλιστα πῶς ἂν ἐν ταύτης μάθῃ τῆς ἱστορίας ἑδελήσας αὐτὴν δελεῖν.

‖ De Bibliothecis Original. l. 1. c. 6. §. 20 — 21. p. 29 — 36.

therein,

therein, rather than trouble the Reader with a Refutation thereof in this Place. I shall therefore only beg Leave to observe, upon the Whole, That admitting, though not granting, that *Philadelphus* did not apply himself to the erecting of a Library at *Alexandria*, 'till many Years after he began to reign; yet that it will not therefore follow, as the Doctor pretends, that *Menedemus* the Philosopher was either dead, or could not be in *Egypt*, at the Time when the Version of the Septuagint was made*. The Doctor, after his own Way of Reckoning, owns that *Menedemus* was living at the Time that *Antigonus Gonatas* beat the *Gauls*: But he seems to have forgot that that Prince defeated them twice; first, by a Stratagem, in the third or fourth Year of the 125th Olympiad, when they first attacked and beat the *Getae* and *Triballi*, and then invaded *Macedonia* on that Side †; and then, a second time, about eight Years after, when they invaded him from *Asia*, and were totally defeated by him near *Lyfimachia* ‡, which happened about the third or fourth Year of the 127th Olympiad. And as it is most probable that it was of this Victory that *Diogenes Laertius* speaks, we may therefore conclude that *Menedemus* was then living. And if to this we add what *Laertius* tells us, in the Life of *Menedemus* **, That his Endeavours with *Antigonus Gonatas* to restore the *Eretrians* to their Liberty, were opposed and defeated by *Perseus*, one of *Zeno's* Disciples, at the Court of *Macedonia*; and likewise what he farther informs us, in the Life

* Id. ibid. c. 7. §. 2 — 6. p. 37 — 39.

† Justin. l. 25. c. 1, 2.

‡ Justin. l. 26. c. 2. Diog. Laert. in Vita Menedemi, l. 2. §. 141, 142. p. 162.

** Diog. Laert. l. 2. §. 143, 144. p. 162.

of *Zeno* *, That *Perseus* was sent to *Antigonus*, upon the Recommendation of *Zeno*, in the 130th Olympiad ; we shall then have a better Demonstration than any that the Doctor has given us to the contrary, to prove, that *Menedemus* lived at least 28 Years after *Ptolemy Philadelphus* was put in Possession of the Kingdom of *Egypt*. And as all this is perfectly agreeable to what *Suidas* † and *Laertius* †† tell us, as to the Intimacy between *Menedemus* and *Lycophron* and *Aratus*, who flourished likewise under *Philadelphus*, it is most evident, that there is not the least Improbability but that *Menedemus* might be at the Court of *Egypt* when the Seventy Interpreters came to *Alexandria*, as *Aristeas* says he was. The Doctor is likewise in no small Concern about *Sofibius* the *Tarentine* **, who, according to *Aristeas*, was one of those that advised the King to release the Captive *Jews*. But had he been pleased to have consulted *Athenæus* ††, he would have informed him, not only that there was such a Person in the *Egyptian* Court, but like-

* L. 7. §. 6—9. p. 369 — 371.

† In Voce *Acad.*

†† In Vita *Menedemi*, l. 2. §. 133. p. 157.

** De Textibus Bibliorum Original. l. 1. c. 6. §. 19. p. 29.

†† Ad hunc scilicet modum *Sofibius*, admirandus ille quæstionum Eucleator, dubitationem hanc solvit, non illepide à *Ptolemæo Philadelpho*, ob has præclaras & alias hujusmodi ambiguitatum dissolutiones, irrisus aliquando. Nam cum annum à Rege stipendium acciperet, *Ærariis* quæstoribus accitis, Rex imperavit, si adveniret *Sofibius* pensionem flagitans, ut eam jam esse persolutam dicerent. Haud multo post cum *Sofibius* accessisset, & stipendium posceret, composito & placido vultu nihil ejus oratione commoti affirmarunt numeratum fuisse. Statim ille Regem adit, & quæstores accusat. *Ptolemæus* accersit, & cum tabulis adesse jubet, quibus stipendiariorum nomina describebantur. Iis in manus sumptis, & inspectis, datum quoque stipendium fuisse dixit, hoc pacto; inscripta hæc nomina fuerant,

likewise how *Philadelphus*, once upon a time, wittily reprimanded him, for spending more of his Time about Quibbles, and other idle Speculations, than became a Person of his Rank and Quality.

I am sensible that the Criticks have raised many more Difficulties and Objections against our History of the *Septuagint*, than I have taken notice of: By which Means they hope, that if, after all, they should not be able to convict *Aristeas* of Forgery, upon the single Evidence of any one of them; yet that all of them together will surely be sufficient to do his Business*, according to that of *Ovid*,

————— *Si singula duram*

Flectere non poterunt, poterunt tamen omnia mentem.

But as the foregoing Objections are unquestionably the principal and the most material, I think it would be no Compliment to the Reader to mention, and much less to take the Pains to confute any of the rest. For if the Pillars and Foundations of the finest Building in the World were found to be quite rotten, and utterly unable to support the Weight thereof; Who would give

fueraut, Σωτῆρ, Σωσιγανῦς, Βίων, Ἀπόλλων, quæ Rex contuitus, O mirifice quæstionum Enuclator, si inquit, à nomine Σωτῆρ primam syllabam demas, σω, à Σωσιγανῦς secundam, σι, à Βίων primam, βι, & postremum ab Ἀπόλλων, ος, pro tua in his rebus excogitandis solertia, stipendium tibi comperies redditum fuisse, atque adeo, non ab aliis, sed quod ait *Æschylus*, omni dignus admiratione, tuis ipsius pennis te captum esse, qui tam stolidis & intempestivis quæstionum dissolutionibus occupatus sis. *Athen. Deipnosophist. l. 1. p. 493, 494.*

* So *Dr. Hody* argues, *de Biblior. Text. Original. l. 1. c. 20. p. 89.*

himself

himself any Concern afterwards about the Shores and Buttresses belonging to the same? I shall therefore now take the Liberty to lay this down as a certain and undeniable Conclusion from the Whole; That if there be any Rules in Criticism, whereby to distinguish a genuine from a spurious Work, they will all be found to concur and to lend their Help towards vindicating the History of *Aristeas* from the Imputation of Forgery. Is the unanimous Voice of Antiquity a good Rule to go by? If it be; What better Reason have we to believe that *Plato* or *Xenophon* wrote the Books now ascribed to them, than we have that *Aristeas* wrote this little History? If we are to value an Historian for his Experience in the Affairs he writes about, and for his Impartiality in relating them; Was not *Aristeas* an Actor in, and an Eye-witness to this whole Transaction? And though a *Gentile* himself; Does he not relate every thing with the utmost Impartiality to the *Jews*? If we esteem an Historian, because he has been approved of by those who could otherwise have Knowledge of the Facts he relates, and who agree in all Essentials with him; Can it be denied but that *Aristobulus*, *Philo Judæus*, and *Josephus* had sufficient Means to have discovered the Falsity of this History, if it had been forged? Or, are we to suppose such Men so devoid of all Honour and Truth, as to give a Sanction to it, notwithstanding that they knew it was? If to stand the Test of the nicest and severest Examination, be an Evidence of the Genuineness of any Work; Who has undergone a severer one than *Aristeas*? Which, of all the Historians of Antiquity, can so well justify every Fact that they have delivered down to Posterity, as he has done? I believe I might safely venture to challenge all the Criticks to name me one.

Although

Although I have now taken my Leave of the History of *Aristeas*; yet I cannot conclude these Remarks, without taking some Notice of the Time when this Translation was probably made. *Aristeas* leaves the precise Year undetermined; and all that we can gather with any Certainty from him, is, That it must have been made some Years after the Death of *Ptolemy Soter*, which happened in the first Year of the 124th Olympiad, and some Time before the Death of *Arfinoe* the beloved Sister and Wife of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, which we have placed in the third Year of the 127th Olympiad: So that here we have 12 Years, or more, out of which we are at Liberty to chuse that which we think most probable.

St. Austin tells us, That this Translation was not made 'till almost 60 Years after the Death of *Plato* *. But Authors are so divided about the Years of his Life, as well as about the Time of his Birth, that it is difficult to draw any certain Conclusion from thence. *St. Austin* says, that he lived to be 81 Years old †; and with him agree several ancient Writers †. But *Neantbes* informs us, that he lived to the 84th Year of his Age **; which *Menagius*, in his Notes upon the Place, thinks the most likely. *Apollodorus* places his Birth in the 88th Olympiad ††: But some affirm that he was born sooner †††; and others later ‡.

* De Civitate Dei, l. 8. c. 11.

† Idem ibid.

‡ Cicero in Dialogo de Senectute. Lucianus in Longævis. Seneca Epist. 58. Censorinus de Die Natal. c. 15. Val. Maximus, l. 8. 7.

** In Vita Platonis apud Laertium, l. 3. §. 3.

†† Ibid. §. 2.

‡‡ Menagius in Notis ad l. 3. §. 3.

‡ Sigonius in libro de Temporibus Atheniensium.

Some say that he was six Years older than *Isocrates* *; and others, that he was seven Years older than him †. And *Plutarch* tells us, that *Lysias* was born in the 2d Year of the 82d Olympiad †; and *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* **, as well as *Plutarch* ††, say expressly, that *Lysias* was twenty-two Years older than *Isocrates*. For my Part, I will not pretend to vouch particularly for any of these Accounts: But admitting that *Lysias* was born towards the Close of the 2d Year of the 82d Olympiad, and that he was twenty-two Years older than *Isocrates*; that *Isocrates* was seven Years older than *Plato*, and that *Plato* died in the 81st Year of his Age; it will then follow, that *Isocrates* was born in the last Year of the 87th, or about the Beginning of the first Year of the 88th Olympiad; that *Plato* was not born 'till the 3d or 4th Year of the 89th Olympiad; and that he died in the last Year of the 109th, or in the first Year of the 110th Olympiad: To which if we add the 60 Years that intervened between the Death of *Plato*, and this Translation, it will bring us down to the last Year of the 124th, or to the first Year of the 125th Olympiad. But if we admit that *Plato* lived to be eighty-four Years old, it will then bring us down to the 3d or 4th Year of the 125th Olympiad. So that, upon the Whole, I think we may fairly conclude, that, according to *St. Austin*, this Translation was made in or about the 125th Olympiad.

* Laertius, l. 3. §. 3.

† Plutarch. de Vit. decem Rhetorum, vol. 2. p. 836.

‡ Ibid. p. 835.

** Dionys. Halicarnas. de Lysia Judicium, vol. 2. p. 149.

†† Plut. de Vita decem Rhetorum, vol. 2. p. 836.

Again :

Again: *Epiphanius* tells us, That the Family of the *Lagidæ* governed *Egypt* 306 Years; That *Ptolemy Soter* reigned 40 Years; and, That the Translation of the *Septuagint* was made 249 Years before the Death of *Cleopatra* *. Now, deduct the 10 Years, which all Historians agree to be over-charged to the Reign of *Cleopatra*, by some Mistake or other, and there will remain 296 Years for the whole Time that the Family of the *Lagidæ* reigned in *Egypt* †: From which, if we again deduct 249, the Number of Years that elapsed between the Time of this Translation and the Death of *Cleopatra*, it will carry us back to the 7th Year of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, computing the Beginning of his Reign from the Death of his Father; which answers to the last Year of the 125th, or to the first Year of the 126th Olympiad. And if we pitch upon the last of these Years, it will, in my humble Opinion, be found to agree perfectly well with all the Circumstances mentioned by *Aristeas*. For then *Ptolemy Philadelphus* was freed from all Apprehensions of Danger from his great Competitor,

* De Ponderibus & Mensuris, vol. 2. p. 169.

† And with this agrees *Diodorus Siculus*, (l. 1. p. 29.) who tells us, That the *Macedonians* governed *Egypt* 276 Years. For, strictly speaking, they possessed the Sovereign Power no longer than till the *Romans*, under the Conduct of *Gabinus*, entered *Egypt*, and restored *Ptolemy*, surnamed *Dionysius*, to the Throne of that Kingdom; which, according to *Petavius*, happened in the 2d Year of the 181st Olympiad; and consequently, according to *Eusebius*, in the 26th Year of that King's Reign. And from the 2d Year of the 112th Olympiad, in which *Alexander* conquered *Egypt*, to the 2d Year of the 181st Olympiad, there are just 276 Years: To which if we add the 4 last Years of *Dionysius's* Reign, and the 22 Years allotted to *Cleopatra*, the Sum Total will amount unto 302 Years; out of which deducting 6 Years for the Time that *Alexander* himself reigned over *Egypt*, the Remainder shews, that the Family of the *Lagidæ* reigned in all just 296 Years.

and mortal Enemy, *Ptolemy Ceraunus* King of *Macedonia*; and Queen *Arsinoe* his Sister, and several of his Children by her, might be then living; and *Eleazar* was High-Priest at *Jerusalem*; and *Menedemus* the Philosopher might be then residing at the *Egyptian* Court; and *Philadelphus* himself was at Peace with all the Princes round about him, and in the Flower of his Age, and in the Height of his Glory.

Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡ Ἀληθείας.

October 8th,

1735.

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