

PART I.

received. And if it was found that he had been a good prince, the whole multitude of his subjects, assembled on the occasion, accompanied with loud acclamations the priest who pronounced his panegyric; but if it appeared that his administration had been cruel or oppressive, an universal clamour, or murmur of disapprobation ensued ³²⁵. Hence many Egyptian kings were deprived of funeral honours by the voice of the nation, and their bodies exposed to public insult ³²⁶.

THESE laws and institutions command our veneration, whether we consider them in a moral or political view; and give us a very high idea of the sagacity of the ancient Egyptians. But the system of Egyptian government had, as formerly noticed, some radical defects. It did not sufficiently restrain the power of the priesthood. Egypt groaned under a debasing superstition.

THIS remark leads us, my Lord, to investigate the natural origin of RELIGION; and the moral causes that have contributed to its establishment, among all civilized nations.

THE adoration of ONE GOD, the *Creator of the Universe*, and the *supreme disposer of all events*, requires a compass of thought and a sublimity of sentiment, little suited to the gross ideas and narrow conceptions of savages. Chiefly occupied in supplying their physical wants, or in gratifying their animal appetites, they are incapable of *contemplating the DEITY in his works*. But the worship of *Superior and Invisible Powers*, the *supposed CAUSES of extraordinary Events*, and the *AUTHORS of Good and Evil*, is na-

225. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 66.

326. Id. ibid.

tural to man in his rudest condition³²⁷; and necessarily proceeds from *Hope* and *Fear*, the two main springs of the human soul³²⁸.

ANCIENT legislators wisely took advantage of this propensity, in order to subdue the ferocity, and restrain the licentiousness of mankind³²⁹. They gave a regular establishment to religion, and made it a chief engine

327. In order to establish this position, I might collect the united testimony of the most intelligent travellers, both ancient and modern. It is even admitted by the most sceptical philosophers. "All human life," observes Mr. Hume, "especially before the establishment of order and good government, being subject to fortuitous accidents, it is natural superstition should prevail every where in barbarous ages; and put men on the most earnest inquiry concerning the INVISIBLE POWERS, who dispose of happiness or misery." (*Nat. Hist. of Religion*, sect. iii.) A similar observation had been made by Plutarch, who lived late in the Heathen world, and whose historical knowledge was extensive. "Examine the face of the globe," says he, (*Advers. Colles.*) "and you may find cities unfortified, without the use of letters, a regular magistracy, or distinct habitations; without possessions, property, or the use of money, and unskilled in the arts; but a people without the knowledge of a God or RELIGION; without the use of vows, oaths, oracles, and sacrifices to procure good, or deprecatory rites, to avert evil, no man can or ever will find."

328. "I suppose," says Dr. Warburton, "it was neither one nor other of these passions alone, but both together, that opened to those early mortals (whose uncultivated reason had not yet gained the knowledge, or whose degenerate manners had lost the tradition of the true God), the first idea of SUPERIOR BEINGS."—(*Divine Legation of Moses*, book iii. sect. vi.) If it should be objected, from the early practice of ancient nations, that barbarians worship only visible powers, the example of the savages of North America will furnish an answer. They pay little regard to the Heavenly Bodies, but worship the GREAT SPIRIT, an invisible Power. (See *Hist. of America*, book iv. chap. i. and the authorities there cited.) Thunder and lightning, heat and cold, storms and fair weather, naturally suggest to the least cultivated mind, the existence of some Intelligence superior to itself.

329. "Tying them thereby," says venerable Austin, "more closely to civil society, that they might be more easily governed." *De Civitate Dei*, lib. iv. cap. xxxii.

PART I

of government³³⁰; blending sacred rites with certain civil forms of high importance to society—the nuptial union, the inauguration of magistrates, and the ratification of treaties³³¹. They also took advantage of that *belief of a future state of existence*, which has prevailed in all ages, and among all nations³³²; by strongly picturing it, as a *state of rewards and punishments*³³³; — a state where the souls of men shall be for ever

330. Menes, Theseus, Romulus, Numa, and all early legislators, as I shall have occasion to shew, called in religion to the aid of their civil and political institutions. The practice of Menes I have already had occasion to mention. Dr. Warburton has, therefore, belied universal experience, perverted truth, and contradicted reason, in affirming that the MAGISTRATE was called in to the aid of RELIGION. (*Divine Legation of Moses*, book i. sect. ii.) For, in that case, Kings or Chief Magistrates must have been originally constituted by priests, and not priests by Kings; a dogma better suited to the dark ages of papal tyranny, than to the enlightened period in which this learned ecclesiastic lived.

In a word, there is no historical fact better attested than this; that the first royal legislators instituted the ceremonies of religion, and regulated divine worship within their several jurisdictions. And, in order to strengthen regal by sacerdotal authority, as well as to keep the ministers of religion in due obedience, early kings generally retained the pontificate in their own hands. (Herodot. lib. vi. cap. lvi. Dion. Halicarnass. lib. ii. cap. xiv. Tit. Liv. lib. ii. cap. ii. Cicero, *de Dignitat.* lib. i. cap. xl. Servius, *ad Virgil Æn.* lib. iii. ver. 80.) In so doing, they proved its subserviency to the supreme civil power; and held it, as they did the chief command of the army, as part of their prerogative. (Id. *ibid.*) Among the ancient Romans, ecclesiastical dignities were conferred in the same manner as civil offices; by the people, assembled in their several Curie. Dion. Halicarnassensis, lib. ii. cap. xxi.

331. The rites with which these were accompanied, among nations in different degrees of civilization, I shall have occasion to describe in the course of this work.

332. "From the consent of all nations," says Cicero, (*Tusc. Disp.* lib. i. cap. xvi.) "we conclude, that the soul survives the body." And Seneca remarks, (*Epist.* cxvii.) that the consent of all mankind, in their fears and hopes of a future state, is of no small weight in determining the question of the immortality of the soul.

333. "All the religions in the world," says Monf. Bayle, "the false as well as the true, turn upon this great Hinge, that there is an IN-VISIBLE JUDGE, who punishes and rewards, after the present life, the actions

ever happy or miserable, according to the merit or demerit of their actions in this world ³³⁴.

LETTER
I.

THUS by more clearly displaying to mankind, beyond the grave, an impartial tribunal, whose decrees admit of no reversal, and whose justice it is impossible to elude; toward which criminals are taught to look for final punishment, and to which witnesses are made to appeal in attestation of the truth of their evidence, did some enlightened Heathens fortify the moral principle in the human breast, and lay a solid foundation for jurisprudence, as well as for public faith ³³⁵.

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"actions of men, both open and secret." (Art. SPINOZA, ap. *Dict. Crit. et Hist.* tom. iv.) But this belief he ascribes to the invention of the magistrate; (ibid.) whereas I have only said, that the magistrate took advantage of it. And Plutarch (*Consolat. ad Apollon.*) declares it was so ancient, that he could neither discover the author, nor the origin of it.

334. In the most ancient Greek poets, Homer and Hesiod, who have given systems of theology according to the popular belief of their country, we find the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments always a fundamental article. *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*, whose business it was to represent the manners and opinions of nations both barbarous and civilized, bear also testimony to the universality of this tenet. But no ancient author has expressed himself more distinctly on the subject than *Pindar*.

"In the sad regions of infernal night,"

Says he, "beyond the verge of life and light,

"The cruel and inexorable mind

"Avenging Gods and penal woes shall find.

"There strict inquiring Justice shall bewray

"The crimes committed in the realms of day;

"Th' impartial Judge the rigid Law declare,

"No more to be revers'd by penitence or pray'r,

"But in the happy fields of light,

"Where Phœbus with an equal ray,

"Illuminates the balmy night,

"And gilds the cloudless day;

"In peaceful unmolested joy,

"The Good their smiling hours employ." PIND. *Olymp. ii.*

335. "Who can deny," says Cicero, "that these opinions are useful, when he considers what internal stability the state derives from the reli-

PART I.

CONSIDERED in this point of view, RELIGION, whether *true* or *false* is highly beneficial to society; consequently any attempt to *weaken* its influence is at once *immoral* and *impolitic*. We accordingly find, that the most wise and virtuous of the ancient historians and philosophers, whatever might be their private opinions, always respected *public religion*, and bore testimony in its favour. Timæus the Locrian, therefore, in discoursing of the *Remedies of Moral Evil*, after he had treated of the *Use of Philosophy* to lead men of well-formed minds to happiness, by *teaching* the measures of *just* and *unjust*, declares that the *coercions* of *Law* and *Religion* are necessary to keep men of perverse and intractable dispositions in awe; both *those punishments* which *penal laws inflict*, and *those torments* that *Religion denounces* against the *wicked* ²³⁶,

WITH this venerable sage, well practised in human affairs, agrees the profound historian Polybius; whose knowledge of mankind and civil society was equally deep and comprehensive. "If a state," says he, "could be composed solely of wise men, perhaps a *public Religion* might be *unnecessary*. But as this is not practicable, there is no possibility of keeping in order the mass of the people, ever capricious, and agitated by irregular passions, without the *terrors of superstition*. The learned ancients, therefore, acted *wisely*," adds he, "in *propagating* the *belief of the Gods*; and those of the present age *absurdly* in *discre-*

gion of an oath, and what security without from the holy rites that accompany National Compacts?—How efficacious the fear of Divine Punishment is to deter men from wickedness; and what purity of manners must reign in that community, where the immortal Gods themselves are supposed to interpose, both as Judges and Witnesses!"—Cic. de Legib. lib. i. cap. vii.

236. *Periphrastus Chosma.*

"diting such opinions, and thereby encouraging the popu-
lace to condemn religious restraints³³⁷." For, as the great
geographer remarks, "it is impossible to govern women,
and the common people, and to keep them pious and
virtuous by the precepts of philosophy³³⁸."

LETTER I

I

BUT religion, to produce these effects upon the
body of a people, must be free from licentious doc-
trines and obscene ceremonies: it must ascribe to the
Deity no acts or attributes unworthy of human imi-
tation. And in order to render the hierarchy politi-
cally beneficial to a state, farther provision must be
made; that the *ecclesiastical order*, though interwoven
with, be *subordinate* to the *Supreme Civil Power*. It
was not sufficiently so in *Ægypt*,

JUDGES of the nation³³⁹, and masters of all state-
affairs³⁴⁰, the *Ægyptian* priests added enormous tem-
poral authority to spiritual influence. To their cus-
tody was committed the records and archives of the
kingdom³⁴¹; and they directed the levying of taxes³⁴².
The monarch himself was, in some measure, subor-
dinate to them, as his conduct was daily subjected to
their controul³⁴³. And they, as the heads of the pub-
lic administration, and also the interpreters of the
will of the Gods³⁴⁴, had the power of swaying his
councils. They were the first order in the kingdom³⁴⁵;
the depositaries of the sciences, as well as of the

337. Polyb. lib. vi. cap. liv.

338. Strabo, lib. i. p. 19, edit. ubi

cit. 339. *Ælian. Var. Hist.* lib. xiv. cap. xxxiv.

340. Diod.

Sicul. lib. i. p. 66. Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 787.

341. Id. ibid.

342. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. vi.

343. Diod. Sicul. lib. i.

p. 63.

344. *Ælian.* ubi sup. et Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 66.

345. Id. ibid. As a proof of this superiority, the new king, in
case of a failure of the royal race, if elected from the military order,
was obliged to procure admission into the sacerdotal body, before he
could ascend the throne. Plut. *J. & Osir.*

PART I.

laws³⁴⁶; and by them must have been moved the whole machine of government, as they only were acquainted with its secret springs. One third of the lands of Egypt, as formerly observed, belonged to the priesthood; who, in consequence of their civil offices and sacred functions, generally maintained dominion over both the king and the people.

THE Ægyptians, as might be expected in a nation under the government of priests, and priest-rid kings, were slavishly superstitious. They worshipped a multitude of Gods. Of the chief of these I shall extract an account from Herodotus and Diodorus, as the least suspicious authorities.

THE Deities most highly and generally adored in Ægypt, were OSIRIS and ISIS³⁴⁷, in early times understood to be the *Sun* and *Moon*; whom the Ægyptians, in one stage of their idolatrous progress, believed, to govern and preserve the world, and whom they regarded as the chief causes of nutrition and generation³⁴⁸. Both seem also, in later ages, to have been *titles*, under which the Creator and Governor of the Universe was worshipped. For ISIS was sometimes *symbolically represented* by a SHIP and PILOT; and the Ægyptian symbol for the GOVERNOR of the UNIVERSE was a Ship and Pilot³⁴⁹. Hence the memorable speech of ISIS in Apuleius:—"I am the Parent of Nature, and Queen of all the Elements; every where present; ONE SUPREME DEITY, worshipped over the whole world under a variety of Names, and with various Rites³⁵⁰".

OSIRIS

346. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 66. Strabo et Ælian. ubi sup.

347. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. xlii.

348. Diod. Sicul. lib. i.

p. 10, 11. edit. ubi cit.

349. Jamblicus, *de Myst. Ægypt.*

350. Apul. *Metamorph.* lib. xi. And Lucius, in his prayer to ISIS, addresses her as the Mover of the Celestial Bodies, and Queen of Heaven, Earth,

OSIRIS, in like manner, was regarded as the *Governor of the Universe*, and the *Author of Nature*; and worshipped under a *variety of Names or titles*³⁵¹. He was not only considered as *Dionusos* or *Bacchus*, but as *Pluto*, and as *AMMON* or *HAMMON*, the *Ægyptian* name for the *Supreme God*; and frequently as *PAN*³⁵². And we have seen that *Pan* was worshipped by the *Ægyptians* as the *Governor of the Universe*, the *Author of Nature*, and the *Parent of Generation*.

IN the first rank of *Ægyptian Deities* was also placed *MIND*, or *Spirit*; the animating Principle in the Universe, and equivalent to the *Græcian ZEUS* and the *Latin JUPITER*; *VULCAN*, or *Fire*; *PALLAS*, or *Air*; *CERES*, or *Earth*; *OCEANUS*, or the element

Earth, and Hell; the *CREATRIX and PRESERVER of all things*. (Id. *ibid.*) That she was considered as *Demeter* or *Ceres*, I have formerly had occasion to observe, on the authority of *Herodotus*, (lib. ii. cap. lix.) and the same is affirmed by *Diodorus*, (*Biblioth.* lib. i. p. 13.) If I might here indulge a conjecture, I should say, that the *Ægyptians*, as early as the time of *Herodotus*, seem not only to have known, that the *MOON* is a planet attendant upon the *EARTH*, but that the *EARTH* is one of the *six SOLAR PLANETS*. And this leads me to observe, that the *different names* of the *HEATHEN GODS*, in *different countries*, and the *coincidence* of their names as *Planets*, *Elements*, and *Spiritual Substances*, has introduced great *confusion* into *Gentile Theology*; but nothing so much as the *various names* for the *SUPREME GOD*; and the *necessary distinction*, not always clearly marked, between *JUPITER* as a *Planet* and as the *Spiritual Governor of the Universe*.

351. *Auson.* *Epig.* xxx.

352. *Diod. Sicul. Biblioth.* lib. i. p. 22. *Dr. Warburton* asserts, (*Divine Legation*, book iv. sect. iv.) that this mode of *allegorizing* the *Ægyptian Gods*, and including different Deities under the name and attributes of the *SUPREME BEING*, was a *late invention*. We have undisputed evidence, however, beside the *Orphic Hymn* to *Pan*, before quoted, that it was *very ancient*. The goddess *Neith* or *Pallas*, worshipped as the *Air* in the time of *Diodorus* (as we shall see), was not only worshipped as *Divine Wisdom* in the time of *Plutarch* (*Is. et Osir.*) but in the *earliest ages*, at *Sais*; whence her worship in that character was introduced into *Greece*. (*Plato, in Timæo.*) And seemingly by *Cecrops* and his *Ægyptian colony*.

PART I

of *Water* ³⁵³. "These Gods," adds Diodorus, "the Ægyptians say *travel through the world; representing themselves sometimes to men in the shape of sacred living creatures, sometimes in the human or other form.* And this," remarks he, "is not a *fable, but strictly true, if it be admitted, that those Gods generate all things* ³⁵⁴." Hence it plainly appears, that the theology of the Ægyptians, properly understood, was allegorical, and their public worship symbolical.

THE Ægyptian Gods of the *second class* consisted, according to Diodorus, of *illustrious men exalted, after death, to divine honours* ³⁵⁵. His words are to the following purport. "This is the account given by the Ægyptians of the *heavenly and immortal Gods.* And beside those, they say, there are TERRESTRIAL DEITIES, *sprung from the former, and who were originally mortal men; but who, by reason of their beneficence, have obtained the rank of Gods* ³⁵⁶." Here we have an irrefragable proof, that, the GREAT-

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353. Id. p. 11, 12. *Water or Moisture*, says Diodorus, the ancient Greeks called *Oceanus*; but the Ægyptians account their *Nile* to be *Oceanus*. (*Biblioth. lib. i. p. 12.*) This, if any more than a complimentary title, could only be the opinion of the vulgar.

354. *Biblioth. lib. i. p. 12.*

355. Diod. Sicul. ubi supra. The deeply learned and candid Shuckford, therefore, very justly concludes, that the *worship of men and women* was the *last step* of Ægyptian IDOLATRY. *Sacred and Profane Hist. of the World connected*, vol. ii. p. 320.

356. *Biblioth. lib. i. p. 12.* Among the *latter*, adds Diodorus, are numbered certain Ægyptian monarchs; *some of whom* have, if interpretation be used, got the *same names* with the CELESTIAL GODS. (Id. *ibid.*) This remark is obviously offered to reconcile his readers to the account which he afterward gives of the reign and adventures of Osiris and Isis. But it requires only a sound understanding, and unprejudiced mind, in reading his narration, (all previous information apart) to discover, that Isis and Osiris are *mythical personages*. Osiris travelled over the *whole world, dispensing benefits to mankind*; and both he and Isis claimed *celestial birth*. (Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 13—23.) Nor neede

ER GODS of Ægypt were *not dead men deified*, as Dr. Warburton and other learned men have asserted. For Diodorus was a professed disciple of Euhemerus, on whose authority chiefly they build their arguments³⁵⁷.

LETTER

I.

YET, even on the testimony of Diodorus, I am able to maintain what I formerly advanced, "That the *Twelve Gods, the Dii Majorum Gentium* of the Heathen world, by whatever names worshipped, were the

needs this excite our wonder; for the historian had before told us, that they were the SUN and MOON. (*Biblioth. lib. i. p. 10.*) Yet have the reign and adventures of Isis and Osiris been seriously related by many grave authors; and systems have been written on the supposition, that they, and other *mythological sovereigns*, were *mortal kings and queens*, who had been placed among the *celestial Gods* by the *gratitude of ancient superstition*, for their *beneficence*, while on earth. I am far, however, from denying the deification of kings and heroes; but they always held a subordinate rank among the Heathen Gods.

357. And he has industriously collected every fabulous tradition concerning the *birth, nursing, reign, and death* of the Gods, both Ægyptian and Græcian. (*Biblioth. lib. i. iii. v. passim.*) But these *tales*, as Mr. Bryant has demonstrated, in his *Analysis of Ancient Mythology*, (vol. i. ii.) had all their origin in the *rise, propagation, prevalence, and decay* of HEATHEN SUPERSTITION in different places, as connected with the *worship* of any particular God; or of the same God, under different names.

Mr. Bryant indeed conjectures, that all the Heathen Gods were only so many *titles* of the SUN. But this whim, not the most singular in his system, does not destroy the force of his reasoning; nor invalidate the authorities by which his arguments are supported, in regard to the point in question. One prime authority, however, seems to have escaped his notice. Herodotus dates the *reputed birth* of certain Græcian heroes (real or imaginary), who afterwards bore the same names with certain Ægyptian Deities, from the time that the *worship* of those Deities was introduced into Greece. (*Herodot. lib. ii. cap. cxlv. cxlvi.*) He therefore declares, after *questioning* the *mortal existence* of DIONYSOS or BACCHUS, the *reputed son* of Semele, and *acknowledging* that of HERCULES, the son of Alcmæna, "who *lived famous*, and *grew old* in Greece;" that he thinks those Greeks act most wisely, who build temples to both the Ægyptian and Græcian HERCULES, *sacrificing* to the former as an *immortal Being*, under the name of OLYMPIAN; and *honouring* the latter as a *hero of mortal birth*. Herodot. lib. ii. cap. xlv. cxlvi.

"Heavenly

PART I. “*Heavenly Bodies and Four Elements, under the direction of a Spiritual Governor;*” for if we add the *five* primary planets to the *seven* Gods mentioned, on the report of this historian, we shall complete the number. And that these *five* planets, *Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury,* were included among the COELESTIAL GODS, and consequently of the *first order* of Heathen Deities, has never been disputed.

IN these particulars, the public religion of the Ægyptians resembled that of other ancient polytheists; but in one it differed widely from every other form of superstition. The Ægyptians worshipped all their GREATER GODS under the form of Brutes, or in brute and human forms conjoined³⁵⁸; a farther proof that their worship was symbolical. Various, however, have been the conjectures, and laborious the inquiries of the learned, concerning the origin of Brute-worship.

AN account of the Rise, and early progress of IDOLATRY, will form a necessary prelude to the investigation of this subject.

I HAVE laid down as a fundamental principle, that “*Religion is natural to Man.*” And although it is

358. This practice, which appears to have been as old as the days of Moses, (See Warburton's *Divine Legation*, book iv. sect. iv.) was universal in later times. (Diod. Sicul. lib. i. et Strabo, lib. xvii. passim.) Dr. Warburton rests his proof of the antiquity of that mode of worship chiefly on the Golden Calf, worshipped by the Israelites in the Arabian desert. (*Divine Legation*, ubi sup.) This he considers as an imitation of the Ægyptian sacred Bull, the symbol under which OSIRIS was worshipped. And he thinks the Israelites did not pay their adorations to the brutal form, but to the TRUE GOD under that form. (Id. ibid.) He also conjectures, and seemingly with great truth, that the worship of OSIRIS, in the living Bull, had not then been introduced into Ægypt. For otherwise the Israelites would have been satisfied with a real Calf or Bull, instead of being at the expence of a Golden Image of one.

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found that mankind, in the *savage state*, are generally too much occupied in supplying their physical wants, and in gratifying their animal appetites, to be able to *contemplate the Deity in his works*; yet they no sooner emerge from that condition, and apply themselves to the pasturing of cattle, and the cultivation of the earth, than having occasion more accurately to observe the *regularity of the seasons*, with the *appearing and disappearing of the Cælestial Bodies*, they begin to discover a **FIRST CAUSE**, or *Prime Mover* of the *stupendous machine of the Universe*. Conscious of their dependence upon that **GREAT BEING**, and desirous of *conciliating his favour*, or *averting his displeasure*, they offer to him, *under the wide expanse of heaven*, and usually on *eminences*³⁵⁹, the *most valuable produce of their fields and flocks*³⁶⁰.

THIS

359. That mankind *originally sacrificed in the open air*, is too well attested by writers, both sacred and prophane, to be disputed; and that they also *sacrificed, in early times, upon high places, on hills and mountains*, we have sufficient evidence, both in the worship of the *false* and the *true GOD*. When Balak, king of Moab, wanted to obtain an answer in his favour, he took Balaam the prophet "up to the *high places* of BAAL; (*Numbers*, chap. xxii. ver 41.) and when Abraham, in a still earlier period, was commanded to *sacrifice* his son Isaac, as a *burnt offering* to the Lord, he carried him to the top of "one of the *mountains in the land of Moriah*;" (*Gen.* chap. xxii. ver. 2—13.) and there actually *sacrificed a ram*. (*Id.* *ibid.*) They imagined, it appears, that they thereby obtained a nearer communication with the Deity.

360. That the first men *sacrificed to the Deity the produce of their fields*, and the *offspring of their flocks*, we have the authority of the Father of sacred history to affirm. For we are told, that "Cain brought of the *fruits of the ground*, an offering unto the Lord; (*Gen.* chap. iv. ver. 3.) and that Abel also brought of the *firstlings* of his flock." (*Id.* ver. 4.) Nor are we left in doubt that the *pious* offered what they thought *most valuable*; for it is not only said, that "Abel brought of the *firstlings* of his flock;" but "of the *fat* thereof." (*Gen.* *ubi sup.*) In a word, it appears, that mankind have always offered to the Deity whatever was *most acceptable to themselves as food or drink*. Hence we may trace the

progress

PART I.

THIS pure worship, paid to ONE Almighty God without the intervention of *images*, prevailed over Arabia and Syria in the time of Abraham; when the head of every family, or the chief of the tribe, officiated as priest³⁶¹: and we find it also in Arabia, among Job and his friends, in a still later age³⁶². Into Arabia, however, *Solar* or *star-worship* had found its way in the days of Job. Hence the expostulation of that venerable patriarch, in vindication of his innocence. "If I beheld the SUN, when it shined," says he, "or the MOON walking in brightness; and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand, I should have denied the GOD that is above"³⁶³. Here we discover an allusion to the worship of the *Heavenly Bodies*. And that seductive worship, which is supposed to have had its origin in Chaldea, soon spread over the East, under the name of *Zabiiism*³⁶⁴.

progress of nations in civil improvement, but more especially in agriculture and grazing, in their libations and sacrifices; from a head of barley, and a simple cake, to kids, goats, lambs, rams, bullocks, and beifers; and from water to milk, oil and wine. (See *Prophyr. de Abst.* lib. ii. & *Euseb. Prep. Evangel.* lib. i. cap. ix.) The Arabians were become so profuse in their sacrifices, as early as the days of Job, that his three offending friends offered to the Lord, "seven bullocks and seven rams, as a burnt-offering." *Job*, chap. xlii. ver. 8, 9.

361. *Gen.* chap. xiv. ver. 18—20. chap. xx. ver. 4—6, and chap. xii. ver. 13.

362. When Job lived is uncertain; but it is generally agreed, that the *dramatic history*, which bears his name, was composed after the time of Abraham, and not later than that of Moses. One thing, however, is incontrovertible, that Job and his friends, though obviously strangers to the Mosaic institutions, and to the history of the Creation, as delivered by the Hebrew legislator, all zealously maintained the tenet of one God, the *Maker of Heaven and Earth*; and they, in acknowledging the justice and goodness of His moral Government, also maintained the doctrine of an all-knowing, all-wise, and merciful PROVIDENCE. See *Job*, chap. iv. v. ix. xii. xiii. xxxiii. xxxiv. xxxv. xxxvi. xxxvii.

363. *Job*, chap. xxxi. ver. 26—28.

364. See Maimonid, *Moreh Nevoch.* et Pocock, *Specim. Hist. Arab.*

IN the *Rise* of ZABIISM we discover the *Root* of POLYTHEISM and IDOLATRY. For all the *various forms* of *Heathen Superstition*, were only so many *shoots* from it; adapted by artful politicians to the *state* of *barbarism* or *civility* in different nations, and *modified* according to *climates*, and *incidental circumstances*. To attempt, therefore, to *account systematically* for these *varieties*, would be to expect to find order in chaos, and uniformity in the brain-sick visions of fanatics; or in the tricks, which princes and priests have devised, to take advantage of *human weakness*.

I SHALL have occasion, however, in unfolding the history of distinguished nations, to treat of their *religious* as well as *civil institutions*. There it will farther appear, that the *great objects of worship*, in all *Gentile nations* were the *same*. Here I shall offer to your Lordship a short account of the early *Progress* of ZABIISM; necessary not only for the better understanding of the *superstition* of the *Ægyptians*, but of *Heathen superstition* in general.

THE Chaldeans, or Zabians, added to the *original worship* of ONE Almighty God, the Creator and Governor of the Universe, a *secondary worship* of the HEAVENLY BODIES; which they regarded as his *Ministers*³⁶⁵, and adored as *Mediators* between HIM and *sinful Men*³⁶⁶. They considered these glorious orbs

23

365. Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. p. 116.

366. Maimonid. *Moreh Nevoch*. et Pocock. *Specim. Hist. Arabice*.
 "The necessity of a Mediator between God and Man," says the pious and learned Prideaux, "was a general notion, which obtained among all mankind from the beginning. For being conscious of their own meanness, vileness and impurity, they could not conceive how it was possible for them of themselves, to have any access to the all holy, all glorious, and supreme Governor of all things. They considered him as too high, and too pure, and themselves too low and polluted, for
 Vol. I. H "such

PART I.

as the *habitations* of GENII, or *vehicles* of pure *Spiritual Intelligences*, by whom they were moved; who animated them, as the soul does the human body; and through whose agency, they supposed, the Supreme Being governed the world; that holding a *middle nature* between the *Most High* and *Man*, they were *best fitted* to become *Mediators* between GOD and *offending mortals* ³⁶⁷.

THE Zabians were at first satisfied with *merely lifting up their souls in prayer* to these *Ministers* of the *Divine Will*; but they afterward proceeded to *burn incense to them*, and to make such oblations as they thought most agreeable to their several natures. They accurately observed their *appearing* and *disappearing*, their *conjunctions* and *aspects*; dividing the superintendence of the world among them, and assigning this or that species of being to *each particular Planet's administration* ³⁶⁸. And according to the *number*, and *rank* of the COELESTIAL BODIES in their *estimation*, they

* such a converse. And therefore concluded, that there must be a *Mediator*, by whose means only they could make any address unto the *Most High*; and through whose intercession alone any of their petitions could be accepted. But no clear Revelation being then made of the Mediator, whom God had appointed, because as yet he had not been manifested unto the world, they took upon them to address unto Him, by *Mediators* of their own chusing. And their notions of the "Sun, Moon, and Stars," &c. *Connect. of the Old and New Testament*, part i. book iii.

367. Id. *ibid*. A doctrine similar to the Zabian appears to have been held by Socrates, from what his scholar makes him deliver in the character of Diotima. "Through this *middle species of Being*," says he, "*prophecy* in all its *different shapes*, and all forms of *divination* are conveyed to men; for the *Divine Nature* never immediately mixes, or communicates with the *Human*. But, through the *intervention* of GENII, all *communion* and *intercourse* between the *Deity* and *man* is carried on." (Plato, *Sympos.*) Hence the belief in the *visitation* of ANGELS, and in *celestial Visions*; whether presented to mortals, while *waking* or *asleep*.

368. Maimonid. et Pocock. *ubi sup*.

marked

marked a *successive revolution of Time* in seven DAYS, which we call a WEEK; and consecrated each DAY to its Guardian ORB³⁶⁹. LETTER
I.

THE rites of the Zabians, however, gradually multiplied; and their worship grew more sensual. Their mediatory and guardian Planet, they observed, frequently withdrew from their sight; while they stood in constant need of his intercession or protection. They, therefore, formed to themselves symbolical figures; allegorically representing the powers and properties, not only of each Cælestial Orb, but of the SUPREME BEING and his chief Attributes³⁷⁰. These they put into Shrines, to which they paid divine worship; placing above every other Shrine that of the FIRST CAUSE, as worthy of the highest adoration³⁷¹.

FROM the worship paid to those shrines, and to the symbolical figures they contained, intelligible only to the learned, it was natural for the superstitious vulgar to go one step farther; to desire an IMAGE of the GENIUS supposed to inhabit each Planet, in place of a mystical SYMBOL. Such images, or fancied likenesses, were accordingly devised by the Zabian priests, and made of the metal imagined to be most consonant to the nature of the several cælestial orbs; of Gold, to the SUN; of Silver, to the MOON; of IRON, to MARS; of Quicksilver, to MERCURY; of Tin, to JUPITER; of Copper, to VENUS; and of Lead, to SATURN³⁷²: thereby

369. *Specimen. Hist. Arabica*, ap. Pocock. This custom, which has prevailed in most nations, seems to favour the assertion of the Zabians, that their religion, as it is among the oldest in the world, has spread over the whole earth; or to prove, that mankind, in all countries, are disposed to the worship of the Cælestial Bodies, and capable of observing their motions, distances, and degrees of magnitude. Here also we discover the origin of the opinion of the Guardianship of ANGELS.

370. *Id. ibid.*

371. *Specimen. Hist. Arabica*, ap. Pocock.

372. *Id. ibid.* If Mr. Bryant had attended to this application of the several Metals to the formation of the Images of the Cælestial Bodies, he

PART I.

thereby fixing the application of the *names* given by *Chymists* to the *different metals*, as universally received over the world as the *number* and *order* of the *Days* of the *Week*.

To those *Images*, after their *consecration*, the *Zabians* burnt the richest perfumes, and made the most costly sacrifices; believing that their prayers and oblations to the *Genius* thought to inhabit each planet, the *Minister* of the MOST HIGH, and *Mediator* with HIM, were as acceptable when offered to the *Image*, as to the *real Orb*, when *splendent* in the *Heavens*³⁷³. We may therefore conclude, with learned Owen, that *IDOLATRY* had its origin in *Zabism*, or the *worship* of the *Cæstrial Bodies*³⁷⁴. And I shall add, that its *cause* was the *need* of a *visible Object* of *worship*; which *Human Nature*, unless aided by *Philosophy* or *illuminated* by *Revelation*, seems to require to *assist* its *devotions*.

BUT *Zabism*, even in its corrupted state, was not inconsistent, we find, with the doctrine of a *FIRST CAUSE*: nor (as we have seen in treating of the *Chal-*

might have saved himself the trouble of attempting to prove, that *Chrusos*, the Greek word for *Gold*, was a corruption of *Chusos* or *Chus*: nor would he have said, that *Gold* had no relation to the *worship* of the *SUN*. Far less would he or *Selden*, if they had attended to the *early worship* of the *Cæstrial Bodies*, have asserted, that *all* the *Gods* of *Gentile Antiquity* are *resolvable* into the *SUN*. (*Selden, de Diis Syris, Syntag. ii. Bryant, New System of Ancient Mythology, vol. i. passim.*) The *SUN* indeed, as might naturally have been expected, was universally worshipped over the *Heathen world*. The *most glorious* *Heavenly Body*, the *visible Ruler* of the *Day*, and the *immediate cause* of *Light* and *Heat*, could not fail to receive *adoration*, from *nations* who *blended* the *worship* of the *CREATOR* with *that* of his *Works*. But that the *SUN* was ever worshipped as the *SUPREME DEITY*, unless by *rude barbarians*, we have no reason to believe: for all *civilized* *Heathen nations* acknowledged a *HIGHER POWER* than the *Cæstrial Bodies*; and the *SUN* was *one* of those *bodies*.

373. Maimonid. *Mureh Newach*. et Pocock. *Specimen Hist. Arabica*.

374. Owen, *de Ortu Idol.* lib. iii. cap. iv.

deans of Babylon) with the belief of a SUPREME GOVERNOR³⁷⁶; who assigned the *Sun* its station, and according to whose eternal laws the Planets, with unerring concord perform their revolutions³⁷⁷.

LETTER
I.

WHETHER cœlestial worship passed from Chaldea into Ægypt, or took its rise in the latter country, as in the former, from the perpetual visibility, and alluring beauty of the Heavenly Bodies, I shall not pretend to determine. But that the adoration of those bodies, in subordination to a *divine Intellect*, was the most *ancient public worship of the Ægyptians*, is universally allowed³⁷⁷; and

375. Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. p. 116.

376. Id. *ibid.* "The Chaldeans believe," says Diodorus, "That the order and beauty of the *Universe* are the effects of a certain *DIVINE PROVIDENCE*; and that the *Heavenly Bodies* are not moved of themselves, or fortuitously, but according to the determinate and firmly ratified decree of the *DEITY*." (*Biblioth.* lib. ii. p. 116.) But the Chaldeans believed in the *eternity* of the *World* or *Universe*. (Id. *ibid.*) How then, it may be said, could they believe it to be the work of a *Deity*?—The difficulty is thus solved by the Græcian commentators upon Plato and Aristotle, who held nearly the same opinion. "MIND or GOD was before the *World*; not as if the one existed before the other in TIME, but because the *World* proceeded from MIND; which was, in order of Nature, FIRST; as the Cause thereof, and its Archetype." (Plotinus, *En.* iii. lib. ii. cap. i.) "Whence it follows," says the same Philosopher, "That the *World*, which proceeds from the *DEITY* by way of effluence, must have been coeval with God; as *Light* was coeval with the *SUN*." (Id. *En.* v. lib. viii. cap. xii.) "To the same purport Simplicius: (in *Aristot. Phys.* lib. viii.) "Aristotle, though he considers God to be the Cause of the Existence, and of the Motions of the *Cœlestial Bodies*, yet concludes the *Universe* to have been eternal, and unmade; but to have proceeded from the *DEITY*," &c.

377. This Dr. Warburton admits, and even takes pains to prove; (*Divine Legation*, book iii. sect. vi. and book iv. sect. iv.) though he makes a very singular use of it. He thinks, however, it is not only possible, but highly probable, that the worship of the FIRST CAUSE was prior to the worship of the *Cœlestial Bodies*, or any form of Idolatry: (*Divine Legation*, book iii. sect. vi.) a position which I have endeavoured to establish; as equally necessary, for the vindication of God's moral government and the sagacity of the Human Mind. I may even venture to go a step farther; and conclude with the deeply learned and impartial

PART I.

and that their GREATER GODS were the *Sun, Moon,* and *five* primary Planets, in conjunction with the *four* Elements, under the government of an *all-ruling* and *all-pervading* SPIRIT, I have already proved.

THESE Gods were represented by *allegorical symbols*, expressive of their supposed qualities. And as the meaning of those symbols was only known to the learned, the ignorant multitude, we may believe, often worshipped the mere symbol of each God, as the ultimate object of their adoration. Here we discover the true Origin of what has been called *Brute-worship*.

DR. Warburton was, therefore, wise in rejecting all former theories of *Brute-worship*³⁷⁸; and in ascribing it to *allegorical Symbols*³⁷⁹. But I can by no means agree with him in thinking, that the Symbols, which led to this worship, among the Ægyptian vulgar, were merely those employed in HIEROGLYPHIC WRITING³⁸⁰; though I can readily admit, that it had its

Cudworth, "That all that multiplicity of Pagan Gods, which makes so great a shew and noise, was really nothing but several names and notions of ONE Supreme Deity, according to its different manifestations, gifts, and effects in the world: so that ONE unmade Self-existent DEITY, and no more, was acknowledged by the more intelligent of the ancient Pagans; for of the opinions of the sottish vulgar no man can pretend to give an account, in any religion." (*Intellectual System*, chap. iv. sect. xiii.) That the Ægyptian vulgar were truly sottish I shall afterward have occasion to shew.

378. Three of these deserve particular regard: 1. That the Ægyptian invention of distinguishing the constellations, and marking each of them with the name of some animal gave rise to *Brute-worship*; (Lucian de *Astrologia*.) 2. That it had its origin in the doctrine of God's persuading all things; (Porphyr. de *Abstinentia*, lib. iv.) 3. That Brutes were made the objects of worship only as the Symbols of the FIRST CAUSE, considered in his various attributes and relations. (Jamblic. de *Myst. Ægypt*.) But these three supposed causes of *Brute-worship*, if combined, account rather for the use of brutal forms in allegorical Symbols, than for the worship of Brutes; whether in the image or living animal.

379. *Divine Legation*, book iv. sect. iv.

380. Id. *ibid*.

rise in the SYMBOLICAL FIGURES sculptured on the porticoes of the Ægyptian temples. LETTER
I.

FOR we know that *those Symbolical Figures* were more striking than *Hieroglyphical inscriptions*³⁸¹: they consequently would make a greater impression upon the minds of the superstitious Ægyptians. And when explained, they probably contained more meaning. Nor have we any reason to believe, that the body of the people in Ægypt ever paid much regard to Hieroglyphic writing, or revered its feigned divine origin³⁸². Though chiefly, if not solely confined to the two higher orders in the kingdom, it was sufficiently familiar to prevent adoration.

YET if the profound Doctor had liberally interpreted the allegorical Symbols employed in Hieroglyphic Writing, great merit must have been ascribed to him. But he had no such liberal views. The champion of a paradoxical system, in the prosecution of which the whole vigour of his genius was exerted, he pushed aside every authority, and trampled upon every opi-

381. Herodot. lib. ii. passim.

382. See the *Divine Legation of Moses*, (book iv. sect. iv.) where this position is maintained. I have already had occasion to make some remarks on the nature of Hieroglyphic writing, in order to rectify a general mistake; "that it was invented for secrecy, not for public use." And I shall here hazard an opinion, accompanied with a corroborating testimony, that *symbolic writing*, which arose out of *picture-writing*, common to all rude nations, in a certain stage of their progress, (to the Mexicans and Japanese, as well as the Æthiopians and Ægyptians) is no proof of the antiquity of a nation; though its early or happy invention, may be considered as a mark of the ingenuity of a people. "The Ægyptians," says Tacitus, (*Annal.* lib. xi.) in tracing the rise of alphabetic writing, "originally expressed the conceptions of their minds by the figures of animals." This respectable authority seems to have escaped the notice of Warburton; or perhaps it did not, in all respects, suit his purpose; though a strong testimony in support of his theory, (which I have adopted) that Hieroglyphic writing was not invented for secrecy.

PART I.

mion, that stood in the way of his favourite hypothesis. Instead of explaining the Ægyptian symbols with the liberality of a philosopher, a character which he sometimes affects, we discover only in his inquiries the narrow mind of a candidate for a bishopric. "The *Brute-worship* of the Ægyptians," says he, "was *at first* altogether *objective* of their *Hero-gods*"³⁸³."

BUT the venerable Father of History affirms, on his own knowledge and observation, that the Ægyptians, worshipped *no* Heroes³⁸⁴. And he supports his assertion by the testimony of the Ægyptian priests; who, after having given him, in a chronological series, an account of the long succession of their kings, declared that *none* of *those* kings had been either *reputed* a *God*, or *deified* as a *Hero*³⁸⁵. They also declared, that, in Ægypt, *no* God had taken the *form* of a *Man*; nor had they ever *heard* of *such* a *thing*, either during the *reigns* of their *more* *ancient* or *later* *monarchs*³⁸⁶.

383. Warburton's *Divine Legation of Moses*, book iv. sect. iv. Yet he had before told us, that the *first* Gods of the Ægyptians, after the establishment of Polytheism, were the *Sun* and *Moon*. Must not their *allegorical Symbols*, therefore, have been *at first* *objective* of *those* *Gods*?—as we find such symbols were among the ancient Chaldeans, and all oriental worshippers of the Cœlestial Bodies. And the "*first* *natural* *Gods* of the Ægyptians," Dr. Warburton afterward allows to have been "*the* *Hosi* of *Heaven*." See *Divine Legation*, book iv. sect. iv.

384. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. i. 385. Id. lib. ii. cap. cxlii. cxliii.

386. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. cxliii. The Ægyptians, therefore, could not in the *most* *early* *times* worship their Gods in the *human* *form*: nor could the *allegorical* *symbols*, engraved on the porticoes of their temples, or otherwise *employed* for *religious* *purposes*, be *objective* of their *dead* *Kings* or *Heroes*; for they *did* not *deify* them. Yet Dr. Warburton had the boldness to maintain both these positions; and arrogantly asks, when asserting that the *symbolic* *worship* of *Brutes* brought *human* *Images* into disrepute, whether any one can believe, that the *Hero-God* OSIRIS was not worshipped in his *own* *Figure*, before that of an *Ox*?—(*Divine Legation of Moses*, book iv. sect. iv.) But that *Osiris* was no mortal King, I have already endeavoured to prove; and shall now call in aid of my opinion, the suffrage of the Ægyptian priests.

THE sacred fages added, however, that before the time of those mortal kings, the *Gods* had been *sovereigns of Ægypt*, but had no *intercourse* with *Men*; and that the *last* of their cœlestial monarchs was *ORUS*, the son of *OSIRIS*, who *dethroned* *TYPHON*³⁸⁷. Here we have a new proof, that *Osiris* was a *mythical Personage*, and the *reputed History* of the *Reign of the Gods in Ægypt*, a *Mythical Legend*; for *Herodotus* tells us, that *Orus*, the *last* cœlestial sovereign, was the same with the *Græcian Helios* or *Apollo*³⁸⁸.

NOR does it require much learned sapience to discover, that by the *dethroning* of *TYPHON* by *ORUS*, is *mythically* to be understood, the *expulsion* of the *PRINCIPLE* of *Natural Evil*, by the *Emanation* of *LIGHT*, or the *benignant influence* of the *SUN* upon our *World*. Hence *ORUS* is called the *Son* of *OSIRIS*; one of the *names* or *titles* of the *SUN*, as well as of the *Creator* and *Governor* of the *Universe*³⁸⁹.

THE manner in which these *names* or *titles* were originally *confounded*, and the *literal meaning* of the *Reign of the Gods* in *Ægypt*, may thus perhaps be accounted for, and explained. While the *Ægyptians* remained in a *state of barbarism*, they like many other *barbarians*, considered the *SUN* and *MOON* as the *Gods*, who *jointly governed* the *World*³⁹⁰; and when, become civilized and enlightened, they obtained the *knowledge* of a *SUPREME BEING*, the same *names*, which had

387. Id. *ibid*.

388. *Historiar.* lib. ii. cap. cxlii.

389. This I have already had occasion to prove.

390. *Diod. Sicul.* lib. i. p. 10, 11. edit. sup. cit. His words are to the following purport. "The most ancient *Ægyptians*, looking up to the "World above them, and filled with astonishment and admiration at "the structure of the Universe, concluded there were *two* chief Gods; "namely, the *Sun* and *Moon*. And to the *SUN* they gave the appellation "of *Osiris*, or *many-eyed*; and to the *MOON* that of *Isis*, or *ancient*." Id. *ibid*.

PART I.

formerly been applied to the TWO most glorious visible Orbs, were also applied by them indifferently to the DEITY, or FIRST CAUSE of all things.

THIS moral revolution, and the introduction of *Physiological* or *Mythical Theology*, may be conjectured to have taken place about the time that Menes founded the *Ægyptian* monarchy; promulgated written laws, and gave a regular form to religious ceremonies. But before the introduction of *Physiological Theology*, the *Ægyptians* seem not only to have worshipped the *Sun* and *Moon*, but the whole *Host of Heaven*, or all the Planets in the SOLAR SYSTEM; as appears by the number of their *Greater Gods*³⁹¹. And as monarchy had not been regularly constituted, if it had ever been instituted in *Ægypt*, before the reign of Menes, the *Ægyptians*, in after times, looked back to that period of ignorance and barbarous freedom, when they knew no Kings but the *Heavenly Bodies*, as the REIGN OF THE GODS.

THEY did not, however, describe it as the Greeks did their *Golden Age*, or the Romans their *Saturnian Reign*; but represented it as a period during which they were emerging from barbarity, and gradually acquiring, under their *Cælestial Sovereigns*, the use of the more necessary arts³⁹², surely great cause of con-

391. The GREATER GODS of the *Ægyptians*, originally Two, as I have just had occasion to notice, were afterward multiplied to EIGHT, (Herodot. lib. ii. cap. xlvi.) when they became better acquainted with astronomy; and were at last increased to TWELVE, (Id. ibid. on the introduction of *Physiological* theology; which, together with the worship of the *Cælestial Bodies*, under the direction of a DIVINE INTELLECT, added the adoration of the Four Elements.

The number of the *Greater Gods* among the Greeks and Romans was also Twelve, as I shall have occasion to shew; and even among the more northern nations of Europe. EONA, *Mythol.* xix.

392. Diod. Sicul. Biblioth. lib. i. p. 13—19.

solation to them, and worthy of grateful remembrance.

LETTER

I

SMALL wonder, therefore, that the Ægyptians ascribed to *Osiris* or the *Sun*, and to *Isis* his *queen* and *sister*; who seemed to divide with him the empire of the Heavens, and was regarded both as the *Moon* and all-nourishing *Earth*; on which the Moon attends, and throws, during the absence of the Sun, a resplendent light:—small wonder that they ascribed to *those first Gods*, and other *Cælestial Divinities*, the invention of whatever contributes to the accommodation and enjoyment of life; that they made *Osiris* be attended by the *Muses*; or that they ascribed to *Isis*, under the character of *DAMATER*, or *Mother Earth*; and, as the *Patroness* of *Agriculture*, the *Institution* of *LAWS*³⁹³; which necessarily flow from that *primary ART*.

THIS mode of *allegorizing* the early periods of history, and throwing a *mystical veil* over the *Operations* of *Nature*, the *Rise* of *Religion*, and the *Invention* of *Arts*, passed from the Ægyptians to the Greeks; who, *mistaking the meaning* of the *Ægyptian allegories*, blended *real* with *imaginary personages*. And modern historians and chronologers, not distinguishing the *false* from the *true*, have built systems upon the *reigns* of *Kings* that *never existed*, and *confounded the order* of *events* in attempting to *reconcile* them. In a word, building their reasonings upon *fabulous Æras*, as when *Osiris* reigned in Ægypt, or *Jupiter* in Crete; and endeavouring to *ascertain* by these the *date* of *transactions* well authenticated, they have hurt the *credibility* of *ANCIENT HISTORY*, and afforded scepticism a triumph, in *decrying great part* of it, as *FABLE*.

THESE reflections, I hope, will be sufficient to satisfy your Lordship on a subject into which I do not wish

PART I.

you to dive, but which it is necessary you should view without prejudice;—"That the *Ægyptian theology* was "mythical or *physiological*, and that the *allegorical symbols* it employed in public worship, were not objective of "the virtues or qualities of Hero-Gods." Consequently those symbols could not be intended to conceal from the vulgar, as has been asserted, the mortal origin of such Gods³⁹⁴.

No man, however, was better qualified than Dr. Warburton, to have given a just account of the *Ægyptian theology*. But his system, like *Olympus*, stood in his way; and threw a shade over every object, unless such as served to adorn its heavenly brow. Yet truth sometimes broke from him by surprise. "One of the "chief maxims of *Ægyptian wisdom*, as applied to religious matters, was," says he, "that the government "of the *World* was committed, by the *Supreme Rector* "of the *Universe*, into the hands of *subordinate local*, "tutelary Deities; that these were the proper objects "of public and popular religion; and that the knowledge of the only ONE GOD, the *Creator of all things*, "was highly dangerous to be communicated to the people; "but was to be secreted and shut up in their MYSTERIES, and there only to be communicated to a few; "and those only the wise, and learned, and ruling part "of Mankind³⁹⁵."

THIS is a just account of the *political object*, not only of the *Ægyptian Religion*, but also of that of the Greeks and Romans. They all endeavoured to conceal from the people, the simple Doctrine of ONE GOD, the Creator and Preserver of the *Universe*, as dangerous to the state; and wrapped up the principles of their the-

394. See Dr. Warburton's *Divine Legation of Moses*, (book iv. sect. iv.) where a contrary doctrine is maintained.

395. *Divine Legation*, book iv. sect. vi.

ology in *symbols, allegories, or fabulous legends*, fitted to *amuse and overawe the vulgar*³⁹⁷, and inscrutable by them. LETTER
I.

BUT the theology of the Ægyptians, suited to the gloomy character of the nation, was more especially involved in darkness. The Ægyptian priests, jealous of their temporal authority, as well as of their spiritual dominion, took advantage of the proneness of the people to superstition to plunge them into the grossest idolatry. Learned themselves, they imposed upon the ignorant and credulous vulgar; and made them worship *every thing in Nature* but its *great AUTHOR*, the only *true* and *proper object* of *human adoration*. Brutes, reptiles; the deadly asp, and all the serpent-breed; the amphibious and devouring crocodile; all the fowls that wing the air, and all the fish that swim the deep; whatever could inspire *hope*, excite *fear*, or be considered as the *cause of Good or Evil*, was transformed into a God in Ægypt, and held up to the idolatry of the people; the images of all these being used in the *Symbolical Figures*, and *Hieroglyphical Inscriptions*, on the walls and porticoes of the Ægyptian temples³⁹⁷.

BUT of all the *sacred Symbols* of the Ægyptians, the most general was that of the SERPENT. It seems to have been employed as an attendant emblem, in the *worship* of all the *Greater Gods*; but was more peculiarly appropriated to that of the SUN, by whatever *appellation* adored, and before whatever *image*³⁹⁸; whether under the name of *Apis*, *Osiris*, or *Vulcan*; in the *form* of a BULL, to indicate the return of sum-

396. Vide Strabo, lib. i. p. 19, 20, edit. Lutet. Paris, 1620.

397. See *Divine Legation of Moses*, book iv. sect. iv. vi. and the authors there cited.

398. *New System of Ancient Mythol.* art. OPHIOLATRIA, et auct. cit.

PART I.

mer-heat, while the SUN is in *that sign* of the Zodiac³⁹⁹; the beginning of the rains in *Æthiopia*, which occasion the overflowing of the Nile, and the consequent fertility of *Ægypt*; or without any *symbol* but *itself*, beside the *Perpetual Fire*, and before the great FOUNTAIN of *Light* and *Heat*, the most sublime natural Emblem of the *Eternal* and *invisible* NUMEN⁴⁰⁰; who pervades, generates, and nourishes all things, and whose intellectual brightness can only be displayed by similitude.

THIS general use of the *Serpent* as a sacred symbol will not, however, appear wonderful, when we are informed, that it was considered as an emblem of time and eternity⁴⁰¹, as well as of the Principle of Darkn^{ess}, the Angel of the Bottomless Pit⁴⁰². Nor is it strange, that the symbol of TIME should be constantly associated with that of the SUN, by whose apparent motion time is measured; or that the Principle of DARKNESS should be worshipped along with that of LIGHT, as darkn^{ess} is only the privation of Light⁴⁰³. The shadow must follow the sun.

THE

399. I am not unacquainted with the causes that have been assigned by ancient or modern writers, why the *Ægyptians* worshipped their tutelary God in the shape of a BULL; but having rejected the mortal Origin of *Osiris*, whose soul is said to have passed into such an animal, (Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 76.) the influence of the SUN in *Taurus* appeared to me the most rational way of accounting for this predominant symbol. In saying the soul of *Osiris* passed into a BULL, the *Ægyptian* priests might mean allegorically to intimate, that genial and vivifying spirit which animates all nature, when the SUN enters that constellation, and diffuses through the animal and vegetable world the principle of generation.

400. Cicero, de Nat. Deor. lib. iii. *Ælian*. Hist. Animal. lib. x. xvii. Euseb. Preparat. Evangel. lib. i. The impression made by the Sun upon the human mind is so strong, that mankind have in all ages been led, in speaking of the Creator and Governor of the Universe, to illustrate their meaning by metaphorical allusions to that glorious orb. The examples of this mode of expression are numerous in our sacred Scriptures; and some of these misinterpreted, and applied to the support of a system, would furnish a proof, that the God of the Hebrews was the SUN.

401. Divin^{us} Legat. b. iv. f. iv.402. Hein^{sius}, Aris^{tarch}. init.

403. If this explication be admitted, all attempts to deduce from

THE obvious conclusion to be drawn from this reasoning is, That *Light* and *Darkness*, *Day* and *Night*, being the *prime objects* of *Human attention*, the former was naturally associated by rude Mankind with the *Good*, the latter with the *Evil Principle* in the *Universe*. Hence most ancient nations, actuated in their devotions by the *Human passions*, have worshiped not only the *Cæstrial*, but also the *Infernal Powers*; the *SUN* chiefly, from *love* and *gratitude*, as the *emblem* of *Divine Beneficence*, under the figure of a countenance illuminated with rays, in a *LOFTY temple*; and the *SERPENT* or *some such horrid form*, in a *deep cavern*, as the *symbol* of the *Evil ONE*, from motives of fear.

HUMAN reason cannot easily comprehend, how both *Good* and *Evil* should proceed from the *same BEING*: an analogy drawn from *human turpitude* only could conduct it to such an idea. And unless Revelation had taught us, that the *BEING* of whom the *Serpent* has been made *symbolical* was the *cause* of such turpitude, we should still have been at a loss to account for the introduction of *Natural* and *Moral Evil* into our *World*. A *Malignant SPIRIT* operating upon *human frailty*, is the *best solution* of the *difficulty*, and the *happiest vindication* of *DIVINE JUSTICE* ⁴⁰⁴.

THUS we find the *symbol* of the *Serpent* alike applicable to the *purposes* of *RELIGION*, whether we consider it in a *natural*, *moral*, or *theological* point of view. And hence it was introduced in the celebration of all the *Heathen Mysteries* ⁴⁰⁵.

BUT

NOAH'S ARK the *symbols* expressive of *Light* and *Darkness*, employed by ancient nations in celebrating the *mysteries* of their religion, must be considered as absurd. See Bryant's *New System of Ancient Mythol.* vol. ii. iii. *passim*.

404. Compare *Genesis*, chap. iii. ver. 1—15, with *Revelations*, chap. ix. ver. 1—11.

405. *Ælian. Hist. Animal.* lib. xvii. cap. v. *Augustin. de Civitat. Dei*, lib.

PART I.

BUT the great body of the people of Ægypt, as already observed, being utterly unacquainted with the meaning of their *sacred symbols*, they looked no farther than the mere *image*, or the *creature* which it *naturally represented*. Hence their besotted attachment to such creatures as blind superstition, under the direction of priestcraft, led them more particularly to regard.

HERODOTUS and Strabo hint at the most abominable intercourse between the women of the Mendesian district, where the He-goat was worshipped, and that animal ⁴⁰⁶. And Diodorus, though an admirer of the Ægyptians, cannot help expressing his astonishment at the gross familiarity in which they lived with their *sacred animals*; the care they took in procuring them delicate food, and voluptuous accomodation, while alive; their lamentations at the death of any of them; and the incredible sums expended on their funerals ⁴⁰⁷. Nor does he conceal from us an obscene ceremony, that attended the deification of the *sacred BULL*; when, after the death of his predecessor, he was placed in the temple of Vulcan at Memphis ⁴⁰⁸. During the first forty days, none were permitted to see him but women; who standing before him, with their petticoats pulled up, shewed him their privy parts ⁴⁰⁹.

BUT the superstition of the Ægyptians was productive of other bad effects, beside debasing their manners. It precluded them from all liberal intercourse with other nations, whom they considered as impure ⁴¹⁰; and consequently obstructed the sources of knowledge, and the

lib. iii. cap. xii. et lib. xvii. cap. xv. Arnob. *Cont. Gen.* lib v. Justin. Martyr. *Apol.* i. ii. Clemens. Alex. *Cobort.* init.

⁴⁰⁶. Herodot. *Historiar.* lib. ii. Strabo, *Geog.* lib. xvii. p. 802.

⁴⁰⁷. Diod. Sicul. *Biblioth.* lib. i. p. 74-76, edit. sup. cit.

⁴⁰⁸. *Biblioth.* lib. i. p. 76.

⁴⁰⁹. Diod. Sicul. sup. cit.

⁴¹⁰. Herodot. lib. ii. cap. xli. See also *Genesis*, chap. xliii. ver. 32.

means

means of civil improvement. It sanctioned the marriage of brothers and sisters⁴¹¹. And this unnatural union of the sexes, in conjunction with the political regulation of hereditary professions, narrowed still farther the social system; prevented the diffusion of wealth, or the revolution of property, and served to nurse hereditary hate, and professional contempt.

I HAVE formerly, my Lord, had occasion to observe, that professions were hereditary among the Egyptians; and that no subject in Egypt, unless he belonged to one of the two higher classes, to the sacerdotal or military order, could enjoy any property in land, or have any share in the government of the kingdom. The three inferior classes consisted of Husbandmen, Graziers or feeders and rearers of cattle, and Artificers in various branches⁴¹²; each of whom was confined by law to his particular calling; in which he had succeeded his father, and which his son was bound to follow, however strongly the bent of his genius might be turned to another employment⁴¹³.

THIS regulation has been much praised by historians both ancient and modern, as contributing to the perfection of the arts, by adding successively the attainment of the son to those of the father; and for being calculated to curb aspiring ambition, by confining every one to his own profession, whatever might be the strength or extent of his talents. But the benefit resulting from the experience of ancestry, would be more than balanced by the disadvantages connected with it; in dooming many to professions, which they had neither inclination to prosecute, nor ability to improve. And although the institution of hereditary

411. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 23.

412. Id. *Biblioth.* lib. i. p. 67.

413. Id. *ibid.*

PART I.

employments might, in bridling ambition, serve the purposes of an usurping priesthood by depressing the spirit of the people, it must at the same time have depressed genius by imposing a restraint upon its versatility, and extinguished the ardour of emulation, without which the liberal arts can never attain superior excellence. These can only be cultivated with success among a people in a state of professional freedom; where genius is left unfettered, and talents have their full range; and where a possibility is left to men of all classes of rising to public honours and offices.

DEPRESSION of genius, however, in consequence of the restraints imposed upon it, is not the greatest evil attending the institution of hereditary professions, considered in a political light. It has a tendency to destroy that social concord, which should subsist among the members of the same community. A set of men confined to a particular calling, from generation to generation, view those of every other with envy or disdain. Hence a division of the members of a state into professional classes, between which a perpetual bar is fixed, very different from the distinction of ranks, originating in different degrees of merit, engenders animosity, and obstructs the most necessary and salutary effects, which men ought naturally to derive from living under the guardianship of the same laws. Each class forms a separate body in the state, and all national union is lost, and all sense of a common interest.

BRUTE-WORSHIP fostered new animosities among the Egyptians. As the animal adored by the inhabitants of one district, was often held in detestation by those of another, intestine feuds thence arose among their votaries, and never-ceasing religious antipathy⁴¹⁴. Yet this diversity of worship is said to have been esta-

414. Diod. Sicul. *Biblioth.* lib. i. p. 81. edit. sup. cit.

blished,

blished, in order to preserve the kingdom from greater shocks⁴¹⁵; a wretched artifice of sacerdotal power, combining with regal authority, to maintain its dominion over the people at the expence of private happiness.

LETTER
I.

NOTWITHSTANDING so many causes of dissention, Ægypt was a powerful, and even a peaceful kingdom⁴¹⁶. Watered by one great river, to which it owed its fertility, and which served as a centre of civil union; bounded on the north by the sea, and there secured by impracticable harbours and impassable fens; and, on all other quarters, by mountains or burning deserts of billowing sand, it was strongly fortified against invasion by nature, as well as by art. And nature, in assigning it such boundaries, and such a common source of plenty, seems to have marked it out as the seat of one monarchy. Early divided into provinces, under a regular government and police, every licentious motion was repressed by the vigilance of the magistrate; and the military body, a perpetual militia, stationed in different districts⁴¹⁷, were always ready to quell any popular tumult, bred by intestine discord. From peace flowed public prosperity; population, industry, arts and manufactures; the accumulation of wealth, and the conveniencies of life.

415. *Id. ibid.*

416. For the uninterrupted enjoyment of peace, Ægypt seems to have been long celebrated; for when the miserable remains of the kingdom of Judah, after the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, were promised indulgence if they would stay in their own land, they said, "No! but we will go into Ægypt, where we shall see no war, nor hear the sound of the trumpet." (*Jeremiah*, chap. xlii. ver. 14.) It was also plentiful, notwithstanding its full population. Hence the fugitive Jews added, in proposing to retire into Ægypt, "Nor shall we there know hunger." (*Id. ibid.*) And in a more early period, the Israelites, under Moses, often looked anxiously back from the frontiers of the *Promised Land*, to the luxurious plenty which they had enjoyed in Ægypt. See particularly *Numbers*, chap. xi. ver. 5—20.

417. *Herodotus*, lib. ii. csp. clxiv.—clxviii.

PART I.

PROUD of these acquisitions and accommodations, and restrained by their religion from a free intercourse with foreigners, as well as by the boundaries of their country, and the maxims of their policy, the Egyptians held all other nations in contempt. Yet viewed with a philosophic eye, their character as a people is less entitled to respect, than that of any other ancient nation, that had attained the same degree of civilization. The blind idolaters of that debasing system of superstition by which they were enslaved, they possessed few of the nobler virtues. Their manners were polished⁴¹⁸, and the severe prohibitions of law, with the rigid administration of justice, had subdued in them the excesses of the natural passions. But bigotry had kindled in their bosoms other passions, as violent as those of the rudest barbarian; and as little under the controul of reason, or the government of political prudence⁴¹⁹.

418. Herodotus, *Historiar.* lib. ii. cap. lxxx. Diod. Sicul. *Biblioth.* lib. i. p. 81.

419. I here allude to their extravagant sorrow on the death of their *sacred animals*, and the fanatical fury with which they were transported against those that killed any of them; but especially against such as killed an ibis, a hawk, or a cat, whether by design or accident. (See Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. lxx. lxxi. et Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 75.) Diodorus has furnished us with a famous instance to this purpose, in the killing of a *Cat*. When the Romans were negotiating an alliance with Ptolemy Auletes, whose right to the throne of Egypt they haughtily condescended to acknowledge, the Egyptians, conscious they were at the mercy of that conquering people, loaded the Roman deputies and their attendants with caresses, and took every possible care to avoid any cause of disgust or quarrel; yet, during that season of anxious solicitude and apprehension, a Cat being killed by a Roman, the Egyptian populace tumultuously ran to his lodging. And neither the officers sent by the king to command forbearance, nor the fear of the Romans, could deliver the man from the fury of the enraged multitude, though he had not *intentionally* killed the Cat. (Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 75.) "Of this," adds the historian, (*Biblioth.* ubi cit.) "I was an eye-witness, at the time of my travels in Egypt."

GENIUS the Egyptians certainly possessed; though that genius was more acute and steady, than liberal or elevated. They prosecuted works of expence and ingenuity with singular perseverance, and upon principles perfectly mathematical⁴²⁰; but being totally destitute of taste, they have failed to acquire a distinguished rank among the cultivators of the finer arts⁴²¹. Their architecture attempted to supply greatness of design, by immensity of fabric; substituting altitude for sublimity, and ponderous solidity for stability⁴²². Their statuary, like their architecture, delighted in huge masses of stone⁴²³. These they nicely chiselled into human or brute-forms, or a compound between the two; but displayed neither elegance of figure, animation of expression, nor grace in attitude⁴²⁴.

Their

420. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 88, 89.

421. Winkelmann, *Hist. de l'Art de l'Antiquité*, liv. ii chap. i.

422. Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 806, et seq. edit. Lutet. Paris. Typ. Reg.

420. As the Egyptians were ignorant of the art of constructing an arch, they could not give stability to their buildings without great waste of labour and materials; nor do they, after all, convey to us the idea of stability. (See the Plates in Pococke's and Norden's *Travels into Egypt*, &c.) A straight stone laid over a door, however thick or strongly supported by columns, has not the firmness of an arch. Hence the Egyptians, from want of skill to cast an arch, were obliged to make their doors very narrow. The inconvenience and inelegance of which may be easily conceived.

423. Many of these I have already had occasion to describe, on the authority of Herodotus; who saw the stupendous works of Egyptian art before they had been much defaced, and when they had suffered no admixture from the ingenuity of other nations. His testimony, therefore, is superior to that of every other ancient author. Diodorus Siculus, also highly deserving of credit, and next in point of time, mentions a statue in a sitting posture, the work of Memnon Syenesis, larger than any noticed by that venerable historian. The measure of the foot was seven cubits in length. (Diod. Sicul. *Biblioth.* lib. i. p. 44.) And the head of the wonderful Sphinx is still to be seen, which measures fifteen feet from the ear to the chin. Maillet, *Descript. de l'Égypte*, p. 221.

424. Winkelmann, *ubi sup.* The human figures in Egyptian sculpture have, with a few exceptions, their hands hanging down by their

PART I.

Their painting, if we except brilliancy and durability of colours, was void of every excellence belonging to that captivating art ⁴²⁵. The magical effects of light and shade, figures detached from their fond, and seeming to aspire after immortality; that beauty more than human, yet copied from human forms, familiar in the paintings of Græcian artists, never animated an Ægyptian tabature. Poetry they seem never to have cultivated; and music, as an art, their gloomy minds proscribed ⁴²⁶. But music was employed, in celebrating the festivals and mysteries of their religion; and poetry had produced one hymn, which was chanted on such occasions ⁴²⁷.

THE learning of the Ægyptians early attracted the curiosity of the Greeks. Their first sages travelled into Ægypt ⁴²⁸, and their most enlightened philosophers continued to consider the Ægyptian priests as their masters in science, and resorted to them for instruction ⁴²⁹. But in what the learning of the Ægyptians consisted, we are left in some measure to conjecture, as none of their ancient books have come down to us. That they were deeply skilled in the principles of mechanics, appears from the machinery requisite to erect their wonderful obelisks, and amazing pyramids. Geometry was necessary to enable them to conduct the numerous canals with which Ægypt was intersected, as well as to enable them to divide their lands anew, after

fides, and their feet close, or nearly so. (*Id. ibid.*) This learned, and enlightened antiquarian, has taken great care to distinguish the ancient Ægyptian style, from that which was introduced into Ægypt under the Macedonian monarchs, or Roman Emperors.

⁴²⁵. Winkelmann, *Hist. de l'Art. de l'Antiquité*, liv. ii. chap. iii. *Relat. du Soud.* ap Thevenot, tom. ii. Paul Lucas, *Voyage to the Levant*, vol. i. and all modern travellers of taste in the arts.

⁴²⁶. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 73.

⁴²⁷. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. lxxix.

⁴²⁸. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 86.

⁴²⁹. *Id. ibid.*

the annual inundations of the Nile ⁴³⁰. In this necessity geometry is said to have had its origin ⁴³¹.

LETTER

I.

THAT the Ægyptians had carried their astronomical observations to a high degree of perfection, is put beyond dispute by the exact computation of their year ⁴³²; by their calculation of eclipses, both lunar and solar ⁴³³; and also by their conjectures concerning the appearance of comets ⁴³⁴. Their progress in other sciences cannot be ascertained with any degree of certainty. But whatever might be the learning of the ancient Ægyptians, it was confined chiefly to the ecclesiastical body; who involved it in symbols and allegories, which they unriddled only to those that were initiated into their mysteries ⁴³⁵. And, after all, until it had been refined by flowing through Græcian channels, it seems to have been, like their Nile, but a muddy stream.

WHAT is acquired with difficulty is much prized. The Græcian sages, who travelled into Ægypt, were obliged to remain there for many years, and to go through progressive degrees of initiation, before they could obtain access to the arcana of the priests ⁴³⁶. They, therefore, set great value upon the secrets communicated to them; and kept up the high reputation of Ægyptian learning, after their own country was furnished with more precious treasures of science.

430. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. cviii. cix. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 73. Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 757. edit. sup. cit.

431. Id. ibid.

432. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 46. The Ægyptians computed their year at three hundred and sixty-five days, and one fourth, (Id. ibid.) or six hours; within twelve minutes of the computation of Sir Isaac Newton.

433. Ibid. Biblioth. lib. i. p. 73.

434. Id. ibid.

435. Clem. Alexand. Strom. lib. v. p. 566, edit. Paris.

436. Strabo, Geog. lib. xvii. p. 806. Clemens Alex. sup. cit. et Porphy. et Jamblic. in *Phil. Pythag.*

PART I.

VAIN of being able to number among their scholars the most eminent Græcian philosophers⁴³⁷, and flattered by the adulation of that haughty and presumptuous people, the Ægyptian priests arrogated to themselves and their venerable nation the invention of the whole circle of the sciences⁴³⁸; of *Letters* or *Alphabetic Characters*⁴³⁹, by which only science can be readily communicated; and the ordination of every civil and sacred institution. They first erected temples to the Gods, appointed festivals, and practised divination by oracles and otherwise⁴⁴⁰. They had sent out colonies into all countries, and civilized the human race; by communicating, along with the elements of the arts and sciences, their maxims of religion and government⁴⁴¹.

THESE

437. Strabo, ubi sup.

438. Diod. Sicul. *Biblioth.* lib. i. p. 63.

439. Id. *ibid.*

440. Herodotus, *Historiar.* lib. ii. cap. iv. lviii. lxxxiii. Divination had attained such perfection among the Ægyptians, through the ingenuity of priestcraft, that oracular responses were not delivered by any human being, but *apparently* by the Divinity consulted. (Id. *ibid.*) In what manner this was contrived we are left to conjecture; the venerable historian (who alone could have given us genuine information on the subject) having only told us, that it was done in different ways. (Herodot. ubi sup.) Two of those ways we can discover, with a degree of certainty. The Ægyptians, we know, had *vocal statues*. That of Memnon has become proverbial. These statues were of the Colossal kind; and, as they were hollow, could easily admit the priests within them. Thus the Gods might seem to speak. We have also reason to believe, that the prophetic answer was often delivered without any visible representation; by a voice issuing, with awful solemnity, from the profound gloom of the Ægyptian temples; while sacred pomp, and holy symbols, impressed upon the minds of the people the immediate presence of the Deity.

441. Herodot. lib. ii. et Diod. Sicul. lib. i. *passim*. The attachment of the Ægyptians to their own country, and their aversion against intercourse with foreigners, contradict their pretensions to extensive colonization. Truth will not permit us to rank the Chaldeans or Hebrews among the number of their emigrants; yet these they claimed. (Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 24, 73.) The Ægyptian leaders, who conducted colonies into Greece, seem to have been violently expelled: (Herodot.

THESE pretensions have been too fully admitted by writers both ancient and modern; but especially by the early and latter Greeks. The wise and learned Strabo allows only to the Ægyptians the invention of geometry ⁴⁴²; while he ascribes to the Phoenicians the invention of arithmetic, the art of keeping accompts, or registers of mercantile transactions, and the discovery of the use of the pole-star in nocturnal navigation ⁴⁴³. The Phoenicians, or Canaanites, have also a claim to the invention of *Letters*; for before the invasion of Canaan by the Israelites or Hebrews, Cadmus had carried the Phoenician alphabet into Greece ⁴⁴⁴; and we find in that country a city, which bore the name of Kirjath-sepher, or the *City of Letters*, in more ancient times ⁴⁴⁵.

LETTER

1.

THE

lib. ii. cap. clxxxii.) and must have been conveyed in Phoenician vessels. For the Egyptians appear to have been utterly unacquainted with navigation till the reign of Sesostris, and to have had no ships on the Mediterranean before the reign of Psammitichus.

442. Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 757.

443. Id. ibid.

444. The Arundelian or Oxford marbles, commonly called the *Parian Chronicle*, (Epoch vii.) place the arrival of Cadmus in Greece 1519 years before the Christian æra; and consequently twenty-nine years before the Israelites left Egypt, according to the Hebrew chronology, and sixty-nine years before they passed the river Jordan. That Cadmus brought the Phoenician alphabet into Greece is not disputed; and all ancient chronologers place his arrival nearly as high as the *Parian Chronicle*.

445. Joshua, chap. xv. ver. 15. It is impossible to fix the æra of the invention, or rather use of *Letters*, as *signs of words*; for it appears that *hieroglyphic symbols*, among an ingenious people, naturally and imperceptibly, mould themselves into *alphabetic characters*. (*Divine Legation of Moses*, book iv. sect. iv.) Dr Warburton conjectures, that after the use of *Letters* became common in Ægypt, the Ægyptian priests invented a *sacred alphabet* for secrecy. But from this opinion I must dissent; because *symbolical hieroglyphics*, soon after they ceased to be of general use, (if ever they were so) would become so obscure as to answer the purpose of the most profound secrecy. And Herodotus, in speaking of the *sacred and vulgar Letters* of the Ægyptians, (lib. ii. cap. xxx.) certainly meant no more than *hieroglyphic symbols* and *alphabetic characters*. This sufficiently appears by his telling us, (lib. ii. cap. cvi.) that the inscriptions

PART I.

THE strongest argument in favour of the Ægyptian claim to the invention of letters is, That Moses, soon after his escape with the Israelites out of Ægypt, having broken, in a pet, the two tables of the Law delivered to him by the LORD, inscribed the *Ten Commandments* on other two tables of stone⁴⁴⁶. But Moses might have learned the use of alphabetic characters, (if such he used) during his residence in Arabia with Jethro his father-in-law, the prince and priest of Midian⁴⁴⁷; for the Midianites were merchants, and carried on in conjunction with the Ishmaelites, in very early times, the trade between Syria and Egypt by land⁴⁴⁸, as the Canaanites did by sea.

THESE reflections, my Lord, will prepare your mind for an account of the

tions on the pillars erected by Sesostris were in the *sacred Letters of Ægypt*. For on all such monuments Dr. Warburton allows, and the remains of Ægyptian obelisks prove, that *hieroglyphics* only were inscribed.

446. *Exodus*, chap. xxxiv. ver. 27, 28.

447. Sir Isaac Newton did not scruple to ascribe to the Midianites, the honour of instructing Moses in the art of writing. (*Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms amended*, p. 210.) But if Moses, during his stay in Arabia, with Jethro his father-in-law, did not acquire the use of alphabetic writing, he was there instructed in matters of higher import. For when he approached Horeb or Oreb, the *Mountain of God*, the LORD appeared to him under the *Symbol of Fire*; (*Exodus*, chap. iii. ver. 12.) encouraged him to rescue the Hebrews from Ægyptian servitude; and gave him a *Rod*, which is termed the *Rod of God*, for the performance of *Miracles*. (*Exodus*, chap. iv. ver. 17—21.) We also know, that Moses profited by the counsels of Jethro; (*Exodus*, chap. xviii. ver. 17—27.) who appears to have been a prince of great wisdom, and experience in human affairs; and, as a priest, was no doubt profoundly skilled in all the mysteries of religion.

448. *Genesis*, chap. xxxvii. ver. 25—28.

*Early STATE of SYRIA, and the CONQUEST of
PALESTINE by the HEBREWS.*

UNDER the name of Syria I comprehend all that part of Lower Asia, which is bounded on the East by the Euphrates and the Arabian Desert; on the West by the Mediterranean; and which extends, in a southern direction, from the mountains Amanus and Taurus to Arabia Petræa and the northern frontier of Ægypt. This delightful and fertile country, naturally abounding in palm-trees, yielding the choicest dates, and producing by culture corn, wine, and oil, is agreeably diversified with hills and vallies, and washed in its whole extent by the sea; which, with refreshing breezes from the mountains, Libanus and Antilibanus, whose lofty summits are frequently covered with snow, moderates the heat of the climate. Syria lies between the thirty-second and thirty-seventh degrees of northern latitude.

WITH the northern part of Syria, or *Syria Proper*, in the first ages, we are utterly unacquainted. It appears to have been subject to the Assyrian monarchs; who, in conjunction with other eastern potentates, sometimes extended their dominion over the whole inland country, on both sides the river Jordan⁴⁴⁹. Hence Syria and Assyria are frequently confounded by the more ancient Græcian historians and geographers.

BUT of the state of the central, and southern part of Syria, in early times, we are better informed than of that of any other region on the face of the globe. Here we find men living, as nearly as possible, in a *state of nature*; without any legal institutions, under the fathers

449. *Genesis*, chap. xiv. ver. 1—12.

PART I.

of families and the heads of tribes⁴⁵⁰: yet here we discover no traces of that unfeeling barbarism, and brutal licentiousness, which poets have feigned, and credulous historians and philosophers adopted, concerning the manners of mankind in such a state. Here we find children obedient to their parents, and servants to their masters⁴⁵¹; subjects sharing with their chief all deliberations respecting general interest⁴⁵²; leagues solemnly ratified, and faithfully observed⁴⁵³; marriages contracted from love, and from family connection⁴⁵⁴; the sanctity of matrimonial engagements held in the highest reverence⁴⁵⁵; the loss of female virtue thought worthy of death⁴⁵⁶;

450. *Genesis*, chap. xiii.—xxiii. passim.

451. *Genesis*, chap. xxiv. passim.

452. *Genesis*, chap. xxiii. ver. 13—16.

453. *Genesis*, chap. xxi. ver. 22—32.

454. *Genesis*, chap. xxiv. xix. passim.

455. *Genesis*, chap. xx. ver. 3—16. chap. xvi. ver. 7—11. It is remarkable, that, in all these transactions, the various Syrian tribes discovered more confidence, and a higher sense of honour, than the Hebrews, who dwelt among them; though the Hebrews regarded themselves as the peculiar people of God, and had received assurances to that purpose. They wanted faith in man, whatever they might have in God; and seemed ever willing to prostitute their wives, rather than suffer in their own persons. The speech of Abimelech to Isaac is truly memorable. Isaac, like his father Abraham, had said that his wife was his sister; “lest the men of the place should kill him for *Rebekah*, because she was fair to look upon. And it came to pass, that “Abimelech, king of the Philistines, looked out at a window, and “saw Isaac sporting with *Rebekah* his wife. And Abimelech called “Isaac, and said, ‘Of a surety she is thy wife: and how saidst thou, “She is my sister?’—And Isaac said unto him, ‘Lest I die for her.’— “And Abimelech said, ‘What is this thou hast done unto us?—One of “the people might lightly have lain with thy wife, and thou shouldst “have brought guiltiness upon us.’ And Abimelech charged all the people, saying, ‘He that toucheth this man, or his wife, shall surely “be put to death.’” (*Genesis*, chap. xvi. ver. 7—11.) If disposed to display the baseness of the Hebrews, I might exhibit their perfidious cruelty in regard to the Shechemites; (*Genesis*, chap. xxxiv. passim.) But it is better to draw a veil over such horrid transactions.

456. *Genesis*, chap. xxxviii. ver. 24.

and adultery considered as a crime that called for the vengeance of Heaven⁴⁵⁷.

LETTER
L.

IN Syria, during those early times, we see Religion appearing in its most amiable and simple form: *one* God, the creator of all things, every where adored, without images, altars, or an established priesthood⁴⁵⁸; equal purity in faith and worship, principle and practice. But in proportion as wealth and luxury increased among the Syrian tribes, their religion grew more sensual. Like all eastern nations, they became addicted to the worship of the Heavenly Bodies⁴⁵⁹; and priestcraft employed images, and the whole apparatus of delusive superstition to attract the devotion of the people⁴⁶⁰.

CORRUPTION of manners (as it ever has, and ever will) necessarily followed the corruption of religion; for corrupt religion can find an apology or an expiation for every crime that does not clash with its own interests. The manners of the Syrians accordingly appear to have been deeply corrupted, when Moses led the Hebrews toward their frontiers⁴⁶¹; and to have continued so, in consequence of the corruptions of religion, for almost two thousand years⁴⁶². Their idolatrous superstition sanctified every licentious vice⁴⁶³, and drew into its vortex even the Hebrews themselves⁴⁶⁴; though set apart to preserve the worship of

457. *Genesis*, chap. xx. ver. 3—7. 458. *Genesis*, chap. xiv. et seq.

459. *Deuteronomy*, chap. xvii. ver. 3.

460. Selden, *de Diis Syris*, passim. They seem to have had, as early as the days of Moses, moveable tabernacles, vocal statues, and whatever could impose upon the credulity of the vulgar.

461. *Leviticus*, chap. xviii. ver. 6—26. *Numbers*, chap. xxv. ver. 1, 2. *Deuteronomy*, chap. ix. ver. 4.

462. Lucian, *de Syr. Dea*.

463. *Id. ibid.*

464. *Numbers*, chap. xxv. ver. 2. *Deuteronomy*, chap. xxxii. ver. 16, 17. *Judges*, chap. ii. ver. 13. *Samuel*, chap. vii. ver. 3. See also the two books of *Kings*, and the *Prophets*, passim.

one God without the use of idols, and entrenched within multifarious ceremonies.

MILTON, whose learning was as great as his genius, has given a striking description of the old Syrian Gods; in which poetry is made subservient to historical truth. The geographical delineation is highly beautiful and picturesque; and it is, on the whole, a just and highly-finished picture.

“First MOLOCH, horrid King! besmear’d with blood
 “Of human sacrifice, and parents’ tears;
 “Though for the noise of drums and timbrels loud
 “Their children’s cries unheard, that *pass’d through fire*
 “To this grim idol ⁴⁶⁵. Him the Ammonite
 “Worship’d in Rabba and her watery plain;
 “In Argob, and in Basan, to the stream
 “Of utmost Arnon.

“Next CHEMOS, th’ obscene dread of Moab’s sons
 “From Aroar to Nebo, and the wild
 “Of southmost Abarim; in Hesbon
 “And Horonaim, Sihon’s realm, beyond
 “The flow’ry dale of Sibma, clad with vines;
 “And Elealé, to the Asphaltic pool:
 “PEOR his other name ⁴⁶⁶.

“With

⁴⁶⁵. *Moloch* is thought by the Rabbins to have been *Saturn*. (Blackwell’s *Mythol.* Letter X.) And the idol here alluded to by Milton, seems to be that of the Carthaginian god, to whom Diodorus gives the name of *Kronos*, or *Saturn*. (Diod. Sicul. lib. xx. p. 756, edit. sup. cit.) To this god, whose worship was brought from Syria to Carthage, human sacrifices were profusely offered in times of public calamity; (Id. *Ibid.* et Justin. lib. xviii. cap. vi.) but especially *male children*, who were offered at all times. (Diod. Sicul. ubi sup.) The idol stood with extended, but declining arms, in the act of receiving; so that, when the human victim was presented to him, it dropt down into a devouring furnace. (Id. *ibid.*) A similar description of the idol *Moloch* is given by Selden, *de Diis Syr.* Syntag. i. cap. vi.

⁴⁶⁶. This god is called *Baal-Peor* by Moses; (*Numbers*, chap. xxv. ver. 5.) that is the *Lord PEOR*. For *Bel* or *Baal*, which signifies *Lord*, was a common title of honour added by the Eastern nations to the proper

- " With these came they, who from the bordering flood
 " Of old Euphrates, to the brook that parts
 " Ægypt from Syrian ground, had general names
 " Of BAALIM and ASHTAROTH ⁴⁶⁷: *those* male,
 " *These* feminine.

- " ASTORETH, whom the Phœnicians called
 " ASTARTE, *Queen of Heaven!* with crescent horns ⁴⁶⁸;
 " To whose bright image nightly, by the *Moon*,

proper names of all the celestial Gods; but applied, without any proper name, to the SUN; (Servius, *ad Virg. Æniad.* lib. i. ver. 733.) when held up to the idolatry of the people as the Supreme Deity, the *Lord*, or *King of Heaven*; in the same manner as the MOON was worshipped as the *Queen of Heaven*.

Peor seems have been the same with the Ægyptian *Bacchus*, or the SUN considered as the *principle of generation*. In Ægypt, at the festival of Bacchus, women walked in procession, carrying obscene images; so ingeniously framed, that the very *nerves of the virile member were seen to move*, while the wanton females sung the praise of the genial God. (Herodot. lib. ii. cap. xlviii.) And the daughters of Moab appear to have been employed in some such lascivious festival, when they enticed the Israelites, under Moses, to commit whoredom with them, and to worship *Peor*. (*Numbers*, chap. xxv. ver. 1, 2, 3.) Grotius (*ad Deuteron.* cap. iv. ver. 3.) thinks the name of this God expressive of the *finsual part of male nature*, as APHERODITE, or *Venus*, was of the *motions of female lewdness* in the organ of generation.

467. The BAALIM, or *Lords*, were the *Host of Heaven*, or the *Celestial Hierarchy*, under the government of BAAL, their *Supreme Lord*, or *King*. To some of those were given *male*, and to others *female names*, according to the reputed qualities of the spiritual intelligences, by which the several planets were thought to be animated. ASHTAROTH was the *general title for the female planets*, as BAALIM was for the *male*; and it appears to have been applied individually alike to the planet VENUS and to the MOON, both having a *real*, or *imaginary relation, to female nature*; to the qualities which lead to enjoyment, and those that are essential to propagation. To the *Moon*, however, was paid superior honour, because of her superior influence and effulgence: she reigned as *Queen*, and divided with her *Lord* the empire of the heavens, while both superintended the affairs of the earth. This was the chief article in the popular creed of the Syrian nations.

468. In the form of a *crescent*; to represent the appearance of the *Moon* during her increase, the festival of the Goddess being at *Full Moon*.

" Sidonian

PART I.

" Sidonian virgins paid their vows and songs :
 " In Sion also not unfung, where stood
 " Her temple on th' offensive mountain, built
 " By that uxorious king ⁴⁶⁹, whose heart, though large,
 " Beguil'd by fair idolatresses, fell
 " To idols soul.

" THAMMUZ, ———

" Whose annual wound in Lebanon allur'd
 " The Syrian damsels to lament his fate
 " In amorous ditties all a summer's day ;
 " While smooth Adonis from his native rock
 " Ran purple to the sea, supposed with blood
 " Of Thammuz yearly wounded ⁴⁷⁰. The love tale
 " Infected

469. The wife Solomon, who built and dedicated the famous Temple of Jerusalem to *one* God, the Creator of the Universe ; yet, who also built in its neighbourhood, temples to most of the Syrian deities ; and, among others, one to ASHTAROTH. (1 *Kings*, chap. xi. ver. 5—7.) The worship of this Goddess, which early drew aside the chosen people, (*Judges*, chap. ii. ver. 13) was peculiarly attractive to the women. They considered the *Queen of Heaven* as the cause of all their felicity, and obstinately persisted in worshipping her. (*Jeremiah*, chap. xlv. ver. 17, 18, 19.) Living in a land of superstition and sensuality, they were disgusted at the idea of a *solitary God* : they wanted a *female tutelary Deity*, a *divine Patrons*, a *Wife* for the LORD.

470. Of this annual mourning for a *wounded God*, which prevailed in various countries, Vossius has given the most satisfactory explanation. He conjectures, that the lamentations for *Thammuz*, or the SUN *in his beauty*, were occasioned by the retiring of that luminary toward the northern regions after the summer-solstice, (when those lamentations were made) and the consequent wound to vegetable and animal life. (*Hist. Idolat.* lib. ii. cap. v.) Hence exclaims another learned antiquarian, " No wonder the *loss* of this ADONIS should be loudly lamented in Assyria, in Ægypt, in Phœnicia, and in all the countries tintured with their superstitions : or that his return to impregnate the world with genial vigour should be welcomed with the highest demonstrations of joy. With whom should VENUS, the susceptible power of generation, be in love?—Whose absence should she mourn, when he goes a hunting through the monsters of the ZODIAC, and approaches too near the frozen Bear, but this mighty source of Life and Love?" (*Blackwell, Mythol.* Lett. xvii.) The reddening of the river Adonis, or of Thammuz, at the annual mourning for his wound, though heightened into a

miracle

" Infected Sion's daughter with like heat ;
" Whose wanton passions in the sacred porch
" Ezekiel saw ⁴⁷¹ ; when, by the vision led,
" His eye survey'd the dark idolatries
" Of alienated Judah.

" Next came one,
" DAGON his name ; sea-monster, upward man,
" And downward fish ⁴⁷² : yet had his temple high
" Rear'd in Azorus, *dreaded* through the coast
" Of Palestine, in Gath, and Ascalon,
" And Accoron, and Gaza's frontier bounds.
" Him follow'd RIMMON ⁴⁷³, whose delightful seat
" Was fair Damascus ⁴⁷⁴ ; on the fertile banks
" Of Abbana and Pharphar, lucid streams ⁴⁷⁵."

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miracle by priestcraft, proceeded from a natural cause. (Lucian, *Syr. Dia.* and Maundrel, *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*.)

471. See Ezekiel, chap. viii. ver. 13. He afterward describes the idolatries of Judah in language too highly coloured for any page but that of Holy Writ. I shall, however, transcribe the most chaste passages, for the purposes of illustration. " She (Judah) doted upon the Assyrians, her neighbours, captains and rulers, clothed most gorgeously ; horsemen riding upon horses, all of them desirable young men ; girded with girdles upon their loins, exceeding in dyed attire upon their heads, all of them princes to look to, after the manner of the Babylonians of Chaldaea. And as soon as she saw them with her eyes, she doted upon them, and sent messengers unto them into Chaldea ; and the Babylonians came to her into the bed of love, and defiled her with their whoredom. Yet she multiplied her whoredoms ; in calling to remembrance the days of her youth, wherein she played the harlot in the land of Egypt." *Ezek.* chap. xxiii. ver. 12—19.

472. *Dagon*, like his idol, appears to have been a compound deity, allegorically descriptive of the *plenty yielded by the land and sea* ; to which his worshippers were equally indebted for their subsistence. The word *dread* employed by Milton, in speaking of this and other idols, is the natural consequence of his representing the Heathen Gods as Devils.

473. Of *Rimmon*, we know no more than what the poet has expressed.

474. Damascus, like all places where mankind can find plentiful subsistence, appears very early to have been a city ; for we find, that the steward of the house of Abraham was " Eliezer of Damascus." *Genesis*, chap. xv. ver. 2.

475. *Paradise Lost*, book i. The Syrians had some Gods not described.

PART I.

THE corrupt religion of the Syrian nations, with the consequent corruption of manners, furnishes the best apology that can be offered for the violent, and unprovoked invasion of their country, by the Hebrews. For if we admit that the Deity ever miraculously interposes in human affairs, or sanctions proceedings contrary to the laws of moral justice, the strongest call for such interposition must be the extirpation of a bloody and sensual idolatry; the nurse of every licentious vice, and the parent of unnatural crimes⁴⁷⁶. Moses, however, makes small use of this argument, as an incentive; but perpetually reiterates to the *chosen people*, the *promise* made by the LORD to Abraham, their venerable ancestor, and to the patriarchs Isaac and Jacob⁴⁷⁷, of all the land on both sides the river Jordan, and from mount Lebanon to the Ægyptian border. Having found too little zeal in the hearts of that people for the pure religion which he had promulgated to them, to rest his hopes of success on their zeal for the destruction of idolatry, though his fears were many lest they should become infected with it, he held up to them, along with the *promise* of the LORD, renewed in their presence, the *beauty* and *fertility* of the destined country⁴⁷⁸. And he fed them with its spoils.

MYSTERIOUS, as it may seem, this desirable country was promised to the seed of Abraham before the

scribed by Milton. The most distinguished of these was MELICARTHUS, by the Greeks called the *Phanician Hercules*; seemingly one of the titles of the SUN, the tutelary God of Tyre, (Herodot. lib. ii. cap. xlii.) and the *Patron of bold Adventure*. See Selden *de Diis Syr.* Syntag. ii. cap. vii.

476. *Leviticus*, chap. xviii. ver. 2—30. chap. xx. ver. 2, 3. *Deuteronomy*, chap. xii. ver. 31.

477. *Deuteronomy*, chap. i. ver. 8. 21. chap. iv. ver. 37, 38. chap. vii. ver. 1. 8. chap. ix. ver. 5. chap. xvii. ver. 14. chap. xxxi. ver. 7.

478. *Deuteronomy*. chap. viii. ver. 7, 8, 9. A land of hills and valleys, abounding in fountains and brooks; and producing wheat, barley, grapes, olives, figs, and other choice fruit. Id. *ibid*.

inha-

inhabitants had become idolaters⁴⁷⁹; and a prophetic curse had been denounced against them, before they were a people⁴⁸⁰. How wonderful are the councils of Heaven!—but in nothing revealed to man, so wonderful, as in the predilection of the *Most High* for the Hebrew nation⁴⁸¹.

THUS, my Lord, am I naturally led to bring under your view this ancient people. The early part of the history of the Hebrews you will find related in the first book of Moses⁴⁸², and with a simplicity and mi-

479. *Genesis*, chap. xii. ver. 1—7. That the Canaanites were not then idolaters appears in the subsequent chapters.

480. *Genesis*, chap. ix. ver. 24—27. “And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him; and he said, *Cursed be Canaan!—a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.* And he said, *Blessed be the Lord God of Shem!—and Canaan shall be his servant.* God shall enlarge Japheth; and *He shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant.*” (Id. *ibid.*) The Hebrews were a branch of the posterity of Shem.

481. Dr. Warburton denies this predilection; (*Divine Legation of Moses*, book v. sect. i.) and boldly asserts, that “to pretend they were chosen as favourites is both unjust and absurd.” (Id. *ibid.*) But, in so saying, he impeaches the veracity of the sacred historian. For Moses expressly tells the Israelites or Hebrews, “because the LORD loved thy fathers, therefore, he chose their seed after them; and brought thee out in his sight, with his mighty power, out of Egypt:—to drive out nations from before thee, greater and mightier than thou; to bring thee in, to give thee their land for an inheritance.” (*Deuteronomy*, chap. iv. ver. 37, 38.) “The LORD,” adds he, “did not set his love upon you, nor choose you, because ye were more in number than any people; but because the LORD loved you, and because he would keep the oath which he had sworn unto your fathers.” (*Deuteronomy*, chap. vii. ver. 7, 8.) He afterwards tells us, that “when the MOST HIGH divided to the nations their inheritance; when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people according to the number of the Children of Israel; for Jacob is the lot of His inheritance. He kept him as the apple of his eye;” with such affection, “as an eagle fluttereth over her young.” (*Deuteron.* chap. xxxii. ver. 8—11.) Yet the Israelites, we are told, (ver. 20.) were “a very froward generation, children in whom was no faith!”

482. *Genesis*, chap. xii.—xxxviii.

PART I.

nuteness that bear the strongest marks of truth; setting aside all regard to that divine inspiration, which is supposed to have guided the pen of the sacred historian. To the sacred page I must also refer you, for an account of the sojourning in Ægypt, and wonderful deliverance of the Israelites or Hebrews from Ægyptian servitude, in consequence of a multitude of miracles⁴⁸³; for their wanderings in the Arabian desert, where they were supernaturally supplied with food, during the term of forty years⁴⁸⁴; and for the awful manifestation of the *Divine Presence*⁴⁸⁵ at Mount Sinai or Horeb⁴⁸⁶; where the LORD had first appeared to Moses, under the *symbol of FIRE*, in the *bush burning*, yet *not consumed*⁴⁸⁷.

THESE I leave theological writers to display and investigate. For they partake too much of the marvelous to be submitted to the cool enquiries of the philosophic historian; who is bound to reconcile to the laws of nature and probability every circumstance he relates, or to expose it as falsehood and imposture. It was dangerous to approach too near the Mount⁴⁸⁸: I shall,

483. *Gen.* chap. xxxix.—1. *Exod.* chap. i — xiv.

484. *Exod.* chap. xvi. xvii. *Deuteron.* chap. v. ver. 6. 12.

485. The words of the sacred historian only can do justice to the subject. "And it came to pass on the third day in the morning, that there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the Mount, and the voice of the trumpets exceeding loud; so that all the people in the camp trembled. And Moses brought out the people out of the camp to meet with God; and they stood at the nether part of the Mount. And Mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the LORD descended upon it in FIRE:—and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole Mount quaked greatly. And when the voice of the trumpet sounded long, and waxed louder and louder, Moses spake, and God answered him by a Voice." *Exodus*, chap. xix. ver. 17, 18, 19.

486. Compare *Exod.* chap. xix. ver. 16—19. with *Deuteron.* chap. iv. ver. 10, 11, 12.

487. *Exod.* chap. iii. ver. 1—6.

488. *Exod.* chap. xix. ver. 21. "And the LORD said unto Moses, Go down and charge the people, lest they break through unto the LORD to gaze, and many of them perish." *Id.* *ibid.*

there-

therefore, keep at a reverential distance, and maintain a profound silence, in regard to this, and other sacred transactions connected with it. But the institutions of Moses, the illustrious Hebrew legislator, demand my attention as an observer of the progress of human affairs, and of the rise of civil and religious establishments.

LETTER

I.

IN the meantime, I must observe, that Syria continued divided, as formerly, into a number of small kingdoms, when Joshua, the Hebrew general, passed the river Jordan at the head of a mighty host ⁴⁸⁹.

THE conquest of Palestine, by this tremendous warrior, being circumstantially related in the *Scriptural Book* that bears his name ⁴⁹⁰, I shall here only mention, in general terms, the issue of his enterprize. The heads of the Syrian kingdoms, principalities or townships, having chosen no common leader, nor digested any regular plan of defence, though they knew the Hebrews had been long hovering on their frontier, several of those petty kingdoms, on both sides Jordan, were subdued, and the inhabitants put to the sword, before any league was formed for opposing the cruel invaders ⁴⁹¹. At last, however, threatened with utter extirpation, a general alliance was concerted among the remaining kings between Jordan and the sea ⁴⁹²; but Joshua, by forced marches, falling twice unexpectedly upon the combined army, routed it with great slaughter ⁴⁹³. And the victorious Hebrews settled in the southern part of Syria ⁴⁹⁴, still known by the name of *Palestine*.

489. *Joshua*, chap. iii. iv.

490. See *Joshua*, chap. vi.—xii.

491. *Deuteron.* chap. ii. iii. *Joshua*, chap. vi. vii. viii.

492. *Joshua*, chap. ix. ver. 1, 2. chap. xi. ver. 1—5.

493. *Joshua*, chap. x. ver. 8, 9. chap. xi. ver. 7, 8.

494. *Joshua*, chap. xi. ver. 16—23.

PART I.

IN the centre of the coast of Syria, between the mountains of Libanus and the Mediterranean Sea, stood Sidon and Tyre; the two first seats of commerce and naval power. To the narrow territory, belonging to these two famous cities, the Greeks gave the name of *Phoenice*, or Phoenicia, and to the inhabitants that of Phoenicians. But they, and the people of the interior country, were called *Canaanites* by the Hebrews⁴⁹⁵. And we learn from the sacred records, that, when Joshua led the Israelites into the *promised land*, and attempted utterly to destroy the people of the neighbouring districts, he made no attack upon *Great Zidon* or *Strong Tyre*⁴⁹⁶; yet many respectable writers, both ancient and modern, refer the founding of Tyre to a later age; because no mention is made of it in the poems of Homer. But Herodotus was better informed on this subject⁴⁹⁷.

I NOW return to the institutions of Moses. This extraordinary man having rescued the Hebrew nation from Ægyptian servitude, and conducted them into the Wilderness of Sinai⁴⁹⁸, in Arabia Petræa, there promulgated a body of laws⁴⁹⁹; which, though the most ancient upon record, contain the soundest maxims of legislative wisdom.

Ant. Ch.
1491.

495. *Numbers*, chap. xiii. ver. 29. "The *Canaanites* dwell by the sea, and by the coast of Jordan." Id. *ibid*.

496. *Joshua*, chap. xix. ver. 28, 29.

497. Herodot. *Historiar.* lib. ii. cap. xlv.

498. *Exodus*, chap. xiii.—xix. There is something very like carnal policy in the reason assigned for the Israelites taking this route. "And it came to pass, when Pharaoh had let the people go, that God led them not through the way of the Philistines, although that was near; for God said, 'Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to Ægypt.' But God led the people about, through the way of the wilderness." *Exodus*, chap. xiii. ver. 17, 18.

499. *Exodus*, chap. xx.—xxxiv.

FOUR statutes in the Mosaic code, "Thou shalt not *kill*; thou shalt not *steal*; thou shalt not *bear false witness*; thou shalt not *commit adultery*⁵⁰⁰;" comprehend, in few words, the elements of universal jurisprudence. For, although different legislators have decreed different penalties for the offences they prohibit, they have formed the basis of *Criminal Law* among all civilized nations, ancient and modern. Varied in their application by circumstances, but unaltered in their object, they are as essential to the good order of society, as the four elements to the system of nature.

LETTER
I.

THESE statutes were closely connected with the *worship* of ONE God, whose will imposed them⁵⁰¹, and who *prohibited* the corrupting *use of images*; with *reverence* for the *name* of that God, to strengthen the obligation of an oath, and inspire pious awe; with *respect* to *parents*, the natural foundation of all civil submission; with an *admonition* against *covetousness*, the contagious root of violence and injustice; and with the *religious observance* of *one day in the week*⁵⁰², set apart for rest, recollection, and sacred duties.

500. *Exod.* chap. xx. ver. 13—16.

501. In saying that the *will of God* imposed these statutes, so necessary to the welfare of the human race, I mean no *arbitrary will*, or *will merely imperative*; but that *constituting will*, which regulated MORAL FITNESS, and implanted in the human breast the *sense of discerning that Fitness*. The *Will of God*, thus explained, is the same with MORAL FITNESS, which the *Moral Sense* was given to *recognise*. Every Legislator, therefore, who institutes ordinances calculated for the happiness of mankind, may be said, in philosophic language, to have a *just claim to Divine Authority*. Hence an inquisitive and sagacious historian (*Diod. Sicul. Biblioth.* lib. i. p. 48.) ranks Moses among the illustrious ancient Legislators, who had *asserted their right to such authority*; either, remarks he, (*ibid.*) because *they believed their laws to have something divine in them, for human good*; or because *they supposed the people would be more observant of them, from their veneration for the God that was thought to have framed them*.

502. *Exod.* chap. xx. ver. 3—17.

PART I.

THE Mosaic institutions also contain the most early system of ecclesiastical polity of which history has furnished us with any particulars. There we find a Hebrew tribe constituted into a *sacred order*, as in *Ægypt*, for the ministration of holy things⁵⁰³. But to the worship of God, and to trespasses connected with that worship and its various ceremonies, the official authority of the Hebrew priests and Levites was confined⁵⁰⁴. They had no concern in secular affairs; in the administration of civil justice, or in public deliberations⁵⁰⁵. These were committed to the *Elders* or senators of the several tribes⁵⁰⁶. The Levites had not even a share in the division of the *Promised Land*⁵⁰⁷; but a certain number of cities, in the territory of each secular tribe, were assigned them, in addition to the emoluments arising from the numerous sacrifices and offerings annually made or devoted to the LORD⁵⁰⁸. Thus dispersed through the whole land, the Levites became every where the guardians of that religion by which they subsisted⁵⁰⁹; and the establishment of which, as

I shall

503. *Exod.* chap. xxviii. xxix. throughout; chap. xl. ver. 12—15. *Leviticus*, chap. viii. ver. 6—26. *Deuteron* chap. x. ver. 9. chap. xviii. ver. 1—5.

504. See the book of *Leviticus* throughout.

505. *Ibid.*

506. *Deuteron.* chap. xxi. ver. 9. Moses, who had seen the abuses of sacerdotal power in *Ægypt*, wisely separated the ecclesiastical from the civil jurisdiction. He, therefore, delivered one copy of the Law to the Levites, who had the cognizance of holy things; and one to the Elders, who had the superintendence of civil affairs. See also *Deuter.* chap. xvi. ver. 18. "Judges shalt thou make thee, throughout all thy tribes; and they shall judge the people with just judgment." *Ibid.*

507. *Deuteron.* chap. xviii. ver. 1, 2.

508. *Numbers*, chap. xxxv. ver. 2—8. *Leviticus*, chap. v.—xxvii. *Deuteron.* chap. xviii. ver. 3, 4, 5.

509. The Mosaic religion seems to have had little peculiar to it, but the doctrine of the UNITY of the Deity publicly inculcated. Its Festivals and Ceremonies were chiefly borrowed, with some variation, from the Egyptian worship; (*Divine Legation of Moses*, book iv. sect. vi.)

and

I shall shew, was the great object of Moses, the Vicegerent of God, in framing his laws.

LETTER
I.

BUT what is truly singular, we find not in the Mosaic institutions, either ecclesiastical or civil, any reference to a *Future State of Rewards and Punishments*, so zealously inculcated by Heathen legislators⁵¹⁰. This omission has been considered by an oracle in learning, and a dignitary of the church, as an incontestable argument for the *divine origin* of those institutions⁵¹¹; though in the eye of impartial reason, it can only be regarded as a proof of the political sagacity of the Hebrew legislator. He was leading an obstinate people, through many dangers and difficulties, to the *country promised them* by the LORD; and any prospect of a *happy state, beyond the grave*, might have relaxed their endeavours, for attaining their earthly Canaan.

IN making this remark, I mean not to question the *divine origin* of the Mosaic institutions; but to shew the folly of *resting the proof of it* on an omission, which naturally leads to a different conclusion. I am even of opinion, that the Hebrews, both before and after the Exodus, believed in a future state, though all the promises and threatenings in the Mosaic law are temporal; and that Moses having placed them under the regal government of God, the *mysteriously visible head*

and its symbols are evidently *Zabian*. They have all a reference to the SEVEN great COELESTIAL BODIES, or to the Figures used in the worship of the Heavenly Bodies; but especially of the SUN. (Compare *Exod.* chap. xxv. xxvi. with *Specim. Hist. Arab.* ap. Pocock.) And the TWELVE Tribes of Israel correspond to the number of the GREATER GODS of Gentile antiquity.

510. See *Divine Legation of Moses*, book ii. sect. iii. and the authorities there cited.

511. This is the fundamental, but paradoxical principle, upon which Warburton's *Divine Legation of Moses* is declaredly written, See particularly book vi. sect. i. ii.

PART I.

of their theocratic monarchy, did not think it necessary to propound future rewards and punishments, these being understood to be ultimately awarded by their Heavenly King⁵²². Nor will it derogate from the divinity of Moses's mission, to say that he forbore to insist on such rewards and punishments for political reasons, suited to the circumstances of the people under

512. The nature of the Hebrew government is little understood. It was a THEOCRACY, or *mixed monarchy*, under the *spiritual and temporal* government of God. Moses was his *Minister* or *Viceroy*. Joshua and the *Judges* maintained the same character; and the *Kings* were only his *Viceroy*s, invested with the ensigns and the functions of royalty. (See *Divine Legation of Moses*, book v. sect. i. ii. iii. and the passages of Scripture there cited.) The manner in which the *Divine Presence* was to be manifested, after the promulgation of the Law, and the erection of the Tabernacle, is thus described by God himself. "And let them make me a SANCTUARY, that I may dwell among them. According to all that I shew thee, after the pattern of the TABERNACLE, and the pattern of all the instruments thereof, even so shall ye make it. And they shall make an ARK of Shittim wood: two cubits and an half shall be the length thereof, and a cubit and a half the breadth thereof. And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold; within and without shalt thou overlay it, and shalt make upon it a CROWN of gold round about. And thou shalt make a MERCY-SEAT of pure gold; two cubits and a half shall be the length thereof, and a cubit and a half the breadth thereof. And thou shalt make Two CHERUBIMS of gold; of beaten gold shalt thou make them, in the two ends of the MERCY-SEAT. And make one CHERUB on one end, and the other CHERUB on the other end. And the CHERUBIMS shall stretch forth their wings on high, covering the MERCY-SEAT with their wings; and their faces shall look one to another. Towards the MERCY-SEAT shall the faces of the CHERUBIMS be. And thou shalt place the MERCY-SEAT above upon the ARK; and in the ARK thou shalt put the TESTIMONY. And there I will meet with thee; and I will commune with thee from above the MERCY-SEAT; from between the two CHERUBIMS, which are upon the ARK of the TESTIMONY; of all things which I will give thee in commandment unto the Children of Israel." (See *Exodus*, chap. xxv. ver. 8—22.) "And the LORD said unto Moses, 'Speak unto Aaron thy brother, that he come not at all times into the Holy Place within the Veil before the MERCY-SEAT, which is upon the ARK, that he die not; for I will appear in the CLOUD upon the MERCY-SEAT.'" *Leviticus*, chap. xvi. ver. 2.

his conduct, and calculated to answer the primary end of that mission; the speedy establishment of the worship of *one* God, in a land where idolatrous superstition had given birth to every crime that can disgrace human nature ⁵¹³.

LETTER
I.

THE author of the *Divine Legation*, however, endeavours to prove, that the Hebrews *did not believe* in a *Future State* before the *Babylonish Captivity* ⁵¹⁴; and that Moses *intentionally concealed from them* this important truth ⁵¹⁵. But if the Hebrews had been left by God to acquire the knowledge of a future state from other nations, they might surely have learned it from the *Ægyptians*, among whom it had been taught from time immemorial ⁵¹⁶. And as the LORD permitted Moses to borrow from that people many religious solemnities ⁵¹⁷, we cannot believe that the doctrine of *immortality*; the hope most congenial to the human soul, and the firmest support of legislation, when regulated by the measures of *just* and *unjust*, could have been forbidden to be inculcated by the Deity.

⁵¹³. *Deuteron.* chap. ix. ver. 5. chap. xii. ver. 30. This representation of the manners of the Syrian nations, which I have hitherto considered as just, was given, it must be owned, by an historian interested to delineate them in the blackest colours. But the Mosaic history, though calculated to countenance the claim of the Hebrews to the *Promised Land*, seems to contain a faithful description of the state of government and manners in Syria, from the time of Abraham to that of Moses. I therefore have not scrupled to quote it as sound historical evidence; in whatever regards the state of Syria, and even of *Ægypt* in early times. The vices of the Hebrews are not screened, nor the virtues of other nations concealed by Moses.

⁵¹⁴. See Warburton's *Divine Legation of Moses*, book vi. sect. i. ii. iii.

⁵¹⁵. *Divine Legation of Moses*, book v. sect. v. "I shall shew," says he, "that this omission was not accidental; but that, on the contrary, it was a *designed* omission:—and of a *THING well known by him* (Moses) to be of *high importance to Society*." *Id. ibid.*

⁵¹⁶. *Divine Legation*, book ii. sect. iv.

⁵¹⁷. *Id.* book iv, sect. vi.

PART I.

To maintain, therefore, that Moses *intentionally concealed* this doctrine, so worthy of *Divine Goodness*, and essential to the happiness of mankind, is to represent him as a mere human politician; the framer of a religious system, which he proposed to establish by violence, in cutting off from the oppressed Hebrews all hopes but those of worldly advantages; stimulating them to acts of blood, in order to desolate the land that he had presumptuously promised them; and there to place a religion, which, though pure in principle, had its origin in imposture, and was founded by the sword.

THE Mosaic institutions were distinguished from all others by their *promulgation*, as well as by the *omission* of the doctrine of a *Future State*.

MANY ancient Legislators published their ordinances under the pretended sanction of some God. But Moses is the only ancient Legislator, who ever promulgated a body of laws in the name of ONE GOD, the *Creator of the Universe*, and introduced them with an account of the *beginning of all things*⁵¹⁸; the creation of the Heavens,

§18. *Genesis*, chap. i. Dr. Warburton attempts to form a distinction between Moses as an *Historian* and as a *Legislator*; (*Divine Legation*, book v. sect. v.) but I can see no reason for such distinction. That portion of his history, which precedes the promulgation of his laws, appears obviously intended to *facilitate their reception*. This the Doctor is forced, in some instances, to admit. And he pushes the matter even farther than is necessary to establish the point. For he tells us, that Moses, in relating the "*History of the Fall*" mentions only the *instrument* of the *Agent*, the SERPENT; not the *Agent* himself, the DEVIL. And the reason is plain," adds he, "there was a close connection between that *agency* and the doctrine of a *Future State*;" which, according to the Doctor's hypothesis, Moses laboured to conceal from the Hebrews. "What but this," asks he, "could be the cause of the omission?—When it is so evident, that the knowledge of the grand enemy of our welfare would have been the *likeliest cure* of IDOLATRY; as

"teaching

vens and the Earth; the formation of animals, both brute and rational; the *infusion* of the *Human Soul*, and the *origin* of *Natural* and *Moral Evil*⁵¹⁹; to say nothing of the *tremendous signs* of the *Divine Presence*, manifested to a whole people⁵²⁰.

LETTER
I.

BUT although the laws of Moses, worthy of their imputed author, discover the deepest wisdom, and abound with maxims of mild humanity, his instructions to the Israelites, on their approaching the *Promised Land*, breathe such a cruel and sanguinary spirit, as fills the heart with horror. Instead of ordering them to expel, or make slaves of the vanquished inhabitants, according to the ungenerous practice of ancient Heathen nations, he commands them, when most lenient, to slay every man and male child with the edge of the sword, and every woman who had known man, by lying with him⁵²¹; but of the people of the land more particularly promised, he orders them to cut off man, woman, and child, without distinction of age or sex⁵²².

"teaching men to esteem it a mere diabolical illusion." *Divine Legation of Moses*, book v. sect. v.

If Moses could thus have cured mankind, or even the Hebrew nation, of their rage for idolatry, he acted a part equally weak and wicked in concealing from them the *cause* of moral turpitude, the *agency* of the *Devil*. For the propensity of the Hebrews to idolatry vexed him all his life; and both he and his successors shed torrents of blood, that the *People of God* might be preserved from the idolatries of the Syrian nations. Nor were they ever cured of their inordinate passion for idols, until their return from the Babylonish captivity; when, the learned prelate allows, (*Divine Legation*, book vi. sect. ii.) they had acquired the knowledge of the *Author of Evil*, and the doctrine of a *Future State*.

519. *Genesis*, chap. ii. iii.

520. *Exodus*, chap. xix. xxx.

521. *Numbers*, chap. xxxi. ver. 17, 18. "Now, therefore, kill every male among the little ones, and kill every woman that hath known a man by lying with him; but all the women children, that have not known a man by lying with him, keep alive for yourselves." *Id. ibid.*

522. *Deuteronomy*, chap. xx. ver. 16, 17. "That they teach you not to do after all the abominations, which they have done unto their Gods; so should ye sin against the Lord your God." *Id. ver. 19.*

PART I.

IN giving these instructions Moses appears to have been partly guided by political necessity, partly by the rigid maxims of political prudence. He knew the difficulty of expulsion, and was apprehensive that the conquered countries would not be sufficient for the support of the native inhabitants, and the new comers. He foresaw the probability of a multitude of slaves rebelling against their masters; of women, but especially such as had been connected with the men of the country, aiding rebellion; and also of leading the Israelites into IDOLATRY, which his laws had guarded against by the most severe prohibitions. On that hinge his whole system turned.

To preserve a chosen people in the worship of ONE GOD, and found their exaltation on their separation from all other nations, by this and other peculiarities in their religious institutions, was the pious purpose of Moses. Hence his exhortation to the Israelites, before they entered the *Promised Land*.

“HEARKEN, O Israel! unto the *statutes*, and unto
 “the *judgments*, which *I teach you*; that ye may live,
 “and go in and possess the land, which the LORD God
 “of your fathers giveth you. Keep, therefore, and do
 “them; for what nation hath statutes and judgements
 “so righteous, as all this Law, which I set before you?
 “—Keep thy soul diligently, lest thou forget the things
 “which thine eyes have seen, especially on the day
 “thou stoodest before the LORD thy God in Horeb;
 “when the LORD said unto me, ‘Gather the people
 “together, and I will make them hear my words; that
 “they may learn to fear me all the days that they shall
 “live upon the earth, and that they may teach their
 “children.’ And ye came near, and stood under the
 “mountain; and the mountain burned with fire unto the
 “midst of Heaven; with darkness, clouds, and thick
 dark-

“darkness. And the LORD spake unto me out of the LETTER
L.
 “midst of the FIRE. Ye heard the voice of the words,
 “but saw no SIMILITUDE: ye only heard a VOICE.
 “And He declared unto you his Covenant, which he
 “commanded you to perform, TEN COMMAND-
 “MENTS; and wrote them upon Two Tables of Stone.
 “And the LORD commanded me, at that time, to teach
 “you statutes and judgements, that ye might do them in
 “the Land ye go over to possess.

“TAKE ye, therefore, good heed unto yourselves;
 “for ye saw no manner of Similitude on the day that the
 “LORD spake unto you in Horeb, out of the midst of
 “the fire:—take heed lest ye corrupt yourselves, and
 “make you a GRAVEN IMAGE; the similitude of any
 “figure⁵²³, the likenesses of male or of female; the likenesses
 “of any beast that is on the earth; the likenesses of any
 “fowl that flieth in the air; the likenesses of any thing
 “that creepeth on the ground; the likenesses of any fish
 “that is in the waters:—and lest thou lift up thine
 “eyes unto Heaven, and when thou seest the SUN, and
 “the MOON, and the Stars, all the Host of Heaven!
 “thou shouldest be drawn to worship them, and to
 “serve them, which the LORD thy God hath imparted
 “unto all the nations under the whole Heaven⁵²⁴. The
 “LORD our God is ONE LORD⁵²⁵.

HONOURABLE the purpose was; and the principle,
 if adhered to, must have made the Hebrews, to use the

523. The Mosaic worship made use of figures; but these were not exposed to the idolatry of the people. They were confined to the innermost part of the tabernacle or temple; to the *Most Holy Place*; which the high-priest was not permitted, at all times, to enter: (*Leviticus*, chap. xvi. ver. 2.) and whence the oracular voice came, from the Mercy-Seat behind the veil. (*Id. ibid.*) For, as Dr. Warburton remarks, (*Divine Legation*, book v. sect. iv.) “The Mosaic religion, like the *Pagan*, had a public part.”

524. *Deuteronomy*, chap. iv. ver. 1—19. 525. *Deuteronomy*, chap. vi. ver. 4.

PART I. language of Strabo, worthy of empire⁵²⁶. Yet humanity must ever condemn the means employed to attain *that empire, and virtue hold them in execration*. Cruelty can admit of no vindication in the eye of social man; and any attempt to palliate it, on theologic grounds, must impeach the most amiable attribute of the Deity. The God of Moses seemed to delight in blood. Hence, after the arms of the Israelites under Joshua were finally crowned with success, such of the inhabitants of Palestine and the neighbouring countries, as had escaped the sword, or found themselves unable to maintain their independency, fled to the sea-coast, and took refuge in the cities of Tyre and Sidon⁵²⁷. And hence those cities, overcrowded with people, were enabled to plant colonies in all the countries to which they traded; on the coast of Africa, in Spain, and in the islands of the Mediterranean, as we shall have occasion to notice. The Phœnician colony, under Cadmus, the Tyrian, had already been settled in Greece⁵²⁸.

HAVING thus, my Lord, given you an account of the early progress of mankind in Government and Legislation, and of the Ancient State of the Nations to which EUROPE was indebted for its Science and Civility; I shall proceed, according to my plan, to the *Founding of the Græcian States*, as a prelude to the History of that celebrated country.

526. *Geog.* lib. xvi p. 761. edit. sup. cit.

527. *Joshua*, chap. xi. ver. 8.

528. *Parian Chron.* Epoch vii. Herodot. lib. ii. cap. xlix.

LETTER II.

The traditional History of GREECE to the TROJAN WAR, with an Account of the Founding of the principal GRÆCIAN STATES.

THE country properly comprehended under the name of GREECE, and included between the thirty-sixth and forty-first degree of northern latitude, consisted of that eastern promontory of Europe, which fronts Natolia, or Asia Minor; and which, extending from the mountains of Epirus and Macedonia to the Mediterranean sea, is formed into a kind of peninsula by two arms of that sea, anciently called the *Ægean* and *Ionian* seas. These seas, which are now known by the names of the *Archipelago* and *Hadriatic*, open in this promontory many deep gulfs and spacious bays; and, at one place, almost cut it through. The most insulated part, connected with the continent only by a narrow isthmus, was early denominated *Peloponnesus*. And not only that insulated, and southerly part, but the whole Græcian promontory, is marked with strong features by the hand of nature; being intersected, at several places, by stupendous ridges of mountains, whose lofty summits are generally lost in the clouds:

BUT Greece, though a rugged, is a desirable country. It abounds, on all sides, with excellent harbours. The deep vallies, between the craggy ridges, afford rich pasture for cattle, and yield plentiful crops of corn, when duly cultivated; the more easy declivities produce figs, grapes, and olives; and the mountains,

PART I.

beside being covered with valuable timber, contain beds of marble, and veins of the most useful metals. The climate is alike favourable to health and fertility. For the heat of the Græcian summers, moderated by breezes from the hills and surrounding seas, is sufficient to bring the choicest fruits to maturity, without enervating the human body; and the short Græcian winters are cold enough to brace the fibres, without chilling the constitutions of the people.

ANCIENT Greece, during the prosperous ages of its liberty, was politically and nominally split, agreeable to the divisions formed by nature, into a number of independent states, or districts of different dimensions, under distinct governments.

PELOPONNESUS, now called the *Morea*, which has been ingeniously compared to the leaf of the plane-tree, because of its angular recesses or bays, contained seven states of considerable eminence; namely, Corinth, on the isthmus that connects Peloponnesus with the continent; Achaia on the northern, and Elea on the western side; Argolis on the eastern coast; Arcadia in the centre; and Messenia and Laconia toward the points of the peninsula. This peninsula, one hundred and forty miles in length, and one hundred and twenty at its greatest breadth, is intersected in many places by mountains; but especially by the two lofty ridges of Zarex and Taygetus, which terminate at its two southernmost promontories, Tænarum and Malea.

THE territory of Greece without the Corinthian isthmus, was of yet greater extent than Peloponnesus, but less compacted; branching two hundred miles, in a southerly direction, from mount Pindus to the promontory of Sunium; and extending nearly an equal number of miles, in a western line, from mount Olympus,

pus, and the mouth of the Peneus, to the point of the promontory of Leucadia. That territory was divided into a number of independent districts; the most considerable of which were, Ætolia and Acarnania on the Corinthian and Ambracian gulfs; Thessaly, including Phthiotis, on the frontiers of Epirus and Macedonia; Doris, Phocis, and Locris, in the neighbourhood of the mountains of Cæta and Parnassus; and Bœotia and Attica, diverging in a southern projection, from those mountains to the Ægean sea.

ALONG the coast of Attica and Bœotia lies the large island of Eubœa, (one hundred and twenty miles in length, and from thirty to forty in breadth) which might be considered as a part of *Proper Greece*. Its principal districts were those of Chalcis and Eretria. The whole Græcian territory, therefore, would have formed, if combined into one mass, a country three hundred miles square, and consequently as large as *South Britain*.

THIS celebrated country, which at present makes part of European Turkey, was originally occupied, if we may credit tradition, by various tribes of savage and barbarous men, utterly unacquainted with the arts of civil life, and who fed upon the spontaneous productions of the earth, herbs and wild fruits¹. The most considerable of those tribes were the Pelasgi, Caucones, Aones, Hyantes, and Leleges². The Pelasgi, however, appear to have been horsemen³. They must, therefore, have been above such rude barbarity. But as human learning has not been found equal to the task of reconciling to probability, or reducing to con-

1. Pausan. lib. viii. init.

2. Strabo, *Geog.* lib. viii. ix. x. et Pausan. *Græc. Descript.* passim.

3. Strabo, lib. viii. p. 369, 370, edit. sup. cit.

LETTER
II.

sistency, the first periods of Græcian history, I shall not attempt it. I shall only connect the traditional tale; in order to shew your Lordship, what the Greeks believed concerning the founding of their several states, the exploits of their early heroes, and the introduction of arts and laws among them; offering such remarks as may be suggested by circumstances.

Ant. Chr.
1574.

THE first civil establishment founded in Greece, by any person that can be reputed a native, was formed at Lycoria, on mount Parnassus, by a king named Deucalion⁴; whose sway extended over Phthiotis and part of Thessaly⁵. Hellen, the eldest son of Deucalion, succeeded him in Phthiotis, and also in his Thessalian dominions⁶. And from this politic and powerful prince *all the people of Greece* came finally to bear the general appellation of HELLENES⁷; while from his two sons, Dorus and Æolus, and his grandson Ion, they were gradually discriminated by the names of Dorians, Æolians, and Ionians⁸; the three prime branches

4. *Parian Chron.* Epoch II. Pausan lib. x. p. 322, edit. Xylander. Francfort, 1583. Herodotus, lib. i. cap. lvi. Apollod. lib. i. p. 19, 20, edit. Paris. 1599.

5. Strabo, lib. ix. p. 432.

6. Herodotus, lib. i. cap. lvi. Strabo, lib. viii. p. 383.

7. *Parian Chron.* Epoch VI. It does not appear, says Thucydides, that this *general appellation* subsisted in Greece before the time of *Hellen, the son of Deucalion*; the different tribes formerly taking their *distinguishing names* from themselves. And PELASGOI, not HELLAS, was the name of the *largest territory*. (Thucyd. *Hist.* lib. i. cap. iii.) "But when Hellen and his sons had acquired power in Phthiotis," adds this accurate historian, "and led out their dependents by way of aid to other states, intercourse made the use of this name become common among the people of several states; though it was long before it became the general appellation of the people of all the Græcian states." (Id. *ibid*) The Romans gave to HELLAS the name of Greece; (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* lib. iv. cap. vii) and from them it passed to the nations of modern Europe.

8. Herodotus, lib. i. cap. lvi.—lviii. lib. vii. cap. xciv. Apollod. lib. i. p. 20. Strabo, lib. viii. p. 333. 333.

of the Græcian nation, whose distinct genius and manners gave rise to the three dialects of the Greek tongue.

LETTER
II.

THE progress of the descendants of Hellen, and their subjects in civility, was greater than that of any other Græcian family⁹. But Greece was not to acquire its civilization, merely through the advances of its native inhabitants in policy or arts. It was to owe much to the attainments of foreigners.

A COUNTRY, in many respects, highly favoured by nature, and happily situated for commerce; being separated from Asia Minor only by a narrow channel, and from Syria by a small extent of sea, could not fail to attract the visits of naval adventurers. Greece was accordingly a prey to invasion in very early ages; and by naval adventurers were founded the principal Græcian states.

INACHUS, styled the *son of Oceanus and Tethys*¹⁰, (probably because he was the first person of distinction that came by sea into Greece) and who is supposed to have conducted a colony from Ægypt or Phœnicia¹¹, gave a beginning to the kingdom of Argos¹², long before the reign of Deucalion. Phoroneus, the eldest son, and successor of Inachus, more firmly established the settlement his father had made¹³. He induced the rude natives to submit to his government, and collected them into one city¹⁴.

ÆGIALUS, the second son of Inachus, founded a small principality or township on the frontiers of Ar-

9. Herodotus et Strabo, ubi sup.

10. Apollod. lib. ii. init.

11. Bannier, *Explic. des Fœb.* tom. iv. p. 39. edit. Paris, 1748.

12. Apollod. ubi sup.

13. Id. ibid.

14. Pausan. lib. ii. p. 58; edit. sup. cit.

PART I.

golus, called the *kingdom of Sicyon*¹⁵. But this kingdom never rose to any degree of power. And the Inachidæ, or descendants of Inachus, who seem to have degenerated into barbarism, were supplanted in the kingdom of Argos by the famous Ægyptian adventurer, Danaus¹⁶; whose arrival, in the ship *Pentecontor*¹⁷, forms an important æra in the traditional part of the history of Greece,

Ant. Chr.
1510.

To Danaus the Greeks were indebted for many improvements. He taught the Argives to construct aqueducts¹⁸, and supplied their city plentifully with water from four fountains or reservoirs¹⁹. He built the citadel of Argos²⁰; and he raised the kingdom to such a pitch of glory and prosperity, by the introduction of arts and laws among the people who owned his sway, that all the southern Greeks bore, for a time, the name of DANAI²¹.

Ant. Chr.
1519.

NINE years prior to the arrival of Danaus in Peloponnese²², a Phœnician colony had been planted in Bœotia, by Cadmus of Tyre²³. The Hyantes opposed the settlement of Cadmus and his followers; but being worsted in battle, they thought fit to evacuate their country²⁴. And the Aones, seeing that resistance must prove ineffectual, supplicated the clemency of Cadmus, and were permitted to dwell with the Phœnicians²⁵.

As soon as Cadmus had established his colony, he

15. Apollod. lib. ii. init.

17. *Parian Chron.* Epoch IX.

19. Strabo, lib. viii. p. 371.

21. Thucyd. lib. i. cap. iii. Strabo, lib. viii. p. 371.

22. *Parian Chron.* Epoch VII.

23. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. xlix. Strabo, lib. ix. p. 401.

24. Pausan. lib. ix. p. 285.

16. Pausan. lib. ii. p. 58.

18. Strabo, lib. i. p. 23.

20. Id. *ibid.*

25. Id. *ibid.*

built a castle called *Cadmea*²⁶; below which rose the city of Thebes, the capital of a kingdom of the same name that, in early times, comprehended the greater part of Bœotia²⁷. That fortress afforded an asylum to refugees from the neighbouring states; so that Thebes, of which Cadmea was the citadel, grew soon a large and populous town, all secured with walls²⁸. Cadmus brought into Greece the Phœnician alphabet²⁹, and the art of working mines³⁰.

LETTER
II.

SIXTY years before the descent of Cadmus, and fifteen hundred and eighty-two years before the Christian æra, that famous city to which Europe was to owe its literature and civility, its laws, its arts, and its sciences; Athens, the future seat of learning and politeness, the theatre of eloquence, and the school of knowledge, was founded by Cecrops, the leader of a band of emigrants from the district of Sais, in Lower Ægypt³¹. Being well received by Actæus, who then reigned over the territory of Attica, Cecrops obtained his daughter in marriage³²; and, on the death of that prince, he succeeded to his sceptre³³.

No sooner did Cecrops get possession of the government, than he represented to his subjects the necessity of living amicably together, in order to oppose the ravages and incursions of robbers and pirates; but especially of the Aones from Bœotia, and the Carians of the Ægean islands, who were perpetually pillaging the

26. Strabo, lib. viii. p. 401. Pausan. lib. ix. p. 285.

27. Strabo, *ibid*.

28. Strabo et Pausanias, *ubi sup*.

29. Herodotus, lib. v. cap. lviii. Diod. Sicul. lib. iii. p. 200, edit. sup. cit. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* lib. vii. cap. lvi.

30. Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 680. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* lib. i. p. 363, edit. Oxon. 1715.

31. African. ap. Euseb. *Præparat. Evangil.* lib. i. cap. x.

32. Apollod. lib. iii. p. 192. Pausan. lib. i. p. 5.

33. *Id. ibid*.

PART I.

which modern historians have been much divided. The honour, however, of concerting that illustrious league, which so long preserved the independency of Greece, and made its united states formidable to the greatest monarchies, is certainly due to the king of Thermopylæ⁵²; in whose hall or chapel the Amphictyons, or Græcian delegates, originally held their deliberations⁵³.

NOR was the sagacity of the king of Thermopylæ less conspicuous in the measures which he took for exciting the vigilance, and perpetuating the power of the Amphictyonic council, than in establishing it. Justly sensible, we may presume, of the force of religion in cementing political confederacies, as well as in awakening their zeal, he charged the diet of Greece with the protection of the Oracle of Delphos⁵⁴. And all the Græcian delegates, before their instalment, were required to take a solemn oath, accompanied with many awful imprecations and execrations on such as should violate their engagements⁵⁵; but especially against those that should neglect the protection of the sacred city⁵⁶.

52. Prideaux, *Chron. Marm.* p. 122. edit. Oxon. 1676.

53. Herodot. lib. vii. cap. cc. et Prideaux, ubi sup.

54. No ancient author expressly says, That Amphictyon charged the confederated Greeks with the protection of the Delphic Oracle; but Strabo intimates, that they had such charge from the time of their confederation. (*Geog.* lib. ix. p. 420.) And it is certain, that the Amphictyonic council was early charged with the protection of the Oracle; (*Æschin. de Falsa Legat.*) and that the Oracle was established before the reign of Deucalion, and in the territory belonging to him and his sons. (Vid. Prideaux, *Chron. Marm.* p. 122, 123. et *Première Dissert. sur l'Oracle de Delph.* par M. Hardion.) Dr. Leland conjectures, that the Amphictyonic council was not invested with the superintendance over the Oracle of Delphos, or what he calls the national religion, till after it was new modelled by Acrisius, the fugitive king of Argos. (*Prohm. Dissert.*) But the whole story of Acrisius founding, or new modelling the Amphictyonic council, seems alike void of truth and probability.

55. *Æschines, de Falsa Legat.*

56. *Id. ibid.*

ERECHTHEUS, the sixth king of Athens, and the third after Amphictyon, was the first Græcian prince who separated the civil from the ecclesiastical power⁵⁷. Before his time, every king had united in his own person the regal and sacerdotal functions, the sovereignty and the pontificate. Satisfied with swaying the sceptre, Erechtheus relinquished the priesthood of Minerva, the titular divinity of the Athenians, and also that of Neptune, to his brother Butes⁵⁸.

LETTER
II.

THE same prince wisely instituted the Eleusinian mysteries⁵⁹, in honour of Ceres, the goddess of the earth, and the patroness of husbandry; an art that can never be too highly honoured, as it is the grand source of the comforts of civil life, and the parent of jurisprudence. This goddess is figuratively said to have come to Athens, in person, during the reign of Erechtheus, because he was a great promoter of agriculture. Hence we are told, that Triptolemus, who, under the patronage of Erechtheus, first sowed barley with success in the plains of Rharia, near Eleusis, was instructed by Ceres⁶⁰.

Ant. Chr.
1399.

OF all the religious festivals in the heathen world, the Eleusinian mysteries were celebrated with the greatest solemnity, and the most profound secrecy. They seem to have been calculated to purify the minds of men from the gross tenets of Pagan theology, as promulgated to the multitude; by revealing the *unity* of the DEITY and the *immortality* of the SOUL, divested of superstitious horrors,

57. Apollod. lib. iii.

58. Id. ibid.

59. *Parian Chron.* Epoch XIV. *Diod. Sic. lib. v.*

60. *Parian Chron.* Epoch XII. XIII. XIV. *Diod. Sicul. ubi sup. Justin. lib. ii.*

PART I.

THIS at least was the opinion of some of the most enlightened Greek and Roman writers. "Those sacred mysteries," says Isocrates, "fortify the soul against the fear of death, and inspire the initiated with the pleasing hopes of an happy immortality"⁶¹.— And Cicero, in speaking of the same mysteries, considers them as the greatest of all the benefits for which Europewas indebted to the city of Athens. "It was she," remarks that philosophical politician, "who taught us not only to live happily, but to die with tranquillity, in confidence of becoming yet more happy in a future state of existence"⁶²."

THE affairs of Attica, or those of the more northern states of Greece, afford few memorable events, from the reign of Erechtheus to that of Theseus. The reign of Theseus is highly interesting. It forms the æra of an important change in the Athenian government, and in the manners of all Greece. It may be called *The Age of Græcian Chivalry*. But before I speak of the transactions of that heroic age, or carry farther the history of Athens, I must give your Lordship an account of the rise of the kingdom of Lacedæmon, and of the states in its neighbourhood.

THE territory of Laconia, in Peloponnesus, was early possessed by the Leleges⁶³. And Lelex, the head of that ancient Græcian tribe, and the first king of this illustrious country, is computed by chronologers to have reigned about fifteen hundred years before the

61. Isocrat. *Paneg. Athén.*

62. Cicero, de *Legib.* lib. ii. et *Orat.* vii. ad *Verrem*. That the doctrine of the unity of the DEITY also was inculcated in the Eleusinian mysteries, I have formerly had occasion to shew.

63. Pausan. *Lacon.* Strabo, lib. x.

Christian æra ⁶⁴. LACEDÆMON, one of the successors of Lelex, gave to the kingdom of Laconia his own name; and to its capital, that of SPARTA, in honour of his wife, the daughter of Eurotas, his predecessor ⁶⁵.

THE history of Sparta, from the reign of Lacedæmon to that of Tyndareus, is almost utterly unknown. Tyndareus (whose family affairs will afterward demand our attention) was married to the celebrated Læda, whom Jupiter, in the shape of a swan, is said to have enjoyed ⁶⁶. Be this, however, as it may, Læda bore to her husband, or at least fathered upon him, two sons, named Castor and Pollux; who died in early manhood, and were deified for their exploits; and two daughters, Helen and Clytemnestra, not less known to fame ⁶⁷. Tyndareus was contemporary with Theseus.

THE kingdom of Mycenæ, also in the Græcian peninsula, was founded by Perseus, the reputed son of Jupiter, and of Danæ, the daughter of Acrisius, king of Argos ⁶⁸. Perseus is the most renowned of the first heroes of Greece; but his exploits, as embellished by the splendour of his fondly admiring countrymen, are too improbable to be admitted among the number of traditional facts. * He is said to have married Andromeda, whom he had delivered from a sea-monster, and to have had by her five sons; Alcæus, Sthenelus, Hilar, Mastor, and Electrion ⁶⁹.

Ant. Chr.
1348.

64. *Parian. Chron.* Epoch X. *Euseb. Chron.* Blair, *Chron.* We must not consider *Lelex* as a proper name; but as a title of honour, conferred upon some chief who had acquired high renown among the Leleges, and great sway over them. The same may be said of *Pelafgus*, and other barbarous chieftains.

65. *Pausan. Lacon.*

66. *Apollod. lib. iii.*

67. *Id. ibid.*

68. *Pausan. lib. ii.* *Apollod. lib. iii.*

69. *Apollod. lib. ii.* *Diod. Sicul. lib. iv.*

PART I.

ALCÆUS left, by his wife Hippomene, a son named Amphytrion, and a daughter called Anaxo. Electrion, the brother of Alcæus, married his niece Anaxo; and had, by her, the famous Alcmena; who became the wife of her uncle Amphytrion, and the mother of Hercules, or Hercules, in consequence of a supposed embrace of the god Jupiter ⁷⁰.

ELECTRION governed the kingdom of Mycenæ after the death of Perseus, and Amphytrion should naturally have succeeded him in the throne. He was the husband of Alcmena, Electrion's only daughter, and the son of Alcæus, the eldest son of Perseus, their common progenitor. But Amphytrion having had the misfortune to kill his father-in-law involuntarily, was obliged to abscond for a time ⁷¹.

MEANWHILE Sthenelus, king of Argos, Amphytrion's uncle, taking advantage of that circumstance, seized upon the inheritance of his fugitive nephew, and gave it to his own son Eurystheus ⁷². In consequence of this usurpation, the gallant Hercules, whose generous toils and heroic deeds have so long excited the admiration of mankind, was also excluded the throne of his ancestors. And the kingdom of Mycenæ, on the death of Eurystheus, who was slain in an expedition into Attica, passed from the family of Perseus into that of Pelops ⁷³.

THE arrival of Pelops, son of Tantalus king of Phrygia, in the Græcian peninsula, to which he had the honour of giving his name, produced an almost total revolution in the state of PELOPONNESUS. His Asiatic wealth, and numerous family, acquired him

70. Id. *ibid*.

71. Apollod. lib. ii.

72. Id. *ibid*.

73. Apollod. lib. ii. Diod. Sicul. lib. iv.

great consequence among the inhabitants of that peninsula; so that his daughters were married to the princes of the country, and he was enabled to procure sovereignties for most of his sons⁷⁴. He was contemporary with Perseus.

LETTER
II.

ATREUS, one of the sons of Pelops, having married Ærope, daughter of Eurytheus, king of Argos and Mycenæ, succeeded to the sovereignty of those two kingdoms, on the death of his father-in-law⁷⁵. And Agamemnon, the son of Atreus, who is stiled by Homer, "King of *many isles*, and of ALL Argos⁷⁶," was the most powerful prince in Greece⁷⁷.

AGAMEMNON married Clytemnestra, daughter of Tyndareus, king of Lacedæmon or Sparta. And Helen, Clytemnestra's sister, the most celebrated beauty that had every appeared in Greece, was given in marriage to Menelaus, Agamemnon's brother, who succeeded to the Spartan throne on the death of Tyndareus, his father-in-law⁷⁸.

CORINTHUS, another son of Pelops, called also the son of Jupiter, gave his name to the city of Corinth, formerly named Ephyra⁷⁹. This city, seated at the narrowest part of the isthmus that unites Peloponnesus to the main land of Greece, and favoured with two harbours, one on the Ionian, the other on the Ægean sea, became early distinguished by its wealth and commerce⁸⁰.

74. Diod. Sicul. ubi sup. Thucyd. lib. i. Plut. *Vit. These.*

75. Apollod. lib. ii. Diod. Sicul. lib. iv. 76. *Iliad*, lib. ii.

77. Thucyd. lib. i. cap. ix. x.

78. Apollod. lib. iii. Pausan. lib. iii.

79. Pausan. lib. ii. init. *Ancient Univ. Hist.* vol. v. chap. xviii. sect. viii. et aucl. cit.

80. Thucyd. lib. i. cap. ix.

PART I.

PITTHEUS, a third son of Pelops, built the city, and founded the small sovereignty, or township, of Troezen⁸¹. He was a prince of great sagacity and probity, and became the grandfather of Theseus, king of Attica, in consequence of circumstances sufficiently memorable to merit a particular detail; especially as they mark the manners of the age, and will serve as an introduction to the reign of the illustrious Athenian monarch, as well as to the rise of Græcian heroism.

THE heroic age in ancient Greece, like that of chivalry in modern Europe, was preceded by times of unspeakable violence and calamity; during which all government might be said to be dissolved, and when force was the only law. There was then no travelling with safety from one district to another, or even from place to place, within any particular district. Every deep cave was the den of some savage plunderer, who obstructed social intercourse, and preyed without remorse upon the surrounding country⁸².

STRONGLY awakened to a sense of humanity, by the contemplation of such atrocious wrongs, which the civil authority wanted power to prevent or remedy, some men of generous minds, and of great personal prowess, stood forth the champions of injured virtue, of violated beauty, or oppressed worth. Perseus, Hercules, and Theseus, were the most renowned of these champions⁸³. The exploits of Hercules, as well as those of Perseus, are justly consigned to the region of

81. Pausan. lib. i. Plut. *Vit. Thesei*.82. Plut. *Vit. Thesei*.

83. These heroes and their associates, however, in the course of their adventures, were guilty of many irregularities; but especially in regard to women. Hence Mr. Bryant calls them "a set of honourable banditti, who would suffer nobody to do mischief but themselves!" *New System of Ancient Mythol.* vol. ii.

fable ⁸⁴. Those of Theseus are better authenticated, and intimately connected with the progress of government in Greece.

LETTER

II.

THIS hero was the natural son of Ægeus, king of Athens. Ægeus, when past the prime of life, having no legitimate offspring, a faction formed by the sons of his brother Pallas, known by the name of the *Pallantidæ*, gave him perpetual uneasiness. In order to remove that inconveniency, he went to Delphos, and supplicated Apollo for information, how he might obtain the blessing of children. The response of the oracle, little ambiguous, seemed to forbid him the use of any woman before his return to Athens ⁸⁵.

NOT satisfied, however, with that meaning, Ægeus applied for a solution to Pittheus, king of Troezen; who was celebrated over Greece, as a man of the greatest wisdom of his time. What explication Pittheus gave is uncertain: but so much was he *enslaved* by the popular superstition, or so little *sense* had he of the merit of female virtue, that he contrived to introduce his own daughter, Æthra, to the bed of his royal visitor ⁸⁶.

I SPEAK with diffidence, in regard to the motives of Pittheus; as it does not appear from history, whether

84. The Greeks, as I have formerly had occasion to observe, on the authority of Herodotus, (*Historiar.* lib. ii. cap. xliii.—xlv.) confounded the worship of an Ægyptian deity of the name of Heracles, or Hercules, with their veneration for the son of Alcmena, to whom they gave the name of that god. (*Id. ibid.*) The same may be said of Perseus, whose name was also that of an Ægyptian god; (Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. xci.) and of *Dionysus*, or Bacchus, whose mortal existence Herodotus seems to question: (lib. ii. cap. cvi.) Hence the confusion arising from a mixture of Ægyptian allegory with Græcian tradition, which renders the fabulous adventures of Perseus and Hercules, to say nothing of those of the reputed son of Semele, utterly inexplicable. Vide Diod. Sicul. *Biblioth.* lib. iii. iv. passim.

85. Plut. *Vit. Thef.*

86. *Id. ibid.*

PART I. he was induced to act so indelicate a part, by a persuasion that the response of the oracle contained some latent command, which he was bound to see accomplished, or by a desire of forming a family connexion with Ægeus. Yet it seems probable, as the wife of that prince was then alive, that Pittheus was swayed by the former motive. But let this have been as it might, it is allowed that Æthra proved with child; and that Ægeus, before his departure from Troezen, led her into an adjacent field, and there deposited, under a great stone, certain tokens, by which the fruit of their illegitimate commerce, if a son, should be known to him, and proudly acknowledged; provided he had sufficient bodily strength, when he arrived at the years of manhood, to remove that stone⁸⁷.

THIS anecdote, while it shews the importance of personal vigour in early ages, is highly characteristic of the manners of those rude times: and that which follows it is yet more marking. As soon as the pregnancy of Æthra began to grow visible, her father Pittheus, in order to preserve her reputation, circulated a report, that she had been honoured with an embrace of the god Neptune, the tutelary deity of the Troezenians⁸⁸.

THAT report was readily received⁸⁹; for, strange as it may seem, mankind have in all ages believed in the possible conjunction of the natures divine and human. "On this subject," says Plutarch, "the Egyptians have made a plausible distinction. They think it not impossible, that the *divine essence* of a God may be communicated to a woman, and may awaken in her some principle of generation; but they hold, that the

87. Plut. ubi sup. et Pausan. lib. i.

89. Plut. Vit. These.

88. Id. ibid.

"nature of no man can mix with that of a female divinity, or goddess. In so saying, however," adds he, "they forget, that there can be no impregnation without mutual communication of essence"⁹⁰."

LETTER
II.

THE more ancient Greeks, in general, had less sublime ideas of the gods, and the Troezenians were incapable of entering into such subtle disquisitions; so that the reputation of Æthra was perfectly safe. She was considered as a princess peculiarly favoured by Heaven, and delivered of a son named Theseus; whose early vigour, both of body and mind, confirmed all Greece in the belief of his divine origin⁹¹. And perhaps the reputed son of Neptune owed his superior abilities, in some measure, to that belief.

UNWILLING, however, that Theseus should remain ignorant of his mortal father, his mother Æthra took him to the place, where Ægeus had deposited the tokens, as soon as she thought he had acquired sufficient strength to discover them. He removed the stone with ease; and found in a cavern beneath it, a sword and a pair of sandals⁹².

THESE tokens, and the story of his birth, which accompanied the discovery of them, roused every heroic quality in the youthful mind of Theseus. They seemed to point out to him the course he ought to pursue, independent of the request of his father. He, therefore, resolved instantly to visit Athens; and, notwithstanding the warm remonstrances of his mother and grandfather, determined to go thither by land⁹³. In vain did the sage Pitheus, who had taken great care of his education, represent to him the dan-

90. Plut. *Vit. Numa*.

91. Plut. *Vit. Theseus*. et Pausan. lib. i. ii.

92. Plut. *Vit. Theseus*. et Pausan. lib. i.

93. Plut. *ubi sup.*

PART I.

gers to which he must be exposed in such a journey, from the violent attacks of brutal ruffians; and of barbarous chieftains, that pillaged the whole country, and obstructed the roads, while he might safely pass to Athens by water⁹⁴; the fleets of Minos II. king of Crete, having about that time cleared the Græcian seas of pirates⁹⁵.

SUCH remonstrances served only to inflame the courage of Theseus, and to confirm him in his purpose. The dangers held up to be encountered, were to him so many new motives for going to Athens by land. Filled with admiration of the gallant exploits of his kinsman Hercules, he was ambitious of emulating them. He accordingly began his perilous journey; slew many barbarous chieftains, who subsisting by murder and rapine, infested the Corinthian isthmus and the mountainous coast of the Saronic gulph; arrived safe at Athens; became known to Ægeus, who cordially embraced him, and publicly acknowledged him as his son; quelled a sedition raised by the Pallan-tidæ, and firmly established his father's throne⁹⁶.

CHRONOLOGY has not fixed the time of the arrival of Theseus at Athens. But it appears to have been before the Argonautic expedition; as some ancient authors include him among the number of the adventurers in that enterprise⁹⁷. And we have the uniform testimony of tradition, that he co-operated with Hercules and other heroes, who were engaged in the Argonautic expedition, in freeing Greece from the depredations of lawless men, as well as from the destructive rage of wild beasts.

94. Id. *ibid*.

95. Thucyd. lib. i. Diod. Sicul. lib. iv. Plut. *Vit. Thesei*.

96. Plut. *ubi sup*.

97. Id. *ibid*, et Apollod. lib. i.

OF all the subjects that have excited the curiosity of antiquarians, on none have they been able to throw so little light, as on that of the *Argonautic Expedition*. The *Golden Fleece* of Colchis, we are told, was its declared object; but what we are to understand by that Fleece, whether the fine wool of the flocks of the country, sheep-skins placed in the beds of rivers to collect gold dust, a rich treasure carried to Colchis in a vessel with the figure of a gilded ram on her prow, or some other metaphorical meaning, is a matter not yet decided among the learned, and in regard to which scarce two antiquaries are of the same opinion⁹⁸. No satisfactory account has hitherto been given by any writer, ancient or modern, of the object of this enterprise.

ALL we know with any degree of certainty, in regard to the *Argonautic Expedition*, is, that after having fully explored their own country, cleared its woods and mountains of robbers and banditti, the early heroes of Greece resolved to embark in a foreign voyage, in order to furnish new exercise for their daring and restless spirits; that a ship, named *Argo*, was accordingly built in the port of *Iolcus*, at the foot of mount *Pelion* in *Thessaly*, and more completely equipped than any former *Græcian* vessel⁹⁹; that *Jason*, the

Ant. Ch.
1263.

98. See on this intricate subject *Apollod. lib. i. Diod. Sic. lib. iv. Bochart, in Phaleg. lib. iv. Bannier, Explic. des Fab. tom. vii. Pownal, Stud. Antiq.*

99. The departure of the *Argo* is finely described by *Apollonius Rhodius*.

" On their allotted posts now rang'd along
" In seemly order sat the princely throng.
" Fast by each chief his glitt'ring armour flames:
" The midmost station bold *Ancæus* claims;
" While great *Alcides*, whose enormous might,
Arm'd with a mussy club, provokes the fight,

PART I.

the commander of this ship, after encountering many dangers and difficulties, entered the Euxine sea, either with or without an attendant fleet, and came to anchor near the port of *Æa*, in the river *Phasis*, at the eastern extremity of that sea, and then the capital of the kingdom of *Colchis*, supposed to have been founded by an *Ægyptian* colony; that the *Argonauts* carried off with them from *Colchis* the princess *Medea*, the king's daughter; who, being enamoured of *Jason*, their leader, is said to have betrayed to him her father's treasures¹⁰⁰.

In consequence of this expedition, which opened to Greece the commerce of the Euxine sea, on the coasts of which the *Argonauts* are said to have planted colonies¹⁰¹, the Greeks became henceforth more bold and skilful navigators; more social in disposition, by having been accustomed to act in concert; and more attentive to civil policy, and to the constitution of foreign states.

" Now plac'd beside him. In the yielding flood,
 " The keel deep sinking, feels the demi-god.
 " Their hausers now they loose, and on the brine
 " To Neptune pour the consecrated wine;
 " While, raising high the Thracian harp, presides
 " Melodious Orpheus, and the movement guides.
 " On either side the dashing surges broke,
 " And hoarse re-murmured to each mighty stroke:
 " Thick flash'd the brazen arms with streaming light,
 " While the swift barque pursued her rapid flight;
 " And ever as the sea-green tide she cleaves,
 " Foams the long tract behind, and whitens all the waves.
 " Jove on that day, from his celestial throne,
 " And all th' immortal powers of Heaven look'd down,
 " The godlike chiefs and *Argo* to survey,
 " As through the deep they urg'd their daring way."

Argonaut, lib. i.

100. Bannier, *Explic. des Fab.* tom. vii. et auct. cit.

101. Diod. Sicul. lib. iv. Strabo, lib. i. xi. Eustach. ad Dion. Periegit. ver. 689. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* lib. vi. cap. v.

THE government of none of the neighbouring states was so worthy of attention as that of Crete. In this famous island all the Græcian gods are said to have been born; because they were there first worshipped under Græcian names, and with the ceremonies afterward used by the Greeks. Lying contiguous to Greece and Asia Minor, and seated at no great distance from Ægypt and Phœnicia, whence it repeatedly received colonies, Crete exhibited in very early times a constitution planned by the most consummate political wisdom, and a body of laws that long commanded the admiration of mankind. For these advantages the Cretans were indebted to the elder Minos, who reigned about fourteen hundred and thirty years before the Christian æra¹⁰²; and was so renowned for his virtue and sagacity, that the Greeks assigned to him the office of chief judge in the state of the dead.

ANCIENT historians have left it doubtful whether Minos was a foreigner, or a native of Crete: nor are we informed by what means he acquired supreme authority among the Cretans. He appears, however, to have been a foreigner; to have derived his political knowledge from Ægypt; to have conducted into Crete a colony of Ægyptians, Phrygians, and Phœnicians, from Rhodes; and to have acquired dominion over the rude natives by his superior sagacity, and his ability of defending them against the barbarous attacks of piratical adventurers¹⁰³.

CRETE, before the reign of Minos, was exposed to the common calamity of the maritime parts of Greece and the contiguous islands; to invasions, depredations,

102. *Parian Chron.* Epoch XI.

103. See Blackwell's *Life of Homer*, sect. X. and the authors there cited.

PART I.

and the frequent expulsion of its inhabitants. In order to remedy these evils, Minos framed a system of government, and digested a code of laws; which Plato tells us ¹⁰⁴, as they were the most ancient, were deservedly esteemed the most excellent of any European state. He also founded the cities of Cnossus, Cydonia, and Phœstus; into which he collected the great body of his subjects, and taught them to submit to his civil and political institutions ¹⁰⁵.

THE chief object of the policy of Minos was security against conquest or invasion. For that end he created a navy, and ordered all his subjects to be trained to arms, and inured to hard discipline from their most tender years. And as such discipline, he knew, was by no means flattering to the natural indolence or levity of man, he took every measure that human prudence could suggest in order to inspire the Cretans with respect for the established maxims of government. The young men were not allowed to call in question, even in dispute, the wisdom or utility of any of his regulations ¹⁰⁶.

MINOS went yet farther. He affirmed that his laws were dictated to him by Jupiter, the supreme divinity of the Cretans, with whom he affected occasionally to hold conversation, and by whom he was ordered, he said, to engrave them on plates of brass ¹⁰⁷. Nor was he less attentive to the enforcing, than to the framing of his laws. The regular administration of justice was committed to his two brothers, Taulus and Rhadamanthus. Taulus, the younger,

¹⁰⁴. In *Minos*.

¹⁰⁵. Diod. Sicul. lib. iv. Plato in *Minos*. Strabo, lib. x.

¹⁰⁶. Plato de *Leg.* lib. i.

¹⁰⁷. Plato in *Minos*. Hom. *Odyss.* xix.

made the circuit of the island twice a year, to hear causes and give judgment; while Rhadamanthus, who had the cognizance of capital crimes, held his tribunal in Cnossus, the metropolis¹⁰⁸. The Cretan monarch commanded in person his own fleets and armies, and was very powerful both by land and sea,

LETTER
II.

A MORE particular account of the institutions of Minos would lead me, my Lord, to anticipate what I shall have to say of those of Lycurgus; who made the Cretan constitution the model of that system of government, which he framed for the Lacedæmonians. It will be proper, however, here to observe, that Minos, with a view of preserving union, established the most perfect equality among his subjects; and also obliged them to eat together in public, their food being furnished at the expence of the state¹⁰⁹; that he made professions, in Crete, hereditary by law, as in Ægypt; and that the cultivation of the ground, in that island, was by him committed solely to the care of slaves¹¹⁰.

THIS last circumstance seems to prove, that the first Minos¹¹¹ must either have been very successful in wars against his neighbours, or have reduced the greater part of the inhabitants of Crete to the condition of ser-

108. Plato, ubi sup.

109. Aristot. *Polit.* lib. vii. Strabo, lib. x.

110. Aristot. *Polit.* lib. ii vii. Athen. lib. vi.

111. Mr. Mitford has laboured to prove, that there was only one Minos; (*Hist. of Greece*, chap. i. iv.) because Homer, Thucydides, and Aristotle, make no mention of a second. But this argument appears to me very inconclusive. For Homer and Aristotle had only occasion to speak of the great legislator, and Thucydides of the first clearer of the Græcian seas from pirates. Had the inexorable prince who so rigidly demanded (as we shall have occasion to see) the cruel Athenian tribute, and the legislator been the same person, the popular superstition of Greece would never have dignified Minos with the office of *Supreme Judge* in the state of the dead, where *mildness* was the chief feature in his character. PLATO, in *Gorgias*,

virtude,

PART I

vitude. His grandson, Minos II. was yet more famed for his naval and military exploits. He effectually cleared the Græcian seas from the depredations of Lycian, Carian, and Phœnician pirates¹¹²; he subdued several of the adjacent islands; and he humbled some of the maritime states on the continent¹¹³. Among others, Athens felt the effects of his power and his resentment.

CONTEMPORARY with Ægeus king of Attica, and victorious in war against that prince, the second Minos imposed upon the Athenians a humiliating tribute of SEVEN YOUTHS, and an equal number of virgins, as an atonement for the murder of his son Androgeus¹¹⁴; who having acquired distinguished honours in the public games, and associated himself with the Pallantidæ, was thought to have been assassinated by order of the Athenian monarch¹¹⁵. How often this tribute was exacted, or for what number of years it was imposed, the Greek historians are by no means agreed; but they all concur in representing the arrival of the Cretan vessel, at the stated time, as the cause of great affliction in the city of Athens, and of many murmurs against the government of Ægeus, for continuing to submit to such indignity¹¹⁶.

THAT sorrow and dissatisfaction was much heightened by a frightful tale, which seems to have gained universal belief, and was probably first propagated by the Pallantidæ; that the tributary youths and virgins were thrown into an inextricable labyrinth, said to have been built by the famous architect Dedalus, an Athe-

112. Thucyd. lib. i. Diod. Sic. lib. iv. Plut. *Vit. Thes.*

113. Diod. Sicul. et Plut. ubi sup.

114. Diod. Sicul. lib. iv. Apollod. lib. iii. et Plut. *Vit. Thes.*

115. Diod. Sicul. ubi sup. et Plut. *Vit. Thes.* 116. Id. *ibid.*