



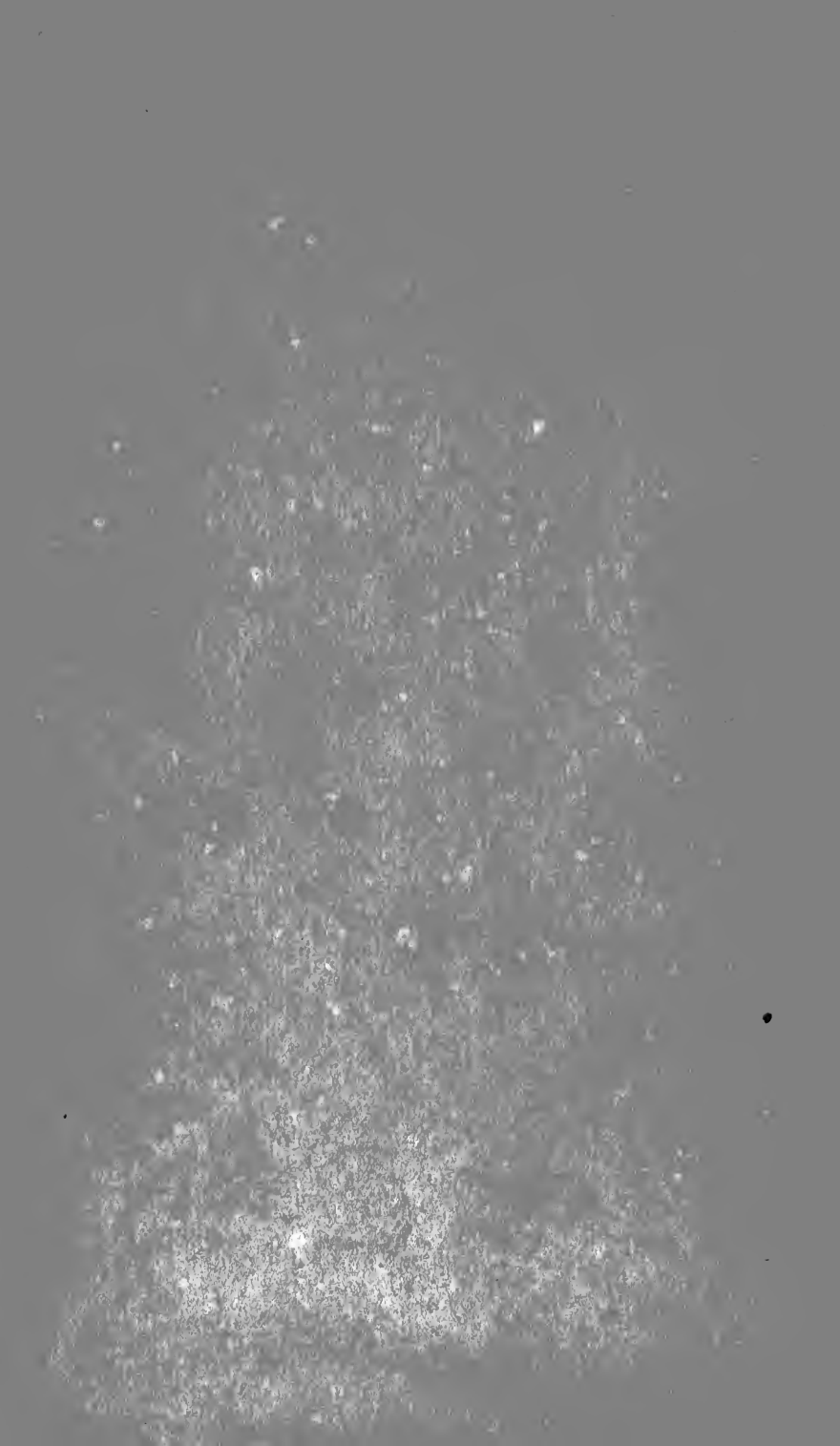
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A
NEW SYSTEM
OF
MYTHOLOGY.

VOL. I.

\$ 12 : 1819.

Sam^l. Miller.

A

NEW SYSTEM

OF

MYTHOLOGY,

IN TWO VOLUMES;

GIVING A FULL ACCOUNT OF

THE IDOLATRY OF THE PAGAN WORLD,

ILLUSTRATED BY

Analytical Tables, and 50 elegant Copperplate Engravings,

Representing more than 200 subjects,

In a third volume, particularly adapted to the capacity of

Junior Students,

COMPILED, DIGESTED, AND ARRANGED,

BY ROBERT MAYO, M. D.

Author of a View of Ancient Geography, and History.

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,

By T. S. Manning, N. W. corner of Sixth and Chesnut streets,

Philadelphia.

1815.

DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA, TO WIT:



Be it Remembered, That on the tenth day of July, in the fortieth year of the Independence of the United States of America, A. D. 1815, ROBERT MAYO, M. D., of the said district, hath deposited in this office, the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as Author in the words following, to wit:

“ A new System of Mythology, in two volumes; giving a full account of the Idolatry of the Pagan World: Illustrated by Analytical Tables, and 50 elegant copperplate engravings, representing more than 200 subjects, in a third volume, particularly adapted to the capacity of junior students: Compiled, digested, and arranged, by Robert Mayo, M. D. Author of a View of Ancient Geography, and History.”

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, intitled, “ An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned.”—And also to the Act, entitled “ An Act supplementary to An Act, entitled ‘ An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned,’ and extending the benefits thereof to the Arts of designing, engraving, and etching Historical and other Prints.”

D. CALDWELL,

Clerk of the District of Pennsylvania.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE object of the author in undertaking this work originally, was confined chiefly to the convenience of Seminaries. But finding it impossible to dissect away the objectionable, from the innocent part, and sometimes instructive moral, of the subject, so as to render its use admissible among young ladies and gentlemen—without mutilating, and destroying its true character, and laying a foundation for a false conception of history, or rather confirming errors already industriously propagated by the partial works or epitomies extant on the same subject—he resolved to compromise the difficulties on either hand, by giving every thing that is material to a clear conception of so interesting a science to all lovers of antiquity, and then digesting the same into a series of concise analytical tables, especially explanatory of the plates, with which they might make a separate volume for the use of schools, so that the work may be complete in the enlarged or epitomized form.

We may add that a well-digested elementary book, in any science, is, in general, the more precious, as it is more rare. Yet we see daily coming from the press, new efforts of this kind, and each aspiring to offer a method, either more simple, or more clear, or more concise, than any which have yet appeared. Such productions as the latter, seldom fail to make assurances, through the medium of a preface, of the most decided and complete success; and their persuasive tone would unquestionably secure our confidence, if the abortions of their text did not contradict to our better judgment, what their prefatory egotism had so daringly promised. This is decidedly true of the herd of elementary books for the instruction of youth.—Whether the present work will deserve a place in the latter or the former class, awaits the decision of learned professors, from whose judgment there is no appeal.

Of the utility of Mythology, as a vehicle of moral precept, we will express our high estimation in the language of the immortal BACON. In his *Critique* upon that subject, he says: "Every man, of any learning, must readily allow, that this method of instructing is grave, sober, or exceedingly useful, and sometimes necessary in the sciences; as it opens a familiar and easy passage to the human understanding, in all new discoveries that are abstruse and out of the road of vulgar opinions. Hence, in the first ages, when such inventions and conclusions of the human reason as are now trite and common, were new and little known; all things abounded with fables, parables, similies, comparisons, and allusions; which were not intended to conceal, but to inform and teach: whilst the minds of men continued rude and unpractised in matters of subtilty and speculation; or even impatient, and in a manner incapable of receiving such things as did not directly fall under and strike the senses. For, as hieroglyphics were in use before writing, so were parables in use before arguments."

***** 'To conclude, the knowledge of the early ages was either *great*, or *happy*; *great*, if they by design made this use of trope and figure; *happy*, if, whilst they had no other views, they afforded matter and occasion to such noble contemplations. Let either be the case, our pains, perhaps, will not be misemployed, whether we illustrate antiquity or things themselves.'

By examining the table of contents to this volume, an estimate may easily be made of its comprehensiveness and method. In regard to the sequel of the work, we will subjoin that—The SECOND VOLUME will contain, in a series of Chapters and Sections, a methodical and full account—1st, of the Egyptian, Phenician, Carthaginian, Ethiopian, Arabian, Syrian, Chaldean, Babylonian, Persian, Sythian, German, and Gallic deities, together with such as are only mentioned in Scripture: 2d, of the Greek and Roman deities—whether they be heavenly, infernal, terrestrial, or sea-deities, &c, &c: 2d, of their demi-gods; giants; heroes; and heroines: 4th, of their fabulous nations; monsters, and sacred animals, &c, &c.

These Volumes will be accompanied by a Volume of Analytical Tables, and fifty elegant Copperplate Engravings, representing more than two hundred subjects—such as the altars; temples; instruments used in sacrifice; the ceremonies of a sacrifice; the modes of consulting and receiving the oracles; and the various exercises in celebrating the games: together with the figures of the deities; giants; heroes; heroines; monsters, &c; representing their symbols; metamorphoses; and wonderful exploits; whether purely *fabulous*, or partly *historical*.

To enable the enlightened public to decide upon the merits of this essay towards a *System of Mythology*, and to induce them to patronise our undertaking, we have ventured to publish the first Volume in anticipation of the custom of soliciting subscriptions, with the hope that so much of the *demonstration* of our plan will make a deeper impression upon public confidence, than the mere promise of a prospectus.

In the execution of a plan suggested and designed purely to facilitate the progress of junior students, and to remove the difficulties accumulated upon them by the defects of the epitomies of Mythology, it was not only deemed unnecessary—to make references to authorities for the facts stated in the course of the work, inasmuch as they will seldom have it in their power, or would be at the trouble to examine them,—but that it would even be derogatory to the principal consideration continually kept in view, such as the preserving a strict continuity, and rapid succession of the parts, whether contained or containing, so that the inevitable result of little more than a single attentive reading might be, a happy comparison of the relative importance of the lesser parts to each other, and of the greater divisions to the entire subject. But to supply this omission as well as possible in a few words, for the satisfaction of the learned, whose inspection we shall solicit, and to whom we shall ever feel amenable on the score of candour, will here make a general reference to “*The Mythology and Fables of the Ancients explained from History*, four Volumes 8vo, without plates, by the Abbé BANIER; The *Anti-*

quities explained and represented by Sculpture, five volumes folio, by BERNARD DE MONTFAUCON; *The Polymetis*, with superb engravings, one volume folio, by the REV'D. MR. SPENCE; KENNET'S *Roman Antiquities*, with plates, one volume 8vo; *Le Temple des Muses*, with many superb engravings, one folio volume; *The Usages, religious, civil, &c, of the Ancients*, in four volumes, with plates, by M. DANDRE BARDON; besides a variety of other authors superfluous to mention. Confiding in these and other profound interpreters of original authors, my object of facilitating the classical studies of *American youth*, will warrant me in making a free use of their labours.—Whoever feels particular solicitude for the improvement of *American literature*, let him bestow a portion of his leisure, to the modification of the elements of general science, for the capacity of *youth*; and *they* will demonstrate to him in his old age, the wonderful effects of his fostering care for their early studies, which will infinitely exceed any thing that he could have effected by attempts at originality with an imperfect education—the necessary result of the present defects of our juvenile instruction. Having been deeply sensible of these defects, which are chiefly owing to the want of suitable books for the *tyro*, is the circumstance that has actuated me in my present undertaking. If my success should be equal to my zeal, my reward will be accomplished.

 ERRATA.

Pages—7, substitute *tenebræ* for *tenebre*; 85, read the second line first, 115, substitute *Hymenæus* for *Hymenius*; 116, *Pavor* for *Pravor*; 180, *Urceolus* for *Urcolus*; 135, first line, *from* for *or*; 137, *Kidron* for *Cedron*; 178, *Censer* for *Cencer*, and *Thuribulum* for *Thurebulam*; 227, *Paphos* for *Paphas*; 239, *æternus* for *æturnus*; 253, *Pegomancy* for *Pigomancy*; 327, *Panathenæa* for *Pauathenæa*; 350, *Choræbus* for *Coræbus*; 370, *Eleusinian* for *Elusinian*.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

Philadelphia, July 27th, 1815.

Sir,

I HAVE perused, with much satisfaction and improvement, your 1st volume of *Mythology*, and really consider it an interesting and useful work. Your arrangement of the subject-matter is very judicious, and the authorities you refer to are of the first character. Should the subsequent volumes be executed with equal success, they will collectively constitute a highly valuable acquisition for the *accomplished Scholar*, as well as for the *junior Student*.

With great respect, I am, your most humble servant,

R. Mayo, M. D.

JAS. ABERCROMBIE, D. D.

Dear Sir,

WITH much satisfaction I have perused the first volume of your "*New System of Mythology*." I confess I did not anticipate much novelty on a subject that has already employed the talents of so many men well qualified for the task; but in this I have been disappointed. I am not only particularly-pleased with the variety of the matter, but also highly commend your success in the instructing and lucid order you have adopted. I have no doubt that your performance—exhibiting the ingenious absurdities of a false *Mythology*, and commending to the reader the beautiful and pure principles of the true religion—will be perused by many with interest and pleasure. I wish you success in the circulation of this valuable production of your useful pen.

W. STAUGHTON, D. D.

Philadelphia, July 21, 1815.

Dr. Mayo.

Sir,

Having examined the first volume of your "*System of Mythology*," I am free in giving it as my opinion that it will be particularly useful to our Colleges and Schools. I am yours, &c.

FREDERIC BEASLEY, D. D.

Dr. Mayo.

University of Pennsylvania. July 20th, 1815.

Dear Sir,

WITHOUT entering into a formal analysis of the valuable qualities of your "*New System of Mythology*," allow me to thank you for the pleasure and instruction I have derived from a perusal of the first volume.

Whether regard be had to its matter or manner, the subjects it embraces or its mode of illustrating them, it appears to be a work of real merit; ornamental to the classical scholar, useful to every one, and essential to all who are ambitious of a knowledge of general history.—To some of the most interesting portions of the history of ancient nations, as well as of several modern ones, an able and correct system of *Mythology* might be emphatically denominated the *master key*. Such a key I feel persuaded your countrymen will not fail to find in that of which you have commenced the publication.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

Thus far of what you have published—Respecting that portion of your work which is yet to appear, it may be regarded as premature in me to speak. Judging, however, from the specimen in my possession, candour and reason unite in obliging me to augur well of it.

The *third volume*, in particular, if executed with equal ability with that which has just been printed, promises to be a production of no common interest. While the *first* and *second* volumes will be calculated to communicate information on a broader scale, and in a more detailed form, the *third*, being an analytical epitome of the entire system, and addressed to the eye, the best of the senses, will, if I mistake not, be well adapted to the use of schools.

On the whole, enough has already appeared to encourage the belief, that when complete, the work will be an addition to American literature, honorable to yourself, and useful to your country. May it be welcomed under a patronage correspondingly liberal.

I am, truly and respectfully, your obedient and very humble servant,

CH. CALDWELL, M. D.

Robert Mayo, M. D.

Philadelphia, July 27, 1815.

Dear Sir,

I have examined the first volume of your “New System of Mythology.”—Without arrogating to myself the right of deciding on its merits, a task which I willingly leave to abler critics, I may be permitted to express my high opinion of the usefulness of such a work; and to add my belief, that competent judges will be less backward than myself in bestowing their commendations on it. The industry and talents of the author are the grounds of this belief.

Very respectfully, I am, sir, your humble servant,

J. S. DORSEY, M. D.

Dr. Mayo.

Philadelphia, July 20th, 1815.

Dear Sir,

The studies which engross my attention are so entirely foreign to the subject of the work which you are now publishing, that I should think it inexcusable arrogance in me to speak minutely on its merits. It gives me pleasure, however, to remark, that the work is arranged with admirable method, written with great perspicuity, and filled with interesting matter. Believe me, with the greatest respect, your obedient servant,

R. M. PATTERSON, M. D.

Dr. R. Mayo.

University of Pennsylvania. July 17th, 1815.

Dear Sir,

I HAVE read your work with as much attention as my leisure would admit, and experience very great pleasure in adding my suffrage to the distinguished testimonials which you have received to its merits.

I am, dear sir, very respectfully, yours, &c.

N. CHAPMAN, M. D.

R. Mayo, M. D.

Philadelphia, July 28th, 1815.

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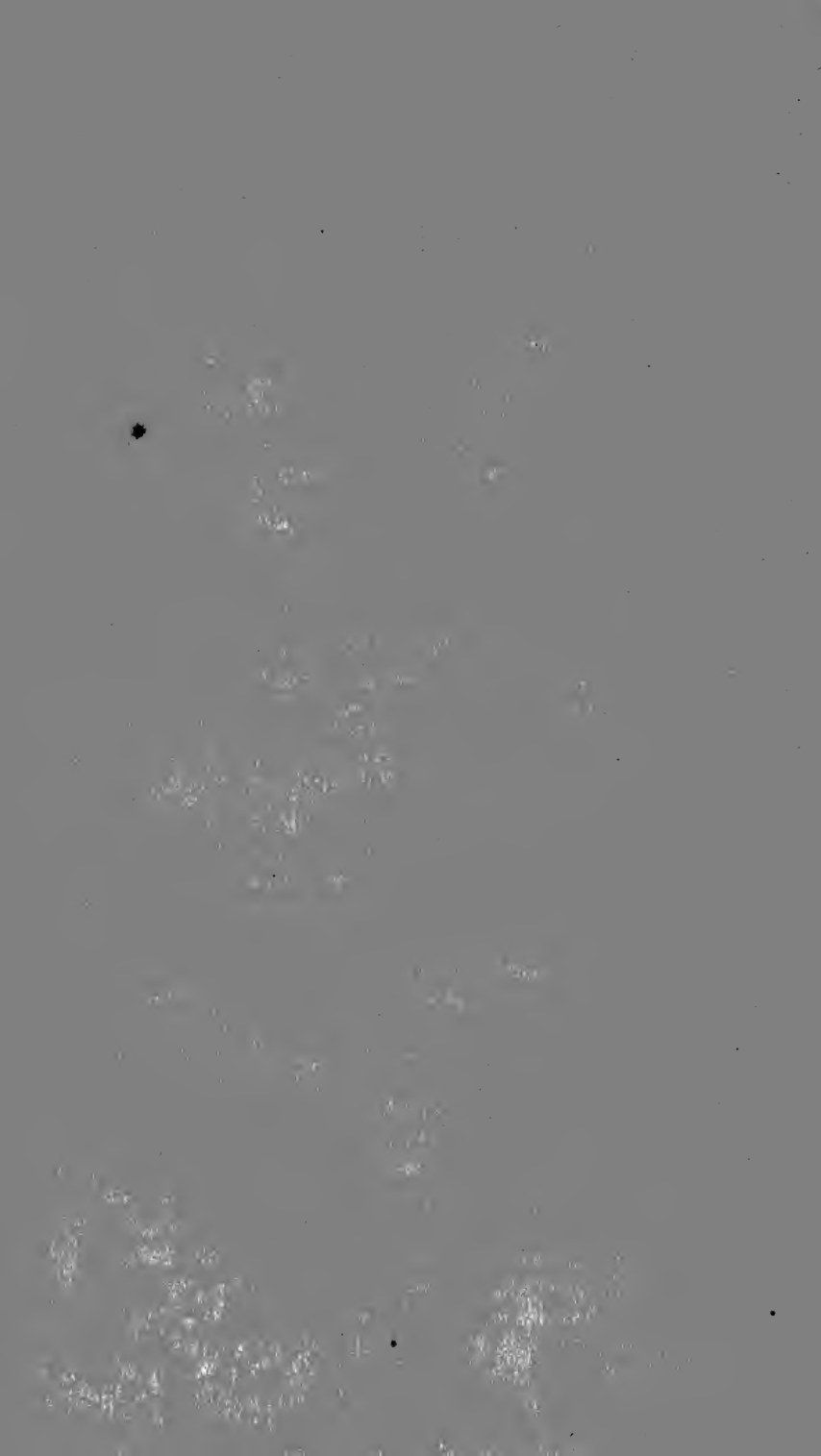
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INTRODUCTION.

OF THE SENTIMENTS OF THE ANCIENTS, ABOUT THE ORIGIN
OF THE WORLD, AND OF THE GODS.

SINCE the opinion of the ancients about the *origin of the Gods* was always mixed with that of the *origin of the world*, I shall in the way of Introduction to this MYTHOLOGY, say something about both their *Cosmogony* and their *Theogony*, derived from the writings of the early historians, whether Chaldean, Phenician, Egyptian, Atlantidæ, Greek, Chinese, or Indian.

1st, Cosmogony and Theogony of the Chaldeans.

Antiquity of the Chaldeans;—
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THERE is no disputing the Chaldeans the honor of being one of the most ancient nations in the world. NIMROD, their first king, lived even in the time of PELEG, and he is looked upon to be the author of the mad project of the *tower of Babel*. This people according to JOSEPHUS, took care from the earliest periods of time, to preserve, by public inscriptions and other monuments, the memory of all occurrences, and to employ the wisest men of their nation in writing their annals; but there are no better proofs of the antiquity of the Chaldeans, than the agreement of their opinion about the origin of the world, the ten generations that went before the deluge, and the other ten that came after it, with the writings of MOSES.—The history of the Chaldeans had been written by four ancient authors, BEROSUS, ABYDENUS, APOLLONORUS, and ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR. We have some fragments of their works now remaining in JOSEPHUS, EUSEBIUS, and SYNCELLUS; and it is in the last of these authors we find that small piece of BEROSUS upon their *Cosmogony*, viz.—

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In the reign of *Amenon*, a monster, half man, and half fish, by the name of *Oannes*, sprung from the red sea, appeared near a place in the neighbourhood of *Babylon*. He had two heads; that of the *man*, was below that of the *fish*. To his fish's *tail* were joined the *feet* of a man, and he had human *voice* and *speech*: his image is preserved to this very day in painting. This monster, according to the Chaldean author, abode with men by day, without food, and taught them the knowledge of letters and sciences, and the practice of arts; to build cities and temples, to enact laws, to apply themselves to geometry, to sow and gather grain and fruits; in a word, whatever could contribute to civilize their manners.—The same author adds concerning *Oannes*, that he had written a book about the origin of things, wherein he taught, that there was a time when all was *water* and *darkness*, in which were contained animals of a monstrous form—some men with two wings; others with four, having also two heads upon the same body, one of a man, the other of a woman, with the distinctions of either sex; that some were seen with the legs and horns of a goat; while others had the fore or hind parts of a horse, like the *Hippocentaurs*; others were born with the head of a man and the body of a bull: that the dogs had four tails, with the hind parts of a fish: in short, that all the animals were of a monstrous and irregular make, like the representations of them to be seen in the temple of *Belus*. This author added farther, that a woman named *Omoroca*, was mistress of the universe, and that the god *Belus* clove her asunder, formed earth of the one part, and heaven of the other, and put all those monsters to death. Then this god divided the darkness, separated earth from heaven, and arranged the universe in order; and after the destruction of the animals, who could not support the splendour of the light, seeing the world desolate, he ordered his own head to be cut off by one of the Gods, to mix with earth the blood which flowed from the wound, and of it to frame men and animals; after which, he framed the stars and the planets, and thus finished the production of all beings.—SYNCELLUS, who has preserved to us the fragments of several other ancients, says, that, according to *ABYDENUS*, a second *Annedotus* or an animal resembling *Oannes*, had likewise come out of the sea, under the reign of *Amillarus*,

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(see the table in the note) who dwelt in the town of *Pantibibla** six and twenty *sares*† from the foundation of the Chaldean monarchy. But APOLLODORUS said, as the same SYNCHELLUS has it, that it was only under the succeeding reign he appeared, that is, in the time of *Amenon*. POLYHISTOR, like BEROSUS, introduced his *Oannes* in the first year; that is, probably, at the beginning of that same monarchy; which would fain be a third *Oannes*. The same APOLLODORUS speaks of a fourth *Oannes* or *Annedotus*, who had likewise come out of the sea under the reign of *Daonus*. In addition to these, ABYDENUS mentions four persons, who came at that time by sea, to give the Chaldeans a more full explication of what *Oannes* had taught them only in a summary way; he names these four *doctors*, Euedocus, Eneugamus, Eneubulus, and Anementus.‡—We shall subjoin what the above historians say respecting the deluge, and conclude with such reflections as the occasion suggests.

* SCALIGER upon EUSEBIUS, p. 406, remarks very justly that the ancients have taken no notice of the town named *Pantibibla*. What if it was the *Siphphara* of PTOLEMY, where XIXUTRUS, who is the same with ΝΟΑΗ, deposited the remains he had composed before the deluge? Since the name may be derived from the Chaldaic word *sepher*, meaning a *book*, a *collection*; and that is precisely the same sense, which the word *Pantibibla* bears in Greek. SIR ISAAC NEWTON, in his chronology, takes that town for the *Sepharvaim* mentioned in the second book of Kings, ch. 19, v. 13.

† The ancients divided time into *sares*, *neres*, and *soles*. The *sares*, (*saros* according to SYNCHELLUS) denoted three thousand six hundred years.

‡ Such was the tradition of the Chaldeans about the *origin of the world*, where it is plain they suppose the Gods prior to the formation of the world. We see there is no mention of their birth as in the tradition of the Phenicians. Be that as it will, here are the ten first generations according to the opinion of the Chaldeans, with the duration of each reign in *sares*.

Thus, AFRICANUS.		Thus, ABYDENUS.		Thus, APOLLODORUS.	
<i>Kings.</i>	<i>Sares.</i>	<i>Kings.</i>	<i>Sares.</i>	<i>Kings.</i>	<i>Sares.</i>
1 Alorus, reigned	10	1 Alorus, reigned	10	1 Alorus, reigned,	10
2 Alasparus,	3	2 Alaparus,	3	2 Alaparus,	
3 Amelon,	13	3 Amillarus,	13	3 Amelon,	
4 Amenon,	12	4 Amenon,	12	4 Amenon,	
5 Metalarus,	18	5 Megalarus,	18	5 Megalarus,	18
6 Daonus,	29	6 Daos,	10	6 Daonus,	10
7 Evedorachus,	18	7 Evedorescus,	18	7 Evedoriscus,	18

 CHALDEAN COSMOGONY AND THEOGONY.

Chronus or Saturn, having appeared to XIXUTRUS in a dream, forewarned him, that on the fifteenth of the month *Desus*, mankind were to be destroyed by a deluge; and enjoined him to write down the origin, the history, and the end of all things; and to conceal his memoirs under ground, in the city of the Sun, named *Siffihara*. After this he was to build a ship, to lay up the necessary provisions, and enter into it himself; his friends, and relations, and shut in with him the birds and four-footed beasts. XIXUTRUS put his orders punctually into execution, and made a ship which was two furlongs in breadth, and five in length, and no sooner had he entered into it than the earth was drowned. Sometime after, seeing the waters abate, he let go some fowls, which finding neither nourishment nor resting-place, returned into the vessel. A few days after, he sent out others that returned with mud adhering to their feet. The third time he let them go, they appeared no more; whence he concluded, that the earth was beginning to be sufficiently discovered: then he made a window in the vessel, and finding it had rested on a mountain, he came forth with his wife, his daughter, and the pilot; and, having paid adoration to the earth, raised an altar, and offered sacrifice to the Gods, he and those who were with him disappeared. Those who staid in the ship finding that they did not return, came out and made search for them, but in vain: only they heard a voice sounding these words in their ears, XIXUTRUS, by the merit of his piety, is translated to Heaven, and ranked among the Gods, with those who accompanied him. The same voice exhorted them to be religious and to repair to *Babylon*, after digging up at *Siffi-*

8 Amphis,	10	8 Anedaphus,	9	8 Amenpsinus,	10
9 Otiartes,	8	9		9 Otiartes,	8
10 Xixutrus,	18	10 Sisuthrus,		10 Xixutrus,	18

Since, in this system of the Chaldeans, it is taken for granted, that ALORUS is ADAM, there is no doubt but XIXUTRUS must be NOAH. Accordingly they report it was in this time the deluge happened; where, by the by, the Chaldaick authors are more honest than SANCHONIATHON, whom I shall speak of afterwards; the latter describing the ten first generations of the infant world, and the ten immediately succeeding, by an unpardonable prevarication takes no notice of this celebrated event. What the authors I have been quoting say about it follows in the text.

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phara the memoirs that had been deposited there. The voice being heard no more, they set about rebuilding the city I have named, with some others.

Reflections, on
the above.

This is a gross system of *physics*, and a *theogony* no less so. It is true ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR thought the whole system allegorical; but what allegories could render it supportable? However, monstrous as it is, it appears to be only a disfigured tradition of the history of the *creation*, taken either from the books of MOSES, or from a tradition still more ancient. It seems plain, that the place where MOSES speaks of the darkness that covered the earth, then mixed with the water, *et tenebre erant super faciem abyssi*, is the foundation of this whole *cosmogony*, in which the Chaldeans had feigned those monsters, whose history we have now read, to give a more sensible and hideous description of that state of confusion which reigned in the world immediately after the Creation. As to what regards the forming of *man*, it is evident that the history thereof is likewise taken from the description of MOSES, who says, that God, after he had as it were exerted himself in the production of this masterpiece, took of the earth which he tempered with water, and breathed into it a living spirit. These last words, it would seem, gave the author of the Chaldean system occasion to say, that *Belus* had ordered his head to be cut off; or, according to another tradition, that he himself had cut off that of *Omoroca*; whence BEROSUS concludes, this was the cause of man's being endued with intelligence. As for those *man-monsters* who had two heads, four wings, and both sexes, we may reckon the idea of them to have been likewise taken from those words of MOSES, where the historian, in the second chapter, making a recapitulation of what he had said in the first, subjoins, in speaking of ADAM and EVE, *masculum et feminam creavit illos*.—By the by, it is this notion of the Chaldeans, if we may be allowed the digression, that has given rise to the fable of the *Androgynes*, so celebrated in PLATO'S dialogue, intitled *The Banquet*; a fable, which this philosopher puts into the mouth of *Aristophanes*, one of the speakers. "The Gods, says he, formed man at first of a round figure, with two bodies, two faces, four legs, four feet, and both sexes." These men were of such extraordinary strength, that they resolved to make war upon the Gods. *Jupiter* incensed by

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this enterprize, was going to destroy them, as he had done the *Giants*, who attempted to scale Heaven; but foreseeing that he must have entirely extinguished the human race, he contented himself with parting them asunder; to the end, that, being thus divided into two parts, henceforth they might neither be so strong, nor so daring. At the same time he gave orders to *Apollo* to adjust these two half bodies, and to stretch over the breast and the other parts of the body, the skin, as it is at present, and which bears a mark in the *navel* that it has been fastened to it, and knotted as one shuts a *purse*. These two parts of one body thus disjoined, want to be reunited; and this is the origin of *Love*. It is easy to see, that this fiction is drawn from the history, which *MOSES* gives of the formation of the *woman*, who was taken from one of *ADAM*'s ribs, and was bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh: but to return—In vain does the mind of man use all its efforts to corrupt the truth; it leaves always some rays of light to lead us to find it out: for the name of *Oannes* or *Oes*, as *HELLADIUS* calls him, seems to be formed from the Syriac word *Onedo*, which signifies a *traveller* or a *stranger*. Thus the whole story amounts to this, that at a time, which cannot be determined, there arrived by sea, a man who taught the Chaldeans some principles of philosophy, and some knowledge of ancient traditions, and left them memoirs upon that subject which no doubt had the books of *MOSES* for their foundation.

 2d, *The Cosmogony and Theogony of the Phenicians.*

Sanchoniathon,
the authenticity
of his fragment,
—its division into
three parts, viz.—

SANCHONIATHON, priest of *Berytha*, who is reckoned to have lived before the war of *Troy*, had written upon the *Cosmogony* and *Theogony* of the Phenicians. *EUSEBIUS*, who has preserved to us a long fragment of this treatise, recites a passage relative to this author, which needs not be suspected, since it is taken from *PORPHYRY*, the greatest enemy the Christians ever had. This author reports, that *SANCHONIATHON* had written about the Jews, things very true; that he agreed with their own writers, and learned several circumstances, which he relates, from *Jerombaal* priest of *Jevo*, that he had dedicated his

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work to *Abibail* king of Phenicia; and that not only this prince, but they who were commissioned to examine his books, were agreed as to the truth of this author's history: In fine, that he had taken what he advanced, partly from the registers of particular towns, and partly from the archives, which were carefully preserved in the temples.—The work of this ancient author was yet extant in the first ages of christianity, since it is about that time, that is, about the reign of the *Antonines*, that *PHILO* of *Byblos*, translated it into Greek, and divided it into nine books. In the preface he had annexed to them, he said, “ that *SANCHONIATHON*, a man of learning and great experience, being passionately desirous to know the histories of all nations, and that from their origin, had made an exact scrutiny into the writings of *THAAUTUS*, from an assurance, that as he had been the inventor of letters, he must have been likewise the first historian.” It was therefore from the works of this chief of the learned, *THAAUTUS* or the celebrated *Mercury*, that the Phenician author had taken the foundation of his history.—This translation appears, from what remains we have of it preserved by *EUSEBIUS*, to have been interpolated by *PHILO*, and adapted to the ideas of the Greeks in his time. What is farther unlucky, (for it is proper that we give a plain and exact account of this fragment) besides its being interpolated by *PHILO*, as has been just said, *EUSEBIUS* too, in reciting it, instead of having copied it as it was, has intermixed with it, as one who reads it with attention will easily perceive, not only the reflections of the Greek translator, but also others of his own, which very much weaken the authority of this valuable remain of Phenician antiquities; while it is not always easy to distinguish what is *SANCHONIATHON*'s from the additions of *PHILO* or *EUSEBIUS*. The fragment may be divided into three parts; and they who would see the entire translation of it, need only read the reflections of *M. FOURMONT* upon ancient nations. 1st, The first contains the *Cosmogony* of the Phenicians; 2d, the second, the history of the primitive world *before the deluge*, although this author says not a word of that noted event; 3d, and the third treats of those who lived *after the deluge*, among whom we shall recognise many names of the Pagan Deities.

 PHENICIAN COSMOGONY AND THEOGONY.

1st, The origin of the World. 1st, According to this ancient author, "the first principle of the universe was a *dark and spirituous air*, a Chaos full of confusion, and without light, eternal, and of an endless duration. The spirit falling in love with its own principles, entered into close union with them; and this union was called *Love*. Hence sprung *Mot* or *Mod*, that is to say, a *slime*, or rather an aqueous mixture, which was the seminal principle of all the creatures, and the generation of the universe. The first animals were void of sensation; they engendered others endowed with intelligence, who were named *Zophasemin*, that is, contemplators of the Heavens. Immediately after *Mot*, the *Sun*, the *Moon*, the *Stars*, smaller and greater, began to appear and shine forth. The earth being strongly illuminated by the intense heat communicated to the land and the sea, the winds were produced, with clouds that fell down in showers of rain; and the waters, with which the earth had been overflowed being dissipated by the heat of the Sun, were again united in the air, where they formed lightning and thunder, whose noise awakened the intelligent animals, and terrified them so, that they began to stir in the earth and in the sea."—This system of the Phenicians led to *atheism*—God being left out in the formation of the universe. SANCHONIATHON even says, that the spirit, such as he conceives it to be, had no knowledge of its own proper production.

2d, The ten generations before the deluge. 2d, The Phenician author, after this account of the origin of the world, enters upon the history of the first man and first woman, whom PHILO his translator calls *Protogonus* and *Æon*; and adds that the latter found the fruits of trees to be *proper nourishment*. The children of these parents of human kind, who were *Genus* and *Genera*, dwelt in Phenicia. In time of a great drought, they stretched forth their hands towards the sun, whom they looked upon as the sole God and sovereign of Heaven, and gave him the name of *Beelsamen*; which, in the Phenician language, signifies Lord of the Heavens. *Genus* afterwards begat other men, who were named *Phos*, *Pur*, *Phlox*,

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"that is, *light, fire, and flame*: these are they, who by rubbing
 "two pieces of wood against one another, found out the use of
 "fire. Their sons, who were of an enormous size, gave their
 "names to the mountains which they possessed; hence the
 "names of mount Cassius, Libanus, Antilibanus, Brathys, &c.
 "The offspring of those Giants were *Memrumus* and *Hypsura-*
 "*nus*. The latter dwelt at *Tyre*, and invented the art of building
 "cottages of reeds, and rushes, and the papyrus; and his bro-
 "ther, with whom he quarrelled, taught men to clothe them-
 "selves with the skins of beasts. Nor was this all, for an impet-
 "uous wind having kindled a forest hard by *Tyre*, he took a tree,
 "cut off its branches, and having launched it into the sea, made
 "use of it for a ship. He also paid a religious homage to two
 "stones he had consecrated to the *wind* and *fire*, and poured out
 "libations to them of the blood of certain animals. After the
 "death of *Memrumus* and *Hypsuranus*, continues SANCHONIA-
 "THON, their children consecrated to them misshapen pieces of
 "wood and stone, which they adored, and instituted anniversary
 "festivals to their honour. Several years after this generation,
 "which is the *sixth*, came *Agræus* and *Haliæus*, inventors of fishing
 "and hunting, as their names import. These had offspring, two
 "sons, who invented the art of making instruments of iron. He of
 "the two whose name was *Chrysor*, the same with *Hephestus*, or
 "*Vulcan*, gave himself to the abominable study of incantations
 "and sorceries; invented the hook, the bait and fishing-line, the
 "use of barks fit for that purpose, with sails. So many inventions
 "procured him after death divine honours, under the name of
 "*Zeumichius*, or *Jupiter the engineer*. These two ingenious bro-
 "thers are also thought to have invented the art of making walls
 "of brick. Their sons were, *Technites* or the artist, and *Geinus*
 "*Autocthon*, that is, home-born man of the earth; they having
 "found out the secret of mixing straw with brick, formed tiles
 "thereof, which they dried in the sun. Their two sons named
 "*Agrai* the swain, and *Agrotæ* the husbandman, devoted them-
 "selves to the rural life and to hunting. They were also styled
 "*Aletæ* and *Titans*. In fine, *Amyrus* and *Magus*, the *counter-wi-*
 "*zard* and the *conjurer*, were the last of this primitive race; and
 "they taught men the art of building villages, and o gathering

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“ their flock into them.*—There was also in their time, in the neighbourhood of *Byblos*, one *Eliou*, a name that may be rendered in Greek, *Hypsistus*, the most high, who had to wife *Beruth*. They had a son named *Epigeus*, who was afterwards called *Uranus*, and a daughter, who went by the name of *Ge*; and it is the names of those two children the Greeks have given to Heaven and Earth. *Hypsistus* having died in a hunting-match, was advanced to divine honours, and had libations and sacrifices offered to him. *Uranus* possessed his father’s throne, and having married his sister *Ge*, had several children by her; *Ilus*, who was styled *Chronus* or *Saturn*; *Betylus*; *Dagon*; and *Atlas*.”

3d, Those who lived after the deluge.

“ Of those, says SANCHONIATHON, meaning *Amyrus* and *Magus*, were born *Misor* and *Sydic*, the free and the just, who found out the use of salt. The former was father to *Thaautus*, who first invented letters; this is the *Thoot* or *Thoor* of the Egyp-

* These, according to the Phenician author, except that of *Eliou* or *Hypsistus*, who is next, but incidentally, mentioned, were the ten first generations, and were of the line of CAIN; on which we have four remarks to make. *First*, that this ancient author, who had a mind to favour idolatry, was willing to mention none but CAIN’s descendants, who are reckoned, not without reason, to have been the founders of idolatry. *Secondly*, that he makes no mention of the deluge, which, according to the fathers of the church, was sent to punish this race for their crimes, the greatest of which was the sacrilegious worship they paid to the *creatures*. A *third* remark is, that SANCHONIATHON counts ten generations in the lineage of CAIN, though MOSES reckons only eight, passing from the third to the sixth, or from ENOCH to IRAD. But we may suppose that MOSES, whose aim was principally to take notice of the race of SETH, or that of the just, has not in the same way followed that of CAIN, especially the fourth and fifth generations, because, perhaps, they did not deserve to be named; for it is not likely, that the *eight* generations of CAIN were of equal duration with the *ten* of SETH, of whom MOSES makes mention. The *last* remark is that the Phenician author, as well as MOSES, ascribes to these descendants of CAIN, the greater part of useful inventions, although the two authors are not always agreed as to the time when, nor the persons by whom, these discoveries were made; SANCHONIATHON giving to one race what MOSES gives to another, as one may be convinced by reading the first chapter of Genesis.—These ten generations I have said, belonged to CAIN’s descendants, except *Hypsistus* in the neighbourhood of *Byblos*, because the learned, after CUMBERLAND, who has given a large explication

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“tians, the *Thogit* or *Thoyth* of the Alexandrians, and the *Hermes* of the Greeks: the sons of *Sydic* were the *Dioscuri* or *Cabiri*, afterwards named *Corybantes* or *Samothraces*. These built a ship and improved the art of navigation; and among their children there were some who found out the use of simples; remedies against the bite of animals; and in fine, the art of enchantment or the method of curing these bites by spells.—*Uranus*, whose children were alive in the time of those we have just been speaking of, having succeeded his father *Elion*, had by his sister *Ge* the four sons already named; *Chronus*; *Betylus*; *Atlas*; and *Dagon* or *Siton*, whose surname was *Zeus Arotrius*, or *Jupiter the tiller*, from his having invented the art of sowing corn; he had also several other children by different concubines. *Ge*, displeased with the gallantries of her spouse, made bitter complaints to him upon that account; which obliged him to turn her off. But having an affection for her, he took her back, and

of this fragment of the Phenician author, contend that this *Hypsistus* was the father of *NOAH*, and that the reason of his being mentioned so transiently is, that he was an enemy to the idolaters, whose cause *SANCHONIATHON* pleads.—For the reader's satisfaction, I shall set down the two tables of *GAIN*'s descendants, or the ten first generations according to *MOSES* and *SANCHONIATHON*.

According to MOSES.

- 1 Adam, Eve.
- 2 Cain.
- 3 Enoch.
- 4
- 5
- 6 Irad.
- 7 Methusael.
- 8 Mehujael.
- 9 Lamech.
- 10 Jabal, Jubal, Tubal-Cain.

According to SANCHONIATHON.

- 1 Protogonus, Æon.
- 2 Genus, Genea.
- 3 Phos, Pur, Phlox.
- 4 Cassius, Libanus.
- 5 Memrumus, Usous.
- 6 Agreus, Halieus.
- 7 Chrysor or Hephestus.
- 8 Technites, Geinus.
- 9 Agrus, Agrotos.
- 10 Amynus, Magus.

By *MOSES*, as we see, *CAIN*'s race ends with the last of the persons I have now named, because they themselves or their descendants perished in the deluge, not so much as one of them being saved. If you ask how it comes then to be continued by *SANCHONIATHON*, in the third part of his abstract I am going to transcribe; the answer is easy, that he has taken in *NOAH*'s descendants to make up his second decade: this will appear evident by the reflections afterwards to be made.

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" had several other children by her, all of whom he sought to de-
 " stroy. *Chronus* arriving at the age of manhood, espoused his
 " mother's quarrel, placed at the head of his counsel *Hermes*
 " *Trismegistus*, who was his secretary, made vigorous opposition
 " to the designs of *Uranus*, expelled him from his kingdom, and
 " succeeded to his power; in the scuffle having taken a concubine
 " whom his father tenderly loved, he gave her, though big with
 " child, in marriage to his brother *Dagon*; soon after he had her
 " she was delivered of a male child, who was named *Demaroon*.
 " *Chronus*, for security, built a wall round his house, and found-
 " ed *Byblos*, the first city of Phenicia. Some time after, having
 " conceived a violent jealousy against his brother *Atlas*, by the
 " advice of *Trismegistus*, he caused him to be thrown into a pit,
 " where he perished. *Chronus* had at that time, two daughters;
 " *Persephone* or *Proserpine*, who died a virgin; and *Athene* or
 " *Minerva*; he had also a son named *Sadid*, whom he put to death.
 " He also cut off his daughter's head, and by these actions, greatly
 " amazed the Gods; those I mean of his party, who were deno-
 " minated *Eloim*. About that time, continues the Phenician au-
 " thor, the offspring of the *Dioscuri*, having built ships, put to
 " sea; and being driven ashore near mount *Cassius*, there built a
 " temple. In the mean time, *Uranus*, though in exile, was still
 " plotting against his son *Chronus*, and sent him three of his
 " daughters, *Astarte*, *Rhea*, and *Dione*, on purpose to cut him off.
 " But he having seized upon them, took them into the number of
 " his concubines, as he had done *Eimarmene* and *Hora*, who were
 " sent to him upon the same design. He had seven daughters
 " by *Astarte*, named *Titanidæ* or *Artemidæ*; and two sons, *Pothos*
 " and *Eros*, or *Desire* and *Love*. By *Rhea* he had seven sons, the
 " youngest of them (to whom the author gives no name) was ad-
 " ded to the number of the Gods at the very moment of his birth;
 " that is, he was consecrated to the Gods, and to divine service;
 " he had likewise some daughters by *Dione*, who are not named.
 " The same *Chronus* or *Saturn*, had in *Perea* three sons, *Chronus*
 " after the name of his father, *Zeus-Belus* and *Apollo*. *Sydic* or
 " *the just*, having married one of the *Titanidæ* above mentioned,
 " had a son by her named *Asclepius** who was contemporary with

* Here it is proper to remark, that *Sydic*, being, according to some au-

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"Pontus, with Nerus, and with Typhon. Pontus had two children; a son named Poseidon or Neptune; and a daughter called Sidon, who being a charming singer, was the first who composed odes. Demaroon was father to Melicertus, otherwise called Hercules. Then it was that Uranus engaged in a new war against Pontus, whom he had deserted, and joined with Demaroon; who fell upon Pontus and was routed by him, so that he was obliged to make a vow to the Gods for his life. Ilus, that is Chronus or Saturn, in the thirty-second year of his reign, having laid an ambuscade for his father Uranus in a thicket watered by fountains and rivulets, cut his privities with the stroke of a sabre; and in that very place was Uranus deified. There it was he gave up the ghost, and there they shew the blood that issued from his wound, mingled with the streams; and the place where this happened is still to be seen."†—After some other things, the author thus goes on: "Astarte the great, Jupiter Demaroon, and Adodus the king of Gods, reigned in the country, according to the counsels of Chronus or Saturn. Astarte, as a sign of her royalty, set upon her head, the head of a bull. Traversing the earth, she found a star fallen from Heaven; this she took and consecrated in the holy island of Tyre. Astarte, according to the Phenicians, is Aphrodite or Venus. Chronus, in like manner, taking the tour of the earth, gave his daughter Athene the kingdom of Attica. In the mean time, pestilence and famine having arose, Chronus offers up to his father Uranus his son Sadic, and circumcises himself, ordering all the soldiers of his army to do the same. Some time after, a son whom he

thors, Shem, the son of Noah or Uranus, he must, according to SANCHONIATHON, have passed over into the land of Canaan, and there married a daughter of Ham, who is the Chronus of this author. Asclepius, his son, is the only one of Sydic's children whom the author mentions; for he concerned himself only for his own country, which was Phenicia, peopled by Ham and his descendants.

† Here then (and it is a reflection which EUSEBIUS has subjoined to the recital of the Phenician author) you have the history of Chronus or Saturn; and what is a true matter of fact in relation to a prince, whose reign the Greeks have looked upon as so happy, that of it they have made the golden age.

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" had by *Rhea*, called *Mouth*,* was ranked among the Gods. *Chronus* afterwards gave away two of his cities, to wit, *Byblos* to the Goddess *Baaltis* or *Dione*, *Beryt* to *Neptune*, to the *Cabiri*, to the *Agroti* or labourers, and to the fishers. But before this happened, the God *Thaautus* drew the portraiture of the other Gods—of *Saturn* or *Chronus*, of *Dagon*, &c. thence to form the sacred characters of the letters. As an emblem of sovereignty, he gave *Chronus* four eyes, two before and two behind. Of these four eyes two were shut while the other two were awake. In like manner, upon each shoulder he placed a pair of wings, two of which were expanded, the others remaining in a state of rest—his design being to represent by the eyes, that *Chronus*, when gone to rest was still awake, and while awake was at rest; and, by the wings, that though in repose, he was incessantly flying, while with that motion he enjoyed undisturbed tranquillity. To the other Gods he gave only two wings, one upon each shoulder, to shew that they were only to be upon the wing to accompany *Chronus*. He likewise added to the figure of *Chronus* two wings more upon the crown of his head; the one to denote the superior wisdom of his government, the other to point out the delicacy of his sensations. *Chronus* having gone to the country of the South, made over to the God *Thaautus* the full property of the kingdom of Egypt."

Such is the fragment of *SANCHONIATHON*. *PHILO*'s remarks upon this fragment. After having translated this fragment, *PHILO* of *Byblos* adds, that this history was left to the posterity of *Sydic*; and that *SANCHONIATHON* the son of *Thabion*, after he had turned it to allegory, and interspersed it with some physical ideas about the origin of the world, had delivered over the scheme thereof to the prophets of the *Orgies*.—The Greeks, continues the same translator, who in refinement of genius excelled all other nations, appropriated every ancient history to themselves, exaggerated and embellished them, and aimed at nothing but to amuse by their narrations: hence they have turned those histories into quite a new shape; and hence it is that *HE*

* The name given to this son by the Greeks, may be rendered *Pluto*.

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SION and the other historical poets have forged *theogonies*, *gigantomachies*, *titanomachies*, and other pieces, by which they have in a manner stifled the truth. Our ears accustomed from our infancy to their fictions, and prepossessed with opinions that have been in vogue for several ages, retain the vain impressions of those fables as a sacred depositum. And because time has insensibly rivetted those idle tales in our imaginations, they have now got such fast hold thereof, that it is extremely difficult to dislodge them. Hence it comes to pass, that even truth, when it is discovered to men, appears to have the air of falsehood, while fabulous narrations, be they ever so absurd, pass for the most authentic facts.

As I shall have occasion in the course of this work to speak of all the personages mentioned by that author, I shall subjoin here only a few reflections. 1st, As to the genuineness of this piece, authors are greatly divided; some maintaining that it is really the Phenician author's, though interpolated by PHILO his translator, and intermixed with several reflections which are none of SANCHONIATHON's, while the far greater number have always looked upon it as spurious. The celebrated CUMBERLAND, and M. FOURMONT the elder, are the two writers, who have maintained its genuineness with most strength and learning. In the latter especially, you may see the history of the opinions of the learned upon this subject, and the arguments he brings to refute them.—2d, The author is clearer and freer from interpolations as to those ten first generations, of which we have given the table, than in relation to those that followed the deluge, where we find more confusion, and less connection, although it is easy to see he was willing to carry them as far down as to the family of ABRAHAM, and to some of his descendants.—3d, It is not to be doubted but SANCHONIATHON had taken the idea of this theogony from traditions of very great antiquity, though they had been already corrupted by the Phenicians, who had mixed fictions with them; but at the same time it is evident, that the author with a view to gain credit to idolatry, has said nothing of the genealogies before the deluge, except in the line of CAIN, no mention being made of that of SETH.—4th. Next to the gaining credit to idolatry, the author's main scope seems to have been, to shew

Additional reflections upon the fragment.

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who were the inventors of arts; wherein he sometimes agrees with MOSES, and at the same time, gives the history of *apotheeses*; never failing to point out those, who for useful inventions, had been ranked among the Gods, and honoured with a public worship; whence it follows, that having given to the supreme being little or no share in the formation of the world, his *cosmogony* is a scheme of *atheism*.—5th, EUSEBIUS, to whom we are indebted for this fragment, maintained that the Phenician cosmogony was a direct introduction to *Atheism*; and in this he is followed by the famous CUMBERLAND, who justly considered this system concerning the origin of the world, as solely designed to apologize for the idolatrous worship paid to different parts of the universe, and to mere mortals—THAAUTUS having involved SANCHONIATHON, his copyer, in the grossest of all Pagan darkness, which is to leave out the supreme being in the formation and government of the world, and having attempted to introduce the religion of the Egyptians and Phenicians, who honored the *creature* instead of the *Creator*. Yet, a celebrated modern contends, that by giving a favourable interpretation to SANCHONIATHON'S words, it will appear evident the Phenicians supposed two principles, the one a *Chaos*, darksome and obscure; the other a *wind*, or rather an *intelligence* endued with goodness, which arranged the world into its present order; and that the Phenician author, by saying this intelligence knew not his own production, means only that it was eternal, and had never been produced. But this Phenician cosmogony being taken from the books of THAAUTUS, it is proper to suspend our judgment, till we have given the Egyptian cosmogony and theogony, which are to be the subject of the following section.

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3d, The Cosmogony and Theogony of the Egyptians.

THOT, his
Cosmogony and
Theogony the
most ancient;—

The apologists for christianity were obliged to search into the earliest antiquity for the origin of other religions, and none has laboured herein more successfully than EUSEBIUS of *Cæsarea*. What precious remains has he preserved, which must have been destroyed by the injuries of time,

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had not he been at the pains to collect them into his work! Besides the celebrated fragment we have spoken of in the last section, we owe to him a great many other pieces upon the ancient religion of the Egyptians, Greeks, and several other nations. It is in his works we can trace—by what steps idolatry came to its growth—and how various and fluctuating the opinions of philosophers have been about physical principles, and about the origin of the world in particular. The fragment we have just now transcribed, has properly a regard to none but the Phenicians; but what were the Gods of Phenicia but the Gods of Egypt? And whence had Greece hers according to HERODOTUS, PLATO, PLUTARCH, and so many others, but from Egypt and Phenicia? SANCHONIATHON appears to have copied THOT, or THAATUS: now THOT was an Egyptian, and the most learned man of his time. We must therefore expect to find the ideas of the Egyptians as to the origin of the world, and of the Gods, to be pretty near the same with those of the Phenicians we have just been speaking of, and withal, to be the most ancient of any wherewith tradition advises us. DIODORUS SICULUS, in the passage I am now going to quote, has explained them, without naming however the Egyptians in particular; and EUSEBIUS seems to have copied him, though the chapter where he treats of that subject be intitled, “*The Cosmogony of the Greeks.*” But we know that these had it from the Egyptians.

“In the beginning,” says DIODORUS, “the
 explained by DI- “HEAVENS and the EARTH had but one form,
 ODORUS SICU- “their natures being blended together; but being
 LUS. “afterwards separated, the WORLD assumed that
 “orderly disposition which we now see. By the agitation of the
 “air, the fiery particles mounted upwards, and gave the Sun the
 “Moon and the Stars their form, lustre and circular motion. The
 “solid-matter sunk downward and formed the earth and sea,
 “whence sprung the fishes and animals—much after the manner
 “as we still see in Egypt, swarms of insects and other animals
 “spring from the earth that has been overflowed with the waters
 “of the Nile.”—“Chronus,” continues DIODORUS, “having mar-
 “ried Rhea, became according to some, the father of Isis and
 “Osiris, and according to others, of Jupiter and Juno. From Ju-
 C

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“*Jupiter*, according to the latter, sprung five other gods, *Osiris*, *Isis*, “*Typhon*, *Apollo*, and *Aphrodite* or *Venus*. *Osiris*, added they, was “the same with *Bacchus*; and *Isis* the same with *Ceres*. *Anubis* and “*Macedo* sprung from *Apollo*, who accompanied *Osiris* in his “conquests. *Osiris*, setting out on his expeditions, left in his room “*Busiris* his brother; upon his return from the Indies, *Typhon* as- “sassinated him, and they deified him upon account of his heroic “deeds, and the oxen *Apis* and *Mnevis*, that had been consecrated “to him, were themselves worshipped, as *Divinities*. But, as in “apothoses they frequently changed the names of the persons “deified, *Osiris* was called *Scraphis*. *Dionysius*, *Pluto*, *Jupiter*, *Pan*, “&c.; and *Isis* his wife who was also ranked among the Goddess- “es, was worshipped under the names of *Tesmophoros*, of *Selene* “or the *Moon*, of *Hera* or *Juno*, &c.; *Orus*, son of *Isis*, and the “last of the Gods, having escaped the ambuscades of the *Titans*, “reigned over Egypt, and after his death was numbered with the “gods—and it is he whom the Greeks named *Apollo*.”—Indeed, according to *SOCRATES*, whose testimony is quoted by *EUSEBIUS*, the Egyptians struck with the view of the *sun* and the *other lami- naries*, imagined them to be the sovereigns of the world, and the primary deities who governed the same. Accordingly the *sun* they styled *Osiris*, and the *moon* they called *Isis*. *Osiris*, said they, signifies, *full of eyes*, or extremely quick-sighted: *Isis* is the same as, *the ancient*, or the aged, and this name was appropriated to the *moon*, on account of her eternal birth.—But they did not stop here: when one has set out in the dark, he loses himself in proportion as he advances. *DIODORUS SICULUS* who had carefully collected the Egyptian traditions, tells us, their great Gods were the *Sun*; *Saturn*; *Rhea*; *Jupiter*; *Juno*; *Vulcan*; *Vesta*; and *Mercury*, whom they reputed the *last*; but were not agreed whether the *Sun* or *Vulcan* had reigned *first*. Here, to mention it by the by, are the *eight great Gods* of the Egyptians, of whom *HERODOTUS* speaks several times, though he does not name them.

Reflections upon
the above.

Such, according to *DIODORUS SICULUS*; was the *cosmogony* and *theogony* of the Egyptians; and it is easy to see that it had been corrupted by the Greeks, and adapted to their manner.

EUSEBIUS has well observed, that their *cosmogony*, as well as that of the *Phenicians* which was derived from the same origi-

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nal, excludes the creator from having any hand in the formation of the universe. In confirmation of his judgment, he cites a passage of PORPHYRY, who, in his epistle to ANEBO the Egyptian priest, writes that CHÆREMON and others believed there was nothing prior to this visible world; that the *planets* and *stars* were the true gods of the Egyptians, and that the *Sun* was to be reckoned the artificer of the universe: and it is proper to remark, that this is the amount of that abstract of the Egyptian theology, given by DIOGENES LAERTIUS, who had himself taken it from MANETHO and from HECATÆUS, who before him had said, that *matter* was the *first principle*, and the *sun* and *moon* the first Divinities of that ancient people, adored by them under the names of *Osiris* and *Isis*:—It is worth remarking, however, that a modern of great abilities, DR. CUDWORTH, has done more justice to the Egyptians, proving from EUSEBIUS himself, that they believed that an intelligent being, whom they named *Cneph*, presided over the formation of the world. They represented this being, according to PORPHYRY, under the figure of a man holding a *girdle* and a *sceptre*, with magnificent plumes upon his head, and out of his mouth proceeded an *egg*, from which, in its turn, proceed another god whom they named *Phtha*, and the Greeks *Vulcan*. They themselves gave the explication of this mysterious fable. The *plumes* that overshadowed his head, denoted the hidden invisible nature of that intelligence, the power he had of communicating life, his universal sovereignty, and the spirituality of his operations. The *egg* which proceeds out of his mouth, signified the world which is his workmanship. These same people sometimes represented the Divinity under the emblem of a *serpent*, with the head of a hawk, which by opening its eyes fills the world with light, and by shutting them covers it with darkness. —The opinion of this modern author may be confirmed by the testimony of JAMBLICUS, who in the time of EUSEBIUS had applied himself much to the study of the ancient Egyptian theology, and he endeavours to make good what CHÆREMON had advanced, that they did not generally believe that an *inanimate nature* was the original of all things; but that in the world, as well as in ourselves, they acknowledged a *soul* superior to nature, and an *Intelligence* who created the world, superior to the soul.—What we may conclude with most certainty concerning their *the-*

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ogony, is, that this ancient people adored two sorts of Deities, viz. the *Stars*, especially the *Sun* and *Moon* of the one part; and *illustrious men*, of the other part, to whom, for their good services, they paid a religious worship. But be this theology drawn from the books of THAUT or THOT, or from some tradition preserved by the Egyptian priests, still we are sure the Greeks formed their system upon it, as we shall see in order.

4th, *The Theogony of the Atlantidæ.*

DIODORUS SICULUS is the only one of the ancients, by whom the *Theogony* of the people in the western parts of Africa, called the Atlantidæ, has been preserved to us. As these people, says he, relate some things concerning the origin and birth of the gods, which have a considerable affinity with what the Greeks themselves say of them, it is not improper to repeat them. They valued themselves, continues our historian, upon their being possessed of a country that had been the birth-place of the Gods, and cited for a proof of it, that part of HOMER where he makes *Juno* say, she was going to the extremities of the earth, to visit *Oceanus* and *Tethys*, the father and mother of the Gods.

Uranus and
Titæa deified—
their progeny the
Titans, &c.

Uranus, or *Cælus*, according to them, was their first king: he taught his subjects, who had hitherto wandered without any fixed residence, to live in society, to cultivate the ground, and to enjoy the blessings it afforded them. *Uranus*, applying himself to astronomy, regulated the year by the course of the sun, and the months by that of the moon; and by calculating the motions of the stars he formed predictions, whose accomplishment astonished the Atlantidæ so much, that they believed their prince had somewhat divine about him, and after his decease they enrolled him among the Gods. *Uranus* had by several wives, forty-five children; *Titæa* alone had brought him eighteen. These last though each had a name of his own, went by the general designation of *Titans*, from that of their mother. This princess, after her death, received likewise divine honours,

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and the earth was called after her name, as Heaven had been after that of her husband.

Among the daughters of *Uranus* and *Titæa*, the two eldest distinguished themselves by their merit and virtue. The first who was called queen by way of eminence, and who is thought to have been the same with *Rhea* or *Pandora*, took great care of the education of her brothers and sisters; and this, *Diodorus* remarks to have been the reason of calling her the *Great Mother*. This princess, who had always professed great chastity, being desirous at last to leave heirs to her father, married *Hyperion* her brother, and by him had two children *Helion* and *Selene*, who distinguished themselves as much by their prudence and wisdom, as they were remarkable for their beauty. Their uncles, jealous to see in *Helion* a prince so perfect, and in *Selene* all the beauty of her sex united to the most consummate wisdom, and fearing that the empire might devolve upon them, assassinated *Hyperion*, and flung *Helion* into the river *Po*: *Selene*, who bore the most tender affection to her brother, threw herself down from the top of the palace. The queen seeking her son along the banks of the river, fell asleep through fatigue and anguish; and saw in a dream *Helion*, who foretold her that the *Titans* were to be punished for their cruelty, and she and her children advanced to divine honors; that the celestial fire by which we are enlightened, should henceforth bear the name of *Helion*, and the planet formerly called *Mene*, should take the name of *Selene*. *Rhea* awaking, related her vision; ordered divine honours to be paid to her children, commanded that none should ever touch her body, and on a sudden, seized with an outrageous madness, ran all over the fields with her hair dishevelled, and holding cymbals in her hands, whose noise mingled with her howlings, spread terror wherever she passed. Her subjects seeing their queen in such a deplorable condition, were going to stop her; but no sooner had a presumptuous hand touched her, than Heaven gave a signal in her behalf—it appeared all inflamed—a violent rain poured down in torrents, accompanied by violent peals of thunder, when the queen was suddenly snatched out of sight! After this event the *Atlantidæ* conferred divine honours upon their queen, whom they

Rhæa, Hyperion, and their progeny persecuted by the Titans—are deified.

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named the *great mother of the Gods*, and worshipped the two great luminaries under the names of *Helion* and *Selene*.

Empire of Uranus divided among the Titans—their progeny.

In the mean time the *Titan* princes, especially *Saturn* and *Atlas*, after the death of their father *Uranus*, made a division of his empire. The western parts of Africa fell to the last, who gave his name to that celebrated mountain that has since been denominated *mount-Atlas*: and this prince having entirely devoted himself to astronomy and to the study of the sphere, gave rise to the fiction that this mountain bore up the Heavens. *Hesperus* was he of his sons who distinguished himself most by his piety and other virtues; but one day as he had ascended *mount-Atlas* to study the Heavens, he was snatched away in a cloud, and to him they assigned a place in the Star that bears his name, and paid him the same honours that are given to the other Gods.—To *Atlas* were born seven daughters, named the *Atlantidæ*, viz. *Maia*, *Electra*, *Taygete*, *Asterope*, *Merope*, *Halcyone*, and *Celano*. They were all married either to heroes or Gods; and as several nations valued themselves for having derived their original from them, hence they came to be placed after their death in the Heavens, where they form the constellation called *Pleiades*. The *Atlantidæ* were far from making the same encomiums on *Saturn*, who shared the empire with his brother *Atlas*: for he was cruel and extremely avaricious. This prince married his sister *Rhea*, had by her, *Jupiter*, who was surnamed *Olympius*. It is true that they acknowledged another *Jupiter*, brother to *Uranus*, and king of Crete, but far less celebrated than his nephew, who after he had made a conquest of the world, and conferred many blessings upon mankind, became the greatest of all the Gods.

Reflections on the above Theogony.

Such, according to *DIODORUS SICULUS*, is the *Theogony* of the *Atlantidæ*, which bears a considerable resemblance to that of the Greeks; though it is not certain whether they had it from these people of Africa, or whether these learned it from the Greeks. I shall make only a remark or two upon this piece of history, because I shall explain it in the history of the Gods of Greece. 1st, I must observe what is very surprising, that *DIODORUS* makes no mention of *Neptune*, the knowledge and worship of whom, according to *HERODOTUS*, came into Greece from Libya, where he was known.

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and worshipped from time immemorial. 2d, That he says as little about *Tritonian Minerva*, whom the ancients believed to have been born upon the banks of Lake *Triton* in Africa, and who must likewise have been known to the *Atlantidæ*.

5th, *The Cosmogony and Theogony of the Greeks.*

Errors of the
Greeks as to the
sources of their
Theogony.

Greece never had but a very confused idea of the history of her own religion. Devoting herself implicitly to her ancient poets, in this so important an article, she looked upon them as her first divines; while these poets, as STRABO judiciously remarks, whether from ignorance of antiquity, or from flattery to the Greek princes, had, in complaisance to them, contrived all the genealogies of their Gods so as to make it be believed that they were descended from them. Thus whenever we meet with any hero in their works, we need not trace far back till we find at the head of his genealogy, a *Hercules*, a *Jupiter*, or some other God. That foolish humour of laying claim to great antiquity, betrays itself in almost every people; but never were any so intoxicated with it as the Greeks. Thus it is surprising to see them, who could not but know that they had received several colonies from Egypt and Phenicia, and by them their Gods and the ceremonies of their religion, still pretending that these same Gods were originally from Greece; for this is the amount of the whole system of their poets. Two or three words of HERODOTUS, who says, that the Gods of the Greeks came from Egypt, are preferable to all that the poets have delivered upon this subject. Be that as it will, we shall take a view of their *Theogony*, in which ORPHEUS and HESIOD shall be our vouchers; for it is plain, the other poets who came after, have done no more than copied them. It is true, none of ORPHEUS's works are now extant; but his testimony may be gathered—1st, from the *Pythagorean philosophers*, who renewed this doctrine; 2d, from a *manuscript of Damascius*, cited by CUMBERLAND, and by CUDWORTH; 3d, from an *abstract of Orpheus's Cosmogony*, done by TIMOTHEUS, a writer on chronology. These are the sources whence we shall borrow the system of this ancient poet.

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The Cosmogony
 and Theogony of
 ORPHEUS.

Very different accounts are given of the *Cosmogony* and *Theogony* of ORPHEUS. As it was he who first introduced among the Greeks, the religious rites of *paganism*, some have accused him of having invented the names of the Gods, and forged their genealogies; adding, that in this he has been imitated by HOMER and HESIOD. DAMASCIUS, in that same manuscript I just mentioned, says, he represented one of the principles of the world, under the figure of a *dragon*, with one head of a *bull*, and another of a *lion*, with the face of a *god* between them, and on his shoulders wings of *gold*. However, notwithstanding this extravagant assertion, he was looked upon to be a profound philosopher, and a man endued with inspiration; and by the help of allegory, they found out, in this same whimsical device, the sublimest of mysteries. Though it appears from what the ancients have quoted of this poet, that he is to be considered as the apostle of *polytheism*; yet several learned men are persuaded of his having acknowledged one God, supreme and uncreated, the author of the universe; and they found their opinion, not only upon that high esteem he held in the sects of philosophers who set most up for religion, namely, the *Pythagoreans* or *Platonists*; but also because it was probably from his writings that these two sects derived their ideas in philosophy and divinity. This opinion, advantageous for ORPHEUS, has a better foundation, if credit be given to the abstract of TIMOTHEUS; for we learn from him, that this ancient poet, in describing the generation of the Gods, the creation of the world, and the formation of man, had advanced nothing near so extravagant as what some authors have laid to his charge. According to that abridgment, ORPHEUS's Theogony amounts nearly to this:—In the beginning God formed the *Æther*, or the Gods, and on every side of the *Æther* there was a *Chaos*, and night covered all that was under the *Æther* (meaning thereby that night was prior to the creation); that the earth was invisible by reason of the obscurity that covered it; but that the light darting through the *Æther*, enlightened the whole world. This is that light he calls the eldest of all beings, to which an oracle had given the names of counsel light, fountain of life. TIMOTHEUS adds, that according to the doctrine of ORPHEUS; it was by the power of this being, all the other immaterial beings, as also the *Sun*, the *Moon*, &c., were created. That mankind were

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formed from the earth by the same divinity, and received from thence a reasonable soul. But what is more particularly observable as to the doctrine of this ancient poet, is, that he was the first who taught the Greeks the doctrine of the *primitive egg*, whence all other beings proceeded; an opinion very ancient, which without doubt he had learned from the Egyptians, who, as well as several other nations, represented the world under this emblem. The Phenicians gave their *Sophasemim* the form of an *egg*, and made use of this representation in their *orgies*. The same symbol was employed by the Chaldeans, the Persians, the Indians, and even the Chinese; and it is not improbable that this was the primary opinion of all those who undertook to explain the formation of the world. In fine, TIMOTHEUS asserts, that ORPHEUS had published another piece, wherein he taught, that all things had been produced by one sole God, who had three names, and this God was himself all things.

Remarks on the above.

But whatever be in that, for it is a very easy matter to palm opinions upon an author of such antiquity, and whose writings possibly were lost long before TIMOTHEUS wrote in his behalf; one thing is certain that the primitive fathers of the church preferred the *Theology* of ORPHEUS to that of any other Pagan; whence it should seem, if that ancient poet introduced *polytheism*, he did it rather in compliance with the gross conceptions of those he had a mind to civilize, than that he was convinced of the thing. The *Orphics*, that is, the mysteries established by ORPHEUS, at least if they be taken according to the system of PROCLUS the *Platonic* philosopher, form likewise another kind of *Theogony*. According to these philosophers, ORPHEUS believed the government of the world had not always belonged to the same God, but that six of them had successively contended for it, and wrested it out of one another's hands. *Phanes* had been invested with it in his turn; and this *Phanes* was no other than the Egyptian *Bacchus*, that is to say, *Osiris*.

The *Theogony* of HESIOD—1st, The line of *Chaos*.

Now we come to the *Theogony* of HESIOD, of which the following is an abstract. In the beginning was the CHAOS; after this, *Terra* or the *Earth*; then *Love*, the fairest of the immortal Gods.

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CHAOS engendered *Erebus* and *Nox*; from whose mixture was born *Æther*, and the *Day*.

2d, The line of
Terra.

TERRA formed afterwards *Cælus* or *Heaven*; and the *Stars*, the mansion of the immortal Gods. She likewise formed the *mountains*; and by her marriage with *Cælus*, she brought forth *Oceanus* the *Ocean*; and by him *Cæus*, *Creius*, *Hyperion*, *Jafetus*, *Thea*, *Rhea*, *Themis*, *Mnemosyne*, *Phæbe*, *Tethys* and *Saturn*. She engendered likewise the Cyclops *Brontes*, *Steropes*, and *Arges*, who forged the thunder that *Jupiter* was armed with. These *Cyclops* resembled the other Gods in every thing, except that they had but one eye in the middle of their forehead. *Cælus* and TERRA had other children, as the proud *Titans*, *Cottus*, *Briareus*, and *Gyges* who had an hundred hands, and fifty heads. In the mean time *Cælus* kept his sons so close shut up, that they were not allowed to see the day; which was so very afflicting to their mother TERRA, that having forged a *scythe*, *Saturn* seized it, and laying in ambuscade, surprised *Cælus* as he was coming to lie with TERRA, and cut off his privities. Of the blood that came from the wound, were formed the *giants*, *furies* and *nymphs*; and these same parts being thrown into the sea, and mixing with the foam, gave birth to the beautiful *Venus* who took up her residence at *Cythera*. They named her *Aphrodite*, because she was born of the sea foam; *Cyprina*, because it was near the isle of *Cyprus* she had her birth; and *Cythera*, because she came first into the island of that name. *Love* and *Cupid* were her inseparable companions, and this Goddess became the darling of Gods and men. In the mean time, *Cælus* was continually at odds with the *Titans* his sons, and threatening to punish them.

3d, The line of
Nox.

Farther, *Nox* of herself alone, without the intervention of any other God, brought forth the hateful *Destiny*, and the black *Parca*; *Mors*, *Somnus*, and *Dreams* of all sorts; then *Momus*, *Ærumna* or *Anxiety*, accompanied with pain and discontent; the *Hesperides*, who have the keeping of the golden apples, and of the trees that bear them on the other side of the ocean; the three *Parcæ*, or *destinies*, as *Clotho*, *Lachesis*, and *Atropos*, the unrelenting Goddesses who spin out our days, and are always ready to avenge the crimes of Gods and men; *Nemesis*, the eternal bane of human kind; *Fraud*,

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Old Age, and *Discord* who brought into the world painful travail, oblivion, pestilence, and doleful sorrows, bloody battles, slaughters, massacres, and all the scenes of human destruction, quarrels, dissensions, false and treacherous speeches, contempt of laws, knavery, and the oath that often brings the greatest ruin upon the perjured.

4th, The line of Pontus. PONTUS, from his commerce with *Terra*. had the just *Nereus*, *Thaumas*, *Phorcys*, the beautiful *Ceto*, and *Eurybia*. From *Nereus* and *Doris* the daughter of *Oceanus*, came the *Nereids*, to the number of fifty. *Thaumas* wedded *Electra* daughter of *Oceanus*, who was mother of *Iris*, and of the Harpies *Aello*, and *Ocyphete*. *Phorcys* by *Ceto* had *Pephredo* and *Enyo*, who got the name of *Graiaæ*, because they had gray hairs from their birth; he had likewise by the same marriage, the three Gorgons, *Stheno*, *Euryale*, and *Medusa* from whose blood, when *Perseus* had cut off her head, sprung the horse *Pegasus*, and *Chrysaor* who having married *Callirhoe*, daughter of *Oceanus*, had by her, *Geryon* with his three heads. The same *Callirhoe* brought forth a monster that neither resembled Gods nor men, *Echidna*, the one half of whose body was that of a lovely nymph, the other half a serpent, ugly and terrible. Though the God kept her imprisoned in a den in Syria, yet by *Typhon*, she conceived *Oreus*, *Cerberus*, the *Hydra* of Lerna, the *Chimera* whom *Bellerophon* slew, the *Sphinx* who occasioned so many disasters to Thebes, the *Lion* of Nemea, put to death by *Hercules*. *Phorcys* had also by *Ceto*, the *Dragon* that kept the garden of the *Hesperides*.

5th, The line of Tethys. TETHYS had by *Oceanus*, all the rivers, the *Nile*, *Alpheus*, &c. and a great many nymphs who inhabit the fountains and floods. Here the poet enumerates several of these nymphs, and says, there were three thousand of them, answering to the same number of rivers, all the offspring of *Oceanus* and TETHYS.

6th, The line of Thea. We reckon as the descendants of THEA by her brother *Hyperion*, the *Sun*, the *Moon*, and the fair *Aurora*.

7th, The line of Creius. CREIUS by his marriage with *Eurybea*, had *Astreus*, *Perses*, and *Pallas*. *Astreus*, having matched with *Aurora*, begat the *Winds*, *Lucifer* that beautiful morning star, and the other *Stars* that adorn the

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Heavens. From the conjunction of *Pallas* with *Styx*, the daughter of *Oceanus* and *Tethys*, were born *Zelus*, the fair *Nice*, *Force* and *Violence*, the inseparable companions of *Jupiter*; for when this God wanted to be avenged of the *Titans*, and called all the Gods to his assistance, *Styx* was the first that arrived at *Olympus* with her sons; which pleased *Jupiter* so much, that he conferred high honours upon this Goddess, loaded her with presents, ordered her name to be used in the *inviolable oath of the Gods*, and kept her children with him.

8 h, The line of *Phæbe*.
 PHOEBE had by *Cæus* the charming *Latona*, and *Asteria*. Some time afterwards *Asteria* was married to *Perses*, and became the mother of the renowned *Hecate*, whom *Jupiter* honoured above any other Goddess, giving her an absolute power over *earth*, *sea*, and *heaven*, insomuch that there is never a sacrifice or prayer offered to the Gods without invoking her. She presides over war, over the councils of kings, and bestows victory in battles.

9th, The line of *Rhea*.
 RHEA having united with *Saturn*, had by him illustrious children; as *Vesta*, *Ceres*, *Juno*, *Pluto*, *Neptune*, and *Jupiter* the father of Gods and men: but *Saturn*, learning from an oracle delivered by *Cælus* and *Terra*, that one of his children should dethrone him, devoured them as RHEA brought them forth; which threw her into extremity of affliction: so that when she was near her time of being delivered of *Jupiter*, she consulted her parents to know in what manner she might rescue him from the cruelty of his father, and by their advice she secretly withdrew into *Crete*, where she was delivered; and, instead of the child, presented *Saturn* with a stone wrapped about with swaddling clothes, which he swallowed. *Jupiter* being grown up, delivered *Cælus*, whom *Saturn* had loaded with chains. *Cælus*, in return for this service, gave him *thunder*, whereby he became the sovereign of Gods and men.

10th, The line of *Japetus*.
 In the mean time, JAPETUS having wedded *Clymene* daughter of *Oceanus*, she brought into the world *Atlas*, *Menetius*, the artful *Prometheus*, and the foolish *Epimetheus*. *Menetius*, who was defiled with various crimes, *Jupiter* crushed with a *thunder-bolt* and sent him down into *Hell*; *Atlas* he employed in propping the *Heavens* with his shoulders, in the country of the *Hesperides*, at the extremities

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of the earth; and *Prometheus* he bound fast to a pillar with strong chains, an eagle continually preying upon his liver by day, while it is renewed by growth every night, as a punishment for putting a cheat upon the God in a sacrifice he offered him.

The war of *Jupiter* and the *Titans* at Mount *Olympus*.

HESIOD, after this, gives an account of the war of *Jupiter* against his father *Saturn* and the *Titans*, over whom the father of the Gods having gained the victory, drove them from *Olympus*; and condemned to the bottom of *Tartarus*, in the extremities of the earth, *Cottus*, *Gyges*, and *Briareus*. *Neptune* took the last to be his son-in-law, giving him in marriage his daughter *Cymopolia*. In the mean time, *Terra*, having matched with *Tartarus*, brought forth the last of her sons, *Typhon*, on whose shoulders grew an hundred serpents heads. Fire flashed from their eyes, and dreadful voices issued from every mouth. Heaven was in danger, and *Jupiter* himself was threatened with the loss of his empire; but the God arrayed with thunder, overthrew the presumptuous Giant, and plunged him headlong into the bottom of *Tartarus*. This is that *Typhon*, to whom the winds owe their original, except *Notus*, *Boreas*, and *Zephyrus*, who are the offspring of the Gods.

11th, The line of *Jupiter*.

JUPITER now established in the peaceful possession of *Olympus*, and in dominion over the Gods, took to wife *Metis*, a Goddess who surpassed all, both Gods and men, in knowledge. But when she was about to be delivered of *Minerva*, **JUPITER** informed that she was to have a son, for whom the sovereignty of the universe was ordained, swallowed the mother and the child, that he might learn from her good and evil. After this he married *Themis*, who brought forth the three seasons or *Horæ*, *Eunomia*, *Dice*, and *Irene*; also the three Destinies, *Clotho*, *Lachesis*, and *Atropos*. He had likewise by *Eurynone* daughter of *Oceanus*, the three Graces, *Aglaiä*, *Euphrosine*, and *Thalia*; and by *Ceres* he had *Proserpina*, whom *Pluto* carried off. Being enamoured of *Mnemosyne*, he made her mother to the nine *Muses*. *Lätona* bore him *Apollo* and *Diana*. In fine, his last wife was *Juno*, who made him father to *Hebe*, *Mars*, and *Lucina*. She also brought forth *Vulcan*. but at the moment of his birth she fell out with her husband, who had none upon his side but the sage *Minerva*, having produced her

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from his brain. *Vulcan* married *Aglaia* the youngest of the Graces. *Maia*, daughter of *Atlas*, became mother of *Mercury* by JUPITER; who had likewise *Bacchus* by *Semele* the daughter of *Cadmus*; and *Hercules* by *Alcmena*. *Bacchus* married *Ariadne* daughter of *Minos*; and *Hercules*, after his deification, married the youthful *Hebe*, daughter of JUPITER and *Juno*.

12th, The line of *Neptune*. NEPTUNE had *Triton* by *Amphitrite*; and *Venus* had by *Mars*, *Terror* and *Fear* who accompany this God in battles, and the fair *Harmonia* the wife of *Cadmus*. The fair *Perseis* to the *Sun*, bore *Circe*, and *Æetes* who, by the advice of the Gods, wedded the charming *Idyia* daughter of *Oceanus*, by whom he had *Medea*.

13th, Gods descended of mortal men and Goddesses. After this account of the genealogies of the Gods, HESIOD takes notice of the children born by Goddesses to mortal men, who were adopted into the number of the Gods. *Ceres* became mother of *Plutus*, the God of riches. *Harmonia*, *Venus's* daughter, had by *Cadmus*, *Ino*, *Semele*, *Agave*, and *Autonoe* who married *Aristeus* and *Polydorus*. *Chrysaor* had by the beautiful *Callirhoe* daughter of *Oceanus*, the gigantic *Geryon*, who was worsted by *Hercules*. *Aurora* bore to *Tithonus*, *Memnon* king of *Egypt*, and *Hemathion*; and to *Cephalus*, *Phæton*, (not the same mentioned by *Ovid*) who was so dear to *Venus*. *Jason* having married *Medea* the daughter of *Ætes*, by her had *Medus*. *Psamathe*, one of the *Nereids*, marrying *Æacus*, became mother to *Phocus*. *Thetis*, *Peleus's* spouse, bore to him *Achilles*; and *Anchises* had by *Venus* the pious *Æneas*, in the woods of mount *Ida*. *Circe*, daughter to the *Sun*, had by *Ulysses*, *Agrius* and *Latinus*. Lastly, *Calypso* brought the same *Ulysses* two sons, *Nausithous* and *Nausinous*.

14th, The Demons and Genii. HESIOD, also has it, that the men of the golden age became *Demons*, or good *Genii*; these according to him, are the guardians of men, the earth having fallen to their lot. Those of the silver age were changed into *Manes*, or *subterraneous Genii*, happy though mortal. Those of the brazen age went down to the infernal regions. In fine those of the heroic age took possession of the fortunate islands, or the *Elysian fields*, situated at the extremities of the world.

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The Theogony of PLATO's dialogue, *The Banquet*.

ARISTOPHANES, whom PLATO in his *Banquet*, as we have observed, introduces in delivering the fable of the *Androgines*, has also wrought into his comedy of the birds, the substance of the

Greek *theogony* and *cosmogony*, with more method and perspicuity than HESIOD.—In the beginning, as he makes one of his actors speak, were the *Chaos*, the black *Erebus*, and the vast *Tartarus*; but as yet there was neither *earth*, nor *air*, nor *heavens*. *Night*, with her sable wings, laid the first egg in the wide womb of *Erebus*, whence sprung after some time, beneficent *Love*, adorned with golden wings. From the union of *Love* with *Chaos*, arose men and animals. Farther, the Gods had not a being till all things were mingled together by *Love*; and from this commixion were engendered the *heavens* and the *earth*, as well as the race of the *immortal Gods*.—This *theogony*, inserted in a comedy by way of derision, undoubtedly made a part of some ancient system, whose author is unknown.

The Theogony of PRONAPIDES the preceptor of HOMER.

There is yet a fourth Greek *theogony*, which may be drawn from an author very ancient, if it be true that it was followed by PRONAPIDES the preceptor of HOMER, as is alleged by BOCCACE, from a fragment of THEODONTIUS, which prob-

ably was extant in his time. According to this ancient *theogony*, the most reasonable of all, there was but one sole GOD the ETERNAL, by whom all the other Gods were produced. It was not allowed to give any name to this first being, and none was able to declare his name. ANAXAGORAS thought he gave some definition of him in calling him THE MIND. However, as the most simple ideas have through time been altered, LACTANTIUS, a scholiast upon STATIUS, calls this sovereign being *Daimogorgon*, as the author I have quoted does after THEODONTIUS; a name which imports the *Genius of the earth*, and which, by the description they give of this God, as shall be seen in its place, answers but indifferently to the idea the first philosophers formed of him—for *Daimogorgon* as well as *Achlys*, in their system, had a being before the world, even before *Chaos* itself. Their *Acmon*, their *Hysistis*, have an existence before *heaven*, whom the Latins call *Cælus*, and the Greeks *Ouranos*. Nay more, according to them, *Terra*, *Tartarus*, and *Love* were prior to *Cælus*, since HESIOD, as

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we see, makes him even the son of *Terra*. *Acmon* is taken for the father of *Cælus*, by PHORNUTUS, HESYCHIUS, and SIMMIAS of Rhodes, his scholiast; and the same *Acmon* is the son of *Manes* in POLYHISTOR, and in STEPHANUS. *Cælus* was father first of the *Hecatoncheires*, next of the *Cyclops*, then of the *Titans*, and *Saturn*, who, in his turn, became father to the other Gods. Next came the earth-born Giants, and the last of them is *Typhon*. After the Gods and Giants, quite different as we see from the *Titans*, who were the Gods of the race of *Cælus*, came the demi-Gods, from the commerce of Gods with women, or of Goddesses with men.

I should no doubt be censured, if, after what I have said in this section concerning ORPHEUS and HESIOD, and some other Greek poets, I should take no notice of HOMER, who, in both his poems, has, with so much apparatus, employed the same Gods with ORPHEUS and HESIOD; but it is observable, that this great poet had no design, like the other two, to deliver a system of these Gods, but only to apply the theology of his time as he found it. HOMER, as the *Abbe FRAGUIER* judiciously remarks, is no more than a poet: if he assumes the *theologue*, as in effect he does by bringing in his Gods, and using their agency on all occasions, he is only so occasionally, and by no means as a systematic. And what is this but to be a poet? It is to act the painter, or the imitator: the object is none of his production, he only copies the likeness, and draws the picture. Whatever his own private sentiments were about his Gods, as he speaks of them with a view to please and to be intelligible, he would not recede from the received standard of his time. Consequently HOMER, born in the heart of *paganism*, could not represent the Gods in another manner than he had done. The theology he follows was not of his invention, he had it given him; but as time, which destroys errors, has raised the credit of his works, and as the masterly poet has shewed his skill in making the best use he could of a false religion, so he has been taken in later times for the father and inventor of so many strange uncommon things, whereof in truth he was but the copier and painter. CICERO complains of HOMER, for bringing down his Gods to the level of men, instead of exalting men to the perfection of Gods. This charge is unjust;

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the greater number of HOMER'S Gods had been men, who procured divine honours by their heroic exploits or useful inventions. But those actions, however dazzling they appeared, were not always conformed to the rules of strict virtue: men had not always that pure sense of morality to which PYTHAGORAS and PLATO afterwards reduced it. Mere strength, bodily accomplishments and natural endowments, had long supplied the place of true merit; and these great men having been consecrated for possessing such qualities, made these things be thought worthy of them after their consecration. In a word, the men whom they deified, had a share both of divine perfection and human weakness: thus it was the poet's business to represent them in both these lights; and hence we find such a mixture in his characters of grandeur with meanness, strength with weakness, majesty with abjectness, shining virtues with scandalous vices.

The Cosmogony of OVID.

Last of all, OVID, that faithful imitator of the poets who went before him, has given us a *Cosmogony* at the beginning of his *Metamorphoses*. "Before the formation, says he, of the *Sea*, the *Earth*, and the all-surrounding *Heavens*, universal nature had but one appearance. "That confused mass, that insignificant useless heap, wherein the "principles of all beings were promiscuously blended together, is "what was called *Chaos*. As yet there was no *Sun* to enlighten "the world, no *Moon* to perform her various changes; the *Earth*, "self-balanced, was not yet suspended in the air; the *Sea* had no "bounding shores; *earth*, *air*, and *water* were jumbled together; " *earth* without solidity, *water* not fluid, *air* without light; all was "darkness and confusion. No body had its proper form, and each "of them was an incumbrance to another; cold combating with "heat, moisture with driness; the hard bodies encountered those "that made no resistance, and the heavy and the light justied together. God, or Nature herself, parted the whole strife, by separating "the *heavens* from the *earth*, the *earth* from the *waters*, and the " *ether* from the *air* more gross. The *Chaos* being thus disentangled, every body had its own proper place allotted to it; God "established the laws of their future UNION. *Fire*, which is the "lightest of the elements, possessed the highest region; the *air* "occupied a place beneath the fire, corresponding to its lightness; "the *earth*, unwieldy as it was, became poised and balanced; and

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“ the *water* sunk down to the lowest situation. After this first
 “ distribution, that God, whoever he was, formed the *earth* into a
 “ globe, and spread the *seas* over its surface; he gave the *winds*
 “ permission to agitate the waters, without suffering the waves
 “ however to pass the bounds prescribed them. Then he formed
 “ the *fountains*, the *poools*, the *lakes* and *rivers*, to water the earth,
 “ confining them within their banks. At his command the *plains*
 “ were extended, the *trees* clothed with leaves, the *mountains*
 “ lifted up their heads, and the *valleys* sunk downward.” OVID,
 after he has described this orderly disposition, speaks of the five
 zones, two *frigid*, two *temperate*, and one scorched with heat,
 which is the *torrid zone*. He also takes notice of the *winds*, and
 marks out the places whence they blow. Then, having mentioned
 the *aerial regions*, where hail, thunder, and lightning are formed,
 he thus goes on:—“ So soon as the various bodies of the universe
 “ were confined within their respective bounds, the constellations,
 “ till then shut up in the shapeless mass of *Chaos*, began to shine.
 “ And, in fine, that every region might be stored with animated
 “ beings, the stars, the images of the *Gods*, were set in the *heavens*;
 “ the *fishes* inhabited the *waters*; the four-footed *beasts* got the
 “ *earth* to dwell in; and the *air* became the mansion of the birds.
 “ There was yet wanting in the world a being of greater perfec-
 “ tion, one who might be endued with a more exalted soul, and
 “ so qualified to maintain dominion over the rest—*Man* was
 “ formed—whether the author of nature made him of that divine
 “ seed which is proper for him, or of that celestial principle,
 “ which the new-made Earth, but just disjoined from Heaven,
 “ still contained in its bosom. PROMETHEUS having mixed some
 “ of that earth with water, moulded it into a *Man* after the like-
 “ ness of the *Gods*; and whereas all the other animals have their
 “ heads groveling downwards, *Man* alone lifts his towards Heaven,
 “ and looks up to the Stars. Thus a bit of earth, which was nothing
 “ at first but a shapeless mass, became the figure of a being till
 “ then unknown in nature.”

General reflec-
 tions upon the
 foregoing Cos-
 mogonies and
 Theogonies.

Such are the different Cosmogonies and Theogonies of the Greeks, upon which I shall make the following remarks.—As for the system of ORPHEUS, we are not able to judge, from the little we know of it, what part he allowed the

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Deity in the formation of the world; and if we have not sufficient ground to believe his sentiments to have been the same with those of the more enlightened poets and philosophers who came long after him, such as the *Pthagoreans* and *Platonics*, as little have we reason to confound his opinion with that of *SANCHONIATHON*; far less with the system of *DIODORUS SICULUS*, who makes men at first to have been propagated much after what the Egyptians falsely believed to be the manner of producing insects after the overflowing of the Nile.—Each of these systems supposes, that Love united the different principles the *Chaos* was made up of, and that all beings sprung from this union: but what else is this *Love*, but the natural union of homogeneous bodies? And though the authors of these extravagant opinions have made a person of it, we plainly see it is only a figurative one that never existed out of their own imagination. The creation is a mystery beyond the reach of human reason. The generality of the philosophers, who could never comprehend how *something* could be made of *nothing*, had adopted that axiom, *ex nihilo nihil, et in nihilum nil posse reverti*. Thus, seeing the admirable structure of the universe, which they ascribed either to a being superior to nature, or most frequently to nature herself, they always supposed a pre-existent matter, but lying in confusion, and without form, till it was disentangled; and not knowing on whom to confer the glory of having settled the order that now reigns in the world, they contrived their *Love*, which is nothing but the union that results from the mere motion of bodies. *OVID*, who was not born till eight hundred years after *HESIOD*, or thereabouts, ushers in, like him, his grand work the *Metamorphoses*, with a *Chaos*; but he imitates him in nothing else: for as to the manner of unfolding this *Chaos*, he differs entirely from the Greek poet. I dont find he makes *Love* have any concern in the operation; but as an agent was wanting, he is at a loss whom to pitch upon. He gives us the *Chaos* and the *Erebus*, so much sung by the poets, the first notions of which seem to be taken from *SANCHONIATHON*, who had himself no doubt borrowed it either from these words of *MOSES*, *terra autem erat inanis et vacua, et tenebræ erant super faciem abyssi*; or rather from the traditions dispersed through the country where this Phenician author had lived, and that were of greater antiquity than the writings of the sacred *Jewish* legislator. I am far from

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being able to find, with some learned men, a great conformity between this tradition of the creation of the world, and what SANCHONIATHON, HESIOD, and OVID have written about it; but I am not so far prepossessed, as not to believe they have formed the idea of their *Chaos* upon it. As to the rest, nothing can be more different. They are lively geniuses, who, from a single hint, gave full scope to their imagination, which no sooner abandoned the guidance of reason, than it lost itself in the unbounded region of fictions.

===== A short comparison of the beginning of *Genesis* with HESIOD'S *cosmogony* will shew the reader wherein they either correspond or differ. I say
 HESIOD & MOSES' *Cosmogony* compared. nothing of the creation of the world from *nothing*, as it is what neither HESIOD nor any profane author knew any thing of.

MOSES begins thus—

The *Earth* was void, and *darkness* was spread over the *abyss*.

And the *Spirit* moved upon the waters; *et spiritus ferebatur super aquas*.

MOSES tells us next, that God said, *fiat Lux, et Lux facta est*—let there be *Light*, and there was *Light*: words which a profane author, *Longinus*, thinks so sublime.

The *Jewish* legislator goes on to tell us, that God made the *Firmament*—*et fecit Deum Firmamentum*; and that he divided the waters that were *above* the firmament, from those that were *under* it. To which he subjoins,

and HESIOD thus—

The *Chaos* was before all things; then the spacious *Earth*; next the *Mansion* of immortal beings; and then *Tartarus* far remote from thence.

HESIOD next speaks of *Love*, the most beautiful and amiable of the immortals, who expels and drives away cares from the hearts of Gods and men.

HESIOD likewise says, that from the *Night* sprung the *Æther* and the *Day*.

The author of the Greek theogony corresponds with the learned Jew here likewise pretty much: the *Earth* says he, at first brought forth *Heaven* with the *Stars*, and by her union with *Heaven* she had the *Ocean*.—

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that God commanded the waters that were under the Heaven to be gathered together into one place; and that he called this collection of waters the *Sea*, and that part of the earth which by this means became dry was called the *dry-Land*.

But in what follows, the profane author loses himself; and let one be ever so prepossessed in his favour, yet I think it would be impossible to trace any farther resemblance between him and MOSES.

A trait of resemblance between that of OVID and MOSES.

OVID displays the formation of the world in another manner, and his description bears no similitude to that of HESIOD, as has been observed. But there is one thing worth remarking, namely, that he considers *Man* as the *last production* of the author of nature; in which he comes nearer to MOSES than any other Pagan author. Another great stroke of resemblance is where he says, *man was formed of clay mixed with water*; but who that *Prometheus* was, whom he makes the author of so fine a work, is not easy to conjecture. The poet who thus far ascribes the disposition of the universe either to God or nature, when he comes to the formation of man, makes a *Prometheus* appear, of whom he had not said one word before. HESIOD indeed mentions *Prometheus*, but he does not honour him, as OVID has done, with the forming of man. Besides, the breath of life, with which the poets say *Minerva* animated *Prometheus's* work, is plainly copied from the words of MOSES, who says, that God having formed man of the clay, breathed into him the breath of life; *inspiravit in faciem ejus spiraculum vitæ*.

These Cosmogonies and Theogonies are but distortions of ancient tradition.

Upon all we have now seen, we might well exclaim—what a monstrous and heterogeneous composition of history and fables, where we see every moment, physics of a gross nature blended with distorted traditions! natural generations mixed with metaphorical ones! names plainly allegorical along with those that are real! the whole collected by HESIOD, in a kind of poem, that has neither art, invention, nor any charm, unless it be a few splendid epithets with which he has set it off. I judged it necessary however to give an account of this in particular as being the foundation of the Greek fables, which I explain in the second volume of this work.—In a word, the Greeks considered

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all those as Gods, who had lived from the beginning of the world, till the supposed division of the universe between *Jupiter*, *Nephtune*, and *Pluto*; that is, if we would reconcile fables with history, till the time of *Peleg* and *Nimrod*. They had but a very confused knowledge of the first times, which has happened to them in common with all the nations that preserved ancient annals, such as the Egyptians, the Chinese, &c. It is easy to see, that they have only disguised the true ancient tradition which *MOSES* alone has preserved, and that they have thereby fallen into the most monstrous errors, of which the following is a very authentic example, in addition to what we have already said.

Additional examples in proof of the same. We find in the text of the *Septuagint*, that the Giants came from *Angels* embracing the *daughters of men*: this opinion has also been followed by the most ancient interpreters of scripture; as also by *PHILO*, *JOSEPHUS*, *S. JUSTIN*, *ATHENAGORAS*, *CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS*, &c. It has been adopted by several learned *Rabbins*, and is still generally received by all the *Mahometans*. Was not this a sufficient handle for those who were acquainted with this tradition, to say the Gods had been enamoured of mortal women, and had children by them? The *Angels* in scripture are styled sons of God, so that it is probable, the Gods of Greece were formed upon the idea of the *Angels*, good and bad: thence proceeded the *Egrogors* of the Hebrews, the *Annedots* of the Chaldeans, in short, the *Gennes*, the *Genii*, the *Æons*, the *Archontes*, the *Titans*, the *Giants*, and all the *Gods* or *demi-Gods* of *Paganism*.—The Book of *Enoch* too no doubt, contributed a great deal to the adopting of the opinion that *Angels* had been familiar with the *daughters of men*. This work, withal, is very ancient, since it was known to the apostles, by whom it is cited; but it is certainly spurious. *DODWEL* and father *PEZRON* were in the wrong to call its antiquity in question, merely because the Greeks were strangers to it, as if they had been acquainted with all the ancient books before they had them translated in their own language. It will not be amiss that we give some short account of this book, and then lay open the origin of the fable it contains, which *PHILASTRIUS* ranks in the number of the *Heresies*. When men multiplied, says the author, they had daughters of an exquisite beauty, so amiable that the *Egrogors*, or the guardian *Angels*, conceived a violent passion for them. They came

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down from Heaven, alighted upon mount *Hermon*, joined in league together, and bound themselves by oath to stand to one another. After this, having embraced these virgins, they conceived the *Giants*; and from the *Nephelim*, sons of the *Giants*, came the *Eliud*. The author names twenty of these leading *Angels*, who taught men several arts, especially the pernicious art of *magic*, and the use of *arms*. To which he adds, that God seeing what horrid enormities the *Giants* and their sons committed, sent down to the earth *Michael*, *Gabriel*, *Raphael* and *Uriel*. *Michael*, the archangel, seized *Semixas* the head of these rebel *Angels*, bound him with his associates, and condemned them to the lowest parts of the earth, where they are reserved to the day of their judgment. After this he sowed dissensions among their children, who extirpated one another.

Reflections upon the latter example.

This *Fable* of the Book of Enoch, is founded merely upon a phrase in scripture not well understood, and of course upon an ambiguity: the first interpreters, finding in *Job*, the epithet *son of God* ascribed to the *Angels*, applied it likewise to the *Angels* in the passage in *Genesis*, where it is only the *sons of Seth* are meant, who are designated *sons of God* in contradistinction to the *sons of Cain*. They being smitten with the beauty of the daughters of Cain's race, matched with them, and had sons by them, who became terrible more for the enormity of their crimes than of their stature; for the word *Nephelim*, applied to them in *Genesis*, signifies equally *Giants*, or *persons dissolute and immoral in their lives*. But passing that, I shall only borrow a reflection from M. FOURMONT, who may be consulted on this article, wherein he takes the names of twenty apostate *Angels* from the fictitious Book of Enoch, and explains them with erudition. The reflection is, that the author of this book introduces five sorts of personages, viz. 1st, *Men*, of the seed of Adam; 2d, The *Egregores*, or *Angels of Heaven*; 3d, The *Giants*, sprung from the *Egregores*; 4th, The *Nephelim*, sons of the *Giants*; 5th, The *Eliud*, sons of the *Nephelim*: in which this author seems to correspond with HESIOD, in whose *theogony* we find these *five classes*, with little variation.

Comparison of the Greeks and Romans, in systematising these fables.

From what we have seen in this section, it appears not only that the Greeks had *several Theogonies*, but that they had digested into a system the Theology they derived from the eastern nations. With the Romans, the case was quite other-

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wise: content with the religion of the Greeks, and other nations whom they conquered, they borrowed their Divinities, worship, ceremonies, sacrifices, priests, festivals; in a word, the whole apparatus which idolatry drew after it, without once having a thought of reducing so fantastical a religion into a system; and the most idolatrous city in the world was the least concerned about the history of its Gods. CICERO indeed, in his treatise of the nature of the Gods, gives some of their genealogies; but since, for the most part, his notions are borrowed from the writings of the Greeks, and he only reasons upon the subject like an Academic, this piece of his is not to be looked upon as a *System of Theology*.

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6th, The Theogony and Cosmogony of the Indians.

The Theogony
of the Brahmin
priests.

I am now to give the *Theogony* of those Indian priests we call *Brahmins*, or *Brachmans*;* who make the first and most respectable class among the Indians, and are solely set apart for the worship of their Gods, and the ceremonies of religion. The *Brachmans* got this name from *Brahma*, who, according to the Indian doctrine, is the first of the *three beings* whom God created, and by whose means he afterwards formed the world—this name moreover signifying, in the Indian language, *he who penetrates into all things*. This *Brahma*, say the *Brachmans*, composed and left to the Indians the four books which they call *Beth* or *Bed*, in which all the sciences and all the ceremonies of religion are comprised; and that is the reason why the Indians represent this God with four heads. Father HIRCHER, who has given a print of the God *Brahma*, has enlarged a good deal upon the mythology of the Indians, in relation to him. The Gods of the *Brachmans*, says the learned Jesuit, are *Brahma*, *Vesne* or *Vichnou*, and *Butzen*; and they are the

* These are the same with those whom the Greeks called *Gymnosophists*. *Pythagoras* studied their doctrine and manners. They were the Babylonian and Assyrian *philosophers*, who went naked in the woods, abstaining from all the pleasures of human life.

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chiefs of all the other Gods, whose number amounts to *thirty-three millions*.

The Cosmogony
of the Brahmin
priests.

According to the same author, these Indian priests say, that all mankind are sprung from *Brahma*, and that this God has produced as many worlds as there are parts in his body. The *first* of these worlds, which is above the heavens, sprung from his *brain*; the *second*, from his *eyes*; the *third*, from his *mouth*; the *fourth*, from the *left ear*; the *fifth*, from the *palate* and from the *tongue*; the *sixth*, from the *heart*; the *seventh*, from the *belly*; the *eighth*, from the *genitals*; the *ninth*, from the *left thigh*; the *tenth*, from the *knees*; the *eleventh*, from the *heel*; the *twelfth*, from the *toes* of the right foot; the *thirteenth*, from the *sole* of the left foot; and *lastly*, the *fourteenth*, from the *air* which encompassed him at the time of these productions. If the *Brachmans* be asked the reasons of a theology so ridiculous, they answer, that the different qualities of men gave rise to it. The *wise and learned* are meant by the world sprung from *Brahma's brain*; the *gluttons* came from his *belly*; and so of the rest. Hence these priests are so curious in observing physiognomy and personal qualities, pretending thereby to divine, to what world every one belongs.—When once men are delivered up to superstition, there is no opinion so wild but they may fall into it. These same *Brachmans* have imagined *seven seas*: one of *water*; one of *milk*; one of *curds*; a fourth of *butter*; a fifth of *salt*; a sixth of *sugar*; and in fine, a seventh of *wine*: and each of these seas has its particular paradises, some of them for the *wiser and more refined*, and the rest for the *sensual and voluptuous*; with this difference, that the first of these paradises, which unites us intimately with the Divinity, has no need of any other sort of *delights*; whereas the rest are stored with all imaginary *pleasures*. As for the other wild notions of the Indians, about the formation of the world, which they believe to be a work spun by a spider, and which shall be destroyed when the work returns into the bowels of that insect, I here wave them, because they are too ridiculous for the curiosity of the most zealous antiquarians. It appears from what I have been saying above, that the Indians follow the ancient doctrine of the Egyptians, which the author just quoted calls *Divine Transformation*.

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7th, The Theogony of the Chinese.

In the first ages, the Chinese worship was not corrupted by Idolatry.

The Chinese began to improve letters from the earliest times of their monarchy, at least from the reigns of *Yao* and *Chum*, who lived upwards of two thousand two hundred years before CHRIST. It is a common opinion, and universally received by those who have gone farthest in investigating the origin of a people of such unquestionable antiquity, that the sons of NOAH were dispersed over the eastern parts of Asia, and that there were some of them who penetrated into China, a few years after the deluge, and there laid the first foundations of the oldest monarchy we know in the world. It is a thing not to be denied, that these first founders, instructed from a tradition not very remote from its source, in the greatness and power of the FIRST BEING, taught their posterity to honour this sovereign LORD of the universe, and to live agreeably to the principles of that law of nature he had engraved on their hearts. Their classical books, some of them written even in the time of the two emperors just named, leave no room to doubt of it. There are five of these books among them, they call the *Kink*, for which they have an extreme veneration. Though these books contain only the fundamental laws of the state, and dont directly meddle with religion, their author's intention having been to secure the peace and tranquillity of the empire; yet they are very proper to inform us what was the religion of that ancient people, and we are told in every page, that in order to compass that peace and tranquillity, two things were necessary to be observed, *the duties of religion*, and *the rules of a good government*. It appears through the whole, that the first object of their worship was one being, the supreme LORD and sovereign principle of all things, whom they honoured under the name of CHANGTI, that is, supreme emperor, or TIEN, which in their language is of the same import. TIEN, say the interpreters of these books, is, the spirit who presides over Heaven. It is true, the same word often signifies among the Chinese, the material Heavens, and now since *atheism* has been for some ages introduced among the *literati*, it is restricted to this sense; but in their ancient books they understood by it, the LORD of Heaven, the sovereign of the world. In them there is mention, upon all occasions, of the providence of

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TIEN, of the chastisements he inflicts upon the bad emperors, and of the rewards he dispenses to the good. They likewise represent him as one, who is flexible to vows and prayers, appeased by sacrifices, and who diverts calamities that threaten the empire, with a thousand other things which can agree to none but an intelligent being. To convince us of this, we need but read the extracts which father HALDE has taken from these ancient books, in the second volume of his large history of China, and what he farther says in the beginning of the third. The fear of being tedious, and of wandering from my purpose, may justify me in not copying him; but one cannot forbear concluding with him, after the long detail he makes, that it appears from the doctrine of the standard Chinese books, that from the foundation of the empire by *Fo-hi*, through a long tract of ages thereafter, the supreme being, known among them under the name of CHANGTI, or of TIEN, was the object of public worship, and that they looked upon him to be the *soul*, as it were, and the *primum mobile* of their national government; that this first of beings was feared, honoured, and revered; and that not only the emperors who at all times have been the leaders and priests of their religion, but the grandees of the empire, and the vulgar, knew they had a LORD and judge above, who knows how to reward those who obey him, and to punish offenders.—It is certain, that if in these ancient books proofs are to be found of the knowledge the Chinese had of the supreme being, and of the religious worship they have paid him for a long series of ages, it is no less certain that no footsteps are there to be seen of an idolatrous worship. But this will appear less surprising when we consider, 1st, That idolatry spread itself through the world but slowly, and step by step; and that having probably taken its rise in Assyria, as EUSEBIUS alleges, where there was not even the appearance of an idol till long after *Belus*, or according to others in Phenicia, or in Egypt, it could not have made its way so soon into China, a nation that has ever been sequestered from others, and separated by the great Indies from the centre of idolatry. 2d, That there was always in China a supreme court, to take care of the affairs of religion, which with the utmost exactness kept a watchful eye over their principal object. Thus it was no easy matter to introduce new laws and new ceremonies among a people so much attached to their ancient traditions. Besides, as the Chinese have always been accustomed to write their history with great care, and have

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historians contemporary with all the facts they relate, they would never have failed to take notice of what innovations had happened in religion. as they have done at great length, when the idol *Fo* and his worship were introduced.

Such was the established religion of China, in the first ages of their empire: I call it established religion, because the vulgar continued to acknowledge subaltern spirits who watched over the towns and fields; and to them they used to pay a superstitious worship, to pray to them for health, success in their affairs, and plentiful harvests; as also did they intermix with this worship several superstitious usages, that had something of the nature of magic, to which that people has always been strongly addicted: but this was not the religion of the state, and the usages of that kind have always been condemned by the *Court of rites*, though frequently some of the *Mandarins*, of whom it was composed, were themselves tinctured with them.—Thus, to speak accurately, the Chinese had not what we call a *Theogony* or *Cosmogony*. Their philosophers solely attached to morality, politics, and history, have always neglected *natural philosophy*; and we do not find in their writings, those I mean of the ancients, the systems so well known in Europe, in Egypt, and in some parts of Asia, about the formation of the world, and the bodies it is made up of, or about the Gods, of whom we have so many genealogies. I said their *ancient* philosophers, because the *modern* ones, who attempted to give some kind of *Cosmogony*, have fallen into an *atheism* resembling that of STRATO and SPINOZA.—We can as little find that they spoke clearly about the *soul*, of which they dont appear to have had a distinct idea. However, we can be in no doubt of their believing the *soul's* subsistence after death, not only from the stories of apparitions, which are to be found in the books of CONFUCIUS himself, the wisest and most knowing of their philosophers, but from the opinion of the *Metempsychosis*, which they have received many ages ago.

However, as man deprived of revelation, and left to the bias of his own heart, has always been a prey to error, I am far from believing the Chinese have been exempted from it; and we have a favourable enough opinion of them, when we think they were perhaps somewhat

but in process of time, LAO-KIUN introduced the Idolatrous sect of *Taoise*; invented a *Cosmogony*;

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later than other nations in giving themselves up to practise idolatry. Let us consider them, if you will, as the philosophers the *Apostle* speaks of; who, by the light of nature, rose to the knowledge of the supreme being: are not these as guilty as those, of having known him, without having glorified him? At length the sect of the *Taoise* appeared in China, near six hundred years before *Christ*. LAO-KIUN is the philosopher by whom it was founded. The birth of this man, if we may believe his disciples, was one of the most extraordinary: carried four and twenty years in the loins of his mother, he opened himself a passage through the left side, and occasioned the death of her who conceived him.—The morals of this philosopher came very near to those of *EPICURUS*, and he wrapped up his physics in impenetrable obscurity: I take no more of them than what regards the *Cosmogony*. “*Fao*, said he, or reason, produced *One*, *One* produced *Two*, *Two* produced *Three*, and *Three* produced *all things*.” The whole happiness of man, according to this philosopher, consisted in that state of mind which the Greeks called apathy, a state wherein man divested of fear, and all tormenting passions, must be free from disquietude of every kind; and as it is exceeding hard for one to get rid of the uneasy apprehensions of death and futurity, they who made profession of this sect, were addicted to magic and chemistry, to find out the secret whereby to become immortal; presuming they should be able to find it at length by the assistance of the spirits they invoked. There were some of them who flattered themselves with that discovery, by means of certain potions they made up; and more than one emperor has tried the fruitless experiment.

and with his proselytes, gave rise to a sort of Theogony.

One, who is acquainted with the temper of mankind, can easily judge, that a sect which raised such flattering hopes, would very soon make proselytes; accordingly it was embraced by several of the *Mandarins*, who gave their minds entirely to the magic art, which it prescribed. But it made yet greater advances among the women, naturally curious and extremely fond of life. In fine, the author of the sect was himself ranked among the Gods; a stately temple was erected to him; and the emperor *Hium Tsong* caused the statue of this new God to be brought into his palace. His disciples got the name of *Heavenly*

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teachers, and his descendants are still honoured with the dignity of *Mandarins*. These are they who have introduced that vast multitude of *Spirits*, subordinate to the supreme being, whom they honour in temples, and in particular chapels, and to whom they sacrifice three sorts of victims, a *hog*, a *fish*, and a piece of a *fowl*. They have even carried superstition the length of *deifying* several of their emperors; whereby we see that the Chinese, a people otherwise very ingenious, after their first ages of pure worship, are nothing short, in point of *superstition* and *idolatry*, of the other nations whom they have always taken a pride to contemn. This sect has filled China with divines and impostors, who impose upon the vulgar, and sometimes upon the great, by delusive arts and magic rites, wherewith they are too apt to be infatuated.

Another sect founded by the emperor MING-TI, called *Ho-Chang*.

About the sixty-fifth year after Christ, the emperor *Mingti*, through a vain curiosity, was the means of introducing a sect still more dangerous. This emperor, struck with some words which CONFUCIUS had often repeated, namely, *that it was in the west they would find the holy One*, sent ambassadors into the Indies in quest of him, and to learn the law he taught. These envoys believed they had at last found him out, among the worshippers of an idol named *Fo* or *Fcé*. They transmitted into China the idol, together with the fables of which the Indian books were full, their *superstitions*, *metempsychosis*, and in fine, *atheism*. They reported that in this part of India which the Chinese call *Chun-tien-cho*, *Moye* the king's wife dreamed that she was swallowing an Elephant; and that when the time came that she was to be delivered of the child, he tore her right side, and no sooner had he come from the womb of his mother, than he stood up and made six steps, and pointing with one hand to Heaven, and the other to the earth, he pronounced these words: *there is none but I in heaven or upon earth that deserves to be honoured*: they gave him the name of *Che-Kia* or *Cha-Ka*. At the age of nineteen years he forsook his wives, his sons, and all his terrestrial cares, retired into a solitary life, and put himself under the conduct of four philosophers. At thirty years he had a plenteous infusion of the divinity, and became *Fo*, or *Pagode*, as the Indians express themselves, and thought of nothing but propagating his doctrine every where. His

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lying miracles were surprising to all, and produced him the veneration of the whole country, and a prodigious number of disciples, who were his instruments in infecting the east with his impious tenets. The Chinese call these disciples *Ho-Chang*; the Tartars call them *Lamas*; the Siamese call them *Jalapoins*; and the Japanese denominate them *Bonzes*; for this sect is diffused among all the people now mentioned. In the mean time, *Fo* arrived at the age of seventy-nine years, convened some of his disciples, and after having explained to them his doctrine, died; and they invented many fables about his death. As the *Metempsychosis* was the principal article of this doctrine, they gave it out that their master was born eight thousand times, and that he had appeared in the world sometimes under the figure of an *ape*, sometimes under that of a *dragon*, then of an *elephant*, &c. All this probably was to establish the worship of this pretended divinity, and that under the symbol of these different animals, which actually became objects of the Indian worship. The Chinese having received this *idol*, erected to him a world of temples; and his sect, though always outlawed by the *Court of rites*, has made immense progress in the country, under the direction of the *Ho-Chang*, the most despicable of mortals, the most superstitious, and the most ignorant. In fine, to abridge what is to be found at very great length, in the beginning of father DU HALDE's third volume of the history of China, the doctrine of *Fo* is divided into *external* and *internal*. The *first*, full as it is of gross superstitions, is taught by the greater number of the *Ho-Chang*. The *second* is reserved for the more learned, and it consists in saying, that *vacuity* is the principle and the end of all things; that from *nothing* our first parents derived their original, and to *nothing* they returned after their death; that *vacuity* is what constitutes our being and substance, and that it is from this *nothing*, and from the mixture of the *elements*, that all productions *came*, and thither they afterwards *return*; in fine, that all beings only differ from one another by their *figures* and *qualities*: and in this manner they pretend, their master, when dying, explained his doctrine, that is to say, his *atheism*, to his favorite disciples.—I shall say but little of the *Theogonies* of the other nations, except what occurs incidentally under the following head, for they seem hardly digested into a system. For example, the *Brachmans* in the East-Indies have a tradition

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of their God *Vichnou*, metamorphosed into a *tortoise*; and by way of explication they tell us, that by the fall of a mountain the world began to stagger, and to sink down gradually towards the *abyss*, where it had perished, if their beneficent God had not transformed himself into a *tortoise* to bear it up.—The Chinese have adopted this tradition, and they apply it, as father KIRCHER remarks, to their *flying dragon*, who, they say, sprung from a *tortoise*, and became the prop of the universe that rests upon him. The Troglodytes had probably the same fable among them, since they had a high veneration for the *tortoise*, and had an abhorrence of their neighbours the Helinophagi, so called, because they fed upon the flesh of the *tortoise*.

8th, *The Cosmogony and other fables of the Aboriginal Americans.**

LAFFITEAU'S account of the Cosmogony of the American Indians.

We are not to imagine that the savages of America, a wandering and unsettled race, ever applied themselves to form a system of religion. There are however, traditions to be found among some of them, which may form a kind of Theogony. In this manner, according to father LAFFITEAU,† the Iroquois, one of the most considerable of these savage nations, account for the origin of the world. In the beginning, say they, there were *six Men*, (the people of Peru and of Brasil agree upon the same number;) as yet there being no *earth*, these men were carried in the *air* at the mercy of the *winds*. Having no *Women*, they foresaw that their species would soon come to an end; but having

* If some of our readers should be startled at seeing here introduced so modern a subject as this title indicates, on a single reflection they will readily admit, that in all probability it is not the more modern because it is the less ancient, but the rather, because it owed its longevity to the providential grace of a seclusion from a more ambitious, turbulent, rancorous, and intolerant Hemisphere: And if this be not a sufficient apology, we will vouch for the subject being sufficiently interesting, from its striking analogy with what has gone before, to justify its introduction.

† *Mœurs des Sauvages*. As most of the examples I here make use of are taken from that work, it may suffice to have cited it once for all.

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got notice there was one in *heaven*, they resolved that one of them, named the *Wolf*, should transport himself thither. The enterprize was difficult and dangerous; but the *birds* wafted him thither upon their wings. Being arrived there, he waited till this Woman came out, as her way was, to draw water. So soon as she appeared, he offered her some present, and seduced her. The LORD of Heaven, knowing what had happened, banished the Woman, and a *Tortoise* received her upon its back. This Woman at first had *two sons*, of whom the one, who was armed with offensive weapons, slew his brother who had none. She was afterwards delivered of several children; from whom the rest of mankind are sprung.—The otter and the fishes drawing up mud from the bottom of the water, formed upon the body of the *Tortoise* just mentioned, a small *island*, which grew greater and greater by degrees; and such, according to these savages, is the original of our *Earth*.

Remarks upon
the above Cos-
mogony.

This tradition, if it be exactly reported, is undoubtedly a remnant of the primitive history of the creation, of EVE banished from the terrestrial paradise, and of the murder of ABEL by CAIN.

For in short, it is possible that these savages, descended from the same stock with the rest of mankind, may have preserved a tradition, which they might well alter, though they could not totally erase out of their memory.—Although we had no knowledge of the traditions of the other American nations, it is highly probable that their notions were mostly the same with those of the Iroquois, since the people of Peru and Brazil in South America, agree with them as to the number of men there were at the beginning, as we have said.

Their Fables
and Idols.

But it is not only by their *Cosmogony* that the Americans have equalled the Greeks and other nations of the old continent, in the whimsical system they invented concerning their original; they resemble them too pretty often in their *Fables*. Thus, for instance, their way of accounting for the production of *rain*, was, that a young girl was in the clouds, sporting with her little brother, and he broke her *pitcher* full of *water*. Is there not here a great similitude to those *fountain-nymphs*, and *river-Gods*, who poured forth

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water from their *urns*? They too were persuaded like the Greeks that there were Gods who inhabited the Rivers and other collections of water, since at one of their festivals, the people of Mexico had a solemn practice of drowning a young boy, to be company for these Gods. According to the traditions of Peru, the Ynca, *Manco-Guina-Capac*, Son of the *Sun*, found a way, by his eloquence, to make the inhabitants of the country quit their retirements in the woods, where they lived after the manner of the beasts, and brought them to live under reasonable laws. Just so did ORPHEUS with the Greeks, and he too passed for the Son of the *Sun*. It is remarkable that both these people, so remote the one from the other, should have agreed to fancy that such as had extraordinary accomplishments were the offspring of the *Sun*. If the Greeks, and, in imitation of them, the ancient Gauls, had a religious veneration for *Trees*, and believed them to be the abode of *Dryads* and *Hamadryads*—the Abenakis too, as father LAFFITEAU reports, had a famous *Tree*, whereof they told several wonders, and it was always loaded with offerings; nor did they doubt of its having something divine. We find they had likewise among them, *consecrated groves*, much like all the rest of the idolatrous world.—Their *Idols*, often monstrous, as in the old continent, either charged with symbols like those we call *Pantheas*, or sometimes even resembling those of *Priapus*, prove, that the people I am speaking of, were nothing short of the old inhabitants of the old world, in the extravagance of their *idolatry* and *fables*. Their veneration for *Idols*, which are nothing but either mis-shapen *stones*, or sometimes of a conical figure, is a farther proof, that their *idolatry* resembled that of the ancients, who, before the art of sculpture, paid honours to such like *stones*, or simple *pillars*, as we shall see elsewhere.

Their superstitions, religious rites and persuasions;

As for what relates to *sorceries*, *conjurations*, *diviners*, and *enchantments*, the people of the new World resemble but too much those of the Old. Their belief was every where the same about the benevolent and malignant *Genii*, of whom the universe was imagined to be full; over whom presided, as Lord and sovereign of the other Gods, the *Manitou* of the Algonquine nations, the *Chemien* of the Caribbees, the *Okki* or the *Ares-Koui* of the Hurons. As for the *festivals* and *mysteries*, we

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shall find by reading the author I just now quoted, that those of the Americans had a great affinity with the *orgies* of the Greeks. As to the *immortality of the soul*, and its state after death, the savages thought much the same way with the Greeks, even at the time when they were most civilized. Did not the Americans believe that the souls of the wicked were condemned to dwell in certain *Lakes*, miry and loathsome, as the Greeks sent them to wander along the banks of *Styx* and *Acheron*? Was it not likewise their opinion that the souls of those who had led a regular life, had places of delightful abode, which bore a considerable resemblance to the *Elysian fields*? They have, like the old Romans, their women hired to mourn at *funerals*, and like them celebrated feasts for the *dead*; and what is still more surprising, they distinguish, like the Greeks, between the *soul* and its *shade* or *phantom*, and believe that while the *soul* is in a *happy mansion*, the *shade* is hovering about the *place of interment*.

particularily in re-
gard to *fire*.

The *sacred fire*, preserved by almost every nation of the world, as I shall shew in the article of *Vesta*, was also the object of the superstitious worship of the Americans. The nations most adjoining to Asia, have *temples*, where the *sacred fire* is carefully preserved; and these *temples* are mostly built in a round form, as were those of *Vesta*. In Louisiana, the Natchez had one of them, where a guard watched continually for the *preservation of the fire*, which is never suffered to go out. Every body knows how famous those *temples* were under the reign of the *Yncas*; but what appeared very surprising, was those companies of *virgins* set apart for the service of the *Sun*, whose laws were even more severe than those of the Roman *vestals*; and the punishments, when they broke their vows, precisely the same, since they were *buried alive*. They who had debauched them were punished with far more rigour than at Rome, since the punishment extended not only to the whole family, but even to the place where they were born; its whole inhabitants were utterly extirpated, nor did they leave so much as one stone in it upon another. The *sacred fire* was equally revered in Mexico, and committed to the care of *vestals*, who led a very regular life; and if the savages of this vast continent had not all of them temples to maintain it there, the halls of their counsel, made much after the fashion of the *Prytanea* of the Greeks,

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were employed for this use, chiefly among the Iroquois and the Hurons.

Their human sacrifices;—a parallel:

Would it have been consistent with the corruption of the human heart, not to place upon the altars, every thing that soothed vice and irregularity of manners? The custom of sacrificing upon high places, a custom so ancient, and whereof the prophets so often accuse the idolatrous nations, was likewise known among the Americans. To be convinced of this; we need only read the relations of ROCHEFORT, in the place where he speaks of the mountain *Olaimi*, upon which the Apalachites, a people of Florida, offer sacrifices yearly to the *Sun*, in a *cavern* which serves for a *temple* to this divinity.—The sacrifices of these savages were at first very simple, as they were among the *primitive Idolaters* of the old world; and this simplicity still remains among some of their nations, where they content themselves with offering up to the Gods, the fruits of the earth, or with making libations to them of water; others hang upon trees or pillars, the skins of the beasts they have slain in hunting; there are of them who throw some leaves of *tobacco* into the fire, in honour of the *Sun*, and into the rivers and streams to appease the *Genii* that preside over them. Those of the Caribbee islands offer up the *cassave* and the *ouicon*, that is, their *bread* and their *drink*, to the Gods who are the guardians of these plants, as the Greeks and the other nations offered their sacrifices to *Bacchus* and *Ceres*. What though the names of those Gods are not the same in either continent, the *ideas* are still the same, and it is precisely the same kind of *idoltry*! But with these savages, as with other nations, these ancient manners not having always subsisted in that primitive simplicity which is the characteristic of the first ages of the world; they, like the Pagans of the old continent, carried superstition to the length of sacrificing *human victims*. The sacrifices of this sort were in use especially in Mexico; and though they were less known among the other savages, yet there were of them however, who, at certain seasons of the year, offered their children to the Gods, who watched over the fruits of the earth. The relation of LE MOYNE informs us, that in Florida the aborigines looked upon the *Sun* as the father of their chiefs; offered up to that luminary, their great Divinity, their children in sacrifice; as the Canaanites sacrificed them to

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their *Moloch*, who was likewise the *Sun*, only with this difference in the ceremony, that the latter burned them in a furnace which was contrived within their *Idol*, as I shall shew in speaking of that God; whereas the former knocked them on the head in the midst of an assembly of the people, and in the *presence of the Chief*, who himself represented the God who was believed to be his father.—The sacrifices in the new World, as in the Old, were accompanied with *instruments*, with *dances*, and with all the marks of public *rejoicing*;—but I will not carry this parrallel any farther, which would oblige me to copy the work which I have cited, where the learned author descends to a very particular detail.—What I have said is sufficient to shew, that the mind of man, left merely to its own light, is carried out to nothing but error and delusion; and that in spite of the refinement of the best regulated nations, their sentiments have been pretty much the same all the world over, where they wanted the knowledge of the true religion.

In fine, there are few countries, where much the same fables have not been found: every where ideas of *things* no where found in nature; an extraordinary *race of men*, who called themselves the sons of Heaven, or of the stars, or of the rivers, &c.; every where *cheats*, who wanted to carry on imposture, by the story of a singular and extraordinary birth. The Egyptians and the Phenicians, from whom the Greek and Romans derived their fables, are not the only people who have invented them: there are some that bear a resemblance to theirs, to be found among nations that cannot be suspected of having borrowed from them. *Kaisouven* boasted, that he was born of a *river-God*, the more easily to delude the people of Corea by the dazzling idea of this imaginary birth. The Coreans must needs have attributed Divinity to the *rivers* and *mountains*, like the Greeks and Romans, since upon their becoming tributary to China, the emperor confirmed their king in the privilege he enjoyed of sacrificing alone to the *rivers* and *mountains*. The origin of one nation of the eastern Tartars, named Kao-Kiuli, of the race of the *Fou-Ya*, bears a considerable resemblance, in respect to the fables with which it is intermixed, to our fictions in the western world; and the Roman history, notwithstanding its being so grave and serious, presents us with notions near akin to what I am going to relate of the former.—The prince of

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the Kao-Kiuli had in his dominions a daughter of the God *Hohang-Ho*, whom he kept shut up in a prison. One day as she was struck with the reflections of the *Sun-beams*, she conceived; and she brought forth an *egg*, which they broke, and in it they found a *male child*. When he was grown up, they gave him the name of *Tchu-Mong*, which imports a *good pilot*. The king of the country, who took a liking to him, one day carried him out to hunt, and seeing his address, became jealous of him; which *Tchu-Mong* perceiving, fled from him; and being ready to fall into the hands of those who pursued him, at the passage of a river, he addressed his prayer to the *Sun* his father; then the *fishes* of the river raising up to the surface of the water, supplied him with a *bridge*, on which he crossed over.—What is there in this more extravagant, than in the fables of *Perseus's* birth, and that of *Leda's* children? If we know nations that sacrificed their *children* to their false Deities; and if the Greeks offered up *Iphigenia* to procure a favourable wind; are we not told by DU HALDE of most the ancient histories wherein we may read of islanders in the eastern sea, who during the seventh Moon of every year, used solemnly to *drown a young virgin*? If the Romans fabled that their *Janus* had two, nay four faces, as is to be seen upon ancient monuments, have not the Indians their idol *Menipus*, who has many heads of different shapes? Does it not pass current among the same Indians, that there is a country where men have two visages; that withal, they are extremely wild and untractable; that they speak no language, and suffer themselves to die for hunger when they are taken: they add, that they had taken one of them clad in linen, who rose out of the sea; a story not much unlike to that of *Oannes*, which we have mentioned above. If the Egyptians, and after them PYTHAGORAS, taught the *Metempsychosis*; is not the same doctrine spread over all the Indies, and is it not the foundation of the idolatry of *Foe*? Which is so far true, that the *great Lama*, who calls himself a living *Foe*, gives it out, that he has been born several times, and that he shall be born again; insomuch that when he dies, they make diligent search for the child whose figure he reassumes, that they may substitute him in his room: and though it is easy to see, that this is a child he has artfully provided to succeed him, the mystery whereof is well known to the other *Lamas* his confidants, yet this farce has been acted for several ages, without being

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suspected by the people. We shall remark, when we are upon the origin of the fables, that numbers of them had been introduced by means of a gross kind of philosophy; perhaps there never was one in Greece of so extraordinary a nature as was that of the Chinese philosophers, with relation to the *ebbing and flowing of the Sea*. A princess, said they, had an hundred children; fifty of them dwelt along the *Sea-shore*, and the other fifty in the *mountains*: hence came two great nations, who are often at war together; when the inhabitants of the *shores* get the better of those in the *mountains*, and put them to flight, the *sea flows*; when they are repulsed by them, and fly from the *mountains* towards the *shores*, the *Sea ebbs*. This manner of philosophizing, says M. FONTENELLE, is not unlike the *metamorphoses* of OVID: so true it is, that the same ignorance has produced the same effects in every nation — Such are the *Cosmogonies* and *Theogonies* of the most ancient nations. Others whose religion and fables are considered in the sequel of this work, though sunk in an abyss of the grossest *idolatry*, yet had not a genius philosophical enough to form any conceptions about the *formation of the world*, or the *origin of the Gods*, whom they contented themselves to worship according to the tradition of their country.

9th, *Of the Pagan Theology in general, and that of the Poets in particular.*

Its absurdity and the arguments of the Fathers compel the Philosophers to explain it by allegory.

Having represented the different *Theogonies* of the ancients, peculiar to every nation; it may be of use to shew more particularly the general Theology of the Pagan world, especially that of the Greek poets.—My design is not to lay open all its abominations; for this would now be useless: the primitive fathers of the church, and the defenders of the christian religion, as they found themselves necessarily engaged in that task, in order to sap the foundations of *Paganism*, which was the predominant religion of their times, they acquitted themselves in it with so much learning and strength of argument, that they at last obliged the most knowing philosophers, to explain by allegories, oftentimes ingenious, a system,

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the bare representation whereof was shocking. To this dilemma they were reduced by JUSTIN; ARNOBIUS; ATHENAGORAS; LACTANTIUS; CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS; MINUTIUS FELIX; but above all by TERTULLIAN in his *Apologetics*, one of the most excellent performances antiquity has left us; and by S. AUGUSTINE in his book of the *City of God*, a work which, abstracted from the other views of the author, may be considered as a treasure of profane literature. To speak accurately, the philosophers did not wait for the time of those great men I have been naming, to perceive the absurdity of their *Theology*. Allegory had been introduced to help out the monstrous fables that were intermixed with religion, upwards of 400 years before the christian æra. PLATO had brought it in fashion, and his disciples improved it: nay PYTHAGORAS, long before PLATO's days, had represented the established religion of his time in such a light, as made its absurdity partly disappear. This way of allegorizing was never more in vogue than in the time of JAMBLICUS and PORPHYRY, who lived both of them in the first ages of christianity. But every body knows the little success which attended the allegorical manner of explaining the fables and mysteries of religion; and, that notwithstanding the subtilities of the philosophers who used it, that same religion, and the fables upon which it was founded, still continued, even to the entire destruction of itself, in one quarter of the world at least.

The Pagan *Theology* is distinguished by Varro into three parts.

VARRO distinguished *Theology* into three parts, 1st, the *fabulous*, 2d, the *natural*, and 3d, the *political*. The *first* was the *Theology of the poets*; the *second* that of the *philosophers*; and the *third* that of the *ministers of religion*. VARRO endeavoured to promote this distinction, whereof the high-priest Q. SCÆVOLA is thought to have been the founder, the same who was slain by one of those assassins employed by Marius.—1st, The *Theology of the poets* was rejected by the wiser *Pagans*. VARRO, as we have it from S. AUGUSTINE, acknowledged that it imputed to their Gods, actions, which one would have blushed to ascribe to the vilest men. 2d, VARRO did not condemn the second kind of *Theology*, that of the *philosophers*; but he was of opinion, it ought to be confined to the schools, because it reasoned with freedom upon the nature of the Gods, which, according to him, had a dan-

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gerous tendency. 3d, The third kind of Theology made up the *system of religion*, and was the foundation of the worship paid to the Gods; and if it was not the most esteemed by the abler judges, it was at least the most venerable, and the only one that was followed in practice.

The Theology of Poets:—its partisans make a parallel of it with the sacred writ.

Though the *Theology of the poets* was exploded, as we have seen; yet it has found partisans in these last ages. Several modern authors, charmed with the fine strokes that occur in the works of the poets, concerning the most sublime truths, have spoken of them in such high strains of encomium, that it would seem they consider them as the most excellent divines. FATHER THOMASSIN has been at great pains to collect whatever they have said upon divinity and upon morality, and he thinks he has discovered in them several passages conformable to *holy writ*, and to the *light of nature*. The author of the book entitled, *Homer Hebraizing*, has not contented himself with considering the poets as great divines; he has undertaken to prove, that HOMER, in both his poems, had in several places copied MOSES and the prophets. A celebrated English author, CUDWORTH, after he has cried up the Theology of the poets, that of ORPHEUS especially, recites the finest of their sentiments upon the divinity. In fine, a modern author, whose works have occasioned his being more than once disgraced, has gone farther than any I have yet named, since in his remarks upon VIRGIL, he makes no scruple of preferring that poet to most of our divines; alleging, that, with respect to providence and the Deity, his sentiments are most orthodox. He has even had the presumption to compare the conduct of *Jupiter* in relation to ÆNEAS, with that of GOD in respect to DAVID. According to these authors, piety, and the worship of the true GOD, are taught in a sublime manner, in the works of these poets; and nearly all the most essential truths are there to be found, though veiled under sensible images. Thus, to single out some of these truths, among others, they find, the unity of a God; his omnipotence; his infinite goodness; his immensity; his eternity. The council of the Gods, which HOMER speaks of, where *Jupiter* always presides, is, according to them, an imitation of those mysterious councils, which God, in the

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Book of Job, holds with the *Angels*. When they tell us, that all good and evil came from the hand of God, by the ministration of subaltern Deities; this is a copy of what the scripture says of the *Angels*, who are his ministers. When they give *Jupiter* such a peculiar pre-eminence, it is evident, that under this name they understood the true God, and not *Jupiter* the son of *Saturn* and king of Crete. In fine, when ARATUS says, all is full of God, the *earth*, the *sea*, the *fields*, and *man* himself; or, as S. PAUL expresses himself, in the precise words of this poet, *sumus genus Dei, in ipso vivimus, movemur, et sumus*, is it not evident, that he must needs be speaking of the immensity of GOD?—To these speculative truths, the authors I mention join others which are practical; and think the poets have settled, not only what duties we owe to God, but those of men to one another, as well as the other purely moral precepts. Their *infernal regions*, and their *Elysian fields*, they say, are proper restraints from *lust*, and incentives to the practice of *virtue*. Those *Judges*, who examine with so much severity the actions of men; and the *Furies*, who chastise the guilty with such rigour; could all this have been contrived without a deep insight into morality? In fine, to represent the sentiment of these authors in a few words, it suffices to say, that upon all occasions they rack their invention to draw parallels between the truths they find in *the poets*, and those in *the sacred writings*.

Why we should entertain a very different sentiment of their Theology.

I own, for my part, the reading of the poets has given me quite another idea of their *Theology*. It is true, they sometimes speak of the Divinity in a sublime manner, but they are by no means consistent with themselves upon this subject; and after they have given their Gods the magnificent epithets of *immortal*, *omnipotent*, &c., they represent them with imperfections, which, as has been said, belong only to the worst and most corrupt of men. Insomuch that I am astonished, how learned men can so highly extol their Theology; while PLATO, for this same Theology, which to him appeared so monstrous, banished them from his *Commonwealth*. CICERO had not such favourable thoughts of the poets, as the authors I have spoken of; on the contrary, he censures them for setting before us the debaucheries of the Gods, their quarrels, their battles, their dissensions, their

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adulteries, &c.—It is true, that they style these fabulous Gods of theirs *immortal*, but at the same time there is not one of them of whose *genealogy*, they have not informed us; they name their fathers, their mothers, the place of their birth, and all the circumstances of their life from their infancy; sometimes they speak of their *sepulchres too*. In HOMER, the greatest of their poets, we see the Gods squabbling together, falling foul of one another, wounded by mortals, and pouring forth shrieks and lamentations at seeing their blood shed: they are every now and then giving gross abusive language; instance *Jupiter* and *Juno* represented eternally at odds, a thing so scandalous between *husband* and *wife*. EURIPIDES, willing to excuse *Phædra*, who had conceived a violent passion for the son of her husband, throws the blame upon *Venus*, who wanted to revenge, upon *Hippolytus*, the contempt he had thrown upon her worship and votaries. Another tradition which RACINE has followed, no less dishonourable for *Venus*, intimated that she was thus taking her revenge upon the *Sun*, *Phædra's* great-God-father, for having discovered her intrigue with the God *Mars*; and it is from the same motive of resentment, that this Goddess had inspired *Pasiphae*, *Phædra's* mother, with that infamous passion which made so much noise. In the same play, EURIPIDES brings in *Diana* to comfort *Hippolytus* in his dying moments, the Goddess telling him that she could not indeed reverse the order of *destiny*, but to give him revenge, she would kill one of *Venus's* gallants with her own hand. These then are their powerful Gods, subjected to the *fates*, and not being able to accomplish all the mischief they *would*, perpetrate that which they *can*. What thoughts can one have of a Theology, whose end being to exalt man to the Gods, has depressed these same Gods, I say, not only to the condition of men, but even to their greatest frailties? Can any thing be conceived more fantastical? What shall we say of that mixture of *power* and *weakness*, of *eternity* and *death*, of *happiness* and *misery*, of *tranquillity* and *disturbance*? What shall we think of the railleries which ARISTOPHANES throws out against the Gods in some of his comedies, and of the blasphemies which ÆSCHYLUS pours forth against them in his *Prometheus*?

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confirmed by deductions from HOMER'S account of the *Trojan war*. But, it is said, the poets speak often of the *providence* of the Gods, and of the *care* they exercise over men. What providence! let us single out one of the subjects of fable where it is most conspicuous, a subject described by the greatest of poets with peculiar care; I mean the *Trojan war*. This war destroyed multitudes of people, and ruined a flourishing kingdom; it was attended with miseries without number, with seditions, broils, and all the other companions of sweeping desolation. All the Gods took part in it; Heaven was divided into two factions: there was no plot, no stratagem, no sly artifice, but every one of the Gods put in practice. To be sure they can't be accused of being *idle* during the course of this war; their *providence* was sufficiently employed. HOMER describes all their motions in the fullest manner; and the other poets have followed his example. Here then is a proper point of view, whence we may clearly discern their *theological sentiments about providence*: let us see then what was the motive of this war; let us trace it back to its source. Was the chastising an impious nation, the thing in question? was it to avenge oppressed innocence, or the indignities offered to the Gods themselves? or to give the world a signal example of justice and equity? Nothing like it: but to glut the resentment of a Goddess, for a *slight* put upon her *beauty*, was all the affair; the story is this—At the marriage of *Thetis* and *Peleus*, an *apple* is thrown by *Discord*, for the fairest of the company. The Gods not daring to make themselves umpires in the difference that arises upon this occasion between three Goddesses, send them to Phrygia, to get the decision of a YOUNG SHEPHERD who was renowned for equity. The SHEPHERD, whom each of the three Goddesses would fain corrupt by magnificent promises, decides in favour of *Venus*; she being actually the greatest beauty, nothing could be said against the equity of his sentence: yet here was enough to exasperate the other two. *Juno*, the *wise Juno*, from that moment resolves upon the destruction, not of PARIS only, though even that had been a very unjust piece of revenge, but of the whole empire of PRIAM his father, and of all Phrygia. The rape of HELEN, who had been betrothed to PARIS, became the signal pretence of a bloody war: all Greece rises in arms, while *Juno* leaves no stone unturned to engage all the powers above in her interest; she

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makes use of a thousand stratagems to bring over the other Gods, and gives them the most insinuating promises; she runs over all the cities of Greece to animate them to the war. Troy is besieged, and for a course of ten years the queen of the Gods plays the game of a woman quite frantic, and tries to lay her husband asleep, that he may not see the overthrow of the Trojans, or impede her depraved revenge. *Minerva* has the contrivance of the wooden horse; *Juno* appears in arms, and herself throws open the gates of the city, rouses the Greeks, too cool for her vengeance; while *Neptune*, her ally, beats down the walls with his trident. The Greeks enter the town, a thousand disorders are there committed, which it is unnecessary to describe: but we must not forget, that VIRGIL is at great pains to let us see, that they are to be attributed to the wrath and revenge of the Gods. Troy is reduced to ashes; PARIS, PRIAM and the rest of his family are massacred or made slaves.

Thus it was full time for the wrath of *Juno* to be appeased. But with the poets, a Goddess, whose beauty has been injured, is not so easily atoned. They represent her pursuing the remains of the fugitive Trojans with implacable rage; she will needs cut them off from that retreat in Italy, which was promised them by the Fates. Here she meanly supplicates *Æolus*, a subaltern Divinity, to move him to raise a storm, contrary to the orders of *Neptune*, who had changed sides, and whose providence was then interested for the Trojans. Sometimes she endeavours to detain *ÆNEAS* in Africa by the charms of pleasure: there she makes *Iris* appear under the figure of *Beroë*, to oblige the Trojan matrons to burn their fleet. No sooner has *ÆNEAS* arrived in Italy, than she despatches the *Furies* to *TURNUS* and *AMATA*, to excite them to expel him their country, and kindles a bloody war; and not being able absolutely to hinder the execution of the orders of destiny, she strives at least to retard it by all sorts of means. As the decree of destiny intimated, that *LAVINIA* was to be married to the Trojan hero, she will needs cause him to pay her dowry in the blood of an infinite number of his own countrymen.—Every body knows what this Goddess did to support *TURNUS*'s party, and all the game VIRGIL makes her play in the course of this war. In fine, finding *Destiny* too powerful for her, as the last effort of her vengeance, she tries if *Jupiter* will grant that the

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Latins shall not assume the name of the *Trojans* their conquerors, that *Troy* and *its memory* might the more easily be *abolished*.

Is it possible to conceive a more complete revenge! Was ever resentment carried farther! or was it ever raised on a more frivolous foundation! Cry up after this the *theology of the poets*, as to the *providence* of their Gods, and the *care* which they take of the most notable events. These, according to them, are the motives whence they act. Alas! what could they teach more impious! What a fine pattern of *resentment* and *revenge* were they able to give, especially to *ladies who idolize their beauty*! Were I at liberty to run over the other examples, of which the poets are full, we should see that the spring of all the actions of the Gods is either *revenge*, or *love*, or some other *passion*: that the true motive of *Jupiter's* travels up and down the earth, was nothing else but to debauch some mistress; that while the reparation of the disasters done by the deluge, or by the conflagration of *Phaeton*, were made the pretext, *Culisto* and *Europa* were the real occasions of his pilgrimages: that if *Diana* sends a *boar* to lay waste the *Calydonian* plains, it was owing to *Æneus's* having neglected her in a sacrifice: in fine, that *Venus* for the same reason, afflicted the daughters of *Tyndarus* with madness. If *Niobe's* fourteen children are killed before her eyes by invisible darts, it is for her having presumed to compare herself to *Latona*. If *Cadmus* sees his house filled with disorder and blood-shed, *Acteon* his grandson devoured by his dogs, *Pentheus* another grandson torn in pieces by the *Bacchanals*, and himself transformed into a serpent, the reason of all this cruelty is, that he had a *sister* and a *daughter*, whose beauty had charmed *Jupiter*, and excited the jealousy of *Juno*. *Ino* for having nursed *Bacchus*, is condemned to madness, together with her husband *Athamas*; the latter dashes his own son against a rock, and the former, the unfortunate queen of *Thebes*, throws herself headlong into the sea with *Melicertes*. If *Andromeda* sees herself exposed to the fury of a sea-monster, it is because her mother had compared her beauty to that of the *Nereids*. *Venus*, to be avenged of *Diomedes*, who had wounded her at the siege of *Troy*, made his wife become a prostitute. However much recourse may be had to allegory, yet what can we think, when we see *Cybele*, the great mother of the Gods, running after

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the youthful *Atys*, making so many advances to captivate his heart, and punishing him so severely for his indifference?—Such, according to the poets, are the motives of revenge in the Gods, and for the most part, it is not upon the guilty they inflict such dreadful punishments; or if that is sometimes the case, it is not in order to reclaim them, but to render them more criminal.—*Clio* upbraids *Venus* for being so excessively fond of *Adonis*; instead of improving so wholesome an admonition, the Goddess returns it by wounding her with *love* for a young man, by whom she had *Hyacinth*. *Cyanisthus* forgets *Bacchus* in a sacrifice, he makes him drunk, in consequence of which, he commits incest. The daughters of *Prætus* prefer their own beauty to that of *Juno*; the Goddess turns them frantic, and makes them become prostitutes. One of the daughters of *Danaus* having gone to draw water for a sacrifice, was attacked by a *Satyr*, who offered violence to her; she invoked *Neptune* to her assistance; who having rescued her from the attacks of the *Satyr*, made the same assault upon her, which she had just now declined: miserable relief!

Reflections upon the Theology of the poets.

This now is what the poets teach, in relation to the *providence* of their Gods: a providence anxious and disturbed; disgraced by *resentments* dreadful for exceeding slight provocations; and *chastisements* not for the punishment of *vice* or the support of *virtue*, which would be good Divinity, but inflicted intentionally to avenge some personal affront, not upon the *guilty*, but upon the *innocent*—or if the *guilty* too are involved therein, it is only to make them more wicked and abandoned. You won't see those Gods forward to chastise *impiety* and *injustice*; they vent their spite upon none but those who forget them in sacrifice, or who compare the *hair* or *complexion* to that of some Goddess: like those *petty Lords*, who have very little concern that their *vassals* be *profligate* and *licentious*, so they do but forbear *hunting* upon their *grounds*, and give *presents* from time to time to their *wives*! Was any thing more apt to excite ambition and the most unjust designs, than the history of *Saturn*, who had used his father *Uranus* so ill, and that of *Jupiter* who had treated his father in like manner, and dethroned him?—This would be the proper place to explain the *theology of the poets*, with respect to the *morals* of their Gods; but I should be afraid of disgusting the reader, by reciting

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their infamous characters: Yet I cannot forbear expressing my admiration at that *Jupiter* of theirs! No chastity on earth was proof against his assaults! no beastly figure he had not assumed to ensnare sometimes virtuous princesses, sometimes innocent shepherdesses!! All the other Gods were stained with the like crimes. ARNOBIUS, LACTANTIUS, and the other fathers, bring a thousand stories of those Gods, from the writings of the poets, which are shocking to modesty. There is no crime, disorder, or lewdness, that they were not guilty of; and the poets, *those pretended sublime divines*, are they who have been at most pains to perpetuate their memory. HOMER, and after him OVID, tell us how the *Sun* surprized *Mars* and *Venus* in adultery; the last subjoins very loose reflections. In a word, all the *metamorphoses* he speaks of, are rather monuments of the *imperfection* of the Gods, and of their *debaucheries*, than of their *providence* and *power*. These considerations should be a seasonable warning to all reasonable persons to be upon their guard against that value, which so many people have for the *divinity of the poets*; and shew those who want to defend them, that, excepting a few *vague expressions* that have dropped from them about the *immortal essence* of their Gods, their *vigilance*, that *universal spirit* which animates all things (a strain to which they by no means keep up in the rest of their works), their whole system consists in representing to us Gods *inconstant* and *self-interested* in their *providence*, *turbulent* and *outrageous* in their *resentment*, *debauched* and *infamous* in their *moral character*.—After all these preliminaries, which I thought fitting to treat at some length, it is time to enter upon the PROPER SUBJECTS OF THIS VOLUME.

A
NEW SYSTEM
OF
MYTHOLOGY.

CHAPTER I.
HISTORY OF IDOLATRY.

SECTION FIRST.

ITS ORIGIN.

AT the beginning of the world, men knew and served only *one God*, the CREATOR, OMNIPOTENT, ETERNAL. ADAM, formed by the immediate agency of the hands of GOD, preserved the purest idea of the Deity in his own family; and there need be no doubt of its having continued uncorrupted in the branch of SETH until the deluge. GOD had given our first parents too many manifestations of himself, for them to be unacquainted with him. HE thought it not enough to draw his image on the works of nature, and to enlighten their minds by the illuminations of his grace; he conversed with them, and instructed them either immediately, or by the mediation of his ANGELS: thus they had the clearest and soundest idea of the *supreme being*, which it is possible for man to have; and consequently the worship they paid to GOD, and which he himself had prescribed, was *pure* and undefiled.—We cannot entertain the same

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belief in relation to CAIN's family: his posterity not only fell into *idolatry*, but into all the other crimes which brought on the deluge; whereof to be sure, idolatry, which the scripture frequently terms either *fornication* or *adultery*, was one of the principal causes. The *sons of men*, that is, according to interpreters, the *offspring of Cain*, were abandoned to the most infamous passions. With these carnal men, the *pure idea* of an all-perfect being began insensibly to wear out, and to be corrupted by *that of sense*: thus they very soon affixed it to sensible objects; and that which appeared most beneficial and perfect to their eyes, was worshipped as their greatest God.

Idolatry, whether it commenced before the deluge.

The learned MAIMONIDES, in his treatise upon the origin of idolatry, which is translated into Latin in a piece by VOSSIUS upon the same subject, thus expresses himself: "The first origin of idolatry must be referred to the time of ENOS, when men began to study the motion of the *Sun* and *Moon* and the other heavenly bodies, and reckoned them created by GOD to govern the world. They imagined GOD had set them in the heavens to make them partake of his own glory—and serve him as ministers; whence they concluded it was their duty to give them honour. Upon this foundation they began to build *temples* to the *Stars*, to offer *sacrifices* to them, and to *prostrate* themselves before them, in order to obtain favours from HIM who had created them—and this was the first origin of idolatry. Not that they believed there was no other GOD besides the *Stars*; but they were persuaded that by adoring them, they fulfilled the will of the CREATOR. In process of time, however, certain *false prophets* arose, pretending to be sent from GOD, and that they had revelations for appointing such and such a *Star* to be worshipped—nay, for appointing sacrifices to be offered to the whole host of heaven; they also made figures of them which they exposed to be publicly worshipped. Thereupon they began to set up their representations in temples, under trees, and upon the tops of moun-

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tains. They flocked together for their adoration, and the prosperity they enjoyed was attributed to the worship they paid to them. Hence it came about, concludes MAIMONIDES, that the name of GOD was entirely banished from the hearts and mouths of men." —TERTULLIAN also, believed idolatry had commenced before the deluge: and this is likewise the sentiment of the generality of the most learned *Rabbins*. They found it upon a passage in Genesis, where it is said of ENOS, *iste cepit invocare nomen Domini*; which is thus expressed in another version, *tunc profanatum est in invocando nomine Domini*; and this difference arises from the word *chahal* in the original, which equally imports, *to begin*, or *to profane*. But we are not to dwell long upon the period which *preceded the deluge*; a period about which MOSES has said little, and from what he says of it, we can draw no conclusions with respect to idolatry. For, in short, the passage they solely rely upon, is very hard to be understood, and would require the discussing of some questions that would lead us too far from our subject.

Idolatry, how
early restored after
the deluge,
and where.

However it be as to the beginning of idolatry, certain it is, that the *knowledge* and *worship* of the true GOD were again united in the family of NOAH, which remained alone upon the earth, *after the deluge*. That holy patriarch, in gratitude to GOD for his preservation, offered him a solemn sacrifice of every *clean animal* that came out of the ark; and no doubt he would be sure to recommend to his children and grand-children, to preserve with veneration the worship prescribed to him by GOD himself. Thus before the division of tongues, and while the children and grand-children of that patriarch made up but one family and people, there is the highest probability that this worship was not altered in its purity. NOAH was still alive, and was the head of that people. In all likelihood therefore, it was not till after the *dispersion of that people*, that idolatry arose; at which period most probably, while the true religion was yet for a long time preserved

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in some families, especially in that from which ABRAHAM sprung, others abandoned it for the service of vain *idols*, which their ignorance, or rather the corruption of their hearts had formed.— However, if we do not date the restoration of idolatry, (supposing it had pre-existed the flood) so early as the dispersion of mankind, we shall not descend as low, to fix its date, as the time of NINUS, who was the first who introduced that particular species of idolatry only which had for its object the worship of the *manes* of great men—having built a temple to the honour of his father BELUS; for there was an idolatry of much greater antiquity in Egypt and Phenicia, and even among the Chaldeans or Babylonians themselves, in their worship of *fire* and the *heavenly bodies*. Doubtless, very shortly after the dispersion, whose allotment disposed Egypt to MITZRAIM, and Phenicia to CANAAN, two of the sons of the accursed HAM, idolatry made its appearance in those countries; whence it very readily propagated itself to the east, the north, and north-west. Egypt, and Phenicia, then were the first nurseries of idolatry: this is the opinion of EUSEBIUS, who had not a little examined into this subject; also of LACTANTIUS, and of CASSIAN, the former of whom ascribes its original to CANAAN, and the latter to HAM his father. This is what several *Rabbins* have thought upon the subject, who even reckon that those two patriarchs had been idolaters before the deluge. VOSSIUS says, it is beyond doubt, that idolatry had its rise in the family of HAM, and by consequence in Egypt; this author adds, that it is agreed to by all the ancients. And without mentioning DIODORUS, and several others, it suffices to quote LUCIAN, who says in so many words, that “the Egyptians were the first who honoured the gods and paid them a solemn worship.” HERODOTUS, in the beginning of his history, is not so positive on this head as LUCIAN, but what he says is much the same: “the Egyptians, according to this learned historian, are the first who knew the names of the twelve great Gods, and from them it is that the Greeks learned them.”—Indeed Egypt has always been early celebrated for idolatry, so

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it is represented in several places in scripture: there prevailed *magick, divination, auguries, the interpretation of dreams, &c.*, the unhappy fruits of a superstitious worship. Even in the time of MOSES, idolatry was there at its highest pitch, which supposes a great antiquity; for, in short, it requires a considerable time before a complete system of religion can be established. MOSES even seems to have given the JEWS such a multitude of precepts, only to oppose them in every thing, to the Egyptian ceremonies: what concerns the *sacrifices, the use of meats, and piolity*, these were established merely to keep them at a distance from the practices of that idolatrous people.

From Egypt idolatry propagated itself thro' Phenicia to other countries. From Egypt idolatry passed into Phenicia, (if indeed it did not begin there at the same time). From Phenicia it was propagated to the East, to the places inhabited by the posterity of SHEM, into Chaldea, Mesopotamia, and the places adjacent; and to the West, where the posterity of JAPHET fixed their residence; that is to say, in Asia minor, in Greece, and in the Isles. This is the course it is made to take by EUSEBIUS and other ancient fathers: so we are not to hearken to the Greeks, when they tell us that idolatry took its rise, either in the island of Crete under the reign of MELISSUS, or at Athens under CECROPS, or in Phrygia, since they were not acquainted with the true antiquity; for we are sure they had their religion and ceremonies from Egypt and Phenicia, with the colonies that came to them from these ancient kingdoms, as all the learned are agreed, and as HERODOTUS expressly declares.

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After having settled the most probable *era* of idolatry, and discovered the *places* where it began; we shall now endeavour to ascertain

The opinion of VOSSIUS, viz.

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ITS FIRST OBJECTS — If we believe the famous VOSSIUS, the most ancient objects of idolatry were, first, the two principles, *Good* and *Evil*; second, *Spirits* or *Genii*; third the *Souls departed*. We shall give the substance of what he says of each, in succession.

1st, TWO PRINCIPLES—
Good and Evil:

1st, Men seeing the world full of *good* and *evil*, and not being able to conceive, that a being of essential goodness could be the author of *evil*, invented two corresponding divinities, equal, and eternal. They believed all *good* came from the GOOD PRINCIPLE, and that the BAD PRINCIPLE did all the *evil* he possibly could; that the latter seeing the former designed to create a world, had thwarted his purpose as far as he was able; that upon this ensued a sharp war between these two beings, which was the thing that retarded this creation, until the moment that the GOOD PRINCIPLE got the better; that the other in revenge, had scattered up and down in it all sorts of *evils* and *miserics*.—This learned author adds, “there is no possibility of determining the precise date of this error, or who was its original author,” but he looks upon it, with reason, to be very ancient. He seems of opinion elsewhere, however, that this error had its rise among the Chaldeans; though the strongest probability is in favour of an Egyptian original.

these are enve-
loped in the fa-
ble of Osiris and
Typhon of Egypt;

VOSSIUS maintains, that the idolatry of the two PRINCIPLES spread itself in a little time over all Egypt, except Thebais, where the worship of the true God was preserved; and he alleges, that all that the Egyptians fabled about *Osiris* and *Typhon*, and the persecutions of the latter against his brother, ought to be understood of these TWO PRINCIPLES, and their eternal war. This, without doubt, is what that ancient people, whose whole theology was full of symbols, intended to teach us by the mysterious fable which intimated that *Osiris* had shut up in an egg twelve *white* pyramidal figures, to denote the infinite blessings he had designed to multiply upon mankind; but that his brother *Typhon* having found a way to open this egg, had secretly con-

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veyed thither twelve other pyramids that were *black*, by which means *evil* came to be always blended with *good*.

 We may add, that whatever the philosophers which are copied in the fables of the Phenicians, and Greeks: have said concerning the GOOD and BAD PRINCIPLE; whatever the Persians have given out, of their two divinities *Oromasdes* and *Arimanius*; the Chaldeans, of their *benign* or *noxious planets*; the Greeks, of their *salutary* or *pernicious Genii*; all these, I say, derive their origin from that ancient Egyptian theology, veiled under the fable of *Osiris* and *Typhon*. This opinion, if we would trace it back to its true source, was owing to men having been always puzzled how to account for the introduction of *evil* into a world, which was the work of a God infinitely good and beneficent. As for the other fables that were there intermixed, they took their origin, no doubt, from the tradition of the combat between the *good* and *bad angels*.

 Be that as it will, this opinion made vast progress. PYTHAGORAS brought it from Egypt, and then propagated it through all Italy. The famous MANES, not to mention what other progress this error made, spread it through the christian world in the fourteenth century, where he had several disciples. S. AUGUSTINE himself went into it for sometime, but having discovered its absurdity, he afterwards combated it with so much success, that it was from that time looked upon as a cause quite indesperate; till M. BAYLE resolved to revive it, and to set up for the advocate of the *Manicheans*, whether, as is highly probable; to cut out work for the divines of all parties, or to show that the most desperate cause, by falling into able hands, may be so managed as to puzzle the greatest wits, or for some other reason which we shall not dive into; and seeing himself attacked on all hands by illustrious adversaries, he has employed all the artifice of a curious, refined sophist, to give some credit to so bad a cause.

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2d, SPIRITS OR
GENII—their
worship.

From the idolatry of *two principles*, VOSSIUS proceeds to that of SPIRITS OR GENII; and he examines the *causes* that influenced men to worship them, of which he finds two; 1st, the knowledge they had of the excellency of their nature, 2d, the surprising effects believed to be produced by them.—Doubtless oracles, apparitions, and magical operations, contributed not a little to make their power and sovereignty be acknowledged. Their worship was almost every where established, especially towards the *bad angels*; and this to be sure is the sense of the scripture language, which calls all the Gods of the Gentiles *demons*. This sort of idolatry is still to be found in all the countries where the gospel has not been embraced, as the relations of all our missionaries attest.—But here we must apply the judicious remark of M. LE CLERC, “that it is a mistake to believe, that those idolaters who worship two beings, the one *beneficent* and the other *malicious*, understand thereby the *good* and *bad angels*, as if they knew the system of the fall of the one, and of the fidelity of the others; whereas by GENII they mean *certain powers* dispersed through the world, who produce in it *good* and *evil*,”—which, though similar, is not of the identity of the worship of the *two principles*.

3d, SOULS DE-
PARTED;—their
worship,

To the worship of *Genii*, VOSSIUS joins that of SOULS DEPARTED, which was established in several countries, if we credit MELA, HERODOTUS, and TERTULLIAN, especially in Africa, where those of great men were held in high veneration: but as this is the species of idolatry that has made great progress in the world, since, as we shall shew, most of the Pagan Gods were none other than the great men who distinguished themselves among them, let us enlarge upon this point, and propose the conjectures of a person of great ability, about the origin of this species of it.

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the effect of two
causes.—*first,*
Gratitude.

Two causes, he reckons, introduced it into the world—1st, *gratitude*, or the veneration they bore to the illustrious dead: 2d, *fear*, or apprehension of the evils to which we are obnoxious.

1st, *Gratitude*—The regard they had for their ancestors, brought in the custom of funeral solemnities; their ambition to please the living, made them run out extravagantly in praising the actions of the dead; panegyrics were sung at their funerals, their names cried up to the skies; and, as, before the introduction of the *poetical hell* and *elysian fields*, it was the opinion, that the souls wandered in the *houses* and *places* which they had frequented during their union with the body, they erected in the most venerable part of the house a sort of altar, where their portraits were preserved with respect, and there they burned incense and sweet odours. They had Priests constituted to have the oversight of the worship they paid them; and hither they repaired upon pressing exigencies, to implore their assistance. A desire of continuing a lucrative service, made those Priests invent stories, where they intermixed miracles and many things supernatural, sometimes to alarm the incredulous, sometimes to animate the devout. These ministers framed romances too, upon the lives of those great men, which they concealed for a long time, and passed them upon the world afterwards for true histories: and however their contemporaries might be proof against the cheat, those who came a long time after, had no opportunity of learning the history of those great men but from the mouths of their Priests. Every thing they saw, carrying an air of divinity, and public temples having come in the room of private chapels, it became the fashion in good earnest to honour those first men as gods. It was even dangerous to be prying into the original of established worship: it was like to have cost *Æschylus* his life, that in one of his plays he was thought to have revealed somewhat of the mysteries of *Ceres*. Accordingly, in the temples, in those especially of *Osiris*,

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was to be seen a statue of *Harpocrates* holding a finger on his mouth, to denote, as VARRO has it, that the mystery of his life and death was prohibited to be revealed; and this was likewise the signification of the *Sphinxes* in the same country, placed at the entrance of the temples, as the emblem of silence.

Second, Fear. The second cause of this species of idolatry, according to the same author, is, the *fear of evils to which we are liable*: they had a notion, for example, that many evils were occasioned by the influence of the *Stars*; these were thought to be animated with SOULS DEPARTED and immortal, because they saw them without alteration. Thus, the most effectual way, they thought, to obtain their favour, was to appease them whenever they believed them incensed; and from that time they began to prostrate themselves before the *Sun* and the *Moon*, and all the host of heaven, as the prophets so often upbraided the nations.—Thus in short, religious worship was regulated according to *human exigence*; the exigences of *society* introduced the worship of illustrious men, those of *nature* that of things inanimate.

M. LE CLERC'S opinion differs in favor of ANGELS. M. LE CLERC alleges the most ancient species of idolatry to be that of giving a religious worship to ANGELS. The opinion that prevailed about their mediation between God and man, procured them certain regard out of *gratitude* and *fear*, in proportion to the blessings that were thought to be derived from them: then they came to pay them a worship subordinate to that of the first being; and at last they gave them full adoration, and they spared not incense nor sacrifices in order to appease them when they were thought to be out of humour. From the worship of ANGELS, according to this author, they proceeded to that of the *souls* of illustrious men: then, taking into their heads that those *souls*, when departed from bodies, were united to certain *stars*, which they animated, they came at last to worship those *stars* themselves.

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The SUN, and MOON, in reality were the first objects of idolatry—

Without entering into a critical examination of these different opinions, which want not probability, I am persuaded that idolatry began by the worship of *heavenly bodies*, and especially of the SUN. As men could have no other reason for abandoning the true GOD, but that the idea of a being purely spiritual was defaced from their carnal minds, it is not probable they would choose men like themselves to be the first objects of their adoration; it is more likely they would cast about for such sensible objects as bore the character of the Divinity, whose idea they had not entirely lost, and which might be a more significant symbol of HIM. Now nothing was more capable of seducing them than the *heavenly bodies*, and the SUN especially: his beauty, the bright splendour of his beams, the rapidity of his course, *exultavit ut gigas ad currendam viam*; his regularity in enlightening the whole earth by turns, and in diffusing light and fertility all around, essential characters of the Divinity, who is HIMSELF the light and source of every thing that exists; all these were but too capable of impressing the gross minds with a belief, that there was no other God but the SUN, and that this splendid luminary was the throne of the Divinity. Indeed they saw nothing that bore more marks of Divinity than the SUN.—We cannot therefore question the antiquity of the worship of the SUN and other luminaries: and if there was occasion for adding authority to such natural arguments, I should have upon my side not only several great men who have been of the same mind, but also almost all the *Rabbins*, and especially the learned MAIMONIDES, who, in his treatise upon the origin of idolatry, thinks it began in this manner, and that before the deluge.

according to the opinion of MAIMONIDES;

Considering what ignorance men were in as to the nature of the true GOD, says that learned *Rabbi*, nothing must needs have struck them more than the sight of the SUN and MOON. Men

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never lost sight of this principle, that the Divinity essentially comprehends *supreme beauty*; and not having sufficient lights to rise to the idea of an *immaterial* and *invisible* PRINCIPLE, they found nothing more amiable in nature than these luminaries. Gratitude, natural enough to men when they receive a benefit, fortified them still more in the same persuasion: they could not doubt that the SUN was the source of fertility, that it was to his heat they ought to ascribe the fruitfulness of the earth, which without the warming influences of his beams, would be but a barren mass, without trees and without fruits. The regular motions and revolutions of the celestial spheres, soon persuaded them that the STARS were animated: and this error has found but too many partisans. Even learned men and philosophers came to espouse this opinion, especially the *Platonics*, and PLATO, their master. It was from that philosophy, PHILO the Jew derived his doctrine, that the STARS are so many souls incorruptible and immortal. It was upon the principles of this same doctrine, that ORIGEN laboured to establish the same opinion. S. AUGUSTINE seems to waver in his sentiments about this matter; but he afterwards retracts. There is a good deal of probability that it was likewise ARISTOTLE's sentiment; for however some of his commentators say, he only gives the STARS intelligences, to direct them, yet there are others of them who hold, that he looked upon these intelligences as the internal and essential forms of the STARS.

EUSEBIUS delivers his thoughts more clearly and according to the opinion of EUSEBIUS, upon this article: "That man, says he, in the first and earliest times, never dreamed either of erecting temples, or idols, having neither painting at that time, nor the potter's art, nor sculpture, nor masonry, nor architecture, is, I suppose, what every thinking man evidently sees: but over and above all these, they had not so much as heard of those gods and heroes so renowned since; and that they had then neither *Jupiter*, *Saturn*, *Neptune*, *Juno*, *Minerva*, *Bacchus*, nor any other

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God, male or female, such as have been found in latter times by thousands both among Greeks and barbarians; finally, that there was no *Demon*, whether good or bad, whom men revered; but that they adored the STARS only, we are told by the Greeks themselves. Moreover that the STARS themselves were not honoured as they are now by animal sacrifices, nor by rites of worship since invented, is a fact that depends not upon our single testimony, but is attested by the Pagans themselves."

which is confirmed by profane authors;

I might subjoin the authority of profane authors, who have been of the same opinion; but I content myself with two testimonies; one from DIODORUS SICULUS, who says, "men in earlier times, struck with the beauty of the universe, with the splendor and regularity which every where shines forth, made no doubt but there was some divinity who therein presided, and they adored the SUN and MOON under the names of *Osiris* and *Isis*." Hereby this learned author gives us to understand, that the worship of the STARS was the commencement of idolatry, and that Egypt was the place where it began.--The other is that of PLATO, if indeed he be the author of the dialogues, intituled *Epinomis*, where we have these words: "the first inhabitants of Greece, as I conjecture, acknowledged no other gods but those which are at this very day the gods of the barbarians, namely, the SUN, the MOON, the earth the stars, and the heavens."

also, inferable from its prohibition by MOSES;

But nothing proves so much the antiquity of this kind of idolatry, as the care MOSES took to prohibit it: "take heed, says he to the Israelites, lest, when you lift up your eyes to heaven, and see the SUN, the MOON, and all the STARS, you be seduced and drawn away to pay worship and adoration to the creatures, which the Lord your God has made for the service of all the nations under heaven." On which R. LEVI BEN GERSON remarks, that Moses mentions the SUN before the other STARS, because his beauty and usefulness are

more apt to seduce, than they.—As it was after their departure out of Egypt, and when the Jews were yet in the desert, God indited to them this precept of the law, there is the highest ground to believe, that it was to make them forget the Egyptian superstitions of this nature, and to guard them against being drawn into those of the other nations, whom they were very soon to be among; for this worship was at that time spread over all, the East, as we shall shew presently, and this is the reason why Job, to testify his innocence, says: “if I beheld the sun when he shined, or the moon walking in her brightness; if my heart has been tickled with a secret joy, and I have put my hand to my mouth to kiss it; this also is the height of iniquity, even a renunciation of the most high God.”

and from the position of the Pagan temples. In the last place we observe, it is with a view to acknowledge the divinity of the sun, that the Pagans in prayer turned to the East, and had all their temples directed to that quarter; whereas the Jews, that they might not imitate them, were always in the habit of turning their sanctuary towards the West. The primitive Christians likewise used to turn their churches towards the rising sun, not to adore that luminary, but to pay their devotion to “the *Son of righteousness*, who diffuses light over the mind, and warms the hearts of those who worship him, by the influences of his grace.”

Their worship commenced in Egypt; Authors are not agreed as to the place where the worship of the sun was introduced; some hold it was in Chaldea, because that ancient people were always addicted to astronomy, and were the first who observed the motion of the *Stars*; as if it required astronomical observations to be capable of admiring the sun, and knowing its influences, when indeed we need but open our eyes, to be struck with his glory and his beauty. It is much more probable, that Egypt, which I but just now proved to have been the nursery of idolatry, was the place where the sun began to be worshipped un-

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der the name of *Osiris*. From Egypt, this idolatry was spread through the neighbouring countries, or rather through the world, since this luminary has been the divinity of every nation, even those that are most barbarous, under different names as we shall see in the sequel.

Every body knows that MACROBIUS undertakes to prove, that all the Gods of Paganism may be reduced to the SUN. This author allows the poets the honour of having followed the sentiments of the philosophers, especially in reuniting all the divinities in the SUN, who, being the ruler of the other orbs, whose influences act upon this lower world, must of consequence be the author of the universe. This same author, and after him VOSSIUS, reduced almost all the divinities of the feminine sex to the MOON; who were only formed from the Egyptian goddess *Isis*, whose name imports *ancient*, and who was among that people, the symbol of the MOON; and here, without doubt, we have the FIRST OBJECTS of idolatry, and the foundation of the whole pagan theology.—From the adoration of the SUN and MOON, they went to that of the other *stars*, especially of the planets, whose influences were more sensible; in a word, they worshipped the whole host of heaven. And this sort of idolatry which has the *stars* and *planets* for the objects of its worship, goes under the name of *Sabism*. As to what may have given rise to this denomination, the learned are not agreed among themselves; the thing at bottom is of no great consequence: but what is more essential to be known, is, that this sect is the most ancient of all, as cannot be doubted.

Their worship, called *Sabism*, the most universal, & of the longest duration.

There are learned men of opinion, that the ancient philosophers, those especially of Chaldea, had given the handle for *Sabism*. It is true, indeed, that they reason a great deal about the *Stars*; about their influences, and their beauty: perhaps too they believed them to be eternal beings, and conse-

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quently so many divinities, or at least that there were gods who resided in them, and regulated their courses and influences. They even gave out, and it is a very ancient opinion, that the body of the *star* was no more than the vehicle, or a sort of machine, that served to carry the gods who conducted it:—but what occasion was there for such refined reasoning, to influence gross and carnal men to address their first prayers to those luminous and resplendent bodies? Was it not enough for them to turn their eyes towards the SUN, to behold how he both enlightens the world, and communicates to it heat and fertility, in order to judge that he was the parent of nature, that by him it was vivified, and without him would be nothing but a lifeless expanse, without light, and without any production, as we noted before? All the savage nations, who worshipped the SUN, even the Mexicans, the Peruvians, and other savages of America, did they wait for the decision of philosophers to teach them to prefer their vows and prayers to this luminary?—But be that as it will, *Sabism* is to be looked upon as the most ancient sect in the pagan world. It arose not long after the deluge, since it was known to ABRAHAM'S ancestors, to TERAH and SERUG, and perhaps before them too. This is the sect which has made the greatest progress; I have mentioned the different nations that adopted it; and if we believe the most learned *Rabbins*, and the eastern authors, almost the whole world has been infected by it. In fine, of all the sects, this has been of the longest duration, since there are numbers of idolaters who still adhere to it.

SECTION THIRD.

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General re-
marks.

THE first race of men, some time after their dispersion, were extremely rude; even the Greeks, who became afterwards so polite, were

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they were wont to call barbarians. We are not therefore to imagine that idolatry, in its first setting out, was a studied system; that theology was then encumbered with that apparatus of ceremonies they added to it in aftertimes. Nothing could be more simple, nor at the same time more gross, than the religion of the primitive Idolaters. They were at little or no charge either to represent their Gods, or pay them a religious worship. But Idolatry did not long remain in this simple state. Various causes, as time progressed, perhaps totally independent of sincere devotion, gradually enlisted along with the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, nearly all the objects of the physical and animal world—the *Elements*, the *Rivers*, the *Mountains*, on the one hand; with various living *animals* down to the meanest *insect*, and the *souls* of the departed, on the other. And thus far, their ideal Divinities were founded upon objects that had a real existence. But, a fruitful imagination actuated by a rage for the multiplication of the objects of a depraved worship, did not permit them to stop here. They not only deified the *noble virtues*, but every intermediate measure of moral quality down to the *basest vice*: They not only bestowed divine honours upon the most dignified of human *functions*, but extended those honours to the most degrading *offices* that human oppression or corruption can devise—till at last it assumed the form of an *universal system*, whose parts, though at first physically founded and simple, were now perhaps ninety-nine in the hundred Poetical distortions and exaggerations of true history, or purely fabulous, and proportionally complicated, not to say occasionally impenetrably mysterious.—We will proceed in this SECTION, *first*, to examine into the principal *Causes* of this fabulous extension of the Pagan worship; and then, *secondly*, to enumerate the *Deities* of that worship in its full latitude, whether their prototype or original be *physical*, *animal*, or *souls departed*; whether they be *virtues* or *vices*; or whether they be *dignified*

functions, or degrading offices. But I will be in no danger of being understood to insinuate that these objects of Idolatry were instituted in succession, in classes, as I shall enumerate them; for it is equally doubtless that each class was yet increasing while another was not perfected, as it is evident that *physical objects* were the first, and *abstract qualities* the last that received Divine honours. Nor will we be understood to attribute all the causes of Fable to the poets, who truly, as the earliest among the profane historians, contributed a very abundant share together with the painters and sculptors; for there were many other fruitful causes with which these artists co-operated only as instruments. We shall, forthwith, see more particularly how the case is! for we shall treat the subject somewhat at length, as the perspicuity of all Mythology materially rests thereon.

THE CAUSES
OF MYTHOLOGICAL FABLES.
*First, Ignorance
in Physics.*

Ignorance in philosophy, and especially in physics, has given rise to many fables. That curiosity, which is so natural to men, has always determined them to seek after the causes of astonishing events; and in the barbarous ages, when so little advancement had been made in the knowledge of nature, they had recourse to gross and sensible representations: they gave life to every physical thing: here was an admirable expedient for shortening their enquiries; as nothing is more easy than to refer effects, whose principles are unknown; to some visible cause.— They proceeded, through length of time, to deify these objects; which they represented in human form: the *Sun* was worshipped under the name of *Apollo*, and the *Moon* under that of *Diana*. A dread of their influences, which are thought to extend to all things here below, was certainly the cause of their deification, and of that worship which was introduced in order to appease their imaginary resentment. The priests, for that purpose, invented stories, and published apparitions of their pretended Deities, and thereby kept up a gainful worship. They made people believe, for example, that *Diana* had fallen in love with *Endy-*

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mion, and that the cause of her *eclipses*, was owing to the *interviews* she had with her gallant on the mountains of Caria; but as ill luck would have it, these *amours* could not last forever, and this put them upon the hard shift of accounting for her *eclipses* another way. They gave out that *sorceresses*, especially those of Thessaly, where poisonous plants were common*, had power by their *enchantments* to draw down the *Moon* to the *Earth*. In like manner, as they were unacquainted with the causes of the *winds*, they believed, that boisterous Deities raised such commotions in the *Earth* and *Sea*; and to check their daring insults, they set over them a superior Deity. Thus *Æolus*, for reasons to be given in his history, was appointed their king. Every *river* and *fountain* had also a tutelar Deity; and whether it was the *rivers* got the names of the *first kings* who inhabited the country through which they ran, or whether it was the *kings* were named from the *rivers*, in a course of years they came to be confounded together, and they made a Divinity of the *prince*, for the sake of the *river*. Had they occasion to talk about the *Rainbow*, whose nature they knew nothing of, they forged a Divinity of it; its beauty made it pass for the *daughter of Thaumias*, a poetical personage, whose name signifies *marvellous*; and because, in all appearance, they had learned from the traditional accounts of the Deluge, that God had set forth the *rainbow* as a token of reconciliation, hence they looked upon their *Iris* as the messenger of the Gods, and of *Juno* especially, because the *rainbow* declares the disposition of the *air*, which that Goddess represents. The very name of *Iris* was given her, if we will take PLATO'S word for it, to point out her employment.—In this manner were formed several *physical Divinities*, and so many *astronomical fables*. What wretched philosophy this was! But it was the best they had; and when it came of course to the Poets' turn to embellish those gross ideas, with

* By reason of the foam Cerberus had dropt there, when he was brought from Hell by Hercules, according to another fable.

all the ornaments their MUSE so fertile in invention could furnish them with, men become so fond of considering nature only under these captivating images, that it was a considerable time before they so much as dreamed of carrying their discoveries to any greater length. What is worst of all, *religion* was concerned in this system; every new Divinity brought in a load of ceremonies; and those who pretended to see with their own eyes, were looked upon as impious. Thus the unfortunate ANAXAGORAS was punished with death, for having taught that the *Sun* was not animated, and that it was nothing but a mass of *red hot iron*, about the bigness of the Peloponnesus. From the whole, we may conclude, that they are in the right, who thought a part of the ancient philosophy was couched under their fables; but then they must needs own it was a philosophy of a gross nature, and a system founded on the report of the senses, and *such as might have entered into the imagination of a clown.*

*Second, The
Scripture, &c.,
misunderstood.*

Many of the learned in the last age, and some in the present, have alleged, that most of the fables derived their origin from the *Sacred Books not well understood*; and that the *traditions of the chosen people*, preserved in Phœnicia, Egypt, and the other adjacent countries, adulterated in process of time, had given rise to vast many fables. They add farther, that colonies having come from the countries bordering upon Palestine, and settled in the islands of the Mediterranean, and in Greece, had brought thither these *traditions* thus disfigured, and that they were still more vitiated afterwards by the additional fictions of the poets; in fine, that the Patriarchs, especially those who lived after the deluge, *Abraham, Jacob, Esau, Moses*, and some others, were the first Gods of the Pagan world; and that their illustrious achievements, their conquests, and laws, had influenced the people to deify them. Among these learned authors, we may reckon the famous BOCHART, GERAND VOSSIUS, HUETIUS, THOMASSIN, &c.—It is agreed, that *Moses* and *Joshua* were well known, not only in Egypt and Phœni-

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cia, but likewise in several other countries; that the last especially having carried his conquests a great way into Palestine, spread such a terror over the coast of Syria, that several, it is thought, shipped themselves off with their goods for foreign parts, rather than come under his dominion; that some of them came as far as the confines of the ocean, where, as we are assured, they set up pillars with this inscription, *we are the persons who fled for shelter from that robber Joshua the son of Nun*. It is likewise certain, that *Inachus, Cecrops, Danaus, Cadmus*, and some others, came out of Egypt and Phenicia, and introduced their respective colonies into Greece, and the neighbouring isles; and probably, having their heads full of the exploits of those great men, they would rehearse them to the inhabitants of the country; and the Greeks, fond of the pompous and supernatural, would be sure to make use of them for the embellishing the history of their heroes in aftertimes. As a proof of it, the accounts of *Hercules* especially and *Bacchus*, are thought to agree in many things with the history of those famous Israelites. Accordingly, very curious parallels have been drawn: a celebrated prelate has even gone the length of confounding all the heroes in *fable* with those of the *bible*, and finds in *Moses* alone the origin of *Apollo, Priapus, Esculapius, Prometheus, Tiresias, Typhon, Perseus, Orpheus, Janus, Adonis*, and numbers of others; and in *Zipporah* the wife of *Moses*, or in *Miriam* his sister, he finds almost all the Goddesses, as *Astarte, Venus, Cybele, Ceres, Diana, the Muses, the Destinies, &c.* And another learned author even alleges that HOMER, in his poems, has given a history of the *scripture heroes* under borrowed names. In fine, some years ago this very ancient opinion has been revived by two authors, who have carried it yet farther than any I have named. The first is M. DE LAVAUX, in a piece entitled, *comparison of fable with sacred history*; who, to give greater weight to his opinion, quotes two of the fathers, and some ecclesiastical writers. by whom it was maintained before him; these are, *Justin, Origen, Tertullian, Minutius Felix, Cyril, Arnobius, Lactantius, St. Augus-*

*tine, Theodoret, St. Athanasius, Philo, Josephus, and others. The second is M. FOURMONT, of the Academy of Belles Lettres, in his critical reflections upon the history of ancient nations. As this learned Academic understands ancient languages to the bottom, he is the man who has enlarged most upon this subject; and he has applied, with much exactness, to the Patriarchs, the characters of the first men drawn by SANCHONIATHON: he finds so great affinity between their names, and those given them in Scripture, and the characters and actions so nearly resembling what is there said of them, that it is often pretty difficult to hold out against his argument. Farther, says he in his preface, can one be blamed for following a multitude of authors, all of them eminent either for knowledge or piety, and for endeavouring to find in the patriarchs the Gods whom the Pagan world revered—*Saturn* in Noah, *Pluto* in Shem, *Jupiter Hammon* in Cham, *Neptune* in Japhet, as BOCHART has made out; *Belus* and *Jupiter* in Nimrod, as others have maintained; *Minerva* in the idea we have of the Trinity, which is the opinion of father TOURNEMINE the Jesuit; *Apollo* in Jubal, with father THOMASSIN; and so of the rest? Besides, continues he, nothing is more advantageous to religion than this opinion; and in the same way HUETIUS delivers himself upon the subject.—However great an esteem I have for these great men, I can never be induced to think that any wrong use the poets could make of the *Old Testament*, was capable of producing such a heap of fables, as is alleged: for, in the first place, the Jews were a people greatly contemned by their neighbours, little known to distant nations, and extremely jealous of their *Law* and their *Ceremonies*, which they concealed from strangers, as being profane in their eyes, even at a time when they were obliged to live among them. In like manner, granting the miracles wrought by God in Egypt in the time of MOSES to have been published, yet it is very unlikely that they who reported them to the Greeks, would have any great value for a man who must have been so odious to them: I make no doubt but they gave the*

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preference even to their own Magicians; or rather, would they not do all that in them lay, to cut off the very memory of a man who had plagued them so much? Farther, shall we contradict all ancient history, and the most authentic monuments which mention the heroes of Greece, their names, their parentage, and the place of their nativity, to believe upon the authority of a few trifling etymologists, or some slight traces of resemblance, that they were only copied from MOSES? Might not several similar events have happened in different places? Might not *Agamemnon* have thought of sacrificing his daughter *Iphigenia*, under the apprehension of losing the command of a fine army, without any necessity of confounding this event with *Jephtha's sacrifice*, whatever resemblance we may find between the two princesses in their name and the time when they lived? The same may be said of *Deucalion's deluge*; of *Minerva* sprung from *Jupiter's brain*; and some other fables, that seem to have an affinity with *scripture truths*. Is it impossible to see the same events return upon the theatre of the world? Will there not always be sacrifices made to ambition? Will not murders, parricides, &c. be seen every day? So true it is, that one perfectly acquainted with the history of past ages, would see a variety of things as *recurring* only, which have already come about more than once. After all, if there be an affinity between *fables* and the *history* of MOSES or of SAMPSON, it is only to be considered as a remnant of tradition, which nothing has been able to deface. There is no denying, for instance, that the resemblance of the *universal deluge*, preserved among all nations, has contributed to the embellishing of *Deucalion's*; that some circumstances have been borrowed from *Noah's* history, to that of *Saturn* and his children, who lived shortly after; especially with respect to the division of the world, as also in some other things: but to think almost all the fables may be accounted for by that pretended abuse of MOSES's books, is to grope in the dark.—Are men really in earnest when they tell us, the *transformations of Proteus*—were invented merely for what the scripture says of *Moses's rod*? That *Mercury*

was taken for the *messenger* of the Gods, and the *confidant* in their amours—from nothing else but the story of *Canaan's curiosity*, which drew down NOAH's curse upon him? That the history of the *Muses* has no other foundation—but the corruption of *Moses's name*? and that they ascribed to them the invention of dancing and music—only because *Miriam*, whom the Greeks might possibly call *Musa*, sung a song to a dance? That the fable which speaks of *Mercury's* conducting the souls into *Hell*—is founded upon *Moses's* causing the earth to swallow up *Dathan* and *Abiram*? That *Euristheus* prosecuting *Hercules*—is *Moses* giving *Joshua* the management? That *Vulcan* falling from *Heaven*—is *Moses* coming down from the *mount*? That *Hercules's* combat with *Achelous*—is the passing over the *Jordan*? That *Prometheus* loosed from *mount Caucasus* by *Hercules*—is *Moses's* praying upon the *mount* while *Joshua* is defeating the *Amalekites*?—If one was to refine upon every minute resemblance, I too might say, that the dog which knew *Ulysses* upon his return to *Ithaca*—is the same with the dog of *Tobit*, which caressed his young master upon his return to *Raguel*: that *Achilles's* discourse to his *horse*—is in imitation of *Balaam's* conversation with his *Ass*: that the *expedition* of the *Argonauts*—is but a diversified relation of *Abraham's journeyings*, and those of the *Israelites* in the *desart*: that the story of *Philemon* and *Baucis*—is that of *Abraham* and *Sarah*, or of *Lot* and his *wife*: that the fable of *Niobe* and her *children*—is a copy of *Job's afflictions*; as that of *Lamedon*, and of the *Gods* who built *Troy*—is the history of *Laban* and *Jacob*: that the *story* of *Orion*—is drawn from that of *Jacob* and *Sarah*; and so of a world of others I could name, which however, is not such easy matter to prove. Farther, if there be such a perfect conformity between the *heroes* of the *bible*—and the *heroes* in *fable*, why do our most celebrated authors differ among themselves? Why is *Mercury*, according to BOCHART the same with *Canaan*, and in HUETIUS the same with *Moses*? How comes the one to tell us *Hercules* is *Samfson*, and the other that he is *Joshua*? The one that *Noah* is *Saturn*, and the

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other that he is *Abraham*? This variety of opinions is a strong presumption against the *hypothesis* of the learned moderns: it must also be owned that however studied these comparisons be, of which their books are full, there are still some things there which are but mere suppositions, to say no worse. Should the learned author, who, in examining the annals of China, found a considerable resemblance between one of their emperors and one of the kings of France in name, disposition, and manners, take it into his head, that either the king of France must have been the emperor of China, or the Chinese monarch king of France, I would fain know what reception he would expect from the world?—There is nothing so arbitrary as the etymologies of names we may often read of, and the interpretation of them is wholly in the power of fancy. I am of opinion, that ORPHEUS and others travelled into Egypt, in that very period when the Israelites dwelt there; but at the same time, I believe they got more information from thence in the pernicious science of magic, or at least in the vain superstitions of that idolatrous people, than in the knowledge of the true God, whatever several of the learned, after S. JUSTIN, have thought on that head; and besides, we have nothing remaining of this ORPHEUS. In what, I pray you, do those who travel into foreign countries take care to be informed, if it is not in their *religion, laws, and customs*? Do they not consult the Priests and Doctors of the country, rather than those of a people under captivity, hated persecuted, and withal not very forward to reveal their mysteries to strangers? I dont indeed deny, that those ancient poets were acquainted with several TRUTHS, as the *unity of the Godhead, the immortality of the soul, the punishments of Hell, the rewards of Paradise*; TRUTHS which notwithstanding that *apparatus of fictions*, with which they are dressed up, are conspicuous in several places of their works: but are we therefore to believe they borrowed them from OUR INSPIRED WRITINGS? Are they not rather the precious

remains of *tradition*, which nothing can deface; sparks of reason and nature's light, which are, to use TERTULLIAN'S words, 'the testimony of a soul naturally christian?' In a word, they are the seeds of eternal truth, that remained rooted in the mind of man, in his primitive state of innocence, and had the GOD OF NATURE for their author as well as the *Sacred Books*.—We may add, that *fables* having taken their rise but a few ages after the deluge, when there was still a recent enough tradition of what had happened, even before NOAH, it is pretty probable that they who followed them, would be sure to adopt some strokes of those ancient *truths*. Thus the *Chaos*, the *golden age*, and many other fables—are copied from the account MOSES gives of *the Creator*, the *state of innocence* and the *happy society* primitive mortals lived in. But as to those numberless circumstances, wherein THOMASSIN and after him the author of *Homer Hebraizing*, find MOSES and that ancient poet agreeing together; I am of opinion, they would not have seen quite so many, unless they had been *favourably disposed to find them*. Let us then leave Greece in the possession of her heroes and heroism, and content ourselves with saying, that however there are some fables whose original is owing to that Pagan practice of perverting *scripture* and *tradition*; yet the number of such is not so great, as is commonly believed.

Third, Ignorance of Chronology and ancient History.

A more plentiful source of fables, and more favourable to their introduction, is the *ignorance of chronology and ancient history*. As it was very late before they came to have the use of letters, especially in Greece, several ages passed, during which they had no other way of preserving the memory of remarkable events but by tradition, or at best by some monuments, which in time became very ambiguous. Even when they began to use writing, their first compositions were not connected histories, but encomiums, songs, and genealogies, stuffed with fables; which the priests took pains to dress up in the manner already hinted; in-

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somuch, that nothing was to be found but confusion over all; and even such as were inclined to see farther into the history of antiquity, after tracing back about three or four generations, found themselves in the labyrinth of the history of the Gods, where they were every moment stumbling upon *Jupiter, Saturn, Cælus, and Tellus*. The Greeks especially had no farther account to give of their original; this was the limiting point of their whole tradition, even among persons of better understanding. As for others, they innocently gave out, that their ancestors had sprung from the earth like *mushrooms*, or *psismires* in the forest of Egina, or from Cadmus's *dragon's teeth*. However, as they were fond of being thought ancient, like most other nations, they forged a fabulous history of imaginary *kings, Gods, and heroes*, that never had a being: and when they wanted to speak of the early times, about which they had got a few hints from the colonies that had settled among them, they only substituted *fable* in the room of *true history*. If the *creation of the world* was the point in question—cut came the *fable of a Chaos*: if it was about the *first inventors of arts*, instead of *Adam and Cain*, who were the first that cultivated the ground—they ascribed the whole honour of the invention to *Ceres and Triptolemus*; *Pan*, according to them, instead of *Abel*, was the first that led a *pastoral life*; to *Apollo* was given the *invention of music*—whereas it is *Jubal's invention* by right: *Vulcan* with his *Cyclops*, passed for him who had taught to *forge iron* and other *metals*, in place of *Tubal-Cain*: *Bacchus*, with them, was the God of the *vine*, which *Noah* dressed; substituting at every moment their *modern divinities*, in room of the *ancient patriarchs*, whom we learn from Scripture to have been the first and true inventors of arts. They were mere children, as ARISTOTLE taxes them, whenever they had occasion to speak of remote times. They were even so weak as to believe, that it was their colonies who had peopled all the other countries, and derived the names of such of them as they knew, from the names of their heroes. Thus Eu-

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rope was derived from *Europha* the sister of *Cadmus*; Asia from the mother of *Prometheus*; Africa from the daughter of *Ephafhe*; Armenia from *Armenus*; Media from *Medus*; the Persians from *Perseus*; and so of others: not knowing that such names were given to places at their being first inhabited, as denoted the qualities of the country or the manners and customs of the people who came to it, as the learned BOCHART proves. Thus Europe got the name from the *whiteness* of its inhabitants, &c.—Indeed the smallest ambiguities gave rise to a fable. PLUTARCH, in the life of LYCURGUS, tells us, upon the authority of an ancient, that *Apollo* having given some Cretans a *Dolphin* for their guide, they came to Phocis, where they built the town Cyrra: we plainly see they had been conveyed thither in a *ship* named the *Dolphin*. Whenever they had occasion to find out the origin of towns and the founders of them, it was always some hero, a son of some of their Gods. The city of Cyparisso in Phocis, was environed with *cypress trees*, whence it had the name; and that of Daulis in the same country, was also encompassed with *trees*, whence its name was borrowed: these originals were too simple, they chose rather to have recourse to one *Cypharissus*, and to the pretended *Daulis* a tyrant, who gave their names to these two cities. *Lycoreus* had built that of *Lycoreus* upon the Parnassus, which had got its name from the many wolves that were there. We might add here an infinite number of examples, but these may suffice for what I have just now advanced. So that it is not among the Greek writers we are to seek for the *origin of ancient nations*, nor other *monuments of antiquity*; they did nothing but copy from the Egyptians and other Eastern people, who had themselves filled their ancient history with *fables*. It is therefore in the *Sacred Scripture* that the *truth of antiquity* must be sought after: the profane historians commence only at the time of EZRA, that is, the last of the sacred historians, unless you take in the author of the Maccabees. HOMER himself, and HESIOD, their most ancient

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poets, and their greatest divines too, lived not till a long time after the war of Troy. As for DARES the Phrygian, DICTYS of Crete, and some others, granting they were not fictitious authors, as they really were, they must have lived but about the time of the Trojan war, a period corresponding to the time of the *Judges*; and would still have been much later than the events recorded by MOSES. So that the Greeks were far from being instructed in the history of the times a little farther back, and their history never had any shew of probability, till the time of the *Olympiads*, before which VARRO owns, there is nothing to be seen in it but *confusion* and *chimæras*.—But to clear up this whole matter, and to ascertain the time when fables arose, we must distinguish three sorts of time; the times unknown, the fabulous, and the historical. The *first*, the *times unknown*, which are as it were the infancy and nonage of the world, comprehended what had passed from the *Chaos*, or rather from the creation, to the *deluge of Ogyges*, which fell out towards the 1600th year before Christ. The *second*, the *fabulous times*, take in a series of events from this deluge until the first Olympiad, where the third division called historical time, begins. It is proper to remark, that this famous division made by VARRO, has a regard only to the Greek history; for not only the Israelites, but even the Egyptians and Phenicians, had some knowledge of the *earliest times*, by means of tradition and annals, though often dashed with *fables*: but here we have to do only with the Greeks, who had but a very confused knowledge of the first ages of the world; and it is within the compass of the *second* period that we are to place the origin of that prodigious number of *fables* we find dispersed through their poets. It must however be acknowledged, that all the ages of the fabulous period, were not equally fruitful in fables and heroism: without doubt, the one that has furnished us with the greatest stock of them, was that of the siege of Troy. That famous city was twice taken; the first time by *Hercules*; and 30 or 35 years after, that is

to say, the year before Christ 1282, by the Grecian army, under the conduct of *Agamemnon*. At the time of its being first taken, we see upon the stage, *Telamon, Hercules, Theseus, Jason, Orpheus, Castor and Pollux*, and all those other heroes of the *golden fleece*. At the second siege appear the sons or grandsons of the former, *Agamemnon, Menelaus, Achilles, Diomedes, Ajax, Hector, Paris, Æneas, &c.*; and in the time which intervened between these two epochs, happened the *two wars of Thebes*, where appeared *Adrastus, Œdipus, Etheocles, Polynices, Capaneus*, and numbers of others, the eternal subjects of poetical fables: Happy age for poems and tragedies! Accordingly the theatres of Greece have a thousand times resounded with these illustrious names. To which we may add, that those of the present time ring with them every day; insomuch that the heroes of our own age, who often deserve the name better than those of antiquity, dare not appear there but under borrowed names. Nor is this the thing that surprises most; no, it is to see the Divinities of *Pagan fashion* introduced every day upon our stages: despicable Divinities! exhibiting in christian cities the hideous representation of their debaucheries; insomuch that one is doubly shocked, to see ancient idolatry revived there with all the pomp and pageantry it formerly wore at Athens or Rome, and to think on the dangerous lessons our youth imbibe from a system of mere *Pagan morality*.

Fourth, Ignorance of languages.

Ignorance of languages, the Phenician especially, has also been a source of an infinite deal of fables. It is certain that several countries in Greece were peopled by colonies from Phenicia; whose language, without doubt, would mix itself with that of the countries they came into; and as the Phenician language has many *equivocal words*, the Greeks, who in aftertimes read their ancient history, which abounded with Phenician idioms, finding therein these *equivocal words*, were sure to explain them in a sense that was most to their taste. There is even little room to doubt,

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but that the Phenicians, knowing what strong propensity they had towards fictions, would impose upon their credulity as often as they were consulted. This was the origin of numberless fables; of which the following are examples, most of them taken from BOCHART. The word *Alpha*, or *Ilpha*, in the Phenician language, signifying either a *bull* or a *ship*; the Greeks instead of saying *Europa* had been conveyed in a *ship* into Crete, gave out that *Jupiter*, transformed into a *bull*, had carried her off. In the same language, the Phenicians call themselves *Hevécens*, or *Achi-viens*; and as the word *Chiva* signifies a *serpent*, the Greeks lighting upon it in the annals of Cadmus, feigned the story of that prince's being changed into a *serpent*. And from the word *Sir*, which imports a *song*, they have made up the fable of *Sirens*. *Æolus* had never passed among them for the god of the winds and tempests, but for the word *Æol*, or *Chol*, which signifies a *tempest*. That fable, which says the *ship* of the Argonauts *spoke*, and that *Minerva* had set at the helm one of the *oaks* of the forest of *Dodona*, that gave oracular responses, owes its origin likewise to a *double entendre* in the Phenician tongue, where the same word signifies, to *speak*, and to *govern a ship*. From the word *Moun*, or *Mon*, which imports *vice*, they have made the God *Momus*, the censor of the faults of men. The fable of the famous fountain of *Castalia*, in Bœotia, takes its rise in like manner from an equivocal sound; for, as it runs with a murmuring noise that appeared to have something singular, and the effect of its water being to disorder the imagination of those who drank it, they fancied at first it communicated the *gift of prophecy*; and when the question was, how it came by this virtue, they invented this fable: A *nymph*, say they, was beloved by *Apollo*; while the god was one day in pursuit of her, she threw herself into this fountain; *Apollo*, as a consolation for his *mistress*, imparted to the water the *gift of prophecy*. Had the Greeks understood the Hebrew language, they might easily have seen that the word *Castalia*, comes from

Castala, which signifies *noise*; nor would they have run into such ridiculous fables, the ordinary resort of their ignorance. We have much the same account to give of the origin of the fountain *Hippocrene*, which, they say, sprung forth upon *Pegasus's* striking his foot against mount *Helicon*, because the word *Pigran*, whence comes *Hippigrana*, and thence *Hippocrene*, imports to *spring from the earth*. The fable of the fountain *Arethusa* and *Alpheus* her lover, so well described by *OVID*, has its foundation in nothing else but such a poor quibble. The Phenicians, upon their arrival in Sicily, seeing that fountain environed with willows, named it perhaps *Alphaga*, as much as to say, the *fountain of willows*. The Greeks who landed afterwards in the same place, not understanding the signification of the word, and calling to mind their river *Alpheus*, imagined, that since the *fountain* and the *river* had nearly the same name, they must have had the same original too; and upon this, some sprightly wit made up the romance of the amours between the *god of the river* and the *nymph Arethusa*. Almost all the succeeding historians were befooled by this fable, and gravely told that *Alpheus* sunk under ground, crossed the sea, and re-appeared in the island of Sicily, nigh to the fountain of *Arethusa*. One and the same Phenician root of the word *Nahhasch* might easily stand for a *keeper*, or a *dragon*: when they read any history where this word occurred, to denote the *keeper* of something of value, they were sure to say it was a *dragon*. Hence all those fables of the famous *dragons*, whom they set to keep the *garden of the Hesperides*, the *golden fleece*, the *cave at Delphi*, and the famous *fountain of Thebes*. In the room of *men* they have set over them so many *monsters*; and what has authorised the freedom they took, in applying the Phenician word to that sense, is, that to be the guardian of a thing of worth, and to watch for its preservation, one must be *vigilant* and *sharp-sighted*. This is what has often deceived *PALÆPHASTUS*, *DIODORUS*, and some others, who, for explaining these fables, have substituted others

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in their room, and introduced personages to whom they have given the name of *Draco*.—Just so when the poets tell us, that the Gods terrified by the menaces of the *Giants*, disguised themselves in Egypt under the figures of several animals; which is founded upon bare allusions to the Phœnician or Hebrew names, which gave occasion to these fables. And to condescend upon examples, it is unquestionably certain, that their reason for transforming the God *Anubis* into a *dog*, is, that *Nobeah* signifies, to bark: *Apis* into an *ox*, because *Abir* signifies an *ox*: *Juno* into a *heifer*, because *Astarot*, which was Juno's name, signifies *stocks*: and *Venus* into a *fish*, because *Dag*, which was that of Venus, or *Astarte*, imports a *fish*.—Here a world of examples might be produced; for, not only the equivocal words in the eastern languages have made way for numberless fables, but those of other languages besides. The equivocal words in Greek, for instance, have produced a vast number. From *Crios*, which was the name of the governor to Athamas's children, and signified a *ram*; they have made up the fable of the *ram* with the *golden fleece*, as we shall show at more length, when it comes to be explained. In like manner, they have turned *Lycaon* into a *wolf*, because his name and the name of that animal are the same. They have given it out that *Cyrus* was suckled by a *bitch*, because his nurse, the wife of Astyages's cow-herd, was called in Greek, *Cyno*, and in the language of the Medes, *Spaco*, names which import a *bitch*. That *Venus* sprung from *sea-foam*, because *Aphrodite*, which was the name given to that goddess, signified *foam*. That the temple of *Delphi* had been built with *wax* by the wings of the bees which Apollo had brought from the *Hyperborean* regions, because *Peteras*, whose name imports a *wing*, had been the architect. The same thing is to be said of other fables, where we meet with some *infants* that have been nursed by *she-goats*, as *Ægistes*; or by a *hind*, as *Telephus*, the son of Hercules; because their names answer to the names of these animals.

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Fifth, The Plurality, or Unity of Names.

As it frequently happened that one and the same person had *several names*, a case very common among the Eastern nations; in process of time, they who came to read their undigested histories, and inconsistent adventures, mistook them for different persons. Hence that multiplicity of heroes; the actions and travels of one were distributed among several; by *Mercury*, for example, was designed *Thaut* in Egypt; *Teutat* among our ancient Gauls; *Hermes* among the Greeks: *Pluto* is the *Dis* of the Celtæ, the *Ades* of the Greeks; the *Summanus* of the Latins; the *Soranus* of the Sabines. And as sometimes the hero or God was not known in one country, but under a single name, and they knew little about his exploits elsewhere; when they came to read of other adventures, other names, or other qualities than those they had heard of, they never questioned but they related to different persons; hence that prodigious number of *Jupiters*, *Mercurys*, &c. Sometimes again we have this practice inverted; and when the case was, that several persons went under the same name, they ascribed to one what belonged to many, and the adventures of all were crowded into the history of him who was best known. Such is the history of the *Hercules* of Thebes, where they have foisted in the actions and travels of the Phenician *Hercules*, and several other heroes of the same name. Such likewise is the history of *Jupiter*, the son of *Saturn*, where they have amassed the adventures of several kings of Crete, who bore the same name, which was common with their ancient kings; as that of *Pharaoh* or *Ptolemy* was in Egypt, or that of *Cæsar* among the Roman emperors.

Sixth, The marvellous relations of travellers.

History has likewise suffered a great deal from the many fabulous relations, that have been introduced by *travellers* and *merchants*. People in that way of life are often ignorant and inclined to falsehood; thus it was easy for such to deceive others who had

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but little means of detecting them; for in those early times geography was but little known, and navigation was brought to no great perfection; wherefore the circumstances of distant regions were enveloped in darkness, and were made to assume whatever character such travellers chose to impose, which were generally of a doleful or hideous cast. Accordingly when they came to relate their voyages, they mingled with them a deal of fable; they never spoke of the Ocean but as a place overspread with darkness, where the Sun went every evening to bed in the palace of *Tethys*. The rocks that form the streights of *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, passed for two monsters that swallowed up their ships. The *Symflegades* or the *Cyaneæ*, at the mouth of the Euxine sea, were represented as though they run together to devour vessels as they were sailing between them. The *Cimmerians* were represented as a people buried in eternal darkness; the *Arimaspians* and *Issedonians*, as men that had but one eye; the *Hyperboreans*, as a race that lived a thousand years without pain or sickness, and distressed with none of the injuries of life. Here was a people covered over with feathers; there man-monsters who wanted heads, as the *Acephali*; or having dog's heads, as the *Cynocephali*; some whose ears reached down to their heels; others, in fine, who had but one foot; for such are the ridiculous fictions their relations of the Indies and northern regions were made up of: every where they were obliged to quell tremendous monsters. If any one visited the Persian gulph, he told how he had come to the extremity of the rising Sun, and to that region where *Aurora* opens the barrier of the day. *Perseus*, for having stoutly ventured to pass the streights of Gibraltar, in his way to the Orkneys, had the winged *Pegasus* given him, with the equipage of *Pluto* and *Mercury*; as if it had been impossible to accomplish so long a voyage without some supernatural assistance. What ridiculous fables, what childish fictions do we meet with in the *spurious Orpheus*, in *APOLLONIUS RHODIUS*, on the subject of the return of the *Argonauts*!

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how many unknown countries and people do they light upon in that chimerical voyage! Who is there can tell where lay the *Cimmerians* of HOMER, and where the island of *Calypso*?

Seventh, False eloquence of eulogizing Orators.

It was a custom with the ancients to praise their heroes after their death, and upon their festival days, in studied panegyrics, where the young Orators, whose genius they wanted to prove by these first essays, gave themselves full liberty to feign and invent, believing this would gain them a character for sprightliness. Thus they made it their business to represent their heroes, not what they had been, but such as they ought to be, according to the chimerical notions of greatness they had formed to themselves. They especially never failed to exalt them to Heaven, and confer divinity upon them without the least reserve; this was the title to nobility most sought after in early times. These Orators, far from being blamed, were praised for their fertile inventions; their best performances were preserved; they frequently learned them by heart; and if they were verses or songs, they sung them in public. Out of these memorials they afterwards composed histories: the historian himself was not sorry to be the publisher of extraordinary things which were warranted only by these relations. DIODORUS tells something like this of the Egyptians, with respect to their deceased kings: he says, the whole kingdom went into mourning, and that they sung the praises of the dead in verse: these funeral pieces, no doubt, were preserved by the priests, who made use of them in writing the history of these princes. The Greeks, great imitators of the Egyptians, practised this method, not only towards their kings, but likewise towards those who had planted colonies, or brought any art to perfection among them. It is easy to conceive that this practice must have introduced numbers of fables into history; for what is not a lively wanton imagination capable of, when licensed to roam unconfined over the wide field of flattering ideas!—If one was to attempt, even now-a-days, to compile a his-

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tory of our own heroes from most of their panegyrics, or their funeral sermons, it would be no less fabulous than those of antiquity, except in point of deification. I am not at all surprised that ancient history should be so full of fables, when it was written upon such precarious memorial; but I am astonished to see the sottish vanity of the Roman historians, who have so often given into the fabulous, either to flatter their emperors, or that they might not come short of the Greeks in the marvellous, or to shew the visible protection of the Gods over their great men. Hence those frequent *apothēoses*, that multitude of *prodigies* they relate so gravely, and whatever else of the *supernatural kind* their histories are full of.

Eighth, Poetic Fictions and exaggerations.

Poets are undoubtedly the persons by whom fables have been mostly produced in the world. As they have always aimed at pleasing more than instructing, they preferred an *ingenious falsehood* to a *known truth*. If a Poet had occasion to flatter, or console a dejected prince upon the loss of a son, it was but giving him a place among the Stars or among the Gods, as LACTANTIUS has it. Such as had been lovers of the Belles-Lettres, were considered either as sons, or favorites of *Apollo*: this was the reason why *Hyacinth* passed for the minion of that God; and because he was killed by the stroke of a coit which unluckily glanced aside, they feigned that *Boreas* in a fit of jealousy was the author of that accident. Success justified the happy rashness of the poets; their works were read with pleasure, and nothing in them pleased so much as fiction: they laid it down as a maxim in poetry, never to tell a thing in a natural way. The *shepherdesses* were *nymphs* or *naiades*; *ships* became sometimes *flying horses*, as in the story of *Bellerophon*; and sometimes *dragons*, as in that of *Medea*: the *shepherds* were all *satyrs* or *fauns*; and *men on horseback* were *Centaurs*: every lover of music was *Apollo*; and every physician, an *Esculapius*: your *fine singers* all, so many *Muses*; and every beauty

a *Venus*: lewd women were *Syrens* and *Harpies*; and every celebrated huntress, a *Diana*: oranges, must be *apples of gold*; and arrows and darts were *lightning* and *thunder-bolts*.—They even went farther: for finding they were masters of painting and caricaturing persons and things as they pleased, to shew that their art lay chiefly in fiction, they made it their particular study to contradict the truth; and for fear of agreeing with the historians, they changed the characters of the persons they spoke of. HOMER, of a faithless prostitute, has made his prudent chaste *Penelope*; and VIRGIL, of a traitor to his country, has given us the pious *hero*; of a *renegado* who lost a battle against *Mazentius*, and with it his life, he has made a *conqueror* and *Demi-God*. The same poet has made no scruple to dishonour a princess of strict virtue, and to divest her of the reputation she had for *chastity* and *courage*, to give her an infamous *passion*, and a *cowardice* capable of despair. All of them have conspired to make *Tantalus* pass for a *miser*, and have set him as such in the centre of *Hell*, where he suffers a cruel punishment, in proportion to his avarice; though as PINDAR relates it, he was a most *religious prince*, and a very *generous man*.—But it was not merely inclination to soothe and flatter, that laid the poets under the necessity of forgery and lies; they were often obliged to it by the meanness of their subjects. What they had to say would frequently have been *low* and *vulgar*, unless they had artfully brought in something *fictionitious* and *supernatural*. If one were to make an analysis of their poems, they might be reduced to almost nothing: there are numbers of merchants and soldiers, who have gone through many more occasional dangers, than either *Æneas*, *Ulysses*, or *Achilles*. What would the *Æneid*, *Iliad*, or *Odyssey* be, was it not for the eternal interposition of the Gods, and perpetual mixture of truths of small concern, with the most interesting fictions? A man saved from his country's ruin, in company with other exiles, fits out a few ships; embarks, and arrives in *Thrace*, in *Macedon*, and

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some of the Archipelago islands; after staying some time in Crete, he goes on to Sicily, where having passed the streights of Messana, he arrives at length in Italy by the mouth of the Tiber, where he first killed his rival, and then married. Another is absent from his native home for many years; in the mean time his family affairs are all in disorder, his estate is squandered away, his wife and son are harassed; at length, after having undergone some dangers, he finds out some of his domestics, who had persevered in their duty, and with their assistance, sets all again to rights by destroying his enemies. Another having fallen out with *Agamemnon*, withdraws to his tent: the Trojans take advantage of the misunderstanding between the generals, gain the superiority, beat the Greeks, force their entrenchments, set fire to their ships; *Patroclus* borrows the armour of *Achilles* and kills *Sarpedon*; *Hector* avenges the death of his friend, and kills *Patroclus*, then *Achilles* leaves the tent, and drives the Trojans back to their walls; and having forced them to enter the town, finds *Hector* alone, kills him, and drags his dead body round the tomb of his friend, to whom he performs magnificent funeral rites.—Here you see the three finest poems we have now extant, founded on very ordinary pieces of history, and supported by the merit of heroes of no extraordinary character; thus, their authors were obliged to furnish numberless fables to bear them out, and to embellish the truths they blended with them. Instead of saying, for example, *Ulysses* arrived *incognito* at *Alcinour's* house, HOMER makes him be conducted by *Minerva*, who covers him with a cloud. VIRGIL, who faithfully imitates the Greek poet, brings *Æneas* and *Dido* together after the same manner, under the conduct of *Venus*. If the delights of the country of the *Lotophagi* detained *Ulysses's* companions too long, we are told, it was the fruits of that island made those who eat of them lose all remembrance of their native home. Do they loiter at *Cerces*' court, giving a loose to riot and debauchery? this pretended *sorceress* is

said to have transformed them into *swine*. We are not to be told simply, that *Ulysses* was exposed to a great many storms; he must likewise suffer the addition of *Neptune's* resentment, who takes this way to avenge his son *Polyphemus*. What mysteries, what preparations before *Achilles* kills *Hector*! his mother brings him the armour of *Vulcan's* manufacture, and had dipt him into the *Styx* to make him invulnerable. *Minerva* takes the form of *Deiphobus*, to impose upon *Hector* by the imagined assistance of his brother. *Jupiter* takes the scales, weighs the *destinies* of those two heroes; and seeing *Hector's* sink down as far as *Hell*, he abandons him, and *Achilles* takes away his life. Nothing is done among them but by machinery; for every purpose they employ the power of some Deity. "There every method of enchanting us is practised, all nature assumes a *Body*, and *looks*, and *lives*, and *thinks*; every virtue becomes a Divinity; *Minerva* is prudence, and *Venus* beauty. It is no longer the exhalations that produce the thunder—it is *Jupiter* armed, to affright mortals. The *mariners* behold the threatening storm arise—it is angry *Neptune* chiding the waves. *Echo* is no longer a sound that vibrates in the air—it is a *nymph* in tears bewailing her *Narcissus*"—so says Boileau.—Thus it is the poets adorn their subjects, and fill them with sprightly and ingenious images. You need not be apprehensive of their saying in a simple way, that the troops of the two *Aloids*, those proud Giants who made war upon *Jupiter*, increased their forces by new levies; they will say, these Giants themselves grew a *cubit every day*. HOMER, instead of describing, that after the bloody battle which was fought upon the banks of *Xanthus*, the channel of the river having been choaked up with dead bodies, the water overflowed its banks and flooded all the plain, till they took these bodies out of the water, and kindling a funeral-pile consumed them to ashes; instead of this, the poet images that the river feeling himself oppressed in his channel, complained of it to *Achilles*, and not receiving satisfaction from that hero, he swell-

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ed against him, and pursued him with so much rapidity that he had certainly drowned him, if *Neptune* and *Minerva*, commissioned by *Jupiter*, had not given him promises of a speedy satisfaction. The same poet, when he would let us know that the inundations of the sea, sometime after the retreat of the Greeks, demolished the famous wall they had reared up during the siege of Troy, to screen themselves from the attacks of the enemy, says that *Neptune* provoked by this enterprise of the Greeks, asked permission from *Jupiter* to beat it down with his *trident*; and having engaged *Apollo* in his quarrel, they laboured in concert to overturn the work. If the *Phenician vessel* which had carried *Ulysses* to Ithaca, is shipwrecked in its return, we are sure to be told that *Neptune* was so angry, that he turned it to a rock. If *Turnus* caused *Æneas's* fleet to be burned, *VIRGIL* brings *Cybele* into play, who transforms these *vessels* into *sea-nymphs*. Wherever any fine buildings were to be seen, such as the *walls* of Troy, the *towers* of Argos, and others, it was always the Gods who had been their *architects*.—We must add to what has been just said, that almost the whole of those we find in the *metamorphoses* of *OVID*, in *HYGINUS*, and *ANTONINUS LIBERALIS*, are merely founded upon figurative and metaphorical ways of speaking: they are commonly real matters of fact, with an addition of some supernatural circumstance by way of embellishment.

Ninth, The Painters and Statuaries, &c. The *Painters* and *Statuaries, &c.*, working upon poetical fancies, may be reckoned instrumental in propagating some fables; and to them, perhaps, we owe in part at least, the existence of centaurs, sirens, harpies, nymphs, satyrs, and fauns, which they have painted from the portraitures of them given by the poets, or from some relations of travellers and fishermen. They have even frequently promoted the credit of fabulous stories, by representing them with art; a thing so true, as I shall take notice afterwards,

that the Pagans owed the existence of many of their Gods, to some fine statues, or pictures well finished.

Tenth, Pretended interviews with the Gods. To all these *sources* of fable we may add, a *concern to save the honour of the ladies*. If a frail princess yielded to her lover, there were flatterers enough to call in some friendly Deity to screen

her reputation: he could be no other than a God in human form who had triumphed over the *coy, insensible fair*; by this means her reputation was safe, and the gallantries of that sort, far from being infamous, were highly honourable. There was not a man, not excepting even the *good-natured spouse himself*, but humoured the thing; and the story of *Paulina* and *Mundus* is not the only monument we have of the sottish credulity of *husbands*. *Mundus*, a young Roman knight, had deeply fallen in love with *Paulina*, a married lady, and after all his efforts to touch her heart had proved in vain, he bethought himself of gaining the priest of *Anubis*, who assured *Paulina* that the God was enamoured with her—that very night was *Paulina* led to the temple by her strangely impressed, credulous *husband*. A few days after, *Mundus*, whom she chanced to meet, let her into the secret of his base artifice. *Paulina*, in a desperate fit, carried her complaint before Tiberius; who, as much Tiberius as he was, caused the *priest of Anubis* to be burnt, the *statue* of the *God* to be thrown into the Tiber, and *Mundus* to be sent into exile.—Certain it is, that an infinite deal of fables draw their origin from this source: witness that of *Rhea Silvia*, the mother of Rhemus and Romulus: her uncle *Amulius* got into her cell, and her father Numitor spread it abroad that the twins she brought forth had been the offspring of the God of war. Often the priests themselves, when they were not proof against a woman's charms, made her believe she was the favourite of the God they served, and she put herself in order for lying in the temple, whether she was conducted by the parents in form. Thus at Babylon, a woman, one or another of those whom *Jupiter Belus* had autho-

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rised his priests to single out, laid in the temple every night: from such practices arose that great stock of children the poets have fathered upon the Gods. And this, in effect, generated the following ridiculous cause of many fables and fabulous Deities, viz.—

That the great men of those times were commonly actuated by a *foolish ambition* of being thought descended from Gods. To be heroes, nothing less would satisfy them, than to have *Jupiter* or *Apollo* for their ancestors; and we may be sure there were genealogists to be found then, full as complaisant as at present; so that they were at no great loss to get the branches of their family commenced from the stock of some God: accordingly almost all the ancient pedigrees were much in this manner,—*Jupiter* was the founder of the family, after him came *Hercules*, &c. &c.

From the worship of the *Sun*, the *Moon*, and the *Stars*, whom we have shown to have been the first Gods of the Pagans, they proceeded to the worship of other *physical objects*; when they looked upon *Nature* herself, or the *World*, as a Divinity. This universal *Nature* is what the Assyrians adored under the name of *Belus*; the Phenicians, under that of *Moloch*; the Egyptians of *Hammon*; the Arcadians, of *Pan*; the Romans, of *Jupiter*: and, as if the *World* had been too great to be governed by one sole God, they assigned to every part of it a particular Deity, that he might have the more leisure and less trouble in governing it; or, in other words, it was *Nature* in her various scenes they intended to adore; and over each of her parts a Divinity was made to preside. They worshipped the *Earth*, under the name of *Rhea*, *Tellus*, *Ops*, *Cybele*; the *Fire*, under those of *Vulcan* and *Vesta*; the *Water* of the *sea* and *rivers*, under those of *Oceanus*, *Neptune*, *Nereus*, the *Nereids*, *Nymphs* and *Naiads*; the *Air* and *Winds*, under the names of *Jupiter* and *Æolus*. *Salacia* was the goddess of

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tempests; *Vollonia* and *Epunda* took care of things exposed to the air. The *Woods* had their *Satyrs*, *Fauns*, and *Hamadryads*, appointed them, with *Pan* and *Sylvanus* at their head. The God *Terminus* presided over the *fields* and *marches*; *Ceres* presided over the *harvest fields*; and *Flora*, *Pomona*, *Vertumnus*, and *Priapus*, were guardians of *orchards*, *flowers* and *fruits*; as *Deverrona* watched over the *crops*: *Seia* had the care of the grain newly sown; *Proserpina*, when the stalk was forming; *Segetia*, when it began to spring up; *Patelina*, when it was ready to put forth the ear; and *Tutilina* to preserve it in the granaries, with many others.

2d, The adoration of mankind—their tutelary Deities.

We have seen the reasons that induced men to adore some of *their own species*. Gratitude, the affection of a wife to her beloved spouse, or of a mother to her darling son; the beauty of the works of the statuary, illustrious achievements, the invention of necessary arts; all these made them honour the memory of some great men, and were obligations upon them to preserve their pictures, and distinguish their sepulchres, which at last became public temples, as proved by EUSEBIUS and CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS: such were the tombs of *Acrisius*, of *Cecrops*, *Erichthonius*, *Clemachus*, *Cinyras*, and several others.—It was in Egypt and Phenicia that this sort of idolatry began; and in the former, probably not long after the death of *Osiris* and *Isis*. They having distinguished themselves by their shining merit, the people whom they had taught agriculture, and several necessary arts, thought they could not otherwise acquit themselves of the infinite obligations they had laid them under, but by honouring them as Divinities. But because it might have appeared shocking to see divine honours paid to persons but newly dead, it was probably given out, that their souls were reunited with the orbs, from which they had formerly come, according to their conception, to animate their corporeal frames. From that time, they were taken for the *Sun*

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and *Moon*, and their worship was confounded with that of these two luminaries. This custom of *deifying men*, was propagated from Egypt to other nations, and we find that the Chaldeans, much about the same time, raised their *Belus* to the order of the Gods. The Syrians, Phenicians, Greeks, and Romans, all of them imitated the Egyptians and Chaldeans; and *Heaven*, as CICERO observes, was soon peopled with *deified mortals*: which was likewise true in another sense, since upon their deification, they gave out that their souls were united to certain *Stars*, which they chose for their habitation. Thus, *Andromeda*, *Cepheus*, *Perseus* and *Cassiopeia*, made up the constellations that bear their names; *Hippolytus*, the sign of the charioteer; *Esculapius*, that of the Serpents; *Ganymede*, that of Aquarius; *Phaton*, that of the Chariot; *Castor* and *Pollux*, that of Gemini, or the twins; *Erigone* and *Astrea*, were *Virgo*; *Atergatis*, or rather *Venus* and *Cupid*, took that of *Pisces* or the Fishes; and so of others. This custom passed to almost every country, and penetrated even into China, where the astronomers called the twenty-eight constellations, which in their system comprehended all the stars, by the names of as many of their heroes, whom they affirmed to have been transformed into stars. The Egyptians only gave the names of *animals* to the constellations, and this was the foundation of that worship they afterwards paid to them.—For children, were invoked the Goddess *Nascio* or *Natio*, *Opis*, *Rumina*, *Patina*, *Cumina*, *Levana*, *Paventia*, *Carnea*, *Edusa*, *Ossilago*, *Statilinus*, *Vagitanus*, *Fabulinus*, *Juventa*, *Nondina*, *Orbona*; and this last Goddess was for *orphans*, or to comfort fathers and mothers for the loss of their children. When the child was laid upon the ground, they recommended him to the Gods *Pilumnus* and *Picumnus*: for fear too that the God *Sylvanus* should do him harm, there were three other Divinities who watched at the gates, *Intercido*, *Pilumnus*, and *Deverra*; it being a custom at the nativity of a child, to knock at the gate first with an axe, then with a mallet, and last of all to sweep

the porch; believing that *Sylvanus* seeing these three signs, durst not attempt to harm the children, whom he thus judged to be under the protection of those three Divinities. *Statilius* presided over children's education; *Fabulinus* taught them to speak; *Paventia* kept away from them frightful, terrifying objects; *Nondina*, presided over the names given them; *Cumina* had the charge of the cradle; in fine, *Rumia* preserved the milk of their mothers. The *Epidotes* were Gods that presided over the growth of children, as their names declare. The beautiful *Hebe* and *Hora* also presided over youth, and *Seniuis* over old age. They likewise invented Gods for every part of the body: the *Sun* presided over the heart; *Jupiter* over the head and liver; *Mars* over the entrails; *Minerva* over the eyes and fingers; *Juno* over the eye-brows; *Pluto* over the back; *Venus* over the veins; *Saturn* over the spleen; *Mercury* over the tongue; *Tethys* over the feet; the *Moon* over the stomach; *Genius* and *Modesty* over the forehead; *Memory* over the eyes; *Faith* or *Bona Fides* over the right hand; and *Compassion* over the knees.

3d, The adoration of brute animals—their tutelary Deities.

To complete the absurdity, *brute-animals* of almost every description, enjoyed a considerable portion of the Pagan worship: nor was it only particular persons that offered them incense and sacrifices, but whole cities, where their worship was established: thus Memphis and Heliopolis adored the *Ox*; Sais and Thebes the *Sheep*; Cynopolis the *dogs*; Mendes the *goats*; the Assyrians the *pigeons*. In some towns they worshipped the *monkeys*, in others the *crocodiles* and *lizards*, the *ravens*, the *storks*, the *eagle*, the *lion*; and these towns even frequently bore the names of the animals that were the objects of their worship, as Cynopolis, Leontopolis, Mendes, &c. The *fishes* too became the object of a superstitious worship, not only among the Syrians, who durst not so much as eat of them, but also in several towns in Egypt, Lydia and other countries. Some placed upon their altars *eels*, others

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tortoises, and others *fikes*.—They had likewise a *Hippona* for horses; a *Bulona* for oxen; and a *Mellona* for bees, &c.

They did not stop here; even the reptiles and the insects received divine honours. The *serpents* were worshipped in Egypt, and in several other countries. Epidaurus and Rome had temples erected to the *adder*, which they believed represented *Esculapius*. The Thessalians honoured the *pismires*, to whom they thought they owed their original; the Acarnanians the *flies*; and if the inhabitants of Accaron did not worship them, they at least offered incense to the genius who drove them away, and *Beelzebub* was their great Divinity.—In fine, the very stones were the object of public worship; as that called *Abidir* which *Saturn* had swallowed, instead of his son *Jupiter* when an infant; and that which among the Phrygians represented the mother of the Gods; as also that which represented the God *Terminus*, who was a sort of *march-stone* or *rock* used as a land mark.

The passions too and affections had Divinities assigned to them, and there was no crime but had a patron Deity: *Venus* and *Priapus* presided over generation; *Morpheus* over sleep; *Juturna* among the Latins, and *Hygieia* among the Greeks, were the Goddesses of health; and *Jaso* of sickness. *Murcia* was the Goddess of sloth; and *Agenoria* inspired courage. They established a *Belona* and a *Mars* for war. The adulteress owned *Jupiter*; the ladies of gallantry, *Venus*; jealous wives, *Juno*; and the pick-pockets, *Mercury* and the Goddess *Laverna*. This is not all; there were *Destinies* to over-rule every action in life. Over marriage presided *Juno*, *Hymenius*, *Thalassius*, *Lucina*, *Jugatinus*, *Domiducus*, and several others, whose infamous occupations are enough to put every virtuous person to the blush. *Momus* was the God of raillery; for jollity, *Vetula*; for pleasures, *Volupta*. The great talkers invoked *Aius Locutius*; while *Harpocrates* and *Sigalion* were the

4th, The adoration of reptiles, insects & stones.

5th, The Deities assigned to the Passions and Affections.

Gods of silence. *Pravor, Timor, Pallor*, were those whose invention was owing to terror, fear, and paleness which accompanies them. Imprudence itself had its tutelar Divinity, whom they made *Coalemus*: *Catius* made persons smart and witty; and *Comus* the God of revels, gay and contented. In fine, there was nothing which had not a friendly divinity. The Romans had two of them for love; the one for mutual flames, the other to avenge slighted love; and this passion was a Divinity of the greatest antiquity, and most universally adored. The same people had likewise two temples of modesty, one dedicated to the chastity of the *nobles*, and the other to that of the *populace*.—To be brief, the *Pagans* deified every *virtue*, as well as every *vice*. Every where there were to be seen temples erected to *peace*, to *victory*, to *faith*, to *clemency*, to *piety*, to *poverty*, to *justice*, to *liberty*, to *concord*, to *fortune*, to *discord*, to *ambition*, to *mercy*, to *modesty*, to *prudence*, to *wisdom*, to *honour*, to *truth*, and an infinity of others.

6th, The tutelar Deities for particular professions, and other occasions.

Men were apprehensive of evil, desirous of good, and wanted to gratify their inclinations without remorse; this was the original of all those Divinities, natural and metaphorical, whose names correspond to their employments, who were looked upon as so many *Genii* dispersed through the world to regulate the motions of men; and believing them to be of a malevolent disposition, therefore they courted their favour by prayers and sacrifices. The poets invoked *Apollo*, *Minerva*, and the *Muses*; the orators, *Suada* and *Pitho*; the physicians, *Esculapius*, *Meditritina*, *Consus*, *Hygieia* and *Telesphorus*; the servants and maids, the Gods named *Anculi* and *Ancula*; shepherds, the God *Pan*; cow-herds, the Goddess *Bubona*; horsemen, *Castor* and *Hippona*.—As each profession had its Gods, so had every action and function in life: thus over different actions presided, *Volumnus*, *Voluptia*, *Libentia*, *Horsa*, *Horsilia*, *Stimula*, *Strenua*, *Stata*, *Adeona*, *Ageronia*, *Agonis*, *Abeona*, *Fessoria*, *Fugia*, *Catius*, *Fidius* or

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Sanctus-Fidius, Dius, Murcia, Nonia, Numerica, Vacuna, Vertumnus, Victus, Vestitus, Vibilia.—*Pellonia* was established to free them from whatever was annoying; *Populonia*, to divert all sorts of devastation. They had made a Divinity of life under the name of *Vituta*, and *Fever* too had its altars. They had a God of ordure, named *Stercutius*; one for other conveniencies, *Crepitus*; a Goddess for the common sewers, *Cloacina*.—Over justice presided *Astrea, Themis, and Dice*. Over the coining of brass money, *Æs, Æsculanus, and Æres*; and over specie of all sorts, *Juno-Moneta*, or simply, *Moneta*.—*Plutus* and *Ops*, for riches; *Janus, Cardea, and Limentina*, to take care of the gates of cities, &c.; *Clusius* and *Patulius* were the Gods they invoked at opening or shutting them; *Laterculus* and the *Penates*, for the hearths; *Jupiter Erceus* for the walls.—It is not to be expected that I should give a larger account of the subaltern Divinities; their names sufficiently point out their offices, and the bare naming them is enough to give one a notion of them, when they occur in the poets and mythologists: I shall only remark, 1st, That almost the whole of these latter Divinities were of Roman invention, as their names sufficiently discover; whereby we see how many Gods, known to none but the Romans themselves, had been introduced by those Lords of the world, though they had besides adopted almost all the Gods of every nation which they subdued. 2nd, That the greater part of these Divinities were the invention of sculptors and painters. 3d, That some of them were peculiar to certain families, and sometimes even to single persons. 4th, That all the deified virtues were nothing but symbols that represented them, either upon medals, where numbers of them are to be found, or upon other monuments, and in inscriptions. 5th, That their worship was neither in so great reputation nor extent, as that of the great Gods: and yet a great many of them had their altars and chapels, and were invoked at certain times; as before

harvest, at the vintages, when they gathered fruits, in diseases upon men or beasts, &c. &c.

7th, The Deities that received peculiar honour in particular places.

Besides these Gods, whose number is already exorbitant, every nation had some peculiar to itself; as others were proper to certain towns, particularly among the Greeks and Romans, whether they were believed to have been born in those towns, or to afford them a particular protection. In a word, the whole world was divided among numberless Divinities. The great Gods were acknowledged universally, though honoured more particularly in certain places; the rest were worshipped only among some nations, and in some countries. Thus, besides his universal worship, *Jupiter* was peculiarly honoured in Crete, where he was believed to have been brought up; at Dicte, or Mount Ida; on Mount Olympus; at Pirea in Epirus; and at Dodona. *Juno* at Argos; at Mycenæ; at Phalisca; at Samos; and at Carthage. *Ceres* in Sicily, and at Eleusis. *Vesta* or *Cybele*, throughout all Phrygia; above all at Berecynthus, and Pessinus. *Minerva* at Alalcomene; at Athens, and at Argos. *Apollo* at Chrysa, a city in Phrygia; at Delphos; at Cylla; at Claros, one of the Cyclades; at Cynthus, a mountain in Delos; at Grynium; at Lesbos; at Miletos; at Phaselis, a mountain in Lycia, at Smyntus; at Rhodes; at Tenedos; at Cyrrha; among the Hyperbo-reans, and elsewhere. *Diana* at Ephesus; at Delos; at Mycenæ; at Brauron in Attica; at Magnesia; upon mount Menala; at Segesta, &c. *Venus*, at Amathus in Cyprus; at Cythera; at Gnidus, at Paphos, at Idalia; upon mount Eryx in Sicily; and upon Ida in Phrygia. *Mars* at Rome; among the Getes, and other northern people; and among the Thracians. *Vulcan* in the Æolian islands; at Lemnos, near mount Ætna; and in earlier times, in Egypt, whose first Divinity he was, according to the best authors. *Mercury* upon Helicon, and the Cyllenian mountains; at Nonacria; and generally through all Arcadia. *Neptune* in the Isthmus of

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Corinth; at Tænarus; and upon all the Seas. *Nereus* upon the sea-coasts, and by seamen. *Saturn* in several places of Italy. *Pluto* in all the sacrifices offered to the dead. *Bacchus* at Thebes, Nysa, Naxos, &c. *Esculapius* at Epidaurus; at Rome; and elsewhere. *Pan* upon Menalus in Arcadia, &c. *Fortune* at Antium; and *Æolus* in the Isles that bore his name. Theses were the principal places in Greece, in Asia minor, and in Italy, where the Gods were honoured with a particular worship.

8th, Of the Demi-Gods, Heroes, Genii, and Junones.

We will now speak of the Demi-Gods and Heroes; and what a prodigious number of them also, shall we find! Their temples were diffused over all the earth, and their worship, though less solemn than that of the Gods, made a considerable part of the Pagan religion. *Æneas*, surnamed *Jupiter-Indigetes* had a chapel erected to his honour upon the banks of the river Numicus; *Janus*, *Faunus*, *Picus*, *Evander*, *Fatua*, or *Carmenta*, *Acca-Laurentia* or *Flora*, *Matuta*, *Portumnus*, *Mania*, *Anna-Perrenna*, *Vertumnus*, *Romulus*, and several others, were honoured among the Latins. *Hercules*, *Theseus*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, *Helen*, *Agamemnon*, and most of the heroes of the golden fleece, or of the siege of Troy, had temples and altars in most of the cities of Greece. Laconia honoured *Hyacinthus* who fought against the Amyclæans; not to mention *Agamemnon*, *Menelaus*, *Paris* and *Deiphobus*. The Messenians offered incense and sacrifices to *Polycaon*, to his wife *Messena*, to their son *Triopias*, and to the celebrated *Machaon*, son of *Esculapius*. The Arcadians granted divine honours to *Calisto*, to his son *Arcas*, to *Aristeus* who had quitted the island of Cos where he was born, for Arcadia, where he taught that people the art of training up bees. The people of Argos honoured *Perseus*, *Lynceus*, *Hypermnestra*, *Io*, *Apis*. The Arcadians revered *Amphilochus*, and consulted his oracles. The people of Athens had filled that famous city with the temple of *Cecrops* of his daughters *Aglauros*, *Herse*, and *Pandrosos*; of

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Celeus and *Triptolemus* his son, of *Erectheus* and his daughters: there also were to be seen the temples of *Ægeus*; of *Theseus*; of *Dedalus*, and *Perdix* his nephew; of *Androgeos*, *Alcmena*, *Æacus*, and *Iolaus* the famous companion of *Hercules* in his labours; of *Codrus*, and an infinity of others. At Delphos was to be seen that of *Neoptolemus*; at Megara that of *Alcathous*; among the Oropians that of *Amphiaraus*. Thebes was famous, not only for the worship of *Bacchus*, *Semele*, *Cadmus* and *Hermione*, but also of that whole illustrious family; thus *Ino* and *Melicerta* had their temples and their altars there, as well as *Hercules*, *Iolaus* and *Amphiaraus*. In Elis, the women sacrificed once a year to *Hippodamia*, the daughter of *Pelops*. *Telesphorus* was honoured at Pergamus; *Damia* or *Lamia*, Epidaurus; *Nemesis* at Rhamnus; *Sanctus* or *Sangus*, among the Sabines; *Adramus* and *Palicus*, in Sicily; *Coronis* at Sicyon; *Boreas* in Thrace; *Tellenus* at Aquileia; *Tanais* in Armenia; *Ferentina* at Ferentum; *Tages* in Etruria, the modern Tuscany; *Feronia* in several places of Italy; *Marica* at Minternæ; the *Graces* at Oachomenos; the *Muses* in Pieria, and at Lesbos; and *Amphilochus* at Oropos. Thessaly sacrificed to *Peleus*, to *Chiron*, to *Achilles*. The island of Tenedos to *Tenes*; that of Chios to *Aristeus* and *Drimachus*; Samos to *Lysander*; Naxos to *Ariadne*; the *Æginetæ* to *Æacus*; the people of Salamis to the famous *Ajax*, son of *Telamon*; the island of Crete to *Europa*, *Idomeneus*, *Molon*, and *Minos*. In Africa were to be seen the temples of several kings. The Moors honoured *Juba*; the Cyrenians, *Battus*; the Carthaginians *Dido*, *Amilcar*, &c. The Thracians honoured *Orpheus*, and their legislator *Zamolxis*. There would be no end of it, were we to run over all the other places celebrated for the worship of some particular Divinity, since the whole earth was full of temples and altars, raised not only to the great Gods, but also to the *Indigetes*; and, generally speaking, every people and city advanced their founders and conquerors to a place among the Gods. If proofs should be thought

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necessary for all that I have said upon this last article, we need but read STRABO and PAUSANIAS, who mention temples consecrated to all those heroes; and among the moderns, MEURSIUS in his excellent treatise of the festivals of Greece; the first book of VOSSIUS, and ROSINUS.—In fine, if to all these Gods we add the *Genii* and the *Junones*, who were as guardian angels to every man and woman, we shall have no difficulty in believing what PLINY says, that the number of the Gods surpassed that of men; far less what VARRO reports, who makes the number amount to only *thirty thousand*.

A few individual exceptions from Pagan corruption.

I am far from denying there were some in every age, through almost every country of the world, who sincerely rejected those ridiculous

Deities, at least the most of them. I know God reserved to himself some SERVANTS among the most idolatrous nations; that Salem had its *Melchisedeck*, the Idumeans their *Job*, the Chaldeans their *Abraham*: but excepting these, we may believe that the whole earth was overspread with the darkness of idolatry; that there were none but the Jewish people in a corner of the world, who retained the idea and worship of the true God; nay, that same people, who are but too justly charged with ingratitude, and always immersed in sensuality, notwithstanding the conspicuous favours they received from their God, and the continual prohibitions of the prophets, suffered themselves but too often to be drawn away by the fatal propensity which they had to idolatry.

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SECTION FOURTH.

ITS DECLINE.

Admiration at
Pagan *extrava-*
gance;

WE have now seen what sort of Gods they were, whom the blinded world adored! What a mortifying spectacle to human nature! to see, for more than two thousand years, the whole earth filled with temples raised to vain idols, where innocent victims were offered up to criminal Deities, and the richest perfumes shed for idols who had no sense of them; prayers put up to Gods who were incapable of hearing their votaries; vain endeavours used to appease them, who knew not whether they had received any provocation; and their assistance implored, who, all the while, knew nothing of our wants!! Sure man, left to his own guidance, is a strange fantastical being!!!

which was kept
in vogue chiefly
by habit and the
convenience of it;

But the system of which we have been speaking, was the predominant religion, and few people examined it so as to discover its faults. There uses not to be a great deal of reasoning upon the subject of religion; the common way is for the children to follow that of their fathers, and but few people are converted by reasonings. Besides, the Pagan religion was not very incommodious: however incumbered it was with ceremonies, it allowed an entire liberty in morals. When a religion is thus indulgent to people's inclinations, they hardly think of examining into it: would it have been agreeable to them to exchange Gods who were themselves the models of vice, for others who would have punished them with severity? It is certain, that lust and ignorance introduced it; and that interest, the passions, and voluptuousness maintained it. Thus, we are not to be surprised at its having prevailed so long in the world, where even yet it is not totally destroyed, since there are people at this day who groan under the tyranny of the Devil; nor is that happy period yet arrived, when all the world is to ac-

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knowledge but one GOD, by JESUS CHRIST. But what may give us surprise, is, how idolatry has been propagated to the most remote nations, and there continued till now, since it is certain that the idolatry of the Indies, of Persia, and of the north of Asia, is precisely the same with the ancient Egyptian idolatry. The monstrous errors into which men have been carried, will always be the disgrace of human nature. Who would not indeed be surprised, to see the world, which God had made for the manifestation of his power, become a *temple of idols*; to see man so blind as to adore the work of his own hands; and offer incense to *beasts* and *reptiles*: and after having set up these idols, to believe there was a necessity for shedding his own blood, in order to appease them? For in fact among every nation of the world, men have sacrificed victims of their own species, as with some it has even been a common practice.

and which Divine
interposition alone
could *eradicate*.

But if idolatry be so great a perversion of the human mind, ought we not to be less astonished at its being destroyed, than at its having continued so long? Its extravagance shews the difficulty there was to subdue it. The world had grown old in this error: enchanted by its own idols, it had become deaf to the voice of nature, which cried aloud against them. Besides, every thing was engaged in its behalf: the senses, the passions, lust, ignorance, a false veneration for antiquity, the interest of private persons, and that of the state. On one hand, nothing was so monstrous as the system of idolatry; and at the same time, nothing so delusive. Indeed, how greatly must the passions have been soothed, by adoring Gods who had themselves been subject to them, and finding examples in them to authorise and justify the greatest irregularities? Religion, instead of curbing, served to deify vice: the conduct of the Gods, their history renewed in their festivals and sacrifices, was wholly calculated for inspiring men with a fond regard to their passions. Gods revengeful, im-

pure, and debauched, were made for a corrupt nature, which wishes to be gratified without remorse, and with impunity.—We may add, that idolatry was entirely calculated for pleasure: diversions, shows, and in short licentiousness itself, were consecrated by it to be a part of divine worship. The festivals were nothing but games, and from no action in human life, was modesty more effectually banished than from the mysteries of religion. What power was requisite to restore the impressions of the true God, which were so entirely defaced from the minds of men? How should depraved hearts be habituated to the strict rules of the true religion, which is chaste, an enemy to sensuality, and solely attached to the blessings of an invisible world? These desirable ends seemed beyond the power of human means to accomplish: it rested with the true God himself to devise *the effectual remedy*. Accordingly, in this forlorn state of the world, God compassionating our miseries, sent *his own son* to redeem our *sins* and restore us to the path of *righteousness*. No sooner did this *new Sun* arise, than the *darkness of idolatry* began gradually to disappear. The *spotless lamb* was soon seen in possession of the rights which the *devil* had usurped; and JESUS CHRIST CRUCIFIED, appeared in the centre of the CAPITOL, instead of the *infamous Jupiter*.

CHAPTER II.

THE MACHINERY OF IDOLATRY.

SECTION FIRST.

THE STATUES OF ITS DEITIES.

=====
Pagan Gods, how represented through several periods, &c., viz.
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TO reduce within bounds a subject in itself so extensive, I shall examine 1st, What the figures of the Gods were, before sculpture was invented. 2d, What they were, when this art was but rude and imperfect. 3d, The pitch of perfection to which statuary was afterwards carried. 4th, The materials they used for the statues of the Gods. 5th, The extreme greatness or smallness of some of those figures. 6th, The places where they were most ordinarily set up. Lastly, by what symbols the Gods were therein distinguished.

=====
First, By shapeless stones, pillars, trunks of trees, &c.
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1st, What their figures were before sculpture was invented. In the first ages, as most nations knew neither towns nor houses, and dwelt only in huts, or under moveable tents, wandering about to different places in quest of fixed settlements, it was neither easy nor convenient for them to build temples and set up idols; and this is what obliged them at first to choose for the exercise of their religion, caves, groves, and mountains; the priests and legislators having considered those retired places, as exceedingly proper to give a more venerable aspect to the mysteries of

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religion. PLINY expresses himself clearly upon this subject. The trees, says he, and fields were in old times the temples of the Gods. This is what gave rise to the consecration of groves, a custom that lasted as long as idolatry itself. When they came to build temples, the sacred groves still continued to be in use, and oft-times they enclosed them with a plantation. Those first temples had *no idols*. It was not till the invention of architecture that the art of making *idols* came to be known. HERODOTUS and LUCIAN let us know this much of the Egyptians and Scythians. If we may believe PLUTARCH after VARRO, the Romans were one hundred and seventy years without *statues* or *idols*, and even Numa Pompilius prohibited them by a law equally wise and judicious. In like manner, SILIUS ITALICUS tells us, that the temple of *Jupiter Ammon* was without an *idol*, and that the eternal fire they preserved there, represented the Divinity of the place. In fine, TERTULLIAN lets us know, that even in his time there were several temples that had no *statues*. Before statuary was invented, they paid a religious worship to *shapeless stones*, to *pillars*, and other things of that nature; this is what we learn from several authors. SANCHONIATHON says, the most ancient statues were nothing but *unhewn stones*, which he calls *Batilia*; which word probably comes from *Bethel*, the name which JACOB gave to the stone he set up for an altar, after his wrestling with the *Angel*. PAUSANIAS speaks of the statues of *Hercules* and of *Cupid*, that were nothing but two *masses of stone*. The Scythians, according to CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, in ancient times adored a *scymitar* as the God of war; the Arabians adored a rough *unhewn stone*; and other nations contented themselves with erecting the *trunk of a tree* or a *pillar* of some other materials, without ornament. In the Orkneys, the image of *Diana* was a *log of wood* unwrought; and at Cytheron, their *Juno Thespia* was nothing but the *trunk of a tree*; that at Samos but a *simple plank*, and so of others.

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2d, The origin of sculpture is lost in the most remote antiquity. It is enough to know that the Egyptians had it in Moses's time, and perhaps long before the statues of their Gods, spoken of in the books of that sacred legislator; the statues of their God *Aphis*, too faithfully imitated by the Israelites, who worshipped him in the wilderness, under the form of an *Ox* or *Calf*, prove it beyond contradiction; and I make no doubt, but in the very time when the yet rough and barbarous nations worshipped either *shapeless masses*, or simple *trunks of trees*, sculpture was then known, not only in Egypt, but also in Syria, and the adjacent countries. For the arts sprung originally from the countries I had named, were but gradually propagated to the west.—At the first, sculpture itself was extremely rude, and rose but slowly to that height of perfection when it became admired, especially in Greece, for the master-pieces it formed. Consequently we may suppose, that the *first statues* of the Gods, though modelled by this new art, were still exceedingly coarse. They had the eyes shut, and the arms hanging down, and as it were glued to the body, and the feet joined; neither expression, nor attitude, nor gesture. They were mostly square, and like mis-shapen figures, that ended like those figures called *Termes*. The cabinets of the curious furnish several models of these *Statues*; they are dug up yet every day, especially in Egypt, and the most uncontroverted marks of their antiquity, is, when they are such as I have described them.

3d, They continued in this state, at least in the west, until DEDALUS, in the time of Minos II., and of Theseus, had the art of giving to his *Statues*, eyes, feet, and hands. In some measure he put soul and life into them, and so surprising was this change, as to give rise to a common report of his having animated them, made them walk, &c. The statues of the Gods improved by this,

Third, By statues of perfect symmetry.

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it was to bring them to perfection that the most skilful artists mainly applied themselves; and time at length produced the *master-pieces* of a PHIDIAS, PRAXITILES, and MYRON, which were the principal ornaments of Greece, and drew the just admiration of persons of taste, as at this very day do those of them that are yet remaining. Such, among others, are the *Venus of Medicis*, the *Antinous*, the *Hercules*, and the fine *Jupiter* still to be seen at Versailles. However I know not from what veneration of antiquity, they still kept up the old taste, in those statues they called *Hermes* or *Termes*.

Fourth, The materials of statuary were earth, wood, stone, marble, ivory, metals, wax, &c.

4th, Sculpture being an art which imitates nature, both in the design and solidity of its *materials*; it has for its subject, timber, stone, marble, ivory, and different metals, as gold, silver, brass, precious stones, &c. As it comprehends also the art of founding, which is subdivided into the art of moulding figures in wax, and that of casting all sorts of metals, the statuaries were at liberty to use all these *materials*, and all these forms for the statues of the Gods. History informs us, there were some of them of each sort; some made of wood, the most precious of its kind and least liable to corruption. That of *Jupiter* at Sicyon, was of box-wood; and at Ephesus, that of *Diana* was of cedar. Elsewhere, they were to be met with of citron-wood, of palm tree, of olive-wood, of ebony, and of cypress. We have also accounts of the golden ones that were in the temple of *Belus* at Babylon, and of *Apollo* at Delphos. We shall give a description of that of *Jupiter Olympius*, where gold was artfully blended with ivory, ebony, and precious stones; a master-piece which, as PLINY tells us, nobody durst imitate. It would be to no purpose to dwell upon those of marble, or of stone, whose number was immensely great. I have mentioned above, the principal artists, who, of those different materials, had composed master-pieces of skill. One who has the curiosity to find statues of Gods

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of all the *forms* and *materials* I have mentioned, needs but read PAUSANIAS, who describes of them of all sorts.—Generally speaking, the statues of the Gods, after the invention of sculpture, were chiefly but of moulded earth, and brittle like simple vases. This art of moulding earth or clay, is called *ficillia*, and the works it produces, *ficillia*. The sacred writers, especially the prophets, are continually reproaching the Pagans for worshipping these sorts of idols. In later times, those statues were laid over with different colours, and at last they were gilt. The Romans, whose religion for a long time declared the simplicity of their manners, were very late in beginning to have these gilded statues; till then they had only the colour of the earth of which they were made. PLINY praises the primitive Roman simplicity. Men, says he, who sincerely honoured such Gods, give us no reason to be ashamed of them. To them, continues he, gold was of no consideration, either for themselves or their Gods. JUVENAL, speaking of the earthen statue which Tarquin the elder set up in the temple of *Jupiter*, calls it the earthen *Jupiter*, whom gold had not tarnished nor defiled. TITUS LIVIUS has informed us at what period gilt statues were first introduced; it was according to him, under the consulship of P. Cornelius Cethegus.

Fifth, The sizes of Statues vary from the Pigmy to the Colossus.

5th, As there was no fixed rule as to the *materials* of the statues of the Gods, there was as little for their *size*, and it depended upon the caprice of the workmen, or the will of those by whom they were employed, either to make them *great* or *small*. Accordingly while the Egyptians valued themselves upon those *colossal statues* that were to be seen in the porches of their temples, frequently nothing was to be found within those edifices but some *pitiful monkeys* or *pigmies*, which provoked the contempt and ridicule of spectators; witness Cambyses, when he was introduced into the temple of Vulcan at Memphis, as we said above. Greece chose sometimes to imitate the Egyptian manner in those colos-

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suses, and had several statues of her Gods of an enormous bigness. That of *Jupiter Olympus*, and several others besides were much larger than life; but the most extraordinary one, was the *colossus at Rhodes*, representing *Apollo*, which was looked upon as one of the seven wonders of the world. This statue, done by CHARES, was twelve years in finishing, and its height was seventy cubits; it was so placed, that its two feet stood upon the two moles, which formed the harbour of Rhodes, and ships at full sail passed between its legs. We may judge of what an enormous size this *Colossus* must have been, when few persons were able to embrace one of its thumbs. Notwithstanding the weight of this prodigious mass; notwithstanding the dangers of the sea, and the length of time it was exposed, yet it continued standing for the space of 1360 years; and its fall at last was only owing to an earthquake. A Jewish merchant bought it of the Saracens; and having taken it to pieces, loaded 900 camels with it. Nor was it only the Egyptians and Greeks who had those *colossal figures*; the Romans would needs imitate their example, as in that metropolis there were no fewer than five of them, two of *Apollo*, two of *Jupiter*, and one of the *Sun*, (for the *Sun* was often distinguished from *Apollo*;) not to mention two others, one of them represented *Domitian*, the other *Nero*: but as if statues of this sort had of right belonged to none but Gods, they caused an *Apollo's* head to be set on the latter.—These works were curiosities of their kind; but for the most part the statues of the Gods imitated *beautiful nature*, especially when they were to be planted within the *easy reach of the eye*. Thus, those of the Gods were a degree larger and more robust than those of the Goddesses, with respect to whom the expert artists made it their business chiefly to imitate the softness and delicacy of the sex.—There were however Gods, whose statues were ordinarily *little*, and perhaps there was a necessity for them to be so. Those of the *Pataici* or *Patæci*, which they set upon the sterns of ships, were of this kind, if we credit HERODOTUS, as also those

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of the *Lares*, the *Penates*, the *Cabiri*, and some others. There were others, whose statues were *monstrous*, representing the heads of a dog, a cat, a goat, a monkey, a lion, &c., as we shall shew when we come to the Gods of Egypt.

Sixth, The statues were set up in temples, in private houses, and in the fields.

6th, The number of statues of the Gods was immense, not only in Greece and Italy, but likewise in the eastern countries; and nothing sets it forth to us more strongly than the scripture expression, which styles Chaldea a *land of idols*. Accordingly they occurred every where, in *temples*, where they were upon pedestals, or set in niches; in *public places*; at the *gates of houses*; and without the cities, on the *highways* and in the *fields*.

Seventh, The usages in regard to the *expression*, and the *symbols* of the Statues.

7th, Though the manner of representing the Gods was not uniform, there were however, certain *usages* generally observed. Thus, to *Jupiter* was given a *noble and majestic air*, which spoke the sovereignty of the world; and he appeared always with a *beard*. *Apollo*, is painted like a *young man*, and wears *no beard*. *Bacchus* sometimes *has one*, and then he is called *Barbatus*; but most frequently he *has it not*. *Juno* appears with an *air* becoming the consort of *Jupiter*, and the queen of the Gods. *Minerva* has a *masculine beauty*, but sweet, such as is befitting the wisest and chaste of Goddesses. *Venus*, on the contrary, exhibits I know not what *softness and effeminacy*, which speaks forth the mother of love. *Mars* has a *warlike mein*; *Neptune* has a *stern awful look*.—They, generally, wore upon their *Statues* the *symbols* consecrated to them. Thus *Jupiter* appears with his *thunder*; *Apollo* with his *lyre*; *Neptune* with his *trident*; *Pluto* with his *bidentéd sceptre*; *Bacchus* holds in his hand clusters of *grapes*; *Ceres* has ears of *corn*; *Hercules* his *club*; and *Diana* her *arrows* and *quiver*: The *dog* appears in the statues of *Mercury*; the *owl* in those of *Minerva*; and the *serpent* wreathed

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about a pillar in those of *Esculapius*. The *chariot* of *Neptune* is drawn by *sea-horses*; that of *Venus* by *doves*; that of *Juno* by *peacocks*; and that of *Cybele* by *lions*. Sometimes those symbols are single, sometimes multiplied; and when it appears that they are proper to several Gods, the statues that bear them get the name of *Pantheons*, such as are for the most part those of *Harpocrates*, and some others. The Egyptian Statues were more charged with *symbols* than those of the Greeks and Romans, as may be seen in the antiquaries. The *symbols* were taken either from *trees* or *plants*, or such *animals* as, for some particular reasons, were dearer to the Gods than others, as shall be shewn in speaking of the sacrifices, offerings, and victims, which were commonly taken from things wherein they were thought to take delight. The reasons of this preference given by the Gods were sometimes mysterious, and the ancients durst not reveal them; but then it is frequently an easy matter to see through them. Thus, to give but a few examples, the *laurel* was beloved by *Apollo*, for the sake of *Daphne*; the *pine* by *Cybele*, on account of *Atys*; and the *poplar* by *Hercules*, because he had brought one from the country of the Hyperboreans, &c.—For the most part, the Statues of the Gods were *simple*, and presented but a single figure; sometimes they were *grouped*, and contained several figures together.

SECTION SECOND.

ITS ALTARS.

The Etymology of the word *Altar*.

Without insisting upon the etymology of the word *Altare*, a name which we commonly reckon to have been given to Altars, because they are high built, we say with *SERVIVS*, that the ancients made some distinction between *Altar* and *Ara*; for al-

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though the last was equally used, either in speaking of the celestial or infernal Gods, yet the word *Altare* was peculiarly set apart to denote the Altars of the former. This was SERVIVS's distinction, though some authors add another, and say, that to the *celestial Gods*, sacrifices were offered upon *Altars*; to the *terrestrial Gods*, upon the *earth itself*; and to the *infernal Gods*, in *holes*; F. BERTHOLD subjoins, that to the *nymphs*, victims were offered in *dens* and *caverns*.

The antiquity, matter and form of Altars; The antiquity of Altars is not to be called in question: No doubt it was prior to the building of temples, not only among the Patriarchs, but among the Pagans too. And as the superstitious Pagan worship commenced in Egypt, this is probably the country where the first Altars were erected. Accordingly, this is the opinion of HERODOTUS, and of CÆLIUS RHODIGINUS, who has copied him. Simplicity having always been a concomitant of usages newly invented, it is plain that the first Altars were nothing but simple heaps of *earth* or *turf*, which were called *Aræ cespititiæ*, or *graminæ*; or of rough *stones*, &c.; and idolaters at first imitated the simple manner of raising Altars, which was used by NOAH and the other primitive Patriarchs; but in later times, Altars came to be quite changed, both in *matter* and *form*. Accordingly, Paganism had of them these several forms; *square*, *oblong*, *round*, and *triangular*; and of different materials, as *stone*, *marble*, *brass*, and *gold* itself, at least HERODOTUS says so of the table that was used as an Altar in the temple of *Belus*, at Babylon. PAUSANIAS observes, that some of them were of *wood*, but that it was rare to find any of that sort. That of *Jupiter Olympius* was nothing but a heap of *ashes*; others were but a mere collection of *horns* of different animals. EUSTATIUS who mentions such an Altar, says it was at Ephesus, and that *Apollo* had built it of the *bulls' horns* which *Diana* had killed in

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hunting. MOSES, speaking of the *horns* of the Altars, means thereby nothing but the *corners* of the Altars.

Altars were no less distinguished in their height; and the places where they were erected reached no higher than to the *knee*, others came up to the *waist*; some were yet *higher*, especially those of *Jupiter*, and the other celestial Gods; while those of *Vesta*, and the other terrestrial Deities, were the *lowest*. Among these Altars, some were *solid*, others were *hollow* at the top, to receive the libations and blood of the victims; others, in fine, were *portable*, to be used in travelling, and upon other occasions.—Altars were not all in *temples*; there were some of them in the *sacred groves*; and others exposed in the *open fields*, as those of the Gods *Terminus*, *Sylvanus*, *Pan*, *Vertumnus*, and those which Epimenides caused the Athenians, in the time of a plague, to set up in *places* where the victims, left to their own liberty, happened to stop: These last are the same that ST. PAUL speaks of, which were dedicated to unknown Gods. But it was still more common to set up Altars upon the *mountains*, where, frequently too, they had sacred groves; and this custom of going to sacrifice upon *high places*, was so ancient and universal, that the scripture incessantly reproaches the Israelites with it, and even blames the better kings for not having abolished it.

SECTION THIRD.

ITS SACRED GROVES.

Antiquity of Sacred Groves—their universality—refuge for criminals, &c.;

THE institution of Sacred Groves, is so ancient, that it is even thought to have been antecedent to that of Temples and Altars. As the Romans called these Groves *Luci*, SERVIUS thinks they got that name, because they kindled fire to let the mysteries be seen that were there celebrated.

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The original name *Luci* or *Lucendo* apart, whether they first chose for the purpose natural woods, with which every place was anciently furnished; or planted them on purpose, as was done in later times; they were always the thickest groves of the kind, places dark and gloomy, impenetrable even to the sun-beams. It was in these dark retreats, apt to overcast the mind with I know not what horror, that the first mysteries of Paganism were celebrated. Here it was the ancient *Druids* assembled, who got their very names from the oaks which they frequented.—It appears however, to have been the opinion of the ancients, that these Groves, at first consecrated to *Lucina*, who was the same with *Diana* and *Hecate*, had been so called from the name of that Goddess. Be that as it will, the use of sacred Groves for the celebration of mysteries, is of very great antiquity, and perhaps of all others the most universal. At first, there were in these Groves neither Temples nor Altars: they were simple retreats, to which there was no access for the profane; that is, such as were not devoted to the service of the Gods. Afterwards they built Chapels and Temples in them; and even to preserve so ancient a custom, they took care, whenever it was in their power, to plant Groves around their Temples and Altars, to inclose them with walls, hedges, and ditches; and these Groves were not only consecrated to the Gods, in honour of whom the Temples in the centres of them had been built, but they were themselves a place of *sanctuary* for *criminals*, who fled thither for *refuge*.

MOSES, to hinder the Hebrews, too prone to the Jews were interdicted their use, by MOSES; imitate the idolatrous practices of the people about them, from following this pernicious custom, forbids them to plant Groves about the Altars of the true God. Nay, every time this sacred legislator commands the Jews to destroy idols, he orders them at the same time to cut down the hallowed Groves. The same orders were renewed to Gideon; and the prophets always speak with indigna-

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tion of the kings of Judah and Israel, who had a custom of sacrificing in the consecrated Groves. The Jews were so prone to imitate the idolatrous nations in this, that one of their kings carried his impiety so far as to plant at Jerusalem one of these Groves, which Josiah cut down, and burned in the valley of Cedron. The *Rabbins* add, that the Jews were not permitted to enter these Groves, to cut a tree of them for their use, to rest under their shade, to eat the eggs or the little birds that nested there, nor to take the dead wood; nay, nor to eat the bread that had been baked with that wood.

The sacred Groves, in after ages, became extremely frequented. There, assemblies were held on holidays, and after the celebration of the mysteries, they kept public entertainments there, accompanied with dancing, and all other demonstrations of vigorous mirth. *TIBULLUS* describes these festivals and entertainments with a good deal of humour. They were at the pains to deck these Groves with flowers, chaplets, garlands, and nosegays; and hang them about, with donations and offerings, so lavishly, that though they had been less bushy and condensed, they would have been quite darkened thereby, shutting out the very light of day.

To cut down the sacred Groves, or to waste them, was a piece of sacrilege, and perhaps that which they thought the most unpardonable. *LUCAN*, speaking of the trees which *Cæsar* caused to be felled near *Marseilles*, to make warlike engines of them, well describes the consternation of the soldiers, who refused to be instrumental in this work, till that great general, taking an ax, felled one of them himself. "Struck with a religious awe for the sanctity of the Grove, they were full of the belief, that if they presumptuously attempted to cut down one of its trees, the ax would have recoiled upon themselves."—It was lawful, however,

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to prune and dress them, and to cut out the trees which they thought attracted the *thunder*. We have the history of some of these sacred Groves handed down to us by the Ancients, such as those of *Lucina*, of *Feronia*, of the emperor *Augustus*, and others: all of which resembled each other, and were held in equal veneration.

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AS the Latins used a variety of words for a Temple, as *Templum*, *Fanum*, *Ædes*, *Sacrarium*, *Delubrum*, &c., the grammarians and commentators have searched into the etymology of each of these denominations; but when all is well examined, it appears that each of these names signified a place consecrated to the Gods, distinguished from one another more by their size, than other respects, though very good authors make other distinctions between them. We shall pass over those distinctions, with observing by the way, that if the single word *Templum* was not always confined to denote a building—since the Augurs applied it to the *plots* of ground inclosed with *pallisadoes* or *nets*, which they had marked out with their *augural staff*, in order to take the *auguries*—why multiply distinctions between terms, of which either most probably applied to whatever places were consecrated to the Gods, with no other difference perhaps than that of *local use*.

The antiquity of Temples—the Tabernacle probably their model.

The antiquity of Temples is as unquestionable, as the time when they began to be used is uncertain. As it was in Egypt and Phenicia that idolatry took its rise shortly after the deluge, these are the two countries where we are to seek for the origin of whatever concerns the worship of false Gods, and the use of temples which they introduced. HERODOTUS and LUCIAN

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expressly tell us so of the Egyptians—but we are to observe at the same time, that the system of that false religion was not established all at once. At first, the Gods were honoured after a very gross manner—simple altars of rough stone or turf, set up in open fields, were all the apparatus of the sacrifices that were offered them. Chapels, that is to say, close places, and at last Temples, were introduced in later times; accordingly, we do not find that the Egyptians had any Temples in the time of MOSES, or he had mentioned them, as he had frequent occasions so to do. Thus, I am confident that the Tabernacle he made in the desert, which was a portable Temple, is the first of the kind that was known, and perhaps the model of all the rest. The Tabernacle had a place more sacred than the rest, the *sancta sanctorum*, answering to the more sacred and holy places in the Pagan Temples, which they called *Adyta*. This Temple, exposed to the view of the nations bordering upon the tract through which the Israelites were sojourning forty years, might give occasion to those idolaters to build others like it, though not portable: At least, it is certain they had of them before the building of the Temple of Jerusalem.—The first we find mention of in Scripture, is that of *Dagon*, the God of the Philistines: But all circumstances being duly considered, we must conclude that the custom of erecting Temples in honour of the Gods, was derived from Egypt to other nations. LUCIAN says it was propagated from that country to the Assyrians, under which name he doubtless comprehends the adjacent countries of Phenicia, Syria, and others. From Egypt and Phenicia it passed to Greece with the *colonies*, and from Greece to Rome—the course of fables and idolatry. This opinion is founded upon the authority of HERODOTUS, and all the evidence that antiquity can afford. *Deucalion* has the glory ascribed to him, of having built the first Temple in Greece. *Janus* has the like honour ascribed to him in relation to Italy; though others will have it, that the honour of building the first

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Temple in Italy belongs to *Faunus*, from whom was derived the name of *Fanum*, which with the Latins signifies a Temple. But these enquiries are equally frivolous and uncertain.

From small chapels, Temples became examples of magnificence and wonder in Art.

The small chapels, mostly reared up by private persons, in the open fields, were very soon succeeded by regular buildings, and at last by master-pieces of architecture. We may see in

HERODOTUS and other authors, what was the magnificence of the Temple of VULCAN in Egypt, which so many kings had much ado to finish: a prince gained no small honour, if in the course of a long reign, he was able to build one portico of it. In PAUSANIAS you have the description of the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, which I shall presently mention. That of *Delphos*, as famous for its Oracles, as for the immense presents with which it was enriched, deserves also to be known. That of *Diana* at Ephesus, that master-piece of art, and so renowned, that a despicable fool thought to immortalize his name by burning it, was as rich as magnificent. The *Pantheon*, a specimen of the magnificence of Agrippa, Augustus' son-in-law, is still subsisting, and is dedicated to *all the Saints*, as it was formerly to *all the Gods*. In fine, the Temple of *Belus*, or rather that grand *Tower*, composed of eight stories, whereof the highest contained the statue of that God, with other things of which HERODOTUS speaks, as it was the most ancient, so it was the most singular, and the most magnificent.—These are the most stately of the Pagan Temples, whereof the memory is preserved to us in history. The others of less distinction are so numerous that it would require several volumes to describe them, nor would there be any utility in it. In Rome alone, there are reckoned to have been upwards of a *thousand*, large and small together. The antiquaries have given us the plan and elevation of some of those Temples, especially MONTFAUCON, who may be consulted.

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The parts of the Temples, and their ornaments.

The temples of the ancients were divided into several parts which it is proper to distinguish, in order to understand the descriptions they give of them. The *first* was the *Porch* where stood the pool, whence the priests drew the holy-water for the expiation of such as were to enter into the Temple; the *second* was the *Nave*, or middle of the Temple; the *third* was the holy place called *Penetrable*, *Sacrarium*, or *Adytum*, into which private persons were not permitted to enter; *lastly*, the *back Temple*, which division, indeed, was not in every one.—The Temples had often *porticoes*, and always steps of ascent. There were some of them with *galleries* carried quite around; which were composed of a range of pillars set at a certain distance from the wall, covered with large stones: Temples of this sort were called *Peripteres*, that is, winged all around; but Temples whose galleries had two ranges of pillars, were called *Dipteres*; and *Prostyles*, when pillars formed the portico without a gallery; and *lastly*, *Hypethres*, when they had two rows of pillars on the outside, and as many on the inside, the middle being wholly uncovered, after the form of a cloyster.—The inner part of the Temple was often very much adorned; for, besides the *statues*, of the Gods, which were sometimes of *gold*, *ivory*, *ebony*, or of some other precious materials, and those of the great men which were sometimes very numerous, it was ordinary to see there *paintings*, *gildings*; and other embellishments, among which we must not forget the offerings of the *ex voto*, that is to say, *frowns of ships*, dedicated upon their being saved from shipwreck, by the assistance, as they thought, of some God; *tablets*, or *tabellas*, for the cure of a disease; *arms*, *colours*, *tripods*, and *votive bucklers* won from an enemy. There were, especially in the Temple at Delphos, and in several Temples at Rome, immense riches of this kind. Besides these sorts of ornaments, they were not wanting, on holidays, to deck the Temples with branches of *laurel*, *olive*, and *ivy*.

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Among the Romans, when they were to build a Temple, the Aurspices were employed to choose the place where, and time when, they should begin the work. This place was purified with great care; they even encircled it with fillets and garlands. The Vestals accompanied with young boys and girls, washed this spot of ground with water, pure and clean, and the priests expiated it by a solemn sacrifice. Then he touched the stone that was to be first laid in the foundation, which was bound with a fillet; when the people, animated by enthusiastic zeal, threw it in with some pieces of money or metal which had never passed through the furnace. When the edifice was finished, there was also a consecration of it, with grand ceremonies, wherein the priest, or in his absence, some of his college presided.—TACITUS, speaking of the restoration of the Capital, has transmitted to us the forms and ceremonies in consecrating the ground set apart for building a Temple.

Of those Temples, some were not to be built within the precincts of the cities, but without their walls; as those of *Mars*, *Vulcan*, and *Venus*, for reasons given by VITRUVIUS: says he, “When Temples are to be built to the Gods, especially to those of them who are patrons of the City, if it be to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, or *Minerva*, they must be set on *places* of the greatest *eminence*, whence one may have a view of the bulk of the Town-walls. If it is to *Mercury*, they must be set in the *Forum* or *Market-place*, as the Egyptians observed in those of *Isis* and *Serapis*. Those of *Apollo* and *Bacchus* must be near the *Theatre*. Those of *Hercules*, when there is neither *Gymnasium* nor *Amphitheatre*, should be placed near the *Circus*. Those of *Mars* without the City, in the *fields*; and those of *Venus* at the *City-Gates*. We find in the writings of the *Tuscan Soothsayers*,” continues he, “that they

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had a custom of placing the Temples of *Venus*, of *Vulcan*, and of *Mars*, without the walls, lest, if *Venus* were in the city itself, it might be a means of debauching the young virgins and the matrons too: as, in regard to *Vulcan*, his was placed without, that houses might not be in danger of taking fire: and as to *Mars*, while he is without the walls, there will be no dissensions among the people; nay more, he will be in the place of a rampart, to secure the walls of the city from the hazards of war. The Temples of *Ceres* were likewise without the cities, in places not much frequented, lest, when offering sacrifices to her, their purity might be defiled." These distinctions however, were not always strictly observed.

The veneration of the Idolaters for their Temples. The Idolaters had all possible veneration for their Temples. If we may believe **ARRIAN**, it was even forbid to blow one's nose, or spit there; and **DION** adds, that sometimes they clambered up to them on their knees. In times of public calamity, the women prostrated themselves in these sacred places, and swept the pavements with their hair. Sometimes, however, when public disasters obstinately continued, the people lost all due reverence for the Temples, and became so outrageous, as to fall a pelting the walls with stones; an instance whereof we find in **SUETONIUS**. We shall presently derive a further idea of their veneration for their Temples, consecrated Groves, Altars, &c., when we speak of them as *Asyla*, or Sanctuaries for criminals, debtors, &c.— Though commonly both men and women entered into the Temples, yet there were some into which men were forbid to enter; for instance, that of *Diana* at Rome, in the street called the *Vicus Patricius*, as we learn from **PLUTARCH**, although they might enter into the other Temples of that Goddess. The reason of this prohibition is thought to have been, that a woman, as she was praying in that Temple, had received a most cruel insult.—We will subjoin to this general account of Temples, a particular descrip-

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tion of some of the most famous; from which we may judge to what pitch of profusion and magnificence the Ancients were carried by their idolatrous zeal.

1st, *The Temple of Belus.*

— This Temple was originally the Tower of Babel —its plan, &c.

As this Temple was the most ancient in the Pagan world, so was its structure the most curious. BEROSUS, as JOSEPHUS relates, ascribes the building of it to *Belus*, who was himself worshipped there after his death. But certain it is, his design was not to build a Temple, but to erect a Tower, in order to shelter himself and his people from inundations, if such a one as the deluge should again happen. We know in what manner God put a stop to that mad design. The work continued in the same state it was in at the confusion of tongues, and was afterwards set apart for a Temple of *Belus*, who was deified after his death. This famous Tower commonly called the *Tower of Babel*, formed a square in its base, of which each side contained a *stadium* in length, making a half mile in circumference. The whole work consisted of eight Towers raised the one upon the other, which diminished gradually from the lowest to the uppermost. Some authors, as PRIDEAUX remarks, being misled by the latin version of HERODOTUS, allege that each of these Towers was a furlong in height, which would make the whole a mile high; but the Greek text says no such thing, nor is any mention made of the height of the edifice.—We learn from HERODOTUS that the access to the top of this building was by a winding stair on the outside of it. These eight Towers composed, as it were, so many stories, each of which was seventy-five feet high. In each of them were disposed several great chambers supported by pillars, and other lesser ones, where people might rest themselves in going up. The highest or uppermost, was the most richly adorned, and was that for which the people had the greatest veneration. In this, according to HERODOTUS, there was no statue, but

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a table of massy gold, and a stately bed that no one was allowed to lie in, except a woman of the city whom the Priest of *Belus* chose every day, first making her believe that she would be honoured there with the presence of the God.

It was embellished by Nebuchadnezzar, and destroyed by Xerxes.

Until the time of Nebuchadnezzar, this Temple contained nothing but the towers and chambers just mentioned; which were so many private chapels. But that monarch, as *BEROSUS* relates, enlarged it by edifices which he built all around it; and encompassed the whole with a wall, having brazen gates. In executing this work he employed the *Sea of Brass* and other utensils of which he had rifled the Temple of Jerusalem. This Temple was still subsisting in the time of Xerxes, who, as he returned from his unfortunate expedition against Greece, ordered it to be demolished; having first pillaged it of its immense riches, among which were statues of massy gold. One of these statues, as *DIODORUS SICULUS* has it, was forty feet high; which was probably the same that Nebuchadnezzar had consecrated in the plains of Dura. The Scripture indeed, gives this Colossus ninety feet in height; but this is to be understood of the statue and pedestal taken both together. There were likewise in the Temple several Idols of solid gold, and a great number of sacred vases of the same metal, whose aggregate weight, according to the same author, amounted to 5030 talents!—how wretched and needy indeed, must have been the condition of the subjects of these splendid monarchs, who could bestow such boundless profusion, only by the privation of those who laboured to produce it!!

2d, Temple of Vulcan at Memphis; with other Egyptian Temples.

The antiquity of the Temple of Vulcan;—by whom founded and embellished.

The Egyptians, according to *HERODOTUS*, were the first people in the world, who built Temples in honour of the Gods. The Temple of *Vulcan*, at Memphis, and some others of other

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principal cities, deserve a particular consideration on account of their antiquity.—Although we have not any very full description of the temple of *Vulcan*, we may judge, from what HERODOTUS says of it in several parts of his history, that it must have been of surpassing magnificence. First, as to its antiquity, that seems to be inevitable, since this historian tells us it was built by MENES, the first who reigned in Egypt after the Gods and Demi-Gods. Probably it was not that prince who gave all that beauty to the work for which it was afterwards so much admired; although HERODOTUS says, that it was even then grand and highly celebrated, since the primitive building spoke nothing but a noble simplicity. But the successors of MENES ambitiously vied with one another in embellishing the work of the founder of their monarchy, as we are going to mention, particularly with statues, wherewith the interior of the ancient temples of Egypt, according to the best authorities, were not adorned. MÆRIS, a powerful prince, and extremely opulent, added to this first Temple, the stately porch that was on the north side of it. Rhamsinitus, Proteus' successor, raised according to the same author, that which fronted to the west, and placed over against the porch, two Colossal statues, each twenty-five cubits, that is thirty-seven or eight feet in height. The one, which the Egyptians worshipped, was called *summer*, because it faced from the south; the other, for which they had no regard, they called *winter*, because it looked from the north. Finally, Amasis set up before the same Temple an inverted statue, seventy-five feet high, and upon this Colossus, which served as a foundation or pedestal, he erected two other statues, each twenty feet in height, and of the same marble with the former. In the meantime the inner parts of the edifice, so far from inviting the admiration of those who entered into it, only provoked the contempt of Cambyses, who broke out with an immoderate fit of laughter, at seeing the images of *Vulcan*, and other Gods, like *pygmies*; which in truth must

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have made a very ridiculous contrast with the colossuses in the porches of which we have just spoken.

Other Egyptian Temples, with one of a single stone. Egypt had many other very rich Temples, amongst which were, the Temple of *Jupiter* at Thebes or Diospolis; that of *Andera* at Hermunthis; that of *Proteus* at Memphis; and that of *Minerva* at Sais, which as HERODOTUS tells us, Amasis had taken great pains to embellish with a *Porch*, which far surpassed in grandeur, all the monuments which his kingly predecessors had left. He also added to it statues of a prodigious size; for the Egyptians were greatly devoted to colossal figures, not to say stones that were hardly to be measured for their enormous bigness, which came chiefly from Elephantina, a town at the distance of twenty days sail from Sais.—The particularities necessary to be entered upon in order to give a tolerable notion of so many fine works, would be too great a digression; but we cannot forbear to take notice of a sort of Temple, the only one of its kind, that Chapel of a single stone which the same Amasis had caused to be cut out of the quarries in Upper Egypt, and to be transported with incredible labour and pains, as far as Sais, where it was to have been set up in the Temple of *Minerva*. HERODOTUS speaks of it thus; “But what I admire more than all the other works done by Amasis, is this—he caused to be brought from Elephantina, a house made of one entire stone, which 2,000 men, all of them pilots and sailors, were not able to transport in less than three years. The front of this house was twenty-one cubits in breadth, by eight in height; and within the walls, five cubits high by eight in length.” This house never entered the Temple of *Minerva*; but was left at the gate, whether Amasis was provoked to see the architect, who conducted it, complain heavily of the labour this work had cost him, or because one of those who had been assisting to convey it along the Nile, was crushed to death, as the same historian relates.

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3d, *Three Temples of Diana at Ephesus.*

1st, The first Temple of Diana, by whom established, and what it was.

DIONYSIUS the Geographer, informs us that the most ancient Temple of *Diana* at Ephesus was built by the Amazons, which remarkably declares the simplicity of the first ages; since it only consisted of a *nich* hollowed out of an *Elm*, where was probably the statue of *Diana*. That of which I am going to speak, was not so ancient; but how magnificent it was, the following description from *PLINY* will show.

2d, The second, the famous Ephesian Temple, an account of it.

The celebrated Temple of *Diana* at Ephesus was built in a marshy ground, to secure it from earthquakes, and openings of the earth, which sometimes happened there; and that the foundation of such a weighty building might stand solid upon this soft and fenny ground, they strewed over it a quantity of beaten coal, and laid over them sheep skins with their wool. This Temple was four hundred and twenty-five feet long, and two hundred feet wide. The hundred and twenty-seven columns which supported the edifice were placed there by so many kings, and were each of them sixty feet high. Of these pillars, there were thirty-six beautifully carved; one of which was done by the famous Scopas. The architect who carried on this great work was Chersiphron or Ctesiphon; and it is a wonder how he could place architraves of so prodigious a weight. It is credible enough, that the roof of the Temple was made of cedar planks, as the same author tells us, but I do not know how to credit what he says of the stairs by which they ascended to the very top, as being made of a single vine stock. Neither Chersiphron, nor his son Metagenes finished this edifice of unrivalled grandeur; other architects wrought at it; since, according to *PLINY*, all Asia conspired for two hundred and twenty years, or as he says elsewhere, for four hundred years, to adorn and embellish it. *PINDAR* in one of his Odes, says, it was built by the Amazons, when they

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were going to make war upon the Athenians and Theseus; but PAUSANIAS assures us that this great poet was ignorant of the antiquity of that Temple, since those very Amazons had come from the banks of the *Thermodon*, to sacrifice to *Diana* of the Ephesians in her Temple, with which they were acquainted; for, sometime before, being defeated by *Hercules*, and antecedently to him, by *Bacchus*, they had fled thither for refuge as into a sanctuary. The riches of this Temple must have been immense, since so many kings contributed to embellish it; and since nothing in all Asia was more famous than this fabric, either for devotion or the infinite concourse of people attracted to Ephesus by it. The account given by ST. PAUL, of the sedition kindled by the *Goldsmiths* of that city, who earned their living by making small gold and silver statues of *Diana*, shows us effectually how celebrated the worship of that Goddess was. This Temple was burnt by Erostratus, for a pitiful motive that every body knows.

3d, The third Ephesian Temple was but little inferior to the last mentioned.

The Temple which subsisted in PLINY's time, had been raised by Cheiromocrates, who built the town of Alexandria, and proposed to cut Mount Atlas into a statue of Alexander. This last Temple, which STRABO had seen, was little inferior in riches and beauty to the former; for there were to be seen the works of the greatest statuaries in Greece. The Altar was almost wholly of Praxiteles's workmanship. XENOPHON speaks of a statue of massy gold, whereof HERODOTUS, who had visited this temple, says nothing. STRABO assures us likewise, that the Ephesians, in gratitude, had erected in the same place a statue of gold, in honour of Artemidorus. VITRUVIUS tells us, that this temple, of the Ionic order, was dipteric, that is, that there went quite round it two ranges of pillars, in form of a double portico; that it was seventy-one toises in length, with more than thirty-six in breadth; and that there were reckoned in it one hundred and twenty-seven pillars of sixty feet high.—This

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temple was one of the most celebrated *asylums*, which, according to the author last quoted, extended to one hundred and twenty-five feet of the adjacent ground. Mithridates had confined it to the space of a bow-shot. Marc Antony doubled that extent; but Tiberius, to correct the abuses that were occasioned by those sorts of privileges, abolished this *asylum*.—Nothing remains at this day of so stately a fabric but some ruins; of which the reader may see an account in SPON's voyage.

Ath, Temple of Jupiter Olympius.

Description of
the Temple of
Jupiter Olympi-
us.

Greece had so many Temples, Chapels, and Altars, that they occurred every where, whether in cities and villages, or in the open fields.

To be convinced of this, we need but read the Ancients, especially PAUSANIAS, who has applied himself particularly to describe them, and speaks of them in almost every page of his travels through Greece. In pursuance of my design, I shall single out two of these Temples, that of *Jupiter Olympius*, and that of *Apollo* at Delphos which were the two most magnificent.—The former, according to PAUSANIAS, with the admirable statue of *Jupiter* which it contained, were the product of the spoils which the Eleans had won from the Pisans and their Allies, when they sacked the city of Pisa. This Temple, whereof LIBO, a native of the country, was the architect, was of the Doric order, and surrounded with columns, insomuch that the place where it was built, formed a stately peristyle. In this fabric they made use of the stones of the country, which however, were of a singular nature, and exquisitely beautiful. The height of the Temple, from the *area* to the *roof*, was sixty-eight feet, its breadth ninety-five, and its length two hundred and thirty. The roof was not of tiles, but of a fine pentelic marble, cut in the form of tiles. From the middle of the roof hung a *gilded victory*, and under this statue, a *golden shield*, on which was represented *Medusa's head*;

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and at each extremity of the same roof hung two *golden kettles*. On the outside, above the columns, a rope bound around the Temple, to which were fastened twenty-one *gilt bucklers*, consecrated to *Jupiter* by Mummius, after the sacking of Corinth. Upon the pediment, in the front, was represented with exquisite art, the *Chariot-race* between Pelops and Oenomaus, with *Jupiter* in the middle. Oenomaus and his wife Sterope, one of the daughters of Atlas, the chariot with four horses, and Myrtilus the charioteer of Oenomaus were on the right hand of the God; Pelops with Hippodamia, and his charioteer with his horses, were on the left. All these figures were done by Pæonius, a native of Thrace. The back pediment, the work of Alcamenes, the best statuary in his time next to Phidia, represented the battle of the *Centaur*s with the *Lapithæ*, at the marriage of *Pirithous*. A number of the labours of *Hercules* were represented upon the inside of the fabric; and upon the Gates, which were all of brass, were to be seen, among other things, the hunting of the *boar of Erymanthus*, together with the exploits of the same *Hercules* against *Diomedes*, king of Thrace, *Geryon*, &c. In fine, to pass over many important particulars which it would be tedious to mention, there were two ranges of columns supporting two Galleries raised exceedingly high, under which passed the way that led to *Jupiter's throne*.

The Statue and Throne it contained of that God.

This THRONE and the STATUE of the God were Phidias' master-piece, than which antiquity produced nothing more magnificent or more highly finished. The STATUE, of an immense height, was of *gold* and *ivory* so artfully blended, that it could not be beheld but with astonishment. The God wore upon his head a *Crown* which resembled the olive leaf to perfection; in his right hand he held a *Victory* likewise of Gold and Ivory; and in his left a *Sceptre* of exquisite taste, refulgent with all sorts of metals, and supporting an *Eagle*. The *Shoes* and the *Mantle* of the God

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were of gold; and upon the latter were all sorts of animals and flowers engraved. The THRONE was all sparkling with gold and precious stones. The ivory and ebony, the animals there represented, and several other ornaments by their assemblage formed a delightful variety. At the four *corners* of the THRONE were as many *Victories* who seemed to be joining hands for a dance, besides two others which were at *Jupiter's* feet. The *foot* of the THRONE, on the front part, was adorned with *Sphinxes*, who were plucking the tender *infants* from the bosoms of the Theban Mothers; while underneath were to be seen *Apollo* and *Diana* wounding *Niobe's children* to death with their arrows. Four *cross-bars* that were at the *foot* of the THRONE, and passed from one end to the other, were adorned with a great number of *figures* extremely beautiful; upon one were represented seven conquerors at the Olympic Games; upon another appeared *Hercules*, ready to engage with the Amazons, the number of combatants on either side being twenty-nine. Besides the *feet* of the THRONE, there were likewise *pillars* to support it. In fine, a great *ballustrade* painted and adorned with figures, railed in the whole work.—Panæus, an able painter of that time, had represented there, with inimitable art, *Atlas* bearing the heavens upon his shoulders, and *Hercules* in the attitude of stooping to relieve him from his load; *Theseus* and *Pirithous*; the combat of *Hercules* with the Nemean Lion; *Ajax* offering violence to *Cassandra*; *Hippodamia* with her mother; *Prometheus* in chains; and numberless other subjects of fabulous history. In the most elevated part of the THRONE, above the head of the God, were the *Graces* and *Hours*, of each three in number.—The *Pedestal* which supported this pile was equally adorned with the rest: there, Phidias had engraved upon Gold, on the one side, the *Sun* guiding his *Chariot*; and on the other, *Jupiter* and *Juno*, the *Graces*, *Mercury*, and *Vesta*: there *Venus* appeared rising out of the sea, and *Cupid* receiving her, while *Pitho*, or the Goddess of persuasion was

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presenting her with a *crown*: there also appeared *Apollo* and *Diana*, *Minerva* and *Hercules*: At the bottom of the *Pedestal* might be seen *Amphitrite* and *Neptune*; and *Diana* mounted on horseback: in fine, a *woollen veil*, of purple dye, and magnificently embroidered; the present of *Antiochus*, hung from *top* to *bottom*.—I say nothing of the other ornaments of this noble *Structure*, nor of the *pavement* which was of the finest marble; nor of the *presents* consecrated to the Gods by several princes; nor of the prodigious number of *statues* that were in the Temple, as well as in the neighbourhood of it: for all these PAUSANIAS may be consulted. I only add, that in order to judge of the greatness of *Jupiter's Statue*, about which the ancients are not agreed, it is sufficient to observe, that the THRONE and STATUE reached from the *pavement* to the *roof*, whose elevation is marked above. It will readily be granted, that a work of such a nature—of so prodigious an extent; of so considerable a height; where *gold* blended with *ebony* and *ivory*, casting a dazzling splendour; where so many *figures*, *bas-reliefs*, and *painting* were to be seen; the whole done by the greatest masters—would not fail to produce a very sublime effect upon those who entered into the Temple.—We must not forget that this Edifice was of the *Doric Order*, the most ancient of all the Orders in Architecture, and at the same time the most suitable for works of grandeur.

5th, *Temple of Apollo at Delphos.*

 This Temple was built five times—an account of each.

If the Temple of *Apollo at Delphos* was not so magnificent in structure as that I have just described, it was a great deal *richer* in the immense *presents* which were sent to it from all quarters: I say *richer*, if indeed it be possible to estimate *Jupiter's statue*, the master-piece of Phidias, just described.—At first the Temple of Delphos was of very little consideration. A *Cavern*, whence issued certain *exhalations* which infused *vivacity* and a sort of *enthusiasm* into those who approached it, having impress-

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ed people with a belief that there was in it something divine, an *Oracle* was founded there, as I shall explain at a greater length in speaking on the subject of Oracles. The concourse which this pretended miracle drew, obliged the neighbouring inhabitants to consecrate the place; and the *first* temple they built there was a sort of *chapel*, or rather a *hut* made of laurel boughs.—The *second* Temple, they gave out, adds PAUSANIAS, was raised by *Bees*, and made of *wax*; and that *Apollo* sent it to the *Hyperboreans*. This is evidently a fable which will be explained when speaking of Oracles.—The *third* Temple of Delphos was built of *brass*. This need not seem very surprising, since Acrisius, king of Argos, caused an apartment to be made of *brass*, to shut up in it his daughter *Danae*; in the time of PAUSANIAS, there was extant, at Sparta, the Temple of *Minerva Chalciaeos*, so called because it was wholly of *brass*: but that it was built by *Vulcan*, is what PAUSANIAS says he does not believe; nor that there were upon the ceiling, *Golden Virgins* who sung charmingly, as PINDAR represented, in imitation, no doubt, of the *Sirens* in HOMER. The Ancients were not agreed about the manner in which this Temple was destroyed: some said the earth had opened and swallowed it up; others, that it had taken fire and the brass whereof it was chiefly made, melted down.—Be that as it will, the Temple was built a *fourth* time, when its materials were of *Stone*, and its architects were Agamedes and Trophonius. This edifice was burnt to the ground, on the first year of the fifty-eighth Olympiad. A *fifth* Temple, in fine, was erected by the direction of the Amphictyones, with the money which the people had consecrated for that use. This temple was subsisting in the time of PAUSANIAS, and greatly excelled the preceding, in grandeur and riches; for, although we have not a particular description of this Temple, it is easy to judge of its extent, and of the immense riches it contained, from that concern which so many princes, and whole nations took

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in sending presents to it. Few came to consult the *Oracle of Apollo*, without bringing some offering to the God; and who were there but either came or sent to it!! Of these offerings there must have been uncountable numbers, whether of one kind or of every variety; since, although the Temple had been pillaged several times, Nero carried off from it *five hundred statues of brass*, chiefly of Gods, and partly of illustrious men.

6th, *The Pantheon at Rome.*

The age of the Pantheon is uncertain;—it yet subsists in All Saints.

Rome and Italy in general, abounded with Temples as much as Greece. They were to be met with every where; and several of them remarkable either for their singularity or magnificence. Among the most elegant, we are to reckon that of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and that of *Peace*; which, according to PLINY, were two of the finest ornaments of Rome. But as none of them were more noble, nor more solidly built than the great *Pantheon*, commonly called the *Rotunda*, and since it subsists at this day entire, under the name of *All Saints*, to whom it is consecrated, as in Paganism, it was to *all the Gods*; I choose to give the description of it in preference to others. The draught of it may be seen in the second volume of MONTFAUCON'S *Antiquities*, who has taken the plan of it from SERLIO, and the profile from LAFRERI. The most common opinion is, that it was built by the direction, and at the expense of Agrippa, Augustus' son-in-law; though there are authors who maintain, that it was before his time, and that he only repaired it, and made an addition to it of that fine *Portico*, which is there still to be seen. Be that as it will, that grand fabric, which receives light only from a hole in the middle of the dome, so ingeniously contrived, that the whole is sufficiently lighted by it, is of a round figure, the architect, it seems, designing to imitate the figure of the world, as is to be remarked of a great number of other Temples of the earliest anti-

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quity. The *Portico*, the work of Agrippa, more beautiful and more surprising than the Temple itself, is composed of sixteen *columns* of granite marble, each of one entire stone. These *columns* are five feet in diameter, and above seven and thirty feet in height, without including the *bass* and *capital*. Of these sixteen *columns*, there are eight in front, and as many behind them, all of the Corinthian order. As in the time of Pope Eugenius, there was found near this edifice, a part of Agrippa's *head in brass*, a *horse's foot*, and a piece of a *wheel* of the same metal; it would seem that this great man had himself been represented in *brass* upon this *Portico*, riding in a *chariot* with *four horses*.

Of its foundation and its ornaments.

When I say that this Temple is subsisting entire at this day, I would be understood to mean the body of the work, raised on such solid foundations, that nothing has been able to affect it.

And no wonder; for, according to a Roman architect, these foundations were a mass not only extending itself under the whole edifice, but also a great way beyond its walls. As for the magnificent works, the *statues*, and other *precious things*, of which it was full, these are all gone to wreck. The plates of *gilt brass*, that covered the whole roof, were carried off by the emperor Constantius III. Pope Urban made free with the *beams* of the same metal, to form the canopy of *St. Peters*, and the great pieces of artillery, which are in the castle of *St. Angelo*. The *statues* of the Gods which were in the niches still to be seen within the Temple, have either been pillaged, or buried under ground; nor is it very long ago, since in digging near this edifice, they found first a *lion of basalt*, which is a fine Egyptian marble, and then another, which served for ornaments to the fountain of Sextus V., not to mention a large beautiful *vase of porphyry*, that was placed by the *Portico*. In general, this edifice was exceedingly magnificent, perfectly well built, in just proportions, and it still makes one of the fairest ornaments of Rome.

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7th, Of the nature of Sanctuaries, or Asyla.

Origin of the
right of *Asylum*,
or *Sanctuary*.

The Altars, Sacred Groves, and Temples, having been places of *refuge* for criminals among the Pagans, we must explain wherein this *right of Asylum* consisted; what were the privileges belonging to it; and whence the origin of the custom was derived. From the time that men began to devote places to the worship of the Gods, there to acknowledge them in an authentic manner as their lords, and the sovereign disposers of their destinies, and to conceive hopes of being aided by them, they believed them to be there present in a peculiar manner; and hence, that they might not seem inexorable towards others, while they were supplicating the Gods to be propitious to themselves, it is highly credible that they looked upon those sacred places, whither the guilty had repaired, perhaps fortuitously at first, though afterwards by design, as *sanctuaries inviolable*. The Tabernacle and the Temple of Jerusalem were places of *refuge*, and doubtless the first Altars raised by the Patriarchs were so too, since MOSES excludes murderers, who fled for refuge to those he himself set up. The *cities of refuge* appointed by MOSES and JOSHUA, were likewise *Asyla*. Paganism, which imitated many of the customs of God's people, from them, no doubt, had likewise taken this of appropriating *Asyla*; thus, could we know the date of the foundation of their first Temple and Altars, this would lead us to the original of this privilege. We can only affirm, that it is very ancient, without being able to determine the precise time when it commenced. We know from PAUSANIAS, that Cadmus granted it to the city or *citadel*, which he built in Bæotia; and it is probable, as M. SIMON remarks, that this prince, a native of Phenicia, and from the neighbourhood of Palestine, having learned how much the confluence of criminals and debtors into the Jewish *cities of refuge* had been of use to that people, had used the same means to draw inhabitants into his. Theseus for Athens, and Romulus for his new

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city, had recourse to the same piece of policy, if we believe PLUTARCH. DIODORUS SICULUS assures us that *Cybele* founded an *Asylum* in Samothrace. The Egyptian *Hercules* passed for the author of that of Canopus: That of *Diana Stratonica* at Smyrna, and that of the *Tenean Neptune* owed their institution to Oracular responses.

for what purpose
it was instituted,
and to what places
or structures
it attached.

But as this privilege, granted to criminals not only in the Temples and near the Altars, but even in the cities which claimed it, and actually enjoyed it time immemorial, was capable of producing very bad consequences, such as authorising crimes, in hopes of impunity, the *Asylum* was restrained to *involuntary offences*. This, according to THUCYDIDES; was the way the Athenians repelled the charge of the Bœotians—asserting that their Altars were only Sanctuaries for crimes of this sort. We learn from TITUS LIVIUS, that the murderer of king Eumenes was obliged to quit the Temple of Samothrace, where he had taken Sanctuary. Thus the *Asyla* were properly for involuntary delinquencies; for those who were oppressed by unjust power; for slaves ill used by cruel masters; and for debtors who were unjustly dealt with, &c. But as the wisest institutions are liable to be abused, even criminals condemned to death, found a secure Sanctuary in the Temple of *Pallas* at Lacedemon; bankrupts, in that of the Goddess *Hebe* at Phlius, and in that of *Diana* at Ephesus.—It was not only Cities and Temples that served for Sanctuaries; the Sacred Grove, the Altars, the Statues of the Gods, those of the Emperors, and the Tombs of Heroes, wherever they were, had the same privilege; and it was enough for a criminal to be within the compass of those Groves; or to have embraced an Altar, the Statues of some God, or Tomb of some Hero, to be in perfect safety. Being once within the protection of an *Asylum*, the criminal remained there, commonly at the feet of the Altar or

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Statue, and had his victuals brought to him, till he found an opportunity of making his escape, or of satisfying the offended party.

The right was not always inviolable. The Asylum was not always inviolate; either the offender was sometimes forcibly torn from it; or permitted to die of hunger, by cutting off his provisions, and sometimes erecting a wall about the place of refuge, as the Ephori did in the case of *Pausanias*, of which we are told by CORNELIUS NEPOS. The sanctity of the Asylum would, no doubt, have been oftener violated than it was, had it not been for the punishments appointed by Gods and men against the Profaners: I say by the Gods, because the calamities which sometimes ensued upon the profanation of those places, were construed to be the effect of Divine vengeance. This accordingly was the judgment pronounced upon the desolating plague, that befel Epirus, after the murder of *Laodamia*, who was slain in the Temple of *Diana*. The history is thus related by JUSTIN: There were none remaining in all Epirus, of the blood royal, but *Nereis* and *Laodamia*, her sister. The former married the son of Gelo, king of Sicily, and *Laodamia*, who fled for refuge to the Temple of *Diana*, was assassinated there by the people: but the Gods revenged this sacrilege by plagues and calamities, which proved the ruin of almost the whole nation. To barrenness, famine, and civil war, succeeded other wars, which brought all to the greatest extremity; and *Milo*, who had given that unfortunate princess her mortal blow, was seized with such furious madness as to tear out his own bowels, of which he died in extreme agony, on the twelfth day after the murder. They pronounced the same judgment upon the infamous disease that finished the days of *Sylla*, who had violated the right of Asylum. The Oracles consulted after such kinds of profanations, prescribed not only for the offender, but for whole cities, solemn expiations, or public reparations, to be made; thus the Lacedemonians were

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obliged to erect two Statues of brass to the unhappy *Pausanias*, in the very place where he died.

It was abolished by Tiberius for its abuses. M. SIMON seems to think that all the Temples, Sacred Groves, and Altars, &c., were Asyla: there is however, a great probability that all these places did not enjoy that privilege. Be that as it will, the Asyla occasioned more harm, by the *impunity* they gave to *offenders*, than they did good by the *protection* it offered to some who were *innocent*; wherefore Tiberius abolished them.

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The simplicity of Sacrifices in general, in the early ages. *Sacrifice* is an act of religion, whereby man acknowledges the Divinity of him to whom he offers it up, professes to honour him in a solemn manner, to thank him for blessings received, and to supplicate him for new ones. In the earliest times of Paganism the worship paid to the Gods was exceedingly simple. The Egyptians, if we believe THEOPHRASTUS, cited by PORPHYRY, made an offering in ancient times to their Gods, not of *incense* and *perfumes*, but of the *green herbs*, which they gathered, and presented to them as the first productions of nature. OVID paints very well the simplicity of those primitive Sacrifices: No *incense*, says he, as yet was brought from the banks of Euphrates, nor the fragrant *costus* from the extremity of India. They were strangers then to the blushing *saffron*; and the richest offerings with which the Altars were crowned, were *simple herbs* or *bay-leaves*. The same THEOPHRASTUS adds, that they joined *libation* to those first Sacrifices; and doubtless it was *water* they poured out in honour of the Gods: For the Egyptians, of whom he speaks, made use of no other liquor, as we shall see afterwards.

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PLINY, MACROBIUS, PLUTARCH, DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus, and THUCYDIDES, make frequent mention of the simplicity of the festivals and Sacrifices of the ancient Egyptians, and of the Greeks and Romans, as may be seen in VOSSIUS, who has cited them in proof of this truth.—This primitive simplicity lasted a very long time, and there were places where it always subsisted. PAUSANIAS, speaking of an Altar at Athens, consecrated to *Jupiter the most high*, tells us, that no *living thing* was offered there, but that they made only *simple offerings*, without so much as using *wine* in the *libations*. This custom was derived from *Cecrops*, who, in regulating the worship of the Gods, and the ceremonies he had brought from Egypt into Greece, ordained that nothing which had *life* should be given in sacrifice, but that they should only offer *simple cakes*, as we learn from the same author.

At length,
bloody Sacrifices
became general;

As they offered in sacrifice the same things they fed upon, when *bread* came to be substituted in the room of *herbs*, they applied to that use a sort of *flour* and *cakes* baked with *salt*.—To these sacrifices they joined the productions of the earth, *honey*, *oil*, and *wine*; and when they came afterwards to feed upon the flesh of *animals*, they began also to make offerings of *bloody sacrifices*, in honour of the Gods: For there always was a remarkable connexion between the food of mankind and the matter of the Sacrifices, since the law ordained, that one part of them should be eaten; and they are always accompanied with *feasting*, as we shall see in the sequel.

but the time of
their introduction
is uncertain,
excepting Abel's
offering:

It would be hard to determine at what period of time the use of *bloody sacrifices* was introduced among the Pagans. No great stress will be laid on the authority of OVID, who alleges, that the *sow* was the first animated victim which was offered to *Ceres*, upon account of the ravages which that animal makes in the fields. HOMER, at least, will tell us, that the

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use of this sort of sacrifices was common in the time of the *Trojan war*; and I do not believe we have more early examples. I know that PAUSANIAS speaks of the human sacrifice which *Lycæon* offered up to *Jupiter Lycæus*; that the authors of the *Argonautics* tell us, the heroes of the golden fleece stowed a *hecatomb* in their ship, as an offering to *Apollo*; they also mention a sacrifice of the *deer* taken in hunting, which those heroes sacrificed instead of the other animals; but these authorities are to be less regarded than HOMER, the most ancient of poets, and consequently nearer to the events he described.—Be that as it will, there can be no doubt but the use of *bloody sacrifices* in the Pagan world is of very great antiquity, if what is advanced by some of the fathers of the church be true, that God accepted that sort of sacrifice, and MOSES enjoined them to the Israelites, only to prevent their offering them to the Pagan Gods, as was done by the neighbouring nations. But this account is by no means just; and it is certain, that in the true religion, these sacrifices were as old as the world, since CAIN offered to God the *fruits* of the *earth*, and ABEL sacrificed to him *victims* taken from his *flocks*. Now as idolatry is but a corruption of the true religion, there is no doubt of its having borrowed its rites from thence, and in particular, the use of *bloody sacrifices*, and that from the earliest ages. It is however as true, that there were countries where this practice was not received till very late, and with reluctance too, as the fact I am going to relate testifies sufficiently. Among the Athenians, the sacrificer, after having struck the *animal* that was to be offered up, was obliged to fly with all his might. He was pursued, and to prevent his being arrested, he threw away the ax he had made use of, as being alone guilty of the death of the *victim*. The pursuers seized the ax, and entered an action against it. He, who spoke in defence of the *ax*, alleged it was less guilty than the *grinder*, who had sharpened it; the *grinder* being questioned, laid the blame upon the *sharpening stone* he

had used, and thus it became an endless process: A ceremony ridiculous indeed, but which proves the aversion the Athenians had to *bloody sacrifices*.

But it is fit to observe, that at the very time nevertheless, the former simplicity of sacrifice is not forgotten. they were accustomed to offer up victims which had *life*, they did not forget the ancient form of sacrifices, which consisted only in *herbs, salt, and meal*, and to this they had still recourse, as the most proper way to appease the Gods. Thus, according to FESTUS and SERVIUS, they always threw *meal* and *salt* upon the *victims*, upon the *fire*, and upon the sacrificing *knives*. Numa Pompilius, as PLINY has it, even laid the Romans under a prohibition not to use *bloody victims*, or any other sacrifice, but those in which they employed *fruits, salt, and corn*. DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus seems to ascribe to Romulus what we have been saying of Numa; and he adds, that this usage was still subsisting in his time, although they had superadded to it that of *bloody sacrifices*. Plutarch observes there were Gods among the Romans, of whom the God *Terminus* was one, towards whom they preserved the ancient custom of offering up nothing that had life.

In process of time, they came to such a pitch of superstition, as to offer up *human victims*. At last, human sacrifices were offered up; Who was the first author of these barbarous sacrifices is not known; but whether it be *Chronus* or *Saturn*, as it is in the fragment of SANCHONIATHON, or *Lycæon*, as PAUSANIAS seems to insinuate, or some other, it is certain, that this barbarous custom was propagated to almost every known nation. *Fathers* themselves, actuated by a blind fury, sacrificed their *children*, and burned them instead of *incense*. These horrid sacrifices, prescribed even by the oracles of the Gods, were known in MOSES's days, and constituted a part of these abominations with which that holy legislator reproaches the the Amorites. The Moabites sacrificed their children to *Moloch*,

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and burned them in the cavity of the statue of that God. According to DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus, they offered men in sacrifice to *Saturn*, not only at Tyre, and Carthage, but even in Greece, and Italy. The Gauls, if we may believe DIODORUS SICULUS, sacrificed to their Gods their prisoners of war; those of Tauris, all the strangers who landed upon their coasts; the inhabitants of Pella sacrificed a man to *Peleus*. Those of Temessa, as PAUSANIAS has it, offered every year a young virgin to the *genius* of one of Ulysses's associates, whom they had stoned. STRABO mentions those abominable sacrifices offered by the ancient Germans. ATHANASIUS gives the same account of the Phenicians and Cretans; and TERTULLIAN of the Scythians and Africans. In the *Iliad* of HOMER we see twelve Trojans sacrificed by Achilles to the manes of *Patroclus*. In fine, PORPHYRY gives a long detail of all the places, where, in old times, they offered up *human sacrifices*.—From all these testimonies put together, and from several others, which it is needless to quote, it follows, that the Phenicians, the Egyptians, Arabians, Canaanites, the inhabitants of Tyre and Carthage, those of Athens and Lacedemon, the Ionians, nay, all Greece; the Romans, the Scythians, the Arabians, the Allemans, the Angles, the Spaniards, and the Gauls, were equally guilty of this horrid superstition.

which originated from *Abraham's sacrifice* being misunderstood: The late Abbé DE BOISSI, ascribes the origin of that barbarous custom of *sacrificing men*, to an imperfect knowledge of *Abraham's sacrifice*.

The Canaanites, says he, the Amorites, and the other people in the neighbourhood of those places, where that holy Patriarch had lived, no doubt would hear honourable mention made of the zeal and steadiness of that holy man, who stifled all the impressions of natural affection to an only son; they probably knew something of the rewards God promised to his faith; but being ignorant that the sacrifice was not accomplished, they understood the thing in the literal meaning, and thought, by

imitating so heroic an action, to obtain the same benediction from heaven: and indeed, according to the poets and historians, it was *Saturn* who introduced the detestable custom of sacrificing men; now *Saturn*, in the judgment of the best authors, is the same with *Abraham*. The proofs of it are clear; but I must defer them till we come to the article of that God.

but several prodigies caused them to be abolished. The ancients came at last to see those inhuman sacrifices in a true light; and the facts which I am going to relate, were the occasion at last of their ceasing by degrees. An oracle, says PLUTARCH, having ordered the Lacedemonians, in time of a plague, to sacrifice a virgin; and the lot having fallen upon a young maid named Helena, an eagle carried off the sacrificing *knife* and laid it on the head of a *heifer*, which was sacrificed in her stead. The same author tells us that Pelopidas, the Athenian general, having been directed in a dream, the night before a battle, to sacrifice a fair virgin to the manes of the daughters of Sceddassus, who had been ravished and assassinated in the same place; he, under great terror, deliberated about the inhumanity of such a sacrifice, which he believed to be odious to the Gods; when seeing a *red mare*, he sacrificed it by the advice of Theocritus the soothsayer, and gained the victory. In Egypt Amasis made a law, that only the *figures* of men should be offered up instead of themselves. In the island of Cyprus, in the room of *human* sacrifices, Diphilus substituted sacrifices of *oxen*; as Hercules did in Italy waxen heads named *Oscilla*, instead of real *men*.

Of public and private sacrifices; and the choice of victims, in which something was peculiar to each Deity. Anciently the head of the family was equally king and priest, and he was the person by whom sacrifices were offered; but in later times, every state had priests and other ministers, ordained to this function, as we shall show in the following SECTION. But yet at that very time when there were priests instituted, the head of the family still retained

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the same right. Thus we may distinguish two kinds of sacrifices; the *private ones*, which every one might offer in his own house, to his *Lares* or *Penates*; and the *public sacrifices* established by the laws, for which there were ministers authorised, and a priest who presided over them. These sorts of sacrifices were offered at Rome and in Greece, according to certain rules they were strictly to observe. To this purpose CICERO says, "our ancestors have laid down rules for divine things, so that for the ceremonies instituted at high solemnities we have recourse to the Priests, who are well instructed in them; and for managing the affairs of the commonwealth, we consult the Augurs, &c. &c.— The principal business of these ministers, consisted in making a right *choice of victims*; for of whatever nature they were, great care was to be made in the choice of them; and the same blemishes which excluded them from sacrifices among the Jews, also rendered them imperfect among the Pagans; whence it would seem that the latter received from, or communicated to, the former, several of their rites. VOSSIUS in his learned treatise upon idolatry, has, on this branch of it, entered into very curious philological dissertations, to which we must refer. We will only say here, with POLLUX, that the victim ought to be *clean*, without *blemish*, neither *lame*, nor *deformed*: *white*, and of an *odd number*, for the *celestial Gods*; while, on the contrary, they should be *black*, and of an *even number*, for the *infernal Gods*. They should also be chosen from among those *animals*, *plants*, or *fruits*, which were agreeable to the Gods to whom they were offered; for all sorts of victims were not offered indifferently to every Divinity. It was commonly a *sow* big with young, that they offered to *Cybele*, and to the goddess *Terra*; the *bull* to *Jupiter*; to *Juno*, *heifers*, *ewe-lambs*, and at Corinth a *she-goat*; to *Neptune*, a *bull*, and *lambs*, as appears from HOMER: to *Pluto*, a *black bull*; and to *Proserpine*, a *black cow*; but when that Goddess is taken for

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Hecate, they sacrifice to her a *dog*, whose barking they supposed drove away the apparitions sent by her. The most acceptable victim to *Ceres*, was the *boar* and the *sow*; they made her likewise an offering of *honey* and of *milk*: to *Venus* was offered the *dove*, the *he-goat*, the *heifer*, the *she-goat*, &c.: to *Bacchus* the *he-goat*. To the *Sun* was sometimes offered *honey*, but the Persians, the Armenians, the Massagetes, and others, sacrificed to him the *horse*. To *Apollo*, (for he was frequently distinguished from the *Sun*) they offered the *ram*, the *she-goat*, the *ewe*, and the *he-goat*; but when they confounded him with the *Sun*, they offered him a *bullock*, with *gilded horns*, as an emblem of his *beams*; they offered him likewise a *raven*. To *Mars* was generally offered the *horse*, the *bull*, the *boar*, and the *ram*; but the Lusitanians in particular, sacrificed to him, *goats* of either sex, and sometimes, their *enemies*; while the Scythians offered him *asses*, and the Carians *dogs*. We learn from HOMER, that the victims most grateful to *Minerva*, were the *bull*, the *lamb*, and *oxen* that had never known the yoke. To *Diana*, *stags* and *she-goats*, more especially among the Athenians; and with some others, *cows*. To the *Dii Lares*, a *bullock*, or an *ewe-lamb*, according to the ability of those who sacrificed, these being of a private nature: to them they also sacrificed *cocks*, and *swallows*, and *hogs*, from which latter these Deities were sometimes called *Grundiles*.

Each Deity had also their consecrated *birds*, *animals*, *fishes*, and *plants*.

In fine, each Deity had their favourite, or consecrated *birds*, *animals*, *fishes* and *plants*; between which, and their appropriate *victims* just spoken of, there seems to be some ground of distinction.—1st, of the BIRDS, the *eagle* was consecrated to *Jupiter*; the *peacock* to *Juno*; the *cock* and the *owl* to *Minerva*; the *cock*, the *vulture* and the *wood-pecker* to *Mars*; the *cock* also to *Apollo*, and to *Esculapius*; the *dove* and *sparrow* to *Venus*; the *king-fisher* to *Tethys*; the *phoenix* to the *Sun*; and the *cicada*, a sort of insect, to *Apollo*.—2d, Among ANIMALS, the *lion*

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was consecrated to *Vulcan*; the *wolf* to *Apollo* and *Mars*; the *dog* to the *Lares* and to *Mars*; the *dragon* to *Bacchus* and *Minerva*; the *griffin* to *Apollo*; the *serpent* to *Esculapius*; the *stag* to *Hercules*; the *lamb* to *Juno*; the *horse* to *Mars*; the *heifer* to *Isis*—3d, Among the *FISHES*, which belonged all to *Neptune*, the *concha marina*, and the small fish called *apua*, were sacred to *Venus*, and the *barbel* to *Diana*.—4th, Among the *TREES* and *PLANTS*, the *pine* was consecrated to *Cybele*, for the sake of *Atys*; the *oak* and the *beech* to *Jupiter*; every species of *oak* to *Rhea*; the *olive* to *Minerva*; the *laurel* to *Apollo*, from his amour with *Daphne*; the *reed* to *Pan*, from the story of *Syrinx*; the *lotus* and the *myrtle* to *Apollo* and *Venus*; the *cypress* to *Pluto*; the *narcissus* and the *maiden-hair* or *capilli veneris*, to *Proserpine*; the *ash* to *Mars*; the *purselane* to *Mercury*; the *myrtle* and the *poppy* to *Ceres*; the *vine* to *Bacchus*; the *poplar* to *Hercules*; *dittany* and the *poppy* to *Lucina*; *garlic* to the *Penates*; the *alder*, the *cedar*, the *juniper*, and the *narcissus*, to the *Furies*; the *palm* to the *Manes*; the *plane-tree* to the *Genii*; the *alder* to *Sylvanus*; the *pine* also to *Pan*, &c. &c. And if we except some symbolical motives, which have been transiently mentioned, for these sorts of consecrations, there is no possibility of divining what the other motives may have been. It is probable—since those distinctions of victims, and of objects especially consecrated to some Divinity exclusive of others, were not known to the earliest ages of idolatry—that all this refinement was invented by the Priests, who proposed thereby to imprint upon the minds of the people a higher veneration for the Gods.

The ceremonies of a Sacrifice.

The victim being chosen in the manner we have said, it was decked with *ribbons* and *fillets*; they *gilded* its *horns*, laid upon its *head* the *salt-cake*, *fruit*, and *male-frankincense*; this is what they call *immolation*. Then came the *libation*; it was of *wine*, which the priest first tasted himself, and then gave to the by-

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standers to do the same. After this, was the ceremony called *lītatur*, that is, the priest took some *hairs* from between the horns of the victim, threw them into the *fire*, and then turning his face towards the east, ordered the sacrificer to *slay the victim*. Hardly was it dead, when the *Priest* plunged the sacrificing knife into its *entrails*, to see if the sacrifice was auspicious, *an perlitatum foret*; and then they were explored by the *Haruspex*, in order to draw from them a *favourable omen*. The next thing was to *cut the victim in pieces*, part whereof they roasted, and distributed for the *feast*. The sacrificers were termed *Victimarii*, *Popa*, *Cultrarii*. The priests, besides the vestments appointed for his functions, was sure to be crowned with a chaplet of the *branches or leaves* of the *tree* peculiarly sacred to the God for whom the sacrifice was; as of *oak* for *Jupiter*; of *laurel* for *Apollo*; of *white poplar* for *Hercules*; of the *vine* for *Bacchus*; of the *cyfress* for *Pluto*, and so for the rest.—The *Diviners* among the Greeks, as *Calchas*, *Mopsus*, *Amphiaras*, and many others; and the *Haruspices* among the Romans, assisted at the sacrifices, to consult the *entrails* of the *victim*, and give their opinion of them. It belonged to them to order the *time*, the *form*, and the *matter* of the sacrifices, especially upon important occasions; and they were not wanting then to consult them, and follow their decisions.—But there were different sorts of sacrifices, the *holocaust*, the *expiatory* sacrifice, the sacrifice of *thanksgiving*, and several others, in which their way of managing the victim was different. In the *holocaust*, it was wholly consumed by fire. Sometimes they only sprinkled the blood around the altar; burnt upon it the *fat* that inclosed the entrails, and the remainder was carried off, or eaten up near the same place where the immolation was performed. There were portions which the priests, only, had a right to touch, others were distributed, or carried off. It would seem also, that among the *Gentiles*, whatever was designed for ordinary food, especially the flesh of animals, was first offered up by way of sa-

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crifice; and hence the *primitive christians*, while living in the midst of Pagans, were so much upon their guard against eating meats that had been offered to Idols. If this account, which has been likewise followed by some authors, and which appears to be grounded upon antiquity, is not strictly just, this much at least is true, that all the *public feasts* were ushered in with sacrifices, upon the flesh whereof they feasted, as ANTHENEUS expressly says; to be satisfied of this, we need only read HOMER, VIRGIL, and other ancients.—It was not always necessary to bring a *living victim* to the altar, since, for want of other animals, they went and slew some in hunting, to be offered in sacrifice. Nor was the whole animal offered to the Gods; the *thighs* were the portion which was allotted to them, as PAUSANIAS remarks in general, with respect to the sacrifices of the Greeks; and this part of the victim they burned upon a clear fire, made of chips of wood. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS gives the same account: “They slay, two oxen,” says he, “cut them into quarters, and then into pieces, setting the *votive thighs* apart by themselves; and after having covered them with the fat, or with the *omentum* which is fat, they roast them upon chips of wood.” The sacrifices were always accompanied with *libations*. This was the liquor they poured out in honour of the God to whom the sacrifice was offered, and oft-times the sacrifice itself was no more than *simple libation*. In ancient times, the *libation* was only an effusion of *water*, while the use of *wine* was not introduced, or was so only in some places; and what will appear surprising, several nations that celebrated the *Orgies*, or *Bacchanalia*, knew not, or at least made no use of *wine*. The Persians, according to HERODOTUS, drank nothing but *water*. The same may be said of the nations of Pontus, the Cappadocians, and Scythians. How could the Arcadians, who of old lived upon nothing but acorns, or rather upon a sort of wild chestnut; the Troglodytes, the Ichthyophagi, and a number of vagrant people, who lived in the midst of woods or in caves

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have any notion of the use of *wine*? And yet they had a *religion*, *sacrifices*, and *libations*. Nations even more civilized, who knew its use, such as the Egyptians, durst not, if PLUTARCH says true, bring any of it into the temples. And indeed, before Psammiticus, the Egyptians made no use of wine at all, nor offered any to their Gods, believing it not to be agreeable to them, since they looked upon it as the *blood* of the *Titans*, which mixing with the *earth*, after *Jupiter* had thunder-struck them, produced the *vine*. Although for *private sacrifices* there was no time specified, yet in *public sacrifices*, they were very religiously exact in choosing the *morning* for the *Celestial Gods*, and the *evening* or the *night*, for the *Terrestrial* and *Infernal Gods*. The sacrifices made in honour of the last, required peculiar ceremonies. They sacrificed to them no victims but such as were all *black*, as we have remarked; for receiving whose *blood*, a *hole* was prepared in the earth, and into it was the *wine* of the *libation* thrown. The entire victim was burnt, as in the *holocausts*, without reserving any thing for the feast; for it was not lawful to eat the meat that had been offered to the *infernal Gods* and to the *Manes*. EUSEBIUS cites a passage from PORPHYRY, concerning an oracle of *Apollo*, which prescribed the form of sacrifices. "There are, said PORPHYRY, after the oracle, *Gods of the Earth*, and *Gods of Hell*. To them, victims are to be offered of *quadrupeds of a black colour*; but with this difference, that for the *Terrestrial Gods*, the victims must be presented upon *altars*, and for the *Infernal Gods*, in *ditches* and in *holes*. To the *arial Gods*, the sacrifice is to be of *birds*, whose whole body is to be burned by way of *holocaust*, and their *blood* poured out around the *altar*. *Fowls* are likewise to be offered up to the *Sea Gods*, but the *libation* must be poured upon the *waves*, and the *fowls* are to be of a *black colour*." Whence we may conclude, that the *birds* they offered to the *Celestial Gods* were *white*, as I observed already of other victims. But we are farther to observe, 1st, That at Rome, when the victim had any spots, they

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whitened it over with chalk, and this is what they called *Bos-cretatus*. 2d, That they offered up to the *Terrestrial Gods*, four footed beasts, provided they were black; thus it was with the *hog* they sacrificed to *Ceres*, because, as the same *PORPHYRY* remarks, the colour of the earth is black. Lastly, that as the *fillets* where-with they adorned the heads of the victims offered to the *Celestial Gods* were to be *white*, so, those with which they dressed the animals to be sacrificed to the *Terrestrial and Infernal Deities*, were to be *black*.—Sacrifices, as has been remarked, did not always consist in offering up animals alone; oft-times they presented to the Gods nothing but fruits and plants, as, to *Pomona* and other Divinities; frequently *flour*, or *cakes* of corn or barley meal. Of these, the Greeks made an oblation in all their sacrifices, of whatever nature they were. At Rome, these *cakes* were made of meal and salt, which they called *Ador*, and the sacrifices made of them *Adorea sacrificia*. According to Romulus's law, these *cakes* were to be baked in an oven; for which purpose he instituted the festivals called *Fornacalia*; whence came afterwards, the Goddess *Fornax*.—After the victim was slain, there were *Ministers* who held vessels ready to receive the blood; others with instruments in their hands, either to flay, or cut it in several pieces. It has been observed, that the *Haruspex*, the *Flamen*, or the *Priest*, examined the entrails of the victim, from thence to draw *auspicious omens*. We add here, 1st, That the *heart*, the *liver*, the *lungs*, and the *spleen* were the principal subjects of their attention. 2d, That from inspecting the *entrails*, came the manner of divination, called *Extispicium*. 3d, That they made observations also upon the *motion of the tail*, when the victim was just expiring. If it *twisted*, that signified a *difficult enterprise*: when it was *turned downward*, it presaged an *overthrow*; but if it was *lifted up*, it betokened a *complete triumph*. 4th, That they drew also presages from the manner in which the *sparkling of the incense* as it burned, as well as from the *smoak*, and its different *contortions*.—

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When the sacrifice was ended, if the omens were favourable, it was then a perfect sacrifice, which was expressed by the single word *Litare*; for they were not all acceptable to the Deity to whom they were made. We see from *Plautus*, "If I am not guilty of what you lay to my charge, may Jupiter never accept a sacrifice. I shall offer." Thus there was no true sacrifice without the *Litation*, if one may be allowed to adopt the word. From what has been said, we may conclude that there must needs have been in the Temples, and wherever else they sacrificed, different *apartments* marked out; some for *preparing* or *adorning the victim*, others for *killing it*, others for *dressing the flesh*, and others for *celebrating the feast*; which last, though an act of religion, was exceedingly *gay*, being always accompanied by *dancing, music, and hymns*, sung in honour of the Gods. In fine, we may remark with *LUCIAN*, that the sacrifices differed in the quality of the victims, according to the character of those who offered them up. The *Husbandman*, says he, offers up an *ox*; the *Shepherd*, a *lamb*; and the *Goat-herd*, a *goat*: there are *some classes* who make only a simple offering of *cakes and incense*; and a *Pauper*, or he that has nothing, makes his sacrifice by *kissing his right hand*.—Sacrifices were become so common, as to be offered upon almost every occasion in life: since, besides those prescribed by the *rituals*, they were offered by generals before battle, as we may see in ancient authors, particularly in *PAUSANIAS*; by those who were to found a city, as appears from the same author; by those who were to enter upon a journey; in the common affairs of domestic life; when one is afflicted by any disease; after a dream; and in short, they enter upon no enterprize of any importance, till they have first implored the assistance of the Gods, by this act of religion.

Purification of the Priests, preparatory to a sacrifice.

The Priest, before sacrificing, was to prepare himself for it, especially by *continence* during the preceding night, and by *ablution*; and for that purpose, there was ordinarily at the entry into

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the temple, water where he purified himself. In ancient times, it would seem that they bathed themselves in some river; at least VIRGIL makes Æneas say, when he is ready to offer a sacrifice, that he will not enter upon that action till he has *purified* himself in *running water*. But it is to be observed, that this kind of *ablution* was only requisite in sacrifices offered to the *celestial Gods*; simple *sprinkling* being sufficient for the *terrestrial and infernal Gods*. At Rome they never offered sacrifice, till they had ushered it in with a prayer to *Janus*, for the reason given by OVID, that he kept the gate which led to the other Gods. This prayer being ended, a second was addressed to *Jupiter*, then a third to *Juno*, or, according to others, to *Vesta*. After this, the priest embraced the altar several times, lifting his hands to his mouth; then he poured wine upon the altar, from the *Patera*: lastly he ordered the sacrificer to strike the victim; which he did either with the knife called *Secespita*, or he knocked it on the head with a *mallet*.—MONTFAUCON explains most of the sacrifices that are still to be found represented upon marbles, and upon bas-reliefs; so that there is little occasion for me to speak further of them here, and the rather, that his explications suppose the figures which one ought to have before his eyes: but as in that multitude of sacrifices, some were more solemn than others, such as the *Hecatomb*, the *Agrotæ*, and the *Taurobolium*, with some others, I suppose it is incumbent upon me to give a short detail of them here.

The Sacrifice called *Hecatomb*, offered on public emergencies.

In great victories, or in time of some public calamity, they sometimes offered in the same sacrifice, no less than an *hundred oxen*, or other animals; this is what they called a *Hecatomb*; sometimes it amounted to a *thousand*, though very rarely, and then it got the name of a *Chiliomb*. CAPITOLINUS, speaking of the *Hecatomb* which was offered by Balbinus, after Maximinus's defeat, informs us at the same time, in what manner this sort of sa-

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crifice was offered. "They set up in a place appointed, an *hundred altars of turf*, and sacrificed an hundred *sheep*, and as many *hogs*; if the sacrifice is imperial, they offer up an hundred *lions*, an hundred *eagles*, and as many other animals. The Greeks, says this author, did the same thing when they were infected with the *plague*." ATHENÆUS adds, that they took the same course after signal victories, for which he cites the example of Conon the Lacedemonian captain; who offered, says he, a *true Hecatomb*. By this phrase, *true Hecatomb*, the author gives us to understand, that the general actually offered up an *hundred oxen*, for sometimes the name *Hecatomb* was given to sacrifices, where the hundred animals were of another species. From the passage in CAPITOLINUS, we may refute the error of those who maintain, that the *Hecatomb* was so called, on account of an *hundred oxen* or *bulls* which were therein sacrificed. HESYCHIUS, and several other authors, confirm what CAPITOLINUS says, that in *Hecatombs* they sacrificed other animals as well as oxen. To conclude, this kind of sacrifice was of very great antiquity, since there is mention of it in HOMER, who says, *Neptune* went into *Æthiopia* to receive the sacrifice of the *Hecatomb*, of *bulls* and *lambs*. It is a noted story that PYTHAGORAS offered a *Hecatomb* for having found out the demonstration of the forty-seventh proposition in the first Book of EUCLID.

We must not omit the sacrifice of *Agrotera*, where they sacrificed *five hundred goats* every year at Athens, in honour of *Diana*, surnamed *Agrotera*, whether from the city Agros in Attica, or, according to RHODIGINUS, because she was always in the fields. XENOPHON refers the institution of this sacrifice, to a vow made by the Athenians, of sacrificing to that Goddess as many goats as they should kill of Persians; but the slaughter they made of them was so great, that it was impossible for them literally to accomplish their vow, which obliged them to make a decree,

The Sacrifice called *Agrotera*, in honour of *Diana*.

binding themselves to offer up every year, five hundred goats in honour of her, which was still kept up in the time of that historian.

The sacrifice called *Taurobolium*, in honour of *Cybele*: The *Taurobolium* was a sacrifice offered to the mother of the Gods. This sacrifice does not appear to have been known in the first ages of Paganism; since the oldest inscription that mentions it, which was found at Lions, A. D. 1704, in the mountain *Fourviere*, informs us, that this *Taurobolium* was offered under the reign of Antoninus, A. D. 160. But then it was very late before it was laid aside; the last inscription of it that we know, is in the reign of Valentinian III. We have hardly any way of knowing this sort of sacrifice, but from inscriptions; the Ancients, at least such of them as are extant, being quite silent upon this article; except JULIUS FIRMICUS, a christian author, PRUDENTIUS, and perhaps LAMPRIIDIUS, who speaking of Heliogabalus, says, he was so devoted to *Cybele*, that he received the blood of the bulls that were offered up to that Goddess. This sacrifice was offered to *Cybele*, for the consecration of the high priest, for the expiation of sins, or for the health of the prince, or of those who offered it. It was a sort of *baptism of blood*, which they thought conveyed a spiritual regeneration, and whose rites and ceremonies were different from other sacrifices. But, as the poet PRUDENTIUS has left a particular description of the *Taurobolium*; I shall, for the satisfaction of the reader, give it here. "In order," says he, "to consecrate the high priest, that is, to initiate him into the *Taurobolium*, a great hole was made in the earth, into which he entered, dressed in an extraordinary garb, wearing a *crown of gold*, with a *toga of silk* tucked up after the Sabine fashion. Above the hole was a sort of floor, the boards of which, not being close joined, left several chinks, and besides, they bored several holes therein: then they led up a *bull*, crowned with festoons, upon his shoulders fillets covered with flowers, and having his forehead gilt. Here the vic-

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tim's throat was cut, so that the reeking blood came streaming down upon the floor, which being made like a sieve, let it fall into the hole as it were like a shower, which the priest received upon his *head*, upon his *body*, and upon his *clothes*. Not content with this, he even held back his head to receive the blood upon his *face*, he let it fall upon both *cheeks*, upon his *ears*, his *lips*, and his *nostrils*; nay, he opened his mouth to bedew his *tongue* with it, and some of it he *swallowed*. When all the blood was drained, the victim was removed, and the *high priest came out of the hole*. *It was a horrible spectacle to see him in this flight! his head covered over with blood, clotted drops, sticking to his beard, and all his garments, distained. And yet, as soon as he appeared, he was received with a general congratulation, and not daring to approach his person, they adored him at a distance, looking upon him now as a man quite pure and sanctified. They who had thus received the blood of the Taurobolium, wore their stained clothes as long as possible, as a sensible sign of their regeneration.*

It was not always for private persons the *Taurobolium* was made: this ceremony was performed for the whole body of citizens, for entire provinces, for the prosperity of the empire, &c. Sometimes these regenerations were for twenty years; sometimes, in fine, the *Archigallus*, or the high priest of *Cybele*, appointed it for certain occasions. This sacrifice of regeneration did not always require the victim to be a *bull*; sometimes the victim was a *ram*, and then it was called *Criobolium*. Sometimes a *she-goat*, and then it got the name of *Egibolium*, or *Ægobolium*. Several of the learned are not agreed that this last victim was used in the *Tauroboles*; but chiefly the *bull*, and sometimes the *ram*, when they would do honour to *Arys*, *Cybele's* favorite; to whom solely the *Taurobolium* was consecrated; although DU CHOU, CAMB-DEN, SELDEN, and some others, are of opinion that it was likewise offered in honour of *Diana*.

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INSTRUMENTS USED IN SACRIFICE.

We shall end this SECTION with some general observations, in relation to the forms of prayer used upon this occasion. As they believed the Gods themselves had endited those forms, they were considered as a thing so essential, that if he to whom the pronouncing of them belonged, did but forget or transpose a single word, they were persuaded the sacrifice would have no effect. Thus, when Decius the consul devoted himself to the infernal Gods, and with himself the enemy's troops, he cautioned the pontif Valerius Maximus, to be exact in pronouncing the form prescribed upon that occasion. There were even overseers appointed to take care that nothing of the formulary was forgot; and that they might hear every syllable which the speaker pronounced, the spectators were peremptorily enjoined silence. Most of those forms, if JAMBLICUS may be believed, like that of *Theurgy*, (a sort of magic to be explained afterwards) were composed at first in the Egyptian or Chaldean language. The Greeks and Romans, in translating them, kept in many of the original words of those foreign languages, so that they frequently became a sort of barbarous and unintelligible jargon, but still the more barbarous and unintelligible, the more sacred and revered.

SECTION SIXTH.

INSTRUMENTS USED IN SACRIFICE, &c.

AFTER having treated of *sacrifices* and *victims*, I am to speak of the *Sacred Instruments*; but as it is hard to make my readers understand the description of them without figures, they will have recourse to the antiquaries who have given prints of them.

The *Acerra*. The *Acerra*, was a little chest where the incense was put, much the same with those at present used by the Catholics. Those which now remain, and are

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to be seen in the cabinets of the curious, were not made after one model, nor of the same metal. This chest or box of perfumes, is frequently to be seen upon ancient monuments, in the hands of the *Camilli*, and sometimes in the hands of the *Vestals*.

The Cencer. The *Cencer*, or *Thurebulum*, was known to the ancients, but there is now no representation of it to be seen in monuments. The Greeks called this instrument *Thymiaterion*; its use was for burning the incense in time of the sacrifice.

The Cochlearia. The *Cochlearia*, a species of spoon, was used to transfer the incense from the *Acerra* to the *Thurebulum*.

Præferriculum. The *Præferriculum* was a vase that contained the liquor which was made use of in libations.

The Simpulum. The *Simpulum* was in form pretty much resembling a ladle. According to FÆSTUS, they used it in sacrifices for making the libations of wine. PLINY calls this instrument *Simpuvium*, and says some of them were of baked earth.

The Patera. The *Patera*, was an instrument ordinarily round, somewhat hollow, and with a handle. The use of it was to receive the liquor that was poured from the vase, and to sprinkle it upon the victim; which VIRGIL explains; "The beauteous Dido, holding the *Patera* in her right hand, pours the wine between the horns of the white heifer."—This instrument made of different metals, with some variety of form, is that which has suffered least from the injury of time, and there are few antiquaries but have several of them.

Malleus and Ax. The *Malleus* or *Mallet*, as also the *Ax*, was for knocking down the victim; for both these sorts of instruments are to be seen indifferently in the hands of sacrificers upon bas-reliefs.

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The Secespita. The *Secespita* serve to cut the throat of the victim. They were of different forms, and even some of them in a case.—FESTUS gives a just description of it. It was, says he, an iron knife, with an oblong blade, and round haft or handle, made of solid ivory, fastened to the blade with gold and silver, and studded with nails of Cyprian brass, which the *Flamines*, the *Flaminic virgins*, and *Pontifs* made use of in sacrifice.

The Dolabra. The *Dolabra* was a great knife which served for dismembering the victim.

The Lingula. The *Lingula* or *Lingula*, a sort of spatula, or forceps, which the *Haruspices* used for exploring the entrails of the victim.

The Enclabris. The *Enclabris*, mentioned by MISSON, in his travels through Italy, was the table upon which the victim was laid for the convenience of examining the entrails, and drawing the entrails therefrom.

Augural Staff. The *Litres* or *Augural Staff*, like a sort of trumpet, crooked at the end, was held by the *Augur* when he was to examine the flight of birds, and take the omens.

The Discus. The *Discus* was a bason whereon the flesh of the victim was laid.

The Olla. The *Olla* was the pot in which the priests boiled the portion of the victim that was allotted to them.

Candelabrum. The *Candelabrum* was a species of candlestick on which they set the torches that burned during the sacrifice.

The Trumpet. The *Trumpet* was a sort of horn or clarion which they sounded at the ceremony of the *Hecatombs* only.

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Double Flute.

The *double Flute* was played during every sacrifice as we see in all the monuments remaining upon the subject; and a player always accompanied the victim while it was conducted to the Altar.

The Urcolus.

The *Urcolus* was a small vase of brass, silver, or some other metal, which had a straight neck, and wide mouth, which the inferior ministers carried for washing the priests hands. They are to be found upon antique monuments, in the hands of this sort of ministers.

The Tripod,—
of three sorts.

Although we are not to reckon *Tripods* in the number of utensils used at sacrifices; yet, as they had them frequently in the Temples, in those especially of *Apollo*, and sometimes used them for the support of the sacred vases, it is necessary to say something of them here. I divide them into three kinds. Under the *first*, I include those used by *Pythia*, when she delivered the oracle of *Apollo* in the temple of Delphos. As the exhalation, to which she owed her prophetic inspiration, issued out of a cave, which shall be spoken of in the history of oracles; and as one who approached too near it was in danger of falling into it, as sometimes happened; they contrived a three-footed machine, which they set upon the rock, and there the priestess sat, for the convenience of catching the exhalations without any danger. It is of this sort of *Tripods* we read so much in ancient history.—The *second* kind comprehends whatever stood upon *three feet*, such as *vases*, *tables*, or whatever else might have had that form; and of these there were a vast quantity.—In the *third*, I reckon the *votive Tripods*, which priests or private persons dedicated in the temple of *Apollo*. HERODOTUS speaks of a *golden Tripod*, which the Greeks, upon their victory over the Persians, sent to Delphos: “in the division they made of the spoils of the enemy, says that author, they set the silver by itself, took a tenth of it for the God who was worshipped at Delphos; and of this portion they made a *golden Tripod*, which

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they dedicated to him, and which is still to be seen upon a *brazen three-headed serpent*." From these last words it appears, that this *golden Tripod* was supported by one of another kind, represented by three heads of a serpent; which is confirmed by PAUSANIAS, who tells us, that the *golden Tripod* given by the Greeks, after the battle of Plataea, was supported by a *serpent of brass*. It will not be expected, I should include, under any of these kinds of *Tripods*, those of HOMER, which walked upon their own legs to the assembly of the Gods: a poetical fiction, to give us the higher notion of the excellence of VULCAN'S works.—Nothing is more common in the cabinets of the curious, and in the works of antiquarians, than these *Tripods*; there they are to be found of all sorts of figures, and some even pretty singular. The most of them are of brass or of bronze.

SECTION SEVENTH.

THE PRIESTS AND OTHER MINISTERS OF SACRIFICES.

Who exercised the Priesthood in early times.

AFTER the *sacrifices* or *victims*, and the *instruments* which were used in offering them up, something must be said of the *Priests*, and other *Ministers* of the same. As there is no nation, be it ever so savage, but has some religion, neither is there any without *Ministers* to preside over it; but in this SECTION we shall hardly take notice of any except those of the Greeks and Romans.—*First* then, I am of opinion, that in earlier times, the Priesthood belonged to the head of the family; at least that he had the privilege of sacrificing, although there were *Priests* by office. Thus at the siege of Troy, notwithstanding *Chryses* and others were *Priests*, yet we see in HOMER, the kings, the princes, and captains of the army, offering sacrifices upon certain occasions.

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Defects of person, &c., excluded from that office.

When they were to choose a Priest, an examination was made into his life, his manners, and even the qualities of his body, as he was to be free from all unseemly defects; just as we see in the sacred writings, those who had but one eye, the lame, the hump-backed, &c., were excluded from the Priesthood. The Athenians even required that their ministers of religion should be pure and chaste in their lives, and their *Hierophantæ*, we know, made use of some cold herbs, such as hemlock, as a means to obtain the gift of *continence*. The Priests were generally allowed to marry; they were frequently indeed forbid *second marriages*, although history informs us that this rule was not always observed.

The Greek Hierarchy.

The Greeks and Romans had a *Hierarchy* of High-Priests, Priests, and subaltern Ministers, who served them in their functions; but as the Greeks were divided into several states independent of one another, this *Hierarchy* was not every where uniform. There were even cities, such as Argos, and some others, where women presided in religion. Nothing is more celebrated than those Priestesses of Argos, since their Priesthood served for the date of public events. The names of most of those Priestesses were lost, till M. FOURMONT the younger, in his travels through Greece, found a very large inscription, containing a full list of them. *Minerva Polias* the patroness of Athens, had a Priestess to preside over her worship: and PLUTARCH in his morals, names one Lysimache, who exercised that function. The Pedasians, according to HERODOTUS, had also a Priestess for their *Minerva*. There was likewise one for *Ceres* at Catania, for *Pallas* at Clazomenæ, &c.—At Athens, the *Archon* thought himself honoured by the title of Priest. The origin of the Priesthood of the *Archons*, according to DEMOSTHENES, was owing to this, that anciently the *kings* and *queens* of Athens were the high Priests.

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The *royalty* being abolished, they continued to choose a *king* and a *queen*, to preside over *sacred things*, which office was afterwards transferred to the *Archons*, and their *wives*. The *Epimeletæ* served the *king in sacred matters*; and women named *Gereræ*, assisted the *queen in sacred matters*, to the number of fourteen. The *Ceryx* served the *sacred queen* likewise in the most secret mysteries of religion. There was also, independent of all these mysteries, a pontiff, or rather a chief Priest, who presided in sacred things. Sometimes he was only for one city; sometimes for a whole province. Oftentimes too he was vested with this dignity for life; sometimes for only five years.—As there were chief Priests, so we find chief Priestesses; for among the Greeks, women as often as men were admitted to minister in sacred matters. These chief Priestesses were the superintendents of the Priestesses, and were chosen from the best families: But of all the Pagan Priestesses, the most celebrated was the *Pythia*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak elsewhere.—If we may give credit to POLLUX, there were sixteen sorts of Ministers of the temples; the Priests; the Temple keepers, or *Æditui*; those who had the charge of holy things; the Prophets; the Hypoprophets, or under-Prophets, who publish the oracles; the Sacrificers; those who perform the rites of initiation; the Administrators of holy things; the Purifiers; the Divines, or inspired; the Sortilegi; the Fortune-tellers; the *Cresmothetæ*, or those who gave forth the lots to be drawn; the Saints or Devotees; the *Thuriferi*, or incense-bearers; the *Hyparetæ*; and the Servitors, or *Camilli*. The same author next remarks, that the same names were given to different orders of Priestesses, in places where the women ministered in the temples; and the Priestess of *Apollo* at Delphos, had the name of *Pythia* by way of eminence. He might have added further, that at Clazomenæ the Priestess of *Pallas* was named *Hesychia*, and that of *Bacchus*, *Thyas*; and in Crete, that of *Cybele*, *Melissa*. He might likewise have remarked, that

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among the Athenians, the subaltern Ministers were styled *Parasiti*; that not being then a name of reproach, as it is at present. The acceptation of this word, in the sense here taken, is derived from an inscription at Athens, where it is said, that of two bulls offered in sacrifice, one part should be reserved for the games, the other distributed among the *Priests* and *Parasites*. The principal function of these *Parasites*, who had a place among the chief magistrates, was to choose the wheat allotted for the sacrifices.—There was likewise another sort of people set apart for service in the sacrifices. These were the *Ceryces* or the *Cryers*, whose office was to make public proclamation of things, whether civil or sacred. Thus, according to *ATHENEUS*, two of them were to be chosen; and accordingly we find the *Ceryces* are two in number in some Athenian inscriptions, one for the *Areopagus*, the other for the *Archon*. They were to be taken from the Athenian family; which, according to *ISOCRATES*, bore the name of *Ceryce*, from one *Ceryx*, the son of *Mercury*, and *Pandrosos*, daughter of *Cecrops*.—The *Neocori* had offices corresponding to those of the Sacristans of our churches: accordingly it was their business to adorn the temples, and keep in order the vases and utensils that were used in the ceremonies of religion. *THEODORET* is the only one who mentions two other functions of the *Neocori*: the one to stand at the gate of the temples to sprinkle holy water for purification of those who were entering into them; the other, to throw some of the same water upon the meat served up at the emperor's table. *JULIAN* the apostate, says this author, went into the temple of *public Genius* in the city of Antioch; and the *Neocori* standing at the two sides of the temple gate, sprinkled holy water upon those who were entering, pretending thereby to give them absolution. This office became very considerable; for the *Neocori*, who at first were employed only in servile duties, were afterwards raised to the superior station of Ministers and High-Priests, who sacrificed for the life of the emperor. We

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find on medals, where the name of *Neocorus* often occurs, that also of *Prytanis*, which was sometimes granted to them, with that of *Agonothetes*, or dispenser of prizes at the public games. Even cities, and Ephesus among the first, according to VAN-DALE, took the name of *Neocorus*; upon which the reader may consult VAILLANT and the other antiquaries.

The Roman Hierarchy; Rome, at first, being nothing but an assemblage of renegadoes and fugitives, whom Romulus had drawn together, that prince had but little thought about religion, and having borrowed it, such as it was, from the Albans, and other neighbouring people, it was, in those first ages, exceedingly plain and simple. Their temples and chapels had neither ornaments nor statues; for according to PLUTARCH, there passed 171 years before any of them were there to be seen: sacrifices offered without *apparatus*, constituted the whole ceremonial of this infant city. Yet we find in DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus, that Romulus having divided Rome into thirty *Curia*, instituted two Priests for each, which made sixty in all. Numa Pompilius, who was more taken up about religion than warlike affairs, made several alterations in the Roman *Hierarchy*, and so did some of his successors, as we may see in TITUS LIVIUS, DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus, and in DION. I shall deliver what I think myself best warranted to say upon this head.—The Priests of Romulus's institution, were to be at least fifty years of age, men of distinguished morals and birth, capable of maintaining themselves with honour, and free from all corporeal blemishes: so true it is, that even in the grossest religions, care has always been taken to admit none for ministers, and offer up nothing in sacrifice, but what was most perfect, and best adapted to the honour of the Divinity. As, in the Ministry of those Priests there were some things that could only be performed by women, and others, wherein their assistance was necessary, the wives and daughters of the Priests were employed in those pieces of ser-

vice. The Priesthood at first was engrossed by the *Patricians*; but the *People* disliking that preference, prevailed to have the Priesthood divided between the *Senate* and *themselves*; and not only so, but under the tribuneship of Cn. Domitius, got into their own hands the privilege of choosing the Priests, which was formerly reserved for the College of Patricians; which was again brought under a new regulation, that the College should be the electors, and the people confirm that election. In fine, after some other alterations, which it would be needless to relate, the emperors arrogated the right of choosing the Priests, and became themselves the high Priests; which began in Julius Cæsar. When the election of the Priest, made by the college to whom that privilege belonged, was confirmed by the people, they proceeded to the *inauguration*, which, like the *induction* of ecclesiastical livings, was performed with ceremony, and concluded with an entertainment given by the new Priests. From that moment, they assumed the gown, called the *Toga Prætexta*, and the ornament of the head, termed *Apex*, *Galerus*, *Albo-Galerus*, which consisted in a sort of white bonnet, and had frequently the addition of a crown above.—The Priests in Rome enjoyed several privileges, and they might assist in the Senate; but this privilege was afterwards taken from them. They were exempt from burthensome offices in the state, and were exonerated from military service. They had ordinarily a torch and a branch of laurel carried before them; and they were allowed to ride up to the capitol in a chariot called *carpentum*. There were Priests whose priesthood was for life; others, who had it taken from them; but the Augurs could not be deposed upon any account whatsoever. Every order of Priests had its particular college, and revenues for the sacrifices. As in provinces, the Priests were obliged to defray the expenses of the public games, which making the office frequently chargeable, nobody was compelled to accept of it.

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of which the Pontiffs were the first in rank;

In the order of the Roman *Hierarchy*, the Pontiffs were the *first*. Of them, there were but four at first; but that number being afterwards augmented, they distinguished them into Pontiffs *Major*, and Pontiffs *Minor*; both of them subject to the Pontifex Maximus, or High-Priest; whose sole authority was so great, that the Emperors did not think the office unworthy of them, as has been said. The High-Priest being master of all the ceremonies of religion, and a member of the first college, was extremely revered. His chariot, named *Thensa*, was distinguished from that of the other Priests, as well as his *garb*, and the rest of his *equipage*. He was not allowed to go out of Italy. As it was a sort of profanation for him to see a dead body, when he assisted at funerals, they put a veil between him and the funeral-bed. This particular we have from *SENECA*, better informed therein than *DION*, who, speaking of Agrippa's funeral obsequies, at which Augustus the High-Priest was present, says, he can give no reason why they put a veil between the emperor and the funeral-bed; and that it is an error to believe the High-Priest was not permitted to look upon a dead body. Perhaps it will be objected to me, that Cæsar, when High-Priest, went and made war in Gaul; whence I should seem to be mistaken, in alleging that it was not permitted to one in that office to go out of Italy. But we may answer, 1st, That there are occasions when the laws, which cannot foresee every thing, are not observed. 2d, That Cæsar's example proves nothing, since he regarded laws no farther than they struck in with his ambition.

next to whom were Flamines—who were *Majores* and *Minores*;

Next to the Pontifex Maximus were the Flamines, who were at first but *three* in number, instituted, according to *PLUTARCH*, by Romulus; or rather, according to *LIVY*, by Numa Pompilius. They were, the Flamen *Dialis* or of *Jupiter*, the Flamen *Martialis* or of *Mars*, and the Flamen *Quirinalis* or of *Quirinus*.

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They were chosen by the people, and the High-Priest confirmed their election. As those three Flamines were in high esteem, and enjoyed several privileges, though they were not of the order of Pontiffs, yet they took place among them in affairs of consequence. This order was afterwards augmented to the number of *fifteen*; three of whom were taken from the *Senatorian order*, and were called Flamines Majores, or the superior Flamens; and the other *twelve*, named Flamines Minores, or the inferior Flamens, were chosen from among the *Plebeians*. Every Flamen was destined to the particular service of one Divinity; and his priesthood endured for life, although for weighty reasons he might be deposed, which was expressed by these words, *Flaminio abire*, as if to say, *lay down the Flamenship*. The inferior Flamens, taken from the *Plebeians*, were less regarded, nor was the number of them always restrained to twelve. The bare naming them is enough to let us know their functions. The Flamen Carmentalis was the Priest of the Goddess *Carmenta*. The Flamen Falacus, was so called, from an ancient God of that name. The Flamen who was surnamed Floralis, took the title from the Goddess *Flora*; Furinalis from *Furina*, mentioned by VARRO; Laurentalis from *Acca Laurentia*; Lucinalis from *Lucina*; Palatinalis from the Goddess *Palatina*, the protectress of the *Palatium*; Pomonalis from *Pomona*; Virbialis from *Virbius* or *Hippolytus*; Volcanalis from *Vulcan*; Voltornalis from the God of the river *Vulturnus*. The deified emperors had likewise their Flamens. Thus we find in inscriptions, a Priest of Augustus, *Flamen Augustalis*; a Priest of Cæsar, *Flamen Cæsaris*; and Marc Antony would needs assume that dignity out of flattery; a Priest of the emperor Claudius, *Flamen Claudii*; and one of Hadrian, *Flamen Hadrianalis*. In fine, there was a Flamen who seems to have been concerned in the service of all the Gods, and was named *Flamen Divorum omnium*, the Priest of all the Gods; which however, was contrary to the old constitutions. FESTUS will have it, that the wives of the *Flamines*

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Diales were priestesses, and had the name of *Fumivæ*. and according to AULUS GELLIUS, they enjoyed the same privileges as their husbands, and were under the same restrictions.

To all these Ministers we may add, the Epulones, who likewise exercised the office of Priest among the Romans. The Pontiffs not having leisure to attend upon all the Sacrifices performed at Rome, on account of the infinite number of Gods who were honoured there, instituted three Ministers whom they called Epulones, or the *Triumviri Epulonum*; because their business was to prepare the sacred banquets at the solemn games, as we learn from FESTUS, and to set up the couches on which they lay at table. These feasts, which were for none but the Gods, and especially for *Jupiter*, went by the name of *Lectisternia*, as we shall observe in the article of Festivals. The Epulones had the privilege of wearing the robe bordered with purple, like the Pontiffs, as LIVY tells us. The number of these Ministers was augmented first by *two*, then by *two* more, and at last in the time of Julius Cæsar's *pontificate*, they were increased to *ten*. Hence the *Triumviri*, the *Quintumviri*, the *Septemviri*, and the *Decemviri Epulonum*, we find mentioned in the Roman history.—Among other privileges granted to the Epulones, the most considerable was, that they were not obliged to give their daughters to be *vestals*, and this they had in common with the other Ministers, as we learn from AULUS GELLIUS.—From TITUS LIVIUS we learn the date of the first institution of the Epulones, it was in the year of Rome 558, under the Consulship of L. Furius Purpureo, and of M. Claudius Marcellus; so that it is surprising how POMONIUS LÆTUS should say, that the date of this early institution cannot be discovered.—At present I shall say but little of the Priests instituted for keeping the *Sibyline Books*, reserving a fuller account of them for the article of the Sibyls. Tarquin the proud, having

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bought these books, instituted *two* Ministers to keep them carefully: in the year of the city 388, they created *eight* others; and last of all there was an addition of *five* more, in the time of Sylla, which made *fifteen* in all. This Ministry, highly respected at Rome, lasted till the time of Theodosius, or the 380th year of the Christian Æra.

I must say something of the three sorts of Priests who were common to the Romans and the Greeks. The *first* are those of *Cybele*: the *second* those of *Mythras*: the *third* those of the *Orgies*, or mysteries of *Bacchus*.—1st, Nothing in antiquity is more famous, nor at the same time more contemptible than the Priests of *Cybele*, who were called *Galli* or *Archigalli*, from a river in Phrygia, named *Gallus*. VAN-DALE considers these *Galli*, and justly too, as so many *strollers*, *vagrants*, and *quacks*, who went strolling about from town to town, playing upon *cymbals* and *crotala*, wearing on their breasts small *images* of the mother of the Gods, in order to raise charitable contributions; the very dregs of the people, according to APULEIUS; a sect of furious fanatics, and infamously debauched. We agree with that learned author in the character which he draws of those Ministers; but we cannot be of his mind, when he says, that notwithstanding their being consecrated to the service of *Cybele*, yet they were not in the quality of Priests, for their priesthood is a thing undeniable. PLINY, APULEIUS, and SUIDAS expressly say they were Priests, and give them that title; and LUCIAN, who describes the ceremony of their *initiation*, leaves no room to doubt of it. We shall not be surprised to find how those wretched Priests are represented by CLEMENS of Alexandria, LACTANTIUS, CHRYSOSTOM, and ST. AUGUSTINE, since profane authors have had an equal contempt for them. The law however had provided for their subsistence, since, according to CICERO, it marked out the days when they had permission to *ask alms*, and in which none

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else were allowed to *gô a begging*. This *begging*, authorised by law, probably came about every *month*; and those Priests got the name of *Menagyrtæ* and *Metragyrtæ*, because it was for the mother of the Gods they collected those alms. To these names, they added, by way of derision that of *Agyrtæ*, which imports *Jugglers and dealers in legerdemain for money*. CLEMENS of Alexandria adds to the qualifications of those *Galli*, that of *fortune-teller* and *sooth-sayer*; because, in reality, they pretended to prediction. They had always *old women* in their retinue, who passed for *sorceresses*. PLUTARCH, who speaks of the *verses* which they sung, says, they had brought the poetry of Oracles into such contempt, that by their means the true Oracles of the *Tripos*, that is to say, of Delphos, were quite neglected. The same author adds, that they delivered their oracles extempore, or drew them by lot from certain books they carried with them, and sold their wretched predictions to silly women, who were charmed with the *cadence of their verses*.—To this description of the *Galli*, we may add what LUCIAN informs us of the great *Festival* that was celebrated in Syria, and of the madness into which the *initiation* of those pitiful Ministers threw them. “To this solemnity, says he, numbers of *Galli* repair to celebrate their mysteries. They slash their elbows, and scourge one another’s backs with whips. The gang about them play on the flute and dulcimer; while others, seized with a divine enthusiasm, sing songs, which they compose extemporaneously. It is on that day, adds LUCIAN, that the *Galli* are initiated. As the sound of the flute infuses into the by-standers a sort of madness, the young man, who is to be initiated, throws off his clothes, and raising loud shrieks, comes into the midst of the gang that is without the temple, draws his sword, and makes an eunuch of himself; then running through the city, holding in his hand the marks of his castration, throws them into a house where he takes on a woman’s dress. This mutilation was performed in other places, according

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to PLINY, with a shred or fragment of a pot, of Samian earth; and consequently the operation was both more lingering and more painful. It is well known, that it was in honour of *Atys*, *Cybele's* favourite, that this barbarity was practised, whereof he himself had given the precedent. But let us draw the curtain over this infamous scene, and say only a word or two of the High-Priest of this worthless Crew. This head of theirs was named *Archigallus*, and was ordinarily of a considerable family; at least we read in GRUTER, an inscription of the *Archigallus*, Camerius Crescius, who had in his retinue a great number of bondmen and enfranchised slaves.—Besides those *Galli* and *Archigalli*, *Cybele* had other Priests who were not emasculated; and Priestesses, whose names are to be met with in GRUTER. Among those Priestesses, we find a lady named *Laberia Falicla*, who was High-Priestess to the mother of the Gods; that is, who presided over the rest of the Priestesses, as the *Archigallus* did over the *Galli*.—We may remark, that all the Priests and Priestesses of the mother of the Gods, at first instituted in Phrygia, were afterwards propagated through Greece, and through the Roman empire, in the very time of the republic.

2d, The Priests of *Mithras*.
 As for the Priests of *Mithras*, whose worship was brought to Rome, if we believe PLUTARCH, in the time of Pompey, and later, according to VAN-DALE, I shall say but little, because I shall give the history of that God at full length. I shall only observe at present, that *Mithras* had a Minister who was called the father of the sacred mysteries, *Pater Sacrorum*; that those Priests were surnamed *Lions*, and the Priestesses *Hyæna*, according to PORPHYRY. Hence the mysteries of *Mithras* were termed *Leontica* and *Patrica*, because of the *Patres* who presided there: that other Ministers of that God were called *Coraces*, ravens; or *Hierocoraces*, sacred ravens; or *Heliaci*, from the Sun, whom *Mithras* represented. In fine, that those who were to be initiated in the mys-

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teries of that God, were obliged to submit to expiations equally lingering and painful, as we shall shew in its proper place.

3d, The Priests and Priestesses of Bacchus. *Lastly, As the Greeks and Romans equally celebrated the high mysteries of Bacchus, or the Orgies, I may rank in this common class, the Priests and Priestesses who presided therein; but as there will be occasion to consider them in the history of those mysteries, I shall only say here, that those Ministers bore different names, since we find in the ancients, that the Bacchanals were called Bacchæ, Menades, Bassarides, Thyades, Mirmallonides, Edonides, Eleides, &c., all of them names derived either from their manner of yelling, or from their fury and madness.—We shall here make a transient remark, that there were sacerdotal families, out of which Priests were to be taken; as at Athens, those of the Eumolpida, for the worship of Ceres and the Eleusinian mysteries; and at Rome those of Pinarii and Potitii for that of Hercules.*

SECTION EIGHTH.

THE VESTAL VIRGINS.

The object, origin, qualifications and service, of these Priestesses: WE will now say a few words about a peculiar class of Priestesses, who officiated among the Romans, in preserving the *sacred Fire*, in honour of a Goddess of which she was the symbol, called the *younger Vesta*, in contradistinction from the Goddess of that name, who was the symbol of the Earth. Æneas is supposed to have been the founder of this order of Priestesses in Italy, which Numa Pompilius re-established. This monarch fixed their number at *four*, to which Tarquin added *two*. They were always chosen by the monarchs, but after the expulsion of the Tarquins, the high priest was entrusted with the care of them.

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As they were to be virgins, they were chosen young, from the age of *six* to *ten*; and if there was not a sufficient number that presented themselves as candidates for the office, twenty virgins were selected, and they upon whom the lot fell were obliged to become priestesses. *Plebeians* as well as *Patricians* were permitted to propose themselves, but it was required that they should be born of a good family, and be without blemish or deformity in every part of their body. For *thirty years* they were to remain in the greatest *continence*; the ten first years were spent in learning the studies of the order, the ten following were employed in discharging them with fidelity and sanctity, and the ten last in instructing such as had entered the noviciate. When the thirty years were elapsed, they were permitted to *marry*, or if they still preferred *celibacy*, they waited upon the rest of the Vestals. As soon as a Vestal was initiated, her head was shaved to intimate the liberty of her person, as she was then free from the shackles of parental authority, and she was permitted to dispose of her possessions as she pleased.

When the *sacred Fire* chanced to expire through the neglect of the Vestals, it was deemed a prognostic of great calamities to the state; and the offender was punished for her negligence, with being severely scourged by the high priest. In such a case all was consternation at Rome; till this Fire was rekindled with the rays of the Sun drawn to a focus by glasses.—In the temple of Vesta were preserved besides the sacred Fire, several other things which Æneas had brought from Phrygia: such as the *Palladium* of Troy; with the Gods *Penates*; and some other images of the Samothracian Gods which Dardanus had brought into Phrygia, and which the religious Æneas took care to preserve in the midst of storms. It was to save these sacred *deposita*, judged so necessary to the preservation of the city, that Cecilius Metellus threw himself into the midst of the

the punishment for neglect of the sacred Fire, Palladium, &c., under their care:

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flames, when the temple of the Vestals was on fire, and those timorous priestesses fled; for which he was honoured with a statue in the capitol, with a glorious inscription. This temple was built by Numa, Romulus never having dared, whatever devotion he had for the Goddess, to erect one for fear of renewing the memory of his mother's crime, and of authorising by her example the licentiousness of other Vestals; contenting himself as we learn from DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus, with building small chapels to Vesta in each Tribe.

their privileges: The *privileges* of the Vestals were great: they had the most honourable *seats* at public games and festivals; a *lictor* with the *fasces* always preceded them when they walked in public; they were carried in *chariots* when they pleased; and they had the power of *pardonning criminals* when led to execution, if they declared that their meeting was accidental. Their *declarations*, in trials, were received without the formality of an oath; they were chosen as *arbiters* in causes of moment, and in the execution of wills; and so great was the deference paid them by the *magistrates*, as well as by the people, that the *consuls* themselves made way for them, and bowed their *fasces* when they passed before them. To *insult* them was a capital crime, and whoever attempted to violate their chastity was beaten to death with scourges. If any of them died while in office their body was buried within the walls of the city—an honour granted to but few.

their restrictions: Such of the Vestals as proved *incontinent* were punished in the most rigorous manner. Numa ordered them to be *stoned*, but Tarquin the elder dug a large *cavity* in the earth, where a bed was placed with a little bread, wine, water, and oil, and a lighted lamp, and the guilty Vestal was stripped of the habit of her order, and compelled to descend into the subterraneous *cavity*, which was immediately shut, and she was left to *die* through hunger. Few of the Vestals

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were guilty of *incontinence*, and for the space of one thousand years, during which the order continued, from the reign of Numa, only *eighteen* were punished for the violation of their vow.

The *dress* of the Vestals was peculiar; they wore a white vest with purple borders, a white linen surplice called *linteum supernum*, above which was a great purple mantle which flowed to the ground, and which was tucked up when they offered sacrifices. They had a close covering on their head, called *infuita*, from which hung ribbons, or *vittæ*. Their manner of living was sumptuous, as they were maintained at the public expense, and though originally satisfied with the simple diet of the Romans, their tables soon after displayed the luxuries and superfluities of the great and opulent.—The Vestals were abolished by Theodosius the great, and *the Fire of Vesta extinguished*.

SECTION NINTH.

THE SIBYLS.

For the sake of method, I divide what I have to say on this subject into several articles. 1st, I shall examine whether there really were Sibyls. 2d, How many there were of them. 3d, Upon what ground the ancients believed they had the gift of prophecy. 4th, What we are to think of the long life that was attributed to them. *Lastly*, Whether they were reputed Divinities, and what worship was paid to them.

1st, Whether there really were Sibyls. 1st, The ancients gave the name of Sibyls to a certain number of young women, whom they believed to be endowed with the gift of prophecy. This name was originally either *Hebrew*, as DELRIO, PEUCERUS, NEANDER, and some others contend; or

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Latin, as SUIDAS says; or *African*, as PAUSANIAS will have it; or in fine, *Greek*, as most of the learned assert. This last was the opinion of DIODORUS, who derives the name from a word importing in the Greek language, *inspired*, *enthusiast*, because they were fully persuaded that the Sibyls were *inspired* by the Gods: but of all who have inquired into the etymology of this name, LACTANTIUS is he whose opinion is generally followed. This learned author says, it signified the *counsel of God*.—Be that as it will, all antiquity concurs in establishing the *existence* of some such persons, and though there is a considerable variation with respect to their *number*, as we shall see afterwards, that does not however destroy the certainty of their having existed. One disputes about their *number*, another about their *country*, a third about the *time when they lived*, &c. But these very disputes prove their *existence* to be taken for granted; so that it cannot be denied, without overturning whatever is most certain in antiquity, and without contradicting, at the same time, several Fathers of the first centuries, who have given into the unanimous opinion of the Ancients.

2d, If the Ancients are agreed as to the *existence* of the Sibyls, they are far from being so as to their *number*. The cause of their uncertainty about this subject is, that one and the same Sibyl travelled into several countries, and after having staid sometime in one place, and delivered oracles there, she passed into another: frequently too, different names were given to the same, sometimes that of the country, sometimes that of the places of her abode. The opinion, however, most generally received, is that of VARRO, recited by LACTANTIUS; and the account of them given by that learned father of the church, is as follows. “VARRO in the books which he composed upon divine things dedicated by him to C. Cæsar the High-Priest, when he

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comes to the article of the Sibylline Books, says, that those Books were not the work of only *one* Sibyl, but of *ten*, for there were that number in all. Then he names them one after another, with the authors who had spoken of them before him. "The *first*, says he, and the most ancient one, was a Persian by birth, as we learn from NICANOR, whom the Persians called *Sambethe*, the same who had written the history of Alexander of Macedon. The *second* was born in *Libya*, and of her EURIPIDES makes mention, in the prologue to his tragedy, intitled *Lamia*, saying that she was the daughter of *Jupiter* and *Lamia*: The *third* was of *Delphos*, as we learn from the book of divination composed by CHRYSIPPUS, DIODORUS SICULUS names her *Daphne*. The *fourth* had her birth among the *Simmerians* in Italy; NÆVIUS speaks of her in his history of the Punic war, and PISO in his annals. The *fifth*, the most famous of all, was of *Erythræa*, according to APOLLODORUS, who was of the same country; she prophesied to the Greeks who were going to besiege Troy, the happy success of their enterprise, and at the same time, that HOMER should one day write a great deal of fictions upon that subject. The *sixth* was of *Samos*, and her history was to be found in the most ancient annals of the Samians, as we learn from ERATOSTHENES; she was called *Pitho* or *Persuasion*, according to SUIDAS, but EUSEBIUS termed her *Eriphile*. The *seventh*, born at *Cumæ*, was named *Amalthæa*, according to some authors, and according to others, *Demophile*, or *Hierophile*: it was she who offered to Tarquin the elder, a collection of *Sibylline verses*, in nine books. The *eighth* was the *Hellespontine*, born at *Marpesus* near the town of Gergis in Traos: HERACLIDES of Pontus said, she lived in the time of Cyrus and Solon. The *ninth*, likewise a Phrygian by birth, gave her Oracles at *Ancyra*, the place of her residence. The *tenth*, in fine, named *Albunæa*, was of Tibur or Tivoli, and was honoured as a Divinity in the neighbourhood of the river *Anio*." These are the *ten Sibyls* whom VARRO admit-

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ted.—SUIDAS, also speaks of the Sibyls, but not very accurately: he has given us two articles about them which don't resemble one another, though in both he reckons *ten* of them. ÆLIAN, on the contrary, allows but *four* of them, namely, the *Erythraean*, the *Egyptian*, she who was born at *Samos*, and another at *Sardis* in *Lydia*. SOLINUS seems persuaded, that their number ought to be reduced to *three*, those of *Sardis* and *Cumæ*, and the *Erythraean*, wherein he is followed by AUSONIUS, who likewise admits not more of them than *three*.—This would be the proper place to examine when the *Sibyls* lived; their parentage, the place of their birth, and the order wherein they ought to be placed; but so many different opinions in relation to these four articles are to be found among both ancients and moderns, that after strict examination, one is at a loss what to fix upon. I have chosen to mention them in the same order as LACTANTIUS had done after VARRO, although I am not ignorant that several of the learned have inverted that order, as if it was a thing worth while to make a bustle about. What does it really avail whether that of *Persia* be the *first* and most ancient of all, as VARRO alleged; or the *fifth*, as BOISSARD will have it; or only the *eighth* according to ONUPHRIUS PANVINUS. GALLÆUS has taken the trouble to put together all that has been said upon this subject; and to him the learned may have recourse.

3d, The ancients have reasoned profoundly upon the *intercourse* and *union* which the *Creature* is capable of attaining with the *Deity*; and this *union* or correspondence they reckoned might be so intimate, that when man was arrived to a certain degree of perfection, the darkest events of futurity were then laid open to his view. To this pitch of perfection, several endeavoured to arrive, and some of them were believed to have actually attained it, by virtue of that sort of magic which they termed *Theurgia*, as shall be said in the sequel: thus reasoned the *Plato-*

3d, Why they were supposed to be gifted with prophecy.

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nics upon the *union* which *Man* may have with the *Gods*: taking it for granted that this was one of the fundamental articles of the Pagan theology, we may say that what made them believe the *Sibyls* were possessed of a prophetic gift, must have been owing to their having had a persuasion that they enjoyed this *intimate union* with the *Gods*, especially with *Apollo* the master of *Divination*. It was likewise for this reason that they gave the same privilege to the *Pythia* of *Delphos*, and to the *Priestesses* of *Dodona* whom they believed to be intimately united with the Deity by whom they were inspired. But other philosophers had very different sentiments about the *prophetic spirit* of the *Sibyls*, which they attributed to the influence of a black and melancholy *humour*, or some other *disease*. Others again were of opinion, that the *fury* to which they were wrought up, enabled them to know and foretell future events, as IAMBLICUS and AGATHIAS maintain. To this *fury*, CICERO added *dreams*, which sometimes inform us of things to come. This illustrious author says elsewhere, "there are persons, who without any science, and without any observation, foretel future events, by I know not what *furious impulse*." We also find ancient authors who ascribe this faculty of divination which the *Sibyls* had, to the *vapours* and *exhalations* of the *caverns* inhabited by them, as was ascribed to the *cave* of *Delphos*. Lastly, ST. JEROM maintained that this gift was imparted to them as a *reward of their chastity*:—true it is that *chastity* has always been looked upon, even by the Pagans, as a necessary qualification in those who approached the altars; that the *Priests*, before they offered up the sacrifices, were obliged to prepare themselves for that service by *continence*, and that there were even some of them who used medicinal means to acquire this gift: it is likewise true, that in order to be assured of the *chastity* of the *Priestess* of *Delphos*, they chose her in the earliest time of life, from among the *country people*, with whom this virtue is less exposed than with the *citizens*. I know not, however, what founda-

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tion ST. JEROM had, for entertaining such a favourable notion of the *chastity* of the *Sibyls*, since there is one of them who boasts of having had a *great number of lovers*, without being married, in this verse which I have taken from the Latin translation; *mille mihi lecti, connubia nulla fuere*. The Sibyl of Persia too, speaks of her *husband* who was with her in NOAH'S Ark, as we shall see in the sequel.—Our opinion therefore is, that the Sibyls, being of a sullen melancholy *humour*, living *retired*, and giving way to a *fanatic impulse*, as VIRGIL describes the Sibyl of *Camæa*, delivered at a venture what came into their mind, and that in the course of their frequent predictions, they sometimes *hit right*; or rather by the help of a *favourable commentary*, people persuaded themselves that they had *divined*. And indeed, how easy was it for those who collected their *predictions*, and put them in verse, as was done to those of the *Priestess of Delphos*, to retrench or add what they pleased, and that frequently even after the event? Some have been prophets in spite of themselves, and the public frequently gives itself the trouble to accommodate words spoken at random, to facts which were never dreamed of by him who uttered them. Do we not see instances of this every day among ourselves, in relation to our *pretending prophets*.

4th, The long life attributed to them; two reflections thereupon.

4th, I cannot pass in silence, what OVID tells us in his *Metamorphoses*, of the *amours* of the *Cumæan Sibyl* with *Apollo*. That God, says he, falling in love with her, she promised to receive his addresses, if he would grant her to live as many years as she had grains of sand in her hand: but after she had obtained her request, she repaid the God with *ingratitude*; who, in turn, punished her in the enjoyment of her *vain desire*, for—having forgot to ask, that her *youthful vigour* might be continued through that length of years, she lived till she became a burden to herself, oppressed with old age, and so emaciated, that she had nothing left but *her voice*. It is easy to see, that this fable is founded upon a

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double tradition; the one, that they looked upon *Apollo* to be the God, who had deepest insight into futurity, and who communicated the same to his favourites, which accounts for their saying, he had been in love with this Sibyl, who was believed to be greatly endued with the prophetic gift: And what accounts for the other part of the fable is the general persuasion that prevailed of the Sibyl having lived to a very great age. *VIRGIL*, in two passages, calls the Sibyl of *Cumæ* the aged Priestess, *Longæva Sacerdos*. *ERASMUS* assures us, it was from this longevity of the Sibyls, that the proverb came, *Sibylla vivacior*; and *PROPERTIUS* says, in the second book of his elegies, “ though you should live as many ages as the Sibyl:” to the same purpose are usually quoted the verses of an old poet, who gives three examples of persons who were long-lived, viz *Hecuba*, the wife of *Priam*; *Æthra*, the mother of *Theseus*; and the *Sibyl*. *OVID* tells us, that at the time when *Æneas* consulted the *Cumæan* Sibyl, she had already lived seven hundred years, and that she had three hundred more to live.—*PHLEGON* gives the same account of the *Erythræan* Sibyl; and she herself, in her predictions, boasts of this privilege.—These testimonies for the *longevity* of the Sibyls, induce me to make two reflections: *First*, that they are nothing but exaggerations of the poets. That some of them lived as long as *Hecuba* and *Æthra*, that is fourscore, or fourscore and ten years, has nothing in it extraordinary; but this is the most we can allow. Even *LUCIAN*, who gives a long detail of persons who were long-lived, makes no mention of the Sibyls; which is a strong presumption against the great age which is assigned to them. But as poetical fictions have always some foundation, learned authors will have it, that the Sibyl of *Cumæa* was said to have lived a *thousand years*, only because she had foretold what was to befall the Romans in that space of time. The transformation of that Sibyl into *Voice*, is nothing but an emblem, which imports that her *Oracles* were to last forever.—The *second* reflection is, that in all appearance, the

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Sibyl of *Cumæ* was the same with that of *Erythræa*, who having quitted her native country, came and settled in Italy. And indeed if we credit SERVIVS, the *amour*, which we have just now taken from OVID, concerns the Sibyl of *Erythræa*. That author, speaking of *Apollo's amours* with that virgin, subjoins to what we have said of her, that the God granted her the long life she sought, only upon condition she would abandon the isle *Erythræa*, the place of her birth, to come and settle in Italy. Accordingly she came thither, and fixed her residence near *Cumæ*, where she lived so long, till, quite spent with old age, nothing remained of her but *her voice*. "Those of her own country, says the same author, whether out of pity, or some other motive, wrote her a letter; but fearing that she would not be able to read the character then in use, and which must have been much altered since she left their Island, they thought fit to use the oldest they knew, and to seal the letter after the old fashion; but no sooner had she read it than she died."—We may add, that the ancients gave the same account of the long life of the Sibyls of *Erythræa* and of the Ionian *Cumæa*, as we have now given of the *Cumæan* Sibyl in Italy; which made GALLÆUS inclined to believe that those three Sibyls were but one, who had passed a part of her life in the island of *Erythræa*, at *Cumæ* in Ionia, and at *Cumæ* in Italy, where she ended her days.

5th, *Lastly*, whether they were reputed Divinities. The Pagans, especially the Romans, had the highest possible *veneration* for the Sibyls. If they did not always look upon them to be *Divinities*, they at least reputed them of a *middle nature* between Gods and men. This is what one of the Sibyls said of herself, according to PAUSANIAS. While she acknowledged, that after a life of several ages, she was to pay the tribute which all human kind owe to death; at the same time she said, she was to be one day transformed into that *face* which appears in the *Moon*, as may be seen in PLUTARCH; as if before the Sibyls were,

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that *Planet* had not exhibited the same appearance of a *face*, which is thought to be there discerned. Mythologists, ancient and modern, have trifled egregiously in making moral and physical lectures upon this metamorphosis of the Sibyls, and I hope it will not be expected I am to copy them. And indeed what reasonable allegories can be imagined as a foundation for a fiction so frivolous?—Such was the idea the ancients had of the Sibyls. In later times, at least some of them, had divine honours paid them. LAC-TANTIUS, who had read the work of VARRO, in which he speaks of the Sibyls, is positive that the *Tiburtine* was worshipped as a Goddess at *Tibur*. It would likewise seem, that the worship which those of her own country paid to her, was brought to Rome, since that learned father of the church subjoins, *cujus sacra, Senatius in Capitolum transtulit*.—The highest mark of supreme worship given to any one, was to consecrate temples to him; now it is certain, that some of the Sibyls had temples. ST. JUSTIN MARTYR mentions that of the Sibyl of *Cumæ* in Italy, built over the very *cave* where she had delivered her Oracles: and as he had the curiosity to visit it when in Italy, he has given a very full description of it. VIRGIL makes mention of this temple; or rather he considers as a temple the *grotto* where the Sibyl delivered her Oracles, because in after-times there was one actually built there. We read in M. SPON's travels, that near the place which the people of the country give out to be the *cave* of the *Tiburtine* Sibyl, are to be seen the ruins of a small temple, which is thought to have been consecrated to her. We may add farther, that the inhabitants of *Gergis*, in the lesser Phrygia, had a custom of representing upon their *medals*, the Sibyl who was born in that city, as being their great Divinity.—Another proof of the worship paid to the Sibyls, is that there were *statues* erected to them, which were placed in the temples; those of which GALLÆUS has given us prints, were even in the church of *Sienna*, where probably they had been left at its consecration. Now, if we would

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know what honours were paid to statues in the temples, ARNOBIUS will inform us: they *prostrated* themselves before the statues of the Gods, and *kissed* the very ground. We may add farther, that they would not touch the book containing the Oracles of the Sibyls, unless their hands were covered; which was the practice in all the other religious ceremonies.—These are the most positive arguments we find for the worship paid to the Sibyls.

I will briefly take notice of the *Tomb and Epitaph* of the Erythræan Sibyl, the most celebrated of all; but as the passage where it is mentioned by PAUSANIAS, contains some other particularities concerning this Sibyl, which are not to be met with elsewhere, I shall copy it entire. “The Sibyl *Herophile*, says PAUSANIAS, is later than she who was daughter to *Jupiter* and *Lamia*, and yet she lived before the siege of Troy; for she prophesied, that *Helen* should be educated at Sparta, to be the curse of Asia, and that upon her account all Greece should one day conspire the ruin of Troy. The inhabitants of Delos have hymns in honour of *Apollo*, which they ascribe to this woman. In these verses, she gives herself out not only for *Herophile*, but for *Diana* too. Sometimes she makes herself the *wife*, sometimes the *sister*, and sometimes the *daughter* of *Apollo*; but then she speaks like one *inspired*, and as it were *delirious*: for elsewhere she says she was born of an *immortal mother*, one of the *Nymphs* of *Ida*, and a *mortal father*; ‘I am, says she, the daughter of an *immortal Nymph*, but of a *mortal father*; a native of *Ida*, that country where the soil is so parched and light; *Marpessus* is the birth-place of my mother, and the river *Adoneus*.’ Accordingly about Mount *Ida* in *Phrygia*, there are to be seen at this day, the ruins of *Marpessus*, where are still remaining about sixty inhabitants. *Marpessus* is about two hundred and forty furlongs from *Alexandria*, a city of *Troas*. The inhabitants of *Alexandria* say, *Herophile* was the

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keeper of the temple to *Apollo Smintheus*, and that she had given an interpretation of *Hecuba's dream*, whereof the truth was justified by the event. This Sibyl passed a good part of her life at Samos; then she came to Claros, which belongs to the Colophonians; then to Delos; from that to Delphos, where she delivered her Oracles from the rock I have spoken of. She ended her days in Traos: her Tomb is still subsisting in the sacred grove of *Apollo Smintheus*, with an epitaph in elegiac verse, engraved on a Column, which is to this effect: ‘*I am that famous Sibyl, whom Apollo had for the interpreter of his Oracles; once an eloquent virgin, now lying speechless underneath this marble, and condemned to an eternal silence: nevertheless, by the favour of the God, dead as I am, I enjoy the sweet society of Mercury, and of the Nymphs my companions.*’ And indeed, nigh her monument stands *Mercury* in a quadrangular figure; on the left, a fountain of water falls into a bason, where statues of *Nymphs* are to be seen. The Erythræans are they of all the Greeks who claim this Sibyl with the greatest warmth. They vauntingly shew their mount *Corycus*, and in this mountain a *cave*, where they pretended *Herophile* had her birth. According to them, a shepherd of the country, named *Theodorus*, was her father, and a *Nymph* her mother. This *Nymph* was surnamed *Idæa*, because every place was then called *Ida*, which was planted with a number of trees. As for those verses, which speak of *Marpessus* and the river *Aidoneus*; as her native country, the Erythræans strike them out of the poems of *Herophile*.”—We shall speak of the *Sibyline Books* and their *Oracles*, when speaking of Oracles in general, in the following

CHAPTER.

CHAPTER III.

THE SUPERSTITIONS OF IDOLATRY.

THE *ceremonies of Superstition* authorised by idolatry, are very numerous. Among them I reckon, 1st, The veneration that was paid to Oracles in general, and to the Sibylline Books in particular, which, with the Romans, were a standing Oracle consulted by them upon all occasions; 2d, the Presages; 3d, the Prodiges; 4th, Expiations; 5th, Magic; 6th, Judicial Astrology; 7th, Divination; 8th, the Lots; 9th, the Præstigix; 10th, the Auguries; 11th, the Auspices; 12th, Public Supplications, and Devotions; 13th, Ceremonies of founding Cities; 14th, the Festivals; 15th, the Games; besides some others.

SECTION FIRST.

OF ORACLES IN GENERAL.

As the Oracles, which SENECA defines to be the will of the Gods declared by the mouths of men, and which CICERO simply calls the language of the Gods, *Deorum Oratio*, depended upon the Pagan religion, and were a considerable part of it, their history belongs to a treatise upon Mythology. Nothing was more famous than these Oracles: they were consulted not only for national enterprise, but even in affairs of private life. *In public matters*, were the points in question, to make peace or war, to enact laws, reform states, or change the constitution; in all these

Oracles, the language or will of the Gods, are public & private.

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cases they had recourse to the Oracle by public authority. *In private life*, if a man had a design to marry, if he was to enter upon a journey, or in short, whatever business he was to undertake, was he sick and out of order, he must directly consult the Oracle. Men's desire of knowing futurity, and of securing the success of their designs, led them to consult those Gods who were reputed prophetic; for all the Gods had not that character.* Hence, the institution of Oracles, the eagerness to consult them, and the immense donations wherewith their temples were filled; for an anxious mind, subdued by vain curiosity, sticks at nothing.

Oracles were
as universal as
Idolatry.

Upon this principle, we need not doubt but that every nation, where idolatry prevailed, had its Oracles, or some other means of searching into the hidden events of futurity. There never was any nation where impostors were wanting, and a tribe of covetous mortals, who pretended to the gift of foreknowing and predicting mysterious future events. They have been found even among the most gross and barbarous nations, such as the Iroquois, and other savages of America. The ancient Gauls had their *Druids*, who were regarded by them as prophets. Among the Egyptians and Phenicians, the *Priests* were clothed with this character, and thus doubtless it was among other nations. But as a particular examination into the Oracles of every idolatrous people, would carry us too far, and as we want records, from which to compile their history, we shall confine ourselves to the Oracles of the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans; especially those of the Greeks, who were both very numerous, and highly celebrated.

* In older times there were hardly any who delivered Oracles but *Themis*, *Jupiter*, and *Apollo*; but afterwards this privilege was granted to almost all the Gods, and to a great number of Heroes, as we shall see in due time.

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Were they mere impostures; and did they cease at the coming of Christ?

Before we enter upon the particular history of these Oracles, it is necessary to examine in a few words two important questions. 1st, Were the numerous predictions which authors ascribed to them, the mere imposture of priests, or did they proceed from the Devil? 2d. Did the Oracles actually cease at the coming of Christ?—VAN DALE, in a treatise, which cannot be censured for want of learning, has attempted to prove that all of those predictions proceeded entirely from the tricks of those who had the charge of the Oracles; and that they did not cease when Christ came into the world.—As the opinion of VAN DALE seemed to contradict the unanimous sentiments of all the Fathers, and the constant tradition of the Church, which ascribed a great part at least of the Oracular responses to the *Devil*, who was not chained up till the coming of Jesus Christ, father BALTHUS the Jesuit, in a learned treatise, undertook the defence of the tradition of the Church, and the Fathers; and without denying the imposture of the *Priests*, which was often mixed with the Oracles, he proves in an equally perspicuous and solid manner, the intervention of the *Devil* in some predictions, which all the efforts of incredulity were incapable of ascribing to the cheats of the *Priests* alone. And as for the time of the *cessation* of these Oracles, he proves with the same erudition, that if they did not cease altogether at the coming of Christ, they at least began then to decline; they were no longer in such high reputation; they were no longer consulted with the usual apparatus: though it is unquestionable that they did not entirely cease, till *christianity* triumphed over *idolatry*.—It is not to my purpose to enlarge farther upon these two questions, the particulars of the case being in every body's hands. Yet I cannot help making some reflections upon the *first*, that serve to overthrow VAN-DALE's scheme. Is it then credible, that if the Oracles had been nothing but the offspring of *priestcraft*, whatever artful methods they may be

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thought to have used; and however successful in pumping out the secrets and schemes of those who came to consult them; is it credible, I say, that these Oracles would have lasted so long, and supported themselves with so much splendour and reputation, had they been merely owing to the forgery of the priests? Imposture betrays itself: falsehood never holds out. Besides, there were too many witnesses, too many curious spies, too many people whose interest it was, not to suffer themselves to be deluded. One may put a cheat for a time upon a few private persons, who are over-run with credulity, but by no means upon whole nations for several ages. Some princes who had been played upon by ambiguous responses, a trick once discovered, the bare curiosity of a free-thinker, any of these, in short, was sufficient to blow up the whole mystery, and at once make the credit of the Oracle fall to the ground. How many people deluded by hateful responses, were concerned to examine, if it was really the priests by whom they were seduced. But why was it so hard a matter to find one of the priests themselves, capable of being bribed to betray the cause of his accomplices, by the fair promises and more substantial gifts, of those, who omitted no means of being thoroughly informed on a subject of such concern? It seems then there were no mercenary souls in that virtuous age! Gold had no bewitching charms! contempt and dishonour had lost their power! Why else, would not the priests of an Oracle, whose credit was low, or entirely sunk, have revealed, either through despair or revenge, the impostures of those who carried off from them all their gain? they, who by practising the like tricks, had good reason at least to suspect those of others. What an odd combination is this, and how unparalleled, to hold out against interest, and against reputation: to unite so many impostors in a secret so religiously kept! To these reflections, father BALTHUS adds another, drawn from human sacrifices that were required by the Oracles; since man, says he, however intralld to his passions, never would have demanded such victims.

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In order to consult the Oracles, the *time* was to be chosen, when it was believed the Gods delivered them; for all days were not equally agreeable to them for that purpose: at Delphos there was but *one month in the year*, when the priestess answered those who came to consult *Apollo*. In after-times, there was *one day in each month*, when that God pronounced his Oracles.—Nor were all the Oracles delivered in the same *manner*: here, it was the *priestess* who answered for the God whom they consulted; there, it was the *God himself* who pronounced the Oracle; in another place they received the response of the God *in their sleep*, for procuring which they used certain preparatory means of a mysterious nature; sometimes they received the responses *in letters under a seal*; and in fine, in other places, *by casting lots*, as at Preneste in Italy. Sometimes they were obliged to use many preparatives, in order to qualify themselves for receiving the Oracles, such as *fastings, sacrifices, lustrations, &c.* At other times, so little ceremony was requisite, that the consulter received his answer *instantaneously* upon coming up to the Oracle; as Alexander did, when he came to Libya to consult that of *Jupiter-Hammon*: for no sooner did the priest see him, than he gave him the compellation of, *son of Jupiter*; to obtain which, was the whole end of his journey. But it is time to pass on to the particular history of the most celebrated Oracles: and as those of *Dodona*, and *Jupiter Hammon*, were the most ancient, I shall begin with the history of them.

1st, *The Oracle of Dodona.**

We learn from HERODOTUS, that the Oracle of *Dodona*, the most ancient of Greece, and that of *Jupiter Hammon* in Libya, had the same original, and both owed their institution to the

* The origin of this Oracle, and that of Jupiter Hammon.

* The honours of this Oracle were divided between *Jupiter* and *Apollo*.

Egyptians, as did all the other antiquities of Greece.—Here is the allegory, under which this piece of history is transmitted to us: *Two pigeons*, said they, taking flight from Thebes in Egypt, one of them came to Libya; the other having flown as far as the forest of *Dodona* in Chaonia, a province of Epirus, alighted there, and let the inhabitants of the country know, that it was the will of *Jupiter* to have an Oracle in that place. This prodigy astonished those who were witnesses to it, and the Oracle being founded, there was very soon a great concourse of consultors. *SERVIVS* adds, that *Jupiter* had given to his daughter *Tebe* these two pigeons, and communicated to them the gift of speech.—*HERODOTUS*, who judged rightly that the fact which gave rise to the institution of the Oracle, was couched under the fable, has examined into its historical foundation. “Phenician merchants, says this author, sometime ago carried off *two priestesses* of Thebes; she who was sold in Greece, took up her residence in the forest of *Dodona*, where the Greeks came to gather acorns, their ancient food; and there she erected a small chapel at the foot of an Oak, in honour of *Jupiter*, whose priestess she had been at Thebes: this was the foundation of that Oracle, so famous in succeeding ages. The same author subjoins, that this priestess was called the *pigeon*, because they understood not her language; but soon coming to be acquainted with it, they reported that the *pigeon spoke*.”

How the Oracle
of Dodona was
given.

In ancient times, the Oracle of *Dodona* was given by the *murmuring of a fountain* in the forest of *Dodona*, whose purling stream rippled along the foot of an *Oak*. Afterwards, it seems, they had recourse to more formalities, and this was the artifice they fell upon; they suspended in the air some *brazen kettles*, near a *statue* of the same metal which was likewise suspended, and held a *lash* in its hand: this figure being agitated by the wind, struck against the *kettle* that was next to it, which communicating

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the motion to the rest of the *kettles*; raised a clattering din which continued sometime; and upon this noise they formed predictions. Hence the forest of *Dodona* had even taken its name, for *Dodo* in Hebrew signifies a kettle. If you ask, what gave rise to the fable of those Oracles being delivered by the *Oaks* themselves? the answer I take to be this; that the ministers of that Oracle hid themselves in the *hollow* of the *Oak*, when they gave their responses.—From these speaking *Oaks*, to mention it by the by, came the origin of that other fable about the *masts* of the ship *Argo*, cut in the forest of *Dodona*, which, according to ONOMACRITUS, APOLLONIUS of Rhodes, and VALERIUS FLACCUS gave Oracles to the *Argonauts*, as we shall see in the history of their expedition. SUIDAS, speaking of the *Oaks* of this forest, says, they spoke, and gave responses to the supplicants in this form; “*Thus saith Jupiter, &c.*” VAN-DALE, in his history of Oracles, after remarking that SUIDAS has barely copied EUSTATHIUS, reports the opinion of ARISTOTLE and several other authors, and takes particular notice how much the ancients vary in their accounts of this Oracle; this variation among them, no doubt, is owing to the care that was taken, not to allow those who came to consult the Oracle, to approach too near it, so that they could only hear a certain sound, but by no means could judge whence it proceeded.—But whatever be in that, no sooner was the sound of the *kettles* over, than the women whom they named *Dodonidæ*, delivered their Oracles, either in *verse*, as appears from the collection made of them; or by the *lots*, as CICERO seems to think, in his book of Divination.

2d, *The Oracle of Jupiter Hammon.*

What I have taken from HERODOTUS at the beginning of the preceding *article*, proves the Oracle of *Jupiter Hammon* in Libya, to have been as ancient as that of *Dodona*, whose history

The antiquity of this Oracle,—character of its Priests.

we have seen. This Oracle became likewise very famous, and they flocked from all parts to consult it, notwithstanding the inconveniences of so long a journey, and the burning sands of Libya they had to go through. One knows not well what to think of the fidelity of the priests who ministered to the God. Sometimes they were proof against corruption, as appears from the charge they gave in at Sparta against Lysander, who had offered to bribe them, in that scheme he was projecting, to change the order of succession to the throne: but sometimes they are not so scrupulous; witness the story of Alexander, who, either to screen the reputation of his mother, or from pure vanity, affected to be reputed *son of Jupiter*; since the priest of that God, as has been said, stood in readiness to receive him, and saluted him, *Son of the king of Gods.*

How the responses were given.

We learn from QUINTUS CURTIUS, and other ancient authors, that the statue of *Jupiter Hammon* had a *ram's head*, with its *horns*. And from DIODORUS SICULUS we learn the manner in which that God delivered his Oracles, when any one came to consult him;—Twenty-four of his priests bore upon their shoulders, in a gilded barge, the *statue* of their God sparkling with precious stones, and moved on whithersoever they thought the impulse of the God carried them: a troop of matrons and virgins accompanied this procession, singing hymns in honour of *Jupiter*. STRABO remarks, upon the authority of CALISTHENES, that the responses of that God were not *words*, as at Delphos, and among the Branchidæ, but a *sign*; and he quotes upon this occasion, that verse in HOMER which says, *Jupiter* signified his consent by *bending his brows.*

3d, The Oracle of Apollo at Heliopolis.

According to MACROBIUS, *Apollo* gave his responses in the city of Heliopolis in Egypt, in the same way with *Jupiter Hammon*. "The Statue of that God, says he, is carried in the same manner as those of the Gods in the procession at the *Circeneian* games. The priests, attended by the principal persons of the country who join in the ceremony, having their heads shaved, and after a long continence, set forward, not as they are inclined themselves, but according as they are impelled by the God whom they bear, by motions resembling those of the statues of *Fortune* at Antium."—We may add here a remark on another Oracle; that it was, probably, by the same kind of motions of the statue of *Jupiter Phlius*, that his priests delivered their Oracles, as may be seen in EUSEBIUS and in RUFINUS.

4th, The Oracle of Apollo at Delphos.

If the Oracle of Delphos was not the most ancient of those of Greece, it was at least the most celebrated, and that which continued longest. To relate all that has been said about this Oracle, would oblige me to copy almost all the ancient authors, and not a few of the moderns: and therefore, to satisfy those who are not fond of long narrations, I shall only give an abstract of its history.—At what time this Oracle was founded is not known; which, in the first place, proves it to be of great antiquity, nor was *Apollo* the first who was consulted there. DIODORUS SICULUS, who was at the pains to inquire into the origin of this Oracle, reports a tradition, which he had taken from monuments of the greatest antiquity: *Goats*, says he, that were feeding in the valleys of *Parnassus*, gave rise to the discovery of this Oracle. There was, in the place afterwards called the *Sanctuary*, a *hole*, the mouth of which was very straight. These *Goats* having come near it with

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their heads, began to leap and frisk about so strangely, that the *Shepherd*, being struck with it, came up to the place, and leaning over the *hole*, was seized with a fit of enthusiasm, whereby he was prompted to utter some extravagant expressions, which passed for prophecies. The news of this wonder drew thither the people of the neighbourhood, who no sooner approached the *hole*, than they too were transported into the like enthusiasm. Surprised with so astonishing a prodigy, they supposed it to proceed from some friendly Deity, or from the earth itself; and from that time, they began to confer a particular worship upon the Divinity of the place, and to look upon what was delivered in these fits of enthusiasm as predictions and Oracles. The place where this *hole* was observed, was on a rising ground, near *Parnassus*, a mountain in Phocis, on the south side; and here they afterwards built the temple and city of Delphos.

But the ancients not being agreed as to the Gods who had this oracle successively, it is necessary to give their opinions. *ÆSCHYLUS*, in the beginning of his tragedy of the *Eumenides*, says *Terra* was the *first* who gave Oracles there; after her *Themis*; then *Phæbe*, another daughter of *Terra*: *Phæbe* according to the mythologists, was mother to *Latona*, and grandmother to *Apollo*; and he, in short, was the *fourth*. *OVID* only informs us, that *Themis* delivered Oracles at the foot of *Parnassus*; and that *Pyrrha* and *Deucalion* came to consult her about the means of replenishing the earth, whose inhabitants had been destroyed by a deluge. *PAUSANIAS* adds, that before *Themis*, *Terra* and *Neptune* had likewise given their Oracles there; and if we take the authority of the old scholiast upon *LYCOPHRON*, *Saturn* too, had been consulted there with *Neptune* and *Terra*.

Several Gods having given Oracles successively, the historians and poets give a very odd account of the manner of their transferring their right. *Terra* and *Neptune* possessed it in com-

Several Gods
had this Oracle
successively:

which was trans-
ferred voluntar-
ily or by force.

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mon; with this difference, that *Terra* gave her Oracles herself, and *Neptune* gave his by the ministration of a priest named *Pyrcon*. From *Terra* the Oracle passed to *Themis*, her daughter, who possessed it sometime, and resigned in favour of *Apollo*, whom she fondly doated upon: but according to an ancient tradition, followed by EURIPIDES, the resignation was far from being voluntary. APOLLO, whom *Pan* had taught the art of prediction, being arrived at *Parnassus*, with the equipage described by HOMER, that is clothed in his immortal robes, perfumed with essences, and in his hand a golden lyre, on which he played melodious airs, seized the sanctuary by force, slew the dragon, which *Terra* had posted there to be the keeper, and made himself master of the Oracle. *Neptune*, who likewise had his share therein, not being inclined to dispute it with his nephew, exchanged with him for the island of Calauria, over against Trezene. From that time, none but *Apollo* delivered Oracles at Delphos.—It is easy to perceive, that this fiction had no other foundation but the interest of the priests, who seeing the zeal of the people become cool, tried to awaken it, by presenting them with new objects of worship.

This Oracle became highly celebrated.

Whatever be in that, the Oracle of *Apollo* got the better of all the rest, both in its high reputation, and long standing. Thither they flocked from all parts to consult the God; Greeks and Barbarians, princes and private persons, men of all characters, upon every minute enterprize, as well as affairs of great importance, came to Delphos, either in person, or sent a deputation, to know the will of *Apollo*. Hence the vast donations, and immense riches, wherewith the temple and city were filled, and which became so considerable, as to be compared to those of the Persian kings.

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How the *Inspiration* was acquired; by whom delivered; and when.

About the time when this Oracle was first discovered, all the mystery requisite to obtain the prophetic gift, was to approach the *cavern*, and inhale the vapour which issued from it; and at that time, the God inspired all sorts of persons indifferently: but at length, several of those enthusiasts, in the excess of their fury, having thrown themselves headlong into the gulf, they thought fit to provide a remedy against that accident, which frequently happened. They set over the *hole* a machine, which they called a *tripod*, because it had three feet, and commissioned a woman to get upon this sort of chair, whence she might catch the exhalation without any danger, because the three feet of the machine stood upon the rock. This priestess was called *Pythia*, from the serpent *Python*, slain by *Apollo*, as we shall see in his history. At first there were promoted to this ministration, young women, who were yet virgins, and great precaution was taken in the choice of them. The *Pythia* was ordinarily chosen from a poor family, where she had lived in obscurity, free from luxury, and affectation of dress, and other gaudy ornaments with which young women *set themselves to show*. Ignorance itself was one of the things that qualified them for being promoted to this dignity, and no more was required in her who was to be elected, but to be able to speak and repeat what the God dictated. The custom of choosing young virgins lasted very long, and would have been continued, had it not been for an accident which occasioned its being abolished: A young Thesalian named *Echecrates*, being at Delphos, fell in love with the priestess, who was extremely beautiful, and ravished her. To prevent any abuses of the like nature for the future, the people of Delphos made an express law, ordaining that none should be chosen but women above *fifty years old*.—At first they had only *one* priestess, and she sufficed for giving responses to those who came to Delphos; but in aftertimes there were *two* or *three* of

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them.—The Oracles were not delivered every day; sacrifices, repeated over and over again, until the God whose will they expressed, was pleased, consumed frequently a whole year; and it was only once a year, in the beginning of *spring*, that *Apollo* inspired the priestess. Except on this set day, the priestess was forbid, under pain of death, to go into the sanctuary to consult *Apollo*. Alexander, who before his expedition to Asia, came to Delphos, on one of those silent days during which the sanctuary was shut, entreated the priestess to mount the *tripod*: she refused, and quoted the law which stood in her way. This prince being naturally hasty, and impatient to set out, drew the priestess by force from her cell, and was leading her himself to the sanctuary; which gave her occasion to say, “*my son, thou art invincible.*” At these words, he cried out that he was satisfied, and would have no other Oracle.

As nothing served so much to raise or keep up the reputation of an Oracle, as that air of mystery which was given to every thing about it, we may be sure that nothing was neglected at Delphos to procure it *veneration*. They used infinite precaution in choosing the victims, inspecting the entrails, and in the omens they drew from them. The neglecting the smallest punctilio, was a sufficient motive to renew the sacrifices that were to precede the *response of Apollo*, and they repeated them till all was right. The priestess herself made great preparation for discharging her duty: she *fasted* three days, and before she mounted the *tripod*, she *bathed* herself in the fountain of *Castalia*. There she ordinarily washed her *feet* and *hands*, sometimes her whole *body*; and she swallowed a certain quantity of *water* from the fountain, because *Apollo* was thought to have communicated to it a part of his enthusiastic virtue. After this she was made to chew some leaves of the *laurel tree*, gathered near the fountain; for the laurel was the symbol of divination, and wanted

The ceremony
of receiving the
Response.

not its influence to promote enthusiasm. After these preparations, *Apollo* gave signals himself of his arrival in the temple; the whole fabric, by I know not what artifice, trembled and shook to its very foundations, as likewise a laurel tree which was at the entry of the temple. Then the priests, who were likewise called prophets, took hold of the priestess, led her into the sanctuary, and placed her upon the *tripod*. As soon as she began to be agitated by the *divine exhalation*, you might have seen *her hair stand on end, her mein grow wild and ghastly, her mouth begin to foam, and her whole body suddenly seized with violent trembling*. In this plight she attempted to get away from the prophets, who were holding her, as it were, by force, while her *shrieks* and *howlings* made the whole temple resound, and filled the by-standers with a *sacred horror*. In fine, being no longer able to resist the impulse, *she gave herself up to the God*, and at certain intervals uttered some *incoherent words*, which the prophets carefully picked up, arranged them in order, and put them in form of *verse*. The Oracle being pronounced, she was taken down from the *tripod* and conducted back to her *cell*, where she continued for *several days*, to recover herself from the *conflict*. We are told by LUCAN, that *speedy death* was frequently the consequence of her *enthusiasm*.

Other Ministers
of the Oracle of
Apollo.

As the priestess was only the instrument made use of to reveal the will of *Apollo*, so the Oracle had several other ministers, priests or prophets, who took care of every thing belonging to it; who chose the victims; offered up the sacrifices; repeated them when they were not propitious; conducted the priestess to the *tripod*, where they placed her in a convenient posture for receiving all the *vapour* that issued from the *cave*, at the mouth of which she sat; put her words together, and delivered them to the poets, who were another sort of ministers, by whom they were put into *verse*. From a passage in PLUTARCH, it appears, that

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three poets, together with the prophets, were about the priestess when she pronounced the words which the God dictated to her. The verses composed by those poets, were often stiff, of a wretched composition, and always obscure; which gave occasion to that piece of raillery, *that Apollo the prince of the Muses, was the worst of poets*. Sometimes the priestess herself pronounced her Oracles in verse, at least we are told so of one of them, called *Phe-momonoë*; but in later times they contented themselves with delivering them in prose; and this PLUTARCH reckons to have been the cause of the declension of the Oracle.—There were belonging to this Oracle several other ministers, whose names and functions may be seen in the third dissertation of M. HARDION; inso-much that, as M. FONTENELLE has it, the whole town of Delphos was opulently maintained by the Oracle.—The sanctuary where the priestess was, being covered with branches of laurel, she herself surrounded with prophets and poets, and there being two women besides to hinder the profane from coming near her, it was difficult to know precisely what was done there; and had it not been for persons of curiosity, who pried more narrowly into the secret of the priesthood, we should not have been able to speak so positively as we have done, concerning the manner in which this Oracle was delivered.

5th, *The Oracle of Trophonius in Lebadea.*

The origin of
this Oracle.

Though *Trophonius* was only a hero; nay, according to some authors, an execrable robber; yet he had an Oracle in Bœotia, which became exceedingly famous, and where grand ceremonies were used, before obtaining the *responses*. As to the time when the Oracle of *Trophonius* was founded, we are not able to determine: only we know from PAUSANIAS, that he was not heard of in Bœotia itself, till that country being distressed with a great drought, they had recourse to *Apollo* at Delphos, to learn from that God, by

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what means they might put a stop to the famine. The priestess answered, that they were to apply themselves to *Trophonius*, whom they would find in Lebadea. The deputies obeyed; but not being able to find an Oracle in that city, *Saon*, the oldest of them, spied a swarm of *Bees*; and observing that they flew towards a *Cave*, he followed them, and thus discovered the Oracle. They say, continues PAUSANIAS, that *Trophonius* himself instructed him in all the ceremonies of his worship, and after what manner he would be honoured and consulted; which makes me think that this *Saon* was himself the founder of that Oracle, which, no doubt, was instituted upon occasion of the famine I have mentioned. As nobody has described it more fully and more accurately than PAUSANIAS who had consulted it, and submitted to all its irksome formalities, we cannot do better than transcribe what he says of this personage and his Oracle. *Erginus*, says he, son of *Clymenus* king of Orchomenos, being far advanced in years, and inclined to marry, came to consult the Oracle of *Apollo*, whether he should have children. The priestess puzzled with his question, answered him in enigmatical terms, that though he was rather too late in coming to a resolution, yet he might entertain good hopes if he married a young woman. Conformably to this response, he married a young wife, by whom he had two sons, *Trophonius* and *Agamedes*, who, both of them, became afterwards great architects. By them was built the temple of *Apollo* at Delphos, and Hyrieus's treasure-house. In the construction of this latter edifice they had recourse to a secret stratagem, known to none but themselves: by means of a stone in the wall, which they had the art of taking out and putting in again, so that nobody could discover them, they had access every night to this treasury, and robbed Hyrieus of his money. He observing his money diminished, and yet no appearance of the doors having been opened, set a trap about the vessels which contained his treasure, and there *Agamedes* was caught. *Trophonius* not knowing how

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to extricate him, and fearing lest if he was the next day put to the rack, he should discover the secret, cut off his head.—Without entering into a critical examination of this story, which seems to be but a copy of what HERODOTUS fully relates of one of the kings of Egypt, and two brothers who robbed his treasure by a like stratagem, I would have it be observed, that PAUSANIAS gives us no account of the life of *Trophonius*; only as to the manner of his death he tells us, that the earth opened and swallowed him up alive, and that the place where it happened was still called at that day, *Agamedes's pit*, which was to be seen in a sacred grove of Lebadea, with a pillar set over it.—The death of those two brothers is told otherwise by PLUTARCH, who cites PINDAR. After the building of the temple of Delphos, whose foundation was laid by *Apollo* himself, as it is in HOMER, they asked their reward of that God, who ordered them to wait eight days, and in the mean time to make merry; but at the expiration of that term they were found dead.

The manner of consulting this Oracle, &c.

Lebadea, continues PAUSANIAS, is a city as much adorned as any throughout Greece: the sacred Grove of *Trophonius* is but a very little distance from it, and in this grove is the Temple of *Trophonius*, with his Statue, which is the work of Praxiteles. They who come to consult his Oracle, must perform certain ceremonies. Before they go down into the *Cave* where the *response* is given, they must pass some days in a chapel dedicated to *good Genius* and to *Fortune*. That time is spent in purification, by abstinence from all things unlawful, and in making use of the cold bath, the warm baths being prohibited; thus, the suppliant is not allowed to wash himself, unless in the water of the river *Hercyna*. He must sacrifice to *Trophonius* and all his family, to *Jupiter* surnamed *King*, to *Saturn*, to *Ceres* surnamed *Luropha*, who was believed to have been *Trophonius's* nurse; thus the God had plentiful provision of flesh offered to him in sacrifice. There

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were Diviners also to consult the *entrails* of every *victim*, to know if it was agreeable to *Trophonius* that the person should come down into his *Cave*; but he especially revealed his mind by the *entrails* of a *ram*, which was offered up to him last of all. If the Omens were favourable, the suppliant was led that night to the river *Hercyna*, where two boys about twelve or thirteen years old, anointed his whole body with oil. Then he was conducted as far as the source of the river, and was made to drink two sorts of water; that of *Lethe*, which effaced from his mind all profane thoughts, and that of *Mnemosyne*, which had the quality of enabling him to retain whatever he was to see in the sacred *Cave*. After all this *apparatus*, the priests presented to him the statue of *Trophonius*, to which he was to address a prayer: then he got a linen tunic to put on, which was adorned with sacred fillets; and after all, was solemnly conducted to the Oracle.—This Oracle was upon a *mountain*, with an inclosure made of white stones, upon which were erected *obelisks* of brass. In this enclosure was a *Cave* of the figure of an oven, cut out by art. The mouth of it was narrow, and the descent into it was not by steps, but by a small *ladder*. When they were got down, they found another small *Cave*, the entrance to which was very straight: the suppliant prostrated himself on the ground, carrying a certain composition of honey in either hand, without which he is not admitted; he first puts down his feet into the mouth of the *Cave*, and instantly his whole body is forcibly drawn in. They who were admitted, were favoured with *revelations*, but not all in the same manner: some had the knowledge of futurity by *vision*, others by an *audible voice*. Having got their *response*, they came out of the *Cave* the same way they went in, prostrated on the ground, and their feet foremost. Then the suppliant was conducted to the chair of *Mnemosyne*, and there being set down, was interrogated as to what he had seen or heard: from that he was brought back quite stupified and senseless; into the chapel of good *Genius*, till he

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should recover his senses; after which he was obliged to write down in a table-book, all that he had seen or heard; which the priests interpreted in their own way. PAUSANIAS adds, that there never had been any but one man who entered *Trophonius's* Cave without coming out again. This was a spy sent thither by Demetrius, to see whether in that holy place there was any thing worth plundering. His body was found far from thence, and it is likely that his design being discovered, the priests assassinated him in the Cave, and carried out his body by some passage, whereby they themselves came into the Cave without being perceived. The same author concludes: "What I have wrote is not founded upon hearsay; I relate what I have seen happen to others, and what happened to myself: for to be assured of the truth, I went down into the Cave and consulted the Oracle." PLUTARCH who tells us that in his time all the Oracles of Bœotia had ceased, except that of *Trophonius*, makes mention in his treatise concerning SOCRATES's *genius*, of one Timachus, who gave account of what he pretended to have seen in *Trophonius's* Cave; but he seems to have been but an impostor, who regards not whether the thing be true or false, but only cares that it be wonderful or extraordinary; and therefore deserves much less to be believed than PAUSANIAS.

6th, *Other Oracles of less note.*

Other Oracles
of Apollo.

After having spoken at some length of the principal Oracles, it will not be amiss to say something of those that were of less note. *Apollo*, of all the Gods, had the greatest number, of which I shall name the principal: 1st, That of *Claros*, a town in Ionia, near Colophon, though of less antiquity than several others, was yet very famous, and very often consulted. The city *Claros* is thought to have been founded by *Manto*, the daughter of *Tiresias*, after the second war of Thebes, some years before the taking of Troy. This daughter, of whom antiquity tells many wonders, with re-

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spect to her prophetic gifts, deploring the miseries of her country, melted into *tears*, and those *tears* formed a *fountain* and a *lake*, whose water communicated the gift of prophecy to those who drank it: but the water not being wholesome, it likewise brought on diseases, and was a means of shortening life. 2d, There was one, and that a very famous one too, in the suburbs of *Daphne* at *Antioch*. 3d, According to *LUCAN* there was one in the island of *Delos*, the supposed birth-place of that God. 4th, According to *HERODOTUS*, he had one at *Didyone* among the *Branchidæ*. 5th, He had one at *Argos*, as we learn from *PAUSANIAS*. 6th and 7th, He had one in *Troas*, and another in *Eolis*, according to *STEPHANUS*. 8th, *CAPITOLINUS* informs us of one at *Baia* in Italy: and besides the above cited, there were Oracles of *Apollo*, in *Cilicia*, in *Laconia*, in *Arcadia*, at *Corinth*, in *Thrace*, and in the *Alps*; in fine, in an infinity of other places, as may be seen in the modern author just cited.

Other Oracles
of Jupiter.

Though the other Gods had not an equal number of Oracles with *Apollo*, the God of *divination*, yet, in process of time, almost every one of them had his Oracle. *Jupiter* had several of them, besides that of *Hammon* aforementioned, as well as that of *Dodona* and some others, whereof he shared the honour with *Apollo*. 1st, He had one in *Bæotia* under the name of *Jupiter the thunderer*. 2d, He had one in *Elis*. 3d and 4th, He had one at *Thebes*, and another at *Meroe*. 5th, He had one at *Antioch*, and several others.

Other Oracles
of several other
Deities.

We shall give a slight glance at the Oracles of other Gods in numerical order. 1st, *Osiris*, *Isis*, and *Serapis*, delivered Oracles by *dreams*, as we learn from *PAUSANIAS*, *TACITUS*, *ARRIAN*, and several others—This manner of giving Oracles, to mention it by the by, was very common. *Serapis* had an Oracle at *Alexandria*, which *Vespasian* went to consult: the priest who ministered to the God, would only reveal to him in secret

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what he had to tell him concerning the grand designs he had in view. It was a very rare thing for those who came to consult the Oracles, to be permitted to enter the sanctuary; and VAN DALE, who has exhausted the subject, finds but two examples of it, viz. that of *Alexander*, who as PLUTARCH reports after CALISTHENES, entered alone into the sanctuary of *Hammon*; and that of *Vespasian*, who, according to TACITUS, was introduced into that of *Serapis*.—2d, The Ox *Apis* had also his Oracle in Egypt: the manner of consulting him was singular: If he eat what was offered him by the suppliant, it was a good sign; but a bad one when he refused it; as it happened to GERMANICUS:—Whereon we will remark that it was much the same with the ceremony practised at *Rome*. When they drew good or bad omens from what they called their *sacred Chickens*; as if the events of futurity had depended upon the good appetite or full stomach of an *Ox* or *Chickens*.—3d, The Gods called *Cabiri*, if we may credit ST. ATHANASIUS, had their Oracles in *Bœotia*.—4th, *Mercury* delivered Oracles at *Patras* upon *Hemon*, and in other places.—5th, *Mars* delivered Oracles in *Thrace*, *Egypt*, and elsewhere.—6th, *Diana* the sister of *Apollo* had not a few: she had one in *Egypt*, one in *Cilicia*, and one at *Ephesus*, not to mention several others.—7th, *Juno* likewise had many Oracles; of which one was near *Corinth*, another at *Nysa*, and others elsewhere.—8th, *Minerva*, surnamed *Fatidica*, of consequence was not without her Oracles: she had one in *Egypt*, one in *Spain*, one upon mount *Etna*, one at *Mycenæ*, one in *Colchis*, and elsewhere.—9th, *Latona*, according to HERODOTUS, had an Oracle at *Butes* in *Egypt*.—10th, Those of *Venus* were dispersed in sundry places; at *Gaza*, upon mount *Libanus*, at *Paphos*, in *Cyprus*. I cannot pass in silence that of *Venus Aphacite*, mentioned by ZOSIMUS, which was consulted by the Palmareniens, who revolted under the reign of Aurelian about 272 years since the birth of CHRIST. At *Aphaca*, a place between *Heliopolis* and *Byblos*, *Venus* had a temple, near which was a lake

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resembling a cistern. They who came to consult the Oracle of that Goddess, threw presents into the lake; and it was no matter of what kind they were: if they were acceptable to *Venus*, they went to the bottom; if she rejected them, they swam on the surface, even though of gold or silver. The historian whom I have quoted subjoins, that in the year which preceded the ruin of the *Palmarensians*, their presents sunk to the bottom, but that in the following year they floated on the surface.—11th, The Oracles of *Neptune* were at *Delphos*, at *Calauria* near *Neocesarea*, and elsewhere.—12th, *Pan* had several Oracles, the most famous of which was in *Arcadia*.—13th, *Saturn* also had several Oracles; but the most famous of them were, that of *Cumæ* in Italy, and that of *Alexandria* in Egypt.—14th, *Pluto*, as we learn from *STRABO*, had one at *Nysa*.—15th, The *Nymphs* had their Oracles in the cave of *Corycia*.

Nor was it only the Gods who had Oracles; the Demi-Gods and Heroes had theirs likewise. 1st, *Hercules* had his at *Gades*, now *Cadiz*; at *Athens*; in *Egypt*; at *Tivoli*, which was given by lots as *STATIUS* tells us, much after the manner of that of *Fortune* at *Preneste* and at *Antium*; he had an Oracle in *Mesopotamia*, where according to *TACITUS*, he gave his Oracles by dreams, whence he got the name of *Somnialis*, as may be seen in an inscription of *SPON*, and in another recited by *REINESIUS*.—2d, It is hardly credible that *Geryon*, the three-headed monster who was slain by *Hercules*, should have had an Oracle! He had one however, as well as his conqueror. This Oracle was in Italy near *Padua*, and *SUETONIUS* tells us that *Tiberius* went to consult it. There, we are told, was the fountain of *Aponus*, which, if we may believe *CLAUDIAN*, restored speech to the dumb, and cured all sorts of diseases.—3d, *Æsculapius* was consulted in *Cilicia*, at *Apolonia*, in the isle of *Cos*; at *Pergamus*, *Epidaurus*, *Rome*, and elsewhere.—4th, *LUTATIUS* speaks of the Oracle of *Cæstor* and *Pol-*

The Oracles of
Demi-Gods, He-
roes, and Empe-
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lux, which was at *Lacedemon*.—5th, BARTHIUS makes mention of that of *Amphiaraus*, at *Oropus* in Macedonia.—6th, *Mopsus* likewise had one in *Cilicia*, as we learn from the Ancients.—7th, The head of *Orpheus*, according to OVID, delivered responses at *Lesbos*;—8th, *Amphilochius*, at *Mullos*;—9th, *Sarpedon*, in *Troas*;—10th, *Hermione*, in *Macedonia*;—11th, and *Pasiphae*, in *Laconia*, as we learn from TERTULLIAN.—12th, *Chalcas* delivered responses in *Italy*;—13th, *Aristeus*, in *Bœotia*;—14th, *Autolycus*, at *Sinope*;—15th, *Phryxus*, among the *Colchi*;—16th, and *Rhesus* at *Pangea*.—17th, *Ulysses*, if we may believe the old commentator on *Lycophron*, likewise had an Oracle;—18th, so had *Zamolxis*, among the *Getes*, as STRABO assures us.—19th and 20th, Even *Ephestion* too, *Alexander's* minion; and *Antinous*, minion of *Hadrian*, had Oracles: After the death of *Ephestion*, nothing would satisfy *Alexander*, but to have him made a God; and all the courtiers of that prince consented to it without the least hesitation: whereupon Temples were built to him in several towns; Festivals instituted to his honour; Sacrifices offered; Cures ascribed to him; and Oracles given out in his name. And *Hadrian* practised the same fooleries towards *Antinous*; he caused the city *Antinopolis* to be built to his memory, gave him temples, and prophets to deliver his oracles—for prophets belong to oracular temples only, says ST. JEROM. We have still a Greek inscription to this purpose, *To Antinous, the companion of the Gods of Egypt; M. Ulpius Apollonius his prophet*. After this, we shall not be surprised at *Augustus's* having delivered Oracles at *Rome*, as we learn from PRUDENTIUS. These modern Oracles however were never in so much repute as the ancient ones, and they made these new-created Gods deliver only so many responses, as were thought convenient in order to make their court to the princes who had deified them.

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The Oracles of the Fountains.

The *Fountains* too, delivered Oracles; for to each of them divinity was ascribed: such in particular, was the fountain of *Castalia* at Delphos; another of the name of *Castalia* in the suburbs of Antioch; and the *prophetic Fountain* near the temple of *Ceres* in Achaia. What PLINY tells us of that of *Limyra*, is very singular; it gave Oracles by means of *Fishes*: The consulters having presented food to the *Fishes*, if they fell to greedily, it was a favourable omen for the event about which they were interrogated; if they refused the bait, by rejecting it with their tails, it betokened bad success.— But there would be no end of it, were I to enumerate all the Pagan Oracles. VAN-DALE after having discoursed of the chief of them, contents himself with naming those that occur at the end of his work; a list of which he had collected from the ancients: in his list, which may be consulted, he reckons up nearly three hundred, the most of them belonging to Greece. But certainly he has not named them all; for there were few temples where there was not an Oracle, or some other sort of divination. To be short, the numerous Oracles we have just glanced over, besides others not here mentioned, were not consulted very seriously; for in affairs of great moment, recourse was still had to *Delphos*, to *Claros*, or to the Cave of *Trophonius*.

Oracles were owing partly to the instigation of the *Devil*, and chiefly to the imposture of the *Priests*.

Of all the parts of Greece, *Bœotia* was that which had most Oracles, upon account of the *mountains* and *caverns* with which it abounded: for it is proper to remark with M. FONTENELLE, that nothing suited better for Oracles than *caverns* and *mountains*. It was in these *caves*, whose view inspired a sort of religious horror, that the *Priests* could artfully contrive passages whereby to go in, and come out; and convey, without being perceived, machines and hollow statues within which they hid themselves, to give more efficacy and reputation to their Oracles. For indeed, although I am persuaded

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with the most learned fathers of the church, that the *Devil* presided over Oracles, and that it was he himself personally present, or the *Priests* acting by his *instigation*, who delivered responses concerning future events; since, let men say what they will, there is no other possible way of explaining all that we learn from antiquity relating to responses: yet I am fully convinced, that the *imposture* of the *Priests* had often, nay, for the most part, if you will, a very great hand in them; and consequently we may believe, that they neglected no method for supporting their impostures. The discovery, which DANIEL made of the tricks of *Belus's* priests, who came by night through subterraneous passages, and carried off the meat, which they said was eat up by the God himself; this, I say, is a convincing proof of the cheats that were practised in the Pagan temples; a proof which leaves no room to doubt but the like tricks were used in the Oracles. Accordingly, when the Christian religion had once triumphed over idolatry, and when the Oracles were abolished with it, there were discoveries made in the *caves* and *dens* where there had been Oracles, of several marks of the *fraud* and *imposture* of the ministers who had had the charge of them.

They were of all dates; old ones declining, and new ones coming in vogue.

To conclude: we must not think, that all the Oracles we have been speaking of, and others, of which we know but the bare names, did subsist at one and the same time. There were some of them *older*, some of them *later*, and of *all dates*, from that of *Dodona*, which was looked upon as the *most ancient*, down to that of *Antinous*, which may be reckoned the *last*. Sometimes even the ancient ones came to be laid aside. Their credit was lost, either by discovering the impostures of their ministers, or by wars, which laid waste the places where they were, or by other accidents unknown. One thing we know, that the immense riches, which were at *Delphos*, had frequently been a temptation to rifle that temple, as was done more than

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once; though at the same time, those pillages did not make the Oracle to cease. And upon the ruin of some Oracles, they took care to found new ones in their room; and these, in their turn, gave place to others: but the precise time of the declension of many of those Oracles, and of the institution of the new, is not known.—The Oracles of the SIBYLS next demand our notice.

7th, *The Oracles of the Sibyls.*

How the Cumæan Sybil delivered her Oracles.

GALLÆUS, in his thirteenth dissertation upon the Sibyls, explains at great length all the modes by which futurity may be revealed to man. He quotes all the passages of Scripture, wherein they are mentioned, and carefully examines in what sense the Devil may be said to foreknow and reveal it. I have no mind to follow him in questions, which would carry me too far into speculation.—Let us resume a little of what we have said upon other Oracles, and apply it to those of the Sibyls. As some of the Oracles were sometimes pronounced *viva voce*, as those of the *Priestess of Delphos*; so the *Sibyl of Cumæ* in Italy sometimes delivered hers in the same manner, since Helenus tells Æneas, as he is advising him to consult her when he arrived in Italy, to entreat her not to *write* her predictions upon *leaves of trees*, as she usually did; but to answer him in the manner just mentioned, *viva voce*; which Æneas literally obeyed, when he consulted her. As the *Priestess of Apollo*, after remaining a while upon the *Trifod*, turned *furious*, and in the transport with which she was actuated, pronounced her Oracles; so the *Sibyl* was seized with the same *fury* when she uttered her predictions: As there were priests at Delphos, whose business it was to gather up what the *Priestess* pronounced in her *fury*, and put it in *verse*; so it is probable, that they did much the same with the responses of the *Sibyl*, since all those, which antiquity has transmitted down to us, are likewise in *verse*.—VIRGIL informs us of the singular manner how the *Sibyl of Cumæ*, only, was wont to declare her Ora-

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cles. She wrote them upon the leaves of a tree, which she arranged in order at the entrance to her cave; and it required one to be pretty nimble and expeditious, to gather up the leaves in the same order as she left them. For if they happened to be decomposed by the wind, or any other accident, all was lost; and the person was obliged to go away without expecting another response. This manner of the *Cumæan Sibyl's* delivering her Oracles was by no means a fiction of the poets; it was an ancient tradition which we find in *VARRÓ*. That learned Roman, according to *SERVIVS*, says expressly in his book of divine things, that this Sibyl wrote her predictions on the leaves of the palm-tree. The same *SERVIVS* likewise informs us, that she had three ways of delivering her Oracles, either by *word of mouth*, or by *writing*, or by *signs*. It may be asked what the author means by those *signs*; but since he tells us himself they were marks like those which were formed upon the *obelisk* that had been carried from Egypt to Rome; it is plain, that he has in his view that hieroglyphical writing, in use among the Egyptians, and which was upon the *obelisk* that was at Rome, as to which *PLINY* may be consulted. These Oracles were delivered in other different ways, either in a dream, or by letters under seal, &c. In fine, nothing was more famous in Italy than the *Cave* where this Sibyl had delivered her Oracles. *ARISTOTLE* mentions it as a place of great curiosity; and *VIRGIL* gives a very magnificent description of it. Religion had consecrated this *Cave* and made a Temple of it as we have already seen. As to the other Sibyls, it is not certainly known in what manner they delivered their Oracles.

The SIBYL-
LINE VERSES;—
how they were
collected;

Under the head of their Oracles it cannot be amiss to treat of the *Sibylline Verses*, whose predictions were, to the Romans especially, a kind of standing Oracle, consulted upon all occasions wherein the Republic was threatened with any disaster.—As to the manner how the collection of these verses was made, it is not

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known. It is not likely that the Sibyls prophesied in verse, far less that they themselves kept their predictions, and digested them in order. Besides they lived in different periods of time, and in countries remote the one from the other. How then came the world by a collection of those predictions, put in hexameters? In what age did it appear? Who was its author? These are facts which antiquity has not transmitted to us. All that we know is, that a Woman came to Tarquin the proud, offered him a collection of those verses, in nine books, and that she demanded for them three hundred pieces of gold; that when the prince would not give that sum, she threw three of them into the fire, and exacted the same sum for the remaining six; which being refused her, she burnt three more of them, and still persisted in asking the three hundred pieces, for those that were left; at length, the king fearing that she would burn the other three, gave her the sum she demanded.

 This story has all the air of romance; it is and how they were destroyed. attested, however, by a great many authors, and perhaps the falsehood of it lies only in the circumstances: for it is certain that the Romans had in their possession a collection of the *Sibylline verses*, and that they preserved it from the reign of Tarquin, to the time of Sylla; when it perished in the burning of the Capitol, where it had been deposited: And therefore, that the reader may be able to judge of this fact, I shall put it in a true light. LACTANTIUS, who relates it in the narrative which we have given, says it was the Sibyl of *Cuma* who presented this collection to Tarquin, and he has been followed by PLINY, SOLINUS, and ISIDORUS. Perhaps LACTANTIUS had found it in VARRO's books of divine things, whence he had taken his account of the Sibyls; but other authors barely affirm, that a woman offered those books to Tarquin, without saying it was the Sibyl herself. SERVIUS, who agrees to this fact, and appears to have examined it, says, it is not credible that the

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Sibyl of *Cumæ*, with all the length of years they have given her, having lived in the time of Æneas who consulted her, was also alive in the time of Tarquin; that is five or six hundred years after.—Be that as it will, the Romans carefully kept this collection, from the time of Tarquin, to the burning of the Capitol; when it was consumed with that edifice. In this long period of time, it was only consulted by the Priests; as we learn from SOLINUS.

After this accident, the Romans, to repair their loss, sent, as TACITUS has it, into different places; to Samos, to Troy, into Africa, Sicily, and among the colonies settled in Italy, to collect all the *Sibylline verses* that could be found; and the deputies brought back a great quantity of them. As no doubt there were many of them dubious, Priests were commissioned to make a judicious choice of them. *Fenestella*, in LACTANTIUS, says only, that the Senate after the Capitol was rebuilt, sent to *Erythraæ*, P. Gabinius, M. Octacilius, and L. Valerius, to search for the verses of the Sibyl of that name, and that they had found in the hands of private persons, about an hundred of them, which they brought to Rome.—Thus was the second collection of *Sibylline verses* made up; but I don't believe they had equal faith in them as in the former. They had been in the possession it seems, of private persons; who added or retrenched what they had a mind. There were none, according to LACTANTIUS, but the *verses* of the *Cumæan* Sibyl, that were carefully kept by the Romans: and these none had access to see. The *Quindecimviri* were the only persons who had permission to inspect and consult them. As to those of the other Sibyls, they were in every body's hands: the consequence of this was, that upon every event, predictions were propagated in Rome and through all Italy; and this abuse went so far, that Tiberius forbid the keeping of those private collections, and ordered that they, in whose hands they were, should deliver

them up to the *Prætor*.—These books were written upon a sort of *linen* that they might last the longer.

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To whose care
it was entrusted,
and on what occa-
sions consulted.

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There was a *College*, first of *two*, then of *ten*, and afterwards of *fifteen* persons, founded to be the guardians of this collection, whom they called the *Quimdecimviri* of the Sibyls: to them this depositum was committed; by them it was consulted; and so great was the faith that was put in the predictions it contained, that whenever they were to enter upon a war; whenever a plague or famine or other calamity infested either city or country, hither they were sure to have recourse. It was, as we have said, a kind of standing Oracle, as often consulted by the Romans, as that of Delphos was by the Greeks and other nations. We learn more particularly from DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus, on what occasion they had recourse to the Sibylline books. “The senate, says he, orders them to be consulted, upon the rise of any sedition; upon the defeat of the army; or when some prodigies are observed, which presage a great calamity, for there have been many such.” As to this last article, it is confirmed by VARRO; and the Roman history furnishes us with several examples, which prove that they consulted them upon the like occasions.

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Its fate is un-
certain; but it is
not to be con-
founded with a
Third, the pro-
duct of *pious*
fraud;

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We know not what was the fate of this collection of *Sibylline verses*; for as to that which we have at present, consisting of *Eight Books*, upon which GALLÆUS has made a learned commentary, though it may possibly contain some of the ancient predictions, yet all the critics look upon it as a very *dubious composition*, and likely to have been the product of the *pious fraud* of some more zealous than judicious Christian, who thought, by compiling it, to strengthen the authority of the christian religion, and enable its defenders to combat paganism with greater advantage: as if truth stood in need of forgery and lies, to effect its triumph over error. What puts the

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matter quite out of doubt, is that we find in this indigested collection, predictions relating to the mysteries of christianity, clearer than they are in ISAIAH and the other prophets. There the very name of Jesus Christ and that of the Virgin Mary, occur in every page. It speaks of the mysteries of redemption, of our Saviour's miracles, his passion, his death and resurrection; the creation of the world, the terrestrial paradise, the longevity of the Patriarchs, and the Deluge. One of the Sibyls even vaunts that she had been in the Ark with Noah. There, mention is made of the invention of arts; and they who are said to have excelled in them, are the same with those whom MOSES mentions; with a thousand other particularities which are evidently drawn from the Sacred Books: insomuch that it is amazing to find authors so prepossessed, as to hold that whatever this collection contains was composed by the Sibyls. Would God have revealed to Pagans the mysteries of our religion, in a clearer manner than he had done to his own people by the mouth of his prophets?—I said, there were probably in this last collection, verses taken from the two former; but it is not easy to distinguish such as were borrowed thence, from those which the author has spun out of his own brain. P. PETIT, it is true, attempted to do it; but to me, it appears, that this otherwise ingenious author has, in this part of his work, shewed more credulity than sound criticism. He even seems so prepossessed in favour of his *Sibyl*, and allows her such a deep insight into futurity, that the *priestess of Apollo*, compared to her, was but a *learner*. But what proves undeniably the difference between this collection and the ancient ones is, that the *Sibylline verses*, consulted at Rome, breathed nothing but idolatry, and the worship of false Gods, and for the most part prescribed nothing but barbarous sacrifices, and human victims; whereas those we have now remaining, inculcates the worship of the true God, and are mostly calculated to lead men to piety.

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of which the following are remarkable predictions:—

Before we close this article, it will not be amiss to insert some predictions of these Sibyls; by which we may judge what account ought to be made of the collection wherein they are contained. 1st, The *Persian* Sibyl, who speaks of the Deluge, calls herself the daughter of Noah. But as this Sibyl is not very sure of what she says of herself, or rather as the impostor, who puts words in her mouth, had forgot himself in this place, she asserts elsewhere, that she had met with the adventure of Lot's daughters; and again in another place, she calls herself christian, as if there really had been christians in the days of Noah or of Lot.—2d, She whom they called the *Libyan* Sibyl, speaks of the miraculous birth of Jesus Christ, and of his miracles in such terms as would lead you to think it was *Isaiah*, or one of the evangelists speaking.—3d, The Sibyl of *Delphos* is equally plain upon our *Saviour's* conception and nativity; then forgetting that she speaks in the character of a true prophet, she resumes her Pagan style, and mentions her gallantries with *Apollo*.—4th, The *Cumæan* Sibyl, after having spoken of the incarnation, throws out at random several predictions, which the Romans did her the honour to believe had a relation to their *Empire*.—5th, Among the predictions of the *Erythraean* Sibyl, we find acrostic verses, the initial letters of which form these words, *Jesus Christus, Dei-Filius, Salvator*. Of her, ST. AUGUSTINE says to this purpose, "the *Erythraean* Sibyl has prophesied of Jesus Christ in a very perspicuous manner: I had a translation thereof, but it was a very false one, when Flavianus the proconsul, a very knowing man, showed me the original Greek, where was this prediction in acrostic verses."—6th, The Sibyl of *Samos*, after having spoken of God, in an equally sublime and orthodox manner, says, *there is none but HE who is worthy to be adored*.—7th, The Sibyl of *Cumæ* in Ionia, speaks of the resurrection of Jesus Christ, of the end of the world, and of the general conflagration; then she foretels the overthrow of

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Alexander's empire, on whose ruins the power of the Romans was to be formed.—8th, The *Hellespontine* Sibyl prophesies of an *Age* under Jesus Christ, as happy as the *golden Age*, so much sung by the poets, and mentions the *eclipse* that was to happen at his death.—9th, The *Phrygian* Sibyl foretels the annunciation, and the birth of Jesus Christ, miraculously conceived in the womb of a virgin; his death, his passion, his resurrection; and, as if she had copied the Evangelists, she prophesies that he shall show his hands and his feet to his *Apostles*. To these predictions, so plain and clear, she subjoins others about *Idolaters*, whom she threatens with the wrath of God, unless they abandon the worship of *Idols*. She foresees the *last judgment*, and Jesus Christ seated upon a throne, coming to judge all mankind. She does not even omit the *signs* that are to usher in the *last day*, nor the *trumpet*, which shall be heard in the *four corners of the world*.—10th, In fine, the Sibyl of *Tibur* or *Tivoli*, speaks also of the birth of Jesus Christ at *Bethlehem*: but if the *Cumaean* Sibyl foretold the Romans only a train of *prosperity*, she of *Tivoli*, threatened Rome with the most grievous *calamities*; and after having drawn an ugly picture of that city, she thus denounces its approaching ruin:

Nunc Deus æternus disperdet teque tuosque;

Nec super ulla tui in terra monumenta manebunt.

Reflections on the same.

The author of this collection had concealed his forgeries much better, if, instead of inserting so many predictions, which God never revealed to Pagan women, he had interspersed it with several of their Oracles, which are to be found in profane authors; but it would seem he had not read them over so carefully as GALLÆUS, and others who have collected them. A single example which I am going to quote from PAUSANIAS, will let us see how they were conceived, and at the same time in what manner they were applied to events. “ Philip, says that author, having given battle to Fla-

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minius, was totally routed, and obtained a peace, but upon condition, that he should evacuate all the fortresses which he held in Greece; nay, this peace, though dear bought, was but an empty name, since, in effect, he became the slave of the Romans. Thus was fulfilled what had been long foretold by the Sibyl, inspired no doubt from above, that the Macedonian empire, after having arrived to the highest pitch of glory under Philip the son of Amyntas, should sink and fall into ruin under another Philip; for the Oracle which she delivered was conceived in these terms: ‘Ye Macedonians, who value yourselves on being the subjects of monarchs sprung from the ancient kings of Argos, know, that two, of the name of Philip, shall bring about your greatest prosperity and misfortune. The *first* shall give lords to mighty cities and nations; the *second*, vanquished by a people come from the East and West, shall involve you in irrevocable ruin, and subject you to everlasting infamy.’ Accordingly, adds PAUSANIAS, the Romans, by whom the Macedonian empire was overthrown, were in the west of Europe, and they were assisted by Attalus, king of Mysia, and by the Mysians, who were the eastern people.—It is easy to judge from this, and several other examples which might be brought, that most of the predictions of the Sibyls, which are still to be found in ancient authors, had been made *after the event*. The Sibyls had likewise foretold several other overthrows of empires, earthquakes, and other calamities, which the Pagans believed to have happened conformably to their predictions, as has been said. It would seem they had made particular mention of that great earthquake which shook the island of Rhodes to its very foundations, since the author I have now cited, says upon this occasion, that the prediction of the Sibyl was fully accomplished.

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These three collections of the Sibylline Verses, in a manner distinguished.

We are then to distinguish *three collections of Sibylline verses*; for I wave those that some private persons might have. The *first* is that which was presented to Tarquinius, which contained only *three books*. The *second* is that which was compiled after the burning of the Capitol, consisting of *several shreds*, which the deputies we have mentioned had brought back from their travels; how many books it contained is what we don't know. The *third*, in fine, is what we have in *eight books*, wherein there is no doubt, but the author has inserted several predictions of the *second*, whether he took them from a copy, or picked up such of them as were become public; but he has added a vast number of others, which certainly were not the composition of those *Prophetesses*.—If we credit SERVIUS, the ancient collection contained, in all, but a *hundred predictions*. He says, “*there were but a hundred responses, or a hundred predictions of the Sibyls, neither more nor less.*” but it is probable, that this learned commentator meant only, in this place, the Sibyl of *Cuma*, to whom the passage in VIRGIL relates. LACTANTIUS, who allowed ten Sibyls, as also does VARRO, attributes to each of them a *book of predictions*, though there is no way to distinguish to which of them each of those books belonged, except that of the *Erythræan Sibyl*, who had put her name at the head of the book which contained hers. I know not, whence LACTANTIUS had taken what he here says; but it is certain the Romans had but *three* of those books; the avarice of Tarquin having occasioned the other *six* to be burned by her who presented them to him.

The *second collection* is burnt, and their veneration terminated.

I must not omit that the veneration for the *Sibylline verses* lasted a good while under the reign of the emperors; but a part of the senate having embraced christianity, in the time of Theodosius the Great, that superstitious veneration began

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to be laid aside; and at last Stilico, under the reign of Honorius, caused them to be burned.—So much for the Oracles of these celebrated Virgins, whose predictions were in vogue for so many ages among the Pagans.

8th, *Various ways of delivering Oracles; with several remarkable Responses.*

Modes of delivering Oracles afore mentioned.

Before we finish what belongs to Oracles, we must touch upon two heads more fully, which as yet we have only hinted at occasionally. The *first*, concerns the different modes in which the Oracles were delivered. The *second*, relates to the more remarkable Responses handed down to us by antiquity.—We have seen in what manner several Oracles were given: we have seen, that, at the Oracle of *Delphos*, they interpreted and put in verse what the priestess pronounced in the time of her *fury*; that, at the Oracle of *Hammon*, it was the priestess who pronounced the response of their God; that, at the Oracle of *Dodona*, the response was given from the hollow of an Oak; that, at the Cave of *Trophonius*, the Oracle was gathered from what the suppliant said before he recovered his senses; that, at the Oracle of *Memphis*, they drew a good or bad omen, according as the Ox *Apis* received or rejected what was presented to him; and that it was like the latter, with the *Fishes* of the fountain *Limyra*.

Other modes of delivering Oracles, viz.—*First*, from the hollow of the Statue.

We must now add, that the *responses* of the God was often given from the *bottom of his Statue*; whether it was the *Devil* delivered his Oracles there; or the *Priests*, who had hollowed those statues and found a way to convey themselves thither, by some subterranean passage; for to repeat it, the suppliants were not allowed to enter the sanctuaries where the Oracles were given, far less to appear too curious in that point. Accordingly they took care, that neither the *Epicureans* nor *Christians* should come near them, and the reason is very obvious.

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In several places the Oracles were given by *Second, by letters under a seal.* letters under a seal; as in that of *Mopsus*, and at *Mallos* in Cilicia. He who came to consult these Oracles, was obliged to give his letter into the priest's hands, or to leave it upon the altar, and to lie in the temple: and it was in time of his sleep, that he received the answer to his letter; whether it was that the priests had the secret of opening these letters, as *LUCIAN* assures us of his false prophet *Alexander*, who had founded his Oracle in Pontus; or whether there was something supernatural in the case, I shall not determine.

The manner of delivering the Oracle at *Claros* had somewhat still more extraordinary, since no more was required but that the person should communicate his name to the priest of that God. *TACITUS*, is my author: "*GERMANICUS*, says he, went to consult the Oracle of *Claros*. The responses of that God are not delivered by a woman, as at *Delphos*; but by a man chosen out of a particular family, and who is generally of *Miletus*. All he requires is to be told the number and the names of the suppliants. Then he retires into a grotto, and having taken water from a secret spring, he gives a response in verse, suitable to what every one has been thinking upon; though, for the most part, he is extremely ignorant!"

Among the Oracles which were delivered in a dream, there were some for which preparations were necessary by fastings, as that in *Amphiarus* in Attica, and some others, as *PHILOSTRATUS* informs us, where the suppliants were obliged to sleep upon the skins of the victims!

One of the most singular Oracles was that of *Mercury*, in Achaia, which *PAUSANIAS* treats of. After a great many ceremonies, which we need not here enumerate, they whispered in the ear of the God, and asked him, what they were de-

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sirous to know; then they stopped their ears with their hands, went out of the temple, and the first words they heard upon their coming out, was taken for the response of the God.

Sixth, Oracular responses were given by lots. Oracles were frequently given by *lot*; and this is what we must explain. The *lots* were a kind of *dice*, on which were engraven certain characters or words, whose explanation they were to look for in the tables made for the purpose. The way of using those *dice* for knowing futurity was different, according to the places where they were used. In some temples, the person threw them himself; in others, they were dropped from a box; whence came the proverbial expression, *the lot is fallen*. This playing with *dice* was always preceded by sacrifices, and other customary ceremonies.—They had recourse to these *lots* in several Oracles, even at *Dodona*, as appears in the case of the Lacedemonians, when they came thither for a consultation, as we have it from CICERO; but the most famous *lots* were at *Antium* and *Præneste*, two towns in Italy. At *Præneste*, it was the Goddess of *fortune*; and at *Antium*, the Goddesses of *fortune*, that is, her Divinity at the latter was represented by several statues. The statues at *Antium* had this singularity, that they moved themselves, according to MACROBIUS's testimony; and their various movements served either for the response, or signified whether the *lots* could be consulted. From a passage in CICERO, where he says, the *lots* of *Præneste* were consulted by consent of *Fortune*, it would seem, that the *Fortune* which was in that city was a sort of *automaton*, like those at *Antium*, which gave some sign with its head, much like that of *Jupiter Hammon*; who, as has been said, thus signified to the priests who carried him in procession, what rout they were to take. An event which SÆTONIUS relates, undoubtedly raised the *lots* of *Præneste* to great reputation, (contrary to the intention of Tiberius, who was going to destroy them) since he tells us, that they were not to be found in a coffer securely sealed, when the

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the coffer was opened at Rome, but when brought back to *Præneste* they were again found.—In Greece and Italy, they frequently *drew lots* from some celebrated poets, as HOMER and EURIPIDES; and what presented itself upon *opening the book*, was the decree of Heaven: of this, history furnishes a thousand examples. Nothing was more common than the *Sortes Virgiliana*, or *lots which were drawn from Virgil's poems*. LAMPRIIDIUS informs us, that Alexander Severus, when yet a private man, and at a time when the emperor Heliogabalus bore no good will to him, received by way of response in the temple of *Præneste*, that passage in VIRGIL; *si qua fata aspera rumpas, tu Marcellus eris—* if thou canst by any means surmount severe destiny, thou shalt be *Marcellus*.—In the eastern countries, arrows served for *lots*; and these the Turks and Arabians use at this day, in the same way as the ancients did. We learn from the prophet EZEKIEL, that Nebuchadnezzar, coming from Babylon with a great army, stopped in a cross-way, to know by means of the *arrows*, which he mingled, *miscuit sagittas*, if he should make war upon Egypt, or against the Jews; and the prophet adds, that the *lot* fell upon Jerusalem. In fine, *lots* were even introduced into christianity, and were taken from the *sacred books*, where the first words that threw up, decided what they wanted to know.

Lastly, Many are given by equivocal phrases. The ordinary *ambiguity* of the Oracles, and their *double meaning*, could not but be a great support to them; since, by interpreting them in a certain sense, which they could bear, the Oracles were sure to be fulfilled. Thus the response given to Cræsus, by the priestess of *Delfhos*, must, in all events, have appeared a true prediction. Cræsus, said the priestess, in passing the *Halys*, shall overthrow a great empire: thus, if that Lydian monarch had conquered Cyrus, he had overthrown the Assyrian empire; if he himself was routed, he overturned his own.—That delivered to Pyrrhus, which is comprised in this Latin verse,

Credo equidem Æacidas Rominos vincere posse, had the same advantage, for, according to the rules of syntax, either of the two accusatives may be governed by the verb, and the verse be explained, either by saying *the Romans shall conquer the Æacida*, of whom Pyrrhus was descended, or *these shall conquer the Romans*. When Alexander fell sick at Babylon, some of his courtiers who happened to be in Egypt, or who went thither on purpose, passed the night in the temple of *Serapis*, to inquire if it would not be proper to bring Alexander to be cured by him. The God answered, *it was better that Alexander should remain where he was*. This in all events was a very prudent and safe answer. If the king recovered his health, what glory must *Serapis* have gained by saving him the fatigue of the journey! If he died, it was but saying he died in a favourable juncture after so many conquests; which, had he lived, he could neither have enlarged nor preserved: and this is actually the construction they put upon the response. But had Alexander been advised to undertake the journey, and had died in the temple, or by the way, nothing could have been said in favour of *Serapis*.—When Trajan had formed the design of his expedition against the Parthians, he was advised to consult the Oracle of *Heliopolis*, in which he had no more to do but send a *note* under a *seal*. That prince, who had no great faith in Oracles, sent thither a *blank note*; and they returned him another of the same. By this Trajan was convinced of the Divinity of the Oracle. He sent back a second note to the God, wherein he inquired, whether he should return to Rome after finishing the war he had in view. The God, as MACROBIUS tells the story, ordered a *vine*, which was among the offerings of his temple, to be divided into many pieces, and brought to Trajan. The event justified the Oracle; for the emperor dying in that war, his *bones* were carried to Rome, which had been represented by the *broken vine*. As the priests of that Oracle knew Trajan's design, which was no secret, they happily devised that re-

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sponse; which, in all events, was capable of a favourable interpretation, whether he routed and cut the Parthians in pieces, or if his own army met with that fate.—Sometimes the responses of the Oracles were nothing but a piece of mere *banter*; witness that which was given to a man, who came to demand by what means he might grow rich. The God answered him, that he had no more to do but make himself master of all that lay between *Cicyon* and *Corinth*. Another, wanting a cure for the *gout*, was answered by the Oracle, he should drink nothing but *cold water*. We shall conclude this SECTION by reporting some *singular responses* of Oracles.

But among the responses of the Oracles, some were of a *singular nature*. Cræsus not being satisfied with the response of the priestess of *Delphos*, although he had been excessively liberal to it, as HERODOTUS informs us, sent, with a view to surprise the Oracle, to inquire of the priestess, what he was doing at the very time when his deputy was consulting her. She answered, *he was then boiling a lamb with a tortoise*; as he really was. Cræsus, who had contrived this odd *ragout*, in the hope that the Oracle would never hit upon the secret, which he had communicated to no mortal, and which at the same time was in the nature of the thing so unlikely to be thought of, was amazed at this response: it heightened his credulity, and new presents were sent to the God. But this fact being very singular, and containing other circumstances; besides, I shall relate it as it is in HERODOTUS. “Cræsus seeing the power of the Persians grow greater and greater every day, by the valor of Cyrus, thought it high time to be making ready to bear it down. Before he took any steps, he sent to consult the Oracles of Greece and Africa. Accordingly he named deputies for *Delphos*, some for *Dodona*, others for the Oracle of *Amphiaraus*, for that of *Trophonius*, and for that of the *Branchidæ*, which was upon the frontiers of the

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Milesians. Those he despatched into Africa were to consult the Oracle of *Jupiter Hammon*. His first step was only to sound the Oracles; and if they gave a true answer, he proposed to send thither a second time, to learn from them whether he should carry on his designs against the Persians. He commanded the deputies to observe exactly what time intervened between their setting out from *Sardis*, and the day of the consultation; and to inquire at the several Oracles, what Cræsus was doing that day. What were the answers of the other Oracles we are not told; but upon their arrival at *Delphos*, they were not well entered into the temple, when the priestess told them in *heroic verse*, ‘that she knew the immense expanse of the ocean; that she, like the Gods, could number the grains of sand on the sea-shore; that she understood the language of him who never speaks, nor was any thing a secret to her; that she actually saw him, who was now in secret, boiling in a brazen pot, with a lid of the same metal, the flesh of a lamb mixed with that of a tortoise.’ When the deputies sent to the other Oracles arrived, Cræsus examined with great care their several answers, and had no regard to any of them, except to that of *Amphiaraus*, (as to which our author gives us no light); but so soon as the deputies from *Delphos* arrived, the king was struck with astonishment upon hearing the response of the Oracle, and looked upon it as the most infallible of all.”

Second, That of the Oracle of Mopsus, to the governor of Cilicia.

The governor of Cilicia, who had a gang of *Epicurians* about him, who were still endeavouring to inspire him with a contempt of the Oracles, resolved, as PLUTARCH says pleasantly, to send a Spy to the Gods. He gave the Spy a letter, well sealed, to carry to *Mallos*, where was the Oracle of *Mopsus*. As the deputy was lying in the temple, a man remarkably well made appeared to him, and pronounced the word *black*. This answer he bore to the governor, which though it appeared

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ridiculous to the *Epicureans*, to whom he communicated it, yet struck himself with astonishment, and upon opening the letter, he shewed them these words which he had there written; *Shall I sacrifice to thee a white ox or a black?*

We shall finish those examples with a response related by STRABO, which proved fatal to the priestess of *Dodona* who gave it. During the war between the Thracians and Bœotians, the latter came to consult the Oracle of *Dodona*, and were answered by the priestess, that *they should have happy success, if they were guilty of some impious action*. The deputies of the Bœotians, from a persuasion that the priestess had a mind to deceive them, to favour the Pelasgi, from whom she was descended, and who were in alliance with the Thracians, took and burnt her alive; alleging that in whatever light that action was considered, it should not but be justified: And indeed, if the priestess had an intention to cheat them, she was punished for her deceit; if she spoke sincerely, they had only literally fulfilled the Oracle. These reasons however, were not admitted: the deputies were seized; but not daring to punish them before they were judged, they were brought before the two remaining priestesses; for, according to STRABO's account, there were at that time, three belonging to that Oracle. The deputies having remonstrated against this proceeding, were allowed two men to judge them with the priestesses, who were clear for their being condemned; but the two men were more favourable to them; whereby, the votes being equal, they were absolved.

We may here remark, that as the priests turned into *verse* what was delivered by the priestess of *Delphos* in her *fury*, of course their *poetry* was often wretchedly bad. The *Epicureans* especially, made it their open jest, and said, in raillery, It was surprising enough, that *Apollo*, the God of poetry, should be a much

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worse poet than HOMER, whom he himself had inspired. The priests were even frequently obliged to steal from that famous poet, despairing to make so good of their own. No doubt, it was the railleries of these philosophers, and more particularly those of the *Cynics* and *Peripatetics*, that obliged the priests to lay aside the practice of turning the responses of the *Pythia* into verse; which, according to PLUTARCH, was one of the principal causes of the declension of the Oracle of *Delfhos*.—Let us now pass to other means that were used for knowing the will of the Gods, and that futurity about which human curiosity has always been most keenly exercised.

SECTION SECOND.

OF DIVINATION.

General reflections on the subject of Divination.

MAN, always anxious about future events, did not content himself with seeking to come at the knowledge thereof by the Oracles and predictions of the Gods and Sibyls; he attempted to make the discovery by a thousand other ways, and invented several sorts of Divinations, by which he pretended to a forecast upon futurity by means of *his own artifice*; for which he even established *maxims* and *rules*, as if such frivolous observations had been capable of being reduced to fixed and certain principles. Accordingly Divination was defined, *rerum futurarum scientia*, or *the knowledge of future events*; and it was of several sorts, as shall be shewn as we go on. This science is as ancient as Idolatry itself, and made a considerable part of the Pagan mythology. It was even authorized by the laws, particularly among the Romans.—CICERO has composed two books, equally curious and elegant, upon Divination, in which he, though immersed in Pagan darkness, makes a jest of those pieces of superstition, and turns them into ridicule.

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And in truth religion informs us that futurity is not only hid from man, unless God pleases to reveal it to him; but also that it is a criminal tempting of providence, to pry into it; and that all the arts employed for that end, are as criminal as insignificant. Or, would it be for our interest to see into this futurity, which men have strained so hard to know? No, surely not; it is with infinite wisdom, that God has concealed it from us. Nothing is more moving nor more elegant than what CICEERO says upon this occasion. "In what deep melancholy had Priam spent the remainder of his life, had he known the lamentable fate that awaited him? Would the three consulships, the three triumphs of Pompey, have made him sensible of the smallest impression of joy, had he been capable to foresee, what we ourselves are even unable to mention without the deepest sense of sorrow, that on the day after the loss of a battle, and the total defeat of his army, he should be slain in the deserts of Egypt? And what would Cæsar have thought, if he too had known, that in the midst of that very senate, which he had filled with his friends and creatures, near the statue of Pompey, in sight of his guards, he should be stabbed to death by his best friends, and his body be abandoned, not a soul daring to approach it? It is therefore more for our interest and real good, to remain in our present state of ignorance, than to know the evils that are to come upon us." Certainly the ignorance of *ills*, at least, is better than prescience. Nor, even were the foresight of *good*, our gift, would there be much we should foresee; and though it should enable us to improve the promised blessing, the pleasing contemplation of the *good* in store, would ever be clouded by the apprehension of an *evil surprise*.

Numerous inferior modes of Divination..

Divination was practised more than a hundred different ways. The *sacred scripture* speaks of *nine* sorts of Divination: 1st, By inspection of the *Planets, Stars, and Clouds*; (of this we shall speak under the head of Astrology.) 2d, By means of *Auguries*.

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3d, By *Witchcraft*. 4th, By *Charms*. 5th, By consulting *Spirits*; or, as MOSES says, those who interrogated *Python*, or a familiar *Spirit*. 6th, By *Diviners*, or *Magicians*, whom the same MOSES calls *Jedeoni*. 7th, By *Necromancy*, or by calling up the dead. 8th, By *Rabdomancy*, the mingling of staves or rods, as may be seen in the prophet HOSEA: this may include *Bolomancy*, which was performed by mingling arrows; the prophet EZEKIEL mentions this in relation to Nebuchadnezzar. In fine, the 9th was by inspecting the liver, and was termed *Hepatoscopia*. These nine sorts of Divination are very ancient, since most of them were in use in the time of MOSES: there were besides, an infinity of other sorts of Divination, which I shall only name, that I may come to those which were authorized by the laws, and by religion. They gave the name *Ornithomancy* to that which they drew from the flight or the chirping of birds; and *Cledonismancy* to that which they drew from the voice: CICERO remarks on this occasion, that the *Pythagoreans* not only observed the voice of the Gods, but of the men too. Divination by the lines which appear in the palm of the hand, was denominated *Chiromancy*; and this sort of Divination has been most in vogue, and of longest continuance. That which was practised by means of keys was named *Clidomancy*; by a sieve, *Coscinomancy*; by meal, *Alphitomancy*; by means of certain stones, *Lithomancy*; by one or more rings, *Dactyliomancy*; by conjuring up the dead, *Psychomancy*, or *Sciomancy*; by the flame of a lamp, *Lychomancy*; when waxen figures were made use of it was denominated *Ceromancy*; if it was performed with an ax or hatchet, *Axinomancy*; and when they had recourse to numbers, *Arithmomancy*. We meet with some other kinds of Divination in CICERO's books; in the fourth book of wisdom, by CARDON; in ROBERT FLUDD, and elsewhere: but possibly we have already dwelt too long upon so vain and frivolous a subject, as these inferior sorts of Divination; and as most of them made a part of the science, or higher order of Divinations, of the *Augurs*,

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Auspices, and *Aruspices*, whose functions were authorized by the laws of the Romans, and constituted a part of their religion, we shall see in the subsequent articles, what use they made of them. But first, we will say a few words on four other sorts of Divination, in which the Elements were subservient.

1st, Divination of the Four Elements.

The four most general kinds of Divination, were those in which they had recourse to some one of the four elements, *Water, Earth, Air,* and *Fire*; whence these divinations derived their names.—1st, As to the *first*, they made use either of *sea water*, and then it was called *Hydromancy*; or *Fountain Water*, and it was named *Pigomancy*. This sort of Divination is very ancient, since we are told, it derives its origin from the Persians, who communicated it to the other nations, and particularly to the Greeks; especially to PYTHAGORAS, who, according to VARRO, was very much addicted to it.—The ceremony of *Hydromancy* was performed two ways; *first*, by filling a basin with water, and suspending a ring to a thread, which they held with one finger, while he who performed the operation pronounced certain words, and according as the ring struck against the sides of the basin, he drew from it his predictions: *second*, by conjuring up spirits who appeared at the bottom of the basin. It was this kind which Numa Pompilius practised.—*Pegomancy*, or Divination by *fountain-water*, was performed by throwing lots, or a kind of dice. They drew happy presages when they went to the bottom; but when they remained on the surface of the water, it was a bad omen. Rous informs us, that there were other methods besides of prognosticating by means of *fountain-water*; *first*, by drinking the water of certain fountains, as that of *Castalia* in Bœotia, which had the virtue of communicating that gift: *second*, by throwing cakes into certain fountains, as into that of *Ino* in Laconia; for if

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they went to the bottom, it was a good omen, but bad if they floated on the surface, as we learn from PAUSANIAS: the same observations were also made by letters, which they used to throw into the two lakes of the *Palici*, as shall be said in the history of those Gods. *Third*, when the image of the thing they wanted to see, appeared in the water, as they tell us it happened in the fountain of *Apollo Phryxæus*, in Achaia: *fourth*, by throwing glass phials into certain waters, to know the issue of some disease; for it is alleged, that upon taking them out, a judgment could be made whether it was mortal, or if the patient would recover: *fifth*, by observing the motion of three stones which were thrown into the water: for which that author may be consulted.

2d, The divination of fire, called Pyromancy.

2d, *Pyromancy* was performed by means of *fire*, either by observing the sparkling of the flame, or by the light of a lamp. For this purpose at Athens, they had always a lamp burning in the temple of *Minerva Polias*, constantly fed by Virgins, who regularly observed the motion of the flame; the *Aruspices* observed it in like manner, as we shall take notice afterwards.—Another ancient kind of *Pyromancy*, was to fill bladders with wine, which they threw into the *fire*; and by observing in what manner the wine run out when the bladder burst, they believed they could presage future events. Also, by throwing pitch into the *fire*, attending to the manner of its burning, and taking particular notice of the smoke, they pretended to Divine. Several other ways of Divining by means of *fire*, were devised, but I insist only upon those which made a part of Idolatry.

3d, The divination of earth, called Geromancy.

3d, *Geromancy* was performed by employing *earth*, as its name sufficiently denotes. It consisted mostly in drawing lines or circles, by which they flattered themselves, to be able to Divine whatever they were desirous to be informed about; or in observing the chinks and crannies which naturally break out in

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the surface of the *earth*, whence, said they, issued Divine exhalations, as we have said of the *cave* of *Delphos*.

4th, The divination of air, called Aeromancy. 4th, Divination by means of *air*, was also performed in different manners, either by observing the flight of birds and the cries of certain animals, or by examining from what side thunder broke, or upon the occasional appearance of *meteors* and *comets*; but of these we shall speak in the article of *auguries* and *prodigies*: in fine, from the inspection of the *clouds*; and it was a woman named *Anthusa*, who, in the time of the emperor *Leo*, invented this sort of Divination, which, if we credit *PHOTIUS*, had never been thought of by any body before her.

2d, *The Auguria or Auspicia.*

The nature of this sort of Divination;—its antiquity. The *Augurium*, to speak accurately, was taken from the *phenomena* which appeared in the *skies*; the *Auspicium* was taken from the *flight* and *chirping* of *birds*; and the *Aruspicium* was taken from the inspection of the *entrails* of *victims*: but the two former seem to have been confounded in their import, and in that light we shall consider them as one; for the *Augurs* observed also the *chirping* of *birds*, &c., and hence the very name *Augur* is thought to be derived from *Avium Garritu*. Be that as it will, the *Augur's* art is very ancient, since it was in use in the time of *MOSES*, who prohibits it, as well as every sort of Divination. It is thought to have taken its rise among the *Chaldeans*, whence the *Greeks*, and the *Romans*, came to the knowledge of it. The last had so great an esteem and regard for this science, that there was a law of the *twelve tables*, forbidding to disobey the *Augurs*, under pain of death.—This art was known in *Italy* before the time of *Romulus*, since that prince did not set about the building of *Rome* till he had taken the *Auguries*. The *Etrurians* or *Tuscans* practised it in the earliest times, and had rendered them-

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selves extremely expert in it since the time they had learned it from *Tages*.

This art was entrusted to a College of Augurs educated in Etruria.

The kings who were Romulus's successors, not to suffer a science to be lost, which they thought so useful, and at the same time not to render it contemptible by becoming too familiar, brought from Etruria the most skilful *Augurs*, to introduce the practice of it into the religious ceremonies, and to teach it to their citizens; and from that time, they sent every year into Tuscany some of the youth of the first families in Rome, to study it there, as I shall prove in the sequel.—Romulus at first made up his College only of *three Augurs*, taken from the *three Tribes* which then comprehended all the inhabitants of the city; and Servius added a *fourth*. None were qualified for being members of this College, but such as were of a Patrician family, and the custom of admitting no others into it, continued till the year of Rome 454, under the consulship of Q. Apuleius Pansa, and M. Valerius Corvinus, when the tribunes of the people insisted on having Plebeians raised to the Augural dignity; which, after some struggle was granted to them, and *five* were chosen from among the people: thus this College consisted of *nine* persons till the time of Sylla, who added *two* more to it, as we learn from LIVY and FLORUS, or *fifteen*, according to other historians, who will have it, that under that dictator the College of Augurs was composed of *twenty-four* persons. The head of this College was named *Magister Augurum*.—The number of Augurs, however, was not limited to those who composed this College, since besides those who were in commission, the emperors had private ones for themselves, who lived at court, and attended them wherever they went; and some of the cities subject to the Romans, had so many of them, that the College of Augurs at Lions, amounted to *three hundred* persons.

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Of the election of the Augurs; and the importance of their office.

Great precautions were taken in the election of Augurs; and none were qualified for being advanced to that dignity, but persons of a blameless life, and free from all corporal defects: And then, his character was sacred and indelible; nor could the Augurs be deposed on any account whatsoever. Their functions were of very great consideration, both with regard to religion and the state. The senate could not assemble but in a place which they had consecrated. And if in the time of an Assembly either of the senate or the people, they observed any bad omen, they had a power to dissolve the meeting; as also had they the power to invalidate the election of magistrates, who had been chosen under bad auspices. No important enterprise was entered upon, no wars, no sieges, without having first consulted the Augurs. If the presages which they drew on these occasions were favourable, or *prospera*, as they expressed it, they made answer, *id aves addicunt*—the Birds are for it: if they were *adversa, infaus-ta, piacularia*, or unfavourable; their answer was, *id aves abdicunt*—the Birds are against it. When the Omens offered of themselves, they were called, *oblativa*; but if they appeared only when sought after, they were called *impetrata*. So high a regard had the Romans for the Augurs, and for their declarations, that those who contemned their persons, or made their predictions the subject of raillery, were accounted impious and profane. Accordingly, they construed as a punishment from the Gods, the overthrow of Claudius Pulcher, who ordered the *Sacred Chickens* to be thrown into the sea, because they had refused to eat what was set before them: *if they won't eat, said he, they shall drink.*

The time, place and manner, of taking the Auguries,—and from what signs, viz.—

The Auguries were taken after different manners, and always with particular ceremonies. They were taken, 1st, from the flight and chirping of Birds; 2d, from the eating of the Sacred Chickens; 3d, from the Meteors, or the Pheno-

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mena which appeared in the Heavens; 4th; from Prodigies. Nor were all days or seasons equally proper for taking the Auguries; and therefore Metellus, as PLUTARCH reports, forbade them to be taken after the month of August, because the Birds moult in that season. As little were they allowed to be taken immediately after the *ides* of each month, because the moon then began to wane; neither were they allowed to be taken after *noon* on any day whatsoever. The place where the Augury was to be taken, should be on an *eminence*, and therefore, according to SERVIUS, it was called *Templum, Arx, Auguraculum*; and the field consecrated to that use, *Ager effatus*. When the weather was calm and serene, (for the Augury was not allowed to be taken in any other state of the air) and when all the other ceremonies were performed, the Augur clothed in his robe called *Læna* or *Trabea*, and holding in his right hand the augural *staff*, which resembled our bishop's *crozier*, sat down at the entry of his tent, surveyed all around, and after having marked out the divisions of the heavens with his *staff*, and drawn one line from east to west, and another from south to north, he offered up sacrifices, and addressed to *Jupiter* this prayer; *father Jupiter, if thou art the protector of Rome, and of the Roman people, grant me a favourable Augury*. Or as LIVY has it, upon occasion of the election of Numa Pompilius: *Jupiter, if it is thy will, that this Numa Pompilius, on whose head I lay my hands, shall be king of Rome, grant clear and unerring signs within these bounds which I have marked out*. This prayer being over, the priest turned his eyes to the right and left, and towards whatever place the birds took their flight, from thence to determine if the Augury was prosperous, or unhappy.—As this ceremony constituted a part of the religion of the Romans, it was attended to with high veneration, and during the sacrifice and prayer, profound silence was kept. If the Augury was favourable, or unfavourable, he who had taken it came down from his place, and gave intimation of it to the people in this form, which we have already reported; *the Birds*

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approve it, or disapprove it. Though the Augury was favourable, they sometimes deferred the enterprise till the Gods confirmed it by a new sign: this is what we learn from VIRGIL in these words; *Jupiter be propitious to me, and confirm the presages thou hast now given me.*

1st, But to commence with the *flight of Birds*:
 First, From the flight of birds. their different manner in flying prognosticated good or bad Omens. If it was an unlucky Omen, it was called *sinistra*, or *funesta*, or *arcula*, that is, such as prohibited any enterprise; *devia*, to denote that the same enterprise would be difficult to accomplish; *remora*, when it ought to be delayed; *inebra*, when the Augury seemed to portend some obstacle in the way; and in fine, *altera*, when a second presage destroyed the first.—The Birds whose *flight* and *chirping* they more exactly noticed, were the *eagle*, the *vulture*, the *kite*, the *owl*, the *raven*, and the *crow*.

2d, But the most common way of taking the
 Second, From the feeding of the sacred Chickens. Augury, consisted in examining the *manner of the sacred Chickens' taking the corn that was offered them.* They generally brought these *Chickens* from the island of Eubœa, and they had them shut up in coops. He who had the care of them was named *Pullarius*, as we learn from CICERO: so great was the faith which the Romans had in the manner of their feeding, that they undertook nothing of importance, without having previously taken this sort of Augury. Even the general of armies had them brought into their camps, and consulted them before they gave battle. The consul, after notice given to the person who had the care of those *Chickens*, to make the necessary preparations for taking the Auspice, threw down grains to them himself: if they fell on with greediness, the Omen was good; but if they refused to eat, spurning away the corn with their feet, and scattering it here and there,

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it was reckoned so unlucky, that they desisted from the enterprise for which they consulted them.*

Third, From ordinary signs in the air, as thunder, lightning, winds.

3d, Among the signs in the heavens which the Augurs observed, there were some that had no meaning, and these they called *Bruta* or *Vana*; others which declared a certain event, were termed *Fatidica*: of these last, such as appeared while they were deliberating upon an affair, had the name of *Consiliaria Signa*: such as did not offer till the thing was determined, were called *Auctoritativa* or *confirming signs*. Of these last again, there were two kinds; first, *Postularia*, which obliged them to renew the sacrifices; and second, *Monitoria*, which warned them of what was to be avoided.—Of all the signs in the heavens, which were observed in taking the Augury, the most unerring were *thunder* and *lightning*; especially when it thundered in serene weather. If the thunder and lightning came from the left hand, it was a good omen; and a bad one if it came from the right. DONATUS, explaining this, lets us know that the reason why thunder breaking on the left, was reputed a favourable omen; namely, that all appearances on that hand proceeded from the right hand of the Gods. The thunder which passed from north to east, was reckoned auspicious.—The *winds* were another sign of the heavens observed in Auguries, because they looked upon them as the messengers of the Gods, who came to signify their de-

* It is a matter of just surprise to find that so grave and wise a people as the Romans, had for whole ages been addicted to such a childish superstition, and made the greatest enterprises depend upon a Chicken's *having* or *wanting* an appetite; but the fact is nevertheless unquestionably true. CICERO indeed openly ridicules it, without appearing to have made it a serious affair, but the times were changed when he wrote his books of divination: it may be questioned whether in another age it would have been safe for him to rally the thing as he did.

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crees to men. LUTATIUS, the ancient commentator upon STATIUS, explaining that place where the poet says, that the inspection of the *winds* and of the *flight of birds* caused the war to be deferred, observes, that the Augurs drew their presages from the *winds*: but he lets us know nothing more particular upon this subject. Thus we are at a loss to determine what *winds* were favourable, and what were unlucky.—The Auguries or presages drawn from *Meteors* of a preternatural or extraordinary nature fall properly to be treated among Prodigies, as follows.

Fourth, From Prodigies, viz.— 4th, Of all presages, those drawn from Prodigies were the worst, and those for which the Pagan religion prescribed the greatest ceremonies. When the Prodigy was followed by any dismal event, they were always credulous enough to believe, that the one had been the cause of the other, or at least sent to prognosticate the same. TITUS LIVIUS, DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus, and other historians, have taken care to insert into their works, the Prodigies which the annals they consulted, informed them to have fallen out at different times, and they have marked the calamitous events which followed upon them. PLINY likewise reports a great number of them, as also VALERIUS MAXIMUS; and JULIUS OBSEQUENS has made up a collection of them.

1st, Such as are supernatural, if we allow their existence. All the Prodigies treated of by the ancients may be reduced to TWO CLASSES:—1st, In the *first*, we comprehend those miracles of Paganism which seem inexplicable, unless we have recourse to a supernatural cause. Such, among others, was the story of the *Dii Penates*, or household Gods Æneas had brought to Italy, which is thus related by DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus. “While they were employed in carrying on the works of the New Temple, there happened a surprising prodigy. The temple and sanctuary being put in order to receive the Gods which

Æneas had brought from Troy, and which he had placed at Lavinium, their statues were transported into the new temple; but the next day they were found in the very same place, and upon the same basis whence they had been taken the evening before, though the gates had been shut during the night, nor was there any appearance of a breach in the walls: they were transported a second time from Lavinium in form, after a sacrifice had been offered up to appease the offended Gods; but they were again found set down in the same place at Lavinium."—We may take into the same class that of *Jupiter Terminalis* which there was no possibility of forcing from its place, at the time of building the capitol: also the adventure of *Accius Nævius*, who cut, as they say, a flint stone with a razor, to convince the incredulity of a king of Rome who slighted the Augurs, and the Tuscan Divination: that of the *vestal Æmilia*, who drew water in a sieve: that of another *vestal*, who with her girdle drew to shore a ship stranded, which the strongest efforts of others were not able to move: and that of another, who with the skirt of her gown, kindled the sacred fire which her inadvertency had suffered to go out. To the Prodigies of this kind we may also join, the *apparition* of those two young knights, mounted on two white horses, who were seen near the lake *Rhegillum*, at the time when the dictator *Posthumius* was upon the point of losing the battle, and having fought for the Romans till they had gained the victory, *disappeared* in a moment, while the general, who ordered strict search after them, that he might have rewarded their valor, could never hear account of them more: also the adventure which JULIUS OBSEQUENS relates of that statue of *Juno*, who being interrogated by a young man, if she would go to Rome, *visne ire Roman Juno?* gave a *nod* with her head, to signify the Goddess's consent to go, *postea quam capite annuisset*; and not only so, but answered, that she would go with all her heart, to the great astonishment of all who were present at this Prodigy, *se libenter ituram, magna*

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omnium admiratione respondit: to which we may add, that of the *two oxen* who spake: and in fine, that of the *shield* which fell from heaven, under the reign of Numa Pompilius, as is told by the same author; with several others which appear to be *supernatural efforts*, if we admit the facts to be circumstantially true.

2d, On extraordinary signs in the air, as meteors, &c.

2d, The Prodigies of the *second class* were indeed of the kind of purely *natural events*; but being less frequent, and appearing to be contrary to the ordinary course of nature, were ascribed to a superior cause, through the superstition and excessive credulity of the Pagans, affrighted with the sight of these effects, either rare, or quite unknown. Such were extraordinary *Meteors*, as the *Parhelia*, or the image of the sun reflected on the clouds; the appearances of *fire* and *lights* by night; showers of *blood*, of *stones*, of *ashes*, or of *fire*; *monstrous births*, whether of men or animals; and a thousand other things purely natural, whereof I shall give some examples, drawn from ancient authors, and in particular from JULIUS OBSEQUENS. 1st, Under the reign of Romulus, says this author; and at a time when that prince was besieging the town of Fidenæ, there fell a *shower of blood*, and soon after, Rome was infested with the plague. 2d, Under that of Tullus Hostilius, there fell from heaven a prodigious quantity of *stones*, much like a shower of hail. 3d, Under the consulship of P. Posthumius Tubero, and of Menenius Agrippa, there were seen in the heavens, during a considerable part of the night, *burning arrows*. 4th, The same author makes frequent mention of *fiery meteors* appearing in the heavens, like armies encountering one another. 5th, He also mentions *spectres*, and extraordinary *voices* that had been heard by night. 6th, The lake of *Alba*, according to LIVY, swelled to a considerable height without any preceding rain, or other visible cause; and that incident so terrified the Romans, who were then employed in the siege of Veia, that not having an opportunity to consult the

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Tuscans, with whom they were then at war, they were obliged to send to the Oracle of *Delphos*. 7th, Under the consulship of M. Valerius Maximus, and of Q. Manilius Vitulus, *blood* was seen rising out of the earth, while a shower of *milk* fell from heaven. 8th, Under that of C. Quintus Flaminius, and of P. Furio, a river appeared covered with *blood*.—The other Prodigies reported by the ancients, are pretty much of the same kind. To be short, they are either statues of Gods struck with *thunder*, or overspread with *blood*; or they are *earthquakes*, or sudden *inundations*: here, a child of two months cries out, *Triumph*; there the heavens are all *inflamed*, and nights illuminated by the *Sun*, or rather by a globe of *light* which resembles him; or else it is thick *darkness* at *noon-day*: Sometimes you have the birth of a *monster*, an infant for instance with two heads and but one hand, or who has the shape of some brute animal; a *stone* of an enormous size falling from heaven; or a *rainbow* without a cloud, &c.

Remarks upon
the latter class of
Prodigies.

It would be no hard matter, if one was so disposed, to account for most of the Prodigies of this *second* kind; from natural causes. All those nocturnal *fires*, those inflamed *spears*, those *armies* appearing in the heavens, are what we now call the *Lumen Boreale*, or *northern lights*, so common some years past, and perhaps as ancient as the world. Those extraordinary inundations; whereof no visible cause could be discovered, might have been owing to some subterraneous fermentation which raised the waters. Showers of *stones*, of *ashes*, or *fire*, were the effect of some *Volcano*, like those of mount *Ætna* or *Vesuvius*. Those of *milk*, a whitish water condensed by some quality in the air: nobody questions now-a-days, but that those of *blood*, are the stains left upon stones, upon the earth, and upon leaves of trees, by *butterflies* and other insects, which hatch in hot and stormy weather. M. DE PEYRESC had guessed at it more than a century ago, upon occasion of one of those showers; having observed, that

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the same stains were found in covered places: and M. REAUMUR, in his memoirs for the history of *insects*, has put the matter beyond doubt.

Remarks upon
the former class
of Prodigies.

As to the Prodigies of the *first* kind, I own they are harder to be explained: but are they all well attested? Were they all seen and written down by persons of ability, at the very time when we are told they happened? Are they not mostly founded upon popular traditions? May they not, some of them at least, be explained naturally, especially if we strip them of those marvellous circumstances, with which excess of credulity had clothed them? We may say with the author of the dissertation just quoted, that those facts, and all others that resembled them, are to be looked upon as fables invented by corrupt priests, and swallowed down by an ignorant superstitious populace. The consent of the people, says he, who believe all, though they have seen nothing, and who are always the bubbles of stories of that kind, can hardly be of more weight to gain our beliefs, than the testimony of Pagan priests, who, in every age and country, have had too strong motives from self-interest for imposing those sorts of miracles, to be vouchers of great credit.

The public consternation occasioned by Prodigies.

Be that as it will, inexpressible was the astonishment and consternation of the Pagans, upon the apparition of one of those Prodigies, even of such as might easily have been accounted to be purely natural effects. The whole empire was in perplexity upon such an occasion, it was the only subject of conversation at Rome: the senate gave orders to the *Quindecimviri*, to consult the books of the Sibyls, for it was principally upon those occasions they had recourse to them, as I have already remarked, and they prescribed the ceremonies of expiation, whereof we shall presently speak. If in the meanwhile, any calamity happened to befall the commonwealth; if an enemy declared war against

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it; if it was overtaken with an epidemical distemper, &c.; all was imputed to the influence of the Prodigy, which had come to denounce these calamities.

3d, *The Aruspices.*

The office and the institution, generally, of the Aruspices. The *Aruspices* were equally regarded at Rome with the *Augurs*. As their functions consisted in *examining the entrails of the victims*, besides other circumstances attending a sacrifice, they were likewise named *Extispices*, a name compounded of two Latin words, *exta*, entrails, and *inspicere*, to survey, to observe, as has been said in speaking of the sacrifices. The Tuscans, of all the people of Italy, were most masters of this science, they having been taught it by *Tages*; and it was from their country that the Romans brought those whom they employed, or at least chose them from among those whom they had sent thither to be instructed in it; for they sent every year into Tuscany, as the senate had ordained, *six* young persons, according to CICERO, or *ten*, as VALERIUS MAXIMUS has it, or *twelve*, as we are assured by other authors, to be instructed in the knowledge of the *Aruspices*, and other sorts of Divination. And for fear that this sort of science should be undervalued, by the quality of the persons who professed it, they chose these youths from among the best families in Rome. ANDREW GLAREANUS reckons, that as the Tuscans were divided into *twelve* nations, so we ought to read in VALERIUS MAXIMUS, and in CICERO's second book of Divination, *twelve* youths, and not *ten*, as the former has it, nor *six*, as it is in the latter; being persuaded that the text in both these authors has been vitiated by some transcriber. We said *Tages* was the first who taught the Tuscans the science of the *Aruspices*, and that other sort of Divination, which the Latins call the *Tuscan Divination*; we shall now say who this *Tages* was. CICERO thus relates his history, or rather his fable: "A peasant, says he, labouring in a field, and his plough-share going pretty deep into the

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earth, turned up a clod, whence sprung a *child*, who taught him as well as the other Tuscans, the principles of Divination." OVID tells the same fable in the 15th book of his *Metamorphoses*. As the manner of relating a fact, may considerably alter its circumstances without destroying it, I am persuaded, that the fable I have now rehearsed has a true foundation, and that it imports, either that *Tages* was of an obscure birth, or that he was a native of the country Autochthon; for it was that description of people whom they commonly gave out to be sprung from the earth. However this may be, *Tages* grew expert in the science of Divination, especially in that which consisted in *exploring the entrails*; and he afterwards communicated it to the Tuscans, who likewise became great proficient therein. He had even composed upon this subject a treatise, which was kept with peculiar care, and explained afterwards by ANTISTIUS LABEO, who divided it into fifteen books. It is not known whether *Tages* himself had invented this sort of Divination, or if he had learned it from strangers who travelled into Tuscany in his time: This much we are assured of by several authors, that it was known and practised in other countries. Some have even traced it up to the earliest ages, and maintain that it was in use in Chaldea, and in Egypt; whence the Greeks learned it, and for a long time put it in practice. Nay, there were in Greece two families, the *Jamida*, and the *Clytida*, who were peculiarly set apart for the functions which it prescribed. From Greece it passed into Etruria, and the Tuscans accomplished themselves therein, so as to become the most knowing of all the *Aruspices*, as has been already said. It must have been diffused through several parts of Italy, even before the foundation of Rome; since Romulus, in his new city, founded a College of these *Aruspices*, choosing one from each Tribe.

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The manner in which the *Aruspices* drew their presages.

The *Aruspices* drew their presages from the *motion* of the victim which they led to sacrifice, from its *entrails*, and from the *fire* in which it was consumed. If the victim suffered itself to be led without any struggle; if it gave no extraordinary cries when it got the deadly blow; if it did not get loose from the person's hands who led it; all these were *good* Omens: but if the contrary happened, those were *bad* Omens. The victim being struck down, its abdomen was ripped up, and its *entrails* examined, especially the *liver*, the *heart*, the *spleen*, the *kidnies*; and then the *tongue*. Their colour was particularly noticed, and accurate observation made, whether they were withered, and if every part was as it ought to be. Before the victim was opened, one of the *lobes* of the *liver* was allotted to those who offered the sacrifice, and the other to the enemies of the state. That which was found to be ruddy, and of a fresh vermilion colour, neither larger nor smaller than it ought to be, not blemished nor withered, prognosticated the greatest prosperity to those for whom it was set apart; that which was lean, livid, &c., presaged the worst of all Omens. LUCAN, who has described with a great deal of elegance all the operations of the *Aruspices*, has not omitted this circumstance.—Next to the *liver*, the *heart* was the part which they observed with most care. If it palpitated, was lean, and of a less size than ordinary, all these were bad Omens; but if no *heart* was found in the victim, they drew from thence the most unhappy presages. We are assured, that on the day of Cæsar's assassination, this part was wanting in two victims which they had offered up. The same thing happened, say they, to Caius Marius in a sacrifice which he offered at Utica in Africa, and to the emperor Pertinax.—In like manner they did with the *spleen*, the *gall*, and the *lungs*; nor was the *Augury* propitious unless these three parts had much the same qualities with those that were requisite in the *heart* and *liver*. If the *entrails* dropped from the hands of him who examined them; if they

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smelt rank; in fine, if they were livid, withered, or bloated, the Aruspex foreboded nothing from thence but *misfortune*. After having scrupulously examined the entrails of the victim, they kindled the *fire* and drew several Omens from its manner of burning. If the flame was clear; if it mounted up without dividing; if it did not go out till the victim was entirely consumed; those were infallible marks that the sacrifice was acceptable. If on the contrary, they had difficulty in kindling the fire; if the flame divided; if, instead of fastening on the victim, it only played around; or if it sunk downward; all these were bad presages.— Again, the *Aruspex* drew his prognostics from the *wine* used for the libation. If it lost its colour and flavour, the Omen was unlucky. This, according to VIRGIL, is what happened to *Dido*: when offering a sacrifice, she perceived the wine was changed into a blackish and corrupted blood; as also in the case of Xerxes, who, according to VALERIUS MAXIMUS, being at supper the evening before he laid siege to Sparta, saw, to his astonishment, the *wine* that was served up for his drink, turn three times into blood.— Such, were the presages drawn by the Augurs, or Auspices, and Aruspices: but as there were several others, which every private man might observe, I shall speak of them in the following article.

4th, *Of Private Presages.*

Mr. Simon reduces *private Presages* to seven kinds.—1st, *Casual words*; which were again divided into two classes; *first*, those whose author was unknown, which they called *Divine Voices*; such was the voice whereby the Romans were apprised, without knowing whence it proceeded, of the approach of the Gauls, and to which they built a temple, under the name of *Aius Loquutus*: *second*, when it was known who pronounced these articulate sounds, they were called *human Voices*. They used this sort of *presage*, either by picking up the first words they heard at coming

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out of the house, or by sending a slave into the street, to repeat the first words which he heard. To this kind of *presage*, we may refer what was taken from the words pronounced by *children* at play, which were interpreted either in a *good* or *bad* sense.

Second, Startings in parts of the body.

2d, The *startings of some parts of the body*, chiefly of the eyes, the eye-brows, and the heart, formed the *second* kind of *Presages*. The starting of the *right eye*, and of the *eye-brows*, was a happy Omen; that of the *heart*, or its palpitations, were a bad Omen, which presaged, according to MELAMPUS, the treachery of a friend. The numbness of the *little finger*, and the starting of the *thumb* of the left hand, portended nothing favourable.

Third, Tingling of the ear.

3d, The *tingling of the ear*, and some other *imaginary sounds*, which were sometimes owing to the state of that organ, were likewise bad presages.

Fourth, Sneezings.

4th, *Sneezing in the morning* was by no means a good Omen; but *sneezing in the afternoon*, was reckoned very favourable.

Fifth, Accidental falls, and the like.

5th, *Accidental falls*, were always bad Omens; even those of statues: thus, those of Nero being found overturned on the first day of January, they foreboded from thence the approaching death of that prince. If at going abroad, a person hit his foot against the threshold of the door; if by any straining, he broke the strings of his shoes; or if at rising from his seat he happened to be held by his robe; all these were taken for bad Omens.

Sixth, Certain accidental meetings, of persons or animals.

6th, *Accidental rencounters*, of certain persons, or animals, presaged either good or bad. If they met in the morning an *Æthiopian*, a *Dwarf*, an *Eunuch*, or a *man deformed*, they were sure to return quickly home, and stir no more abroad for that day. The rencounter of a *Serpent*, of a *Wolf*, a *Fox*, a *Dog*, a *Cat*; the

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squeak of a *Mouse*, &c., presaged nothing but bad luck. The meeting with a *Lion*, with *Ants*, or with *Bees*, were, on the contrary, happy Omens.

7th, Again, there were *Names* of a good or bad portent; and they were very scrupulous in observing, that the first soldiers they listed, the children who served at the sacrifices, those who performed the dedication of a temple, &c., should have *lucky names*; as they had an aversion to those which imported any thing *sad* or *disastrous*.

Several other Presages might be added to those we have recited: but what could we learn from a longer detail, but that the superstition of the Pagans knew no bounds, since there was hardly any action in life, especially among the Romans, for which they had not recourse to Presages; none wherein they believed themselves at liberty to neglect them? But that superstitious attention was chiefly engaged in all the ceremonies of religion, in the public acts, which for that reason, were all ushered in with this preamble; *Quod felix, faustum, fortunatumque sit*; as in marriages, at the births of children, in travelling, in their repasts, &c. But it was not enough to observe the Presages, it was also necessary to accept of them when favourable, thank the Gods for them, beg of them their accomplishment, and even supplicate them to send new ones in confirmation of the first; and in case they were bad, pray that they would divert their effect.

The Romans had particular Gods whom they invoked, and to whom they sacrificed, when they wanted to have bad Omens diverted, and the effect of them prevented; and these Gods were named *Averrunci*, or *Averruncani*, from the old Latin word *averruncare*, which signified to *ward off*, or *divert*. But independently of the aid of those Gods, they thought bad presages could be re-

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dressed by many other ways; since, in order to obviate the bad effect of an unlucky *expression* or *object*, it sufficed to *spit hastily*, as it were to throw out the poison they had sucked in. They were scrupulously careful, when they could not shun making use of unlucky words, to soften the terms, and keep as far as possible from conveying the shocking idea which they naturally raised: thus, instead of saying directly, a man was *dead*, they said *vixit*, that is, *he has lived*. At Athens, a *prison* was called the *house*; the *common executioner* was called the *public man*; the *Furies* were called *Eumenides*, or the *good natured Goddesses*; and so of the rest.

SECTION THIRD.

OF MAGIC.

Definition of
Magic;—its cri-
minal excesses;

AFTER having spoken of Divination, and other means which the Pagans made use of for coming at the knowledge of future events, I must needs say somewhat of Magic; which may be defined, *the art of producing in nature, effects above the power of man, by the assistance of the Gods, upon using certain words and ceremonies.* Of all the excesses to which a vain and criminal curiosity has carried men, Magic was the greatest, and at the same time the most dangerous. How may we be justly amazed, on the one hand, to consider the uselessness of so frivolous an art; on the other, the crimes in which it has involved the most civilized and most knowing nations, as well as the more rude and barbarous ones! I shall speak of this subject, only so far as it had a relation to the Pagan Theology, and to the superstitious practices of Idolatry.

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its original attributed to Zoroaster.

The ancients are not agreed as to the time when, nor country where Magic had its original. But what does it avail to know, whether it was the Egyptians or the Chaldeans, or other people, who were inventors of an art, as abominable as it is frivolous? What we may aver, is, that it is of very great antiquity, and perhaps as old as Idolatry itself. Scripture informs us, that the Egyptians practised it from the earliest ages, when it makes mention of the *Magicians* whom Pharaoh opposed to MOSES, and who imitated, by their enchantments, almost all the miracles which God wrought, by means of that great man. Among those *Magicians*, there were two whom ST. PAUL names *Jannes* and *Jambres*, whom PLINY had heard of; but he puts them and MOSES, their great adversary, in the same rank, and takes them for Jews likewise. But the ancients believed *Zoroaster* to be the first inventor of Magic, who flourished many ages before.

Several kinds of Magic, viz.—
1st, Natural Magic.

Magic is commonly distinguished into several kinds: *first*, the *Natural*, which is nothing but a deeper and more exact insight into physical causes, than what the ignorant vulgar possess, whose way is, to take for *prodigies*, effects, of whose causes they are ignorant, and for real *predictions*, what was foretold by the natural philosopher. We are told, it was in this sort of Magic that *Hermes Trismegistus* of old, *Zoroaster*, and some others excelled. The Indians, Chaldeans, Egyptians, and Persians, were also very much addicted to it; and in this science, we are assured by PLATO, that the children of the kings of Persia were educated.

2d, Mathematical Magic, or Astrology;—its origin and propagation;

The *second* kind of Magic is what they call *Mathematical*; which, joining certain subtle and ingenious usages, to the pretended influence of the *Stars* upon things here below, pretends to produce miraculous effects, known by the general term of *Astrology*. The ancients are not agreed as to the

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people who have a just claim to the invention of *Astrology*. HERODOTUS says, it took its rise in Egypt; and it is agreed, that it was cultivated there from the earliest periods of time; but the name of *Chaldaic Science*, which it has always had, proves that it is in Chaldea we are to search for its original: accordingly this is the sentiment of CICERO. "As the Assyrians, says he, inhabiting vast plains, whence they have a full view of the heavens on every side, were the first who observed the course of the stars; they too, were the first who taught posterity the effects which were thought to be owing to them; and of their observations have made a science, whereby they pretend to be able to foretel what is to befall every one, and what fate is ordained for him from his birth." A passage in the prophet ISAIAH informs us, that this art of prediction by means of *Stars*, was very ancient in Chaldea, and particularly at Babylon, the capital thereof: "let now the *Astrologers*," says that prophet, making an apostrophe to that idolatrous city, "the *star-gazers*, the *monthly prognosticators*, stand up and save thee from those things that shall come upon thee."—We see then, judicial *Astrology* was known in Chaldea in the earliest ages: this is all we can say for certain about the origin of this science. For how little ground should we gain did we know assuredly, as SUIDAS says, that *Zoroaster* and *Ostanes* were the inventors of it, since many difficulties would still remain as to the country of these two personages, and still more as to the time when they lived? Testimonies from BEROSUS and EUPOLEMUS, cited by EUSEBIUS, inform us indeed, that Abraham was well versed in the knowledge of the *Stars*; and was master of what was anciently called, the *Chaldaic science*; but these two authors have not distinguished *Astronomy*, to which that holy patriarch perhaps applied himself, from judicial *Astrology*: for it frequently happened that these two sciences were confounded, though the one is as solid and useful, as the other is vain and frivolous. From Chaldea this science passed into Egypt,

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where it was very much cultivated, as has been already remarked; and from Egypt into Greece: this latter is the ordinary course which science, arts, and fables took. The Greeks, vain and curious as they were, gave great application to it; and we are told that **CHILO** the Lacedemonian, one of the **SEVEN WISE MEN** of Greece, was the first who addicted himself to it. From Greece it was propagated to the other western countries, where it made such progress, that there never was any science more universally diffused.

I am not to insist upon its *propagation*, far less upon the different *rites* which the Astrologers used, to come at the knowledge of futurity by surveying the *Stars*: nothing is so frivolous as the principles they built upon. And indeed, what is that position of the heavens which the Astrologer takes, to ground his predictions upon? The ancient Astrologers had divided the **Zodiac** into *twelve portions*, and gave names to the *twelve constellations*, of which it was formed; but they might have had other names, as they actually had in other planispheres. The Barbaric sphere, says **FIRMICUS**, was entirely different from that of the Greeks and Romans; and that of the Chinese again was different from all the three. In the Greek sphere, the planets bore the names of several Divinities; the Arabians, who would have thought themselves guilty of *Idolatry*, had they placed human figures in the heavens, put animals or other things in their room; *peacocks*, for example, in place of the *twins*; a *sheaff*, instead of the *virgin*; a *quiver*, instead of *sagittarius*, &c.: all this was quite arbitrary. How comes it then that the Astrologers judged of the temper and actions of men from the names of those planets or constellations, under whose aspect they were born? What ground had they for saying, that he who was born under the sign of the *Virgin*, was chaste? that they at whose birth *Venus* had presided, were gallant and amorous? that *Mercury* inspired with wit and ingenuity; *Saturn* with wisdom

and prudence? that the *Moon* made the good sailors; *Mars*, the warriors? &c. Had these constellations and planets the smallest connexion with the symbols that represented them? and how came they to have the same connexion with other symbols in countries where they were differently represented?—Farther, who can pretend to take the exact position of the heavens, at the moment of any *one's birth*? of those heavens where the scenes are continually shifting, and which are so immensely distant from us? But why attempt to refute those absurdities? Numbers of others have done it, and to triumph on the subject is so easy, that there is but little honour in the success. In short, is it not evident, so evident I mean, as to be able to strike the most opinionative and headstrong with conviction, that those bodies which roll in spaces so remote from us, cannot so exactly direct their influences, that is, the minute corpuscles which fly off from them, as to meet with nothing to divert them from falling directly upon our earth, which is but an invisible point in respect to them, where it would take them some time to arrive, even though they should move with the velocity of light; upon a kingdom, a province, a town, a house, and in particular, upon a man, who occupies but a small space in that same invisible point of earth? How is it conceivable, even though these corpuscles should come into the place where the *child is born*, that they should be able to determine all the *actions* of the *child's life*, with which they have certainly no manner of connexion; to act upon his *thoughts*, upon his *liberty*, &c.? What wild extravagance then has emboldened men to advance, that these influences acted so powerfully upon us, that they determined all our actions, inclined us to good or evil; that they formed our tempers, our inclinations, our habits? How could it be said in good earnest, that the sign of the *Ram* presided over the *head*; the *Bull* over the *gullet*; the *Twins*, over the *breast*; the *Scorpion*, over the *entrails*; the *Fishes* over the *feet*; that the *Lion*, gave *strength*; that the different *aspects* of

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these signs were the causes of the good or bad *dispositions* of our bodies? that there was great need of caution, for example, in taking medicine under the *aspect* of the *bull*, because, as this animal chews his *cud*, the person would *vomit it up?* with a thousand other extravagances which I would be ashamed to repeat.

3d & 4th Thur-
gia and Goetia,—
their difference.

Let us now come to a kind of Magic which constituted the principal doctrine of the Pagan Theology, than which none had more illustrious partisans, especially among the philosophers who lived in the first ages of christianity. As the magicians in this kind of Magic, invoked two sorts of Divinities, the one *benevolent*, and the other *malevolent*, this difference constitutes two sorts of that Art; namely that which had recourse to the *beneficent Genii*, was called *Theurgia*, the other, which had no other end but to do mischief, for which purpose it invoked only the *malevolent Genii*, was called *Goetia*. The wisest of the Pagan world, and their greatest philosophers, despised the latter, as much as they esteemed the former.—*Theurgy*, was, according to them, a divine art, which served only to advance the mind of man to higher perfection, and render the soul more pure; and they, who by means of this Magic had the happiness to arrive at what they called *Autopsia*, or *Intuition*, a state wherein they enjoyed intimate intercourse with the Gods, believed themselves invested with all their power, and were persuaded that nothing to them was impossible. Towards this state of perfection all those aspired, who made profession of that sort of Magic; but then it laid them under severe regulations. None could be priest of this order, but a man of unblemished morals, and all who joined with him in his operations, were bound to strict purity; they were not allowed to have any commerce with women; to eat any kind of animal food, nor to defile themselves by the touch of a dead body. The philosophers, and persons of the greatest virtue, thought it their ho-

nour to be initiated into the mysteries of this sort of Magic.— Their *Goetia* was quite different: every thing rendered it equally odious and contemptible. The professors of it had correspondence with none but the *evil Genii*, and employed their operations to do mischief. The apparatus of their ceremonies heightened the aversion which all sober people had to this Magic. The subterraneous places were chosen preferably to others: the darkness of the night, the black victims which they offered; the bones of the dead and the corpses with which they were surrounded in the caves; the infants whose throats they cut, to rake into their entrails for an insight into futurity; all conspired to make it equally shocking, and criminal.

what ceremonies they had in common:

 JAMBLICUS, in his treatise of mysteries, insists at a great length upon this subject, and his work supposes through the whole, this distinction between the *Theurgia* and *Goetia*; and of the former he seems to have a high esteem. What both of them had in common, is, that they equally employed *certain words*, to which a certain virtue was believed to be annexed. Sometimes the mere *charm* of these words wrought all the effect that was expected; sometimes it was necessary to add to them compositions of *herbs*: there was always a necessity for observing exactly the *time* when the sacrifices were offered, the *days*, the *hours*, the *aspect* of the *stars*, the *number* and *quality* of the victims. What puzzled them most, was to know what Divinities they were to invoke, what *offerings* to present them, what *plants*, what *perfumes*, were most agreeable to them. And indeed, the *dose*, if too strong or too weak, rendered the whole magical operation abortive, as did the omission of a single Divinity. As one broken string disconcerts the harmony of an instrument; just so, JAMBLICUS remarks, one God whose name had been omitted, or, in whose honour they had neglected, among other ingredients that were offered, the particular *perfume*, *herb*, or whatever else was specially consecrated to

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him, defeated the effects of the sacrifice. Thus it was also with the *form of prayers* and other *words* that were of necessity to be pronounced; and though those forms were often composed of words in a strange language, which were not understood, it was necessary however to recite them, such as they were, without omitting one syllable; as was customary in *Evocations* and forms of *Devoting*. They were even so fully persuaded of the necessity of keeping exactly to the ceremonial, that it was alleged, if Tullus Hostilius had consulted the pontiff set over the religious rites, when he undertook to bring down *Jupiter* from heaven, according to the forms prescribed in the *ritual* of Numa Pompilius, he had not been thunder-struck for an omission in some punctilio of the sacrifice, which he offered for that end.—PLINY ridicules a part of this superstition with some humour; when, after mentioning an *herb*, the mere throwing of which into the midst of an army, was sufficient, they said, to put it to the rout, he asks, “Where was this *herb* when Rome was so distressed by the Cimbri and Teutones? Why did not the Persians make use of it when Lucullus cut their troops in pieces?” Then resuming his serious air, he expostulates with Scipio for having drawn together such quantities of arms and warlike engines, since one single plant had been sufficient to open to him the gates of Carthage.

They who professed *Theurgy*, did not arrive all at once, at that state of perfection to which they aspired; they were first to undergo *expiations*; next, they got themselves *initiated* into the *lesser mysteries*, for which they were obliged to *fast* and *pray*, to live in strict *continence* and self-purification, as a preparation for a more advanced state: then came the *high mysteries*, where their sole employment was to meditate, and contemplate *universal Nature*, who by that time disclosed all her secrets to them who had passed through those trials.—Nero who was so foolish that he would needs command the Gods, which he thought there

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was no way of attaining but by Magic, had such a high esteem for the Magicians, that he sent for them from every quarter, and heaped favours upon them. Tiridates, for his pains in providing him with them, was rewarded with the crown of Armenia.

the miraculous
feats of Heroes
attributed to this
Art.

The Pagans were so fully persuaded of the power of Magic especially of the Theurgic kind, and of the efficacy of mysteries, that they believed those prodigies of valour performed by *Hercules, Jason, Castor and Pollux*, and other heroes, were owing to their initiation into these mysteries. *VARRO*, the most learned of the Romans, was so convinced of the force and power of that Magic, that he did not doubt that what *HOMER* relates of the transformation of *Ulysses's* companions into *hogs*, was the effect of *Circe's* enchantments. He judged the same way of what was given out concerning the *Arcadians*, who, according to the story, as they were swimming over a pond, were transformed into *wolves*, and recovered their former figure at the end of *nine years*, if, after abstaining from human flesh during that time, they repassed the same pond.

its connexion
with Pagan The-
ology.

As Paganism admitted a vast number of Gods, some of them *beneficent*, others *malevolent*; and as each had his own particular worship and ceremonies appropriated to him, so none could obtain a favour from them, nor desired success in their enterprises, unless they were careful to observe the manner of worshipping them, as it was taught by religion. This principle laid down, it is easy to see that both sorts of Magic above named had a plain connexion with their Theology, and that such as professed either of them, must needs have been excellent Pagan Theologues. This is what makes *PLINY* say, that Magic, the offspring of Medicine, after having fortified itself with the help of Astrology, had borrowed all its splendor and authority from Religion.

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5th, Necromancy or Evocation of the Manes:

Numa, among the religious ceremonies he taught, had prescribed those for *Evocations*; which were a consequence of Theurgic Magic.

Among the *Evocations*, the most solemn, and at the same time the most frequently practised, was that of *conjuring up souls departed*, commonly called *Necromancy*. The custom of raising the *Manes* was so ancient, that its origin is traced as high as the earliest periods of time; and all the anathemas denounced by the sacred authors, against those who consulted familiar spirits, are proofs of the antiquity of this practice. Among the different sorts of Magic which MOSES prohibits, that of calling up the dead is there expressly specified. Every body knows the history of Saul, who went to consult the *witch* of *Endor*, to call up the *ghost* of *Samuel*. I shall not enter into the effect which this conjuration produced, nor shall I examine if it was really *Samuel* who appeared to that prince, or if it was the *Devil* who deceived him under a borrowed appearance; or in fine, if the *witch* herself imposed upon him by some illusion. We know that the fathers and ecclesiastic writers are much divided in their sentiments about it, and that there is nothing in religion to determine us to follow the one opinion rather than the other. I only take notice of the use of the thing, and this; it is certain, was as ancient, as it was universally practised.

how it originated, with examples of the Art:

Profane authors look upon ORPHEUS as the inventor of this cursed art; and so far indeed it is true, that the *hymns* which are ascribed to him, are mostly real pieces of *conjuration*: but it is probable this practice came from the eastern people, and was carried into Greece with the other religious ceremonies, by colonies which came and settled there. Let this be as it will, it is certain that in HOMER's time, this sort of *conjuration* was in practice, as appears from some passages in the *Iliad*, where mention is made of it. Nor was it at that time reputed odious or crimi-

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nal, since there were persons who made public profession of *conjuring up ghosts*, and there were temples where the ceremony of conjuration was to be performed. PAUSANIAS speaks of that which was in Thesprotia, where ORPHEUS came to call up the soul of his wife *Eurydice*. It is this very journey, and the motive which put him upon it, that made it be believed he went down to *hell*. *Ulysses's* travels into the country of the Cimmerians, whither he went to consult the ghost of *Tiresias*, which HOMER so well describes in the *Odyssey*, has all the air of such another *conjuration*; and the same may be said of all the other pretended journeys into *Pluto's* kingdom.—But it is not only the poets who speak of *conjuring up spirits*; history likewise furnishes examples thereof. Periander, the tyrant of Corinth, visited the Thesprotians, to consult about something left with his wife in trust: and historians tell us, that the Lacedemonians, having starved PAUSANIAS to death in the temple of *Pallas*, and not being able to appease his *Manes*, which tormented them without intermission; sent for the Magicians from Thessaly, who having brought up the *ghosts of his enemies*, they banished *Pausanius's ghost* so effectually, that it was obliged to quit the country. I have no mind to display the horrid rites that were practised by those who dealt in *Necromancy*, when they raised the souls of the dead: it is enough that I have showed the union and connexion, which this execrable art had with the Pagan religion which authorized it.

===== We shall conclude, by remarking that this
 stricture on the phrase, *to call up souls*.
 ===== phrase, *to call up souls*, is not accurate: for what
 the Magicians, and priests, appointed in the
 temples of the *Manes*, called up, was neither
soul nor *body*, but a sort of middle substance, between *soul* and
body, which the Latins call *Imago, Umbra*. When *Patroclus* prays
Achilles to grant him the honours of burial, it is that he might
 not be hindered from passing the fatal river by the *thin phantoms*
 of the dead. It was neither *soul* nor *body* that went down to the

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infernal regions, but these *phantoms*: accordingly, *Ulysses* sees the *phantom* of *Hercules* in the *Elysian fields*, while the hero himself is in *Heaven*. But I shall explain this point of Pagan Theology, when I come to speak of the Infernal Regions.

SECTION FOURTH.

OF EXPIATIONS.

EXPIATION was an act of religion, instituted for the purifying the guilty, and the places which were reckoned defiled. Though this ceremony to speak accurately, was only to be used for crimes, yet they put it in practice upon several other occasions. Dread of public calamities, and hope of appeasing the incensed Gods, occasioned the institution of several sorts of *Expiations*: *monsters*, *prodigies*, *presages*, *auguries*, all were subject to it; and the *Expiatory* sacrifices were renewed upon a thousand occasions, insomuch that there was hardly any action in life, whether private or public but had need of them, or which was not either followed or ushered in with the ceremony of *Expiation*. Was a general to assume the command of an army? were games or festivals to be celebrated? an assembly to be called? or was a person to be initiated into any mystery? in all such cases they were sure to have recourse to *Expiatory* sacrifices. As to private life, every individual took care to purify himself, not only for the smallest faults, but even upon occasion of every object which superstition taught to consider as of bad portent. Accordingly, these words, which occur so often in the writings of the ancients, *Expiare*, *Purgare*, *Februare*, signified to perform acts of religion, either for blotting out some fault, or for diverting impending calamities.

Expiation defined;—its objects stated.

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Several sorts of Expiations, more or less solemn.

Though in general, public expiations were accompanied with prayers and sacrifices, yet there were of them more or less solemn, encumbered with more or fewer ceremonies; nor was it always the same Gods who were to be invoked. Those whom the Latins stiled *Averrunci*, were implored in order to avert the evils which some prodigy or object of bad omen had portended. They were free to make their addresses to others, upon private occasions, wherein they thought there was need of *Expiation*.—There were then several sorts of *Expiations*; and particular ceremonies for each kind. I shall say but little of those used by every private man, since it sufficed for him to wash himself, or to receive the holy water when he was entering into the temple; but I shall expatiate more fully upon those which religion and the laws had prescribed.

1st, Expiations for Prodiges.

One of the most solemn, was what they used upon the appearance of some *prodigy*. The senate, after having ordered the Sibylline books to be consulted by those who had the keeping of them, to see what was to be done upon those occasions, ordinarily appointed days of *fasting*; as also *festivals*, especially those of the *Lectisternia*; *games*; public *prayers*; and *sacrifices*. Then you might have seen the whole city of Rome, and in imitation of her, all the other cities of the empire, in mourning and consternation; the Temples adorned, the *Lectisternia* prepared in the public places, Expiatory sacrifices repeated over and over again. The senators and patricians, their wives and their children, with garlands on their heads; every Tribe, every Order, preceded by the high *Priest* and the *Duumviri*, marched gravely through the streets; and this procession was accompanied with the youth singing *hymns*, or repeating *prayers*, while the Priests were offering Expiatory sacrifices in the temples, and invoking the Gods to divert the calamities, with which they thought themselves threatened.

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2d, Expiation
 for Homicide.

Anciently, but a few ceremonies were required for the expiation of *homicide*; but in after-times, a great many were added, and it became even exceedingly burdensome. All that was requisite at first, for a person's purification from murder, was to wash himself in *running water*; and thus it was, according to *ATHENÆUS*, that *Achilles* was purified, after having killed *Strambelus* king of the *Læleges*. *Æneas*, as he was leaving *Troy*, then in the enemy's hands, left to his father the care of the household Gods which he was going to take along with him, not daring to touch them with his polluted hands, until he had purified himself in some *river*; a punishment, if indeed it was one, abundantly gentle, for a crime such as *homicide*: Accordingly *OID*, after having mentioned several heroes who had been purified in this manner, breaks forth into this exclamation; how credulous must they be, who believe that the crime of murder can be purged away at so easy a rate! This sort of Expiation did not last long, since we see in the heroic ages, it was attended with more irksome and solemn ceremonies: at that time, when the offender was a person of distinction, even kings themselves did not disdain to perform the ceremony. Thus in *APOLLODRUS*, *Copreus*, who had slain *Iphisus*, is expiated by *Euristheus* king of *Mycenæ*. *Adrastus*, according to the testimony of *HERODOTUS*, came to receive Expiation from *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*. Frequently the hero guilty of manslaughter, was even obliged to traverse several countries, not lighting upon any body who would give him Expiation; which was the case of *Hercules*, who was expiated at length by *Ceyx* king of *Trachinia*.—Nobody has given a fuller description of the ceremonial of this sort of Expiation, than *APOLLONIUS* of *Rhodes*, on occasion of the murder of *Absyrtus*, the brother of *Medea*, slain by *Jason*: that prince, says he, being arrived with *Medea* in the island of *Æa*, sent their addresses to *Circe*, desiring her to

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perform the ceremony of Expiation for them; and having obtained permission to come to the place of that princess, they advanced both of them, with downcast eyes, after the manner of suppliants, till they came up to the *hearth*, where *Jason* struck into the ground the *sword* wherewith he had slain his brother-in-law. Their silence and posture made *Circe* easily perceive that they were fugitives, guilty of some murder, and she prepared herself to expiate them. First she caused a young *pig* not yet weaned, to be brought, and having cut its throat, she rubbed the hands of *Jason* and *Medea* with its *blood*. Then she offered *libations* in honour of *Jupiter Expiator*. After which, having ordered the remains of the sacrifice to be thrown out of the hall, she burned upon the altar, *cakes*, which were made of flour, salt, and water, and accompanied these ceremonies with *prayers* proper to appease the wrath of the *Furies*, who commonly pursue the guilty. The ceremony being ended, she caused her guests to sit down upon magnificent seats, where they were regaled.—The Romans had ceremonies for the *Expiation of murder*, different from those of the Greeks. We have a very authentic example of them in *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, who relates in what manner *Horatius* was expiated, after having killed his *Sister*, who reproached him for the death of her lover, one of the *Curiatii*. “Sentence was given, says he, against young *Horatius*, and he was afterwards absolved from the crime: but the king, who did not think the judgment of men sufficient to absolve a criminal, in a city which made profession of fearing the Gods, sent for the pontiffs, and would needs have them to appease the Gods and *Genii*, and the offender to pass through all the trials that were in use, for expiating involuntary crimes. The pontiffs therefore erected two altars, the one to *Juno*, the protectress of Sisters, the other to a certain God or *Genius* of the country, who has since borne the name of the *Curiatii*, whom *Horatius* had slain. Upon these altars were offered several sacrifices of *expiation*, after which,

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the criminal was made to pass under the *yoke*; that is, under a cross beam, supported by two other pieces of timber.”

3d, Expiation for Cities and other places. The ceremony of Expiation for *cities*, was one of the most solemn. In the Roman calendar, there were days marked out for this ceremony; which mostly corresponded with our *fifth* of February. The sacrifice which was there offered, was denominated, according to SERVIUS, *Suburbale*, or *Suburbium*, and the victims there sacrificed, were called, as FESTUS has it, *Amburbiales*. Besides this festival, there was another, which returned but once in *five* years, the solemnity whereof was employed in purifying a whole city; and from the word *lustrare*, to *expiate*, the name *lustrum* came to denote *the space of five years*.—Important occasions sometimes made it necessary to celebrate this solemnity, out of the ordinary time, as was the case, according to DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus, when the Tarquins were banished from Rome. If any particular place happened to be defiled, they took care to have it expiated; and these sorts of Expiations had names whereby they were designated. That of the *crossways*, for instance, was termed *Compitalia*; that of the *fields*, was called *Ambarvalia*. The Greeks had particular Expiations for the *Theatres*, and for the places where the people assembled.

4th, Expiation for Armies. Before and after battle, there was a purification of the *Army*, and that ceremony was termed *Armilustrum*; a word which was taken in aftertimes, to express a review of the troops, as appears from several passages of Cæsar's *Commentaries*; just as that of *Lustrum* was taken for the enrolment of the people; but both these ceremonies were always accompanied with sacrifices. The festival of the *Armilustrum* was celebrated at Rome, on the *nineteenth* of October.

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Other public expiations to be spoken of elsewhere.

To these public Expiations, I might subjoin those which they used in order to be initiated into the greater and lesser *Eleusinian* mysteries, into those of *Mithras*, into the *Orgies*, &c. But of these I shall speak in the history of *Ceres*, in that of the *Persian Gods*, and in that of *Bacchus*. It suffices to say here, that fasting was often prescribed for Expiations of this sort; thus it is we are to understand with CLEMENS of Alexandria, when he says, that those who were to be initiated, being interrogated by the priests, answered, “*I have performed what is prescribed in order to the mysteries, I have kept the Fast.*”

Private expiations.

The *private* Expiations were far more numerous than the public ones; since they used these in almost every action of life, as we have already remarked: thus, there were neither nuptials, no funerals, nor hardly any matter of consequence, that was not preceded by Expiation. Whatever was reputed of bad portent; the encounter of a *weazle*, a *raven*, or a *hare*; an unexpected *storm*, a *dream*, and a thousand other *accidents*, obliged the people to have recourse to the same ceremony. But it is necessary to observe, that for these sorts of *private* Expiations, there was not always a necessity, as in the public ones, of offering sacrifices; but a simple *ablution* sufficed. The *sea-water*, however, when it could be had, was preferred to *fountain-water*; and this latter, to that which stagnated. Sometimes the party was obliged to wash his whole body, sometimes only his hands or ears. It is from EURIPIDES we learn this last usage, when he makes *Hippolitus* say, that as he looked upon himself to be polluted for having been solicited to a crime, so he must needs *wash his ears*. PROCOPIUS of Gaza, speaking of the Expiations so much in use among the Jews, informs us that in general they made use of *water, salt, barley, laurel*, and even *fire*, which those were made to pass through, who were to be purified; and there is no doubt but that the Pagans, in the ceremo-

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nies of their Expiations, had imitated most of those which MOSES had prescribed to the Jews, as is proved by learned commentators on the Sacred Books.

Here I should subjoin what regards Oaths, one of the most ancient and most solemn acts of religion, since it was a kind of Expiation—he who took the Oath, purging himself thereby from the crime that was laid to his charge. But this subject has been handled by several authors, whether *lawyers* or *divines*. I shall give the substance of two learned dissertations of the Abbé MASSIEU, who examines the following questions.

First, As to their origin;

1st, What was the origin of Oaths? which he says, is near as ancient as the world, since they began as soon as men became false and dishonest.

Second, by what Gods they swore;

2d, By what Divinities the ancients swore? and he proves, that it was by almost all the Gods, especially by two, who were regarded as the guarantees thereof, to wit: *Bona Fides*, and *Deus Fidius*. The Gods themselves swore by the *Styx*, and this Oath was of all others the most inviolable.

Third, The ceremonies of an Oath;

3d, What were the ceremonies of the Oath? At first they were very simple, and no more was required but holding up the *hand*, as is still the practice at this day. The Great introduced more formality into it; Kings lifted up their *sceptres*, Generals of armies their *spears* or *shields*, and the Soldiers their *swords*, the *points* of which some of them put to their *throats*, as we learn from MARCELLINUS. In later times, it was required that the Oath should be taken in the temples, the party laying his *hand* upon the *altar*; and if there was occasion for taking an Oath when no temples were near, an *altar* was raised in haste, or there were portable ones ready for immediate use. Frequently too it happen-

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ed, that those who swore, dipt their *hands* in the *blood* of the sacrificed victims.

Fourth, The obligation of an Oath;

4th, What were the moral sentiments of the ancients about Oaths? to which the unequivocal answer is, they were such, that perjury was looked upon as the greatest of crimes. But more allowances were made for the Oaths of *orators, poets, and lovers*; yet even these were not taken in courts of justice. That fine sentiment of PYTHAGORAS, *honour the Gods, and revere an Oath*, comprehends according to the commentators on that famous philosopher, the purest, and at the same time, the most sublime morality, with relation to this last act of religion.

Fifth, On what occasions were Oaths used;

5th, The use which the ancients made of an Oath in civil society? and this was much the same as among ourselves, that is, it was required of all who entered into an *office*, or who were to intermeddle in any manner of way with the *government*, and the public *revenues*. The General, when he assumed the command of an army; the Soldier when he was listed; those who entered into the priesthood, or into other offices which depended upon it; the *Vestals*, the *Augurs*, the *Feciales*; or those who were employed in *treaties* of peace; all of them were obliged to take an Oath.

Lastly, How was perjury regarded.

6th, In fine, what notion they had in those days, of such as violated their Oath? And our author finds that they were looked upon as the basest of all mortals, since they had trampled upon all the sacred ties of religion, and endeavoured to put a cheat upon the Gods, as well as upon Men.

SECTION FIFTH.

OF PUBLIC SUPPLICATIONS.

Definition;—
Private Suppli-
cations slightly no-
ticed.

SUPPLICATION, among the Pagans, consisted in prayer for favours desired, or thanksgiving for benefits received, whether public or private.

—We are not to insist upon *private Supplications*, which were nothing else but *prayers*, which every one put up to the Gods, either to obtain health, a good harvest, or to thank them for mercies received, &c. A single *formula* of their *prayers* will be sufficient to give us some idea of them: here is one preserved in an inscription, which Camilla Amata makes to the *fever* of her son in sickness. *Camilla Amata offers up her prayers for her sick son, to the divine Febris, the holy Febris, the great Febris.*

Public Suppli-
cations—on what
occasions observ-
ed.

The *public Supplications* were made either in some critical juncture, as in time of a plague, or some epidemical calamity; or after an unexpected victory, or when a newly elected general applied to the senate to be confirmed by them, and to have a *Supplication* appointed for obtaining the favour of the Gods; as also for other reasons. These *Supplications* occasioned solemn days, on which there was to be no pleading upon any account whatsoever, and they were celebrated by *sacrifices, prayers, and public feasts*. Sometimes the senate limited the duration of this *festival* to one day; sometimes it took up several; and history informs us, that some of them lasted *fifty days*.

1st, *The Lectisternia.*

The ceremonies
of the Lectister-
nium,

There was a kind of *public Supplication*, which they called the *Lectisternia*, from *lectus* a bed, and *sternere* to make up. This ceremony consisted in a *feast* which was prepared, and which was kept in the temple; and because, according to the customs

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of those times, they arranged *beds* round the tables, and placed upon these *beds* the *statues* of the Gods, in whose honour the *festival* was celebrated, in the same way as men used to lay thereon at meals; hence they got the name of *Lectisternia*. The *Efulones* mentioned under the article of the Priests, presided at this ceremony, and were the regulators of it. VALERIUS MAXIMUS takes notice of a *Lectisternium*, celebrated in honour of *Jupiter*. That God, that is his *statue*, was laid there upon a *bed*; while those of *Juno* and *Minerva* were upon *chains*.—TITUS LIVIUS, CICERO, LAMPRIDIUS, and others, make frequent mention of this ceremony; and the first of these authors refers its institution to the year of Rome 354, upon occasion of the plague which raged in the city. This *Lectisternium* lasted for eight days, and was celebrated in honour of *Apollo*, *Latona*, *Diana*, *Hercules*, *Mercury* and *Neptune*. VALERIUS MAXIMUS indeed mentions another more ancient, since according to him, it was celebrated under the consulship of Brutus, and Valerius Poplicola; but it seems it was either less solemn, or LIVY knew nothing of it.

Until the time of CASAUBON, the *Lectisternium* was believed to have been of Roman institution, and not to have been known out of Italy; but that learned critic, examining a passage of the scholiast upon PINDAR, and finding there mention made of those *pillows*, or *cushions*, which they put under *statues* of the Gods, from thence has justly concluded, that the *Lectisternium* was in use among the Greeks. Authors have been found to support this discovery, and the truth of it is now no longer controverted. And indeed PAUSANIAS speaks in several places of those sorts of *cushions*; and in his travels through Arcadia, tells us, that some of them were put under the statues of *Peace*; and in his *Phocica*, he speaks of those on which they placed the statues of *Æsculapius*. VALERIUS MAXIMUS, says the same of the statues of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. “The statues, says he, of these

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two heroes, who had done so much to rescue Athens from the tyranny it groaned under, having been carried away by Xerxes, Seleucus restored them afterwards; and when the ship that brought them, arrived at Rhodes, the chief men of the city invited them to be their *guests*, and placed them upon *pillows*." SÆTONIUS reckons these *pillows* among those things that were appropriated only to the Gods; for when speaking of Cæsar, he says, "he even suffered such honours to be decreed him as are too high for mere mortals, such as *temples*, *altars*, *statues* as those of the Gods, the *sacred pillow*," &c. JAMES SPON, in his travels through Greece, tells us, that the *Lectisternium* of *Isis* and *Serapis* was still to be seen at Athens. It was a small marble *bed*, of two feet in length: by one in height, on which those two Divinities were represented sitting. This learned traveller says, that others, like them, were found in the same city; as also at Salamis and elsewhere. From this relation we learn the true form of the *cushions*: they were small *beds*, either of marble, stone, or wood, on which they placed the *statues* of the Gods, in honour of whom a *feast* was prepared.—After what has been said, it is evident, that the *Lectisternium* was equally in use in Greece and in Italy.

The days set apart for this *festival* were most its celebration, and its immunities;—by whom appointed.

solemn; during which, it was not allowed to inflict punishment upon any description of persons, so that criminals were even set at liberty.

It was the chief magistrate, or high priest, who appointed the *festival*; and its end was to appease the Gods, or to supplicate them for favours. We have only to say farther, that the table for the *feast*, and the beds on which the Gods were to lie, were adorned with branches, flowers, and odoriferous herbs.—So much for this subject; let us now give some short account of the *Evocations*.

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2d, *The Evocations.*

Three sorts of Evocations, viz.—
1st, to call up the Manes,—2d, a prayer in making Sieges.

Of *Evocations*, there were three sorts: the *first* were *magical operations*, which they used in order to *call up souls departed* or the *Manes*; and of them I have spoken in the article of *Magic*. The *second*, which I shall here consider, was ordinarily employed, during the *siege of some town*, which they thought it neither their duty nor in their power to take, without invoking the Gods, under whose protection it was. We have in *MACROBIUS* a form of this sort of *Evocation* preserved, which will give the reader a better notion of the thing than all we can deliver on the subject. “*Whether it be a God, or whether it be a Goddess, under whose tuition the city and people of Carthage is, I supplicate you, I conjure you, and I earnestly request you, ye great Gods, who have taken this city and people under your protection, to abandon both city and people, to quit all those mansions, temples, and sacred places; to cast them off, infuse into them fear, consternation, and a spirit of forgetfulness; and vouchsafe to repair to Rome to dwell among us: graciously accept of our mansions, temples, sacred things, and our whole city. Let it be seen, that you are the defence of me and my army, and of the Roman people. Grant me these petitions, and I vow and promise to found temples and games to your honour.*”

3d, This was used to call up the Gods; to which they connected—

Lastly, the *third* sort of *Evocation* was, that which was used in *calling up the Gods*. In order to understand what I am to say upon this head, we must know it was the doctrine of the Pagan

Theology, that the Gods in a peculiar manner presided over certain places, and that frequently several of those places were under the protection of the same God; and it being impossible for him to be in them all at once, it was necessary to use the ceremony of *Evocation*, when his presence was thought needful. They had *hymns* proper to this operation, as are most

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of those which are ascribed to ORPHEUS, and those of the poet PROCLUS. Those *hymns* generally were composed of two parts: the *first* was taken up in the praises of the Gods, and in celebrating the different places under their protection; the *second* contained the prayer whereby they endeavoured to invite and allure them to the places where their presence was necessary. When they thought the patron God was arrived, they celebrated the *festivals*: Such were some of those which the Argives kept in honour of *Juno*, and the inhabitants of Delos and Miletus in honour of *Apollo*.

As soon as the danger which had made them the ceremony of taking leave of them. invoke the Gods was over, they gave them liberty to go any where they listed; and they had other *hymns* for celebrating their *departure*. JULIUS SCALIGER, who may be consulted upon this subject, observes, that these *hymns*, wherein BACCHYLIDES the lyric poet chiefly excelled, were of greater length than those used for inviting the Gods, in order thereby to detain them as long as possible. For when we desire an object, says he, we wish to be quickly possessed of it; but if it is to leave us, we wish it to be as long as possible before we be deprived of it.

3d, *The forms of Devoting.*

Public and private Devotings. The forms of Devoting, which the Romans called *Devotio*, were either *private*, as those of the two DECII, and of Marcus Curtius, who devoted themselves to save the Romans; or *public*, as performed by the dictator, or consul, at the head of an army. Here is their form of public Devoting, transmitted to us by the same MACROBIUS. "*Father Dis, Pluto, Jupiter, Manes, or by whatever name it is lawful to call you, I beseech you to fill this city Carthage, and the army I mean, with terror and consternation: grant that they, who bear arms against our legions and army, may be put to the rout, that the inhabitants of their cities, and of their fields, with all that dwell*

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in them, of every age, may be devoted to you, according to the laws by which our greatest enemies are devoted. I, by the authority of my commission, devote them in name of the Roman people, in name of the army, and in name of our legions, that you may preserve both the commanders, and those who serve under them."

Whenever the law devoted any one to death, it was permitted to kill him. There was one of Romulus' laws conceived in these terms: *If any patron defrauds his client, let him be devoted.* It was to *Pluto*, or *Dis*, and the other infernal Deities, that criminals were devoted.—Antiquity has not transmitted to us the form of *private* Devoting, but certain it is there was one; for when *Decius* devoted himself, he gave notice to the pontiff *Valerius*, to proceed to pronounce the form of devoting.

I shall say nothing here of the *supplications* and *vows* made by certain persons: I foresee, that the enumeration of them would be endless; and we could learn nothing from them, but that the Gods having been always looked upon by the Pagans as the authors of all *good* and *evil*, they were careful to address them, in order to obtain the *good things*, and be delivered from the *evils of life*: that in dangers or sickness, they put up *supplications* to them for deliverance, and recovery of health: and in fine, that from gratitude, they even put into temples, representations of the members, for the cure whereof they thought themselves indebted to them. Of these, we have great numbers preserved by antiquaries, as may be seen in their works. Among these *vows* or *votive members*, there were some that bore the characters of different Gods, as that which is called the hand of *Æneas*, upon which is *Votum Cereprois*, and which has been explained in a small tract of THOMASINE. Sometimes it was a single *hand*, an *arm*, a *leg*, or an *eye*, without any symbol. What we find most singular among these *vows*, is a table of brass, on which mention is made of all the cures wrought by the interposition of *Æsculapius*.

4th, Ceremonies used at the founding of Cities, Temples, &c.

I have noticed that the ancients used *Evocations*, at besieging a city, in order to invoke the Gods, under whose protection it was; and as these same Gods were owned for patrons of the city at the time it was founded, it is proper before concluding this CHAPTER, to say something of the ceremonies in use upon that occasion.—We learn from FESTUS, that the Etrurians had books concerning the ceremonies observed at the founding of *Cities, Altars, Temples, Walls, and Gates*. PLUTARCH tells us, that Romulus, before he laid the foundation of Rome, sent for men from Etruria, who informed him in all the punctilios of ceremony which he was to observe. According to DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus, they began with offering a sacrifice, after which they kindled fires near the tents; and they who were to have any employment in building the town, leaped over these fires, to purify themselves. They then dug a ditch, into which they threw the first fruits of all things that served for human nourishment, and a handful of earth from the country to which each of them belonged, who were to assist at the ceremony. At the same time they consulted the Gods, to know if the enterprise would be acceptable to them, and if they approved of the day chosen to begin the work. Then they chalked out the boundaries by a score of white earth, which they called *Terra pura*; and for want of this kind of chalk, they made use of *flour*, as STRABO assures us was done by Alexander, when he laid the foundation of *Alexandria*. This first operation being finished, they opened a furrow, as deep as possible, with a *brazen plough*; and to this plough they yoked a *white bull*, and a *white heifer*. All the ground opened by the plough was reputed HOLY. While they were forming the boundary, they stopped at certain intervals to renew the sacrifices, and marked the places where they were offered, by a heap of *stones*, which they called *Cippi*. In these sacrifices, they invoked,

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besides the Gods of the country, denominated *Dii Patrii Indigetes*, also the Gods, to whose protection the new city was recommended, which was done secretly, because it was necessary that the tutelar Gods should be unknown to the vulgar. In fine, so much regarded was the day on which a City was founded, that they kept up the memory of it by an anniversary festival; and at Rome, this festival was what they called the *Palilia*.—The ceremonies practised among the Ancients in consecrating the ground whereon a Temple was to be erected, is the same species of superstition with that we have just spoken of; and conformably to method, should be noticed here; but having spoken of it, when treating of Temples, in order to give full satisfaction on that head, we need not here repeat what the reader has already seen.

SECTION SIXTH.

OF FESTIVALS.

On what occasions were Festivals instituted.

The Ancients consecrated *Festivals* to nearly all their *Deities, Heroes, remarkable events*, or other matters which they thought to be of great public concern; nor were they less profuse of these ceremonies even to appease the *Manes* of the dead.

Whence they derived their names.

The majority of the *Festivals* derive their names from the objects upon whom those superstitious honours were conferred: as that of *Aphollonia*, among the many festivals instituted in honour of *Apollo*; and the *Bacchanalia*, among those in honour of *Bacchus*. Others owe their names to the places where they were celebrated: as that of *Busiris*, in honour of *Isis*; and the *Athena*, in honour of *Diana*. A third, but less numerous class,

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took their names from the matter of the offering: as that of the *Hecatombæ*, which was attended with a sacrifice of an *hundred Oxen*.

The Ancients had so many *Festivals*, that it would be fruitless to attempt, as well as useless to give, an account of them all. I shall only mention the principal ones instituted by the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans; under those respective heads; and hope by explaining some passages in history which gave rise to them, to atone for the dryness of the calendar.

1st, Egyptian Festivals.

Never was a religion more encumbered with ceremonies than that of the Egyptians, and nothing was ever accompanied with more outward splendor than their *Festivals*. An infinite concourse of people, licentiousness, jollity, all combined in their celebration: and if the priests on the one hand, made preparation for them by *fasting*, *continence*, and other burthensome ceremonies; the people on the other hand, longed for them, as the most proper days of their lives for *riot* and *debauchery*.—Among those *Festivals*, they reckoned the following principal ones.

First, The Festival of *Osiris*, or his symbol *Apis*, at Memphis. The two most extraordinary ceremonies of this Festival, were, the *death* and the *re-appearance* of the Ox *Apis*: for the sacred books of the priests prescribed to this Deity a precise day beyond which he was not permitted to live; and if his natural death did not occur on that day, he was drowned in the *Nile* with great solemnity, and another *Apis* substituted in his place, with the same marks as though he had returned.—The dead *Apis* was embalmed and interred at Memphis, and after that, the priests were permitted to enter the temple of *Serapis*, a privilege which they were forbidden as long as the Festival lasted.—After the death of the Ox

Apis, the people mourned and made lamentations, as if *Osiris* had been but just then dead: the priests cut off their hair; which in Egypt was a sign of the deepest mourning; and this mourning lasted till they got another Ox to appear, resembling the former in the same marks. Then they began to make merry, as if the prince himself had arisen from the dead. HERODOTUS tells us, that this Ox was to be black over all the body, with a square white mark in the forehead; upon the back he was to have the figure of an eagle; a knot under his tongue in the figure of a beetle; the hairs of his tail double; and according to PLINY, a white mark upon his right side, which, as we learn from AMMIANUS MARCELINUS and Ælian, was to resemble the crescent of the Moon. And then the last qualification was an extraordinary generation; such as, his mother having conceived him by a clap of thunder. Without examining into these mysteries, I am of opinion, that the priests imprinted the marks I have been speaking of, upon some young calves which they brought up secretly: and to remove any suspicion of the imposture, they took care that their God *Apis* should sometimes be long before he appeared. After having found a bull proper to represent *Apis*, he was left, before they conducted him to Memphis, in the city of the Nile, where he was fed for forty days. During which time, the women only were allowed to see him; and they presented themselves before him in a very indecent manner. The forty days being expired, he was put into a barge, where they had a gilded niche for his reception; and thus he was carried down the Nile to Memphis, in a formal procession led by the priests. There the obscene image of the *Phallus*, which *Isis* had consecrated, was carried in procession; which became the symbol of fruitfulness, though in its original institution it had only been the mark of the passion of that princess for her husband *Osiris*. This Festival lasted seven days; and what is very singular, it was believed that the children who had smelled the breath of *Apis*, acquired thereby a prophetic

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power.—When Cambyses arrived at Memphis upon his return from Ethiopia, an expedition which proved so unhappy to him, he found the people engaged in celebrating the Festival of *Osiris*, and imagining they were rejoicing at his disgrace, sent for the priests to demand the occasion of their joy. They having made answer that they were celebrating the appearance of *Apis*, who had not been seen for a great while, Cambyses dissatisfied with the answer, which he thought a prevarication, ordered them to bring before him that pretended God of theirs, and gave him a wound with his sword, whereof he died; he also caused the priests to be lashed; and ordered his soldiers to massacre all whom they found celebrating this Festival.

Festival of Isis. *Second, The Festival of Isis, at Busiris.*—At the Festival of Busiris, which was celebrated in honour of *Isis*, the *sacrifices* were followed with the ceremony of a *flagellation*, from which neither men nor women were exempted; but the Carians, especially, who inhabited Egypt, were the persons who drubbed themselves most heartily, and they added even to this ceremony, that of *stabbing* themselves in the *fore-head* with the point of a sword.

Festival of Diana. *Third, The Festival of Diana, at Bubastis.*—The Festival of Bubastis in lower Egypt was still more solemn. Thither they came from all parts, and the Nile for several days was overspread with barges, which they who filled them had decked with all the ornaments they could devise, and as every barge had its musicians and concert, the air resounded on all hands with the harmony of their instruments. The banks of the river were crowded on either side with spectators to see those barges as they passed: those who were in them, according to a very ancient custom, lashed the spectators with satirical jests, and frequently with scurrilous ribaldry; while the others in their turn paid home their compliments with large interest. The

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women who were upon the water, presented themselves to those curious eyes, in a manner too immodest to be here described. Care was taken to prepare upon the banks of the river numbers of inns, where they came to refresh themselves, and there great plenty was to be had of every thing conducive to good cheer. The number of spectators at this Festival was computed to be 700,000, without including children, who accompanied their parents. When they arrived at Bubastis, they abandoned themselves entirely to mirth and revelling; and more wine was consumed in that city during the stay they made there upon account of this solemnity, than through the whole year besides.—As nothing is more difficult to be abolished than ceremonies where rioting is intermixed, this Festival lasts at this very day, though the object thereof be changed; and every year the Egyptians, together with the Turks who govern them, fall down the Nile at a certain time of the year, from Cairo as far as Rosetto, with such a vast confluence of people, that the river resembles a floating city. The musical instruments; the inns; and the scurrilous gibes that pass between those that are on the water, and the spectators on the banks of the Nile; all bear a resemblance there to the ancient Festivals of Bubastis. But nothing was ever so pompous and magnificent as the solemn procession made by Ptolemy's orders, whereof we have the description in THEOCRITUS, and in ATHENÆUS, who has taken it from an ancient author.

Fourth, The Festival of Minerva at Sais.—
 The Festival of Minerva. What distinguished the Festival of Minerva at Sais, from the foregoing, was the great number of lamps they burnt there during the night; and those who could not be present at this Festival, kept them burning in their own houses.

Fifth, The Festival of Mars at Pampremis.—
 The Festival of Mars. The Festival which was celebrated at Pampremis in honour of Mars, was attended with a re-

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markable singularity. The priests bore upon a four-wheeled chariot the statue of that God, which was inclosed in a small chapel of gilt wood, which they endeavoured to force into the temple of that Divinity, while men armed with clubs stood in the way to hinder them; and as the priests who accompanied the procession, had likewise arms, there ensued an engagement, whereby many people must have lost their lives. The Egyptians, however, maintained that nobody died of the wounds they received upon that occasion.

That people had besides, several sorts of processions, but less solemn than those which I have been describing.—The Hebrews, who derived from the Egyptians that fatal propensity which they had towards Idolatry, imitated them but too often, not only in the solemnity of the *golden calf*, as has been said, but also in the ceremony of their processions. The prophet Amos upbraids them for having led about in the wilderness, the tabernacle of the God *Moloch*, the image of their *Idol*, and the star of the God *Rempham*. St. STEPHEN, in the Acts of the *Apostles*, taxes them with the same piece of idolatry.—Several other people practised the same ceremonies, whether they had learned them from the Egyptians, as is very probable, or had invented them themselves.

2d, Grecian Festivals.

The Greeks borrowed several of their Festivals from the Egyptians and Phenicians: they had likewise many peculiar to themselves. We shall here give an alphabetical calendar of the principal of them.

The *Achillæa*. The *Achillæa* were festivals celebrated in honour of *Achilles*. PAUSANIAS, who tells us they were celebrated at Brasias, where that hero had a temple, gives us no particular account of them.

Alphabetical calendar of Greek Festivals, viz.—

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The Actia.

The *Actia* were festivals sacred to *Apollo*, in commemoration of the victory of Augustus over M. Antony at Actium. They were celebrated every third year, with great pomp; and the Lacedæmonians had the care of them.

The Adonia.

The *Adonia* were festivals in honour of *Adonis*, first celebrated at Byblos in Phœnicia. They lasted two days; the *first* of which was spent in howlings and lamentations; the *second* in joyful clamours, as if *Adonis* was returned to life. In some towns of Greece and Egypt they lasted eight days; the one half of which was spent in lamentations, and the other in rejoicings. Only women were admitted, and such as did not appear were compelled to prostitute themselves for one day; and the money obtained by this shameful custom was devoted to the service of *Adonis*. The time of the celebration was supposed to be very unlucky. The fleet of Nicias sailed from Athens to Sicily on that day, whence many unfortunate omens were drawn.

The Æmaturia.

In the *Æmaturia*, celebrated in honour of *Pelops*. What was remarkable in this festival is, that boys whipped themselves till the blood came from their lacerated bodies.

The Agraulia.

The *Agraulia* was a festival at Athens, in honour of *Agraulos* priestess of *Minerva*. The Cyprians also observed these festivals, by offering human victims.

The Agrionia.

The *Agrionia* are thus described by PLUTARCH. There, says he, the women make search for *Bacchus*, and not finding him, they give over their pursuit, saying, he is retired to the *Muses*; then they sup together, and after supper they propose riddles to one another: a mystery, signifying that mirth and good cheer, should always be seasoned with learning and the *Muses*; and that if a man happens to have drunk too much, his rage is hid by the *Muses*, and by them kindly restrained and kept within bounds.

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The Agrotera. The *Agrotera* is an anniversary sacrifice of goats offered to *Diana* at Athens. It was instituted by Callimachus, who vowed to sacrifice to the Goddess so many goats as there might be enemies killed in a battle which he was going to engage against the troops of Darius, who had invaded Attica. The quantity of the slain was so great, that a sufficient number of goats could not be procured; therefore they were limited to 500 every year, till they equalled the number of Persians slain in battle.

The Aloa. The *Aloa* were festivals of the *barn-floors* at Athens in honor of *Bacchus* and *Ceres*, by whose beneficence the husbandmen received the recompense of their labours. The oblations were the first fruits of the earth.

The Ambrosia. The *Ambrosia* were festivals celebrated in time of the vintage, in honour of *Bacchus*, in some cities in Greece. They were the same as the *Brumalia* of the Romans.

Amphidromia. The *Amphidromia* was a festival observed by private families at Athens, the first day after the birth of every child. It was customary to run round the fire with a child in their arms; whence the name of the festival was derived.

Anthesphoria. The *Anthesphoria* were festivals celebrated in Sicily, in honour of *Proserpine*, in consequence of her being carried away by *Pluto* as she was gathering flowers.

Anthesteria. The *Anthesteria* was so termed from the month *Anthesterion*, partly answering to our *November*. It had this peculiarity, that the masters served their slaves at table, during the three days of that festival, which the Romans imitated in their *Saturnalia*. At the end of the festival, they turned those slaves out of doors, and as they were almost all of *Caria*, hence came the proverb; *begone ye Carians, the Anthesteria are ended.*

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The Apaturia.

The *Apaturia*, a festival of the Athenians, so called from a word that signifies deceit, owed its institution to the following piece of history. The Bœotians having declared war against the Athenians, upon occasion of a contest between them about the territory of Celænæ or Onoe, which they both claimed, Xanthus, captain of the Bœotians, offered to decide the quarrel in a *duel*. Thymætes, king of Athens, having declined the challenge, was deposed, and Melanthius, who accepted it was put in his place. He, seeing his enemy coming up, told him it was not like a brave man to bring a *second* with him to the *duel*. Xanthus turned about to see if any one followed him, and in the meantime, Melanthius thrust him through. This festival lasted three days: on the *first* they kept a feast; they sacrificed on the *second*, and on the *third* they inrolled the youths that were to be admitted.

The Aphrodisia.

The *Aphrodisia*, were celebrated in honour of *Venus*, at Cyprus, and in several other places. Here, they who would be initiated, gave a piece of money to *Venus*, as to a prostitute, and received from her some *salt* and a *phallus*, presents worthy of the Goddess.

The Apollonia.

The *Apollonia* were instituted to *Apollo* and *Diana* by the people of Ægialea, on this occasion. *Apollo*, after the defeat of *Python*, repaired to Ægialea with his sister *Diana*: but being driven thence, he was obliged to seek a retreat in Crete. In the mean time, the plague raging in the city which this God had left, the Ægialeans came to consult the oracle, and were told that they must depute seven young men, and as many young virgins, to go in search of *Apollo* and *Diana*, and bring them back to their city. This deputation pleased the offended Deities, and they returned to Ægialea, where the people dedicated a temple to *Pytho*, the Goddess of persuasion; and in commemoration of this event, they sent out yearly the same

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number of youths of both sexes, as it were to go in quest of *Apollo* and *Diana*.

The Artemisia. The *Artemisia*, festivals of *Diana*, were celebrated in several parts of Greece, particularly at *Delphos*, where they offered to the Goddess, a fish called the mullett, which, as was supposed, bore some affinity to the Goddess of hunting, because it is said to hunt and kill other fish. There was a solemnity of the same name at Syracuse; it lasted three days, which were spent in banqueting and diversions.

The Ascolia. The *Ascolia* was a festival in honour of *Bacchus*, celebrated about December, by the Athenian husbandmen, who generally sacrificed a goat to the God, because that animal is a great enemy to the vine. They made a bottle with the skin of the victim, which they filled with oil and wine, and afterwards leaped upon it. He who could stand upon it first was victorious, and received the bottle as a reward. This was called leaping upon the bottle, whence the name of the festival is derived. It was also introduced in Italy, where the people besmeared their faces with the dregs of wine, and sang hymns to the God. They always hanged some small images of the God on the tallest trees in their vineyards, and these images they called *Oscilla*.

The Athenæa. The *Athenæa* were festivals in honour of *Minerva* the patroness of the Athenians. They were instituted by *Erichtheus* or *Orpheus*; but *Theseus* afterwards renewed them, and caused them to be celebrated and observed by all the Tribes of Athens, which he had united into one, and for which reason these festivals received the name of *Panathenæa*. In the first years of the institution, they were observed only during one day, but afterwards the time was prolonged, and the celebration was attended with greater pomp and solemnity. The festivals were two; the *Panathenæa*, which was observed every 5th year, and the *lesser Panathenæa*, which were kept every 3d

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year, or annually.—In the *lesser festivals* there were three games conducted by ten presidents chosen from the *ten tribes* of Athens, who continued four years in office. On the evening of the first day there was a race with torches, in which men on foot, and afterwards on horseback, contended. The second combat was gymnical, and exhibited a trial of bodily strength and dexterity. The last was a musical contention, first instituted by Pericles. The poets contended in four plays, the last of which was a satire. There was also at Sunium an imitation of a naval fight. Whoever obtained the victory in any of these games was rewarded with a vessel of oil, which he was permitted to dispose of in whatever manner he pleased, and it was unlawful for any other person to transport that commodity. The conqueror also received a crown of the olives which grew in the groves of Academus, and were sacred to *Minerva*, who thus expressed her triumph over the vanquished *Titans*. Gladiators were also introduced when Athens became tributary to the Romans. During the celebration no person was permitted to appear in dyed garments, and if any one transgressed he was punished according to the discretion of the president of the games. After these things, a sumptuous sacrifice was offered, in which every one of the Athenian boroughs contributed an ox; and the whole was concluded by an entertainment for all the company with the flesh that remained from the sacrifice.—In the *greater festivals*, the same rites and ceremonies were usually observed, but with more solemnity and magnificence. Others were also added, particularly the procession, in which *Minerva's* sacred garment was carried. This garment was woven by a select number of virgins. They were superintended by two young virgins, not above seventeen years of age nor under eleven, whose garments were white and set off with ornaments of gold: *Minerva's* garment or *peplus* was of a white colour without sleeves, and embroidered with gold. Upon it were described the achievements of the Goddess, particularly

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her victories over the giants. The exploits of *Jupiter* and the other Gods were also represented there, and from that circumstance men of courage and bravery are said to be worthy to be portrayed in *Minerva's* sacred garment. In the procession of the *peplus*, the following ceremonies were observed. In the *Ceramicus*, without the city, there was an engine built in the form of a ship, upon which *Minerva's* garment was hung as a sail, and the whole was conducted, not by beasts, as some have supposed, but by subterraneous machines, to the temple of *Ceres Eleusinia*, and from thence to the citadel, where the *peplus* was placed upon *Minerva's* statue, which was laid upon a bed woven or strewed with flowers. Persons of all ages, of every sex and quality, attended the procession, which was led by old men and women carrying olive branches in their hands, from which reason they were called *bearers of green bows*. Next followed men in the prime of life with *shields* and *spears*. These were succeeded by foreigners who carried small *boats* as a token of their foreign origin, and on that account were called *boat bearers*. After these came the women attended by the wives of the foreigners, who carried *water-pots*. Next to these were young men crowned with *millet*, and singing *hymns* to the Gods. After them followed select virgins of the noblest families, called *basket bearers*, because they carried *baskets*, containing the things necessary for the celebration, distributed among them by the chief manager of the festival. These were succeeded by the daughters of foreigners, who carried little *seats*, from which they were called *seat carriers*. Finally, the boys lead the rear.—The necessaries for this and every other festival was prepared in a public hall erected for that purpose, between the *Piraan gate* and the temple of *Ceres*. The management and the care of the whole was entrusted to people employed in seeing the rites and ceremonies properly observed. It was also used to set all prisoners at liberty, and to present

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golden crowns to such as had deserved well of their country. Some persons were also chosen to sing some of HOMER'S poems, a custom which was first introduced by *Hippiarchus* the son of *Pisistratus*. It was also customary in this festival, and every other quinquennial festival, to pray for the prosperity of the *Platæans*, whose services had been so conspicuous at the battle of *Marathon*.

The Boedromia. The *Boedromia* was a festival at Athens, during which, they ran about, bawling with all their might; took their name from *Boé*, a cry, and *Dromos*, running. They were celebrated in the month of August; whence the Athenian month answering to it, was named *Boedromion*. This festival, according to PLUTARCH, was instituted when the *Amazons* gained possession of Athens.

The Boreasmi. The *Boreasmi* were festivals celebrated at Athens, to appease the wind *Boreas*.

The Brauronia. The *Brauronia* were festivals of *Diana* at Brauron, a town of Attica, which were celebrated once every fifth year. They sacrificed a goat to the Goddess, and it was usual to sing one of the books of HOMER'S *Iliad*. The most remarkable that attended were young virgins in yellow gowns, consecrated to *Diana*. They were about ten years of age, and not under five.—There was a bear in one of the villages of Attica, so tame that he ate with the inhabitants, and played harmlessly with them. This familiarity lasted long, till a young virgin treated the animal too roughly, and was killed by it. The virgin's brother killed the bear, and the country was soon after visited by a pestilence. The Oracle was consulted, and the plague removed by consecrating virgins to the service of *Diana*. This was so faithfully observed, that no woman in Athens was married, without this ceremony.

The Cabiria. The *Cabiria* were festivals celebrated with the greatest solemnity at Samothrace, where all

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the ancient heroes and princes were generally initiated as their power seemed to be great in protecting persons from shipwreck and storms. The obscenities which prevailed in the celebration have obliged the authors of every country to pass over them in silence, and say that it was unlawful to reveal them.

The Callisteria. The *Callisteria* was a festival at Lesbos, during which women contended for the prize of beauty, in the temple of *Juno*, and the fairest was rewarded in a public manner. There was also an institution of the same kind among the Parrhasians, first made by Cypselus, whose wife was honoured with the first prize. The Eleans had one also, in which the fairest man received, as a prize, a complete suit of armour, which he dedicated to *Minerva*.

The Canephoria. The *Canephoria* were festivals celebrated at Athens in honour of *Bacchus*, or, according to others, of *Diana*, in which all marriageable women offered small baskets to the Deity, and received the name of *Canephoræ*, whence statues representing women in that attitude were called by the same appellation.

The Carneia. The *Carneia* was a festival observed in most of the Grecian cities, but more particularly at Sparta, where it was first instituted, about 675 years B. C. in honour of *Apollo* surnamed *Carneus*. It lasted nine days, and was an imitation of the manner of living in camps among the ancients.

The Charila. The *Charila* was a festival observed once in nine years by the Delphians. It owes its origin to this circumstance: in a great famine the people of Delphos assembled and applied to their king to relieve their wants. He accordingly distributed the little corn he had among the noblest; but as a poor little girl, called *Charila*, begged the king with more than common earnestness, he beat her with his shoe, and the girl, unable to bear his treatment, hanged herself with her girdle. The famine increased; and the Oracle told the king, that to re-

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lieve his people, he must atone for the murder of *Charila*. Upon this a festival was instituted, with expiatory rites. The king presided over this institution, and distributed pulse and corn to such as attended. *Charila's* image was brought before the king, who struck it with his shoe; after which it was carried to a desolate place, where they put a halter round its neck, and buried it where *Charila* was buried.

The Charisia. The *Charisia* was a festival in honour of the *Graces*, with dances which continued all night. He who continued awake the longest, was rewarded with a cake.

The Chelidonia. The *Chelidonia* was a festival at Rhodes, in which it was customary for boys to go begging from door to door, and singing certain songs, &c.

The Cissotomia. The *Cissotomia* was a festival, so called, from the ivy they wore at its celebration, in honour of *Hebe* the Goddess of youth.

The Cronia. The *Cronia* was a festival at Athens, in honour of *Saturn*. The Rhodians observed the same festival, and generally sacrificed to the God a condemned malefactor.

The Cynophontis. The *Cynophontis* was a festival celebrated at Argos, on the *dog-days*, during which they slew all the dogs; whence this solemnity had its name.

The Dædala. The *Dædala* were two festivals in Bœotia. The *lesser* of these was observed by the Platæans, in a large grove, where they exposed, in the open air, pieces of boiled flesh, and carefully observed whither the crows that came to prey upon them, directed their flight. All the trees upon which any of these birds alighted, were immediately cut down and with them statues were made, called *Dædala*, in honour of *Dædalus*.—The *greater* festival was of a more solemn kind. It was celebrated every sixty days, by all the cities of Bœotia, as a compensation for the intermission of the *lesser* festivals, during the

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sixty years exile of the Platæans, and in commemoration of that exile. Fourteen of the statues, called *Dædala*, were distributed by lot among the Platæans, Lebadæans, Orchomenians, Thespians, Thebans, Tanagræans, and Chæroneans, because they had effected a reconciliation, and caused the Platæans to be re-called from exile, about the time that Thebes was restored by Cassander, the son of Antipater.

The Daidis. The *Daidis* was a solemnity observed among the Greeks. It lasted three days. The *first* was in commemoration of *Latona's* labour. The *second* in memory of *Apollo's* birth, and the *third* in honour of *Podalirius*, and of the mother of Alexander. Torches were always carried at the celebration; whence the name.

Daphnephoria. The *Daphnephoria* was a Festival in honour of *Apollo*, celebrated every ninth year by the Bœotians. It was then usual to adorn an olive bough with garlands of laurel and other flowers, and place on the top a brazen globe, on which were suspended smaller ones. In the middle was placed a number of crowns, and a globe of inferior size, and the bottom was adorned with a saffron coloured garment. The globe on the top represented the *sun* or *Apollo*; that in the middle was an emblem of the *moon*, and the others of the *stars*. The crowns represented the days of the years. This bough was carried in front of a solemn procession by a beautiful youth of an illustrious family.

The Delia. The *Delia* was a festival celebrated every fifth year in the island of Delos, in honour of *Apollo*. It was first instituted by Theseus, who, at his return from Crete, placed a statue there, which he had received from Ariadne. At the celebration, they crowned the statue with garlands, appointed a choir of music, and exhibited horse races. They afterwards led a dance, in which they imitated, by their motions, the various windings of the Cretan labyrinth, from which Theseus

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had extricated himself by Ariadne's assistance.—There was also another festival of the same name, yearly celebrated by the Athenians at Delos. It was also instituted by Theseus, who, when he was going to Crete, made a vow, that if he returned victorious, he would yearly visit, in a solemn manner, the temple of Delos. The persons employed in this annual procession were called *Deliastræ*, and the ship in which they made the visit to Delos being the same which carried Theseus to Crete, and which had been carefully preserved by the Athenians, was called *Delias*. When the ship was ready for the voyage, the priest of *Apollo* solemnly adorned the stern with garlands, and an universal lustration was made all over the city. The *Deliastræ* were crowned with laurel, and before them proceed men armed with axes, in commemoration of Theseus, who had cleared the way from Træzene to Athens, and delivered the country from robbers. When the ship arrived at Delos, they offered solemn sacrifices to the God of the island, and celebrated a festival in his honour. After this they retired to the ship, and sailed back to Athens, where all the people of the city ran in crowds to meet them. Every appearance of festivity prevailed at their approach, and the citizens opened their doors, and prostrated themselves before the *Deliastræ*, as they walked in procession. During this festival it was unlawful to put to death any malefactor, and on that account the life of Socrates was prolonged for thirty days.

The Demetria. The *Demetria* was a festival in honour of *Ceres*, called by the Greeks *Demeter*. It was then customary for the votaries of the Goddess to lash themselves with whips made with the bark of trees. The Athenians had a solemnity of the same name, in honour of *Demetrius Poliorcetes*.

Diamastigosis. The *Diamastigosis* was a festival at Sparta in honour of *Diana*, in which boys of the first respectability were whipped before the altar of the Goddess. This

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operation was performed by an officer in a severe and unfeeling manner; and that no compassion should be raised, the priest stood near the altar with a small light statue of the Goddess, which suddenly became heavy and insupportable if the lash of the whip was lenient or less rigorous. The parents of the children attended the solemnity, and exhorted them not to betray any thing either by fear or groans, that might be unworthy of their education. These flagellations were so severe, that the blood gushed forth, and many expired under the lash of the whip without uttering a groan, or betraying any marks of fear. Such a death was reckoned very honourable, and the corpse was buried with much solemnity, with a garland of flowers on its head. The origin of this festival is unknown. Some suppose that *Lycurgus* first instituted it to inure the youths of Lacedemon to bear labour and fatigue, and render them insensible to pain and wounds.

The Diasia. The *Diasia* were festivals in honour of *Jupiter* at Athens; because by making application to *Jupiter*, men obtained relief from their misfortunes, and were delivered from dangers. During this festival things of all kinds were exposed to sale.

The Dionysia. The *Dionysia* were festivals in honour of *Bacchus* among the Greeks. Their form and solemnity were first introduced into Greece from Egypt, by a certain *Melampus*, and are the same as the festivals celebrated by the Egyptians in honour of *Isis*. They were observed at Athens with more splendour and ceremonious superstition than in any other part of Greece. The years were numbered by their celebration, the Archon assisted at the solemnity, and the priests that officiated were honoured with the most dignified seats at the public Games. At first they were celebrated with great simplicity. The worshippers imitated in their dress and actions the poetical fictions concerning *Bacchus*. They clothed themselves in fawn skins, fine linen, and mitres; they carried thyrsi, drums, pipes, and

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flutes; and crowned themselves with garlands of ivy, vine, fir, &c. Some imitated *Silenus*, *Pan*, and the *Satyrs*, by the uncouth manner of their dress, and their fantastical motions. Some rode upon asses, and others drove the goats to slaughter for the sacrifice. In this manner both sexes joined in the solemnity, and ran about the hills and country, nodding their heads, dancing in ridiculous postures, and filling the air with hideous shrieks and clamorous shoutings.—The festivals of *Bacchus* were innumerable. All were celebrated by the Greeks with great licentiousness, and they contributed much to the corruption of morals among all ranks of the people.

The Dioscuria. The *Dioscuria* were festivals in honour of *Castor* and *Pollux*, who were called *Dioscuri*. They were celebrated by the people of *Corcyra*, and chiefly by the *Lacedæmonians* with much jovial festivity.

The Elaphebolia. The *Elaphebolia* was a festival in honour of *Diana* the huntress. In the celebration, a *cake* was made in the form of a *deer*, and offered to the Goddess.

The Eleusinia. The *Eleusinia* was a great festival in honour of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, observed by many cities of Greece, but more particularly at *Eleusis* in *Attica*, where it was introduced by *Eumolpus*, before Christ 1356. Of all the religious ceremonies of Greece, those of this festival were the most celebrated, whence they were often called, by way of evidence, the *mysteries*. They were so superstitiously concealed, that if any one revealed them it was supposed that he had called divine vengeance upon his head, for which he was publicly punished with an ignominious death. If any one ever appeared at the celebration, either intentionally, or through ignorance, without proper introduction. he was immediately punished with death. Persons of both sexes and all ages were initiated at this solemnity, and it was looked upon as so heinous a crime to neglect this sacred part of religion, that it was one of the heaviest accusations which con-

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tributed to the condemnation of Socrates. The initiated were under the more particular care of the Deities, and therefore their lives were supposed to be attended with more happiness and real security than those of other men. This benefit was not only granted during life, but it extended beyond the grave, and they were honoured with the first places in the Elysian fields. Particular care was taken in examining the character of such as were presented for initiation; nor were any admitted but citizens of Athens. This regulation, which compelled *Hercules*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, to become citizens of Athens, was strictly observed in the first ages of the institution, but afterwards all persons, barbarians excepted, were freely initiated.

The Eleutheria. The *Eleutheria* was a festival celebrated at Plataea in honour of *Jupiter Eleutherius*, or the assertor of liberty, by delegates from almost all the cities of Greece. Its institution originated in this; after the victory obtained by the Grecians under Pausanias over Mardonius the Persian general, in the country of Plataea, an altar and statue were erected to *Jupiter Eleutherius*, who had freed the Greeks from the tyranny of the barbarians. It was further agreed upon in a general assembly, by the advice of Aristides the Athenian, that deputies should be sent every fifth year from the different cities of Greece to celebrate the *Eleutheria*, festivals of liberty.

The Encænia. The *Encænia*,—the day of the dedication of every temple was celebrated by a particular festival, called the *Encænia*.

The Eoria. The *Eoria* was a festival at Athens, in honour of *Erigone*, the daughter of Icarus; for the institution of which, this reason is given—that *Erigone*, being driven by extremity of grief for the murder of her father, to hang herself, had prayed the Gods, as she was dying, that unless the Athenians avenged her father's death, their daughters might all

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perish in the same manner. Accordingly several of them hanged themselves; upon which *Apollo* being consulted, he ordered the institution of a festival, to appease the *manes* of *Erigone*.

The Erotidia. The *Erotidia* was a festival in honour of *Cupid* the God of love. It was celebrated by the Thespians, every fifth year, with sports and Games, when musicians, among others, contended. If any quarrels, or seditions had arisen among the people, it was then usual to offer sacrifices and prayers to the God, that he would totally remove them.

The Eumenidia. The *Eumenidia* were festivals in honour of the *Eumenides* or *Furies*. They were celebrated annually, with sacrifices of pregnant ewes, with offerings of cakes made by the most eminent youths, and libations of honey and wine. At Athens none but free-born citizens were admitted, who had led the most virtuous life, as others were not acceptable to the Goddesses whose care it was to punish all sorts of wickedness in an exemplary manner.

The Gamelia. The *Gamelia*, adopted from a surname of *Juno*, was a private festival observed at three periods of one's life. The first was in commemoration of a *birthday*; the second was the celebration of a *marriage*; and the third was an anniversary of the *death* of a person. The second generally took place about the first of January, wherefore marriages on that day were considered as good omens.

The Hecatesia. The *Hecatesia* was a yearly festival observed by the Stratonicensians in honour of *Hecate*. The Athenians paid also particular worship to this Goddess, who was deemed the patroness of families and of children. From this circumstance the statues of the Goddess were erected before the doors of the houses, and upon every new moon a public supper was always provided at the expense of the richest people, and set in the streets, where the poorest of the citizens were permitted to feast upon it, while they reported that *Hecate* had devoured it.

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There were also expiatory offerings to supplicate the Goddess to remove whatever evils might impend on the head of the public, &c.

Hecatombia. The *Hecatombia* or *Heræa* were Festivals at Argos in honour of *Juno*, who was the patroness of that city. They were also celebrated by colonies of the Argives which had been planted at Samos and Ægina. There were always two processions to the temple of the Goddess without the city walls. The first was of the men in armour; the second of the women, among whom the priestess, a woman of the first quality, was drawn in a chariot by white oxen. The Argives always reckoned their years from her priesthood, as the Athenians did from their archons, or as the Romans did from their consuls. When they came to the temple of the Goddess they offered a *hecatomb* of oxen.—There was a Festival of the same name in Elis, celebrated every fifth year, in which sixteen matrons wove a garment for the Goddess.—There were also others instituted by Hippodromia, who had received assistance from *Juno* when she married Peiops. Sixteen matrons, each attended by a maid, presided at the celebration. The contenders were young virgins, who being divided in classes, according to their age, ran races each in their order, beginning with the youngest. The habit of all was alike, their hair was dishevelled, and their right shoulder bare to the breast, with coats reaching no lower than the knee. She who obtained the victory was rewarded with a crown of olive, and obtained a part of the ox that was offered in sacrifice, and was permitted to dedicate her picture to the Goddess.—There was also a solemn day of mourning at Corinth, which bore the same name, in commemoration of *Medea's* children, who were buried in *Juno's* temple. They had been slain by the Corinthians; who, as it is reported, to avert the scandal which accompanied so barbarous a murder, presented *EURIPIDES* with a large sum of money to write a play, in which *Medea*, herself, is represented as the murderer of her children.

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Hecatomphonia. The *Hecatomphonia* was a solemn sacrifice offered by the Messenians to *Jupiter*, when any of them had killed an hundred of the enemy.

The Helenia. The *Helenia* was a festival in Laconia, in honour of *Helen*, who received there divine honours. It was celebrated by virgins riding upon mules, and in chariots made of reeds and bulrushes.

The Hephæstia. The *Hephæstia* was a festival in honour of *Vulcan* at Athens. There was then a race with torches between three young men. Each in his turn ran a race with a lighted torch in his hand, and whoever could carry it to the end of the course before it was extinguished, obtained the prize. They delivered it one to the other after they finished their course, and from that circumstance we see many allusions in ancient authors, who compare the vicissitudes of human affairs to this *delivering of the torch*.

The Heracleia. The *Heracleia* was a festival at Athens, celebrated every fifth year in honour of *Hercules*.—The Thisbians and Thebans in Bœotia, observed a festival of the same name, in which they offered apples to the God. This custom of offering apples arose from this: it was always usual to offer sheep, but the overflowing of the river Asopus prevented the votaries of the God from observing it with the ancient ceremony; and as the same word signified both an apple and a sheep, some youths acquainted with the ambiguity of the term, offered apples to the God, with much sport and festivity. Hercules was delighted with the ingenuity of the youths, and the festival was ever continued with the offering of apples.

The Hermæa. The *Hermæa* was a festival in Crete, whereof the principal ceremony consisted in masters waiting upon their servants. It was also observed at Athens and Babylon.

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The Horæa. The *Horæa*—The four Seasons of the year had also their festivals, which were termed *Horæa*, from the Greek name of the Seasons; and in each of these festivals they kept a solemn entertainment, upon the fruits of the earth.

The Hyacinthia. The *Hyacinthia* was an annual solemnity at Amyclæa, in Laconia, in honour of *Hyacinthus*, who was killed by *Apollo*. It continued for three days, during which time the grief of the people was so great for the death of *Hyacinthus*, that they did not adorn their hair with garlands during their festivals, nor eat bread, but feed only upon sweetmeats. They did not even sing *hæans* in honour of *Apollo*, or observe any of the solemnities which were usual at other sacrifices. On the second day of the festival there were a number of different exhibitions. The city began then to be filled with joy, and immense numbers of victims were offered on the altars of *Apollo*, and the votaries liberally entertained their friends and slaves. During this latter part of the festivity, all were eager to be present at the games, and the city was almost desolated of its inhabitants.

Hydrophoria. The *Hydrophoria* was a festival observed at Athens. It was celebrated in commemoration of those who perished in the deluge of *Deucalion* and *Ogyges*.

The Leonidea. The *Leonidea* were festivals yearly celebrated at Sparta in honour of *Leonidas*, the hero of Thermopile, in which free-born youths contended.

The Lycæa. The *Lycæa* were festivals in Arcadia, in honour of *Pan*, the God of shepherds. They are the same, as the *Lupercalia* of the Romans.

The Lycurgides. The *Lycurgides* were annual days of solemnity appointed in honour of *Lycurgus* the renowned lawgiver of Sparta.

The Menelaia. The *Menelaia* was a festival celebrated at Therapnæ in Laconia, in honour of *Menelaus*.

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He had there a temple, where he was worshipped with his wife *Helen* as one of the supreme Gods.

 The Musæ.

The *Musæ* were festivals instituted in honour of the *Muses* in several parts of Greece, especially among the Thespians, every fifth year. The Macedonians observed also a festival in honour of *Jupiter* and the *Muses*. It had been instituted by king Archelaus, and it was celebrated with stage plays, games, and different exhibitions, which continued nine days, according to the number of the *Muses*.

 The Nemesia.

The *Nemesia* was a festival in memory of deceased persons, as the Goddess *Nemesis* was supposed to defend the relics and the memory of the dead from all insult.

 The Nephalia.

The *Nephalia* were festivals in honour of *Mnemosyne* the mother of the *Muses*. No wine was used during the ceremony, but merely a mixture of water and honey.

 The Niceteria.

The *Niceteria* was a festival of Athens, in memory of the victory which *Minerva* obtained over *Neptune*, in their dispute about giving a name to the capital of the country.

 The Numenia.

The *Numenia*, or *Neomenia* was a festival observed by the Greeks at the beginning of every lunar month, in honor of *all the Gods*, but especially of *Apollo*, or the *Sun*, who is justly deemed the author of light, and of whatever distinction is made in the months, seasons, days, and nights. It was observed with games and public entertainments which were provided at the expense of rich citizens, and which were always frequented by the poor. Solemn prayers were offered at Athens during the solemnity for the prosperity of the republic. The *Demi-Gods* as well as the *Heroes* of the ancients were honoured and invoked in this festival.

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The Oscophoria. The *Oscophoria* was a festival celebrated at Athens. Its original institution is thus mentioned: *Theseus* at his return from Crete, forgot to hang out the white sail by which his father was to be apprized of his success. This neglect was fatal to *Ægeus*, who with chagrin at the supposed ill success of his son, threw himself into the sea and perished. *Theseus* no sooner reached the land, than he sent a herald to inform his father of his safe return, and in the mean time, he began to make the sacrifices which he vowed when he first set sail from Crete. The herald, on his entrance into the city, found the people in great agitation. Some lamented the king's death, while others, elated at the sudden news of the victory of *Theseus*, crowned the herald with garlands in demonstration of joy. The herald carried back the garlands on his staff to the sea shore, and after he had waited till *Theseus* had finished his sacrifice, he related the melancholy story of the king's death. Upon this, the people ran in crowds to the city, shewing their grief by cries and lamentations. From that circumstance, therefore, at the feast of *Oscophoria*, not the herald, but his staff, is crowned with garlands, and all the people that were present always made two exclamations, the first of which expressed haste, and the other a consternation or depression of spirits. The historian further mentions, that *Theseus*, when he went to Crete, did not take with him the usual number of virgins, but that instead of two of them, he filled up the number with two youths of his acquaintance, whom he made pass for women, by disguising their dress, and by using them to the ointments and perfumes of women, as well as by a long and successful imitation of their voice. The imposition succeeded; their sex was not discovered in Crete, and when *Theseus* had triumphed over the *Minotaur*, he, with these two youths, led a procession with branches in their hands, in the habits which were afterwards used by the women at the celebration of the *Oscophoria*. The branches

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which were carried were in honour of *Bacchus* or of *Ariadne*, or because they returned in autumn, when the grapes were ripe. Besides this procession, there was also a race exhibited, in which only young men, whose parents were both alive, were permitted to engage. It was usual for them to run from the temple of *Bacchus* to that of *Minerva*, which was on the sea-shore, where the boughs which they carried in their hands were deposited. The rewards of the conqueror was a cup the name of which signified *fivefold*, because it contained a mixture of five different things, viz., *wine, honey, cheese, meal, and oil.*

The Plynteria. The *Plynteria* was a Festival among the Greeks in honour of *Minerva*, who received from the daughter of *Cecrops* the name of *Aglauros*. During the solemnity, they undressed the statue of the Goddess, and washed it. The day on which it was observed was universally looked upon as unfortunate and inauspicious, and on that account, no person was permitted to appear in the temples, as they were purposely surrounded with ropes.

The Septerion. The *Septerion* was a festival observed once in nine years at *Delphos*, in honour of *Apollo*. It was a representation of the pursuit of *Python* by *Apollo*, and of the victory obtained by the God.

The Soteria. The *Soteria* were days appointed for thanksgivings and the offering of sacrifices, for deliverance from danger. One of these was observed of *Sicyon*, to commemorate the deliverance of that city from the hands of the *Macedonians*, by *Aratus*.

The Thargelia. The *Thargelia* were festivals in honour of *Apollo* and *Diana*. They lasted two days, and the youngest of both sexes carried olive branches on which were suspended cakes and fruits.

The Theoxinia. The *Theoxinia* was a festival celebrated in honour of all the Gods in every city of Greece,

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but especially at Athens. Games were then observed, and the conqueror who obtained the prize, received a large sum of money, or, according to others, a vest beautifully ornamented. The *Dioscuri* established a festival of the same name, in honour of the Gods, who had visited them at one of their entertainments.

Thesmophora. The *Thesmophora* were instituted by Triptolemus, in honour of *Ceres*, or according to some by Orpheus. The greater part of the Grecian cities, especially Athens, observed them with great solemnity. The worshippers were free-born women, whose husbands were obliged to defray the expenses of the festival. They were assisted by a priest who carried a crown on his head. There were also certain virgins who officiated, and were maintained at the public expense. The free-born women were dressed in white robes, to intimate their spotless innocence; they were charged to observe the strictest chastity during the five days' celebration of the solemnity, and on that account it was usual to strew their bed with fleabane, and all such herbs as were supposed to have the power of expelling all venereal propensities. They were also charged not to eat pomegranates, or to wear garlands on their heads, as the whole was to be observed with the greatest signs of seriousness and gravity, without any display of wantonness or levity. It was however usual to jest at one another, as the Goddess *Ceres* had been made to smile by a merry expression when she was sad and melancholy for the recent loss of her daughter *Proserpine*.

The Triclaría. The *Triclaría*, was a yearly festival celebrated by the inhabitants of three cities in Ionia, to appease the anger of *Diana Triclaría*, whose temple had been defiled by the adulterous commerce of Menalippus and Cometho. It was usual to sacrifice a *boy* and *girl*, but this barbarous custom was abolished by Eurypilus. The three cities were Aroc, Messatis, and Anthea, whose united labours had erected the temple of the Goddess.

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 The Xanthica.

The *Xanthica* was a festival observed by the Macedonians in the month called *Xanthicus*, the same as *April*. It was then usual to make a lustration of the army with great solemnity. A bitch was cut into two parts, and one half of the body placed on one side, and the other part on the other side, after which the soldiers marched between and they imitated a real battle by a sham engagement.

3d, Roman Festivals.

 The Romans adopted Greek festivals and instituted others:

The Roman calendar contained yet a greater number of festivals than that of the Greeks; since besides those that they had borrowed from them, they instituted several others unknown to the rest of the world. We will first mention those they had adopted from the Greeks.

 First, those that were common to both.

1st, As the Greeks celebrated the *Chronia* in honour of *Saturn*, so did the Romans celebrate the same ceremonies under the name of *Saturnalia*. They were instituted long before the foundation of Rome, in commemoration of the freedom and equality which prevailed on earth in the *golden reign of Saturn*. The *Saturnalia* were originally celebrated only for one day, but afterwards the solemnity continued for three, four, five and at last for seven days. The celebration was remarkable for the liberty which universally prevailed. The slaves were permitted to ridicule their masters, and to speak with freedom upon every subject. It was usual for friends to make presents to one another, all animosity ceased, no criminals were executed, schools were shut, hostilities were suspended, while all was mirth, riot, and debauchery. In the sacrifices the priests made their offerings with their heads uncovered, a custom which was never observed at any other festival.

—2d, The festival named *Jovialia* was the same with what the Greeks called *Diasia*, and was celebrated in honour of *Jupiter*.—

3d, The festival *Junonia*, instituted by the Romans, in honour of

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Juno, was known to the Greeks by the name of *Hera*, with the same ceremonies; for which see *Hecatombia*.—4th, The *Megalesia*, common to both of these idolatrous nations, was instituted in honour of *Cybele*, or of the great mother. The Romans who celebrated this solemnity on mount Palatine, near the temple of that Goddess, added to it two days called *Megalesian* days.—5th, The *Cerealia* and *Ambervalia* of the Romans corresponded to the *Demetria* and *Thesmophoria* of the Greeks, all of them festivals of *Ceres*.—6th, The *Mercurialia* of the Romans, in honour of Mercury, were the same with the *Hermæa*, of the Greeks.—7th, The Grecian *Athenæa*, or *Pauatheneæ* in honour of *Minerva*, were adopted by the Romans under the name of *Mangelia*.—8th, Both of these nations had the *Orgies*, the *Trieteria*, the *Nycteleia*, and the *Bacchanalia*, all festivals of *Bacchus*. But because in these last the Romans made some alterations, it is proper to take notice of them. At first they celebrated their *Bacchanalia* only three times a year; afterwards they solemnized them every month. I shall give, from LIVY, a declaration thereupon, given by Hispala Fecenia a freed-woman, to the consul Porthumius. “In earlier times, says she to him, the *Bacchanalia* were celebrated by none but women, no man being allowed to join them. Three days in the year were chosen for initiating into these mysteries, and the ceremonial was performed by day. The priestesses who were to preside there were left to the choice of the matrons. A total innovation was made by Paculla Minia: she initiated her two sons; caused the ceremony to be performed in the night; and instead of three days, she instituted five in each month. This promiscuous meeting of men and women introduced horrid irregularities; whereof if any of the company shewed a detestation, they offered him up as a victim acceptable to their God, or took care to be rid of him by some piece of machinery, and then gave out that he was carried up to heaven. During this festival, the men, counterfeiting madness, and exhibiting various contortions of their bodies,

began to prophesy; while the women, in their Bacchanal dress, and all disshevelled, ran towards the Tiber, with burning torches in their hands, which they plunge into the river, where they remain unextinguished, as being made of sulphur and lime." The senate, to rectify this disorder, passed a decree, suppressing the celebration of these infamous mysteries in Rome, and through all Italy; but the *Liberalia*, another festival of *Bacchus*, surnamed *Liber Pater*, which they solemnized on the 17th of March, were still continued, as not being quite so licentious. Here they offered up a liquor composed of honey, which they threw into the fire.—9th, The *Supercalia* were equally celebrated in Greece, and at Rome, in honour of *Pan*; whose ceremony, as we are told by LIVY, PLUTARCH, and JUSTIN, was brought by Evander from Arcadia into Italy. The youth, during this festival, run about quite naked, with whips in their hands, lashing all who came in their way without distinction. The women, even those of quality, believing there was a virtue in those whips to make them fruitful, or to bring them to a happy deliverance in case they were pregnant, offered themselves to receive them. VALERIUS MAXIMUS will have it, that this festival was only introduced in the time of Romulus, at the persuasion of the shepherd *Faustulus*. At the first celebration, they offered up goats to the God *Pan*. The shepherds who were invited to it, being heated with drink at the feast, divided into two bands, and ran about in a frolicksome way, clad in the skins of the victims they had now offered. To render this festival more solemn, the Romans founded two colleges of *Luperci*, named the *Fabii* and *Quintilii*; afterwards they created a third in honour of Cæsar, even in his life-time.

Second, those of Roman institution—their motives.

We will now proceed to mention in alphabetical order, such festivals as were of Roman institution; remarking by the way, that they always had a more rational motive for their festivals, than had, for the most part, the earlier institutors of

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those superstitious ceremonies. By them they supplicated the Gods, either for a plentiful harvest, or some other blessing. By them they appeased those whom they thought they had injured, or sought to turn away the calamities they were threatened with, as we may judge from the history of those we shall mention.— Oftentimes it was to keep up the remembrance of a benefit received; and such was the festival named the *Luceria*, a word derived from *Lucus*, a sacred grove. This solemnity was celebrated in one of those groves which was between the *Via Salaria* and the *Tiber*, in commemoration of the deliverance of the Romans, who were saved from the Gauls by flying into that retreat. Or else it was to keep up the memory of some disaster; such was the festival of the *Populifugia*, to commemorate the day when the people, and even Romulus's guards fled, upon the news of the confederacy of the Fidenates and the other Latins, against the Romans.—Sometimes they were merely to promote mutual joy; of this kind was the festival of *Maiumæ*, so called because it was celebrated on the first of May, when the principal persons of the city repaired to Ostia, where they exercised themselves in sports of every kind. As solemnities, where pleasure has full sway, are of all others the hardest to be abolished, this last continued a long time even under the christian emperors.—There were festivals appropriated to certain stations in life, as the *Caprotinæ* for the maid-servants, and others for men-servants.—The merchants had one which they celebrated in the month of May, in honour of *Mercury*, the God of commerce.—The matrons celebrated the *Matralia* in honor of the Goddess *Matuta*, to whom they offered rustic libations which they boiled in earthen pots: these are the libations which OVID names *Flava Liba*. But as grandeur wants to be every where maintained, even at the foot of the altar, the Roman ladies, while they excluded from this festival all the other slaves of their own sex, admitted one whom they buffeted heartily. These matrons had also another festival,

named *Matronalia*, which they celebrated in honour of the God *Mars*, on the first of that month which is named from him. OVID gives five reasons for the institution of this festival. The *first*, in memory of the peace made between the Sabines and Romans, in which the Sabine women, who were married to the Romans, had so great a hand. The *second*, that *Mars* might make these Roman ladies as happy as Romulus his son. The *third*, that they might be blest with the same fruitfulness as the month of March imparts to the earth. The *fourth*, because it was upon the first of March that a temple had been dedicated on mount *Esquilines*, to *Lucina* the Goddess of childbed. The *fifth*, which comes to the same, because *Mars* was the son of *Juno*, who presides over marriage.—The pastors and shepherds too had their festival, that of the *Palilia*, dedicated to *Pales* their Goddess. On that day the people took care to be purified with perfumes, mingled in horses' blood, with the ashes of a calf that was burnt as soon as it was taken from the mother's belly, and with stalks of beans. The shepherds, on the morning of the festival day, purified likewise their folds and flocks, with water and brimstone, and burned the shrub called *savine*, whose smoke diffused itself over all the fold. After this, they offered in sacrifice to the Goddess, milk, boiled wine, and millet; then followed the feast. In the evening they made bonfires of straw or hay, and leaped over them. OVID describes this whole solemnity at full length. These ceremonies were accompanied with musical instruments, such as flutes, cymbals, and tabours, which played all the day long.—In fine, the young people and the scholars had likewise their festivals, named *Quinquatria*, the etymology of which may be seen in VARRO and FESTUS. On that day the scholars made presents to their masters: this festival fell upon the 19th of March.

The Agonalia.

The *Agonalia* or *Agonia* were festivals in Rome, celebrated three times a year in honour

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of *Janus* or *Agonius*. They were instituted by *Numa*, and on the festival days the chief priest used to offer a ram.

The Agones Capitolini. The *Agones Capitolini* were games celebrated every fifth year upon the Capitoline hill. Prizes were proposed for agility and strength, as well as for poetical and literary compositions. The poet *Statius* publicly recited his *Thebaid*, which was not received with much applause.

The Angeronalia. The *Angeronalia* was a festival of *Angerona* the Goddess of silence, as *Harpocrates* was the God thereof among the Greeks, was celebrated the 21st of December.

Armilustrium. The *Armilustrium* was a festival at Rome on the 19th of October. When the sacrifices were offered, all the people appeared under arms. This festival has often been confounded with that of the *Salii*, though easily distinguished; because the latter was observed the 2d of March; and on the celebration of the *Armilustrium* they always played on a flute; whereas at the *Salii* they played upon the trumpet. It was instituted A. U. C. 543.

The Augustalia. The *Augustalia* was a festival at Rome, in commemoration of the day on which *Augustus* returned to Rome, after he had established peace over the different parts of the empire.

The Caprotinæ. The *Caprotinæ* were festivals celebrated on the 9th of July, in honour of *Juno* surnamed *Caprotina*, where there were none but women to minister the sacrifices. The servant-maids, for whom they were celebrated, ran about during this solemnity, beating themselves with their fists and with whips.

The Carmentales. The *Carmentales* were festivals at Rome, in honour of *Carmenta*, celebrated the 11th of January near the *Porta Carmentalia*, below the Capitol. This God-

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dess was entreated to render the Roman matrons prolific, and their labours easy.

The Charistia. The *Charistia* were festivals at Rome, celebrated on the 20th of February, by the distribution of mutual presents.

The Compitalia. The *Compitalia* were festivals celebrated by the Romans on the 12th of January and the 6th of March, in the cross-ways, in honour of the household Gods called *Lares*. Tarquin the proud, or, according to some, Servius Tullius, instituted them, on account of an oracle which ordered him to offer *heads* to the *Lares*. He sacrificed to them human victims; but J. Brutus, after the expulsion of the Tarquins, thought it sufficient to offer them only *popshy heads*, and figures of men, or their clothes stuffed with straw. The slaves were generally the ministers, and, during the celebration, they enjoyed their freedom.

Consuales Ludi. The *Consuales Ludi*, or *Consualia*, were festivals at Rome, in honour of *Consus*, the God of counsel, whose altar Romulus discovered under the ground. This altar was always covered except at the festival, when a mule was sacrificed, and games and horse-races exhibited in honour of *Neptune*. It was during these festivals that Romulus carried away the Sabine women who had assembled to be spectators of the games. They were first instituted by Romulus. Some say however, that Romulus only regulated and re-instituted them after they had been before established by Evander. During the celebration, which happened about the middle of August, horses, mules, and asses, were exempted from all labour, and were led through the streets adorned with garlands and flowers.

The Equiria. The *Equiria* were festivals established at Rome by Romulus, in honour of *Mars*, when horse-races and games were exhibited in the *Campus Martius*.

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The Faunalia. The *Faunalia* was celebrated on the 5th of December, in honour of *Faunus*. Their place of meeting for that purpose was in the woods, where they sacrificed he-goats, and made libations of wine.

The Feralia. The *Feralia* was a festival in honour of the *Dead*, instituted by *Æneas*, and observed at Rome the 17th or 21st of February. It continued for eleven days, during which time presents were carried to the graves of the *Deceased*; marriages were forbidden; and the temples of the Gods were shut. It was universally believed that the *Manes* of their departed friends came and hovered over their graves, and feasted upon the provisions that the hand of piety and affection had procured for them. Their punishment in the infernal regions were also suspended, and during that time they enjoyed rest and liberty.

Feria Latina. The *Feria Latina* were festivals at Rome, instituted by *Tarquin the proud*. The principal magistrates of 47 towns in *Latinum* usually assembled on a mount near Rome, where they altogether with the Roman magistrates offered a bull to *Jupiter*, of which they carried home some part after the immolation, having first sworn mutual friendship and alliance. It continued but one day originally, but in process of time four days were dedicated to its celebration.

The Floralia. The *Floralia* were games in honour of *Flora* at Rome. They were instituted about the age of *Romulus*, but they were not celebrated with regularity and proper attention till the year U. C. 580. They were observed yearly, and exhibited a scene of the most unbounded licentiousness. It is reported that *Cato* wished once to be present at the celebration, and that when he saw that the deference for his presence interrupted the Feast, he retired, not choosing to be the spectator of the prostitution of naked women in a public theatre.

This behaviour so captivated the degenerate Romans, that the venerable senator was treated with the most uncommon applause as he retired.

The Hilaria.

The *Hilaria*, whose name sufficiently denotes the gaiety of the festival, were celebrated in honour of *Cybele* on the 25th of March. Here they appeared in their finest clothes; nay, they exchanged the dress which belonged to their station for that of another, and if they had any thing in their houses fine or curious, they were sure to have it carried before them in procession.

The Lemuria.

The *Lemuria* were instituted for appeasing the malignant *Genii*, whom they called *Lemures*. They believed they were able to banish them from houses which they infested by night; and terrified people, by throwing beans at them.

The Minervalia.

The *Minervalia* was a festival in honour of *Minerva* at Rome, which continued during five days. The beginning of the celebration was the 18th of March. On the first day sacrifices and oblations were presented, but, however, without the effusion of blood. On the second, third, and fourth days, shows of gladiators were exhibited, and on the fifth day, there was a solemn procession through the streets of the city. On the days of the celebration, scholars obtained holidays, and it was usual for them to offer prayers to *Minerva* for learning and wisdom, which the Goddess patronized; and on their return to school they presented their master with a gift which has received the name of *Minerval*. They were much the same as the *Panathenæa* of the Greeks. Plays were also acted, and disputations were held on subjects of literature. They received their name from the five days which were devoted for the celebration.

The Nemoralia.

The *Nemoralia* were festivals observed in the woods of *Aricia* in honour of *Diana*, who presided

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over the country and the forests, on which account that part of Italy was sometimes denominated *Nemorensis ager*.

The Palilia. The *Palilia* was a festival celebrated by the Romans, in honour of the Goddess *Pales*. The ceremony consisted in burning heaps of straw, and in leaping over them. The purifications were made with the smoke of horse's blood, and with the ashes of a calf. The purification of the flocks was also made with the smoke of sulphur, of the olive, the pine, the laurel, and the rosemary. Offerings of mild cheese, boiled wine, and cakes of millet, were afterwards made to the Goddess. This festival was observed on the 21st of April, and it was during the celebration that Romulus first began to build his city. The sacrifices were offered to the Divinity for the fecundity of the flocks.

The Parentalia. The *Parentalia* was a festival annually observed at Rome in honour of the *Dead*. The friends and relations of the *deceased* assembled on the occasion, when sacrifices were offered and banquets provided. *Æneas* first established it in Italy.

The Portumnalia. The *Portumnalia* was a festival of *Portumnus* at Rome, celebrated on the 17th of August, in a very solemn and lugubrious manner, on the borders of the Tiber.

The Regifugium. The *Regifugium* was instituted to keep up the memory of the expulsion of the Tarquins; and on that day the *Rex Sacrificulus*, or the *king Priest*, fled as soon as the sacrifice was offered. *PLUTARCH* assigns another origin of this festival; but *OVID* and *FESTUS* are in this particular rather to be believed than he.

The Remuria. The *Remuria* were festivals established at Rome by Romulus, to appease the *Manes* of his brother Remus. They were afterwards called *Lemuria*, and celebrated yearly.

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The Robigalia.

As the fear of future evils had a great share in the religious worship of the Pagans, they instituted festivals in order to be preserved from them. Of this number was their *Robigalia*, in honour of the God *Robigus*, by whom they believed their corn was secured from blasting. It was celebrated about the end of April; and the offering to this Divinity was a sheep and a dog, with wine and incense.

Septimontium.

The *Septimontium* was a festival instituted at Rome, when they enlarged its precincts by taking in a *seventh hill*. This festival, at which they offered several sacrifices in different places, fell in the month of December, and on that day the emperor gave donatives to the people.

The Terminalia.

The *Terminalia* were so named, according to VARRO, because they were celebrated on the last day of February, which closed the Roman year: or rather, as DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus alleges, because they were instituted by Numa, in honour of the God *Terminus*, when that prince ordered *land-marks* to be fixed, that every man might know the extent of his own ground. This festival was entirely rural, and nothing of the animal kind was then permitted to be offered, for fear of staining with blood the marches, near which they presented fruits to the God who presided over them, and made libations to him of milk and wine. These circumstances however must have been altered some time after, since we learn from PLUTARCH, that the peasants met on that day near the marches, and there sacrificed a sow or a lamb. Be that as it will, there was nothing more sacred among the Romans than the *land-marks*, and they who were so audacious as to change them, were devoted to the *Furies*, and might lawfully be put to death.

The Vestalia.

The *Vestalia* were festivals in honour of *Vesta*, observed at Rome on the 9th of June. Banquets were then prepared before the houses, and meat was sent to the vestals to be offered to the Gods, milletones were decked with

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garlands, and the asses that turned them were led around the city covered with the like ornaments. The ladies walked in the procession, bare-footed, to the temple of the Goddess, and an altar was erected to *Jupiter* surnamed *Pistor*.

 The *Vinalia*.

The *Vinalia* were celebrated twice, a year; in May and September: the *first*, for tasting the wine; and the *second*, for procuring a favourable season for the vintage.

 The *Vulcanalia*.

The *Vulcanalia* were festivals in honour of *Vulcan* observed in the month of August. The streets were illuminated, fires kindled every where, and animals thrown into the flames as a sacrifice to the Deity.

Vertumnus, *Pomona*, and a vast number of other *Gods* and *Demi-Gods* had likewise their festivals, from which nothing particular being to be learned, I refer to *OVID*, and to *ROSINUS*, who has given a Roman calendar, with all its *Festivals* and *Holidays*.—We shall now proceed to consider the article of *Games*, between which, and *Festivals* we will make this comparative remark; that there was no other essential difference between them, than, that to the sacrifices and other religious ceremonies of the *Festivals*, were superadded various *Feats of Bodily and Mental powers*, called *Combats*, which constituted the distinguishing features and principal ceremonies of the *Games*.

SECTION SEVENTH.

OF GAMES.

 Games were religious institutions;—they were also politic.

By these *GAMES*, I understand that sort of shows which religion had consecrated, and which were exhibited in Greece, and afterwards at Rome, either in the *Circus*, or in the *Stadium*,

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or in the *Amphitheatres*, or in other places destined to that use. I say, which religion had consecrated—for though, in Greece, there were none of them but such as were dedicated either to some God in particular, or to several; yet the solemnization of them never commenced, as we learn from TERTULLIAN, till after having offered sacrifices, and performed other religious ceremonies; and afterwards when the Romans adopted those Games, the senate made an act commanding that they should always be dedicated to some Divinity.—But I ought to add, that policy had likewise a good share in the institution of those Games; and that *that policy* had two principal objects; *one*, that the Greeks thereby might acquire, from their youth, a martial genius, and qualify themselves for battles and other military expeditions; the *other*, that they might become more nimble, more alert, and robust; these exercises being very proper, according to unquestionable experience, to promote bodily strength and a vigorous state of health. Further, we may easily conceive, that such a subject has escaped neither the ancients nor moderns; both have written upon it; even the fathers of the church, TERTULLIAN, CLEMENT of Alexandria, S. CYPRIAN, S. AUGUSTINE, have made mention of it in their works. But no Ancient has enlarged more fully, especially as to the *Olympic Games*, than PAUSANIAS, who has given a very full and curious account of them.

 Their origin.

If we would trace the original of those Games, TERTULLIAN tells us that the *Lydians* were the first inventors of them, and that their prince *Tyrrhenus*, was obliged to resign to his brother the part which he claimed in the dominions their father had left them, and having planted a colony in that part of Italy which from that time was called *Tyrrhenia*, introduced thither the use of those sorts of shows. HERODOTUS, and after him DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus, had said the same thing long before, and the former of these authors informs us it was during a famine which raged in *Lydia* in the time of Atys

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the son of Manes, that the *Lydians*, to redress their grievances, finding the ground, when cultivated, did not answer the expectation of the labourer, invented for their amusement several sorts of Games. But, in truth, those which HERODOTUS speaks of, were rather Games of *recreation* than shows of *religion*.—I know not, indeed, whether it was from the Lydians that the Greeks derived an idea of them; but it is certain that their use was known to Greece in the heroic ages; and religion, or pious duties, were always the motives of their institution.

As most of those Games, at least in Greece, had been instituted by Heroes, upon important occasions, they made no scruples to enter the lists themselves, and it was fabled that *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, and the other Gods, had formerly disputed the victory. In after ages, when all comers were permitted to enter the lists, these sorts of exercises were divided: the *grandees* and *kings* themselves appeared there, either in the horse or chariot races; while the less noble trials of skill, such as wrestling, fencing, and others, were reserved for the *populace*, and for the *gladiators*, of whom the latter held the last rank of all, and at the same time the most despicable.

Nothing, in short, was more celebrated in Greece, than these Games, especially those of *Olympia*: it was upon these that the whole chronology of Greece rested, and its principal events were dated from their time of the celebration. The Greeks often made the Games the subjects of their whole conversation and their sole employment; and as they were celebrated at different times and in different places, they were always careful to be prepared for them. Oftentimes too the interval from one *Olympiad* to another, that is, a revolution of four years, was not sufficient for that effect. Those who were disposed to combat therein, chose the best horses, and took particular care of the beauty and light-

ness of their chariots: in a word, these Games engaged the chief attention, and were the most general employment of the people who were distinguished either by their birth, or by their actions, especially among the youth. Multitudes flocked to them not only from all quarters of Greece, but also from the neighbouring countries, and nothing was so magnificent as those sorts of assemblies.

What made the Greeks so ardent on this head, which was owing to the honours decreed to the conquerors, was, the honour that accrued to the conquerors, and the fame which they acquired through all Greece, and even in other countries, by victories gained in those games; they were distinguished on all occasions, and had every where the most honourable places. The greatest poets thought it their honour to celebrate those victories, and it is to such triumphs we owe the odes of PINDAR. It was not, doubtless, from a motive of *avarice* that those competitors strove to carry the victory from one another: a mere wreath of laurel, olive, poplar, or of some plant, and statues raised in honour of the conquerors, were all the rewards allotted to them. It is true other marks of distinction were annexed to the victory afterwards; those who won it having commonly the chief places in the public assemblies, and often a breach was made in the city walls, to receive as in triumph those conquered at *Olympia*; but still it is certain that at first glory was the sole motive that animated those who entered the lists in those Games. I say, *avarice* was not the usual motive of the combatants, though it may have been so in the *funeral Games*, where the prize was either slaves, or moveables, or even money; but these Games were commonly celebrated but once:

Some Games were repeated, others occurred only once:—

Some of the Games were *repeated*, and others occurred *only once*. Of this last description, were most of the *funeral Games*. I say most of them, because some, though *funeral* in their

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original, became *perpetual*, and were resumed regularly at certain times; such as the *Nemean Games*, instituted on occasion of the death of Achemorus, with some others,—Of those that were *renewed*, there were several classes; 1st, some whose celebration was fixed and stated, which was therefore called *Stativi*; 2d, others that depended upon the appointment of magistrates, therefore called *Indictivi*; 3d, others that were the consequence of a vow made on important occasions, were called *Votivi*; 4th, lastly, there were of them, *annual, triennial, decennial, secular, &c.* All these Games had their particular combats and ceremonies, which made up the *Gymnastic* of the ancients.

Under three Classes were included all the their modes of exercise, viz.,— *exercises* of the Games of Greece and Rome, viz., *Races, Combats, and Shows*. 1st, The *Races* otherwise denominated *Ludi Equestres*, or *Curules*, were performed in the Circus dedicated to the *Sun* or to *Neptune*: 2d, The *Combats*, called *Agonales* or *Gymnici* (whence the name *Gymnastic* was derived; which was also employed to signify all the Games,) consisted of combats, wrestling, and other feats, partly of men and partly of wild beasts trained for that purpose, was performed in the Amphitheatre consecrated to *Mars* and *Diana*: 3d, The *Shows*, called *Scenici, Poetici, Musici*, consisted of tragedies, comedies, and satires, that were represented upon the Theatre in honour of *Bacchus, Venus, Apollo, and Minerva*. The word *Gymnastic* comes from a Greek word, which signifies *naked*, because it was in that unattired condition the *Athletes* fought, at least from the time of the accident that befel *Orcippus*, whose drawers being untied, they embarrassed him, and hindered his gaining the victory; which happened in the thirty-second Olympiad.—The different sorts of *exercises* embraced in the above Classes were proper for the display of *strength, agility, and address*; and when not carried to excess, they were very serviceable

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to health. OFFMAN, in his dictionary, makes the number of these exercises amount to *fifty-five*; but the most common were the *race, leaping, the dice or coit, the wrestling match or pancrace, the javelin, and boxing matches*; and these exercises compose what is called the *Pentathlum*. In the *Scenic Games* the *singing, music, and tragedies*, wherein the musicians and poets disputed the prize, were very ancient, since mention is made of it in the Games celebrated by the *Argonauts*.

 The Race.

I said the Race was one of those exercises, and I add it was either on foot or horseback, or in chariots drawn by two or four horses; which is expressed by the words *Bigæ* or *Quadrigæ*. This race was single or double: the latter consisted in running over the *Stadium* or lists twice, whence it was called *Diaulus*.

 The Coit.

The *Coit* was a kind of square implement, made either of wood, or of stone, or of iron; and the victory was adjudged to him who threw it the farthest. The *Coits* were very large and heavy, and sometimes fatal accidents happened from them: it was with a blow of one of those *Coits* that *Apollo* or some of his priests slew the young *Hyacinth*, and *Perseus* his grandfather *Acrisius*.

 The Gauntlet.

Boxing was a match fought with the *Cestus* or *Gauntlet*, which was a band made of Ox's hide. In early times, the leather of those *Gauntlets* was softer, and more limber; afterwards it was of a harder and stouter quality. The combatants covered their hands with them, and their arms as far as the elbow, by means of several straps; and with those *Gauntlets* they dealt to one another such terrible blows, that they often beat out each other's teeth, and crushed their jaws.—The *Bebrycians* especially excelled in this gauntlet-fight: accordingly VIRGIL, in the description of *Anchises's* funeral Games, feigns that *Entellus*, who signalized himself in this combat, came from that country; as it is said of *Amycus*, in the history of the *Argonauts*.

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The Pancrace.

Wrestling consisted in a combat between two persons, hand to hand; and he who by force or address overthrew his antagonist, and kept him down, gained the victory. This exercise was one of the most common, and was used in the heroic age, as appears from the combat between *Hercules* and *Antæus*. The wrestlers besmeared their bodies with oil, the more easily to elude their adversaries, and they tried all the feats of activity they were masters of, to obtain the victory. When one of the two combatants was thrown down, he strained his utmost to get up again, while his antagonist held him by the throat, trod upon his breast, and treated him with all possible inhumanity. The wrestling match, whether simple or compound, was called the *Pancrace*.

Leaping.

Leaping was performed either over a ditch, or some determined spot of ground, or in jumping up an eminence: thus the ancients distinguished several sorts of *Leapings* which may be seen in *MERCURIALIS*. It is sufficient to observe, that he who leaped best and farthest, gained the prize.

The Javelin.

The *Javelin* match consisted either in throwing a stone, or a dart, or some other things, with the most address, and to the greatest distance. *PLATO* admitted two sorts of *Jaculations*, if I may use this term; and *GALEN* informs us, that *Apollo* and *Esculapius* were the inventors of them. In those exercises they equally employed the bow or a sling, or another instrument, which they made use of for hanging to the arrow, a thong which they held in their hand to take the more steady aim.

The Gladiators.

As the noblest of all these matches was the *Race*, especially when it was performed on horseback, or in chariots; so the most despicable was that of the *Gladiators*, who fenced for life and death. Their common weapons were two swords, wherewith they sometimes attacked and defended equally with both hands, and then they were called *Di-*

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machari, from an old Latin word, which signifies a double sword. Nothing can parallel the rage with which these combatants fought; but the *fury* which actuated the Greeks and Romans in seeing them batter one another in blood and wounds, and often kill their antagonists in the middle of the amphitheatre. In vain did the emperors make several edicts to stop this fury; they were illy obeyed, and hardly was this combat abolished till after the establishment of christianity; nor even then was it laid aside at the same time, and in all places where it had been practised.

For each celebration of Games, judges were chosen to decide the victory, and these judges were named *Hellanodices*. They had a place set apart for them, where they might view and judge best of the advantage which one combatant had over the other, and from their decision there lay no appeal. The number of these judges, especially at *Olympia*, was not always the same: *Iphitus*, the restorer of the Games that were celebrated there, would needs be the sole judge of them; and *Oxilus*, as well as his successors, retained the same privilege. In later times, the number of these judges increased to twelve, and there were several changes in this matter, as may be seen in PAUSANIAS.

LUCIAN fell upon a very ingenious contrivance, to expose the fury and infatuation of most of these combats by introducing the Scythian *Anacharsis*, thus discoursing of them to *Solon*: "What would these young people be at by putting themselves into a rage; by tripping up one another's heels; and tumbling together in the dirt like so many swine; striving to stifle and stop one another's breath? They anoint their bodies, and shave one another, at first, in a peaceable enough manner; but all of a sudden sinking their heads, they run against one another like rams; then the one lifting up his companion, lets him fall to the ground with a violent stroke, and throwing himself upon him, hinders him from rising,

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pressing his throat with his elbow, and squeezing him to the earth with his knees, insomuch that I am in terror lest he stifle him, though the other taps him on the shoulder, praying to be released, as acknowledging himself vanquished. How absurd is it that they should first anoint themselves with oil, and then roll in the dirt! For my part, I cannot help smiling to see them mock the grasp of their companions, and glide away like eels from the hand that holds them: Some of them, nevertheless, roll themselves in the sand like pullets, before they engage, that the hands of their antagonists may get the better hold, and not slip with the oil and sweat. Others, in like manner, overspread with dust, belabour one another with *blows of feet and fists*, without striving, like the first, to overthrow one another; one spits out his teeth with the sand, from a blow he has received in the jaws, while that man clad in purple, who presides at these exercises, gives himself no trouble to part them. Some make the dust fly about them as they jump and spring in the air, like those who dispute the prize in the race, &c."

Some exercises required more, some required less ground:

The *combats* and other exercises that were exhibited in these Games were very different; some requiring more, and some less ground.

There were places built on purpose for the celebration of them, whose spaciousness and convenience answered to their magnificence, and to the ornaments that were laid out upon them; and these places, though destined for the same *exercises*, had not every where the same form, nor did they bear the same name.

in the earlier ages they were performed in the open fields;—

In the earlier ages, when simplicity reigned, it appears, that for the Games, at least for those that were celebrated but once, they contented themselves with choosing, in the open fields, a

commodious place for the exercises that were to be there performed. Thus *Achilles* did, for the celebration of *Patroclus's* fu-

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neral Games: and *Aeneas* for the anniversary of his father; for which no other preparations were made, but to measure the space of ground that was to be taken up, make it clean, and place boundaries to it. *Adrastus* and the other chiefs who instituted the *Nemean* Games, made no other provision for them, though they designed to have them represented at stated times.

But afterwards proper places were prepared, especially in great cities, for celebrating them with all possible magnificence, and these places bore different names. At Pisa, the place allotted for the *Olympic* Games was called the *Stadium*: at Rome it was the *Circus*, and at Constantinople the *Hippodromos*. As the *races*, whether on foot or horseback, or in chariots, required a considerable space of ground, these places were amply spacious and of greater length than breadth, such as they ought to have been for the *races* there performed. For the *Scenic* Games they had public theatres; and for the fencing matches and the gladiators, whether against one another, or against wild beasts, there were structures raised on purpose, that were called *Areas*, *Colisees*, &c. And in both the one and the other, care was taken to provide a vast number of lodges, and other places, to which they got up by little stairs contrived in the thickness of the walls. These places were allotted for persons of different stations. The concourse of people that frequented them was very great, for the Greeks and Romans loved those kinds of shows; the last especially admired those of the *gladiators*, with a fury not easy to be expressed. In those edifices wherein animals were combatted, there were *cells* contrived below wherein the animals were shut up, and which opened by means of a sliding door which drew up when they were to be let out upon the *Amphitheatre*, where those who were to fight with them stood ready to receive them. Great pains were taken to provide the fiercest and at the same time the rarest animals, and sometimes they were brought

from the extremity of Africa, at extraordinary expense. As sea-fights were sometimes exhibited in some of those places, water was conveyed into them in so great plenty, and the space that contained it was so large, that several galleys plied there with ease; and a real naval engagement was represented there with all possible exactness.—Antiquaries have taken great care to give us drafts of those edifices: Onuphrius Panvinus especially has preserved to us those of the *Circus* of Rome, of the *Hippodrome*, and several others. There are even some of them still remaining in that city, and some others, which time has not destroyed; such as the *Amphitheatres* of Nismes, those of Orange, and several others; but nothing gives a higher idea of the magnificence of those monuments, than the remains of the *Colisee* that is still to be seen at Rome, and which has something in it that strikes with astonishment, though one of the popes of the past age destroyed a great part of it in order to build a stately palace.

Fifteen founders of the games.

HYGINUS names fifteen founders of Games, until *Æneas*, who was the fifteenth; but the names of the four first are not now to be found, neither in the manuscripts of that author, nor in the printed copies; while neither KUNTIUS nor his other commentators have given themselves the trouble to fill up this blank. This chapter of HYGINUS begins therefore with the *fifth* founder of Games, as follows:—5th, *Danaus*, says he, the son of *Belus*, instituted Games at Argos in honour of the marriage of his fifteen daughters; and as *epithalamiums* were sung there, (for those Games consisted of no other trials of skill but those of *music*,) they got the name of *Hymenean Games*.—6th, *Lyncius* his son-in-law, one of the sons of Egyptus, whom our author makes the sixth, founded one of them in the same city, in honour of *Juno Argian*. The conquerors in those Games, instead of a *crown*, received a *buckler*, because *Lynceus* having escaped the general massacre of the other sons of Egyptus, took from the temple of that Goddess the *buck-*

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ler which *Danaus* had consecrated there, to give it to his son *Abas*, who had it after the death of his grand father. These Games were renewed at stated times.—7th, The seventh founder, according to the same author, was *Perseus*, who solemnized them at the funerals of *Polydectes*, who had taken care of his education; and *Perseus*, combating there himself, had the misfortune to slay his grandfather *Acrisius*, with the blow of a coit.—8th, The eighth was *Hercules*, who instituted the *Gymnic Games* at *Olympia*, in honour of *Pelops*, the son of *Tantalus*; and this hero won the prize there of the *Pancratia*, that is according to *ARISTOTLE*, of the boxing and wrestling matches, or to speak more accurately, of the *single* wrestling, and the *compound* wrestling.—9th, The seven chieftains who led the army to *Thebes*, instituted the *Nemean Games*, in honour of *Archemorus*, the son of *Lycurgus* and *Eurydice*, and they are reckoned by *HYGINUS* the ninth founder.—10th, *Eratocles*, or rather *Theseus*, who instituted Games in the *Isthmus of Corinth*, in honour of *Melicerta* the son of *Athamas* and *Ino*, which got the name of *Isthmic*: the two last were renewed also at stated times.—11th, The *Argonauts*, whom the same author reckons the eleventh, celebrated *funeral Games*, in honour of *Cyzicus*, whom *Jason* had slain by accident: jumping, wrestling, and throwing the javelin, were the three combats there exhibited.—12th, *Acastus* the son of *Pelias*, after the return of the *Argonauts*, appointed the celebration of funerals in honour of his father, where most of those heroes disputed the prize. *Zethus* the son of *Aquilo*, was conqueror there, as also *Calais* his brother, in the *diavulus* or double course; *Castor* in that of the *stadium*, and *Pollux* his brother in the *gauntlet* fight; *Telamon* in that of the *coit*; *Pelias* in the *wrestling* match; *Hercules* in all the combats; *Meleager* in that of the *javelin*; *Cygnus* the son of *Mars* slew therein the son of *Diodotus* in a desperate fight; *Bellerophon* was victorious in the *horse-race*; *Iolaus* the son of *Iphiclus*, in the *chariot-race*, where he outstripped *Glau-*

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cus the son of Sisyphus, whose horse became unmanageable. *Eurithus* the son of *Mercury*, gained the victory in shooting the bow; *Cephalus* in singing; *Olympus*, the disciple of *Marsyas*, in blowing the *trumpet*; *Orpheus* the son of *Oeagrus*, gained the prize of the *harp*; *Linus*, the son of *Apollo*, that of *singing*; *Eumolpus* that of the *voice* in concert with the *trumpet*. These Games as we may easily see, were very solemn, and almost all sorts of trials of skill were exhibited therein, which were frequently but partial in most of the other Games.—13th, *Priam* is the thirteenth, who after having exposed his son *Paris*, appointed Games to be celebrated several years after, near a cenotaph which he had raised in honour of him, wherein contended *Neleus* the son of *Nereus*; *Helenus*, *Deiphobus*, and *Polytesus*, three sons of *Priam*; *Telephus*, the son of *Hercules*; *Cygnus*, *Sarpedon*, and *Paris* himself, who having vanquished his brothers, was acknowledged by his father.—14th, *Achilles* is the fourteenth in this list, who celebrated *funeral Games*, in honour of *Patroclus*, which were so elegantly described in the twenty-fourth book of the *Iliad*.—15th, In fine, *Æneas* is the last, who celebrated games at the court of *Acestes* his host, in honour of *Anchises* his father, dead a year before, for which I refer to the fifth book of the *Æncid*.—As *HYGINUS* makes no mention of the *Pythian Games*, celebrated in honour of *Apollo*, nor of some others of much the same antiquity, I make no doubt but that their institutors were those whom he had mentioned in the part of that chapter which is lost.—Having given a general idea of those Games, and of the exercises that were therein performed, I shall be somewhat more particular upon the chief of them; those especially that were instituted by the Greeks. I begin with the *Olympic Games*, as the most celebrated, and perhaps the most ancient of Greece: not that the time of their institution is precisely known, there being a diversity of opinions as to this point among the ancients.

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GRECIAN GAMES.

1st, *The Olympic Games.*

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The origin of
these Games.

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PAUSANIAS, who seems to have been at particular pains to get information in his travels through Greece, of whatever related to this solemnity, says, "as for the Games of Greece, this is what I have learned concerning them from some Eleans, who appeared to me profoundly skilled in the study of antiquity. According to them, *Saturn* is the first who reigned in heaven, and in the golden age he had a temple at Olympia. *Jupiter* being born, *Rhea*, his mother, committed the education of him to the *Dactyli*, or *Curetes* of mount *Ida*. These *Dactyli* came afterwards from *Crete* to *Elis*, for this mount *Ida* is in *Crete*. They were five brothers, namely, *Hercules*, *Peoneus*, *Epimedes*, *Jasius*, and *Ida*. *Hercules*, as being the eldest, proposed to his brothers a running match, whereof the prize was to be a crown of olive; for the olive was so common, that they took the leaves of it to strew the ground, and to sleep upon; and *Hercules* was the first who brought that tree into Greece, from among the *Hyperboreans*. It was therefore *Hercules* of mount *Ida*, who had the honour of inventing these Games, and gave them the name of *Olympian*; and because he was one of five brothers, he would have these Games celebrated every fifth year. Some say that *Jupiter* and *Saturn* fought a wrestling match in Olympia, and that the empire of the world was the prize of the victor: others allege, that *Jupiter* having triumphed over the *Titans*, instituted these Games himself, wherein *Apollo*, among others, signalized his address, and won the prize of the race from *Mercury*; and that of *boxing* from *Mars*."

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Their frequent
interruptions and
final establish-
ment.

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We must not imagine that these Games, from their first institution, were celebrated continually: they were often interrupted, for several considerable intervals, and renewed again, till at

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last they assumed a fixed and durable form; their celebration returning regularly every four years, that is, in the first month of the *fifth* year. The author now cited will instruct us in these interruptions and re-establishments. During one of these interruptions Greece groaned under the oppression of intestine wars, and was at the same time laid waste by pestilence. *Iphitus* went to Delphos, to consult the oracle about these pressing calamities, and the response given him by the *Pythia*, was that the renewal of the *Olympic Games* would be the safety of Greece; that he and his Eleans should therefore set about it. *Iphitus* forthwith ordered a sacrifice to *Hercules* to appease that God, and then celebrated the Games.—These Games were again interrupted for the space of 86 years; they then were resumed, and it was at this first *Olympiad* that *Coræbus* gained the prize of the *race*. This victory is the more remarkable in antiquity, as it was by this same celebration the reckoning by *Olympiads* began, which were no longer interrupted afterwards; which event happened 1776 years before JESUS CHRIST; a famous æra among the Greeks, though to speak accurately, they never used *Olympiads* for computing time, till about 50 years before Alexander the Great. But commencing with the *Olympiad* of *Coræbus*, these Games served for an important æra to all Greece, in contradistinction to all other Games, which were afterwards used for computing time in countries where they were celebrated, as was the *Olympiad* throughout Greece: thus the inhabitants of Delphos, and the Bœotians, employed in their chronology the *Pythian Games*; those of the Isthmus and the Corinthians computed their years by the celebrations of the *Isthmic Games*; and the Argives and the Arcadians, for this purpose, made use of the *Nemean Games*; for I find none but these four Games, whose celebration served the Greeks in computing time.

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The *time* and *place* of their celebration.

The *Olympic Games*, which were celebrated about the summer-solstice, lasted five days; for a single day would not have sufficed for all the trials of skill that were exhibited there. As they were consecrated to *Jupiter*, and made part of the religious ceremonies of Paganism, the *first* day was destined for the sacrifices, the *second* for the *Pentathlum* and the foot-race, the *third* for the combat of the *Panrace*, and the simple wrestling match; the other two days, for the horse and chariot races.—The place where these Games were exhibited was called the *Stadium*; it was a space of six hundred paces, inclosed with walls, near the city *Elis* and the river *Alpheus*, and was adorned with proper embellishments. But being necessitated to take up with ground which was uneven, the *Stadium* was very irregular.

The parts of the *Stadium*;—the dangers of the race.

The *Stadium* consisted of two parts: the *first* whose figure pretty much resembles the prow of a ship, was called the *Barrier*: there, were the stables and coach-houses where the horses and chariots were kept, and where they were matched. The *second* was called the *Lists*, and it was within the space of ground it contained that the races were performed, whether on horse-back or in chariots. At the extremity of the *Lists* was the goal, round which they were to turn; and as he who approached it the nearest, formed a shorter circle, he was sure, all things else being equal, to come in sooner to the place he sat out. It was in this chiefly consisted the address of those who guided the chariots, and wherein at the same time they ran the greatest hazard. For besides the danger there was of encountering with another chariot; if they happened to touch the goal, the axle-tree broke into many pieces, or received at least some fatal blow, of which they could not recover. Beyond this goal was another occasion of danger, I mean the figure of the Genius *Taraxifus*, which

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was framed after such a fashion as to frighten the horses. We cannot determine whether it was placed there of purpose to augment the danger of the race, or if out of respect to that Genius, it had been left to stand there, as it had done before the construction of the *Stadium*; but still this is certain, that it was a place of very great danger. On both sides of the *Lists*, through their whole length, were the places for the spectators. The principal ones were for the Judges and persons of distinction; the populace, who flocked thither in crowds, planted themselves wherever they could; for nothing equalled the curiosity they had for these exercises.—I shall add, that from the *Barrier* the chariots entered the *Lists*; and that these two places were separated by a rope, which was let down by a kind of mechanism, as the signal that gave notice to enter the *Lists*. As the athletes or wrestlers fought naked in those games, at least ever since the accident I have mentioned, matrons and maids were prohibited, under pain of death, to be present there, and even to pass the *Alpheus* during the whole time of their celebration; and this prohibition, as the inhabitants of the country told PAUSANIAS, was so punctually observed, that there never was an instance of any but one woman's violating that law. This woman whom some call *Callipatria*, and others *Phivenia*, being a widow, dressed herself after the fashion of the masters of the exercises, and conducted her own son *Pisidorus* to Olympia. The young man having been declared conqueror, the mother was so transported with joy, that she threw aside her man's habit, and jumped over the *Barrier* where she had been placed with the other masters, and discovered her sex. However, she was pardoned for this infringement of the law, out of regard to her father, her brothers, and son, who had all been crowned at the same games; but from that time the masters of the exercises were forbid to appear otherwise than naked at these shows. The punishment imposed by the law, was

to throw the women who durst infringe it, headlong from a very steep rock which was called mount *Typhæa*, on the other side of the *Alpheus*.

The combatants prohibited the use of fraud;—its punishment.

The men were also prohibited, under pain of a considerable fine, to use the least fraud towards gaining the victory; but neither laws nor penalties are always a curb sufficient to confine ambition within due bounds. There were tricks committed; and the severe punishments inflicted upon them did not deter others from falling now and then into the same faults. There were, says PAUSANIAS, in the way from the temple of the mother of the Gods to the *Stadium*, six statues of *Jupiter*, all of bronze, which had been made of the produce of the fines to which wrestlers had been condemned, who had used fraud to win the prize, as was signified by the inscriptions in elegiac verse that were inserted there. The verses inscribed upon the *first*, proclaim that the prize of the *Olympic Games* was gained, not by money, but by swiftness of foot, and strength of body. Those of the *second* stated, that this statue had been erected by *Jupiter* to inspire the combatants with dread of the vengeance of that God, if they durst violate the laws prescribed to them; and it was much the same as to the rest.—*Eumolpus* the Thessalian is thought to be the first who bribed with money those who offered themselves with him to the gauntlet fight; he was punished for having given this money, and those to whom he had given it, for having received it. Though nothing was more infamous than this fine, and the monuments which I have mentioned, yet there was an Athenian named *Callipus*, who bought the prize of the *Pentathlum*. He was condemned to the fine; and Hiperides, the deputy for Athens, having solicited his pardon, and not being able to obtain it, the Athenians forbid the offender to pay the fine; but the Elians, firm to the maintenance of their laws, excluded them from

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the Games; and this interdiction lasted till upon their consulting the oracle of Delphos, the priestess declared she had no answer to give them till they had made satisfaction to the Eleans. Upon this the Athenians submitted to the fine, whereof the produce was employed in consecrating to *Jupiter* six other statues, with inscriptions containing their history.

The prodigious concourse of people which the celebration of those Games drew to *Olympia*, enriched that city and all Elis: accordingly nothing in all Greece was comparable to the

temple and statue of *Olympian Jupiter*. About this temple was a sacred grove, named *Altis*, wherein besides the chapels, altars, and other monuments consecrated to the Gods, and whereof we have a very full description in the author I have so often quoted, were statues, all by the hand of the most celebrated sculptors, erected in honour of those who had won the prizes in these Games; a valuable reward, which added to the laurel crown wherewith they had their heads incircled in presence of all the grandees and persons of distinction in Greece, and the honour done them by the cities in receiving them, were very capable to support that ardour for victory which animated the combatants.

We may remark, before we close this article, that the descendants of *Helen* having formed a prodigious number of families in Greece, became so powerful, and gained therein so much

interest, that they made a law be passed, ordaining that none but those who derived their origin from those families should be capable of being admitted to dispute the prizes at the *Olympic Games*; and *HERODOTUS* informs us to this purpose, that *Alexander the Great* himself was obliged to prove his being one of the *Hellenes*, before he was received to enter the lists in those Games. But the consequences of this was that all the Greeks made it out that they were sprung from some one of those families; so nu-

The concourse to see these Games enriched the city & state.

The descendants of Helen, only, to dispute the prizes.

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merous and diffused had they been in all the country; and from that time the name of *Hellenes*, peculiar to a particular people, became the general name of all the Greeks.—I have insisted at some length upon the celebration of these Games; but as they were at the same time, as has been said, the most ancient and most solemn of Greece; and as much the same laws and regulations were observed in the rest; much the same exercises; crowns for reward; and as the judges, and combatants who celebrated them, were bound by oath to submit to certain laws—I thought it was necessary to give a full account of them; which shall answer in a great measure for the rest.

2d, *The Pythic Games.*

The origin of these Games.

It is certain that the overthrow of the serpent *Python* gave rise to the institution of the *Pythic* Games; but it is uncertain at what time they were instituted or who was their founder; for when PAUSANIAS gives the honour thereof to *Diomedes*, who upon his return from Troy built a Temple in honour of *Apollo Epibaterius*, I am persuaded he is mistaken, since their institution was a long while before the time when that hero lived. What may be said with more probability upon this subject is, that he established in the place where he erected the temple just mentioned, the same Games that had been celebrated long before at *Delphos*.

The earlier exercises and disputants in these Games.

At first these Games consisted only in singing and music matches, as the same PAUSANIAS observes, and consequently it would seem that they had been instituted only for celebrating the praises of the God who had delivered the earth from a monster that threatened it with desolation. The other exercises were not admitted there till afterwards. It is sufficiently plain in fact that the thing was so, from those who disputed there the first prizes, since in the first representation *Chrysothemis* of Crete gained the victory, and next *Thamyris* the son of *Philammon*. What is sin-

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gular in this, considering the veneration that was generally entertained for all those Games which religion had consecrated, and which were especially dedicated to some Divinity, is, that neither *Orpheus*, who was distinguished by his deep wisdom and profound knowledge of the mysteries, nor *Musæus*, would ever condescend to dispute the prizes of the *Pythic Games*. One *Eleutherus* was crowned there, merely upon account of his fine voice, for the hymn he sung was not his own. We are told that *Hesiod* was not admitted to dispute there for the prize, because he could not sing in concert with the lyre. As for *Homer*, we read that he went to Delphos; but that being blind, he had made but little use of his talent of singing and playing upon the lyre in concert. The painters too were admitted there to dispute the prize, and *Timagorus* was preferred to *Peneus* the brother of *Plidias*.

Other exercises afterwards introduced.

In later times changes were introduced into these Games. In the third year of the forty-eighth *Olympiad*, the *Amphictyons*, leaving the prize of music and poetry still to subsist, added two others to them, the first for those who sung in concert with the flute, the other for those who played upon the flute alone: at length the same combats and exercises were admitted at those Games as at the *Olympic*. The race in chariots drawn by four horses, after having been a long time excluded, was introduced thither in the time of *Orestes*. Even children were by an express law admitted at the races both of the single and double *Stadium*. Immediately after, that is, in the *Pythiad* next after that wherein children were permitted to run, the prize was abolished, and it was regulated that the conquerors there should only have crowns, as in the other Games of Greece. By this it appears that there was anciently a prize in money, or clothes, &c., as at the funeral games of *Patroclus*, but wherein it precisely consisted is more than we can determine. From these Games they retrenched afterwards the singing, along

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with the flute, because there was something mournful in them which suited only with elegies; but chariot races with four horses were admitted in their stead; and *Clisthenes*, the same who afterwards became the tyrant of Sicyon, was crowned at the first of those races. To these and some other exercises which PAUSANIAS mentions, the *Panrace* was added at the last, in the 61st *Pythiad*, wherein *Laidus* of Thebes gained the victory. The laurel crown was at first the sole reward of the conquerors, and the branches of this tree were preferred to those of others, from a prevailing opinion that *Apollo* had been in love with *Daphné*. Afterwards a reward was given in money, even in the places where the use of crowns prevailed.

The period for celebrating these Games. To conclude, we may observe that, anciently, these Games were celebrated only every *eighth year*, but afterwards once in *four years*; and they served for an *era* to the inhabitants of *Delphos*, and the neighbourhood. The time of their celebration, according to DIODORUS SICULUS, PAUSANIAS, and PLUTARCH, regularly coincided with the *third year* of each *Olympiad*. This change was introduced by the *Amphictyons*, for which I refer to PETAVIUS, SCALIGER, and especially to the *Cycles* of the ingenious DODWEL.

Their adoption by the Romans. The Romans were induced by some verses of MARTIUS, to adopt these Games in the year of their city 642, and gave them the name of *Apoloniares*. If you would overcome the enemy, said the prediction of that soothsayer, institute Games in honour of *Apollo*. At first the pretor presided in the representation of these Games, then Quindecimvirs were appointed to take care of them, and to exhibit them after the manner of the Greeks.

3d, The Nemean Games.

The origin, and the period of celebrating these Games.

The *Nemean Games* were instituted by *Adrastus* and the other chiefs who accompanied him, after the sad adventure that befel the young *Archemorus*, or, as others call him, *Opheltes* the son of *Lycurgus*, whom *Hypsiphile*, the daughter of *Thoas*, nursed. However, this tradition concerning the institution of those Games, though well vouched by antiquity, was not the only one that passed current in Greece; there was another that attributed it to *Hercules*, who founded them after having rid the forest of *Nemea* and the neighbourhood, of that *Lion* so celebrated in fable, whereof he always wore the skin. This is the opinion of *TERTULLIAN* who had got it, no doubt, from the Greek authors. Farther, these Games, though renewed at stated times, that is, either every *third year* according to some authors, or every *fifth year*, were much of the nature of *funeral Games*. This is the account given of them by *STATIUS* and *ARTEMIDORUS*: “the crown that is given at *Nemea*, says the latter, is one of those that are destined to funeral combats.”

The exercises of these Games were the same as the former.

In these Games the same exercises were performed as in the others, even those of vocal and instrumental music. We have an express passage to this point, *PAUSANIAS*, when it is said that “*Philopemen* joining in the *Nemean Games*, where the players on the harp disputed the prize of Music, *Plyades* of *Megalopolis*, one of the most skilled in that art, and who had already won the prize at the *Pythic Games*, began to sing a song of *Timotheus* of *Miletus*, intitled *the Gates*, which began with these words: *Hero, to whom the Greeks owe their happy liberty!*—presently all turned their eyes upon *Philopemen*, and with one voice cried out, that nothing could be more applicable to that great man.”

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The reward of the conquerors therein.

The reward of the conquerors in the *Nemean* Games, was a crown of green *parsly*, in memory of the adventure of the young *Archemorus*, whom his nurse had laid down upon some sprigs of that plant, when she left him, to guide the leaders of the Argive army; and their celebration served for an *æra* to the Argives, and the inhabitants of that part of Arcadia, which lay next to the forest of *Nemea*.

4th, The Isthmic Games.

The origin of these Games.

Athamas king of the *Orchomenians*, a people of *Beotia*, having divorced his former wife, named *Nephele*, by whom he had two sons, *Phryxus* and *Helle*, and having married *Ino* by whom he had also two sons, *Learchus* and *Melicerta*; the latter persecuted the children of the former marriage, so far as to make her husband believe, that the Oracle of *Delphos* demanded the blood of *Phryxus*, as the means of putting a stop to the famine, whereof she herself was the cause; and the too credulous *Athamas* was upon the point of sacrificing his son to the safety of his subjects; but upon detecting his wife's duplicity, he slew her son *Learchus*, and pursued her so eagerly that she was forced to throw herself down with *Melicerta*, whom she held in her arms, from the top of the rock *Moluria*, into the sea. A dolphin, we are told, or rather the waves, carried *Melicerta* upon the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, and the *Corinthians*, at the persuasion of *Sisyphus*, the brother of *Athamas*, gave him a splendid funeral, and instituted to his honour, Games which got the name of *Isthmic*, from the place where they were celebrated the first time.

The trials of skill, and the reward to the victors.

These Games, wherein were exhibited the same trials of skill as in the others, and chiefly those of music and poetry, having been interrupted, probably by some wars, were afterwards re-established by *Theseus*, who consecrated them to *Neptune*, whose son he pretended to be, as to the God who peculiarly pre-

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sided over the Isthmus of Corinth; and they were renewed so regularly every *five years*, about the middle of the month *Hecatombion*, that they were not even discontinued after the city of Corinth had been destroyed and reduced to ashes by Mummius—the Sicyonians having received orders to celebrate them, notwithstanding the public grief and desolation. When the city was afterwards rebuilt, the new inhabitants resumed the care of these Games, and continued to exhibit them with great regularity. Some time after, the Romans were admitted to them, and celebrated them with so much pomp and apparatus, that besides the ordinary exercises, a hunting match was there exhibited; wherein were presented the most rare animals; the city of Corinth neglected no means whereby to please the conquerors in these games: and what still increased their fame is, that they served for an *æra* to the Corinthians and inhabitants of the Isthmus. A crown of *pine leaves* was the reward of those who gained the victory in those Games.

5th, The Scenic Games.

The exercises of these Games, and to whom they were dedicated.

We have seen that among the *Scenic exercises* are ranked, the trials of the skill of the *tragic poets*, and those of the *musicians* or singers and players on instruments, who disputed the prize there, whence the *Scenic Games* derived their name. Nothing equalled the excessive fondness the Greeks had for these shows, but the ardour of those who were to exhibit them, in making preparations for them. The *Scenic Games* were consecrated to *Bacchus*, *Apollo*, *Venus*, and *Minerva*, and never begun till the ordinary sacrifices had first been offered to the Gods. The autumn, the time of vintage, was the season made choice of especially for the representation of tragedies, because those shows were especially consecrated to *Bacchus*. The tragic poets, who were willing to dispute the prizes there, were obliged to prepare four pieces, *three tragedies*, and *one satire*; this is what was called *Tetralogia*.

It was requisite that those pieces which were hardly represented but upon such occasions, though they sometimes happened to be resumed, should have some connexion with one another; but the *satire* was only a farce, as appears from the *Cyclops* of EURIPIDES; the only piece of that kind we have now extant. It is easy to judge that those *satires* were extremely free, and all full of buffoonery, and consequently merely designed to entertain the people, and to gain their applause. It is surprising that the first geniuses of the Athenians should have submitted to degrade the *buskin* to so mean and ludicrous a piece of comic humour. In those trials of skill, the voice was accompanied with some instrument, especially with the harp; but I believe they sometimes disputed with the voice alone without any instrument; as they did with instruments without the voice. VITRUVIUS observes, that one of the Ptolemies consecrated to *Apollo* this sort of trial, probably at the time of his admission into Egypt; but from the earliest times we can trace, for the origin thereof is not known, the Greeks had dedicated it to the Gods just named. I say from the earliest times, for we learn from PAUSANIAS and HYGINUS, that this sort of combat was exhibited in the Games which *Acastus* instituted in honour of his father Pelias, after the return of the Argonauts. I have already shown that *Linus*, *Thamyris*, and some others, had been conquerors there, in that heroic age.

The conqueror received the title of *Poet Laureat*.

At the end of the representations, the votes, which were exactly collected during the performance, were numbered, and he who had the most votes was publicly crowned. The poet on whom this honour was conferred, took the title of *Poet Laureat*, because the crown he received was of *laurel*. His reward, frivolous as it may appear to mercenary souls, was the boundary of those great men's ambition, and procured them the most flattering distinctions. As to what remains of it, the practice of crowning poets has lasted a long time, especially in Italy. The *poets* and *musicians* showed a

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great zeal for these Games, and frequently came from a very great distance, to the places where they were celebrated; so much were they charmed at that time with the glory of victory. This sort of trial, in short, must have been very amusing to those who were witnesses of it.

As to these Games wherein were proposed prizes of *poetry* and *music*, the one not going without the other, there were of them among the Greeks in the earliest periods of time, and those not a few. These trials of skill were admitted in the great Games, that is, in the *Pythian*, *Nemean*, and *Isthmian*; as for the *Olympic* Games, there is some doubt, at least with respect to the heroic age. For SUTTONIUS, from whom we learn that Nero disputed therein the prize of *music*, adds that this was a thing new and unusual.—However it may have been as to these combats in the *Olympic* Games, it is certain that they were common in the other three I have named, especially in the *Pythic* Games, whereof they made the first and most considerable part. But it was not only in the great Games of Greece, that those prizes of *poetry* and *music* were proposed; they were admitted in several cities of Greece.

ROMAN GAMES.*

1st, *The Trojan Games, or Games of the Youth.*

The founder of these Games,—their patrons;—Virgil's account of them.

This Game or exercise, which *Æneas* instituted at the funeral Games of his father, was for the youth, who, being divided into two bands, showed therein both their valour and address. These Games having suffered some interrup-

* I should never have done were I to speak at any length of all the Roman Games, since there were no considerable cities in the Roman empire, but valued themselves upon the celebration of some Games or other, either upon the arrival of the magistrates who were to govern them, or

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tion, when *Ascanius* afterwards built the only city *Alba Longa*, he brought them again into repute, and taught that military diversion to the ancient Latins. The Albans having received it from him, transmitted it down to their posterity. Rome, in honour of the memory of its founders, resumed the use of that ancient carousal, and represented it in the Circus. Sylla, as we read in *PLUTARCH*, exhibited this show; but civil wars interrupted the performance thereof until Cæsar restored it. From that time, the representations thereof were pretty frequent, since the same author informs us, that *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Claudius*, and *Nerò*, exhibited it to the Roman people; but none of the emperors did it either with so much pomp, or so often as *Augustus*, who gave a representation of it for the first time after the victory at *Actium*, in the year of Rome 726. This prince chose for the purpose two companies from among the Roman youth, one young, and the other of a more advanced age; being persuaded that this exercise would give the youth of quality an opportunity of forming themselves, and of showing their address. The body of youths that was prepared for this exercise, was still called, in the time of *VIRGIL*, the *Trojan band*.—To give a just idea of the order of

upon occasion of victories and other advantages gained by the commonwealth. The magistrates also took care to exhibit Games at their own expense, when they entered on their office; and though of all offices, that of the *Edileship* was the least considerable, it was however during the discharge of its functions, that the greatest expense was laid out upon those Games, because the people judged from thence how those who were invested with it were likely to behave when they came to be advanced to more considerable ones. Lastly, others were exhibited at the birth of great men, which were called *Natalitii*, and on a thousand other occasions. However, as among these Games some were very noted, as most of those I have discoursed upon hitherto, among the Greeks, it will not be amiss to give a summary account of these, proper to the Romans.

these Games, I cannot do better than copy the description of it from VIRGIL.

Now call'd the prince, before the Games were done,
The hoary guardian of his royal son,
And gently whispers in his faithful ear,
To bid Ascanius in his arms appear,
And with his youthful band and courser come,
To pay due honours at his grandsire's tomb.
Next he commands the huge assembled train
To quit the ground, and leave an open plain.
Straight on their bridled steeds, with grace divine,
The beauteous youths before their fathers shine.
The blooming Trojans and Sicilians throng,
And gaz'd with wonder as they march'd along.
Around their brows a vivid wreath they wore;
Two glittering lances tipt with steel they bore:
These a light quiver stor'd with shafts sustain,
And from their neck depends a golden chain.
On sprightly steeds advance three graceful bands,
And each a little blooming chief commands.
Beneath each chief twelve sprightly springlings came,
In shining arms, in looks and age the same.
Grac'd with his grandsire's name, Polites' son,
Young Priam, leads the first gay squadron on;
A youth, whose progeny must Latium grace:
He press'd a dappled steed of Thracian race:
Before, white spots on either foot appear,
And on his forehead blaz'd, a silver star.
Atys the next advanc'd, with looks divine,
Atys, the source of the great Attian line:
Julus' friendship grac'd the lovely boy:
And last Julius came, the pride of Troy,

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In charms, superior to the blooming train;
And spurr'd his Tyrian courser to the plain;
Which Dido gave the princely youth, to prove
A lasting pledge, memorial of her love.
Th' inferior boys on beauteous coursers ride,
From great Acestes' royal stalls supply'd.
Now flush'd with hopes, now pale with anxious fear,
Before the shouting crowds, the youths appear;
The shouting crowds admire their charms, and trace
Their parents lines in every lovely face.
Now round the ring, before their fathers, ride
The boys, in all their military pride,
'Till Periphantes' sounding lash, from far,
Gave the loud signal of the mimic war;
Straight, in three bands distinct, they break away,
Divide in order, and their ranks display:
Swift at the summons they return, and throw
At once their hostile lances at the foe:
Then take a new excursion on the plain;
Round within round, an endless course maintain;
And now advance, and now retreat again;
With well-dissembled rage their rivals dare,
And please the crowd with images of war.
Alternate now they turn their backs in flight,
Now dart their lances, and renew the fight;
Then in a moment from the combat cease,
Rejoin their scatter'd bands, and move in peace.
So winds delusive, in a thousand ways
Perplex'd and intricate, the Cretan maze;
Round within round, the blind Mæanders run,
Untrac'd and dark, and end where they begun.
The skilful youths, in sport, alternate ply
Their shifting course; by turns they fight, and fly:

As dolphins gambol on the wat'ry way,
 And, bounding o'er the tides, in wanton circles play.

2d, *The Secular Games.*

The origin of
 these Games; and
 their periods.

The *Secular Games* were so called not from their being repeated only once in an hundred years, as is commonly believed; but this name was not given to certain Games that were renewed but seldom, or that were represented but once during any person's life. Accordingly their original, as it is related at very great length by VALERIUS MAXIMUS, and ZOSIMUS, had no relation to the name which they were known by afterwards. *Volusius Valerius*, says the former of those two authors, having three Children, two sons and a daughter, who were seized by the plague that wasted the province where they lived, and finding the remedies applied by physicians ineffectual, having addressed himself to the genius of his Gods *Lares*, heard a voice enjoining him to carry them to the banks of the Tiber, and to make them drink of the water of the river. He at first scrupled to obey, considering the distance he was from the river; but at last the malady and the danger increasing, he determined to set out; and having arrived near the Tyber, at a place named Taurentum, he gave them drink, and they were cured. In gratitude to the Gods for so singular a kindness, he offered sacrifices of black victims to *Pluto*, *Proserpine*, and the other infernal Divinities, for three nights successively. *Valerius Publicola*, continues the same author, who was made consul when Tarquin was banished, believing the Romans had more need than ever of the protection of the Gods, renewed the sacrifices of *Volusius*, in the year of Rome 245, appointed them to be offered upon the same altar and to the same Gods, and added Games to them. In fine, we learn from VARRO, whose testimony is cited by CENSORINUS, that the Romans, affrighted by several prodigies that happened one after another, consulted, according to custom, the books of the Sibyls, learned that they were to renew the sa-

crifices and the Games of *Volusius*, and to celebrate them for the future every hundred years in the *Campus Martius*: this was the origin of the *Secular Games*.

Nothing was equal to the solemnity of these Games. First, heralds were despatched through all Italy to invite every body to them, as to a solemnity which they would never see again; and when the time of their celebration approached, the Consuls, Decemvirs, and at last the Emperors themselves went into different temples to offer sacrifices, and ordered a distribution to be made to the people of such things as were necessary, that every one might set about the expiating of his sins; such as *torches*, *sulphur*, and *bitumen*, in which none were excepted but the slaves. The people thus furnished with materials for expiation, flocked to the temple of *Diana*, which was upon the *Aventine mount*, and every one gave his children barley, corn, and beans, to offer the whole in sacrifice to the *Destinies* in order to appease them. Then upon the arrival of the first festival which was consecrated to *Juno*, three days and three nights were employed in offering victims to *Juno*, *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, *Vulcan*, *Mars*, *Diana*, *Vesta*, *Venus*, *Hercules*, *Saturn*, to Divinities of the *fountains*, and lastly to the *Parcæ*, to *Proserpine*, and to *Pluto*; and all this at *Tarentum*, a place not far from the *Campus Martius*, where the Games were to be performed.—On the first night, at the *second hour*, the consuls in the time of the republic, and afterwards the Emperors themselves, accompanied by the Decemvirs who presided at this solemnity, went to the banks of the *Tyber*, where they raised three altars, on which they sacrificed three lambs; and after sprinkling the altars with the blood of those victims, they ordered the rest of them to be burnt. This ceremony was illuminated by a great number of lamps, and accompanied with singing several hymns in honour of the Gods, and terminated by the offering of several black victims, such as *Volusius* and *Publicola* had formerly offer-

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ed.—While they were employed in these religious functions, artists erected a Theatre, and prepared the place where the exercises common to the Games were to be performed; then the next day in the morning they went to the capitol, where offering a sacrifice to *Jupiter*, they returned to the place just mentioned, and began the celebration of the Games in honour of *Apollo* and *Diana*. The next day the Roman Ladies repaired to the same capitol to sacrifice to *Juno*: lastly the Emperor himself, accompanied by the Decemvirs, went the same day and offered to each of the aforesaid Divinities the victims proper to them.—On the third day, seven and twenty youths of the first families, all in robes, and as many virgins, marched in procession to the Palatine mount to the temple of *Apollo*, where they vied with one another in singing hymns and songs, to make the Gods propitious to the Emperor, the Senate, and the Roman people. Lastly, during the three nights that the solemnity of these Games continued, all the Theatres in Rome, the Circuses, and other public places destined for these festivals, were employed in shows that were therein exhibited. Among other things, there were also hunting matches, combats with wild beasts, imitation of sea-fights, &c.: the people dividing the whole time between mirth and devotion.

3d, *The Games of Ceres.*

The origin of these Games.

Though the Greeks celebrated the *greater* and *lesser mysteries* in honour of *Ceres*, yet no Games or shows were therein represented; thus, those I speak of here, owe their origin to the Romans, and according to Tacitus, it was *C. Mummius* while he was Edile, gave the first representation of them in the Circus. But he was not their founder, since we learn from *TITUS LIVIUS*, that long before him, even from the second year of the Punic war, under the directorship of *Servilius Geminus*, they had been exhibited. The celebration of these Games, which lasted eight days, commenced on the twelfth of April.

Their solemnization.

As in those Games the mourning of *Ceres* for the rape of her daughter was commemorated, as well as in the *Elusinian mysteries*, the Roman ladies appeared there in white robes, with lighted torches in their hands, to represent that Goddess seeking for her dear *Proserpine*; the men too who joined in them, came thither fasting; for the strictest abstinence was enjoined for the preceding night, especially from women and wine, which was most punctually observed; moreover the smallest blemish excluded the spectators from them, and the public herald took care to warn all who might profane them, to quit the assembly. If any one was convicted of having stained his purity, he was punished with no less than death. This is confirmed by the unanimous testimony of all the historians who have spoken of the celebration of these Games. As to what remains the same shows were exhibited there as in the other Games, especially that of the horse-race. I believe they were celebrated every fifth year; at least it was after such an interval that the Sibylline oracles ordained a day of fasting by way of preparation for them, to which was added the use of the warm bath, as very conducive to continency and purity, with which they were obliged to come up to the solemnity.

4th, The Games of Cybele, and those of the other great Gods.

The origin and celebration of the Games of *Cybele*.

These Games, instituted by the Greeks, and adopted by the Romans, went by the name of *Great Games*, or *Megalenses*, from the Goddess in whose honour they were celebrated, and who was called the *Great Mother*. *CICERO*, who informs us that a great concourse of people and strangers frequented these Games, adds, that they were exhibited upon the Palatine mount, near the temple, in order to be represented in the very presence of the Goddess. Their celebration fell on the day before the Ides of April, on which the Romans had received her worship.

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Some authors have confounded these Games with those of the other *Great Gods*, who had the same name; but CICERO plainly distinguishes them. The last had been instituted by Tarquin the elder; the others not till the Romans brought from Pessinus the worship of *Cybele*, in the year of Rome 543, under the consulship of Cornelius Cethegus, and Cornelius Tuditanus. The day of their celebration was likewise different, since those of *Cybele* fell on the day before the Ides of April, as has been said from TITUS LIVIUS, and those of the *Great Gods*, on the day before the calends of September, as we learn from CICERO.

5th, The Games of Castor and Pollux.

The Romans, who conferred upon these two heroes a particular worship, as has been said in their history, instituted these Games in the wars they had with the Latins, who had abandoned the Romans, and joined the Tarquins. It was the dictator Aulus Posthumius who made a solemn vow to exhibit those Games in honour of those heroes, if he was successful in that expedition; and the Senate, in consummation of Aulus Posthumus's vow, passed an act for the continuation of those Games every year. Nothing exceeded the magnificent pomp with which they were ushered in and accompanied, as we learn from DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus. After the ordinary sacrifices, says he, such as presided over the Games, set out from the capitol to march in order through the Forum to the Circus, where this show was exhibited: they were preceded by their children, on horseback, when they themselves were of the Equestrian order, while the plebeians marched on foot. The former, composed so many troops; and the latter, companies of foot soldiers, who came in crowds to this spectacle, and who were received on the occasion with all possible regard: so that strangers might see the resource which Rome had in that illustrious body of youth, who were ready to appear soon in the

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midst of her armies. This procession, followed with chariots, some drawn by two, some by four horses, and with the other knights who were to run in the Circus, was closed by the athletes, who were also to fight there.

6th, *The Circensian Games.*

These were of Greek origin, adopted by Romulus.

Though by the *Circensian Games* we are to understand only the combats, the races, and other exercises that were performed in the places known by the name of Circus, which had been raised for the representation of all sorts of Games, yet the antiquaries comprehended under that name, the race which was instituted in the Isthmus of Corinth, by *Ænomaus* king of Pisa, to rid himself of those who were courting his daughter *Hippodamia*, and wherein *Pelops* was conqueror; or that other race which *Hercules* instituted in Elis, wherein he, having gained the victory, received a crown of olive from the hand of the same *Pelops*:—Romulus, after the rape of the Sabine women, appointed the same Games to be celebrated in the open fields, for there was no place then destined for that purpose. These first Games of the Romans went by the name of *Consualia*; and if *VIRGIL* gives the name of *Circensian Games* to those which Romulus exhibited on the occasion now mentioned, it is by way of anticipation; for it was only in the time of *Tarquinius the elder* that the first Circus was built. These Games were also called by the name of the great Games, *Ludi magni*.

7th, *The Capitoline Games.*

On what occasion founded;—their exercises.

These Games were founded by the Romans, according to *TITUS LIVIUS*, to thank the Gods for having saved the capitol, when the Gauls plundered Rome; and to add to their magnificence, and at the same time that they may be renewed at stated times, a new college of priests was instituted. In these Games three sorts of exercises were commonly exhibited, the horse

race; the Gymnasia, and the trial in vocal and instrumental music; that is, all those which composed the *Pentathlum*.

8th, *The Games celebrated in the Camps.*

These were instituted for the health of the soldiers.

These Games did not require so much ceremony and apparatus as the others; they were celebrated by the soldiers themselves in their camps, either for their exercise or recreation.

And indeed nothing was more proper to keep them in cheerful preparation, than those sorts of combats, among which besides wrestling, running, and other trials of skill, they it seems fought with the fiercest animals; this is what we learn from a passage of Suetonius, who says that Tiberius, to show he enjoyed a perfect state of health, for there was a surmise to the contrary, not only was present at these Games, but himself attacked a bear with his arrows.

9th, *Some other Games.*

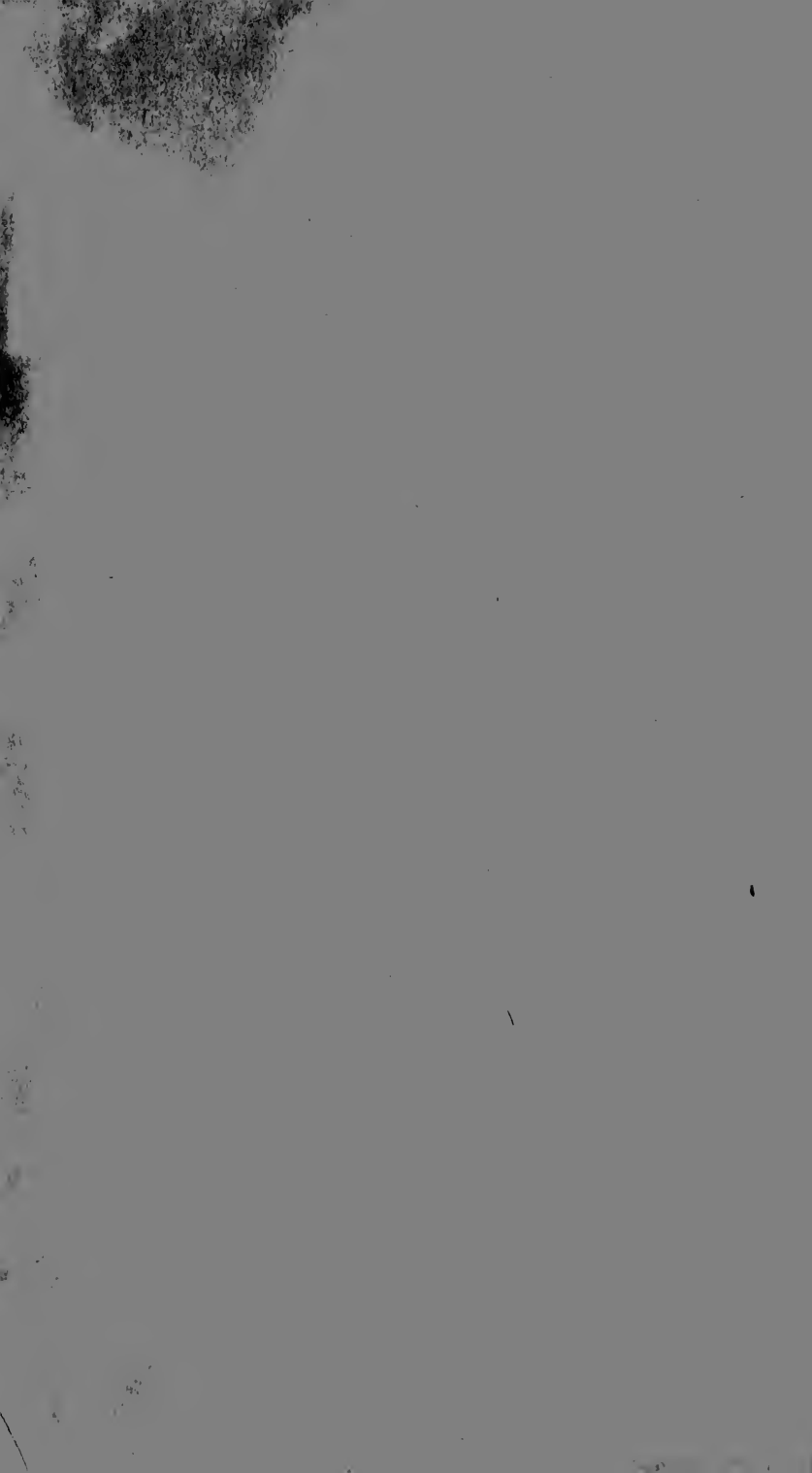
Conclusion. We will conclude this subject with a summary of some other Games of the Romans, whose names at least, ought to be mentioned.—1st, The Games called *Decumani*, were such as they represented every tenth year, and which the Senate had instituted in honour of *Augustus*, who every tenth year, proposed to quit the reins of government, which he took good care however, never to perform.—2d, the Games of the *Leaves*, were so called either from the leaves that the crowns were made of, or because the people threw leaves upon the conqueror.—3d, The *Lustral*, *Lustrales*, or *Rubigalia*, had been instituted in honour of *Mars*, and it was during their celebration that the arms, the trumpets, &c, were purified.—4th, The Games named *Novendiles*, were the same with those funeral Games we have discoursed of, and which were exhibited at the death of great men, or of the Emperors.—5th, The *Palatine* Games, *Palatini*, were instituted by *Augustus* in honour of *Julius*

Cæsar, and got that name, from the temple which was upon the Palatine mount, where they were celebrated every year for eight days, beginning with the 25th of December.—6th, Those of the *fishes*, called *Piscatorii*, were renewed every year in the month of June, by the pretor of the city, in honour of such of the fisheries upon the Tyber, whose gain was carried into the temple of *Vulcan*, as a tribute paid to the dead.—7th, The *Plebeian Games* were exhibited in honour of the people, who had contributed so much to the extinction of the regal power.—8th, The *Pontificals* were those exhibited by the priests at entering on their office, in imitation of the *Questors*, whose Games went by the name of *Ludi Quæstorii*.—9th, *Romani* or the Roman Games had been instituted by Tarquin the elder, in honour of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*, as we learn from CICERO.—10th, The *Sacerdotal Games* were those which the people in the provinces obliged the priests to present them with.—11th, The *Triumphales*, those that were represented upon occasion of some triumph.—12th, The *Votivi* were exhibited in consequence of some vow; and those were either *public*, when it was a public vow, as was the case either in public calamities, or in the heat of a battle, or on other momentous occasions; or *private*, when some private person gave a representation of them. The former were given by the magistrates in consequence of an act of the Senate: We have an inscription that makes mention of one of these votive and public Games, for the happy return of Augustus.—13th, *Ludi Sigillares*, were so called on account of the little figures, either of silver or some other metal, which they sent to one another in token of friendship, and that commonly during the *Saturnalia*.—14th, *Ludi Taurii* were instituted to the honour of the *Infernal Gods*, on account of a plague under the reign of Tarquin the proud, which plague arose from the exposing of bulls flesh to sale.









ERRATA.

Passing over a few typographical errors, which cannot mislead the reader, we invite his attention to the following.

For <i>Thebois</i> read <i>Thebais</i>	page 5 line 1	For <i>Eubaces</i> read <i>Eubages</i>	p. 224 l. 12
<i>Posiedon</i>	<i>Poseidon</i>	6	12
<i>Ceropian</i>	<i>Cecropian</i>	40	14
M. CUHER	M. CUPER	68	4
of	in	83	4
were	where	135	9
<i>Moon</i>	<i>Sun</i>	191	29
Severns	Severus	222	5
		rced (<i>in some copies</i>) forced	225 30
		sepulture	sepulture 247 15
		who name	names 279 20
		<i>Criattius</i>	<i>Eriattius</i> 311 24
		colonies <i>who</i> brought,	read colonies brought
			page 337 line 7

