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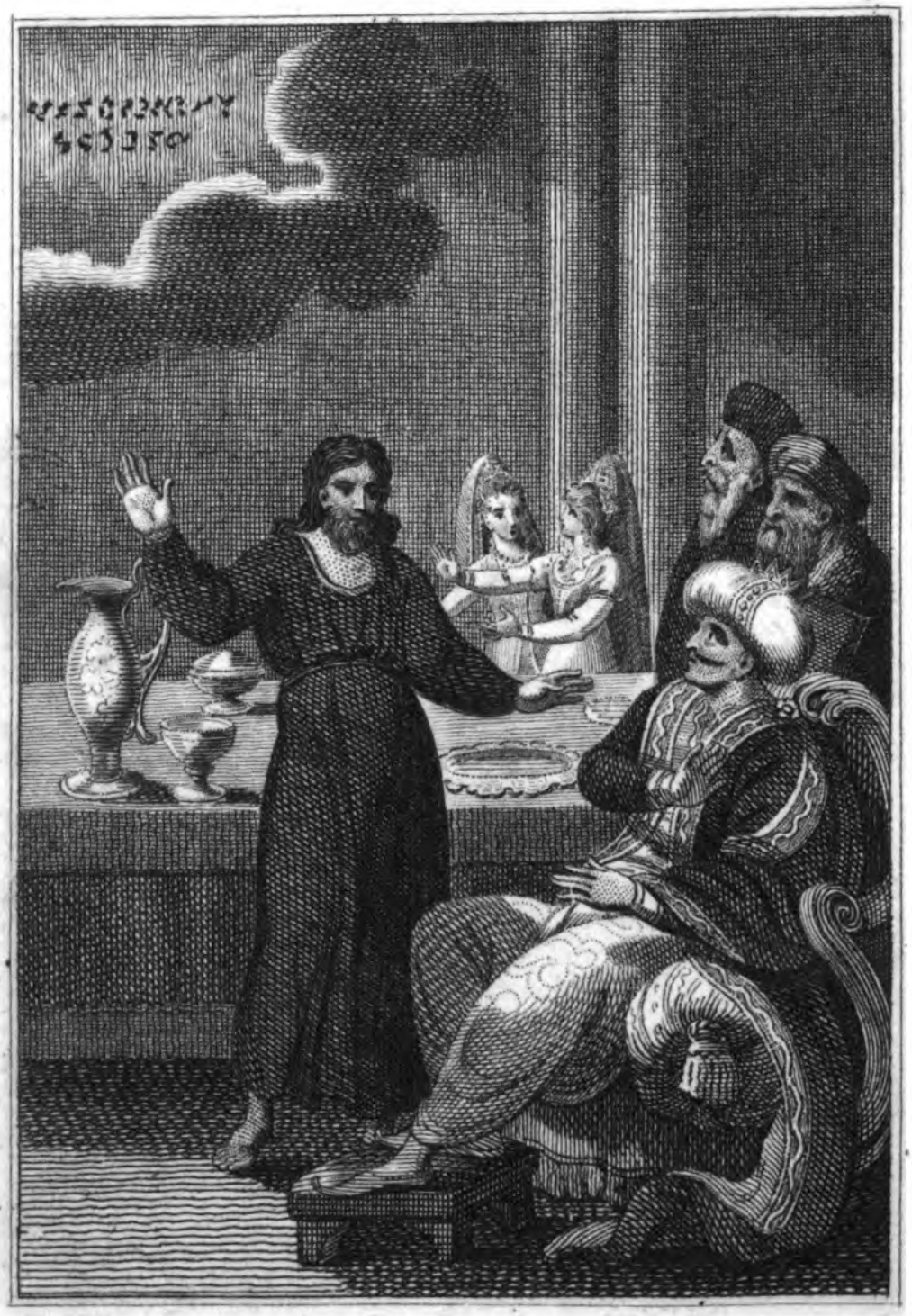


Daniel interpreting the hand writing on the wall.

Page 84

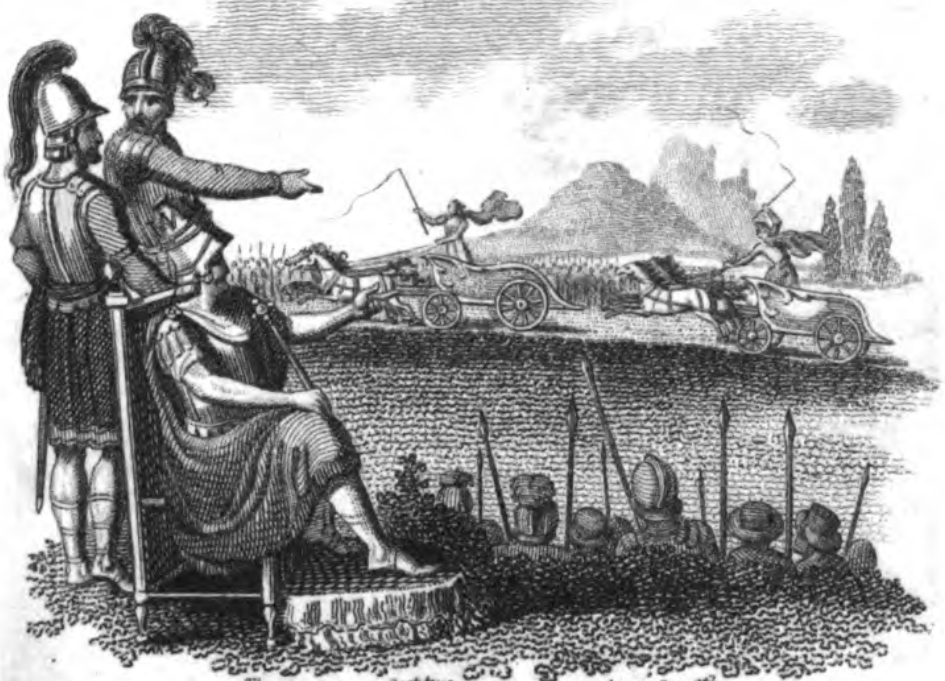
THE HISTORY OF CYRUS, King of Persia,

Shewing the fulfilment of

Scripture Prophecy

In the destruction of Babylon and the release of the Jews from their Captivity.

By M. ROLLIN.



The Chariots ran but two at a time one against the other. Page 99.

LONDON,

Published by R. Miller, Old Fish Street, Doctors Commons, and sold by Whittingham & Arliss Paternoster Row, and Nisbet Castle Street, Oxford Street, & all Booksellers.

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INTRODUCTION.

The utility of Profane History, especially with regard to Religion.

THE study of profane history would be unworthy of a serious attention, and a considerable length of time, if it were confined to the dry knowledge of ancient transactions, and an unpleasing inquiry into the eras when each of these happened. It little concerns us to know, that there were once such men as Cyrus, Alexander, Cæsar, Aristides, or Cato, and that they lived in this or that period; that the empire of the Assyrians made way for that of the Babylonians, and the latter for the empire of the Medes and Persians, who were themselves subjected by the Macedonians, as these were afterwards by the Romans. But it highly concerns us to know, by what methods those empires were founded; the steps by which they rose to the exalted pitch of grandeur we so much admire; what it was that constituted their true glory and felicity, and what were the causes of their declension and fall.

It is of no less importance to study attentively the manners of different nations; their genius, laws, and customs; and especially to acquaint ourselves with the character and disposition, the talents, virtues, and even vices, of those men by whom they were governed; and whose good or bad qualities contributed to the grandeur or decay of the states over which they presided.

Such are the great objects which ancient history presents; exhibiting to our view all the kingdoms and empires of the world; and at the

same time, all the great men who are any ways conspicuous; thereby instructing us, by example rather than precept, in the arts of empire and war, the principles of government, the rules of policy, the maxims of civil society, and the conduct of life that suits all ages and conditions.

We discover this important truth in going back to the most remote antiquity, and the origin of profane history; I mean, to the dispersion of the posterity of Noah into the several countries of the earth where they settled. Liberty, chance, views of interest, a love for certain countries, and such like motives, were, in outward appearance, the only causes of the different choice which men made in these various migrations. But the scriptures inform us, that amidst the trouble and confusion that followed the sudden change in the language of Noah's descendants, God presided invisibly over all their councils and deliberations; that nothing was transacted but by the Almighty's appointment; and that he only guided and settled all mankind agreeably to the dictates of his mercy and justice. *The Lord scattered them abroad* from thence *upon the face of the earth*. (Gen. xi. 8, 9.)

We must therefore consider as an indisputable principle, and as the basis and foundation to the study of profane history, that the providence of the Almighty has, from all eternity, appointed the establishment, duration, and destruction of kingdoms and empires, as well in regard to the general plan of the whole universe, known only to God, who constitutes the order and wonderful harmony of its several parts, as particularly with respect to the people of Israel, and still

more with regard to the Messiah, and the establishment of the church, which is his great work, the end and design of all his other works, and ever present to his sight. (Acts xv. 18.)

God has vouchsafed to discover to us in holy scripture, a part of the relation of the several nations of the earth to his own people; and the little so discovered, diffuses great light over the history of those nations, of whom we shall have but a very imperfect idea, unless we have recourse to the inspired writers. They alone display, and bring to light, the secret thoughts of princes, their incoherent projects, their foolish pride, their impious and cruel ambition; they reveal the true causes and hidden springs of victories and overthrows; of the grandeur and declension of nations; the rise and ruin of states; and teach us what judgment the Almighty forms both of princes and empires, and consequently, what idea we ourselves ought to entertain of them.

As God appointed some princes to be the instruments of his vengeance, he made others the dispensers of his goodness. He ordained Cyrus to be the deliverer of his people; and to enable him to support with dignity so glorious a function, he endued him with all the qualities which constitute the greatest captains and princes; and caused that excellent education to be given him, which the heathens so much admired, though they neither knew the author or true cause of it.

We see in profane history the extent and swiftness of his conquests, the intrepidity of his courage, the wisdom of his views and designs; his greatness of soul, his noble generosity; his truly

paternal affection for his subjects; and, in them, the grateful returns of love and tenderness, which made them consider him rather as their protector and father, than as their lord and sovereign. We find, I say, all these particulars in profane history; but we do not perceive the secret principle of so many exalted qualities, nor the hidden spring which set them in motion.

But Isaiah affords us this light, and delivers himself in words suitable to the greatness and majesty of the God who inspired him. He represents this all-powerful God of armies as leading Cyrus by the hand, marching before him, conducting him from city to city, and from province to province; *subduing nations before him, loosening the loins of kings, breaking in pieces gates of brass, cutting in sunder the bars of iron,* throwing down the walls and bulwarks of cities, and putting him in possession *of the treasures of darkness, and the hidden riches of secret places.* (Isaiah xlv. 1—3.)

The prophet (Isaiah xlv. 13, 14.) also tells us the cause and motive of all these wonderful events. It was in order to punish Babylon, and to deliver Judah, that the Almighty conducts Cyrus, step by step, and gives success to all his enterprises. *I have raised him up in righteousness, and I will direct all his ways,—for Jacob my servant's sake, and Israel mine elect.* (Isaiah xlv. 13, 4.) But this prince is so blind and ungrateful, that he does not know his Master, nor remember his Benefactor. *I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me;—I girded thee, though thou hast not known me.* (Isaiah xlv. 4, 5.)

THE

HISTORY OF CYRUS.

PART I.

THE history of this prince is differently related by Herodotus and Xenophon. I follow the latter, as judging him infinitely more worthy of credit in this respect than the former. As to those facts wherein they differ, I shall briefly relate what Herodotus says of them. It is well known, that Xenophon served a long time under Cyrus the younger, who had in his troops a great number of Persian noblemen, with whom undoubtedly this writer, considering how curious he was, did often converse, that he might acquaint himself by these means with the manners and customs of the Persians, with their conquests in general, but more particularly with those of the prince who had founded their monarchy, and whose history he proposed to write. This he tells us himself, in the beginning of his Cyropædia: "Having always looked upon this great man as worthy of admiration, I took a pleasure to inform myself of his birth, his natural temper, and education, that I might know by what means he became so great a prince: and herein I advance nothing but what has been told me."

As to what Cicero says, in his first letter to his brother Quintus, "that Xenophon's design, in writing the history of Cyrus, was not so much to follow truth, as to give a model of a just government;" this ought not to lessen the authority of that judicious historian, or make us give the less credit to what he relates. All that can be inferred from thence is, that the design of Xenophon, who was a great philosopher, as well as a great captain, was not merely to write Cyrus's history, but to represent him as a model and example to princes, for their instruction in the arts of reigning, and of gaining the love of their subjects, notwithstanding the pomp and elevation of their stations. With this view he may possibly have lent his hero some thoughts, some sentiments, or discourses of his own. But the substance of the facts and events he relates are to be deemed true: and of this their conformity with the holy scripture is of itself a sufficient proof. The reader may see the dissertation of the Abbot Bannier upon this subject, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Polite Literature.

The History of Cyrus, from his Infancy to the Siege of Babylon.

THIS interval, besides his education, and the journey he made to his grandfather Astyages in Media, includes the first campaigns of Cyrus, and the important expeditions subsequent to them.

Cyrus's Education.

CYRUS was the son of Cambyses, king of Persia, and of Mandana, daughter of Astyages, king of

the Medes. He was born one year after his uncle Cyaxares, the brother of Mandana.

The Persians consisted at this time of twelve tribes, and inhabited only one province of that vast country, which has since borne the name of Persia, and were not in all above one hundred and twenty thousand men. But this people having afterwards, through the wisdom and valour of Cyrus, acquired the empire of the East, the name of Persia extended itself with their conquests and fortune, and comprehended all that vast tract of land, which reaches from east to west, from the river Indus to the Tigris; and from north to south, from the Caspian sea to the ocean. And still to this day the country of Persia has the same extent.

Cyrus was beautiful in his person, and still more lovely for the qualities of his mind; was of a very sweet disposition, full of good-nature and humanity, and had a great desire to learn, and a noble ardour for glory. He was never afraid of any danger, or discouraged by any hardship or difficulty, where honour was to be acquired. He was brought up according to the laws and customs of the Persians, which were excellent in those days with respect to education.

The public good, the common benefit of the nation, was the only principle and end of all their laws. The education of children was looked upon as the most important duty, and the most essential part of government: it was not left to the care of fathers and mothers, whose blind affection and fondness often render them incapable of that office; but the state took it upon themselves. Boys were all brought up in com-

mon, after one uniform manner; where every thing was regulated, the place and length of their exercises, the times of eating, the quality of their meat and drink, and their different kinds of punishment. The only food allowed either the children or the young men, was bread, cresses, and water; for their design was to accustom them early to temperance and sobriety: besides, they considered, that a plain frugal diet, without any mixture of sauces or ragoos, would strengthen the body, and lay such a foundation of health, as would enable them to undergo the hardships and fatigues of war to a good old age.

Here boys went to school, to learn justice and virtue, as they do in other places to learn arts and sciences; and the crime most severely punished amongst them, was ingratitude.

The design of the Persians, in all these wise regulations, was to prevent evil, being convinced how much better it is to prevent faults than to punish them: and whereas, in other states, the legislators are satisfied with establishing punishments for criminals, the Persians endeavoured so to order it, as to have no criminals amongst them.

Till sixteen or seventeen years of age, the boys remained in the class of children; and here it was they learned to draw the bow, and to sling the dart or javelin; after which, they were received into the class of young men. In this they were more narrowly watched, and kept under, than before; because that age requires the narrowest inspection, and has the greatest need of restraint. Here they remained ten years; during which time they passed all their nights in

keeping guard, as well for the safety of the city, as to inure them to fatigue. In the day-time they waited upon their governors, to receive their orders, attended the king when he went a hunting, or improved themselves in their exercises.

The third class consisted of men grown up, and formed; and in this they remained five-and-twenty years. Out of these all the officers that were to command in the troops, and all such as were to fill the different posts and employments in the state, were chosen. When they were turned of fifty, they were not obliged to carry arms out of their own country.

Besides these, there was a fourth or last class, from whence men of the greatest wisdom and experience were chosen, for forming the public council, and presiding in the courts of judicature.

By these means every citizen might aspire at the chief posts in the government; but not one could arrive at them, till he had passed through all these several classes, and made himself capable of them by all these exercises. The classes were open to all; but generally such only as were rich enough to maintain their children without working, sent them thither.

Cyrus himself was educated in this manner, and surpassed all of his age, not only in aptness to learn, but in courage and address in executing whatever he undertook.

Cyrus's Journey to his Grandfather Astyages, and his Return into Persia.

WHEN Cyrus was twelve years old, his mother Mandana took him with her into Media, to his

grandfather Astyages, who, from the many things he had heard said in favour of that young prince, had a great desire to see him. In this court young Cyrus found very different manners from those of his own country. Pride, luxury, and magnificence, reigned here universally. Astyages himself was richly clothed, had his eyes coloured, his face painted, and his hair embellished with artificial locks. For the Medes affected an effeminate life, to be dressed in scarlet, and to wear necklaces and bracelets, whereas the habits of the Persians were very plain and coarse. All this finery did not affect Cyrus, who, without criticising or condemning what he saw, was contented to live as he had been brought up, and adhered to the principles he had imbibed from his infancy. He charmed his grandfather with his sprightliness and wit, and gained every body's favour by his noble and engaging behaviour. I shall only mention one instance, whereby we may judge of the rest.

Astyages, to make his grandson unwilling to return home, made a sumptuous entertainment, in which there was a vast plenty and profusion of every thing that was nice and delicate. All this exquisite cheer and magnificent preparation, Cyrus looked upon with great indifference; at which, observing Astyages to be surprised, "The Persians," says he to the king, "instead of going such a round-about way to appease their hunger, have a much shorter to the same end; a little bread and cresses with them answer the purpose." Astyages desiring Cyrus to dispose of all the meats as he thought fit, the latter im-

mediately distributed them to the king's officers in waiting; to one, because he taught him to ride; to another, because he waited well upon his grandfather; and to a third, because he took great care of his mother. Sacas, the king's cup-bearer, was the only person to whom he gave nothing. This officer, besides the post of cup-bearer, had that likewise of introducing those who were to have audience of the king; and as he could not possibly grant that favour to Cyrus as often as he desired it, he had the misfortune to displease the prince, who took this occasion to shew his resentment. Astyages testifying some concern at the neglect of this officer, for whom he had a particular consideration, and who deserved it, as he said, on account of the wonderful dexterity with which he served him; "Is that all, papa?" replied Cyrus; "if that be sufficient to merit your favour, you shall see I will quickly obtain it; for I will take upon me to serve you better than he." Immediately Cyrus is equipped as a cup-bearer, and advancing gravely with a serious countenance, a napkin upon his shoulder, and holding the cup nicely with three of his fingers, he presented it to the king with a dexterity and a grace that charmed both Astyages and Mandana. When he had done he flung himself upon his grandfather's neck, and kissing him, cried out with great joy, "O Sacas, poor Sacas, thou art undone, I shall have thy place." Astyages embraced him with great fondness, and said, "I am mighty well pleased, my dear child; nobody can serve with a better grace; but you have forgot one essen-

tial ceremony, which is that of tasting." And indeed the cupbearer was used to pour some of the liquor into his left hand, and to taste it, before he presented it to the king. "No," replied Cyrus, "it was not through forgetfulness that I omitted that ceremony." "Why then," says Astyages, "for what reason did you do it?" "Because I apprehended there was poison in the liquor." "Poison, child! how could you think so?" "Yes, poison, papa; for not long ago, at an entertainment you gave to the lords of your court, after the guests had drank a little of that liquor, I perceived all their heads were turned; they sung, made a noise, and talked they did not know what; you yourself seemed to have forgot you were king, and they, that they were subjects; and when you would have danced, you could not stand upon your legs." "Why," says Astyages, "have you never seen the same thing happen to your father?" "No, never," says Cyrus. "What then? How is it with him when he drinks?" "Why, when he has drank, his thirst is quenched, and that is all."

We cannot too much admire the skill of the historian, in his giving such an excellent lesson of sobriety in this story. He might have done it in a serious grave way, and have spoken with the air of a philosopher; for Xenophon, as much a warrior as he was, yet was he as excellent a philosopher as his master Socrates. But instead of that, he puts the instruction into the mouth of a child, and conceals it under the veil of a story, which, in the original, is told with all the wit and agreeableness imaginable.

Mandana being upon the point of returning to Persia, Cyrus joyfully complied with the repeated instances his grandfather had made to him to stay in Media; being desirous, as he said, to perfect himself in the art of riding, which he was not yet master of, and which was not known in Persia, where the barrenness of the country, and its craggy mountainous situation, rendered it unfit for the breeding of horses.

During the time of his residence at this court, his behaviour procured him infinite love and esteem. He was gentle, affable, officious, beneficent, and generous. Whenever the young lords had any favour to ask of the king, Cyrus was their solicitor. If the king had any subject of complaint against them, Cyrus was their mediator; their affairs became his, and he always managed them so well, that he obtained whatever he desired.

When Cyrus was about sixteen years of age, the son of the king of the Babylonians, (this was Evil-Merodach, son of Nebuchadnezzar), at a hunting match a little before his marriage, thought fit, in order to shew his bravery, to make an irruption into the territories of the Medes; which obliged Astyages to take the field, to oppose the invader. Here it was that Cyrus, having followed his grandfather, served his apprenticeship in war. He behaved himself so well on this occasion, that the victory, which the Medes gained over the Babylonians, was chiefly owing to his valour.

The year after, his father recalling him, that he might accomplish his time in the Persian ex-

ercises, he departed immediately from the court of Media, that neither his father nor his country might have any room to complain of his delay. This occasion shewed how much he was beloved. At his departure he was accompanied by all sorts of people, young and old. Astyages himself conducted him a good part of his journey on horseback; and when the sad moment came that they must part, the whole company were bathed in tears.

Thus Cyrus returned into his own country, and re-entered the class of children, where he continued a year longer. His companions, after his long residence in so voluptuous and luxurious a court as that of the Medes, expected to find a great change in his manners. But when they found that he was content with their ordinary table, and that, when he was present at any entertainment, he was more sober and temperate than any of the company, they looked upon him with new admiration.

From this first class he passed into the second, which is the class of youths; and there it quickly appeared that he had not his equal in dexterity, address, patience, and obedience.

Ten years after, he was admitted into the men's class, wherein he remained thirteen years, till he set out at the head of the Persian army, to go to the aid of his uncle Cyaxares.

The first Campaign of Cyrus, who goes to succour his uncle Cyaxares against the Babylonians.

ASTYAGES, king of the Medes, dying, was succeeded by his son Cyaxares, brother to Cyrus's

mother. Cyaxares was no sooner on the throne, but he was engaged in a terrible war. He was informed that the king of the Babylonians (Neriglissor) was preparing a powerful army against him, and that he had already engaged several princes on his side, and amongst others Crœsus, king of Lydia; that he had likewise sent ambassadors to the king of India, to give him bad impressions of the Medes and Persians, by representing to him how dangerous a closer alliance and union between two nations already so powerful might be, since they could in the end subdue all the nations around them, if a vigorous opposition was not made to the progress of their power. Cyaxares, therefore, dispatched ambassadors to Cambyses, to desire succours from him; and ordered them to bring it about, that Cyrus should have the command of the troops his father was to send. This was readily granted. As soon as it was known that Cyrus was to march at the head of the army, the joy was universal. The army consisted of thirty thousand men, all infantry, for the Persians had as yet no cavalry; but they were all chosen men, and such as had been raised after a particular manner. First of all, Cyrus chose out of the nobility two hundred of the bravest officers, each of which was ordered to choose out four more of the same sort, which made a thousand in all; and these officers were called "*men of the same dignity*," and who signalized themselves afterwards so gloriously upon all occasions. Every one of this thousand was appointed to raise among the people ten light-armed pikemen, ten slingers, and ten bow-

men, which amounted in the whole to one-and-thirty thousand men.

Before they proceeded to this choice, Cyrus thought fit to make a speech to the two hundred officers, whom, after having highly praised for their courage, he inspired with the strongest assurance of victory and success. "Do you know," says he to them, "the nature of the enemy you have to deal with? They are soft, effeminate, enervated men, already half conquered by their own luxury and voluptuousness; men not able to bear either hunger or thirst; equally incapable of supporting either the toil of war, or the sight of danger; whereas you, that are inured from your infancy to a sober and hard way of living; to you, I say, hunger and thirst are but the sauce, and the only sauce to your meals; fatigues are your pleasure, dangers your delight, and the love of your country and of glory your only passion. Besides, the justice of our cause is another considerable advantage. They are the aggressors. It is the enemy that attacks us, and it is our friends and allies that require our aid. Can any thing be more just than to repel the injury they would bring upon us? Is there any thing more honourable than to fly to the assistance of our friends? But what ought to be the principal motive of your confidence is, that I do not engage in this expedition without having first consulted the gods, and implored their protection; for you know it is my custom to begin all my actions, and all my undertakings, in that manner."

Soon after Cyrus set out without loss of time;

but before his departure he invoked the gods of the country a second time. For his great maxim was, and he had it from his father, that a man ought not to form any enterprise, great or small, without consulting the Divinity, and imploring his protection. Cambyses had often taught him to consider, that the prudence of men is very short, and their views very limited; that they cannot penetrate into futurity; and that many times what they think must needs turn to their advantage, proves their ruin; whereas the gods, being eternal, know all things, future as well as past, and inspire those they love to undertake what is most expedient for them, which is a favour and a protection they owe to no man, and grant only to those that invoke and consult them.

Cambyses accompanied his son as far as the frontiers of Persia; and, in the way, gave him excellent instructions concerning the duties of the general of an army. Cyrus thought himself ignorant of nothing that related to the business of war after the many lessons he had received from the most able masters of that time. "Have your masters," says Cambyses to him, "given you any instructions concerning economy, that is to say, concerning the manner of supplying an army with all necessary provisions, of preventing sickness, and preserving the health of the soldiers; of fortifying their bodies by frequent exercises; of exciting a generous emulation amongst them; of making yourself obeyed, esteemed, and beloved by your soldiers?" Upon each of these points, and upon several others mentioned by

the king, Cyrus owned he had never heard one word spoken, and that it was all entirely new to him. "What is it then your masters have taught you?" "They have taught me to fence," replied the prince, "to draw the bow, to fling the javelin, to mark out a camp, to draw the plan of a fortification, to range troops in order of battle, to review them, to see them march, file off, and encamp." Cambyses, smiling, gave his son to understand that they had taught him nothing of what was most material and essential for a good officer, and an expert commander, to know. And in one single conversation, which certainly deserves to be well studied by all young gentlemen designed for the army, he taught him infinitely more than all the celebrated masters had done, in the course of several years. I shall give but one short instance of this discourse, which may give the reader an idea of the rest.

The question was, What are the proper means of making the soldiers obedient and submissive? "The way to effect that," says Cyrus, "seems to be very easy, and very certain; it is only to praise and reward those that obey, to punish and stigmatize such as fail in their duty."—"You say well," replied Cambyses, "that is the way to make them obey you by force; but the chief point is to make them obey you willingly and freely. Now, the sure method of effecting this, is to convince those you command, that you know better what is for their advantage than they do themselves; for all mankind readily submit to those of whom they have that opinion. This is the principle from whence that blind sub-

mission proceeds, which you see sick persons pay to their physician, travellers to their guide, and a ship's company to their pilot. Their obedience is only founded upon their persuasion that the physician, the guide, and the pilot, are all more skilful and knowing in their respective callings than themselves."—"But what shall a man do," says Cyrus to his father, "to appear more skilful and expert than others?"—"He must really be so," replied Cambyses; "and in order to be so, he must apply himself closely to his profession, diligently study all the rules of it, consult the most able and experienced masters, neglect no circumstance that may contribute to the success of his enterprises; and, above all, he must have recourse to the protection of the gods, from whom alone we receive all our wisdom, and all our success."

As soon as Cyrus had reached Cyaxares, the first thing he did, after the usual compliments had passed, was to inform himself of the quality and number of the forces on both sides. It appeared by the computation made of them, that the enemy's army amounted to two hundred thousand foot, and sixty thousand horse; and that the united armies of the Medes and Persians scarce amounted to half the number of foot; and as to the cavalry, the Medes had not so many by a third. This great inequality put Cyaxares in terrible fears and perplexities. He could think of no other expedient, than to send for another body of troops from Persia, more numerous than that already arrived. But this expedient, besides that it would have taken too

much time, appeared in itself impracticable. Cyrus immediately proposed another, more sure and more expeditious, which was, that his Persian soldiers should change their arms. As they chiefly used the bow and the javelin, and consequently their manner of fighting was at a distance, in which kind of engagement the greater number was easily superior to the lesser; Cyrus was of opinion, that they should be armed with such weapons as should oblige them to come to blows with the enemy immediately, and by that means render the superiority of their numbers useless. This project was mightily approved, and instantly put in execution.

Cyrus established a wonderful order among the troops, and inspired them with a surprising emulation, by the rewards he promised, and by his obliging and engaging deportment towards all. As for money, the only value he set upon it was to give it away. He was continually making presents to one or other, according to their rank or their merit; to one a buckler, to another a sword, or something of the same kind equally acceptable. By this generosity, this greatness of soul, and beneficent disposition, he thought a general ought to distinguish himself, and not by the luxury of his table, or the richness of his clothes, and still less by his haughtiness and imperious demeanour. "A commander could not," he said, "give actual proofs of his munificence to every body, and for that very reason he thought himself obliged to convince every body of his inclination and good-will; for though a prince might exhaust his treasures by making presents,

yet he could not injure himself by benevolence and humanity; by being sincerely concerned in the good or evil that happens to others, and by making it appear that he is so."

One day, as Cyrus was reviewing his army, a messenger came to him from Cyaxares, to acquaint him that, some ambassadors being arrived from the king of the Indians, he desired his presence immediately. "For that purpose," says he, "I have brought you a rich garment, for the king desires you would appear magnificently dressed before the Indians, to do the nation honour." Cyrus lost not a moment's time, but instantly set out with his troops, to wait upon the king, though without changing his dress, which was very plain, after the Persian fashion. Cyaxares seeming at first a little displeased at it,—"If I had dressed myself in purple," says Cyrus, "and loaded myself with bracelets and chains of gold, and with all that, had been longer in coming, should I have done you more honour than I do now, by my expedition and the sweat of my face, and by letting all the world see with what promptitude and dispatch your orders are obeyed?"

Cyaxares, satisfied with this answer, ordered the Indian ambassadors to be introduced. The purport of their speech was, that they were sent by the king, their master, to learn the cause of the war between the Medes and the Babylonians; and that they had orders, as soon as they heard what the Medes should say, to proceed to the court of Babylon, to know what motives they had to allege on their part; to the end that the

king, their master, after having examined the reasons on both sides, might take part with those who had right and justice on their side. This is making a noble and glorious use of great power;—to be influenced only by justice, to consult no advantage from the division of neighbours, but to declare openly against the unjust aggressor, in favour of the injured party. Cyaxares and Cyrus answered, they had given the Babylonians no subject of complaint, and that they willingly accepted the mediation of the king of India. It appears in the sequel, that he declared for the Medes.

The king of Armenia, who was vassal to the Medes, looking upon them as ready to be swallowed up by the formidable league formed against them, thought fit to lay hold on this occasion to shake off their yoke. Accordingly, he refused to pay them the ordinary tribute, and to send them the number of troops he was obliged to furnish in time of war. This highly embarrassed Cyaxares, who was afraid, at this juncture, of bringing new enemies upon his hands, if he undertook to compel the Armenians to execute their treaty. But Cyrus, having informed himself exactly of the strength and situation of the country, undertook the affair. The important point was to keep his design secret, without which it was not likely to succeed. He, therefore, appointed a great hunting-match on that side of the country; for it was his custom to ride out that way, and frequently to hunt with the king's son, and the young noblemen of Ar-

menia. On the day appointed, he set out with a numerous retinue. The troops followed at a distance, and were not to appear till a signal was given. After some days hunting, when they were come pretty near the palace where the court resided, Cyrus communicated his design to his officers; and sent Chrysanthes with a detachment, ordering them to make themselves masters of a certain steep eminence, where he knew the king used to retire, in case of an alarm, with his family and his treasure.

This being done, he sends an herald to the king of Armenia, to summon him to perform the treaty, and in the mean time ordered his troops to advance. Never was a court in greater surprise and perplexity. The king was conscious of the wrong he had done, and was not in a condition to support it. However, he did what he could to assemble his forces together from all quarters; and, in the mean time, dispatched his youngest son, called Sabaris, into the mountains, with his wives, his daughters, and whatever was most precious and valuable. But when he was informed by his scouts, that Cyrus was coming upon their heels, he entirely lost all courage, and all thoughts of making a defence. The Armenians, following his example, ran away, every one where he could, to secure what was dearest to him. Cyrus, seeing the country covered with people that were endeavouring to make their escape, sent them word, that no harm should be done them if they staid in their houses; but that as many as were taken running away should be treated as enemies. This made them

all retire to their habitations, excepting a few that followed the king.

On the other hand, they that were conducting the princesses to the mountains, fell into the ambush Chrysanthes had laid for them, and were most of them taken prisoners. The queen, the king's son, his daughters, his eldest son's wife, and his treasures, all fell into the hands of the Persians.

The king, hearing this melancholy news, and not knowing what would become of him, retired to a little eminence, where he was presently invested by the Persian army, and obliged to surrender. Cyrus ordered him, with all his family, to be brought to the midst of the army. At that very instant arrived Tigranes, the king's eldest son, who was just returned from a journey. At so moving a spectacle he could not forbear weeping. Cyrus, addressing himself to him, said, "Prince, you are come very seasonably to be present at the trial of your father." And immediately he assembled the captains of the Persians and Medes, and called in also the great men of Armenia. Nor did he so much as exclude the ladies from this assembly, who were there in their chariots, but gave them full liberty to hear and see all that passed.

When all was ready, and Cyrus had commanded silence, he began with requiring of the king, that in all the questions he was going to propose to him, he would answer sincerely, because nothing could be more unworthy a person of his rank, than to use dissimulation or falsehood. The king promised he would. Then

Cyrus asked him, but at different times, proposing each article separately and in order, whether it was not true, that he had made war upon Astyages, king of the Medes, his grandfather; whether he had not been overcome in that war, and in consequence of his defeat had concluded a treaty with Astyages; whether by virtue of that treaty he was not obliged to pay a certain tribute, to furnish a certain number of troops, and not to keep any fortified place in his country? It was impossible for the king to deny any of these facts, which were all public and notorious. "For what reason, then," continued Cyrus, "have you violated the treaty in every article?" "For no other," replied the king, "than because I thought it a glorious thing to shake off the yoke, to live free, and to leave my children in the same condition." "It is really glorious," answered Cyrus, "to fight in defence of liberty: but if any one, after he is reduced to servitude, should attempt to run away from his master, what would you do with him?"—"I must confess," says the king, "I would punish him." "And if you had given a government to one of your subjects, and he should be found to commit malversations, would you continue him in his post?"—"No, certainly: I would put another in his place." "And if he had amassed great riches by his unjust practices?"—"I would strip him of them." "But, which is still worse, if he had held intelligence with your enemies, how would you treat him?"—"Though I should pass sentence upon myself," replied the king, "I must declare the truth: I would put him to death."

At these words Tigranes tore his tiara from his head, and rent his garments: the women burst out into lamentations and outcries, as if sentence had actually passed upon him.

Cyrus having again commanded silence, Tigranes addressed himself to the prince to this effect: "Great prince, can you think it consistent with your wisdom to put my father to death, even against your own interest?"—"How against my interest?" replies Cyrus. "Because he was never so capable of doing you service."—"How do you make that appear? Do the faults we commit enhance our merit, and give us a new title to consideration and favour?"—"They certainly do, provided they serve to make us wiser. For of inestimable value is wisdom: are either riches, courage, or address, to be compared to it? Now, it is evident, this single day's experience has infinitely improved my father's wisdom. He knows how dear the violation of his word has cost him. He has proved and felt how much you are superior to him in all respects. He has not been able to succeed in any of his designs; but you have happily accomplished all yours; and with that expedition and secrecy, that he has found himself surrounded, and taken, before he expected to be attacked; and the very place of his retreat has served only to ensnare him."—"But your father," replied Cyrus, "has yet undergone no sufferings that can have taught him wisdom."—"The fear of evils," answered Tigranes, "when it is so well founded as this is, has a much sharper sting, and is more capable of piercing the soul, than the evil itself. Be-

sides, permit me to say, that gratitude is a stronger and more prevailing motive than any whatever: and there can be no obligations in the world of a higher nature, than those you will lay upon my father. His fortune, liberty, sceptre, life, wives, and children, all restored to him with such a generosity: where can you find, illustrious prince, in one single person, so many strong and powerful ties to attach him to your service?"

"Well then," replied Cyrus, turning to the king, "if I should yield to your son's entreaties, with what number of men, and what sum of money, will you assist us in the war against the Babylonians?"—"My troops and treasures," says the Armenian king, "are no longer mine; they are entirely yours. I can raise forty thousand foot and eight thousand horse; and as to money, I reckon, including the treasure which my father left me, there are about three thousand talents ready money. All these are wholly at your disposal." Cyrus accepted half the number of the troops, and left the king the other half, for the defence of the country against the Chaldeans, with whom he was at war. The annual tribute which was due to the Medes he doubled, and instead of fifty talents exacted an hundred, and borrowed the like sum over and above in his own name. "But what would you give me," added Cyrus, "for the ransom of your wives?"—"All that I have in the world," replied the king. "And for the ransom of your children?"—"The same thing." "From this time, then, you are indebted to me the double

of all your possessions." "And you, Tigranes, at what price would you redeem the liberty of your lady?"—Now he had but lately married her, and was passionately fond of her.—"At the price," says he, "of a thousand lives, if I had them." Cyrus then conducted them all to his tent, and entertained them at supper. It is easy to imagine what transports of joy there must have been upon this occasion.

After supper, as they were discoursing upon various subjects, Cyrus asked Tigranes, what was become of a governor he had often seen hunting with him, and for whom he had a particular esteem. "Alas!" says Tigranes, "he is no more; and I dare not tell you by what accident I lost him." Cyrus pressing him to tell him, "My father," continued Tigranes, "seeing I had a very tender affection for this governor, and that I was extremely attached to him, was jealous it might be of some ill consequence, and put him to death. But he was so honest a man, that, as he was ready to expire, he sent for me, and spoke to me in these words: *Tigranes, let not my death occasion any disaffection in you towards the king your father. What he has done to me did not proceed from malice, but only from prejudice, and a false notion wherewith he was unhappily blinded.*"—"O the excellent man!" cried Cyrus, "never forget the last advice he gave you."

When the conversation was ended, Cyrus, before they parted, embraced them all, as in token of a perfect reconciliation. This done, they got into their chariots, with their wives, and went

home full of gratitude and admiration. Nothing but Cyrus was mentioned the whole way; some extolling his wisdom, others his valour; some admiring the sweetness of his temper, others praising the beauty of his person, and the majesty of his mien. "And you," says Tigranes, addressing himself to his lady, "what do you think of Cyrus's aspect and deportment?"—I do not know," replied the lady, "I did not observe him." "Upon what object, then, did you fix your eyes?"—"Upon him that said he would give a thousand lives to ransom my liberty."

The next day, the king of Armenia sent presents to Cyrus, and refreshments for his whole army, and brought him double the sum of money he was required to furnish. But Cyrus took only what had been stipulated, and restored him the rest. The Armenian troops were ordered to be ready in three days time, and Tigranes desired to command them.

Cyrus, before he quitted the king of Armenia, was willing to do him some signal service. This king was then at war with the Chaldeans, a neighbouring warlike people, who continually harassed his country by their inroads, and by that means hindered a great part of his lands from being cultivated. Cyrus, after having exactly informed himself of their character, strength, and the situation of their strong-holds, marched against them. On the first intelligence of his approach, the Chaldeans possessed themselves of the eminences to which they were accustomed to retreat. Cyrus left them no time to assemble all their forces there, but marched to attack them

directly. The Armenians, whom he had made his advanced guard, were immediately put to flight. Cyrus expected no other from them, and had only placed them there, to bring the enemy the sooner to an engagement. And, indeed, when the Chaldeans came to blows with the Persians, they were not able to stand their ground, but were entirely defeated. A great number were taken prisoners, and the rest were scattered and dispersed. Cyrus himself spoke to the prisoners, assuring them he was not come to injure them, or ravage their country, but to grant them peace upon reasonable terms, and to set them at liberty. Deputies were immediately sent to him, and a peace was concluded. For the better security of both nations, and with their common consent, Cyrus caused a fortress to be built upon an eminence, which commanded the whole country; and left a good garrison in it, which was to declare against either of the two nations that should violate the treaty.

Cyrus, understanding that there was frequent commerce and communication between the Indians and Chaldeans, desired that the latter would send persons to accompany and conduct his ambassador, whom he was preparing to send to the king of India. The purport of this embassy was, to desire some succours in money from that prince, in behalf of Cyrus, who wanted it for the levying of troops in Peasia, and promised that, if the gods crowned his designs with success, that potentate should have no reason to repent of having assisted him. He was glad to find the Chaldeans ready to second his request,

which they could do the more advantageously, by enlarging upon the character and exploits of Cyrus. The ambassador set out the next day, accompanied with some of the most considerable persons of Chaldea, who were directed by their master to act with all possible dexterity, and to do Cyrus's merit all possible justice.

The expedition against the Armenians being happily ended, Cyrus left that country, to rejoin Cyaxares. Four thousand Chaldeans, the bravest of the nation, attended him; and the king of Armenia, who was now delivered from his enemies, augmented the number of troops he had promised him; so that he arrived in Media with a great deal of money, and a much more numerous army than he had when he left it.

The Expedition of Cyaxares and Cyrus against the Babylonians. The first Battle.

BOTH parties had been employed three years together in forming their alliances, and making preparations for war. Cyrus, finding their troops full of ardour, and ready for action, proposed to Cyaxares his leading them against Assyria. His reasons for it were, that he thought it his duty to ease him as soon as possible, of the care and expense of maintaining two armies; that it were better they should eat up the enemy's country, than Media; that so bold a step as that of going to meet the Assyrians, might be capable of spreading a terror in their army, and at the same time inspire their own with the greater confidence; that, lastly, it was a maxim with him, as it had always been with Cambyses his father, that vic-

tory did not so much depend upon the number, as the valour of troops. Cyaxares agreed to his proposal.

As soon, therefore, as the customary sacrifices were offered, they began their march. Cyrus, in the name of the whole army, invoked the tutelary gods of the empire, beseeching them to be favourable to them in the expedition they had undertaken, to accompany them, conduct them, fight for them, inspire them with such a measure of courage and prudence as was necessary, and, in short, to bless their arms with prosperity and success. In acting thus, Cyrus put in practice that excellent advice his father had given him, of beginning and ending all his actions, and all his enterprises, with prayer; and indeed he never failed, either before or after an engagement, to acquit himself, in the presence of the whole army, of this religious duty. When they were arrived on the frontiers of Assyria, it was still their first care to pay their homage to the gods of the country, and to implore their protection and succour; after which they began to make incursions into the country, and carried off a great deal of spoil.

Cyrus, understanding that the enemy's army was about ten days journey from them, prevailed upon Cyaxares to advance forward, and march up to them. When the armies came within sight, both sides prepared for battle. The Assyrians were encamped in the open country, and, according to their custom, which the Romans imitated afterwards, had encompassed and fortified their camp with a large ditch. Cyrus, on the

contrary, who was glad to deprive the enemy, as much as possible, of the sight and knowledge of the smallness of his army, covered his troops with several little hills and villages. Several days nothing was done on either side, but looking at and observing one another. At length a numerous body of the Assyrians moving first out of their camp, Cyrus advanced with his troops to meet them. But before they came within reach of the enemy, he gave the word for rallying the men, which was, *Jupiter, protector and conductor.* He then caused the ordinary hymn to be sounded, to which the soldiers, full of religious ardour, answered with a loud voice. There was nothing in Cyrus's army but cheerfulness, emulation, courage, mutual exhortations to bravery, and an universal zeal to execute whatever their leader should command. "For it is observable," says the historian, "in this place, that on these occasions, those that fear the Deity most, are the least afraid of men." On the side of the Assyrians, the troops armed with bows, slings, and darts, made their discharges, before their enemies were within reach. But the Persians, animated by the presence and example of Cyrus, came immediately to close fight with the enemy, and broke through their first battalions. The Assyrians, notwithstanding all the efforts used by Crœsus, and their own king, to encourage them, were not able to sustain so rude a shock, but immediately fled. At the same time the cavalry of the Medes advanced to attack the enemy's horse, which was likewise presently routed. The former warmly pursued them to the very camp,

made a terrible slaughter, and Neriglissor, the king of the Babylonians, was killed in the action. Cyrus, not thinking himself in a condition to force their intrenchments, sounded a retreat.

The Assyrians, in the mean time, their king being killed, and the flower of their army lost, were in a dreadful consternation. As soon as Crœsus found them in so great a disorder, he fled, and left them to shift for themselves. The other allies likewise, seeing their affairs in so hopeless a condition, thought of nothing but taking advantage of the night to make their escape.

Cyrus, who had foreseen this, prepared to pursue them closely. But this could not be effected without cavalry; and, as we have already observed, the Persians had none. He therefore went to Cyaxares, and acquainted him with his design. Cyaxares was extremely averse to it, and represented to him, how dangerous it was to drive so powerful an enemy to extremities, whom despair would probably inspire with courage; that it was a part of wisdom to use good fortune with moderation, and not to lose the fruits of victory by too much vivacity: moreover, that he did not care to compel the Medes, or to refuse them that repose to which their behaviour had justly entitled them. Cyrus, upon this, desired his permission only to take as many of the horse as were willing to follow him. Cyaxares readily consented to this, and thought of nothing else now, but of passing his time with his officers in feasting and mirth, and enjoying the fruits of the victory he had just obtained.

Cyrus marched away in pursuit of the enemy, and was followed by the greatest part of the Median soldiers. Upon the way he met some couriers, that were coming to him from the Hyrcanians, who served in the enemy's army, to assure him, that as soon as ever he appeared, those Hyrcanians would come over to him; which in effect they did. Cyrus made the best use of his time; and, having marched all night, came up with the Assyrians. Crœsus had sent away his wives in the night-time for coolness, for it was the summer season, and followed them himself with a body of cavalry. When the Assyrians saw the enemy so near them, they were in the utmost confusion and consternation. Many of those that ran away, being warmly pursued, were killed; all that staid in the camp surrendered; the victory was complete, and the spoil immense. Cyrus reserved all the horses they took in the camp for himself, resolving now to form a body of cavalry for the Persian army, which hitherto had none. The richest and most valuable part of the booty he set apart for Cyaxares; and for the prisoners, he gave them all their liberty to go home to their own country, without imposing any other condition upon them than that they and their countrymen should deliver up their arms, and engage no more in war; Cyrus taking it upon himself to defend them against their enemies, and to put them into a condition of cultivating their lands with entire security.

Whilst the Medes and the Hyrcanians were still pursuing the remainder of the enemy, Cyrus

took care to have a repast, and even baths prepared for them, that at their return they might have nothing to do, but to sit down and refresh themselves. He likewise thought fit to defer the distribution of the spoil till then. It was on this occasion this general, whose thoughts nothing escaped, exhorted his Persian soldiers to distinguish themselves by their generosity, in regard to their allies, from whom they had already received great services, and of whom they might expect still greater. He desired they would wait their return, both for the refreshments, and the division of the spoil; and that they would shew a preference of their interests and conveniences before their own; giving them to understand, that this would be a sure means of attaching the allies to them for ever, and of securing a new harvest of victories to them over the enemy, which would procure them all the advantages they could wish, and make them an ample amends for the voluntary losses they might sustain, for the sake of winning the affection of the allies. They all came into his opinion. When the Medes and Hyrcanians were returned from pursuing the enemy, Cyrus made them sit down to the repast he had prepared for them, desiring them to send nothing but bread to the Persians, who were sufficiently provided, he said, with all they wanted, either for their ragoos, or their drinking. Hunger was their only ragoo, and water from the river their only drink; for that was the way of living to which they had been accustomed from their infancy.

The next morning came on the division of the

spoils. Cyrus, in the first place, ordered the magi to be called, and commanded them to choose out of all the booty what was most proper to be offered to the gods on such an occasion. Then he gave the Medes and Hyrcanians the honour of dividing all that remained among the whole army. They earnestly desired, that the Persians might preside in the distribution, but the Persians absolutely refused it; so that they were obliged to accept of the office, as Cyrus had ordered; and the distribution was made to the general satisfaction of all parties.

The very night that Cyrus marched to pursue the enemy, Cyaxares had passed in feasting and jollity, and had made himself drunk with his principal officers. The next morning, when he awaked, he was strangely surprised to find himself almost alone, and without troops. Immediately, full of resentment and rage, he dispatched an express to the army, with orders to reproach Cyrus severely, and to bring back the Medes without any delay. This unreasonable proceeding did not dismay Cyrus, who, in return, wrote him a respectful letter; in which, however, he expressed himself with a generous and noble freedom, justified his own conduct, and put him in mind of the permission he had given him of taking as many Medes with him as were willing to follow him. At the same time Cyrus sent into Persia, for an augmentation of his troops, designing to push his conquests still farther.

Amongst the prisoners of war they had taken, there was a young princess, of most exquisite beauty, whom they reserved for Cyrus. Her

name was Panthea, the wife of Abradates, king of Susiana. Upon the report made to Cyrus of her extraordinary beauty, he refused to see her; for fear, as he said, such an object might engage his affection more than he desired, and divert him from the prosecution of the great designs he had in view. This singular moderation in Cyrus was undoubtedly an effect of the excellent education he had received: for it was a principle among the Persians, never to speak before young people of any thing that tended or related to love, lest their natural inclination to pleasure, which is so strong and violent at that age of levity and indiscretion, should be awakened and excited by such discourses, and should hurry them into follies and debaucheries. Araspes, a young nobleman of Media, who had the lady in his custody, had not the same distrust of his own weakness, but pretended that a man may be always master of himself. Cyrus committed the princess to his care, and at the same time gave him a very prudent admonition: "I have seen a great many persons," says he, "who have thought themselves very strong, wretchedly overcome by that violent passion, in spite of all their resolution; who have owned afterwards, with shame and grief, that their passion was a bondage and slavery, from which they had not the power to redeem themselves; an incurable distemper, out of the reach of all remedies and human efforts; a kind of bond or necessity, more difficult to force than the strongest chains of iron." "Fear nothing," replied Araspes, "I am sure of myself, and I will answer with my life, I shall do nothing

contrary to my duty." Nevertheless his passion for this young princess increased, and by degrees grew to such a height, that finding her invincibly averse to his desires, he was upon the point of using violence with her. The princess at length made Cyrus acquainted with his conduct, who immediately sent Artabazus to Araspes, with orders to admonish and reprove him in his name. This officer executed his orders in the harshest manner, upbraiding him with his fault in the most bitter terms, and with such a rigorous severity, as was enough to throw him into despair. Araspes, struck to the soul with grief and anguish, burst into a flood of tears; and being overwhelmed with shame and fear, thinking himself undone, had not a word to say for himself. Some days afterwards, Cyrus sent for him. He went to the prince in fear and trembling. Cyrus took him aside, and, instead of reproaching him with severity as he expected, spoke gently to him; acknowledging, that he himself was to blame for having imprudently exposed him to so formidable an enemy. By such an unexpected kindness the young nobleman recovered both life and speech. But his confusion, joy, and gratitude, expressed themselves first in a torrent of tears. "Alas!" says he, "now I am come to the knowledge of myself, and find most plainly, that I have two souls; one, that inclines me to good; another, that incites me to evil. The former prevails, when you speak to me, and come to my relief: when I am alone, and left to myself, I give way to and am overpowered by the latter." Araspes made an advantageous amends for his fault, and ren-

dered Cyrus considerable service, by retiring among the Assyrians, under the pretence of discontent, and by giving intelligence of their measures and designs.

The loss of so brave an officer, whom discontent was supposed to have engaged in the enemy's party, caused a great concern in the whole army. Panthea, who had occasioned it, promised Cyrus to supply his place with an officer of equal merit; whereby she meant her husband Abradates. Accordly, upon her writing to him, he repaired to the camp of the Persians, and was directly carried to Panthea's tent, who told him, with a flood of tears, how kindly and handsomely she had been treated by the generous conqueror. "And how," cried out Abradates, "shall I be able to acknowledge so important a service?" "By behaviour towards him," replied Panthea, "as he hath done towards me." Whereupon he waited immediately upon Cyrus, and paying his respects to so great a benefactor, "You see before you," says he to him, "the tenderest friend, the most devoted servant, and the faithfullest ally you ever had; who, not being able otherwise to acknowledge your favours, comes and devotes himself entirely to your service." Cyrus received him with such a noble and generous air, and withal with so much tenderness and humanity, as fully convinced him, that whatever Panthea had said of the wonderful character of that great prince, was abundantly short of the truth.

Two Assyrian noblemen, likewise, who designed, as Cyrus was informed, to put themselves under his protection, rendered him extraordinary

service. The one was called Gobryas, an old man, venerable both on account of his age and his virtue. The king of Assyria, lately dead, who was well acquainted with his merit, and had a very particular regard for him, had resolved to give his daughter in marriage to Gobryas's son, and for that reason had sent for him to court. This young nobleman, at a match of hunting, to which he had been invited, happened to pierce a wild beast with his dart, which the king's son had missed. The latter, who was of a passionate and savage temper, immediately struck the gentleman with his lance, through rage and vexation, and laid him dead upon the spot. Gobryas besought Cyrus to avenge so unfortunate a father, and to take his family under his protection; and the rather, because he had no children left now but an only daughter, who had long been designed for a wife to the young king, but could not bear the thought of marrying the murderer of her brother. This young king was called Laborosoarchod; he reigned only nine months, and was succeeded by Nabonid, called also Labynit and Balthasar, who reigned seventeen years.

The other Assyrian nobleman was called Gadates; he was prince of a numerous and powerful people. The king then reigning had treated him in a very cruel manner, after he came to the throne, because one of his concubines had mentioned him as a handsome man, and spoken advantageously of the happiness of that woman whom he should choose for a wife.

The expectation of this double succour was a strong inducement to Cyrus, and made him de-

termine to penetrate into the heart of the enemy's country. As Babylon, the capital city of the empire he designed to conquer, was the chief object of his expedition, he turned his views and his march that way, not to attack that city immediately in form, but only to take a view of it, and make himself acquainted with it; to draw off as many allies as he could from that prince's party, and to make previous dispositions and preparations for the siege he meditated. He set out, therefore, with his troops, and first marched to the territories of Gobryas. The fortress he lived in seemed to be an impregnable place, so advantageously was it situated, and so strongly fortified on all sides. This prince came out to meet him, and ordered refreshments to be brought for his whole army. He then conducted Cyrus into his palace, and there laid an infinite number of silver and golden cups, and other vessels, at his feet, together with a multitude of purses, full of the golden coin of the country: then sending for his daughter, who was of a majestic shape and exquisite beauty, which the mourning habit she wore for her brother's death seemed still to enhance, he presented her to Cyrus, desiring him to take her under his protection, and to accept those marks of his acknowledgement, which he took the liberty to offer him. "I willingly accept your gold and silver," says Cyrus, "and I make a present of it to your daughter, to augment her portion. Doubt not, but amongst the nobles of my court, you will find a match suitable for her. It will neither be their own riches nor yours, which they will set their esteem upon. I

can assure you, there are many amongst them, who would make no account of all the treasures of Babylon, if they were unattended with merit and virtue. It is their only glory, I dare affirm it of them, as it is mine, to approve themselves faithful to their friends, formidable to their enemies, and respectful to the gods." Gobryas pressed him to take a repast with him in his house, but he stedfastly refused it, and returned into his camp with Gobryas, who staid and eat with him and his officers. The ground, and the green turf that was upon it, was all the beds and couches they had; and it is to be supposed the whole entertainment was suitable. Gobryas, who was a person of good sense, was convinced how much that noble simplicity was superior to his vain magnificence; and declared, that the Assyrians had the art of distinguishing themselves by pride, and the Persians by merit; and above all things he admired the ingenious vein of humour, and the innocent cheerfulness, that reigned throughout the whole entertainment.

Cyrus, always intent upon his great design, proceeded with Gobryas towards the country of Gadates, which was beyond Babylon. In the neighbourhood of this, there was a strong citadel, which commanded the country of the Sacæ and the Cadusians, where a governor for the king of Babylon resided, to keep those people in awe. Cyrus made a feint of attacking the citadel. Gadates, whose intelligence with the Persians was not yet known, by Cyrus's advice, offered himself to the governor of it, to join with him in the defence of that important place. Accordingly, he

was admitted with all his troops, and immediately delivered it up to Cyrus. The possession of this citadel made him master of the Sacæ and the Cadusians; and as he treated those people with great kindness and lenity, they remained inviolably attached to his service. The Cadusians raised an army of twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse; and the Sacæ furnished ten thousand foot, and two thousand horse archers.

The king of Assyria took the field, in order to punish Gadates for his rebellion. But Cyrus engaged and defeated him, making a great slaughter of his troops, and obliging him to retreat to Babylon. After which exploit, the conqueror employed some time in ravaging the enemy's country. His kind treatment of the prisoners of war, in giving them all their liberty to go home to their habitations, had spread the fame of his clemency wherever he came. Numbers of people voluntarily surrendered to him, and very much augmented his army. Then advancing near the city of Babylon, he sent the king of Assyria a personal challenge, to terminate their quarrel by a single combat; but his challenge was not accepted. In order to secure the peace and tranquillity of his allies during his absence, he made a kind of a truce, or treaty, with the king of Assyria, by which it was agreed on both sides, that the husbandmen should not be molested, but should have full liberty to cultivate their lands, and reap the fruits of their labour. Therefore, after having viewed the country, examined the situation of Babylon, acquired a considerable number of friends and allies, and greatly augmented his

cavalry, he marched away on his return to Media. When he came near the frontiers, he sent a messenger to Cyaxares, to acquaint him with his arrival, and to receive his commands. Cyaxares did not think proper to admit so great an army into his country, and an army that was still going to receive an augmentation of forty thousand men, just arrived from Persia. He therefore set out the next day with what cavalry he had left, to join Cyrus; who likewise advanced forward to meet him with his cavalry, which were very fine and numerous. The sight of those troops rekindled the jealousy and dissatisfaction of Cyaxares. He received his nephew in a very cold manner, turned away his face from him, to avoid the receiving of his salute, and even wept through vexation. Cyrus commanded all the company to retire, and entered into a conversation with his uncle, for explaining himself with the more freedom. He spoke to him with so much temper, submission, and reason; gave him such strong proofs of his integrity, respect, and inviolable attachment to his person and interest, that in a moment he dispelled all his suspicions, and perfectly recovered his favour and good opinion. They embraced one another, and tears were shed on both sides. How great the joy of the Persians and Medes was, who waited the event of this interview with anxiety and trembling, is not to be expressed. Cyaxares and Cyrus immediately remounted their horses, and then all the Medes ranged themselves in the train of Cyaxares, according to the sign given them by Cyrus. The Persians followed Cyrus, and the men of

each other nation their particular prince. When they arrived at the camp, they conducted Cyaxares to the tent prepared for him. He was presently visited by almost all the Medes, who came to salute him, and to bring him presents; some of their own accord, and others by Cyrus's direction. Cyaxares was extremely touched at this proceeding, and began to find that Cyrus had not corrupted his subjects, and that the Medes had the same affection for him as before.

Such was the success of Cyrus's first expedition against Crœsus and the Babylonians. In the council, held the next day in the presence of Cyaxares and all the officers, it was resolved to continue the war.

Not finding in Xenophon any date that precisely fixes the years wherein the several events he relates happened, I suppose, with Usher, though Xenophon's relation does not seem to favour this notion, that between the two battles against Crœsus and the Babylonians, several years passed, during which all necessary preparations were made on both sides, for carrying on the important war which was begun; and within this interval I place the marriage of Cyrus.

Cyrus, about this time, thought of making a tour into his own country, about six or seven years after his departure, at the head of the Persian army. Cyaxares, on this occasion, gave him a signal testimony of the value he had for his merit. Having no male issue, and but one daughter, he offered her in marriage to Cyrus, with an assurance of the kingdom of Media for her portion. Cyrus had a grateful sense of this advanta-

geous offer, and expressed the warmest acknowledgments of it; but thought himself not at liberty to accept of it, till he had the consent of his father and mother; leaving therein a rare example to all future ages, of the respectful submission and entire dependence, which all children ought to shew to their parents on the like occasion, of what age soever they be, or to whatever degree of power and greatness they may have arrived. Cyrus married this princess on his return from Persia.

When the marriage-solemnity was over, Cyrus returned to his camp, and improved the time he had to spare, in securing his new conquests, and taking all proper measures with his allies, for accomplishing the great design he had formed. Foreseeing, says Xenophon, that the preparations for war might take up a great deal of time, he pitched his camp in a very convenient and healthy place, and fortified it extremely. He there kept his troops to the same discipline and exercise as if the enemy had been always in sight.

He understood by deserters, and the prisoners brought every day into the camp, that the king of Babylon was gone into Lydia, and had carried with him vast sums of gold and silver. The common soldiers immediately concluded, that it was fear which made him remove his treasures. But Cyrus judged he had undertaken this journey, only to raise up some new enemy against him; and therefere he laboured with indefatigable application in preparing for a second battle.

Above all things he applied himself to strengthen his Persian cavalry, and to have a great num-

ber of chariots of war, built after a new form, having found great inconveniences in the old ones, the fashion of which came from Troy, and had continued in use till that time throughout all Asia.

In this interval, ambassadors arrived from the king of India, with a large sum of money for Cyrus, from the king their master, who had also ordered them to assure him, that he was very glad he had acquainted him with what he wanted; that he was willing to be his friend and ally; and, if he still wanted more money, he had nothing to do but to let him know; and that, in short, he had ordered his ambassadors to pay him the same absolute obedience as to himself. Cyrus received these obliging offers with all possible dignity and gratitude. He treated the ambassadors with the utmost regard, and made them noble presents; and, taking advantage of their good disposition, desired them to depute three of their own body to the enemy, as envoys from the king of India, on pretence of proposing an alliance with the king of Assyria, but in effect to discover his designs, and give Cyrus an account of them. The Indians undertook this employment with joy, and acquitted themselves of it with great ability.

I do not find, in this last circumstance, the upright conduct and usual sincerity of Cyrus. Could he be ignorant, that it was an open violation of the laws of nations to send spies to an enemy's court, under the title of ambassadors? which is a character that will not suffer those invested with it to act so mean a part, or to be guilty of such treachery.

Cyrus prepared for the approaching battle like a man who had nothing but great projects in view. He not only took care of every thing that had been resolved in council, but took pleasure in exciting a noble emulation amongst his officers, who should have the finest arms, be the best mounted, fling a dart or shoot an arrow the most dextrously, or who should undergo toil and fatigue with the greatest patience. This he brought about by taking them along with him a-hunting, and by constantly rewarding those that distinguished themselves most. Wherever he perceived that the captains took particular care of their men, he praised them publicly, and shewed them all possible favour for their encouragement. When he made them any feast, he never proposed any other diversions than military exercises, and always gave considerable prizes to the conquerors, by which means he excited an universal ardour throughout his army. In a word, he was a general, who, in repose as well as action, nay, even in his pleasures, his meals, conversations, and walks, had his thoughts entirely bent on promoting the service. It is by such methods a man becomes an able and complete warrior.

In the mean time, the Indian ambassadors, being returned from the enemy's camp, brought word, that Crœsus was chosen generalissimo of their army; that all the kings and princes in their alliance had agreed to furnish the necessary sums of money for raising the troops; that the Thracians had already engaged themselves; that from Egypt a great succour was marching, consisting of an hundred-and-twenty thousand men;

that another army was expected from Cyprus; that the Cilicians, the people of the two Phrygias, the Lycaonians, Paphlagonians, Cappadocians, Arabians, and Phœnicians, were already arrived; that the Assyrians were likewise come up with the king of Babylon; that the Ionians, Æolians, and most part of the Greeks living in Asia, had been obliged to join them; that Crœsus had likewise sent to the Lacedæmonians, to bring them into a treaty of alliance; that the army was assembled near the river Pactolus, from whence it was to advance to Thymbria, which was the place of rendezvous for all the troops. This relation was confirmed by the accounts brought in both by the prisoners and the spies.

Cyrus's army was discouraged by this news. But that prince having assembled his officers, and represented to them the infinite difference between the enemy's troops and theirs, soon dispelled their fears, and revived their courage.

Cyrus had taken all proper measures that his army should be provided with all necessaries, and had given orders, as well for their march, as for the battle he was preparing to give; in doing which, he descended to an astonishing detail, which Xenophon relates at length, and which reached from the chief commanders down to the very lowest subaltern officers; for he knew very well, that upon such precautions the success of enterprises depends, which often miscarry through the neglect of the smallest circumstances; in the same manner as it frequently happens, that the playing or movement of the greatest machines is stopped through the disorder of one single wheel, though never so small.

This prince knew all the officers of his army by their names; and making use of a low, but significant comparison, he used to say, "He thought it strange that an artificer should know the names of all his tools, and a general should be so indifferent, as not to know the names of all his captains, which are the instruments he must make use of in all his enterprises and operations." Besides, he was persuaded, that such an attention had something in it more honourable for the officers, more engaging, and more proper to excite them to do their duty, as it naturally leads them to believe they are both known and esteemed by their general.

When all the preparations were finished, Cyrus took leave of Cyaxares, who staid in Media with a third part of his troops, that the country might not be left entirely defenceless.

Cyrus, who understood how advantageous it is always to make the enemy's country the seat of war, did not wait for the Babylonians coming to attack him in Media, but marched forward to meet them in their territories, that he might both consume their forage by his troops, and disconcert their measures by his expedition, and the boldness of his undertaking. After a very long march, he came up with the enemy at Thymbria, a city of Lydia, not far from Sardis, the capital of the country. They did not imagine this prince, with half the number of forces they had, could think of coming to attack them in their own country; and they were strangely surprised to see him come, before they had time to lay up the provisions necessary for the subsistence of

their numerous army, or to assemble all the forces they intended to bring into the field against him.

The Battle of Thymbria, between Cyrus and Crœsus.

THIS battle is one of the most considerable events in antiquity, since it decided the empire of Asia between the Assyrians of Babylon and the Persians. I shall give a very ample and particular description of it, because Cyrus being looked upon as one of the greatest captains of antiquity, those of the profession may be glad to trace him in all his steps through this important action: moreover, the manner in which the ancients made war and fought battles, is an essential part of their history.

In Cyrus's army, the companies of foot consisted of an hundred men each, exclusive of the captain. Each company was subdivided into four parts or platoons, which consisted of four-and-twenty men each, not including the person who commanded the escouade. Each of these subdivisions were again divided into two files, consisting in consequence of twelve men. Every ten companies had a particular superior officer to command them, which sufficiently answers to what we call a colonel; and ten of those bodies again had another superior commander, which we may call a brigadier.

I have already observed, that Cyrus, when he first came at the head of the thirty thousand Persians to the aid of his uncle Cyaxares, made a considerable change in the arms of his troops. Two-thirds of them, till then, only made use of javelins, or bows, and consequently could only

fight at a distance from the enemy. Instead of these, Cyrus armed the greatest part of them with cuirasses, bucklers, and swords, or battle-axes, and left few of his soldiers in light armour.

The Persians did not know at that time what it was to fight on horseback. Cyrus, who was convinced that nothing was of so great importance towards the gaining of a battle as cavalry, was sensible of the great inconvenience he laboured under in that respect, and therefore took wise and early precautions to remedy that evil. He succeeded in his design, and by little and little formed a body of Persian cavalry, which amounted to ten thousand men, and were the best troops of his army.

Cyrus's army amounted, in the whole, to one hundred and ninety-six thousand men, horse and foot. Of these there were seventy thousand natural-born Persians, *viz.* ten thousand cuirassiers of horse, twenty-thousand cuirassiers of foot, twenty thousand pikemen, and twenty thousand light-armed soldiers. The rest of the army, to the number of one hundred and twenty-six thousand men, consisted of twenty-six thousand Median, Armenian, and Arabian horse, and one hundred thousand foot of the same nations.

Besides these troops, Cyrus had three hundred chariots of war, armed with scythes, each chariot drawn by four horses a-breast, covered with trappings that were shot-proof; as were also the horses of the Persian cuirassiers.

He had likewise ordered a great number of chariots to be made of a larger size, upon each of which was placed a tower of about eighteen or

twenty feet high, in which were lodged twenty archers. Each chariot was drawn upon wheels by sixteen oxen yoked in a breast.

There was, moreover, a considerable number of camels, upon each of which were two Arabian archers, back to back; so that one looked towards the head, and the other towards the tail of the camel.

Crœsus's army was above twice as numerous as that of Cyrus, amounting in all to four hundred and twenty thousand men, of which sixty thousand were cavalry. The troops consisted chiefly of Babylonians, Lydians, Phrygians, Cappadocians, of the nations about the Hellespont, and of Egyptians, to the number of three hundred and sixty thousand men. The Egyptians alone made a body of one hundred and twenty thousand. They had bucklers that covered them from head to foot, very long pikes, and short swords, but very broad. The rest of the army was made up of Cyprians, Cicilians, Lycaonians, Paphlagonians, Thracians, and Ionians.

Crœsus's army, in order of battle, was all ranged in one line, the infantry in the centre, and the cavalry on the two wings. All his troops, both foot and horse, were thirty men deep; but the Egyptians, who, as we have taken notice, were one hundred and twenty thousand in number, and who were the principal strength of Crœsus's infantry, in the centre of which they were posted, were divided into twelve large bodies, or square battalions, of ten thousand men each, which had one hundred men in the front, and as many in depth, with an interval or space between

every battalion, that they might act and fight independent of, and without interfering with, one another. Crœsus would gladly have persuaded them to range themselves in less depth, that they might make the wider front. The armies were in an immense plain, which gave room for the extending of their wings to right and left; and the design of Crœsus, upon which alone he founded his hopes of victory, was to surround and hem in the enemy's army. But he could not prevail upon the Egyptians to change the order of battle to which they had been accustomed. His army, as it was thus drawn out into one line, took up near forty stadia, or five miles in length.

Araspes, who, under the pretence of discontent, had retired to Crœsus's army, and had had particular orders from Cyrus to observe well the manner of that general's ranging his troops, returned to the Persian camp the day before the battle. Cyrus, in drawing up his army, governed himself by the disposition of the enemy, of which that young Median nobleman had given him an exact account.

The Persian troops had been generally used to engage four-and-twenty men in depth. But Cyrus thought fit to change that disposition. It was necessary for him to form as wide a front as possible, without too much weakening his phalanx, to prevent his army's being inclosed and hemmed in. His infantry was excellent, and most advantageously armed with cuirasses, partizans, battle-axes, and swords; and, provided they could join the enemy in close fight, there was little reason to believe the Lydian phalanx,

that were only armed with light bucklers and javelins, could support the charge. Cyrus, therefore, thinned the files of his infantry one half, and ranged them only twelve men deep. The cavalry was drawn out on the two wings, the right commanded by Chrysanthes, and the left by Hystaspes. The whole front of the army took up but thirty-two stadia, or four miles in extent; and consequently, was at each end near four stadia, or half a mile, short of the enemy's front.

Behind the first line, at a little distance, Cyrus placed the spearmen, and behind them the archers. Both the one and the other were covered by the soldiers in their front, over whose heads they could fling their javelins, and shoot their arrows, at the enemy.

Behind all these he formed another line, to serve for the rear, which consisted of the flower of his army. Their business was, to have their eyes upon those that were placed before them, to encourage those that did their duty, to sustain and threaten those that gave way, and even to kill those as traitors that run away; by that means to keep the cowards in awe, and make them have as great a terror of the troops in the rear, as they could possibly have of the enemy.

Behind the army were placed those moving towers which I have already described. These formed a line equal and parallel to that of the army, and did not only serve to annoy the enemy by the perpetual discharges of the archers that were in them, but might likewise be looked upon as a kind of moveable forts, or redoubts, under which the Persian troops might rally, in case they were broken and pushed by the enemy.

Just behind these towers were two other lines, which also were parallel and equal to the front of the army; the one was formed of the baggage, and the other of the chariots which carried the women, and such other persons as were unfit for service.

To close all these lines, and to secure them from the insults of the enemy, Cyrus placed in the rear of all two thousand infantry, two thousand horse, and the troop of camels, which was pretty numerous.

Cyrus's design in forming two lines of the baggage, &c. was not only to make his army appear more numerous than it really was, but likewise to oblige the enemy's, in case they were resolved to surround him, as he knew they intended, to make the longer circuit, and consequently to weaken their line, by stretching it out so far.

We have still the Persian chariots of war armed with scythes to speak of. These were divided into three bodies, of one hundred each. One of the bodies, commanded by Abradates, king of Susiana, was placed in the front of the battle, and the other two upon the two flanks of the army. Such was the order of battle in the two armies, as they were drawn out and disposed the day before the engagement.

Very early the next morning Cyrus made a sacrifice, during which time his army took a little refreshment; and the soldiers, after having offered their libations to the gods, put on their armour. Never was sight more beautiful and magnificent; coat-armours, cuirasses, bucklers, helmets,—one could not tell which to admire most;

men and horses all finely equipped, and glittering in brass and scarlet.

When Abradates was just going to put on his cuirass, which was only of quilted flax, according to the fashion of his country, his wife Panthea came and presented him with an helmet, bracers, and bracelets, all of gold, with a coat-armour of his own length, plaited at the bottom, and with a purple-coloured plume of feathers. She had got all this armour prepared without her husband's knowledge, that her present might be the more agreeable from surprise. In spite of all her endeavours to the contrary, when she dressed him in this armour, she shed some tears. But notwithstanding her tenderness for him, she exhorted him to die with sword in hand, rather than not signalize himself in a manner suitable to his birth, and the idea she had endeavoured to give Cyrus of his gallantry and worth. "Our obligations," says she, "to that prince are infinitely great. I was his prisoner, and as such was set apart for his pleasure; but when I came into his hands, I was neither used like a captive, nor had any dishonourable conditions imposed on me for my freedom. He treated me as if I had been his own brother's wife, and in return I assured him, you would be capable of acknowledging such extraordinary goodness." "O Jupiter!" cried Abradates, lifting up his eyes towards heaven, "grant that on this occasion I may approve myself an husband worthy of Panthea, and a friend worthy of so generous a benefactor." Having said this, he mounted his chariot. Panthea, not being able to embrace him any longer, was ready

to kiss the chariot he rode in; and when she had pursued him with her eyes as far as she possibly could, she retired.

As soon as Cyrus had finished his sacrifice, giving his officers the necessary orders and instructions for the battle, and put them in mind of paying the homage which is due to the gods, every man went to his post. Some of his officers brought him wine and victuals; he eat a little without sitting down, and caused the rest to be distributed amongst those that were about him. He took a little wine likewise, and poured out a part of it as an offering to the gods, before he drank; and all the company followed his example. After this, he prayed again to the god of his fathers, desiring he would please to be his guide, and come to his assistance; he then mounted his horse, and commanded them all to follow him.

As he was considering on which side he should direct his march, he heard a clap of thunder on the right, and cried out, "Sovereign Jupiter, we follow thee." And that instant he set forward, having Chrysanthes on his right, who commanded the right wing of the horse, and Arsamas on his left, who commanded the foot. He warned them, above all things, to take care of the royal standard, and to advance equally in a line. The standard was a golden eagle on the end of a pike, with its wings stretched out; the same was ever after used by the kings of Persia. He made his army halt three times before they arrived at the enemy's army; and after having marched about twenty stadia, or two miles and a half, they came in view of them.

When the two armies were within sight of each other, and the enemy had observed how much the front of theirs exceeded that of Cyrus, they made the centre of their army halt, whilst the two wings advanced projecting to the right and left, with design to inclose Cyrus's army, and to begin their attack on every side at the same time. This movement did not at all alarm Cyrus, because he expected it. Having given the word for rallying the troops, he left his right wing, promising to rejoin them immediately, and help them to conquer, if it was the will of the gods.

He rode through all the ranks, to give his orders, and to encourage the soldiers; and he who, on all other occasions, was so modest, and so far from the least air of ostentation, was now full of a noble confidence, and spoke as if he was assured of victory: "Follow me, comrades," said he; "the victory is certainly ours; the gods are for us." He observed that many of his officers, and even Abradates himself, were uneasy at the motion which the two wings of the Lydian army made, in order to attack them on the two flanks: "Those troops alarm you," says he; "believe me, those are the very troops that will be the first routed; and to you, Abradates, I give that as a signal of the time when you are to fall upon the enemy with your chariots." In the event, the thing just happened as Cyrus had foretold. After Cyrus had given such orders as he thought necessary every where, he returned to the right wing of his army.

When the two detached bodies of the Lydian troops were sufficiently extended, Crœsus gave

the signal to the main body of his army, to march up directly to the front of the Persian army, whilst the two wings, that were wheeling round upon their flanks, advanced on each side; so that Cyrus's army was enclosed on three sides, as if it had three great armies to engage with; and, as Xenophon says, looked like a small square drawn within a great one.

In an instant, on the first signal Cyrus gave, his troops faced about on every side, keeping a profound silence in expectation of the event. The prince now thought it time to sing the hymn of battle. The whole army answered to it with loud shouts, and invocations of the god of war. Then Cyrus, at the head of some troops of horse, briskly followed by a body of the foot, fell immediately upon the enemy's forces, that were marching to attack the right of his army in flank; and having attacked them in flank, as they intended to do him, put them into great disorder. The chariots then driving furiously upon the Lydians, completed their defeat.

In the same moment the troops of the left flank, knowing by the noise that Cyrus had begun the battle on the right, advanced to the enemy, And immediately the squadron of camels was made to advance likewise, as Cyrus had ordered. The enemy's cavalry did not expect this; and their horses at a distance, as soon as they were sensible of the approach of those animals, for horses cannot endure the smell of camels, began to snort and prance, to run foul upon and overturn one another, throwing their riders, and treading them under their feet. Whilst they were in this con-

fusion, a small body of horse commanded by Artageses, pushed them very warmly, to prevent them from rallying; and the chariots armed with scythes falling furiously upon them, they were entirely routed, with a dreadful slaughter.

This being the signal which Cyrus had given Abradates for attacking the front of the enemy's army, he drove like lightning upon them with all his chariots. Their first ranks were not able to stand so violent a charge, but gave way, and were dispersed. Having broken and overthrown them, Abradates came up to the Egyptian battalions, which being covered with their bucklers and marching in such close order, that the chariots had not room to pierce amongst them, gave him much more trouble, and would not have been broken, had it not been for the violence of the horses, that trod upon them. It was a most dreadful spectacle to see the heaps of men and horses, overturned chariots, broken arms, and all the direful effects of the sharp scythes, which cut every thing in pieces that came in their way. But Abradates's chariots having the misfortune to be overturned, he and his men were killed, after they had signalized their valour in an extraordinary manner. The Egyptians then marching forward in close order, and covered with their bucklers, obliged the Persian infantry to give way, and drove them beyond their fourth line, as far as to their machines. There the Egyptians met with a fresh storm of arrows and javelins, that were poured upon their heads from the rolling towers; and the battalions of the Persian rear-guard advancing sword in hand, hindered their

archers and spearmen from retreating any farther, and obliged them to return to the charge.

Cyrus, in the mean time, having put both the horse and foot to flight, on the left of the Egyptians, did not amuse himself in pursuing the runaways, but, pushing on directly to the centre, had the mortification to find his Persian troops had been forced to give way; and rightly judging, that the only means to prevent the Egyptians from gaining further ground, would be to attack them behind, he did so, and fell upon their rear; the cavalry came up at the same time, and the enemy was pushed with great fury. The Egyptians, being attacked on all sides, faced about every way, and defended themselves with wonderful bravery. Cyrus himself was in great danger; his horse, which a soldier had stabbed in the belly, sinking under him, he fell in the midst of his enemies. Here was an opportunity, says Xenophon, of seeing how important it is for a commander to have the affection of his soldiers. Officers and men, equally alarmed at the danger in which they saw their leader, run headlong into the thick forest of pikes, to rescue and save him. He quickly mounted another horse, and the battle became more bloody than ever. At length, Cyrus, admiring the valour of the Egyptians, and being concerned to see such brave men perish, offered them honourable conditions if they would surrender, letting them know, at the same time, that all their allies had abandoned them. The Egyptians accepted the conditions, and, as they were no less eminent in point of fidelity than in courage, they stipulated, that they should not be

obliged to carry arms against Crœsus, in whose service they had been engaged. From thenceforward they served in the Persian army with inviolable fidelity.

The battle lasted till evening. Crœsus retreated as fast as he could with his troops to Sardis. The other nations, in like manner, that very night directed their course each to their own country, and made as long marches as they possibly could. The conquerors, after they had eaten something, and posted the guards, went to rest.

It is allowed, that Cyrus's victory was chiefly owing to his Persian cavalry, which was a new establishment, and entirely the fruit of that prince's care and activity in forming his people, and perfecting them in a part of the military art, of which, till his time, they had been utterly ignorant. The chariots armed with scythes did good service, and the use of them was ever afterwards retained among the Persians. The camels, too, were not unserviceable in this battle, though Xenophon makes no great account of them, and observes, that in his time they made no other use of them than for carrying the baggage.

I do not undertake to write a panegyric upon Cyrus, or to magnify his merit. It is sufficient to take notice, that in this affair we see all the qualities of a great general shine out in him. Before the battle, an admirable sagacity and foresight in discovering and disconcerting the enemy's measures; an infinite exactness in the detail of affairs, in taking care that his army should be provided with every thing necessary, and all his

orders punctually executed at the times fixed; a wonderful application to gain the hearts of his soldiers, and to inspire them with confidence and ardour; in the heat of action, what a spirit and activity; what a presence of mind in giving orders, as occasion requires; what courage and intrepidity, at the same time what humanity towards the enemy, whose valour he respects, and whose blood he is unwilling to shed! We shall see by and bye, what use he made of his victory.

But what appears to me still more remarkable, and more worthy of admiration than all the rest, is the constant care he took, on all occasions, to pay that homage and worship to the Deity which he thought belonged to him. Doubtless the reader has been surprised to see, in the relation I have given of this battle, how many times Cyrus, in sight of his army, makes mention of the gods, offers sacrifices and libations to them, addresses himself to them by prayer and invocation, and implores their succour and protection. But in this I have added nothing to the original text of the historian, who was also a military person himself, and who thought it no dishonour to himself or his profession, to relate these particular circumstances. What a shame, then, and a reproach would it be to a Christian officer or general, if, on a day of battle, he should blush to appear as religious and devout as a Pagan prince; and if the Lord of hosts, the God of armies, whom he acknowledges as such, should make a less impression upon his mind, than a respect for the false deities of Paganism did upon the mind of Cyrus!

As for Crœsus, he makes no great figure in this action; not one word is said of him in the whole engagement. But that profound silence, which Xenophon observes in regard to him, seems, in my opinion, to imply a great deal, and gives us to understand that a man may be a powerful prince, or a rich potentate, without being a great warrior.

But let us return to the camp of the Persians. It is easy to imagine, that Panthea must be in the utmost affliction and distress, when the news was brought to her of Abradates's death. Having caused his body to be brought to her, and holding it upon her knees, quite out of her senses, with her eyes stedfastly fixed upon the melancholy object, she thought of nothing but feeding her grief, and indulging her misery, with the sight of that dismal and bloody spectacle. Cyrus being told what a condition she was in, ran immediately to her, sympathized with her affliction, and bewailed her unhappy fate with tears of compassion, doing all that he possibly could to give her comfort, and ordering extraordinary honours to be shewn to the brave deceased Abradates. But no sooner was Cyrus retired, than Panthea, overpowered with grief, stabbed herself with a dagger, and fell dead upon the body of her husband. They were both buried in one common grave upon the very spot, and a monument was erected for them, which was standing in the time of Xenophon.

The Taking of Sardis and of Crœsus.

THE next morning Cyrus marched towards Sardis. If we may believe Herodotus, Crœsus did

not imagine that Cyrus intended to shut him up in the city, and therefore marched out with his forces to meet him, and to give him battle. According to that historian, the Lydians were the bravest and most warlike people of Asia. Their principal strength consisted in their cavalry. Cyrus, in order to render that the less serviceable to them, made his camels advance first, of which animals the horse could neither endure the sight nor the smell, and therefore immediately retired on their approach. Upon which the riders dismounted, and came to the engagement on foot, which was very obstinately maintained on both sides; but at length the Lydians gave way, and were forced to retreat into the city; which Cyrus quickly besieged, causing his engines to be levelled against the walls, and his scaling ladders to be prepared, as if he intended to attack it by storm. But whilst he was amusing the besieged with these preparations, the night following he made himself master of the citadel, by a private way that led thereto, which he was informed of by a Persian slave, who had been a servant to the governor of that place. At break of day he entered the city, where he met with no resistance. His first care was to preserve it from being plundered; for he perceived the Chaldeans had quitted their ranks, and already begun to disperse themselves. To stop the rapacious hands of foreign soldiers, and tie them as it were by a single command, in a city so abounding with riches as Sardis was, is a thing not to be done but by so singular an authority as Cyrus had over his army. He gave all the citizens to understand,

that their lives should be spared, and neither their wives nor children touched, provided they brought him all their gold and silver. This condition they readily complied with; and Crœsus himself, whom Cyrus had ordered to be conducted to him, set them an example, by delivering up all his riches and treasures to the conqueror.

When Cyrus had given all necesssary orders concerning the city, he had a particular conversation with the king, of whom he asked, among other things, what he now thought of the oracle of Delphos, and of the answers given by the god that presided there, for whom, it was said, he had always had a great regard. Crœsus first acknowledged, that he had justly incurred the indignation of that god, for having shewn a distrust of the truth of his answers, and for having put him to the trial by an absurd and ridiculous question; and then declared, that notwithstanding all this, he still had no reason to complain of him, for that having consulted him, to know what he should do in order to lead an happy life, the oracle had given him an answer, which implied in substance, that he should enjoy a perfect and lasting happiness, when he once came to the knowledge of himself.—"For want of this knowledge," continued he, "and believing myself, through the excessive praises that were lavished upon me, to be something very different from what I am, I accepted the title of generalissimo of the whole army, and unadvisedly engaged in a war against a prince, infinitely my superior in all respects. But now that I am instructed by my defeat, and begin to know myself, I believe I am

going to begin to be happy; and if you prove favourable to me, for my fate is in your hands, I shall certainly be so." Cyrus, touched with compassion at the misfortune of the king, who was fallen in a moment from so great an elevation, and admiring his composure under such a reverse of fortune, treated him with a great deal of clemency and kindness, suffering him to enjoy both the title and authority of king, under the restriction of not having the power to make war; that is to say, he discharged him, as Crœsus acknowledged himself, from all the burdensome part of regal power, and truly enabled him to lead an happy life, exempted from all care and disquiet. From thenceforward he took him with him in all his expeditions, either out of esteem for him, and to have the benefit of his counsel, or out of policy, and to be the more secure of his person.

Two answers in particular, given by the Delphic oracle, had induced Crœsus to engage in the war which proved so fatal to him. The one was, that he, Crœsus, was to believe himself in danger, when the Medes should have a mule to reign over them; the other, that when he should pass the river Halys, to make war against the Medes, he would destroy a mighty empire. From the first of these oracular answers he concluded, considering the impossibility of the thing spoken of, that he had nothing to fear; and from the second, he conceived hopes of subverting the empire of the Medes. When he found things had happened quite contrary to his expectations, with Cyrus's leave he dispatched messengers to Delphos, in order to make a present to the god,

in his name, of a golden chain, and at the same time to reproach him for having so basely deceived him by his oracles, notwithstanding all the vast presents and offerings he had made him. The god was at no great pains to justify his answers. The mule which the oracle meant was Cyrus, who derived his extraction from two different nations, being a Persian by the father's side, and a Mede by the mother's; and as to the great empire which Crœsus was to overthrow, the oracle did not mean that of the Medes, but his own.

It was by such false and deceitful oracles, that the father of lies, the devil, who was the author of them, imposed upon mankind in those times of ignorance and darkness, always giving his answers to those that consulted him, in such ambiguous and doubtful terms, that, let the event be what it would, they contained a relative meaning.

PART II.

The History of the Besieging and Taking of Babylon, by Cyrus.

As the taking of Babylon is one of the greatest events in ancient history, and as the principal circumstances, with which it was attended, were foretold in the holy Scriptures many years before it happened, I think it not improper, before I give an account of what the profane writers say of it, briefly to put together what we find upon

the same head in the sacred pages, that the reader may be the more capable of comparing the predictions and the accomplishment of them together.

God Almighty was pleased, not only to cause the captivity which his people were to suffer at Babylon to be foretold a long time before it came to pass, but likewise to set down the exact number of years it was to last. The term he fixed for it was seventy years, after which he promised he would deliver them, by bringing a remarkable and an eternal destruction upon the city of Babylon, the place of their bondage and confinement. "And these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years," Jer. xxv. 11.

That which kindled the wrath of God against Babylon was, 1. Her insupportable pride; 2. Her inhuman cruelty towards the Jews; and, 3. The sacrilegious impiety of her king.

1. Her pride. She believed herself to be invincible. She says in her heart, I am the queen of nations, and I shall remain so for ever. There is no power equal to mine. All other powers are either subject or tributary to me, or in alliance with me. I shall never know either barrenness or widowhood. Eternity is written in my destiny, according to the observation of all those that have consulted the stars to know it. Isaiah, xlvii. 7, 8, 9.

2. Her cruelty. It is God himself that complains of it. I was willing, says he, to punish my people in such a manner as a father chastiseth his children. I sent them for a time into banishment at Babylon, with a design to recal them as

soon as they were become more thankful and more faithful. But Babylon and her prince have converted my paternal chastisement into such a cruel and inhuman treatment, as my clemency abhors. Their design has been to destroy; mine was to save. The banishment they have turned into a severe bondage and captivity, and have shewn no compassion or regard, either to age, or infirmity, or virtue. Isaiah, xlvii. 6.

3. The sacrilegious impiety of her king. To the pride and cruelty of his predecessors, Baltazar added an impiety that was peculiar to himself. He did not only prefer his false divinities to the true and only God, but imagined himself likewise to have vanquished his power, because he was possessed of the vessels which had belonged to his worship; and, as if he meant it to affront him, he affected to apply these holy vessels to profane uses. This was the provoking circumstance that brought down the wrath of God upon him.

"Make bright the arrows, gather the shields;" it is the prophet that speaks to the Medes and Persians. "The Lord hath raised up the spirit of the kings of the Medes, for his device is against Babylon to destroy it, because it is the vengeance of the Lord, the vengeance of his temple." Jer. li. 11.

"Howl ye, for the day of the Lord is at hand, a day cruel both with wrath and fierce anger, to lay the land desolate."—Isa. xiii. 6, 9. "Behold, I will punish the king of Babylon and his land, as I have punished the king of Assyria." Jer. l. 18.

"Shout against her round about. Recom-

pense her according to her work; according to all that she hath done, do unto her; and spare ye not her young men; destroy ye utterly all her host."—Jer. l. 15, 19. and li. 3. "Every one that is found shall be thrust through, and every one that is joined unto them shall fall by the sword. Their children also shall be dashed to pieces before their eyes, their houses shall be spoiled, and their wives ravished. Behold, I will stir up the Medes against them, who shall not regard silver; and as for gold, they shall not delight in it. Their bows also shall dash the young men to pieces, and they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb; their eye shall not spare children."—Isa. xiii. 15, 18. "O daughter of Babylon, who art to be destroyed, happy shall he be that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us.—Happy shall he be, that taketh thy children, and dasheth them against the stones." Psal. cxxxvii. 8, 9.

Cyrus, whom the divine Providence was to make use of, as an instrument for the executing of his designs of goodness and mercy towards his people, was mentioned in the scripture by his name, above two hundred years before he was born. And, that the world might not be surprised at the prodigious rapidity of his conquests, God was pleased to declare, in very lofty and remarkable terms, that he himself would be his guide; and that in all his expeditions he would lead him by the hand, and would subdue all the princes of the earth before him. "Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before

him; and I will loose the loins of kings, to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut. I will go before thee, and make the crooked places straight. I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron. And I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places, that thou mayest know, that I the Lord, which call thee by thy name, am the God of Israel: for Jacob my servant's sake, and Israel mine elect, I have even called thee by thy name: I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me." Isa. xlv. 1—4.

"Lift ye up a banner," saith the Lord, "upon the high mountain," that it may be seen afar off, and that all they who are to obey me may know my orders. "Exalt the voice unto them" that are able to hear you. "Shake the hand," and make a sign to hasten the march of those that are too far off to distinguish another sort of command. Let the officers of the troops "go into the gates of the nobles," into the pavilions of their kings.—Isa. xiii. 2. Let the people of each nation range themselves around their sovereign, and make haste to offer him their service, and to go into his tent, which is already set up.

"I have commanded my sanctified ones;" I have given my orders to those whom I sanctified for the execution of my designs; and these kings are already marching to obey me, though they know me not. It is I that have placed them upon the throne, that have made several nations subject to them, in order to accomplish my de-

signs by their ministration. "I have called my mighty ones for mine anger." I have caused the mighty warriors to come up, to be the ministers and executioners of my wrath and vengeance. From me they derive their courage, their martial abilities, their patience, their wisdom, and the success of their enterprises. If they are invincible, it is because they serve me: every thing gives way, and trembles before them, because they are the ministers of my wrath and indignation. They joyfully labour for my glory, "they rejoice in my highness."—Isa. xiii. 3. The honour they have of being under my command, and of being sent to deliver a people that I love, inspires them with ardour and cheerfulness: behold, they triumph already in a certain assurance of victory.

The prophet, a witness in spirit of the orders that are just given, is astonished at the swiftness, with which they are executed by the princes and the people. I hear already, he cries out, "The noise of a multitude in the mountains, like as of a great people; a tumultuous noise of the kingdoms of nations gathered together.—Isa. xiii. 4. The Lord of hosts mustereth the host of the battle: They come from a far country, from the end of heaven," where the voice of God, their Master and Sovereign, has reached their ears.—verse 5.

But it is not with the sight of the formidable army, or of the kings of the earth, that I am now struck; it is God himself that I behold; all the rest are but his retinue, and the ministers of his justice. "It is even the Lord, and the weapons of his indignation, to destroy the whole land."

"A grievous vision is declared unto me:" The impious Baltazar, king of Babylon, continues to act impiously; "the treacherous dealer dealeth treacherously, and the spoiler spoileth." To put an end to these excesses, go up, thou prince of Persia: "Go up, O Elam:" and thou prince of the Medes, besiege thou Babylon: "Besiege, O Media; all the sighing, which she was the cause of, have I made to cease:"—Isa. xxi. 2. That wicked city is taken and pillaged; her power is at an end, and my people is delivered.

There is nothing, methinks, that can be more proper to raise a profound reverence in us for religion, and to give us a great idea of the Deity, than to observe with what exactness he reveals to his prophets the principal circumstances of the besieging and taking of Babylon, not only many years, but several ages, before it happened.

1. We have already seen, that the army, by which Babylon will be taken, is to consist of Medes and Persians, and to be commanded by Cyrus.

2. The city shall be attacked after a very extraordinary manner, in a way that she did not at all expect: "Therefore shall evil come upon thee; thou shalt not know from whence it riseth."—Isa. xlvii. 11. She shall be all on a sudden and in an instant overwhelmed with calamities, which she did not foresee: "Desolation shall come upon thee suddenly, which thou shalt not know." In a word, she shall be taken, as it were, in a net or a gin, before she perceiveth that any snares have been laid for her: "I have laid a snare for thee, and thou art also taken, O Babylon, and thou wast not aware."—Jer. l. 24.

3. Babylon reckoned that the Euphrates alone was sufficient to render her impregnable, and triumphed in her being so advantageously situated and defended by so deep a river: "O thou that dwellest upon many waters."—Jer. li. 13. It is God himself who points out Babylon under that description. And yet that very river Euphrates shall be the cause of her ruin. Cyrus, by a stratagem, of which there never had been any example before, nor has there been any thing like it since, shall divert the course of that river, shall lay its channel dry, and by that means open himself a passage into the city: "I will dry up her sea, and make her springs dry. A drought is upon her waters, and they shall be dried up."—Jer. l. 38. and li. 36. Cyrus shall take possession of the keys of the river; and the waters, which rendered Babylon inaccessible, shall be dried up, as if they had been consumed by fire: "The passages are stopped, and the reeds they have burnt with fire."—Jer. li. 32.

4. She shall be taken in the night-time, upon a day of feasting and rejoicing, even whilst her inhabitants are at table, and think upon nothing but eating and drinking: "In her heat I will make their feasts, and I will make them drunken, that they may rejoice, and sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake, saith the Lord."—It is remarkable, that it is God who does all this, who lays a snare for Babylon; "I have laid a snare for thee;" who drieth up the waters of the river; "I will dry up her sea;" and who brings that drunkenness and drowsiness upon her princes "I will make drunk her princes."—Jer. li. 57.

5. The king shall be seized in an instant with an incredible terror and perturbation of mind: "My loins are filled with pain; pangs have taken hold on me, as the pangs of a woman that travaileth: I was bowed down at the hearing of it; I was dismayed at the seeing of it: my heart panted, fearfulness affrighted me: the night of my pleasure hath he turned into fear unto me."—Isa. xxi. 3, 4. This is the condition Baltazar was in, when, in the middle of the entertainment, he saw a hand come out of the wall, which wrote such characters upon it, as none of his diviners could either explain or read; but more especially when Daniel declared to him, that those characters imported the sentence of his death: "Then," says the scripture, "the king's countenance was changed, and his thoughts troubled him, so that the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against another."—Dan. v. 6. The terror, astonishment, fainting, and trembling of Baltazar, are here described and expressed in the same manner by the prophet who was an eye-witness of them, as they were by the prophet who foretold them two hundred years before.

But Isaiah must have had an extraordinary measure of divine illumination, to be able to add, immediately after the description of Baltazar's consternation, the following words: "Prepare the table, watch in the watch-tower; eat, drink."—Isa. xxi. 5. The prophet foresees, that Baltazar, though terribly dismayed and confounded at first, shall recover his courage and spirit again, through the exhortations of his courtiers; but more particularly through the persuasion of the queen, his

mother, who represented to him the unreasonableness of being affected with such unmanly fears, and unnecessary alarms: "Let not thy thoughts trouble thee, nor let thy countenance be changed."—Dan. v. 10. They exhorted him, therefore, to make himself easy, to satisfy himself with giving proper orders, and with the assurance of being advertised of every thing by the vigilance of the centinels; to order the rest of the supper to be served, as if nothing had happened; and to recal that gaiety and joy, which his excessive fears had banished from the table; "Prepare the table, watch in the watch-tower; eat, drink."

6. But at the same time that men are giving their orders, God on his part is likewise giving his: "Arise, ye princes, and anoint the shield." Isa. xxi. 5. It is God himself that commands the princes to advance, to take their arms, and to enter boldly into a city drowned in wine and buried in sleep.

7. Isaiah acquaints us with two material and important circumstances concerning the taking of Babylon. The first is, that the troops with which it is filled, shall not keep their ground, or stand firm any where, neither at the palace, nor the citadel, nor any other public place whatsoever; that they shall desert and leave one another, without thinking of any thing but making their escape; that in running away they shall disperse themselves, and take different roads, just as a flock of deer, or of sheep, is dispersed and scattered, when they are affrighted: "And it shall be as a chased roe, and as a sheep that no man taketh

up."—Isa. xiii. 14. The second circumstance is, that the greatest part of those troops, though they were in the Babylonian service and pay, were not Babylonians; and that they shall return into the provinces from whence they came, without being pursued by the conquerors; because the divine vengeance was chiefly to fall upon the citizens of Babylon: "They shall every man turn to his own people, and flee every one into his own land."—Isa. xiii. 14.

8. Lastly, not to mention the dreadful slaughter which is to be made of the inhabitants of Babylon, where no mercy will be shewn, either to old men, women, or children, or even to the child that is still within its mother's womb, as has been already taken notice of; the last circumstance, I say, the prophet foretells, is the death of the king himself, whose body is to have no burial, and the entire extinction of the royal family; both which calamities are described in the scripture, after a manner equally terrible and instructive to all princes. "But thou art cast out of thy grave, like an abominable branch. Thou shalt not be joined with them (thy ancestors) in burial, because thou hast destroyed thy land, and slain thy people." Isa. xiv. 19, 20. That king is justly forgot, who has never remembered that he ought to be the protector and father of his people. He that has lived only to ruin and destroy his country, is unworthy of the common privilege of burial. As he has been an enemy to mankind, living or dead, he ought to have no place amongst them. He was like unto the wild beasts of the field, and like them he shall be buried: and since he had

no sentiments of humanity himself, he deserves to meet with no humanity from others. This is the sentence, which God himself pronounceth against Baltazar: and the malediction extends itself to his children, who were looked upon as his associates in the throne, and as the source of a long posterity and succession of kings, and were entertained with nothing by the flattering courtiers, but the pleasing prospects and ideas of their future grandeur. "Prepare slaughter for his children, for the iniquity of their fathers; that they do not rise, nor possess the land. For I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of hosts, and cut off from Babylon the name and remnant, and son and nephew, saith the Lord."—Isa. xiv. 21, 22.

The Taking of Babylon.

AFTER having seen the predictions of every thing that was to happen to impious Babylon, it is now time to come to the completion and accomplishment of those prophecies; and in order thereto, we must resume the thread of our history, with respect to the taking of that city.

The siege of this important place was no easy enterprise. The walls of it were of a prodigious height, and appeared to be inaccessible, without mentioning the immense number of people within them for their defence. Besides, the city was stored with all sorts of provisions for twenty years. However, these difficulties did not discourage Cyrus from pursuing his design. But despairing to take the place by storm, or assault, he made them believe his design was to reduce it by famine. To which end he caused a line of

circumvallation to be drawn quite round the city, with a large and deep ditch; and, that his troops might not be over-fatigued, he divided his army into twelve bodies, and assigned each of them its month for guarding the trenches. The besieged, thinking themselves out of all danger, by reason of their ramparts and magazines, insulted Cyrus from the top of their walls, and laughed at all his attempts, and all the trouble he gave himself, as so much unprofitable labour. But as soon as Cyrus saw that the ditch, which they had long worked upon, was finished, he began to think seriously upon the execution of his vast design, which as yet he had communicated to nobody. Providence soon furnished him with as fit an opportunity for this purpose as he could desire. He was informed, that in the city, on such a day, a great feast was to be celebrated; and that the Babylonians, on occasion of that solemnity, were accustomed to pass the whole night in drinking and debauchery.

Baltazar himself was more concerned in this public rejoicing than any other, and gave a magnificent entertainment to the chief officers of the kingdom, and the ladies of the court. In the heat of his wine he ordered the gold and silver vessels, which had been taken from the temple of Jerusalem, to be brought out; and, as an insult upon the God of Israel, he, his whole court, and all his concubines, drank out of those sacred vessels. God, who was provoked at such insolence and impiety, in the very action made him sensible who it was that he affronted, by a sudden appearance of a hand writing certain characters

upon a wall. The king, terribly surprised and affrighted at this vision, immediately sent for all his wise men, his diviners, and astrologers, that they might read the writing to him, and explain the meaning of it. But they all came in vain, not one of them being able to expound the matter, or even to read the characters. It is probably in relation to this occurrence, that Isaiah, after having foretold to Babylon, that she should be overwhelmed with calamities which she did not expect, adds, "Stand now with thine inchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries. Let now the astrologers, the star-gazers, the monthly prognosticators, stand up, and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee," Isa. xlvii. 12, 13. The queen-mother, Nitocris, a princess of great merit, coming upon the noise of this prodigy into the banqueting-room, endeavoured to compose the spirit of the king, her son, advising him to send for Daniel, with whose abilities in such matters she was well acquainted, and whom she had always employed in the government of the state.

Daniel was therefore immediately sent for, and spoke to the king with a freedom and liberty becoming a prophet. He put him in mind of the dreadful manner in which God had punished the pride of his grandfather Nebuchadnezzar, and the crying abuse he made of his power, when he acknowledged no law but his own will, and thought himself master to exalt and to abase, to inflict destruction and death wheresoever he would, only because such was his will and pleasure. "And thou his son," says he to the king,

"hast not humbled thine heart, though thou knewest all this, but hast lifted up thyself against the Lord of heaven; and they have brought the vessels of his house before thee, and thou and thy lords, thy wives, and thy concubines, have drank wine in them; and thou hast praised the gods of silver and gold, of brass, iron, wood and stone, which see not, nor hear, nor know: and the God in whose hand thy breath is, and whose are all thy ways, hast thou not glorified. Then was the part of the hand sent from him, and this writing was written. And this is the writing that was written, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN. This is the interpretation of the thing; MENE, God hath numbered thy kingdom and finished it; TEKEL, thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting; PERES, thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians." Dan. v. 22, &c. This interpretation, one would think, should have enhanced the king's trouble; but some way or other they found means to dispel his fears, and make him easy; probably upon a persuasion, that the calamity was not denounced as present or immediate, and that time might furnish them with expedients to avert it. This however is certain, that for fear of disturbing the general joy of the present festival, they put off the discussion of serious matters to another time, and sat down again to their mirth and liquor, and continued their revellings to a very late hour.

Cyrus, in the mean time, well informed of the confusion that was generally occasioned by this festival, both in the palace and the city, had posted a part of his troops on that side where the

river entered into the city, and another part on that side where it went out, and had commanded them to enter the city that very night, by marching along the channel of the river, as soon as ever they found it fordable. Having given all necessary orders, and exhorted his officers to follow him, by representing to them that he marched under the conduct of the gods; in the evening he made them open the great receptacles, or ditches, on both sides of the town, above and below, that the water of the river might run into them. By this means the Euphrates was quickly emptied, and its channel became dry. Then the two fore-mentioned bodies of troops, according to their orders, went into the channel, the one commanded by Gobryas, and the other by Gadates, and advanced towards each other without meeting with any obstacle. The invisible Guide, who had promised to open all the gates to Cyrus, made the general negligence and disorder of that riotous night serve to the leaving open of the gates of brass, which were made to shut up the descents from the quays to the river, and which alone, if they had not been left open, were sufficient to have defeated the whole enterprise. Thus did these two bodies of troops penetrate into the very heart of the city without any opposition, and meeting together at the royal palace, according to their agreement, surprised the guards, and cut them to pieces. Some of the company that were within the palace opening the doors, to know what noise it was they heard without, the soldiers rushed in, and quickly made themselves masters of it. And meeting the king,

who came up to them sword in hand, at the head of those that were in the way to succour him, they killed him, and put all those that attended him to the sword. These words are Xenophon's, and are very remarkable, as they so perfectly agree with what the scriptures have recorded of the impious Baltazar.

The taking of Babylon put an end to the Babylonian empire, after a duration of two hundred and ten years from the beginning of Nebuchodonosor's reign, who was the founder thereof. Thus was the power of that proud city abolished, just fifty years after she had destroyed the city of Jerusalem and her temple. And herein were accomplished these predictions which the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel, had denounced against her, and of which we have already given a particular account. There is still one more, the most important and the most incredible of them all, and yet the scripture has set it down in the strongest terms, and marked it out with the greatest exactness; a prediction literally fulfilled in all its points, the proof of which still actually subsists, is the most easy to be verified, and indeed of a nature not to be contested. What I mean is, the prediction of so total and absolute a ruin of Babylon, that not the least remains or footsteps should be left of it.

This we find recorded in several of the prophets, but particularly in Isaiah, in the 13th chapter, from the 19th to the 22d verse, and in the 23d and 24th verses of the 16th chapter. It is there declared, that Babylon should be utterly

destroyed, as the criminal cities of Sodom and Gomorrah formerly were; that she shall be no more inhabited; that she shall never be rebuilt; that the Arabs shall not so much as set up their tents there; that neither herdsman nor shepherd shall come thither even to rest his herd or his flock; that it shall become a dwelling-place for the wild beasts, and a retreat for the birds of the night; that the place where it stood shall be covered over with a marsh, or fen, so that no mark or footstep shall be left to shew where Babylon had been. It was God himself who pronounced this sentence, and it is for the service of religion, to shew how exactly every article of it has been successively accomplished.

1. In the *first* place, Babylon ceased to be a royal city, the kings of Persia choosing to reside elsewhere. They delighted more in Shusan, Ecbatana, Persepolis, or any other place, and did themselves destroy a good part of Babylon.

2. We are informed by Strabo and Pliny, that the Macedonians, who succeeded the Persians, did not only neglect it, and forbear to make any embellishments, or even reparations in it, but that moreover they built Seleucia in the neighbourhood, on purpose to draw away its inhabitants, and cause it to be deserted. Nothing can better explain what the prophet had foretold, "It shall not be inhabited." Its own masters endeavour to depopulate it.

3. The new kings of Persia, who afterwards became masters of Babylon, completed the ruin of it, by building Ctesiphon, which carried away

all the remainder of the inhabitants; so that, from the time the anathema was pronounced against that city, it seems as if those very persons that ought to have protected her, were become her enemies: as if they had all thought it their duty to reduce her to a state of solitude, by indirect means, though without using any violence; that it might the more manifestly appear to be the hand of God, rather than the hand of man, which brought about her destruction.

4. She was so totally forsaken, that nothing of her was left remaining but the walls. And to this condition was she reduced at the time when Pausanias wrote his remarks upon Greece.

5. The kings of Persia finding the place deserted, made a park of it, in which they kept wild beasts for hunting. Thus did it become, as the prophet had foretold, a dwelling-place for ravenous beasts, that are enemies to man; or for timorous animals, that flee before him. Instead of citizens, she was now inhabited by wild boars, leopards, bears, deer, and wild asses. Babylon was now the retreat of fierce, savage, deadly creatures, that hate the light, and delight in darkness. "Wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and dragons shall dwell in their pleasant palaces."—Isa. xiii. 21, 22.

6. But it was still too much that the walls of Babylon were standing. At length they fell down in several places, and were never repaired. Various accidents destroyed the remainder. The animals, which served for pleasure to the Persian kings, abandoned the place; serpents and scorpions remained, so that it became a dreadful

place for persons that should have the curiosity to visit, or search after its antiquities. The Euphrates, that used to run through the city, having no longer a free channel, took its course another way; so that, in Theodoret's time, there was but a very little stream of water left, which ran across the ruins, and, not meeting with a descent or free passage, necessarily degenerated into a marsh.

In the time of Alexander the Great, the river had quitted its ordinary channel, by reason of the outlets and canals which Cyrus had made, and of which we have already given an account; these outlets, being ill stopped up, had occasioned a great inundation in the country. Alexander, designing to fix the seat of his empire at Babylon, projected the bringing back of the Euphrates into its natural and former channel, and had actually set his men to work. But the Almighty, who watched over the fulfilling of his prophecy, and who declared he would destroy even to the very remains and footsteps of Babylon, "I will cut off from Babylon the name and remnant," Isa. xiv. 22. defeated this enterprise by the death of Alexander, which happened soon after. It is easy to comprehend how, after this, Babylon being neglected to such a degree as we have seen, its river was converted into an inaccessible pool, which covered the very place where that impious city had stood, as Isaiah had foretold, "I will make it pools of water."—chap. xiv. 23. And this was necessary, lest the place where Babylon had stood should be discovered hereafter by the course of the Euphrates.

7. By means of all these changes, Babylon became an utter desert, and all the country round fell into the same state of desolation and horror; so that the most able geographers at this day cannot determine the place where it stood. In this manner God's prediction was literally fulfilled; I myself, saith the Lord, will examine with a jealous eye, to see if there be any remains of that city, which was an enemy to my name and to Jerusalem. I will thoroughly sweep the place where it stood, and will clear it so effectually, by defacing every footstep of the city, that no person shall be able to preserve the memory of the place chosen by Nimrod, and which I, who am the Lord, have abolished. "I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts."

8. God was not satisfied with causing all these alterations to be foretold, but, to give the greater assurance of their certainty, thought fit to seal the prediction of them by an oath. "The Lord of hosts hath sworn, saying, Surely as I have thought, so shall it come to pass; and as I have purposed, so shall it stand."—Isa. xiv. 24. But if we would take this dreadful oath in its full latitude, we must not confine it either to Babylon, or to its inhabitants, or to the princes that reigned therein. The malediction relates to the whole world; it is the general anathema pronounced against the wicked; it is the terrible decree, by which the two cities of Babylon and Jerusalem shall be separated for ever, and an eternal divorce be put between the good and the wicked. The scriptures, that have foretold it, shall subsist till

the day of its execution. The sentence is written therein, and deposited, as it were, in the public archives of religion. "The Lord of hosts hath sworn, saying, Surely as I have thought, so shall it come to pass; and as I have purposed, so shall it stand."

What followed upon the Taking of Babylon.

CYRUS entered the city after the manner we have described; put all to the sword that were found in the streets; then commanded the citizens to bring him all their arms, and afterwards to shut themselves up in their houses. The next morning, by break of day, the garrison, which kept the citadel, being apprised that the city was taken, and their king killed, surrendered themselves to Cyrus. Thus did this prince, almost without striking a blow, and without any resistance, find himself in peaceable possession of the strongest place in the world.

The first thing he did was to thank the gods for the success they had given him. And then, having assembled his principal officers, he publicly applauded their courage and prudence, their zeal and attachment to his person, and distributed rewards to his whole army. After which he represented to them, that the only means of preserving what they had acquired, was to persevere in their ancient virtue; that the proper end of victory was not to give themselves up to idleness and pleasure; that, after having conquered their enemies by force of arms, it would be shameful to suffer themselves to be overcome by the allurements of pleasure; that, in order to

maintain their ancient glory, it behoved them to keep up amongst the Persians at Babylon the same discipline they had observed in their own country, and as a means thereto, take a particular care to give their children education. This, says he, will necessarily engage us daily to make further advancements in virtue, as it will oblige us to be diligent and careful in setting them good examples; nor will it be easy for them to be corrupted, when they shall neither hear nor see any thing amongst us but what excites them to virtue, and shall be continually employed in honourable and laudable exercises.

Cyrus committed the different parts and offices of his government to different persons, according to their various talents and qualifications; but the care of forming or appointing general officers, governors of provinces, ministers and ambassadors, he reserved to himself, looking upon that as the proper duty and employment of a king, upon which depended his glory, the success of his affairs, and the happiness and tranquillity of his kingdom. His great talent was to study the particular character of men, in order to place every one in his proper sphere, to give them authority in proportion to their merit, to make their private advancement concur with the public good, and to make the whole machine of the state move in so regular a manner, that every part should have a dependence upon, and mutually contribute to support each other; and that the strength of one should not exert itself but for the benefit and advantage of the rest. Each person had his district, and his particular sphere of bu-

siness, of which he gave an account to another above him, and he again to a third, and so on, till, by these different degrees and regular subordination, the cognizance of affairs came to the king himself, who did not stand idle in the midst of all this motion, but was, as it were, the soul to the body of the state, which, by this means, he governed with as much ease as a father governs his private family.

When he afterwards sent governors, called *satrapæ*, into the provinces under his subjection, he would not suffer the particular governors of places, or the commanding officers of the troops, kept on foot for the security of the country, to depend upon those provincial governors, or to be subject to any one but himself; that if any of the *satrapæ*, elated with his power or riches, made an ill use of his authority, there might be found witnesses and censors of his mal-administration within his own government. For there was nothing he so carefully avoided, as the trusting any one man with an absolute power, as knowing that a prince will quickly have reason to repent his having exalted one person so high, that all others are thereby abased and kept under.

Thus Cyrus established wonderful order with respect to his military affairs, his treasury, and civil government. In all the provinces he had persons of approved integrity, who gave him an account of every thing that passed. He made it his principal care to honour and reward all such as distinguished themselves by their merit, or were eminent in any respect whatever. He

preferred clemency to martial courage, because the latter is often the cause of ruin and desolation to whole nations, whereas the former is always beneficial and useful. He was sensible, that good laws contribute very much to the forming and preserving of good manners; but, in his opinion, the prince, by his example, was to be a living law to his people: nor did he think a man worthy to reign over others, unless he was more wise and virtuous than those he governed: He was also persuaded, that the surest means for a prince to gain the respect of his courtiers, and of such as approached his person, was to have so much regard for them, as never to do or to say any thing before them, contrary to the rules of decency and good manners.

Liberality he looked upon as a virtue truly royal; nor did he think there was any thing great or valuable in riches, but the pleasure of distributing them to others. "I have prodigious riches," says he to his courtiers, "I own, and I am glad the world knows it; but you may assure yourselves, they are as much yours as mine. For to what end should I heap up wealth? For my own use, and to consume it myself? That would be impossible, if I desired it. No; the chief end I aim at, is to have it in my power to reward those who serve the public faithfully, and to succour and relieve those that will acquaint me with their wants and necessities."

Crœsus one day represented to him, that by continual giving, he would at last make himself poor; whereas he might have amassed infinite treasures, and have been the richest prince in the

world. "And to what sum," replied Cyrus, "do you thing those treasures might have amounted?" Crœsus named a certain sum, which was immensely great. Cyrus thereupon ordered a little note to be written to the lords of his court, in which it was signified to them, that he had occasion for money. Immediately a much larger sum was brought to him than Crœsus had mentioned. "Look here," says Cyrus to him, "here are my treasures; the chests I keep my riches in, are the hearts and affections of my subjects."

But as much as he esteemed liberality, he still laid a greater stress upon kindness and condescension, affability and humanity, which are qualities still more engaging, and more apt to acquire the affection of a people, which is properly to reign. For a prince to be more generous than others in giving, when he is infinitely more rich than they, has nothing in it so surprising or extraordinary, as to descend in a manner from the throne, and to put himself upon a level with his subjects.

But what Cyrus preferred to all other things, was the worship of the gods, and a respect for religion. Upon this, therefore, he thought himself obliged to bestow his first and principal care, as soon as he became more at leisure, and more master of his time, by the conquest of Babylon. He began by establishing a number of magi, to sing daily a morning-service of praise to the honour of the gods, and to offer sacrifices; which was always practised among them in succeeding ages.

The prince's disposition quickly became, as is usual, the prevailing disposition among his people;

and his example became the rule of their conduct. The Persians, who saw that Cyrus's reign had been but one continued chain and series of prosperity and success, believed, that by serving the gods as he did, they should be blessed with the like happiness and prosperity: besides, they were sensible that it was the surest way to please their prince, and to make their court to him successfully. Cyrus, on the other hand, was extremely glad to find them have such sentiments of religion, being convinced, that whosoever sincerely fears and worships God, will at the same time be faithful to his king, and preserve an inviolable attachment to his person, and to the welfare of the state. All this is excellent, but is only true and real in the true religion.

When Cyrus had given orders about every thing relating to the government, he resolved to shew himself publicly to his people, and to his new conquered subjects, in a solemn august ceremony of religion, by marching a pompous cavalcade to the places consecrated to the gods, in order to offer sacrifices to them. In this procession Cyrus thought fit to display all possible splendour and magnificence, to catch and dazzle the eyes of the people. This was the first time that prince ever aimed at procuring respect to himself, not only by the attractions of virtue, says the historian, but by such an external pomp as was proper to attract the multitude, and worked like a charm or enchantment upon their imaginations. He ordered the superior officers of the Persians and the allies to attend him, and gave each of them a suit of clothes after the Median

fashion, that is to say, long garments, which hung down to the feet. These clothes were of various colours, all of the finest and brightest dye, and richly embroidered with gold and silver. Besides those that were for themselves, he gave them others, very splendid also, but less costly, to present to the subaltern officers. It was on this occasion the Persians first dressed themselves after the maner of the Medes, and began to imitate them in colouring their eyes, to make them appear more lively, and in painting their faces, in order to beautify their complexions.

When the day appointed for the ceremony was come, the whole company assembled at the king's palace by break of day. Four thousand of the guards drawn up four deep, placed themselves in front of the palace, and two thousand on the two sides of it, ranged in the same order. The whole cavalry were also drawn out, the Persians on the right, and that of the allies on the left. The chariots of war were ranged half on one side, and half on the other. As soon as the palace-gates were opened, a great number of bulls of exquisite beauty were led out by four and four: these were to be sacrificed to Jupiter and other gods, according to the ceremonies prescribed by the Magi. Next followed the horses that were to be sacrificed to the sun. Immediately after them a white chariot, crowned with flowers, the pole of which was gilt: this was to be offered to Jupiter. Then came a second chariot of the same colour, and adorned in the same manner, to be offered to the sun. After these followed a third, the horses of which were caparisoned with

scarlet housings. Behind came the men, who carried the sacred fire in a large hearth. When all these were on their march, Cyrus himself began to appear upon his car, with his upright tiara upon his head, encircled with the royal diadem. His under tunic was of purple mixed with white, which was a colour peculiar to kings. Over his other garments he wore a large purple cloak. His hands were uncovered. A little below him sat the master of the horse, who was of a comely stature, but not so tall as Cyrus, for which reason the stature of the latter appeared still more advantageously. As soon as the people perceived the prince, they all fell prostrate before him, and worshipped him; whether it was, that certain persons appointed on purpose, and placed at proper distances, led others on by their example, or that the people were moved to do it of their own accord, being struck with the appearance of so much pomp and magnificence, and with so many awful circumstances of majesty and splendour. The Persians had never prostrated themselves in this manner before Cyrus, till on this occasion.

When Cyrus's chariot was come out of the palace, the four thousand guards began to march: the other two thousand moved at the same time, and placed themselves on each side of the chariot. The great officers of the king's household, to the number of three hundred, richly clad, with javelins in their hands, and mounted upon stately horses, marched immediately after the chariot. After them followed two hundred led horses of the king's stable, each of them having embroider-

ed furniture and bits of gold. Next came the Persian cavalry, divided into four bodies, each consisting of ten thousand men; then the Median horse, and after those the cavalry of the allies. The chariots of war, four in a breast, marched in the rear, and closed the procession.

In order to recreate the people after this grave and solemn ceremony, Cyrus thought fit that it should conclude with games, and horse and chariot races. The place where they were was large and spacious. He ordered a certain portion of it to be marked out, about the quantity of five stadia, (better than half a mile) and proposed prizes for the victors of each nation, which were to encounter separately, and among themselves. He himself won the prize in the Persian horse-races, for nobody was so complete an horseman as he. The chariots ran but two at a time, one against another.

This kind of racing continued a long time afterwards amongst the Persians, except only, that it was not always attended with sacrifices. All the ceremonies being ended, they returned to the city in the same order.

Some days after, Cyrus, to celebrate the victory he had obtained in the horse-races, gave a great entertainment to all his chief officers, as well strangers as Medes and Persians. They had never yet seen any thing of the kind so sumptuous and magnificent. At the conclusion of the feast he made every one a noble present: so that they all went home with hearts overflowing with joy, admiration, and gratitude: and all-powerful as he was, master of all the East, and so many

kingdoms, he did not think it descending from his majesty to conduct the whole company to the door of his apartment. Such were the manners and behaviour of those ancient times, when men understood how to unite great simplicity with the highest degree of human grandeur.

PART III.

From the Taking of Babylon to the Death of Cyrus.

CYRUS, finding himself master of all the East by the taking of Babylon, did not imitate the example of most other conquerors, who sully the glory of their victories by a voluptuous and effeminate life; to which they fancy they may justly abandon themselves after their past toils, and the long course of hardships they have gone through. He thought it incumbent upon him to maintain his reputation by the same methods he had acquired it, that is, by a prudent conduct, by a laborious and active life, and a continual application to the duties of his high station.

Cyrus takes a Journey into Persia. Daniel's Credit and Power.

WHEN he had sufficiently regulated his affairs at Babylon, he thought proper to take a journey into Persia. In his way thither he went through Media, to visit his uncle Cyaxares, to whom he carried very magnificent presents, telling him, at the same time, that he would find a noble palace

at Babylon, all ready prepared for him, whenever he would be pleased to go thither; and that he was to look upon that city as his own. Indeed Cyrus, as long as his uncle lived, held the empire only in copartnership with him, though he had entirely conquered and acquired it by his own valour. Nay, so far did he carry his complaisance, that he let his uncle enjoy the first rank. This is the Cyaxares, which is called in scripture Darius the Mede; and we shall find, that under his reign, which lasted but two years, Daniel had several revelations. It appears, that Cyrus, when he returned from Persia, carried Cyaxares with him to Babylon.

When they were arrived there, they concerted together a scheme of government for the whole empire. They divided it into an hundred and twenty provinces. And that the prince's orders might be conveyed with the greater expedition, Cyrus caused post-houses to be erected at proper distances, where the expresses, that travelled day and night, found horses always ready, and by that means performed their journeys with incredible dispatch. The government of these provinces was given to those persons that had assisted Cyrus most, and rendered him the greatest service in the war. Over these governors were appointed three superintendants, who were always to reside at court, and to whom the governors were to give an account from time to time of every thing that passed in their respective provinces, and from whom they were to receive the prince's orders and instructions; so that these three principal ministers had the superintendency

over, and the chief administration of, the great affairs of the whole empire. Of these three Daniel was made chief. Dan. vi. 2, 3. He highly deserved such a preference, not only on account of his great wisdom, which was celebrated throughout all the East, and had appeared in a distinguished manner at Baltazar's feast, but likewise on account of his great age, and consummate experience. For it was full sixty-seven years, from the fourth of Nebuchodonosor, since he had been employed as prime minister of the kings of Babylon

As this distinction had made him the second person in the empire, and placed him immediately under the king, the other courtiers conceived so great a jealousy of him, that they conspired to destroy him. As there was no hold to be taken of him, unless it was on account of the law of his God, to which they knew him inviolably attached, they obtained an edict from Darius, whereby all persons were forbidden to ask any thing whatsoever, for the space of thirty days, either of any god or man, save of the king; and that upon pain of being cast into the den of lions. Now, as Daniel was saying his usual prayers, with his face turned towards Jerusalem, he was surprised, accused, and cast into a den of lions. But being miraculously preserved, and brought out safe and unhurt, his accusers were thrown in, and immediately devoured by those animals. This event still augmented Daniel's credit and reputation. Dan. vi. 4—27.

Towards the end of the same year, which was reckoned the first of Darius the Mede, Daniel,

knowing by the computation he made, that the seventy years of Judah's captivity, determined by the prophet Jeremiah, were drawing towards an end, he prayed earnestly to God, that he would remember his people, rebuild Jerusalem, and look with an eye of mercy upon his holy city, and the sanctuary he had placed therein. Upon which he was assured in a vision, not only of the deliverance of the Jews from their temporal captivity, but likewise of another deliverance much more considerable, namely, a deliverance from the bondage of sin and Satan, which God would procure to his church, and which was to be accomplished at the end of seventy weeks, that were to pass from the time the order should be given for the rebuilding of Jerusalem, that is, after the space of four hundred and ninety years; for, taking each day for a year, according to the language sometimes used in holy scripture, those seventy weeks of years make up exactly four hundred and ninety years. Dan. ix. 1—27.

Cyrus, upon his return to Babylon, had given orders for all his forces to join him there. On the general review made of them, he found they consisted of an hundred and twenty thousand horse, two thousand chariots armed with scythes and six hundred thousand foot. When he had furnished the garrisons with as many of them as were necessary for the defence of the several parts of the empire, he marched with the remainder into Syria, where he regulated the affairs of that province, and then subdued all those countries, as far as the Red Sea, and the confines of Ethiopia.

It was probably in this interval of time, that Daniel was cast into the den of lions, and miraculously delivered from them, as we have just now related.

The beginning of the United Empire of the Persians and Medes. The famous Edict of Cyrus. Daniel's Prophecies.

HERE, properly speaking, begins the empire of the Persians and Medes united under one and the same authority. This empire, from Cyrus, the first king and founder of it, to Darius Codomanus, who was vanquished by Alexander the Great, lasted for the space of two hundred and six years, namely, from the year of the world 3468 to the year 3674.

Cyaxares dying at the end of two years, and Cambyses likewise ending his days in Persia, Cyrus returned to Babylon, and took upon him the government of the empire.

The years of Cyrus's reign are computed differently. Some make it thirty years, beginning from his first setting out from Persia, at the head of an army, to succour his uncle Cyaxares: others make the duration of it to be but seven years, because they date it only from the time when, by the death of Cyaxares and Cambyses, he became sole monarch of the whole empire.

In the first of these seven years precisely, expired the seventieth year of the Babylonish captivity, when Cyrus published the famous edict, whereby the Jews were permitted to return to Jerusalem. There is no question but this edict was obtained by the care and solicitations of Daniel, who was in great credit and authority at

court. That he might the more effectually induce the king to grant him his request, he shewed him undoubtedly the prophecies of Isaiah, wherein, above two hundred years before his birth, he was marked out by name, as a prince appointed by God to be a conqueror, and to reduce a multitude of nations under his dominion; and, at the same time, to be the deliverer of the captive Jews, by ordering their temples to be rebuilt, and Jerusalem and Judea to be repossessed by their ancient inhabitants. I think it may not be improper, in this place, to insert that edict at length, which is certainly the most glorious circumstance in the life of Cyrus, and for which it may be presumed God had endowed him with so many heroic virtues, and blessed him with such an uninterrupted series of victories and success.

"In the first year of Cyrus king of the Persians, that the word of the Lord might be accomplished, that he had promised by the mouth of Jeremy, the Lord raised up the spirit of Cyrus, king of the Persians; and he made proclamation through all his kingdom, and also by writing, saying, Thus saith Cyrus, king of the Persians, The Lord of Israel, the most high Lord, hath made me king of the whole world, and commanded me to build him a house at Jerusalem in Jewry. If, therefore, there be any of you that are of his people, let the Lord, even his Lord, be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem that is in Judea, and build the house of the Lord of Israel; for he is the Lord, that dwelleth in Jerusalem. Whosoever then dwell in the places about, let him help him, those, I say, that are his neighbours, with gold and with

silver; with gifts, with horses, and with cattle, and other things, which have been set forth by vow for the temple of the Lord at Jerusalem."

Cyrus restored at the same time to the Jews all the vessels of the temple of the Lord, which Nebuchodonosor had brought from Jernsalem, and placed in the temple of his god Baal. Shortly after the Jews departed under the conduct of Zerobabel, to return into their own country.

The Samaritans, who had formerly been the declared enemies of the Jews, did all they possibly could to hinder the building of the temple; and though they could not alter Cyrus's decree, yet they prevailed by bribes and under-hand dealings with the ministers and other officers concerned therein, to obstruct the execution of it, so that for several years the building went on very slowly.

It seems to have been out of grief to see the execution of this decree so long retarded, that in the third year of Cyrus, in the first month of that year, Daniel gave himself up to mourning and fasting for three weeks together. He was then near the river Tigris in Persia. When this time of fasting was ended, he saw the vision concerning the succession of the kings of Persia, the empire of the Macedonians, and the conquests of the Romans. This revelation is related in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth chapters of the prophecies of Daniel.

By what we find in the conclusion of the last chapter, we have reason to conjecture that he died soon after; and, indeed, his great age makes it unlikely that he could live much longer; for, at

this time, he must have been at least eighty-five years of age, if we suppose him to have been twelve when he was carried to Babylon with the other captives. From that early age he had given proofs of something more than human wisdom. He was very much considered by all the princes who reigned at Babylon, and was always employed by them with distinction in the administration of their affairs.

Daniel's wisdom did not only reach to things divine and political, but also to arts and sciences, and particularly to that of architecture. Josephus speaks of a famous edifice built by him at Susa, in the manner of a castle, which he says still subsisted in his time, and finished with such wonderful art, that it then seemed as fresh and beautiful as if it had been but newly built. Within this palace the Persian and Parthian kings were usually buried; and for the sake of the founder, the keeping of it was committed to one of the Jewish nation, even to his time. It was a common tradition in those parts for many ages, that Daniel died in that city, and there they shew his monument even to this day. It is certain that he used to go thither from time to time, and he himself tells us, that "he did the king's business there; (Dan. viii. 27.) that is, was governor for the king of Babylon.

I have hitherto deferred making any reflections upon the prophecies of Daniel, which certainly to any reasonable mind are a very convincing proof of the truth of our religion. I shall not dwell upon that which personally related to Nebuchad-

nezzar, and foretold in what manner, for the punishment of his pride, he should be reduced to the condition of the beasts of the field, and after a certain number of years, restored again to his understanding and to his throne. Dan. iv. It is well known, the thing happened exactly according to Daniel's prediction; the king himself relates it in a declaration, addressed to all the people and nations of his empire. Was it possible for Daniel to ascribe such a manifesto or proclamation to Nebuchadnezzar, if it had not been genuine; to speak of it, as a thing sent into all the provinces, if nobody had seen it; and in the midst of Babylon, that was full both of Jews and Gentiles, to publish an attestation of so important a matter, and so injurious to the king, and of which the falsehood must have been notorious to all the world?

I shall content myself with representing very briefly, and under one and the same point of view, the prophecies of Daniel, which signify the succession of four great empires, and which for that reason have an essential and necessary relation to the subject matter of this work.

The first of these prophecies was occasioned by the dream Nebuchadnezzar had of an image composed of different metals,—gold, silver, brass, and iron; which image was broken in pieces and beat as small as dust, by a little stone from the mountain, which afterwards became itself a mountain of extraordinary height and magnitude. Dan. ii. 43, 44.

In the first year of Belthazar, king of Babylon, the same Daniel saw another vision, very like that

which I have just been speaking of: this was the vision of the four large beasts, which came out of the sea. The first was like a lion, and had eagle's wings; the second was like a bear; the third was like a leopard, which had four heads; the fourth and last, still more strong and terrible than the other, had great iron teeth; it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with its feet. From the midst of the ten horns, which this beast had, there came up a little one, which had eyes like those of a man, and a mouth speaking great things, and this horn became greater than the other: the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them, until the Ancient of Days, that is, the everlasting God, came, and sitting upon his throne, surrounded with a thousand millions of angels, pronounced an irreversible judgment upon the four beasts, whose time and duration he had determined, and gave the Son of Man power over all the nations and all the tribes—an everlasting power and dominion which shall not pass away, and a kingdom which shall not be destroyed.

It is generally agreed, that these two visions, the one of the image composed of different metals, the other of the four beasts that came out of the sea, signified so many different monarchies, which were to succeed one another, were to be successively destroyed by each other, and were all to give place to the eternal empire of Jesus Christ, for whom alone they had subsisted. It is also agreed, that these four monarchies were those of the Babylonians, of the Persians and Medes united, of the Macedonians, and the Romans.—

This is plainly demonstrated by the very order of their succession. But where did Daniel see this succession and this order? Who could reveal the changes of empires to him, but He only who is the master of times and monarchies, who has determined every thing by his own decrees, and who, by a supernatural revelation, imparts the knowledge of them to whom he pleases.

In the following chapter this prophet still speaks with greater clearness and precision.—For after having represented the Persian and Macedonian monarchies under the figure of two beasts, he thus expounds his meaning in the plainest manner: The ram, which hath two unequal horns, represents the king of the Medes and Persians; the goat, which overthrows and tramples him under his feet, is the king of the Grecians; and the great horn, which that animal has between his eyes, represents the first king and founder of that monarchy. How did Daniel see, that the Persian empire should be composed of two different nations, Medes and Persians; and that this empire should be destroyed by the power of the Grecians; How did he foresee the rapidity of Alexander's conquests, which he so aptly describes, by saying, that "he touched not the ground?" How did he learn that Alexander should not have any successor equal to himself, and that the first monarch of the Grecian empire should be likewise the most powerful? By what other light than that of divine revelation could he discover, that Alexander would have no son to succeed him; that his empire would be dismembered, and divided into four principal

kingdoms, and his successors would be of his nation, but not of his blood; and that out of the ruins of a monarchy so suddenly formed, several states would be established, of which some would be in the east, others in the west, some in the south, and others in the north? Dan. xi.—3 & 4.

The particulars of the facts foretold in the remainder of the eighth, and in the eleventh chapter, are no less astonishing. How could Daniel, in Cyrus's reign, foretell, that the fourth of Cyrus's successors should gather together all his forces, to attack the Grecian states? How could this prophet, who lived so long before the times of the Maccabees, particularly describe all the persecutions which Antiochus would bring upon the Jews; the manner of his abolishing the sacrifices, which were daily offered in the temple of Jerusalem; the profanation of that holy place, by setting up an idol therein, and the vengeance which God would inflict on him for it? How could he, in the first year of the Persian empire, foretell the wars which Alexander's successors would make in the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, their mutual invasions of one another's territories, their insincerities in their treaties and their marriage-alliances, which would only be made to cloak their fraudulent and perfidious designs? Dan. xi. 5—45.

I leave to the intelligent and curious reader to draw the conclusion which naturally results from these predictions of Daniel; for they are so clear and express, that Porphyry, a professed enemy of the Christian religion, could find no other way of disputiug the divine origin of them, but by pretending that they were written after the events,

and rather a narration of things past, than a prediction of things to come.

Before I conclude this article of Daniel's prophecies, I must desire the reader to remark, what an opposition the Holy Ghost has put between the empires of the world, and the kingdom of Jesus Christ. In the former, every thing appears great, splendid, and magnificent. Strength, power, glory, and majesty, seem to be their natural attendants. In them we easily discern those great warriors, those famous conquerors, those thunderbolts of war, who spread terror every where, and whom nothing could withstand. But then they are represented as wild beasts, as bears, lions and leopards, whose sole attribute is to tear in pieces, to devour, and to destroy. What an image and picture is this of conquerors! How admirably does it instruct us to lessen the ideas we are apt to form, as well of empires, as their founders or governors?

In the empire of Jesus Christ it is quite otherwise. Let us consider its origin and first rise, or carefully examine its progress and growth at all times, and we shall find, that weakness and meanness, if I may be allowed to say so, have always outwardly been two of its true characteristics.—It is the leaven, the grain of mustard-seed, the little stone cut out of the mountain. And yet, in reality, there is no true greatness but in this empire. The eternal Word is the founder and the king thereof. All the thrones of the earth come to pay homage to his, and to bow themselves before him. The end of his reign is the salvation of mankind; it is to make them eternally happy,

and to form to himself a nation of saints and just persons, who are all of them so many kings and conquerors. It is for their sakes only, that the whole world doth subsist; and when the number of them shall be complete, "then," says St. Paul, "cometh the end and consummation of all things, when Jesus Christ shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rules, and all authority and power." 1. Cor. 15—24.

Can a writer, who sees, in the prophecies of Daniel, that the several empires of the world, after having subsisted the time determinated for them by the Sovereign Disposer of kingdoms, do all determine and centre in the empire of Jesus Christ!—can a writer, I say, amidst all these profane objects, forbear turning his eyes now and then towards that great and divine One, and not have it always in view, at least at a distance, as the end and consummation of all others?

The last years of Cyrus. The death of that Prince.

LET us return to Cyrus. Being equally beloved by his own natural subjects, and by those of the conquered nations, he peaceably enjoyed the fruits of his labours and victories. His empire was bounded on the east by the river Indus, on the north by the Caspian and Euxine Seas, on the west by the Ægean Sea, and on the south by Ethiopia and the Sea of Arabia. He established his residence in the midst of all these countries, spending generally seven months in the year at Babylon in the winter-season, because of the warmth of that climate; three months at Susa in

the spring-time, and two months at Ecbatana during the heat of the summer.

Seven years being spent in this state of tranquillity, Cyrus returned into Persia, which was the seventh time from his accession to the whole monarchy; and this shews, that he used to go regularly into Persia once a-year. Cambyses had been now dead for some time, and Cyrus himself was grown pretty old, being at this time about seventy years of age; thirty of which had passed since his being first made general of the Persian forces, nine from the taking of Babylon, and seven from his beginning to reign alone after the death of Cyaxares.

To the very last he enjoyed a vigorous state of health, which was the fruit of his sober and temperate life. And as they who give themselves up to drunkenness and debauchery, often feel all the infirmities of age even whilst they are young, Cyrus, on the contrary, in a very advanced age, enjoyed all the vigour and advantages of youth.

When he perceived the time of his death to draw nigh, he ordered his children, and the chief officers of the state, to be assembled about him; and, after having thanked the gods for all their favours towards him, through the course of his life, and implored the like protection for his children, his country, and his friends, he declared his eldest son, Cambyses, his successor, and left the other, whose name was Tanaoxares, several very considerable governments. He gave them both excellent instructions, by representing to them, that the main strength and support of the

throne, was neither the vast extent of countries, nor the number of forces, nor immense riches, but a due respect for the gods, a good understandiug between brethren, and the art of acquiring and preserving true and faithful friends. "I conjure you, therefore," said he, "my dear children, in the name of the gods, to respect and love one another, if you would retain any desire to please me for the future. For I do not think you will esteem me to be no longer any thing, because you will not see me after my death. You never saw my soul to this instant; you must have known, however, by its actions, that it really existed. Do you believe, that honours would still be paid to those whose bodies are now but ashes, if their souls had no longer any being or power? No, no, my sons; I could never imagine that the soul only lived whilst in a mortal body, and died when separated from it. But if I mistake, and nothing of me shall remain after death, at least fear the gods, who never die, who see all things, and whose power is infinite. Fear them, and let that fear prevent you from ever doing, or deliberating to do, any thing contrary to religion and justice. Next to them fear mankind, and the ages to come. The gods have not buried you in obscurity, but have exposed you upon this great theatre to the view of the whole universe. If your actions are guiltless and upright, be assured they will augment your glory and power. For my body, my sons, when life has forsook it, inclose it neither in gold nor silver, nor any other matter whatsoever. RESTORE IT IMMEDIATELY TO THE EARTH.

Can it be more happy than in being blended, and in a manner incorporated with the benefactress and common mother of human kind?" After having given his hand to be kissed by all that were present, finding himself at the point of death, he added these last words: "Adieu dear children; may your lives be happy; carry my last remembrance to your mother. And for you, my faithful friends, as well absent as present, receive this last farewel, and may you live in peace." After having said this, he covered his face, and died equally lamented by all his people.

The order given by Cyrus to restore his body to the earth, is, in my opinion, very remarkable. He would have thought it disgraced and injured, if inclosed in gold or silver. RESTORE IT TO THE EARTH, says he. Where did that prince learn, that it was from thence it derived its original? Behold one of those precious traces of tradition as old as the world. Cyrus, after having done good to his subjects during his whole life, demands to be incorporated with the earth, that benefactress of the human race, to perpetuate that good, in some measure, even after his death.

Cyrus may justly be considered as the wisest conqueror, and the most accomplished prince, to be found in profane history. He was possessed of all the qualities requisite to form a great man; wisdom, moderation, courage, magnanimity, noble sentiments, a wonderful ability in managing men's tempers and gaining their affections, a thorough knowledge of all the parts of the military art as far as that age had carried

it, a vast extent of genius and capacity for forming, and an equal steadiness and prudence for executing the greatest projects.

It is very common for those heroes who shine in the field, and make a great figure in the time of action, to make but a very poor one upon other occasions, and in matters of a different nature. We are astonished when we see them alone and without their armies, to find what a difference there is between a general and a great man; to see what low sentiments and mean things they are capable of in private life; how they are influenced by jealousy, and governed by interest; how disagreeable and odious they render themselves by their haughty deportment and arrogance, which they think necessary to preserve their authority, and which only serve to make them hated and despised.

Cyrus had none of these defects. He appeared always the same, that is, always great, even in the most indifferent matters. Being assured of his greatness, of which real merit was the foundation and support, he thought of nothing more than to render himself affable, and easy of access; and whatever he seemed to lose by this condescending, humble demeanour, was abundantly compensated by the cordial affection and sincere respect it procured him from his people.

Never was any prince a greater master of the art of insinuation, so necessary for those that govern, and yet so little understood or practised. He knew perfectly what advantages may result from a single word rightly timed, from an

obliging carriage, from a command tempered with reason, from a little praise in granting a favour, and from softening a refusal with expressions of concern and good-will. His history abounds with beauties of this kind.

He was rich in a sort of wealth which moft sovereigns want, who are possessed of every thing but faithful friends, and whose indigence in that particular is concealed by the splendour and affluence with which they are surrounded. Cyrus was beloved, because he himself had a love for others; for, has a man any friends, or does he deserve to have any, when he himself is void of friendship? Nothing affects us more, than to see in Xenophon, the manner in which Cyrus lived and conversed with his friends, always preserving as much dignity as was requisite to keep up a due decorum, and yet far removed from that ill-judged haughtiness, which deprives the great of the most innocent and agreeable pleasure in life, that of conversing freely and sociably with persons of merit, though of an inferior station.

The use he made of his friends may serve as a perfect model to all persons in authority. His friends had received from him not only the liberty, but an express command, to tell him whatever they thought. And though he was much superior to all his officers in understanding, yet he never undertook any thing without asking their advice; and whatever was to be done, whether it was to reform any thing in the government, to make changes in the army, or to form a new enterprise, he would always have

every man speak his sentiments, and would often make use of them to correct his own.

Cicero observes, that during the whole time of Cyrus's government, he was never heard to speak one rough or angry word. He must have been a very great master of himself, to be able, in the midst of so much agitation, and in spite of all the intoxicating effects of sovereign power, always to preserve his mind in such a state of calmness and composure, that no crosses, disappointments, or unforeseen accidents, should ever ruffle its tranquillity, or provoke him to utter any harsh or offensive expression.

But what was still greater in him, and more truly royal than all this, was his stedfast persuasion, that all his labours and endeavours ought to tend to the happiness of his people; and that it was not by the splendour of riches, by pompous equipages, luxurious living, or a magnificent table, that a king ought to distinguish himself from his subjects, but by a superiority of merit in every kind, and particularly by a constant indefatigable care and vigilance to promote their interests, and secure the public welfare and tranquillity. He said himself one day, as he was discoursing with his courtiers upon the duties of a king, that a prince ought to consider himself as a shepherd, the image under which both sacred and profane antiquity represented good kings, and that he ought to have the same vigilance, care, and goodness. "It is his duty," says he, "to watch, that his people may live in safety and quiet; to charge himself with anxieties and cares, that they may be exempt from them:

to choose whatever is salutary for them, and remove what is hurtful and prejudicial; to place his delight in seeing them increase and multiply, and valiantly expose his own person in their defence and protection. This," says he, "is the natural idea, and the just image of a good king, It is reasonable, at the same time, that his subjects should render him all the service he stands in need of; but it is still more reasonable, that he should labour to make them happy; because it is for that very end that he is their king, as much as it is the end and office of a shepherd to take care of his flock."

Indeed, to be the commonwealth's guardian, and to be king; to be for the people, and to be their sovereign, is but one and the same thing. A man is born for others, when he is born to govern, because the reason and end of governing others is only to be useful and serviceable to them. The very basis and foundation of the condition of princes is not to be for themselves; the very character of their greatness is, that they are consecrated to the public good. They may properly be cousidered as light, which is placed on high, only to diffuse and shed its beams on every thing below. Are such sentiments as these any disparagement to the dignity of the regal state?

It was by the concurrence of all these virtues that Cyrus founded such an extensive empire in so short a time; that he peaceably enjoyed the fruits of his conquests for several years; that he made himself so much esteemed and beloved, not only by his own natural subjects, but by all the nations he had conquered; that after his

death he was universally regretted as the common father of all the people.

We ought not, for our parts, to be surprised that Cyrus was so accomplished in every virtue, (it will easily be understood, that I speak only of pagan virtues), because we know it was God himself, who had formed him to be the instrument and agent of his gracious designs towards his peculiar people.

When I say that God himself had formed this prince, I do not mean that he did it by any sensible miracle, or that he immediately made him such as we admire him in the accounts we have of him in history. God gave him a happy genius, and implanted in his mind the seeds of all the noblest qualities, disposing his heart at the same time to aspire after the most excellent and sublime virtues. But above all, he took care, that this happy genius should be cultivated by a good education, and by this means be prepared for the great designs for which he intended him. We may venture to say, without fear of being mistaken, that the greatest excellencies in Cyrus were owing to his education, where the confounding him, in some sort, with the rest of his subjects, and the keeping him under the same subjection to the authority of his teachers, served to eradicate that pride which is so natural to princes; taught him to hearken to advice, and to obey before he came to command; inured him to hardship and toil; accustomed him to temperance and sobriety; and, in a word, rendered him such as we have seen him throughout his whole conduct, gentle, modest, affable, obliging,

compassionate; an enemy to all luxury and pride, and still more so to flattery.

It must be confessed, that such a prince is one of the most precious and valuable gifts that heaven can make to mortal men. The infidels themselves have acknowledged this truth; nor has the darkness of their false religion been able to hide these two remarkable truths from their observation,—that all good kings are the gift of God, and that such a gift includes many others; for nothing can be so excellent as that which bears the most perfect resemblance to the Deity: and the noblest image of the Deity, is a just, moderate, chaste, and virtuous prince, who reigns with no other view than to establish the reign of justice and virtue.

When I narrowly examine this hero's life, methinks there seems to have been one circumstance wanting to his glory, which would have enhanced it exceedingly; I mean that of having struggled under some grievous calamity for some time, and of having his virtue tried by some sudden turn of fortune. I know, indeed, that the emperor Galba when he adopted Piso, told him that the stings of prosperity were infinitely sharper than those of adversity; and that the former put the soul to a much severer trial than the latter. And the reason he gives is, that when misfortunes come with their whole weight upon a man's soul, she exerts herself, and summons all her strength to bear up the burden; whereas prosperity, attacking the mind secretly or insensibly, leaves it all its weakness, and insinuates a poison into it, by so much the more dangerous, as it is the more subtle.

However, it must be owned that adversity, when supported with nobleness and dignity, and surmounted by an invincible patience, adds a great lustre to a prince's glory, and gives him occasion to display many fine qualities and virtues, which would have been concealed in the bosom of prosperity; as a greatness of mind independent of every thing without; an unshaken constancy, proof against the severest strokes of fortune; an intrepidity of soul animated at the sight of danger; a fruitfulness in expedients improving even from crosses and disappointments; a presence of mind, which views, and provides against every thing; and lastly, a firmness of soul, that not only suffices to support itself, but is capable of supporting others.

Cyrus wanted this kind of glory. He himself informs us, that during the whole course of his life, which was pretty long, the happiness of it was never interrupted by any unfortunate accident; and that in all his designs the success had answered his utmost expectation. But he acquaints us at the same time, with another thing almost incredible, and which was the source of all that moderation and evenness of temper so conspicuous in him, and for which he can never be sufficiently admired; namely, that in the midst of his uninterrupted prosperity he still preserved in his heart a secret fear, proceeding from the changes and misfortunes that might happen: and this prudent fear was not only a preservative against insolence, but even against intemperate joy.

There remains one point more to be examined,

with regard to this prince's reputation and character; I mean the nature of his victories and conquests, upon which I shall touch but lightly. If these were founded only upon ambition, injustice, and violence, Cyrus would be so far from meriting the praises bestowed upon him, that he would deserve to be ranked among those famous robbers of the universe, those public enemies to mankind, who acknowledged no right but that of force; who looked upon the common rules of justice, as laws which only private persons were obliged to observe, and derogatory to the majesty of kings; who set no other bounds to their designs and pretentions, than their incapacity of carrying them any further; who sacrificed the lives of millions to their particular ambition; who made their glory consist in spreading desolation and destruction, like fires and torrents; and who reigned as bears and lions would do, if they were masters.

This is indeed the true character of the greatest part of those pretended heroes the world admires; and by such ideas as these, we ought to correct the impression made upon our minds by the undue praises of some historians, and the sentiments of many, deceived by false images of greatness.

I do not know whether I am not biassed in favour of Cyrus, but he seems to me to have been of a very different character from those conquerors, whom I have just now described. Not that I would justify Cyrus in every respect, or represent him as exempt from ambition, which undoubtedly was the soul of all his undertakings;

but he certainly reverenced the laws, and knew that there are unjust wars, which whoever undertakes without a just foundation, renders himself accountable for all the blood that is shed. Now every war is of this sort, to which the prince is induced by no other motive than that of enlarging his conquests, of acquiring a vain reputation, or rendering himself terrible to his neighbours.

Cyrus, as we have seen, at the beginning of the war, founded all his hopes of success on the justice of his cause, and represented to his soldiers, in order to inspire them with the greater courage and confidence, that they were not the aggressors; that it was the enemy attacked them; and that therefore they were entitled to the protection of the gods, who seemed themselves to have put their arms into their hands, that they might fight in defence of their friends and allies, unjustly oppressed. If we carefully examine Cyrus's conquests, we shall find that they were all consequences of the victories he obtained over Crœsus, king of Lydia, who was master of the greatest part of the Lesser Asia: and over the king of Babylon, who was master of all Upper Asia, and many other countries; both which princes were the aggressors.

With good reason, therefore, is Cyrus represented as one of the greatest princes recorded in history; and his reign justly proposed as the model of a perfect government, which it could not be, unless justice had been the basis and foundation of it.

Wherein Herodotus and Xenophon differ in their accounts of Cyrus.

HERODOTUS and Xenophon, who perfectly agree in the substance and most essential parts of Cyrus's history, and particularly in what relates to his expedition against Babylon, and his other conquests, yet differ extremely in the accounts they give of several very important facts; as the birth and death of that prince, and the establishment of the Persian empire. I therefore think myself obliged to give a succinct account of what Herodotus relates as to these points.

He tells us, as Justin does after him, that Astyages, king of the Medes, being warned by a frightful dream, that the son who was to be born of his daughter, would dethrone him, did therefore marry his daughter Mandana to a Persian of an obscure birth and fortune, whose name was Cambyses; this daughter being delivered of a son, the king commanded Harpagus, one of his principal officers, to destroy the infant. He, instead of killing the child, put it into the hands of one of the king's shepherds, and ordered him to leave it exposed in a forest. But the child, being miraculously preserved, and secretly brought up by the shepherd's wife, was afterwards known to be the same by his grandfather, who contented himself with banishing him to the most remote parts of Persia, and vented all his wrath upon the unfortunate Harpagus, whom he invited to a feast, and entertained with the flesh of his own son. Several years after, young Cyrus, being informed of Harpagus who he was, and being encouraged by

his counsels and remonstrances, raised an army in Persia, marched against Astyages, came to a battle, and defeated him, and so transferred the empire from the Medes to the Persians.

The same Herodotus makes Cyrus die in a manner little becoming so great a conqueror. This prince, according to him, carried his arms against the Scythians; and, after having attacked them, in the first battle feigned a flight, leaving a great quantity of wine and provisions behind him in the field. The Scythians did not fail to seize the booty. When they had drank largely and were asleep, Cyrus returned upon them, and obtained an easy victory, taking a vast number of prisoners, amongst whom was the son of the queen, named Tomyris, who commanded the army.—This young captive prince, whom Cyrus refused to restore to his mother, being recovered from his drunken fit, and not able to endure to see himself a prisoner, killed himself with his own hand. His mother Tomyris, animated with a desire of revenge, gave the Persians a second battle, and feigning a flight, as they had done before, by that means drew them into an ambush, and killed above two hundred thousand of their men, together with their king Cyrus. Then ordering Cyrus's head to be cut off, she flung it into a vessel full of blood, insulting him at the same time with these opprobrious words, "Now glut thyself with blood, in which thou hast always delighted, and of which thy thirst has always been insatiable."

The account given by Herototus of Cyrus's infancy, and first adventures, has much more the air of a romance than of an history. And, as to

the manner of his death, what probability is there that a prince, so experienced in war, and no less renowned for his prudence than for his bravery, should so easily fall into an ambuscade laid by a woman for him? What the same historian relates concerning his hasty violent passion, and his childish revenge upon the river, in which one of his sacred horses was drowned, and which he immediately caused to be cut by his army into three hundred and sixty channels, is directly repugnant to the idea we have of Cyrus, who was a prince of extraordinary moderation and temper. Besides, is it at all probable, that Cyrus, who was marching to the conquest of Babylon, should so idly waste his time when so precious to him, should spend the ardour of his troops in such an unprofitable piece of work, and miss the opportunity of surprising the Babylonians, by amusing himself with a ridiculous war with a river, instead of carrying it against his enemies?

But what decides this point unanswerably in favour of Xenophon, is the conformity we find between him and the holy scripture; where we see, that instead of Cyrus's having raised the Persian empire upon the ruins of that of the Medes, as Heredotus relates it, those two nations attacked Babylon together, and united their forces to reduce the formidable power of the Babylonian monarchy.

From whence, then, could so great a difference as there is between these two historians proceed? Herodotus himself explains it to us. In the very place where he gives the account of Cyrus's birth, and in that where he speaks of his death, he ac-

quaints us, that even at that time those two great events were related different ways. Herodotus followed that which pleased him best; for it appears that he was fond of extraordinary and wonderful things, and was very credulous. Xenophon was of a graver disposition, and of less credulity; and in the very beginning of his history acquaints us, that he had taken great care and pains to inform himself of Cyrus's birth, education, and character.

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