





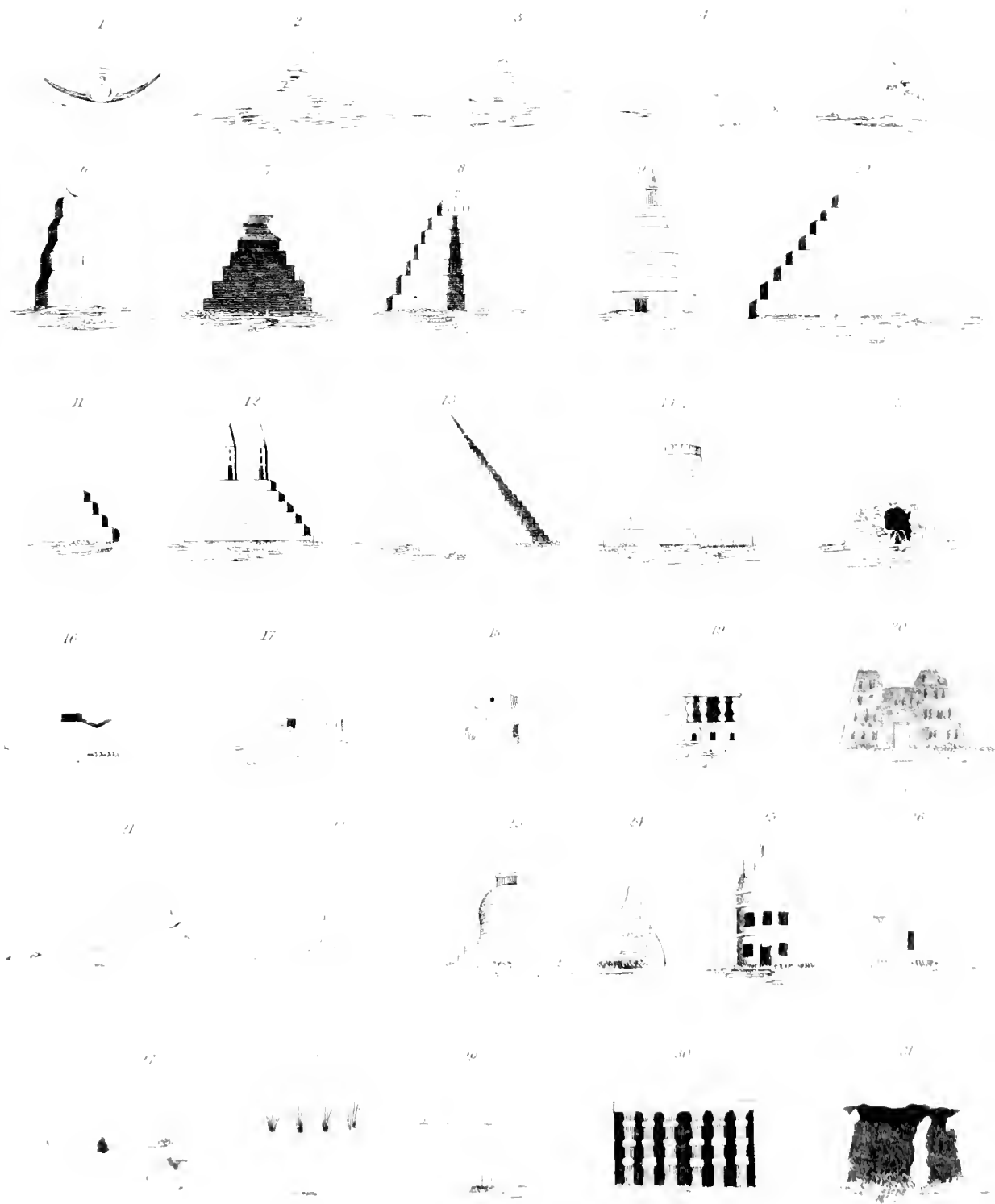
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THE ORIGIN
OF
PAGAN IDOLATRY.



To the Right Hon^{ble} NICHOLAS LANSITTART, CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER,
 this Plate is respectfully dedicated by his obliged humble Servant
 THE AUTHOR

THE
ORIGIN OF PAGAN IDOLATRY

ASCERTAINED FROM
HISTORICAL TESTIMONY
AND
CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE.

BY GEORGE STANLEY FABER, B. D.

RECTOR OF LONG-NEWTON.

Every reasonable Hypothesis should be supported on a fact.

WARBURTON'S Div. Leg. vol. v. p. 458.

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ERRATA.



VOLUME III.

Page	Line	
33.	4	from bottom. For <i>call</i> read <i>called</i>
37.	5	note. For <i>adopted</i> read <i>adapted</i>
41.	20.	For <i>Pherephalta</i> read <i>Pherephatta</i>
65.	22.	For <i>Arahanari</i> read <i>Ardhanari</i>
87.	10.	Insert a comma after <i>Hence</i>
120.	5.	For <i>Ilu</i> read <i>Ilu</i>
125.	7.	For <i>Athyn</i> read <i>Athyr</i>
135.	25.	For <i>Pytha</i> read <i>Phtha</i>
135.		last line. For <i>Anias</i> read <i>Anius</i>
200.	1	note. Insert 4 before <i>Natal</i>
205.	18.	For <i>parts</i> read <i>peaks</i>
246.	3	from bottom. For <i>Shocmadoo</i> read <i>Shoemadoo</i>
253.	1.	For <i>diuvian</i> read <i>diluvian</i>
254.	15.	For <i>palc</i> read <i>pile</i>
263.	1.	Erase <i>vast</i>
271.	26.	For <i>Pachacamaa</i> read <i>Pachacamac</i>
282.	25.	For <i>dracontion</i> read <i>dracontian</i>
284.	15.	Erase <i>the</i> before <i>temple</i>
329.	2.	For <i>Codem</i> read <i>Codom</i>
332.	22, 30.	Invert the references 2 and 1
399.	2	from bottom. For <i>thl</i> read <i>the</i> : and for <i>chronologicac</i> read <i>chronological</i> .
401.	8.	For 1494 read 1495
409.	9.	For <i>Daesha</i> read <i>Dacsha</i>
438.	16.	For <i>cast</i> read <i>caste</i>
485.	19.	For <i>let</i> read <i>left</i>
486.	3	from bottom. For <i>Kheltrics</i> and <i>Csheltries</i> read <i>Khetttries</i> and <i>Cshcttries</i>
488.	8.	For <i>Cuchas</i> read <i>Cushas</i>
490.	3.	Insert <i>of</i> after <i>whole</i>
491.	3.	For <i>Maghi</i> read <i>Magha</i>
518.		last line. For <i>the</i> read <i>their</i>
577.	21.	For <i>branchcd</i> read <i>blanched</i>
578.	25.	For <i>as</i> read <i>and</i>
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THE ORIGIN
OF
PAGAN IDOLATRY.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the Identity and Lamari-terrene Character of the great Goddesses of the Gentiles.

I NOW proceed to consider the character of the great goddesses of the Gentiles, which will be found to bear a close analogical reference to that of their great gods. The female divinities, however apparently multiplied according to the genius of polytheism, ultimately resolve themselves into one, who is accounted the great universal mother both of gods and men: and this single deity is pronounced to be alike the Moon in the firmament and the all-productive Earth.

I. On the present point both the eastern and the western mythologists are remarkably explicit. The Hindoos inform us, that, although each god has his own proper consort; yet, as the gods coalesce first into three and afterwards into one, so the goddesses in like manner blend together, first becoming three who are the wives of their three chief divinities, and afterwards one who is the mystic consort of their self-triplicating great father. Sometimes the order of speaking of this personage is inverted: and then we are told, that Devi or the goddess (as their great mother is styled by way of eminence) multiplies herself into the three forms of Parvati, Laeshmi, and Saraswati, and afterwards assumes as many subordinate

BOOK V. forms or characters as there are female divinities in the mythology of Hindostan. Yet each of these is severally, we are assured, both the Moon and the Earth: and each, accordingly, is represented by the common symbols of the cow and the lotos. Such is always the case with the mysterious female, who still remains one, however she may be multiplied. Whether she be Devi, or Iva, or the White Goddess, or Ila, or Anna-Purna, or Sita, or Isi; she is equally Maya or the great mother: and this great mother is pronounced to be at once the Earth and the Moon¹.

II. As Isi, she is manifestly, according to the just remark of Sir William Jones, the Isis of the Egyptians². Nor is she proved to be the same by the mere identity of names. the whole of her character minutely agrees with that of Isis; and the Brahmens themselves acknowledge, that the mythology of Egypt is but a transcript of their own³. But Isis, like Isi, is declared to be equally the Moon and the Earth: and she is at the same time unanimously determined by the ancient theologists to be one with Ceres, Proserpine, Minerva, Venus, Diana, Juno, Rhea, Cybelè, Jana, Atargatis, Semiramis, Vesta, Pandora, Io, Bellona, Hecatè, Rhamnusia, Latona, the Phenician Astartè, the Lydian and Armenian Anaïs, and the Babylonian Mylitta. These again are said to be mutually the same with each other: and, if we descend to particulars, we still find them indifferently identified with the Earth and the Moon⁴.

¹ Moor's Hind. Panth. p. 21, 22, 33, 119, 136, 70, 81, 116, 125, 119, 138, 30, 157, 158, 101, 405, 136, 111, 134, 447. Asiat. Res. vol. i. p. 263, 253. vol. iii. p. 147. vol. vii. p. 263. vol. xi. p. 28, 108, 110. et alibi.

² Asiat. Res. vol. i. p. 253.

³ Asiat. Res. vol. ii. p. 335.

⁴ Herod. Hist. lib. ii. c. 59. lib. i. c. 131. Diod. Bibl. lib. i. p. 10, 11, 13, 21. Heliød. Æthiop. lib. ix. p. 424. Lactant. Instit. lib. i. c. 21. Plut. de Isid. p. 354, 361. Apul. Metam. lib. ii. Serv. in Virg. Georg. lib. i. ver. 5. Varr. de re rust. lib. i. c. 37. August. de civ. Dei. lib. iv. c. 11. lib. vii. c. 2. Macrob. Saturn. lib. i. c. 10, 15, 21, 17, 12. Simp. in Arist. Ausc. Phys. lib. iv. Plut. in vit. Crassi. p. 553. Chron. Pasch. p. 36. Tzetz. Schol. in Lycoph. ver. 707. Paus. Lacon. p. 192. Strab. Geog. lib. xi. p. 512, 532. lib. xii. p. 559. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i. p. 322. Stat. Sylv. lib. iii. Luc. de dea Syra. Luc. Dial. Deor. p. 123. Apul. Metam. lib. xi. Phurnut. de nat. deor. c. 28, 6. Orph. Fragm. p. 395.

Isis was equally worshipped among the Gothic tribes under the appellation of *Frea*: and they sometimes bestowed upon her the title of *mother Herth*, as Tacitus writes the word; a title, which is plainly no other than our English *Earth*¹.

The same great goddess was likewise venerated by the old Britons under the names of *Ceridwen*, *Ked*, *Sidee*, *Devi*, *Andrastè*, and *Esaye* or *Isi*. This deity, as both her general character and her title *Ceridwen* may serve to testify, and as Artemidorus positively asserts, is the Ceres of the classical writers. She is also, as her other names no less than her character sufficiently intimate, the Sita or Devi or Isi of Hindostan. We are told, that she was astronomically the Moon: and, since she is celebrated as a botanist, and as the goddess of corn, and since her mystic circle is declared to be the circle of the World, we may reasonably infer, that she was also worshipped as the Earth, agreeably to the general analogy of Paganism².

III. Such being the universal intercommunion between the Moon and the Earth, the great mother being alike deemed a personification of each, both those planets bore the common name of *Olympias* or *Olympia*: by which was meant the World; for mount Olympus, as we have already seen, was no other than the Indian mount Ilapu or Meru, which is fabled to be crowned with the mundane circle of Ila or Ida³. Accordingly the Moon was deemed a sort of celestial Earth, bearing a close affinity to this our nether World⁴.

¹ Mallet's North. Ant. vol. i. p. 92. Tacit. de mor. Germ. c. 40.

² Artem. apud Strab. Geog. lib. iv. p. 198. Davies's Mythol. of Brit. Druid. p. 185, 289, 213, 8, 270, 285.

³ Euseb. Chron. p. 45. Plut. in vit. Thes.

⁴ Macrob. in somn. Scip. lib. i. c. 11, 19. Schol. in Stat. Thebaid. lib. i. Asiat. Res. vol. xi. p. 35.

CHAPTER II.

Respecting certain remarkable Opinions which the Gentiles entertained of the Moon and the Earth.

MUCH light will be thrown upon the origin and nature of the worship paid to the great mother, if we examine certain remarkable opinions which the Gentiles entertained respecting the Moon and the Earth of which this mysterious goddess was an acknowledged personification. The opinions in question are perfectly analogous to those, which prevailed respecting the Sun¹. I have already had occasion to give a partial statement of them: I may now proceed to a more full and general discussion of the subject².

I. As the ancient Egyptians represented the Sun under the figure of a man sailing in a ship, so they similarly depicted the Moon as a woman floating on the surface of the ocean in a raft or barge³. The same idea may be traced in the mythology of Hindostan. Saraswati is described, as bearing on her front the lunar crescent, and as seated in the calix of the aquatic lotos⁴. Now the lotos is declared to be the type of the ship

¹ Vide supra book iv. c. 2.

² Vide supra book ii. c. 4.

³ Plut. de Isid. p. 364. Porph. de ant. nymph. p. 256.

⁴ Asiat. Res. vol. iii. p. 535.

Argha : consequently, when the Moon is thus placed in the lotos, she is virtually set afloat in a ship. A parallel notion may equally be detected in classical mythology. The Samians represented Juno, sustaining a lunette upon her head, and standing upon a second larger lunette. This served her for a boat ; the crescent being so depicted as to appear floating on the surface of the sea, precisely after the fashion of the modern life-boat ¹.

We may hence collect, that the Moon was in some manner or another compared to a ship : we are not however left merely to uncertain deductions, for we are explicitly informed that such was actually the case. The Egyptians had two yearly festivals ; in the one of which they celebrated the entrance of Osiris into the Moon, and in the other his entrance into that ark within which he was inclosed by Typhon and thus set afloat upon Oceanus or the Nile. But, according to Plutarch, this ark was itself a navicular Moon ; for he tells us, that its shape was that of the lunar crescent ². The account, which Diodorus gives, is exactly to the same purpose. He tells us, that Isis inclosed Osiris within a wooden cow during the turbulent reign of Typhon or the all-prevailing ocean ³. Now the horns of this cow represented the lunar crescent : and the Egyptian priests, not satisfied with this natural similitude to the planet, endeavoured at once to heighten the resemblance and to explain the import of the symbol, by artificially impressing a lunette on the side of the living animal which was consecrated to the Moon ⁴. Osiris then was indifferently said to have entered into the Moon, into an ark or floating machine formed like the Moon, and into a cow dedicated to the Moon and doubly exhibiting the resemblance of that planet while increasing in its first quarter. What we ought to understand by this lunar cow, we are very plainly taught by Hesychius : it was the ship Baris or Argo ⁵. But the Baris or Argo was the ship or floating Moon of Osiris : for the Argo, on the history of which ill-understood the Greeks built the fable of an imaginary voyage to Colchis, was really the ship of the Egyptian divinity ; whence Plutarch very pro-

¹ See Plate I. Fig. 13.

² Plut. de Isid. p. 366, 368.

³ Diod. Bibl. lib. i. p. 76.

⁴ Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. viii. c. 46. Marcell. lib. xxii. p. 257. Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. iii. c. 13.

⁵ Βαρις—Βαργίς, Αργός. Hesych. Lex.

BOOK V. perly asserts the Baris and the Argo to be the same¹. The Moon therefore, and the cow dedicated to the Moon, were alike symbols or hieroglyphics of the ship of Osiris; the one astronomically, the other physically. Consequently, when the Moon was depicted floating on the surface of the ocean, we seem obliged to conclude, that the planet was no further intended, than as a symbol of that Moon or luniform ark into which Osiris was compelled to enter by Typhon. The same observation applies to the lunar cow. Though her living representation was dedicated to the Moon, and was studiously made to exhibit the figure of that planet: yet the name, by which she was distinguished, was *Theba*, which literally signifies *an ark*; and she was palpably the same as the ark into which Osiris was driven by Typhon, because the god is indifferently said to have entered an ark and a wooden cow when pursued by the fury of that destructive monster. But Typhon, as the Egyptians informed Plutarch, was a personification of the sea²: and the hero-god, who was constrained by the rage of the ocean to take refuge in an ark, was certainly Noah. The ark of Osiris therefore, as we have already seen, was the ark of the great father. This ark however was mystically deemed a floating Moon, and in the commemorative Orgies of the god it was represented accordingly. Hence I see not what conclusion can be reasonably drawn, except that the Moon was made the astronomical symbol of the Ark.

Such a mode of typifying the Ship of Noah is both strictly analogical, and may likewise be accounted for even on the score of natural fitness. When the Sun was chosen as the hieroglyphic of the great father, analogy required that the Moon should be selected as the hieroglyphic of the great mother: and, as the mystic consort of Noah was a ship, none of the heavenly bodies could have been more happily pitched upon than the Moon; which, during its first and last quarters, exhibits the precise similitude of the vessel denominated by the Greeks *Amphiprymnais*.

II. The conclusion, to which we have thus been brought, will serve as a key to explain many very singular notions which have been entertained by the pagans respecting the Moon: and those notions again will confirm the

¹ Plut de Isid. p. 359.

² Plut de Isid. p. 356.

propriety of the conclusion ; for they are perfectly intelligible on the supposition that the lunar crescent was the astronomical symbol of the Ship of the great father, but wholly unintelligible as they appear in their naked abstracted form.

1. The Hindoos tell us, that the Moon was the abode of Siva, who yet is declared to have sailed over the waters of the deluge in the ship Argha ; that it was the saviour of Chandra, or Siva in the character of the god Lunus ; that it was the hiding-place of Crishna or Vishnou, who floated on the surface of the flood reclining either on the naviform coils of the great sea-serpent or on the navicular leaf of the betel-tree ; that it was the residence of their deified ancestors, the Pitris or Rishis ; and that it was the place, where a wonderful penance was once performed by those identical seven Rishis, who are literally described as having been preserved in an ark with Menu-Satyavrata when all the rest of mankind perished by the waters of a mighty inundation¹. They further inform us, that it was the child of the sea : and, as if to prevent all possibility of misapprehension, they distinctly mark the precise time of its mystic birth, by declaring that it emerged from the retiring streams of the deluge². They likewise teach us, that it was created a short time before the war of the gods with the giants, agreeing in this particular with the western mythologists : for Theodorus and Ariston and Dionysius all concur in maintaining, that the Moon first appeared but a little space prior to that celebrated conflict³. This mode of dating the origin of the Moon perfectly accords with the other more literal mode. The war of the gods with the giants was the destruction of the impious antediluvians through the imagined agency of the herogods, who were preserved in the Ark : and the Moon, which was created a short time before that event, and which afterwards emerged from the waters of the flood, was that floating Moon of which the planet was only the astronomical symbol.

¹ Moor's Hind. Panth. p. 39, 92, 213. Asiat. Res. vol. v. p. 262. vol. iii. p. 549. vol. x. p. 139. vol. vii. p. 267. Instit. of Menu. c. i. § 66.

² Moor's Hind. Panth. p. 183. Asiat. Res. vol. iii. p. 561. vol. ix. p. 418. Maur. Hist. of Hind. vol. i. p. 585.

³ Asiat. Res. vol. xi. p. 148. Schol. in Apoll. Argon. lib. iv. ver. 264.

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Agreeably to this view of the subject, the Hindoos tell us, that the new Moon, which was produced out of the churned or violently agitated ocean, was one, which would answer the purpose of living creatures whether moveable or immoveable; meaning, I apprehend, that it was suitable for their abode and adapted for their preservation. They represent it, as sheltering its votaries from danger; as floating about at random on the surface of the sea; as being a terrestrial Moon, in contradistinction to the celestial one; and as being the true and original Lunar White Island, of which each literal sacred island is but a transcript. This holy island of the Moon is composed of the Amrita or water of immortality, which was once lost, but which was afterwards recovered from the ocean. As such it is incapable of decay: and, securely floating on the surface of the boundless deep, it survives with its beatified inhabitants the ruin of every successive World, with the regeneration or renovation of which it is immediately connected. To the floating Lunar Island is added another that is stable: or, as the matter is sometimes expressed, the floating island itself becomes fixed; by which is meant, that the first is rooted or attached to the second. This, which the Brahmens describe as situated far to the west, is also a terrestrial Moon: it contains or coincides with the original mountain of the Moon: within it is to be sought the Paradise of the Moon: it is the abode of the spirits of the blessed, or of those deified patriarchs who flourish at the commencement of every World: and it is the favourite residence of Crishna, who there reposes on the folds of the great navicular sea-serpent which had been the vehicle of the sleeping god over the waters of the interminable ocean¹.

It is easy to perceive, as I have already had occasion to observe, that the sacred Lunar Islands of the west are the Ark and mount Ararat; which, when the floating island became fixed at the close of the deluge, lay to the west of Hindostan and were the undoubted cradle of the Brahmenical theology². But of these islands there were numerous transcripts: for, every sacred island being a symbol either of the floating Moon or of

¹ *Asiat. Res.* vol. xi. p. 35, 36, 41, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 90, 69, 92.

² *Vide supra* book ii. c. 5.

the once sea-girt lunar mountain, what was true only of the mystic ocean-born crescent and of the Paradisiacal Ararat was thence transferred to their various insular representatives.

Such being the case, we shall readily perceive, why the White Island, though pronounced to be situated in the ocean far to the west, is yet said to have been brought into various parts of India. Wherever, as in the instance of Ellora, a small island was consecrated in the bosom of a deep lake, there the White Island of the Moon was recognized and venerated: and, wherever the inhabitants of a larger island in the ocean were devoted to the worship of the floating lunette, there, as in the instance of Sumatra, we have an oriental island of the Moon. But still the same notions are found to predominate: still does the lunar White Island survive the wreck of worlds; still does it float on the surface of the boundless ocean; still is it the peculiar abode of the hero-god of wisdom; still is it the residence of the mighty ones, the paradise of the just ones, the favourite haunt of those deified mortals who are literally said to have been preserved in an ark at the period of the universal deluge.

Agreeably to these speculations we are further told, that the Moon is the wife and daughter of the Sun, and yet that she is also the offspring of the wonderful architect 'Twashta. After what has already been said in the course of the present work, such a fiction can require but little elucidation. The Sun is the astronomical representative of Menu-Satyavrata, who was preserved in an ark with the seven Rishis: the floating Moon therefore, which is equally his consort and his child, can only be the Ark. In a similar manner, the sage architect 'Twashta, who is also declared to be the parent of the Moon, must clearly, so far as I can judge, be the wise master-builder; who, immediately before the war of the gods and the giants, framed the navicular lunette that received the great father within its womb and saved him from impending destruction¹.

2. Exactly the same notions prevailed in other parts of the world.

According to the Zend-Avesta, when the waters of the deluge retired from off the surface of the earth, the peak of mount Albordi was the first

¹ Asiatic Res. vol. xi. p. 34, 42, 46, 97, 67, 88, 90, 91. Moor's Hind. Panth. p. 292.

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land that became visible. At this time the Sun and the Moon appeared upon its summit: and the latter of these is said to have received, and preserved, and purified, the seed or offspring of the second man-bull; who, with three subordinate partners, was the appointed instrument of bringing over the face of the earth an universal inundation. She is likewise declared to have caused every thing to be born when the world was renewed after the catastrophè of the deluge; she is pronounced to be the only one of her kind that ever was formed; and she is celebrated as the general mother, from whose womb proceeded all the various descriptions of animals. The whole of this is palpably a description of the Ark: and it is no further applicable to the Moon, than as the planet was the astronomical symbol of the ship¹.

3. Similar speculations may be equally traced in more western regions.

We are told by classical writers, that the Moon was the mother of Bacchus. Yet Bacchus is said to have been exposed at sea in an ark, and to have been mystically born on the summit of Meru where the Ark rested after the deluge. He is also acknowledged to be the same deity as Osiris, who was set afloat in an ark shaped like the Moon. Hence it is evident, that the birth of the arkite Bacchus from the Moon is no other than the birth or egress of Osiris from the floating Moon within which he was inclosed by Typhon². As the Moon was the mother of Bacchus; so likewise was it esteemed by the Egyptians the mother of the whole World. In both cases the ground of the opinion was the very same: the great father and the rudiments of the new World were alike produced from what the old astronomical mystagogues considered as a floating Moon or as a lunar erratic island³. Such also was the reason, why souls regenerated in the Mysteries and why all mortal bodies were fabled to be born from a door in the side of the Moon, and why that planet was deemed to be the confines of life and death⁴. These apparently wild notions are perfectly intelligible, if understood of the floating Moon of Osiris; but, how they

¹ Vide supra book iii. c. 3. § I, IV.

² Cicero. de nat. deor. lib. iii. c. 23.

³ Μητέρα σιδηρην τῷ κόσμῳ. Plut. de Isid.

⁴ Porphy. de ant. nymph. p. 262—264. Macrobi. in somn. Scip. lib. i. c. 11.

are applicable to the literal Moon in the heavens, it is beyond the wit of man to discover.

4. The lunar ark of Osiris was deemed his coffin : and his entrance into it was considered as equivalent to a descent into the infernal regions. Hence the Nile and the Acherusian marsh, where his Mysteries were celebrated, became the river and the lake of Hades : and the floating Moon of the god was esteemed the navicular vehicle of departed souls, over which he presided by the name and in the character of Charon. What the Nile was to the Egyptian mythologists, the Ganges and the Styx were to those of Hindostan and Greece. Each had its boat and its infernal ferryman : and, as the navigator of the Styx like that of the Nile is Charon or Osiris ; so, what abundantly unfolds the import of these parallel legends, the mariner of the Ganges is Menu-Satyavrata under the name of *Salivahana*, that Menu, who was preserved with seven companions in an ark and was afterwards constituted the god of obsequies. Here then the floating Moon of Osiris appears as an infernal Moon, agreeably to the doctrine of the Mysteries which placed the Moon in Hades and identified it with Proserpine or Hecatè.

This will lead us to understand the import of some very curious particulars, which Plutarch mentions as being presented to the imagination of Timarchus in his vision of the infernal regions.

The friendly spirit, who acts the part of an hierophant (for the pretended vision seems evidently to describe the process of an initiation), informs him, that Proserpine is in the Moon, and that the infernal Mercury or Pluto is her companion. This Moon is wholly distinct from the celestial Moon ; being what some call *a terrestrial heaven* or *paradise*, and others *a heavenly Earth*. It belongs to the genii or deified mortals, who tenant the Earth : and it is described, as wearing the semblance of a floating island. It is surrounded with other islands, which similarly float on the bosom of the great Stygian abyss : but it is loftier than them all, and therefore not equally exposed to the destructive fury of the infernal river. In this navicular Moon or Lunar Island there are three principal caverns. The largest is called *the sanctuary of Hecatè* ; and here the wicked suffer the punishment due to their crimes. The other two are rather doors or

BOOK V. outlets than caverns; the first looking towards heaven, the second towards the earth. These serve for the ingress and egress of souls: for the Moon is the universal receptacle of them; into her they enter by one door, and from her they issue by the other door. She receives and gives, compounds and decomposes; and on her depend all the conversions of generation. While the Moon thus floats on the waters of the Styx, the infernal river strives to invade and overwhelm it. Then the souls through fear break forth into loud lamentations; for Pluto seizes upon many, who happen to fall off. Some however, who are plunged in the raging flood, contrive, by dint of great exertion and good swimming, to reach the shores of the Moon: but the Styx, thundering and bellowing in a most dreadful manner, does not allow them to land. Lamenting their fate, they are thrust headlong into the abyss, and are hurried away to partake of another regeneration. Many are thus disappointed, whilst almost touching the shores of the Moon; and others, who had even already gained the wished-for preserving island, are suddenly dragged again into the deep. Those however, who effect their escape, and who stand firm on the beach of this floating Moon, are crowned with the plumes of constancy¹.

It must, I think, be evident, even on the most superficial view of the question, that the Moon, which is here represented as floating on the bosom of the sacred infernal river and as being the generative vehicle of souls, is no other than the luniform ark or floating Moon within which Osiris was inclosed by Typhon or the ocean: for this very ark of Osiris, which was called *Baris* and *Argo* and *Theba*, is the identical boat which Charon employs to ferry souls over the Acherusian lake. But the ark of Charon or Osiris is the same as the infernal Gangetic boat of Salivahana or Menn-Satyavrata, who was preserved in an ark at the time of the deluge. The conclusion therefore from the whole seems to be alike obvious and inevitable. As the entrance into the Ark was considered in the light of a descent into the infernal regions; and as the quitting the Ark was viewed, as a return from those regions, or as a restoration of life to the dead, or as a mysterious new birth from the womb of a great mother: the Moon, which

¹ Plutarch cited by Wilford. *Asiat. Res.* vol. xi. p. 114—117.

floats upon the river Styx as the lunar ark of Osiris floated on the Nile, which is described as the vehicle of Proserpine and Pluto, and which is celebrated as the birth-place of regenerated souls, must plainly be esteemed a mere symbol of the Ship of Noah.

5. This conclusion, which exactly harmonizes with all the preceding observations, renders the curious vision of Timarchus perfectly intelligible.

The two doors of the floating Moon, which afford an ingress and egress to regenerated souls, are those two doors, which Porphyry similarly gives to the Moon, and to which he ascribes the very same office. Their prototype is the door in the side of the Ark; through which eight living souls first entered, and through which they afterwards returned to the light of heaven. From its serving this *double* purpose it was multiplied in the Mysteries to *two*; and souls were feigned to enter into the Moon by one door, and to quit it by another. The fruitless attempts of the Styx to overwhelm the floating Moon are the fruitless attempts of the deluge to overwhelm the Ark. The other islands, which lie lower than the Lunar Island and which consequently do not escape so well, are the representatives of the various parts of the Earth, which the old mythologists compared to a vast island floating on the bosom of the great abyss. The vain endeavours of numerous souls to save themselves, and the washing of them away from the shores of the Moon by the raging waves of the Styx, shadow out the unavailing exertions of the wretched antediluvians: while the happier lot of a chosen few, who are preserved upon the Lunar Island, exhibit to us the better destiny of Noah and his companions. The cavern, finally, of Hecatè, within which the wicked are reserved for punishment, represents the great central cavity of the Earth: and it is placed within the floating Moon, because the Ark and the Earth are constantly symbolized by common hieroglyphics, each being alike esteemed a World and a floating island.

6. We may now perceive the reason, why the Moon was styled by the old mythologists *Salus* or *Safety*; and why the Orphic poet addresses Musèus, who had been regenerated according to the form prescribed in the Mysteries, as *the offspring of the resplendent Moon* ¹. We shall also be

¹ Macrob. Saturn. lib. i. c. 20. Orph. Hymn. lxxvii. Orph. Fragm. p. 359. Edit Gesn.

BOOK V. able the better to understand the import of those notions respecting the Moon, which yet remain to be adduced.

7. At Autun in France a sculptured bass-relief has been found, which represents the chief Druid bearing his sceptre and crowned with a garland of oak-leaves; while another Druid approaches him, and displays in his right hand a crescent resembling the Moon when six days old. To this ceremonial Taliesin evidently refers in one of his poems. He describes a solemn act of worship paid to the Moon; and yet he at the same time expressly styles the lunette, borne by the inferior Druid, *a boat of glass*¹.

The toy was doubtless a representation of the lunar ship or floating Moon, which was so highly venerated by the gentile mythologists in every part of the world. This was the Moon, within which Osiris was inclosed by Typhon, within which Crishna and Siva alike found refuge, and within which the seven companions of the diluvian Menu underwent the lustration of a mysterious penance. This was the Moon, of which the Arcadians spoke, when they claimed for their family a higher degree of antiquity than even that possessed by the planet itself². And this was the Moon, which gave its name to so many lofty mountains where old tradition placed the resting of the Ark after the deluge³.

8. From the same source of astronomical mysticism originated the fable of the man in the Moon, which has been carried into regions very widely separated from each other. This personage is no other than Osiris, or Bacchus, or Siva, or Crishna; each of whom is said to have once tenanted the lunar orb. The tales of our English nurseries make him, I believe, perform penance in the Moon on account of his having gathered sticks on the sabbath-day while the children of Israel travelled through the wilderness: but some of the aboriginal inhabitants of South-America, in a manner which better accords with the speculations of ancient Paganism, supposed him to be confined in the Moon as in a prison on account of his having committed incest with his sister⁴. The incest was that, which is so constantly ascribed to the great father on account of the varied degrees of relationship in which he was thought to stand to the great mother. A

¹ Davies's Mythol. of Brit. Druid. p. 277.

² Lycoph. Cassand. ver. 482. Ovid. Fast. lib. ii. ver. 290. ³ Vide supra b. ii. c. 4. § IV.

⁴ Purch. Pilgr. b. ix. c. i. p. 822.

similar story of the man in the Moon is well known to the inhabitants of New-Zealand: and they derived it, I have little doubt, from the same universally prevailing system of mythology ¹.

Sometimes we find a variation in the sex: when, instead of Osiris or Siva being placed in the Moon, its tenant is said to be a mysterious female. Thus, according to Serapion, the soul of the most ancient Delphic Sibyl migrated after her death into the Moon; and the human countenance, which imagination has ascribed to the orb of that planet, is really the face of the deified prophetess ². This first of the Sibyls was the same personage as Cybelè, or Ila, or Isis, or Proserpine; and those, who in after ages bore her title, were really her priestesses: just as the great father was esteemed the first Priest or Druid or Magus; his sacerdotal votaries, at every subsequent period, studiously adopting his titles and imitating his character. The imagined migration of the Sibyl into the Moon is the same as the parallel translation of Isis into that planet; the same also as the entrance of Proserpine into the floating Moon of which she herself is expressly declared to be a personification, as it is described to us in the vision of Timarchus.

9. Even in the remote island of Otaheiti a similar vein of mysticizing is not altogether unknown; the general religion of the pagan world having been brought there, most probably from Asia, by the first colonists. The inhabitants of that country assure us on the authority of an ancient tradition, that the seeds of certain trees were once carried by doves to the Moon ³. It need scarcely be observed, that this curious legend, inapplicable as it may be to the literal planet, is yet strictly true of the floating Moon or lunar boat into which Osiris or Noah was compelled to enter by the fury of the ocean.

III. Such being the notions entertained of the Moon, since the great mother, by whatever name she might be distinguished and in whatever part of the world she might be worshipped, was equally the Moon and the Earth; we may naturally expect to find a certain intercommunion of cha-

¹ Marsden's acc. of New Zealand. Christ. Observ. vol. ix. p. 724.

² Serap. apud Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i. p. 304.

³ Cook's Third Voyage. b. iii. c. 9.

BOOK V. racter between these two so nearly allied objects of idolatrous veneration. Nor shall we be disappointed: as the same goddess represented them both; so they are themselves exhibited under common symbols, and are described with similar attributes.

The Moon, we are informed, is a celestial Earth, tenanted by its proper inhabitants, and comprehending within its sphere the Elysian fields or Paradise. It is also, as we have seen, a floating island, and a ship or ark within which the principal god of the Gentiles was once constrained to seek shelter from a dreadful inundation of the sea.

In a similar manner, according to the doctrine of the ancient Babylonians, the Earth is a vast ship floating on the surface of the great abyss¹. The same notion prevailed among the Jews, being adopted by them most probably during the period of the captivity². It may also be traced in the writings of the Orphic poet, who describes the Earth as an immense island girt on every side by the circumambient ocean³. And it appears with remarkable distinctness in the speculations of the Hindoo sages, who at once symbolize the earth by a ship and speak of it as a large floating island⁴. From the centre of this island rises the sacred mount Meru; on the summit of which, no less than in the Moon, they place their Elysian fields or the Paradisiacal abode of the hero-gods: and, as every smaller island is a transcript of the Earth or a World in miniature; we likewise find an universally prevailing opinion, that the seats of the blessed are to be sought for in certain sacred islands situated far to the west in the midst of the all-pervading ocean.

So again: the Moon was typified by the lotos, the cow, and the mysterious ship Argo or Baris or Theba: for we perceive the lunar goddess with the crescent on her forehead floating in the aquatic lotos; we meet with a legend that Isis or Io or the Moon was once changed into a cow, while the horns of that animal are positively declared to represent the lunar crescent and while we are told that the figure of a crescent was studiously impressed

¹ Diod. Bibl. lib. ii. p. 117.

² Windet de vit. funct. statu. p. 212, 213. apud Magee on atonement. vol. ii. p. 165. 3d Edit.

³ Orph. Frag. p. 401..

⁴ Asiat. Res. vol. iii. p. 133, 137. vol. viii. p. 274, 308, 312.

on the side of the sacred lunar bull of the Egyptians; and we find, that the lamiform ark or floating Moon of Osiris is at once said to be a wooden cow denominated *Theba* or *the ark* and to be the very same as the celebrated ship *Argo*¹. CHAP. II.

Precisely in a similar manner, the Earth is represented by the lotos, the cow, and the sacred ship *Argha*: for the Hindoos assure us, that the calix of the lotos with its central petal and the ship *Argha* with its central mast equally shadow out the great mundane floating island: while they declare that the cow, which was produced from the deluge, and which was the mystic mother of their god *Rudra* or *Siva* who once dwelt in the lunar orb, is no less the Earth than the Moon².

IV. The simple fact of the *existence* of such notions is undeniable, since it rests upon the most positive and incontrovertible authorities: the only question is, how we are to understand them. And this, so far as I am able to judge, cannot be very difficult; if we only attend to the various concurring legends and speculations, which have now been adduced.

It is sufficiently evident, that the whole preceding mystical jargon really describes a ship, which is said to have floated on the surface of an universal deluge and to have afforded shelter to an ancient personage from the fury of the overwhelming ocean. But I see not what this ship can possibly mean, except the Ark of Noah. The Ark therefore, for some reasons or other, was thought by the pagan mythologists to bear a close affinity to the Moon, to the Earth, and to a floating island. Why it was compared to the last of these, need scarcely be pointed out: and, why it was supposed to resemble the two former, may easily be ascertained by attending to the general principles of heathen theology, which ever delighted in tracing similitudes and in using hieroglyphics.

The Earth then is a larger World, containing the whole of mankind with every sort of beasts and birds and vegetables: the Ark is a smaller World,

¹ Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i. p. 322. Luc. Dial. deor. p. 123. Stat. Sylv. lib. iii. p. 49. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. viii. c. 46. Am. Marcell. lib. xxii. p. 257. Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. iii. c. 13. Diod. Bibl. lib. i. p. 76. Plut. de Isid. p. 359. Plut. Sympos. lib. viii. p. 718.

² Asiat. Res. vol. iii. p. 134, 136. vol. viii. p. 274, 308, 312. vol. vii. p. 293. vol. iii. p. 161. vol. viii. p. 81. Moor's Hind. Panth. p. 141.

BOOK V. similarly containing, during the period of the flood, all that existed of the human race, all that remained of the animal and vegetable creation. The original great father, the parent of three sons, was born out of the Earth: the second great father, likewise the parent of three sons, esteemed only a transmigratory reappearance of his predecessor, was born out of the Ark. The Earth, according to the accurate notions of the ancients who were ignorant of the existence of a second distinct large continent, is an island surrounded on all sides by the ocean: the Ark or smaller World was also an island, similarly begirt by the waters of the deluge. The Earth, viewed after the manner of the Hindoos and Babylonians as comprehending under one grand whole every detached smaller island, is, during the intermediate space between deluge and deluge, the sole mysterious lotos which rises above the surface of the sea: the Ark or sacred lunar island, which never perishes but which survives the wreck of each successive World, which is never submerged beneath the sea but which always floats securely on its bosom, was the sole mysterious lotos which rose above the surface of the ocean when for a season no other World was visible. Such being the *true* points of resemblance between the Earth and the Ark, to make the analogy complete one only particular was wanting; and this *fictitious* point the speculative genius of old mythology scrupled not to supply. The Ark was not only an island, but a floating island; not only a floating island, but a ship: the Earth therefore, which is really an island, was pronounced to be a floating island; and, as the smaller World was a ship, the larger World was also determined to resemble a ship, and as such was symbolized by the sacred boat.

With respect to the Moon, as Sabianism constituted a very prominent part of ancient idolatry, when the great father was venerated in the Sun, the great mother was by a necessary consequence venerated in the Moon. And this latter heavenly body was the rather chosen for such a purpose from the form which it was observed to assume during its first and last quarters. It then exhibits the exact figure of a boat: so that nothing could have been more happily chosen by the astronomical mythologist to represent upon the sphere the Ship of the deluge¹.

¹ See Plate III. Fig. 1, 2.

Here therefore we may perceive the origin of that singular intercommunication between the Earth, the Moon, a ship, and a floating island, which may be traced throughout the whole system of Paganism in every quarter of the globe. The Earth was a greater World; the Ark, a smaller World; the Earth a greater ship or floating island; the Ark, a smaller ship or floating island. But the lunette was the astronomical symbol of the Ark. Therefore the Moon became at once a ship, a floating island, and a celestial Earth. Hence, what was predicated of the one was also predicated of the others: and, as the Ark was a floating Moon, as the Earth was a ship, and as the Moon was a boat and a heavenly Earth and a floating island; one and the same goddess was deemed an equal personification of them all, one and the same set of symbols was employed equally to typify them all. Accordingly, the great mother is declared to be at once the Earth, the Moon, and a ship: nor is this singular intermixture of ideas to be found only in a single country; it pervades the whole pagan world, and thus affords an illustrious proof that all the various systems of gentile idolatry must have originated from some common source. That source was the primeval Babylonian apostasy.

V. The humour of mysticizing the Ship of the deluge did not stop here: it was carried even to a yet more extravagant length, though still in most curious harmony with the established speculations of Paganism.

As the goddess of the Ark was identified with the Earth and the Moon: so, according to the most extended theory of Materialism, she was yet further identified with Universal Nature. The first step made her one with the greater World: the second made her one with even the greatest World, that is to say, with the whole Universe. Thus the *Isi* of Hindostan and the *Isis* of Egypt are not only declared to be both the Earth and the Moon: they are further pronounced to be nothing less than a personification of all things¹.

And now let us mark the consequence of this extension of character. As the Earth and the Moon are each made a ship, from their intercommunication of character with the Ark: so, for the same reason, the very Uni-

¹ Vide supra b. i. c. 3. § II.

BOOK V. verse itself, being Isis or Isi, is exhibited to us under the image of a ship of most stupendous magnitude. The whole Mundane System in its largest sense is one mighty vessel: and, as the Ark was manned by Noah and his seven companions; so the huge ship of the World has the Sun for its pilot and the seven principal heavenly bodies for its crew *.

* Martian. Capell. Satyric. lib. ii. p. 43.

CHAPTER III.

Respecting the navicular, infernal, and human, Character of the Great Mother.

I. **A**GREEABLY to the peculiar notions entertained by the Gentiles respecting the Earth and the Moon, we shall find, that the great mother, who is declared to be a personification of them, is also described as being a ship: and such accounts are given of that ship, as leave us no room to doubt that it was the Ark of Noah.

1. The Hindoo mythologists inform us, that, during the prevalence of the deluge from the fury of which Menu and his seven companions were preserved in an ark, Isi or Parvati or the great mother, whom they mystically hold to be the female principle of nature, assumed the form of the ship Argha: while her consort Siva, who is analogously deemed the male principle, became the mast of the vessel. In this manner they were safely wafted over the mighty deep, which destroyed and purified a guilty world: and, when at length the waters retired and the ark of Menu rested on the peak of Nau-banda, the navicular goddess flew away in the shape of a dove¹.

¹ Asiat. Res. vol. vi. p. 523.

BOOK V. Here, in a most curious legend which can scarcely be misunderstood, we find the great mother Isi unequivocally represented, as being the ship which floated upon the surface of the deluge; and as afterwards, when the flood abated, assuming the form of the identical bird which Noah sent out of the Ark. Isi therefore, whom the Hindoos pronounce to be both the navicular Earth and the floating island of the Moon, is likewise palpably the Ark of Noah.

2. But the Isi of Hindostan is certainly the Isis of Egypt: consequently the fable respecting the former goddess will teach us how we ought to understand the parallel fable respecting the latter. Now Isis, like Isi, was venerated under the form of a ship: for in the rustic calendar of the Romans, who systematically adopted the rites of all other nations, we find an Egyptian festival in honour of the ship of Isis noted down for celebration in the month of March¹. There was likewise a tradition, that she sailed over the whole world in a ship, and that she first invented sails². But this ship was certainly the vessel, which the Greeks and Egyptians called *Argo*, and which the Hindoos still denominate *Argha*; a point, which may easily be shewn by a comparison of circumstances.

The entrance of Osiris into the ark, and his inclosure within the floating Moon, were celebrated at two opposite seasons of the year, spring and autumn³. Now it appears from the rustic calendar, that the festival of the ship of Isis was celebrated *in March*. But this was the time, when the entrance of Osiris into his lunar boat was celebrated at the *vernal* festival. Therefore the ship of Isis is the ship of Osiris. But the ship of Osiris was the ship *Argo* or *Theba* or *Baris*: and it is described as being a floating Moon and a wooden cow dedicated to the Moon. Isis however is declared to be herself the very Moon, within which Osiris was inclosed. Consequently the ship of Isis must likewise be the ship *Argo*: and Isis herself, being identified with the floating Moon which is again identified with the ark of Osiris, must be the same also as the ship *Argo* or *Theba*.

This result exactly accords with the Hindoo legend. Isi is at once the

¹ Gruter. Inscip. p. 138. Lactant. Instit. lib. i. c. 11. p. 59.

² Hyg. Fab. 277.

³ Plut. de Isid. p. 356.

Moon, the sacred cow, and the ship Argha which bore Siva or Iswara in safety over the deluge: Isis is at once the Moon, the sacred cow, and the ship Argo into which Osiris was compelled to enter by Typhon or the diluvian ocean. In both cases the great mother is a ship: and that ship is circumstantially determined to be the Ark.

3. The ship-goddess was equally worshipped among the ancient Germans: for Tacitus informs us, that part of the Suevi sacrificed to Isis, and that her symbol was a galley. His language seems to imply, that she was venerated by that tribe under the very name of *Isis*; a circumstance, which might easily be accounted for, though certainly not in the manner suggested by the historian. He pronounces the worship to be manifestly of *foreign* origin: but strangely conjectures such to be the case, *because* the figure of the galley proves it to have been brought from another country; just as if the worship of Isis could have been imported from Egypt into the heart of Germany by water.

He is right no doubt in supposing that it was not *the growth* of this latter country: but the galley does not indicate *the mode of its introduction*; it was the symbol of the goddess herself. This was equally the case with the Indian *Isi* and with the Egyptian *Isis*: and, as for the ship-worship of Germany, instead of being brought by sea from Egypt, it was really brought by land from the mountains of upper India. The Suevi, like the other Teutonic tribes, were of Gothic or Scythic origin. Now the Goths or (as the Hindoos call them) Chasas migrated westward from the high land of Cashgar and Bokhara, that is to say, from the region of the sacred mount Meru; where the veneration of the ship *Isi* or *Argha* has long been firmly established. Hence, I think, there can be little doubt, but that the apparently Egyptian superstition, which attracted the notice of Tacitus, was really brought by the Gothic colonists from the Indo-Scythic mountains of Cashgar. He is not indeed mistaken in declaring that the Suevi worshipped *Isis*; for *Isi* and *Isis* are clearly the very same goddess: but the Germans, as must necessarily be inferred from their oriental origin, received the rites of the mystic ship not from Egypt, but from the east¹.

¹ Tacit. de mor. Germ. c. 9.

BOOK V. The Isiac galley of the Suevi is introduced into the Edda under the name of *the ship of the hero-gods*. In this vessel they are described as sailing together upon the ocean, precisely in the same manner as the Egyptians and Hindoos set their deities afloat in a ship: and we are told, that, although it was so large that all the gods might sit in it at their ease, yet they could at any time reduce it to so small a size that it might be carried in the pocket¹.

The origin of such a fable may perhaps be conjectured without much difficulty. The literal ship of the hero-gods or deified patriarchs was indeed of an immense size: but the model of it, which was used in the Mysteries and which often in form resembled the lunar crescent, was not unfrequently so diminutive as to be a mere toy. Thus, in the Druidical superstition, the sacred boat, as we learn from Taliesin and the Autun monument, was a small lunette made of glass, which an attendant priest bore in his hand: yet in this very boat of glass the primeval Arthur and his seven companions are feigned to have been preserved, when all the rest of mankind perished by the waters of the deluge².

4. Precisely the same mode of symbolizing the great mother prevailed among the Celtic tribes.

As the galley was the hieroglyphic of Isis among the Suevi; so the glass boat, in which eight persons were saved at the time of the flood, represented the goddess Ked or Ceridwen or Sidee among the ancient Britons. Thus Taliesin, describing his initiation into the Mysteries which scenically exhibited the several events connected with the deluge, tells us, that Ceridwen, within whose womb he had been inclosed, and from whom as an imitative aspirant he had been born again, swelled out like a ship upon the waters, received him into a dark receptacle, set sail with him, and carried him back into the sea of Dylan³. If we inquire who this Dylan was, we are informed, that he was the son of the ocean: and that, when the floods came forth from heaven, and when the fountains of the great deep were broken up, he floated securely upon the surface of the waters in the very

¹ Edda Fab. xxii.

² Talies. Preiddlen-Annwn apud Davies's Mythol. p. 522.

³ Davies's Mythol. p. 256.

ship, within which, as a form of the goddess Ceridwen, the bard represents himself as having been mystically enclosed¹. Dylan therefore is manifestly Noah: whence his ship must be the Ark. But the ship of Dylan is a form of the goddess Ceridwen: consequently, Ceridwen or the great mother must inevitably be viewed as a personification of the ship of Noah. CHAP. III.

Agreeably to this conclusion, we are told, that Ked or Ceridwen was the daughter of Menwyd, the Menu of Hindostan and the Menes of Egypt: but at the same time we are taught very unequivocally, that her birth from that ancient personage, who is the same as the oceanic Dylan, was a figurative, not a literal, one. He was her father only in the sense, in which an artist is the father of the work produced by him: he was her father, at the period of a great effusion or deluge; because he formed the curvatures or ribs of the ship named *Ked*, which then, bounding over the waves, passed in safety through the dale of the grievous waters².

5. The Ceridwen of the Celts was the same character as the Ceres or Demeter of the classical mythologists: for we are assured by Artemidorus, that, in an island close to Britain, Ceres and Proserpine were venerated with rites similar to the Orgies of Samothrace³. But this ancient testimony exactly agrees with such remains of Celtic theology as have been handed down to us: for the Britons, as we learn from the writings of the bards, worshipped two goddesses, who had the same attributes, and who stood in the same degree of relationship to each other, as Ceres and Proserpine. Hence the Celtic Ceridwen is doubly identified with the classical Ceres: and this identification, united with the peculiarity of her own character as a ship-goddess, further proves, that she is the same also as the navicular Isis or Isi of Egypt and Hindostan. Ceridwen, Isis, and Isi, then being each the same as Ceres, and each moreover being literally the Ship of the deluge, we shall naturally be led to expect, that either directly or indirectly the mystic navicular character is also sustained by the classical goddess. Such, accordingly, we shall find to be the case.

¹ Talies. Cad Godden apud Davies's Mythol. p. 100.

² Davies's Mythol. p. 176, 568, 571. Comp. Asiat. Res. vol. i. p. 232.

³ Strab. Geog. lib. iv. p. 198.

BOOK V. By the Greek mythologists Ceres or Hippa is said to have received Bacchus into her womb and afterwards to have produced him again by a new and ineffable birth. But this god is also feigned to have been exposed in an ark at sea and to have been wonderfully born out of a floating Moon. His quitting the ark therefore is the same as his being born out of the floating Moon: and, since Ceres or Hippa is declared to be the Moon, his birth from the Moon is the same as his birth from Ceres. But the floating Moon is the ark, within which he was inclosed. Therefore Ceres or Hippa must likewise be the ark or ship of Bacchus¹.

Agreeably to this conclusion, we find her worshipped by the Phigalians of Arcadia on a sacred hill, which they denominated *the mountain of the olive*. Her appearance was that of a woman with the head of a horse: and in the one hand she held a dolphin, and in the other a dove². It is almost superfluous to remark, that, in the worship of the diluvian ship-goddess, the mountain of the olive is a transcript of mount Ararat, and that the dove is the dove of Noah. But we have a yet more direct testimony, that Ceres, like Isis and Isi and Ceridwen, was a personification of a ship. Pausanias mentions a picture, in which a priestess of Ceres was represented holding a boat upon her knees: and he explains the circumstance by observing, that it resembled those sacred boats which it was customary to make in honour of the goddess³. Now, since this custom prevailed among the Greeks, since Ceres is determined to be the same as Isis, and since a ship was a special symbol of the Egyptian divinity; it can scarcely be doubted, that the boat of Ceres and the ship of Isis were one and the same hieroglyphic, each being designed to represent the ark or floating Moon Theba or Argo, into which Osiris was compelled to enter by the fury of Typhon.

6. The Phrygian rites of Attis and Cybelè were of precisely the same description as those of Osiris and Isis: and no reasonable doubt can be entertained of the identity of the two goddesses. We find accordingly, that the mystic boat is equally characteristic of the Asiatic and of the Egyptian deity.

¹ Orph. Hymn. xlvi. Proc. in Plat. Tim. apud Orph. Fragm. p. 401.

² Paus. Arcad. p. 523.

³ Paus. Phoc. p. 662.

Julius Firmicus tells us, that, during the annual celebration of the Phrygian Orgies, a pine-tree was cut down, and that the image of a young man was bound fast in the middle of it. The tree, it seems, was hollowed out, so as to resemble a boat: for he adds, that in the Mysteries of Isis a similar ceremony was observed; the trunk of a pine, during *their* celebration also, being dexterously excavated, and an image of Osiris made from the cuttings of the wood being inserted¹. Now we know, that the image of Osiris was inclosed within an ark which exhibited the figure of a lunette. But Firmicus assures us, that the statue of Attis was similarly inclosed within the excavated trunk of a pine; and he represents the two ceremonies as being palpably the same. Hence it is manifest, that the excavated pine of the Phrygian goddess was a boat; and that in fact it was no other than the Argo or Theba or sacred ship of Isis.

The fictitious parentage of Cybelè exactly accords with her navicular character. As the British Ceridwen is allegorically said to be the daughter of Menwyd, and as the Indian Ila or Ida or Isi is described as being the daughter of Menu who was preserved with seven companions in an ark: so the Phrygian Cybelè is feigned to be the offspring of a very ancient king of Lydia, whom Diodorus calls *Meon*, but whom Xanthus denominates *Manes* or *Menes* assigning to him for a consort one of the daughters of the Ocean². This Meon or Menes, the fabled husband of the sea-nymph, is the same as the Baal-Meon of Palestine, and as the Menes, Menu, and Menwyd, of Egypt, Hindostan, and Britain: while his oceanic wife is one character with his fabled daughter Cybelè, whom Macrobius and Firmicus rightly style *the mother of the gods*³. Cybelè in short stands to him in the very same double relationship of wife and daughter, that Ida does to Menu-Satyavrata: and in both cases the reason is still the same. Noah was the father of the diluvian Ship, because he built it: and he was its husband, because it was the mother of his children the younger Baalim or hero-gods.

¹ Jul. Firm. de error. prof. rel. p. 53.

² Diod. Libl. lib. iii. p. 191, 192. Dion. Halic. Ant. Rom. lib. i.

³ Macrobi. Sat. lib. i. c. 21. Jul. Firm. p. 53.

BOOK V. The identity indeed of the ship-goddess Cybelè and the ship-goddess Ida appears at once from their names and from their characters.

Cybelè was highly venerated in mount Ida, whence she was denominated *the Idèan mother* or *mother Ida*. But this is the precise title of the Indian navicular goddess, who was similarly revered in mount Meru; the summit of which is from her denominated *Ida-vratta* or *the mundane circle of Ida*.

Nor is there less resemblance in point of character between the Idèan mother of Phrygia and the Idèan mother of Hindostan. The circle of Ida, which crowns the top of Meru, is said to be a ring of mountains; and it is considered as the symbol of the World. But Meru is the hill, on which the ark of Menu rested after the deluge: and that ark and the World are represented by common symbols, and are thus blended together by a sort of mystical intercommunion. The circle of Ida therefore on the top of Meru denotes the Ark no less than the World, each of these two Worlds being equally typified by the lotos and the ship Argha. But the fabled Idèan circle is the prototype of the massy circular temples formed of large upright stones; which have often, though erroneously, been deemed *peculiar* to the Druidical superstition. They were indeed *eminently* used by the Druids, and the appellation which they bestowed upon Stonchenge shews the light in which they considered them; for they were wont to style that wonderful monument *the mundane Ark* or *the Ark of the World*, deeming it a symbol of their ship-goddess Ked or Ceridwen: but they are to be found in other parts of the globe besides those, in which the Celtic priesthood flourished. Now it is a very curious circumstance, that one of these circular temples still exists on the summit of a conical hill, which rises like a vast natural altar at the base of the Phrygian mount Ida. It was clearly, I think, a copy of the sacred *Ida-vratta*; and was dedicated to the great Idèan mother Cybelè, just as the circle on the top of Meru is the circle of the Hindoo Idèan mother, and as Caer-Sidee or Stonchenge is the temple of the navicular Ceridwen. I suspect, that the old superstition of the Hliensians feigned a larger *Ida-vratta* on the top of Ida itself, as the Hindoo superstition places one on the top of Meru: and I believe, that this more accessible temple was designed to represent it. The spe-

cial name of the highest peak of Ida is *Gargarus* or *Gargar*: and this word, like the Celtic *Caer*, denotes apparently a *circle*. It is the same appellation as *Gor* or *Gor-Du* or *Cor-Du*; which was bestowed, with a similar reference to the mystic circle of Ida, upon that lofty chain of hills in Armenia where the Ark rested after the deluge. It is the same also as the *Cor* of mount Parnassus, famed for the appulse of the ark of Deucalion; that *Cor* or circle, from which the Corycian nymphs borrowed their title. The Phrygian Ida, like the Grecian Parnassus, was a local Ararat: and, as its Gargar or circle-crowned summit was little short of being absolutely inaccessible, the ship-goddess of the country was adored in an artificial *Caer* on a more moderate eminence, as the ship-goddess of Britain was worshipped in the parallel round temple of Stonehenge. Agreeably to this supposition, the top of Ida, like that of Meru and Olympus, was esteemed the seat of the immortal gods. But the hero-gods of the Gentiles, whose favourite abode is ever placed on the summit of a lofty hill, are those deified mortals who were born out of the womb of the great mother: and that great mother is invariably described as being a ship, which is said to have floated upon the surface of the deluge, and which is represented as flying away in the form of a dove when the waters began to retire from off the surface of the earth¹.

7. Among the Hindoos, *Isi*, who during the prevalence of the flood successively changes herself into a ship and into a dove, is considered also as the mysterious *Yoni* or female principle of nature from which every thing living is produced: and, since she is the consort of the great father under the name of *Heri*, she herself would properly bear the feminine appellation of *Hera* or *the Lady*. Decorated with these two titles, she is evidently the Latin *Juno* and the Grecian *Hera*.

I am inclined to believe, that, notwithstanding the new sense which the word *Yoni* has acquired in the Sanscrit, the real prototype both of it and

¹ Clarke's Travels vol. ii. chap. 5. p. 128—132. Dr. Clarke very justly observes, that the curious remains of antiquity on the summit of the conical hill *seem to refer pointedly to superstitions concerning the summit of mount Gargarus*: and he cites Plutarch as mentioning, that the altars of Jupiter and the mother of the gods were in Ida formerly called *Gurgarus*.

BOOK V.

of the name *Juno* is the Hebrew or Babylonian *Yoneh* or *Yuneh* or *Juneh* or *Jonah*; for thus variously may this oriental appellation be expressed in our western characters. It signifies *a dove*: and it is used by Moses in his account of the deluge. I am the rather led to adopt such an opinion; because I find, both that *Isi* or *Yoni* is actually said to assume the form of that bird, and because her name *Parvati* denotes *a dove*: and I am the more confirmed in it, because the mythologic history of the western *Juno* equally shews its propriety in the case of that goddess also.

We learn from Dion Cassius, that at mount Alban in Latium a sacred ship was venerated, which was denominated *the ship of Juno*¹. It appears therefore, that the ship was the symbol of *Juno*, no less than of *Isi*, *Isis*, and *Cybelè*: and the nature of the worship may, I think, be collected from the title by which the holy mountain of the Latins was distinguished. *Alban* is the same name as *Albania*, *Albion*, and *Albyn*. This appellation was bestowed upon the high range of country contiguous to Armenia; and the peak itself, where the Ark was believed to have rested, bore the title of *Luban* or *Laban*. *Alban* however is but a variation of *Laban*: each word signifies *the Moon*; and the Moon was originally so called from the whiteness of its aspect. Hence, in the west, *the Island of Albyn* or *Albion* is equivalent either to *the Island of the Moon* or to *the White Island*: and hence, in the east, *mount Laban* or *Alban* means either *the mountain of the Moon* or *the mountain of the White Goddess*. Of the primitive lunar or arkite mountain the sacred mount Alban of the Latins was a local transcript: and the ship, which was venerated upon its summit, was but a copy of the Ark resting on the top of *Laban* or *Ararat*. This sacred ship of *Juno* was constructed, I apprehend, in the form of the lunar crescent: for such seems to be the natural inference, both from the ship of *Isis* bearing that shape, from the name of the mountain on which the Latin ship was venerated, and yet more directly from the actual figure of *Juno* as she was worshipped by the Samians. They represented her standing upon a lunette; the circular part of which dipped into a luminous straight line so as to be partially concealed by it, and the horns of which pointed upwards.

¹ Dion. Cass. lib. xxxix.

The line is evidently meant to describe the surface of the ocean; and the lunette is what Dion rightly calls *the ship of Juno*: for it appears, partly rising above the level of the water, and partly sinking beneath it, just in the same manner as a boat of that form would do ¹. CHAP. III

Juno then, like Isi, was the Ark: and, although I cannot prove that, like Isi also, she was ever reputed to have *transformed* herself into a dove, yet we at least find her closely *connected* with that sacred bird. I would not build too confidently upon the account, which Pausanias gives of her curious statue at Mycenæ; because, though I suspect the bird upon the top of her sceptre to have been really a dove, that writer denominates it *a cuckoo* ²: I would rather adhere to the more positive testimony, which is afforded by the history of Semiramis and the remarkable image in the temple of Juno at Hierapolis.

8. Lucian, in his treatise on the Syrian goddess, informs us, that this temple was thought to have been built by Deucalion immediately after the deluge, and that it was erected over a chasm, through which the waters were believed to have retired into the great central abyss. In it was the image of a female richly habited, and upon her head was a golden dove. The Syrians gave it no proper name, but merely called it *a sign* or *token*: and this, in their own language, they would express by the word *Sem* or *Sema*; which Lucian has very happily translated into its Greek derivative *Semeion* ³. Now Semiramis, who was reputed to have been one of the earliest sovereigns of Babylon, was nevertheless greatly venerated at Hierapolis: and her legendary history will throw much light upon this female image, which was call *Sema*, which bore a golden dove upon its head, and which was closely associated with Juno.

Though it is not impossible, that the name of *Semiramis* may have been assumed by more than one even literal queen of Babylon, agreeably to a

¹ See Plate I. Fig. 13.

² Paus. Corinth. p. 114, 115.

³ Καλεῖται δὲ Σημήϊον καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἀσσυρίων, ὅθεν τὸ ὄνομα ἰδίον αὐτῶ ἐθεύτο. Luc. de dea Syr. § 33. I doubt, whether the Greek of Lucian will bear Mr. Bryant out in his idea, that *Semeion* is *itself* a Syriac word, denoting *the token of the Dove*: it seems only to be a translation of the corresponding oriental term, which I take to be *Sem* or *Sema*; ܣܡ or ܣܡܫ.

BOOK V. very common practice of sovereigns taking the appellations of the deities whom they served : yet the earliest Semiramis, who is represented as being the wife of the Assyrian Ninus and who at the same time is immediately connected with the founding of Babylon, is certainly a goddess ; and, by the accounts of her which have come down to us, her true character may be easily ascertained. She was feigned to be the daughter of Derceto or Atargatis, and the sister of Icthys or Dagon ; for Icthys is described as being the son of Derceto. But Derceto was the piscine ship-goddess of the Syrians, being undoubtedly the same personage as the navicular Venus or Juno or Isis¹. Semiramis therefore is the offspring of the Ark. How such a genealogy is to be understood, we are taught very unequivocally by a curious tradition respecting her : she is said to have been transformed into a dove ; and we are likewise told, that her standard was a dove, which insigne was adopted by all the Assyrian princes after her². Semiramis then was a dove : she was greatly venerated at Hierapolis : and, in the temple of Juno at this very place, there was a figure of a female bearing a golden dove upon its head, which the Syrians denominated *Sema* or *the token*. Putting these different circumstances together, I feel persuaded, that the image in question was the statue of the dove-goddess Semiramis ; and I think we may further conjecture, that the origin of the name *Semiramis* is to be sought for in the word *Sema*. If the simple *Sema* denote *a token*, the compound *Sema-Rama* will denote *a lofty token* : and this appellation was bestowed upon her whom the Greeks called *Semiramis*, because, as we learn from her mythological history, she was a symbolical personification of the dove. Hence she is made the daughter of the ship-goddess and the sister of Dagon, whom we have already shewn to be the same character as Noah : hence, like the Indian *Isi* who successively assumes the form of a ship and a dove, she is sometimes identified with

¹ Luc. de dea Syr. § 14. Ovid. Metam. lib. iv. ver. 44. Athen. Legat. c. xxvi. Xanth. apud Athen. Deipnos. lib. viii. p. 346. Artemid. Oniroc. lib. i. c. 9. Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. i. c. 10. Glyc. Annal. p. 184.

² Ovid. Metam. lib. iv. ver. 44. Athen. Legat. c. xxvi. David Ganz. Chronol. in ann: 1958 apud Byrant.

the ship-goddess herself: and hence she is occasionally said to have been the builder of the first ship ¹. CHAP. III.

Further light will be thrown upon her character by considering the time, to which she is ascribed. She is said to have built the walls of Babylon, and to have been the wife of that earliest Assyrian Ninus who founded Nineveh. But the Ninus thus distinguished can only be Nimrod, whose real name seems to have been *Nin*, the title *Nimrod* or *the rebel* being applied to him by way of reproach; for Nimrod was the only Ninus, who was equally concerned in the founding both of Nineveh and of Babylon: when miraculously driven away from the latter, *he went forth*, we are told, *into the land of Ashur where he built the former* ². The dove Semiramis then was the consort indeed, but only the mystical consort, of the arch-apostate Nimrod, with whom originated the whole frame of gentile mythology: and accordingly, as the Sema-Rama or lofty token of the dove was the peculiar badge of the ancient Assyrian empire, which commenced at Babylon and which afterwards had Nineveh for its capital, I am much inclined to believe, that it was first assumed as a national banner by the daring architects of the tower of Babel, and that it is mentioned even by the sacred historian himself. He represents the primeval Babylonians as encouraging each other to the work by saying, *Come now, let us build unto ourselves a city and a tower; and the top thereof shall be for the heavens: and let us make unto ourselves A TOKEN, lest we be scattered over the face of all the earth* ³. The word, here used by Moses to describe the name or token which the Babylonians agreed to assume, is *Sem*; the very word, which enters into the composition of *Semiramis*, and which the Hierapolitans seem to have applied to their dove-bearing statue: and I interpret it in the same manner, inasmuch as it will thus both produce excellent sense and will accord remarkably well with history. I see not how the merely wishing *to acquire renown*, as the expression is commonly understood, could at all, in the way of cause and effect, tend to prevent their being scattered: and, whatever it was that they agreed to make for

¹ Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vii. c. 56. Chron. Pasch. p. 36. Athen. Legat. c. xxvi.

² Vide infra book vi. c. 2. § 1.

³ Gen. xi. 4.

BOOK V. themselves, it was plainly something which was *designed* at least to operate as an instrument to keep them together in one body. Now, if we suppose *Sem* to mean *a name* in the sense of *token* or *a sign* or *a banner*, we shall immediately perceive its close connection with the avowed purpose of the Babylonians. They agreed to adopt a national badge and to enroll themselves under one particular ensign; in order that, by thus having a rallying point, they might prevent themselves from being dispersed. Accordingly we find from history, not only that they *had* a national standard; but that that standard was a dove and that they designated it by the word here employed by Moses, calling it uncompoundedly *Sema* or *the token* and compoundedly *Sema-Rama* or *the lofty token*. Their banner probably exhibited a woman bearing a dove on her head, like the token of the Hierapolitans: and, since it was immediately connected with the superstition which originated at Babel, it was deemed sacred; and thence, as was usual among the old military idolaters, was worshipped as a divinity¹. By the Greeks, and perhaps even by themselves in process of time, it was mistaken for a deified princess, the supposed founder of Babylon: but the real diluvian character of the personified *Sema-Rama* was never thoroughly forgotten. She was still made the daughter of the fish-goddess *Derceto*: she was still thought to be the sister of the fish-god *Dagon*: she was still connected with the flood of *Deucalion* and the first built ship: she was still fabled either to have been transformed into a dove, or to have been fed by doves in her infancy, or to have been the first that bore a dove for her ensign, or to have been distinguished by a name which some how or other either signified *a dove* or was connected with one². In the legend of her being fed by doves we again find the word *Sem*; by which the dove was called in its capacity of a symbolical ensign, and which Moses (if I mistake not) applies to the banner adopted by the primeval Babylonians. When exposed during her infancy, she is said to have been discovered and pre-

¹ *Diod. Bibl. lib. ii. p. 107.* The Romans, in a similar manner, worshipped the eagles on their standards; whence *Tacitus* calls them *propria legionum numina*. The modern practice of consecrating the banner of a regiment is evidently a relic of this ancient idolatrous custom.

² *Diod. Bibl. lib. ii. p. 92, 93, 107. Luc. de dea Syra. Hesych. Lex.*

served by a shepherd named *Simma*; and she is feigned to have been afterwards espoused to *Menon*¹. The story of her exposure and preservation is but the incessantly repeated fable of the exposure of the great father or the great mother on the summit of a lofty mountain: and both the shepherd *Simma* or *Sema*, and her reputed consort *Menon* or *Menu*, are alike the diluvian patriarch; of whom the shepherd *Nimrod*, so called as the prince of the Scythic *Palli* or *Shepherds*, probably claimed to be a manifestation or *Avatar*.

It is not unworthy of observation, that both the name of *Sami* or *Sami-Rama*, and some broken legends of her connection with doves, have been preserved in the western parts of Hindostan². She is there imagined to be a tree with a human countenance, called *the Sami tree*; and she is feigned to be the goddess of fire. We may easily trace the origin of both these notions. The *Sema*, or token of the dove, having been assumed as a national insigne, was elevated, like the Roman eagle, on a standard-pole: and this token, if we may judge from the form in which it was exhibited at *Hierapolis*, was a female figure, sometimes probably a mere female head, surmounted by a dove³. Now, in the east, any long upright piece of wood was called *a tree*⁴. The tree of *Sami* therefore will prove to be nothing more than the ensign of her votaries; that is to say, a pole surmounted by a dove which perches on the head of a female. Such was the form of the Indian *Sami*: and, with respect to her character, she was deemed, I apprehend, the goddess of fire, because the Sabian worship of the solar fire commenced with *Nimrod* at *Babylon*, and because, as is frequently the case with the great mother, she was esteemed the female regent of the Sun⁵.

¹ Diod. Bibl. lib. ii. p. 93.

² See *Asiat. Res.* vol. viii. p. 257. The passage here referred to appears to be authentic: but Mr. Wilford's pundit had shamefully corrupted the legend, whence his former account of *Semiramis* was drawn. He seems to have learned her western history, and to have adopted his interpolations accordingly.

³ Thus, according to *Euthymius Zegabenus*, the ancient Arabs adored a simple head of *Venus*. *Seld. de diis Syr. synt.* ii. c. 4. p. 216.

⁴ By this appellation the cross is frequently designated in Scripture.

⁵ Respecting the female Sun and the male Moon more will be said hereafter. Vide *infra* book v. c. 4. § I. 3.

BOOK V.

9. The ship-goddess Juno being thus connected with the mystic dove, we shall perceive the reason, why the rainbow also, under the name of *Iris*, is constantly assigned to her as a handmaid and attendant.

This beautiful phenomenon was another *Sema* or sacred token: and it is a curious circumstance, that, in a hymn to Selenè or the lunar boat ascribed to Homer, the very title of *Sema* is given to it¹. The word was borrowed by the Greeks from the oriental dialects, and it was used by them precisely in the same sense. Thus Homer, both in the hymn to Selenè and elsewhere in the *Iliad*, calls the rainbow, almost in the very words of Moses, *a token or sign to mortals placed in the clouds by Jupiter*². It is not improbable, that the *Sema-Rama* of the Assyrians, when complete, exhibited the appearance of a woman bearing on her head a dove surrounded by the rainbow, thus uniting together the pagan Juno and *Iris*: at least, I think it abundantly clear, that the peacock was consecrated to the queen of the gods, because in its gaudy plumage it exhibits the various tints of the rainbow.

10. The *Astartè* or *Astoreth* of the Phenicians, who was worshipped in conjunction with *Adonis* in the same manner as *Isis* was venerated in conjunction with *Osiris*, was equally the goddess of the sacred lunar ship. According to *Sanchoniatho*, her head, like that of *Isis* or *Io*, was decorated with horns which exhibited the figure of the navicular crescent: and coins are yet extant, in which she is represented standing on the prow of a galley, with a spear in her left hand and a head in her right³.

The head is doubtless that of *Osiris*, which was thought to float supernaturally every year from Egypt to *Byblos*: and the ship is clearly the same as the *Argo* or *Argha*, the sacred vessel of *Isis* or *Isi*.

II. Hitherto I have considered the great mother, as openly and unreservedly either identified or connected with a mysterious ship; in which, the great father is described, as having floated upon the surface of the

¹ Τεκμῶρ δὲ βροτοῖς καὶ σῆμα τιτυχλαί. Hom. Hymn. in Lun. ver. 13.

² ——— Ἰρισσὶν τοιχοτῆς, ἄσπε Κρονίων

Ἐν κίβητι στήριξι, τερας μεροπῶν ἀνθρώπων. *Iliad*. lib. xi. ver. 27.

Πύτι πορφύρεην Ἰρίην θνητοῖσι ταύσσην

Ζεύς ἐξ ἠρατοῦθεν τερας ἔμμεναι. *Iliad*. lib. xvii. ver. 547.

³ Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. i. c. 10. Vaillant. Num. Imperat. p. 374.

ocean, when the whole habitable globe was inundated : I shall next proceed to point out, how the same idea is still covertly set forth under the veil of symbols or hieroglyphics.

The sacred Ship of the deluge was typified very commonly by the ceto or large sea-fish, by the mundane egg, by the lunar crescent, by the floating island, by the aquatic lotos, and by any circular vessel such as a shell or a cup. As I have already had occasion to establish the import of these symbols, I shall at present only observe, that the Hindoo mythologists expressly tell us, that by the fish, within the belly of which the sovereign prince was inclosed, they mean the ark, within which Menu and his seven companions were preserved during the flood ; and that the lotos floating on the top of the water, and the consecrated dish or cup or shell, are to be considered as mysterious representations of the ship Argha, in which the great father was safely wafted over the streams of the deluge. Hence it is evident, that, when the chief goddess of the Gentiles is either symbolized by or connected with any of these hieroglyphics ; the purport is the same, as if we were literally told, that she was symbolized by or connected with a ship.

1. In the mythology of the west, Astartè or Derceto or the Syrian goddess bears the name of *Venus* or *Aphroditè* : and accordingly the eastern legends, which are told of the former, are applied without hesitation by the Greek and Roman poets to the latter.

Thus we are informed, that *Venus* assumed the shape of a fish, when she was pursued by Typhon or the ocean ; and that the form of *Derceto* was that of a mermaid or a woman terminating in the tail of a fish ¹. Thus also we are taught, that, when this same goddess fell into the sacred lake *Bambycè*, a large fish safely conveyed her to the shore ; and that, as she was herself metamorphosed into a fish, so her fabled daughter *Semiramis* flew away under the figure of a dove ².

Another fable introduces the additional symbol of the egg. Thus, as we learn from *Hyginus* and *Ampelius*, an egg of wonderful magnitude was

¹ Hyg. Poet. Astron. lib. ii. c. 30. Ovid. Metam. lib. iv. ver. 44. Luc. de dea Syra.

² Schol. in Arat. Phæn. p. 32. Erat. Catast. 1x66;

BOOK V. reported to have fallen from heaven into the river Euphrates and to have been rolled by fishes to the bank. Upon it sat a dove: and out of it was at length produced that Venus, who was afterwards styled *the Syrian goddess*¹.

Nor is this deity less connected with the shell and the cup. Sometimes, attended by her doves, she appears either standing in a large cockle-shell or seated in one which is supported by two Tritons. At other times, instead of a shell, she is furnished with a sacred cup shaped like a boat: and, if we inquire into the history of this navicular goblet, we shall be told, that it is one of the same sort, as that of Bacchus and as those in which Hercules and Helius sailed over the ocean². Such vessels were frequently adorned with the figures of doves perching upon them, just as the floating egg of Venus was surmounted by a bird of that species: and it was usual to make libations out of them to the ocean³.

There can be no difficulty in understanding the import of these symbolical representations. The fish, the egg, the shell, and the navicular cup, are all equally that ship; in which this very goddess, under the name of *Astartè*, is sometimes literally exhibited to us sailing upon the sea.

We may observe, that the egg is described as having fallen into the Euphrates out of heaven. This part of the fable contains a very curious astronomical allusion. By the fall of the egg from heaven was meant the mystic descent of the Moon or lunar boat: for the Moon-deity of the Asiatics was venerated under the figure of an egg attached to the lower or circular part of a crescent; and a notion prevailed, that the egg of Leda, which was the same as the egg of Venus, fell from the Moon⁴. Nothing more was really intended by it than the launching of the diluvian Ship.

As for the Euphrates, where the scene of the transaction is laid, it was the original sacred river of the primeval Babylonian idolaters. This holy stream flows from the region of Paradisiacal Ararat; which was esteemed

¹ Hyg. Fab. 197. Ampel. c. 2.

² Macrob. Saturn. lib. v. c. 21. Athen. Deipnos. lib. xi. p. 482.

³ Athen. Deipnos. lib. xi. p. 487, 490. Macrob. Saturn. lib. v. c. 21.

⁴ Athen. Deipnos. lib. ii. p. 57.

a mountain of the Moon, from the circumstance of the lunar boat having rested upon its summit: and of it the Ganges and the Nile, which equally take their rise from a mountain of the Moon and which equally support upon their waters the floating lunette of the great father, are but local imitations. CHAP. III.

2. The black or infernal Venus, whom the Orphic poet celebrates under the appellation of *Night*, is the same as Hecatè or Proserpine¹. Here again we find the goddess of the ship exhibited to us in a manner which cannot easily be misunderstood.

In the vision of Timarchus she is said to be the Moon; and is described as sailing over the surface of the Styx in the floating Lunar Island: while the Orphic poet represents her, as being the mother of Eubuleus or Bacchus². This accords with the legend which makes him the son of the Moon; for the Moon and Proserpine were the same deity. But the Moon, from which he was born, was not the planet, but a terrestrial floating Moon; as we may learn very unequivocally from the literal story of his having been once exposed at sea in an ark. Proserpine then is no other than the ship-goddess, symbolized by the floating Lunar Island: and, accordingly, Homer represents her as sporting with the daughters of Ocean; and Porphyry tells us, that she received her title of *Pherephalta* from feeding the stock-dove, which bird was thought to be peculiarly sacred to her³. This fable is but a repetition of those respecting the dove of Juno, Isi, Derceto, and Venus: in each case, the prototype of the ship-goddess and her dove is the ship and the dove of Noah.

As the Hindoos literally tell us, that Isi took the form of the ship Argha: so, under the name of *the White Goddess*, they mystically describe her in the very same manner that Proserpine is represented in the vision of Timarchus. Assuming innumerable shapes, she resides, we are told, in many places; because in every part of the world she was the grand female object of gentile veneration: but the peculiar habitation of her primitive form is the White Island; which is celebrated, as having once floated, as

¹ Orph. Hymn. ii.

² Orph. Hymn. xxix.

³ Hom. Hymn. in Cer. apud Paus. Messen. p. 273. Porph. de abstin. lib. iv. § 16.

BOOK V. being specially the Island of the Moon, and as being the favourite abode of the great father and of the beatified ancestors of mankind ¹.

The history of Latona, whether told by the Greeks or the Egyptians, affords us another parallel instance of this mode of exhibiting the great mother. According to the former, when pursued by the serpent Python, she took refuge in the floating island Delos ; and there, grasping an olive tree, she became the parent of the Sun and the Moon. According to the latter, when similarly pursued by the monster Typhon, she fled with the youthful Horus to the island Chemmis, which then floated in a lake near Buto. By Typhon or Python was meant the ocean at the time of the deluge : for this same fictitious demon, that chases Latona into a floating island and that compels Venus to take the shape of a fish, is also said to have forced Osiris to enter into an ark formed like the Moon. Delos was once called *Asteria* : and the reason assigned for the appellation is, that the nymph Asteria, the sister of Latona, was metamorphosed into that island. Such a metamorphosis is exactly equivalent to the transformation of Isi into the ship Argha : the only difference is, that, in one case, the story is told literally ; and, in the other, hieroglyphically. Asteria and Latona were in reality the same person : and, unless I am greatly mistaken, the name of the first is but a Greek corruption of the Phenician *Astartè* or *Astoreth* ².

3. From the fish, the egg, the cup, and the floating island of the Moon, we may next proceed to notice the aquatic lotos as connected with the great universal mother.

The Hindoos positively tells us, that this flower is an eminent symbol of the ship Argha ; the calix representing the vessel itself, and the petal shadowing out its pilot the god Siva. Hence, when we find the chief goddess of Paganism seated in the lotos, the same idea is conveyed, as when she is painted sitting in a ship.

Instances of this mode of representation may be adduced from the mythology both of Hindostan and of Japan : and, since the Egyptians cer-

¹ *Asiat. Res.* vol. xi. p. 119, 120.

² *Hyg. Fab.* 53. *Nonni Dionys. lib.* xxxiii. p. 552. *Anton. Liber. Metam.* c. 35. *Apolod. Bibl. lib.* i. c. 4. *Tzetz. in Lycoph.* ver. 401. *Herod. Hist. lib.* ii. c. 156.

tainly depicted Osiris sitting in the lotos, I think there can be little doubt CHAP. III. but that Isis was also similarly delineated. But be that as it may, we find, that the Indian Isi, under the names of *Cali* and *Lacshmi* and *Sri*, is described as making the lotos her favourite place of residence, in the calix of which she is securely wafted over the surface of the mighty deep. Hence, from her attachment to this flower, she is called *Padma-devi* or *the goddess in the lotos*: and, since, as the ship *Argha*, she is herself truly the same as the lotos within which she floats upon the water, she is also simply denominated *Padma* and *Camala*¹. Precisely similar is the manner, in which the Japanese delineated their great goddess *Quanwon*. Kæmpfer has given us a curious representation of this deity, sitting, like *Isi*, in the calix of the lotos, which rises to support her out of the midst of the ocean. She is doubtless no other than *Isi* herself under a different appellation: for all the Brahmens, to whom Sir William Jones exhibited the plate as it appears in the work of the German traveller, immediately, with a mixture of pleasure and enthusiasm, recognized in *Quanwon* their own *Isi*².

III. With this navicular character of the great mother every part of her history will be found minutely to correspond: and each circumstance, when duly examined, will inevitably lead us to the conclusion, that the ship, of which she is a personification, is the Ship of the deluge.

1. The Ark, at the commencement of the flood, was committed to the ocean: during the prevalence of the waters, it remained in the great deep: when they retired, it was figuratively born or produced out of the liquid element.

(1.) Thus the image of *Isi*, under the name of *Durga*, is still annually cast into the Ganges: and the Hindoos style the ceremony *a restoring of the goddess to the waters*³. They have lost indeed all recollection of its origin and import; for the pundits told Sir William Jones, that it was prescribed by the *Veda* they knew not why: but when we call to mind that this is the very goddess who floated as a ship on the deluge, we cannot but

¹ *Asiat. Res.* vol. i. p. 240. vol. iii. p. 59, 535. *Moor's Hind. Panth.* p. 10, 29, 132, 136, 137, 183.

² Kæmpfer's *Japan*, plate 37. *Asiat. Res.* vol. ii. p. 380.

³ *Asiat. Res.* vol. i. p. 251. *Moor's Hind. Panth.* p. 156.

BOOK V. perceive, that the rite in question was designed to shadow out the launching of the mystic Argha¹.

The same rite prevailed in Egypt, or rather indeed prevails even to the present day: for a clay statue is annually made in the form of a woman; and thrown into the Nile. It has been thought that this rite was sacrificial: and an Arabian writer Murtadi has been cited as asserting, that it was customary with the Egyptians to devote to the river Nile a young and beautiful virgin by flinging her decked in the richest attire into the stream. Such *may* have been the case: but, even if it were, I should doubt whether the ceremony was strictly *sacrificial*. Isi or Durga is so palpably the same as the Egyptian Isis, and the solemnity on the Ganges so perfectly resembles that on the Nile, that I cannot hesitate to interpret them both in a similar manner. Neither of them, I believe, was *sacrificial*: each was equally and strictly *commemorative*. Since the Hindoo rite consists in restoring to the waters the ship-goddess Isi; I infer, that the Egyptian rite consisted in similarly restoring to the waters the ship-goddess Isis. What was cast into the Nile, whether it was a living virgin or an inanimate substitute, was not so cast properly *by way of sacrifice to the river*, but *by way of commemorating the entrance of the Ark into the diluvian ocean*. The virgin or the image represented Isis herself; and Isis, like Isi, was the ship Argo or Argha².

This view of the Egyptian ceremony will be confirmed by adverting to a parallel rite, which prevailed among the ancient Germans. We have seen, that among the Suevi the goddess Isi or Isis was venerated no less than among the Hindoos and Egyptians; her worship having been doubtless brought into Europe by the Goths or Scythians from their primitive Asiatic settlements. Now Tacitus, who gives us this information, may be further adduced to prove, that just the same rite of committing the goddess to the water was established also in Germany. *In an island in the ocean*, says he, *is a sacred grove, and in it a chariot covered with a garment*,

¹ Asiat. Res. vol. i. p. 255.

² See Maurice's Ind. Ant. vol. iii. p. 109. and Niebuhr's Travels. sect. ii. c. 8. Dr. Magee follows Mr. Maurice in his opinion of this ceremony: but I certainly think, for the preceding strictly analogical reasons, that their view of it is erroneous.

which the priest alone can lawfully touch. At particular seasons the goddess is supposed to be present in this sanctuary: she is then reverentially drawn in her car by heifers, and is followed by the priest. During this period unbounded festivity prevails, and all wars are at an end; until the priest restores the deity to the temple, satiated with the conversation of mortals. Immediately the chariot, the garments, and even the goddess herself, are plunged beneath the waters of a secret lake¹. Here we have the precise ceremonial of Egypt and Hindostan, associated with the holy island, the symbolical heifer, and the small lake which in the Mysteries was employed to typify the deluge².

(2.) Equally is the continuance of the Ark in the great deep shadowed out to us in the character of the principal goddess of Paganism.

Isi or Lachsmi is said to be *Narayani* or *she that floats upon the surface of the waters*: and she is described, as remaining for a season concealed like a jewel in the recesses of the ocean³. This is that mysterious concealment; which is alluded to in the history of Saturn, and which conferred the name of *Leto* or *Latona* upon her who securely lay hid in the floating island of Delos or Chemmis. In a similar manner Proserpine is described by Homer as sporting with the sea nymphs; while Isis is represented as taking a long and wearisome voyage by sea⁴. As for Venus, she

¹ Tacit. de mor. Germ. c. 40.

² Since this islet is declared by Tacitus to be in the open ocean and not in the Baltic, I think it almost certain, that it must have been the modern Heligoland. The island exactly answers to the description of Tacitus: and its name, which signifies in the German *Holy Island*, seems to intimate the religious purposes to which it was devoted. It was one of the many sacred islands of the Moon, which were used for celebrating the Mysteries of the ship-goddess. We have another of them on the coast of Northumberland, which still also retains the appellation of *Holy Island*. By a very common transfer, when Christianity prevailed over Paganism, this sacred ground, once the sanctuary of the navicular Isi or Ceridwen, became the scite of the first cathedral church of our northern diocese of Durham. Hence we may account for the close resemblance between the legend of St. Cuthbert and the mythologic history of Osiris or Bacchus. I shall therefore take occasion to notice it. Vide infra book v. c. 8. § II. 7.

³ Moor's Hind. Panth. p. 74, 134. Asiat. Res. vol. v. p. 297.

⁴ Hom. Hymn. in Cer. apud Paus. Messen. p. 273. Hyg. Fab. 277.

BOOK V. on all occasions very eminently appears as a maritime goddess. In the various medals of this deity which have come down to us, we sometimes find her sitting upon a dolphin and holding a dove in her lap; sometimes rising out of the sea in a shell supported by two Tritons; sometimes seated in a chariot drawn by two sea-horses; sometimes riding upon a sea-goat, and attended by Nereids and Cupids mounted upon dolphins; and sometimes borne by a single Triton, while she holds in her hand what has usually been called a shield on which is depicted a head, but what is really the sacred Argha exhibiting the head of Osiris. Sometimes again her floating chariot is drawn by doves: and sometimes, mounted upon sea-horses, she seems to skim over the waves of the ocean, her head covered with a veil which swells like a sail in the wind, a Cupid swimming at her side, and an oar placed at her foot¹. Agreeably to these modes of representing her, she is celebrated by the poets as the regent of the sea, and is distinguished by titles expressive either of her existence in the sea or her attitude of floating upon its surface². Such also is the character of Diana; who, as an infernal goddess, identifies herself with Proserpine seated in the navicular Moon of the river Styx. Artemidorus, Pausanias, and Strabo, all concur in bestowing upon her the appellation of *Limnatis* or *the maritime deity*: in an ancient inscription preserved by Gruter, she is called *the queen of the waves*: and Apollonius describes Orpheus as invoking her under the name of *Neossois* or *the preserver of ships*³.

(3.) Nor is the emerging of the Ark out of the ocean, or its mystical birth at the close of the deluge, left unnoticed in the fabulous history of the great mother.

The Indian Isi or Lacshmi is represented as being the daughter of Samudr or Oceanus: Venus is said to have been born out of the sea: and Isis is described by Apuleius as emerging out of the sea, when she ap-

¹ Banier. Mythol. vol. ii. p. 335, 336.

² Lucret. de rer. nat. lib. i. ver. 3, 8, 9. Mus. Her. et Leand. ver. 250. She is denominated *Pontia*, *Epipontia*, *Pelagia*, and the like.

³ Artemid. Oniroc. lib. ii. c. 42. Paus. Corinth. p. 98. Lacon. p. 208. Messen. p. 222. Strab. Geog. lib. viii. p. 361. Gruter. Inscrip. p. 37. Apoll. Argon. lib. i. ver. 570.

peared to him previous to his initiation into the Orgies¹. This last particular seems to intimate to us, that the figure of the goddess was thus exhibited to the aspirants when about to be admitted to the regeneration of the Mysteries. Gradually rising out of a mimic representation of the sea, her shining image, decorated with the lunar boat, gleamed in pantomime before the dazzled eyes of her enraptured devotees.

2. The Ark was born out of the retiring deluge on the lofty summit of mount Ararat, which was thence esteemed a mountain of the Moon and which was the prototype of the various lunar mountains that occur in so many different parts of the world: and the period of its mystic nativity was specially marked by the emission of the dove.

Agreeably to this part of its history, the Indian Isi or Parvati, though the offspring of the ocean, is yet venerated as the mountain-born goddess: and the mountain, which is said to be the place of her nativity, is the sacred hill Meru or Cailasa. Here she sits sublime, either enthroned with her consort the navicular Siva, or surrounded by the hero-gods in the act of adoration². But Meru, as we have already seen, coincides geographically with that lofty region, where the Hindoo mythologists place the garden of Paradise, and where they believe the ark of Menu to have rested after the deluge. Meru therefore is clearly the local Ararat of the Brahmens: whence the ocean-born ship-goddess on its summit must inevitably, so far as I can judge, be the Ark on the top of Ararat.

The same ideas were entertained respecting the Phrygian Cybelè; whose consecrated abode was thought to be the highest peak of Ida, just as the favourite seat of Isi is the Ida-vratta which crowns mount Meru. This goddess, according to Diodorus, was exposed when an infant on the summit of the mountain whence she derived her future appellation: and, from this circumstance, in addition to her name of *Cybelè*, she was likewise called *the montane mother* or *the mother on the mountain*³. The fable of her infancy relates to her mystic birth, which necessarily caused her to be

¹ Asiat. Res. vol. v. p. 297. Moor's Hind. Panth. p. 10, 141. Orph. Hymn. liv. Mus. Her. et Leand. ver. 249. Apul. Metam. lib. xi.

² Moor's Hind. Panth. p. 151, 161. Asiat. Res. vol. i. p. 252. vol. xi. p. 111, 112.

³ Ορειαν μητέρα. Diod. Bibl. lib. iii. p. 191, 192.

BOOK V. represented as a child : and her exposure on the mountain is the resting of the Ark on the top of Ararat.

It was with a similar reference to the Armenian mountain, that the sea-born Venus was worshipped on the Phenician Lebanon and the Sicilian Eryx. *Lebanon* signifies *the mountain of the Moon*: and on the summit of this hill, the local Ararat of the country, Venus, under the name of *Architis* or *the goddess of the Argha*, was adored in conjunction with the diluvian Adonis or Osiris¹. Eryx was another of her high places, distinguished by a very famous temple of the goddess, and noted for the celebration of two most extraordinary festivals. These were denominated *the feast of the sending out*, and *the feast of the return*. During the first, Venus was thought to fly away over the sea : during the second, she was believed to return to her mountain sanctuary. I think it evident, that the two festivals related to the history of the Noëtic dove: for that bird, as we may collect from the Hindoo fable of the Argha and the dove, was deemed a form of the ship-goddess. But the point does not rest solely upon mythologic analogy : it is established beyond a doubt by the external part of the ceremony. In the region of mount Eryx, as in those of Palestine and Syria, doves were accounted sacred : and, at the time when Venus was fabled to take her departure, some of these holy birds were let loose and suffered to fly away from the island ; but one of them was always observed, at the proper season, to come back from the sea and to fly to the temple of the goddess². The bird was of course properly trained to perform its part with all due decorum ; and we have no reason to disbelieve the literal circumstance of its return : but, when we recollect the navicular character of Venus, and when we call to mind that Isi and Juno and Proserpine and Semiramis were all either changed into a dove or connected with one, we can have little difficulty in comprehending the purport of these remarkable Sicilian festivals.

Juno on the summit either of mount Ida or mount Olympus is another example of the ship-goddess resting on the top of Ararat : for Ida and

¹ Macrob. Saturn. lib. i. c. 21.

² Athen. Deipnos. lib. ix. p. 395. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. i. c. 15.

Olympus are the Indian Ida and Ilapu; whence Sir William Jones rightly compares the mountain-born Parvati to the Olympian queen of the immortals ¹. CHAP. III.

3. The Ark was for a season the common receptacle of those, who afterwards became the hero-gods of the Gentiles: and, since both they and all the rudiments of a new order of things were produced out of its womb, it was figuratively the universal mother of gods and of men and of the whole world.

Such exactly is the character of the ship-goddess. Plutarch tells us, that the Egyptians esteemed Isis the great receptacle: and he speaks of her as being in their opinion the mundane house or habitation of Horus, the seat of generation, the nurse of the world, the universal recipient ². Simplicius ascribes the same functions to the Syrian mermaid goddess Derceto or Atargatis. He represents her as being the place or habitation of the gods: and he adds, that, like the Egyptian Isis, she contained inclosed within her (what he calls) the specialities or proper natures of many deities ³. In a similar manner, the Orphic poet styles Vesta *the house of the blessed gods* and *the firm support of mortals*: and, in another of his hymns, he celebrates Night or the black Venus, as the mother both of gods and of men, as the generative source of all things ⁴. Rhea or Cybelè was also accounted the mother of the gods: and Venus and Ceres were equally deemed the nurses or recipients of that ancient personage, who is literally described as having been exposed at sea in an ark ⁵. The same ideas have likewise prevailed among the Celts, the Goths, the Japanese, and the Hindoos. Ceridwen is represented as a personification of the generative powers, or as the being from which all things are produced ⁶. Frea, the consort of Odin, was denominated *the mother of the gods* ⁷. Quanwon is venerated by the Japanese as the happy mother of many a deified hero, and as an emblematical representation of the birth of the gods

¹ Asiat. Res. vol. i. p. 252.

² Plut. de Isid. p. 372, 374.

³ Simp. in Aristot. de ausc. phys. lib. iv. p. 150.

⁴ Orph. Hymn. lxxxiii. 5. ii. 1, 2.

⁵ Macrob. Saturn. lib. i. c. 21. Orph. Hymn. liv. xlviii. Fragm. p. 401.

⁶ Davies's Mythol. p. 184, 185.

⁷ Mallet's North. Ant. c. vi. p. 92, 93.

BOOK V. in general ¹. Isi, under the various names of *Lacshmi*, *Saraswati*, *Sita*, and *Parvati*, is said to have had all the mundane elements produced within her womb, to have been the mother of the world, to have been the female power of generation when the earth was covered by the waters of the deluge, and to have once comprehended within her the whole family of the hero-gods ². Nor are we left in any doubt respecting the character of the deities, who are thus fabled to have been born from the great navicular parent of the Universe. Sometimes they are described to us as being eight, and sometimes as only three, in number: the first alluding to the Noëtic ogdoad; the second, to the Noëtic triad. Thus the Egyptians eminently worshipped eight gods, who were depicted sailing together in the sacred ship of Isis: these eight divinities therefore, if we adopt the figurative language of the initiated, were those identical hero-gods who were comprehended within the womb of the great mother of the immortals ³. Thus the Japanese, while they denominate their aquatic goddess *Quanwon* an emblematical representation of the birth of the gods in general, teach us very plainly *what* gods they mean, by placing round her head eight little children ⁴. Thus the Hindoos say, that *Siva*, who was inclosed within the womb of the ship-goddess *Argha* during the prevalence of the deluge, afterwards shone conspicuous on the summit of mount *Meru* in eight divine forms ⁵. And thus the ancient Druids were wont to teach, that the crew of their navicular *Ceridwen*, at the period when all mankind perished by water, consisted of the primeval *Arthur* and his seven god-like companions ⁶. Thus also *Rhea* or *Cybelè* is said to have been the consort of *Saturn* and the parent of the great classical triad *Jupiter-Neptune-Pluto*. And thus *Isi*, under the name of *the White Goddess*, is at once represented as containing all the gods in her womb, and yet as specially comprehending within her the human forms of the Hindoo *Trimurti*, *Brahma-Vishnou-Siva* ⁷.

¹ Kämpfer's Japan. p. 542.

² Moor's Hind. Panth. p. 127, 132, 136, 137. Asiat. Res. vol. vi. p. 523, 477.

³ Herod. Hist. lib. ii. c. 145. Porph. de antr. nymph. p. 256.

⁴ Kämpfer's Japan. p. 595.

⁵ Moor's Hind. Panth. p. 12, 105.

⁶ Davies's Mythol. p. 515—526.

⁷ Asiat. Res. vol. xi. p. 112, 120.

4. The Ark, according to Moses, was fashioned with a door in its side : CHAP. III. and from that door the members of the Noëtic family, together with all the rudiments of the new world, issued forth or were born again, when the waters retired from off the surface of the earth.

This allegorical birth from the womb of the great mother was shadowed out in the regeneration of the Mysteries: and, since all things were produced from her, she was esteemed the female power of fecundity and was thought to be the tutelary goddess of parturition. The door however, through which the hero-gods passed, when they quitted the womb of the Ark, was never forgotten in her character. In the celebration of the Mysteries, the aspirants were born again by passing through the door of the cave or cell which symbolized the great mother: and the ship-goddess Juno or Venus or Lucina or Diana was invoked by pregnant women under the appellation of *Prothyra* or *the goddess of the door*¹. From the same source originated the notion, that there was a door in the Moon, through which the souls of all mortals were born before they appeared upon the earth². This Moon was the floating Moon, which equally sheltered from danger Crisna and Osiris and Bacchus, and from the door of which they were mysteriously born again when it ceased to float. In the British Orgies of Ceridwen, the door made a very conspicuous figure. An officer with a drawn sword was appointed to guard it: and the goddess herself, like the classical *Prothyra*, was sometimes distinguished by the appellation of *Hæarndor* or *Iron-door*; and, as such, is described as painfully moving to the summit of a lofty hill, where at length she rests from her labours³.

5. The Ark, previous to its appulse on the top of mount Ararat, moved about in an erratic state, without any fixed direction, on the surface of the waters.

Hence originated the fabled wanderings of Ceres, Isis, Io, Astartè, and Ceridwen. Sometimes, these wanderings are said to have been accomplished by the goddess under the form of a cow: and, at other times, as in the Druidical mythology, we are presented with a fable of a cow being

¹ Orph. Hymn. i.

² Porph. de ant. nymph. p. 268.

³ Davies's Mythol. p. 120, 560.

BOOK V. long tossed about in a wonderful cauldron of boiling water and afterwards procuring rest to him who was the first sacrificer. Still however the same circumstance is designed to be shadowed out: the cow was a symbol of the ship-goddess.

6. The Ark afforded safety to the chosen few who were shut up within it: but to the great mass of mankind it appeared under the opposite character of the genius, that presided over death and destruction.

Such precisely is the two-fold aspect which the Gentiles give to their ship-goddess. Proserpine is at once the life and the death of mortals; because she alike, as we are taught by the Orphic poet, carries and destroys all things¹. Ceres is a most lovely and beneficent deity, who confers upon her votaries all the blessings of peace and plenty: yet, when she assumes the title of *Erimys*, she becomes a malignant fury that takes vengeance upon the wicked². Ceridwen is the auspicious preserver of Noë and his seven companions: but she is not the less, on that account, a hag, a fury, and a grimly-smiling giantess³. Isi is the saviour and the refuge of Crishna; and she is described as a perfect model of female loveliness: yet she appears also as the vindictive destroyer of living beings, whose seat is a corpse and whose joy is devastation; and, when she manifests herself by the name of the terrific *Cali*, her form is that of a hideous and mishapen goblin⁴. Diana is a beauteous nymph, the guardian of mariners and the preserver of their vessels: but she is also the female demon of destruction, who delights in blood and havoc and human sacrifices. The great universal lunar mother is safety and health and a saviour: yet she is likewise the stern avenger of the guilty⁵. Isis is the holy and benevolent preserver of the human race: but when she appears as the dreadful Tithrambo, her character is wholly changed, her very looks bring death upon the beholder, and her office is that of an unrelenting inflicter of punishment⁶.

¹ Orph. Hymn. xxviii.

² Apollod. Bibl. lib. iii. c. 6. Tzet. in Lycoph. ver. 1225. Paus. Arcad. p. 494, 495.

³ Davies's Mythol. p. 229, 260, 256.

⁴ Asiat. Res. vol. xi. p. 112. Moor's Hind. Panth. p. 36, 150. See plates 17 and 27.

⁵ Orph. Hymn. xiii. 7. lxvii. lxviii. lxix. Macrob. Saturn. lib. i. c. 20.

⁶ Apul. Metam. lib. xi.

Thus in every point of view does the great mother of pagan theology CHAP. III. correspond with the Ark of Noah. She is universally declared to be the personification of a ship: and circumstantial evidence of the most unambiguous sort determines that ship to be the Ark.

IV. We must now consider the same goddess under a character, somewhat different indeed from her navicular one, but still immediately allied to it: we must prepare to behold her as the female regent of the mystic Hades.

1. Exactly in the same manner then as the great father is always described as being an infernal god, the great mother is invariably represented as being an infernal goddess.

Ceres, Proserpine, Isis, Diana, Venus, Hecatè, Ceridwen, and Isi, are all placed in hell; and are all viewed, either as the queen of the dead, or as a personification of death itself¹. Sometimes also the great mother is absolutely identified with the infernal regions, of which at other times she is described as being only the sovereign. Thus, among the Hindoos, Hades or Patala is likewise denominated *Bhuvana*: but *Bhuvana* is a title of Isi considered as *Patala-Devi* or the goddess of hell².

In order to understand the import of such speculations, we must call to mind what has already been said respecting the compound character of the great mother.

Now we have seen, that she is at once the larger World or the Earth, the smaller World or the Ark, and the celestial World or the Moon viewed as the astronomical symbol of the mundane and diluvian Ship. But she is also the goddess of Hades, and even a personification of Hades itself. Hence it will follow, that, when she sustains the character of the Earth, the infernal regions, being placed by the mystæ within the central cavity of the Earth, will represent her womb. And, since Hades is thus the womb of the goddess; when she supports the character of the diluvian Ship, the interior of that ship being then her womb, *it* will likewise be mystically viewed as an Inferum. The same remark will equally apply to the inte-

¹ Orph. Hymn. xxxix xxviii. ii. xlvi. liv. Davies's Mythol. p. 231. Moor's Hind. Panth. p. 292, 305. Asiat. Res. vol. v. p. 297. vol. xi. p. 112.

² Asiat. Res. vol. ix. p. 281. Maur. Ind. Ant. vol. v. p. 933.

BOOK V. rior of the Moon, when she is venerated as the deity of the lunar crescent.

This being the case, as the souls of the literally dead were thought to enter into the abode of spirits within the central cavity of the Earth: so, when Noah and his family entered into the gloomy interior of the Ark, they likewise were mystically said to taste of death, and were represented as being shut up in a coffin, or as descending into the infernal regions. On the same grounds, we analogically find a Moon in hell floating upon the river Styx; which itself also has a central cavity, distinguished as the cave of Hecatè or the infernal Diana, and described as the residence of departed spirits.

The great mother therefore is said to be Hades or an infernal goddess; because, whether she be the Earth or the Ark or the Moon, in each case Hades is still considered as her womb. Consequently, an entrance either into the grave, or into the Ark, or into the floating Moon, was equally reputed by the mystæ to be an entrance into the infernal regions.

2. With this conclusion, which necessarily follows from the now established character of the great mother, such particulars as have come down to us will be found minutely to correspond.

Bacchus, Osiris, Ilu, Adonis, Attis, and Siva, each of whom is said to have been shut up in an ark or to have taken refuge within a floating Moon, are all equally feigned either to be infernal gods or to have descended into the infernal regions. And, in a similar manner, all those ancient characters, who are said to have been initiated into the Mysteries, are likewise said to have entered into Hades. Nor are we suffered for a moment to imagine, that the entrance into Hades might mean one thing, and the entrance into the ark another thing. The mythology of Egypt unequivocally teaches us, that the very same idea was intended to be conveyed by these two apparently different modes of expression. It was the *dead* Osiris, whom Typhon or the ocean shut up and set afloat in a luniform ark: and this same Osiris entered by *death* into the infernal regions. The entrance therefore into the ark, and the entrance into Hades, are one and the same circumstance. Accordingly we find, that, as the ark was the vehicle of the mystically dead Osiris, it was thence esteemed his coffin:

and, agreeably to this notion, the annual ceremony of his inclosure within the floating Moon or ark was reckoned commemorative of his death and burial. His boat in short was the Baris of the infernal mariner Charon: and in it the deceased god floated, during his allotted period of confinement, upon the waters of the sacred Acherusian lake which communicated with the infernal river Nile. CHAP. III.

When the ark of Osiris was thus viewed as a coffin, it was termed *Soros*: and, by way of exhibiting the descent of the god into Hades, his representative the bull Apis, whenever he died, was regularly buried in it¹. Yet this same bull appears in the Bembine table floating on the surface of the water in the ship of Osiris: and Diodorus informs us, that every new Apis, into each of which the soul of the deity was believed successively to transmigrate, was solemnly inaugurated into his office by being placed in a boat upon the Nile². The word *Sor* itself indeed, or as the Greeks wrote it *Soros*, is not an arbitrary term, vaguely used to describe *a coffin*. It properly signifies *an ox* or *cow*: and it denotes *a coffin*, only because a cow was symbolical of the ark or coffin of Osiris. Hence we are indifferently told, that the god was inclosed in an ark and in a wooden cow: and hence, as *Sor*, which properly denotes *a cow*, is employed to designate *an ark* or *coffin*; so conversely *Theba*, which properly signifies *an ark*, is used as the appellation of the sacred *cow* which typified the ship of Isis.

3. These mythologic speculations, which make Hades to be the womb of the great mother, whether she be viewed as a personification of the Earth or of the Ark, have given rise to certain peculiarities of language, which are too singular to be passed over in silence.

Among the ancient Greeks and Egyptians, every dead person, who had duly received the rites of sepulture, was indifferently said to enter into his *Soros* or coffin and to embark in the *Soros* or ship of Charon. Among the old Druids, an entrance into the grave by death was termed *an entrance into the ship of the Earth*³. And, among the Arabs, as we may collect from a very remarkable expression in the book of Job, the inclosure of the

¹ Plut. de Isid. p. 368, 362. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i. p. 323.

² Diod. Bibl. lib. i. p. 76.

³ Davies's Mythol. p. 231.

BOOK V. deceased within the gloomy interior of a sepulchral cavern was deemed a return into the womb of the great universal mother¹.

4. The entrance of Osiris into the ark being the same as his death or descent into the infernal regions, his quitting the ark was of course esteemed his revival or return from Hades. It was likewise viewed as his birth from the womb of his mystic parent the ship-goddess.

This was the regeneration of the Mysteries: and, accordingly, every aspirant, imitating the sufferings and final triumph of the great father, after descending into a mimic hell and after experiencing an inclosure within the womb of the goddess, returned again to the light of heaven and claimed to have been born anew from the womb of her who floated as a ship upon the deluge.

V. There is yet another character sustained by the great mother; which might indeed have been inferred from analogy, which for the most part appears but dimly in the mythologic system of the Gentiles, but which at times is nevertheless positively and explicitly ascribed to her. As the great father is Adam transmigratively reappearing in the person of Noah; so the great mother is Eve transmigratively reappearing in the person of the wife of Noah. Respecting this ancient personage it would be said in the mystic phraseology of the Hindoo divines, that the Earth, the Moon, the Ark, and even Universal Nature itself, were all forms of the first divine female, the general parent of the human race.

1. The most direct proof of the position now before us is to be found in the mythology of Hindostan.

We are told, that Swayambhuva or the first Menu had for his consort Satarupa; that this primeval pair bore also the names of *Adima* and *Ica*, pronounced *Adim* and *Eve*; that Adim was the first of men, as Eve was the first of women; and that these two were the common parents of all mankind. We are further told, that Satarupa was likewise the wife of Menu-Satyavrata, who escaped with seven companions in an ark when the whole world perished by water: for, as Menu-Satyavrata was a re-appearance of Menu-Swayambhuva, so this younger Satarupa was similarly a

¹ *Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither.* Job i. 21.

reappearance of the most ancient Satarupa who was distinguished by the name of *Eve* or *Iva*. Hence it is evident, that, agreeably to the old doctrine of a succession of similar worlds each tenanted by the same inhabitants as its predecessor, Satarupa or Iva is at once the consort of Adam and of Noah; or rather, to speak in the language of the Brahmens, that she is the consort of the great father, who with his three sons is always manifested at the commencement of every new mundane system. This however is not the only part of Satarupa's character: she is the chief goddess of Hindostan, as well as the transmigrating mother of the human race. Menu and she are declared to be the same as Isa and Isi, or as Brahma and Saraswati: and accordingly she is celebrated as the mother of the World, and is identified with the mysterious Yoni or female energy of nature. But Isi, as we have already seen, is at once the Earth, the Moon, the Ark, the goddess of the infernal regions, and the female principle of fecundity: here we additionally find her to be the first woman both of the old and of the new world, the consort both of Noah and of Adam ¹.

Since Isi is certainly the Isis of Egypt, we must conclude that the same character was sustained also by the latter goddess; and thence by Ceres, Venus, Astartè, Rhea, and all the other divinities with whom she is severally identified. I am not able indeed to bring direct proof in every case: but the propriety of such a conclusion is greatly corroborated by our finding, that the ancient Druids spoke of their Ceridwen just as the Hindoos speak of their Isi or Satarupa. The Celtic goddess was the Earth, the Moon, the Ship of the deluge, and the regent of Hades: but she was likewise viewed as the first woman, and was revered as a personification of the generative powers ².

2. Such being ultimately the character of the great mother, we shall perceive the reason, why she is feigned, like the great father, to have mysteriously triplicated herself.

As the primeval Brahm or Menu is multiplied into the forms of the three younger gods; so the primeval Isi or Satarupa is multiplied into the

¹ Asiat. Res. vol. v. p. 247, 251, 252. vol. xi. p. 111, 112. Moor's Hind. Panth. p. 85, 89, 90, 101, 104.

² Davies's Mythol. p. 184.

BOOK V. forms of the three younger goddesses. These, under the names of *Saraswati*, *Parvati*, and *Lacshmi*, are severally the wives of Brahma, Siva, and Vishnou: while Isi herself, from whose unity they all proceed and into whose unity they may again be resolved, is eminently the consort of the great paternal Isa; from whom, in a similar manner, the three gods proceed, and into whom they similarly resolve themselves. This double unity male and female, producing a double triad of gods and goddesses, and thus completing the sacred number eight, is manifestly Adam and Eve with their three sons and three daughters at the commencement of the antediluvian world, and Noah and his wife with their three sons and three daughters at the commencement of the postdiluvian world. Yet, as the mother was made to sustain certain additional characters; so the daughters, being viewed as only portions or emanations of their great parent, were equally made to sustain additional characters. Isi existing alike in all the three; each, as a form of Isi, is at once the Earth, the Moon, the Ark, and the regent of Hades. Hence originated the great triple goddess of the Gentiles, whose fabled nature bears the strictest analogy to that of their great triple god. The three-fold Isi of Hindostan is evidently the three-fold Isis or thrice invoked Dark Goddess of Egypt, the three-fold Night or black Venus of the Orphic poet, the three-fold Diana of Greece and Scythia, the three *Parcæ* or *Erimnyes* of the fabled Inferum, the three floating eggs from which the three great gods were produced, the three Worlds into which the Universe is feigned to be divided¹.

3. What is thus variously set forth in the mystic jargon of the epoptæ, is sometimes literally and unreservedly declared to us.

Saturn, whom we have seen to be palpably the same as Adam reappearing in the person of Noah, is said to be the husband of Rhea or Opis, the Satar-Upa of the Hindoos. These are the parents of three sons and three daughters: and, agreeably to their number, the World, that universal empire of their father, is divided for them into three portions. The same

¹ *Asiat. Res.* vol. xi. p. 110, 111, 112. vol. iii. p. 161, 163. *Moor's Hind. Panth.* p. 21, 22, 33, 70, 81, 116, 119, 125, 136. *Bryant on the plagues of Egypt.* p. 170. *Cudworth's Intell. Syst.* b. i. c. 4. p. 414. properly 354. *Orph. Fragm.* p. 406. *Pearson on the Creed.* vol. ii. p. 57. *Moor's Hind. Panth.* p. 40. *Orph. Hymn.* lviii. lix.

genealogical arrangement occurs in the fable of Phtha or Vulcan; whom Jamblichus identifies with the navicular Osiris, and who is celebrated as the wonderful architect of the floating World. We learn from Pherecydes, that Vulcan espoused Cabira, the daughter of Proteus; who bore to him the three Cabiri and the three Cabiræ¹. Here the sea-nymph Cabira evidently occupies the place of Rhea or Isi or Iva: and accordingly she will prove to be the same person, as the ocean-born Venus, and as the navicular Ceres. Euthymius tells us, that Venus was a Cabira; and Ceres, whom Mnaseas enumerates in his list of the Samothracian Cabiri, is by Pausanias styled *Cabiria*². The complete number of the Cabiric deities, as given by Pherecydes, amounts precisely to eight; namely a father and a mother, with three sons and three daughters. Now, as the father was one of those eight great gods whom the Egyptians represented sailing together in a ship, and as he is likewise identified with Osiris whom Typhon set afloat in an ark; as the Cabiri are said to have constructed the first ship, as they are fabled to have consecrated the relics of the ocean, and as they were deemed the tutelary gods of navigation: the whole Cabiric family, which consists of four males and four females, must be collectively those eight persons, who were preserved in an Ark when all the rest of mankind were overwhelmed by the waters of the deluge³.

¹ Jamb. de myster. sect. viii. c. 3. Pherec. apud Strab. Geog. lib. x. p. 472. Herod. lib. iii. c. 37.

² Euthym. Zegab. Panop. apud Seld. de diis Syr. synt. ii. c. 4. p. 211. Pausan. Bœot. p. 578.

³ Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. i. c. 10. Aristoph. Iren. ver. 275. Schol. in loc.

CHAPTER IV.

Respecting the hermaphroditic Unity of the Great Universal Parent.

I. **AS** all the gods of the Gentiles finally resolve themselves into one god, who is yet said to be mysteriously triplicated; and as all the goddesses of the Gentiles finally resolve themselves into one goddess, who is similarly described as appearing in three forms: so this god and this goddess, the great father and the great mother of pagan theology, ultimately unite together, and thus constitute a single deity who partakes of the nature of them both.

Here, so far as I can judge, we have the only divine unity that the heathens ever worshipped: an unity, which has often been mistaken for that of the Supreme Being, but which really has nothing in common with him, save that it bore the name and was decorated with the usurped attributes of the Deity. It was, in fact, composed of that great father and that great mother, whose mythologic characters have now been so largely considered. Hence, if neither of these personages were *severally* the true God; a point, than which nothing can be more palpably evident: the two *conjointly*, when viewed as one great hermaphroditic divinity, can just as little be the true God.

Yet this was the unity, which misled Bp. Warburton into the groundless CHAP. IV. fancy, that the ancient Mysteries were instituted for the purpose of teaching the initiated the falsehood of the popular hero-worship and the existence of the one true Supreme Deity. The Mysteries did indeed teach, that all the gods were one and that all the goddesses were one; they moreover exhibited in scenic representation the death and revival of the great father and the various calamities of the great mother; and they revealed to the epoptæ, that the divinities of Gentilism were their deceased ancestors, venerated as the regents of the mundane Ship, astronomically worshipped in conjunction with the Sun and Moon, and materially identified with the whole frame of Nature: but they assuredly did not *discard* these factitious gods to make room for that unity of the true God, which Bp. Warburton has supposed them to teach as their last and greatest secret. They taught, no doubt, an unity *such as it was*: but it was not the unity of *Jehovah*. It was an unity; which, instead of *discarding* hero-worship, was simply a varied *modification* of it. It was an unity; which did not inculcate the folly of adoring the great father and the great mother, but which itself was produced by the mystic union of the two. The objects of worship were still the same; whether many gods and goddesses were adored, whether the many were resolved into a single god and single goddess, or whether these two were finally blended together into one compound being who was esteemed the great hermaphroditic parent of the Universe. This one being is indeed described with many of the attributes of the true God: but that is no proof of their real identity. When the creature was made to usurp the place of the Creator, it was necessarily spoken of in language which properly belongs to the Creator alone: but, unless we can believe that the primeval being who floats in a wonderful ship upon the surface of an universal deluge is God, we can never admit the genuine divinity of that unity which is produced by the mystic hermaphroditic conjunction of the ship-god and the ship-goddess.

The very language indeed of the pagans themselves, which they employ in speaking of the nature of their deities, is sufficient to overturn the speculation of this great but daring writer. Instead of describing the unity, which they all acknowledge, as *superseding* the plurality: they speak of

BOOK V. their gods as being *equally* one and many ¹. Whatever therefore the many be *severally*, the one must be *collectively*: because the unity is but a combination of the plurality. Hence, since the many are hero-gods; the one, which mystically comprehends them all in an imaginary hermaphroditic being, must evidently be a pantheistic congeries of hero-gods, and therefore cannot be the true God ².

Yet, notwithstanding this plain consequence from an incontrovertibly established position, namely *the mortal origin of the hero-gods*, so perpetually has the divine unity of the pagan mythologists been mistaken for the divine unity of the real Godhead, that Synesius, himself a Christian bishop, has most strangely ascribed to Jehovah the hermaphroditic nature of the one great universal parent venerated throughout the gentile world ¹. Thus mischievous is the unscriptural notion, that the pagans worshipped the true God, either under the many names of their various idols, or at least under the unity into which they all resolved themselves.

1. The old mythology of Hindostan is the most explicit in setting forth to us the nature of that unity, within which all the deities both male and female

¹ See Cudworth's *Intell. Syst.* p. 377—512.

² Cudworth admirably shews, that all the gods and goddesses of the Gentiles are ultimately one numen, described as partaking of the nature of both sexes: but, unfortunately imagining like Warburton that the unity must be the true God, he thence, more consistently than the author of the *Divine Legation*, makes every individual of the plurality the true God likewise; worshipped indeed erroneously and materially blended with the Universe, but still the true universal Numen. His argument ought to have taken a directly contrary course. Instead of inferring the divinity of each individual from the assumed proper divinity of the mystic unity; he ought rather to have inquired into the nature of the individuals, and thence to have established on a sure basis the nature of that unity which confessedly comprehends them all. Now (as Warburton most strenuously and justly maintains, for no truth can well be more evident) the many gods of the Gentiles were deified mortals: the conclusion therefore ought to have been, that the unity was a congeries of deified mortals; not the unity of the true God. Cudworth however is at least consistent; but Warburton is not so: for the latter, after rightly insisting that the many gods are deified mortals, yet maintains, that the unity taught in the mysteries, an unity composed of this very plurality, was the unity of the true God.

¹ Συ πατηρ, Συ δ' εσσι ματηρ,
Συ δ' αρρηνη, Συ δε θελος.

were ultimately comprehended: it will serve therefore as a key to unlock the mystery as it occurs in the systems of other nations. CHAP. IV.

Brahma, Vishnou, and Siva, who are all forms of one and the same god-head, are all described as being hermaphrodites, each comprehending within himself the masculine and feminine principles of fecundity. Isi likewise or Parvati is similarly an hermaphrodite, sometimes appearing as a male, and at other times manifesting herself as a female¹. Such being the case, we should naturally be led to suppose, that the god Isa became an hermaphrodite by an inseparable union with the goddess Isi, and conversely that the goddess Isi partook of the two sexes by her mystic amalgamation with the god Isa. This would be the obvious conclusion, even if nothing more had been said on the subject: but the Hindoos leave us in no doubt respecting the precise character of their androgynous divinity. They tell us, that during the flood the generative powers of nature were reduced to their simplest elements, and that these were combined in the form of the ship Argha and its mast; the ship representing the great mother Isi, and the mast the great father Isa²: and they further contend, that the union of the two principles was so mysteriously intimate as to form but one compound being, which they symbolize by a figure half male and half female, denominating it *Hara-Gauri* and *Ardhanari-Isvara*³. Hence it is manifest, that the hermaphroditic god of the Hindoos is composed of the great father and the great mother, or the ship-god and the ship-goddess, blended together so as to make one being which partakes of both sexes: and from this being, thus uniting in itself the two principles of fecundity, they deduce the origin of all things. The paintings, accordingly, of Ardhanari most curiously exhibit Siva and Parvati, or Isa and Isi, so conjoined as to form only a single figure. Their union commences at the head, and terminates at the feet: and half a woman is so united to half a man, that one side of the figure from the head downwards represents the masculine shape of Siva, while the other side similarly represents the feminine shape of Parvati. This

¹ Asiat. Res. vol. i. p. 254. vol. iii. p. 126, 127, 132, 133, 134, 135. vol. vii. 293, 294. Moor's Hind. Panth. p. 9, 384, 385, 292.

² Asiat. Res. vol. vi. p. 523.

³ Asiat. Res. vol. viii. p. 55.

BOOK V. compound figure, decorated on the right with all the symbols of Isa and on the left with all the symbols of Isi, appears seated on the top of the sacred mount Meru, where the Hindoos place the garden of Paradise, and where they suppose the ark of Satyavrata to have rested after the deluge¹.

Here then we have the sole divine unity, which the Brahmens worship as god: an unity, not of the invisible Creator of heaven and earth, but composed by the mystic amalgamation of the great father and the great mother, whose characters have already been very sufficiently ascertained.

With this opinion, which runs directly counter to the often advanced notion that the Hindoos entertain the most sublime conceptions of the true God and that He alone is the real object of their adoration, the unreserved declarations of these very Hindoos themselves precisely correspond. Ask one of that nation, whether learned or unlearned, if he worships the Supreme Being, if he prays to him, if he offers to him sacrifices? He will immediately answer, *No, never*. Inquire, if he does not at least worship him mentally? The doubt will be, whether he understands the import of the question; but, if he do, he will again answer, *No*. Do you praise him? *No*. Do you meditate on his attributes and perfections? *No*. What then is that silent meditation, which some learned authors adduce as a clear proof of your venerating the one true invisible God? He will tell you, that, with eyes closed and looking up to heaven, with hands moderately open and a little elevated, he composes his thoughts; and, without moving his tongue or using any of his organs of speech, says, *I am Brahma or the Supreme Being*. If you ask him, what this supreme being is, you will find that it is a being altogether different from him whom we have learned by revelation to venerate under the name of *Jehovah*. The Hindoo will tell you, that the supreme being, upon which *he* meditates, is identified with himself; that it is forbidden to adore him or to offer prayers and sacrifices to him, because that would be to worship himself; but that we may venerate collateral emanations from him and even mere mortals. He will add, that the worship of images is recommended, when, after consecration, the deity has been called down and forced into them by powerful spells. Do

¹ Moor's Hind. Panth. p. 23, 83, 98, 99. plates 7 and 24. See Plate II. Fig. 8.

you then worship idols? He will immediately answer without the least CHAP. IV. hesitation, *Yes, I do worship them* ¹.

Precisely similar to this was the doctrine of the ancient philosophers of Greece and Rome; and their speculations were those of the whole pagan world. They taught, that every individual of mankind was excerpted from their universal numen or great androgynous hero-god; that he was consequently a portion of this deity; and that, as he proceeded from him, so by death he would be resolved again into his essence. The religion of the gentile world therefore was in truth rank atheism: whence the apostle informs us, even in so many words, that the pagans were atheists and had rejected the worship of the real God ².

2. But it may be said, that, although the heathens erroneously imagined the souls of men to be excerpted portions of their supreme being, they might still by their supreme being mean him whom we denominate *Jehovah* or *the Self-existent*.

To conjecture, facts afford the best and most satisfactory answer: and these facts I the rather proceed to adduce, because, while they still bring us to the same point as before, namely that the supreme unity of the pagan mythologists was but an hermaphroditic compound of their great father and great mother; they further teach us, how the notion of this androgynous union first originated. Let us attend then to the account, which the Hindoos give us of their double god Arahanari or Viraj, from whom the souls of all mankind are said to be emanations.

He, the primeval being, felt not delight; therefore man delights not when alone. He wished the existence of another; and instantly he became such as is man and woman in mutual embrace. He caused this, his own self, to fall in twain; and thus became a husband and wife: therefore was this body so separated, as it were, an imperfect moiety of himself. This blank therefore is completed by woman: he approached her; and thence were human beings produced. She reflected doubtfully, How can he, having produced me from himself, incestuously approach me? I will now assume a disguise. She became a cow; and the other became a bull, and approached

¹ Asiat. Res. vol. xi. p. 125, 126.

² Rom. i. 23, 25, 26. Eph. iii. 12.

BOOK V. *her: and the issue were kine. She was changed into a mare, and he into a stallion; one was turned into a female ass, and the other into a male one: thus did he again approach her; and the one-hoofed kind was the offspring. She became a female goat, and he a male one; she was an ewe, and he a ram: thus he approached her; and goats and sheep were the progeny. In this manner did he create every existing pair whatsoever, even to the ants and minutest insect¹.*

The notion of Viraj dividing his own substance into male and female occurs in more than one Purana; so does that of an incestuous marriage of the first Menu and his daughter Satarupa: and the commentators on the Upanishad understand that legend to be alluded to in this place. Now the first Menu and his wife Satarupa, who are thus understood as jointly constituting the primeval demiurgic hermaphrodite, are likewise denominated *Adima* and *Iva*, are said to have been eminently the parents of three sons one of whom was murdered by his brother at a sacrifice, and are described as being the common progenitors of the whole human race. But *Adima* and *Iva* are themselves manifestations of *Isa* and *Isi*, or of *Brahma* and *Saraswati*. Hence we find, that exactly the same story is told of *Brahma*.

According to the Matsya Purana, Brahma, in the north-west part of India about Cashmir, that is to say, in the lofty region of Meru where the Hindoos place the garden of Paradise, assumed a mortal shape: and, one half of his body springing out without his suffering any diminution whatever, he framed out of it Satarupa. She was so beautiful, that he fell in love with her; but, having sprung from his body, he considered her as his daughter, and was ashamed. During this conflict between shame and love, he remained motionless with his eyes fixed upon her. Satarupa, perceiving his situation and desiring to avoid his looks, stepped aside. Brahma, unable to move, but still wishing to see her, caused a face to spring out in the direction to which she moved. She shifted her place four times: and as many faces, corresponding with the four corners of the world, grew out of his head. Having recovered his intellects, the other half of his body sprang from him and became Menu-Swayambhuva².

¹ Asiat. Res. vol. viii. p. 441.

² Asiat. Res. vol. vi. p. 472, 473.

From these legends we may collect in a manner which cannot easily be misunderstood, that the hermaphroditic unity of Brahma or the supreme being, whom the meditative Hindoo identifies with himself, is an imaginary androgynous conjunction of Adam and Eve, the universal parents of the human race: and consequently that the divine unity, venerated by the pagans and described by them as partaking of the nature of both sexes; an unity, which has so often been mistaken for the real divine unity of the true God; is produced solely by the fabled amalgamation of the great father and the great mother. Hence it is evident, that the heathen doctrine of the excerption of souls from the hermaphroditic universal deity and of their final absorption into the being from whom they sprang, cannot in the slightest degree relate to the creation of souls by the true God: on the contrary, it was only the necessary result of the theory, which was adopted with more or less distinctness in every part of the globe; that the demiurgic great parent was manifested with his three sons at the commencement of every new mundane system, that from him was born the whole human race which was destined to flourish during the continuance of that system, and that all mankind together with the whole world were resolved into his essence at the period of its dissolution. Then, in solitary meditation or in deathlike sleep, he floats on the surface of the mighty overwhelming ocean, inclosed in the womb of his consort who assumes the form of the sacred ship Argha. But, when the waters retire from off the face of the earth, he demiurgically renews the whole appearance of nature, and manifests himself anew at the beginning of another system to act again the same part which he had already acted during the existence of the former.

That this being is the unity, from whom the souls of all men are excerpted and into whom they are all resolved, with whom consequently all men are identified by partaking of a common species and by the physical relationship of one blood, is declared to us in the most explicit terms by the Hindoo divines.

Svayambhuva, or the son of the self-existing, was the first Menu and the father of mankind: his consort's name was Satarupa. They call him Adima or the first: he is the first of men, and the first male. His help-mate Pracriti is called also Satarupa. She is Adimi, or the first; she is

BOOK V. *Visva-Jenni, or the mother of the world; she is Iva, or a form of I the female energy of nature; she is Para, or the greatest. Both are like Mahaliva and his Sacti, whose names are also Isa and Isi. Swayambhuva is Brahma in a human shape, or the first Brahma; for Brahma is man individually¹, and also collectively mankind: hence Brahma is said to be born and to die every day. Collectively he dies every hundred years; this being the utmost limits of life in the Cali-yug: at the end of the world, Brahma or mankind is said to die also at the end of a hundred divine years. From the beginning to the end of things, when the whole creation will be annihilated and absorbed into the supreme being, there will be five great Calpas or periods. Every Calpa, except the first, is preceded by a renovation of the world and a general flood. At the end of his own Calpa, each hermaphroditic Brahma or Memu is deprived by his successor of the masculine principle of fecundity, who attracts the whole creation to himself to swallow it up or devour it; and, at the close of his own Calpa, he disgorge the whole creation. Swayambhuva is, conjointly and individually, Brahma, Vishnou, and Isa. To Swayambhuva were born three daughters: and Brahma created or produced three great Rajupatis to be their husbands².*

As each man is thus individually said to be Brahma, who is the same as Swayambhuva or Adima, because he is born from him and is therefore a portion of his essence: so each woman is individually pronounced to be a form of I or the female principle, and thence to be really Iva or Eve or the white goddess Isi³. But Adima and Iva constitute jointly the great hermaphroditic unity Ardhanari: and this, so far as I can learn, is the only supreme demiurge, from whose essence the souls of all mankind were thought by the gentile mythologists to have been excerpted; this, I am fully persuaded, is the sole divine unity, which the apostate heathens have worshipped instead of the unity of Jehovah.

3. The notion of the first-created man being an hermaphrodite has doubtless arisen from a misconception of the primeval tradition, which through Noah was handed down to the builders of the tower, respecting

¹ Hence, as we have seen, the Hindoo devotee asserts, that he himself is Brahma or the supreme being, and that to worship this supreme being is in fact to worship himself.

² *Asiat. Res.* vol. v. p. 247, 248.

³ *Asiat. Res.* vol. xi. p. 111, 112.

the process of forming the original pair. As the woman sprang out of the side of the man, and as therefore she made a part of him before such disjunction, it was mystically said, that Adam or Swayambhuva was androgynous, and that all things were produced from an hermaphroditic unity. Afterwards, when the Earth, the Ark, and the Moon, were severally pronounced to be forms of the great mother; and when the Sun, in a similar manner, became the astronomical symbol of the great father: each of these was thought to exhibit the same androgynous conjunction, each was esteemed the double parent of the world and of the whole human race. Hence the Earth and the diluvian ship Argha were equally symbolized by the lotos; the petal of that flower representing mount Meru or the mast of the ship or the masculine principle, while its calix shadowed out the mundane boat or the hull of the Argha or the feminine principle. Hence the Moon was said to be male as well as female, and the Sun to be female as well as male¹. Hence these two heavenly bodies are so often spoken of as the parents of a warlike race, who early established their supremacy over their brethren. And hence the souls of men, which are described as excerpted portions of the supreme being, are also declared by the mystæ to be born from doors in the Sun and Moon or to be produced from the womb of a cow². All such expressions mean ultimately the same thing. The human race were literally born from Adam and Eve, viewed as the great primeval hermaphrodite: but mystically they were produced from the Earth, the Ark, the Moon, and the hieroglyphical cow, considered as different forms of the polymorphic universal mother. Agreeably to this singular intercommunion, we find the masculine Moon represented as the king of the infernal regions; while the female Moon or Proserpine, floating on the surface of the Styx, is celebrated as their queen³. The god Lunus or Chandra is the same as Osiris or Iswara; and Iswara again is the same as Menu-

¹ Μητέρα την σιλπηην τῆ κοσμοῦ καλῆσι, καὶ φύσιν ἔχειν ἀρσενιοθηλυοῖοῖσι. Plut. de Isid. Μητηρ, θελῶς τε καὶ ἀρσην. Orph. Hymn. viii. Moor's Hind. Panth. p. 292, 278, 283, 284, 289, 78, 279, 290. Mallet's North. Ant. vol. ii. p. 166. Seld. de diis Syr. synt. ii. c. 2. p. 165, 166.

² Porph. de ant. nymph. p. 261, 262, 264, 265, 267, 268.

³ Asiat. Res. vol. vii. p. 269.

BOOK V. Satyavrata, who, after having been preserved in an ark, was constituted the god of obsequies. Yet both Osiris and Iswara are the Sun : and the Sun again is described as being a female no less than a male. Thus we still run the same round ; and are still brought to the same conclusion, that the supreme hermaphroditic unity of the pagan world had nothing in common, save the name of deity, with the Supreme Unity of the true God.

There is a curious passage in the *Convivium* of Plato, which will throw additional light on the subject, and which will still further tend to prove that I have assigned its true origin to the hermaphroditic unity of the Gentiles. When it comes to the turn of Aristophanes to speak, he is described as saying, that *our human nature was not of old what it now is, but different from it. For at first there were three sorts of human beings ; and not two only, as at present, male and female. But of the third sort nothing now remains, except the name. This was common, and made up of the two others : for man and woman were then one kind, and had one general name, and partook both of the male and female sex.* Afterwards he is made to tell us, that *each human being in the primitive state of the world, before the sexes were divided, was round, encompassed with back and sides, and furnished with four hands and four feet and two faces. But at length Jupiter resolved to divide this hermaphroditic creature into two : and the consequence was, that the one severed half always hereafter felt a longing desire to embrace its other half. Hence it comes to pass, that the two, which were originally but one, naturally experience a mutual affection : and this love is ever striving to make only one again out of two, and thus to heal human nature which was wounded by the disruptive production of two out of the primal one* * It is sufficiently evident, that this fable is substantially the same as the parallel legend of the Hindoos. Each no doubt originated from a common source : and each, if I mistake not, was worked up into its present fantastic shape by the apostates of Babel ; whence the notion of an hermaphroditic unity in the person of the great demiurgic hero-god diffused itself over the face of the whole earth. As for the source, it was clearly an ancient tradition, handed down from Adam to

* Platon. Conviv. p. 189. apud Kidder's Demons. part iii. p. 121.

Noah, respecting the first creation of man and woman and the primeval institution of marriage. The fountain of this tradition was God himself: and accordingly Moses was directed to preserve it, in its genuine unadulterated form, when he penned the history of the primitive ages.

Yet such is the strange propensity of man to adopt the wildest conceits, that we find the very same opinion prevalent among the Jewish Rabbins respecting the androgynous nature of Adam. We are told by Menasseh Ben-Israel, that, in the opinion of R. Nachman, R. Solomon, Aben Ezra, R. Bahye, R. Eliezer, and R. Isaac Karus, Adam and Eve were at first made together; and that Eve was joined to him in such a manner, that Adam was in the front and Eve behind him: and the author of the *Rabboth* affirms, that this compound body was supposed to be hermaphroditic, and to have had two faces. I suspect, that this fancy, like others of the same school, was adopted from the mythology of the pagans during the period of the Babylonian captivity: but, when once it *was* adopted, the Rabbins with mischievous ingenuity attempted to prove the truth of it from Scripture; and they treated the sacred volume much in the same way, as the apostates of Babel treated the unwritten tradition which they received from Noah or his sons. It is said by the inspired historian, that *God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him, male and female created he them.* Hence it was argued, from the mixed use of the singular *him* and the plural *them*, that God formed *one* human being indeed, but a being of a *double* nature; and that, as this formation is spoken of anterior to the separation of Eve from Adam, when we are told that he created them male and female, we must understand by the expression that he originally created them in one body partaking of both sexes. It is further said, that, when God subsequently created Eve in a distinct form, he took, as the word is commonly understood, *a rib* from Adam, and moulded it into the shape of the first woman. On this the Rabbins observe, that the word, generally supposed to mean *a rib*, here denotes *a side* or *moiety* of the body of Adam; and they urge, by way of demonstrating the propriety of this interpretation, that the same word is elsewhere used in the law of Moses to express not *a rib* but *a side*: what therefore God took from Adam was, they conclude, his female side or moiety; which was

BOOK V. originally attached to the male half of that primitive human being, who was created both male and female ¹. Other arguments, equally convincing, are adduced by these Hebrew sages, to establish from Holy Writ the same notable opinion: and they might, had they been so inclined, have additionally contended, that Moses strongly insinuates it by the speech which he puts into the mouth of Adam. *This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called woman, because she was taken out of man. Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife: and they two shall be one flesh* ².

The purpose, for which I have noticed these speculations of the gentile Aristophanes and of the Jewish Rabbins, is to shew, what that hermaphroditic unity really was, which the pagans venerated as the great universal parent both of gods and men and as the periodical renovator of the dissolved mundane system. Now, from the whole of what has been said, I think it abundantly evident, that it was no divine unity of the true God which they worshipped, but an imaginary created unity produced by the androgynous conjunction of the great father and great mother.

II. The more we pursue the subject, the more will this plain truth shine out. Like the Hindoos, all nations adored as the first demiurgic cause an hermaphroditic divinity: but, if we inquire who this divinity was, we shall invariably find, that he was not the spiritual and almighty Creator of heaven and earth; but, indifferently, either the great father who is said to have floated in an ark upon the surface of the deluge, or the great mother who is fabled to have assumed the form of a ship. Sometimes this deity is described as being properly an hermaphrodite: and sometimes he is represented as becoming one, so far as the adoption of such a character was possible, by suffering mutilation. His votaries, as was usual throughout the gentile world, esteemed themselves his visible proxies: and, as such, they studiously endeavoured to imitate his character. Hence originated some of the most horrible abominations of Paganism: for, whatever the an-

¹ Men. Ben. Isr. Concil. p. 14. Rabboth. fol. 9. col. 3. apud Kidder's Demons. part iii. p. 121.

² Gen. ii. 23 24 Comp. Matt. xix. 4, 5, 6. Mark x. 6, 7, 8. 1 Cor. vi. 16. Eph. v. 31.

drogynous divinity was mystically said to have done or suffered, his wretched worshippers thought it a matter of religion to do and suffer likewise. Accordingly, by voluntary mutilation and by the adoption of the female habit, his effeminate priests laboured to make themselves partakers of both sexes : while his priestesses, by the assumption of the male dress and by the detestable aping of masculine manners, strove, while they retained their own sexual distinction, to appear not as women but as men. Nor was this all : as the great father and the great mother were deemed personifications of the two distinct principles of fecundity, and as such were propitiated by religious fornication and by phallic processions ; so, when the two conjointly were viewed as constituting one great androgynous parent, the flood-gates were opened to a deluge of even still worse iniquity ¹. Such was the depraved worship, which St. Paul so indignantly reprobates as prevailing but too generally throughout the pagan world at the time of the first promulgation of the Gospel ². Such also was the worship, which called down the special vengeance of heaven upon the cities of the plain.

1. The deity worshipped in those cities, as we may collect both from the prevailing superstition of the country and from the very name itself of *Sodom* or *Sedom* ³, was Sed or Said or Seth or Sit, as the same title was variously pronounced : and, when the mystic solar appellation *Om* or *On* was suffixed to it, the god Sed was then revered as Sed-Om or Sid-On or Sit-On. We learn from Sanchoniatho, that this Phenician and Canaanitish divinity was the same as Dag-On or the fish-god ⁴ : and indeed the two titles of *Sit-On* and *Dag-On* are compound words of perfectly similar import : for, in the language of the old Phenicians, *Sid* or *Said* denoted a *fish* no less

¹ See Jul. Firm. de error. prof. rel. p. 9, 10.

² Rom. i. 21—28. The apostle rightly teaches us, that the abominations, which he specifies, were to be referred to the peculiar nature of that theology, which the Gentiles adopted when they forsook the worship of the true God. *They changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image ;—WHEREFORE God also gave them up to uncleanness—They changed the truth of God into a lye, and worshipped the creature rather than the Creator ;—FOR THIS CAUSE God gave them up unto vile affections.*

³ So the Masoretic punctuation rightly teaches us to pronounce the word.

⁴ Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. i. c. 10.

BOOK V. than *Dag*¹. Sit-On or Sid-On was highly venerated by the Tyrians : and he equally communicated his name to the two cities Sidon and Sodom. He was also adored by the Egyptians and the Moabites : for *Seth* was an appellation of Typhon ; and Typhon, by the mystic theocrasia of the Gentiles, ultimately identified himself with Osiris and Baal-Peor, who is thence mentioned in Holy Scripture by the name of *Seth*². Such being the case, Seth will be the same likewise as Cronus-Anubis and Adonis : for Osiris is plainly one with each of those deities. Now both Anubis and Adonis were thought to be hermaphrodites. Hence it will follow, that Seth or Sed was also an hermaphrodite : and we may safely infer, that the same notions were entertained of him, and the same rites instituted in honour of him, that marked the fabulous history and distinguished the nefarious worship of Anubis and Adonis. But the hermaphroditic Cronus-Anubis was described, as being at once the father and mother of the Universe : and the hermaphroditic Adonis was declared to have been guilty of the very same miscalled religious abominations, as those which produced the miraculous destruction of Sodom and Gomorrha³.

Hence, I think, there can be no doubt of the source, from which the wickedness of those cities originated. It was not *merely* wickedness, viewed *abstractedly* and *unconnectedly* as such : but it was a *peculiar form* of wickedness, which necessarily resulted from the professedly imitative worship of the androgynous Sed or Adonis. Accordingly, wherever this worship prevailed, there we always find a strong bias to the enormity in question : and, as it prevailed generally throughout the heathen world, such also was the prevalence of its detestable concomitant.

Adonis then or Seth united in his own person the two characters of Osiris and Isis or of Iswara and Isi, being in fact that compound monster whom the Hindoos call *Ardhanari* : and it is observable, that a similar duplicity of sex was also ascribed to his paramour Venus or Astoreth ; who, in her female capacity, was the same as Isis or Isi. The Cyprians represented her with a beard, and supposed her to be both masculine and feminine. Philochorus tells us, that on this account men sacrificed to her

¹ Just. Hist. Phil. lib. xviii. c. 3.

² Numb. xxiv. 17.

³ Plut. de Isid. p. 368. Ptol. Heph. Nov. Hist. lib. v. p. 328.

in the dress of women, and women in the dress of men. Aristophanes calls her *Aphroditus*, instead of *Aphroditè*. And Levinus, asserting her to be of both sexes, applies to her the masculine epithet *Almus*. This last writer and Philochorus agree in maintaining, that she is the Moon: and, accordingly, as we have already seen, the Moon was likewise thought to be an hermaphrodite; the god Lunus being no less venerated than the goddess Luna¹. There was the same intercommunion of character between Mars and Venus, as between Venus and Adonis: for Mars and Adonis were fundamentally one person. Maimonides notices a book of magic, in which it was directed, that, when a man adored the planet Venus, he should wear the embroidered vest of a female, and, when a woman adored the planet Mars, she should assume the arms and cuirass of a man².

Agreeably to such a view of these deities, their nefarious worship partook of their imagined character. In the cities of the plain, the double Seth was propitiated by a crime against nature. The hermaphroditic Venus on the summit of mount Lebanon, who is the same as the Indian Ardhanari on the top of the lunar mount Cailasa or Meru, had in her temple both consecrated harlots and consecrated catanites³. The same goddess, under the name of *Astoreth* or *Astartè* the abomination of the Sidonians, was venerated by the apostate Jews on the central peak of the mount of olives, thence called *the mount of corruption*, with precisely the same vile orgies⁴. And, as the great mother of Mexican theology was personated, in order to represent her double sex, by a youth wrapped in the skin of a murdered woman and dressed in female attire; so we find, that similar enormities were perpetrated also by the American idolaters, under a similar professed shew of religion⁵.

From these remarks we may perceive, why, under the Mosaical law, the two sexes were so strictly prohibited from wearing each other's apparel. It might at the first seem strange, why an action, apparently so trivial,

¹ Macrob. Sat. lib. iii. c. 8.

² Maimon. Mor. Nevoch. par. iii. c. 38.

³ Euseb. vit. Constan. Magn. lib. iii. c. 55.

⁴ 1 Kings xv. 12, 13. xiv. 23, 24. xxii. 46. 2 Kings xxiii. 4—7, 13—14.

⁵ Purch. Pilg. book viii. c. 10. book ix. c. 11.

BOOK V. should yet be stigmatized by the strong expression of *an abomination to Jehovah*: but the strict propriety of such phraseology will immediately be visible, when we find, that this interchange of garments was in reality no trifling matter, but a well-known badge of the infamous worship of the hermaphroditic deity¹.

The notion, that the principal hero-god was androgynous, and that as such he was the mother of the World, may be observed in various delineations of his character besides those already adduced. Thus the Orphic poet speaks of the primeval Jupiter, as uniting in his own single person a male divinity and an immortal nymph; and declares, that from this mysterious conjunction all things were generated². Thus also he celebrates Minerva or Neith, as being at once both male and female³. Thus likewise he ascribes the very same peculiarity of character to Bacchus or Osiris: and, in explanation, represents him, as being of a double nature; so that he comprehends in himself the two persons of the legislator Dionusus and the ineffable queen Misa or Mai-Isa or the Great Isis, from whom the arkite hill in Armenia is occasionally denominated *Masis*⁴. And thus Macrobius informs us, that some mythologists pronounced Janus to be a combination of Apollo and Diana or of Janus and Jana: while Ovid exhibits him, in a manner closely corresponding with the Orphic description of the androgynous Jupiter, as containing in his own essence the whole circuit of the Universe⁵.

2. As the priests of the heathen gods endeavoured to express in their own persons the characters and actions of the deities whom they served; and as for this purpose the ministers of the androgynous divinity were wont to mutilate themselves, and to confound the sexes by studiously imitating

¹ Deut. xxii. 5.

² Orph. Fragm. p. 365—367.

³ Orph. Hymn. xxxi. 10.

⁴ Orph. Hymn. xli.

⁵ Macrobi. Saturn. lib. i. c. 9. p. 157. Ovid. Fast. lib. i. This probably was the true reason, why he was depicted with two faces; the one provided with a flowing beard, the other smooth and beardless. He was the Ardhanari of the old Etruscans: and hence he was represented with the face both of a man and a woman. It may be observed in favour of this conjecture, that the two heads are placed back to back looking opposite ways, just in the same manner as the oriental fable describes the first pair to have been originally created.

the dress and manners of women: so, in return, the great hermaphroditic object of their devotion is often described as suffering the very calamity, to which his degraded hierarchy, in their strange attempt to copy his double nature, voluntarily submitted.

Accordingly we find, that the Indian Siva, the Egyptian Osiris, the Phœnician Esmunus or Asclepius, the Phrygian Attis and Agdestis, and the Grecian Bacchus and Saturn and Uranus, are all equally said to have suffered mutilation[†]. So general an agreement proves, that the same idea must have prevailed among the several votaries of these numerous though cognate divinities: and, since we find that several of them are also explicitly described as being androgynous, and since the mutilated priests of others affected to partake of the nature of both sexes, it is sufficiently evident, that the idea in question had respect to the supposed hermaphroditic character of the great universal parent.

3. It was from this ancient speculation respecting the nature of that parent both of deities and of mortals, that the classical fable of the boy Hermaphroditus derived its origin. By the mythological plagiaries of Greece, Hermes was said to have been the father, by the goddess Aphrodite or Venus, of a person; who was both male and female, and who from the blended names of his parents was called *Hermaphroditus*.

The poets do not seem to have known very well what to make of this monster, which they doubtless borrowed from the oriental mode of symbolizing: yet the character of it was not altogether forgotten among the classical writers.

Diodorus tells us, that the form of Hermaphroditus was a mixture of a boy and a girl; it united all the softness and delicacy of the female sex with all the nerve and strength of the male sex: and he adds, in exact accordance with the tenet of the Hindoos respecting the reappearance of their Ardhanari at the commencement of each new mundane system, that

[†] *Asiat. Res.* vol. iv. p. 381, 382. vol. v. p. 248. *Diod. Bibl. lib. iv. p. 214. lib. i. p. 19. Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. i. c. 10. Damas. vit. Isid. apud Phot. Bibl. p. 1073. Pausan. Achaic. p. 430. Clem. Alex. Cohort. p. 12. Catull. Eleg. ix. Porph. de ant. nymph. p. 260. Arnob. adv. gent. lib. v. p. 157.*

BOOK V. some believed him to be a god who from time to time manifested himself to men¹.

The curious fable, preserved by Ovid relative to this imaginary being, is replete with mythological information, though dressed up to suit the taste of the lovers of romance. Hermaphroditus was educated in the caves of mount Ida by the Naiads or water-nymphs. At the age of fifteen he chose to wander from the sacred haunts of his boyhood, and at length arrived at the brink of a beautifully pellucid lake. This was the favourite resort of the Naiad Salmacis: who, observing the youth in the act of bathing himself, plunged into the water; and, inflamed with passion, clasped him in her arms. Her affection however was not returned: but the gods, commiserating her slighted love, inseparably united the two bodies, which thenceforth constituted a monster both male and female. Ever afterwards the water of that lake was thought to possess the power of transforming into hermaphrodites such as bathed in it².

Here we may observe the sacred cave, the sacred lake, and the sacred mountain, which ever make so conspicuous a figure in the theology of the Gentiles. The Phrygian Ida was a copy of the Indo-Scythic Ida-vratta, as that was a transcript of the Armenian Ararat: and within its recesses were celebrated the Mysteries of the mountain-born Cybelè and her emasculate paramour Attis or Agdestis; as were those of Venus and Adonis in the Phenician Lebanon, and as Siva and Argha united together in the single form of Ardhanari are still venerated as tenanted the lofty summit of Ida-vratta. Now we have seen, that both Venus and Attis and Adonis, like the classical Hermaphroditus and the Indian Ardhanari, were fabled to be androgynous. Hence I think it evident, that Hermaphroditus and Salmacis conjointly are the same as Venus-Adonis, Attis-Cybelè, and Siva Parvati. The one is the god of the symbolical lake; the other is its goddess. Like Adonis or Attis or Siva, the male Hermaphroditus is the deity of the ship: like Venus or Cybelè or Parvati, the female Salmacis is a personification of that ship; whence she is exhibited as a Naiad, who delights to sport in the waters of a consecrated pool. In the midst of

¹ *Diod. Bibl. lib. iv. p. 214, 215.*

² *Ovid. Metam. lib. iv. ver. 285—388.*

those waters, she is inseparably blended with the object of her love: and the two compose that single mystic being, by which the ancients depicted the androgynous conjunction of the great father and the great mother. CHAP. IV.

Nor was the son of Hermes alone deemed an hermaphrodite: in the fabulous genealogies of Paganism the son and the father being perpetually but one person, we shall find that Mercury himself partook of both sexes, or in other words that he was himself the real symbolical Hermaphroditus. Albricus says, that he was represented both as man and woman; and that he bore a lance in one character, and a distaff in the other¹.

4. To the same source as the fabulous Hermaphroditus we may clearly, I think, trace the ancient Amazons of classical fiction.

These were described as a community of warlike and masculine females, who admitted men to have commerce with them only at certain stated times, and afterwards put them to death. If the fruit of this intercourse proved to be a boy, he was lamed by fracturing his legs, in order that he might be incapable of offering any future resistance to the established plan of government: if a girl, her right breast was cauterized; so that hereafter, having only a single one, she might be the better adapted to draw the bow and to discharge the duties of a warrior². From the last circumstance, the whole race was by the Greeks denominated *Amazons* or *females without a breast*.

Mr. Bryant ridicules the story altogether, as too absurd to be tolerated for a single moment: and thence takes occasion to conjecture, that, as there was no such nation of women, the word *Amazon* bears no reference to the pretended cauterizing of the breast; and that its mere accidental resemblance to a Greek compound was the sole origin of the wild fable respecting a community of female warriors³.

Few, I apprehend, will be sufficiently adventurous to maintain, in opposition to this great scholar, that such a nation as that of the Amazonian viragos ever really and literally existed: yet, though we may without further ceremony discard the fable itself, as in fact both Strabo and Pale-

¹ Albric. de deor. imag. c. 6.

² Herod. Hist. lib. iv. c. 110. Diod. Bibl. lib. ii. p. 123. Strab. Geog. lib. xi. p. 504.

³ Bryant's Anal. vol. iii. p. 463.

BOOK V. phatus did long ago; I am not equally satisfied with the conjecture, that the word *Amazon* is no Greek term and consequently has no relation to the deficiency of a breast. I doubt, whether there is sufficient evidence to prove, that any people were in *their own* language styled *Amazonians*; a circumstance, absolutely necessary for the admission of Mr. Bryant's proposed etymology. The Greeks indeed speak of Amazons in the region of mount Atlas, in Thrace upon the river Thermodon, in mount Caucasus near Colchis and Albania, in the country bordering upon the Palus Meotis, in Ionia, in Samos, in Italy, in Ethiopia, and in India¹; and I doubt not of their being perfectly accurate in what they say: but then the term is truly and properly their own; it is not a name that was ever really borne by the inhabitants of those several districts; but it is an appellation, which the Greeks rightly bestowed upon certain semi-female forms, which had actually no more than a single breast. The subsequent error consisted, not in any misapplication of the word *Amazon*; but in the absurd extension of the term to whole communities, which gave rise to the fable of various entire nations of female warriors.

What we are to understand by the Amazon or one-breasted woman of classical fiction, is abundantly plain from the circumstance of our being told that Amazons were to be found in India. The recent inquiries of our learned countrymen have very fully laid open the mythology of that interesting country: and, in perfect harmony with the assertion of the inquisitive though fabulizing Greeks, we may still behold in Hindostan the one-breasted Amazon of the ancient Hellenic legends. A remarkable figure yet exists in the deep recesses of the rocky Elephanta pagoda; to which Niebuhr, Hunter, and Maurice, have all agreed to give the name of *Amazon*. Precisely as the Greeks described their imaginary race of heroines, this statue wants the *right* breast, while the left is full and globular. It is provided with four arms: one of which rests upon the head of a bull; another hangs down in a mutilated state; the third grasps a hooded snake; and the fourth sustains a circular shield. Mr. Maurice professes himself wholly

¹ Diod. Bibl. lib. iii. p. 185, 188. Strab. Geog. lib. xi. p. 504, 505. Scylac. Perip. in Geog. vet. vol. ii. p. 31. Schol. in Apoll. Argon. lib. ii. ver. 966. Plut. Quæst. Græc. vol. i. p. 303. Tzetz. in Lycoph. ver. 995, 1332. Polyæn. lib. i. p. 11. apud Bryant.

unable to account for the appearance of such a figure in an ancient Indian temple; and pronounces it to be an enigma, the real meaning of which will probably never be solved¹. Yet, as we have just seen, its appearance minutely corroborates the assertion of the Greeks that there were Amazons in India: and, as we may now add, serves to explain the real import of that assertion before it was clogged and disguised by the idle tale of literal one-breasted female warriors. CHAP. IV.

Arguing from what we have discovered in the Elephanta pagoda, we may, I think, safely conclude, that the ancient fabulous Amazons of Thrace, Mauritania, Caucasus, Italy, and Ethiopia, were, like the Amazons of India, no communities either of living men or living women; but images, which wore the semblance of masculine viragos, each furnished with no more than a single breast and that breast the *left* one. To such a conclusion we shall be the rather led, if we consider the origin of the several nations that seized upon or colonized the districts where the Greek writers place the Amazons.

Now there is sufficient evidence to prove, that the Indo-Scythæ of the Cashgarian Caucasus, the more western Scythæ of the Albanian Caucasus, the Thracians, the Atlantians, the primitive Italians, and the Ethiopians both of Asia and Africa, were all branches of one great family². Hence of course the presumption is, that, what the Amazons of the Indo-Scythæ were, such also were the Amazons of their brethren in other parts of the world. But the Indian Amazons were certain one-breasted statues, similar to that which may still be seen in the Elephanta pagoda. The Amazons therefore of the other enumerated nations may be safely considered as sacred statues of the same description: that is to say, they were not the nations themselves, but the sculptured figures of some deity which those nations worshipped.

Nothing now remains but to solve what Mr. Maurice calls *the enigma* couched under such a peculiar mode of representation: nor will this task,

¹ Maurice's *Ind. Ant.* vol. ii. p. 147—149. *Asiat. Res.* vol. iv. p. 426.

² Vide *infra* book vi. c. 4, 5.

BOOK V. I apprehend, be found very difficult; the reader probably will have already anticipated me in the performance of it.

The Amazon of the Elephanta pagoda and of the wonder-loving Greek fabulists is manifestly no other than the compound hermaphroditic deity, who by the Hindoos is called *Ardhanari*, and who is formed by the lateral conjunction of Siva with Parvati. This monster, as delineated by the mythological painters of India, has, from the head to the feet, the right side of a man and the left side of a woman. His arms, agreeably to the form of the statue in the Elephanta pagoda, are four in number: and near him, as near the statue in question, reposes the mysterious bull Nandi. One of his hands bears a sword: and the *right* breast, since his right side is that of a male, is of course wanting. Now this was the *identical* breast, which, according to the Greek fabulists, was extirpated by those Amazonian females; who were to be found, as in other regions of the globe, so likewise in India: and the whole figure of the warlike one-breasted *Ardhanari* is precisely such, as would suggest to a person who knew not its real nature the idea of a military heroine deprived of her *right* breast¹.

III. I shall close this subject with some remarks on the worship of the sacred Omphalos or navel.

1. There is a curious fable respecting the classical Jupiter, which I take to be nearly allied to his hermaphroditic character and to his connection with the nymph Theba or Argha. We are told by Diodorus, that, while the infant god was nursed by the Curetes in the sacred cave of the Cretan Ida, his navel fell into the river Triton: whence the territory, adjoining to that river, being consecrated, was called *Omphalon*, and the surrounding plain *Omphalion*; both from *Omphalos*, which signifies *a navel*². The

¹ Moor's Hind. Panth. plate 7 and 24. See Plate II. Fig. 8. Exactly the same hieroglyphic occurs in Persian romance, and doubtless it originated from the same source. The Nim-Juze and the Nim-Chebr are supposed to be a human figure split in two; the male forming the right half, and the female the left. Each has half a face, one eye, one arm, and one foot: yet they run with incredible speed, and are reckoned very dangerous and cruel. The notion of their cruelty, like the similar notions respecting queen Lamia, the Cyclopes, and the Ogres of our nursery tales, originated from the bloody sacrifices of ancient Paganism. See Hales's Chronol. vol. iii. p. 32.

² Diod. Bibl. lib. v. p. 337, 338.

Greeks had various other stories respecting some sacred navel; which must all, I think, be plainly referred to the same origin, whatever that origin may be. Thus they had a notion, that Delphi was *the navel of the earth*, and thence esteemed it the central place of the world. There was also *a navel* in the Peloponnesus, which was reckoned the middle of that peninsular country. We find *another navel* at Elis; *another*, in Thessaly; and *another*, in Crete where the present fable respecting Jupiter was told. The name was sometimes transferred to whole tribes: for we are informed, that both the Etolians and the Epirots were once called *Omphalians* or *people of the navel*. Nor was this notion of a sacred navel confined to Greece and her islands. Egypt was *another navel* or mundane centre. There was likewise a place called *the navel* at Enna in Sicily, where Pluto was feigned to have carried off Proserpine to the infernal regions¹. This must have been close to the consecrated lake, into the waters of which the god and goddess were thought to have plunged when they descended into Hades: or rather it was probably an artificial island, which floated upon the bosom of the holy pool. To such a conjecture I am led by the parallel case of a sacred lake in Italy. We learn from Dionysius, that a tribe of the ancient Pelasgi or Scythic Palli were commanded by an oracle to shape their course to that western region, and not to settle until they should find a lake with a floating island in the midst of it. The fated lake proved to be that of Cotylè: and most likely the ingenuity of the priests supplied the floating island, which seems to have been one of the same description as that in the Egyptian lake of Buto. This island, thus venerated by the Pelasgi, was esteemed *the navel of Italy*².

2. But not only were particular places distinguished by such an appellation: an artificial image of the symbol itself was occasionally exhibited to the devout aspirant. As Egypt was one of the many sacred *navels* of antiquity, so we learn from Quintus Curtius, that a literal representation of

¹ Soph. Oedip. Tyr. ver. 487. Pind. Pyth. Od. vi. ver. 3. Eurip. Ion. ver. 233. Strab. Geo. lib. ix. p. 419, 420. Horapoll. § xxi. p. 30. Paus. Corinth. p. 109. Phoc. p. 637. Pind. Olymp. Od. vii. Strab. Geog. lib. viii. p. 353. Steph. Byzant. Ομφαλιον. Callim. Hymn. in Cerer. apud Bryant's Anal. vol. i. p. 240—248.

² Dionys. Haic. Ant. Rom. lib. i. c. 15, 19. Plin. Nat. lib. iii. c. 12.

BOOK V. that hieroglyphic was conspicuously introduced into the worship of Jupiter-Ammon. He tells us, that the figure of the god resembled *a navel*, that it was adorned with precious stones, and that it was carried by the priests in a gilt ship whenever the oracle was about to be consulted¹. There was a similar representation of *the navel* at Delphi, executed in white marble, and exhibited in the temple, doubtless with the same idea as that which was shewn in the boat of Ammon². And it seems probable, if we may argue at least from analogy, that, wherever *the sacred navel* was venerated, there also was displayed a carved image of it.

3. Mr. Bryant contends, that the whole of this remarkable superstition originated from a mere misprision of terms. He justly observes, that, wherever there was a story about *a navel*, in the same place there was sure to be an oracle. Now the compound term *Om-Phi* or *Am-Phi* will doubtless signify *the mouth* or *oracle of Ham* or *the Sun*: and the word *Omphalos*, in the Greek language happens to denote *a navel*. From these premises he contends, that the several legends respecting navels arose from the circumstance of the Greeks confounding *Om-Phi* with *Omphalus*; that genuine ancient mythology knew nothing of these pretended *navels*, which existed solely in the imagination of the Greeks, ever prone, from a silly nationality, to appropriate and misinterpret foreign words; and that each *Omphalos* was in truth no *navel*, but an *Om-phi* or *solar oracle*.

I am sorry, that I cannot assent to the opinion of this excellent writer; who, in the present instance at least, appears to me to have unjustly censured the vain humour of the Greeks. If we never met with any tale about a navel except in countries where the Greek language was spoken, the misprision alleged by Mr. Bryant would be a circumstance far from improbable: but, if we meet with parallel stories in countries where that language was *not* spoken, the conjecture of the misprision must, so far as I can judge, inevitably fall to the ground. Now we have the testimony of Quintus Curtius, adduced by the learned author himself, that precisely the same veneration of a navel prevailed among the Egyptians; who, as we have just seen, used it as a symbol of Jupiter-Ammon or Osiris, and carried it

¹ Quint. Curt. lib. iv. c. 7.

² Paus. Phoc. p. 637. Strab. Geog. lib. ix. p. 420.

about in a mystic ship. Mr. Bryant, aware of such an objection, ridicules the narrative of Curtius as utterly absurd and incredible, and thence discards it *in toto* without further ceremony. This is certainly rather cutting the Gordian knot, than untying it: nor can we possibly admit of such a summary process, unless we have some much stronger proof of its legality than mere ridicule. Curtius, be it observed, is not detailing a wild mythological fable; but is simply stating a bare matter of fact, without either comment or speculation upon it: and, so far as the *abstract* merit of the question is concerned, when we recollect the extreme devotedness of the Egyptians to hieroglyphical representation, I see not where the improbability lies of supposing that *a navel* might be one among their numerous sacred symbols. Hence, I think, we ought to be cautious in flatly contradicting a writer, when *prima facie* there is nothing in his account itself, which is at all unlikely or abhorrent from the manners of the nation which he is speaking of. But, unless I greatly mistake, Mr. Bryant has himself furnished us with as decisive a proof of the accuracy of Curtius as can well be desired; and has thus provided a direct confutation of his own conjecture. He gives us three engravings from Pococke, copied from genuine Egyptian remains, of the identical ship described by Quintus Curtius: these therefore must incontrovertibly determine the accuracy or inaccuracy of that historian. The first exhibits the ship borne by the priests, and containing the shrine of the god, which resembles in form the sides and sloping roof of a small house: the second exhibits the same ship similarly borne, and containing a square shrine within which the god himself is seated: the third exhibits the ship without the priests; and it now is delineated as containing a circular box or shrine, within which the god is sitting as before¹. From these three engravings it appears, that the shrine of Ammon or Osiris was sometimes circular, sometimes square, and sometimes of a form resembling a small house. That, in which it is represented as circular, plainly seems to me to accord so exactly with the description given by Curtius, as to leave no room to doubt of his accuracy: for what is the circular machine within the ship, but the sacred navel which he so ex-

¹ See Bryant's *Anal.* vol. i. p. 252. vol. ii. p. 230. from Pococke. See Plate III. Fig. 1.

BOOK V. pressly tells us was placed in the ship whenever the oracle was about to be consulted? Thus I think it manifest, that the Egyptians really used a navel as a symbol: whence it will follow, since the mythology of Greece was closely allied to that of Egypt and largely borrowed from it, that the Greeks cannot be charged with a misprision of terms when they speak of consecrated navels, but that navels were really meant by their Omphali although the Omphali themselves were doubtless oracular.

4. The mythology of Hindostan will both establish the same position, and will lead us to a right understanding of what was intended by the mystic navel. The Hindoos speak Greek no more than the ancient Egyptians did: yet the navel of Vishnou is as much celebrated among them, as the navel of Jupiter was among the Cretans. Hence again it is clear, that the Greeks ought not to be charged with that misprision of terms for which Mr. Bryant contends; but that a navel was equally a sacred symbol in the kindred theological systems of Egypt, Greece, and Hindostan. We have only therefore to inquire what we are to understand by it: and, when that is ascertained, we shall be brought to the true exposition of the fable respecting the fall of Jupiter's navel into the river Triton.

(1.) I have shewn, how very common it was among the old mythologists to represent their principal god or goddess as an hermaphrodite, endeavouring to blend together into one person the two characters of the great universal father and the great universal mother: and I have mentioned, that, when thus considered, the symbolizing humour of Paganism venerated them under the hieroglyphic of the combined male and female principles.

That such was the case, we positively learn from the mythology of Hindostan: in which we are told, that, during the prevalence of the deluge, the two powers of nature, male and female, were reduced to their simplest elements; that these powers were Isa and Isi; that the female power assumed the form of the ship *Argha*, while the male power supplied the place of the mast; and that, thus united so as to constitute a single compound hieroglyphic, they were wafted over the great deep under the protection of Vishnou¹.

¹ *Asiat. Res.* vol. vi. p. 523.

From this legend then it appears, that the ship Argha, viewed as the mother of the World, was typified by the female principle; that her consort, viewed as the father of the World, was typified by the male principle; and that the two, when blended together, formed that double being, who was thought to combine both principles in his own single person, and who thence was at once esteemed the father and the mother of the World. But the female principle is deemed by the Hindoo theologists the same as the navel of Vishnou: which accordingly is worshipped by them, as being one with the sacred Yoni or the great universal mother reduced to her simplest element. Hence as the navel of Vishnou is a symbol of the great mother and as the ship Argha is a form of the great mother, it will plainly follow, that the mystic navel is an hieroglyphic of the Argha: and accordingly we are told, that such is actually the case. In imitation of that ship, the Hindoos employ in their sacred rites certain vessels which they call *Arghas*. These ought properly to be in the form of a boat; though they are now made in several different shapes, oval, circular, or even square. A rim round each Argha represents the mysterious Yoni: the navel of Vishnou is commonly denoted by a convexity in the centre: and the contents of the vessel are thought to symbolize the mariner god Isa, who is identified with its mast. Agreeably to this notion which makes the navel a type of the female principle or the door in the side of the Ark, the Hindoos, in a wild but curious legend, deduce the origin of Brahma from the navel of Vishnou, while at the same time they immediately connect his birth with the deluge.

It is related in the Scanda, that, when the whole earth was covered with water and when Vishnou lay sleeping in the bosom of Devi, a lotos arose from his navel, and its ascending flower soon reached the surface of the flood. From that flower sprang Brahma; who, looking round the boundless expanse without seeing any creature, imagined himself to be the first-born. Resolved however to investigate the deep, and anxious to ascertain whether any being existed in it who could controvert his claim to pre-eminence, he glided down the stalk of the lotos, and, finding Vishnou asleep, asked loudly who he was. *I am the first-born*, replied the waking Vishnou. Brahma denied his primogeniture, and an obstinate battle was the consequence. Then Siva pressed between them in great wrath, asserting

BOOK V. that the primogeniture was his, but offering to resign it to either of them who should be able to reach the crown of his head or the soles of his feet. Brahma and Vishnou each made an ineffectual attempt in opposite directions: but the treachery of Brahma, who falsely pretended that he had reached the summit of Siva's head, induced the angry god to pronounce Vishnou the real first-born¹.

The latter part of this story has probably been built upon the contentions between the rival sects of Hindostan, each of which seeks to give the precedence to its favourite deity: but the former part, with which I am at present chiefly concerned, may serve additionally to elucidate the symbolical navel of pagan antiquity. The navel, as we have just seen, is one of the hieroglyphics of the Argha or (to speak with more strict precision) of the door in the side of the Argha: and we are informed, that the aquatic lotos, which from its property of always rising to the surface of the water aptly represents a ship, is another hieroglyphic of the same vessel². When we are told therefore that the lotos sprang from the navel of Vishnou, we have in fact a mere symbolical repetition: for the lotos and the navel alike mean the Argha. Consequently, the birth of Brahma from the lotos is in reality his birth from the navel: and this birth, when the import of those symbols is considered, must of course denote his birth from the door of the ship Argha which floated upon the great deep during the prevalence of the deluge. But Brahma is also said to have been born from the floating egg, so highly celebrated in the mythology of the Gentiles³. Hence the egg must be the same as the navel and the lotos, from which he is also said to have been produced: and consequently, since the egg and the lotos (as I have already shewn at large) are equally symbols of the diluvian Ship, the navel must likewise be viewed as an hieroglyphic of that Ship.

Thus, I think, we have sufficiently ascertained what we are to understand by the mystic navel. It was esteemed the same as the female power of nature: it represented the door of the Ark, which that power was employed to symbolize because the Ark was reckoned a great universal mo-

¹ *Asiat. Res.* vol. iii. p. 126—148. Moor's *Hind. Panth.* plate vii. See Plate II. Fig. I.

² *Asiat. Res.* vol. iii. p. 133, 131.

³ *Inst. of Menu.* chap. i.

ther: it was ascribed to the god Vishnou; because that deity, like Brahma CHAP. 17. and Siva whose characters melt into that of Vishnou, was feigned to be an hermaphrodite, uniting in one person Isa and Argha or the two mystic principles of fecundity: and it was often styled *the navel of the World*, not because Delphi was the centre of the Earth as the navel is of the human body (a notion sometimes advanced by the classical writers, though evidently with all the consciousness of unsatisfactory inaccuracy¹); but because the Earth and Ark were convertible terms, each being esteemed a complete World, each being thought to float like a ship on the surface of the great abyss, each being personified by one and the same goddess, and each being represented by common symbols such as the egg or the sacred boat or the calix of the lotos.

(2.) These speculations of the Hindoos will throw much light on the mythology of the west, in which precisely the same notions will be found to have prevailed, and from which precisely the same conclusion must be drawn.

The navel at Delphi is clearly to be identified with the navel of Egyptian antiquity. Now the Delphic navel, as we learn from Tatian, was esteemed the tomb or coffin of Dionusus². But Dionusus was confessedly the same as Osiris: consequently the tomb or coffin of Dionusus is the tomb or coffin of Osiris. The coffin however, within which the dead Osiris was inclosed by Typhon, was the floating Moon or luniform ark: the coffin therefore of Dionusus was the same. But that coffin, we find, was symbolized by the Delphic navel. Therefore the Delphic navel represented the ark of Dionusus or Osiris; which bore the name of *Argo* or *Theba*, and which was doubtless the same as the Argha of Hindostan.

We shall be led to an exactly similar inference by the superstition, as it prevailed in Italy. The floating island in the lake of Cotylè was esteemed a navel. But the sacred floating island symbolized the mundane Ark. Therefore the navel was equally an hieroglyphic of the same holy vessel³.

¹ Strab. Geo. lib. ix. p. 419. Varr. de ling. Lat. lib. vi. p. 68.

² Tatian. Orat. cont. Græc. p. 251.

³ It is with a similar mythological reference, that Homer styles the island of Calypso, by which was certainly meant one of the sacred symbolical islets of the blessed, *the navel of the circumambient sea*. Hom. Odys. lib. i. ver. 50.

BOOK V.

As for the navel in the centre of the Egyptian Argo which was the consecrated ship of Osiris or Ammon, it is obviously (according to the accurate description of it by Quintus Curtius) that identical symbol which the Hindoos call *the navel of Vishnou*, and which they similarly place in the centre of the ship Argha. The navel then of Vishnou is the navel of Osiris: and, since Osiris has been identified with the Cretan Jupiter, the submersion of Vishnou's navel in the ocean, and the plunging of Jupiter's navel into the river Triton, are fundamentally the same fiction. The Triton, like the Nile, the Ganges, and the Styx, was a sacred river, which represented the ocean at the period of the deluge: and the supposed fall of the navel into it meant the same as the fall of the Dionæan egg into the Euphrates and as the launching of the Baris or Argo into the Nile; each equally denoted the committing of the Ark to the waters of the flood¹.

5. Though from what has been said Mr. Bryant appears to have been too hasty in charging the Greeks with a misprision of terms, and in ridiculing and altogether denying the existence of such a symbol as the navel; yet he is perfectly right in saying, that, for the most part, wherever there was an Omphalos, there also was an oracle of the great father. This circumstance will additionally serve to prove, that the same mythological reveries prevailed in the west and in the east: that the navel meant the same as the female power: and that both alike denoted the Ark or great mother; the very appellation indeed, which the Hindoos apply conjointly to the navel and the female power considered as one symbol².

Among the various Omphali which the Greeks revered, they specially claimed the præminence for that of Delphi. Now, as we may collect from the very name of *Delphi* which signifies *the tomb*, the sacred navel was certainly viewed by the Hellenic mythologists in the same light as it is by those of Hindostan: that is to say, it was a symbol of the great mother, who is a personification at once of the Earth and of the Ark. Agreeably to this opinion, the whole system of worship established at Delphi was

¹ Agreeably to this supposition, the Nile itself actually bore the name of *Triton*. Tzet. in Lycoph. ver. 119.

² See *Asiat. Res.* vol. iii. p. 137.

clearly of diluvian origin : for the town was situated close to Parnassus, where Deucalion landed from the ark, and where Apollo finally triumphed over the monster which had driven his parent into the floating island ; the victory is said to have been achieved *immediately after* the deluge, whence the flight of Latona into the navicular island must have taken place *exactly at the era* of the deluge ; and the Delphic oracle was thought to have been established *synchronously* with the victory. The very idea of its establishment indeed is inseparably connected with the history of the Ark. When we consider the close affinity of the Greek and Egyptian systems of theology, it is impossible not to be persuaded, that the same notions must have been prevalent in the minds both of those who founded the omphalic oracle at Delphi and of those who founded the omphalic oracle of Jupiter-Ammon. Accordingly, as the latter of these was immediately connected with the ship Baris or Argo, so the former was similarly connected with the ark of Deucalion : and, as the oracular responses of the Egyptian Argo were supposed to issue from the navel in the centre of the vessel, so there was a notion that the Greek Argo was vocal or fatidical or prophetic¹. I am inclined to believe, that the fancied oracularity of the holy ship may be traced up to the responses, which the dove brought back to Noah : for the oracle of Ammon is said to have been founded by a black dove, or rather by an Ethiopic priestess of the dove ; and a bird of the same species is reported to have been sent out of the Argo while prosecuting its fabulous voyage to Colchi².

6. The navel thus united with the Argo seems, like the calix of the lotos, to be the mystic cup, in which the Sun and Hercules are fabled to have sailed over the ocean. The sacred Ancilia likewise, or oval shields with an omphalos or umbilical boss in the centre, which the ancient Romans considered as the safeguard of their city, were, I suspect, no other in reality than so many copies of the holy boat or Argha. I take them to have been much the same as the shield of the British Arthur, which is iden-

¹ Eratos. Catast. c. xxxv. Callist. Stat. c. x. Val. Flac. Argon. lib. i. Apollod. Bibl. lib. i. c. 9. § 24. Apollon. Argon. lib. iv. ver. 580—592.

² Herod. Hist. lib. ii. c. 54—58. Apollon. Argon. lib. ii. ver. 551.

BOOK V. tified with the ship that preserved him and his seven companions at the period of the general deluge¹: and that ship again I believe to have been nearly allied to the celebrated round table of that fabulous Celtic sovereign. His table, or (as it is sometimes called) his stone, is thought by Camden to have been originally near thirty tons in weight: and under it is a cell, which the common people suppose to have a communication with the sea². The well was a rocky cleft or sacred navel, similar to that at Delphi: the stone or table represented the egg or stone-ship of the great father: and, respecting the character of its fictitious knights, the companions of the nautical Arthur, we may form no improbable conjecture from the wild legend which makes them a sort of infernal deities who were accustomed to ferry demons over the rivers of Hades³. What in one age is mythology, in the next melts into romance. Hence, as the weird sisters certainly appear to have borrowed their magic cauldron from the cauldron of Ceridwen, their infernal horse from the hag-mare of the goddess, and their rites of necromancy from the old worship of the diluvian or infernal deities: so I am inclined to think, that the unbroken egg-shell and the circular sieve, in either of which they fearlessly traverse the ocean, were originally the very same as the floating egg, the consecrated Argha, the nautical cup, and the mystic navel.

7. To a kindred source I ascribe the classical fable of Hercules and Omphalè. We are told, that the hero-god, who sailed over the sea in a golden cup, was so completely subjugated by the charms of this youthful beauty, that he resigned to her his ponderous club and lion's skin, while he himself plied the distaff of his capricious enslaver. The legend, I think, is clearly built upon the imagined hermaphroditic character of the great universal parent. Omphalè, as the name imports, is a personification of the Omphalos or sacred navel: and the appearance of the god in the attire and employment of a female, and the appearance of his mistress in the garb and attitude of a male, perfectly correspond with that of the distaff-bearing Mercury and that of the armed Venus or Minerva. The imitative

¹ Davies's Mythol. p. 517.

² Camden's Brit. apud Davies's Mythol. p. 394.

³ Rabelais, livr. ii, c. 30.

transcripts of each were the priests who officiated in the dress of women, CHAP. IV. and the priestesses who officiated in the dress of men. Omphalè, be it observed, was a princess of Lydia; where the effeminate rites of the great mother eminently prevailed¹.

¹ Apoll. Bibl. lib. ii. c. 7. § 8. Ovid. Fast. lib. ii. ver. 305—356. Diod. Bibl. lib. iv. p. 237. Hyg. Poet. Astron. lib. ii. c. 14. Minerva was clearly the true Amazon of the western fabulists.

CHAPTER V.

Respecting the Doctrine of the two independent Principles.

IT will be proper for me here to offer a few observations on the doctrine of the two independent principles, which was strongly held by the Persians, and which may be traced also in the mythologies of some other nations.

According to this ancient tenet, there is an eternal principle of good, which delights in order and harmony, which regulates and disposes all things, and which itself is a light pure and ineffable: but there is also an eternal principle of evil, which rejoices in mischief and confusion, which seeks to overturn and disorganize the fair frame of the Universe, and which itself is a darkness thick and impenetrable. These two principles are ever at war with each other; but, being equally independent and eternal, neither of them is able completely to subjugate its rival. Sometimes the empire of darkness extends itself over the whole world. At that period every thing is consigned to inevitable destruction; a general disorder prevails; and all nature is resolved into the primeval chaos. But, as light is immortal no less than darkness, and as neither can entirely prevail over the other, the tyranny of the evil principle must necessarily have its limits. Hence, after a certain allotted period, the empire of light again begins to arise from

its temporary humiliation: the good principle again exerts itself to repair the wide-spread mischief produced by the principle of evil: order is again elicited out of disorder: and the Universe once more smiles in renovated splendor and beauty. Still however, darkness being no less eternal than light, the empire of the evil one will in due time assuredly regain its ascendancy; but it will regain it only for a season. Harmony will succeed to confusion, and darkness will be followed by light: yet again confusion will succeed to harmony, and light will be absorbed by darkness. Thus, in endless revolution and in never-ceasing warfare, each deathless rival will alternately prevail and alternately be vanquished.

I. This theory was employed by speculative men to account for the origin and continuance of evil in the world: and it doubtless does in some sort involve the idea of *moral* evil, though I am fully persuaded, that it chiefly and properly respects *physical* evil. We may perceive in it a very evident allusion to the existence of a wicked spirit, who delights to counteract the benevolent purposes of the Supreme Being, and who ever seeks to introduce misery and disorder into the Universe: but at the same time we may clearly discern, that the agent, who as the principle of good personates the Supreme Being, is not really so; and that the agent, who as the principle of evil sustains the character of the primeval tempter, is not merely the author of moral turpitude, but the efficient cause of the dissolution of each mundane system. The manner in short, in which we are to understand the doctrine, will best appear by recurring to what we are told respecting these two independent principles and by comparing it with the generally prevailing hypothesis of an endless succession of similar worlds.

By the Persians the good principle or the pure light was called *Ormuzd*; and the evil principle or the unalterable darkness, *Ahriman*. In the *Zend-Avesta*, the former is exhibited with all the attributes of the Godhead: while the latter is described, as tempting the first-created man to the commission of sin, and as thus introducing *moral* evil into the world. Were we to stop here, we should inevitably conclude, that the doctrine in question was solely founded on a perverted tradition of what occurred in the garden of Paradise; a tradition, sufficiently accurate in the main, though perverted by alike ascribing independent eternity to evil and to goodness.

BOOK V. But this is not the *whole* of what is said: Ahriman likewise introduces *physical* evil into every part of the creation; and thus at length brings on the catastrophè of the deluge, over which the second man-bull Taschter is said to have presided, and by which the world was thought to be reduced to its original chaotic state. Afterwards Ormusdt creates all things anew: and then our present mundane system commences from Taschter and his three companions. Here the matter appears under a different aspect, but under an aspect which cannot easily be misunderstood. It has clearly a reference to the hypothesis, that after certain great though limited periods the world is destroyed by an inundation either of fire or water, that it remains a year of the immortals in chaotic darkness and confusion, and that afterwards it emerges from the deluge in renovated beauty and light and order. Hence it is evident, that Ahriman or the evil principle must be viewed, not merely as the author of moral evil; but as the power of destruction, by which all things are from time to time reduced to a state of darkness and disorganization: and it is equally evident, that Ormusdt or the good principle must be viewed, not so much as the real omnipotent author of all goodness; but as the great father, who has been made to usurp the attributes of God, and who is invariably represented as creating the World anew after having floated in the mysterious ship on the surface of the intermediate deluge. Ormusdt therefore, or the pure light of goodness, is, like Mithras, the transmigrating great father; who appears at the commencement of every mundane system to change disorder into harmony, and who was astronomically venerated in the ethereal light of the Sun: while Ahriman, or the thick darkness of evil, is the chaotic inundation, whether igneous or aqueous, viewed as a work or even as a personification of the wicked one; by which, at the close of every mundane system, harmony is changed into disorder and confusion.

Such an opinion necessarily results from the circumstance of the good and evil principles of the Persic theology sustaining the very same parts, as the deified great father who restores the World, and as the destructive agent who dissolves it. For what are the functions ascribed to the good principle, but those which are discharged by the demiurgic Isa or Woden or Osiris? And what are the functions ascribed to the evil principle, but

those which are similarly discharged by the all-devouring Maha-Pralaya or Loke or Typhon? But Isa, Woden, and Osiris, are each alike the transmigrating great father: consequently, the Persic good principle must be the transmigrating great father also. And, on the other hand, Maha-Pralaya, who swallows up the World and all the hero-gods, is avowedly a personification of the consummating deluge, for the word itself literally denotes *the great flood*; Typhon, who drives Osiris into the ark and who extends his usurped dominion over the Universe, is positively declared to be the ocean; and Loke is palpably the same as Maha-Pralaya, for at the close of each mundane system he similarly devours the World and the hero-gods, and reduces all things to that chaos from which a new World of light and order afterwards springs forth: consequently, the Persic evil principle must likewise be a personification of the great consummating intermediate deluge. This latter however does also occasionally run into the character of the great father himself: for, as Noah beheld both the destruction and the renovation of the World, he was considered both as the demiurgic and as the destroying power. Accordingly, the Persic Taschter, who reproduces from the floating Moon the postdiluvian World, is yet employed as the agent who presides over the dissolution of the antediluvian World: and, in a similar manner, the Indian Isa, who creates and preserves each successive Universe as Brahma and Vishnou, is no less thought to destroy it as Siva; while the classical Cronus or Saturn, who is undoubtedly the same as the devouring Molech of Palestine and the Typhonian Osiris of Egypt, is justly celebrated by the Orphic poet as the consumer and the reproducer of all things¹.

II. This then being the true character of the two independent principles of good and evil, we shall readily perceive why they were each reckoned eternal. In fact, such a notion was but the necessary result of that philosophy, which taught an endless succession of similar Worlds. Matter, under all its modifications, was everlasting; but each particular system contained within itself the seeds of dissolution: and again, the great father himself was eternal in his duration; but every incipient World beheld a

¹ Orph. Hymn. xii. 3.

BOOK V. distinct manifestation of him. Hence it followed, that destruction or the evil principle, though it might lie dormant for a season, was by the very nature of things immortal; and that the reproducing great father or the good principle, though he might from time to time be vanquished and overpowered, was in himself physically immortal likewise.

III. Holy Scripture at once testifies the remote antiquity of such speculations: and decidedly proves, that the pure light or good principle of the Persians was not the true God, as some have imagined; but, no less than the thick darkness or evil principle, a mere creature. In the address of Jehovah to Cyrus his anointed, he is represented as saying, in manifest allusion to the philosophy of the Magi: *I am the Lord, and there is none else. I form the light, and create the darkness: I make the peace, and create the evil*¹. *I, the Lord, do all these things*².

¹ The *peace* or harmony of the renovated world; the *evil* or confusion of the dissolved world.

² Isaiah xlv. 6, 7.

CHAPTER VI.

Respecting the Nature and Purport of the ancient Mysteries.

WE may now proceed to a consideration of the nature and purport of those ancient Mysteries, the celebration of which prevailed so very generally throughout the whole pagan world.

I. It will be observed, that I here speak of the Mysteries, wheresoever they might be established, and by whatever nations they might be adopted, as being mutually the same; and that I do not view the Orgies of one people, as something radically and fundamentally different from the Orgies of another people: it will be observed in short, that I propose to identify with each other all the various Mysteries of the Gentiles in all their various settlements after the dispersion. This proposed identification necessarily follows from the palpable unity of the several mythological systems of the pagans: for, if each of those systems be nothing more than a modification of one common primeval system, and if the great father and the great mother of gentile theology be still the very same characters under whatever different names they might be worshipped; it must plainly be concluded, since the gods of each nation are truly the same, that the Mysteries of those gods must in nature and purport be the same also. All alike professed to reveal the history of the popular divinities, all alike promised the benefits

BOOK V. of a mysterious regeneration to the initiated. If therefore we have been compelled, by the evidence of facts and by the positive assertions of the pagans themselves, to identify the various gods and goddesses of gentile mythology: we must inevitably no less identify the various Mysteries of all those kindred deities. Hence I cannot but think Bp. Warburton somewhat inconsistent, when he rightly and strenuously maintains the identity of the Mysteries, and yet denies the identity of the gods¹. The two positions must, so far as I can judge, stand or fall together. We may either prove from circumstantial evidence the identity of the gods, and thence argue the identity of the Mysteries: or, inverting the process, we may demonstrate the identity of the Mysteries, and thence argue the identity of the gods. In each case we shall still be brought to the same general conclusion: for I see not, how it is possible to assert the identity of the one and yet to deny the identity of the other.

But we have no occasion to depend entirely upon inductive reasoning. Both propositions may be demonstrated separately and independently. As we have proved the identity of the gods, so may we likewise prove the identity of the Mysteries. Thus will circumstantial evidence bring us to the very conclusion, which we have just reached in the way of almost necessary deduction.

The Mysteries then, though frequently called by the names of different deities, were in substance all the same. Thus Strabo asserts, that the Curetic Orgies, which were celebrated in memory of the mystic birth of Jupiter, resembled those of Bacchus, Ceres, and the Phrygian Cybelè: and he further observes, that poets and mythologists were continually accustomed to join together the Mysteries of Bacchus and Silenus, the rites of Cybelè, and the worship which was paid to Jupiter at mount Olympus². Thus the author of the Orphic poems identifies the Orgies of Bacchus with those of Ceres, Rhea, Venus, and Isis: and evidently speaks of them as being the very same with the Mysteries, which were celebrated in Phrygia, in Crete, in Phenicia, in Lemnos, in Samothrace, in Egypt, and

¹ Warburton's *Div. Leg.* b. ii. sect. 4. p. 6. b. iii. sect. 3. p. 59. b. iv. sect. 5. p. 234—238. note. p. 429. 8vo edit.

² Strab. *Geog. lib.* x. p. 468—470.

in Cyprus¹. Thus Pindar, after invoking Bacchus or the great father, immediately refers to the nocturnal rites of the Phrygian Cybelè, whom Euripides and the Orphic poet equally pronounce to be the mother of that god². And thus Euripides unites the Orgies of Cybelè, as celebrated in Asia Minor, with the Grecian Mysteries of the Bromian Dionusus and with the Cretan rites of the Cabiric Corybantes³. In a similar manner, Dionysius informs us, that the ancient Britons were well acquainted with the Mysteries of Bacchus: and Artemidorus asserts, that in a sacred island, which lay close upon some part of their shore, Ceres and Proserpine were venerated with rites similar to the Orgies of Samothrace⁴. But we know, that those Orgies were the Mysteries of the Cabiri; and we are told by Mnaseas, that the Cabiric gods of Samothrace were Bacchus, Ceres, and Proserpine, to whom Mercury was added in the subordinate capacity of a minister⁵. Hence it is evident, that the Samothracian deities were no other than those whom the Druids called *Hu*, *Ceridwen*, and *Creirwy*; and that the Mysteries of the Celtic divinities were the very same as those of the Samothracian Cabiri: consequently they were the same also as the Mysteries of Greece, Phrygia, Cyprus, Phenicia, and Egypt. Mnaseas teaches us, that the sacred names of the Cabiric Ceres, Proserpine, and Pluto, which last identifies himself with the infernal Bacchus, were *Axieros*, *Axiocersa*, and *Axiocersos*. But these titles are evidently the same as the Indian *Asyorus*, *Asyotcersa*, and *Asyotcersas*: for the Samothracian deities, who bear the former appellations, perfectly correspond in character and attributes with the Hindoo deities who bear the latter⁶. Such being the case, the ancient Mysteries of the Indo-Scythæ must have corresponded with those of Samothrace on the one hand, and with those of the Celts, the Greeks, the Phrygians, the Egyptians, and the Phenicians, on the other. Agreeably to such a conclusion, the Greeks had a tradition, that the fabu-

¹ Orph. Argon. ver. 17—32. Hymn. xxxvii. xli.

² Pind. et Eurip. apud Strab. Geog. lib. x. p. 468—470. Orph. Hymn. xli. 6.

³ Eurip. apud Strab. Geog. lib. x. p. 468, 469.

⁴ Dionys. Perieg. ver. 565—574. Artem. apud Strab. Geog. lib. iv. p. 198.

⁵ Mnas. apud Schol. in Apoll. Argon. lib. i. ver. 917.

⁶ See Asiat. Res. vol. v. p. 297.

BOOK V. lous hierophant Orpheus was a Thracian, and that the Orgies themselves were of Thracian origin¹. Sometimes however they ascribed their invention to the old Pelasgi; who at one period, in the course of their wanderings, tenanted Samothrace². These two accounts are in substance the same, and I entertain no doubt of their accuracy. The Thracians and the Pelasgi were the ancestors of those Greeks, who did not emigrate from Egypt and Phenicia. They were equally children of one great family: for they were branches of the Indo-Scythic or Pallic or Gothic race, which sent out colonies in almost every direction, and which communicated their religious institutions to their descendants the elder Hellenes. Thus we need not wonder at the perfect identity of the Indo-Scythic and the Samothracian Mysteries: nor have we any occasion to reject as incredible the well-founded opinion, that the Orgies of the barbarous northern and north-eastern nations were really the same, both in nature and purport, as those of the more civilized Greeks and Phenicians and Egyptians. On the contrary, it will serve to shew the justice of that remarkable classification, by which Clemens enumerates, as teaching much the same doctrines and as philosophizing in much the same manner, the priests of Egypt, the Chaldeans of Assyria, the Druids of the Gauls, the Samanèans of the Bactrians, the sages of the Celts, the Magi of the Persians, the Brahmens of the Indians, the philosophers of the Scythians, and the various wise men among the Odrysæ and the Getæ and the Arabians and the Philistines and (to use his own sweeping expression) ten thousand other nations³. From these misnamed barbarians Pythagoras, as he truly observes, borrowed very largely: and, of what nature as well as of what extent his obligations were, Jamblichus informs us very explicitly. He taught, it seems, certain rites of purification; he initiated his disciples into the Mysteries; and, uniting a divine philosophy with religious worship, he instructed them with the greatest accuracy in the knowledge of the hero-gods. What he communicated however, he had himself *previously learned*; for the speculations, which he delivered, were no *mere novel inventions* of his own. He

¹ Suid. Lexic.

² Herod. Hist. lib. ii. c. 51.

³ Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i. p. 303, 305.

had derived them, partly from the Orphic rites of the Thracians, partly from the Egyptian priesthood, partly from the Chaldeans and the Magi, partly from the Mysteries of Eleusis and Imbros and Samothrace and Delos, and in addition to all these partly from the Celts and the Iberians¹. He taught then, we find, certain Mysteries blended with philosophy, which he had borrowed from various kindred sources. But Herodotus speaks of the Orphic and the Pythagorean Mysteries as being the very same². Now we know, that the Orphic Mysteries were no other than those of Samothrace, Egypt, and Phenicia: such likewise must therefore have been those used by Pythagoras. But he borrowed them from all the numerous sources specified by Jamblichus. Hence the identical Mysteries, which were celebrated in Thrace, Egypt, Phenicia, Samothrace, Eleusis, Imbros, and Delos, must also have been established among the Chaldeans, the Magi, the Celts, and the Iberians. In fact, not only Pythagoras, but the Greeks collectively, had nothing but what they received from those whom they styled *barbarians*³. Now what they received was the Mysteries. Consequently, the Mysteries of the barbarians must have been the very same as the Mysteries of the Greeks; which again were the same as those of the Egyptians, the Phrygians, and the Phenicians. Agreeably both to this conclusion and to what has already been observed on the subject, Porphyry views the cavern-worship of the Persian Mithras as immediately related to the similar cavern-worship of the Cretan Jupiter, the Arcadian Pan and Luna, and the Naxian Bacchus: and associates the initiation into his rock-mysteries with the legends respecting the several consecrated grottos of Saturn, of the Nymphs, and of Ceres and Proserpine⁴. In short, so generally acknowledged was the identity of the Mysteries in every part of the world, that Euripides describes the god Bacchus, in his tragedy of that name, as declaring, that the Orgies were equally celebrated by all foreign nations, and that he came to introduce them among the Greeks⁵: while Zosimus informs us, that they prevailed so universally, as to comprehend the whole race of mankind⁶.

¹ Jamb. de vit. Pyth. § 151.

² Herod. Hist. lib. ii. c. 81.

³ See Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i. p. 303, 305.

⁴ Porph. de ant. nymph. p. 253, 254, 262, 263.

⁵ Eurip. Bacch. apud Warburton.

⁶ Zosim. lib. iv. apud Warburton.

BOOK V. II. The identity of the Mysteries being thus established, we may next inquire, whence they originated; for the very circumstance of their identity necessarily proves them all to have had some common origin.

1. Bp. Warburton, agreeably to his system of deducing every thing from Egypt, contends that they were first invented in that country: whence, in process of time, they were carried into Greece, Persia, Cyprus, Crete, Samothrace, Lemnos, Asia Minor, Britain, Hindostan, and all those barbarous nations wherever situated amongst which we find them established¹.

This theory seems to me so utterly incredible, that I feel myself altogether unable to adopt it. Whatever was the origin of the Mysteries, such also must have been the origin of the whole fabric of pagan mythology: for the two are so intimately connected, that it is impossible to separate them from each other and to derive them from distinct sources. If then we subscribe to the hypothesis of Warburton, we must prepare ourselves to believe, that the whole frame of gentile idolatry with the sacred Mysteries attached to it was the exclusive contrivance of the Egyptian priesthood; and that the entire human race were but the servile copyists of one single nation. We must believe, not only that the neighbouring Greeks and Phenicians borrowed from Egypt; but that the most remote communities, the British Celts, the Pelasgic Scythians, the Magi of Persia, the Chaldæans of Babylon, and even the Brahmens of Hindostan, were all content to receive their theology from the same country. We must believe too, that this universal obligation to Egypt was incurred in the very earliest ages: for, not to enter into a discussion respecting the antiquity of Babylon or Persia or Hindostan, we find the Orgies of Adonis or Baal-Peor and of Astartè or Sida completely established in Palestine prior to the time of the exodus; and we observe the Greeks acknowledging, that they had already received from the northern Pelasgi or Thracians those very Mysteries which were again imported by the southern settlers from Egypt. The whole of this appears to me perfectly incredible. Egypt no doubt was a civilized and well-regulated state at a very remote period: and its established idolatry was, I believe, coëval with its very existence

¹ Div. Leg. book ii. sect. 4. p. 3, 4, 5.

as a nation. But, neither was it the *only* ancient or civilized community; CHAP. VI. nor, even if it were, would this satisfactorily account for the universal adoption of its Mysteries, as well by its more immediate neighbours, as by the far distant colonists of the extreme east and north and north-west. The thing itself plainly exceeds all reasonable belief. No one exposes with more pungent ridicule than this great writer the gross absurdity of Huet and other speculatists of the same school, who discover in the single legislator of the Israelites all the hero-gods of antiquity: for how should the various remote pagan tribes know any thing of Moses; or, if they did, where could be their inducement so universally to erect *him* into a deity? Yet he sees not, that the same inconsistency; though doubtless not quite in so high a *degree*, because the celebrity of Egypt very far surpassed that of Israel: still, that the same inconsistency *in kind* attaches to his theory of alike deducing from the former country the manifestly kindred Mysteries, not only of Greece and Palestine, but of Britain and Scythia and Persia and Babylonia and Hindostan. I do not however *exclusively* censure the hypothesis of this learned prelate: I think, that for the very same reasons, those theories are equally devoid of solidity, which would similarly deduce every thing from Scythia or from Hindostan or from any other favourite community whatsoever. When the earth was once peopled by the descendants of Noah, and when his children had once formed distinct states in regions widely separated from each other: I can never bring myself to believe, that any single nation could communicate its own peculiar religious system to the whole world; I can never persuade myself, that all mankind with one consent forsook the worship of their fathers merely that they might adopt the fantastic inventions of Egypt.

2. How then are we to account for the general prevalence and identity of the pagan Mysteries; and from what common origin are we to suppose them to have sprung? For, as I have just observed, and as it was necessarily felt and acknowledged by Bp. Warburton, the very circumstance of their identity demonstrates them all to have had one and the same origin.

¹ Div. Leg. book iii. sect. 3. p. 64--67.

BOOK V.

I undoubtedly account for the matter, precisely as I account for the identity of the various systems of pagan mythology. So remarkable and exact an accordance of sentiments and institutions, which may be distinctly traced in every part of the world, leads us inevitably to the belief, that, in the infancy of society when as yet mankind were but few in number, all the children of Noah were associated together in a single community; that, while thus they formed but one empire, a great apostasy from the worship of the true God took place; that at that period the original system of idolatrous mythology and the sacred Mysteries attached to it were first contrived; and that afterwards, when colonies were sent forth from the parent society and when new independent polities were gradually established, the same mysterious rites and the same peculiar mode of worship were carried by the emigrants to every part of the world. Such, even if the scriptural history had never been written, would be the only rational and satisfactory method of accounting for a fact as undoubted as it is curious. But it need scarcely be observed, how decidedly that history establishes the present conclusion: while, on the other hand, the conclusion, to which we are thus inevitably led by actually existing circumstances, affords an illustrious attestation to the truth of the sacred volume. We have an extraordinary fact, which nothing can adequately explain but the supposed occurrence of one particular event; *the union of all mankind, at some remote period, in a single community*: the Bible declares, that this identical event, which existing circumstances so imperiously require, really took place at Babel.

III. The inquiry, which now demands our attention, is the nature and purport of those ancient Mysteries; which, originating in the plains of Shinar, were thence carried by them of the dispersion into all parts of the globe.

1. Bp. Warburton endeavours to prove, that the Mysteries were a profound political invention of the Egyptian legislators; and that their sole object was, first to expose to the initiated the futility of the established vulgar polytheism, and afterwards to declare to them the existence of one Supreme Being the creator and moderator of the Universe. The method, which was adopted in conveying these important truths, he supposes to have been this. The solemnity commenced with reciting to the aspirants

the theogony of the hero-gods; from which it would plainly appear, that they were mere mortals, who had lived and died on earth, but who had been deified for their virtues by grateful posterity. When the whole rabble of pagan divinities was thus discarded, and when the stage was now left completely vacant; the Great First Cause was then introduced with suitable dignity, and was revealed to the illuminated egyptæ as the rewarder of virtue and as the punisher of vice. During the process of initiation, much pageantry was exhibited by way of producing stage-effect: but the sum and substance of the whole matter was the exploding of hero-worship and the revelation of the Divine Unity. In order to render his theory the more plausible, the Bishop adduces what he conceives to have been the identical formulas used by the hierophant. These are the Phœnician history of Sanchoniatho, which has been preserved by Eusebius; and the ancient hymn of the Orphic poet, addressed to the illuminated Musæus. In the one, the mortal origin of the hero-gods is largely set forth: in the other, the true God, in all the effulgence of unity, is proposed to the initiated as the sole object of rational worship. *I will declare, says the revealing hierophant, a secret to the initiated; but let the doors be shut against the profane. Do thou, O Musæus, the offspring of the bright Moon, attend carefully to my song; for I shall deliver the truth without disguise. Suffer not, therefore, thy former prejudices to debar thee of that happy life, which the knowledge of these sublime truths will procure unto thee: but carefully contemplate this divine oracle, and preserve it in purity of mind and heart. Go on in the right way, and contemplate the sole governor of the world. He is one, and of himself alone; and to that one all things owe their being. He operates through all, was never seen by mortal eyes, but does himself see every one*¹.

It must be acknowledged, that the learned prelate has made out a case

¹ Div. Leg. book ii. sect. 4. Dr. Hales singularly deduces the Mysteries from the Jewish feast of Tabernacles. Like Bp. Warburton, he gives only an imperfect account of them. It is difficult to conceive, how the Hindoos, the Persians, the Chaldeans, the Celts, and the Egyptians, should all agree to borrow from a Jewish ordinance. Chronol. vol. iii. p. 178. For an exposition of the radical error of this system, see below book vi. c. 6. § II. I. (1.)

BOOK V. sufficiently imposing: yet we must not be too hasty in admitting it, as exhibiting the real state of the matter. His theory affords much room for remark, much also for complaint.

(1.) Admitting then for the present his delineation of the Mysteries to be accurate and perfect, we shall still have to inquire whether his premises warrant his conclusion. Now even this I greatly doubt.

That the Mysteries treated of the hero-gods, and that they described the death and sepulture of those objects of popular adoration, is clear and indisputable; whether any such formula as the mythologic history of Sanchoniatho was used, or not: hence the initiated might, if they were so disposed, draw the inference that they were all mere deified mortals. But, though such was truly their origin, as the Bishop very properly contends: still I see no sufficient evidence to prove, that the *object* of the Mysteries was to reveal their human origin; nor am I at all convinced, that their death and sepulture were a literal death and sepulture, though phraseology of this description was doubtless very liable to be mistaken.

So again: that the Mysteries taught a divine unity of *some* sort, is equally indisputable: but it is not quite so clear, that this unity was that which Bp. Warburton imagines; namely, the unity of the true God introduced for the purpose of superseding the vulgar polytheism. Yet here likewise we find a phraseology employed, which might easily lead an incautious inquirer to adopt the very error, which our learned author patronizes. The old Orphic hierophant does indeed teach his initiated disciple, that there is but one deity; and he speaks of that deity in terms, which might well induce us at first sight to imagine, that the Supreme Author of all things was really intended: but, before we take up such an opinion in all the latitude of the Warburtonian theory, we may be allowed to inquire a little into the notions of the ancient pagans and to hear what the Orphic poet himself declares respecting his imagined sole spiritual divinity. Now, as we have already seen, it was the universal doctrine of the pagans both in the east and in the west, not that their hero-gods were to *give place* to one totally distinct and different deity; but that all those gods were *ultimately the same*, and therefore that they all *jointly constituted* only one god. It was similarly their doctrine also, that all their goddesses were *ultimately*

the same, and therefore that they all *jointly constituted* only one goddess. CHAP. VI. And it was finally their doctrine, that this single god and this single goddess melted at length into one character, and thus *jointly constituted* one hermaphroditic deity. Such were the speculations of the ancient pagans : and precisely the same, even at the present day, are the tenets of the Hindoo theologians ; for so radically unchangeable in its nature has been the primeval idolatry of Babel, that we may still behold in our Indian empire, flourishing in all its baneful luxuriance, the very superstition which once prevailed in Greece, Italy, Britain, Egypt, and Phenicia. The unity then, set forth in the Mysteries, was no such unity as Bp. Warburton imagines ; that is to say, the Divine Unity *superseding* the host of hero-gods : but it was an unity, *produced* by an hermaphroditic amalgamation of those very deities, which *he* supposes to have been previously *discarded* in order to the more solemn introduction of it. If we entertain any doubt on this point, we need only listen to that identical Orphic poet, whose authority has been alleged by the prelate himself. The poet indeed teaches Musæus, that there is only one god, from whom all things proceeded, and who operates through the Universe. But who *is* this one god, that is thus decorated with the attributes of the Most High? Let the hierophantic poet himself answer the question, for *he* best is able. *The sole god*, he informs us, *is Jupiter. This being is both male and female. In his own person he comprehends all things : and from his ample womb all things are produced*¹. Here we have the unity revealed in the Mysteries : for it is sufficiently evident from the sameness of the general description, that *the one god* proposed to the worship of Musæus is *the single hermaphroditic Jupiter*. Who this being was, and why he was represented as the creator of the World, has already been very amply shewn. We shall now therefore be able to appreciate the solidity of Bp. Warburton's opinion, arguing even upon his own statement of the matter, respecting the end and design of the Mysteries.

(2.) But I have to complain of this statement as being greatly defective. It wholly omits certain very remarkable ceremonials, which were used in

¹ Orph. Frag. p. 365—367.

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the Mysteries, and which eminently lead us to a right understanding of their import: it wholly omits one of the most peculiar descriptions of the Mysteries themselves; a description the more important, because it immediately refers to the ceremonials in question: it wholly omits those curious formulas of the hierophant, which throw a strong light on the real nature of the Mysteries, though they cannot be easily accommodated to the hypothesis advocated by the bishop. In short, the statement selects what might seem to favour the theory; but passes by, as if wholly undeserving of notice, the various matters to which I have just alluded. These shall all be adduced with merited prominence in the course of the present disquisition: and, as they give an aspect to the Mysteries totally different from that exhibited by his lordship, I conceive that we have a fair right to complain of the *defectiveness* of his statement; I conceive that we are warranted in asserting, that his decision rests only upon *partial* evidence.

2. Since the Mysteries were the never-failing concomitant of idolatry in every part of the world, since we have reason to believe that the two alike originated with the apostates of Babel, and since (Bp. Warburton himself being judge) the former certainly treated of the latter: it would seem almost a necessary conclusion, even upon principles of abstract reasoning, that, of whatever nature the idolatry was, of the same nature also were the Mysteries. Now the idolatry, as we have seen, consisted of Hero-worship, united with Sabianism and Materialism, and blended with certain philosophical speculations of a very extraordinary nature respecting an endless succession of similar worlds and a transmigratory reappearance of all the actors in each successive mundane system. Hence it is reasonable to infer, that the Mysteries must have related to these several matters: for the religious rites of the hero-gods must have been more or less allied to the mythological history of those gods and to the several particulars connected with it. Such accordingly we shall find to have been the case, not in this country or in that country, but in every region where the Mysteries were established.

The purport then of these ancient rites may be thus briefly stated, before we enter more at large into the accounts which have come down to us.

As the principal hero-god, into whom all the others were thought finally CHAP. VI. to resolve themselves, was the great father Noah viewed as a reappearance of the great father Adam, the Mysteries exhibited in a sort of pantomime the mingled fortunes of those two primeval characters. They displayed the lapse of the soul from original purity into a state of darkness, confusion, and ignorance. They affected to teach the initiated, how they might emerge from this state, how they might recover what had been lost, how they might exchange darkness for illumination, how they might pass from the gloom of error into the splendid brightness of a regained Paradise. They claimed to confer upon the *epoptæ* the glorious privilege of seeing things clearly, whereas before they were floundering in a turbid chaos of error and misapprehension.

Paradise however was believed, rightly (I think) believed, to have coincided geographically with mount Ararat: so that the renovated World commenced from the very same spot where the old World had begun; the second patriarch and his three sons were manifested in the self-same region, where the first patriarch and his three sons had appeared; and, as the country of Ararat comprehended the scite of Eden, when the mariners of the Ark quitted their gloomy confinement, they literally passed from the dark womb of their great mother into Paradisiacal light and security. The Mysteries therefore described the great father, as being either shut up in an ark and set afloat on the surface of the water, or as being inclosed within some one of the many symbols of the diluvian Ship. They represented him, as remaining in this state of confinement, either during a natural year, or during the mystical great year of the gods, or during a single day viewed as the type of a year. And they exhibited him, as at length quitting his prison, and returning once more to the light of heaven.

This inclosure and subsequent liberation were technically spoken of under various figurative terms. Sometimes the hero-god entered into the womb of his great mother; and was regenerated or born again into a new state of existence, when he quitted it: on this occasion, he was naturally depicted as an infant, or shadowed out as an old man acquiring the vigour of a second youth. Sometimes he died out of one World, and revived into another: then his ark became his coffin; his entrance into it was a descent

BOOK V. into the infernal regions; and his rites assumed a funereal aspect, until he was joyfully hailed as one restored from death to life, when he quitted his navicular coffin and when he returned from the shades below. Sometimes he was lost or became invisible, but at length was found again; and, as he was inseparably united with his ship during the period of his confinement, the same language was equally applied to the ship-goddess: then it was the business of the aspirants to seek for him with mimic anxiety, nor to rest satisfied until his discovery was announced. Sometimes he was exposed to great danger, and underwent most appalling labours; but, in due time, was happily liberated from his peril and his bondage: then the mystæ, after his calamities had been sufficiently bewailed, were exhorted to rejoice and be of good cheer because their god was saved. Sometimes he slept on the surface of the mighty deep, cradled either in the mystic egg or on the navicular leaf or on the folds of the great sea-serpent; and, at the commencement of a new World, awoke from his slumber: then all was confusion and disorder, while he slept; all was joy and harmony, when he roused himself.

The whole of this curious set of particulars was singularly blended with the former set. As the mariners of the Ark literally emerged from a comfortless and gloomy confinement into the very precincts of the garden of Paradise: so, in the Mysteries, the erratic state of the darkling aspirant during the first part of his initiation, while groping in search of lost purity and happiness, was made to correspond with the sepulchral inclosure of the Noëtic family within the Ship; and his sudden entrance into all the splendor of the Elysian fields or the islands of the blessed was similarly commingled with the entrance of the patriarch and his household into the once happy region of the Paradisiacal Ararat.

Nor did the fantastic parallel end here. Since the initiating hierophant solemnly declared the mystic unity of the hero-god, in whose honour the Orgies were celebrated, however repeatedly he might manifest himself under different forms; since that single hero-god, who is described as invariably appearing at the commencement of every new World, is certainly an imaginary character produced by the union of Adam and Noah; and since the great mother was the Earth or larger World, no less than the Ark

or smaller World : the entrance of the universal father into his floating coffin, or his descent into the infernal regions, did not more shadow out the entrance of Noah into the Ark than that of Adam into the sepulchral bowels of the Earth ; for the Ship of the deluge was as much deemed a World in miniature, as the Earth was feigned to be an enormous boat ; and, if the one was symbolized by the floating egg, the other was no less symbolized by the lotos and the Argo. The revival or new birth therefore of the great father had a double meaning. Not only did it relate to the egress of Noah from the Ark, but likewise to the fabled resurrection of Adam from the grave in the person of Noah. For the old mythologists taught, that all, who had died in one World, revived in another ; that in each new mundane system the same actors reappeared, and discharged again the same functions ; and particularly that, at the commencement of every such system, the identical great father, who had died and had been buried, rose from the sleep of death and was manifested to preside as before over the renovated Universe.

Now this is in fact the doctrine of the Metempsychosis or transmigration of souls, which was one of the principal tenets that was inculcated in the Mysteries : and closely allied to it is that of the Metamorphosis or transformation of bodies, which was also taught to the initiated. As the former originated from the belief, that the great father and all his children constantly reappeared in every successive World and acted over again the parts which they had already acted : so the latter sprang from the notion, that at the commencement of each mundane system the two great parents assumed the forms of all kinds of animals and thus produced the whole brute creation ; a notion distinctly stated in the mythology of Hindostan, but which may be likewise traced in the various western fables of the gods metamorphosing themselves into birds or beasts or fishes. This was the true source of the symbolical or hieroglyphical mode of worship : and accordingly we find, that the sacred animals of Egypt, which represented the deities, were mystically venerated with precisely the same rites that were paid to the deities themselves.

The Orgies being throughout of an imitative nature, whatever the hero-

BOOK V. gods did and suffered, the initiated were said to do and suffer likewise. Hence we may deduce those wild fancies both of the simple Metempsychosis, by which the same human soul was thought to tenant various successive human bodies; and of the more complex Metamorphic transmigration, by which the same human soul was thought to pass successively through the bodies of various animals.

But this was not all : as the worship of the hero-gods was largely blended with astronomical speculations, and as the Moon from its occasionally navelar form was employed to represent the Ship of the deluge, a notion prevailed, that the great father was born again, not only out of the ark or coffin within which he had been inclosed, but likewise out of the Moon; whence the ark itself was often made in the shape of a lunette or crescent. The same idea was transferred to the initiated, who studiously copied in their own persons the whole fabulous history of their deity. Every epoptes was said to be a child of the Moon : and a singular fancy prevailed, that all human souls, previous to their occupying bodies upon earth, had experienced a strange kind of sidereal Metempsychosis, and had been born from certain doors or gates in the Sun and Moon; yet this very Moon, from which they are thus produced, is described as floating like an island on the surface of the infernal lake or river.

It is obvious, that all these various particulars could not be treated of in the Mysteries without entering very deeply into certain recondite physiological speculations : and accordingly we are told, that such was actually the case; they taught the nature of things, no less than the nature of the gods. The philosophy however, which they inculcated, was immediately connected with the established theology, or rather formed an essential part of it: This physiology constituted a most prominent feature of ancient Paganism, and indeed was the very basis upon which the whole airy fabric was erected. Now we find but one description of natural philosophy generally prevalent among the Gentiles; a philosophy, not resting on the solid foundation of experiment, but altogether visionary and speculative and dogmatical : and this philosophy is radically and inseparably connected with the theology taught in the Mysteries. Hence we may rest assured, that it was the identical physiology of which the Mysteries treated.

The philosophy in question taught, that matter itself was eternal, but that it was liable to endless changes and modifications: that over it a demiurgic Intelligence presided, who, when a World was produced out of Chaos, manifested himself at the commencement of that World as the great universal father both of men and animals: that, during the existence of the World, every thing in it was undergoing a perpetual change; no real destruction of any substance taking place, but only a transmutation of it: that, at the end of a certain great appointed period, the World was destined to be reduced to its primeval material Chaos: that the agent of its dissolution was a flood either of water or of fire: that, at this time, all its inhabitants perished; and the great father, from whose soul the soul of every man was excerpted and into whose soul the soul of every man must finally be resolved, was left in the solitary majesty of abstracted meditation: that, during the prevalence of the deluge and the reign of Chaos, he floated upon the surface of the mighty deep, reposing in the bosom of his consort the great mother, who then assumed the form of a ship, but who was likewise represented by the lotos or the egg or the sea-serpent or the navicular leaf or the lunar crescent: that the two powers of nature male and female, or the great demiurgic father and the great demiurgic mother, were then reduced to their simplest principles, and sailed over the face of the illimitable ocean in a state of mystic conjunction; the one typified by the ship, and the other by its mast: that the great father however was but mystically alone; for that he comprehended within his own essence three sons or filial emanations, and was himself conspicuous in eight distinct forms: that, at the close of a divine year, the deluge abated; and that the great father, then awaking from his death-like sleep and bursting forth from the womb of the great mother within which he had been confined, created a new World out of the chaotic wreck of the old one: that he appeared in his eight forms and with his three sons at the commencement of this renovated World, as he had already similarly appeared at the commencement of the former World: that a new race of mortals and of animals was again produced from him and his consort: that every thing, which had occurred during the existence of the preceding World, reoccurred during the existence of this reproduced World: that the same persons, who had played

BOOK V. their parts in the one, acted afresh similar parts in the other : that this new World was destined again to give place to an exactly corresponding successor, as itself had arisen out of the fragments of an exactly corresponding predecessor : that this alternation of destruction and reproduction was eternal, both retrospectively and prospectively : that to destroy was, consequently, nothing more than to create under a new form : and that water, or the muddy watery Chaos, was the origin of all things.

This was the philosophy, that was inculcated in the Mysteries : and, agreeably to such speculations, the allegorical death and sepulture and revival of the great father, who on the material system was hermaphroditically identified with the whole Universe, shadowed out the destruction and reproduction of the World, no less than the death of Adam and his transmigratory resurrection in the person of Noah, or the entrance of the latter patriarch into the ship and his subsequent birth from its gloomy sepulchral womb. The Mysteries, in short, treated throughout of a grand and total regeneration ; a regeneration, which alike respected the whole World, the great demiurgic parent, and every individual part or member of the World. Hence the golden figure of a serpent, from the faculty which that animal possesses of shedding its skin and coming forth in renovated youth, was placed in the bosom of the initiated, as a token that they had experienced the regeneration of the Mysteries : and hence, from the earliest ages, the male and female principles of fecundity, which were thought to reproduce the mundane system as often as it was destroyed, were deemed sacred symbols of the great father and the great mother ; and, as such, were invariably introduced into the Orgies.

Bp. Warburton does indeed contend, that the Mysteries were *originally* pure and innocent, and that the abominations of the phallic worship were *subsequently* and only *partially* ingrafted upon them : and he is disposed to give in an eminent degree the palm of sanctity to the rites of Isis, while those of Venus or Astartè or Derceto or Mylitta were grossly and shamefully corrupted¹. I fear however, that his lordship's anxiety to exhibit

¹ Div. Leg. book ii. sect. 4. Dr. Hales adopts Bp. Warburton's opinion. See Chronol. vol. iii. p. 499.

the Mysteries as the very acmè of ancient political wisdom has led him, in this instance, to prefer a mere groundless conjecture of his own to positive testimony respecting absolute facts. Long before the time of Apuleius, whom he would describe as quitting the impure Orgies of the Syrian goddess for the blameless initiations of Isis, did the phallic processions, if we may credit Herodotus and Diodorus, form a most conspicuous and essential part, not only of the Mysteries in general, but of these identical Isiac or Osiric Mysteries in particular¹. Nor is there any reason to doubt their accuracy on this point. The same detestable rites prevailed in Palestine among the votaries of Siron or Adonis or Baal-Peor, long before the exodus of Israel from Egypt: the same also, anterior at least to the days of Herodotus, in Babylonia, Cyprus, and Lydia: the same likewise, from the most remote antiquity, in the mountains of Armenia, among the worshippers of the great mother Anais: and the same, from the very first institution of their theological system, as we may fairly argue from the uniform general establishment of this peculiar superstition, among the Celtic Druids both of Britain and of Ireland². Nor do we find such Orgies less prevalent in Hindostan. Every part of the theology of that country; which some, who know little about the matter, have thought proper to represent as so pure and blameless, that the introduction of Christianity would be a work of palpable supererogation: every part of the theology of the misdeemed holy and moral Hindoos is inseparably blended with them, and replete with allusions to their fictitious origin. The self-conspicuous image of nature, which Bp. Warburton oddly fancies to be a pure ethereal light exhibited to the ravished eyes of the initiated, still appears within the deep recesses of the oldest cavern temples, and is displayed in a manner which cannot be misunderstood on the fronts of the most ancient pagodas. Each sacred Argha, or libatory boat, avowedly shadows out the reduction of the two principles to their simplest forms, during the period of the intermediate deluge: Meru itself or that Paradisiacal mount Ararat from which were

¹ Herod. Hist. lib. ii. c. 48, 49, 51, 60. Diod. Bibl. lib. i. p. 19, 76. lib. iv. p. 214.

² Numb. xxv. Herod. Hist. lib. i. c. 199, 93. Strab. Geog. lib. xvi. p. 745. lib. xi. p. 532. lib. xii. p. 559. Vallancey's Vindic. p. 211—220, 160, 161. Davies's Mythol. p. 539.

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born two successive Worlds, and with Meru every imitative high-place or pyramidal pagoda, is viewed as a mysterious symbol of the grand object of Brahmenical veneration: and to this day the primeval obscene worship of Babylonia, Palestine, Egypt, and the whole western world, is religiously kept up within the precincts of the temple of Jagan-Nath. Here, as of old, lust sits enthroned hard by hate: and the power, that alike presides over destruction and regeneration, that at once (as the Orphic poet speaks) consumes and reproduces all things, is still propitiated with human blood in reference to the former attribute and with obscenity in allusion to the latter¹.

These are displeasing subjects to touch upon, yet are they not without their use. They shew us, how low man may degrade himself when left to follow his own imaginations: and they teach us how to be thankful to the all-pure Author of good, for having called us Gentiles from the dark cells of lasciviousness and the blood-stained altars of a murderous superstition into the light and life of the glorious gospel of his Son.

IV. Ancient authors unanimously represent a certain sacred ark, as being of prime importance in the due celebration of the Mysteries. Numerous instances of this have been selected by Dr. Spencer, with a view of establishing his own peculiar hypothesis. I shall avail myself of them, adding at the same time others, which have not been, and which in some cases could not have been, noticed by that learned writer.

1. Apuleius mentions the ark of Isis; and describes it as containing the secret symbols, which were used in the Mysteries: he also exhibits Psychè,

¹ *Asiat. Res.* vol. iii. p. 132—138. vol. viii. p. 273, 274. *Moor's Hind. Panth.* p. 387, 393, 389, 399. *Asiat. Res.* vol. i. p. 249, 250, 254. vol. iv. p. 428. *Buchanan's Christian Research.* p. 133, 138, 139, 145, 146. It is well remarked by Dr. Buchanan, in answer to those who would persuade us that the introduction of Christianity into Hindostan is needless on account of the high moral purity of its inhabitants, that vile indeed must be the tendency of a religion, under the sanction of which the indecent symbols, to which I have had occasion to allude, are shamelessly exposed to the unrestrained gaze of the youth of both sexes, while the officiating priestesses are a band of consecrated prostitutes. As this religion is substantially the same as ancient Paganism wherever adopted, we may view its obvious moral tendency in the rites of the Babylonian Mylitta, the Armenian Anaïs, the Cyprian Venus, the Phenician Astartè, and the Egyptian Isis.

as deprecating Ceres by the silent Orgies of the ark of that goddess¹. Plutarch, in treating of the rites of Osiris, speaks of the sacred ark; which his long-robed priests were wont to carry, and which contained within it a small golden boat². Pausanias notices an ancient ark, which was said to have been brought by Eurypylyus from Troy, and within which the sacred image or symbol of Bacchus-Esymnetes was inclosed³: he likewise mentions certain arks, as being ordinarily dedicated to Ceres, who was worshipped in conjunction with Bacchus just as Isis was in conjunction with Osiris⁴. Eusebius informs us, that, in celebrating the Mysteries of the Cabiri, the Phenicians used a consecrated ark⁵. Clemens says, that a similar ark was employed in the Orgies of the same Corybantic Cabiri, who were venerated in mount Olympos; that it contained an indecorous symbol of Bacchus; and that it was conveyed by the Cabiric brethren themselves into Etruria, where the mystic use of it was likewise adopted⁶. This author speaks also of the ark of the Eleusinian Ceres, and is very particular in noticing its contents⁷. Theocritus, in describing the Mysteries of Bacchus as celebrated by the three Lenæ, Ino and Autonoe and Agavè, the three representatives of the triplicated great mother, fails not to specify the sacred ark, out of which they take the hidden symbols that were used in the Orgies⁸. Suidas mentions the arks, which, among the Greeks, were dedicated to Bacchus and the two goddesses; meaning, no doubt, Ceres and Proserpine⁹. Ovid familiarly alludes to similar arks, as being equally used by the Romans in the celebration of the Mysteries¹⁰. Catullus and Tibullus likewise mention them; and that too in the very same connection with the Orgies, which the profane fruitlessly endeavoured to pry into¹¹. Cælius Rhodiginus, on the authority of ancient writers, informs us, that in the Babylonian temple of Apollo or Belus there was a golden ark of wonderful antiquity¹². Pausanias very largely describes a cedar ark, which

¹ Apul. Metam. lib. xi, vi.² Plut. de Isid. p. 366.³ Paus. Achaic. p. 435, 436.⁴ Paus. Phoc. p. 662.⁵ Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. ii. c. 3.⁶ Clem. Cohort. p. 12.⁷ Ibid. p. 13, 14.⁸ Theoc. Idyll. xxvi. ver. 6.⁹ Suid. Lex. in voc. Κισσοπιερος.¹⁰ Ovid. Art. Amat. lib. ii. ver. 609.¹¹ Catull. de Pel. nupt. ver. 259, 260. Tibull. lib. i. 8.¹² Coel. Rhod. Lect. Ant. lib. viii. c. 12.

BOOK V. was placed in the magnificent temple of Juno at Elis, and within which Cypselus is said to have been inclosed by his mother when the Bacchidæ sought his life¹. Every writer, who treats of Indian mythology, notices the Argha or sacred ark of the god Siva or Isa². Taliesin mentions the ark of the British god Ilu or Aeddon: and the whole tenor of the Druidical superstition demonstrates, that it was of no less importance in the Celtic Mysteries than in those of Greece, Egypt, Italy, Phenicia, Babylonia, and Hindostan³. The Spanish authors, who discuss the early history and mythology of the Mexicans, teach us, that their great god Mexitli or Vitzliputzli was carried in a sacred ark on the shoulders of his priests during their progress in quest of a settlement; and that afterwards, when they finally established themselves, the same ark containing the image of the deity was solemnly placed in his temple⁴. Adair affirms, as an eye-witness, that a precisely similar ark was venerated by the North-American savages of the back-settlements, that it was used as the vehicle of certain holy vessels, and that it was borne from place to place by ministers appointed for that special purpose⁵. Tacitus mentions, that the Germanic or Gothic Suevi employed in their religious worship an ark or ship, which he identifies with the ship of the Egyptian Isis⁶. And Cook, while prosecuting his discoveries in the great Pacific ocean, observed with some surprize, that the natives both of Huahine and of Otahcite highly revered a consecrated ark, which was provided with two poles like those of a sedan-chair for the purpose of being carried about, and which was considered as the house of their national divinity⁷.

Thus it appears, that, in the due celebration of their kindred Mysteries, a certain holy ark has been equally used by the Greeks, the Italians, the Celts, the Goths, the Phenicians, the Egyptians, the Babylonians, the Hindoos, the Mexicans, the northern Americans, and the islanders of the Pa-

¹ Paus. 1 Eliac. p. 319, 320.

² Asiat. Res. vol. vi. p. 523. vol. iii. p. 131, 136, 132. vol. viii. p. 274. Moor's Hind. Panth. p. 68, 336, 337, 385, 388, 390, 391.

³ Davies's Mythol. p. 118, 551. ⁴ Purch. Pilg. book viii. c. 10. p. 790. c. 11. p. 796.

⁵ Adair's Hist. of Amer. Ind.

⁶ Tacit. de mor. Germ. c. 9.

⁷ Cook's first voyage b. i. c. 20. third voyage b. iii. c. 2.

cific ocean. Such an uniformity clearly proves the common origin of their theological systems: and we may reasonably infer from it, that, as they all venerated a sacred ark, they all viewed that ark in the same light and employed it for the same superstitious purposes.

2. The question then is, what we are to understand by this so generally revered ark; whether we are to consider it merely as a box or chest within which the consecrated trinkets of the Mysteries might be commodiously deposited, or as something *of itself* highly important and significant in the proper celebration of the Orgies. Bp. Warburton seems to have viewed it in the former light, if we may argue from his passing it over in total silence as altogether unworthy of being noticed by a writer on the Mysteries: yet, notwithstanding this studied omission, we shall find it, I suspect, to have contained the very pith and marrow of that favourite ordinance of Paganism. Would we satisfactorily answer the question now before us, we must inquire into the peculiar ideas attached to the sacred ark, and into the purposes for which it was used. On these points enough has been handed down to us, to prevent the possibility of error.

Various terms are employed by the Greeks to describe this mysterious ark: and they severally, according to their literal import, convey to us the idea of *a chest, a coffer, a boat, a coffin, or a navicular ark* such as that in which Deucalion and Pyrrha were preserved at the time of the deluge¹. The phraseology of the Latins exactly corresponds with that of the Greeks; leading us to view the mystic ark either as *a chest, a boat, or a coffin*². We may easily collect, that such also was the case with the language used by the old Egyptians and Syrians. They styled the ark *Theba, Baris, and Argo*; and a coffin they denominated *Buto*³. Now the city of Buto or the coffin was immediately connected with the Mysteries of the ark: and it is worthy of observation, that to this day the Copts and the oriental Mohammedans bestow upon a coffin the names of *Beut* and *Tabut* or *The-*

¹ Κισπη, θηκη, κιβωτιον, σερως, λαρναξ. Apollodorus and Lucian use this last word to describe the ark of Deucalion; while the Greek translators denominate the Ark of Noah κιβωτος or a boat.

² Cista, arca, loculus.

³ Hesych. Lex.

BOOK V. *bath*¹. The same double mode of expression was adopted likewise by the Celtic Britons. They considered the ark of Aeddon as his temple, or sanctuary, or resting-place: yet this very sanctuary they were accustomed to style his *Bedd*; which word, like the Coptic *Beut*, denotes a *grave* or *coffin*². Similar phraseology may be detected likewise in the ancient Chaldaic or Babylonian or Hebrew language: whence we may rest assured, that it equally prevailed in the dialect used by the Phenicians and the Canaanites. The very same word is used in Holy Scripture to designate the ark of the covenant and the *soros* or coffin within which the dead body of Joseph was deposited³. This word is *Aron* or *Arun*: and it has been carried into the west by those colonists, who migrated originally from the region of Babylonia. Thus Boiotus or Butus, who is the same as the oriental Buddha and whose history is inseparably united with that of Theba or the city of the Ark, is feigned to have been the offspring of the ocean-god and the nymph Arnè or Arenè: and thus the grave or arkite sanctuary of the Celtic Hu or Tydain is said to be in the border of the mount of *Aren*⁴. The nymph Arnè was the same mythological personage as the nymph Theba: and the mount of Aren is evidently the mount of the ark or sacred coffin of Tydain.

3. This singular uniformity of expression can scarcely be attributed to mere accident: so that, even if we had nothing further to adduce, we should be naturally led to believe, that the ark of the Mysteries was, for some reason or another, viewed in the double light of a boat and a coffin. But the purposes, to which that ark was applied, leave us no room to doubt that such phraseology was *studiously* adopted: for we find, that it was actually considered as being at once the coffin and the ship of the principal hero-gods; though it is more generally and more expressly described as being the former.

(1.) In the Egyptian Mysteries of Isis and Osiris, the image of a dead

¹ Moor's Hind. Panth. p. 356. Asiat. Res. vol. iii. p. 211.

² Davies's Mythol. p. 118, 113, 369, 393, 193, 194.

³ Exod. xxv. 10. et alibi. Gen. l. 26.

⁴ Diod. Bibl. lib. iv. p. 269. Eustath. in Dion. Periegr. ver. 426. Davies's Mythol. p. 193, 194.

man was carried about in an ark or small boat which served him for a coffin: and the person, represented by this image, was thought to be afterwards restored to life, or (as the initiated expressed themselves) to return from Hades¹. Now the ark, which was thus used, is plainly the sacred ark or (as it was sometimes called) ship of Isis: we therefore distinctly gather from the preceding account, that the ark of the Mysteries was eminently employed as the vehicle of some one who was reputed to have died, that his inclosure within the ark was deemed an inclosure within a coffin or a descent into the infernal regions, and that his liberation from the ark was esteemed a resurrection from the dead or a return from the infernal world. But the person, whose image was thus inclosed as one dead within the sacred ark, was Osiris or the great father: for we are told, that in the ceremony, which the Egyptians styled *the interment of Osiris*, they prepared an ark or coffin shaped like a lunette or life-boat, and placed within it a statue of the supposed defunct god². This interment they viewed as an aphanism or disappearance of the deity; and the lamentations, occasioned by his being dead or lost, constituted the first part of the Mysteries. Afterwards, on the third day subsequent to his inclosure within the ark, that is to say on the nineteenth day of the month, they went down at night to the sea; the priests bearing the sacred ark, which contained a small golden boat. Into this they poured water from the river: and, when the rite had been duly performed, they raised a shout of joy; and exclaimed, that the lost Osiris was found, that the dead Osiris was restored to life, that he who had descended into Hades had returned from Hades³: The violent exultations, in which they now indulged themselves, constituted the second or joyful part of the Mysteries. Hence originated those watch-words used by the mystæ, *We have found him, let us rejoice together*⁴: hence the Orphic poet speaks of the mournful rites of the Egyptians, and of the sacred funereal Orgies of Osiris⁵: hence Ovid represents the god, as never being sufficiently sought for by his anxious votaries⁶: and

¹ Plut. de Isid. p. 357, 358.

² Plut. de Isid. p. 368. See Plate III. Fig. 1.

³ Plut. de Isid. p. 366.

⁴ Athenag. Legat. c. xix. p. 88.

⁵ Orph. Argon. ver. 32.

⁶ Ovid. Metam. lib. ix. ver. 692.

BOOK V. hence Theophilus describes the loss and reinvention of Osiris, as being annually celebrated by those who had been initiated¹. Hence also Athenagoras and Julius Firmicus ridicule the absurdity of the Egyptians, who first bewail the death and burial of Osiris, and then, exulting at his supposed revival, offer sacrifices to him as to a god²: and hence a Latin poet, cited by Lactantius, speaks of the dead Osiris, as being shut up in a wooden coffin, and idly venerated by the Egyptian populace³. This remarkable ceremony is well declared by Firmicus to be the sum and substance of the Isiac Mysteries⁴. Yet it was occasionally varied: and Horus the son of Isis, instead of Osiris her husband, was described as the person lost and sought for and found again. This also is said by Lactantius to be the substance of the sacred rites celebrated in honour of Isis⁵. The two assertions are only apparently at variance: for Osiris and Horus were really the same divinity, viewed as bearing the two different relations of consort and son to the great mother. Accordingly, each is said to have undergone the same calamities, and each is represented as having been slain and restored to life again. In short, all those ancient writers, who have treated on the subject, positively declare, that the Orgies of Isis were of a funereal nature, that they exhibited the principal hero-god as dead and shut up in the sacred ark or coffin, and that they afterwards represented him as quitting the ark and as experiencing a wonderful resurrection from Hades.

But we are not left to consider the mysterious ark of Isis, as being *solely* the coffin of the deceased god: this ark was sometimes called *the ship of Isis*, just as the ark of Juno was called *the ship of Juno*; and correspondent with its name was the use, to which it is said to have been originally applied. Would we understand what was fully meant, by the inclosure of the dead Osiris within his coffin; we must obviously attend to the mythologic history of the transaction, which the Mysteries professed scenically to commemorate. Now the transaction was this. Osiris was attacked and murdered by Typhon, whom the Egyptian priests declared to be a

¹ Theoph. ad Autol. lib. i. p. 343.

² Athen. Legat. c. xii. Jul. Firm. de error. prof. rel. p. 4, 5.

³ Lactant. Instit. lib. i. c. 21. p. 118.

⁴ Firm. de error. prof. rel. p. 4.

⁵ Lactant. Inst. lib. i. c. 21. p. 117.

personification of the sea. Afterwards Typhon inclosed his dead body CHAP. VI. within an ark: and this ark is set afloat with its contents on the surface of the waters. Thus shut up in his navicular coffin, which in shape resembled the lunar crescent, the god was borne over the waves in a state of deathlike confinement during the period represented by the intermediate day: for he was thought to have entered into the ark on the seventeenth day of the autumnal month Athyn, and his liberation from it was celebrated on the third day after his inclosure. At length however his painful voyage was brought to an end: the ark drifted to land: the god was restored to life: and, quitting the floating Moon or coffin within which he had been shut up, Osiris in his turn became victorious over his enemy Typhon who for a season had subjugated the whole world to his empire¹. In memory of these events the Mysteries were instituted: but the calamities and final triumph of the god were celebrated by two commemorative festivals, at the opposite seasons of spring and autumn. At the one, his entrance into the Moon is said to have been peculiarly shadowed out; at the other, his inclosure within his coffin². Each of these however plainly represented one and the same transaction: for, as the ark or wooden coffin of the god was reputed to be shaped like the Moon, his entrance into the floating Moon and his entrance into the floating luniform ark were doubtless but a single event. Analogous to the mythologic history of the elder Osiris is that of Horus or the younger Osiris. Sometimes he is said to have been slain by the Titans, to have floated in a state of death on the ocean, and to have been afterwards restored to life by his mother Isis. At other times, he is fabled to have been pursued when a child by the monster Typhon, and to have been sheltered from his rage in a floating island which was shewn in a sacred lake near Buto. Here the island occupies the place of the ark; and the lake, that of the sacred river or the ocean. The obvious meaning of such legends has already been sufficiently pointed out³: they are here adduced to shew, that the Mysteries related to the inclosure of some ancient personage within an ark, which was viewed under the double aspect of a coffin and a ship. It may be observed, that the rites in honour of this

¹ Plut. de Isid. p. 356.

² Plut. de Isid. p. 366.

³ Vide supra book iv. c. 4. § I.

BOOK V. person, which were celebrated on the lake of Buto, were also celebrated on another small lake at Sais. The testimony of Herodotus respecting the purport of them is remarkably explicit, and therefore well deserves our attention. He tells us, that at Sais they shewed the tomb, and celebrated the commemorative funereal Orgies, of one, whose name he deemed it unlawful to mention. The place devoted to their celebration was a circular lake, about the size of that in Delos named *Trochoïdes*. On the surface of this pool they scenically exhibited the sufferings of the person, whom the historian would not venture to specify: and these, he adds, were the rites, which the Egyptians called their *nocturnal Mysteries*¹. The declaration of Herodotus perfectly corresponds with what we are told by Diodorus and Jamblichus: the former says, that the Mysteries related to the calamities which the gods experienced from Typhon; the latter intimates, that they treated of the bursting asunder of the heavens, the displaying of the secrets of Isis, the shewing of the ineffable wonders of the great abyss, the resting of the ship Baris at the conclusion of its voyage, and the scattering to Typhon the limbs of Osiris². Such information can scarcely be misunderstood. The ship Baris or Argo or Theba was the ship of Osiris: but the ship of Osiris was that floating ark or navicular coffin, within which his dead body was inclosed by Typhon. It was also the ship of Charon or of Osiris viewed as the ferryman of Hades: and it is clearly the same, both as the ship of the infernal Buddha, and as the ark or Argha of the Indian Siva. Now the Argha is the ship, in which Siva floated on the surface of the deluge: and the infernal Buddha is that Menu-Satyavrata, who was preserved in an ark at the time of the flood, and who was thence constituted the god of obsequies. Hence it is clear, that the Mysteries described the voyage of Noah; that the sacred ark was the Ship of the deluge; and that, as the great father died out of one World and was born again into another, that ark was considered likewise as his coffin.

The very same complicated idea was attached to the ark of the Mysteries in every other part of the Egyptian ritual. Thus the dead body of

¹ Herod. Hist. lib. ii. c. 170, 171.

² Diad. Bibl. lib. i. p. 87. Jamb. de myst. sect. vi. c. 51.

Osiris was sometimes feigned to have been inclosed within a wooden cow¹: the cow therefore, like the ark or the floating Moon, was his coffin: but she was no less the ship of the god; for both the cow and the ark were indifferently styled *Theba* and *Argo*. Thus also the bull Apis, which was thought to be the immediate representative of Osiris and even to be animated by the soul of that deity, was interred after his death in a sacred ark or coffin, by way of shadowing out the entrance of his prototype into a similar machine: while his successor the new found Apis, after having been solemnly fed during the space of forty days, was set afloat on the Nile in the mystic Baris, and brought by water to be inaugurated into his office². And thus all the various animals, which were the symbols of the hero-gods, and into which they were fabled to have transformed themselves when they fled from the rage of Typhon, were constantly, when they died, buried in sacred arks or coffins, and bewailed with the same lamentations as the deceased Osiris³.

(2.) A superstitious notion prevailed, that the ark of Osiris, which was annually set afloat on the Nile, drifted to shore on the coast of Phenicia. This fable seems to have originated from the manifest intercommunion of worship between the Phenicians and the Egyptians: for the Mysteries of Adonis or Baal-Peor were of precisely the same nature as those of Osiris, and referred to the very same event. He was first bewailed as dead: but, after a proper time, his votaries forgot their former grief, and with loud acclamations celebrated his supposed revival. These were the funereal Orgies, which the Israelites were seduced into by the women of Moab in honour of Baal-Peor: and, as many of the Byblians rightly maintained that the Mysteries of Adonis were really no other than those of Osiris; so we find, that the Phenician god was thought to have been inclosed in the sacred ark and to have descended into the infernal regions, as well as the Egyptian deity⁴. The Orgies of Adonis were eminently celebrated, not

¹ Diod. Bibl. lib. i. p. 76.

² Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i. p. 323. Diod. Bibl. lib. i. p. 76.

³ Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. ii. c. 1. Herod. Hist. lib. ii. c. 66, 67.

⁴ Luc. de dea Syr. § 6, 7. Plut. de Isid. p. 357. Apoll. Bibl. lib. iii. c. 13. Theoc. Idyll. xv. ver. 86.

BOOK V. only on the sea-coast or on the banks of a sacred river, but likewise on the summit of Lebanon or the mountain of the Moon¹. The reason was, because here his ark or Baris or floating Moon was fabled to have rested, as the Ark of Noah first came to land on the primeval lunar mountain of Ararat.

(3.) Of a similar nature were the Mysteries celebrated in honour of Attis and Cybelè. The goddess was supposed first to bewail the death of her lover, and afterwards to rejoice on account of his restoration to life². Her alternate lamentation and triumph were imitated by her votaries: and, as the whole was a scenical exhibition of the sufferings of Attis, his image, like that of Osiris, was placed, when the mournful part of the Orgies commenced, in a boat or ark or coffin formed by the excavation of a pine-tree³. What we are to understand by this inclosure may readily be collected from the parallel Mysteries of Egypt: but we may gather, even from the legend of Attis himself, that the hollow tree was designed to represent a ship no less than a coffin; he was thought at one period of his life to have performed some remarkable voyage over the ocean⁴.

(4.) Clemens Alexandrinus rightly pronounces the mutilated Attis to be the same as Bacchus, while Bacchus himself is identified with Osiris⁵. Hence again we shall find, that the sacred ark was an implement of high importance in the Dionysiaca, and that the god was alternately bewailed as one dead and rejoiced over as one restored to life⁶.

That his ark was a ship, cannot be doubted: both because he is said to have been exposed in an ark at sea during his mythological infancy, and because he was depicted sailing in a ship decked with vine-leaves and ivy⁷. Such being the case, and the god himself being no other than the Egyptian Osiris, we shall be prepared to observe the palpable identity of his Mysteries and those of Isis. At Laphria in Achaia was shewn the ancient ark, which I have already mentioned as thought to have been conveyed thither by Eurypylos from Troy. It contained a statue of Bacchus-Esymmetes:

¹ Macrob. Saturn. lib. i. c. 21.

² Val. Flacc. Argon. lib. viii. ver. 239.

³ Jul. Firm. de error. prof. rel. p. 53.

⁴ Catull. Eleg. lx.

⁵ Clem. Cohort. p. 12.

⁶ Jul. Firm. de error. prof. rel. p. 14, 15. Arnob. adv. gent. lib. v.

⁷ Paus. Achaic. p. 436. Philostrat. Icon. lib. i. c. 19. Paus. Lacon. p. 209.

and a yearly festival was celebrated in honour of the god. This was plainly a mere repetition of the Mysteries of Osiris: for, on the principal night of the feast, the hierophant solemnly brought forth the ark, and the children of the citizens went in procession to the river Milichus, where they bathed, and afterwards similarly returned to the temple of the deity¹. Such Orgies represented what the Egyptians called the death and revival of Osiris, or his descent into Hades and his return from it.

(5.) The Mysteries of the Eleusinian Ceres differed from those, which I have hitherto noticed, in this particular: the person lamented and sought for was not a male, but a female. In other points the features still remained the same: for these Orgies represented the wanderings of Ceres after the ravished Proserpine, just as the Egyptian Mysteries exhibited the travels of Isis in search of Osiris. This similarity is noticed by Lactantius: and Julius Firmiens joins together, with great propriety, the Orgies of Bacchus, Proserpine, Attis, and Osiris; describing them all as equally mournful, and equally commemorative of some supposed death or descent into Hades². In fact, the only difference between them was this: most commonly the ship-god was the person bewailed; but, in the rites of Eleusis, the ship-goddess was made the principal character in the mimic tragedy. Agreeably to this inversion, as the image of a man was wept over, in the Mysteries of Attis and Osiris; so, in the Orgies of Ceres and Proserpine, a wooden figure of a virgin was bewailed during the space of precisely forty days³. This was the identical period, during which the Bull Apis was solemnly fed previous to his navicular inauguration as the representative of Osiris: and in both cases, as we may argue from the ultimate identity of all the Mysteries, it must have been selected by the prevalence of some common idea. What that idea was, we may learn from the scriptural history of the deluge: *the rain, we are told, was upon the earth forty days and forty nights*⁴.

The Orgies of Ceres, like those of Bacchus and Osiris, were celebrated in the deep gloom of night, allusively to the darkness, which for a season

¹ Paus. Achaic. p. 435, 436.

² Lactan. Instit. lib. i. c. 21. Jul. Firm. de error. prof. rel. p. 20, 45.

³ Jul. Firm. de error. prof. rel. p. 53.

⁴ Gen. vii. 12.

BOOK V. enveloped the Noëtic family, while confined within the womb of the Ark or floating coffin; allusively also, if I mistake not, to the primeval darkness which enveloped the mundane Chaos: and the wanderings of the goddess, like those of Cybelè, Venus, Isis, and Latona, in quest either of a son or a husband or a lover, refer to the erratic state of the diluvian Ship upon the surface of the waters; for each of those divinities, as we have already seen, was a personification of the ship Argha, Argo, Baris, or Theba.

Hence the sacred ark was a necessary instrument in the due celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries. It was borne in solemn procession on the back of an ass; because an ass was deemed a symbol of Typhon or the ocean, which sustained upon its waters the Ark of the deluge¹: and its contents, according to Clemens Alexandrinus, were certain conical pyramids, cakes formed so as to exhibit the semblance of navels, pomegranates, and the indecorous hieroglyphic of the female principle². These were all significant emblems, employed universally by the ancient idolaters. The last of them was a symbol of the Argha or great mother; as the first shadowed out the mariner of the Argha or the great father: the cakes represented the mysterious navel, of which sufficient has already been said in another place: and the pomegranates, bursting with innumerable seeds, were used, both in the east and in the west, to designate Ceres or Juno or Rimmon, that is to say, the all-productive hermaphroditic parent³.

To the ark which contained these various emblems, the formula of the Eleusinian Mysteries, preserved by Clemens, evidently related: *I have fasted; I have drunk the medicated liquor; I have received from the ark; what I received I have placed in the basket; from the basket I have returned it to the ark*⁴. It is not very difficult to guess the import of such expressions. The symbol, taken out of the ark and afterwards restored to it, was either the image or the hieroglyphic of the great father: and the whole ceremonial respected his mystic interment and resurrection.

¹ Apul. Metam. lib. xi. Plut. de Isid. p. 362. Epiph. adv. hæc. lib. iii. p. 1093.

² Clem. Cohort. p. 14.

³ Paus. Corinth. p. 114. Seld. de diis Syr. synt. ii. c. 10.

⁴ Clem. Cohort. p. 13.

(6.) But, though a female was bewailed in the Orgies of the Eleusinian Ceres ; we have reason to believe, that a male was the object of lamentation in those of the same goddess as celebrated in the island of Samothrace. CHAP. VI.

The Cabiric gods there venerated are said by Mnaseas to have been Ceres, Proserpine, and Bacchus : and, since the Samothracian Mysteries were among the most famous of the gentile world, and since Bacchus was the deity who was the subject of them, we may rest assured, that his inclosure within the ark and his subsequent liberation from it were duly exhibited to such as were initiated into the Cabiric Orgies. This we certainly know, that, when the Phenicians celebrated those same Orgies, they used a sacred ark : and what we are to understand by that ark may be collected very unequivocally from the legend which they taught respecting the Cabiri themselves. They reckoned them to be eight in number : they supposed them to have been the builders of the first ship, that is to say, of the Argo or Argha ; for the Argo was similarly reputed to be the first-constructed vessel : and they described them, as having, on some memorable occasion, consecrated the relics or exuvixæ of the ocean to the principal maritime deity. Analogous to these notions were those which prevailed in Samothrace. The mythologic history of that island is immediately connected with a tale of an ark and a deluge : its Cabiric divinities were thought to preside over navigation : and those, who had been initiated into their Mysteries, were supposed to be made secure against all the varied perils of the sea ¹.

(7.) This opinion is confirmed by the positive assertion of Artemidorus that the Orgies of Samothrace were the same as those of Britain, and by the declaration of Dionysius that in an islet near the coast of that country the Mysteries of Bacchus were celebrated in a manner resembling that which was adopted in Greece ². Now the ancient Druidical Orgies were those of the ark and the ark-god : and the identical deities, who were vene-

¹ Schol. in Apoll. Argon. lib. i. ver. 917. Tzetz. in Lye. ver. 29, 69. Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. i. c. 10. Aristoph. Iren. ver. 275. Schol. in loc.

² Artem. apud Strab. Geog. lib. iv. p. 198. Dionys. Perieg. ver. 565.

BOOK V. rated as the Cabiri of Samothrace, namely Bacchus and Ceres and Proserpine, were equally venerated as the great divinities of Britain. Hence it will follow, that, whatever were the Mysteries of the latter island, such also were the Mysteries of the former.

4. On the whole it is evident from this part of the subject, that the Orgies related to the imaginary death and revival, or loss and recovery, of some ancient personage; that this personage was so lost and recovered, by entering into a floating ark which was deemed his coffin, and by afterwards quitting it; that this entrance into the ark was esteemed a descent into the infernal regions, and the liberation from it a return from Hades; and that, as his death was bewailed with loud lamentations, so his revival was announced with the most violent expressions of joy.

Several of these expressions or watch-words have been handed down to us, and they are precisely of such a nature as might have been anticipated. Thus, at the close of the Isiac Mysteries, the initiated were taught to exclaim, *We have found him; let us rejoice together*¹. Thus each epoptes, considered as exhibiting in his own person the varied fortunes of the ark-god, was instructed to say, *I have escaped an evil, I have found a better lot*². And thus, as we learn from Julius Firmicus, when, in the nocturnal celebration of the Orgies, an image had been laid upon a couch as if dead, and had been bewailed with the bitterest lamentations; lights, after a sufficient space of time had been consumed in all the mock solemnity of woe, were introduced into the mystic cell, and the hierophant slowly chaunted a distich to the following purpose: *Be of good cheer, ye mystæ, since our god has now been preserved; to us therefore shall be the safety from our labours*³.

V. It must not however be forgotten, that the great father, whose varied fortunes constituted the chief subject of the Mysteries, was Adam as well as Noah or rather Noah viewed as a reappearance of Adam; and that the sacred ark, in consequence of this supposed transmigration, represented not only the Ship of the deluge, but likewise the Earth which was thought to

¹ Athen. Legat. c. xix. p. 88.

² Demos. de coron. § 79. p. 135.

³ Jul. Firm. de error. prof. rel. p. 15.

float like a ship on the surface of the abyss. The existence of this twofold idea has already been shewn at large : we have now therefore only to attend to the application of it. CHAP. VI.

1. Since the Ark then and the Earth were thus blended together, they were represented by common symbols, and certain notions in common were entertained of them both. Thus, as they were alike shadowed out by the lotos, the floating egg, the ship, the cow, and the navicular Moon ; so were they equally typified by the sacred grotto or stone cell, whether natural or artificial : and thus, as the entrance into the Ark or mystic coffin was esteemed a descent into Hades, so the infernal regions were similarly placed in the central cavity or womb of the Earth, viewed as the greater ark or ship of the World. Thus also, as the Earth and the Ark were considered interchangeably by the ancient idolaters, and thence were described by common symbols ; so were they both personified by one and the same goddess, who was reckoned the universal mother both of gods and men : and thus, as the interior of the Earth and the interior of the Ark were alike deemed to be the infernal regions, into which the deity celebrated in the Mysteries first descended and from which he afterwards returned ; so the goddess, who personified the Earth and the Ark, was necessarily esteemed an infernal goddess, and her womb was of course identified with Hades itself.

The obvious result of such a notion was, that the mystical restoration to life or return from hell was viewed as a sort of regeneration or new birth from the womb of the great mother : and, when this phrasology had been adopted, he, who was said to be born from the womb of the great mother, would equally be said to be born from every symbol of the great mother ; whether that symbol were a ship, a cow, an egg, a lotos, a cavern, a stone cell, or a floating Moon.

But the idea of the birth in question was complex, analogous to the complex character of the two great parents. Adam, being formed out of the substance of the Earth, was thought to be born out of its womb : Noah, being produced into a new World out of the interior of the Ark, was thought to be born out of the womb of the Ark. Adam, having entered into the bowels of the Earth at the time of his literal interment, was said to

BOOK V. have descended into the womb of the great mother : Noah, having entered into the interior of the Ark at the time of his mystic inclosure within his coffin, was similarly said to have been received into the womb of the great parent. The universal father however was thought to have died in the person of Adam, the Menu of the antediluvian World ; and to have transmigratorily revived in the person of Noah, the Menu of the postdiluvian World. Hence, in the Mysteries, the idea of a literal death was mingled with that of a figurative death ; the idea of a nativity from the Earth, with a nativity from the Ark ; and the idea of a transmigratory revival or regeneration, with that of an allegorical revival or regeneration from the floating coffin.

The notion was rendered yet more complex by the material character ascribed to the great father and great mother, or, in one word, to the great hermaphroditic parent. According to this character, the androgynous deity of the Gentiles, as we have already seen, was the universal frame of Nature, Matter operated upon by Nous or Menu or Mens or Intellectual Spirit. Now the World, as we have also seen, was thought to be subject to certain great periodical changes, independent of those smaller mutations which it yearly and daily experiences. In the course of each diurnal revolution, it dies away into the gloom of night ; and revives, or is born again, into the light of day. In the course of each annual revolution, it sinks into the dark inactivity of deathlike winter ; and is regenerated, or restored to life, by the return of spring. In the course of every revolution of the seasons, the whole vegetable creation dies, is buried, and revives under a form different indeed yet still the same. In the course of each revolution both of human and bestial life, a generation perishes from off the face of the earth, and is replaced by another generation of similar living beings. Lastly, in the course of each grand mundane revolution ; for so the gentile philosophers speculated from the single real circumstance of the antediluvian World having been succeeded by the postdiluvian : in the course of each grand mundane revolution, all nature is resolved into its primeval Chaos, and universal death is induced by a tremendous deluge ; but, after a certain period given to the sleep of destruction, every thing is restored to fresh life, a new earth is born again from the shattered womb of its prede-

cessor, and the whole race of mortals who had played their parts during the existence of the former system reappear by the transmigration of their souls into new bodies and once more act again the same parts during the existence of another system. CHAP. VI.

This succession of deaths and revivals, of dissolutions and regenerations, was equally taught and shadowed out in the Mysteries: and the link, by which it was connected with the death and revival of the great father, was the materialism of character which the hierophants were wont to ascribe to the universal hermaphroditic parent.

2. The preceding statement will enable us to account for much that is said, both respecting the god who is the hero of the Mysteries, and respecting the Mysteries themselves.

The god, who is solemnly committed to the floating ark as one dead and who is afterwards exulted over as experiencing a wonderful restoration to life, is also said to have been born again; and his regeneration is described in various different manners, corresponding with the several hieroglyphics which were employed to symbolize his boat or navicular coffin. Thus Horus or the younger Osiris was born out of the womb of the ship-goddess Isis, or out of the womb of the cow into which Isis was thought to have been transformed. Thus the principal deity of the Goths, with his three sons, was similarly produced from the wonderful cow Oedumla. Thus the Indian Siva was produced or born out of the womb of Argha or Isi, one of whose principal forms was the sacred cow which was the reputed child of the ocean. Thus Brahma, Vishnou, Siva, Bacchus-Protogonus, the Egyptian Pytha, the Phenician Taut, and the Chinese Puoncu, were all born out of an egg, which floated on the surface of the great abyss. Thus Bacchus was born out of the Moon; a circumstance explained by the entrance of Osiris into the luniform ark, and his subsequent liberation from it. Thus Brahma was born out of the lotos and the navel; each of which, we are told, represented the ship Argha. Thus Bacchus was said to have entered into the womb of Ceres-Hippa, and afterwards to have been born again from it. Thus the same Bacchus was also reputed to have been born from the ship-goddess Cybelè or Venus or Isis. Thus the infant Jupiter, the children of Saturn, and the ark-exposed Anias and Bacchus, are all said to

BOOK V. have been either born or nursed in a sacred cave. And thus the Persian Mithras was declared by those, who were initiated into his Mysteries, to have been born out of a rocky or stoney grotto ¹.

All these different legends equally respected the birth of the great father from the ship Argo or Argha, which was the sacred ark of the Orgies, and which doubly shadowed out the Ship of the deluge and the Ship of the World. For, when Porphyry tells us that the sacred grotto represented the Universe; since the ship, the egg, the cow, the lotos, the Moon, and the goddess, were all double symbols; we may rest assured, that the grotto was likewise a double symbol, that it was employed to exhibit the Ark no less than the Earth: and accordingly we find, that the Mysteries indifferently treated of the entrance into, and the egress from, an ark and a cavern; and that the same god was indifferently said to be born out of a grotto and out of a ship.

The birth from the grotto was effected by the aspirant's passing through its rocky door: and sometimes the sacred caverns were furnished with two doors; one for the ingress, and the other for the egress. This orifice was the mysterious portal, over which the god and goddess of the door, or the great father and the great mother viewed as Prothyreus and Prothyreà, were thought to preside: and its double prototype was the door of the rock-hewn sepulchre, and the door in the side of the Ark. Hence, in the celebration of the Orgies, the entrance into such grottos, like the entrance of Osiris into the ark, was esteemed a descent into the infernal regions; and the egress from them, through the stone portal, was accounted a birth into a new life or a resurrection from the dead. The door of the sacred cavern was in effect the same as the door in the Moon; from which every soul that inhabits this lower world was believed to be born, after previously experiencing a wonderful sidereal transmigration. But the whole of that wild legend originated from the primeval combination of idolatry with astronomy: and, as the Moon, from the door of which souls were thought to be born, was a Moon that floated like a ship on the surface of the infernal lake; the cavern, from the door of which souls were equally thought

¹ Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 296.

to be born, must plainly represent the very same thing that the Moon represented. Now the floating Moon was no other than the luniform ark or coffin of the great father. Consequently, the cavern must equally have symbolized that navicular sepulchral vehicle.

With this conclusion every particular will be found to harmonize. The Mysteries, as I have just observed, indifferently exhibited an entrance into a grotto and an ark, and an egress from a grotto and an ark. In each case, the entrance was a death or a descent into Hades; and, in each case, the egress was a revival or a return from Hades or a new birth. In each case, the door, through which the regenerated aspirant was produced, as the god whose fortunes he imitated had been produced before him, was reckoned the type of the sacred navel or female principle of fecundity: and, in each case, the claim of oracularity was zealously asserted; for the ark of the Orgies or the ship Argo, and the rocky foraminous grotto whether at Delphi or in Samothrace or in any other region, were alike reputed to be fatidical. Analogously to such an intercommunion, the image of the great father was occasionally committed to a Soros or stone coffin, instead of a wooden ark or floating coffin: while, on the other hand, Saturn, whose whole history identifies him with the scriptural Noah, is said to have once concealed his children, three sons and three daughters, in an insular cavern, which he built or made for that express purpose in the midst of the boundless ocean¹. Hence it was, that the stone cell of the British Ceridwen, within which the aspirant was inclosed in order to his initiation, was denominated *a chest* or *ark*: hence the rock temple of Stonehenge was called *the Ark* or *Ship of the World*: hence, among the ancient Celts, stone temples were constructed in the precise form of a ship on the stocks: hence, among the Romans, an island in the Tiber was converted into a temple for Esculapius, who was one of the eight Phœnician Cabiri, by being so faced with stone-work as to exhibit the figure of a large ship: and hence a notion prevailed, that the ship of Bacchus was once changed into stone².

¹ Porph. de ant. nymph. p. 254.

² Davies's Mythol. p. 393, 394. Collect. de reb. Hibern. vol. iii. numb. X. p. 199--209. Liv. Hist. Epit. lib. xi. Ovid. Metam. lib. xv. ver. 739. Valer. Maxim. lib. i. c. 8. Plin.

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All these matters originated from the same source, the mystic identity of the sacred ark and the sacred grotto : and on this account we not unfrequently find the two associated together. Thus, not to repeat the instances which have already been adduced of the birth of the ark-god from a cave, Synesius tells us, that the Egyptian hierophants, when celebrating the Orgies, not only bore in solemn procession certain holy arks or small boats ; but likewise descended into consecrated caverns, where the most recondite part of their worship was performed ¹ : and thus the Soros or stone coffin of Osiris, which has so often been mistaken for the literal coffin of some really deceased king, may still be seen deposited in the central chamber or artificial grotto of the great pyramid.

The Mysteries however treated, no less of the destruction and renovation of the whole mundane system, than of the allegorical death and revival of the chief hero-god. We learn from Cicero, that the Orgies of Samothrace and Eleusis, when rightly understood, related more properly to the nature of things than to the nature of the deities ; or, in other words, that they taught a system of natural philosophy, rather than gave any satisfactory information respecting the Godhead ². We are told by Cesar, that, while the Druids disputed largely concerning the strength and power of the immortal gods, they likewise taught their pupils many things of the stars, of the magnitude of the Universe, and of the nature of things ³. We gather from Clemens, that the priests of Egypt, the Chaldæans of Assyria, the Druids of Gaul, the Samandæans of Bactria, the Magi of Persia, and the Gymnosophists of India, were all devoted to the study of a certain favourite philosophy ⁴. And we are assured by Jamblichus, that the Mysteries related, not only to the resting of the ship and the calamities of Osiris, but likewise to some great physical revolutions which affected the whole frame of the Universe ⁵. Now we are also informed, that Pythagoras received his collective wisdom from the various Orgies into which he had been initiated, and that the

Nat. Hist. lib. xxix. c. 1. Dion. Halic. in excerpt. a Vales. Ovid. Metam. lib. iii. ver. 629—700. Nonni Dionys. lib. xlvii.

¹ Synes. in Calvit. encom.

² Cicero. de nat. deor. lib. i. c. 42. p. 117, 118.

³ Cesar. de bell. Gall. lib. vi. c. 14.

⁴ Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i. p. 305.

⁵ Jamb. de myst. sect. vi. c. 51.

Orgies of Pythagoras and Orpheus were substantially the same. Hence the natural philosophy of the Mysteries is the identical philosophy, which has come down to us under the names of those two sages. But the Orphic philosophy exhibited the various parts of the World as the members of that great hermaphroditic deity, who was thought alternately to die and to revive : and the Pythagorean philosophy described the Universe as subject to endless revolutions, and as experiencing alternate destructions and regenerations ¹. CHAP. VI.

Such therefore, no doubt, must have been the peculiar philosophy inculcated in the Mysteries : and of this we find abundant traces in every part of the globe. It was the wisdom, which the Egyptian hierophant communicated to Solon : it was the wisdom, which the Stoic most strenuously maintained : it was the wisdom, which is inculcated in the Gothic Edda : it was the wisdom, which is still eminently conspicuous in the Institutes of Menu and in the other ancient documents of the Brahmens ². Accordingly, in the sixth book of the *Æneid*, which, I think with Bp. Warburton, certainly describes the process of an initiation, Anchises, who sustains the part of the hierophant, delivers an oration replete with this identical philosophy : and, in the curious fragment of the Orphic poet, which his lordship rightly pronounces to be the initiatory speech of the same hierophant, though he erroneously infers from it that the doctrine taught secretly in the Mysteries was the unity of the true God, the very basis and groundwork of the system is inculcated with much solemnity ³.

Now the basis of it, as taught with peculiar distinctness by the Brahmens in the east and by the Stoics in the west, was this : that, at the close of every mundane revolution, the whole Universe, together with both mortals and hero-gods, was absorbed into the essence of the one great hermaphroditic parent ; that, during the intermediate period of desolation, he remained in solitary majesty contemplating with intense abstraction his own physical properties ; and that, when the appointed time of renovation arrived, he produced afresh from his own essence the frame of another World with all its subordinate hero-gods and mortal inhabitants.

¹ Orph. Frag. p. 365—367. Ovid. *Metam.* lib. xv. ver. 60—477.

² Vide supra book i. c. 2. ³ *Æneid.* lib. vi. ver. 724—755. Orph. Frag. p. 357—361.

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This all-productive and all-absorptive unity is the unity declared by the Orphic hierophant to the initiated Musæus, as the fundamental secret of the Mysteries. But such an unity, one and many (as it was described to be), was equally the basis of that natural philosophy, which was inseparably blended with ancient mythology, and which therefore the Mysteries sedulously inculcated. Hence, as it has been most justly remarked, every pagan cosmogony was likewise a theogony: and hence, as the Orgies treated of the death and regeneration of the hero-gods, they of course also treated of the destruction and reproduction of the World; for these two ideas were, in the minds of the gentile philosophers, indivisibly associated with each other. Hence moreover, as the hierophant was esteemed the special representative and deputy of the demiurgic great father who was said to be the primeval Druid or Brahmen or Magus, the learned poet Virgil places in the mouth of Silenus, who was the same as Bacchus or Osiris, just such a cosmogonical song as was chaunted in the Mysteries to the initiated: and hence the ancient Babylonians described the piscine Oannes, who was *their* original archimage, as emerging from the waters of the Erythræan sea, and as delivering in the capacity of an hierophant the history of a grand cosmogonical revolution¹.

This philosophy expressly taught the doctrine of the Metempsychosis; for it maintained, both that the great father with his three sons, and that every individual human being who was descended from him, reappeared with new bodies in each renovated World, and acted over again the same parts which they had already sustained during the existence of a former system. Now the transmigration of the soul was equally inculcated in the Mysteries, and along with it the Metamorphosis or transformation of the body: for such was the nature of pagan physics, that the two dogmas were inseparably united, so that they stood or fell together. They differ in fact only in respect to the particular shape of the body, into which the flitting soul was believed to enter: for the term *Metempsychosis* is used to describe the passage of the soul from one human body into another; while the term *Metamorphosis* is employed to describe the similar passage of the

¹ Virg. Eclog. vi. Syncell. Chronog. p. 29.

soul from a human body into a bestial, or from a bestial body either into a different bestial body or again into a human body. Still however the soul remains the same: and a transmigration of it equally takes place, into whatever outwardly varied tenement it may be thought to migrate.

Such speculations have prevailed among the Hindoos from the earliest ages: and also were taught in the Mysteries of the ancient Babylonian Chaldæans¹. Both the Metamorphosis and the Metempsychosis were alike inculcated in the Mysteries of the Egyptians, the Persians, and the Celts². They were adopted into the Orgies of Pythagoras, and were received also by other speculative Greeks³. And, as Cicero declares in general terms, that the doctrine of the Metempsychosis was universally delivered to the initiated; so we find the same notion alike established among the Burmans, the Tlascalans of Mexico, and the aboriginal inhabitants of South America who doubtless brought it with them from the Asiatic settlements of their forefathers⁴.

The tenet of the Metamorphosis naturally emanated from that of the Metempsychosis; but the special channel, through which it came to have been received, I take to be this. According to the Hindoos, the great father and the great mother, at the commencement of every new mundane system, successively assume the forms of all kinds of animals; and thus give birth to the whole bestial no less than to the rational creation. Hence, however the origin of particular symbols may be separately accounted for; and in some, such as the fish or the dove or the raven for instance, we may doubtless perceive an independent appositeness to shadow out the person or thing symbolized: hence we may say in general terms, that every animal was deemed sacred, because every animal according to its sex was a type

¹ Instit. of Menu. chap. xii. Orac. Chald. p. 17. Pleth. et Psell. Comment. in loc.

² Herod. Hist. lib. ii. 123. Porph. de abst. lib. iv. § 16. Cæsar. de bell. Gall. lib. vi. c. 14. Davies's Mythol. p. 15, 229, 573.

³ Ovid. Metam. lib. xv. ver. 157—175. Porph. de vit. Pyth. p. 188. Incert. de vit. Pyth. p. 212. Herod. Hist. lib. ii. c. 123. Diog. Laert. de vit. phil. lib. viii. § 14.

⁴ Cicero. Fragm. e libr. de philo. Symes's Embass. to Ava. vol. ii. p. 324. Torqueniad. l. vi. c. 47. Charlevoix's Hist. of Paraguay. vol. ii. p. 151. It was from the impure source of Paganism, that Origen fantastically adopted it. See Du Pin's Biblioth. Patr. p. 111.

BOOK V. or form of the two great parents. From this source originated the Egyptian fable, which was borrowed by the Greeks and which made a conspicuous figure in the Mysteries¹, respecting the various bestial shapes, which were taken by the hero-gods during the persecution which they experienced from Typhon: and from the same source may be deduced the prevailing idea, which so pervades the entire mythological poem of Ovid as to confer upon it the appropriate name of *the Metamorphoses*. But, whatever the hero-gods did and suffered as exhibited in the Mysteries, that the imitative epoptæ affected to do and suffer likewise: for the whole process of their initiation was a studied transcript of the varied fortunes of the great father. Accordingly, as the souls of the gods passed from body to body, whether human or bestial, until they had accomplished the grand circle of the creation; so each aspirant was diligently instructed in the abstruse doctrines of the Metempsychosis and the Metamorphosis.

Nor did the matter stop here: the same philosophy, which blended physics with idolatry, did not overlook that important branch of physics, astronomy; but still, true to its purpose, it no less mingled astronomy with hero-worship. Such being the case, the souls of the demon-gods were fabled to migrate into those heavenly bodies, whether the Sun or the Moon or a Star or a Constellation, which were made to represent them upon the sphere²: and, analogously to this Sabian Metempsychosis, the souls of the initiated were feigned to pass through all the elements of nature and to experience a wonderful sidereal or planetary or solar or lunar transmigration³.

VI. The supposed Metempsychosis of the great father and the hero-gods took place during the intermediate period of the deluge; for they were thought to be born out of one World into another, and each world was separated from its successor by an universal flood or chaotic dissolution. But there was a very generally prevailing notion, that the waters, which swept away the antediluvians, cleansed the earth from the impurities which it had contracted; and thus, by restoring it in some measure to the Para-

¹ Diod. Bibl. lib. i. p. 87.

² Vide supra book i. c. i. § II. book iv. c. 1. § I.

³ Cudworth's Intell. Syst. p. 788—791. Porph. de ant. nymph. p. 263—263. Apul. Metam. lib. xi.

disiacal state, introduced a new golden age of primitive innocence and simplicity¹. In addition to this circumstance, as the Ark rested on mount Ararat, as the mount of the appulse was believed by the Gentiles to coincide geographically with the garden of Eden, and as there is much reason to think that their opinion was well founded: when the hero-gods were born again from the womb of their great mother, or when their souls passed by transmigration from the old into the new World, they *literally* escaped from the filth and pollution of a thoroughly corrupt age into that very Paradise which was tenanted by man before the fall. CHAP. VI.

So remarkable an occurrence was not overlooked by the original framers of the Mysteries. They knew, by immediate tradition from Noah and his children, that the human race had lapsed from their pristine integrity, and had thus forfeited the happiness of Eden: and they knew, however with a high hand they might corrupt themselves by departing from the service of the one true God, that a restoration to lost innocence and Paradise was not only necessary in order to the enjoyment of real happiness, but that it was actually promised to the first man through the benign agency of the seed of the woman. They knew likewise, that, when the antediluvian World was destroyed, a state of comparative innocence and holiness, resembling that of the first-created pair, ushered in the renovated World; as a state of actual purity had already ushered in the old World: and they knew, that the second great father was born again by transmigration into that very Paradise, into which the first great father had been previously born from the womb of the Earth; and that his restoration to comparative integrity, when he was delivered from the abominations of the antediluvians, took place in that precise region where his ancestor had been blessed with absolute integrity. Thus instructed, they were willing to believe, that Eden and lost innocence were actually regained after the deluge, that the hero-gods were born again from a condition of impurity to a condition of purity, and that their souls passed by transmigration into that identical state of holiness which in a preceding World they had forfeited.

¹ Hence originated the fable of the arkite Hercules cleansing the Augèan stable by deluging it with the waters of a mighty river.

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1. Notions, accordingly, of this description may be very clearly traced in the ancient Mysteries; and, agreeably to the speculations respecting the Metempsychosis of the hero-gods, we find such notions almost invariably associated with the kindred doctrines of the Metempsychosis and the Metamorphosis.

Plato assures us, that the design of initiation into the Orgies was to restore the soul, as at first, to that state of perfection, from which it had deflected¹: and, in strict accordance with this alleged end, the hierophant taught, that, while the souls of the profane, at their leaving the body, stuck fast in miry filth and remained shut up in impenetrable darkness, the souls of the initiated winged their flight directly to the happy islands or the Paradisiacal habitations of the hero-gods². These ideas pervade the whole of the Platonic philosophy, which is essentially the same as the old Orphic and Pythagorean: and we perpetually find in it allusions to what is called the deplumation of the soul, its fall from some prior state of blissful integrity, its incarceration within the body, and its final restoration after performing numberless transmigratory circuits to the holiness which it had forfeited. Such restoration was fondly thought to be accomplished by initiation into the Mysteries; when, after the pattern of the hero-gods, the aspirant descended into Hades, and thence transmigrated or was born again from the womb of the great mother into a mimic Paradise.

Hence, in the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius which wholly treat of the ancient Orgies, we are presented with the curious mythos or allegorical tale of Cupid and Psychè or Love and the Soul. From it we learn all the benefits which were believed to result from initiation, and all the evils which the soul experienced in consequence of its lapse from pristine integrity. But, as we learn these particulars in immediate connection with the Mysteries which equally taught them; so we learn them likewise in immediate connection with the character of the great transmigrating father himself. Cupid, who is rightly described as the oldest of the deities, who first appears when the renovated World springs out of the watery Chaos, and who

¹ Plat. Phæd. apud Warburton.

² Plat. Phæd. p. 69, 81. Aristid. Eleus. p. 454. et apud Stob. serm. 119. Schol. in Ran. Aristoph. Diog. Laert. in vit. Diog. Cyn. apud Warburton.

is celebrated as the offspring of the ship-goddess Aphroditè or Derceto, is the same person as Buddha or Osiris or Bacchus or Adonis¹. He is the same therefore as the transmigrating great father: and his final union or celestial marriage with Psychè, who in reference to her supposed new birth is depicted with the wings of a butterfly, seems to shadow out that ultimate absorption of the soul into the essence of the universal parent which formed so prominent a feature of the old mystic philosophy. We must observe, that Apuleius describes his heroine as falling from the enjoyment of heavenly love through the impulse of a fatal curiosity, and as undergoing toils and troubles and hardships of every description ere she recovers her forfeited happiness. CHAP. VI.

The whole of this is perfectly consentaneous with the drift and awful ceremonial of those Mysteries, respecting which he is treating. During the inclosure within the Ark, the great father and his offspring were thought to be in a state of death and darkness, to undergo heavy toils, and to sustain unspeakable dangers and calamities in the course of their transmigratory progress to Eden or the isles of the blessed: and, in imitation of such difficulties, the aspirant was often made even literally to encounter very severe and appalling trials, ere his mystic regeneration into light and liberty and holiness was allowed to be accomplished. No one, as we learn from Gregory Nazianzen, could be initiated into the Mysteries of the Persian Mithras until he had undergone all sorts of penal trials, and had thus approved himself holy and impassible². He was made to pass through fire and water, to brave the opposing sword, and to support the most austere fasts, without shrinking or complaining. If his courage failed him, he was rejected as unworthy, and cast out as profane³. Similar difficulties, though operating rather upon the imagination than upon the bodily organs, were objected to the candidates for initiation into the Mysteries of Eleusis. They were required to grope their darkling way through a terrific gloom as of the grave, while hideous phantoms flitted before their eyes, and while their ears were stunned with the loud bayings of the infernal dogs. This task

¹ Vide supra book iv. c. 5. § XXII.

² Greg. Naz. 1 Orat. cont Julian.

³ Maurice's Ind. Ant. vol. v. p. 991

BOOK V. being accomplished with due fortitude, they suddenly emerged from the horrors of the artificial Hades, and were admitted as regenerate souls into the overpowering splendor of the sacred isles of Elysium.

To such a process Virgil alludes in the sixth book of the *Eneid*. As all the initiated, whether Hercules or Theseus or Orpheus or Bacchus or Ulysses, are invariably said to have descended into hell; so the poet conducts his hero into the realms below, commencing his narrative with the identical formula which the hierophant was wont to use while the doors were closing upon the profane¹. After safely passing through much opposition and through many appalling spectacles, *Enèas* at length arrives in the Paradisiacal fields of Elysium. Here Anchises, personating the hierophant, sets forth in a solemn oration the sum and substance of the mystical philosophy: and, in the course of it, fails not to describe those purgatorial trials, through which the aspirants were required to win their way, ere they could transmigrate or be born again into the Paradisiacal islands of the blessed².

Now these were the precise trials undergone by such as were initiated into the Mysteries of Mithras. They are the same also as those, to which the devotees among the Hindoos still fanatically submit. In each case moreover the end was still the same. Such austerities were invariably practised with a view to obtain that purification of soul, or rather that enthusiastic abstraction from every worldly object and that union of mind with the great father, which was believed to constitute the spiritual part of the regeneration of the Mysteries. Hence, among the Hindoos, no less than among the Persians, the Greeks, the Egyptians, and the Celts, those, who have submitted to such frantic austerities, are dignified with the appellation of *the twice-born*³.

2. As the purifying transmigration took place during the passage of the

¹ Schol. in *Apoll. Argon.* lib. i. ver. 916. Schol. in *Equit. Arist.* ver. 782. Schol. in *Arist. Ran.* ver. 357. apud Warburton. *Albric. de deor. imag.* c. xxii. p. 324. *Tzet. in Lycoph.* ver. 1328, 51. *Apollod. Bibl.* lib. ii. c. 5. § 12. *Virg. Æneid.* lib. vi. ver. 119—124, 258.

² *Virg. Æneid.* lib. vi. ver. 723—755.

³ *Maur. Ind. Ant.* vol. v. p. 954. *Instit. of Menu.* chap. ii. § 79, 108, 146—150.

regenerated souls from one World to another, as the prototype of this imagined passage was the entrance of the Noëtic family into the Ark from the antediluvian World and their egress from it into the postdiluvian, and as the Metempsychosis was from the earliest period immediately connected with the Metamorphosis: we shall not wonder to find an opinion very generally prevalent, that the human soul, after its departure from the body, in order that it might be penally cleansed from the various stains contracted in the flesh, was destined successively to enter into the forms of all kinds of animals.

This doctrine is set forth with much minuteness of detail in the theology of the Hindoos¹: it is taught likewise in those remains which have come down to us of the old Chaldæan philosophy²: it was equally inculcated by the Egyptian priesthood³: and it was zealously adopted into those borrowed Mysteries, which were instituted by Pythagoras⁴. Traces of it remain to this day in the east: and, as the great poem of Ovid is wholly built upon the tenet in question, so we can scarcely take up an oriental tale in which it does not immediately present itself to our notice.

Of the ancient Mysteries, as we might naturally expect, it constituted a very eminent part: for, since the whole doctrine of transmigration however modified sprang from the passage of the great father out of one World into another, it would of course be treated of in those Orgies which professed to detail the varied fortunes of the principal hero-god. Thus the soul of Osiris was said to migrate into a bull; that of Typhon, into an ass and a crocodile; and those of the other divinities, into the forms of other animals. Thus also the hero of *the Metamorphoses* of Apuleius, which relates altogether to the old Mysteries, is described as being changed into an ass. And thus the British Taliesin, when detailing the process of his initiation into the Orgies of Ceridwen, speaks of himself as assuming a variety of different figures, ere he was finally born again and admitted into the order of the epoptæ.

I think there is reason to believe, that by the easy contrivance of masks

¹ Instit. of Menu. chap. xii.

² Orac. Chal. p. 17. Opsop.

³ Herod. Hist. lib. ii, c. 123.

⁴ Ovid. Metam. lib. xv. ver. 165—175.

BOOK V. or vizors the aspirants were actually made to exhibit the several forms of the animals, into which they were said to be metamorphosed. This opinion I have already had occasion to express, when discussing the fabled birds of Memnon¹: and it receives additional strength from a curious passage of Porphyry, which seems at once to shew, how distinguished a part of the Mysteries the Metamorphosis was considered, and likewise how in the celebration of them that Metamorphosis was actually exhibited. After stating that the Metempsychosis was an universal doctrine of the Persian Magi; he remarks, with no less ingenuity than truth, that that tenet was apparently set forth in the Mysteries of Mithras. For the Magi, wishing obscurely to declare the common relationship of men and animals, were wont to distinguish the former by the several names of the latter. Hence the men, who were initiated into the Orgies, they denominated *lions*; the women, *lionesses*; and the ministering priests, *ravens*. Sometimes also they styled them *eagles* and *hawks*: and, whosoever was initiated into these leontic Mysteries, that person was constantly made to assume the forms of all sorts of animals. He adds, that Pallas, in his treatise on the rites of Mithras, says, that this Metamorphosis was usually thought to relate to the different animals of the zodiac: but he intimates, that its true origin was to be ascribed to the doctrine of the soul's transmigratory revolution through the bodies of every kind of bird and beast and reptile. He then, after instancing the common practice among the Latins of applying to men the names of animals, intimates, that the hierophants were equally accustomed to designate the demiurgic hero-gods themselves by parallel appellations. Thus they called Diana *a she-wolf*; the Sun, *a bull* or *a lion* or *a dragon* or *a hawk*; and Hecatè, *a mare* or *a cow* or *a lioness* or *a bitch*. In a similar manner, they denominated Proserpine *Pherephatta*, because the phatta or wild dove was sacred to her: and, as the priests and priestesses of the heathen gods ordinarily assumed the names and attributes of the deities whom they venerated, and as Maia or the great nursing mother was the same as Proserpine; they thence, as we learn from Herodotus, styled the oracular priestesses of the ship-goddess *pigeons*. For the

¹ Vide supra book iv. c. 5. § XXIX. 3. (6.)

same reason, as Porphyry elsewhere teaches us, the ancients called the priestesses of the infernal Ceres *bees*; because they denominated their great goddess the floating Moon *a bee*, while they bestowed upon Proserpine the epithet of *honiéd*. They likewise, as he proceeds to remark, styled the Moon *a bull*: and, since new-born souls were said to be produced out of the Moon, since the Moon was called *a bull* or *cow* which was the symbol of the Theba or lunar ark of Osiris, and since the fable thence originated of the generation of bees from the body of a heifer; all new-born souls or souls regenerated in the Mysteries were distinguished by the appellation of *bees*. It was on account of this doctrine of the transmigratory Metamorphosis, as he further informs us, that the initiated were wont to abstain from domestic birds; and that, in the Eleusinian Orgies, birds and fishes and beans and pomegranates were strictly prohibited¹. It was on account of this same doctrine also no doubt, that the Buddhists and Pythagoreans have inculcated abstinence from all animal food. And it was still on the same grounds, that the Syrians religiously refused to eat doves and fishes, because those animals had been the successive forms or vehicles of their transmigrating great goddess.

3. From the foregoing passage of Porphyry, and from the other passages which have been referred to in conjunction with it, it is easy to collect, both how the dogma of the Metamorphosis was connected with the Mysteries, and how in the celebration of them it was scenically and therefore literally exhibited. As the great father was born again from a floating Moon or from a wooden ark shaped like a cow; and as he and his mystic consort were feigned to have assumed the forms of all kinds of animals, while painfully migrating from one World into another: so the souls of the imitative aspirants were similarly said to be born again from the Moon or from the body of a cow, and were declared to pass successively through the bodies of various animals in their progress towards Paradisiacal perfection.

Now this, we find, was actually exhibited in the Orgies, for Porphyry tells us, that the initiated were clothed in the forms of every sort of animals.

¹ Porph. de abstin. lib. iv. § 16. Porph. de ant. nymph. p. 260, 261, 262. Herod. Hist. lib. ii. c. 54, 55.

BOOK V. His phraseology is remarkable¹: and it seems very clearly to allude to the particular mode, in which such metamorphoses were accomplished. By means of bestial vizors and garments aptly made out of proper skins, the aspirants successively appeared in the characters of whatever animals they were appointed to personate: and this was denominated their *transmigratory Metamorphosis*². Accordingly, as I have elsewhere observed, the Bembine table exhibits various human figures with the heads of birds or of beasts: and, because the priests of Anubis disguised themselves with canine masks, the Greeks, who dearly loved the marvellous, invented the tale of there being in the upper Egypt a whole tribe of men who had heads like that of a dog³.

VII. The ancient Mysteries then described the death and regeneration of the transmigrating great father, and with it set forth the received physical system of an endless succession of similar worlds. The first part of them was of a doleful and terrific nature: and this shadowed out the death, or descent into hell, or entrance into the lunar ship, or painful purificatory passage of the chief hero-god; together with the universal dissolution of the mundane frame, and the reduction of the World to its primeval chaotic state. The second part of them was of a joyous and lively nature: and this exhibited the revival, or return from hell, or egress from the lunar ship, or accomplishment of the purificatory passage from World to World, or figurative regeneration, of the same hero-god; together with his recovery of Paradise when on the summit of Ararat he quitted the womb of the now stationary Baris, and the production of a new World out of the all-pervading waters which had inundated and destroyed the old World. Such, with the addition of the dependent doctrines of the Metempsychosis and the Metamorphosis, and with the declaration that at each great mundane catastrophè the universal hermaphroditic parent was left in the solitary

¹ Ὅ τε τὰ λικνίτικα παραλαμβάνων, περιτιθεταί παντοδαπῆς ζῶων μορφῆας.

² Hence originated the notion, that the Hyperborean or Celtic Druids could change themselves into birds. Ovid. *Metam.* lib. xv. ver. 356.

³ In all that Bp. Warburton says respecting the Metempsychosis and the Metamorphosis, he appears to me to be as much mistaken as he is in his general idea of the Mysteries.

majesty of demiurgic unity: such were the ancient Mysteries, so far as they respected the compound personage of whose varied fortunes they professed to give a scenical representation.

But besides this they held out the offer of a certain wonderful regeneration, attended with a vast increase of purity and knowledge, to all such, as, after undergoing the preparatory austerities, should be duly initiated into them. We have now therefore to consider the mode and nature of the initiation of the aspirants. This, it will be found, was wholly *imitative*; a point, which I have already in some measure anticipated, and which perfectly harmonizes with the prevailing genius of pagan theology. Whatever the great father did or suffered, that also the mimic aspirant professed to do and suffer. If the one descended into the infernal regions, and braved a passage full of darkness and difficulty: so likewise did the other. If the one entered into a sacred cave or floating ark: so likewise did the other. If the one was reputed to transmigrate from body to body, whether human or bestial: so likewise was the other. If the one was said to be purified by his passage from World to World, and at length to land safely in Paradise or the isles of the blessed: so likewise was the other. If the one was said to emerge from Hades or to be restored to life or to be born again: so likewise was the other. If the one was indifferently reputed to be born again from the door of a rocky cavern, from a stone cell, from the cleft of a rock, from a cow, from an ark or boat, from the Moon, or from the womb of the great goddess: so likewise was the other. In every particular in short there was a studied similarity between them: and, as the hierophant personated the demiurgic father, who built the smaller floating World and who presided over the renovation of each larger World, who was esteemed the first Magus or Druid and who as such was represented by every succeeding Magus or Druid; so all the initiated claimed, in virtue of their initiation, to become one with the god, whom they adored, and whom they recognized as the common ancestor of mankind¹.

VIII. I may now substantiate what has been said, by adducing such accounts of the various modes of initiation into the Mysteries as have been handed down to us from antiquity.

¹ Euseb. Prap. Evan. lib. iii.

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1. Here it may be premised, that the ordinary title, by which initiation itself was distinguished, was that of *a descent into hell*: for, as the great father was thought to have gone down into Hades when he entered into his floating coffin, so every aspirant was made to undergo a similar imitative descent. Hence some of the pretended Orphic hymns, that were chaunted at the celebration of the Mysteries, bore this identical title; which was therefore equivalent to *the sacred discourse of the epoptæ*¹: and hence Virgil, in describing the descent of Enèas, uses the very formula by which the hierophant excluded the profane, and expressly refers to the Orgies of the Eleusinian Ceres². Hence also, in *the Frogs* of Aristophanes, when Hercules tells Bacchus that the inhabitants of Elysium were the initiated, Xanthius says, *And I am the ass carrying Mysteries*, alluding to the circumstance of the Typhonian ass being employed to carry the sacred ark with its contents; on which the scholiast justly observes, that the Hades of the mystæ was to be sought for in the Orgies of Eleusis³: and hence, in Lucian's dialogue of *the Tyrant*, when persons of every condition in life are represented as sailing together to the infernal world, Mycillus exclaims to the Cynic, *You have been initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries; does not our present darkling passage closely resemble that of the aspirants?* To which his companion immediately replies, *Most undoubtedly*⁴.

(1.) Agreeably to such intimations, those ancient writers, who describe an initiation, describe it as a descent into hell and as a final escape into Elysium.

Thus we find Apuleius saying of himself, *I approached the confines of death; and, having crossed the threshold of Proserpine, I at length returned, borne along through all the elements. I beheld the Sun shining in the dead of night with luminous splendor: I saw both the infernal and the celestial gods. I approached and adored them*⁵. Thus also Themistius represents an aspirant, as first encountering much horror and uncertainty, but afterwards as being conducted by the hierophant into a place of tranquil safety. *Entering now into the mystic dome, he is filled with horror*

¹ Warburt. Div. Leg. b. ii. sect. 4. p. 102.

² Virg. Æneid. lib. vi. ver. 258.

³ Arist. Ran. ver. 357. Schol. in loc. apud Warburton.

⁴ Luc. Catap. p. 643. apud Warburton.

⁵ Apul. Metam. lib. xi. apud Warburton.

and amazement. He is seized with solicitude and a total perplexity. He CHAP. VI. is unable to move a step forward: and he is at a loss to find the entrance to that road, which is to lead him to the place he aspires to. But now, in the midst of his perplexity, the prophet or conducting hierophant suddenly lays open to him the space before the portals of the temple¹. Proclus speaks exactly to the same purpose: *In the most holy Mysteries, before the scene of the mystic visions, there is a terror infused into the minds of the initiated*². What the scene of these mystic visions was, The-mistius immediately goes on to inform us. *Having thoroughly purified him, the hierophant now discloses to the initiated a region all over illuminated and shining with a divine splendor. The cloud and thick darkness are dispersed: and the mind, which before was full of disconsolate obscurity, now emerges, as it were, into day, replete with light and cheerfulness, out of the profound depth into which it had been plunged*³. This was called the *Autopsia* or the seeing things with one's own eyes: and now, in token of his regeneration or new birth from Hades into Elysium, a golden serpent was placed in the bosom of the initiated, and the self-conspicuous image of nature was presented to his gaze⁴. The former, by its faculty of shedding its skin, described the twice-born as emerging into a renovated World or entering upon a fresh course of existence: the latter was that too prevalent symbol of the great father; which was inclosed within the sacred ark, which was borne aloft in the Isiac processions, which yet appears in the inmost recesses of the Elephanta pagoda, which shadowed out the generative or demiurgic principle by which World was produced from World, which floated in the ship Argha on the surface of the deluge, and which now strongly illuminated by a lambent flame was exhibited to the fanatical devotee.

But one of the most curious accounts of initiation into the Mysteries is given by an ancient writer, preserved by Stobæus. He professes to explain the exact conformity between death or a real descent into the infernal re-

¹ Orat. in Patrem. apud Warburton.

² Proc. in Plat. Theol. lib. iii. c. 18. apud Warburton.

³ Orat. in Patrem. apud Warburton.

⁴ Clem. Alex. Cohort. p. 11. Orac. Magic. p. 21. Psell. Schol. in loc.

BOOK V. gions, and initiation where those regions were scenically exhibited; between also a restoration to life or a resurrection from the grave, and the mystic emerging from Hades into the light and liberty of Elysium. *The mind*, says he, *is affected and agitated in death, just as it is in initiation into the grand mysteries. And word answers to word, as well as thing to thing: for TELEUTAN is TO DIE; and TELEISTHAI is TO BE INITIATED. The first stage, or the mournful part of the Mysteries, is nothing but errors and uncertainties, laborious wanderings, a rude and fearful march through night and darkness. And now, when the aspirants have arrived on the verge of death and initiation, every thing wears a dreadful aspect: it is all horror, trembling, sweating, and affrightment. But, this scene once over, or at the commencement of the joyful part of the Mysteries, a miraculous and divine light displays itself, and shining plains and flowery meadows open on all hands before them. Here they are entertained with hymns and dances, with the sublime doctrines of sacred knowledge, and with reverend and holy visions. And, now become perfect and initiated, they are free and no longer under restraints: but, crowned and triumphant, they walk up and down the regions of the blessed, converse with pure and holy men, and celebrate the sacred mysteries at pleasure*¹.

These two parts of the Mysteries, namely the first or mournful part and the second or joyful part, were sometimes distinguished by the names of *the smaller* and *the greater Mysteries*. Thus Sopater, when he had passed through the former, says of himself, *Being now about to undergo the lustrations which immediately precede initiation into the greater Mysteries, they called me happy*²: and thus Euripides, elegantly alluding to this division of the Orgies, denominates sleep *the smaller Mysteries of death*³. It was doubtless to these two parts, which invariably succeeded each other; the one terrific and mournful, the other cheerful and consolatory; the one exhibiting the descent into Hades, the other the escape into Elysium: it was doubtless to these two parts, which constituted the smaller and the greater Mysteries, that Aristides referred, when he styled the pantomimic

¹ Stob. Eclog. Serm. CXIX. p. 605. apud Warburton.

² In Divis. Quæst. apud Warburton.

³ Eurip. apud Warburton.

Orgies of Eleusis *that most shocking, and yet most ravishing, representation*¹. CHAP. VI.

(2.) Such being the mode of initiation into the Egyptian Mysteries of Isis and into the Grecian Mysteries of Ceres, we shall now be able to discern the specific meaning and the singular propriety of one of the most remarkable plagues inflicted upon Pharaoh and his subjects.

The penal miracles of the Old Testament are rarely to be considered as *mere* punishments: while they chastise the *offender* indeed, they at the same time strike directly at the *offence*. This general idea has, for the most part, been very happily exemplified by Mr. Bryant in his *treatise on the plagues of Egypt*: but, I think, he has been the least fortunate in his elucidation of *the plague of darkness*; which he judges to be a monitory stroke upon the Sun, viewed as the principal object of gentile idolatry. To me it rather seems to have an immediate and decisive reference to the shews of the Mysteries.

These were exhibited to the terrified aspirant in a sort of darkness visible; a darkness, broken only, as we learn from Pletho, by the playing of a lurid flame and by occasional flashes of artificial lightning, which served to render the gloom more horrible². Through such darkness flitted at intervals many portentous phantoms³. Psellus tells us, that, in celebrating the Mysteries, it was usual to present before the initiated certain demons of a canine figure, and with them many other monstrous and mishapen apparitions⁴: and Chrysostom, speaking of the ancient Orgies, remarks, that, when the aspirant was conducted within the mystic dome, he saw many strange sights and heard many appalling voices, was alternately affected by darkness and light, and beheld innumerable things most fearful and most uncommon⁵. The noises, which accompanied these horrid phantoms, as well as the phantoms themselves, are at once alluded to and very fully described by the poets Virgil and Claudian, in their account of an initiatory descent into Hades. Beneath the feet, the rocking earth seemed loudly to bellow: above the head, rolled the most astounding thunders. The temple of the

¹ Arist. Eleus. apud Warburton.

² Pleth. Schol. in Orac. Mag. p. 45.

³ Pleth. Schol. in Orac. Mag. p. 40.

⁴ Psell. Schol. in Orac. Chald. p. 90.

⁵ Chrysost. Orat. xii. apud Warburton.

BOOK V. Cecropian goddess roared from its inmost recesses: the holy torches of Eleusis were waved on high by mimic furies: the snakes of Triptolemus hissed a loud defiance: and the howlings of the infernal dogs resounded through the awful gloom, which resembled the malignant and imperfect light of the Moon when partially obscured by clouds. In the midst of darkness were seen monsters of every shape and description, from the fabulous Centaur to the triple Geryon and the three-headed Hecate¹. Now, as we may collect from the specified time, during which the Egyptian Osiris was inclosed within his floating coffin and the Grecian Hercules within the great fish; the aspirants were usually compelled to remain in this dismal state of darkness and discomfort no less a period than three days computed after the oriental manner: that is to say, they entered into the artificial Hades the evening of the first day, and were not liberated until the morning of the third day. And this confinement was sometimes extended even to a greater length: but still the allotted period was always produced by a cabalistic multiplication of three into itself. Thus Pythagoras, when he was initiated into the Cretan Mysteries of Jupiter, is said to have been actually immured within the sacred Idèan cave three times nine days². The genuine period of confinement therefore, during the progress through the smaller Mysteries, was *three oriental days*: and these days, when we recollect the manifest character of Osiris, related to the period during which Noah was shut up in the ark; for, putting each day for a year according to the mystic eastern mode of reckoning, we shall find, that he entered into the Ark towards the close of one year, remained in it a complete second year, and quitted it at the commencement of the third year.

And now let us apply these observations to ascertain the nature and object of the plague of darkness.

The scriptural account of it is very brief; yet it sets forth one circumstance of high importance: *there was a thick darkness in all the land of Egypt THREE DAYS; they saw not one another, neither rose any from his place for THREE DAYS*³. It appears then, that the duration of the preter-

¹ Virg. *Æneid.* lib. vi. ver. 256—289. Claud. de rapt. Proserp. sub init.

² Porph. in vit. Pyth. p. 187.

³ Exod. x. 22, 23.

natural darkness was precisely equal to that of the darkness of the smaller Mysteries: *three days* was the allotted period of each; and, at the end of that time, the terrified Egyptians and the terrified aspirants alike emerged to the cheerful light of heaven. What occurred during the miraculous darkness, Scripture does not specifically mention: it merely intimates, that the horrid uncertainty which ensued was such, as to fix every Egyptian in doubt or despair to the place which he happened to occupy. Now this was the precise frame of mind, which is said to have been produced in the aspirant by the awful darkness of the Mysteries: and to that darkness he was consigned during the space of *three oriental days*. Hence, even if we had no further account of the matter, I should be led to conclude, that the plague of darkness was intended to punish the Egyptians in express allusion to their gloomy nocturnal celebration of the Isiac Orgies: so that they, who were accustomed to sit in mimic artificial darkness during three days in honour of their defunct god, were suddenly plunged by the true God in a horrible preternatural darkness of the very same continuance. But the author of the apocryphal *Wisdom of Solomon* has preserved a most curious Jewish tradition, relative to *the specific nature* of this plague: which intimates, that the Egyptian votaries of Osiris were not only wrapped in palpable darkness; but that they heard the identical noises, and beheld through the horrid gloom the identical spectres, which so eminently distinguished the first or mournful part of the Mysteries.

When unrighteous men thought to oppress the holy nation, they, being shut up in their houses, the prisoners of darkness and fettered with the bonds of a long night, lay there fugitives from the eternal Providence. For, while they supposed to lie hid in their secret sins, they were scattered under a dark veil of forgetfulness, being horribly astonished and troubled with strange apparitions. For neither might the corner that held them keep them from fear: but noises as of waters falling down sounded about them, and sad visions appeared unto them with heavy countenances. No power of the fire might give them light: neither could the bright flames of the stars endure to lighten that horrible night. Only there appeared unto them a fire kindled of itself, very dreadful: for, being much terrified, they thought the things which they saw to be worse than the sight they saw not.

As for the illusions of art magic, they were put down; and their vaunting in wisdom was reproved with disgrace. For they, who promised to drive away terrors and troubles from a sick soul, were sick themselves of fear, worthy to be laughed at. For, though no terrible thing did fear them; yet, being scared with beasts that passed by and hissing of serpents, they died for fear, refusing to look upon the air which could of no side be avoided. They, sleeping the same sleep that night wherein they could do nothing and which came upon them out of the bottoms of inevitable hell, were partly vexed with monstrous apparitions, and partly fainted, their heart failing them; for a sudden fear and not looked for came upon them. So then whosoever there fell down was straitly kept, shut up in a prison without iron bars. Whether it were a whistling wind, or a melodious noise of birds among the spreading branches, or a pleasing fall of water running violently, or a hideous sound of stones cast down, or a running that could not be seen of skipping beasts, or a roaring voice of most savage wild beasts, or a rebounding echo from the hollow mountains; these things made them to swoon for fear. For the whole world shined with clear light, and none were hindered in their labour. Over them only was spread a heavy night, an image of that darkness which should afterward receive them¹.

In this very remarkable passage, besides the mention that is made of dreadful noises and monstrous apparitions, we may perceive a perpetual reference to the notions which prevailed respecting the Mysteries. They, who were shut up in the consecrated cell or grotto, were considered as temporary prisoners, and like their god were supposed for a season to lie hid in darkness². To this disappearance from the eyes of mortals, the veil of Isis, by which she was shrouded from the too curious gaze of the profane, seems evidently to refer. It was deemed the veil of death-like forgetfulness: because the great father, while inclosed in the Ark, appeared to be consigned to the oblivion of utter extinction; and was thought to float in his coffin upon the surface of the waters, wrapt in the heavy slumber of the tomb. Such mimic exhibitions were converted, during the preternatural darkness, into awful realities. The initiated Egyptians felt them-

¹ Wisd. of Sol. xvii.

² Davies's Mythol. p. 404.

selves, as indeed confined within a prison and shrouded by a thick veil of utter forgetfulness. They perceived the complete nullity of all those magic illusions, which were wont to be displayed in the shews of the Mysteries: and they found their boasted wisdom or illumination converted into folly, and their promises of liberating the appalled soul of the aspirant from terror and trouble changed into disgraceful impotence. Instead of their pantomimic hell, with all its apparatus of artificial noises and ghostly trumpery; they now beheld a dreadful representation of the place of torment, rising apparently from the bottomless pit, and furnished with every kind of frightful sounds and monstrous apparitions: and, instead of scenically wandering in the night-time under the pretended influence of a divine mania, they now experienced a horrid consciousness of being fugitives during a long night from that eternal providence which really watched over the erratic course of their deified great father.

Thus accurately, in every part, does the apocryphal description of the plague of darkness correspond with the accounts, which have come down to us of the ancient initiations: the description, I say, of that plague; which, as we are taught by Holy Scripture, lasted the precise time of the aspirant's confinement in the funereal gloom of the lesser Mysteries.

2. At the end of this period, the Egyptians were restored to the light of heaven: and, at the end of the same period, the now twice-born epoptæ were liberated from the darkness of Hades, and emerged into Elysium where they again beheld the Sun shining with his full lustre; in some instances, I believe, the literal Sun, in others an artificial luminous imitation of it. The former they saw, when they quitted the stone cell or rocky cavern: the latter was that Sun, which Virgil mentions as illuminating the seats of the happy, and which blazed upon the initiated Apuleius in the very dead of night¹.

The Elysian fields, into which the epoptæ were conducted after their fearful march through the realms of death and darkness, were distinguished also by the appellation of *the isles of the blessed* or *the sacred fortunate islands*: and they were variously said to be situated on the summit of a

¹ Virg. Æneid. lib. vi, ver. 641. Apul. Metam. lib. xi.

BOOK V. lofty mountain, in the orb of the Moon, and in the midst of the all-pervading ocean. What we are to understand by these Elysian fields, even independently of all that I have already argued on the subject, is told us very unreservedly in the magic oracles of Chaldæa. The soul, after its various transmigratory purgations, is there indifferently exhorted, to hasten to the luminous abode of the great father from whom it emanated, and to seek after Paradise: and, accordingly, in the precise phraseology of the Mysteries, this Paradise is explained by Pletho as meaning the universally illuminated residence of the soul when regenerated ¹.

The Elysium then of the Orgies was a Paradise: but where are we to look for this Paradisiacal abode of the twice-born soul? Being an island, it could only be approached by water: being situated within the orb of the Moon, it must be viewed as immediately connected with the floating Moon or sacred lunar island: being fixed also to the summit of a lofty mountain, it must be sought on the top of a mountain of the Moon, which once being surrounded by the ocean, while its peak emerged from the waves, was really and literally an island. The scite of a Paradise or an Elysium, thus peculiarly characterized, may easily be collected from the Mysteries: and the inference will exactly correspond with the opinion, to which I have been elsewhere conducted ².

In the Orgies, the approach to Elysium was over the waters of the infernal river Styx: the appointed vehicle was the Baris or ship of Charon: and out of this ship the transmigrating soul was born again into a better state, when it reached the shore of the sacred island. Now the ship of Charon was no other than the ship of Osiris or Iswara or Menu-Satyavrata. But that ship was certainly the Ark. The ship of Charon therefore was also the Ark. Hence, the infernal river which he navigated must inevitably be the deluge. Accordingly, the Greek mythologists tell us, that the Styx was really the boundless ocean: the Egyptian mythologists viewed the Nile and the Acherusian lake in a similar light, for they called their sacred river *the ocean* and launched into it the ark of the great father: and the Hindoo mythologists plainly shew the uniformity of *their* sentiments

¹ Orac. Mag. p. 17, 18. Pleth. Schol. in loc. p. 34.

² Vide supra book ii, c. 4, 5.

also, by indifferently setting the ship Argha afloat on the waters of the deluge and on the holy stream of their infernal Ganges. But the voyage of Noah terminated on the summit of Ararat: and the imitative voyage of the initiated in the ship of Charon terminated on the shore of the Elysian island. Consequently, the Elysian island or the Paradise of the Mysteries coincides with the summit of mount Ararat. And, agreeably to this conclusion, as we have reason to believe with the pagans that the primeval garden of Eden was actually planted in the region of the arkite mountain, so the top of Ararat will minutely answer to all that is said of Elysium. It is the summit of a lofty mountain: it was once an island, circled on every side by the sea: it was the abode of the blessed, who flourished in the golden age and who are declared to have afterwards become the hero-gods of the Gentiles: it was the place, where at the commencement of a new system the great father was born again out of the womb of the great mother: it was the original mountain of that floating Moon, within which Osiris was inclosed and which was fabled to sail over the waters of the infernal river. In every particular therefore it agrees with Elysium, or the sacred lunar island of the Mysteries: and, since the whole business of initiation was purely imitative, and since the wonderful voyage of the ark-inclosed great father was the main subject of the Mysteries; we cannot, so far as I am able to judge, reasonably doubt, that the acquisition of Paradise by the epoptæ, which corresponds with the second part of the Orgies or the egress of the great father from his ark or coffin, is equivalent to their mimic landing on that mountain-island, which, from its having been the actual scite of the primitive garden and from its being subsequently surrounded by the ocean, was denominated *the sacred Elysian island of the blessed*.

(1.) When the aspirants were safely landed on the shore of Elysium, they were said to be born again: and, as this new birth took place when they quitted the Baris, that mysterious vessel was of course the mother from whose womb they were regenerated.

Now the Baris, within which Osiris was inclosed, resembled in form the lunar crescent: and he was sometimes also fabled to have been shut up in a wooden cow, the horns of which exhibited the figure of the Moon during

BOOK V. the early part of the first quarter. The ark therefore of Osiris was symbolized at once by the Moon and by a cow: and, in consequence of this circumstance, in the old dialect of the Syrians and the Egyptians the same word *Theba* came equally to denote *a cow* and *an ark*. Hence, as the great father entered into an ark, and afterwards quitted it; he was mystically said to have been born out of the Moon, within which he once took refuge during a time of danger: and, for the same reason, as he was feigned to have been shut up in a wooden cow; so, when he was liberated from the ambiguous *Theba*, he was said to have been regenerated from the womb of a cow. Of this second birth from the Moon or from a cow, Bacchus, Osiris, Siva, Chrishna, and Woden, severally afford us the requisite instances: and, since the Moon and the cow were equally symbols of the Ark or the ship *Argo*, the regeneration from such symbols is clearly equivalent to a second birth from the Ark. But, whatever the great father did or suffered, that also the imitative aspirants professed to do and suffer. Hence, as the Elysian island was sometimes placed in the orb of the Moon, because the floating Moon rested after the deluge on the Paradisiacal mountain of Ararat; so the initiated, who were born again out of the luniform *Baris* when they landed on the shore of Elysium, were wont to be denominated *children of the Moon*: and hence, as the lunar boat, which wafted them over the Stygian flood, was called *Theba* and was symbolized by a cow; so the epoptæ were said to experience a regeneration from the womb of that animal, because they were mystically born again from its prototype the lunar boat.

(2.) Of such notions and such hieroglyphical pantomimes it is not difficult to adduce examples.

In Plutarch's vision of Timarchus, every initiated soul, which is born into the world, is described as being born out of a Moon which floated on the Stygian lake: and, in Porphyry's treatise on the cave of the nymphs, the souls of men are similarly said to be born out of a door in the side of the Moon, which on that account was deemed the female president of generation. By this Moon, which floated on the waters of the Styx, we are plainly to understand the luniform ark or *Baris* of Osiris or Charon: for that was the only Moon, which thus floated; and that was the identical

Moon, out of which the initiated were born again into Elysium. In consequence, no doubt, of such a birth, the old Orphic poet addresses the epopt Musæus as the offspring of the resplendent Moon. The personage thus denominated had been initiated into the Orgies: and he was said, like Bacchus and Osiris and Siva, to have been born out of the Moon, because he had been conveyed over the mimic infernal river of the Mysteries in the luniform ship of Charon. But Porphyry further tells us, that the symbol of this generative floating Moon was an animal of the bovine species: whence, he remarks, all those souls, which were born out of the Moon, were likewise styled *bugenis* or *cow-born*. The whole of this is perfectly intelligible: every initiated soul, which was imitatively born out of one World into another, or which was ferried over the Stygian flood into the lunar mountain-island of Elysium, was indifferently represented, from the mode of its transmigratory conveyance, as born again from the ship or the Moon or the cow. Each of these however was equally a form of the great mother: and the great mother herself, when viewed as an animated goddess, was delineated under the figure of a woman. All therefore, who were regenerated from the ship or the Moon or the cow, were born again from the womb of the great mother.

The inseparable conjunction of these ideas, and the wide prevalence of the regeneration of the Mysteries, is curiously proved by the analogous customs of Athens and Hindostan. When an Attic citizen from long absence was thought to be dead, if he returned, he was not suffered to take his place again in society, until he had been figuratively regenerated from the lap of a woman¹. In a similar manner, when a Brahmen loses his caste by travelling, he can only recover it by being born again either from a golden woman or golden cow, viewed as the symbols of the great mother who floated on the surface of the deluge in the form of the ship Argha².

3. There is reason to believe, that the initiated not only bore the title of *the regenerated children of the Moon*; but that, in the celebration of the Mysteries, this birth from the sacred lunar ship was literally, though sceni-

¹ Potter's Arch. Græc. book ii. c. 4. p. 223.

² See Asiat. Res. vol. vi. p. 537, 538.

BOOK V. cally, exhibited. I take it, that in the large edifices or temples, which were constructed for that purpose, an artificial lake or river of real water was introduced; and that this river was furnished with a boat shaped like the lunar crescent. The one of course represented the infernal stream, which separated Tartarus from the Elysian island; while the other shadowed out the Baris or luniform ark of Osiris and Charon. When the aspirants had courageously passed through the terrific pageants of the lesser Mysteries, they arrived at the bank of the mimic river; and, entering into the boat, were ferried over to the island of the blessed. Here they were born again out of the ship or floating Moon within which they had been inclosed; and, having landed safely on the shore of Elysium, they were forthwith initiated into the exhilarating secrets of the greater Mysteries.

It seems necessary to suppose something of this kind, both from the circumstances of the Orgies being universally described as a descent into hell and an evasion into Paradise, and from the actual adoption of such fantastic mummary when they were celebrated in the open air. Herodotus informs us, that the nocturnal Mysteries of the god, whose name he shuddered to mention, were exhibited to the initiated on the surface of a consecrated lake¹. But, if such were the case, then it is plain that a boat must have been used: and the boat in question was doubtless the luniform ark of Osiris, which they literally set afloat on the Acherusian pool as the Baris of the infernal ferryman Charon². Now, if a boat were used when the Mysteries were celebrated in the open air, it is natural to presume, since we are expressly told that they represented a descent into hell and an escape into Elysium, that a boat would also be used upon a small artificial piece of water when they were celebrated within the recesses of those vast buildings which were contrived for the special purposes of initiation. Accordingly, as Virgil in the sixth book of the *Æneid* fails not to notice the barge of Charon as an essential part of the machinery: so Apuleius, after describing his approach to the confines of death and the threshold of Proserpine, represents his passage to Elysium in terms which imply a turbulent

¹ Herod. Hist. lib. ii. c. 170, 171.

² Diod. Bibl. lib. i. p. 86, 87.

voyage over the confused elements¹; while Diodorus unreservedly declares, that the shews of the Grecian Mysteries were the same as the shews of the Isiac Mysteries, and that those shews consisted of a pantomimic exhibition of Hades and the Acherusian lake and the barge of Charon and the transit of souls into the Elysian fields².

4. The mode of initiation by being born again from a boat is most curiously exemplified in the account which has come down to us of the ancient Mysteries of the British Druids: and this account is the more important, because, while it dwells in the strongest terms upon the doctrine of the transmigratory Metamorphosis, it closely joins together the regeneration from the boat, the regeneration from the stone cell or rocky cavern, and the regeneration from the womb of the great mother. All these meant the same thing; though one mode of being born again might be preferred by the hierophants of one country, and another mode by the hierophants of another country: for, whether the aspirant was regenerated from a boat, or from a floating Moon, or from a wooden cow, or from a female image, or from a stone cell, or from a rocky cavern, or from an artificial grotto hewn with infinite labour in the side of a craggy mountain, or from a gloomy chamber within a montiform pyramid; still his figurative birth from the navicular universal parent was, in each case, alike intended to be represented.

We are indebted to the bard Taliesin, for describing to us in the shape of a fairy-tale the process of his own initiation, and also for throwing further light upon the subject in other parts of his writings.

During the first period of Arthur and the round table, the great god Hu, the consort of the ship-goddess Ceridwen, dwelt, under the mystic name of *Bald Serenity* or *Aged Time*, in an island surrounded by the waters of the lake Tegid or Pemblemere. Ceridwen bore him two sons, *The Raven of the sea* and *Black accumulated Darkness*. She likewise bore him a daughter, the British Proserpine, who was named *The Token of life* and *The Token of the egg*. She was the most beautiful damsel in the world, but her brother *Darkness* was hideously deformed. Ceridwen, distressed

¹ Per omnia vectus elementa remeavi. Metam. lib. xi.

² Diod. Bibl. lib. i. p. 86, 87.

BOOK V.

by this circumstance, determined, agreeably to the mystery of the books of Pheryllt, to prepare for him a cauldron of the water of inspiration. When the cauldron began to boil, it was requisite that the boiling should be continued without interruption for the space of a year and a day, until three blessed drops of the endowment of the spirit could be procured. That this might be effected, a person named *Gwion the little* was appointed to watch it, while Ceridwen applied herself to the study of botany and astronomy. About the completion of the year, three drops of the potent liquid flew out of the cauldron and alighted upon the finger of the aspirant Gwion. The heat of the water caused him to put his finger into his mouth. As soon as he tasted it, every event of futurity was opened to his view; and, perceiving that his greatest concern was to beware of the stratagems of Ceridwen, he precipitately fled towards his native country. As for the cauldron, it split into two halves: and the whole of the water which it contained, except the three efficacious drops, was poisonous. At this moment Ceridwen entered; and, enraged at her disappointment, set forth immediately in pursuit of Gwion. The culprit, perceiving her at a distance, transformed himself into a hare, and redoubled his speed: but Ceridwen assumed the shape of a grey-hound, and chased him towards a river. Leaping into the stream, he became a fish: but his enemy, as an otter, traced him through the water. He now took the form of a bird, and mounted into the air: but Ceridwen, as a sparrow-hawk, pursued him so closely that she was on the very point of seizing him. While he was terrified at the near approach of death, he perceived a heap of clean wheat on the floor; and, instantly dropping into the midst of it, he metamorphosed himself into a single grain: but Ceridwen, now become a black-crested hen, scratched him out of the wheat and swallowed him. The consequence was, that the goddess found herself pregnant, and in due time brought forth the late object of her pursuit. When thus born again, he was so lovely a babe, that she had not resolution to put him to death. She placed him however in a coracle covered with a skin; and, on the twenty ninth of April, cast him into the sea. The coracle drifted safely to shore; and, on the eve of May, was taken out of the water by Elphin the son of Gwyddno. His attendant opened it; and, perceiving the forehead of an infant, exclaimed, *Behold*

Taliesen, radiant front! The prince replied, *Radiant front be his name.* CHAP. VI.
 Taliesin immediately composed for Elphin a song of praise, in which he predicted his future renown: and Elphin in return presented him to his father Gwyddno, who demanded whether he was a human being or a spirit. Taliesin replied in a mystical song; wherein he professed himself to be the general primary bard who had existed in all ages, identified his own character with that of the Sun, and declared himself to have been thrice-born from the womb of his various mothers ¹.

The key to this whole narrative is afforded us at its very commencement: for, as the ship-god Hu, the ship-goddess Ceridwen, the Raven of the sea, the primeval Darkness, the mystic token of the egg, the holy island, and the consecrated lake, are formally introduced; the tale itself, as indeed its subsequent structure demonstrates, can only relate to an initiation into those Mysteries, which Artemidorus and Dionysius have declared to be substantially the same as the Orgies of Bacchus and the Samothracian Cabiri.

(1.) Our attention is first called to the boiling of the magic cauldron, the purport of which may without much difficulty be ascertained by attending to what the bards have said respecting it.

I will adore, says the egypt Taliesin, the sovereign, the supreme ruler of the land. If he extended his dominion over the shores of the World, yet in good order was the prison of Gwair in the inclosure of Sidi. Through the mission of Intellect, no one before him entered into it. The heavy blue chain didst thou, O just man endure; and, for the spoils of the deep, woe-ful is thy song. Thrice the number that would have filled Prydwen², we entered into the deep; excepting seven, none have returned from Caer Sidi. Am I not contending for the praise of that lore, which was four times reviewed in the quadrangular inclosure? As the first sentence, was it uttered from the cauldron. Is not this the cauldron of the ruler of the deep? With the ridge of pearls round its border, it will not boil the food

¹ Hanes Taliesin apud Davies's Mythol. p. 189—240.

² The name of the mystic shield of Arthur, in which he embarked on the sea with seven companions.

BOOK V. *of a coward who is not bound by his sacred oath. Against him will be lifted the bright-gleaming sword; and in the hand of the sword-bearer shall he be left: and before the entrance of the gate of hell shall the horns of light be burning. When we went with Arthur in his splendid labours, excepting seven, none returned from Caer Veditid. Am I not contending for the honor of a lore which deserves attention? In the quadrangular inclosure, in the island with the strong door, the twilight and the pitchy darkness were mingled together, whilst bright wine was the beverage placed before the narrow circle. Thrice the number that would have filled Prydwen, we embarked upon the sea: excepting seven, none returned from Caer Rigor. I will not redeem the multitudes with the ensign of the governor. Beyond the inclosure of glass, they beheld not the prowess of Arthur. They knew not on what day the stroke would be given, nor at what hour in the serene day the agitated person would be born, or who preserved his going into the dales of the possession of the water. They knew not the brindled ox with the thick head-band. When we went with Arthur of mournful memory, excepting seven, none returned from Caer Vandwy¹.*

Here we find the cauldron ascribed to the ruler of the deep; and, in what manner it is so ascribed, is sufficiently plain from the whole tenor of the song. A just man, the supreme ruler of the world, celebrated as the first mythological Arthur whose allegorical consort bears the name of *Gwenhwyvar* or *The lady on the surface of the water*, enters into the inclosure of the ship-goddess Sidi, described not unaptly as a prison, in consequence of the prophetic mission of Intellect or Nous or Menu². Within this quadrangular inclosure, this floating island with a strong door which is represented as being the gate of hell, he sits darkling at the head of seven companions, who alone return in safety from a perilous voyage when the rest of mankind perish in the mighty deep. These know, neither the day

¹ Preidden Annwn. apud Davies's Mythol. p. 514.

² *Caer Veditid*, *Caer Rigor*, and *Caer Vandwy*, are but different names of Caer Sidi or the Inclosure of Sidi. This was the mystic title of Stonehenge, which shadowed out the Ark and the World. Hence the Druids were accustomed to style it *the Ark of the World*, and hence they feigned it to have sailed over the sea which separates Ireland from Britain.

when the unexpected stroke would be given, nor the hour when the tempest-tossed patriarch would be born again from the square inclosure which preserved him, nor the mode in which he was saved while navigating the dales of the interminable waters. But all such matters are fully declared in the Mysteries: where a boat of glass, in which Merlin and his initiated associates are said to have navigated the ocean¹, represents the floating island with the strong door; and where an officer with a drawn sword stands ready to execute vengeance upon the perjured and to guard against the intrusion of the profane. The cauldron then, which is described as boiling a year and a day, the contents of which like the churned sea in the Courma Avatar become a liquid poison, and which yet produces three precious drops of renovated knowledge, is something immediately connected with the history of the deluge.

Further light will be thrown on the subject by another bardic fragment. There is still extant an ancient hymn, used by the Druids in the celebration of their Mysteries, and termed *A song of dark import composed by the distinguished Ogdoad*. In this hymn is celebrated a great influx or deluge mingled with the blood of men: and certain suppliants, who vainly attempt to escape in their ships, are described as imploring the oracular ark of Adonai against the overwhelming flood. The catastrophè however had been previously foretold to an irreclaimable and unbelieving world. *The heat of the Sun shall be wasted: yet shall the Britons have an inclosure of great renown, and the heights of Snowdon shall receive inhabitants. Then will come the spotted cow, and procure a blessing. On the serene day will she bellow: on the eve of May shall she be boiled: and, on the spot where her boiling is completed, shall her consumer rest in peace. Let truth be ascribed to Menwydd the dragon chief of the world, who formed the curvatures of Kydd; which passed through the dale of grievous water, having the fore part stored with corn and mounting aloft with connected serpents*². To each stanza of the poem is subjoined a burden; which is put, like a sort of chorus, into the mouth of those, who, terrified by the

¹ Cambrian Biography.

² Gwawd Lludd y Mawr. apud Davies's Mythol. p. 563. et infra.

BOOK V. raging flood, approach the ark of the just man and implore protection. This burden is not written in the Celtic, but in some foreign language: and it is a most curious circumstance, that, upon examination, that language proves to be genuine Hebrew or Chaldaic, agreeably to the express assertion of Taliesin, that *his lore has been delivered in Hebrew*¹. The chaunt seems to have been brought out of Asia by the ancestors of the Britons: and it is wonderful, how accurately the Druids have preserved it by the ear, agreeably to the observation of Cesar, that their pupils were required to learn by heart a great number of traditional verses then deemed too sacred to be committed to writing. Its purport exactly agrees with the general tenor of the poem, in which it occurs: for the following is a literal translation of it. *Alas my covenant! The covenant it is of Nuh. The wood of Nuh is my witness. My covenant is the covenant of the ship besmeared. My witness, my witness, it is my friend*².

Here we find, that the cauldron of the British Mysteries represents that mighty vessel, in which the symbolical cow is boiled or tossed about during the space of an entire year: and *that* boiling is studiously introduced into a song, which palpably relates to the deluge. The boiling is completed, and the sacrificer rests in peace, on the eve of May. But that is the identical day, on which the coracle of the initiated Taliesin drifts to shore: so that the initiation of the bard stands inseparably connected with the boiling of the cow; and the boiling of the cow again stands equally connected with the voyage of Nuh or Menwydd or Menu, which he performs in the womb of Kydd or Ceridwen then floating as a ship on the surface of the waters, and which (according to the local fgment of the Druids) termi-

¹ Angar Cyvyndawd. apud Davies's Mythol. p. 573.

² The chaunt is expressed in the following words; which, as being in some foreign language, Mr. Davies leaves untranslated. *O brithi brith oi nu oes nu edi brithi brith anhui sych edi edi eu roi.* I express them more accurately, and write them in Hebrew characters as below.

O Brithi! Brith i Nuh.
Es Nuh edi.
Brithi Brith ani such.
Edi edi eu roi.

אני בריתי : ברית היא נוח :
עין נוח ערי :
בריתי ברית אני סוך :
ערי ערי הוא רעי :

nated on the summit of their holy mount Snowdon¹. The boiling cauldron then clearly shadows out the ocean cup: and its boiling continues for the space of a year, because so long the just man was a prisoner within the inclosure of the Ark. CHAP. VI.

This witching cauldron is doubtless the same as the cauldron of the Irish Dagh-dac or Dagon²: and, as the boiling of it was deemed so important by the bards, that the term was used metaphorically to describe both the Mysteries themselves and all the benefits supposed to result from them; so there was a ceremony not dissimilar in the Orgies of the Eleusinian Ceres, who is certainly the same character as the British Ceridwen. The officer, named *Hydrauus*, corresponds with the aspirant who is ordered to watch the boiling of the cauldron: and the cauldron itself may be identified with the deep vase or kettle, which Ascalaphus offers to Ceres when she is wandering round the world in quest of her daughter Proserpine³. Antoninus does indeed grievously mar the story in relating it: but the mode, in which the Eleusinian Mysteries were celebrated, affords ground for believing, that such was the nature of the deep vase which he particularises. On the ninth and last day, when all the purifications had been completed, two deep earthen vessels, which widened from the bottom upwards, were filled, according to Athenæus, with water. After the recital of certain prayers, the water was poured into a kind of pit or channel, much in the same manner as the contents of the British cauldron are spilt by its disruption: and the aspirants exclaimed, *May we be able auspiciously to pour the water of these vessels into the terrestrial sink*⁴. In both cases, the action alluded to the retiring of the deluge into the central abyss, as we may collect plainly enough from the ceremony observed in the temple of Hierapolis: at the festival of the Syrian goddess, which occurred twice in every year, water was poured by the devotees into a chasm through which the flood was believed to have descended into the bowels of the earth.

(2.) Such was the mystic cauldron of Ceridwen: our attention is next

¹ Welsh Archæol. vol. ii. p. 64. apud Davies.

² Vallancey's Vind. of the anc. hist. of Ireland. p. 153. I need scarcely observe, that the cauldron of Ceridwen is the prototype of the magical cauldron in Macbeth.

³ Anton. Liber. Metam. c. xxiii.

⁴ Davies's Mythol. p. 222, 223.

BOOK V. arrested by the several metamorphoses undergone by the goddess and the aspirant. These are evidently the transformations; which constituted so prominent a feature in the shews of the ancient Mysteries, which are nearly allied to the metamorphosis of the Egyptian deities into various animals when pursued by the oceanic Typhon, and which still decorate so many oriental tales with specious miracles¹.

(3.) The metamorphic mummery however, which seems to have been exhibited by means of suitable vizors, was but preparatory to the grand business of initiation. As Ceridwen was the goddess of the Ark, it was necessary that the aspirant should be inclosed within her; in order that, like the great transmigrating father, he might thus experience a second birth.

This ceremony, wildly as it is described by Taliesin, appears to have been literally gone through by the initiated. The goddess was represented by one of those stone cells or artificial caverns, of which so many are yet remaining in different parts of our island. They were called *Kist-Vaens* or *Maen-Archs*, terms alike denoting *arks of stone*: and they were considered as transcripts of that floating prison, within which the just man and his seven companions were for a season inclosed². In these the aspirants were shut up as prisoners: and, as such edifices typified the great navicular mother, they were figuratively said to be swallowed by Ceridwen and afterwards to be born again as infants from her womb. Accordingly, Taliesin explains Ceridwen's absorption of him, by informing us, that the Llan or cell, within which he was inclosed during the process of his initiation, was above ground³. It was the same as the stone ship of Bacchus, the rocky insular cavern of Saturn, and the navicular stone coffin of Osiris: and, in what light we are to understand the confinement within it and the numerous metamorphoses undergone by the goddess and her novitiate, may be collected from the words of this bardic poet, wherein he explains the

¹ See particularly the tale of the second Calender in the Arabian nights Entertainments. There is so close a resemblance between the series of metamorphoses undergone by Ceridwen and Gwion and those undergone by the princess and the evil genius, that they must apparently have originated from a common source.

² See Plate III. Fig. 31.

³ Davies's Mythol. p. 391—404.

import of his being swallowed by the great mother and of his being born again from her womb. CHAP. VI.

I was first modelled into the form of a pure man in the hall of Ceridwen, who subjected me to penance. Though small within my ark and modest in my deportment, I was great. A sanctuary carried me above the surface of the earth. Whilst I was inclosed within its ribs, the sweet Awen rendered me complete¹: and my law, without audible language, was imparted to me by the old giantess darkly smiling in her wrath; but her claim was not regretted, when she set sail. I fled in the form of a fair grain of pure wheat: upon the edge of a covering cloth she caught me in her fangs. In appearance she was as large as a proud mare, which she also resembled²: then was she swelling out, like a ship upon the waters. Into a dark receptacle she cast me. She carried me back into the sea of Dylan. It was an auspicious omen to me, when she happily suffocated me. God, the Lord, freely set me at large³.

From this passage it appears, that the ceremony of initiation was performed in dumb shew and through the medium of a significant series of symbolical representations. It further appears, that the confinement in the stone-ark or hall or womb of Ceridwen was designed to shadow out a confinement within a ship floating on the waters. And it moreover appears from the mention of the sea of Dylan into which the ship of Ceridwen was supposed to carry the aspirant, that that ship must mean the Ark; because Dylan is certainly Noah. This personage is styled by the bards *the son of the sea* and *the son of the wave*: and his resting place or mystic grave is said to be in the temple of the navicular ox, hard by the mountain of the Ark, while the restless waves make an overwhelming din. Hence, as the aspirants studiously imitated all the actions and sufferings of the great father, Taliesin, speaking of his own initiation, exclaims: *Truly I was in the ship with Dylan son of the sea, embraced in the centre between*

¹ Or *initiated me*. The Greeks used the exactly equivalent words *τελεω* and *τελεται* in speaking of their Mysteries. Awen is the hermaphroditic Om or Aum of Hindostan, which is styled *the place of births*. *Asiat. Res.* vol. v. p. 548.

² The Ceres-Hippa of the Greeks, who similarly received Bacchus into her womb.

³ Davies's *Mythol.* p. 255, 256.

BOOK V. *the royal knees ; when, like the rushing of hostile spears, the floods came forth from heaven to the great deep. No other bard will sing the violence of convulsive throes, when forth proceeded with thundering din the billows against the shore in Dylan's day of vengeance ; a day, which, in the celebration of our commemorative Mysteries, extends to us*¹.

(4.) The inclosure within the stone-ark or artificial cavern, which represented the womb of the ship-goddess, served to initiate the aspirant according to *one* mode of celebrating the Mysteries : but, when he had been duly confined under a strict discipline in the allegorical prison of Ceridwen, and when he had been born again by issuing through its rocky portal, a greater trial of his fortitude and patience still awaited him in his initiation according to *another* mode of celebrating them. He was committed in a close coracle to the sea, which shadowed out the deluge : and he was thus suffered to drift, at the mercy of the waves and tides, to a reef of rocks, which typified the mount of debarkation. Here he was received by the officiating hierophants : and, when this adventure, which was frequently attended with considerable danger, had been achieved, his initiation was complete. Henceforth he was one with the great solar patriarch ; that general primary bard, who transmigratively exists throughout all ages : he might bear his name and claim a participation of his attributes².

This was the case with Taliesin, when taken out of the coracle by Elphin and solemnly presented to his spiritual father Gwyddno. Hence we may conclude, that these two personages were two hierophants ; Gwyddno, as holding the higher rank, being the Arch-Druid. Agreeably to such a conclusion, the bard speaks of Elphin, who in his capacity of a hierophant was the representative of the transmigrating creator, as the sovereign of all the disciples of Druidism ; and identifies him with the solar orb itself, which was the astronomical symbol of demiurge³ : while, in an ancient song evidently relating to the ceremony of inclosing the hierophant within a coracle and launching him into the sea, Gwyddno appears as the acknowledged Archimage who presides over the whole process. The song is in

¹ Davies's Mythol. p. 100, 101.

² Davies's Mythol. p. 218.

³ Davies's Mythol. p. 217.

the form of a dialogue between him and the probationer; who, beholding CHAP. VI. at a terrific distance the ridge of rocks on which he hoped to disembark from his vessel, shudders at the perilous adventure of initiation which every aspirant was bound to achieve.

PROBATIONER. *Though I love the sea-beach, I dread the open sea: a billow may come, undulating over the stone.* GWYDDNO. *To the brave, to the magnanimous, to the amiable, to the generous, who boldly embarks, the ascending stone of the bards will prove the harbour of life! It has asserted the praise of Heilyn, the mysterious impeller of the sky: and, till the doom, its symbol shall be continued.* PROB. *Though I love the strand, I dread the wave: great has been its violence; dismal, the overwhelming stroke. Even to him who survives, it will be a subject of lamentation.* GWYD. *It is a pleasant act to wash on the bosom of the fair water. Though it fill the receptacle, it will not disturb the heart. My associated train regard not its overwhelming. As for him who repented of his enterprize, the lofty wave has hurried the babbler far away to his death: but the brave, the magnanimous, will find his compensation in arriving safe at the stones. The conduct of the water will declare thy merit.*

The aspirant however proves timid, or else is rejected: the hierophant therefore commands, that he should be taken out of the coracle; and dismisses him with a sharp reproof, in which he pointedly alludes to the sign of God's covenant with Noah.

GWYD. *Thy coming without external purity is a pledge, that I will not receive thee. Take out the gloomy one. Out of the receptacle, which is thy aversion, did I obtain the rainbow¹.*

The official name of the hierophant answers to his character: *Gwydd-Naw*, in the Celtic, denotes, we are told, *the priest of the ship*.

(5.) From the peculiar phraseology of Taliesin, who speaks of himself as being terrified at the near approach of death and as even being slain when he entered into the womb of the great mother, we may clearly infer, that initiation into the Druidical Mysteries, like initiation into those of the Greeks and Egyptians, was considered, as a descent into hell, as a passage

¹ Davies's Mythol. p. 250, 251.

BOOK V. over the infernal lake, and as a landing on the Elysian island of the blessed. But we may do much more than merely gather by induction, that such were the speculative ideas attached to Druidical initiation.

Dionysius tells us, that, when the British females celebrated the Mysteries of their great god Bacchus or *Hu*, they passed over an arm of the sea, in the dead of night, to certain smaller contiguous islets: and *Tzetzes*, after observing that many esteemed Britain and its dependencies the sacred islands of the blessed, proceeds to relate; that the souls of the dead were currently thought to be conveyed in a wonderful ship from Gaul to that country over the narrow sea which separates them, that a particular tribe of Celts who tenanted the coast acted as ferrymen, and that this appalling voyage was always performed in the night-time¹.

It is not difficult to ascertain the origin and import of such accounts. The nocturnal voyage of the dead was an initiation into the Druidical Mysteries: their ship represented the ship of the deluge: the arm of the sea, which they crossed, was the infernal river of the flood: and the fabled Elysian island, with which their voyage terminated, shadowed out the Lunar White Island or the ocean-girt summit of the *Paradisiacal Ararat*. The whole was an exact transcript of the Egyptian Orgies of *Osiris*, which were similarly celebrated in the dead of night on a sacred lake. Now it is evident from the aquatic mode of celebration, even if direct assertion were wanting to prove the fact, that in each case a boat must have been used: and, as in Egypt the boat was the holy *Baris* or *Theba* or *Argo* of the infernal *Charon* or *Osiris*, so among the Britons the boat must have been the ark of *Hu* considered as the god of obsequies. Within this the aspirant was inclosed as a dead body within a coffin: and was thus, in the night-time, wafted over, either the English channel from Gaul to Britain, or a narrow frith from Britain to Anglesey or Bardsey or Lindisfarne or Iona, or an arm of the sea which separated one part of the country from another.

Of such a nature was the initiatory voyage of the mystically dead *Ta-*

¹ *Dion. Perieg.* ver. 565—574. *Tzet.* in *Lycoph.* ver. 1200. See also some curious particulars detailed in *Strab. Geog. lib. iv. p. 198.*

liesin. As he was set aloft in his coracle on the twenty ninth of April, CHAP. VI. and as he did not reach land until the eve of May day, his voyage must have been performed during the night. Hence it was a nocturnal voyage of the dead: and hence in every particular it agrees with those accounts, which have been handed down to us by Tzetzes and Dionysius.

In exact accordance with this conclusion, the hierophant Gwyddno bears the additional name of *Garanhir*: and, under that appellation, he is described as being the ferryman of the dead. Here he is palpably the counterpart of the Grecian and Egyptian Charon: and there is so strong a resemblance also between the two titles *Charon* and *Garanhir*, that it is difficult to refrain from believing their common origination¹.

Taliesin's initiation into the funereal Mysteries of the Druids will explain the singular tale, in which Arthur's knights of the round table are described as acting the part of mariners to the boat, which conveyed the souls of the dead over the Stygian lake. The original boiling of Ceridwen's cauldron is said to have occurred during the first period of Arthur and the round table: and, accordingly, at that identical time, the just man, under the appellation of *Arthur*, enters with seven companions into a floating inclosure, sometimes denominated *the inclosure of Sidi* or the navicular Ceridwen, and sometimes mystically represented as a shield named *Prydwen*. This shield and the round table plainly mean the same thing: each was an oval or circular Argha, each equally symbolized the ship of the deluge. As Arthur embarked with seven companions, his fabulous knights were styled *knights-companions*: and, as they were really the navigators of the Ark, they were of course, agreeably to the notions of the old egyptæ, navigators of the infernal ship which bore the ghosts of the dead over the river of hell into the lunar Elysian island of the blessed.

(6.) We must not omit to notice the peculiar day, on which Taliesin's coracle drifts ashore. It was, as we have seen, the identical day, on which the boiling of the symbolical cow was completed, and on which her sacrificer first rested in peace. Now this day was not selected accidentally: for May eve running into May day was very generally adopted as the sea-

¹ Welsh Archæol. vol. ii. p. 64. Davies's Mythol. p. 392.

BOOK V. son of the great father's principal festival; and India, Babylonia, Britain, and Ireland, have agreed in celebrating at that time the Orgies of their chief divinity. The reason of such a choice I take to have been, that Noah then quitted the Ark: for, according as Moses reckons by the ecclesiastical or the civil year, he must have quitted it either in the spring or the autumn; and the former is the most probable, because he would then have the whole summer before him.

5. Closely allied to the Orgies of Hu and Ceridwen were those of the Persian Mithras: and consequently the initiations into the latter were of the very same description as the initiations into the former. We have the fullest authority for saying, that aspirants were thought to be born again by issuing forth from a rocky cavern: and we may infer from a curious legend which will presently be noticed, that their regeneration was sometimes deemed to be accomplished by quitting a small boat within which they had previously been inclosed.

The rites of Mithras were celebrated, according to the universal voice of antiquity, in deep caverns or grottos, sometimes natural and sometimes artificial. Of the latter many are still in existence, being calculated from their imperishable nature to resist all the attacks of time: and of the former the first is said by Porphyry to have been consecrated to the god in the mountains of Persia. He tells us, that the Mithratic grotto was a symbol of the World, and that it was dedicated to Mithras in the capacity of the great demiurgic father¹. In this he is accurate, provided his assertion be rightly understood. The sacred cavern did indeed shadow out the World; but it no less typified that smaller floating World, the Ark. Hence, as the ship Argha and every other parallel hieroglyphic doubly represents both the Megacosm and the Microcosm; so, in the Mysteries, the aspirant was indifferently said to be born again from the ship and from the stone cell. Hence also, as the great father was the literal architect of the smaller World, out of which he himself was afterwards produced; he was mystically said to be the demiurgic author of the larger World, over the renovation of which he was thought to preside at each successive metempsy-

¹ Porph. de ant. nymph. p. 253, 254.

chosis, and out of the womb of which he was likewise in the character of Adam originally born or created. The prevalence of such notions will account both for the assertion of Porphyry, and for the fabled birth of Mithras; which, on the first view of the matter, might appear utterly inconsistent with each other. Porphyry says, that the cave was consecrated to him, because it was a type of the World which he created: yet Justin informs us, that he was also supposed to have been born from a rock; that is to say, from the interior of a rocky cavern¹. Now, if the literal World were alone intended by the Persic cavern, and if (as some would persuade us) we are properly to understand by Mithras the Supreme Creator of all things: how could the Magi be so absurd as to teach, that the true God was himself born out of that very cavern in the rock, which symbolized the identical World that he had created. It is a contradiction in terms to say, that Mithras, viewed as the true God, first made the World; and was himself afterwards produced from it. But this contradiction, which pervades the whole of ancient mythology; for the egg is universally declared to be a symbol of the World, and yet the demiurgic great father is universally fabled to have been born out of that identical egg: this contradiction will vanish, when we rightly understand the character of the great father and the peculiar mode in which the cavern shadowed out the World. Of the smaller World he was indeed the creator, and of the larger World he was the mystic destroyer and renovator: yet was he himself, in the language of the Orgies, born out of each World, in the successive transmigratory characters of Adam and Noah, as from the womb of a great universal mother both of hero-gods and of men and of plants and of animals.

(1.) Analogous to this birth of the Persian deity was the regeneration of each mimic aspirant. Porphyry informs us, that the initiation of the priest was always completed either in a cave or in a place denominated *the cave*, and that it mystically represented the descent of the soul into the infernal regions and its subsequent return to light: for the dark interior of the cave was the type of Hades, while its sun-illumined exterior gave to the mind images of joy and cheerfulness².

¹ Just. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 296.

² Porph. de ant. nymph. p. 253.

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From this account we may easily collect the nature of the Mithratic initiation. The aspirant first entered into the gloomy cavern, which action represented what the mystagogues termed his *descent into hell*; a descent invariably supposed to have been accomplished by the great father, whether denominated *Osiris, Bacchus, Adonis, Hercules, Woden, Buddha, or Memu-Sradiladeva*. After he had remained shut up the appointed time, he emerged through the door of the cave (that door, from which Mithras himself was born, and which doubly symbolized the door of the Ark and the mouth of a sepulchre) into light and liberty. This was his return from Hades, or his new birth from the rock: and, as I have already observed, it was of precisely the same import as his allegorical birth from the Moon or from a cow. For Porphyry first informs us, that the ingress into the cavern and the egress from it typified the descent of the soul into Hades and its subsequent return: and he afterwards remarks, that the Moon was esteemed the female president of generation; that the priestesses of the infernal Ceres were called *bees*; that the Moon herself was said to be a bee; that she was likewise said to be a bull or rather a cow; and that new-born souls, that is to say, souls regenerated in the Mysteries, were represented by bees, and were supposed to be born from a heifer¹. The birth therefore from the heifer was the birth from the Moon, of which it was a symbol; and the birth from the Moon was the birth from the rock. But the Moon in question was that floating Moon, which served Osiris for a coffin, and which was the same as his Argo or Theba or bovine ark. Hence the new birth of the Mysteries, whether it be from the door of a grotto or from a door in the side of the Moon or from the womb of a cow, invariably means the birth of the transmigrating great father first from the womb of the Earth and afterwards from the door of the Ark. As the priestesses of the infernal Ceres were called *bees*, and as those of Isis and Ammon were styled *doves*; so, in allusion to the raven of the ark, the priests of Mithras were denominated *ravens* and *sacred ravens*². Accordingly, this bird is introduced as a figure into a piece of sculptured marble, which represents Mithras on the sacred bull, and of which Montfaucon has given a

¹ Porph. de ant. nymph. p. 261, 262.

² Porph. de abst. lib. iv. § 16.

plate in his Antiquities. It appears perched over against his head, while he himself seems to be in the act of slaying the bull; a rite, which constituted part of the Mysteries, and which (as we shall presently see) was sometimes used in the process of regeneration. CHAP. VI.

The initiation into the Orgies of Mithras is said to have been accompanied by a most severe discipline of the body, which was at once designed to prove the courage of the aspirants and to represent the toilsome progress of the Metempsychosis from one World to another. Some assert, that they passed through no less than eighty different kinds of trials: but the object was to attain a sort of mental impassibility or abstracted quietism, and thus finally to procure the benefit of regeneration into Paradise ¹. It is remarkable, that they were not only caused to be figuratively born out of a grotto; but likewise that they went through the ceremony of a sort of baptismal immersion, which represented the death and resurrection of the votary or (what was considered as synonymous) his death and regeneration. Tertullian imagines, that this was a diabolical imitation of the Christian rite of baptism: but it existed long before the promulgation of Christianity, and equally constituted a part of the Mysteries of Isis and Cybelè ². It related to the second birth of Noah from the ocean: whence indeed the external form of baptism has been antitypically borrowed; which sufficiently accounts for the outward resemblance of the two ceremonies without supposing the Persian rite to have been taken from the Christian ³.

The Mithratic Orgies however had likewise an astronomical allusion: and then the Mithratic door or gate was multiplied seven times, in reference, we are told, to the seven planets. But the Sun and the Moon seem to have been esteemed the principal gates, through which the new-born souls were supposed to migrate, ascending through the former and descending through the latter ⁴. The whole of this notion originated from the early mixture of Sabianism and hero-worship. The Ark and the arkite mariners being elevated to the sphere, the regeneration of the Mysteries was thence

¹ Gregor. Nazian. 1 Orat. cont. Julian. Nonn. in 2 Nazian. Steleut.

² Tertull. de præscript. adv. hæc. c. 40. de baptism. c. 5.

³ 1 Peter iii. 20, 21.

⁴ Seld. de diis Syr. synt. i. c. 5. Porph. de ant. nymph. p. 268.

BOOK V. thought to have some connection with the heavenly bodies ; which again, as we have already seen, were reciprocally supposed to have some relation to a ship. Mithras as the Sun, and the seven planetary gates, constitute the Noëtic Ogdoad, and jointly man the stupendous Ark of the Universe : while, on the other hand, those souls, which were deemed to be born again from a rock or a cow or the Moon or the ocean, were also thought to undergo a wonderful sidereal transmigration through the gates of the Sun and the seven planets.

I have just intimated, that the gate or door thus multiplied was properly but one, namely the door of the Ark : and I think, that we may easily trace the progress of its multiplication. When the great father was blended with the great mother, the being thus compounded was esteemed an hermaphrodite, the mixed universal parent of the World. Hence, in the sphere, he was both Helius and Lunus, Helia and Luna. This being the case, the Sun and the Moon had each its gate or door, from which souls were supposed to be born : and each was alike esteemed the president of generation. Now it is observable, that there are only *two* gates mentioned by Porphyry ; and doubtless they were the two *principal* gates. But, when the chief Cabirus was placed at the head of the seven Cabiri, every planet had its own gate assigned to it : consequently, the number of gates, including that of the Sun as specified by Porphyry, will amount to eight, the precise number of the arkite mariners. These observations perfectly accord with the character of Mithras. Like Siva, Osiris, Bacchus, Adonis, Venus, and Minerva, he was an hermaphrodite, and was venerated at once as the Sun and the Moon ; that is to say, as the god both of the solar and the lunar gate. That he was the Sun, is well known : but Herodotus informs us, that he was also the Moon, and the same as Mylitta the Assyrian Venus or female principle of generation*. Or, if we suppose *Mithra* to be rather the feminine form of *Mithras*, as *Jana* is of *Janus* and *Maia* of *Maius*, the position will still be virtually the same : for the great father and the great mother were perpetually joined together in one compound being, who was then esteemed the universal hermaphroditic parent.

* Herod. Hist. lib. i. c. 131.

(2.) That the Magi ever used the rite of initiation by the boat, I am not able positively to shew : but I think we may infer that they did, from a legend which cannot easily be accounted for on any other supposition.

A queen of the second Persian dynasty, named *Homai* or *Khamani*, is said to have become pregnant by an incestuous intercourse with her own father Bahaman. During the time of her gestation, Bahaman died ; and his daughter succeeded him in the empire. About five months after her accession to the throne, she produced a son. The astrologers, having calculated the nativity of the child, declared, that he would bring great misfortunes on the country ; and advised, that he should be immediately destroyed. A mother's tenderness however would not permit Homai to follow their counsels : she therefore made a little wooden ark ; and, having put the child into it, suffered the vessel to fall down the Gihon or Oxus. The ark drifted to a place, where a dyer followed his occupation ; and by him the infant was found and educated. From this circumstance the child received the name of *Darab*, which denotes *Found in water*. Young Darab, arriving at the age of maturity, determined on the profession of arms, and joined the troops which were then marching against the Greeks. At length he was discovered to be the son of Homai ; who, having reigned thirty two years, resigned to him the diadem ¹.

On adverting to the Caianian dynasty as exhibited by the oriental writers, we find this son of Homai the immediate predecessor and father of Darius the unfortunate antagonist of Alexander ² : and, as we have no reason to believe from genuine history that the legend contains a single syllable of truth, its existence must be accounted for on a different principle. My own decided opinion is, that the whole of it originated from the initiation of Darab into the Mysteries of the boat : and with this conjecture every part of the narrative will be found exactly to quadrate.

Some orientalists suspect, that no such queen as Homai ever existed. It may not be absolutely necessary to annihilate her *altogether* : yet, if ever there *were* such a person, both in name and in conduct she studiously imi-

¹ Vallancey's Vind. of the anc. hist. of Ireland. p. 226, 227. Hales's Chronol. vol. iii. p. 207, 208.

² Ouseley's Epit. of the Anc. Hist. of Persia. p. 23, 25.

BOOK V. tated the fabled great mother of Paganism. The appellation *Homai* seems to be the Sanscrit *Huma*, which is a title of the Earth or the female principle or the ship *Argha*¹: and *Khamani* is probably the compound *Cai-Mani*, which is equivalent to the *illustrious Mena*. Incestuous mixtures were but too common among the Persian princes, so that a *literal* Homai may have been pregnant by her father: but the practice itself originated from the various degrees of relationship, which the two great parents were thought to bear towards each other. If Homai then be a *real* character, we are not on *that* account prevented from supposing Darab's exposure in the ark to mean his initiation: but, if she be a *mythological* character, the supposition will then be yet more probable. In this case, Darab is mystically born from her, just as Taliesin is from Ceridwen: whence, in the usual phraseology of the Orgies, he is, also like the Celtic bard, styled *an infant*. Afterwards, still in close analogy to the double initiation of Taliesin, this infant is shut up in an ark and committed to the sacred river Gihon; from which perilous situation he is in due time extricated by the officiating hierophant, whom the Persic legend has converted into a dyer.

Now, if I be right in such a view of the subject, it will obviously follow, that the Magi used initiation by the boat no less than by the rocky cavern.

6. As the idea of being born again from the Theba or bovine Ark produced the regeneration from the womb of a cow, which I have already had occasion to notice: so the idea of being born again from the sacred cavern produced the regeneration, which was thought to be effected by squeezing the body through a hole in a rock. Of this latter process very distinct traces may be observed both in the east and in the west.

(1.) The vast artificial grottos, which occur in different parts of Hindostan, bear so close a resemblance to the Mithratic excavations in Persia, that we can scarcely entertain a doubt of their having been employed for the very same purpose of initiation into the Mysteries: and this belief is strengthened, both by the doctrine of a new birth being so universally pre-

¹ *Asiat. Res.* vol. vi. p. 515, 530. Hence the Persians denominated the great father *Cai-Umarsh* or the *illustrious lord of Uma*.

valent among the Brahmens, by the austerities practised by them in their imaginary progress to perfection, and by the peculiar methods which they employ in order to obtain regeneration. One of these, as we have seen, is by passing through the body of a golden cow, designed to represent the great universal mother who once floated upon the deluge in the form of the ship Argha: another of them is by squeezing the person through a small hole in a rock. CHAP. VI.

There is a sacred orifice of this description in the immediate vicinity of the famous Elephanta cavern temple: and, from the use which is still made of it, we may reasonably infer its near connection with the rites celebrated of old in that stupendous grotto. *In the island of Bombay, about two miles from the town, rises a considerable hill called Malabar hill; which stretching into the ocean, by its projection forms a kind of promontory. At the extreme point of this hill, on the descent towards the sea-shore, there is a rock, upon the surface of which there is a natural crevice, which communicates with a cavity opening below and terminating towards the sea. This place is used by the Gentoos as a purification for their sins; which, they say, is effected by their going in at the opening below and emerging out of the cavity above. The cavity seems too narrow for persons of any corpulence to squeeze through: the ceremony however is in such high repute in the neighbouring countries, that there is a tradition, that the famous Conajee Angria ventured by stealth one night upon the island on purpose to perform this ceremony, and got off undiscovered¹. It is also said, that Sivaji, the founder of the Mahratta state, similarly ventured by stealth upon the island for the mere purpose of passing through the rocky orifice in question. At the present day, both men and women go through the operation; which, partly from the narrowness and partly from the ruggedness of the orifice, is often attended with considerable difficulty. The cleft itself is of no small elevation, situated among the rocks, of difficult access, and in the stormy season incessantly buffeted by the surf of the ocean. Near it are the ruins of a temple; which, from the circumstance of a triple*

¹ Maurice's Ind. Ant. vol. vi. p. 145. Grose's Voyage to E. Ind. vol. ii. p. 57.

BOOK V. bust being dug up in the place, seems evidently to have been dedicated to the Hindoo Trimurti.

But the points, with which I am chiefly concerned, are the peculiar ideas attached to the orifice and to the passage through it. Now the orifice is deemed a symbol of the female principle; exactly in the same manner as the door in the Ark, the door of each Mithratic cavern, and the door in the floating Moon, through all of which souls were indifferently thought to be born in their transmigration from one World to another: and, agreeably to this universally prevailing opinion, the aspirants, who pass through the rocky cleft of Bombay, are believed to be purified from all their sins by experiencing what is termed a *regeneration* or *new-birth*. Nor are we left in any doubt, how we ought properly to understand this regeneration. The deities, who preside over it, are Siva the regenerator, and his Sacti or energy or consort Parvati. But, at the time of the deluge, Parvati floated on the surface of the waters in the form of the ship Argha, while the mariner Siva supplied the place of a mast to the vessel. Hence it is evident, since the ship Argha is an acknowledged type of the female power, and since the cleft at Bombay is also a type of the same power, that the regeneration effected by passing through the latter must be the very regeneration of the ancient Mysteries¹.

(2.) Similar notions may very easily be traced in the west.

Dr. Borlase mentions a Druidical monument, which occurs in Scilly and Cornwall, and which still bears the name of *Tolmen* or *the hole of stone*. It consists of a large orbicular or oviform stone, supported by two others, between which there is a passage. Of this kind of monument the most astonishing specimen occurs in the parish of Constantine. It is one vast egg-like stone placed on the points of two natural rocks, so that a man may creep under the great one and between its supporters, through a passage of about three feet square².

Respecting the use of such monuments, Dr. Borlase conjectures very happily, that those, who passed through the stone orifice, were thought to acquire a sort of holiness; and that the orifice itself was used for the pur-

¹ Moor's Hind. Panth. p. 395—397.

² See Plate III. Fig. 27.

pose of introducing aspirants, or novices, or persons under vows, into the more sublime Mysteries of the Druidical religion. He is willing also to believe, that the huge architraves, which rest upon the uprights at Stonehenge, were erected with the same intention; and that those, who worshipped in the interior of the temple, were believed to acquire additional purity by passing through those holy rock portals¹.

In entertaining such an opinion he is most clearly right, as may be collected unequivocally from the whole tenor of the Druidical superstition. The vast egg-like Tolmen represented the mundane floating egg, out of which the great father was supposed to be born at the commencement of every new World: and the circular temple of Stonehenge shadowed out what the Hindoos call *the circle of Ilà* and what the British hierophants denominated *the Mundane Ark* or *Ship*. Hence the stone-hole beneath the one, and the gigantic portals of the other, equally typified the sacred door, through which the Noëtic family passed in their transit from World to World, and through which every imitative aspirant was said to be born again.

7. Sometimes, instead of a cavern in the side of a rock provided with a regular door of entrance, a sort of pit sunk in the earth was used in the rites of initiation.

Thus the Indian devotees of the present day, who aspire after an imaginary perfection by submitting to those various dreadful penances which so eminently characterized the Mithratic Orgies, occasionally bury themselves in pits hollowed out of the ground with only a small hole left open at the top; and, when the fixed time of their probation has expired, they are born again by being drawn out of their dungeon through the aperture². Thus also, in the Phenician mythologic history, Atlas is said to have been cast into a deep pit or well: that is, as I understand the fable, into such a sacred pit as still remains on the summit of mount Olivet at Jerusalem, where we know that Solomon dedicated a temple to Astoreth the abomination of the Sidonians³. And thus, in the curious ceremony of the Taurobo-

¹ Borlase's Cornwall. p. 174.

² Maurice's Ind. Ant. vol. v. p. 1061.

³ Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. i. c. 10. Clarke's Travels. vol. iii. p. 577.

BOOK V. lium as described by Prudentius, the high-priest or hierophant, when about to be solemnly inaugurated into his office, descended into a pit dug for the purpose; and received upon his head and garments, through a perforated floor of boards, the blood of a slaughtered bullock: then, emerging from his temporary confinement, he shewed himself to the awe-struck multitude as a person, who by this symbolical regeneration had acquired an ineffable degree of holiness¹.

It was in allusion to such rites, that Plato, whose philosophy was largely tinged with the doctrines of the Mysteries, was wont to say, that truth must be sought for at the bottom of a well. By *truth* he meant the speculations revealed to the initiated, who were thenceforth styled *epoptes* or *persons who see things as they truly are*: and by *the well* he meant the sacred pit or cavern, where the Mysteries were so frequently celebrated.

8. Strictly analogous to the Orgies of the great eastern continent were those of the Mexicans, at the time of their conquest by the Spaniards: and it can scarcely be doubted, from the palpable similarity, that, when the ancestors of that people emigrated with their ark-god from Asia into America, they brought with them the ancient Mysteries of that divinity.

Like the idolaters whom they left behind them, they were accustomed to sacrifice on the tops of mountains in commemoration of the primeval sacrifice on the Paradisiacal Ararat, and to adore their bloody gods in dark caverns similar to those employed in the worship of Mithras. Their Orgies, like all the other Orgies of the Gentiles, appear to have been of a peculiarly gloomy and terrific nature, sufficient to strike with horror even the most undaunted hearts. Hence their priests, in order that they might be enabled to go through the dreadful rites without shuddering, anointed themselves with a particular ointment, and used various fantastic ceremonies which had the effect of removing all sense of fear. Thus prepared, they boldly sallied forth to celebrate their nocturnal rites in wild mountains and in the deep recesses of obscure caves; much in the same manner as the nightly Orgies of Bacchus, Ceres, Hu, and Ceridwen, were wont to be celebrated by their respective votaries. A similar process enabled them

¹ Prud. apud Ban. Mythol. vol. i. p. 274.

also without dread to offer up those hecatombs of human victims, by which their blood-stained superstition was more eminently distinguished than even that of Molech, Cronus, Cali, or Jagan-Nath. Like the ancient worshippers of Mithras and the modern Saniassis of Hindostan, their priests were accustomed to undergo the greatest severities and to submit themselves to the most austere bodily mortifications and penances. Sometimes they voluntarily endured the pain of long fasts; sometimes they violently disciplined themselves with knotted cords; and sometimes, like the frantic votaries of Cybelè and Attis, they emasculated themselves, that thus they might be rendered more acceptable to the hermaphroditic deity whom they worshipped. The Mexicans had also an institution precisely resembling that of the vestal virgins: and any breach of chastity on the part of their consecrated females was punished with all the severity of the ancient Roman laws. Both these women and the priests, while engaged in the worship of their idols, were wont fanatically to cut themselves with knives after the manner of the votaries of Baal and Bellona. As the Mexicans had a monastery of vestal virgins, so had they likewise a sacred fire which burned perpetually on the hearth of their god. This was held in high veneration by them, most probably as being the symbol of their deity considered as presiding in the orb of the Sun¹. It was the same, I apprehend, as the artificial Sun or lambent flame, which darted its lustre through the deep recesses of the holy cavern during the process of an initiation.

9. In whatever mode the Mysteries were celebrated, we invariably find a certain door or gate viewed as being of primary importance. Sometimes it was the door of the temple; sometimes, the door of the consecrated grotto; sometimes, the hatchway of the boat within which the aspirant was inclosed; sometimes, a hole either natural or artificial through or between rocks; and sometimes, a gate in the Sun or the Moon or the planets. Through this the initiated were born again, and from this the profane were excluded. The notion evidently originated from the door in the side of the Ark, through which the primary epopts were admitted while the profane antediluvians were shut out.

¹ Purch. Pilg. book viii. c. 12.

BOOK V.

This circumstance gave rise to the appointment of an officer, who certainly bore a conspicuous part in the British Orgies, and who probably was not unknown in the Mysteries of other countries. He was styled *the door-keeper of the partial covering* : and, since he was considered as the mystic husband of Ceridwen, he was certainly the representative of the great father Hu or Noë¹. Hence he must have sustained the same character as Janus, when viewed as *Thyrèus* or *the god of the door* ; while Ceridwen similarly corresponds with Venus or Ceres in her capacity of *Prothyra* or *the goddess of the door*. This personage was stationed before what Taliesin, in exact accordance with the prevailing ideas of the Mysteries, denominates *the gate of hell* : and he was armed with a bright gleaming sword, whence he had the additional title of *the sword-bearer*. His office was at once to exclude the profane, who might sacrilegiously attempt to gain admittance ; and to punish even with death such of the initiated, as should impiously reveal the awful secrets committed to them². The same penalty, and (I apprehend) from the hand of a similar officer, awaited those, who should too curiously pry into or divulge to the profane the wonders of the Eleusian Mysteries. Yet, notwithstanding every care that could be taken, we repeatedly find an adventurous epopt, who was content to run all risques rather than lose the pleasure of communicating a secret. Probably the Cretans, who ridiculed the reserve of their more cautious brethren and who declared without scruple all that they knew about the matter, might effect the first opening. Be that however as it may, we certainly from more than one loquacious epopt have learned enough to form a tolerable idea of the nature of the ancient Mysteries.

10. Whether the curiosity of the profane may be gratified at some future period by a similar disclosure of the portentous secret of free-masonry, remains yet to be seen. I have frequently been inclined to suspect, that this whimsical institution, which some have deduced from the Mithriac or Buddhistic Manichæans through the medium of the knights-templar, is nothing more than a fragment of those Orgies which have prevailed in every part of the world : and the peculiar rites of the British Ceres, as their nature

¹ Davies's Mythol. p. 198—202.

² Davies's Mythol. p. 518, 519.

may be collected from the poems of the bards, have served to strengthen my suspicion. Not being one of the initiated myself, I can speak only from *report* : but the Masonic sword-bearer, who is *said* to be the guardian of the door during the celebration of those wonderful Mysteries, seems nearly allied to the similar character in the Orgies of Ceridwen ; while the astronomical representations of the heavenly bodies, which are *reported* to decorate the cell of our modern eopts, bear a close analogy to the parallel decorations of the ancient cell or grotto or adytum. The very title which they bear, when we throw aside the jargon respecting king Hiram and the temple of Solomon, affords no obscure intimation of their origin. As professed masons or artizans, they connect themselves with the old Cabiric Telchines as described by Diodorus ¹, with the metallurgical Pheryllt of the Druidical Mysteries ², with the architectural Cabiri of Phenicia, with the demiurgic Phtha of Egypt, and with the great artizan Twashta of Hindostan. All the most remarkable ancient buildings of Greece, Egypt, and Asia Minor, were ascribed to the Cabirèan or Cyclopiàn masons : and, in the present day, the free-masons with all their formalities are wont to assist at the commencement of every public edifice. Finally, their affectation of mysterious concealment closely resembles the system of the eoptæ in all ages and countries, particularly that of the bards when their religion no longer reigned paramount. These last are probably the real founders of English free-masonry ; though we should arrive at much the same conclusion respecting its nature, if we deduce it from the Manichèan votaries of Mithras. Whether the canine phantoms and other terrific apparitions of the ancient Orgies are ever exhibited for the edification of our British free-masons, I presume not to determine : but, if we may credit the accounts which Barruel has given us of the foreign Mysteries of the illuminated, something of the kind actually constitutes the terrific machinery.

As some corroboration of this author's narrative I may be allowed to mention, that I have myself been informed by a foreigner, who ventured not beyond initiation into the *lesser* German Mysteries, that he once witnessed the egress of a person who had been admitted into the *greater*.

¹ Diod. Bibl. lib. v. p. 326.

² Davies's Mythol. p. 215, 216.

BOOK V. This epopt, it seems, was a field-officer of acknowledged bravery, who in battle had often faced death without shrinking: yet, when he returned from the chamber of final initiation, like his brethren of old as described by Themistius and Aristides and the ancient writer in Stobæus, he exhibited the most undissembled marks of extreme terror. A cold sweat bedewed his forehead; a livid paleness overspread his countenance; and his whole frame shook with excess of agitation. What he had seen or heard, my informant knew not: this alone was a clear case, that the man had been heartily frightened; and his terror apparently resembled that, which is ordinarily produced by unrestrained superstition.

But I tread on forbidden ground: and it behoves one of the profane to recollect with becoming reverence the old formula of the Orphic poet, the alleged father of the Greek and Thracian Mysteries;

To those alone I speak, whom nameless rites
Have rendered meet to listen. Close the doors,
And carefully exclude each wretch profane,
Lest impious curiosity pollute
Our secret Orgies⁴.

⁴ φθιγξομαι οἷς θεμις ἐστὶ θυρας δ' ἐπιθεσθε βεβηλοῖς
Πᾶσιν ὄμην. Orph. Frag. apud Justin. Martyr. in Orph. Oper. p. 357.

CHAPTER VII.

Concerning the Places used by the Pagans for Religious Worship.

A VERY general idea has prevailed throughout the gentile world, that the compound transmigrating personage, venerated as the great universal father, was the first who built temples and instituted sacrifices to the gods. Such accordingly is a prominent feature in the character both of Deucalion, Janus, Phoroneus, Prometheus, Osiris, Cronus, Brahma, Thoth, Dionusus, Mango-Copac, Buddha, and other cognate divinities; who are all severally, on the established principles of heathen theology, the patriarch Adam reappearing at the commencement of the new world in the form of the patriarch Noah.

To this traditional opinion it has been gravely objected by Cluverius, that Holy Writ simply represents Noah as building *an altar* and as sacrificing to the Lord, and that it is altogether silent respecting the erection of any such *temple* as Lucian ascribes to his Scythic Deucalion¹. Hence some have rather inclined to place the building of the first temple in the age of Jupiter-Belus; and, by supposing it to be the Babylonian tower, to identify that Jupiter with the scriptural Nimrod².

¹ Cluver. Germ. Ant. lib. i. c. 34.

² Polyd. Virg. de invent. lib. i. c. 5. Hospinian. de orig. temp. c. 5.

BOOK V. Though the latter supposition be *literally* true: yet the old traditional opinion ought not to be too hastily rejected, on the presumption that the argument of Cluverius is irrefragably conclusive. The opinion may not indeed be *perfectly* accurate: yet, would we understand the sense in which the first temples are ascribed to the great father, we must inquire what *were* the primeval temples of the gentile world; for, since the *most ancient* temples are ascribed to him, it is evident, that those primeval temples of whatever nature could alone have been intended by the framers of the tradition. Now I suspect, that, when this matter is duly weighed, we shall find the legend in question not very far removed from the truth.

I. To whatever part of the world we direct our attention, we shall almost invariably find, that the first places used for religious worship were thick groves of trees, lofty mountains, rocky caverns, and small islands washed either by the waves of the ocean or by the waters of some consecrated lake. Such being the case, it is sufficiently obvious, that, when the Gentiles represented the great father as the builder of the most ancient temples, these, and no other, were the temples which they meant: and, although in absolute propriety of language he cannot be said to have *really* constructed them; yet, if he were the first that used them, since all more recent temples were necessarily built by some one, and since these works of nature were viewed in the light of temples, he would be reputed not unnaturally to have been their founder.

. But these were the identical places employed as oratories by that compound character, the supposed transmigrating great father. The sacred grove of Paradise, in the lofty mountainous region of Armenia, was the temple of Adam: while the summit of mount Ararat in the same country, which at the time of the egress from the Ark was surrounded like an island by the waters of the retiring deluge, was the temple of Noah where he offered up the first postdiluvian sacrifice to Jehovah. Whether these patriarchs used a literal cave, does not appear from the scriptural history: I am inclined to think that they did, both from the circumstance of Lot's retiring to a rocky grotto when in the tenth generation from Noah the waters of the dead sea inundated the cities of the plain, and from the high veneration in which mountain-caverns were universally held by the ancient

pagans. But, however this may be, it is of no material consequence to our present inquiry. The Ark, as it manifestly appears from the varied modes of initiation into the Mysteries, was symbolized by the gloomy grotto either natural or artificial. Hence, as the Ark was a temple of Noah, the great father would be considered by his descendants as having first used a cavern for the purposes of devotion. CHAP. VII.

Thus the mere following of the old gentile tradition to the point where it avowedly leads us, namely the great universal father whose character has already been most abundantly ascertained, serves at once to disclose to us both the origin and the nature of the various holy places of the heathens : of such use and importance it is to trace things to their first principles, and thence by simplification to attain a right understanding of their import. The conclusion, almost forced as it were upon us in the present instance, is this : that every consecrated grove was a copy of Paradise ; that every sanctified mountain or high place was a local transcript of Ararat, itself geographically coincident with the garden of Eden ; that every islet doubly shadowed out the insular Ark and the once sea-girt top of the Armenian peak ; and that every gloomy cavern represented the dark interior of the Noëtic Ship wedged fast amidst the cliffs and rocks of the hill of debarkation. It is almost superfluous to observe, how exactly such a conclusion tallies with the general drift of old idolatry. We in fact do nothing more than find the most ancient places of gentile worship to be precisely, what, from the nature of that worship, might have been independently anticipated. If the great father of pagan superstition be a transmigrating compound of Adam and Noah, respecting which there can scarcely be a reasonable doubt : then, as the Orgies wholly relate to the history of this complicated being ; so all his places of worship will naturally have been constructed with the very same reference, or selected studiously with the same allusion. Of the propriety of this hypothesis every particular, as the subject gradually opens upon us, will furnish an additional demonstration : and thus the general concinnity and laboured harmony of that singular system of theology, which at one period overspread the whole world save one narrow district, will be fully and finally established.

With respect to the peculiar mode of local worship ascribed to the early

BOOK V. pagans, a mode however which ceased not to prevail even in more modern ages, it may seem almost superfluous to bring forward proofs of a matter which is so universally well known: yet it will not be improper to select a few, by way of an apposite introduction to the main subject.

Holy Scripture is full of references to such a mode of devotion, as having obtained firm footing throughout Palestine even before the exodus, and as never being completely eradicated until perhaps after the return from the Babylonian captivity.

When Balak wished Balaam to curse Israel, he took him up to the summits of various lofty hills, which are all generally described as being high places of Baal. One of them is simply mentioned under that common appellation: another was the top of Pisgah; where the heavenly bodies were worshipped in conjunction with the hero-gods under the name of *Zophim* or *divine overlookers*, no doubt the *Zophe-Samen* or *celestial overlookers* of the Phœnician theology: and a third was the top of Peor, infamous for the impure sepulchral Orgies of Baal-Peor or Osiris or Adonis. On each of these, in reference to the seven astronomical mariners of the great mundane Ship who were reckoned so many forms or emanations of the solar pilot, were erected seven altars; and every altar was stained with the blood of a ram and a bullock¹. Here Balak worshipped after the manner of his country, ascribing, as was usual among the Gentiles, the attributes of Jehovah to the deified great father. Of a similar nature was mount Tabor or Tabaris, a local copy of the Armenian Tebriz or Tebaris: mount Hermon: mount Nebo: mount Lebanon: and the lofty promontory of Baal-Zephon or Baal of the north; that is to say, the lord of the northern Armenian mount of assembly².

Into such idolatrous hill-worship as well as grove-worship we find the Israelites perpetually seduced. Thus we are told, that king Abaz made his son to pass through the fire, according to the abominations of the heathen whom the Lord cast out from before the children of Israel; and that he sacrificed and burned incense in the high places, and on the hills,

¹ Numb. xxii. 41. xxiii. 3, 13, 14, 27, 28.

² See Isaiah xiv. 13.

and under every green tree¹. Thus likewise we read of the high places CHAP. VII. not being taken away, and of the people still madly sacrificing upon them². Thus, when Israel served Baal and the host of heaven, they failed not to plant a consecrated grove³. Thus also they set up images and groves in every high hill and under every green tree; and there they burned incense in all the high places, as did the heathen whom the Lord carried away before them⁴. Thus Maachah made an idol in a grove; and thus a similar grove was equally planted by Ahab and Manasseh⁵.

Such is positively declared, we see, to have been the mode of worship usual among the Canaanites previous to their ejection: and accordingly it is referred to as such, in the very earliest parts of the history of Israel. The heaven-conducted invaders are strictly charged to destroy their altars, to break their images, and to cut down their groves⁶: and they are themselves forbidden to plant a grove near an altar⁷. The reason plainly was, because the altar of Baal was built upon a craggy rock or a lofty hill, and was surrounded by a holy grove⁸. Hence we read of Saul abiding under a grove in a high place⁹: and hence the Magian or Druidical prophets of Baal are called *prophets of the groves*¹⁰.

In the account which is given of Josiah's reformation, we find a very ample statement of the several particulars of the old Canaanitish idolatry. The king, we are told, put down the priests; who burned incense, on the various high places throughout Judah, to Baal the Sun and to the Moon and to the planets and to all the host of heaven. He likewise brought out and burned the grove, for which the women wove hangings or consecrated veils. He polluted Tophet: he took away the horses and chariot of the Sun: he defiled the three principal high places, which crowned the three peaks of the mount of Olives: and he broke in pieces the images, cut down the contiguous groves, and filled their places with the bones of men¹¹.

We meet with similar references to the old superstition in the book of Isaiah. When the prophet foretells the utter abolition of idolatry in the

¹ 2 Kings xvi. 3, 4. ² 2 Kings xiv. 4. xv. 4, 35. et alibi. ³ 2 Kings xvii. 16.

⁴ 2 Kings xvii. 10, 11. ⁵ 1 Kings xv. 13. xvi. 33. 2 Kings xxi. 3.

⁶ Exod. xxxiv. 13. Deut. vii. 5. xii. 3. ⁷ Deut. xvi. 21. ⁸ Judg. vi. 25, 26, 28.

⁹ 1 Sam. xxii. 6. ¹⁰ 1 Kings xviii. 19. ¹¹ 2 Kings xxiii. 4—15.

BOOK V. great day of the Lord, he describes the vain worshippers of the hero-gods, as entering into the rocks and as going into the craggy caverns of the earth; while the indignation of the Deity rests upon all the groves of Bashan and of Lebanon, and terribly shakes every high mountain and every lofty hill. But the clefts of the rocks and the tops of the ragged rocks, or the sacred foramina through which the aspirants were wont to pass and the high places on the summits of craggy precipices, are alike unable to protect them and their useless idols; when the Earth itself, or the universal great mother, trembles before the Most High and acknowledges a present God¹. In another place, when he reproaches the degenerate Israelites with their spiritual adultery, he exhibits them, as inflaming themselves with idols under every green tree, and as sacrificing children in the valleys under the clefts of the rocks; as venerating the smooth stones of the consecrated river with a drink-offering and a meat-offering, and as going up to the top of a lofty mountain in order to offer sacrifice. He then proceeds to specify with much exactness the precise nature of such devotion; teaching us in fact, that it was immediately connected with the celebration of the old funereal Mysteries. These apostate worshippers in groves, in caverns, on the banks of rivers, and on the summits of hills, visit Molech with perfumed ointment; and send out wandering imitative messengers, after the manner of the frantic Bacchanals and Menades. They descend into hell, or the mimic infernal regions; they weary themselves with the length of those erratic progresses, which are copies of the mystic wanderings of the great father and the great mother. Yet, in the midst of their doleful Orgies, they do not give themselves up to despair, as if their divinity was lost never to be recovered: on the contrary, in due season, they find the life of him who is accounted their sovereign power; and, thus receiving him from the dead, they are no longer grieved, but their temporary sorrow is changed into the most tumultuous joy².

¹ Isaiah ii. 10—21.

² Isaiah lvii. 3—10. Neither Bp. Lowth nor Bp. Stock seem to me to have understood the true meaning of this very curious passage; though they both rightly observe, that it relates to the multiplied idolatrous imitations of the Israelites. The latter part of it ought, I apprehend, to be translated as follows. *Also thou didst visit Molech with ointment, and*

This early mode of worship was by no means confined to the land of CHAP. VII. Canaan. According to Strabo and Herodotus, the Persians always offered up their sacrifices on the top of some lofty mountain: and, according to Eubulus in Porphyry, Zoroaster first taught them to venerate the sacred grotto by dedicating to Mithras a natural cave in the lofty neighbouring region of Bokhara¹. Thus also the Scythians or Goths had their holy mountain and their mysterious cavern, where the Archimage was accustomed to retire, ere he claimed, like the present Lama of Thibet, to be an incarnation of the deity whom they worshipped²: and thus the Phrygians venerated the great mother in the consecrated recesses of mount Ida; while the Cretans dedicated to the great father a cave and a hill, which was distinguished by the same appellation. In a similar manner, we read, that the Thracian Orpheus went annually with his disciples to offer up, on the summit of a lofty mountain, a sacrifice to the Sun; in gratitude for his escape to that hill, while an infant, from the fury of a huge dragon³; and in Sicily we find mount Eryx, with its attached grove and sepulchral tumulus, dedicated to the rites of the navicular Venus⁴. The same worship prevailed in Pontus and Cappadocia: for, when Mithridates made war upon the Romans, he chose one of the highest hills in his dominions; and, erecting upon it an immense pile, he there sacrificed to the god of

didst multiply thy perfumes: and thou sentest out thy messengers to a distance, and thou didst bring thyself down into Hades. With the multitude of thy progresses thou didst weary thyself; yet thou saidst not, The matter is desperate. Thou hast found the life of thy supreme power; therefore thou art no longer grieved. I have supposed the sending messengers to a distance, and the multitude of the progresses, to relate to the mad erratic excursions of those who celebrated the Orgies of the great father: yet it is not impossible, that those expressions may allude to the laborious pilgrimages to the shrine of a favourite deity, which still prevail so notoriously throughout Hindostan. The ridiculous pilgrimages of the Romanists and the Mohammedans have both originated from the same pagan source.

¹ Strab. Geog. lib. xv. p. 732. Herod. Hist. lib. i. c. 131. Porph. de ant. nymph. p. 253, 254.

² Strab. Geog. lib. vii. p. 297, 298.

³ Demet. Mosch. Præf. in Orph. Lithic. p. 290, 292. By the dragon we are to understand Python or Typhon; and the infancy of Orpheus relates to his imitative regeneration.

⁴ Virg. Æneid. lib. v. ver. 760.

BOOK V. armies¹. Lofty mountains, each viewed as the mountain of débarkation, were equally venerated by the ancient Celts; and the most terrific rites of the Druids were celebrated in deep groves of oak². Such likewise even now is the worship of the Hindoos and Japanese and Burmans: and, when America was first discovered by the Spaniards, the priests of Mexico were wont to select, for their religious incantations, rocky caverns, lofty mountains, and the deep gloom of eternal forests³. In short, every towering hill was reckoned holy: and we are assured by Melanthes, that it was the universal practice of the ancients to offer sacrifice on the highest mountains to him who was accounted the highest god⁴. The same remark may be made with regard to islands. Among the Hindoos, the Egyptians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Scythians, the Celts, and the Americans, they were alike accounted sacred and were alike used for the purposes of devotion: insomuch that the learned Bailly, struck with this universal agreement, notices indeed the circumstance, but is unable to give any satisfactory reason for it⁵. Various instances of this superstition have already been adduced: hereafter, in the proper place I shall resume the subject, distinguishing between the firm island and the floating island.

1. If we inquire into the notions, which the old idolaters entertained, and which modern idolaters still entertain, respecting their consecrated mountains or high places, we shall constantly find ourselves brought to the very same point. They esteemed the summits of them the peculiar abode of the hero-gods: and they commonly described them, either as a sort of Paradise, or as the place where the Ark rested after the deluge. Sometimes they united the two ideas; and thus exhibited the holy mountain, both as an Elysium tenanted by the great father, and as the final scope of his perilous voyage from one World to another. Such legends and such opinions leave no room for doubt. The hero-gods were those mortals, who flourished in the two golden ages antediluvian and postdiluvian: and

¹ Appian. de bell. Mithrid. p. 215.

² Davies's Mythol. p. 192. Lucan. Pharsal. lib. iii. ver. 398—425.

³ Maur. Ind. Ant. vol. ii. p. 39. Kämpfer's Japan b. v. c. 3. p. 417. Purch. Pilgrim. b. viii. c. 12. p. 803. Symes's Embass. to Ava. vol. ii. p. 81, 183, 238.

⁴ Natal. Com. lib. i. c. 10.

⁵ Lettres sur l'Atlantide. p. 361.

the mountain, which is thus shadowed out by every local consecrated hill, can only be the arkite and Paradisiacal mountain of Ararat. CHAP. VII.

(1.) Among the Hindoos this holy mountain bears the name of *Meru*. But I have already shewn very fully from circumstantial evidence, that *Meru*, though geographically situated at the head of the Ganges, is the local mount of Paradise and of the Ark¹. Hence it will necessarily follow, that, whatever is avowedly reckoned an imitative transcript of *Meru*, must also be viewed as a professed copy of Ararat.

Now the Hindoos deem every holy mountain a copy of *Meru*: and, accordingly, they have many hills, which are all equally designated by this title². Every hill therefore, which is thus designated, is really a local transcript of the Armenian mountain: and, as the theology of the whole gentile world is fundamentally the same; each sacred peak, wherever situated, must obviously be viewed in the same light. Agreeably to this conclusion, the traditions and notions, attached to these several high places, will constantly be found to point towards Paradise and the Ark: and the reason is, that each is the local Ararat of the country where it is situated. Thus Parnassus, and Olympus, and the Singalese peak of Adam, and the Mauritanian Atlas, and the British Snowdon and Cader-Idris, not to mention almost innumerable other hills, are all equally imitative transcripts of what the Hindoos call *Meru* but what is really the Paradisiacal mountain of the Ark.

It is to this northern mountain of Ararat, northern with respect to so large a part of civilized Asia, which was the prototype of all the consecrated hills of the Gentiles, that the two prophets Isaiah and Ezckiel allude in their predictions relative to the downfall of the kings of Babylon and Tyre. The latter expressly terms it *Eden, the garden of God, and the holy mountain of God*; mentioning at the same time the covering cherub, which was stationed at the gate of Paradise, and which had been emulously copied by the Tyrian prince: the former, in direct reference to the idolatrous canonization of aspiring monarchs and to the wild notion which still prevails in Hindostan relative to the possibility of a mortal's

¹ Vide supra book ii. c. 2. § I. 1, 5.

² Asiat. Res. vol. viii. p. 319.

BOOK V. usurping the very Elysium of the hero-gods, describes the presumptuous king of Babylon, as meditating to exalt his throne above the stars of God and to sit upon (what the Brahmens still call their mount Meru) *the mount of the assembly* in the regions of the north¹.

(2.) But the Gentiles not only considered the sacred mountain as the high-place of the great father; they viewed it also as an expressive symbol of the chief hero-god himself.

The origin of such a speculation I take to have been this. All mankind were born from the great father: but all mankind were likewise figuratively born from that mountain, which was the scite of Paradise in the old World, and which was the abode of the first postdiluvians in the new World. Hence the mountain and the god were spoken of convertibly, precisely in the same manner and for much the same reasons, as the Ark and the Earth were. Thus, in the Hindoo theology, Siva is the mast of the Argha as it floats upon the surface of the deluge. But the two conjointly are represented by the petal and the calix of the aquatic lotos. And again the petal and the calix of the lotos are declared to shadow out the holy mount Meru rising out of the bosom of the Earth, which reposes like a huge boat on the waters of the abyss. Siva therefore is typified by Meru, while his navi-
cular consort is typified by the lower regions of the Earth: and, as these two deities are venerated as the male and female principles of fecundity, precisely the same ideas are entertained of Meru and its terrestrial substratum.

Every mountain is thus made a symbol of the great father viewed as the god of generation: and it is not more his resting place, than his express and visible emblem². This will explain certain notions and observances

¹ Isaiah xiv. 13. Ezek. xxviii. 13, 14. This Hindoo tenet is exemplified at large in Mr. Southey's fine romantic poem *The curse of Kehama*, of which it forms the basis. The attempt of the impious Rajah, which is in strict conformity with an established doctrine of Brahmenism, is made in the very spirit of the parallel attempt which Isaiah ascribes to the Babylonian monarch. With admirable propriety, he bitterly foretells his downfall in language borrowed from the notions and peculiar worship of the apostate gentile world.

² Compare *Asiat. Res.* vol. vi. p. 523. vol. viii. p. 260, 273, 274, 308, 319. vol. iii. p. 133—138. Moor's *Hind. Panth.* p. 45, 46. The result from the comparison will be this,

in the west, which have never hitherto been satisfactorily accounted for. CHAP. VII.
 We may now perceive the reason, why Atlas was fabled to have been metamorphosed into the mountain which bears his name; why that mountain was at once the temple, the god, and the image, of the Libyans; why a consecrated hill was the god of the Cappadocians; why the fire, that rose out of the top of the Lycian Olympus, was the deity of the place; and why the phallic cone was so generally worshipped as the most appropriate symbol of the great hermaphroditic numen¹. As every mountain and every phallus represented the chief deity: so every mountain was deemed the phallus of the World, and every phallus or cone was an image of the holy mountain.

(3.) The lunar crescent, from its close resemblance to a boat, was made the astronomical symbol of the diluvian ship. Hence, as the Paradisiacal Ararat was the mountain of the Ark, it was likewise denominated *Laban* or *the mountain of the Moon*: not from any connection with the literal planet, but because the floating Moon, which makes so conspicuous a figure in every system of ancient mythology, had once rested upon its summit. And hence, as the same Ararat is the real holy White island of the west, the Hindoos place in that island a mountain of the Moon; while they denominate the sea, which once surrounded it, *Somasailabdhī* or *the sea of the lunar mountain*².

The original holy mount being thus deemed a mountain of the Moon, its various local transcripts were distinguished by the same appellation: and thence, in so many different parts of the globe, we find sacred hills all bearing the common title of *mountains of the Moon*.

At the head of the Ganges, Himalaya, which forms a part of the high range of Meru and which is reckoned the favourite haunt of the ark-preserved Siva, is by the Hindoos denominated *Chandrasichara* or *the moun-*

The mast of the ship Argha, and every sacred pyramid, are declared to be symbols of Siva: but the mast of the ship Argha, and every sacred pyramid, are also declared to be copies of mount Meru: therefore mount Meru must be a symbol of the god Siva. This idea pervades the whole of Indian mythology.

¹ Ovid. *Metam.* lib. iv. ver. 652—661. Max. Tyr. *Dissert.* xxxviii. p. 374, 375.

² *Asiat. Res.* vol. viii. p. 301.

BOOK V. *tain of the Moon*: and the title of *Somagiri* or *mountains of the Moon* is similarly applied to two small hillocks, in the same lofty region, near the edifice which is shewn as the tomb of Noah¹. At the head of the Nile, according to the Indian geographers, is the Meru of the southern hemisphere: this also is a mountain of the Moon, as we are taught equally in the legends of the Brahmens and of the western mythologists; the country near it is the land of the Moon; the hero-gods are said to have been born in its vicinity; and the hermaphroditic lunar deity is fabled to have there concealed herself, and afterwards to have become the mother of a numerous progeny by the Sun². At the sources of the Rhine, the Rhone, the Po, and the Danube, all of which were holy rivers, is what may well be styled *the Meru of the west*: here again we have a mountain of the Moon; for *Alpan* is but a variation of *Laban*, and *Jura* or *Ira* or *Rhè* denotes *the Moon* equally in the Celtic and the Babylonian dialects. Lebanon, at the head of the sacred river Jordan, was another lunar mountain: and, agreeably to its appellation, the navicular Adonis and the ship-goddess Astartè or Architis was eminently worshipped on its summit. Mount Alban or Iaban, whether in Italy or in France, was also a lunar mountain: hence we find the ship of Juno, which in form resembled a crescent, venerated on the top of the Latin hill. And, even in the island of Borneo, the peak at the head of its largest river is known by the title of *the mountain of the Moon*.

(4.) Such being the astronomical ideas associated with the Ark and mount Ararat, when the ancient pagans viewed the lunar boat *simply*, as resting on the summit of the hill; the figure, presented to their imagination, would be a conical peak terminating in two points formed by the two horns of the crescent: but, when they viewed it *complexly*, as furnished with its mast which represents (we are assured) the mariner god standing upright in the midst of it; the figure, then exhibited to their imagination, would be a conical peak terminating in three points formed by the two horns of the crescent and its central mast. Here we may perceive the reason, why the pagans deemed those mountains peculiarly sacred, which branched out at their summits into either two or three smaller peaks or tumuli.

¹ Asiatic Res. vol. i. p. 248. vol. vi. p. 482.

² Asiatic Res. vol. iii. p. 56, 60, 66.

They considered them, in the one case, as naturally shadowing out the holy hill with the navicular Moon resting on its top; and, in the other case, as still being a physical copy of the same holy hill surmounted by the Moon, but the Moon now rendered complete by the addition of its central mast or pilot¹.

Agreeably to these speculations, the Hindoos describe their holy mountain Meru as terminating in three peaks; of which the first is composed of gold, the second of silver, and the third of iron or stone or earth. The central peak, Cailasa, is the peculiar abode of Siva; while the two others are occupied by Brahma and Vishnou. This Tricutadri, or mountain with three summits, is declared to be the lord of mountains or the prototype of all other similar mountains: and of course every imitative Tricoryphæan hill, for there are said to be many such, is considered as inferior to it. The next rank however is conceded to the sacred White Island of the west; which is deemed an island of the Moon, or celestial earth, and a terrestrial Paradise. That island, in accordance with the doctrine of the Hindoos which represents every island as a mountain rising above the surface of the ocean, is fabled to terminate, like Meru, in three parts; whence it is denominated *the three-peak-land*: and its peaks, still like those of Meru, are severally composed of gold, silver, and iron. To the White island of the north-west succeeds, in point of dignity, the Tricuta or three-peak mountain of the south-east. This, in the wild geography of the Brahmens, comprehends Malaca, Sumatra, and Ceylon: and the two Tricutadris are declared to correspond with each other, in their respective quarters of the globe. The hero-gods are represented as travelling between them: and the great receptacle of souls after death is said to be at Yama-puri in the peninsula of Malaca. But the western isle of the blessed is equally described as an Elysium: and the souls of the dead are equally feigned to be wafted to it over the vast ocean in a wonderful ship².

It is easy to perceive, whence such notions originated, and how they stand connected with the subject now under discussion. Every island was esteemed a mountain; because the arkite mountain, when it first emerged

¹ See Plate III. Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

² Asiat. Res. vol. x. p. 138, 139, 142. vol. viii. p. 320. vol. i. p. 248.

BOOK V. from the deluge, was an island. This mountain was fabled to have three peaks; because the lunar ship, to which the great father supplied the place of a mast, rested upon its summit at the close of the far-famed voyage from World to World. And it was described, as the Elysian abode of the hero-gods, and as the receptacle of departed souls; because the Noëtic family dwelt after the flood on the top of Ararat, and because the souls of which it was composed were born again into Paradise from what was reckoned a state of death and darkness. National vanity has indeed led the Hindoos to make their own local Meru at the head of the Ganges the prototype of the holy White Island: but they incidentally admit the very reverse to be the truth, by acknowledging that island, which they rightly place to the north-west of Hindostan and which must certainly be identified with the lunar Ararat, to be the cradle of their theology and the native country of their sacerdotal order¹.

A similar vein of speculation caused the scriptural mount Olivet to be so highly venerated by the pagans, and to be so perpetually desecrated to the worship of their hero-gods. Nature has furnished its summit with three peaks, of which the central one is the highest. It exhibits accordingly the precise aspect; which the Hindoos ascribe to their Meru, to the two holy Tricintas, and to every hill which is deemed a transcript of Meru. Of this circumstance, I strongly suspect, that advantage was taken by the idolatrous inhabitants of the land, previous to the time of the exodus from Egypt. The hill is mentioned, even so early as the reign of David, by the very name of *Olivet*: it had not lost this ancient appellation in the days of Zechariah: and it is repeatedly spoken of by it in the history of Christ and his apostles². Such a descriptive title was no doubt bestowed upon it from the particular tree, with which it abounded and with which it still abounds: and, when we consider the nature of the superstition which prevailed alike in Palestine and in every other quarter of the globe, and when we add to this consideration the special fitness of mount Olivet for a high-place of the hero-gods, we shall probably be inclined to believe, that a

¹ Vide supra book ii. c. 5.

² 2 Sam. xv. 30. Zechar. xiv. 4. Matt. xxiv. 3. Acts i. 12.

grove of olive-trees was first designedly planted there, in order that a more perfect resemblance of Ararat might thus be obtained. It is not difficult to adduce parallel instances in corroboration of the conjecture. The planting of the sacred olive at Athens is immediately connected with a story of a local deluge: there was a grove of olives round the temple of the Samian Neptune: there was another olive-grove round the temple of Jupiter in the immediate vicinity of the Elèan Olympus: on the coast of Arabia in the Red sea and opposite to the Egyptian Thebais, are three small islands, deemed (I apprehend) holy; which, in the time of Strabo, were thickly planted with olives: on the coast of Asia Minor, not far from Ephesus, is another consecrated island; which contested with Delos the parturition of Latona, and in which was shewn the olive-tree that supported the goddess after her labour: and round that lofty peak of Meru, where the Hindoos assert the ark of Menu to have rested, there are still extensive groves of olive planted originally with the same design that I suppose the groves of mount Olivet to have been planted¹. But, however this may be, the three-peaked hill of Jerusalem, which I believe to have been an ancient Canaanitish high place, was studiously selected by Solomon for the purposes of his base idolatry, when he apostatised to the commemorative hero-worship of the Gentiles. On this occasion, the ship-goddess Astoreth, whom the Phenicians venerated with Adonis or the summit of the lunar mount Lebanon, was placed, like the Indian Isi, on the central peak: while Chemosh and Milcom, who, like Bal-Ram and Jagan-Nath or Osiris and Horus, are but varied forms of the great father, occupied the two other points of the hill².

When three peaks could not be had to the sacred hill; two, if they offered themselves, were beheld with similar veneration. Such is the case with the two small tumuli in upper India, near the pretended tomb of Noah, which are denominated *the mountains of the Moon*: and such was the case with the two famous peaks, which branch out from the top of the Grecian Parnassus. In all practicable matters, this holy mountain was

¹ Strab. Geog. lib. viii. p. 343, 353. lib. xvi. p. 769. lib. xiv. p. 639. Asiat. Res. vol. vi. p. 524, 525.

² 2 Kings xxiii. 13. See Clarke's Travels. vol. ii. p. 578.

BOOK V. the very counterpart of the Indian Meru : and, as I suppose the two points of Nysa and Cyrrha to exhibit upon a vast scale the lunar boat resting on the top of the hill, so Pyrrha and Deucalion are fabled to have landed upon its summit out of that Ark which was astronomically symbolized by the crescent of the Moon ¹.

2. When the huge Ship of the deluge fixed itself immoveably among the bare rocks and crags of the tempest-beaten Ararat ; the surrounding cliffs, its own gloomy interior, and the narrow door of entrance in its perpendicular side, would all conspire together to excite the idea of a spacious cavern ². This semblance of a grotto would necessarily, I should conceive, for a season be at once the habitation and the oratory of the Noëtic family : for, until, as their numbers increased, they had been able to construct for themselves more commodious dwellings, they would obviously prefer the friendly shelter of the Ark before an exposure to the inclemency of the weather. Hence originated the sanctity of caverns : hence we rarely find a holy mountain unprovided with a grotto either natural or artificial : and hence we meet with so many tales of the great father, being either born from a cave, or nursed in a cave, or dwelling in a cave, or taking refuge in a cave when he quitted the Ark within which he had been exposed at sea ³. Hence too the imitative regeneration of the Mysteries was indifferently thought to be procured by an evasion either from a cave or from a boat : hence the ship Argo and the sacred grotto were alike deemed oracular : and hence the entrance into the mystic cavern and the entrance into the floating navicular coffin were equally reckoned a descent into Hades or an inclosure within the womb of the great infernal ship-goddess. Other matters, as we proceed in the inquiry, will serve to corroborate a position, which already may seem to be sufficiently established.

(1.) Of the cavern combined with the sacred mountain it is easy to produce a variety of instances : and so much has been already said respecting the character of the deities worshipped in such holy places, that on that point nothing more need be added.

¹ *Asiat. Res.* vol. vi. p. 501. See Plate III. Fig. 2, 3.

² See Plate III. Fig. 18.

³ See Plate III. Fig. 15.

Porphyrus tells us from Eubulus, that Zoroaster first consecrated a natural grotto to the universal father Mithras in the mountains bordering upon Persia: and he adds, that from Zoroaster the practice was adopted by others, insomuch that it very generally obtained to celebrate the Mysteries and to perform other religious ceremonies in caverns either natural or artificial¹. In this I believe him to be perfectly accurate: for the primeval Zoroaster was the transmigrating great father; and those, who in subsequent ages assumed the name, were the Archinagi, who were severally the acknowledged representatives of demiurge, and who claimed to be successive incarnate manifestations of him. Porphyrus goes on to remark, that the Mithratic cave was closely allied to that of Jupiter in Crete, that of Pan and the Moon in Arcadia, and that of Bacchus in the island of Naxos; each of which was situated in the recesses of a craggy mountain²: and this catalogue may with much ease be greatly extended. There was a cave in a rocky promontory on the coast of Epidaurus near Brasiaë, where Bacchus was thought to have been nursed by Ino when he landed out of the ark³. There was another cave in the diluvian mount Parnassus, dedicated to the Corycian nymphs; whom Deucalion is said to have adored and consulted at the close of his perilous voyage, and by whom we are to understand the priestesses of the mundane Cor or holy circle of the Idæan mother⁴. Another we find in the literal Indian Meru or Parnasa at the head of the Ganges, consecrated to Devi or Isi who floated as a ship on the surface of the deluge⁵. Another we have in the peak of Chaisaghar, where the ark of Menu is still traditionally said to have come to land: it is much resorted to by pilgrims; and in its vicinity are shewn the pretended impressions made by the feet of the dove, which was sent out of the Ark⁶. There was another in the Tauric mount Cassius of Cilicia, where Osiris or Jupiter was thought to have been confined by the oceanic monster Typhon, and where the appulse of the Ark was wont to be fixed by the inhabitants of the country⁷. There was another again in the Mauri-

¹ Porph. de ant. nymph. p. 253, 254.² Porph. de ant. nymph. p. 262.³ Paus. Lacon. p. 209.⁴ Paus. Phoc. p. 672. Ovid. Metam. lib. i. ver. 320.⁵ Asiat. Res. vol. vi. p. 501.⁶ Asiat. Res. vol. vi. p. 521—523.⁷ Apollod. Bibl. lib. i. c. 6. § 3.

BOOK V. tanian mount Atlas, which is described by Maximus Tyrius as a sort of deep hole like a well: it was of such a size, that fruit-trees grew in the bottom of it; but its steepness, and the peculiar sanctity attributed to it, alike precluded the possibility of a descent¹. There was another in mount Argèus near Tyana: this sacred hill yet bears the name of *Argau*; but both its ancient and its modern appellation is equally derived from the cavern worship of the ship *Argo* or *Argha*². Nor was the natural grotto, as attached to the holy mountain, solely venerated in the great eastern continent: the Floridans of America, we are told, were accustomed to adore the Sun under the figure of a cone in a sacred cavern, which ran deep into the bowels of a lofty hill³. This mode of worship is in every particular an exact transcript of the superstition that overspread the whole pagan world. The cone or phallus was employed to represent the great father in perhaps every region from Hindostan to Ireland: and the Floridan mountain with its cavern was but the local *Meru* or *Parnassus* of the country.

(2.) Natural grottos are rarely found except in craggy mountainous districts, whether continental or insular. Hence we may pronounce, that almost every sacred grotto was in the vicinity of some sacred hill: and, if that hill rose as an island out of the sea, it was the more valued; because a more exact representation was thus obtained of mount *Ararat*, surrounded by the waters of the retiring deluge, and bearing amidst its rocks that *Ark* which presented to the fancy an image of a gloomy excavation. For the same reason caverns on the sea-shore were highly venerated: and the traditions, associated with them, are usually such as have an immediate reference to the flood and the ark-god.

Thus *Anius* was born in a rocky cavern in the island of *Eubèa*; where the ark had drifted, within which his mother *Rheo*, while pregnant, had been consigned to the waves: and we find a legend, that his daughters were afterwards changed by *Bacchus* into doves⁴. Thus *Jason*, the fabulous navigator of the ship *Argo*, was educated in the cave of *Chiron*⁵. And

¹ Max. Tyr. Dissert. xxxviii. p. 373, 374. ² Bryant's Anal. vol. i. p. 215

³ Banier's Mythol. vol. i. p. 144.

⁴ Tzet. in Lycoph. ver. 570. Ovid Metam. lib. xiii. ver. 674.

⁵ Tzet. in Lycoph. ver. 175.

thus Mithras was thought to have been born out of a cavern¹. With a CHAP. VII. similar allusion to the Ark and the deluge, the navicular goddess Venus was worshipped by the Naupactians in a cavern on the sea-shore²: the fictitious queen Lamia, who is said to have delighted in the murder of infants and who is evidently the same as the destroying Cali or Diana of the Indo-Scythians, was venerated by their African brethren in a cave which ran into the side of a craggy mountain³: the most ancient god and king of the Japanese is reported to have once hid himself in a cave; and no doubt can be entertained of his real character, since we find him adored as the Sun and represented sitting upon a cow⁴: the Mysteries of the Samothracian Cabiri were celebrated within the dark recesses of the insular cave Zerinthus⁵: the British Hu was worshipped in a cleft or cavern of an island washed by the ocean, which was esteemed his special sanctuary⁶: the Gothic Hercules is said to have found a nymph, half woman and half serpent, in a cavern of Scythia, by whom he became the parent of three sons⁷: Apollo was worshipped in a celebrated cavern near the river Lethè or Styx in the country of the Magnetes⁸: the small shrines of Buddha are usually constructed within rocky caverns; and his more austere votaries esteem it a duty to live in woods, in grottos, or in artificial subterraneous buildings⁹: the Peruvians had a tradition, that, when a former race of men perished by the waters of an universal deluge, the world was re-peopled by their ancestors who were born at that period out of a cavern¹⁰: the Phigalensians worshipped the Cabiric Ceres in a dark grotto; and represented the goddess with a dove in one hand and a dolphin in the other, denominating the holy mountain where the grotto was situated *mount Olivet*¹¹: the Homeric cave of the Nymphs is, with the same reference to the branch brought back by the dove, provided with a flourishing olive-tree¹²: and the grotto of the

¹ Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 296.² Paus. Phoc. p. 687.³ Diod. Bibl. lib. xx. p. 778.⁴ Kæmpfer's Japan b. ii. p. 153. b. iii. p. 231.⁵ Lycophl. Cassan. ver. 77.⁶ Davies's Mythol. p. 120, 507, 508, 537.⁷ Herod. Hist. lib. iv. c. 8, 9, 10.⁸ Paus. Phoc. p. 672.⁹ Asiat. Res. vol. vii. p. 422. vol. vi. p. 292. See also Symes's Embass. to Ava. vol. iii. p. 213, 214.¹⁰ Purch. Pilgr. book ix. c. 9. p. 874.¹¹ Paus. Arcad. p. 522, 523.¹² Hom. Odyss. lib. xiii. ver. 102.

BOOK V. ocean-goddess Calypso is placed by the poet in a sacred island, which he styles not undesignedly *the navel of the sea*¹.

(3.) If the mythologic nature of such caverns require any yet more definite explanation, than is afforded by the legends attached to them; we shall have it most amply furnished to us in certain specimens of this superstition, which I have designedly kept back for this very purpose.

We are informed by Porphyry, that Saturn once built a wonderful cave in the midst of the ocean, and that within it he concealed his children when they were threatened by some impending danger². Now, when we recollect that Saturn is palpably the transmigrating Noah and that his family consisted of three sons and three daughters; the grotto, which he constructed in the midst of the sea and which he used as a place of concealment for his children, must necessarily be the Ark. And this conclusion precisely agrees with every particular, which has been adduced respecting the sacred cavern: for the oceanic hiding-place of the classical god and his family, which comprehended in the whole precisely eight persons, is manifestly the very same, in point of mythological import, as the sea-girt sanctuary of Iu, the cavernous hiding-place of the Japanese great father, the maritime grotto of the ark-exposed Bacchus and Anius, the cave whence the ancestors of the Peruvians issued at the close of the deluge, the rocky cell in short of the two universal parents by whatever names they might be venerated.

Porphyry most truly says, that the Mithratic cavern, and thence all other similar caverns, represented the World³: but, would we rightly understand this assertion, we must call to mind what has been so repeatedly observed respecting the intercommunion of the Earth and the Ark. These two, which were viewed as the Megacosm and the Microcosm, and which were each thought to float like a ship upon the surface of the ocean, were invariably blended together in the imagination of the Gentiles: so that they were ever personified by one and the same goddess, ever represented by common symbols, and ever spoken of in terms strictly convertible. The egg, the lotos, the cavern, and the Ship of the deluge, all shadowed out the

¹ Hom. Odyss. lib. i. ver. 50.

² Porph. de ant. nymph. p. 254.

³ Porph. de ant. nymph. p. 254.

World: hence the egg, the lotos, the mundane cavern, and the World, CHAP. VII. were all equally made hieroglyphics of the Ship of the deluge.

It is in reference to this arkite World, which once contained in its hollow womb the rudiments of the Universe, that the demiurgic Zeus, who is described as existing before the three sons of Cronus, is said by the Orphic poet to have formed all things in a dark cave. We afterwards find, that the cave in question was no other than the womb of the great hermaphroditic Jupiter himself. For the Universe is indifferently pronounced to have issued from the mystic cave and from the vast womb of the semi-female divinity: and the ideas or principles of all things are said to have been generated in this dark receptacle after it had swallowed up Phanes or Bacchus or the First-born, who is variously fabled to have been tossed about in an egg and to have been exposed at sea in an ark. Such language needs little explanation. The ark, the egg, the cavern, and the dark receptacle of the womb, all mean the same thing: and the absorption of the first-born Phanes is palpably that extraordinary event, which in the Mysteries was represented by the imitative absorption of the aspirant into the womb of the navicular great mother¹.

In exact accordance with such speculations, the Pythagorèans and the Platonists were accustomed to style the World *the dark cavern of imprisoned souls*². The expression related to the Mysteries, from which they borrowed the whole of their fantastic theology: and, in those Mysteries, the aspirants were first confined within the gloomy cavern which symbolized the Ark of the World, and afterwards were said to be born again out of its womb.

This regeneration was the same as the birth of souls from the infernal floating Moon; which accordingly was reported to be furnished with a cavern, or which in other words was a hollow boat shaped like a crescent: and the whole treatise of Porphyry on the cave of the Nymphs is full of a sort of mystical jargon, respecting the birth of souls from a door in the Moon and from a door in the sacred mundane grotto. The floating Moon and the sea-girt cavern meant alike the Ark; which, while the greater

¹ Proc. in Plat. Tim. ii. p. 95, 34. apud Orph. Oper. Gesn. p. 365. Orph. Hymn. v.

² Porph. de ant. nymph. p. 255.

BOOK V. World was plunged beneath the waves of the deluge, was the sole World that visibly existed.

Such a conclusion is finally established by the almost naked declaration of the Indian theologians. In the holy city Banares, there is a cavern, which is termed *Machodara* or *the belly of the fish*: the consecrated mountain, which rises in the centre of the city, is also denominated *Machodara*: and the whole town, as well as any place in the midst of the waters which can afford shelter to living beings, is sometimes distinguished by the very same appellation. Now, what the Brahmens mean by the phrase thus alike applied to the sacred cavern, the sacred mount, the sacred city which frequently becomes an island by the overflowing of the river, and any place surrounded by water which may preserve living creatures from being swallowed up by an inundation; what they mean by this phrase, they themselves unreservedly tell us: for they bestow the identical name *Machodara* or *the belly of the fish* upon the vast ark, within which Menu or Buddha was concealed and preserved in the midst of surrounding waters¹. A similar notion evidently prevailed among the Egyptians: for, as the Brahmens term their holy city *Machodara* or *the belly of the fish*, so the Egyptians styled their holy city *Theba* or *the Ark*; and, as the Brahmens extended the appellation *Machodara* to every place surrounded by water, so the Egyptians extended the name of *Theba* in a special manner to those Elysian islands of the blessed which were thought to be clipped by the vast circumambient ocean².

Agreeably to this conclusion, the Indian Puranas declare, that in the sacred White Islands of the west there is a wonderful cave, the door of which represents the sacred Yoni or female principle of fecundity³. Now it has been shewn at large, that by those islands we are to understand mount Ararat and the Ark⁴: and we are assured, that the female principle, of which the insular cave is expressly pronounced to be a symbol, floated on the surface of the deluge in the form of the ship Argha. Hence it is obvious, that by the holy cave of the White Islands was meant the Ark resting on the crags of Ararat.

¹ Asiat. Res. vol. vi. p. 480, 481.

² Lyc. Cassan. ver. 1204. Tzetz. in loc.

³ Asiat. Res. vol. vi. p. 502.

⁴ Vide supra book ii. c. 5.

(4.) The mode in which the consecrated grotto was used, and the notions entertained of its presiding divinity, appear very distinctly from a curious account which has been handed down to us of an Indian cavern. CHAP. VII.

Porphyry tells us on the authority of Bardesanes, who received the account from the Brahmins of India, that, in the side of a very lofty mountain situated in the centre of the earth, there was a natural cave of large dimensions. In it was placed an upright statue, ten or twelve cubits in height; the arms of which were extended in the form of a cross. One side of its face was that of a man; the other, that of a woman: and the same difference of sex, from head to foot, was preserved in the conformation of its whole body. On its right breast, was carved the Sun; and, on its left, the Moon. On its arms were represented a number of figures, which Porphyry calls *angels*; and, along with them, the sky, the ocean, mountains, rivers, plants, and animals. The Brahmins asserted, that their chief deity gave this statue to his son when about to create the World, in order that he might have a pattern to work from: and they declared to the inquisitive traveller, that no one knew of what materials it was composed, though its substance bore the strongest resemblance to a sort of incorruptible wood while yet it was not wood. They added, that a king once attempted to pluck a hair from it, and that blood immediately flowed in consequence of the impiety. Upon its head was the figure of a god seated upon a throne. Behind it the cave extended to a considerable distance, and was profoundly dark. If any persons chose to enter into it, they lighted torches; and advanced, until they came to a door. Through the door flowed a stream of water, which, at the extremity of the cavern, formed a lake: and, through this door likewise, those, who wished to expurgate themselves, were required to pass. Such, as were pure from the pollutions of the world, met with no impediment, for the door opened wide to admit them; and they forthwith arrived at a very large fountain of the most beautifully pellucid water: but those, who had been guilty of some crime, found themselves violently opposed, the door forcibly closing itself against them and denying them admission. Whenever this was the case, they confessed their sins, besought the intercession of the Brahmins, and submitted to long and painful fasts by way of expiation. Porphyry adds, that Apollonius Tyanæus

BOOK V. was apparently acquainted with the water and cavern described to him by Bardesanes: for, in the letters which he addressed to the Brahmens, he was wont to use as a formula of abjuration, *No, by the Tantalian water, by which you initiated me into your Mysteries.* The epithet *Tantalian* he is supposed to have applied to it, from the tantalizing state of suspense in which it held the impatient aspirants¹.

We may learn by this narrative both the unchanging nature of Hindoo superstition and the use which the Brahmens made of their sacred caverns. The mountain in the centre of the Earth, where the grotto is described as being situated, is evidently the central mount Meru, which is considered as rising out of the midst of the worldly lotos, and which may be viewed as really occupying the middle region of that insular World which was known to the ancients. The hermaphroditic statue at the entrance of the cavern is precisely that compound being, now venerated by the Hindoos under the appellation of *Ardha-nari*. It is formed, just as the *Ardha-nari* is formed, by the lateral conjunction of Siva and Parvati; so that of the whole image, from top to bottom, the one half is male, and the other half female. This, no doubt, was the prototype of the Amazons: and its station in the sacred cavern of the arkite and Paradisiacal Meru perfectly answers to its character; for it is composed by the hermaphroditic union of the ship-god and the ship-goddess or of the transmigrating great father and great mother. In the speculations of Materialism, the two jointly constituted the World: and, accordingly, like the Orphic androgynous Jupiter and the Hindoo androgynous Siva, the statue is described as being a symbolical picture of the Universe; which Brahma, the son of Vishnou by being born from his navel, creates anew after every periodical deluge. The passage through the rocky door of the cavern is the identical superstition, which still prevails in India, and of which I have already given various instances: and we may gather, both from the whole ceremonial and from the oath of Apollonius, that aspirants were initiated into the Mysteries of the Brahmens, precisely as they were initiated into those of the Persian Magi, by being born again through the narrow portal of a grotto which represented the Ark resting on mount Ararat.

¹ Porph. de Styg. p. 283—285.

(5.) We shall now be able to perceive, with what exact mythological propriety that learned poet Virgil has worked up his curious tale of Aristèus. CHAP. VII.

The person, whom he makes the hero of his story, was the son of Apollo by the nymph Curenè: and he was educated, like Jason and Achilles, in the grotto of the centaur Chiron. He is said to have attempted the chastity of Eurydicè, and to have involuntarily been the cause of her death: a circumstance, which occasioned the fictitious descent of Orpheus into the infernal regions. Among the Emonians, he was worshipped under the several titles of *Jupiter-Aristèus*, *Apollo*, *Agreus*, and *Nomius*: and he was reputed to be a native of Arcadia, the inhabitants of which were eminently devoted to the superstition of the ship Argha. Hence it appears, that he was in reality no other than the solar great father, who from the most remote antiquity was believed to preside over agriculture and pasturage: and, accordingly, as that compound personage was thought successively to reappear at the commencement of every new world, so we are told by Bacchylides that there were four Aristèi just as the Babylonians fabled that there were four Annedoti or Dagon's¹.

Now the mythological story, which Virgil relates of him, is this. Through disease and famine, he had lost his bees. Deeply afflicted with the calamity and not knowing how to repair it, he stands upon the bank of the river Penens whom the Roman poet makes to be his father, and there invokes the aid of his mother Curenè. Surrounded by her sister nymphs, she hears his lamentations, and forthwith emerges from the bed of the river to comfort and assist him. At her potent command, the waters divide asunder, and yield a free passage to the forlorn shepherd. Under the guidance of the goddess he descends in safety to the bottom of the sacred stream; and enters, full of wonder, into her aqueous habitation. Here he beholds the strange sight of a spacious cave, provided with a holy grove and containing within its deep recesses a lake of pure water. Here too he views the secret source of every river: for within this mystic grotto lie concealed the fountains of all the numerous streams, which appear upon the

¹ Apoll. Argon. lib. ii. ver. 500 et infra. Schol. in loc. Hyg. Fab. 164.

BOOK V. surface of the earth. And now his mother, after due purification by water, directs, that a solemn libation should be made from the cup of Bacchus to Ocean the universal father, and that the central fire which blazed on the hearth should be sprinkled with liquid nectar. She then enjoins him to consult the hoary marine seer Proteus; and directs him, how he may most effectually secure the often metamorphosed prophet. He carefully observes her maternal instructions: and, in despite of every effort on the part of the reluctant Proteus, holds him fast in the rocky grotto which the sea-god was accustomed to haunt. His successful labour meets with its due reward. The prophet, after discussing largely the fate of the hapless Eurydicè, the descent of Orpheus into hell, the boat of Charon, the nine-fold Styx, the dog Cerberus, and the various terrific portents of Hades, concludes his theological lecture with assuring Aristèus; that, provided only he will slay four bulls and as many cows, leave their carcasses in a holy grove for nine days, and at the end of that period perform due obsequies to the ghosts of Orpheus and Eurydicè, all his wishes shall be accomplished and his loss be fully repaired. The shepherd obeys: when, lo, at the stated time, every carcase teems with new life; and a superabundant swarm of bees is marvellously generated from the putrefying bodies of the slaughtered animals¹.

It must, I think, naturally strike any person, who reads this singular tale with merely poetical eyes, that, however highly it is wrought up by the exquisite taste of Virgil, the end seems most strangely disproportioned to the means. Aristèus, it appears, had the ill luck to lose a fine swarm of bees. This, no doubt, was provokingly unfortunate: yet, as every bee-master knows, it required no *miracle* to repair the loss. But Virgil, in apparent defiance of the sound poetical canon that *a god must never be introduced when the knot can be untied by a mortal*, moves heaven and earth in order that the shepherd Aristèus may not be disappointed of his honey. A river opens; a goddess appears; a simple swain penetrates into a cavern never before trodden by human foot. Nor is even this machinery sufficient to recover the dead bees: Curenè can only direct her

¹ Virg. Georg. lib. iv.

son for efficacious advice, under his peculiarly difficult circumstances, to another deity somewhat wiser than herself. That deity works a series of miracles to prevent his being caught. But at length, by a concluding miracle, the loss is repaired: and Aristèus is preternaturally enabled once more to follow his important avocation of tending bees. CHAP. VII.

Such are the complex contrivances, by which a very simple effect is finally produced: and, if the legend be considered as a mere poetical sport of fancy, there is certainly a mighty stir about nothing, a complete mountain with its mouse. But Virgil was a mythologist as well as a poet: and he peculiarly delights to embellish his writings with matter drawn from that old philosophical superstition, in which he was himself so thoroughly conversant. This is eminently the case in his Silenus and in the sixth book of his *Eneid*: and, unless I greatly mistake, it is the same also in the present fiction. His commentator Servius indeed very sensibly gives us a clue to the enigma by affirming, that the whole fable, of Aristèus plunging beneath the waves, and entering into the sacred cavern to converse with his mother, was entirely borrowed from the theology of Egypt. In this supposition I believe him to be right; though, in strict propriety of speech, the story was no more built upon the Egyptian superstition than upon that of any other country: for, as we have invariably seen, the same system of religion was equally established in every part of the heathen world.

Peneus was one of the many sacred rivers of antiquity. The description of the cavern is taken from the nymphèan grotto and its subterraneous stream. All rivers are represented as originating from it; just as, in the *Zend-Avesta*, the holy river and all other subordinate waters are exhibited as flowing from the *Arg-Roud*, while it rests at the close of the deluge on the summit of mount *Albordi*. Within its recesses, the universal father Ocean is venerated with libations from the *Argha* or navicular cup of the arkite *Bacchus*: and the whole grotto, like the interior cell which in the *Mysteries* represented *Elysium*, is illuminated with a lambent central fire. The passage into the cave is only through water: and we know, that this was one of the trials, which were exacted from those that were initiated into the *Mithratic Orgies*. Another delineation of the sacred grotto is presented to us in the marine cave of *Proteus*. This ocean prophet is no

BOOK V. other than the great father: his numerous transformations allude to the scenical metamorphoses of the Mysteries: and his whole discourse respecting the infernal regions is perfectly in character with him, as the universally acknowledged god of the dead.

But it is time that we attend to his directions for producing a new swarm of bees, which is the very jut of the entire story from beginning to end. Here let us take Porphyry for our guide. In his treatise on the Homeric cave of the Nymphs, which cave is clearly the prototype of the Aristèan grotto, he tells us, that those divine females, whom the Latin like the Greek poet describes as occupied in weaving, are human souls about to be born into the World. These souls the ancient mythologists called *bees*: and, as Proserpine or the infernal Moon was the reputed female principle of generation, she was likewise denominated *a bee*; and from her the priestesses of the infernal Ceres were distinguished by the same title, doubtless as the mystic representatives of the Nymphs. But the souls, which were born out of the grotto, were also said to be born from a door in the side of the Moon: and this Moon was not only styled *a bee*, but likewise *a heifer*. Hence, Porphyry observes, bees were fabled to be produced from a heifer: and souls, advancing to the birth, were mystically described in the very same manner and under the very same appellation. For this reason, he adds, honey was made a symbol of death; and libations of honey were wont to be poured out to the infernal gods. He then proceeds to notice, in connection with his subject, the high antiquity and general prevalence of worship in caverns; that is to say, such caverns as those which concealed the Nymphs or bees or souls about to be born into the World¹.

And now we may plainly enough perceive the drift of Virgil's curious mythological story; which perfectly accords with the received character of the Arcadian shepherd Aristèus, as drawn at the commencement of this discussion from other sources: we may now safely acquit him of any violation of that poetic canon, which at the first view he might seem to have so lightly disregarded. He had a knot to untie, which indeed required the aid of a divinity: for, under the form of an apologue, he was delivering

¹ Porph. de ant. nymph. p. 260—262.

the most abstruse Mysteries of ancient theology; he was treating of no less CHAP. VII. important a subject than the general destruction of the human race, and their subsequent reproduction from that wonderful vessel which was indifferently symbolized by a cavern or a heifer or a divine prolific female or a floating Moon.

So deeply indeed is the poet impressed by his theme, and so well did he know the profound veneration in which the bee was held by the initiated, that, even before he enters upon his fairy-tale and while he is professedly delivering a mere lecture to apiarists, he cannot refrain from throwing out some anticipatory hints of what is to follow. In the genuine spirit of the old mystical philosophy, which taught that all human souls were excerpted from the essence of the great father and that at each mundane revolution they were again absorbed into that essence, he remarks, that such was the peculiar nature of bees, that they might well be deemed an emanation from the divine mind. For, however short the life of an individual insect, the race itself was immortal: and, as all human souls spring from the great father, so all bees are generated from that single bee which was anciently denominated their *king*. He then at once launches out into the system, which formed the very basis of pagan mythology. *A supreme intelligent numen pervades the Universe. From him both flocks, and herds, and men, are alike produced: and into him again every thing is finally resolved. Death has no real existence: for, by a perpetual revolution, whatsoever is possessed of life migrates only from one state of being into another, mounts to its proper sidereal abode, and is at length swallowed up in the profundity of high heaven*¹.

Throughout the whole of this curious passage, in the precise symbolizing humour which is so fully explained by Porphyry, the mythological poet speaks of bees under a covert phraseology, which properly applies only to the new-born souls of the Mysteries.

3. After the Ark rested on the summit of Ararat, to a person, that looked out from the hatch or window of the vessel, the top of the mountain would exhibit the appearance of an island: and, as the waters further abated so

¹ Virg. Georg. lib. iv. ver. 206—227.

BOOK V. that the neighbouring peaks of Armenia emerged from beneath them, the retiring deluge, becoming what seamen term *land-locked*, would resemble, so far as the eye could reach, a spacious lake studded with numerous islets. The top then of Ararat would be deemed an immoveable island, and would be viewed as the happy termination of a voyage from one World to another.

But there would naturally be associated with it a second island of a totally different description. The Ark had long floated in an erratic state on the surface of the all-prevailing ocean, bearing the relics of the old and the rudiments of the new World: hence, by a familiar and easy figure of speech, that enormous vessel would obviously be denominated *a floating island*; and, as it ceased to float after its appulse, it would be celebrated as an island, which had once wandered about at the mercy of the winds and waves, but which afterwards became immoveably fixed¹.

The garden however of Paradise, as it was rightly and universally believed, coincided geographically with Ararat; and the Ark finally rested on the summit of that mountain. Such being the case, both the insular peak and the once floating island would be esteemed Elysian islands, or fortunate islands, or islands of the blessed, or islands where pious souls that passed from one World to another were destined ultimately to disembark: and, partly from a remembrance of the real origin of these fabled islands and partly from the astronomical speculations which so intimately blended themselves with ancient theology, they would be styled, as we actually find them styled, *Thebe* or *arks* and *floating Moons* or *lunar islands*. They would also be said, sometimes to be seated in the midst of the vast ocean, and sometimes to be separated from the world of the living by the infernal lake or river of death. Nor would their association with a holy lake be solely derived from the appearance exhibited by the retiring deluge: according to the scriptural account of Paradise and its four rivers, those

¹ The vast bulk of the Ark would naturally lead to its being deemed an island. If we reckon the cubit at 18 inches, the burden of this vessel would be 42,413 tons: in other words, it was equal in capacity to 18 of our first-rate men of war. Hence it would have carried 20,000 men with provisions for 6 months, besides the weight of 1800 cannons and all military and naval stores. See Hales's Chronol. vol. i. p. 328.

streams must all have issued from a small lake, into which a fifth river, termed *the river of Eden*, had previously emptied itself. In reference therefore to this small pool, every romantic lake, situated in the recesses of what were esteemed mountains of the Moon, would be reckoned peculiarly sacred; and, as the first families of men in either World were the hero-gods of the Gentiles, such lakes would be denominated *the lakes of the gods* or *the lakes of the Sun and Moon*.

But there was yet another island, which was intimately connected with these two, and which thence in old mythology communicated to them certain ideal attributes strictly belonging only to itself. The ancients either really knew or arbitrarily fabled, that the whole habitable World, exclusive of the long hidden continent of America, was a vast island. Having adopted this opinion which happens to be strictly accurate, and having their minds filled with two other very closely connected islands, they forthwith blended all the three together, mingled their peculiar attributes, represented them by common symbols, and personified them jointly under the character of one hermaphroditic deity. For such a combination they had many specious reasons. The insular top of Ararat, when it first arose above the waters which still spread themselves over all the lower regions, was to the Noëtic family a World in miniature, begirt like the greater World on every side by the ocean: and the Ark, while it floated on the surface of the deluge which overspread the face of the whole Earth, was certainly, when we view its contents, a complete epitomè of the World. Hence both the Ark and the summit of Ararat were deemed a World: and hence, reciprocally, the Earth was compared to a ship floating on the vast abyss; or, in its insular capacity, was considered, agreeably to the ideas entertained of islands in general, as a huge mountain rising out of the bed of the ocean.

On these grounds, as we have already seen, the submersion of the antediluvian World was described under the imagery of a lake bursting its bounds and of an island sinking beneath the waves: while, on the other hand, the voyage and final landing of the Noëtic family is exhibited to us, as the flight of the hero-gods from the rage of the ocean, personified by a destructive monster, into an island, which at first floats erratically on the

BOOK V. surface of the waves, but which afterwards becomes firmly rooted to the bed of the sea or lake that contains it.

(1.) Such is the naturally deduced theory, by which I account for that universal persuasion of insular sanctity that so much engaged the attention and excited the curiosity of the learned and inquisitive Bailly¹. I shall now adduce some instances of the superstition.

One of the most remarkable is that afforded by the Egyptian island Chemmis. Herodotus informs us, that near Buto there was a deep and broad lake; in which, according to the people of the country, floated the island in question. It contained a large temple, dedicated to Apollo and furnished with three altars: and its magnitude was such, that a grove of palm-trees flourished in the soil which covered it, and surrounded the sacred edifice. Herodotus himself did not witness the circumstance of its floating: but Pomponius Mela asserts, that it really swam, and that it was impelled in this or in that direction at the pleasure of the winds. The Egyptians maintained, it seems, that the island did not originally float; but that it lost its firmness in consequence of Latona taking refuge upon it, with the infant Horus, from the rage of Typhon².

The Chemmis of the Egyptians is the Delos of the Greeks: and the story attached to the one is substantially the same as the story attached to the other. Latona is pursued by the monster Python; and is unable to find safety in any part of the earth. At length the floating island Delos receives her, when she is delivered of the Sun and Moon: and the former of those deities, after he has vanquished his adversary Python, renders the island stable in gratitude for his preservation. It is to be observed, that Delos was originally the nymph Asteria, who assumed the shape of a floating island in order that she might save Latona³. But Asteria was the Phœnician Astartè or Astareth: and Astartè was the maritime Venus or the goddess of the ship. In one particular, the Greek story is a precise inversion of the Egyptian: Chemmis is stable at first, and afterwards, when

¹ See his *Lettres sur l'Atlantide*. p. 361.

² Herod. *Hist.* lib. ii. c. 156. Pomp. Mel. lib. i. c. 9.

³ Ovid. *Metam.* lib. vi. ver. 332. Nonni Dion. lib. xxxiii. Callim. *Hymn.* ad Del. ver. 35—70. Hyg. *Fab.* 53.

it has received Latona, begins to float; Delos floats at first, and afterwards, when Python is subdued, becomes stable. It is easy to perceive, that the same fable has taken these two different forms merely from two different views of the history to which it relates. The arkite island was originally fixed; but, when it received the Noëtic family, it began to float: this is the Egyptian tale. The arkite island, with the Noëtic family, moved in an erratic state on the surface of the ocean; but, when the deluge was subdued, it became stable on the top of Ararat: this is the Greek legend. CHAP. VII.

Just the same notions are entertained by the Hindoos of the sacred White Island of the west. It is denominated *the Island of the Moon*; because the masculine deity of the Moon is thought to have been born there: and it is believed to have once floated erratically on the sea, ere it ultimately became fixed. It is also esteemed a Paradise: it is said to have sheltered its worshippers from danger: and it is feigned to be incapable of decay, never being involved in the ruins of the numerous successive worlds, but always surviving the shock of each great mundane catastrophè¹.

Ideas of a very similar description prevailed among the ancient Peruvians. Their sacred lake was the great lake Titiaca; and they had a tradition, that, when all men were drowned by the deluge, Viracocha emerged from this holy pool and became the father of a new race of mortals. They likewise shewed a small island in the lake, where they believed the Sun to have once hid himself and to have been thus preserved from a great danger which awaited him. Hence, in the precise manner of the Greeks and the Egyptians, they built a temple to him upon it, provided it with an establishment of priests and women, and there offered to him large sacrifices both of men and of animals².

Similar speculations united with a similar mode of worship prevailed among the Druids of Britain and Gaul. Hu or Noë, who is celebrated as the father of all the tribes of the Earth, is described, as presiding over the vessel with the iron door which toiled to the top of the hill, and as having his sanctuary in a holy island surrounded by the tide. Such islands were

¹ Asiat. Res. vol. xi. p. 35, 21, 47, 97, 43, 44, 48. Vide supra book ii. c. 5.

² Purch. Pilg. b. ix. c. 9. p. 874.

BOOK V.

believed to have once floated on the surface of the water: and in lakes or bays of the sea, which wanted this necessary appendage of superstition, the hierophants seem to have constructed a kind of rafts or floats in imitation of them. There was formerly one of these artificial islets in the middle of Pemble mere, and another in a small lake situated among the mountains of Brecknock; as may be plainly enough collected from legends respecting certain wonderful islands in each of those pieces of water, which are now no longer in existence. Giraldus Cambrensis mentions a lake in the recesses of Snowdon, remarkable for a wandering island, concerning which some traditional stories were related: and Camden thinks, that it may still be recognized in a pool called *Llyn y Dywarchen* or *the lake of turf*, from a little green moveable patch of ground which floats upon its bosom. Of what nature these traditional stories were, may easily be conjectured from the circumstance of Snowdon being made by the Druids the place of the Ark's appulse after the deluge. Another floating island was ascribed to Loch Lomond in Scotland: and Camden observes, that many legendary stories were told of the other islands, with which it is studded. Each of these moveable rafts was deemed a sanctuary of the ship-god Hu: and Taliesin describes them, as provided with a strong door, as mounting upon the surface of the waves, as surrounded by a mighty inundation, and as wandering about from place to place. But the Druids had also sacred islands of a different description, which were evidently viewed as copies of the insular Ararat rising above the waters of the deluge. These were variously denominated *the rock of the supreme proprietor*, *the chief place of tranquillity*, *the landing-stone of the bards*, and *the harbour of life*: and their mystical import is very unequivocally shewn in the British rites of initiation; for the aspirant was set afloat in a small coracle, and after encountering the dangers of a mimic deluge was finally landed upon a rocky precipitous island or projecting promontory¹.

(2.) From these lakes and islands, which are attended by traditions that clearly point out the nature of the worship celebrated in them, I may proceed to others, which are not quite so distinctly marked, but which

¹ Davies's Mythol. p. 120, 154, 155, 157, 158, 161, 162, 163, 145.

the general analogy of superstition requires us to ascribe to the same class. CHAP. VII.

Foremost of these I may notice the sacred lake and floating island of the Italian Cotylè. The wandering Pelasgi, we are told, were directed by an oracle to shape their course to the western land of Saturn; where, in a lake, they should find a floating island. Obedient to the command, they proceeded in quest of the familiar sanctuary; and, at length, discovered the pool and islet of Cotylè¹.

There was another sacred lake of a similar nature in Tuscany, now called *Bassanello*, but formerly distinguished by the name of the god *Vadimon* who was the same as Janus or Cronus or Buddha or the great father. Pliny has given a very full and curious account of it. In his time it was circular in form like a wheel: and its banks were so exactly uniform and regular, without any curvatures or projections of the shore, that it seemed as if excavated by the hand of art. The colour of the water was of a light azure green, and the smell was sulphureous. The lake itself was deemed sacred, doubtless to the god whose name it bore; and no profane vessel sailed upon it: but several islands, covered with reeds and rushes, floated upon its surface. The borders of these were worn away, in consequence of their being frequently driven both against the shore and against each other. They were all of about the same height; and their bottoms gradually sloped away, like the keel of a ship. This peculiarity of form might be clearly observed on every side through the water, in which they were suspended. Sometimes they appeared to be locked together in one compact mass; at other times, they floated separately. A small island was frequently seen swimming after a larger one, like a boat after a ship. When they drifted to the shore, cattle would often unguardedly advance upon them in quest of pasture; and would afterwards be not a little alarmed to find themselves, by the insensible recession of what they stood upon, surrounded by water. But the wind would soon drive them back; and *that* so gently, that their return was as little felt as their departure².

¹ Dionys. Halic. Ant. Rom. lib. i. c. 15, 19. See also Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. iii. c. 12.

² Plin. Epist. lib. viii. epist. 20.

BOOK V.

The accurately defined shape of the lake Vadimon was probably effected by art: and the object was to procure the figure of a ring or circle, which the ancient mythologists so peculiarly venerated. Of this form was the small consecrated lake, named *Trochoïdes*, in the once floating island of Delos: of this form also was the lake at Sais, on the waters of which were nocturnally celebrated the Mysteries of the deceased yet regenerated Osiris: and of this form is the holy lake at Ellora, which from its reputed sanctity and wonderful excavations may well be termed *the Thebes of Hindostan*. The last mentioned pool is situated in a mountainous country: and, agreeably to the prevalent usage of Gentilism, it contains a small island in its bosom, while a montiform pyramid or pagoda rises aloft upon its bank, and while the neighbouring rocks are scooped into an infinite number of sacred caverns ¹.

This lake is doubtless *a lake of the gods*, agreeably to a phraseology equally familiar to the Mexicans and the Hindoos. Such was the appellation bestowed by the former upon their holy lake: and such is the appellation, by which the Brahmens still alike distinguish the lake in the southern Meru at the head of the Nile, the lake in the northern Meru at the head of the Ganges, and the lake in the high mountainous country at the head of the Oxus ². With a similar idea, they denominate lake Baikal *the holy sea*, and consider all the adjacent country as sacred: whence it is even yet occasionally visited by pilgrims ³. From lakes the name passed to islands, but still with the same palpable reference to the ancient hero-worship. Thus Britain was deemed the peculiar island of Hu and Ceridwen: thus the islets on the coast of Scotland were all dedicated to different deities: thus a small island near Bombay yet bears the appellation of *the island of the gods* ⁴: and thus Apollonius Rhodius gives to Vulcan or Phtha, the great architect of the navicular world, a marvellous floating island for his work-shop ⁵.

¹ Herod. Hist. lib. ii. c. 170, 171. Asiat. Res. vol. vi. p. 389—423. Plate oppos. p. 416.

² Asiat. Res. vol. iii. p. 56, 60, 89. vol. viii. p. 327—329, 330, 331.

³ Asiat. Res. vol. viii. p. 332.

⁴ Moor's Hind. Panth. p. 335.

⁵ Apollon. Argon. lib. iii. ver. 41—43.

4. As the waters retired from the high land of Ararat, that mountainous region would form the circle of the visible horizon: and, if we suppose the Ark to have grounded on a lofty plain or tract of table-land which would give it a position the most convenient for its navigators, the aspect of the country would be that of a circular plain surrounded by a ring of hills. But the top of Ararat, as we have already seen, was reputed to be a World of itself, until the rest of the Earth or the greater World had emerged from beneath the deluge. Hence the ring of hills, which bounded the horizon, would of course be deemed the circle of the World.

Such precisely is the idea, which the Hindoos entertain of their holy mountain Meru. Notwithstanding they ascribe to it three supereminent peaks, in allusion to the two horns of the floating Moon and the great father standing as a mast between them, they likewise represent its summit, as a large circular plain surrounded by a rim of smaller hills. This they term *Ila-vratta* or *Ida-vratta*, which denotes *the circle of the World*; and they consider it as a Paradise or celestial Earth. It is similarly denominated and similarly venerated by the Thibetians, the Chinese, and the Tatars: while the Buddhists, viewing it with equal devotion, style it *the ring of Sakya* or *Buddha*; a title substantially the same as *Ida-vratta*, for the great father Buddha is said to have been the consort of *Ida*¹.

This high plain and circle of mountains may be traced not obscurely in the mythological systems of other nations.

The Greeks had their Olympus: and, in plain reference to the imagined form of the holy hill, when they were about to build a city, they marked out a circle and called it *Olympus*. The Romans did the same; styling the ring, which they had described, *Mundus* or *the World*. The Phrygians, the Cretans, and the Goths, had each a consecrated *Ida*: and, as the top of the Phrygian mount was denominated *Gargar* or *the mountain of the circle*², so the Gothic *Ida* is represented as a lofty plain rising in the centre of the Earth and tenanted by the hero-gods. Such a notion was certainly brought

¹ See Plate III. Fig. 21.

² *Gargarus* I take to be the Sanscrit compound *Cor-Ghari*. The name, together with the name of *Ida*, was brought by the Indo-Scythic Iliensians from the region of mount Meru.

BOOK V. by their ancestors from upper India: for the Scythians are exhibited by Justin as saying, that their native country, which was the high land of Meru or Cashgar or Bokhara, is an elevated spot, which towers above the rest of the World, and from which rivers flow in all directions¹. But the most complete transcript of the Indian Ila-vratta is to be found in Peru. Upon twelve mountains, that surround the city of Cusco, there were twelve stone columns dedicated to the Sun and answering to the twelve months of the year. Now this ring of mountains, each crowned with a pillar, was clearly, I think, consecrated with the same idea, as that which produced the imaginary or rather perhaps the literal circle of hills that surround the plain of Ida on the summit of Meru².

In each case that has been considered, the mystic ring was the circle of the World. Such however was not its *exclusive* character. As it was placed on the top of Ararat, as the World and the Ark were venerated interchangeably under the character of the great mother, and as the Ark rested on the high ground of the very mountain which was crowned by the holy ring: the circle was thought to represent the inclosure of the Ark, no less than the periphery of the Universe. Hence we find, that Ila or Ida, by whose name the circle is distinguished, though the word itself literally signifies *the World*, is yet described as the wife and daughter of Menu or Buddha who was preserved in an ark, and is palpably the same personage as Isi or the diluvian ship Argha. Hence also, in plain allusion to the Ida-vratta, the sacred models of that ship are sometimes made of a round figure; though it is acknowledged, that the legitimate form is oval or navicular. And hence the Druids were wont to call the mystic circle of Stonehenge, which was an artificial copy of the ring of Ida, *the Ark of the World*; most curiously expressing the double idea in a single phrase.

5. The land of Ararat was no less the scite of the antediluvian Paradise, than the region of the Ark's appulse. From this circumstance, groves and gardens were used as places of worship, and were perpetually associated with mountains, caverns, and islands. Enough has already been said

¹ Asiat. Res. vol. viii. p. 314—316. Edda. Fab. vii. Just. Hist. lib. ii. c. 1.

² Purch. Pilgr. b. ix. c. 12. p. 885.

respecting the universality of that custom: I am now chiefly concerned in shewing, that such was its origin. CHAP. VII.

(1.) Of the holy groves or gardens, devoted by the idolatrous Gentiles to the celebration of their Mysteries, Isaiah speaks in three very curious passages, which throw a strong light on this part of old mythology. In the first he represents the apostate Israelites, as being ashamed on account of their consecrated oaks, and as being confounded for the gardens which they had chosen ¹. In the second, he exhibits them, as sacrificing in the gardens, as burning incense on the tiles which formed the flat roofs of their houses and which served them for domestic high-places, as dwelling in the sepulchres, as lodging in the caverns, and as exclaiming in the course of their idolatrous rites, *Keep to thyself, come not near me, for I am holier than thou* ². And, in the third, he describes certain of the Gentiles, as purifying themselves in the gardens behind one tree of peculiar sanctity which was planted in the midst, and as eating the flesh of swine and the abomination and the mouse ³.

The central tree, to which the prophet alludes in the third passage, is that holy tree of immortality, which makes so conspicuous a figure in the mythological systems of the east, and which is not altogether unknown in those of the west. According to the Hindoos, it flourishes in the midst of the Paradise of Indra: and in reference to the fabled recovery of life by the landing out of the Ark in the precise country of Eden, it is said to have been one of the precious jewels recovered from the deluge. The Burmas divide the world into four great islands, answering to the four principal leaves of the mundane lotos: and in each island they place its own consecrated tree, while in the centre of them rises their Miemo or Meru. This is a mere multiplication of the original single island of the World: and, accordingly, they sometimes rightly place their holy tree Zaba where it ought to

¹ Isaiah i. 29.

² Isaiah lxx. 3, 4, 5.

³ Isaiah lxxvi. 17. Bps Lowth and Stock render *behind one*, as it stands in our translation, *after the rites of Achad*, under which name the solar unity was venerated in the east. This version produces very good sense, and I had once inclined to adopt it: but a more attentive consideration of the passage induces me to doubt its propriety and to adhere to our common English translation.

BOOK V. be placed, namely in the centre of mount Mienmo ; which their Buddhic brethren of Thibet, in reference to the garden of Paradise, decorate with the heads of four animals, and describe as the lofty region whence four rivers are seen to flow to the four quarters of the World. The tree of Hindostan, Siam, and Thibet, is clearly the sacred ash of Gothic mythology ; which is planted in the midst of the Idèan city of the hero-gods, which overshadows both the city and the whole world with its widely-spreading branches, and under which the deities assemble every day to administer justice. It is the same also as the tree with golden apples, which rose conspicuously among the other trees in the garden of the Hesperides, and under which Hercules is sometimes represented as standing while a serpent coils round its trunk. And it is the same too as the tree of knowledge, which the ancient Celts associated with their Ogham or Macusan, and from which they believed every science to emanate ¹. In fact, the two ideas of life and of knowledge were blended together in this central tree, which held so eminent a place in the sacred gardens of the Gentiles : and it was doubtless in reference to it, that the ancients, as we learn from Pliny, used groves for temples ; and that, even in his days, the most conspicuous tree of the holy inclosure was peculiarly dedicated to the deity of the place ². Such then was the tree, which Isaiah describes as being in the midst of the consecrated gardens : and the necessary inference is, that the gardens themselves were copies of the primeval garden of Paradise.

These central trees are the oaks, I apprehend, which, in the first-cited passage, he mentions in conjunction with, though distinctly from, the holy gardens : conjointly, because each garden had its præminent oak ; distinctly, because this tree in the midst was reputed to be of special sanctity. I need scarcely observe, that the mouse and the sow were considered as sacred animals ; insomuch that from the word *Mus* some would even derive the terms *Mastes* and *Musterion*, as the Greeks write *Mysta* and *Mysterium* ; I shall rather hasten to offer a few remarks on the second passage, which has been adduced from the writings of Isaiah.

Here the imitative gardens are, with the strictest mythological accuracy,

¹ See Vallancey's *Vind.* p. 86—94.

² Plin. *Nat. Hist.* lib. xii. c. 1.

joined to the high-places, the sepulchral grottos, and the oracular caverns. CHAP. VII.
 The worship of the great father, as we have repeatedly seen, was of a funeral nature: and, as the floating Moon was deemed his coffin, so the holy grotto was said to be his sepulchre. When he entered into it, he descended into the mystic Hades: when he quitted it, he was restored to life or was born again from the grave. Hence the most ancient literal sepulchres were either natural caves or artificial grottos, which perfectly resembled those caves and grottos that were devoted to the rites of the transmigrating great father. On this account, Isaiah truly represents the aspirant grove-worshippers, as dwelling in the sepulchres and as lodging or sleeping in the caverns. The latter practice, as Bp. Lowth rightly observes, is adduced by the prophet in reference to the very old superstition of sleeping within the precincts of one of these consecrated places, in order to obtain oracular dreams. Of this he adduces an appropriate instance from Virgil, though he unfortunately omits one of the most essential parts of that learned poet's description. Latinus wishes to consult the oracle of Faunus. For this purpose he goes to a holy grove in the precincts of the lofty Albunea, so called from Albunea or Leucothea or the White goddess, through which a sacred fountain rolls its mephitic waters. Here, when the various tribes of Italy sought oracular information, the officiating priest was accustomed to wrap himself up in the skins of slaughtered sheep and to gain the desired response in the deep visions of the night. The usual method is pursued by the king: and the usual success attends his high daring¹. Virgil describes neither an imaginary place, nor an imaginary superstition: for Strabo mentions, that there was a sacred hill in Daunia with an oracular chapel, where those, who wished for a response to their questions were used to slay a ram and to sleep in its skin². Nor was the custom confined to Italy: the oracle of Amphiaraus in Attica was consulted in precisely the same manner, as we are assured by Pausanias³; and the fabulous Brute is described by Geoffrey of Monmouth, as sleeping for a similar purpose on the skin of a hind⁴. This old writer, however wild his fictions may be, is

¹ Virg. *Æneid.* lib. vii. ver. 81—95.

² Strab. *Geo.* lib. vi. p. 284. See also Lyc. *Cassand.* ver. 1047—1055. and Tzetz. in loc.

³ Paus. *Attic.* p. 65.

⁴ Galf. *Monemut. de orig. et gest. Brit.* lib. i.

BOOK V. at least accurate in thus exhibiting an ancient British superstition, which perfectly corresponds with the similar rite of Greece, Italy, and Palestine. The identical ceremony, to which Isaiah alludes (as Bp. Lowth remarks, and as St. Jerome had remarked many ages ago), prevailed among the Celtic highlanders of Scotland, save only that the skin of a bullock was used instead of the skin of a ram. In this the person, who wished to pry into futurity, was wrapped up; and then laid beside a water-fall, or at the bottom of a precipice, or in some other wild situation where the scenery around suggested nothing but objects of horror. Here he confidently waited for the afflatus of the demon¹. Isaiah concludes his description of the garden and cavern Orgies by presenting us with the formula; which, it appears, was ordinarily used at the time of their celebration: *Keep to thyself, come not near me, for I am holier than thou*. It is almost superfluous to remark, that this is the identical formula of the officiating hierophant in the ancient Mysteries; and that the idea associated with it is the precise idea which was entertained respecting the benefits of initiation. *Begone, ye profane; close the doors against all the impure together*, was always the preliminary injunction of the Archimage: and, as those that were without were deemed unholy, so the regenerated were thought to acquire a peculiar degree of sanctity by the austere trials to which they were subjected.

(2.) The sacred groves or gardens were often of extraordinary beauty, thus designedly corresponding with that primeval garden which they all equally represented. Such was the grove of Ammon or Osiris in one of the Oases of Africa. *The consecrated habitation of the deity*, says Quintus Curtius, *incredible as it may seem, was situated in the midst of a vast desert; and it was shaded from the sun by so luxuriant a vegetation, that the solar beams could scarcely penetrate through the thickness of the foliage. The groves were watered by meandering streams, which flowed from numerous fountains: and a wonderful temperature of climate, resembling most of all the delightful season of spring, prevailed through the whole year with an equal degree of salubrity*². Very similar is the description, which Vir-

¹ See Scott's *Lady of the lake*. cant. iv. and note on stanza. 4.

² Quint. Curt. lib. iv. c. 7.

gil gives of the Elysian fields or the fortunate islands. Nor was this done accidentally: every sacred grove was a copy of Elysium, as every holy cave was a transcript of Hades; but the prototype of Elysium itself was the insular Paradise of mount Ararat¹. CHAP. VII.

II. Such were the primitive sanctuaries of the Gentiles; sanctuaries all furnished by the hand of nature, with the exception of the rafts (if rafts they were) covered with turf and designed to imitate floating islands. All history attests, that the first places devoted to idolatrous worship were lofty mountains, gloomy caverns, deep groves, and small islands washed either by the waters of a sacred lake or the stream of a holy river or the billows of the wide-extending sea. How the notion of peculiar sanctity came to be attached to them, has been shewn at large: we must now proceed to consider those artificial temples, which can scarcely be said to have ever superseded them, though doubtless some ages elapsed previous to their general construction.

Of these, however modified, the natural sanctuaries must be viewed as the palpable rudiments. The more modern works of art were but mere copies of the more ancient works of nature. Every idea, which we have seen distinguishing the latter, equally distinguishes the former: and in many instances the imitation, which I suppose, is expressly and unreservedly acknowledged.

1. Whenever the early idolaters, in the course of their migrations, happened to occupy a flat country, they would be precluded by the nature of the place from solemnizing their rites on the top of a lofty hill: if therefore they wished to retain them, art must supply the deficiency. This would be done, either by throwing up a large tumulus of earth or by building a temple in the form of a mountain, which should rise conspicuously above the surrounding plain: and, when once such a practice was adopted, it would hereafter be carried not unfrequently into countries where it was really superfluous. Here then we have the origin of the artificial hillock and of the gigantic pyramid or pagoda. Whether round or square, such constructions were invariably copies of Ararat or Meru: they were high

¹ *Æneid*, lib. vi. ver. 637—681.

BOOK V. places devoted to the reigning superstition, and they were raised by the labour of man to supply the local deficiency of nature.

If this were no better than a mere conjecture, it would at least be a probable one ; because it would exactly quadrate with the general principles of idolatry : but it is no conjecture ; we have the most positive declarations of the reality of the circumstance.

Various opinions are entertained among the Brahmenists and the Buddhists respecting the shape of the holy mountain Meru. It is represented, sometimes as a cone, sometimes as a huge barrel or round pillar or truncated cone, sometimes as a square pyramid, and sometimes as a pyramid with seven stages or steps, that is to say, as a pyramid composed of eight squares placed one upon another which successively diminish in size from the bottom¹.

We may readily perceive, that the form of a truncated cone is occasionally preferred, in order that its flat circular top may exhibit the Idavratra or circle of Ida : and, with respect to the other alleged shapes, the cone displays a perfect resemblance of the artificial round tumulus ; the square pyramid is the exact figure of the pyramids of Egypt and the pagodas of Hindostan ; and the pyramid with seven stages presents the complete similitude of the sacred Babylonian tower, which was dedicated to the great father Belus.

Accordingly, the Hindoos plainly tell us, that all such montiform erections are studied transcripts of Meru. We read in their books, of princes, who raised mountains of gold and silver and precious stones : some, three ; others, only one. And we are told, that, when a single pyramid was raised, it was intended simply to represent Meru ; but, when three were constructed, they were meant to exhibit the three peaks of that holy mountain. Thus, at Samath near Benares, there is a conical pyramid of earth finished with a coating of bricks, which was built by a king of Gaur or Bengal : and, in the inscription found there some years ago, it is declared to have been raised as a copy of mount Meru². Thus also other Hindoo princes

¹ *Asiat. Res.* vol. viii. p. 260, 290, 291, 320, 352. See Plate III. Fig. 10.

² *Asiat. Res.* vol. viii. p. 260, 291. vol. x. p. 138.

were formerly fond of throwing up mounds of earth in the same conical shape, which they venerated like the primeval Meru, and on which the gods were called down by spells to come and dally. They are ordinarily styled *Meru-sringas* or *peaks of Meru*: and, besides that which I have just noticed at Samath, there are no less than three more either in or near Benares¹. So universally indeed is this imitation acknowledged, that in almost every Bengalese village, particularly towards the Sunderbunds, there is an earth-raised transcript of the worldly temple of Meru; on the summit of which the image of some favourite deity is placed, during stated festivals, in a small portable shrine or temple. These fabrics vary in height from five feet to twenty feet, according to the circumstances and zeal of the villagers: but they are all equally considered as representations of mount Meru².

We are further informed, that Meru is the mundane temple of the great deity of Hindostan, where he resides embodied in a human form; and that, as such, it is likewise the temple of the Trimurti or the three subordinate divinities into which he multiplies himself. Here they jointly dwell on its summit, either in a single temple or in a three-fold temple or rather in both one and the other: for, as they are both three and one, so their mountain-temple is likewise both three and one, the mountain itself being single but terminating in three peaks. On this account, Meru, viewed as the most sacred temple of the great universal father producing out of his own essence the three younger patriarchs, is generally, we are assured, typified by an artificial cone or pyramid, with either a single chapel or with three chapels on its top, and either with steps or without them³.

Agreeably to such a professed mode of representation, whatever notions are entertained of Meru, the same are also entertained of the imitative tumuli or pyramids. Thus, as Meru is deemed a symbol of the masculine principle of fecundity; so every pyramid is considered as a phallus: as Meru rising out of the mundane lotos is an image of Siva standing in the midst of the ship Argha; so every pyramid is equally an image of the self-

¹ Asiat. Res. vol. viii. p. 290, 291.

² Asiat. Res. vol. x. p. 134, 135.

³ Asiat. Res. vol. x. p. 128. See Plate III. Fig. 7, 8.

BOOK V. same god: and, as Meru is said to be the tomb of the great father; so every pyramid is also said to be his tomb, and is feigned to hold a portion of his relics, inasmuch as it is an avowed copy of the mundane temple of the deity which is the tomb of his first embodied form¹.

We have now obtained a clue for the right understanding of the object, with which so many tumuli or pyramidal buildings have been constructed in different parts of the world: nothing more therefore is necessary than to adduce examples; and it will be found, as we proceed, that every instance serves to shew the truth of what the Hindoo divines have told us on the matter.

(1.) When the children of Noah left the high land of Armenia, they journeyed until they reached the flat country of Shinar. During their progress, or possibly before they quitted mount Ararat, the ambitious Nimrod at the head of his enterprising Cuthites accustomed them to submit to his rule, and laid the foundations of that idolatrous apostasy which he afterwards completed at Babylon. Noah and the three great fraternal patriarchs were now dead: and I am strongly inclined to suspect, that, even before the emigration from Armenia, the worship of the true God on the summit of Ararat was perverted to the worship or at least to the excessive veneration of the self-triplicating great father and the vessel out of which he had been born into the postdiluvian World².

As his posterity advanced, bearing with them the consecrated model of the ship which in succeeding ages was esteemed the ark or ship or Argo or Argha of Bacchus or Ceres or Osiris or Siva; they would at every halting-place, so long as they continued in a mountainous country, repeat the sacrificial rites, which, however debased, originated with Noah himself immediately after the deluge, by constructing an altar and offering up victims on the top of some studiously chosen hill. But, when at length they descended into the plain of Shinar where nature offered them no elevated ground for the purpose of such commemorative rites, either the rites must henceforth cease to be performed after the primeval manner, or an artifi-

¹ Moor's Hind. Panth. p. 399, 45, 46. Asiat. Res. vol. iii. p. 136. vol. iv. p. 382, 393. vol. x. p. 128, 129.

² This subject will be discussed hereafter. Vide infra b. vi. c. 1, 2.

cial mountain must be laboriously constructed to imitate the Ararat which CHAP. VII. they had quitted. The latter part of the alternative was preferred: a huge tower or pyramid quickly reared its head, at the command of political superstition: and Babel became the beginning, at once of the meditated empire, and of the determined apostasy, of Nimrod and his Scythic nobility. That tower in short was the first imitative pyramid: and, as it owed its rise to the flatness of Shinar, so the defect of the country was remedied as far as possible by constructing it after the fanciful shape which a wild mythology early attributed to Meru or Ararat.

No mention is made in holy Scripture of any overthrow of the tower, in the day of the forced dispersion from Babel; I am not therefore disposed to give much credit to these gentile legends, which speak of it as being miraculously beaten down by lightnings and earthquakes and vehement winds. We are merely told, that the children of men desisted from building the city, and consequently the tower. Hence it is manifest indeed, that the Babylonian pyramid was not *completed* by Nimrod: but it is equally manifest from the very nature of such edifices, which like mountains themselves are peculiarly calculated to resist the inroads of time, that the unfinished tower, even if wholly neglected, would still subsist for ages.

On these grounds I think there can be little doubt, that the structure begun by Nimrod was the identical pyramid, which Herodotus and Strabo describe as the temple of Belus. The local situation of each is the very same: and, if the temple be not the tower, what had become of the gigantic remains of the latter in the days of Herodotus? I take it, that Babylon, when the seat of the primeval Cuthic monarchy was removed to Nineveh, sank, almost deserted, into the condition of a mere provincial town. In this neglected state it continued during the whole period of the first Assyrian empire: but, after the second had been divided into the two kingdoms of Assyria and Babylonia, and after those two kingdoms had again coalesced, Babylon regained its pristine importance; and, as Nebuchadnezzar is said in Scripture to have been its builder notwithstanding its prior edification by Nimrod, I think it evident, that that prince *completed* what the other (we are told) left *unfinished*, and consequently that the temple of

BOOK V. Belus was the original tower now finished according to the design of its first founder¹. Such being the case, the description, which has come down to us of the temple, will give us a very full idea of the shape of the tower so far as it was carried up in the time of Nimrod.

Now Herodotus informs us, that the Babylonian temple of Belus was a vast square building, each side of which was no less than two furlongs in length: that, in the midst of this sacred inclosure (for so, I think, the historian must plainly be understood), rose a massy tower of the depth and height of a single stadium: and that the tower itself was composed of seven towers, resting upon an eighth which served as a basis, and successively diminishing in size from the bottom to the top. The ascent, he says, wound round it on the outside, thus imitating the circuitous ascent of a mountain: and, in the last or crowning tower, there was a large temple, provided with a splendid bed and a golden table².

It is obvious, that a form like this would, at a certain distance when the several stages melted into each other, present the aspect of a vast truncated square pyramid: and, accordingly, such is the name by which Strabo designates the tower-temple of Belus; adding, that it was built of brick just as Moses describes the tower of Babel, that its height and its basis each measured a stadium, that it was ruined by Xerxes, and that Alexander had entertained the design of repairing it³.

Here then, I apprehend, we have the image of Nimrod's original tower: and we find it to be an exact copy of mount Meru, according to the notions which the Buddhists of the east entertain of that holy hill even at the present day: for they tell us, that Meru resembles a pyramid, formed by the imposition of eight successively smaller towers upon each other, and thence exhibiting to the eye seven peripherous steps or stages; and they add, that its summit is the mundane temple of the triplicated great father. Thus we

¹ Compare Gen. x. 8, 9, 10. xi. 1—9. with Dan. iv. 30. and see below book vi. c. 2.

² Herod. Hist. lib. i. c. 181. See Plate III. Fig. 10. I have given what I believe to be the meaning of Herodotus. As Strabo says, that the *entire* height of the tower was only one stadium; it is absurd to suppose, that such was the altitude of its lowest step *alone*.

³ Strab. Geog. lib. xvi. p. 738.

arrive at the conclusion, that the pyramidal tower of Babel was a transcript of Meru or Ararat, and therefore that it was an imitative artificial high place devoted to the worship of the great father and mother which was carried from the plain of Shinar to the uttermost parts of the earth. CHAP. VII.

With this conclusion the traditions of the Jews remarkably accord: and I deem them the more worthy of notice, because I strongly suspect that they were partly learned from the Chaldæans and partly gathered from their own inspection of the temple of Belus during the Babylonian captivity. Thus the Targum of Jonathan, the Targum of Jerusalem, and the Rabbinical author of the Bereschit Rabbah, all agree in describing the tower as being crowned with a temple, in which was placed an idol with a sword in its hand. The same opinion seems to have prevailed among the Gentiles, among whom some remembrance of the ancient tower had been preserved: for Josephus cites Hestius as saying, that, after the wrath of heaven had been manifested against the builders of it, such of the priests as were saved migrated to Sennaar of Babylonia, bearing with them the sacred rites of Jupiter-Enualius¹. If therefore a regular priesthood carried this idolatrous worship *from* Babel, it is plain that both the priesthood and the worship must have subsisted *in* Babel prior to the dispersion.

The legends again of the Hindoos still lead to a similar conclusion. Every pyramid is viewed by them as a copy of Meru: but Meru is thought to symbolize the masculine principle: whence every pyramid is deemed an hieroglyphic of the same import. Now they have a tradition, that the first artificial phallus of an immense size was constructed and adored on the banks of the Euphrates, and that the god to whom it was dedicated was Bal-Eswara². This is plainly the tower of Babel, which they justly represent as the first built pyramid: and Bal-Eswara is the Bel or Belus, who was worshipped on its summit. The word, we are told, denotes *Eswara the infant*: and such a title perfectly accords with the notions prevalent among the old mythologists. It answers to the western title of *Jupiter the boy*: and it

¹ Joseph. Ant. Jud. lib. i. c. 4. § 3. By *Sennaar* we are clearly to understand, not the plain, but the city of that name.

² Asiat. Res. vol. iii. p. 135, 136. vol. iv. p. 382, 393.

BOOK V. was doubtless applied to the great father in reference to his allegorical new birth, which involves the idea of infancy.

(2.) The name, by which the Hindoos designate the pyramid of Bal-Eswara on the banks of the Euphrates, is *Padma Mandir* or *The temple of the lotos*: and sometimes, in allusion to the attached college of priests or sacerdotal students, they likewise call it *Padma-Matha* or *The lotos college*. Now, by *Padma* or *The lotos*, they mean, we find, *Padma-Devi* or *The goddess residing on the lotos*: and this goddess is Parvati or Isi, who at the time of the deluge metamorphosed herself into the ship Argha of which the lotos is a symbol. Such an appellation then as *Padma-Mandir* points out most unequivocally the design with which the tower of Babel was erected: but it will further serve to elucidate the nature of the Egyptian pyramids, respecting which so many different opinions have been entertained.

After the building of the first *Padma-Mandir* on the banks of the Euphrates, certain children of Sharma, who was a son of the ark-preserved Menu, arrived, according to the Brahmens, after a long journey, on the banks of the Nila. Here, when due honours had been paid to the lotos-goddess, she appeared to their leader, and commanded him to erect a pyramid for her on the very spot where he then stood. His associates immediately began the work, and raised a lofty pyramid of earth. On this the goddess took up her residence; and, like the first pyramid of the Euphrates, it was called from her *Padma-Mandir*¹.

Mr. Wilford conjectures, that the scite of this tumulus was the city, which by the Greeks was denominated *Byblos*, and which still bears its ancient appellation *Babel*: for *Byblos* is evidently no other than the oriental *Babel* with a Greek termination suffixed. This is the Egyptian Babylon, as the place was sometimes called: and the very name may itself serve to prove, that the superstition of the Chaldæan city was the identical superstition which was brought to the banks of the Nile. Accordingly, the remarkable Indian legend now before us makes the pyramid of the Egyp-

¹ Respecting this Egyptian colony of Shemites more will be said hereafter. See below book vi. c. 5. and Append. Tab. v. in A. P. D. 1003.

tian Babel an express copy of the pyramid of the Asiatic Babel; and describes them as bearing the self-same title of *Padma-Mandir*, because they were alike dedicated to the worship of the lotos-goddess¹. CHAP. VII.

From this earliest Egyptian pyramid, the neglected remains of which are mentioned by Thucydides and Stephanus and Ctesias, and which as a professed imitation of the Babylonian tower was most probably constructed with the same peculiarity of form, the other pyramids both of Sakarra and of Cairo seem to have been borrowed. Agreeably to such a conjecture, one of the Sakarrine pyramids is built exactly upon the model of the Chaldæan temple of Belus as described by Herodotus: for the two differ from each other only in the number of gradually diminishing square towers, of which they are respectively composed. The pyramid of Babel, like the fabled Meru, rose aloft with eight such towers: the Sakarrine pyramid has only four of them; but from its extreme obtuseness we may reasonably conjecture, that it has been left unfinished, and that according to its original design more towers were to have been added². On the other hand, the pyramids of Cairo are built with so many of these towers, and each tower is so low; that the turret form is lost, and their sides present severally the aspect of a huge stair-case. The architectural *principle* however is, in both cases, evidently the same, however the precise *number* of steps might vary³.

The Ethiopians of India have preserved a very accurate tradition both of the origin and the use of the Egyptian pyramids, which were certainly founded by their Pallian brethren of Africa. A warlike foreign prince conquered the whole land of Misra: and his grandson raised three mountains, or pyramidal fabrics like mountains, of gold, of silver, and of gems⁴. These are clearly the three great pyramids of Cairo: and the manner, in which they are spoken of, shews unequivocally with what view they were erected. The three artificial mountains are copies of the three peaks of Meru, agree-

¹ *Asiat. Res.* vol. iii. p. 68, 69, 70. Dr. Shuckford, full of the notion that idolatry originated in Egypt, fancies that the Babylonian tower of Belus was a copy of the Egyptian pyramids. The very reverse is the truth, agreeably to the sensible legend of the Hindoos which perfectly accords with the Mosaic account. *Connect.* vol. ii. b. viii. p. 221, 222.

² Norden's *Trav.* vol. ii. p. 13. See Plate III. Fig. 11.

³ See Plate III. Fig. 13.

⁴ *Asiat. Res.* vol. iii. p. 226, 227.

ably to the positive declaration of the Brahmenical theologians, that all such triads of pyramids are thrown up with this allusion: and the tale of their being severally composed of gold and silver and gems is but a repetition of the story of Indian princes building three Meru-sringas of the like materials.

There is another legend in the Puranas, which will additionally serve to explain their use. A victorious king of Egypt, one no doubt of the same conquering race that subdued the whole kingdom, received assistance from Isi under the name of *Ashtara* during the rebellion of his prime minister. Grateful to his celestial patroness, he built a pyramid in honour of *Ashtara-devi*; which, according to the writer of the Purana, was situated near the river Cali or Nila¹. This, I take it, is the great pyramid, the summit of which was dedicated to the ship-goddess Isis or (as the Phenicians called her) *Ashtara* or *Ashtorath* or *Astartè*: and I am the more decidedly led to adopt the opinion from the exactly similar idolatrous arrangement, which took place in the days of Solomon on the top of mount Olivet. That mountain, as we have seen, is provided with three natural peaks or pyramids; which, like the three artificial pyramids or mountains of Egypt, were considered as representing the three peaks of Meru: and, on the central peak, just as I suppose to have been the case with the central pyramid, was venerated the identical goddess *Ashtoreth* or (as the Hindoos denominate her) *Ashtara-devi*. The resemblance was studiously kept up by art, so far as the unfavourable nature of the country would allow: for, as the three Meru-sringas of Olivet are three hillocks rising out of a larger hill, so the three pyramids of Egypt have been industriously built upon the first hill between Cairo and the western bank of the Nile².

If any thing more were wanting to ascertain the design with which the pyramids were constructed, it would be supplied by the positive decision of the Brahmins; whose theology is so palpably the same as that of Egypt, that we must allow them to be no incompetent judges of the matter. When Mr. Wilford described the great pyramid to several very learned Brahmins; they declared it at once to have been a temple. His description

¹ *Asiat. Res.* vol. iii. p. 167, 168.

² Niebuhr's Trav. sect. v. c. 2.

however being only partial, one of them, who well knew the mode in which CHAP. VII. their own similar edifices were built, asked if the Egyptian pyramid had not a communication under ground with the river Cali. It was answered, that such a passage is mentioned as having formerly existed, and that a well is at this day to be seen in its interior. Upon this they unanimously agreed, in exact conformity with the Puranas which represent the two pyramids of the two Babels Asiatic and African as high places of the lotos-goddess, that the great Egyptian pyramid must have been appropriated to the worship of Padma-devi, and that the supposed tomb in the central chamber was a trough, which, on certain festivals, her priests used to fill with holy water and with the flowers of the lotos¹. In absolutely denying it to be a mythological tomb, I suspect however that they go too far. It was a stone Argha or Argo; and it was certainly used for the purposes which they mention, just as the imitative vessels called *Arghas* are used at the present day and as the navicular cups named *Pateræ* were used by the classical idolaters: but, like the ship Argo of which it was a copy, it was likewise viewed as the lunar sepulchre of Osiris. The top of the great pyramid is flat: and it appears, like the summit of that in Babylon, to have been employed for the double purpose of an altar and an observatory.

(3.) From the decision of the Brahmens respecting the Egyptian pyramids, we may obviously conclude that their own pyramids are viewed in the same light: and, accordingly, as we have already seen, every building of this form is pronounced to be a copy of Mern.

The most ancient Indian pyramids are supposed to be the pagodas of Deogur and Tanjore: and the first-mentioned of these are judged, from their ruder appearance, to be prior to the others. The pagodas of Tanjore are constructed after the manner of the Babylonian tower with steps or stages; but these are very considerably more than seven in number, and the pagodas themselves are much higher in proportion to their bases than the pyramids of Egypt². Those of Deogur are far less elegant, the sides bulging out in a curve, so as to give them the semblance of ill-fashioned

¹ Asiat. Res. vol. iii. p. 229, 230.

² See Plate III. Fig. 7, 8.

BOOK V. square domes : but, in their proportions, they resemble the others ¹. The tops however of each distinctly point out the design with which they were constructed, and prove how truly they are declared by the Hindoos to be transcripts of Meru. The chief pagoda of Tanjore terminates in three peaks, answering to the three peaks of the holy mountain : and those of Deogur are universally surmounted by what is commonly denominated the trident of Siva. Its position on such buildings will at once lead us to understand its import, and will serve to confirm my supposition relative to the origin of the three fabled peaks of Meru. As the pagodas are avowedly copies of the sacred hill, the tridents, which are studiously placed on their tops, must be intended to represent its three peaks. But the shape of each trident is that of a lunette with a spike rising out of its centre : and the curve of the lunette rests upon a ball which is placed on the top of the pagoda. Hence, both from the general tenor of pagan mythology and from the particular tenor of that which prevails in Hindostan, we may feel assured, that the trident of Siva is an hieroglyphic of the floating Moon or the ship Argha with the god himself in the centre supplying the place of a mast, and that the ball upon which it rests is the mysterious navicular egg. Its position on the summit of an imitative pyramid is just what we might have expected, since we are told that each pyramid is a copy of Meru or Ararat : the combination clearly represents the Ark on the top of the lunar mountain of Armenia ².

(4.) The temples dedicated to Buddha are equally pyramidal in form as the pagodas of Deogur and Tanjore, and doubtless for the very same reason : the Buddhists perfectly agree with the Brahmenists in declaring them to be copies of mount Meru or Mienmo ; and their deity himself is no other than the transmigrating Menu, who was preserved in an ark at the time of the general flood.

That, which most attracts notice in Pegu is the temple of Buddha venerated under the title of *Shoemadoo* or *the golden great god*. This extraordinary edifice is built on a double terrace or one terrace raised upon another. The lower and greater is about ten feet above the natural level of

¹ See Plate III. Fig. 9.

² See Plate III. Fig. 4, 9.

the ground: the upper is raised about twenty feet above the lower; and both are alike square. These terraces are ascended by flights of stone steps; and upon the higher is constructed the temple itself. It is a pyramid composed of brick and plaister with fine shell mortar, octagonal at the base and spiral at the top. Each side of the base measures one hundred and sixty two feet: and this immense breadth diminishes abruptly, so that the fabric resembles in shape a large speaking trumpet. Its extreme height from the level of the country is three hundred and sixty one feet, and from the top of the upper terrace thirty feet less ¹.

There are many other temples of a similar construction scattered throughout the Burma empire, which are universally dedicated to Buddha and which vary in height from three to five hundred feet. Some are solid, and some are hollow containing an image of the god: but the nature and design of them all is the same; they are all equally copies of mount Mienmo ².

A parallel style of architecture prevails in Japan: for Kämpfer assures us, that the temples of Buddha in that country resemble the pagodas of the Siamites which have just been noticed; and, accordingly, in a view with which he presents us of the city of Quano, there is one of these pyramids surmounted with the lunar crescent representing mount Ararat with the floating Moon on its summit ³.

(5.) Of a similar nature were the artificial montiform temples of the ancient Scythians and Celts, though more simple in their construction and therefore approaching more nearly to what they were designed to imitate.

The Crimea and the adjacent country was one of the principal European settlements of the Scuths, and it is held to the present day by their descendants the Cossacs. In this region, near the road leading to Caffia, a very remarkable tumulus is shewn as the sepulchre of Mithridates; but which, when we consider the theology and eastern extraction of the Gothic

¹ *Asiat. Res.* vol. v. p. 115—118. *Symes's Embass. to Ava.* vol. ii. p. 110. See Plate III. Fig. 14.

² *Asiat. Res.* vol. vi. p. 293. *Kämpfer's Japan.* b. i. c. 2. p. 32, 33. *Symes's Embass.* vol. ii. p. 222, 238.

³ *Kämpfer's Japan.* b. v. c. 3. p. 417. plate xxxiii. fig. 14. See Plate III. Fig. 6. 2.

BOOK V. tribes, must clearly, I think, be pronounced a local Meru-sringa or Ararat. The natives call it *Altyn-Obo*: and they have a tradition, that it contains a treasure guarded by a virgin, who here spends her nights in lamentations. It stands on the most elevated spot in this part of the Crimea, and it is visible for many miles round. Its shape is not perfectly conical, but rather semi-spheroidal: and its sides present that stupendous masonry, which is seen in the walls of Tiryns near Argos, where immense mishapen masses of stone are placed together without cement according to their accidental forms. The western part is entire, but the others have fallen. Like the cairns of Scotland, it consists wholly of stones heaped together, as may be distinctly perceived by looking through the interstices and by examining the excavations made upon its summit: its exterior however betrays a more artificial construction, and exhibits materials of greater magnitude. On the eastern side of it is a pit; which, if it be not a part of the original design analogously to the well of the chief Egyptian pyramid and the tanks of the Indian pagodas, may have been sunk by some person who wished to penetrate into the interior of this immense pile. The natives have tried in vain to effect a passage: for the stones fall in upon them as they proceed, and render their labour fruitless. Yet they have a legend, that an entrance was once accomplished: and they pretend to describe the interior, as a magnificent vaulted stone chamber formed by enormous slabs which seem as if they would crush the spectator¹.

So firm a hold did the ancient superstition lay upon the human mind, that the wild traditions attached to such edifices, which have been handed down from father to son, are generally built upon the truth: for mythology in one age becomes legendary romance in another. Every tale respecting the *Altyn-Obo* confirms me in my belief, that it was a high place or artificial Meru. The plaintive virgin is the weeping Venus or Niobè of mount Lebanon: and the idea of her nocturnal lamentations has been taken from the nightly mourning for the lost or slain great father. The story of the central chamber is borrowed from the circumstance of such apartments being usually constructed in the middle of artificial pyramids: and I think

¹ Clarke's Travels, vol. i. c. xviii. p. 425—427.

It highly probable, that one of these rooms actually exists in the heart of the Altyn-Obo; the access to which, as was long the case with the great pyramid of Egypt, still remains concealed, but may hereafter be discovered. At any rate, the prevailing tradition shews, that among the Scythians such chambers were wont to be constructed in the midst of such edifices. The notion of this tumulus being the sepulchre of a king serves additionally to point out its real nature. Similar to it is the fancy, which has long obtained respecting the Egyptian pyramids: and the opinion in each case originated from the same cause; Meru itself, and thence every imitative artificial mountain, was deemed, as I shall presently shew at large, the grave of the great father.

The pyramidal tumulus equally prevailed among the Celts; of which, to omit others, the hill of New-Grange in Ireland and Silbury hill in England furnish striking instances.

Of these the former is an immense pyramid of earth in the county of Meath, containing in its interior a most curious oviform chamber; the entrance to which was long concealed, not being discovered until the year 1699: and the latter is a still more stupendous pyramid in Wiltshire, similarly composed of earth. It stands in front of the Druidical temple of Abury; which, from its form, exhibiting as it does the figure of a snake attached to a circle, was certainly dedicated to the dragon-god Hu or the serpent Cnuphis of Egyptian theology. Such vicinity points out very unequivocally the nature of Silbury. It was a hill representing that; which, in the Druidical system, was esteemed the bed or grave of the great father, of which the diluvian Hu was said to be the ruler, and to the top of which the vessel with the strong door or Ceridwen in the form of a ship was believed to have been conveyed with infinite toil and labour. The amazing bulk of it betrays the same painfully fanatical humour, which has produced so many parallel structures in different parts of the globe. It rises full south of Abury, and it stands exactly between the head and the tail of the enormous mimic serpent. The figure, which it presents, is that of a truncated cone: whence its top is a circular plain, exhibiting the sacred ring of Ila¹.

¹ Ledwich's Ant. of Ireland, p. 316. Cooke on the patriarch. relig. p. 37, 38. See Plate III. Fig. 17. Plate I. Fig. 5. I suspect, that many of these tumuli became in a subsequent age

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(6.) As the artificial pyramid or hillock was designed to represent Meru or Ararat, and as that mountain was an island during the recess of the deluge, we shall readily perceive, why such structures were so often thrown up either on the shore of the sea, or on the banks of lakes and rivers, or in a small natural island, or in the midst of a factitious inundation. In each case, the idea was still the same: and the whole of this studied arrangement arose from the circumstances, under which the prototypal mountain had once been placed. Thus the tower of Babel stood on the banks of the Euphrates; and the pyramids of Egypt decorate the banks of the Nile. Thus also the pagodas of Hindostan are built upon the banks of the Ganges and the Kistna; or, if raised at a distance from one of the sacred rivers,

the bases of the tower-keeps of castles, for which purpose they would be admirably adapted. Thus the pyramid of the Egyptian Babel was converted into a strong hold, where Inarus with his Athenian and Egyptian auxiliaries sustained a siege of a year and a half against the whole Persian army under Megabyzus. Old Sarum, if I mistake not, was one of these religious fortresses: and it still, rising in successive stages, presents an aspect similar to that which is ascribed to Meru and which was borne by the Babylonian pyramid of Belus. The idea was very ancient: and, as Meru was sometimes called *the holy city of the gods*, so we are not without an example of a literal city being formerly built after its express model. Such was the Median Ecbatana. A hill was selected for its site; round which, from the bottom to the top, were constructed seven walls one within the other, forming seven concentric circles. Between the different walls stood the houses: and the round space on the very top of the hill, which was inclosed within the seventh and smallest ring, was occupied by the royal palace containing most probably the chief temple or high place. By this arrangement, the walls to a distant spectator would appear to rise in steps above each other, and the whole town would present the appearance of an enormous pyramid. We must not omit to observe, that the apparent steps were seven; which is the precise number of stages ascribed to mount Meru and thence studiously adopted in the construction of the Babylonian pyramid. Nor did the evidently designed similitude end here. As the sides of Meru are fabled to be tinged with various gaudy colours, yellow, red, white, brown; so we are told, that the walls of Ecbatana were similarly painted each with a different colour, white, black, purple, blue, or yellow. Herod. Hist. lib. i. c. 98. Much the same idea may be traced in the construction of some of our old castles. In the centre rises the keep or donjon (perhaps the dun-ionna or hill of the goddess Yoni or Iona) on an artificial mount: and round it are built the circling walls of one or more ballia. The castle or palace of the Median sovereign was encompassed by no less than seven such walls, enclosing between them (in our western phraseology) six bailies.

they have invariably before them large tanks or reservoirs of water, some of which are between three and four hundred feet in breadth¹. These are the holy streams of the several countries through which they flow: and on all of them, as we have already seen, were celebrated the commemorative Mysteries of the great father and mother; to all of them were attached some legends relative to Paradise and the deluge and the infernal regions. I may now proceed to exemplify this branch of the subject by some other appropriate instances.

One of the most remarkable of these is afforded by the two pyramids, which are mentioned by Herodotus though they now exist no longer. He informs us, that the vast artificial lake Moeris was dug by the Egyptian prince of that name, and that out of the midst of it arose two pyramids each four hundred cubits in height. The lake however being two hundred cubits in depth, only half the height of these pyramids appeared above the surface of the water. They were alike surmounted by a colossal statue in a sitting attitude, which might appear to survey the wide-extended inundation below². We have here a complete exemplification of the old Hindoo doctrine, borrowed no doubt from the state of Ararat while the deluge was retiring, that every island is a mountain rising from the bed of the sea. The two pyramids were certainly meant to represent the two outer peaks of Meru, such as they are exhibited by the two peaks of Parnassus: and the two colossal statues, which were in the very same attitude as those near the Memnonium in the Thebais, were designed, like them, for the great father and the great mother.

Nearly allied both in form and idea to these pyramids was the chief Mexican temple of Vitzliptzli. According to Gomara, the sacred inclosure was square, each side equal in length to the shot of a cross-bow. In the midst rose a mount of earth and stone, fifty fathoms square. Its shape was pyramidal, save that the top was flat, which was a square of ten fathoms. This area was furnished with two smaller pyramids: and from it there was a striking and extensive view of the lake, by which both it and the city were on every side surrounded³. Here we have a Meru exhibit-

¹ Maurice's Ind. Ant. vol. iii. p. 21.

² Herod. Hist. lib. ii. c. 101, 149.

³ Gomar. apud Purch. Pilg. b. viii. c. 12. p. 799, 800. See Plate III. Fig. 12.

BOOK V. ing, like Parnassus, only two peaks : we find it begirt with a wide inundation : and the temple-mountain itself perfectly corresponds with the character of the god, to whom it was dedicated ; for his image was wont to be solemnly carried about by the priests in an ark after the manner of the Egyptian Ammon or Osiris, and seated in that same ark it occupied the sacellum of the pyramid ¹.

Of a similar nature is the pagoda of Seringham, which is built in an island of the same name formed by two branches of the great river Cauveri that flows through the dominions of the Rajah of Tanjore. The whole island constitutes the vast pyramid : for the temple consists of seven square mural inclosures one within another, the central and loftiest area inclosing the sanctuaries. It is obvious, that by such an arrangement the island, gradually rising from its shores to its summit, would present to a spectator at a proper distance the exact fabled aspect of Meru and the real aspect of the Babylonian tower of Belus : for the seven square walls, successively rising according to the shape of the ground, would exhibit the appearance of the seven steps or stages attributed to the holy mountain and exemplified in the first-built pyramid on the Euphrates ².

With the same allusion to the deluge in the choice of situation, a vast pyramidal mound of earth was thrown up on the sea-shore near the city of Tyre. As we may judge from the reigning superstition of the country, it was dedicated to Thammuz and Astartè who were venerated on the neighbouring lunar hill of Lebanon. It was said to have been constructed by the earth-born giants ; nor was the tradition erroneous : for these post-

¹ That this pyramid was designed to represent a hill, is manifest from its oriental name. According to Bernal Diaz, it was styled *the great Cu*. But *Cu* is no other than the Persic *Coh* or *Cau*, which denotes *a mountain*. Thus *Coh-Cas* or *Caucasus* is *the mountain of Cush*. We find this identical name, in an inverted form, among the Peruvians ; who, like their brethren the Mexicans, must have emigrated from north-eastern Asia. *Cusco* or *Cush-Coh* is still *the mountain of Cush*.

² Orme's *Hist. of Hind.* apud Maur. *Ind. Ant.* vol. iii. p. 50, 51. It is almost superfluous to remark, that the plan of this pagoda exactly resembles that of the Median city Ecbatana, which I have already noticed. Each was clearly a studied copy of mount Meru. There is another pyramidal temple in the Burman dominions, similarly situated in an island formed by the river Irrawaddee. See Symes's *Embass. to Ava.* vol. ii. p. 222.

diuvian giants, who peculiarly claimed to be the children of the great mother whether described as the Earth or the Moon or the Ark, were the military tribe of Cush; and the Phenicians were an eminent branch of the Indian Chusas or Ethiopians ¹.

If we finally pass into the recently discovered islands of the Pacific ocean, we shall still meet with the same architectural notions as those which prevailed in other parts of the world.

The great pyramidal Morai of Otaheite, which, agreeably to the speculations of the continental idolaters, is deemed at once a sepulchre and a temple, is certainly no other than an imitative Meru: and it is not improbable, that the very name of *Morai* may be a corruption of the title by which the holy mountain is distinguished. This building is a pile of stonework raised pyramiddally upon an oblong base, two hundred and sixty seven feet long and eighty seven wide. Like the fabulous Meru and the Babylonian tower, it is constructed with steps or stages running round its whole circumference. Each stage is four feet high: and, as there are eleven of them, the altitude of the entire pile is forty four feet. It is observable, that in the two long sides of the edifice the stages are not horizontal, but all sink in a kind of hollow in the middle; so that, at the top, the whole surface from end to end is not a right line, but a curve. The pyramid, nearly in the manner of the Indian and the Mexican temples, is attached to a spacious inclosure of which it forms one side: it is surrounded by a sacred grove: and it is built upon the sea-shore ². When we recollect the deity worshipped by these islanders, namely a god who is supposed to reside in an ark of a similar formation to the arks of Ammon and Vitzliputzli; we can be in little danger of mistaking the design, with which this pyramidal temple was erected. It is certainly a local Ararat, studiously built upon a promontory that juts out into the sea: and, accordingly, its top is so constructed as to exhibit the appearance of a lunar crescent with two horns or peaks.

The same commemorative worship prevails among the natives of Atooi; for we find in that island a pyramid, which closely resembles in form the

¹ Nonni Dionys. lib. xl. p. 1048.

² Cook's First voyage. b. i. c. 15.

BOOK V. pyramids of Egypt. As the great Morai of Otaheite is erected near the sea; so the pyramid of Atooi stands on the bank of a small sacred lake¹. In all these different cases the idea is still the same; for the sea, the lake, and the holy river, equally represented the deluge retiring into the great abyss from the arkite mount Ararat.

2. Whenever a sacred mountain was provided with a natural cave, that cave was highly venerated as the symbol of the gloomy mundane Ark resting among the crags and precipices of the Armenian peak². Hence, if a local Meru did not furnish the desired grotto, recourse was had to art: and, with infinite labour, excavations were formed out of the bowels of the solid rock. The same expedient was resorted to when the mountain was insular, for each small island towering above the sea was deemed a peculiarly appropriate representation of Ararat. And, when the mountain itself was artificial as in the case of pyramids and conical tumuli, a central chamber or cavern was studiously formed in the midst of the pile, that so the resemblance might be complete between these imitative Merus and their sacred prototype.

(1.) The many stupendous excavations in widely separated regions of the globe prove the boundless extent, to which the primeval superstition spread itself.

Of these several yet remain in the mountainous region of upper India, which may well be termed the Thebais of that country. Without insisting upon the probably hyperbolic language of Abul-Fazil, that in his various excursions among the mountains he personally examined twelve thousand recesses cut out of the solid rock all ornamented with carving and plaster-work, it will be sufficient for my present purpose to notice the wonderful temple grottos of Ellora. These are hewn out of the perpendicular face of a rocky pyramidal hill, which doubtless was viewed as the Meru of the place. The several fronts, which they present to the approaching spectator, resemble each other in their square form and in the low doors by which admission is gained to the interior. Each exhibits the semblance of a huge square chest or ark, fast wedged amidst the crags of the mountain,

¹ Missionary voyage to the south-sea.

² See Plate III. Fig. 18.

and provided with a low door or doors by no means suitable to the general magnificence of the cavern : each in short displays the precise shape of the Ark with its small portal, so far as we can gather it from the description given by Moses ¹. The dimensions of these artificial grottos are wonderfully large : their roofs are supported within by pillars hewn, like themselves, out of the living rock : and, amidst a vast variety of elegantly sculptured images, they are decorated with the statues of Siva and Parvati in the evident situation of being the presiding deities of the place. Hence we can have little doubt of the object, with which the excavations were formed ; since those divinities floated on the surface of the deluge as the presiding mariner and the ship Argha, and since they afterwards peculiarly delighted to dwell on the summit of mount Meru. But the title of one of the grottos may serve to throw further light on the nature of the Mysteries, which were celebrated in their dark recesses. It bears the name of *Cailasa* or *Paradise* : and Cailasa is that eminently sacred peak of Meru ; which, as the special habitation of Siva and his consort the Ship, obtains a decided preëminence over the other two peaks. The remarkable construction of this cavern answers to its name : and here it was, I apprehend, that the aspirant, after passing through the preliminary difficulties of initiation, was received into the full glory of the illuminated Elysium. The Cailasa grotto exhibits a very fine front in an area cut through the rock. On the right hand of the entrance is a cistern of water : and, on each side of the portal, there is a projection reaching to the first story decorated with much sculpture and handsome battlements. From the gateway you enter a vast area cut down through the solid rock of the mountain to make room for an immense temple of the complex pyramidal form. This temple, which is excavated from the upper region of the rock and which appears like a grand building, is connected with the gateway by a bridge, the component stone of which was purposely left when the mountain was thus hollowed out. Beneath it, at the end opposite the entrance, is a figure of Bhavani or Argha sitting on the mysterious lotos and attended by two elephants. On each side behind the elephants are extensive ranges of apartments ; and be-

¹ See Plate III. Fig. 19.

BOOK V. yond them, in the area, two obelisks of a square form. The pyramid, which, as a representation of Meru, is also a symbol of that self-conspicuous image of nature that was exhibited to the epoptæ when they entered into the mimic Elysium, is no less than ninety feet in height from the floor of the excavated court. Its use was the same, as that of the phallic cone which is alike conspicuous in the inner cavern of the Elephanta pagoda and in the sacellum of the Irish temple of Muidhr. In the immediate vicinity of these excavations, is the small circular lake with the pyramidal island and the neighbouring pagoda, which I have already taken occasion to notice¹.

Of a form closely resembling the caverns at Ellora are the artificial Mithratic grottos in the mountainous part of Persia. They are hewn out of the face of a solid perpendicular rock: and their fronts invariably present the appearance of a square ark, furnished with a small door, and wedged fast amidst the precipices of the mountain. One of them is remarkable from its being surmounted by a winged Cupid, the sylphid first-born of the old Hindoo and Orphic theology, seated upon the diluvian rainbow².

Analogous to these are the curious excavations of upper Egypt in the granite mountains denominated *Tschebat el Kofferi* and *Tschabel Esselsele*. The square front and the low door still present themselves: and within are spacious saloons and other chambers, supported by pillars cut out of the rock adorned with images and hieroglyphics, and still exhibiting remains of painting and gilding³.

Similar grottos may be seen near Tortosa to the north of Beruth and Tyre, hewn out of the solid rock and surmounted by two pyramidal towers, which were designed to represent the two exterior peaks of the holy hill⁴.

¹ *Asiat. Res.* vol. vi. p. 382—423.

² Le Bruyn's *Trav.* vol. ii. plate 158, 166, 167. Thevenot's *Trav.* part ii. c. 7.

³ Norden's *Trav.* vol. ii. p. 33, 34, 93, 94. The theory, which I am advocating, is strongly corroborated by an incidental remark of Mr. Bruce drawn from him by the mere inspection of the Egyptian sanctuaries. *The figure of the temples in Thebes*, says he, *does not seem to be far removed from the idea given us of the Ark.* They were in fact studied copies of the great gloomy ship of the deluge. Bruce's *Trav.* vol. ii. p. 31.

⁴ Maundrell's *Journey.* p. 20.

Nor are such excavations peculiar to Egypt and the east, we find them also in the western regions of Europe. CHAP. VII.

Strabo mentions, that, in the mountainous promontory of Caieta there were vast grottos evidently artificial, because he describes them as containing magnificent and sumptuous chambers¹. They were of the same nature as those near the sacred oracular Avernus; which, according to Ephorus, were once inhabited by the Cimmerian priests and were distinguished by the name of *Argilla*. Their ancient use may be easily collected from the legends, attached both to the place and to the Cimmerians in general. They were viewed as an approach to the infernal regions: a fountain, deemed a branch of Styx, boiled out in their immediate vicinity: and an old notion prevailed, that the Cimmerians, who are evidently the same as the aboriginal Cymry or Celts, and who when driven to the extremities of Europe still retained under the Druids their primeval superstition, were accustomed to dwell in the deep gloom of Hades². All these tales related to the mysterious rites celebrated in such excavations: for the Orgies universally represented a descent into hell; and that descent was effected by entering into dark grottos either natural or artificial. Such grottos were transcripts of the Ark; hence the descent into Hades was indifferently accomplished, by passing into a cavern, or by being inclosed within an infernal boat or navicular coffin: and, as the Ark was termed *Argha* and *Ila*, an imitative grotto was denominated *Argilla* or *Argh-Ila*.

Similar excavations of amazing extent may be seen near Inkerman in the Crimea, which was one of the chief western settlements of the old Seythæ or Chusas. They are hewn out of the rocks which tower above the bay, and they are visible at a considerable distance. *Upon examination*, says Dr. Clarke, *they proved to be chambers with arched windows, cut in the solid rock with great care and art. The bishop represented them to have been the retreats of Christians in the earliest ages: but to give an idea of what we saw at Inkerman would baffle every power of pen or pencil. The rocks all round the extremity of the harbour are hewn into chapels, monasteries, cells, sepulchres, and a variety of works which confounded and*

¹ Strab. Geog. lib. v. p. 239.
Pag. Idol.

² Strab. Geog. lib. v. p. 214. lib. iii. p. 149.
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astonished the beholder. A river flows here into the bay, after leaving perhaps the most beautiful valley in Europe. At the mouth of the river these remarkable antiquities are situated. The caves seem to have constituted an entire monastery; as the rock has been so wonderfully perforated, that it now exhibits a church, with several chambers and long passages leading off in various directions. On the opposite side of the river, the excavations are still more frequent and somewhat more distant from the bay. Professor Pallas, who had paid considerable attention to the subject, believed all these remains to have originated in a settlement of Arians; who, when Christianity met with general persecution, fled to these rocks, and fortified themselves against the barbarian inhabitants of the peninsula. Similar works are found in other parts of the Crimea, particularly at Schulu and Man-koup; also in Italy, and other parts of Europe: and they have generally been attributed to the labours of those early Christians, who fled from persecution¹. One of the excavations at Schulu, which are all dug out of the bowels of a rocky eminence opposite to the house of Professor Pallas, is not less than eighty paces in length and of a proportionate breadth. Its roof, precisely in the same manner as the Indian and Egyptian grotto temples, is supported by pillars hewn out of the solid rock². I can easily conceive, that these wonderful excavations may have been used as a retreat by persecuted Christians: but nothing surely is more idle than to imagine, that such stupendous works were undertaken and accomplished by a handful of men so circumstanced. Every particular in the description of them points out most unequivocally their real origin. They are the works of the old Indo-Scythæ, and their age is most remotely prior to that of the early Christians. The large caverns, which were probably used as churches by those sufferers, were evidently the principal grottos of the temple: while the smaller ones were the cells of the priests, and the long winding avenues or galleries were used for the purposes of initiation into the Mysteries. Such cells and such avenues are similarly attached to the rock temples of Egypt and Hindostan, to the Siamese pyramids of Buddha, and to the better known pyramids on the banks of the Nile: and, when religious edifices

¹ Clarke's Trav. vol. i. c. xx. p. 491—493.² Ibid. c. xxii. p. 558.

came finally to be constructed with masonry, the same appendages were still joined to them, and were employed for the like services. CHAP. VII.

A kindred mode of worship prevailed also among the Scythians of Scandinavia. In various parts of Norway, are found grottos, which have been employed for religious purposes : and, precisely like those which have been already noticed, they are hewn with incredible labour out of the hardest rocks¹.

These were works of amazing labour and difficulty : but we sometimes meet with oracular caverns, artificially formed in natural hills, of a more rude and simple style ; either for want of zeal on the part of the architects, or from the mountain itself not being of a nature suitable for extensive rock-excavations. Still however we may perceive the same leading design : and still, varied as may be the degrees of magnificence, we may observe the artificial grotto studiously combined with the sacred hill.

On the top of mount Olivet, the three peaks of which were consecrated to Astoreth and Milcom and Chemosh, there has been discovered a large and very remarkable excavation. It is a subterranean of a conical shape, resembling a hollow round pyramid : the vertex of it is level with the soil : and the aperture at the vertex, which affords the only entrance into it, is circular like the mouth of a well. I think it was manifestly intended for the cavern-worship of the hermaphroditic Astoreth ; who, like Siva and Baal and Osiris, was symbolized by the phallic or montiform cone².

It was a grotto of much the same nature as that, which is described by Ezekiel, as containing every form of creeping things and abominable beasts and all the borrowed idols of the house of Israel portrayed upon the wall round about³. These were the various sacred animals, into which the migrating soul was feigned to pass during its initiatory progress to perfection : and their figures were, on this account, ordinarily introduced into the mystic caverns. The idea, as we have seen, originated from the supposed mode of their creation : and, as the holy grotto represented at once the World and the Ark, they were depicted upon its walls not without some

¹ Ol. Worm. Monum. Danic. lib. i. p. 6.

² Clarke's Travels. vol. iii. p. 577.

³ Ezek. viii. 8—12.

BOOK V. allusion to the two successive great fathers surrounded by birds and beasts and reptiles in the garden and in the ship.

We find another artificial cavern of no very complex construction in Beotia, dedicated to Trophonius and much frequented by those who were curious to pry into futurity. It was situated above a holy grove in a mountain; and was inclosed by a circular wall of white stone, the small mimic *Ila-vratta* or divine mundane ring of the place. Upon the wall were placed obelisks or pyramids of brass: and between them was the door of approach. Within the circle thus formed was a chasm, not natural, but artfully made in the most exact harmony. Like the subterranean of mount Olivet, it resembled the mouth of an oven or a well; and its diameter was at the most four cubits. Its depth was about eight cubits: and, as (still like the Syrian subterranean) there were no steps for the convenience of descending, a light and narrow ladder was used, when any person wished to go down and consult the oracle. When the inquirer reached the bottom, he found another smaller cave with a very strait entrance. Here he prostrated himself upon the ground, holding in either hand the offerings to Trophonius; which, after the manner of those used in funerals, consisted of cakes mixed with honey. Immediately his feet were seized; and his whole body was drawn into the cavern, with a violence like that of a whirlpool, by some invisible power. He then beheld such visions, and heard such voices, as seemed best to the tutelary deity of the place. The response being given, he forthwith felt himself conveyed out of the cavern, in the same manner as he had been drawn in, his feet in both cases being foremost*. The whole of this was done agreeably to the notion, which ascribed oracularity to the sacred grotto and the imitative temple; and which, as these were alike symbols of the mundane Ark, attributed the same oracularity to the ship *Argo* or *Theba*, whether borne on the shoulders of the Egyptian priesthood or celebrated in the Greek fables of the Miuyan voyage to *Colchis*.

(2.) As every small mountain-island rising above the sea was deemed an eminent copy of the once insular *Meru* or *Ararat*; we shall occasionally

* Paus. *Bocot.* p. 603, 604.

find in such places the same laborious excavations, as those which distinguish so many mountains either mediterranean or rising abruptly from the sea-coast. Among these the artificial caverns of Elephanta and Salsette are peculiarly conspicuous. CHAP. VII.

Elephanta is a small island three leagues distant from Bombay: and it is thus denominated by Europeans from a large statue of an elephant cut out of the rock, of which the whole island is composed. The excavation is about halfway up the steep ascent of this insular mountain: and, though it may well be deemed a pantheon of the various Hindoo deities; yet, from the preëminent station assigned to the enormous triple bust of the Trimurti which faces the main entrance of the grotto, we must specially pronounce it to be a rock-temple of the self-triplicated great father who floats on the surface of each intermediate deluge either in the lotos or on the navicular leaf or on the boat-like folds of the serpent or in the ship Argha. In its dimensions it is about one hundred and twenty feet square, and eighteen high. The principal entrance is from the north: the roof is flat, like those of the Egyptian temples: and the vast mass of superincumbent rock is supported by four rows of well-proportioned pillars, which thus form two aisles on each side of the central and principal aisle. Over the tops of the columns runs a stone ridge cut out of the rock, resembling a beam, about a foot thick and richly adorned with carving. Along the sides of the cavern are ranged forty or fifty colossal statues, round and prominent as the life, yet none of them entirely detached from the main rock. Among these, on the left of the great triple bust, is the figure, which has excited so much speculation as a literal Amazon, but which doubtless is meant to exhibit the hermaphroditic combination of Siva and Argha denominated *Ardhanari*. On the west side of the temple is a sacellum; which, from its furniture, was certainly the illuminated Elysium, when the Mysteries of regeneration were celebrated in darkness visible amidst the terrific forms and long aisles of the exterior cavern. This recess is about thirty feet square: and it contains nothing, save a low altar or platform surmounted by the conical phallus, that self conspicuous image of nature so highly venerated by the epoptæ as the symbol of the great universal father'. It is manifest

† Maurice's Ind. Ant. vol. ii. p. 139—157. Asiat. Res. vol. iv. p. 424—434.

BOOK V.

from the flat roofs and imitative rafter-work of the Elephanta temple and other similar excavations, that they are studied copies of some huge frame or hollow chest of timber, the beams of which are supported by pillars arranged at proper intervals. Such is the internal appearance of these vast grottos, universally dedicated to the god who was preserved in an ark, and universally hewn out of rocky mountains which are declared to be local transcripts of Meru on a peak of which the vessel of Satyavrata rested after the deluge. Hence, when their construction is viewed conjointly with the notions attached to them, we have another proof, that they were meant to represent the square chest or ship of Noah. And this opinion will be strengthened by our actually finding, that, in some cases, as exhibited both in India and Persia, they are painfully hewn out in such a manner as to present two or three stories one above the other, after the exact similitude of the contiguation of the Ark as described by Moses¹.

The excavations of Canarah in the island of Salsette, which is also near Bombay, are very numerous; and the principal one is of a somewhat different character from that of Elephanta. Near the centre of the island, embosomed in extensive woods, rise four very steep and contiguous hills, exhibiting at a distance the aspect of one entire rock. On the sides of these hills the caverns are hewn; and, from the resemblance of the whole to a vast city of stone, they are denominated by the natives *the city of Canarah*. The front is carved into stories or galleries, leading to as many separate ranges of apartments all cut out of the living rock: and in most of these recesses is displayed the conical stone, which was the symbol of the great god whose sufferings were the subject of the Mysteries. But the western hill more particularly challenges attention, since it contains the chief temple of the island. This has an arched, instead of a flat, roof: in consequence of which it bears a stronger resemblance to a natural grotto. It is eighty four feet long; forty six, broad; and forty, high, from the floor to the crown of the arch. The vestibule is proportionably large; and it contains two colossal statues, each twenty seven feet in height, stationed on either side of the entrance. Thirty five massy pillars support the roof:

¹ Gen. vi. 16. See Plate III. Fig. 19.

and, at the extremity, is a vast conical pyramid, the usual symbol of the great father, twenty seven feet high and twenty in diameter. Round this hieroglyphic, which (as I have often observed) was splendidly illuminated when the aspirant was conducted into the mimic Elysium, are recesses for lamps: and, immediately above it, expands a vast concave dome¹. The altered construction here observable was not accidental, but designed. Such a form, as we shall presently see, was by no means unusual: and it was adopted in reference to the interior of the symbolical egg; which alike shadowed out the greater and the smaller World, which was said to have floated erratically on the surface of the ocean, and out of which was born the great father with his triple royal offspring after a deathlike confinement of an entire year of the hero-gods. Above these excavations the rocky steep of Canarah rises pyramidally with its four peaks; and there is a regular ascent to the summit by steps cut out of the solid stone. Anquetil says, that one of the peaks seemed to have been worked to a point by human labour: and, if this be the case, it was doubtless so fashioned that a more exact pyramidal form might be obtained. The top, like the tops of the pyramids on the Euphrates and the Nile, was used, I apprehend for the double purpose of sacrifice and astronomical observation. Hence we so perpetually find the great father described, as occupying the summit of a lofty mountain, and as being at once the first sacrificer and the acknowledged parent of astronomical science².

(3.) Hitherto I have considered artificial excavations in natural hills, whether continental or insular: I shall now proceed to notice artificial hills or pyramids purposely constructed with dark central chambers. This will yet more clearly prove the derivation of such piles from the holy mountain of the hero-gods, agreeably to the positive and very just assertion of the Hindoo theologians with which we set out: for the progress of architectural imitation will be the following; natural hills with natural caverns, natural hills with artificial caverns, artificial hills with artificial caverns. To the last of these we are now brought in the order of regular succes-

¹ Maurice's Ind. Ant. vol. ii. p. 167—172.

² Maurice's Ind. Ant. vol. ii. p. 178, 179.

BOOK V. sion¹. I mean not however to say, that such was always the *chronological* order; for this was by no means the case: I would only be understood to conjecture, that the train of ideas from complete nature to complete art was what I have here specified.

As the pyramid of Babylon was the first imitative mountain, so it may properly be adduced as the first example. Herodotus mentions, that there was not only a temple on its summit, but that there was likewise a small chapel or sacellum lower down in the building, which contained a figure of Belus in the sitting posture that so generally distinguishes the colossal statues of Egypt². Now, from the pyramidal form of the tower and from the situation of this chapel midway between the top and the bottom of such an edifice, it is evident that the small sacellum must have been a cavern chamber, built in the very heart of the pile, and approached by a narrow door and a long dark avenue. The idea in short, which I form of it, is suggested by the parallel chamber or chapel in the centre of the great pyramid of Egypt.

To this the access has only been discovered at a comparatively very recent period. The avenue is narrow and tortuous: and, by painfully forcing the body along it, the aspirant, as I collect from the general analogy of Paganism, was thought to acquire the privileges of regeneration. It terminates in a noble chamber, the artificial cavern of this artificial mountain; which, in the celebration of the Mysteries, was, I apprehend, as usual with the mimic Elysium, splendidly illuminated. The room exceeds in length thirty four English feet; its breadth is seventeen feet; and its height is nineteen feet and a half. It is situated in the very centre of the pyramid, equidistant from all the sides, and nearly in the middle between the basis and the summit. The roof of it is flat, and formed of large stone slabs, which are laid transversely so as to resemble huge beams. Consequently, its internal aspect presents the similitude of a large parallel-grammic wooden chest or ark³. A second chamber, thirty feet above the other, and of the same dimensions except that it is lower, was very

¹ See Plate III. Fig. 15, 16, 17.

² Herod. Hist. lib. i. 183.

³ Graves's Works vol. i. p. 126. apud Maurice: and Pococke's Travels. See Plate III. Fig. 16.

recently discovered by Mr. Davison who accompanied Mr. Montague into CHAP. VII. Egypt¹. It forms what may be termed an additional story, after the manner of the rock excavations in Persia and Hindostan. No access has yet been found to the interior of the other two pyramids: but, on the north and west sides of the second, there is a suite of caverns cut out of the solid stone. The entrance into them is by square openings, hewn out of the rock, not larger than that which forms the entrance of the first pyramid and which is represented by Mr. Greaves as being narrow and quadrangular. The chambers within are likewise square and well-proportioned, covered and arched above with the natural rock: and in most of them there is a passage, leading to an interior chamber, but so obstructed with rubbish as to forbid all penetration into its recesses. These grottos had most probably some secret communication with the inner apartment of the adjoining pyramid: but the entrance into it, if ever known, has long since been forgotten². We may reasonably conjecture, that the caverns were used, partly for the celebration of the Mysteries and partly for the dwellings of the hierophant and his brethren. With respect to the former, we know that the aspirant was conducted through many dark and tortuous avenues, ere he reached the illuminated Elysium represented by the central chamber: and, with respect to the latter, the account given by de la Loubere of the sacred habitations of the Siamese priests may not unfairly warrant the supposition; for, since the mythology of Egypt was the same as that of the east, it seems not unreasonable to interpret the ordinances of the defunct by those of the living superstition. This writer informs us, that the Talapoins reside in convents, which consist of many little cells ranged within a large square inclosure. In the midst of the inclosure is the temple; which, as it is usual with such edifices, represents the holy mountain Meru or Mienmo: and near and round it are several pyramids, which are all inclosed within four walls³. To this may be added, what I have already noticed, the common practice among the austere Buddhic

¹ Nicbuhr's Travels. Sect. v. c. 2.² Maurice's Ind. Ant. vol. ii. p. 338.³ Hist. of Siam. apud Maur. Ind. Ant. vol. ii. p. 338, 339.

BOOK V. priests of residing in dens and caverns; of which caverns the artificial grottos near the second pyramid may well be deemed imitations.

The central chamber, which marks alike the tower of Belus and the great pyramid of Egypt, equally distinguishes the montiform pagodas of Hindostan. These are provided each with a single door, which leads into an apartment closely resembling a large cavern. Receiving no light except through the portal, which in the pagodas of Deogur is scarcely five feet high, the central chamber is artificially illuminated with lamps: and here the most profound mysteries of the Hindoo religion are duly celebrated. The similitude, which the internal appearance of such edifices bears to the excavated grotto, so forcibly struck Mandelsloe, when he visited the country in the year 1638, that he describes these central apartments as looking more like caves and recesses of unclean spirits than places designed for the exercise of religion¹. Sometimes they communicate with dark passages, after the manner of that by which the chamber in the great Egyptian pyramid is approached, and analogously to the suite of gloomy grottos which probably once communicated with a room in the heart of the second pyramid. There are pyramids now at Benares, but on a small scale, with subterraneous passages beneath them, which are said to extend many miles. When the doors which close them are opened, only dark holes are perceived which do not seem of any great extent: and pilgrims no longer resort to them, through fear either of mephitic air or of noxious reptiles².

Nearly similar to the specimens, which have been already adduced, is the central chamber which was discovered by Mr. Campbell in the earth-pyramid of New-Grange. Observing stones under the green sod, he carried many of them away; and at length he arrived at a broad flag, which covered the mouth of the gallery or avenue. At the entrance, this avenue is three feet wide, and two high: but, at thirteen feet from the entrance, it is only two feet two inches wide. Its length, from its mouth to the beginning of the chamber, is sixty two feet. The chamber itself is octagonal, rising from an area of about seventeen feet to a circular dome twenty feet

¹ Maurice's Ind. Ant. vol. iii. p. 15, 29. See Plate III. Fig. 9.

² Asiat. Res. vol. iii. p. 229.

in height. This dome is composed of long flat stones, the upper projecting a little beyond the lower, and closed in and capped at the top with a flag. Having three arms extending beyond it rectangularly to each other, it exhibits, with these and the avenue of approach, the exact figure of a cross. In each of the two side arms there are two large rock basons¹. We have here the narrow passage, the central chamber rising into an ovi-form dome like that of Canarah, the cisterns for purification, and the mystic cross which (as we shall presently see) is a figure very frequently adopted in the construction of temples: all these lie concealed in the midst of an artificial pyramid. Such multiplied peculiarities serve to shew, that the tumulus of New-Grange, supposed by General Vallancey to be a corrupted transposition of *Grain-Uagh* which signifies *the cave of the Sun*, was thrown up with the very same religious ideas as those which prevailed among the Babylonians and the Hindoos and the Egyptians. I may add to them, that it terminates in two peaks.

3. Since the Mysteries were celebrated in caverns either natural or artificial, when temples came to be built for that purpose in which the montiform pyramid was less attended to, they were contrived with dark chambers which bore a close resemblance to caves, and were often furnished with numerous intricate aisles and passages for the purpose of duly initiating the aspirants. The memory of their origin was long preserved; and, what might seem a mere conjecture, is thus converted into a certainty: for we learn from Lycophron, as interpreted by his scholiast Tzetzes, that the innermost parts of an ancient temple were expressly denominated *caves*².

Agreeably to this idea, we are told by Pausanias, that on the promontory of Tenarum, the foot of which is washed by the sea, there was a temple built in the precise form of a cavern: and he adds, what sufficiently shews the nature of the rites there performed, that through it there was believed to be a descent into Hades, and that Hercules was fabled to have dragged the dog Cerberus to light by this passage³. Here the promontory

¹ Ledwich's *Ant. of Ireland*, p. 316. See Plate III. Fig. 17.

² Tzetz. in *Lycoph.* ver. 208.

³ Paus. *Lacon.* p. 212.

BOOK V. is the local Meru or Ararat: and, in exact accordance with the whole arrangement and legendary history of the place, we find, that the temple contained a statue of the fabulous Arion, who was said to have been conveyed safe to land by a dolphin when in danger of being swallowed up by the sea; a fiction, which requires no comment to render it intelligible¹.

In a similar manner, the Egyptian temples were so constructed as to exhibit the appearance either of gloomy grottos or of those artificial excavations which occur so frequently in Persia and Hindostan. As for the former, Pococke describes a dark granite room of more than ordinary sanctity which he found in the very recesses of the chief temple of Thebes: and, as for as the latter, we need only compare the fronts of such excavations with the fronts of Essnay and Luxor to be satisfied with their palpable resemblance. These temples are open on one side, and closed on the three other sides. Their external form is that of an abruptly truncated square pyramid: and thus the original idea of an excavation in the side of the mountain is faithfully preserved². It may be remarked, that the great gateway of the temple at Edfer is composed of a double truncated pyramid, with the portal in the midst; thus exhibiting the aspect of a mountain with two peaks, which affords an entrance to an interior cavern³.

Such imitative temples were sometimes constructed upon an immense scale, were furnished with numerous chambers both superterranean and subterranean, and were provided with various intricate passages; the whole being intended for the purpose of celebrating the Mysteries. One of these, unless I greatly mistake, was the famous Labyrinth of Egypt. Herodotus describes it as being composed of twelve courts, six to the north, and six to the south, all inclosed within the same wall. Its apartments were three thousand in number; half above, and as many below, the ground. The former were personally inspected by the historian: the latter he was not allowed to view, as containing the bodies of the sacred crocodiles and of the kings who constructed the Labyrinth. He mentions, that through the different courts there was an endless multiplicity of winding passages, lead-

¹ Paus. Lacon. p. 212.

² Pococke's Trav. p. 95. See Plate III. Fig. 30.

³ Norden's Trav. vol. ii. p. 91. See Plate III. Fig. 20.

ing from larger rooms to smaller ones, and from these again into spacious courts. The walls and roofs were all of sculptured marble: and the edifice terminated with a pyramid one hundred and sixty cubits high, the entrance to which was by a subterraneous avenue. It was built on the banks of the lake Moeris, out of which rose the two insular pyramids that have already been described¹. Pliny mentions three other Labyrinths, besides this of Egypt; one in Crete, a second in Lemnos, and a third in Italy². They were all, I believe, constructed for the celebration of the same gloomy funereal rites. That of Crete was ascribed to Dedalus, who is said to have lived in the time of Minos; and it is fabled to have been the prison of the Minotaur³. Such a legend amply shews the real end of its construction: for the Minotaur was the semi-bovine symbol of the great father, and the Ark was esteemed his prison. Eustathius accordingly represents it, as a deep subterraneous cavern, branching out into many intricate windings: that is to say, it was precisely of the same nature as those in which we know that the Mysteries were ordinarily celebrated⁴. It seems, that these edifices were sometimes reputed to have been the work of the Cabiric Cyclopes, whose fabulous character I have already discussed at large⁵: for Strabo mentions certain caves near Nauplia in Argolis denominated *Cyclopæa*, within which Labyrinths or winding passages were artificially constructed⁶. They were anciently, I am persuaded, the sacred grottos of the country, where the sepulchral Orgies of the great father were duly celebrated. According to Diodorus, the original Labyrinth of Egypt was built by king Mendes; and, according to Pliny, by king Petesucus⁷. There is no real difference between these accounts: for Mendes was the same as Menes or Menu or Minos; and he was styled *Petesucus* or *Petah-Suchus*, as being the priest of the Ark or symbolical crocodile which safely conveyed him to land when the whole country was overflowed by a deluge. Hence the word *Suchus* equally denoted in the language of Egypt *an ark* and *a crocodile*: and hence, we

¹ Herod. Hist. lib. ii. c. 148, 149.

² Plin. lib. v. c. 9. lib. xxxvi. 13.

³ Virg. Æneid. lib. v. ver. 588. lib. vi. ver. 37. Diod. Bibl. lib. i. p. 55, 56.

⁴ Schol. in Odys. lib. xi. ver. 14.

⁵ Vide supra book iv. c. 5. § XXVIII.

⁶ Strab. Geog. lib. viii. p. 369.

⁷ Diod. Bib. lib. i. p. 55. Plin. lib. xxxvi. 13.

BOOK V. see, in the days of Herodotus, the vaults of the Labyrinth were the mystic sepulchres both of the holy crocodiles and of the supposed royal founders.

It is evident, that the temple, built purposely for the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries, was a structure of much the same sort as the Labyrinth. The aspirants, as we have seen, were conducted through many dark winding passages, ere they emerged into the splendid inner apartment, which, like the consecrated grotto, was brilliantly illuminated to represent Elysium. Now the fabric, in which the pantomimes of the Orgies were exhibited, must necessarily, from the very nature of those pantomimes, have been ample in its dimensions: nor could they have been exhibited after the manner in which they are described to us, unless the construction of the temple had closely resembled that of the Labyrinth. Such accordingly was the case, as we learn from the express testimony of the ancients. Apuleius describes himself as being led by the aged hierophant to the doors of an *immense* temple, within the *spacious* recesses of which he was initiated into the Mysteries: Strabo represents the temple of the Eleusinian Ceres, as being of equal capacity with one of the vast theatres of Greece; and he speaks of its interior sacellum by the name of a *mystic cell* or *cavern*: Vitruvius similarly notices the cell; assures us, that it was of *enormous magnitude*; and mentions, that the temple was originally built without external columns, so that its sides must have presented the aspect of dead walls precisely in the same manner as the old temples of Egypt: and Aristides yet further confirms the resemblance, by observing, that the whole of the spacious interior was comprehended within one house or one external inclosing wall, just as were the temples of Egypt and Babylonia, and just as still are the temples of Hindostan and the East¹.

The cell of the Greek Ceres is doubtless the cell of the British Ceridwen: and, however they may differ in magnitude and artfulness of construction, they were equally designed to represent the rocky cavern, and were equally used for the purposes of initiation. Many of the ancient cells

¹ Apul. Metam. lib. xi. Strab. Geog. lib. xi. p. 393. Vitruv. de architect. præf. ad lib. vii. Aris. Eleusin. Orat. apud Warburt. Div. Legat. b. ii. sect. 4.

of the Druidical goddess yet remain in different parts of this kingdom. CHAP. VII. They are denominated *Kist-Vacns* or *stone-chests*: and they are universally formed by three large upright stones, placed rectangularly to each other, and covered by a fourth which serves as a lid. Their front aspect is a rude but exact miniature copy of the Egyptian temple at Essnay: and it exhibits consequently, like that temple, the appearance of a cavern in a rock¹. These stone-arks, as they were sometimes called, represented the womb of the great mother, who took the form of a ship at the time of the deluge and thus conveyed the god Iiu in safety over the mighty waters. Hence there was a notion, that they were rolled from the valley to the top of a mountain by the single mighty hand of the primeval archdruid, though so large that sixty oxen could not have moved one of them: hence also, as the great father was said to have been imprisoned within the womb of the ship Ceridwen, these stone-arks were viewed as prisons: and hence the imitative aspirant, when about to be initiated, was placed within the cavern which they formed, and was then allegorically spoken of as entering into the womb of the goddess or as being confined within a prison². They were, in fact, subterranean grottos within a small artificial rocky hill: and, accordingly, the stone, which served as a roof, was usually laid in a slanting posture, so as to imitate the descent of a mountain, and thus to facilitate the access to the summit which in imitation of Ararat served as a sacrificial altar.

If we finally turn our attention to America, we shall still perceive the same idea prevalent both among the Peruvians and the Mexicans in the construction of some of their temples.

The city of the great god Paehacamaa, the Bacchus or Pacis or Baghis of the western continent, was famous for Peruvian devotions. Here, we are told, the idol was placed in a dark room or cell, representing no doubt that mystic cavern which was held so sacred among the idolaters of every part of the world: and pilgrims were wont to come not less than three hundred leagues with offerings to his shrine, precisely in the same manner

¹ See Plate III. Fig. 31.

² Davies's Mythol. p. 392-402.

BOOK V. as a blind superstition even yet brings thousands to the temple of the Orissan Jagan-Nath¹.

A similar style of architecture was equally familiar to the Mexicans. We learn from the Spanish writers, that they had dark houses full of idols, the walls of which were absolutely blackened by the putrid gore of those hecatombs of human victims that were incessantly sacrificed by them: and we are informed, that to the pyramidal temple of Tescalipuca there was attached a spacious chapel or cell; which was entered by a low door always covered with a veil, and which was accessible only to the priests who dwelt like those of Egypt and the east in numerous chambers ranged round the edifice².

Thus universally was such a mode of worship established: and thus accurately did the psalmist describe such dens, as *the dark places of the earth full of the habitations of cruelty*³.

4. As the sacred cavern represented the interior of the Ark, as the Ark was accounted a World in miniature, as the insular circle of Ararat was for a time the circle of the visible World, as the cavern and the mountain whether natural or artificial were the temples of the pagans, and as both the Earth and the Ark were personified by one and the same navicular goddess whose womb symbolized the gloomy interior of both these Worlds: it is obvious, that every temple would be deemed an image of the World; and again that the whole World would be viewed as one immense temple. But we must never forget, what I have so often had occasion to point out, that by this mundane temple we are not merely to understand the literal greater World, but likewise that smaller figurative World which once floated on the surface of the deluge bearing within it the rudiments of all things. Accordingly, we may both have already observed how intimately the ancient temples are connected with the Ark: and, as we advance, we shall distinguish this connection perhaps yet more definitely and clearly.

Porphyry assures us, that the consecrated grottos were esteemed symbolical of the World: and, as by the ancient materialists the notion of the

¹ Purch. Pilgrim. b. ix. c. 11. p. 881, 882.

² Purch. Pilgrim. b. viii. c. 12. p. 800.

³ Psalm lxxiv. 20.

World was extended from the Earth to the Universe, such grottos were decorated with figures of the heavenly bodies, and the doctrine of the Metempsychosis was enlarged to a fanciful transmigration through the several spheres.

The curious treatise of Porphyry on the cave of the Nymphs is full of references to such speculations: but the peculiar manner, in which they were literally exemplified, is described to us the most accurately by Celsus. Origen has quoted a passage from that philosophic bigot, in which he tells us, that the Persians represented by symbols the two-fold motion of the stars, fixed and planetary, and the passage of the fitting soul through their different orbs. Their contrivance was this. They erected in their holy caves what he denominates a high ladder, on the seven steps of which were seven gates or portals according to the number of the seven principal heavenly bodies: and through these portals, I apprehend, the aspirants passed until they reached the summit of the whole; which passage was mystically styled *a transmigration through the spheres*¹.

The machine described by Celsus was very evidently, I think, not what we should call *a ladder*; for it is not easy to conceive, how there could be seven gates on the seven rounds of such an implement: but it was an ascent furnished with seven very large steps, resembling in form those of a common staircase. Its precise figure may without much difficulty be conjectured, if we attend only to the general analogy of pagan worship. We have seen that the adytum of initiation usually contained a pyramid, sometimes of a small size, but at other times of very large dimensions. This was the self-conspicuous image of nature, that phallic mount Meru which was deemed a symbol at once of the great father and of the Universe: and, during the celebration of the Mysteries, it was highly illuminated, so as to exhibit the Sun and the Moon and the planets of the mimic Elysium respecting which we hear so much in the accounts that have come down to us of the pageants of the Orgies². But the imitative pyramid was often constructed with exactly seven peripherous steps or stages, in reference to the imagined

¹ Porph. de antr. nymph. p. 252—255, 262—268. Cels. apud Origen. adv. Cels. lib. iv.

² Vide supra b. v. c. 6. § III, VI.

BOOK V. seven steps by which mount Meru was ascended: and the highest peaks of that hill are said to be occupied by the solar great father and the lunar great mother, just as the two highest steps of the Mithratic ladder were (according to Celsus) assigned to the Sun and the Moon. Hence there can be little doubt, that the ladder in question was really a pyramid with seven steps or stages, that each stage was provided with a narrow door distinguished by the name of one of the heavenly bodies, and that the aspirants squeezed themselves through these doors until they reached the summit and afterwards descended through other similar doors on the opposite side of the pyramid. The first process was styled *the ascent of the soul*, the second was termed *its descent*: and these are the two opposite planetary transmigrations, to which Porphyry alludes in his treatise on the Homeric Nymphæum.

We may perceive a clear reference to such speculations, in the scriptural account of the pyramid, or (if we please to call it so) the ladder, of Babel. Its top was to be to the heavens: by which expression we are not to imagine, that the builders, who had just left a high mountainous country, were silly enough to fancy that they could reach the visible heaven and thus provide against all future danger from a flood, as Josephus idly supposes; but we are rather to understand from it, that the top was to be a representation of heaven or the Olympus of the deified astronomical herogods. Agreeably to this exposition, the Hindoos style the summit of Meru *Cailasa* or *heaven*: and, in like manner, Isaiah, in express reference to the idolatry of Babylon, uses as synonymous terms the ascent of the proud Chaldæan monarch into heaven and his seating himself upon the northern mount of the assembly, in imitation of which the tower was constructed¹.

Such then was the furniture of the consecrated grotto: and such was its connection with the World, whether viewed simply as the Earth or more extensively as the Universe. Yet, though it represented the literal World in either acceptation, it no less represented the Ark: for the aspirants were indifferently regenerated by being born out of a boat and out of a cavern, the postdiluvian ancestors of mankind are indifferently said to have come

¹ Isaiah xiv. 13.

out of a ship and out of a cave, the Earth is declared to be symbolized by the identical vessel which is described as floating upon the surface of the flood, the great mother is pronounced to be at once the Earth and a Ship, and the whole frame of the Universe is likened to an enormous galley manned by seven sidercal mariners while the Sun sustains the office of a pilot. Thus also, according to the Hindoos and the several votaries of Buddha, mount Meru is reckoned the mundane temple of the great father: and, as each pyramid, with or without the seven stages of ascent, and with either a single chapel or with three chapels on its summit, is deemed an express copy of Meru; each pyramid is of course viewed in the same light¹. Yet the whole history of Meru connects it with the earthly Paradise, with Ararat, and with the deluge. Hence it is evident, that the various artificial copies of the holy mount and of the natural cavern were all esteemed imitative worldly temples.

This idea, when inverted, gave rise to a phraseology, which has been very generally adopted: *as every temple was the World in miniature, so the whole World was one grand temple*. Such, accordingly, is the language of many of the ancient philosophers: and it was from a fond attachment to the primeval mode of worship, that the old Persians and Celts and Scythians had such a strong dislike to artificial covered edifices. Thus Xerxes is said to have burned the Grecian temples, on the express ground that the whole World was the magnificent temple and habitation of their supreme deity². Thus Macrobius mentions, that the entire Universe was judiciously deemed by many the temple of god³. Thus Plato pronounced the real temple of the deity to be the World⁴. And thus Heraclitus declared, that the Universe, variegated with animals and plants and stars, was the only genuine temple of the divinity⁵. Let us bear in mind this speculative opinion; and it will throw much light on those sacred edifices of the Gentiles, which yet remain to be considered.

5. Since we have now reached the conclusion, that temples were deemed copies of the World, and that by the World we are to understand conjointly

¹ Asiat. Res. vol. x. p. 128—136.

² Cicer. de leg. lib. ii. p. 335.

³ Macrobi. in somn. Scip. lib. i. c. 14. p. 51.

⁴ Plat. apud Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. v. p. 584.

⁵ Herac. in epist. ad Hermod. p. 51.

BOOK V. the Earth and the Ark which are alike personified under the name of *the great universal mother*; we shall easily perceive the reason, why so many of those edifices were built on the summit of a hill, either natural or artificial. Each consecrated mountain was a copy of Ararat: each temple, that crowned the top of such a mountain, was a representation of the mundane Ark.

The summits of Meru, of Olympus, of the British Snowdon, of Parnassus, of every lunar mountain at the head of a sacred river, and of the three Idas whether Phrygian or Cretan or Gothic, were all equally esteemed the celestial temple of the hero-gods or the special habitation of the higher powers. But those hero-gods were the deified progenitors of mankind, who transmigratorily flourished at the commencement of the two successive Worlds: and all these holy mountains were transcripts of Ararat, which coincided with Paradise before the deluge, and which sustained the Ark after it. Hence the imagined temple or sacred city (as it was sometimes called) on the top of each of them was the Ark, blended, as we find it to be most curiously blended, with Paradise or the abode of the beatified patriarchs. From such a temple on the summit of Meru was borrowed every imitative temple on the summit of every imitative Meru.

The pyramid of Babel was crowned with the sacellum of Belus: the pyramids so frequent throughout India have small chapels upon their tops: and the great pyramid of Mexico terminated in two pyramidal temples. Mount Olivet supported the three high-places of the ship-goddess Astoreth and of the duplicated ship-god Chemosh or Milcom. The temple of the Thracian Seba or Bacchus was built on the top of mount Zilmissus¹. The Persian Pyratheja, and the old Irish fire-towers, were alike constructed on the summits of hills; and were alike dedicated to the great father Belus or Beil or Mithras, worshipped astronomically in the Sun. Such also was the situation of the temple of Jupiter, whether Capitoline or Olympian or Cencan or Labradensian or Atabyrian or Idæan: such was that of the navicular Venus, whether Cyprian or Sicilian or Corinthian: such was that of Apollo, whether Delphic or Actiensian: such was that of Diana,

¹ Macrob. Saturn. lib. i. c. 18. p. 201.

whether Pamphylian or Rhodian: and such was that of the high places of Anais, whether adored by the Armenians or by the mountaineers of Persia ¹. CHAP. VII.

In the east, we not only find small chapels placed upon the tops of imitative pyramids, but likewise temples themselves built, as in the west, upon the summits of hills.

The pagoda of Tripetty is situated upon a high mountain about forty miles to the north-east of Arcot: and, both from its great extent and from the numerous attached cells of the officiating Brahmens, it has more the appearance of a city than of a temple. To this hill, according to Tavernier, there is a circular ascent every way of hewn stone, the least of the stones which form it being ten feet long and three broad: and the hill itself, doubtless as a special imitation of Meru, is considered in so sacred a light, that none but Hindoos are ever suffered to climb it. The temple is dedicated to the Indian Venus; that is to say, to the maritime Isi or Bhavani, who floated as the ship Argha upon the waters of the deluge, and who afterwards flew away in the form of a dove ².

In a similar manner, as we learn from Kämpfer, by far the greatest part of the Japanese temples of Buddha are built in the ascent of hills or mountains, and are provided with beautiful staircases of stone by which the worshippers are conducted to them ³. All, he tells us, are most sweetly seated; a curious view of the adjacent country, a spring or rivulet of clear water, and the neighbourhood of a wood with pleasant walks, being necessary qualifications of those spots of ground upon which these holy buildings are to be erected: for they say, that the gods are extremely delighted with such high and pleasant places ⁴.

From Japan we may pass to the Burman empire: and here again we shall find a similar attachment to hill worship. The pyramidal temple of Shoe-Dagon stands on a rocky eminence considerably higher than the circumjacent country: a peculiarly sacred temple of Gaudma near Prome is

¹ Spencer de leg. Heb. lib. iii. dissert. vi. c. 2. p. 303, 304. Strab. Geog. lib. xi. p. 512. lib. xii. p. 559.

² Maurice's Ind. Ant. vol. iii. p. 49, 50. ³ Kämpfer's Japan. b. iv. c. 4. p. 308.

⁴ Ibid. l. v. c. 3. p. 416.

BOOK V. built on the summit of a conical hill, which rises abruptly from the western bank of the river, and on which the god left one of the holy impressions of his foot: and, in the neighbourhood of the once magnificent city of Pagalim, every little hill is crowned with a pagoda¹.

6. If we inquire into the precise nature of the imaginary celestial temple on the summit of Meru, we shall find that it is a ring of mountains denominated *Ida-vratta* or *the circle of the World*. We may also recollect, that the World was symbolized universally by an egg. And, if we either view the most common roof of a natural cavern or cast up our eyes to the vaulted expanse of heaven, we shall in each case be presented with the appearance of a vast egg-shell seen internally or of what architects call a *dome*. But, as the World and the Ark were considered by the old idolaters as interchangeable terms, as they were represented by common symbols, and as they were personified by one and the same maternal goddess: so we may observe, that Ida or Ila is described as the wife and daughter of the ark-preserved Menu; that she is no other than Isi in the form of the diluvian ship Argha; that the mystic egg is said to have floated an entire year upon the surface of the ocean, and then to have produced from its gloomy interior the triplicated great father or the great father and his three sons; and that the cavern manifestly typified the ship of Cronus or Osiris, no less than the literal and material World.

From these speculations originated the oval and circular temples; which were sometimes open to the wide vault of heaven, and which at other times were covered in by a concave shell or dome. The notion however of the prototypes was of course extended to the architectural copies: and, as they were symbols of the World both literal and mystical, so likewise were their imitative transcripts.

(1.) The link, by which the natural *Ida-vratta* is joined to the artificial copy, may be seen the most perfectly and therefore the most distinctly in the American region of Peru. With a rare felicity, the city of Cusco is surrounded by a ring of twelve mountains answering to the twelve signs in the great mundane ring of the zodiac. Here then was a natural *Ida-vratta*,

¹ Symes's *Emb. to Ava*. vol. ii. p. 110, 111, 183, 238.

which could not fail to be observed by a body of colonists who certainly CHAP. VII. brought with them from Asia the whole system of their theology. But they did more. As a rude upright stone was the most ancient hieroglyphic of the phallic and solar great father; they reared twelve such stones on the tops of the twelve mountains, and dedicated them to the Sun in his twelve astronomical places during the succession of the twelve months¹.

But such peculiar situations were very seldom to be had: and, when they were wanting, it was necessary that mere art should supply the deficiency. Still however in these cases the original of the projected fabric, a ring of hills on the summit of a mountain, was carefully borne in mind: and, if each separate stone could not be placed upon a separate hillock, a ring of stones, as the best possible substitute, was reared upon the ascent of a single mountain or eminence². Such fabrics are commonly styled *Druidical*: but, if by the term we mean to limit them to the old Celts, we apply it most erroneously. Rock monuments of various descriptions abound indeed most eminently in Britain: but we find circles of stone in other regions besides this.

There is one upon the top of a hill, which rises like a natural altar before the Phrygian Ida³. There seems to have been another upon the summit of the Phenician Lebanon, dedicated to Venus and Adonis: at least we are told, that there were many upright stones there of the Betylian description; and, as there were many of them, and as Lebanon was a local Meru or Idavratra, I think it most probable that they were ranged in the form of a circle⁴. In Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, they occur not unfrequently: and they are usually placed round a small artificial hill, which is crowned with the rocky cell or grotto of four stones described already under its British name of *Kist-Vaen*. One of the largest of these temples is to be seen in the island of Zealand. It is composed of stones of an enormous magnitude: and, like our own Stonehenge, it might almost seem to be the work of enchantment, since there are no similar rocks in its immediate vicinity⁵. There was another of them in the island of Jersey, which has

¹ Purch. Pilgr. b. ix. c. 12. p. 885.

² See Plate III. Fig. 21, 22.

³ Clarke's Travels, vol. ii.

⁴ Damas. apud Phot. Bibl. p. 1047.

⁵ Mallet's North. Ant. vol. i. c. 7. p. 125, 126.

BOOK V. been removed to England and reërected in the neighbourhood of Henley: and there is another at Salakee in one of the Scilly islands ¹. But by far the greatest number is to be found in various parts of Britain, some composed of small and some of large stones, according to the zeal or ability of their respective founders. In Cornwall, which may well be termed the Thebais of the island, they abound most wonderfully: and their form is not always perfectly circular, but sometimes elliptical or oval. They occur also in the Highlands of Scotland: and there the remembrance of their true destination has been accurately preserved even to the present day; for they are still denominated *temples*, and tradition reports them to have been formerly the habitations of pagan priests ². In England we have Roehich and the gigantic Stonehenge. Of these the former is constructed upon the summit of a hill; and the latter, not quite, but very nearly so. Abury we *had*, until the country was deprived of it by the persevering mischief of a stupid barbarian. This was a circle inclosing two other circles, and attached to an enormous snake formed entirely of upright stones and having a fourth circle for its head. The principal ring of Abury likewise stood upon elevated ground: and directly to the south of it, as I have already observed, rose the artificial pyramid of Silbury ³.

To describe such well-known monuments, curious as they are, would be impertinent: what I am chiefly concerned with is the idea, which was attached to them, and which in fact prompted their construction.

I deduce them all from the sacred Cor-du or imaginary Ila-vratta of mount Ararat; though it is not improbable, that they may have been occasionally used as places of national or provincial conference, no less than as temples: and this opinion is clearly confirmed, while the light in which they were considered is unequivocally ascertained, by the curiously descriptive titles which the ancient Druids and their successors the bards bestowed upon Stonehenge. They denominated it *Caer-Sidee*; which denotes *the circle or inclosure of Sidee*. But Sidee is the same goddess as the Sicilian Sito, the Phenician Sida, the Babylonian Sidda, the Canaanitish Sittal, and the Indian Sita: and *Sita* is a title of Ila or Parvati, who floated

¹ Borlase's Cornwall. b. iii. c. 7. p. 198.

² Ibid. p. 192, 193.

³ See Plate I. Fig. 5.

on the deluge as the ship Argha; just as *Sidee* is a title of Ceridwen, who similarly floated on the deluge in the form of a ship bearing Hu or Noë in safety over its waves. Thus it is manifest, that the name *Caer-Sidee* is precisely equivalent in all respects to the name *Ila-vratta*. Whence it will follow, that Stonehenge was a designed copy of the ring of Ila or (as it is sometimes called) the ring of Buddha-Sakya, which is feigned to crown the summit of Meru or Ararat. As Ceridwen however was the goddess of the Ark, no less than the goddess of the World; so the imitative *Caer-Sidee* represented the microcosmic Ship resting on the top of the mountain, no less than the Megacosm which was once confined to the insular circle of the Armenian peak. Both these ideas were ingeniously combined together in a single appellation, by which the Druids were wont to distinguish the vast ring of Stonehenge: they called it *the Ark of the World*—If such a title required any explanation, it would receive it from the character of the deities, to whom the temple was dedicated. The common sanctuary of Noë and Eseye, or of Hu and Ceridwen who is the *Isi* of Hindostan, is said to be the great stone fence or the circular mound constructed of stone-work. Now this sanctuary, from the very description of it, must either have been Stonehenge or some other similar edifice; which is perfectly immaterial to the point in question, for analogy demonstrates that the many stone circles of the Druids were all constructed under the influence of the same ruling idea. But Hu and Ceridwen, or the ship-god and the ship-goddess, are most undoubtedly Noah and the Ark. Therefore Stonehenge was plainly called *the Ark of the World*, because it was viewed as a copy of the inclosing Ark of Noah—This conclusion is further established, both by the singular language of the bards, and by the other names which were bestowed upon *Caer-Sidee*. Though the mythologic poets of Britain tell us, that the common sanctuary of the great father and great mother was the vast circle of stone-work; yet they likewise speak of that sanctuary, as being surrounded by the tide, and as reposing upon the surface either of a wide lake or of the boundless ocean. Now, as such descriptions have but ill accorded with Stonehenge since the portentous day when it crossed the Irish sea at the high behest of the enchanter Merlin, and as the deities of Stonehenge were Noë and a Ship: we may safely

BOOK V. venture to transfer both them, and the legendary voyage of the Wiltshire temple, to the real floating sanctuary, of which that temple was only a symbol, and of which the true Noë was the pilot. Yet, agreeably to the uniform tenor of Paganism, which always blends together in the person of one goddess both the Ark and the World, the Druids, by the names which they imposed upon their *Caer-Sidee*, never suffer us to forget, that, although it shadows out the diluvian Ship, it does not shadow it out simply or exclusively. They variously denominated this magnificent temple *the mundane rampart*, *the mundane circle of stones*, *the circle of the World*, *the stall of the cow* or of the navicular *Ceridwen* venerated like *Isi* and *Isis* under the form of that animal, *the circle of Sidee*, and *the mound constructed of stonework representing the World*¹—Each of the trilithons of Stonehenge, as they are called by Stukeley, formed a noble portal: and through these portals, primarily representing the door of the Ark, but finally the various multiplied astronomical doors of the Sun and the Moon and the Planets, the aspirants were conducted into the interior, and were said to be regenerated by so holy a passage—The edifice has been originally composed of two concentric circles, inclosing an elliptical adytum or cell: and, in the very midst of that cell, is a large flat stone, which has usually been deemed the altar. As for the adytum, it plainly answers to that interior sacellum, which in artificial temples was called *the cavern*; and it was devoted, I apprehend, to the very same purposes: while the supposed altar was the mythologic grave or bed of *Hu*, respecting which more shall be said in its proper place—In this temple *Hu* was venerated as the serpent god²: and to that circumstance we may ascribe the dracontion figure attached to the ring of Abury. The two together formed the hieroglyphic of the serpent and the circle: and, as the serpent-god was usually said to have wings, the whole composed the famous Egyptian symbol of the globe and the winged serpent; which Kircher has idly fancied to be an emblem of the Trinity. It was in truth the type of the serpent *Cnuphis*: but *Cnuphis* was the same divinity as the serpent *Hu*.

¹ Davies's Mythol. of Brit. Druids. p. 100, 101, 105, 108, 109, 113, 114, 120, 121, 194, 507, 508, 537, 562, 568.

² Davies's Mythol. p. 113, 114, 121, 562.

Accordingly, the temple of Cnuphis in the Egyptian island of Elephantina is similar in figure to the circular temples of Abury and Stonehenge, though it differs in the style of architecture. It is a low building, consisting of a single apartment and surrounded by an oval cloister, which last is open to the sky. The interior sacellum, like the interior circle of Stonehenge, contains a plain square table; which Norden rightly conjectures to be meant for a tomb, though he is mistaken in deeming it a literal tomb¹. Its religious use was the same as that of the similar table in the centre of our British temple. There is another oval temple in the island of Philæ, which lies still higher up the Nile than Elephantina: and here also was a sacred tomb, where Osiris was believed to lie interred².

(2.) But, though the vault of heaven was the only roof of the primeval round temples, convenience led, among many nations, to their being covered in. Yet, when this was done, the remembrance of what they originally were was still carefully preserved; and the roof, which was added to them, instead of being flat, rose gracefully in the form of an egg-shell or concave dome.

Thus the circular Pyratheia of the Persians, when at length they were covered in order that the sacred fire might be the better preserved from wet, were always finished with an oviform roof³. Thus the Roman temple of Vesta, which is generally supposed to be the present round church of St. Stephen, was built, according to Plutarch, of an orbicular form for the reception of the holy central fire: and, by this fashion of the edifice, Numa, he tells us, intended to shadow out, not merely the Earth or Vesta in that character, but the whole universe in the midst of which the Pythagoreans placed the fire of the Sun⁴. And thus the Thracian temple of Bacchus-Seba, which crowned the summit of mount Zilmissus, was of a circular form; and was lighted solely by an orifice in the top of the dome, by which it was covered⁵. This last was evidently a temple of precisely the same

¹ Gough's Compar. view of the anc. monum. of Ind. p. 15. Norden's Trav. vol. p. 101, 102.

² Gough's Compar. view. p. 15. Diod. Bibl. lib. i. p. 19.

³ See Plate III. Fig. 25.

⁴ Maurice's Ind. Ant. vol. iii. p. 180, 181.

⁵ Macrob. Saturn. lib. i. c. 18. p. 201.

BOOK V. description as the celebrated Pantheon of Rome. As the name imports, that magnificent Rotundo was dedicated to all the hero-gods, who once sailed together in the Ship of the deluge, and who were thence represented by the Egyptians not standing on dry land but floating on a raft: yet it appears to have been eminently a temple of Mithras or the Sun. Its vast concave dome, as we are expressly told by Pliny, was designed to imitate the vault of heaven: and it is lighted, in the very same manner as the temple of the Zilmissian Seba, by an aperture in the centre of its arched roof twenty feet in diameter. The door fronts the north: so that to those who entered it the colossal image of the solar Apollo, which was directly opposite, appeared full in the south; while on either side of him were ranged, in suitable recesses, the six great planetary deities, who were so highly venerated in the Mithratic caverns of Persia. As for the internal aspect of the building, it is precisely that of an enormous cave: and, when we consider the progress of the temple architecture, we cannot for a moment suppose that the resemblance is purely accidental. The edifice was no doubt a studied imitation of the interior of the great mundane egg, which was equally represented by the concave roof of the natural grotto ¹.

A similar style of building prevails also in India. The temple of Jagannath in Orissa is an immense oval: and, in external appearance, it is described as resembling a huge butt set upright on one of its ends. It is constantly illuminated by a hundred lamps; and to a spectator within it strongly conveys the idea of a large cavern. The image of the god stands in the centre of the building upon a raised platform or high-place; and immediately above his head rises the lofty concave dome ². Of the same form are the great temples of Mathura and Benares: in each case, a high circular dome covers the round sanctuary which is constructed in the middle of the sacred pile ³. Of the same form likewise are the interior artificial caverns in the temple grotto at Canarah and beneath the Irish pyramid of New-Grange: the concave dome, representing the interior vault of the mundane egg, still presents itself to our attention. And of the same form,

¹ Maurice's *Ind. Ant.* vol. iii p. 183—186. See Plate III. Fig. 26.

² *Ibid.* p. 27, 194, 28.

³ *Ibid.* p. 47.

since the theological speculations of the old continent equally established themselves in America, were some of the temples both of Mexico and Peru. CHAP. VII.

In the first of these countries, was a round temple, dedicated, according to the Spanish writers, to the god of the air; and its figure was said to exhibit the circular course of the atmosphere round the earth. The door into it was so fashioned, as to resemble the mouth of a serpent¹. This god of the air was the same divinity as the ethereal Jupiter of the west; and the rotundity of the temple had an acknowledged relation, we find, to the shape of the World. Yet it had a further reference to the Ark: for its door shadowed out the door in the side of that vessel; and it was made to imitate the mouth of a serpent, because the serpent was an hieroglyphic of the diluvian Ship².

In the latter country there was also a round temple, built no doubt under the influence of the same religious opinions. The principal sanctuary of Cusco resembled, we are told, the Pantheon of Rome. Like that edifice, it was the house and dwelling-place of all the hero-gods; but it was peculiarly dedicated to the chief deity the Sun. At the east end of it was placed his image, made with a considerable degree of art from fine gold, and so formed as to represent the luminary of day encircled with radii. But what the Peruvians worshipped in this circular fane was not the Sun simply; but the Sun distinguished by certain attributes, which prove him in his human capacity to be the patriarch Noah. For their venerated Sun was not merely the Sun in the firmament; but a Sun, that once hid himself in a small island of the sacred lake Titiaça, when pursued by an inveterate enemy at the period of the universal deluge³.

7. These circular temples with domes served the double purpose of representing the mystic cavern or the mundane ring internally, and the holy mountain which contained that cavern externally. Hence we sometimes find the dome and the pyramid curiously blended together in one compound edifice.

¹ Purch. Pilgr. b. viii. c. 12. p. 800.

² Vide supra book ii. c. 7. § III. 2.

³ Purch. Pilgr. b. ix. c. 11. p. 881. c. 9. p. 874.

BOOK V.

One of these occurs about three miles from Matura in the island of Ceylon. On the top of a gentle acclivity rising from the sea and clothed with various kinds of trees, is the Cingalese temple in question. From the centre of a circular terrace, about one hundred and sixty feet in diameter and twelve high, rises a lofty dome shaped like a bell: and this dome is surmounted by a round pyramid, which rests upon a square pedestal¹. The very ancient pyramids of Deogur are constructed after a somewhat similar manner. Their sides are not carried up in a straight line; but they bulge out in curves, so as to produce the appearance of so many square domes. At the top they are truncated: and, from the square summit thus formed, rises severally a square pedestal supporting a circular cone; which is finally surmounted by the egg bearing the trident or the lunar boat with its central mast². The same ruling idea may be observed in one of the Egyptian pyramids at Sakarra. Of its four sides the lower parts bulge out with the curvature of a dome; but the upper parts towards the apex rise rectilinearly: so that the whole edifice consists of a square dome terminating in a square pyramid³. To this class we may add the Chinese *Tien-tan* or *Eminence of heaven*. The form of the hill, which is within the walls of Peking, is round; in allusion to the vault of the heavenly firmament, as it strikes the eye: and the single character of *Tien* or *Heaven* is inscribed upon the principal building, which surmounts it. In the summer solstice, when the heat and power of the Sun are at the highest, the Emperor comes in solemn procession to the *Tien-tan* to offer thanks for its benign influence: as in the winter solstice similar ceremonies are performed in the temple of the Earth. We are not positively informed, whether the building upon the summit of this tumulus is pyramidal; but, from the general style of the eastern pagoda, such most probably is the case. At any rate, the hill seems very evidently to be the grand local *Mienmo* or *Meru* of China⁴.

8. As the circular form was chosen to represent the appearance of the

¹ *Asiat. Res.* vol. vi. p. 438, 439. and plate opp. to p. 438. See Plate III. Fig. 23.

² See Plate III. Fig. 9.

³ Norden's *trav.* vol. ii. p. 14. pl. vi. fig. 3. See Plate III. Fig. 24.

⁴ Staunton's *Embass. to China*. vol. ii. c. 4. p. 324. 8vo edit.

visible horizon; so it is probable, that the cross with four arms was selected CHAP. VII. in reference to the four cardinal points of the World. This at least is certain, that that figure was held in high veneration long before the Christian era: and, accordingly, we find several temples with avenues branching out from the central penetrale into four rectangular arms. Such is the shape of the great temple at Benares. Its body is constructed in the form of a vast cross: and, where the arms intersect, rises a lofty dome somewhat pyramidal towards the summit. Exactly the same likewise is the shape of the temple at Mathura. It presents the aspect of a high dome with four cruciform arms extending rectangularly from it¹. Such again is the shape of the subterraneous temple beneath the pyramid of New-Grange. The avenue to it forms the long arm of the cross; and three other short arms branch out at right angles from the central octagon sacellum, the roof of which rises in the form of a dome.

This figure is the famous cross of Hermes or Taut. It repeatedly occurs on the Pamphylian and other obelisks; and it decorates the hands of most of the sculptured images in Egypt². Yet, as the philosophizing pagans never lost sight of the mundane Ship while they were considering the literal World, the four-armed cross, which represents the latter, was sometimes deprived of an arm in order that it might better typify the former. While the Argha floated on the surface of the deluge, Siva, standing in the midst of it, supplied the place of a mast. Such a combination gave rise to the hieroglyphical trident, which is composed of a lunette with a central spike between the horns; and it was equally symbolized, if I mistake not, by the purposely mutilated cross of Hermes. When the perfect cross $+$ was despoiled of an arm, it became that imperfect cross which was denominated *the Taautic Tau*: and, when this figure was disposed invertedly \perp , it then, like the trident Ψ , exhibited the appearance of the Argha with its mast. In fact, the trident with its pole is but the perfect cross, with its two horizontal arms bent upwards in the manner of a crescent; while the trident without its pole is the mutilated cross \perp , with the conical strokes at the end of the two arms somewhat elongated.

¹ Tavernier apud Maur. Ind. Ant. vol. iii. p. 30, 47.

² Maur. Ind. Ant. vol. ii. p. 359, 360.

BOOK V. 9. We now come to a very peculiar sort of temple, which may serve decidedly to confirm all the preceding remarks by exhibiting the form of the sacred ship without the intervention of any hieroglyphic.

Since each sacred mountain, whether natural or artificial, was confessedly a transcript of Meru or Ararat; and since, as we have seen, each temple which crowned its summit or was dug out of its side was an avowed symbol or representation of the mundane Ark: we shall not be surprized to find the naked truth sometimes exhibited in the exact model of a ship, either insularly surrounded by water, or placed on the top of a holy hill. This, accordingly, will prove to be the case in more than one region of the earth.

A pagoda, which stands near the great pagoda of Tanjore, supports upon its top the precise figure of the hull of a ship furnished with a sloping deck like the roof of a house; the whole perfectly resembling those drawings of the Ark, to which pictorial licence so frequently gives birth¹. The summit of the lunar mount Alban in Latium was of old decorated with a similar figure of a ship, which was revered as the sacred ship of Juno or Isis². Sesostris is said to have built a ship of cedar two hundred and eighty cubits in length, plated over with gold on the outside and with silver in the inside; which he dedicated to the god whom the Thebans worshipped, that is to say, to the ark-exposed Osiris³. Such a dedication to the navicular divinity, the costly mode in which the vessel was finished, and the circumstance of its being constructed in the very interior of the country, all serve to demonstrate, that it was never meant to be launched, but that it was a ship-temple built in studied imitation of the mystic Baris or Argo. I am inclined to think, that the ship of Isis venerated among the Suevi was no other than a rude ship-temple: and I am the rather led to adopt such an opinion from the actual existence of such a structure among the Hyperboreans of Ireland. On the summit of a hill near Dundalk is an exact stone model of the hull of a ship, which Mr. Wright very properly terms *a ship-temple*. Its Celtic name signifies *the one night's work*; which, by a slight alteration, General Vallancey would make to denote, though (as

¹ See Plate III. Fig. 7. ² Dion. Cass. lib. xxxix. p. 62. ³ Diod. Bibl. lib. i. p. 52.

he acknowledges) by a forced construction, *the remains of the only ship.* CHAP. VII.
 I see not the necessity of this correction. The goddess Night or the black Venus, the infernal Ceridwen of the Britons, the Mother-Night of the Goths, and the gloomy Lilith of the Persians and Babylonians, was highly venerated in all parts of the world as the female divinity of the ship. To that goddess the uncorrected name of the Irish temple plainly alludes: and it consequently teaches us, that the stone-ship on the hill was a work executed in imitative honour of that divine Night or infernal navicular deity, who is eminently One. But, whatever be the true import of the name, the general analogy of ancient Paganism leaves no room to doubt of the mythologic idea, with which this remarkable ship was studiously constructed on the summit of a hill¹. There was another very curious ship-temple at Rome, dedicated to Esculapius; who, as we have seen, was the same as Adonis or Attis or the great father². When the worship of this deity was first introduced from Epidaurus, the living serpent, which represented him, quitted the ship as she lay in the Tiber, and glided to a small island in the river. Hence it was believed, that the god had chosen this sacred spot for his peculiar residence: and accordingly, by means of a breast-work of marble which was carried round it, the whole island was fashioned into a temple for him, which in form exactly resembled a ship; one end of it being made higher to imitate the stern, and the other end lower to imitate the prow³.

It is easy to perceive, that the fable of the stone-ship of Bacchus originated from these imitative stone temples. An attempt was made upon his life by certain impious mariners, who were conveying him to Italy: but he changed the men into fishes, and the ship into stone. This happened, we are told, on the coast of Tuscany: and I think it highly probable, that some

¹ Collect. de reb. Hib. vol. iii. p. 199. et infra. A short time since the remains of a wooden ship were discovered upon an eminence in the midst of one of the Irish morasses. It occasioned no small speculation; for the wonder was how it came there, since it was considerably above the level of the water. The stone-ship of Dundalk will explain the mystery.

² Vide supra book iv. c. 4. § IV.

³ Banier's Mythol. b. v. c. 5. p. 163. Hook's Rom. Hist. b. iii. c. 24. p. 592.

BOOK V. insulated rock, which in figure resembled a ship, was venerated as the subject of the metamorphosis, and was used as a sea-girt sanctuary of the god¹. The vestiges of a similar superstition remain even to the present day in the Crimea, which was one of the first European settlements of the Scuths or Chusas; of so durable a nature are the legends of ancient Paganism. Between Sudak and Lambat is shewn a rock; which, from its accidental resemblance to a ship, is still believed to have been a vessel, that was formerly with its crew turned into stone². It was, I am persuaded, no other than a natural ship-temple of the old Scythians; who were ever the patrons, and who were indeed the first authors, of the great demonolatric apostasy. In its mythological nature it was the same as the rocky cavern, which Saturn constructed in the midst of the ocean for the purpose of concealing himself and his family: it was the same also, in its import, as the Irish insular temple of Muidr, and as the Egyptian holy island of Philæ near the cataracts. This last was the reputed burial-place of Osiris: but the coffin of that god was the same as his ship: hence Philæ, with its sacred excavations, was doubtless viewed as the sepulchral ship-temple of the great father. The stone trough in the central chamber of the principal pyramid, which has generally been deemed the coffin of the imagined royal founder, is in reality the stone-ship of Osiris: and, like the Argha of the modern Hindoos, it was, during the performance of the holy rites, filled with flowers and fruits and water for ablutions. Yet the common supposition of its being a coffin is not absolutely erroneous: the mistake consists rather in the character of the person to whom it is attributed, than in the nature of the implement itself. It was certainly a coffin: but, instead of being a literal coffin, it was a stone copy of the mythologic sepulchral ship of the dead Osiris³.

¹ Nonni Dionys. lib. xlvi. ver. 507, 508. Ovid tells the same story, but not quite so perfectly: he only says, that the ship became fast rooted in the sea; which however implies that it was changed into a rock. Metam. lib. iii. ver. 661, 662.

² Heber's Journal in Clarke's Travels, vol. i. c. 21. p. 537. Closely allied to such legends is the metamorphosis of the Pheacian galley into stone, when it returned after conveying Ulysses to Ithaca. See Odys. lib. xiii. Homer, I have little doubt, alluded to some insular ship-temple. The rooting of the ship to the bottom of the sea alluded to the grounding of the Ark on mount Ararat.

³ Vallancey's Vindie. p. 211, 220. Diod. Bihl. lib. i. p. 19.

We may not improperly refer to this description of temples those vast CHAP. VII. single stones, which were occasionally venerated as symbols of the navicular great mother. There was one of these on the confines of Phrygia, named *Agdus*; which was thought to be the rock, whence the stones were taken that Pyrrha and Deucalion threw behind them after the deluge. It was believed to be divinely animated; and it was revered as the shrine or actual residence or symbol of the goddess denominated *the great mother*¹. I suspect it to have been of an oval or navicular form, like the enormous egg-stone of the parish of Constantine in Cornwall. This rests upon the points of two rocks; and it bears a close resemblance to a ship upon the stocks, the deck of which rises in such a curve as to give one at the same time an idea of a large egg. The orifice beneath, thus formed by the contact of the three stones, was considered as the mystic door of the vessel; by passing through which the aspirants became entitled to the imaginary benefits of the Bacchic regeneration². To such navicular images of the great mother, which we may distinguish by the name of *stone-ships*, the prophet Jeremiah clearly alludes, when he reproaches the apostate Israelites for saying to a stone, *Thou hast brought me forth*³. They, who are the subjects of his denunciation, had been born again (to adopt the language of the Mysteries) by squeezing themselves through the rocky orifice, which represented the door of the ship: and accordingly, as we have already seen, the same superstitious ceremony prevails throughout India even at the present day.

These remarks will account for the curious onirocritical explanation of Achmetes, which seems not a little to have perplexed the learned Dr. More. That writer tells us, that, according to the Indian interpreters of dreams, if any person in the visions of the night be engaged in building a merchant-ship, he shall collect together a company of men for the purpose of initiating them into the Mysteries. Such an exposition Dr. More quaintly pronounces to be as far fetched, as from the Indies themselves. Yet he adds, though utterly at a loss for the reason, that it is not easy to conjec-

¹ *Travels and Annals*, adv. gent. lib. v. p. 157.

² *Barlaam's Conversion*, tom. ii. p. 114. See Plate III. Fig. 27.

³ Jerem. ii. 27.

BOOK V. ture, why a *ship* should intimate *the congregating of men for the celebration of religious Mysteries*, unless we conceive a *ship* to represent a *temple*. He is doubtless right in his conjecture, though he owns himself quite unable to assign any adequate cause of a *temple* being onirocritically symbolized by a *merchant-ship*¹. We shall at present however have little difficulty in accounting, both for this circumstance, and for the close connection of a ship with the Mysteries. Temples were transcripts, either literal or hieroglyphical, of the diluvian Ship: that Ship, from the infinite variety of its lading, was aptly deemed by the Indians a merchant-vessel: and aspirants were initiated into the Mysteries by an imitative new birth through the portal, which represented the door in its side².

10. From the natural grove, which shadowed out the garden of Paradise, originated those temples, which were constructed with numerous pillars some without and others within the edifice. The shafts of the pillars represented the trunks of the trees: and, from the general style of their capitals in Grecian architecture, I should think that the sacred phenix or palm was the tree chiefly selected for this purpose. Exquisite as was the taste of the Hellenic builders, inasmuch that it seems to exceed the genius of man to invent a fourth order³; they yet plainly borrowed in the first instance from Egypt, as Egypt (I suspect) under its Shepherd-kings borrowed from Hindostan⁴. The *general* style is palpably the same; though the Hindoos often use a capital, which I am not aware was ever adopted in the west. This is the flower of the sacred lotos, which fre-

¹ Achmet. Oniroc. c. 179. More's Synop. Prophet. b. i. c. 8. p. 551.

² Since much of the machinery of the Apocalypse studiously refers to that pagan demolatry, which under a different name was to be adopted by a corrupt Christian church, I am inclined to suspect, that the prophet styles the hierarchy of the mystic Babylon *ship-masters* in express reference to this part of gentile superstition. The figurative ship was the harlot, floating, like the navicular Isi, upon many waters. See Rev. xvii. 1. and xviii. 17—19.

³ I purposely say a *fourth order*, because I can only admit the existence of three genuine orders; the Doric, the Ionic, and the Corinthian. As for the Tuscan, it is mere Doric in the Egyptian style as used by the old Hetruscans: and in the Composite we behold the exquisite Corinthian most woefully corrupted.

⁴ See Plate III. Fig. 28, 29.

quently crowns the summit of their massy pillars. I am led to deduce the Grecian and Egyptian columns from the palm, not only on account of their striking resemblance to that tree which appears in all the pillars of the Thebaic temples and which is eminently conspicuous in the Corinthian order, but likewise from its reputed sanctity and its thence being so often used in the sacred groves. To avoid prolixity, a single instance shall suffice: the floating island of Chemmis, in which Horus took refuge from the fury of Typhon, was planted chiefly with palm-trees¹. It is probable however, that, in those cases where the roof of the edifice rose into the graceful curve instead of being perfectly flat, the notion of other trees may have been superadded; the curve exhibiting the arch, which the branches form by their intersection. Of such buildings we may not unreasonably conjecture that the Indian fig-tree was often, though not exclusively, the prototype. This remarkable plant forms a grove of itself: for the boughs, spontaneously bending down from the original parent trunk, take root in the earth; and, the boughs again of these new trunks successively producing others, the tree continues in a state of progression so long as it can find soil to nourish its shoots. It is highly venerated by the Brahmens; for it serves them as a sort of natural temple, and thus carries back their imaginations to that early period when artificial imitations were unknown². Now it is obvious, that the arch formed by the dip of these shoots will be circular: and, when the tree has considerably extended itself, its appearance to those who walk beneath its shade will be that of a temple with numerous pillars supporting various round vaults.

It is superfluous particularly to specify the well known relics of ancient art, which serve to exemplify the present hypothesis: I shall rather notice a circumstance, which ought by no means to be omitted. As Paradise and the Ark were always associated together in the minds of the old idolaters, and as caverns were symbols of the Ship of the World; we continually find the two ideas of a grove and a grotto, blended together in the artificial excavations or in the buildings designed to imitate such excavations, which occur in so many different parts of the globe. The excavations

¹ Herod. Hist. lib. ii. c. 156.

² Maur. Ind. Ant. vol. iii. p. 169—173.

BOOK V. and buildings, to which I allude, are professed transcripts indeed of the mystic cavern: but yet they are furnished with pillars, the form of which is evidently borrowed from the trunks of trees¹.

Temples of this description had their chief portal almost universally, I believe, looking towards the east, an arrangement precisely the reverse of that which has been adopted in the Christian cathedral². For this disposition various reasons have been assigned. Sometimes it is ascribed to the circumstance of the Sun rising in the east; and, at other times, to an opinion prevalent among the old Egyptians, that the east is the front of the World³. I doubt, whether such reasons be perfectly satisfactory: for, if either of them were the true cause of this arrangement, *all* temples would invariably have their portals to the east. But this is not the case: for caverns and cavern-temples were contrived to have their doors looking to the north and the south, if they had two; and to the north, if they had only one. There must therefore have been some other more specific reason, why an eastern aspect was so studiously selected for temples built with pillars so as to imitate the sacred groves. And this we shall easily discover, if we adopt the hypothesis that such groves and their architectural copies were equally transcripts of the garden of Paradise. We find from holy Scripture, that the portals of Eden, when God stationed the Cherubim to keep the way of the tree of life, was on the eastern side of the sacred grove: and, analogously with this intimation, the Hindoo mythologists place the cherubic Garuda in the eastern pass of their Elysian garden on the summit of Meru⁴. Hence the imitative temple had its door to the east: and hence not unfrequently the approach to it was guarded with figures of the compound Sphinx.

¹ See Plate III. Fig. 19, 30.

² Spencer. de leg. Heb. rit. lib. iii. disser. vi. c. 2. sect. 4. p. 309—311. In a similar manner, the principal gate of such Indian pagodas, as are constructed with a central nave, side-aisles, and a sanctuary at the farther end, always fronts to the east. Maur. Ind. Ant. vol. iii. p. 22. The same disposition occurs in the sacred architecture of the Peruvians: according to Cieza, the doors of their temples looked eastward. Purch. Pilgrim. b. ix. c. 11. p. 880.

³ Maur. Ind. Ant. vol. iii. p. 22.

⁴ Gen. iii. 24. Asiat. Res. vol. vi. p. 493.

11. The ancient pagan style of architecture with many of its allusions CHAP. VII. has been adopted both by Christians and Mohammedans in the construction of their churches and mosques.

A Gothic cathedral, as it has often been remarked, bears a studied resemblance to two intersecting avenues of trees: and every part of it is most ingeniously contrived to heighten the effect. The pillars are moulded so as best to imitate the trunks: the lofty pointed arch of the aisles, both in its general form and by means of its transverse groins, precisely exhibits the supernal crossings of the boughs: every ornament affects the tapering spiral figure: and the ramifications of the windows, as they are aptly called, serve yet more to heighten the deception. Externally, the towers are often surmounted by pyramids: and, in the case of Ely cathedral, the central lanthorn is a dome. This last mode of roofing eminently prevails in the sacred edifices of the Greek church: and it has been adopted by the architects of the two well-known Roman and English cathedrals of St. Peter and St. Paul. In the case of the former, Michael Angelo professedly borrowed it from the Pantheon¹: and the latter appears to be little more than a transcript of the Italian church. Each of these buildings, with its four arms exhibiting the figure of a cross and with its lofty central dome, bears a very close resemblance to the cruciform and dome-surmounted pagodas of Mathura and Benares: and, though doubtless the cross has been introduced into the plans of Christian churches in allusion to the cross of the Redeemer; yet I suspect, that the coincidence of shape with the oriental temples was by no means overlooked by the first ecclesiastical architects. In a similar manner, the crypts under some of our ancient churches, which were once and (I believe) still are occasionally used for divine service, appear to be no unambiguous imitations of the sacred caverns: and these were rather copied, because there is reason to believe, that the primitive Christians, while labouring under a state of persecution, often resorted to deserted excavations of this description. The very appellations of *the Nave* and *the Choir* are strictly significant, and were certainly not adopted

¹ His conception was, as he sublimely expressed himself, to suspend the Pantheon in the air.

BOOK V. through mere accident. *Nave* signifies indifferently *a temple* and *a ship*: and the sanctuary of our churches was denominated *the Choir* or *Chor* or *Caer*, in reference to the sacred circle of the mundane Ark. Hence we shall find, that the true shape of this part of the edifice is not parallelogrammic but circular. Thus the Greek Basilicæ terminate universally towards the east in a semi-circle: thus the same eastern termination has been retained in the cathedral of London: and thus some even of our Gothic churches, such for instance as those at Lichfield and Westminster, affect a similar form at the extremity of their chancels.

As for the Mohammedans, they have not only retained the pyramid in their minarets and the oviform dome in their mosques; but they likewise carefully decorate the summits of those imitative mountains with the navicular lunette, so highly venerated among the astronomical pagans as a symbol of the Ark.

Such imitations most probably originated from the circumstance of Christian churches, in the first instance, so often studiously occupying the sites of heathen temples; and of Mohammedan mosques afterwards supplanting Christian churches. In some cases, the very buildings themselves were appropriated to new purposes, as the Pantheon at Rome and the cathedral of St. Sophia at Constantinople: in others, the ground of a prior sanctuary was purposely selected for the creation of an edifice destined for the purposes of a different and victorious religion.

III. A very idle notion has long prevailed, which has not only served to point a mere poetical declamation against despotism, but has even drawn forth many notable speculations from serious writers, that the pyramids of Egypt were neither more nor less than the tombs of their respective founders. This childish fancy seems to have taken its rise from the assertion of Herodotus, that Cheops designed certain vaults in the rocky hill, upon which he built the principal pyramid, to serve for him as a sepulchre: and the same tale, with an extension to the other pyramids, has been echoed by Diodorus and Strabo¹. The story has been duly transmitted down to the present day: and such was the hold that it took upon the imaginations

¹ Herod. Hist. lib. ii. c. 124. Diod. Bibl. lib. i. p. 58. Strab. Geog. lib. xvii. p. 808.

of men, that it has often been considered as declaring so undoubted a truth as wholly to preclude the necessity of argument. CHAP. VII.

What then are we to think, it may be asked, of the direct testimonies of the old classical writers? Are they to be unceremoniously set aside, as altogether unworthy of notice?

By no means: so far from it, the testimonies are highly valuable and important. I would not discard them: I would only have them rightly understood. The pyramids were most undoubtedly viewed by the ancient Egyptians as tombs: but the question is, whether they were literal, or mythological, tombs; whether they were real tombs of substantial Mizraimic sovereigns who had built them for that express purpose, or allegorical tombs of that ancient personage who was enrolled the first among the princes of the country. Of the two suppositions, the latter, almost to demonstration, may be shewn to be the true one: whence it will follow, that, when the Egyptians told their Grecian visitors that the pyramids were sepulchres of their primeval king; those visitors, understanding them literally, concluded as a thing of course, that the pyramids were real tombs, and that their several founders had built them for the special reception of their own dead bodies. Meanwhile the Egyptians, who seem not unfrequently to have amused themselves with playing upon the Grecian love of the marvellous, truly intimated, though misunderstood by their inquisitive neighbours and by a great body of the moderns after them, that each pyramid was a mystic tomb of the dead Osiris.

It is worthy of observation, that Herodotus himself throws some light on the real nature of these supposed literal sepulchres. He tells us, that Mycerinus the son of Cheops or (as Diodorus styles him) Chemmis, to whom the raising of the great pyramid is attributed, had the misfortune to lose his only daughter. Inconsolable on account of her death, he inclosed her body in a wooden cow ornamented with gold. The historian professes to have himself seen this cow: and he adds, that the body of the princess was annually taken out of it during the festival of that nameless god, whose funereal Mysteries, he elsewhere tells us, were celebrated upon a sacred lake. He further mentions the existence of a legend, that Mycerinus had conceived an incestuous passion for his daughter, and that he attempted

BOOK V. to violate her person¹. The whole of this tale shews very plainly what kind of sepulchres the pyramids were: for we have here the fable of the cow Theba and of the incestuous commerce of a father with his daughter which is so constantly interwoven into the history of the chief hero-god, associated with an imaginary death, with the funereal lake-orgies of Osiris, and with the founders of the pyramids. No doubt the cow or ark was the coffin of the princess, just in the same sense as the pyramids were tombs of the old Egyptian kings: and it may be further observed, that both *Cheops* and *Chemmis* are titles of Osiris, though assumed, as was usual, by the sovereign who literally built the principal pyramid. *Cheops* denotes *the illustrious serpent-deity*: and from the god *Chemmis* or *Caimas* or *Chemosh* or *Cameses*, as the name was variously expressed, the floating island *Chemmis*, which received the boy Osiris when he fled before Typhon, obviously borrowed its appellation.

1. Agreeably to this view of the testimonies of the Greek writers relative to the sepulchral nature of the pyramids of Egypt, we shall constantly find in every quarter of the world a prevailing notion that the temple of the great father was also his tomb: and, in order that the investigation may proceed the more regularly and satisfactorily, we will begin it, as before, from first principles.

(1.) Meru or Ararat is considered as the mundane temple of the great father, conspicuous in an embodied shape and multiplying himself into three forms: and this most sacred temple is artificially represented, as we have seen, by a cone or pyramid. It is however not more viewed as a temple, than as a tomb: and by the followers of the very ancient superstition of Buddha it is pronounced to be the sepulchre of the son of the heavenly spirit, that is, of the first man who is supposed transmigratorily to reappear at the commencement of every new World. The bones of this primeval hero-god were scattered over the face of the whole earth: and it was the first duty of his descendants and votaries to collect and to entomb them. Hence there is a notion, that, as every pyramid is a copy of the sepulchral Meru, so every pyramid is to be deemed a sepulchre of the great

¹ Herod. Hist. lib. ii. c. 129—132.

father: and hence in many of these buildings a tooth or a bone is devoutly exhibited as a relic of the defunct godhead. It is confessed however, that several pyramids do not *really* contain the bones of the Thacur or Lord: yet we are told, that they are to be *supposed* and *asserted* to contain them, though the true place where they are deposited must ever continue unknown in order to prevent profanation. The secret vault, in which the holy relics are generally said to be deposited, is called *Thacur Cuti* or *the cell of the Lord*: and it is observable, that the grand Lamas of Thibet, who are acknowledged to be successive incarnations of Buddha, are always, in studied imitation of their prototype, buried under pyramids¹. CHAP. VII.

Now Buddha or Menu, as we have seen, however he may be multiplied in accordance with the doctrine of a succession of similar Worlds, is really Adam considered as reappearing in the person of Noah. Accordingly we shall find, that the oriental traditions respecting these patriarchs singularly accord with the preceding notions respecting Buddha.

Adam and all the fathers in a direct line from him through Seth are said to have dwelt during their life-time in the borders of the holy Paradisiacal mountain, and to have been buried after their death in a sacred cave of that mountain denominated *Alcanuz*. When the period of the flood arrived, Noah entered the cavern; and, having kissed the bodies of the other patriarchs, he solemnly removed that of Adam, while his three sons bore the proper oblations of gold and myrrh and frankincense. As they descended from the holy mountain, they turned back their weeping eyes to the garden; and exclaimed, *Sacred Paradise, farewell*. Every stone and every tree they devoutly embraced; and, at length, with their venerable load, entered into the Ship. During their abode within it, Noah was wont to say a daily prayer over the body of the protoplast; his wife, his sons, and his daughters, making the proper responses from another part of the Ark: and, when they quitted it, the corpse of Adam was carefully taken out together with the rest of the lading. How it was then disposed of, is differently related by different legendary writers. Some say, that it was secretly buried by Shem and Melchizedek, under the special guidance of

¹ *Asiat. Res.* vol. x. p. 128—136. vol. vi. p. 437, 450, 293. vol. vii. p. 423.

BOOK V. an angel, in mount Calvary, which is to be deemed the navel of the Earth. Others relate, that Noah, when he divided the World among his three sons, divided also the bones of Adam; that fragments of these were carried, as holy relics, by them of the dispersion to various quarters of the globe; that the skull, as the noblest part, fell to the lot of Shem; and that it was finally buried in mount Calvary, which from that circumstance was denominated *the place of a skull*¹.

It is easy to perceive, whence these Rabbinical and Mohammedan tales originated. The framers of them saw plainly enough, that the great father of gentile theology was Adam; and they could not but observe, that he was connected in a very peculiar manner with Noah. Hence they adapted to those patriarchs the eastern mythologic fictions respecting Buddha or Menu: they buried Adam in a sacred cavern of the Paradisiacal mount: they made the Ark a sepulchral vehicle of the dead: they reinterred the patriarch in a secret place of mount Calvary, which, as a local Meru, they pronounced to be the navel of the Earth: or, as the tale was occasionally varied, they scattered his bones to the most remote parts of the globe, while Calvary received his skull alone. The ridiculous figment of the body of Adam in the Ark would be unworthy of notice, if it did not so immediately join itself to the mythologic inclosure of the deceased great father within that floating navicular coffin which was esteemed the infernal ship of the dead: but I think it highly probable, that both Adam and Noah were literally buried in the precincts of the Paradisiacal mount Ararat; for it is not likely, that either of those patriarchs would retire to any material distance from that remarkable spot consecrated by so many interesting recollections. On these grounds, in addition to the allegorical death and revival of the transmigrating great father, they, who venerated Meru as the first worldly temple, would of course venerate it likewise as the sepulchre of the complex chief hero-god: and thence, on the universal principle of local appropriation, every national holy mountain and every imitative

¹ Goetz. de Adam. reliq. p. 59—62. Hilscher. de Adam. reliq. p. 74, 75. Eutyeh. Annal. vol. i. p. 36. Johan. Gregor. ex caten. Arab. M.S. in Gen. in observ. sacr. c. xxv. Gregor. Abulph. in histor. dynast. p. 9, 10. Eutyeh. Annal. vol. i. p. 44. apud Fabric. Cod. Pseudopig. vol. i. p. 60, 74, 244, 267.

pyramid would be deemed at once the temple and the tomb of the supreme paternal divinity, by whatever name he might be distinguished. In a similar manner, each consecrated grotto would be viewed as his grave: and, in order that the general concinnity of the system might be preserved, the Ark, which was represented by all such grottos, would be esteemed his floating coffin. Thus the literal and the allegorical death of the great father would finally meet together in one point: and thus tradition and mystic speculation would alike contribute to stamp the sacred rites of pagan antiquity with an indelibly funereal character.

It was from the same heathen source that the Jews learned that doctrine of the Metempsychosis, which seems to have been very prevalent among them at the time of our Lord's first advent¹. Their Rabbins, clearly perceiving that the principal demon-god of the Gentiles was Adam considered as reappearing under new forms at many different intervals, ascribed to the first man the attributes which distinguished the great father. Thus they teach us, agreeably to the pagan doctrine of the excerpition of souls, that Adam was the habitation and the matrix of all the souls of his posterity: that, in addition to these, he had his own proper soul, which successively migrated from his body into other bodies: and that, as that soul had already entered into the body of David, so it would hereafter pass into the body of the Messiah. Thus also they speak of a double transmigratory revolution: one, of the bodies of the dead, by which they pass through the caverns of the Earth into Palestine, there to wait for the general resurrection; the other, of souls, by which, in accordance with the mystic self-triplication of the great father, they were each to enter into precisely three bodies².

(2.) But enough has been said by way of explanatory foundation: we have now only to point out the general prevalence of such notions; which will shew with how much accuracy the Greek writers speak of the Egyptian pyramids as tombs, though unfortunately they mar the whole matter by misdeeming them literal sepulchres of certain ancient kings their founders.

¹ See John ix. 2.

² Hilscher. de Adam. reliq. p. 72. apud Fabric. Cod. Pseud. vol. i. p. 72.

BOOK V.

We will begin, where we ought to begin, with Babel. Herodotus informs us, that the tower was the *temple* of Belus : Strabo again declares, that it was his *tomb* ¹. Here we have no real contradiction ; for it was in fact both the mystic tomb, and the imitative mountain temple, of the great father.

In a similar manner, each Egyptian pyramid, which (as we have seen) was copied from the Babylonian tower, was a tomb of Osiris ; but it was not the less on that account his temple. Agreeably to this view of the subject, I hesitate not to pronounce the stone trough in the dark central chamber the coffin of the god : but then it is only to be viewed as a representation of that sepulchral ark or floating coffin, within which his image was placed during the mournful part of the Mysteries. Thus we find, that his nocturnal Orgies were celebrated on the surface of a sacred lake near Sais, in the immediate vicinity of which was shewn his tomb ². It was doubtless a pyramidal tumulus : but it was only one of the many places of his allegorical sepulture ; for, just in the same manner as the oriental Buddha, his corpse is said to have been torn into several different pieces, which were afterwards collected and interred by his consort Isis. A very celebrated tomb of this description was exhibited in the holy island of Philæ near the cataracts, which yet was clearly a navicular or insular sanctuary of the god ³. There was another of them, as we may collect from the form of the central stone, in the temple of Cuuphis, which yet remains in the island of Elephantina ⁴. As for Isis, she also had her grave, which was shewn in the city of Memphis : though some contended, that with her husband she lay interred in the island of Philæ ⁵. The Labyrinth again was said to be the tomb of its founder Moeris or Mendes : but the true Mendes or Menes was Osiris or Menu, and the Labyrinth was a temple devoted to the celebration of his funereal Mysteries ⁶. I am much mistaken, if the Sphinx was not another of these tombs. This compound monster was a symbol of the great mother, whose womb was deemed the Hades or navicular coffin

¹ Herod. Hist. lib. i. c. 181. Strab. Geog. lib. xvi. p. 738.

² Herod. Hist. lib. ii. c. 170, 171.

³ Diod. Bibl. lib. i. p. 19.

⁴ Norden's Trav. vol. ii. p. 101.

⁵ Diod. Bibl. lib. i. p. 19, 23.

⁶ Herod. Hist. lib. ii. c. 118. Diod. Bibl. lib. i. p. 55. Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. 13.

of the dead hero-god. Hence, according to Pliny, it was reputed to be the tomb of Amasis : and modern travellers have actually discovered, in the back part of the rock out of which it is formed, an opening into a spacious sepulchral cavern ¹. For a literal sovereign of Egypt substitute its mythological king, as in the case of the pyramids ; and the testimony of Pliny may be received as accurate. CHAP. VII.

It has been observed, that the Buddhists pronounce Meru to be at once the temple and the sepulchre of the great universal father. Agreeably to this declaration, if we turn our attention to the local geographical Meru of Hindostan and the adjacent countries, which has been shewn to coincide with the high land of Cashgar at the head of the Ganges ; we shall find precisely such a reputed tomb within its precincts. The pretended sepulchre is forty cubits in length, the stature of the divine personage for whom it was erected : and beneath it is a vault of the same dimensions, with a small door that is never opened out of respect to the illustrious dead. It is called by the Mohammedans the tomb of Lamech : but the pagan inhabitants of the country pronounce it to be the sepulchre of Buddha-Narayana or Machodar-Nath ; that is, of Buddha dwelling in the waters or of the sovereign prince in the belly of the fish ².

What Meru or Ida-vratta is to the Hindoos, the holy mountain Ida was to the Cretes and Iliensiensians. Hence, as the sepulchre of Buddha is still exhibited in Cashgar, so the tomb of Zan or Jupiter was equally shewn in the Cretan Ida ³.

Thus likewise Olympus is a local Ilapu or Meru : and, accordingly, we find, that a sacred tomb was venerated in the Olympian hill of Saturn. It was said to be the tomb of Ischenus, the son of the giant ; who was offered up, a self-devoted sacrifice, to the gods during the prevalence of a famine ⁴. This sacrifice I suspect to be nearly allied to the similar sacrifice of the Indian Brahma and of the son of the Phenician Cronus : and the tomb it-

¹ Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. c. 12. Maur. Ind. Ant. vol. iii. p. 97.

² Asiat. Res. vol. vi. p. 479, 480.

³ Porph. in vit. Pythag. p. 187. Callim. Hymn. in Jov. ver. 8. Lactant. Institut. lib. i. c. 11.

⁴ Lycoph. Cassand. ver. 42, 43. Schol. in loc.

BOOK V. self was, I am persuaded, the mythologic sepulchre of the gigantic deity of the place; agreeably to a prevailing notion, derived probably from the colossal statues of Egypt and the East, that the stature of the great father far exceeded that of the ordinary race of men. There was another of these holy tombs near the oracular grotto of Trophonius. It was given to Arce-silaus, whose bones were said to have been brought thither from Troy for the purpose of interment: but I believe, that, like the last, it was really the mystic grave of the fatidical hero-god himself¹. There was another of them at Delphi, which was shewn as the tomb of Bacchus²: another on mount Sipylus in the country of the Magnesians, which was said to be the tomb of Jupiter³: another on mount Cyllenè in Arcadia, which was ascribed to Eputus who is feigned to have been stung to death by a serpent⁴: another at Delphi, which was given to Apollo who similarly perished by the sting of the serpent Python⁵: and another at Nemèa in Argolis, which was exhibited as the sepulchre of Opheltes who is likewise fabled to have been slain by a serpent⁶. These several legends all relate to the same person; who mystically perished by the agency of the diluvian Typhon, who was inclosed within a floating coffin, and who was afterwards restored to life and made victorious over his enemy. So again, we find the tomb of Orion at Tanagra; that of Phoroneus, in Argolis; that of Deucalion, at Athens; that of Pyrrha, in Locris; that of Endymion, in Elis; that of Tityus, in Panopèa; that of Asterion, in the sacred island Ladè; that of Egyptus the son of Belus, in Achaia; and that of the hero Phocus, on a hill at Epidaurus near a holy inclosure planted with olive-trees⁷. Of Osiris I have already noticed more than one tomb: but, in fact, *every* temple of this god was his reputed sepulchre. Hence, as we learn from Plutarch, the Egyptians were accustomed to shew *many* graves of their deity: and hence, as we are told by Lucian, some of the Phenicians of Byblos, who worshipped

¹ Paus. Boeot. p. 602.

² Cyril. cont. Julian. lib. i. p. 11. This was esteemed the same as the sacred navel.

³ Paus. Corinth. p. 125.

⁴ Paus. Arcad. p. 482.

⁵ Porph. in vit. Pythag. p. 187.

⁶ Paus. Corinth. p. 111.

⁷ Paus. Boeot. p. 571. Corinth. p. 120. Strab. Geog. lib. ix. p. 425. Paus. 1 Eliac. p. 288. Phoc. p. 615. Attic. p. 66. Achaic. p. 440. Corinth. p. 140.

Osiris under the names of *Adonis* and *Thammuz*, asserted that the god was buried in their country¹. So universally indeed was this mode of demonolatry adopted, that the pagan Euhemerus professed himself able to point out the deaths and sepulchres of all the hero-gods: while the early fathers indignantly reproached the Gentiles with the worship of mere dead men, roundly intimating that even by their own confession their temples were no better than so many tombs².

Exactly the same ideas prevailed among the old Britons. They had the tomb of Tydain or the solar Hu, in the border of what they denominated *the mount of Aren*: and the resting-place or coffin of Dylan, who is the same diluvian personage under a different name, is said to be the temple of the navicular ox surrounded by the deafening wave³. Each Kist-vaen also, or mystic stone cell of Ceridwen, was deemed sepulchral: and, in the Druidical Mysteries, ere the novice passed the river of death in the boat of Garanbir or Charon, it was requisite that he should have been allegorically buried under the great stone, as well as have allegorically become defunct⁴. From these principles I argue analogically, that the large flat slab in the centre of Stonehenge, which has often been taken for an altar, was really the mystic tomb of Hu or Tydain; just as a similar stone in the midst of the Egyptian temple of Cnuphis was a sepulchre of Osiris.

Nor were such speculations peculiar to the old continent: we find evident traces, in the old Mexican superstition, of the death of the great father and the dilaceration of his members. In the month of May there was a special festival in honour of the arkite Vitzliputzli: and, on this occasion, the consecrated virgins were wont to prepare an image of the god with maize and beet kneaded together with honey. When the principal day arrived, the deity was solemnly borne in his ark to a mountain near Mexico, where sacrifices were duly offered up. Thence he was conveyed to two other holy places, and afterwards brought back to his temple in the

¹ Plut. de Isid. p. 358, 359. Lucian. de dea Syr. vol. ii. p. 879.

² Cicer. de nat. deor. lib. i. c. 42. Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. ii. c. 8. Clem. Alex. Cohort. p. 29, 58. Arnob. adv. gent. lib. vi. p. 193.

³ Davies's Mythol. p. 193, 194.

⁴ Ibid. p. 392, 400.

BOOK V. city. When the procession was finished, the maize image was torn asunder; and pieces of its substance, in the form of large bones, were laid at the feet of the god. These morsels of paste they called *the flesh and the bones of Vitzliputzli* ¹.

Lastly, it is with the same religious ideas, that the great pyramidal Morai of Otaheite is deemed at once a temple and a sepulchre: and, unless I be wholly mistaken, we have ourselves derived from a pagan source the unseemly practice of burying the dead within the walls of our churches ².

(3.) In making these remarks I am compelled wholly to dissent from Mr. Bryant, to whom I have been indebted however for some of the preceding instances of consecrated tombs. Drawn away by a refined etymology of the Greek word *Taphos*, he contends, that every pretended sepulchre of a hero-god was *not* a tomb, but *exclusively* a temple or high-place. That they were *temples* is indisputable: but, if the notion of their being *tombs* also originated from the mere Hellenic misprision of a sacred term, it is obvious, that such an idea would be utterly unknown without the limits of Greece. We have seen however, that it was equally familiar to the oriental Buddhists, the ancient Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Phenicians, the Celts, and the Mexicans. Hence I conclude, that, when the Greeks denominated such structures *Taphi* and supposed them to be tombs, they were guilty of no misprision, but merely called them by their proper mythological names ³.

2. During the intermediate period of the flood, the great father was sometimes said to lie in a state of death, and at other times was described as being plunged in a deep slumber. When the former phraseology was

¹ Purch. Pilgr. b. viii. c. 13. p. 807, 808.

² Cook's first voyage. b. i. c. 15.

³ See Bryant's Anal. vol. i. p. 449 et infra. The tale of Benjamin of Tudela respecting the Anak prince Abshamaz has evidently originated from the old mythology of Canaan, which was the same as that of Egypt and all other ancient nations. He informs us, that he saw at Danascus a rib of this personage, which measured nine Spanish palms in length and two in breadth: and he adds, that it was taken out of a sepulchre, the inscription of which purported it to be the tomb of Abshamaz the sovereign of the world. Vallanc. Vind. c. iii. p. 38. This gigantic universal king was the gigantic great father, venerated under the appellation of *Abshamaz* or *the offspring of the Sun*; for *Abshamaz* is plainly *Ab-Shemesh* or *the Sun is my father*.

adopted, the Ark was his coffin or his grave ; when the latter was preferred, CHAP. VII. it was his bed. It was the custom, particularly in the east, to represent this ancient personage by colossal images of vast size : and these, agreeably to the mythological notions entertained of him, were fashioned either in a sitting posture of deep meditation or in the recumbent attitude of one asleep. Such opinions and such modes of representation will account for many curious particulars in the old systems of idolatry : for we shall continually find, that, in consequence of this train of ideas, a bed is substituted for a ship or a coffin as the vehicle of the chief-hero-god ; and that he reposes upon it, dilated in effigy to the size of an immense giant. But by the bed was really meant his allegorical grave or coffin ; a figure of speech, than which nothing can be more obvious and familiar : and his sleep upon the one is the very same as the inclosure of his dead body within the other.

(1.) Agreeably to this speculation, the Hindoo mythologists describe Vishnou as sleeping, during the intermediate period of the deluge, upon a bed supported by the folds of the vast navicular serpent, which itself floats upon the surface of the waters ¹. Such a mode of delineation is its own interpreter : and it may therefore with propriety be first noticed, as affording a key to the right understanding of the sacred bed. Here we have the bed placed upon the volumes of the ship-serpent : but the serpent and the bed are but different symbols of the same thing. Accordingly, Vishnou is sometimes represented slumbering upon the serpent only, which serves him for a bed : while, at other times, he appears slumbering upon the bed only, the serpent being omitted. A remarkable instance of the former occurs on a sculptured rock near the Ganges ² : and, of the latter, at Cathmandu in Nepal. In a large bason on one side of the royal garden, there is a colossal figure of Vishnou-Narayan sleeping upon a mattress of stone ; which is about eighteen or twenty feet long, and broad in proportion. The bason being full of water, the image and the bed appear as floating on the surface ³.

Vishnou is ultimately the same as Buddha or Sa-Kya : hence we find this god likewise exhibited in the same manner. Near the town of Syrian

¹ Moor's Hind. Pantheon. plate vii. See Plate II. Fig. 1.

² Maur. Hist. of Hind. vol. i. plate vi. See also Moor's Hind. Panth. pl. viii.

³ Asiat. Res. vol. ii. p. 313.

BOOK V. in Pegu, there is a temple of Kia or Gautama, which contains a gigantic image of the deity sixty feet in length. It lies in a sleeping posture, recumbent upon a couch of proportionable dimensions ¹. We meet with two similar images of Buddha in the island of Ceylon, where he is equally venerated. One of them is in a temple at Villigaam, eighteen feet long: the other is eighteen cubits long, and is to be seen in a temple at Oogul-Bodda. They are both in a sleeping attitude, reclining on one side. The head, crowned with the lunar trident, rests upon a pillow attached to the upper end of the bed: the right hand is naturally placed beneath it: and the left is extended on the thigh of the same side ². This self-same person, dilated to the vast height of forty cubits, is said to lie buried in the holy tomb, which is shewn in the mountains of Cashgar or Meru ³. Here the tomb serves him for a bed: and consequently the bed is mythologically no other than the tomb ⁴.

In a similar manner, the tomb of Jupiter was exhibited in the Cretan Ida: and, as he was thought to lie there in the slumber of death, a regal couch or throne was annually spread out for him to repose upon during the celebration of his Mysteries ⁵. It does not appear that any figure of the god was laid upon this bed, but only that it was prepared for his imaginary

¹ Hamilton's Account of East-Ind. vol. ii. p. 57. See also Symes's Emb. to Ava. vol. ii. p. 247, 248.

² Asiat. Res. vol. vi. p. 435, 451. See Plate II. Fig. 2.

³ Ibid. p. 479, 480.

⁴ Another of his mystic beds is still shewn among the ruins of the Indian Mavalipuram. *On ascending the hill by its slope on the north, a very singular piece of sculpture presents itself to view. On a plain surface of the rock, which may once have served as the floor of some apartment, there is a platform of stone, about eight or nine feet long by three or four wide, in a situation rather elevated, with two or three steps leading up to it, perfectly resembling a couch or bed, and a lion very well executed at the upper end of it by way of pillow; the whole of one piece, being part of the hill itself. This the Brahmens, inhabitants of the place, call the bed of Dherma-Rajah. Asiat. Res. vol. i. p. 149. Dherma-Rajah or the Just King, the Sydyk of Sanehoniatho and the Just Man of Moses, is the same person as Menu or Buddha.*

⁵ Porph. in vit. Pythag. p. 187. Porphyry calls this piece of furniture *a throne*: but it was evidently a regal eastern couch to be used in a reclining posture, for he describes it as *ἐβουλευτικόν*.

use. Now, when we consider that it was thus spread out upon the summit of the holy mountain Ida, we shall be at no loss to understand the nature of the parallel sacred couch at Babylon. CHAP. VII.

In the chapel, which crowned the top of the montiform pyramid of Belus, there was a magnificent bed provided for the accommodation of the god: but he was only *believed* to repose upon it; for, according to Herodotus, it was not occupied by any statue¹. This bed was mythologically his coffin or resting-place; for we learn from Strabo, that the pyramid-temple was esteemed his sepulchre: and, as it was placed on the summit of a building which was constructed in imitation of Meru or Ararat, it was evidently the same implement as the navicular coffin or ark of the deity. There was a similar bed in the temple of Jupiter or Osiris at Thebes: and there was another of these couches in the temple at Patarae in Lycia². In each case, a desecrated female was provided for the entertainment of the divinity: and, as prostitution formed a regular part of the old idolatrous system, the Archimage, who professed to be the visible representative of his transmigrating god, acted no doubt as his proxy.

This will develop the meaning and the allusion of a part of that very curious mythological passage in Isaiah, which I have already had occasion to notice. The harlot church of Israel, while engaged in celebrating the funereal Orgies of Molech or Osiris, is described, as preparing a bed upon a lofty mountain in avowed imitation of that bed of her idolatrous neighbours which she had beheld with delight, and then as committing fornication upon it like the priestess of the generative great father³. Spiritual fornication is doubtless here intended, but it was rarely dis severed from literal pollution: the imagery however of the passage is certainly borrowed from the mystic bed of the Gentiles on the summit of their holy mountain.

Speculations of a similar nature prevailed also among the ancient Celts. The rocky bed of Idris is still shewn on the top of Cader-Idris: and, in plain reference to the mystic death and oracular pretensions of the initiated, it is even yet asserted, that, whoever shall rest a night upon it, he

¹ Herod. Hist. lib. i. c. 181.

² Ibid. e. 182.

³ Isaiah lvii. 7, 8.

BOOK V.

will be found in the morning either dead or raving-mad or endued with supernatural genius ¹. So again, Plutarch mentions, on the authority of a traveller named *Demetrius*, that, in one of the sacred islands on the coast of Scotland, Cronus lay extended in a profound sleep, the giant Briareus being his guard, and various other demons his attendants ². This British Saturn is clearly the same personage as Hu or Tydain or Elphin: and, accordingly, the grave or resting-place of that deity in the border of the sacred mount was denominated his *Bedd*; whence our English word *Bed* has palpably been derived ³. A similar double notion was attached, I make no doubt, to the slab in the centre of Stonehenge: it was at once the bed and the grave of the great father. Agreeably to this supposition, we find in Ireland a Druidical temple, which to this day bears the name of *the bed of Diarmod* or *the bed of the omnipotent divinity*. There is likewise another temple at Glan-Or in the same country, which is called *the bed of the hag* or *the bed of the giantess*. The masculine deity thus described was certainly the great father: and the hag or giantess was the fury Ceridwen or the gigantic great mother, whom the bards were accustomed to celebrate as the ancient giantess grimly smiling in her wrath ⁴.

We may trace the same idea among the Gothic Thracians. Dionysius of Byzantium mentions a tumulus on the Argyronian cape, near the Cyaean isles in the Thracian Bosphorus, which was denominated *the bed of the giant*: and it is a curious circumstance, that the identical appellation has survived even to the present day; for a Dervish resides near the tumulus, who details the traditions of the country respecting the hill and the giant supposed to be buried there ⁵. In a similar manner, the mystic tomb of the daughter of Sithon is termed by Lycophron her *bed* or *sleeping-place* ⁶. She was the same character as Isis or Sita: and her mythological father Sithon, who (as usual) is made the primeval king and father of the

¹ Davies's Celtic Research, p. 173.

² Plut. de defect. orac.

³ Davies' Mythol. p. 193, 194. Comp. p. 391, 392, 248.

⁴ Vallancey's Vindic. p. 469, 471, 472.

⁵ Dionys. Byzant. apud Gyllium. lib. iii. c. 6. Clarke's Travels. vol. i. c. 26. p. 683.

⁶ Ευραστρηϊος. Lyc. Cassand. ver. 583.

Thracians, is no other than the god Seth or Siton or Saidon ; and Siton is identified with Dagon or Osiris or Typhon¹. CHAP. VII.

This circumstance will explain certain legends respecting Typhon, which are immediately to our present purpose. He is described as a giant of vast magnitude : and his bed is mentioned by Homer as being in the country of the Arimi, though some represent him as lying extended beneath the whole island of Sicily². By the proper Arimi we are clearly, I think, to understand the Arminni or Armenians of Ararat, in whose country the real bed of Typhon is to be sought : but, as that bed was by local appropriation ascribed to various different regions, so the name of *Arimi* seems with it to have been similarly extended³. The bed or tomb is in fact to be sought for in the mountain of the Ark : and, as Deucalion was sometimes said to have landed on the top of Etna, we find one of the Typhonian beds beneath that mountain ; while the adjacent country was occasionally, from the true Arminni, denominated *Arima*⁴. In this part of his character, the giant Typhon identifies himself with the giant Buddha, whose sacred couches in Pegu and Ceylon have already been noticed.

As the great father and the great mother were sometimes exhibited under the forms of two colossal statues in an erect or sitting posture ; so we find an instance, where they are placed together recumbent upon the same bed. Hadgi Mehemet, a great traveller, who discoursed with Ramusio, told him, that in a temple at Campion, which is probably the same as the modern Nankin, he saw the statues of a man and a woman stretched recumbent on the ground. Each image was gilt ; and, though consisting of a single piece, was forty feet in length⁵.

(2.) The Mysteries being a scenical representation of the actions and sufferings of the chief hero-god, we may now perceive the reason, why a

¹ His genealogy, as given by Tzetzes, is purely fabulous. Schol. in Lyc. ver. 583. The Thracians were the same race as the Phœnicians and the Egyptian Shepherds : and they all equally worshipped Dagon or Sithon.

² Hom. Iliad. lib. ii. ver. 783. Ovid. Metam. lib. v. ver. 346—353. Anton. Liber. Metam. c. 28. Apollod. Bibl. lib. i. c. 6. § 3.

³ Strab. Geog. lib. xii. p. 579. lib. xii. p. 626, 627. lib. xvi. p. 750. lib. xvii. p. 784, 785.

⁴ Pind. apud Strab. Geog. lib. xiii. p. 626, 627. ⁵ Astley's Collect. vol. iv. p. 639.

BOOK V. sacred bed formed an important part of their apparatus. Clement of Alexandria tells us, that, in the formula used by one who had been initiated, he was taught to say, *I have descended into the bed-chamber*¹. The ceremony here alluded to was doubtless the same as the descent into Hades: and I am inclined to think, that, when the aspirant entered into the mystic cell, he was directed to lay himself down upon the bed, which shadowed out the tomb or coffin of the great father. This process was equivalent to his entering into the infernal ship: and, while stretched out upon the holy couch in imitation of his figuratively deceased prototype, he was said to be wrapped in the deep sleep of death. His resurrection from the bed was his restoration to life or his regeneration into a new World: and it was virtually the same as his return from Hades, or his emerging from the gloomy cavern, or his liberation from the womb of the ship-goddess.

3. We may now distinctly perceive the origin of that studied and palpable resemblance, which subsists between gentile places of literal sepulture and ancient temples devoted to the celebration of the funereal Mysteries.

Sometimes the dead were interred beneath artificial tumuli; which in form were precisely similar to the pyramidal imitations of Meru, at once the tombs and the temples of Buddha or Osiris or Jupiter or Bacchus. Sometimes they were deposited in vast excavated catacombs; which, both internally and externally, perfectly resembled the artificial consecrated grottos of the dying and reviving great father. And sometimes they were placed in subterraneous vaults; which were the very counterpart of those occasionally used for the purpose of initiation, where from the nature of the country the rocky cavern could not be employed. These different places of sepulture were often planted round with trees, in imitation of the sacred groves: and the general similarity is so strong, that, in almost every book of oriental travels, temples are either pronounced to be tombs, or tombs confounded with temples, or temples declared to be more like tombs than religious edifices.

The grave of Cyrus affords a very curious exemplification of these remarks, while it may serve to throw additional light on the preceding observa-

¹ Clem. Alex. Cohort. p. 11.

tions respecting the sacred bed. When Alexander had destroyed Perse- CHAP. VII.
 polis, he visited the tomb of this renowned prince. It was a small pyramid
 in the midst of what the Persians denominated *a Paradise*. The lower
 part of it was solid : but above, in the heart of the building, there was a
 chamber with a very narrow avenue leading to it, exactly according to the
 plan of the Babylonian tower and the great pyramid of Egypt. When Aris-
 tobulus entered it by command of the Macedonian, he found it to contain
 a golden bed, a table provided with cups, a golden trough, an abundance of
 garments, and various ornaments decorated with precious stones. No
 body was found : but the inscription proved it to be the tomb of Cyrus †.

† Strab. Geog. lib. xv. p. 730.

CHAPTER VIII.

On the Origination of Romance from old mythologic Idolatry.

THE mythology of one age becomes the popular romance of another : and so completely have the minds of men been præoccupied with the ancient universal system of Idolatry, that almost every fictitious legend, whether ancient or modern, bears its unequivocal impress. On this singular subject it were easy to write a volume. Brevity however must be consulted. I shall therefore content myself with bringing together a few scattered notices respecting romance secular, romance ecclesiastical, and romance magical or necromantic.

I. Secular romance I do not confine solely to those chivalrous fictions, which ordinarily bear that name. I consider the substance, rather than the mere appellation : and, as with equal propriety Hercules may be styled *a knight-errant* and *Amadis a hero**, I scruple not to place together under the same division of my subject warriors of very different ages and countries ; though it must be acknowledged, that, in generous courtesy at least, if not in martial prowess, the cavaliers of the middle ages far transcend their barbarous predecessors.

* Bp. Hurd has a similar remark in his Letters on chivalry.

1. The entrance of the great father into the Ship formed a very prominent feature of old mythology: and, as his liberation from it was esteemed his birth into the new World, he was often represented as a helpless infant exposed in a wooden ark. This ark is sometimes set afloat on the sea, while at other times it is mentioned *simply* without any specification of such a circumstance: and, though the great father himself is occasionally exhibited as an infant, yet we are not unfrequently told without any disguise that he constructed a ship and embarked in it with certain companions. All these various particulars have been duly transcribed into the page of romance both ancient and modern: and the channel of communication seems to have been a well preserved, though at length mistaken, remembrance of the diluvian Mysteries. Each aspirant was imitatively deemed an infant, and in the course of his initiation was committed to the sacred infernal boat. Hence originated the numerous tales of persons having experienced such a calamity during their childhood.

(1.) Let us first attend to legends of an exposure in an ark, either at sea or on the stream of a river. Of this it is easy to produce a considerable variety of examples.

The classical Perseus, and Telephus, and Anius, and Tennes, are all equally said, like the god Bacchus, to have been set afloat in an ark, during the period of their infancy, on the surface of the ocean, and to have all in due time come safe to shore¹. A precisely similar story is told respecting the British Taliesin, the Persian Darab, the Latin Romulus, the Indian Pradyumna, the Amadis of Gothic romance, and the Brahman and Perviz and Parizadè of Arabic fiction. The child Taliesin is committed to sea in a coracle: the infant Darab is set afloat on the Gihon in a small wooden ark: Romulus and his brother are exposed in the same manner on the Tiber: Pradyumna is inclosed in a chest and thrown into the sea, is swallowed by a fish, and is ultimately brought safe to land: Amadis, while a child, is shut up in a little ark, and cast into the main ocean: and the two-princes and their sister are successively placed in wicker baskets, and thus

¹ Apollod. Bibl. lib. ii. c. 4. Strab. Geog. lib. x. p. 487. lib. xiii. p. 615. Tzetz. in Lycoph. ver. 570. Conon. Narrat. 29. Diod. Bibl. lib. v. p. 332. Cicero. 1 Orat. in Verr. § 19. Lycoph. Cassand. ver. 229. Tzetz. in loc. Nonni Dionys. lib. xxv. p. 425.

BOOK V. committed to a stream which flowed beneath the walls of their father's palace¹.

(2.) Sometimes we meet with a story of a person being inclosed within an ark, unattended by the circumstance of its being set afloat on the water.

Thus Cypselus, an ancient prince of Corinth, is said to have been preserved in an ark, when his enemies sought his life: and this ark, which continued to be shewn in the days of Pausanias, was afterwards consecrated in Olympia by his posterity, who from him were denominated *Cypselidae*². Thus Jason, the captain of the Argo, was inclosed in an ark during his infancy as one dead; and in that state was bewailed by the women of his family, precisely in the same manner as the females of Egypt and Phenicia lamented the untimely fate of the ark-concealed Osiris and Adonis³. Thus Ion, the son of the Babylonian Xuth and the reputed ancestor of the Ionic Greeks, is fabled to have been exposed in an ark, which was decorated with an olive-branch⁴. Thus the primeval Athenian prince Erechthonius, whose form was compounded of a man and a serpent, was inclosed in an ark by Minerva, and committed to the care of the three daughters of Cecrops who were certainly priestesses of the triplicated great

¹ Davies's Mythol. p. 230. Vallancey's Vindic. p. 226, 227. Plut. in vit. Romul. Asiatic Res. vol. iii. p. 183, 184. Amadis de Gaul. book i. c. 2. Arab. nights entert. Concluding story. As for Romulus, Livy treats as fabulous all that preceded the building of Rome: and Plutarch affords ample room for doubting at least, whether the whole tale of the two brothers be not mere mythologic romance. From him we learn, that the foundation of the city was ascribed to various persons at various periods, and that there was the same complete uncertainty respecting both the parentage and the epoch of Romulus. The most rational opinion is, that Rome was built by a colony of the Pelasgi or Cuthic Palli; for almost every particular in the early Latin history, if history it can be called, is built upon the prevailing popular theology. See Liv. Hist. Rom. lib. i. in præfat. Plut. in vit. Romul. Tzetz. in Lycoph. ver. 1226, 1232. The Scythic origin of the Romans has been ably demonstrated by Mr. Pinkerton. Dissert. on the orig. of the Scyth. p. 80.

² Pausan. 1. Eliac. p. 319, 320.

³ Tzetz. Chil. vii. hist. 96. Schol. in Lycoph. ver. 175. Pindar. Pyth. iv. ver. 197. Natal. Com. lib. vi. p. 315.

⁴ Euripid. Ion. ver. 1431, 1587. Chron. Pasch. p. 49. Jamb. de vit. Pythag. c. 34.

mother¹. And thus an ancient personage, named *Comatas*, one of the race of the Blessed who were the deified tenants of the sacred Elysian isles, is said by Theocritus to have been shut up in an ark for the space of a whole year and to have been there fed with honey². CHAP. VIII.

(3.) Occasionally the idea of infancy is dropped; and the hero of romance, at an adult age, performs some extraordinary voyage.

Such is the exploit of Hercules, when a golden cup conveys him in quest of adventures over the surface of the mighty ocean³. Such is the voyage of Theseus to encounter the Cretan Minotaur: for, in what light his ship was viewed by the Athenians, may easily be collected, from the circumstance of its being preserved with high veneration even to the time of Demetrius Phalereus, and from the positive declaration of antiquity that he was one of the mariners of the *Argo*⁴. And such is the bold adventure of the British Merlin and his associated bards, who dared the perils of the ocean in a house of glass and were never heard of more. This is said to be one of the three disappearances from the isle of Britain⁵. The tale most probably originated from the loss of some unfortunate aspirants, who were carried out to sea in their coracle while going through the process of a navicular initiation: for, in the ancient song of Taliesin which treats of the entrance of the just man with his seven companions into the inclosure of the ship-goddess Sidi, that vessel is styled *the inclosure of glass*⁶. As for the appellation itself, it was certainly borrowed from the glass boat or lunette which the Druids used in the celebration of their Mysteries.

To the same class we may refer the various romances of our British king Arthur.

It is not unlikely, that such a prince actually fought with the Saxons: but the mythologic history of a primeval Arthur, from whom he received his name, has become romantic fiction when engrafted upon the exploits of the literal sovereign. Hence we find king Arthur described as entering

¹ Apollod. Bibl. lib. iii. c. 13. Paus. Attic. p. 31. Ovid. Metam. lib. ii. ver. 553. Tzetz. in Lycoph. ver. 158. Athenag. Legat. § 1. Hesych. Lex.

² Theocr. Idyll. vii. ver. 83.

³ Apollod. Bibl. lib. ii. c. 5. § 10.

⁴ Hyg. Fab. 14, 251. Plut. in vit. Thes. ⁵ Davies's Mythol. p. 522. Cambrian Biog.

⁶ Davies's Mythol. p. 515, 522.

BOOK V.

into a wonderful ship or inclosure with seven companions, during the time of a general desolation produced by a mighty flood of waters. Hence, in allusion to the triplicated White goddess, he is said to have had three wives; each of whom was denominated *Gwenhwyvar* or *the Lady on the summit of the water*. And hence he is represented, as having a sister, who is styled *the Lady of the lake*. He is placed at the head of three knights; who are said, like himself, to have been imprisoned in a very remarkable manner. The mode of this imprisonment evidently shews, that the story was borrowed from the inclosure of the aspirant within the mystic stone cell of Ceridwen which typified the womb of the ship-goddess. Three nights, we are told, was Arthur confined in the inclosure of wrath and the remission of wrath; three nights, with the lady of Pendragon; and three nights, in the prison of Kud or Ceridwen under the flat stone of Echemeint. This stone was his allegorical bed or sepulchre: and, accordingly, a vast stone in the centre of a round table, which crowns a hill in the district of Gower, is still denominated *Arthur's stone*. Monuments of such a description are sometimes called his *quoit* or his *table*: but both the one and the other of these imaginary implements were equally derived from the sacred ring of Ila, which the Druids symbolized by Stonehenge styling it *the Ark of the World*. Accordingly, the redoubtable knights of the round table are sometimes fabled to man the infernal ship and to ferry the souls of the dead over the lake of Hades: and the sacred inclosure, into which Arthur enters with his seven companions when a flood destroys the rest of mankind, and which we find variously denominated his *quoit* and his *table*, is declared to be *Caer-Sidi* by which appellation the bards distinguished Stonehenge. His round table is the same also as his shield: and that shield we find to be a ship, in which he performs a wonderful voyage over the ocean. It was called *Prydwen*, which signifies *the lady of the World*; a title, not particularly applicable to a buckler, but strictly descriptive of that mundane Ship which was personified as a lady or a goddess.

With respect to his military exploits, he copies and rivals Osiris or Dionusus or Sesostris or Myrina. He drives the Saxons out of England. He conquers Scotland, Ireland, Denmark, and Norway. He makes the kings

of Iceland, Gothland, and Swedeland, his tributaries. He subdues all France. He completely routs the emperor of Rome, by name *Lucius*: and, in the same battle, slays the Greek emperor and five paynim kings to boot. The next year he enters the capital of the world as a conqueror; and solemnly receives the imperial crown from all the cardinals. But the greatest warriors must die: and so must king Arthur. Returning to Britain, he is treacherously slain by his kinsman Mordred; just as Osiris, after all his victories, perished by the villainy of Typhon. Though mortally wounded, he is unable to die till his magical sword Excalibar is thrown into the Severn. The charge is entrusted to duke Lukyn; who at length fulfils it, though sorely against his inclination. He casts the noble blade into the midst of the stream: when lo, ere it touches the water, a hand and arm is seen to grasp it, to flourish it thrice in the air, and then to sink with it beneath the waves¹. When the duke returns, Arthur is no longer visible: but he perceives a self-moved boat put off at the same instant from the land, and hears the piercing shrieks of unseen ladies. Popular superstition long believed, that the king was not really dead; but that he was conveyed by the fairy Morgana, in an enchanted ship, to a paradisiacal region within the recesses of the ocean. From this island of the blessed he will return after a certain predetermined interval, and reign again over the world with his pristine authority².

I need not formally point out, whence this wild and beautiful fiction originated. Yet, although Arthur thus disappeared, his grave was shewn in the sacred peninsula, where the abbey of Glastonbury was founded. Some writers say, that our Henry the second examined it, and discovered a stone beneath which was a wooden coffin: but Polydore Virgil treats the

¹ Mr. Southey has availed himself of this highly picturesque circumstance in his fine poem of *Thalaba*. b. v. p. 241. As he does not acknowledge any obligation, the thought is probably with him original. Ariosto has a somewhat similar incident, when Ferrau drops the helmet of Argalia into the river.

² Davies's *Mythol.* p. 187, 188, 199, 394, 404, 517, 515, 522, 394, 396. *Rabelais*. liv. ii. c. 30. apud Selden. *Note au manteau mal taillé. fabliaux du xii et du xiii. siècle.* tom. i. *Legend of king Arthur and king Arthur's death.* apud Percy's *reliq.* vol. iii. Hollingshed. b. v. c. 14. See Seld. notes on Drayton's *Polyolb.* song iii.

BOOK V. whole account as an idle fiction. I believe him to be right in his scepticism: for every particular in the romance of king Arthur, no less than the insular situation of the tomb itself, leads me to believe that it was a sepulchre of a similar nature to those of Osiris or Jupiter or Bacchus or Apollo or Buddha¹.

Closely allied to the magical bark of Arthur, as originating from a common source, are the enchanted boats, which are so often prepared in romance to convey knights errant to some desperate adventure. The cavalier finds a small skiff on the shore of the ocean. He is immediately convinced, that some brother in arms or some distressed damsel, imprisoned in an insular castle, needs the assistance of his invincible arm. He steps into the vessel: and, in an instant, like the navigators of the infernal boat which conveys the souls of the dead from Gaul to Britain, he is wafted, by the unseen agency of some friendly magician, full three thousand leagues to the precise scene of action².

We find much the same legend in Arabic fiction. Prince Zeyn, when in quest of the mysterious ninth statue, arrives with his companion on the brink of a lake. Presently the enchanted boat of the king of the genii, steered by a mariner who in his uncouth form unites the head of an elephant to the body of a tyger, makes its appearance. The prince enters it under a strict injunction of silence, like that imposed upon the ancient aspirants; and is forthwith transported to a beautiful island, which is described in the oriental style as resembling a terrestrial paradise³. On this tale I need only remark, that the Indian Ganesa is provided with the head of an elephant; and that that animal is deemed one of the forms of Buddha, who steers the infernal ship of the dead over the hallowed stream of the Ganges. It is not difficult to trace the obligation of our Arabic fabulist.

2. We shall equally find in romance the sacred lake, the fairy or female divinity presiding over it, the wonderful cavern, the oracular tomb of imprisonment, the sleeping giant, and the upright figure eternally seated upon a large stone like the Memnon and other colossal statues of Egypt.

¹ Seld. on Polyolb. song iii

² See Don Quixote. vol. iii. c. 29.

³ Arab. nights enter. Story of prince Zeyn Alasnam.

(1.) In British fiction, we have a Lady of the lake, who is said to have CHAP. VIII. been the sister of king Arthur, and who is celebrated by the name of *Morgana* or *Viviana*. She is clearly the same being as the Persic Mergian Peri and as the Sicilian Fata Morgana, whose splendid illusive palaces float upon the surface of the sea. Boiardo represents her as gliding beneath the waters of an enchanted lake, while she caresses a vast serpent into which form she had metamorphosed one of her lovers: and other romance-writers describe her as the perfidious paramour of Merlin, who was wont to denominate her *the white serpent*. Her character has been taken from that of the White goddess; who presided over the sacred lake, and who as the navicular serpent was the diluvian vehicle of the great universal father.

As for Merlin, he was the son of a fair virgin by an infernal spirit: and he was at once the lover of the lady Morgana, and her instructor in the profound science of magic. Like the old Cyclopians or Telehines, he was a most skilful architect. He surrounded Caermarthen with a wall of brass: he compelled the demons to labour for him in a cavern of the island of Barry in Glamorganshire; where (as Camden remarks) you may still, by the exertion of a moderate degree of fancy, hear them at work: and, having built the stupendous circle of Stonehenge, he conveyed it in a single night, partly by sea and partly by land, from the neighbouring country of Ireland to the plain of Salisbury. He was sometimes called *Ambrosius*: and, agreeably to that appellation, such stones as those of which his temple is composed were of old denominated *Ambrosian stones*; while a town in its immediate vicinity still bears the name of *Ambrosbury*. All his magical skill however could not preserve him from the treachery of his mistress, the Lady of the lake. He became enamoured of her at the court of Uther Pendragon; where he established the famous round table, wrought many wonderful works, and uttered a number of prophecies. Previous to his death, he constructed a tomb capable of holding him and the lady: and taught her a charm, which would so close the stone that it could never be opened. The tomb is represented, as being formed out of a rock; and the entrance into it was beneath a huge enchanted slab. Into this cavern, and under this slab, she one day prevailed upon him to go; pretending, that

BOOK V. she wished to ascertain whether it was sufficiently large. As soon as he was fairly within, she pronounced the fatal charm, and made him her rock-inclosed prisoner. Here he died: but his spirit, being likewise confined by the potent spell, continued to give oracular answers to those who consulted him ¹.

The poetical wizard Ariosto has made a beautiful use of this palpably mythologic fiction: and it is remarkable, that he has strictly adhered in every particular to the descriptions which have come down to us of the ancient fatidical grotto. Bradamant descends into an immense cave. At the bottom of it she finds a spacious portal, which leads into an inner cavern. Here she beholds the rocky tomb of Merlin, within which he was confined by the Lady of the lake: and, conducted by the priestess Melissa, whom the poet has distinguished by the very name of an ancient priestess of the infernal great mother, she receives an answer to her inquiries from the enthralled spirit ².

It is almost superfluous to point out the mode, in which this legend has been borrowed from old idolatry. Merlin, the reputed builder of Stonehenge in which he sails across the Irish channel, is a Druidical hierophant, the professed representative of him, who constructed the mundane Ark shadowed out (as the bards inform us) by that vast circular monument. His mysterious birth is a transcript of the virgin-birth of Buddha. And the stone tomb, within which he becomes a prisoner, is the mystic cell or Cromlech; within which the aspirant was said to be confined by the great mother, where he was reputed to die and to be buried, and which was deemed the oracular grave of the deceased great father. We have seen, that Arthur was similarly confined, with the self-same lady of Pendragon, in the prison of Kud beneath the flat stone of Echemint. In both cases, no doubt, the tale of the imprisonment was derived from the Druidical rite of initiation within the stone cell of Ceridwen.

¹ Spencer's Fairy-Queen. b. iii. cant. 3. Life of Merlin, and Morte Arthur. b. i. c. 60. Note au manteau mal taillé. fabliaux du xii et du xiii siècle. vol. i. Bailly's Lettres sur l'Atlantide. p. 144. Orland. Inam. l. ii. cant. 12. stan. 62. Seld. on Polyolb. song v and iv.

² Orland. Fur. cant. ii. stanz. 70. cant. iii. stanz. 6 et infra.

Nearly allied to Merlin and king Arthur is the valourous Sir Launcelot CHAP. VIII. of the lake, whose title explains itself, and who is celebrated as one of the bravest of the knights of the round table. This personage is made the paramour of Queen Gwenhwyvar; whose name, as we have seen, denotes *the Lady on the summit of the water*: and he is described as accomplishing an adventure, the outlines of which have been palpably taken from the infernal shews of the Mysteries and from the allegorical death or slumber of the great father. In the course of his wanderings, the knight arrives before the sacred inclosure of Chapel perilous. Tying his steed to a small wicket, he undauntedly enters within the fence; and beholds right before him thirty gigantic cavaliers, who grin a horrible defiance against the daring intruder. For a moment his courage fails him: but, soon recovering himself, he rushes forward with his drawn sword; and the phantoms instantly give place. He now advances through the portal of the chapel: and, by the dim light of a single lamp, he perceives in the midst of it the recumbent figure of a dead warrior with his faulchion lying by his side. The enchanted weapon he forthwith seizes, and prepares to make the best of his way out of this scene of nocturnal horror; when he is charged in a grimly voice by the phantom knights without to relinquish the sword, as he values his life. Regardless of the menace, he again passes without opposition through the midst of his yielding antagonists, and regains his steed in safety¹.

(2.) The romance of Durandarte is a mere variation of those of Merlin and Sir Launcelot. He falls in the battle of Roncesvalles: and, as the gigantic statues of the great father were sometimes laid at their full length on a bed in the attitude of one dead or sleeping; so this fabulous hero is extended, like the knight beheld by Sir Launcelot in Chapel perilous, upon a tomb within the recesses of a deep cavern. Here he is preserved from decay by the charms of Merlin, and from time to time utters responses to those who address him: while his esquire Guadiana is metamorphosed into the river of that name, and Ruydera with others of his attendants into the lakes of Ruydera².

¹ Morte Arthur.

² The legend at large is put by Cervantes into the mouth of his hero, when he emerges from the enchanted cave of Montesinos. Don Quixote vol. iii. c. 23.

BOOK V. (3.) Durandarte has the prostrate attitude of the great father, though not his stature: but the isle of Man furnishes a most curious legend; which may be pronounced the very counterpart of the story, that Plutarch had from Demetrius, respecting the sleep of the gigantic Cronus in an insular cavern on the coast of Britain: and I need scarcely repeat, that the sleeping Cronus is the same as the oriental Buddha.

Rushin castle has certainly been erected on the scite of an ancient Druidical sanctuary, which was used for the purpose of initiation into the Mysteries: for some remains of this sanctuary appear to be still in existence. *When you have passed a little court of entrance, to adopt the narrative of Waldron, you enter into a long winding passage between two high walls, not much unlike what is described of Rosamond's labyrinth at Woodstock. The extremity of it brings you to a room. A little further is an apartment, which has never been opened in the memory of man. The persons belonging to the castle are very cautious in giving any reason for it: but the natives, who are excessively superstitious, assign this; that there is something of enchantment in it. They tell you, that the castle was at first inhabited by fairies and afterwards by giants, who continued in possession of it till the days of Merlin. He, by the force of magic, dislodged the greatest part of them, and bound the rest in spells which they believe will be indissoluble till the end of the world. For a proof of this they tell you a very odd story.*

They say there are a great number of fine apartments under ground, exceeding in magnificence any of the upper rooms¹. Several men of more than ordinary courage have, in former times, ventured down to explore the secrets of this subterranean dwelling-place; but none of them ever returned to give an account of what they saw. It was therefore judged convenient, that all the passages to it should be kept continually shut, that no more might suffer by their temerity. But, about some 50 or 55 years since, a person, who had an uncommon boldness and resolution, never left soliciting permission to visit those dark abodes. In fine, he obtained his request, went

¹ This is precisely the description, which Herodotus gives of the Egyptian Labyrinth. Hist. lib. ii. c. 148.

down, and returned by the help of a clue of packthread. He brought this CHAP. VIII. amazing discovery.

After having passed through a great number of vaults, he came into a long narrow place; which, the farther he penetrated, he perceived he went more and more on a descent: till, having travelled as near as he could guess for the space of a mile, he began to see a little gleam of light; which, though it seemed to come from a vast distance, yet was the most delightful sight he had ever beheld in his life. Having at length come to the end of that lane of darkness, he perceived a very large and magnificent house illuminated with a great many candles; whence proceeded the light just now mentioned. Having well fortified himself with brandy, he had courage enough to knock at the door; which a servant, at the third knock, having opened, asked him what he wanted. I would go as far as I can, replied our adventurer; be so kind therefore as to direct me how to accomplish my design, for I see no passage but that dark cavern through which I came. The servant told him, he must go through that house; and accordingly led him through a long entry, and out of the back door. He then walked a considerable way; and at last beheld another house more magnificent than the first: the windows of which being all open, he discovered innumerable lamps burning in every room. Here he designed also to knock: but he had the curiosity to step on a little bank which commanded a low parlour; and, looking in, he beheld a vast table, in the middle of the room, of black marble, and on it, extended at full length, a man or rather monster; for by his account he could not be less than fourteen feet long, and ten or eleven round the body. This prodigious fabric lay as if sleeping, with his head on a book, and a sword by him of a size answerable to the hand which it is supposed made use of it. This sight was more terrifying to our traveller than all the dark and dreary mansions he had passed through in his arrival to it. He resolved therefore not to attempt entrance into a place inhabited by persons of that unequal stature, and made the best of his way back to the other house; where the same servant reconducted and informed him, that, if he had knocked at the second door, he would have seen company enough, but never could have returned. On which he desired to know, what place it was, and by whom possessed: but the other replied, that these things were

BOOK V. *not to be revealed. He then took his leave; and by the same dark passage got into the vaults, and soon after once more ascended to the light of the sun. Ridiculous as this narrative appears, whoever seems to disbelieve it is looked on as a person of weak faith*¹.

The preceding legend has been handed down, I have little doubt, from the times of the old Druidical superstition. It relates to the nocturnal rites of initiation: which were often celebrated in dark tortuous caverns; and, in the course of which, the aspirant, after a gloomy march through terrific obscurity, emerged from a narrow door into a gaily illuminated sacellum. I am much inclined to believe, that the interior grotto at Rushin once actually contained a black tomb with the gigantic figure of a man recumbent upon it. The story preserved by Plutarch seems to favour such an opinion: and it is further corroborated by the express testimony of Cesar, that the Druids were accustomed to make large wicker images in a human shape, which they filled with the wretched victims destined to be burnt alive. Such a figure in a sleeping attitude, laid upon a stone couch after the manner of the colossal statues of Buddha in the east, and dressed so as to resemble the life, most probably gave rise to the wild fiction of the castle.

(4.) I am the more inclined to this conjecture by finding a very similar story told of the classical Gyges. According to Herodotus, he was a Lydian; who slew his master Candaules, married his wife, and usurped his kingdom: and a curious fable is told by Plato respecting the manner, in which he effected his purpose. Descending into a deep cavern, he found a large brazen horse with a door in his side. This door he opened; and discovered within the statue the recumbent figure of a giant, whose finger was decorated with a brazen ring. Gyges took the ring, which had the property of rendering its wearer invisible: and by its instrumentality introduced himself without difficulty into the palace of Candaules².

¹ Grose's Antiq. vol. vi. p. 208—209. I strongly suspect, that this Manx giant was the prototype of Lord Orford's sleeping giant in the gallery of the castle of Otranto.

² Herod. Hist. lib. i. c. 8. Plat. de repub. dial. x. The marvellous cavern near Saragoza, described by Pulci, seems very evidently to have been borrowed from the sacred Mithratic grotto. It is furnished with six pillars of gold, silver, brass, iron, tin, and lead:

(5.) The gigantic Buddha was not always exhibited in a reclining posture: we sometimes find him, as at Babylon and in Egypt, seated erect upon a vast stone chair, to which his image is inseparably joined. This particular has likewise been duly copied into romance. CHAP. VIII.

Theseus, whose stature far exceeded that of the ordinary children of men, was attached in the infernal regions to a stone seat; where, according to Virgil, he sits to all eternity: and, in the wild fictions of Arabia, the young king of the black isles, whose capital is magically submerged beneath a lake while his subjects are metamorphosed into fishes, becomes immoveably rooted to his chair by the transformation of his entire lower half into black marble. Here he sits in durance vile; until the spell, which bound him, is broken by the adventurous caliph¹.

(6.) The real habitation however, the favourite haunt, of the mythologic giant, whether distinguished by the name of *Buddha* or *Edris* or *Atlas*, is the summit of a lofty mountain: and that mountain, localized as it universally was, is truly the Paradisiacal Ararat; to which, under the appellation of *Meru*, fiction has ascribed seven stages or degrees of ascent, representing it as a pyramid composed of eight successively diminishing towers². On such particulars the Persian romance of Cai-Caus, Rustam, and the White giant, seems very evidently to have been founded³.

Cai-Caus, the successor of Cai-Cobad the first monarch of the Caianian

every soul, that enters into a mortal body upon earth, is said to be previously born out of it: and the religion and conduct of each future human individual is determined by the choice, which his spirit makes of one of the six pillars ere it issues out of the mystic cave. See *Morgante Maggiore* cant. xxv. stanz. 42—45. In the jargon of the Rosicrucian Alchymists, the different metals were used to designate the heavenly bodies. There ought properly to have been seven pillars; and we should then have had the seven celestial gates, through which, in the Mithratic Orgies, souls were reputed to be transnigratively regenerated.

¹ Arab. nights enter. story of the fisherman and genie. ² See Plate III. Fig. 10.

³ The *literal historical fact* however, on which this mythologic romance is built, was a war between Cai-Caus and the king of Touran in which the former was taken prisoner, blended with the successful suppression of a revolt in the Caspian province of Mazenderaun. See Hales's *Chronol.* vol. iii. p. 93. Probably in some such manner originated the romance of the Trojan war.

BOOK V. dynasty, is instigated by the song of a minstrel to attempt the conquest of Mazenderaun, which is celebrated as a perfect earthly Paradise. It lies in the region of mount Aspruz, at the foot of which with respect to Persia the sun sets : and, in literal geography, it is determined to be a province bordering on the south of the Caspian sea. Hence it is a part of that high tract of country, denominated *the Tabaric or Gorilyèan range*, within the limits of which the groves of Eden were planted and the Ark rested after the deluge. Cai-Caus fails in his enterprize : for the sacred country is guarded by the White giant, who smites him and all his troops with blindness, and makes them his prisoners. In this emergency the king sends a messenger to Zaul, the father of the hero Rustam, begging his immediate assistance. For the greater dispatch, Rustam takes the shorter though more dangerous road ; and departs alone, mounted on his charger Rakesh. The course, which he chooses, is styled *the road of the seven stages* : and at each of the first six he meets with a different adventure, by which his persevering courage is severely tried. Having at length however fought his way to the seventh, he discovers his prince and the captive Persians : when he learns from Cai-Caus, that nothing will restore his sight but the application of three drops of blood from the heart of the White giant. Upon this he attacks his formidable enemy in the cavern where he was accustomed to dwell : and, having torn out his heart after an obstinate combat, he infuses the prescribed three drops into the eyes of Cai-Caus, who immediately regains his powers of vision. Afterwards the two warriors lead their forces against the king of Mazenderaun, who had now lost his most redoubtable champion. In the conflict, Rustam pulls him from his horse : but he falls in the shape of a huge fragment of stone. The wary knight however is not to be so eluded. He brings the metamorphosed prince to his camp : and, by threats of breaking the stone in pieces, he compels him to resume his proper form¹.

We have here the White giant, whom I take to be the counterpart of the gigantic White goddess, on the summit of a Paradisiacal mountain of seven stages : and, immediately associated with him, we have a fabled king

¹ Orient. Collect. vol. i. numb. 4, p. 359. vol. ii. numb. 1. p. 45.

of the country; who assumes the shape of a stone, that constant symbol of Buddha or Samana-Codem. CHAP. VIII.

II. Ecclesiastical, no less than secular, romance has been greatly indebted to old mythology for several of its most specious wonders. This circumstance originated from the practice, which Pope Gregory recommended to Augustine when he planted the gospel among the Saxons of England, and which had long before that time been generally adopted in the church. Pagan temples were converted into Christian oratories; or, where they had been destroyed, new edifices were erected upon the former scite: idols gave place to the relics, and in due time to the images, of the saints: and the festivals of the demon-gods were supplanted by the festivals of that new race of demons, the canonized martyrs, whose imitative honours are so graphically foretold by St. Paul¹. The humour of framing marvellous legends respecting these dead men, to whom the churches were now ordinarily dedicated, very soon followed: and, as nothing could be more apposite than the tales of the pagan demons, who had been venerated in the precise places now occupied by their deified successors, they were readily caught up, and with the requisite modifications adapted to the reigning taste. In various instances, the gentile divinity was himself metamorphosed into an imaginary saint: and we have a whimsical case upon record, in which the very reverse took place; a saint was oddly transformed into a pagan god. The Rugii, while in a state of heathenism, occupied the sacred island of Rugen in the Baltic; and there venerated, with the usual rites, the great universal father. When they were converted to Christianity, a church was built upon the scite of their principal temple, and dedicated to the memory of St. Vitus. The Rugii however, who probably discerned no material difference between the old and the new idolatry, soon relapsed into the superstition of their ancestors: and, deeming *Sanctovitus* one of the many names of their chief divinity, they henceforth devoutly worshipped him under the appellation of *Suantewith*².

¹ Bed. Hist. lib. i. c. 30. 1 Tim. iv. 1—3.

² Milner's Church Hist. vol. iii. p. 284, 285.

BOOK V. 1. One of the most ancient ecclesiastical romances is that of the seven sleepers.

When the emperor Decius persecuted the Christians, seven noble youths of Ephesus, we are told, concealed themselves in a spacious cavern in the side of an adjacent mountain; where they were doomed to perish by the tyrant, who gave orders that the entrance should be firmly secured with a pile of huge stones. They immediately fell into a deep slumber, which was miraculously prolonged, without injuring the powers of life, during the period of one hundred and eighty seven years. At the end of that time, the stones happening to be removed, the rays of the sun darted into the cave, and the sleepers awoke. The marvellous event soon spread abroad: the seven companions were visited by the bishop, the clergy, the people, and even (it is said) by the emperor Theodosius himself: they bestowed their benediction upon the assembled multitude: and, having related their wondrous tale, they forthwith peaceably expired. This pious fiction is of very considerable antiquity; for it is mentioned by James of Sarug, who was born only two years after the death of the younger Theodosius: and so favourable a reception has it met with in the world, that it is received alike by the Latin, the Abyssinian, and the Russian, church; is introduced into the Koran of Mohammed; has been adopted and adorned by all the Musulman nations from Bengal to Africa; and has been discovered even among the Goths of Scandinavia, who placed the seven sleepers of their northern region in a cavern beneath a rock on the shore of the ocean^a.

Mr. Gibbon has carefully collected the several particulars; and, with the evidently malignant design of placing this miracle upon the same footing of authority as those recorded in the gospels, has endeavoured to trace the fiction to within fifty years of the supposed event. For the same purpose he has industriously blazoned its universal reception; thus tacitly insinuating the strength of evidence, by which it is supported. But, unfortunately for the infidel historian, this very circumstance of its universal reception points out the source whence it originated, and thus effectually destroys the force of his concealed argument. No doubt such a story was

^a Gibbon's Hist. of Decl. and Fall. vol. vi. c. 33. p. 32—34.

generally received from India to Scandinavia, and had been received long before the time either of Decius or Theodosius. The seven sleepers are the seven holy Rishis or companions of Menu in the ark, who are said to have performed a wonderful penance in a floating Moon. Their inclosure within the ark was deemed a state of deathlike slumber: and their lunar ship was represented by a holy cavern in the side of a mountain. It was the same as the sea-girt cavern, in which Cronus inclosed the seven members of his family, and which (as we have learned from Plutarch) was shewn by the Hyperboreans in a sacred isle on the coast of Britain: the same also as the grotto of the sleeping great father Buddha or Siva, conspicuous in his eight forms on the summit of mount Meru. The tale in short has been palpably borrowed from that old mythology; which prevailed throughout Asia Minor, no less than among the Hindoos and the Goths and the Celts.

Such was its origin, so far as the notion itself is concerned: but I think it not improbable (so early did a wretched system of fabricating spurious wonders creep into the church), that a farce might have been actually played off in a cavern near Ephesus during the reign of Theodosius. It is at least obvious, that nothing could be more easy in the execution, than to produce seven pretended sleepers out of a cavern; who should gravely recite the pagan tale prepared for them, bestow their benediction upon the credulous multitude, and afterwards sink into a pretended death. So much for a silly tale, through which a deistical writer hoped to shake the credibility of the miracles performed by Christ and his apostles. When we are able to persuade five thousand persons assembled in the wilderness, that their hunger has been really satisfied by partaking of a few loaves and small fishes: then, and not till then, may we rank the wonders of the gospel, the *actual performance* of which was never disputed by the *early* enemies of Christianity, with the portent of the seven sleepers of Ephesus¹.

2. Nearly allied to this legend is that of the wandering Jew; who, for insulting the Messiah while upon his mock trial, is doomed to await in the

¹ According to Mr. Gibbon's chronological table of contents, the seven sleepers emerged from their gloomy cavern about the year 439, when much corrupt superstition had crept into the Church.

BOOK V. flesh the second advent. Like the fabled great father, he rambles over the face of the whole globe, and visits every region. At the close of each revolving century, bowed down with age, he sickens and falls into a death-like slumber : but from this he speedily awakes in renovated youth and vigour ; and acts over again the part, which he has already so repeatedly sustained.

3. As these romances have originated from the periodical sleep and resurrection of the great father and his family, so that of St. Antony has been copied from the various terrific transformations exhibited in the funereal Orgies of Dionusus or Osiris or Mithras.

Antony, it seems, was in the habit of dwelling in one of those excavated rock sepulchres or catacombs ; which are so frequent in Egypt and the east, and which in form are precisely similar to the sacred grottos used for the celebration of the Mysteries. In this comfortless abode he was once attacked by a whole host of demons ; who completely filled the place in the various shapes of lions, bulls, wolves, asps, serpents, scorpions, pards, and bears. Some of these unwelcome visitants howled, some yelled, some threatened, and others actually proceeded to flagellate the saint. But, the undaunted Antony making the sign of the cross, a heavenly light, resembling that which flashed upon the exhausted aspirant at the close of his terrible march through haunted darkness, beamed into the cell, and soon put the hellish rabble to flight².

4. To the same class, as the sepulchral battle of St. Antony with the fiends, belongs the famous monastic legend of the descent of Owen into the infernal regions, which was accomplished by his entering into what is now called *the Purgatory of St. Patric*.

Every particular relative to this engine of papal imposture proves it to have been an ancient cell used for the purposes of Druidical initiation. The Purgatory is a small artificial cavern, built upon a little island in Lough Derg, in the southern part of Donegal³. Its shape resembles that of an L, excepting that the angle is more obtuse : and it is formed by two parallel

² Act. sanctor. vol. ii. Jan. 17. p. 123. apud Southey's *Thalaba*. vol. ii. p. 101.

³ The island is only 126 yards long by 44 broad.

walls covered with large stones and sods, the floor being the natural rock. CHAP. VIII.
 The length of it is sixteen feet and a half, and its width two feet; but the building is so low, that a tall man cannot stand erect in it. Round it are built seven chapels, dedicated to the same number of saints. This Purgatory was once called *the cave of the tribe of Oin*: and it is said to have received its appellation from the following circumstance. An adventurer, named *Owen*, entered into it: and there, sinking into a deep sleep, he beheld the pains of Tartarus and the joys of Elysium. His visions, which closely resemble the descent of *Enèas* into Hades, are circumstantially related by *Matthew Paris*: and the fable was afterwards taken up by one *Henry*, a Cistercian monk, from whom it received sundry improvements and embellishments. The drift of them is to shew us, how the cave acquired its supposed preternatural virtues. According to *Henry*, Christ appeared to the celebrated *St. Patric*: and, having led him into a desert place, shewed him a deep hole¹. He then proceeded to inform him, that, whoever entered that pit, and continued there a day and a night, having previously repented and being armed with the true faith, should be purged from all his sins: and he further added, that, during the penitent's abode there, he should behold both the torments of the damned and the joys of the blessed. In consequence of this divine revelation, *St. Patric* immediately built a church upon the place².

Such is the legendary history of this insular purgatory, which has been wholly borrowed from the pagan Mysteries once celebrated within it. *Derg*, from whom the lake received its appellation, was the principal goddess of the old Irish: and both her attributes and her name prove her identity with the *Durga* of Hindostan and the *Dereè* of Palestine. The lake and the island were no doubt sacred to her: and, from the oracle

¹ This hole was broken up by order of Pope Alexander VI on *St. Patric's* day 1497. That pontiff wisely judged the whole to be a scandalous imposture: and yet, strange to tell, the late Pope Benedict XIV was so vehement an admirer of the purgatory, the winding passage of which yet remains, that he actually preached and published a sermon on its manifold virtues. *Ledw. Ant.* p. 446. What heretic shall presume to decide between these two discordant infallibles?

² *Ledwich's Ant. of Irel.* p. 446, 447. *Collect. de reb. Hib.* vol. iv. p. 74, 89. pref.

BOOK V. established in the latter, the former was also called *the lake of soothsayers*, long before the supposed era of St. Patric; whence it is evident, that the monks did not *invent* the tale of the purifying cave and the descent into Hades, but only *adapted* it to the superstitions with which Christianity was encumbered in the middle ages¹. Accordingly, the purification, believed to be obtained by threading the narrow passage, is the exact counterpart of the regenerative purification, which in pagan times, from Hindostan to Ireland, has been thought to be acquired by squeezing the body through a stone orifice: and the scenes, which the intrepid Owen beholds in the pretended Purgatory of St. Patric, are precisely similar, both in kind and order, to the pageants which were exhibited during the process of initiation. His conductor, the mimic of the ancient hierophant, first shews him the torments of the damned; and afterwards leads him into Paradise or Elysium. Owen, in short, was the Babylonian Oan or Oannes; whose name and worship was brought into Ireland by the first colonists from the east: hence we find him mentioned by Bede near five centuries before the era, in which Matthew Paris flourished. After the natives had been for some ages converted to semi-christianity, the real character of Owen or Oin was gradually forgotten: but the old traditions concerning him were still faithfully handed down; and he himself was transformed into a sainted soldier, while his oracular cavern, which was one of the very same description as that of Trophonius, was metamorphosed into St. Patric's Purgatory. The seven attached chapels have succeeded to seven sacella, answering to the seven small sanctuaries which surrounded the image of Molech²: and they were used, I apprehend, for the preparatory transmigration of the aspirant; like the seven gates or steps of the Mithratic staircase, which were a transcript of the seven steps or stages of mount Meru.

As for Patric, if such a person ever really existed beyond the limits of a fabulizing martyrology, his character at least has received large additions from that of the Irish Molech or Baal; agreeably to the arrangement of

¹ Colgan apud Collect. de reb. Hib. vol. iv. p. 74. pref.

² Or, as some think, the seven partitions into which his hollow statue was divided. See Seld. de diis Syr. synt. i. c. 6. p. 96.

his Purgatory in the midst of the seven cells ¹. We find him denominated *Taulgean* or *Tailgin*, which is the same title as the classical *Telchin*: for *Tel-Chin* signifies a priest of the Sun; and *Taulch* is one of the names which the Irish bestow upon that luminary ². We also find him styled *Aistaire*, because he was the masculine counterpart to the goddess Easter whose pagan appellation we have retained in one of our ecclesiastical festivals; just as Molech was entitled *Asterius* or *Taurus*, because he was the masculine counterpart to Astoreth or Astartè ³. His fictitious attributes correspond with his names. The image of Molech was wont to be heated red hot: and, when it was thus prepared, children were sacrificed by being inclosed within the ignited statue. In a similar manner, Patric or Aistaire is said to have appeared in an universal blaze of fire to Milcho, whom the monks fancy to have been one of his disciples, but who in reality was no other than Molech or Milchom or Patric himself. Upon this occasion, flames issued continually from his mouth, his nostrils, his eyes, and his ears; and Milcho with difficulty escaped the danger of combustion. His two infant daughters however were not so fortunate: as they slept together in one bed, they were reduced to ashes by the conflagration ⁴.

Patric has another purgatory of the same nature in the mountain Cruachan Aigle. Many devotees are accustomed to watch and fast on the summit of this hill, fancying that the merits of the saint will assuredly deliver them from the pains of hell. Some of them, who have passed the night there, pretend that they suffered most dreadful torments inflicted by an invisible hand; and by this process they believed themselves to be purified from their sins. Hence the place acquired the name of *St. Patric's Purgatory* ⁵. Here we have a holy mountain; as before we had a holy lake, and island, and cavern. The two legends differ only in having originated from different sanctuaries of the same universal system of old idolatry.

¹ Mr. Ledwich strongly contends, that no such saint as Patric ever existed. *Ant. of Irel.* p. 326—378.

² *Collect. de reb. Hlib.* vol. iv. p. 60. *pref.* *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 404.

³ Vallancey's *Vindic.* p. 201.

⁴ *Sext. vit. Patric. Colgan.* p. 67. *apud Vallanc. Vind.* p. 252.

⁵ *Colgan apud Collect. de reb. Hlib.* vol. iv. p. 74. *pref.*

BOOK V.

5. A similar purgatory occurs in Wales, distinguished by the appellation of *St. Winifred's needle*. They, who were accused of any crime, were required to clear themselves by passing through the narrow orifice. If they succeeded in the attempt, they were pronounced innocent: if they stuck fast, they were deemed guilty. It is superfluous to make any additional remarks on the palpably heathen origination of this ceremony: I shall rather notice the legend of the saint herself, which, like her rocky needle, is Paganism in masquerade.

Winifred, as we are credibly informed by Wynkin de Worde, was a beautiful virgin; whose head was struck off by a young prince, because she resisted his attempt to violate her. Where the head fell, there suddenly started forth a fountain which still bears the name of the murdered maid. She was destined however to experience a wonderful resurrection. St. Bueno, most opportunely coming by, replaced the head in its natural position, and then by a single prayer restored the virgin to life and struck the ravisher dead. This miracle naturally enough produced an intimacy between Bueno and Winifred: insomuch that, when the former went to sojourn in Ireland, he desired the latter to send him an annual token. The simple mode, which he recommended, was, merely to put the token in the stream of the newly-produced fountain, whence it would infallibly be carried over the sea to his Hibernian residence. Winifred did as she was directed: and thus, from year to year, the holy man regularly received a chesyle of silk wrapped up in a white mantle¹.

Bueno, whom the monks have transformed into a wonder-working saint, was an ancient Druidical god, the same as Hu or Noë or Tydain: for his temple is mentioned by Taliesin; and is described by that bard, as being on the border of a sacred mount where the wave makes an overwhelming din, and as containing the mystic bed or tomb of Dylan who with his consort was preserved in an ark at the period of an universal deluge. Perhaps I should express myself with more accuracy, if I said that *Bueno* was a title of the god Hu-Noë, who must doubtless be identified with Dylan son of the ocean: for, in the Celtic, the word, agreeably to the mythologic character of the god, denotes *the bull of the ship*².

¹ Grose's Ant. vol. vii. p. 62.

² Taliesin apud Davies's Mythol. p. 194.

Here then we have a clue to the remainder of the legend : and I think we may collect from it, that the Druids had rites which bore a strong resemblance to those that were annually celebrated in Egypt. Winifred dies by violence, and is restored to life : a sacred fountain springs from her head, as the Nile does from the foot of Orion and the Ganges from the foot of Vishnou or the head of Siva : and a token is feigned to be yearly wafted over the sea which separates Ireland from Wales, just as the little papyrine boat containing the head of Osiris made its spontaneous annual voyage from Egypt to Phenicia.

6. But the voyage of St. Bueno's silk chesyble is a mere trifle, compared to the portentous aquatic expedition of St. Brandon. This adventurer, instigated by a laudable desire of extending the limits of science both geographical and astronomical, embarked on the coast of Ireland : and, like Columbus, boldly launching out into the great western ocean, he sailed straight, not to the islands of America, but to the Moon. Here he had an edifying conversation with Judas Iscariot, whose torments regularly ceased from Saturday until the even-song of Sunday : and it is added, that the saint and the traitor made a fire on the back of a huge fish, mistaking it for an island ¹.

In this tale we may again perceive, how much the monastic legends have been indebted to old mythology. The Moon of St. Brandon is evidently the floating Moon or lunar island of the great father : the fish is another symbol of the same import : and I am not without suspicion, that the ecclesiastical mariner himself has received his name from ancient Paganism. *Brandon* signifies *the hill of the raven* : and it is worthy of notice, that a mount near Durham still bears this identical appellation.

7. We now tread upon the consecrated peculiar of St. Cuthbert's patrimony : and I advance, with the reverential awe due from one of his spiritual children, to trace the devious wanderings of the canonized erratic.

Lindisfarne or Holy Island was the original see of the great northern diocese. The remarkable form of that island, and the extraordinary sanctity attributed to it, leave us little room to doubt, that, like Heligoland and

¹ Petr. Comest. and Strab. apud Purch. Pilgr. b. i. c. 3. p. 18.

BOOK V. Bardsea and other similar islets, it was a sea-girt sanctuary of the old superstition of the country. It boldly rises out of the sea in the figure of a cone, the top of which is crowned with the remains of an ancient castle: and within its precincts are the ruins of the conventual and cathedral church of Lindisfarne. Such a form was peculiarly valued by the old hierophants, as exhibiting Meru or Ararat surrounded by the retiring deluge: and I am greatly mistaken, if this island was not a holy wave-beaten mountain of Hu, where his bed or resting-place was exhibited from the earliest ages. When the Britons were converted to Christianity, the pagan sanctuary, according to the plan so generally adopted, became the scite of a church. Under the Saxons, it was probably again devoted to the rites of Paganism: and, when they at length received the gospel, the ancient holy place was made the seat of the extensive diocese of Northumberland. Thus, with the exception of the Danish inroads, matters remained, until the episcopal see was removed to Durham.

In this opinion I am the more confirmed by a part of the legend of St. Cuthbert. That he might the better practise his austere devotion, he withdrew himself to one of the adjacent islets, a bleak barren rock; which, to use the quaint language of his historiographer, *was as void of men as it was full of devils*. How such a notion originated may easily be accounted for, if we suppose the Holy Island to have been once a pagan sanctuary. In that case, the chief island and the adjoining rocks would be constantly used in the navicular rites of initiation into the Druidical Mysteries. But these Mysteries, like the Orgies of the rest of the world, were of a sepulchral or infernal nature: and it was a received maxim in the Church, derived from some misunderstood texts of Scripture, that the gods of the Gentiles were literally devils. Hence, on the preceding supposition, we may readily perceive, why the Farn islands would have the reputation of being haunted by evil spirits. This supposition will both throw light on the very curious legend of St. Cuthbert, and will itself be corroborated by the general tenor of that legend: for the whole story is a tissue of pagan fables, adapted with some ingenuity to a hero of monkish Christianity.

After a probation of fifteen years in the abbey of Melross, Cuthbert, who had been early led by a miraculous vision to assume the monastic habit,

was promoted to the dignity of prior of Lindisfarne. This station he held so irreproachably for the space of twelve years, that the devil, the former occupant of the island, was provoked to vex him, during that period, by sundry unlucky tricks of the same description as those, with which St. Antony was harassed in his sepulchral abode. At length he resigned his ecclesiastical dignity, and retired to the rocky islet which I have already had occasion to notice. Here he had a variety of combats with his former ghostly enemy, the print of whose feet is still to be seen impressed on the solid crag: and once, during a visit which he had paid to the sacred isle of Coquet, two sea-monsters presented themselves kneeling before him, received his benediction, and then peaceably returned to the hoary deep. The sanctity of his life becoming famous, he was in full synod elected bishop of Lindisfarne. This dignity he accepted very unwillingly, and held it only two years, at the close of which he returned to his insular hermitage and there ended his life. He ordered in his will, that, if the pagans should invade the Holy Island, the monks should quit it, and with them should carry away his bones. These directions were punctually obeyed; and, when the Danes next made their appearance, the saint, wholly unaltered by the sleep of death, was piously exhumed and conveyed by the monks to the main land. Here both he and they long continued in an erratic state: and Cuthbert was borne about in a coffin, from place to place, on the shoulders of his ministering attendants. In this manner they conveyed him through Scotland: and then, from Whithern in Galloway, they attempted to sail for Ireland; but they were driven back by violent tempests. At length the saint, who appears to have oracularly marked out their route, made a halt at Norham. Thence he proceeded to Melross, where he remained stationary for a short time. Next he caused himself to be set afloat upon the Tweed in his stone coffin, and propitiously concluded his voyage at Tillmouth in Northumberland. From Tillmouth he wandered, in his usual fashion, to Craike near York: and from Craike he brought back his bearers to Chester-le-Street, where he rested in peace for a considerable time, in the course of which the seat of the bishopric was removed to that place from Lindisfarne. But, the Danes continuing to be troublesome, the saint became dissatisfied with his quarters. Upon this the

BOOK V.

monks painfully bore him southward to Ripon, where he remained until the invaders withdrew themselves. They then set out, with their holy burden, on their return to Chester. And now this eventful pilgrimage drew near to a conclusion. The monks, worn out with carrying the saint themselves, had placed him in a vehicle drawn by oxen : when, as they passed through a northern forest, the carriage suddenly became immoveable at a place named *Wardelax*. In such an emergency, the wisest plan of course was to consult Cuthbert himself. This accordingly was done with prayer and fasting : and, at the end of three days, the canonized erratic vouchsafed to inform Eadmer, that he disapproved of returning to his old station, and chose rather to be carried to Dunholme where his weary bones were destined to find their ultimate resting-place. The difficulty now was to learn the precise situation of the fated Dunholme ; for the oracle was silent, and the saint refused to give them any further directions. While they were deliberating in great perplexity, a woman, who had lost her cow, made inquiries of another respecting the strayed animal ; and was answered, that it had been seen in Dunholme. The propitious omen was accepted ; the track of the cow was followed ; Dunholme was discovered ; and in due time the cathedral of Durham was built. The final abode however of the restless Cuthbert is involved in awful mystery. During the reign of the Norman conqueror, he chose to revisit his ancient haunt the Holy Island. He was borne, according to the mode of travelling which he ordinarily preferred, on the shoulders of four men ; who, on the present occasion, were seculars. When his retinue came opposite to Lindisfarne, it was high water ; a circumstance, which stopped their progress, and exposed them to the serious inconvenience of spending a northern winter's night under the canopy of heaven. The saint, with much considerate good-nature, pitied their distress : at his command, the sea miraculously opened for them a passage : and, when they were all safely landed, the waves returned to their ordinary course. So amazed were the four secular bearers with the portent, that they immediately renounced the world and became good monks. Cuthbert's visit to his old friends lasted somewhat more than three months : he was then brought back to Durham, and privately buried within the precincts of the cathedral. The precise situation of his grave is unknown, at

least to the profane heretics who have usurped his domain: but an old tradition says, that the important secret is still in the possession of three respectable catholic gentlemen; and that, when one of the number dies, the survivors duly elect a new depository of the thrilling trust. His wonderful stone coffin is shewn in more than a single place. The actual sepulchral boat, though unluckily broken, may be seen near the ruined chapel of Tillmouth: and another coffin is exhibited, as the original property of the saint, beside his oratory in the small demon-haunted Farn island, which bears the name of *Cocquet* ¹.

The whole of this legend sufficiently bespeaks the source, from which it has been derived. We have here, scarcely concealed beneath a thin monastic disguise, the holy island of the great father, his inclosure within a floating coffin or a stone ship, his solemn conveyance in that vehicle on the shoulders of his priests, his erratic progress at the head of each new colony, his oracular directions where the colonists are to halt, his occasional journeys in a waggon drawn by oxen, his passage through the sea to his insular Paradise, his mysteriously uncertain interment, his sepulchral ship exhibited in various places, and his abode in a cell or cavern within a sea-girt rock: here likewise we have the emerging of Oannes or Dagon from the hoary deep, and the impression of the sacred foot of Buddha: and here, in the fabulous discovery of Dunholme and the subsequent erection of the cathedral, we have a palpable repetition of the two kindred tales respecting the foundation of Thebes and Ilium by Cadmus and Ilus; each of whom, like the monks of St. Cuthbert, was led to the destined place by the mystic symbolical heifer.

From the evident identity of the various systems of ancient mythology, I am led to believe, that such stories and such rites were well known to the Druids, and that the monks did not so much borrow the legend of Cuthbert from the classical writers as from old traditions relative to the ship-deity of Holy Island.

8. One of the seven chapels, which surround St. Patric's Purgatory, is

¹ Grose's *Antiq.* vol. ii. p. 88, 89. vol. iv. p. 82, 83, 93, 112—120. Scott's *Marmion*. cant. ii. note 11.

BOOK V. dedicated to St. Columba. If such a saint ever existed, we may again trace the connection of a monkish legend with the mythology of Paganism.

The name of *Columba* signifies *a dove*: and we find the saint, who bears it, esteemed the peculiar guardian of the Scottish sacred island of Iona. This was very early celebrated, as containing a great monastery of the Culdèan ascetics: but its appellation, which it has preserved even to the present day, serves to prove, that it was originally a pagan sanctuary. Iona was the peculium of the sacred Iona. But the sacred Iona was certainly the Iona, or mystic dove, of Babylon; and the Yoni or female principle of Hindostan, which at the time of the deluge first sailed over the great deep in the form of a ship and afterwards flew away in the shape of a dove. Hence, the words *Columba* and *Iona* having precisely the same meaning, the saint, if we admit his literal existence, was aptly selected as the patron of the holy island: but the consequence was, that the old pagan stories of the place were immediately transferred to its new demi-god.

During the recess of the deluge, the great father sent out the exploratory dove; and the prospect, which met his eye from the window of the Ark, was that of an ocean studded with islands, the intervening valleys being still covered with water.

Exactly such is the view from the sanctuary of Iona; and, when we recollect the general tenor of the Druidical theology, we can scarcely doubt with what religious associations so well-adapted a scene would be contemplated. Accordingly we find no obscure traces of this speculation yet remaining among the natives. They suppose, that, on certain evenings every year, their tutelary saint Columba, dilated like Buddha or Edris or Atlas to a gigantic size, appears on the top of the church-tower, and counts the surrounding islands to assure himself that they have not been plunged by the power of magic beneath the waves of the ocean¹.

While the waters of the deluge prevailed, the lunar island of the Ark always appeared above their surface; and, when they abated, it first became fixed on the summit of Ararat and in the very region which once was Paradise. Hence the Hindoos have a notion, that the holy island of the

¹ Campbell's Pleasures of Hope. part ii. ver. 199. note.

Moon and the highest peak of Cailasa or Meru are never submerged beneath that periodical inundation which overwhelms every successive mundane system, but that they are invariably saved amidst the wreck of contending elements in order that by them the rudiments of a new World may be preserved : and hence the Jewish Rabbins have adopted the wild fiction, that, at the time of the flood, the garden of Paradise became buoyant, and was borne aloft upon the surface of the waves over the tops of the loftiest mountains ¹. CHAP. VIII.

Just the same ideas still prevail, as they have for ages prevailed, among the natives of Iona. When the whole World is plunged beneath a mighty inundation of waters, their privileged island rises preëminent above the flood, and affords a safe shelter to all who tenant it. Such being its extraordinary property, it was long a favourite burial-place of the northern kings : and eight and forty sovereigns repose within its hallowed precincts, secure that no future deluge shall scatter their remains ².

Let these legends be connected with Columba's station near the Purgatory, and we shall scarcely mistake his true character.

There are yet however some other particulars, which may serve to throw additional light upon it. He was in the habit, it seems, of stationing his monks in small islands, sometimes in lakes and sometimes in the open sea : and we shall occasionally find very plain hints, that these islands were originally pagan sanctuaries.

Such was Monaincha or Innisnaboo, as we may collect from the account given of it by Giraldus Cambrensis ; who, in the year 1185, accompanied King John to Ireland, the native country of St. Columba. *In North Munster, says he, is a lake containing two isles : in the greater is a church of the ancient religion ; and in the lesser, a chapel, wherein a few monks, called Culdees, devoutly serve God. In the greater no woman or any animal of the female gender ever enters, but it immediately dies. In the lesser no one can die : hence it is called the island of the living. Often people are*

¹ Bochart. Hieroz. par. ii. lib. i. c. 5. p. 29. This notion has been adopted by our deeply learned poet Milton. See *Parad. lost.* book xi. ver. 529—835.

² I had this information from a friend, who recently visited Iona.

BOOK V. *grievously afflicted with diseases in it, and are almost in the agonies of death. When all hopes of life are at an end, and when the sick would rather quit the world than lead any longer a life of misery, they are put into a little boat and wafted over to the larger isle; where, as soon as they land, they expire*¹. Such likewise was another isle in the lake of Ulster, mentioned by the same writer. He describes it, as divided into two parts. The one, pleasant and beautiful, contained a church of the orthodox faith; the other, rough and horrible, was inhabited by demons².

The legend, attached to the Munster isle, seems very evidently to have arisen, from the funeral Orgies and the boat of Garanhir the Celtic Charon: and, as it was very long ere the old superstition was finally eradicated, I suspect, that the demons, who with the monks were joint tenants of the Ulster isle, were the infernal gods of the Mysteries, still venerated by the natives amidst cliffs and crags³.

9. Perhaps however the most unequivocal proof of the derivation of ecclesiastical romance from pagan mythology exists in the legend of the French St. Denis or Dionysius. The name of the holy Areopagite happens to be borrowed, as was usual among the Greeks, from the name of Dionysus or Bacchus. Hence the god was mistaken for the saint: or rather the attributes and calamities of the one were devoutly ascribed to the other.

Dionysus is cut in pieces by the Menades on the top of mount Parnassus: Denis is put to death in the same manner on the summit of Montmartre. Dionysus is placed on a tomb, and his death is bewailed by women: the mangled limbs of Denis are collected by holy females, who weeping consign him to a tomb over which is built the abbey-church that bears his name. Dionysus experiences a wonderful restoration to life, and quits

¹ Topog. ii. c. 4. p. 716. apud Ledwich's Ant. of Irel. p. 69.

² Topog. Ibid. p. 717—728. apud Ledwich. p. 70.

³ Mr. Ledwich thinks, that the demons were Culdees, so denominated by the popish bigotry of Giraldus. This conjecture does not accord with the language used elsewhere by that author. He, who speaks of the Culdees as *devoutly serving God* and who styles them *most religious monks*, could scarcely have distinguished them by the appellation of *demon*. I certainly prefer my own supposition, which exactly harmonizes with the notion entertained of the pagan gods. See Ledwich. p. 70, 71.

the coffin within which he had been confined: Denis rises again from the dead, replaces his severed head to the amazement of the spectators, and then deliberately walks away. On the southern gateway of the abbey, the whole history of this surprizing martyrdom is represented. A sculptured sprig of the vine, laden with grapes, is placed at the feet of the holy man: and in all parts may be seen the same tree, blended with tygers and associated with a hunting match¹.

Such numerous and close coincidences prevent the possibility of doubting the identity of the god Dionysus and the monkish saint Dionysius.

III. Were I more conversant in the hagiographa of the Latin church, I might perhaps be able to produce many other similar instances. But these are sufficient for my purpose: I now therefore pass to the consideration of romance magical and necromantic, which will equally be found to derive its origin from the speculations of ancient mythology.

I. We have seen, that the sacred cavern was generally deemed oracular; and that the ship, of which the cavern was a symbol, had the same character of being fatidical. Now the goddess of the ship was an infernal deity, who was believed to exist in three forms or to have mysteriously triplicated herself: and, by whatever names she might be called in different mythological systems, she was at once the Moon, the Earth, and the Ark. In celebrating the Orgies of this divinity, a large cauldron or boiler was used by the hierophants both of Greece and Britain: and, when we consider the close connection of the former country with Egypt and Palestine, we may not unsafely conclude that a similar vessel was there also of equal importance. It was employed for preparing the sacred beverage: and it was provided with a hole at the bottom, by which a certain part of the liquid was suffered to run off into a deep pit or orifice. This vessel seems to have been occasionally made of earthen ware: for two cauldrons of such a description, deep and widening from the bottom upwards, were used in the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries.

On such notions and such practices one great branch of magic was certainly founded. The oracular Moon or infernal ship-goddess was invoked:

¹ Yorke's Letters from France. vol. ii. p. 118, 119.

BOOK V. and the preparatory rites, as well as the subsequent pageant, were borrowed from the shews of the Mysteries. Apollonius has given us an *imperfect* description of this mummary, as practised by Jason according to the directions of Medea. The hero selects a retired spot, watered by a living stream. He bathes his body in its waves, and arrays himself in a black mantle. Then he digs a circular pit, lays billets of wood at the bottom of it, and deposits upon the pile the carcass of a slaughtered lamb. Next he sets fire to the wood; and pours libations over the sacrifice, calling upon the name of Brimo-Hecatè. Suddenly the dreadful goddess rises out of the deep recesses of the pit. Her head is crowned with snakes and oak-branches: the light of innumerable torches, as in the celebration of the Orgies, gleams around her: the infernal dogs, those well-known agents in the Mysteries, rend the air with their shrill howlings: and the yells of the affrighted water-nymphs are heard in all directions¹. I call this description *imperfect*, because we have so much more full an account of the whole affair in the Argonautics of the old Orphic poet. Medea first conducts her lover to the mystic cell or cavern of the dreadful goddess; near which, in a level plat of ground, he digs a triple pit, or a circular hole surrounded by two concentrical trenches. Here he raises a pile of dry wood, which is carefully besmeared with various enchanted ointments and perfumes. Three black bitches are then slain, and stretched upon the pile; the paunches of the animals being previously stuffed with sundry herbs of awful potency mingled with their blood. Next their raw intestines, mixed with water, are poured out into the incircling trenches: and then Jason, clad in a black robe, strikes the brazen cymbal of invitation. Immediately the three furies obey the summons; and start out of the central pit, each brandishing a bloody torch. The pile bursts forth into a blaze: and, in the midst of the smoke and flame, rise from the depths of Hades the two infernal goddesses Pandora and Hecatè, or Ceres and Proserpine. The one has a body of solid iron: the other, hideous with the three heads of a horse and a dog and a ferocious beast of prey, brandishes a sword in both her hands. Forthwith they join the three Poenæ; and with them dance wildly, hand

¹ Apoll. Argon. lib. iii. ver. 1200—1219.

in hand, round the circular pit. The guardian statue of Diana dashes to the ground a burning torch, and raises its eyes to heaven. The attendant dogs fawn upon their mistress: the rites are perfect: the silver doors burst open with a mighty sound: and the sacred grove, with the watchful dragon, is revealed¹. CHAP. VIIL.

It seems doubtful, whether Shakespeare was acquainted with the ancient Orphic poems: I am rather inclined to believe, though he introduces the name of Hecatè, that his magical cauldron and his three weird-sisters were traditionally derived from a different though kindred source; I mean the old Celtic mythology of the Druids. His witches are no mere beldames in mortal bodies; but the great infernal mother, revealing herself in three shapes and oracularly responding to those who consult her. They are the same persons, as the furies or Parcæ of the Orphic poet and as the Valkyriur or fatal sisters of Gothic mythology. Hence their magical rites bear a mixed resemblance to the Orgies of Ceridwen-Erinnys and to the Colchian incantations of the Cuthic Medèa. Their cauldron appears evidently to be the cauldron of the British goddess, and that cauldron again may be identified with the circular pit prepared by Jason. Each, though differently used, is used for a similar purpose: and the dance of the weird-sisters round the cauldron is perfectly analogous to the horrible dance of the three Parcæ and the two infernal goddesses round the pit. Ultimately however both the cauldron and the pit are transcripts of the deep boiler employed in the celebration of the sepulchral Mysteries.

Of the dreadful triplicated great goddess, the pretended witch of the dark ages, whose occupations have been honoured by the notice even of a royal commentator², was a mere servile copyist; though the imitation was conducted on the strictly mythological principle, that the minister of a deity should ape his every action. The broomstick vehicles of these awful personages were a somewhat ludicrous travestie of the majestic fiend-horse of Ceridwen: the sieves, which served them for boats in their aquatic expe-

¹ Orph. Argon. ver. 947—995.

² Our own King James. I take shame to myself for having never perused either that learned prince's work on Demonology or the treatise of Master Reginald Scott on witchcraft, as they are esteemed, I believe, standard works on the subject.

BOOK V. ditions, were a transcript of the mystic Ila-vratta or the circular Ark of the World: and the egg-shells, which they were wont to use for a similar purpose, have been borrowed from the floating navicular egg out of which the great father and his triple offspring were produced.

2. As the Mysteries were universally funereal, as they were celebrated in sepulchral caverns during the deep gloom of night, as they represented a descent into Hades, as the person to whom they related was supposed to have died and to have been restored to life, and as this person with his consort was deemed oracular: it is easy to conceive, that, from such notions and practices, an attempt to evocate infernal spirits and to disturb the ghosts of the dead, for the purpose of receiving preternatural information from them, would speedily and almost inevitably result. Hence originated the dark rites of necromancy, to which in various ages and countries we find men so strangely addicted. This, with every other branch of the witching art, seems to have greatly prevailed among the old Magi; insomuch that the very name of *Magic* was borrowed from the title of those eastern hierophants. Accordingly, in the Chaldaic or Zoroastrian oracles, which palpably relate to the celebration of the Mysteries, we may observe an allusion to the raising of an infernal demon and to the compelling him to utter the truth by sacrificing the potent stone Mnizuris¹.

The same impious practices were familiar to the Canaanites, at the time when their country was invaded by the children of Israel; as appears from the many severe denunciations against them in Holy Scripture. It is not impossible, if we may argue from the remarkable case, mentioned in *the Acts*, of a young female possessed by an oracular evil spirit, that literal fiends might sometimes have been permitted to obey the adjurations of Magic, as a due punishment of the monstrous wickedness: but the prohibitions in the Pentateuch never seemed to me to prove more than the existence of *attempted* necromancy; and such *attempts* would of course be forbidden, not only on account of their intrinsic impiety, but likewise as immediately connected with the established idolatry. The wizards in most cases were, I believe, gross impostors; who, by pageants similar to those

¹ Orac. Chald. p. 108. Psell. Schol. in loc.

of the Mysteries and by the aid of suitable accomplices, exhibited apparitions at pleasure, and thus with careful ambiguity revealed future events. Nothing, in my judgment, establishes this opinion more decidedly than the account which is given us of the witch of En-dor. Her intent was to abuse the credulous prince by a mimic ghost; which should give a Delphic response, incapable, whatever might be the event, of being convicted of absolute falshood. But, to her extreme terror, as appears by her loud cry and sudden ejaculation to Saul, the real spirit of Samuel *unexpectedly* comes up; not in consequence of *her* vile mummery, but by the command of God himself. The prophet then delivers an oracle of woe, clear and explicit, such as in the very nature of things no *uninspired* being could have delivered, unless we concede to a creature the divine attribute of knowing futurity¹.

What particular rites were used by this woman, we are not informed: but, from the close resemblance which subsists between all the different branches of pagan idolatry, we may infer, that they were of the same nature as those which were elsewhere employed. Homer has handed down to us the entire ceremonial of a Celtic or Cimmerian necromancer: and, from its immediate connection with the sacred pit or cauldron of the Mysteries, I am inclined to think that it was the process most generally adopted. By the direction of Circè, Ulysses steers to the utmost limits of the western ocean; where the Cimmerians dwell in those gloomy caverns, which were so generally used for the celebration of the Mysteries. Here accordingly the warrior beholds a descent to hell, for such was the attributed character of every sepulchral excavation: and here he solemnly implores the assistance of all the infernal powers. He then draws his sword; and with it digs a pit in the ground of the prescribed diameter of a single cubit. Next he brings wine, milk, water, honey, and flour; a compound, similar to that which was used in the funereal Orgies: and these he jointly pours into the pit. Then he invokes the pallid ghosts and the several gods of Hades, vowing to them a sacrifice on his safe return home. Afterwards he slaughters the prescribed number of black sheep: and then, as their blood flows

¹ 1 Sam. xxviii. 7—19.

BOOK V. round the pit, the griesly spirits of the dead appear in thronging multitudes. All these the chief drives back with unsheathed blade; until at length the ghost of Tiresias comes forward, sips the gore, and delivers the wished-for response¹.

Sometimes, on such awful occasions, a mysterious circle is first traced on the ground, within which the necromancer and those who consult him take their station. When the phantoms or evil spirits appear, they are unable to penetrate the magical ring and are constrained to give the answer without its circumference: but, if a luckless wretch through the sudden impulse of fear step beyond the protecting inclosure, he is instantly seized and hurried away to the realms of darkness. Here, applied to the purposes of witchcraft, we have the *Ila-vratta* or circular Ark of the World; within which all is safe, without which all is danger. The evocated spirits come up, either from the central abyss or from the vasty deep: and to the place, whence they proceed, at the end of the ceremony they return. Occasionally they are said to take possession of some ancient tenement, where they hold their nocturnal revels to the no small disquiet of the peaceable inhabitants. Recourse must then be had to a skilful exorcist, who will speedily drive them into the ocean from which they had so mischievously emerged. Why the Red sea should be so invariably chosen as the most appropriate place of banishment for perturbed spirits, has occasioned much speculation among our antiquaries: yet to divine the cause of this systematic arrangement will not be very difficult, if we attend to the traditions of old mythology. The Erythræan or Indian ocean is that, which washes the southern limits of Babylonia and Chusistan where postdiluvian idolatry was first completely methodized. From this ocean the four Chaldean Annedots or Dagon's successively emerged; and into this ocean they returned, after they had delivered their instructions to the assembled multitudes². This likewise was the ocean, into which Bacchus plunged with his whole retinue of Satyrs and mishapen Sileni, when he fled in wild confusion before the face of Lycurgus³. Now the heathen gods were very commonly mistaken

¹ Hom. *Odyss.* lib. xi.

² Syncell. *Chronog.* p. 29.

³ *Nomi Dionys.* lib. xx. p. 552. Homer. *Iliad.* lib. vi. ver. 130—137.

for literal devils: and, to the bovine and cornuted figure of Bacchus, and to the monstrous forms of his attendant Satyrs, we certainly owe the shape, which vulgar superstition attributes to the prince of hell. Hence then, unless I be much mistaken, was derived the belief, that ghosts and evil spirits, when dispossessed by exorcism, never fail to take refuge in the Red or Erythræan sea. CHAP. V. § II.

In romance both eastern and western, we perpetually find demons evoked and the souls of the dead compelled to speak by the reading of certain cabalistic words out of a magical book: and, upon the same principle, the Scythic Odin, when he descends into the realms of darkness, forces by Runic incantations the inhumed prophetic to utterance. For this process vulgar sorcery has substituted the retrograde reading of the Bible, by which no doubt is really meant the reading aloud of the sacred volume in the Babylonian character of the original: and such an operation, we are told, never fails to elicit the infernal spirit. Here again we may observe the wide-spreading influence of ancient mythology. Most primitive nations, as we have already seen, had an idea, that certain sacred books were preserved at the time of the deluge: and these, among other matters, were universally supposed to contain the most occult secrets of nature and directions how to acquire supernatural power by the proper use of them.

3. These volumes were also thought to contain learned treatises on astronomy, which from the very first was inseparably connected with the ruling system of idolatry. When the souls of the hero-gods quitted their mortal tenements, they migrated into the Sun or the Moon or the Planets or the Constellations: and from those lofty abodes they still, as Zophe-Samin or celestial speculators, beheld and regulated the affairs of this lower world.

Hence originated the scientific follies of judicial astrology; which, at one period or another, have affected the whole earth from China to Britain. At the first point of view, nothing seems more strange and unaccountable; and never, to all appearance, was a conclusion leaped to with fewer inter-

* Perhaps even the English reader need scarcely be told, that Hebrew and its kindred dialects are read from right to left, beginning at what we consider the end of the volume. This is what an ignorant superstitious peasant would obviously call *reading the Bible backwards*.

BOOK V. vening steps, than the implicit belief that earthly affairs are influenced by the conjunctions or particular collocations of the heavenly bodies. But, if we trace the matter to its source, we shall perceive that such speculations were only the natural result of that philosophy, which translated to the sphere the souls of the superintending hero-gods.

4. Another very prominent feature in magic is the Metamorphosis; and with this it seems to have been distinguished in all ages and in all countries. Arabic fiction is full of it: Homer ascribes it to the enchantress Circe: the terrific lycanthropy of the classics is but the were-wolf of the Gothic nations: and the various transformations, celebrated by the Celtic bards, still constitute a part of the same fanciful superstition. From ancient, it has descended to modern, times: and the prescriptive right of a witch, to expatiate in the disguise of a cat or a rabbit, and to compel the refractory contemners of her high behests to crawl on the ground under the strong impression of having assumed a bestial figure, has been no less carefully ascertained, than it is universally acknowledged.

Here again we may observe the wonderfully strong hold, which the ancient Mysteries have taken upon the human mind. The doctrine of the Metamorphosis was diligently taught by the presiding hierophant: and, as we have already seen, it was even literally exhibited during the celebration of the Orgies by means of suitable vizors and imitative dresses. To this source then we may trace the various transformations of witchcraft, as we have previously traced to it all the other branches of Magic.

5. A few miscellaneous, though connected, superstitions yet remain to be noticed, ere the subject be finally dismissed.

In the middle ages a very general notion prevailed, that a human head, prepared during a suitable conjunction of the heavenly bodies, became oracular and would answer any questions that were put to it. The theory of this curious operation is very satisfactorily stated in the Centiloquium of Ptolemy: *human faces, at the opposite times of nativity and death, are subject to the influence of celestial faces; hence, in constructing a sidereal image, we must carefully attend to the ingresses of the stars, and we cannot fail of producing the desired effect.* Italy, the Arabic commentator on this somewhat vexed passage which I have *attempted* at least to translate,

informs us, that it is to be reduced to practice in the following easy manner. CHAP.VIII.
The heavenly Scorpion manifestly ruling over earthly scorpions, and the heavenly Serpent over earthly Serpents, we have merely, in watching the transit of a planet over the disk of the Sun, to catch accurately its ingress and its egress, and to place it in the ascendant. We may then carve what face we choose upon a stone, and endow it with the power of aptation and destruction; and the communicated power will long reside in the head thus ingeniously prepared. Pursuing these clear traditional directions, the mathematical philosopher Asius constructed, under a most favourable horoscope, the celebrated Palladium; which he presented to king Tros, as the infallible safeguard of Troy. It does not appear however, that he used stone for the purpose: he rather preferred the bones of dead Pelops, out of which he framed the mystic image and then covered it with a human skin. By a similar process, I apprehend, Hermes Trismegist was in the constant habit of making oracular statues, with which he was wont to accommodate his more curious friends. The Saracens of course possessed the secret, otherwise the Arab Haly were but an incompetent scholiast upon the divine Ptolemy. Accordingly we read of a marvellous fatidical head constructed by archbishop Gerbert, who learned the art from the Moors of Spain. It would answer any question that was put to it; though sometimes, as that prelate (when sovereign pontiff by the name of *Sylvester the second*) found to his cost, with the mischievous ambiguity of the Delphic tripod. Our own scientific countryman Roger Bacon made a similar head; which, when addressed, replied very sensibly, to the no small astonishment of the auditors. These speaking heads however are far surpassed in picturesque horror by the Teraph of the Rabbinical writers. If any one wished to prepare this tremendous implement of Magic, he slew a first-born male child, and tore off the head with his nails. This he seasoned with salt and aromatics; and then placed it upon a golden dish, on which the name of an unclean spirit had been inscribed. The process being now completed, the Teraph was fixed in a hole of the wall with lighted tapers before it, and solemnly received the adoration of its framer. It would then give oracular responses¹. The whole of this singular super-

¹ Seld. de diis Syr. synt. i. c. 2.

BOOK V. stition may be traced up to ancient idolatry. Every year a mimic head of the fatidical Osiris was set afloat on the Nile, and was thought miraculously to reach the coast of Phenicia. It was placed in a dish resembling the lunar crescent, as appears from a delineation of it taken from the Egyptian hieroglyphics ¹. This dish was what the Hindoos call *Argha*: and it is worthy of notice, that the head of Jagan-Nath is placed in an exactly similar lunette, which rests upon the mundane egg ².

The ship *Argo* was the floating coffin of Osiris; and it was likewise the bark of the dead, in which they were ferried over the infernal lake to Elysium or the isles of the blessed. Such notions however were by no means confined to Egypt: they have equally prevailed among the Indo-Scythæ, the Greeks, the Romans, and the Celts. Thus descending from remote antiquity, they have at length, most probably through the Celtic channel, established themselves in the form of a very curious nautical superstition. Mariners relate many wonderful stories of a demon-frigate, wholly navigated by ghosts. It may easily be distinguished from all other vessels by the circumstance of its bearing a press of sail during the most tremendous storms, when mere ordinary ships are unable to shew a single inch of canvass. The legend attached to it sufficiently bespeaks the origin of the superstition. As the great father was inclosed in his navicular coffin after he had been cruelly slain by Typhon, and as he thus long continued in an erratic state on the surface of the ocean: so it is related, that some horrid murder once took place on board this infernal frigate, and that the apparitions of the wicked crew are doomed for ever to wander on the surface of the mighty deep ³. I recollect to have met with another nautical tale, which seems to have sprung from the very same source. A vessel is pursuing her way through the great waters, when the mariners are suddenly alarmed by the portentous semblance of a coffin. Self-impelled, it skims, like a boat, the yielding waves; and ominously attends the ship on her progress, until with the rapidity of lightning it darts to the haunted shore of some desolate island and is received with the mingled shrieks and wild laughter of unseen demons.

¹ See Plate I. Fig. 12.

² See Plate I. Fig. 16.

³ Scott's *Rokeby*, Cant. ii. note 9.

Some such island as this, an Elysian Theba in the midst of the boundless CHAP. VIII. ocean, produced that master-piece of our great dramatic poet, *The Tempest*. Vast as the powers of his fancy were, I doubt, whether, in this particular instance, he has absolutely imagined new worlds after exhausting the old. The enchanted island of Prospero, his mystic cave, his ministers demoniacal and aerial, the presiding lady of the place, and the arrival of the storm-beaten ship, exquisitely and unconsciously as they have been worked up into a fascinating dramatic romance, are yet all equally the furniture of ancient mythology.

But it is time, that we bring this sportive episodical excursion to a close, and direct our attention to more serious matters. The channel, through which the same speculative opinions and the same legendary tales of the hero-gods spread themselves over the face of the whole world, yet remains to be considered : and the consideration of it will furnish an additional testimony to the truth of the inspired history.

THE ORIGIN
OF
PAGAN IDOLATRY.

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER I.

Respecting the primeval Union of all Mankind in a single Body Politic, and the Building of the Tower of Babel.

I. **T**HE fundamental identity of the various systems of pagan idolatry has been now ascertained, from their mutual agreement in points wholly arbitrary, and from the circumstance of the same leading idea pervading the whole of them. Such being the case, it will necessarily follow, that these several systems could not have been contrived, independently of each other, within the different countries where they were respectively established; but that they must have been brought, ready fashioned and completed, into all those various regions by the original planters: in other words, the invention of them was not *posterior*, but *prior*, to the general colonization of the world.

This requires us to suppose, that all mankind once formed but a single community, and therefore that once they were all assembled together within the limits of a single district: for no other hypothesis will satisfactorily account for the circumstance of the self-same arbitrary system of idolatry being adopted by pagan nations in every quarter of the globe. Had each form of gentile theology been excogitated in the region where it prevailed, there would have been as many different forms as there were nations. These

BOOK VI. might have agreed in points which are *not arbitrary*, such as the *mere* worship of the host of heaven or the *mere* veneration of deified ancestors: but it is utterly impossible, that they should have universally accorded, if such had been their origin, in matters which are *altogether arbitrary* and in certain leading ideas which are *equally arbitrary*. A phenomenon of this description plainly requires us to suppose, that they had all a common origin; and consequently that they were *imported into* the newly settled countries, not *invented posterior to* the settlement of those countries.

Hence it will follow, that the several bands of colonists all emigrated from some central region where the prototypal system had been contrived; and therefore that they had all been once united in a single community.

II. This supposed fact is absolutely necessary to account for an existing circumstance, which otherwise is wholly inexplicable: and, accordingly, the necessity of such a fact would be *felt in the abstract*, even if we had no historical document to prove its reality. Here however Holy Scripture comes to our aid; and positively declares the occurrence of the very fact, which we have *a priori* found to be so essentially necessary. Thus, as the universally established legends of pagan mythology serve to demonstrate the strict veracity of the Mosaical history, with respect to the creation and the deluge and the two first families of men: so the necessary derivation of the several cognate systems of idolatrous worship from one common source proves its no less strict accuracy in treating of the early postdiluvian events. An argument from an existing phenomenon has shewn, that all mankind *must* once have been joined together in a single body politic: the ancient history contained in the Pentateuch declares, that all mankind once *were* so joined together.

We are informed, that, when the children of Noah had sufficiently increased, and while the whole earth was as yet of one lip and one mode of speech, they journeyed from the high lands of Ararat where the Ark had rested, and at length occupied a spacious plain in the land of Shinar. Here, unwilling to be dispersed in separate communities over the face of the whole globe, and actuated by a desire of remaining one great unbroken body politic, they began to build a vast pyramidal tower and to lay the

foundations of a city which should be the metropolis of their future empire. CHAP. I.
 But God, whose purpose of a general and unconnected population of the world they thus sought to traverse, miraculously frustrated their design. He confounded their language, so that they became unintelligible to each other; and thus compelled them to relinquish their project, and to withdraw in separate bodies to the various regions of the earth which had been allotted to them.

III. Such is the plain account of this important transaction, which has been delivered to us by inspired authority: and such is the manner, in which it has been commonly understood, previous to the new hypothesis struck out by the late Mr. Bryant¹. As nothing that falls from that learned writer can be unworthy of attention, however we may be disposed to differ from it; I shall first briefly state his system, and then adduce my reasons for rejecting it in favour of the generally received opinion.

1. He supposes, that, when mankind had sufficiently multiplied to carry into effect the divine purpose of colonizing the whole world, they separated from each other in Armenia after an orderly and regular manner; and retired quietly, by their families and their tribes, to their appointed settlements. This first postdiluvian event he conceives to be described at large in the tenth chapter of Genesis.

All however were not equally obedient. The children of Cush under the command of the ambitious Nimrod, disapproving of the countries which had been allotted to them, marched off towards the east through the defiles of the lofty Tauric range; circuited the southern extremity of the Caspian sea; and then, wheeling towards the south-west, reached at length the Babylonian plain of Shinar. These wanderings Mr. Bryant supposes to have occupied a considerable space of time, so that the adventurers did not arrive in Babylonia until a few years before the birth of Abraham. Hence, as various turbulent spirits from the other patriarchal families would probably have joined them and would thus have swelled their ranks, they had become a great and numerous and hardy people, fully equal to the enter-

¹ Something similar to that hypothesis had however been previously maintained by Sheringham. He contends, like Mr. Bryant, that the division of the earth in the days of Peleg was long prior to the dispersion from Babel. Shering. de orig. gent. Anglar. p. 436.

BOOK VI. prize meditated by their leader, when they appeared on the banks of the Euphrates. Here they found the posterity of Ashur settled, agreeably to the divine arrangement which all but themselves had peaceably obeyed many years before. These, unused to war and violence, they soon dispossessed: and the emigrants, being thus compelled to retire into a more northern region, became the founders of Nineveh. The Cushim now built the pyramid and the city of Babylon; with a view to establish themselves in the fertile country which they had so unjustly usurped, to form the nucleus of a projected great empire, and to guard against the apprehended danger of their future dissipation. But their scheme was miraculously frustrated; they were compelled to desist from their undertaking; and they eminently encountered the very fate which they so much dreaded, for they were broken and scattered in a remarkable manner over the face of the whole earth. This second great postdiluvian event, which Mr. Bryant deems posterior by many years to the first orderly secession from Armenia, is detailed in the beginning of the eleventh chapter of Genesis, and is touched upon incidentally in the course of the tenth; where mention is made of the flight of Ashur and of the name of the Cuthic leader Nimrod¹.

Such an arrangement, he thinks, will account for the peculiar route of those, who were the architects of Babel. They are said to have journeyed *from the east* in their progress to the plain of Shinar. Now, if they had comprehended *all* the children of Noah, their progress must have been *from the north*; because Babylonia lies due south of Armenia. But, by making them to consist only of a single tribe and by bringing the era of the tower many years lower down than it is usually placed, every difficulty is avoided, and the whole narrative becomes clear and consistent.

There is yet, he conceives, a further advantage in the hypothesis. Moses tells us, that they came *from the east*; and Berosus declares, that, when they quitted the mountain where the Ark rested, they travelled *in a circle* previous to their arrival in Babylonia². Thus profane history is found exactly to accord with sacred history: for it is obvious, that emigrants

¹ Gen. xi. 1—9. x. 8—12.

² Πιεξ περιθρηαις Βαβυλωναι. Euseb. Chron. p. 8. Πιεξ, κελρ. Hesych. Lex.

from Armenia could not possibly reach Babylonia *from the east* unless they had first journeyed *circuitously*. CHAP. I.

When the Cuthites had been broken and dispersed from Shinar, they wandered in detached masses to many different parts of the world. Wherever they came, they were alike superior in arts and arms to those whom they invaded. Their penal dispersion seems to have been no real punishment to them: for they were universally victorious; and, wherever they established themselves, they compelled the subjugated nations to apostatise from the pure patriarchal worship and to adopt the peculiar superstition of which they were the inventors. Hence Mr. Bryant accounts for the strong resemblance perceptible between the theological systems of so many different countries. All these regions had been conquered by detached bands of Cuthites; and the same idolatrous superstition had been equally introduced by the same agents into all of them ¹.

2. In viewing any hypothesis, the mind is almost involuntarily led, first to estimate its probability, and then to consider how far it will adequately account for certain actually existing phenomena. Now in each of these inquiries, which are immediately connected, we seem to feel ourselves disappointed; we seem to have causes assigned, which are not equal to the effects produced.

While the Cuthites were wandering in the east, from the time of their quitting Armenia until within a few years of the birth of Abraham; the tribes, which had obediently retired to their several allotments with the divine blessing on their heads, would have been rapidly growing up into well polited and comparatively powerful nations. The Cuthites meanwhile would also be increasing in population: and let us grant (what universal experience however forbids us to grant), that they increased during their nomade state in an equal degree with the tribes which had peaceably organized themselves in their respective countries. In this case, or even with a much smaller population, it is easy to conceive, that men of their hardy habits might be more than a match for the quiet Ashurites and might without much difficulty drive them out of the land of Shinar.

¹ Bryant's Anal. vol. iiii.

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Hitherto then we have met with no very serious impediments, so far as the probability of the matter is concerned: but now we shall begin to find much that is hard of belief. This single tribe, while engaged in building the tower, is miraculously broken into small fragments, and scattered over the face of the whole earth. Mr. Bryant himself insists strongly, from the testimony of pagan writers, on the extreme alarm felt by the different members of it when thus supernaturally visited; and describes them, as fleeing with confused rapidity in every direction. Now, under such circumstances, is it credible, that these poor dispirited panic-stricken disjointed fugitives should immediately attack the surrounding well-settled nations; not only attack, but universally subdue them; not only subdue them, but compel the vanquished to renounce the patriarchal religion of Noah and to adopt instead of it the idolatrous superstition invented by the conquerors? Mr. Bryant's great and valuable work does indeed chiefly treat of the theology of Greece, Egypt, and Phenicia: but in fact, as we have seen, the identical system, which was established in those countries, was equally established with more or less perfection in every quarter of the globe; so that, if we wish to account for the universal adoption of it on the present theory, we shall be obliged to suppose, that these miserable petty bands of fugitive Cushites, striking off from Babel in all directions, achieved the conquest of the whole world, and invariably proved themselves superior to the nations as they existed in the days of Abraham¹.

Yet this is the least difficulty, which the hypothesis requires us to encounter. Let us then grant, that small bands of warlike marauders, when they had a little recovered from their first panic, *might* subdue considerable nations, which had been little accustomed to the arts of war and which had hitherto been happily devoted to the arts of peace: for no doubt, as all history abundantly testifies, much may be effected by small compact bodies of intrepid adventurers against communities very far exceeding them in numerical strength. Still how can we believe, that men under *their* peculiar circumstances could universally succeed in overthrowing pure

¹ Mr. Bryant, for instance, brings a fragment of the Cushite Shepherds immediately from Babel to Egypt, and makes them conquer that country without the least difficulty.

theism and in compelling the adoption of their own monstrous superstition? CHAP. I.
 It is far more easy to conquer the body than the mind. Hence it rarely happens, that, when a large unwarlike civilized people has been subdued by a comparative handful of military rovers, the former has exchanged its own religion for that of the latter. On the contrary, the very reverse is ordinarily the case: the civilized are indeed overthrown by the arms of the rude; but the rude, in the course of a few generations, adopt the theology of the civilized. So that, whenever this does not occur, *two* religions subsist in the vanquished country, and the victors appear like an unblending colony in the midst of the conquered. Instances of these varied effects of subjugation may be adduced from the several cases of the Goths and the Romans, the Turks and the Greeks, the Monguls and the Hindoos, and the Tatars and the Chinese.

I have here plainly argued on the supposition, that no more reluctance existed on the part of those who were vanquished by the Cushites than what usually exists in men to change the religion of their fathers; a reluctance however so strong, that in Scripture it is even mentioned proverbially¹: yet I have argued on no *higher* supposition. How much then will the incredibility be augmented, when we recollect the singularly unfavourable circumstances under which the Cushites are supposed to have attempted and accomplished the proselytism of the whole world. Pagan tradition, Mr. Bryant himself being judge, will prove, how generally the failure at Babel was known, and how decidedly it was ascribed to the special interposition of an offended Deity. Now, though such is the infatuation of idolatry, that no judgments will wean from it those who have once embraced it; yet the nations, which had *not* apostatised with the builders of the tower but which had peaceably adhered to the old patriarchal theology, vanquished as they were in battle, would shrink with horror from a foreign superstition which they *knew* to be branded by the vengeance of heaven. We may easily conceive, that the Cushites might satisfy *themselves* with respect to their portentous dispersion on the delusive principles of their own philosophical apostasy: but it is not so easy to conceive, that their

¹ *Hath a nation changed their gods, which are yet no gods?* Jerem. ii. 11.

BOOK VI. arguments would satisfy an irritated and vanquished population, which to the natural hatred of a violently imposed yoke added the full conviction that their detested and tyrannical conquerors were impious wretches marked out for the general abhorrence of the faithful by the finger of Jehovah himself.

3. These are the difficulties which Mr. Bryant's system has to surmount, even supposing that mere abstract ratiocination could alone be opposed to it, even admitting the Mosaical account to be so ambiguous that we are fairly at liberty to ascribe the building of the tower either to all mankind or to a single tribe. But, in fact, no such ambiguity exists: the narrative of the inspired historian, after all the pains bestowed upon it by this great scholar to make it speak a language suitable to his theory, palpably declares, when understood according to its plain and obvious tenor, that the whole race of mankind was assembled together in the plains of Babylonia and was concerned in building the pyramid. This interesting and important topic has been so very ably discussed by Mr. Penn, that he seems to me to have set the question at rest for ever. I have merely to abstract his arguments, corroborating them with some additional remarks which have escaped the notice of that acute and satisfactory writer¹.

(1.) The first step necessarily taken by Mr. Bryant is to propose an alteration of our common English version; for, as it stands at present, it directly contradicts his hypothesis. Hence he would render the passage, which treats of the building of the tower, in the following manner. 1. *And every region was of one lip and mode of speech.* 2. *And it came to pass, in the journeying of people from the east, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar, and they dwelt there.* 3. *And one man said to another: Go to; let us make brick, and burn them thoroughly. And they had brick for stone; and slime had they for mortar.* 4. *And they said: Go to; let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven; and let us make us a mark (or signal), that we may not be scattered abroad upon the surface of every region.* 5. *And the Lord came down to see the city*

¹ See *Remarks on the eastern origination of mankind* by Granville Penn, Esq. in *Oriental Collect.* vol. ii. numb. 1 and 2.

and the tower, which the children of men were building. 6. And the Lord said: Behold, the people is one, and they have all one lip (or pronunciation), and this they begin to do; and now nothing will be refrained from them, which they have imagined to do. 7. Go to; let us go down, and there confound their lip, that they may not understand one another's lip (or pronunciation). 8. So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence over the face of every region: and they left off to build the city. 9. Therefore is the name of it called Babel, because the Lord did there confound the lip of the whole land: and from thence did the Lord scatter them over the face of every region (or of the whole earth). CHAP. I.

Mr. Bryant has, I think, in some points improved our common translation; but none of these bear upon the question, which is at present before us: and to that question I would strictly confine myself.

That the Hebrew word *Aretz*, like the Greek *Ge* and the Latin *Terra*, denotes either *the earth* in general or *a region* in particular, is indisputable: and it may properly be added, that the Hebrew phrase *Col Aretz*, precisely like the English phrase *all the world*, means either *the whole material globe* or *all its living inhabitants*. The only point therefore is, whether Mr. Bryant is warranted by the context in giving to the expression such a turn as he has done. In the first verse, according to his translation, we read, *And every region was of one lip and mode of speech*; and, in the ninth, *The Lord did there confound the lip of the whole land*. By this method of rendering, he plainly means to insinuate, that, at the epoch of the tower, *every region peopled by the supposed antecedent migrations of the three great families* had but one dialectic pronunciation, so that the members of those families, however locally separated, could as yet understand each other; but that, when the Cuthites were supernaturally visited, the lip of *the whole land occupied by them*, that is, the pronunciation of *the whole land of Shinar*, was alone confounded. Now the context, as viewed in the original, is utterly incapable of bearing such a gloss.

What Mr. Bryant variously renders in these two verses *every region* and *the whole land*, annexing to the two phrases very different ideas, is in reality one and the same expression *Col Aretz*. Hence it is evident, by every rule of good composition, that *the language of Col Aretz*,

BOOK VI. mentioned in the first verse as being uniformly the same, must be *the identical language of Col Aretz*, which in the ninth verse is said to have been confounded: for we are first told, that *Col Aretz* had but one language; and afterwards we are told, that the originally one language of *Col Aretz* was confounded at Babel. Such being the case, whatever *Col Aretz* means in the one passage, it evidently must mean the very same in the other. Consequently, if in the first verse it be translated *every region*, it must in the ninth verse also be translated *every region*: or, inversely, if in the ninth verse it be translated *the whole land*, it must in the first verse also be translated *the whole land*. And again, whatever idea is annexed to the expression in the one passage, the same must likewise be annexed to it in the other. So that, if in the ninth verse it mean *the whole land of Shinar*, such also must be its meaning in the first verse: and, on the contrary, if in the first verse it mean *every region* or *the whole earth* (which are synonymous), such also must be its meaning in the ninth verse. Now, in the ninth verse, it *might* mean *the whole land of Shinar*: but, in the first, it *cannot*: because as yet the future builders of the tower have not arrived in Babylonia, and consequently as yet the land of Shinar has not been mentioned. The phrase therefore in the first verse must determine the meaning of the phrase in the ninth; not the phrase in the ninth, the meaning of the phrase in the first. But the phrase, as it occurs in the first verse, clearly means *every region* or *the whole earth* in the sense of *all mankind*: consequently, we are told in the first verse, that, antecedently to the building of the tower, all mankind were of one lip and mode of pronunciation. Hence it must undeniably follow, that the phrase, as it occurs in the ninth verse, must equally mean *the whole earth* in the sense of *all mankind*: consequently, we are told in the ninth verse, that the lip of all mankind was confounded at Babel.

This however could not have occurred, if all mankind had not been assembled at Babel: for it were idle to suppose, that the lip of all the families, which (according to Mr. Bryant) had quietly retired to their allotted settlements long before the building of the tower, and which of course had no concern in that daring enterprize; that the lip (I say) of all the families upon the face of the earth should suddenly have been con-

founded, because God thought proper to use that mode of effecting the dispersion of the rebellious Cuthites alone. All mankind, therefore, must have been assembled at Babel; all mankind must have been engaged in building the tower; all mankind must have jointly formed the *one people* or community, mentioned by the sacred historian; and all mankind must have been dispersed from that central point to every quarter of the habitable globe.

(2.) This conclusion renders Moses consistent with himself; but the theory of Mr. Bryant makes him wholly inconsistent, as will soon appear if we attend to his account of the dispersion contained in the tenth chapter.

In that part of his narrative he no less than thrice informs us, that the descendants of Noah, in the three lines of Japhet and Ham and Shem, divided the habitable world among them, not only according to their families and their nations, but likewise according to their *languages*¹. Hence it is evident, that the confusion of tongues, whatever might be its precise nature which I stop not now to consider, must have taken place *anterior* to that division of the earth; which is described in the tenth chapter, and which Mr. Bryant contends to have been long *prior* to the events of Babel. But we are assured by Moses, that there was but one language *before* the building of the tower; so that all mankind could then converse intelligibly together: and he afterwards tells us, that this language or mode of pronunciation, or whatever it might be, was miraculously confounded ere the tower was completed; so that they, who before could understand each other, were mutually unintelligible². Now, let this have been effected in what way it might, a diversity of languages, as to all the substantial purposes of intercommunication, was *here* most undoubtedly introduced: for they, who *could* understand each other, spoke what may be fairly called the *same* language; and they, who could *not* understand each other, spoke what may effectively at least be styled *different* languages.

If then we put these several matters together, Mr. Bryant's system will be plainly irreconcilable with the result necessarily deduced from them.

¹ Gen. x. 5, 20, 31.

² Gen. xi. 1, 6, 7, 9.

BOOK VI. The earth was divided by the posterity of Noah, *according to their languages*: consequently, at the time of this division *various languages* were in use among them. There was but *one language* however in the world *before* the building of the tower: and that language was so confounded *during the progress* of the work, that men became unintelligible to each other. This circumstance, which is described as *a confusion of the language of the whole earth or of all mankind*, produced a separation of the originally *one people* or single community: and the separation led to a general dispersion of the builders, who had before spoken the same language, but who now spoke different languages. Hence it is evident, that the division of the earth, which is set forth in the tenth chapter, did not *precede* the building of the tower, as Mr. Bryant contends: but, on the contrary, that it *succeeded* it; that it was in reality *produced* by the miraculous confusion of lip, which took place at Babel; and that it was not effected, until the originally *one people* had been scattered from the plain of Shinar over the face of the whole globe.

Such is the account, which Moses gives of these important transactions: and it exactly accords with the gentile traditions, which have come down to us. They represent all the early postdiluvians, as being concerned in the building of the tower; they describe their king, as being an universal monarch or the sovereign of the world; they speak of a miraculous confusion of languages; and they declare, that this confusion produced a general dispersion of the confederates¹. The same opinion was entertained by the Jews, as we may gather very unequivocally from Josephus. That writer does not suppose, that *a mere single tribe* had wandered to Babylonia where they became the *exclusive* architects of the tower: but he intimates, agreeably no doubt to the ordinary belief of his countrymen, that *all* the children both of Shem and of Ham and of Japhet, when they descended from the mountains of Armenia, *collectively* established themselves in the plain of Shinar².

¹ Joseph. Ant. Jud. lib. i. c. 4. Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. ix. c. 14. Syncell. Chronog. p. 44. Cedren. Hist. Compend. p. 11. Asiat. Res. vol. ii. p. 48, 59. Euseb. Chron. p. 13

² Ant. Jud. lib. i. c. 5.

(3.) What has been said is in itself sufficient to demonstrate the erroneousness of Mr. Bryant's theory: which supposes first a general and orderly, and then a particular and disorderly, dispersion of the early post-diluvians; which ascribes the building of the tower to a single tribe; and which exhibits that tribe, as alone affected by the miraculous confusion of lip. Yet, to render the discussion more complete, it will be proper to notice some other matters, which are immediately connected with it, or which may rather be said to form a constituent part of it.

Towards the commencement of the Mosaical history of the tower, Mr. Bryant renders the original Hebrew *It came to pass in the journeying of people*. By this version he would insinuate the meaning of the passage to be; that some one people, now first mentioned after the great body of mankind had quietly retired to their allotted settlements, suddenly invaded the land of Shinar, and there became exclusively the architects of the Babylonian tower. Such a gloss is indeed necessary to the system advocated by that learned writer; but a bare inspection of the original is sufficient to prove its inadmissibility. The *absolutely literal* translation of the passage is, *It came to pass in the journeying of them*: and the sense of it is accurately expressed in our common version, *It came to pass as they journeyed*. No mention is made of Mr. Bryant's *newly-appearing people*: and, so far from a *hitherto-unheard-of body of actors* being brought upon the stage, the pronoun *them* or *they* plainly refers to some persons *already* specified in the narrative. These persons, accordingly, we find regularly noticed in the exordium; from which Mr. Bryant, by the unauthorized introduction of the word *people*, entirely separates the connected sequel. *Now the whole earth, or all mankind*¹, *was of one lip and of one mode of speech. And it came to pass, in the journeying of them.* Thus view the whole passage together; and the sense is most palpably altogether different from that, which Mr. Bryant would impose upon it. The pronoun *them* does not describe a people, now heard of for the first time: but it obviously relates to *the whole earth* or to *all mankind*. We are told in short, that, when all

¹ Thus the Persian Targum, which Walton has printed in the fourth volume of his Polyglott, accurately expresses the sense of the original. *Fuit univrsus populus terre unius sermonis et verborum uniusmodi.*

whether they comprized all mankind or were confined to a single tribe. But, as this imagined oriental progress has been the grand substratum of another hypothesis, though assuredly not of that which we have been considering; and, as Mr. Penn is clearly right in his proposed version of the phrase, so generally rendered and understood *from the east*: I shall proceed to point out, what seems to have been the actual route of the Noachidæ when they descended from the heights of Armenia; noticing by the way the theory, to which I have just alluded.

From the supposed declaration that the founders of Babel travelled thither in a westerly direction, and from the undoubted circumstance that this journey is the first recorded movement after the deluge, Dr. Shuckford and more recently Mr. Wilford have argued, that the Ark could not have rested upon the mountains of Armenia, but that the Ararat of Moses is to be sought far to the east of Babylon. Here, accordingly, it is supposed to be found: and the high land at the source of the Ganges, which coincides geographically with the poetical Meru, and which is constantly said by the natives to have received the ark of Satyavrata, is determined to be the true scriptural Ararat.

It is superfluous on the present occasion to repeat the arguments, by which I have already shewn that the Ararat of Moses must *certainly* be placed in the land of Armenia, however we may be able to reconcile such a situation with the progress of the early postdiluvians¹: I have rather to point out, on how very sandy a foundation that hypothesis rests, which would argue the remote *oriental* scite of Ararat from the circumstance of a *westerly* journey to Babylon. Even allowing such a journey to have taken place, the concession would be rather adverse than favourable to the theory now before us: for, since Berosus declares from the old Chaldæan records that the founders of the tower reached the plain of Shinar by a *circular* route; it is obvious, that, if they had really set out from the Indian Meru, they must have approached the plain, not from the east, but either from the north or the south. I am however fully persuaded with Mr. Penn, that this oriental journey never had any existence, and that it has entirely origi-

¹ Vide supra book ii. c. 1. § IV.

BOOK VI. nated from a very commonly received erroneous translation. The word rendered *the east* springs from a root, which denotes *priority either of place or of time*: and it came to signify *the east*, because by the ancients that quarter was deemed the front or fore part of the world. But, agreeably to its origin, it does not *merely* signify *the east*: it *equally* conveys the idea of *priority in point of time*. Accordingly, the very same word is in other passages rightly translated *from the beginning* or *at the first*, not *from the east*: and, as Mr. Penn has excellently shewn, this is by no means the only place, in which the faulty rendering *from the east* has been thoughtlessly adopted from the Greek interpreters. *These* indeed, by a mistranslation, bring the builders of the tower *from the east*: and, as their error has been received into more than one modern version, so it has formed the basis of more than one speculative hypothesis. But, among the ancients, we find a very different sense ascribed to the original expression. The old Chaldee Paraphrase of Onkelos, the Targum of Jerusalem, Aquila, and Jerome, all agree to render it *in the beginning* or *at the first*: and the Jewish historian Josephus, while he is wholly silent respecting any oriental migration, simply intimates, that, when the posterity of Noah quitted the heights of Armenia, the place where they *first* established themselves was the plain of Shinar¹. Hence, I think, we may safely pronounce, that the passage ought to be translated as follows. *And the whole world was of one lip and of one mode of speech. And it came to pass, when they first journeyed, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar.*

This version, when taken in connection with the general preceding context, gives us a clear and regular account of the most early postdiluvian transactions. And that account serves finally to demonstrate the erroneousness of Mr. Bryant's system: that there were *two* dispersions of mankind; *the one* general and shortly after the deluge, *the other* particular and immediately after the frustrated attempt at Babel. First, the family of Noah quit the Ark on the summit of mount Ararat. Next, they remain, during a certain period, in the land of Armenia; until their numbers have sufficiently increased, and the lower grounds are sufficiently dried, to encou-

¹ His expression is *πρωτον*. Ant. Jud. lib. i. c. 5.

rage or require an emigration. Then, while they as yet all speak the same language, they undertake their *first* journey in one great body or community. This journey brings them to the plain of Shinar. Here they make a halt, with a firm determination not to separate from each other, but jointly to found a single universal empire. For that purpose, they proceed to build a city and a pyramidal temple. But, their plan being in direct and known contradiction to the divine purpose, God miraculously confounds their speech, so that they are no longer intelligible to each other: and the consequence is, that from the central point of Babel they are scattered over the face of the whole earth.

Respecting the particular route by which they arrived in the plain of Shinar, Moses then is wholly silent: but, as Berosus declares it to have been *circuitous* or *circular*, and as there seems to be no reason why we should reject his testimony, it will not be foreign to the present discussion if we make some inquiries into the matter.

Mr. Penn, with his usual felicity, and guided only by a geographical view of the country, supposes their line of march to have been directed by the course of the great river Euphrates. This mighty stream, rising in the mountains of Armenia, flows originally in a westerly direction: then it turns to the south: and at length, bending eastward, it reaches Babylon from the north-west. Its progress therefore is *circuitous*: and, as the approach to Shinar from Armenia would be most easily and naturally effected by following its winding course; so, in that case, the route of the emigrants would minutely correspond with the description given of it by Berosus.

Such is Mr. Penn's very happy conjecture: but there are some particulars, which seem almost to convert it to a moral certainty.

The entire tenor of the argument, which pervades the present work, tends to establish the position, that the idolatry of the whole world emanated from Babylon. But this circumstance necessarily requires us to suppose, that the builders of the tower were well acquainted with the course of their sacred river Euphrates: because one of the most prominent features of the mythology framed by them is the descent of the holy stream from the mountain of the floating Moon. Now, had they reached Babylon by the *opposite* circuit which Mr. Bryant ascribes to the Cutlites in order that he

BOOK VI. may bring them *from the east*, they would entirely have *left* the Euphrates: and the necessary consequence would have been *a total ignorance of its source*; for, judging by the direction of its current as it approaches the plain of Shinar, they would have been inclined *conjecturally* to place its fountains rather in the west than in the north. They *did* however know, that it arose in Armenia; because they could not have framed their mythologic system *without* such knowledge: and they could not have *attained* this knowledge, unless they had pursued its course during their emigration to Babylon. Hence we seem obliged to conclude with Mr. Penn, that their line of march was along the circuitous valley of the Euphrates, which would conduct them by easy steps to the plain of Shinar.

There is yet another particular, though of a more conjectural nature; which, if it possess any solidity, will again bring us to the very same conclusion. That great linguist, Sir William Jones, has ascertained, that Sanscrit was one of the three primeval languages which originated in the first postdiluvian empire of Iran; an empire, which must certainly be identified with the Babylonian empire of Nimrod. Now the real eastern name, which the Greeks have thought proper to express *Euphrates*, is well known to be *Phrat*: and, accordingly, it is so written by Moses. But, in the Sanscrit, *Vratta*, pronounced *Vrat**, denotes *a circle*. Hence it is not unreasonable to conjecture, that the holy stream of the Babylonians was called *Phrat* or *Vrat* from the well-ascertained form of its course; *the river Phrat* being equivalent to *the river of the circle*: and hence I think it far from impossible, that Berossus actually described his forefathers as travelling from Armenia *by the Phrat*; that by this *he* meant *the river*, which bore a name expressive of its course; that his Greek translator, knowing the import of the word and mistaking a proper for a common name, accurately enough rendered it *periv* or *circularly*; and that thus the founders of the tower are said in the Greek version of Berossus to have travelled *circularly*, while Berossus himself had really exhibited them as travelling *along the course of the Phrat* or *Vrat*.

* In the pronunciation of Sanscrit words, the final *a* is quiescent, like the unaccented final *e* of the French. See Moor's Hind. Panth. p. 173.

CHAPTER II.

Respecting the Epoch and Duration of the primeval Iranian Empire, and the peculiar Form of its Civil Policy.

THE seat of the Assyrian empire, of the Babylonico-Assyrian empire, and of the Medo-Persian empire, was, in a large sense, the region, which, by its present inhabitants, is still denominated *Iran*.

Of this noble district the boundary line, in its utmost extent, followed the entire course of the Euphrates, including some considerable towns and provinces on the western side of the river. Arriving at the sea, it coasted Persia or Iran proper and other Iranian provinces to the delta of the Sindhu or Indus. From that point it ascended with the river to its source in the mountains of Cashgar: whence again it descended with the Jailhun or Gihon, until that stream loses itself in the lakes of Khwarezm. Thence it passed to the Caspian sea, of which it skirted the whole southern extremity. Next it mounted along the banks of the Cur or Cyrus to the ridges of Caucasus, from which it dropped to the eastern shore of the Euxine. And from that shore, by the several Grecian seas, it returned, including the lower Asia, to the fountains of the Euphrates¹.

¹ Sir W. Jones's Disc. on the Pers. Asiat. Res. vol. ii. p. 43, 44. See a map of this country in Ouseley's Epit. of Persian History.

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Such was Iran in its greatest extent: and it obviously comprehended within its limits the empires of Assyria, Babylon, and Persia. It likewise nearly coincided with that extensive Asiatic region, which the Hindoos denominate *Cusha-dwip-within* or *the hither land of Cush*: for we may collect from a variety of circumstances, that Cusha-dwip extends, from the shores of the Mediterranean and the mouths of the Nile, to Serhind on the borders of India¹.

I. The empire of Ninrod and his Cushim, from whose long-rooted pre-dominance Cusha-dwip clearly received its appellation, seems to have comprehended a considerable part of central Iran almost from its very commencement: for its limits, even during the life-time of its founder, are marked out by the inspired historian with great precision. We are told, that *the mere beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar*²: so that his infant empire was commensurate with that large and fertile district, containing three subordinate cities as well as the metropolitan Babylon.

But, though such was the *beginning* of his kingdom, its power did not remain stationary, nor was Babel long the seat of government. The dispersion indeed took from him a large proportion of his subjects; but he had still a sufficient number remaining very greatly to extend his dominions northward. Mortified at the check which he had received, and disgusted with his late metropolis which had witnessed it, he went out of the land of Shinar into the region, which was chiefly peopled by the children of Ashur, and which from that patriarch took the name of *Ashur* or *Assyria*. Here he built a new capital upon the Tigris or Hiddekel; and, calling it after his own appellation *Ninus* (for *Nimrod* or *the rebel* was a term of reproach), he reigned henceforth at Nineveh³: here also he built three other towns, Rehoboth, Calah, and Resen; which last, though but of inferior note, is yet declared by Moses to have been a great city⁴.

When he thus removed his seat of empire, we have no reason to suppose that he *therefore* relinquished his hold upon the rich province of

¹ Asiat. Res. vol. iii. p. 54.² Gen. x. 10.³ See Hales's Chron. vol. ii. p. 50.⁴ Gen. x. 11, 12. See Hales's Chron. vol. iii. p. 19, 20.

Shinar or Babylonia : the words of the historian seem evidently enough to imply the very contrary. Moses is describing the *progress* of his power : his kingdom *commenced* indeed with Babel and three other cities ; but Assyria, with a new metropolis and three inferior towns, was soon *added* to it. He reigned therefore from the confines of Armenia to the shores of the Erythræan sea ; and, though prevented from attaining universal sovereignty, he was still by far the greatest of the early postdiluvian monarchs. He was not only the founder of Babylon : but that mighty and ancient empire, which from the locality of its capital Nineveh has usually been styled *the Assyrian empire*, and which many have erroneously esteemed a kingdom in the Shemite line of Ashur, was in reality but a continuation of his primeval Cuthic sovereignty. The province indeed, where the metropolis was situated, was chiefly peopled by the descendants of Ashur ; just as the provinces of Aram and Madai and Elam were chiefly peopled by the children of the patriarchs who bore those names : but the governing dynasty, and the associated military nobility, were certainly of the line of Cush. Hence, as the power of the Cushim extended over the whole empire of Iran ; and as the military nobility of that house must have possessed lordships in every part of it, much in the same manner as the Norman barons parcelled out the Saxon realm of England among themselves : the entire region, over which they presided, though comprehending the settlements of Aram and Ashur and Madai and Elam, is yet not improperly denominated by the Hindoo geographers *Cusha-dwip* ; as it is sometimes styled by the Greek writers *Ethiopia*, and by the inspired penmen *the land of Cush*. This region in short, so designated, was the *empire* indeed of Cush : but it was by no means entirely *occupied* by his posterity.

Babylon, the scene of Nimrod's humiliating discomfiture, appears to have long remained in a neglected state and (except perhaps during the short dynasty of the Arabian invaders, as they have been called) to have sunk to the condition of a provincial town : whence, many years afterwards, Nebuchadnezzar, who reigned over the revived Cuthic empire which was formed by the union of the later Assyrian and Babylonian monarchies, claimed to have been the founder of that ancient city, which he rebuilt and made the seat of his government. He *was* indeed its founder, in the same

BOOK VI. sense that Constantine was the founder of Constantinople; accordingly, he himself speaks of having *built it for the house of the kingdom*¹: but we know, that its *real* and *original* founder was Nimrod. The language however, used by Nebuchadnezzar, sufficiently proves, that Babylon had been for ages consigned to obscurity: and it thus confirms the declaration of Moses, that Nimrod forsook it ere its buildings were completed, and that he made the Assyrian Nineveh his capital.

In this view of the early Cuthic empire, I have followed the marginal reading of our English translation, which, I think, undoubtedly conveys the sense of the original: for Moses does not tell us, that *out of that land went forth Ashur and built Nineveh*; but that *out of that land he*, namely Nimrod, *went forth into Ashur or Assyria and built Nineveh*. The whole context of the passage requires such a translation. Moses is not treating of the *man* Ashur; which would here be perfectly out of place, since he is describing the various settlements of Ham: but he is plainly marking out the limits of the Cuthic empire, which was founded by Nimrod the grandson of that patriarch. Hence, when he teaches us that the *beginning* of Nimrod's kingdom was Babel and its dependencies; we are naturally led to expect, by every law of good writing, that he will next give us some information with regard to its *progress*. And this he *does* very satisfactorily, if we adopt the marginal translation of our English Bible; for he tells us, that Nimrod *began* his kingdom with Babel, that he *afterwards left* it when it became a marked object of divine wrath, and that he *went* into Assyria where he built Nineveh: but, if we abide by the other version, we throw the whole narrative into confusion; for we make the historian describe indeed the *beginning* of Nimrod's kingdom, but we exhibit him as immediately *quitting* his subject and as abruptly *flying off* to a supposed building of Nineveh by Ashur. Nor is this the only objection. *All mankind*, as we have seen, were assembled in the land of Shinar: therefore *all mankind*, at the time of the dispersion, *equally* abandoned the unfinished Babylon, and *equally* went out of the land where it was situated. Hence, if *all indifferently* proceeded from this central point; it is hard to say,

¹ Dan. iv. 30.

why *the particular emigration of Ashur* should have been thought more worthy of special notice, than *the particular emigration of any other patriarch*. Had *Ashur* been the founder of Nineveh, we should have been told so in the proper place, when Moses came to treat of the settlements of Shem: never surely would a good writer so flagrantly have departed from order and method, for no better apparent reason than to give us the palpably impertinent information that Ashur did certainly emigrate from the land of Shinar¹.

These arguments are the arguments of Bochart: and they are unanswerable on the supposition, that all mankind were engaged in the building of the tower. With Mr. Bryant, however, they have no weight: because he maintains, that *the Cushim alone* were the architects of Babel. Such being his system, he contends earnestly for the version which stands in the text of our English Bible: and he would understand the passage to intimate, that Ashur was originally settled in the land of Shinar, that Nimrod and the Cushim violently drove him out, and that he then retired northward and built Nineveh.

The whole of this gloss depends of course upon the solidity of the system, which supports it. But that system has been shewn to be altogether untenable: and it has been proved, that, not the Cushim merely, but all mankind were assembled under one head in the land of Shinar. The system consequently being unsound, the dependent gloss falls with it: and, as all mankind were concerned in building the tower, the arguments of Bochart remain in full force. But those arguments compel us to suppose, that the person, who went out of Shinar and built Nineveh, was not Ashur, but Nimrod. The result therefore of the whole is, that the Cuthic empire, even during the life of that mighty hunter of men, extended from Armenia

¹ The marginal translation of our English Bible, which represents Nimrod as the founder of Nineveh, is supported by the Targums of Onkelos and Jerusalem, Theophilus bishop of Antioch, and Jerome, among the ancients; and by Bochart, Hyde, Marsham, Wells, Le Chais, the writers of the Universal History, and Hales, among the moderns. See Hales's Chronol. vol. i. p. 447. Dr. Hales however has unfortunately adopted Mr. Bryant's hypothesis, that there was a dispersion of mankind antecedent to the building of the tower, and that the Cuthim alone were the architects of Babel.

BOOK VI. to the Persian gulph; thus comprizing within its early limits the entire central and richest portion of Iran, or Cushadwip within, or (in the nomenclature of the Greeks) Asiatic Ethiopia¹.

¹ Mr. Bryant condescends to use an argument in favour of his theory, which is utterly unworthy of that great scholar.

He says, that the marginal version, advocated by Bochart, describes Nimrod as going out into *Ashur* or *Assyria*. But, by the hypothesis, *Ashur*, with the rest of mankind, was at Shinar. Hence, as he had neither occupied nor conferred his name upon the land of Assyria at the time when Nimrod went out, it is a contradiction to say, that Nimrod migrated into *Assyria*; because as yet there was no land so denominated—Or, inversely, since Nimrod went out into the land of *Ashur*, Ashur must have been in that land *previous* to the going out of Nimrod. But, if that were the case, then Ashur could not have been dispersed from Babel, and therefore could have had no concern in the building of the tower. Because Nimrod, when miraculously driven from Babel, went out into a land *already* denominated *Ashur* because it was *already* occupied by the Ashurites.

This argument, he contends, will cut both ways. We must either *acknowledge* or *deny*, that the Ashurites were in Assyria when Nimrod went out into it. If we *acknowledge* it; then the assembling at Babel was not *universal*, because the Ashurites could not have been there. If we *deny* it; then there was *no* land of Ashur into which Nimrod *could* have gone out, because as yet the country had neither been occupied nor named by the Ashurites. Such is the dilemma, between the horns of which Mr. Bryant would place his opponents.

The whole of this I cannot but consider as most egregious trifling. A single word is sufficient to answer it. When Moses says, that Nimrod went out into the land of Ashur, he plainly means only to intimate, according to a very common and familiar mode of speech, that he went into the land which was so denominated at the time when he wrote his history. He simply wished to inform us, *where* Nimrod retired: and the obvious mode of accomplishing it was to specify the country, by the name under which it was *then* known. Let us see however, to what whimsical contradictions Mr. Bryant's argument will lead us, if it be of *general* application: and of *general* application it *must* be, otherwise it is palpably inconclusive. Moses assures us, that the three first mentioned rivers of the *antediluvian* Paradise watered the three several lands of Havilah, Cush, and Ashur. Now we must either *acknowledge* or *deny*, that the Havilah, the Cushim, and the Ashurim, were in these three regions, when they were watered by the three antediluvian rivers. If we *acknowledge* it; then children of the *postdiluvian* Havilah and Cush and Ashur lived *before* the deluge. If we *deny* it; then there were no such countries as those specified by Moses which *could* have been watered by the Paradisiacal rivers, because as yet they had neither been occupied nor named by their respective possessors. Moses therefore, by this dilemma, stands clearly convicted of error¹

II. At the epoch whence the astronomical canon of Ptolemy commences, or in the year 747 before the Christian era, the last Assyrian kingdom under Tiglath-Pileser, and the last Babylonian kingdom under Nabonassar, sprang up synchronically out of the Assyrian empire : but that empire, once so extensive under a very ancient dynasty as to comprehend the whole of Iran or Cusha-dwip, had already undergone a great revolution and had sustained the loss of some of its most important provinces. It will be proper to inquire into the nature and chronological era of these events.

1. Ctesias gives a long list of Assyrian kings, ending with Thonus Concolerus : and, next in succession to them, he places a dynasty of Median kings, the length of whose several reigns he regularly specifies ; beginning with Arbaces, and ending with Astyages the grandfather of the great Cyrus ¹. By thus bringing down the Median dynasty to the days of Astyages and Cyrus, he provides us with a fixed point to reckon from : and the result of a retrograde calculation from that point will be, that Arbaces must have founded the kingdom of Media in the year A. C. 821 ². But the long Assyrian dynasty terminated about the time, when the Median dynasty commenced. Hence, whatever was the fate of Assyria itself and whoever might be its rulers upon the extinction of its ancient dynasty ; it is plain, that, about this period, some great revolution must have taken place in the Iranian empire, and that the hitherto subject province of Media became an independent kingdom.

The rise of the Median empire is detailed at large by Herodotus : and, by viewing his account conjointly with that of Ctesias, we shall probably arrive at the whole truth. He tells us, that, when the Assyrians had been lords of upper Asia for the space of 520 years, the Medes set the example of a revolt from their authority ; and that this example was speedily followed by the other provinces. For a season, the Medes were in a state of great anarchy : but at length, having experimentally learned the inconvenience of it, they unanimously elected Dejoces to be their sovereign ³.

¹ Jackson's Chronol. Ant. vol. i. p. 247—254.

² Ibid. p. 253.

³ Herod. Hist. lib. i. c. 95—98.

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Here we are explicitly informed, that the independent kingdom of Media was founded in consequence of a revolutionary defection from the paramount Assyrian empire: and we may further collect not obscurely, that that empire then fell to pieces; because the historian adds, that its other provinces soon followed the example of the Medes. The whole of this exactly corresponds with the arrangement of Ctesias: for that author describes the ancient Assyrian dynasty as becoming extinct, shortly before the Median dynasty commenced with Arbaces; and such extinction is precisely what might have been expected from the convulsed state of the empire, as exhibited by Herodotus.

But we must now attend to an important chronological discrepance between these two writers, who have hitherto so excellently harmonized together. Herodotus makes Dejoeces the great grandfather of Astyages, and thus gives only *four* Median sovereigns from the founder of the monarchy to Astyages both inclusively: Ctesias, on the contrary, places Arbaces at the head of the dynasty, and from him to Astyages inclusively gives *nine* Median sovereigns. The consequence is, that, according to the length of reigns as stated by Herodotus, the Median revolt must have taken place in the year A. C. 710; and, as the anarchical interregnum may be shewn to have lasted six years, the first king must have been called to the throne in the year A. C. 704¹: while, according to the length of reigns as stated by Ctesias, the government of the first king must have commenced in the year A. C. 821; and therefore the Median revolt must have taken place six years earlier in the year A. C. 827. Abp. Usher and Dr. Hales prefer the arrangement of Herodotus; nor is it without much appearance of reason, for there certainly *was* a revolt of the Medes from the Assyrian empire about the year A. C. 710, shortly after and in consequence of the

¹ Herod. lib. i. c. 102—107. Jackson's Chronol. Ant. vol. i. p. 253, 254. Herodotus has not *expressly given* the length of the anarchical interregnum, but he has furnished the data. He reckons the Scythian dominion in Media 28 years, and the whole length of the Median dynasty from Dejoeces to Astyages inclusive 128 years more; or 156 years in all. But the reigns of his four kings amount only to 150 years. Consequently, these, being subtracted from the gross sum of 156 years, will leave six years for the period of anarchy. See Hales's Chronol. vol. iii. p. 85.

disastrous expedition of Sennacherib against Judah : but, after a long consideration of the subject, I feel assured, that there were *two* Median revolts ; that Herodotus has blended them together into *one* ; and that he has therefore brought down the rise of the monarchy from the era of the *first* to the era of the *second*, wholly suppressing the five earliest kings, and ascribing to the sixth monarch whom he calls *Dejoces* what was really performed by the first monarch whom Ctesias calls *Arbaces* : hence I am led to adopt the arrangement of Ctesias.

The grounds of my whole opinion are these. The ancient Assyrian dynasty certainly came to an end about or before the year A. C. 821 : accordingly, Dr. Hales very properly makes what he calls *the third Assyrian dynasty* commence at that time¹. Now this is in effect to allow, that a great revolution then took place. But precisely such is the declaration of Ctesias : whence, with much appearance of probability, he makes Arbaces become the first sovereign of Media directly after the extinction of the ancient Assyrian dynasty, the Medes having availed themselves of so favourable an opportunity to raise the standard of independence. And in this outline of history he agrees with Herodotus ; who describes the rise of the Median kingdom, as occurring when the Assyrian empire was falling to pieces by the general defection of its provinces. No extinction however of any Assyrian dynasty took place in the year A. C. 710 : so that, by fixing the original revolt of the Medes to that epoch, we take away from the rise of their kingdom one of its leading characteristics, namely the dissolution of a governing Assyrian empire. We moreover, by such an arrangement, violate the concinnity of another part of history : for, as we shall presently see, the independence of Persia commenced much about the time which Ctesias assigns for the commencement of Median independence : and we are assured, that it commenced just in the same manner, namely after a period of anarchical violence and subsequent to the domination of a very ancient imperial monarchy : hence the epoch of Persian independence must also, as circumstantial evidence very plainly determines, be the epoch of Median independence. Now with this epoch the account given by Ctesias

¹ Hales's Chronol. vol. iii. p. 58.

BOOK VI. exactly agrees, both chronologically and circumstantially: but the account given by Herodotus does not thus agree. I am led therefore to prefer the former to the latter: and thence, with Ctesias, I place the rise of Median independence between the years A. C. 827 and 821; rather than, with Herodotus, between the years A. C. 710 and 704. Such then is what I believe to be the true epoch of the *grand* Median revolt: but there undoubtedly must have been a *second* revolt; which Usher and Hales rightly fix from Herodotus to the year A. C. 710, which that historian has confounded with the *first* revolt at the rise of the monarchy, and which took place in consequence of the favourable opportunity afforded by the disaster of Sennacherib. The order of events seems to have been, as follows. Not long after the middle of the ninth century before Christ, the old Assyrian dynasty became extinct with Thonus Concolerus, and the empire fell asunder by the defection of its provinces. About the same time arose the comparatively small kingdom of Assyria under what Dr. Hales calls *the third Assyrian dynasty*: while Media, after having experienced the inconvenience of revolutionary discord, became an independent state under the government of Arbaces. The new Assyrian kingdom however increased so rapidly in strength, that it was enabled to reconquer either the whole or a considerable part of Media, thus reducing the then sovereign of that country to the rank of a tributary vassal. This circumstance may be collected from Holy Writ: and it is that identical testimony of Scripture; which has led chronologers, too hastily (I think), to place the rise of Median independence so low as the year A. C. 710, and to pronounce all the five first Median princes enumerated by Ctesias mere prefects of the Assyrian monarch. When Shalmaneser had conquered the Israelites of the ten tribes, he *carried them away*, we are told; *and placed them in Halah, and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes*¹. Now this happened between the years A. C. 721 and 719. Consequently, Media must then have been subject to the king of Assyria. But we know, that Media was independent during the reigns of Astyages and his immediate predecessors. Hence it must have recovered its independence sub-

¹ 2 Kings xvii. 5, 6.

sequent to the year A. C. 719. Accordingly we learn from the chronological numbers of Herodotus, though he has unfortunately blended the *second* Median revolt with the *first*, that the Medes finally threw off the Assyrian yoke in the year A. C. 710: which is the exact time, when we might expect such an exploit to be achieved by a high-spirited nation panting after the independence which it had recently lost; for it was the very year of Sennacherib's miraculous disaster in the land of Judah and of his consequent assassination by his sons.

On these grounds, I am led to fix what I esteem the *original* Median revolt to about the year A. C. 827, and the accession of the first independent Median king at the close of the six years anarchy to the year A. C. 821. Whence I conclude, that, as the revolt *followed* the extinction of the old Assyrian dynasty in the person of Thonus Concolerus, the dynasty in question must have become extinct, and the great Assyrian empire must have begun to be revolutionized, some short time previous to the year A. C. 827.

2. The propriety of such a conclusion will be decidedly confirmed by an inquiry into the true epoch of Persian independence.

When Sir Isaac Newton came to calculate backward the reigns of the recorded Persian kings, he found, that he was unable to place the rise of their monarchy higher than the year A. C. 790¹: and so just were his principles, that, if we compute those reigns as enumerated by the Persian historians themselves, we shall actually be brought for their commencement very nearly to the self-same year.

The Persian writers describe the Pishdadian dynasty, as being the first that governed their country with regal authority: and, although they make it consist of no more than eleven kings, they fabulously exhibit the reigns of those kings as stretching through the incredible space of 2450 years. To the Pishdadian succeeded the Caianian dynasty, which comprehended ten sovereigns: and to their joint reigns the more moderate, though still excessive, period of 734 years is attributed².

Now, if we direct our attention to the two last princes of this second dynasty, we shall happily obtain a sure chronological resting place, from

¹ Newton apud Jones. *Asiat. Res.* vol. ii. p. 47.

² Jehan Ara in Ouseley's *Epit. of anc. his. of Persia.* p. 3, 15.

BOOK VI. which we may be enabled to take a rational backward view of the preposterously extended reigns of their predecessors. The tenth Caianian monarch is Secander Zul-Karnein : and this personage, though he is said to have been the son of a former king named *Darab*, is sufficiently identified with the Macedonian Alexander both by his appellation *Secander* and by the circumstance of his mother being described as the daughter of Philip king of Greece. Such being the case, his immediate predecessor Dara must undoubtedly be the Darius of classical story¹. Accordingly, though Secander be thus arranged as the last prince of the Caianian dynasty, Mirkhond and the other Persian writers unanimously agree, that that dynasty really ended when Dara was conquered by Secander : and, though the author of the *Jehan Ara* has followed Ferdousi in exhibiting Secander as a son of Darab by a daughter of the Macedonian Philip, the more ancient and authentic Tabari rightly pronounces him to be the *son* of the Grecian monarch². The proper Caianian dynasty therefore, when the foreign Secander is excluded, contains only nine kings : and thus it doubtless ended in the year A. C. 331, with the murder of Dara or Darius Codoman.

This point being ascertained, we have now twenty kings from Calumuras to Dara, both inclusive ; namely, eleven Pishdadians and nine Caianians : and the joint duration of their reigns is to be calculated retrospectively from the year A. C. 331, which is a known chronological epoch. Now, on a grand sum of ten different regal dynasties, comprehending on the whole 454 kings and extending through the vast space of 10105 years, it has been accurately computed by Dr. Hales, that the average length of a reign may be estimated at $22\frac{1}{2}$ years³. In the present case, let us take the round number of 23 years, as the average length of our twenty Persian reigns ; and, at that rate, calculate them backward from the murder of Dara in the year A. C. 331. Such an operation will give, as their joint amount, the sum of 460 years : and, consequently, those 460 years added

¹ *Jehan Ara* in Ouseley's *Epit. of anc. his. of Persia*. p. 25.

² Hales's *Chronol.* vol. iii. p. 48, 49. Ouseley's *Epit.* p. 26.

³ Hales's *Chronol.* vol. i. p. 304, 305.

to 331 years will give the year A. C. 791 as the commencement of the Pishdadian dynasty with Caiumuras. CHAP. II.

Hence it appears, that if we adopt the arrangement of Ctesias, the independent monarchy of Persia will have arisen about 30 years after the independent monarchy of Media; and *this* agreeably to the declaration of Herodotus, that the Medes *led the way* in the revolt from the Assyrian empire, and that their example was soon *followed* by the other provinces: but, as it is not impossible that 23 years may have been too short an average, the insurrection of Persia probably followed the insurrection of Media after a smaller interval than 30 years¹. An average, for instance of 24 years to a reign, would place the accession of Caiumuras in the year A. C. 811, and thus allow only ten years between that event and the previous accession of the Median Arbaces².

The rise then of the two independent kingdoms of Media and Persia may be deemed so far synchronical, as just to allow the rise of Media to *precede*

¹ We may fairly take *more* than 23 years as the average of a reign, if it be necessary: for one of Dr. Hales's ten exemplar dynasties gives 26 $\frac{2}{3}$ years; another, 25 years; and another, 24 years.

² Dr. Hales seems to me to have greatly erred, and that too in the teeth of his own very valuable calculation of the average length of a reign, when he throws back the rise of the Pishdadian dynasty as high as the time of Abraham, and when he makes its second king Hushang to be the Chedorlaomer of Moses. I see not how it is possible by any fair rules of computation, unless we arbitrarily insert here and there a purely gratuitous interregnum, to throw the accession of Caiumuras much higher than I have done. This unfortunate arrangement of that excellent writer has led him to take a most unwarrantable liberty with the list of Assyrian kings, as exhibited by Ctesias. At one fell swoop he annihilates 24 reigns out of the 36; merely because, according to his own settlement of the Pishdadian dynasty and his identification of Hushang with Chedorlaomer, the remaining 12 will then *be found fully sufficient*: and then, to fill up the gap in the Assyrian supremacy during the fictitious paramount rule of the Pishdadians, he places an enormous interregnum of 985 years between Zinzirus the sixth from Nimrod and Mithrèus whom he would identify with the second Ninus, notwithstanding Mithrèus is the twenty fifth king in the catalogue of Ctesias and the younger Ninus the first king. Chronol. vol. iii p. 21, 29, 30, 35, 53, 54. Respecting the petty Elamitic king Chedorlaomer, whom Dr. Hales would have to be the mighty sovereign of all Iran, more shall be said in the proper place. See below § VI. 2. (2.)

BOOK VI. that of Persia, and thus to harmonize with the assertion of Herodotus that the Medes *led the way* in the revolt: and this chronological hypothesis will be found exactly to tally with circumstantial evidence.

According to Herodotus, the first king of Media was called to the throne by way of remedying the evils of anarchy; and that anarchy had been the consequence of a revolt of the provinces from the Assyrian empire. In a similar manner, Caiumuras, according to the Persian writers, was elevated to the seat of government by the free voice of the people, who were wearied out by the troubles of a grievous preceding anarchy¹. So again, according to Ctesias, the Median dynasty had arisen upon the extinction of the ancient Assyrian dynasty which had for ages swayed the sceptre of Iran. In a similar manner, however the national vanity of the Persian writers has led them to throw back the accession of the Pishdadian Caiumuras to the extravagant distance of 3170 years from the murder of Dara or Darius Codoman; they have still a most vivid tradition of a powerful empire, which in the government of Iran long preceded even their first independent dynasty. Now, if we put these matters together, it will, I think, be abundantly evident, that the provincial anarchy, out of which the Median kingdom arose, is the identical provincial anarchy, out of which the Persian kingdom also arose; and that the powerful empire, which had preceded the one, is the very same empire as that, which had preceded the other. Such circumstances tally far too exactly to be the result of mere accident. Consequently, since circumstantial evidence proves the synchronical rise of the two independent kingdoms of Media and Persia, since the Pishdadian dynasty of the latter kingdom must have commenced between the years A. C. 811 and 791, and since the ancient Assyrian dynasty must have terminated in the person of Thonus Concolerus some short time previous to the year A. C. 827: we may rest tolerably certain, that Ctesias was accurate in placing eight Median kings before Astyages and in thus fixing the rise of the Median dynasty to the year A. C. 821.

The result therefore of the preceding investigation is, that the two independent kingdoms of Media and Persia sprang up very nearly synchroni-

¹ Hales's Chronol. vol. iii. p. 30.

cally, the rise of the one being anterior to the rise of the other only by a few years; and that they alike owed their origin to the falling asunder of a great Iranian empire, of which they had before been mere provinces.

3. The metropolis of that great empire was Nineveh: and, as Nineveh was situated within the limits of Assyria, the empire itself was generally distinguished, at least in the west, by the name of *the Assyrian empire*. We have now therefore to inquire, what was the fate of Assyria proper, when the great empire was dissolved by the revolt of its provinces, when its governing dynasty became extinct in the person of Thonus Concolerus, and when the two kingdoms of Media and Persia established their independence.

A new Assyrian dynasty rose up most undoubtedly in the place of that, which had become extinct: and I am inclined to believe, for reasons which will hereafter appear, that its founder dethroned the last prince of the ancient dynasty, and assumed the imperial name of *Ninus*. This was originally the appellation of him; who, by way of reproach, was styled *Nimrod* or *the rebel*: accordingly, when he went forth from Babylonia into the land of Ashur and there built a second capital, he denominated it after himself *Nineveh* or *Nin's town*. The same title, according to Ctesias, was assumed by the first prince of the second Assyrian dynasty: and it was now, if I mistake not, again borne by the founder of what Dr. Hales properly calls *the third Assyrian dynasty*. I take it, that in both instances the ground of its assumption was a politic appeal to the prevailing superstition: each younger Ninus, at the head of his own dynasty, claimed to be a divine Avatar or transmigratory reappearance of the hero-god Ninus, who was the primeval founder of the empire¹.

Dr. Hales fixes the accession of this prince to the year A. C. 821; which is the same year as that, in which, according to the arrangement of Ctesias, Arbaces mounted the independent throne of Media: and he supposes Jonah to have prophesied to the Ninevites in the year A. C. 800; while Abp.

¹ I am inclined to suspect, that the title was originally assumed by Nimrod himself much on the same political principles. The word *Nin* denotes *a son*: and, agreeably to the doctrine of Avatarism, the founder of Babel seems to have given out, that he was a manifestation of the promised seed of the woman emphatically called *the son*.

BOOK VI. Usher prefers the year A. C. 808, as the era of that memorable warning. All these dates ought, I think, to be thrown somewhat earlier: and for such an alteration the book of Jonah itself affords some internal evidence, throwing at the same time a considerable degree of light on those early transactions which I am now discussing.

As the Median dynasty of Arbaces commenced in the year A. C. 821, and as 6 years of anarchy elapsed between the revolt of the Medes and their election of a king; the old Assyrian dynasty must have become extinct, and the new or third Assyrian dynasty must have arisen, some time previous to the year A. C. 827. The accession of the first king of this new dynasty seems to have been the signal for revolt to the provinces: and so general was the defection, that his authority appears to have extended but little beyond the walls of the metropolitan Nineveh. His wise and vigorous administration, however, must ere long have reduced to obedience the whole both of Assyria and of the subject kingdom of Babylonia: for, about the year A. C. 771, we find his successor Pul in such power as to invade the remote western kingdom of Israel¹. The head of this new dynasty was certainly the prince, to whom the prophet Jonah was sent: and the scriptural account of that remarkable transaction exactly agrees with what has been advanced.

Jonah must have flourished during the reign of Joash king of Israel: for, as he foretold that God would save the ten tribes by the hand of Jeroboam the son of that king, and as consequently the deliverance was not effected until after the accession of Jeroboam, Jonah must have been contemporary with Joash². But the reign of Joash, including the time that he ruled jointly with his father Jehoahaz, extended from the year A. C. 841 to the year A. C. 825. Therefore Jonah must at least have flourished during some part of *that* period, however much earlier or later he may have lived. Thus it is evident, that he was contemporary with the first king of the new Assyrian dynasty: for that king, as we have seen, began to reign a short time previous to the Median revolt in the year A. C. 827,

¹ 2 Kings xv. 19. Hales's Chronol. vol. iii. p. 58, 60. Usher. Annal. in A. A. C. 771.

² 2 Kings xiv. 25—27. Usher. Annal. in A. A. C. 825, 808.

having mounted the throne with the extinction of the former Assyrian dynasty under Thonus Concolerus. Such being the case, I am inclined to believe, that Jonah was sent to Nineveh soon after the accession of the new prince; when the whole of Iran was in a state of confusion, when the provinces were revolting on every side, when the metropolis itself was yet feverish with revolutionary anarchy, and when the tottering authority of Ninus was scarcely recognized beyond its walls. The era therefore of the solemn warning may probably be fixed to somewhere about the year A. C. 827 or 826. And now let us attend to the scriptural account of the transaction.

Jonah is sent to cry against Nineveh, because the wickedness of its inhabitants had come up before the Lord. But the special nature of this wickedness is afterwards described, in the regal proclamation itself, as mainly consisting in atrocious deeds of revolutionary violence¹. Nineveh therefore, as well as its revolting provinces according to the accurate account which is given of them both by Herodotus and the Persian historians, had been, and indeed was still, convulsed by civil discord and anarchy: in short, both it and the whole expiring empire were in a state not dissimilar to that, which was exhibited by France and its metropolis in the course of its blood-stained revolution. There was now however a king in Nineveh: but it is long after a storm, ere the waves are hushed to peace; and the new sovereign probably found it no easy matter to govern a turbulent city accustomed to sanguinary licence. This condition, together with the unpopular loss of the provinces, humbled the heart of Ninus; and thus prepared him to listen to the admonition of a stranger prophet. The peculiar state therefore of Nineveh and the empire will fully account for a circumstance, which must otherwise appear not a little extraordinary. An idolatrous oriental sovereign, inflated by prosperity and corrupted by flattery, would probably have forthwith put to death any person, much more therefore an unknown foreigner; who had dared to convey to him a message, which Jonah, under the evident impression of very natural fear, was at length constrained reluctantly to deliver: but the same sovereign,

¹ Jonah i. 2. iii. 8.

BOOK VI. when humbled by adversity, is a very different character; and good policy, no less than his better inclination, would lead Ninus to hear the prophet's message with reverence, and to give it all the effect among his turbulent subjects which the royal authority could enable him to do. The state of Nineveh will likewise account for another circumstance, and that circumstance in return will throw light upon the then condition of the Assyrian empire. When the mighty Pul, about fifty years afterwards, invades the realm of Israel, he is accurately styled *the king of Assyria*¹: but Ninus, when he conversed with Jonah, is distinguished by the humbler title of *the king of Nineveh*². This difference of appellation is not merely accidental. Ninus, by the general revolt of the provinces, was scarcely more than sovereign of the metropolis and its immediately dependent district: but Pul was lord at once of Assyria and Babylonia; and, as appears by his invasion of Israel, had likewise stretched his sceptre over the whole of Aram. It is not unreasonable to believe, that so rapid a growth of empire was the reward which God was pleased to bestow upon the piety of Ninus and his penitent subjects. Though pagans, they humbled themselves before an obscure prophet of Jehovah: and for this remarkable act of faith, which obtained the high commendation even of Christ himself, they not only saved their city from instant destruction, but received the divine blessing upon their future enterprizes.

The general result then of the whole is, that the ancient Assyrian empire fell asunder some short time previous to the year A. C. 827; that the whole of Iran was then convulsed with revolutionary madness; that the smaller kingdom of Assyria sprang up synchronically with the extinction of the old Assyrian dynasty; and that, about the years A. C. 821 and 811 or 791, the hitherto vassal provinces of Media and Persia became independent sovereignties.

III. I now proceed to inquire, what historical notices we have of the great Assyrian or Iranian empire; which immediately preceded the three smaller kingdoms of Assyria and Media and Persia, and which must have been dissolved shortly after the middle of the ninth century before the Christian era.

¹ 2 Kings xv. 19.

² Jonah iii. 6.

1. Sir Isaac Newton, not being able to throw back the rise of the Persian monarchy higher than the year A. C. 790, conjectured, that in the preceding ages the government had been divided among several petty states and principalities: and, in this conjecture, Sir William Jones, who like myself could not place the commencement of the Pishdadian dynasty much higher than Sir Isaac had placed the rise of the monarchy, for a season acquiesced; notwithstanding he felt it to be highly unsatisfactory. A fortunate discovery at length dispelled the mist, in which the early history of Persia had so long been shrouded.

Through one of the most intelligent Musulmans in India, Sir William Jones became acquainted with a rare and interesting tract, entitled *the Dabistan*, and composed by a Mohammedan traveller named *Mohsan*. This man had contracted a friendship with several learned Persians, who had retired into India to avoid persecution for their religious opinions: and he had perused a variety of books compiled by them, which are now extremely scarce. From them he learned, that a mighty monarchy had been established in Iran for many ages before the accession of Caïumuras; that its sovereigns composed what was called *the Mahabadian dynasty*, from Mahabad its reputed founder; and that a long succession of princes, among whom Mahbul or Maha-Beli is particularly mentioned, had raised it to the zenith of human glory¹.

Now it is obvious, that this account decidedly shews the absurdity of throwing back with the Persian romancers the commencement of the Pishdadian dynasty to the fifth generation from Noah, and tends to prove that I have justly ascribed its rise to about the end of the ninth century before Christ: for the long-lived Mahabadian dynasty, which preceded the Pishdadian, is manifestly the governing dynasty of that great Iranian empire out of the ruins of which sprang up the smaller kingdoms of Media and Persia and Assyria; while the renowned Mahbul or Maha-Beli is clearly that mighty Belus, who is celebrated by the Hellenic writers as the founder of Babylon. Hence it is certain, that this Mahabadian dynasty must have swayed the sceptre of that empire, which, from the seat of its

¹ *Asiat. Res.* vol. ii. p. 47, 48.

BOOK VI. government, came to be called *the Assyrian*: for, though its first capital was Babylon, its second and permanent metropolis was Nineveh. But Babylon and Nineveh were both founded by the scriptural Nimrod. Therefore Belus, or the most ancient Ninus, or the Mahabadian Beli whose name is declared to stand preëminent among the other princes, must have been the same person as Nimrod: and the old empire, so long governed by the Mahabadian dynasty, must have been the Cuthic empire of Nimrod; which, as I have just observed, acquired the title of *Assyrian* from the circumstance of Nineveh in the land of Assyria becoming its capital.

We learn then from the Dabistan, that, when this great empire was dissolved, the Pishdadian dynasty arose in Persia: and, accordingly, the writers of that country tell us, that their Pishdadian dynasty, like the contemporary Median dynasty of the Arbacidæ, sprang up out of the midst of civil discord and confusion. Hence therefore we at length distinctly perceive, that Persia, anterior to the rise of the Pishdadian dynasty, so far from being divided into several petty independent states, was really a province of the great Iranian or Assyrian empire: and that the Mahabadian dynasty, which had aboriginally governed it, did not consist of native Persian sovereigns; but was entirely composed of Assyrian princes, *truly* beginning with Nimrod though *simulatively* (as we shall hereafter see) with Noah, and ending about the middle of the ninth century before Christ with Thonus Concolerus.

2. The Dabistan only informs us in general terms, that the Mahabadian dynasty had been established in Iran for many ages before the accession of the first Pishdadian Caiumuras, and that it comprehended a long succession of powerful kings: the precise length therefore of its continuance must be ascertained from a different quarter; and this will be found very amply to corroborate the general assertion of the Persian record.

Of the sovereigns, who ruled the primeval Iranian or Assyrian empire, we have a list furnished by Syncellus, Alexander Polyhistor, and Ctesias.

Syncellus and Polyhistor first give us a catalogue of the seven earliest kings, beginning with Nimrod or Belus or the elder Ninus. These are described by Syncellus, as reigning jointly 224½ years: but Polyhistor allows no more than 190 years for the full amount of their reigns. The

latter calculation seems preferable to the former; because it was taken from the Chaldæan annals of Berosus. They next exhibit a dynasty of six Arabian kings, as reigning over Babylonia for 215 years. With these, though we shall *hereafter* hear something more of them, we have no *present* concern: for they evidently appear to have effected a temporary conquest of Chaldæa alone, after the Iranian seat of government had been removed from Babylon to Nineveh¹. The dynasty therefore of the seven earliest princes joins immediately, in point of chronological succession, to the dynasty of the thirty six Ninevite sovereigns, as detailed by Ctesias. But this dynasty, we are told, flourished for the space of 1305 years: at the close of which the old empire fell asunder; and, after an interval of discord, the kingdoms of Media, Persia, and Assyria, sprang up (as we have already seen) out of its ruins. If therefore we add together 190 years, or the length of the earliest Iranian dynasty, and 1305 years, or the length of the second Iranian dynasty; we shall have the gross sum of 1495 years for the entire duration of the great Iranian empire, from its foundation by Nimrod, to its dissolution under Thonus Concolerus about the middle of the ninth century before Christ². Such, consequently, exclusive of the patriarchal ages that preceded Nimrod, was the duration also of the Mahabadian dynasty; which ruled over Iran before the rise of the Pishdadian dynasty at the accession of Caiumuras, and which (we see) is accurately described in the Dabistan as having enjoyed the sovereignty *for many ages* previous to that event. Now the Mahabadian or Assyrian dynasty terminated about the middle of the ninth century before Christ. Hence, as its entire duration from Nimrod to Thonus comprehended 1495 years, the empire of Nimrod at Babel must have commenced soon after the middle of the twenty fourth century before Christ; that is to say, somewhere between the years A. C. 2350 and 2330.

The seven earliest kings must have been Nimrod and his lineal descendants: and the next thirty six kings must either have sprung from a younger branch of the house of Nimrod, or must have been members of another Cuthic family which ascended the throne upon the extinction or abdication

¹ Vide infra c. 5. § V. 5.

² Jackson's Chronol. Ant. vol. i. p. 233—236, 247—253.

BOOK VI. of the royal house of the founder. The first supposition, which would make the children of Nimrod in two successive branches reign over the empire during its whole continuance, is the most probable: because the Persian record acknowledges no break in the dynasty of the Mahabadians; but speaks of it, from beginning to end, as being properly but *one*.

With whatever accuracy or inaccuracy the catalogue of Iranian princes may have been constructed by Berosus and Ctesias, the average length of their several reigns is perfectly reasonable and such as may well accord with genuine history. The reigns of 43 kings, extending through a period of 1495 years, will give an average of about $34\frac{3}{4}$ years to each reign: which, when we consider that the empire was founded before the life of man had dwindled down to its present standard, cannot be deemed much too high.

It may here be proper to observe, that there is no real contradiction between the account, which ascribes to the Iranian sovereignty in Babylon and Nineveh a duration of about 15 centuries, and the assertion of Herodotus, that the Assyrians of Nineveh had been lords of upper Asia no more than 520 years when the Medes revolted from their authority: the former estimates the entire length of the empire; the latter speaks only of the conquest of a particular district during the period of its continuance.

3. Having thus identified the Mahabadian dynasty with that which ruled over the ancient Assyrian empire and which was founded by Nimrod or Belus or Maha-Beli, we must next direct our attention to a very old and remarkable monarchy, noticed by Justin and hinted at by Strabo.

(1.) The former of these writers, who abstracted the universal history which with equal diligence and ability had been compiled by Trogus Pompeius, mentions a king of the Scythians named *Tanaus*; who, prior to the rise of the Assyrian empire under Ninus, had extended his dominion even as far as Egypt*. By the Scythic Tanaus, like the Egyptian Pharaoh, we must certainly understand a dynasty of kings rather than a solitary monarch: for the domination of the Scythians was not confined to a single warlike and successful reign. Justin tells us, that, at three different suc-

* Justin. Hist. lib. i. c. 1.

cessive periods, they were the dominant power in Asia; while they themselves never submitted to the disgrace of a foreign yoke. The first of these periods is that, with which alone we are at present concerned: and it is thus described from the ancient documents furnished by Trogus.

Vexoris, king of Egypt, having declared war against the Scythians because they refused to acknowledge his supremacy; that gallant people, great alike in wisdom and in arms, marched to encounter him. Their rapid approach terrified the invader: so that, ingloriously leaving his whole army behind, he fled with precipitation to his own country. The victorious Scythians followed him, but were prevented by the morasses from penetrating far into Egypt. They returned therefore into Asia, which they conquered and made tributary. Nor was this a mere marauding excursion: so firmly was their dominion established, that their paramount imperial authority continued during the space of 15 centuries. At length Ninus threw off the yoke, and became the founder of the Assyrian empire¹.

We have here a most curious piece of ancient history, corrupted indeed, yet amply sufficient for the purpose on account of which it is adduced. It seems then, that, *antecedent* to a revolt of Assyria under Ninus, there was a very powerful empire in the Scythic line; which domineered over all Asia as known to the early western nations, and which had excursively penetrated even as far as Egypt.

(2.) Justin is not the only writer, who notices this primeval Scythic monarchy: Strabo, when enumerating the dominant powers of the east, speaks of the old Scythians, as being a most warlike and powerful race; though he acknowledges, that the early accounts of them, as well as those of the Persians and the Medes and the Assyrians, are deeply tinged with fabulous inaccuracy².

In this assertion he is perfectly right: the *fact* of a primitive Scythic empire may be indisputable, though the details of it do not bind us to entire acquiescence in *all* points. His testimony is chiefly valuable, as to the *fact* and the *age* of its existence. We may observe, that he specifies the Persians, the Medes, and the Assyrians, in a retrograde chronologicae

¹ Just. Hist. lib. ii. c. 3.

² Strab. Geog. lib. xi. p. 507.

BOOK VI. order, as being masters of Asia. Hence it is manifest, that the true order is, first the Scythians, then the Assyrians who are viewed as comprehending the Babylónico-Assyrians, then the Medes, and lastly the Persians. Thus again we find a Scythic empire antecedent to the Assyrian empire.

IV. And now the question is, who these Scythians could be, that, descending from their native Armenian Caucasus, founded the primeval monarchy in Iran. It will not, I trust, be very difficult to afford a satisfactory answer.

The excessive length of their domination clearly proves, that they could not have established it prior to the epoch of Nimrod or the *first* Ninus: and the same circumstance equally proves, that they could not have established it prior to the epoch of that *second* Ninus, with whom, after the interval of 190 years from the beginning of Nimrod's reign, commenced what is called *the second Assyrian dynasty* in Nineveh. Of this the reason is obvious: fifteen centuries, reckoned back from the accession of either of these *early* Nini, would carry us many ages before the era of the flood. It can only remain therefore, that the Ninus and the Assyrian empire, which were immediately preceded by the Scythic domination, were a *third* Ninus and a *much later* Assyrian empire than that which was founded by Nimrod. Now such an empire, as we have seen, rose up synchronically with the kingdoms of Media and Persia, about the middle of the ninth century before Christ. Consequently, the Ninus, with whom it commenced and who flourished in the days of the prophet Jonah, must have been that Ninus; who, according to the documents of Trogus, first broke the long Asiatic domination of the Scythians. But the empire, which fell to pieces at the beginning of *his* reign by an universal spirit of revolt throughout the provinces, was undoubtedly that; which has generally been styled *the Assyrian* from the scite of its capital Nineveh, which was originally founded by Nimrod, and which expired under Thonus Concolcrus. Hence, as the princes of that empire and the princes of a *distinct* Scythic empire could not *both* have been lords of Asia during the self-same period of time; and yet as the princes of that empire and the princes of a Scythian dynasty are *alike* declared to have been lords of Asia previous to the rise of an Assyrian monarchy, which can only be that that arose about the middle of the ninth

century before Christ : I see not what conclusion we can draw, except this ; that the princes of the old Assyrian empire from Nimrod to Thonus, and the princes of the Scythian dynasty mentioned by Trogus and hinted at by Strabo, were the self-same race of men.

Accordingly, with this conclusion every particular will be found to agree. The domination of the Scythic princes lasted, in round numbers, 1500 years : the domination of the old Assyrian or Nimrodian dynasties lasted, if the reigns be exactly summed up, 1494 years. The domination of the Scythic princes was broken by revolt : the domination of the old Assyrian dynasties was also broken by revolt. At the close of the Scythic domination, commenced that Assyrian kingdom which afterwards in *its* turn obtained the lordship of Asia : at the close of the old Assyrian domination, commenced that identical Assyrian kingdom which rose up when the Scythic yoke was broken. Thus minute is the correspondence in every particular ¹.

¹ It must however be remarked, that Justin, though accurate in the duration which he assigns to the Scythian empire, has confounded the *third* Ninus with the *second*. This has clearly arisen, partly from his misapplication of the chronological numbers which were handed down to him, and partly from the circumstance of the Scythian empire acquiring the name of *Assyrian* when Nineveh became the seat of government. The Scythian rule, he tells us, lasted fifteen centuries ; which sum has been produced by adding together 190 years and 1305 years or the two successive periods of the first and second Cuthico-Assyrian dynasties. At the close of that term, Ninus threw off the yoke and founded the Assyrian empire : this, he informs us, continued for the space of thirteen centuries. Now the period of fifteen centuries, ascribed to the primeval Scythian empire, proves, as we have just seen, that the Assyrian Ninus, who rose up at the close of it, must have been the contemporary of the prophet Jonah ; and consequently that his dynasty did not begin to reign, until after the middle of the ninth century before Christ. But Justin knew, that a period of thirteen centuries was ascribed to an Assyrian empire, which *likewise* began with a Ninus. Hence, although these thirteen centuries are really the last 1300 years of the fifteen centuries during which the Scythian Assyrians under two successive dynasties were lords of Asia ; Justin, by mistaking the *third* Ninus for the *second*, assigns to the dynasty founded by the *third* a duration which *truly* belongs to the dynasty founded by the *second*. In other words, he reckons the thirteen centuries *twice over* ; and by this error apparently throws back the rise of the Scythian empire to an epoch before the deluge. Compare Justin. Hist. lib. i. c. 1, 2. with lib. ii. c. 3.

BOOK VI. But, if the Scythic dynasty be the same as the Nimrodian dynasties, then the Nimrodian dynasties must have been composed of Scythic princes: and, since the Scythians are described as having *nationally* obtained the lordship of Asia; not only the royal family must have been Scythic, but likewise the military nobility and the most efficient part at least of the soldiery. Now we know from Scripture, that Nimrod and his immediate followers were of the house of Cush or Cuth, whence they were called *Cushim* or *Cuthim*. The imperial Cuthim therefore of Holy Writ must inevitably be the same as the imperial Scythians or Scuthim of Trogus. Whence it will follow, that the Scythians were not of the house of Japhet through the line of Magog, as one writer after another has taken for granted on the mere unsupported assertion of Josephus; but that they were members of the house of Ham, through the line of Cush. Such being the case, we may be morally sure, that the descent of the Scythians from the Armenian Caucasus, previous to their acquiring the sovereignty of Asia, really means, however it may be disguised, the descent of the Cuthim, at the head of the subjugated Noachida, from mount Ararat into the Babylonian plain of Shinar; and that the national appellation of *Scythians* or *Scuthim* is the self-same word, pronounced only with a sibilant prefix, as *Cuthim* or *Cushim*. Consequently, though the primeval empire of Iran may not have been improperly called *an Assyrian empire* from the locality of its capital Nineveh, and though its sovereigns may have been thence familiarly styled *Assyrian kings*: those sovereigns, as we may both gather from the scriptural account of the foundation of Babylon and Nineveh by the Cuthic Nimrod, and as we positively learn from the ancient documents consulted by

The subjoined table will distinctly shew the nature and origination of Justin's error.

1. First Cuthico-Assyrian dynasty lasts 190 years.	} These jointly give the 1500 years, which Justin ascribes to his primeval Scythian empire.
2. Second Cuthico-Assyrian dynasty lasts 1305 years.	
3. Third Assyrian dynasty commences with the third Ninus, about the middle of the ninth century before Christ.	} Justin, mistaking this third dynasty for the second, ascribes to it a duration of 1300 years; which is the <i>real</i> duration of the second.

Trogus, really constituted a double dynasty of Cuthic or Scuthic princes¹. They, and their military nobility, were of an entirely different stock from the subjugated multitude of Ashur and Aram and Madai and Flam, much as our early Norman kings and nobility were perfectly distinct from the Saxon English whom they governed: and so systematically was this difference of origin remembered and preserved, that, at the close even of fifteen centuries, the overthrow of the Iranian empire by the revolt of its provinces was considered as the subversion of a Scuthic monarchy.

I need scarcely remark, that these Scuthic lords of Asia, being the same as the Nimrodian double dynasty of Assyrian kings which ended with Thonus Concolerus, must also be identified with the Mahabadian dynasty which was paramount in Iran previous to the rise of the Pishdadian dynasty. Hence the most eminent of the Mahabadian princes is said to have been Maha-Beli, who is plainly no other than the great Belus or Nimrod: and hence the Hindoos properly call the whole of Iran *Cusha-dwip* from the Cushim or Cuthim who were its first rulers. The subject shall now be pursued more in detail.

1. Epiphanius, who has transmitted to us a most curious epitomè of the early Scythic history, tells us, that those nations, which extended southward from that part of the world where Europe and Asia incline to each other, were universally distinguished by the ancient appellation of *Scythians*: and he adds, that these were the prime architects of the tower, and the founders of Babylon. He further tells us, that Scythism prevailed from the deluge to the building of the tower, and that it was followed by what he calls Hellenism or Ionism. He likewise mentions the Scythian succession, which he connects with the Scythian title: and he informs us, that they both lasted until the time of Serug². We meet with the like account in the Paschal Chronicle and in the Chronicle of Eusebius: and it has evidently, I think, been drawn from the same ancient records, as those which were

¹ This double dynasty, in the same Cuthic house, is described, as we have just seen, under the appellation of *the first and second Assyrian dynasties*: the one lasting 190 years; the other, 1305 years.

² Epiph. adv. hæ. lib. i. p. 6, 8, 9.

BOOK VI. consulted by Trogus for the materials of his Scythic history¹. Hence it appears, not only that the Scythians established a dominant empire in Asia anterior to that later Assyrian monarchy which commenced with the third Ninus; but likewise that they occupied the whole of Iran quite down to the southern or Erythræan sea, and that within those limits they were known from the most remote antiquity by the name of *Scythæ* or *Scuths*.

Now this identical region is *the oriental land of Cush*, mentioned in Holy Scripture as being watered by the Hiddekel or Tigris: it is likewise *the eastern Ethiopia* of the Greek writers; for, as it is well known, they invariably call those persons *Ethiopiens* wherever situated, whom the inspired historians of the Old Testament denominate *Cushim*: and it is also *the Cusha-dwip within* of the Hindoo geographers, who by this appellation distinguish it from *the Cusha-dwip without* or *the African Cush-land* or *the western Ethiopia* of the upper Egypt. But, in Scripture, the land of Cush was no doubt so styled from the circumstance of its having been planted by the descendants of Cush: and, in a similar manner, Cushadwip in its widest extent is occupied, according to the Hindoos, by the children of Cush or Chasa or Cus or Cush. Thus we find, that the self-same tract of country is alike declared by the Hindoos and by the scriptural writers to have been ruled by the offspring of a person named *Cush* or *Cusha*: whence, so far as I can judge, it will inevitably follow, that the Indian Cush or Chasa, as the name is sometimes variously written, must be identified with the scriptural Cush. And this conclusion will be yet further strengthened by other circumstances. The Indian Cush is said to be the son of Brahma, who is one of those three great hero-gods that spring from a fourth yet older deity and with their parent are declared to have been manifested in the persons of the ark-preserved Menu and his three sons; Cush therefore is described by the Hindoos, as being the grandson of Noah and the offspring of one of his three children: exactly the same is the account, which Moses gives of the scriptural Cush; he makes him the son of Ham, the son of Noah. The Indian Cush is represented, as being an ancestor of Rama; and the names of *Cush*, *Misr*, and *Rama*, still

¹ Chron. Paschal. p. 13, 23, 49. Euseb. Chron. p. 13.

remain unchanged in the Sanscrit, and are still highly revered among the Hindoos: here again we may observe the close accordance of the Mosaical narrative; Cush is said to be the father of Raamah, and the brother of Mizr still throughout Egypt denominated *Mesr*. Such multiplied coincidences cannot be accidental: and I think Sir William Jones perfectly justified by circumstantial evidence in expressing his conviction, that the Cush of Moses and the Cush of Valmic were one and the same personage ¹.

The Hindoo Cuscha-dwip then and the scriptural land of Cush are alike coincident with Iran, and are alike said to be held by the descendants of the patriarch from whom they severally received their appellations. But this very Iran or Cuscha-dwip is described, as having been occupied from the most remote antiquity by the Scythæ or Scuths, who under that identical name founded there a great empire which chronologically preceded the later Assyrian monarchy. Hence it seems impossible to avoid concluding, that the Scuths of Iran were the self-same people as those, whom the scriptural writers denominate *Cushim* and the Hindoos *Cushas* or *Chasas*. Such must inevitably be our conclusion, so far as the point of *national* identity is concerned, which is the most important matter to be established. But this is not all: since the *ancient* appellation of this Iranian people is declared to have been *Scythæ* or *Scuths*, and since we know that the same people have *always* from their great ancestor been called *Cushim* or *Cushas*; we are in a manner compelled to suppose, that *Scuthe*, *Cushim*, and *Cushas*, are one patronymic title, derived alike from the name of *Cush*. And such we shall actually find to be the case. What the Hebrews and the Hindoos pronounced *Cush*, the Babylonians pronounced *Cuth*: and this change of the *sh* into the *th* is a distinguishing mark, as it is well known, of the Chaldee dialect from the pure scriptural Hebrew. *Scuth* therefore is but *Cuth* with the sibilant breathing prefixed, as we may perpetually observe it prefixed in innumerable other words ²: and *Cuth* is but the Babylonian variation of *Cush*. Accordingly, the very same eastern race,

¹ Asiat. Res. vol. iii. p. 427, 432. See also Asiat. Res. vol. iii. p. 54, 55, 131, 139. vol. ii. p. 132. vol. i. p. 427. vol. vi. p. 456. vol. viii. p. 287, 299, 302.

² Thus we have *Indi* and *Sindi*, *Indus* and *Sinlhu*, *iç* and *sex*, *içla* and *septem*, *içtau* and *serpo*, and the like.

BOOK VI. which occupied the heights of the Indian Caucasus, and which the Greeks from that circumstance denominated *Indo-Scuths* or *Indo-Scythæ*, are called by the Hindoos *Chasas* or *Chasyas* or *Cossais* or *Chusas*: while their country, by the Greeks expressed *Caucasus*, is styled by the Persians *Coh-Cas* and by the Hindoos *Chas-Ghar*; both which appellations equally denote *the mountain of Cas* or *Chas* or *Chus* or *Cush*, who is the acknowledged ancestor of this warlike people¹. The same family are allowed also to have communicated their name to *Cashmir*, and *Castwar*: and the country, which Ptolemy styles *Casiu*, is still inhabited by Chasas². But these all came within the limits of that region; which the Greeks, from its inhabitants, were wont to denominate *Indo-Scuthia*.

Branches of the same powerful race inhabited the two more westerly Caucasi; that on the Caspian, and that on the Euxine sea: and the Greeks, accordingly, still called them *Scuths*: but here again we may trace the title without the sibilant prefix. When we recollect the limits of Iran or Cusha-dwip within; we can scarcely doubt, that the Caspian sea, which washes the foot of a Caucasus or a Coh-Cas, received its name from those, whom the Greeks denominated *Scuths*, but who styled themselves *Casas* or *Cushas* or *Cuths* or *Goths*. And, in a similar manner, when we find the Scuthic realm of Colchis spoken of as a *Cutaïc region* and Medea and her father called *Cutaïcs* or *Cuthëans*; we are apparently required by analogy to suppose, that *Scuth* and *Cuth* and *Cut* and *Cush* are still to be viewed as one title³.

Thus we have arrived at the conclusion, that the Scythians, who founded the primeval empire of Iran, and who were the dominant power of Asia long before the rise of the later Assyrian monarchy, were those, whom the scriptural writers style *Cushim* and the Hindoos *Cushas* because they were the descendants of the patriarch Cush or Cuth: and, agreeably to this conclusion, they are represented by Epiphanius, as the architects of the tower and the builders of Babylon. Here then, if any thing were wanting, we

¹ Asiat. Res. vol. vi. p. 455, 456.

² Ibid. p. 456.

³ See Apoll. Argon. lib. ii. ver. 401, 404, 1096, 1271. lib. iii. ver. 228. lib. iv. ver. 512. Orph. Argon. ver. 819, 904, 1004.

should have an additional proof, that the Scuths and the Cuths were the very same, both nationally and nominally. The Scuths, who occupied Iran or the eastern land of Cush, were the founders of the tower and city of Babel: the Cuths or Cushim, under the command of Nimrod, are said by Moses to have been at the head of that general confederacy of the children of Noah; which, by their direction and subject to their controul, engaged in the self-same project. Hence the Scuths of Iran are palpably the descendants of the Babylonian Cuthim: and the Scythian empire, which Justin describes as preceding the Assyrian and as subsisting for the long space of fifteen centuries, must clearly be the empire of the Cuthim which commenced at Babel. We have now therefore, in singular harmony with Holy Scripture, discovered that most ancient monarchy in Iran, which was founded by the Scuths or Cushim, and which subsisted after the dispersion until the rise of the later Assyrian empire under the third Ninus.

2. Here however it will be proper to inquire, what can be meant by Epiphanius and Eusebius and the writer of the Paschal Chronicle, when they assert, that Scythism lasted from the flood to the building of the tower, and that then Hellenism or Ionism commenced: for it might seem from such an assertion, that the Scythic or Cuthic empire *terminated* at the very epoch, where (according to Scripture) it *began*.

(1.) On this point we must carefully observe, that those authors very accurately speak of Scythism and Ionism, not as two successive *empires*, but as two successive *heresies* or *forms of false and apostatical religion*. The first they describe, as prevailing from the deluge to the building of the tower: the second they represent, as commencing with the earliest foundation of that edifice. Now, except that the Scythic heresy is carried up too high, we have nothing here that at all contradicts either Scripture, which makes the settled Cuthic empire begin at Babel¹, or Trogus, who had learned from old documents that it lasted fifteen hundred years and was then succeeded by an Assyrian monarchy.

It is obvious, that the remarkable system of idolatry, which they of the dispersion carried to every part of the globe, could not have been contrived

¹ Gen. x. 10.

BOOK VI. and adopted in a single day : it must have been the work of time ; and several years must have elapsed, ere it was brought to perfection. By *Scythism* therefore I understand *idolatry in its incipient and more simple state* ; as it originated in Armenia, and as it continued on the gradual increase during the period of the journey to Shinar : while by *Hellenism* I understand *the same idolatry, matured and brought to a regular though complicated form* at the building of the first pyramidal temple. I suspect, that this Scythism was the theology, which I have denominated *Buddhic* or *Tautic* or *Samanèan*, and to which the unmixed Scythæ seem ever to have been peculiarly attached : and that Hellenism or Ionism was that more complex system, which I have styled *Brahmenical* or *Osiric* or *Bacchic*, and which the mixed tribes preferred to the other system. It was not therefore the Scythic *empire* that terminated with the building of the tower ; for that was, in fact, the era of its commencement : but the more simple Scythic *superstition* was then very generally exchanged for that intricate modification of idolatry, which from one of its leading principles received the name of *Ionism* or *Yonism*. This principle was the worship of the great mother from whom all things were said to be produced ; who became the Yoni or the female element of fecundity, when the deluge overflowed the old world ; who afterwards floated upon the surface of the waters in the form of the ship Argha ; and who at length, as the flood retired, flew away in the shape of the mystic Iona or dove. But, though Ionism was so commonly preferred to Scythism that it is described as even entirely supplanting it, such preference was not quite universal. Many of the leading Scuths adhered to the more ancient superstition, which gave the præminence to the great father, as the new modification largely extolled the dignity of the great mother from whose womb the chief hero-god himself and his triple offspring were alike produced. Accordingly, as I have just observed, Buddhism has ever been the favourite religion of the unmixed Scuths : and they have more than once, as in the invasion of Hellas by Xerxes and that of Egypt by Cambyses (for the Persians were an eminent branch of the Scuths), shewn their hearty contempt for the *literal* worship of idols, by demolishing the images and slaying the sacred bull of the Ionic theology.

* *Asiat. Res.* vol. iii. p. 125—132.

I am much mistaken, if some dissention on these points did not prevail at Babel itself: and I think there is reason for believing, that the altercation between the rival sects aided the confusion of languages in producing the dispersion. The Hindoos have a most curious legend relative to this matter, which occurs in the *Servarasa*, and which throws a very strong light on the old history that describes Ionism as supplanting Scythism at the era of the tower.

When Sati, after the antediluvian close of her existence as the daughter of Daesha, sprang again to life in the character of the mountain-born Parvati, who floated as the ship *Argha* on the surface of the flood; she was reunited in marriage to Siva. This divine pair, like the classical Jupiter and Juno, had once an unlucky dispute on the comparative influence of the sexes in producing animated beings: and, to settle the difference, they each resolved, by mutual agreement, to create apart a new race of men. Those produced by Siva (the story is palpably told by an Ionic theologian) devoted themselves exclusively to the worship of the male deity: but their intellects were dull, their bodies feeble, their limbs distorted, and their complexions of various hues. Those, on the contrary, to whom Parvati gave birth, adored the female power only: and they had universally fine shapes, beautiful complexions, and an engaging aspect. The former, from the object of their worship, were called *Lingajas* or *adorers of the male principle*: the latter, similarly from the object of their veneration, were denominated *Yonijas* or *adorers of the female principle*. A furious contest ensued between them; and the *Lingajas* were defeated in battle: which so irritated Siva, that he would have instantly destroyed the *Yonijas*, had not Parvati interposed in their behalf. They were spared only on condition of emigrating from the scene of action. This, accordingly, they left: and they settled, as we are taught by the Puranas, partly on the borders of *Varaha-dwip* or Europe, where they became the progenitors of the Greeks; and partly in the two *dwipas* of Cusha, Asiatic and African. In the Asiatic Cusha-dwip they long supported themselves by violence and rapine: Parvati however, or their tutelary goddess *Yoni*, always protected

BOOK VI. them; and at length, in the fine country which they occupied, they became a flourishing nation¹.

This legend is not very difficult to be understood; though the ancient history, which it contains, is told in an allegorical sort of manner. The Yonijas are evidently the votaries of Ionism or Hellenism; while the Lingajas are the adherents of Scythism. Their contest ends in a dispersion: yet the Yonijas, besides colonizing Greece and the African Ethiopia, succeed in founding a powerful empire in Cushadwip within or the Asiatic Ethiopia; which, as we have seen, coincides geographically with Iran. Here then we have again the old Scythic empire; which arose at the era of the tower, which supported itself by rapine and violence, which was seated within the limits of Iran, and which flourished until the rise of the later Assyrian monarchy.

Thus it appears, that, when Scythism gave place to Ionism at the era of the tower; it was not, that the Scythic *empire* then terminated, but that a more complicated system of *idolatry* was adopted by the mixed multitude of which it was composed. And this exactly accords with what we have found to be matter of fact. The pure Scythians, who branched off from Babel and who seem in the first instance to have seated themselves in the Armenian and the Indian Caucasi, retained the simplicity of the early superstition, and venerated the great father under the names of *Buddha* and *Saca* and *Teut* and *Saman* and *Cadam*: while those, who remained in central Iran, dominant over the Ashurites and Elamites and other descendants of Shem, and who established the great Scythic empire which lasted from the era of the tower to the rise of the later Assyrian monarchy, continued, as every part of their mythologic history testifies, to be zealous votaries of the Yoni or Ionah or navicular female principle assuming the form of a dove. Agreeably to this ancient Indian tradition, we find, that the Scuths of Iran, in addition to their family name, took the title of *Ionim* or (as the Hindoos would express the word) *Yonijas* from their favourite goddess; and that their captain Nimrod eminently called himself *Ion*, or *Ionah*, or the principal *Yonija*. The author of the Paschal Chronicle assures us, according

¹ Asiat. Res. vol. iii. p. 125—132.

to the accurate information which he had been at the pains to collect, that the Ionim were the chiefs of the Scythic empire, that they were the descendants of Ionan who was one of the leading architects of the tower when the languages of men were confounded¹. Hence the Ionah or dove was the national banner of the Assyrian empire, as it had already been of the Scythic empire; and, as such, it is alluded to in more than one place of Holy Scripture². This banner was the sign or token, which was adopted from the very commencement of the building of the tower, and which served as a rallying point lest the huge heterogeneous multitude should be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth³.

(2.) While Epiphanius informs us, that the Scythic heresy prevailed from the flood to the tower, he adds, that the Scythic succession and the Scythic name terminated in the days of Serug⁴.

We have here a most curious piece of ancient history, which throws much light on the early postdiluvian transactions. By the *Scythic succession* I understand the *first Cuthico-Assyrian dynasty in the direct line of the house of Nimrod*; and, by the *Scythic name*, the *Scythian or Cuthic appellation of the empire at large*. We are taught therefore, that the first Cuthic dynasty became extinct in the days of Serug; and that, at the same time, the original Scythic name or title of the empire fell into disuse, being supplanted by some other title which henceforth was more commonly borne by the empire. In both these particulars the old records consulted by Epiphanius are perfectly accurate. According to Berosus, the first dynasty, which commenced at Babylon, reigned 190 years. Now, as we shall presently see, this dynasty arose with Nimrod about the year 613 after the flood: and, as its duration was 190 years, it terminated in the year 803 after the same epoch. But Serug, as we shall also see, was born in the

¹ Chron. Pasch. p. 49.

² See Jerem. xv. 38. xvi. 16. 1. 16. Zeph. iii. 1. The word, which in these several passages is rendered in our English version *oppressing* or *oppressor*, ought to be translated *of the dove*.

³ Gen. xi. 4. Our English translators render the word *a name*: but *a name* could not prevent dispersion, though *a token* might. Vide supra book v. c. 3. § 1. 8.

⁴ Epiph. adv. har. lib. i. p. 8.

BOOK VI. year 663, and died in the year 893, after the flood ¹. Hence it is manifest, that the Scythic succession or first Cuthic dynasty terminated in the days of Serug. At this same period, with the accession of the second dynasty under the second Ninus, the name of the empire was changed: and, the Scythic title, though never entirely forgotten, was henceforth superseded by the Assyrian ².

(3.) It remains only to account for the assertion, that the Scythic heresy prevailed from the flood to the tower: and this also may be done without much difficulty.

In the very nature of things, false religion could only originate from a corruption of true religion. But corruption creeps in so gradually, that it is not easy to ascertain the precise place where the true is altogether smothered by the false. In addition to this circumstance, the votaries of Scythism would naturally wish to render their system more venerable by claiming for it the highest antiquity; just as the Buddhists contend, that their theology, which is substantially the same as Scythism, has existed from the beginning. Hence Scythism would be carried up to the flood: and, as Noah is made the first king of every ancient nation, so he would himself be deemed a Scyth and would be viewed as the most early post-diluvian manifestation of Buddha. Accordingly we find, that the ark-preserved Deucalion of Syria is by Lucian denominated a *Scythian*: not as being *really* a Scyth or Cuthite, for that gentile name was taken from his grandson Cuth; but as being *reputedly* the founder of the Scythic theology and the head of what Epiphanius calls *the Scythic succession or dynasty*. We likewise find, that, under the title of *Maha-Bad* or *the great Buddha*, which is in a manner equivalent to the title of *the Scyth* or *the great Scythic*, he is made the first sovereign of the primeval empire of Iran; and is said to have been the contriver of a very singular polity, which is ascribed indeed to *him* for the sake of enhancing its authority, but which in truth was struck out by that Machiavellian schemer Nimrod. Agreeably to such opinions, which no doubt were industriously dissemi-

¹ See Append. Tab. III and IV.

² Thus, in modern times, the official title of *The Holy Roman empire* has been almost forgotten in the more familiar name of *The German empire*.

nated, Noah, as we have repeatedly seen, was always viewed, as the Archimage or Archdruid or first Hierophant or original founder of the reigning idolatry; and every other Archimage or Hierophant was esteemed his successor and not unfrequently his incarnate representative.

V. Truth is so uniform and simple, that, if one position be firmly established, it commonly leads to a clear development of all other connected matters. Now the position, which I consider as finally determined, is *the universal assemblage of mankind at Babel in one great community*: and this position, if I mistake not, will lead to the ascertaining of a very important era; the era of the tower, and consequently the era of Nimrod's Scythic empire, for Babel is said to have been the beginning of his kingdom.

1. The assemblage at Babel was so universal, and the emigration from Armenia was so complete, that I almost doubt whether we can admit of any exceptions. My reasons for such an opinion are these.

The language of the historian necessarily implies *universality*. But to this it may be answered, that *no rule is so general as to be wholly without exception*. Allowing then the cogency of such a reply, we may ask, *What persons would most probably be excepted from the general rule?* The obvious answer is; *Noah and his three sons if they were alive at the time of the emigration, and the line of patriarchs from Shem to faithful Abraham.*

Now of these the latter certainly cannot be excepted, because we find the ancestors of Abraham seated at Ur in the Babylonian land of the Chusdim or Chaldeans; which of course would not have been the case, unless they had emigrated at the time of the first journey from Armenia to Shinar: our inquiry therefore is exclusively limited to the former.

If then we suppose Noah and the three great patriarchs to have been alive at the epoch of the emigration, it is on every account in the highest degree improbable that they should have joined in such enterprize: for both their advanced age, particularly that of Noah, would render them averse from a long and perilous journey; and they would be perfectly aware

¹ Gen. xi. 28, 31.

BOOK VI. that an emigration in one body was in direct opposition to the purposes of heaven, so that we cannot bring them to Babel without most incredibly making them hoary rebels against the God whom they served in their youth.

But the question is, whether they *could* have been alive at the epoch of the emigration: and this question every consideration obliges me to answer in the negative. When we recollect the regal maxims of patriarchal government, the high veneration in which Noah was held as an universal sovereign, and the subordinate reverence which his three sons would enjoy as the three kings of the divided world: it is strangely incredible to suppose, that Nimrod, the very youngest of the sons of Cush the grandson of Noah, should obtain such a degree of influence during the lives of the four great patriarchs, as to persuade all mankind, with some trifling individual exceptions we will say, to acknowledge him as their supreme head and under his sole controul to quit their aboriginal settlements. Such a revolution must have been the work of time: and, from the place which Nimrod holds in the genealogy as the son apparently of his father's old age, the very seeds of it could not have been sown until many years after the deluge. These seeds would require a considerable time to grow up to maturity, for extensive influence is not acquired in a day: and it seems necessary to believe, that the prescriptive authority of Noah and his three sons was dissolved by the hand of death, ere the machinations of Nimrod developed themselves in action, and ere that ambitious chieftain persuaded all men to follow him from Armenia.

The conclusion, to which we are led by such reasoning, will acquire the semblance of almost absolute certainty, if we next advert to a matter, which is too prominent to be overlooked. We have seen, that the idolatry of the whole earth must have been brought ready fashioned from Babel. But a leading feature of that idolatry is the astronomical worship of Noah and his three sons, viewed as transmigrative reappearances of Adam and his three sons. Now it is obvious, that this idolatry, whether under the more simple form of Buddhic Scythism or under the more complicated form of Brahmenic Ionism, could not have been introduced so long as Noah and his triple offspring were *alive*: for they certainly could not have been tran-

slated to the heavenly bodies, and have been venerated as defunct hero-gods now become celestial speculators, until *after* their death; agreeably to the very accurate account, which Hesiod gives us of the *posthumous* canonization of the first race of mortals¹. Scythism however *preceded* the tower; Ionism *commenced with* the tower; and, at the time of the dispersion, each modification of the same hero-worship was conveyed to every quarter of the globe, where accordingly we have found it in actual existence. Hence it is manifest, that Noah and his three sons must have died, not only before the building of the tower, but likewise before the emigration from Armenia: because, without the admission of this circumstance, it is utterly impossible to account for the rise of idolatry at the precise period when it *must* have risen.

With this opinion, which is deduced from mere reasoning, positive and direct historical testimony will be found perfectly to accord. Epiphanius tells us, from the same documents whence he borrowed his Scythic history, that Noah resided in Armenia to the time of his death; that his descendants multiplied there until the fifth generation, for the space of 659 years; and that in that fifth generation, and not before, when now their numbers were greatly increased, they left the land of Ararat, and journeyed to Shinar². The ancient Babylonian history, compiled by Berosus from the national archives, sets forth also the very same fact. Xisuthrus, we are informed, was translated to heaven, or in plain English died, *previous* to the emigration from Armenia to Shinar; so that the ancestors of those who founded Babylon journeyed *without him*, he himself not witnessing even *the commencement* of their journey. Nor is this all: we are assured, that the wife and children of Xisuthrus were *likewise* translated or died, *before* the emigration took place³. I think indeed, that the records consulted by Epiphanius allot too long a period for the continuance of mankind in Armenia, when they extend it to 659 years: but we have here direct testimony to the *fact*, that Noah and his sons died *previous* to the emigration, which was the whole that I was bound to establish. We have moreover, in the Babylonian account, the death of those patriarchs described to us

¹ Hesiod. Oper. et dies. lib. i. ver. 108—125.

² Epiph. adv. hæres. lib. i. p. 5, 6.

³ Euseb. Chron. p. 8. Syncell. Chronog. p. 30. Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. ix. c. 12.

BOOK VI. perfectly according to the genius of hero-worship: they were translated to heaven, and became the gods of their posterity.

Thus the universality, which Moses ascribes to the assembling together at Babel, is complete. For there are but two probable exceptions to the general rule; the four great patriarchs, and the ancestors of Abraham in the line of Shem: and, of these, the four patriarchs died previous to the emigration from Armenia; and the ancestors of Abraham certainly *were* at Babel. In fact, it was their lapse into at least partial idolatry, which rendered the call of Abraham necessary¹.

The emigration then from Armenia did not take place, until after the death of the four great patriarchs. But Noah died in the year after the flood 350: and, as Shem died in the year after the flood 502, we may conclude that his two brothers departed much about the same time. Hence, though the records consulted by Epiphanius seem to have allotted too long a space to the residence of mankind in Armenia when they extend it to 659 years, yet the emigration could not have commenced before the year 502 after the flood.

The next great event to the emigration from Armenia was the dispersion from Babel and the subsequent division of the earth. This is indefinitely stated by Moses to have occurred in the days of Peleg: for that patriarch, it seems, received his name, which signifies *division*, from the circumstance of the earth being divided in the course of his life-time². I say *indefinitely*; because we have proof positive, that the division *could not* have taken place at the epoch of Peleg's *birth*, as some have imagined. In the tenth chapter of Genesis we have a list of the several patriarchs, among whose children the earth was divided: hence all those patriarchs must have

¹ See Josh. xxiv. 2. where the idolatry of Abraham's ancestors is expressly asserted.

² Gen. x. 25. Mr. Catcott, in his Treatise on the deluge, wildly supposes, that the division of the earth, from which Peleg received his name, was not its territorial distribution among the children of Noah, but the disruption of South-America from the continent of Africa: just as if such an event, supposing it to have then actually happened, could have been known to the single community settled in the very heart of Asia on the banks of the Euphrates. As Moses is treating of the territorial division of the earth when he mentions the name of Peleg, the general context obviously requires us to conclude, that *that* is the division to which the name relates.

been born *previous* to the era of such division. But in this list are enumerated no less than thirteen sons of Joktan, the *younger* brother of Peleg¹. Consequently, as Abp. Usher acutely remarks, the division must have been accomplished *many years after* Peleg's birth². And this will accord with the language used by Moses: for he does not tell us, that the earth was divided at the precise point when Peleg was *born*, but only that it was divided *in his days* or *during his life-time*. Nor is there any difficulty with respect to the conferring of the name. The significant appellations of the patriarchs were sometimes given by prophetic anticipation, as in the cases of Noah and Japhet: and the circumstance of Peleg's having thirteen nephews alive at the era of the dispersion sufficiently proves, that such also must have been the case with him. Now Peleg lived 239 years. The division therefore must have been made so far on in his life, as to allow his younger brother to be the parent of thirteen adult sons.

2. But here we are encountered by a difficulty. According to the chronology of the Hebrew Pentateuch, Peleg was born in the year 101 after the flood, and died in the year 340 after the same era: so that he was not only born, but even died, many years before the death of Shem; which took place in the year 502 after the flood. Hence it appears, that Peleg, in whose days the earth was divided, is made to die *long before* the death of Shem; which death of Shem *preceded*, as we have seen, not only the division but even the anterior emigration from Armenia. It is certain therefore, if the Hebrew chronology be accurate, that mankind must have quitted Armenia, must have built the tower, and must have been dispersed over the face of the whole earth, not merely during the life-time of Shem, but even during the life-time of Noah himself: for Peleg, according to that chronology, died in the year 340 after the flood, while Noah did not die until the year 350 after the same epoch³.

The more I have considered the early postdiluvian chronology of the Hebrew Pentateuch, the more convinced I am that the oriental Christians

¹ Gen. x. 25—30.

² Annal. in ann. mund. 1757.

³ See Append. Tab. I.

BOOK VI. did wisely in rejecting it as palpably corrupt and erroneous ¹. If we adopt it, we shall find ourselves hampered on every side with invincible difficulties and contradictions. We must believe, that, when the awful catastrophe of the flood was but as an event of yesterday, a general apostasy, itself always a gradual work of time, took place from pure religion. We must believe, that Noah and his three sons were translated to the sphere and erected into demon-gods, while as yet they were living mortals upon the face of the earth. We must believe, that, notwithstanding they were extravagantly venerated as gods, they were yet disobeyed as men and as princes: for we must admit, that all their children rebelled against them, threw off with a high hand the yoke of their patriarchal authority, and marched away in a body under the command of Nimrod. We must believe, that they accomplished this feat, and built a stupendous pyramid of brick each side of which measured a furlong, at so early a period, that it seems physically impossible for an adequate number of persons to have been then produced from only three original pairs ². We must believe, that they were not only equal to such enterprizes, but that the mere beginning of their empire comprized four cities; and that four others, one of the least noted of which is styled *a great city*, were soon afterwards erected ³. We must believe, that a great-grandson of Noah, evidently the youngest of the children of Cush, acquired the wonderful influence, which we have seen him exerting, not only while the sovereign patriarch and his triple offspring were all living and while the latter were in their full strength and vigour, but during his own mere boyhood: so that a raw stripling should have been the conductor of a successful rebellion against the deep-rooted and prescriptive authority of those; whom yet, though he had thrown off their rule as princes, he persuaded his lawless followers to worship as gods. We must believe, that Abraham, who is described, as dying *in a good old age, an old man and full of years*, as the term of human life then was: that this identical *aged* Abraham yet died 35 years

¹ Dr. Hales has some valuable reasoning on this point. I quite agree with him in rejecting the early postdiluvian chronology of the Hebrew Pentateuch. See Chronol. vol. i, p. 71—89.

² Strab. Geog. lib. xvi. p. 738.

³ Gen. x. 10—12.

before his remote ancestor Shem, 3 years before Selah, and no less than 75 years before Eber¹. We must believe, that he survived his own father Terah no more than 40 years: when yet we are assured, that he was 75 years old when he left Haran where Terah had died, and that he himself died at the age of 175 years; which of course would make him survive his father a whole century². We must finally believe, in addition to all these palpable contradictions, that Abraham was contemporary with Noah for the space of 58 years and with Shem during his whole life: that Isaac was born only 42 years after the death of Noah, and that he was contemporary with Shem 110 years: and, as not the least mention is made of any intercourse between Abraham or Isaac and those venerable patriarchs, that both Abraham and Isaac and the various nations among which they sojourned were alike ignorant of, and indifferent about, their very existence. All these matters, to say nothing of the rise of various comparatively powerful monarchies within the four first centuries after the flood, we must believe, in some instances *contrary* to the parallel testimony of the Pentateuch *itself*, if we choose to abide by the Hebrew chronology³. Hence I have no scruple in rejecting it; if not for other more consequential reasons, yet for this palpable and direct one: the *chronology* makes Abraham survive his father only 40 years; the *history* makes him survive him a whole century⁴.

¹ Gen. xxv. 8. See Append. Tab. I.

² Gen. xi. 31, 32. xii. 4. xxv. 7. Our translators, as if sensible of this difficulty, render Gen. xii. 1. *the Lord had said*; by way of implying, I suppose, that the call of Abraham was antecedent to the death of Terah. But this is purely their own gloss: the original runs *the Lord said*; and the plain order of events is, the emigration from Ur to Haran, the death of Terah in Haran, and the emigration of Abraham from Haran when 75 years old. See Append. Tab. I.

³ See Append. Tab. I.

⁴ I do not speak, as ignorant of the manner in which Abp. Usher attempts to get over this difficulty and yet to retain the chronology of the Hebrew: but I am not satisfied with it, notwithstanding the approbation which it has received from the very learned Dr. Hales.

Usher deducts 75 years, the age of Abraham, when he left Haran, from 205 years, the age of Terah at the time of his death: and the result being 130, he pronounces Terah to have been 130 years old when Abraham was born. But it is said, that *Terah lived 70*

BOOK VI.

In rejecting the chronology of the Hebrew Pentateuch, we are by no means however left without resource. Josephus, the Greek interpreters,

years, and begat Abraham, Nahor, and Haran: how then are the two numbers, 70 and 130, to be reconciled? To solve the difficulty, the Abp. asserts, that Haran was the eldest son, and that *he* only was born when his father was 70; that Nahor was the second son, and was born at some indefinite time afterwards; and that Abraham was the youngest, and was born when his father was 130 years old. Now this very unnatural mode of explaining the declaration, that Terah was 70 when he begat Abraham Nahor and Haran, is in itself plainly gratuitous, unless it can be supported by some weighty argument: the argument adduced therefore is this. Sarah was only 10 years younger than Abraham (Gen. xvii. 15—17.): but Sarah was the same person as Iseah, who was the daughter of Abraham's brother Haran (Gen. xi. 29): therefore Haran, though mentioned last, must have been considerably older than his brother Abraham; otherwise Abraham could not possibly have been no more than 10 years senior to his wife and niece Sarah or Iseah: consequently, it was Haran, not Abraham, that was born when his father Terah was 70 years of age.

It is obvious, that the whole of this argument rests upon the position, that *Sarah was the same person as Iseah and therefore the daughter of Haran*. But the position *itself* requires proof; nor does the text referred to (Gen. xi. 29.) at all determine the matter. It is said indeed, that Haran was the father of Milcah and Iseah; and it is likewise said, that Nahor espoused his niece Milcah: but not the slightest intimation is given, that Sarah the wife of Abraham was the same person as Iseah. Would we therefore ascertain the relationship of Sarah to Abraham, we must direct our attention elsewhere. Now Abraham himself says of her, *She is my sister: she is the daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my mother* (Gen. xx. 12). Hence it appears, that she was not his *niece* (the point necessary to Usher's hypothesis), but his half-sister, being the daughter of Terah by a second wife. Such being the case, the whole argument deduced from the comparative ages of Abraham and Sarah rests upon a sandy foundation, and we have no proof whatsoever that Haran was the elder brother of Abraham. See Usser. *Annal.* in A. P. J. 2718, 2728. Hales's *Chronol.* vol. i. p. 23, 24.

The Abp. and Dr. Hales are sensible of the importance of this last text: consequently, they attempt to do away its force. For this purpose, they contend, that, when Abraham describes Sarah as being the *daughter* of his father, he really means his *granddaughter*. I need scarcely remark, that we have here a wholly gratuitous conjecture, though a conjecture doubtless very necessary to the theory in question: I can discern however not a shadow of authority for making it. Since we read, that Terah was 70 years old when he begat Abraham Nahor and Haran; the natural presumption is, that Abraham was the *eldest* and that his two brothers were born two or three years subsequently: and, since we are told, that Sarah was the daughter of Abraham's father though not of his mother; the

and the ancient Samaritan Pentateuch, furnish us each with an early post-diluvian chronology: but, as they all differ from the Hebrew, so they all in various points differ from each other. The Hebrew chronology has been tried and rejected, as unable to bear the test of comparative criticism: and I know not how we are to decide between the claims of the other three, except by going through a similar process.

3. Of Josephus it may be briefly said, that, as he agrees with the Hebrew in fixing the birth of Abraham to the year 292 after the flood, and yet perpetually and largely varies from the Hebrew in the antecedent numbers; he stands self-contradicted: for his variation in the antecedent numbers is to so very great an amount, that, instead of bringing out 292 as the result, it will bring out a sum more by several centuries¹.

4. The chronology, exhibited by the Greek interpreters, is equally untenable. A generation is introduced between Arphaxad and Selah; which is alike unknown to the Hebrew, the Samaritan, the author of the first book of Chronicles, and Josephus: for a person named *Cainan* is made the father of Selah and the son of Arphaxad. This error, which from the Septuagint has crept into St. Luke's genealogy of our Lord, may indeed be easily corrected by erasing the name of *Cainan*; and, in fact, the text does

obvious inference seems to be, that she was not his *niece*, but his *half-sister*. These conclusions will receive additional strength, if we compare them together: for, if Abraham, Nahor, and Haran, were the sons of Terah by his *first* wife; it is perfectly according to the order of nature, that Abraham, the *eldest*, should be about 10 years senior to his half-sister Sarah, the offspring of a *second* marriage. We shall presently see, that the conclusions are decidedly established by the valuable chronology of the Samaritan Pentateuch. There, by shortening the life of Terah to 145 years, Abraham is made to be born when his father is 70, and to leave Haran at the death of his father, himself then being precisely 75 years old.

¹ See Joseph. Ant. Jud. lib. i. c. vi. § 5. Dr. Hales strikes out, as an interpolated forgery, the assertion of Josephus that Abraham was born A. P. D. 292. See Chron. vol. i. p. 95. He likewise makes other corrections, in order that he may be enabled to adopt the chronology of the Jewish historian as the basis of his own very valuable work. I think him perfectly right, as I have already intimated, in rejecting the shorter computation of the Hebrew: but I can place little dependence on a chronological system like that of Josephus, which *confessedly* is incapable of being used without much previous conjectural emendation.

BOOK VI. in a manner correct itself: for the spurious Cainan and Selah are made, each to become a father at the same age, and each to die at the same age; so that the years of Selah have evidently been given to Cainan, who from the antediluvian has been foisted into the postdiluvian table of descents¹. But, even when the interpolated generation has been thrown out, we shall still find the present chronological system irreconcilable with the historical detail: for the chronology makes Terah *survive* Abraham 30 years; while the history makes Abraham *outlive* Terah a whole century². Hence, I think, we are compelled to reject the chronology of the Greek interpreters; as we have already rejected both that of the Hebrew, and that of Josephus³.

5. The chronology of the Samaritan Pentateuch now alone remains: and I cannot but believe, that this invaluable system has been preserved to us by the special good providence of God, in order that the cavils of infidelity may be effectually put to silence. I have examined it with all the severity of attention which I can command; and, from beginning to end, I have been utterly unable to discover the least flaw. We have here no statements contradictory to the historical narrative: we have here none of those perplexing difficulties, which meet us at each step in the Hebrew chronology. Every thing is throughout clear and consistent: insomuch that no better evidence can be afforded us of the accuracy, with which Moses details the early postdiluvian events, than the excellent table of descents exhibited to us in the Samaritan Pentateuch. Shem is represented as dying, nearly a century and a half before the death of Peleg,

¹ On the interpolation of the second Cainan, see Hales's Chronol. vol. i. p. 90—94.

² The *lxx* say, that Terah was 70 years old at the birth of Abraham, and that afterwards he lived 205 years in the land of Haran; thus making him die at the age of 275 years. Gen. xi. 26, 32. Now such an arrangement necessarily exhibits him as dying 30 years *after* the decease of his son Abraham. Let us however admit, that *in the land of Haran* is an interpolation, as it does not occur either in the Hebrew or the Samaritan; and consequently that the Greek, like the Hebrew, makes Terah only 205 years old at the time of his death: we shall still find the chronology irreconcilable with the history. For, although Terah will not then indeed *survive* Abraham; yet he will die no more than 50, instead of 100, years before the death of his son.

³ See Append. Tab. II.

and little less than four centuries and a half before the birth of Abraham : CHAP. II.
 while Abraham, in exact accordance with the history, dies precisely 100 years after his father Terah. Consequently, since the dispersion from Babel must have taken place towards the latter end of Peleg's life, in order that we may allow time for the thirteen sons of his younger brother Joktan to have become heads of families ; both Noah and Shem will have died, as we proved they *must* have died, *prior* to the emigration from Armenia : and thus all the strange difficulties, with which we are hampered by the Hebrew chronology, will be entirely avoided. We shall have no occasion to wonder, how Nimrod could acquire such a marvellous degree of authority, while he himself was a mere boy and while the four royal patriarchs were yet living. We shall have no need to puzzle ourselves with computing, how a multitude, sufficiently large to build the tower and to found the Cuthic empire of Babel, could have been produced from three pairs within the very short time allowed for that purpose by the Hebrew Pentateuch. We shall be under no obligation to account for the total silence respecting Shem, which pervades the entire history of Abraham : that patriarch is not mentioned for the very best of all possible reasons ; instead of *surviving* Abraham 35 years, he had died in Armenia no less than 440 years before Abraham was born.

Nor is this the only service rendered by the Samaritan chronology : it makes sacred history perfectly accord with profane, while the Hebrew chronology sets them at complete variance with each other. The Babylonian history of Berosus, and the old records consulted by Epiphanius, equally place the death of Noah and his sons *before* the emigration from Armenia ; and the worship of them as astronomical hero-gods, which even at the latest must have commenced *previous* to the dispersion, necessarily supposes their *antecedent* decease. With this the Samaritan chronology exactly agrees : for it makes Shem die 138 years before the departure of Peleg, and thus allows an ample space of time for the subsequent emigration and dispersion ; while the Hebrew chronology throws every thing into inextricable confusion, by placing the death of Noah 10 years, and the death of Shem 162 years, after the death of Peleg.

Here then we may rest with safety, conscious that we have at length met

BOOK VI. with an unerring guide whose accuracy will bid defiance even to the most malignant scrutiny ¹.

6. We are now far advanced in ascertaining the era of the Cuthic empire of Nimrod: let us see, if we cannot come *almost* to the very year of its rise. In thus prosecuting the investigation, we shall a second time find the admirable chronology of the Samaritan Pentateuch reconciling sacred and profane history.

As Shem died in the year 502 after the flood, and as we can scarcely suppose that the emigration would *quite immediately* follow his death, let us hypothetically place it in the year 559 after the same epoch. My reason for selecting this year, rather than any other, is a date mentioned by Epiphanius: he says, that mankind remained in Armenia for the space of 659 years after the deluge. Now such a reading cannot be *perfectly* accurate, because Peleg died in the year 640; and not only the emigration from Armenia, but even the dispersion from Babel, happened *before* his death. Yet, as the sum is not given in round numbers, I would rather correct the reading than reject it altogether. Hence, for 659, I would substitute 559; a number, in every respect wholly unexceptionable. According to this hypothesis then, the emigration from Armenia will have taken place 67 years after the death of Shem, and 81 years before the death of Peleg. Consequently, the sufficient period of 81 years will be allowed for the emigration itself, for the building of the tower, and for the dispersion from Babel: and this last event will be placed, as we have seen it *must* be placed, towards the close of Peleg's life. Thus it appears, that the Cuthic empire of Nimrod, which began (we are told) at Babel ², commenced between the years 559 and 640 after the deluge.

Now we have already seen, that this primeval empire, which by Justin is described in round numbers as having lasted fifteen centuries, and which according to the sum total of reigns exhibited by Polyhistor and Ctesias actually lasted 1495 years, was dissolved by the general revolt of its provinces shortly after the middle of the ninth century before Christ. For the independence of Persia, under the Pishdadian dynasty, commenced

¹ See Append. Tab. III.

² Gen. x. 10.

about the year A. C. 811: and the independence of Media, under the dynasty of the Arbacidæ, commenced in the year A. C. 821. Hence the Median revolt, which took place 6 years earlier, must have occurred in the year A. C. 827: and the rise of the Assyrian kingdom under the third Ninus, or the accession of what is denominated by Dr. Hales *the third Assyrian dynasty*, must have happened yet earlier again; for that dynasty arose synchronically with the extinction of the old double Scuthic or Cuthic dynasty in the person of Thonus Concolerus, and the extinction of the Cuthic dynasty was the signal of revolt to Media and the other provinces. Let us then suppose, that this extinction took place in the year A. C. 830, or three years previous to the commencement of the Median revolt; which date cannot possibly be *very* far removed from the truth. Such an arrangement, when the 1495 years duration of the Cuthic rule are added to the year of its dissolution 830, would give the year A. C. 2325 for the epoch of its first establishment by Nimrod. But we had previously arrived at the conclusion, that this Cuthic rule commenced between the years 559 and 640 after the deluge. We have now therefore to inquire, whether the year A. C. 2325 will fall out any where between those two postdiluvian years.

According to Abp. Usher, Abraham died in the year A. C. 1821: consequently, between his death and the downfall of the Cuthic empire in the year A. C. 830, we have an intervening period of 991 years. But Abraham, according to the Samaritan chronology, died in the year 1117 after the deluge: and Peleg, according to the same chronology, died in the year 640 after the deluge: therefore we have an intervening period of 477 years between the deaths of these two patriarchs. Since then, from the death of Peleg to the death of Abraham, we have 477 years; and since, from the death of Abraham to the dissolution of the Cuthic empire, we have 991 years: we of course shall have, by adding those two sums together, 1468 years from the death of Peleg to the dissolution of the Cuthic empire and the rise of the Assyrian kingdom. But Trogus says, that the Cuthic empire lasted in round numbers fifteen centuries: and Polyhistor and Ctesias jointly give us the precise sum of 1495 years for its duration. Hence, as a retrograde calculation from the era of its downfall to the death of Peleg

BOOK VI. has produced 1468 years, it must, if we estimate its entire length at 1495 years, have commenced at Babel 27 years earlier than the death of that patriarch; for 27 years, added to 1468 years, will give the specified sum of 1495 years. The era therefore of its commencement will be the year A. C. 2325; which coincides, according to the Samaritan chronology, with the year 613 after the deluge: for, as Abraham died in the year A. C. 1821, and as Peleg died 477 years earlier, Peleg must have died in the year A. C. 2298; and 27 years, added to 2298, will thus give the year A. C. 2325 for the commencement of the Cuthic empire at Babel. We had however previously found, on the authority of the Samaritan chronology, that the Cuthic empire must have commenced somewhere between the years 559 and 640 after the deluge: and we now lastly find, in exact accordance with the excellent table of descents exhibited in that chronology, that a calculation, deduced from the year A. C. 830 which must have been very nearly the time when the Cuthic empire was dissolved, and conducted through a long period independently ascribed by pagan history to the duration of that empire, brings us to the year 613 after the deluge; which is precisely about the time, in order to make Scripture consistent with itself, that the Cuthic empire of Nimrod must have commenced at Babel, where we are told it *did* commence, in the heart of Iran.

We may now therefore venture to pronounce, that the emigration from Armenia took place about the year 559 after the deluge: that Nimrod's Cuthic empire commenced at Babel about the year 613; which will allow 54 years for the journey from Ararat to Shinar: and that the dispersion occurred between the year 613 and the year 640, when Peleg died; which will allow an indefinite period of *less* than 27 years for the at length miraculously-interrupted building of the city and tower, when the earth was divided *in the days of Peleg*, that patriarch being *yet alive* at the beginning of the year 640 after the deluge¹.

VI. Let us next proceed to investigate the form of government, which was established in the early Cuthic empire of Iran. On this subject I have

¹ See Append. Tab. V.

already thrown out some speculations¹. It remains therefore to inquire, whether such speculations rest upon any sure basis of positive evidence; but first it will be proper, that they should be briefly recapitulated.

1. If we consider what may be termed *the philosophy of politics*, the formation of a mixed empire, like that of Nimrod, must almost inevitably have produced that system, which by many has been thought so strange, but which really would spring up even in the way of cause and effect: I mean *the system of dividing the several members of the community into separate castes or tribes*. This system still prevails throughout Hindostan: and it is radically and effectively the very same as that, which we have been wont to call *the feudal system*, and which we have been taught to deduce from the forests of Germany. Now it is impossible, in the very nature of things, for such a form of polity to spring out of an *homogeneous* society: it must invariably originate from *conquest and subjugation*; nor can any form be better devised to enable a handful of warriors to rule over a nation or nations far exceeding themselves in number.

The truth of these remarks is established by the uniform testimony of history and by the general experience of mankind. Whenever a small and compact band of warriors invades and subjugates a large and populous country, the feudal arrangement of castes is always introduced either in a more or less perfect state. The conquerors become the freemen, or gentry, or military nobility; each baron acknowledging the paramount superiority of the king, and at the same time presiding over his own district at the head of his armed gentry and free-born vassals: while, on the other hand, the conquered become the serfs tied down to the soil which they cultivate, or exercise those various necessary trades which their military superiors despise as servile and degrading. Under such circumstances, diversity of blood and diversity of condition alike tend to perpetuate this system of distinct castes. Matrimonial commixtures may not indeed be absolutely forbidden by a positive law: but they will be almost as effectually prevented, by pride of birth on the one side, and by mortifying inferiority on the other. The military nobles and gentry will be anxious to preserve the

¹ Vide supra book i. c. 1. § IV. 2. (3).

BOOK VI.

purity of their descent by suitable alliances: they will wholly intermarry among themselves: proud as may be their superiority over their serfs or villains, they will view their king, not as a lordly master, but only as the highest member of their own order: and they will with reason consider this order, as wholly distinct from those of the tradesmen and the labouring peasants. In a similar manner, the inferior orders will be led almost inevitably to intermarry solely among each other: they will look up to their military governors with a base and servile awe: and, both by blood and by condition, they will but too unequivocally feel themselves to be completely distinct castes from the nobility and the freemen.

Such became the state of Europe by the downfall of the western empire, and such were the maxims universally adopted by the Gothic conquerors. Hence the Scythic Vandals of Spain could not take an oath of allegiance to their sovereign without previously telling him, that they were individually as good as he, and collectively more powerful than he. Hence, when the same high-spirited race received Philip of Bourbon as their king, each grandee, in signing the declaration of allegiance, added to his name the words *Noble as the king*. Hence, as in the progress of society patents of nobility came to be granted to new men, originated the famous maxim of French law, which so strongly expresses the feelings of the old military caste of Gothic conquerors; that *every gentleman was a nobleman, though every nobleman was not a gentleman*†. Hence, in the middle ages, the greatest sovereigns would give their daughters to private noblemen, and would not disdain to receive the honour of knighthood from the sword of a soldier of family. Hence Francis the first of France was proud to style himself the first gentleman of his kingdom, while the sovereign's elder brother bore a title which emphatically pointed him out as the first gentleman among subjects; the king and the royal family acknowledging themselves in each case to be no more than members of the military caste of the old gentry. And hence, even in the present day, the ancient idea is pre-

† An exactly similar idea is ascribed to our Elisabeth in her not very civil speech respecting the wives of the early protestant bishops of England. She had been requested to give them the same rank as that enjoyed by their husbands. *No*, replied her highness, *I can make them ladies indeed, but it is out of my power to make them gentlewomen.*

served by sovereign princes enrolling themselves as knights-companions in the same order of originally warlike fellowship with their well-born subjects¹.

But such a state of things, so far from *rising out of* an homogeneous society, necessarily *tends to decay*; as a community, mixed at its commencement, becomes homogeneous in its progress. The serfs emancipate themselves from bondage, and blend with the free-born vassals: the thriving tradesman treads upon the heels of the long-indignant vavasour: the gentry gradually shake off the feudal superiority of the barons *in capite*: and the barons, released from the necessity of military service to their liege lord, remain indeed a distinct order in the state, but find themselves no longer the fellows of their sovereign, though they may still be officially addressed as beloved cousins of the throne. This, as history universally testifies, is the invariable, because natural, succession of events. The feudal system and the political division into castes never did, and never can, *spring out of* an homogeneous society far advanced in civilization. On the contrary, as they originate, in the way of cause and effect, from the conquest and subjugation of one large distinct race by another small distinct race; so, as the society in the gradual lapse of time becomes homogeneous by the blending of the two races, it will always be found, unless the separation be preserved by the strong arm of policy, that the progress of the community has a natural tendency, not to *produce*, but to *destroy*, such an artificial order of things. Despotism, limited monarchy, and republicanism, may all arise out of an advanced state of society: but the feudal system, and the division into castes, never can, and never did. These invariably emanate out of conquest and subjugation: so that, as we may always expect them more or less modified where such circumstances are *known* to have taken place; we may always (if I mistake not) shrewdly *conjecture*, that, where we find them, there the governors are a distinct race from the governed, the former being the descendants of the subjugators while the latter are the children of the subjugated.

Hitherto I have said nothing of the sacerdotal caste^u; because, in fact,

¹ Butler's Hist. of the Revol. of Germ. p. 53—61.

BOOK VI. it is rather an appendage, than a constituent part, of the feudal system. Yet, let that system be established by conquest either in Europe or in Asia, and let the sacerdotal caste be composed of priests devoted to a true or to a false religion : still, so long as men have any idea of worshipping a god, such a caste could not fail to arise in the mixed society of which I have been treating. The adherents of a false religion are generally more inclined to reverence their priesthood, than the votaries of a true religion : the main reason of which, allowing as much as can be allowed to a blind superstition, I take to be this. They, who first corrupted the truth, could not do it effectually without the aid of a regular priesthood. But, as we may gather very plainly from the whole history of the tower, truth was first corrupted by a few ambitious men, less for superstitious than for political purposes. Now the same policy, that led to a corruption of the truth, would lead to an affectation of high reverence for those, by whose subordinate agency the truth was corrupted ; for otherwise their ministry would have little weight with the multitude, whose minds were to be abused : and, as these corrupters must in the first instance have been confidential agents, they would obviously be selected from the weakest and least warlike members of the family which was gradually erecting itself into a caste of military nobility. The sacerdotal and the military castes then would be of the same blood and ancestry : and, as at first from policy, so afterwards from rank superstition, the boldest warriors would in no wise feel themselves degraded by yielding a precedence of rank to their brethren, the holy ministers of religion. Thus would the sacerdotal caste be a sure excrescence from the military caste : thus, by the united influence of superstition and of arms, would these two branches of the same race rule the subjugated multitude of other families : and thus, when the European Goths embraced Christianity, they readily yielded that precedence to episcopal nobility, which in their pagan state had been familiar to them, not only in the wilds of Germany (as we learn from Tacitus ¹), but even from the very earliest ages.

From these premises, viewed only *in the abstract*, I should feel myself

¹ Tacit. de mor. Germ. c. 7, 11, 39.

compelled to suppose, that such an empire as that of Nimrod must, from first to last, have rested at least upon the *principles* of the feudal system and of a division into castes : for it arose upon the universal subjugation of mankind to the single family of Cush, assisted probably by that of Mizr or rather (to speak more correctly) by some enterprizing individuals of the Mizraimic branch¹; and, even after the dispersion, paramount as it was from the borders of Armenia to the Erythræan sea, and extending itself both east and west beyond the opposite boundaries of the interamnian country, it still reigned supreme over Elam and Ashur and Aram and the chief part of the house of Arphaxad. The arrangement I should suppose to have been made most probably in some such manner as the following. Such of the Cuthim, as remained in central Iran and adhered to the fortunes of Nimrod, would constitute the sacerdotal and military castes; while the families, which were subjugated by them, would compose the bulk of the population, and would range themselves naturally under the two large divisions of artizans and agriculturists. Now, as these families settled, not promiscuously, but *after their tongues, in their lands, and after their nations*²; the Cushim, in order to maintain their sovereignty, must have been very much intermingled with them, constituting in each province the priesthood and the nobility. But, as the whole empire was under one head, this intermixture could not have taken place without creating the feudal system; just as a similar intermixture produced long afterwards the feudal system in western Europe. For the various families or nations could not have been governed without such an intermixture: and the empire could not have preserved its unity, unless the Cuthic princes and nobility, who administered the provinces and districts, had acknowledged the paramount authority of the king.

Here then we have the substance of the feudal system, by whatever names its descending steps might be distinguished. It seems most probable, according to the oriental phrascology, that the governors of provinces would be styled *kings* or *emirs*; while the great Cuthite would be denominated

¹ I infer this from the familiarity of the Hindoos with the names of *Cusha*, *Rama*, and *Mizr*; though we know, that the Misraim, as a *body*, peopled Egypt.

² Gen. x. 31.

BOOK VI. *king of kings* or *emir of emirs*¹. Thus, with subordinate regal authority like that exercised by the ancient dukes of France and the electors and princes of the Germanic body, there would be a king of Ashur, a king of Elam, and a king of Aram, each with his Cuthic nobility and free soldiers in a regular gradation downwards: and, as population increased, and as the limits of each province were extended, there would probably be several kings of Aram or of Ashur or of Elam, according to the different new settlements which might be established.

2. But, though such conclusions have been fairly enough drawn from what I have termed *the philosophy of politics*, it may still be reasonably inquired, whether they rest upon any circumstantial evidence. It shall now therefore be my business to adduce those direct proofs of the supposed fact, which I have been able to collect.

(1.) Trogus informs us, that, while the Scuths ruled over Asia, they were content with exacting a moderate tribute, more as a badge of sovereignty than as a reward of victory². Now this implies, that their empire was not compact and homogeneous; but that each province was under the rule of a prince, who paid, rather a feudal acknowledgment of supremacy, than a heavy pecuniary tax, to the head of the monarchy. And accordingly we find, that the constitution ended, just as such constitutions ordinarily must end; unless a vigorous government, as was the case in France, render the empire homogeneous by bringing the vassal principalities under the *immediate* sway of the crown. At the end of fifteen centuries from the rise of the monarchy under Nimrod or the first Ninus, the dynasty, which had commenced with the second Ninus, was brought to a close, most probably by the deposition of the last feeble sovereign: a third Ninus, who seems to have been previously a feudal Assyrian emir and who had acted perhaps as a sort of count palatine to the emperor, stepped into the vacant throne: his usurpation was the signal of an almost general revolt: and the provinces, following the example of Media under the Arbacidar, threw off the yoke of even nominal submission, and hoisted the standard of independence.

¹ Ezra vii. 12.

² Just. Hist. Phil. lib. ii. c. 3.

Yet, in the whole of this great revolution which took place during the latter half of the ninth century before Christ, whether the ancient capital or the hitherto subordinate kingdoms be considered, there would be no real change of actual *national* governors, though the second dynasty of the Cuthico-Assyrian princes had ceased to reign. The southern Scuths of Iran, who have so often been confounded with their northern brethren of Touvan, would surely not evacuate a country, where they had been naturalized during a period almost double to that, which has elapsed since the Norman conquest of England to the present day: they would doubtless remain where they were; and, divided as the Scythian or old Assyrian empire now was into several independent sovereignties, they would still be the monarchs of those sovereignties and would still constitute the priesthood and military nobility as they had always done. Accordingly, when Nineveh was deserted and when Babylon once more became the queen of the east, we find them still the paramount or governing caste, just as they had been during the fifteen centuries of avowed Scuthic domination.

In the year A. C. 747, where the canon of Ptolemy commences, the Assyrian empire, under the dynasty founded by the third Ninus, was divided into the two kingdoms of Assyria and Babylon. But, in the space of eighty years, these two sovereignties were again united under Asaraddin or Esar-Haddon: and henceforth, or at least after the time of Nebuchadnezzar, the Assyrio-Babylonian empire of Iran was distinguished in the west by the name of *the Babylonian empire*. Now the governing people of this monarchy were those, whom the Greeks chose to style *Chaldæans*, but who in Holy Writ are more accurately denominated *Chasdim* or *Chusdim*. They seem to have communicated their name to a great part of the province of Babylonia, and likewise to the contiguous eastern province of Cissia or Chusistan; doubtless because they abounded more in those regions than in other parts of the empire. This district was eminently the Asiatic Ethiopia, or land of Cush, or southern Scuthia: though the appellation of *Cusha-dwip* was properly enough extended to the whole country of Iran even according to its utmost limits; for the posterity of Cush were scattered throughout the whole of it, and their authority pervaded every part of it. But it is evident from Scripture, that these Chusdim or Chaldæans formed the sacer-

BOOK VI. dotal and military castes of the Babylonian empire : for, on the one hand, we find them described, as being professionally a body of philosophical Magi and astrologers and sorcerers ; and, on the other hand, we find them exhibited as a race of intrepid soldiers, who constituted the most efficient part of the armies of Nebuchadnezzar ¹. The king himself, as the head of the military order, is styled *the Chusdi* ² : and, though the sovereign of the whole Iranian empire, he is yet emphatically denominated *the king of the Chusdim* ³. In a similar manner, the realm of Babylonia is called *the realm of the Chusdim* ⁴ : and Babylon, which was both founded and re-founded by the Chusim, is distinguished as *the beauty of the Chusdim's excellency* ⁵. The provincial humiliation of this southern branch of the Cuthic house when Nineveh became the seat of empire, and their restoration to metropolitan importance under Nebuchadnezzar, are forcibly alluded to by Isaiah. He tells us, as Bp. Lowth properly renders the passage, that they were a people of no account until Babylon was rebuilt and made the seat of government ; but that then they speedily became of the very first importance ⁶. Our common translation most strangely gives them no *existence* until that period : but they had been both known and felt long before the days of Nebuchadnezzar ; and the manner, in which they are mentioned, shews very plainly, both who they were and where they had always dwelt. So early as the days of Job, they were accustomed to make predatory excursions out of Babylonia into the great western wilderness of Arabia ⁷ : and Abraham, who (we know) came out of the land of the Nimrodic Chusim, is expressly said by Moses to have gone forth to Haran from Ur of the Chusdim ⁸. Hence it is evident, that, in the days of Moses, the land of the Chusim and the land of the Chusdim were the same country ;

¹ Dan. ii. 2. iv. 7. v. 7, 11. Jerem. xxxix. 8. lii. 8. 2 Kings xxiv. 2. xxv. 4, 10, 26. Hab. i. 6.

² Ezra v. 12.

³ 2 Chron. xxx. 17.

⁴ Dan. ix. 1.

⁵ Isaiah xiii. 9.

⁶ Isaiah xxiii. 13.

⁷ Job. i. 17. Chaldæa was at this time under the rule of the Cuthic Shepherds, who afterwards invaded Palestine and Egypt under the name of *Arabs* or *Phenicians* or *Huc-Sos*. See below book vi. c. 5. § V. 5.

⁸ Gen. xi. 31.

and, consequently, that the Babylonian Chusim were the very same people as the Babylonian Chusdim. The only difference, in fact, between the two names is this: the one is un-compounded, and the other compounded. The *Chusim* are simply the *Cuths* or *Scuths*: the *Chus-Dim* are the *godlike Chusim* ¹.

Thus, by comparing the account which Trogus gives us of the Scuthic polity with the account which Scripture gives us of the later Babylonian polity, we find, that the government of the Iranian empire must from first to last have been feudal; that, whatever might have been the number of the inferior castes, there were two higher castes in it, the priesthood and the military nobility; and that both these castes were of the nation or family of the Chusdim or Cushim.

(2.) Additional light will be thrown upon the nature of the old Cuthic polity, if we attend to some early matters recorded by the sacred historians.

We are told, that, in the days of Abraham, the four kings of Shinar and Ellasar and Elam and the Mixed Nations made war upon the five kings of Sodom and Gomorrah and Admah and Zeboiim and Bela. These they subdued; but, at the end of twelve years, their new vassals rebelled. They returned therefore in the fourteenth year: and, after smiting various scattered tribes apparently of the Scuthic or giant race, they succeeded in completely routing their opponents.

I confess myself utterly unable to follow Mr. Bryant in what he has written upon this subject: for he magnifies, into a supposed mighty effort of the children of Shem to throw off the yoke of Ham, what is evidently a

¹ Some have deduced the Chusdim from Chesed, one of the sons of Nahor the brother of Abraham, mentioned Gen. xxii. 22. But this is an impossibility: for, even at the time when Abraham, then under 75 years of age, left Babylonia, the city where his family had dwelt was called *Ur of the Chusdim*. Hence it is evident, that the Chusdim were not only in existence, but a people of considerable importance, when Chesed, Abraham's nephew, was a mere boy. Besides this, the ruling people in Babylonia, from first to last, were most undoubtedly the Cushim or Scuths, not the children of Chesed. The Chusdim therefore, who communicated their name to the whole province, and sometimes even to the whole empire, must, unless we make history contradict itself, be the same as the Chusim or Cuths.

BOOK VI. mere marauding war between petty princes ; and he places this imagined successful effort in the days of Abraham, when we know, from the testimony of history relative to the long paramount duration of the Cuthico-Assyrian empire, that no such effort was ever made or at least made with any degree of success ¹. That the four kings were mere petty princes, is plain enough from their complete overthrow by Abraham. As we have not the least intimation that he was miraculously assisted like Gideon, and as he confidently pursued and absolutely beat all the four with only 318 men ; after allowing him every advantage from his unexpected nocturnal attack, it is impossible to believe, that with such a handful he could rout four *great* kings, and that when he had routed them he should drive them all the way before him to the neighbourhood of Damascus. Such exploits, as Mr. Bryant exhibits the affair, are more like the chivalrous deeds of an Orlando or an Amadis, than the credible occurrences of sober history. We may safely measure the united strength of the four kings, both by the household troops of Abraham, and by the power of their five opponents. Abraham completely beat them with 318 men : and the dominions of all the five Canaanitish kings were comprized within the area occupied by the present asphaltite lake.

The invaders then were mere contemptible *reguli*, whose entire forces would have been routed with ease by a single Roman cohort : but the next question is, who they were, and whence they came.

As their return home was in a northern direction from the vale of Sodom, for Abraham pursued them to the vicinity of Damascus ; they must be supposed to have come out of a region which lay to the north of Judæa. Eupolemus accordingly, an old pagan author preserved by Eusebius, says, that they were Armenians ². This I doubt, on account of the great distance of Armenia : yet this writer may afford us an useful clue to their real country. The Greeks not unfrequently confounded *Arminni* or Armenia with *Aram* or Syria ³ : whence I take the Armenians of Eupolemus to have been really *Arinæans*. But *Aram* between the rivers was a province of the great Cu-

¹ Bryant's Anal. vol. iii. p. 71—93.

² Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. ix. c. 17.

³ Strab. Geog. lib. i. p. 41. lib. xvi. p. 784, 785.

thic empire : and it was afterwards extended far to the west, so as to comprize Damascus, which was the capital of maritime Aram. *Into* this latter region Abraham pursued the defeated kings : and *out of* this region they evidently came, when they invaded the land of Canaan.

Such then was their country : the next question is, who they themselves were. With respect to this point, I think it clear, that they were feudatory vassals of the great Cuthic empire, which was now pushing itself westward beyond the Euphrates : and, if such an opinion can be satisfactorily established, we shall have gone far to prove, that the polity of that empire was of the description which has been supposed. Here the testimony of Josephus is peculiarly valuable. He tells us, that the invaders were Assyrians, and that the invasion took place when the Assyrians were masters of Asia¹. The purport of such an account cannot be mistaken : these Assyrians were the Cuthic lords of Iran ; who from the locality of Nineveh assumed the title of *Assyrians*, when, as Epiphanius informs us, the old Scuthic name became obsolete in the days of Serug. It seems then, that the invading kings were members of the great Cuthico-Assyrian monarchy ; which, according to Trogus, ruled over Asia during the period of fifteen centuries : for the Cuths were masters of Asia at the very time, that Josephus ascribes that predominance to the Assyrians ; whence the Scuths of Trogus, and the Assyrians of Josephus, must be the same. Now it is evident, that this invasion could not have been conducted by the great Cuthic sovereign himself heading the forces of his whole empire ; because it is ridiculous to suppose, that Abraham with 318 men could rout and pursue such an antagonist. Yet we find, that the invaders were in some sense those identical Assyrians, who were lords of all central Asia. The only conclusion therefore, which remains to us, is this : that they were Assyrians or Cuthim, as being members of the Cuthic empire ; but that they themselves, as individuals, were vassal kings, seated in the newly-reduced province of maritime Aram and employed to extend the limits of the monarchy southward from Damascus.

It is curious to observe, how every thing will be found to quadrate with

¹ Ant. Jud. lib. i. c. 9.

BOOK VI. such a result, as the result itself quadrates exactly with history which makes the Cuths at this precise time masters of Asia.

One of the invaders is a king of Elam: that is to say, the prince of a colony of Elamites; for it were childish trifling to suppose, that some independent king of Elam beyond the Persian gulph could march to invade the land of Canaan with so trifling a force, that, even when aided by three auxiliaries, he was beaten by 318 men. Another of them is a king of Shinar: by which of course we cannot understand the remote Shinar in Babylonia; but must conclude it to be some small district in maritime Aram, called, as is natural with new settlers, after the Cuthic Shinar¹. A third is said to be the king of the Goïm or Mixed Nations; a significant appellation, perfectly descriptive of those heterogeneous adventurers who are ever ready to embark in any daring and novel undertaking. Symmachus makes them Scuths or Cuths: nor was he far mistaken; for certainly the leaders, and probably a considerable part, of these Aramèan colonists, would be members of the intrepid and confidential military cast. Each of the titles in short, borne by the petty princes in question, shews, whence they originally came into Aram, and by whom they were sent there. Agreeably to the same policy, which led the king of Assyria many ages afterwards to plant Samaria with a mixed multitude from Babylon and Cutlia and Ava and Hamath and Sepharvaim², these turbulent colonists were sent out, under Cuthic leaders, from Elam and Shinar and Aram of the rivers, to occupy the maritime Aram and to push their conquests beyond it as opportunity might serve. They most probably found the maritime Aram already peopled by the descendants from the patriarch of that name: and, as the conquered would in numbers far exceed the conquerors, the name of the country remained; and, in the course of a few ages, the invading Cuths, and those whom they had subdued, were all known by the common appellation of *Syrians* or *Aramèans*.

This will explain a very curious passage in Amos; while the passage in

¹ Thus, when the Cuthic Shepherd-kings planted the African Ethiopia or Abyssinia, they brought with them the Babylonian name of *Shinar*, which remains to this day in the town and district of *Sennaar*. See Hales's Chronol. vol. ii. p. 48.

² 2 Kings xvii. 24.

return will corroborate all that has been said on the subject. God declares, CHAP. II. that the fortunes of the Israelites bore a strong resemblance to those of the Cushim or Ethiopians, as the Greeks called them: and the resemblance is said to have consisted in the special particular of a national emigration; as the Israelites were brought out of the land of Egypt, so the Philistim were brought from Caphtor, and the Aramites from Kir¹. The Philistim then, and the Aramites of whom the very accurate prophet speaks, were plainly Cushim: otherwise, no exemplification is afforded of the general assertion, an assertion most remarkably true in numberless instances, that the Cushim strongly resembled the Israelites in the point of national emigration. But the Aramites proper were the children of Shem: how then can they properly be styled *Cushim*? The prophet himself affords us an answer; alluding, if I mistake not, to the identical colonists, whom I suppose to have been sent into the maritime Aram by the great Cuthic sovereign of Iran, and who thence in the days of Abraham invaded the land of Canaan. He tells us, that his Ethiopic Aramites (called *Aramites* no doubt, as the Anglo-Saxons are often called *Britons*, not from descent, but from country) were a collective body of emigrants from Kir: and this Kir, as we learn from Isaiah, was a city or district either of Elam or of Ashur beyond the Tigris².

Such then were the invaders of Canaan: they were military vassals of the great Cuthic empire, planted in maritime Aram, bearing the title of *kings*, but acknowledging the supremacy of the superior lord who was reputed to sway the sceptre of Asia. Aram of the rivers, or Mesopotamia, was subject to him in the very same manner. As comprehended within the limits of Iran, it was deemed a portion of Cusha-dwip or the Asiatic

¹ Amos ix. 7.

² Isaiah xxii. 6. It is remarkable, that these Cuthic Aramites were afterwards, in consequence of their rebellion against their liege lord, carried back by the king of Assyria to Kir; which thus again we find far to the east, where Isaiah had led us to place it. See Amos i. 5. and 2 Kings xvi. 9. Mr. Lowth, though evidently perplexed with Amos ix. 7, follows the obvious sense of the passage; and thence conjectures, that some ancient removal of Aram from Kir, not elsewhere taken notice of, is intended. Abp. Newcome gives a paraphrase of it, which makes the prophet say just what his commentator pleases.

BOOK VI. land of Cush: and the name, borne by one of the most powerful of its feudatory sovereigns, plainly shews, that here also the Cuthic military nobility were the rulers of the children of Aram. Very soon after the time of Joshua, while the Cuthic empire was in its full vigour, the idolatrous Israelites were delivered into the hand of the king of Mesopotamia. This prince of the Aram between the rivers must apparently have had the smaller princes of the other Aram, placed under him as sub-vassals; for his dominions would not otherwise come in contact with those of the Israelites. Be this however as it may, we find him bearing the appellation of *Cushan-Rishathaim* or *Rishathaim the Cushite*: just as Abraham is called *the Heberite*; and Nebuchadnezzar, *the Chusdi*¹. His attempt upon Israel was but a continuation of the policy, which led to the early invasion of Palestine in the days of Abraham: nor was that policy ever abandoned, until at length first the ten tribes and then the two were brought under the yoke of Iran.

And here I cannot refrain from observing, how strictly, and yet (as it were) how undesignedly, sacred history corresponds with profane. As the original Cuthic empire in the double line of Nimrod terminated about a century and a half after the death of Solomon; so it may be concluded, that for some time previous it had gradually been upon the decline under a succession of feeble and degenerate monarchs, not unlike the weak descendants of Clovis or of Charlemagne. This, in the hands of Divine Providence, will account for the ease with which Solomon extended his dominions from the borders of Egypt to the great river Euphrates; agreeably to the express prophecy, which, however unlikely, was destined to be fulfilled². It will also account for the evidently independent state of Aram in the time of Ahab. That country had withdrawn its allegiance from the declining Cuthic empire: and, accordingly, Hazael receives his investiture from Elijah; and afterwards, without the least regard to the ancient superior lord of Aram, he murders his sovereign and usurps his throne³. Such historical coincidences, which nothing but an almost accidental combina-

¹ Judg. iii. 8. The name *Cushan-Rishathaim* is, by the Chaldee Paraphrase and the Syriac and Arabic versions, explained as denoting *the wicked Cushite*.

² 1 Kings iv. 21—24. Gen. xv. 18.

³ 1 Kings xix. 15. 2 Kings viii. 15.

tion of remote particulars can bring to light, may be reckoned among the strongest marks of exact veracity in the inspired penmen.

(3.) Hitherto I have only combined various scattered notices, and have drawn from them certain deductions relative to the polity of the old Cuthic empire: I shall now bring forward a direct and compact proof, that the division into castes was coëval with its foundation; which will necessarily involve the fact, that, as the great Iranian kingdom was governed by the sacerdotal and military castes, as these two castes were of the Scuthic or Cuthic house, and as they could not have administered the government without being scattered throughout the different provinces the population of which consisted of totally distinct races from their own, the feudal system must inevitably have been established throughout the whole country.

We have seen, on the authority of the Dabistan, that the Pishdadian dynasty of Persia was preceded by the Mahabadian; which for many ages had swayed the sceptre of Iran, and which must clearly be identified with that Cuthic or Scuthic line of kings who were lords of Asia during fifteen centuries from Nimrod to Thonus Concolerus. Now Maha-Bad, the pretended founder of this dynasty, who was at once the first king of Iran and the monarch of the whole earth, is said to have received from the Creator and to have promulgated among men a sacred book in a heavenly language: and his subjects believed, that fourteen Maha-Bads, or fourteen transmigratory manifestations of the same Maha-Bad, had appeared or would appear in human shapes for the government of the world. Thus conversing with the Deity, and acting by his immediate authority, Maha-Bad divided the people, who composed his universal sovereignty and who therefore comprehended the whole race of mankind, into four castes or orders; the *religious*, the *military*, the *commercial*, and the *servile*: and to these he assigned names, which Sir William Jones assures us are *unquestionably* the same in their origin with those now applied to the four primary classes of the Hindoos.

From the preceding account of the first monarchy of Iran, Sir William argues most justly, that Maha-Bad is palpably the same character as the Indian Menu; that the fourteen Maha-Bads are the fourteen manifesta-

BOOK VI. tions of Menu; that the celestial book of Maha-Bad is the celestial book of Menu; that the four castes, into which Maha-Bad divided mankind, are the four castes, into which Menu similarly divided mankind; and consequently that the Hindoos, when they first planted Hindostan, brought with them the early history and polity of Iran from which they had emigrated, and exhibited them as their own local history and polity. He adds, that the word *Maha-Bad* is evidently a Sanscrit compound, being equivalent to *the great Bad* or *the great Buddha*: so that we have an additional proof, if any were necessary, of the identity of Maha-Bad and Menu; for Menu and Buddha are certainly the same person¹.

Here then, in singular conformity with the records consulted by Trogius and Epiphanius, we find also in the east a very full account of an ancient monarchy, which had subsisted in Iran long before the rise of the later Assyrian empire and the dynasty of the Pishdadians: for it is incontrovertible, that the Mahabadian sovereignty can only be the same as the Scythic sovereignty of Trogius and Epiphanius. Here therefore we have the polity of the Cuthic empire unequivocally described to us: and this polity proves to be the identical polity; which, both from the philosophy of government and from such scattered notices as we had been able to collect, we had argued must have been established throughout the primeval empire of Iran.

VII. It is most curious to observe, how completely the Persic, and thence ultimately the Hindoo, records unfold the Machiavellian politics of Nimrod and his Cuthic associates.

Maha-Bad, as he appears in the Dabistan, is clearly Noah or the Menu-Satyavrata of the Hindoos, though blended, like that Menu, with the anterior character of Adam or Menu-Swayambhuva. Nimrod places him at the head of the dynasty, which he himself really founded; carefully intimates, that he was the sovereign of the whole world; and thus insinuates, that mankind ought to remain in one unbroken community, and that the successor of Noah was by right an universal monarch likewise. In a similar manner and for a similar purpose, as we learn from Epiphanius, Scu-

¹ Disc. on the Pers. Asiat. Res. vol. ii. p. 59.

thism, which in the progress of increasing corruption became Ionism, was studiously carried up as high as the deluge; that so the odium of innovating, either in politics or religion, might be speciously avoided. Agreeably to such a plan, the division of mankind into castes, which, by forming the sacerdotal and military orders out of the house of Cush, placed in the hands of that great family the whole authority of the state, was represented at first as highly agreeable to the venerable Noah; afterwards it was declared to be his special ordinance, and no mere novel contrivance of ambition; and at length, by the aid of the priesthood, the plea of divine right was called in, and the division into castes was declared to be an institution of the Deity himself speaking from heaven to the first king Maha-Bad. Accordingly, as it was well known that Noah had actually conversed with God, and as it can scarcely be doubted that he had preserved many antediluvian books in the Ark, he was fabled to have received from the Creator *a book of regulations* in a celestial language, which marked out the particular polity and the general laws under which the empire was to be governed. Now this very book is still in existence: for Sir William Jones, and with good reason, does not scruple to identify Maha-Bad's *book of regulations* with Menu's *book of divine institutes or ordinances*. In that volume then, which the learned orientalist has translated into English, we have in fact an accurate sketch of the constitution, which was framed for the oldest empire in the world. It contains many good regulations; for government cannot subsist without them: but the master key note, which runs through the whole, is the inculcating of an excessive veneration for the sacerdotal and military orders. Exactly according to the plan, which (as Bp. Warburton truly remarks) was adopted by all the ancient legislators, and which no doubt was borrowed from the Babylonian prototype, the prescribed polity is made to rest upon the authority of heaven; and the four divinely appointed castes are represented as springing from Brahma himself, incarnate in the person of the first man Menn. Hence the division was an ordinance of God: and, if the inferior castes presumed to resist the two superior, they would fight not against man, but against the Deity. Nor was it solely into Hindostan that these original laws were carried from Iran: to omit other countries, they were conveyed as the

BOOK VI. books of Taut or Thoth into Egypt, the inhabitants of which were equally divided into castes; and, as Sir William Jones *half* supposes, they constituted in Crete the famous laws of Minos or Menus¹. But, though Maha-Bad is thus made the ostensible founder of the Iranian empire and the primeval author of the division into castes, we by no means lose sight of Nimrod himself. Among the sovereigns who are celebrated as aggrandizers of the monarchy, we see him proudly conspicuous under the name of *Mah-Bul* or *Maha-Beli* or *the great Belus*; that well-known founder of Babylon, who seems to have studiously attempted to blend his own character with that of Noah, and who (unless I be greatly mistaken) gave himself out to be a transmigratory reappearance of the first Beli or Maha-Bad vouchsafed to mortals for the government of the Universe². This is the blaspheming monarch, who (according to Hindoo tradition) was slain by Vislanou bursting from the midst of a shattered column or pyramid, and who in the pride of unlimited sovereignty was beguiled of empire by the same deity under the humble disguise of a dwarf. Both these Avatars are referred by Sir William Jones to the history of the tower: and, as the first of them seems to describe the bloodshed and discord which prevailed between the rival sects of Scythists and Ionists, with a reference possibly to some miraculous interference unnoticed in Scripture; so the second ingeniously represents the marring of the whole project, when on the very point of completion, by the unseen finger of God perceived only in the supernatural confusion of languages³.

Thus it was not without reason that the Scythians claimed the highest antiquity in the list of nations, for they were the founders of the first empire after the deluge. Nor was their argument against the Egyptian claim quite so absurd as it appears to be. They contended, that, as they inhabited a mountain whence rivers flowed in every direction, they must be prior to the Egyptians who inhabited a region formed in a great measure by the Nile⁴. By this mountain they meant Ararat or Meru, where their

¹ Pref. to Instit. of Menu p. 9. Vide supra book iii. c. 5.

² As such, he would also claim to be a manifestation of the promised son of the woman.

³ Asiat. Res. vol. i. p. 225, 426.

⁴ Just. Hist. lib. ii. c. 1.

empire commenced while Egypt was yet a desert, and which still was occupied by the same race as those who were the prime architects of Babel. I think with Mr. Pinkerton, that what Herodotus says of the newness of the Scythians is solely to be understood of their newness on the west of the Euxine sea ¹.

¹ Herod. Hist. lib. iv. c. 5. Pinkerton's Diss. on the Goths. part i. c. 2. p. 28.

CHAPTER III.

Respecting the primitive Division of the World among the Children of Noah, the Triads of the Gentiles, the Confusion of Languages, and the Mode of the Dispersion from Babel.

Moses has furnished us with a very explicit account of the primitive division of the world among the children of Noah, when they were constrained to emigrate from the plain of Shinar and to disperse themselves over the face of the whole earth. From this it appears, that, although their emigration was reluctant, yet it was not disorderly. Compelled as they were to relinquish their design by a preternatural confusion of utterance, they did not branch off from the central point in accidentally promiscuous masses; but retired, with some exceptions, *according to their families and their tongues and their nations*. In the main, the children of Japhet kept together, distinct from those of Shem and of Ham; and afterwards, as they advanced into the wide regions allotted to their great progenitor, divided and subdivided themselves agreeably to their several patriarchal heads. The descendants of the other two brethren had their settlements very much intermingled throughout southern Asia: but even between *them* a line of distinction may be drawn, sufficiently strong to establish the general accuracy of the Mosaical account. The confusion, to which I allude, origi-

nated from the restless ambition of the sons of Ham: who, particularly in one great branch, have in all ages been the disturbers and conquerors and civilizers and corrupters of the world. CHAP. III.

I. Agreeably to the prophetic intimation of future enlargement, Japhet colonized the whole of Europe, all those northern regions of Asia which have been vaguely distinguished by the names of *Tartary* and *Siberia*, and in process of time by an easy passage across Behring's straits the entire continent of America. The descendants of each patriarch, in all the three lines, were naturally designated by the appellation of their particular forefather: and, as it has often been shewn, it is most curious to observe, how long the names of the ancestors specified by Moses have been preserved among their children.

1. Gomer seems evidently to have been the father of those, who were originally called *Gomerians*; who, with a slight variation, retained their primeval title, as *Comarians*, *Cimmerians*, *Cimbri*, *Cymry*, *Cumbri*, *Cam-bri*, and *Umbri*; but who, in lapse of years, bore the superadded name of *Celts*, *Gauls*, *Galatæ*, and *Gaels*. These, spreading themselves from the regions north of Armenia and Bactriana, where we find some remains of them so late as the time of Ezekiel, extended themselves over nearly the whole of the continent of Europe, and first planted the two great isles of Britain and Ireland¹. Hence we meet with Cimmerians or Cimbri in northern Asia, from which they are described as making excursions after the manner of the Sacæ: hence also we find them round the sea of Azoph, upon the Danube, in Germany, in Jutland or the Cimbric chersonese, in Italy, in Spain, and still in the Welsh mountains: and hence, briefly to sum up the whole, while they are by ancient authors positively identified with the Celts or Gauls, they are declared to have once extended from the western ocean to the Euxine sea and from Italy as far north as the Baltic².

¹ Ezek. xxxviii. 6. Dionys. Perieg. ver. 700. Pomp. Mel. lib. i. c. 2. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vi. c. 16. Ptol. Geog. lib. vi. c. 11—13. Joseph. Ant. Jud. lib. i. c. 6. § 1.

² Strab. Geog. lib. i. p. 6, 61. lib. xi. p. 494, 511. lib. xii. p. 573, 552. lib. vii. p. 292—294, 309. lib. v. p. 244. lib. xiv. p. 647, 648. Herod. Hist. lib. iv. c. 12. Diod. Bib. lib. v. p. 308, 309. Odyss. lib. xi. ver. 13. Pomp. Mel. lib. i. c. 2. Solin. c. 21. Appian. de bell. civ. lib. i. p. 625. Tacit. de mor. Germ. c. 37, 45. Pinkerton's Dissert. on the Goths. p. 45—50.

BOOK VI. In Italy they were sometimes by abbreviation called *Umbri*: for we are told by Florus and Pliny, that the Umbri were the oldest inhabitants of that country; and by Solinus and Tzetzes, that they were Gauls by origin and therefore of the same race as the Cimbri or Cumri¹. So likewise the ancient Irish traditions, while they rightly bring into the western isle a colony of Scuths or Scots, acknowledge that these invaders found the country already inhabited: and, as the Irish and the Welsh languages are equally dialects of the Celtic, it is sufficiently plain, as the legends indeed themselves teach us, that the Gaels of the smaller island were driven out from among the Cymry of the larger².

2. Magog, Tubal, and Mesech, as we learn from Ezekiel, had their habitations far to the north of Judèa³: and there accordingly we may still trace them very unequivocally, as the ancestors of the great Slavonic or Sarmatian house and of the scarcely less extensive Tartar family. The name of *Magog* still exists in the national appellations of *Mogli* and *Monguls* and *Mongogians*: while those of *Tubal* and *Mesech* are preserved in *Tobolski* and *Moschici* and *Moscow* and *Muscovite*⁴.

¹ Flor. lib. i. c. 17. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. iii. c. 14. Solin. c. 8. Tzetz. in Lycoph. ver. 1356.

² Vallancey's Vindic. pref. p. 56. Lloyd's Arch. Brit. in præf.

³ Ezek. xxxviii. 2, 15.

⁴ Parsons's Rem. of Japhet. p. 61, 65, 67. Dr. Parsons, Gen. Vallancey, and other writers on the antiquities of Ireland, make the Scythic invaders of that island to be Magogians; by which, in the extremity of the west, they bring together Magog and Gomer. For this opinion I cannot find even a shadow of evidence. Josephus does indeed pronounce the Scythians to be of the line of Magog; and his opinion has been echoed by Eustathius, Jerome, Theodoret, and a host of modern writers: but for his opinion he gives no authority whatsoever. With *him* the notion plainly originated from the circumstance of the Touranian Scuths lying *northward of Judèa*, where Ezekiel places Magog: but in reality Magog planted the wide regions far again *to the north of Scythia*, with which the Greeks were very little acquainted. It is curious to note the different opinions, which have been entertained on this subject. Ambrose makes Magog the father of the Goths; which is virtually to repeat the assertion of Josephus, for the Goths and the Scythians were the same people: Eusebius, of the Celts and Gauls: the author of the Alexandrine Chronicle, of the Aquitani or Basques: and the Arabic writers, of the Tartars. The last opinion is the true one. See Boet. Phaleg. lib. iii. c. 13. p. 186, 187.

3. Madai was the father of the Medes: for, whenever the sacred writers have occasion to speak of this people, they designate them by the very same appellation that Moses bestows upon the son of Japhet¹.

4. From Javan were descended the aboriginal Javanites or Iaones or Yavanas; by which names the inhabitants of Greece have invariably been called by the oriental nations, and sometimes even by themselves². But here we must attend to a very curious distinction, founded upon an historical fact and accurately noticed in the Hellenic records.

The Greeks so famous in history were a compound of Scuthic Pelasgi from the north and of Phenician and Egyptian emigrants from the south; who, at an early period, invaded and subjugated the territories of Javan, and in process of time became completely mingled with his descendants. Hence we are continually told, that Hellas was at first inhabited by barbarians³: and these barbarians were doubtless the old Iaones or Iannes or Javanites. But the invaders were of a totally different family; and, as we shall hereafter see, whether they came from the north or the south, they were still alike of the same race with each other. Yet they bore a title so nearly resembling that of the aborigines, that the two have been perpetually confounded together, though the Greek writers themselves distinguish them with the greatest accuracy. The invaders called themselves *Iones* or *Ionim*, while the aborigines were denominated *Iaones* or *Javanim*: and, from this mere similarity of sound, the Ionic tribes, in palpable contradiction to all history, have been frequently adduced as bearing the name of Javan their supposed ancestor, when all the while they were foreigners who had attacked the children of that patriarch. But the Greek historians fell into no such mistakes. Conscious that the Iaones, whom they styled *barbarians*, had been invaded by their own ancestors the Iones, who were of a different stock; they carefully distinguish between the two: and, although

¹ Comp. Gen. x. 2. with 2 Kings xvii. 6. Ezr. vi. 2. Esth. i. 19. Isaiah xiii. 17. Jerem. li. 11. Dan. v. 28. viii. 20. ix. 1. xi. 1.

² Hom. Iliad. lib. xiii. ver. 685. Schol. in Aristoph. Acharn. ver. 106. Hesych. Lex. Asiai. Res. vol. iii. p. 125.

³ Strab. Geog. lib. vii. p. 321. Plat. Cratyl. vol. i. p. 425. Schol. in Apoll. Argon. lib. iii. ver. 461. Paus. Attic. p. 77.

BOOK VI. the names might from their similarity have been sometimes confounded, the most accurate of their writers speak of them as separate appellations, and represent the introduction of the one as being posterior to that of the other. Thus Strabo tells us, that Attica was formerly called both *Ionia* and *Ias* or *Ian*: and thus Pausanias mentions, that the name of *Iones* was a comparatively modern addition or assumption: while that of *Iaones* is acknowledged to have been the primitive title of the barbarians, who were subjugated by the *Iones*¹. If we inquire whence these invaders got the name of *Iones*, we have a perfectly clear account of the whole matter: they were so called from their ancestor Ion or Ionan, the son of Xuth, the son of Hellen, the son of Deucalion². Now Deucalion, who was preserved in an ark, was certainly Noah: hence, if the Ionic Greeks be accurate, their ancestor was a great grandson of that patriarch. Nor will it be very difficult to learn, *what* great-grandson he was. The *Iones*, we are told, received their name from Ionan or Ioanes, a man of gigantic stature, who was the ringleader in the building of the tower, when the languages of all mankind were confounded: and they were the first, who introduced the worship of idols and who deified the Sun and the Moon and the Host of Heaven³. Ion then was evidently Nimrod; who stands in the very same degree of relationship to Noah, that Ion does to Deucalion: and, accordingly, as Nimrod is said to have been the son of Cuth; so Ion, with a very slight variation, is similarly said to be the son of Xuth. Whether the *Iones* were literally descended from Nimrod, may perhaps be doubtful; but they certainly were of the line of Cush and of the family of the Shepherd-kings of Egypt. Nimrod seems to have taken the name of *Ion* from the worship of the *Ionah* or *Yoni*; and, as he doubtless was initiated into his own Mysteries, the Greeks had a tradition, that Ion was exposed during his infancy in an ark decorated with olive⁴. From this superstition was derived what Epiphanius calls the heresy of Ionism or Hellenism: and we

¹ Strab. Geog. lib. ix. p. 392. Paus. Achaic. p. 396, 397.

² Paus. Achaic. p. 396. Strab. Geog. lib. viii. p. 383. Apollod. Bibl. lib. i. c. 7. § 2.

³ Chron. Pasch. p. 49. Johan. Antioch. p. 66. Euseb. Chron. p. 13, 14. Cedren. Hist. Comp. p. 46.

⁴ Euripid. Ion. ver. 1434.

have already seen, that he describes it, as succeeding the more simple apos- CHAP. III.
tasy of Scuthism and as commencing with the Babylonian tower.

The Greek Iones then really had their name from the Ionic idolatry: and the close resemblance of this religious title to the gentile appellation of *Iaones* has caused them to be often confounded together, and has led many authors erroneously to deduce them alike from *Javan*. They are however two different names, borne by two different families for two different reasons: and, slight as the distinction is between them in Hebrew or Chaldee, we still find, that, as the Greeks speak of *Iaones* and *Iones* and of *Ionia* and *Ian*; so the Hindoos, with equal accuracy, mention both the *Yavanas* and the *Yonijas*¹.

With respect to the sons of Javan, we seem to recognize *Elishah* in *Elis*, *Tarshish* in *Tartessus* or *Tarsus*, *Kittim* in the Macedonian *Cittium*, and *Dodanim* in *Dodona*.

5. It is not improbable, that Tiras might have been the father of the aboriginal Thracians, whose kings not unfrequently bore the name of *Tereus*: but, however this may be, the later Thracians were so largely mixed with Scuths, that they may almost be deemed an entire Gothic nation.

II. The posterity of Shem were confined entirely to southern Asia: and, much as they were brought under the dominion of Cush, whose children were almost invariably intermingled with them; they may yet for the most part be easily discovered in their separate settlements, where they fixed themselves, as we learn from Moses, *after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, after their nations*. Both they, and the more eminent of the descendants of Ham, are perpetually mentioned in Holy Scripture: and this circumstance renders the investigation of *their* colonies far more easy than that of the colonies of Japhet.

1. Elam appears to have been established in southern Persia, contiguous to the maritime tract which eminently bore the name of *Chusistan* or *the land of Cush*. Here, from first to last, he was subject to the Cush; whether known as Scuths, or as Gothic Persians, or as Sacas, or as (by a

¹ *Javan* and *Iona* differ only in a single letter, ין and ינה; nor can *Ion* or *Ionan*, as a masculine name, be distinguished in Hebrew characters from *Javan* except by the points.

BOOK VI. general appellation) Iranians. The locality of Elam is determined by Daniel; for he mentions, that Shushan or the chief city of Susiana was situated within that province¹. Elam is the Elymaïs of pagan writers: and the Elamites are those Elymèi, whom Pliny and Ptolemy notice as inhabiting the shores of the Persian gulph.

2. Ashur planted the land, which in Scripture is invariably distinguished by his name, and which by the Greeks was thence rightly denominated *Assyria*. This was also a province of the Cuthic or Iranian empire; and, as such, with Elam and Aram and perhaps the greater part of Arphaxad, was included within the ample limits of Iran or Cushadwip within or the Asiatic Ethiopia.

3. Arphaxad, through his grandson Eber, branched out into the two houses of Peleg and Joktan; the former of whom was the ancestor of the Israelites and other kindred nations in the west of Asia.

(1.) As for Peleg, he must have remained in Chaldèa or southern Babylonia at the time of the dispersion: for there we find the family of Abraham settled, previous to the emigration of his father Terah from Ur of the Chusdim².

(2.) Of the numerous children of Joktan it is said by Moses, that *their dwelling was from Mesha as thou goest unto Sephar a mount of the east*: hence, whatever be the precise situation of mount Sephar, they evidently spread themselves in an oriental direction. I am inclined to believe, that they were the ancestors of the great body of the Hindoos; and consequently that Josephus was not far mistaken in placing them on the banks of an Indian river, which he names *Cophenè*³. To this opinion I am the more inclined from finding among the Hindoos very vivid traditions, even by name, of the patriarch Shem or Sama or Sharma. They describe him, as being of a most benevolent disposition, but of a weak constitution: they speak of him, as travelling (that is to say, in the persons of his descendants) into their country: and they represent him, as instructing all the four principal castes in their religious duties. He is likewise supposed to have been one of the many incarnations of Buddha: and this, I think, will account

¹ Dan. viii. 2

² Gen. xi. 31.

³ Ant. Jud. lib. i. c. 6. § 4.

for the mild and philosophical character with which that god is invested by the Hindoos; while the more warlike Goths exhibit him, as the ferocious, though literary, deity of war¹. Ophir, one of the sons of Joktan, is often mentioned in Scripture as inhabiting a land abounding in gold, to which voyages were made by ships that sailed from the ports of the Red sea². Now Moses tells us, that Ophir, in common with the other sons of Joktan, settled far to the east. The voyages therefore from the Red sea to the land of Ophir must have been made in an eastern direction. But the whole sea-coast of Persia as far as the Indus was inhabited by Cush mingled with Elam. Hence it will necessarily follow, that the land of Ophir must have been beyond the Indus. And this will bring us to the great peninsula of Hindostan, for the seat of Ophir and his brethren: to which, accordingly we find, that regular voyages have in the earliest times been made from the mouth of the Red sea across the Indian ocean³.

4. Of Lud scarce any mention is made by the inspired historians, so that we are greatly in the dark respecting the land which he colonized. If we may argue from similarity of names, it is not improbable, that he may have been, as Bochart supposes, the father of the Lydians or Ludians: for this people had a tradition, that they were descended from Lydus or Lud⁴. Josephus coincides in opinion with Bochart⁵.

5. The children of Aram planted the fertile country north of Babylonia, that lies between the Euphrates and the Tigris: whence by the Greeks it was called *Mesopotamia*; and, by the sacred writers, *Aram of the rivers*. Afterwards, though largely mingled with other adventurers of the great Iranian empire, they spread themselves over the whole of Syria beyond Damascus. The inhabitants of this second Aram are acknowledged by the Greeks to have always styled themselves, as they were always styled by their Asiatic neighbours, *Arimi* or *Aramèans*⁶.

III. At the first division of the earth, Ham was mixed with Shem

¹ Asiat. Res. vol. i. p. 525—530.

² 1 Kings ix. 26—28. x. 11. xxii. 48. 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18. ix. 10.

³ See Robertson's Disq. on Ind. sect. i.

⁴ Boch. Phaleg. lib. ii. c. 12.

⁵ Ant. Jud. lib. i. c. 6. § 4.

⁶ Strab. Geog. lib. i. p. 42. lib. xiii. p. 627. lib. xvi. p. 784, 785.

BOOK VI. throughout southern Asia, while of the whole continent of Africa he appears additionally to have been the sole occupant.

1. Respecting Cush or Cuth, the great father of the sacerdotal and military tribes who were the leading architects of Babel and who founded the primeval empire of Iran, I shall at present only remark, that he was the progenitor of those; who from himself were variously denominated *Cushim*, or *Cushas*, or *Chusas*, or *Cossèans*, or *Chasas*, or *Cussays*, or *Cissians*¹, or *Cassians*, or *Cuths*, or *Caths*, or *Cuts*, or *Guths*, or *Goths*, or *Getes*, or *Scuths*, or *Scuits*, or *Scots*, or *Gauts*. In addition to this family-name, for the Chusas declare themselves to be descended from Cush or Cushia or Chusa or Gaut or Scuth²; a great branch of them at least, if not the whole body, took the appellation of *Sacas* or *Sachim* or *Sacasenas* from their favourite god Saca or Xaca or Sacya, who is the same as Buddh or Wuddh or Fo or Odin³. The Sacæ, accordingly, are unanimously pronounced

¹ Pronounced by the Greeks *Kissians*.

² Hence *Scuth* with its variations is evidently a patronymic. Gen. Vallancey, who makes the Scythians to be Magogians, derives their name from a word which signifies a ship. Such may be the import of the word: but, if so, I rather incline to believe, that a ship was called *Scuth* or *Scudh* or *Skuta* or *Scaid* from the adventurous mariners of this tribe who traversed the whole Mediterranean and who fearlessly explored the ocean itself, than that the tribe was so denominated from a ship. Ancient nations, if they sometimes borrowed an additional title from their favourite occupation, yet almost invariably, I apprehend, distinguished themselves either by the name of their patriarchal ancestor or by that of the divinity whom they worshipped. Accordingly, the great body of Scuths or Goths, who were a completely inland people, bore the name, which the learned General would derive from a ship, long before they had ever beheld the sea. Vind. of anc. hist. of Irel. pref. p. 28 and passim.

³ M. Pezron ridiculously fancies, that the Sacæ, whom he most erroneously confounds with the Gomerians or Celts, were so called by their neighbours out of pure spite; because they were notorious *sachers* of towns and villages, desperate marauders, and acknowledged thieves: just as if acts of rapine were any way *peculiar* to the Sacæ rather than to any other ferocious and uncivilized nation, or as if they themselves would contentedly exchange their original name for one given them by foreigners as a term of reproach. Ant. of nations. b. i. c. t. p. 27. That the name was borne by themselves in all ages, is sufficiently evident. Strabo says, that they settled in Armenia, which from their own appellation they called *Sacasena*: we find them mentioned in Scripture, by the appellation of *Sachim*, as seated with their brethren the Cuths in African Ethiopia: and their posterity in Europe still de-

both by the Greek and the Hindoo writers to be Scuths or Chusas: and, wherever we find the one appellation, we are sure to find the other likewise. Thus, in upper India, we have the Chusas and the Sacas: in Iran we have the Sacæ and the Scuths or Cuths: round the Caspian sea, we have the Sacæ again mingled with the Caspii or Chusas or Scuths or Getes: in the African Ethiopia as in the Asiatic, we still meet with the Cushim and Sachim: and, in Europe, after the Scythians had poured over it like a torrent from the east, we again perceive, that the Goths were attended by their inseparable brethren the Saxons or Sacasens. They likewise, from their addiction to the roving freedom of the pastoral life, called themselves *Palli* or *Pelasgi* or *Belgæ* or *Shepherds*. They also, in some of their branches, bore the name of *Ionim* or *Yonijas*, from the worship of the Yoni or Ionah. And by the Greeks, particularly in their southern settlements whether Asiatic or African, they were often denominated *Ethiopians* and *Indians*. They were a warlike and powerful and wise people: and the empire, which they established over their brethren at Babylon, they have never lost even to the present hour. A sort of fearless and conscious superiority has characterised them, whether mixed or unmixed, in all their settlements: and they have been destined in every age to be the most prominent actors in the great theatre of nations.

2. Of Misr or Mizraim it is almost superfluous to observe, that Egypt was his portion. Throughout the Hebrew Scriptures, the Egyptians are universally styled *Mizraim*; and in the East the country is to this day denominated *Misr*, of which *Mizraim* is the plural form.

As Egypt then was eminently the land of the Mizraim, it seems only natural to suppose, that all the children of Misr, whose names like that of their parent are given by Moses in the plural number, should have settled themselves either within the limits of Egypt or at least on its outskirts. And this, in fact, appears to have been the case; though it may not be possible quite satisfactorily to discover them all.

The Ludim and the Lehabim are probably the Copto-Iibyan; branching out indefinitely into the heart of Africa. The Naphtuhim apparently

nominate themselves *Saxons* or *Sacasens* and their settlements *Saxony* or *Sacasena*, the very name by which of old they distinguished Armenia. Strab. Geog. lib. xi p. 511

BOOK VI. tenanted the sea-coast: for Plutarch tells us, that the extremity of a country bordering upon the sea was by the Egyptians called *Nephtus*; whence perhaps originated the name of the maritime *Neptune*¹. The Pathrusim certainly occupied a part of Egypt; because Pathros is mentioned by Jeremiah as being in that country: and there is reason to believe, that the part in question was the Thebaïs; because Pliny and Ptolemy place there the nome of *Paturites* and the city of *Pathuris*². Where the Anamim fixed themselves, does not seem to me sufficiently determined. But I think it manifest, that the Casluhim and the Caphtorim, mingled together, occupied the district, which lies between the delta of the Nile and the southern extremity of Palestine³. This appears from the circumstance of the Philistim being said in one place to have come out from the Casluhim, and in another to be the remnant of the land of Caphtor⁴. Now the Philistim, in the days of Abraham, were just beginning to penetrate into the country, which from them was afterwards called *Palestine* or *Pallisthan*: and they clearly entered it from the south-west; because at that period even Beer-sheba was not in the land of the Philistim, though at length, as they gradually spread themselves northward up the coast, it became a town in their most southerly province⁵. Such then being the evident progress of the Philistim, since they emigrated from among the Casluhim and the Caphtorim, those tribes must necessarily have occupied the district which I assign to them. The Caphtorim seem to have been the most powerful of the Mizraim; for, in time, they communicated their name to the whole land and nation. From them the country was denominated *Egypt* or *Ai-Capht*, which is equivalent to *the land of the Caphtorim*: from them the people are still called *Cophits*: and from them the vernacular language received the name of *Coptic*.

3. Phut appears to have settled first on the western frontier of Egypt,

¹ Plut. de Isid.

² Jerem. xlv. 1. Boch. Phal. lib. iv. c. 27. p. 277.

³ Bochart very unhappily brings them to Colchis, on the ground that the Colchians were colonists from Egypt. This latter circumstance is true; though not in the sense, in which he takes it. The Colchians came indeed from Egypt: but they were Scythians or Cetheans, not Mizraim. Phal. lib. iv. c. 31, 32.

⁴ Gen. x. 14. Jerem. xlvii. 4.

⁵ Gen. xxi. 31—34.

and afterwards to have penetrated far to the west and the south, thus planting the greatest part of the continent of Africa. The vicinity of the Phutim to the Mizraim is satisfactorily established by the testimony of Jeremiah and Ezekiel¹. They were always a degraded race: yet some vestiges of their patriarchal appellation remained to a late period. Pliny mentions a city below Adrumetum named *Putea*: Ptolemy speaks of a river in Mauritania called *Phut*, and a district in Africa called *Puthis*: and Jerome notices the existence of the same river *Phut*, and remarks that the adjacent country was in his days denominated *regio Phutensis* or *the land of Phut*².

4. Of Canaan it is sufficient to say, that his posterity occupied the greatest part of that well-known country, which was afterwards subjugated by the Israelites. Then began to be fulfilled that prophecy respecting him; which has so often, in equal defiance of sacred and profane history, been thoughtlessly extended to *all* the children of (I believe) the unoffending Ham. He was doomed to be a servant of servants to his brethren in general, whether of the line of Ham or of Shem or of Japhet³. Accordingly, he was in part exterminated and in part reduced to servility by the Shemite house of Abraham: he fell under the yoke of Ham and Japhet mingled together, when his land became a province of the Greek and Roman empires: and he was subjected to Japhet perhaps singly, and to Japhet and Ham and Shem conjointly, when he finally yielded to the Tartaric Ottomans, as he had heretofore bowed the neck beneath the Medo-Persian sceptre. Shem however, though he attained not for the most part to great temporal power, being usually under the influence of Ham in the line of Cush, received the promise of a blessing, which raised him high in real dignity above either of his brothers. While the whole world was plunged in pagan darkness, the light of divine truth was alone preserved among a highly favoured people sprung from his loins. Throned between the Che-

¹ Jerem. xlvi. 8, 9. Ezek. xxx. 4, 5. In both these passages our translators render *Phutim* by *Libyans*: and most probably the bulk of the Libyans were the children of Phut.

² Boch. Phal. lib. iv. c. 33. p. 295. Well's Geog. vol. i. part i. c. 3. sect. 4. p. 102.

³ Gen. ix. 25. Here the expression is general.

BOOK VI. rubim, Jehovah dwelt visibly in the tabernacles of Shem: and, when the fulness of time was come, he suddenly appeared in his own temple as the messenger of the covenant; and abode in the flesh amongst his brethren of the seed of Abraham, full of grace and truth. Thus accurately, in all its parts has the prophecy been accomplished.

IV. The late Sir William Jones, in his discourses before the Asiatic society, has at once been eminently serviceable to the cause of revelation, and has thrown great light on the very curious subject of a confusion of languages in some central region.

1. By a retrospective investigation, built upon the soundest principles, he finds, that all Asia, and therefore (as he truly remarks) all the world, must have been peopled by three grand aboriginal races. These, for the sake of convenience, he is willing to denominate *Hindoos*, *Arabs*, and *Tartars*: and to one or other of them, if we mount upwards, he shews that all nations must ultimately be referred. When the numerous revolutions of empires since the days of Moses are considered, we must expect to find, that the three races do not *now* always occupy the same seats as those which they *originally* occupied: and I am inclined to believe, that the wide colonization and extensive influence of one great branch has led Sir William too hastily to class, as *homogeneous* nations, what in reality are *mingled* nations. Yet, on the whole, it is most curious to observe, how accurately his analysis corresponds, both with the ancient Mosaical history, and with those profane accounts which describe numerous subsequent migrations that either fall not within the province or the age of the Hebrew legislator.

2. India, according to the largest sense of the term, he considers, as divided on the west from Persia by the Arachosian mountains; as bounded, on the east, by the Chinese part of the farther peninsula; as confined, on the north, by the wilds of Tartary; and as extending to the south as far as the isles of Java. This trapezium therefore, comprising an area of near forty degrees on each side, comprehends the hills of Potyid or Thibet, the valley of Cashmir, all the domains of the old Indo-Scuths, the countries of Nepal and Butant and Asam, the realms of Siam and Ava and Racan, the bordering kingdoms as far as the *China* of the Hindoo or the *Sin* of the

Arabian geographers, the whole western peninsula, and the island of Ceylon at its southern extremity ¹. CHAP. III.

3. As he describes India upon its most extensive scale, so he applies the name of *Arabia*, as the Arabian geographers often apply it, to that large peninsula, which the Red sea divides from Africa, which the great Assyrian river separates from Iran, and of which the Erythræan sea washes the base; without excluding any part of its western side, which would be completely maritime, if no isthmus intervened between the Mediterranean and the sea of Kolzom. That country, in short, he calls *Arabia*, in which the Arabic language and letters, or such as have a near affinity to them, have been immemorially current ².

4. On similar principles he defines the boundaries of Tartary. Conceive a line drawn from the mouth of the Oby to that of the Dnieper. Bringing it back eastward across the Euxine so as to include the peninsula of Krim, extend it along the foot of Caucasus, by the rivers Cur and Aras, to the Caspian lake; from the opposite shore of which follow the course of the Jaihun and the chain of Caucasæan hills, as far as those of Imaus. Thence continue the line beyond the Chinese wall to the white mountain and the country of Yetso: skirting the borders of Persia, India, China, and Corea; but including part of Russia, with all the districts which lie between the frozen sea and that of Japan ³.

5. To the three races of men, who have mainly occupied these three large Asiatic districts, he traces up the whole human race, however widely they may have been scattered in the lapse of time by numerous emigrations: and, with the single fault of not sufficiently considering the Hindoos and other great families as *mixed* nations, he is clearly shewn by historical testimony to have been accurate in his arrangement.

(1.) The Indian race comprehends the old Persians; the Abyssinians; the Ethiopians, whether Asiatic or African, and whether ruling in Iran or in Egypt; the Phenicians; the Greeks; the Tuscans; the Scuths or Goths;

¹ Disc. on Hind. Asiat. Res. vol. i. p. 418, 419.

² Disc. on Arab. Asiat. Res. vol. ii. p. 2.

³ Disc. on Tart. Asiat. Res. vol. ii. p. 19, 20.

BOOK VI. the Celts; the Chinese; the Japanese; the Egyptians; the Syrians; the Kats; the Burmans; the Romans; and the Peruvians¹.

(2.) The Arabic race comprehends those; who speak the Arabic language or its varieties, and who are found within the limits of Arabia as already specified.

(3.) The Tartar race, in a similar manner, comprehends those; who occupy the wide regions of Tartary, who have spread themselves into Russia and Poland and Hungary, and who use the different dialects of the Slavonic language.

6. Analogous to the three races, though not *quite* exactly coincident with them, Sir William finds three primeval languages; into which, so far as his very extensive knowledge enables him to speak, all the other dialects of Asia, and thence of the world, finally resolve themselves. These are the Sanscrit, the Arabic, and the Slavonic.

(1.) From the Sanscrit spring the Greek, the Latin, the Gothic, the Celtic though blended with another idiom, the Persian, the Armenian, and the old Egyptian or Ethiopic².

(2.) From the Arabic, which is radically and essentially different from the Sanscrit, spring the dialects used by the Jews, the Arabs, and the Assyrians³.

(3.) From the Slavonic or Tartarian, which again is radically different both from the Sanscrit and the Arabic, spring, so far as Sir William can venture to pronounce upon so difficult a point, the various dialects of northern Asia and north-eastern Europe⁴.

7. These points being ascertained, the next inquiry of our great linguist is, whence the three primeval races originated. Having argued first on abstract principles, from the general order observable in the works of the

¹ Disc. on Hind. As. Res. vol. i. p. 425, 427, 430. Disc. on Chin. As. Res. vol. ii. p. 368, 369, 375, 378, 379. Disc. on the border. of Asia. As. Res. vol. iii. p. 13, 14, 15, 18. Disc. on the orig. of nat. As. Res. vol. iii. p. 418, 419.

² Disc. on Hind. As. Res. vol. i. p. 422. Disc. on the border. As. Res. vol. iii. p. 15. Disc. on the Orig. As. Res. vol. iii. p. 418, 419.

³ Disc. on Arab. As. Res. vol. ii. p. 5. Disc. on the Orig. As. Res. vol. iii. p. 419.

⁴ Disc. on Tart. As. Res. vol. ii. p. 28, 29, 40. Disc. on the Orig. As. Res. vol. iii. p. 419.

creation, that all mankind must have sprung from a single pair ; he thence deduces, still on abstract principles, the apparent necessity of concluding, that the three races must once have been assembled together. But, if they were once assembled together in a single region, that region must have been a central one ; otherwise the radii of their original divergence would cross and therefore interfere with each other. Supposing then that all the three races were once assembled in this central region, since it has been discovered that there are exactly three primeval languages, we are compelled to expect, that traces of all the three languages must be found in whatever region we pitch upon for the original conjunction of the three races.

Now, though by local appropriation (as we have repeatedly seen) each ancient people fixes the appulse of the Ark to a lofty mountain situated in their own country ; yet no region can be found, except Iran defined according to the limits already specified, where vestiges of all the three primeval tongues can be discovered. But in Iran, which is precisely the central region whence a divergence of the three races might take place without an interference of the radii, traces of all the three primeval tongues may clearly be detected.

When Mohammed was born and Amushiravan sat on the throne of Persia, two languages appear to have been generally prevalent in the great empire of Iran : that of the court, which was only a refined and elegant dialect of the Parsi ; and that of the learned, which bore the name of *the Pahlavi*. Besides these however, there was a very ancient and abstruse tongue, known to the priests and philosophers, and called *the language of the Zend* ; because a book on religious and moral duties, which they held sacred and which bore that name, had been written in it. On examination, Sir William found from the specimens yet remaining, that the old Zend was plainly no other than Sanscrit. He also found, that the Parsi was but a more modern dialect of the same primeval tongue. And he further discovered, that the Pahlavi, in which the commentary on the holy book is written, palpably identifies itself with Arabic or Chaldee. Here then we have in central Iran two of the primeval languages, the *Sanscrit* and the *Arabic* : it only remains to inquire, whether any vestiges of the *Slavonic* can be detected. This also Sir William actually found to be the

BOOK VI. case. The oldest discoverable languages of Iran, he remarks, were *Chaldee* and *Sanscrit* : and, when these had ceased to be vernacular, the Pahlavi and the Zend were respectively deduced from them ; while the Parsi sprang, either from the Zend, or immediately from the dialect of the Brahmens. But all seem to have had a mixture of the *Tartarian* and *Sclavonic* : for the best lexicographers assert, that numberless words in ancient Persian are taken from the language of the Tartars of Kipchak.

Thus, he observes, the great families, whose lineage has been examined, had left visible traces of themselves in Iran ; long before the Tartars and Arabs had rushed from their deserts and had returned to that very country, from which to all appearance they had originally emigrated, and which the Hindoos had similarly abandoned with positive commands from their legislators never to revisit it ¹.

8. The result from this very curious investigation is sufficiently obvious.

No more than three races can be discovered : all the three are found in central Iran : from Iran therefore they must have branched off in every direction. But Iran is the identical country, within the limits of which Moses places both the appulse of the Ark and the general gathering together of mankind at Babel. He likewise teaches us, that mankind, though so collected in a single community, were descended from the three sons of him who was preserved at the time of an universal deluge. He declares, that from this central region they were dispersed over the face of the earth ; not confusedly, but according to their patriarchal families and nations. And he intimates, that the secondary cause of their dispersion was a sudden confusion of languages, which took place within the limits of Iran. But these are the precise conclusions, to which Sir William Jones, the most accomplished linguist whom perhaps this or any other country has ever produced, found himself inevitably brought by a totally independent retrograde examination. Hence he most rationally assumes, as an undoubted matter of fact, that the three races, allowing for those mixtures which have neces-

¹ Disc. on the Orig. As. Res. vol. iii. p. 419—422. Disc. on Arab. As. Res. vol. ii. p. 40. Disc. on Pers. As. Res. vol. ii. p. 50—55, 64.

sarily been produced by the revolutions of empires, must have sprung from the three persons, whom Moses, in perfect accordance with old gentile tradition, denominates *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*. CHAP. III.

Yet, as he truly observes and as all history testifies, the three races, though distinct in a considerable degree, were never even from the first wholly separate. Japhet, the father of the Tartars or Slavonians, moving northward, preserved himself in a great measure unblended; and had little intercourse with the posterity of his brethren, until the Huns precipitated themselves upon Europe and the Monguls upon southern Asia. But the oriental colonies of Ham and Shem were always simultaneous: and, as Ham with very few trifling exceptions wielded the sceptre, his children were in numerous instances completely blended with the children of Shem. Mixed likewise they were with Japhet, as we shall presently see; but not, until a comparatively modern period, in a degree by any means equal. Hence the languages of Ham and Shem became to a certain extent common: and hence in Iran they subsisted *distinct* from each other, while the Slavonic appears only in many *detached* words alike adopted into them both. But this, which Sir William found to be actually the case, is precisely what we might have expected from history. The descendants of Japhet, with the exception of various straggling individuals who still chose to adhere to the fortunes of Nimrod, *wholly* evacuated Iran, withdrawing themselves into northern Asia and western Europe: but that central region was *entirely* peopled by the children of Shem in the several lines of Ashur, Elam, Arphaxad, and Aram; while branches of the numerous posterity of Cush partly occupied Babylonia and Chusistan, and partly as the priesthood and military nobility spread themselves throughout the whole empire which from them received the general appellation of *Cusha-dwip* or *the land of Cush* or *Asiatic Ethiopia* or *southern Scythia* *.

9. This laborious and highly satisfactory investigation of Sir William Jones decides, so far as I am able to judge, a long controverted point; which, without the peculiar sort of knowledge possessed by him, never *could* have been finally decided.

* Disc. on Orig. of Nat. As. Res. vol. iii. p. 422, 426, 427, 428, 433, 434.

BOOK VI. Moses, if we literally translate his expressions, tells us, that, previous to the confusion which took place at Babel, all the world were *of one lip* and *of uniform words* ¹. This *one lip* therefore and these *uniform words* were of course *the thing, that was confounded*; the thing, which, *being confounded*, necessarily produced the dispersion: for the men, who before understood each other, became now, to a certain extent at least, mutually unintelligible. The most common opinion has been, that *a real change of speech* was effected: and, with regard to the *number* of tongues then produced, while the Rabbins have supposed no less than *seventy two* agreeably to their mode of reckoning up the families of the dispersion, it is more modestly urged by Mr. Mede that the new languages could not have been fewer than the heads of Nations; that is to say, seven from Japhet, four from Ham, and five from Shem. This interpretation however is allowed, neither by Mr. Bryant, nor by the doctors of the Hutchinsonian school: and it is contended, that either a mere change of pronunciation, or a difference of religious sentiment, or both the one and the other conjointly, effected the dispersion from Babel. Such an exposition was indeed absolutely necessary for the hypothesis of Mr. Bryant: for, as he only allows the Cuthites to have been assembled in Shinar, he of course must deny, that *all* mankind suffered a penal confusion of language for the sin of *one* family. Accordingly he maintains, that, when the end was produced, the effects of the miracle ceased: and he attempts to prove, that no real confusion of *language* took place, by the common argument of those who advocate his opinion. *Abraham, in the course of his life, travelled all the way from Chuldæa to Egypt by the circuitous route of Syriæ: but, wherever he came, he found no difficulty in making himself understood without the aid of an interpreter: language therefore could not have been the thing, that was confounded.*

It seems a little extraordinary, that so very inconclusive an argument should have been used by so very able a man: for it is obvious, that nothing is proved by it, but that dialects of the same language, which dialects were no doubt Chaldec, Syriac, Hebrew, and Arabic, were universally

¹ Gen. xi. 1.

spoken from Babylon to lower Egypt. We learn nothing from it, as to what tongues were used northward throughout Touran and Tartary, or eastward throughout Bokhara and Hindostan. Had Abraham travelled in either of *those* directions, his native Chaldee might or might not have been understood, for any thing that the present argument proves or disproves. The question therefore must be decided by a far different process, than either an inconclusive argument or a disputable translation of the Mosical phraseology.

Now the researches of Sir William Jones are in effect the very process, by which alone the matter *can* be settled : and it is remarkable, that they at once finally decide the question, account for the circumstance which has been noticed in the history of Abraham, and establish the number of primary languages which originated at Babel. He has discovered, we have seen, three primary tongues, into which, so far as such points can be positively determined, all other tongues ultimately resolve themselves. These three he pronounces to be radically and essentially different from each other, both in words and in grammar and in construction, so that no two of them could have originated from the third : and all the three he finds existing together in that central region, whence the several families which spoke them must have branched off, and where Moses fixes the production of some preternatural dialectical confusion which was the efficient cause of that emigration. Hence, I think, it will necessarily follow, both that the confusion at Babel must have been a real confusion of language, not merely a temporary inarticulateness of pronunciation ; and that the number of primary languages, which then arose, was precisely *three*, answering, though not with absolute exclusiveness, to the three great patriarchal houses. Hence also we must understand the languages, which are said by Moses to have been severally spoken in the various families of those three houses, as mere dialects of one or other of the primary tongues ; which, in process of time, received such alteration, that even the families of the same house became unintelligible to each other.

Whether the Hebrew or Arabic was the original antediluvian tongue, cannot with certainty be pronounced : yet, since God never works a superfluous miracle, and since every end of the dispersion would be effectually

BOOK VI. answered by suffering the primitive language to remain unaltered in one house and by suddenly producing two other languages hitherto unknown ; I think it highly probable at least, that one of the three tongues was in a great measure the very tongue spoken by Noah and Adam. Be this however as it may, the language, which Sir William calls *Arabic*, was spoken with mere dialectical variations from the Euphrates to the borders of Egypt : so that it is easy to perceive the reason, without having recourse to the theory of Mr. Bryant and the Hutchinsonians, why Abraham, wherever he travelled, found no difficulty in making himself understood.

I may observe in conclusion, that the researches of Sir William Jones once more compel us to suppose, in strict harmony with the most obvious import of the Mosaical narrative, that *all mankind* were once assembled together in Iran, that they were *all equally* implicated in the building of the tower, and that they were *all equally* the subjects of a penal confusion of language.

V. The remembrance of this grand triple division of the world, which seems, under the influence of divine inspiration, to have been ordained by Noah himself, though it was not effected until many years after his death, was never obliterated from the minds of his posterity.

1. Moses speaks of it, as no matter of revelation, but as a thing perfectly well known and universally acknowledged at the period when he flourished. He tells each of the assembled Iraclites to recollect the days of old, and to consider the years of many generations ; to ask his father, and he will shew him ; to consult his elders, and they will communicate to him the very same information. *When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of man ; he set the bounds of the people with a reference to the children of Israel. For the Lord's portion is his people ; Jacob is the lot of his inheritance*'. We have here a most curious piece of history, which was no invention of Moses for the purpose of national aggrandisement, but which was a matter of public notoriety at the time when he committed it to writing. The sons of man, it appears, were separated by divine authority ; and each of the three great houses,

' Deut. xxxii. 7, 8.

with their subordinate families, had its own peculiar portion assigned to it. CHAP. III.
 Yet this arrangement was made, with express reference to a nation not yet in existence: and a certain territory, well known to all the rest of mankind, was reserved out of the grand triple division, as the lot of God's future people. The district in question, considered as a holy land, was necessarily *crossed* by the children of Misr and Phut during their progress into Africa: but the *occupying* of it seems to have been religiously abstained from by all the descendants of Noah; until the posterity of the abandoned Canaan, associated with some individuals of the giant or Cuthic race, had the hardyhood to seize upon it. Then we find God, reclaiming his usurped peculium, and solemnly bestowing it upon the patriarch of the yet future chosen nation. Agreeably to this account of Moses, the Canaanites, from beginning to end, if we note their history, have evidently all the timid feelings of conscious usurpers. They were aware, that they possessed what did not of right belong to them: hence their dread of Jacob, to whom the land was given; and hence their shrinking apprehensions, both when the Israelites crossed the Red sea and when at length they appeared upon the eastern frontier¹.

The solemn division of the earth among his three sons appears to have been one of the last acts of the divinely-inspired royal patriarch. Eusebius at least, and others of the fathers, most probably on the authority of ancient Jewish tradition, inform us, that it took place in the nine hundred and thirtieth year of Noah's life or about twenty years before his death; that is to say, in the three hundred and thirtieth year after the deluge². The ordinance however was slighted by Nimrod and his Cuthites, who conceived the project of an universal empire over which they themselves should preside: nor was it carried into execution, until God himself interposed and scattered mankind over the face of the whole earth.

I see no reason to reject the testimony of Eusebius and the fathers, though it is not positively said in Scripture that the divine will was communicated by the mouth of Noah: both because it is most natural to sup-

¹ Gen. xxxv. 5. Exod. xv. 14—17. xxiii. 27. Deut. ii. 25. xi. 25. Josh. ii. 9.

² Euseb. Chron. p. 10. Syncell. Chronog. p. 89. Epiph. Oper. vol. ii. p. 703.

BOOK VI. pose, that he of all others should be the organ; and because the old traditions of the Gentiles all agree respecting this point. Among the Greeks, Cronus, who in his postdiluvian character is certainly Noah, was thought to have divided by lot the whole world between his three sons, Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto¹. These were the primeval hero-gods or deified ancestors of mankind; who, according to Hesiod, flourished in that golden age, with which every new mundane system commences: and, agreeably to such an arrangement of their chronology, Plato mentions an ancient legend, in which it is said, that the gods formerly divided among them all the various regions of the earth, each amicably receiving by lot his proper portion². The same triple division is noticed in a fragment of the Chaldaic or Persic oracles of Zoroaster, preserved by Proclus: and it is added, that the division was ordained by the Nous or Intelligence of the father³. Here we have that sort of play upon words, which I have more than once had occasion to point out. *Nuh* or *Memh* is the real oriental name of Noah. But, in the material system, Noah or the great father was deemed the Mind or Soul or Intellectual Principle of the Universe. Hence, in the Sanserit, *Memu* is at once the title of the ark-preserved hero-god and a word which denotes *Mind* or *Intelligence*: hence, in the Greek, *Nuh* hellenized into *Nous* or *Noös* equally signifies *Mind*, and was used to express the Soul of the World: and hence, in the Latin, *Mens* or *Menes* still bears the same meaning, and is employed to designate the same imaginary mundane Intellect. The ancient oracle therefore in question does in effect tell us, that the earth was divided into three parts by the will of the general father Nous or Nuh or Menu. From this triple division originated no doubt the three worlds of the Hindoo mythology, which the arkite god Siva is described as supporting by his energy: and from the same source, received through the medium of Paganism, was borrowed the Rabbinical division of the Universe into the very same number of worlds⁴.

2. As the earth was thus divided into three portions among those, who were esteemed the principal gods of the Gentiles; so from the number of

¹ Callim. Hymn. in Jov. ver. 61. Hom. Iliad. lib. xv. ver. 187—189.

² Plat. in Crit. vol. iii. p. 109.

³ Stanley's Chal. Philos. p. 41.

⁴ Moor's Hind. Panth. p. 40, 101. Pearson on the creed. Art. i. note p.

those gods, emanating from a yet older god who was sometimes said mysteriously to have triplicated himself, were derived the various triads of Paganism. Each of these, with its paternal unity, was thought to appear at the beginning of every new mundane system, for the purpose of governing the world and of replenishing it with inhabitants after the flood by which the former system had been dissolved. I have often had occasion to notice this opinion, which more or less distinctly pervades the whole of Paganism: it may not however be improper to bring together into one point of view several different instances of it.

Among the Hindoos, we have the triad of Brahma-Vishnou-Siva, springing from the monad Brahm: and it is acknowledged, that these personages appear upon earth at the commencement of every new world in the human forms of Menu and his three sons¹. Among the votaries of Buddha, we find the self-triplicated Buddha declared to be the same as the Hindoo Trimurti². Among the Buddhist sect of the Jainists, we have the triple Jina, in whom the Trimurti is similarly declared to be incarnate³. Among the Chinese, who worship Buddha under the name of *Fo*, we still find this god mysteriously multiplied into three persons, corresponding with the three sons of Fo-hi who is evidently Noah⁴. Among the Tartars of the house of Japhet who carried off into their northern settlements the same ancient worship, we find evident traces of a similar opinion in the figure of the triple god seated on the lotos, as exhibited on the famous Siberian medal in the imperial collection at Petersburg: and, if such a mode of representation required to be elucidated, we should have the exposition furnished us in the doctrine of the Jakuthi Tartars, who, according to Strahlenberg, are the most numerous people of Siberia; for these idolaters worship a triplicated deity under the three denominations of *Artugon* and *Schugo-teugon* and *Tangara*⁵. This Tartar god is the same even in appel-

¹ Asiat. Res. vol. iii. p. 144. vol. v. p. 249. vol. viii. p. 397. Maur. Ind. Ant. vol. i. p. 97. vol. ii. p. 288. vol. iv. p. 676, 746. Asiat. Res. vol. x. p. 92, 128.

² Asiat. Res. vol. iii. p. 194. vol. vi. p. 263. vol. ix. p. 212. vol. i. p. 285.

³ Asiat. Res. vol. iii. p. 196.

⁴ Asiat. Res. vol. ii. p. 376. Du Halde's China. vol. iii. p. 271.

⁵ Parsons's Rem. of Japhet. c. vii. p. 184—193.

BOOK VI. lation with the Tanga-tanga of the old Peruvians; who, like the other tribes of America, seem plainly to have crossed over from the north-eastern extremity of Siberia. Agreeably to the mystical notion so familiar to the Hindoos, that the self-triplicated great father yet remained but one in essence, the Peruvians supposed their Tanga-tanga to be one in three and three in one: and, in consequence of the union of hero-worship with the astronomical and material systems of idolatry, they venerated the Sun and the Air, each under three images and three names¹. The same opinions equally prevailed throughout the nations, which lie to the west of Hindostan. Thus the Persians had their Ormuzd, Mithras, and Ahriman; or, as the matter was sometimes represented, their self-triplicating Mithras. The Syrians had their Monimus, Aziz, and Ares². The Egyptians had their Emeph, Eicton, and Phtha³. The Greeks and Romans had their Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto; three in number though one in essence, and all springing from Cronus a fourth yet older god. The Canaanites had their Baal-Shalisha or self-triplicated Baal⁴. The Goths had their Odin, Vile, and Ve; who are described as the three sons of Bura the offspring of the mysterious cow⁵. And the Celts had their three bulls, venerated as the living symbols of the triple Hu or Menu. To the same class we must ascribe the triads of the Orphic and Pythagorean and Platonic schools; each of which must again be identified with the imperial triad of the old Chaldaic or Babylonian philosophy. This last, according to the account which is given of it by Damascius, was a triad shining throughout the whole world, over which presides a monad⁶. Here again, though couched in the jargon of astronomical Sabianism, we have an allusion to the triple division of the world among those, who were the children of the single great father, but who in the sphere were venerated as the threefold Sun. These three, thus springing from a monad, are the three younger Noës or Intelligences, produced from that primeval Nous; who was himself an universal intellectual sovereign, but who delegated his authority to his three ema-

¹ Acosta apud Rem. of Japh. c. viii. p. 218, 219.

² Julian. apud Boet. Can. lib. i. c. 42. p. 662, 663.

³ Jambl. de myster. sect. viii. c. 3.

⁴ 2 Kings iv. 42.

⁵ Edda Fab. iii.

⁶ Damas. apud Int. Syst. b. i. c. 4. p. 294.

nations and particularly to him who was styled by way of eminence *the second Nous*. The three Noës are, in a similar manner, the three egg-born kings of the Orphic theology, who yet are subject to a monad equally born out of an egg: and these again are the Brahma, Vishnou, and Siva, of the Hindoos; each of whom is similarly described as issuing from an egg, that floats upon the waters of the intermediate deluge¹. Much the same philosophical system has been carried into the south-sea islands by those who first planted them from the continent of Asia. At Otaheitè, the general name for deity, in all its ramifications, is *Eatooa*: but three gods are held supreme, standing in a height of celestial dignity which no others can approach². This triplicated *Eatooa* is the divinity of the Ark: and his sacred boat is so framed, that, like the Baris of the Egyptian Ammon, it is capable of being borne about by the priests in solemn procession.

To the great triad of the Gentiles, thus springing from a monad, was ascribed the creation of the world, or rather its renovation after each intervening deluge. It was likewise supposed to be the Governing Power and the Intellectual Soul of the Universe. In short, all the attributes of deity were profanely ascribed to it. This has led many to imagine, that the pagans did fundamentally worship the true God, and that even from the most remote antiquity they venerated the Trinity in Unity. Such an opinion however will soon be found untenable, if we do but thoroughly consider the character of the triplicated divinity of Heathenism.

We are positively assured, that the great gods of the Gentiles were but deified mortals, and that they consisted of that primeval family which had flourished in the golden age. Now this family was composed of a father and three sons; who were thought transmigratively to reappear at the commencement of every new world, who are declared to be manifestations of the divine monad producing the triad, and who are acknowledged to be at once the demiurgic gods and the literal ancestors of mankind. Agreeably

¹ Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. iii. c. 8. p. 62. Orph. Oper. p. 395, 407, 408. Jul. Firm. de err. p. 19. Bryant's Anal. vol. ii. p. 202, 273. Proc. in Plat. Tim. apud Cudw. Int. Syst. b. i. c. 4. p. 305, 306, 375, 547. Orac. Chald. p. 90, 106. Plut. de placit. phil. lib. i. p. 876. Chron. Pasch. p. 46, 47.

² Mission. Voyage to South. Pacif. ocean. p. 343.

BOOK VI. to such an account of them, which can scarcely be misapprehended except by those who have a system to maintain, we almost invariably find ancient nations placing at the head of their pedigree a father and his three sons: and this family is represented, sometimes as consisting of mere mortals, sometimes of gods, and sometimes of mortals combined with gods. In each case however we are carefully taught, that they once lived upon earth, and that from them are descended those very persons who so often revered them as divinities. Thus Brahma, Vishnou, and Siva, springing jointly from Brahm, have been so described as to lead not a few into the actual belief of their being ultimately the Holy Trinity in Unity: but, as we survey these imaginary gods more nearly, we find, according to the very accurate *general* testimony of Hesiod, that they are really the same as Menu with his three sons; who was preserved in an ark at the time of an universal deluge, and who had previously existed also with three sons at the commencement of an anterior world. Hence the Hindoos rightly declare, that they were manifested for the purpose of repeopling the desolated earth, and that each individual man is but a multiplied reappearance of Brahm or the first man. Sometimes the same characters are spoken of by them as the three sons of Atri or Idris: and then we are told, that, in the grand division of the world, the western isles, or (in the Mosaic phraseology) the isles of the Gentiles, were assigned to the eldest; that Egypt with the countries bordering on the Nile were given to the second; and that the third, whom they have certainly confounded with the ancestor of the restless Scythians, rambled over the face of the whole earth, commonly doing more harm than good. Yet, in the midst of this curious narrative, which sufficiently establishes the literal humanity both of Atri and his sons, we are duly informed, that the Trimurti became incarnate in his house, and that his children respectively were forms of Brahma and Vishnou and Siva¹. In a similar manner the old Scythians believed their principal god to be their literal ancestor. They stiled him *Targitais*; and supposed him to have been the father of three sons, Lipoxais, Arpoxais, and Colaxais: but the youngest of the three, by whom they doubtless meant Ham in the line

¹ Asiat. Res. vol. v. p. 260—262.

of Cush, acquired the sovereignty over his two elder brothers¹. At a later period, when they had occupied Germany, they distinguished this family by different names; or rather probably, like the other Gentiles, they were accustomed to designate them by many various titles. They worshipped, it seems, Tuisto, whom they described as sprung from the earth. Him they made the father of Mannus or Manes or Menu: and to Mannus they assigned three sons. These they placed at the head of their genealogy, supposing them to have been the ancestors of their nation². It is sufficiently evident, that they are the very same as those, who in the Edda are celebrated under the appellations of *Bore* or *Bure*, the father of *Odin* and *Vile* and *Ve*. The Greeks described these personages, viewed as the ancestors of the northern nations, by several different titles. Sometimes it was the Cyclopian shepherd Polypheme, the father of Galatus and Illyrius and Celtus³: sometimes it was the hyperborean Hercules, the parent of Agathyrus and Gelonus and Scutha⁴: and sometimes it was Jupiter, the father of Scutha by the same dragontian female that before was made the paramour of Hercules⁵. A similar combination occurs also more than once in the genealogy of the Greeks. Hellen and Arcas are each said to have been the parent of three sons: and there was a notion, that the latter, previous to his death, divided his kingdom between his triple offspring⁶. It is easy to see, whence this tradition originated: the primeval division of the world, which was the kingdom of the real arkite, has been locally transferred with the history of the deluge to a petty district in Greece. Vestiges of the same opinion may be traced in the three companions of the second man-bull, who in the Persic Zend-Avesta is the agent of bringing on the deluge. They may be traced also in the three primeval mystagogues of the Celtic Britons, and in the three principal knights of the court of that Arthur who was preserved with seven companions in his floating shield Prydwen at the time of an universal flood⁷. And they may be found, with

¹ Herod. Hist. lib. iv. c. 5, 6.² Tacit. de mor. Germ. c. 2.³ Bacchyl. apud Natal. Com. Myth. lib. ix. p. 987.⁴ Herod. Hist. lib. iv. c. 8, 9, 10.⁵ Diod. Bibl. lib. ii. p. 127.⁶ Apollod. Bibl. lib. i. c. 7. § 2. Paus. Arcad. p. 459.⁷ Davies's Mythol. p. 428, 429, 440, 441.

BOOK VI. singular distinctness, even in the remote island of Otaheiti: for, as the inhabitants of that country have a sacred ark and venerate a triplicated god; so, in exact correspondence with their mode of worship, they have an ancient tradition respecting a man born from the sand of the sea, who married his own daughter, who by her became the parent of three males and three females, and who through them replenished the desolated earth with inhabitants¹.

That the origin of the pagan triads was such as I have supposed it to be, is yet further evident from the circumstance of their being composed of goddesses as well as of gods. As the great father multiplied himself into three sons; so the great mother, in a similar manner, multiplied herself into three daughters: and the latter are described, as being sisters and wives of the former. Of this we have an instance in the Otaheitean legend, which has just been noticed: nor does it by any means stand single. The Devi or White Goddess of the Hindoos is believed to have triplicated herself: and the three goddesses thus produced are the wives of those three chief gods, who become incarnate at the beginning of each world in the three sons of the ark-preserved Menu. Analogously to this dogma, though not so distinctly expressed, the three great divinities of Greece and Rome have each his proper consort: while Diana, who is clearly the Devi of Hindostan and the three-fold Triglav of the Goths, is universally acknowledged to be a triple divinity. We have however both the triads, male and female, very curiously combined in the persons of the Cabiric deities, as enumerated by Pherecydes. Vulcan or Phtha espouses Cabira, the offspring of the oceanic Proteus: and by her he becomes the parent of the three Cabiri and the three Cabiræ². Here the whole primeval family, comprizing a father, a mother, a triad of sons, and a triad of daughters, amounts precisely to eight persons: and, as these eight persons are cer-

¹ Miss. voyage to south. pacif. ocean. p. 344. The *form* of this tradition proves, that they could not have borrowed it from the missionaries and then have passed it off as their own. The birth of the man from the sea, and his incestuous union with his own daughter, are in the genuine style of *pagan* fiction. Had the legend been stolen from the missionaries, it would have been modelled into an entirely different shape.

² Strab. Geog. lib. x. p. 472.

tainly the same as the eight navicular great gods of Egypt, so must they clearly be identified with the eight Noëtic mariners of the Ark. We again recognize the female triad in the three Nights or triplicated black Venus of the Orphic theology, and in the three Gwenhwyvars or Ladies on the summit of the water who are said to have been the consorts of the diluvian British Arthur¹.

VI. But, although the world was divided among the three sons of Noah, and although at the period of the dispersion their children retired to the several countries allotted to them according to their families and their nations, there seems to have been a peculiarity in their mode of emigrating from Shinar, which (so far as I am aware) has not hitherto been noticed.

Since the Cushim established the first great empire at Babel; since they acquired and preserved their rule by the institution of castes; since this institution was in effect the origin of the feudal system; since that system necessarily required, that the sacerdotal and military castes should pervade the whole empire, dispersed among, though not blending with, the inferior castes which were composed of their vassals; and since the general history of the tower sufficiently proves the immense influence, both secular and ecclesiastical, which this enterprising family had acquired over all the other descendants of Noah: since, in a word, they had made themselves sovereigns of the entire community; it seems highly improbable, that in a moment their universally-pervading authority should be overturned, that they themselves should suddenly be separated from the people among whom as lords they were intermixed, and that the several families now accustomed to their sway should instantaneously throw it off and retire into their various settlements without their wonted leaders. We have seen, that such of the Cushim as remained in Iran lost not their sovereignty, but still continued for the space of fifteen centuries to govern the subject houses of Ashur and Aram and Elam and Arphaxad: whence from them the whole empire was styled *the Scuthic empire*; and the whole country, how-

¹ Orph. Hymn. ii. Fragm. apud Herm. Comm. in Plat. Phædr. p. 406. Davies's Myth. p. 187.

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ever subdivided into patriarchal provinces, *Cuthia* or *Cusha-dwip* or *the land of Cush* or *Ethiopia*. This being the case, it appears natural to suppose, that, when the other families, all of which had been equally subjugated by Cush and had equally been members of his empire before the dispersion, withdrew themselves from the plains of Shinar; they would for the most part retire under those governors, military and ecclesiastical, to whose sway they had been accustomed, and who were already at their head: just as the families, which remained in Iran, did not, in consequence of the confusion of tongues, throw off the yoke of those Cuthic priests and nobles, who likewise remained in the country. In fact the Scuths, even previous to the dispersion, must, on the principles of feudalism, have been so generally intermixed with the other tribes; that such as were lords of Japhet would receive the language of Japhet, such as were lords of Shem the language of Shem, and such as were lords of Ham the language of Ham. Hence, I think, it would almost inevitably follow, that fragments of the two higher castes would, with very few exceptions, go off with the retiring families to which they were already attached; that they would still continue to be their priesthood and nobility; and that, for the sake of perpetuating their dominion, they would studiously preserve themselves a distinct race and would haughtily refuse to blend with the subject multitude. That multitude however would, in each instance, so far exceed themselves in number, that the several nations would of course be called, not after their Cuthic lords, but after their patriarchal ancestors: and, as political necessity first produced a marked separation between the governors and the governed, this separation would give rise to certain mysterious distinctive names, calculated to strike the vulgar with awe and to make them feel their immeasurable distance from their rulers. It would likewise necessarily generate pride of birth, a great regard to ancestry, a careful preservation of genealogical pedigrees, an unwillingness (even when the original political necessity existed no longer) to debase a noble family by an unequal alliance, and in short all the peculiar feelings of a very ancient hereditary nobility.

I. Now it is obvious, that, if we suppose such to have been generally the mode of emigration from Iran, a distinction into castes more or less accu-

rately defined, the priesthood and the soldiers however being always found at the head of the community, would be the inevitable result. But we have already seen, that, according to the philosophy of politics, no distinction of this sort could ever emanate from an homogeneous society: for, in the progress of the human mind, there is an invariable tendency, not to *introduce* into an undisturbed community a palpable difference between lords and serfs *instead* of a legal equality of rights; but to *abolish* such difference, by enfranchising the serfs, by throwing open to them the means of advancement, by establishing the doctrine that the law is paramount, and by assuring to all personal liberty and freedom from baronial oppression and a clear right to undistinguishing protection. Hence, from the universal experience of history, we may be sure, that, wherever this distinction is found to exist, the society must be composed of two races of men differing from each other in point of origin; the one having obtained dominion over the other, either from time immemorial, or from recent conquest: and again, where this distinction is *not* found to exist and where a legal equality of rights is the basis of the constitution; we may be no less sure, either that the distinction has been abolished, or that it never subsisted, the community having been homogeneous from the very beginning. Let us then inquire, where such a distinction either exists or has existed: for, in whatever country we find it, we shall have reason to believe that that country is occupied by two different races of men. I would however premise, that it is no way essential to discover the two higher castes in a perfectly regular form. The sacerdotal branch is a mere exerescence from that of the military nobility, though for political reasons it had the precedence almost invariably ascribed to it: if therefore in any case we should be able to find only the latter, and should perceive the members of it considering themselves as an entirely distinct class and holding the subject multitude in the place of mere serfs, we may be sure that the marked difference must have arisen from the coexistence of two distinct races in the same country.

So great is the intercourse between England and Hindostan, that we are naturally led in the first instance to advert to the British empire in the east. Here, from time immemorial, the division of the community into four castes is well known to have subsisted. These are mentioned in the Institutes of

BOOK VI. Menu, which Sir William Jones rightly identifies with the Desatir of the Iranian Mahabad: and they consist of priests, military nobles, tradesmen, and labourers. The two inferior castes are variously subdivided: but they may in effect be all reduced under the single denomination of the grand mass of the people; while the two superior castes are at once closely connected with each other, and wholly distinct from the abused multitude.

This form of government has been thought so remarkable, that it is frequently spoken of as a peculiar characteristic of India. Such however is far from being the case: the very same constitution *has* existed elsewhere; though, in its *perfect* shape, it is perhaps *now* to be discovered in no other region.

The inhabitants of ancient Egypt, like those of modern India, were divided into regular castes. These, according to Herodotus, were seven in number; while Diodorus acknowledges only five: yet between the two accounts there is no real variation. Each historian fixes the priests and the soldiers at the head of the community: and Diodorus declares them to have been the sole landholders; for the revenue of whatever did not belong to them answered only the necessary expences of government. As for the remainder of the population, Herodotus divides it into the five castes of herdsmen, swineherds, tradesmen, interpreters, and pilots: while Diodorus arranges it under the three more general classes of shepherds, husbandmen, and artizans. In these two accounts, we have evidently nothing but a *more* particular and a *less* particular division of the bulk of the people: just as the Hindoos divide it first into the two castes of merchants and labourers, and afterwards into a considerable number of subordinate minor castes. This however is of little consequence: the great body of the governed would of course, in the progress of society be variously ramified; because there are many different trades, and many different modes of prosecuting manual labour. The genuine spirit of the constitution does not depend upon *the precise number of the inferior castes*, but upon *the marked distinction between the governors and the governed*. Now, in Egypt as in India, an hereditary priesthood and an hereditary nobility appeared at the head of the system; while the bulk of the people were eternally prevented, from emerging out of their depressed condition, and from attaining the

higher dignities of the state. Herodotus assures us, that the soldiers never followed mechanical occupations, but that the son regularly succeeded his father in the profession of arms : and Plutarch declares, that none but the priests and the military nobles could be chosen king or could fill any of the great offices of state ; all the others were excluded by the very circumstance of their birth. This last author adds, what strongly shews the intimate connection between the two governing castes and displays the very spirit of the system, that, as the kings were indifferently elected out of the priesthood on account of their wisdom and out of the soldiery on account of their valour, whenever the choice fell upon a military noble, he was immediately conducted to the college of the priests, where he was fully instructed in their secret allegorical philosophy. On the whole therefore, there can be no reasonable doubt, that the present national constitution of Hindostan is precisely the same as that which once was established in Egypt¹.

Just the same arrangement prevailed among the Celts both of Gaul and Britain. The Druids occupied the first rank ; and the soldiers or *equites*, as Cesar calls them, the second : while the bulk of the people was reduced to servitude². Here we have only three classes : but such, if we ascend from species to genus, is the true number both in Egypt and in Hindostan ; for the various castes, which follow the two superior, whether they be two or three or five or a hundred in number, are but ramifications of *the great mass of the governed* as contradistinguished from their *sacerdotal* and *military governors*. All the vulgar accordingly, which in more advanced states would branch out into numerous different mechanical classes, are compendiously, though philosophically, described by Cesar under the general name of *the common people* : and these, he assures us, like the main body both in Egypt and in Hindostan, were degraded by their imperious lords to the condition of mere serfs.

The Egyptians and the Celts were not the only ancient nations, that resembled the Hindoos in this form of constitution. Strabo tells us, that

¹ Herod. Hist. lib. ii. c. 164—168. Diod. Bibl. lib. i. p. 66—68. Plut. de Isid.

² Cesar. de bell. Gallic. lib. vi. c. 12, 14.

BOOK VI. the Iberians were divided into four castes; and though the arrangement is not exactly the same as that of the countries which I have last noticed, we may distinctly perceive that it has originated from a precisely similar policy. The first class was that of the royal family; and out of it the whole army received its officers: the second was that of the priests: the third was that of the soldiers and agriculturists: the fourth was that of the serfs or villains¹. This form is palpably a mere variation, which originated from the circumstance of one great family acquiring an exclusive right to the crown. When such was the case, the relatives and connections of that family constituted the highest order of military nobility: the priests retained their ancient place with respect to the people at large, though the single reigning house had now obtained an official precedency: the soldiers or gentry, whom Strabo properly describes as agriculturists because they were all landholders subject to honourable military service, followed the priests as usual: and the degraded multitudes till formed the remainder of the nation.

A similar division into castes prevailed throughout many parts of Thrace, Scythia, Persia, and Lydia. This information we have received from Herodotus, who had himself noticed the circumstance².

Much the same system will again present itself in the polity of ancient Rome. We learn from Dionysius, that the king was esteemed both the first soldier and the first priest in his dominions; an idea, which survived the republic and continued even after the establishment of Christianity. Next came the priesthood and the nobility, of both which classes the sovereign was officially a member. As for the priesthood, it was immediately connected with, and indeed emanated out of, the nobility: for it was a general law, that none but the nobles should be employed in the great offices either of state or of religion; and it was an indispensable qualification of those who composed the sacerdotal college, that they should be men of the very best families. The priests then and the nobles, with one of their own body presiding as a king, were the governors: and subject to them were the plebeians, who, it is well known, were viewed as mere dependent clients upon the patricians, and who were for ages, by the fault of

¹ Strab. Geog. lib. xi. p. 501.

² Herod. Hist. lib. ii. c. 167.

their birth, excluded systematically from every place of trust both in church and state¹. This, in a warlike people who soon learned to feel their strength, gave birth to endless squabbles between the hereditary governors and governed; while the dastardly sons of Egypt and of Hindostan quietly submitted to the galling yoke, and contentedly bore the stigma of natal degradation: but, in each case, the original outline of the constitution was one and the same.

A similar arrangement has subsisted even to the present day among the Slavonic descendants of Japhet, no less than it once prevailed among his Cimmerian children of the west. Throughout Russia, an hereditary nobility, who from time immemorial have been the great landholders, are, under their sovereign, the almost uncontroled lords of a peasantry, tied down to the soil, and mingling not in matrimonial alliance with their superiors: and, beside the nobles, the only freemen throughout the empire are the priests, who have naturally succeeded to the constitutional privileges of their heathen predecessors. The same remark, until even our own memory, applied to Poland. The nobility were a totally distinct caste from the commonalty: and, what strongly marked their different origin, every privilege of the military order was attached, not to wealth, but to blood; so that, in the election of a king, who was always a member of the noble class, many, who scarcely possessed wherewithal to purchase tomorrow's meal, would give their vote purely in virtue of their birth, while an opulent tradesman had no lot or portion among these acknowledged brethren by descent.

If we next pass into America, which was doubtless peopled by the Tartarian children of Japhet from the north-eastern extremity of Asia, we shall still find evident traces of the same constitution in the two principal empires of the new world. In Mexico the king was wholly served by his own order of nobility; and it was even death for a plebeian to look him steadfastly in the face: the priests meanwhile formed a regular hierarchy, and dwelt together in cloisters attached to their temples. So likewise, in Peru, the royal family, which constituted the nobility, were revered as an entirely distinct race by the abject plebeians; and they studiously preserved

¹ Dion. Halic. Ant. Rom. lib. ii. c. 9, 13, 21.

BOOK VI. the purity of their high blood, by intermarrying solely among themselves. With these, in the government of the commonalty, were associated the priesthood; who, as in Mexico, were no straggling individuals, but a well organized fraternity.

We may lastly observe traces of the same arrangement even in some of the islands scattered over the great Pacific ocean; which, as the religion of the natives abundantly testifies, must have been peopled by some roving clans from the eastern shores of Asia. In the Sandwich islands, the whole authority is vested in the hereditary chiefs, to whose class the king belongs: while the priesthood is a regularly organized body, exclusively confined to some particular families, and bearing a close resemblance to the Druids or the Magi or the Brahmens. The members of it dwell together in cloisters, and mingle not with the people: the Archimage or High-priest of the order bears the official name of *Orono*, and is honoured by the multitude to adoration: and his son, even when an infant, is an object of similar reverence, as being destined to succeed so the high dignity of his father¹.

(1.) Thus have we travelled over the greatest part of the world: and it may be useful, at the close, to give a summary of what has been ascertained in our progress, before we draw the apparently natural conclusion from the whole inquiry.

We have learned then, with some trifling local variations which affect not the spirit of the system, that the identical form of government, which was established in Iran by Nimrod and his Cushim, still continued to prevail alike, for ages after the dispersion, among the Hindoos, the Egyptians, the Celts, the Iberians, the Thracians, the Scythians, the Persians, the Lydians, the Romans, the Tartaric Slavonians, the Mexicans, the Peruvians, and the Sandwich islanders. We have further learned, that the old constitution of Iran, thus so generally adopted, placed the allied sacerdotal and military castes at the head of the body politic; and reduced the whole mass of the governed to a state of hereditary degradation, by which, from the very circumstance of their birth, they were for ever excluded from all authority whether civil or ecclesiastical: that it was a constitution in short, as Holy Scripture testifies, by which one distinct race of men secured to

¹ Cook's third voyage. b. v. c. 8.

themselves a paramount authority over a multitude of other distinct races. We have consequently learned, by joining these two particulars together, that, in almost every part of the world, the very constitution, which was originally devised by Nimrod and his Cuthic associates, has prevailed more or less perfectly even from the most remote antiquity : that is to say, precisely after the Iranian model, a strong line of demarcation has been drawn between the governors and the governed ; so that the former should universally be composed of a sacerdotal caste and a military caste systematically acting together, while the latter should universally consist of the great mass of the people variously divided into other inferior castes according to the progress of this or that society. We have also found, that such an arrangement cannot be accounted for on the mere *general* principle, that *every* community must necessarily resolve itself into the governors and the governed : because, under a constitution of this sort, the great offices of church and state are not *open* to all whose talents may be a perfect qualification for them ; but are systematically *confined* to certain ruling families, while the mass of the subjugated plebeians is for ever necessarily excluded from them. We have further learned, agreeably to such a marked and humiliating distinction, that the two higher castes always esteemed themselves a totally different race from the numerous lower castes ; that they carefully abstained from contracting marriages with them, lest the purity of their high descent should be contaminated by an ignoble mixture ; that, in the studied depression of the commonalty, they always acted together ; that a king might either be a priest or a noble, and in fact that *as a king* he was a member of *both* classes, but that he never could be taken from one of the lower castes ; and that these two superior classes, by the united influence of religion and arms and policy, ever guarded their high privileges with the most consummate art and the most jealous circumspection. And we have lastly determined, both on abstract principles and on the sure evidence of history, that such an order of things, however generally it may have prevailed, never could have emanated out of the bosom of an homogeneous society, but must have been the result of one distinct race acquiring the dominion over another distinct race : for, as a mixed society gradually by lapse of time becomes homogeneous, and as old differences of origin are at

BOOK VI. length forgotten, there is always a strong tendency to *destroy* a constitution of privileged and unprivileged castes, never to *introduce* one where it was previously unknown. Hence we find, that, while the pertinacity of Indian habits still retains unaltered the primeval constitution of Iran, such forms of government have successively vanished or are vanishing from off the face of the earth, and have given place to a more liberal and equitable arrangement. Even the government by castes, which at a comparatively *recent* period was again introduced into western Europe by the conquests of the Goths and the Saxons, has almost entirely disappeared: and the acquisition of the very highest rank in the state and in the church, with the sole exception of royalty itself, is offered indiscriminately to the laudable exertions of talent and of virtue. But, in no single instance recorded by history, did we ever observe the origination of castes from an homogeneous society⁴.

(2.) Now from these premises the obvious conclusion seems to be this: as the various kindred mythological systems of Paganism were all equally carried off from the central region of Iran; so the several political constitutions, in which the unmixing castes of priests and soldiers were universally placed at the head of the community while the mass of the governed were consigned to irremediable hereditary depression, were all equally branches or transcripts of that ancient constitution established by Nimrod and the Cuthim, which was so decisively marked by the very same exclusive spirit and by the very same arrangement of the different orders. But, if such a conclusion be legitimate, since the priests and soldiers of the Iranian empire were undoubtedly Cuthim, we are almost inevitably compelled to suppose, that the hereditary priests and soldiers of the other empires, formed by them of the dispersion, were Cuthim likewise: for, as the several tribes would naturally go off under their wonted leaders both ecclesiastical and military; so no other hypothesis will satisfactorily account for the curiously general adoption of the identical government by castes, which

⁴ Mr. Volney, in the midst of a farrago of impiety and folly, rightly traces the origin of castes to the subjugation of one race of men by another distinct race. In fact, no circumstance but this *will* account for the rise of so apparently strange an order of things. Ruins. chap. xi. p. 58.

was sagaciously contrived by Nimrod and his brethren of the house of CHAP. III. Cush.

2. A theory however like the present, which to some may wear the aspect of a paradox, ought not to be lightly adopted. It will naturally be inquired, whether we have any *facts*, beyond the palpable identity of the several constitutions both in form and spirit, on which it can be satisfactorily established: whether we have any *proofs*, that the hereditary nobles and priests of almost all nations were mutually allied by blood, that they were universally descended from the same stock, and that they were of an entirely different race from the various nations which they respectively governed: whether in short we have any *direct testimony*, that the two higher castes, wherever they may be discovered, are branches of the family of Cush: while the subjugated multitude, in nearly all parts of at least the ancient world, is composed of the various separate descendants of the other patriarchs?

(1.) In a matter of such remote antiquity, it would be no great wonder if I were unable to produce *any* positive demonstration beyond the remarkable circumstances which have already been noticed; and the theory might perhaps be fairly let to stand upon the single point of a perfect mutual resemblance between a number of political constitutions, which could only have originated from the depression of one race of men by another race. For, where we always find, in such constitutions, first *an order of priests*, secondly *an order of military nobles*, and thirdly *a subjugated multitude variously divided according to their several trades and occupations*; and where we constantly perceive, that, in addition to the *external form*, the *spirit* of these constitutions is universally that of excluding the lower orders from all places of trust or authority and of systematically dooming them to an unalterable state of servile depression: where we observe such to be universally the case, and when we find the prototype of all these constitutions to have existed in Iran previous to the dispersion; it is difficult to avoid concluding, that they were alike carried off from Babylonia, and that their several sacerdotal and military castes were composed of the brethren of those who formed the two original higher castes of the primeval Cuthic monarchy. But, though I may not, in *every* instance, be able to adduce

BOOK VI. any additional facts to those which have been already specified ; it is truly remarkable to observe, how much positive evidence has, in many cases, actually come down to us. Let us proceed then to examine this evidence.

With respect to the Hindoos, Sir William Jones states it, as an undoubted matter of fact, that their early history is no other than the early history of Iran locally appropriated, and that the Brahmens and their brethren the Chattries came out of Chaldæa¹. Such also is the result, to which both M. Bailli and General Vallancey found themselves inevitably brought by the mere force of evidence² : and it perfectly accords with the traditions and practices of the Brahmens themselves. Six hundred miles from Bengal, they have an university for the instruction of their order : and the town, where it is situated, bears the name of *Cashi* from their great ancestor Cash or Cush ; whose appellation, as the acknowledged grandson of the ark-preserved Menu, is still familiarly preserved among them, and whom Sir William Jones scruples not to identify with the Cush of Moses. At this seminary of learning they teach the Sanscrit and the Persic languages : and still, after the lapse of so many ages, they continue to study their original Chaldee, in which their ancient books of physic are chiefly written³. Accordingly, they themselves own, that they are not natives of India, but that they of old descended into its plains through the pass of Heridwar : and they additionally inform us, that their military caste is of the same family as the Chasas or Chusas ; whom the Greeks termed from their locality *Iulo-Scuths*, and who claim the illustrious Chasa or Chusa as their common ancestor⁴. The very name indeed of this caste points out its origin, and thus serves to shew the accuracy of the Hindoo testimony : its members, who are declared brethren of the Chusas, style themselves *Chattries* or *Kheltries* or *Csheltries* ; which is but *Cushim* or *Chusas* or *Cathim* or *Cuthim*, somewhat variously written. It seems probable, if we may argue from old tradition relative to the conquests of the hero-god Rama, that the

¹ Asiat. Res. vol. ii. p. 55.

² Vindic. of anc. hist. of Irel. pref. p. xxiii. work. p. 222.

³ Min. of Ant. Soc. Lond. apud Vallan. Ibid.

⁴ Asiat. Res. vol. v. p. 259. vol. vi. p. 455, 456.

forefathers of the present sacerdotal and military classes were chiefly Cuthim CHAP. III. of the line of Raamah, and that they subjugated rather than planted the lower India. Previous to their irruption, it was occupied by Shemites of the house of Joktan under the rule of other Cuthim; who had preferred that more simple superstition of Buddha, which Epiphanius denominates *Scythism*. Hence the Buddhists of India make Shem to be an incarnation of their favourite god; and strenuously contend, what indeed numerous monuments throughout the country sufficiently prove, that *their* religion preceded and was supplanted by the more complex system of Brahmenism or Ionism¹. But, however this may be, we have sufficient evidence, that the two higher castes of the Hindoos, the Brahmens and the Chattrics, emigrated from Chaldæa or Iran, and that they are descendants of the house of Cush.

Such an origin will of course make them the brethren of the Samanèans or Jainists or Cuthic priests of Buddha; whom, accordingly, Clemens and Porphyry describe as being one sect of Indian philosophers, while they represent the Brahmans as being the other². Hence, although the Jains are said to have once spread themselves over the whole of Hindostan and to have contended with the intrusive Brahmens from Chaldæa, they are yet acknowledged to be of the same house as the military tribe, and are exhibited to us as presiding in a community divided into separate castes³. Agreeably to this circumstance, we find Hindoos in Bactriana: and, as the Brahmens have engrafted the early history of Iran upon their peculiar national history; so the extensive range of country, which we have traced under the names of *Iran* or *Cusha-dwip* or *Ethiopia*, namely the whole region south of the Caspian, was known also by the appellation of *India* which was yet further extended so as to take in the Indo-Seythæ of Cashgar and Bokhara⁴.

This arrangement, which makes the titles of *Cuth* and *Sindh* convertible (as, in fact, we always find them to be), will again exhibit to us the Magi

¹ Asiat. Res. vol. vi. p. 524—531.

² Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i. p. 305. Porph. de abst. lib. iv. § 17.

³ Asiat. Res. vol. ix. p. 247, 277, 285.

⁴ Asiat. Res. vol. iv. p. 398. vol. i. p. 418.

BOOK VI. and Nobility of Persia, as the brethren by blood of the Brahmens and Chatries of India. Accordingly, we have every particular, that we could wish, to identify them with each other. The Magi, so far as we can judge from the accounts which have come down to us of them, were palpable Brahmens; and their very locality proves them to have been a branch of the old Iranian priesthood, for Persia was a province of the Iranian empire¹: while the mountaineer Persians of the military order have been incontrovertibly demonstrated to be Scythians or Goths or Cuchas; whence to this day they call themselves *Kisiblecs* or *Kissians* or *Cassim*, and mightily value themselves on their ancient Scythian extraction as raising them high in rank above the vulgar herd².

We have now advanced far into the west of Asia: let us at once proceed to the extremity of Europe, and then measure back our steps to the point which we left.

Sir William Jones, as we have recently seen, pronounces the Celts or Cimmerians to be of the same great family as the Scuths or Cuths or Hindóos³. His assertion is erroneous, only as being *too general and unlimited*. The Cimmerians, *as a body*, were certainly not of the Scuthic house; a point, which has been amply established by Mr. Pinkerton and Bp. Percy before him: *nationally*, they were Gomerim of the house of Japhet. Yet, though Gomerim *nationally*, they were under the rule of a Cuthic priesthood and nobility: hence we read of certain Hyperboreans, who inhabited a large island to the north of Gaul, being of the *later* Titanic or giant race; by which we must understand, agreeably to the usual application of the term, the *postdiluvian* Cuthic family⁴. Unless I be much mistaken, these Cimmerians set out from Cushadwip on their progress westward, about the same time that the children of Raamah invaded Hindostan: and this expedition of theirs under Cuthic leaders is plainly enough intimated in the legends of the Brahmens with much accuracy and consistency, provided we only take *India* in the extensive signification of all Iran or Cushadwip

¹ Herod. Hist. lib. i. c. 40. Borlase's Cornwall. book ii. c. 22.

² Pinkerton's Dissert. p. 37. Vallan. Vindic. pref. p. xxv.

³ Vide supra § IV. 5.

⁴ Schol. in Pind. Olymp. iii. ver. 28. Diod. Bibl. lib. ii. p. 130.

within according to its definition as lately specified. Thus we are told, that the Indian Atri carried the Vedas from the abode of the hero-gods on the summit of Meru to the remote insular regions of the west: and there, accordingly, we find both Atri and the Vedas; the one under the name of *Idris*, the other under that of *the holy books of the ruler of the mount*¹. Thus likewise we are told, that gods and men *conjointly* migrated from India to the same occidental country: and there again we find exactly these two descriptions of persons; a governing race who claimed to be of the family of the gods, and a governed race who were reduced to the most abject servitude². The palpable difference between them was not unmarked by the accurate eye of Cesar: and, some time before the literary treasures of the east were fully opened to us, Dr. Borlase was so struck with the perfect resemblance of the Druids to the Persian Magi and the Indian Brahmens, that he declared it impossible to doubt their identity³. Mr. Rowland argues much in the same way with regard to the Irish Druids; who, as usual, constituted the first of the three classes into which the community was divided: he feels assured, that they must have been Magi⁴. Long indeed before our day, a similar remark had been made by Pliny: for, while he intimates that the Druids were so extravagantly addicted to Magic that they might have been the preceptors of the Persians, he scruples not to apply to them the very name of *Magi*⁵. Dr. Borlase however is somewhat perplexed by an unfortunate remark of Cesar, that the discipline of the Druids was thought to have been *invented* in Britain and to have been *thence carried over* into Gaul; on which account, they, who wished to make themselves thoroughly masters of it, were accustomed to visit the island for the purposes of study⁶. Now, if this remark be perfectly accurate, or if it be so understood as to imply that the Druidical order *originated* in Britain; it is obvious, that that order cannot then have been *imported* into the country by the first settlers from Iran: so that, in that case,

¹ Asiat. Res. vol. v. p. 260. Davies's Mythol. p. 266. Celt. Research. p. 173.

² Asiat. Res. vol. ix. p. 285.

³ Borlase's Cornw. b. ii. c. 1. p. 63. c. 4. p. 75. c. 22. p. 144.

⁴ Mon. Ant. p. 109.

⁵ Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxx. c. 1. lib. xvi. c. 44.

⁶ Cæs. de bell. Gall. lib. vi. c. 13.

BOOK VI. the Druids cannot be Magi, unless we exactly invert the progress of colonization, and bring the Magi out of Britain instead of the Druids out of Iran; a supposition, which so contradicts the whole history that it cannot for a moment be tolerated. I must confess, that I do not see any thing in the matter but what may be easily enough accounted for. In the days of Cesar, the Celts or Cimmerians had been pushed by the encroaching Scythians to the extremities of the west; though in the time of Darius Hystaspis, they had only been attacked by them on the confines of Europe and Asia¹. Under such circumstances, the most learned of the Druids, wishing to preserve their system in its utmost purity, would naturally retire as far as possible from the scene of danger and tumult. Hence Britain would long be their special sanctuary: and hence Cesar, finding that the Gallic Druids went thither for instruction rather than the British Druids into Gaul, would obviously be led to suppose that the religion originated in the island and was thence brought to the continent. In progress of time, the same causes produced a repetition of the same effects: and, when south Britain was subjugated by the Romans, Anglesey became to the larger island what the larger island had previously been to Gaul. It was the special receptacle and university of the Druids, where they resided under the superintendance of their Archdruid: and from this point the streams of their collective wisdom continued to flow, until they were finally either eradicated by the invaders or compelled to flee into Ireland and the northern isles². The Druids then may be safely pronounced a branch of the Magi or sacerdotal tribe of Iran: for, as the progress of the Cimmerians from upper Asia to the utmost boundaries of the west may be distinctly traced in history, and as the resemblance between the Druids and the Magi is too marked and too universal to be the result of mere accident³; we may feel assured, that, when the Gomerians emigrated from Iran, they went off under the priesthood and military nobility to whose sway they were already accustomed. With this opinion agree the traditions of the Hindoos, who

¹ Herod. Hist. lib. iv. c. 1, 11, 12.

² Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv. c. 29, 30. Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 70.

³ The resemblance is excellently drawn out by Dr. Borlase. Cornw. b. ii. c. 22.

have wonderfully preserved the knowledge of early emigrations. We learn from them, that the Maghas or Magi of Iran were so styled from a title of their god; for *Maghi* is a name of Buddha or Mahabad. This personage is deemed the common father of all the various families of the Maghas: who are spread through the eastern parts of Hindostan, the Burman empire, Siam, and China, countries peculiarly devoted to the worship of Buddha; and who colonized and gave their name to the land of Magadha, where Buddha or Magha was sometimes thought to have been born. The sacerdotal order among these Maghas, viewed as a nation, is allowed to be composed of Brahmens: and these bear also the appellation of *Sacas* or *Sacalas*, because they came into Hindostan from Sacam or Saca-dwip. But the Sacas are acknowledged by all writers, both eastern and western, to be of the same great house as the Chusas or Scuths or Goths: and their ancestors were seated of old in Cusha-dwip within, or the oriental land of Cush, or Iran in its largest sense. From this region, while some of them migrated into Hindostan; others, according to the Puranas, travelled westward, and at one period occupied the lesser Asia called from them *Saca-dwip*. But here they did not finally settle: for Buddha, under the appellation of *Magha*, is said to be the grandchild of the venerable Twashta in the west; and the Sacas or Maghas are said to have penetrated far into the occidental islands¹. Now this cannot relate to the comparatively recent conquest of Britain by the Saxons: because, in the state of the world at that period, the Hindoos could not possibly have received any tidings of such an event. It must refer therefore to a far more ancient colonizing of the west by the old Cimmerians, under the rule of the Sacas or Maghas. Such being the case, the two higher castes among the Celts must clearly have been of the same family as the two higher castes among the Iranians and the Hindoos: for they are all equally Maghas. But the Maghas are Sacas; and the Sacas are Scuths or Chusas: they are likewise declared to be of the same race as the military caste, as they have already been identified with that of the Brahmens². Hence it will inevitably follow, that the

¹ Asiat. Res. vol. ix. p. 74, 82. vol. vi. p. 508, 516. vol. viii. p. 368, 369, 257.

² Asiat. Res. vol. ii. p. 369. vol. vi. p. 456. vol. ix. p. 74.

BOOK VI. Druids, the Magi, the Brahmens, and the several military castes associated with them in empire, were all of one family: and it will likewise follow, in exact accordance with the theory which I advocate, that that family was the Scuthic or Sacasenic house of Cush or Cusha or Cuth. As the Celtic Druids of Gaul, and Britain, and Ireland, perfectly resembled the Magi, in their doctrines and institutes; and as they have been proved to be brethren by blood of those Magi, whether settled in Iran or scattered over eastern India: we shall not wonder to find them all distinguished by common appellations; a circumstance, which tends additionally to prove that the Druids were a branch of the Iranian Magi. Thus, if in the west the members of the sacerdotal caste were styled *Druï*, or *Derwydd*, or *Draoi*; they were in Persia denominated *Daru*, or *Drud*, or *Daruth*: if in the west, *Baidhs*; in Persia, *Bads*, while the chief of the order, as the representative of Maha-Bad or the great Buddha, bore the name of *Mu-Bad* or *Maha-Bad*: if in the west, *Readas*; in Persia, *Rads*, or *Ruads*: if in the west, *Sagans*; in Persia and India, *Sacas*: and finally, if throughout the east, *Magi*, or *Magas* or *Maghas* or *Moghas*; in the west, *Mags*, or *Mughs*, or *Moghs*, or *Muchs*¹. Such coincidences are too marked and too numerous to be merely accidental: the necessary conclusion from them all is that, which has already been drawn.

But, if the Celtic Druids be brethren of the Magi and the Brahmens, since they occupy the two extremities of the east and the west, it seems almost inevitably to follow, that the various intermediate sacerdotal and military classes should likewise be branches of the same great family. Hence we find Clemens enumerating, as kindred philosophers, the priests of the Egyptians, the Chaldæans or Chusdim of the Babylonians, the Druids of the Gauls, the Semanæans of the Bactrians, the wise men of the Celts, the Magi of the Persians, the Sarmanæans of the Buddhists, and the Brahmens of the Hindoos². Hence also we find Pythagoras constantly receiving the same instruction, whether he studied among the Brahmens, or the Druids, or the Magi, or the Chaldæans, or the priests of Egypt and Iberia

¹ Vallan. Vind. p. 211, 212, 251, 399, 411, 416, 419, 422, 427, 449. Borlase's Cornw. b. ii. c. 2. p. 67.

² Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i. p. 305.

and Thrace and Delos and Imbros and Samothrace and Eleusis¹. And hence, as the Hindoos represent Atri, as travelling with the Vedas into the west; so they equally describe him, as bearing them into Egypt and as introducing them on the banks of Nile. Here he consigned them to the care of his son Datta: and here we recognize both Datta and the Vedas in Taut and in the mysterious books attributed to him². With respect to this last country, the origin of the two superior castes must not be ascribed to the invasion and conquest of it by the Shepherd-kings, though they doubtless were of the same great family as those intruders. The reason is obvious. The castes still subsisted long *after* the Shepherd-kings had been expelled; which would not have been the case, had they been *composed* of those pastoral warriors: and, as we shall hereafter see, they had equally existed *previous* to the irruption of the Shepherds; so that they must have been coëval with the first planting of Egypt by the Mizraim. It is not unworthy of observation, that Aristotle speaks of the Persian Magi, as being prior in point of antiquity to the Egyptian priesthood³. In this he is perfectly accurate: for the Magi or Cuthic priests of Iran were established *previous* to the dispersion; while the Egyptian priests, like the Brahmens and the Druids, were but an *emigrating* branch of them.

(2.) But the consanguinity of the two higher orders, in whatever quarter of the world they may be found, is yet further proved by the very extraordinary intercourse, which in old times subsisted between them: a circumstance easily accounted for, on the ground of their long-remembered mutual relationship; but, on any other other supposition, wholly inexplicable.

It has been shewn at large by General Vallancey, that, between the ancient Irish and the ancient Persian histories down even to the time of Darius Codoman, there is such a regular coincidence of successive particulars, that we are compelled to believe the one a mere localized transcript of the other⁴. But this transcription could not have taken place, unless an intercourse had subsisted between the two countries as late as the days of that prince: and it is hard to conceive, how that intercourse could have

¹ Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i. p. 302, 303, 304. Jambl. de vit. Pyth. § 151.

² Asiat. Res. vol. v. p. 260, 261.

³ Diog. Laert. Proœm. p. 6.

⁴ Vallan. Vind. p. 319. et alibi.

BOOK VI. been kept up except through the medium of the intervening Magi and Druids. Ireland must, from time to time, have received small colonies from Persia : and the Cuthic leaders of these, who were freely suffered to pass through the settlements of their acknowledged brethren, brought with them, and locally adopted in the west as their own national history, what was really the oriental history of their ancestors¹.

Of such a friendly intercourse, strange as it may seem, it is easy to produce examples. Pythagoras, we find, without the least appearance of either danger or apprehension or difficulty, visited alike the Druids, the Magi, the Chaldæans, the Iberian Sacas, and the Brahmens : the shipwreck of a Hindoo on the shore of the Red sea is said to have first opened the maritime route to India : Ariovistus king of the Suevi, fifty nine years before Christ, presented Metellus Celer with some Hindoos, who had been wrecked as they were crossing either the Baltic or the German ocean : and, in more recent times, Hindoos have been seen near the lake Baikal, at Moscow, and even at Tobolsk in Siberia². So again : Sir William Jones thinks there is sufficient evidence to prove, that Egyptian priests have sometimes emigrated from the banks of the Nile to those of the Ganges and the Jumna ; where they were courteously received, and freely allowed to settle, by their kindred the Brahmens³. Nor was the Celtic priesthood less addicted to similar roving. Herodotus has preserved a curious account of two sacred Hyperborean virgins travelling from the north to Delos : the worship of the third Apollo was brought, according to Cicero, by the Hyperboreans to Delphi : the Hyperboreans themselves, according to Mnaseas, were Delphians ; that is to say, their sacerdotal

¹ The following excellent remark of M. Bailli throws much light on this curious though very natural localization of history. *When a nation, either in a body or by colonies, changes its habitation, in this peaceable migration it transports every thing along with it, all its institutions, sciences, remembrance of past transactions, and memory of its ancestors. The history of its first state has always preceded the history of its second. At length, its traditions are altered by their antiquity : time has confounded the whole : and the two histories form no more than one. See then, how facts, true in themselves, become false as referred to the places where they are supposed to have happened.* Lettr. sur l'Atlantide. p. 28.

² Asiat. Res. vol. iii. p. 49. vol. x. p. 106—108, 116. Strahlenberg's Siber. p. 103.

³ Maur. Ind. Ant. vol. iii. p. 62, 63.

order was of the same lineage as the Ionic or Cuthic Greeks: and the philosophical Abaris journeyed from the great island of the Hyperboreans, which lies to the north of Gaul and in which the solar god was worshipped in a large circular stone temple, with a view of renewing the ancient league of friendship between his brethren and the Delians¹. Such journeys imply all the confidence of acknowledged relationship and common interest between the several governing powers: and the mode, in which the travellers were amicably passed forward from one nation to another, as detailed with much particularity by Herodotus, points out the manner in which these expeditions were accomplished².

(3.) It was from this universal consanguinity, that we so perpetually find the priests of very different countries distinguished by the same appellations; while the appellations themselves are but various titles of the great family, from which they were descended.

The members of that family were styled *Cushim* or *Cusas*, from their ancestor *Cush*; *Sacas* or *Sagas* or *Sacasenae*, from their god *Saca* or *Buddha*; and, *Palli* or *Pelasgs* or *Philistim* or *Failas*, on account of their constant assumption of the favourite character of Shepherds. Now all these names are sacerdotal appellations: and the reason, why they became so, was the origination of the priesthood from the house of *Cush*. Thus, in the ancient Irish, in the Japanese, in the Syriac, in the Ethiopic, in the Arabic, in the Persic, and in the old Pelasgic dialect of Samothrace, *Cois* or *Cushes* or *Cusis* or *Cass* or *Cusees* or *Kish* or *Coies* equally denotes *a priest* or *minister of religion*³. Thus also, what strongly serves to corroborate the hypothesis of the common descent of the sacerdotal and military classes, *Sagau*, in the Chaldee of Babylonia whence it was latterly adopted into the Hebrew, signifies both *a magus* and *a nobleman*: *Sagan*, both in the Irish and in the language of the northern Americans, is *a priest*: *Zauaghar*, among the Persians, was the title of the Archimagus: *Sagart*, in the Ethiopic, is *a military grandee*: and *Sheich*, among the Arabs of

¹ Herod. Hist. lib. iv. c. 35. Cicer. de nat. deor. lib. iii. c. 23. Schol. in Apoll. Argon. lib. ii. ver. 677. Diod. Bibl. lib. ii. p. 130.

² Herod. Hist. lib. iv. c. 33—35.

³ Vallan. Vind. p. 441, 442. Hesyeh. Lex. Κουρς.

BOOK VI. the desert, is equivalent to a *chief* or *nobleman*¹. Thus likewise, among the Irish, the Phenicians, the Chaldæans, the Sicilians, and the Canaanites, *Filea* or *Phileagh* or *Philach* or *Palic* was equally employed to denote a *priest* or *magus*².

Such multiplied coincidences appear to be something more than accident: and, when we consider the origination of the sacerdotal and military castes in every part of the world, it seems reasonable to ascribe these appellations to the source which has been pointed out.

(4.) Before the subject be entirely dismissed, we must notice another peculiarity, which is of too extraordinary a nature to be passed over in silence. By the junction of hero-worship with astronomical Sabianism, the great father was venerated in the orb of the Sun, and the great mother in the crescent of the Moon: or, what was the obvious consequence of ascribing an hermaphroditic nature to the universal parent, this ancient character was sometimes viewed, as the masculine genius of the Moon no less than of the Sun. Hence those actions and sufferings, which properly belonged to the chief demon god and goddess, were ascribed to the two principal heavenly bodies: and, as all mankind were descended from the former, all mankind would mystically be said to have sprung from the latter. But so proud and wonderful a genealogy offered too fair an opening for deceptively extending the influence of the governing powers, to be lightly passed over and neglected. The higher classes, accordingly, soon arrogated to themselves, what, upon the principles of the established superstition, was equally common to all. They gave themselves out to be eminently the children of the Sun and the Moon; those deities, who were acknowledged to be the grand objects of religious adoration: and, in virtue of this descent, which exhibited them as of a wholly different race from the subjugated vulgar, they seemed to build their authority upon the firm basis of a right clearly divine. Now, if I mistake not, the very general systematic assumption of such titles may be adduced as another argument

¹ Dan. ii. 48. iii. 2. Jerem. li. 57. Vallan. Vind. p. 449, 450. Hyde de rel. vet. Pers. p. 279. Adair's Hist. of Amer. Ind. Hence, from the wisdom of the priesthood, is derived our Gothic word *Sage* and the Latin *Saga*.

² Vallanc. Vind. p. 445, 446.

to prove the common origination of the superior orders. Let us proceed CHAP. III. to bring forward some instances of it.

Among the Hindoos then, the members of the military caste, to which the rajahs always belong, are styled *Surya-bans* and *Chandra-bans*, or *children of the Sun* and *children of the Moon*¹. Among the ancient Egyptians, the first dynasty, or that which conducted the Mizraim into the land of their settlement, is said to have been that of the Aurites or children of the Sun: for the oriental word *Aur* denotes *the solar light*². Among the Persians, Mithras bore the name of *Azon-Nakis* or *the lord Sun*: and from him, both his descendants the younger hero-gods, and his ministers the Magi, were denominated *Zoni* and *Azoni* or *the posterity of the Sun*³. Among the Greeks, we find an eminent family distinguished by the name of *the Heliadae* or *children of the Sun*: and originally this family, including its parent, consisted of eight persons. Its genealogy was traced up as high as the deluge: and its founders were contemporary with Spartæus and Cronius and Cuth, the three sons of Jupiter by the nymph Himalia. It chiefly occupied the island of Rhodes: its members far excelled all other men in wisdom: they cultivated with much success the sciences of navigation and astronomy: and they were the original instructors even of the wise Egyptians themselves⁴. We can have no difficulty in understanding the purport of this curious narrative. But the Greeks were likewise familiar with *the children of the Moon*. This appellation was the ancient title of the Arcadians; who, as an eminent branch of the Ionim and as diligent worshippers of the lunar boat Argha, were of old denominated *Selenites*⁵. Similar notions prevailed among the Cntèan rulers of Colchis. We find Eëtes, who is described as the sovereign of Colchis at the time of the fabulous Argonautic expedition, claiming to be the offspring of the Sun by Iduia the daughter of Oceanus: and, as the Cuthim of Colchis and Arcadia were originally of the same race; a legend was fabricated, that the Sun gave Arcadia to Aloeus and Corinth to Eëtes, whence the latter emi-

¹ Asiat. Res. vol. ii. p. 127, 375. vol. i. p. 263. vol. v. p. 334. Moor's Hind. Panth. p. 369, 283.

² Syncell. Chronog. p. 51.

³ Bryant's Anal. vol. ii. p. 124, 125.

⁴ Diod. Bibl. lib. v. p. 327, 328.

⁵ Schol. in Apoll. Argon. lib. iv. ver. 264.

BOOK VI. grated to the shores of the Euxine ¹. Among the Britons, it was acknowledged that the solar Hu was indeed the father of all mankind: yet, as he is declared to have been the first bard or druid, he seems to be claimed as the peculiar ancestor of the sacerdotal caste; for the royal and proud line of that dignified race is declared to be the special ornament of this most ancient divinity, while in return he is said to be the parent and the king of the bards ². Lastly, among the Peruvians, the royal family of the Yncas was viewed as a wholly distinct race from their subjects. They were obeyed, not more as sovereigns, than as visible representatives of the chief divinity. Through their first human ancestor Mango-Copac, they traced their lofty genealogy from the god of day: the blood of these *children of the Sun*, for such was the general appellation by which they were distinguished, was held to be sacred: and, by the prohibition of all intermarriages between the governing family and the people, it was never contaminated by mixing with the plebeian streams that circulated through vulgar veins ³. Sir William Jones has too hastily pronounced *all* the Peruvians to be of the line of Ham. That their *sovereigns* were, cannot, I think, be doubted: and the particular family, whence they originated, is clearly enough pointed out in the name of their capital *Cusco*; which is but an inversion of *Coh-Cus* or *Caucasus*.

¹ Tzetz. in Lycoph. ver. 174.

² Davies's Mythol. p. 24, 120, 121.

³ Robertson's Hist. of Amer. b. vii. p. 200—207.

CHAPTER IV.

*Respecting the various Settlements and Migrations of the
unblended Part of the Military Caste.*

THUS we have seen, that, as the children of Cush established the first great empire at Babel; so, when the dispersion took place, they by no means lost their deep-rooted authority over their brethren. On the contrary, they still remained mingled among them; and still, in almost every region of the globe, formed the two superior governing classes of priests and military nobles. Some continued in Iran: where, through an unbroken series of fifteen centuries, they ruled over Aram and Ashur and Elam and Arphaxad; and, even when the sceptre passed out of the line of Nimrod by the Assyrian revolution, they were not less really the governors of the empire. Others emigrated at the head of those tribes; whose priesthood and feudal lords they had been, while the primeval Iranian monarchy subsisted unbroken: and thus we find the same political system, as that which was first contrived in Babylonia and which vests the entire direction of the state in two superior unmixing orders, firmly established in quarters of the globe the most widely separated from each other.

I. But, notwithstanding the profound though Machiavellian sagacity of the early Cuthim, we have observed very evident traces of a dissention

BOOK VI. among them. What has been denominated *Scythism* was the first and least offensive apostasy from the truth: but, during the construction of the tower, a yet further departure took place from the purity of genuine religion. This received the name of *Ionism* or *Hellenism*: and, as I have identified the former with Buddhism or Samaneism, so I consider the latter to be the same as what may be indifferently styled *Brahmenism* or *Osirism* or *Bacchism*. The introduction of a much more complex and depraved system was far from meeting with general approbation. A violent schism was the result: and, if we may credit the Hindoo tradition, a bitter war was carried on, or at least a furious battle was fought, between the contending factions. Be this however as it may, the difference ended, at the time of the confusion of tongues, in a formal separation. The Ionic party was much the strongest and most numerous: here the Cuthim, as priests and nobles, continued to rule over the several fragments or smaller national communities of the now dispersed multitude. The Scuthic party was far the weakest and least numerous: here the dissident Cuthim were left almost alone; for, if any of their retainers out of the other families adhered to them, these were so few that they were soon lost and swallowed up in the greater mass of their companions. Hence, though a large portion of the children of Cush was scattered over the whole world as the priests and nobles of the emigrating families; yet another large portion went off from the land of Shinar, dissatisfied and in a great degree unmixed with the other descendants of Noah. These, depressed as they were for a season, retained all the military spirit and enterprize of their house. They disdained to become the serfs of Iran: over Mizraim and Joktan, Gomer and Magog, they had no influence. Hence, when they retired from Babel, they preserved a proud independence: and, as all lower castes were necessarily unknown among them, they long constituted a nation or nations, composed solely, according to the Gothic acceptation of the word, of nobles or gentlemen. On this singular distinction they highly valued themselves; and not unfrequently blended the idea with their family or characteristic appellation. Thus they often chose to be called *royal Scythians*, *Massagetes* or *great Getes*, and *Huc-Sos* or *pastoral kings*. As they almost wholly, in the first instance, retired to the north

or north-east of Babylonia, while a very principal body of Cuthim remained master of the Nimrodic empire; a distinction was naturally soon made between the Scythians of the north and the Scythians of the south: and, as the latter from their sovereignty received the general name of *Iranians*, so the former came to be distinguished by the title of *Touranians*. These are the Scythians of common history, a nation equally renowned for their arms and for their wisdom: these are the people, whose progress and settlements we have now briefly to trace.

1. It has been well remarked by Sir William Jones, that the Hindoos have evidently ingrafted the early history of Iran upon their own ancient national history: so that their account of the origin of castes is really an account of their originating in a more western country; while the sacred book of Institutes, which they ascribe to Menu, is in fact no other than the similar heaven-descended book of Regulations, which in Iran was given to Mahabad*. Such being the case, the book in question may be deemed the oldest in the world: and any historical notices, which it conveys, will be peculiarly valuable.

Now it is a most curious circumstance, that this very secession of certain members of the war-tribe, respecting which I am at present treating, is there distinctly specified: the nations, which they formed, are enumerated: and the character, which they long sustained, is exhibited with striking accuracy. We are told, that certain families of the Cshatriyas or Cuthic military nobles, by their omission of holy rites and by seeing no Brahmens, have gradually sunk in dignity to the lowest of the four classes. These are the Paundracas, the Odras, and the Draviras; the Cambojas, the Yavanas, and the Sacas; the Paradas, the Pahlavas, and the Chinas; the Ciratas, the Deradas, and the Chasas. With them seceded various scattered individuals from all the four castes; or, in the phrasology of Hindostan, men who sprang both from the mouth and the arm and the thigh and the foot of Brahma. All these became outcasts by having neglected their duties: and they are collectively known by the descriptive name of

* See the preceding note from M. Bailli, in book vi. c. 3. § VI. 2. (2.)

BOOK VI. *Dasyus* or *plunderers*, whether they speak the language of *Mlechhas* or that of *Aryas* ¹.

It is not difficult to ascertain the greatest part of the tribes here enumerated, as being equally branches of the military caste; though, in some instances, members of the other castes were confusedly blended with them. The *Paundracas* seem to be the *Drangæ*; whom *Strabo* places between *Ariana* and northern *India*, bordering upon the *Arachoti* and the *Paropamisadæ* ². The *Odras* probably gave their name to the river *Odryssa*, which flows through the Pontic territories of the *Alazones* that stretched from *Armenia* to the *Euxine sea* ³. The *Draviras* fixed themselves on the coast of the eastern *Indian peninsula* ⁴. The *Cambojas* are plainly the inhabitants of *Cambodia*; and may be viewed, as comprehending the *Burmas*, the *Peguans*, and the *Siamese*. The *Yavanas* are the *Ionic Greeks*, confounded, as was often the case, with the aboriginal *Javanim*. The *Sacas* or *Sacenas* are undoubtedly the *Sacæ* of the *Greek writers*; who spread far to the north of *India* and *Persia*, ere they shewed themselves in *Europe* under the name of *Saxons* ⁵. The *Paradas* are the *Pards* or *Parths* or mountaineer *Parsim*. The *Pahlavas* are the *Scythic Palli* or *Pelasgi* or *Palestin*; and the name is equivalent to *Shepherds* ⁶. The *Chinas*, according to the unanimous and positive assertion of the *Pundits*, are the *Chinese*: and, agreeably to this declaration, they are said to have settled in a fine country to the north-east of *Gaur* and to the east of *Camarup* and *Nepal*, to have been long famed as ingenious artificers, and to have professed the primitive religion of *Hindostan*. They are described as being extremely numerous, so as to consist of no less than two hundred clans: and it is a remarkable circumstance, that, when *Sir William Jones* laid a map of *Asia* before a well-informed *Pundit* and shewed him the situation of his own country *Cashmir*, he instantly placed his finger on the north-western provinces of *China* as the region where the *Chinas* of *Menu* first established themselves, and added that *Maha-China* or *great China*

¹ *Instit. of Menu*. c. x. § 43, 44, 45.

² *Strab. Geog. lib. xv. p. 723.*

³ *Strab. Geog. lib. xii. p. 551.*

⁴ *Asiat. Res. vol. i. p. 230.*

⁵ *Strab. Geog. lib. xi. p. 511, 512. Asiat. Res. vol. viii. p. 301. vol. vi. p. 517.*

⁶ *Asiat. Res. vol. iii. p. 72, 76.*

extended to the eastern and southern oceans¹. The Ciratas seems to be the Circassians and other neighbouring kindred tribes. The Deradas are the Derds; whom Strabo describes as a great nation of the mountaineer Indians, stretching towards the east². And the Chasas are most undoubtedly those, whom the Greeks called *Indo-Scythæ*: for they still occupy the same tract of country, and still possess those high lands on the north of Hindostan which bear the name of *Cashgar* or *Chasa-ghir*.

This last appellation is in reality the common family title of all the others. The Chasas or Chusas, whom Menu so positively declares to be of the same great house as the war-caste of India, received their name from their acknowledged ancestor Chasa or Chasya or Chusa; who, as Sir William Jones rightly observes, must indisputably be identified with the Cush of sacred history. Hence the appellation of *Chasas* or *Chusas* is a general one: and hence we find, that the powerful race, who were distinguished by it, occupied the whole of the vast mountainous range; which extends from the north-eastern limits of upper India, skirting the northern confines of Persia and Iran, as far as the Euxine sea³. Now this was the identical tract of country, where the Greek geographers accurately placed the proper Scuthæ, as contradistinguished from those southern Scuthæ, who were governors of the great Iranian empire, and who as such tenanted a Scythia which reached to the banks of the Indus and the shores of the Erythræan ocean. Hence it is evident, that the Chasas or Chusas of the Hindoo writers are the same as the Scuths of the Greek writers: and I think it further evident, that, what the former write *Chusas*, the latter chose to express *Scuths* with a sibilant prefix. By this *corrupted* appellation however, the people, except in their extreme western settlements, seem never to have distinguished *themselves*⁴. They ordinarily, from their great forefather, took the name of *Chusas* or *Cushas* or *Cassians* or *Cossuis* or *Chasyas* or *Chesai*: and, as the Babylonians and other nations were wont to write and pronounce *sh* like *th*, they often chose to be called *Cuthim* or *Cutèans* or *Coths* or *Goths* or *Cathaïans*. From the appellation thus modified the

¹ Asiat. Res. vol. ii. p. 369.

² Strab. Geog. lib. xv. p. 706.

³ Asiat. Res. vol. vi. p. 455, 456.

⁴ In some of those settlements they were known as Scuits or Scets.

BOOK VI. Greeks undoubtedly formed their word *Scutha*: for, as the national identity of the Scuths and the Goths is an historical matter of fact; so we are plainly told, that the people, whom at one period the Greeks called *Scuths* and at another *Getes*, always styled themselves *Goths*¹. By this latter name they have deservedly made themselves famous in the west: and their proper title has now universally superseded their corrupt Hellenic nomenclature. Thus extending from the high lands of upper India to the very borders of Europe, they were variously distinguished by the Greeks according to their locality. Those, who were the neighbours of the Hindoos, were the Indo-Scythæ: those, who touched upon the Celts or Cimmerians, were the Celto-Scythæ: and those, who roamed with their herds and their flocks over the vast steppes of the intermediate country, were known as the nomade or pastoral Scythians.

2. Their chief settlements in the first instance, when they emigrated from Iran, seem very plainly to have been those three mountainous regions, which were equally designated by the appellation of *Caucasus*; for so the Greeks wrote the word with the common Hellenic termination.

One of these was the Indian Caucasus; which may be viewed as extending far to the north, until it be faintly divided by an indistinct line from the Tartarian possessions of Japhet. In the Sanscrit and in the spoken dialects of the Chasas, the word is expressed *Cas-Giri* or *Cas-Ghar* or *Cas-Car* or *Chas-Ghar*: and this name, with various other kindred appellations which I shall presently notice, is acknowledged in India to be derived from the national title of the Chasas. Now, in the Sanscrit, *Ghar* or *Ghiri* signifies *a mountain*: *Chas-Ghar* therefore will denote *the mountain of Cash* or *the mountain of the Chasas*. But, in the Persic, *Cau* or *Coh* is a word of the very same import as *Ghar*. Hence, what the Hindoos call *Chas-Ghar*, the Persians have been accustomed to denominate *Caucas*: and from this name the Greeks, who received much of their oriental information through the medium of Persia, fashioned no doubt their *Caucasus*². Another of their settlements was the Caucasus to the south of the

¹ Σκυθαι, και Γοτθοι λεγομενοι επιχωριως. Syncell.

² Asiat. Res. vol. vi. p. 455, 456.

Caspian sea¹. And the third of them was that most westerly Caucasus, which lies on the north-eastern shore of the Euxine. We must however view these settlements, not as absolutely distinct, but as connected with each other by various wandering hordes: for, according to the unanimous testimony both of the Greek and the Hindoo writers, the Scythians or Chasas spread over the whole range of country which intervenes between the two extreme Caucasi².

According to such an arrangement, it is most curious to observe, whether we take up an ancient or a modern map, how indelibly the name of *Cush* or *Cuth* or *Cash* or *Cath* is imprinted upon the entire district: and, as we have just seen, the Hindoos assure us, that all local appellations of this sound have been derived from the national title of the Chasas. In old geography, we find to the north of India *Casia* and *Caspia* and *Caspatyrus*; round the intermediate Caucasus, the *Caspii* and the *Caspian* sea and the *Caspian* passes; and, in the vicinity of the western Caucasus, *Cutarus* and *Cutèa* and *Cuta*. So, in modern geography, we have, in the region of the Indian Caucasus, *Cashmir* and *Castwar* and *Chasghar* and *Chatraur* and *Cuttore* and *Chatzan* and *Coten*; at the foot of the middle Caucasus, the *Caspian* sea; and, in the recesses of the western Caucasus³, the *Circassians*: while the *Caisacs* or *Cossacs*, and their brethren the *Kir-Ghis*, ramble over the intermediate tract, or fix themselves in Russian Europe on the banks of the Tanais.

In these extensive regions, averse from labour, and possessing the most unbounded personal freedom; ever retaining the original military propensity of their family, and (as an homogeneous people) ignorant of the servile

¹ This region is the Mazenderaun of Persic romance, where Rustam encounters the White giant.

² This whole range of high land is the Caf of the Persian authors, who not unaptly denominate it *the stony girdle of the earth*. Here they accurately place their Peris and their Dives; and with good reason, for it was the genuine native country of romance.

³ One of the peaks of this Caucasus is still called *mount Chat*: the Circassians likewise denominate it *Elborus*, according to its old name. Clarke's Travels, vol. i. c. xxiii. p. 579. *Elborus* is evidently the *Albordi* of the Zend-Avesta; and *Albordi* is the same name as the Armenian *Barit* or *Baris* or *Alb-Barit*.

BOOK VI. distinction into castes; little regarding the wrathful excommunication of the Ionizing Brahmens, and pertinaciously adhering to the old Scythic worship of the war-god Buddha or Woden: they very soon, as their numbers increased, merited but too well the reproachfully-complaining name of *plunderers*, which their more civilized brethren of the south bestowed upon the fearless outcasts.

II. The general relationship, and western progress, of the Scythic tribes have been so ably investigated, and so undeniably established on the sure basis of direct historical evidence, by a learned modern writer, that nothing more is necessary than to give an epitomè of his discoveries. I may however previously remark, that the singularly exact coincidence of his conclusions with the very ancient testimony, which has been adduced from the Institutes of Menu, serves additionally to prove, with how much judgment and accuracy those conclusions have been drawn. At the same time I think it right to state, that, in various instances, Mr. Pinkerton, like Sir William Jones, appears to me to have mistaken a part for the whole: a circumstance, which has occasionally led him to pronounce *those* to be Scythians, who really seem to be tribes of a different origin under the government of a Cuthic priesthood and nobility. Much the same remark applies to Mr. Bryant; whose researches, in many respects, bear a close affinity to those of Mr. Pinkerton and Sir William Jones. Yet is the general outline of truth very strongly marked by the united labours of these three most able inquirers: for, unless the evidence had been almost irresistible, they could scarcely have been brought by different roads so very nearly to the same point¹.

As the removal of error is the first step towards the attainment of truth, Mr. Pinkerton demonstrates negatively, by irrefragable proofs, that the Scythians were a perfectly distinct race both from the Sarmatians or Sauromatae, from the Huns and Tartars, and from the Cimmericians or Celts who were the original occupants of the greatest part of Europe: and he further establishes, by proofs no less incontrovertible, that they assuredly

¹ Much the same remark is made by Sir William himself. See *Asiat. Res.* vol. iii. p. 428. vol. ii. p. 65.

were not emigrants, according to the wild dreams of Jornandes, from the sterile and scarcely peopled regions of Scandinavia¹.

Having now learned, who the Scythians were *not*, and whence they did *not* come; we have next to inquire, who they *were*, and whence they *did* come.

1. In pursuing this investigation, Mr. Pinkerton ascertains that the Scythians came originally out of Asia; and he regularly traces their progress the whole way from the north of present Persia². Hence it is evident, that they must indisputably have been the same people as those, whom the Hindoos denominate *Chasas* or *Chusas*, and who themselves claim to be descended (agreeably to their name) from the patriarch Chusa or Cusha: for they are found to have emigrated from that identical region of the Indian Caucasus, viewed as comprehending the whole mountainous country of Bokhara and Cashgar, which is still inhabited by the Chusas, and which of old was tenanted by the Indo-Scythæ. In Asia, they peopled all the regions between the Euxine and the Caspian: Pontus, Armenia, Iberia, and Albania, were each a Scythic settlement: and, according to the positive testimony of ancient writers, the Alani, the Massagetæ, the Sacæ, the Chataæ, the Arimaspi, the Bactriani, the Sogdiani, the Hyrcani, the Dahæ, the Margiani, and the mountaineer Persians, were alike Scythians by descent. Among the names here enumerated, those of the *Sacæ* and *Massagetae* were the most prevalent: for Strabo mentions, that such were the general appellations of the Asiatic Scythæ on the east of the Caspian; while Herodotus and Pliny inform us, that the Persians distinguished all those Scythæ by the common title of *Sacæ*³.

2. But the roving humour of the Touranian Scythæ did not suffer them to rest content with their Asiatic possessions, ample as they were. From the east they very soon passed into Europe: and here, during the transit, their first settlement, as might naturally be expected, was on the east, north, and west, of the Euxine⁴.

(1.) They were now invading the dominions of the Celts or Cimme-

¹ Pinkerton's Dissert. on the orig. of the Scyth. p. 15, 21—23, 39.

² Ibid. p. 24—30, 34.

³ Ibid. p. 32—41.

⁴ Ibid. p. 34.

BOOK VI. rians ; who of old occupied a part of Asia, and spread over the whole of central Europe. At this early period, those vast regions must rather have been possessed, than peopled, by the Celtic tribes : and no doubt by far the greatest portion of them must have been one continued forest. Hence no serious impediment, on the part at least of the aboriginal inhabitants, could have been thrown in the way of the intruders. They, accordingly, pushed forward from the west of the Euxine : and, as the north presented but little temptation, they directed their steps towards the more promising districts of the south. The new adventurers were a branch of those Scythians, whom the Hindoos denominate *Palli* or *Shepherds* : and the title was perfectly well known and recognized among themselves also. Accordingly, we find them making their first appearance in Thrace under the name of *Pelasgi*. But we are not to build upon mere similarity of appellations : Mr. Pinkerton proves, from the direct testimony of the ancients, that the Pelasgi were undoubtedly Scythians : so that, wherever we find this daring tribe, there we also find a member of the great Scythic family¹. Their almost entire occupation of Thrace led the Greek writers to pronounce the Thracians in general Scuths or Getes ; and Mr. Pinkerton has followed them in their opinion : I am inclined however to believe, that this country, at the time of the Pelasgic invasion, was already peopled thinly with the children of the Japhetic Tiras ; whom Moses places in the isles of the Gentiles, and who seems to have communicated his patriarchal appellation to Thracia or Tirasia².

From this country the Pelasgi advanced into the still more southern territories of Javan ; where they appear to have met with no effectual resistance. At least they made themselves masters of the whole of Greece : and that at so early a period, that they have not unfrequently been mistaken for the Javanic aborigines³. The error no doubt arose from their having occupied the country long before the arrival of their brethren, the Ionic Hellenes, from Egypt and Phenicia : and their occupation of it was at once so ancient and so complete, that they are described as being the

¹ Pinkerton's Dissert. p. 58—79.

² Ibid. p. 52—56.

³ Of this mistake I acknowledge myself to have been once guilty. Dissert. on the Cabir. vol. ii. p. 359, 360.

oldest people of Greece, and are said to have communicated the name of *Pelasgia* not only to the Peloponnesus but even to the whole of the Javanic peninsula¹. CHAP. XV.

While some of them were seizing upon continental Greece, others established themselves in the islands: and, as Samothrace and Imbrus and Lemnos were among their first settlements, they at length sent colonies both to Crete and to the entire shore of Asia Minor². In the worship, which they introduced into Samothrace, they left the clearest traces of their Indo-Scythic extraction: for it has been found, that both the barbarous names of the Cabiric gods, and the mysterious formula *Conx Om Pax*, are precisely the same as what are still received and used among the Hindoos³.

From the Greek islands and the coast of Asia Minor some of them sailed to Italy, under the conduct of Tyrrhenus or Tyrsenus; who is variously described as the son of Attis, or Hercules, or the ark-exposed Telephus⁴. This Tyrrhenus or Toranath was either their god or a pretended incarnation of him: for Attis was the same as Bacchus, and both Hercules and Telephus were equally the great father. From him the colony took the name of *Tyrrheni* or *Tuscans*: and both their settlement and their progress serve to shew at once their origin and the nature of their superstition. The oracle of their ark-god charged them to direct their course to the western Saturnia; and forbade them to rest, until they should find a sacred lake with a floating island. This command was duly obeyed: and, when the lake was discovered with its mysterious navicular appendage which was deemed the navel of Italy, they bestowed upon it, from the name of their ancestor Cuth united with that of the Indo-Scythic Ila, the appellation of *Cutilia* or *Cotylè*⁵.

Meanwhile the Pelasgic Scythæ, whom we had left in Thrace, sent out

¹ Strab. Geog. lib. v. p. 221. lib. vii. p. 327. Herod. Hist. lib. ii. c. 56.

² Strab. Geog. lib. v. p. 220, 221. Pink. Dissert. p. 58—79.

³ Asiat. Res. vol. v. p. 297—301.

⁴ Strab. Geog. lib. v. p. 221. Sophoc. apud Dion. Halic. Ant. Rom. lib. i. c. 25. Tzetz. in Lycoph. ver. 1237, 1242, 1351. Hyg. Fab. 274.

⁵ Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. lib. i. c. 15, 19. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. iii. c. 12.

BOOK VI. fresh swarms towards the west. These occupied or planted the district of Illyricum: and then, winding round the head of the Adriatic, they descended into Italy; where they joined their brethren the Tyrrheni, founded the city of Rome, and became the ancestors of the future masters of the world¹. From such ancient transactions, which have been shewn by Mr. Pinkerton to be positive historical facts, originated, I have no doubt, the fable of the Trojan descent of the Romans. The Dardanians or Iliensians, as both direct testimony and as every part of their history demonstrates, were a colony of Indo-Scythæ². Hence they were brethren of the Romans: and, as a tribe of Tyrrhenic Pelasgi are declared to have sailed from those parts to Italy, it is easy to conceive, how the story of the Eneid might have been embellished or invented.

Others of the Pelasgi made themselves masters of the country, known to the Romans by the name of *Cisalpine Gaul*: and thence, forcing their way to the north-west, they drove the real Celts or Gauls towards the east, and penetrated to the shores of the English channel and the German ocean. Here, according to the accurate distinction of Cesar, they varied their appellation of *Palli* or *Bhals* or *Pelasgi* into *Balags* or *Bolgs* or *Belgæ*. These, and not the Gomerian Celts, as Mr. Pinkerton has distinctly shewn, were the Gauls, who, during the early days of the republic, were so formidable to Rome.

Having now reached the ocean, they became a maritime people: and their next enterprize was to invade the south of Britain and Ireland. Success still attended them: for the Celts, debased by the servitude of their political system, were never able to resist the arms of a whole nation of military nobles. All the south-east of England, as we learn from Cesar, was possessed by the Belgæ, who had driven the Celts back into the interior: and, in Ireland, we find them masters of the sea-coast and domineering over the original natives, under the appellation of *Fir-Bolg*³.

(2.) At the time when the Scythians planted themselves round the Euxine, the whole of middle Europe from that sea to the Atlantic ocean and from

¹ Pink. Dissert. p. 57, 58, 79—86.

² Asiat. Res. vol. iii. p. 249.

³ Pink. Dissert. p. 84—86, 121, 122, 141—149.

the Alps and the Danube to the Baltic was imperfectly colonized by the Celtic descendants of Gomer: this is a fact, established by ancient history beyond a possibility of doubt¹. But, at the period when Cesar and afterwards when Tacitus flourished (to say nothing of prior testimonies), all that vast tract of country, which was comprehended within the limits of old Germany, was occupied, with some trifling exceptions, by a singularly warlike and intrepid race of men. Here then an important question arises respecting the family, to which this great and military people is to be ascribed. Cluverius and Pelloutier and Pezron suppose the Germans to be the children of the aboriginal Celts or Cimmerians; and in this opinion, notwithstanding its direct contrariety to the evidence of the ancients, it was long indolently acquiesced. Bp. Percy was, I believe, one of the first who controverted it; for, upon examination, he found, that no two people were more unlike in every particular than the Celts and the Germans, and that all the old writers accordingly describe them as two entirely different races²: but the matter has since been completely set at rest by the laborious investigation of Mr. Pinkerton. That able inquirer begins with negatively demonstrating, that the Germans were neither Sarmatians nor Celts³: and then he proceeds to shew, by three grand arguments, that they were most assuredly Scythians.

The first argument is that of identity of language: for the German, while it is wholly different from the Celtic on the one hand and from the Slavonic on the other, is palpably the same as the Scythic or Gothic dialect, into which the gospels were translated by Ulphilas, for the use of the Moesian Goths, in the year 367; the same also as the present vulgar tongue of the Crimea, which was in the very heart of the first settlement of the Scythians when they began to migrate from Asia; and the same likewise, both in form and in structure and in numerous words, as the language of the Persians, among whose tribes accordingly Herodotus actually specifies the Germans⁴. The second argument is that of the universal tes-

¹ Pink. Dissert. p. 45—51.

² See his lordship's admirable introductory preface to his translation of Mallet's Northern Antiquities.

³ Pink. Dissert. p. 89—106.

⁴ Ibid. p. 109—114. Herod. Hist. lib. i. c. 125.

BOOK VI. timony of ancient authors : these with one voice declare, that the Germans and the Scythians were the same people ; and that, in consequence of the decided predominance of the Germans, the Scythians were to be considered as the ruling people of Europe ¹. The third argument is taken from the similar manners of the Germans and the Scythians: these do not resemble each other, merely in those *vague* and *general* points wherein all half-civilized nations coincide, but in a great variety of *arbitrary* particulars which could not have been the result of accident alone ².

On such solid grounds, the Germans may indisputably be pronounced Scythians: and, as it clearly appears both from Cesar and Tacitus that they were an unmixed or homogeneous nation, for not the least vestige of a servile caste, the invariable result of one people reducing another to a state of subjection, can be discovered among them ; we must necessarily conclude, that, as the Scythians advanced westward from the Euxine, the Celts retired before them, until they were finally driven to the extremities of Gaul or compelled to take refuge in Britain. With this hypothesis some remarkable facts will be found to agree very minutely. As the Scythic torrent rolled westward, those ancient Celts, who happened to occupy insulated and detached spots, would be left behind untouched, and would thus finally be intercepted and cut off from their retiring brethren. Such accordingly we perceive to have been actually the case. The Cimbric or Cimmerians had been shut up in modern Jutland or the Cimbric Chersonesus ; whence, in the time of Marius, uniting themselves with a branch of the Scythic Teutons or Teutsch or Germans, they burst with tremendous violence into Italy ³. And, in a similar manner, the Estyi had been left behind in some projecting district on the southern shore of the Baltic : where, in the days of Tacitus, they still remained, a Celtic tribe universally surrounded, save to the north, by Scythic Germans ⁴.

(3.) The Germans then of Cesar and Tacitus were Scythians. This being shewn, it may seem almost unnecessary to identify the Scythians with those formidable Goths, who subverted the western Roman empire, and

¹ Pinkerton's Dissert. p. 115—130.

² Ibid. p. 131—142.

³ Plut. in vit. Marii.

⁴ Tacit. de mor. Germ. c. 45.

who, with the exception of Russia and Poland and Hungary, founded the various kingdoms of modern Europe; for it is superfluous to observe, that they universally came out of Germany, crossing the Rhine to the west and the Danube to the south: yet, that nothing may be wanting to complete the matter, a few remarks shall be offered upon that point also. CHAP. IV.

Mr. Pinkerton proves, that those, whom the Greek writers of one period styled *Getes*, were the same people as those; who, when better known, were by the writers of another period denominated *Goths*. This was their own acknowledged national appellation; which by the earlier Hellenic historians had, with a thinner sound, been expressed *Getes*. Hence it is evident, that the *Getes* and the *Goths* were one family. But the *Getes* were undoubtedly *Scythians*. The *Goths* therefore were *Scythians* likewise. In fact, *Goth* and *Scuth* are but the same word differently pronounced; the one without, and the other with, the sibilant prefix †. The *Goths* or *Scythians* of Germany then were the people, who harassed the eastern, and who subverted the western, Roman empire. Yet there can be no doubt, that their numbers were continually swelled by fresh accessions from the east. The stream ceased not to flow, until the political aspect of Europe was entirely changed: conquest naturally produced castes: the victors became the military nobles: and the vanquished were long degraded to the condition of serfs and villains. In the midst of this great revolution, we may still perceive the two principal names which so eminently predominated in Asia. The *Chusas* or *Chasas*, and the *Sacas* or *Sacenas*, of the *Hindoo* writers are the oriental *Scuths* and *Sacæ* of the *Greeks*: and the *Scuths* and *Sacæ* of the *Greeks* are the European *Goths* and *Saxons* of more modern times.

Thus at length we are brought to the conclusion, that, since the *Goths* and the *Saxons* are the descendants of the *Chusas* and the *Sacæ*; since the *Chusas* and the *Sacæ* are alike declared, in the *Institutes of Menu*, to be branches of the *Hindoo* military caste; since they themselves claim for their patriarchal ancestor *Chusa* or *Cusha*; and since the wide range, of which they occupy a part, is by the *Hindoos* denominated *Cusha-dwip*

† Pink. Dissert. p. 7—14

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within and by the sacred writers *the oriental land of Cush*: we are at length brought to the conclusion, that the Goths and Saxons of Europe, like the Pelasgic founders of the Greek and Roman states, were in reality not children of Japhet, as many have erroneously supposed, but the posterity of Cush the son of Ham.

They were members of that great house, which the Greeks were accustomed to style *Indians* and *Ethiopians* in the south, and *Getes* and *Scythians* in the north: though, such is the force of acknowledged consanguinity, we perpetually find the geographical position of these names inverted. Hence, what seems not a little perplexing without this key to the mystery, we meet with *Scythias* and *Scythians* far to the south, and *Indias* and *Indians* far to the north. Thus there was a province in Egypt, and another in Syria, alike denominated *Scythia*: the whole Iranian empire, from Asia Minor to the Erythræan sea, bore the same appellation: and this vast region was further considered, as stretching along the coast far into India, under the name of *Scythia Limyrica* ¹. Accordingly, Dionysius informs us, that the southern Scythians dwelt on the shore of the Erythræan sea and on the banks of the river Indus; which he rightly describes as flowing from that high mountainous region, that received from the Chasas the appellation of *Caucasus* or *Coh-Cas* ². On the other hand, we are told, that the Scythians of Colchis were Indo-Scythæ, though they had last emigrated from Egypt ³: there was an India on the Phasis: and, among the Thracians whom we have recently seen to be in the main of Scythic origin, there was a tribe of Sindi or Indians ⁴. In a similar manner, though the two principal Ethiopias were the Iranian and the African, and though we have been accustomed exclusively to associate the ideas of a black skin and woolly hair with the name of Ethiopian: yet, as the Ethiopians and the Goths were the same race, we shall find northern as well as southern Ethiopias. There was an *Ethiopia* on the Euxine, in the midst of the Colchians, the Scythians, the

¹ Bryant's Anal. vol. iii. p. 143, 144, 192—212. Hence possibly the *Limerick* of the Indo-Scythic Irish.

² Dion. Perieg. ver. 1088—1092. ³ Tzet. in Lycoph. ver. 174. Herod. lib. ii. c. 104.

⁴ Bryant's Anal. vol. iii. p. 214, 215.

Sogdians, and the Sacæ: there was another *Ethiopia* in Phenicia: there was likewise a region called *Ethiopium* in the island Eubœa: *Ethiopia* was the ancient name of Samothrace, where the Indo-Scythic Pelasgi or Palli eminently established their Mysteries: and there was an *Ethiopia* in Spain, which received its appellation from the Ethiopic Atlantians who crossed over into Europe and occupied the island Erythœa¹. All these Scythians, or Goths, or Ethiopians, or Indians, were children of the same great family; however, from local circumstances, they might differ in aspect and complexion. In Scripture they are styled *Cushim* or *Cuthim* from their ancestor Cush: and the Greek writers describe them as a peculiarly sacred race, who first enacted laws and introduced the worship of the gods. The same authors assure us, that Ethiopia was the first settled country upon earth; an assertion, perfectly accurate with respect to the *original* Ethiopia: for *this* Ethiopia was the Asiatic Cushadwip or primeval empire of Iran; and it was planted after the flood by Nimrod, whom the author of the Paschal Chronicle rightly styles an *Ethiopian*, who was the earliest imperial legislator, and who for deep political reasons was the chief promoter of idolatry².

(4.) When the Scythians had completely occupied the whole of Germany, a branch of this ever restless people crossed over into Scandinavia. The region, which they had chosen, necessarily converted them into mariners: and, under the names of *Peucini* or *Piks* and *Norwegians* or *Northmen*, they peopled Iceland and seized upon all the sea coast of Scotland³. It need scarcely be remarked, that, many ages after the Christian era, they were still troublesome and formidable to the more civilized south as Danes and Normans. As little need it be observed, that, at the downfall of the western empire, the Sacas, who had at one period spread themselves to the north of India and had been most vexatious neighbours to the Medo-Perians of Iran, crossed over the German ocean, and in the island of Britain founded a Saxon kingdom which has at length attained the last stage of religious and political civilization.

(5.) The first Scythic colony however, that established itself in Europe,

¹ Bryant's Anal. vol. iii. p. 179—185.

² Ibid. p. 38, 185, 166.

³ Pink. Dissert. p. 150—160, 121, 122.

BOOK VI. occupied, as we have seen, the eastern, the northern, and the western, shores of the Euxine: and here, after so many revolutions and after the lapse of so many ages, we still find their children the Cossacs or Cossais. Mingled no doubt they are at present with other races: but both their name, their situation, and their characteristic manners, clearly prove them to belong to the house of Coss or Cush. Their country is mentioned nine centuries ago, by Constantine-Porphirogenetus, under the appellation of *Casachia*: and it is described, as lying at the foot of mount Caucasus; which, like the Indian Caucasus, was so called from its tenants the Chasas¹. The modern Cossacs are blended with Slavonians; and their language is said to be a dialect of Slavonic: but, though subject to the crown of Muscovy, they differ most essentially in almost every particular from the Japhetic Russians. They possess the high chivalrous spirit; which has always, *with a single exception*, distinguished the military house of Cush: though under an arbitrary monarch, they have successfully vindicated their ancient warlike freedom: and, while we have long been accustomed to deem them a horde of barbarians, they have received from a modern traveller, who has been domesticated with them, the meed of no ordinary commendation. *The Cossacs*, says Dr. Clarke, *are polished in their manners, instructed in their minds, hospitable, generous, disinterested in their hearts, humane and tender to the poor, good husbands, good fathers, good wives, good mothers, virtuous daughters, valiant and dutiful sons. In conversation, the Cossac is a gentleman: for he is well-informed, free from prejudice, open, sincere, and upright*². I suspect, that this Gothic colony received a considerable accession of their Cuthic brethren from Egypt: but such subsequent migrations of the war-tribe must be reserved for further discussion³.

(6.) There is reason to believe, that we have been equally ill-judged in so perpetually stigmatizing our illustrious ancestors of the line of Cush as a race of ignorant savages: insomuch that, with superficial flippancy, we have even disgraced ourselves so far as proverbially to make the term *Goth* synonymous with *illiterate barbarian*. They however, who conversed with

¹ Porph. de adm. imper. c. xlii. p. 133. apud Clarke.

² Clarke's Trav. vol. i. c. 13.

³ Vide infra c. v. § VI. 3, 4.

this noble race, knew better how to appreciate their value than their misinformed posterity. Suffice it to say, that the military Goths are universally celebrated by contemporary writers for their dignified clemency, their eminent justice, their domestic modesty, their systematic humanity, their sacred hospitality, their profound political wisdom. To speak of their undaunted courage were plainly superfluous : and, if they little regarded letters when they invaded the Roman empire, they were well aware, that, in *their* peculiar circumstances, they rather required a wise and military, than a pedantic and feeble, sovereign. Theodoric, who was unlearned, was the best and greatest of kings : Theodohat, who was learned, brought to utter ruin the first Gothic monarchy in Italy. Against such virtues, the contemptible science of degenerate Rome, contemptible and puerile as it was *then* cultivated, could make but little head. The victors themselves, who were destined to infuse a new principle of vitality into the corrupt mass, felt ashamed of their ignoble conquest ; and, with their own peculiar energy, strongly expressed their ineffable contempt for the dotting empire, which they overturned. *When we would brand an enemy with disgrace, we call him a Roman ; comprehending, under this one name of Roman, whatever is base, and cowardly, and covetous, and false, and vicious*¹.

3. We have now traced the Scythians to the utmost limits of the west, let us next observe their progress to the extremities of the east.

(1.) The Institutes of Menu, as we have seen, declare, that the Chinas were a branch of the war-tribe ; which seceded and was excommunicated at the same period with the Chusas, the Sacas, the Cambojas, and other kindred nations. Now, if the Pundits be accurate in the country which they unanimously assign to the retiring Chinas, there can be no doubt but that the Chinas are those whom we are accustomed to style *Chinese*².

¹ Liutprand. Legat. See Pink. Dissert. pref. p. viii—xiv. The merciless and savage Romans, whose liberty and virtues we have been accustomed so childishly to idolize, often shed more blood in a single war, than the Goths in conquering the whole empire. It is acutely observed by Mr. Pinkerton, that the language of Italy, France, and Spain, which is mere Latin corrupted by time, sufficiently proves how few of the old inhabitants perished. They became in fact, what they deserved to become, the servile caste to a race of military nobles.

² Asiat. Res. vol. ii. p. 369.

BOOK VI. Such being the case, the Chinese must necessarily be pronounced Cuthim, or Goths. Hence Sir William Jones, on the united evidence of religion and old tradition, makes them a member of the great Indian family. They themselves however acknowledge not the title of *Chinese*; but, for whatever reason, they choose to consider it as a name of reproach. Yet is their origin strongly marked in their own nomenclature. As Egypt was of old denominated *Chemia* and *the land of Ham*; so the Chinese are still wont to describe themselves as *the people of Han*¹. They were, to a considerable extent at least, children of Ham through the Gothic line of Cush: for every particular, that can be collected respecting them, perfectly agrees with the testimony of the Institutes.

Herodotus mentions a very remarkable family of Scythians, which he places far to the east beyond both the royal Scythians and those who had seceded from them. At that period they were living at the foot of some lofty mountains: and the historian denominates them *Argippèi* or *the votaries of the white horse*, by way of distinguishing them from the other Scythians. They were an inoffensive and peaceable race, so little addicted to the art of war that they had not even amongst them any weapons. Yet none molested them; for they were considered as sacred by their military neighbours, who in their private disputes were wont to call them in as umpires: and so highly were they venerated, that whoever sought an asylum amongst them was secure from all molestation. They lived almost wholly upon vegetable diet, for they had but few cattle: and they were distinguished from other Scythians by the circumstance of their being universally bald².

These various characteristics strongly incline me to believe, that the *Argippèi* were the Chinese, who inhabited the western frontier of the empire, and who were thence contiguous to the nomade Scythians: at least the one people, in almost every particular, bears a striking resemblance to the other. The peaceful and philosophical habits of the Chinese, who certainly formed a considerable empire long before the time of Herodotus, are well known: the mode of living in a great degree on vegetable diet is likewise well known:

¹ *Asiat. Res.* vol. ii. p. 366.

² *Herod. Hist. lib. iv. c. 22—24.*

and it seems not improbable, that at an early period their superior civilization might give them much influence over their ruder neighbours. So likewise, as the far eastern region where the historian places the Argippèi agrees very well with the situation of the most westerly Chinese, the circumstance of their universal baldness, on which he particularly dwells, may further serve to establish the point of their identity. The Chinese, whose pertinacious addiction to old customs is proverbial, still present the exact aspect of the ancient Argippèi: their heads are entirely shaved, except a single lock of hair which in a long braid is pendent behind. Nor is the title of *Argippèi*, which Herodotus bestows upon this oriental Scythic tribe, to be wholly passed over in silence. The veneration of the white horse of Buddha or Siaka must once have prevailed in China: and, if we knew more of the interior of the empire, as the worship of Buddha under the name of *Fo* is yet familiar to its inhabitants, we should probably find that it still prevails. At any rate it must *formerly* have been established there: because we find, that, when the later modification of Buddhism was imported from China into Japan about the year 63 of the Christian era, the missionaries obtained leave to build a temple, which even now is called *the temple of the white horse*, because the Kio or holy book of Siaka was brought over on an animal of that description ¹.

If then the Argippèi of Herodotus were the Chinese, that ancient nation, agreeably to the testimony of the Intitutes, is a branch of the Scythians or Chusas: and, with this conclusion, what we can collect from other writers will exactly accord. A large body of the Sacæ, the Sacas of the Hindoos, early got possession of Sogdiana and the regions upon the Jaxartes; whence they extended themselves eastward quite to the ocean. They were of the Cuthic or Scythic family: their country was called *Sacæia* and *Cutha*: and their chief city was Sacastan, the *Sacastana* of Isidorus Characenus. They got possession of the upper part of China, which they denominated *Cathæia* or *the land of Cath*: and, during the middle ages, it long continued to be known by the appellation of *Cathay*. Among the Greeks, the inhabitants of the Chinese empire were usually distinguished

¹ Kæmpfer's Japan. p. 247.

BOOK VI. by the name of *Seres* and *Sinæ*: but these are still referred to the great Scythic house, and are placed in the identical country where Herodotus places his worshippers of the white horse. Pausanias mentions, that, according to the opinion of some, the Seres were Ethiopians; while others maintained, that they were of the Scythic family with a mixture of the Indic. The difference between these writers is more apparent, than real: and their general testimony remarkably corroborates that of the Institutes respecting the origin of the Chinas. As we have already seen, the Indians, the Scuths, and the Ethiopians or Cushim, were all, with more or less admixture, branches of the same great house: so that, to whichever of these nominally different races the Seres be referred, they will equally be the descendants of the military caste; to the excommunicated seceders from which the Chinas are accordingly ascribed in the Institutes of Menu. Such then is their family: and, as, like the Argippèi, they are declared by the scholiast on Dionysius to be Scythians; so the country, in which they are placed, exactly corresponds with that of the Argippèi. Agathemerus fixes them beyond the whole region of Scythia: and Marcianus Heracleota describes them, as inhabiting a country to the north of the Sinenses which coincides with the district of Chinese Cathaia¹.

It may naturally enough be inquired, if this be the origin of the Chinese, how they came to differ so very much in character from all the other Goths or Scythians: for the general mark of this wide-spreading family is a certain military fearlessness and a chivalrous spirit of adventure; but the Chinese, from the time of Herodotus down to the present period, have always been a contemplative and stationary and unwarlike race, easily subjected by the more enterprising Tartars of the north, and yielding without a struggle to despotism the most complete.

The account, which has been given us, of the white-horse-Scythians will probably enable us to account for this striking difference of character. It appears from Herodotus, that these men, although systematically peaceful and so little used to war as not even to possess any offensive weapons, were yet wholly unmolested by their military neighbours and brethren, and were

¹ Bryant's Anal. vol. iii. p. 553—556.

moreover so highly regarded by them as perpetually to be called in to settle CHAP. IV. their frequent disputes. Now the reason, which he assigns for their possessing this extraordinary influence over a fierce and warlike race, is the circumstance of their being deemed peculiarly sacred. The question then is, why such a character was attributed to them: and, if I mistake not, the answer to this question will completely solve the present difficulty. In the Institutes, the Chinas are said to be of the same family as the Sacas and the Chasas, and they are represented as being an excommunicated branch of the military caste. But, as we have already seen, the sacerdotal class was but an excrescence from that of the primeval Cuthic nobility: so that, in point of descent from a common patriarchal ancestor, the priests and the soldiers were brethren. Yet, brethren as they were in blood, their different habits and pursuits would soon produce a striking difference of character between the members of the two allied orders: the Brahmens would be men of peace and philosophic contemplation; the Cuttrees would be men of war and romantic enterprize. I am greatly inclined then to believe, that, when the Scuths who adhered to Scythism separated themselves from those who preferred Ionism, a tribe of priests or Brahmens or Magi, attended by a mixed multitude from the other castes, withdrew far to the east and there became the founders of the Chinese monarchy. Such a conjecture will at once account for the circumstance of the Argippèi being reckoned sacred by their warlike neighbours, and for the singularly pacific and contemplative character both of themselves and of their supposed descendants the modern Chinese. It will likewise account for the extraordinary population of their long unmolested empire, for the wonderfully unbroken succession of their political constitution, and for their addiction to the patient labours of agriculture so utterly unlike the roving humour of the nomade Scythians to whose family nevertheless they are universally ascribed.

(2.) As for the Japanese, they are palpably members of the same house as the Chinese; though their military spirit, in which they resemble the other Goths, forbids the supposition of their being a mere late formed colony from the overflowing empire on the continent. I should rather conjecture, that Japan was planted by a tribe of warlike Sacas, who *preceded*

BOOK VI. in their eastern route the pacific sacerdotal founders of the Chinese monarchy. This opinion coincides with that of Kämpfer and Titsingh; who, from a long residence in the island, are doubtless the best qualified judges of the matter: and it has met with the approbation of Sir William Jones, though he strongly contends that the Japanese are a branch of the same ancient stem with the Chinese. It seems, that the former would resent, as an insult on their dignity, the bare suggestion of their descent from the latter: and, in truth, the dissimilitude of the two national characters proves sufficiently, that the Japanese are not mistaken in their opinion¹. Their supposed origination from a tribe of Sacas, who had preceded the Brahmenical Chinas, seems to be confirmed by the circumstance of a district in Japan being still called *Sacaia*: and it is yet further confirmed by the occurrence of the local name of *Gotho*; for the Sacas and the Goths were of the same race².

(3.) Another branch of the Cuthic stock bore, according to the Institutes, the appellation of *Cambojas*: and these are doubtless to be found in Cambodia or the extensive district which bears the general name of *the eastern peninsula of India*. Their descendants are the Cossais, the Siamese, the Peguers, and the now predominating Burmas. These are a warlike and intelligent people, not unworthy of their Gothic ancestry: and, like the un-mixed Scythians from the extremity of Asia to the extremity of Europe, they are universally worshippers of Buddha or Saca or Dagon³.

4. Nothing now remains but to turn our attention to the south-west: and here an amazing scene opens upon us, in which, as usual, we find the adventurous Scythians the chief actors.

Their colonies in this quarter were the Phenicians, the various tribes of Zanznumim or Anakin, the Philistim or Palli who communicated to the whole land of Canaan the name of *Palestine* or *Pallisthan*, and the mighty Shepherd or Pallic kings of Egypt. When these last, after miraculously experiencing the wrath of heaven, were expelled by the native Mizraim under their ancient princes: a new series of migrations was the conse-

¹ *Asiat. Res.* vol. ii. p. 379, 380.

² Kämpfer's *Japan*. b. i. c. 8. p. 104. note *a*.

³ Simes's *Embassy to Ava*. *passim*.

quence, which affected both Europe and Africa and Asia. But such events are of a magnitude to require and deserve a separate discussion. At present, suffice it to say, that the Phenicians have often most erroneously been ascribed to the house of the servile Canaan; while the Philistin, from an ill understood expression of Moses, have been misdeemed a branch of the Mizraim¹. In reality, they were alike descended from the great family of Cush; and were equally, in the first instance, emigrants from Asiatic Cussha-dwip or Ethiopia. By lapse of time they might indeed, especially the Phenicians, be *mingled* with the Canaanites: but their national *origin* was most assuredly altogether different. At least, they agreed only in the circumstance of their being equally the children of Ham through the two distinct lines of Cush and Canaan.

5. As the grand characteristic of nearly all the Noetic families is the existence of a polity, more or less perfectly dividing the community into separate castes; so that the sacerdotal and military classes, proudly refusing to mix with the subject multitude, should constantly be at the head of affairs, while the plebeians were degraded to a state of servitude; a polity emanating from the universal predominance of the house of Cush: so a principal characteristic of that part of the military tribe, which seceded from the other part and which in consequence was regarded as outcast and heretical, is a polity, which either knows nothing of a division into castes, or which recognizes only a priesthood administering the religion of an entire nation of freemen or nobles or warriors; for, in the estimation of the warlike Cuths, these terms were synonymous.

Thus among the Burmans there are no castes; among the Chasas, none; among the Chinese, none. The Japanese have a distinct order of priesthood with an ecclesiastical emperor (as Kæmpfer calls him) at their head, while a secular emperor presides over the state: but I cannot find, that they have any other castes in the Hindoo sense of the word². As for the ancient Scythians, Thracians, Persians, and Lydians, they partly had, and partly had not castes. This point we learn from Herodotus: and Strabo

¹ Gen. x. 14.

² Simes's Embassy to Ava. vol. ii. p. 3. Asiat. Res. vol. vi. p. 251. Kæmpfer's Japan. b. ii. Staunton's Embass. to China.

BOOK VI. specially instances the Iberians, as being regularly divided into four orders ¹. Whenever such was the case, I should pronounce, that the circumstance originated, either from conquest, or from the primeval secession of other tribes under the influence of the Cuths. These mingled Scythians were viewed with no small contempt by those, who had preserved their blood pure and uncontaminated. Herodotus mentions, that beyond the Gerrhus lay what was denominated the royal province of Scythia. This was occupied by the noblest and at the same time the most numerous of the Scuths, who viewed all the rest of their countrymen in the light of slaves. The country extended from Tauris far to the south, and from the Palus Meotis far to the east; while to the north-west it stretched along the Tanais ². It was evidently peopled, as we may collect both from the spirit of the nation and from their proud title of *royal Scythians* or *Scuthic kings*, by an entire race of military nobility: and these seem to have acquired a complete ascendancy over the various hordes of their mixed brethren. One branch of them, we are told, migrated to the north-east, where they fixed themselves at some considerable distance from the frontiers of the Argippæan Chinese ³: but the most numerous portion travelled westward; for the local situation of the royal or noble Scythians plainly demonstrates them to have been the ancestors of those, who in Europe were known by the appellations of *Tentones*, *Germani*, *Goths*, and *Saxons*. Accordingly, like their forefathers, this warlike race, to adopt the phraseology which we have derived from them, was entirely composed of gentlemen or freemen. *Every* man was a soldier: *every* man had a voice in the great council of the nation: *every* man claimed a right to give his opinion respecting matters of importance, while affairs of less moment were alone entrusted to the exclusive management of the princes. *All* were noble: yet, as no state can exist without *some* having the præminence, high antiquity of blood was the characteristic of their kings, a superior genius for war was the badge of their generals. So loose was their allegiance, and so slight their submission, that they rather spontaneously acted together to accomplish some com-

¹ Herod. Hist. lib. ii. c. 167. Strab. Geog. lib. xi. p. 501.

² Herod. Hist. lib. iv. c. 20.

³ Herod. Hist. lib. iv. c. 22.

mon object in which all were interested, than served by constraint under an arbitrary superior. The multitude were not the serfs, but the free military vassals or retainers, of their princes and higher nobility. Every part of their constitution breathed an armed and unrestrained freedom: each individual felt his strength and importance: and it is most curious to observe the marked difference in point of government, as delineated by the masterly pens of Cæsar and Tacitus, between this nation of soldiers and their neighbours the caste-divided Celts. Yet these warriors, who would scarcely yield to any secular lord, freely submitted to the commands of their priesthood: nor did they think bonds or even stripes any degradation from such sacred hands¹.

¹ Cæsar. Comment. lib. vi. c. 21, 22, 23. Tacit. de mor. Germ. c. 4, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 21, 22, 25, 31, 38, 39. The complete liberty of the Gothic Germans, so foreign from that division into castes by which the inferior ranks were reduced to a state of absolute servitude and political insignificance, is most pointedly described in a single sentence of Tacitus. *De minoribus rebus principes consultant: de majoribus, OMNES.*

CHAPTER V.

Respecting the Shepherd-Kings of Egypt, and the various Settlements of the Military Caste, in Consequence of their Expulsion.

INOW come to treat of a very extraordinary people, whose history will throw considerable light on some parts of Holy Scripture.

I. The substance of what we know concerning them is thus recorded by different authors.

1. *We had formerly, says Manetho the Egyptian, a king named Timaus. In his days, through the wrath of heaven, a race of men, whose origin was unknown to us, suddenly made their appearance from the east. These invaded our country: and such was their military prowess, that, in a very short time and without encountering any material resistance, they reduced it under their dominion. Our nobility they completely subjugated: and, not content with having obtained the mastery, they proceeded to burn our cities and to overturn the temples of our gods. All the natives they treated with the utmost cruelty: for they murdered some of them, and degraded to abject servitude the children and the wives of others. At length they made one of their number to be king: and the name of this person was Salatis. The new prince established himself at Memphis; reduced both the upper and the lower province to the payment of tribute; and placed garrisons in all*

convenient situations. But he most anxiously fortified those parts, which look towards the east; wisely foreseeing that the Assyrians, who were then lords of Asia, might hereafter be tempted to invade his dominions. Hence, having found in the Saitic nome a town very advantageously situated on the oriental side of the Bubastite river, he fortified it with strong walls, and entrusted it to the charge of two hundred and forty thousand warriors. The name of this city, as designated by the ancient theologians, was Auaris. Hither he was wont to resort in summer time, partly to measure out the corn which he received as tribute, partly to pay his soldiers their stipends, and partly to train them to the use of arms that so he might strike terror into his foreign neighbours. When he had reigned 19 years, he died. He was succeeded by Beon; who reigned 44 years: he, by Apachnas; who reigned 36 years and 7 months: he, by Apophis; who reigned 61 years: he, by Janias; who reigned 50 years and 1 month: and he, by Assis; who reigned 49 years and 2 months. These six were the first kings of this dynasty: they were perpetually engaged in war: and they seemed desirous of utterly rooting out the native Egyptians.

The name, by which the invaders were distinguished, was that of Huc-Sos or Shepherd-kings: for, in the sacred language, Huc denotes a king; and Sos, in the common dialect, a shepherd. Some believe them to have been Arabs. These, and their posterity, remained masters of Egypt for the space of 511 years: when a bloody war took place between them and the princes of the Thebais under the command of Alisphragmuthosis. The result of it was, that the Shepherds were worsted, and were expelled out of the whole of Egypt save the place already mentioned under the name of Auaris. This, although spoken of as a city, was rather a province: for it comprehended ten thousand acres, and was large enough to contain all the multitude of the Shepherds with their plunder and their provisions. The whole of it was surrounded by a lofty wall; and it was considered by these tyrants, as their principal strong-hold. Here they were besieged by Thumosis¹, the son of Alisphragmuthosis, with an army of four hundred and eighty thousand men: but, despairing of being able to reduce them by force, he at length entered

¹ Or Tethmosis, as he is afterwards called.

BOOK VI. *into a compact with them, that they should evacuate Egypt and retire without molestation where they pleased. Accordingly, they marched away with all their families and all their possessions, to the number of two hundred and forty thousand souls; and, striking into the desert, they made directly for Syria. Through fear however of the Assyrians who were then lords of Asia, they built a city in the land now called Judæa, which might be capable of holding so many persons: and Jerusalem was the name, by which they distinguished it*¹.

After they had retired into Palestine, a succession of native princes reigned, we are told, in Egypt, for the space of 340 years and 7 months, until the time of Sethosis or Egyptus and his brother Armaïs or Danaus². At this period, according to the Hellenic writers, another emigration took place: for Cadmus and Danaus, with large bodies of their countrymen, retired into Greece; while the Israelites, under the command of Moses, withdrew into Palestine.

The historian, having now dislodged the Shepherd-kings from Auaris, and having briefly noticed the line of native princes that succeeded them in the government, introduces to our acquaintance a new race of foreigners. These he describes, as being afflicted with the leprosy; says, that they rapidly increased to the number of eighty thousand; and mentions, that they were then put to hard labour in the stone-quarries on the eastern side of the Nile. At length the reigning king Amenophis, whom he makes the third in succession from him who expelled the Shepherds³, granted to this oppressed people the district Auaris, which had recently been evacuated by the pastoral sovereigns. Here they soon began to meditate revolutionary projects: and, having chosen for their leader a certain Heliopolitan priest named *Osarsiph*, they swore to obey him in all things. This person enacted, that they should neither adore the gods of the Egyptians, nor abstain from any of those animals which they accounted sacred; but that they should indifferently slay and eat all of them, and that they should intermarry with none but those who were engaged in the same project. When he had made these regulations with many others highly offensive to the

¹ Joseph. cont. Apion. lib. i. § 14.

² Ibid. § 15.

³ Ibid. § 15.

manners of Egypt, he ordered his followers to prepare for war against king Amenophis. Wishing however for assistance, he sent to the Shepherds who had been expelled from Auaris and who had since built Jerusalem; promising them, that, if they would help him against the Egyptians, he would restore to them the district from which they had been dislodged by Tethmosis. His invitation was readily accepted: and the Shepherd-kings, to the number of two hundred thousand men, immediately set out, and in a short time reached Auaris: So formidable an irruption not a little alarmed Amenophis: and he was the more inclined to despair in consequence of a prophecy, which foretold, that certain strangers would join the leprous multitude to whom he had given Auaris when evacuated by the Shepherds, and that they would jointly obtain the dominion of Egypt for the space of thirteen years. Guessing that the prediction was now about to be accomplished, he assembled the whole commonalty of the Egyptians; and, having taken counsel with the leading men, he reverently gathered to himself the sacred animals, and strictly charged the priesthood to hide the statues of the gods. Then, although at the head of three hundred thousand fighting men, he retired into Ethiopia without venturing to give the enemy battle, lest he should seem to fight against the decrees of the deity. The king of that country was under obligations to him, and received both him and his followers with much kindness: here therefore he determined to remain, until the fatal period of thirteen years should have elapsed. Meanwhile the Shepherd-kings from Jerusalem, and their allies the Lepers, used with the utmost barbarity the advantages which they had gained. For they not only burned the towns and villages: but, as if in premeditated mockery of the established religion, they employed the wooden statues of the gods as fuel to cook the flesh of the sacred animals; and they compelled the priests and prophets to slaughter those animals with their own hands. Of this nefarious republic the founder and legislator, as it has already been intimated, was Osarsiph, an Heliopolitan priest of Osiris: but, when he had placed himself at the head of it, he changed his name, and thenceforth was called *Moses*. The thirteen years however soon expired: and then Amenophis and his son Rampses, descending from Ethi-

BOOK VI. opia with a vast army, attacked the Shepherds and the Lepers, routed them in a great battle, and pursued them to the borders of Syria¹.

2. Manetho is not the only writer, who mentions the evacuation of Egypt by the Lepers under Moses and their imagined allies the Shepherds: Diodorus has left a most curious passage relative to the same subject.

Formerly, says he, a pestilential disorder prevailed in Egypt, which most were willing to ascribe to the wrath of the deity. For, when strangers from various different quarters had intruded into the country who were each addicted to the rites of a foreign religion, the ancient worship of the native gods fell into discredit. Hence the aboriginal inhabitants began to suspect, that they should never be free from the malady until they expelled the aliens. Upon this, as some writers tell us, the most noble and warlike of those foreigners, being compelled to leave the country, emigrated into Greece and certain other regions, under the command of several illustrious leaders, among whom Danaus and Calmus are especially celebrated. But there was yet a very numerous division, which marched off by land into the district now called Judæa. Of this colony one Moses was the leader, a man of great wisdom and fortitude. He, having occupied that country, built a magnificent temple at Jerusalem, and instituted a regular ceremonial of divine worship. He likewise ordained laws for his new republic; and divided the whole multitude into twelve tribes, answering to the twelve months of the year. All visible representations of the gods he strictly forbid; teaching, that there is but one Deity, who pervades and governs all things, and who cannot adequately be described by the human figure. The sacrificial rites and institutes, which he introduced, were of such a nature, that they differed very essentially from those of all other people: and, as he presided over a banished nation, he determined, that their general habits of life should be inhuman and inhospitable. He appointed a regular order of priests for the service of the temple, and made them also the secular judges of the community: whence they say, that he was never himself the king of the Jews. On the contrary, he vested the chief authority in the hands of

¹ Joseph. cont. Apion. lib. i. § 26, 27.

a sovereign pontiff; who, at the same time, as a messenger, interpreted the behests of the Divinity¹. CHAP. V

We have moreover some very singular perversions of the same piece of history, handed down to us from the pens of other ancient authors.

Lysimachus tells us, that, while Bocchoris was king of Egypt, the nation of the Jews, being infected by an inveterate leprosy, fled to the temples and begged for food. Many dying by reason of the disorder, a great famine took place. Upon this the king consulted the oracle of Hammon; and was charged to purge the land and the temples from the unclean race, by which they had been polluted. He accordingly collected all the impure persons, and delivered them into the hands of the soldiers: who, in pursuance of his orders, attached plates of lead to the incurable lepers and drowned them in the sea; but drove out the others to perish in the wilderness. These last, taking counsel together, elected Moses to be their leader: and under his guidance, after suffering many hardships in the desert, they finally emerged from it and seized upon the land of Judèa².

Much the same story, with sundry embellishments and one important addition, is detailed by Tacitus. The Israelites, as usual, have the leprosy; and, as a race hateful to the gods, are driven out of Egypt by Bocchoris. In the desert Moses persuades them to submit to him, as a leader sent from heaven. Here he supplies them with water from a rock, being led to it by a herd of wild asses: and at length, after a journey of six days, they reach the land of Judèa on the seventh, drive out its former occupants, and build a city and a temple. This great historian, as childish in his details respecting the Jews as he is invaluable in his account of ordinary matters, has preserved likewise some other legends, in which truth is strangely intermingled with falsehood. It appears from them, that the Jews were variously reported to have come from mount Ida in Crete; to have emigrated from Egypt, during the reign of Isis, under the command of Hierosolymus and Judas; and to have been very generally esteemed descendants of the Ethiopians, whom fear and hatred had compelled to change their habitations³.

¹ Diod. Bibl. Eclog. ex lib. xl. p. 921, 922.

² Lysim. apud Joseph. cont. Apion. lib. i. § 34.

³ Tacit. Hist. lib. v. c. 2, 3.

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This last particular is the addition, to which I alluded as being singularly important. We have already seen, that many foreigners were obliged to quit Egypt at the same time with the Israelites: hence it was not unnatural, that the latter should often be mistaken for a race, with which they had really no national connection. Now from the legend, adduced by Tacitus, it appears that they were sometimes confounded with certain Ethiopians or Cushim; who, like themselves, had been obliged to change their habitations through the fear and hatred of the native Egyptians. This fragment of history therefore teaches us, that a family of Ethiopians was driven out of the country synchronically with the Israelites, and that these Ethiopians were both hated and feared by the aboriginal Mizraim.

It need scarcely be remarked, that the fable of drowning a race of lepers in the sea, while such as escaped fled into the wilderness, has plainly been taken from the destruction of Pharaoh and his host in the Arabian gulph; the punishment being ingeniously transferred from the oppressors to the oppressed: but it may not be improper to observe, that the malicious tale of the Israelites being all afflicted with an inveterate cutaneous distemper, which seems to have been so very generally taken up by the pagans, has plainly enough originated from the circumstance of Moses being miraculously struck with a temporary leprosy¹. The remembrance of a preternatural revulsion of the Red sea has been preserved by those who dwell upon its coast, not only to the time of Diodorus, but even to the present day. That historian relates, that the Ichthyophagi had a tradition, handed down to them through a long line of ancestors, that the whole bay was once laid bare to the very bottom, the waters retiring to the opposite shores; but that they afterwards, with a most tremendous swell, returned to their accustomed channel: and, even now, the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Corondel, as we learn from Dr. Shaw, preserve the recollection of a mighty army having been once drowned in the bay, which Ptolemy calls *Clysmā*².

II. It remains for us to note the chronology of the pastoral domination in Egypt; and we shall then, I believe, have all the direct information on the subject that is extant.

¹ Exod. iv. 6.

² Diod. Bibl. lib. iii. p. 174. Shaw's Travels. p. 319.

The Shepherds are said in the whole to have been lords of Egypt for the space of 511 years: and the joint reigns of the first six kings amount, if we follow Manetho as cited by Josephus, to 259 years and 10 months; but, if we adopt the numbers as exhibited by Africanus, they amount to 284 years. Manetho places the *first* expulsion of these tyrants from Auaris at the end of the 511 years; but this, I think, is clearly an error. The *entire* duration of their empire is but 511 years: and we find them a *second* time paramount in Egypt, *subsequent* to their expulsion from Auaris. Hence the 511 years must certainly terminate, not with their *first*, but with their *final*, expulsion: and hence their *first* expulsion ought to have been placed, not at the end of the 511 years, but at the end of those 259 years and 10 months which are comprized within the reigns of their six earliest princes.

Now Eusebius notices another succession of Shepherd-princes, different from that of the six earliest kings; which comprehended the space of 106 years, and which consisted of *four* sovereigns. In this he agrees with Herodotus, save that that historian places only *two* kings within the period of the 106 years. To these two kings Herodotus ascribes all the tyranny of the Shepherds; represents them as building the pyramids by the constrained labour of their subjects; and intimates, that those vast edifices were ordinarily called by the name of the shepherd Philitis who then fed his cattle in the country¹. Hence there cannot be a doubt, that he speaks of the Shepherd-kings, and that his alleged period of 106 years must be identified with the similar period specified by Eusebius. But this period differs widely, both from the entire period of 511 years, and from the minor period of 259 years and 10 months which is the length of the *first* pastoral domination. Hence we may safely pronounce it to be the period of the *second* pastoral domination; and may consequently determine it to be the *latter* part of the 511 years, as the 259 years and 10 months are the *former* part of the 511 years.

From the expulsion of the *first* Shepherd-dynasty at the end of the 259 years and 10 months, to the secession of Armaïs or Danaus into Greece,

¹ Herod. Hist. lib. ii. c. 121—128.

BOOK VI. Manetho, as appears by summing up the reigns of the intervening princes according to his specification of them, places a period of 340 years and 7 months. Hence, between the *original* entrance of the Shepherds into Egypt and the secession of Danaus, we shall have a period of 600 years and 5 months: namely, the period produced, by adding together the 259 years and 10 months of the *first* pastoral dynasty and the 340 years and 7 months of the Egyptian kings who reigned until the emigration of Danaus. But the *entire* duration of the pastoral tyranny and predominance was 511 years; and those 511 years commenced synchronically with the 600 years and 5 months. Hence the *second* conquest of Egypt by the Shepherds must have been effected in the course of the 340 years and 7 months: and hence, between the *final* overthrow of the pastoral tyranny at the end of the 511 years and the emigration of Danaus at the end of the 600 years and 5 months, there must have been a period of 89 years and 5 months; that is to say, the period produced by deducting 511 years from 600 years and 5 months.

Now, from this statement and from the general history as detailed by Manetho, it is obvious, that the large period of 511 years, which is described as comprehending the *whole* duration of the pastoral tyranny, divides itself into four smaller periods: the first is that of the dynasty of the six kings, which comprizes 259 years and 10 months or in a round number 260 years, and which terminates with the expulsion of the Shepherds from Auaris¹; the second is the space, which elapses between the expulsion of the Shepherds and the donation of the evacuated Auaris to *another* race of shepherds who choose for a leader Osarsiph afterwards called *Moses*; the third contains the time, during which these *other* shepherds held Auaris until the *expelled* Shepherds returned from Palestine in consequence of the invitation of Osarsiph; and the fourth is the period, during which the *original* Shepherds, having returned from Palestine, once more reigned triumphant throughout Egypt until they were at length *finally* expelled from the country. This last minor period is contracted by Ma-

¹ Africenus, as I have noted above, extends their reigns to 284 years: but, for reasons which will hereafter appear, 260 years, the period assigned by Manetho and Syncellus, must certainly be considered as the genuine number.

Manetho within the narrow limits of 13 years: but, as Herodotus and Eusebius both mention a period of 106 years during which the Shepherds exercised an intolerable tyranny in the country, and as we shall presently find that this number is established by the testimony of Holy Scripture, I have no scruple in rejecting the 13 years of Manetho and in substituting for them the 106 years of Herodotus and Eusebius and Moses.

We shall now therefore have 260 years for the dynasty of the first Shepherds, and 106 years for another dynasty of the same Shepherds after they had returned from Palestine. Consequently, when these two sums are deducted from the entire period of 511 years, we shall have 145 years for those two intermediate minor periods of *the vacancy of the district Auaris and its occupation by the leprous shepherds until the return of its former possessors*.

Manetho however assures us, that, at length, both the leprous shepherds under Moses, and the other Shepherds who had returned from Palestine, were *synchronously* expelled from Egypt. Hence, as the entire duration of the pastoral tyranny from first to last was 511 years, their expulsion of course must have taken place at the end of those years. But the leprous shepherds under Moses were clearly the Israelites; and the exodus of the Israelites fell out in the year 1491 before the Christian era: the other shepherds therefore must have first invaded Egypt 511 years before the epoch of the exodus. If then we count back 511 years, the epoch of the *first* pastoral invasion from the east will be the year 2002 before Christ. Now that year, according to the Samaritan chronology which we have seen reason to adopt in preference to the palpably corrupt chronologies of the Hebrew and the Greek, coincides with the sixth year before the birth of Abraham, with the two hundred and ninety sixth year after the death of Peleg, with *about* the three hundred and sixth year after the dispersion from Babel which happened during the life-time of that patriarch, and with the three hundred and twenty third year after the rise of the Cushic empire of Iran under Nimrod at the commencement of the 1500 years specified by Justin¹. Hence it appears, that Manetho was perfectly accurate in

¹ See Append. Tab. III. and V.

BOOK VI. saying, that the Shepherds invaded Egypt when the Assyrians (by whom we are to understand the Cushim of Ashur and Elam and Aram, or in one word the Cushim of Iran) were lords of Asia, and that they strongly fortified the eastern frontier of Egypt by way of guarding against a not improbable invasion. For they well knew, that the Cushim had already pushed westward beyond the Euphrates into the further Aram or Syria: and, in the course of their domination, they could not be ignorant of the attempt made by Chedorlaomer and three other vassals of the Iranian empire, in the days of Abraham, to subjugate the whole of Palestine as far as mount Scir and Kadesh and El-Paran on the very confines of Egypt. Thus harmoniously does profane history correspond with sacred.

As for Egypt previous to the first irruption of the Shepherds, it is described by Manetho as a well-ordered kingdom: for at the head of it was a sovereign, whom he calls *Timaus* or *Tammuz*; and with him were associated, in the administration of affairs, a regular priesthood and a military nobility. The religion was that, which prevailed in the country even until the establishment of Christianity: for it was the superstition, which originated at Babel, which prevailed (as we learn from Berosus¹) throughout Chaldæa, which immediately involved the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, and which was largely built upon the symbolical veneration of the sacred animals. This particular modification of idolatry was despised, it seems, by the invading Shepherds: who, though plainly distinct from the Israelitish shepherds and therefore themselves apostates from the truth, had not as yet learned to adopt the complex theology of Egypt and Babylonia. Their conduct in the former country was much the same as that of the Persians, when they invaded Greece under Xerxes. These were *mental* idolaters indeed, and had deflected from the worship of the one true God: but, adhering to the ancient Scythism or Buddhism of their forefathers, they were disgusted with that gross and palpable image-worship, which had been brought by the Ionizing Danai and Cadmians out of Egypt and Phœnicia. Such a peculiarity in the behaviour of the invading Shepherds must be carefully borne in mind: for it is of importance towards ascertaining, who they were and whence they came.

¹ Euseb. Chron. p. 5. Syncell. Chronog. p. 28, 29.

This being the condition of Egypt, ecclesiastical and civil, at the time of the *first* pastoral irruption, we shall be prepared to expect some account of its sovereigns *anterior* to that event. Accordingly, Manetho tells us, that there had been fourteen dynasties in the country, subsequent to the reign of the hero-gods, before the arrival of the Shepherds: and these he puts down, as constituting the fifteenth dynasty. The hero-gods were doubtless the Noëtic family; and we may probably so enlarge their number as to comprehend Cush and Nimrod: the dynasties therefore, which succeeded them, were composed of literal Egyptian princes. Now, as there were but about 306 years between the dispersion from Babel and the arrival of the Shepherds in Egypt, and as we must deduct from that period the term occupied by the Mizraim in marching from Shinar to the banks of the Nile; the kingdom of Egypt could not have been founded much more than two centuries and a half, when it was invaded by the pastoral warriors. Hence it is plainly impossible to comprehend within so short a space fourteen *successive* dynasties. We must either suppose therefore, that Egypt was divided into fourteen petty states, which would give fourteen *contemporaneous* dynasties: or we must conclude, that the fourteen pretended *dynasties* were really fourteen successive *kings*, thus enlarged through a vain affectation of remote antiquity. The former most probably was the case: and it will best account for the rapid subjugation of the country by the Shepherds¹. When these became masters of it, and afterwards when they were expelled both the first and second time by the native Mizraim, the whole appears to have been united under a single sovereign: for such seems to be implied, by the language of the sacred historian, in his account of Abraham's sojourning in Egypt; and still more in his circumstantial narrative of the transactions of Joseph, and his detail of what befell the Israelites until the day of the exodus. But this is exactly what might have been expected: for the Shepherds would naturally cling together in one body politic; and the Mizraim could scarcely have driven them out,

¹ Yet, if we adopt the latter supposition, an average of 20 years for the reigns of 14 kings will give 280 years for the duration of the Egyptian monarchy before the arrival of the Shepherds; agreeably to the preceding deduction, that it could not have been founded much more than two centuries and a half before that event.

BOOK VI. unless they had practically learned from their enemies the benefit of union.

III. Such, with the exception of some incidental particulars, is, I believe, all the information that we have relative to that extraordinary people, who conquered Egypt under the name of *the Shepherd-kings*: but, before I proceed to discuss their history at large, it will be proper to notice what Mr. Bryant has said on the subject.

1. The theory of this excellent writer contains much that is valuable, but much also that appears to me exceptionable.

He begins with confuting, from Sir John Marsham, the absurd notion of Josephus, evidently advanced to promote the honour of his country, that the invading Shepherds were the Israelites, and that what Manetho afterwards says of the *real* Israelites has by that historian been studiously thrown out of place and disfigured. In no one particular do these two races of Shepherds agree, except in the single point of their each sustaining the pastoral character. The royal Shepherds invaded Egypt by force of arms, and amounted in number to two hundred and forty thousand persons: the Israelites came peaceably into Egypt to avoid the horrors of famine, and at the time of their descent were but a single family of seventy souls. The royal Shepherds reduced the whole land to servitude, and acted the part of relentless tyrants: the Israelites were themselves slaves, and were grievously oppressed by the governing powers. The royal Shepherds were unwilling to leave the country, and retired not until they were fairly driven out by main force: the Israelites wished to depart, and were long prevented from withdrawing by the obstinacy of the reigning prince. To this we may add, that the royal Shepherds *founded* Jerusalem after their expulsion: the Israelites occupied it long *after* it had been built. The royal Shepherds marched straight into Palestine: the Israelites wandered forty years in the wilderness. The royal Shepherds returned into Egypt, and were a second time expelled: the Israelites left the country but once, and never returned. In short, Manetho plainly specifies two entirely distinct races, one of which *succeeded* the other. The first conquered Egypt by force of arms, and chiefly occupied the district called *Auaris*: the second had a grant of Auaris from a native Egyptian king, when it lay vacant in consequence of the expulsion of its former inhabitants.

But, although the royal Shepherds are thus plainly a different people from the Israelites of Scripture, the shepherds who succeed them in Auaris, perverted as their history is in some particulars, must no less plainly be identified with the chosen people of God. They are described, as being compelled to undergo hard labour: they are placed in an evacuated district on the eastern side of the Nile, just as the Israelites are placed in the land of Goshen which is similarly situated: they are said to have abhorred the idolatry of the Egyptians, to have refused to worship their gods, and to have intermarried only among themselves: they are represented, as having for their leader, at the time when they were planted in Auaris, an Heliopolitan priest named *Osarsiph*; in whom we immediately recognize, by a slight metathesis, Sar-Josiph or the lord Joseph who married the daughter of a priest of On or Heliopolis: and they are declared to have emigrated from Egypt into Syria under the command of Moses; who is evidently the same person as the great Hebrew legislator, though he is confounded with Osarsiph or Joseph, and though the servitude of the people is erroneously exhibited as *preceding* instead of *succeeding* their occupation of Auaris or Goshen. On these grounds Mr. Bryant most justly pronounces the *second* race of shepherds, mentioned by the Egyptian historian, to be the children of Israel; who, accordingly, are described by Moses as being shepherds and herdsmen¹.

The next question is, who the *royal* Shepherds were, whom Manetho distinguishes very accurately from the *servile* shepherds, and who *preceded* them in the land of Auaris.

These Mr. Bryant supposes to have been the Cushim of Babylonia: and, as the term of 511 years will carry us too far back if computed from their expulsion out of Auaris by which they made room for the Israelitish shepherds, he pronounces it to comprehend the whole period, during which *both* races of Shepherds dwelt in Egypt. Hence, if reckoned from the exodus of Israel, it will bring us to the sixth year before the birth of Abraham, as the epoch of the first pastoral irruption. Having adjusted these preliminaries, Mr. Bryant gives the following detail as the genuine history of what has been related by Manetho.

¹ Gen. xlvii. 1—6.

BOOK VI. In the days of Peleg, an orderly division of the earth took place, agreeably to the regulations of Noah. The Cushim however, displeased with their allotment, marched off to the eastward of Armenia: whence, after some time, they returned in a south-westerly direction; and, arriving in the plain of Shinar, began to build the tower of Babel. In this attempt, which was made not long after the birth of Abraham, they were miraculously defeated: and, from Babylonia, they were scattered over the face of the whole earth. One great branch of them marched straight to Egypt, then occupied by the Mizraim; who had peaceably retired, like the other children of Noah, to their appointed settlement, when the earth was regularly divided in the time of Peleg. At the period of the Cuthic irruption, the Mizraim were a barbarous and uncivilized people, devoted to the basest idolatry, associated together in no regular polity, and living like mere savages in the land which they had occupied. As such, they were easily subdued by the warlike and disciplined Shepherds, who constituted the first *real* dynasty of Egypt: for the fourteen dynasties, which are said to have preceded them, must be rejected as altogether *fabulous*. The Cushim remained masters of the country for the space of 260 years according to Manetho, or of 284 years according to the numbers exhibited by Africanus. If the former of these periods be adopted, they were driven out 15 years before the arrival of Joseph and 36 years before the descent of Israel: if the latter be preferred, they were expelled only 12 years before the descent of Israel and 9 years after the arrival of Joseph. For the entire sojourning of the Israelites in Egypt was 215 years, and Joseph had resided in the country 21 years when his family emigrated: so that, between the expulsion of the Shepherd-kings and the descent of Israel, there will be either 36 years or 12 years, according as we estimate the length of the pastoral domination at 260 years or at 284 years. When the Shepherds were driven out, they left the land of Anaris or Goshen vacant: and thus, in the course of God's providence, they made room for the Israelites; who, with their flocks and herds, were immediately placed in the empty country. Here they remained and multiplied, until a new king arose who knew not Joseph. This new king was the first sovereign of a new Egyptian dynasty; who, as such, was unacquainted with the merits of that patriarch, and who

felt no sense of obligation to his family. Jealous of the growing power of Israel, he attempted to break the strength of the people by the most iniquitous tyranny: but his dynasty was at length compelled to grant a free egress to them; and these second shepherds retired from the country after an abode of 215 years. Then was completed the entire sum of 511 years, which Manetho specifies as the full period during which Egypt was occupied by the Shepherds¹.

2. Many of the objections, to which this theory is liable, will probably have been anticipated in the course of its detail: they shall however be given in regular order.

The Cushim are brought immediately from Babylonia to Egypt, which they find already occupied by the Mizraim.

Now, as this is founded upon an hypothesis which has already been proved erroneous, namely that *the tower was built exclusively by the Cushim and that a general division of the earth had previously taken place*; it must necessarily fall with the basis upon which it rests: and, accordingly, we shall find it utterly irreconcilable with chronology. It has been shewn, that the dispersion from Babel was general, and that it occurred in the days of Peleg. But Peleg, as we learn from the accurate chronology of the Samaritan Pentateuch, died 302 years before the birth of Abraham; and the dispersion from Babel took place previous to the death of Peleg. The Shepherd kings however, if we compute the 511 years of pastoral dominion backward from the exodus, entered Egypt 6 years before the birth of Abraham. Hence it is evident, that their invasion of that country did not take place until full 300 years after the dispersion from Babel: and hence Manetho very rightly describes it as occurring, when the Assyrian or Iranian empire was in its full strength². Nor is this all: since the Shepherds find Egypt already peopled by the Mizraim, and since the dispersion from Babel was general, they cannot have come *immediately* from the land of Shinar; because, in that case, they must have found Egypt wholly uninhabited.

They are alleged to have found the Mizraim in a completely barbarous

¹ Bryant's Anal. vol. iij.

² See Append. Tab. V.

BOOK VI. *state; without polity, without arts, without knowledge, and with a base superstition of their own exclusive invention.*

On these points we of course know nothing, save what we can learn from history. Now Manetho is in a directly opposite story: for he not only describes the Mizraim as being under a well-ordered monarchical government, but he gives us to understand that they had a regular priesthood and nobility. He moreover speaks of the numerous cities, which were burnt by the fierce invaders; represents the religion of Egypt, as being the same symbolical superstition which we know to have prevailed in Babylonia at a very early period; and declares, that no less than fourteen native dynasties had preceded the foreign dynasty of the Shepherds.

These fourteen dynasties however are at once struck off the list, and pronounced to be spurious.

That they cannot be fourteen successive dynasties, I readily allow; because Egypt could not have subsisted, as a nation, much more than 250 years before the invasion of the Shepherds: but, if we may thus contradict history because it is adverse to an hypothesis of our own, I see not what certainty we can have in these matters.

The 511 years of pastoral tyranny are made to extend long after the expulsion of the oppressive Shepherds, so that they do not expire until the exodus of the captive or Israelitish shepherds.

In this arrangement I think Mr. Bryant perfectly right, though I see not with what propriety it can be made upon *his* principles. Manetho expressly says, that the *tyranny* of the Shepherd-kings, not merely the *abode* of two different pastoral races, continued, from first to last, for the space of 511 years: so that, according to his account, the royal Shepherds must have entered Egypt at the commencement of that period and must have been finally expelled at the close of it. Mr. Bryant, on the contrary, fixes their final expulsion, and therefore the conclusion of their tyranny, at the end of 260 or at the most 284 years; extending, in direct contradiction of his author, the period of 511 years far beyond the limits of pastoral oppression. Yet is Manetho no way inconsistent with himself, though he may not have detailed every particular with perfect accuracy: the fault rests, not with the historian, but with his eminently learned commentator. When the

Shepherd-kings are expelled from Auaris, Manetho gives us a very full CHAP. V. account of what next followed: and, unless I greatly mistake, he gives it with quite a sufficient degree of exactness, to enable us, with much facility, to develop the truth and to learn what he means by fixing the period of 511 years as the entire duration of the pastoral tyranny.

But all this narrative, save certain prominent matters relative to the Israelites, Mr. Bryant entirely suppresses; describing it, as a sadly confounded history and as a lump of heterogeneous matter ¹.

Now it appears to me, that he ought at any rate to have *adduced* the chaotic tale and to have suffered his readers to judge for themselves: whereas, by his giving it so bad a character, it is great odds, whether any person, except one who was writing on the subject, would think it worth his while to inquire what the unfortunate historian really *did* say. The tale however told by Manetho, so far from being an unintelligible mass of confusion, does in fact afford us the very light which we want for a right understanding of the first part of his narrative. We learn from it with great clearness, that, after the Shepherd-kings had been expelled from Auaris, they once more returned into Egypt, conquered it again, and repeated their former deeds of cruelty and oppression: that they were invited to return by Osarsiph, who had taken the name of *Moses*, and who had been elected chief of the leprous or Israelitish shepherds: and that they were *finally* driven out *synchronously* with these latter shepherds, who retired under the command of Moses-Osarsiph. Here we at once perceive, how we are to understand the declaration of Manetho, that the tyranny of the pastoral kings lasted, from beginning to end, for the space of 511 years. It began, when they *first* invaded Egypt: it ended, when they were *ultimately* expelled. But their yoke was broken, and their ultimate expulsion commenced, *synchronously* with the exodus of Israel. Hence the 511 years of their tyranny must doubtless be computed backward from the era of the exodus. This indeed, as we have seen, is the opinion of Mr. Bryant; and he is perfectly right in advancing it: but, upon *his* principles,

¹ Anal. vol. iii. p. 253. Dr. Hales does not suppress it; but he far too hastily rejects it, as unworthy of notice. Chronol. vol. iii. p. 473.

BOOK VI. he had no warrant for entertaining it; because he places the *final* expulsion of the Shepherds *antecedent* to the occupation of Goshen by the Israelites, and from their *final* expulsion the 511 years of their tyranny must assuredly be reckoned. With the important testimony of Manetho to the fact of a *second* conquest of Egypt by the Shepherd-kings, which Mr. Bryant so unaccountably throws aside as perplexed and nugatory, the historical notices, preserved by Diodorus and Tacitus, will be found exactly to agree. These writers mention, that, when the Israelites quitted the country, many other foreigners were likewise driven out contemporaneously with them; some of whom withdrew into Phenicia and Greece under the command of Cadmus and Danaus. But, if the emigrating Cadmians and Danai were *foreigners*, they must, as such, have *previously entered* Egypt. So that, if we put these different matters together, it will be sufficiently plain, that the various foreigners, who quitted Egypt *synchronously* with the Israelites and who are said to have emigrated into many distinct regions, were the very same persons as the Shepherd-kings then *finally* expelled; and consequently, as some of these foreigners were the Danai and the Cadmians, that the Danai and the Cadmians were of the stock of the Shepherd-kings.

Of this Mr. Bryant is fully sensible: and, accordingly, he pronounces the Danai and the Cadmians and other kindred tribes to be of the pastoral race; but, as it does suit his hypothesis to bring them out of Egypt contemporaneously with the Israelites, he unhesitatingly decides that they left the country much earlier, namely about the time when the Shepherd-kings were first driven out of Auaris ¹.

Here again I must complain of an unwarrantable disregard of history, from which alone we can acquire any knowledge of ancient facts. We are positively assured, that the Shepherd-kings left Egypt for the *last* time *synchronously* with the Israelites: we are also assured, that many foreigners, whom Mr. Bryant himself acknowledges to have been the Shepherds, left it at the same period. Yet, without a shadow of authority and in absolute contradiction to these direct testimonies, does he venture to assert, that the

¹ Anal. vol. iii. p. 407, 408.

Shepherd-kings, under the various names of *Danai* and *Cadmians* and the like, did *not* evacuate Egypt *contemporaneously* with the Israelites, but that they were *finally* expelled *previous* to the descent of Jacob into that country.

IV. Such are my objections to Mr. Bryant's arrangement of the pastoral history: let us now see, whether a more consistent one cannot be produced by adhering closely to the united and harmonious declarations of Manetho, Herodotus, Diodorus, Tacitus, and Moses.

We are informed by Manetho, that, while Egypt was in a state of profound tranquillity, a fierce and warlike race suddenly invaded it under the name of *the Shepherd-kings*. These, during the reigns of six of their princes which jointly amounted to 260 years, remained masters of the country and governed it with the utmost tyranny. They were then besieged by the native Mizraim in a walled district, denominated *Auaris*; and at length, with much difficulty, were expelled. Upon this they retired into Palestine, where they built Jerusalem. Shortly after their secession, the king of Egypt granted the land of Auaris, now wholly unoccupied, to *another* race of shepherds, whom circumstantial evidence demonstrates to have been the Israelites. Here these multiplied so rapidly, that they soon found themselves in a sufficiently flourishing condition to prepare for war with their sovereign. Desirous however of ensuring success, and distrusting their own unassisted power, they called in the aid of the expelled Shepherd-kings, and invited them to return and repossess themselves of Auaris. The invitation was readily accepted: the whole of Egypt was conquered by the allies: and its unfortunate prince was driven into the Thebais and Ethiopia.

I. Manetho asserts, we see, that in this enterprize the Shepherd-kings were leagued with those, whom he calls *the leprous shepherds*, and who are plainly the pastoral children of Israel. It is not impossible, that he *may* be accurate in his assertion: yet, if such ever *were* the case, the credulous Israelites were mere temporary tools in the hands of an ambitious and powerful family. We know, from the sure authority of Scripture, that the period of their bondage, which Manetho erroneously places *before* their occupation of Auaris or Goshen, ought really to be placed *after* it. Hence,

BOOK VI. as they left Egypt *synchronously* with the Shepherd-kings, those pastoral warriors must clearly have been their taskmasters ; for, during all the time of their servitude, the native Mizraim were either expelled or subjected. I think it however *doubtful*, to say the least, whether the Israelites ever leagued themselves with the military Shepherds. Be this as it may, they were dreadfully oppressed by them ; and, probably in conjunction with the subjugated Mizraim, were employed in burning bricks and in building for their tyrants a variety of important structures. At length, after having sojourned 215 years in Egypt, they were not (conjointly with the Shepherd-kings) *violently expelled* by the Mizraim, as Manetho erroneously represents the matter ; but, as we know from a higher authority, they were miraculously brought out by Moses *notwithstanding the most violent reluctance* on the part of their oppressors. These oppressors were undoubtedly the Shepherd-kings, for the reason which has already been assigned. Hence the king and the host, that perished in the Red sea, must have been the king and the host of the pastoral warriors, not those of the native Egyptians : for these latter did not recover their independence, until the Shepherds were *finally* expelled ; and the Shepherds (we are unanimously assured) were not *finally* expelled, until the day of the exodus.

We may now, by the clear light which Scripture throws on the transaction, distinctly perceive, how the firmly rooted power of the pastoral kings was subverted, and how the Mizraim were ultimately enabled to drive them out from their country.

Their arm of strength was broken by the tremendous judgment, which plunged beneath the waves of the sea their sovereign and their choicest warriors : and the dispirited residue of them were attacked by the native Mizraim, who would not fail to improve so golden an opportunity. Then commenced their *final* expulsion at the close of the 511 years, which Manetho states to have been the entire period of their dominant tyranny : but, as might naturally enough be supposed, this clearing the land of strangers was not effected in a single day.

The work *began* with the recess of the Israelites : and, as we are so positively told that many of the Shepherds fled at the same time into Syria, I can perceive no reason why we should reject the fact. I conclude

then, that, while Israel was conducted into the wilderness from the eastern shore of the Red sea, those Shepherd-warriors, who were stationed next to the isthmus in the nomes of the Casluhim and the Capthorim, fled precipitately into Palestine. By taking such a route, all encounter with the chosen people would be avoided: and I am strongly inclined to believe, that one reason, why the Israelites were divinely led into the wilderness of Sinai, was to avoid this encounter with a warlike and exasperated enemy. We shall hereafter find, if I mistake not, that the testimony of gentile writers is confirmed by Holy Scripture: for the recess of the Shepherds into Palestine from the eastern provinces of Egypt is more than once mentioned in the sacred volume.

Others of the Shepherds appear to have made a considerably protracted resistance, although they were now no longer masters of the country. Manetho allots 259 years and 10 months for the *first* residence of the Shepherds in Egypt, at the end of which period they were expelled from the district of Auaris: and thence he afterwards computes 340 years and 7 months to the time of Danaus; whose emigration into Greece, with various other similar emigrations, is said by Diodorus to have happened *synchronically* with the exodus of Israel. Now, if we add these two terms together, the amount will be 600 years and 5 months; which exceeds the 511 years of pastoral tyranny by 89 years and 5 months: so that, if Manetho be accurate in his numbers, the secession of the Danai must have taken place about 90 years after the exodus. And such probably is the strict historical truth, which by no means contradicts the general testimony of Diodorus. For, when he intimates, that, synchronically with the departure of Israel, there was an universal expulsion of foreigners from Egypt, among whom he eminently specifies the Danai and the Cadmians; we are no way bound to suppose, that this clearance of the country was effected in a single year. On the contrary, though viewed as one event in history, we may easily conceive it to have been not the event of a moment. Hence I suppose, that the 511 years of pastoral domination expired, when the strength of the Shepherds was broken in the Red sea, and when the Israelites quitted the country: but that the work of their *complete* expulsion occupied, as it might well be imagined to occupy, an additional period of some 90 years;

BOOK VI. during the lapse of which this fragment and that fragment of the Shepherds were successively driven out, until the business closed with the recess of the Danai and the Cadmoians.

2. This then is the general detail of the pastoral history connected with that of the Israelites, as gathered from profane writers ; save only that the testimony of those writers is occasionally corrected from Scripture : let us now inquire, how far pagan will be found to agree with sacred chronology.

Manetho, from first to last, limits the entire domination of the Shepherd-kings to 511 years ; which period must of course be reckoned from their *earliest* conquest of Egypt to the *final* close of their tyranny, when their power was broken as sovereigns of the country. Now their power was broken in the Red sea, *contemporaneously* with the exodus of Israel : hence the 511 years must be computed backward from the exodus ; and this, as we have already seen, will bring us to the sixth year before the birth of Abraham. But, according to Manetho, the *first* residence of the Shepherd-kings in Egypt comprized a space of about 260 years : and we know from Scripture, that the Israelites sojourned in that country 215 years. These two periods, therefore, jointly will give 475 years : and, consequently, to complete the 511 years, we shall want 36 years ; which of course will be the medial space that intervenes between the two periods, or the space that elapses between the first expulsion of the Shepherd-kings from Auaris and the descent of Jacob with his family into Egypt. Of these 36 years, 21 will be occupied by the previous residence of Joseph in the country ; so that the remaining 15 will be the period, that elapsed between the expulsion of the Shepherds from Auaris and the selling of that patriarch by the Midianites to Potiphar ¹.

Here then we have every particular quite accurate and perfectly as it should be. First, the Shepherd-kings are expelled : then, 15 years afterwards, Joseph is sold into Egypt : and next, after the expiration of 21 ad-

¹ Joseph was sold into Egypt, when he was full 17 years old (Gen. xxxvii. 2.) : and he was full 30 years old, when he stood before Pharaoh (Gen. xli. 46.). Then commenced the 7 years of plenty : and, in the second year of famine, when 5 full years of famine were yet unexpired, Jacob and his family emigrated into Egypt (Gen. xli. 53, 54. xlv. 6.). Hence, at the period of this emigration, he had resided in Egypt 21 years complete.

ditional years, Jacob and his whole family descend into the same country. At this epoch, the land of Auaris on the eastern side of the Nile, which is plainly the scriptural Goshen similarly situated on the same side of that river, is granted to the Israelites, as being peculiarly well suited to their pastoral habits. How the district came then to be empty of inhabitants, so that it could be given to these new strangers without any act of injustice and without exciting a single murmur on the part of the natives, does not appear from Scripture: the *fact* of its donation is simply stated without note or comment¹. But profane history explains the whole matter; and thus marvellously bears an undesigned testimony to the strict veracity of Moses. The land was empty, *because* it was evacuated by the Shepherd-kings about 36 years before the arrival of Jacob, and had not yet been occupied by the aboriginal Mizraim now gradually recovering from the effects of a baleful tyranny. Yet, though it fell not within the plan of the sacred writer to mention this particular of Egyptian history which was wholly foreign to his main purpose, we find a most extraordinary allusion to it in the very midst of the account which he gives of Pharaoh's grant of Goshen to the Israelites. Joseph directs his brethren to answer the king's inquiries, relative to their occupation, by saying; that they, and their fathers before them, had always been engaged in the feeding of cattle. The alleged reason for their receiving such instruction is, *that they might dwell in the land of Goshen*. And the historian's explanatory comment is, *for every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians*². Why this should have been the case, he does not inform us; but the narrative of Manetho removes every difficulty. Doubtless the Mizraim detested the very sight of a shepherd, from a remembrance of the injuries which they had recently sustained from the pastoral kings: for, when the sons of Jacob stood before Pharaoh, these oppressors had only evacuated the country about 36 years³.

¹ Gen. xlvii. 3—6.

² Gen. xlvi. 31—34.

³ We may in the same manner account for Joseph's affected suspicion, that his brethren were spies. He spoke in the character of the prime minister of the Mizraim: and, as their tyrants the shepherds had but recently been driven out into Palestine, his fears respecting strangers from the east would seem perfectly natural to all who heard him. It may be observed, that his accusation is an answer to the confession of his brethren that they had

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Thus does the narrative of Manetho serve to explain Scripture; and thus does Scripture bear ample testimony to that writer's accuracy, in limiting the duration of the *first* pastoral tyranny under the six earliest Shepherd-kings to 260 years, instead of extending it (as Africanus has done) to 284 years. For, if we receive the term as enlarged by Africanus; we, of course, shall have only 12 years, between the expulsion of the Shepherds from Auaris, and the arrival of Jacob in Egypt. Whence, according to such a computation, the Shepherds would have been expelled 9 years after the descent of Joseph and only 4 years previous to his first standing before Pharaoh: because he had been 21 years in the country when his father emigrated. But, at *that* point of time, the Shepherds could not possibly have been expelled; for there is evidently no revolution in the government of Egypt during the period of Joseph's residence: the whole tenor of the scriptural narrative clearly forbids any such supposition. The Shepherds therefore must have been expelled *anterior* to the arrival of Joseph: and such, accordingly, is the precise result to which we are brought by the numbers of Manetho; for these numbers determine the expulsion of the Shepherds to have been effected 15 years *before* the descent of Joseph, while the numbers of Africanus place it 9 years *after* his descent. Hence it is evident, that the true term of the *first* pastoral tyranny is 260 years, as stated by Manetho; not 284 years, as erroneously stated by Africanus.

3. We have now seen the Shepherd-kings dislodged from Auaris or Goshen, and thus making room for the Israelites: we have likewise seen the Israelites peaceably settled in that land by a grant from the native Egyptian king, whose house had recently recovered its ancient inheritance by the expulsion of the pastoral warriors: it remains to be examined, whether we can find any traces in Scripture of *the return* of the Shepherds; and whether, in that case, sacred chronology can be made to correspond with profane.

If we pursue the history of the Israelites in Egypt, we may infer with sufficient clearness that they long continued in high favour with the Miz-

come out of the land of Canaan, which was the identical country whither the Shepherds had withdrawn themselves. See Gen. xlii. 7—16.

rain: for the eminent services, rendered by Joseph, were frankly acknowledged and not easily forgotten. But, as time wore away, that patriarch, and all his brethren, and all that generation, were removed by the hand of death. Meanwhile, *the children of Israel were fruitful, and increased abundantly, and multiplied, and waxed exceeding mighty; and the land was filled with them*¹. Now it was, according to Manetho, that the leprous shepherds, having multiplied in the land of Auaris so as to become a powerful body, began to meditate revolutionary projects and invited the expelled Shepherd-kings to return out of Palestine; which fatal invitation led to the complete reestablishment of the pastoral tyranny: and now it was, according to Moses, that *there arose up a new king over Egypt, which knew not Joseph*².

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This new king, who was the head of a new *dynasty* that continued to reign until the exodus; for we find the self-same policy pursued, with unrelenting vigour, during a much longer period than the sovereignty of any *single* prince: this new king, as the very terms in which he is exhibited to us imply, and as the whole line of his conduct serves to demonstrate, was *a stranger*. He, we are assured, knew nothing of Joseph nor of the services which he had rendered to Egypt: a circumstance, which could not possibly be true of any *native* monarch, had the sceptre merely been transferred from one Mizraimic dynasty to another. The man therefore was clearly *a foreigner*; he was clearly the king of those martial Shepherds, who, as we learn from Manetho, *returned* at this time into Egypt.

And now let us mark the policy of the new sovereign. He found himself master of a land, in which were two distinct races of men; who, from a sense of mutual benefits, had generally lived in strict amity with each other: and he was fully aware, that, notwithstanding any temporary disgust (I speak on the supposition of Manetho being accurate, in representing the leprous shepherds as having *invited* the pastoral warriors to return into Egypt, which I am no way bound to allow); he was fully aware, or at least he naturally suspected, that, notwithstanding any temporary disgust, the Israelites would be far more likely to make common cause with

¹ Exod. i. 6, 7.² Exod. i. 8.

BOOK VI. their friends the Mizraim than with himself and his intrusive warriors. Hence, to a man, who was restrained by no nice scruples of conscience, who considered only how he might best secure his conquest, and who neither knew nor regarded Joseph, the policy was obvious; and the principle of it is most distinctly exposed by Moses. The new king *said unto his people: Behold, the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we. Come on, let us deal wisely with them: lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that, when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and so get them up out of the land*¹.

Every part of this declaration throws light upon the history; and serves to prove, that the new king and his people were foreigners. With the natural feelings of a conqueror, and with the superadded remembrance of a former expulsion from this very country, he anticipated a probable rebellion of the Mizraim: and he shrewdly conjectured, that, while he was engaged in reducing them to obedience or in resisting an invasion of the dethroned king from the Thebais whither (according to Manetho) he had retired; the Israelites, compactly associated in the land of Goshen, would take him in the rear, and thus place him between two enemies. His fears were increased by observing the formidable numbers of that people, which he describes as even *exceeding* those of his own people. Here again we have a decided proof, that the new king was a foreigner. At this period, as we shall presently see, the Israelites had been in Egypt somewhat more than a century: and, when they first emigrated into that country, they consisted only of seventy persons, exclusive of Joseph and his two sons². Now, rapid as their increase might be, it is utterly incredible that they should *exceed* in number the *native* Mizraim, who had been then settled in a fertile land for the space of full six centuries and a half³. The thing, upon any rational principles of increase in a good country, cannot be admitted for a

¹ Exod. i. 9, 10.

Exod. i. 5.

² Egypt must have been planted at least 250 years before the first pastoral invasion; the Shepherds remained in the country, during their first occupancy of it, 260 years; between their expulsion from Auaris and the descent of Israel there was a period of 36 years; and, as we shall hereafter see, the new king arose when the Israelites had been 109 years in the land. The amount of these several terms is 655 years.

moment: yet the new king says to his people, *The children of Israel are more and mightier than we.* Who then was the new king, and who were his confidential people that he thus addressed? Clearly not any native prince; clearly not the aboriginal Mizraim: but the invading Shepherds, who are truly described as *fewer in number than even the smallest* of the two nations that then occupied Egypt. Thus small in population compared with the existing tenants, as always is the case with an invading tribe, the pastoral warriors felt it necessary to compensate for their paucity by their courage, by their strict union, by constituting themselves the sole military class, and by exercising what was deemed a profound political sagacity. In brief, the Israelites were reduced to a state of abject servitude: and, if we may give credit to profane history, the Mizraim fared no better than their neighbours. The king and a considerable part of the warriors and priests took refuge, it seems, in the Thebais or in Ethiopia; but Manetho makes heavy complaints of the treatment, which the other natives experienced: and, according to Herodotus, such was their indignant remembrance of the oppression which they then endured, that they would not even mention the names of their tyrants.

4. The account, which that historian gives of these matters, is peculiarly valuable and important: and it is the more so, because he assigns a definite period of continuance, which will enable us to connect the *latter* domination of the Shepherds with the chronology of Scripture.

He was informed by the priests, that, until the reign of Rhampsinitus, Egypt was at once remarkable for its abundance and for the excellence of its laws. Cheops however, who succeeded that prince, was a very monster of wickedness. In exact accordance with the narrative of Manetho, he is said to have shut up the temples and to have forbidden the Egyptians to offer any sacrifices. Nor was he content with this impiety: he next proceeded to reduce them to a state of absolute servitude. Some he compelled to hew stones in the quarries of the Arabian mountains: others were made to drag them with infinite labour to the Nile: and others again were appointed to float them down that river in proper vessels. In this service he employed an hundred thousand men, who were relieved every three

BOOK VI. months. Ten years were actually spent in making the very road, over which the stones were to be conveyed; a work, in the estimation of the historian, scarcely less stupendous than the building of the pyramids. Yet this was but the beginning of their labours. When a sufficiency of stones had been conveyed to the destined place, he proceeded to excavate the hill upon which the pyramids are constructed, designing the vaults to be a place of burial for himself: and then he began to rear the enormous mass of the great pyramid. This was a work of twenty years: and Herodotus gives a very curious account, both of the mechanical process which was adopted, and of the money which was expended for the mere onions and garlic that were consumed by the labourers. We have next an idle story of the mode, in which supplies were raised for the building of the second pyramid: the daughter of Cheops prostituted her person, demanding a single stone from each of her lovers; and these were so numerous, that the whole pyramid was constructed with the materials thus obtained. Cheops reigned 50 years; and was succeeded by his brother Chephren, or (according to the more probable account of other writers) by his son Chabryen. This prince imitated the policy of his predecessors, still continuing to wear out the Egyptians by servile drudgery. By him the third pyramid was built; and his reign extended through the space of 56 years. This portentous tyranny was then brought to a close: and a happier day dawned upon the oppressed Mizraim under the mild rule of the just Mycerinus, who commanded the temples to be opened, and who again permitted the people to sacrifice to their gods. Herodotus speaks of Mycerinus as being the son of Cheops: but such a representation cannot be admitted. A new dynasty evidently commences with him; as the former dynasty had commenced with Cheops: and, if we attend to the chronology of the historian, it will be clearly impossible, that Cheops should himself have reigned 50 years, that he should next have been succeeded by a son or brother who reigned 56 years, and that afterwards he should again have been succeeded by another son who is described as mounting the throne in the prime of life.

Thus, as the historian concludes his narrative, the Egyptians suffered every kind of oppression during the period of 106 years: and, what immediately identifies this season of tyranny with the *second* domination of the

Shepherd-kings, is the circumstance of their being alike foretold by an oracle; for Herodotus and Manetho both agree in mentioning this remarkable particular, which we must carefully bear in mind ¹. CHAP. V.

We have now obtained the period of 106 years for the *second* domination of the Shepherd-kings: and, accordingly, this is the identical period, to which it is limited by Eusebius. It is however to be observed, that the documents, which *he* consulted, differ in one particular from the information of Herodotus. That historian divides the entire period between *two* reigns: Eusebius, with a much greater appearance of probability, divides it between *four* ². Yet the amount is in both cases precisely the same; so that we may venture, I think, to pronounce, that the *second* domination of the Shepherd-kings lasted 106 years, as their *first* domination had lasted 260 years. Hence, as their rule was *ultimately* broken *synchronously* with the exodus of Israel, their *second* tyranny must have commenced 106 years *before* the exodus: and, as the entire sojourning of Israel in Egypt amounted to 215 years, it must also have commenced 109 years *after* the descent of Jacob ³. Let us now see, how far this arrangement agrees with sacred chronology.

5. Since the Shepherds returned, or (in the language of Moses) since the new king arose up over Egypt, 109 years after the descent of Jacob; and since the family of that patriarch consisted of seventy persons, exclusive of the house of Joseph: it is easy to conceive, more especially if the divine blessing be taken into the account, that the Israelites, in the space of more than a century, would have increased to a considerable people. Now a *longer* space than this cannot be allowed previous to the rise of the new king, if we suffer ourselves to be guided by the chronology of Moses, which accords in a most remarkable manner with that of Herodotus.

¹ Herod. Hist. lib. ii. c. 124—133. Diod. Bibl. lib. i. p. 57.

² Saïtes reigns 19 years; Anon, 43; Aphophis, 14; and Anchles, 30: in all, 106 years. According to Herodotus, Cheops reigns 50 years; and Chephren, 56: in all likewise, 106 years. Both the sums total of these two periods, and the palpable sameness of events which take place during their lapse, indisputably prove them to be one and the same portion of time, though differently subdivided.

³ Dr. Hales rightly supposes, that the bondage of the Israelites commenced about a century after their settlement in Egypt. Chronol. vol. ii. p. 180.

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When the Hebrew legislator demanded the release of his people, he was 80 years old; and his brother Aaron was 3 years his senior ¹. Moses was exposed in the ark, when the oppression of Israel was at the height: but the *particular* order of the new king to his people, that they should destroy every male child, must have been given *subsequently* to the birth of Aaron; for we read not of any difficulty in preserving *him* alive. That order however was not the *commencement* of the oppression; it was only a horrible *modification* of it: the oppression *itself* had already continued some years; and, *how long*, we may form a probable conjecture from an incident recorded by the historian. When Moses was exposed, he had not only a brother 3 years older than himself *by the same mother*; but he had likewise a sister, who stood *in the same complete degree of relationship* to him: for Amram and Jochebed were equally the parents of Moses and of Aaron and of Miriam ². Now, at the time of the exposure of Moses, his sister Miriam was a young woman: for she is styled *alma* or *the maid* or *the young female*, an appellation never bestowed in the Hebrew save upon *an adult*: and we, accordingly, find her employed by Jochebed to watch the bulrush ark of her infant brother, as a person of sufficient steadiness and discretion ³. Hence we may conclude, that Miriam was then about some 18 or 20 years of age. But the marriage of her parents had evidently taken place *after* the commencement of the tyranny, which was exercised over Israel; though we are not able to determine positively *how long* after ⁴. Consequently, since Moses was 80 years old when he stood before Pharaoh, since Miriam was about 20 years old when she watched the ark of Moses, and since the oppression of Israel by the new king had begun some indefinite time before the birth of Miriam; it is plain, that that oppression, which lasted until the day of the exodus, must have continued in the whole some few years more than a century. Now, in exact agreement with the result of this computation, Herodotus and Eusebius concur in teaching us, that the tyranny of the *later* Shepherds was exercised for the space of 106 years ⁵.

¹ Exod. vii. 7.² Exod. vi. 20. Numb. xxvi. 59.³ Exod. ii. 4, 7, 8.⁴ See Exod. ii. 1. with the context preceding and succeeding.⁵ With this arrangement the accounts, that have come down to us, of the time employed in building the pyramids will agree remarkably well. According to Pliny, the three

6. Nor is the circumstantial evidence, that this period of 106 years synchronizes with the scriptural period of the Israelitish bondage, less decisive than the chronological.

According to Herodotus, the tyranny exercised over the native Mizraim consisted mainly in forcing them to labour as builders: according to Moses, the tyranny exercised over the Israelites was of the very same description. According to Herodotus, the diet of the toiling Egyptians consisted of radishes, and onions, and garlic: according to Moses, the diet of the toiling Israelites consisted of cucumbers, and melons, and leeks, and onions, and garlic¹. According to Herodotus and Manetho, the oppressive tyranny, under which the Egyptians groaned during the misrule of the Shepherds, did not come upon them unexpectedly; but had been expressly foretold by an oracle: according to Moses, the oppressive tyranny, under which the Israelites groaned during the same period, could not have come upon them unexpectedly; for it had been expressly foretold to their ancestor Abraham by an immediate communication from God².

Now, if we put all these different matters together, we cannot reasonably doubt, that the 106 years, mentioned by Herodotus, are the 106 years, mentioned by Eusebius as the duration of the pastoral tyranny; that this period of 106 years is the period of that *second* pastoral tyranny, which, as we learn from Manetho, was exercised by the Shepherd-kings when they returned into Egypt by the invitation of Osarsiph; and that the period of the *second* pastoral tyranny, which is thus identified with the 106 years of Herodotus and Eusebius, must also be identified with the period of Israelitish bondage.

Hence, then we gather a very important fact, which decidedly proves, agreeably to a prior conclusion, that *the new king who knew not Joseph*

pyramids were reared in the space of 78 years and 4 months: and Herodotus mentions, that the construction of the road for conveying the materials occupied $12\frac{1}{2}$ years. The whole time therefore, consumed on those enormous fabrics, was about 91 years: and 106 years was the length of the second pastoral dynasty. See Hales's Chron. vol. i. p. 380, 381. vol. iii. p. 460. Dr. Hales rightly ascribes the building of the pyramids to the Shepherd-kings.

¹ Numb. xi. 5.

² Gen. xv. 13—17.

BOOK VI. was the head of a foreign dynasty, not a native Egyptian sovereign. Though Scripture mentions only the oppression of the Israelites, it is abundantly clear from profane history that the Mizraim were *equally* oppressed: for, had the former been the *sole* victims, the Egyptians in the time of Herodotus could not have held the tyrants in such detestation as to refuse even to pronounce their names; neither can any reason be assigned for the origin of a story, told alike by that writer and by Manetho, which exhibits the Egyptians *themselves* as having once smarted under a most intolerable domination. But, if *both* the Israelites and the Egyptians were oppressed, and that too in the *self-same* manner; their oppressor, agreeably to the testimony of Manetho, must have been a *foreigner*: and that foreigner was clearly *the new king*; who was naturally, as such, unacquainted with Joseph.

This conclusion, which wholly exculpates the Mizraim from tyrannizing over the Israelites as they have long most erroneously been thought to have done, will serve as a key to certain passages of Scripture, which without it are of less easy explication.

One of the precepts of Moses is, *Thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian*: and the alleged reason is, *Because thou wast a stranger in his land*¹. Now this must appear not a little extraordinary to any one, who understands the history of the Israelitish bondage as it has commonly been understood. The chosen people might indeed be forbidden to abhor an Egyptian, *on the broad principle of the forgiveness of injuries*: but it seems very strange, that the prohibition should be made to rest on such a basis as the present; that they should be charged not to hate an Egyptian, *because* they had suffered from him a most iniquitous oppression. The matter however becomes perfectly intelligible, when the real state of the case is known. So far from having been ill treated by the friendly Mizraim, the Israelites from first to last had experienced nothing but kindness from them: for, instead of being the oppressors of God's people, they had themselves groaned under the very same intolerable yoke.

Accordingly we find another precept of the law specially built upon this

¹ Deut. xxiii. 7.

which we have just seen elucidated: and it may be observed, that, without such elucidation, the additional precept involves a singularly glaring contradiction. An Ammonite and a Moabite was *never* to enter into the congregation of the Lord; even the lapse of ten generations could not render *them* admissible. Do we inquire the *reason* of this rigorous exclusion? it was *professedly* the evil treatment which the Israelites had received at their hands. But the children of an Egyptian might freely enter into the Lord's congregation, so early as the third descent: and why? *Because Israel was a stranger in his land*, where yet oppression was accumulated upon oppression¹. Here it is plain, that, according to the usual mode of understanding the history of God's people in Egypt, the identical reason, which is alleged for *the eternal exclusion of an Ammonite or a Moabite*, is adduced for *the admission of an Egyptian in the third generation*: the former were to be abominated and *for ever* shut out, *because* they maltreated the Israelites; the latter was to be cherished and received as a brother after a *short* prescribed interval, still *because* he also had maltreated the chosen race. But, let the history be rightly explained, and every contradiction vanishes. Under an imperfect dispensation, which required an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, the injuries of Moab and Ammon were *never to be forgotten*: but again, on the other hand, the fostering friendship of the ever kind and hospitable Mizraim was *eternally to be remembered and requited*.

In my own judgment, such little incidental particulars as these afford some of the strongest attestations to the perfect veracity of Moses.

7. It will not have escaped the reader, that, in pursuing this topic, we have been curiously, perhaps unexpectedly, led to ascertain both the age and the builders of the pyramids.

We find, that the architects of them were the Shepherd-kings of the *second* pastoral dynasty, and that the drudges whom they employed in the work were the Israelites and the native Mizraim. With this agrees the remarkable testimony of Herodotus. We learn from him, that the Egyptians distinguished the pyramids by the name of the shepherd Philitis; who,

¹ Deut. xxiii. 3—6, 7—8.

BOOK VI. at the time of their construction, fed his cattle in their vicinity ¹. Nothing, that has been said concerning the religious use of the pyramids, need make us reject the declaration, that the vaults beneath them were designed for the sepulchres of their founders; since we have seen, how decidedly funereal was the worship of the ancients: I may therefore be allowed to consider a not unimportant assertion of Diodorus, relative to the burial of the princely architects. He mentions, that their bodies were not deposited in the vaults constructed for them, but that they were interred by the care of their friends in some obscure place ². The reason, which he assigns for the circumstance, is indeed their dread of being exhumed and treated with indignity by their exasperated subjects: but I am much inclined to suspect, that we have here a disguised allusion to the awful catastrophè of the last Shepherd-sovereign. We read, that, after the tremendous reflux of the sea which overwhelmed Pharaoh and his host beneath its waves, the Israelites beheld their enemies thrown up dead on the shore ³. Thus ignominiously was one at least of the regal architects of the pyramids deprived of his anticipated funereal honours; a disgrace of no small magnitude, when we recollect the high importance attached by the ancients to a well-ordered and decorous sepulture ⁴.

V. Our next inquiry must be, who were those Shepherd-kings that acted so conspicuous a part in Egypt, and whence they came.

1. It appears from Manetho, that the native Mizraim called them *Huc-Sos* or *royal Shepherds*: this name therefore we may reasonably conclude to have been a translation of the title, by which the foreigners distinguished themselves in their own dialect. We further learn from Manetho, that they invaded Egypt from the east, so that they must have come out of Asia; and he adds, that some believed them to have been Arabs ⁵. This opinion however was by no means universal: for Africanus says, that they were Phœnicians or Phenicians ⁶. It appears also, as we may collect from Tacitus, that they were supposed to be Ethiopians: for, as they were expelled synchronically with the Israelites, and as the Israelites from the cir-

¹ Herod. Hist. lib. ii. c. 128.

² Diod. Bibl. lib. i. p. 58.

³ Deut. xiv. 30.

⁴ See Append. Tab. IV.

⁵ Joseph. cont. Apion. lib. i. § 14.

⁶ Syncell. Chronog. p. 61.

circumstance of their often being confounded with them were imagined by some to be of Ethiopic origin; the plain inference is, that that origin was ascribed to the Shepherds¹. If then they were Ethiopians, since we are assured by Manetho that they came out of the east and not from the south, they must have emigrated from the Asiatic and not from the African Ethiopia. In addition to these particulars, we are told by Herodotus, that the Egyptians called the pyramids by the name of the shepherd Philitis; who, during the time of their construction, fed his cattle in those regions². Now, since we know that the Shepherds were once sovereigns of Egypt and that they were the architects of the pyramids, the shepherd Philitis, if we esteem him a single person, must have been one of their number: and, since he communicated his name to the pyramids, he must, still on the supposition of his being an individual, have been either the king or at least one of the most eminent of the Shepherd-warriors. But it seems more probable, that Philitis was no single person: whence we may infer, that the Shepherds, who built the pyramids, who on that account naturally communicated their distinctive appellation to them, and who by the Mizraim were called *Huc-Sos*, were designated also among themselves by another title the sound of which Herodotus expressed by the word *Philitis*.

Thus we gather, that the Shepherd-kings were Arabs or Phenicians or Ethiopians or Philitim, who invaded Egypt from the east or out of Asia: so that, if our information be accurate, the Phenicians and the Philitim, though sometimes styled *Arabs*, will be of the same race as the oriental Ethiopians; in other words, they will be Cushim or Scuths from some part of that vast country, which the Hindoos style *Cusha-dweep within*, and which in its largest sense extends from the shore of the Mediterranean and the mouths of the Nile to Serhind on the very borders of India³. We shall presently see, that our information is perfectly accurate.

2. In defiance of ancient history, the Phenicians have in general most pertinaciously been declared to be Canaanites: whence the prediction of servitude, which belongs only to the latter, has been erroneously extended to the former also. The Phenicians however were assuredly Cushim or

¹ Tacit. Hist. lib. v. c. 2.

Pag. Idol.

² Herod. Hist. lib. ii. c. 123.

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³ Asiat. Res. vol. iii. p. 54.

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BOOK VI. Asiatic Ethiopians: and, as the fathers of the Shepherd-kings, they must have migrated westward prior to the birth of Abraham. Herodotus informs us, that they were colonists from the borders of the Erythræan sea or Indian ocean: Strabo mentions Sidonians on the Persian gulph, as being the ancestors of the western Sidonians; though some, without sufficient reason, appear to have disputed such descent: and Trogus distinctly intimates, that, although they came direct to Palestine from what he calls *the Assyrian lake* meaning evidently *the Persian gulph*, their *original* settlements were not upon the coasts of that sea; on the contrary, they had first left their *native* soil, which must therefore have lain either to the east or to the north-east of those settlements, when they built Sidon upon the shore of the Erythræan sea¹. Hence we must conclude them to have come to the Persian gulph either from the region of the Indian Caucasus or from the Indian peninsula, before they emigrated from the Persian gulph to Palestine. The testimony of Pliny and Dionysius is still to the same effect: the former brings the Tyrians from the Erythræan or Indian sea; and the latter declares, that they were of a common stock with the oriental Erythræans².

When they settled in the west, they gave the name of *Sidon* to one of their principal towns. This was done, according to the universal practice of new colonists: for they had left behind them another Sidon, which their family had built on the coast of the Indian ocean; and, from the more ancient town, the more modern evidently received its appellation. Many have thought, that the Phenician Sidon took its name from the eldest son of Canaan: but this is a mistake; for the settlers brought the word with them from the east, and Trogus informs us that in their language it signified *a fish*³. It related to the great object of their worship; whom, as we learn from Sanchoniatho, they indifferently called *Siton* and *Dagon*. So that, if they found a town *already* built on the shore of the Mediterranean and *previously* called by the name of the Canaanitish Sidon, which I think very doubtful; they clearly retained the appellation, not out of respect to

¹ Herod. Hist. lib. i. c. 1. Strab. Geog. lib. xvi. p. 784. Just. Hist. lib. xviii. c. 3.

² Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. iv. p. 230. Dion. Perieg. ver. 905, 906.

³ Just. Hist. lib. xviii. c. 3.

that patriarch, but because it happened to coincide with the familiar title of their fish-god. CHAP. V.

We do not find them mentioned in the Hebrew Scriptures by the name of *Phanakim* or *Phenicians*: but we may observe the elements of that denomination in the title of a very warlike tribe, which struck no small terror into the hearts of the cowardly Israelites. The Anakim were certainly not Canaanites, for they appear not in the very full enumeration of that family which is given us by Moses¹: and, as we can find no more than two properly distinct races of men in Palestine when it was first visited by Abraham, and as the Anakim were not Canaanites, they must have belonged to the Phenician stock; whence it is not improbable, that the word *Phanakim* was formed from *Anakim* by the addition of a servile prefix which denotes *the*².

In the time of Abraham, we may observe the two races generically described under the appellations of *the Canaanite* and *the Perizzite*³. Now, as the Perizzites were not of the house of Canaan⁴, as the various tribes of the Canaanites are more than once distinctly enumerated, as we find several other tribes not specified in this enumeration, and as all the inhabitants of the land are succinctly mentioned under the generic titles of *the Canaanite* and *the Perizzite*; we may safely pronounce those, who are not of the Canaanitish, to be of the Peresian stock. But the Canaanites were the primitive Sidonim (probably dispossessed by the Cuthic Sidonians from the Erythræan sea), the Hittites, the Jebusites, the Amorites, the Girgassites, the Hivites, the Arkites, the Sinites, the Arvadites, the Zemarites, and the Hamathites⁵. Hence, as we have no authority for pronouncing any other tribes to be of the house of Canaan, and as we know from positive testimony that there was another distinct race of men in the land who were the brethren of the Egyptian Shepherd-kings; we may determine, that the name of *Perizzite*, as a generic appellation, comprehended the Anakim (whence the title *Phanakim*), the Rephaim, the Zuzim, the Emim, the

¹ Gen. x. 15—18.

² It is a curious circumstance, that to this day India is called by the Tatars *Anakak*, and by the Thibetians *Anonkhenk*. *Asiat. Res.* vol. ix. p. 43.

³ Gen. xiii. 7.

⁴ See Gen. x. 15—18.

⁵ Gen. x. 15—18.

BOOK VI. Zanzummim, the Horim, the Kenim, the Kenizzim, and the Cadmonim. All these were of the Phenician or Ethiopic stock, emigrants from the shores of the Erythræan sea, but originally emigrants from a region lying either to the east or to the north-east of maritime Babylonia. Hence we find their general name of *Perizzite*, though disguised by our English mode of writing it, essentially the same as the oriental *Persi* or *Parsi* or *Farsi* or *Persian*: the same also, allowing for the regular interchange of the *s* and the *t* or *d*, as the *Parada*, pronounced *Parad*, of the Institutes of Menu; in which ancient book, the tribe, distinguished by that appellation, is declared to be allied by blood to the Cuttree or war-caste and to be of the same great house as the Sacas and the Chusas.

The members of the Peresian family lost none of their military prowess by a transplantation to the south-west. Like their brethren, the Goths or Seythians of the north-west, they were a most warlike race; who in Egypt easily subjugated the Mizraim, and who in Palestine are described as being of a towering stature far superior to that of the less martial Canaanites. Agreeably to these testimonies, we find a distinct tradition among the Phenicians that their ancestors had conquered Egypt. Sanchoniatho mentions, that Cronus or Ilus, the masculine Ila of the Indo-Seythians, marched from Phenicia into the south, where he reduced the land of Egypt and gave it to the god Taut or Buddha¹. This is merely a poetical mode of relating an historical fact, agreeably to the notions and the usages of the ancient pagans. Each new colony marched out under the special guidance of the oracular ark-god; and to his agency, as an imaginary leader, every victory was ascribed. Hence the Goths are said to have marched into the west under the direction of Woden, by whom we must understand either the fatidical great father or a prince who claimed to be an incarnation of him: and hence, when Ilus conquers Egypt and gives it to Taut, the plain English of the matter is, that the Phenician Buddhists subjugated that country and introduced into it the worship of their favourite Scuthic god². The conquest in question was doubtless that effected by

¹ Sanch. apud Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. i. c. 10.

² Of these Phenician Shepherds, Conon truly says, that they once possessed the empire of Asia, and that they made Egyptian Thebes their capital. Conon, Narrat. xxxvii. p. 279.

the Shepherds, whose dynasty is thence rightly said by Africanus to have consisted of Phenicians: and we may now perceive the reason, why the predominating superstition of Egypt was so violently persecuted by them. Being of the number of the Scuthic seceders whom the Institutes of Menu thence pronounces to be excommunicated, they had not, at the period of the invasion, adopted the multifarious idolatry of Ionism, but adhered to the more simple Scythism or Buddhism of their ancestors. Accordingly, like their brethren the Persians in after ages when they invaded Greece under Xerxes, they destroyed the images and demolished the covered temples of the Ionizing Mizraim: for as yet, though they subsequently fell into rank outward idolatry, they worshipped their god Buddha or Woden or Taut, who was the same as Dagon or Siton, by the sole inward operation of the mind. Such conduct appeared to the Mizraim, as the very height of impiety: and their writers did not fail to stigmatize it accordingly.

3. Since the great father was worshipped among the Phenicians by the name of *Dagon*, and since he was also venerated among the Philistines by the same appellation, we are naturally led to suspect, that these two nations were of a common origin: and, since we have further learned that the Shepherd-kings were Phenicians, and since from Herodotus we have seen reason to conjecture that the pastoral warriors whom the Egyptians called *Huc-Sos* were in their own dialect styled *Philitim*; we are additionally led to guess, that these Philitim were no other than the Philistim so frequently mentioned in Holy Scripture. This however will be no better than a mere vague conjecture, unless it can be shewn, both that the Philistim were once in Egypt, and that they were of the same great house as the Phenicians.

In the days of Abraham, the Philistim can barely be said to have had even a footing in the land of Canaan; which yet, so early as the exodus had received from them its well known appellation of *Paleseth* or *Palestine*¹. Beer-sheba, where Abraham made a covenant with the Philistean prince Abimelech, though situated at the very southern extremity of the Holy Land, was not then reputed to be within the territories of the Philis-

Their ancestors founded the vast Iranian monarchy; and they themselves, under the name of *Palli* or *Huc-Sos*, conquered the whole of Egypt.

¹ Exod. xv 14.

BOOK VI. tim: for, after the king had there conversed with the patriarch, he is stated to have *returned into the land of the Philistim*, an expression which necessarily implies that Beer-sheba was *not* in that land; and Abraham appears to have followed him, for we are immediately afterwards told that he sojourned in the Philistines land many days¹. Now, as the Philistim at a subsequent period spread themselves up the sea-coast as high as Ekron, so that Beer-sheba became one of the most southerly towns of their dominions; the progress of their settlements must have been from south to north: in other words, they must either have come out of Egypt, or out of that isthmian tract of country which lies between Egypt proper and Palestine. Hence it will follow, that the land of the Philistim, into which Abimelech returned from Beer-sheba, must have been a region situated on the eastern side of the Nile. But this was the identical scite of Auaris or Goshen; and Auaris or Goshen was the principal strong-hold of the Philitim or Shepherd-kings. We seem therefore almost inevitably brought to the conclusion, that the land of the Philistim in the time of Abraham was the land of Auaris, and consequently that the Philistim and the Philitim were one and the same people. In this case, Abimelech, or his son, who in the days of Isaac is represented as being lord of Gerar, must have been, as indeed the history sufficiently implies, a petty Philistèan prince; who was a feudatory to the Pharaoh of Egypt: for, during the entire lives of Abraham and Isaac, Egypt was subject to the first dynasty of the Shepherd-kings; whose chief was of course the Pharaoh for the time being.

Agreeably to such a conclusion, we are positively assured in Scripture, both that the Philistim *did* come out of Egypt, and that by descent they were Cuthim: so that they at once emigrated from the same country, and were members of the same great Ethiopic house, as the pastoral Philitim or Phœnicians; a proof of identity, than which a stronger cannot be afforded.

Moses informs us, that *the Philistim came out of the Casluhim*²: and Jeremiah speaks of them, as being *the remnant of the land of Caphtor*³. But Casluh and Caphtor were two of the sons of Mizr: so that, as the Philistim came out of *their* country, they must undoubtedly have come out

¹ Gen. xxi. 32—34.

² Gen. x. 14.

³ Jerem. xlvii. 4.

of the land of Egypt; and, as the history of Abimelech's converse with Abraham necessarily leads us to place the Philistim of that period on the eastern bank of the Nile, the settlements of Casluh and Caphtor must have been in the same tract of country ¹. CHAP. V.

I am fully aware, that the expression, which Moses uses respecting the Philistim when he details the children of Mizr, is in itself ambiguous: for the phrase, *out of whom came the Philistim*, may import either *genealogical descent* or *local emigration*. I know likewise, that Bochart and Wells and other writers have understood it in the former of these senses: whence they ascribe the Philistim to the house of Mizr, through the line of Casluh. It may therefore be reasonably said, that, although an emigration of the Philistim from Egypt into the south of the Holy Land will equally be proved in whatever sense the ambiguous expression of Moses be understood; yet we are not warranted in positively denying their genealogical descent from the Casluhim and consequently from the patriarch Mizr, unless it can be distinctly shewn from some other quarter that they are the children of a different patriarch. *Then* indeed, but not *until* then, we may safely pronounce, that the phrase in question *must*, in the passage before us, denote *local emigration*; and therefore that it *cannot*, in that passage, denote *genealogical descent*.

The justice of such an allegation is readily admitted: hence, before I can decidedly set aside the mode of interpretation preferred by Bochart and Wells, it is incumbent upon me to prove, that the Philistim were not descended from Mizr but from an entirely different ancestor.

Now the proof required is very curiously furnished by the prophet Amos. *Are ye not as the children of the Cushim unto me, O children of Israel? saith the Lord. Have I not brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt, and the Philistim from Caphtor*²? In the first clause of this passage, Amos *generally* intimates, that the children of Israel are unto God as the children of the Cushim, or that in some remarkable feature of their his-

¹ Deut. ii. 23.

² Amos ix. 7. The prophet adds, *and Aram from Kir*. How the Aramæans here spoken of were Cushim, no less than their brethren the Philistim, has already been shewn. See above, book vi. c. 2. § VI. 2. (2).

BOOK VI. tory the Cushim closely resemble the Israelites: in the second, he at once verifies his *general* assertion and points out the *particular* mode in which they *did* resemble each other, by declaring, that, as the Israelites were brought nationally out of Egypt, so the Philistim were brought nationally from Caphtor. Here the important fact, of the national emigration of the Philistim out of a certain district in the land of Egypt, is distinctly asserted: and yet the Philistim themselves, as the tenor of the whole passage abundantly shews, are declared to be by descent, not Mizraim, but Cushim. For, as the *general* assertion of the prophet respects the similitude between the Cushim and the Israelites, and as the *particular* explication of that assertion is borrowed from the national emigration of the Israelites compared with the national emigration of the Philistim: it is obvious, that the assertion is no way made good, unless we conclude the Philistim to be a branch of the Cushim. The Israelites, in short, are declared to resemble the Cushim; BECAUSE both the Israelites and the Philistim had nationally emigrated from one country to another. But this circumstance affords no proof whatsoever of a resemblance between the Cushim and the Israelites, if the Philistim be of a different family from the Cushim. The Philistim then, being Cushim, cannot be Mizraim: and, if they be not Mizraim, their *coming out of* the Casluhim cannot mean *genealogical descent*: but, if it do not mean *genealogical descent*, it can only mean *local emigration*.

Thus we find, that the Philistim were members of the house of Cush, and yet that they were likewise emigrants from a district in Egypt. Such being the case, they must previously have *invaded* Egypt; otherwise, they could not have *come out of it*: and, as they were Cushim, they must have migrated into the land of the Mizraim from a land of Cush. But we read not of any early invasion of Egypt, save by the Shepherd-kings from the east: and these Shepherd-kings both called themselves in their own dialect *Philistim*, and chiefly occupied that identical region on the eastern side of the Nile which in the days of Abraham was also occupied by the Philistim*.

* Dr. Hales rightly judges the Philistim to be the same as the Pali, and understands their coming out from Casluh and Caphtor precisely as I do. Anal. of Chron. vol. iii. p. 456, 457. vol. i. p. 421. vol. ii. p. 157.

Hence, I think, we have as direct a proof as can well be desired, that the pastoral Philitim and the scriptural Philistim were the same people: and with this result every incidental particular will be found minutely to correspond.

The Philitim nationally evacuated the land of Auaris, *first* before the descent of Jacob, and again a *second* time synchronically with the exodus of the Israelites: the Philistim, in the days of Abraham, were merely on the outskirts of the Holy Land, stretching from its frontier to the precise territory occupied by the Philitim; but, when the Israelites emerged from the wilderness, they had successfully invaded and exterminated the whole nation of the Avim¹. The Philitim, when they originally seized upon Egypt, had come out of the east; and, since they are identified with the Phenicians who are declared to have been emigrants from the Asiatic Cusha-dwip, they must likewise have specially come out of the oriental land of Cush: the Philistim, since they have been proved to be members of the house of Cush, must similarly have come out of the eastern Cusha-dwip or Ethiopia; for they could not have come out of the African Cusha-dwip, because, at the period of the first pastoral irruption into Egypt (as we shall presently see), Cush had no settlements in Africa. The Philitim had invaded Egypt before the birth of Abraham; as appears from reckoning back the 511 years of their domination from their *final* expulsion at the epoch of the exodus: the Philistim had done the same; as appears from their only hovering on the outskirts of the land of Canaan, while their territory stretched from thence to the frontiers of Egypt, in the day that Abraham conversed with their king Abimelech. The Philitim, at this precise period, occupied a district on the eastern side of the Nile: the Philistim did the same. The Philitim retired into the Holy Land, when driven out of Egypt: the Philistim did the same. The Philitim had retired thither previous to the arrival of the Israelites from the desert: the Philistim had still done the same. The Philitim are declared to be a branch of the Phenicians, who came out of the Asiatic Cusha-dwip: the Philistim, who have been proved to be Asiatic Cushim, and who were notoriously devoted to the service of the god

¹ Deut. ii. 23.

BOOK VI. Dagon, are plainly one people with the Phanakim or Cuthico-Punic worshippers of that same deity; consequently, they are one people also with the Philitim. Lastly, the two names, *Philitim* and *Philistim*, are palpably the same: and of this eastern title, since Herodotus describes Philitis as being *a shepherd*, we may reasonably conjecture, that the Mizraimic word *Huc-Sos* was a translation. So that, whether we attend to origin or to name, to chronology or to locality, we are alike compelled to identify the Philitim or the Shepherd-kings with the Philistèan emigrants from Caphtor. But, if the Shepherd-kings be the same as the Philistim, they must have been of the house of Cush. And this will exactly agree with their declared identity with the Phenicians: for the Phenicians, who were of a kindred origin with the Cuthic Philistim, were emigrants from the oriental Cusha-dwip or Ethiopia.

Thus at length we perceive the strict accuracy of those ancient testimonies, with which we set out. It was gathered from different writers, that the Shepherd-kings came out of the east, that they were Phenicians by descent, that they were also Ethiopians or Cushim, and that they were properly distinguished by the name of *Philitim* though the native Mizraim called them *Huc-Sos*. Each of these particulars has been found to be true. The pastoral Philitim were the scriptural Philistim, who were a branch of the house of Cush: and they are accordingly identified with the Phanakim or Phenicians, who were brethren of the Philistim, and who came out of the eastern Ethiopia or Cusha-dwip within.

4. We have seen however, that this martial people came into Palestine by two successive emigrations; the first from the north-east, the second from the south-west: and the remembrance of these has been so distinctly preserved, that we shall be enabled both to trace their precise route and to ascertain the country whence they *originally* proceeded.

To Palestine they travelled from the shores of the Erythrèan sea, and chiefly from that part of it which bears the name of *the Persian gulph*: but, as Trogus assures us, they had *previously* travelled to the shores of the Erythrèan sea from what he emphatically calls their *native soil*, being constrained to leave it by some dreadful earthquakes*. Now, as these Cushim

* Just. Hist. lib. xviii. c. 3.

are not described as *returning* to their native soil when they again emigrated to the north-west, that native soil must evidently have been situated to the east or the north-east of their settlement on the Erythræan sea. Hence, in the first instance, they must have come, either out of the peninsula of India, or out of that high land at the sources of the Indus and the Ganges which has ever been occupied by those, whom the Greeks called *Indo-Scuths* and whom the Hindoos still denominate *Chusas* or *Chusas*.

To decide this alternative will not be very difficult. The Institutes of Menu pronounce the Chusas to be an excommunicated branch of the Cuttree or military caste. But the Cuttrees are certainly descendants of the Babylonian Cuthim of Nimrod : for the early history of Hindostan is in truth the early history of Iran. The Chusas therefore, being a branch of the Cuttrees, must also be Cuthim : and, accordingly, they yet claim for their ancestor the patriarch Chusa or Cusha, who is described as the grandson of the ark-preserved Menu and as the near kinsman of Misr and Rama. Now the Philitim or Phenicians or Shepherd-kings were likewise, as we have seen, Cushim. Hence, as they must originally have emigrated either from lower India or from the Indian Caucasus, we may safely, I think, determine the latter region to have been the *native soil* mentioned by Trogus. The Cuthic Shepherds therefore were Chusas, or (as the Greeks would call them) Indo-Scuths, from the oriental Cash-Ghar or Coh-Cash or Caucasus ; for each of these words alike denotes *the mountain of Cush*. They were consequently Scythians of Touran, as contradistinguished from the Scythians of Iran : and every part of their conduct demonstrates them to have been a branch of those Cuthic seceders, who adhered to Buddhism and whom their Iranian brethren viewed as outcasts. The religion of Egypt was the same as that of Babylonia and Hindostan : it was that more complex modification of idolatry, which may be denominated *Ionism* or *Brahmenism* or *Osirism*. If then the invading Shepherds had been Cuthim of Iran, they would not have contumeliously interrupted the established worship of the Mizraim : but such interruption was precisely in character with the Cuthim of Touran, who had seceded from their brethren expressly on account of their dislike of the Ionic superstition, and who were thence declared to be an unclean and excommunicated race. Such being the origin of the Phi-

BOOK VI. litim, it seems most probable, that, in their progress westward, they would first descend from Caucasus following the course of the Indus; in which precise line of country Dionysius accordingly places those whom he calls *the southern Scythians*¹: that they would next skirt the shores of the Erythrèan ocean and the Persian gulph, until they reached the mouth of the Euphrates: and that, finally circuiting by the ordinary route the great Arabian desert, they would enter from the north the land to which they ultimately communicated the name of *Palestine*, and thence invade Egypt by way of the isthmus. This seems to be the route very plainly marked out by those writers, who bring the Phenicians from the east: and we shall presently find, that various circumstances will arise to attest their accuracy.

When expelled from Egypt, they a second time migrated into Palestine: and then of course their progress was from the south, as it had heretofore been from the north.

5. As the Cuthic Phenicians or Philitim, when they left their native soil, marched first from the Indian Caucasus to the shore of the Erythrèan sea, and afterwards round the Persian gulph to Palestine and thence to Egypt; it is manifest, that their route must have been directly through Chaldèa and the southern provinces of the great Iranian empire. Here therefore a question arises, how they could not only accomplish such an expedition, but in the course of it even build cities and form permanent settlements at the head of the Persian gulph. These actions necessarily imply, that, when they left their native Caucasus, they effected a conquest of Chaldèa and the south of Iran, violently wresting those districts for a time at least from the reigning head of the Cuthico-Assyrian empire.

With such a conclusion the ancient chronological documents, that have been handed down to us by Africanus and Syncellus, perfectly agree: and they will likewise serve to throw light upon the remark of Manetho, that the Shepherd-kings were occasionally thought to be Arabs from the east.

We have seen, that the Scythic or Iranian empire, from Nimrod to Thonus Concoletus, lasted 1495 or (in the round number of Justin) about

¹ Dion. Perieg. ver. 1086—1091. Schol. in loc.

fifteen centuries : and we have further seen, that, during this period, it was governed by two successive dynasties apparently of the same Cuthic family ; the first reigning 190 years, and the second reigning 1305 years ¹. Now we are told, that, at the close of the first dynasty, when in the days of Serug the original Scythic name and succession terminated, a dynasty of six Arabian kings reigned for the space of 215 years over Chaldæa ; which country therefore they must of course have wrested from its former lords ². Such being the case, as the Cuthic empire commenced at Babel in the year 613 after the flood, and as the first Cuthic dynasty reigned 190 years, the Arab princes, who made themselves masters of Chaldæa at the extinction of that dynasty, must have begun to reign in the year after the flood 803 : and, as they continued to reign in Chaldea 215 years, the year 1018 after the flood must have witnessed their expulsion or subjugation by the Cuthico-Assyrian emperors of the second dynasty. Hence it appears, that these Arabs governed Chaldæa during the space which intervenes between the years 803 and 1018 after the flood. But the Phenician Shepherd-kings, who are sometimes said to have been Arabs from the east, invaded Egypt 6 years before the birth of Abraham ; and Abraham was born in the year after the flood 942 : the Shepherds therefore must have invaded Egypt in the year 936 after the same epoch. These Shepherds however have been traced to Palestine from the Indian Caucasus, by the route of Chaldæa and the shores of the Erythræan sea ; which districts they must have held for a considerable time, for we find them even building cities there. But the Arabs held Chaldæa from the year 803 to the year 1018 after the flood : and the Phenician Shepherds, who had previously come out of that identical country, invaded Egypt in the year 936 ; that is to say, 133 years after the subjugation of Chaldæa by the Arabs, and 82 years before they lost the sovereignty of that country. From this statement therefore it is manifest, that the Arabs must have been lords of Chaldæa at the very time when the Phenician Shepherds were building cities and firmly establishing themselves round the head of the Persian gulph. Hence, as the Arab princes and the Phenician Shepherds were masters of the very same country at the very

¹ Vide supra c. 2, § III.

² Vide supra c. 2, § III. 2.

BOOK VI. same time, it will inevitably follow, that they were one and the same people under different names. Accordingly, as the conquerors of Chaldèa are spoken of under the name of *Arabs*; so we learn from Manetho, that the Shepherd-kings of Egypt were thought by some to have likewise been Arabs.

And now the progress of these oriental invaders, from the Indian Caucasus through the southern provinces of Iran, will be easily accounted for. Descending from their native mountains, they had subjugated Chaldèa at the close of the first Cuthic dynasty of the great Assyrian empire: and, while some of them remained in the land which they had thus gained by the sword; others, advancing westward round the Arabian desert and then passing southward through the entire extent of the country which was first colonized by the descendants of Canaan, appeared at length on the eastern frontier of Egypt¹.

How they came to be styled *Arabs*, can only be a matter of conjecture: they most probably received the name from the circumstance of their appearing to the people of the west to issue out of the northern parts of the Arabian desert. Under this appellation however, we more than once find them mentioned by the ancients. The Shepherd-kings, as we have seen, were indifferently said to be Arabs and Phenicians: the associates of Cadmus, in an exactly similar manner, were variously denominated *Phenicians* and *Arabs*²: and the allies of Ninus, the founder of the second Cuthico-Assyrian dynasty, are said to have been certain Arabs; who, conjointly with him, subjugated the province of Babylonia³. This occurred at the extinction of the first dynasty: and these Arabs, who received Chaldèa as their portion, were evidently those Phenician or Indo-Scythic Shepherds, a branch of whom afterwards made themselves masters of Egypt under the name of *Huc-Sos* or *Palli*.

6. If then the Philitim or Shepherd-kings really came out of northern India, we may naturally expect, that some remembrance of their emigration would be preserved both in the west and in the east. Nor shall we be dis-

¹ See Append. Tab. V.

² Strab. Geog. lib. vii. p. 321. lib. x. p. 447.

³ Diod. Bibl. lib. ii. p. 90.

appointed in our expectation : the notices of this memorable event shall be considered in their order.

(1.) In the west we find a belief decidedly prevalent, that a colony of Indians once settled in Egypt.

Plutarch mentions, that Dionusus was supposed to have brought into that country, from the land of the Indians, the worship of the two bulls, denominated *Apis* and *Osiris* ¹. This worship indeed was already established in Egypt when the Shepherds invaded it : but the tradition does not, on that account, the less prove *the arrival* of an Indian colony. In a similar manner, Diodorus informs us, that Osiris was by extraction an Indian ². His testimony I understand much in the same mode as that of Plutarch. Osiris or Isiris is no doubt the Indian Eswara : though perhaps his worship cannot in strict propriety be said to have been *imported* from India, for it rather seems to have been carried both west and east from the common centre of Babylonia. So likewise we are told, by Eustathius and Stephanus Byzantinus, that Egypt was once called *Actia* from a certain Indian prince named *Actos* or *Ait* ³. Would we learn who the Indians were, of whom this Ait was the captain, we are taught by Eusebius, that certain Ethiopians or Cushim, leaving their original abode on the river Indus, formerly came and settled in Egypt ⁴. Thus it appears, that the invading Indians were Cushim or Chusas from the region of the Indus ; that is to say, from the identical region whence we have supposed the Ethiopic Shepherds to have migrated. These warriors so entirely subjugated the land of Egypt, that it was not only called *Actia* from their leader Actos, but likewise *Ethiopia* or *Chusistan* from themselves : for Eustathius remarks, that it received this last name on account of its having been occupied by Ethiopians or Cushim ⁵. But we know, that the aborigines of Egypt were Mizraim : hence it is manifest, that these Cushim must have been those who came from the banks of the Indus ; in other words, they must clearly be identified with the pastoral Philitim or Philistim, who accordingly are declared by Amos to have

¹ Plut. de Isid. p. 362.

² Diod. Bibl. lib. i. p. 17.

³ Eustath. in Dion. Perieg. ver. 239. Steph. Byzant. de Urb.

⁴ Euseb. Chron. p. 26.

⁵ Eusth. in Dion. Perieg. ver. 239.

BOOK VI. been Cushim and by the writers whom Tacitus consulted to have been Ethiopians.

From Egypt, which was the first African Ethiopia, they penetrated southward, ascending the course of the Nile, into the region, which in modern geography exclusively bears that appellation. Then it was, that this more recent Ethiopia first became a nation : and, as the Hindoos style the Asiatic or primitive Ethiopia *Cusha-dwip within* ; so they denominated the Nileotic or colonial Ethiopia *Cusha-dwip without*. In Scripture they are each called *the land of Cush* from the great patriarch of the Scuths or Chusas ; though in our English translation, which has copied the Greek of the Seventy, they alike bear the name of *Ethiopia*.

According to Eusebius, the Asiatic Cushim or Ethiopians planted themselves in Egypt during the reign of Amenophis¹. In this he perfectly agrees with Manetho, so far as their *second* irruption is concerned : for, as we have already seen, the Shepherds *returned* into Egypt while that identical prince was on the throne. Thus we again find, that the Cushim of the Indus and the pastoral Philitim were the same people : for they are alike declared to have invaded Egypt during the sovereignty of Amenophis. I am inclined however to think, that they planted the Nileotic Ethiopia, while they *first* possessed the land of Egypt ; and that the colonists retained this more southern region without being attacked by the Mizraim, when their brethren were driven out of Auaris. To this opinion I am led by the assertion of Manetho, that Amenophis, when his dominions were a *second* time invaded by the Shepherds, retired among the southern Ethiopians with whom he had long been in a state of amity. Now it is obvious, that there would have been no such nation then in existence if the Nileotic Ethiopia had been planted by the Cuthic Shepherds of the *second* dynasty : whence I argue, that it must have been planted by those of the *first*, previous to their expulsion from Auaris and long before the days of Amenophis. But, however this may be, it must clearly have been colonized by those same Cushim ; who, under the name of *the Shepherd-kings*, emigrated from the banks of the Indus, and thus invaded Egypt from the east. Such, accord-

¹ Euseb. Chron.

ingly, is the testimony of Philostratus : he both mentions the migration, of CHAP. V. which I am treating ; and he further informs us, that, until it took place, there was no such nation as that of the Ethiopians to the south of Egypt¹.

The Nileotic Ethiopians then were the children of the Asiatic, being a branch of those pastoral warriors who came from the Indian Caucasus and subjugated the Mizraim : and this relationship was well known and acknowledged by ancient writers. Herodotus very accurately distinguishes between the two chief nations of the Ethiopians ; those of Asia who were neighbours to the Indians, and those of Africa who were above Egypt. He evidently considers them as the same race ; as indeed both their common name of *Cushim* or *Ethiopians*, and every circumstance relative to them, abundantly prove : and he says, that they differed from each other only in their language and their hair. With respect to the former, I take it to have been rather a dialectical variation than a real difference, the natural consequence of long separation² : and, as for the latter, it is sufficiently accounted for by the geographical situation of the two principal lands of Cush. The Asiatic Ethiopians, he remarks, had straight hair : while those of Africa had the thick woolly curled hair of the modern negro³. Such is the power of climate over the same race, that the olive-coloured Chusas of northern India have branched in their European settlements into the fair-complexioned Goths and Saxons : while, in their progress through Egypt into the burning regions of the torrid zone, they have darkened into the proverbially jetty Ethiopians. Agreeably to this alleged origin of the African Cushim, we often find them called *Indians*. Thus Polybius mentions, that Hannibal, in passing the Rhone, lost all his *Indians* ; by whom we are plainly to understand, not *natives of Hindostan*, but *troops from the African Ethiopia*⁴. Thus Elian tells us, that the Libyans were neighbours to the Indians ; an expression, which must doubtless be interpreted in the

¹ Philos. in vit. Apoll. Tyan. lib. iii. c. 6.

² Thus no one doubts, that the German, the English, the Danish, the Swedish, and the Icelandic, are all branches of the Teutonic idiom : yet they are esteemed different languages.

³ Herod. lib. vii. c. 69, 70.

⁴ Polyb. lib. iii. p. 200.

BOOK VI. same manner ¹. And thus Virgil places the Indians in the vicinity of the Egyptians and the Garamantians; accurately bestowing this appellation upon the Ethiopians of the Nile, not from the country which they then inhabited, but on account of their well-known descent from the Asiatic Indi ². Nor is this the only title, which proves their oriental extraction. It is a remarkable circumstance, that, for the most part, wherever we find the Cushim, we are sure to find a kindred tribe in close contact with them denominated *Sacas* from the god *Saca* or *Buddha* the great object of Scuthic veneration. To the north of India, we have the *Chusas* and the *Sacas* or (as they are sometimes called) the *Sacasen*s: further west, we have the *Scuths* and the *Sacæ*, so formidable to the Persians and so well known to the Greek geographers: and at length, in Europe, we have the familiar titles of the *Goths* and the *Saxons*, whose progress from upper Persia and India has already been sufficiently traced. Now, as a branch of the same family conquered Egypt and planted the Nileotic Ethiopia under the name of *the Shepherd kings*, we shall not wonder to find in Africa those very appellations which have long been famous in Asia and in Europe. They, whom the Greeks chose to style *Ethiopian*s, were always by themselves denominated *Cushim* or *Chusas* or *Cuths*, as being the descendants of the patriarch *Cush*: and this is the title, by which they are known both to the sacred writers, to the Arabs, and to the Hindoos. The Ethiopians then of upper Egypt were *Cuths*: and it is a curious circumstance, that one of their tribes bore the name of *Sachim* or (as the Masorites have thought proper to point the word) *Suchim*. They are mentioned with the *Lubim*, as forming part of the army of king *Shishak*: as they seem very evidently to be the same as the Grecized *Scenites* of Ptolemy, whom he places after the Ethiopic *Memnon*s ³. If therefore we consider the sufficiently ascertained genealogy of the Nileotic *Cuths* or *Goths*, we can scarcely doubt, that these *Sachim* or *Scenite*s were the African brethren of the *Sacas* or *Sacasen*s or *Sacanite*s of the Touranian *Scythia* and of the *Saxe* or *Saxons* who accompanied the *Goths* into Europe.

¹ Ælian. de animal. lib. xvi. c. 33.

² Æneid. lib. viii. ver. 74. lib. vi. ver. 794.

³ 2 Chron. xii. 2. Ptol. Geog. p. 114.

Thus, in the west, we seem to have abundant evidence, that the Shepherd-kings, who conquered Egypt and who first planted the Nileotic Ethiopia, were Scuths or Chusas; that they migrated originally from the extensive region of the Indian Caucasus; and that they afterwards travelled, by way of Palestine, from the shores of the Erythræan sea to the land of the Mizraim. Let us now turn to the east, and see whether we can there discover any vestiges of this remarkable emigration. CHAP. V.

(2.) In the east then we find, if possible, a more vivid recollection of it than in the west.

Cusha-dwip within, according to the Hindoo geographers, is that vast tract of Asia, which contains the whole of Iran, but which additionally comprehends the Chusic settlements in the extensive range of the Indian Caucasus: and Cusha-dwip without is Abyssinia and the African Ethiopia. For the title of these latter countries the Brahmens account, by asserting in general terms, that the descendants of Cusha, being obliged to leave their native country, from him styled *Cusha-dwip within*, migrated into Sancha-dwip, which coincides with Egypt and Ethiopia on both sides of the Nile; and gave to their new settlement, as to their old one, the name of their great ancestor Cusha¹. Here we have very plainly the identical invasion of Egypt by the Shepherd-kings from the east, the history of which is so minutely detailed by Manetho: and here too we have an additional and most direct proof, that those pastoral warriors were Cushim or Indo-Goths or Asiatic Ethiopians.

But the matter is put out of all doubt, as we advance further; and a most astonishing degree of light is thrown upon the early transactions of the Huc-Sos or Philitim. We are told in the Mahacalpa, that a warlike prince, named *Tamovatsa*, hearing that the king of Misrasthan governed his country with much injustice, marched against him at the head of his chosen troops, defeated and killed him in a great battle, and placed himself in the vacant throne of Misra. He ruled the land with perfect equity; and was succeeded by his grandson Rucmavatsa, who tenderly loved his people, and who so highly improved his dominions that from his just revenues he

¹ *Asiat. Res.* vol. iii, p. 55.

BOOK VI. amassed an incredible treasure. His wealth was so ample, that he raised three mountains, that of gold, that of silver, and that of gems; or rather, as the context of the passage implies, three pyramidal fabrics, which from their size might well be deemed artificial mountains¹.

In this curious narrative, we have the history of the pastoral invasion told by *a friend*, as we before had it told by *a foe*. In the main fact there is, of course, no disagreement; Egypt or Misrasthan was invaded and conquered by the Chusas from the east: but the charge of injustice and tyranny, alleged with much reason by the oppressed Mizraim against their new sovereigns, is dexterously shifted to the native king who was routed and slain in battle; while the victors are celebrated for their mild government and their strict equity. Yet it is not dissembled, that they amassed immense treasures; and that they employed them in erecting those three identical pyramids, which, we have already seen, were raised by the Cuthic Shepherd-princes through the hard labour of the miserably oppressed Israelites and Mizraim².

The unity of the two histories could not have been reasonably doubted, even if we had had no further intimations given us respecting the particular character of the invaders: but of this we have so minute a detail, that their identity is established beyond all possible controversy. It has been stated, that the native Mizraim called their tyrants *Huc-Sos* or *Shepherd-kings*; but that, as Herodotus immediately connects the shepherd Philitis with the pyramids, we have reason to believe that they denominated themselves *Philitim*. This supposition was confirmed by proving the Shepherd-kings to be the same race as the Philistim: and, since those kings were styled *Shepherds* and since Herodotus specially declares Philitis to have been a shepherd, it was conjectured, that in the language of the invaders *Philitim* was equivalent to *Huc-Sos*; in other words, that, like *Huc-Sos*, it denoted *Shepherds*. Such a conjecture seemed plausible enough, though no way essentially necessary to the general argument: but we shall now find it con-

¹ Asiat. Res. vol. iii. p. 225—227.

² In the *Tamovatsa* of the Mahacalpa, we recognize the *Timaus* or *Tammuz* of Manetho: the name however, in the Indian record, has been transferred from the conquered Mizraimic king to the victorious Shepherd-prince.

verted into certainty ; and *that* in such a manner, as clearly to demonstrate that the very same events are related in the histories both of Egypt and of Hindostan. CHAPTER V.

In the Institutes of Menu, the Pahlavas are mentioned, with the Sacas, the Chusas, and other tribes, as being an excommunicated branch of the military caste ; which originated in Iran, and which we know from Scripture to have been composed of the children of Cush ¹. The name of these Cuthic Pahlavas is sometimes written *Pali* or *Palli* : and the word itself signifies *Shepherds* or *Herdsmen*. Like most of the Touranian Scythians, they were doubtless a nomade race : whence, from their employment, they were styled *Pali* or *Shepherds* ; and this employment, which tied them down to no particular soil, gave them great facility of locomotion. They seem to have been proud of the appellation : so that, whenever they gained the ascendancy, they were fond of styling themselves by an easy metaphor *Shepherds of the people* ; thus converting the name of an occupation into a regal title of honour. It will naturally be anticipated, that these Indian Pali were the Shepherd-kings of the Mizraim, who by the compound appellation *Huc-Sos* expressed both ideas ; and that the name *Pali* is the same as the name *Philitim* or *Palitim*, *Philistim* or *Palistim* : whence it would follow, as already conjectured, that the word *Philitim* is equivalent to *Shepherds*, and that *Huc-Sos* is a compounded translation of it.

Nor will this anticipation prove unfounded. We are told in the Puranas, that the Pali were once a very powerful people, who lived to the southwest of Cashi near the river Naravindhya. Their virtuous king Irshu, on account of the protection which he afforded to pilgrims, was attacked by his brother Tarachya ; who reigned over the Vindhyan mountaineers, and who was impious and malignant. Irshu was overpowered, and compelled to leave his kingdom : but Siva or the masculine principle, to whose worship he was peculiarly devoted, led the fugitive prince and the faithful Pali who accompanied him to the banks of the Cali or Nila in Sancha-dwip or Misrasthan. Here they found certain Sharmicas or descendants of the patriarch Sharma ; who was one of the three sons of the ark-preserved Menu, and who

¹ Instit. c. x. § 43, 44.

BOOK VI. must evidently be identified with the scriptural Shem¹. These were foreigners in the country as well as themselves: and they are said to have travelled thither from the banks of the Cumudvati or Euphrates, subsequent to the building of the Padma-mandira or tower of Babel. Various idle stories are told of them: but, in general terms, they are described as a holy or divine race under the immediate care and instruction of heaven. Among these the Pali settled, and soon spread themselves up the country as high as Mandera or Meroë. Their king Irshu was named *Pali* from the people whom he governed: and, though he was *naturally* bloody-minded, yet he so far overcame his disposition to evil, that he was rewarded by the gods for his piety, and is even worshipped to this day in India as one of the eight regents of the world. The abode of his descendants is declared in the Puranas to be still on the banks of the Nila, which no doubt is true so far as the Nileotic Cushim or Ethiopians are concerned: and it is added, that a country, which they occupied, was from them denominated *Palisthan* or *the land of Pali*. One of their kings, who ruled both over Egypt and Ethiopia, was called *It* or *Ait*. He obtained a complete victory over the natives, who are described as a sort of savage demons: and from him a considerable part of the country received the name of *Aiteya*. Of the Indian Pali there are now only a few miserable remains. By the Brahmens they are considered as outcasts: yet they are acknowledged to have possessed a dominion in ancient times from the banks of the Indus even to the peninsula of Siam. Accordingly, the Pali tongue is still the sacred language of the Burman empire: and the old Buddhistic theology of the Shepherds is still professed throughout the whole of its extent².

It need scarcely be remarked how perfectly this narrative harmonizes with the traditions of the west. The Pali are plainly the Cuthic Philitim or Philistin: their king Pali is the shepherd Philitis mentioned by Herodotus, if we suppose the historian to speak of an individual: their king Ait is the person, whom the Greeks, adding the termination of their language,

¹ The names of his three sons, according to the Hindoos, were *Sharma*, *Charma*, and *Jyapeti*; and, as Moses writes them, *Shem*, *Cham*, and *Japhet*.

² *Asiat. Res.* vol. iii. p. 66–88, 14. vol. ix. p. 33.

styled *the Indian Aetos*: and *Aiteya*, as a name of Egypt communicated by him to the country, is what the Greeks wrote *Actia*, affirming it to have been an ancient appellation of Egypt derived from the title of that Indian ¹. So again: the word *Pali* denotes *Shepherds*; and the persons, who invaded Egypt from the east, are spoken of as being *Shepherd-kings*: the Pali were votaries of the Scythic or Buddhic superstition; the Shepherds were the same: the Pali subjugated the whole country; such also was the fortune of the Shepherds. We are further told, that the land occupied by the Pali was from them called *Palisthan* or *the Shepherd-country*. This is plainly the *Paleseth* of Holy Writ, and the *Palestine* of the Greek authors: a name, which at the time of the exodus seems to have been confined to the tract of land that reached from the eastern bank of the Nile to Gerar and Gaza, but which at length was extended to the whole region that was promised to the Israelites. Yet it was not peculiar to either of these countries. As the Pali or Phanakim settled on the shore of the Erythræan sea, in the course of their progress from upper India to Egypt; we thence find a *Palestine* or *Palisthan*, stretching eastward from the Euphrates and the Tigris, and thus coinciding with their territories on the Persian gulph: and, as they afterwards migrated into various countries when they were finally driven out by the Mizraim; we meet with *Pelestini* in Italy, a town called *Philistina* at the mouth of the Po, the *Philistinean* trenches and the *Philistinean* sands in Epirus, and a race of shepherds named *Bhils* or *Phils* in Abyssinia and Mauritania. The river Strymon also was distinguished by the epithet *Palestinus*: and, if there was a *Palaibothra* or *Paliputra* in northern India, there was no less a *Palaipatræ* or *Paliputra* (as it is to this day called by the natives) on the shore of the Hellespont ². As for the children of Sharma, who dwelt in Egypt synchronically with the Pali, and who came originally from the banks of the Euphrates and the vicinity of Babel; it need scarcely be remarked, that they are clearly the Israelites or the captive shepherds of Manetho, whose great ancestor Abraham was a divinely-called emigrant from Ur in Chaldæa.

¹ The coincidence is so palpable, that I give the words of Eustathius. Egypt, he says, was formerly called *Actia*, εκ τινος Ινδου Acte καλεθεισῃ. Schol. in Dion. Perieg. ver. 239.

² *Asiat. Res.* vol. iii. p. 79, 81, 140, 141.

BOOK VI.

Equally explicit are the Hindoo writers with regard to the planting of the Nileotic Ethiopia or Cushadwip without. They tell us, that the settlers in that country were a blameless, pious, and even a sacred, race; that they were fugitives from India; that their king was called *Yatupa*; and that the land, which they occupied, was from him named *Yatupeya*¹. Judging by their character, I should take them to have been chiefly composed of the sacerdotal order; who, weary of the perpetual turmoils of lower Egypt, travelled up the Nile in quest of a more peaceable habitation. These are the *blameless Ethiopians* celebrated by Homer²: and, from *Yatupa* and *Yatupeya*, the titles of their king and their country, it seems probable, that the Greeks formed the names of king *Ethiops* and his domain *Ethiopia*.

7. The emigration of the Shepherd-kings from India by the coast of the Erythræan sea is confirmed by several very curious incidental particulars.

(1.) As they themselves were called *Pali* or *Philitim*; so the land, which they occupied, was from them denominated *Palisthan*: but we are told by Manetho, that their chief settlement in Egypt was likewise styled *Auaris*; and this is plainly the country, which in the days of Abraham was known as *the land of the Philistim* and which in the time of Joseph bore also the appellation of *Goshen*³.

Now *the land of the Philistim* is simply a translation of the Sanscrit *Palisthan*, which denotes *the land of the Shepherds*: but various are the etymologies which have been proposed of the two other terms *Goshen* and *Auaris*. All these however are completely set aside by the proof that the Shepherds came out of India: for, as such was the origin of the *Pali*; such also, we may conclude, would be the origin of the names by which their peculiar strong-hold was distinguished. Agreeably to this opinion, Manetho tells us, that the word *Auaris* was taken from a certain ancient theology⁴: and he tells us right, for both it and *Goshen* are Sanscrit names,

¹ Asiat. Res. vol. iii. p. 86—88.

² Ἀμυρσίας Ἀθιοπύρας. Iliad. lib. i. ver. 423. As they were priests, the poet aptly represents Jupiter and the gods as going to feast with them. I think, with the scholiast and Diodorus Siculus, that the Ocean, here mentioned by Homer, is the Nile, by the Egyptians called *Occames* and *Oceanus*.

³ Gen. xxi. 32. xlv. 31.

⁴ Joseph. cont. Apion. lib. i. § 14.

bearing precisely such a sense as might have been expected. They are terms of the same import as *Palisthan*: for all the three equally signify *the Land of the Shepherds*¹.

(2.) Such appellations were doubtless conferred and used indifferently by the Shepherds themselves: and, as they brought them from their oriental settlements, they likewise naturally, with the true feelings of colonists, endeavoured to stamp upon Egypt and Ethiopia the special character of their own country. For this the land of Mizraim offered many facilities, and what was wanting in nature was completed by art.

The Nile was viewed as a new Ganges, rising in a high romantic land, but flowing at length through a rich valley fertilized by its periodical inundations. Hence, both rivers are described, as rushing over three ranges of hills which are severally designated by common appellations: and, if the one, in its descent from the head of Siva, be said to flow through the stone-mouth of the sacred cow; the other, in its fall from the great god Zeus, is divided, by the point of the Delta, at Batn-el-Bakari or the Cow's belly. Hence likewise, as the Asiatic stream has a Meru at its head; so the African stream has equally a Meru possessing the very same characteristics. The former mountain is the northern, the latter is the southern, Himalaya. Each is a sacred peak of the Moon: each is furnished with a lake of the hero-gods: each is the peculiar abode of the immortals².

But art was also brought forward, as the assistant of nature and of fiction: and the Thebais became to Egypt what upper India is to lower. *The remains of architecture and sculpture in India*, to adopt the words of Sir William Jones, *seem to prove an early connection between that country and Africa. The pyramids of Egypt, the colossal statues, the Sphinx, and the Hermes-Cunis, indicate the style and mythology of the same indefatigable workmen; who formed the vast excavations of Canarah, the various temples and images of Buddha, and the idols which are continually dug up at Gaya or in its vicinity. The letters on many of those monuments appear, partly of Indian, and partly of Abyssinian or Ethiopic, origin: and all these*

¹ Asiat. Res. vol. iii. p. 88.

² Asiat. Res. vol. iii. p. 88; 89. Maur. Ind. Ant. vol. iii. p. 69. Iliad. lib. xvii. ver. 263. where, by *δευσιτιος ποταμιον*, the poet certainly means the Nile.

BOOK VI.

indubitable facts may induce no ill-grounded opinion, that Ethiopia and Hindostan were peopled or colonized by the same extraordinary race ¹.

(3.) To such facts may be added certain verbal mythologic coincidences: which are so far of importance, that, although pagan idolatry was radically the same in every quarter of the globe; yet, since different nations called the great father by *different* names, the distinguishing him by the *same* appellation may be esteemed no inconsiderable proof of national identity.

Now the Pali were formerly lords of all India, though their chief settlements appear to have been on the high land to the north of it: and, from this region, they spread themselves at once into Siam towards the east; into Italy and Ireland towards the north-west, under the names of *Pelagò* and *Phaili*; and into Egypt and Palestine towards the south-west, under the appellation of *Philitim* or *Philistim* or *Royal Shepherds*. What then was the title, which they bestowed upon the great father Buddha, when they contemplated him as the god of agriculture and as the sovereign prince in the belly of the hieroglyphical fish? In Boutan and Thibet, he is venerated by the name of *Dak-Po*: in the Burman empire, he is adored under the title of *Dagon*. On the coast of the Erythrèan sea, he was known as *Dacon*: and, when the Pali reached the shores of the Mediterranean, he was still, as the god *Dagon*, revered by the Phenicians and the Philistim. In Pelasgic Etruria, we again meet with him as the agricultural earth-born Tages or Dag-Esa, answering to the agricultural Dagon or Siton of the Tyrians: and in Pelasgic Ireland, he finally presents himself to our notice under the name of *Dagh-dae* or *the god Dagh* ². I would not build upon words independently of circumstantial evidence: but, since the Pali may be alike traced in Siam, in Thibet, on the coast of the Erythrèan sea, in Phenicia or Palestine, in Etruria, and in Ireland; and since, in all those countries, the great father has been known by appellations kindred to *Dagon*: it is impossible not to feel, that this latter circumstance corrob-

¹ Asiat. Res. vol. i. p. 427.

² La Croze p. 431. Vallanc. Vind. p. 160, 161, 502, 503. Synes's Ava. vol. ii. p. 110, 111. Hamelton's Acc. of East Ind. vol. ii. p. 57. Seld. de diis Syr. synt. ii. c. 3. p. 190. Sanch. apud Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. i. c. 10. Ciccr. de divin. lib. ii. c. 23. Ovid. Metam. lib. xv. ver. 553—559.

rates the former, while at the same time the former amply accounts for the latter. CHAP. V.

Much the same remark may be made on the Burman word *Praw*. The term itself denotes *Lord*; and it is at once a sovereign and a sacerdotal title. But this very appellation was no less familiar to the ancient Egyptians, than it is to the modern Burmans. *Phra* was the proper name, under which they first adored the Sun: and they conferred the same title both on their kings and on their priests. Thus the reigning sovereign was always distinguished by the appellation of *Pharaoh*; which, when not disguised by the Masoretic points, is no other than *Phra* or *Praw*: and thus the priest of the solar god On bore the name of *Potiphera*, as being the *Petah-Phra* or *priest of the Sun*¹. The word was certainly imported into Egypt by the Shepherd-kings, who were of the same great Cuthic family as the Burmans.

A similar argument is afforded by the story of Perseus and Andromeda. It is a Cuthic fable, relative to the protection of the great mother from the fury of the oceanic monster Typhon, which sought to devour her: for Perseus, as I have already shewn, is the same character as Buddha or Hercules. But I am at present concerned only with the *existence* of the tale. Now the scene of it is generally laid in the African Ethiopia: yet Ovid speaks of Andromeda as being brought from among the Indians, and in his narrative of the adventure seems to hesitate whether he should ascribe it to the region of the Nile or of the Ganges². Nor was his doubt purely accidental: he had, I believe, very good reason for it. Perseus and Andromeda, Cepheus and Cassiopèa, were equally well-known characters in the Asiatic and in the African Ethiopia. The Hindoos to this day call

¹ Symes's *Embass. to Ava.* vol. ii. p. 62, 63. In the Burman empire, we are further told, the name *Praw* is always annexed to a sacred building. Hence I am inclined to suspect, that the word *Pyramid*, which has generally been thought to be Greek, is in reality Indo-Scythic. *Prawem-Ida* will be equivalent to the name of the holy mountain *Ida* or *Meru* with *Praw* prefixed to it: and every pyramid, as we have seen, was an express copy of that identical mountain. The Burman temples of Dagon or Buddha are all pyramidal.

² Apollod. *Bibl. lib. ii. c. 4. § 3.* Ovid. *Art. Amat. lib. i. ver. 53.* *Metam. lib. iv. ver. 668. comp. lib. v. ver. 17, 48, 60, 75, 187.*

BOOK VI. them *Parasica* and *Antarmada*, *Caþeya* and *Casyapi*: and all doubt of their identity with the personages celebrated in the west is removed by the curious circumstance of the Brahmenical constellation of *Parasica* and *Antarmada* being the very same catasterism as that of *Perseus* and *Andromeda*¹. Thus it appears, that the well known classical story was a fiction common both to *Cusha-dwip* within and *Cusha-dwip* without: and, since the latter country was colonized from the former, it was evidently imported from *India* by the *Pali* or *Shepherd-kings*². Nor is this all: as the *Phenicians* and *Philistim* occupied the whole sea-coast of the *Holy Land*, and as these adventurers were by descent *Cuthim* or *Ethiopian*s; we find, that *Phenicia* itself was sometimes deemed an *Ethiopia*, and that as such it was feigned to be the region where *Andromeda* was delivered by *Perseus* from the sea-monster. The *Cuthim* of *Joppa* even pretended to shew the very skeleton of the cetus, to which the *Ethiopic* virgin was exposed: and it was thought so great a curiosity, that it was transported to *Rome*, and exhibited, during the edileship of *Scaurus*, for the edification of the gaping multitude³. It was doubtless connected with the *Philistean* worship of *Dagon* and *Derecto*: and, as the *Philistim* themselves were no other than the *Pali*, we shall not wonder at their possessing the story of *Perseus* and *Andromeda*. The same tale formed also a part of the popular mythology of the *Iliensians*, who were a colony of *Sacas* or *Palis* from the *Indian* *Ila-vratta* or *Meru*⁴. Not a single particular is altered: the names only of *Perseus* and *Andromeda* are exchanged for those of *Hercules* and *Hesionè*. At length, as was frequently the case, the legend found its way into the fictitious martyrology of corrupt *Christianity*: and it is a curious circumstance, that, notwithstanding the transmutation of *Perseus* into *St. George*, the locality of the fable is still accurately preserved. The *Christian* hero, who has been adopted as the chivalrous patron of the order of the *Garter*, is said to have delivered the beautiful *Sabra* from a terrific dragon, to which she was exposed in the land of *Egypt* or *Ethiopia*: but the scene of this

¹ *Asiat. Res.* vol. iii. p. 222.

² For the *Indian* fable of *Parasica* and *Antarmada*, see *Asiat. Res.* vol. iii. p. 219.

³ *Strab. Geog.* lib. i. p. 42, 43. *Plin. Nat. Hist.* lib. xxv.

⁴ *Asiat. Res.* vol. vi. p. 516.

exploit appears to have been sometimes laid at Beryth or Berytus; for there was a famous picture in that city of the sainted knight trampling the dragon beneath his feet, while a young virgin kneels to him in the act of imploring assistance¹. I think it probable however, that, independently of classical romance, the Goths, those northern kinsmen of the Pali, brought the legend with them into Europe from the Asiatic Ethiopia. The fabled amour of Hercules with the dracontian nymph, in the wilds of Scythia, seems to be only a variation of the story: and we have it, in its perfect form, in the old chivalrous tale of Sir Bevis of Hampton; who, like the Cuthic warrior, slays a portentous dragon and delivers a fair damsel².

VI. When the Shepherds were finally driven out of Egypt, in consequence of their power being broken by the awful catastrophè of the Red sea, they migrated, as we are told by Diodorus, into several different regions: their history therefore will not be complete, until we have traced their progress in this ultimate dispersion.

1. Diodorus particularly mentions the emigration of one of their noblest tribes under Danaus, and he describes it as synchronizing with the exodus of Israel: we collect however from Manetho, that it took place about 89 or 90 years after that event; the whole of which period, we may infer, was occupied by the last struggle between the Mizraim and the Palitim, and marked from time to time by a flight of this or that pastoral family.

With respect to Danans himself, I am persuaded that no such individual existed. The name was one of the many titles of the great father: and from it, agreeably to a very general practice, the Danaï borrowed their national appellation. They are noticed in the Puranas, as one of the Cuthic tribes that accompanied the Pali in their western progress to Egypt: and, under the name of *Danavas*, they are said to have been children of Danu or Noah³. This ancestor of theirs is doubtless the *Danaus* of the Greeks: and they emigrated under his command from Egypt, in no other

¹ Percy's Relics. vol. iii. p. 228. Selden's Notes to Polyolb. song iv.

² Percy's Relics. vol. iii. p. 217, 218. The legend of Memnon, who is alike ascribed to the Asiatic and the African Ethiopia, affords another argument of a similar nature.

³ Asiat. Res. vol. iii. p. 56, 124.

BOOK VI. sense than as under the special guidance of their tutelary divinity. Such an idea was universally prevalent among the Cuths: their great god, presiding in the holy ship Argha, was ever viewed as their preternatural leader, and was thought to direct their course from time to time by an oracular communication. Hence arose the story of Danaus having sailed to Greece in the ship Argo, which was the sacred diluvian vessel of Iswara or Osiris. The purport of it was simply this: that the Danavas or Danai, when they fled from Egypt, brought with them into Hellas the rites of Danu and the Argha.

Here they found their brethren the Pelasgi, or the Pali of the north-west: and they appear to have been so cordially received, that they were soon completely intermingled with them. Thus we are twice told by Euripides, that the Danai were formerly called *Pelasgi*: and we learn from other writers, that the Argives, the Arcadians, and the Athenians, though in part emigrants from Egypt, were yet all of the ancient Pelasgic stock¹. This was perfectly true in every sense of the expression: for, while one branch of the Pali found their way into Greece by land from the north, another branch met them in the same country by water from the south. Herodotus remarks, that the rites of Dionusus were brought into Greece from Egypt; and he adds, that almost all the names of the Hellenic gods were of Egyptian origin: yet he acknowledges, that much also was borrowed from the northern Pelasgi, who instituted the Mysteries of the Cabiri in Samothrace². I apprehend, that, in reality, there was no material difference: for both the Pelasgi and the Danai came by different routes from upper India. At least, the only difference which I can discover is this: the old Pelasgi were Buddhists; but the Danai, during their second residence in Egypt, appear to have embraced the more complicated religion, and thence to have taken the title of *Ionim* or *Yonijas*.

This irruption of Shepherds both from the north and the south gave rise to the proverbially pastoral character of Arcadia: but poets, with a greater regard to stage-effect than historical verity, have in all ages thought fit to

¹ See various authorities collected in Allwood's *Liter. Ant. of Greece*. p. 66, 67.

² Herod. *Hist. lib. ii. c. 49—52*.

exhibit the stern nomade warriors of Scythia disguised as a rustic inoffensive race, whose ambition soared no higher than to tend their lambs, to elicit soft strains from their pipes, and to frame many an amorous ditty to their mistresses. We may observe similar effects springing from the same cause, in the Hindoo and classical legends of the pastoral Crishna and Apollo, and in the humour of so often ascribing fatidical powers and learned mythologic discourses to a shepherd. The Pali were in truth a wise people, and they delighted in the military freedom of the nomade state: but they certainly affected the regal, rather than the soft amatory, character. Hence, as they were styled *Shepherd-kings* in Egypt, they introduced into the Greek language one of their national titles in the sense of *a sovereign prince*. They all claimed to be Anakim, and they invariably contrived to make themselves lords of whatever country they occupied: the word *Anax* therefore was adopted into the Hellenic tongue, as equivalent to *a king*; and it was often, particularly by Homer, associated with the closely allied denomination of *shepherd of the people*.

2. With Danaus, Diodorus mentions Cadmus as heading another body of emigrants from Egypt.

This particular I understand precisely in the same manner as the last. Cadmus, as we have already seen at large, was the Cadam or Codom or Gaudama of the east; under which appellation Buddha, the great god of the Chusic Shepherds, is still worshipped in Ceylon and Ava. Greek tradition sometimes brings the Cadmians from Egypt, and sometimes from Phenicia: and we find the matter fully explained by the clear assertion, that Cadmus originally came from the Thebais into Phenicia, and that afterwards he migrated from Phenicia into Beotia. The account certainly describes the travels, not of a hero, but of a nation under the guidance of their tutelary god: and, accordingly, while some of the Cadmians came into Greece, others of them remained in Palestine where they are mentioned by Moses under the name of *the Cadmonites*. A colony of them likewise passed into Cilicia, conducted by the fabulous Cilix whom romance converted into the brother of Cadmus: and, as Cadmus himself is feigned to have retired among the Illyrians, we may be tolerably sure that Illyricum also received a band of these martial wanderers. Such traditions,

BOOK VI. if we do but substitute *the people conducted for the conducting hero-god*, will become valuable portions of authentic history.

3. The Danai and the Cadmians are the only two tribes specifically mentioned by Diodorus; but he intimates, that many others emigrated from Egypt at the same period.

One of these planted Colchis on the Euxine: where, like the Danai and the Cadmians in Greece, they found and were received by a colony of their Scythic brethren from the Indian Caucasus. Hence, as might obviously be expected, we have a double account of the origin of the Colchians. We are told, on the one hand, by Tzetzes, that they were Indo-Scythians from mount Caucasus: while, on the other hand, we are rightly taught by Diodorus, in exact consistency with his declaration that many tribes as well as the Danai and the Cadmians evacuated Egypt synchronically with the exodus of Israel, that the Colchians upon the Euxine sea and the Jews between Arabia and Syria were alike the descendants of emigrants from the banks of the Nile¹. This expedition of the Shepherds in quest of a northern settlement was recollected, in the time of Herodotus, both by the Colchians and the Egyptians; though the tradition of the former, respecting their own origin from the country of the latter, was naturally enough the most vivid². Agreeably to such a descent, we find the name of *Cut* or *Cuth* occurring perpetually in the region of Colchis. One of its principal cities was called *Cuta* or *Cutèa*: and the country itself was denominated by the inhabitants *Cutais* or *Cutè* or *the land of Cuth*³. Hence Medèa is described as being a Cuthèan⁴: and hence, in the name of *Aietes* the father

¹ Tzetz. in Lycoph. ver. 174. Diod. Bibl. lib. i. p. 24. It was from the circumstance of the Danai and the Israelites being equally the descendants of persons, who had synchronically evacuated the land of Egypt, that the notion originated, which prevailed in the days of the Maccabees, that the Jews and the Lacedemonians were brethren. The mistake was not unnatural: and the writings, to which the Spartan king appealed in proof of such consanguinity, were doubtless the public records; which rightly brought the ancestors of the Lacedemonians out of Egypt, at the very time when the ancestors of the Jews had emigrated from the same country. See 1 Macc. xii. 6, 7, 11, 17, 20, 21.

² Herod. Hist. lib. ii. c. 104.

³ Schol. in Apoll. Argon. lib. iv. ver. 401. Orph. Argon. ver. 818. Tzetz. in Lyc. ver. 174.

⁴ Lyc. Cussand. ver. 174.

of Medèa, we again recognize the Cuthic title of the Indian prince Ait or Aetos, who is said to have conducted the Shepherds into Egypt from Cusha-dwip within. Such being the origin of the Colchians, we might expect that they would be eminent votaries of the ship Argha: and upon this circumstance the Greeks seem to have built their fable of the Argonautic expedition, which in fact is a disguised mythological history of the real Argoan voyage of Noah.

4. It is worthy of observation, that, in speaking of the Colchians, the scholiast on Pindar says, that they were *Scythians* or *Scuths* who had emigrated from Egypt: and he describes them precisely in the same manner as they had long before been described by Herodotus¹. Here then we have a direct proof, that the Scuths were the same race as the Cuthim or children of Cush; a point, which I have so often insisted upon in opposition to the vulgar error that they were the descendants of Japhet through the line of Magog. They were of a kindred stock, it appears, with the Shepherd-kings of Egypt: but those invaders were Chusas, or Indic Ethiopians, from the Asiatic Cusha-dwip; and that identical region was the native country of the Scuths or Goths, whence they have been traced all the way into Europe by the singular industry of a very able modern writer².

I am however inclined to think, that the Colchians were not the only Scuths; who, emigrating from Egypt, settled on the shores of the Euxine sea: I am rather willing to take the words of the scholiast in a somewhat more extended meaning. There are circumstances, which lead me to conjecture, that the expelled Shepherds fixed themselves irregularly on the coast all the way from the Phasis to the Palus Meotis, or at least that a very eminent colony was established on the banks of the Tanais. These would in part be the ancestors of the modern Cossacs, whose name and whose manners alike prove them to be of the great Cossèan or Chusèan family: though they would doubtless be mingled with the Pelasgic Scuths, who had already seated themselves round the north of the Euxine; and though, in later ages, they have been swelled by an influx of Circassians,

¹ Schol. in Pind. Pyth. Od. iv. ver. 376.

² Mr. Pinkerton.

BOOK VI. Tartars; Russians, Poles, Calmucs, and Armenians¹. My chief reason for supposing, that the Pelagic Scuths of the Palus Meotis were augmented by a colony of the Pali from Egypt, is this. We are told by a recent valuable traveller, that, in almost all its characteristics, the Don bears a striking resemblance to the Nile. It has the same regular annual inundation, covering a great extent of territory. The same aquatic plants are found in both rivers. And the manner, in which they disembody themselves into the sea, by numerous mouths, forming several small islands, as in the Delta, filled with swamps and morasses, is again the same². Now, on the supposition that a colony of Shepherds from Egypt planted themselves on the banks of this river, it is obvious, that they would be immediately struck with its palpable similitude to the river which they had left behind them: and this resemblance would naturally lead them, after the usual manner of colonists, to designate the stream which they had found by some one or other of the various appellations of the Nile. A branch then of that river, which flowed through the Delta, was called *Tanis*: and the whole river was formerly distinguished by the name of *Nous*, which is clearly the Sanscrit *Naush*. But Naush or Deo-Naush was the Indian Dionusus: and he is feigned to have travelled over all the world, and to have communicated his title to every principal river³: From him therefore the Nile was by the Pali called *Naus* or *Da-Naus*: and of this sacred name *Tanis* may safely be esteemed a mere variation. The Palic Danavas or Danai equally borrowed their appellation from this ancient personage: for there can be little doubt, that Danu and Danaush and Danaus were all one character. With these facts before us, let us direct our attention to the new Nile of the Palus Meotis, and inquire what name it has borne from the most remote antiquity. In our modern maps it appears as the *Don*: but this word is a palpable corruption of *Tanais*, by which appellation it was known to the Greeks; and, though we are accenstomed to write *Don*, the Cossacs to this day very accurately call one of its channels *Danaetz* or *Tanaetz*⁴. Hence I am led to conjecture, that

¹ Clarke's Travels. vol. i. c. 13.

² Ibid. p. 270, 271.

³ Asiat. Res. vol. iii. p. 57, 244, 245, 247. vol. vi. p. 503.

⁴ Clarke's Trav. vol. i. c. 12. p. 258.

it received of old a colony of Pali from Egypt who very naturally bestowed upon it a sacred name of the Nile: and I am further inclined to believe, that the particular Palic tribe which settled on its banks was a branch of the Danavas or Danai. It may be remarked, that *Tanaus*, which is the same word as *Danaus*, was well known as a regal title to the Scuths of Touran; and that *Danaus*, or *Danaw*, or in its un-compounded form *Nous*, is the real name of the great river Ister, which in England we are wont to express *Danube*. CHAR. V.

5. Others of the expelled Shepherds took refuge in the most western regions of Africa, which the Romans called *Mauritania*, and which at present are known by the appellation of *Marocco*. Hence we find also an Ethiopia or Cusha-dwip on the shores of the Atlantic, no less than on those of the Erythræan ocean. This land is plainly that, to which Homer alludes, when he speaks of the Ethiopians as being divided into two nations; the one dwelling far to the east, and the other as far to the west¹. And so, accordingly, his language is interpreted by his imitator Virgil; when he describes the Ethiopians, as being the last nation towards the setting Sun, and as tenanted the shores of the ocean². These western Ethiopians were by the Greeks usually called *Atlantians*, from their great god and sacred mountain Atlas: but the Atlantians are acknowledged by Diodorus to have been Ethiopians³. The whole substance, and all the sacred names, of their mythology were the very same as those of Greece and Phenicia: and I may particularly notice, that the hero-god Atlas, who communicated his appellation to them, was a prince no less of Hellas and Palestine than of Ethiopic Mauritania⁴. This coincidence arose from the common origi-

¹ Odysse. lib. i. ver. 22—25.

² Æneid. lib. iv. ver. 480.

³ Diod. Bibl. lib. iii. p. 186.

⁴ In a similar manner, there was a Nusa in the extreme parts of Libya bordering on the western ocean, where Bacchus was no less said to have been educated than in the remote eastern Nusa of the Indian mount Meru. The fact was, that the Ethiopians of Mauritania and of Hindostan were brethren by descent and were addicted to the very same superstition. Diod. Bibl. lib. iii. p. 201. Accordingly, there was a tradition, that the Mauritians were the descendants of certain Indians, who had migrated into western Africa with Hercules. Strab. Geog. lib. xvii. p. 828.

BOOK VI. nation of the Danai, the Palistim, and the Atlantians: they were all of the same stock as the Cuthic Shepherd-kings of Egypt.

Such a descent will account very satisfactorily for the language of a curious fragment of Eschylus, which has been preserved by Strabo. It describes the Ethiopians as dwelling on the shores of the Erythrèan sea, and yet as inhabiting a country where the Sun at the close of the day laves his foaming steeds in the *western* ocean¹. Now the Erythrèan sea lies far to the *east*, so that the poet seems to be guilty of a flat contradiction when he places those who tenant its shores at the extremity of the *west*. Yet this is by no means the case: the settlers on the Atlantic gave it the name of *the Erythrèan ocean*, in remembrance of the sea from which their ancestors had emigrated; so that, as these were Ethiopians, there was likewise an Erythrèan sea, at the utmost limits both of the west and of the east. Accordingly we find an island named *Erythra* on the coast of Spain: and we are told, that all the coast of that peninsula was colonized by Scuthic Iberians, and Phenicians, and Persians or Perizzites². Erythra contained the city of Gadira or Cadiz: and we learn from Dionysius, that that town was once denominated *Cotinusa*, no doubt from the Coths or Ethiopians who founded it³. The same family appellation meets us also in Mauritania: for Strabo mentions a tract in that country bordering upon the ocean, which was called *Cotes*, and of which the inhabitants would of course be styled *Cotèans* as indeed the word is written in some copies⁴.

6. From Spain the Pelasgic Shepherds migrated into Ireland, according to the concurrent traditions of both those countries; which, after making due allowance for certain embellishments, may safely, I think, *in the main* be believed. To this I am the more inclined from the testimony of the accurate Tacitus; who gives it, as a well-grounded opinion, that the ancient Iberi had passed over from Spain, and had colonized the western shores of Britain⁵. For, if these wandering adventurers could sail to one island, there

¹ Æschyl. apud Strab. Geog. lib. i. p. 33.

² Strab. Geog. lib. iii. p. 169. Plin. lib. iii. c. 1.

³ Dion. Perieg. ver. 445-

† Strab. Geog. lib. xvii. p. 825, 827.

⁵ Tac. in vit. Agric. c. 11.

can be nothing improbable in the traditions which bring them also to the other. CHAP. V.

General Vallancey has given various authorities from the Spanish writers, relative to the emigration of a colony from their shores to the large western region now called *Ireland*, which they are said to have occupied and peopled¹: and with these the accounts of the Irish themselves perfectly correspond. The whole narrative is so curious, and agrees so well with the assertion of Diodorus that various tribes of foreigners evacuated Egypt synchronically with the exodus of Israel, that it highly deserves our attention. It is in substance, as follows.

A Scuthic prince, called *Niul*, settled with his followers in Egypt; and had lands assigned him, on the coast of the Red sea, by the king of the country. He married *Scota*, the daughter of that Pharaoh, who was destroyed with his whole army in pursuit of the retiring Israelites: and, shortly after that awful catastrophè, he found it expedient to withdraw from Egypt at the head of his Scuthic retainers. These adventurers first sailed to Crete; whence they proceeded to the Euxine sea, on the shores of which they found several different settlements of their brethren. Here however they were harassed with continued wars; so that at length they again put to sea, in hopes of finding a more quiet settlement in some other country. While in doubt whither they should shape their course, they were informed by a prophet, who was attached to their tribe, that they never should have any certain repose until they arrived in an island situated far to the west. Awed by the oracle, they forthwith steered towards the setting Sun: and this course brought them to Guthia or Sicily; where they continued, as some say, three centuries, and which to the present day is inhabited by certain of their posterity. From Guthia they sailed to Spain: and from Spain they returned, under the command of Miliesius, to Scythia on the Euxine. This country they were obliged once more to evacuate on account of the jealousy of the natives: and then they are said to have again landed in Egypt, at the mouth of the Nile. Here the reigning Pharaoh gave his daughter *Scota* to Miliesius, as a former Pharaoh had given a former *Scota*

¹ Vallan. Vind. p. 325—328.

BOOK VI. to Niul. In Egypt they remained only seven years : for their chief, recollecting the prediction that they should have no rest until they found a western isle, supposed himself divinely compelled to emigrate. The second voyage is so exactly the counterpart of the first, as the marriage of Scota with Milesius is so palpable a repetition of the marriage of Scota with Niul, that I have no doubt of its being a spurious interpolation. Suffice it therefore to say, that, after a long residence in Spain, a prince named *Ith* proposed, at a general council of the chiefs, that they should sail in quest of the fated western island, which was to be the ultimate resting place of their tribe. This voyage brought them to Ireland, which they found already occupied : and *Ith* was killed in a battle with the natives. His followers however at length made good their settlement, and established themselves in the region which had been oracularly allotted to them ¹.

I am inclined to believe, that this very curious tradition is in the main founded upon truth : for the internal evidence of its general veracity is so strong, that it cannot easily be controverted. As for Niul and Milesius, they were characters similar to Danaus and Cadmus : and, accordingly, the former of them is actually said to have been denominated *Cadmis* and to have been the inventor of letters ². He was clearly the famous Hercules-Nilus ; who, as we learn from Sir Isaac Newton, planted Sicily, and afterwards sailed westward through the straits of Gibraltar ³. His marriage indeed with Scota sufficiently demonstrates his real character ; while, at the same time, it serves to prove the accuracy of the tradition. The word *Scota* signifies *a ship* : and this ship, personified by a female, was doubtless the sacred ship or Argo of Egypt and Hindostan. Hence it is evident, that the marriage of Niul or Cadmus with the ship is a legend of the same import, as that of Danaus sailing in the ship Argo to Greece : both alike denote, that the worship of the ship-goddess was carefully brought from

¹ Ibid. p. 49, 69, 63, 270, 292, 279, 299, 325. Introd. p. 44. Parsons's Rem. of Japhet. p. 108, 123, 124.

² Vallan. Vind. p. 263, 264.

³ Chronol. p. 181. He is the fabulous ancestor, I apprehend, of the great Irish family of O'Neale.

Egypt by each tribe of Indo-Scuthic emigrants ; and, accordingly, the sacred vessel was no less venerated in Ireland, than in Egypt and India and Greece and Colchis. The purport therefore of the tradition is, that the Cuthis emigrated westward under the supposed special guidance of the great father and the great mother ; that they were a branch of the Pali or Shepherd-kings ; and that, like the rest of their brethren, they evacuated Egypt at the same time with the Israelites.

It is singular, how every circumstance tends to corroborate this remarkable legend. In its general outline it is sanctioned by the express testimony of Grecian history : and, if we descend to particulars, we shall find them no less worthy of our attention.

The seeking of a settlement by the express direction of an oracle is perfectly in character with the habits of the Pelasgi and other Cuthic tribes. Thus, as the Milesians are charged to wander until they find a western island : so the Pelasgi are not to rest until they find a lake with a floating islet ; so the Iliensians and the Cadmians are to be guided by a cow to the seats of their respective cities ; and so the Mexicans are oracularly commanded to establish themselves on the banks of a lake abounding with the sacred lotos.

The Cuthic settlers of Ireland, as a branch of the Pali, were brethren of the Phenicians and the Perizzites or Pharesians. Thus, as they were styled in Egypt *Ilu-Sos*, they were denominated in Ireland *Oic-Pheni* or *Pheni-Oic* : and, as in Palestine they bore the name of *Perizzites*, in Ireland they were celebrated as *Farsai*. Such titles they are said to have received from their ancient king Fenius-Farsai : but this fabulous prince was no other than the classical Phoenix and Perseus combined together ¹.

The settlers of Ireland were Pelasgic Cuthites. Thus they were styled in the west, no less than in the east, *Palis* or *Balis* ; and the word, both in the Irish and in the Sanscrit, equally denotes *Shepherds* : thus also, in reference to their descent from Cush, they denominated themselves *Cothi* or *Cuthim* ; which is clearly the proper mode of expressing what the Greeks, with the sibilant prefix, wrote *Scuthæ* ².

¹ Vallan. Vind. p. 256.

² Orient. Collect. vol. ii. p. 2.

3002. VI. We are told, that the prince, who finally conducted the Pali into Ireland, was named *Ith*. Thus the classical writers speak of an Indian king *Ait* or *It*; who led a colony of Indo-Scythæ into Egypt, and from whom the country was called *Aetia*: thus the Brahmens say, that king *It* invaded Egypt at the head of the Indian Pali, and communicated to it the appellation of *Aiteya*: and thus the Cuthic Phenicians had a sovereign, whom they denominated *Ith-Baal* or *the lord Ith*. The name was no doubt an Indo-Scythic title of dignity: and its occurrence in the Irish tradition affords an additional argument in favour of its *general* authenticity.

On the whole therefore, I am willing to conclude, that the Cothi or Fheni of the Irish were one of the several Palic tribes; which, according to Diodorus, evacuated Egypt synchronically with the exodus of Israel: if the reader deem the circumstantial evidence insufficient, let him by all means reject the conclusion. It need scarcely be remarked, that the natives, whom the Cuthic invaders found when they landed in Ireland, were Celts or Cimmerians or Gomerians mingled with the Fir-Bolg or Pelasgic Scythians; who had arrived there, as already stated, by way of the Danube and the Rhine and the southern coast of England¹.

7. In addition to these main settlements, the whole mediterranean shore of Africa seems to have been planted by the same daring race and about the same period.

Sallust gives a very curious account of the matter from the Punic books of king Hiempsal: and, in the midst of much confusion, we may distinctly perceive the following remarkable fact. On the death of a prince, whom he names *Hercules* and places in Spain, his army, composed of Medes and Persians and Armenians, was thrown into confusion and dispersed in a short time under various leaders. Several of the bands, of which it was composed, spread themselves along the sea-coast of Africa, then inhabited only by a rude and barbarous race: and here, in after ages, they were known as Moors and Numidians².

¹ Vallanc. Vind. p. 56. introd. See above book vi. c. 4. § II. 2. (1.)


² Sall. de bell. Jug. c. 20, 21.

This Hercules, erroneously placed in Spain, was the Shepherd-king so awfully destroyed with his immediate followers in the Red sea : and the immediate confusion and dissipation of the Pali, who came originally from northern Persia and India, and who were the brethren of the Armenian Saccæ, was the natural consequence of that great event. CHAP. V.

CHAPTER VI.



Respecting the Mode, in which Pagan Idolatry originated; the Resemblance between the ritual Law of Moses and the ritual Ordinances of the Gentiles; and certain Peculiarities in the several Characters of the Messiah and the great Father.



NOTHING remains but to offer some remarks on the mode, in which pagan idolatry may be supposed to have originated: and this I take to be of considerable importance, as it will probably throw light on certain matters, which at different periods have occasioned no small speculation.

I. It is difficult to conceive, that mankind after the flood could plunge at once from the pure religion of Noah into a system of gross and undisguised idolatry. The corruption must have been gradual: and the changes, which were introduced, must from time to time have been offered by their contrivers under the specious plea of wise refinements and pious improvements. Hence, when the first innovation was admitted; the existing theology would differ only from the religion of Noah, so far as that innovation was adopted: and, when a second or a third or a fourth was successively ingrafted upon the pure worship of Jehovah; the existing theology under each change would, in like manner, differ from the religion of Noah precisely to the amount of the several changes in question. It is, I think, absolutely necessary to suppose, that some such progressive corruption as this took place:

for it is utterly incredible, that the early postdiluvians could have been suddenly and universally led to apostatise from the service of the one true God to that complicated system of idolatry which was carried from Babel to the utmost limits of the habitable world.

With this hypothesis, what we have been able to glean from history has been found exactly to accord. We are told, that the heresy denominated *Scythism* prevailed from the flood to the building of the tower, and that then the heresy denominated *Ionism* or *Hellenism* commenced. We are further told, that the primeval religion of Iran consisted, in a firm belief, that One Supreme God made the world by his power, and continually governed it by his providence; in a pious fear, love, and adoration, of him; in a due reverence for parents and aged persons; in a fraternal affection for the whole human species; and in a compassionate tenderness even for the brute creation¹.

Now all this precisely agrees with what I had conjecturally laid down from the very reason of the thing: and it fully corresponds with what may be gathered from Scripture. We know from the sacred volume itself, that the primeval religion of Iran was just what the authorities of Mohsani taught him that it was: and we may judge very accurately, from the idolatry of the gentile world, what system of theology had supplanted the pure theism of Noah. The corruption therefore took place in the interval between the deluge and the dispersion: and the progress of this corruption was divided, we see, into two grand stages, *Scythism* and *Ionism*. Hence we may safely conclude, that *Scythism* was the smaller, and *Ionism* the greater, corruption: and we may further conclude, that, as the rise of *Scythism* is carried back even to the deluge, innovation began to creep in very early; and that it was only by slow degrees, that even this first mode of idolatry was enabled to rear its head. In fact, if we speak with absolute propriety, we ought not to denominate it *idolatry*: for its votaries, to a late period, abominated all graven images. Thus the Shepherd-kings zealously destroyed the idols of the Mizraim: and thus, many ages afterwards, Xerxes no less zealously demolished the palpable gods of Greece. Image-

¹ Jones's Disc. on Pers. Asiat. Res. vol. ii. p. 53.

BOOK VI. worship was at length indeed adopted by the votaries of Scythism, for Buddha or Saca has now for years been venerated under the form of a man in a contemplative sitting posture ; and it may be added, that the Shepherd-kings of Egypt during the period of the second dynasty certainly associated with their own theology the Ionic or Brahmenical form, as is evident from the nature of the religion which they imported into Greece : but such was not the case originally. The Scythists were apostate *mental* idolaters : but the setting up of a *visible* graven image was reserved for the more daring heresy of Ionism †.

1. From the foregoing statement it is evident, that Idolatry was a gradual corruption of Patriarchism : whence it seems necessarily to follow, that, with due allowance for apostatic perversions, the great outlines of the latter were really the great outlines of the former. Such being the case, Pagan Idolatry will be Noëtic Patriarchism in grotesque masquerade : and, from the distorted features of the one, we may collect with tolerable accuracy the genuine features of the other. In prosecuting this inquiry, Scripture will be of prime importance to us : for there only have we any authentic information respecting the nature of uncorrupted Patriarchism.

(1.) Adam, we know, worshipped the one true God, and held from time to time direct communication with him. We know, that he was placed in a garden ; which, from the description of it, must have been situated in Armenia at the head of the Euphrates[†] and the Tigris. We know, that he was taken out of the virgin Earth previous to its reception of seed in the ordinary mode of cultivation. We know, that he fell through the temptation of a malignant being who assumed the visible form of a serpent. We know, that God appeared to him immediately after the fall, and declared that the seed of the woman should bruise the head of that reptile. We know, that, when Eve produced her first-born, she very unequivocally declared the mode in which she understood the divine promise, by exclaiming (for such is the strictly literal translation of the passage), *I have gotten a man, even Jehovah his very self*. We know, that Adam was an universal father pre-

† The events of Babel seem plainly to be alluded to in certain remarkable passages of the Psalms. See Psalm liii. and lv. 1—11, 15, 20, 21.

siding over an entire world. And we know, that, when our first parents were expelled from Paradise, the Cherubim were stationed in a tabernacle (as the original Hebrew imports) before the gate of Eden, in order that they might guard the way to the tree of life.

With respect to the Cherubim, the turn of the expression implies, that their abode there was not of a *temporary*, but of a *permanent*, nature: and, as we have not the slightest intimation given us that they were after a season withdrawn, we can only conclude, so far as we take the written word for our guide, that they remained where they were first placed even to the time of the deluge. As to their particular form, Moses is silent: but Ezekiel details it with great minuteness. Their predominant shape was that of a bull; from which arose however a winged human body, surmounted with the faces of a man, a lion, a bull, and an eagle¹.

It may perhaps be said, that the Paradisiacal Cherubim might not have resembled those which were seen by Ezekiel, and that we have no right to infer the *undescribed* shape of the former from the *described* shape of the latter.

To such a possible objection the answer is furnished by the prophet himself. In one place, after accurately delineating the form of the living creatures which he beheld, he adds, *I knew that they were Cherubim*². Now, though he distinctly *beheld* their figures, yet in no one part of any of his visions was he *told* what they were: how then was he enabled to pronounce so decisively and so unhesitatingly upon their character? No doubt, as it is well observed by Grotius and Spencer, he knew them to be Cherubim, *because* he perceived that their form was precisely that of the Cherubim over the ark of the covenant: for, though Ezekiel was but an inferior priest, and though the high-priest alone entered into the sanctuary, it is not to be supposed, but that the figure of those symbols were perfectly well known by oral communication; to say nothing of the various consecrated utensils and outer parts of the temple, which were profusely decorated with those mysterious hieroglyphics. The Cherubim then of Ezekiel were clearly the same in shape as the Cherubim of the Levitical sanctuary: and, as

¹ Vide supra book ii. c. 6. § V. and Plate II. Fig. 6, 7.

² Ezek. x. 20.

BOOK VI. both the latter and the Cherubim of Paradise were equally stationed in a tabernacle, the presumption is, that in each instance the form of the Cherubim was the same.

But the matter is not left to mere presumption. In a prophecy respecting the king of Tyre, the poet is led to borrow his imagery from Paradise. The prince accordingly is described as the anointed Cherub that covereth, while his realm is exhibited to us as the garden of Eden. Hence, with a mingled reference to the covering Cherub of the Levitical sanctuary, and to the similarly covering Cherub of the Paradisiacal tabernacle; with a reference also to the oracular precious stones of the Urim and Thummim, and to that lofty mountain, which was the scite of the garden, and of which mount Zion was an imitative transcript: he is styled *the anointed covering Cherub of Eden the garden of God*; he is said to have been stationed upon the holy mountain; and he is represented, as moving backwards and forwards in the midst of the stones of fire¹. Now, whatever may be the precise import of the prophecy, the figurative allusion is so plain, that it cannot be misunderstood: and, as the imagery is no doubt perfectly exact, and as it is evidently drawn conjointly from the Cherubim of Paradise and the Cherubim of the Levitical sanctuary, we cannot doubt, but that the former were the very same both in shape and application as the latter. The Cherubim then of Paradise resembled in figure the Cherubim of the sanctuary. But the Cherubim of the sanctuary have already been shewn to be the same in form, as the Cherubim which Ezekiel beheld in his visions. The Cherubim therefore of Paradise were also the same as the Cherubim of Ezekiel: in other words, they were hieroglyphics, in which the bovine shape predominated, though each was provided with four different heads; so that, if we except their quadruple aspect, they bore a close resemblance to the fabulous centaur.

To this same conclusion we are likewise inevitably brought by the rules of good writing. Ezekiel, in one part of his composition, describes the figure of the Cherubim with even laboured minuteness: and then, in another part, he figuratively calls the king of Tyre *a covering Cherub which had been*

¹ Ezek. xxviii. 12—16.

placed in the garden of Paradise. Such being the case, it is strangely unnatural to suppose, that by the latter he meant something which had no sort of resemblance to the former. If a classical poet had accurately described a centaur, and had afterwards in the course of his tale mentioned a centaur; we should of course, and with much reason, suppose that he meant the identical being which he had previously delineated. Apply only the same canon of criticism to Ezekiel, and the result will be obvious. CHAP. VI.

Whether the Paradisiacal Cherubim surmounted an ark, is not specified by Moses: but I think we may collect, that they did, from the remarkable passage in Ezekiel which has last been considered. He speaks of the Cherub in the garden of Eden, as being a *covering* Cherub. Now, as it was well remarked by Jerome and after him by Lowth and Newcome, the epithet *covering* clearly relates to the circumstance of each Cherub in the Levitical sanctuary covering with his wings the mercy-seat upon the ark¹. But Ezekiel applies the very same epithet to the Cherub in the garden of Eden: it was no less a covering Cherub, than the Cherub in the Levitical sanctuary. If then it were a *covering* Cherub, it must have covered *something*: and, since we find the Levitical Cherub distinguished by this epithet *because* it covered the mercy-seat upon the ark; I see not how we can reasonably avoid the conclusion, that the Paradisiacal Cherub was similarly distinguished by Ezekiel for a similar reason. This conclusion is the more satisfactory; because, as I have already observed, the force of the original Hebrew leads us to suppose, that the Paradisiacal Cherubim were stationed in a tabernacle precisely in the same manner as the Levitical Cherubim. Since then each hieroglyphic is alike styled *a Cherub*, since the Cherubim of Eden perfectly resembled in form the Levitical Cherubim, and since the former were placed in a tabernacle no less than the latter: the presumption would be, even independently of the argument drawn from Ezekiel, that they both alike overshadowed a sacred ark. But, when to this it is added that the Cherub of Eden is actually styled *a covering Cherub*, and when we find that the Levitical Cherub was similarly denominated from the express circumstance of its covering the mercy-seat upon the ark; we seem

¹ See Exod. xxv. 19—21.

BOOK VI. to arrive at almost absolute certainty, that the Paradisiacal tabernacle had an ark as well as the Levitical.

(2.) If from Adam we pass to the second father of mankind, we know, that both before and after the deluge he conversed with God. We know, that he moved upon the surface of the great deep, when the waters covered the face of the whole earth. We know, that he sacrificed upon the summit of a lofty mountain; which geographically coincided with Paradise, and which therefore (as it is often styled in Scripture) was peculiarly the holy mountain of God. We know, that he was born out of the virgin Ark, as Adam was born out of the virgin Earth. We know, that, if the Cherubim of Eden remained until the deluge (and Scripture never intimates that they were earlier withdrawn), he and his family must have been well acquainted with their figure: for, since in every particular they resembled the Cherubim of the Levitical tabernacle, it is difficult to refrain from believing that their use and intent were also the same. And we know, that, like Adam, he was an universal father, presiding over an entire world.

(3.) So, with respect to the Supreme Being, we know, that his Spirit, in the day of the creation, moved upon the surface of the waters. We know, that the word, by which this motion is exhibited to us, properly describes the fluttering of wings, as when a bird broods over her young. We know from innumerable passages of Holy Writ, that Jehovah the Messenger, through whom alone communication has been kept up between the worm man and Jehovah the Father, whenever he deigned to converse with his creatures, manifested himself in a human form; and that at length, when the fulness of time was arrived, he dwelt permanently among us, in outward aspect like a mere mortal. We have reason therefore from analogy to believe, that, when he conversed with Adam or with Cain or with Noah, he similarly appeared to them under a human figure: and this opinion is confirmed by the very remarkable phraseology, which Moses in one particular passage has been directed to use.

It is said, that, after the fall, Adam and Eve *heard the Voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day*. Such language, when the general analogy of Scripture is considered, seems plainly to import, that the person, who is thus described as *walking in the garden*, is so spoken of, be-

cause he was really *walking* there in a human form, and because therefore the sound of his footsteps might be distinctly *heard* by the guilty pair. Accordingly, the whole conversation, which immediately afterwards takes place between the Supreme Being, Adam and Eve, and the serpent, almost necessarily implies, that the former was distinctly visible to each of the latter: and, as we further advance in the narrative, the same opinion still continues to force itself upon us; for the action of making coats from skins and of clothing with them our naked first parents seems obviously to be the action of one, who in outward form resembled a man. Nor must we omit noticing an important peculiarity in the language of Moses: he does not say, that *they heard the Lord God walking*, but that *they heard the Voice of the Lord God walking*. By *the Voice* we are here to understand what is elsewhere called *the Word*: and by *the Word* we must understand that divine personage, who, assuming from time to time a human figure, was the ministerial organ of intercourse between God and man. Such is the sense, in which the passage is explained by the Targumists: they agree to render it, *They heard the Word of the Lord God walking*; and the Jerusalem Targum paraphrases the beginning of the next verse, *The Word of the Lord called unto Adam*. The Word therefore, that called, was the Word or Voice, that walked: for the participle *walking*, as the Jews themselves acknowledge, does not relate to *the Lord God*, but to *the Voice* ¹. But the action of walking, as ascribed to the Voice or Word, necessarily implies a visible personality; for a mere voice, in the sense of *a sound* or *a noise*, could not properly be said to walk: the Voice therefore must have been a person. Nor will it be difficult to determine, who that person was: by *the Word of Jehovah*, the ancient Israelites, as it appears from the Targums, understood the great Messenger of the covenant, who is said by Malachi to be the lord of the temple at Jerusalem; and, under the Christian dispensation, the term is applied by John to the Messiah, as being God incarnate ². The Voice therefore, that walked in the garden of Eden, was

¹ Vox enim est res illa, de qua dicitur, quod ambulaverit in horto. Maimon. Mor. Nevoch. par. i. c. 24. Vide etiam Tzeror Hammor. sect. Bereshith. apud Owen. Exerc. x. in Heb. vi. 1.

² Malach. iii. 1. John i. 1—14.

BOOK VI. that divine Angel or Messenger, whom Jacob invokes as the special God of his family, and whom he had openly beheld in a bodily form: and the whole analogy of Scripture requires us to suppose, that it was in a bodily form likewise that the same exalted personage successively revealed himself to Adam and to Noah⁴. Lastly we know, that, in the very highest sense of the word, God is the universal father of mankind, the common parent and governor and preserver and renewer of the world and all that it contains.

2. These various matters *we* indeed learn from the testimony of Moses: but yet, though he was divinely inspired, it is obvious, that, in the detail of historical facts, even inspiration itself could do no more than enable him to deliver the truth free from all adventitious mixture of error. Now the several historical facts, which constitute the subject of his early narrative and which have been briefly touched upon in the foregoing statement, could not but have been perfectly well known to the family of Noah: and, as Nimrod the Cuthite was only the third in descent from that patriarch, they must have been thoroughly familiar to *him* also; and, if to *him*, they must have been equally so to his contemporaries. *They* would consequently stand upon very different ground from *ourselves*: for *we* look back to such events, as most remotely distant, and as wholly unlike any thing to which we have been accustomed; *they*, on the contrary, would view them as ordinary recent transactions, and would be prepared to receive any plausible system which should be built upon those acknowledged realities.

And now let us consider, whether the very texture of Pagan Idolatry does not itself point out most distinctly the steps by which it was introduced.

(1.) As Jehovah the Messenger was wont to manifest himself in a human form, each of those manifestations would clearly be what the Hindoos call *an Avatar* or *descent of the Deity*: and, as the early history of Iran has been ingrafted upon the local history of Hindostan, we may feel sufficiently sure, that the doctrine of Avatars was equally familiar to the Cuthic founders of Babel.

⁴ Gen. xlviii. 15, 16. xxxii. 24—30. Hosea xii. 3, 4, 5.

Every one of such appearances then would be viewed, and rightly viewed, as a descent of the Godhead. But, with profanely speculative men, various conjectures would soon arise respecting these extraordinary manifestations : and high-vaulting ambition would ere long be ready to avail itself of them.

As *one* age could not positively know the precise aspect of the human form, that served as a vehicle of the Divinity to *another* age : the Supreme Being would be said to animate successively *different* bodies for the purpose of communicating with mortals. These appearances however were but of a *transitory* nature : when the behest of heaven was delivered, the human figure was no more visible upon earth, either vanishing suddenly from the eyes of the beholder or being openly taken up into heaven¹. A question therefore would speedily arise, whether a descent of a more *permanent* description might not be reasonably expected : and the first prophecy upon record would no less rightly than obviously produce an answer in the affirmative. It was known, that some being of a highly mysterious nature, man because of woman born, yet differing from all other men because born *only* of woman, should in due time break the power of the malignant spirit, which had chosen the serpent for his bodily vehicle². And it was expected, as we may gather from the remarkable language of Eve on the birth of Cain, that this being would be no less exalted a personage than the Divinity himself. As he was to be born of woman, and consequently as he was first to appear like an infant, the idea of *permanency* would necessarily be associated with such a manifestation : and, from the terms of the prophecy, some would argue, that, as he was emphatically styled *the seed of the woman*, he must needs be produced from a virgin ; while others, viewing such an event as an impossibility, would adopt the lower opinion, that he would be born of woman only as every other person is so born. This last seems to have been the too hastily adopted opinion of Eve. Impatient for the divine deliverer, who had been promised without any particular limitation of time, she no sooner beholds Cain, who was doubtless *her* seed though he was likewise the seed of Adam, than she joyfully exclaims,

¹ See Gen. xviii. 33. Judg. vi. 11—21. Dan. iii. 25. Luke xxiv. 31.

² See an admirable sermon of Bp. Horsley on the mode in which this prophecy would be understood. Vol. ii. serm. 16.

BOOK VI. *I have gotten the man even Jehovah himself.* Circumstances soon proved, that she was mistaken : but her speech was carefully remembered ; and the great authority, which it derived from the utterer, was afterwards productive of most important consequences. Men looked out for a permanent manifestation of the Redeemer ; who, born either of a woman or of a virgin, should for a season visibly dwell upon earth, and at length, when his high commission was accomplished, should be taken up into heaven as was usual with the temporary human appearances of Jehovah.

Whether this expectation produced hero-worship before the flood, I shall not pretend to determine, though I think such a result far from improbable : but it was manifestly the vehicle, by which it was brought into the new world. As it was agreed on all hands, that there were *temporary* manifestations of Jehovah, and that a *permanent* one might assuredly be looked out for ; and, as some contended that he would be born *exclusively* of woman, while each party allowed that he would at any rate be the offspring of a woman : the corrupters of religion after the deluge began to argue, with much plausibility, from these acknowledged premises, that there had *already* been several permanent manifestations of Jehovah, and that *hereafter* there would be many more of a similar description. It was contended, that every extraordinary personage, whose office was to reclaim or to punish mankind, was an Avatar or descent of the Godhead : and, in support of such an opinion, the testimony of Eve in favour of the fratricide Cain would doubtless be alleged. One of these Avatars was Adam : another of them was his first-born. Abel and Seth were the same : and the righteous Enoch, who was preternaturally removed from human converse in the very mode in which the visible form of the Deity was wont to ascend to heaven, was no doubt a most eminent and decided Avatar. Similar honours were extended to Noah and his three sons : Nimrod was also an Avatar : and, when idolatry had obtained a definite form, the Godhead was thought to be regularly incarnate, both in his representative the permanent high-priest, and in each warlike adventurer who headed a colony or who rendered some distinguished service to his country.

(2.) While matters were thus prosperously in train, points of specious similitude would be carefully sought out in order that the theory might acquire the greater plausibility.

Adam was born from the virgin Earth: Noah was produced from his allegorical mother the Ark, without the coöperation of a father. Each was a preacher of righteousness: each dwelt upon the Paradisiacal mount of God: each was an universal parent. If Adam introduced one world; Noah destroyed that world, and introduced another: and, as the actual circumstance of *two* successive worlds led to the doctrine of an *endless* mundane succession; each patriarch was alike viewed as a creator, a preserver, and a dissolver. Nor was their resemblance to the character of the Deity in another particular omitted. God is said to have moved upon the face of the chaotic waters: Noah likewise moved in the Ark upon the face of the deluge; and Adam was both feigned to have performed a similar voyage from a more ancient world, and was viewed as floating upon the great deep in the larger ship of the Earth. Each therefore, like the Spirit of Jehovah, was *Narayan* or *He that moves upon the waters*: and, as the word which expresses that motion conveys the idea of the fluttering of a bird; the great father, who is born out of the navicular egg, is described as a beautiful sylph exulting in his golden wings.

(3.) From such speculations it was but an easy and natural step to direct hero-worship; for, if these several eminent characters were *permanent* manifestations of the Deity, there could be no reason why they should not be openly adored, as was the case with each *temporary* manifestation: and, if any objection were raised, a subtle distinction would readily be made between *the incarnate Godhead* and *the recipient human body*. Accordingly we find, that this very distinction still subsists among the Hindoos: and, in their theology, we are carefully instructed in the double nature of each eminent personage that appears upon the earth.

(4.) This doctrine once admitted would inevitably bring with it the doctrine of the Metempsychosis. Adam, and Enoch, and Noah, might in outward appearance be *different* men: but they were really the *self-same* divine person, who had been promised as the seed of the woman, successively animating various human bodies. As such, the whole of his character must belong to them: and, what he has once performed upon the earth, he will again perform in new vehicles to all eternity.

(5.) Hence it was, that the great father, who is strictly one, though ma-

BOOK VI. manifesting himself in different bodies and at different periods, was sometimes reputed to be born of a virgin, and sometimes said to be simply the offspring of a woman. Hence also, though the primeval ancestors of mankind were elevated to the rank of hero-gods, they were supposed to have previously descended from heaven and to have entered into the human forms which they occupied. Hence likewise the great father is so frequently represented as contending with a serpent; which slays him, though he ultimately triumphs over it and crushes its head: an idea afterwards curiously transferred to the deluge, which was specially viewed as the work of the evil principle. And hence he is so often exhibited to us, as a holy and just person, a preacher of righteousness; who should descend from heaven to earth, in order that he might teach man his duty towards the Godhead.

(6.) While hero-worship was thus speciously introduced, the outward ceremonial was carefully retained: and mankind found themselves unawares seduced into idolatry, while as yet little *apparent* change had taken place.

The divine institution of piacular sacrifice was duly observed: and, as Adam and Noah had each offered up his oblation upon the holy Paradisiacal mount of God, the practice of sacrificing upon hills either natural or artificial was industriously kept up. The victim was indeed devoted to the great transmigrating father of mankind: but the plea of such adoration was, that the great father was a permanent incarnation of the promised deliverer.

As the offering of piacular sacrifice necessarily implies an acknowledgment of lost purity; so the most solemn rites of the Gentiles were specially directed, as we have seen, to the recovery of it. Man, being a fallen creature, would in all ages equally require that change of heart and disposition, which by a natural figure of rhetoric is described as a regeneration or a new birth. The doctrine therefore of this necessary change, being founded upon our physical depravation, must inevitably have subsisted in the Patriarchal Church, no less than in the Levitical and the Christian: and, since baptism by water was used as an outward sign under the Law as well as under the Gospel, and since that element has at every period been deemed the most apt symbol of purification; we may reasonably conclude, that it

was not unknown under the Patriarchal dispensation. Accordingly we find, that both the doctrine itself, and the external rite, form a very prominent feature in the derived apostasy of Paganism: and, though a singular perversion has taken place, yet even that perversion has originated from a purer system. The deluge was viewed in the light of a tremendous baptism, which was necessary to cleanse a guilty world from the stains which it had contracted: and, when the earth emerged in renovated beauty from a second chaos, it was thought to be born again by the agency of water. In the theology of the Gentiles, this great event was intermingled with the doctrine of a spiritual regeneration: and, while Noah was said to be born anew from the womb of the Ark, he was likewise said to be born out of a polluted world into the pure region of the forfeited Paradisiacal mountain. Such matters, as we have abundantly seen, formed the basis of the Mysteries: and the new birth of each aspirant, which was ordinarily accompanied by a baptism of water, not only related to the new birth from the Ark, but likewise to an admission into a supposed state of greater mental knowledge and purity.

With the corrupted ordinances of Patriarchism were associated its equally corrupted symbols. The bovine Cherubim were certainly known long before the deluge: and we have found considerable reason to believe, that those, which were stationed before the gate of Paradise, covered a sacred ark, just like those of the Levitical tabernacle. Their collective eight heads, as we shall find in the sequel, symbolized retrospectively the eight members of Adam's family, and prospectively the eight members of the family of Noah, severally viewed as the representatives of the Church general: while the ark or boat, as it is invariably called both by Josephus, by the Greek interpreters, and by the inspired writers of the New Testament, shadowed out the Church, as designed to be commensurate with the greater World, but as destined for a season to be commensurate with the smaller floating World. Accordingly, the ancient Jews, no less than the Gentiles, deemed the World a vast ship, suspended, like the Ark, upon the surface of the great abyss: and, from the thus universal prevalence of the notion, I have little doubt that it was a primitive tenet of Patriarchism; true to a certain extent, for the earth (we are told) is founded upon the floods, suffi-

BOOK VI. ciently true therefore for the purpose of symbolical imagery. The Cherubic hieroglyphics and the concomitant ark were adopted into Paganism with no further alteration, than an apostate theology required. Each of the different animals became a symbol of the great father: the bull, as predominating in the Cherub, became his principal and most universal symbol: this bull was perpetually depicted in a compound state: and, as we may perceive from the Bembine table which exactly accords with the narrative of Diodorus, he was exhibited to public veneration in the sacred boat or baris. That boat shadowed out at once the World and the Ark: and, as the eight faces of the Cherubim overlooked the holy ark of a pure religion; so the eight Cabiri or great hero-gods, actually typified by those eight faces (for the eight Cabiri were the members of the Noëtic family viewed as a reappearance of the numerically corresponding members of the Adamic family), were represented, not on dry ground, but floating together in the mimic ship of a depraved theology.

(7.) Thus, in the first stage of nascent idolatry, the Godhead was given out to have been successively incarnate in the persons of Adam and Noah; to say nothing of those minor intermediate descents, which, in the old Iranian system as preserved to this day in the superstition of Hindostan, occur between the earliest and the latest Menu. But, as each of those patriarchs had three sons, and as each son was deemed an Avatar no less than his father: it was soon additionally said, that the great parent mysteriously triplicated himself; so that with reference to the sire he was one, with reference to the offspring he was three.

They, who believe that the doctrine of the Tri-Unity was known from the very beginning, will perceive in this circumstance a curious confirmation of their opinion: for doubtless, when we consider the manner in which Paganism was elicited from Patriarchism, the circumstance of Adam and Noah, having each three sons, and thus doubly exhibiting an unity and a trinity, would be eagerly laid hold of, and would be used precisely in the mode which now presents itself to us, by those who were framing the new system. But on this point let every one judge, as he thinks fit: for myself I can only say, that, as I have no authority to *deny* that the doctrine of a plurality of persons in the Deity was known to the antediluvians and the

early postdiluvians; so, from what I am able to judge of the evidence, I CHAP. VI. have no sufficient authority to *assert* the point. The expectation that the Godhead would *permanently* become incarnate, and the actual knowledge that in a *temporary* manner he had already more than once appeared under a human form, do not *necessarily* involve the belief, that *the descending person was one out of three*. But, when, at a subsequent period, Abraham was visited by three anthropomorphic beings, one of whom he evidently acknowledges to be Jehovah, while the other two seem to have been attending Angels; when the overthrow of Sodom is described by the extraordinary phraseology of *Jehovah raining down fire and brimstone from Jehovah*; when Abraham beheld in a scenical representation the future sacrifice of one, who bore a relation to the Supreme Being similar (so far as heavenly matters can resemble any thing human) to Isaac's relation towards himself; and, when Jacob styles the God of his fathers *an Angel* or *Messenger*, which necessarily implies that that divine being was sent by some other person: when such events took place, and when such language was held, it is, I think, impossible not to suppose, that the patriarchs were *then* acquainted with a plurality of persons in the Deity¹. No proofs like these can I find of any *anterior* knowledge of the Holy Trinity, though I pretend not to *deny* the possible existence of that knowledge: I would only be understood to confess my entire ignorance of any satisfactory demonstration; whence I am unwilling to assert what I am unable to prove.

(8.) The union of hero-worship with Sabianism arose chiefly from perverted astronomy: yet even for this further innovation a decent pretext was not wanting.

Language, from its original poverty, not from its copiousness, was at first highly figurative: and, in the east, it has very much retained this character even to the present day. Respecting the phraseology of the absolutely first ages we can indeed speak only from conjecture: but, as time renders language more full, and as a figurative mode of speech prevailed much *later* than the era of the tower, we may be tolerably sure, that *previous*

¹ I assent to Bp. Warburton's explanation of the mysterious sacrifice of Isaac, which I am persuaded is the true one. Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 5. § I.

BOOK VI. to that era conversation was not *less* figurative. Now we find, that, in the prophetic dream of Joseph, the Sun and the Moon and eleven Stars represented his father and his mother and his eleven brethren: and it is plain, that such a manner of speaking was perfectly familiar; for Jacob, without the least hesitation, thus applies the vision of his favourite child ¹. Descending lower, we find, that in a similar strain the great deliverer is foretold under the title of *a Star*: and again, at a yet more recent period, he is promised under the image of a Sun of righteousness, rising upon a benighted world ². The same principle led David to style Jehovah himself *a Sun* and *a Shield*: and, when the peculiar language of prophecy was framed upon this model, revolutions in the governing powers of the world were described by signs in the various heavenly bodies ³. So strong indeed is its vitality, that it prevails even yet in the blazoning of arms: and, as we certainly received heraldry from our Gothic ancestors; I strongly suspect, that they received it, in its first rude form, from the Nimrodian Goths of Babel, whose sign or national banner was a dove. The colours in the arms of freemen or gentry are simply described as colours: but, in those of the nobility, they are exhibited by the names of corresponding gems; while, in the shield of royalty itself, they are curiously set forth under the appellations of the Sun and the Moon and the Planets.

The use, which the astronomizing apostates would make of this figurative language is sufficiently obvious. At first, the Sun would be deemed a type of God, next his abode, and lastly himself: and, when the Divinity was held to be incarnate in the person of the great father, the same notions would be transferred to this personage also. The seven planets, of which the Moon was accounted one, would similarly be viewed as representatives of the seven members of the two successive primeval families: and the Moon especially, as the consort of the Sun, would be employed to symbolize the mystic consort both of God and of the great father. Similar imagery, in an uncorrupted state, has been handed down, as we shall presently find, even to Christianity itself.

3. Our information relative to the outward forms of the Patriarchal reli-

¹ Gen. xxxvii. 9, 10.

² Numb. xxiv. 17. Malach. iv. 2.

³ Psalm lxxxiv. 11.

tion are so very scanty, that it would be mere trifling to urge the point in too minute a manner: it may however be safely said, that Paganism strictly resembles Patriarchism in every outward particular which we *do* know of the latter. Hence the one may justly be esteemed an imitative depravation of the other: and hence, both Scythism and its Babylonian successor Ionism, are by Epiphanius not unfitly denominated *heresies*; by which he might seem to intimate, that they were rather apostatical corruptions of a prior religion than absolutely new systems of theology. We have already found, that each had the doctrine of an incarnate God, each had a sacred ark provided with cherubic symbols, each held the tenet of a new birth outwardly typified by water, each recognized the divine institution of sacrifice: and, if we proceed to other particulars, we shall still perceive the same resemblance.

(1.) As every ancient patriarch was at once a king and a priest, so every gentile sovereign was long accounted both a priest and a king¹.

(2.) When Abraham was called away from among the idolaters of Chaldæa, we may be sure, that he would retain genuine Patriarchism, rejecting only the superstitious corruptions of it: in the worship therefore of him and his successors, we may trace the worship of Adam and of Enoch and of Noah. Now the great ancestor of the Israelites, immediately upon the divine grant to him of Palestine, not only sacrificed to Jehovah upon an altar, but likewise studiously built that altar on the summit of a holy mountain; thus imitating the action of Adam and of Noah, when they sacrificed on the top of the Paradisiacal mount of Ararat². Nor was this circumstance purely accidental: the mountain of the sacrifice was clearly viewed as a consecrated high place; for we find him afterwards returning thither from his journey to the south, and again calling upon the name of the Lord³. Such a mode of worship was sanctioned by God himself, as we may learn by pursuing the history of Abraham. In the most trying and awful transaction of his whole life, when he is directed to sacrifice his son, the choice of place is not left to his own discretion; but he is com-

¹ Virgil's *Idem rex Anius, Phœbique sacerdos*, is familiar to every one: and it was founded upon actual matter of fact.

² Gen. xii. 7, 8.

³ Gen. xxii. 2.

BOOK VI. manded to devote the victim on the mountain of Moriah¹. I greatly doubt, whether the name of this hill be Hebrew: with Mr. Wilford, I am much inclined to believe, that it was a local Meru or imitative Paradisiacal Ararat; and, by the act of the patriarch, it was reclaimed from superstition, and solemnly set apart for the future mysterious sacrifice of the promised Saviour. In a similar manner, when Jacob fled from Laban and when he was afterwards reconciled to his father-in-law, we find him offering a sacrifice, not in the plain, but on the summit of a mountain.

(3.) Another of the patriarchal sanctuaries was the hallowed grove, which was meant as a transcript of the garden of Eden. Thus we are told, that *Abraham planted a grove in Beer-Sheba, and called there on the name of the Lord*: and thus we find him dwelling under a tree in the plain of Manre, when accosted by his three mysterious visitors². I need scarcely remark, how perfectly in both these particulars Paganism resembled Patriarchism.

(4.) There is yet another point of similitude between them, which must by no means be passed over in silence. Among the heathens, a rude stone column anointed with oil was one of the most ancient symbols of the great father. Whether, in the Patriarchal Theology, it was used, on account of its firmness, as a type of the Divinity, I shall not pretend to determine: though, from some remarkable passages, I think it probable, that such was the case. Jehovah is more than once styled *a rock*; and *that* too, in express reference to the same title as applied to the deities of the Gentiles³. The Redeemer also is spoken of as a rock and a stone; firm indeed and immoveable, but which should give offence to both houses of Israel⁴.

¹ Gen. xxii. 2.

² Gen. xxi. 33. xviii. 1, 4, 8.

³ *He is the rock, his work is perfect—But Jeshurun lightly esteemed the rock of his salvation—Of the rock that begat thee thou art unmindful, and hast forgotten God that formed thee—How should one chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight, except their rock had sold them, and the Lord had shut them up? For their rock is not as our rock, even our enemies themselves being judges—For the Lord shall judge his people—and he shall say, Where are their gods, the rock in whom they trusted.* Deut. xxxii. 4, 15, 18, 30, 31, 36, 37. See also 1 Sam. ii. 2. 2 Sam. xxiii. 3. Psalm xviii. 2, 31, 46. xxviii. 1. xxxi. 3. xlii. 9. lxxviii. 37. Isaiah xvii. 10. xxvi. 4.

⁴ Isaiah viii. 14. 1 Cor. x. 10. Dan. ii. 45. Matt. xxi. 42. 44.

However this may be, it is at least sufficiently clear, that the stone pillar anointed with oil was a patriarchal hieroglyphic connected with the worship of the Deity: for we find Jacob, setting up such a monument, and distinguishing it by a name which signifies *the house of God*; and we again find him erecting another pillar, when a solemn covenant was made in the presence of Jehovah between himself and Laban ¹.

(5.) Whether the ancestors of the house of Israel used in their worship a sacred ark surmounted by Cherubim, does not certainly appear: but there is reason to believe, that Laban, who was equally of the family of Eber, had something of this kind, though he seems in a measure at least to have abused it to the purposes of idolatry. When Jacob fled away from him, Rachel is said to have stolen the Teraphim of her father: and these Laban afterwards reclaims under the appellation of *his gods* ². It appears then, that the Teraphim were certain images which he worshipped: but it is not equally manifest of what description they were. I am inclined to believe, that they were the same as *Seraphim*; for in fact the very word *Teraphim* is no other than *Seraphim* pronounced after the Chaldean manner: but the Seraphim must clearly, I think, be identified with the Cherubim. This supposition best accords with what we read of the Teraphim in other parts of Scripture. When Micah lapsed into idolatry, it was plainly of such a nature as to be closely copied from the service of the tabernacle: for he had a house or temple with an ephod, and he prevailed upon a Levite to officiate as his priest. Now the images, which he placed in this oratory, are styled *Teraphim*: and their locality answers so exactly to that of the legitimate Cherubim, that it is not easy to conceive them any thing else than a studied imitation of those primeval hieroglyphics ³. Such an opinion seems to be confirmed by the well-known passage in Hosea; where it is foretold, that *the children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without sacrifice, and without an image, and without ephod, and without Teraphim* ⁴. The drift of the prophecy is argued by Bp. Horsley to be this; that the Jews, during the pe-

¹ Gen. xxviii. 17—22. xxxi. 45, 51, 52.

² Gen. xxxi. 19, 30.

³ Judg. xvii. 5—13. xviii. 14, 17—31.

⁴ Hosea iii. 4.

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riod of their last dispersion, should be without access to God through a Saviour, yet without falling into idolatry: but such does not appear to me to be the *whole* drift of it; and, from a *defective* statement (*right* as far as it goes, yet in part *defective*), his Lordship has been led into perhaps not quite a proper interpretation of the term. The *full* sense of the prediction seems to be; that the Jews, without falling into idolatry or spiritual adultery, should remain, during a long space of time, without a king, without access to God through a Saviour by typical sacrifice, and without the gorgeous solemnities of the temple service. How accurately this prophecy has been fulfilled, need not here be insisted upon: but such a view of it necessarily leads us to identify the Teraphim with the Cherubim, though they might be, and doubtless sometimes were, prostituted to idolatry. The prediction thus understood is complete in all its parts, and minutely answers to the typical character of Hosea's harlot wife, owned indeed as such, but without restitution of conjugal rites. They should be without a sovereign, and without sacrifice; they should also be without the sacerdotal ephod, and without the Cherubim here denominated *Teraphim*, which they held to be the very pith and marrow of the temple ordinances: but, while thus deprived and disgraced, they should yet be without an image, set up for the purpose of idolatrous worship.

(6.) A single particular still remains to be noticed, ere I dismiss the subject of the derivation of Paganism from Patriarchism. When Jacob was compelled to flee from the house of his father, as he slept by night, a very remarkable vision was presented to his imagination. A ladder, as the word is rendered by our translators, seemed to reach from earth to heaven: upon it the angels of God ascended and descended: and above it, apparently in a visible form, stood Jehovah himself⁴. The symbol, whatever it was, thus exhibited to Jacob, must have been some familiar patriarchal symbol, known and used anterior to the dispersion from Babel: for we find an instrument with seven steps, closely resembling that which was displayed to Jacob, employed in the celebration of the Mithratic Orgies, and designed to represent the sidereal or celestial transmigration of souls.

⁴ Gen. xxviii. 12, 13.

Such affinity is too close to have been accidental: the only question is, what was the true form of the machine. This I have already had occasion to answer: I may now therefore repeat, that the implement in each case was not a ladder, but a pyramid with seven steps or stages on every side of it. In the vision of Jacob, it seemed to reach to heaven, and God himself rested upon its summit. It was doubtless, I think, meant to represent what is often called in Scripture *the mountain of God* or *the mountain of the assembly*: and, as that mountain is expressly styled *the garden of Eden*, and as it is described with reference to Judæa and Babylon as situated in the sides of the north; we may be nearly sure, that the vision exhibited that hill, which coincided with the Paradisiacal Ararat, which the Gentiles denominated *Meru* or *Ida*, which in the case of the tower they represented by a pyramid with seven stages, and which they viewed precisely as Paradise is viewed in Holy Writ when allowance is made for the difference between true and false religion¹. The hill of Eden, in short, among the early patriarchs, was used to represent heaven: and, when the great apostasy under Nimrod took place, the symbol was carefully preserved, and was still applied in the self-same manner, by the introducers of a corrupt theological system. It equally shadowed out a celestial abode: but, instead of being surmounted by Jehovah as in the dream of Jacob, it was the fictitious residence of those two races of hero-gods, who had once indeed literally tenanted its summit.

4. Thus we find, that Paganism is no other than perverted Patriarchism: whence it will follow, that, if we only make allowance for the introduction of a false object of worship, the external ritual of the former will in a great degree exhibit to us the external ritual of the latter; while the leading ideas, which prevailed in the one, may be supposed, with the same allowance, to have prevailed in the other.

Of this last particular we have a memorable instance in the book of Job, which certainly describes patriarchal times, whatever may have been the precise period of its composition. The sufferer, fully determined not to murmur against the dispensations of heaven, is represented as exclaiming,

¹ Isaiah xiv. 13. Ezek. xxviii. 13—16.

BOOK VI. *Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither* ¹.

In this remarkable expression Job no doubt means to say, that, as he brought nothing into the world at his birth, so he shall carry nothing out of it at his death: but the peculiar turn of the phraseology is what we must attend to, because it conveys the self-same idea that was so familiar to the Gentiles. He speaks of his birth, as an egress from the womb of his mother: and his burial he describes, as a return into the womb of his mother. The earth therefore he must have viewed, as a great universal parent; and the grave, or rather the excavated catacomb in which throughout the east the bodies of the dead were ordinarily deposited, as the womb of that parent. This womb he mentions, without the least anterior preparation, as bearing a close analogy to the womb of his natural mother; so that the two might not improperly be even identified in a single sentence, for such is evidently the force of the expression which he uttered, *Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither*. The womb, from which Job came at his birth, was the womb of his literal mother: but did he return *thither*, when he died? Assuredly not: he then entered into the womb of a figurative mother; from which, in God's own good time, he hoped to experience a second birth into another and a better world, as he had already experienced one birth into a world of much trouble and affliction. We shall find, as we advance, the same turn of thought in God's further revelation of himself to mankind, and with it we shall still encounter the same ritual or machinery as that which equally characterises Paganism and Patriarchism.

II. The close resemblance of the whole Levitical ceremonial to the ceremonial in use among the Gentiles has often been observed, and has differently been accounted for. This resemblance is so close and so perfect, that it is alike absurd to deny its existence and to ascribe it to mere accident. The thing itself is an incontrovertible matter of fact: and it is a fact, which might at first seem to be of so extraordinary a nature, that we are imperiously called upon to account for it.

1. Now there are but three modes, in which it *can* be accounted for.

¹ Job i. 21.

Either *Paganism borrowed its ceremonial from the ritual Law of Moses*: CHAP. III.
 or *the ritual Law of Moses was borrowed from the ceremonial of Paganism*: or lastly *neither was a transcript of the other; but the similitude between them arose from the circumstance of each being a copy of a yet more ancient ritual, even the ritual of the old Patriarchal church.*

(1.) The first of these hypotheses is held by Gale, Dickenson, Riterhuse, and others of the same school. Their theory is, that the ritual of Paganism was a mere servile imitation of the ritual of the tabernacle; and that the devil, emulating that remarkable mode of worship and striving to pervert it to his own purposes, became at once the ape and the opposer of Jehovah. Hence the Gentiles had their sacred ark as well as the Israelites: and hence, in numerous other particulars, the service of the former closely resembled the service of the latter; so that the difference between them consisted rather in the object, than in the manner, of adoration.

To such an opinion insuperable objections present themselves.

They, who are the advocates of it, confine themselves in their illustrations to Greece, Palestine, and Egypt; while the rest of the pagan world is passed over altogether unnoticed. Now, supposing for a moment, that those countries might have borrowed their religious ceremonies from the Levitical ritual, this will very inadequately account for the exactly similar ordinances which were alike established in far distant regions. The Hindoos, the Indo-Scythians, the Celts, the Goths, and the Americans, have all had the sacred ark, and have all used the cherubic animals as symbols of their hero-gods. Now it is utterly incredible, that these nations should have unanimously agreed to copy from the ritual of Moses: and yet their ceremonial is the very same, as that of the Greeks, the Phenicians, and the Egyptians. The cause assigned therefore is plainly insufficient to account for the phenomenon, even if we grant that the last-mentioned tribes *might* have borrowed from the Levitical service.

But this itself is more than *can* be granted. We might fairly urge against such a theory the utter *improbability*, that the Egyptians, who were a powerful and regularly politicd people while the Israelites were but a single family, should yet be content to derive the whole of their ceremonial from a comparatively new race. And, if this derivation in the case of the Egyp-

BOOK VI. tians be wholly improbable, the rest of the system must of course fall to the ground. For the theology of Greece and Phenicia was manifestly the same as that of Egypt; and into the former of those countries it was imported, in a very considerable degree, from the latter: so that, if Egypt did not borrow from the Mosaical ritual, it will necessarily follow that neither did Greece and Phenicia. But we need not rest the question upon mere conjectural *probability* or *improbability*: the decided *impossibility* of the theory now before us may be demonstrated by a recurrence to chronology.

The ritual of the Gentiles existed *previous* to the establishment of the Levitical ritual; so that the latter most clearly could not have given rise to the former. This point has in a measure been settled already: for the palpable identity of all the various systems of Paganism shews, that they must have originated from a common source; and that source can only be the grand universal apostasy of Babel. But it may be yet further settled by a more immediate reference to particular chronological evidence.

We have the decided testimony of ancient history, that the Danai and Cadmians were driven out of Egypt synchronically with the exodus of Israel. Now we learn from the same testimony, that the Danai brought with them into Greece the rites of the ship Argo, and that the Cadmians brought with them the kindred rites of the Theba or bovine ark of Osiris. This being the case, those rites must have existed in Egypt *previous* to the exodus: consequently, they could not have been borrowed from the ceremonial Law, which was delivered on mount Sinai *subsequent* to the exodus. With such a conclusion every incidental particular mentioned in holy Scripture will be found to agree. When the Israelites worshipped the golden calf; it is clear beyond a reasonable doubt, that they worshipped the well-known symbol of Osiris: and, when they joined in the phallic Orgies of Baal-Peor and partook of the offerings expressly made to the mystically defunct hero-gods; it is equally clear that they were polluting themselves with the arkite abominations of the same Osiris or Adonis venerated under another name. These rites therefore had existed, long before their own settlement as a people; and were flourishing in full vigour, when it could not possibly have been even so much as known *what* sort of a ceremonial Law they had received in the wilderness. The names too, which they found

already bestowed upon several of the Canaanitish towns when they invaded and occupied the land, equally tend to establish the same position. We read of an *Ashteroth-Karnaim* even so early as the time of Abraham ¹. Now it is clearly impossible, that a city should have been so denominated, unless the worship of the horned or bovine Astartè had then been in existence. But the horned Astartè was the same as the lunar Isis: she was the reputed paramour of the arkite Adonis or Thammuz: her symbol, like that of the Egyptian goddess, was the sacred ship: and even one of her titles was *Architis*, which seems to be a compound of *Argha* and *Isis* written after the Greek fashion. In a similar manner, we read of *Beth-Dagon*, mount *Baalah*, *Beth-Peor*, *Bamoth-Baal*, *Beth-Baal-Meon*, *Beth-Hoglah*, and other towns with parallel appellations, when Palestine was invaded by the Israelites ². But no places could have been thus denominated, unless at that very period the inhabitants had been completely devoted to the worship of the first-god, the arkite heifer, and the diluvian Meon or Menu; and unless they had also been accustomed to venerate them, either on artificial high places or on the summit of a lofty natural mountain ³. Nor is this all: as the Shepherd-kings, when finally expelled from Egypt, carried with them, wherever they went, the rites of the ark; so we may be sufficiently sure, that they originally brought with them into that country the very same rites from their primeval settlements in upper India. The ship *Argo* is palpably the same as the ship *Argha*; and the strict identity of the Egyptian *Isiris* and the Indian *Iswara* can scarcely be disputed. If then the Shepherds were already familiarized to the rites of the ark, when they seized upon Egypt six years before the birth of Abraham; it is abundantly plain, that those rites could not have been borrowed from the ark of the Levitical tabernacle.

(2.) The second theory, which is precisely the reverse of the first and which supposes the Levitical ark to be a copy of the ark of Osiris, is wholly unincumbered indeed with chronological difficulties; but it is attended by others, which perhaps are scarcely less formidable. Its original author was,

¹ Gen xiv. 5. ² Joshua xix. 27. xv. 11. Deut. iii. 29. Josh. xiii. 17. xviii. 19.

³ The word *Beth-Dagon* denotes the temple of the fish-god; *Bamoth-Baal* signifies the high places of Baal; and *Beth-Hoglah* is equivalent to the temple of the heifer.

BOOK VI. I believe, the Jew Maimonides: the learned Spencer has drawn it out at full length, and has discussed it with wonderful ingenuity: and the mighty Warburton, without descending to particulars, has given it the honourable sanction of his entire approbation. The principle, on which the theory is founded, may be briefly stated in the following manner.

As the Israelites were a gross and carnal people, God, in delivering to them a law, was pleased so far to humour their prejudices, as to build the whole of its external ritual upon the ceremonies of Egyptian idolatry. Now those ceremonies are innocent or not innocent, precisely according to their application. Hence, when Jehovah adopted them into the revealed worship of himself, they were sanctified both by the end proposed and by the very abstract nature of the things themselves: for the bearing about of an ark, the using of certain hieroglyphics, the wearing of linen garments, and the washing of the body at certain stated intervals or on certain prescribed occasions, are in themselves wholly indifferent; and may be deemed good or bad, just according to the use or the abuse of them. The humour of the people then was gratified, so far as it could safely be gratified: but a guard was carefully placed against any corruption, by the instituting of other ceremonies which were directly at variance with the familiar idolatry of the Mizraim. In short, as the whole matter is set forth by Warburton, *The Jewish people were extremely fond of Egyptian manners, and did frequently fall into Egyptian superstitions: hence many of the laws given to them by the ministry of Moses were instituted, partly in compliance with their prejudices, and partly in opposition to those superstitions*¹.

With whatever plausibility this theory may be supported, it is almost impossible for the devout believer in revelation not to feel a strong antipathy to the very basis upon which it rests: for it surely must be deemed a hard saying to maintain, that, when God was delivering a law to his chosen people, he could find no more suitable foundation to build it on, than the ritual of a gross and proscribed idolatry. Nor is the *reasonableness* of the thing (with reverence be it spoken) a whit more satisfactory to common apprehensions. One great object of the Law was to withdraw

¹ Warb. Div. Leg. b. iv. sec. 6.

the Israelites from idolatry, and to make them a separate people depositories of the important doctrine of the Divine Unity. The medium, by which this object is to be accomplished, was the adoption of the whole external ritual of Paganism, that was not absolutely polluted by cruelty or obscenity: I say *the whole*; for, however Warburton may avoid descending to particulars, Spencer has shewn at full length, that there is scarcely a single outward ordinance of the Mosaical Law which does not minutely correspond with a parallel outward ordinance of Gentilism. Now, if we may be allowed to argue upon ordinary principles, what should we think of adopting such a project, by way of preserving a newly converted pagan nation from the danger of lapsing into idolatry? Let us suppose that the Hindoos had recently embraced Christianity: would it be thought prudent to recommend the retaining of all their ceremonies, taking only special care that those ceremonies should be duly observed in honour of the true God? A very similar plan was formerly acted upon in Europe: and the consequences were pretty much what might have been anticipated; demonolatry, under a more specious garb, soon ripened into the great predicted apostasy. Under such circumstances, it is very difficult to believe, that the wisdom of God would adopt a method, which seems far more likely to defeat than to promote the object to be accomplished. Nor is this the sole objection to the present theory: in a very principal part of it there is a defect of evidence; and, if such be the case with a leading part, a considerable degree of suspicion will be thrown over the soundness of the whole. Spencer derives the ark of the covenant from the ark of Osiris, and the forms of the Cherubim from the bestial hieroglyphics of the Egyptian superstition: and, in order that he may be enabled to do so, he contends, no doubt with the strictest accuracy, that the Cherubim, which surmounted the ark, were precisely the same in figure as the Cherubim which appeared to Ezekiel². Now, though he is perfectly right in thus identifying the Cherubim of Moses with the Cherubim of Ezekiel, he is certainly mistaken in deducing them from the idolatry of *Egypt*. There was a manifestation of Cherubim *at the gate of Paradise*, long before Egypt existed as a nation:

² Spencer. de leg. Heb. ritual. lib. iii. dissert. 5.

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and it has been shewn, both that they were the same in form, as the Cherubim of the tabernacle and of Ezekiel; and that, from a remarkable passage in that prophet, we have reason to believe that they also covered with their extended wings the mercy-seat of a consecrated ark. Since then the hieroglyphical figures of Paradise, of the Hebrew tabernacle, and of Ezekiel's vision, all perfectly resembled each other in appearance; and since the inspired writers have been directed to bestow upon them all the very same appellation of *Cherubim*: there cannot, I think be a shadow of doubt, but that the covering Cherubim and the ark of the tabernacle were studiously copied from the covering Cherubim and the ark of Eden. Thus, so far as *this* particular at least is concerned, we are brought to the conclusion, that what was always accounted the very pith and marrow of the ritual Law was borrowed, not from the superstition of Egypt, but from ancient Patriarchism: and we shall further be not unnaturally led to suspect, that such also was the true origin of the great bulk of the Mosaical ceremonial.

(3.) Here then we are almost unawares brought to the third hypothesis, by which the close resemblance between the ritual of Paganism and the ritual of the tabernacle may be satisfactorily accounted for: the resemblance in question might have been produced, without the necessity of supposing either derived from the other; for each of them might have been equally a copy of a yet more ancient ritual, even the ritual of the old Patriarchal church.

This last hypothesis, which I am persuaded is the true one, has in fact been incidentally established already, while the whole subject was discussed at large. In tracing the rise of Pagan Idolatry, it was first shewn, that it was a studied though perverted transcript of Patriarchism: and it has since been shewn, that the Cherubim and the ark of the tabernacle were equally a transcript of the Cherubim and the ark of the Patriarchal ritual. The two therefore, in the grand particularity wherein they resembled each other, were alike derived from a third ritual, which was the ancient common prototype of them both: and, as they not only borrowed the Cherubim and the ark, but likewise the important rite of expiatory sacrifice, from the old Patriarchal Church; we may rationally conclude, that the other corresponding parts of their ceremonials were derived also from the same primeval

origin: Such a view of the subject will remove all those strange difficulties, with which the theory of Spencer and Warburton is encumbered. The Egyptian ritual, like the other parallel rituals of the Gentiles, was distorted and perverted Patriarchism: the Levitical ritual was the very same Patriarchism, exhibited in a pure state, applied to its primitive legitimate purposes, and displayed with a degree of systematic magnificence unknown in the more simple ages of nomade life. When therefore this ritual was solemnly presented to the Israelites from mount Sinai, they could not have been startled, as if it were an unaccountable temptation to seduce them into the idolatry of Egypt: they in truth, with the exception perhaps of some few additional peculiarities, received nothing but what had long been perfectly familiar to them, nothing but what had been already consecrated by the use of their pious ancestors previous to any acquaintance with Egypt, nothing but what they well knew had been the established ceremonial of God's service even from the very days of Adam. Neither the Cherubim nor the ark, neither the sabbath nor sacrifice, neither the tabernacle nor the distinction between clean and unclean animals, were novel institutions now promulgated for the first time. As Christianity was built upon Judaism, so Judaism was built upon Patriarchism: and thus, however modified in subordinate matters, one grand scheme of theology, which has an incarnate Jehovah for its sun and its centre, runs from the fall of our first parents even to the consummation of all things.

2. Such then being the origin both of the Pagan and of the Levitical ceremonial, we shall not be surprized to find the same train of thought pervading each of those institutions and passing through the latter of them into Christianity. Hence it is, that Paganism may be used with no inconsiderable effect in explaining the ritual Law.

(1.) The heathens viewed the Ark floating on the waves of the deluge, as an epitomical representation of the World: and the eight persons, preserved within it, were deemed a reappearance of the family of Adam, and were necessarily considered as the federal deputies of all mankind by whom the larger World was tenanted. This mundane vessel was symbolized by the sacred boat; which sometimes contained a single mariner, sometimes three, sometimes eight, and sometimes the mystic bull as the acknowledged

BOOK VI. type of the great father : and it was ordinarily described, as being a form or image of his consort.

Such being the notions entertained of the derivative pagan ark ; we may be sure, allowing for the difference between truth and its corruption, that similar notions were entertained of its prototype, and thence also of the derivative Levitical ark. The holy ark then of the tabernacle, by Josephus, by the Greek interpreters, and by the writers of the new testament, invariably called *the boat*, may be supposed to have spiritually represented the Church, long tossed about like the Noëtic Ark on the waves of a polluted world, but finally destined to comprehend within its pale the whole habitable earth or the greater ship of Adam : while the Cherubim, which jointly had eight heads, and which were stationed as the mariners of the ark of the covenant, will shadow out the eight members of the two great successive patriarchal families, severally considered as the symbols of the mass of individual believers whether belonging to the antediluvian or to the postdiluvian Church.

Nor let it be thought, that this is a mere conjecture lightly thrown out at random : I am greatly mistaken, if its truth may not be absolutely proved from Scripture itself. It was an ancient opinion, both among Jews and Christians and Pagans, that the Earth was purified by the waters of the deluge as by a sort of baptism : whence originated the various washings in the Levitical and heathen ceremonies, and the external sign of regeneration in the Church¹. This opinion is expressly sanctioned by St. Peter : for he tells us, that the preservation of the Ark with its eight mariners by the water of the flood was a type or figure of the purification and salvation of the Church by the cleansing water of baptism². If then the purifying water of the flood shadowed out the purifying water of baptism, the Ark which was preserved by the one must represent the Church which is saved by the other : and, accordingly, it has in every age been deemed a symbol of the great Christian society, floating on the waves of this troublesome world, affording salvation to all its true members, while those who are without stand exposed to the deluge of God's wrath, and finally bringing them

¹ Spencer. de leg. Heb. rit. lib. iii. dissert. 3. c. 2.

² 1 Pet. iii. 20, 21.

to the spiritual Ararat or the holy Paradisiacal mountain of everlasting life¹. CHAP. VII.

The Ark thus typifying the Church, the mariners of the Ark must of course typify the aggregate of its individual members: and, as Christ is the head of those members, Noah, the Adam of a new world, must have been a type of Christ the pilot of the ecclesiastical ark. Accordingly, we are assured in Holy Scripture, that both Adam and Noah were types of the promised Redeemer: for St. Paul draws out a long parallel between the protoplast and Christ; and our Saviour teaches us, that the future coming of the Son of man will bear a close resemblance to the days of Noah². The resemblance no doubt will consist in this: as Noah was long a preacher of righteousness to an irreclaimable world, and as he finally preserved his family in an Ark while all the rest of mankind were swept away by the deluge; so Christ will have long been a preacher of righteousness to an impenitent race, will find but little faith upon the earth in the day of his second advent, and will preserve his family in the ark of the Church while the unrighteous are destroyed by the raging flood of God's fiery indignation.

But, if the Noëtic Ark be a type of the Church, and the Noëtic family a type of the members of that Church; then the ark of the covenant, and the eight heads of the super-imposed Cherubim, must similarly be images of the same: for, as the ark of the gentile great father and the Levitical ark of the covenant are equally derived from the sacred ark of Patriarchism, and as the ark of the great father had certainly a double reference both to the navicular Earth and to the mundane Ark of Noah; analogy requires us to suppose, that such also was the reference of the ark of the covenant. And with this conclusion again every scriptural particular will be found to correspond. The ark of the tabernacle is spoken of by the sacred writers in Greek, as being *a boat*: and, in allusion to the typical covenant of God with Noah, it is styled *the ark of the covenant*; just as the ship of Osiris was denominated *Baris* or *Barith-Is* which is equivalent to *the ship of the covenant*,

¹ See the baptismal service of the church of England.

² 1 Corin. xv. 47—49. Matt. xxiv. 37—39.

BOOK VI. and just as the ark of Dagh-Dae or Dagon imported by the Shepherds into Ireland was called *Arn-Breith* which literally denotes *the ark of the covenant*¹. When the Lord appears above the Cherubim which surmount it, he is described, both in the Law and in the Gospel, as clad in a brilliant rainbow; the very sign of peace and favour, which he vouchsafed to Noah². And, as the Ark after the deluge rested on the brink of the retiring ocean: so a brazen sea constituted part of the furniture of the temple; and, in plain allusion to it, a sea of glass resembling crystal is described in the Apocalypse as flowing right before the throne of God, in the midst of which are placed the cherubic animals and the ark³.

We have however still more direct proofs than these. The compound figures of the Cherubim are plainly symbols: the only question is, what they are designed to represent. How they were understood, when Paganism originated from Patriarchism, is sufficiently plain, from the bovine figure of the great father, and from the eight mariners who were ascribed to the mystic ship: and this opinion respecting them, if we view the Noëtic family as a type of the whole body of the faithful, is most curiously corroborated in Scripture itself. By the inspired writer of the Apocalypse they are said, in conjunction with the twenty four elders, to fall down before the Lamb, and to acknowledge themselves redeemed to God by his blood out of every kindred and tongue and people and nation⁴. But who are the persons, *literally* thus redeemed by the blood of the Lamb out of all the tribes of the earth? Clearly the whole body of the faithful. The cherubic animals however, and the twenty four elders, profess *themselves* to have been thus redeemed. Therefore the cherubic animals, and the twenty four elders, must severally be types of the great body of the faithful. Now that great body, as we have seen, is also typified by the eight members of the Noëtic family floating in the Ark upon the waves of the deluge. Hence it is evident, that the eight faces of the Cherubim surmounting the ark of the covenant are a type of the very same import, as the eight members of the Noëtic family sailing together in the navicular

¹ Vallancey's Vindic. p. 460.

³ Rev. iv. 6—9. xi. 19.

² Ezek. i. 28. Revel. iv. 3.

⁴ Rev. v. 8, 9, 10.

Ark: for each alike represent the whole body of the faithful, floating safely under the care of their divine pilot in the figurative ark of the Church'. CHAP. VI.

With this conclusion respecting the Chernbim agrees a very remarkable passage in the Apocalypse, the proper force of which is lost in our common version. It is said of the saints, according to our English translators, that *they are before the throne of God*, and that *he who sitteth on the throne SHALL DWELL AMONG THEM*: but in the original Greek it is said of them, that *he who sitteth on the throne SHALL DWELL AS IN A TABERNACLE ABOVE THEM*¹. The language of this place, as it is well remarked by Spencer, is palpably borrowed from the manifestation of Jehovah in the Levitical tabernacle above the Cherubim: and, elsewhere in the Revelation, we find the very same place before God's throne ascribed to the cherubic animals upon the ark, which is here ascribed to the saints. It appears therefore, that the saints and the cherubim occupy one situation in the heavenly vision, and that Jehovah is indifferently said to tabernacle above each of them. Whence the plain inference is, agreeably to the acknowledgment of the cherubic symbols that they are redeemed out of all nations by the blood of the Lamb: the plain inference is, that the Cherubim are to be viewed as hieroglyphics of the whole body of the faithful secure within the ark of the Church.

There is a curious passage in the Stromata of Clemens; which both shews, that he had guessed at the true import of the Levitical ark, and that he had been assisted in his conjecture by observing its resemblance to the sacred ark of Osiris manned by the eight great gods of Egypt. He states, that the boat, which from the Hebrew tongue may properly be called *Thebotha*, has yet another signification besides that which is commonly ascribed to it: for it further relates to the Ogdoad and to the whole Intellectual World, or to God who comprehends all things though himself invisible².

¹ Dr. Hales's view of the Cherubim is exactly the same as my own. See Chronol. vol. ii. p. 1300. It may perhaps confirm the propriety of it if I mention, that these remarks were written previous to my perusal of his work.

² Rev. vii. 15.

³ Ἀμύμον δ' ἠγεῖται τῶν κιβωτῶν, ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραϊκῆς ὀνομασίας Θηβωθα καλεσμένην, ἄλλο τι σημαίνει. Ἐξηκοντεταρτάκις μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ ἴσος παλῶν τοῦτων ἐστ' ἐν οὐρανῶν καὶ ὁ ἅγιος κόσμος· οὕτως καὶ περὶ παλῶν

BOOK VI. This language is deeply tinctured with pagan phraseology: and, obscure as it in some measure is, it may yet without any very great difficulty be sufficiently understood for our present purpose. *Theba* was the name of the ark of Osiris, as well as of the ark of Noah: the Og-load was composed of the navigators of that ark, whom the Egyptians venerated as their principal hero-gods: and by *the Intellectual World* is meant the World animated by the Soul of the great father. The term used by Clemens to express *Intellectual* is *Noïtos*: but this, like the parallel words *Menu* and *Menes* and *Mens*, is ultimately derived from the name of Noah or Nuh or Noë. For Noah, as I have already observed, was deemed the Mind or Soul of the World: whence his name, variously modified, came to acquire, both in Greek and Sanscrit and Latin, the sense of *Mind* or *Intelligence*. The pagans confounded him with God: and Clemens, in the latter part of the passage, seems to have adopted their phraseology, unconscious of its full import.

This obvious similarity of the ark of the tabernacle to the sacred arks of the Gentiles will account very satisfactorily for the conduct of the Philistines in the time of Eli. Arguing from their own mode of worship, they certainly mistook the Cherubim for the gods of the Israelites, and the ark for their accustomed vehicle. Hence, when they became masters of this symbolical piece of furniture, they immediately placed it before Dagon or Buddha, whose rites with those of the ship Argha their ancestors had brought from upper India. Knowing the general principle of heathen intercommunity, they would naturally suppose the bovine cherubim to be two hieroglyphics of the same import as their own piscine Dagon and Derecto: and the ark of the covenant they would identify with the mystic ark of their national divinity. The discomfiture of Dagon however, and the plagues which harassed themselves, soon convinced them, that the God of

περιεκτικός, ασχηματιστός τε, και ακρατος, δηλῆται θεός, τα εν ἐπεκεισθῶ. Clem. Strom. lib. v. p. 563, 564. What Clemens means by the middle clause of the passage, I pretend not to determine. Possibly it may relate, agreeably to the notions of the Gentiles, to the universal monad of the second great father taking place transmigratively of the universal monad of the first great father. In the technical language of criticism, it may certainly be termed *locus vexatissimus*.

Israel disapproved of the fellowship which they projected for him. But still, even in sending back the ark, they so far retained their former prepossession, that the mode, which they adopted, was the identical mode, in which their god, under his title of *the Agriculturist*, was wont to be conveyed in solemn procession. Sanchoniatho mentions, that in Phenicia his image was inclosed within a portable shrine; which was placed in a waggon, and thus drawn about by one or more yoke of oxen. The author of the books of Samuel informs us, that, when the Philistines returned the ark, they laid it in a new cart, which was drawn by two cows. In their general idea they were not very far mistaken. The Cherubim were not indeed the gods of the Israelites: but those hieroglyphics and the ark which they surmounted related to the same persons and the same history, as Dagon and Derceto and Argha did¹.

(2.) In the superstition of the Gentiles we meet with moveable tabernacles, as well as with fixed temples: and the Israelites, even in the wilderness, seem perversely to have turned away from the tabernacle of Jehovah to the tabernacle of Molech or Chiun². Under the ritual Law it is acknowledged, that the temple differed in nothing from the tabernacle except in stability³: and just the same remark equally applies to the portable tents and the fixed temples of the pagans. Each was alike deemed the abode of the divinity: and the identical sentiments, which were entertained of them by the heathens, were also entertained of them by the Israelites. The former, as we have seen, viewed every temple as a symbol of the World, including under that idea in its largest sense both heaven and earth and sea, and in its smallest sense the mundane Ark resting on the summit of the holy Paradisiacal mountain. The latter equally supposed both the tabernacle and its completion the temple to represent the Universe; the holy of holies typifying Paradise or Heaven, and the other parts of the building severally shadowing out the subordinate parts of the World: while the elevated situation of the temple on mount Zion, which (as we collect from Ezekiel and other sacred writers) was a transcript of the holy hill of Eden where the Ark

¹ 1 Sam. iv. 6—8. v. 2—6. vi. 7—12. Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. i. c. 10.

² Amos v. 25, 26.

³ Joseph. Ant. Jud. lib. iii. c. 6. § 1.

BOOK VI. grounded after the deluge, gives us reason to believe, that, like the pagan temples, it involved also the idea of the Ark¹. To this last opinion I am led by the remarkable vision of Ezekiel, in which the temple of the last ages appears to him standing securely on the top of its lofty mountain, while the whole surrounding country is inundated by a mighty flood which could not be passed over²: and, as for the first opinion, it is both set forth very largely by Josephus, and is confirmed even by Holy Scripture itself.

The Jewish historian tells us, that the Sanctuary represented Heaven; that the part granted to the priests, as being accessible to men, was a figure of the Earth and of the Sea; that the curtain decorated with flowers alluded to the Ground clothed with the variegated livery of nature; and that the candlestick with seven branches was a symbol of the seven then known Planets³. He speculates in a similar manner respecting the dress of the high-priest; which, like the dress of a pagan hierophant or the habiliments of the Egyptian Isis, he supposes to have been constructed with reference to the Sun and the Moon and the several parts of the Universe⁴.

Now in the former part of his opinion, which I conclude to have been the general opinion among his countrymen, he is certainly supported by the Christian Scriptures: for we are taught by the writer to the Hebrews, that the annual entrance of the high-priest into the Sanctuary represented the one entrance of Christ into Heaven; and we find, that throughout the Apocalypse the machinery of the temple or the tabernacle is used to shadow out the glories of Heaven and the joys of Paradise⁵. But, if such be the figurative import of the high-priest's passage into the Holy of Holies, it is clear, that the ante-temple must have symbolized this terraqueous World, and the Sanctuary Heaven itself: for, as the passage of Christ was from Earth to Heaven, the passage of the high-priest from the outer temple into the Sanctuary could not possibly have typified it, unless the Earth had been symbolized by the outer temple and Heaven by the Sanctuary.

¹ Joseph. Ant. Jud. lib. iii. c. 6. § 4. Ezek. xxviii. 13. Rev. xxi. 3. xxii. 2.

² Ezek. xlvi. 1—12.

³ Joseph. Ant. Jud. lib. iii. c. 6. § 4, 7. c. 7. § 7.

⁴ Ibid. c. 7. § 7.

⁵ Heb. ix. 1—12. Rev. iv. xi. 19. xv. 5—8. xxi.

And this conclusion will further tend to shew, that Josephus may not CHAP. VI. have been very far wrong in the latter part of his opinion; I mean that, which regards the peculiar habiliments of the high-priest. Since the passage of the high-priest from the outer temple into the Holy of Holies represented the passage of Christ from Earth to Heaven, the high-priest himself must doubtless have been a type of Christ. But this idea was no way peculiar to the Levitical Law: it was rather adopted into it from ancient Patriarchism; as we may collect from the prevalence of a similar idea in Paganism which is but corrupted Patriarchism, and as we may infer not obscurely from sacred Scripture itself. Among the Gentiles, the high-priest or the officiating hierophant represented the demiurgic great father, of whom he was sometimes deemed even an incarnation: and, when discharging the duties of his function, he wore a dress, which was designed (we are told) to shadow out the different parts of the Universe. Now, in the progress of idolatrous corruption, whatever the apostatising heathens knew from early prophecy of the character of the future Messiah, they applied it all to their transmigrating great father, who was supposed from time to time to become incarnate for the reformation or punishment of the world. Hence, as the sacrificing priest of each patriarchal family represented the Messiah; who was known, according to the memorable testimony of Eve and according to the express declarations of the inspired Christian writers, to be the creative Jehovah: so every sacrificing priest among the Gentiles similarly represented the demiurgic great father, who was decorated with the attributes of God and his Christ. It was on this account, that the sacerdotal office was esteemed so highly honourable by the votaries both of the corrupted and the uncorrupted theology: and we may now perceive, why, in the patriarchal ages, the eldest son of the family discharged the functions of its priest; and why Esau is described as being a profane person, on account of his selling his birth-right to his younger brother Jacob. Among *ourselves*, we know full well, that no idea of *profaneness* at least could attach to such a negotiation: why then is Esau thus stigmatized? The answer is obvious: in a spirit of daring infidelity, Esau doubted, whether he was likely to derive much profit from a birth-right, which constituted him the priest of his house, and which thus made him the express

BOOK VI. representative of the Messiah. He consequently sold it, as a thing of but very little value, for a mere mess of pottage: and *thus*, as the sacred historian emphatically remarks, *Esau despised his birth-right*; thus, in the language of St. Paul, he became *a profane person*¹. When the Law was revealed from mount Sinai, God was pleased to change the primeval arrangement and to allot the priesthood to a particular tribe: but the memory of the ancient institution, which was apparently designed to exhibit the relationship between God the Son and God the Father, was still carefully preserved. All the first-born of Israel were holy unto the Lord: and their sacerdotal obligation could only be annulled by the special ordinance of a solemn redemption². This holiness was even extended to the first-born of animals: and it was enacted, that all such as were clean should be devoted in sacrifice, while all the unclean should either be slain or redeemed by a fit substitute.

(3.) Such was the strict analogy between the temples and the high-priests of the Gentiles, and the temple and the high-priest of the Israelites; an analogy, which is to be accounted for by their common derivation, though through different channels, from one and the same patriarchal source. Nor does the resemblance stop here: it may be yet further traced in another interesting particular. Jehovah the Messenger was ever viewed as the husband of the Church; and the appointed symbol of that Church was the mundane Ark, floating, with its eight mariners, on the surface of the deluge. This attribute was also ascribed to the demiurgic father, when Patriarchism degenerated into Paganism. He was deemed the consort of the universal great mother; whose most eminent form was the ship Argha upborne on the waves of the diluvian ocean, and whose astronomical symbol was the lunar boat or crescent.

The present point of coincidence will, I think, enable us to understand some remarkable particulars in the machinery of the Apocalypse.

We find the pure Church described, as a woman clothed with the Sun and standing upon the crescent of the Moon; while a corrupted church is exhibited to us, both under the image of a female floating upon the surface

¹ Gen. xxv. 32, 34. Heb. xii. 16.

² Exod. xiii. 2, xxii. 29, xxxiv. 20.

of many waters, and under that of a harlot using a monstrous beast as her vehicle. The former of these women, when about to bring forth her first-born, is attacked by a monstrous serpent; which spouts out against her and her offspring a deluge of water: but the earth opens its mouth, and receives the mighty inundation into the central abyss. The latter of them under the mystic name of *the false prophet*, together with her bestial supporter, is said to be at length plunged alive into an infernal lake burning with fire and brimstone.

I cannot but think it sufficiently clear, that the whole of this machinery is palpably diluvian: and I believe it to have been derived from that received imagery of the Patriarchal church, which by a corrupted channel was admitted into Paganism. It is impossible not to perceive, that the woman standing upon the crescent is the very figure of the Samian Juno or of the Egyptian Isis, who were represented in a precisely similar manner with reference to the lunar boat¹: that the attack upon the woman and her offspring by the deluging serpent, which is frustrated by the earth's absorption of the waters, is perfectly analogous to the attack of the diluvian serpent Python or Typhon upon Latona and Horus, which is similarly frustrated by the destruction of that monster: and that the false church, bearing the name of *Mystery*, floating on the mighty waters or riding on a terrific beast, and ultimately plunged into the infernal lake, exhibits the very same aspect as the great mother of Paganism, sailing over the ocean, riding on her usual vehicle the lion, venerated with certain appropriate Mysteries, and during the celebration of those Mysteries plunged into the waters of a sacred lake deemed the lake of Hades. I take it, that, in the representation of the pure Church, an ancient Patriarchal scheme of symbolical machinery, derived most plainly from the events of the deluge, and borrowed with the usual perverse misapplication by the contrivers of Paganism, has been reclaimed to its proper use: while, in the representation of the false church, which under a new name revived the old gentile demolatry, the very imagery and language of the gentile hierophants has with singular propriety been studiously adopted². I need scarcely remark,

¹ See Plate I. Fig. 13.

Pag. Idol.

² Rev. xii. xvii. 1—5. xix. 20.

BOOK VI. that I am speaking solely of the apocalyptic *machinery*: of this the origin will still be the same, however we may interpret the prophecies which are built upon it ¹.

¹ The whole machinery of the Apocalypse, from beginning to end, seems to me very plainly to have been borrowed from the machinery of the ancient Mysteries: and this, if we consider the nature of the subject, was done with the very strictest attention to poetical decorum.

St. John himself is made to personate *an aspirant* about to be initiated: and, accordingly, the images presented to his mind's eye closely resemble the pageants of the Mysteries both *in nature* and *in order of succession*.

The prophet first beholds *a door opened* in the magnificent temple of heaven: and into this he is invited to enter by the voice of one, who plays *the hierophant*. Here he witnesses the unsealing of *a sacred book*: and forthwith he is appalled by a troop of *ghastly apparitions*, which flit in horrid succession before his eyes. Among these are preëminently conspicuous *a vast serpent*, the well-known symbol of the great father; and two portentous *wild-beasts*, which severally come up out of the sea and out of the earth. Such hideous figures correspond with the canine phantoms of the Orgies which seemed to rise out of the ground, and with the polymorphic images of the principal hero-god who was universally deemed the offspring of the sea.

Passing these terrific monsters in safety, the prophet, constantly attended by his *angel-hierophant* who acts the part of an interpreter, is conducted into the presence of *a female*, who is described as closely resembling the great mother of pagan theology. Like Isis emerging from the sea and exhibiting herself to the eyes of the aspirant Apuleius, this female divinity, upborne upon the marine wild-beast, appears to float upon the surface of many waters. She is said to be *an open and systematical harlot*; just as the great mother was the declared female principle of fecundity, and as she was always propitiated by literal fornication reduced to a religious system: and, as the initiated were made to drink a prepared liquor out of a sacred goblet; so this harlot is represented, as intoxicating the kings of the earth with *the golden cup* of her prostitution. On her forehead the very name of MYSTERY is inscribed: and the label teaches us, that, in point of character, she is *the great universal mother* of idolatry.

The nature of this Mystery *the officiating hierophant* undertakes to explain: and an important prophecy is most curiously and artfully veiled under the very language and imagery of the Orgies. To the sea-born great father was ascribed a three-fold state; he lived, he died, and he revived: and these changes of condition were duly exhibited in the Mysteries. To the sea-born wild-beast is similarly ascribed a three-fold state; he lives, he dies, and he revives. While dead, he lies floating on the mighty ocean, just like Horus or Osiris or Siva or Vishnou: when he revives, again like those kindred deities, he emerges from the waves: and, whether dead or alive, he bears seven heads and ten horns, corresponding in

(4.) We have seen, that among the pagans the entrance into the Ark was deemed an entrance into the grave: whence the quitting it was viewed as a resurrection from the dead. We have also seen, that they used the grave synonymously with Hades; which they placed in the central cavity of the earth, analogously to the mystic Hades in the central cavity of the Ark. And we have further seen, that, as they considered the entrance into the Ark in the light of death and burial; so they esteemed the deliverance from its confinement, not only a resurrection, but a new birth by water into a better state of existence. They likewise used a large fish, as a symbol of the Ark, ascribing to the one what they ascribed to the other: and, when they were about to initiate any person into the Mysteries, they were accustomed to set him afloat in a small vessel on some consecrated lake or river or arm of the sea. CHAP. VI.

It is curious to observe, how these ancient Patriarchal ideas have passed by a different channel into a purer religion. St. Paul assures us, that, when God raised up Jesus from the dead, that prophecy in the second psalm, *Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee*, received its accomplishment¹. Now it is evident, that the only way, in which it can have been accomplished by the fact of the resurrection, is by an admission, that the two expressions, *This day have I begotten thee* and *This day have I raised thee from the dead*, are mystically of the same import. And, that

number with the seven ark-preserved Rishis and the ten aboriginal patriarchs. Nor is this all: as the worshippers of the great father bore his special mark or stigma, and were distinguished by his name; so the worshippers of the maritime beast equally bear his mark, and are equally decorated by his appellation.

At length however *the first or doleful part* of these sacred Mysteries draws to a close, and *the last or joyful part* is rapidly approaching. After the prophet has beheld the enemies of God plunged into a dreadful lake or inundation of liquid fire, which corresponds with the infernal lake or deluge of the Orgies, he is introduced into a *splendidly illuminated region* expressly adorned with the characteristics of that *Paradise* which was the ultimate scope of the ancient aspirants: while, *without* the holy gate of admission, are the whole multitude of the profane, *dogs and sorcerers and whoremongers and murderers and idolaters and whosoever loveth and maketh a lye*.

The comparison might have been drawn out to a greater length; but these hints may suffice.

¹ Acts xiii. 33.

BOOK VI. such is the right interpretation, is very evident from other parts of Scripture. In a passage which I have already adduced, Job exclaims, *Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither*¹. What we literally translate *thither*, the Chaldee paraphrast explains very rightly as meaning *to the grave*: yet the turn of the whole place figuratively identifies the grave with his mother's womb. Again, on the other hand, when the inspired writers speak of the womb, they speak of it in terms which properly belong to the earth. Thus the psalmist, describing his marvellous formation in the womb of his mother, says, that his *substance was curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth yet being imperfect*². And thus, when Solomon remarks, that *the words of a tale-bearer go down into the innermost parts of the belly*, the Targum paraphrases the expression *into the depth of the grave*³. Nor is this to be deemed a mere conceit of a single fantastic expositor: on the contrary, it faithfully expresses the general notions of the Jews. Among their writers, the mother's womb is called *a sepulchre*; on the ground, that he, who is born and dies and is buried, does but pass from one tomb to another⁴: and, when one of their Rabbins asks the reason, why the grave and the womb are joined together by Solomon in a single place; the answer is, because they both make returns alike of living creatures, the womb at the birth, the grave at the resurrection⁵. In strict analogy with such speculations, we find Isaiah, without any break or interruption, doubly foretelling the national restoration of Judah, under the two successive parallel images of a birth from the womb and a resurrection from the grave⁶. The self-same ideas occur also perpetually in the New Testament. Thus our Saviour teaches us, that *they, who shall be accounted worthy to obtain the resurrection from the dead, are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection*⁷. Thus St. Paul styles the risen Messiah *the first-born from the dead*: and, in evident allusion to the prophecy in the second psalm as explained by himself, he informs us, that *Christ was declared or constituted the son of God with power by*

¹ Job i. 21.² Psalm cxxxix. 13—16.³ Prov. xviii. 8.⁴ Oholoth. c. vii. m. 4. See Kidder's *Demonst.* part i. p. 98, 99.⁵ Menass. Ben Israel de resur. lib. i. c. 3. § 4. apud Kidd. *Dem.* part ii. p. [88].⁶ Isaiah xxvi. 17—19.⁷ Luke xx. 35, 36.

*the resurrection from the dead*¹. And thus St. Peter blesses the God and father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath begotten us again, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, to an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled². Of a similar nature are those passages of Scripture, whence our church has been led to speak of the inward grace of baptism, as *a death unto sin and a new-birth unto righteousness*. Thus we read of *being baptized into the death of Jesus Christ, of being buried with him by baptism into death, of walking in newness of life like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the father, of being planted together in the likeness of his death that we may also be in the likeness of his resurrection, of being dead unto sin but alive unto God*³. And thus believers are addressed, as *being buried with Christ in baptism, wherein also they are risen with him, through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead*⁴. Now the whole imagery of baptism, as we are taught by St. Peter, is borrowed from the Ark and the deluge. Hence the entrance into the Ark and the deliverance by water must have shadowed out *a death and a new-birth*. Each of these is truly of a spiritual nature: but the apostatizing Gentiles took them in a gross literal sense, though they never quite forgot their high mysterious import; for they claimed, by initiation into their Orgies, to pass from a state of death and ignorance to a state of Paradisiacal knowledge and purity.

The preceding remarks may serve to shew the singular propriety, with which our Lord declares Jonah in the belly of the fish to have been a type of himself inclosed within the cavity of the tomb: and they will at the same time tend to elucidate the very extraordinary language, which the prophet is described as using while in that situation. A large fish was a symbol of the Ark; but the Ark itself was viewed in the light of a sepulchral cavern, which again was mystically identified with the central Hades. Accordingly our Lord pronounces, that the floating fish of Jonah was a type of the sepulchre, within which he was shortly to be confined; and that the duration of the prophet's inclosure within the one shadowed out his own

¹ Coloss. i. 18. Rom. i. 4.² 1 Pet. i. 3, 4.³ Rom. vi. 3, 4, 5, 8, 11.⁴ Coloss. ii. 12.

BOOK VI.

corresponding inclosure within the other. The fish then, as a symbol of the Ark, was a symbol likewise of Hades or the grave: and the language of Jonah, while shut up within it, is in perfect unison with Christ's application of it to his own sepulchre, mingled however with phraseology suitable to that floating coffin the Ark. *I cried, by reason of mine affliction, unto the Lord; and he heard me: out of the belly of Hades cried I, and thou heardest my voice. For thou hast cast me into the deep in the midst of the seas, and the floods compassed me about: all thy billows and thy waves passed over me. The waters compassed me about even to the soul, the depth closed me round about, the weeds were wrapped about my head. I went down to the bottoms of the mountains; the earth with her bars was about me for ever: yet hast thou brought up my life from corruption, O Lord my God*¹.

It was no doubt with reference to this figurative mode of speech, which from ancient patriarchal times was handed down to all the descendants of Noah, that the primitive Christians, when they discussed the resurrection or new birth by water from a prior state of death and corruption, were accustomed to style Jesus *their fish* and to speak of themselves as smaller fishes born out of water and owing their safety to that friendly element². The language is not a little singular, though sufficiently expressive of what they meant.

I am much inclined to believe, that a remarkable event in the life of Moses is to be understood in a very similar manner. We know, that that great prophet and lawgiver was one of the most express and eminent types of a future yet greater prophet and lawgiver: hence we are naturally led to

¹ Jonah ii. 2—6.

² Sed nos pisciculi, secundum ἰχθῦν nostrum Jesum Christum, in aqua nascimur. Nec aliter, quam in aqua permanendo, salvi sumus. Tertull. lib. de baptism. c. i. On which Pamelius remarks: Facit ad intellectum hujus loci B. Optatus Afer lib. iii. adv. Parmen. Hic (de Christo loquens) inquit: Est piscis, qui in baptisate per invocationem fontalibus undis inscribitur; ut, quæ aqua fuerat, a *pisce* etiam *piscina* vocitetur. Cujus piscis nomen, secundum appellationem Græcam, in uno nomine per singulas literas sanctorum nominum continet. Ἰχθῦς enim (sic lego) Latine est *Jesus Christus, Dei filius, salvator*. Quod ipsum repetit B. August. lib. xviii. de civ. Dei c. 23. Voces autem Græcæ, quæ singulis vocis Ἰχθῦς literis indicantur, hæc sunt: ἰησους Χριστος, Θεου υἱος, σωτηρς.

suppose, that his inclosure within the ark was in every respect a significant circumstance. I apprehend, that his pious parents, when compelled to expose their offspring, thought that the fittest method of solemnly committing him to the Lord was to copy the grand event in the life of Noah. Hence, as that patriarch entered into the ship in full reliance on the care of a gracious providence; so Amram and Jochebed, in a like spirit of devout faith, placed the infant Moses in an ark, and set him afloat on the waters of the Ocean or Nile. Such appears to have been the ruling idea with *them* in this transaction: but, unless I greatly mistake, it was so ordered by *heaven* with a view that Moses might in every particular be a complete type of Christ. His bulrush ark, which served him as coffin, was, like the fish of Jonah, an image of the sepulchral cavern: so that his entrance into it as into a state of death and burial, and his deliverance from it like a resurrection from the grave, aptly shadowed out the death and the burial and the resurrection of Christ¹.

It is with the same reference to the deluge, that the Hebrew poets so perpetually represent a state of great trial and affliction under the imagery of a mighty and overwhelming flood of waters: and as the future Messiah is the prominent subject of the psalms, it is with the utmost propriety that he is so often exhibited, as either complaining to his heavenly Father that *the floods of ungodly men made him afraid* and that *every wave and storm had gone over him*, or as praising his Almighty Deliverer for *sending from above and drawing him out of many waters*². Such imagery is strictly patriarchal: and to the same class we may ascribe those passages, which speak of slaying the great dragon in the midst of the sea, or which palpably derive their figures from the garden of Eden³. The Hebrews drew from the same primitive wells as the pagans: hence it is no wonder, that the ideas of them

¹ Exod. ii. 1—10.

² See Psalm xviii. 4, 16. xxix. 10. xxxii. 6. xl. 2. xlii. 7. xlv. 2, 9. lxix. 1, 2, 15. xciii. 3, 4. civ. 6. cxxiv. 4, 5. cxliv. 7. Isaiah xxiv. 18, 19. xxviii. 2. lix. 19. Jerem. xlvii. 2. Lament. iii. 54. Ezek. xxvi. 20. Amos v. 8. ix. 5, 6. Nahum i. 8. Sometimes the imagery is taken from the local inundation of a great river. See Isaiah viii. 7, 8. Jerem. xlv. 7, 8. and elsewhere.

³ See Isaiah xxvii. 1. Amos ix. 3. and Isaiah xli. 18, 19. xi. 6—9. li. 3. Ezek. xxxi. 16. xxviii. 13—16. Rev. xxii. 1—3.

BOOK VI. both should be so much alike ; the whole secret is, that the phraseology of each was equally tinged with ancient Patriarchism.

III. We shall now be prepared to account for the extraordinary resemblance, which subsists between the great father of pagan theology and the Messiah of a purer system.

If we bring together into one point of view the different characteristics of the former, as they may be collected from the various modifications of Heathenism, they may be enumerated in the following manner. The great father became incarnate, and was born of a virgin. His infancy was spent among herds and flocks. His life was sought by a huge serpent, and he was even slain by the monster : but he finally conquered his adversary, and crushed his head beneath his heel. He descended from heaven for the purpose of reforming mankind, and is supposed to be of a mild and contemplative disposition : yet is he also the god of vengeance, armed with the powers of destruction against his irreclaimable enemies. He was a priest and a king and a prophet : yet was he likewise himself the sacrifice, as well as the sacrificer. He was the parent, the husband, and the son, of the great universal mother ; whose principal form was the Ark floating on the surface of the deluge. He was the creator of each successive world ; and before every creation he moved upon the boundless waters. When slain, he was inclosed in a coffin and was said to have descended into Hades. But, on the third day, he rose from the dead : and this resurrection was considered, as a new birth from a rocky sepulchral cavern. At length he ascended to the top of a lofty mountain, whence he was translated to heaven.

These various characteristics cannot have been borrowed from the history of Christ, for they were ascribed to the great father long before the advent of our Saviour : the question therefore is, *how we are to account for their existence ?*

1. They have been noticed, though not to the extent to which they are drawn out, by a Frenchman named *Volney* ; who, being one of the sect of infidel philosophers, has imagined, that they might afford him a specious argument against the truth of Christianity. The use, which he would make of them, is this.

There is so strong a resemblance between the characters of Jesus and of Buddha, that it cannot have been purely accidental. But the character of Buddha or Crislina or the great father was already in existence, previous to the alleged time of Christ's appearance upon earth. The character therefore of the heathen divinity cannot have been borrowed from that of Christ. But, if it were not borrowed from that of Christ, the character of Christ must have been borrowed from it. Hence it will follow, that, if we tear off the disguise of a Jewish dress, we shall clearly perceive, that the incarnate God of the Church, whom Christians ignorantly worship as the creator of the world, is the very same person as the virgin-born great father of Paganism. He is the Sun in the sign of the virgin: his very name of *Christ* is no other than the Sanscrit *Crishna*: and the whole history of his appearance upon earth is a mere fable. *There are absolutely*, says Mr. Volney, *no other monuments of the existence of Jesus Christ as a human being, than a passage in Josephus, a single phrase in Tacitus, and the gospels. But the passage in Josephus is unanimously acknowledged to be apocryphal and to have been interpolated towards the close of the third century: and that of Tacitus is so vague, and so evidently taken from the deposition of the Christians before the tribunals, that it may be ranked in the class of evangelical records. So that the existence of Jesus is no better proved, than that of Osiris and Hercules, or that of Fo or Buddha, with whom the Chinese continually confound him; for they never call Jesus by any other name than Fo*¹.

I am willing to believe, that Mr. Volney's argument, though much curtailed, has lost none of its force in my hands: we have now to estimate the amount of that force.

(1.) According to this writer then, there is no sufficient evidence for the literal manifestation of Christ upon earth: because, exclusive of the gospels, he is mentioned only in a spurious passage of Josephus, and in a single expression of Tacitus who manifestly wrote solely from the depositions of believers themselves.

With the place in Josephus I shall not concern myself, save only to ob-

¹ Volney's Ruins. p. 229—239, 287, 288.

BOOK VI. serve that it is *not* unanimously acknowledged to be apocryphal: I shall pass directly to the expression in Tacitus. Now, supposing that this author *had* written solely from the depositions of Christians on their trial, it might reasonably be asked, what better evidence could we have for the real existence of Jesus as a human being? A great number of men is brought before the tribunals of the Roman magistrates; and these declare, that but as yesterday an extraordinary person appeared in Judæa, who during his life-time openly conversed with thousands, and who at length was put to death by the procurator Pontius Pilate. In such a declaration, which respects a *matter of fact*, they obstinately persist, even in the face of the most cruel torments. Now, though doubtless men have sometimes given up their lives in the cause of a false religion; yet they have never done so, except when they themselves were fully persuaded of the truth of it. But, if we admit the paradox of Mr. Volney, we must be credulous enough to believe, that not merely a single wrong-headed individual, but that whole multitudes, chose rather to suffer the most cruel deaths, than to give up the existence of a man, whom all the while they must have known perfectly well had never existed at all. This may very possibly be swallowed by the easy faith of an infidel: but a man of plain common sense, who is accustomed to weigh motives and actions, will not be quite so easily satisfied. *Does Tacitus* however write from the mere depositions of Christians? It is said to have been a regular part of the atheistical system on the continent, to misquote and misrepresent ancient authors: and the honest principle of it was this. Where one reader is capable of following the citer, ten will be incapable: of those who are capable, where one takes the trouble to do it, ten will not take the trouble: and of those who detect the falsehood, where one steps forward to expose it, ten will be silent. It may therefore *never* be detected: and, if it *be* detected, the voice of a single individual, when the efforts of a whole conspiracy are employed to drown it, will be heard to but a very little distance. Whether Mr. Volney made any such calculation with respect to the passage in Tacitus, I shall not pretend to say: but most certain it is, that the passage itself affords not the slightest ground for his gloss upon it. Tacitus, a grave historian, simply relates a well-known recent fact; which it was perfectly easy to contradict, had

there been no foundation for it. The fact, which he specifies without saying a single syllable about depositions, is as follows. A man, named *Christ*, was the author of the Christian superstition. This person started up in Judæa, one of the Roman provinces: and he was put to death, during the reign of Tiberius, by the procurator Pontius Pilate ¹. Such are the particulars, which Tacitus details about 70 years after the time when they are said to have happened. Now, on Mr. Volney's hypothesis that they never *did* happen, it seems rather extraordinary, that Tacitus should not have been a little more careful in ascertaining the recent alleged fact of Christ's condemnation by Pilate. The Christians at that time had become very numerous, according to the account of the historian himself: and their active enemies were still more numerous. If then no such man as Christ had ever existed, and if the whole history of his condemnation by Pilate were an impudent fiction; it is passing strange, that, when Tacitus wrote, the imposture should not have been discovered. One might have imagined, that, as all the transactions were said to have occurred in Judæa, if they never *had* occurred, hundreds of enemies to the Christian name would have

¹ As Mr. Volney has not indulged his readers with the passage, which, he assures us, was written by Tacitus from the depositions of the Christian prisoners, I shall supply the deficiency. We may then be the better enabled to appreciate the critical talents of this French writer.

Ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos, et quæsitissimis poenis adfecit, quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Christianos appellabat. Auctor nominis ejus Christus, Tiberio imperitante, per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat. Repressaque in præsens exitiabilis superstitio rursus erumpebat, non modo per Judæam originem ejus mali, sed per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocitas aut pudenda confluent celebranturque. Igitur primo correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens, haud perinde in crimina incendii, quam odio generis humani, convicti sunt. Et percussibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis contacti, laniatu canum interirent, aut crucibus affixi, aut flammati, atque ubi defecisset dies in usum nocturni luminis urerentur. *Annal. lib. xv. c. 44.*

If we may believe Mr. Volney, the person, whom Tacitus declares to have been put to death by Pilate during the reign of Tiberius, never existed at all; the unlucky historian being shamefully befooled by a set of gross liars, who themselves chose to be worried by dogs and to be crucified and to be burned alive in support of what they all the while knew to be an absurd falshood. Nothing, save the credulity of a professed unbeliever, could digest so portentous a discovery, as this of our French philosopher.

BOOK VI. triumphantly exclaimed: *We have made diligent inquiries throughout Palestine; and we actually find, that there never was such a person as Christ, and that no one there ever heard of his being put to death by Pontius Pilate.* Yet, wonderful to say, the lately discovered secret of his non-existence was wholly unknown in the time of Tacitus: for, bitter as that historian is against Christians, he states, as a matter not to be doubted, that the author of the name was really condemned by the Roman governor of Judæa during the reign of Tiberius. Seventy years had then elapsed from the alleged death of Christ: the fact was as fresh and as recent, as the rise (for instance) of Methodism amongst ourselves: and a modern historian might just as rationally deny literal existence to the founder of that wide-spreading sect, as Tacitus could have denied it to the founder of Christianity. In reality, the hypothesis of Mr. Volney never once entered into his contemplation. He cordially hated the Christians indeed: but he mentions, without the slightest hesitation, that their head appeared in Judæa, and that he was condemned to death by Pontius Pilate.

(2.) This writer however asserts, that the literal existence of Christ rests on the sole testimony of Tacitus.

He must surely have either forgotten or wilfully suppressed the mass of direct evidence, by which the fact in question is established. The hostility of the Jews to Christianity is proverbial. Now, as Palestine is made the theatre of our Lord's actions, and as he himself is declared to have been publicly executed at Jerusalem by the sentence of the Roman governor; if the whole narrative were *a mere fiction*, the Jews would most assuredly have been the first to expose it, nor would they have left the grateful task to be performed by a modern French infidel. *They* however, so far from having even dreamt of the notable discovery made by Mr. Volney, always speak of Jesus, as a person that had actually existed and had been truly put to death. Nor do they deny, that he wrought miracles: the *fact* of his having wrought them they acknowledge; but they pretend to account for it, by an idle tale of his having stolen the wonder-working name of Jehovah out of the temple*. Just the same remark applies to the other

* Toledoth Jesu, and Avoda Zara.

ancient enemies of the gospel. Celsus and Porphyry, Hierocles and Julian, never think of denying *the existence* of Christ: on the contrary, they too, like the Jews, allow, that he even performed miracles; but, while they admit *the fact*, they pretend that he performed these by magic¹. How much trouble might these authors have saved themselves, if they had had the benefit of Mr. Volney's sagacious researches. Yet probably it might not have been *quite* prudent to hazard the new hypothesis, during the four first centuries. At any rate we may be tolerably sure, that, if the emperor Julian could have ascertained that the author of Christianity *never existed* and consequently that he was *never crucified by Pontius Pilate*; he would not have troubled himself to account for his miracles, but would have cut the matter short at once by taxing believers with a gross and shameless falsehood. He had full power to consult the records of the empire, and he had agents as virulent as himself: but the whole of his malice spends itself in reproaching Christians, for worshipping, as God, one, who had been crucified as a felon. We have therefore a chain of most unexceptionable evidence, because it is the evidence of professed enemies, beginning with Tacitus and the Jews in the first century, and extending to the emperor Julian in the fourth. Had Christ been *a mere non-entity*, since the imposture lay open to so very easy a detection, the ancient enemies of the gospel would scarcely have left the glory of exposing it to a French philosopher of the eighteenth century.

(3.) Mr. Volney is not more fortunate in his etymological, than in his historical, researches.

It is certainly a very suspicious circumstance, that the word *Christ* should be so like the word *Crishna*: but unluckily the ingenious etymologist does not seem to have recollected, that Jesus was wholly unknown by the title of *Christ* in the land where he lived and died. Most schoolboys could have informed him, that the Greek word *Christ* is a mere translation of the Hebrew word *Messiah*; that they equally signify *the anointed one*; that the name *Christ* therefore has nothing in common with the Sanscrit *Crishna*,

¹ Orig. cont. Cels. lib. i. p. 30. lib. ii. § 18. Hieron. cont. Virgil. Hieroc. apud Euseb. Julian. apud Cyril. lib. vi. See Paley's Eviden. vol. ii. p. 338, 339. and Douglas's Critic. p. 307, 308.

BOOK VI. which denotes (I believe) *the Sun*; and that the author of our religion was not called in his own country *Jesus Christ*, but *Jeshua Hammessiah*.

It is time however, that we dismiss this either silly or dishonest writer with the single additional remark, that Mr. Gibbon, though as adverse to Christianity as Mr. Volney himself, was too good a judge of historical evidence to make himself ridiculous by denying *the literal existence of Jesus upon earth in a human form*.

2. But still the question will recur, *how are we to account for the undeniable resemblance between Christ and the great father of pagan theology?*

To a certain extent this has already been done: but something more yet remains to be said on the subject. The mode then, in which I would account for the resemblance, is the following.

When the Gentiles framed the character of their great universal father, the two successive patriarchs Adam and Noah chiefly constituted the basis of it: but a part of the superstructure consisted of those several matters, which they had learned respecting the promised Deliverer. As they knew that Jehovah occasionally conversed with mortals in a human form, as the future Saviour was described as being exclusively the seed of the woman, and as Eve erroneously imagined that her first-born was that Saviour even the man Jehovah: they taught, that the great father was wont, from time to time, to become incarnate, and to be born into the world from a virgin without the instrumentality of a natural father.

Having laid this position down, they next attempted to make it quadrate with the histories of Adam and Noah: and such a task was by no means difficult, for I suspect that it had already been performed to their hand in the Patriarchal Church. Both Adam and Noah are declared to have been types of Christ: and they seem to have been viewed as such even from the very beginning. On this principle, their respective births from the virgin Earth and from the virgin Ark shadowed out the future birth of Christ from his virgin Mother: and what in itself was only *typical* was perversely considered by the pagans as *an actual accomplishment of the first prophecy*. They rightly concluded from the language of that prediction, that the incarnate God was to be born of a virgin: but they mystically asserted, that the great father was thus produced; because, in *their* view of him, he was suc-

cessively born from the Earth and from the Ark. A very similar notion CHAP. VI. prevailed among some of the early fathers, who probably had it from old Jewish tradition long anterior to the advent of Christ. Adam is said by them to have been born out of the virgin Earth, while as yet it had neither been ploughed or manured : and, as such, he was an apt type of Christ, made as to his humanity of the virgin Mary ; according to the ancient prophecy of Isaiab, that *a virgin should conceive and bear a son and call his name God-with-us* ¹.

This predicted deliverer was to contend with the serpent : and, in the struggle, that reptile was to bruise his heel, though in return he was destined to trample upon its head. Here there was another interesting particular, which could not but have been well known to the early apostates from genuine Patriarchism : accordingly, though they made the benevolent serpent an hieroglyphic of their solar divinity, they yet exhibited the great father as contending with a formidable dragon to whose agency they ascribed the production of the deluge, and represented him as finally crushing its head beneath his foot.

But, notwithstanding the Saviour was to be finally victorious, the serpent was to bruise his heel during the contest. Now, when the deadly effects of animal poison came to be understood, this could only be interpreted as meaning, that the human form of the incarnate God should perish in the battle : and, as it would perish in behalf of fallen man, and as the rite of expiatory sacrifice was appointed to shadow out the slaughter of it, the promised Deliverer would thence be viewed in the light of an oblation for sin. This will account for the notion, which we sometimes find prevalent, that the great father was at once the first sacrificer and the first sacrifice : and it will likewise account for those dreadful human devotements, which were so common among the Gentiles, and which were all built on the maxim that the wrath of heaven could only be diverted from man by the piacular oblation of man.

Thus originated the belief, that the great father was an incarnate god,

¹ Bull's *Judg. of the Cath. Church.* c. v. p. 177, 178. *Ex virginis terræ limo factus Adam prævaricatione propria promissam perdidit vitam: per virginem Mariam ac Spiritum Sanctum Christus natus et immortalitatem accepit et regnum.* Jul. Firm. *de error. prof. rel.* p. 51.

BOOK VI. that he was born of a virgin, that he contended with a serpent, that his life was forfeited in the contest, that he nevertheless trampled upon the head of the poisonous reptile, and that he was a grand universal sacrifice. Several other particulars however yet remain to be accounted for : and this must be done by marking the peculiar characters of Adam, and of Noah, and in an inferior degree of Enoch.

I have just mentioned, that both Adam and Noah are declared to have been types of Christ : and we may safely assert the same of Enoch, both as he was a preacher of righteousness, and as he visibly ascended up to heaven like the human form which Jehovah the Messenger was pleased so frequently to assume. This being the case, there must be a palpable resemblance between these patriarchs and Christ in various characteristic particulars : and, as the patriarchs in question were the undoubted prototypes of the great father of Pagan Theology, it will inevitably follow, that that personage thus constituted could not but bear a striking resemblance to the Messiah whenever he should appear upon earth. For, since it was divinely ordered that Christ should be the antitype of those patriarchs, and since the great father was most undoubtedly a traditional transcript of them, Christ and the great father must necessarily in many points be like to each other ; and this on the common principle, that two things must have a mutual resemblance, if they severally resemble a third thing. The typical analogy between Christ and Noah has been pointed out by Bochart, though he has by no means done it so fully as he might have done. I shall however avail myself of his remarks, adding such others as may be necessary, and including in the comparison both Adam and Enoch.

(1.) Adam was born from the virgin Earth, having God for his father : Christ was born from the virgin Mary, through the miraculous conception of the Holy Ghost. Adam was the husband of the universal great mother Eve : Christ is the husband of the universal great mother the Church ; and the marriage of the former is positively declared to be a type of the spiritual marriage of the latter. Adam was stung to death by the infernal serpent : Christ was stung to death by the same malignant being. Adam finally triumphed over it in the person of the second man, the Lord from heaven : Christ was that second man, destined to repair the error of the first. Adam

was a king and a priest: Christ was a king and a priest. Adam, if we view the antediluvian world, the postdiluvian world, and the future celestial world, as constituting three great days of Jehovah, died on one day, and will rise again from the dead on the third day; when, like the pagan universal father at the close of the same period, he will safely land on the blissful shores of Paradise: Christ was put to death on one day, and rose again triumphant from the grave on the third day after his crucifixion.

(2.) Enoch, like the great father, was a preacher of righteousness; and, like him also, visibly ascended up to heaven: Christ too was a preacher of righteousness; Christ too visibly ascended to heaven from the summit of mount Olivet.

(3.) A similar parallel runs through the character of Noah: and, as it accurately exhibits that of the great father, so it typically shadows out that of Christ. Noah was the parent, the husband, and the son of the Ark; which at once was the great mother of Paganism, and is a declared symbol of the Church. His entrance into it, and his liberation from it, doubly typified the burial and resurrection, and the baptismal submersion and emersion, of Christ: whence these different circumstances are in Holy Writ perpetually spoken of by kindred terms; so that baptism is a death unto sin and a resurrection from the dead, while again the sufferings of our Lord are mystically described as a baptism of which all his apostles were destined to partake¹. Now Christ was buried on one day, and rose again on the third: agreeably to which his type Noah, a year being reckoned for a day, entered into his navicular tomb at the close of one year, remained in it a single year complete, and was liberated from it in the morning of the third year. This shadowed out the future humiliation and triumph of the Redeemer: but it also gave occasion to the imitative rites of Osiris; in which, on the very same ancient principle of figuratively computing years by days, the Egyptian god was placed in his arkite coffin on the evening of one day, was bewailed as dead during the whole of another day, and was rejoiced over as restored to life on the morning of the third day. The libe-

¹ Rom. vi. 2—5, 11. viii. 10—13. Col. iii. 3. 1 Pet. ii. 24. Ephes. v. 14. Col. i. 18. Matt. xx. 22, 23. Mark x. 38, 39. Luke xii. 50. Col. ii. 12.

BOOK VI. ration of Noah from the Ark, or his emerging from the waves of the purifying deluge, was attended by a remarkable circumstance, which entered very prominently into the Mysteries of the Gentiles: I mean the flight of the sacred dove, and its descent upon the now baptized patriarch. This is largely shown by Bochart to have typified the descent of the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove upon our Saviour, when he emerged from the baptismal waters of Jordan; and to have further shadowed out the resting of the same blessed Spirit upon the Church, as the dove rested upon the Ark. He notices also with much propriety, that, as the rainbow (another mysterious symbol among the Gentiles) was the token of God's covenant with Noah; so, with express reference to it, Christ is described in the Apocalypse as sitting upon a throne encompassed by a rainbow¹. It may be added, that Noah was a king, and a priest, and a prophet; that he was pursued by a tremendous enemy, figuratively represented as a great serpent; that he finally prevailed over that enemy, though it first occasioned his mystic death and burial; that, at the period of his new birth from the womb of his virgin mother, he dwelt during his allegorical childhood amidst herds of cattle; that he was an eminent preacher of righteousness to an irreclaimable world; and that, although of a mild and benevolent disposition, he was constrained to assume the stern aspect of a dispenser of God's vengeance and to pour destruction upon all those who were not sheltered by the protecting Ark. In each of these points he resembles the great father, whose character was transcribed from *his* character by the apostate Gentiles: but in each of them he likewise resembles the Messiah, whom he was eminently ordained to typify. Hence we need not wonder at the similarity of Christ to the principal hero-god of the pagans: when traced to its origin, it proves to be nothing more than the inevitable and natural consequence of the mode, in which the idolatry of Babel emanated from ancient Patriarchism.

3. The argument of Mr. Volney, which I have recently had occasion to notice, is plainly built upon the assumption, that either the character of Christ must have been borrowed from that of the great father, or the character of the great father from that of Christ. This assumption being made,

¹ Boch. Hieroz. par. ii. lib. i. c. 6.

the conclusion was sufficiently obvious: the character of the great father existed in the pagan world *previous* to the Christian era; therefore his character could not have been borrowed from that of Christ: but, if it were not borrowed from that of Christ; then the character of Christ must inversely have been borrowed from that of the great father.

Now it will be seen, that, according to the manner in which *I* account for the resemblance between the two characters, I take leave to *deny altogether* the validity of Mr. Volney's *assumption itself*: for I cannot allow, that *either* character has been borrowed from the other.

With this view of the subject the writings of the early Christians exactly agree. So far from any hint being given that the peculiarities of the Gospel were adopted from the speculations of Paganism, St. Paul cautions the believers of his own time, *lest any man should spoil them through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ*: and he elsewhere teaches us, that the philosophy in question was built upon *fables and endless genealogies*; a perfectly accurate description of that pagan theology, which inculcated an eternal succession of similar worlds and an endless transmigratory reappearance of the great father and his triple offspring¹. Accordingly, when the birth of Christ from a virgin is formally declared, we are assured, that this was nothing more than might have been anticipated by every pious member of the Levitical Church; because that wonderful event was the completion of an ancient well-known prophecy, delivered many ages before by Isaiah and then actually existing in the sacred canon². If from the apostles we pass to the early fathers, the same observation will still equally hold good. These all avow the doctrine of Christ's godhead and incarna-

¹ Col. ii. 8, 9. 1 Tim. i. 4.

² Matt. i. 18—25. Luke i. 26—38. The passages, which treat of the incarnation, are to be found in all manuscripts, ancient and modern, Greek and Latin: and they are with one accord cited, as genuine portions of the holy canon, by all the fathers. Hence the heretic Marcion, on whose *single* authority the modern Socinians would reject them, was expressly accused, in the face of the whole Church, by Tertullian, Irenæus, and Philastrius, of mutilating the evangelical record: an accusation, which could never have been brought forward in the second century, unless it had been well known and universally allowed, that the history of the nativity was an authentic part of Holy Writ.

BOOK VI. tion, of his descent from heaven, and of his mysterious birth from a pure virgin: and, while they maintain that this system was held by the apostles, who themselves taught that it had previously been set forth in the Hebrew Scriptures; they confidently appeal to every church for its universality and antiquity. Yet do they all concur in testifying with one mouth against the depraved theology of those first heresies; which they distinctly perceived, and unequivocally declared, to have owed their origin to the philosophy and to the Mysteries of Paganism¹. Now, if these men thus unanimously censured those identical heathen speculations, from which Mr. Volney would persuade us the doctrine of Christ's virgin-birth was received; it is an absolute contradiction to assert, that they were yet indebted to them for that precise doctrine. They themselves, we see, ascribe it to a totally different source: for, while they strenuously maintain its truth; they represent it as no mere novel revelation, but assert it to rest upon ancient prophecies familiar to the whole Jewish people. Christ is the predicted exclusive seed of the woman: Christ is that present God, who was to be conceived and born of a virgin.

We may now therefore very easily account for a circumstance, truly enough stated by Mr. Volney; namely, that, throughout the East, Christ is even to the present day confounded with Fo or Buddha. The votaries of that divinity had long worshipped a god, whom at every descent from heaven they held to be incarnate in a human form, whom they supposed to be born of a virgin, whom they venerated as a benign lawgiver and reformer, and whom they believed to have descended into Hades and to have risen again from the dead and to have ascended into heaven after previously vanquishing the united powers of darkness. Hence when they found the very same opinions entertained respecting Christ, they were immediately led, by the established principles of their theology, to pronounce him one of the many incarnations of their virgin-born Buddha. So that, in fact, the rise of this

¹ Ball's *Judg.* p. 109—123, 141, 163—170, 249, 264—266, 289, 304, 306, 317, 318, 324. Waterland on *Trin.* p. 232, 267, 278, 280, 284, 297, 300, 302, 334, 340, 343, 344, 367, 369. Milner's *Hist. of the Church.* vol. i. p. 154, 159, 175, 177, 193, 148, 238, 239, 249, 289. Tertull. *adv. Marcion.* lib. i. lib. *præscript. c.* 7. lib. *de anim. c.* 23. *Orig. Fragm. de philos.*

philosophical heresy, which has been curiously traced by Mr. Wilford all the way from Palestine to Hindostan, clearly proves, that the doctrine of our Lord's divinity and miraculous conception must have existed in the Church from the very beginning¹. For the heresy itself seems to have arisen even in the apostolic age: and a way was doubtless prepared for it by the report of the Iranian Magi, who had visited the infant Saviour. But no adequate reason can be assigned for its rise, except this: the Buddhists found such a marked similarity between Christ and their own incarnate god, that they immediately pronounced the one to be an Avatar of the other. CHAP. VI.

Thus an insidious attempt of antichristian unbelief is shewn to be completely nugatory: and thus, in every particular, the old theology of the Gentiles is found to bear witness to the truth of Divine Revelation.

¹ *Asiat. Res.* vol. x. p. 27—126.

APPENDIX.

TABLE I.

The early Postdiluvian Chronology, as exhibited in the Hebrew Pentateuch.

GENERATIONS OF PATRIARCHS.

A. P. D.

350	1. Noah dies, aged 950 years.
502	2. Shem dies, aged 600 years.
2	3. Arphaxad born. He has Selah at 35; and lives afterwards 403 years.
440	Arphaxad dies, aged 438 years.
37	4. Selah born. He has Eber at 30; and lives afterwards 403 years.
470	Selah dies, aged 433 years.
67	5. Eber born. He has Peleg at 34; and lives afterwards 450 years.
531	Eber dies, aged 464 years.
101	6. Peleg born. He has Reu at 30; and lives afterwards 209 years.
340	Peleg dies, aged 239 years.
131	7. Reu born. He has Serug at 32; and lives afterwards 207 years.
370	Reu dies, aged 239 years.
163	8. Serug born. He has Nahor at 30; and lives afterwards 200 years.
393	Serug dies, aged 230 years.
193	9. Nahor born. He has Terah at 29; and lives afterwards 119 years.
341	Nahor dies, aged 143 years.
222	10. Terah born. He has Abram at 70; and lives afterwards 135 years.
427	Terah dies, aged 205 years.
292	11. Abram born. He has Isaac at 100; and lives afterwards 75 years.
467	Abraham dies, aged 175 years.
592	12. Isaac born.

TABLE II.

The early Postdiluvian Chronology, as exhibited by the LXX Greek Interpreters.

GENERATIONS OF PATRIARCHS.

A. P. D.

350	1. Noah dies, aged 950 years.
502	2. Shem dies, aged 600 years.
2	3. Arphaxad born. He has Cainan at 135; and lives afterwards 400 years.
537	Arphaxad dies, aged 535 years.
137	4. Caman born. He has Selah at 130; and lives afterwards 330 years.
597	Cainan dies, aged 460 years.
267	5. Selah born. He has Eber at 130; and lives afterwards 330 years.
727	Selah dies, aged 460 years.
397	6. Eber born. He has Peleg at 134; and lives afterwards 270 years.
801	Eber dies, aged 404 years.
531	7. Peleg born. He has Reu at 130; and lives afterwards 209 years.
870	Peleg dies, aged 339 years.
661	8. Reu born. He has Serug at 132; and lives afterwards 207 years.
1000	Reu dies, aged 339 years.
793	9. Serug born. He has Nahor at 160; and lives afterwards 200 years.
1123	Serug dies, aged 330 years.
923	10. Nahor born. He has Terah at 179; and lives afterwards 125 years.
1227	Nahor dies, aged 304 years.
1102	11. Terah born. He has Abram at 70; and lives afterwards 205 years.
1377	Terah dies, aged 275 years.
1172	12. Abram born. He has Isaac at 100; and lives afterwards 75 years.
1347	Abraham dies, aged 175 years.
1272	13. Isaac born.

TABLE III.

The early Postdiluvian Chronology, as exhibited in the Samaritan Pentateuch.

GENERATIONS OF PATRIARCHS.

A. P. D.	
350	1. Noah dies, aged 950 years.
502	2. Shem dies, aged 600 years.
2	3. Arphaxad born. He has Selah at 135; and lives afterwards 303 years.
440	Arphaxad dies, aged 438 years.
137	4. Selah born. He has Eber at 130; and lives afterwards 303 years.
570	Selah dies, aged 433 years.
267	5. Eber born. He has Peleg at 134; and lives afterwards 270 years.
671	Eber dies, aged 404 years.
401	6. Peleg born. He has Reu at 130; and lives afterwards 109 years.
640	Peleg dies, aged 239 years.
531	7. Reu born. He has Serug at 132; and lives afterwards 107 years.
770	Reu dies, aged 239 years.
663	8. Serug born. He has Nahor at 130; and lives afterwards 100 years.
893	Serug dies, aged 250 years.
793	9. Nahor born. He has Terah at 79; and lives afterwards 69 years.
941	Nahor dies, aged 148 years.
872	10. Terah born. He has Abram at 70; and lives afterwards 75 years.
1017	Terah dies, aged 145 years.
942	11. Abram born. He has Isaac at 100; and lives afterwards 75 years.
1117	Abraham dies, aged 175 years.
1042	12. Isaac born.

TABLE IV.

The 511 Years of the Pallid or Pastoral Tyranny in Egypt, as specified by Manetho, subdivided into their minor constituent Periods.

PERIODS.	YEARS.
I. The domination of the first dynasty of Shepherd-kings, commencing in the sixth year before the birth of Abraham, and terminating with their expulsion from Auaris or Goshen	} 260
II. The period between their expulsion and the arrival of Joseph.....	15
III. The residence of Joseph in Egypt before the descent of Jacob and his family	} 21
IV. The sojourning of the Israelites in Egypt from the descent of Jacob, until the rise of the new king that knew not Joseph	} 109
V. The domination of the second dynasty of Shepherd-kings, commencing 37 years after the death of Joseph and his brethren and all that generation, and terminating with the Exodus of Israel	} 106
	511
VI. An additional period, procured from Manetho's numbers, between the breaking of the Pastoral tyranny in the Red sea and the emigration of the Danai into Greece. During this period, Egypt is gradually evacuated by those bands of foreigners mentioned by Diodorus and Tacitus; the Danai being the last of the pastoral race, that were expelled by the native Mizraim.....	} 89. 5 m.
	600. 5 m.

TABLE V.

A chronological View of the different historical Matters treated of in the course of this Work.

A. P. D.	A. A. C.	EVENTS.
2	2936	Arphaxad born.
		Parallel generation with Arphaxad. } Shemites { Elam, Ashur, Lud, Aram. } Japhetites { Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, Tiras. } Hammites { Cush, Mizr, Phut, Canaan.
137	2801	Selah born.
		Shemite-Arameans { Uz, Hul, Gether, Mash. Japhetic-Gomerians { Ashkenaz, Riphath, Togarmah. Japhetic-Javanites { Elishah, Tarshish, Dodanim.
		Parallel generation with Selah. } Hammite-Cushim { Sebah, Havilah, Sabtah, Raamah, Sabtecha, Nimrod or Nimrod appears to have been the child of his father's old age: he synchronizes therefore with a later generation, though in point of descent he belongs to this. } Hammite-Mizraim { Lud, Anan, Lehab, Naphtuh, Pathrus, Casluh, Caphtor. } Hammite-Canaanites { Sidon, Heth, Jebus, Amor, Girgas, Hivi, Arki, Sini, Arvad, Zemar, Hamath.
267	2671	Eber born.
		Parallel generation with Eber. } Hammite-Cuthic-Raamites { Sheba, Dedan.
350	2588	Noah dies.
401	2557	Peleg born.
		Parallel generation with Peleg. } Shemite-Arphaxadite-Selhite-Eberite { Joktan.
440	2498	Arphaxad dies.
502	2436	Shem dies: and about the same time we may place the deaths of Ham and Japhet.
531	2407	Reu born.
		Parallel generation with Reu. } Shemite-Arphaxadite-Selhite-Eberite-Joktanites. { Almodad, Sheleph, Hazarmaveth, Jarah, Hadoram, Uzal, Diklah, Obal, Abimael, Sheba, Ophir, Havilah, Jobab.
559	2379	Emigration of mankind from Armenia in one great body under the influence of Nimrod and the Cuthim. Descent of Justin's Scythim from the Armenian Caucasus.
570	2368	Selah dies.

A. P. D.	A. A. C.	EVENTS.
613	2325	Rise of the Cuthic or Scuthic empire at Babel under Nimrod, the first Ninus or Belus: which, under two successive kindred dynasties jointly styled in the Persian annals <i>the Mahabadian dynasty</i> , possesses the sovereignty of middle Asia during 1495 years or in a round number 15 centuries.
630	2308	About this time, the dispersion of mankind from Babel occurs, which Peleg just lives to see; his thirteen nephews by his <i>younger</i> brother Joktan being now heads of separate families, agreeably to Gen. x. 25—30.
634	2304	About this time, Nimrod, having gone forth out of Shinar into the land of Ashur, founds Nineveh on Nin's town; which he so calls from his own name Nin or Ninus. Gen. x. 9—11.
640	2298	Peleg dies, having witnessed the division of the earth in consequence of the dispersion, agreeably to the prophetic intimation conveyed by his name. Gen. x. 25.
663	2275	Serug born.
671	2267	Eber dies.
770	2168	Reu dies.
793	2145	Nahor born.
803	2135	End of the first Cuthico-Assyrian dynasty, which commenced with Nimrod or the first Ninus; its duration being 190 years—Rise of the second Cuthico-Assyrian dynasty with the second Ninus, the duration of which is 1305 years. Here, in the days of Serug, terminates the original Scuthic succession and Scuthic name: a new dynasty, most probably in a younger branch of the house of Nimrod, obtaining the throne of Iran; and the old Scuthic title being almost entirely superseded by the Assyrian—Conquest of the low country of Babylonia by the Arabian or Phœnician kings; who had previously descended from the Indian Caucasus, following the course of the river Sindh until they reached the shores of the Erythræan sea. These are said by Diodorus to have been the allies of the second Ninus: so that he seems to have rebelled against the last prince of the original Cuthic house, to have called in the Phœnician Shepherds to his aid, and to have rewarded them with the maritime provinces round the head of the Persian gulph which apparently adhered to the old dynasty. Here the pastoral warriors reign, acknowledging perhaps the feudal superiority of the Assyrian emperor, for the space of 215 years—About this time, we may conceive the Scuthic Shepherds of Touran to begin to push westward and to form settlements round the Euxine sea: whence, under the name of <i>Pelasgi</i> or <i>Palli</i> or <i>Bolgs</i> or <i>Belge</i> , they gradually forced themselves into Greece, the Greek islands, Asia minor, Germany, Italy, western Gaul, Scandinavia, south-eastern Britain and perhaps Ireland.
872	2066	Terah born.
893	2045	Serug dies, having witnessed the end of the original Scuthic name and succession—About this time, a great branch of the Indian Palli or Phœnician Shepherds leave their settlements in Babylonia and round the head of the Persian gulph, advance westward round the Arabian desert, and enter into the land of Canaan from the north. Here they become the parents of the maritime Phœnicians, the Anakim, the Perizzim, and the

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		Rephaim; who, from their lofty Scythian stature and superior military prowess, were, in a succeeding age, viewed by the terrified Israelites as a race of giants.
936	2002	The Cuthic Phenicians, having marched through the whole length of the land of Canaan, invade Egypt under the name of Palli or Philistim or Huc-Sos or Ethiopic Shepherd-kings—They make the land of Goshen or Auaris their strong hold.
941	1997	Nahor dies.
942	1996	Abraham born, 6 years after the invasion of Egypt by the Shepherds.
1003	1935	Abraham emigrates from Ur of the Babylonian Chusdim to Haran, 14 years (according to Hales) before he emigrates from Haran to the land of Canaan. By this providential arrangement, he and his family are withdrawn from the troubles, which must have occurred in Chaldæa when the military dynasty of the Phenician Shepherds from upper India were compelled to abdicate—Of this emigration from Chaldæa, with the subsequent arrival of Abraham's posterity in Egypt and their being concerned in building the pyramids, the Hindoos possess no inaccurate tradition. After the building of the first Padma-Mandir or the Babylonian tower on the banks of the Euphrates, certain children of Sharma or Shem arrived, after a long journey, on the banks of the Nile. Here they raised a lofty pyramid of earth, in professed imitation of the original Asiatic Padma-Mandir.
1012	1926	Chedorlaomer and other vassals of the great Iranian empire, whose feudatory principalities lay in Aram, subjugate the petty kings of Canaan.
1017	1921	Terah dies—Abraham leaves Haran, and emigrates into the land of Canaan.
1018	1920	End of the Arabian or Cuthico-Phenician dynasty in Babylonia, at the close of 215 years after its commencement. It was subverted no doubt by the head of the Iranian or Cuthico-Assyrian empire, now extending itself in every direction.
1025	1913	The petty kings of Canaan revolt from Chedorlaomer and his co-estates.
1026	1912	Chedorlaomer and his co-estates attack and completely rout the Canaanitish kings; smiting, at the same time, the Rephaim, the Zuzim, and other tribes of the giant or Scythic race—This occasions the jealousy of their brethren, the Shepherd-kings of Egypt: who accordingly, as we learn from Manetho, carefully fortified their eastern frontier; lest the Assyrians or Cuthic Iranians, then lords of Asia, should invade them—Abraham, with only 318 men, overtakes and defeats Chedorlaomer and the other vassals of Iran on their return northward into Aram.
1041	1897	Destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah—Abraham, who flourished in the tenth generation after the flood as Noah did in the tenth generation after the creation, is thence venerated by the Cuthic Phenicians as an incarnation or periodical Avatar of the great transmigrating father Il or Buddha.
1042	1896	Isaac born—Abraham, in the south of the land of Canaan, converses with Abimelech, a feudatory prince of the Philistim or Palli or Shep-

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		herds; whose strong hold was Anaris on the eastern bank of the Nile: whither, accordingly, Abimelech returns at the close of the conference. Gen. xxi. 22—34.
1082	1856	Isaac marries Rebekah—About this time, African Ethiopia or Cushadwip without is planted by a colony of the Shepherd-kings from Egypt. These colonists are the blameless Ethiopians of Homer: and, from the circumstance of the hero-gods being said to visit them, we may infer, that they were chiefly of the sacerdotal caste; who, wearied with the turbulent scenes exhibited in lower Egypt, retired into the Thebais and thence into Abyssinia.
1102	1836	Jacob and Esau born.
1117	1821	Abraham dies, 477 years after the death of Peleg.
1179	1759	Jacob flees to Haran, through fear of his brother Esau.
1196	1742	Expulsion of the first dynasty of the Shepherd-kings of Egypt by the native Mizraim. They retire in Palestine after reigning in Egypt 260 years.
1199	1739	Jacob returns with his family into the land of Canaan.
1211	1727	Joseph is sold into Egypt, then 17 years old and upwards. Gen. xxxvii. 2.
1222	1716	Isaac dies.
1224	1714	Joseph stands before Pharaoh, then 30 years old and upwards. Gen. xli. 46—Commencement of the 7 years of plenty.
1231	1707	Commencement of the 7 years of famine.
1232	1706	Jacob and his family descend into Egypt, during the second year of famine, when as yet 5 full years remain to be completed. Gen. xlv. 6—They are placed in Goshen or Anaris, now standing vacant by the expulsion of the Shepherd-kings.
1237	1701	The last year of famine.
1249	1689	Jacob dies, having resided 17 years in Egypt, at the age of 147 years. Gen. xlvii. 28.
1304	1634	Joseph dies, at the age of 110 years. Gen. l. 22.
1311	1597	The Shepherd-kings return from Palestine into Egypt, and found a second pastoral dynasty—The new king or regal sovereignty rises up, that knew not Joseph; when all the brethren of that patriarch, and all the men of his generation were dead. Exod. i. 6, 8—The servitude of Israel and (according to Herodotus and Manetho) of the native Mizraim commences, in the course of which the pyramids are built—The king of the native Mizraim, with the priests, the sacred animals, and a considerable body of his subjects, takes refuge among the friendly Cutthic Shepherds of African Ethiopia.
1346	1592	Amram marries Jochebed.
1347	1591	Miniam born.
1364	1574	Aaron born, previous to the edict relative to the destruction of the Israhelish male children.
1366	1572	Pharaoh decrees, that all the new-born male children of the Israelites shall be cast into the river.
1367	1571	Moses born, exposed in an ark, watched by his sister then a young woman, and preserved by Pharaoh's daughter.

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1407	1531	Moses flees into the land of Midian.
1447	1491	Moses and Aaron stand before Pharaoh; the one being then 80, and the other 83, years of age. <i>Exod. vii. 7</i> —Plagues of Egypt—Exodus of Israel—Pharaoh and the flower of his pastoral chivalry are drowned in the Red sea—The final expulsion of the Shepherds by the native Mizraim commences, at the close of 511 years from their original invasion of Egypt: their first dynasty having reigned 260 years; their second dynasty, according to Herodotus and Eusebius verified by Scripture, having reigned 106 years; and a period of 145 years having elapsed between their first expulsion and their return, during the greatest part of which the captive or leprous or Israelitish Shepherds occupy the land of Goshen or Auaris—A large body of the Shepherd-kings march back into the southern parts of the land of Canaan: where, joining their brethren the Anakim and other tribes of the Indo-Scythic stock, they push northward along the sea-coast; and, under the name of <i>Philistim</i> or <i>Palistim</i> or <i>Shepherds</i> , are for many years formidable to the commonwealth of Israel—During the next 89 years, the pastoral kings are gradually expelled by the Mizraim; first one tribe being driven out, and then another. They retire to Phenicia, Greece, Colchis, the mouths of the river Tanais, Mauritania, and the northern sea-coast of Africa.
1448	1490	The Israelites are terrified by the report of the spies, who give a formidable account of the gigantic stature of the Cuthic Anakim now rendered yet more powerful by the accession of the Shepherds or Philistim from Egypt.
1487	1451	The Israelites enter the land of Canaan, 40 years after the Exodus.
1525	1413	Cushan-Rishathaim, king of the Mesopotamian Aram and a potent vassal of the great Iranian empire, reduces Israel to subjection; in pursuance of the policy, which had been adopted so early as the days of Chedorlaomer.
1536	1402	The expulsion of the Shepherd-kings from Egypt is completed by the retiring of the Danai into Greece, who bring with them the worship of the ship Argo or Argha.
1938	1000	Solomon extends his dominions from the frontiers of Egypt to the great river Euphrates, agreeably to the promise of God made to Abraham. <i>Gen. xv. 18. 1 Kings iv. 1 Kings iv. 21</i> —This was effected, in the course of divine providence, by the gradual decay of the Cuthico-Assyrian empire of Iran now hastening to its dissolution. The Euphrates therefore, at the present period, was the boundary of the two empires of Israel and Iran.
2054	884	About this time, Hazael becomes king of the maritime Aram, having been previously anointed to the office by Elijah during the life-time of his master and predecessor Benhadad. <i>1 Kings xix. 15</i> . This action of the prophet shews, that Aram was now an independent kingdom, its sovereign no longer receiving his investiture from the head of the declining empire of Aram.
2108	830	Dissolution of the Cuthico-Assyrian empire 1405 years after its commencement at Babel—Rise of the Assyrian kingdom; and commence-

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		ment of the third Assyrian dynasty with the third Ninus, whom Justin has confounded with the second Ninus.
2111	827	First Median revolt, and commencement of the anarchical interregnum.
2112	826	Admonitory denunciation of Jonah to the revolutionized Ninevites under the third Ninus, shortly after the dissolution of the Cuthico-Assyrian empire.
2117	821	Commencement of the independent kingdom of Media under the dynasty of the Arbacidæ, which led the way to the general revolt.
2127	811	Commencement of the independent kingdom of Persia under the Pishadian dynasty, on the extinction of the great Mahabadian or Cuthico-Assyrian dynasty which had previously ruled over all Iran. This perhaps ought to be placed a few years higher, yet so as to succeed the Median revolt in A. A. C. 827.
2191	747	Era of Nabonassar—Division of the Assyrian kingdom into the two kingdoms of Assyria and Babylon, the latter however apparently dependent upon the former.
2212	726	Accession of Shalmaneser—About this time, Media, either wholly or partially, is reduced under the Assyrian yoke: for, almost immediately afterwards, A. A. C. 721 or 719, Shalmaneser places the captive Israelites in the cities of the Medes, as if to supply the depopulation or emigration produced by his conquest of the country. 2 Kings xvii. 9.
2227	711	Sennacherib's miraculous overthrow, and subsequent assassination.
2228	710	Accession of Esar-Haddon—Second Median revolt, which is the natural consequence of Sennacherib's disaster.
2368	570	Nebuchadnezzar becomes the second founder of Babylon.

TABLE VI.

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