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L E T T E R
T O
D^r M E A D
C O N C E R N I N G
S O M E
A N T I Q U I T I E S
I N
B E R K S H I R E,

Particularly shewing that The WHITE HORSE,
which gives name to the Vale, is a Monument
of the West-Saxons, made in memory of a great
Victory obtained over the Danes A. D. 871.

By FRANCIS WISE B.D. Fell. of Trin. Coll. Oxon.

O X F O R D,

Printed for *Thomas Wood* at the University Printing-House,
MDCCXXXVIII.

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T O
D^r M E A D.

SIR,

I SHALL make no Apology, for what is contained in the following sheets, nor for the method which I have taken, of introducing them to the publick. To restore things lost to their proper owners, is an act of justice; and the subject, I flatter myself, will be a reasonable excuse for the liberty, which I have taken, in addressing them to one, who from being the greatest master, is become the greatest patron, of ancient learning, that the present age can boast of.

The new light, which almost every branch of learning has received from the labours of our countrymen, to the no small credit of this nation abroad, must be acknowledged to be chiefly owing to the encouragement, and direction, which you have been pleased to give to persons of genius, and application. But the particular honour which you claim, is, That, in conformi-

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ty to your illustrious patterns, Varro and Atticus, after being thoroughly versed in all the learning of other nations, you have not thought it beneath you, to search into the antiquities of your own. Agreeing in this with Tully, ^a“That the knowledge “of ones own country, is necessary to compleat the character of “a scholar.”

The study of our national antiquities has till of late wanted the encouragement, which it deserved. We have delighted, after the example of our barbarous ancestors, the Northern nations, in wandering about, and in seeking adventures in foreign lands, without attempting to cultivate, and enrich our own; which having perpetually been the scene of important actions in great variety from the earliest times, would have produced, an incredible store of literature, and so much the more deserving our pains, as it more nearly concerns us. Every science has it's discouragements, and none perhaps more than that of Antiquities. The paths are frequently untrod, either leading over dry and barren desarts, or through the perplexities of woods and coverts. Some who have no taste for this sort of learning, and are therefore not well affected to it, have, from the uncertainty there is in many things, concluded nothing certain; and from a few instances of persons, who have been bewildered, and lost, in this journey, would fain dissuade all others from entering upon it.

The dislike often expressed to the study of Antiquities, might however more easily be born, if it proceeded only from those, who are at enmity with learning in general: for Ignorance is interested to have perpetual bickerings with science. But to hear this sort of Learning decried by gentlemen well versed in other

^a *Tibi quidem nulli satis eruditi videntur, quibus nostra ignota sunt.* Cicero de Fin. Lib. 1.

branches of knowledge, is to *Receive wounds in the house of our friends*. The genius of men is by the author of nature wonderfully diversified, and prepared for different enquiries; and though learned men take different paths, they all agree in the pursuit after truth. And if there are some who can see no beauty, but in what themselves are in love with, yet it would be much to the credit of their good breeding, if they would treat with civility, what may appear to them less agreeable.

But the great deference and regard, which the most elegant and polite times have always paid to this study, and the high ^a encomiums, which they have been pleased to bestow upon it, are a sufficient answer to all cavils whatsoever. As on the contrary, it may be said, that the darkest and most illiterate, confessedly so, were those, which discarded ancient History, and thereby lost their best and surest guide. So that the present age, notwithstanding all it's boasted light and knowledge, should it run into a contempt of Antiquity, would want one of the most infallible characteristicks of learning, and true politeness.

There is indeed less reason every day to fear, that the nation in general should become liable to this imputation. The new edition of that immortal work *The Britannia*, so adorned throughout, by the labours of it's Right Reverend and very learned translator, and others, seems to have inspired our natives with a new desire, of prying more closely into our remotest antiquities. This disposition has been cherished in them, by the countenance and example of persons of distinction, and of none so much as

^a *Vetera Majestas quedam, & ut sic dixerimus, Religio commendat. Quintil. Instit. Veterina quæque, (ut ea vana, quæ vetustatem ferunt) esse debent suavissima. Cicero de Amicitia c. 19. Afferit Vetustas omnibus in rebus longinqua observatione incredibilem scientiam. Idem de Divinat. Lib. 1. 49. Et primum quidem omni antiquitate; quæ, quo propius aberat ab ortu & divina progenie, hoc melius ea fortasse, quæ erant vera, cernebat. Idem Tusc. Quæst. Lib. 1. c. 12. Nescire quid, antea quam natus sis, acciderit, id est semper esse puerum. Idem de Orat.*

yourself. Young gentlemen have been taught, to reckon this study amongst their chiefest personal accomplishments. A Society of Antiquaries has been formed, whose united endeavours, promise not only, to bring to light thousands of new particulars, relating to our English History, but to correct the falsties of as many old ones.

The fruits of this establishment are already visible to every one, who is in the least conversant with these matters. I shall therefore only add, that, with submission I think, it might still be made more useful, if some of the most knowing members would form themselves into small parties, each party at their leisure undertaking a distinct province, and in the nature of a travelling Committee, inspecting one or more Counties; in order to give directions for such enquiries, as shall be thought proper to be made, and to receive informations, not from the vulgar inhabitants alone, but from gentlemen of learning and curiosity, of which sort, I presume, every County will afford many.

From this new face of affairs have proceeded those surprizing discoveries, which, without derogating from Mr Camden's merit, may be said to give a new lustre to the History of this Isle. Allowing him to be stiled the Father of Antiquaries; his book, *"The Common Sun at which all others have lighted their little torches:* yet it must be owned, that his Successors have made so good use of the light, which they have borrowed from him, that they have in some cases even seen farther than himself. This is apparent to any one who considers only the abovementioned additions to the Britannia, without any of those useful discoveries made since by later writers.

^a See Bp Nicolson's Historical Library.

It may not be foreign to my present purpose to instance briefly in the several periods of our more early History and Antiquities; and to consider, what further use may still be made of them. If any part was obscure, the British must have been remarkably so: the times preceding Julius Cæsar's invasion being a dark, and impenetrable, wild, without letters, and almost without monuments, save what later antiquaries have discovered to belong to it. Since Cæsar's time the affairs of this Island are indeed scattered up and down in the Roman Historians, but merely with a view to illustrate their own actions. Mr Camden has ranged the first inhabitants in order by their ancient names, according to Cæsar, Tacitus, Ptolemy and others; but to settle their boundaries with tolerable exactness, seems a task reserved for the present times. The rites and customs of the Druids have been traced out more curiously than heretofore. Stonehenge in Wiltshire the most talked of monument of this class in the Island, is mentioned by Camden without accounting for the true meaning of it; for now, I presume, it is universally allowed to be a British Temple. The more remarkable, as well as the more ancient, one at ^a Abery, or Avebury, in the same County, was not, if I remember right, discovered till after Mr Camden's death. Roll-richestones by ^b Camden thought to be a Danish monument, is now reckoned amongst this sort: of all which and more, we may expect still a much better account, from a very learned and celebrated ^c pen. So that upon the whole, I cannot think that any branch of our Antiquities has received greater ^d improvements than this.

British Antiquities.

^a See a Description of this by the Rev. Mr T. Twining. 4to. Lond. 1723. The author of which has endeavoured unsuccessfully, to prove it a work of the Romans. ^b In Oxfordshire. ^c Dr Stukely. See the Preface to his *Itinerarium Curiosum*. Fol. Lond. 1724. ^d See Mr Aubrey's and Mr Edw. Lhwyd's *Additions to the Britannia*, and MSS. Collections.

Roman. The Roman Remains in this Isle, by which I understand, those too of the Britains Latinized, vastly exceed the bounds of Mr Camden's design; and can never be sufficiently accounted for by a single person, even of the greatest abilities. The Itinerary of Antoninus was his chief guide; and the use, he made of it, was prodigious; but this has been observed to be *an endless fund of enquiry*, where any one is at liberty to form conjectures, and by virtue of which, several authors have attempted new schemes, and sometimes, not without good reason, have ventured to differ from him. The anonymous geographer of ^b Ravenna was not discovered in his time, who has very much assisted the learned of this age in their enquiries. The course of the Roman roads has been more accurately surveyed. Their Camps, Barrows, Amphitheatres, Walls, Stations, with towns of less note, will find sufficient employment for all the antiquaries of our times, and, for ought I know, of several Centuries hereafter. ^cMr Horsey's book it must be acknowledged is a noble supplement to the *Britannia*; but I expect to see his design enlarged, to twice the bulk of the present Volume. If I may be allowed to make any judgment from what has fallen in my own way, There are remains not yet taken notice of, sufficient to make good, even more than I assert. If such a Committee, as I just now mentioned, was formed for these parts, I myself, whose travels have rarely exceeded the neighbourhood of Oxfordshire, and who have as seldom went out of my road upon this errand, will undertake to direct them to no less than three Roman towns with sufficient remains, (one

Etions. Mr Rowland's *Mona Antiqua Restaurata*. 4to. Dublin. 1723. Mr Baxter's *Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum*. 8vo. Lond. 1719. ^a Dr Stukely *Itin. Cur.* Pag. 169. ^b *Anonymi Ravennatis Geographiæ Lib. V. cum notis Placidi Porcheron*. 8vo. Paris. 1688. ^c *Britannia Romana*. Fol. Lond. 1732.

of which too may justly challenge the name of a city, and which I suspect to be the true BRANAVIS of Ravennas) not taken notice of by Mr Camden, Dr Plot, Bp Kennet or Dr Stukely, and this in a corner of that County, which seems to have been travelled over by all of them.

Here I cannot but observe, that the study of this branch of our antiquities is not only entertaining, but vastly useful and improving; as it insensibly leads us to an acquaintance with the affairs and customs of the greatest conquerors, that ever gave laws to mankind. I need not mention the pleasure which arises in the breast of every generous antiquary, upon surveying the ruined mansions of this venerable people: “For whether it be a weakness arising from nature or mistake; it is certain, that we are often more sensibly affected with the sight of the places where they lived, than even with a relation of the great actions performed by them.” To this we may add the particular pleasure which this period ought to afford to every English mind, in beholding our Countrymen laid under a greater tie than that of arms, namely of duty and gratitude to their conquerors. To see the Island, as it were, emerging out of barbarity, and improving in all the Roman arts of politeness, and civility. To view its woody dens and caverns changed into buildings of the best taste, and most exquisite workmanship; its wild and uncultivated deserts, into regular pasturage, and all the beautiful scenes of agriculture; Manufactures of the most useful kinds every day introduced; Commerce promoted; and in short the whole nation taught how to value, and improve, its riches. This, I say, to a mind sincerely affected with the love

a Natura nobis hoc datum, an errore quodam, ut cum ea loca videamus, in quibus memoria dignos viros acceperimus multos esse versatos, magis moveamur, quam si quando eorum ipsorum, aut facta audiamus, aut scriptum aliquod legamus. Cicero de Fin. Lib. IV.

of ones country, is a prospect of the highest delight and complacency.

Saxon and Danish. Notwithstanding the warlike genius of the Saxons; they did not want, after a time, a disposition to learning, in order to preserve the great actions of their ancestors. And here our History may be said to begin; we having nothing that can with propriety be called such, before this period. But the byas in them to superstition, which prevailed not only here, but over all Europe, for four or five centuries together, has in great measure deprived us, of the good use, that might otherwise have been made of their talents. The lives of their Saints with a long detail of their ^a miracles, which were now grown so common that they almost ceased to be such, left no other employment for their best wits. This is particularly to be lamented in the case of Bede; His subject, the affairs of the Church, naturally led him to this way of writing; to prostitute his pen to the humour of the age, by delivering down for fact, what he seems scarce to have believed himself. For tho' ^b he professeth to write nothing, without the warrant of tradition, and common fame; yet at the same time he bespeaks his reader's pardon, for what should be found contrary to truth in his history. Had he attempted the civil History of this nation, upon the plan of the Greek and Roman Historians; or had he undertaken a compleat History of the World upon the same model, (for what was he not capable of undertaking?) I doubt not but his performance, would have succeeded, as well

^a *Qualis fuit istorum temporum Theologia, talis & Historia. Nam in Historicis monumentis, miracula ut plurimum utramque paginam conficiebant, vel à Sanctis vel ab imaginibus, vel à reliquiis edita.* Casaubon. Proleg. in Exercit. in Baron. ^b *Lectorem suppliciter obsecro, ut si qua in his que scripsimus, aliter quam se veritas habet, postea repererit, non hoc nobis impuet; qui (quæ vera lex Historiæ est,) simpliciter ea que fama vulgante collegimus, ad instructionem posteritatis, literis mandare studuimus.* Ep. Præf. ad Hist. Eccl.

as could have been wished, and have been admired with the most finished writings of the ancients.

Besides Bede's history, we have written ^a accounts of these times in their original language, and delivered too in Chronological order, which renders them highly useful, and makes ^a amendments, for the style and narration, which, it must be confessed, are rude, and unadorned. The learned world is infinitely obliged to the Right Reverend and learned Prelate ^a abovementioned, who has taken the pains to make them appear in a new, and much better, dress, than Mr Camden could possibly know them in. The Customs, as well as the Monuments and Language of this period, have likewise received very great light from the labours of ^b Dr Hicke, who is characterized by the best judge of these matters (and who has himself made considerable improvements in them) as ^c *Incomparably the greatest Master of his subject, that ever yet appeared in print.*

Those swarms of Northern Pirates, that infested the Western parts of Europe, whom Asser calls Pagans, later Historians by the particular name of *Danes*, began about the latter end of the Eighth, or beginning of the Ninth, century, to gain settlements in this Island. From this time their affairs are so intermixt with the Saxon, that they make but one history.

Here then, it must be owned, notwithstanding all the discoveries hitherto made, is still left a large field for the antiquary to expatiate in. Here we are to search for the form of our Constitution in Church and State; the original of our Laws: the old Geography of the Island; with every other useful particular. The materials, it is true, are coarse, but an elegant structure may yet be raised out of them. We must indeed be con-

^a *Annales Saxonici.* 4to. Oxon. 1692. ^b *Thesaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium.* Fol. 3 Vol. Oxon. 1733. ^c Bp Nicolson in his *Historical Library.*

tent, to be ignorant, for the most part, of the secret springs of actions, and other beauties, which frequently embellish a regular History. We must be content too, if we find the narration so confused, that we are now and then left to guess at the event of a battle; and sometimes, though the story be ever so circumstantially related, if the obsolete names of places, and persons, leave us as much to enquire, where, and by whom, it was fought. Yet in spite of all these defects, not only the learned, but every common reader, may here discover things enough well worth his observation, and which may be of service to inform his mind, and improve his conduct; which ought to be the end of all study. In the histories both of Saxon, and Danish, Kings, we meet with some great examples of wisdom, fortitude, justice, and clemency; that at this distance, and through such a bad medium, we may yet perceive, deserved at least, to be transmitted to posterity with more advantage: and amongst the former, One, whom I shall never be afraid to compare with the greatest names of Antiquity. You will easily perceive I mean King Alfred.

King Alfred. A Prince designed, as it were, by providence for this Period, to rescue a nation abandoned to ignorance and sloth, and lost to every virtue. One that wanted no qualification, that could render him beloved by his subjects, and dreaded by his enemies. Under a sickly frame of body, enjoying an active, and vigorous, mind, fitted to animate every spring, and movement, in the machine of government. The first who taught us to exert the natural strength of the Island, in large fleets of the best contrived vessels: a policy which succeeding princes have constantly thought worthy of imitation and improvement. By this means guarding against danger from without, whilst he had the most bloody enemies, that ever invaded

vaded this land, to contend with, in the very bowels of the kingdom. His life was almost one continued struggle for the liberties of his people, against the incroachments of these intruders. In this cause, we see him, as every opportunity offered, exposing his person, with a courage not to be parallel'd, and hardly to be excused from the charge of rashness. Frequently with a handful of troops, the dispirited remains of a broken kingdom, attacking large armies of veterans, inured to war and slaughter. Under these disadvantages, sometimes indeed beaten, but oftner victorious; especially when years, and experience, had taught him the right use of his courage. In the intervals of peace, and even in the midst of war, assiduous in promoting every art, that can strengthen and adorn a government. By his own example, training the stout and robust to all the hardy exercises of the field; the more tender and delicate constitutions, noble and ignoble, to the study of the Sciences, and Arts, both liberal and mechanical; thus leaving no individual useless to the State. Protecting the whole body, in a manner agreeable to the rest of his character, by an impartial benevolence towards all his subjects, that brightest jewel of a crown! and by a steady administration of justice, providing for the security of the weakest, against the insults of the most powerful. In his private life, not taxed by Historians with any vice; a tender husband, and parent; the friend, and companion, of men of letters; learned, affable, generous; and, to conclude all, eminently pious: a particular not to be omitted, though I am but too sensible, to how small a share of merit it will entitle him with the present age.

Had it pleased the great ruler of all things to spare his life, till he had arrived to the common age of man; he might, in all probability, have settled the nation in flourishing and lasting peace:

peace: for though he did not utterly extirpate the Danes, yet he reduced them to obedience whilst he lived; and left them after his death, an easier conquest to his Son: the good effects of whose wisdom and valour the English might long have enjoyed, had not the measure of their iniquities been compleat. For the unnatural divisions, which soon after prevailed amongst them, fomented by ambition, treachery, and the whole train of publick vices, which portend the downfall of a State, delivered them up at length, as a prey to their invaders.

Affer's Life of Alfred. A life so full of great events, and so calculated for the benefit of mankind, as Alfred's was, providence took care should not be lost: but in a manner so singular, that nothing deserves our admiration more. That among all the learned of his own subjects, no one should be found willing to do him this service; but that a stranger in a manner, taken from amongst the King's enemies, a people of the most notorious hatred to the Saxon name, (for such at that time were the Welch, and continue so to this day) that such an one only should undertake to give us the Portraiture of this great King, is not a little surprizing. He has performed it too, beyond what might have been expected from the rudeness of that age. For though it must be confessed, that the colouring is mean, if compared with that of politer times, yet the lines are strong, and the likeness withal so well preserved, that they convey to us an image of the most perfect monarch, that ever adorned the English throne.

Affer's History then is the original, from whence succeeding historians have taken their several copies. And I am almost perswaded, that, excepting in the last six or seven years of his life, (for Affer brings it no lower) whatever strokes they have given him, which are not to be found in this, may be deemed extraneous and

and false, or at least doubtful and inauthentick. For this reason, I cannot but distrust some remarkable particulars of his life, though deliver'd by authors of good note and antiquity. ^a The story of his hanging up Fourty four Judges in one year, does not seem consistent with the character of his lenity, given by Affer: that he might displace so many, is much more probable. Affer mentions nothing of his getting acquainted with the posture of the Danes, under the disguise of a minstrel, which gained him the battle of Edingdon; for which reason, though it be related by ^b Ingulfus, I can scarcely give more credit to it, than to another story of him, viz. ^c His posing the Abbot of Canterbury with Three Questions, seemingly unanswerable.

At the same time I cannot but lament the loss of some memorials, which possibly might have *Other Memorials of him.* contributed towards giving us a clearer view of him. If after the examples of Alexander and Cæsar, he wrote *Commentaries of his own wars*, in the Saxon language, (as the ^d Chronicle published by Caxton seems to assert, and such a sort of book ^e John Fox the Martyrologist says he had seen) the loss of them is not to be estimated. Doubtless of a Prince, so well beloved by his subjects, there were Traditions also remaining for several ages afterwards; especially among the inhabitants of Somersetsshire, Wiltshire, and Hampshire, once the relicks of

^a This is told, with a particular mention of their crimes, by Andrew Horne in his *Mirror of Justices*, which book, written in French, is thought to be as old, as the time of Edward I. ^b *Ingulf. Hist.* p. 26. ^c He is the person meant by King Ostry in the original ballad; tho' more modern bards have transferred the Story to King John. See *A Collection of Old Ballads*. 3 Voll. 8vo. Lond. 1723. Vol. 2. pag. 50. ^d *This King Alured was a good clerc, and let make many bokes, and a boke he made in Englyshe of adventures of Kinges, and of batayles, that had been done in the lond.* ^e *He* [Alfred] also himself compiled a Story in the same [Saxon] speech, called THE STORIE OF ALFRED, which both books I have seen, though the language I do not understand. Martyrol. Vol. 1. p. 186.

his kingdom, the places of his residence, and the scenes of some of his greatest actions. The Historian of Malmesbury says, *"in his time the people used to shew the places where he had been worsted and distressed.* And if we could recover, The Life of this King written by Thomas Dando Prior of the Carmelite Convent at Marlborough, about Three hundred years since, which book ^b Leland mentions, and ^c Bale seems to have perused, by quoting the beginning of it, I suppose we might find several things of this sort, which would give further light to his History.

Of all his military achievements the Battle of *The Battle of Ashdown* seems the most considerable, fought by him in the Year 871, the twenty third of his age, when he was only ^d Lieutenant under his brother King Ethelred. The account shews, that it was a pitched field, and a complete victory on the side of the Saxons. Affer in relating it, ascribes the success to the courage and conduct of his Hero, and to the prayers of the King: who, from this Historian's account, doth not appear to have been present at the action. The whole army, if I understand him right, being led up by Alfred; tho' it had been agreed before to divide it, and each to head his particular division.

"A. D. 871. Says Affer, the Pagans, leaving the East-Angles, "came into West-Sex, and fixed their head quarters at Reading "in Berkshire; where dividing themselves into two parties, one "party rode out to plunder the country, the other was employed in throwing up a fortification, between the rivers Thames "and Kennet. The former was met by Ethelwolf the Earl of "Berkshire, and, after an obstinate resistance, routed near Engle-

a Ostenduntur ab incolis loca in quibus vel malæ fortunæ copiam, vel bonæ per se sensu inopiam. Will. Malmesb. Lib. 2. *b* Leland de scriptor. pag. 448. *c* Bale de scriptor. Cent. XI. No. 53. *d* Secundarius. See Affer pag. 22.

"field.

“field. Four days after King Ethelred with his brother Alfred
 “reinforced the Berkshire troops, and thinking themselves then
 “strong enough to storm the fortrefs, made an attack, but were
 “repulfed with lofs, and the brave Earl was killed in the en-
 “gagement. Again, four days after this, the Pagans flufhed
 “with fucces, came with a numerous army to Afhdown, under
 “the command of two Kings, and feveral Counts. King Ethel-
 “red and his brother [who feem to have retired towards the
 “Western part of Berkshire among their tenants and followers]
 “had rallied their troops, and came with an intention to meet
 “them, and to make it a decisive battle. The Pagans divided
 “their army into two bodies, the two kings having the com-
 “mand of one, the Counts of the other: which made it necef-
 “fary for the Saxons to divide themfelves in the fame manner.
 “Whilst King Ethelred was bufied at his devotions in his tent,
 “and declared that he would not quit the Service of God, for
 “any worldly duty whatfoever, (which piety of the King’s was
 “from the fequel judged, not to have been without it’s effect)
 “Alfred found it neceffary, to begin the engagement, or to
 “retire. He could not eafily brook the latter; therefore, as
 “had been before agreed, he led on the Christian forces, though
 “the King was not come up. Affer is very particular in men-
 “tioning, how the Pagans had got the higher ground, and how
 “the battle was begun upon a fpot, where grew a fingle Thorn-
 “tree, which he himfelf had afterwards feen; the whole account
 “having been given him by faithful eyewitneffes. After a bloody
 “and obftinate difpute, one King and five Counts were killed
 “on the Pagan fide, with many thoufands of common men,
 “and the reft were difperfed all over the wide plain of Afhdown,
 “and purfued all that night, and the next day, as far as to their
 “caftle at Reading.”

I have been very particular in relating this battle from Asser, not only to shew, that it was a compleat victory, but that the honour of the day is to be ascribed to Alfred. Because ^a William of Malmesbury and the chronicle, that goes under the name of ^b Abbot Bromton, give somewhat a different account of the matter: viz. "That Alfred engaged too hastily with the troops under his command, and was near upon retreating, when the King coming up with his fresh forces, supported him so well, that together they soon put the Pagans to flight." But even this account of the affair, supposing it to be true, will almost persuade us, that the victory was owing to Alfred's bravery, in attacking them with half an army, that was probably not very numerous, and to the impresson that such a charge must necessarily make upon the enemy. Though after all, it seems to me, that these Historians, the oldest of which lived between two and three hundred years after the thing happened, took their accounts only from Asser, and were either willing to make something out of his words, which the author never meant; or were unwilling, that the pious King should lose his share of the glory: for, as I observed before, it does not appear from Asser, that the King was at all concerned in the action, more than by his prayers. And Asser who gives you impartially Alfred's ill conduct, as well as his good, I think, would not have omitted it here, or have left the King so much out of the question, had he not been assured of the truth of his relation.

^a *Quæ fides regis multum adjuvit fratrem immaturitate juventæ præproperum, & jam progressum. Namque jam acies Anglorum declinabant, & urgentibus ex alto adversariis fugam meditabantur, quod iniquo Christianis loco pugnaretur: cum ille cruce Dei consignatus ex desperato advolat, hostem perturbans, circum in arma cians, cujus virtute simul & Dei miraculo Dani territi pedibus, salutem committentes, fugere. Will. Malmesb. de Gest. Reg. Angl. Lib. 2. p. 42. ^b Dani cum tanto impetu cum invaserunt, quod fere cum ignominia in fugam est conversus. Bromton, Chron. pag. 807.*

But

But here we are much at a loss: for tho' this event be mentioned, with all it's particular circumstances; I think it has not yet been made clear, whereabouts the battle was fought. And though to some people this may seem a trifle, yet I hope to shew, before I have done, that a good deal depends upon it. Affer says it was at a place called *Ærceþdunc* or *Ærcendunc*, which he interprets too *Mons Fraxini*, in English *Asbesdown*, or *Asbendown*. ^a Some make it *Asbdown forest* in Suffex: the learned Bishop ^b Kennet is inclined to place it at *Asbendon* in Buckinghamshire in the forest of Bernwood, a town that gives name to the Hundred; Bishop ^c Gibson with more reason at a town called *Aston* near Wallingford in Berkshire, about fifteen miles from Reading. His Lordship was led into this opinion by a passage in the Saxon Annals, which is to this purpose. "A. D. 1006. They [the Danes] went to Wallingford, and there staid sometime, thence they passed along *Asbdown*, and went to *Cwichelme's-low*." If *Cwichelme's-low* here mean *Cuckhamsley-hill*, *Aston* might very well be the place, it lying directly in the road between Wallingford and that Hill. But I am perswaded that *Cwichelme's-low*, must be sought for elsewhere, at some greater distance from Wallingford; because I shall soon shew, that *Asbdown*, through which they passed, lies in the line beyond *Cuckhamsley-hill*. I know of no higher authority than ^d Saxton's maps, for calling this *Cuckhamsley-hill*, having not been so fortunate, as to obtain the sight of any old deeds and papers, relating to this part of the country. It is called by the neighbouring people *Cuchinflow*, and *Scuchamere*; it is a large Barrow, on the brow of a high hill, visible for several miles;

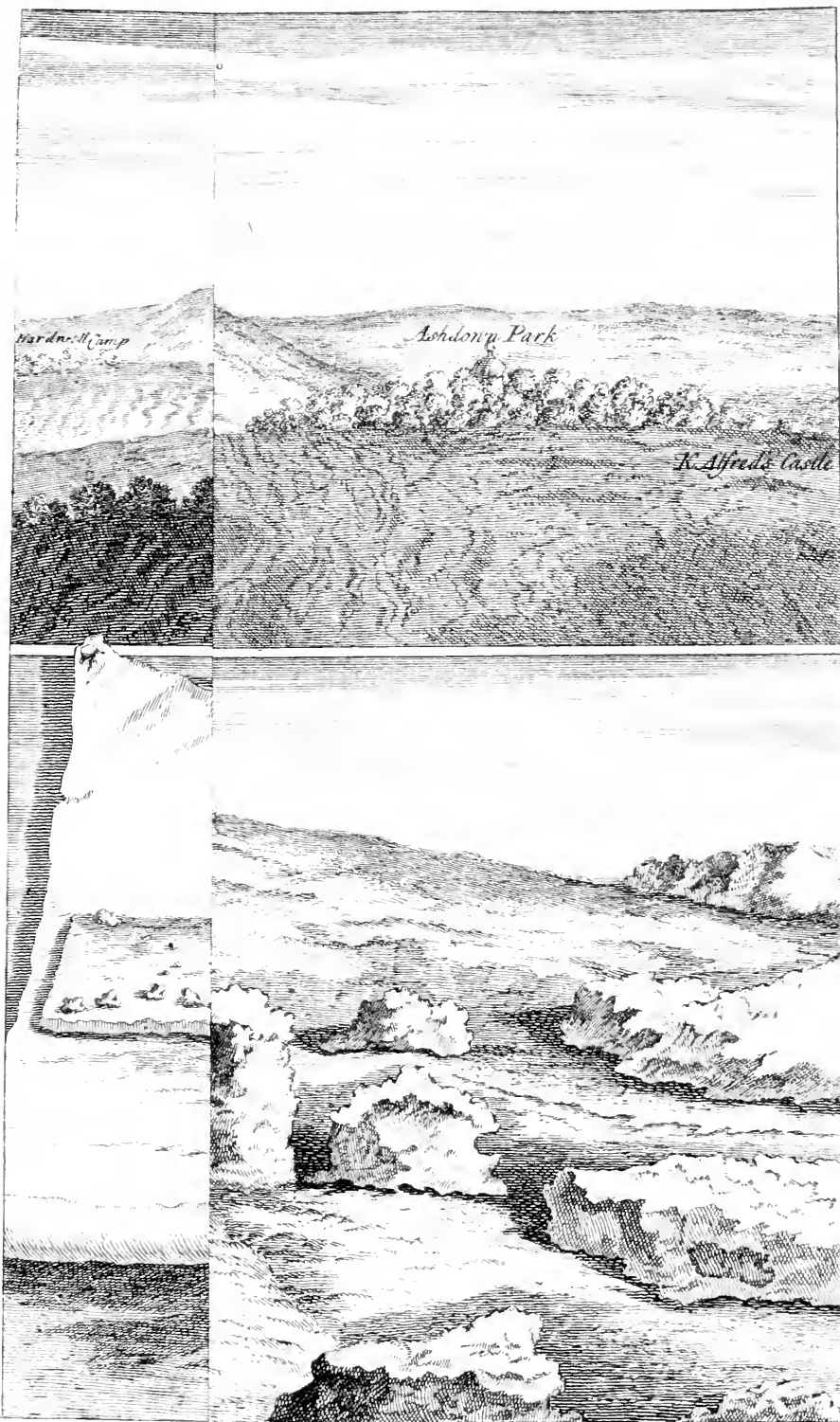
*Asbdown
where.*

^a *Æscēfdunc. Talbot writ heere Aschdunc forest in Southfax. Leland Collect. Vol. 3. p. 794.*
^b *Parochial Antiquities of Burcester, &c. pag. 35.* ^c See the Index of places names at the end of the Saxon Annals. ^d Printed in the year 1579.

where, till lately, stood a Post for a Beacon, for which reason it is more known to travellers by the name of *Beacon-hill*. Possibly it might be raised by King Cwihelm, who was in possession of these parts, and died about the year 636; or it may be the *Low* or *Hill*, under which he lies buried. But yet I cannot believe it to be a thing of such note, as that the march of an army should be described, as directed to it. As for *Afson*, there are no remains near it, that I can learn, which might persuade us, that a battle was fought thereabouts: nor doth the name itself favour the opinion of it's being *Afbdown*. For in the oldest records, such as Domesday book, and Pope Nicholas's Valor, it is wrote *Estone*, and means no more than the *East town*, with respect to some other, nigh which it is situated: and this undoubtedly is Blubery, a much older town. I therefore rather suppose *Cwichelms-low*, to mean some town in North Wiltshire, or Gloucestershire; though I am not able at present to guess, where to fix it.

ASHDOWN was a place of considerable note in the Saxon times, as appears from it's being mentioned so often in the Annals. It seems to be a district or country rather than a Town, and it being called *Mons Fraxini* by Affer, as well as it's being the place of battel, seem to persuade the same. I take it to mean that ridge of hills from Letcombe, and thereabouts, going on to Wiltshire, and overlooking the Vale with the towns in it; containing large tracts of Down, and Sheep-pasture; where the great Western road passes at this day, being called the *Rudge* or *Ridge-way*. I presume it was likewise a well-known boundary: so that when it is said, in the ^a Annals, *Wulfere the Son of Penda laid waste all the country as far as Æscesdune*, I sup-

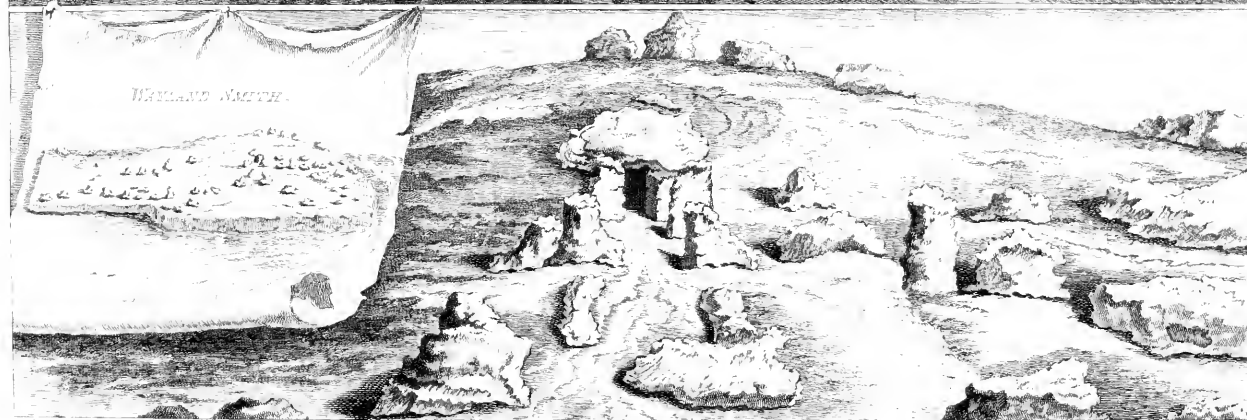
^a *Annales Saxonici* A. D. 661.



W. Green delin.

G. Tertue Sculp.

Æpceþdune sive Mons FRAXINI.



Weyland delat

Sumptibus RICHARDI MEAD Architecti

J. K. delat

pose is meant, that he destroyed all the Vale, from Mercia, to the foot of this ridge of hills. These Downs seem likewise to have been formerly adorned with Woods of Ash, from whence they received the denomination of Ashdown. Near Letcombe is a shrubby place still called *The Ashes*, and *Letcombe Ashes*, where, as I have been informed by a curious and learned ^agentleman of this neighbourhood, grew, within the memory of several persons lately dead, abundance of tall, and very fair Ashes; These probably were the last of this sort destroyed hereabouts; and so far Eastward, I am inclined to think, that Ashdown extended, if not further, to a place called *Ashen-Pen*, still more Eastward. On the Western side it's bounds will discover themselves with more certainty. I have not leisure, nor will it be of any great use to the publick, to settle the limits of it with exactness, which yet I am persuaded may be done: I shall however observe further, that it seems to have been the demefne lands of the West-Saxons Kings, as I find by their granting it away to their favourites. In a ^bcharter of Ethelwolf Alfred's father, bearing date A. D. 840. he gives to Dundan, *Decem Cassatos in loco qui dicitur Aysshedoune*. At length a town came to be built on the Western limits of it, which is now called *Ashbury*, but was formerly called *Aysshedoune*; as you may see in the ^cCharter of King Edred dated A. D. 947. *Viginti mansas ei [Edrigo] libenter largiendo, concedens perdonabo; illic ubi vulgus prisca relatione vocitat at Aysshedoune*. And to the same charter is annexed a memorandum *Memoratum Manerium, quod nunc vocatur AYSSHEBURY*. Ashbury therefore, according to this Charter, is only a more modern name, signifying the same thing, viz. *Ash-Hill*, or *Down*, from the Saxon Beop̄, *Collis*. But even

^a John Blandy Esquire of Purley. ^b See the *Leiger book of Glastonbury Abbey*: a MS. in the Bodleian Library. Fol. 245. a. ^c *Monasticon Anglicanum*. Vol. 2. p. 842.

the old name is still preserved hereabouts, the Downs being called by the Shepherds, *Ashdown*, and about a mile Southward from *Ashbury* is ^a *Ashdown-Park*, correptly called *Ashen-Park*, the Seat of the Lord Craven.

Here then I was perswaded to look for the field of battle; and was agreeably surprized to find my expectation answered in every respect. Here my imagination painted the two armies extended *over the wide plain*, and *engaged about the single Thorn-tree*, there being here and there to be seen one of this kind. Upon the highest hill of these parts North Eastward is a large Roman entrenchment, called *Uffington-Castle*, from overlooking the town of Uffington, in the Vale; where I suppose the Danes lay encamped: for as their marches were generally hasty, and more like that of plunderers, than of a regular army, they had not time to throw up fortifications, nor indeed was there occasion, where they found enough of them ready made to their hands. This place I choose for the Danes, because Affer says, they had got the upper ground. About half a mile lower westward on the brow of the hill, nearer to Ashbury, overlooking a farm-house called *Hardwell*, is a Camp, fortified seemingly after the Saxon manner, with two ditches, but not near so strong as the former, which has only one: this is called *Hardwell Camp*, and here I suppose King Ethelred lay, the night before the engagement. About a mile or more from hence, behind the Wood of Ashdown-park, is a slight roundish entrenchment, which seems to be thrown up in haste, and which, as I have been informed, is called both *Ashbury camp*, and *King Alfred's Castle*. Mr Aubrey's account of this, (for he did not know

^a By Inquisition dated 10 April, 18 Elizabeth, 1576, at Lamborne, it is found, called *Ashdowne Park*, alias *Ashen Park*. Chart. penes Hon. D. Craven.

of *Hardwell Camp*) is, “From hence we come to White-horse Hill, the head of the River Ock; above which by Ashbury-Park is a camp of a figure, as near round as square, the diameter above an hundred paces, and the works single, which seems to prove it Danish. But the works are now almost quite spoiled and defaced, by digging for the Sarfden-stones as they call them, to build my Lord Craven’s house in the Park.” Besides these camps, we may add the Barrows, scatter’d over the Downs in great plenty, sufficient to convince any man, that this part of the country must have been formerly the scene of war and bloodshed.

Such a signal victory, as the Saxons obtained at this place, deserved not to pass without some token, and memorial of it. And such I take to be, the WHITE-HORSE described on the Hill, almost under Uffington Castle. A thing of such note amongst our ancestors, that it has given it’s name to one of the largest and fruitfulest Vales in England.

The White-Horse.

That the most ancient people, before the invention of books, and before the use of sculpture upon stones, and other smaller fragments were wont to represent things great and noble, upon entire rocks and mountains seems so natural, that it is easily imagined, and assented to by all. And that the custom was not laid aside for many ages after, is plain from History. Semiramis to perpetuate her memory, is reported to have cut a whole rock into the form of herself. Hannibal, long after the invention of books, engraved characters upon the Alpine rocks, as a testimony of his passage over them; which were remaining about two centuries ago, if we may believe

^a *Additions to the Britannia, in Berkshire, pag. 150. New Edit.*

^a Paulus

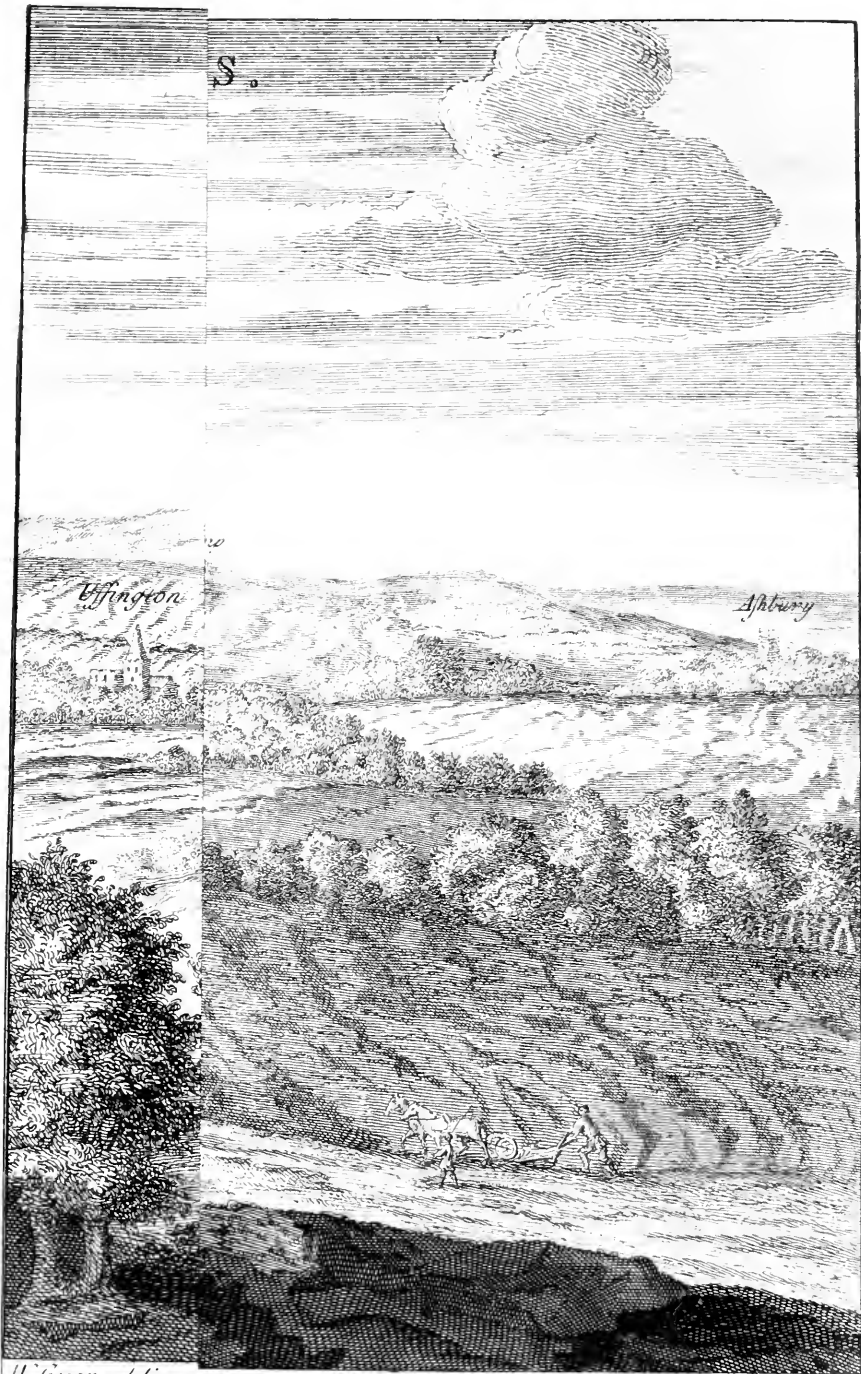
^a Paulus Jovius. But, what is most to our purpose, it appears to have been particularly the custom of the Northern nations, from that remarkable inscription, mentioned by ^b Saxo, and several ages after him delineated, and published by ^c Olaus Wormius. This was inscribed by Harold Hyldetand to the memory of his father; it was cut on the side of a rock in Runic characters, each letter of the inscription being a quarter of an Ell long, and the length of the whole thirty four Ells.

After this manner our Horse is formed, on the side of an high and steep hill, facing the North west. His dimensions are extended over an acre of ground, or thereabouts: his Head, Neck, Body, and Tail, consist of one white line; as does also each of his Four Legs. This is done by cutting a trench into the chalk, of about two or three feet deep, and about ten feet broad. The Chalk of the trench being of a brighter colour, than the turf which surrounds it, the rays of the afternoon's Sun darting upon it make the whole figure visible for ten or a dozen, nay fifteen miles, if I am rightly informed.

The Horse at first view is enough to raise the admiration of

a Hannibal literas trajectionis suae testes Alpinis rupibus inscripsit, quae apud Barrum hodie extant. P. Jovius Hist. Lib. XV. p. 163. b Apud Blekingiam apia meantibus Rupes mirandis litterarum notis interstincta conspicitur siquidem à meridiano mari in deserto Verundiae, petrosa porrigitur semita, quam binæ lineæ exiguo discretæ spatio, protractis in longum ductibus amplectuntur. Inter quas medium loco planum fœllis ad legendum figuris undique secus exaratum ostenditur. Quod licet adeo situ inaequale existat, ut modo montium alta profcindat, modo vallium ima prætereat, eodem tamen tenore litterarum vestigia servare dignoscitur: quarum significationem Rex Woldemarus sacri Canuti fausta proles admirationis causa cognoscere cupiens, misit qui Rupem permeantes, patentium illic Characterum seriem curiosiori indagazione colligerent, ac postmodum virgulis quibusdam sub iisdem formarum apicibus adnotarent. Qui ideo nihil ex iis interpretamenti comprehendere poterunt; quod ipsa cælestis concavitas partim incurta, partim comœantium adesa vestigiis figuratæ protractionis speciem obruto calle confuderat. Saxon. Gram. Præf. ad Hist. Dan. That this monument was engraved in the rock: by order of Harold Hyldetand appears from a passage in the same Saxo's History. Is enim [Haraldus Hyldetand] in monumentum patris, ejus res gestas apud Blekingiam Rupis, per artifices mandare curæ habuit. Hist. Lib. VII. c Olaus Wormius. Monumentum. Danica. Lib. III.

every



W. Greene delin.

G. Tertue Sculp.

Itali donavit
TRAVERN.

every curious spectator, being designed in so masterlike a manner, that it may defy the painter's skill, to give a more exact description of that animal: which were it not so apparent, would hardly gain belief with an antiquary, who considers to how low an ebb the art of drawing was sunk at that time; as appears from the works of their best masters, the Saxon coins, and the jewel of King Alfred, described by Dr Hicke and others, and now preserved in the Museum at Oxford. If we consider it further, we must likewise allow, that no small skill in Opticks was requisite, both for the choice of the ground, and for disposing rude lines, as they appear to a person upon the spot, in such a manner, as to form so beautiful a representation. And again, if durability was intended, the ingenuity of the artist will appear still greater. For from it's barren soil, and steep situation, it has nothing to fear from the inroads of the plough, the grazing of larger cattle, or the stagnation of waters; all which contribute more or less to efface things of this sort. When I saw it, the Head had suffered a little, and wanted reparation: and the extremities of his hinder legs from their unavoidable situation, have by the fall of rains been filled up in some measure with the washings from the upper parts; so that in the nearest view of him, the Tail, which does not suffer the same inconvenience, and has continued entire from the beginning, seems longer than his legs. The supplies which nature is continually affording, occasion the turf on the upper verge of his body, for want of continuity, to crumble, and fall off into the white trench, which in many years time produces small specks of turf, and not a little obscures the brightness of the Horse. Though there is no danger from hence of the whole figure being obliterated; yet the neighbouring inhabitants have a custom of *Scouring the Horse*, as they call it; at which time a solemn festival

val is celebrated, and manlike games with prizes exhibited, which no doubt had their original in the Saxon times, in memory of the victory. This falling of the turf into the trench is the reason likewise, why the country people erroneously imagine, that the Horse, since his first fabrication, has shifted his quarters, and is got higher upon the Hill, than formerly. His present owner is the Right Hon^{ble} William Lord Craven, who was pleased to encourage these enquiries, by a free search into the writings relating to this part of his estate, and to oblige the publick, with an Engraving of this venerable remain, as it appears at about four or five miles distance, in the road between Highworth and Faringdon; which, the reader must take notice, is the best view of it.

If ever the genius of K. Alfred exerted itself, (and it never failed him in his greatest exigencies) it did remarkably so, upon the account of this trophy. The situation of his affairs would not permit him to spend much time, nor his circumstances much cost, in effecting one. His troops, though victorious, were harassed, and diminished by continual duty; nor did the country afford, to any man's thinking, materials proper for a work of this kind. Though he had not therefore the opportunity of raising, like other conquerours, a stupendous monument of Brass, or Marble, yet he has shewn an admirable contrivance, in erecting One, magnificent enough, tho' simple in it's design, executed too with little labour and no expence, that may hereafter vye with the Pyramids for duration, and perhaps exist, when those shall be no more.

A Horse the Saxon Standard.

No one can be ignorant, that the Horse was the Standard which the Saxons used, both before and after their coming hither. This is so well known and allowed, that the very names of the two first Saxon

Saxon Leaders, are supposed by ^a Bp Nicolson, not to be proper, but typical or emblematical only: and that as the Emperor of Germany is sometimes stiled *The Eagle*, and the King of France *The Lilly*, from the Arms they bear; so these were stiled *Horses*, from their Banner. For HENGST in Saxon signifies, no more than a *Stonehorse*, and HORSIA need not be explained to an English reader.

Alfred therefore in ^b *Setting up his Banner for a Token*, did nothing, but what was exactly agreeable to ancient practice. And might probably in so doing, have a further regard to Antiquity; a *White-Horse* itself being no improper emblem of victory and ^c triumph; according to the ^d Poet

*Ergo erit illa dies, qua tu, pulcherrime rerum,
Quatuor in NIVEIS Aureus ibis EQUIS.*

I must not omit the posture in which the Horse is delineated, which is not Rampant or Prancing, as represented in ^e Speed, ^f Sammes, and the Arms of Savoy, whose Princes are descended from those of Saxony; but Current or ^g Galloping, as described in the Arms of the house of Brunswick at this day. If any disputes should arise among Heralds about these different bearings of the Horse; as likewise, whether he ought to be Current from the Dexter part, or Sinister, which I believe is a point not entirely settled: I think, till some other more ancient record shall be produced, they may be fairly determined

^a *English Atlas*. Vol. 2. Tom. 1. p. 52. ^b Psalm 74. v. 5. ^c *Decrevit Senatus, ut in Triumpho jam ante concesso, EQUIS ALBIS uteretur*. Dio. de Julio. Hist. Rom. Lib. 43. ^d Ovid. de Art. Am. Lib. 1. ^e *History of Great Britain*. Fol. Lond. 1611. Pag. 293. ^f *Britannia Antiqua Illustrata*. Fol. Lond. 1676. Pag. 471. ^g It must be confessed that in some views of the Horse, his fore part appears more elevated than in others (as I observed it from the *Saracen's-Head* Inn in Highworth) but even in this view, he appears galloping, which is the most natural attitude, and was undoubtedly intended by the artist.

from this authentick one, of Eight hundred and sixty seven years standing.

I shall take this opportunity of encountering an old, but ill grounded, opinion, delivered down by Krantzius, if not invented by him, and maintained without contradiction by later writers. ^a A. D. 785. *Witic-hind*, says he, upon his conversion from the darkness of Paganism, was the first who took **THE WHITE COLT** for his device, in allusion to the brightness of Christianity; having till that time used a **Black One**. And these are the most ancient Arms of Saxony. This account, I must beg leave to say, favours too much of Legend and Allegory, to deserve credit. Besides, the veneration for *White Horses* amongst the Germans, seems to have had a much higher original; even amongst the oldest Pagan idolaters: ^b Tacitus telling us, That it was the custom of this people, to take carefully the presages of certain **WHITE HORSES**, kept for that purpose in their sacred Groves free from any sort of labour, except when harnessed to the sacred Chariot: at which time it was usual for the Priest, and King, or chief man of the City, to accompany it, and to observe their neighings: And this with them is esteem'd the most credible kind of augury: for they imagine that these Horses know themselves to be the servants of the Gods. This, it is likely, was an ancient superstition derived from the Eastern Asiaticks; and perhaps may afford one more argument for the Germans being a

^a *Armorum insignia, quæ militibus, ut fit, signis præferebat, PULLUM EQUINUM habebat ATRUM: sed placuit regi [Wedekindo] postquam de sententiis gentiliū errorum pervenit in lucem veritatis, ut CANDIDVM acciperet: ea vero vetustissima Saxonie Arma. Alb. Krantzius Saxonia Lib. II. c. 24.* ^b *Proprium gentis EQUORVM quoque præfagia ac monitus experiri; publice aluntur iisdem nemoribus ac lucis, CANDIDI ac nullo mortali opere constati, quos pressos sacro Currū, Sacerdos, ac Rex, vel Princeps civitatis comitantur, hinnitus atque fremitus observans, nec ulli auspicio major fides, non solum apud plebem, sed apud proceres, apud sacerdotes. Se enim ministros deorum illos conficios putant. De Moribus German.*

Colony of the Persians; for we read that Cyrus had in his army, when he marched towards Babylon, ^a *Certain WHITE HORSES, which the Persians accounted sacred*. This custom continued with the Germans long after the times of Tacitus, and of Witic-hind too. For the inhabitants of the Isle of Rugen, who speak the dialect of lower Saxony, and who were latest converted to Christianity, had a ^b White Horse attending upon their idol ^c *Zantwit* or *Swant*, which was under the management of the Priest, and from whence they likewise took presages, agreeably to the above mentioned account of Tacitus. The reason for depicting the White Horse in their banners was idolatrous likewise, and owing at first to the great confidence which they put in these Presages, and so was continued perhaps with other Pagan customs, without enquiring into the reason of it, after the times of Christianity. In like manner the Pagan Danes had their presaging *Raven* born in their banner, which was taken from them at the ^d battle of Kenwith in Devonshire A. D. 878. The Christians on the other hand, who put their whole trust in the Cross, and Image of their Saviour, bore Those likewise as their Banners: witness ^e Augustine's procession, when he went to meet King Ethelbert.

^a Herodotus. Lib. I. ^b *EQUUM præterea CANDORE NIVEUM alunt, solius sacerdotis ministerio attrahendum, quippe eo Zantewitum, (hoc enim simulacro nomen, ut diximus, indidere) solere hostes suos insequi putant. Perfidiam fovet, quod eum mane sudantem conspiciunt, quasi magnum noctu consecerit ier. Hunc illis Equum auspiciari faciunt bellum quod imminet, nam si dextero pede locum signatum teigerit, faustum, si sinistro infaustum, ominantur.* Albert. Krantzius. *Wandalicæ* Lib. V. c. 12. p. 110. ^c *Zantwit* is no other than St *Vitus*, the Monk, who first preached the Gospel to those barbarous people, and was afterwards by them idolized under a monstrous form. The image was broken to pieces by Waldemar King of Denmark, upon taking the Castle *Arcon* A. D. 1168. See Saxo Grammaticus *Hist. Danic.* Lib. XIV. See likewise Bishop Nicolson *Engl. Atlas* in Rugen. Vol. 2. p. 82. ^d See *Affer* p. 33. ^e *Crucem pro Vexillo ferentes & imaginem Domini Salvatoris in Tabula depictam.* Bedæ *Eccl. Hist.* Lib. I. c. 25.

*The White-Horse
scarce taken notice
of by Others.*

All true lovers of Antiquity, and that have a veneration for the memory of that excellent Prince, we have been speaking of, cannot but regret with me the hard fate, that this noble Monument has met with. Past over in silence by ancient historians, and hardly so much as reckoned by travellers amongst the curiosities of the country! Add to this, that though there is not a man who is not clear in the point of it's vast antiquity, yet all traces of it's design are entirely worn out among the neighbouring inhabitants!

Leland's journey does not seem to have carried him this way, nor does Camden here go out of the other's track; though he mentions upon another occasion, and by the by, *The White-horse*; but in such a manner, that I could wish for his own sake, he had passed it over in silence with the rest. For his account is altogether unbecoming so faithful, and accurate an author: insinuating to his readers, that it has no existence, but in the imaginations of the country people. *The Thames*, says he, *falls into a valley, which they call The Vale of Whitehorse, from I know not what shape of a Horse fancied on the side of a Whitish Hill.* Much nearer to the truth is Mr Aubrey, however wide of the mark, who in the additions to the Britannia says: *I leave others to determine, whether THE WHITE HORSE on the Hill, was made by Hengist, since the Horse was the Arms or figure in Hengist's Standard.* The author of a *Tour through England*, is a little more particular, though he leaves us as much in the dark about the antiquity and design of it. *Between this Town of Marlborow, and Abingdon, is the Vale of White-Horse. The inhabitants tell a great many fabulous stories of the original of it's name; but there is nothing*

^a Three Volumes. 8vo. Lond. 1738. Vol. 2. p. 42.

of foundation in them, that I could find. The whole of the story is this: Looking South from the Vale, we see a trench cut on the side of a high green hill, in the shape of a Horse, and not ill shaped neither, the trench is about a yard deep, and filled almost up with chalk, so that at a distance you see the exact shape of a White Horse, but so large, as to take up near an acre of ground, some say almost two acres. From this figure the Hill is called in our maps, *White-Horse Hill*, and the low, or flat, country under it, *The Vale of White Horse*.

Thus far these writers; who are all that I can at present recollect, that have mentioned any thing material concerning the Horse: which they seem indeed to have done with the curiosity, but at the same time with the haste of travellers: casting a transient eye upon it, without giving themselves leisure to enquire into its meaning. Had Mr Camden thought it worth his while to search narrowly into it's antiquity, and considered it's situation, with regard to the neighbouring country, I am persuaded that he would have saved me the labour. Had he in particular attended to, what every inhabitant hereabout was ready to inform him of, The ceremony of *Scouring the Horse*, which from time immemorial has been solemnized by a numerous concourse of people from all the villages round about, he must have been convinced, that it was formed with a view to some publick action. That the meaning of this custom has been so long forgot, is not at all to be wondered at, considering the convulsions, and changes, which the state of our nation has formerly undergone, the ignorance that ensued, and the persons to whose care it has been chiefly left to keep it up. The same thing may be observed of other customs with great strictness maintained by the vulgar, though they are unable to give any tolerable account of their origin; particularly that of *Wakes*, or Feasts of
The

*The Festival
of Scouring
the Horse.*

The Dedication of Churches ; whose true design is for the most part a secret to the persons concerned, but is discovered by the diligence of antiquaries. And that our Festival is of a more general nature than that of Wakes, which are confined to single parishes respectively, seems plain; because, as I am informed, though the Horse stands in the parish of Uffington, yet other towns claim, by ancient custom, a share of the duty upon this occasion. Since therefore this noble antiquity is now explained, and consequently the reason of the Festival, it were to be wished, that, in order to prevent for the future it's falling into oblivion, some care was taken of the regulation of the Games, and that they were restored to their ancient splendour, of which, without question, they are fallen much short.

I know that these rites are cavilled at, and maligned, by the more supercilious part of mankind: but the dislike to them seems to be founded meerly upon the abuse of them to riot, and debauchery, which I intend by no means to justify, or excuse. The practice of the best and wisest States, whose maxims we approve, and profess to follow, is sufficient authority for their use. The Liberty we so justly boast, and which ought to be a common blessing to all, pleads loudly for them. The common people, from their daily labour, stand at least in as much need of proper intervals of recreation, as their superiours, who are exempt from it: and therefore in all free States have been indulged in Sports most suited to their genius, and capacity. And if manlike Games contribute any thing towards the support of the natural bravery of These, who are to be our bulwark and defence, in times of danger, they cannot be more seasonably revived, than at this juncture; when through the general luxury, and dissoluteness of the age, there was never more likelihood of it's being extinguished. Besides all this,
from

from hence a superiour influence diffuseth itself through the better sort, who are supposed to enter further into the intention of these solemnities; for which reason it is, that to perpetuate to posterity the remembrance of great men, and of great actions, has been always recommended, as a proper incentive to virtue. Customs of very trifling import, some ridiculous in themselves, others owing to causes equally ridiculous, are oftentimes kept up by Englishmen with much zeal, and tenacity: and shall the greatest Prince, that this Isle was ever blest with, and the greatest action of that Prince's life, be in danger of being forgot, through the neglect of a solemnity, the only one perhaps that was ever instituted, at least, that is now preserved, to his honour?

The Magistrates of Greece or Rome would have thought it a point of the utmost concern, to preserve to the very latest times the memorial of so remarkable an event; and to revive it, if through any accidents of State, it should have grown into disuse. But if it may be thought, not to be of so great moment, as to deserve the care of our Legislature; yet, if I may presume to say it, it will become the generous mind of the Noble Lord, who by inheriting the manour of Ashdown, as well as by his amiable qualities, may be said to stand in the place of King Alfred, to set apart a sufficient fund, for the perpetual discharge of this tribute to his memory.

If the time of solemnizing this Festival, which has been often left to the discretion of the inhabitants, was fixed to some certain period, suppose a revolution of Four Years, as perhaps was at first intended: I must appeal to all persons, who have a regard for ancient customs to which a laudable meaning is annexed, whether such a solemnity would not deserve the countenance and presence of the Nobility and Gentry; which would

have a good influence upon the assembly, add decency to the meeting, and restrain the excesses of the populace.

Another use would be made of it by the common people, in their reckoning of time; which, I suppose, is now by their different Seed-times and Fallow, but then would more properly be done by the Second, Third, or Fourth, Year of the Scouring of the Horse. Nor should I despair of it's having still a more general effect, by creating a new Æra in our English History, viz. THE RESTORATION OF THE SAXON OLYMPICKS.

*The King Slain
at Ashdown.*

The person of greatest note slain at the battle of Ashdown was one of the Pagan Kings, by which is meant, I suppose, one of the bloud royal, and probably of the house of Denmark; it being no unusual thing with such, in that fighting age, to attend upon, and give countenance to, these piratical expeditions. And here we are again at a loss for this King's true name. The Danish History mentions one of this sort of Kings slain in England about this time, who is called * *Ivarus*; a name widely differing from that given him by our own Historians; scarce any two of which agree in it, tho' all relating the same fact. Ranulf Higden calls him *Ofric*, Simeon of Durham *Oseg*, Ethelwerd *Berfe*, Hen. Huntingdon *Bafreg*, Ingulfus *Bafeg*, Roger Hoveden *Baiseg*, The Saxon Annals *Bachreg*, but Affer *Bægrceg*, which in modern pronunciation may be *Beskey*, or *Baskey*, in Latin *BASCAIUS*, as in Florence of Worcester, and Matthew of Westminster. I shall leave the name to shift for itself; and proceed to the place of his burial, which, I think, I have discovered upon the field of battle, distinguished by a parcel of stones set on edge, and en-

* See Poptanus. Hist. Rer. Dan. Fol. Amst. 1631. pag. 104.

closing

cloſing a piece of ground, raiſed a few feet above the common level, which every one knows was the cuſtom of the Danes, as well as of ſome other Northern nations. * And Wormius obſerves, that if any Daniſh chief was ſlain in a foreign country, they took care to bury him as pompouſly, as if he had died in his own. Mr Aubrey's account of it is this. "About a mile [or "leſs] from the Hill [White-Horſe Hill] there are a great many large ſtones, which though very confuſed, muſt yet be laid "there on purpoſe. Some of them are placed edgwiſe, but the "reſt are ſo diſorderly, that one would imagine, they were tum- "bled out of a cart". The diſorder which Mr Aubrey ſpeaks of, is occaſioned, by the people having thrown down ſome of the ſtones (for they all ſeem originally to have been ſet on edge) and broken them to pieces to mend their highways. Thoſe that are left, encloſe a piece of ground of an irregular figure at preſent, but which formerly might have been an oblong ^b ſquare, extending duly North and South.

On the eaſtſide of the Southern extremity, ſtand Three Squariſh flat ſtones of about four or five feet over each way, ſet on edge, and ſupporting a Fourth of much larger dimensions, lying flat upon them: Theſe altogether form a Cavern or ſheltring place, reſembling pretty exactly thoſe deſcribed by Wormius, Bartholine, and others, except in the dimensions of the ſtones; for whereas this may ſhelter only ten or a dozen ſheep from a ſtorm, Wormius mentions one in Denmark, that would ſhelter a hundred.

*Wayland-
Smith.*

I know of no other monument of this ſort in England: but

a Extra patriam ſi in praelio occubiſſet Dux, non minus magnifice, quam domi eum tumulatum ſupra innuimus. Ol. Worm. Mon. Dan. p. 36. b Arcam inſuper Quadratam adjacientes, que etiam molem grandioribus ſaxis includeret. Ol. Wormius. Mon. Danic. p. 34.

in ^a Wales, and the Isle of Anglesey there are several, not unlike it, called by the natives *Cromlechs*. The Isle of Anglesey having been the chief seat of the Druids, induced it's learned ^b antiquary to ascribe them to the ancient Britains, an assertion that I will not take upon me to contradict; but shall only at this time observe, that I find sufficient authorities to convince me, that Ours must be Danish. The northern ^c antiquaries agree to call them ALTARS; and ^d Bartholine saith *They usually bore the name of the person buried under them*. He tells us likewise, that *They were raised by the Sons, Grandsons, or other friends of the deceased*. And that these burial monuments were applied to the purpose of sacrificing, is not improbable; since it was the ^e custom of the Pagan Danes to deify their great men. In Denmark Three of these Altars are commonly found together, designed, as is supposed, for the service of their Three chief Deities, Thor, Woden, and Frea, but Wormius lays it down as a rule, that

^a See Mr Llhuyd's Additions to the Britannia in Pembroke-shire, and Mr Rowland's *Mona Antiqua Restaurata*. 4to. Dublin. 1723. p.92,93,213. ^b Rowland's *Mona Antiqua Rest.* Pag. 69. & 213. ^c *Commemoratione dignum videtur, notatum quoque ab aliis, quod in regione hac ingentis molis saxa complura, quae nulla vegetatione, nulla vi hominum illac deportari potuisse ob magnitudinem credas, congesta inveniuntur, quorum ea dispositio est, ut ARAS referre videantur. Nam jacentibus nonnullis, alia iis imposita sunt plana, reliquumque foramen angustum per quod homo reptare possit.* Ubbo Emmius *Hist. Fris.* Lib. I. p. 21. *ARARUM* structura apud nos varia est. Maxima ex parte congesta ex terra constant tumulo, in cujus summitate Tria ingentia Saxa, Quartum illudque majus, latius, ac planius, sustinent, fulciunt ac sustentant, ut instar mensae tribus fulcris innixa emineat. Sub hac mole Cavitas visitur, in quibusdam vasta fasis, in aliis terra ac lapidibus repleta, quae sanguini viclimarum recipiendo deputata creditur. Ol. Worm. *Mon. Dan.* pag. 7. ^d *Ceterum Saxa illa tumulos mortuorum indicantia, cum omnis literaturae essent expertia, plerumque in ARÆ modum coagmentata fuisse, tribus oblongioribus quartum grandius & latius fulcipientibus, Wormius suspicatur Lib. I. c. 7. Mon. Dan. Quomodoquaque posita nomen ab defuncto, in cujus honorem erigebantur, sortita, ex Finnoboga Ramma Saga discimus. Post accessum Finni communiter cum [Finbogum] sub lapide sepelierunt, qui deinde lapis Finbogi nominatus est. Erigebantur hi lapides, ab filiis, nepotibus, vel amicis, fidem faciente vetustissima in Edda Semundi Oda Havamal. Tho. Bartholinus. Causae contemptæ à Danis Mortis. p. 121. ^e *Colūm & Deos ex hominibus factus, quos pro ingentibus factis immortalitate donant sciti in vita S. Ansgarii legitur Hericus rex fecisse.* Adam. *Bremensis*, apud Bartholinum.*

where

where we meet with a *Single one*, as in the present case, we are to look upon it, *as a Sepulchral Altar, where sacrifices were to be annually performed in honour of the defunct.* The Welch word *Cromlech* too, according to their ^b Antiquaries, is only the Hebrew *חרם לוח*, *Cherem-luach*, i. e. *The devoted, or Altar Stone.* I must not here forget to mention, that there seem to have been two approaches to our Altar, through Rows of large stones set on edge, One from the South, The Other from the West, the latter leading directly into the Cavern.

Whether this remarkable piece of Antiquity ever bore the name of the person here buried, is not now to be learned; the true meaning of it being long since lost in ignorance and fable. All the account, which the country people are able to give of it, is "At this place lived formerly an invisible Smith; and "if a traveller's Horse had lost a Shoe upon the road, he had "no more to do, than to bring the Horse to this place, with "a piece of money, and leaving both there for some little time, "he might come again and find the money gone, but the Horse "new shod." The stones standing upon the *Rudge-way* as it is called; (which was the ^c situation, that they chose for burial monuments) I suppose, gave occasion to the whole being called *WAYLAND-SMITH*: which is the name it was always known by to the country people.

^a *Raro unicam solum invenies, sepius Tres, brevi intervallo à se invicem distantes, in honorem Trium primariorum Idolorum erectas. Unica ubi visitur, maxima ex parte Sepulchro imposta esse solent. Eo fine ut ibidem in memoriam defuncti quotannis sacra peragantur.* Mon. Dan. p.8. ^b *Mona Ant. Rest. Pag 47, 214.* ^c *Dani cum Pyramides ac Obeliscos extruere non potuerint, olim in memoriam Regum ac Heroum suorum ex terra coacervata ingentes moles montium instar eminentes statuisse, credibile omnino ac probabile est. Atque illis adeo in locis, ut plurimum, quo sepe homines commearent, aut iter haberent, ut in Viis Publicis, quo posteritati memoriam clarissimorum virorum consecrarent.* Jo. Cypræus Annal. Eccl. Slesvic. Lib. I. c. 2.

An English antiquary might find business enough, who should attempt to unriddle all the fabulous traditions of the vulgar, which ascribe these works of unknown antiquity to Demons, and invisible powers: but perhaps this particular of the Horse, may be owing to the custom of the Danes, and other northern nations, of sacrificing some favourite animal to the *manes* of the deceased. For whether they buried or burnt the body, it was usual to add to it, His Arms, together with some animal, and more especially an Horse. I have been informed, that in one of the Barrows lately dug up on these Downs, but nearer to Wantage, besides a human Skeleton, were found the horns of a Stag.

Leaving therefore the story of the invisible Smith to be discussed by those, who have more leisure: I only remark, that these stones are, according to the best Danish antiquaries, a Burial Altar; that their being raised in the midst of a plain field, near the great road, seems to indicate some person there slain, and buried; and that this person was probably a Chief or King; there being no monument of this sort near that place, perhaps not in England beside. If it be allowed me likewise, that King Ethelred lay encamped at Hardwell, this will afford another ar-

a Struem rogi, nec vestibus, nec odoribus cumulant: SUA cuique ARMA, quorundam igni & EQUUS adjicitur, sepulchrum cespes erigit. Tacit. de Mor. Germ. Gærri Scythica gens, defuncto Rege, in tumulo ubi cadaver odoribus delibutum erat, præcipuam Concubinarum, Coquum, Agasonem, ac Ministrum una tumulare, EQUOSQUE, & quinquaginta ex ministris ad rogam præfocare assueverant. Alexander ab Alexand. Lib. III. c. 7. Asmundus ob amicitie jujurandum, vicum se cum Ascini cadavere (quod cum CANE & EQUO, terreno mandabatur anro) contumulari sustinuit. Saxo Gram. Hist. Dan. Lib. V. Frotho convocatis quas vicerat gentibus, lege cavie, ut quisquis paterfamilias eo concideret bello, cum EQUO omnibusque ARMATURÆ suæ insignitus tumulo mandaretur. Idem Lib. V. Haraldus corpus exquiri præcepit [Ringo] ne regium funus debitis frandaretur inferiis — Haraldus manibus parentandum ratus, EQUUM quem insidebat, regio applicatum curruis aureis subsellis decenter instratum ejus titulis dedicavit: uti Haraldus eo vestiore ulus sui consortes ad tartara antecederet — Ibiq; cum EQUO & ARMIS regio more funerari præcepit. Idem Lib. VIII.

gument,

gument, for it's being raised for the King slain, whose troops were opposed to King Ethelred's division, as those of the Counts were to Alfred's: for the stones are about half a mile from Hardwell camp.

If this was a burying place for the King only, and not common to the nobles, who were slain with him: I would choose to fix the interment of the Counts, at a remarkable place, called *The Seven Barrows*; about a mile from hence, and nearer to *King Alfred's Castle*. Asfer mentions, it is true, only five Counts, the two Sidrocs, Fræna, Harold, and Osbern; perhaps two others of less note, might escape him. Or shall we admit ^a Ingulfus his authority to clear up this difficulty, who, to the King and Five Counts before mentioned, adds King Orguil and Count Fungus? However this be, I must here observe, that tho' in common speech they are called *The Seven Barrows*, yet the number is by no means stinted to *Seven*; nor are there *Seven* more remarkable than the rest. So that at this day there lies something veiled and hid under this phrase; and most probably the number of the nobility there buried. These Barrows are of various forms. There is one Long, and Two or Three of those, which Dr Stuke-ly calls Celtick, with a ring of earth a little raised above the level, and enclosing a piece of ground, with a small eminence in the middle. I counted, within the extent of six or seven hundred yards, no less than twenty in all. I know that ^b Long Barrows ought to be reckoned Danish, and probably were designed for Kings, but I cannot remove King Baskey from *Wayland Smith* to this place, for the reasons above given.

*The Seven
Barrows.*

^a Ingulf. Hist. Pag. 35. Ed. Oxon. ^b *Regios tumulos ad magnitudinem & figuram Carinæ maxime navis, ex iis quas possidebant, fabricatos voluit.* Ol. Worm. Mon. Dan. p. 43.

Other more ancient Antiquities.

I cannot take my leave of this part of the country, without adding a word or two, concerning some antiquities of a different kind, and superiour age, to those already mentioned. And I hope you will the more readily excuse my detaining you, because there seems not to have been sufficient notice taken of them by others.

The Name of Berkshire.

The first thing that offers itself to me, is the Name of this County. By ^a Affer who lived nearest to the time of dividing the land into *Shares* or *Shires*, it is called Βερροϋϋπε *from the wood BERROC, where, he says, Box grew in great plenty.* ^b Camden says, others choose to derive it from a *Bare Oak*, or *Oak disbarked*, under which the natives formerly were used to assemble, to consult about publick affairs. He has given the hint likewise for deriving it from the *Bibroci* a Colony of the Belgæ, who settled in Britain, according to Cæsar, and in this part of it, according to Camden, who is followed herein by later writers. For proof of this, it is urged that *Bibrax*, one of their towns in Gaul is melted down to *Bray* [or rather *Brayne*] which is likewise the name of once a considerable town in Berkshire, which gives name to the Hundred. But though the *Bibroci* should be allowed, to have their settlement here; yet I see no reason for rejecting Affer's testimony. For if it will be allowed me, that they might give their name to the wood *Berroc*, which before the Saxon corruption might be *Biberroc* or *Bibroc*, and probably was a town of theirs, according to the then manner of living; this is all, that I shall at present contend for. Perhaps it may be some satisfaction to hear, that the wood *Berroc* was till very

^a *Vita Alfredi.* Pag. 1. ^b *Britannia in Berkshire.*

lately in being. For, as I am informed by my worthy friend Bartholomew Tipping of Wolley Esq. a gentleman very well versed in Antiquity, and who was pleased to give me his assistance, throughout the whole course of these enquiries, There is in the parish of Sulham near Reading a place called *Box-grove*, where *Box* grew in great plenty, according to Affer; some adjacent lands in the parish of Tilehurst he has found likewise upon enquiry, abounded with this sort of wood within the memory of several persons. The last remains of Boxgrove were grubbed up not above two years since. So that we need not doubt, but here grew the wood *Berroc*, from whence the whole County was denominated.

The next that occurs, is ICKENILD-STREET, which went from East to West, confessedly the most obscure of the Four Great Roman Ways; and as hard to be traced through the different Counties, as it's name through the different dialects, which have prevailed in this kingdom. If I can therefore recover it's course, where it is supposed to be lost, I hope I shall do an acceptable piece of service to the Antiquaries. As to the name of this road, though I will not peremptorily deny it's being derived from the ICE-NI, the inhabitants of Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk, (from whence it seems to begin it's course) which is the general opinion: yet I cannot but wonder, that no antiquary has ever thought of deriving it, from the person, who may reasonably enough be supposed to be the author of it, after the manner of the VIA APPIA, ÆMILIA, FLAMINIA, VALE-RIA, AURELIA, in other countries. I would not wantonly, and without some grounds, thwart an hypothesis allowed and authorized by so many and great names; but expect so much favour from the learned, as to be excused, if I cannot

Ickenild-Street.

help bringing to my mind upon this occasion, the great AGRICOLA, Vespasian's Lieutenant, the first who took pains to ^a civilize the barbarous Britains. The most emphatical syllables of his name, I shall shew, may be found in This: and I presume I need not give instances of dropping the first syllable, it being so usual an abbreviation with our natives, that examples are obvious to every one. The common way of writing it in old authors, is indeed ICKENING, ICKENILD, or ICKENELD; as likewise RICNING and RICNELD. If ICKENELD, be the true reading, it seems to mean only the *Old Icken*, and perhaps may favour my hypothesis, rather than discountenance it: especially if this should be thought a corruption of the Saxons, ignorant of it's true author. If RICNING and RICNELD, be the truer reading, these seem to come still nearer to Agricola. Other corruptions, such as *Acknil*, *Hackney*, and *Hackington*, mentioned by ^b Dr Plot, are yet wider from the same original, but such as etymologists meet with every day. But I am persuaded, that the most authentick word for this road, will be found to be ICKLE or RICKLE; at least I find it so, in that part of it where I have travelled: and if the names of towns lying upon it, are of any weight in this case, as surely they must be; it will appear to be so, in that part of it, where I have not travelled.

In it's westward course from *Barley* in Hertfordshire, where antiquaries first discover it, it goes through a town called ICKLEFORD, in which parish is a hamlet called *Romrick*, which seems a corruption of *Romanrick* or *Rickle*. Dr Stukely too somewhere observes, that it is called ICLING-DYKE. Crossing Buckinghamshire, it enters Oxfordshire at Chinner;

^a See Tacitus his Life of Agricola. ^b Natural History of Oxfordshire p. 315.

through

through which county Dr Plot has traced it to Goring, so across the Thames to Stratley in Berkshire, which receives its name from it: and here our learned friend ^a Roger Gale Esquire gives it up for lost. But tho' it loses it's name, it still maintains it's course westward to *Blubery*, and near that town is visible enough. I must observe, that *Blubery* implies something Roman in it's termination; and that there is a Hill at a little distance from the road, between Aston and Blubery, called *Bluberton* or *Bluberton*, which appears to have been formerly a strong Roman fortification, though the plough has well nigh demolished the works. It is here known by no other name, than, that of the *Great Reading road*. From Blubery it went undoubtedly to Wantage; but whether it took the same course, as the modern great road, to Upton and Harwell, being called the *Portway*, which is an usual name for a Roman road; or whether it's true course went to Chilton, more on the left hand, under the Hills, and is now lost in the ploughed fields, till we come near to Lockynge, where is a raised way still called **ICLETON-MEER**, pointing to Wantage; I have not had leisure to satisfy myself thoroughly, as I ought. But immediately after it has passed Wantage, it goes by it's true name, **ICKLETON-WAY**, all under the Hills (as before under the Chiltern through Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire) between them, and Childrey, Sparsholt, Uffington, so under the White-horse Hill, leaving Woolston and Compton on the right hand, thence to Ashbury, and Bishopston, pointing towards Abery in Wiltshire, and perhaps to the Devizes; but not at all to Salisbury, as is commonly imagined.

Since I have transgressed the bounds which I had set myself,

^a See his *Essay on the Four Great Roman ways*, in Leland's *Itinerary* Vol. 6.

by going so far westward; I cannot but recommend to antiquaries the tracing likewise of it's Eastern course, from Barley in Hertfordshire, where we began. There is found sufficient in the names of towns, if I am not deceived, to conduct us a good way in this enquiry. It is observed by Camden, and others, that it points from Barley to **ICKLETON**, **ICALTUNE**, or **ICALDUNE** (for so many ways it is written) in Cambridgehire, nigh to which stood a small Roman City, called *Burrough-Bank*. From thence probably, it may go to **ICLINGHAM**, in Suffolk, from thence to **ICKLEWORTH**, in the same County. Perhaps it may be met with again by antiquaries at **HACKFORD** a small village in the County of Norfolk. The next that promises any thing to the purpose is **HICKLING** a market town, and possibly it may end a little beyond, somewhere thereabout not far from the Sea Coast. If **RICKLING** in Essex had come within this line in the Maps, I could willingly have taken it into the number; and notwithstanding the distance, it possibly may have a relation to the great Road, by means of a Vicinal one branching from it, about Chesterford in Hertfordshire.

If my supposition, that Agricola was the author of this road, be right; it probably was made after the other three, it being the custom of the Romans, as soon as a country was reduced into the form of a Province, to employ both their own Soldiers, and the natives, immediately in making of High-ways, for the more commodious intercourse of the inhabitants. The other Three seem designed to measure the length of Britain, this to promote a communication through the breadth of it, as it afterwards might be found necessary. It's being the last, may be one reason too, why it has retained it's author's name; unless we imagine it owing to the Britains grateful remembrance
of

of Agricola's administration, who ruled in a different manner from his predecessors. For we don't find the least relics of the names of A. Plautius, P. Ostorius Scapula, A. Didius, Paulinus Suetonius, Petilius Cerealis, Julius Frontinus, Proprætors in Britain before Agricola, in the words *Foss*, *Erming*, or *Watling*, though perhaps all three were made by one or other of them.

The many roads, that Agricola may be supposed to have made during eight or nine years residence in the Island, will account for this name being found belonging to roads, of so contrary directions through England, as this we are speaking of, and that which crosseth Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire, and is likewise called *ICKLE-STREET*.

The Great *ICKLE* or *RICKLE-WAY*, for I must now beg leave to call it so, is to be sought for, for the most part, under that ridge of chalky hills, which runs across England from East to West. And, I believe, if it was accurately surveyed, would afford us a greater number of Roman towns, and fortresses, lying upon it, considering it's length, than either of the other Three.

Between the Ickleton-way and White-horse-hill, under the Horse, stands a large Barrow, *Dragon-Hill*, which the common people living hereabouts, call *DRAGON-HILL*; and they have a tradition, that "Here St George killed the Dragon." The Horse too is brought into the Legend, as belonging to that Saint, who is usually pictured on Horseback. They shew besides a bare place on the top of it, which is a plain of about fifty or sixty yards over, where the turf, I don't know by what means, can gain no footing; which they imagine proceeds "from the venomous blood that issued from

^a See Dugdale's *History of Warwickshire*. Pag. 568. Ed. Ant.

“the Dragon’s wound.” Mr Aubrey perhaps is not much out, when he says, “Above the same Hill, there is another Camp with single works [meaning Uffington-Castle] but very large, and at about two furlongs distance is a Barrow, called Dragon-Hill; But whether from hence one should conclude this to be the Tumulus of Uter Pendragon, since the conjecture is not warranted by any direct testimony from history, I leave others to determine.” That it was designed for a funeral monument, I suppose, no one will dispute, and from its largeness and situation near a publick Roman way, it cannot well belong to any other people, except the Britains, who in process of time by receiving the Roman customs, and by alliances with them, are to be esteemed as one and the same. From its nearness to Uffington Castle, one would be inclined to think, it belonged to the Commander of those troops that had their quarters hereabouts.

The fable of St George, as antiquaries will easily perceive, is here of late date, and added only in consequence of the word DRAGON, which is the old name of the Hill. PENDRAGON, as ^b Mr Baxter proves, is not the proper, but common appellative of a British King, and signifies *Caput Regum, the Chief of Kings*, constituted such by the Votes of the rest, in times of publick distress. Thus Cassibelan was chosen by the allies *Pendragon* at the time of Julius Cæsar’s invasion. ARDH-RIG or ARDH-RAG, or ARD-HEER according to the same author, is only *Summus Rex* or *Dominus*, meaning the same thing with *Pendragon*; this is the *Arviragus* of ^d Juvenal, and the *Arthur* of

^a *Additions to the Britannia in Berkshire.* ^b See his *Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum*, in the words PENDRAGON and ARVIRAGUS. ^c *Summa imperii, bellique administrandi, communi consilio permissa est Cassivellano. Nostro adventu permoti Britanni hunc bello imperioque preceperant.* Cæsar. Comm. Lib.V. ^d *Regem aliquem capies, vel de romone Britanno Excides ARVIRAGUS.* Juven. Sat. IV. v.127.

^a Nennius and ^b Geoffrey of Monmouth. ^c And H. Huntingdon seems to confirm this, when he calls Arthur, *the warlike Leader of the Souldiers and Kings of Britain.*

After the Roman Legions had left this Island, and the land began to be infested with Picts and Scots, Vortigern seems to have born this title; but when by his vices and sloth, he had made himself incapable of government, and the Saxons, who were called in to the assistance of the Britains, proved their formidable enemies, the British chiefs according to custom chose at several times a *Pendragon* or *Arthur*; One of which has had the good fortune to be much talked of since, though posterity is not thoroughly satisfied about his proper name; but he is thought by good writers, to be no other, than Ambrosius Aurelianus, mentioned by ^d Gildas and ^e Bede: a Britain of Roman extraction, and related to the Imperial family.

Though Ambrosius Aurelianus is reported by some to have been poisoned, yet it is more probable that he died in battle; which is likewise said of King Arthur: and the Saxon Annals, whose authority ought to have great weight with us, say, that Cerdic the founder of the West-Saxon kingdom, slew Natanleod, or Nazaleod, a British King, with 5000 of his men, in the Year 508. *Natanleod*, according to Mr Baxter, is *Naud an lûdh*, which signifies *Populi tutela*, i. e. *The people's refuge*: and the *s* Annals call him *Rex maximus Britannorum*; so that he was *Pendragon*

^a *Eulogium Britannæ, sive Historia Britonum*, inter Hist. Brit. Script. XV. Fol. Oxon. 1691. Pag. 114. ^b *De gestis Regum Britannie*. Lib. IX & X. ^c *Arturus belliger illis temporibus DUX MILITUM ET REGUM Britannie, contra illos invictissime pugnabat*. H. Hunt. Hist. p. 313. ^d *Duce Ambrosio Aureliano viro modesto, qui solus forte Romanæ gentis, qui tantæ tempestatis collisione, occisis in eadem parentibus, purpura nimirum indutis*. Gildas Excid. Brit pag. 9. Ed. Oxon. ^e *Duce Ambrosio Aureliano viro modesto, qui solus forte Romanæ gentis præfate tempestati supervenerat, occisis in eadem parentibus, regium nomen & insigne ferentibus*. Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. I. c. 16. ^f *Hemic. Huntingdon. Hist.* Pag. 312.

for that time. I fear it will hardly be found consistent with ^a Chronology to make these three to be one and the same person: and if they are three different persons, as I rather believe, I hope the reader will not think it too great a favour done to me, to allow one of them to be buried here. For as I am persuaded from the name, that we must here look for the burial place of some British, or Roman, King, and he a chief general; it would be doing injustice to my subject, not to lay claim to one, or other, of them. The great misfortune is, that it is not mentioned, where the battels were fought, and where they fell. Ambrosius by fabulous writers is said to be buried at Stonehenge in Wiltshire, about twenty six miles from hence; and the neighbouring town of ^b Ambresbury is brought to favour this opinion. But I think it would be no hard matter to prove, that *Dragon-hill* has at least, as good a title to that honour: nor can I believe that there are any better grounds to persuade us, that Arthur was buried at ^c Glastonbury, rather than at this place.

The Britains had not given up their right to these parts, till the close of the Sixth Century; as appears from some of the warmest disputes, between them, and the Saxons, happening in this neighbourhood, if authors are right in the names of places. One battle was fought so late as A. D. 581, when the Britains were conquerors, at *Ƴodnerbýrɿɿɿ* or *Wanborough* about five miles from this place. Before that time viz. A. D. 577, Three British Kings were slain at Deorham in Gloucestershire, and three towns taken from the Britains, Gloucester, Bathoncester, and Cirencester, the last of which is about 15 miles from this place. A. D.

^a For all, I think, that we can gather from the confused History of those times, is, that *Uter* was, if not brother, successor to *Ambrosius*, and if not father, predecessor at least to *Arthur*; and therefore that these were Three successive *Pendragons*, or *Arthurs*.
^b Uſer. Prim. Ecl. Brit. Pag. 441. ^c See *Camden's Britannia in Somersetshire*.

556, Cynric and Ceawlin beat the Britains at *Bepanbýritg*, which, according to Bp Gibfon, is *Barbury Castle*, about five miles from hence. The battle of *Mons Badonicus*, spoken of by Gildas and Bede, according to the best accounts, was fought A. D. 520, which was Arthur's twelfth victory mentioned by Nennius. Camden observes that some people look for *Mons Badonicus* in Yorkshire; but if *Banefdown* near Bath be meant by it, according to him; that is not above thirty five miles from hence; but possibly it might be much nearer viz. at *Baydon* a town on a high hill, about three miles from White-Horse-Hill. I have not yet learnt that there are any signs of a battle thereabouts, nor perhaps will Banefdown afford us any more; but, I believe, the favourers of Banefdown would have thought themselves happy, if the modern name had so exactly tallied with the old one, as this does, and perhaps no other in England will. To speak truth, I lay no great stress upon the battel being fought at Baydon; but that it was at a hill about two or three miles from it, and as many from White-Horse Hill, I cannot think improbable; I mean at *Badbury*, perhaps the mother of modern *Baydon*, where is a strong Roman fortification; and that is the only signal remaining, that gives Banefdown any pretensions to be the place. There is a Hill of the same name in Dorsetshire, from whence the Hundred is called, contractedly *Badbury*, but in the Saxon Annals *Baddanbýritg* *Baddanbury*, perhaps corruptly for *Badonbury*, as in the present case; and this in Latin is no more than *Mons Badonicus*.

I am not ignorant, that Mr ^a Camden observes the Vale upon the Avon, under the Hills near Bath, is called by the Britains *Nant Badon*, i. e. *The Vale of Badon*; which made him look

^a *Britannia* in Somersetshire.

for Baydon Hill just above it; and that an ancient copy of Gildas, immediately after speaking of *Mons Badonicus*, adds, *Which is near the mouth of the Severn*; but this last was probably a note added since Gildas's time, by an unskilful geographer, since it is not found in other copies of Gildas, nor can Bath or Banefdown properly be said to stand not far from the mouth of the Severn. But I consider how great an authority I am opposing, and therefore leave the question to the judgment of the reader.

The stand, which the Britains made in Arthur's days, must have been chiefly against ^a Cerdic, the founder of the West-Saxon kingdom, and the battle of Badon in particular, whether near Bath, or this place, could not well be fought with any one else. The person here buried, we have reason to think, was some British chief, who fell in one of those last struggles for his country's liberty, and in all probability fighting against the West-Saxons, whose kingdom extended to these parts. The Saxon Annals mention only one slain by Cerdic, viz. Natanleod or Nazaleod, whoever he was, (whether Ambrosius, Uter, or Arthur, I shall not determine,) to whose burial place, no town or country, that I know of, seems to have any just pretensions, and whom I must therefore beg leave to suppose was the person; till further evidence shall appear to the contrary.

^a In chronicis cujusdam Divionensis comparent. *Cerdicus cum Arturio confligens sæpius, si uno mense vinceretur, in alio mense acrior surrexit ad pugnam, tandem Arturius sædio fatigatur, post duodecimum annum advenit Cerdici, fidelitate sibi jurata, dedit ei Avoniam meridianam, & Somariam, quam partem vocavit Cerdicius Vise Saxoniam.* Leland. Assertio Arthuri. pag. 4. I suppose Higden means this Chronicle when he says, *In quibusdam chronicis legitur, quod Cerdicus sæpius cum Arturo confligens, si semel vinceretur, alia vice acrior surrexit ad pugnam: tandem Arturus extædiatus post XXXI annum advenit Cerdici, fidelitate sibi jurata, dedit ei Hamplesbiam & Somersetiam, quam partem vocavit Westsexam.* Ranulph. Higden Polychron. A°. 544.

We must not pass by Wantage, the Capital of the Vale of White-horse, the seat of the West Saxon Kings, and birthplace of K. Alfred. A learned and ingenious * writer now living, has given it yet a higher title, even that of a Roman Station. The name he is pleased to call it by, is GLEVUM or CLEVUM in the Itinerary, which *Gloucester* had long been in possession of; but he makes that City amend, by giving it another, viz. BLESTIUM; making ARICONIUM, the next in order, to be *Cirencester*: "From whence to GLEVUM or *Wantage*, Fifteen miles; and from GLEVUM to CORINIUM DOBUNORUM, otherwise DUROCORNOVIUM, (so he calls *Dorchester* in Oxfordshire) Fourteen Miles:" according to Antoninus. I shall not take upon me to be umpire in a dispute, where persons, so much my superiours in learning, may possibly be concerned; but will do so much justice to this Scheme, as to assure the world, that Wantage was a Roman town; and perhaps no inconsiderable one, if we may guess from a West-Saxon King, and he the Successor of Egbert, having it for his place of abode. It is difficult at this distance of time to trace out the Roman remains, in a town that has undergone so many alterations, as this has done. Where Roman works have been destroyed, to make room for Saxon, and these again, for more modern devices. However to an antiquary, I believe, it will appear, that all footsteps of the Roman majesty are not quite lost: the *Castrum* or Fortification, discovering itself to me pretty plainly on the South side of the brook, enclosing a place called *High-Garden*. The hollow way into the town from Faringdon, with *Grovestreet*, (which was within the memory of

* N. Salmon LLB. in his *New Survey of England*. 8vo. Lond. 1721. p. 752.

persons now living a hollow way too) and a little running water, now a Morafs, dividing the *High-garden* from the *Lower*, make three fides of an oblong fquare, and the River the fourth. The ground enclosed may contain about Six acres: and here ftood the Saxon palace where Alfred was born. On the North fide of the brook is an enclosure called *Limborough*, implying fomething Roman in the name, tho', I confefs, not ecchoing to GLEVUM. But if *Lim*, or *Lim iu*, fignify *Torrents undæ*, according to Mr Baxter, it may allude to the falling of the water, which before the courfes of the fprings were turned, as they have been, might be very rapid. In *Limborough* Roman coins are commonly found; I faw a brafs one, ploughed up laft year, of Valens, the reverse SECVRITAS REIPVB-LICÆ. On the outside of the fortification, between *Limborough*, and the river, was difcovered many years fince, the remains of a building, which the inhabitants called *The Cellar*, and *King Alfred's Cellar*; it was paved at bottom with brick, and by the defcription of it fhould feem to be a Bath.

Of Saxon remains here, the High-Garden may be reckoned One, as containing the King's Palace, tho' originally Roman. Between *Limborough* and the brook is a Clofe, called *Court-Clofe*; and another little piece of ground, in fome modern writings, which I have feen, called *Paddock's More*, *alias Pallet's-More*; which I fufpect to be a corruption of *Palace-More*. I am indebted, for moft of thefe notices, to an ingenious * friend living upon the fpot.

The country about Wantage was probably, in great part, Royal demefne, and the patrimony of the Weft-Saxon Kings, till granted away by degrees to favourites, and to religious

* Mr Edward Towfey, Apothecary in Wantage.

houses; as we may gather from the names of places hereabouts. About a mile east of Wantage is *King's Grove*, a Common so called; a mile on the other side is *King's Letcombe*; besides these *Kingston Lisle*; and *Uffington*, which is commonly taken for *Offa's-town*, and is indeed wrote *Offentone* in Domesday, and was once no doubt part of his territories, for Mr Camden in Berkshire, writes from an old Book, *After that Kenulph was overthrown, whatsoever lay under his jurisdiction from the town of Wallingford, in the South part from Ickenild-street as far as Essebury [or Ashbury] and in the North part as far as the river Thames, King OFFA seized upon.* Though after all, it may signify no more than *Kingston*: for ^a Hen. Huntingdon, says, that *Uffa* King of the East Angles was had in such esteem after his death, that succeeding Kings were called from him *Uffings*. *Woolston* a town standing just under White-Horse hill, called in some old writings (which I have seen in the hands of the present worthy Lord of the Manour, Bartholomew Tipping Esq.) *Wulferithston*, seems to have been denominated from some Saxon nobleman, to whom probably it was given, as a reward of his valour, at the battle of Ashdown. I find in the Saxon ^b Annals *Wulfricus* and *Wulfredus* attendants upon King Alfred in his wars, the former stiled *Regius Strator & Comes Britannicus*, probably the same Officer with *Master of the Horse*, he died, or was slain, A. D. 897. The latter is called *Dux in Hamtunscyre*, and died of the plague near the same time: I think this last most likely to be the person.

^a *Regnum primus tenuit UFFA, à quo reges Orientalium Anglorum UFFINGAS appellati.* Hist. Lib. II. pag. 315. ^b *Ðý ilcan ġepe. forð-ferð fulŷpic cýmnges hopy-þegen. se pæŷ ŷealh ġepefa.* Saxon Annal. Pag. 99. *fulŷped ealþor-man on Hamtun-ŷeýpe.* Pag. 97.

*Sagbury and
Uffington
Castles.*

The lately mentioned * author took the hint, for fixing GLEVUM somewhere in the neighbourhood of Wantage, from a fortification taken notice of by Mr Aubrey, as being about a mile from Wantage upon the hill overlooking the Vale just above Letcombe, from whence it is commonly called *Letcombe-Castle*, but the more knowing inhabitants inform me, that the true name is *Sagbury*, I suppose, from the Saxon word *Secge* signifying a *Soldier*. It is a large entrenchment containing about twenty five acres, and was undoubtedly the Summer quarters of the garrison at Wantage. But I must submit it to the further enquiry of that learned gentleman, since this fortification was his only reason for looking for GLEVUM hereabouts, whether he had not better have chosen *Uffington-Castle*, above the White-Horfe, for his *Medius Terminus* between ARICONIUM and DUROCORNIVM. I believe upon examination he would find the distances answer more truly. For though the whole number of miles from Cirencester to Dorchester, corresponds pretty well; being about Twenty nine, or Thirty, in all: yet the distance from Wantage to Dorchester is too small, being about Nine instead of Fourteen, and from Wantage to Cirencester too large, being Twenty instead of Fifteen. But Uffington Castle, which is five miles nearer to Cirencester, than Wantage is, and upon the strait Ickleton road too, (which seems to be the way most known to the Romans, though there is another now, a little nearer) must consequently be Fifteen from Cirencester, and Fourteen from Dorchester, exactly according to the numbers in the Itinerary.

* N. Salmon LLB. *New Survey of England.*

There

There are several antiquities besides in these parts, as yet unobserved by others, which I have neither leisure, nor inclination to treat of at present. Such as a fortification on Childrey-hill, between Uffington-Castle and Sagbury, probably of later date, than the times of the Romans, from whence begins a small boundary, directing it's course to Lamborne, which is called *East-Ditch*: as likewise another much larger boundary beginning near Sagbury, and running for several miles, on the brow of the Hills eastward, as I observed it in my road to Blubery. These therefore I shall leave to the consideration of others: what I here communicate to the publick, having been only a seasonable diversion from the fatigue of a much larger work; which, since my first entrance upon it, has continually grown upon my hands, and found me full employment for several years last past: and I fear there is enough left for one or two more to come.

Some other Antiquities.

The present Essay I undertook, not only out of a desire, which I have always had, to do justice to the memory of that inimitable Prince, whose affairs are the chief subject of it, but likewise to induce other persons of more leisure, and greater abilities, to follow the same design. For if one County, to which I have chiefly confined myself, and only a small part of that too, has afforded such a variety of antiquities, scarce taken notice of by others; and to the knowledge of which I was at first led by accident only: how much greater things may be expected from gentlemen of learning, that shall set out with a fixed resolution, of pursuing the like enquiries through the whole kingdom.

If I have not tired your patience, I fear, I have at least exceeded the bounds of an Epistle, and shall therefore take my leave

leave by assuring you, that, though I am desirous, the world should look upon this small offering, as a tribute due to public spirit, rather than the return of a private friendship; yet I shall never let slip any opportunity of professing, how much I am,

SIR,

Your obliged and obedient

Humble Servant

Trin. Coll. OXON.
Dec. 21. 1738.

FRANCIS WISE.

POSTSCRIPT.

WHILST these Sheets were printing, the learned and truly noble Earl of Oxford, whose greatest pleasure is to promote every enquiry, that may tend to illustrate our English History, hearing of my design, was pleased to communicate to me the following extract from a MS. in his own inestimable library; which coming too late to be inserted in its proper place, I beg leave to add here. “From this pleasant town of Farindon in Barkshire Travellers may go two ways to Bristolow, either by Leachlade in Gloucestershire, or by Hyworth in Wiltshire. In the way to Hyworth from Farringdon, which is accompted 4 miles, you shall go by Coltswell, where Sr George Pratt (now defunct) hath built a noble house with Curious Gardens, seated on the side of a hill, which commands as noble a prospect. Here I may take occasion to speake of that Ancient Land marke or remarkable work of Antiquity, which gives name to our Country the Vale of White Horse; for in the way betwixt Faringdon and Hyworth, some 5 or 6 miles distante, you have the best prospect of the White Horse, cut in the side of a white chalky hill, a mile above Uffington. The Manger, as they calesh it, or sides and bottome, where this Horse is cutt, is now in the possession of my loving friend and neighbor, Mr Wiseman of Sparswell’s Court: and some that dwell hereabout have an obligacion upon their Lands, to repair and cleanse this Land marke, or else in time it may turne green, like the rest of the hill, and be forgotten.

“As touching the originall of this eminent Landmark, which gives its name to one of the best Vales of England; I heard

“my Father say, who was a man well read in Antiquities, that
 “he thought it was Hengift, the Saxon conqueror, who in re-
 “membrance of his exploits, this being his Armes or Crest to
 “them, caused this figure to be cut here. This Hengift came in-
 “to England A. D. 450. being sent for by Vortiger, to assist him
 “in his warres.” *Thomas Baskerville Esq. of Sunningwell in Berk-*
sbire, his Journal of his Travels over great part of England, in the
years 1677, 1678. Folio.

By this the reader will see, not only that the White Horse is no imaginary thing, as Camden would persuade us, but what have been the sentiments of learned men about it, with regard to its antiquity. I had been informed likewise of what this gentleman advances, viz. “That lands in this neighbourhood
 “were charged with the expence of Scouring the Horse;” and it is inconceivable how such a notion could prevail, had there not been formerly some ground for it. But upon the strictest inquiry, I could find no such tenure at present. Nor is it to be wonder’d at, considering the migration of lands from family to family; it being the interest of every owner at the time of alienation, to disburthen such lands, as much as possible, of all incumbrances.

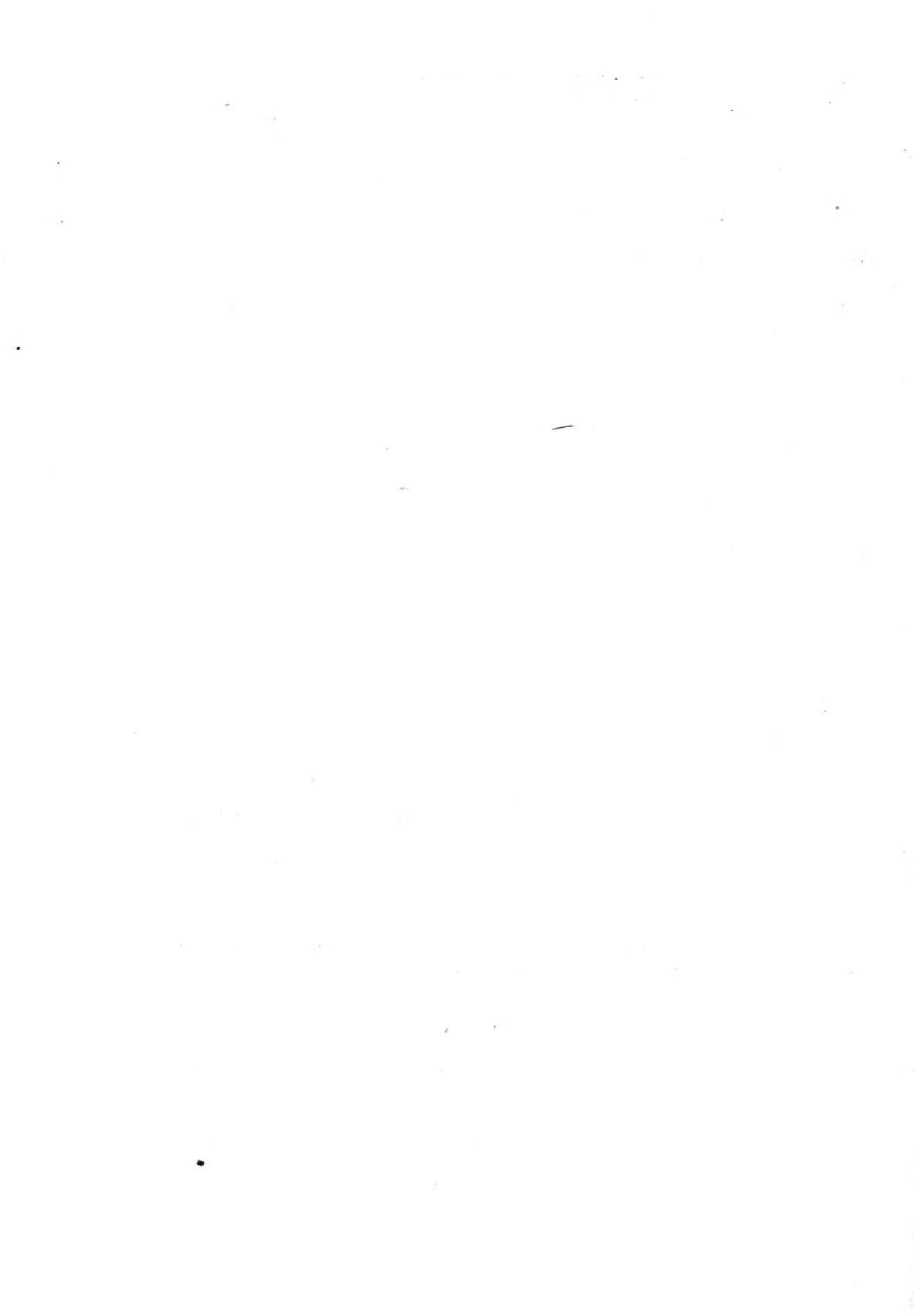
* This Thomas Baskerville Esq. of Bayworth in the parish of Sunningwell near Abingdon, was a gentleman of learning and curiosity, especially in his younger years, he was commonly known to the students of Oxford, by the nick-name of *The King of Jerusalem*, and died about the year 1705, Aged 90 and upwards, as appears from a Print of him. His Father was Hannibal Baskerville formerly of Brazen College in Oxford. See some account of him in *The Life of Mr Antony a Wood*, written by himself, and printed by Mr Hearne at the end of *Tho. Cuius Vindiciae Acad. Oxon.* Vol. 2. Pag. 516.

FURTHER
OBSERVATIONS
UPON THE
WHITE HORSE
AND OTHER
ANTIQUITIES
IN
BERKSHIRE.
WITH AN ACCOUNT OF
WHITELEAF-CROSS
IN
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

As also of The RED HORSE in Warwickshire,
and some other Monuments of the same kind.

By FRANCIS WISE B.D. Fell. of Trin. Coll. Oxon.

O X F O R D,
Printed for *Thomas Wood* at the University Printing-House,
M D C C X L I I.



FURTHER
OBSERVATIONS
UPON THE
WHITE HORSE &c.

IF we would be thoroughly acquainted with former ages, and without it, I fear, we shall never make a right judgment of the present, we must search into their History and Monuments, whatever they are, and be content with such informations as they will afford us: And it cannot, I presume, be thought an irrational amusement, to trace the progress of arts and sciences through their several stages; and to note their origin, declension, and emergence; for this it must be owned is the business in effect. If some ages are more obscure than others, destitute of History, and inelegant as to monuments, their fate is much to be lamented, and the employment here, we confess, is uninviting. But the Monuments, however rude and barbarous, still have their use, and contribute equally to the end proposed.

In England books and records seem to have been thoroughly examined; and as far as these will carry us back, the more early part of our History has been traced out by several able hands. Though it must be confessed, that the best appearance

it bears is very jejune and imperfect: and that those who have attempted to supply it's defects, have been obliged to have recourse to fiction and fable. Nothing therefore remains, but to correct, confirm, or illustrate what has been already written; and this cannot otherwise be done, than by comparing it with coeval monuments.

In this respect our antiquaries have laboured with a diligence beyond that of any other nation; and their endeavours have been attended with such success, that by some it may be thought, the subject is quite exhausted. Nevertheless the hidden monuments daily brought to light sufficiently convince us of the contrary; and that even the more conspicuous ones have not been so carefully handled as they ought, the monument before us will ever be a standing witness.

Antiquity is a vast ocean, itself known but to few, and it's bounds to none. The first adventurers on it have light upon golden mines and a richer coast: but their followers have likewise found the way to discoveries of equal benefit to mankind. The former have had greater opportunities and better fortune; but the attempts of the latter are far from being useless, nor are they perhaps less difficult.

The White Horse is an antiquity of a class that had hitherto escaped the observation of the curious: so far from being taken notice of by our antiquaries, that it's existence had in a manner been denied by "one of the greatest character among them. Here then, without pretending to the skill and experience of other adventurers in this way, I flatter myself that I have steered a right course. And whether the discovery shall

^a BERCHERIA frumenti ferax, ubi in vallem subsidet, quam à nescio qua ALBI EQUI forma in candicante colle imaginata, The Vale of White Horse vocant. Camden. Britannia in Attrebatiiis.

be thought of any importance to the world or not; yet I cannot but look upon it as a piece of good fortune happening to myself.

At the same time I am prepared to meet with the common fate of travellers; to have my account for a while suspected of romance: still trusting that a little better acquaintance with things of this nature, the testimony of other travellers, and some new discovery, may by degrees wear off the air of improbability, if there is any, and reconcile the world to my opinion.

If there are any who can think so injuriously of this noble monument, as to conceive it to be wholly without design or meaning, the work of Shepherds, or other people of much leisure, and little art; they shall enjoy their notions unmolested for me. It is not for such that I undertake this second task: but to remove the scruples of the learned and ingenuous; to answer the demands of those friends, who think I have not been full and explicit enough: and in short to give them, if possible, the same satisfaction which I have gained to myself.

Before I proceed let me bespeak the reader's candid attention to what I am about. The concurrence of the learned is what, I suppose, every author sets out with an expectation of; and if I fail in this, I only undergo the fate of thousands. But should it appear that I am in the right, I hope I may expect their thanks; and if in the wrong, not despair of their forgiveness. The difficulties I have to struggle with, may justly plead for favourable allowances. Where History is silent, and the monuments don't speak for themselves, demonstration cannot be expected; but the utmost is conjecture supported by probability. If therefore any expressions have escaped me, which seem to forestal the readers judgment, and to pronounce too
perem-

peremptorily upon the age and meaning of the monument; they will be considered as words of course, and flowing from one, who was fully persuaded of the truth of what he wrote, and as well satisfied almost, as if he had had demonstration on his side.

Ashdown. The first thing that came under consideration in my former ^a essay, and upon which most of what followed necessarily depended, was the place where Alfred and his brother King Ethelred obtained a compleat victory over the Danes, A.D. 871. Asser says it was at *Ætceþūn*, *Mons Fraxini*, or *Ashdown*; a place well known in the Saxon times, but since hard to be discovered, nor universally agreed upon, by our Antiquaries. Talbot as I shewed from ^b Leland took it to be *Ashdown Forest* in Suffex; ^c Somner *Ashdown* in Effex; but neither of these the too great distance from Reading, the head quarters of the Danes at that time, will admit of. ^d Bishop Kennet once thought it to be *Ashendon* in Buckinghamshire, but mentions his opinion with so much diffidence, that it is plain, he intended to lay no great stress upon it: for he clearly saw, that from the progress of the Danish arms, it must be somewhere in West-Sex. The Right Reverend and very learned editor of the ^e Saxon Annals, to whose authority no antiquary need be ashamed to subscribe, had before placed it at *Astun* near Wallingford in Berkshire; and this opinion has been followed by later writers.

Nothing besides the necessity of pursuing truth, shall ever

^a Letter to Dr Mead concerning some Antiquities in Berkshire. Pag. 20.

^b Joannis Lelandi Collectan. 8vo. Oxon. 1715. Vol. III. Pag. 194.

^c Glossarium Anglo-Saxon. Fol. Oxon. 1659. in Voce *Ætceþūne*.

^d Parochial Antiquities of Burcester, Ambrosden &c. 4to. Oxford 1696. Pag. 35.

^e See the Index of Places names at the End of the Saxon Annals.

prevail with me publickly to declare my dissent from any author, much less from one of so great character, as his Lordship. But it was then and still is my opinion, that the battel was fought not far from a town called *Ashbury*, on the western extremity of Berkshire.

To support this opinion, I shewed that the old name *Ashdown* was still preserved in that neighbourhood by the tradition of Shepherds. That there was the seat of the Right Honourable the Lord Craven called in old writings *Ashdown Park*. And that *Ashbury* itself was formerly called *Ashdown* in charters granted to *Glastonbury Abby*. The Leiger book of this monastery is now preserved in the ^a Bodleian Library. The deeds relating to the several estates, are here very fairly register'd under proper heads; and the book itself seems to be about Four hundred years old. Under the title *Ashbury*, we find the first charter by me mentioned, of ^b *Ethelwolph* to *Dundan*, which

^a MSS. Empt. ab Anton. a Wood N. 1.

^b *CARTA ATHELWOLPH FACTA DUNDAN MINISTRO SUO DE AISHEDOUNE.*
*Regnante imperpetuo domino nostro Ihesu Christo omnia speciosa regna hujus labentis vite, regnorumque dispensatores cum velocitate deficiunt, & cuncta que videntur, cassabunda & moritura sunt; que hic non videntur, eterna sunt; ideo caducis & vanis rebus jugiter mansura gaudia mercanda sunt. Qua de re Ego Athelwolphus domino largiente Occidentalium Saxonum Rex pro unice anime mee & animum [sic f. peccaminum] meorum remissione, aliquam agri partem, id est, Decem Cassatos, in loco qui dicitur *AISSEHEDOUNE* cum consilio & licentia Episcoporum, ac Principum meorum *DUDAN* [sic] ministro meo in jus proprium habendi & fruendi vita convertite, [sic f. manente] & post obitum illius qualicumque heredi, prout illi placeat, relinquendum, devotamente largitus sum. Hancque libertatem in predicto *Asello* [f. Agello] nos omnes unanimiter conscripsimus atque donavimus, ut ab omnium fiscalium tributum [f. tributorum] grandine, [f. gravamine] necnon passu Episcoporum, simulque Principum, & exactorum, & penaliu rerum, & furis comprehensione, & ab omnium secularium servitutum molestia secura & innumerus, [f. immunis] eternaliter permaneat. Scripta est hec cartula Anno ab Incarnatione *XPI DCCCXL*. Indictione tertia in villa regali que appellatur *Hamptone*, hiis & consencientibus & subscribentibus quorum nomina prenotata cernentibus clare patefcunt. ✕ Ego Athelwolph Rex predicta possessionem statuta signo Crucis *XPI* sic subscribo. ✕ Ego Athelstan Eps consensi, signo Crucis sic subscribo. cum multis aliis. Chartularium Monast. Glaston. MS. Fol. 245. 2.*

because

because omitted in the Monasticon I here give at the bottom of the page. It is dated as I observed before A. D. 840. and here is express mention made of *Ayſhdoune*. The next is the charter of King Edred to Count Edric A. D. 947, published in the ^a Monasticon, wherein is this clause, *Ubi vulgus prisca relatione vocitat at Ayſhdoune*. Therefore the name *Ayſhdoune* seems to have grown obsolete about this time, and to have given place to the more modern one of *Ashbury*. And I am confirmed in this notion by another ^b charter of the same King Edred dated a few years later, viz. A. D. 953, containing a grant to his servant Ælſſige and his wife Eadgiva, of certain lands æt Ærceþburuh. The above-mentioned lands of Edric were granted to the monastery by himself in the time of Dunstan the Abbat. After these come other later deeds, in which the place is from thenceforth always called Ashbury. To this evidence from charters I added the corroborating circumstances of Camps and Barrows, and other funeral monuments in that neighbourhood, which I imagined would put the thing beyond dispute. Notwithstanding which, I desire to be thought not at all bigotted to an opinion: but if any author shall discover another Ashdown in West-Sex, whose distance from Reading will correspond with the history, and which will afford us any marks of a battle; I shall be content to give up this argument, with every thing that is built upon it.

Cuckhamſley Hill
and Aſton. There is one thing which seems to bear hard upon my hypothesis, of Ashbury being the place of battle; and that is its situation with regard to Cuckhamſley Hill. It being said in the Annals

^a Monasticon Anglicanum. Fol. Lond. 1661. Vol. 2. pag. 842.

^b Cl. Humf. Wanley Catal. MSS. Saxonice. Fol. Oxon. 1703. p. 235.

under the year 1006. ^a *That the Danes came to Wallingford, and entirely destroyed that place, and from thence went along Ashdown to Cwichelmes-Low; now thought to be Cuckhamsley hill.*

What is called in the Maps *Cuckhamsley Hill* is a large barrow standing on a wide plain, overlooking the Vale of White Horse, and in the midway between Wallingford and Ashbury: by the Common people called *Cuchinflow*, *Scuchinflow*, and *Scuchamere*. This passage therefore seems to bring Ashdown within a very narrow compass, (for Cuchinflow is not above seven or eight miles from Wallingford) and it may be thought there could be no great difficulty in finding it. But if I should enquire where it is, and should be answered, at Aston directly in the road between Wallingford and Cuchinflow, I must take the liberty to say, I should be as little satisfied, as If I had been told Blubery or any other town lying in the same direction. Aston in short has no pretension to be the place, besides that of distance between these two points. For the name itself, I shewed, did not favour that opinion; *The East Town*, for it implies no more, being in signification as widely distant from *Ashdown*, or *Ash Hill*, as can well be imagined.

I take it for granted, because I think it would be mere cavilling to dispute it, that *Ærceþun* mentioned in the foregoing passage of the Annals, is the same *Ærceþun* where the battel was fought A. D. 871. And therefore think I had reason to doubt, whether *Epichelme-leape* could be the same place, which is now called *Cuchinflow*. For though I grant it to agree very well with the Saxon name; yet if I shew Ashdown to lie in the line beyond it; the Danes could not first pass from Walling-

^a And þeþon þa to Ƴealingaforða. 7 þet eall forþpelon. 7 pænðon him and-
lang Ærceþune Cpichelme-leape Ƴeþohton. Chron. Saxon. 4to. Oxon. 1692.
Pag. 135.

ford through Ashdown, in their way to Cuchinflow. We may sometimes be mistaken in comparing the new and old names of places. And though we can fix upon some places with tolerable certainty; yet we cannot answer for their distances agreeing with others, whose situation is less certain. I have produced authorities enough from books and monuments, to shew where Ashdown lies, and where the battle was fought: and it was my unhappiness rather than my fault, if I was not able to ascertain the site of Epichelmeyleape; which is but once mentioned in the Annals and so less liable to be found out.

Whilst I was under this uncertainty, ^a I supposed it to mean some town in North Wiltshire or Gloucestershire, but am now obliged to retract this opinion, having found in ^b *Dr Hickeys's Thesaurus* the record of a County Court held at Epichelmeyleape in the time of King Ethelred. The learned author indeed does not tell us in what County, but it appears to me from the names of towns mentioned in the record, that it could be no other than Berkshire. If it could be shewn that any town stood formerly at Cuchinflow, with a Church and Churchyard, for there ^c Sr William Dugdale tells us these County Courts were usually held, there would be good reason to think, this was the place. Nor will I now deny it; not only the name so exactly answering to the old one; but no place being better situated for that purpose. And if there was no Town, perhaps Tents, Booths and other temporary expedients were used for shelter against the weather, during the time of Court.

^a See the Letter to Dr Mead concerning some Antiquities &c. Pag. 20.

^b *Сѣмостѣ азъ Спичелмеѣлеѣпе &c. Convenus ad Cwichelmes-leavam aſſo.* To determine a dispute about some lands lying in Haccebunna, Yulfamepa, Bpadanyrelva, Deccect-
ca, i. e. *Hagbourn, Wulmere, Bradfield and Datchet*, towns in Berkshire. Cl. Hickeys. *Diff. Epist. ad D. Barthol. Shower.* Pag. 5.

^c See his book entitled *Origines Juridicales.* Fol. Lond. 1671. p. 31, 32.

But

But though I allow *Cuchinflow* to be the ancient *Epichelme-læpe*, yet no one can expect that I should leave *Ashdown* to shift for itself, whose site is in my opinion so much clearer. This is a difficulty no way to be got over, but either by supposing the above-mentioned passage in the *Annals* to be a little confused, which is frequently the case, and that it is capable of another meaning, than it seems to bear at first sight; as that *The Danes leaving Wallingford*, traversed the Vale, and came to *Ashbury*, and then came back again, along *Ashdown*, or the *Rudge Way*, to *Cuchinflow*: or else by supposing that the Ridge of Hills between *Wallingford* and *Cuchinflow* is likewise called *Ashdown*; or lastly by transposing the two names, and instead of saying they went through *Ashdown* to *Cuchinflow*, that they went from *Cuchinflow* to *Ashdown*; and then the difficulty vanishes at once. This is not improbable, since there is a battel mentioned immediately afterwards at *Kennet* in *Wiltshire*, which is much nearer to *Ashdown* than *Cuchinflow*.

The White Horse. When I first saw the *White Horse*, I could not hesitate to pronounce it an antiquity of the Saxon age, tho' I was sometime at a loss for it's author; and must own, that I formed several conjectures, before I hit upon, what appeared to me to be the right. There were two of our ^a Saxon princes prior to *Alfred*, who might seem entitled to it, *Cerdic* the *West Saxon* and *Offa* the *Mercian*.

Whosoever shall choose the former of these, will have in my judgment greatly the disadvantage; tho' the funeral monument just under the *Horse*, which I attribute to the *Pendragon* slain by *Cerdic*, may at first sight favour that opinion. The *Horse*,

^a *Cerdic* came into England A. D. 495. and died A. D. 534. *Offa* began his reign A. D. 755. and died A. D. 794. *Annal. Saxon.*

whatever some may think of it, is a monument too polite for that age, and that people. A people strangers to good arts, just arrived from a barbarous country, can never be thought capable of designing a figure, that was to be surveyed at such a distance, and is executed in such a masterly manner. And if they were able to draw the figure of an Horse, however rudely in their banner, it is all the merit, I can prevail with myself to allow them.

Cerdic's character is that of a Souldier rough with war. He was in all probability the same enemy to civil Arts, as his contemporaries of the Northern hive, the Vandals. These were not cultivated in his own country; nor could he learn them here, had he been desirous of it, from a people sunk perhaps into the same degree of barbarity with himself.

It will be no easy matter to find proofs to this purpose, from the customs of the first Saxons. Anniversary or other festivals, such as that of Scouring the Horse, which I suppose to be in memory of a victory, could not well be instituted under unsettled states, and Kings, whose whole business was to proceed on their conquests. Equally hard will it be, to produce a monument of the same kind, which has any pretence to be of this age, or near it. At least I can recollect of their publick works, only funeral monuments for their great men slain in battel, and fortifications for the security of their troops.

All true politeness seems to have been buried with the Roman majesty in this Isle; nor can we trace any symptoms of it's revival, till the time of Ethelbert, and the coming of Austin the Monk; when a correspondence with Italy, and the more southern countries, naturally introduced an acquaintance with literature. The prevailing superstition of that, and the following ages, was so far from being a detriment to good arts, that they

they may be thought in great measure to have been kept alive by it. The genius or taste of our Saxon princes and Nobles distinguished itself by sumptuous buildings, monasteries and churches, with their several ornaments of pictures and images. And though the arts had then sadly degenerated from the ancient Roman elegance, yet England shared no more than the common fate of all Europe: and in Offa's reign, a prince great both in arts and arms, it may seem to have vied with the most polite countries, in producing the best masters. Witness some of the coins of that King, which breath a spirit and design, vastly exceeding those of his predecessors, and successors in the Saxon line; and are no way inferior to the best of his contemporaries.

This age, if I may be allowed to judge, bids much fairer than the former for the workmanship of the Horse, and History itself may seem to favour it. The author, whoever he was, quoted from an old book by "Mr Camden, tells us, *That after Kenwulf was overthrown, whatsoever lay under his jurisdiction from the town of Wallingford in the South part from Ickenild-street as far as Essebury [or Ashbury] and in the North part as far as the River Thames, King Offa seized upon.* This fragment of history, I must own, made me once conjecture, that the Horse was the work of Offa; and set up either as a Trophy of his Victory, or the boundary of his territories. The neighbourhood of Ashbury may seem to countenance the latter opinion, as well as the town of Uffington, where he has left his name. But it could not well be designed for a Trophy, because Kenwulf was overthrown at ^b Benfington in Oxfordshire, some fif-

^a See Mr Camden's Britannia in Berkshire.

^b Chronicon Saxonum. 4to. Oxon. 1692. A. D. 785. Pag. 61.

teen miles from this place: and perhaps a ditch or bank may be thought a more proper boundary, and more suited to the age of Offa: such is that, I^a mentioned before, beginning from Sagbury castle and running for several miles eastward, which in all likelihood was made by him upon this occasion. Besides whoever considers the Horse with attention, will I believe, rather suppose it designed to distinguish Saxons from some other people, than a mark of distinction between Saxons and Saxons, because, I presume, it was common to them all alike. And this leads me to enquire, what was the Saxon Arms or Standard.

*The Saxon Standard
a Horse.*

To prevent all occasion of cavilling, it will be proper to premise, that I take the liberty of using the words *Standard* and *Arms* synonymously. The former, from being a necessary part of the military apparatus, having in my opinion as good a right to be called *Arms*, as those inferiour badges, by which particular persons chose to distinguish themselves, and their followers in time of war; and which by degrees became the marks of their respective families. I may add, that the Standard does not seem to have been less hereditary among princes, than modern arms among private gentlemen, nor to have been altered without some very good reason. As appears from the practice of all States, in their constant use of the same Standard through many generations.

The ancient Standards of all nations demanded a sort of religious veneration; the ^b Device being commonly something to

^a See the Letter to Dr Mead concerning some Antiquities &c. Pag. 55.

^b *Nulla regio cui nihil insignium saltem in signis militaribus. Et hæc cum publica essent, vel à cætelari regis numine, vel ab ANIMALI EI SACRO, à re quædam loci propria, aut capitis auspicianti, communive genio ardentente deducebant, fore sic sibi secundum in præliis rati.* Cl. Hen. Spelman. *Aspilogia Fol. Lond. 1654. Pag. 7.*

which

which they paid a more than ordinary regard, and upon which they superstitiously depended in time of war. History furnishes us with nothing which the Germans held in greater veneration, next to their Gods, than their Sacred White Horses. These they believed to be the servants of their Gods; from these they drew their presages of good and bad fortune, before they undertook any enterprize, as we are assured upon the testimony of ^aTacitus, and ^aSaxo Grammaticus. And what better omen of Victory could they place at the head of their armies, than the Oracle which they consulted in time of war?

It must here be observed, that *Saxony*, or *Saxland*, tho' it now signify only a part of the Empire, yet antiently comprehended the whole: and He whom we now call *Emperor of Germany*, was formerly stiled ^b*Keyser* [or *Cæsar*] of *Saxland*; and that our Historians when they speak of the Germans, make use of the term ^c*Old-Saxons*, perhaps in counterdistinction to the new Colony of that people planted in Britain.

From ^dBede's account we may gather, that the General of these Old-Saxons, for they had no King, was in power not unlike the Roman Dictator. He was chosen from among the Nobles by lot, while the exigencies of their State required such an Officer, but when those ceased, he returned to his former station. And therefore it cannot easily be presumed that the

^a See the quotations from these authors in the Letter to Dr Mead. Pag. 28, 29.

^b ðam Kayene of Sexland. Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1006. Se Kayene of Sexlant. Id. A. D. 1129.

^c Eald-Seaxe i. e. *Antiqui Saxones, Eald-Saxones*. See Bede, Asser, Chron. Saxon. &c.

^d *Non enim habent Regem iidem Antiqui Saxones, sed Satrapas plurimos suæ genti præpositos, qui ingruente belli articulo mittunt equaliter sortes, & quemcunque fors ostenderit, hunc tempore belli Ducem omnes sequuntur, & huic obtemperant. Peractio autem bello, rursus equalis potentia omnes sunt Satrapæ.* Bedæ Hist. Eccles. Lib. V. c. 10.

General would take upon him to alter the National Standard at pleasure.

Nevertheless if some persons will still without any grounds assert, that each chief chose a different Standard, and that Hengist in particular chose one in allusion to his name; they must allow what has been constantly averred by the writers of the Saxon affairs, and was never yet denied by any one, that it was a Horse: and most probable it is, that it was a White One; since Witikind the Great, whose pedigree all authors derive from Hengist, did without dispute bear a White Horse. This indeed he is said by ^a Krantzius not to have done till after his conversion to Christianity, having till that time born a Black One. But those who are acquainted with the history of Armory, know very well, that it was the custom of the Age when Krantzius wrote, as well as before, for authors to give reasons for the several bearings of Arms, full of fancy and superstition; and to find a sort of mystical meaning in every Symbol. Witikind's baptism, was, as they very rightly judged, the most remarkable occurrence of his life; and therefore they seem to have adjusted his Arms to that critical time. From these allegorizers it is, that the Story has since found place in history, from whence it has descended to Poets, and ^b Painters, and even to the ^c Civil Lawyers, where it has lost nothing of it's former embellishments.

^a *Armorum insignia, que militaribus, ut fit, signis præferebat, PULLUM EQUINUM habebat ATRUM: sed placuit regi [Witichindo] postquam de tenebris gentilium errorum pervenit in Lucem Veritatis, ut CANDIDUM acciperet, eaque vetustissima Saxonie Arma.* Alb. Krantzius Saxonica Lib. II. c. 24.

^b Amongst the Paintings in the Royal Palace at Turin, Witichind is represented receiving the White Horse in a Shield, from his Godfather Charles the Great.

^c *Hujus Equi colorem Witikindo post receptum baptismum Carolus non solum mutavit, sed & nomen aliud imposuit. Pro Atro enim Equo Album in campo rubro absque frenis & ephippio salientem concessit, nec amplius prisco nomine Ludgerum, sed Witikindum appellari voluit, ut ex sacro renatus son-*

That the White Horſe then was Witikind's Badge, I can readily allow; but that he bore it as the badge of his Chriſtianity, I can by no means believe; becauſe, as ^a I ſhewed before, the inhabitants of the Iſle of Rugen, which was ^b part of Witikind's territories, for ſome centuries after his death, preferred the old cuſtom, of preſaging by a White Horſe. 'Tis true their religion was a mixture of Paganism and Chriſtianity, but to which of the two this cuſtom ought to be referred, it is eaſy enough to determine.

We cannot be at a loſs for the poſture of Witikind's Horſe, tho' perhaps with ſome little variation; becauſe it has been ſo religiously preſerved in the Arms of his deſcendants. The Counts of Oldenburg bear it quarterly; the Elector of Cologne bears it as the mark of Weſtphalia; the preſent Royal Family of Great Britain, has reſtored it to our Arms, as Dukes of Brunſwick; and the Dukes of Brunſwick Wolphenbuttle have transferred it from their Shield to the place of the Creſt. Theſe all bear the White Horſe current from the ſiniſter part of the ſhield; but the Houſe of Savoy from the dexter part, and in a

se, omni ex parte Candidus eſet. Theod. Hoepingius De Armorum priſco & novo jure. Fol. Noriberg. 1642. Cap. VI. §. 698. Pag. 342. *Nigro hunc colore primitus à Saxonæ Ducibus delatum fuiſſe, omnes perhibent, ut indicent ſcilicet fortiffimos & animoſiffimos bellatores eſſe, qui difficillime frenum jugumque admittant. Inveniuntur enim Nigri Equi nulla alba nota inſigniti, ac ſere indomiti, quibus ad generoſum animum & freni impatientem ſignificandum Pulli Nigri præ ſpadicibus & glaucis, (qui nigredinem albedini admixtam habent, ita tamen ut nigredo ſuperet, & ob id domium facilliores) dignitate commodior haberi non poſſit teſtera. Hunc ita acceptum Carolus Magnus Saxones domans, ac Chriſtianæ fidei ſacris initiatis, in Album convertit, quo oſtenderet, ſe perſeverantiam ſuperbiam & effrenem licentiam, qua perpetuo recalcitrabant, nec reſtorem ſerebant, moderari velle: ſic tamen ut generoſum animum & ejus ſymbolum retinerent, ſed mutato colore temperatores ac facilliores ad regendum ſe pollicerentur.* Idem. Pag. 343.

^a Saxo Grammat. Hiſt. Danica Fol. Soræ. 1644. Lib. XIV.

^b *Witichindus ob rerum geſtarum celebritatem MAGNUS cognominatus, Rex Saxonum Dux Angariæ, Princeps Rugiæ, & Dynaſta Ilenburgi.* Eliæ Reufneii Genealogia inclyti ſtemmatis Witichindæi. Fol. Jenæ. 1597.

posture something more erect than the others. Whence this difference of bearing the Horse arose, is not easily accounted for, but in the oldest picture which I have seen of Witikind, given us by ^a one who professedly wrote his life, he bears both the Black and White Horse current from the dexter part, as in our monument.

Whosoever considers the Saxon White Horse, as described in these Arms ^b running at liberty, and without any marks of restraint, will find no difficulty in believing it to be the very same with the Sacred White Horse of the Germans described by Tacitus.

The only question then with me is, When this White Horse ceased to be the Standard of our Saxon ancestors? For tho' they came over hither in different parties, yet I am as much persuaded that all the descendants of Woden at that time bore the White Horse; as that the several families abovementioned, who derive their pedigrees from Witikind, bear it at present. That of the Counts of Oldenburg excepted, which I think is extinct.

Authors I know have given each of the Seven Kingdoms a different banner, but I fear upon no very good grounds, and which may be justified from antiquity. Authentick history I may venture to say is not so particular as to give us the difference. It is more reasonable to think, that tho' they might have several devices in their subordinate banners, yet the White Horse was the principal cognifance of the Saxons, as the Eagle was of the Romans. If it will be thought, that a different ban-

^a Elias Reufner. Geneal. Inclyt. stem. Witichind. as above. See likewise Nicol. Reufner. Icones Imp. &c. Saxon. cum elogiis. Fol. Jenæ. 1597.

^b *Abatur in nemoribus Equi — Candidi & nullo moriali opere contacti.* Tacitus de Moribus Germanorum.

EQVVS WITIKINDEVS.



p. 616.

Comes Oldenburgicus.
Spener Hist Insig.



p. 569.

Coloniensis Archiepiscopus.
Spener Hist Insig.



Mag. Brit. Rex.



p. 307.

Brunsvic. Guelph. Dux.
Spener Hist Insig.



p. 328.

Sabaudie Dux.
Ashm. Cart. p. 714.

ner was necessary to distinguish each prince from his enemy during the wars among themselves: I answer that each banner might be sufficiently distinguished without injury to the main figure, or White Horse. And the Colour of the Field for instance, the most glaring distinction, may be diversified more than enough for the whole Heptarchy. Whosoever contended for sovereignty over the others, and this was the occasion of most of their wars, would not easily quit his pretensions to the original Saxon Arms: and the West Saxons in particular, to whom the rest at last submitted, had the best title to them, notwithstanding what later authors have been pleased to say to the contrary.

When therefore we find the Horse, or, if you please, the White Horse, to have been the banner of the Ancient Saxons: that it was particularly brought into Britain by the first Saxon Generals who came over hither: that it continued to be the banner of Saxony with those who were left behind: and was used by their succeeding Generals, Dukes or Kings, as they were afterwards called; and we have no reason to think it was discontinued in England: When we discover moreover, in the known territories of the West Saxon Kings, the Monument of a Horse, which ^atradition has constantly called a White one; formed

^a A learned writer to whose judgment and candour I must always acknowledge myself in a particular manner indebted, has furnished me with the following remark. *Whatever opinion the reader may entertain of it: [The White Horse] original; it is certainly a work of great antiquity. In an Age, when neither such works, nor enquiries concerning them were produced; it is mentioned, as a well known monument; as is evident from the following record, for which I am beholden to a person [Mr. George Holmes] whose friendship I shall ever honour and esteem.*

Oxon }
Berks } *Class. 42. E. 3. m. 6. dorso.*

Gerard de L'Isle tient en la Vale de WHITE HORSE 1. Fee.

Answer to a Scandalous Libel entitled, The impertinence and imposture of modern Antiquaries display'd &c, 4to. Lond. 1740.

after

after such a manner, as shews it was intended for a signal, very remarkable and visible, to the neighbouring country; and which is allowed by all true antiquaries to be incontestably of the Saxon Age: what can we conclude from all this, but that the White Horse was the banner or arms of the West Saxon Kingdom? This then is the opinion, which I have deliberately embraced; nor do intend to relinquish, but upon better reasons, than have as yet been brought against it.

The Device of the Banner commonly allotted to the West Saxon Kingdom is a Dragon; which, I presume, is founded entirely upon what Henry Huntingdon has related of King Cuthred in his war with Ethelbald the Mercian A. D. 752; where it is said, *“ Ethelhun that Kings Standardbearer, so he is pleased to call him, bore the Golden Dragon as his ensign at the battle of Burford: a punctilio which our ancient Saxon Annalists, who delighted in simplicity and plain narration, always omit; and which would never have been inserted, but by one who thought a battle could not well be described without it. Henry Huntingdon is an author to be read with caution; ^b he often*

a Ethelhun præcedens Westsexenses, regis insigne, DRACONEM scilicet AUREUM, gerens, transforavit vexilliferum hostilem. H. Huntingdon. Hist. Lib. IV. Pag. 341.

b For this I shall give you a much better authority than my own, namely that of Mr Milton. Hisbert, says he, has been collected, what there is of certainty, with circumstance of time and place, to be found register'd, and no more than barely register'd in Annals of best note; without describing after Huntingdon, the manner of those battles and encounters, which those who compare and can judge of books, may be confident he never found any current author he had to follow. Hist. of England. 4to. Lond. 1670. A.D. 527. Yet from hence to the Danish invasion it will be worse with us destitute of Bede. Left to obscure and blockish Chronicles, whom Malinsbury and Huntingdon (for neither they than we had better authorities of those times) ambitious to adorn the History, make no scruple of times, I doubt, to interline with conjectures and surmises of their own. Idem A. D. 731. And concerning this very fight between Ethelbald and Cuthred; Huntingdon, says he, as his manner is to comment upon the Annual Text makes a terrible description of that fight between Cuthred and Ethelbald, and the prowess of Ethelhun, but so affectedly, and therefore suspiciously, that I hold it not worth rehearsal. Id. Pag. 175.

ufes a poetical licenfe of embellifhing his fubject according to his own fancy, without the leaft warrant from the Saxon Annals, from whence he copies. As this is notorious to every one who reads him; fo it occafions matter of wonder to me, that Antiquaries of great name fhould in this cafe allow fo much weight to his fingle testimony. Whereas I can eafily bear with fome others of a lower clafs, who have run headlong into a difcuffion of this queftion, without pretending to know any thing more of the matter, than what they have borrowed from modern authorities, and this too at fecond hand.

The Dragon was the Standard of the Parthians, Dacians, and Scythians, as well as of the ^a Romans; but it can with no manner of certainty be faid to have been ufed in England, till after the Norman Conqueft. And if we may be permitted to follow the ^v opinion of the moft learned and judicious ^b antiquary of the French nation, The Dragon belonged to our Englifh Kings, as being the hereditary badge of the Dukes of Normandy. At the latter end of the Twelfth Century, when Huntingdon wrote, we have reafon to think it was a Royal Banner, fince then it is ^c faid to have been ufed by our Kings in their wars with the infidels: and this, I am inclined to think, was Huntingdon's only reafon for allotting it to Cuthred.

Though it may be a queftion, when, and by whom, our Horfe on the Hill was made; yet that it was defigned to represent *The Kings Arms*, I believe moft people are by this time convinced;

^a *Muta Signa funt Aquile, Dracones.* Veget. de Re Militari &c. Lib. III. Cap. 5.

^b Du Frefne Gloffar. Med. & Infim. Latinitatis. Fol. Lut. 1678. Vol. 2. p. 175.

^c *Regium illud apud Anglos Vexillum Draconis habens cum capite aureo effigiem, quod vicinis expertum, & paganis fub Ricardo I. in ultramarinis genibus terribile fuit.* Mr Camden quotes this paffage from Gervafius Tilburienfis MS. See the Britannia in Cornwall. And Du Frefne in his Gloffary more correctly under the word DRACO.

and those who are not, I must leave at their liberty, to think what else they please of it.

When the White Horſe ceaſed to be the Saxon Standard.

Perhaps it would go a good way towards determining the diſpute; if we could, as I before obſerved, diſcover, when the White Horſe ceaſed to be the Saxon Standard. Here authors are ſilent, and the truth is not to be come at, but by Conjecture at preſent. In this uncertainty, though I may expoſe myſelf once more to the laſh of my enemies, yet I ſhall not be afraid to give my opinion, that the reign of Alfred was the very time.

Though it might be an innovation of ſome importance; yet when we conſider the many publick regulations, which that prince made for the better in our laws and cuſtoms. In the forms of judicature; in the methods of ^a diſciplining the Souldiery and Artificers; we ſhall find no reign more likely for ſuch a change than this. To which when we add his ſingular piety, and ſuperſtitious regard for relicks, according to the cuſtom of that age; no one can think it unlikely that he ſhould lay aſide the old pagan device, or White Horſe, and aſſume that of the Croſs. That the Croſs was King Alfred's Arms, I find aſſerted by ^b perſons whoſe authority I dare not queſtion. And to aſ-

^a *Inſereat tamen Rex inter bella & præſentis vitæ frequentia impedimenta, nec non Paganorum inſeſtationes, & quotidianas corporis infirmitates, & regni gubernacula regere, & omnem venandi artem agere; aurifices & artifices ſuos omnes, & falconarios, & accipitrarios, canicularios quoque docere; & ædificia ſupra omnem antecęſſorum ſuorum conſuetudinem venerabiliora & pretioſiora nova ſua machinatione facere &c.* Aſſer Annal. Rer. Geſt. Ælf. pag. 43.

^b See a MS. Roll in the Library of Corpus Chriſti College Oxon. ſigned by Sr Gilbert Dethyck Garter, and the other Kings of Arms; 7. E. 6. which gives him a Croſs Fitchéé. And in a MS. of Mr Brian Twyne's in the Univerſity Archives, I find this note. *King Alfred's Arms ſent unto me out of Ireland, by Mr Uſber. He beareth Azure a Croſs Paſché Or.* ✠ Twyne MS. Antiquar. 2. Pag. 240.

firm that it belonged to any of his predecessors, I find no authority upon which I can safely depend.

The reader will observe, that I take one thing for granted, which indeed cannot be so clearly demonstrated, viz. That the Crofs immediately succeeded in the room of the Horfe. But this liberty I hope our Heralds will indulge me in, till they can find something which has a better pretence to it's place. At what time it began to be received, seems in truth the only question. Shall we say that each of the Saxon Princes took it immediately upon his conversion to Christianity? Then it was not universally received at one time, because they were not all converted at once: so that this determines nothing. But there is good reason to think, it was not then the practice, at least here in England, to model the Standard so exactly to their faith. However fond they might be of the religion which they had just embraced, I will undertake to prove they were as much attached to their ancient lineage; and to discard the White Horfe, would have been little less, than renouncing their Saxon descent. Let us form a judgment of what they might have done in this case, from the behaviour of their kinsmen in Old Saxony; because, it may be presumed, they both had the same customs. Witikind thought his ancient badge no bar to his Christianity; because he is said to have born the White Horfe after his conversion: and I will venture to say, before too; without spending time to confute those, who can believe he ever bore a Black One.

Egbert the West-Saxon, who lived some time after Witikind, is the first, who is expressly said to have born the Crofs. The reason of conversion cannot be urged in his case, because he

* See the quotation below from Nicolas Upton De Off. Milit.

was bred a Christian, nor can I find any other reason from the whole history of his life. Whether it was his business to unite the Seven kingdoms under one Banner, will admit of a dispute; but it could be neither interest nor policy in him to alter the old one: which I must still believe to have been the White Horse, and shall be obliged to any one, who can inform me better.

Ethelwolph, his son and successor, may with much more reason be thought to have made the alteration: because in his time, an army of infidels, who had only appeared upon the coasts in the reign of his father, had now gained a settlement in the Island, tho' their conquests were not yet arrived to any great height. The good correspondence which this ^a King maintained with the Court of Rome, from whence the change may be thought to have proceeded, will afford us another argument in his favour. But still I cannot persuade myself, that the Cross was received in his lifetime, but that it was reserved for one of his successors. The reigns of his three eldest sons were short, and full of troubles; and perhaps gave no leisure for things of this sort. But the fourth, and most active of them all, cannot but be thought the most likely person to make the alteration, because no King of England before him ever had the like reason.

The Danes in his time began not only to be formidable to the natives in general; but the West Saxon Kingdom itself was entirely overrun by them. Then it was, that the piety of King

^a *Romæ quoque omni anno magnam pro anima sua pecuniam, id est, Trecentas Mancussas, portare præcepit, quæ taliter dividerentur: scilicet Centum Mancussas in honorem S. Petri; centum Mancussas in honorem S. Pauli; centum quoque Mancussas univèrsali Papæ Apostolico.* Asser. Pag. 13. He is said besides to have made more than one journey to Rome, and to have staid there a whole year at one time. A.D. 855.

Alfred first taught his subjects to pique themselves upon their profession; and this in order to obtain success against their enemies. We may observe, that though the Saxon Annals, and other writers, call that people Danes, from the time of their first arrival in England; yet his own ^a historian as he generally calls the Saxons Christians, so he gives the Danes no other name than that of Pagans; which could hardly happen without design. That religion was the main thing in dispute between them, appears further from Alfred's behaviour to the Danes after they were worsted. For we find him willing to come to the easiest terms with them, provided only that they would receive the Christian faith: as in the case of ^b King Guthrum, and his nobles. This indeed was in effect to bring them off insensibly from their barbarous and brutal customs; to persuade them to live under a more orderly rule, and to qualify themselves for being incorporated with the Saxons. So that here in England was an *Holy War* in the best sense of the word, earlier by above two hundred years than the first Crusade; and begun by that prince upon no idle motive; but upon the noblest principles, the defence of his own subjects, and the conversion of his enemies. And if we judge from the like instances, we must believe that all the preparations for the war had regard to the chief point; and that the Standard in particular was adapted to the occasion.

^a Asser Menevensis Annales rerum gestarum Ælfredi Magni.

^b Nec non & Godrum rex eorum Christianitatem subire, & baptismum sub manu Ælfredi regis accipere promisit: quæ omnia ille & sui, ut promiserant, impleverunt. Nam post hebdomadas septem, Godrum Paganorum rex cum Triginta electissimis de exercitu suo Vivis ad Ælfred regem prope Æthelringaeg, in loco qui dicitur Alve pervenit, quem Ælfred Rex in filium adoptionis sibi suscipiens, de fonte sacro baptismatis elevaravit; cujus Chrismatiss solutio octavo die in villa regia que dicitur Wædmôr fuit: qui postquam baptizatus fuit duodecim noctibus cum rege mansit; cui rex cum suis omnibus militibus & optima ædificiis largitus est. Asser. Pag. 34, 35.

If I might be permitted to be a little more exact as to time; I would say that the alteration of the banner began in the year 883, the time of King Alfred's^a receiving from Pope Marinus or Martin II, that part of our Saviour's Cross, which he afterwards^b repositied in Glastonbury Abbey. And perhaps authors who have wrote of Heraldry have often had no better grounds for their assertions.

That it was not unusual at that time of day for Princes and States to change their old banner, for a new one of the Pope's recommending, is pretty plain from the instance of the Bulgarians. These applied to Pope Nicholas I. who sat in the chair from A.D. 858, to A.D. 867. for a proper banner in the room of their old one, or the *Horse's Tail*; and received for answer, *What Ensign ought ye to bear, but the Sign of the Holy Cross? — This is that ensign of our faith, which Christian Princes always make use of in their necessities, and by which Kings professing the true religion often gain with Christ's assistance remarkable victories over their enemies.* Nothing can be more exactly suited to King Alfred's circumstances than this passage: and if he applied in the same manner to the Pope, we can-

^a *Qui etiam [Marinus] multa dona prædicto regi illa vice transmisit, inter quæ dedit non parvam illius SANCTISSIMÆ AC VENERABILISSIMÆ CRUCIS partem, in qua Dominus noster Jesus Christus pro universali hominum salute pependit.* Asser. Pag. 39.

^b *Alfredus sive Aluredus dedit partem de Ligno Domini.* Monasticon Anglic. Vol. I. Pag. 10.

^c *Quando præteritum inire soliti eratis, indicatis vos hæctenus in signo militari CAUDAM EQUI portasse, & sciscitamine quid nunc vice illius portare debeatis. Quid aliud uique nisi signum SANCTÆ CRUCIS? Ipsum est enim quo Moyses mare divisit, & Amalec interfecit; quo Gedeon Madianitas superavit; & Christus Dominus noster Diabolum, qui habebat mortis imperium, non solum superavit, sed prostravit. Ipsum est signum quod portamus in frontibus nostris: ipso à cunctis defendimur hostibus, & ab omnibus munimur incursionibus. Hoc est signum Fidei, & ingens horror diaboli, quo Christiani principes in necessitatibus suis semper munitur, & reges veram religionem sectantes, sæpe celebres Christo propitio triumphos de hostibus operantur.* Nicolai I. Responfa ad Consulta Bulgarorum. Artic. 33. Vide CONCILIA. Par. 1644. Tom. XXII. Pag. 455.

not but conclude that he likewise received the same answer. Perhaps it may add some weight to this argument, when it is remembred, that Marinus himself, before he came to the Popedom, was the very person ^a employed on this occasion by Nicholas I. to negotiate affairs with the Bulgarians.

King Alfred came behind none of his contemporaries in his compliments to the Holy See, and had particular ^b reasons for so doing. Besides the tribute, which his Father had made payable to Rome from the West-Saxon kingdom; we find him the same year in which he received that relick of the Cross, ^c sending thither a present or *Alms*, as it is there called, *which he had vowed*; and 'tis remarked under that year, that *affairs succeeded prosperously with him after the performance of his vows*. This Present seems to have been continued for several years after, being mentioned A.D. 887, 888, 890, and as a particular piece of respect, it is said to have been carried by persons of note and distinction, whose names are likewise recorded. Vows are commonly made by persons in distress, and performed upon extraordinary deliverances; and this was often the case of that Prince. As this account of performing his vows, immediately follows that of receiving the relick, it may justly be thought to bear some relation to it. And if he attributed an extraordinary virtue to the relick, as from his known ^d practice, we

^a Baronii Annales Ecclesiastici. Moguntia 1601. Tom. XI. Pag. 366.

^b *Leo Papa IV. Apostolicæ sedi præerat, qui præfatum insanem Ælfredum oppido ordinans unxit in Regem, & in filium adoptionis sibimet accipiens confirmavit.* Asser. p. 7.

^c DCCCLXXXIII. Marinus mæra Papa sende þa Lignum Domini Ælfrede cýninge. And þý ilcan geape lædde Sighelm. 7 Æþelstan þa ælmeþran to Rome. þe Ælfred cing gehet 7 ider. and eac to Sce Dome. 7 to Sce Barðolomee. Ða hi sæton wæs þone hepe æt Lundene 7 hu þær Godes þances 7 7 þe becnigðe wæron æfter þam gehatum. Annal. Saxon. Pag. 86, 87.

^d *Erat sedulus sanctorum locorum uisitor etiam ab infantia orandi & elemosynam dandi gratia.*
— *Sepissime galli cantu & matutinis horis clam consurgens, ecclesias & RELIQUIAS*
S.A.N.

have all the reason in the world to think he did; we can hardly doubt, but in imitation of other Christian Princes, he then, if ever, first took the Cross for his Banner.

That there was any real virtue in the relick, I will not pretend to say; but the new banner, if it was such, may be thought to have given new life to the Souldiery. For Alfred during the remainder of his reign came off conqueror in almost every engagement. Under this Prince, who was the restorer of the Saxon valour by land, and the founder of the Nation's power by Sea, I suppose, the Cross became the badge of the Fleet, as well as of the Army; and is still preserved in the present cognifance of the Royal Navy. For I think it would be derogating from the ancient honour of the British Flag, to derive it's original from any other monarch.

*The Cross the Arms
of the West-Saxon
Monarchs.*

The learned ^a St Henry Spelman will not allow that any of our Saxon Kings had Arms strictly speaking, and as they are commonly depicted on a Shield. And very justly finds fault with our Heralds, for describing them in the usual terms of Blazonry. But yet he allows, because it cannot be denied, that they had a ^b Banner in time of war. And that the figure in the banner must have been portrayed

SANCTORUM orandi causa visitabat, ibique diu prostratus orabat. Affer. Annal. Rer. Gest. Ælfr. pag. 40, 41. *Necnon sacramentum in omnibus RELIQUIIS, QUIBUS ILLE REX MAXIME POST DOMINUM CONFIDEBAT, juravit.* Idem. pag. 28.

^a *Reperiunt Danicorum, Anglo-Saxonum, Britannorumque regum arma absoluta speciosa serie passim edita. Commentum plane omnino otiosum, aut veterum Heraldorum, aut quod forte magis ardeat monachorum. Qui, (ut Histriones & Pictores solent) antiquorum pro ætatis suæ ritus effingentes clypeos item inructissimos cuique addiderunt.* D. Henr. Spelman. *Aspilogia.* Fol. Lond. 1654. Pag. 41.

^b *Signa procul dubio militaria, quæ in acie ordines sequerentur, vel regibus nostris veterimis defuisse non est cogitandum. Hoc evicis militaris ipsa necessitas, etiam Bedæ auctoritas.* Idem ibid,

upon

upon some Ground, is altogether consistent with reason, and rules of art; and This is what we call the Field in an escutcheon. Though therefore he had reason to deny our Saxon Kings Arms in the modern acceptation of the word, and tho' he could find upon stone monuments nothing of this sort, so old as those times; Yet, I presume, had he been aware that such a monument as that of the Horse, would have been afterward discovered, he would readily have allowed it to be the Arms or Banner of the West-Saxon kingdom.

^a Nicolas Upton one of our oldest heraldick writers, from whom most of the moderns have borrowed what they say on this subject, has given our most ancient ^b Kings, and some whose names are only to be met with in fabulous history, their respective Arms. For which reason, though, I own, his authority bears but little weight with me in matters of such distant antiquity, yet in the case before us, I think he has proceeded with caution and judgment. He does not indeed give the least hint about the Saxon Horse; That was too far removed from his enquiry; but he seems by some means or other to have discovered, that the Cross belonged to our West-Saxon

^a *Nicolaus Uppodunus, juris consultus, Cesarum ac Pontificum Romanorum decreta exquisita excutiebatur, ediscibat, industria; tandemque Severianæ & Fontanæ sacellus ecclesiæ canonicus, ad scribendum animum appulit. Erat tunc temporis in pretio Hunsfridus Dux Claudianus, literarum decus plane maximum, cui & Uppodunus eruditionis nomine gratus. Cliens igitur justam gratulandi patrono querens occasionem, concinnavit libros quatuor de Re Militari & Factis illustribus, quorum qui ultimus est, de Insignibus Anglorum Nobilium tractat. Jo. Leland. de Script. Britan. 8vo. Oxon. 1709. Pag. 444.*

^b *BRUTUS portavit Unum Leonem rubeum pedetantem in campo Aureo. ALBANACT Unum Leonem Rubrum rapacem in campo aureo. CAMBER Duos Leones rubeos facies suas ad terga vertentes in campo argenteo. BELINUS Tres coronas aureas in campo Arorio. UTER Duos Dracones virides, Coronis rubeis coronatos, Terga ad invicem vertentes in Campo aureo. CADWALLADER portavit in numeris suis Unam Crucem Patentem Figuram auream campo Arorio. Nic. Upton. De Offic. Milit. Fol. Lond. 1654. Lib. IV. pag. 126, 127, 128.*

Monarchs, and therefore, with propriety, as he thought, " attributed it to Egbert their founder. He calls it *Azure a Cross Fleureè Or*. But regard must be had to the time in which he wrote, when Armory was become a learned science, whereas it had scarce a being in the Saxon times. Those numberless distinctions of Crosses and Fields, being the product of later ages, the fruits of Crusades.

These Arms according to Upton, were born by all the successors of Egbert down to Edward the Confessor, when he tells us, an alteration was made in them; and this is the addition of four or five birds to the Cross, for which he ^b gives but an indifferent reason. But the learned Knight before-mentioned is unwilling to agree with him in this point, and seems to say ^c the falsifiers stole this notion from the coins of that Prince. Yet if Princes have varied the national banner, as they have

^a *Egbertus portavit UNAM CRUCEM FLORIDAM IN CAMPO ASORIO; Que Arma erant continuata & portata per omnes Reges sequentes usque ad tempora Sancti Edwardi Confessoris.* Nic. Upton de Officio Militari. Fol. Lond. 1654. Lib. IV. Pag. 128.

^b *Edwardus Confessor portavit in Armis suis UNAM CRUCEM FLORIDAM IN CAMPO AZORIO, & quia spoliatus antea fuerat per Danos, assumpsit QUINQUE MERULOS AUREOS, portans eos sine pedibus: quia vocabatur ipse, Edwardus sine Terra, quare portavit dictos merulos sine pedibus.* Nic. Upton de Off. Mil. pag. 129.

^c *Sed extant audio Saxonorum Regum Arma antiquo opere: Clypeus cyaneus Cruce Florida Quinque inter Apodes ex auro. Saxonum revera hunc nulli erexit Antiquitas, quin Divo quem vocant Edwardo, eorum ultimo. Cui nec sua negabo Arma, cum is in Normannia diu versaretur. — Verumtamen & hic in suspicionem veniant fallaces isti, utpote Scutum istud ex argenteis ejus nummis effinxisse. Habent enim nummi sui inter Aves quatuor bacillos totidem se invicem instar Crucis dissecantes, ut ex subiecta Icone. D. H. Spel. Aspil. pag. 42. — Aliter autem vides non Apodes sed Antipodes esse. Et adjungam, nusquam locorum Edwardi ævum referentium (si omnem antiquitatem, templa, castra, monumenta, videra, perlustraveris) reperiri credo, neque arma ista, nec armorum quidpiam. Certe ejus tempestatis reliquæ, ne simplicis Scuti, (quam inquam viderim, etiam data opera) effigiem admittunt. Ne nummi quidem, ne illustrium Saxonum tumuli elegantem, ne ipsius Edwardi Sigillum Regium, ne sepulcrum ejus sumptu magistraque manu denuo restauratum. Forse hoc idem alius affirmaverit de ætatibus Will. I. & II. sed nos id modestius & abstinenter. Idem.*

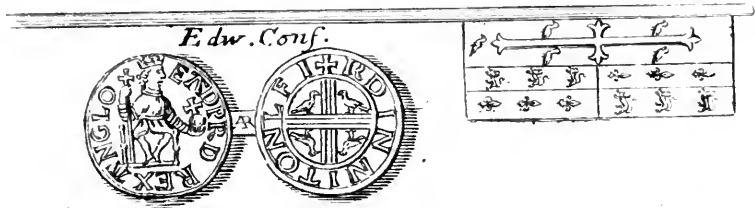
ever done at particular times, and for particular reasons; it cannot be thought improbable, that the Confessor, in whose time many of our customs began to be changed, should make the above-mentioned addition. For the notion of these being his Arms, could not easily be passed upon the people, had there not been some grounds for it. And besides if it was a forgery, it must have begun in a dark age, when perhaps the wisest were scarce able to distinguish the Confessor's money, from that of his predecessors.

The present learned ^a Garter King of Arms has proved beyond dispute, that it was between three and four hundred years ago the common persuasion, not only among vulgar persons, but princes themselves, that the Cross and Blackbirds, Martlets, or Doves, as they are called by different writers, were the Arms of the Confessor. He has shewn from our Historians how King Richard the Second came to choose the Confessor for his tutelar saint, in his expedition against the Irish; and for that purpose to add the Arms of that Prince to his own. He has likewise produced an authentick voucher for the truth of this story from the tomb of St Simon Felbrige Standard bearer to Richard the Second, on which is the banner fairly engraved, and agreeably to this account of the historians; the Cross and Five Martlets being empaled with the

^a Froissart tells us Vol. 4. pag. 181. That the Irish had great reverence and dread of Edward the Confessor, whereof K. Richard II. receiving information, did upon his expedition into that Country leave off the usage of the Leopards, and the Fleurs de Lis, and took the Arms of that Saint, viz. A Cross Potencee L'Or & de Gules, a quatre Colombes blanc, which induced the Irish to submit to him. J. Anstis Esq. Register of the Garter. 2 Vol. Fol. Lond. 1724. Vol. 2. Pag. 175. But the Chronicle of Melros, which he quotes likewise, says, he only added the Confessor's Arms to his own. *Et adderet Scuto suo Arma S. Edwardi.* Chron. Melros de Ferali Parlamento inter MSS. Will. Petyt Int. Templ. See likewise Walsingham. Hist. A.D. 1398. Pag. 355. The learned author himself blazons the Confessor's Arms thus: *Azure, a Cross Fleurée Or, between Five Martlets of the Second.*

Arms of England: I would therefore beg leave to invert the argument; and instead of proving the Arms to be a forgery taken from the money; I would only prove that this was the Confessor's money, because it has been the constant tradition that the Cross and Birds were his Arms.

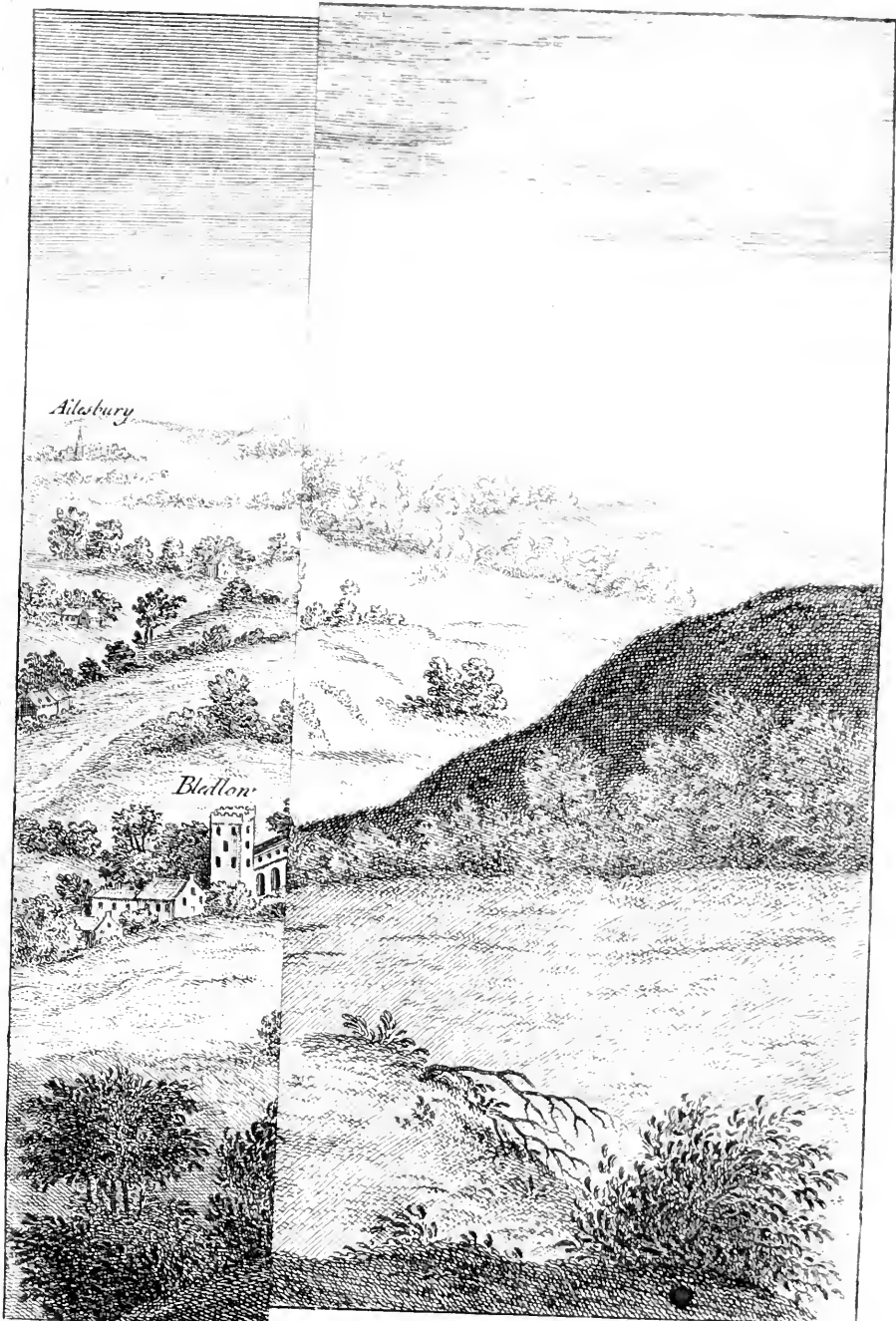
S^t. Simon Felbriger Banner.



Thus much, and perhaps more than enough, concerning the Cross of the West-Saxons. It may now be expected, that I give a particular description of it, as it was born before the time of Edward the Confessor; and this, I think, I am able to do from an authentick monument.

Whiteleaf Cross in Buckinghamshire.

Whiteleaf Cross in Buckinghamshire, so called from the hamlet of Whiteleaf in the parish of Monks-Risborough, is an antiquity of the same kind with the White Horse; being formed after the same manner, on the side of an high and steep chalky hill facing the South West. The perpendicular line of the Cross is near 100 feet in length, and about 50 in breadth at the bottom, but decreasing upwards till it scarce exceeds 20 at top. The transverse line is about 70 feet in length, and twelve in breadth and the Trench cut into the chalk is about two or three feet deep. It is formed besides upon a large Basis, whose
 " height



Alisbury

Blallon

W. Greene Junr. delin. 10

G. Virtue Sculp.

CRUX SAXONICA.



W. Greene, pin. delin.

Vice amplexibus BROWNI

Ad instaurandum Buckinghamiam

Urbs



WILLIS, Arm., Antiquario

per se locum antiquum.

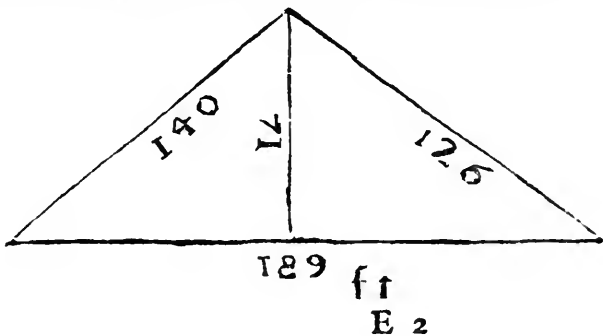
Urbs

q. Virtus sculp.

height seems to be almost equal to the perpendicular line, with a proportionable breadth, being therefore much more visible than the Cross itself, and of great use to the eye in catching the view at any considerable distance. The common people have learned to call this Base *The Globe*, but I think improperly, it's form approaching nearer to that of a Triangle, as the reader may see in the draught. In one respect the Cross may seem to have the advantage of the Horse, in that it is visible at a greater distance, for I suppose it may be seen, from the White Horse hill itself, there being nothing, that I could observe to obstruct the prospect. Which distance if computed upon the strait Ickle way, which runs under both of them, may for ought I know, amount to near thirty miles.

Though the Cross is in no more danger of being totally obliterated, than the Horse, yet the like custom prevails of Scouring it up with a Festival; but this has of late years observed no regular revolution. The common people still preserve some imperfect traditions concerning contributions raised upon this occasion, and even from some of the Colleges in Oxford. But if any estates have been formerly charged with the expence, time has long since made void the obligation: and the scour-

^a Since I wrote this I received from an ingenious friend, the just Dimensions of the Basis accurately taken by himself, according to the following Diagram.



ing

ing is performed at the expence of the neighbourhood, but never without a merry making.

From this similitude of fabrick and custom, I think we may reasonably conclude, that both are the work of the same age, I had almost said of the same hands. They likewise seem to give a mutual light into the authors of each other. The Horse cannot but be attributed to Saxons; nor the Cross to any but Christian Saxons; and both of pretty near the same times. That the design and meaning of each was the same, is clear from their situation. And whosoever can find in either of them, any thing more or less than the Banner or Arms of England; will have better success than I can pretend to have met with after all my researches.

That the device of the Standard carried with it an omen of victory it were needless further to prove; as well as that no Trophy more proper could be set up, to shew which party were conquerors. The Horse therefore denotes a victory gained by the Saxons over some other people; as the Cross some action in which the Christians prevailed over the Pagans: and since History began, if we except the Saxons themselves we shall find none of the latter in this Island beside the Danes.

Whatever may be the fate of the Horse; it is undeniable that the Cross was both an omen and a customary emblem of victory, as appears from the coins and other monuments of Christian Emperors and Kings down from the time of Constantine the Great.

It is not so difficult then to prove this Cross to be a Trophy, as by whom it was set up; at what time; and upon what occasion. If I am consistent with myself, I cannot fix it's antiquity higher than Alfred, nor so low as Edward the Confessor. I would willingly ascribe it to the former, provided history could bear

CRUX VICTORIALIS

CONSTANTINVS.M.



Du Cange Fam. Byz. P.21.



Idem Pag. 27.

CONSTANTIVS



Id. Pag. 29.

VALENTINIANVS



Id. Pag. 54.

THEODOSIVS IVN.



Id. Pag. 65.

IUSTINVS



Id. Pag. 88.

IUSTINIANVS



Id. Pag. 88.

IUSTINVS IVN



Id. Pag. 90.

TIBERIVS CONST.



Id. Pag. 102.

HERACLIVS



Id. Pag. 112.

LEO ISAVRVS



Id. Pag. 123.

FL. LEO. ob 311



Id. Pag. 136.

AVDLFIVS



D. and Fontaine Tab. 3.



Bronner Num. Succ.

LOTHARIVS



Le Blanc Pag. 62.



Idem

DAGOBERTVS



Id. Pag. 78.



Idem

Signu Thome

eboracensis archiepi.

(A. Hicco's Diss. Epist. Pag. 71.)



bear me out a little in the conjecture; and at the lowest estimation, think my self obliged to set it as high as his Son and successor Edward the Elder.

After the death of King Guthrum, which happened A.D. 890, the Danes encouraged by receiving fresh supplies of their countrymen, contrary to their faith and engagements, returned to their old trade of plundering and harrassing the country; taking their opportunities, while the King was employed in defending the Sea coasts, to ravage the West-Saxon and Mercian Kingdoms. And though they now and then paid dear for their perfidy, yet they could not easily be hindered from doing much mischief, as they had their fortified places, where they might secure themselves and their prey at their return. And as the Saxon forces were divided, each Kingdom raising an army to oppose them, as often as they were attacked; and if they had the good fortune to rout them, perhaps seldom pursuing them beyond their own territories; the Danes could not but remain long uncontrouled, though we find them sometimes venturing out a great many miles from their Head quarters. In the year 905 we read of their marching through the Mercian Kingdom as far as Cricklade in Wiltshire, which belonged to the West-Saxons. In the year 921, they are said to have carried off a great many prisoners, and a vast booty of cattle between Ailesbury and Bernwood forest in Buckinghamshire, which extended almost to Oxford. That the Saxons might be provided against these sudden inroads, it was necessary for them to have fortified places upon their great roads; and the remains of one of these appears at Princes Risborough just under the Cross, which the common people now call the *Black Princes palace*. And for my

* Chronicon Saxonicum. 4to. Oxon. 1692. Pag. 101.

own part, I make no doubt, but the Cross was made in memory of some victory gained by the troops quartered at this place. There is a village about a mile or two from it, which seems to point out the very spot on which the battel was fought: *Bledelame* or *Bledlow* for that is the name of it, implying the *Bloudy Hill*. We have an instance exactly parallel to this, in the name of a village and down in Somersetsshire called ^a *Bledon* and *Bledon Down* i. e. *Bloudy Down*, from a great slaughter of the Danes, in King Ethelwolp's reign, A. D. 845.

From the accounts which are left us of the life and reign of Edward the Elder, we may collect that they came not much short of his fathers in martial achievements; and that they deserved to be transmitted to us in a much better manner than we find them. It was the fault of the historians of that age cursorily to run over some of the most remarkable events. After a battle has been related, we are now and then, unable to find out which party gained the advantage. Sometimes we are hurried from one action to another, without proper notice of time intervening. Nay there are two set battles of this reign mentioned without the circumstance of place, which certainly ought never to be omitted. The one A. D. 911, when the Northumbrian Danes taking advantage of the Kings being in Kent, invaded the Mercian Kingdom; but he soon raised an army of Mercians and West-Saxons, whom he ordered out against them, and the Danes in their return were overtaken by them; when a battle ensued, wherein two Danish Kings Eowils and Halfdene, with several nobles, and many thousands of common men were slain, and the army entirely routed. The Saxon Annals, as I said, do not mark out the place, but

^a See the Notes to *A Compleat History of England*. Fol. Lond. 1706. Vol. I. pag. 53.

^a Ethel-

* Ethelward an old historian, tho' something later than the Annalist, tells us it was at Wodnesfeld; but where to look for that place I know not. The other battle was in the year 905, when, as I mentioned before, the East Angle Danes penetrated through the Mercian into the West-Saxon Kingdom as far as Cricklade and Bredon forest, plundering and ravaging the country. In the mean time King Edward, as soon as he could get his army together, pursued them, and in requital as he marched, spoiled the East Angle territories that lay between the Dike and the Ouse in Northamptonshire, still directing his march after them; but being deserted by the Kentish men, if I understand the story right, unwilling perhaps to follow him so far from their own home, presently after, but where it is not said, the Saxons were surrounded by the Danish army, I suppose, in their return, and consequently forced to fight at a great disadvantage. In this battle the Saxons lost a great number of men, and the Danes a greater; tho' the latter kept the field of battle; so that it can hardly be called a victory on the side of the Saxons: Yet what might make it equivalent to a victory, was not only the death of Eoric the Danish King and some of his nobles, but Æthelwald Ætheling, King Edward's Cousin german, who had set himself up for King of the West-Saxons, and to support himself the better, had instigated the Danes to this revolt, was there likewise slain, and an end put to his rebellion.

Whether this battle was fought at Bledlow, I shall leave to the disquisition of others; but must observe, that Bledlow lies in the Danes rout homewards from Bredon forest to the East Angles, and upon a great Roman road too, which it may be

* *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam à D. Henr. Savile editi. Fol. Francof. 1601. Pag. 848.*

presumed they generally chose for the more speedy and easy marching of their troops; and that the Saxons, if they had been more beaten than they seem to have been, might easily retreat from thence to their fastness at Prince's Risborough, and still look upon themselves as Conquerors.

The Coin of Audulfus. I am aware of one objection, which perhaps might have been overlooked by others, that may be made against all I have said; and this is, that the Cross appears to have been used by the Saxons for a trophy long before the times of Alfred and Edward the elder. Among the Saxon ^a coins we find one with this inscription VICTORIA ADVLEO, and the figure of the Cross plainly designed for a banner or trophy. The professed masters of this learning have ascribed the coin to Aldwulphus King of the East Angles, of whom little more is remarked, than that he began his reign A.D. 665, and died 683. It may be thought presumption in me to dispute a point, wherein the learned seem to be so well agreed; but I cannot help saying, that I neither believe the coin to be of that age, nor of this nation. It is a question too long to be discussed in this place, whether we had any minted money so early as that time, at least of that form in which the Saxon money commonly appears. ^b Mr Camden indeed tells us, that the oldest coins which he had seen, were of Ethelbert the first Christian King of Kent; but neither has he himself given us any of that prince, nor Mr Speed, who more particularly made it his business, and had besides the assistance of Sr Robert Cotton and other able antiquaries of that time; nor have later

^a Speed's Chronicle. Fol. Lond. 1611. Pag. 310. Mr Walker's account of the Saxon Coins in the new edition of the Britannia. Tab. V. 20. Sr Andrew Fountain's Saxon Coins at the end of Dr Hicke's Thefaurus. Fol. Oxon. 1703.

^b Remains concerning Britain. 4to. Lond. 1614. Pag. 200.

antiquaries with all their diligence met with any better success. If we examine this coin more narrowly, we shall find it very different from other Saxon coins; among all those given us by the learned Sr Andrew Fountaine, there being not one like it, either as to the emblem, or the Legend. The name of the King as it is inscribed on the coin, scarce agrees with itself, and not at all with the Historians. For though ADVLFVS, with the broad A, if it is such, may be allowed to be the same as AVDVLFVS; yet it can never mean ALDVLFVS, because there is so material a letter omitted, and that not by mistake of the mintmaster, as, from the word occurring twice, we may be pretty well assured. Besides if it was designed for a Saxon Prince, perhaps it would have been wrote EALDVVLFVS: and some affinity with the Saxon character might have been expected. From the money of Lotharius King of France, who reigned A.D. 584. and from those of Dagobert A.D. 628, with the same legend, VICTVRIA HLOTARII, VICTVRIA DAGOBERTO. the coin may rather seem to be of that age and nation, or of some Lombard King whose name has not had the good fortune to be preserved in history. Unless perhaps it may be still older, and be thought to have been struck by ATVLFVS, the successor of Alaric, a civilized Goth, who married Placidia the Emperor Honorius's sister. ^a Jornandes calls him ATAVVLFVS, ^b Paulus Diaconus ATAVLFVS, which I suppose to be the antiquated spelling of ADVLFVS or ADOLPHVS. The way of writing VICTVRIA for VICTORIA may well be derived from the Goths, if it was not otherwise common to all nations of that age; for we find on the coins of Baduela, FLEYREAS ZEM-

^a *Regnumque Annulo ejus [Alarici] consanguineo & forma & mente conspicuo tradunt.* Jornandes de Rebus Geticis.

^b Paul. Diacon. Hist. Miscel. Lib. XIII.

PER instead of FLOREAS SEMPER. On the head side of Mr Speed's coin are the letters FRISIN. which ^a Mr Walker has made PRISIN. and which St Andrew Fountaine therefore owns were unintelligible to him. But had he followed Mr Speeds reading, I doubt not, but he would with me have taken it for FRISINGA or FRISINGVM, if that word was used so anciently for *Frisingen* in Germany, which I presume was under the dominion of Ataulfus at that time. It was usual with the Goths in Spain, as well as the Franks, to inscribe the name of the town, where the money was minted; of which we may find a great many examples in ^b Le Blanc.

The Altar of the Cross. I just mentioned before the Base on which the Cross is erected, and that it's form came near to that of a Triangle. This is an essential part of the monument, and, I think, ought to be called the *Altar of the Cross*. The common people indeed know no other name for it than *The Globe*, nor do I doubt their veracity in adhering to what they have been taught to call it; though, I fear, not by the first authors of the monument. It is a point of no very great consequence, whether it be a Globe or an Altar, because both are exhibited on monuments of the most early times; and the appearance it bears, is the only reason with me for calling it by the latter name. It will be more to our purpose briefly to shew the relation, which both the one and the other bear to the Cross; and the analogy between the Cross itself and Victory.

The Goddess of Victory whose image was set up in many parts of heathen Rome, had perhaps more honours and devotion paid to her, than any other deity of the Romans, as they were in a continual state of war with some one or other people,

^a See the Saxon Coins in the new Edition of the Britannia. Tab.V.

^b Traite Historique des Monnoyes de France. 4to. à Amsterdam. 1692 Pag. 59, 60.

that

that bordered upon that vast empire. But when ^a Constantine after his victory over Maxentius, had ascribed the whole success to our Saviour's Cross, the credit of the Goddess began to decline, and after several efforts to retrieve it, at last was entirely sunk. The Cross by degrees became entitled to all her honours and privileges: and the Souldiers learnt to put an entire confidence in it, as appears from their usual ^b shout at the onset of battle VICTORIA CRVCIS!

The Goddess of Victory was most commonly painted with wings, and standing sometimes on a Globe, at other times on an Altar; which is the reason, why we see both the Globe and the Altar surmounted by the Cross. We may remember what ^c heats were raised in the fourth century, about the Altar of Victory, alternately removed and restored, by five or six Emperors succeeding each other. The first removal was under Constans the son of Constantine, the father perhaps finding it too difficult a task to abolish all the monuments of Pagan superstition at once. And this seems to be the true reason, why, as a late excellent ^d writer observes, his religion is so hard to be determined from his coins. For though he really attributed his own success to the efficacy of the Cross, yet we frequently find him on his money, holding in one hand the old Pagan deity, a winged Victory, and in the other the banner of the Cross; as if he designed a sort of compromise between the Votaries of each.

^a Eusebius De Vita Constant. Lib. III. Cap. 28, 29.

^b *Cum vero jam ad conflictationem movet exercitus, consueta Christianis vox usurpanda est, Νικη-
τηριον τῷ Σταυρῷ.* Leonis Imperatoris *Tactica.* à Meursio edita. 4to. Lugd. Bat. 1612. Cap.
XII. Pag. 155.

^c S. Ambrosii Opera. Fol. Parisiis. 1690. Tom. II. Pag. 828, 829, &c

^d Mr Addison's Dialogues upon ancient Medals. See his Works 4to. Lond. 1721. Vol.
I. pag. 537.

The Altar of Victory was of a Cylindrical form, adorned with festoons and bas reliefs, if we may form our notions from that draught of it given us by ^aMontfaucon from Maffeus. But the Altar of the Cross was of a plainer figure, and more adapted to the simplicity of the Christian profession. It is commonly expressed by a flight of steps gradually decreasing towards the top, on which the Cross is erected. Its use began at the declension of the arts; and therefore it must be reckoned the fault of the age, where it is described in no very just perspective view; as in our Monument; on some of the coins of the northern nations; and in subscriptions to ancient charters, where it has been still more hastily and rudely delineated.

Other Monuments of the same kind. These two monuments, than which perhaps no country can shew two more remarkable, are now, with some justice I hope, restored to our Saxon ancestors: the manner of their fabrick seeming to be peculiar to the times I have been speaking of. And if antiquaries would direct their enquiries this way, probably they would find no reason to repent of their labour; tho' no more of this sort and of the same antiquity have come within my observation. I say of this sort, and of the same antiquity: for it would be a manifest affront to common sense, to put These upon the same level with some others, which at best can be called only pitiful imitations of such excellent originals. For I must insist upon it, that these are no vulgar works, but made by publick authority.

And here the magnificence of our Saxon princes displays itself to the greatest advantage; as it is a magnificence tempered with frugality. To erect Trophies, at so trifling an ex-

^a Montfaucon *Antiquité Expliquée*. Fol. Lut. 1719. Vol. i. Pag. 344.

pence, which should continue to be witnesses of their actions, fresh and visible, at the distance of so many miles, and so many ages! What more, if indeed so much, could have been done, by erecting the most costly edifices?

As for those lesser works of shepherds and others, to all but the ignorant they are sufficiently distinguished by their meanness; being cut upon downs and plains, where their employment led them, without regard to soil or situation, and scarce ever to be surveyed at a distance. There are indeed some of a middle class, which have gained a name, and by novices in the study of antiquity have been placed in the same rank with our Horse and Cross: therefore to bestow a sentence or two upon them, cannot be thought foreign to my present purpose.

*The White Horse
of Bratton-Castle
in Wiltshire.*

There is a monument of this kind, which I once imagined would have confirmed my opinion beyond all possibility of doubt; though I had the mortification afterwards to find myself disappointed. In the neighbourhood of Edington in Wiltshire, the place where Alfred gained the second most remarkable victory of his life, is a White Horse cut on the side of an high and steep hill, and under a large Roman fortification called Bratton-Castle, from the neighbouring town of Bratton: so that in this respect 'tis not unlike the Berkshire Horse. Bratton Castle is likewise the very place, whither, as ^a antiquaries agree, Alfred after the battle pursued Guthrum the Danish King, and after a siege of fourteen days brought him to surrender: and this was another strong reason for referring it to the time of that prince. Notwithstanding which I must give my readers a caution about it. For did not

^a See the Additions to the Britannia in Wiltshire.

the fabrick discover it to be modern, yet the inhabitants of Westbury, a borough town about a mile from it, who made it, and instituted a revel or festival thereupon, might inform them as much; it having been wrought within the memory of persons now living, or but very lately dead. Yet still I think it may deserve the enquiry of others, who have more leisure than myself; How the common people came to be so fortunate in their choice of the ground? and whether the authors of it had not preserved the tradition of some older Horse, now obliterated; and of some more ancient festival now forgot?

The Giant of Cerne-Abbey in Dorsetshire.

In the parish of Cerne-Abbey Dorsetshire is the figure of a Giant, cut on a sidelong hill, but not to be seen at any great distance. This, though it may be of some antiquity, yet cannot lay claim to any thing like that of the Horse or Cross. I had not time to examine the tradition concerning it, which is fabulous, nor could I learn, that it used to be scoured up with a festival like the former. I thought it not proper to pass it by without mentioning it; but shall not endeavour at it's meaning, lest I may be thought to invade the province of a gentleman, who, as I hear, has undertaken to write the history and antiquities of that county.

The Red Horse of Warwickshire.

The Red Horse is a monument of much greater note than the two last mentioned, as giving name to a Vale in Warwickshire:

a Within the precinct of that manour of Tishoc now belonging to the Earl of Northampton (but antiently to the family of Stafford as I have shewed) there is cut upon the side of Edg-Hill the proportion of a Horse in a very large forme; which by reason of the ruddy colour of the earth is called the Red Horse, and giveth denomination to that fruitful and pleasant country thereabouts, commonly called THE VALE OF RED HORSE: The trenches of which ground where the shape of the said Horse is so cut out, being yearly scoured by a Free-holder in this Lordship, who holds certain lands there by that service. Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire. Lond. 1656. Pag. 422.

but

but this is not of the same extent with the Berkshire Vale, nor is it's name, or the antiquity of it, so universally acknowledged. The Horse itself is vastly inferior in every respect; in it's design, dimensions, fabrick, and situation: being hardly visible at a distance. The whole betrays itself, to be the work of a later age, and more rude workmen: and I can readily join with ^a Mr Camden, in allowing it to be made by the country people, and not by publick authority. However, I am persuaded, it is not without it's meaning: which, since no body has hitherto thought it worth while, I will now endeavour to explain.

I think it then, as I said before, to be the work of a private person: that person, whosoever he was, I take to have been some retainer to St Richard Nevil, the stout Earl of Warwick, so famous in our English history during the disputes between the two Houses of Lancaster and York, whose castle stands at about nine or ten miles distance, facing the Hill on which the Horse is cut: and that the Horse was made in memory of the bloudest battle ever fought between the two houses; wherein the Earl of Warwick had the greatest share, and particularly distinguished himself, by killing his own Horse just before the engagement, declaring himself determined to die or conquer. This battle was fought at Towton in Yorkshire, upon Palm Sunday A. D. 1461; and is called by our ^b historians *Towton Field*, or *Palm Sunday Field*. The festival of scouring this Horse, which, the reader will perceive, has given occasion to all this conjecture, is celebrated by a vast concourse of people from the neighbouring towns, annually upon Palm Sunday:

^a Britannia in Warwickshire.

^b Hollingshead's History of England. Fol. Lond. 1587. Vol. 2. Pag. 664. Stow's Annals of England. 4to. Lond. 1601. Pag. 690.

and the Red-Horse-farm, which is said to be charged with the expence of scouring it, is now in the possession of the R^t Honourable James Earl of Northampton.

Whether the name, Red Horse, bore any allusion to the colour of Earl Nevil's Horse, I will not venture to say, though even that is not improbable. For any thing that now appears, it was taken from the colour of the soil: and had that happened to be black, the Horse must have been called a Black one. But whosoever shall give himself the trouble to think a little upon this subject, will, I believe, agree with me that the colour would hardly have been mentioned at all, but to distinguish it from another Horse that was in being before it. The Red Horse together with it's ancestor the White one, have indeed been the unlucky occasion of much error; tho' neither of them has any thing to answer for upon that account. For if from hence any persons have entertained an idle conceit, that Horses are the patrons of Vales, I hope this will not be laid to the charge of the monuments, or their authors: nor that others have conceived, because the Red Horse was denominated from the soil, that therefore the White one must have been so too; for we see there was not the same reason for one as the other. And besides it is unnatural for Englishmen to make use of two words, where one is enough for the purpose. Thus, while there was only one in being, the terms *Horse* and *Vale of the Horse*, would have been sufficient, had there not been a necessity for adding the colour. The Giant at Cerne is never, that I could learn, called the White Giant, nor Whiteleaf Cross, the White Cross; whereas if the colour of the soil, was the only reason for the epithet, they are as much entitled to it as the Horse. In short if there is any weight in what I have urged before, the Berkshire monument was designed

signed to perpetuate a White Horse, the figure in the Royal Banner, and tradition would have been injurious to it, in omitting the colour. Those who still doubt of the truth of this, may be further convinced, if they please, from a very obvious and familiar instance: for this is the reason, why a Horse of that colour, rather than of any other, is one of the most ancient and common Signs, hung out at Inns and houses of publick entertainment in this Kingdom. Of a later date, I presume, is the Cross; and still later, the Lions of Normandy. These all preserve their several places on Signposts, but it is owing to an Ignorance of their original meaning, that they have not in their turns been supplanted one by the other, nor all together extruded by the more modern Arms of England.

Customs of the Danish times. Customs of unknown antiquity instituted to perpetuate certain facts, are a sort of demonstration that such facts really happened, or at least were believed to have happened. And though in some cases time has worn out all memory of the fact, yet we are morally certain, that something was intended to be commemorated by the custom. Of this sort is the festival of scourging the White Horse, which I lay some stress upon, as a thing that may afford a light to the monument. This is an additional advantage, which the reign of Alfred is possessed of, having besides all the pretensions of the reigns of Cerdic and Offa. I believe no one will undertake to shew any similar customs, begun in that of the former; and if there are any of the latter, they have not yet come to my knowledge. There might be anniversary or other periodical commemorations of Saints, Martyrs, and consecrated places, according to the usage of the Church; but this before us is plainly of civil institution, and as far as I can judge, begun in memory of a victory.

If we may refer the commencement of this custom to the time, when we are well assured such rites were most common and in vogue, nor can I tell where to meet with better light in this case; we must go back to that period so often mentioned, inglorious to the Saxon name, and not to be remembered by Englishmen without horror. A Period, the transactions of which, were they not so well attested, would seem the most incredible part of our history. When the Danes perpetrated such a scene of villany here, as is scarce to be parallel'd in the stories of the most savage nations.

The miseries which the Saxons underwent at that time, awaken'd them too late from their lethargy. They found, the common enemy had taken advantage of their divisions, and in less than a century were got to a head, almost too powerful to be opposed, by the united force of the whole kingdom. We may well suppose, that resort was made, as in the like publick calamities, first to the divine power. Prayers and ^a days of humiliation were appointed, to deprecate God's vengeance, and avert the impending destruction. Providence had indeed sent them, in the person of Alfred, a prince, by whose vigilance and activity they were able to make some stand against them; but the despair he was almost driven to, shewed the necessity there was, of applying to something else besides human means.

The reigns of Alfred and Edward the Elder, stopt the progress of their fury for a while; but several parts of the Island, not immediately under their protection, were harrassed at the

^a In the reign of King Ethelred, when the Danish insulence was at it's greatest height, we find a remarkable sermon preached to the Saxons upon a Fast-day, A.D. 1004, by one Bishop Lupus; which according to Mr Wanley is the Latin name of Wolfstan, or Wolfstan, Bishop of Worcester. See Dr Hicckes's *Diff. Epist. ad D. Barth. Shower*, in the *Theaurus Ling. Septent.* Pag. 99.

same time with all the circumstances of barbarity. Neither of these princes, we may be assured, was wanting to animate his subjects, by all laudable arts of government; to unite their divisions, quicken the publick spirit, and rouse their valour. And what expedient more effectual could be devised, than that of a publick rejoicing upon every success of their arms?

That this was then the reigning policy, though history does not speak out, is not only probable from the practice of succeeding ages, but is confirmed by several customs, and appellations, which tradition has handed down to us, and which in the judgment of our best antiquaries can plainly belong to no other times. No advantage which the Saxons obtained over these enemies, whether in battle or otherwise, seems to have been left unrecorded. They were particularly industrious in giving new names to places, denoting where every such advantage was gained: and these continue to this day, tho' the several actions have been for many hundred years forgot. Thus the learned ^a Spelman observes, that near Brancafter on the sea coast of Norfolk are several hillocks, or *Tumuli*, the marks of a battle, with a way called *Bloudgate*, which he refers to a slaughter of the Danes, and confirms his opinion by the shrub *Ebulus*, or *Dwarf Elder*, that grows thereabouts in great plenty, and is called by the inhabitants *Danes-Blood*, now more commonly *Daneweed* or *Danewort*. ^b Mr Camden likewise takes notice of a place called *Battlebury* near Warminster in Wilt-

^a *Scenam hic fuisse Martis, clientumque ejus cæmeterium, qui Branoduni, & pro porus par'æ ad castra juxta Creake & Holkham contra Danos militantes occubere. In campis enim de Creak hand procul à cænobio, amplum erigiur sepimentum militare Saxonici operis; à quo decurrens via regia BLOOD-GATE i. e. Sanguinea via, nuncupatur; cruenti illic prælii testimonium. Hæbitur & his partibus Ebuli herbe copia; quam, velut è Danorum exortam sanguine, incolæ DANEBLOOD vocant.* Cl. Hen. Spelman. Icenia. Fol. Oxon. 1697. Pag. 149.

^b Britannia in Wiltshire.

shire, so denominated from some action between the two people. I have already spoken of Bledon in Somersethire, and Bledlow in Buckinghamshire. There are others still more obvious to every capacity, such as *Kildane* in Essex, *Danesmore*, in Northamptonshire, *Danesbank* in Yorkshire, *Danesfield* in Bedfordshire &c. I mention these as a specimen only, of what antiquaries, if they please, may find in almost every county in the kingdom.

The ^a Tax formerly levied by our kings for the security of the sea coasts against Pyrates, which began in the time of the Danes, and after they ceased to infest the Island, was sometimes, though, but rarely, exacted, and upon great emergencies, yet still preserved it's old name of *Danegeld*. The custom of *Pledging healths* still preserved among Englishmen, is said to be owing to the Saxons mutual regard for each others safety, and as a caution against the treacherous inhospitality of the Danes, when they came to live in peace with the natives. Their inhuman behaviour drew upon them at length the general resentment of the English in King Ethelred's reign: so that in ^b one day they were entirely cut off in a general massacre. And though this did not remain long unrevenged; yet a festival was appointed in memory of it, called ^c *Hok Tuesday*, which

^a *Qui igitur principaliter pro Daciis institutus est hic redditus, DANEGILDUM vel DANEGILDUS dicitur. Hic igitur annua lege, sicut dictum est, sub indigenis regibus solvebatur, usque ad tempora regis Will. I. de gente & genere Normannorum. Ipso namque regnante, tam Daci, quam ceteri terræ marisque prædones hostiles cohibebantur incursum. — Cum ergo diu solvisset terra, sub ejusdem regis imperio, noluit hoc ut annum solvi, quod fuerat urgente necessitate bellicæ temporis exactum, nec tamen omnino propter inopinatos casus dimitti. Raro igitur temporibus illius, vel successorum ipsius solvunt.* Gervas. Tilbur. Dial. de Scaccar. Lib. I. c. XI.

^b St Brice's Day A.D. 1001. Chronicon. Saxonicum. Pag. 133.

^c D. Henr. Spelman. Glossarium. in Voce HOKDAY. I find this, amongst other sports, exhibited at Kenilworth Castle by the E. of Leicester, for the entertainment of Q. Elizabeth A.D. 1575. *And that there might be nothing wanting that these parts could afford,*
hisher

was kept up in Sr Hen. Spelman's time, and perhaps may be so at present in some parts of England. ^a The Warwick Antiquary derives its original from the death of the Danish King Hardeknute; but however that be, it is plain he meant the same festival. In short the merciless fury of those miscreants left a lasting impression upon the minds of Englishmen; and though the race of them has been for near seven hundred years extinct among us, yet their name is still fresh in the mouths of the common people: nay the very remains of their dead bodies are ^b said to be still preserved at some places, and shewn at this day as a curiosity to strangers.

About the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when people knew no difference between Mahometanism, and downright Paganism; and those expeditions of English princes to the Holy Land were thought a parallel cause to that of opposing the Danes in England; the humour of romancing seems to have taken its rise with us: and our bards accordingly chose the actions of the Saxon times for their theme; blending them with others of a foreign nature, and, with a privilege peculiar to poets, always adorning the history with something great and marvellous. Hence arose those fabulous accounts of the

hither came the Coventre-men, and acted the ancient play long since used in that City, called HOCKS-TUESDAY, setting forth the destruction of the Danes in K. Ethelred's time; with which the Queen was so pleased, that she gave them a Brace of Bucks and five marks in money to bear the charges of a Feast. S. Will. Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire. Lond. 1656. Pag. 166.

a Post eum frater suus Rex Hardeknutus proxime in regno successit, qui obiit quadam die Martis post pascha. Isti Dani in Angliam induxerunt immoderatum modum bibendi. Hardeknuto mortuo liberata est Anglia exiunc a servitute Danorum. In cujus signum usque hodie illa die vulgariter dicitur Hoxtnisday ludum in willis irahendo cordas partialiter, cum aliis jocis. Joannes Rossus Warwicensis. Historia Regum Angliæ. MS. in Bibl Bodleiana. MSS. Jones No. I. Fol. 93.

b Journey through England. 3 Volumes 8vo. Lond. 1723. Vol. I. Pag. 86.

heroick

heroick exploits of ^a Saxon champions, and their combats with Danish and Pagan Giants; all tending to animate their countrymen against the Danes and Saracens, in case they should ever make the like attempts upon the Island.

Upon the whole therefore, I cannot persuade myself, that these festivals of scouring the Horse and the Cross, can be ascribed to any age with greater probability than to the Saxon. Nor that these Banners or Arms, for I suppose they will be allowed to be such by all impartial readers, could be set up for any other purpose, than as Ensigns of victory.

The Conclusion. Thus have I endeavoured to support my opinion concerning this noble, but hitherto neglected, monument of antiquity. And this I have done not only by comparing it with others of the same kind, but by removing, as far as I am able, the force of all the objections I could raise myself, or which might seem to be raised against it by others; without levelling my aim at any particular writers, and thereby avoiding, as much as possible, the air of a controversy. Though perhaps for this very reason the present Essay may be thought deficient in that salt and spirit, which is requisite to make an agreeable entertainment. For it must be observed, that the itch of perusing controversial writings, which is so epidemical amongst us, is more owing to an ill-natured curiosity of prying into other people's faults, than to any real desire of being rightly informed. By this means the case of authors is now become little better than that of champions on a stage, who, unless they heartily wound each other, are seldom thought to come off well, and to the satisfaction of the Spectators.

^a Guy of Warwick is said to have lived in the days of King Athelstan: and Bevis of Southampton, to have been born in the Reign of King Edgar.

As for those ^a gentlemen in disguise, who have been so severe upon my person instead of my performance; if they intended to give me any uneasiness, they have frustrated their own design by abusing me in the best of company. The world has expressed it's detestation of their slander; and the authors have been already sufficiently chastized by a learned, tho' unknown ^b friend. Yet had not his generous resentment forced him upon this disagreeable task, I can assure them, their pamphlet might have remained to this time unanswered for me. For since they are not ashamed to mix dirt and venom with their arguments, such as they are, in defiance of decency and all the laws of fair war: to say nothing harder of them, they are at least too angry to be reasoned with; if they had not likewise some other motive, besides that of setting the publick right in a matter of antiquity. Let either of these be the case, and it cannot be imputed to want of courage, or a bad cause, if I endeavour to avoid such adversaries. As I am not conscious of having deserved this treatment at their hands, so I shall continue to give them no provocation; unless they shall think fit to be provoked at my silence.

^a See *The Impertinence and Imposture of modern antiquaries displayed*, &c. by Philalethes Rusticus, with a preface by another hand. 4to Lond. 1740.

^b An answer to a scandalous Libel entitled *The Impertinence and Imposture of modern antiquaries displayed*, &c. 4to. Lond. 1740.

The E N D.

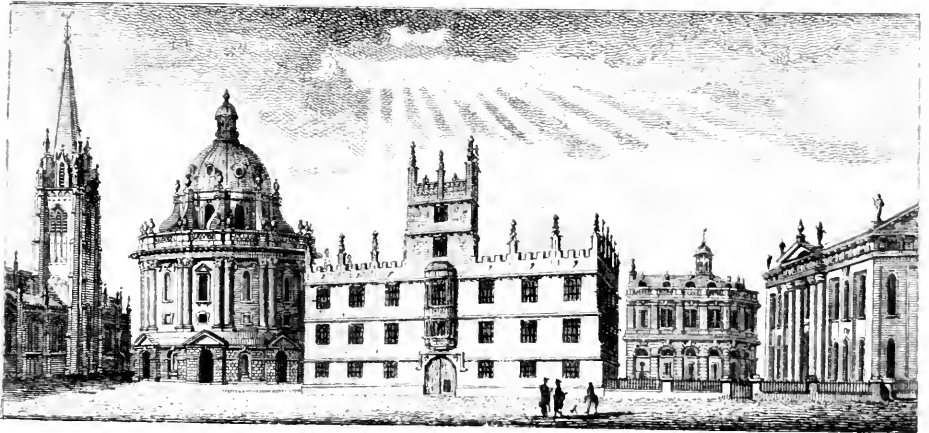
SOME
ENQUIRIES

CONCERNING THE FIRST
INHABITANTS LANGUAGE RELIGION
LEARNING AND LETTERS

OF
EUROPE.

By a Member of the Society of Antiquaries in London.

Antiquam exquirite Matrem. Virgil.
Nullius in verba. Hor.



O X F O R D

Printed at the THEATRE for J. Fletcher, S. Parker, D. Prince, Bookfellers
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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following sheets were at first designed for a short introduction to a work of a more particular nature; but growing upon the author's hands, till they exceeded the reasonable size of a preliminary dissertation, he judged them large enough to make a separate treatise. The course of his enquiries led him insensibly to an unknown country, a scene wild and dark to a proverb; where it was no less difficult to find the way, than, if it could be found, to persuade others to follow him. Tho' the task was intricate, long, and tedious, yet he shall think it a sufficient recompence for all his pains, if he has opened the way to truth. At the same time, he is not so vain, as to assume the character of an infallible guide. The subject, to be treated as it ought, requires greater abilities, than he can pretend to be master of; greater depth in sciences, languages, history, both ancient and modern. If he has had the good fortune only to point out the road, and make it easier to those who
come

come after him; it is all the merit that he can claim, and perhaps more than will be granted him.

The heathen Mythology is a free and open Chase, where men of letters are privileged to sport, and pursue the game, each according to his fancy. As the author has taken this liberty himself, so he means not to interrupt the diversion of others: nor will be displeas'd with them for starting a new scheme, even directly opposite to his. He is not bigotted to an opinion, nor desirous of entering into controversy. Therefore if some shall set themselves to prove, that the Gods never had a being; or if they had, that they came from Phenicia, Egypt, or Ethiopia; he can wish them all success in their endeavours. And provided, that so many and plausible reasons shall be brought in favour of their hypothesis, as he has produced for his; can be content, that what he has here said, shall pass for nothing.

O F
 T H E F I R S T
 I N H A B I T A N T S , L A N G U A G E , R E L I G I O N ,
 L E A R N I N G A N D L E T T E R S
 O F
 E U R O P E .

WE are assured from the very best authority, that for an age, or two, after the Flood, the whole world was of *One Speech*; and that this unity was broken about the time of the dispersion of mankind. Since the first confusion of tongues, reason and experience teach us, that languages, like streams flowing from the same fountain, for a while continue pure and unmixt; till by deviating from each other in their courses, and by receiving adventitious supplies, they become at last entirely different: the nearer therefore we can trace them to the fountain head, the greater affinity we find between them.

Of Languages and Dialects. Diversity of languages begins with Dialects, or different modes of utterance. The organs of speech are differently framed by nature in different climates and countries; and even in the

the same country, some men pronounce their words broader, softer, harder, quicker or slower, than others: and some are unable to pronounce this or that letter. These accidents, by example and imitation, bring on a change of vowels and consonants; whence a language soon becomes very unlike to what it was at first. But when we add to this the increase of words, which new arts, new customs, produced; the privilege mankind has always taken of lengthning or abridging words at pleasure; the care that some nations took to improve their language; to add harmony to their periods, by compound words, by sonorous terminations, inflexions of nouns and verbs, and other properties of grammar and rhetorick: Those, which were only dialects before, are now so disguised, that they become different languages.

Europe peopled from Asia. The origin of the different languages of Europe must be sought for among the very first inhabitants. If Europe was peopled, as it seems to have been, before the invention of (1) Shipping, or at least before the art was grown com-

(1) The Ark of Noah, which some have thought was designed for a sample of ship-building, was wrought in an inland country, and might be a proof, and memorial, that people had saved themselves upon the water in time of a deluge; an event, which they had reason to expect, would never happen again, and therefore it could be no subject for imitation. Shipping was certainly the invention of a maritime people, not found out till ages after the flood; and probably in the Isles of the Ægean sea: nor could it be brought to any tolerable perfection, till long after the dispersion of mankind. The first great fleets we hear of, were those of Saturn and Minos, both in Crete; but the first navigations were made in hollowed trees, boats, and small vessels, by coasting near the shoar, and it was long before men ventured far out to sea. Such vessels were utterly unfit for transporting colonies, with their implements, provisions, cattle, and other incumbrances, nor can be thought to have been used for that purpose, so early as the first migrations by land.

mon :

mon: it is not probable, that large colonies from Asia could at first come any other way than by land, or over frozen lakes and rivers; and therefore the Northern and Eastern parts received the first inhabitants.

The portion of Japhet. In the division of the countries after the Flood, the North Eastern, as it seems, fell to the share of Japhet and his seven sons; and have ever since proved a most fruitful and inexhaustible nursery of mankind. The North has been called the Great Hive, from whence the inhabitants of three parts of the globe were propagated. For not only (1) Europe and Asia, but the vast continent of (2) America, is with good reason supposed to have been peopled from hence. So wonderfully did nature cooperate with the patriarch's benediction, *God shall enlarge Japhet.*

Europe not peopled till after the dispersion. It would be a vain attempt to fix the time, when Europe began to be inhabited; let it suffice to know, that it could not happen till after the dispersion in the days of Phaleg. And I think that the whole, even to the extremities of the continent, might have been peopled in a Century or two, after they began to move. The progress of different families seeking new seats is aptly compared to the agitation of the sea; to

(1) *Nulla Europæ fere gens, nec Asiæ, quin a septentrione promanaverit. Inde propagines profectæ populorum quibus Europæ Asiæque pleræque partes consistæ fuerunt. Scythia igitur, quæ ad septentrionem, omnes ferme gentes evomuit cum suis linguis, quæ Europam & Asiam inundarunt. Ut autem vastissima illa Scythiarum regio fuit, & late porrecta ad orientem & occidentem, versus meridiem eructando varias hinc in Europa, inde in Asia, produxit gentes.* Salmat. de Hellenistica. pag. 366.

(2) Joh. de Laet. Not. ad Grotii Dissert. de Gent. Americ. Amstel. 1643. 8vo.

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waves impelling one another, and spreading wider still as they go. The first undulation is effaced by a second, and that by a third, and so on; till all at last subsiding in a calm, no visible traces remain of any.

Cimmerians the first people of Europe. How many successions of people might have passed in this manner into Europe, it is impossible to compute. The first, that appear upon record, are called by the Greeks (1) Cimmerians, who are said to have been (2) driven out of their country by an inundation; which to me is one argument of their very great antiquity. For those fabulous traditions that convey to us any imperfect notices of the general deluge, such as the stories of Ogyges and Deucalion, seem to belong to the most early times wherein facts were remembered.

The Cimmerians were Scythians. The Cimmerians have left their name in the Bosphorus, and town Cimmerium near the Euxine Sea, where probably were their first habitations in Europe. And from hence

(1) The first notice of the Cimmerians occurs in Homer Odyss. A. v. 14. who describes them as a people living in perpetual darkness, and in the road to the infernal regions. The first account of their motions is found in Eusebius Chron. *Incurfus in Afiam Amazonum pariter & Cimmeriorum.* This he places about a hundred years after the Trojan war. Herodotus mentions another irruption into Asia, in the time of Cyaxares and Psammitichus. But their first migrations are unknown, and must have happened many hundreds of years before the oldest of these incursions.

(2) Ὅτι χερρῖνησον οἰκῶντες, μεγάλη πλημμυεῖδι ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ τῆ πόπων. Strabo Lib. VII. p. 292. Strabo here speaks of the inhabitants of the Cimbric Chersonese or Jutland, and esteems the account altogether fabulous. But as Ephorus, Pofidonius, and others before him, thought these the same people with the Cimmerians of the Tauric Chersonese; the inundation mentioned was probably an old tradition derived from their ancestors; since it can by no means agree to the Cimbrians.

the

the rest of Europe seems to have been peopled; either by voluntary motions of the Cimmerians, or when they were pushed forward by their neighbours. Many questions have been raised about the word Cimmerians; as whether they were so called from Gomer eldest son of Japhet, as if they were (1) Gomerians; and whether they were the same with the Cimbrians as (2) Strabo, (3) Plutarch, and other Greek writers were of opinion. They were without dispute some of those roving northern people, whose first migrations were of too early a date, to come within the Sphere of (4) Grecian history. And as to their name, I think they

(1) Goropius Becanus Antiqu. Antwerp. Lib. IV. p. 374, 375. Camden. Proleg. de Britan. Pezron Antiq. of Nations.

(2) "Ἐκτίωτο δ' οἱ Κιμμέριοι μεγάλῳ ποτὲ ἐν τῷ Βασσάρῳ διώμην διόπερ καὶ Κιμμέριοι Βάσσοις ἀνομάζουσι. ἔτι δ' εἰσιν οἱ τὸς πῶ μεσόγαλαν οἰκόντας ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς μέρεσι τοῦ Πόντου μέχρι Ἰωνίας ἐπιδράμοντες. Strabo Lib. XI. "Ὅτι λιθραῖοι ὄντες καὶ πάντες οἱ Κίμβριοι, καὶ μέχρι τῆς αἰῆς τῶν Μαυῶν πύσιωτο σερτείαν ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἢ καὶ ὁ Κιμμέριος κληθεῖν Βάσσοι, οἷον Κίμβριος, Κιμμέριος τὸς Κίμβριος ἀνομασάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Idem Lib. 7.

(3) Κιμμέριων ἤ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, τότε ἢ Κίμβριων, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ποσσιγορευομένων. Plutarch. in Mario. ΑΒΡΟΙ. — Κίμβριοι, ὡς πῆες φασ Κιμμέριος. Steph. Byzant. de Urb.

Ὁρῶν Κιμμέριοι ἀπὸ Βασσάρου. Dionys. Perieg. Ver. 167. Ταύροι, ἐφ' ᾧ κέντημα οἱ Κιμμέριοι, τὸ Σκυθικὸν ἔθνος. Eustath. in loc. Cimmerians seems to me to be only the older name of the Scythians, and common to all the Northern nations. *Kimmer, Kimber, Kemper, and Kempfer*, may mean only a *Souldier, or Man of War*.

(4) That the Greeks had but a very imperfect knowledge of the Northern nations in the time of Herodotus, appears from the fourth book of his history; the account of them there given being not to be depended upon, nor believed by Herodotus himself. Several particulars of his relation are merely poetical fables, such as "The air of the Hyperboreans being darkened with feathers;" which the historian himself could explain by the falling of Snow: "The Gryphons, who guarded the Gold country;" which may have a poetical meaning, not so easily accounted for as the former: "The Arimaspian or people with one eye," which may allude to the Scythian manner of taking aim in shooting, by closing the other. So says Eustathius. Αἰχμῆλος ἢ Μονῶπι Στερεπὸν [Arimaspian] ἀνομάζει, διότι τοξικώτατοι ὄντες ἀπὸ μῆκος τῆς ἐπεσον ἑφθαλμῶν, ἀπὸ τῶν πῶ βολῶν εἰσερχον. Comm. in Dion. Perieg. v. 31. Herodotus seems to acknowledge that he took his account chiefly from the

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may be safely comprehended under the common one of (1) Scythians, given by the ancient Greeks to all the Northern nations in general.

The Scythian Age. History informs us that the (2) Scythians were always reputed a most ancient people; and that they disputed the prize of antiquity with other nations. S. Epiphanius, recounting the several institutions, tenets, and heresies that prevailed in the world, and reducing them to chronological order,

three books of *Arimaspian verses*, written by Aristeas the Proconnesian, who lived several hundreds of years before him, and was older than Homer; and by some thought to have been his master: Strabo calls him a jugler, ἀνὴρ γόης εἰς πρὸς ἄλλοις. Lib. XIII. p. 589. be that as it will, he was the first, that we can trace, who gave the Greeks any account of the Northern nations. The Cyclopes of the poets, were of the highest antiquity, as being the Sons of Cœlus and Terra. Vid. Hesiod. Theog. v. 139. And Strabo tells us that Homer took his one-eyed Cyclopes from the Scythian History, and the Arimaspian verses of Aristeas. Τάχα δὲ καὶ τὸς μονομμάτους Κύκλωπας ἐκ τῆς Σκυθικῆς ἱστορίας μετεπήνοχε· ταύτους γάρ πινυς τὸς Αἰμασπίους φασιν, ὡς ἐν ταῖς Αἰμασπειείαις ἔπειν ἐκδέδωκεν Αἰσειάς ὁ Περσικὸς ἱστορικός. Geogr. Lib. I. pag. 21. This shews from what quarter the oldest fables of the Greeks were derived. I am not ignorant, that Suidas brings Aristeas down to the time of Cyrus and Cræsus; but chuse rather to abide by the authority of Strabo.

(1) Τὴν γε μὲν πρῶτην οὐσίαν αὐτῶν ἀμφότεροι ἡμῖν οἱ πάλαι σοφοὶ διεπέριμυσαν· Ὁμηροῦ μὲν καὶ Κιμμείων αὐτὸς καλεῖ· Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ὁ τὴν Περσικὴν συγγραφέας Σκύθας πολυειδῆς· ὁ δὲ Χοιρανεὺς Πλατῆρος Κίμβρος καὶ Τούτονας. Niceph. Gregoras Hist. Lib. II. de Scythia. Φησὶ γὰρ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἑλλήνων δόξαν, ὡς περὶ τὰ πρὸς Βορρᾶν μέρη τὴν γνῶσιν ἐνὶ ἡλίαισι Σκύθας ἐκάλεον, ἢ Νόμαδας, ὡς Ὁμηροῦ, ἔσειον δὲ καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἑσπέρην γνῶσιν ἐν Κέλται καὶ Ἰσθμοῖς, ἢ συμμίκτης Κελπίηρας καὶ Κελτο-Σκύθαι πρῶτον οὐκ ἐπίνοοντο, ὅφ' ἐν ὀνόματι τῶν κατένευσαν ἐστῶν ταπεινῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγροῖαν. Strabo Lib. I. p. 33. Ἄπαντας μὲν δὲ τὸς πρῶτους οὐσίαις, κεινῶς οἱ παλαιὸι τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγγραφῆς Σκύθας καὶ Κελτο-Σκύθας ἐκάλεον. Idem Lib. XI. p. 507. Timonax an ancient historian, or geographer, reckoned Fifty different nations of Scythia. Τῆς δὲ Σκυθίας ἔστιν πενήκοντα Τιμόναξ ἀναγράψας ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ Σκυθῶν. Schol. in Apoll. Argonaut. Lib. IV. v. 320.

(2) *Fuere quidem temporibus [Nini] antiquiores, Vexores rex Ægypti & Scythiæ rex Tanais.* Justin. Lib. II. *Scytharum gens antiquissima semper habitata: quamquam inter Scythas & Ægyptios diu contentio de generis vetustate fuerit* — Idem *ibid.*

begins

begins with BARBARISM and (1) SCYTHISM: the former commencing with Adam, and terminating with Noah; the latter beginning from the Deluge, and lasting to the time of Serug great grandfather of Abraham. He likewise says, that those, who were afterwards called Scythians, were the same people, who built the Tower of Babel. This period then from the Deluge to Serug, is properly called the SCYTHIAN AGE; tho', as is usual in such remote cases, chronologers may differ about the extent and duration of it.

The replenishing of the earth from Ararat.

S. Epiphanius could not depart from the Mosaic history; nor can any Christian deny, that the reparation of mankind began where the Ark rested. We are told by Moses, that the Ark landed on Ararat, which has been commonly taken for Armenia, or a mountain in that country; or at least for one of the mountains on Taurus or Caucasus, between the Caspian and Euxine Seas. This is an error as old as the time of Berofus, and supported by (2) Josephus; therefore we are not to wonder that it is still (3) believed by Mahometans,

(1) Ἔως τότε ἔμεινε ΣΚΥΘΙΚΗ πρὸ διόδου καὶ ἐπίκλητος. Adver. Hær. p. 8. ΣΚΥΘΙΣΜΟΣ ἦδ' ἀπὸ τῆς κατακλυσμῶ ἀρχῆς τῆς Πύργου, καὶ τῆς Σερύχ' ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Σερύχ' ἕως τῆς Αβραάμ καὶ δεῦρος Βαβυλωνίως. Idem p. 9. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ κλίματος τῆς πατρὸς Εὐρώπῃ εἰς Ἀσίαν κεκλιότες, ἐπινομάδουσαν πάντες καὶ τὴν χεῖρε ἐπίκλησαν ΣΚΥΘΑΙ, καὶ ζῆσι δὲ τὴν Πυργοπείαν, καὶ ἀνοδομῆσι τῆς Βαβυλωνίως. Id. p. 6.

(2) Joseph. Antiqu. Jud. Lib. I. §. 3. & Lib. XX. §. 2.

(3) Berofus affirmed that the Ark was in being in his time, on the Gordiæan mountains; and that the people brought away the bitumen or pitch that was upon it, and used it by way of amulets. The inhabitants of Georgia still make an advantage of the story, by furnishing travellers with little pieces of black wood, which, they tell them, are relicks of Noah's Ark. See Olearius's Holstein Ambassadors Travels. Book VII. p. 403. Mr John Struys has given us a view of Ararat, and would persuade us that he ascended

Jews, and Christians. I call it an (1) error, because a (2) learned modern hath proved, I think beyond contradiction, that Ararat could not be situated in Armenia, or on that part of mount Caucasus. And one obvious reason must occur to any one, who reads the history; which says “They journeyed from the East to the plains of Shinar;” whereas Armenia lies to the North-West of Shinar.

Ararat a mountain in Scythia.

(3) Some Christian writers, of great fame for learning, and of different persuasions in religious points, agree to place the Ark in Scythia, on the mountains called Imaus;

ed five days journey on the mountain; being called by some religious to the assistance of an Hermit, who lived there, and had been as high as the Ark on top, and brought away pieces of it; one of which he gave to Struys as a reward for curing him of a rupture: telling him withal how valuable such a relick would be at Rome, and giving him a Latin certificate of this whole interview; which the reader may find printed in Struys’s Voyages. Book III. c. 20. p. 226. Mr Tournefort met with too many difficulties in ascending, and was forced to return before he got half way: and seems to give but little credit to Struys’s relation. However the inhabitants assured him, that the Ark was still in being, only buried in the Snow. See Tournefort’s Voyage to the Levant Vol. III.

(1) *Josephus de montibus Armeniæ satis mirabilia scribit, & meminit reliquias Arceæ suo tempore ibi inventas. Sed nemo opinor me ideo hæreticum judicabit, si de ejus fide alicubi dubitem.* Mart. Luther Enarrat. in Gen. Oper. Tom. IV. p. 105.

(2) Sheringham De Anglorum Gentis Orig. pag. 373, 374, &c.

(3) *Illud magis necessarium est, ut qui sint montes Ararat inquiremus. Est autem communis sententia omnium fere quod sint montes Armeniæ propter maximos montes Asiæ Caucasum & Taurum. Sed mihi verisimilius videtur significari principem omnium montium IMAUM qui dividit Indiam. Ad hunc enim alii magni montes sunt quasi verrucæ. Nam quod Arca in summo monte quieverit, argumento est, quod tribus totis mensibus fere decreverunt aquæ, donec inferiores montes detegerentur, Libanus, Taurus, Caucasus, qui IMAI tanquam pedes aut radices sunt, sicut Alpium quasi brachia sunt montes Græciæ, & pertingunt usque ad nostram Herciniam sylvam, mirabilis enim montium quasi propago apparet diligenter de iis consideranti.* Mart. Luther. Enarrat. in Genesin. Pag. 105. v. Witteber. 1580. Op. Tom. VII. *Ararat igitur Taurus erit, qua parte ab Asia Minore discedens ad Imaum usque pertingit.* Gorop. Becanus. Indo-Scythica. Pag. 479.

stretching

stretching from North to South, and dividing Tartary, into what Ptolemy calls Scythia within Imaus, and Scythia beyond Imaus. Here too our most judicious (1) Sir Walter Raleigh places it, just where Taurus, Paropamisus, or Caucasus intersects the Imaus, in about thirty five, or thirty seven, degrees of north latitude. By this he obviates two objections that might be made to Scythia, viz. The journeying from the East; and that of Noah's planting the Vine. Again, if we are to suppose, as the tenour of the history seems to imply, that the Ark rested on the highest ground, and the mountains began first to be inhabited; we shall find none higher than the Scythian. The Caucasian mountains, as they are commonly called, between the Caspian and Euxine, must be considerably lower than the Riphæan, and other Scythian mountains, from whence the rivers after a long and rapid course discharge themselves into those two seas. The (2) height of the ground the Scythians urged in their dispute with the Egyptians, and brought it as the chief argument for the antiquity of their nation; and the Egyptians, or at least other good judges, acquiesced in the proof. The Caucasian mountains, as they approach to join the Imaus, are known to rise gradually higher; and (3) Ptolemy observes

(1) History of the World. Book I. Chap. 7. §. 10.

(2) *Quod si omnes quondam terræ submersæ profundo fuerunt, profecto editissimam quamque partem decurrentibus aquis primum detectam; humillimo autem solo eandem æquam diutissime immorata: & quanto prior quæque pars terrarum siccata sit, tanto prius animalia generare cœpisse. Porro Scythiam adeo editiorem omnibus terris esse, ut cuncta flumina ibi nata in Maxotim, tum deinde in Ponticum & Ægyptium mare decurrant. — His igitur argumentis superatis Ægyptiis, antiquiores semper Scythæ visi.* Justin Hist. Lib. II.

(3) Ὅρη ἢ ὄροσμά(ε) Τῆς Ἐντὸς Ἰμαύς ὄρεσ Σκυθίας, τὰ τε ἀναπικνῶτεα ἤ/ἢ Ὑπερβορείων. Geograph. Lib. VI c. 14.

that

that “The mountains of Scythia within Imaus, and those that lye more eastward of the Hyperboreans, were remarkable for their height.”

The mountain called the Stone Tower.

The learned have taken no notice of one particular, which strikes me very much: I mean, The Mountain called, as I suppose from its figure, the (1) *Stone Tower*, mentioned by Ptolemy, where he speaks of Imaus, as lying in thirty three degrees of north latitude. I will not positively affirm, that the Ark rested on this mountain, tho’ the thing is not (2) improbable; but the reader perhaps may pardon my curiosity, if I take it to be the very

(1) Καὶ ὁ καλλώϊστος λιθίνος Πύργος ἐπέχει θλι. λγ. Geogr. Lib.VI. c. 12.

(2) All accounts of the great deluge agree in this, “That the Ark, or Ship, landed on a high mountain:” Nicolas Damascenus, as he is quoted by Josephus, calls this mountain “BARIS near Minyas in Armenia:” but no geographer mentions such a mountain, in his description of that country. The word *Baris* with the Greeks has various significations, and amongst the rest means a Ship, a Tower, or any great edifice. ΒΑΡΙΣ. σημαίνει ἢ τὸν Πύργον ἢ τὴν Κλίβανον, πᾶσι τὸ μὲν βίαις πολλῆς ἀρρέναι. ΒΑΡΕΙΣ. Τείχη, Πλοῖα, Στοιῖ, Ἀδελφί, Πύργοι, Σφαῖραι πῆσι ἢ λόγισσι, εἰ μετὰ τὴν ἑσπερίαν πέτραι. Etym. Magnum. With the Jews it only signified a *Stone Tower*, or *Fortification*. ΒΑΡΙΣ verbum ὀνόματι Παλαιστίνᾳ, usque hodie Domus ex omni parte conclusa, & in modum edificatæ Turrium, ac Manium Publicorum, Βαρεῖς appellantur. Hieronym. Epist. Crit. de Nom. Hebr. Thus the fortress adjoining to the Temple, repaired by Herod, and surnamed *Antonia* in honour of M. Antony, was called BARIS, or The Citadel. *It was called Baris from Birah, which word among the eastern nations signified a Palace, or Royal Castle; and in this sense it is often used in those Scriptures of the Old Testament, which were written after the Babylonish captivity; as in Daniel, Ezra, Chronicles, Nehemiah, and Esther; which shews it to have been borrowed from the Chaldeans, and from them brought into the Hebrew language. The Septuagint often renders it by the word Baris. And in this sense it is that this fortress, under the Asmoneans, was called Baris, that is the Birah, or Royal Palace of the prince. Prideaux Connection. Par. II. Book V. Of the same Scythian original seem to be the words Bar and Bro of the Celtes, Βυργ and Βύργ of the Saxons, for a Fortified Eminence; and the Πύργος, or Tower of the Greeks.*

pattern,

pattern, of what the projectors designed to build in the plains of Shinar.

The meaning of the word Scythians. From Scythia then came those swarms of people, which at first stocked all Europe, and in succeeding times depopulated many parts of it. As they were different families, and became in time different states and kingdoms, they must have used different languages, or at least different dialects of the same mother tongue; and this could be no other than the language of (1) *Japhet*. The various names under which they are mentioned in history, were probably taken from their different (2) leaders or heads of families, who often gave names to the countries where they settled; and which again were as often changed by new masters; but that general one of *Scythians*, from their arms, from their strength and skill in managing the Bow; for it seems to mean no more than (3) *Shooters* or *Bowmen*.

(1) The memory of Japhet was preserved among the ancient Greeks, as appears from their *Japetus*, whom they seem to call the Father of Speech and Language. Οὕτως ἀπὸ τῆ παλαιῶν ΙΑΠΕΤΟΣ μὲν ἀνομάσθη ὁ Λόγος, καὶ ὃν καὶ φωνικὴ ζῶα ἐγγύετο, καὶ τὸ ὄλον φέφος ἀποτελέσθη, Ιακετός τις ἂν οἶα γὰρ ἢ φωνή. Phurnut. De Nat. Deor. pag. 41. Ed. Gale.

(2) Procopius makes the same remark upon the different Goths of his time. Φωνὴ τε αὐτοῖς ὄρεται μία Γοτθική· καὶ μοι δοκῶν ἐξ ἑνὸς μὲν εἶδη ἀπανίας τὸ παλαιὸν ἔθνος, ἰνόμασι δὲ ὕστερον τῶν ἐκείσιν ἠμισυμυθίων ἀβακεπρίσθι. Bell. Vandal. Lib. I. c. 2. Τὸς δὲ ἄλλους κοινῶς μὲν Σκύθας ὀνομάζουσιν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἐκείσους. Strabo Lib. X. p. 511.

(3) Salmasius forms the Greek word Σκύθαι from γέται, γόδοι, γούδοι, by apposition of the Æolic *Sigma*. De Hellenistica. Pag. 369. But this derivation seems too far strained; it is more easy perhaps to find it in their own languages, as in the Saxon *Scýtan* and *Scceotan*. *Sagittare*, **To Shcot**, whence *Scceota Scots*, the proper name of the Irish, whom Nennius calls in Latin *Scythæ*, the Saxons *Scceotan*, *Scyttan*, and *Scýττιrc*, which is likewise *Scythians*. And so the Dutch *Scutten*, the Welch *Yscot*, means both Scots and Scythians. See Camden Proleg. de Scotis. Arngrim Jonas upon the Runic

Scythians the same with Barbarians. That we may enter upon the affairs of Europe where history begins, let it be remembered, that the first inhabitants of Greece were (1) Barbarians; by which word, I imagine, the older Greeks always meant Scythians, it being the common epithet bestowed upon that people; inasmuch that the terms *Barbarian* and *Scythian* are in a manner (2) synonymous. In later times, it is true, the

letter Δ has this remark. Δ vocatur YR, a qua litera quidam putant Irlandos vocari, quod in eorum lingua, quam aliis sit frequentior. Nec hujus elementi notatio multum ablutit, Yr bender bogie i. e. Yr signat Arcum intensum; quo imprimis utuntur Irlandi. Worm. Lit. Run. c. 17. p. 101. The first Hercules, out of whom the Greeks have made so many, was renowned for his Bow, and may be allowed to have been a Scythian, since the fable in Herodotus makes him something more, the grandfather of the Scythians. Scythes, from whom the country was denominated, being the youngest of three sons of Hercules, and preferred to reign, for his greater strength in drawing his father's Bow. Herod. Lib. IV. Diodor. Lib. II.

(1) Βαρβαροὶ μὲν ἐν ὁ Μιλήσιος περὶ τῆ Πελοποννήσου φησὶν, ὅτι πρὸς τοῖς Ἑλλήνων ἠκησὶ αὐτῶν Βάρβαροι· ἑξῆς δὲ π καὶ ἡ σύμπασα Ἑλλὰς κατοικία Βαρβάρων ἐσθέρη το παλαιόν. Strabo Lib. VII. p. 321.

(2) Commentators have been much perplexed about that verse in St Paul's Epistles, Coloss. c. 3. v. 11. "Ὅπου ἐκ ἐνὶ Ἑλλῶ καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, ἑσποτιμὴ καὶ ἀκελευσία, Βάρβαροι Σκύθαι, δούλοι ἐλεύθεροι. Where there is an antithesis, seemingly intended to be carried on throughout, but in which the text, as it now stands, is a little defective. The word Σκύθαι Scythian may possibly be a Gloss crept into the text, inserted at first only to explain the more general word Βάρβαροι Barbarian; and perhaps the whole ought to be read, *Where there is neither Gentile or Jew, circumcision or uncircumcision, Greek or Barbarian, bond or free.* Thus I find it in the ancient Syriac version, which, I presume, is much older than any Greek manuscript of the Epistles now extant. The word Ἑλλῶ misunderstood seems to have given occasion to the corruption. Ἑλλῶτες, in the Syriac version, is sometimes render'd *Arameans* or *Syrians*, as Acts 20. v. 21. Rom. 10. v. 12. at other times *Gentiles*: by S. Jerom, Beza, and our English translators, it is as often rendered *Greeks*, tho' I think improperly: for when set in opposition to *Jews*, it should naturally mean *Gentiles* or *Idolaters*, such as the Syrians were with respect to Abraham. In the Gospel of S. John c. 12. v. 20. the Syriac renders it *Gentiles*, and with this agrees the Gothic version, which may be older than S. Jerom's, by translating it **ψινδαξ**
Gentes,

Greeks, in imitation of the Egyptians, called without distinction all other nations Barbarous; and therefore the Phenicians and Egyptians themselves, who abounded in science, and brought colonies into their country, are nevertheless called Barbarous, upon account of their speech. But these were not the Barbarians, who are (1) said to be older than the Greeks; for there were natives of Greece, long before the arrival of the Phenicians and Egyptians. And who were those natives, but the descendants of the first inhabitants, that is, Scythians or Barbarians? Whose language was likewise the primitive language of the coun-

Gentes, and the Saxon *hæðene Ethnici*. And the Apostle all along seems to have understood it in that sense, as Rom. i. v. 16. 2. v. 9, 10. 1 Cor. i. v. 23. unless once where he opposes it to *Barbarians*, as Rom. i. v. 14. "Ελληνί τε καὶ Βαρβάρους, σοφοῖς τε καὶ ἀνόητοις, ὁφειλέτης εἰμί" and there it necessarily means *Greeks*. S. Luke the Apostle's colleague is so to be understood, Acts 14. v. 1. 18. v. 4. 19. v. 10. 21. v. 28. as likewise the Fathers and later Christian writers. Οὐ Διαφέρει' ἐάν τε Νομικὸς ἦ, ἐάν τε ἙΛΛΗΝ, ἢ γὰρ Ἰουδαίων μόνων, πάντων δὲ ἀνθρώπων ὁ θεὸς κύριος. Clem. Alexand. Strom. VI. p. 638. Ed. Sylb. Πρεὶ τὸς ἙΛΛΗΝΩΝ θεὸς Διακείμενοι' εὐεσκάν τε ὡς ὁ αὐτοῦ πατρὸς Κωνσταντὸς ἀποστροφῆς τὰς ἙΛΛΗΝΩΝ θρησκείας. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. Lib. I. c. 2. And to go no further than S. Epiphanius. ἙΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΟΣ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν τῆ Σιρῶν ἐναρξάμενος. Ἀλλὰ τοὶ τῆς Εἰδωλολαπείας. Resp. ad Epist. Acacii. Καὶ ἀρχεται ἐνθενδε ὁ χαρακτὴρ τῆ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ μὴ τῆ ἙΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΟΝ. Adv. Hæref. Lib. I. pag. 9. Ἀπὸ ἧ τῆ Σιρῶν εἰς τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρ καὶ δεῦρο ἙΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΟΣ. Id. ibid. Here we see the word *Ἑλληνισμός*, or *Gentilism*, applied to a people who lived at a time when the Greeks were scarce known, or had a name. Now let me suppose that the Text, in conformity to the Syriac version, stood thus in the original: "Ὅτι καὶ ἐν Ἑλλῶ καὶ Ἰουδαίῳ, πεπειμὴ καὶ ἀπελευσία, [Ἑλλῶ] βάρβαρος, δῖλος ἐλδύερος. Here the word is used in both senses, and the proper antithesis likewise preserved, of *Gentile* and *Jew*, *Greek* and *Barbarian*: but a common transcriber, or even S. Jerom himself, might easily take the latter *Ἑλλῶ* to be redundant, thinking it equivalent to That which went before, and so wholly omitted it; and then, that the word *βάρβαρος* might not stand alone without its opposite, took in *Σκώθῳ* a gloss, tho' it only signified the same thing. If this is, as it seems to be, a corrupt reading, I know no other way of accounting for it.

(1) Ὅτι τῶν Βαρβάρων πῶν αὐτὰ παρελήφαμεν' εἶσι ἡ μὲν ἀρχαιοτέροι Βάρβαροι. Plato in Cratylo. Vol. I. p. 425. Ed. Serran.

try, though the Greeks were afterwards ashamed of such an original.

*The Pelasgians
were Scythians.*

Here perhaps it may be objected, that the most ancient language of Greece was that of the (1) Pelasgians; a people whose antiquity has made their pedigree so very obscure, that some of the ancients thought, that they sprung from the soil; and (2) modern writers, that they came from Phenicia. The later Greeks were no competent judges in this case; for they knew no more of the first peopling of their country, than we do of ours. And to say that the Pelasgians were Phenicians, is an assertion, without the least proof from ancient history. We are told by (3) Herodotus and (4) Strabo, that the Pelasgians were great wanderers, and that their speech was barbarous; characters suiting with the Scythians, rather than any other people. And for aught that appears to me, the Pelasgians were only a branch of the Northern nations, and the first who grew famous for being a seafaring people, and from thence had their (5) name.

(1) Πελασγοὶ ἢ περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διυασσομένων ἀρχαῖοι λέγονται. Strabo Lib. VII. p. 327.

(2) See Mr Jackson's Chronological Antiquities. Vol. 3.

(3) Τοῦ μὲν Πελασγικόν το δὲ Ἑλληνικόν ἔθνος· τὸ μὲν Ἰδαμῆ καὶ ἔξεχώρησε· τὸ δὲ πελοπόννησον κέρτα. Lib. I. §. 56. Ἦσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν ἔχοντες. §. 57.

(4) Πελοπόννησον δὲ καὶ τὰ γὰρ τὸ ἔθνος πρὸς ἐπιναυάσεις. Geogr. Lib. XIII. p. 621.

(5) ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΙ from ΠΕΛΑΓΟΣ, *The Sea*. See Bp Cumberland's *Orig. Gentium Antiquiss.* Pag. 295. The radical word is *Peleg* or *Phaleg*, signifying *Division*, the Sea being the great divider of people and countries; especially the Archipelago, or Ægean Sea, where, as I suppose, the word first took its rise. I might, if it was necessary, offer another conjecture, that they were so called from being a Division, or detachment, from the main body of some other nation; and support it by a similar instance. For the Parthians are denominated from the Celtic *Parth*, a part, or *Parthu* to divide, (the Hebrew is *Parad*) being a people by some means or other separated from the Eastern

The Pelasgic Greek language.

History marks out two very distinguishable periods of the Greek tongue. The first language was the Pelasgic, which in time grew obsolete, and gave place to the Hellenic; so called from Hellen a Scythian prince, said to be the son of Deucalion, who reigned in Thessaly. The Hellenic was again subdivided into several dialects, but not so altered as to become different languages. Both Pelasgic and Hellenic without question came from Scythia, and from one common root originally; and the former flourished in Greece long before the settlements of those transmarine colonies, under Cecrops, Danaus, Cadmus, and others. Nor was it confined to Greece; but by the Pelasgians or their ancestors, was spread over Italy, and all parts of Europe: and I take it to be the same which antiquaries now agree to call the Celtic. This still continues a living language, and allowing for length of time, and difference of countries, I suppose, not much different from the old Pelasgic.

The Hellenic Greek.

The Hellenic Greek by mixture of people, and by studied refinements, became in time a very mixt, but copious and harmonious language; and by its own merit and the works

Eastern Scythians. They are called *Παρθυαῖοι* and *Φυργᾶδες* by Stephanus Byzantinus: And Justin says, *Scythico sermone Parthi Exules dicuntur*. Those who can relish neither of these etymologies, may perhaps find satisfaction in the opinion of Bochart and Salmasius, who derive the Pelasgians from Peleg or Phaleg himself, a descendant of Sem, in whose time the earth was divided. S. Epiphanius observes that Phaleg and his son Reu, or Ragau, came into Europe: *Φαλέγ καὶ Ραγαῦ οἵτινες ἔτι τὸ Ἰβηρῶντος κλίμα νενοικότες τῶν τῆς Σαυδίας μερῶν, καὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν ἔδνασιν ἀετιστηνείδισαν*. Hence Salmasius derives the Greeks from Ragau: *Pelasgos à Phaleg, & Græcos, sive Γραικός, a Rkagau dictos esse, certa fides est ex nominis indicio, & re ipsa*. De Hellenistica, Pag. 342.

of

of many excellent authors, has been preserved from corruption for many ages; and is likely to continue so for ever. But when refined to the utmost, it could not otherwise happen, but that it must retain many words brought in at first by Barbarians, as (1) Plato affirms. It is therefore an error in those learned men, who are fond of deriving all words, and especially the Northern ones, from the Greek; for this is only going so far out of the way to prove a point: the Greek being not the (2) parent, but only a sister of the Northern languages; and with as much, if not more, justice, may be said to be derived from them. One mark of antiquity yet remains in the Northern languages, which they had in common with the Greek, though it is not to be found in the Roman; and that is the (3) *Dual Number* in Grammar. This, though extinct in English, is still preserved in the Saxon, Gothic, Franco-Teutonic, and in the modern Runic, or Icelandic.

The Celtes or Western Scythians.

The names for the three divisions of the old world, Europe, Asia, and Libya, are not to be found in sacred writ; nor could the Greek (4) historians discover, how or

(1) In Cratylō. ubi supra.

(2) *Licet vero plurimas originationes videar ad fontes Græcos retulisse, non tamen hoc ita velim accipi, quasi lingue suæ partem patres nostri hauserint a Græcis; cum veritati magis videatur consentaneum veterem Græcam Scythicamque, nec non ipsam quoque Gothicam, ex vetere Scythia provenientem, a communi aliqua origine promanasse: multique adeo viri longe doctissimi illam potius ex hac, quam hanc ex illa desumptam censeant.* Junii Præf. ad Glossar. Gothicum.

(3) Vid. Thom. Mareſchall. Not. in Version. Gothicam. Pag. 404, 415, 416. Et Cl. Hickeſii Theſ. Ling. Septentr.

(4) Οὐδ' ἔγωγε συμβαλέωσιν ἐπ' ὅτε, μὴ ἐκείνη γῆ, ἐνὸματι τετραπόσια κείνη, ἐπινομίαις ἔχοντα γωμαίων. — ἢ ἡ Εὐρώπη ἐδ' εἰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρης ἐστὶ γενώσκειται ἀπὸς ἡδαιμῶν ἀνδρῶπων· ἵτε οὐκ ὄθεν τὸ ἔναμα ἔλαβε τῶτο, ἔτε ὅς τις ἦν ὁ θεῖος φαιεσται. Herodot. Lib. IV. §. 45.

when

when they began. (1) Ephorus divided the inhabitants by the four cardinal points, allotting the East to the Indians, the South to the Æthiopians, the West to the Celtes, and the North to the Scythians. (2) S. Epiphanius calls Europe a part of Scythia; and (3) Ptolemy calls it Celtica or Celto-Galatia. The Celtes then, or Western Scythians, were the inhabitants of Europe; the same with the (4) Galatæ of the Greeks, and Galli of the Romans; and even these (5) Heraclides of Pontus called Hyperboreans; a sufficient indication of their Northern extraction. But as to the meaning of the word, I think we are still in the dark: for no one can believe, that they descended from (6) Celtus son of Hercules by Celtina daughter of king Bretannus, or from (7) Celtus son of Polyphemus the Cyclops and Galatea; and no descendant of Noah has as yet been produced to countenance an etymology. Only (8) Gomer is said to be their founder, as (9) Magog of the northern Scythians. I think it cannot be determined, whether the

(1) Μινύει δὲ καὶ Ἐφορος τὴν παλαιὰν ἀπὲρ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας δόξαν, ὡς φησιν ἐν τῷ ἀπὲρ τῆς Εὐρώπης λόγῳ, ὅτι ἀπὲρ τῆς ἑβραίων, καὶ τῶν γῆν, τόπων εἰς Τέσσαρσιν μέρσιν διμερῶσαν, τὸ ἀπὲρ τὸν ἀπικλιώτιον Ἰνδοῦ ἔχειν· ἀπὲρ νότον δὲ Αἰθιοπίας· ἀπὲρ δύσιν δὲ Κέλτωνσιν· ἀπὲρ βορρῆαν ἀνεμών Σκύθας. Strabo Lib. I. pag. 34.

(2) Τὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης κλίμα νενευκότεσ τῷ τῆς Σκυθίας μέρει. S. Epiphani. ubi supra pag. 15. Not.

(3) Ἐν μὲν ἀπὲρ βορρῆαν καὶ Λίβια τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης κείμενον, τὸ κατὰ τὴν Κελτογαλατῆαν ὁ δὴ κοινῶσ Ἑβρώπιον καλεῶμεν. Quadripart. Lib. II. c. 2.

(4) Οὐδέ δὲ ποτε αὐτὸσ καλεῖσθαι Γαλάτας ἐξενίκησεν. Κελτοὶ γάρ κατὰ τε τῆσ τὸ ἀρχαῖον, καὶ ὄντα τῆσ ἄλλοισ ὀνομαζόντο. Pausan. Attic. pag. 6. Ed. Sylb.

(5) Vid. Plutarch. in Camillo.

(6) Vid. Parthen. Nic. Amat. c. 30. Diodor. Lib. V.

(7) Vid. Appian. Bell. Illyric.

(8) Τὸσ μὲν γὰρ γινώσκουσ Ἐβρώπιον Γαλάτας καλεῶμενσ, Γαμαρῆισ ἢ λεγομενσ ἑταποσ. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. I.

(9) Μαγῶγισ ἢ τὸσ ὑπὸ αὐτῷ Μαγῶγισ ὀνομαζέντασ ὄντασ· Σκύθασ δὲ ὑπὸ αὐτῶν [Græcis] ἀπαραγορῶμενσ. Idem Antiqu. Lib. I.

Celta,

Celtæ, or Celto-Scythæ, were cotemporary with the Cimmerians, or perhaps before them in their migrations; nor whether they were only Cimmerians, who assumed that name after their settlements in Europe. If they brought it with them from Asia, they should seem to be the first, distinguished by a proper name, who dispersed themselves over these Western parts.

The first Gods, or Titans, were Scythians.

A late learned and ingenious (1) author brings this people originally from the higher Asia; and has given them a most prodigious empire, extending almost from one end of Europe to the other, and containing besides immense territories in Asia and Africa. He with some reason fixes the centre of this empire in Greece, and the Isles of the Mediterranean: and further proves, that Uranus or Cœlus, Saturn, and Jupiter, the first deities of the Greeks, were no imaginary beings; but the true names of Celtic Emperors, who were likewise known by the more general one of Titans. The Titans indeed, in strict propriety of speech, were the offspring of Cœlus and his sister Terra, Titæa ΤΙΤΩΑ, *Tit*, or *Tid*, in Hebrew and Scythian signifying *Earth*; whence they are called Γίγαντες, *Gigantes*, *Terrigenæ*, or *Sons of the Earth*; and, I suppose, were what both Greeks and Romans meant by Αὐτόχθονες, *Indigenæ*, and *Aborigines*. Because they had no knowledge of any people before them: and therefore called them the (2) parents of mankind. This opinion has

(1) Dr Pezron. *Antiquities of Nations*.

(2) Αὐτός καὶ ἀετὲρ Ἰνέη — Arati Phœnom. v. 16.

Οἱ δὲ ἀετῆραν γέναν τὸς Τιτῶνας φασίν. Schol. in loc.

Ἐξ ὑμῶν γὰρ πάντα πέλῃ γένεα καὶ κόσμον. Orph. Hymnus in Titanes.

been controverted by several writers, and particularly by a very learned (1) one of our own nation; who supposes the Titans to have been Phenicians, or Egyptians, the posterity of Ham, and not of Japhet.

The Phenician and Egyptian Antiquities.

The Phenician and Egyptian antiquities have afforded men of more refined imagination, an opportunity of displaying abundance of curious knowledge. And yet, at the same time a common understanding may perceive, that the historical records of both those ancient nations could go no higher than Uranus, Saturn, and the Titans; whose actions are likewise the first events mentioned in Grecian history. But when we consider the turn and humour of those nations; the pride they took in (2) arrogating to their several countries the origin of human race, as well as of all arts and sciences; we need not wonder at their claiming the first Gods or Heroes, of whom there was any memory, or tradition. I think it cannot be denied, that these Gods reigned over all those countries; but it is not certain that they were born in any of them. The Egyptians and Phenicians, it must be owned, are not so easily detected in their pretensions as the Greeks; who by the many exploits attributed to their several Gods and Heroes, discover, that though they often went by one name, yet they must have been different persons, and lived in very different times; and I

(1) Jackson's Chronological Antiquities. Vol. 3. pag. 76.

(2) Μήτηρ Αἰγυπτῶν ἀετρεσηγέντων αἰζηῶν. Apollon. Arg. Lib. 4. v. 268.
Vide Sanchoniathon Phœnic. Hist. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. I. Diodor. Sic. Hist. Lib. I.

believe the oldest of them will always be found to have been Barbarians or Scythians.

The Gods claimed by all nations. It is a thing very well deserving our notice, that some of the most polite nations in all ages have valued themselves upon being descended from Scythian conquerors. Thus the Indian Moguls at present boast of their descent from Tamerlane: almost all the (1) Royal Families of Europe claim kindred with the Goths: and we may see by our own (2) history how careful the Saxon princes were to trace up their several pedigrees to Woden. The Greeks, Phenicians, and Egyptians, did the same thing, only with this difference; They would have it thought, that the Gods were natives of their respective countries; and I make no doubt, but each one had as good a right to them as the other. Either therefore they did not (3) know, or were (4) unwilling to tell, from whence the Gods came;

(1) Vide Heilrich Zeellii Genealogiam insignium Europæ Imperatorum, Regum, Principum, a Gothis deducta. Regiomont. 1563. 8vo.

(2) Annales Saxon. Asser Menevensis. Ingulfus. Florentinus Vigorn. Will. Malmes. &c.

(3) Ἴνδον δὲ ἐχρῆστο ἕκαστος τῶν Θεῶν, εἴτε δ' αὐτὸ ἦσαν πάντες, ὁκοῦτε τε πνὲς τὰ εἶδεα, ἃ ἐπίστατο μέγχι ἢ πρὶν τε καὶ χθὲς, ὡς εἰπὲν Ἡρόδοτος. Herodot. Lib. II. §. 53.

(4) To disguise and conceal the true nature, origin, and history, of the Gods, seems to me to have been the chief design of all the Egyptian mysteries, that have made so much noise in the world; and the Greeks, and other nations copied, and enlarged the plan. Euhemerus the Messenian was the first, who dared to divulge the secret; and taught that the Gods were mortal men deified, Generals, Admirals, and Kings: but he only got the name of Atheist for his pains. Εὐήμερος τῶν Μεσσηνίων φενακισμοῖς παρεσίαν διδόντες, ὃς αὐτὸς ἀπήραφα συνείδει ἀπίστου καὶ ἀνοπέκτου μυθολογίας, πάσαν Ἀθεότητα κατὰσιδεῖν νοσοῦν τὴν οἰκουμενικήν, τὸς νομιζομένους Θεοὺς πάντας ὁμιλῶς ἀγαγέφων, εἰς ὄνομα Στρατηγῶν καὶ Ναυάρχων καὶ Βασιλέων. Plutarch. de Iside & Osiride. Ennius translated the *Sacred History* of Euhemerus into Latin, which is now lost, but quoted by Tully, Varro, Pliny, Josephus, Lactantius, Minucius Felix, and others.

for

for it was impossible that they should be born in so many different places.

Uranus King of the Atlantians.

But the Greeks, Phenicians, and Egyptians were not the only people, who boasted that their country was the birth-place of the Gods; for the (1) Atlantians, mentioned by Diodorus, put in the same claim; and their account seems to me the most authentic of any, and that from which the rest were borrowed. “The Atlantians said, that the “Gods were born among them; and that Uranus their “first King had by several women Fourty Five children, “Eighteen of which were by Titæa, each having his pro- “per name, but from their mother called Titans. — and “that Uranus had almost the whole world under his do- “minion, especially the Northern and Western parts.” By which last words should seem to be meant, at least all Europe with northern Asia; and this includes the Scythians, who were never (2) subdued by any other people. If so, Uranus was a Scythian prince, and probably a greater potentate, than either Tamerlane, or Gengizchan; tho’ by (3) length of time, and the pretensions of so many dif-

(1) Ατλάντιοι — πῶς δὲ γένεσιν ἧδ’ Θεῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς γένεσθαι φασί — μυθολογῶσι δὲ πρῶτον παρ’ αὐτοῖς Οὐρανὸν βασιλευῖντα — κατακτητῶν δ’ αὐτὸν τὸ οἰκουμένης πῶς πλείων, καὶ μάλιστα τὸς πρὸς τὴν Ἐσπερίαν καὶ τὴν Ἀρκτικὴν πόπυς. — Οὐρανὸν δὲ μυθολογῶσι γένεσθαι παῖδας ἐκ πλείωνων γυναικῶν πέντε πρὸς τοῖς τεσσαράκοντα· καὶ τέτων ὅκτω καὶ δέκα λέγουσιν ἐκ Τιταίας, ὄνομα μὲν ἴδιον ἔχοντας ἐκάστους, καὶ ἧ ὅ πάντας δὲ τὴν μητρὸς ὀνομαζομένους Τιτάνας. Diodor. Lib. III. p. 133.

(2) *Imperium Asiæ ter quæsiuere Scythiæ, ipsi perpetuo ab alieno imperio aut intacti, aut inuicti mansere.* Justin. Hist. Lib. II. *Getæ sunt qui & nunc Gothi, quos Alexander evitandos pronuntiauit, Pyrrhus exhorruit, Cæsar declinavit.* Orof. Lib. I. c. 12.

(3) Ὡς τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα σέσωσται, τὰ δὲ ἔργα, καὶ τὸ ἦν παραλαμβανόντων φερεῖται, καὶ τὰ μὲν τὴν γένεσιν, ἠφανίσθη. Plato in Critia. p. 109. Ed. Serran.

ferent nations, his history is quite obscured, and lost in fable.

Who the Atlantians were.

Who these Atlantians were, it may be worth while to enquire. The ancient geographers afford us no light in the case; and Diodorus does not inform us from whence he had his relation. He took them to be an African people dwelling near mount Atlas; but seems to have been deceived by the similitude of names, or by some fabulous traditions. He has fortunately told us, that the Amazons were their neighbours; which perhaps induced him to believe, that the oldest of that name too were Africans. But if ever there were any such people as the Amazons, from all the accounts that are left, they must have been a Northern nation. We hear of them as early as the Titan war, and the siege of Troy; and their actions seem to be limited to the Northern parts of Asia and Europe. And Diodorus's own account of his African Amazons, and their wars with the Thracians, is enough to persuade us that they were Scythians. It might happen, that in some particular Scythian states, the sovereign power sometimes devolved upon a female; or might be (1) legally lodged in that sex. But the most probable opinion is, that the Amazons were only the wives and daughters of Scythian warriors, who fought as well as their fathers, husbands and brothers; a custom not extinct even in the

(1) See Sir John Chardin's Travels. Engl. Fol. Lond. 1687. pag. 188. *Primi Macotidæ Γωακονεργετάρδοι, regna Amazonum.* Pomp. Mela. Lib. I. c. 22. *Suionibus Sitionum gentes continuantur. Cætera similes, uno differunt, quod Famina dominatur.* Tacit. de Mor. Germ.

time of (1) Mithridates, nor to this day: but that they were a separate state of women, is no better than a fable.

The Atlantic Island, and Sea. The Atlantians history of their king Uranus, has all the appearance of truth, tho' it is supported only

by fable. (2) Plato has preserved an old Egyptian rumour concerning the great Atlantic Island; by which undoubtedly was meant the country of the Atlantians. He says it was as large as Asia and Libya, whence (3) some have imagined that it was the New World, or America; tho' he adds, that it was swallowed up in one day by the Ocean, and was never since to be found; this indeed looks a little suspicious. Plato took the whole story from the poems of Solon, who learnt it from the Egyptian priests. But as the Egyptians were a people of fertile imagination, the (4) authors of Fable; whatever history the Greeks received from them, was, as I presume, all perverted in this manner. I can collect no more from this incredible story, than that the Egyptians designedly confounded the

(1) After the flight of Mithridates; among the captives, and hostages sent by the Albanians and Iberians to Pompey, there were found a great number of women, who had received as many wounds, as the men. Πολλὰ δὲ ἐν τε τοῖς θυμέροις καὶ τοῖς ἀρχμαλώτοις εὐρέθησαν Γωαίικες ἢ μέγιστοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν πρᾶγματα ἔχουσαι καὶ ἐδόκουν Ἀμαζόνες εἶναι· εἰ τε πᾶσι ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς γεγονότων αἰ Ἀμαζόνες, εἰ τε πινὰς περικμηκῆς ὄλας Γωαίικας οἱ τῶν δὲ βάρβαροι καλεῖσιν Ἀμαζόνες. Appian. Bell. Mithrid. pag. 242. Ed. Steph. Modern travellers, who treat of the countries on the North and East sides of the Caspian sea, unanimously agree that the Tartar women go to war with the men, and armed in the same manner. Basilii Batatzi in his Greek map of the Caspian sea, printed at London 1730, says he saw two warrior virgins of the Casac country, who had been taken prisoners by the Bucharians, inhumanly put to death in cold blood. Vid. Art. 4.

(2) In his Timæus and Critias.

(3) Mercator, Sanfōn, Joh. de Laet. Not. ad Hug. Grot. Orig. Gent. American. p. 70. Horn. Orig. Gent. Americ. Lib. 2. c. 6.

(4) Ἀλληγορεῖν εἶρημα τῶν Λιζυπείων. Tzetzes Allegor.

history

history of the Gods; and that this country owed its destruction more to their priests, than to the encroachments of the Sea. I am therefore of opinion that the Atlantic Island, as it is called, was then and still is in being; tho' I cannot entirely agree with the learned (1) Olaus Rudbeck, who from a laudable partiality to his native country, has taken a great deal of pains to prove that Sweden was the place. I so far agree with him, That the Atlantians could not be inhabitants of Africa, notwithstanding the names of the mountain, and of the sea that washes that coast; nor yet can I think that they were of Europe; but of Asia, and far remote from Scandinavia eastward. The Atlantic sea might be denominated from a people, and that people from a man. Atlas is a Northern name; the first, of whom we have any knowledge, was the famous Astronomer, and (2) general of the Titan army against Jupiter; the same who is thought to have given name to the mountain. But (3) Apollodorus, correcting those authors who wrote before him concerning the Hesperides, directs us to look for Atlas, not in Libya, but among the Hyperboreans: and (4) others, who place him not so far North, allot him a seat on mount Caucasus, with his brother Prometheus. The Atlantides, or Atlantians, were his descendants as all (5) authors are agreed;

(1) Vide Atlantica. Par. I. Cap. 7.

(2) *Atlanti autem, qui Dux eorum [Titanum] fuit, cali fornicem super humeros imposuit, qui adhuc dicitur calum sustinere.* Hygin. Fab. CL.

(3) Ταῦτα ὃ ἦν, ἐχ' ὡς πινεῖ εἶπον, ἐν Λιβύῃ, ἀλλ' ὅτι τ' Ἀθλαντος ἐν Ὑπερβορείοις. Bibl. Lib. II. c. 4. §. 10. p. 117. Ed. Gale.

(4) Ἀτλας γίνεται βασιλεὺς πρῶτος ἐν τῇ καλυμμένῃ νῦν Λαγκασίᾳ· ὡκεὶ ὃ παρὰ τὸ λεγόμενον Καυκάσιον ὄρεος. Dionys. Halic. Ant. Rom. Lib. I. p. 49.

(5) Diodorus Siculus, Lib. III. Apollodorus, Lib. III. c. 10.

and

and this was their family name, like that of the Titans. As Atlas was a man of science, and (1) said to be the first who made a vessel, and navigated the Seas; I make no question, that he first gave name to the Atlantic Sea; but this name was anciently of more general signification than at present; meaning the Sea that encompassed the whole earth, and was (2) called by the northern people The Ocean; by the southern Asiatics The Great Sea; and by the Greeks the Atlantic and External Sea; to distinguish it from the inland seas, Caspian, Euxine and Mediterranean; comprehending all other seas however now denominated, Hyperborean, Scythian, German, British, Indian &c. The name took its rise in the North or North East; and I suspect that (3) Pliny's *Mare Amalchium* of Hecatæus, was the True *Mare Atlanticum* of the Titans; and the Sea that first began to be so called. When all

(1) Ἄτλας ὁ Λίβυς ἀρχὸς Ναῶν ἐναυπηγῆσατο καὶ πρῶτος θάλασσαν ἐπέπλευσε. Clem. Alex. Strom. Lib. I.

Ἄτλαντες θυράτης ὀλοφρονος ἦσαν θαλάσσης
 Πάσης βένδρα οἶδεν, ἔχει δὲ τὴν κίονα αὐτῶς
 Μακροῖς, αἱ γαῖάν τε καὶ ἄβυσσον ἀμφὶς ἔχουσιν. Homer. Odyf. A. v. 52.

(2) ΩΚΕΑΝΟΣ. Ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ περὶ τὴν γῆν φαλαγγίαν ἐν τῇ Παντοδαπίῳ Ἰστρίαις Πετραγορεύσει δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἐξω Θάλασσαν ἐκείνῳ μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων Ωκεανόν. Οἱ δὲ τῇ Ἀσίαν οἰκῶντες Μεγάλῳ Θάλασσαν. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληες Ἀτλαντικὸν Πελαγὸς. Stephanus de Urb. *Omnis enim Terra que colitur a vobis angusta verticibus, lateribus latior, quedam est insula circumfusa illo mari, quod Atlanticum, quod Magnum, quem Oceanum appellatis in terris.* Somn. Scip. apud Macrob. Lib. II. c. 5. Ἡ οἰκουμένη κελῶ περὶ τὴν Ωκεανῶν. Strabo Lib. 2. Ἡ δὲ Μεγάλῃ Θάλασσῃ, καὶ πρὸς οἰκουμένην περὶ τὴν κελῶν κελῶν μὲν ὀνόματι Ωκεανὸς καλεῖται, καὶ κλίματα δὲ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἔχει ἐπωνυμίας. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῖς Ἄρκτοις πᾶς μὲν Ἀρκτικός καὶ Βόρειος λέγεται. ἥδη δὲ αὐτῶ τὸ μὲν ἀνατολικώτερον Σκεδικὸς Ωκεανός, τὸ δὲ πικρῶτερον Γερμανικὸς τε καὶ Βρετανικὸς καλεῖται. Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν σύμπετον καὶ Κερσόνιον πέλαγος καὶ Πεπηγὸς, καὶ Νεκρὸς, ἐπωνομάζονται. Agathem. Geogr. Lib. II. p. 244. Ed. Gron.

(3) *Septentrionalis Oceanus, Amalchium eum Hecatæus appellat a Paropamisane, qua Scythiam alluit, quod nomen ejus gentis lingua significat Congelatum.* Plin. Hist. Lib. IV. c. 13.

know-

knowledge of the Northern history and geography was lost among the Greeks, and arts and sciences spread more southward; that part only of the great Ocean, measured from the British isles to the Equator, retained the old name of Atlantic. (1)

*Uranus deposed
by the Titans.*

The Titans on account of the wrongs done to their mother Titæa, and perhaps to themselves, agreed to (2) depose their father Uranus: which when they had effected, Saturn the (3) youngest, but most cunning, of them all, assumed the empire, upon certain conditions agreed upon between him and his eldest brother Titan. The common (4) tradition is, that Titan bound Saturn by an oath, to destroy all his male issue; that the empire after his decease might return to the race of Titan: whence came the fable of Saturn's devouring his children. But the chief article, as I conjecture, was an equal division of the provinces among them; which not being duly performed, from thence ensued all those Titan wars with the Gods; or with those who took part with Saturn and his son Jupiter.

(1) Here, I cannot but offer a conjecture upon a small reading in Lactantius, relating to the last end of Uranus king of the Atlantians. *Cui igitur sacrificare Jupiter potuit nisi Cælo avo? quem dicit Eubemerus in Oceano mortuum, & in oppido Aulatia sepultum.* De Fals. Relig. Lib. I. §. 111. For *Aulatia*, I would here read *Atlantia*; tho' the situation of the one is no more known, than of the other.

(2) Sanchoniath. Phœnic. Hist. apud Euseb. Apollodor. Lib. I. p. 2. Ed. Gale. Hesiod. Theogonia. v. 164. &c.

(3) Τὸς ἢ μετ' ὀπίσταντος ἤλυτο Κρόνος ἀγχιλομήτης
Δεινότατος παίδων. Hesiod. Theog. v. 137.

(4) Ὅρκος δ' οὕτε Κρόνον μεγάλης Τιτῶν ὀπίσθηκε,
Μὴ ἔρε' ἄρσενά, καὶ παίδων ἤλυτο, ὡς βασιλεύσῃ
Αὐτὸς, ὅταν μεγὰς τε Κρόνον καὶ μοῖρα πέληται.

Sibyllin. Orac. Lib. III. p. 227. Ed. Obfop.

Saturn

Saturn reigned over the Western parts. Saturn, who on the dismembering of the Titan empire, is said to have reigned over the (1) Western parts, seems to have taken not only more than his share, but the most rich and fruitful countries; such as the continents lying upon the Mediterranean, Syria, Egypt, Greece with the isles, Italy, Gaul, Spain &c. By this situation he had the advantage of Shipping, which perhaps the other Titans wanted, and were not acquainted with, for the art does not appear to have been then long found out; and by this means became more than a match for them.

The Titans kept possession of the Northern. The Titans seem to have kept possession of the (2) Northern parts, and to have made several attempts to recover the others; and sometimes not without success, as is plainly intimated by the (3) flight of the Gods into Egypt; till after a (4) ten years struggle, or more, they were in the end entirely subdued by Jupiter. In the Northern parts therefore, if any where, I think we may expect to find them. The Titans and their offspring are described as men of gigantic stature; and this has always

(1) Φασὶ τὸ Κρόνον καὶ τὴν Σικελίαν, καὶ Λιβύην, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὸ πᾶν ὄλον ἐν ταῖς πρὸς Ἑσπέρην τόποις συστήσασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν. Diodor. Lib. III. p. 136. Vid. etiam Lib. V.

(2) When the Titans were worsted in the war with the Gods, they retreated to the great and well fortified cave called Cira in the country of the Getes, as is reported by Dion Cassius. Ἐπὶ τὸ σπήλαιον τὴν Κείρω καλεομένην ἐστρατεύσασθε. [Craffus] Τῆτο γὰρ μέγιστον τε ἄμα καὶ ὑψηλότατον τε ἔστω ὄρον, ὡς καὶ πρὸς Τιτάνας ἐς αὐτὸ, καὶ τὴν ἦσαν τὴν ὑπὸ τῆς Θεῶν δὴ πρὸς χρημῶν, συγκαταφυγῆναι μυσθενέσθαι. Hist. Rom. Lib. 51. p. 530.

(3) Apollodor. Lib. I. c. 6. Ovid. Metamorph. Lib. V. Antoninus Liberalis Metamorph. c. 28.

(4) Συναγέως ἐμάχοντο Δέσπ. πλείους τ' ἐνιαυτῶς. Hesiod. Theog. v. 636. Μαχρῶν δ' αὐτῶν ἐνιαυτῶς δέκα. Apollod. Lib. I. c. 6.

been a principal (1) character of the Scythians, whether under the denomination of (2) Celtes, or (3) Cimbrians. The Hyperboreans were of the Titan race, according to the poet (4) Phereñicus: (5) Titan himself gave name to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, if we may believe the oldest traditions: the Thracians, who were undoubtedly of Scythian extraction, are called by a Thracian, or one who personated a Thracian poet, the (6) descendants of the Titans: and the scene of some of the Titan battles was in Thrace. If we descend to the Grecian mortal kings, or to those who came after the Gods; we shall find that Deucalion, one of the first, if not the very first, was a Titan king; for he was the son of (7) Prometheus a Titan, the son of Japetus brother of Saturn; and consequent-

(1) *Ultra Tanaim amnem colentes Scythas, quorum neminem adeo humilem esse, ut humeri ejus non possent Macedonis militis verticem æquare.* Quint. Curtius Hist. Lib. VII. c. 4.

(2) Εἶσι δ' οἱ Κέλται μακρῶ πάντας ὑπερκότες μῆκει τὸς ἀνθρώπους. Pausan. in Phocic. Pag. 647. Ed. Sylb.

(3) Καὶ μάλιστα μὲ εἰκάζοντο [Cimbri] Γερμάνικα γῆν τῆ καθηκόντων ὅπῃ τῆ βόρειον ὠκείανον εἶδ' τοῖς μεγάθεσι τῆ σωμάτων. Plutarch. in Mario.

(4) Τὸς Ὑπερβόρειος, τῆ Τιτανικῆ γῆος Φερένικος φησὶν εἶδ', γράφων ἕτως.

Ἀμφὶ δ' Ὑπερβόρειων, οἷτ' ἔχματα ναυετάνοι

Ναῦν ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀπειρήτοι πολέμοιο.

Τὸς μὲ ἀεὶ πρῶτέρων ἐξ αἵματος ὑμίζουσι

Τιτῶν βλασάντας, ὑπὸ δρέμον αἰθρήντα

Πάσαδαι βορέας γόνιμι Αειμασσὸν ἀνακτα.

Schol. in Pind. Olymp. III.

(5) — ΒΟΟΣ ΠΟΡΟΝ ἐξικόμεδα

Λίμνης, ὄντε μεσιγὴ βοοκλόπος ἔποτε ΤΙΤΑΝ

Ταύρω ἐφιζύβηος βειαρῶ πῶρον ἔχασε λίμνης. Orph. Argon. v 1054.

(6) Τιτῶν Γαίης τὲ καὶ Οὐρανῶ ἀγλαὰ τέκνα

Ἡμετέρων πρῶγονοι πατέρων. Orph. Hymn. in Titan.

(7) Ἐν δ' ὑπερφύροσ θεῖς

Τίταν Περωμηθεύς. Sophocl. Œdip. Colon.

— Ἐνδα Περωμηθεύς

Ἰαπιποίδης ἀγαθὸν τέκε Δουκαλίανα. Apollon. Arg. Lib. 3.

ly only two generations removed from the true Titans. This vast antiquity has render'd his history as obscure as that of the Gods, for it has never yet been made clear; the Greeks having perplexed it with another of the same name, who must have lived long after him. The first Deucalion however was a (1) Scythian; and that there were other Titans among the Scythians, will be seen hereafter. At present our business with the Titans goes no further than Europe. How largely they were interested there, sufficiently appears from what has been already mentioned of Uranus and Saturn; and is further confirmed by the victories of Jupiter, who subdued the Titans from (2) Pallene in Thrace, to (3) Tartessus in the farthest boundaries of Spain.

The Titan language universal in Europe.

It is more than probable, that (4) one common language once prevailed over all Europe; nor can any other period be assigned for an universal language, than this of the Titan empire. The remains of such a language are still found in various parts

(1) Οἱ μὲν ὄν πολλοὶ Δευκαλίωνα ἢ Σκύθια τὸ ἔρον εἶπασι λέγουσι· τῶτον Δευκαλίωνα ὅτι τὸ πολλὸν ὕδωρ ἐχλύετο. Lucian de Dea Syria.

(2) Μετὰ ἧ πῦρα τῆ παρὶ τῶ Παλλήνῳ Γιγάντων ἐλομφίον ἢ παρὸς τὸς ἀθανάτους πόλεμον Ἡρακλῆς τοῖς θεοῖς συναγωνισάμενος, καὶ πολλὰς ἀνελῶν τῶν Γιγάντων ἀποδοχῆς ἐπυχεν ἢ μερίσας. Diodor. Lib.V. p. 222.

(3) Δίος μεταπήσαντος ἢ πατέρα Κρόνον ἢ βασιλείας, καὶ τῶν τῶ θεῶν ἀρχῶν ὄρθαλαβόντες, Γιγάντες, οἱ γῆς παύει ἀνακατήσαντες, ἐν Ταρτησῶ (ὅτις δὲ ἔστιν αὐτῆ ὄρθα τῶ Ὠκεανῶ) μέγα καὶ Δίος πόλεμον παρεσκευάζον. Ζεὺς δὲ συνανήσας αὐτοῖς, καταγωνίζεται πάντας. Καὶ μεταπήσας αὐτὸς εἰς Ἑρβος τῶ πατρὸς Κρόνον ἢ τῶτον βασιλείαν ὄρθαθήδωσαν. Didym. Schol. in Iliad. ὅ. v. 479. *Salvus vero Tartesiorum, in quibus Titanas bellum adversus Deos gessisse proditur, incolere Curetes.* Justin. Hist. Lib. 44. §. 4.

(4) *Inachus Oceani filius, ex Archia sorore sua procreavit Phoroneum, qui primus mortalium dicitur regnasse. Homines ante sæcula multa sine oppidis legibusque vitam exegerunt, una lingua loquentes, sub Jovis imperio.* Hygin. Fab. 143.

of Europe; and those parts are clearly corners, and hiding places, where people having no commerce but with themselves, it was secured from the inroads of later languages. Such are the mountains of Biscay, the retreat of the old Cantabrian; which is still preserved entire in spite of all the conquests that kingdom has undergone from Carthaginians, Romans, Goths, and Moors. The old Gallic gave way to the Teutonic, but is still spoken in Armorica, or Bas Bretony. The British sunk under the Roman yoke; and would have been utterly extirpated by the Saxons, had it not taken refuge in Wales and Cornwall; in which last place it is now almost extinct. The Highlands of Scotland, and the numerous isles upon that coast, are so many barriers of this ancient language; and above all Ireland, where it is thought to be preserved most uncorrupt: at least I have reason to think, that the (1) Irish agrees

(1) The reader I believe will be pleased with a curious anecdote, which I sometime since received from a most learned and worthy friend, the Reverend Mr John Reynolds Canon of Exeter, and Fellow of Eaton College. *Eaton Jan. 22. 1755.* — “In my middle age, at a particular friend’s house, I found a near relation of his, one Mr Hutchins of Frome, just come into England out of Spain from Bilboa, where he had belonged to the Factory the better part of Twenty years; who among other things told us; That while he was there, sometime after the Protestants became intire masters of Ireland, there came over to Bilboa an Irish Roman Catholic priest, that knew neither English, nor Spanish. When the person, to whom he was recommended, being at a loss what to do, brought him to the English Factory; to see if any one there understood Irish, but to no purpose: till some Mountain Biscainers, that used Bilboa Market, coming to the house where he lodged, and talking together, were perfectly understood by Him: and on his accosting them in Irish, he was as well understood by Them; to the great surprize of all that knew it, as well Spaniards as English. The narratour of this fact in his own knowledge, I am satisfied, was too sensible to be imposed on himself, and too honest to impose on others; and as he was no scholar, he had no hypothesis to serve. And the matter of fact itself is, as I take it, so considerable in regard to British antiquities, that
“it

the nearest with the old Cantabrian. These all differ from each other a little in dialect, but by undeniable marks appear to have sprung from one common root, and That a sister dialect of the (1) Hebrew. Antiquaries are sufficiently justified in calling these dialects Celtic, because they are the first known language in Europe or Celtica. Perhaps they may deserve a much higher title, namely that of the Universal Language of the postdiluvian world. For, besides their affinity to the Hebrew, (2) authors find that their remains still exist in the most distant parts of the

“it were pity it should be buried in oblivion; and therefore I am glad of “this opportunity of communicating it to you.”—What now must we think of a certain great master of languages? *Not one single word, says he, of the Irish tongue agrees with the Cantabrian or Biscayan, which is the true old Spanish.* History of Druids. Pag. 133. That great genius Mr Edw. Lhuyd, was of a quite different opinion: for he has given us a hundred Irish words, that agree with the Biscayan; and could have added many more, but for want of room. See Arch. Britan. Oxon. 1707. At Y Kymry, or Pref. to the Welsh. *How cautious should we be, of relying too much on the bold assertions of Critics or Antiquaries!* Nazarenus. Par. 2. pag. 8.

(1) Vid. D. Joh. Davies Præf. ad Grammat. Cambro-Britan. Lond. 1621. Et ejusdem Præf. ad Dictionar. Cambro-Britan. Lond. 1632. Rowland Mona Antiq. Restaur. Dublin. 1722. Sect. VI. & Pag. 275, 276, 289.

(2) See an *Essay on the Antiquities of Britain and Ireland, by the Reverend Mr David Malcolm.* Edingb. 1738. This Essay was published by way of Specimen and Proposals, in several detached pieces, or Letters. Having heard nothing of it since, I suppose the author did not meet with proper encouragement, and therefore never completed his design. Mr Malcolm observes that the inhabitants of St Kilda, the most western Isle of Scotland, have a dialect near akin to the Chinese language. From a short vocabulary of Indian words, corresponding with the Highland Scotch, which Mr Wafer has given us in his *Description of the Isthmus of Darien*, pag. 186, 187, 188, he likewise concludes that the Darien language was the same as the Celtic. And if we may believe our news writers, who seem to deliver it upon good authority; The Soldiers of the Highland Regiment, lately sent to North America, were received by the Savages as brethren and countrymen, upon account of *Their Garb, Manners, and a surprizing agreement in their Speech.*

Old World, from the sunrising to the farthest West ; also in America.

*The Finnic and Lap-
ponian Language.*

We said before, that the Northern and Eastern parts of Europe were the first that received inhabitants ; and therefore if there is any language, now subsisting, more ancient than the Celtic, I think it must be that of the Finns and Laplanders ; who might be descendants of those first inhabitants, driven by new colonies to the extremities of that cold climate ; for it is not likely that they settled there by choice. (1) Some have thought their languages a little different from each other ; none have as yet discovered any affinity between them and the Celtic ; and all agree, that they differ from the Gothic. But if the Finnic abounds with Greek words, as (2) Stiernhelm affirms, I conjecture, that its original was the same as the Gothic.

*Jupiter's Victory
over the Titans.*

The Titan war has hitherto been treated in the light of fable and allegory, but demands a stricter scrutiny in this inquisitive age ; as being the most ancient, and most memorable event in all profane history. It was the great theme of the first European (3) bards, and furnished

(1) Vid. Jo. Scheffer. Lapponia Cap. XV.

(2) *In Finnonica incredibile quam multæ voces Græcæ reperiantur. Unde mihi orta suspicio, Gentem Finnonicam ex gente aliqua Græcis coloniis mixta, jam olim multis abhinc sæculis, originem traxisse. Finnonicæ dialecti sunt Esthonica & Lapponica.* Præf. in Evang. Septentrion.

(3) Οἶδα ὅτι ὁ πῶς ΤΙΤΑΝΟΜΑΧΙΑΝ πῶς αὖτ' Εὐμελὸς ἔβη ὁ Κοεῖνθιος, ἢ Ἀριπῆνθ. Athenæus. Lib. VII. Arctinus and Eumelus flourished about the beginning of the Olympiads : but there was a much older poet who wrote upon the same subject, viz. Thamyris the Thracian, mentioned by Homer, Iliad. B. v. 595. ΘΑΜΥΡΙΝ ὃ πὲρ ἄβος Θεάρα, εὐφρανῖτερον καὶ ἐμμελέτερον πένων τότε ἄσαι ὡς ἤ Μένους,

designs for the most ancient (1) sculptors and painters of Greece; till it was eclipsed by the war of Troy, and the immortal work of Homer. This war was carried on with vigour on both sides for many years, and during the contest, the Titans had once got Saturn into their power; and detained him till he was (2) rescued by Jupiter, scarce then arrived to man's estate.

*Cabiric Mysteries the first
Idolatry of Greece.*

From this first victory of Jupiter, if I am not deceived, arose the first religious rites of

Greece; which were celebrated in such a manner, that

Μέσσης, καὶ τὸς πικτύς, εἰς ἀγῶνα καταβύουσι· πεποιμένοι δὲ τῶτον ἰσχυροῦσι ΤΙΤΑΝΩΝ πρὸς τὸς Θεὸς πόλεμον. Plutarch De Musica. The oldest poets celebrated, and claimed for theirs, by the Greeks, such as Thamyris, Eumolpus, Linus, Orpheus, Musæus, were all Thracians, who are scarce one degree removed from Scythians. There were, I think, later poets of all these names, excepting Thamyris only, whom I take to be the most ancient. His name sounds like Scythian; and it is said that he was in so great favour with the Scythians, on account of his poetry, as to be chosen their king. Θάμυρις ὡς ἰβήσας ἐπὶ ποσῶν ἦκε κισσαροφίας, ὡς καὶ βασιλέα σκῶν, καίπερ ἐπίλυτον ὄντα, Σκύθας πείσασα. Conon. Narr. VII. Had the work of this *Sweet Singer* been preserved to our times, it would certainly have given us a clearer light into Mythologic history, and a juster notion of the first Greek poetry. And perhaps would have discovered, that Homer was not so great an original, as he is commonly taken to be. For Thamyris's Ten Years Wars of the Titans, might possibly be the Archetype of the war of Troy: and he himself, under the character of a blind bard, the very original picture of Homer. The Titanomachia likewise of Eumelus or Arctinus might be only a new edition of Thamyris in more modern Greek.

(1) *Ejusdem clypei concava parte* (cœlavit Phidias) *Deorum & Gigantum diminutionem.* Plin. Hist. Lib. 36. c. 5. Αρχτέκτονα μὲν δὴν ἡμέωζ ἦ Ναῦ [Juno] λίσσον Ευπόλεμον Αρχεῖον, ὅποσα δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸς κίονας εἰρασμένα τέ μὲν ἐς πτω Διὸς ἡμέσιν καὶ Θεῶν καὶ Γιγάντων μάχῃ ἔχει. Pausan. Corinth. p. 114. Ed. Sylb.

(2) This particular is preserved by Lactantius from Euhemerus's history now lost. *Reliqua historia sic contextitur: Jovem adultum, cum audivisset Patrem atque Matrem custodiis circumseptos, atque in vincula conjectos, venisse cum magna Cretensum multitudine; Titanumque & filios ejus pugnando vicisse: parentes vinculis exemisse: Patri regnum reddidisse: atque ita in Cretam remeasse.* De Falsa Rel. Lib. I.

the

the Greeks themselves scarce knew to what gods their worship was directed. Their proper names were concealed under the general one of CABIRI, and the rites were called the Cabiric Mysteries, instituted at first by the Pelasgians in (1) Samothrace, from thence transferred to other (2) Islands, Lemnus, Imbrus, Rhodes and Crete; and carried by (3) Dardanus to mount Ida in Phrygia. Some (4) authors have endeavoured to prove that the Cabiric rites came originally from Phenicia; but after all the pains taken in this matter, I see no reason to think, that the Phenicians knew any thing at all of these mysteries, till they came with Cadmus into Greece. Cadmus was one of the first strangers initiated into the mysteries; natives of Greece, or Samothrace only, having been admitted before that time. This favour was indulged to him, upon his marrying the princess Hermione, or Harmonia, sister of (5) Jason and Dardanus; and the rites seem to

(1) Ὅσως δὲ τὰ Καβείρων ὄργια μεμύνηται, τὰ Σαμοθρήνικες ὀπιτελεύσει, παραλαβόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν. Herod. Hist. Lib. 2. Τὴν Σαμοθρήνικον οἰκον σέβετερον Πέλασγοι, ὧν τῶν Σαμοθρήνικες τὰ ὄργια ᾤδαλαμβάνουσι. Idem cap. 51.

(2) *Prætereo Samothraciam, eaque*

Que Lemni

Nocturno aditu occulta coluntur. Cicero de Nat. Deorum Lib. I.

ΚΑΒΕΙΡΟΙ· Καρκίνοι, πάντων δὲ πμῶνται ἔσται ἐν Λήμνῳ ὡς Θεοί. Hesychius. ἸΜΒΡΟΣ· νῆσος ἐστὶ Θρηάκης ἰσθμῶ Καβείρων. Stephanus Byzant. de Urb. Μάλιστα ἐν Ἰμβρῳ πὸς Καβείρους πμᾶσθ. Strabo Lib. X.

(3) Δάρδανος, ἐν Σαμοθρένης ἐλθὼν, ὠκισεν ἐν τῇ ἑπαρχίᾳ τῆ Ἰδίου τὴν πόλιν Δαρδανίαν καλέσας, καὶ ἐδίδαξε πὸς Τρώας τὰ ἐν Σαμοθρένη μυστήρια. Strabo Lib. X.

(4) Vid. Bochart Canaan Lib. I. c. 15. Cumberland Orig. Gent. Ant. De Cabiris. Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology, &c.

(5) Τὸν Δία βουλόμεντα καὶ τῆ ἑτερον τῶ ἡῶν [Ιασιόνα] πμῆς πρῶτον, παραδείξαι αὐτῷ τῶ μυστηρίων τελετῆν, πάλαι μὲν ἔσαν ἐν τῇ γῆσῳ, τότε δὲ πὸς ᾤδαλαμβήσθ, ὧν ἡ δέμις ἀκῶσαι πῶν τῶ μεμνημένων. Διὰ τὴν ἑστὴν ζένος μυστήρια, καὶ τελετῶν διὰ τὸ ἐνδεῶν πμῆται. Μετὰ πμῆται Κίδμιον τῆ Αἰθιωπείας καὶ Ζήτησαν τῆ Βυρῶνις ἀφικέσθ πρὸς αὐτὸς [Σαμοθρήνας] καὶ τῆ τελετῶν μεταζόντα γῆμα τὴν ἀδελφῶν Ιασιόνοιο Ἀρμυοναν. Diodor. Lib. V. p. 223.

have

have been given in dowry with her. The story is very particular, and a sort of key to fabulous history.

The marriage of Cadmus and Hermione. “Jasion, son of Jupiter and Electra, was prince of Samos, and High Priest of the Cabiric mysteries: and this marriage of Cadmus and Hermione was the first that was solemnized in the presence of the Gods; each according to custom making their presents to the bride. (1) Ceres, who was in love with Jasion, gave Corn; Mercury an Harp; Minerva the celebrated Necklace, Veil, and Pipes; Electra shewed them the mysteries of Magna Mater; Apollo played upon his Harp; the Muses on their wind instruments; and the rest of the Gods with joint acclamations encreased the solemnity of the nuptials.” What is here reported of the Gods may be true in every particular; admitting only the Cabiric Priests and Priestesses to be their proxies. Here we discover the original fraud of imposing the priests upon us, instead of the Gods whom they represented: and learn, without a fiction, to account for the birth of Bacchus the son of Semele, and for the (2) repentment which her father Cadmus expressed upon the occasion.

(1) Τὸν ὃ γάμον ᾤοντο ἀεὶ ἔσθαι θεῶν, καὶ Διμήνησαν μὲν Ἰασιόνος ἐργαδίαν τὴν καρπὸν ἢ πάντα δωρήσασθαι· Ἡρμῆν δὲ τὴν λύραν· Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ τὴν ἀφαιεσθησάντων ὄργανον, καὶ πέπλον καὶ αἰλῆς· Ἥλεκταν δὲ τὴν Μεγάλης καλλιγῆνης Μιτρῆος τὴν θεῶν ἱερεῖαν, μὲν κυμβάλων καὶ τυμπάνων, καὶ ὄργανον τῶν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος μὲν κιθάρας· τὰς δὲ Μούσας αὐλήσασθαι· τὴν δὲ ἄλλαν θεῶν συνευφημῶντας αὐξήσασθαι τὸν γάμον. Diodor. Ibid.

(2) Οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι [Brafæ] λέγουσιν ἐνταῦθα εἶδέν τι ὁμολογῆντα Ἰνδύων· ὡς Σεμέλη τέλει καὶ τὸν πῦρα ἐν Διὶ, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάδμου φεραδίαν ἐς λάρανα αὐτῆ καὶ Διόνυσος ἐμβληθείη. Pausan. Lacon. Lib. 3. p. 209.

*Cadmus's Cabiri in
Bœotia.*

Cadmus thus invested with the mysteries, (1) established a Tribe, or College, of priests in Bœotia, from whom descended the Gephyreans; and from the time of Jafion the rites grew common, and were dispersed by the Pelasgians over all Europe, as well as Asia, the genuine institution being still kept up in Samothrace. I must here observe, that Cadmus tho' called a king's son, seems to have been no better than an outlaw, and an apostate from the religion of his country: and what that country was, it is uncertain. By fortifying the citadel of Thebes, and by being master of the Cabiric mysteries, he intended no doubt to perpetuate his name, and to found a powerful state. But after reigning some time, he was forced to leave his kingdom, and probably died a violent death: himself with Harmonia being (2) reported to be turned into serpents.

*The meaning of the
word Cabiri.*

The Scythian or Pelasgic language, merely from its antiquity, when dialects were few, and more homogeneous, could be but little different from the Hebrew; and therefore learned men have very properly sought for the original of the word CABIRI in the Hebrew. Scaliger, Selden, Vossius, Bochart, and others derive it from CABAR,

(1) Πῖλον γὰρ ποτε ἐν πόλει φασὶν εἶναι, καὶ ἄνδρας ἰσχυροτάτους ΚΑΒΕΙΡΟΥΣ — Δήμιτες δὲ γὰρ ΚΑΒΕΙΡΑΙΟΙΣ δῶκεν εἶναι ἢ τελευτῆ. Pausan. Bœotic. p. 579. Those Bœotians whom Pausanias here calls *Cabiri* and *Cabireans*; Herodotus called *Gephyreans*, Γεφυραῖος, and says they were descended from the Phenicians who came with Cadmus; that is, from the Cabiri, or Cadmus's priests of the mysteries. οἱ δὲ ΓΕΦΥΡΑΙΟΙ — ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ ἀναπνευστήριος εὐέλπω, ἔστιν Φοίνικες τὴν ἐν Κόδμῳ ἀπκοιδύων. Herodot. Lib.V. § 57.

(2) Hygini Fab.VI. Ovid. Metam. Lib. IV.

Cabarim,

Cabarim, i. e. *Dii Magni*, or *Potentes*, Μεγάλοι καὶ Διώτατοι as they are sometimes called by the Greeks: Reland more luckily from (1) CHABAR *Chabarim*, i. e. *Dii Socii*, *Juncti*, because they are always mentioned in the plural number. But he seems not to have entered into the full sense of the word, which ought to be rendered *Dii Consociati*, *Conjurati*, or the *Allied Gods*. Eratosthenes, as we learn from the (2) scholiast on Aratus, speaking of the Altar, or Constellation in the Southern hemisphere, said “It was “That upon which the Gods took the oath of confederacy, when Jupiter levied war against the Titans.” These Gods I take to be the persons meant by CABIRI, who after the victory might justly be stiled *Great* and *Powerful*; or *The Gods*, by way of eminence. The first beginning of the rites seems to have been only a sort of Triumph, a festival in memory of the victory, and inauguration of Jupiter; which as Idolatry grew up was made to serve the purposes of religion; and being dispersed over diffe-

(1) *Sic ut meo judicio Dii Cabiri idem sonet, quod Dii Socii, vel Juncti.* Miscell. Par. I. de Diis Cabiris. pag. 196. *Quod si quis etymon Cabirorum tale quod commune esse potest quatuor illis Diis Inferis & duobus Dioscuris habere vult, meo judicio aptius non inveniet, quam CHABARIM, i. e. Socii, Juncti.* Idem. pag. 198. Our own language, which still retains great marks of antiquity, will afford us a word, not yet quite disused, of the same sound and meaning, and evidently a relick of the Pelasgic; viz. *Caffer* or *Fellow*, from the Saxon *Γεφερα Socius*, and that from the Hebrew *Chaber*, or *Chavar*, by an usual change of the labial letter. Of the same root are the Cornish *KYVED*, and the Welch *CYFFAL*, i. e. *Socius, Conjux, Amicus, Compar.* Vid. Davies Dictionar. Cambrobrit. By the same change of the labials comes *Gammer*, or *She-Fellow*, from the Celtic *Cymmar*, i. e. *Conjux, Socius, Sodalis.* Idem.

(2) — Αγγλ νότιοι ΘΥΤΗΡΙΟΝ ἀνοείτω. Arati Phænom. v. 402.

Τὸ ἢ Θυτήριον λιβανώπιδι ὁμοίον ἔστιν, ᾧ φασὶ τὸς Θεὸς χήσαϊς, ὅτι τὸς Τιτᾶνας κατηγωνίσαντο· ἑξαποδέντης δὲ φησιν, τὸτο τὸ Θυτήριον ἔστι ἐφ' ᾧ τὸ ἀεζῶτον οἱ Θεοὶ συναγωγίαν ἐπιπέσωκε, ὅτε ὅτι τὸς Τιτᾶνας ἐστράδωσεν ὁ Ζεὺς, Κυκλώπων κατισκελευσάντων. Schol. in locum.

rent countries, received new forms in compliance with the customs of different people; and this has occasioned that confusion in the accounts given of them by the ancients: only one primitive mark, I think, they always retained, by (1) concealing the proper names of the Gods. As their names were unknown, their (2) number must be so too;

(1) Νῆσος ὁμοῦς κεχάροτο, καὶ οἱ λάβρον ὄρνια κέῖνα
Δαίμονες ἐνάειται, τὰ μὲν ἔδέμει ἄμμιν ἀείδειν. Apollon. Arg. Lib. I. v. 921.

(2) Strabo in his tenth book has collected the various reports of the Cabiri; I will here give the reader at length the different opinions of the ancients concerning their number.

TWO. The Dioscuri, or Castor and Pollux, are often called Cabiri, in a peculiar manner, and as if there were no other; though it is well known that the Cabiric rites were in being many ages before their time. *Varro & alii complures MAGNOS DEOS affirmant simulacra duo virilia Castoris & Pollucis, in Samotheacia ante portum sita, quibus naufragio liberati vota solvebant.* Servius ad Æn. III. v. 12. They were the sons of Jupiter, Youths, and inseparable companions, and so far Dioscuri, Curetes, and Cabiri; but all the right they had to be called DII MAGNI, came from their being initiated, with other Argonauts, into the Mysteries: and from hence they became the tutelar Gods of Sailors.

Others who reckoned only Two, chose Neptune and Apollo, who were true, but not the only, Cabiri. *Quos tamen Penates alii Apollinem & Neptunum volunt.* Servius in Æn. II. v. 325. Others the elder Jupiter, and the younger Bacchus. Οἱ δὲ δύο εἶναι Καβείροις· πρεσβύτερον μὲν Δία· νεώτερον δὲ Διόνυσον. Etym. Magnum. Nonnus in his Dionysiacs makes them to be Two, the Sons of Vulcan.

Θρηκίης δὲ Σάμοιο πνειδενέες πολιῆται
Λημιάδος δύο Παῖδες ἔλαγχρόνοντο Καβείροι. Lib. XXIX. v. 193.

He gave us their names before viz. Alcon & Eurymedon. Lib. XIV. v. 22.

THREE Cabiri only among the Etruscans, according to Servius. *Apud Tuscos Cabiros esse Deos Penates, eosque Cererem, Palem & Fortunam vocari ab illis.* Ad Æn. II. v. 325.

FOUR according to the Scholiast on Apollonius. Μυόνται ἐν τῇ Σαμοθράκῃ πῖς Καβείροις, ὧν Νινασίας φησὶ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα. Τέσσαρες δὲ εἶσι τ' ἀειδύμων· Ἀξίερος, Ἀξίεροσθα, Ἀξίεροσθ. Ἀξίεροσ μὲν ἔν ἐστὶν ἡ Δημήτριος· Ἀξίεροσθα δὲ ἡ Περσεφόνη· Ἀξίεροσθα δὲ ὁ Ἄδης· ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτερος Κασμῖλος ἱερμῆς ὄσιν· ὡς ἰσραεὶ Διονυσόδωρος. Schol. in Argon. Lib. I. v. 917. Authors lay great stress upon this passage, as though it made the case quite clear; and have taken the pains to explain the words Axieros, Axiokerfos, Axiokerfa, Casmilus, from the Hebrew. See Bochart Canaan.

Lib.

however some authors have reckoned them only Two, others Three, Four, Six, Eight, Nine, Ten, Eleven; but

Lib. I. c. 12. But it appears to me in another light; for all that I conclude from hence is, that Mnaseas and Dionysiodorus were no initiated persons, and knew little of the mysteries: but from the secrecy, with which they were performed, judged them to belong to the infernal deities; for whom they likewise coined those hard names.

SIX. Strabo from Pherecydes reckoned Three Males and Three Females, the sons and daughters of Vulcan and the nymph Cabira. *Ἦν δὲ Καβείρης τῆς Πρωτέως, καὶ Ἡφαίστου, Καβείρης πέντε, καὶ νύμφας Τρεῖς Καβειρίδας.* Geogr. Lib. X. p. 473.

EIGHT. The Phenician History calls the Cabiri the sons of Sydec, Æsculapius and seven others, whose names are unknown. *Οἱ ἐπὶ Συδεκ πῦδες Καβίρει, ἢ ὄψιδος αὐτῶν ἀδελφοὶ Ασκληπιός.* Vid. Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. I. c. 10.

NINE. Pherecydes reckoned Nine Corybantes, by which are to be understood Cabiri, the sons of Apollo and Rhytia. *Φερεκύδης δ' ἐξ Ἀπέλλωνος καὶ Ρυτίας Κορύβαντας Ἐννέα, οὐκ ἔπειτα δ' αὐτὸς ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ.* Strabo Lib. X. p. 473. The Telchines of Rhodes, the same with the Corybantes, who accompanied Rhea into Crete, and nursed Jupiter there, were likewise Nine in Number, and called Curetes. *Οἱ ὃ Τελχῶν ἐν Ρόδῳ Ἐννέα ὄντων, τὸς ἑξὶ συνακολαδίσαντας εἰς Κρήτην, καὶ τὴν Δία κρεττοφρήσωντας, Κυρήτας ἰνομαδίωται.* Strabo Lib. X. p. 472. Diodorus reckons Nine Curetes in Crete. Lib. V.

TEN. The Idæi Dactyli who found out iron and wrought it, are likewise Cabiri, and were Ten according to Strabo, five males and five females, called Dactyli from the number of fingers on the hands. *Σοφοκλῆς ὃ οἶσθι, Πέντε τὸς παρ' αὐτὸν ἀρσενας γυναικῶν· οἱ ἀδελφὸν τε ἐξούεσι καὶ ἀργάσαντε παρ' αὐτοῖ, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἔργα παρὸς τὸν βίον χρησίμων· Πέντε ὃ καὶ ἀδελφὰς τούτων. Ἀπὸ ὃ τοῦ αἰετῶμοῦ Δακτύλους κληθῆναι.* Strabo Lib. X. p. 473. *Ἰδαῖοι Δακτύλοι· οἱ ὃ Δέξα ὑπαρξάντων, τυχόν τῶν τῶν ἢ πεσοποιοῦν, τοῖς ἐν ἢ χερσὶ Δακτύλοις ὄντων ἰσχυρίδων.* Diodor. Lib. V. p. 333.

ELEVEN. This number we find in the Scholiast on Apollonius, and here he comes nearest to the truth.

Δακτύλοι Ἰδαῖοι Κρητίωνες. Argonaut. Lib. I. v. 1129.

Ἐξ καὶ Πέντε φασι πάσης ἑῶν· δεξιὰς μὲν Ἀρσενος, ἀεὶσιπὰς δὲ τὰς Θηλείας. Sex & quinque aiunt hos esse, propitios quidem Mares, sinistras vero Faminas. Schol. in loc. The Scholiast here confounds the Priests with the Gods; but distinguishes the Sexes; by *Ἐξ καὶ Πέντε* he seems to mean six Females and Five Males, Jupiter making the Twelfth. Unless he confounded the Dactyli with the Titans of Crete, who according to Diodorus were Six Males and Five Females. Diod. Lib. V.

TWELVE. This I shall prove to be the true number; and to prepare the reader for it, shall only mention here the number of the SALII instituted by Numa, who, as we shall shew, were of the Cabiric order. *ΣΑΛΙΟΙ ἔς αὐτὸς ὁ*

Νομῶς

I believe the compleat number will be found to be Twelve, including Jupiter their chief.

Dii Consentes the same as Cabiri.

The religion of Rome was derived from the Sabines and Etruscans, who were Colonies of the Pelasgians; and therefore the Roman rites may serve as a comment to explain the dark mysteries of the Greeks. The Romans had an old order of deities, whose names religion forbade them to divulge, no less than the Greeks; they were called (1) *DII CONSI*, or *CONSENTES*, a sort of Tutelary Gods, who presided not only over the state, but over each particular family; when they were called (2) *LARES* and *PENATES*. The *CONSENTES* are stiled *Jovis Consiliarii*, *Senatores Deorum*, *Jovis Collegæ*, *Penates Tonantis ipsius*; and from that circumstance of concealing their proper names, I think, could be no other than the Samothracian Gods *CABIRI*, or *Jupiter's Allies*.

Νομίαι ἀπέδειξαν, ἐκ τῆ Πατρικίαν ΔΩΔΕΚΑ τὸς εὐσεβεστάτους ἐπιτάξασθαι ΝΕΟΥΣ. Dion. Halic. Ant. Rom. Lib. II. p. 129.

And now the reader, I believe, will agree with me; that the several authors of these different accounts would have come off much better, if they had frankly owned their ignorance; or at least excused it, as others have done, under the sanction, and ineffability, of the mysteries. Οἵτινες δὲ εἶσαν οἱ κάλειες, καὶ ὅποια ἔστιν αὐτοῖς καὶ Διμητεὶ τα δρώμενα, σιωπῶν ἀγνοῦν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν συγγνώμην ἔχει ἀνδρῶν φιλικῶν ἔστω μοι. Pausan. Bœotic. p. 578. Ed. Sylb.

(1) Their gilt statues were remaining in the Forum at the time when Varro wrote: *Et quoniam, ut aiunt, Dei facientes adjuvant, invocabo eos: nec, ut Homerus & Ennius, Musas, sed Duodecim DEOS CONSENTIS; Neque tamen eos urbanos, quorum imagines ad forum aurate stant, Sex mares & femine totidem.* Varro de Re Rustica. Lib. I. c. 1.

(2) *Curetes Græce sunt appellati, alii Corybantes dicuntur, hi autem LARES appellantur.* Hygin. Fab. 139. *Cassius Hemina dicit Samothracas Deos, eisdemque Romanorum PENATES, dici Θεὸς μεγάλους, Θεὸς χρεῖστας, Θεὸς δωματός.* Macrob. Saturn. Lib. 3. c. 4. *Apud Tuscos Cabiros esse Deos Penates.* Servius in Æn. Lib. II. v. 325.

This

*Penates, Consentes,
and Cabiri, all
the same Gods.*

This being a matter that is left undetermined by the ancients, nor was ever thoroughly discussed by the moderns; the reader must excuse me, if I am more than usually prolix upon this article. I shall first observe that the name, and situation of the (1) island, in which the Pelasgians founded the Cabiric rites, shew that the Pelasgians were seafaring Thracians: and the Thracians at first were no more than Scythians. The reign of Jasion in Samothrace was a most remarkable Epoch, in the history of the Cabiric rites. He is said to be, “The first who initiated strangers;” which denotes, that the mysteries in his time began to be communicated to other nations; as appears by Cadmus’s setting them up in Bœotia. And Jasion probably reaped great advantage by this kind of traffick. The *Lares* and *Penates* were the gods of Troy that Æneas brought with him into Italy: but then we are to remember that Dardanus the founder of Troy, was brother of Jasion, and without doubt conveyed the Samothracian mysteries to Phrygia; as the Pelasgic Greeks did to Italy. The Roman religion was established by Numa a Sabine, who perhaps had never heard of Æneas; and yet his gods might be the same with the Trojan, the thing being so easily accounted for. *Lares* and *Penates* seem to be Phrygian names answering to the word CABIRI: for it is (2) absurd to give them a Latin

(1) *Tbreiciamque Samon que nunc Samothracia fertur.* ÆN.VII. v. 208.

(2) LAR is an Etruscan word signifying *Prince*, and in the plural may be applicable to the Gods; but I think can have no place here, because its oblique cases are *Lartis, Larum* &c. PENATES has various derivations; the reader may choose which he likes best; but I believe would be as well pleased with none at all. *Nec longe absunt ab hac vi Dii Penates: a Penu ducto nomine;*

original. (1) Nigidius Figulus very properly put the question, “Whether Apollo and Neptune, who built the walls of Troy, were not the *Penates* brought into Italy by Æneas?” But Varro, the most learned of the Romans, without particularizing their names, came much nearer to the mark; when he affirmed, that (2) “Dardanus carried the gods *Penates* from Samothrace to Troy, and Æneas brought them from Troy to Italy.” Varro, I am persuaded, (3) knew the whole secret, but durst not dis-

nomine; (est enim omne quo vescuntur homines Penu) sive ab eo quod Penitus insident; ex quo etiam Penetrales a poetis vocantur. Cicero De Nat. Deor. Lib. 2. c. 27. Qui diligentius eruunt veritatem Penates esse dixerunt, per quos Penitus spiramus. Macrobius Saturn. Lib. 3. c. 4. Penates, quod penes nos nati. Aul. Gellius & Macrobius.

(1) *Nigidius enim de Diis libro nono decimo requirit, num Dii Penates sint Trojanorum Apollo & Neptunus, qui muros iis fecisse dicuntur; & num eos in Italiam Æneas advexerit. Cornelius quoque Labeo de Diis Penatibus eadem existimat. Macrobius Sat. Lib. 3. c. 4.*

(2) *Varro Humanarum secundo Dardanum refert Deos Penates ex Samothrace in Phrygiam, & Æneam ex Troja in Italiam detulisse. Qui sint autem Dii Penates in libro quidem memorato Varro non exprimit. Macrobius ibid.*

(3) I am confirmed in my suspicion by a passage in his Fourth book *De Ling. Lat.* where he speaks of the Great Gods, like one of the initiated, who endeavoured to evade the question. *Principes dei Cælum & Terra: hi dei iidem qui in Ægypto Serapis & Isis, (& s T Harpocrates digito significat) qui sunt Tautes & Astarte apud Phœnicas, ut idem principes in Latio Saturnus & Ops. Terra enim & Cælum, ut Samothracum initia docent, sunt Dei Magni, & hi quos dixi multis nominibus. Nam neque quas Ambracia ante portas statuit duas virileis species abencas, Dei Magni; neque ut volgus putat, hi Samothraces Dii, qui Castor & Pollux: sed hi Mas & Fœmina, & hi quos augurum libri scriptos habent sic, DIVI POTES: & sunt pro illis qui in Samothrace Θεοὶ Δωαπὶ. Hæc duo Cælum & Terra: quod anima & corpus, humidum & frigidum.* Any one must see, that Harpocrates is here introduced very impertinently. Scaliger by adding one word, omitting another, and transposing a third, has made it verse; but I think has mistook the purport of the sentence.

Sanctus Serapis

Isis & Harpocrates, digito qui significat s T.

He imagined that it was a quotation from some old poet, perhaps Lucilius, who was speaking of the Egyptian Gods: but this does not excuse the incongruity.

close it. As he was well versed in Etruscan learning, he could not but see, that the *Consentes*, *Penates*, and *Cabiri*, were all the same gods. The following passage in Arnobius will perhaps shew as much. (1) *Varro, qui sunt introrsus in intimis penetralibus cœli, Deos esse censet quos loquimur, [i. e. Penates] nec eorum numerum nec nomina sciri. Hos CONSENTES & COMPLICES Etrusci aiunt & nominant, quod una orientur & occidunt una: SEX MARES ET TOTIDEM FOEMINAS, nominibus ignotis, (2) & miserationis parcissimæ: sed eos summi JOVIS CONSILIARIOS, ac principes existimari.*

The Twelve Great Gods were the Cabiri.

Martianus Capella in his *Marriage of Philology and Mercury*, a romance that seems to be copied from Cadmus's wedding, the gods and goddesses being invited to it; says, (3) *Mox Jovis scribæ præcipitur, pro suo ordine, & ratis modis, cœlicolas advocare, præcipueque SENATORES DEORUM, qui PENATES ferebantur TONANTIS ipsius. Quorum nomina quoniam publicari*

congruity. Varro seems to me to have had another reason, and more to his purpose. As that after he had mentioned Serapis and Isis, *Harpocrates enjoined him silence: He was permitted to say no more.* And in truth he had said too much already; if Cœlus and Terra, or Serapis and Isis, were the only gods meant in the Samothracian mysteries.

(1) Arnobius Adversus Gentes. Lib. 3.

(2) In reading this passage of Arnobius, I stuck at the words, *Et miserationis parcissimæ*; and upon further enquiry found that Canterus, and later editors, only bore with them, because they stood in the first edition, printed at Rome 1543; which yet, as all acknowledge, was published from a very faulty manuscript. The Basil edition 1546 by Sigismund Gelenius, has *Et iis nationis barbarissimæ*; which in my judgment, is a much better reading than the former; and a strong confirmation of my opinion, That the first Gods were Scythians.

(3) De Nupt. Philolog. & Mercur. Lib. I.

*secretum cœleste non pertulit ; ex eo quod omnia pariter re-
promittunt, nomen ex CONSENTIONE perfecit.* The myste-
ries, as Martianus here tells us, would not suffer the names
to be made publick ; and yet he has revealed them him-
self just after, without knowing it. He was ignorant that
Euhemerus the Messenian, who wrote the history of the
Gods, paid no regard to the prohibition ; and that (1) En-
nius the poet translated Euhemerus's work into Latin.
*Tunc etiam ut inter alios POTISSIMI rogarentur IPSIUS
COLLEGÆ JOVIS, qui bissesti cum eodem Tonante numeran-
tur, quosque distichon complectitur Ennianum :*

*Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,
Neptunus, Jovi, Mercurius, Vulcanus, Apollo.*

These are the Twelve Confederate Gods ; the PENATES
of Jupiter ; the DII MAGNI, or MAJORUM GENTIUM, of the
Romans ; the ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΘΕΟΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΙ of the Greeks and
Egyptians ; and who sees not that they are the COMPLI-
CES, or CONSENTES, *Sex Mares & Totidem Fœminæ*, of
the Etruscans ? Nor let it seem strange, that the number
of Females should be equal to that of the Males ; women
at that time of day being of as much (2) importance in
war, as the men. It is easy to perceive that all this con-
fusion arose from the primitive custom of concealing the

(1) *Quæ ratio maxime tractata ab Euhemero est : quem nosser & interpretatus,
& secutus est, præter cæteros, Ennius.* Cicero De Nat. Deor. Lib. I. c. 42.

(2) *Μάζω δ' ἀμείζαστον ἔργον
πάντες, Ὀυδελιά τε καὶ Ἀρσενίς ἡμᾶτι κείνω,
Τιτῶές τε θεοί : ἢ ὅστι Κεῖνᾶ ἐξεβύοντο.* Hesiod. Theog. v. 666.

The *Dii Majores* of the Romans were all alike military allies of Jupiter ; as
in those lines of Plautus.

*Duodecim Deis plusquam in calo est Deorum immortalium,
Mibi nunc auxilio adjuutores sunt, & mecum Militant.* Plaut. Epidic.
names

names of the Gods. So long as there were no other mysteries besides the Cabiric, the names were of course kept secret, except among the priests. But when in later times, the Gods had their peculiar rites allotted to them; it was proper to proclaim those rites under the respective names of each God. Thus by degrees the names of all the CABIRI were separately made publick; but still in their general capacity of Jupiter's Confederates, they remained inviolably secret, as long as the Cabiric Mysteries lasted. And when they were thus separately published, a particular regard was paid to them: they were not put upon the common level with the rest; but had a superiour degree allowed them, and were called the *Great Gods*. (1) Virgil indeed, according to the vulgar notion of his time, makes a distinction between *Penates* and *Dii Magni*; but Varro affirmed that they were both the same.

The High Priest and Ministers of the Cabiri.

The Superintendant of the Cabiric mysteries was called (2) COES, the same with the Hebrew COHEN or *High Priest*: the inferiour ministers went by different names in different countries; Corybantes in Samothrace, and Lemnus; Idæi Daçtyli in Phrygia; Curetes in Crete; Telchines at Rhodes; and Salii at Rome. They are frequently (3) confounded with

(1) *Cum Sociis, Natoque, Penatibus, & Magnis Dis.* Æn. 3. v. 12. *Varro Unum esse dicit Penates & Magnos Deos.* Servius in locum.

(2) ΚΟΙΗΣ ἱερέως Καβείρων — οἱ δὲ ΚΟΗΣ. Hesychius.

(3) Ἐσαυπῆ δ' ὄρν' ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τότοις παικίλια, ἧδ' μὲν τὸς αὐτὸς τοῖς ΚΟΡΥΒΗΣΙ τὸς ΚΟΡΥΒΑΝΤΑΣ καὶ ΚΑΒΕΙΡΟΥΣ καὶ ἸΔΑΙΟΥΣ ΔΑΚΤΥΛΟΥΣ καὶ ΤΕΛΧΙΝΑΣ *Στοβαίου* ἑρμηνείαν ἴδ' δὲ συγγενεῖς ἀλλήλων, καὶ μικρὰς πινὰς αὐτῶν ὡς ἀλλήλοις ἀμφοτέρω ἀμφοτελλόντων. Strabo Lib. X. p. 466.

the gods; for the Priests are often called Cabiri, and the gods Curetes, Corybantes, Dactyli &c.

Vulcan and the Cyclopes authors of the Mysteries.

Vulcan, who is represented by (1) Homer as a peacemaker in the private quarrels of the Gods, has the singular honour of being called (2) CABIRUS, and (3) *The father of the Cabiri*. This I think is to be understood of his being the oldest person concerned in, and perhaps the chief promoter of, the confederacy; for all the rest appear to be (4) young deities. In later ages he seems to have engrossed to himself the sole privilege of the rites: if the CABIRIA, mentioned on some Greek (5) coins of the emperors, were the remains of the

(1) Iliad A. v. 571.

(2) Πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ Λήμνουσι πεισιλάχωνος εἰλίππης
 Φῆμιν ἀλλήλοισι Σάμῃ παρὰ μυστιδι πεύκη,
 Τίνας Ἡφαίστιο δῶν ἑρπύξῃ Καβείριος,
 Ὄνομα μιν πῆς ἔχοντας ὁμόζῃον ὅς πάρος ἄμφω
 Οὐρανίῳ χαλκῆνί τέκε θεήϊσσι ΚΑΒΕΙΡΩ.

Ἄλλων, Ἐυρυμέδων τε δαήμονες ἐθαρέωνος. Nonn. Dionys. Lib. XIV. v. 17.

(3) Ἔστι δὲ καὶ πάντων ὁμοία τῆ Ἡφαίστου — Τότε σφέας παύδας λέγασιν εἶναι. Herodot. Lib. 3. §. 37.

(4) For this reason they were called Curetes. Ὡς δὲ οἱ Κυρήτες, ἧτοι διὰ τὸ ΝΕΟΙ καὶ ΚΟΡΟΙ ὄντες, ἢ διὰ τὸ Κυρετοφῶν τῆ Δία, λέγεσθαι γὰρ ἀμφοτέρως, πάντως ἠξιόδησθαι τῆ περσηγορίας. Strabo Lib. X. p. 468.

(5) These CABIRIA were celebrated at Theffalonica in Macedonia; and by the symbols of the Hammer and Anvil, which appear on the coins, are thought to be games performed in honour of Vulcan, or the Cyclopes.

ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ ΚΑΒΕΙΡΟΣ. Cabirus cum malleo.

ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ. Cabirus in templo, d. incudem, f. malleum. *Julie Domneæ*.

ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ. Cabirus in templo. *Gordian. P.*

ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΚΑΒΕΙΡΙΑ. Cabirus gefans malleum. *Philippi Sen.*

ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ. Cabirus in templo d. malleum. *Maximin.*

Vide Pet. Seguini Select. Num. Paris. 1684. p. 16. Vaillant Num. Græc. Imper. Harduin de Num. Urb. & Pop. &c.

ancient

ancient Cabiric mysteries. His sons or subjects, the Cyclopes, made the (1) Altar on which the gods were sworn, forged arms for the other gods, and thunder for Jupiter; which implies that they were very instrumental in setting him on the throne. From hence too I conclude that the Cyclopes were the first institutors of the Cabiric rites; for the Idæi Daëtyli, Curetes, Corybantes, Telchines, who are said to be the first (2) artificers in metals, and the first (3) makers of the Images of the Gods, seem to be the true descendants of the Cyclopes.

The Salii Cabiric priests. The SALII are never confounded with the Gods; and upon other accounts may seem to be different from the rest; but came from the same original with the Corybantes and Curetes, as the most judicious Roman (4) historian long since observed. They were appointed by Numa keepers of the *Ancilia*, or sacred shields, and called priests of Mars; but in Tuscany and other parts of Italy,

(1) *ARA. In hac primum Dii existimantur sacra & conjurationem fecisse, cum Titanas oppugnare conarentur: eam autem Cyclopas fecisse.* Jul. Hyginus Poet. Astron. Lib. 2. See likewise the Scholiast on Aratus, as before quoted. κλωπις τότε Διὶ μὲν διδάσκει βρογτώλῳ καὶ κεραυνόν, Πλάτωνι δὲ κωλύει, Ποσειδῶνι δὲ πείθει. Οἱ δὲ τότεως ὑπιδέοντες κρατῶσι Τιτάνων. Apollod. Lib. I. c. 2.

(2) [Τελχίνες] αἰθέριος δὲ ἐργασίαν Σιδίεσσι τὴν καὶ Χαλκίαν. Strab. Lib. XIV. p. 654.

(3) Ἀγάλματα τε τῶν θεῶν αἰθέρι οἱ Τελχίνες κατασκευάσαι λέγονται. Diodor. Lib. V.

(4) Οἷας λέγονται φέρειν οἱ τὰ Κυρήτων παρ' Ἑλλήσι δῶπιτελῶντες ἑσθ' καὶ εἶσιν οἱ ΣΑΛΙΟΙ καὶ γὰρ τὴν ἐμὴν γῆσιν Ἑλληνικῶν μετεμύωσθεντες ὀνόματι ΚΟΥΡΗΤΕΣ, ἐφ' ἡμῶν δὲ τὴν ἰλικίας ὅπως ἀνομασιμένον ὄνομα τὸ ΚΟΥΡΟΥΣ: ἑσθ' ἢ Ῥωμαίων δὲ τὴν πρώτην κινήσεως. Dionys. Halic. Ant. Rom. Lib. II. p. 129, 130. Χορείαν δὲ καὶ κίνησιν ἐνόμισαν, καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀπῶσιν δῶπιτελῶσιν ἑσθ' ἢ ἐν χειρῶσιν ἑσθ' ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἀπῶσιν δῶπιτελῶσιν, εἰ τὴν δὲ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τελευτῶσιν λέγουσιν, ΚΟΥΡΗΤΕΣ ἕσθ' οἱ αἰθέρι κατασκευάσαι. Ibid. *Samothracæ horum Penatium antistites SUOS vocabant, qui postea a Romanis SALII appellati sunt.* Serv. ad Æn. II. v. 325.

were the priests of the Consentes. The Sabines were descendants of the Laconian Pelasgi: Numa came from Cures the chief town in the Sabine country, whose name carries with it some intimation of the Cabiric rites; and from this place without question the Salii came, and were there called Curetes, as in Greece. But when Numa translated that order to Rome, he had the address to dedicate them to Mars the patron god of the Romans; in return for their calling themselves Curetes, or Quirites. The word SALII is purely Latin, and given them upon account of their dancing; but the Romans notwithstanding preserved some obscure notion of their descent from the Cabiri: either by means of (1) Dardanus who carried the rites to Troy, from whence their Gods and Penates came; or from one (2) Salius a Samothracian, who taught them the dance. I must add that the Salii at Rome seem to have preserved the original songs, used in the Cabiric rites at Samothrace; composed in the old Pelasgic dialect, and which religion forbade them to alter. These songs in the Augustan age, were no more understood by the (3) Romans, than they were by the (4) Greeks in Samothrace.

(1) *Alii dicunt SALIUM quendam Arcadem fuisse, qui Trojanis junctus hunc ludum in sacris instituerit; nonnulli tamen hos a Dardano institutos volunt, qui Samothracibus Diis sacra persolverent.* Servius ad *Æn.* VIII. v. 285.

(2) ΣΑΛΙΟΙ ἐκλήθησαν, ἔχ' ὡς ἐνοιοι μυθελογῶσι, διὰ ΣΑΜΟΘΡΑΚΟΣ ἀνδρὸς, ἢ Μαντινέως, ὄνομα ΣΑΛΙΟΥ, πῶ ἐνὸ πλοῖον ἐκιδιμάξαντος ὄρχησιν· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον διὰ τ' ὀρχήσεως ἀλλοπίου. Plutarch in Numa.

(3) *Saliorum carmina, vix sacerdotibus suis satis intellecta, mutari vetat religio, & consecratis utendum est.* Quintilian. Lib. I. c. 11. *Prisca lingua est, qua vetustissimi Italici sub Jano & Saturno sunt usi, incondita, ut se habeant carmina Saliorum.* Isidor. Orig. Lib. IX. c. 1.

(4) Ἐργάσι ὃ παλαιὰν ἰδίαν διάλεκτον οἱ ἀπὸρχοιοι, [Σαμοθράκιαι] ἦν πολλὰ ἐν τῷ θυσίαις μέγιστοι καὶ πλείους. Diodor. Lib. V.

The Cabiric mysteries allude to the history of Jupiter.

In all ancient customs we are to expect something analogous to the facts upon which they were founded: and this is often minutely explained by ancient authors. The Cabiric mysteries were performed with such secrecy, that little has been revealed concerning them; but what is known will bear an allusion to the true history of Jupiter, without the necessity of straining it to allegory. The first article of the rites enjoined the votaries to conceal the names of the Gods; and this, in a religious view, perhaps may only prove their great (1) antiquity. Idolatry was then in its infancy; men before that time knew but one god; unless it may be thought, that they worshipped the Sun, Moon, and Stars. It was unlawful to make any representation, or even to pronounce the name, of god: precepts which the Jews religiously observe to this day. But if we take it in a political sense, it may allude to the secrecy with which the alliance of the Gods was concerted: and the rites were performed in the night, perhaps to denote that the victory was gained by some stratagem, or surprize. Those who were initiated into the mysteries were generally

(1) Herodotus Book II. §. 52. says, "The Pelasgians at first sacrificed, "and invoked the Gods in general, without calling them by their names;" which plainly points to the institution of the Cabiric rites. But what he adds, "That the Egyptians first invoked the Gods by name, and that the "Greeks received those names from them;" seems to be a fiction of the Egyptian priests. The worship of dead men, at first could not but be shocking to human reason; which was probably the true cause of concealing the names: but when it became less reserved, and more familiar with all nations; then they began to distinguish the Gods, and made no scruple, either of calling them by their names, or of increasing their number. And I think the Greeks and Scythians might as well set the example as the Egyptians.

(1) youths.

(1) youths. The person initiated was placed on a (2) throne, the priests dancing round him; which has all the appearance of proclaiming the young Jupiter king. The priests too were young persons, and (3) equal in number to the gods. It was the office, or privilege, of the high priest to (4) absolve a criminal, who had killed even a brother; and for this the heathens are reproached by the (5) Christians. But in fighting against their nearest relations the Titans, the Gods must have been often reduced to that necessity; and an indemnity was probably provided for such accidents, when they first entered into the confederacy.

The Corybantine Dance in armour. The chief, and only, thing in these rites, that the ancients acknowledged to bear any relation to Jupiter, was the dance of the Corybantes in armour; striking upon their shields in imitation of a battle. The common reason given for this custom, is a fable too gross to be believed as a fact; and I don't remember, that it has ever been explained in an allegorical way. If we take it in conjunction with the other part of the ceremony, the enthronizing a young person; we cannot but think

(1) *Terentius Apollodorum sequitur, apud quem legitur in Insula Samothracum a certo tempore Pueros initiari more Atheniensium.* Donatus in Terentii Phorm. Act. I. Scen. 1.

(2) ΘΡΟΝΩΣΙΣ. Καταρχὴ ὡς πρὸς μουσικῆς. Hesych. Ποιεῖτον δὲ ταυτὸν ὅπερ οἱ ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ τῶν Κορυβάντων, ὅταν πῶς ΘΡΟΝΩΣΙΝ ποιῶνται, ὡς τότε ὄν ἐν μέλλοσι τελεῖν ἢ ἐκείνῃ ΧΟΡΕΙΑ πρὸς ἐστὶ καὶ παιδεία. Plato in Euthydemo.

(3) This I think appears from the number of the Salii, mentioned by Dionysius Halicarnassensis, as above.

(4) ΚΟΙΗΣ. ἱεροῦς Καθεύρων ὁ χαλαρῶρον φονεῖα: οἱ δὲ ΚΟΗΣ. Hesychius.

(5) *Oblivioni etiam Corybantia Sacra donentur, in quibus sanctum illud mysterium traditur; Frater trucidatus a Fratribus.* Arnobius Adver. Gentes. Lib.V.

that

that it alludes to a fact, something later than the mere infancy of that God. The dance in armour was a most ancient (1) custom with those who had gained a victory; and this of the Gods is the first, whereof we find any (2) footsteps in history. The Bacchanalian rites, in memory of Bacchus's victories, were formed upon this plan; and from hence came the famous (3) Pyrrhic dance, so celebrated by Greeks and Romans, nor yet entirely effaced by time; traces of it still remaining in (4) several parts of Europe.

(1) *Saltabant autem ritu veteri armati post victoriam Tiburtinorum de Volscis.* Servius ad Æneid. Lib.VIII. v. 285.

(2) Epicharmus ascribed the origin of the Dance to Minerva: Ο ἢ Ἐπίχαρμος πῶς Ἀθηνῶν φησὶ τοῖς Διοσκύροις ἢ ἐνὶ πόλιος νόμον ἐπιτελλῆσαι. Schol. in Pindari Pyth. Od. 2. and Dionysius Halic. says that she probably first performed it upon the defeat of the Titans. Βαλλυτικὸν ἢ ἄρα καὶ τὸτο ἦν ἐν τοῖς πᾶσι παλαιῶν δαίτηδευμα, ἐν ὁποῖοις Ὀρχήσεις, ἢ καλαυδῶν Πυρρίχη, εἴτε Ἀθηνῶς κερῆτης ἐπὶ Τιτάνων ἀφανιστῶν χαρῶν, καὶ ἑρριῶν πῶς ὁποῖος τῶν πινικῶν ὑπὸ χαρῆς ἀρξασαίνης· εἴτε παλαιῶν ἐπὶ Κυθήρων κατασηταμῶν. Lib.VII. Vide Meursii Panathenæa.

(3) ΠΥΡΡΙΧΗ. Εἶδ' ἐνὸς ἡμέρας. Jul. Pollux. Lib. IV. c. 13. Ἐρριτας δὲ τῶντα φασὶν οἱ μὲν Κορήτας, οἱ δὲ Πυρρίγον τὴν Ἀχιλλέως. Proclus in Chrestomath. The Romans called it *Troja*, and *Ludus Trojanus*.

Trojaque nunc pueri Trojanum dicitur agmen. Æn.V. v. 602.

Ludus ipse, quem vulgo Pyrricham appellant, TROIA vocatur. Servius in loc. Ἐπιχάρμους ἢ Βωμόεις μὲν πᾶσι ἡμῶν ἐ ΚΟΤΡΗΤΙΣΜΟΣ, ὡς ἐκ πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων ἐγὼ συμπλάσσωμαι, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν ἧν καὶ τὰς περιπὰς τὰς τε ἐν Ἰσπιδρήμῳ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς θεάταις γινομένων ἐν ἀπέταις γὰρ αὐταῖς ΠΡΟΣΗΘΟΙ ΚΟΤΡΟΙ χιτωνίκοις ἐνδεδοκότες ἐκπεπεῖς, κράνη τε, καὶ ἕβη, καὶ πέρας ἔχοντες σειρηδὸν πορεύονται — εἰκόνες ὡς μοὶ δοκεῖ Ἦ ΣΑΛΙΩΝ. Dionys. Halic. Hist. Lib. II. p. 130.

(4) *Before I came into Hungary, I observed no shadow of the Pyrrhica Saltatio, or warlike way of dancing, which the Heyducs practise in this country. They dance with naked swords in their hands, advancing, brandishing, and clashing the same; turning, winding, and depressing their bodies, with strong and active motions; singing to their measures after the manner of the Greeks.* Dr Edward Brown's Travels into Hungary &c. Lond. 1673. 4to. pag. 17. The common people in many parts of England still practise what they call a *Morisco* dance, in a wild manner, and as it were in armour; at proper intervals striking upon each others Staves, and winding their Horns; which seems to be a low imitation of the Corybantine rites.

H

I have

The Titan War the first Æra in European history.

I have dwelt the longer on the Titan war and its effects, because it is the first known Æra in the history of Europe; and therefore essential to our enquiry into the first language and inhabitants. I do not say that the Titans were the first possessors of Europe; nor shall I take upon me to determine, whether they are to be called Atlantians, Pelasgians, Celtes, or Cimmerians. Because I confess my (1) ignorance of the particular place from whence they came: only guess that they came from the North or North Eastern countries; about, or beyond, the Caspian and Aral seas. The memory of a war, wherein almost half the world was concerned, could never be totally obliterated: nevertheless it is matter of wonder, that so many particulars relating to it have escaped the teeth of time. No regular history was then kept, more than what was preserved by bards in their songs; which were the only records of the Scythians, and of their (2) descendants. The Curetes are a generation later, and more known, than the Titans; and yet we see what

(1) The country of Uranus was Atlantis; but who can pretend to say where this country is now situated? The names of people and places, both in Europe and Asia, are continually wearing off; and when once lost in the history of Europe, can never be retrieved in Asia. Some few indeed continue to this time, as Huns, Bulgarians, Saxons, Turks and Tartars, whose first seats are still to be found in Northern Asia. But these all come within the cognizance of true history; and some thousands of years after the Titans, who go beyond it.

(2) *Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoria & annalium genus est, Tuistonem deum terra editum.* Tacitus de Mor. Germ. *Ἀνδρόπων ἐζώ ἀρέω φιλοκινδυνωτάτους ἔδ' πρὸς κέλταις· ἧς ἀσμάτων ἐν ὑποθέσεισιν ποιοῦνται πρὸς ἀνδρώταις πρὸς ἀπιδανόντας ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ χαλῶς.* Ælian. Var. Hist. Lib. 12. c. 23. *Bardi quidem fortia virorum illustrium facta, heroicis composita versibus, cum dulcibus lyæ modulis cantarunt.* Ammian. Marcellinus Lib. 15. c. 9.

difficulties

difficulties occur in their history. Vulgar tradition taught that they came from Crete, or mount Ida in Phrygia : but some affirmed, that (1) “ They were a body of armed men, given by the Titans to Rhea for her guard, “ and that they came from Bactriana ; others said from “ Colchis.” This last account, tho’ perhaps false in some points, favours more of truth and antiquity than the former. All that little light which glimmers thro’ the dark ages of Europe, seems to come from the North or North East. The most ancient facts in Grecian history relate to the Thracians, Scythians, and Hyperboreans, or more remote Scythians. If the Pelasgians were what I take them to be ; the first (2) Oracle in Greece was founded by Scythians ; and the oldest civil rites, the (3) Olympic games,

(1) Οἱ δ' ὑπὸ Τιτάνων Πέχ. δοῦνται παρὰ πόλιν τῆς Κορίνθου ἐν τῇ Βακτριανῆς ἀριγυμῆσι. οἱ δ' ἐκ Χέλχων φασιν. Strabo Lib. X. p. 472.

(2) Strabo and Herodotus agree, that the Dodonean oracle was founded by the Pelasgians ; by which is implied time immemorial. Therefore what the latter relates, at least a thousand years afterwards, upon the credit of the Egyptian priests, concerning the “ Two Black Pigeons, or Theban Priestesses ;” is a story, that others may believe if they please, but it seems to me inconsistent with the antiquity of the Oracle : which I take to be older than that of Thebes, or Ammon in Libya. This is not the only instance, wherein the historian was imposed upon by the Egyptian priests ; whose vanity it was, to deduce both oracles from the Theban Jupiter. The ancient Scholiasts judged more rightly, that the Dodonean, or Pelasgic, Jupiter was an Hyperborean : the North being the country of the Great Gods.

Ζεὺς ἄνα Δωδωνάει, Πελάσγικε, ΤΗΛΟΘΙ ΝΑΙΩΝ. Hom. Iliad. II. v. 233.
EN ΧΟΡΙΩ Τῆ ΥΠΕΡΒΟΡΕΩΝ, τῇ Δωδώνῃ πρῶτον ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ. Etym. Mag. Didymus in locum.

(3) Pausanias says, that “ Those who recorded the antiquities of the Eleans, “ affirmed that Saturn was the first who reigned in heaven ; and a temple “ was built to him in Olympia, by that generation of men, who lived in the “ Golden Age. — That Hercules one of the Idæi Dactyli, was author of the “ Olympic Games, and appointed a crown of Wild Olive to be the reward of “ the victors ; which Tree he brought with him into Greece from the Hy- “ perboreans, a people who lived beyond the North wind.” Εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀγῶνα τὸν

were instituted by Hyperboreans: as, I think, may be inferred from Pausanias.

The difficulty of fixing this Æra. I have not attempted to fix the time of the Titan war, and think it impossible to be done with any tolerable exactness, upon account of the uncertainty of pagan chronology. And further, because it is no way connected with the Eastern history, in the line of Sem, given us by Moses; wherein alone the true order of time is observed, and even there it is not entirely settled. The most ancient Scythian history, to which this properly belongs, is all lost: as is that of the Hyrcanians, Margians, Bactrians, with their king Zoroaster; which last would probably have afforded us some assistance. The Chinese annals go no farther than the affairs of their own people and country. And it is in vain to look for any truth or certainty in the Phenician and Egyptian tales; which come to us at second hand, broken, and unauthorized. The Phenician history would seem to give some little account of the Titans and Cabiri, tho' the (1) author, who-

Ολύμπιον, λέγουν Ηλείων οἱ τὰ ἀρχαῖότατα μνημονεύοντες, Κρόνον τὴν ἐν ἕρηνῳ χεῖν βασιλείαν σέβοντες, καὶ ἐν Ολυμπῷ παιδῶν Κρόνον γάρον ὑπὸ τῷ τότε ἀνθρώπων, οἱ ἰνομάζοντο Χρυσὸν Γένος. — Ηρακλεῖ οὐκ ἀπέσει πρὸ Ἰδαίου δόξα τὸν τε ἀθάνατον Διὸς ἀφείναι πρῶτον, καὶ Ολύμπια ἰνομάδειν. — Καὶ τὸ Νικήσαντα ἐξ αὐτῶν κλάδω σεφάνωσι Κοπῆς — καμδύνας δ' ἐν τῷ Ὑπερβορέων γῆς τὸ Κόπην φασι ὑπὸ τῷ Ηρακλέος ἐς Ἰνδύνας εἶναι δὲ ἀνθρώπους οἱ ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀνεμὸν οἰκῆσι τὸ βορέαν. Pausan. Eliac. Lib.V. pag. 299. If Hercules brought this tree from the Hyperboreans, I think he must be an Hyperborean himself: for to send Southern Heroes upon such expeditions so far Northward, is to oppose the current of history, and to reverse the order of nature.

(1) The Phenician History, under the name of Sanchoniathon, is preserved by Eusebius Præp. Evang. Lib. I. c. 10. from Philo Byblius, who translated it into Greek; or as some think, forged it himself. See Mr Dodwell's Letter concerning Sanchoniathon. Lond. 1691. The book has something of the air of antiquity, and may contain very old traditions concerning the formation, and first ages, of the world; some agreeable, others repugnant, to sacred

ever he was, scarce knew what the words meant; and seems only to have learnt them from the Greeks.

The author's opinion. Notwithstanding then time has made such havock in the history of our Western world; it appears to me, that Uranus, Saturn, and Jupiter, were powerful princes; sovereigns over a vast empire, comprehending all Europe, and great part of Asia: That this empire was superior to any other in time; and existed long before those petty kingdoms in Greece, that boasted of the greatest antiquity: That the Titans were masters of all the knowledge derived from the sons of Noah: That they had the same religion with the people of the East; that is, either worshipped one god; or if more, the Sun, Moon, and Stars: That their descendants in the West, were the first who set up the grosser idolatry, of paying divine honours to their progenitors. And therefore I am of opinion, that the Titan war could not be later than the age of Serug Abraham's ancestor, where S. Epiphanius closes the Scythian period.

The Cabiri were the first Heathen Gods. If we fix our footing here, perhaps we may take a clearer view of the succeeding fabulous ages of the Greeks. It is certain that the Cabiric rites were the (1) first religion of their country. That the mysteries of Magna

sacred writ. But the whole, as it is dressed up by the editor Philo, and vouched for by Porphyry, is attended with so many suspicious circumstances, that I cannot see how men of learning can take it for any thing more than an imposture. The greatest truth declared in it, seems to be that of the heathen Gods being once inhabitants of the earth; which was no more than the sentiments of the wiser Greeks, who understood the origin of their religion.

(1) Ἰμαίς μὲν τελευτῶ ἀρῆται μαρτυροῦσιν ἕδειδε
 Ἀδάναται Κρηῖτες. Orph. Hymn. in Curetas.

Mater, Ceres, Bacchus, &c. were only branches that sprung from the Cabiric; and are therefore sometimes confounded with them. That Pan, Bacchus, Silenus, Sylvanus, Pluto, and others, by some reckoned among the older deities, must be posterior to the Twelve Great Gods. That Hercules was not in the first grand alliance of the Gods, tho' he is reported to have fought on their side; and is therefore to be accounted a later deity. And now the reader may consider at his leisure, whether (1) Vulcan, the most ancient deity of Egypt, was not originally a Grecian god; and (2) Hercules, the oldest Tyrian god, a Scythian. Whether it is more probable, that Cybele, the great goddess of the Sidonians, came from Egypt, rather than Greece or Phrygia. And in short, whether the boasted antiquities of Phenicia and Egypt, are not fragments of the true history of Moses, blended with the older fables of the Greeks.

Science in Europe began with the Titans. The Titan language then, call it Cimmerian, Celtic, Pelasgic, or by any other name, is to be considered, as the vehicle of the first knowledge that dawned in Europe. The progression of ancient science, a subject of the most entertaining nature to the human mind, is frequently touched upon by some of the finest pens, both ancient and modern. And yet, of those who have pursued it thro' the dark ages, few, I think, have hit upon the right track; and most have taken, what seems to me to be the last stage of it, for the very beginning. If learn-

(1) The stately temple of Vulcan at Memphis, was built by the first mortal king of Egypt, MIN or MENES. See Herodotus Book II. c. 4. 99.

(2) Herodotus Ibid. c. 44.

ed men without prejudice, and without paying too great a deference to precarious authorities, would only attend to a natural induction of particulars; I believe that instead of (1) deriving all religion and learning from Egypt, they might trace it back from thence to the Phenicians, Carians, Phrygians, Getes, and Thracians, and so to the Ægean isles, which were the seats of the first civiliziers of mankind; and these were Scythians, or, if you choose rather to call them, Scytho-Grecians.

The Egyptians not the first authors of Science.

The Egyptians justly challenged to themselves very great antiquity, the sacred writings confirm their title to it; nevertheless they yielded the superiority in this respect to the Scythians according to (2) Justin, and to the Phrygians according to (3) Herodotus; which two accounts are not irreconcilable. They pretended to no science till the time of Thoth, or Hermes Trismegistus; who does not appear to have been a native of Egypt, and, if we may believe Sanchoniathon's history, came no further off than from Phenicia; but I rather suspect, that he was a (4) Scythian. We have no other

(1) This is one of the faults, with which Plutarch charges Herodotus. *Τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ περὶ Παρὸς ἔφηκε, ἢ Αἰγυπτίαν ἀλαζονείαν καὶ μυθολογίαν τὰ σεμνότετα, καὶ ἀνομιὰς τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱερῶν ἀναπέπων.* De Malign. Herodoti.

(2) Hist. Lib. II.

(3) Hist. Lib. II.

(4) It is almost needless to repeat, that the Phenicians and Egyptians had their Gods in common with the Europeans: and from whence the latter received them, I am at no loss to account. Their powers and offices were the same, tho' the names were differently expressed. This of Mercury, or Thoth, has met with somewhat better fortune than the rest. He was called Thooth by the Egyptians, by Plato and Tully Theuth, by Sanchoniathon Taautus. *Ἀπὸ Μισσηρ Τάαυτος, ὃς εὗρε πρῶτον τὰ ἀεφάταν Στοιχειῶν γερφῶν, ὃν Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν Θεωῶν, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ Θεῶν, Ἕλληες δὲ Εὐμεῶν ἐκάλεισαν.* Philo Bybl. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. The

certainty of the time when Thoth lived, than what is collected from the book fathered upon him, (1) which calls "Uranus and Saturn his ancestors;" and from them I suppose he derived his science. This is antiquity sufficient; and from this beginning the Egyptians became famous in following ages, and in their turn, were possessed of all the learning then in being. Their noble publick monuments evince their skill in the mechanical arts, and their excellent laws prove them to have been well versed in civil polity. When a country had got the name for these elegancies, it must attract a great resort of foreigners, who had any thirst after knowledge, or even common curiosity: and such were the Grecian sages and Lawgivers, who went thither for no other purpose. But, that they brought from thence any new discoveries in Physical, or Mathematical, science, it will be hard to prove; tho' it has been so often taken for granted. If the Greeks gained any thing of this kind, perhaps they kept the secret under seal of a vow, or for other reasons best known to themselves; for what they have been at liberty to reveal, gives us no ex-

The Egyptian Greeks called him ΤΩΤ, as in an inscription faultily copied by Paul Lucas, Troisième Voyage, Vol. 3. p. 36.

ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ ΚΑΘΟΠΑΤΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ
ΘΕΟΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΙ ΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΟΡΕΣ
ΜΕΘΕΓΙΣ [f. ΠΙΘΗΣΙ] ΤΩΤ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΣΥΝΝΑΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ.

He appears to be no other than the *Teutates* of the Gauls and Germans, mentioned as a deity by Lucan, *Pharf. Lib. I.* and called *Mercurius Teutates* by Livy, *Hist. Lib. 26.* The word may possibly mean only a *Teacher of the Sciences*, which was the office of *Hermes*, or *Mercury*. *Deum maxime Mercurium colunt; hujus sunt plurima simulacra: Hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt.* *Cæsar de Bello Gall. Lib. VI.*

(1) "Ὅσπερ Ὀδερνός ἐστι Κεῖν' οἱ ἡμέτεροι παύονται ἐκπέπυγμα." *Herm. Trismeg. ΠΟΙΜΑΝΔΗΡ. Cap. X. §. 5.*

traordinary

traordinary idea of the Egyptian learning. At the time the Greeks became so much acquainted with the Egyptians, their Theology seems to have dwindled into pageantry, and ridiculous ceremonies; and to have been little better than our modern Free-Masonry, and Judicial Astrology, a mystery known only to the initiated. When the Romans came to have to do with them, the case was much the same, or perhaps worse; for we find the Egyptian priests, as pretenders to science, sometimes (1) ridiculed by that wise people. Egypt shone with all the lustre of science under the Greeks themselves, when it was governed by the Ptolemies. Then we find more true learning in Egypt, than perhaps in all the world beside. The School of Alexandria flourished for many centuries, and tho' it has been extinct as many more, will always be remembered to the end of time.

The Golden Age. With the times and actions of the Scytho-Grecians began that part of profane history, which authors call Fabulous, or history disguised in fable. Wherein we may discern, as through a cloud, the beginning of arts the most beneficial to the human species; Legislature, Medicine, Agriculture, Navigation, Commerce, &c. for which the several authors were (2) rewarded with the title of Divinity. I need only to

(1) This happened to Chæremon a priest who accompanied the Legate Ælius Gallus from Alexandria to the upper Egypt, and professed Philosophy and Astronomy. Παρκολλάδει δὲ τις ἐξ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἀναπέσειν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον Αἰλίῳ Γάλλῳ πρὸ ἡγεμόνι Χαερμόνι πύρουμα, ἀεσιπέδουθ' τριούτιω πινὰ ὀπτήμεν' γελώμενος δὲ ππέων, ὡς ἀλλοτῶν ἢ ιδιώτης. Strabo Lib.VII. p. 806.

(2) *Hic est vetustissimus referendi bene merentibus gratiam mos, ut tales numinibus adscribantur. Quippe & aliorum nomina Deorum, & quæ supra retuli Syderum, ex hominum nata sunt meritis.* Plin. Hist. Lib. II. c. 7.

instance in the great father of these Gods; (1) “Who first
 “restrained his subjects from their savage manners, and
 “reduced them into communities; taught them the know-
 “ledge of the milder fruits of the earth, and the way of
 “storing them; with many other things useful to life; and
 “being a diligent observer of the heavenly bodies, was a-
 “ble to foretell events that were to happen in the world;”
 and in short, was (2) perfect in all knowledge. This then
 was the Golden Age, so justly celebrated by the ancients,
 the age of politeness, however disfigured it may now ap-
 pear to us. The Greeks indeed, to whom we owe all our
 profane history, seemed to have lost their due reverence
 for it, and thought themselves beholden to other nations
 for their learning; but a little reflexion might have taught
 them, that their country from the first ages was the seat
 of arts and sciences.

*Greece the fountain of
 arts and sciences.*

I affect not to be thought sin-
 gular in an opinion, much less to
 advance a groundless hypothesis;
 and therefore shall endeavour to rest it upon two of the
 greatest names for learning among the moderns, who, I
 am persuaded, saw clearly enough into this matter, tho’
 they have not delivered themselves so fully as might be
 wished, or as a point of such consequence deserved. Sal-

(1) ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ βασιλεύσει καὶ τὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀποτάξει οἰκόντας συναγαγὲν εἰς πόλεις καί-
 εἰσινοι, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀνομίαν καὶ τὴν θηριώδησιν εἰς πάντα τὸς ὑπακούοντας, ἐξόντα τὰς τῶν ἡμερῶν καρ-
 πῶν χειρῶν καὶ ἀειθέσεις, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρησίμων ἐκ ἕλεγα — ἧ δὲ ἀστρον γινώσκων ὀπτιμῆν
 παρατηρητῶν, ποτὰ ἀεζέζειν ἧ δὲ κατὰ τὸ κόσμον μεγάλων γίνεσθαι. Diodor. Lib. III. p.
 132.

(2) Trismegistus auctor est, qui cum diceret admodum paucos extitisse, in quibus
 esset perfecta doctrina, in his Uranum, Saturnum, Mercurium, cognatos suos nomi-
 navit. Lactant. de Fals. Relig. Lib. I. c. 11.

masius after repeating several times, that the first inhabitants and language of Greece came from Scythia, adds (1) *Satis certum ex his colligi potest, linguam, ut gentem Hellenicam, a septentrione & Scythia originem traxisse, non a meridie. Quo posito & illud certissimo constabit Peloponnesum, cum reliqua Græcia quæ extra Isthmum, a Thessalis sive Macedonibus Græcis, populos, quibus exculta est, & urbes quibus instructa est, accepisse. INDE LITERÆ GRÆCORUM, INDE MUSÆ PIERIDES, INDE SACRORUM INITIA.* Scaliger, a little more to the purpose, says, (2) *Si enim rem AB ULTIMA ORIGINE repetamus, deprehendemus artes non solum antiquitus a Græcis inventas & perfectas fuisse; sed etiam AB ILLIS AD EAS NATIONES DERIVATAS, A QUIBUS GRÆCOS HAUSISSE VOLUNT ISTI.*

The Progress of Science. Agreeably to the natural course of things the Arts had their periods; flourished for a season in one age and country, then sunk, and rose in another. The difficulty lies in tracing them through that vast waste of time, where we have no other guide, than fabulous history. The Greeks, like unnatural children, branded their Scythian ancestors with the opprobrious names of barbarous and illiterate; and we at this distance finding nothing to the contrary, form our judgment of them from what they really were, when the arts had left them. But should we in the same manner estimate the ancient Phenician, Egyptian, and even Grecian learning, by the present inhabitants of those countries, what a mean opinion must we

(1) Salmasius de Hellenistica Pag. 400.

(2) Scaliger Præf. ad Manilii Astron.

entertain of it? We learn from history their former flourishing state; and this evidence, it is true, is wanting on the part of the Scythians, or is only to be picked up from the scattered fragments of the Greek writers, and of those who copied them. They who think the stories of the fabulous age all (1) pure fiction, without any foundation in fact, seem to me, to believe too much on the one hand, or too little on the other: he who takes the middle way between both, may have a better chance to be in the right. Let me therefore suppose, with the ancient defenders of Christianity, that the heathen Gods were mortal men, and had once a real existence; and that what is related of their actions, may fairly be believed, if it comes within the verge of probability. Many of them are reported to have been the first inventors of useful arts; if that should be thought improbable, let them have at least the honour of conveying those arts to the several countries where they settled.

The beginning of Astronomy in Europe. To traverse the whole circle of Arts would be an endless work. We need only, in order to judge of the rest, endeavour to find the beginning of the principal, and most sublime, of all the Sciences, that of the Heavenly Bodies. The Sabians or worshippers of the hea-

(1) Strabo remarks, That Homer never raised any thing new or marvellous, but out of some truth. *Εκ μινδενος δε ἀληθους ἀνάπτειν κεινῶ τετρατολογίαν, ἐχ' Ομηρικόν.* Lib. I. p. 20. *Οἱ δὲ πικνότεροι ἢ φύσιν, καὶ πολυπράγμονες, ἀπιστοῦσι τὸ περὶ μινδεν γενέσθαι τῶτων. ἐμοὶ δὲ δεῖσι γινώσκειν πάντα τὰ λεγόμενα. ἢ γὰρ ὄνομα μόνον ἐξήροτο, λέγουσι δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἰδεῖς ὑπῆρξεν. ἀλλὰ πρῶτον τὰ ἔργα, εἰδ' ἔπος ἢ λόγος περὶ αὐτῶν. — Γενόμενα δὲ πᾶσι οἱ Πόντιοι καὶ Λογογράφοι παρέτερον εἰς τὸ ἀπιστότερον, καὶ θαυμασιώτερον, ἢ θαυμάζειν ἕνεκα πρὸς ἀνθρώπους: ἐγὼ δὲ γινώσκω, ὅτι ἢ δυνάμει τὰ τριῦσι ἐδ', οἷα καὶ λέγεται. Pakephat. De Incredib. in Procem.*

venly host, are (1) generally held to be the first idolaters: and their worship could hardly subsist, without observing the positions and motions of those luminaries. Whether the Titans are to be ranked in this class, can neither be affirmed, nor denied: but from what light history affords us, the Stars seem to owe their first denominations to them. Uranus the father of the Titans is represented as an observer of the stars; and his very (2) name is enough to persuade us, that he himself, or his descendants at least, understood something of Astronomy. (3) Hyperion one of his sons is said to be the first who found out the motions of the Planets; in consequence of which discovery, it may be thought, that his son and daughter, Apollo and Diana, were honoured with the names of the two principal ones. These two deities shall be more particularly considered presently. Atlas the son of Japetus, another Titan, is called the "Supporter of the heavens," by which the (4) ancients understood his skill in this science: and his brother Prometheus is (5) acknowledged to be the founder of the Chaldean Astronomy, which perhaps is couched under the fable of his stealing fire from heaven. These are the first accounts of Astronomy to be found

(1) *Notum est, Abrahamum patrem nostrum educatum esse in fide Zab.eorum, qui statuerunt nullum esse Deum præter Stellas.* Maimonides More Nevochim. Lib. III. c. 29.

(2) Ur-En in Celtic, is the same as *I ir Cali*, or *Celestis*.

(3) *Υπερίωνα δὲ φασὶ τὸ τε Ἥλιον καὶ Σελήνην, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων, ἐπι δὲ τὰς ὡρὰς, τὰς σωτηρικῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστέρων, ὡραίων ἐξ ὀπμηλείας καὶ ὄρατιπρόσεως χραισίνουσα, τῶν ἄλλων εἰς γῶσιν παραδιδῶσαι ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν πατέρων τῶν ἰσομαθεῶν.* Diod. Lib.V.

(4) Cicero Tusc. Quæst. Lib.V.

(5) *Hic [Prometheus] primus Astrologiam Assyriis indicavit: quam, residens in monte altissimo Caucaſo, nimia curia & sollicitudine detrebenderat.* Servius in Virg. Eclog.VI.

among

among the Greeks: but whoever duly examines the extent and activity of the human understanding, must think that it had an earlier beginning.

Came from the Titans or Scythians. It derogates too much from the dignity of our nature, and the image of God implanted in our first parent, to suppose that men in the primitive ages were but a little above the level of brutes. There were then, and at all times, some groveling geniuses that looked no further than the earth; but the generality had more exalted views, minds fitted to enquire into the reasons and causes of things. The different magnitudes of the stars, and their distances from each other, were objects perpetually before their eyes. By this means the Planets must soon be distinguished from the Fixed Stars; and the latter by their assemblages represented to the imagination the different forms of animals, men, birds, beasts, and fishes. The arc of the heavens taught them to range these figures in their proper order, and to reduce them to some degree of exactness, by imaginary lines or circles. In this manner men might be enabled to form a System of the science, or an artificial sphere; a thing that could hardly be unknown to the Antediluvians. The revolutions of the Sun and Moon taught them to (1) measure time by days, months,

(1) In the days of Noah, they must have proceeded very far in this sort of computation; if the year then consisted of 365 days, as a modern author thinks he has proved from the Mosaic account of the Deluge. Vid. Luc. Cuperus Paratitla Chronol. & Hist. Sacr. Amst. 1721. pag. 34. Whether the author has proved his point, or not; I believe the best chronologers are of opinion, that this was the known length of the year long before the time of Moses: nor can I ascribe the invention to the Egyptians, because the Chinese accounts place it 2338 years before our Saviour's Nativity. See Jackson's Chronol. Antiquities. Vol. 2. pag. 66.

and years. Observations and Calculations followed of course; rude and imperfect, we may well imagine, and void of that accuracy which distinguishes the modern Astronomy. A long series of years was necessary to bring the science to some perfection, but improvements were continually making; and some nations, as the Chaldeans and Egyptians, by dint of application made themselves famous in antiquity, for their skill in this way: but it detracts nothing from their merit, to say that they received the first rudiments from the Scythians. Arguments drawn from the (1) advantages of their countries, prove not that they were the first inventours of the art: the high mountains, and long nights, of the Scythians were as proper helps for promoting the study, as the wide plains of Egypt, or Chaldea. After all, I cannot but think that the great fame, which the Chaldeans and Egyptians acquired upon this account, was chiefly owing to their making a mystery of Astronomy, by ascribing supernatural virtues and influences to the Stars: a science, of which they pretended to be great masters, nor shall I deny that they were the first authors. This trifling art grew into vogue with the later Greeks and Romans, and from them spread itself thro' the several countries of Europe; but is now exploded by the learned, and retains its credit only with the vulgar and superstitious.

(1) *Ægyptii & Babylonii in camporum patentium æquoribus habitantes, cum ex terra nihil emineret quod contemplationi cæli officere possset, omnem curam in siderum cognitione posuerunt.* Cicero de Div. Lib. I.

The Barbaric Sphere. We must not forget, that, whilst Astrology flourished under the Romans, mention is made of a (1) *Barbaric Sphere*; by which (2) some understand the Egyptian or Chaldean Sphere, (3) others the Sphere of the Celtes or Gauls. Whatever may be meant by the word Barbaric, it appears to me, that the Scythians, or Titans, could not be without a Sphere; which they might, and did, communicate to many distant nations of the world, till that time ignorant of Astronomy.

The Northern Hemisphere first cultivated. I grant that the Greeks, Chaldeans, Phenicians and Egyptians, by the advantage of their climates, had greater opportunities of enriching the Southern Hemisphere with constellations, than the Scythians had; but the Northern seems to be what was first cultivated. The Sphere used by all these nations was

(1) Nigidius Figulus in the time of Julius Cæsar wrote Two Books now lost, the one on the Greek, the other on the Barbaric, Sphere: a distinction that has not a little puzzled the learned. Scaliger thought that by the word *Barbaric*, he meant the Egyptian, or Chaldean, Sphere, as different from the Greek. But Salmasius is of opinion, that he only explained the history of the same Sphere, by the different fables of the Greeks and Egyptians; and that Hyginus has preserved the substance of what Nigidius wrote on the Greek Sphere. About four hundred years afterwards, when Astronomy had degenerated into Astrology; Julius Firmicus likewise mentions the Signs in the Barbaric Sphere, which Signs are not different from the Greek. But by this time, says Salmasius, the word *Barbaric* had acquired a new meaning, and signified not the *Sphere of the Barbarians*, but the *Constellated, or Pictured, Sphere of the fixed stars*; as *Aurum Barbaricum* means wrought gold, *Barbaricæ vestes* garments ornamented with figures: accordingly Donatus interprets the word *Barbaricarii* in the Code, *Qui barbarica i. e. Ornamentata ex auro confecerent*. Vid. Salmaf. de Ann. Climat. p. 580, 581, &c.

(2) Scaliger Not. in Manilium. pag. 368.

(3) Pezron's Preface to Antiq. of Nations.

probably

probably the same, but by degrees varied a little from the primitive plan. Some new constellations were perhaps formed by conjoining, or dividing, the old ones; or new names might be given to them, the assemblages continuing still the same; for this we know has been done in much later times. But I cannot be persuaded, that any of these nations deviated so far from the (1) old system, as to form one entirely new: for the Two Bears, the Wain, the Whale, Engonasin, the Swan, the Harp, the Arrow, with many others, seem to me to be original asterisms in the Scythian Sphere: and these asterisms, the groundwork of the Egyptian and Grecian fables. No one can think that we have set the antiquity of this Science too high,

(1) A lover of truth ought not to be born down by any great name, even by that of Sir Isaac Newton, who has established a new system of Chronology, upon very precarious Postulates, viz. "That the Greek Sphere is no older than the time of the Argonauts; that it was formed by Chiron the Centaur for their use; and that the history of the expedition is delineated on the Sphere." Skill in Astronomy was never before reckoned a part of Chiron's character; and the verses brought to prove it, from one of the old poets who wrote of the Titan war, are too slender a foundation for such a superstructure.

Ἔἰς τε διασπορῶν ἀστῶν ἡμεῖς ἤμαρ, δειξάς
 Ὀρκοῖ, καὶ βούλας ἰλαγῆς, καὶ Σήματ' Ὀλύμπου.

Clem. Alex. Strom. Lib. I. p. 306.

These lines seem to represent Chiron under the character of a Lawgiver, excepting the two last words Σήματ' Ὀλύμπου, *The figures of the Heavens*; a phrase for which it will be hard to find any parallel authority. A small Greek criticism will reconcile matters, and make them all of a piece; and at the same time overturn all reasonings that are built upon a false reading, by substituting in its room, Σήματ' Ὀλύμπου, *The Signs of the Heavens*; that note the Seasons of the year, the prognostics of the weather &c. Σήματι, Σημεῖα, Διοσημεῖα are the proper words used by Homer, and Aratus. See *Miscellaneous Observations on authors*. Published by Mr Jortin. Lond. 1732. Vol. 2. p. 233.

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who

who recollects that the (1) Chaldeans had preserved astronomical observations, for nineteen hundred years before the time of Alexander; and that the (2) Chinese, according to the relations of modern travellers, had the knowledge of the Sphere, very near as early as the Titan age, if not before. Nor is there any reason to think, that it was unknown at the same time to their neighbours, the ancient Tartars; by whom, as I conjecture, Astronomy was first transplanted into Europe.

The names of the Planets Titanic. The Planets, from the first ages almost of the Science in the West, seem to have been appropriated to those deities, whose names they bear in Latin; and which are not improperly (3) derived from the Scythian, or Cel-

(1) Διὰ τὸ μῆτρον ὑπὸ Καλλιθένης ἐν Βαβυλωνῶν περιφθεύσας ᾠδαπήσεις ἀφικέσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοῦ Αἰετοπέλους τῶτο ὀπισθόψαιτος ἀντιπρὸ ἄστρας διηγήται ὁ Πορφύρειος Χιλιών ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τῆς Ἑννακοσίων Τειῶν, μέχρι τῶν χρόνων Ἀλεξάνδρου τῶν Μακεδόνος σωζομένων. Simplic. Lib. 2. de Cælo.

(2) The Chinese, who are supposed to be a colony and a very early one from Northern Asia, ascribe the same inventions to their most ancient kings, as the Greeks and Egyptians did to their Gods. Hoang Ti was the founder of their kingdom, and of their Astronomy, Signs, and Cycles. Their annals speak of a great Eclipse in the year 2155 before Christ, which has been proved and verified by calculation. See Du Halde. And a remarkable Conjunction of the Planets is mentioned in their books, to have happened about the year 2500 before Christ, according to Martini, Hist. Sinic. But Monsieur Cassini, who calculated this Conjunction, brings it down to the year 2012. See Louberes Hist. of Siam. p. 254. The first of these two Epochs, according to my reckoning, precedes the Titan age; the latter will come after it.

(3) SATVRNVS	Sadorn, Sadwrn.	i. e. <i>Potens, bellicosus.</i>
IYPIYTER IOVIS.	Jou pater.	i. e. <i>Juvenis Pater.</i>
VENVV Veneris.	Guener.	i. e. <i>Amor, Pulchritudo.</i>
MARS Martis.	Maurth.	i. e. <i>Bellum, Prælium.</i>
SOL ἥλιος.	Hayl, Hcol.	i. e. <i>Sol, Ardor Solis.</i>
LVNA	Lhun.	i. e. <i>Effigies, Figura.</i> Vid. Plutarc. de Facie in Orbe Lunæ.
MERCVRIVS	Merc-Ur.	i. e. <i>Mercium Vir.</i>

tic.

tic. The Romans received their improved Astronomy from the Greeks, but we see, that they kept to the Titanic appellations; and no author has ventured to say, when these names first took place. Six of them are Cæbirc, and Saturn being added to these, makes it probable, that they all owed this honour to the Aborigines of Italy. And the names, by which they are distinguished in other languages, will I believe be found to be expressive of the characters and properties of these deities.

Apollo and Diana Northern Deities. Apollo and Diana, more than any other Gods, are serviceable to us, both in connecting the Scythian and Grecian history, and in establishing the antiquity of the Arts. Apollo was the god of medicine, harmony, poetry and divination. The Greeks, as usual, feigned, some that he was born in the island Delos, others in Crete; but he was really a Scythian, and a Titan, and is often called Titan by the (1) poets. He was the son of (2) Latona and Hyperion, elder brother of Saturn. His mother (3) according to the fable, brought him forth in a place inaccessible to the sun; which seems to be the land of the Cimmerians. (4) Servius upon that verse of Virgil

Hic genus antiquum terræ Titania pubes. Æn. VI. v. 580.

(1) *Extulerit Titan, radiisque retexerit orbem.* Virg. Æn. IV.

Nullus adhuc mundo præbebat lumina Titan. Ovid. Metam. Lib. I.

(2) Apollodor. Lib. I. pag. 2. Ed. Gale. Diodor. Lib. V.

(3) *Eo tempore Jovis cum Latona Poli filia concubuit. Hoc cum Juno rescit, facit ut Latona ibi pareret ubi Sol non accederet. Python ubi sensit Latonam ex Jove gravidam esse, persequi cepit, ut eam interficeret. At Latonam Jovis jussu ventus Aquilo sublata ad Neptunum pertulit.* Hygin. Fab. CXL.

(4) *Ex his [Titanibus] autem solus Sol abstinuisse narratur ab injuria numinum, unde & cælum meruit.* Servius in loc.

tells us, "That Apollo, of all the Titans, was the only "one who abstained from injuring the Gods, for which "reason he was taken up into heaven." By this is meant, that he was in alliance with the Gods, and was rewarded by them with some territories, wherever those were. Whereas the other Titans, with their sons the Giants, were sent to hell; that is, were either slain, imprisoned, or driven out of theirs. That the Delphic Apollo was a Scythian, is clear from the Greek writers, from whom Tully received it; for speaking of the several gods who went by that name, he says, (1) *Tertius Jove & Latona natus, quem ex Hyperboreis Delphos ferunt advenisse.* Apollo was the chief deity of the (2) Northern nations; and this, with his being called the God of the bow, is to me a sufficient proof of his country. The Cretans who boasted of being instructed by him in archery, called the Bow (3) Scythian. (4) Diodorus from Hecatæus says, "There is an Island not "less than Sicily, in the Ocean over against Celtica, under the Arctic circle, extremely fruitful in every thing,

(1) *De Natura Deorum. Lib. 3.* That the Son of Latona was the first and true Apollo we learn from the same author. *Reliqui omnes silentur, omnesque res aliorum gestæ ad unum Jovis & Latonæ filium referuntur.* Ibid.

(2) Τιμαῖτον δὲ ὠνόμαζον τοῖς ὑπερβορείοις ὁ Ἀπόλλων. Schol. in Apollonii Argonaut. Lib. II. v. 677. He was called HEL, VEL, BEL, BELEN, by the Celtes; by the Goths BALDER.

(3) Καὶ τὸ Τόξον Σκυθικὸν ὀνομαζοῦνται. Diod. Lib. V. The learned Wesselingius, the last editor of Diodorus, chooses to read κρήπικον for Σκυθικον, without any warrant from the MSS: but had he sufficiently attended to Apollo's country, perhaps would have acquiesced in the old reading.

(4) Ἐν τοῖς ἀντιπέτραις τῆς Κελτικῆς τῆς περὶ τὸ Ὠκεανὸν ἔστι Νῆσον ἐκ ἐλάτῃ τῆς Σικελίας· πῶτῃ ἐσάραχεν μὲν καὶ τὰς Ἀρκτας, καπτικίδως ἢ ἔσθ' ἢ ὀνομαζομένην ὑπερβορέαν — ἔσαν ἢ αὐτῷ εὐχρίν τε καὶ πέμφορον — μυθολογῶσι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ Λητῶν γεγονέναι· διὸ καὶ τὸ Ἀπόλλω μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ πημῶδες ἔστι δὲ αὐτὸς ὡσαύτ' ἑρμῆς πημῶδες Ἀπόλλωνος, κλ. Diocl. Lib. II. p. 91.

“inhabited

“inhabited by the Hyperboreans; who worshipped Apollo more than any other deity, and were in a manner his priests, — That in their city they had his (1) Temple — And that once in Nineteen years, the God came among them.” [By which it should seem that Cycles were a northern invention.] “They said likewise that Latona was a native of their country, — that the inhabitants had a great regard for the Greeks, and particularly for the Athenians and Delians. And that Abaris their countryman, went from thence into Greece, and renewed the ancient league with the Delians.” Add to this, the report of the Delians themselves to (2) Herodotus, “That their sacred rites were transmitted to them from Scythia by certain Hyperborean virgins, Argis and Opis who came with the Gods; and after them Hyperoche and Laodoce, who died in Delos, and whose sepulchre in the temple of Diana, was to be seen in his time.” In the Hyperborean Island then we are to look for the birthplace of Apollo, and of his sister Diana, the goddess of the bow, a (3) Northern deity; for Medea, when she

(1) This temple Mr Toland thought was still remaining in the village of Claffenefs in the Isle of Lewis, consisting of a Circle of Twelve Stones, with another of greater height than the rest in the centre. History of Druids, pag. 89, 158, 160. See Martin’s account of the Hebrides or Western Isles of Scotland, pag. 9. Where the form of the temple, and the approach to it, are exhibited on a copper plate.

(2) Φασί ὅ οἱ οὐτοὶ καὶ πῶς Ἀργιν καὶ ὅ Ωπιν, ἑσας παρθένους ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἀπέκειναι ἐς Δῆλον ἐπ’ αὐτέπερον Ὑπερόρης καὶ Λαοδόκης — πῶς δὲ Ἀργιντε καὶ πῶς Ωπιν ἅμα οὐτοῖσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι ἀπέκειναι λέγουσι — ἧσι δὲ παρθένουσι πῶς τῆσι ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων τελεωθησάμεσι ἐν Δῆλῳ κείεον) καὶ αἱ κέρα καὶ οἱ πύθεις οἱ Διολίων — τὸ ὅ σῆμα ἐστὶ ἔσω ἐς τὸ Ἀστυμίσιον ἐστὶν ἄεισι-
γῆς χρεός. Herod. Lib. IV. §. 33, 34, 35.

(3) *Et Taranis Scythicæ non mitior ara Dianæ.* Lucan. Lib. I.
Qua sublime nemus, Scythicæ qua regna Dianæ. Idem Lib. III.

came

came with Jason and the Argonauts from Colchis, (1) pretended that "She brought Diana with her from the Hyperboreans." By *Genus antiquum terræ*, as above, (2) Servius says is meant the First Race, or Titans properly speaking, the Giants being the Second Race. (3) Tityus, one of these giants, was slain by Apollo's arrows, for endeavouring to force Latona; and he was, what his (4) name implies, a Titan or Son of the earth; and, I presume, from this account of him, an Hyperborean. So that I think there can be no room to doubt, that the Titans were Scythians, as we have all along asserted.

The Harp a The Harp is a symbol of Apollo, and
Symbol of whether he, or Mercury, is to be called
Apollo. the inventor, the Greeks received it from
 the Scythians; tho' I suppose that they im-
 proved it, and afterwards changed its name. But in our
 language we retain the original (5) word to this day. Diodorus tells us that "The inhabitants of the Hyperborean
 "city were for the most part Harpers." And every one
 knows in what esteem this ancient musical instrument has
 been always held by the northern nations.

(1) Diodor. Lib.V.

(2) ANTIQUUM. i. e. *Primum. Titanas enim contra Saturnum genuit: Gigantes postea contra Jovem.* Serv. in locum.

(3) *Hic [Tityus] amovit Latonam: propter quod Apollinis confixus est sagittis.* Servius in *Æn.* VI. §. 59.

(4) ΤΙΤ-ΥΣ i. e. *Terræ filius.*

(5) *Romanusque Lyra plaudat tibi, Barbarus HARPA.*

Venant. Fortunat. Lib.VII. Carm. 8.

Another

The Arrow. Another mark by which he is commonly known is the (1) Arrow, and this I think alludes to his power of Divination: a rod or arrow being an instrument always used by those who pretended to any skill in magick. The Art of divining by Rods or Arrows, Βελρομήτεια, or Ραβδομήτεια, as it was called, is extremely ancient, and seems to have descended from the (2) Eastern Scythians to the Western. It chiefly (3) prevailed among the Alans, Marcomans, Bulgarians and Germans. We are told by Eratosthenes that (4) “Apollo hid his Arrow, with “which he flew the Cyclopes, among the Hyperboreans.” By which, if any thing is meant, I suppose, it must be this gift of Divination: no people having been more remarkable in all times, for forceries and enchantments, than the Hyperboreans. And tho’ Abaris, who is called priest of the Sun, and is said to have possessed this Arrow, and by the help of it to have (5) conveyed himself over rivers and mountains, delivered it up at last to Pythagoras; yet the notion of Magic is so strongly imprinted on the minds of the Northern people, that it has continued ever since his time, and perhaps will never be eradicated.

The Hyperborean Island. Authors are divided in their sentiments about the Hyperborean Island just now mentioned. Rhodomannus

(1) He is frequently pictured on the coins of the Syrian Kings with his Arrow, and without the Bow. Vid. Vaillant, Haym &c.

(2) See History of Gengizchan. Book I. c. 4.

(3) See Grotius upon Ezekiel Cap. XXI. v. 21. and Herodotus Book IV.

(4) Ἰσοπὸ τὸ βέλος ἔστι πτερόεν ὃ φασὶν εἶναι Ἀπόλλωνος, ὅτε δὲ πρὸς Κύκλωπας, τὸ δὲ διὰ κερσεύων ἐργασαμένων, ἀπέπεσε δι’ Ἀσκληπιὸν ἔειρψε ὃ αὐτὸ ἐν Ὑπερβορείοις. Eratosth. Catasterismi. Cap. 29. p. 124. Ed. Gale.

(5) Herodotus Lib. IV. Jamblichus Vit. Pythag. Lib. I. c. 28.

the editor of Diodorus supposed it to be our Albion or Britain: (1) Mr Rowland only the Isle of Anglesey: (2) Olaus Rudbeck the peninsula of Scandinavia: (3) Mr Toland the Western Isles of Scotland: though, when he was so near, I wonder he never thought of his native country Ireland, which seems by its ancient type to have as good a claim to the title, as any of the others.

Iceland the country of Bards. Iceland best answers to Diodorus's description, both as an Island, and as to situation, being placed "Under the Arctic circle in the Hyperborean ocean:" and likewise as to extent, "Being not less than Sicily." Tho' how to reconcile it to the other character of "Fruitful-ness" I am at a loss; unless it should be thought that this article is fabulous, which is not improbable. Iceland tho' unknown to the Romans, was certainly known to the Greeks, and was the Thule of (4) Pytheas Massiliensis, tho' Strabo looks upon his account as a fable. Modern authors who deny that Thule is Iceland, appeal chiefly to Pliny, Tacitus, and Solinus, who knew nothing of its situation; their knowledge of the Hyperborean ocean, going no further than Scandinavia, the northern continent of Germany, and the British Isles, beyond which they thought nothing habitable. If Iceland was inhabited in Pytheas's time, it must have been depopulated afterwards; the present inhabitants being the descendants of a colony from Norway, which settled there A. D. 874: for which

(1) *Mona Antiqua restaurata.* Pag. 76.

(2) Ol. Rudbeck. *Atlantica.* Par. I. c. 9.

(3) *History of the Druids.* p. 154, 155, &c.

(4) Strabo *Geogr. Lib. IV.* p. 201.

reason the Icelandic (1) writers themselves disclaim all right to Thule. Their Island however has been productive of many excellent geniuses; and was from ages the great (2) storehouse of Northern learning. Wit is the product of all countries, and, though it may be more refined in southern climates, yet gains life and strength in all; nor have the northern ones ever wanted their share of it. Iceland has been always (3) celebrated for its Bards; more are thought to have been produced upon that spot, than on any other, by a particular destiny. And whoever reads (4) Magnus Olaus's account of his countrymen's natural

(1) Arngrim Jonas Crymogæa. Hamb. 1610. Pag. 13.

(2) *Nec Tylersfum (Thulensium i. e. Islandorum) industria silentio obliteranda: qui cum ob nativam soli sterilitatem luxuriæ nutrimentis carentes, officia continentie sobrietatis exerceant, omnia vitæ momenta ad excolendam alienorum operum notitiam conferre soleant, inopiam ingenio pensant. Cunctarum quippe nationum res gestas cognosse, memoriæque mandare, voluptatis loco reputant: non minoris gloriæ judicantes alienas virtutes differere, quam proprias exhibere. Quorum thesauros historicarum rerum pignoribus refertos curiosius consulens, haud parvam præsentis operis partem ex eorum relationis imitatione contexui: nec arbitros habere contempsi, quos tanta vetustatis peritia callere cognovi.* Saxo Grammat. Præf. ad Hist. Daniæcam.

(3) *In Islandia ubi linguæ ejus usus præcipue conservatur, magno numero poetæ extant prompti & ingeniosi.* Magn. Olaus apud Ol. Worm. Lit. Run. p. 196.

(4) *Deinde & hoc nostra poësis peculiare habet, quod cum in vulgaribus linguis quilibet pro more gentis suæ Rhythmos condere, verba in numeros aliquales cogere, usque id promptum reddere possit: in nostra nemo poeta existat, nec facillimum genus Rhythmi sine magno negotio connectat, etsi maxime affectat, nisi qui poetico spiritu singulariter afflatus est. Qui quidem afflatus ut cæteri naturæ motus, aliis acrior, aliis remissior contingit. Quidam præmeditati Rhythmos feliciter edunt, aliqui ferventiori quodam impetu omnia genera Rhythmi sponte profundunt, ut Rhythmus sit, quicquid conentur dicere; ut ingeniosissimus olim apud Romanos poeta de sua vena profitebatur; nec soluta oratio, quam ista ligata, illis promptior est. Adde quod in prima statim infantia, ejusmodi natura manifestis se proferat indicibus. Nec prætereundum, quod motus ille ingenii in novilunio sit ferventissimus, & Rhythmistam notabilem res poëticas aliis enucleantem, aut in Rhythmis fundendis occupatum, vino madentem, melancholia graviore infestatum, aut furore quodam correptum dixeris, & sapius hæc indoles etiam in ignotis ex singulari aliquo gestu conspicitur, quem nos*

talents in that way; will be inclined to pronounce them, in poetical phrase, Apollo's genuine Sons, and under his more immediate influence.

The introduction of letters destroyed the true history of Greece.

Should it be asked, how and when the Greeks became ignorant in matters that so much concerned their honour and original; I answer that their ignorance began to appear, at a time when they prided themselves most upon their knowledge: this is often the case with particular persons, and custom and example make it more general. From the first use of reason, men took a pleasure, and found their advantage, in transmitting to posterity past transactions: at first by the help of memory, and then by some more lasting tokens, such as the setting up of rough stones, which was one of the most ancient methods. But when in time such marks could not be understood without tradition, and where that failed, were of no further use; something more significative was required, which perhaps gave birth to Sculpture and Writing. These began upon stones or trees, with rude delineations of the things intended to be recorded; which by degrees were reduced to more contracted signs and characters, sufficiently intelligible to the learned of the several countries where they were used. In this manner all knowledge was conveyed for many ages; witness the ancient learning of Egypt, and the living instance of the practice in China.

Skallvijngr i. e. Poeticam vertiginem, appellamus. Sunt qui nostram poesi in malis avertendis & inducendis mirabiles affectus habere existiment, quæ res fortassis non careat exemplis. Magn. Olaus apud Worm. Lit. Run. pag. 192, 193.

When

When the Greeks had gained the more compendious method of expressing their sentiments by words in alphabetical letters, they soon grew weary of writing by characters, as well they might; and by this means perhaps enriched their language, and made it so copious and harmonious, as it appears at present. But they seem from that time to have forgot, as useless, what was contained in their former writings; or retained it but very imperfectly, and as it were by tradition. They endeavoured afterwards to excuse their ignorance by unavoidable accidents; (1) imputing it to a deluge, that destroyed most part of the inhabitants, and all their publick written records. Whatever was the cause, it is certain that they took but little care of facts, and less of times; so that (2) Sir Isaac Newton had good reason for rejecting the authority of all profane history, that was above fourscore years, or an age older than the time of Cadmus. Had the Greeks transferred, with accuracy, into alphabetical writing, what was delivered before in characters; their history and chronology could not have suffered so great a maim as it has done. But instead of taking this method, they grew fond of novelties, and applied themselves to the enigmatical learning of the Phenicians and Egyptians; which, like our romances, was calculated to destroy the truth of history, under the semblance of greater wisdom. The Egyptian priests told Solon, that the Greeks were (3) children in an-

(1) Ὅτι τρεῖς ἢ ἄρα πῶς Ἕλλησι χυσιμένη κατακλιση, καὶ ἀφ' οὗ ἐπομβεῖαν τὴν πλείων ἀνθρώπων ἀπλοῦθρον, οὐκ ὅπως τότε καὶ τὴν ἀφ' οὗ γερμμάτων ἐπισημῆματα συνέθη φασκεῖναι. Diodor. Lib.V. p. 328.

(2) See The introduction to his Chronology.

(3) Ὁ Σόλων, Σόλων, Ἕλλησι ἀεί Παιῖδες ἔστε. Plato in Timæo.

cient learning; and I think treated them as such, by taking advantage of their credulity, and obtruding any idle stories upon them.

The origin of the word Barbarian.

The Greeks in the mean time, puffed up with their new acquisitions of science, began to despise their unpolished neighbours and allies; and in return were as much despised by them. The Scythians, as we learn from (1) Herodotus, took an antipathy to the refinements of the Greeks; broke off all commerce with them on that account; nor would admit of their new sacred rites, but made it death to practise them; as in the case of Scyles and Anacharfis. Both (2) Thracians and Scythians adhered to the old way of hieroglyphic writing; rejected alphabetical letters, and thought it a disgrace to use them: and from that time, as I conceive, they began, by way of reproach, to be called (3) Barbarians, or Northern Men. With a people thus stigmatized, it cannot be supposed, that the polite Greeks would acknowledge any alliance,

(1) Herodotus. Lib. IV.

(2) That the ancient Scythians dealt in Hieroglyphics, appears from the message which they sent to Darius when he invaded their country, symbolized under a Mouse, a Bird, a Frog, and Arrows. Herodot. Lib. IV. And Eustathius testifies the same of the later Scythians. Οἱ δὲ γε παλαιοὶ, ὅποῖον τε καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐπιπῶν, ζῴδια πνεύματα ἰερογλυφῶντες, καὶ λοιπὸς ὃ χαρκαλίητος εἰς σημασίαν ὧν λέγειν ἐβόλοντο· ἔτος καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οὗ καὶ ἦ ὕστερον Σκυθῶν ἐσημαῖον ἃ ἦδελον, εἰδωλά πνεύματα καὶ πολυειδῆ χραμμικὰ ἔξιστατα ἐγγράφοις, ἥτι ἐγγλύφοντες. Com. in Iliad. Z. p. 489. Τῶν ἀρχαίων φασὶ Θεσπικῶν μινδῆνα ὀπίσσω γεύματα· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνὶ μίζον Αἰσχιστον ἔῃ πάντες οἱ ἢ Εὐρώπῃ οἰκοῦντες βάρβαροι χρεῖσται ΓΡΑΜΜΑΣΙΝ. Ælian. Var. Hist. Lib. VIII. c. 6.

(3) The ancient Greeks thought the word *βάρβαρος* not of Greek original. v. Strabo Lib. XIV. and later Etymologists scarce know what to make of it. I prefer the derivation given by Ol. Rudbeck to all others, viz. From BOR BARN i. e. *Boreæ Filii*, or *Northern Men*. Vide Atlantic. Par. I. pag. 691.

much

much less deduce their science from them. They concealed their extraction as much as possible; and though they could not entirely suppress the history of the Gods, because their religion was built upon it, yet they disguised it, in imitation of the Egyptians: by subverting all the chronology, referring the most ancient facts to later, and different times, places, and persons; and thereby opening a field to endless fables.

Fabulous history begun in Bœotia.

This exotic depraved taste appears to have commenced with the Æra of Cadmus's coming into Europe; and amongst the Bœotians, always accounted the dullest people of Greece. For soon after the arrival of Cadmus, the Gods acquired (1) new births in Bœotia, Minerva at the river Triton, Mercury on mount Cerycius, Hercules and Bacchus at Thebes. Then too, for I think it can be traced no higher, began a new, and preposterous, genealogy of the *Great Gods*; many of whom, as Vulcan, Mars, Mercury, Apollo, Minerva and Diana, are said to be begotten by Jupiter, tho' they were only his contemporaries, I may say his guardians; and all appear to be older than himself. Then followed a long train of other Gods and Heroes, together with a mixture of monsters, and ideal beings, that could have no foundation in history; but whose genealogies we find faithfully recorded in the *Theogony* of the Bœotian bard. After all this, it is not difficult to understand, how (2) Bœotia came to abound with Oracles, more than any other country of Greece.

(1) Vide Pausan. in Bœotic.

(2) Τὰ ἴδι' ἄλλα ἢ δέη λέγειν "Ὅστι πῶς Γραιπίαν, ἔνεκα Χρησίου, πειρίσαντο ἔσται ἐν ταῖς πρῶταις γένεσι, νῦν ἐπιλέλοιπε κομιδῆ. Plutarch. de Orac. Defect.

The declension of the Titan language in Europe.

The Titan language yielded to time, and to the common revolutions incident to men and things; to improvement of arts, conquest, commerce, and the like. Whilst the two prevailing languages of Europe, first the Greek, and then the Roman, were making advances towards perfection, the Celtic gradually sunk of course. But we see that it kept its ground longest in the Western parts; where it might still have flourished in a greater degree, had it not been exposed to the continual irruptions from the North. The country between the Caspian and Euxine seas was a common thoroughfare for the Northern nations into Southern Asia: but when that became sufficiently peopled, the inhabitants of Media, Armenia, Asia Minor &c. were able in some measure to repel the later colonies. The mountains lying between the two seas, were a sort of natural fence, but not sufficient to restrain those fierce spirits, without some assistance from art. One easy, but narrow, passage, ran on the side of the Caspian shore; thro' which in the earliest times they seem to have taken their route. At a proper place were situated, what the ancients called the (1) Caspian Gates; fortified, as it is probable, by the ancient kings of Media or Hyrcania; and according to some late authors made (2) impregnable by Alexander the great. Another passage went through Mingrelia or Colchis, on

(1) CASPIÆ PORTÆ a Lazaris [qu. an Chazaris?] *pro Romanis defensione: in eo loco ubi posthæc Alexander Magnus portas constituens, Pyles Caspias nominavit; quod nunc Lazarorum gens custodit pro munitione Romanæ.* Jornandes de Rebus Geticis. c. 7.

(2) See M. Petis de la Croix Hist. of Genghizcan. Book IV. c. 9.

the Euxine side, by which the (1) Cimmerians passed, when they were expelled their country by other Scythians; who pursued them, but mistaking the road, entered by the Caspian gates into Media, the Cimmerians falling into Asia Minor. Modern travellers take notice of a (2) Wall built on the mountains between these two passes, intended no doubt to oppose all hostile incursions: and this necessarily turned the current of the Northern people more freely upon Europe. Where the wall terminated on the Euxine, I have not yet been able to learn, but guess that

(1) Herodotus. Lib. I. & IV.

(2) *Above Derbent appear the ruins of a wall, which reached from thence to the Negropont, or Euxine sea: which has been a work of incredible charge and labour. In some places the said wall appears very plain, and is about four feet thick.* Struys's Voyage. Book III. c. 20. p. 226. Olearius in his Travels of the Holstein Ambassadors, says the wall was Six feet in thickness, and Fifty Leagues in length. Book VII. p. 403. The Persian history, or rather romance, ascribes the building of this wall to Iscander, or Alexander the great. See Olearius Book VI. p. 335. But it seems to me to be a work prior to the time of Alexander: nor does it appear from the course of his victories, that he ever came near the Caspian Gates. Quintus Curtius and other authors, who seem to favour that opinion, by an unaccountable error, have mistaken either the Jaxartes or Oxus, eastern rivers beyond the Caspian sea, for the Tanais that falls into the Euxine. I must here remark, that this Grecian hero was to the eastern nations, what the Titans were to the Greeks, viz. The subject of their mythology: for their first and fabulous history, will I believe be found to begin with his exploits. The eastern writers, tho' they had lost all memory of the true authors of this work, have yet preserved the use for which it was intended, namely to obstruct the incursions of the northern people. It is called by them, *Agger a Bicorni (i. e. Alexandro) extructus inter nos & Jagog & Magog.* Geograph. Nubienfis. Clim. 6. c. 9. where the reader will be diverted with a ludicrous account of these enemies, the people of Jagog and Magog. In the year 1721 the learned Demetrius Cantemir prince of Moldavia, then in the service of the emperor Peter of Russia, attended by a party of twenty dragoons, went a days march from Derbent in quest of the ruins of this wall, and described some part of its course towards the Euxine; which was published by the learned Professor Bayer at Petersburg. Vid. Act. Petropol. Vol. I. p. 405.

it was carried on to Phafis in Colchis. Toward the Caspian, its ruins shew that it began from the town of Derbend; which town if ever called Alexandria from the great conqueror, as (1) some are of opinion, has long since regained its ancient northern (2) name, denoting the importance of the passage. That torrent of (3) nations, which from time to time came pouring down from mount Imaus, and the backside of the Caspian, to the Euxine, meeting with these obstructions, formed a conflux of innumerable languages about and between those two seas. And this may account for what (4) Strabo has related of the Alans, and (5) Pliny of King Mithridates, and of the commerce of Dioscurias in Colchis.

The Gothic language Most of these Pontic and Caspian
universal in Europe. languages were probably Dialects, some more, some less, remote from the mother tongue; but if any one of them deserved

(1) Olearius and the Eastern Writers: from whom later travellers have borrowed their accounts.

(2) DERBEND, or in English DOOR-BAND, translated is *Januæ Vinculum*, or the *Fastening of the Gates*. BENDER is only an inversion of the same syllables, an usual name for a town, that is the Key, or Inlet, into a country.

(3) *Hinc est quod variantur eorum Septentrionalium linguæ, quia scilicet scriptura & literis non restringuntur. Nam (dicente Moscovitarum ad Sinas Legato) inter Moscoviam & Chinam sunt saltem Quinquaginta Tatarorum gentes, diversis linguis utentes.* Hyde Rel. Vet. Perf. p. 522. Compare this with the testimony of Timonax. Pag. 6. Not. 1.

(4) Γλῶττιαι δ' αἰσὶ κἄ καὶ εἰκοσι αὐτίς [Alanis] ἀπὸ τὸ μὴ ἐπιμύπτειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους. Strabo. Lib. X. pag. 503.

(5) *Mithridates Viginti & Duorum gentium rex, totidem linguis jura dixit, pro concione singulas sine interprete affatus.* Plin. Hist. Lib. VII. c. 24. *Coraci urbe Colchicorum Dioscuriade, juxta fluvium Amethunta, nunc deserta: quondam adeo clara, ut Timotheus in eam Trecentas nationes dissimilibus linguis descendere prodiderit. Et postea a nostris Centum & Triginta interpretibus negotia ibi gesta.* Lib. V. c. 5. Vid. Strab. Lib. XI.

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this latter title, I think, it must be the Gothic. The word Goth is not to be found in authors till some time after the Christian Æra. (1) Some think that it began in Europe, and that the Goths at first came from Scandinavia, and sent out their colonies southward. (2) Others say that the Goths and Getes were the same people. And (3) some think the word Goth equivalent to Scyth, or Scythian. We have not time to dispute about the word; what comes more properly under our consideration, is the language commonly known by the name of Gothic: which might belong to many people of different denominations. This language certainly had its rise in Asiatic Scythia, and probably partook more of the northern idiom, as the Celtic had more of the eastern. That it can be no dialect of the Celtic, we are informed by (4) one, who was, or would be thought to be, intimately acquainted with both. As it made its way into Europe, and became universal there, it is to be considered as a mother tongue like the Celtic; being the parent of so many others, Teutonic, Francic, Saxon, Runic, with all their various tribes of descendants.

(1) Jornandes Episc. Raven. de Rebus Geticis. c. 8.

(2) Sheringham de Angl. Gentis Orig. Cap. IX.

(3) *Gothi cum Scythis una probantur origine sati, unde nec longe a vocabulo; demutata enim ac detraeta litera Getæ, quasi Scythæ sunt nuncupati.* Isidor. Hispal. Cronicon. *Hoc ipsum nomen Σωθης de quo nunc agimus, varie a Græcis enuntiatum est, & multas μεταμώσεις incurrit. Nam Σωθης, Γέτης, & Γοθίς idem est.* Salmat. de Hellen. p. 368.

(4) *Thus the Celtic and the Gothic, which have often been taken for each other, are as different as Latin and Arabic.* Toland's Hist. of Druids. pag. 7.

*Woden or Odin the
great Leader of
the Goths.*

Nothing certain is recorded of this language, till a few years before our Saviour's nativity. (1) Odin or Woden with his people came from the Asiatic side of the lake Mæotis; driven out, as it is thought, by the terror of the Roman arms, after the conquest of Mithridates by Pompey. He retired perhaps for the same reason to the northern parts of Europe, not subject to the Roman government, and settled in Scandinavia, and the coasts about the Baltic sea: from whence (2) some have called this migration of the Goths, only a return to their mother country. By the increase of new swarms they possessed themselves of the more Eastern parts of Europe; by degrees grew troublesome and formidable to the Roman state, and at last entirely overturned it. In carrying on their conquests, no doubt but they committed great devastations; for which they are loaded with infamy by some historians, and their name continues to be a term of reproach, for those who profess an enmity to arts and sciences. But the Goths were in truth the most (3) civilized of all the Northern nations of their time. Odin brought with him many useful arts; and amongst the

(1) *Unicam gentium Asiaticarum immigrationem, in orbem Arcticum factam nostræ Antiquitates commemorant; sed eam tamen non primam: verum circa annum tandem 24 ante natum Christum, Romanis exercitibus auspiciis Pompeii Magni in Asiæ parte, Phrygia Minore, grassantibus: illa enim epocha ad hanc rem nostri chronologi utuntur. — In cujus [Gylvi Sueciæ regis] tempora incidit Odinus Asiaticæ immigrationis, factæ Anno 24 ante natum Christum, antesignanus. Arngrim. Jonas Crymogæa. Lib. I. cap. 4. p. 30, 31.*

(2) *Sheringham De Angl. Gen. Orig. Cap. XII.*

(3) *Nec defuerunt qui eos sapientiam erudirent. Unde & pæne omnibus Barbaris Gothi sapientiores semper extiterunt, Græcisque pæne consimiles, ut refert Dio. Jornandes de Rebus Geticis.*

rest,

rest, that of (1) letters. His colony therefore was kindly received by the natives, and settled peaceably among them; till for want of room, they were obliged to extend their dominions by force of arms. Odin besides his great skill in war, wrought many astonishing feats by Magick; and a thousand fabulous stories are recorded of him. He was after death revered as the chief deity of the Goths: his inferiour captains were likewise deified under the name of *Afæ* or *Asiatics*, to distinguish them from the Europeans; and their (2) language, or at least their Poetry, was called *Afa-Mal*, or *Asiatic Speech*.

The Gothic Language in Europe, before the time of Odin.

Tho' this is the first notice we have of the Gothic language in history, yet there is reason to think it of much longer standing in Europe; if we may judge from its acknowledged (3) agreement with the ancient Greek. For this makes it probable, that it was the language spoken by the Getes and Thracians; perhaps brought in by the Cimmerians, and by Deucalion and his sons, who overran Greece. If we search higher into Asia, we find it spread very widely

(1) *Odino etiam & aliis, qui ex Asia huc devenere, tribuunt multi antiquitatum Islandicarum periti; unde & Odinus Runhofdi, seu Runarum [i. e. Literarum] auctor, vocatur.* Ol. Wormius Liter. Run. Cap. 20. Ed. Secund. Hafn. 1651.

(2) *Linguam Danicam antiquam cujus in rythmis usus fuit, veteres appellarunt Afamal, id est Asiaticam, vel Afarum Sermonem, quod eum ex Asia Odinus secum in Daniam, Norvegiam, Sueciam, aliasque regiones Septentrionales inrexerit.* De quo *Edda Lib. I.* Steph. Stephanus Præf. in Saxon. Grammat. Hist.

(3) Vide Meric. Casaubon. De Lingua Angl. Vet. Lond. 1650. Erici Benzeli, & Edv. Lye, Præf. ad Evang. Goth. Cl. Junii Glossar. Gothicum.

there too. (1) Those who are acquainted with the Persian language, discover a very striking agreement between that, and the Gothic. Some again find the same (2) affinity between the Greek and Persian, as others between the Greek and Gothic: whence it is reasonable to conclude, that all three came from the same root; perhaps from the Parthians, or some other Scythian nation, that once ruled in Southern Asia.

Agreement between the Tartarian and German Languages.

That curious traveller Busbequius had heard of a (3) people in Crim Tartary, who spoke the Gothic, or Teutonic, language; and (4) doubted whether they were not a nation of fugitives, driven from the north parts of Germany by Charles

(1) *Quod ad hoc ævi latuit plerosque eruditorum, ex eadem origine compererat [Elichmannus] fluxisse Germanicam & Persicam linguam, ad hanc illum conjecturam ducente infinita vocum copia utrique linguæ communium: sed & verbis similiter terminatis, eodem modo compositis, aliisque multis argumentis.* Salmaf. Præf. ad Cebetis Tab. Arab. Versam.

(2) *Sed & flexio verborum, & alia tam multa similia sunt utraque lingua ut videri queant ab eadem origine utraque fluxisse.* Salmaf. de Hellenist. p. 398. *Nec in nominibus porro numeralibus, quod parum esset, ea affinitas trium linguarum Græcæ, Persicæ, & Germanicæ, cernitur, sed in vocabulis infinitis.* Idem pag. 395.

(3) *Non possum hoc loco præterire, quæ de gente accepi, quæ etiamnum incolit Tauricam Chersonesum, quam sæpe audiveram sermone, moribus, ore denique ipso, & corporis habitu, originem Germanicam referre.* Busbequ. Epist. IV.

(4) *Ili Gothi an Saxones sint, non possum adjudicare. Si Saxones, arbitror eo deductos tempore Caroli Magni qui eam gentem per varias orbis terrarum regiones dissipavit.* Id. ibid. He adds, *Cui rei testimonio sunt urbes Transilvaniæ, hodieque Saxonibus incolis habitatæ. Atque ex iis ferocissimos fortasse longius etiam summoveri placuit in Tauricam usque Chersonesum; ubi quidem inter hostes religionem adhuc retinent Christianam.* But this is rather a proof that they were not Saxons. The people whom Charles drove out were Pagans; and he only fought for their conversion: for so many as would receive Christian Baptism, as Witichind did, were permitted to stay in their own country. Vid. Krantzius Saxoniam.

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the Great. But those Cimbrians, or northern Germans, seem to have taken a different course by sea; and to have infested the western parts of Europe, where they became known to our historians by the name of Pagans, Pirates, Danes or Normans; nor was their language much different from our Saxon. Busbequius's Tartars I take to be the true remains of the Goths, or perhaps of the old Cimmericians; as Precopentian Tartary was the first country in Europe, where the Cimmericians settled.

Tartarian words agreeing with the English, Saxon, or Gothic.

An English reader may perhaps may be desirous of knowing the mother country, from whence his own language came so many hundred years ago. I shall therefore not think it too much trouble, to transcribe a list of Tartarian words of the most common use, correspondent to the Teutonic or German, in order as they stand in Busbequius's Fourth letter. He took them from the mouth of a Tartar Envoy, who came with a complaint to the Porte, whilst he was there in quality of embassadour from the emperor Ferdinand of Germany. Busbequius premises, that the Tartar always (1) prefixed the article *Tho*, or *The*, to his words.

Broe	<i>Panis</i>	Bread	Sax. Bpæob.
Plut	<i>Sanguis</i>	Bloud	Sax. Blob. Goth. 𐍃𐌺𐌹𐍆.
Stul	<i>Sedes</i>	Stool	Sax. Stole. Goth. ST𐌺𐌻𐌸.
Hus	<i>Domus</i>	House	Sax. Hup. Goth. hns.
Wingart	<i>Vitis</i>	Vineyard	Sax. Vungapð. Goth. 𐍄𐌺𐌺𐌹𐌸𐌹𐌸𐌹𐌸. i. e. <i>Vinea</i> .

(1) *Omnibus vero dictionibus proponebat articulum Tho aut The nostratia, aut parum differentia.. Ibid.*

Reghen	<i>Pluvia</i>	Rain	<i>Sax.</i> Hwægn, <i>Ren. Goth.</i> RIGN.
Brudor	<i>Frater</i>	Brother	<i>Sax.</i> Broðer. <i>Goth.</i> BRƆFR.
Schwester	<i>Soror</i>	Sister	<i>Sax.</i> Swurter. <i>Goth.</i> SWISTAR.
Alt	<i>Senex</i>	Old	<i>Sax.</i> Ealb. <i>Goth.</i> AƆA. <i>i. e.</i> <i>Ætas.</i>
Wintch	<i>Ventus</i>	Wind	<i>Sax.</i> Finð. <i>Goth.</i> FINÐS.
Silvir	<i>Argentum</i>	Silver	<i>Sax.</i> Seolfer. <i>Goth.</i> SILFR.
Goltz	<i>Aurum</i>	Gold	<i>Sax.</i> Gold.
Kor	<i>Triticum</i>	Corn	<i>Sax.</i> Eorn. <i>Goth.</i> KƆN. <i>unde Co-</i> <i>ranum vel Granum.</i>
Salt	<i>Sal</i>	Salt	<i>Sax.</i> Sealt. <i>Goth.</i> SƆLT.
Fisct	<i>Piscis</i>	Fish	<i>Sax.</i> Fisc. <i>Goth.</i> FISK.
Hoef	<i>Caput</i>	Head	<i>Sax.</i> Heofod, Hwefð. <i>Vox Cædmon.</i>
Thurn	<i>Porta</i>	Door	<i>Sax.</i> Dur. <i>Goth.</i> DƆN.
Stern	<i>Stella</i>	Star	<i>Sax.</i> Steorpa. <i>Goth.</i> STƆRN.
Sune	<i>Sol</i>	Sun	<i>Sax.</i> Sunna. <i>Goth.</i> SUNN.
Mine	<i>Luna</i>	Moon	<i>Sax.</i> Mona. <i>Goth.</i> MEN.
Tag	<i>Dies</i>	Day	<i>Sax.</i> Daga. <i>Goth.</i> DƆG.
Oeghene	<i>Oculi</i>	Eyes <i>Scot.</i> Een	<i>Sax.</i> Eagen. <i>Goth.</i> ANƆEN.
Bars f. Barts	<i>Barba</i>	Beard	
Handa	<i>Manus</i>	Hand	<i>Sax.</i> Hond, Hanb. <i>Goth.</i> HƆNDS.
Boga	<i>Arcus</i>	Bow	<i>Sax.</i> Boga.
Miera	<i>Formica</i>	Worm, ant	
Rinck, vel Ringo	<i>Annulus</i>	Ring	<i>Sax.</i> Ring.
Brunna	<i>Fons</i>	Bourne	<i>Sax.</i> Byrna. <i>Goth.</i> BRUNN.
Waghen	<i>Currus</i>	Waggon or Wain.	
Apel	<i>Pomum</i>	Apple.	
Schieten	<i>Mittere Sa-</i> <i>gittam</i>	Shoot	<i>Sax.</i> Scytan.
Schlipen	<i>Dormire</i>	Sleep	<i>Sax.</i> Slapan. <i>Goth.</i> ZƆEPAN.
Kommen	<i>Venire</i>	Come	<i>Sax.</i> Eornan. <i>Goth.</i> CIMAN.
Singhen	<i>Canere</i>	Sing	<i>Sax.</i> Singan.
Lachen	<i>Ridere</i>	Laugh	<i>Sax.</i> Lihan. <i>Goth.</i> HƆLHƆAN.

Criten	<i>Flere</i>	Cry.	
Geen	<i>Ire</i>	Go, Gee	<i>Sax.</i> Gangan. <i>Goth.</i> ΓΑΓΓΑΝ.
Breen	<i>Affare</i>	Burn	<i>Sax.</i> Brennan. <i>Goth.</i> BRINNA. <i>i. e.</i> Febriſ.
Schuualth	<i>Mors</i>	Sultry or Deadly	<i>Sax.</i> Speltan. <i>i. e.</i> Mori.

Alia cum Teutonicis non satis congruentia.

Knauen Tag	<i>Bonus dies.</i> Day.	
Iel -- Vita	<i>five Sanitas</i>	Health.	
Iieltſch	<i>Vivus, Sanus</i>	Healthy or Well.	
Jel uburt	<i>Sit sanum</i>	Well be it.	
Marzus	<i>Nuptiæ</i>	Marriage.	
Schuos	<i>Sponsa</i>	Spouſe.	
Baar	<i>Puer</i>	Barit or Child.	<i>Sax.</i> Beapn. <i>Goth.</i> BARN. <i>i. e.</i> Infans.
Menus	<i>Caro.</i>		
Rintſch	<i>Mons</i>	hidge	<i>Sax.</i> Rige. <i>i. e.</i> Dorſum.
Fers	<i>Vir</i>		<i>Sax.</i> Ver. <i>Goth.</i> VAR. NB. It is ſtill preſerved as a termination, an- ſwering to the Roman Or; as in Lawyer or Latwyer, Saw- yer, Botwyer, Builder, &c. <i>Vid.</i> Mareſchall. <i>Obſ.</i> in <i>Verſ.</i> <i>Angl.</i> <i>Sax.</i> p. 548.
Statz	<i>Terra</i>		<i>Sax.</i> Staþe Ripa, Land.
Ada	<i>Ovum</i>	Egg	<i>Sax.</i> Æg.
Ano	<i>Gallina</i>	Hen	<i>Sax.</i> Hana. <i>Goth.</i> HANA. <i>i. e.</i> Gallus.
Telich	<i>Stultus</i>	Silly.	
Stap	<i>Capra</i>	Tup or Ham.	
Gadeltha	<i>Pulchrum</i>	Goodly	<i>Goth.</i> ΓΑΤΙΑΣ. <i>i. e.</i> Bonus, Opportunus.
Atochta	<i>Malum</i>		
Wichtgata	<i>Album</i>	White.	
Myca	<i>Enſis</i>		<i>Sax.</i> Meca. <i>i. e.</i> Gladius.
Liſta	<i>Parvum</i>	Little	<i>Sax.</i> Lytel. <i>Goth.</i> ΛΕΙΤΕΛ.
Schediit	<i>Lux</i>	Shine.	
Borrotſch	<i>Voluntas</i>		

Cadariou Miles.

Goth. ΓΛΑΚΛΗΤΕΙΣ *Milites.*Kilemfchop. *Ebibe Calicem Cup.*Tzo Warthata *Tu Fecisti* Thou Workedst.Jes Warthata *Ille Fecit* He Wrought.Ich Malthata *Ego Dico**Sax. Ic Mælle.**Voces Numerales.*

Itt	<i>Unus</i>	Whit, Fot, Tit, or Tittle.
Tua	<i>Duo</i>	Twa, Two.
Tria	<i>Tres</i>	Three.
Fyder	<i>Quatuor</i>	Fower.
Fiuf	<i>Quinque</i>	Five.
Seis	<i>Sex</i>	Six or Siz.
Sevenc	<i>Septem</i>	Seven.
Athe	<i>Octo</i>	Eight.
Nyne	<i>Novem</i>	Pinc.
Thunc	<i>Decem</i>	Ten.

The Codex Argenteus,
the Standard of Gothic Language.

What we now call the standard of Gothic language, is that venerable monument *The Translation of the Gospels.* The MS. which is still preserved, is called (1) CODEX ARGENTEUS, from being wrote in Silver capital letters, with a mixture of Gold. (2) Ulphilas Bishop of the Goths in Mœsia invented the Gothic letters, and translated all the scriptures into that language; so that we cannot presume to think the translation older than his time, or the middle of the Fourth

(1) It is now in the Library of Upsal in Sweden. See Celsius's *Bibl. Upsal Historica.* Upsal. 1745. Pag. 86, 116. See a Specimen of the writing in Serenius's *Dictionarium Anglo-Suethico-Latinum.* Hamb. 1734. Eric. Benz. Pref. pag. 10.

(2) Οὐλφίλας ὁ ἑβόθων ἐπίσκοπος ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ ἐφύσσε Γόθικη· καὶ τὰς Θείας Γραφὰς εἰς τὴν Γόθων μιλῶσαν, τὰς βαρβάρους μαρτυρεῖν τὰ θεῖα λόγια παρεσκεύασεν. *Socrat. Eccl. Hist. Lib. IV. c. 33.*

Century. And without any violence offered to antiquity, I think, the MS. itself may be of that age; tho' (1) others bring it down a century lower. The language of this book has been called in question by late writers, tho' perhaps without any reason. (2) Junius, who first published it, and was certainly a good judge, thought it the Gothic language of Ulphilas's time; but (3) others Teutonic or Longobardic: because there are some modes of speech in it, that are likewise to be met with in the High Dutch or German, but are not to be found in the ancient Scano-Gothic, or Runic; which they reckon the purest, as being more immediately derived from Odin. And yet we do not learn, that the Teutones or Lombards used different characters from other nations, as we have it recorded of the Goths; and therefore I think this Translation ought to pass for Gothic, or the Teutones and Lombards spoke and wrote in the Gothic language and character, which amounts to the same thing. And moreover, we are informed by (4) those who have made it their business to enquire, that these letters are used, and this language is still spoken, in Walachia. But the reader will see the question more fully discussed by the late (5) Archbishop of Upsal, and his learned editor. After all the reasonings and con-

(1) Olav. Celsius Bibl. Upsal. Hist. pag. 118.

(2) *Quatuor Evangelia Gothica & Anglo-Saxonica.* Dordraci 1665. 4to.

(3) *Existimare cæpi, aut Ulphilam ejusque populum, a Græcis Gotbos dictos, re-ipsa Teutones fuisse, aut quod magis credo, Teutonem aliquem Argentei Codicis esse auctorem.* Hickes Præf. ad D. Joh. Packinton. Vide etiam Guil. Wotton Conspectum Thef. Hickes. Lond. 1708. in Notis Pag. 3 & 4.

(4) Ol. Rudbeck. *Atlantica* Par. 3. pag. 210.

(5) Eric. Benzeliæ Præf. ad *Evang. Goth.* Oxon. 1749. 4to. & Edvardi Lye Edit. Præf.

jectures upon the point, it (1) appears to be the language and character used by those conquerors, who were in possession of Italy in the fifth or sixth century; whether Goths or Lombards let others determine. The Gothic language, after reigning in most of the provinces of Europe, died away by degrees, being melted down into many dialects; and at last made room for the Slavonian, which at present occupies near the better half of Europe.

The Origin of Letters. As our conceptions owe their preservation to speech and language, so language is preserved by writing. The use of letters has been so common for some thousands of years that few men now search into their original, and (2) some have vainly thought them coeval with language itself. Whoever has thoroughly considered the nature of an Alphabet, will, I believe, allow that it far exceeds all other human inventions. Men of very great abilities have attempted to give us the natural and rational grounds of its beginning; but their different schemes are sufficient to satisfy me, that it requires more than the talents of them all put together, to give us such as shall be free from exceptions; and therefore I take it to be a thing as inscrutable, as its author. If it has not been ordained by some

(1) A specimen of the same language and character was, not many years since, brought to light from the Manuscript papers of Seignior Donius; who about the beginning of the last century copied many pieces of old writing, which he found in Rome, and other parts of Italy. It is an instrument of bargain and sale of some lands, between two Ecclesiastics; and is published by Seignior Gori among Donius's Inscriptions at Florence. 1731. See Pag. 497. and Preface pag. xxv. The original was found at Arezzo, not far from Ravenna, the capital of the Gothic Emperour Theoderic.

(2) *Ex quo apparet aternus literarum usus.* Plin. Lib. VII. c. 56.

secret decree of providence, we ought to lament, that the first divulger of the most wonderful art, that was ever yet found out to enlarge the mind of man, should be so little known at present: especially since the invention does not seem to be of the very remotest antiquity. If in order to trace it out, we go back to nature in its primitive simplicity, as it is to be found among the wild (1) Indians: it there appears that men, as rational creatures, have not only sounds and speech, but a way of communicating their thoughts at a distance by artificial signs, or pictures. This then is the first sort of writing; an art that arose from the innate faculty of (2) imitation peculiar to man; and might be capable of many improvements. But how it could enter into the human understanding, to cloath sounds in a few visible forms, which yet, by their different arrangements, are sufficient to express distinctly all words in all languages, is I must own above my comprehension. No two things can be more widely distant than these two arts: and therefore in our enquiries of this kind we ought never to lose sight of the distinction, between writing in general, and alphabetical writing.

*Moses and Cadmus
the first divulgers
of an Alphabet.*

I believe it is agreed on all hands, that alphabetical letters were known in the time of Moses; nor can I think that they are more ancient; nor that any other man has a better title to the inven-

(1) See Baron Lahontan's Travels. Vol. 2. p. 88. Colden's History of the Five Nations. p. 8. Purchas's Mexican Hieroglyphics. &c.

(2) Το δὲ γὰρ Μιμήσις, σύμφωνα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐν παιδίῳ ὅτι, καὶ πῶτα ἀφερέσθαι τὴν ἄλλων ζώων, ὅτι μιμητικώτατον ὅτι, καὶ τὰς μαθήσεις ποιεῖται ἀπὸ μιμήσεως τὰς πράξεις καὶ δεξιότης. Aristot. Poetic. c. 4.

tion. This perhaps would appear more clearly, if we knew a little more of the history of Cadmus, who lived not long after him, and first brought letters into Europe: for till then, we find no mention of an alphabet, that can be depended upon for truth. Cadmus's errand of seeking his sister Europa, was only a (1) fable that took its rise from his coming into Europe. He seems to be a person, who for reasons unknown withdrew from the government under which he lived, in order to seek adventures; and, with a body of followers of desperate fortunes, to set up for himself, and to form a state in a foreign country. For this purpose he was not unqualified; as having his religion to choose, and being master of a new method of discipline. He and his company probably arrived at the Ægean isles in Phenician ships, and part of his crew might be Phenicians; this was enough to persuade people that he was a Phenician himself, nor was it his business to undeceive them. But whether he was Son to the king of Tyre, or only (2) Cook to the king of Sidon, deserves no enquiry; for both accounts seem equally fabulous.

(1) Στυλιώνου ἢ Κάδμου ἐκ', ὡς Ἕλληες φασί, κατὰ ζήτησιν Εὐρώπης, ἢν παῖδα Φοίνικος ἔσθ' ἠεπαίσε Ζεὺς ἐν γήματι πύρρι· ἀλλ' ἀρχῶν μὲ ἰδίαν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ μηχανέμενον πλάττεις, ἀδελφὸς ἠεπαμένους πειεύσας ζήτησιν· ἐξ ἧς καὶ ὁ τ' Εὐρώπης μῦθος ἦκεν εἰς Ἕλληας. Conon. Narrat. XXXVII.

(2) This particular we learn from Athenæus, as likewise that Harmonia was the King's Minstrel, and that Cadmus ran away with her. Εὐήμερος ὁ Κῶος ἐν τῷ Τείτω τ' Ἰεῶς Αναξαφῆος τῶν Ἰσορεί, ὡς Σιδωνίων λεγόντων τῶτο· ὅτι Κάδμος Μάγειρος ὢν τ' βασιλέως, καὶ παρέλαβον τ' Αἰγυπίαν, αὐλητρίδα καὶ αὐτῷ ἔσαν τ' βασιλέως, ἔφυγε σὺν αὐτῇ. Athen. Deipnos. Lib. 14. c. 22.

Cadmus probably a Jew.

I find nothing in his history to convince me, that he was either a (1) Canaanite, Phenician, or Egyptian; for so many and different are the conjectures about him: but have often wondered that historians have never thought him an Hebrew, which seems to be his true appellation. Danaus and Cadmus are expressly called (2) “Leaders of those exiles, who, upon the general expulsion of strangers, left Egypt, and came into Greece; the greater part falling into the country now called Judæa.” Diodorus, in the lost book of which this is a fragment, professed to speak of the affairs of the Jews; a people but little known to heathen writers, whose accounts of them are accordingly very defective, and sometimes false; and are to be supplied and corrected by the Jewish history. Diodorus supposed the exiles to be a mixture of strangers of different countries; but the Jewish history explicitly mentions no other people, as going from Egypt, besides the Hebrews. Therefore I think nothing more probable, than that Danaus and Cadmus were some of those *Murmurers in the wilderness*, (3) *Captains chosen by the people*, and literally *fell back* from Moses, or Joshua.

The Mixt Multitude from Egypt.

Mention is indeed made of a (4) *Mixt Multitude that went up with them, with flocks and herds and very*

(1) See Bp Stillingfleet. Orig. Sacr. Lib. I. c. 1.

(2) Ἐὐδῶς ἐν ἐπιφανέσασιν καὶ δρασιώτατοι συστροφόντες ἐξεστρίφισαν, ὡς πῖες φασιν, εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ πῖνας ἑτέρας τόποις, ἔχοντες ἀξιολόγους ἠγεμῶνας, ὧν ἦσαντο Δαναὸς καὶ Κάδμος ἄλλων ὀπιφανέσασιν· ὁ δὲ πολλὸς λαὸς ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τὴν νῦν καλεωμένην Ἰουδαίαν. Diodor. Excerpt. apud Photium Lib. XL.

(3) Numbers XIV. v. 4.

(4) Exodus XII. v. 38.

much cattle; and I find the Jewish Rabbies make these a distinct people from the Israelites. But they seem to me to be only their servants or slaves, distinguished from the fighting men, mustered just before at Six hundred Thousand; attendants upon the camp, baggage, and cattle; the *Lixi*, or *Calones*; for without such a company an army is scarce ever known to march. These might be a mixture of Egyptians, or other people, and probably hired for the service. We find that they were the (1) first who began to murmur; possibly because in their distresses they fared harder than the rest of the army. Mutinies broke out at several times, and even (2) after the death of Moses. Therefore whether Danaus and Cadmus were at the head of the mixt multitude; or were rather Hebrew murmurers, as seems most likely to me; in a case so obscure every man must be left to his own judgment. Cadmus was certainly a person of abilities, and of great consideration among the exiles; and from the (3) name of his capital city, and the model of his new State, in Bœotia, we may, not without reason, take him to have been some bold rival of Moses or Joshua.

Letters came from Moses, or from the Phenicians. We live in an age and country, where a Christian is in danger of reprehension, who should affirm that Letters were discovered by a God or by some divine man, though a (4) heathen might openly

(1) Numbers XI. v. 4.

(2) Joshua IX. v. 18.

(3) *Cadmus urbem suam Ebræo nomine appellavit Thebas, nempe הבה quod Navem significat; a navicula qua trajecerat.* Selden. De Diis Syr. Prol. c. 2.

(4) *Ἐπιθεὶν φωνῶν ἀπειρὸν γαργυλῶσεν ἕτερος Θεὸς, ἕτερος ἂν Θεὸς Ἀρξέροπος γλ.* Plato Vol. 2. pag. 18. Ed. Serran. *Quid illa vis, quæ tandem est, quæ investigat occulta?*

profess such an opinion. I hold myself therefore excused from declaring, That the first alphabet was marked out by the finger of God; or that even Moses was the author of it. Let it be left to the judgment of the reader, whether he received it from the Phenicians, or they from him; for, from what appears at present, it must come from the one or the other. We are ready enough to give the testimony of an heathen author its due weight, when brought in competition with the Scriptures; and if we deal impartially, cannot refuse it in this case. (1) Eupolemus asserts in express terms that “Moses first delivered “letters to the Jews, from whom the Phenicians received “them, as the Greeks from the Phenicians.” This assertion too is confirmed by (2) Diodorus; who says “The Syrians were the inventors of letters, from whom the Phenicians learnt them, and conveyed them to the Greeks.” When we compare this passage of Diodorus, with the testimony of Eupolemus an older author, there can be no doubt, that Diodorus by *Syrians* here meant the *Jews*, Judea being a province of Syria. Thus (3) Herodotus speaking of the great battle of Magdulus, or Megiddo,

ta? — aut qui sonos vocis, qui infiniti videbantur, paucis literarum notis terminavit? — Philosophia vero omnium mater artium, quid est aliud, nisi, ut Plato ait, Donum, ut ego Inventum Deorum? Ciceron. Tusc. Quæst. Lib. I.

(1) Εὐπόλεμος δὲ τὸ Μωσῆν φησὶ πρῶτον σφῆν ἡμέτερον καὶ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ ἀπαδούει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις πρῶτον, περὶ δὲ Ἰουδαίων Φοίνικας ἀπελαλέειν, Ἕλληνας δὲ ἀπὸ Φοινίκων. Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. IX. c. 26. Clement. Alex. Strom. Lib. I. p. 343. Eupolemus, Demetrius Phalereus, and the elder Philo, are mentioned with respect by Josephus, as having written with more accuracy of the Jewish affairs, than any other heathen authors. Joseph. Lib. I. c. Apion.

(2) Σύρισι μὲν εὐρετὰ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΩΝ εἶσι, περὶ δὲ τούτων Φοίνικες μάθοντες τοῖς Ἕλλησι ἀπαδεδώκασι. Diodor. Lib. V.

(3) Καὶ Σύρισι περὶ ὁ Νικῶς συλλαβὴν ἐν Μαγδούλω ἐνίκησε. Herod. Lib. II. §. 159.

wherein.

wherein king Jofiah was flain, fays, that “Pharaoh Ne-
 “cho obtained this victory over the Syrians.” Diodorus
 often mentions thefe firft, or Syrian, letters, as ufed by
 Semiramis, Darius Hyftafpis, the Arabians after the time
 of Alexander, and as being different from the Greek; tho’
 the latter were certainly derived from them.

*The Arabians not
 the Inventers of
 letters.* We affirm then upon the authority
 of heathen authors, that “Mofes firft
 “gave letters to the Jews;” and no
 authority can be produced, to fhew
 that any nation ufed them before. (1) Plato has amused
 his readers with a conference between Thamus king of
 Egypt and his minifter Thoth, upon the fubject of let-
 ters; and would perfwade us that the diftinction of Mutes
 and Liquids was known at that time: but that this is all
 fabulous, will appear prefently. The only fpecious argu-
 ment for the antiquity of letters before Mofes, is taken
 from the book of (2) Job; where we are told of *Words*
written or engraved with a pen. Job as appears from the
 hiftory was an Idumean, or Arabian; and, no mention of
 the Jewish law being found in the book, is fuppofed to
 be an old patriarch, who lived before Mofes: this prevail-
 ed with (3) Sir Ifaac Newton fo far as to make him think,
 that Mofes learnt the alphabet from the Midianites, who
 were Arabians. But it fhould be confidered that the book
 of Job is poetical and dramatical; and that it is in the
 power of poets to draw characters, that fhall fuit with the

(1) See his Phædrus and Philebus.

(2) Cap. XIX. v. 23, 24.

(3) See Chronology of Egypt. Pag. 205. 8vo.

patriarchal times, tho' the authors themselves lived long after. The age of the book, of which I pretend not to be a judge, is much controverted among the learned: some make Solomon the author, others bring it down to the times of the captivity. However granting that it is of the highest antiquity; nothing more, I think, can be inferred from the passage, than that the Arabs had at that time the art of publishing their thoughts by writing or engraving; which might be done other ways than by alphabetical letters. Of all nations, the Arabians seem to be one of the last that were acquainted with letters. Their most ancient characters are called the *Cufic*, and thought to be but little older than the Saracen empire. They are still to be found in some few books, and on the Silver coins of the first Caliphs an alphabet consisting of Twenty Two letters, in name and order answering to the Syriac, and seemingly derived from it. This similitude, between the Cufic and Syriac, may possibly raise a doubt, whether of the two is the older: and those, who are swayed by Sir Isaac Newton's opinion, may be sanguine enough to pronounce in favour of the Cufic, that "These are the letters meant in the book of Job." But what, I think, invalidates all pretences of this kind: (1) The Arabian

(1) For this information I am obliged to my learned friend the Reverend Mr George Costard, who was pleased to translate for my use, the following passage from an Arabic author of good note. *The first person who wrote Arabic was Ishmael . . . but the Truth as it is agreed upon among the Men of Learning is, that it was Morâmer Ebn Morrah the Anbarite; and it is said that from the Sons of Morrah and the Anbarites, writing (Arabic) spread amongst other people. Al-Asmabi says, they tell you that the Koreish were asked from whom did you learn writing and that they answered from Hirab. That the people of Hirab were asked from whom did you learn writing and they said from the Anbarites. Ebn Al-Habli and Al-Heisham Ebn Admi relate that the person who brought this way of writing*

writers themselves acknowledge the novelty of their alphabet.

from *Hirab* into *Al-Hegaz* was *Harb* the Son of *Omyab* the Son of *Abdol' Shems* the Son of *Abd Menáf* the *Koreishite* of the Family of *Omyab*; that he went into *Al-Hirab* and returned to *Meccah* with this way of writing. Both these writers likewise say that *Abi Sofian* the Son of *Harb* was asked from whom did your Father receive this form of writing and that he said from *Abblam Ebn Sidrab*, and that *Abblam* being asked from whom did you receive writing, his Answer was from the Person that invented it *Morâmer Ebn Morrah*; and that they received this form of writing but little before *Islamism*. *Ebn Chalican* in his *Life of Abul' Hofen Ali Ebn Helâl* called *Ebn Al Bowâb*. NB. *Abi Sofian* was *Mahomets* great Opposer when he set up for a Prophet. Dr *Pococke* has given us the substance of this passage, but has added a caution at the end. *Hæc autem quæ diximus, potius de Koraischitis, aliisque Arabum Islaemitarum tribubus, quam de Hamyarensibus intelligendum; in confesso enim est fuisse illis jam antea notam scribendi artem.* *Specimen Hist. Arabum Oxon. 1648. pag. 154.* The *Hamyarites* were an ancient kingdom in *Arabia Felix*, that flourished in the times of *Ignorance*, according to the distinction of their writers. *Status Arabum Ignorantiæ temporibus robore & potentia celebris est. Fuitque regnum ipsorum penes tribus Kahtan, & præcipua regum familia apud Hamyarenfes, e quibus fuerunt Reges, Domini, Tyranni, & Tobbai.* *Specimen Hist. Arab. pag. 2.* The *Hamyarite* way of writing was different from that of the *Mahometans*: *Characteres eorum ab illis quibus utuntur Arabes multum diversi, quod genus scripturæ Al Mofnad vocabant, literis inter se implexis minimeque distinctis, quas tamen vulgo discere non permittebant, nec cuiquam, nisi post impetratam ab ipsis veniam, iisdem utendi facultatem.* *Idem pag. 155.* Till a specimen of this occult writing can be produced, I humbly conceive from the description of it, that it may remain a doubt whether *Al Mofnad* was not a sort of hieroglyphic: or if it consisted of alphabetical letters, how long the *Arabians* used it before the *Cufic*. What credit the whole history of the *Hamyarite* dynasty may deserve, I leave to be determined by the reader, after he has perused the following passage. *Ultimum hunc (Dul Jadan) statuit Abul Feda Regum Hamyarensum, quorum imperium, juxta ipsum, duravit annos 2020, at secundum Al Fannabium & Abmedem, ultra 3000. "Quot annos singuli regnarunt non designavimus, inquit, quod omnino incertum sit, quod iis vulgo attribuitur spatium. Unde est quod dixerit Author Æ-*
"rarum i. e. Historiæ Gentium, non esse inter omnes historias minus sana, quam
"historia regum Hamyarensum; cum pro tot annorum spatium tam paucos reges nu-
"merent. Sex enim & viginti reges numerant, quorum regnum 2020 annorum spa-
"tium complet." Idem pag. 62. If we admit *Sir Isaac Newton's* method of computation, by twenty years to a reign, the beginning of the *Hamyarite* dynasty scarce reached so high as the *Christian æra*.

There

The Greeks had letters before the Canaanites and Phenicians.

There are different opinions about the time of Moses, and no less disagreement among authors about the age of Cadmus; but upon the general view of the history of their times, I think there could not be many years distance between them. Cadmus was certainly later than the other; and the time of his coming into Europe, according to Diodorus, could not be long after the (1) Exodus: and therefore I take the alphabet of Cadmus to be one, and the same, with that of Moses. The Jews, as they were unmixed with other nations, in all probability kept the secret of letters to themselves for a considerable number of years. *Moses* (2) *Wrote the law and delivered it to the priests*; so that letters seem at first to have been locked up in the book of the Law, and therefore not to be communicated to the

(1) To give my readers the best information I am able, about the time of this great event, the transmigration of letters into Europe; I will here fix the time of the Exodus, according to the judgment of a late worthy friend, whose accurate skill in chronology is well known to the learned. The Sum of his argument stands thus.

The Sothic, or Canicular, period of the Egyptians, beginning July 20th, contained Egyptian years	—	1461.
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A New Canicular period commenced July 20th, in the Consulship of Antoninus P. and Bruttius Præfens, in the year after Christ	—	139.
<i>(Vid. Censorin. de Die Natali. c. 21.)</i>		—

Therefore the Old Canicular period began in the year before Christ 1322.

Moses came out of Egypt 345 years before this period began	—	345.
<i>(Vid. Clem. Alexand. Strom. Lib. I. pag. 335.)</i>		—

Therefore the Exodus happened in the year before Christ — 1667.

See Mr Maffon's *Sacred Chronology of the Pentateuch*: printed at the end of Mr Parker's *Bibliotheca Biblica*. 4to. Oxon. 1727.

(2) Deuteron. Cap. XXXI. v. 9.

heathen. It was probably some time, before they were used by the Jews themselves in transacting their secular affairs; and therefore could not be easily known to their enemies, unless by some extraordinary accidents. For this reason I cannot believe that the Canaanites, and Phenicians knew letters near so early, as some authors have imagined, nor indeed till long after the Greeks; nor that Cadmus was a Canaanite, or Phenician.

The Samaritan the primitive Alphabet of Moses and Cadmus.

The learned of late have wished, and (1) proposed methods, to discover the first alphabet of Moses; which I think may be done without much difficulty. For if we compare the oldest alphabet of Judea, with the oldest alphabet of Greece, and find that they agree in the main; we may be said in effect to have found the primitive alphabet, both of Moses and Cadmus. Allowance must be made for time and improvement, when the agreement between speech and letters came to be more nicely examined. The first alphabet probably consisted of a few letters; till the number increased, from perhaps Sixteen to Twenty Four, and in some countries to Twenty Eight, Thirty, Forty, and more. The alphabet was never a matter of legal institution, and therefore liable to alterations in every age and country. It was adopted by common consent of nations, as a thing of universal benefit; and then left to the discretion, or caprice, of scribes, who formed the letters in various attitudes, erect, inclining, supine, or reversed;

(1) See *A Journey from Grand Cairo to Mount Sinai, and back again: By the Prefetto of Egypt. With remarks on Hieroglyphics and the Heathen Mythology.* By Robert Lord Bishop of Clogher. 1753.

but

but still preserved the essential ducts. The oldest letters, now to be found on monuments, are the Greek written from the left hand; unless it may be thought that some of the Etruscan inscriptions, which begin from the right, may be of equal, if not superiour, antiquity. The Etruscan letters are for the most part the Greek inverted, and therefore probably the older alphabet of the two. For the constant practice of those nations, who were first acquainted with letters, has been always to write from the right hand: and the Greeks themselves at first wrote in that way, as we shall shew in a proper place. The Jewish letters do not appear on monuments, till that nation coined (1) money in the time of the Maccabees: and these are the letters preserved by the Samaritans after the captivity. They likewise (2) agree very well with the Etruscan, and therefore have the best claim to be called the oldest alphabet. The Samaritan characters on the coins are a little different from those which we find in manuscripts; and in the same manner, the letters on the older coins and marbles of the Greeks are more rude than those which were used in the time of Alexander the great: but this is no more than might be expected from improvement. The Syrians likewise afterwards gave a more beautiful turn to the forms of the letters, but in a manner different from the Greeks. By the primitive traces the (3) learned find the Assyrian, Chaldee, or common Hebrew characters derived from the Samaritan; and I take the Syriac to be de-

(1) Vide Hadr. Reland de Num. Vet. Hebr. Traject. 1709.

(2) Vide Chishull *NATURÆ ATQUE ORBIS ALPHABETUM.* Antiq. Afiat. pag. 24.

(3) V. Ern. Loeffcher *De Causis Linguæ Hebrææ.* Franc. 1706.

rived from the Chaldee: and that these are three different gradations of the Jewish alphabet. The coins of the (1) Syrian kings, struck near two thousand years ago, have inscriptions both in Greek, and in the letters of the country; and these last are very unlike the modern Syriac, but approach near to the Samaritan; which therefore seems to have been at that time the vulgar character of the whole Syrian empire. These letters being found on stones and coins of the maritime cities of Syria, has given occasion to call them Phenician: which is only a tacit confession, that they are the oldest alphabet, or the letters mentioned by Eupolemus and Diodorus.

*Moses and Cadmus
could not learn the
Alphabet in Egypt.*

Let us next enquire, whether there are any grounds to think, that Cadmus was an Egyptian; and here we must expect to meet with opposition, both from ancients and moderns. The present age has been immoderately prejudiced in favour of the Egyptians and their learning; nothing of this sort is thought to have escaped them; all other nations in comparison are looked upon as barbarous. But if they had no better claim to other inventions, than they had to that of letters, I think we might be a little more sparing of our praises. The high opinion that has been entertained of their skill in speculative philosophy, mathematicks, &c. I am afraid, is not so much owing, to any real merit of theirs, as to our ignorance of what it was; for ignorance is the mother of admiration. Their ancient history appears to be as fabu-

(1) Vaillant Hist. Reg. Syr. Num. Demetrii Secundi, & Antiochi Septimi. Haym Tefor. Britan. Vol. I. Num. Demetrii Tertii. & pag. 105, 106, 107.

lous, obscure, and confused, as any other. The remains of their greatest works only shew, that their country was once very populous, and abounded with the best materials for building; and that they spared no cost or pains in raising stupendous monuments. Even in these they have been (1) rivalled by barbarous nations; and in the finer arts of Statuary and Drawing, were far excelled by the Greeks and Romans. The Greeks however, who were

(1) The learned are too apt to overlook the monuments of their own, and other countries, which ought to raise their wonder no less than those of Egypt. Thus our monuments of Stonehenge and Abery, required as much skill in mechanics, as to raise the Obelisks. And perhaps as much art was used in transporting those bulky monuments to Rome, as in cutting them out of the quarries in Egypt. Statues of Giants, magnificent ruins of buildings, Portals, Pedestals, &c. monuments seemingly of the first ages, are found in Peru. See Garcilasso de la Vega, Book I. c. 1. Two Pyramids of the same form with the Egyptian, have been found in Mexico. See Gemelli Careri, Par. IV. Book 2. c. 8. p. 546. Coll. Voyag. These may possibly give some light into the age and authors of the other; and shew that they were built soon after the replenishing of the earth, and by Northern artists. For I make no doubt, but many more monuments of this kind might be discovered, if the North Eastern desarts of Asia were as carefully surveyed as those of Egypt and Libya. The missionaries, if I mistake not, found a pyramid near the ruins of an ancient city in Chinese Tartary. See Du Halde's Hist. of China. Vol. 4. p. 108. 8vo. Gemelli Careri adds that the use and design of the Mexican Pyramids was for bases, or altars, to the two deities whom they worshipped, the Sun and Moon; whose broken images lay at a little distance from the Pyramids. And this notion, of the Egyptian Pyramids being designed for Altars, has I think been entertained by some of our own learned men. And Wanslebius says, that there are evident marks of a Colossal Statue having been once placed on the top of the largest Pyramid. Of all the wonders that Herodotus saw in Egypt, he was most astonished at the house of Amasis, cut out of one stone, and after a voyage of three years incessant labour, under the conduct of 2000 pilots, brought from Elephantis to Sais. Herod. Lib. II. But even this is matched by another, of nearly the same form and dimensions, called the *Dwarfy Stone*, now to be found in the Highlands of Scotland. See Wallace's Additions to the Britannia, in Orkney Islands, Isle of Hoy. pag. 1085. Ed. 1695.

only

only travellers into Egypt, are supposed to have brought away abundance of knowledge; how much more must the Jewish Legislator, who received his birth and education there, and was certainly instructed in all their learning? Writing is said to have been first found out by their (1) Thoth or Mercury, Moses therefore could not be ignorant of the art of letters; nor will some people submit to believe, that he could learn it any other way. But I think it ought first to be made appear, that the Egyptians understood this art, which has not hitherto been done. Moses often cautions his people against the customs of Egypt, and in this has most remarkably distinguished the two nations: for the Second Commandment seems directly levelled against the Egyptian manner of writing. So that wherever Moses learnt his art, neither he, nor Cadmus, I think, could learn it in Egypt.

The Egyptians had no Alphabet.

I can allow the Egyptians all the wisdom and learning, that is commonly ascribed to them, without admitting that they understood elementary letters. What knowledge they had was kept pretty much among themselves: not that I believe they made so great a secret of it, as is pretended, but revealed it to any one who would be at the expence of it. Their (2) books, being written

(1) *Literas semper arbitror Assyrias fuisse; sed alii apud Aegyptios a Mercurio, ut Gellius: alii apud Syros repertas volunt. Plin. Lib.VII. c. 56. Aegyptii literarum semet inventores perhibent; inde Phonicas quia mari praepollebant intulisse, gloriamque adeptos tanquam reppererint quae acceperant. Tacitus Annal. Lib. XI. c. 14.*

(2) Books of this sort were in being in the last century, if we may believe Athanasius Kircher, or rather his correspondent. *P. Josephus Marcellaia retulit, se dum in Aegypto degeret hanc bibliothecam [in Madrasæ Cayri] lustrasse, multaque millia MSS. comperisse, quos tanta custodiunt cura, ut nulli sub poena capitis inde librum extrahere liceat; addit quoque se inter cætera admiratum esse certos quosdam*

in Symbolic and Hieroglyphic characters, were unintelligible to those nations, that knew the use of an alphabet. It required some time, pains, and instruction, to become acquainted with them; and this made initiation into their learning and mysteries, so tedious a business. If the first Hermes Trismegistus, Taautes, or Thoth, was the inventor of their letters, as (1) some have asserted, this will carry their antiquity almost as high as the Gods. And if the second Hermes or Thoth, secretary of Osiris, who is the person meant by (2) Plato and Diodorus; this will still raise them some centuries above the time of Moses. But in answer to all this, it may be replied, that the words Στοιχῆια, Γράμματα, *Literæ*, tho' they properly signify elements, yet when applied to Egyptian writing, will (3) mean only Hieroglyphic marks, or characters. The letters therefore which the first Thoth carried into Egypt, or the second, since authors are pleased to distinguish them, invented there, seem to have been no more than Hieroglyphics; for if the Egyptians ever received alphabetical let-

quosdam papyraceos codices, seu hieroglyphicos, iis figuris quæ in obeliscis Romanis conspiciuntur, conscriptos; & quamvis Turcæ nullam fere, si Alchoranum excipias, librorum curam suscipiunt, horum tamen, ob antiquitatem, magnam curam haberi. Ling. Ægypt. Restit. Rom. 1643. Pag. 512. But their oldest books were Walls and Pillars inscribed with Hieroglyphics. Such are those at Dendery, or Tentyris, in upper Egypt, which Paul Lucas delineated; and from him Dr Perry, Travels. pag. 364. which are so numerous, that the building may rather deserve the name of a Library, than a Temple; and perhaps served for both.

(1) Sanchoniathon Phœnic. Hist. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang.

(2) Phædrus. Vol. 3. p. 274. Ed. Serran. Diod. Hist. Lib. I. p. 10.

(3) *Sculpturæ illæ effigiesque quas videmus Ægyptiæ sunt LITERÆ.* Plin. Hist. Lib. XXXVI. c. 8. Δύο μὲν Κώας, ἓνα δὲ Ἰέγγα, καὶ Ἰεῖν μίαν, περιφέρουσι, καὶ καλεῖσι τὰ τέσσαρα τῶν ἀγαλμάτων εἰδωλα ΤΕΣΣΑΡΑ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ. Clem. Alexand. Strom. V. p. 567. Ed. Syllb.

ters, they either made but little use of them; or have been unfortunate in not preserving them upon their ancient monuments. The Pyramids, which I take to be the oldest of all, have no characters of any kind. The Obelisks and Mummies contain only Hieroglyphics. And as the Obelisks were without question designed for publick monuments, I can never believe that they preserve any mysterious science known only to the priests; but that they were to be read and understood by all people. The same may be said of the Mummies, tho' of a less publick nature: and therefore I conclude that they had no other sort of writing. If the famous (1) *Mensa Isiaca* should prove to be only a Calendar or Almanack, as I think I have somewhere read, it will be a further confirmation of my opinion. We find indeed upon all these monuments some characters of a more simple form, and which have seemingly less of picture in them; and (2) learned men, if they please, may call these alphabetical letters; tho' no one yet has been able to form the alphabet. They are intermixt with the others, and seem to be of the like import; that is, to signify things, whole words, or sentences. Few of them bear any similitude to other alphabetical letters; and I believe that such a variety of them may be found, as will be sufficient to constitute several full alphabets of twenty four letters each. I do not remember to have seen more than one Egyptian inscription, that could deserve the name of alphabetical writing, and it is

(1) Vide Laurent. Pignorium *Mens. Isiac. Explic.* Ven. 1605. Montfaucon *Antiq. Expl.* Tom. II. p. 338.

(2) *Ægyptios subinde Hieroglyphicis notis vulgares Alphabeti literas inseruisse.* Kircher *Hist. Obel. Pamph. Art. I.*

that

that (1) given us by P. Montfaucon. But we are not told from whence this monument came; and, besides its singularity, it appears at first sight to be different from those very ancient ones, of which we have so many hundreds now remaining in Europe, and which are undeniably Egyptian. If I may be permitted to pass my judgment upon it, I cannot think it so old as the time of the Ptolemies; nor that it was done in Egypt, but in India; and that the characters belong to some one or other of those Indian nations, to whom the Egyptians carried their rites and superstitions, after their empire was destroyed by Cambyses. If a people ever used alphabetical writing, it must undoubtedly appear upon their publick monumental inscriptions, if they had any, as the Egyptians had: and therefore whatever may be advanced to the contrary, by inference from ancient writers; or the moderns have asserted upon their own authority; ought to have but little weight against this negative evidence. Upon the whole I conclude, that the Egyptians were entirely ignorant of an alphabet, till they received what is called the Coptic; which whether introduced in the time of the Ptolemies, or much earlier, under Psammitichus or Amasis, is many ages later than Cadmus, and plainly derived from the Greek.

*The Greeks had no
alphabet before
Cadmus.*

That Cadmus was the first who brought letters into Greece, is, I think, a fact as well attested as any in antiquity. And yet it is the opinion of some late eminent authors that the Greeks had

(1) Antiquit. Expliq. Vol. II. Par. 2. Pl. CXL.

(1) an alphabet before his time: and some (2) ancient accounts say that he only changed the forms of the letters. That the Greeks, like other nations, had a way of writing long before, is unquestionable; but that it was by an alphabet, is by no means clear to me. The judgment of Herodotus ought to be decisive in the case, if well supported, as I think it is. (3) Those Phenicians, says he, “who came with Cadmus, from whom came the Gephyreans, inhabiting that country [Tanagra in Bœotia] introduced many arts, and amongst the rest that of Letters; the Greeks having none before, as it seems to me.” There is a passage from a more ancient author quoted by Diodorus, which has been judged to contradict this opinion of Herodotus; but, as far as I can see, entirely agrees with, and confirms it. Here if I differ from much abler criticks, I hope it will be taken in good part, as my intention is only to vindicate the passage from the suspicion of absurdity or corruption, with which it has been charged; to make it consistent with itself and other histories; and this without adding, altering, or omitting, a single letter in the original. (4) “Dionysius the Milesian

(1) Jac. Palmerius in Græcia Antiq. c. 9. pag. 49, 50. J. Bouhier De prificis Græcorum & Latinorum literis, ad finem Palseographiæ Montfaucon. Jackson Chronological Antiquities Vol. 3.

(2) Οὐκ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἶρεν [Cadmum] ἀλλὰ πρὸς τύποις τῆς γερμανῶν μεταπέμναι μόνον. Diodor. Lib.V. p. 235. Diodorus seems to mention this only as a report of the Cretans.

(3) Οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες ἔπει, οἱ σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπικόμενοι, πᾶν ἔσαν οἱ Γεφυραῖοι, ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ, οἰκιστῆρες πᾶσι τῶν χωρίων, ἐπήγαγον διδασκάλια ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας: καὶ δὴ καὶ Γερμανῶν ἐπιέονται πρὸς Ἕλληνας, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν. Herodot. Lib.VI. §. 58.

(4) Φησὶ πάντων [Dionysius Milesius] παρ’ Ἕλλησι πρῶτον εὑρέτην γνῶναι Λίνον ἐνδομῶν καὶ μέγας: ἐπὶ δὲ Κάδμῳ κομιστῆτον ἐν Φοινίκῃς τὰ καλέμεθα ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ, πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικῶν μεταπέμναι ἀλλοτρίαν, καὶ τὸς ἀσσηγοῦς ἐλάσων τάξαι, καὶ τοὺς χειροτέρας ἀπυπῶ-
σαι.

“says, that *Linus the Theban Poet* was the first inventer
 “of rythms and melody; and that *Cadmus* bringing with
 “him from *Phenicia* what we call *Letters*, *Linus* first in-
 “troduced them into the *Greek language*, and gave each
 “their (a) names, and copied their (b) forms: *Letters*
 “therefore were called by the common name of (c) *PHE-*
 “*NICIANS*, because the *Greeks* received them from the
 “*Phenicians*; but from the (d) *Pelasgians* being the first
 “who used these *newly* (e) introduced characters, they
 “were called by their own name *PELAGIC Phenicians*.”
 This is the sense of the passage, as it appears to me;
 which I shall beg leave to illustrate by a few notes.

(a) *Their names.*] Their first and foreign names were *Alph, Beth, Gaml, Dalth* &c. with Eastern terminations, which sounded unnatural in the Greek idiom. The Master of harmony therefore called them *Alpha, Beta, Gamma, Delta* &c.

(b) *Their Forms.*] These too accorded with the Eastern manner of writing, from the right hand to the left; and were so used by *Linus* and the *Pelasgians*. The *Ionians*, or later *Greeks*, afterwards inverted the forms, to accommodate them to their way of writing from the left hand to the right; from whence they were called *IONIC LETTERS*. Nevertheless the first, or *Pelasgic*, way of writing was not totally disused till many ages after, as appears by the names of kings and cities, now

συ. κωνή ἐν τῷ γράμματι ΦΟΙΝΙΚΙΑ κληθῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχῆς πρὸς Ἑλληνας ἐκ Φοινίκων μετα-
 νεβλήναι· ἰδίᾳ δὲ τῶν Πελασγῶν πρῶτον χρησασθῆναι τοῖς ΜΕΤΑΤΕΓΕΙΣΙ γραμμῆσι, Πελασ-
 γικὰ πρῶτον γινώσκουσι. Diodorus Lib. III.

to be found on (1) Greek coins, struck near a thousand years after the time of Cadmus: and from the Sigeian and other inscriptions, which are wrote both ways $\beta\upsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\phi\eta\delta\omicron\nu$ as they called it, the letters being retrograde, and the line returning back like the Ox in plowing. It was to avoid the inconvenience of inverting the forms, that the later additional letters, as H, Θ, Ξ, Φ, X, Ψ, Ω, were made of such a figure as to be used both ways.

(c) PHENICIANS.] Here I take the word (2) $\Phi\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\iota}\kappa\iota\alpha$ for a substantive; and if I am mistaken, err with a professed grammarian. $\Phi\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\iota}\kappa\iota\alpha$. $\Lambda\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\iota$ $\epsilon\zeta$ $\text{I}\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ $\Gamma\epsilon\grave{\alpha}\mu\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$. Hesychius. So that $\Gamma\epsilon\grave{\alpha}\mu\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$, *Letters*, or *Gravings*, was only a secondary name, given them from the way of forming them; nor does it seem to have been known to Homer, who never once uses it. I need not put the reader in mind of our own practice, in calling things by the names of the countries from whence they came; as Turkeys, Guineas, Hollands, &c.

(d) *Pelasgians*.] The word means no more than the older inhabitants of Greece, in contradistinction to the Hellenes. In the days of Cadmus there were no other than Pelasgians. But when the posterity of Deucalion

(1) Instances of this sort are found for the most part on the oldest coins; hundreds might be produced from Goltzius, Spanheim, Paruta, Begerus and others. And yet I cannot wholly ascribe this practice to an affectation of antiquity; but sometimes to the inaccuracy, or indifference of the Coiner. For as the word was easily understood, which way soever wrote, he might sometimes forget, at other times might not give himself the trouble, to reverse the letters on the Dye.

(2) I since find that the word $\Phi\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\iota}\kappa\iota\alpha$, in Herodotus and others, tho' it seems to be more of an adjective than $\Phi\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\iota}\kappa\iota\alpha$, is yet used substantively in the Teian DIRÆ inscription: H. $\Phi\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\iota}\kappa\iota\alpha$ $\text{E}\kappa\kappa\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\iota$. i. e. AUT LITERAS ERASERIT. Chishull Ant. Asiat. p. 98.

had

had dispossessed them of their seats, the Greeks began to be called Hellenes, Æoles, Dorians, Ionians, &c. However some Pelasgians still remained in Italy and other places, and preserved their old language; which Herodotus called Barbarous, as being so very different from the Greek of his own time. This revolution though it produced by degrees a great change in the Greek tongue, yet wrought none in the letters, till long after. (1) Linus wrote the exploits of the elder Bacchus in Pelasgic letters; Orpheus, and Pronapides Homer's master, and Thymætes another old poet, are said to have used the same, and to have wrote in the old, or Pelasgic, language. And perhaps Homer's and Hesiod's works were the first, that were written in the Ionic or Hellenic Greek, and in the righthanded character. The people of Attica, who never yielded the point of antiquity to any other nation of Greece, tho' they used the Cadmean, or Pelasgic, letters, yet called them (2) ΑΤΤΙΚΑ, as if they were the growth of their country. That the Attic letters were of the ancient form, is certain: Αθηναῖοις Γράμμασι, ἀπὸ Παλαιῶν. Harpocration. Αθηναῖα Γράμματα. Τὰ ἀρχαῖα, Ἐπιχάεια. Hesychius: and it is as certain that they were different from the Ionic: Συωθητικαὶ αὖς ἔτι Αττικαῖς γράμμασι ἐσηλιτεῦσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς Ἰωνοῖς. Theopompus apud Harpocration.

(1) Τὸν δὲ οὐκ ἴσως Λίνον φασὶ τοῖς Πελασγικοῖς γράμμασι συνταξάμενον τὰς τῶ ἀεφύτου Διονύσου ἀεφύσεις. — ὁμοίως δὲ τότε τις χησάως τοῖς Πελασγικοῖς γράμμασι τὸ Ὀρφέα καὶ Προνάπιδου τὸν Ὅμηρον διδάσκων — αὖτις δὲ τότε τις Θυμώτερος τὸν Θυμώτερον — ἀρχαῖως τῆ τε ἀφελήτων καὶ τοῖς γράμμασι χρησάμενον. Diodorus Lib. III.

(2) *Unæ solummodo Athenæ legis prætextu centum fere annis restitere: unde factum, ut Cadmeæ Literæ non raro apud historicos sub ΑΤΤΙCΑRUM nomine celebrentur.* Chifhull in Inscrip. Sigæam Cap. III.

(e) *Newly introduced.*] I translate the word Μεταρθεσις in the same sense, in which the verb μεταθεῖναι was used just before; which I think the true and natural construction. If it should be taken in the sense of *Altered* or *Changed*, it may perhaps mean no more than the other: the Greek Characters, Symbols, or Hieroglyphics, being now changed into Alphabetical letters.

*Linus the first refiner
of the Greek lan-
guage.*

I advise the reader not to overlook that circumstance of Linus's being the inventor of Rythm and Harmony; which seems to be mentioned not without a peculiar propriety. For Language being now reduced to its elements, he was enabled to form the rules for this art; which could be but very imperfectly done before that time. And here I think we ought to give Linus, tho' a Pelasgian, and a Bœotian, the honour of being the first refiner of the Greek tongue.

*The Pelasgians brought
letters into Italy.*

The Latines, as all authors agree, received their letters from the Greeks. Here tho' the history is not so dark, as that of Cadmus, yet it is not entirely free from obscurity. Pliny says in general that (1) The "Pelasgians brought Letters into Latium." This is indefinitely expressed, without note of time, or distinction of places: Latium may be taken for all Italy, and the Pelasgians were spread over all Greece. The intercourse between Greece and Italy began with the Titan empire, and first ages of navigation. The story of Saturn and Janus is

(1) *In Latium literas attulerunt Pelasgi.* Hist. Lib.VII. c. 56.

fo very particular, that we can hardly think it a mere poetical invention. Janus feems to have been a petty prince, or viceroy, under Saturn, whilst he held the fovereignty: and that Saturn retired to him after his depofition, or abdication, as (1) Lucian will have it, the memory of the Golden age, fo religiously preferved in Italy, fcarce leaves us any room to doubt. The inhabitants of both countries feem to have had the fame original, fpoke the fame language, had the fame cuftoms, and in fhort were (2) Scythians. The Aborigines, as they are called, or firft people of Italy, were reckoned barbarians, and fo were the Pelafgians; but both feem to have been as much civilized, as any other nation of their time: at leaft we may think that they began to be civilized in the days of Janus and Saturn. Long after this, (3) Oenotrus fon of Lycaon, an Arcadian, brought a colony into Italy, from whom the country was called Oenotria; but this migration goes too far back into the fabulous ages, to be determined with any certainty as to time.

(1) Vide Lucian. Saturnalia.

(2) *Unde autem hi coloni [Aufones] profecti sint, & que prior illis patria fuerit, difficile dictu est, cum veteres hic altissime fiteant, Aelianus ἀυτόχθονας pronunciet, Var. Hift. Lib. 9. c. 16. Quod si conjecturis hic indulgere licet, Scythicæ originis fufpicor, præcipue ex moribus & corporis proceritate, quibus hic populus insignis fuit.* Theod. Ryckius, De Primis Italiæ Colonis. Cap. 2. The Aufones, called alfo Ofci and Opici, were the firft inhabitants of Italy; Eufthathius fays, that they were fo called from Aufon, Son of Atlas and Calypfo.

Εκ Διὸς Αἰσονίης, ἀεὶ μέγα κειρανέοντες. Dionyf. Periegef. v. 78.

Λέγονται δὲ Αἰσόνες ἀπὸ Αἰσονῶς ὃς ἀεὶ πῶς μὲν ἦν καὶ Ρώμῳ βασιλευσῶν πρὸς πῶν ἰσταίται, Οδυσσεὺς γὰρ ὁδὸς ἐν τῷ Κίρκης ἦ, κατὰ τὸ τὸ Εὐδὴν Γεφύραν, ἐκ Καλυψῶς ῥηθηθεὶς πρὸ Ἀτλαντῆ. Eufthath. in locum.

(3) Πρῶτον δὲ Ἑλλήνων ἐπιφραμοθέντες τὸ Ἴόνιον κόλπον ἔκτισαν Ἰταλίαν, ἀγοντὶ αὐτὸς Οὐνότρου τῷ Λυκάωνῶ. Dion. Halic. Lib. I. pag. 9.

Q

Dionysius

*Pelasgian settlements
in Tuscany.*

Dionysius Halicarnassensis, from authors now lost, has preserved a more accurate account of some later Pelasgic settlements.

(1) “Hellenicus the Lesbian says, “that the Tyrrhenes were formerly called Pelasgians, and “that they took the name of Tyrrhenes after they settled “in Italy. In his Phoronis he has these words: *Phrastor* “was the son of their king *Pelasgus* and *Menippe* the daughter of *Peneus*; *Amyntor* was son of *Phrastor*; *Teutamides* of *Amyntor*; and *Nanas* of *Teutamides*; in whose “reign the Pelasgians were driven out by the Hellenes; “and landing, and leaving their ships in the river *Spines*, “[or *Po*] seized upon the inland town *Croton* [or *Cortona*] “and making incursions from thence, founded at last what “is now called *Tyrrhenia*,” or Tuscany. This colony, as he tells us afterwards, came from (2) *Hæmonia*, now called *Theffaly*: and they were probably some of the first Pelasgians driven out by *Deucalion*, or his sons.

*The Colony under
Evander.*

Again he says, (3) “Not long after this, about Sixty years before the Trojan war, according to the Ro-

(1) Ελληνικός δὲ ὁ Λέσβιος τὸς Τυρρηνούς φησι Πελασγὸς αὐτίτερον καλεῖσθαι, ἐπειδὴ κατήκτισεν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, ἀφ’ ὧν λαβὴν ἔν ἔχκει αὐτοσηροίαν· ἔχει δ’ αὐτῷ ἐν Φορονίδι ὁ λόγος ὅδε. Τῷ Πελασγῷ τῷ βασιλεῦσι αὐτῶν καὶ Μενίππῳ τῷ Πρωεῖ ἐβόητο Φράστωρ· τῷ δὲ Ἀμύντωρ· τῷ δὲ Τεαταμίδῳ· τῷ δὲ Νάνῳ· ὅπῃ τότε βασιλεύοντες οἱ Πελασγοὶ ἐφ’ Ἑλλήνων ἀνάστασιν, καὶ ὅπῃ Σπινῆτι πεταμῶν ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ τὸς ἰσῶς καταλιπόντες, Κρότωνα πόλιν ἐν μεσσησίῳ ἔκτισαν, καὶ ἐνταῦθεν ἐρμάφοι τῷ νῦν καλεῖσθαι Τυρρηνίαν ἔκτισαν. *Dion. Halic. Ant. Lib. I. p. 22.*

(2) Ἐπειδὴ οἱ μεταστάντες ἐκ τῷ μὲν τότε Αἰματίας, νῦν δὲ Θεσσαλίας Πελασγοὶ. *Id. p. 49.*

(3) Μιστὰ δὲ ἡ πελώριον χρόνον εὐλοῦ ἄλλοις Ἑλλήνικος εἰς πῶτα τὰ χεῖρα Ἰταλίας κατὰγεῖ, Ἐξαιεσῶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῷ Τροικῶν, ὅς αὐτοὶ Ρωμῶνι κέλευσιν, ἐκ Παλαμπῆ πόλεως Ἀρχαϊκῆς ἀναστῆς· ἠγείτο δὲ τῷ δακτύλις Κίανδρῶν. — Ο ὅ σῶλος εἶδ’ ἐκ ἀπὸ κοινοῦ τῷ γρόμμῳ ἐπεμῶν, ἀλλὰ σασιδάντος τῷ δόμῳ, τὸ ἐλατῶδεν ἐκίσαν μέρες ὑπεξῆν. ἐπύργαιε δὲ τότε πῶν βασιλείαν ἐφ’ Ἀλσειρίων παρὰ κηφὸς φωνῶν. — Λέγονται δὲ καὶ Γερμαμάτων Ἑλλήνικῶν χεῖσιν εἰς Ἰταλίαν πῶνται Ἀλακομίται, νεωστὶ φανέντων Ἀρχαῖν. *Dion. Halic. Lib. I. p. 24, 26. Evander tum*

“man account, another fleet of Greeks arrived on the
 “same coast of Italy, from Palantium a town in Arcadia,
 “under the conduct of Evander. — This colony was not
 “sent out by general consent of the citizens; but the peo-
 “ple being divided into two factions, [I suppose Pelas-
 “gians and Hellenes] the weaker party retired of their
 “own accord. — Faunus was then king of the Aborigines.
 “— These are reported to be the first who brought into
 “Italy the use of the Greek Letters, which were then but
 “newly known to the Arcadians.” Criticks, from the men-
 tion of these two colonies, have raised a difficulty, where
 I think there was no occasion; by making an unnecessary
 (1) distinction between Pelasgians and Arcadians. For if
 all the inhabitants of the several districts of Greece, in the
 same manner, were to be reckoned distinct from the Pe-
 lasgians; the latter would have no place left them in the
 country, tho’ they were confessedly in (2) possession of the
 whole. Both colonies therefore were Pelasgians the first
 of Theffaly, the second of Arcadia; for it is certain that
 (3) Pelasgia was the old name for both those countries.

ea, profugus ex Peloponneso, auctoritate magis quam imperio, regebat loca, Venerabilis Vir miraculo Literarum, rei novae inter rudes artium homines. Liv. Hist. Lib. I. c. 7.

(1) *Sed sive Pelasgis, sive Arcadibus, is debetur bonus, in eo Tacito Plinioque convenit, quod uterque Latinos a Graecis eas [litteras] velit accepisse. Vossius Grammat. Lib. I. c. 11.*

(2) Δοκίει δέ μοι ἐδὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τῦτο [Ἑλλὰς] ζυμπασι πω ἴσταν, ἀλλὰ τὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλλήνων ἢ Δουκαλιωνος, καὶ πάντο ἢ δὲ ἐξ ἢ ὀπίκλισης αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔδωκε δὲ ἀλλὰ τε, καὶ τὸ Πηλασγικὸν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀφ’ ἐαυτῶν πῶ ἐπωνομίαν, παρέχοντες. Thucydides Hist. Lib. I. Τὸς δὲ Πηλασγῶνες, ἔπ μὲ ἀρχαίων π φύλον καὶ ἢ ἙΛΛΑΔΑ ΠΙΑΣΑΝ ἐπιπόλασε. Strabo Geogr. Lib. V. Τῆς νῦν Ἑλλάδος ἀπὸ τῆς ἢ ΠΕΛΑΣΓΙΗΣ καλεουμένης. Herodot. Lib. I. c. 58.

(3) Θεσσαλία δὲ καὶ Θεσσαλία, ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς Πηλασγίας. Steph. Byzant. Ἀπὸ τότε ἢ [Arcade] βασιλευσόντος Ἀρχαδίας τε, ἀπὸ Πηλασγίας, ἢ χῶρα, καὶ ἀπὸ Πηλασγῶν Ἀρχαδίας ἐκλήθη ἢ ἀνθρώπων. Pausan. Arcad. p. 459.

We see that both colonies landed in Tuscany, and that both were driven from Greece in the time of the Hellenes: and it does not appear, nor is it probable, that the first colony brought letters with them: therefore we may securely fix the Æra of letters in Italy, to the time of Evander, or Sixty years before the war of Troy.

Æneas's colony of Phrygians. After the destruction of Troy, Æneas came with his colony of Phrygians, and has not a little eclipsed the glory of Evander; the Romans choosing to derive their descent from the Trojans, rather than the Greeks. But the Greek colony seems to have laid the foundation of all the Roman greatness; as the emperor (1) Antoninus Pius afterwards acknowledged, by the many favours which he conferred upon the town of Pallantium. The Æra of Evander began the Second Age of politeness in Italy: when the introduction of letters improved old arts, and gave birth to new ones. The Tyrrhenes or Etruscans were the first polite people; and we find that they grew to be such by the revolutions in Greece. The most ancient works of art, that Italy can boast of at present, are of the Etruscans. Their rites sacred and civil were examples to other nations, as the Samnites, Sabines, Romans, &c. And before they had lost their power, and were incorporated into the Roman state, we find the (2) youth of Rome were

(1) Ρωμαίων μέγας τὸ κατὰ ἡμᾶς πάλαι, ἕως ἡμεῖς ἔσθ' Ἐβάνδρου καὶ Ἀργείων τὴ συνεισδιδασκάντων, ὄνομα ἔχει Παλλάντιον, κατὰ μῆνιν τὴ ἐν Ἀρχαΐα. Χεῖρον δὲ ἕσπερον μετέπεισε τὸ ὄνομα ἐν διαίρεσι γυμνάσιον οὐ τε Λ καὶ Ν. Τέτοιαν μὲν τὴν λαογονίαν εἶνεκα Παλλάντιον ἐν τῆσδε [Antonino P.] ἐβήσαντο δοξαί. Pausanias in Arcad. p.525, 526.

(2) *Cere educatus apud hospites [M. Fabius Cæso] Etruscis inde literis eruditus erat, linguamque Etruscam probe noverat. Habeo auctores, vulgo tum Romanos pueros, sicut nunc Græcis, ita Etruscis literis erudiri solitos.* Liv. Hist. Lib. IX.

instructed

instructed in the Etruscan language, by way of accomplishment.

The Pelasgic language and letters preserved by the Etruscans.

The Etruscans then were the first who received letters, and I think we may venture to call them the Pelasgic letters. Perhaps we might proceed a step further, and assert that these letters have likewise preserved the Pelasgic language: for I know not in what ancient monuments it is to be found, unless in the Etruscan Inscriptions.

The declension of the Etruscan language and letters.

When a nation is arrived to a certain pitch of politeness, it often becomes a prey to another less civilized: this was the case with the Etruscans and Romans. The Romans, if we consider their first beginning, were the very (1) dregs of the people of Italy; but by submitting to wholesome laws, a constant exercise of arms, and a steady adherence to virtue, they raised themselves to a superiority over all the rest. Their language was at first the language of Italy; a mixture of Pelasgic dialects, from the Etruscans, Oscans, Sabines, Samnites, and others. This language was improved by their conquests, but came not to its full growth, till the fortune of Greece declined; and brought the Romans to an acquaintance with the more refined Greek language, which soon made its way into their own. That grace, harmony, and majesty, so much admired in the Roman language,

(1) *Et tamen ut longe repetas, longeque revolvas
Nomen, ab infami gentem deducis asilo:
Majorum quisquis primus fuit ille tuorum,
Aut pastor fuit, aut aliud quod dicere nolo.* Juvenal Satyr. VIII. v. 272.

seems to be derived from adopting the Greek into it; tho' after all it never came up to the other. As the Romans increased in power, the Etruscans, who before were the most accomplished nation, sunk in esteem, as is usual with a conquered people; but under these disadvantages still cultivated the polite arts, and preserved their old way of writing. It would be flattering their memory too much, to say that their performances in sculpture and painting, vied with the finished pieces of the Greeks in the time of Alexander; for then they Greeks had attained to such a perfection in those arts, as never since could be equalled. After the custom of their ancestors, the Etruscans committed their records to the most durable materials, Stones and Bras; which by good fortune have long outlived their language. This language too was only an obsolete Greek, which became generally neglected, so as not to be understood by their masters: though when learning was at its greatest height in Rome, they looked upon it with a more favourable eye, as being the parent of their own; and then began to study it as a science.

The Etruscan monuments and inscriptions.

The Etruscan language being at length extinct, the materials designed to preserve it were soon destroyed, or buried in ruins; the too common fate of monuments wherever ignorance prevails. Here they underwent a long night of oblivion, till the revival of true learning, which is always accompanied with a veneration for antiquity. These monuments, as time and chance brought them to light, were carefully preserved by persons of curiosity; who though they understood them not, yet judged that hereafter they might be intelligible to others,

others, and therefore worth preserving. It is more than a (1) century since some of these inscriptions have been made publick, and in this last age a new scene of literature has been opened by their means. Whole (2) volumes have been filled with Etruscan sculptures and inscriptions, and attempts have been made to illustrate and explain them. It is to be wished that success may answer the generous intentions of those learned persons who have undertaken the task; but at present I am obliged to say, that they still continue doubtful, if not as obscure, as before. And I despair of seeing them explained to any purpose, till they are taken in hand by some one well skilled, not only in Greek and Latin, but in the Hebrew, and its kindred dialect the British or Celtic. Thus much I thought proper to say in behalf of our ancient language, which, not without shame be it spoken, is now as much despised by Englishmen, as it is esteemed by the learned in foreign parts.

*The Etruscan letters
Pelægic, the Roman
Ionic.*

The (3) Italian antiquaries confess the difficulty of explaining these monuments, and seem not entirely agreed among themselves, even a-

(1) Vid. Bernardinus Baldus Divinat. in Tabulam Æneam Eugubinam lingua Hetrusca veteri perscriptam. Aug. Vind. 1613.

(2) Vid. Ant. Fran. Gorius Museum Etruscum exhibens insignia veterum Etruscorum monumenta Æneis Tabulis 200 edita & illustrata. 3 Vol. Florent. 1737. Tho. Dempster De Etruria Regali Lib. VII. Florent. 1723. Museum Florentinum. Flor. 1731, 1732, &c. Scipio Maffei Museum Veronense. Veron. 1749. Museum Cortonense. Rom. 1750, &c.

(3) *Non deerunt qui opinentur Etruscorum explicationem me aggressurum esse, a quo tamen consilio ego quidem longissime absum: hoc scilicet cruditionis genus a Græca & Romana tam diversum, ac dissitum est, tot præterea tenebris circumvolutum & oblitum, ut paucis discuti ac pertractari nequaquam possit.* Scip. Maffei Mus. Veron. Præf. pag. 11.

about the names of the letters. One who has very well deserved of the learned world, and of this province of Literature, (1) denies that they are Pelasgic, "Because formed from the right;" which is the very reason I assign for their being Pelasgic. A no less able antiquary of that country without scruple (2) calls the Etruscan letters Pelasgic, in which I think he is right; but not so, when he calls them Latin, at the same time. The Etruscan, it is true, were the oldest letters of Latium, but Seignior Gori rightly distinguishes between the Etruscan and Latin, or what may be more properly called the Ionic, or Roman, letters. (3) Pliny says "The ancient letters of the Greeks were the same as the Latin;" but he must here mean the old Ionic letters, which were undoubtedly the same with the Roman; being written from the left hand, the way used by the Romans: and so (4) Tacitus is to be understood, when he says "The forms of the Latin letters were the same with the oldest of the Greeks." The Ionic way of writing did not universally prevail even in Greece, till ages after it was found out. The (5) Athenians did not comply with it till the Archonship of Euclides A.V.C. 350. The Sigean inscription which is older

(1) *Nam characteres Etrusci plane sunt a dextra sinistrorsum scripti; quum Pelasgici qui iidem prorsus ac Latini sunt, a sinistra dextrorsum tendant.* Fr. Gori. Prol. ad Mus. Etrusc. pag. 54.

(2) *Siquidem hoc certum est adeo quam quod certissimum, characteres Tabularum [Eugubinarum] Pelasgicos esse ac Latinos.* Scip. Maffei Orig. Etrusc. & Latin. pag. 63.

(3) *Veteres literas Græcorum easdem esse ac Latinas.* Hist. Lib. VII. c. 58.

(4) *Et forma literis Latinis, quæ veterrimis Græcorum.* Annal. Lib. XI. c.

14.

(5) *Τὸς δ' Ἀθηναίους ἐταρταρῶν χρόνων ἦ ἰσθμῶν πελάγους Ἀρχὴν ἔσθ' Ἀθωνῶν ἐτ' Ἀρχοντῶν Εὐκλείδου.* Suidas in Σαύλων ὁ Δαμῶν.

than

than that Æra, begins with Ionic writing; but the line returns in the Pelasgic manner, as the Etruscans wrote. In time, as (1) Pliny says, "The tacit consent of all nations agreed to use the Ionic letters." But the Etruscans never consented, for they wrote still in the Pelasgic way. When then did the Romans consent? I answer, about the time of Tarquinius Priscus their fifth king. (2) Tacitus assigns two Epochs for the reception of the Greek letters; "The Etruscans in Italy, says he, received their letters from Damaratus the Corinthian; the Aborigines from Evander the Arcadian." Damaratus the Corinthian fled from the tyranny of Cypselus about the beginning, or perhaps the middle, of the second Century of Rome; and if he brought letters with him, as Tacitus says, I think they must have been the new or Ionic alphabet; as being different from what the first Etruscans, or Aborigines, had received from Evander, above five hundred years before. Tarquinius Priscus was the son of Damaratus, and probably introduced his father's letters into the Roman language. (3) Dionysius Halicarnassensis speaks of a Pillar remaining in his time in the temple of Diana at Rome, "With an Inscription in Latin letters, whose forms were such as the Greeks anciently used." But I suppose, that these were only the oldest Ionic letters, the pillar being set up by Servius Tullus, the successor of Tarquinius Priscus.

(1) *Gentium consensus tacitus omnium conspiravit, ut Ionum literis uterentur.* Hist. Lib. VII. c. 57.

(2) *Literas in Italia Etrusci ab Corinthio Damarato, Aborigines ab Arcade Evandro acceperunt.* Annal. Lib. XI. c. 14.

(3) *Αὐτὴ δίδεσκεν ἡ Στήλη μέχρι τῆ ἐμῆς ἡλικίας ἐν τῷ τῆ Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ περιῶν ἡραμμά-
των ἔχουσα χαρακτῆρας Ἑλληνικῶν, οἷς τὸ παλαιὸν ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐχρᾶτο.* Antiq. Lib. IV.

Pliny likewise proves from the Delphic brass table preserved in the Palatine Library, (1) “That the ancient Greek letters were almost the same with the Latin letters of his time:” and the inscription, as he has given it, shews that they were only Ionic letters. After the Romans had established the use of the Ionic letters, they seem not to have acknowledged the Etruscan to be a Greek alphabet. The most learned of them knew none older than the Ionic: as appears from the Greek (2) Farnese inscriptions of Herodes Atticus. This learned man, out of a sacred regard to antiquity, caused the oldest orthography to be observed in the writing, and the letters to be delineated after the most antique forms that could be found: and they are plainly no other than the Ionic, or righthanded characters.

All Alphabets derived from one.

All Languages were derived from one; and it is but reasonable to think the same of all alphabets. Nor is it easy to say which of the two has been most corrupted: it being as hard a matter to discover the original of some alphabets, as of the languages themselves. It is much to be regretted, that the publick paid no attention to the

(1) *Veteres Græcas fuisse pene quæ nunc sunt Latinae, indicio erit Delphica Tabula antiqui æris, quæ est hodie in Palatio, dono principum Minervæ dicata in Bibliotheca, cum Inscriptione tali. ΝΑΥΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΤΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΥ Ο ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΚΟΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΘΗΝΑ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ.* Plin. Hist. Lib.VII. c. 58.

(2) Vid. Cl. Salmassii *Duarum Inscriptionum Veterum Herodis Attici & Regillæ conjugis explicatio.* Lut. Paris. 1619. Scaliger *Animadvers. in Eusebium.* pag. 110. Montfaucon *Palæogr. Græc.* p. 135. Chishull *Antiq. Afiat.* p. 11.

propofal which (1) Mr Wanley once made, to give us the history of all the different alphabets of Europe; a work not likely to be undertaken in this age, and perhaps the next may want materials for it. We fhall only remark that the firft alphabets confifted of what we now call Capital Letters; and that the Greek and Roman letters, which prevailed for the moft part in Europe; by degrees decreafed in their fize, for the fake of difpatch in writing; which produced all thofe alphabets of fmall letters, that we find in MSS. corrupted from the larger ones, according to the genius and humour of different countries.

The Runic, or Gothic, from the Greek.

It does not appear, what letters the moft ancient Celtæ ufed in writing; the remains of their language now to be found in books, being written in the common character of the country, where their defcendants lived. I think it may be taken for granted, that they made ufe of hieroglyphics only, as we faid before of the Scythians in general. But the Goths are an exception; for they had an alphabet peculiar to themfelves, confifting formerly of (2) fixteen letters, which is thought to be the juft number in the Greek and Pheni-

(1) *Si publico jubente, & sub publicis auspiciis id mihi demandatum foret, ut Historiam Literarum scriberem, quibus populi Europæi, præfertim Græci, Romani, Hispani, Galli, Hiberni, Anglo-Normanni, &c. in omni tempore ufi sunt, ut omnia mea studia in illud conferrem; sic benevalere & vivere Deo largiente, non dubito, quin eo officio ita perfungerer, ut nullius expectationem fallerem.* Præf. ad Lib. Anglo-Sax. Catal.

(2) *Ὡς ἐδηλώσαν οἱ παλαιὸι ἀπὸ ἑξῆς ἑκαταδεκά φράζοντες ἀποχρόντως καὶ γράφοντες.* Plutarch Quæftion. Platon. *Τὰ τε δὴ ᾤεσθαι, καὶ Φοινίκεια ἀπὸ Κάδμου ἀνομιωθέντα, ΤΕΤΡΑΚΙΣ ἢ ΤΕΤΡΑΣ ἀνάκεινται.* Idem Sympos. Lib. IX. Prob. 3.

cian alphabets. The (1) Runes, or Runic letters, are properly speaking the Old Gothic; what we have learnt, since the discovery of the *CODEX ARGENTEUS*, to call the *Gothic letters*, being comparatively modern, invented by Ulphilas about fourteen hundred years ago; or rather taken by him mostly from the Greek and Latin capitals of that age, as will appear upon comparing them: but the Runic letters are found on coins, and other monuments of stone, some of which may be near two thousand years old, or upwards. Therefore before the discovery of the *Codex Argenteus*, we find the (2) learned were at a loss, not knowing how to reconcile the historians to matter of fact: for they supposed the Goths to have had no letters besides the Runic; which yet, it was plain, were not invented by Ulphilas. I shall not attribute so great antiquity to the Gothic or Runic alphabet, as (3) some have done, ex-

(1) *RVNER*. Runæ, or Runes, is a common word signifying not only the Gothic Letters, but *Writings* and *Writers*. The learned are not agreed about its derivation. Sir H. Spelman derives it from Rýne i. e. *Mysterium*. Vid. Ol. Wormius Lit. Runica. c. 1. Stiernhelm from *Rōna* i. e. *Discere, Experiri, Erudiri*. Præf. ad Evang. Goth. Wormius from Ryn. *Sulcus*, i. e. *Exaratio*. Lit. Run. c. 1. The Runic alphabet is a corruption of some other, but still preserves a sort of simplicity and uniformity. But what shall we say to the liberty, that has been taken with this alphabet? by distorting the forms, changing the order and powers of the letters, so as to make the language almost a mystery, and the inscriptions unintelligible. The reader may find a vast number of these barbarous Runic alphabets, as they are called, collected into one view, by the great Dr Hickes, in the third part of his *Tthesaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium*; a work held in the highest esteem by every nation in Europe, except That to which it has done so much honour.

(2) Vid. Olaus Wormius Liter. Run. p. 116. Marefchall. Observat. in Version. Gothic. p. 386, 387.

(3) *Unde jam manifestissime apparet, lapsum fuisse Reverendissimum Dominum Salicæum Archiepiscopum Toletanum, dum existimavit Alphabetum literarum Gothicarum fuisse primum Alphabetum & primos characteres primo parenti datos.* F. Louys
Portugaize

ceeding all bounds of credibility; nor can I believe that it is older than the Greek, as (1) others contend; nor yet can I think with (2) Salmafius, that it is derived from the Roman. But from the simplicity of the letters, and other circumstances, I judge it to be exceedingly ancient; and that it was formed from some alphabet of the Greeks, whilst it consisted of Sixteen Letters only; and after they had left the Eastern way of writing from the right hand.

Ʒ. Ɔ. Ɔ. Ɔ. R. Ɔ. Ɔ. I. Ɔ. Ɔ. Ɔ. B. Ɔ. Ɔ. Ɔ.
 F. U. D. O. R. K. H. N. I. A. S. T. B. L. M. YR.

This is the old alphabet of the Runes, consisting of Sixteen letters in their proper (3) order; before the rest were added, to compleat the number of Twenty Four, conformable to other alphabets.

The order of the Runic Alphabet.

The alphabet is an endless fund of enquiry to the learned; much has been written by the ancients, Greeks and Ro-

Portugaize de son Globe des Canons SS. apud Claud. Duret. Thresor de l'Hist. des Langues. Col. 1613. p. 860.

(1) *Quin tanta omnino sit cum Græcis Danicarum Literarum affinitas, ut de origiginis & antiquitatis prerogativa certare videantur neminem dubitare posse arbitror.* Ol. Worm. Liter. Run. c. 22. Vide etiam Ol. Rudbec. Atlant. Par. I. p. 841.

(2) *Certe & Dani literas inde suas videntur accepisse quas vocant Runicas. Nam forma earum ex Græcis omnino efficta & expressa videtur. Nisi quis potius putet a Romanis imitatas, & inde dictas Runicas quasi Rumicas, id est Romicas. Licet etiam a Græcis Constantinopolitanis, qui Ρωμαϊοι proprie appellantur, Runicas dictas opinemur. Arabes quoque appellabant Rum & Rumi Romanus.* De Hellenist. p. 382.

(3) The order of the alphabet is determined by the Dominical letters joined with the Golden Number in the Calendar: three arbitrary characters, of no signification, being added to make the number Nineteen. Vid. Ol. Worm. Lit. Run. c. 14. 18. Et Fasti Danici.

mans,

mans, and more by the moderns, concerning the number, order, figure, and powers, of the letters; and we still find the subject not yet exhausted. I can hardly persuade myself, that the author of the Runic alphabet intended to confound the order of the Phenician or Hebrew letters; but that if he had copied from either, as they now stand, he would have given them the same place, as the Greeks have done. The Etruscan alphabet consists of only Thirteen letters, and these we may range according to the Hebrew, Greek, and Roman, alphabets; but their situation with respect to each other cannot now be ascertained upon any authentic foundation; and possibly it might be the same with this of the Runes; of which they likewise bear as near a resemblance, as of the Greek and Hebrew.

The Digamma the first letter in the Runic Alphabet.

In the oldest alphabets we find some letters, whose powers are unknown, or at least doubtful, at present, as in the \aleph and ψ of the Hebrews. The same thing has happened to the Runic; where the power of the letter \aleph is uncertain, whether it is vowel, diphthong, or consonant; (1) some making it the final R, others the letter Y, some the diphthong AV. But what I think deserves more notice; that most ancient letter of the Greek alphabet, the Æolic Digamma, leads up the rest: the reason of this I shall endeavour, as well as I am able, to explain.

(1) Olaus Wormius Literat. Run. c. 12. p. 78. Verelius Runographia Scandica pag. 32. Olaus Rudbeck Atlant. Par. I. c. 38.

The Digamma a note of guttural aspiration.

The Digamma, so called from its figure, resembling one Gamma surmounting another, was always acknowledged to be a letter of the Greek alphabet. Its (1) form is well known, but neither its power, nor place in the series, have been thoroughly understood. It seems to me to have been an auxiliary letter (2) prefixed to some particular syllables, to denote that they required a stronger force in speaking; and was of the most general use in pronouncing the oldest languages, which, as all know, were chiefly guttural. It was neither vowel nor consonant, but a letter or note of aspiration; and for this reason was placed at the head of the alphabet. The uncouth harshness of aspirating words in the initial, middle, and final syllables, brought it into disuse with the Greeks in general, when they came to study the harmony of language; and at length made it (3) cease to be a letter.

(1) *Eadem litera scilicet V, Digamma a Græcis vocatur, quando sibimet aliisque vocalibus jungitur; quæ ideo Digamma dicitur, quia duplex est instar F literæ, quæ duplex Gamma habet.* Isidor. Orig. Lib. I. c. 4. Σωάνδης γὰρ ἦν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις Ἑλλήνων, ὡς τὰ πολλὰ, περὶ δέναι ἢ ἰσομάτων, ἐπέσω αἱ ἀρχαὶ δὲ πρὸ Φωνιέντων ἐγένοντο, πλὴ ΟΥ συλλαβῶ ἐνὶ σοιχείῳ γραφομένην· πῶτο δ' ἦν ὡπερ ΓΑΜΜΑ ΔΙΤΤΑΙΣ ΕΠΙ ΜΙΑΝ ΟΡΘΗΝ ΕΠΙΖΕΤΤΝΤΜΕΝΟΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΠΛΑΓΙΑΙΣ. ὡς Φελέρη, ἢ Φάναξ, ἢ Φοίκας, ἢ Φανὴς, ἢ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα. Dionys. Halic. Ant. Lib. I. p. 16.

(2) *Quod Digamma, nisi Vocali præponi, & in principio syllabæ, non potest.* Priscian. p. 547.

(3) The Roman Criticks rejected several letters upon the same account. *Autoritas tam Varronis, quam Macri, teste Censorino, nec K, nec Qu, neque H in numero adhibet literarum.* Priscian. apud Putsch. Vossius Gram. p. 81, 82.

The Æolic Digamma. The (1) Æoles, who retained this letter longest, mitigated its harshness, by giving it the sound of the labial aspirate, the Roman F, or Greek Φ *Phi*, by which name it is still known in the Runic. The letter F is the sixth in the Roman alphabet, the place of the Hebrew ו *Vau*, *Waw*, or rather *Whaw*; which is now pronounced as an hard F, or V consonant, but was formerly the aspirate. The moderns have been misled by the authority of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, Priscian, and other grammarians, who seem to have known only this secondary sound of the Digamma; but to have been wholly ignorant of its first power, as a guttural. The Runic ϕ *Phi*, or *Fee*, in its primitive northern pronunciation seems to have been the same with our *Cb*, *Gb*, *Qb*, or *Wb*, a deep guttural aspirate. Its sound is for the most part lost in the western languages of Europe, but English men and others preserve some traces of it, as appears from their way of spelling words, compared with the pronunciation of them.

Common to all the nations of Europe. When the Digamma became softened into F, or *Phi*, it was not confined to the Æoles, but common to all the nations of Europe. Where therefore we meet with the sound of F, we sometimes find the remains of the rougher letter. As for instance, the English

(1) Ἄλλοι μὲν Ἰλλυριοὶ διαπέυσαν τὰ φωνήεντα· Αἰολεῖς δὲ ἕδαμῶς. Apollon. Alex. de Syntax. Lib. I. p. 44. Sciendum tamen quod hoc ipsum, [Digamma] Æoles quidem ubique loco aspirationis ponebant, effugientes spiritus asperitatem. Priscian. fol. 3. F Æolicum Digamma, quod apud antiquissimos Latinorum eandem vim quam apud Æoles habuit: cum autem prope forum quem nunc habet F, significabat P cum aspiratione. Idem pag. 2.

words pronounced *Laff*, *Draft*, *Enuff*, and the like, are by good luck still spelt (1) *Laugh*, *Draught*, *Enough*; which proves that their first pronunciation was guttural. In like manner the Sclavonian names *Menzikow*, *Czernikow* &c. with a guttural termination, are pronounced *Menzikoff*, *Czernikoff*. On the other hand, the true sound of the Gothic *FAN*, or *Lord*, is still preserved in the aspirated syllable *HAN* of the Tartars, or *CHAN* of the Persians: and (2) Salmasius observes, that the number which Englishmen call *Four*, and the Germans *Vier*, the same Persians pronounce *GHIHAR*. Thus the Spaniards seem to preserve the primitive sound in the words *Haba*, *Habla*, *Hado*, *Hembra*, *Hogo*; though they were written by the Romans, *Faba*, *Fabula*, *Fatum*, *Femina*, *Focus*; and *Hijo*, *Filius*, is in Greek $\Upsilon\iota\omicron$.

The Digamma not appropriated solely to vowels.

As the vowel sounds constituted the essence of a syllable, the Digamma principally belonged to them, and wherever it is found, I think, could hardly be without its power and effect: tho' a very great (3) critic is of opinion, that it was quiescent between two

(1) Accordingly near a thousand years ago, to *Laugh* was *Lihan*, to *Drag* or *Draw* *Drazan*, and *Enough* was *Enoh*, in some places still pronounced *Enow*.

(2) *Sic ergo Persis GHIHAR pro FIHAR, vel FIER.* Salmaf. de Hellenist. p. 389.

(3) *Nunc vero ut idem Vau quiescit, & hiatus inter duas vocales sine sono implet.* Chishull Antiq. Asiat. p. 19. The true Greek Digamma, if I remember right, is only once to be found upon an authentic monument; viz. The Delian inscription given us by Mr Tournefort. Travels Vol. I. p. 319. which inscription, by the by, I take to be the oldest now in being.

.. ΟΑΥΤΤΟΛΙΘΟΕΜΙΑΝΔΡΙΑΣΚΑΙΤΟΣΦΕΛΑΣ

Τὸ αὐτὸ λίθος εἶμι ἀνδρίας καὶ τὸ σφέλας

Ejusdem lapidis sum statua & basis.

S

I cannot

vowels. Nor was it appropriated solely to the vowels, as the ancients thought, but was sometimes affixed to consonants, as particularly to the (1) Greek ρ, or *Rho*, which is naturally a guttural, as is c, g, κ, q; and in the most ancient languages the (2) letter L. For, to omit an hun-

I cannot see the reason for placing the Digamma here, in the word ΑΥΤΟ, if it was intended to be *quiescent* only. For if the Greeks at that time pronounced ΑΥ as a diphthong, it seems absurd to interpose a third letter. Was it therefore placed there to aspirate the diphthong, as in εἰωτῶ? Or rather was it not designed to distinguish the vowels, as in εἰωτῶ; and to shew that they did not coalesce in a diphthong? But that the second vowel was to be aspirated, and so the word to be made a trisyllable, as ΑΗΥΤΟΥ. This I think most probable, as diphthongs were at that time very rare: for ε and ι we see, are wrote ε and ο; nor does it appear that ΚΑΙ was not a dissyllable, and should be wrote καί. Priscian, where he speaks of the Digamma, quotes from the poet Alcman the word ΔΑΦΙΟΝ, which should be wrote Δάϊον, or perhaps rather Δαίον, an instance that seems to make for our purpose. He mentions besides some names which he found on the tripod of Apollo at Byzantium, as ΔΕΜΟΦΟΦΟΝ, ΛΑΦΟΚΟΦΟΝ: these words could never be read in the Æolic manner ΔΕΜΟΡΗΦΟΝ, ΛΑΥΟΚΟΦΟΝ, but rather Δημοφοφών, Λαφοκωφών; *Hiatus causa, solebant Æoles interponere F Digamma*, as he says; that is, That the aspirate might fill up the *hiatus* between the vowels. Many syllables of Greek words, in later times pronounced with a soft breath, were at first aspirated; of which the Sigean inscription alone will afford us more than one instance, as in ΗΘΟΜΟΣ, ΗΑΙΣΟΠΟΣ, ΗΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ: to which we may add those of Dionysius, as above, ΦΑΝΑΞ, ΦΟΙΚΟΣ, ΦΑΝΗΡ, and many others.

(1) *Per εἰωτῶν, quam vocant litera additur, aut initio nominis, aut in medio, aut in fine. Initio ut εἰωτῶν pro εἰωτῶν apud Æolios. Sed illud ε videtur esse loco Digammæ, quia εἰωτῶν adspiratur. Hoc igitur pro εεἰωτῶν: quomodo Æoles τῶ εἰωτῶν pronuntiabant. Sed Æoles nihil adspirabant. Loco enim adspirationis Digamma ponebant. Quod Digamma litera erat, & in numero literarum ponebatur. Salmast. de Hellenist. p. 64.*

(2) *Lh clementum, lingua in primorem palati regionem valido nisu impulsâ, sonoque per dentes utrinque maxillares habituose emisso, profertur. Est autem Britannis adeo peculiaris & propria, ut apud nullos alios Europæ incolas (quod sciam) reperitur. Henr. Salesbury Gram. Britan. Lond. 1593. 8vo. Tradit Jo. Aventinus veteres Germanos L cum aspiratione usurpasse. Quod etiam nonnulli existimant de Ḥ Hebraico. Jo. Davies Linguæ Cambro-Britan. Rudimenta. Lond. 1621.*

dred instances of the same kind, the syllable which Englishmen in the Æolic way pronounce FLOYD, in true Celtic orthography is LHVYD; a name ever to be remembered with respect by British antiquaries.

Aleph the Hebrew Digamma. The affinity between alphabets, when discovered, shews that all were derived from the Hebrew or Cadmean; in which this remarkable letter could hardly be wanting. And I think we need not despair of finding it; tho' not in the (1) place where it is commonly looked for; but in the front of the alphabet, as in the Runic. For the Hebrew (2) *Aleph*, tho' made a vowel by the Greeks, will, I believe be found to be no more than a Digamma, or mark of aspiration. The oldest form of the *Gamma* now extant, as in the (3) Sigean and (4) Baudelotian inscriptions, is not erect, but stooping \wedge : the Digamma accordingly, in the (5) Delian inscription, is a reclining \blacktriangleright : and *Aleph* appears under the like form in the oldest al-

pag. 7. Verelius thought this property of the letter was peculiar to the Runic. *Respondet Latino L. Hoc autem peculiare habet, quod cum in aliis linguis sit dentale, apud nos gutturale est, & exteris pronuntiatio infuetum.* Verelii Runographia Scandica. pag. 32.

(1) In the place of Vau.

(2) The name of this leading letter, viz. Aleph or Alph, signifying in Hebrew an Ox or Heifer, (whence the fable of Cadmus's Cow) was at first pronounced gutturally, as its property required; and therefore the learned Meric Casaubon was not deceived in his conjecture. *Mibi certe magis arridet hæc conjectura, quod & Anglicum Calf ex eodem Hebraico verbo Aleph, quatenus Bovem significat, fluxisse pene mihi persuadeo.* De Quatuor Linguis. pag. 40.

(3) Chishull Antiquit. Afiat. pag. 4.

(4) Montfaucon Palæograph. Græc. pag. 135.

(5) Tournefort's Voyages Vol. I. p. 319. Montfaucon Palæogr. p. 122. Chishull Antiq. Afiat. p. 16.

phabets, such as the (1) Samaritan, and (2) Etruscan. And even the first letter, or vowel A of the Greeks and Romans, was only a Digamma Λ, as the letters were delineated from the right hand.

The mutilated Digamma.

When the sound of languages grew softer, and the alphabet began to be enlarged, the Digamma was neglected; and before it was quite extinct, became mutilated in its figure: the upper transverse stroke being taken away, as thus H; or when they wrote ΒΥΣΕΣΦΗΔΩΝ thus H; for I take both the one and the other to mean the aspirate, and not to be understood, as if the latter had a (3) contrary sound to that of

(1) Vid. Alphabeta Phœnicia & Samaritana, apud Montfaucon Palæograph. p. 122.

(2) See the Etruscan Alphabet by Mr Swinton in the Universal History. Vol. 16. 8vo.

(3) I am not ignorant that Quintilian, and the Roman Grammarians, who followed him, are point blank against me in this case: *An rursus aliæ redundant præter illam Aspirationis notam H, quæ si necessaria est contrariam sibi poscit H*. Inst. Orat. Lib. I. c. 4. I know too, that when accents came into use, the Greek scribes a thousand years ago wrote these two marks for the *lene* and *aspirate* spirits: but we meet with nothing of this distinction upon the older monuments of the Greeks, Coins and Marbles. We find that H stood for the aspirate, as in ΤΕΛΕΝΙΤΩΝ. Goltz. ΤΗΡΑΚΛΗΙΩΝ. Goth. Num. or ΦΗΡΑΚΛΗΙΩΝ. as it is in *Beger. Thesaur. Brand.* 204: but H is never used for the *lene* mark. It is not so much my business to enquire, how the modern practice began, as to shew the impropriety of it. Yet I will give my opinion that it began with the aspirate consonants, and not with the vowels. When two of these consonants, as γ'γ, κ'κ, λ'λ, ς'ς, met together in the middle of a word; (for they can neither begin, nor end one) it was necessary to place the Digamma between them, to shew that the Second must be aspirated as beginning another syllable; but there was not the same reason for adding a note to the first, for that ended a syllable, and of course was not aspirated. The oldest instance of ΒΥΣΕΣΦΗΔΩΝ writing now extant, is the Sigeian inscription: but this was wrote after the Digamma ceased, and was changed into H; for which reason it is not to be found there, either perfect, or mutilated. The Romans thought that H was formed from the two marks; *Nos bis (H) sociatis, adspirationis fecimus notam H*. Sergius in Donat. ap. Putsch.

the former; for a soft syllable required no such note of distinction. These two joined together at the middle point form the H, a letter that might be used both ways in writing; and therefore probably not of the primitive class, tho' a very ancient letter. And for this reason I am of opinion, that H was compounded of these two; rather than that those were disjointed halves of the H. The H was certainly a Greek aspirate, as appears by the oldest (1) inscriptions; tho', as it was a later letter, perhaps its force was not so strong and harsh as the Digamma. And it seems to me, that when they pronounced more gutturally, they used the F; when less, the ʰ or ʰ, and in time both united as H.

The degradation of the Digamma. To sum up the history and fate of this antiquated letter. It seems at first to have been removed to make room for the vowel A; and scarce ever after gained any

Putsch. p. 1829; but they were mistaken in thinking that the conjunction was owing to them: for the H was rather older than their language. The Roman inscriptions are of more authority than all their Grammarians: in these we find the Two Marks used indifferently for the aspirate; and the *Pfite*, or *lene* mark, as the Grammarians called it, perhaps oftner than the other: as in these that follow,

T. OCTAVIVS THALLVS E VIBIA R†ODE

SAPPIENA LYC†NIS MATRIS

D. M. D. DIGITIO P†ARNACE

DIS MANIB. SACR. IVNIA PANNYC†IS. *Fabretti Sylloge Inscript. p. 195.*

These inscriptions indeed seem not quite so old as the time of Quintilian; but yet are much older than the Greek accents.

(1) It occurs no less than four times as such in the Sigean Inscription; and in the Parian Chronicle, among the Arundel Marbles, constantly stands for the number *One Hundred*, as being the first letter in the word *ἑκατὼν* i. e. *Centum*. See likewise the Baudelotian marble, and the inscriptions of Herodes Atticus. Montfauc. Palæog. p. 135.

fixt seat in the alphabet. For tho' the ancients found that they could not well do without its power; yet that was always made to give way to some more fashionable letter. The first place that it occupied after its removal, seems to have been that of *Vau*, or *Whaw*, but here it lost its found, when *Vau* began to be pronounced like *F*, or *v* consonant. Its next place was that of (1) *Heth* or *Cbeth*, by which means it became the *H* of the Ionic alphabet: tho' it was soon banished from thence, to make room for the long *E*, or *Eta*. But with the Romans, who acknowledged no such power as *Eta*, it still kept its ground; and in the modern alphabets retains its place to this day. From *Cbeth* it might descend to *Koph* or *Quof*; for some (2) authors are of opinion, that it formerly stood in the place of *Q*. The Greeks seem to have thought this a place of too much dignity for it; by discarding *Quof*, and placing the aspirate lower in the series, making it the double (3) letter *x*, or *Cb*. This seems to have been its last stage, as a letter, with the Greeks; it being now reduced to the mean condition of an accent, (').

The W the Digamma revived. In the Runic alphabet alone the Digamma preserved its ancient station, and power, and for the most part its form, tho' a little distorted; but by degrees lost its first found, being pronounced as *F*; the letter **,* or *H*,

(1) Οἶμα ἢ ἢ Ἀφ ἢ Η σειρίη πτώσεις τὸς παλαιὸς ἢ Δασείαν. εἰπερ ἢ Ρομέου πρὸ πάντων ἢ Δεσποσύμων ἰσομάτων τὸ Η αεζζέφασι. Athen. Deipn. Lib. IX.

(2) Goropius Becanus. Hermathenæ. Lib. IX. p. 213.

(3) *Septuaginta Interpretes non valentes Heth literam, que duplicem aspirationem sonat, in Græcum sermonem vertere, Chi Græcam literam addiderunt, ut nos docerent ejusmodi vocabula aspirari debere; unde S in præsentī loco Cham transfulerunt, pro eo quod est Ham. S. Hieron. Hebr. Tradit.*

supplying

supplying the place of the aspirate. And yet the Northern nations seem to have thought * not aspirate enough for their purpose; and therefore revived the old Digamma under the form of (1) double uu, ʋ or *Wen*, a letter unknown to the ancient Hebrews, Greeks, Romans, and Goths; I mean as to its form and place, for there can be no doubt that they had the sound. Here we see it degraded almost to the lowest extremity of the alphabet, but still reserving to itself a sort of claim to the very first place, by the resemblance it bears of the ancient form of *Alpha* Δ.

When W came into the Series.

ʋ seems to have been an old letter of the Alphabet, when the scribes wrote in majuscules, and might be used very early; tho', If I remember right, it does not appear in our Saxon manuscripts till the ninth century, for before that time they used two separate u u. The most that I am able to do, is to trace it by conjecture; and, I think, as high as the latter end of the Sixth century. For I take it to be one of those *Four Letters*, which, as Gre-

(1) *In geminata V Gammae duæ Græcæ literæ ponuntur.* Cledon. Constantinop. apud Putschii Auctor. Ling. Lat. pag. 1882. This rule may only mean that one V served for a Digamma, or V consonant; as in the words *Vultus Uvidus*, and the like: unless we choose to illustrate it, by the reversed Digamma ʋ, a letter introduced by the emperor Claudius Cæsar. *Nec inutiliter Claudius Æolicam illam ad hos usus F literam adjecerat.* Quintil. Instit. Lib. I. cap. 7. It had the power of V consonant, and is found upon some inscriptions of that reign, but was soon abolished. *Usui imperitante eo* [Claudio] *postea oblitterata.* Tacit. Ann. Lib. XI. I must here observe, that this Claudian Digamma is only the Samaritan Aleph inverted. ʋ. Vid. Toinard. Alphan. Samarit. apud Montfauc. Palæog. Græc. pag. 122. The Hebrew ʋ *Vau* or *Waw* had likewise the power of W. The Ulphilo-Gothic letter ʋ served to the same purpose. So did the Greek Digamma, or F, as in *Fōivos*, in Latin *Vinum*, in English *Wine*. When the Digamma was lost, the later Greeks, as Dionysius Halicarnass. observes above, used the Diphthong or, which was no more than a Digamma, or W.

gory of Tours says, king Chilperic added to the Francic alphabet, (1) *Addidit autem* (Chilpericus) *℞ literas literis nostris, id est ω, sicut Græci habent, æ, the, uui, quarum characteres subscripsimus. Hi sunt ω, ↓, Z, Δ, Et misit epistolas in uniuersas ciuitates regni sui, ut sic pueri docerentur, ac libri antiquitus scripti planati punice rescriberentur.* This passage is certainly corrupt as to the forms of the characters. Z and Δ could scarce be wanting in any alphabet of that time. The Ω of the Greeks may be admitted, as being a letter well known; and ↓ is only the Ulphilo-Gothic ψ *Theta*, or *Thorn*, which seems to be misplaced in the order; for Z seems to represent the diphthong æ. The greatest (2) difficulty then remaining will be about the letter Δ. And yet Gregory himself seems to have solved this difficulty, by calling it uui: for what can this mean, but W? Give me therefore leave to add one stroke to Δ, as thus Δ, and it will appear to be the very letter of which we have been speaking. Ƴ seems to be formed from the Digamma Ƴ, by drawing the horizontal strokes to a point: And this constitutes the form of the letter A in the Delian and Sigeian inscriptions. The mutilated Digamma Ƴ in the same manner, seems to make the Runic vowel λ. But the later Runes to express the power of W, added a point to

(1) Gregorius Turonensis Hist. Franc. per Ruinartum. Lib.V. c. 45.

(2) *Supereſt nonnihil difficultatis in litera Δ, quam his elementis uui Gregorii editio exprimit. Literam ſane quæ vim habeat hujus ſoni ſignificandi Argentæus Codex habet, quam in ſecundæ petitionis Orationis Dominicæ inuenies; eſt eam per literam Q perperam, ni fallor, in leſione expreſſam uideo. At olim Wimai lectum fuiſſe uidetur, craſſo quidem ℞ adſpirato ſono, qui ſenſim in lingua Germanica in Q, uel K, immutatus ſit, ℞ in lingua Gallica in literam G, ut nomen illud Wilbelmus oſtendit, quod Galli modo omnes Guilielmum pronunciant. Atqui cum ea litera (α) nonnihil ad D Latinum in illius æui manuſcriptis accedat, facillime ab amanuenſi imperito in Δ Græcum mutari potuit.* La Croze Ep. ad Chamberlayne Orat. Domin. p. 140.

Ϝ, and called it *Stungen Fie*, or the pricked F. All these several transmutations combine to shew the descent of W from Aleph, or the Digamma.

The use of the Digamma in Etymology.

Some readers, I know, will think that I have mispent my time and pains upon an obsolete letter, that has been disfranchised between two and three thousand years ago: but I expect more favour from those, who think etymology worth their attention. Men of learning have not always an opportunity of conversing with foreign nations, which is the true way of coming at the origin of words in the European languages: that of seeing them written being very precarious. For tho' men commonly write as they pronounce, yet few nations agree in translating the sounds by the same letters. This is best illustrated by examples from a remote language, wherein no alphabet is used: for instance, Chinese words as they are often written by Spaniards, Portuguese, Germans, Hollanders, French and English, scarce seem to express the same sounds, or to mean the same things. Even in alphabetical writing, the vowels are commonly interchangeable, and consonants of the same, or different, organs are frequently confounded together. This makes the case of bringing back languages to their primitive state, almost desperate: and yet the guttural aspirate which is a sure mark of the antiquity of a language, may be one help towards recovering them. By keeping the Digamma in view, by discerning where it has been formerly affixed to a vowel or consonant, or omitted between two vowels; by noting its several gradations, and what letters came into the place of it; we may perhaps discover the gradual re-

T

finement

finement of languages, and consequently the cognation of dialects. That harmony of speech, *Ευφωνία*, or *Ευνομία*, so cultivated by the Greeks, wrought numberless innovations in their tongue, till by degrees they had divested it of all its barbarity, or northerness: and as the Romans imitated the Greeks, their language became still more heterogeneous. But if the Digamma, the radical consonants, together with the idiom and genius of each language, were duly considered; I am persuaded, that all the Scythian dialects of Europe, Celtic, Greek, Roman, Gothic, &c. would be found much nearer (1) akin to each other, than they appear to be in modern writing. The first intention likewise of hundreds of Greek and Roman words could not now be discovered, had they not been preserved in dialects, that are called barbarous. And therefore the Greek and Roman grammarians, by seeking for the source of almost all their words in their own tongue, have only exposed their weakness; and sometimes made most ridiculous work with etymology.

(1) The reader will find this to be true in many instances, only by comparing words with others of the same signification, as they stand in the vocabularies of each language. In the mean time let him take these few as a specimen.

CANIS	Ku & Kun <i>Celt.</i> <i>κῆν, κῆρ, vel ἄν Gr.</i> Hund <i>Goth.</i> Hound <i>Engl.</i>
CAPUT	Gaph <i>Hebr.</i> <i>κεφαλή Gr.</i> Coppa <i>Celt.</i> Heofod <i>Sax.</i> Hofd <i>Runic.</i> Head <i>Engl.</i>
CANNABIS	Kanab <i>Celt.</i> <i>κανναβίς Gr.</i> Kennep <i>Dutch.</i> Hemp <i>Engl.</i>
CLAMO	Kol <i>i. e. Vox Hebr.</i> Galw <i>Celt.</i> <i>καλέω Gr.</i> Call & Halloo <i>Engl.</i>
CORNU	Keren <i>Hebr.</i> <i>κέρας Gr.</i> Korn <i>Celt.</i> Haurn <i>Goth.</i> Horn <i>Engl.</i>
CULMUS	Calav <i>Celt.</i> <i>κάλαμος Gr.</i> Healm <i>Sax.</i> Halm <i>Engl.</i>
HORTUS	Gedher <i>Hebr.</i> Gardd <i>Celt.</i> Aurtigard, <i>unde Orchard Goth.</i> Garden <i>Engl.</i>
QUINQUE	Pump <i>Celt.</i> <i>πέντε vel πέμπε Gr.</i> Fimf <i>Goth.</i> Five <i>Engl.</i>
QUIS	Pui <i>Celt.</i> <i>τίς Gr.</i> Quhas <i>Goth.</i> Who, Whose, or Which <i>Engl.</i>

From

The primitive Alphabet had no Vowels.

From the History of the Greek alphabet of twenty four letters, we learn, that it was many centuries before it was compleated; the (1) Romans seem to acknowledge the same of theirs. Whence I think we may justly infer that all have been improved; and that the oldest now to be found was derived from some other, which I shall call the Primitive alphabet of Moses. The order of the Greek letters, as well as their names, was plainly taken from the Phenician or Hebrew, as they now stand: but the Runic or Gothic seems to be of an original somewhat different. Tho' this alphabet consists of only sixteen letters, yet I am of opinion, that it has admitted several adscititious ones into the original number. If there is any truth in what I have just now advanced, the vowel A could not be so ancient a letter as the Digamma. And therefore it may with some reason be questioned, whether in the first alphabet there were any vowels: for the first writing seems to have been carried on without them, their sounds being included in the consonants; and some (2) northern men have been of opinion, that they are not at all necessary to speech. Even when it was thought expedient to give some written form to those sounds, it

(1) *Vetustissima transeo tempora, quibus & pauciores literæ, nec similes his nostris earum formæ fuerunt, & vis quoque diversa. Quintilian. Instit. Orat. c. 8. Et forma Literis Latinis quæ veterimis Græcorum. Sed nobis pauçæ primum fuere: deinde additæ sunt. Tacit. An. Lib. XI. c. 14.*

(2) *Polonorum lingua ferream propemodum habet duritiem, utpote in qua uni vocali septem, vel octo sæpe copulantur consonantes. Pæne dixeris eos absque vocalibus loqui. Memini certe vidisse me aliquem ex ea gente, qui palam jactaret, ad formandam vocem, & explicandos animi sensus, vel solas sibi consonantes sufficere literas. Vossius de Viribus Rhythmi. pag. 58.*

should seem that there was no occasion for so many as we have at present. The (1) alphabet of the Etruscans wants the vowels o and u; that people could not be without those two sounds in speech; but they had not found the way of distinguishing them by particular letters. The Runic alphabet wants the letter e, so that here are three vowels that may be spared from the primitive alphabet; and the A in Hebrew is no vowel, which will make a fourth. I imagine therefore that the primitive alphabet had no vowels, or at least only one mark that answered for all the rest. What that vowel was in the Runic we may guess, not only from its simple form, which is the ground and support of all the other letters, being a single perpendicular line, but from its place in the series. For if the other vowels are removed, it will be found in the center of the alphabet, consisting then of only (2) thirteen letters, as if it was designed to give life and spirit to all the consonants in this manner.

P.	F.	R.	P.	K.	I.	U.	T.	B.	L.	M.	Y.	
f.	d.	r.	k.	h.	n.	i.	s.	t.	b.	l.	m.	y.

(1) Seignior Gori in his *Museum Florent.* Vol. I. Proleg. p. 49, reckons Sixteen letters in the Etruscan alphabet, whereof V is one. But our learned friend Mr John Swinton, who seems to have entered further than any other before him, into that abstruse part of literature, admits of only thirteen, and excludes both O and V. See the alphabet itself in the *Etruscan History* compiled by him. *Universal History.* Vol. 16. 8vo.

(2) Some of the ancients held that Thirteen was the original number of the letters, but what grounds they had for their opinion, or which were the letters meant, is uncertain. *Ὁ ἀειδίμωσ ἢ αὐτῶν ἕσσι δὲσιν ἢ ἑξάδιον ἀπέειν ἀκειβῶσ ἐπέι πηλλῶ παρέθε κὶ τῶσ πρὸ ἡμῶσ ἀπέειαν τὸ πρῶγμα. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀήθησαν ἔθ' ΤΡΙΑΚΑΙΔΕΚΑ τὰ πάντα ἢ φωνῆσ σείχηια, καὶ τασκευῶσ ἢ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐκ τῶτων. Οἱ δὲ, καὶ ἔθ' ἑξήσ Βικασιτεσάρον, οἱσ χρομέσα γῶ, πλείω.* *Dionys. Halic. de Struct. Orat.* c. 14.

I shall

The Vowels E and I the same. I shall not attempt to find any secret meaning in the order and number of the letters, but leave that task to more curious enquirers. However I must do the letter E so much justice, as to think that it never was admitted into the old alphabet sooner or later, not only because it was near (1) akin to the letter I, but the very same with it. This seems probable from its place in the Samaritan alphabet, where it represents the letter \aleph , or *Jod*; which yet in the Hebrew, as well as Runic, is the most simple of all the letters.

The letter Jod the general mark for the Vowel. The learned have not been able to (2) divine, how one of the most complex figures of the alphabet came to be reduced to the most simple; and therefore it may be lawful to offer a conjecture in this case, tho' I shall lay no very great stress upon it. The *Jod*, or general mark for the Vowel, might at first be an auxiliary letter, like the Digamma; and both requisite to distinguish the syllables. The one denoted the explosion, the other the attraction of the breath. We see how near they approach to each other in their forms \aleph \aleph , the vowel mark having the advantage of one stroke extraordinary, perhaps because it was necessary to all syllables; whereas the Digamma belonged only to the aspirated ones. When

(1) *Extremam istius vocis syllabam tum per E, tum per I, scriptam legi. Nam sane quam consuetum iis veteribus fuerit, litteris his uti indifferenter.* Aul. Gellius. Lib. X. c. 24.

(2) I. *Quo casu evenerit, ut hæc litera, quæ Phœnicium nomen apud Græcos retinet, tantum defecerit a prisca forma, ut nulli ex allatis superius affinis sit, incertum est.* Montfauc. Palæogr. p. 129.

harmony began to be studied, and it was found that the vowel found might be varied into particular notes: then perhaps it was thought necessary that each should be admitted to a place in the alphabet; and that it would be more proper to begin the series with a vowel. The place of the aspirate was accordingly appropriated to the found of A, and the vowel mark allotted to that of E; the *Jod* in the mean time still preserving its name and place, but reduced, like the Digamma, to a more diminutive form. Whether the vowels o and u came so early into the alphabet, as the two former, must be left to the disquisition of others.

The Britons, Scots, Irish and Saxons used the corrupted Roman letters.

It may be proper to conclude this essay with a word or two upon the oldest writings of our own country. If the Anglosaxons brought letters with them into Britain, I suppose, they were the old Gothic or Runic; the Ulphilo-Gothic perhaps never taking place in their country. That the Runic letters were not unknown in England, appears from a few inscriptions on (1) coins, and (2) stones, and other monuments, and in some (3) Saxon books: but whether

(1) *INRFOT FAKTIS* i. e. *Turgotus Londinensis*. Nummus Thoresbeianus. Vid. D. Andr. Fountaine Præf. ad Num. Sax. OFFA. REX. BATHMVD i. e. Botred *Monetarius*. Vid. Serenii Dict. Anglo-Suecico-Lat. Præf. Pag. 21.

(2) Vid. Hickes Thes. Ling. Septentr. BAPTISTERIUM BRIDEKIRKENSE. Par. III. pag. 4. Tab. 2. SAXUM REVELLENSE *apud Scotos*. Ibid. Tab. 4. pag. 5. CRUX LAPIDEA *apud Beaucaastle*. Wanley Catal. MSS. Anglo-Sax. pag. 248. ANNULUS AUREUS. Drake Hist. of York. Appen. p. 102. Tab. N. 26.

(3) Vid. Hickes Thesaur. Par. I. pag. 135, 136, 148. Par. III. Tab. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

they

they were brought in by the first Saxons, or rather by the Danes, is a question: and it is certain that they never grew into common use. We have no remains of Saxon writing so old as the sixth century, nor during that time do the Saxons seem to have had much leisure to employ themselves in that way. In the seventh century, after they became Christians, it is clear that they applied themselves to writing of books; though I think we have none remaining even of that century, excepting a few (1) Charters. Before the Saxons arrival, the corrupted Roman letters were in use with the natives, British, Scotch, and Irish: and these the Saxons were contented to make use of, in writing both Latin and English, instead of their own the Runic: The Runic characters were perhaps at that time accounted Pagan, and unhallowed; for they had an ill (2) name, as being used to bad purposes; at least, being capital letters, they were not so commodious as the others. It is true that the Saxons added two letters to the Latin alphabet; for Ð þ, TH or *Thorn*, and ƿ ƿ, W or *Wen*, are of Northern growth.

(1) Thef. Ling. Sept. Par. I. pag. 169. Charta Odilredi ad Mon. Berking. v. Casley Cat. MSS. Reg. Bibl. &c.

(2) *Hosce autem characteres RAMRVNER, seu Runas Amaras & Acerbas vocarunt, eo quod molestias, dolores, morbos, aliaque perniciofa hisce infligere inimicis soliti sunt Magi. — Mibi iudicium clarissimi & in antiquitatibus nostris versatissimi viri D. Arngrimi Jone Islandi, de RAMRVNIS expetenti, tale obtigit responsum. “Existimo verisimile esse Magos illos literatura aliqua suos, & quidem vulgari, majori ex parte, sed virgulis & punctis suo Marte excogitatis corrupta: cui literaturæ, sic corruptæ, Satbanæ persuasit, vim & efficaciam maximam inesse crediderint, & ipso agente, ac illudente, experti sunt.”* Ol. Wormius Lit. Runica. c. 5. By this one might be induced to think, that some of those deformed alphabets, given us by Dr Hickes, were of the RAMRVNER kind.

The Conclusion. This alphabet, whilst the Saxon language flourished in England, varied but little as to the forms of the letters; tho' it cannot be called entirely the same. In every age some scribes excelled others in writing, and all differed a little from those who went before them; but still the humour and duct of the letters was pretty well preserved for about four hundred years; for I think that period will take in all the Saxon writing, that is now remaining. When the Normans enforced their language upon us, another sort of character crept in with it by degrees; however the old Saxon books still remained, and the letters in which they are written, have by courtesy been called Saxon to this day. As there are but few of them that differ from the common characters now in use; every English reader is, or ought to be, acquainted with them; and therefore it will be unnecessary to dwell any longer upon them.

F. W. R. L.

Errata.

Pag. 87. *lin.* 10. *Dele* May.

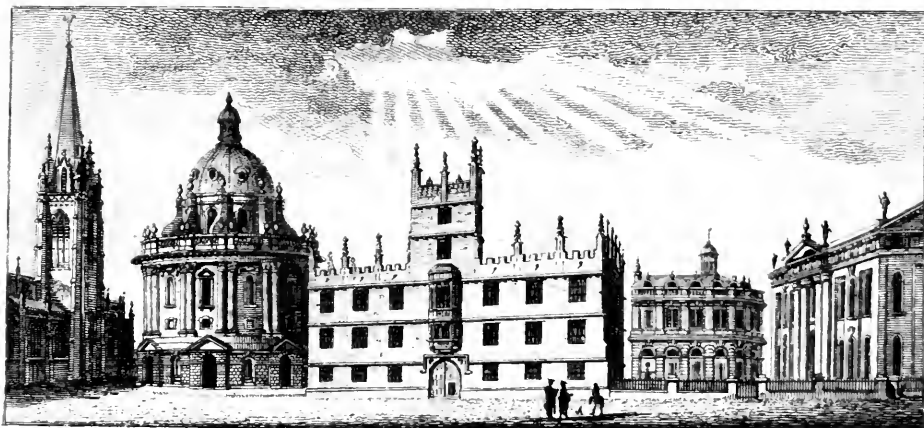
Pag. 89. *lin.* 1. *Adde* GREITAN.

Pag. 138. *Not.* 2. *lin.* 3. *In* Secundæ l. *Initio* Secundæ.

T H E
HISTORY AND CHRONOLOGY
O F T H E
F A B U L O U S A G E S
C O N S I D E R E D.
P A R T I C U L A R L Y W I T H R E G A R D T O
T H E T W O A N C I E N T D E I T I E S
B A C C H U S A N D H E R C U L E S.

By a Member of the Society of Antiquaries in London.

Antiquam exquirite Matrem. Virg.
Nullius in verba. Hor.



O X F O R D

Printed at the THEATRE. MDCCLXIV.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE prevailing custom of entertaining the publick with pieces of wit and humour under the form of History, Lives, and Adventures, first moved the authour to review the fables of antiquity: for he sees no reason why they should be neglected; since, by our methods of education, they are in a manner the fountain of science, the source of the first knowledge that we imbibe. This indeed may be the chief cause of their being neglected: as they were the diversion of our childhood, we think fit to throw them aside, like other toys, when we are grown to maturity. And yet it must be owned, that without a thorough knowledge and remembrance of them, we can hardly understand, at least not read with pleasure, those useful, and invaluable, productions of the ancients. The fabulous heroes of antiquity afford us as much instruction as the modern; and

have this further advantage, that after so many ages they are not yet grown old, or obsolete; but still flourish in the records of fame; and are likely to live, when most of the heroes of modern fable shall be extinct, and forgot.

The study of Antiquities, so much of late decried by Englishmen, is, in other words, a more accurate research into ancient history; which the learned of other countries think cannot be carried to too great an height, because nothing in literature can be more useful. In travelling through the boundless region of science, we can never expect to come to our journeys end: but the more, we know, the more, we ought to think, remains still unknown to us. Whereas it is our misfortune, that too many among us only learn enough to make them conceited with what they know; and then, with an air of importance, to depreciate as useless, whatever they cannot relish, imitate, or even understand. This is always a sure mark of a little mind, swelling itself in its own narrow sphere, and is well described by the poet

That

That casting weight pride adds to emptiness.

Sir William Temple calls it Sufficiency, the worst composition out of the pride and ignorance of mankind. If any good effect can flow from this evil, it must be that of putting an author upon his guard; that when he falls into the hands of these merciless enemies, they may have the less hold to pull him to pieces; and by this means learning may for some time stand its ground against such superficial antagonists. If the nation by a natural decay, is sinking into a state of ignorance, as some are apt to think; this may be one symptom of the distemper, but can never contribute to the cure of it: no more than every quack pretender to physick can restore a constitution broken with age and infirmities.

We have had, for the best part of a century, periodical accounts of the State of Literature in our Island; and judgment has been passed on books and authors in Abstracts, Compendiums, Abridgements, &c. wrote at first with decency, and good manners: setting forth the merits of each performance; and sometimes perhaps with too much

candour. But this rule seems to be inverted at present: we dont study so much, to find out the beauties of an author, as to lay open his defects. Hired writers, supported by idle tasteless readers, now usurp the office of Dictators in the commonwealth of Letters: and without fear, or shame, pronounce the fate of an author as magisterially, as if they were entire masters of his subject; which too often happens to lye quite out of their reach. And the more sharp, and severe, their censure is, they commonly receive the greater proportion of applause. I wish the success they have met with, may not have induced others, of superiour endowments, and more liberal education, to enter into the same ungenerous, and supercilious, way of condemning in gross, without proof, or assigning the least reason for their sentence.

There is scarce a fragment of the ancients, that has not, upon occasion, proved of service to the learned: and their Mythology is a mine, that will yield a treasure to those, who are at the pains of working it. The wisest maxims of their sages; sublime lessons of morality; a deep insight into nature; all more or less intermixt with fable,
lye

lye near the very surface of it. But if in searching further into this mine, some gleams of historical light break in upon us; how great is the surprize, how agreeable the discovery! This alone ought to be an encouragement to a philosophical mind, a mind intent upon the search after truth.

Truth is said to lye deep in the earth, and the way to find it must be to dig deep for it: to trace things back to their first beginnings: to study the origin of nations, languages, customs, arts, and sciences. Those, who only busy themselves on the surface of fable, may think that the persons of the gods were ideal only, and their actions the result of fancy; and that no sort of truth can be expected from thence. The author has taken some pains to shew the falsity of such notions: he has endeavoured to set the heathen mythological history in a proper light, and to fix the time, when it really commenced. He has attempted to prove, that the Gods came from a quarter of the world, not hitherto suspected: and though this may seem a novel opinion, yet that it was known to the ancient Greeks, before they were overrun with the superstitions of Egypt.

His

His former *Essay* was designed to shew, that the first gods of the Grecians, *Uranus* and *Saturn*, were not natives of their country, as was afterwards pretended, but came from the North. He now presents the publick with two more, of as great fame as the others; who, as he imagines, came from the same country, but distinguished themselves at first in *India*; and long before their names were known to *Greece* or *Egypt*.

The author has always paid great regard to the judgment of the learned, and will ever abide by their decision. Ancient prejudices, he is sensible, are not easily eradicated; and therefore did not expect a general, or immediate, assent to his opinion. But owns that he expected something more than general objections, and those too uttered in whisper, and in the dark. Till the objectors shall vouchsafe to appear a little more open, and explicit; he humbly hopes, in his turn, to be indulged in the common prejudice of an author, in behalf of his own performance. That if it shall have the fortune to be still condemned, the fault may not be imputed so much to the work itself

self, as to the malignity, or incompetency, of the judges.

The following essay consists, for the most part, of hints that arose from those Enquiries into the Primitive State of Europe; and if they now and then differ from them, must be considered as Second Thoughts. The author had no intention of committing it to the press; having suffered too much already on that account. But drew it up some years ago, in the present form, for his own amusement, and the entertainment of a few friends; who were pleased to think the former piece defective, without this necessary supplement. If therefore the reader shall reap any benefit from the perusal, his thanks are due to the kind compulsion, and generous contributions of those friends; for it had never seen the light, but through their mediation. It was rejected by the bookseller; was below the patronage of the great; and above an eleemosynary subscription. In such a case, to leave a posthumous treatise to shift for itself, would have been little better than folly: considering how the taste of the age is daily losing its relish for antiquity. An inauspicious omen to
works

works of this kind! that must now be stifled in their birth; or starved upon their going out into the world.

E R R A T A.

Pag. 94. l. 25. For Gods read God.

Pag. 108. l. 11. For And read But.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
A N D
C H R O N O L O G Y
O F T H E
F A B U L O U S A G E S.

IT is an observation of (1) Plutarch's, that to render Mythology useful, *We must cleanse it from it's dross, and bring it to sense and reason, before it can bear the appearance of history.* The fabulous age is of so great extent, that we scarce know where it begins, or where it ends: and no general rule can be laid down, that shall serve to illustrate every part, and purpose, of it. When once the humour of romancing prevailed, no bounds could be set to it; and in time the credulity of nations, became so universal, that people

(1) Εἶν μὲν οὖν ἡμῶν ἐκκαθαρεύμενον λόγῳ τὸ Μυθώδες ὑπακοῦσαι, καὶ λαβεῖν ἰστορίας ὄψιν.
Plutarch. in Theseo.

were every where prepared to believe the grossest absurdities in religion: and every attempt to open their eyes was branded with the odious name of Atheism. There was certainly a time when the heathen gods first began to be worshiped; but this time has never yet been clearly stated: however to enter upon the subject regularly, we ought to enquire who were the first gods, and for what reasons they were worshiped. And tho' we may succeed in this enquiry, yet we shall find their actions so intermixt with others, who came after them, and went by the same names; that it may seem a task, little inferior to the labours of an heroe, to extract their true history out of such an abyfs of fables.

*The progress
of Fable.*

Fable may be called a picture of truth, drawn with a view to raise our attention, and admiration, in a form something more than human, with a mein approaching to divinity, and in a dress as splendid, as can be framed by imagination. But if it can be stript of these ornaments, the truth itself would appear naked, and undisguised. The first sort of fables, parables, or apologues, wherein birds, beasts, or trees, were introduced as speakers and actors, conveyed moral instructions for the conduct of human life; and here it was easy to perceive, that the personages brought into the scene were imaginary; the solution therefore was obvious, and the true design quickly seen through the fiction. Thus far fable was both lawful, and useful; but when it grew so luxuriant, as to interfere with past times, and transactions, it became very pernicious to history; and threw almost as great a darkness over it, as time itself could have done. The truth sunk deeper

deeper into the fable, and could not be brought to light, without much greater difficulty and penetration. Real facts, times, and persons, lay all together blended in one heterogeneous mass; and required almost a divine power to reduce them to any tolerable order.

Fables explained by allegory. This put the lovers of truth upon different methods of enquiry. Some of the (1) ancients took the shorter way, of cutting the whole knot, instead of untying it, by resolving all into fiction. They held that things were not to be understood in the literal acceptation of the words; but boldly diving into the breasts of the old poets, found an occult meaning in almost every thing they delivered. They reduced gods and heroes to the active, and passive, qualities of the mind: or to mere physical elements, earth, air, water, fire; and the wars of the gods, to the jarring of these elements. Thus they formed out of this mass a beautiful landscape, according to their own fancies; but at the same time only built fables upon fables, without ever searching for the historical truth, that lay hid at the bottom.

(1) Amongst these was Metrodorus of Lampfacus, who, in his treatise upon Homer, made not only the gods, and goddesses, but the Heroes of the poem, allegorical persons. *Καὶ Μιτροδόωτος δὲ ἑ Λαμψακηνὸς, ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Ὀμήρου λίαν εὐήδως διερίκνεται, πάντα εἰς ἀλληγορίαν μετατόν. ἔτε γὰρ Ἥραν, ἔτε Ἀθηνᾶν, ἔτε Δία τῶτ' εἶναι φησὶν, ὅπερ οἱ τὸς πειθίλους αὐτοῖς καὶ τευρήν καθιδρύσαντες νομίζουσι φύσεως δὲ ὑπερσῆσεις, καὶ σιγείων ἀλαστοπήσεις. Καὶ τὸν Εὐπορεν δὲ, καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα δηλαδὴ, καὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα, καὶ πάντας ἀπαξυπλῶς Ἑλλήνας τε καὶ Βαρβάρους, σὺν τῇ Ἑλένῃ, καὶ τῷ Πάριδι τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως ὑπάρχοντας, χάειν οἰκονομίαν ἔρεῖ τε παρειστήχεται, ἕθενος ὄντες ὡσεὶ κρημνῶν ἀνθρώπων.* Tatian Orat. ad Græcos §. 37.

*By facts in
Scripture.* The moderns have taken what seems a more rational method; by admitting the foundation to be true history, but rejecting the fabulous superstructure. These make the sacred writings the groundwork of the Grecian mythology; and endeavour to explain the fables by parallel stories from the Bible. It cannot be denied, that there is a very striking resemblance between many fables of the Greeks, and events recorded in scripture: but we are not to imagine that the persons mentioned in the fables, are the same individuals with those in the sacred books; because this would be confounding all history, geography, and chronology. We may reasonably suppose, that in the first unsettled ages of the world, the memory of remarkable facts was conveyed by colonies to many remote countries: which facts their posterity afterwards adopted for their own: and we are to judge, from what remains of true history, how near the likeness between the copy and original has been preserved. I can readily allow, that the Deluges of Ogyges, and Deucalion, in Greece, which I look upon as fables, owed their rise to the ancient tradition of the universal deluge; and the (1) Giants attempt to scale heaven, to the presumptuous enterprize at Babel. But cannot so easily deduce the Titan war from the rebellion in heaven, and the fallen angels, as (2 some

(1) Ὅσων ἐπ' Οὐλύμπῳ μέμασιν θέμεν, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' Ὀσῆ
Ἥλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον, ἢ Ὀβραγὸς ἀμβατὲς εἶν. Odyss. Λ. v. 314.

Vid. Stillingfleet Origines Sacr. Lib. I. c. 5.

(2) *Titanas autem, sicut alii, de Dæmonibus exprobat, quos Deus ἐπαρτάρωσε.*
2 Pet. 2. 4. Zach. Bogan Ep. Præf. ad Dickenfon Delph. Phœnic. Oxon.
1655.

have done; because I take it to be real matter of true history.

The first History of the Greeks not fabulous.

A man may believe, without being thought too credulous, that the Greeks had preserved in this manner very old memoirs, tho' perhaps no regular history, as high as their gods, who were their first kings. These memoirs have been enlarged, and grossly corrupted, both with respect to times, persons, and events; but still this does not destroy the root of the history. It was an ancient tradition with them, that Uranus, or Cœlus, was sovereign of Greece, and other countries; that he had sons called Titans; that Saturn was one of these, and succeeded his father Uranus; that Jupiter was son of Saturn; that he had wars with his uncles the Titans, and overcame them, &c. This is the beginning of their history, nor is there any thing absurd, inconsistent, or incredible, in it: and therefore, I think, nothing can be seriously objected to the truth of it. But the marvellous incidents, and embellishments, of the story, were the work of later ages, the machinery of poets, who, with a license peculiar to themselves, broke thro' all the (1) laws of history and chronology.

Chronology essential to History.

Chronology is of the very essence of (2) true history, which without it would appear to be no better than fable, or a picture of truth. Where this guide can be had, we find the benefit of it even in fabulous history:

(1) *Ne quid falsi dicere audeat.* Tacit.

(2) Πας οἷς γὰρ ἀπωάρτητός ἐστιν ἢ τῶν χείνων ἀναρχαφῆν, παρὰ τούτοις ἰδέ τὰ τῆς ἰστορίας ἀληθεύειν δυνατόν. Tatian. Or. ad Græc. §. 50.

for by this we are enabled to distinguish the fables, to separate the ancient from the more modern, and to adjudge facts to the proper persons to whom they belong. Diodorus began his Universal History with six books of Mythology of the Greeks and Barbarians, which he (1) collected from their histories according to antient times, as far as he was able. Others, he says, (2) passed over the Mythology, upon account of the difficulty of the work. (3) “Of this number were Ephorus, Callithenes, and Theopompus, who declined meddling with the ancient fables for the same reason. But that he himself was of a contrary opinion, and pursuant to his design, had searched into these antiquities with the utmost diligence. Because many and great actions were performed by those Heroes, Demigods, and many other excellent men; whose memory posterity has honoured with sacrifices due to gods and heroes, by reason of the common benefits which mankind received from them; and history has very properly perpetuated their fame to all eternity.” The sentiments of so judicious an historian I have purposely quoted, to shew what the ancients

(1) Πεποήμεθα δὲ πρὸ ἀρχαῖω τῆς ἱστορίας ἀπὸ τῶν μυθολογημάτων παρ’ Ἑλλήσι τε καὶ Βαρβάραις, ἐξετάσαντες τὰ παρ’ ἑκάστῃς ἱστορέμῃα καὶ τὰς ἀρχαίους χρόνας, ἐφ’ ὅσον ἡμῖν ἡ δαύαμις. Diodorus Præf. ad Lib. I.

(2) Ἐπ’ δ’ οἱ μὲν τὰς παλαιὰς μυθολογίας ἀφ’ ἧς εὐχέρειαν τῆς παραφρασεύσεως ἀπεδοκίμασαν. Idem Ibid.

(3) Ομοίως ὃ τούτῳ [Ephoro] Καλλιθένης καὶ Θεόπομπος, καὶ πρὸ ἡλικίαν γεγονότες, ἀπέστησαν τῶν παλαιῶν μύθων. Ἡμεῖς δὲ πρὸ ἐναντίαν τέτατις κείσιν ἔχοντες, καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀναγραφῆς πόνον ὑπάρχοντες πρὸ πάντων ἐπιμέλειαν ἐπισημαίμεθα τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας. Μέγιστα γὰρ καὶ πλείστα συνετελέσθησαν παρ’ αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἡρώων τε καὶ Ἡμιθέων, καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν. ὧν ἀφ’ ὧν τὰς κοινὰς εὐεργεσίας οἱ μέγα γενέσθαι τὰς μὲν ἰσοθέσις, τὰς δὲ ἡρωϊκαῖς θυσιῶν ἐπέμψαν. πάντας δ’ οὗ τῆς ἱστορίας λόγου τοῖς καθήκουσι ἐπαίνοισι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καθύμνησεν. Diodor. Præf. ad Lib. IV.

thought

thought of the mythologic history; that we may not be deceived into an opinion, that it consists of mere reveries of imagination; an amusement for children only.

Varro's division of time, with Censorinus's Comment.

Of all the Roman authors Varro was the most learned, and most curious enquirer into antiquity; and he divided time into the *Unknown*, *Fabulous*, and *Historical*. Censorinus commenting upon this division of Varro's, says, (1) "We can have no comprehension of this first, or unknown, period of time; whether it had a beginning, or existed from eternity; certainly no judgment can be formed, of what number of years it consisted." This is excusable in an heathen author, who had no better guides to direct him: but the annals of China, which have been discovered of late years, go a good way back into this unknown period; and the sacred writings, so providentially, and miraculously, preserved, afford us much clearer light into it; by a great number of facts and events; together with a regular series of times from the very beginning. The same author goes on, (2) "The second, or

(1) *Primum tempus, sive habuit initium, sive semper fuit, certe quot annorum sit, non potest comprehendi.* Censorinus de Die Natali. Cap. 21.

(2) *Secundum non plane quidem scitur, sed tamen ad Mille circiter & DC annos esse creditur. A priore scilicet cataclysmo, quem Ogygium dicunt, ad Inachi regnum anni circiter cccc. hinc ad Olympiadem primam, paulo plus cccc.* Censorin. c. 21. That learned chronologer Lydiat altered the reading, by leaving out some words, and adding others; making the gross sum 1400, agreeably, as he says, to the opinion of Varro. *Secundum non plane quidem scitur, sed tamen ad Mille circiter & CV annos esse creditur: a priore scilicet cataclysmo, quem Ogygium dicunt, [ad posteriorem dictum Deucalioneum anni DC, inde ad Ilii excidium cccc.] hinc ad Olympiadem primam paulo plus cccc.* Not. ad Chron. Marm. Oxon. 1676. p. 35. Mr. Jackson seems to agree in part with Lydiat, in making *Inachi regnum* a false reading for *Ilii*

“ Fabulous period, is not certainly known, but is thought
 “ to contain about sixteen Hundred years; that is, from
 “ the first deluge, which they call the Ogygian, to the
 “ reign of Inachus, about 400; and from hence to the
 “ first Olympiad a little more than 400.” In this pas-
 sage, it is evident that something must be wanting, to
 compleat the sense: because these two sums make but
 one half of sixteen Hundred. Here then is both room,
 and a necessity, for conjecture; and chronologers have
 endeavoured to clear the point several ways. (1) I take
 the number 1600 in gross, whether true or false, to be
 the right reading of Censorinus, and that he divided the
 whole into four periods of 400 years each; two of
 which are omitted by the carelessness of transcribers.

Ilii excidium; but refers the odd 600 years in the gross sum, to the interval
 between Ogyges and Troy; to make it suit with his hypothesis, of 1000
 years before the Olympiads. *Secundum non plane quidem scitur, sed tamen
 ad Mille circiter annos esse creditur; a priore scilicet cataclysmo, quem Ogygium
 dicunt, [ad Ilii excidium anni circiter DC.] hinc ad Olympiadem primam paulo
 plus cccc.* Chronol. Antiquities. Vol. 3. p. 331, 332.

(1) With all due deference to those learned men, who have endea-
 voured to restore the sense of this passage, I would retain both the old
 reading, and the gross sum entire; only filling up what I conceive to be a
 chasm, occasioned by the hurry and oversight of the transcriber.

*Secundum non plane quidem scitur, sed tamen ad
 M. circiter & DC annos esse creditur, a priore scilicet
 cataclysmo, quem Ogygium dicunt ad Inachi regnum
 cccc. [hinc ad Deucalionem cccc. hinc ad Trojam,
 cccc.] hinc ad Olympiadem primam paulo plus
 cccc. Quos solos, quamvis mythici temporis postremos,
 tamen quia a memoria scriptorum proximos, quidam
 certius definire voluerunt.*

By this form of the quotation, the reader will see how easy it was for the
 transcriber to fall into the mistake.

Cenforinus adds, (1) “ That some authors undertook to
 “ define with exactness the last period, or 400 years, of
 “ the mythic age, [By which he must mean from Troy
 “ to the Olympiads] and those only; because they ap-
 “ proached nearest to their written memoirs: — but that
 “ the disagreement among themselves shews, that even
 “ that period must remain uncertain.” Consequently the
 foregoing Twelve Hundred years could not but be much
 more doubtful and uncertain.

*The Æra of Idolatry
 in Greece.*

I am too diffident of my own abilities, to think them sufficient for such enquiries; but if I can point out the way, and set more able heads at work, shall not despair of seeing the most ancient Greek history reduced to better order, and the Mythic Age, in some degree, reconciled to the chronology of scripture. I have already (2) hinted my opinion, that the Titan age commenced about 1500 years, or more, before the Olympiads; and that soon after began Idolatry, or Hero worship, in Greece. To be told that the Grecian heathen gods lived six, or seven, hundred years before Moses, may possibly alarm some well meaning readers, whom I should be sorry to offend. But whether there is any foundation for my hypothesis; the learned, and the learned only, can judge, by a chain of reasoning drawn from facts and circumstances. I have freely submitted it to their disquisition; nor has any one hitherto brought it to

(1) *Quos solos, quamvis mythici temporis postremos, tamen quia a memoria scriptorum proximos, quidam certius definire voluerunt. — quorum etiam ipsa dissensio incertum esse declarat.* Cenforin. *ibid.*

(2) See *Enquiries concerning the First Inhabitants &c. of Europe.* p.55,68.

a trial before the publick, or put me to the trouble of defending it.

The duration of the Titan Empire.

That I may be more thoroughly understood; I further declare my opinion, That the Titan empire, from whence the Greek mythology commenced, was but of a short duration, lasting only three successive generations of princes. It began with Uranus, was sorely shaken under Saturn, and restored to it's utmost vigour by Jupiter: and there I think the lineal succession ended. For after him we hear of no universal sovereign deity; unless (1) Mercury may be thought for a while to have exercised that authority: for we find several tokens of his administration after Jupiter's decease. Uranus the founder of the empire, was dethroned by his sons, a fact in itself not improbable; the manner of his death has been universally believed through all ages; and what makes it more probable, all the (2) mythologists agree, that the Titans were instigated by their mother Titæa to commit this inhuman action. But notwithstanding his untimely end, Uranus must have reigned many years, leaving such a numerous (3) issue behind him; twenty seven children by other women, and eighteen by his wife Titæa; the youngest of which was able to take the reins of government into his hands. Some poets feigned that Saturn suffered the same fate, as his father; but it is

(1) Μετὰ δὲ πῶς τελευτῶν τῶ αὐτῷ Πάγκ, τῶ καὶ Διὸς, ἐβασίλευσεν ὁ ἕξ αὐτῷ Φαῦνος, ὁ καὶ Ἑρμῆς, τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἔτη τελέοντα πιντε. Jo. Malake Hist. Chron. Oxon. Lib. 2. p. 22.

(2) Hesiod, Sanchoniathon, Apollodorus. &c.

(3) See Enquiries into Europe &c. P. 21.

easy to see, that this was only a fiction founded upon the former story. Diodorus says, (1) Jupiter obtained the empire lawfully, without violence. (2) Lucian says, that Saturn resigned the government to his son, upon the account of old age, and infirmities: nor is history wanting to confirm his assertion. (3) “ Saturn’s son Jupiter was called Picus, and governed the east; and coming to his father, who reigned at the same time in the west, Saturn delivered up to him the empire of the west also, being then grown old, and weary of life: and Jupiter, or Picus, reigned over the west together with Italy, full sixty two years.” (4) Jupiter died and gave the western empire to his son Mercury: and lived in all One hundred and twenty years: so that he was fifty eight years old, before he enjoyed the whole empire. If Saturn was grown old when Jupiter was fifty eight, he probably reigned as long as his son: and if Uranus reigned only thirty years, this will give at least one hundred and fifty years to the Titan empire; which yet I call a short duration, considering the long lives of men in those

(1) Περὶ δὲ τῆς τῆς Διὸς γενέσεώς τε καὶ βασιλείας ἀμφωφονεῖται· καὶ πῆες μὲν φατὴν αὐτῶν, μὴ πῶ ἐξ ἀνδράπων τῆ Κρόνου μετασυσιν εἰς θεὸς, ἀμφιδέξασθαι πῶ βασιλείαν, οὐ βίᾳ καπχύσαντα τὸ πατέρα, νομίμως δὲ καὶ δικαίως ἀξιοθέντα ταύτης τῆς πμῆς. Diodor. Lib. 3. p. 233.

(2) Ἄλλ’ ἔτε ἐπολεμήσαμεν, ἔτε ὁ Ζεὺς βίᾳ πῶ ἀρχὴν ἀφείλετο, ἐκόντ’ δὲ μου ᾧξάντος αὐτῶ, καὶ ὑπακύντ’ ἀρχεῖν — Γέρον ἦδη καὶ παδαχρὸς ὑπὸ τῆ χροῖο ὦν. Lucian. Saturnal. pag. 1022. Ed. Bourdelot.

(3) Ο δὲ Κρόνος ἐωρετικῶς τὸν ἑαυτῶ ἦν Πῆκος, τὸν καὶ Δία, ἐλθόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ δύσει, παρεχώρησεν αὐτῶ πῶ βασιλείαν τῆς δύσεως, ἦν γὰρ γεμησιακῶς, καὶ ταλαιπωρήσας, ὁ αὐτὸς Κρόν’· καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν τῆς δύσεως, ἦγεν τῆς Ἰταλίας, Πῆκος, ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς ὅλα ἔτη ἕξβ. Chron. Paschal. per Du Fresne. pag. 37.

(4) Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς, ᾧξάντος πῶ τῆς δύσεως ἀρχὴν τῶ ἰδίῳ ἠϊεῖ Ερμῆ τελώτῶ, ζῆσας Κ καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔτη. Suidas in Πῆκος.

early times; and if compared with other empires. If then we can find any probable reasons for fixing the time of Jupiter's decease, we may nearly calculate THE ÆRA OF GRECIAN HISTORY.

Jupiter the Babylonian Belus. In order to this, it will be necessary to enquire into the real person of this god, who makes so great a figure in the fabulous history. It is agreed on all hands, that he was the son, and successor, of Saturn: and the historians, following the poets, give him a wide dominion over many, and very distant countries. All this may be believed without much difficulty: but that he appeared in several very different ages of the world, which they likewise insinuate, can never be agreeable to truth. Authors seem to have been deterred from prosecuting his true history, by the glaring absurdities contained in the fabulous one: and, I may add, they looked no further for him, than in Greece or Egypt. But we learn from the Paschal Chronicle, that the Greeks had a tradition that he governed the east under the name of Picus, and during the lifetime of his father Saturn. The Latines had also a Picus, who reigned over their country, and was reputed the (1) son of Saturn. To trace this matter to it's source, we must consult the eastern history; which, though reckoned the more ancient, yet carries us no higher than the Greek: for it begins with the Titans and Giants, the building of Babylon,

(1) *Picus in Ausoniis, proles Saturnia, terris Rex fuit.* Ovid. Metam. Lib. 14. v. 220.

or what (1) S. Epiphanius called the SCYTHIAN AGE. “(2) Eupolemus speaking of the Jews in Assyria, says “the city of Babylon, was built by those people who “were saved from the deluge; these were the Giants, “who built the famous Tower; but this being destroyed “by the power of the God, the Giants were dispersed “over the whole earth.” Artapanus (3) says “We find “in some uncertain authorities, that Abraham sojourned “with the Giants who lived in Babylonia, and were de- “stroyed by the gods for their impiety; one of whom, “named Belus, escaping with life, dwelt in Babylon, and “there built him a Tower in which he lived, which “Tower from the builder was called Bel [or Babel.] “Megasthenes (4) says, Belus drained off the water, re- “covered the land about Babylon, and inclosed it with

(1) Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ κλίματος τοῦ παρὲς Εὐρώπην εἰς Ἀσίαν κεκλιότατος, ἐπικνωμάθησαν πάντες χεῖ πῶν χεῖρας ἐπίπλησαν ΣΚΥΘΑΙ, κηΐσαι ἢ πῶν ΠΥΡΓΟΠΟΙΗΑΝ, καὶ οἰκοδομήσα πῶν ΒΑΒΥΛΩΝΑ. S. Epiph. Adv. Hæref. Lib. 1. pag. 6. Tho' S. Epiphanius quotes no authority for the Scythians being the builders of Babel; yet thus much is clear, That it was a known opinion in his time, and that he believed it.

(2) Εὐπόλεμος ἢ τῆ παρὰ Ἰουδαίων τῆς Ἀσσυρίας φησὶ, πῶν Βαβυλῶνα παρῶτον μὲν κηπῶναι παρὸ τῶν Ἀγασθέντων ἐκ τῶ κατακλυσμῶ, εἶναι ἢ αὐτὸς Γίγαντας, οἰκοδομῶν δὸ τιν ἱερῶν Πύργον· πεπῶντο δὲ τάτου παρὸ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐνεργείας, τὰς Γίγαντας Ἀγασθάρῶναι κατ' ὅλην πῶν γῆν. Euseb. ex Alexand. Polyhist. Præp. Evang. Lib. 9. p. 245. Ed. Steph.

(3) Ἀρτάπανος δὲ φησὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαϊαῖς — ἐν ἢ ἀδελφοῖς εἴρομεν τὸν Ἀβραάμ ἀναφέροντα εἰς τὰς Γίγαντας· τάτους ἢ οἰκοῦντας ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ, Ἀβρ πῶν ἀσθένειαν παρὸ τῶν Θεῶν ἀναειδῶναι· ἂν ἕνα Βῆλον, ἐκφύγοντα θάνατον, ἐν Βαβυλῶνι κηπιλῆσαι, Πύργον τὲ κατασκευάσαντα ἐν αὐτῷ διατῶσαι, ἐν δὲ παρὸ τῶ κατασκευάσαντο Βῆλον, Ἰῆλον ἰνομαδῶναι. Euseb. ibid. p. 246.

(4) Μεγασθένης δὲ φησὶ — λέγεται δὲ πάντα μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὕδαρ εἶναι, θάλασσαν κηλομένην· Βῆλον δὲ σπέα . . . παῶνται, χῶρῶν ἐκῶσφ θηνείμωνται, καὶ Βαβυλῶνα τείχει παῶναι. εἶπ. Ibid. Pag. 268.

“a wall.”

“a wall.” (1) Eupolemus, “The Babylonians said, the first Belus was the same with Chronus, or Saturn; of whom was born another Belus.” Berofus, (2) “That Belus by the Babylonians is interpreted Jupiter.” (3) Diodorus agrees with Berofus. (4) Sanchoniathon reckons Jupiter Belus among the sons of Saturn; (5) Herodotus describes the temple of Jupiter Belus at Babylon, as remaining in his time. The old (6) Latin Chronicle, published by Scaliger, says, “They write that Bilus was the first king of Assyria. From the Assyrians, the Phenicians, and Persians called him God [or Bel.] They translated this name by a Greek word DIUS [or Jupiter.] This Bilus first reigned over the Assyrians Sixty Two years. After this reigned Ninus Fifty Two years. He built Nineve, a city of the Assyrians; and coming into Asia, was called Picus.”

(1) Βαβυλωνίους γὰρ λέγειν πρῶτον γενέσθαι Βῆλον, ὃν εἶμαι Κρόνον· ἐκ τούτου ὃ γενέσθαι Βῆλον. Euseb. *ibid.* p. 244.

(2) Τὸν ὃ Βῆλον, ὃν καὶ Δία μεθερμηνεύουσιν. Berofus apud Scalig. Græc. Euseb. p. 6.

(3) Ἐπὶ ὃ Δίος, ὃν καλοῦσιν οἱ Βαβυλωνίους Βῆλον. Diodor. Lib. 3. p. 69.

(4) Τρεῖς παῖδες, Κρόνος ὁμάνυμος τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ ΖΕΥΣ ΒΗΛΟΣ, καὶ ΑΠΙΛΛΩΝ. Sanchon. ap. Euseb. Præp. Lib. 1. p. 24.

(5) Ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ, Δίος Βήλου ἱερὸν χαλκόπυλον, καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς τούτω ἔπ' ἔην. Herodot. Lib. 1. c. 181.

(6) *Assyriorum primum regem scribunt Bilum, quem & ab Assyriis, Phœnices & Persæ, DEUM vocaverunt. Hunc DIUM Græco nomine interpretaverunt. Bilus vero primus in Assyriis regnavit annos 62 & partem Asiæ. Post hæc regnavit Ninus annos 52. Hic condidit Niniven civitatem Assyriorum, & veniens in Asia vocatus est Picus.* Scaliger. *Addit. Latin. ad Euseb. Chron.* p. 74. This Chronicle is extracted from Greek authors, and Scaliger allows it's merit; tho' he expresses a contemptible opinion of the compiler. *Excerpta utilissima, ex priore libro chronologico Eusebii, & Africano, & aliis, Latine conversa ab homine barbaro, inepto, Hellenismi & Latinitatis imperitissimo.* Pag. 58.

Excusing

Excusing this author's inaccuracies, it is plain, that his Bilus is the same with Picus, who reigned Sixty Two years. From all these accounts, I think, we may gather, that Jupiter, Belus, and Picus, were one and the same person: that he was son of Saturn: that he fortified Babylon: and that he governed the east as viceroy under his father; which perhaps is intimated by his Latin name, *Jupiter*, or *Young Father*. That the heathen could not see this, was owing to the blindness of their religion. I now leave others to determine the age of Belus; and when that is done, I believe, we shall not disagree much about the time of Jupiter's death.

Only one Belus We see by the passages above quoted, how dark and intricate the beginning of the Pagan History is: and a late learned (1) author instead of clearing it up, has, I think, perplexed it still more, by making two Beluses; the first a Babylonian, the latter an Assyrian. *The Babylonian*, he says, *was opposed by Haic, the giant king of Armenia, and after a bloody engagement, was slain with most of his Titans, as Moses Chorenensis relates, from Maribas of Catina.* But these are authorities, that I can by no means pin my belief upon: the story having too much the air of romance. And therefore, to bring things to a nearer agreement in time, I acknowledge only one Belus, and suppose him to be Jupiter.

(1) Mr. Jackson's Chronol. Antiq. Vol. 1. p. 240. & 262, 263.

Nimrod the Babylonian Belus.

The first king mentioned in sacred history is Nimrod; whose age is not ascertained by any apposite characters: only it is said, (1) *The beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar.* If he was the ringleader of the builders at Babel, which is no where intimated in scripture, but has been believed, and asserted, by the (2) moderns upon the authority of (3) Josephus; he must be the oldest of all postdiluvian monarchs. But it will admit of a question, whether he could be even born at the time of that building: nor is it probable, that a kingdom could be raised so soon after the dispersion; and in the very place where the builders were confounded. It is said indeed that *Chus begat Nimrod*, but this (4) phrase may not mean, that he was the next in descent from Chus; because the sons of Chus, or his immediate descendants, together with their descendants, had been particularly specified just before. (5) Some make Nimrod the same with Amraphel, king of Shinar in the days of Abraham;

(1) Gen. x. v. 10.

(2) Vid. Perizonii Origin. Babylon. c. 8.

(3) Antiq. Lib. i. c. 4.

(4) I shall illustrate this phrase by a remark of the learned Dean Prideaux. *When he [Ezra] is said to be the son of Seraiah, it must be understood in that large sense, wherein commonly in scripture any descendant is said to be the son of any ancestor, from whom he was derived: and we need seek no farther for an instance of this, than the very text, where Ezra is said to be the son of Seraiah. For in the same place, Azariah is said to be the son of Meraioth, though there were six between.* 2 Chron. c. 6, 7, 8, 9. Connection of the Old and New Testament. Par. I. Book V.

(5) See Sir Walt. Raleigh Hist. of the world. Book I. c. 1. §. 7.

which

which is an epoch less liable to objections. (1) Others will have him to be Ninus, founder of the Assyrian empire. And (2) some, with great probability, as I think, take Amraphel to be Ninyas the son of Ninus. There can be no doubt, that Nimrod possessed Shinar, and made Babel, or Babylon, the capital of his kingdom; from whence (3) Bochart, with others, concludes, that he must be the same with Belus, the first king of Babylon mentioned in profane history. Babylonia I take to be the eastern bounds of the Titan empire, that became a distinct kingdom after the death of Belus; and by conquests grew at length into the Assyrian empire. The Assyrian princes seem to me, to have piqued themselves upon being the true heirs, and successors, of Belus; and by their continual wars, to have aimed at the same extent of power, and territory, that he possessed; though they could never attain it. Belus, I believe, will be found to be no other than Jupiter himself, worshiped under the name of Bel, or Baal, by all the eastern nations; and, as far as I can see, the first king, or hero, deified on this side India. His worship was set up by (4) Ahab in Israel, and his altars in Judah were taken down by Hezekiah; for which he was (5) upbraided by the Assy-

(1) Cumberland Orig. Gentium Antiquiss. p. 166, 168.

(2) Sir Walt. Raleigh. Ibid. §. 8.

(3) *Nimrodum eundem esse cum Belo, Nini patre, ratio temporum palam arguit.* Phaleg. Lib. 4. c. 19. Vide etiam Vossium de Idolol. Lib. 1. c. 24.

(4) 1 Kings. c. 16. v. 32. c. 18. v. 18.

(5) *But if ye say unto me, we will trust in the Lord our God, is not that He, whose High Places, and whose Altars, Hezekiah has taken away; and has said to Judah, and Jerusalem, Ye shall worship before this Altar in Jerusalem.* 2 Kings. c. 18. v. 22.

rians. Let me add that Ninus, the supposed son and successor of Belus, may be placed very near as high, as where I shall fix the death of Jupiter.

The reign of Ogyges the first Æra in Grecian history.

The Greeks could not believe that any thing had passed in this world before the appearance of the gods: nor could they cir-

cumscribe their gods within any limits of time. The reign of Ogyges in Bœotia, according to Censorinus, is the first æra in their fabulous antiquity, and must be placed soon after the gods: for which we need no other proof, than that every thing, whose age could not be traced out, was called (1) Ogygian. The Titan empire at the death of Jupiter, like a Meteor raised to it's full height, naturally burst into a thousand small sparks, or governments, kingdoms, dynasties, &c. all claiming their right under Jupiter; for the (2) regal power, or divine right of kings, was always thought to be derived from him. Homer beautifully gives us his thoughts on the subject, by introducing the (3) Sceptre, the badge of royal authority; which, he says, was given by Jupiter to Mercury, by Mercury to Pelops, and so, through a succession of kings, it came at last into the hands of Agamemnon. This, by the by, was the secret reason for making Jupiter the father of so many gods and heroes. About that time, as it seems to me, the country of Bœo-

(1) ΩΓΥΓΙΟΝ. Λεγαῖον, παλαιὸν, ἢ ὑπερμέγιστον. ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν Ωρυγῶν ἀρῶν ἀρξαι τῶν Θεῶν. Suidas in voce.

(2) Βασιλῆϊς αἰσὴ ἐν βασιλείῳ μέγχι Διὸς. Plato in Alcibiade.

(3) Vid. Iliad. B. v. 104.

tia, by some means or other, fell to the share of (1) Ogyges king of the Ectenes, and supposed founder of Thebes; who is called an *Autochthon*, or *Aboriginal*, by which I understand a (2) Scythian, or Scytho-Grecian.

*The Ogygian Deluge
an uncertain Epoch*

The deluge being only a fable, must of course be a very vague, and precarious, epoch, that could never be exactly settled by the Greeks. All, I think, that we can be sure of, is, that if there was such a deluge, it must be later than the deluge of Noah. For my own part, I cannot believe that any deluge happened in (3) Attica, or Bœotia, in the time of Ogyges; and apprehend, that at first they meant no more by it, than the universal deluge; which, they called Ogygian, for no other reason, but because it preceded all their accounts of time. And then, later writers, to make it their own, could no where fix it, with greater propriety, than

(1) Γῆν ἣ πρὸ Θεβαΐδα οἰκῆσαι πρῶτον λέγουσιν Εκτῶνας, βασιλέα ἃ εἶναι τῶν Εκτῶων ἀνδρα Αὐτόχθονα Ὀγυγον· καὶ διὰ τούτου τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν ποιητῶν ἐπίκλησις ἐς τὰς Θέβας εἶναι Ὀγυγία. Pausanias in Bœoticis.

(2) See Enquiries concerning the First inhabitants of Europe. Pag. 18, 57.

(3) It may be asked, How came the Athenians to have any share in this deluge? I answer, Ogyges is acknowledged to be the oldest king upon record, and he lived in Bœotia, of which the city of Thebes was a standing monument: by this means the Thebans would have a claim to higher antiquity, than the Athenians; a thing which the latter could never brook. Therefore, out of a nice point of honour, they were content to be involved in the common calamity with their neighbours the Bœotians; and as a proof of it called their country Ogygia. Ελέγετο καὶ ἡ Ἀττικὴ πᾶσα Ὀγυγία, ὡς Χάροξ ἐν τοῖς χρονικοῖς. Steph. Byzant. in Ὀγυγία. I suspect too, that because Ogyges was called king of the *Ectenes*, they framed the fable of their king *Ateus*, in order to strengthen their pretensions. Cécrops married the daughter of *Ateus*, from whom their country *Attica*, was formerly called *Ατλία*, *Ατλία*, or *Ατλία*. Vid. Pausan. in Atticis. p. 4. Chron. Marm. Oxon. Epoch. 1.

in the country where Ogyges lived. But whether he was swept away with the rest of his people, or survived the deluge, authors are not agreed.

States that arose out of the Titan Empire.

Of those little states that rose out of the ruins of the Titan empire in Greece, the oldest, of which we have any records, were this of Ogyges, in Attica and Bœotia, and those of Sicyon, and Argos, in Peloponnesus. The ancient fable of Phoroneus, preserved by Hyginus, gives us an obscure account of the beginning of these kingdoms, and says, (1) “Inachus son of Oceanus had by his sister Archia Phoroneus, who is said to be the first mortal king that reigned; men long before his time living dispersed about the country, without laws, and speaking one common language, under the empire of Jupiter. But when Mercury had interpreted the different languages of men, from whence an interpreter is called *Hermeneutes*, he divided the nations; and then began discord among mortals, because Jupiter was not appeased. Then he conferred the regal power first on Phoroneus, because he first appointed sacrifices to Juno.” This discord among mor-

(1) *Inachus Oceani filius, ex Archia sorore sua procreavit Phoroneum, qui primus mortalium dicitur regnasse. Homines ante secula multa sine oppidis legibusque vitam exegerunt, una lingua loquentes sub Jovis imperio. Sed postquam Mercurius sermones hominum interpretatus est, unde Hermeneutes dicitur esse interpres, (Mercurius enim Græcè Hermes vocatur) idem nationes distribuit: tum discordia inter mortales esse cœpit, quod Jovi placitum non est. Itaque exordium regnandi tradidit Phoroneo, ob id beneficium quod Junonis sacra primus fecit. Hyginus Fab. 143. Phoroneus Inachi filius Arma [l. Aram] Junoni primus fecit, qui ob eam causam primus regnandi potestatem habuit. Idem Fab. 274.*

tals undoubtedly sprung from the setting up of new states and kingdoms.

Mercury settled the limits of nations, after Jupiter's death.

If any credit is due to this fable; after Jupiter's death, it was the office of Hermes

or Mercury, to settle the limits of people and nations; and, I imagine, gave rise to the notion of his being the inventor of (1) Geometry. This power, I suppose, extended no farther than the western empire, which it is said was bequeathed to him by his father. Tokens of his exercising such a power, were formerly to be seen in many countries, either by heaps of stones, or quadrangular stone pillars, the most ancient (2) boundaries of land. His principal residence was in Egypt; and those Mercurial pillars with inscriptions, from whence so much history and learning of all kinds are thought to be derived, seem to me to have been no more than these boundary stones, that marked out the greater districts of land. And of this sort were probably those pillars, which the Egyptians afterwards fabulously ascribed to Sesostris. When the Greeks became Egyptianized, among other customs they learnt that of setting up square stones for landmarks to secure their property, and called them (3) Hermæ in honour of the deity; as if their title to the land was founded on his appointment. This custom, I

(1) Τῆτον ἢ [Θεῶθ. i. e. Hermem] ἀεὶστον εὐρεῖν Γεωμετείαν καὶ Ἀστρονομίαν. Plato in Phædro. Vol. 3. p. 274. Ed. Serran.

(2) ἀνατείνει δὲ ὑπὲρ τὰς κάμας ὄρος, παρ' ἣ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἀεὶς Ἀργείους ὄρει καὶ Τεγέρας εἶσιν, ἐσηγασί ἢ ὅτι τοῖς ὄρεσι Ἑρμῶ Λίδου, καὶ τῷ χρεῖε τὸ ὄνομα. Pausan. Corinthiac. p. 157. Ed. Sylb.

(3) ἙΡΜΑΙΟΣ ΛΟΤΟΣ. Τὸς παρὸς τῆ Λίδου, ἙΡΜΑΣ τὸς ἐν ἰδίῃς γιομῆδ' εἰς Τηλιῶ τῷ Θεῷ, ἐνόδιος γάρ. Hefychius.

suppose,

suppose, was begun by Cecrops, for I find the (1) Athenians set the example to the rest. When the arts of statuary and sculpture came into vogue, they adorned these pillars with a human head, and in more polished times with (2) drapery down to the middle but no lower; the figure ending in a square stone. Some artists added the (3) obscene parts; but the legs, and feet were always wanting. From the Greeks the Romans formed their god Terminus, whose name (4) implies that His original came from Hermes; and His figure is so well known, and answers to the Hermæ abovementioned, that it needs no further description.

The time of Ogyges computed.

From (5) Inachus, father of Phoroneus, the Grecian history is said to begin: (6) Ægiæus brother of Phoroneus was the founder of the Sicyonian kingdom: Ogyges, Inachus, Phoroneus, and Ægiæus, are all called

(1) Ἀθηναίων γὰρ τὸ ἔθνος τὸ Τετράγωνόν ἔστιν ἐπὶ ταῖς Ἑρμαῖς, καὶ περὶ τέτων μεμαθῆ. καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι. Pausan. Meffeniacis p. 278. Ed. Sylb.

(2) Ἐν ᾧ τῷ Γυμνασίῳ τὸ ἀγαλμα τῆς Ἑρμῆς, ἀμπερομύθῳ μὲν ἔοικεν ἰμάτιον, καταλήγει δὲ ἄν ἐς πῦδας, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ Τετράγωνον ἔθνη. Idem Arcad. p. 520.

(3) Vid. Montfaucon. Antiq. Expliq. Vol. 1. pag. 136. Pl. 77. & Herodot. Lib. 2. c. 50, 51.

(4) TYBRIS quasi TIBERIS dicitur est dicitur τῆς ὕβριος, id est ab injuria. Nam amabant majores, ubi aspiratio erat, Θ ponere. Servius ad Æn. VIII. v. 330.

(5) Διὸ καὶ τοῖς λιγυσι πῶς τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἱστορίας ἀρχὴν δὲτὸ Ἰνάχου εἶναι τοῦ Ἀργείου. Ocellus Lucanus περὶ Πάνθη, five de Universo. c. 3. Mr. Jackson's reason for making *Inachi regnum*, a false reading, for *Ilii Excidium*, is, *Because the reign of Inachus was not any Æra amongst the ancient Greeks.* But I think it appears from hence to be a very considerable one: tho' it might be set too high, or too low, in this dark period of Chronology. See Chronological Antiquities. Vol. 3. p. 331.

(6) Ὀκεανὸς δὲ Τηθύος γένεται παῖς Ἰναχῶ ἀφ' ἧς ποταμὸς ἐν Ἀργεῖ Ἰναχῶ. τούτου καὶ Μελέωνος τῆς Ὀκεανῆς, Φορωνεύς τε καὶ Αἰγιαλεύς παῖδες ἐγένοντο. Αἰγιαλέως μὲν ἐν ἀπαιδῶ ἀπεθανόντος ἢ ῥῶρα ἀπέσσυ Αἰγιαλεία ἐκλήθη. Apollod. Lib. I. c. 1.

Autochthones : and the (1) deluge is said to have happened in the time of Phoroneus. By these circumstances it appears to me, that all these kingdoms began about the same time : and yet by a reckoning of kings, and the years of their reigns, the (2) Sicyonian kingdom began near 400 years before the Argive. Either therefore the Greeks had raised their antiquities so many centuries too high, which is (3) Sir Isaac Newton's opinion ; or perhaps, through some defect in the catalogue of kings, had brought them down too low in the case of the Argive kingdom : one of these two suppositions must be granted, before we can bring the time of Ægiæus to coincide with that of his brother Phoroneus. As the Jews preserved genealogies and successions, so the Greeks certainly had some method of keeping records of their kings, and of the years of their reigns ; otherwise (4) Castor Rhodius the chronologer in Julius Cæsar's time could not have collected the catalogues, both of the Argive and Sicyonian kings, as we find he did. And may we not think, that these records were more carefully preserved in some kingdoms, than in others ? The Thebans seem to have lost all theirs, between the time of Ogyges and Cadmus : and the Athenians to have forgot all that past before the time of Cecrops : nor had the Arcadians, who boasted so great antiquity, any left before Lycaon, whom (5) Pausanias makes

(1) Εφ' ᾧ [Ogyge] γέγονον ὁ μέγας καὶ σφοδρὸς ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ κατακλιψαὶς, τοιοῦτος Ἀργείων βασιλεύοντος, ὡς Ἀναΐδης ἱστορεῖ. Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. X. c. 10.

(2) See Mr Jackson's Chronol. Antiq. Vol. 3.

(3) See the Introduction to his Chronology.

(4) Euseb. Canon. Chron. Græc. p. 19, 25.

(5) Δικῶ ὃ ἔργον κέρριπ ἡλικίαν πρὸ βασιλεύουσι Ἀρκαδίων, ἢ Λυκάου, ὅταν πῶ ἀπὸ πῶ. Pausanias in Arcadicis. p. 456. Ed. Sylb.

cotemporary with Cecrops. For want of better evidence we are forced to admit these jejune accounts of time, where, it must be owned, we have little more than a bare list of kings names, without a sufficient number of facts to attest them. If the (1) Sicyonian Æra is the point from whence we are to reckon, it will fall about the year 2170 before Christ, or about 1400 before the Olympiads; if from the time of (2) Inachus and Phoroneus, about 1700 before Christ, and about 1000 before the Olympiads. Whether of these two is the right, I have not authority enough to determine; the reader must judge for himself. Censorinus, as it seems to me, meant to compute by the former; by placing the Ogygian deluge 400 years before Inachus. The chief criterion I make use of, is the religious rites of Greece; which I think could not begin, whilst any of the Gods were living; notwithstanding what is reported of Saturn sacrificing to Uranus, and of Jupiter to Saturn. The Cabiric mysteries were confessedly their oldest worship; and I think, could not take place, as religious rites, till after Jupiter's decease. Terah the father of Abraham is the

(1) See Mr Jackson's Chronological Antiquities. Vol. 3. p. 302, 303, &c.

(2) Tho' we give it as the common opinion, that Inachus lived about 1000 years before the Olympiads, yet it was not generally so received. For Eusebius observes that "Many reckoned from Inachus the first, to Sthenelus the ninth, Argive king, 413 years." Ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου Ἰνάχου, ἕως τοῦ Θ. Σθενέλου ἐτῶν υἱ. Euseb. Can. Chron. p. 24. Add these 413 years to the time of Danaus, who dispossessed Gelanor, son of Sthenelus; and they will set Inachus's age 1200 years before the Olympiads, and near 2000 before Christ; which answers to the reckoning of Censorinus.

first (1) idolater we read of; and (2) Eusebius and (3) St Epiphanius date the gentile worship no higher, than from the time of Serug grandfather of Terah. Serug's age is determined by (4) scripture; and part of his life will fall in with the Sicyonian Æra; and I could not set the Grecian idolatry higher than his time. From the times of Ogyges and Inachus, the Autochthones and Pelasgians were masters of Greece; till new colonies arrived under Cecrops and Danaus from Egypt, Deucalion from Scythia, Cadmus from Phenicia, when the Pelasgians began to decline in power, and at length were obliged to seek new seats in Italy, and other countries. Different æras are assigned to these new colonies; but between the first and last, I cannot suppose the distance of so much as one century; and all to be later than the migration of the children of Israel from Egypt. Deucalion brought with him another deluge into Greece, which, by the fairest account, may be placed 400 years before the destruction of Troy; and we are told, that between Ogyges and Deucalion was an (5) interval of 600 years. This reckoning places Ogyges 1400 years before the

(1) *Your fathers dwelt on the other side of the flood in old time, even Terah the father of Abraham, and the father of Nabor: and they served other gods.* Joshua. c. 24. v. 3.

(2) *Εγενήθη Σεράχ, ὅστις πατὴρ ἤρξατο τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ τῶν ἰδωλατρῶν τῆς Εὐρωπαικῆς.* Eusebii Græca apud Scalig. pag. 13.

(3) *Ἑλλήνων ἀπὸ τῶν χερσῶν τῶν Σεράχ ἐναρξάμενος. Ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν Εὐρωπαικῆς.* S. Epiph. Resp. ad Epist. Acacii.

(4) Gen. XI. v. 22, 23.

(5) *Inter Ogygium sane & Deucalionem medium ævum DC annis datur.* Jul. Solinus Polyhist. c. 11.

Olympiads; which nearly agrees with Varro, who says; (1) *Thebes was built by Ogyges 2100 years before his time.* This too corresponds with the Sicyonian æra; and by my reckoning will make Ogyges almost coeval with Jupiter; and with great probability was the true time of his existence.

A summary deduction of times to the Christian Æra.

As few readers perhaps will charge their memories with the particulars of my calculation; for their greater ease I shall

subjoin a table, or deduction of times, drawn from the authorities above quoted. The scarcity of materials, with the different computations of authors, may excuse the want of preciseness, in a period of years that begins so far back from the Christian æra: but if we can come within fifty, or even an hundred, of the true age of the several facts; it is certainly more satisfactory, than to know nothing at all of the time when they happened. For this reason I avoid all fractions, as quite unnecessary, and compute only by whole numbers. It is well if we can come near to the truth by this way of reckoning; and those who have endeavoured to be more exact, after all their pains, I am afraid, will be found to have come never the nearer.

(1) *Thebæ, quæ ante cataclysmum Ogygi conditæ dicuntur, eæ tamen circiter duo millia annorum & centum sunt.* Varro de re Rustica. Lib. 3.

The Titan Age calculated.		Fabulous Age of Censorinus.		Varro's Account of time.	
	Years		Years		Years
Uranus supposed to reign	30.	Ogygian Deluge bef. Inachus	400.	Ogyges bef. Varro	2100.
Saturn	60.	Inachus before Deucalion	400.	Varro before Christ	70.
Jupiter	60.	Deucalion before Troy	400.	The Titan Empire	150.
Ogyges before Deucalion	600.	Troy before the Olympiads	400.		
Deucalion before Troy	400.	The Olympiads	770.	Before Christ	2320.
Troy bef. the Olympiads	400.				
Olympiads before Christ	770.	Before Christ	2370.		
Before Christ 2320.					

This method of calculation may pass for true, till somebody shall find out one more accurate. In the mean time, I leave the authorities to stand or fall by their own weight: and only postulate, what I think cannot be denied, that Varro and Censorinus could mean nothing more by the *Fabulous Age*, than the time that began with the first gods, or kings of Greece, and ended at the Olympiads. The Ogygian deluge therefore, from whence Censorinus begins his computation, as being the first fact recorded in history, must be the beginning of what I call the Titan empire; which he places 1600 years before the Olympiads. This occasions a difference of 50 years between his, and the collateral tables; which fifty years must be added to the years of the gods, for they can come in no where else. And if the reader shall think this consistent with the æra of Idolatry, he may follow the reckoning of Censorinus.

These calculations compared with scripture. To bring our calculations to the test, we must confront them with the sacred history. And here we are under some difficulty at first setting out, occasioned by the present text of the Hebrew, varying from the Greek translation of the Septuagint. The He-

brew genealogies make Abraham to live only 292 years after the flood; the Greek 1072; so that here is a difference of 780 years. Abraham, I think, cannot be supposed to live so early as 292 years after the flood; because this term does not allow sufficient time for the propagation of mankind. And for this reason alone the Hebrew chronology must be rejected: tho' there are not wanting other good reasons, to think that it has been corrupted, and that designedly, by the Jews. I know that (1) learned men have computed the increase of mankind to the amount of many millions about that time; but, admitting their computations to be just, they do not inform us how these millions were disposed of on the face of the globe: and few of them seem to me to have come into Chaldæa, Mesopotamia, Arabia, or Canaan. For tho' we find the earth peopled in the true time of Abraham, at least as far as Egypt: tho' we find cities and countries governed by kings, and they at war with one another; yet, if we may judge from the number of their forces brought into the field, the countries thereabout were even then but thinly inhabited. I have extracted a short scheme of chronology from a good (2) authority, which the reader I believe will find strictly agreeing with the times of scripture; and he may judge, whether the facts mentioned in Greek authors come properly, and without forcing, into the places which I have allotted them, in this dark period of profane history.

(1) See Bp Cumberland's *Orig. Gent. Antiquiff.* p. 150.

(2) Mr Maffion's *Sacred Chronology of the Pentateuch*, published with Mr Parker's *Biblioth. Biblica.* Oxon. 1727.

Before Christ.

The Flood began. 3247.
 Arphaxad son of Sem born. 3245.
 Cainan son of Arphaxad 3110.
 born.

The Scythian Age began according to St Epiphanius. Adv. Hæref. Lib. I.

Salah son of Cainan born. 2980.
*Noah died 350 years after 2897.
 the flood.*

Heber son of Salah born. 2850.
*Sem died 600 years old. 2745.
 The building of Babel.*

Peleg, or Phaleg, son of 1716.
 Heber born.

*At his birth the dispersion
 of mankind.*

Ragau, or Reu, son of 2586.
 Phaleg born.

Serug son of Reu born. 2454.
 2347.

In the Scythian Age, about 900 years, or more, after the flood, we place the expeditions of Bacchus and Uranus from the north.

. These Gods formed the Two (1) first great empires that we

(1) Some perhaps may think the Chinese empire older than these of Bacchus and Uranus, because the first king Fohi may be placed a century or two before our Bacchus: but it must be observed, that their most authentic books begin the history with Iaus, Yao, or Yau, the good emperor, who reigned before Christ 2337. *Vid. Couplet Chronol. Sinic. pag. 3.* this differs but a little from the age of our Bacchus. And if any author of note, from the name, time, and general character of both, should be tempted to think, that Iaus and Bacchus were the same person; I shall not go about to disprove him.

read of in profane history : the one in the east, the other more westward.

.....

Some time after Bacchus, we suppose the Indian Hercules to have flourished.

Nahor son of Serug born. 2324.

2300.

About this time we suppose Saturn to reign, and the Titan war to commence, which was continued by the Giants.

2295.

Jupiter son of Saturn and Rhea born.

.....

Jupiter was engaged with his father in the Titan war, and at last put an end to it.

Terah son of Nahor born. 2245.

2237.

Jupiter sole monarch on his father's abdication.

2223.

Callisthenes's Babylonian Observations began about this time. *Vid. Simplicius in Arist. de Cælo. Lib. 2.*

Abraham son of Terah born. 2175.

Jupiter died 120 years old.

.....

Some time after this, we suppose the kings, mentioned by Greek authors, to be settled in their respective governments : Ninus in Assyria ; Zoroastres in Bactria ; Menes, or Osiris in Egypt ; Ogyges in Bœotia ; Inachus, Phoroneus, and Ægialeus, in Peloponnesus.

Serug died 330 years old. 2124.

With Serug ended the Scythian Age of St Epiphanius ; and then began Hellenism, or Gentile Idolatry.

Abraham

. . . .

Ninus set up the worship of Belus in Babylon. *Vid. S. Hieronym. in Heseam. c. 2. v. 17.*

Abraham came into Mesopotamia, leaving Chaldea, as it is thought upon the account of Idolatry practised there.

Terah died. He served other gods. 2100.

Abraham came into Canaan. 2099.

Now we read of many kings in the history of Moses, Amraphel king of Shinar, Chedorlaomer and his confederates, the king of Sodom, &c. Melchisedeck of Salem, Abimelech of Gerar, Pharaoh of Egypt, &c.

Ishmael son of Abraham born. 2089.

Isaac born. 2075.

Jacob and Esau born. 2015.

Abraham died 175 years old. 2000.

Isaac died aged 180. 1895.

Jacob died in Egypt aged 147. 1865.

Moses born. 1745.

Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt. 1667.

A new Æra in Grecian History.

After this Epoch I place the several migrations of Cecrops, Danaus, Deucalion, and Cadmus: and believe that they happened at no great distance of time from each other. What occasioned such a conflux of foreigners, we are not told as I remember by any historian. It appears that they were driven from other countries, but how they came to take refuge in Greece, is the question. Greece seems to have been at that time in a defenceless state, either through the indolence, or the want, of inhabitants, or both. The Pelasgians, then in possession, were at first intruders, but by degrees naturalized to the country; and all that related to it was now in their hands. The new comers neglected the ancient Pelasgic history; and the natives, where any were left, may be supposed to have lost their spirit with their liberty, and took no further care about it. That the Greeks could have no credible history or chronology before this time, has been urged from the want of letters; an objection that may be made to all histories wrote before that period: and yet this want might be supplied by other means, unknown to us at present. The history and chronology of the world before Moses was carefully preserved, but not by letters. The hieroglyphics of the Chinese and Egyptians carried on the history of those nations without any other assistance. Among the Greeks, songs delivered down from father to son, as is observed of their northern ancestors, might be sufficient to preserve facts, successions, generations, &c. Or if something more than bare memory was required; the Greeks were not of so dull a genius, but that they could invent
real

real characters or symbols to express their thoughts and meaning. And this, I believe most people agree, was the (1) practice of all other nations before the invention of letters. It is certain that several things relating to the ancient state of Greece escaped the general dissipation. The name of Ogyges in Bœotia might be preserved by tradition only: but those lists of the Argive and Sicyonian kings were probably registered in the temple of Juno at Argos. The order of priestesses of Juno began in the reign of Phoroneus; and Hellanicus the Lesbian, one of the oldest Greek historians, (2) adjusted his history to their times, as most certain epochs. If the new colonies destroyed the old records, they however made the Greek history some amends by their care afterwards: for from this time it begins to put on a better face, tho' still clouded with fable. We now find a greater number of facts committed to writing, more genealogies and successions recorded, and in short materials of all kinds for the historian; who yet could not effectually exercise his

(1) Perhaps I cannot better illustrate this practice, than by an ancient wooden instrument, formerly in use with our ancestors, and derived to them from the Saxons and Runes: I mean the Clog Almanack. or Calendar. This without letters points out distinctly, not only the days and months of each quarter of the year; but the Saints Days, and other Christian festivals, by intelligible characters. The several feasts of the Virgin are denoted by the figure of an Heart, the Epiphany by a Star, St Dunstan by a wide spreading Plant, or Flower, St Peter by Two Keys, St Laurence by a Gridiron, &c. See Dr Plot's History of Staffordshire. Pag. 420, 421, &c.

(2) Ως ἡ Ελλάδα ἔστι δὲ Λέσβιος φησι Τεῖτη Γενεῖα πρῶτον τῶν Τρωϊκῶν, ΑΛΚΥΟΝΗΣ Ἰεραμῆνης ἐν Ἀργεὶ καὶ τὸ ἕκτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτη. Dionys. Halicarn. Lib. I. p. 18. Αναχαράς, ἢ ταῖς τῶν Ἰερέων, ἢ ταῖς θείδαις τῶν Ολυμπιάδων. Idem. De Charact. Thucydidis.

talent, till the poetical history was forced to give place to prose writing.

Of the origin of the Scythians.

As we have supposed the Greeks to be a colony from Scythia, and their history to begin from Scythian gods; we may be permitted to go a little out of the way to enquire into the origin of the Scythians themselves. The history delivered to us by Moses is the most (1) ancient of all histories now known, and therefore must be the standard of the rest. Where heathen authors do not differ from it, they may be credited: and where they have misapplied any parts of it, we know where to have recourse, to come at the truth. This history is a sketch, or abstract, of the history of the world: not meant to give a compleat history, for that would have been too large. The chief design of it is, to shew the descent of the Jews from their great ancestor Abraham, and his from Sem. Upon this account the beginning of the Assyrian empire is slightly touched upon, because it comprehended Babylonia, Chaldæa, Mesopotamia, countries where Abraham is said to have sojourned. But little notice is taken of Japhet; tho' there are several reasons to think him the eldest son of Noah, and his family seems to be the most numerous; (2) seven of his sons being mentioned as the fathers of nations. That vast part of the continent of Asia, bordered by the Caspian sea to the west, the Scythian, or icy, sea to the north, and the

(1) Παλαιχόθεν ἔν γέναι ράδιον, ὅτι πολλῶ ἀρχαιοτάτω πιασῶν πῶν ἔξωθεν ἰσσειῶν τῶ Μουσεῶς ἰσσειαν εἶναι συμβαίνει. Justin. Mart. Admon. ad Gentes.

(2) Genesis. Cap. 10. v. 2. 1 Chron. Cap. 1. v. 5.

eastern ocean, is scarce to be found in the history : and yet by constant tradition is believed to be the portion of Japhet, and of his posterity ; and the inhabitants to this day acknowledge him for their founder.

The Northern Nations believe, that they descended from Japhet.

The Flood destroyed all memorials of past times, except what were preserved in the family of Noah : and therefore the records of nations, that would be thought to precede that epoch, and are not countenanced by the Mosaic history, are void of all probability. Of this sort are the antediluvian dynasties of the Chaldeans and Egyptians, which ought to be consigned to the land of fables ; because Moses mentions no kingdoms or states before the flood ; and if he had, what way could there be of preserving their history ? For as to antediluvian (2) pillars, and inscriptions, every reader now, I presume, knows

(1) The most ancient memorials of things were probably preserved by engravings on Stones, or Pillars ; but what we are told of the contents of these monuments, is liable to much suspicion. Several authors boast of deriving their materials from them ; and would persuade us that they were the only repositories of ancient knowledge. The Chaldeans, according to Berofus, had antediluvian writings, I suppose on tables of stone, made by Xifuthrus, who was their Noah. Sanchoniathon took his Phenician Antiquities from the writings of Taaut, or Mercury. Manetho the Egyptian historian drew his dynasties, *From Pillars that were set up in the land of Seriad* ; a country that the moderns have sought for to no purpose. These inscriptions, he says, were made by the first Thoth, or Mercury, before the flood ; and were translated into hieroglyphics by Agathodæmon, or the second Hermes, after the flood. From hence Josephus took occasion to frame the Pillars of Seth, fraught with astronomical observations, *Which, he says, were still in being in the land of Seriad.* But I think we have said more than enough of these supposititious records. See Stillingfleet's Orig. Sacr. Book I. c. 2.

what to think of them. What followed was not so subject to oblivion. The repeopling of the world by the three sons of Noah was a matter of history, that it concerned every man to remember: nor is it easy to conceive that their names could be forgot, till the earth was in a great measure overspread by their posterity; and then perhaps remembered longest in those countries, where the head of the family first resided. It is a question that must occur to every curious reader, "From whence came this general persuasion of the northern nations, that they were descendants of Japhet?" Had they it by primeval tradition, or from the books of Moses? Perhaps it will be answered, "From Neither:" but from their southern neighbours, the Arabians, Medes, and Persians. But at what time could this happen? Answer. The Medes and Persians might learn it from the Ten Tribes, who were dispersed among them by (1) Salmanasser; and the Arabians, who carried their arms into Tartary, may be supposed to have had some knowledge of the sacred books, from the time of Mahomet. But where do the sacred books expressly say, that Japhet was the father of these northern nations? Answer. The progress of Sem and Ham is marked out by the East, South, and West; and no other road, except the North, is left for Japhet. But this is not solving the difficulty; nor answering, but rather begging, the question.

(1) 2 Kings. c. 17. v. 6.

What grounds there are for such an opinion.

Ever since the revival of letters, to reconcile sacred to profane history, has been the task of the learned men of Europe, who knew very little of these northern regions of Asia. The scriptures indeed intimate, that the Sons of Japhet, Gomer, Magog, &c. were situated to the northward of Palestine: but this is not sufficient to account for the general belief, that prevailed throughout that wide country of which we are speaking. The only ancient authour, who could afford the moderns any light, was Josephus: and he has indeed placed the sons of Japhet to the north of Palestine, but in southern climes, well known to the Jews, Greeks, and Romans; and perhaps for that very reason, because they were well known; for he seems to be as ignorant as the moderns themselves, of the countries beyond the Caspian. And all that he says to the purpose, (1) is, “Magog was the ancestor of the Magogians who are called by the Greeks Scythians.” The Scythians made (2) irruptions at several times into southern Asia, and gained settlements on that side of the Caspian and Euxine seas as far as Cappadocia; and their country might be

(1) Μαγώγος ἢ τὸς ἀπ’ αὐτῆ Μαγώγος ὀνομαζέμεντας ἄνθρωποι, Σκυθίας ἢ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν περὶ ταυροβοσκίας. Antiq. Jud. Lib. I. c. 6. Some learned moderns are of opinion, that the name, and memory, of Magog is preserved in the word Moguls, or Mogures, who are north-eastern Tartars. *Quod autem Tartaros principio MOGLOS vocatos ait [Haithonus] eo non obscuram gentis originem denotari sentio. Est enim a Magog filio Japheti; nec ambigam, inde nomen MOGLI ita mansisse; uti etiamnum Turcos a Persis MOGORES appellari supra meminimus.* Reiner. Reineccius Append. in Haython. Armen. Hist. Orient. Cap. 16.

(2) Herodot. Lib. I. c. 103, 104, 105. IV. c. 11, 12.

called

called Scythia. These then seem to be the Magogians, or Scythians, meant by Josephus; but are extremely different from the Scythians beyond the Caspian. The latter must have been as little acquainted with Josephus, as with the sacred history: and therefore there is more reason to think, that this was an opinion kept up by tradition among the inhabitants of the country; than that it arose from this single, and imperfect, testimony of Josephus. For tho' the ancient history of the postdiluvian world is now to be found in one book only, preserved by the Jews; yet there is reason to believe, that its contents were common, and known to other nations, especially to the eastern; as appears from some of their fables quoted by modern travellers.

The Turks and Tartars descended from Japhet.

From whence soever they had their information, it is certain that the Turks and Tartars, who make the bulk of the inhabitants of this vast region, (1) affirm that, "They are descended from Turk eldest son of Japhis, who was the youngest son of Nui." This genealogy, allowing for its disagreement with scripture, which seems to make Japhet the eldest son of Noah, and Gomer eldest son of Japhet, may not be entirely without foundation. Especially if the pedigree ran thus, as perhaps it did originally, *Turk youngest son of Japhis, who was the eldest son of Nui.* If affinity of names is to be our guide in this case, and we seem to have little more at present; I would take Thyras, Tyras, or Turas, to be the person from whom the

(1) See Abulghafi's History of the Turks and Tatars. Book I. c. 2.

Turks are descended; tho' he is the last in order of the sons of Japhet, and commonly reckoned the father of the (1) Thirafians, or, as the Greeks called them, Thracians. Affinity of sound, we see, is at the bottom of both opinions; and, I think, favours the Turks, at least as much as the Thracians. Besides, I have here the good fortune to agree with the Jewish rabbies: for the Targums of Jonathan and Jerusalem, in giving the colonies and provinces of the several planters, at Gen. X. v. 2. instead of the Hebrew *Tiras*, or *Thiras*, by others rendered *Thracia*, write *תּרְקִי* *Turki*, by which (2) Elias Levita understands *Turcia*. There is a way of reconciling this difference, by supposing the Thracians to have had at first the same name with the Turks, nor is this improbable: for the *Turcæ* of (3) Pomponius Mela, who seem to be the (4) *Iurcæ* of Herodotus, are placed in Asiatic Scythia, beyond the Tanais and Palus Mæotis; and were probably the first people that entered, and settled in Thrace.

(1) Θειρῆς δὲ Θείρης μὲν ἐγράψεν ὧν ἦρξεν· Ἐλλῆες δὲ Θεῶνας μετωνόμασαν. Joseph. Antiq. Jud. Lib. I. c. 6.

(2) Vid. Eliæ Levitæ Lex. Chaldaic. & Buxtorf. Lex. Chald.

(3) *Juxta Thyssagetæ Turcæque vastas sylvas occupant, alunturque venando.* De Situ Orbis. Lib. I. c. 22.

(4) Νέμωνται Θυσαγέται, ἔθνη πολλὸν καὶ ἴδιον ζῴον ἢ δὲ ἀπὸ θήρας. συνεχῆς ἢ τοιοῦτα κατοικηθῆναι εἰσὶ τοῖσι ἔθνεσσι Ἰύρκαι. καὶ ἔτσι ἀπὸ θήρας ζῴοντες πρὸς τὰς θάλασσας. Herod. Lib. IV. c. 22. Herodotus and Mela without question meant the same people, as being neighbours to the Thyssagetæ; and living after the same manner by hunting. The different reading must be imputed to an error in the copies of Herodotus, occasioned by the mutilation of the letter T in Ἰύρκαι. The learned reader may possibly recollect an inscription on the reverse of a coin of Carausius; which not many years since produced, what some antiquaries thought, a very great discovery; and others, that it was only owing to a like mutilation of the same letter.

*The Russians of Asia
descendants of Ja-
phet.*

The Russians of Asia, according to the eastern writers, are descended from (1) "Rufs fourth son of Japhet." Here another difficulty starts up. From whence could the eastern writers receive this notion? Not from the Ten Tribes, nor from the Arabians; unless they had other copies of the Hebrew text, than we have at present: and as to Josephus, he is altogether silent in this case. Rufs, it is certain, has no affinity to any scripture name of the sons of Japhet, yet tends to corroborate the general opinion, That the northern nations were descended from him. The word in the original means an *Head*, but signifies a person in the Septuagint version of Ezechiel, (2) *Son of man set thy face against Gog, in the land of Magog, the chief Rhos, Mesech and Tubal.* Whether this Rhos was the person meant by the eastern writers, I know not; he is omitted in Moses's list of the sons of Japhet, but by being here joined with Magog, Mesech, and Tubal, seems to have a claim to be one of the number.

*Russians and Muscovites
from Rhos and Mesech.*

Upon the supposition that the sons of Japhet were situated in Southern Asia, the learned Bochart framed, what seems to me, a preposterous origin of the Russians. He found in Hebrew and Arabic authors, that the river Araxes, which falls into the Caspian from the South, was called Rhos, and consequently the

(1) See Abulghazi's Hist. of Turks &c. pag. 668.

(2) Τις ἀνδρώπια στήσιν τὸ πρῶτον σου ἐπὶ Γὼγ, καὶ πῶς γινῆ Μαγὼγ, ἀρχὴν ΡΩΣ, Μισση, καὶ Θεβελ. Ezek. c. 38. v. 2.

country Araxene had the same name. From whence he (1) conjectured, that these southern Scythians, or Rhos and Mesech, entered the Tauric Chersonesus, which he finds was likewise called Rhos, and gave names to the *Russi* and *Moschi*, or Russians and Muscovites in Europe. But is it not more probable, that these people had those names before this imaginary return of the Scythians; and even before their first irruptions into southern Asia? I could not but caution my readers against so doubtful an hypothesis; though it is foreign to our question, viz. How the eastern writers came by their notion, that Rus was the fourth son of Japhet, and father of the Asiatic Russians: but to return to our subject.

*The difficulty of treating
Fabulous History.*

Diodorus says (2) “The times of the Fabulous Age, before the Trojan war, cannot be precisely settled, because there is no fixed point to be depended on, from whence they can be computed.” The ancient historians therefore wisely declined the business, because they could draw from thence no uniform scheme of transactions. For instance, no man could set down to write the whole history of Jupiter, without being aware of a thousand parachronisms, that he must be guilty of in the course of narration. Diffe-

(1) *Credibile est ex Rhos & Mesech, id est, ex Rhossis & Moschis vicinis populis circa Araxem, de quibus Ezechiel, descendisse Russos & Moscovitas, gentes in Europæa Scythia celeberrimas. Russi transmissis Araxe, videntur primo occupasse Tauricam Chersonesum & de suo nomine Rhos appellasse.* Phaleg. Lib. 3. c. 18.

(2) *Τῶν δὲ χρόνων τέτων ἀπειροκλήτων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πραγματείᾳ, τὸς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἢ Διοξίβωθα βεβαίως, ἀλλὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἄσφατον παραίτημα παραινέται ἀπὸ τέτων πσευδοβίων.* Diodor. Lib. I. p. 4.

rent names of the same gods, together with different gods of the same names, must be often very perplexing; and the scene of the same actions, laid in different times and countries, must occasion endless confusion; and besides all this, the marvellous and incredible way of relating them, was utterly inconsistent with the modest gravity of history. The Philosophers on the other hand, who were the professed guardians of virtue and religion, shocked at the vices, which the gods had in common with the worst of mortals, frequently touched upon the facts; but called in allegory to their assistance, and explained them to a more inoffensive meaning. Thus, tho' they preserved the facts, they annihilated all the history.

The first religion of Greece not from Egypt.

But the moderns are not under the same restraints; for they know that the heathen gods were men, and subject to human passions; and can distinguish truth from fiction in the fables. What has chiefly embarrassed them in searching into fabulous antiquity, is that inveterate error of the Greeks themselves, "That all their religion came from Phenicia and "Egypt." Whereas it is very clear to me, and I believe will appear so to others, upon their own representation, that Uranus, the Titans, and Cabiri, their first deities, came from the Pelasgians, Thracians, or Scythians; and that the Cabiric worship was known, and established in Greece, long before the arrival of Cecrops, or any other Egyptian strangers: and, had it been known in Phenicia, Cadmus needed not to have gone so far as Greece, or Thrace, to be initiated.

Here

*Of the origin of
the Pelasgians.*

Here it may be proper just to compare the antiquities of other nations with those of the Greeks; and to shew the connection they bear with each other. After the Autocthonous, whom I shall venture to call Cimmerians, or Scythians, the Pelasgians must be accounted the most ancient people of Greece; but not aboriginal natives of the soil, as the later Greeks fondly imagined. These, as we observed before, were so called from being a (1) seafaring people, and came originally from (2) Thrace; and I suppose from the maritime coasts, both on this side, and beyond, the Bosphorus: and, according to some writers, wandered over, and conquered almost the (3) whole world. They seem to have been a mixture of people, that grew very numerous by gradual accessions of men, who took to that way of life. They were all called Pelasgians from their profession; though they might be of different nations, like the northern people, who invaded the western parts of Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries, called in our historians by the general name of *Pirates*.

(1) See Enquiries concerning Europe. Pag. 14, 41.

(2) Τῶν Σκιάδων ἐκ Θράκης ἀβελήεις, ὡς λίγος,
Πελασγῶται. Scymnus Chius Perieg. p. 24.

(3) Ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν, Πελασγὸς ἐπὶ πλεῖστα τῆς οἰκουμένης πλανηθέντας, ἀνδράπων τῶν πλείστων
κερπήσων, αὐτόθι κατοικῆσαι. Plutarch. in Romulo.

The Pelasgian Antiquities and Deities.

The Pelasgians (1) instituted the Cabiric mysteries in Samothrace, which is the first notice we have of the Greek religion. Herodotus, says, (2) “The Pelasgians at first sacrificed, and invoked the gods, without calling them by their names, which they had not yet heard of; but that a long time after they learnt them from Egypt.” This is true in part; for tho’ the Cabiri without doubt had their proper names, yet they were always kept secret in the mysteries. Cadmus and his followers, when they came into Bœotia, adhered to the Cabiric rites; but the other colonies who came into Greece about the same time, with Cecrops, Danaus, and Deucalion, seem to have introduced other modes of worship. That of (3) Minerva in Attica began in the reign of Cecrops; Danaus built a temple to (4) Apollo Lycius in Argos; and Deucalion is said to be the first, who (5) built temples and altars to the Twelve gods. I have

(1) Πῶς γὰρ Σαμοθρητικῶν οἴκειον ἀεὶ τεσσὶν Πελασγοῖ ἐτοί, τοί περ Ἀθηναίοισι σὺνοικοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ οὗτων Σαμοθρητικῆς τῆς Ὀργῆς ᾤδαλαμβάνοντο. Herodot. Lib. 2. c. 51.

(2) Ἐθνον δὲ καὶ πάντα ἀεὶ τεσσὶν οἱ Πελασγοὶ θεοῖσι ἐπευχόμενοι, ἐπωνυμίῳ δ’ ἐδ’ ἔνομα ἐπιπέμποντο ἔδειν ὡπτεῶν· ἔ γὰρ ἀκηκόουσιν καὶ — Ἐπειτα ὃ χρόνος πολλῆ διελάοντο, ἐπέδοντο ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀπηγμένα τὰ ἐνόμαζα τῶν Θεῶν. Idem. Lib. 2. c. 52.

(3) Cecrope regnante primum in arce Oliva orta est: Ἐξ ex Minervæ nomine, quæ Græce Athena dicitur, Athenæ nuncupatæ. Euseb. Chron. A°. 460.

(4) Ἀργείοις δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸ ἐπιφανέστατον ἦν Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν Λυκίου· τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν, Ἀττάλου ἦν Ἀθηναίου, τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Δαναῶν, καὶ ὁ ναὸς καὶ τὸ ξίανον ἀνάστημα ἦν. Pausanias. Corinth. Lib. 2. p. 118.

(5)

Ἐνθα Προμηθεὺς

Ἰαπεπονίδης, ἀγαθὸν τέκε Δευκαλίωνα*

Ὅς ᾤχετό τ’ αἰώτισε πόλεις, καὶ ἐδέμαίλο νῆες

Ἀδαναίοις, ᾤχετό δὲ καὶ ἀνδρώπων βασιλευσιν.

Apollon. Argon. Lib. 3. v. 1087.

endeavoured to prove, that these Twelve Gods were the Cabiri, and that they were contemporary with Jupiter; and see no reason yet to alter my opinion. This then seems to be the time, when gods were multiplied in Greece; when the Cabiri were separately worshiped, and their names made public; and we may place it more than 1500 years before the Christian æra, and 600 at least after the death of Jupiter. Jupiter, by all that appears to me, was the first monarch, in the western parts of the world, who received divine honours after death; and when such reverence was paid to him, it was natural to deify his parents, Uranus and Saturn, and his other relations. These all might be worshiped by name in other countries, whilst the Greeks had only the Cabiric mysteries: but still it will be impossible to prove, that the Egyptians, Syrians, or even Assyrians, had any gods before these Titan deities. The mists, that always envelop such distant antiquity, exhibit the objects not only indistinctly, but larger than the life: and the guides, who are to conduct us through them, are neither infallible, nor overfaithful. If they have in some cases brought down gods and heroes, lower than their proper time, they have in others set them as much too high; and this often represents the objects double to us: but upon a nearer approach, they will appear to be one and the same. I can find no arguments to persuade me, that Jupiter Belus of Babylon, or Jupiter Ammon of Libya, were

"Οτι ἢ καὶ ὁ Διὸς πατρὸς ἑσσηλάσε Θεσσαλίας, Ἑλλάδι καὶ ἐν πρῶτῳ Δουκαλιωνίας φησὶν, καὶ ἐπὶ Δώδεκα Θεῶν βῆμος Δουκαλιωνίου ἰδρύσεται, Ἑλλάδι καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ φησὶ συγγράμματι. Scholiast. in locum.

older than the Grecian Jupiter : much less can I think that both of them came originally from (1) Egypt. Jupiter, as well as Uranus before him, is said to have (2) reigned over all the world ; which at this time we think too much to be believed. But if we can prevail with ourselves, to think, that he governed a large empire, extending from the borders of India westward as far as Egypt ; and consisting of territories on both sides of the Caspian, Euxine, and Mediterranean seas, such an empire as Tamerlane in later times possessed ; this might be all the world then known to the Greeks ; and at the same time may account for the worship of Jupiter in so many distant countries. Later historians use the same hyperbole in speaking of Alexander and Tamerlane, *Who conquered the whole world*, and the case is exactly parallel in the latter instance ; for it is certain that Tamerlane was master of this very empire of Jupiter, in more than it's full extent : there being then no power able to controul him.

*The Egyptian Anti-
quities and Deities.*

Egypt made but a small part of this empire, and can no more be believed to be the birthplace of the gods, than that Jupiter reigned over the whole world. (3) Menes, or Menas, was the first mortal king of Egypt,

(1) Καθάπερ καὶ Ἀμμων ἐν Λιβύῃ, καὶ ὁ ἐν Βαβυλωνίᾳ Βῆλος ὁ μὲν δὲ ἀνδρῶς Αἰγυπτίου Βῆλος τῷ Λιβύῃς ὄνομα ἔχεν, Ἀμμων ὃ δὲ τῷ ἰδρυσαμένῳ ποιμένῳ. Pausan. Meffeniac. p. 261. Ed. Sylb.

(2) Οὐρανὸν βασιλεύσει — κατακτήσει δ' αὐτὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης πλείστην. Diod. Lib. 3. p. 133. Τὸν Δία φασὶ βασιλεύσει τῷ σύμπαντος κόσμου, κεχολασμένων τῶν Τιτάνων. Idem. p. 145.

(3) Βασιλεύσει πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων ἔλεγεν Μῆνα. Herod. Lib. 2. c. 4. Μετὰ τοὺς θεοὺς τοίνυν πρῶτον φασὶ βασιλεύσει τῆς Αἰγύπτου Μενᾶν. Diodor. Lib. 1.

who

who reigned after the gods, and therefore must be the same with Osiris: and we may allow him the same antiquity, as (1) Phoroneus, or Ogyges, in Greece. Osiris bore the names of several gods, but of none so old as Saturn. (2) “Some called him Serapis, Bacchus, Pluto, Ammon, Jupiter, and some took him to be Pan.” The (3) inscriptions, quoted by Diodorus from other authors, on the pillars at Nysa in Arabia, pretended that he, and Isis, were son and daughter of Saturn; which I think shews that they could carry his genealogy no higher. Vulcan is properly the oldest deity of Egypt; a (4) temple being built to him by the first mortal king Menes. Vulcan was one of the twelve great gods, contemporary with Jupiter; and therefore I think it lost labour to seek for him any further. Mercury, one of the twelve gods, is another of their oldest deities; and we have already hinted, that he had the administration of affairs after Jupiter’s decease. By his titles of Messenger, Herald, Embassadour, and interpreter to the gods, he seems to have held the office of Viceroy, Lieutenant, or Prime Minister, under Jupiter; or, as the Ægyptians

(1) *Anticlidēs in Ægypto invenisse quendam nomine Menona tradit, quindecim annis ante Phoroneum antiquissimum Græciæ regem, idque monumentis adprobare conatur.* Plin. Lib. 7. c. 56.

(2) Τὸν Ὄσιον οἱ μὲν Σέραπιν, οἱ δὲ Διόνυσον, οἱ δὲ Πλούτωνα, οἱ δὲ Ἀμμωνα, τινὲς δὲ Δία, πολλοὶ δὲ Πάνα νενομίμασι. Diodor. Lib. 1. p. 15.

(3) ΕΓΩ ΕΙΜΙ Η ΤΟΥ ΝΕΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΚΡΟΝΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΑΤΗ.
Isis.

ΠΑΤΗΡ ΜΕΝ ΕΣΤΙ ΜΟΙ ΚΡΟΝΟΣ ΝΕΩΤΑΤΟΣ ΘΕΩΝ ΑΠΑΝΤΩΝ.

Osiris. Diodor. Lib. 1. p. 16.

(4) Ως δὲ πρὸς Μινὴ τέτοιο πρὸ ἀρχαίω γενεῶν βασιλείῃ — τέτοιο δὲ τῷ Ἡφαιστῷ τὸ Ἰεῶν ἱερὸσταδίον ἐν αὐτῇ, ἐν μέγῃ δὲ ἀξιασημητιῶσιν. Herodot. Lib. 9. c. 99.

called

called him, “was (1) Secretary, and Privy Counsellour “of Ofiris.” From all this I conclude, that the Egyptian gods were of the Titan race, and had no greater claim to antiquity than the Greeks: and that when authors speak of the gods being derived from Egypt, they are to be understood of that train of ceremonies, that always attended the religious worship of the Egyptians: and these, we acknowledge, (2) came from Egypt, and I think can be no older than the time of Cecrops, who was contemporary with Deucalion. Those who penetrate, further than I am able, into the Egyptian theology; may perhaps assert that these Titan gods were not the primitive gods of the country, but the natives had several more ancient, as Ophion, Cneph, Ptha, Neith, Athyr, Bubastis, &c. But most of these are (3) known to be Egyptian names for the Grecian gods; and when their antiquity shall be clearly made out, it will be time to speak of the others, if there are any.

The Phenician Antiquities and Deities.

The Phenician antiquities are old traditions and fables, collected into a sort of history, as it is said, by (4) Sanchoniathon. It seems to be wrote at a time, when nations vyed with each other about their antiquities; and with design to give the preference to Phenicia

(1) Τιμηδου δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ [Ofiride] μάλιστα πάντων τὸν Ερμῆν — καὶ δὲ τοῖς ἀεὶ τὸν, Ὅσιον τέτοι' ἔχοντα Ἱερογραμματεῖα, ἀπαντ' ἀντιπρὸς ἀροσυνακοινῶσαι, καὶ μάλιστα χρῆσθαι τῇ τότε Συμβολίᾳ. Diodor. Lib. 1. p. 10.

(2) Πανηγύειας δὲ ἄρα, καὶ πομπὰς, καὶ ποσειδησιασ ἀεφῶτοι ἀνθρώπων Αἰγύπτιοι εἰσὶ εἰ ποισάωνται, καὶ ἀεφῶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μεμαθήκασιν. Herodot. Lib. 2. c. 58.

(3) Vid. Jablonfky Pantheon Ægypt. 3 Vol. 8°. Francof. ad Viadrum.

1750.

(4) Vid. Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 1. c. 9.

before Egypt. It begins with the formation of the world; and not to be behind hand with the Egyptians, makes the first gods and men natives of Phenicia; which is enough to destroy the credit of the whole. Uranus and Saturn are said to be gods of Phenicia; and the deposition, and death, of the former is related with all its circumstances, as in the Greek history. It mentions likewise the parents of Uranus and Titæa, viz. Eliun and (1) Beryth, a point of history that the Greeks were entirely unacquainted with; and whether true or false is not very material; nothing more being said of Eliun, than that he was contemporary with the Cabiri, was slain by wild beasts, and afterwards deified. Saturn has the greatest share in the history; and is represented as a potent king who reigned in Phenicia; built cities there; disposed of other kingdoms and countries; and among the rest gave Attica to his daughter Minerva. How this last article came into the Phenician history, may be questioned; it seems to me to come from the Greeks. Saturn had Hermes Trismegistus, or Taaut, for his secretary, and appointed him to be king of Egypt; which must be a great mortification to the Egyptians, if they could believe it. The author mentions the Titans and Cabiri, but so confusedly and superficially, that it is plain, he knew nothing more of them than their bare names. It

(1) Κατὰ τέτους [Cabiros] γίνεται πρὸς ἑλῖον καλούμενον Ἰλιον, καὶ θήλειαν λεγομένην Βηρύτ, οἱ καὶ κατόρκεν ἀπὸ Βύβλον. Sanchoniathon apud Euseb. There can be no doubt, but that by *Berout*, or *Beryth*, here is meant the great deity of Berytus, called *Baal Beryth*. Judges, c. 8. v. 33. and that the author intended to shew, that the Grecian gods were descended from the Phenician.

is remarkable, that in all this history no mention is made of Bacchus; whether out of design, or ignorance, is uncertain.

Bacchus a name common to several gods.

In treating the history of a person, the first thing to be enquired, is at what time he lived: and this, in the case of a god or hero, is not to be discovered but with the utmost difficulty. We are told that (1) “The Pelasgians had not heard of Bacchus, till long after they received the names of the gods from Egypt. (2) Melampus son of Amytheon being the first, who brought from thence his name and sacred rites into Greece,” according to Herodotus. All that we infer from hence, is that the Greeks had gods before Bacchus. The poets were our first historians, and their employment was to disguise the truth: and one of the methods they took, was to create gods, and heroes, at their pleasure. Tully mentions no less than Five, who went by the name of Bacchus. (3) *Dionysos multos habemus: Primum e Jove & Proserpina natum: Secundum Nilo, qui Nysam dicitur interemisse: Tertium Caprio patre, eumque regem Asiae praefuisse dicunt, cui Sabazia sunt in-*

(1) — *Ἐπειτα ὃ χρόνος πολλὰ διελεύθεις ἐπίσταντο ἐν τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀπηγαυῖα τὰ ἐνόμια τῶν θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων· Διονύσε ὃ ὕστερον πολλῶν ἐπέσταντο.* Herod. Lib. 2. c. 52.

(2) *Ἐλθὼν γὰρ δὴ Μελάμπος ὅστις ὁ ἔξηνιπταύρου τῆς Διονύσε τ' ἔνομα, καὶ τῶν Δουσίην, καὶ τῶν βοιωτῶν τῆ φιλῆ. Idem. c. 49.* Yet he seems to think, that Melampus received his instructions from Cadmus, and the Phenicians settled in Bœotia. *Περὶ δὲ τῆ μοῖ δόκει μάλιστα Μελάμπος τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον παρὰ Κάδμου τῆ Τυθείου, καὶ τῶν σω αὐτῆ ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀπκομῆσαν ἐς τῶν βοιωτῶν καλεουμένην χώραν.* Id. Ibid. But it is more probable that Bacchus was brought from Egypt, as will be seen afterwards; and this shews how ignorant the Greeks were of the countries from whence their gods came.

(3) Cicero De Nat. Deorum. Lib. 3. c. 23.

Stituta :

Tituta: Quartum Jove & Luna, cui sacra Orphica putantur confici: Quintum Niso natum & Thione, a quo Trieterides constitutæ putantur. The First, the son of Jupiter and Proserpine, was furnamed Zagreus; he was killed, and (1) torn to pieces, by the Titans. The Second, son of Nilus, seems to be the Egyptian Osiris: tho' why he is said to have killed Nyfa, I cannot conjecture; I find a (2) female warrior of that name, who fought under Bacchus, and another who was his nurse, neither of them likely to be slain by him: I therefore suspect an (3) error in the text. The Third, the son of Caprius, seems to be the great conquerour of Asia: but I never met with his father's name in any other author. The Fourth, son of Jupiter and Luna, to whom the Orphic rites were dedicated, by others is called the son of Ceres, (4) who is sometimes taken for the moon. The Fifth, son of Nisus and (5) Thione, who instituted the Triennial festivals, *Trieterica*, is the Theban Bacchus, the son of Semele, so famous among the Greeks. Diodorus mentions two more, One the son of Jupiter and Io daughter of Inachus, who was probably the Egyptian

(1) Δίονυσον γὰρ, ἃ τὴν Ζαγρέα καλέουσι, υἱὸν Διὸς καὶ Περσεφόνης ὑπάρχοντα, μελιδὸν οἱ Τιτῶνες ἐσπύραξαν· ἢ τὴν καρδίαν ἐπὶ παλλομένην [Minerva] ἀγίνεσκεν. Tzet. Alleg.

(2) ΝΥΣΗΣ δ' ἔλκος ἐδρῶσε νεκῆτιο προσώπου,

Ἐλκεί φοιήεντι σπειρῶντων πόμα λυαῖ,

Κείπας ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα παρήδα λευγῆδι γυφῆ. Nonnus Dionys. Lib. 29. v. 272.

(3) Bacchus is said to have built a city called Nyfa; and perhaps Tully wrote, *Qui Nysam dicitur instruxisse.*

(4) *Virgilius sciens Liberum Patrem Solem esse, & Cererem Lunam.* Macrob. Sat. Lib. 1. c. 18.

(5) Bacchus made his mother a goddess, and called her Thyone, ὁ δὲ ἀναζαγῶν ἐξ ἄδῃ τῆς μητέρας, καὶ προσαγορεύσας Θυόνῳ, μετ' αὐτῆς εἰς ἕραγον ἀνῆλθε. Apollod. Bib. Lib. 3. c. 5.

Bacchus: the other, son of Ammon and Amalthea, of whom we shall speak largely hereafter. Notwithstanding these different genealogies, one and the same god is to be understood by all: or to speak more distinctly, they were all branches from one common stock.

Of the age of Bacchus. Here we are left, as usual, without any marks of time to distinguish these gods; and I fear, shall never be able to fix the age of the most ancient: however it may be proper to proceed, as far as we can, towards it. It will be necessary to state some point of time, from whence we may compute; and let it be the vulgar Christian æra, or A. V. C. 752. That we may gradually ascend higher, we must raise from this a few subsidiary æras, that are pretty nearly agreed upon among the learned, and which the materials, we are to work upon, require. The reader therefore must carry along with him,

	Before Christ.
The reign of Amasis in Egypt	— 570.
Herodotus the father of History	— 450.
The reign of Alexander the Great	— 330.

To begin with the Egyptian accounts of time. The priests informed (1) Herodotus, “That Bacchus lived 15,000 years before the reign of Amasis.” These reduced to years of (2) Twelve months each, may make

(1) Διονύτῳ δ' ἐλάττωσεν τέττων' ἢ τέτρω Πεντακισίλια ἢ Μύρια λογίζοντα εἶναι ἐς Ἀμασιν βασιλεία. Herodot. Lib. 2. c. 145.

(2) The Egyptians, according to Eudoxus, called a monthly revolution a year. Εἰ δ' ἢ ἢ ὄφισιν Εὐδοξὸς ἀληθὲς, ὅτι Διούσιαι τῶν Μῆνα Ἐπιεωτῶν ἐκάλεον. Proclus in Plat. Timeum. Lib. 1. *At enim* [Varro] *apud Ægyptios pro Annis Menses haberi.* Lactant. De Falf. Rel. Lib. 2. c. 12.

about

about 1250, and with the time of Amafis 1820. But Herodotus, giving his opinion of the Grecian gods, (1) says “From Bacchus son of Semele to his own time, were “1600 years,” which will make 2050. This indeed goes vastly beyond the time of Cadmus and Semele; and therefore we must either suppose, that there is an error in the text of Herodotus; or that he confounded the Theban Bacchus, with the Egyptian. Diodorus (2) says, “According to some accounts, Osiris, or the Egyptian Bacchus, lived 23,000 years before Alexander.” These reduced, as before, make about 1917, and with the time of Alexander 2247. But the Egyptians, as (3) Sir Isaac Newton rightly observes, by feigning new kings and reigns, had raised their antiquities some hundreds of years, between the times of Herodotus and Diodorus. Arrian in his Indian history (4) says “The Indians reckoned from Bacchus to Sandrocottus, who “lived in the time of Alexander, 153 kings, who reigned 6042 years.” This exceeds all belief, and is inconsistent with all accounts of time both sacred and profane. According to Sir Isaac Newton’s method of computation,

(1) Διονύσω μὲν οὖν τῷ ἐν Σαμείῳ τῆς Κάδμου λεγομένῳ γενέσθαι καὶ Ἐξακόσια ἔτη καὶ χίλια μάλιστα ἔστι ἐς ἐμὲ. Herodot. Lib. 2. c. 145. I am scrupulous in altering a word that has passed unmolested thro’ most, if not all, the editions of Herodotus; however the learned Lydiat has done it for me, by reading *Sixty*, instead of *Six Hundred*. *Ubi nullum est dubium, quin pro Ἐξακόσια legendum sit Ἐξήκοντα, pro Sexcenti, inquam, Sexaginta.* Not. ad Chron. Marm. p. 25. Ed. Prid. This brings it nearly to the time of Semele.

(2) εἶναι δὲ ἐπι φασὶν ἀπὸ Οσείδου ἕως τῆς Αλεξάνδρου βασιλείας αἰεὶ τῶν Μυσηίων ἡ δὲ ἔτι μὲν γράφεται, βραχὺ λείπονται τῶν Διωνυσίων καὶ Τειχεθίων. Diodor. Lib. 1. c. 23.

(3) See Introduction to his Chronology.

(4) ἀπὸ μὲν δὲ Διονύσου βασιλείας ἡείδμεον Ἰνδοὶ ἐς Ἀνδρόκοτον Τρεῖς καὶ Πενήκοντα καὶ Ἐκαπὶν ἔτη δὲ Δύο καὶ Τεσσαράκοντα καὶ Ἐξακισχίλια. Arrian. Indic. p. 173. Ed. Steph.

by twenty years to a reign, they will make 3060, which is extremely improbable. But if we allow ten, or at most eleven, years to a reign, which I think sufficient in such a long succession of kings, supposing it to be exact, they will make 1683, and with the time of Alexander, 2013. From these different, and, it must be owned, uncertain accounts and calculations, it may seem that Bacchus flourished about 2000, or perhaps 2100, years, before the Christian Æra: but still I question, whether we are yet arrived to the age of the true Bacchus, or only to that of Osiris in Egypt.

*Bacchus his actions
prove him of great
antiquity.*

Though Bacchus was not one of the Twelve great gods, and therefore must be considered as a modern deity with the Greeks; yet his actions, being such as raised the first gods to that dignity, entitle him to very high antiquity. The history of (1) Uranus and (2) Saturn shews, that their business was not so much to conquer, as to civilize, mankind: by teaching them the knowledge of agriculture, laws, arts and sciences. Bacchus in the same manner, built cities, planted colonies, taught men to plough the land, and sow corn, to plant the vine, and to make wine of grapes,

(1) Οὐρανὸν βασιλεύσαι καὶ τὰς ἀνθρώπους ἀσπράδην οἰκοῦντας σωμαραγεῖν εἰς πέλειας πεί-
λοισιν, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀνομίαις καὶ τῷ θειοῦ βίαι παῦσαι τὰς ὑπακούσας, εὐεργάτας τὰς τῶν ἡμερῶν
καρπῶν χρείαις καὶ ὄφρα δέξεται, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρησίμων οὐκ ἐλίγα. Diodor. Lib. 3.
p. 133.

(2) Τὸν μὲν ἔν Κρόνον ὄντα ἀφειστέτατον, βασιλέα γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπους
ἐξ ἀγείου ἀλαίης εἰς βίον ἡμερῶν μεταστῆσαι, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆτο δόδοχῆς μεγάλης τυχόντα πολλοὺς
ἐπελθεῖν τῆς οἰκουμένης τίπτες, εἰσηγήσασθαι δ' αὐτὸν ἅπασιν πῶς τε δικαιοσύνη, καὶ πῶς ἀπό-
τητα τ' ψυχῆς διὸ καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ Κρόνῳ γενόμενους ἀνθρώπους ὄφρα δέξεται τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις
εὐήθειαις καὶ ἀγαθῶν παντελῶς, ἐπὶ δ' εὐδαίμονας γεγονότας. Dioid. Lib. 5. p. 231.

where

where the land would bear them, and of barley, where it would not; he likewise instituted festivals, and dancing, &c. all this must be done with a view to polish the roughness of savage life, and (1) this after death entitled him to divine honours. The first heroes of Greece, as (2) Hercules and Theseus, who took the gods for their patterns, are said to have went through the world, only to do good to their fellow creatures; to relieve the oppressed, by rooting out monsters, tyrants, robbers, and all the pests of civil society. Such actions could not but be remembered with gratitude, and proposed as examples to posterity; to shew that beneficence alone constituted the true character of an hero. How amiable is this character, and how different from that romantic valour, and lust of dominion, by which Alexander made his way to divinity!

The worship of the heathen gods spread thro' all countries.

Those who are versed in profane history, know very well, that when men were once advanced to the state of gods, their fame naturally diffused itself far and wide through many distant nations; who besides paying them divine worship, and celebrating their exploits, came at length to entertain an opinion, that the Gods were born in their several countries; and afterwards feigned monuments and memorials of them, to support their pretensions. The Ara-

(1) Ομοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εὐρημάτων μεταδιδόησι πᾶσι, τυχεῖν αὐτῶν ὡς πῶς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων μεταίεσιν ἀθανάτω πῦος ὄρα τις εὐ παδοῦσιν. Diodor. Lib. 3. p. 139.

(2) Ἡρακλῆς μὲν γὰρ ὁμολογεῖται, πάντα τὰ γενέσθαι αὐτοῦ κατ' ἀνδράπευ χροῖον ὑπεμῆσαι μέγας καὶ σωχεῖς πῆνας καὶ κινδύνους, ἐκείως, ἵνα τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐεργετήσας τυχεῖ τῆς ἀθανάσιος. Diod. Lib. 1. p. 2.

bians worshiped only (1) Uranus and Bacchus, laying no claim, that we know of, to the birth of the former; but either they, or the Egyptians for them, affirmed that Bacchus was born at Nyssa in Arabia Felix, From hence the Egyptians received him, and made him their (2) Osiris and Sesostris, whom they celebrated, as the greatest of conquerors. To Egypt then we are to ascribe that multitude of fables, relating to the expeditions of Bacchus; of his leading an army from one end of the world to the other; through India, Arabia, Ethiopia, Egypt, Libya; to which we may add Thrace; tho' that seems to be an addition of the Greek poets, it lying too much out of the other road.

Alexander a rival of Bacchus. Alexander came many ages after the gods, and yet affected to be thought of their number. Making allowance for his faults and foibles, he was certainly possessed of many shining qualities, and worthy of an hero. His thirst after knowledge encouraged the Greeks of his time, to make very useful discoveries in many arts and sciences: and I question whether we should have known any thing at all of the true history of Bacchus, if this Grecian hero had not been fired with an emula-

(1) Λίγος δὲ κατέχει, ὅτι ἤκειν [Alexander] Ἰαβας δὴ μόνον τιμῶν θεῶν, τὴν Ουρανὸν τε καὶ τὴν Διόνυσον. Arrian. Exp. Alex. Lib. 7. Herodotus makes Uranus a female deity, calling him Urania. Διόνυσον δὲ θεὸν μόνον, καὶ τὴν Ουρανίαν ἠγόησαι εἶναι — ὀνομαζέσθαι δὲ τὴν Διόνυσον Ουρανίαν τὴν δὲ Ουρανίαν Αλιλάτ. Herod. Lib. 3. §. 8.

(2) Θεὸς γὰρ δὴ ἔτι τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀπάντες ὁμοίως Αἰγύπτιοι σέβονται, πλὴν Ἰσίου τε καὶ Οσίριδος, τὸν δὲ Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγουσι. Herod. Lib. 2. §. 42. Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν γὰρ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς θεὸν Ὀσίριον ὀνομαζομένον φασὶν εἶναι τὸν παρ' Ἑλλήσι Διόνυσον καλούμενον. Diod. Lib. 3. p. 174. Γενέσθαι δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφῶν τὸν Ὀσίριον, [Dionysum] καὶ τραφῆναι μὲν τῆς Εὐδαίμονος Ἀραβίας ἐν Νύσῃ πλησίον Αἰγύπτου. Idem. Lib. 1.

tion of equalling his exploits. Whoever has read the history of Alexander, must know that he made it a point to tread in the steps of Bacchus; and therefore I think he is the surest guide we can follow at this distance. He probably collected all that was remembered of Bacchus's history; and seems to direct us to the true course of his expedition, by pushing his own arms into India.

The first, or Indian, Bacchus. Diodorus in his second book has given us a description of India, and

(1) “ Thought it proper to give an abstract of what the most learned among the Indians had related of their antiquities. They say, that in the most ancient times, when their people lived only in villages, Bacchus came from the western parts with a

(1) Μυθολογῆσι ἢ ᾠδαῖς τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς οἱ λογιώτατοι, περὶ ὧν καθήκον ἀν εἶναι συντόμως διελέξεον· Φασὶ γὰρ, ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαιοτάτοις χρόνοις, παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κομισθὴν οἰκόντων, ᾠδαγενέσθαι τὸ Διόνυσον ἐκ τῶν πρὸς ἑσπέραν τόπων, ἔχοντα διώαμιν ἀξιόλογον· ἐπελθεῖν δὲ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἀπάσταν. μηδεμίαν ἔως ἀξιολόγησεν πόλιν τῆς διωαμῆος ἀντιτάξασθαι· ὀπτηγενῶν δὲ ἢ κομμάτων μεγάλων, καὶ τὴν Διονύσου φησὶν ἰσχυρῶν λοιμῶν νόσῳ ἀφροδισιῶν, συνέσει ἀφφύροντα τὴν ἡγεμόνα τοῦτον ἀπαγαγεῖν τὸ φρατόπεδον ἐκ τῶν πεδινῶν τόπων εἰς τὴν ὄρεννύ. ἐνταῦθα δὲ πνεύσων ψυχρῶν ἀνέμων, καὶ τῶν ναμαπαίων ὑδάτων καθαρῶν ῥέοντων πρὸς αὐταῖς ταῖς πηγαῖς, ἀπαλλαγῆαι τῆς νόσου τὸ φρατόπεδον ὀνομάζεσθαι ἢ τῆς ὄρεννης τὸν τόπον τῆτον Μιθρὸν, κατ’ ὄν ὁ Διόνυσος ἐξέστρεψε τὰς διωαμῆας ἐκ τῆς νόσου. ἀφ’ ἧ δὴ καὶ τὰς Ἑλλήδας πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τότε ᾠδαδεδωκέναι τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις, τετραφθεῖν τὸ Διόνυσον ἐκ μητρῶ. μὴ δὲ ταῦτα τῆς ᾠδαδέσεως τῶν καρπῶν ὀπτημεληθέντα, μέλειδίδου τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς, καὶ τὴν εὐρεσιν τῶ οἴνου, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν εἰς τὴν βίον χρησίμων παραδύναι. πρὸς ἢ τέτοις, πόλεον τε ἀξιολόγησεν γεννηθῆναι κτήσιν, μείλαργόντα τὰς κόμας εἰς τὰς εὐθέτας τόπους, τιμῆν τε καταδείξαι τὸ θεῖον, καὶ νόμους εἰσηγήσασθαι καὶ δικαστήρια· καθόλου ἢ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων εἰσηγήσει γεννηθῆναι, θεῖον νομισθῆναι, καὶ πρὸς ἀθανάτων τιμῶν. ἰσορροπῆ ἢ αὐτὸν καὶ ζωακῶν πλῆθος μὴ τὸ φρατόπεδον πειλάζεσθαι καὶ κατ’ ἑν τῶν ἐν τοῖς πελέμοις παρατάξις τιμῶν καὶ κυβέλοισι κεχρηθῆναι, μάλιστα σαλπήγγος εὐρηθῆναι. βασιλευσύναι ἢ πάσης τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἐπὶ δὴ πρὸς τοῖς πνιπύκοντα γῆρα τελευτήσῃ. ἀφφύροντος ἢ τὰς ὑπὸ αὐτῷ ἡγεμονίαν, αἰ τοῖς ἐφ’ ἑαυτῶν δολιπῆν τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸ δὲ τελευτάσθαι, πολλὰς γενεὰς ὑπερον καταλυθείσης τῆς ἡγεμονίας, δημοκρατηθῆναι τὰς πόλεις. Περὶ μὲν ἔν τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ τῶν ὀπτημένων αὐτῷ τοιαῦτα μυθολογῆσιν οἱ τὴν ὄρεννύ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς κατοικῶντες. Diodor. Lib. 2. p. 87.

H

“ great

“ great force, and invaded all India; there being no con-
 “ siderable city able to withstand him. But by reason of
 “ the great heats his soldiers died of a pestilential distem-
 “ per, till that prudent general led his troops from the
 “ plains to the mountains; where the blasts of the cool
 “ winds, and pure waters flowing from the fountain
 “ head, relieved the army from the plague. The place
 “ where Bacchus refreshed his forces was called (1) *Me-*
 “ *ros*, from whence the Greeks feigned the story of his
 “ being nourished in a *Thigh*. After this applying him-
 “ self to the husbanding of fruits, he communicated his
 “ knowledge to the Indians; and taught them the inven-
 “ tion of wine, and other things useful to life. Besides
 “ this, he was the founder of many great cities, draw-
 “ ing the inhabitants of the villages to places more com-
 “ modiously situated: he taught them likewise religion,
 “ instituted laws, and courts of justice: and after many
 “ famous actions was esteemed a god, and received di-
 “ vine honours. They report likewise, that he led a
 “ body of women with him in his army; that in battle
 “ he used drums and cymbals, the trumpet being not
 “ yet invented. After he had reigned over all India fifty
 “ two years, he died of old age; his sons taking the go-
 “ vernment upon them, and leaving it to their sons; till
 “ after many ages, the kingly government being abolish-
 “ ed, the cities were ruled by a democracy. These are

(1) *Urbium quas incolunt, Nysa est clarissima & maxima; Montium Meros, Jovi Sacer; Famam hinc præcipuam habent, in illa genitum, in hujus specu Liberum arbitrantur esse nutritum: unde Græcis autoribus, ut Femori Jovis insitum dicerent, aut materia ingessit aut error.* Pompon. Mela. Lib. 2. c. 11.

“the things reported of Bacchus, and his posterity, by
 “the inhabitants of the mountainous parts of India.”
 To which I must add, that the mountaineers were the
 most likely persons to preserve the tradition in its greatest
 purity: and though I will not vouch for the truth of
 every particular in this relation, yet look upon it, as the
 best, and most authentic account of Bacchus’s actions.
 All others, whether Arabian, Egyptian, African, or
 Greek, so far as they agree with this, may with my con-
 sent be inserted into the history of Bacchus; and where
 they differ from it, ought to be rejected, as merely fabu-
 lous, and without any historical foundation.

*Why Bacchus is said
 to have conquered
 the world.*

The same historian in his third
 book says, (I) “Some affirmed
 “that there was only one Bac-
 “chus, others that there were
 “three — They suppose that these three lived at diffe-
 “rent times, and ascribe their proper actions to each.
 “They say that the oldest was born in India, which coun-
 “try by it’s fertility spontaneously produces vines in a-
 “bundance: there he first found out the way of pressing
 “the grapes, and making wine. — This was the Bac-
 “chus, who marched through the whole world with an
 “army, and taught the planting of vines.” He likewise

(I) Ἐνίοι μὲν γὰρ ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνοντι γενέσθαι — ἔνιοι δὲ, καθάπερ πρὸς αὐτὸν, πῶς ὑποσημαίνει γεγονέναι καὶ διεσπῆκτας χεῖρας, ἕκαστω παρὰ τὴν ἰδίαν παρῆξιν, καὶ φασί, ὅτι μὲν ἀρχαίωτατον Ἰνδοῦ γεγονέναι, καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτομάτως ἀπὸ τῆς εὐκρασίας φέρουσης πολλὴν ἀμπέλον, πρῶτον τῶ τὸν ἀποδιδύμει βίβρατος, καὶ τῶν χεῖρας τῆς αὐτῆς οἴνου φύσεως ἐπινοῶσαι. — Τὸν δὲ ἔν Διόνυσον ἐπελθόντα μὴ στρατοπέδου πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, διδάξαι πῶς τε φυτεῖαν τὴν ἀμπέλου. Diodor. Lib. 3. p. 138, 139.

says (1) “ This god left so many tokens of his beneficence, and of his presence in so many parts of the world; that no wonder every one thinks that his town and country has some relation to Bacchus.” That Bacchus went thro’ the whole world with an army of men and women, was an opinion universally propagated; tho’ it carries an absurdity in the very face of it. He certainly came from another country, when he invaded the Indians; but their history gives not the least intimation of his passing from thence to any other parts of the world. This then at first was only a fable of the Egyptians, necessary to strengthen the stories of their Osiris and Sesostris: and like other fables of the same kind must not be understood literally, if we would endeavour to make sense of it. The historian perhaps may be of service to us in this case: (2) “ Some authors, says he, held that Bacchus never appeared in human shape; but that by this god was to be understood the invention and gift of wine.” Let us then suppose, that wherever the use of wine prevailed, as it did thro’ almost the whole world, thither the fame of Bacchus was carried; this, and nothing else, can account for his conquering the world with an army.

(1) Καθόλου δ' ἐν πολλοῖς τόποις ἡ οἰκιστῆρος ἀποδεικνύεται τοῦ θεῦ σημεῖα ἡ ἰδίᾳ εὐεργεσίας ἅμα καὶ παρσῆας, ἔθεν παράδοξον ἐλάσσους νομίζεν οἰκειότητα πᾶσι γεγενηῖται πρὸς Διονύσου πῶς ἑαυτῶν πάλιν ἢ καὶ χῶρον. Idem. Ibid.

(2) Εἴσι δ' οἱ γίνεσιν ἢ τότε ἀνθρωπόμενον μὴ γεγενηῖται τὸ πᾶσι πάντων ἀποφανόμενοι, ἢ ὅτι τῷ οἴνῳ ὅσον Διόνυσον εἶναι νομίζοντες. Diod. Lib. 3. p. 137.

The Indian Bacchus probably a Scythian.

The Indian Bacchus being allowed to be the most ancient, is consequently the true one; and we are to look upon all others, as fictitious and counterfeit. Here taking (1) Alexander for our guide, we come to mount Meros, not very far from the source of the Indus, and to the city of Nyfa, or Nyfia, built by Bacchus. This then seems to be the beginning of his expedition, as near as the Greeks could come to the knowledge of it; but his first setting out was probably more northward, from the neighbouring Bactria, or (2) southern Scythia; the country of the first, and greatest, conquerors. I am the more inclined to this opinion, upon account of the women warriors in his army, called by the poets Bacchæ, Bacchides, or Amazons, whom I take to be Scythians: (3) “For in that nation the women, as well as the men, are trained up to war, and in strength and courage are not inferior to men.” The great antiquity of the history of Uranus, and Bacchus, is another inducement to me to think, that they both led their swarms from the same mother country; which was large and populous enough to send out several numerous armies at the same time. The one went on conquering eastward, as the other westward; and which of the two began his progress first, is a question that cannot easily be resolved.

(1) Vide Arrian. Exped. Alex. Lib. 5. Q. Curt. De Reb. Gest. Alex. Lib. 8. c. 32, 33.

(2) Ἰνδὸν πᾶρ ποταμῶν Νόποι Σκύθαι ἐγκαίεον. Dionysius Perieg. v. 1088.

(3) Ἐν τέποις γὰρ ἔθνεσι [Scythis] γυμνάζονται πρὸς πόλεμον γυναῖκες ἀδελφικῶς ἀνδράσιν, καὶ ταῖς ἀνδράσιν ἔδεν λείπεται τῶ ἀνδρῶν. Diodor. Lib. 2. p. 90.

Alexander pursued the track of Bacchus.

From Nyfa then in India, and from mount Meros, lying northward from thence, begins the history of the true Bacchus. It must have been a commonly received opinion that Bacchus (1) built this city, when he invaded India. And if the Indians thought that he was born there, it was owing to the fondness which they had for their god: for this was the common foible of all nations. Arrian (2) says "The Nyseans were "by Bacchus:" and this, I doubt not, was reported, and believed, by the Greeks. Arrian here complied with the vulgar tradition of his countrymen, concerning their Bacchus; but seems not to give much credit to it; for he had said in another place, (3) "Who this Bacchus "was, or from whence he came, or at what time, I am "not able to conjecture:" and presently after, "We "ought not to be too nicely inquisitive into the ancient "fables of the Gods." Nyfa lies between the rivers Cophes on the west, and Indus on the east; other rivers, as Hydaspes, Hydraotes, Acesines, which fall into the Indus, lie still more eastward. Alexander passed all these rivers with his army, till he came to the (4) Hypanis, or

(1) Διόνυσον ὃ κτίσται πῶς Νύσαν, ἀφ' ἧς τε Ἰνδὸς ἐχειρώσατο. Arrian. Exp. Alex. Lib. V. Εκ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων Νυσαίους δὴ πῶς ἔδυσαν προσωνόμασαν, καὶ πόλιν παρ' αὐτοῖς Νύσαν Διονύσου κτίσμα, καὶ ὅρῳ τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως Μερὸν. Strabo. Lib. 13. p. 689.

(2) Νυσαῖοι δὲ οὐκ Ἰνδικὸν γένῳ ἔσιν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀμα Διονύσῳ ἐλθόντων ἐς πῶς γὰρ τῶν Ἰνδῶν. Arrian. Indic.

(3) "Ὅστις δὲ ἔστῳ ὁ Διόνυσος, καὶ ὅποτε ἢ ἦεν ἐπ' Ἰνδὸς ἐσεχάτασεν, ἐ γὰρ ἔχω συμβαλεῖν. — Πῶς γὰρ δὴ ὅτι οὐκ ἀρεστὴ ἐξετάστω καὶ εἶναι τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Διὸς ἐν παλαιῶν μεμνημένων. Arrian. Exp. Alex. Lib. V.

(4) Ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ τῷ Γαπίσι ἦλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος. Arrian. Indic. p. 170.

Hyphasis,

Hyphafis, which was the utmost bounds of his conquests. Thus far, we may conclude, was the track of Bacchus: and we may presume, that he went still farther eastward, from that passionate exclamation of Alexander, when his soldiers refused to proceed further, (1) “That he should owe them no thanks for what they had hitherto done; but should look upon himself as “defeated, if he was not permitted to pass the Ganges:” For, besides other tokens, that is a sort of proof to me, that Bacchus’s conquests extended beyond that river. And there I think we are to take our leave of him; it being impossible to follow him into a country unknown to the ancient European travellers.

Indian relations of Bacchus. In India on this side the Ganges, we are assured, that he was worshiped as a god. The inhabitants, it is said had a tradition, that he was the (2) son of the river Indus; that he was born at Nyfa, and was bred up in a cave on mount Meros. When Alexander approached the city of Nyfa, the (3) Nyfeans sent an embassy to him

(1) Τὸ μὲν ἔτι ἀρχαῖον, ὑπὸ δουρυμίας καὶ ὄρησις αὐτὸν εἰς πῶν σπηλιῶν καθιέρχων ἐκείνο, χάριν ἐδεμίαν εἰδὼς τοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου γούροις εἰ μὴ παρῆσειεν τὸν Γάγγην, ἀλλ’ ἐξουλοβόρησιν ἡτῆσι τιδέμεθα πῶν ἀναχάρεσιν. Plutarch. in Alexandro. Vid. etiam Arrian. Exp. Alex. Lib. 5. Near the Ganges was a place called the *Sacred Nyfean Way*, in memory of Bacchus.

Ἔστι δὲ τις Σπηλιὸς ἐυρρέϊτῳ παρὰ Γάγγην
Χῶρος πημῆσι τε καὶ ἰερός, ὅν ποτε Βάχχος
Θυμῶν ἐπέτησεν —————

Τῶνεκα Νυσταῖον μὲν ἐφημίζαντο κέλυστον. Dionys. Perieg. v. 1152, 1159.

(2) Οἱ δὲ πῶν Ἰνδοῦ καὶ Ἰδρακῶτι μέσση νεμῶννοι, καὶ τὸ μὲν ταῦτα ἠπειρον, ἢ δὲ εἰς ποταμὸν Γάγγην τελευτᾷ, Διόνυσον γενέσθαι ποταμοῦ παῖδα Ἰνδοῦ λέγουσιν. Philostrat. Vita Apollon. Lib. 2. c. 9.

(3) Ὁ βασιλεῦς, δεόντῃ σο Νυσταῖοι, εἶσατο σφᾶς ἐκλυδέεσσι τε καὶ αὐτονομῆσι, αἰδέει τῶ Διονύσου. Arrian. Exp. Alexand. Lib. V.

praying

praying that he would continue to them their ancient liberties, laws, and customs, received from Bacchus, which he confirmed. Other nations, as the (1) Oxydracæ in particular, boasted that they were descended from him. And in general it is said, that (2) “The Indians shew to this day the place where he was born; that many cities were called by his name in their own language; and that there are many other remarkable tokens of his being born in India, which it would be tedious to mention.” Megasthenes who lived some time after Alexander, and under Seleucus, went to the court of Sandrocottus a powerful king of India on this side the Ganges, and to that of Porus a much greater. From Sandrocottus he learnt the beforementioned long succession of Indian kings, and says that, (3) “When Bacchus left India, he appointed Spartembas, one of his friends to succeed him, who reigned fifty two years; [which I must observe is the very term of Bacchus’s reign] Budyas his son succeeded; reigned twenty years, and left the kingdom to his son Cradevas; and so the government descended for many ages from father to son.” This succession probably came in a right line from the true Bacchus: but his leaving India, must be esteemed fabu-

(1) Διονύσου δ' ἀπογόνους τὸς Οὐξυδρακας. Strab. Lib. 15. p. 687. Οὐξυδράκῃ δὲ, ὡς τῶ Διονύσου σαγγονεῖς ἔφαμεν μεμνημένους. Idem. p. 701.

(2) Δείκνυσθαι ὃ παρ' Ἰνδῶν μέγιστον τῶ νῦν τὸν τὸ τόπον, ἐν ᾧ συνέβη γενέσθαι τὸν θεόν, καὶ προσσηγορίας πύλαιον ὑπ' αὐτῷ καὶ πῶς τ' ἐγχωρίων ἀγάλειον καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα ἀξιομύθητα τε παρ' Ἰνδῶν γενέσεως, καὶ ὅν μακρὸν ἂν εἴη γράφειν. Diodor. Lib. 3. p. 139.

(3) Ἀποῖνα δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς, ὡς οἱ ταῦτα κεκοσμέατο, κατέστησε βασιλέα τῆς χώρας Σπαρτέμβαν τῶν ἐπαγίων ἑνα βασιλευσάτων τελευτήσαντων δὲ Σπαρτέμβαν, πῶς βασιλείῳ ἐκδέξασθαι Βυδύαν τὸν τότε πῦδα καὶ τὸν μὲ πενήτηντα καὶ δύο βασιλεύσαι τὸ πατέρα τὸν δὲ πῦδα εἰκοσι ἕτερον καὶ τότε πῦδα ἐκδέξασθαι πῶς βασιλείῳ Κραδεύαν. Arrian Indic.

lous;

lous; as no way agreeing with the genuine account of the Indians.

The actions of the true Bacchus unknown to the Greeks.

We must be content to be ignorant of the greatest part of Bacchus's actions; because we know not for certain from whence he came at first; and his exploits were performed in a country (1) unknown to the Greeks, till the time of Alexander, and then but very imperfectly; their knowledge of it scarce reaching beyond the Indus, and those rivers that flow into it. Strabo says, (2) "We ought to make allowance for what is related of the Indies, because it is a country so far distant; and few of our people have seen it; and those who have seen it, have only seen some parts of it; and they speak mostly upon hearsay; and what they saw, they saw only in a transient view; for which reason they disagree in relating the same things, tho' they seem to deliver them upon mature enquiry. Some of these were soldiers in the same expedition; as those who assisted Alexander

(1) Εἰ πότῳ ταῦτ' ἀρεῖς πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατείας ὀφελέπει μνήμῳ, πολλοὶ ἂν εἴροι τούτων πρῶτον. Strabo. Lib. 15. p. 686. Τὰ μὲν πρὸς μεσημβρίῳ, καὶ τὰ Πάτιαλά τε καὶ τὴν Ἰνδοῦ ἐκβολὰς, ἄφ' οὗ πρὸς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Μακεδόνων, καὶ πολλῶν Ἑλλήνων· τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἰνδοῦ ἐκβολῇ μὴ οὐκ ἐπίπλῃσι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν Γάγγην· Οὐλοῖσι δὲ ἀνέγραψαν τὰ μέγιστον ποταμὸν Γάγγην, καὶ ἵνα τὸ Γάγγην αἰ ἐκβολῇ, καὶ πόλιν Παρτίμυδον μερῶν Ἰνδοῦ πρὸς τὸν Γάγγην. Arrian. Indic.

(2) Δεῖ δ' εὐργυμῶνας ἀκρίει πρὸς αὐτῆς [India] καὶ γὰρ ἀπατάτο ὅτι καὶ ἔτι πολλοὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων κατὰ πρῶτον αὐτῶν· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἰδόντες μέρη πινὰ εἶδον· τὰ δὲ πλείω λέγουσιν ἐξ ἀκοῆς· καὶ εἶδον δὲ ἐν παρεῶν κατέματον· διότι πρὸς τὰ αὐτὰ πρὸς τῶν αὐτῶν ἐξαγγέλλουσι καὶ πάντα συγχαίφοντες, ὡς ἂν περὶ πρῶτον ἐξῆτασθαι· πρὸς δ' αὐτῶν καὶ συσχετούμενοι ἀλλήλους, καὶ σωπεθημῶνας, καθάπερ οἱ Ἀλεξάνδρου συγκαταστρέψαντες τὴν Ἀσίαν· ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ἑκάστου ἀναπύει λέγει πολλὰς· Ὅπως δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἰνδοῦ ἐκβολῇ πρὸς ἀφῆρται, τὴν δὲ γὰρ πρὸς τῶν ἐξ ἀκοῆς; Strabo. Lib. 15. p. 685.

“in the conquest of Asia; and yet they frequently con-
 “tradict each other. Now, if they differ so much about
 “things which they were eyewitnesses to; what must we
 “think of those things, which they relate only upon
 “hearsay?”

*Fabulous stories of Bacchus
 not to be imputed to the
 Indians.*

Megasthenes (1) “Bids us
 “not give credit to the an-
 “cient stories of the Indians;
 “for neither did the Indians

“ever send out an army from their country, nor did any
 “army from another country ever enter and conquer In-
 “dia; besides that which came with Hercules, and with
 “Bacchus, and this of the Macedonians.” By the armies
 that entered India, I suppose, he meant those under Se-
 miramis and Cyrus, both which accounts (2) Strabo treats
 as fabulous. By the armies that went out of India, I
 think, he must allude to Bacchus’s traversing the greatest
 part of the known world with an Indian army: but he
 could not mean to charge the Indians with these reports.
 They no doubt boasted of many great matters performed
 by Bacchus in their own country, to which they might
 add many more that were never performed: but they
 are not accountable for any extraneous fables. Megasthe-
 nes’s charge then rests upon the Arabian, Egyptian, and
 Grecian poets, and historians. It was but justice in them,

(1) Συναποφαινέται δὲ πως ἢ Μεγαθένης πρὸ λόγου τούτου, κελεύων ἀπιστεῖν ταῖς ἀρχαίαις
 αἰεὶ Ἰνδῶν ἱστορίαις· ἔτε γὰρ παρ’ Ἰνδῶν ἔξω σαλευῖν ποτε στρατιάν, ἔτ’ ἐπιλλεῖν ἔξωθεν ἢ κρα-
 τῆσσι, πλὴν τῆς μετ’ Ἡρακλέους καὶ Διονύσου, ἢ τῆς νῦν μὲν Μακεδόνων. Strabo. Lib. 15.
 p. 686.

(2) Ἡμῖν δ’ ἢ πρὸς ἀνδραγαθίαν ἤσθηται πρὸς αἰεὶ τῶν Ἰνδικῶν ἐκ τῆς τριούτης στρατίας τοῦ Κύρου, ἢ
 ἢ Σεμιράμιδος; Strabo. Lib. 15.

when

when, they had led their heroes so far as the Indies, to bring them back again, and in triumph, to their respective countries. But this was not the case with the Indians; for they could never dream of Bacchus's leading an army into (1) Libya; of his conquering (2) Lycurgus king of Thrace; or of his (3) returning to Thebes mounted on an elephant.

*Uranus and Bacchus
the two oldest deities.*

It is clear from history that the Arabians had a chief deity, by whom was to be understood Dionysus, or Bacchus. But there are several reasons to think that this was not the true Bacchus, if he was a native of Arabia. As first the general persuasion of the Indians, that he was born at (4) Nyfa in their country, which lies at too great a distance to be mistaken for the Arabian Nyfa. Again it is not probable that Bacchus would leave India, a fertile country, and large enough to find employment for more than one conqueror, and that for their whole lives, to make incursions into the deserts of Arabia. To these I must add my own private opinion,

(1) Of the Libyan Bacchus son of Ammon, and his wars with Saturn, and his other exploits in Libya, we shall give a succinct account, hereafter.

(2) Τὸν δὲ Διόνυσον περιέλασαν τὰ δυνάμει μάχῃ κρατῆσαι τὴν Θρακίαν, καὶ τὴν Λυκούργου ξοχρήματα πηλοῦσι τε καὶ πᾶσαν ἀλίαν εἰσενεβλάμην ἀναστυρόσθαι. Diod. Lib. 3. p. 139. But he says just after, that some of the poets, of whom was Antimachus, thought Lycurgus was not king of Thrace, but of Arabia. Τῶν δὲ ποιητῶν τινες, ὧν ἔστι καὶ Ἀντίμαχος ἀμφαίνοντι τὸν Λυκούργον οὐ Θρακίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν γεγονέναι βασιλέα. Idem.

(3) Τὸν δ' ἐν Διόνυσον φασὶ κολάσασθαι μὴ τὸς ἀσπίδας ὀπαικῶς ἢ περὶ στενεχθέντα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνδράποισι, ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδίας ἐπ' ἐλέφαντι τὸν εἰς Θήβας ἐπάνοδον ποιῆσθαι. Idem. Ibid.

(4) Νύφος γὰρ ὁ Διόνυσος, διὰ τῆς ἐν Ἰνδίᾳ Νύφης, Ἰνδίας ἑνομάζεται, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀπὸ ἀπείρου ἔθνεσιν. Philostrat. Vita Apollon. Lib. 11. c. 2.

that Bacchus flourished before the Arabians could be said to be a nation. Ishmael, who was to be the father of a great nation, is the person from whom they claim their descent; and I place Bacchus before Abraham, father of Ishmael. Strabo likewise intimates that the name of the country, (1) Arabia, was not known in the times of the gods. The ancient Arabians kept no accounts of time, at least none are come down to us; they only preserved the general fame of the god, which they might receive at first from the Indians: and, I think, we may conclude, that their Bacchus could not be older than the time when they first began to worship him. For (2) Herodotus says, “Men computed the genealogies of their gods, from the time when they began to be known to them.” This time indeed cannot now be discovered; however they seem to have been acquainted with him before the Egyptians. The Egyptians could go no further back into antiquity than their Osiris; whose actions are a mixture of what had been performed before by Uranus and Bacchus; as a discerning reader may perceive by examining his history. His eastern conquests are derived from Bacchus, and his western from Uranus: his wife and sister Isis seems to be no other than a second

(1) Strabo says it might be so called from one Arabæus son of Hermes or Mercury, according to Stefichorus: but that it could not be so old as the Heroic times, or Mythic age.

Καὶ κάριον Ἀραβαίῳ ἢ Ἑρμῶν ἀλάλητα
Γένετο.

Οὕτω δὲ καὶ Σπείρχορος λέγει: Εἰκάζειν ἔνι ἔθνη, ὅτι ἀπὸ τέτοιο καὶ ἡ χώρα Ἀραβία· ἦδη τότε ἀνομάζετο, καὶ δὲ τὸς Ἑρῶν πρὸν ἴσως ἔπει. Strabo Lib. 1. p. 42.

(2) Ἀπὸ ἐξ ἐπέθεντο χεῖρας, ἀπὸ τέτοιο γενεολογία αὐτῶν γένεσιν. Herodot. Lib. 2. c. 146.

Titæa,

Titæa, or Terra, under a different name: and the murder of Osiris is only that of Uranus, the circumstances a little enlarged. The Phenician history, or the translator Philo, is something more particular about the death of Uranus, but mentions not a word of Bacchus; which some may think a reason for bringing Bacchus down lower than the time of Uranus; but it only proves that his worship was not so early known in Phenicia, as that of the other. Both seem to me to have lived near the same time; which I have placed about 2300 years, or more, before the Christian Æra; and if mistaken, am ready to submit to better information.

The Egyptians pretensions to Bacchus. What the Arabians alledged for Bacchus's birth in Arabia Felix we know not, nor indeed whether they asserted any such thing: if they did, the Egyptians claim to him is plainly founded upon theirs, as appears from the history of Osiris. It is (1) said, "That he marched by the Red Sea through Arabia as far as to the Indies, the extremity of the world; that he built many cities in the Indies; among the rest, one that he named Nyfa; being willing to leave a memorial of that near Egypt, where he was brought up; that he planted the Ivy [sacred to Bacchus] in Nyfa

(1) Ἐπίστα πύλασθαι ἢ πορείαν δι' Αραβίας πρὸς ἢ Ερυθρὰν Θάλασσαν, ἕως Ἰνδῶν ἢ πέρασος τῆς οἰκουμένης· κτίσαι δὲ καὶ πόλεις ἀπ' ὀλίγας ἐν Ἰνδοῖς, ἐν αἷς καὶ Νύσαν ἰσημῆσαι, βελήμων μνημεῖον ἀπολιπεῖν ἐκείνης κατ' ἢν ἔγραψεν κατ' Αἴγυπτον. φυτεῦσαι δὲ καὶ κίτυον ἐν τῇ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς Νύτῃ, καὶ ἀμείβεσθαι τῆτο τὸ φυτόν ἐν ἐλαίῳ μόνῳ τῷ τόπῳ τῶν τε καὶ Ἰνδικῶν καὶ πᾶσι χερσῶν χόρσων. πολλὰ ἢ καὶ ἄλλα σημεῖα τῆς ἐαυτῆ παρυσίας ἀπελελοιπέναι κατ' ἐκείνῳ πᾶσι χόρσων, δι' ὃν περιχρῶδέντας τὰς μεταγενετέρας τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἀμφοτεπῆσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, λέγοντας Ἰνδῶν εἶναι τὸ γένθ. Diodor. Lib. 1. p. 12.

“of the Indies, which continued to grow in that part
 “only, and the places adjacent: and that he left many
 “other tokens of his having been in that country. Whence
 “the later Indians were drawn into a controversy about
 “that god; they asserting that he was an Indian by
 “birth.” The story is very plausibly told, and with a
 seeming air of truth: but even from this state of the
 case, the reader I believe will anticipate my sentence;
 and adjudge the cause to the Indians, rather than the
 Egyptians. Tho’ after all, I can admit neither of their
 pretensions, but still believe that he was a Scythian con-
 queror. It would be trifling to mention the fleets and
 naval victories of Osiris and Sefostris, as tho’ they any
 way related to Bacchus, because we are (1) told, that
 Bacchus’s invasion was not made by sea, but by land.

*The pretensions of
 the Greeks.*

The Greeks must have been in-
 fatuated with the love of fable, to
 set up a Bacchus in their country;
 after they had received the use of letters, and might be
 so easily convicted of forgery. They asserted with as
 much confidence, tho’ not with so good a grace, as the
 Egyptians, that the Indian Bacchus was a native of
 Greece; but tell us not how he got to India, nor what
 nations he conquered in his way thither. What actions
 he performed in Greece might be fables of their own;
 but the stories of foreign conquests must be borrowed

(1) Οὐ παρέδωκεν ἵπποι δὲ καὶ νεῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῆ· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὴν Διονύσου ἐπ’ Ἰνδοῦς
 ἔσαν οὐκ ἐμμένοντο γινώσκον ναυπηγόν. Arrian. Exp. Alex. Lib. 6. p. 124. Ed.
 Steph.

from the Egyptians. Philostratus says, (1) “The Greeks differed from the Indians, and the Indians from one another, about this god; for we, says he, affirm that he was a Theban who conquered India:” and for the truth of this appeals to a Disc of Indian silver, preserved as an offering at Delphi. And yet he seems to bring an argument against himself, when describing the temple of Bacchus at Nyssa, he says, (2) “There was a statue of the god remaining of white marble, under the form of an Indian youth.” But this whole account of Philostratus is an illjudged fiction, not founded upon the least authority. The Greeks could have no knowledge of India, but what they received from the Egyptians. Osiris, who was himself a counterfeit of the true Bacchus, was the pattern from which they copied; and in conformity to it, were obliged to (3) transport the son of Semele from Thebes to Nyssa in Arabia, before he could be deemed a true Bacchus. It would be endless, and to no purpose, to follow this god through all the fables of the Greeks. I shall only observe that after traversing Europe, Asia, and Libya, they brought him to his grave at last, and (4) buried him at Delphi; where his rites and mysteries

(1) Διαφέρονται ἢ καὶ τὰ Διονύσει πάντα καὶ Ἑλλήνεις Ἰνδοῖς, καὶ Ἰνδοὶ ἀλλήλοις· ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ Θεβαῖον ἐπ’ Ἰνδοῦ ἐλάττω φαμέν — Ἔστι δὲ ἀρχαῖον Ἰνδικῶν Διονύσιον ὃ δὴ περιέγραψαι ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ Ο ΣΕΜΕΛΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΟΣ ΑΠΟ ΙΝΔΩΝ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΔΕΛΦΟΙ. Philostratus. Vita Apollon. Lib. 2. c. 9.

(2) Τὸ ἢ ἀγαλμα ἑστῆσι μὲν Ἰνδοῦ ἐπιθεῖν, κίθε ἢ ἕξεται λευκῶν. Philostrat. Ibid.

(3) Νῦν δὲ Διόνυσον τε ἕλθον οἱ Ἑλλήνεις ὡς αὐτίκα γενόμενον, ἐς τὴν μερὴν ἐπιπέσειν τὸν Ζεὺς καὶ ἦναι ἐς Νύσσαν τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας, ἔσαν ἐν τῇ Αἰθιοπία. Herodot. Lib. 2. c. 146.

(4) Αἰγυπτίῳ τε γὰρ Ὀσίειδον πολλαχῶς θήκας, ὡππερ εἴρηται, δεικνύσκει, καὶ Δελφοὶ τῶν Διονύσειν λείψανα παρ’ αὐτοῖς παρὰ τὸ χρησθένειον ἀπικένειον νομίζουσι. Plutarch. de Iside & Orifide. Διονύσιος ἔφορος τὴν Ἀνατολὴν καὶ εἰς Δέλφους ἐπιπέσειν, ἐκείνῳ τελεῖται. Jo. Malela. Chron. p. 52.

were

were preserved at least to the time of (1) Plutarch, if not later. (2) "This last Bacchus, the son of Semele, inherits the glory and reputation due to the former; which was likewise the fate of Hercules:" says the unprejudiced historian.

The deification of the Grecian Bacchus.

Tho' we give no detail of the actions of the Grecian Bacchus, yet it may be proper to enquire into the time of his deification. (3) Dionysius the Milesian, who lived in the reign of Darius Hystaspis, compiled a *Fabulous History* in prose, interlarding it with verses from the mythologists and poets, who were the oldest Greek writers. The first poets of the Greeks were (4) Thracians, whose ages cannot now be settled; chronology being not at all the concern of the writers of those times. However it is probable, that all, who are mentioned in history, lived after the Greeks had gained the knowledge of letters. Thamyris, who is thought to be one of the oldest, wrote a poem of the Titan war; but here I think Bacchus could make no part of the fable, because he was not one of the Twelve Great Gods of Thrace, or Greece; and to make him an inferiour deity

(1) Plutarch inscribes his treatise *De Iside & Osiride*, to Clea chief priestess of Bacchus at Delphi.

(2) Διὰ τὴν τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ χρόνου, τῶν προτέρων εἰρητῶν ἀγροδέντων ὑπὸ τῶν φοιτῶν, τῶν κληρονομῶντων τῶν τῶν προγενέστων ποσειδῶν τε καὶ δῶξαν· οὐκ ὅτι τότε δὲ μόνον συμβῆναι τοῦ ποσειδῶντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ μὴ ταῦτα ἐφ' Ἡρακλέους. Diodor. Lib. 3. p. 145.

(3) Διονύσιος τῆς αὐταξιαῦτος τῆς παλαιᾶς μυθολογίας· ἔτι καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν Διονύσιον καὶ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων, ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰλιακὸν πόλεμον περιχθέντα, καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα ἀνέταξε, ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν ποιημάτων τῶν ἀρχαίων, τῶν τε μυθολογῶν καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν. Diodor. Lib. 3. p. 140.

(4) See Enquiries concerning the first Inhabitants &c. of Europe. p. 32, 33.

would

would be doing him injustice. Linus the Theban poet, if he was the master of (1) Orpheus, was probably a Thracian; he wrote a poem of the elder Bacchus in the old Greek, or Pelasgic, language and letters: this, I think, is the first time we hear of Bacchus in Greece. Linus brought the Phenician letters into use with the Greeks, and by all accounts was contemporary with Cadmus: the Bacchus therefore celebrated by him, could not be the son of Semele, but the Egyptian Osiris. (2) Eumolpus another Thracian, followed Linus in treating of the actions of this god; and the subject of his poem I take to be the Egyptian Bacchus.

Orpheus introduced Bacchus into Greece.

But Orpheus the Thracian, above all others, has the honour of introducing Bacchus into the number of the gods of Greece. The Egyptians, of whose veracity I have no great opinion, (3) charged the Greeks with acting absurdly; in affirming that Bacchus was born at Thebes. "They said that Orpheus came into Egypt, and was initiated into the rites and mysteries of Bacchus; and thus instructed, brought

(1) Τὸν ἢ Λίναν ὁπὶ ποιητικῇ καὶ μελοδία θαυμαδέντα, μαθητὰς ἔχει πολλοὺς, ἐπιφανεστάτους ἢ πρὸς Ηρακλέα, Θάμυριν, καὶ Ὀρφέα. Diodor. Lib. 3. p. 143.

(2) Εὐμόλπου ἐν τοῖς Βακχικοῖς ἔπεισι φησὶν

Ἀσροφαῖ Διόνυσον ἐν ἀκπίνεσι περὶ πότι. Diodor. Lib. 1. p. 7.

(3) Τὰς ἢ λέγοντας ἐν Θήβαις τὴ Βοιωτίας γενόμεναι τὴ θεὸν ἐν Σιμέλῃ καὶ Διὸς φασὶ γενεάζειν Ὀρφέα καὶ εἰς Αἴγυπτον μεταβήντα καὶ μεταχόντα τὴ τελετῆς, καὶ τῶν Διονυσιακῶν μυστικῶν μεταλαβόντα — Μετεργηκότα δὲ τὴ παρ' Αἰγυπτίους θεολογημάτων, μετεργητικῶν τῶν Ὀσιειδῶν τοῦ παλαιῦ γέροντος ὁπὶ τοὺς νεωτέρους χρόνους. χειρίζομενον ἢ τοῖς Καδμείοις, ἐπέσταται κανὼν τελετῶν καθ' ἣν ἐδιδόνατο τοῖς μυσηίοις, ἐξ Σιμέλης καὶ Διὸς γεγεννηθῆναι τὸ Διόνυσον τὰς ἢ ἀνδράποδος τὰ μὲν Ἄφ' ἢ ἀγροίαν ἐξαπατομήνης, τὰ ἢ Ἄφ' τῶν Ὀρφέως ἀξιοπιστῶν καὶ δοξῶν ἐν τοῖς ποιούτοις προσηρόντας, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἡδέως προσδεχόμενον τὴ θεὸν Ἑλλῶνα ἰομιζόμενον, κατὰ πρὸς ἀρεσίην, γρηῃσάδει ταῖς τελεταῖς. Dioid. Lib. 1. p. 14.

“ down the birth of the ancient Osiris to much later
“ times; and to ingratiate himself with the Thebans, in-
“ stituted new rites, wherein the initiated were taught,
“ that Bacchus was the son of Jupiter and Semele. The
“ people thus deceived, partly through ignorance, partly
“ through the high opinion they had of Orpheus’s skill
“ in sacred matters; but chiefly because it was a very
“ desirable thing to have this god thought to be a Gre-
“ cian, readily received his mysteries.” Tho’ I much
doubt whether Orpheus ever was in Egypt, or initiated
into the mysteries of Osiris; yet I can easily allow the
Egyptians charge against the Greeks: and that their Bac-
chus was no more than Osiris. But if the Egyptians had
been asked from whence they received Osiris, I believe
they must have answered from Arabia; and if the ques-
tion had been put to the Arabians, they must have said
from India. In short the practice, of stealing their gods
from one another, was so common among nations, that
it was never thought a crime, but rather meritorious.
The time between Cadmus and the Trojan war, by my
reckoning is a period of about 400 years; within this
period, and perhaps about the middle of it, the deifica-
tion of Bacchus may be placed. The time of the elder
Orpheus is uncertain, but must come within this period:
and I think the affair of Jupiter and Semele must have
grown into an old story with the Greeks, before Orpheus
could obtrude his new rites upon them.

Thymætes

*The Libyan Bacchus
of Thymætes.*

Thymætes son of Thymætes was another old poet, said to be (1) contemporary with Orpheus; he too composed a poem of the elder Bacchus in the Pelasgic dialect and letters. This seems to have been wrote before the Greeks thought of a Bacchus of their own; or at least while they were preparing the way for one. The substance of this poem was inserted by Dionysius Milesius into his history; and seems designed to overthrow the credit of the Egyptian Bacchus, by feigning another more ancient in Libya. Thymætes took care to lay the scene a great way off for his own security; but blended with it the oldest mythology of the Greeks. As it affords us an instance of the endless circulation of fables, I shall abstract most of the particulars, which are preserved in prose by Diodorus; the whole being too long for this place.

*The Libyan Bacchus
Son of Ammon,
and Amalthea.*

“The Libyans near the Sea coast, says (2) Diodorus, dispute the birth of this god; and shew that Nyfa, and other things reported of Bacchus, were remaining in their country, to this day; and many ancient and modern mythologists and poets of the Greeks agree with them.” — “Thymætes travelled into many parts of the world, through Libya to the western or Atlantic ocean: he visited Nyfa,

(1) Θυμώτιον ἢ Θυμώτε τὸ Λαομέδοντος, καὶ πῶς ἠλικίαν γεγονότα τῷ Οὐρφέως. Diod. Lib. 3. p. 140.

(2) Οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δ' ὅτι καὶ τῶν Λιβύων νεμυθίων οἱ ἄλλοι ἢ ἀκεανὸν οἰκῶντες ἀμφισβητοῦσι ἢ τῷ Θεῷ γενέσεως, καὶ τῷ Νύσαν καὶ τ' ἄλλα τὰ περὶ αὐτῶ μυθολογήματα παρ' ἑαυτοῖς δεινῶς γεγονυῖα. κλ. Diodor. Lib. 3. p. 140.

“ where Bacchus was brought up, and learning the story
 “ from the Nyseans, wrote a poem entitled *Phrygia*, con-
 “ cerning the actions of this god. Ammon, a king who
 “ reigned in some part of Libya, married Rhea daughter
 “ of Uranus, and sister of Saturn, and the other Titans.
 “ At his first entrance upon his government he met with
 “ the nymph Amalthea on the (1) Ceraunian mountains,
 “ and begot upon her Bacchus; but dreading the (2) jea-
 “ lousy of Rhea, sent him to be brought up at (3) Nyfa,
 “ a city far distant, lying in an island surrounded by the
 “ river Triton, and accessible only by one passage called
 “ the Nysean gates. [*Then follows a beautiful description*
of the island, and grotto, wherein Bacchus was educated;
which, I wish had been preserved in it's primitive metre,
it being no contemptible specimen of the poets genius, and
well worth the reading.] “ Ammon brought the child to
 “ this grotto, and committed him to the care of Nyfa,
 “ daughter of Aristæus, who was appointed his tutor
 “ and instructor; but Minerva was his guardian. Here

(1) The Ceraunian mountains were situated on the north side of the Euxine, and extended from the Tanais to the Caspian sea. *Hinc orti montes longo se jugo, & donec Rhipæis jungantur, exporrigunt; qui altera parte in Euxinum, Meotida, & Tanaim, altera in Caspium pelagus obversæ CERAU- NII dicuntur.* Mela de Situ Orbis. Lib. 1. c. 20. Though little credit is to be given to this whole fable, yet if I could believe any part of it, it should be this circumstance of the Ceraunian mountains; for the poet might possibly have some notion, that Bacchus was of Scythian extraction.

(2) The jealousy of Rhea seems to be copied from the jealousy of Titæa wife of Uranus.

(3) This Nyfa I take to be the city of Bacchus mentioned by Strabo, that could never be found out twice by the same person. *Εν ᾧ τῆ Λιβύῃ Διο- νόου πόλις εἶναι, ταύτῃ δ' ἐκ ἐνδέχεται εἶς τ' αὐτὸν ἐξευρεῖν.* Strabo. Lib. 7. p. 299.

“ whilst

“ whilst a boy, he grew famous for finding out the use
“ of wine, and the way of pressing grapes, and drying
“ some for store. When his fame began to spread, Rhea
“ his stepmother would have stoln away the boy; but
“ being disappointed, in a rage left Ammon, and re-
“ turned to her brothers the Titans, and married Sa-
“ turn; whom, with the Titans, she perswaded to make
“ war upon Ammon; who was defeated in battle, and
“ by famine obliged to retreat to Crete, whilst Saturn
“ seized the kingdom. Bacchus then levied souldiers,
“ (1) two hundred of which were bred up with him, as
“ companions; and confederating with the Libyans and
“ Amazons, commanded by Minerva, routed Saturn in
“ a great battle, and took the Titans prisoners; but in-
“ stead of putting them to death, generously pardoned
“ them; and they took up arms under him. Then pur-
“ suing the war with Saturn, he came to Zabirna a city
“ of Libya, where he slew the terrible monster Campe.
“ Then leading his army on, he fought Saturn under the
“ walls of the city of Ammon, and forced him to fly;
“ but Saturn resolving to destroy the palace, set the city
“ on (2) fire in the night, and escaped with Rhea. Af-

(1) This is borrowed from the history of Sefostris, whose father collected all the boys in Egypt, who were born on the same day with his son; and bred them up with him, to be his companions, and fellow warriors. Vid. Diodor. Lib. 1. p. 34.

(2) The Egyptian priests told Herodotus a story something like this. viz. “ That Sefostris, returning from his conquests, was invited by his
“ brother to lodge in his house at Pelusium; but the brother set the house
“ on fire in the night, and Sefostris, with his wife and four children, hardly
“ escaped, with the loss of two others, who perished in the flames.” Herod.
Lib 1. c. 107.

“terwards taking Saturn and Rhea prisoners, he pardon-
 “ed them; and Rhea loved him ever after as her own
 “son; but Saturn’s friendship was not to be trusted.
 “About this time Saturn and Rhea had a son born to
 “them, named Jupiter, on whom Bacchus conferred
 “great honours. He then built a temple to his father
 “Ammon, and set up an oracle. He conquered E-
 “gypt, and made Jupiter king of it, though yet but a
 “youth. He taught the Egyptians the use of wine, and
 “in the barren countries, where vines would not grow,
 “to make a (1) drink of barley, little inferiour to wine
 “in strength, taste, or flavour. He is likewise said to
 “have returned by hasty marches from India, to the
 “Mediterranean, and found the Titans passing over into
 “Crete against Ammon. Jupiter levied forces in Egypt,
 “and brought them to the assistance of Ammon; Bac-
 “chus too, with Minerva, brought over their forces,
 “when a battle was fought, wherein the Titans were all
 “cut off to a man. When Ammon and Bacchus became
 “immortal, and the Titans were utterly destroyed; Ju-
 “piter obtained the empire of the world, none daring to
 “be so impious as to dispute it with him. This is what
 “the Libyans related of the first Bacchus, son of Am-
 “mon and Amalthea.” If this was a report of the Li-
 byans, I easily guess from whence they learnt it; and

(1) This seems to be robbing the Egyptian Bacchus of the honour of the invention, for other authors ascribe it to Osiris. *τέλος ὃ τὴν Ὀσείην πᾶσαν πλὴν αἰκιδύβην ἐπελάθοντα, ἢ κοινὴν βίον τοῖς ἡμερωτάτοις καρποῖς ἐδεργετήσαν· εἰ δὲ πῶς χάρις τὸ φυτὸν τῆς ἀμπέλου μὴ ἀροσδέχοιτο, διδάξαι τὸ ἐκ τῆς Κειθῆς κατασκευαζόμενον Πέμα, λεπτόμακρον ἢ πολὺ ἢ σπείρει Ὀῖνον ἐπιείας τε καὶ δωάμεως.* Diodor. Lib. i. p. 17.

do not wonder that the Greeks and Africans were so well agreed about it. This wild and incoherent romance industriously avoids all mention of Osiris, as if there had been no such king in Egypt: and begins with the times of Saturn, and reconciles him to his deadly enemies the Titans. But the principal design seems to be, to make Bacchus the son of the Libyan Ammon; and an older deity than Jupiter. From whence the historian takes occasion, though I think unnecessarily, to infer that there must be more than one Bacchus, and one of them older than the Theban. “Some, (1) says he, affirm that there were several Bacchus’s, and amongst other proofs, give the Titan war for one; for as all are agreed, that Bacchus fought with Jupiter in this war, it would be absurd, they say, to bring the Titan age down to the time of Semele; and to make Cadmus the son of Agenor older than the heavenly gods.” The inference may be very just; but I must beg leave to dissent from him in the main point: for neither this, nor any other history, can persuade me, that any Bacchus ever joyned with Jupiter against the Titans. Because I take Jupiter to be at least two generations younger than Bacchus.

(1) Ὑπὲρ ἧς ἔστι πλείους Διονύσους γεγονέναι, οὐδ’ ἄλλαις ἀποδείξεσι περιόνται φέρειν ἢ πῶς ἐν τῷ Τιτανομαχίᾳ συμφωνοῦντι καὶ παρὰ πάντων, ὅτι Διόνυσος τῷ Διὶ συνηγωνίσαστο τῆν ἀπὸ τῶν Τιτάνων πόλεμον, ἑδαμῶς ἀπέπειν φασι ἢ τῷ Τιτάνων γενεῶν πένει μὴ τὸς τῷ Σεμέλῃ χρόνος, ἀλλ’ ἂν Κάδμω τὸν Ἀγνῶτος ἀσφαίνεσθαι ἀρκεσθῆναι εἶναι τῶν Οὐρανίων θεῶν. Diod. Lib. 3. p. 145.

*Recapitulation of the
history of Bacchus.*

To draw into a clear view what has been said of Bacchus, and to divest it of inconsistencies, so frequent in fabulous history: we must first allow the precedence to the Indian Bacchus; for that I think is a point not to be contested. As to the Arabian, of whom we know so little, every reader must use his own judgment. Some may think that he came from Egypt, others that he was the same with the Indian; which last opinion I think most probable. By his being jointly worshipped with Uranus he may be as old, and probably an older deity than him. Of all the other Bacchuses Osiris is undoubtedly the most ancient; and his age cannot be placed so high as the Titan empire. The (1) Egyptians feigned that he was the son of Saturn, as if they would make him equal to Jupiter; and the poet Thymætes seems to have this in his eye, when he affirms that Bacchus appointed Jupiter son of Saturn to reign over Egypt: for by Jupiter he seems to me to mean Osiris. The Greek poets thought themselves privileged to create a Bacchus in any age, or country; but by examining their pedigrees, we shall find them all later than Osiris, or at most the very same with him. Thus one is called the son of Jupiter and Proserpine; another the son of Nilus; a third the son of Jupiter and Io, or of Jupiter and Ceres; these all may be reduced to one king of Egypt, and that king must be Osiris. The son of Caprius alone, as

(1) Μετὰ ἢ ταῦτα ἢ Κρόνον ἀρξαι, καὶ γήμαντα πρὸ ἀδελφῶν Πέαν, γεννησάμην καὶ μὲν τινὰς τῶν μυθολόγων Ὀσίειν καὶ Ἴαν, καὶ ἢ τὸς πλείους, Διὸς τὸ καὶ Ἡραν. Diodor. Lib. 1. pag. 13.

he is called by Tully, can be placed before him; and he, as we said above, must be the Indian Bacchus, the conqueror of Asia. The Theban Bacchus was born several ages after Osiris, and at a time when history began to dawn, and poetical fictions to lose their weight; therefore his age is determined by historical circumstances. The Libyan Bacchus scarce deserves to be mentioned, but on the account of his pretended father Ammon. The name of (1) Hammon, or Ammon, may be derived from Ham the son of Noah; but he can upon no account be reckoned a deity of greater antiquity, than the Thracian, or Grecian gods; because he is said to be contemporary with Saturn and Jupiter. Notwithstanding this, the poet has so far succeeded in his design, as to gain belief with the credulous Greeks; and to impose upon the great (2) conqueror of the world, by making him appeal to the oracle, in order to be recognised the son of Ammon.

*Bacchus compared
with Noah.*

In the fable of so ancient a deity as Bacchus, whose name too spread through all nations, we may naturally expect some allusions to facts recorded by Moses: and the use we make of them should be to confirm the authority of the sacred writings. Thus I think we may conclude, that the history of Noah is genuine, and ori-

(1) *Sed totum hoc subnixum est fundamento isti, Jovem hunc Ammonem esse eundem ac Ham, sive Cham, Noe filium; uti non semel diximus. Vossius De Idololatria. Lib. 1. c. 32.*

(2) *Vid. Plutarch. in Alexandro. Arrian. Exped. Alexand. Lib. 5. Quintus Curtius De Rebus Gestis Alexandri. Lib. 4. c. 30.*

ginal: that he (1) lived before, and after, the flood: that he was an husbandman, and taught the people agriculture: that he planted the vine, made wine, and was (2) overtaken by the power of it: since all these circumstances are transferred to Bacchus. And Bacchus, for aught I know, may be one of the best arguments to prove, that India and China were planted by Noah, and part of his family; an opinion strenuously maintained by some of the (1) moderns. Not that I would make him the same identical person with Noah, as others have done; because I suppose that he lived near a thousand years after the flood.

(1) It was a current opinion that Bacchus was twice born, and the allegorizers who took him for wine itself, accounted for it several ways; as that the leaf of the vine first shot out, then the grape; some thought that by the second birth was meant the custom of boiling the wine after it was made, to increase the strength and flavour. But others said, "The vine with other fruits being destroyed in the flood of Deucalion, it sprung up again after the flood; which is to be taken for the second appearance of this god among men." Διὸς δ' αὐτῆ ἡ γένεσις ἐν Διὸς ᾤδαδεδοδαί, ἀπὸ τοῦ δοκεῖν μὲν τῶν ἄλλων, ἐν τῷ κτ' ἡ Δευκαλίωνα κατακλύσει φθαρυῖαι ἢ τέρας τὸς κέρπυς, καὶ κτ' πάλιν ἐπιμβείαν πάλιν ἀναφύοντων, ὡσπερὶ δευτέραν ἐπιφανείαν ταύτῃ ὑπάρξαι τῷ θεῷ παρ' ἀνθρώπων. Diodor. Lib. 3. p. 138. This is no forced, nor obscure, allusion to the general deluge, and the circumstances of Noah's life.

(2) Bacchus was represented, as overtaken with wine, in the publick processions of the Greeks, as appears from Athenæus. Οὐ καλῶς ἢ οἱ πλείοντες [Bacchum] ὅτι ἡ ἀμάξης ἀπὸ μέσης ἡ ἀγορῆς οἰνομήνον' ἐπιδείκνυται ἢ τοῖς διαλαῖς, ὅπ' ἢ τῷ θεῷ κρείττον ἔστιν ὁ οἶνος. Deipnos. Lib. 10. p. 428.

(3) Goropius Becanus *Indo Scythica*. p. 523. Sir Walter Raleigh. *Hist.* Lib. 1. c. 7. §. 14. Webb's *Essay to prove the Chinese the primitive language*. Lond. 1669. p. 81, 82. Bayer *Mus. Sinicum*. Vol. 2. p. 299.

*Bacchus compared
with Moses.*

Tho' the Israelites kept themselves unmixt with the heathen for several ages, yet the Phenicians and Egyptians must in time grow acquainted with their history, and traditions; which they first appropriated to themselves, and then communicated to the Greeks: and from hence came those similar events in the lives of Moses and Bacchus. As that both were born in Egypt: were beautiful children: had two mothers: were exposed upon the waters in an ark, or chest: both were pictured horned: Bacchus is called the Legislator: he passed through the Red Sea: one of the Bacchæ in Euripides, by striking a rock with her Thyrsus, brought out water. These, and more, the reader will find (1) collected to his hand; and, it is sufficient to say, they are so many branches of truth made fables, by engrafting them on Pagan history.

*Bacchus compared
with Nimrod.*

Bacchus has been thought to be Nimrod the mighty hunter in scripture. What, I suppose, gave rise to the opinion, was Nimrod's forming a kingdom in the east. But this kingdom does not seem to lye in the road of Bacchus's progress, or to have made any part of his Indian empire. When once the notion was started, critics endeavoured to find proofs for it; and the Greek names of Bacchus are urged as plausible reasons. Thus

(1) Vide Vossium De Idololatria. Lib. 1. c. 30.

(1) *Νεβρωδης* i. e. *Hinnulea pelle amictus*, is a common epithet given by the poets to Bacchus; and *Nebroth* is the Hebrew word for Nimrod, in Greek *Nebrodes*. *Ζαγρεὺς* is likewise another, answering to that of (2) *Mighty Hunter*. But these, I think, are not sufficient to outweigh the other opinion, that Nimrod was the same with Belus: unless they would make him both Belus and Bacchus.

Of the Rites of Bacchus.

The rites of Bacchus may be thought to contribute something towards illustrating his history; and therefore it may be expected that we should add a word or two upon that subject. The fable of his being drawn in a chariot by tygers, sufficiently indicates the country from whence he came: but what outward form of worship the Indians paid to him, is altogether unknown; unless we suppose that the Egyptian and Grecian rites were copied from them, which is not improbable. (3) “The second Bacchus, son of Jupiter and Io, daughter of Inachus, reigned over Egypt, and instituted the mysteries, and taught the manner of initiating.” This king must be

(1) *Nomen alludit ad Nimra, Chaldæi Tigrim ita nominant. Inde Tigres, in curru Bacchi, & amictus e pelle tigridis. Alii ex nebride malunt, & Nebrodem Bacchum appellant.*

Νυκελιον, Νομιον, Νεβρωδαι, Νεβρωδπηλον. Anthol. Lib. 1. c. 38. Epig. 1.

Quasi vestitum pelle Hinnuli, ignari hoc ipsissimum esse Nimrodi nomen apud Græcos. Vide 70 seniores, Josephum, & alios. Bochart. Phaleg. Lib. 1. c. 1.

(2) *Quid quod in fabulis Bacchi nomen antiquissimum est Ζαγρεὺς, id est, Robustus Venator, quo epitheto Nimrodem sive Nebrodem insignit Moses.* Idem. Ibid.

(3) *Τὸν ὃ δεύτερον [Dionysum] φασὶν ἐξ Ἰῶς τῆ Ἰνάχῃ Διὸς γενέσθαι, βασιλεύσαι μὲν τῆ Ἀιγύπτου, καταδίδου ὃ τὰς τελευταίους.* Diodorus. Lib. 3. pag. 145.

Osiris,

Osiris, nor are the Egyptian mysteries older than his reign: and of what kind they were at first, it will be difficult to find out. External pomps and processions became in time necessary attendants on devotion; and every age, I presume, added something new to their ceremonies; especially in a country wholly addicted to superstition, for that knows no bounds. To endeavour to explain all these, would be pretending to a skill like that of interpreting dreams; wherein the ideas are faintly retained, and generally confused, and incoherent. Some perhaps may allude to particular actions of his life; as the Orgia, and frantic manner of shouting and dancing, may denote either his victories, or the power and effects of wine: the Bacchides armed with javelins may represent the female warriors in his army; and the timbrels and cymbals his warlike music; all these might come at first from India, and were perhaps whimsical, but innocent. And even the obscene rites of Bacchus, which (1) Melampus brought from Egypt into Greece, seem to be derived from that country; since we find the same (2) indecencies in religion still practised among the modern Indians.

(1) Φαλλὸν ἢ τῶς Διονύσου περιπόμπων Μελάμπους ἐστὶ ὁ ἀπηνισάμωσ' καὶ δὲ τότε μάδοντες ποιεῖσιν τὰ ποιεῖσιν Ἑλλήωας. Herodot. Lib. I. c. 49. Διὸ καὶ τῶς Ἑλλήωας, ἐξ Αἰγύπτου παρεληφέντας τὰ ἱερὰ τῶς ὀργιασμῶς καὶ τῶς Διονυσιακῶς ἑορτῶς, πᾶν τῶτο τὸ Μῆσιον ἐν τε τοῖς μυσταίοις, καὶ ταῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ τότε τελεταῖς τε καὶ θυσιῶς, ὀνομάζοντο αὐτὸ Φαλλόν. Diod. Lib. I. p. 13.

(2) See Captain Hamilton's account of the god GOPALSAMI, worshiped at Ganjam on the Coromandel coast toward the Ganges. *New Account of the East Indies*, Vol. I. p. 332.

Of the names Dionysus, Iacchus, Bacchus. To make our history of this god more compleat, we will bestow a sentence or two upon the different names under which he was worshiped. These amount to too great a (1) number, to be treated particularly: and therefore I shall confine myself to three only, and those of most common use, Dionysus, Iacchus, Bacchus: neither of these can be proved to be his true Indian, or Scythian, name; but all seem to be given him after he ceased to be mortal. The first, DIONYSUS, is that by which he was known to the oldest Greek poets, Homer and Hesiod; and the Arabians and Egyptians probably used a word not very different from this. It was the general opinion of the Greeks, as well as of other nations, that this name had relation to the (2) city, so often mentioned, which he built, or where he was born. The Indians are said to use the word (3) Δεῦνος, or *Deun* for a *King*; so that with them it signified the *King of Nysa*; but with the Arabians something more, if it is

- (1) *Ogygia me Bacchum vocat,
Osirin Ægyptus putat,
Nysæ Phacem nominant,
Dionyson Indi existimant,
Romana sacra Liberum,
Arabica gens Adoneum,
Lucanianus Pantheum.* Aufon. Epig. 29.
— *Bacchumque vocant, Bromiumque, Dyæumque,
Ignigenam, Saturnumque iterum, solumque Bimatrem.*

Ovid. Met. Lib. 4.

(2) Ἐνταῦθα [Nysæ] δ' ὑπὸ νυμφῶν τεραφέντα τὸ παῖδα περιπαγορευθῆναι μὲν δὲ πατρὸς, καὶ πατρὸς, Διόνυσον. Diodor. Lib. 3. p. 139.

(3) Οἱ δὲ Δεῦνον· Ἐπειδὴ βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο Νύσσης. Δεῦνον δὲ τὴν Βασιλέα λέγουσιν οἱ Ἰνδοὶ, οἷς Ἰβας. Etymol. Magnum.

derived

derived from their (1) *Du*, or *Dy*, *Nyfa*, i. e. *The Lord or, God, of Nyfa*. Those who take Bacchus for Moses, have another conceit, that (2) *Dy Nyfa*, is the same as *Dy Sinai*, or *God of Sina*, by transposing the syllables; but this I think is straining the parallel too far. Etymological proofs are seldom conclusive, unless where they come directly home to the point, and as it were command our assent. To give reasons for the meaning of a name, drawn from some accident, or quality, couched under that word in another language, argues a lively imagination, but can have no great weight with the judicious. However when we consider the high dignity of this god, I think we may without difficulty subscribe to the opinion of some learned men, with regard to his name *IACCHUS*. This may possibly be the oldest, at least the most sacred, name; it being the word used in the (3) mysteries; and is said never to be (4) applied to the Theban, but to the oldest Bacchus. *IACH*, according to the best criticks, as Selden, Vossius, and others, is the same as *JAH*, or *Jehovah*, the god of the Hebrews, which was sometimes written (5) *IAO*: a deity pronounced by

(1) Vid. Pocock. Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 106.

(2) *Sina autem vel Syna, per metathesin fit Nyfa: inde Διόνυσος, hoc est Dominus Sina, vel Jehovah Sina.* Dickenfon. Delph. Phœnic. c. 10. p. 105.

(3) Καὶ πρὸς τε φωνῆς ἀκρίειν, καὶ οἱ φανεῖται πρὸς φωνῶν εἶναι τὸ μυστικὸν Ἰάκχον. — καὶ πρὸς φωνὴν ἢς ἀκρίεις, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὁρτῇ Ἰακχάζουσι. Herodot. Lib. 8. c. 65.

(4) Ἀθηναῖοι Διόνυσον τὸ Διὸς καὶ Κρόνου σέβουσιν, ἄλλον δὲ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ ὁ Ἰάκχος ὁ μυστικός τετρωτὸς Διονύτω, ἐχθρὸς τῷ Θηβαίῳ, ἐπάδειται. Arrian. Exp. Alex. Lib. 2. p. 43. Ed. Steph.

(5) Παρὰ τὴν τοῖς Ἰνδαίοις Μάσω τὸ ἸΑΩ ὀπκαλέμενον θεὸν προσποιήσασθαι τὰς νόμους αὐτῶν Διόνου. Diodor. Lib. 1.

the (1) heathen oracle to be the greatest of all the gods. And it is not improbable, that this was the name by which he was known to the ancient Indians; for they have preserved the word to this day, only with a more guttural pronunciation: (2) KIACK in their language signifying *God*. BACCHUS, in the Æolic dialect, seems to be the same with IACCHUS; and therefore we may be excused from following some, otherwise very learned men, who bring it from a different root; as from (3) *Baccha*, signifying *Great*; or from (4) *Bar Chus*, because, say they, Nimrod was the *Son of Chus*.

Whether any remains of Bacchus are left in India. After so many thousand years are past, since the time when we suppose Bacchus to have flourished, it may be thought impossible to find any traces of him in India at present: especially being deprived of all light from the ancients. His actions, as a man or king, may be supposed to be lost and forgot; the particulars of his victories, the cities which he built, and the colonies that he planted, worn out of all knowledge: but the remembrance of him, as a deity, may possibly be preserved to this time, since the Indians

(1) *Consultus Apollo Clarius, quis deorum habendus sit, qui vocatur Ιάω, ita effatus est*

Ἐγώ εἰμι ἢ πάντων ὑπατῆρ Διὸν ἔμμεν Ιάω. Macrob. Saturn. Lib. 1. c. 18.

(2) *The King of Pegu's subjects, if they may be so called, treat him with fulsome adulation. When they speak, or write to him, they call him their God, or in their language, KIACK. Hamilton's New Account of the East Indies. Chap. 36. p. 43.*

(3) BACCHA, *Grandem, Magnum, Præclarum esse devotare.* Pocock. Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 107.

(4) Bochart Phaleg. Lib. 1. c. 2.

continue

continue still idolaters. If we only recollect, how long, and under how many various names, and forms of worship, the memory of Jupiter was kept up in different countries; we cannot but think, that the same honours might be paid to Bacchus, by the different nations of the Indies. With a view therefore of finding some latent tokens of him, under one shape or another, among that people, I shall make a few extracts from modern writers and travellers; which if they tend to no other purpose, may serve to exercise the readers curiosity, if he is at all inquisitive; without presuming to come to any certainty, or to determine any thing myself.

*The Chinese Fo an
Indian Deity.*

As the Greek historians fail us from the times of Alexander and Seleucus; we must be beholden to others the most authentic we can find. Here the Chinese history seems to come in to our assistance. It is (1) said that in confidence of that prophecy of Confucius, "That the Holy One was to appear in the West," the emperour Ming Ti sent persons in quest of him into India; who, under a persuasion that they had found him, brought the worship of FO into China, about the year of Christ 64. This must have been the most considerable deity of India at that time; tho' by their accounts he was born long before Confucius, and even a thousand years before the Christian Æra. His birth, and actions, as they are related, are of the marvellous kind, and entirely fabulous: nor is there much agreement to be found between them, and the Greek accounts of Bacchus. The

(1) See P. Du Halde's History of China.

syllable fo seems not to be his Indian name, but given him by the Chinese, perhaps on account of their first king *Fobi*. Nor was this his only name; for he was likewise called *Fwe Kyau*, *Fo Tse*; and by the Chinese themselves, *She*, or *She Kya*, and by the (1) Japanese *Xaca*, or, *Sba Ka*. Whether *Kyau*, *She Kya*, or *Sba Ka*, may have any affinity with *Jah*, *Jao*, *Iach*, I leave to the readers judgment.

Maidashuren, or Bull-Giant, of Malabar.

The learned professor (2) Bayer of Petersburg, says he was informed by the Danish missionaries at Tranquebar, “That the Indians of Malabar have “a tradition, that there formerly lived a giant called “*Maidashuren*, or the *Bull-Giant*, born at *Nisadaburam*, “near the mountain *Meru*: he wore bulls horns; was “fed with the flesh of cows, and of other animals; was “often drunk with wine; and made war upon the gods. “He had for his companions, Eight *Pudam*, or gigantic “and malicious dæmons, of the family of Indian Shep-

(1) Vid. Kircher China Illustrata. Part. 3. p. 152, 153, &c.

(2) “*Indi Tamuli narrant, MAIDASHUREN fuisse aliquem, dictum a Maidham & Afuren, quasi TAURUM GIGANTEM, (gigantes autem fingunt heroas suos fuisse) in Nisadaburam urbe, haud longe a Meru monte natum, qui taurina cornua gestavit; carnibusque pastus, tum aliarum animantium, tum Vaccarum; (quod in Indis summum scelus) & vino ad ebrietatem repleti solitus diis bellum intulerit. Ceterum in comitatu habuisse octo Pudam, seu giganteos & malitiosos demonas, ex familia Indicorum pastorum, quos Kobaler, i. e. Pastores, vocant; curru vestum ab octonis Leonibus, aut leopardis, aut tigridibus, aut elephantis.” Habetis Nysam, ubi natum ferunt Bacchum etiam Græcorum aliqui: habetis Merum montem, unde Jovis μνεὸς Luciani agitated jocis; habetis κελάνης Bacchi, & cornua, & currum, & quicquid ad fabulam veteris Græciæ desideretis. Nam de Amazonibus, seu bellicosis viragibus ad Gangem Indi nunc quoque multa prædicant. Bayer Hist. Bactrian. pag. 2, 3.*

“ heards,

“heards, whom they call *Kobaler*, and he was drawn in
 “a chariot by eight Lions, Leopards, Tigers, or Ele-
 “phants.” Here, says our author, “You have the city
 “of Nyfa, where Bacchus was born, and mount, Meros
 “where he was brought up; You have the (2) *Cobali* of
 “Bacchus, his horns, and his chariot, and whatever is
 “required to the ancient fable of the Greeks. For as to
 “the Amazons, the Indians near the Ganges are still full
 “of their exploits.” I deliver this fable as it is handed
 down to us; and recommend to the readers enquiry,
 Whether the remains of *Nisadaburam*, and *Meru*, may
 not be found in the cities (1) *Nisa* and *Nischabour*, and
Marou, or *Merou Erroud*; they seem to be situated in
 about 38 degrees of latitude, and in the ancient Bactria;
 the country from whence I suppose Bacchus to have set
 out. I will not take upon me to say, that this profane
 eating of the flesh of cows, and other animals, is an ar-
 gument of Bacchus’s Tartarian, or Scythian, extraction;
 but cannot but observe that the Greeks had some notion
 of him under this character; for they had a Bacchus call-
 ed (3) *Ωμησῆς*, or an *Eater of Raw flesh*, to whom human
 victims were sacrificed. The antiquity of the fable can-
 not be determined; but it must be confessed, that it car-

(1) Κόβαλοι Δάμμονες εἰσὶ πνικὸς σκληροὶ ἀεὶ τὸ Διόνυσον. Απατεῶνες. Aristoph. Schol. in Plutum. v. 279. Κοβάλως. Εκ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Κοβάλως καὶ Πανώργως. Idem. in Bactrach. v. 147.

(2) See Hist. of Gengizchan. Book. 4. c. 2.

(3) Τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα δεξιωσάμενος ἐκέλευσεν τῷ νεανίσκῳ κατάρξασθαι, καὶ καθιερωσθαι πάσης, Ὡμησῆ Διονύσῳ προσευξάμενον· ἔγω γὰρ ἅμα σωθῆναι τε καὶ νίκην ἔσεσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. Plutarch. in Themistocle. Επὶ δὲ τὸς ὑπὸ Θεμιστοκλέως στραμαδέντας Ὡμησῆ Διονύσῳ. Plutarch. in Pelopida. Καὶ λέγονται καὶ τὸ λίγιον τοῦ μαντεῖος Εὐφρανπίδου Ὡμησῆ Διονύσῳ καθιερωσθῆναι. Idem. in Aristide.

ries with it the genuine marks of the Grecian Bacchus ; tho' he is represented in so hideous a form, that the picture seems to be drawn by an enemy. Upon the whole, I think we may conclude, that the worship of Bacchus did not prevail ; nor did he probably signalize himself, in this part of India, any other ways than by his hostilities.

*The Indian god
Ram.*

Let us see whether we can find more respectable footsteps of him in Mogulistan. In the province of Becar, towards the Ganges, the Indians had a god called Ram, whose character agrees pretty well with that of Bacchus ; (1) Kircher takes him to be Fo, or Sha ka, abovementioned. "RAM, says (2) Mr Thevenot, was a great King, " whose sanctity, and good offices, have procured him a " more particular communion with God, than other " Saints have, and therefore they shew him much more " reverence." This tradition may prove, that he was at first a mortal ; but the word RAM, or RAMAS with a Greek termination, seems to mean (3) *The most High*, or God himself : and was probably the same with their *Brahma*, the creatour of the universe. But this perhaps was a title, which the wiser sort of the modern Indians, who are more deists, than Idolaters, might think too great to be given to their god RAM.

(1) China Illustr. p. 152.

(2) Travels into the Indies. pag. 64.

(3) ΠΑΜΑΣ. Ο ὑψιστος Θεός. Hesychius.

*Samonifu, or Shak-
monni.*

From the Ganges let us proceed to the more eastern parts of India, and further. In Shen Si, one of the northern provinces of China, and which is said to be the first that was inhabited; At a city called Kam ju, by others Campion, and, by M. Paul the Venetian (1) Campition; the (2) embassadors of Sha Rokh, son of Tamerlane, to the emperour of China, found in the year 1419, "A temple each side 500 cubits in length, and " in the middle an Idol, lying as it were asleep, 50 feet " in length; so that the hands and feet were 9 feet long, " and the head 21 round; at his back, and over his head, " were others of a cubit, as if alive. The great one was " all over gilded, and had one hand under his head, the " other stretched down along his thigh: they called him " SAMONIFU, and run in crouds to bow before him." This I make no doubt was the Chinese idol FO. Ramusio, the collector of Travels, (3) says, " In Kampion " their temples are built like the churches at Venice, " large enough to hold four, or five, thousand men; in " them are seen the statues of a man and woman stretch- " ed on the ground, each forty foot long, all of one " piece and gilded." Ramusio differs a little from the former relation, and no wonder; since he wrote not upon his own knowledge, but upon the information of o-

(1) *Porro idola illa [in Campitio] sunt formata, vel ex lapide, vel ex ligno, vel ex luto, desuper deaurata. Inter hæc quedam sunt tam magna, ut decem passus contineant longitudine, terræ ac si supini jacerent affixa: juxta quæ parva sunt posita idola, quæ majoribus reverentiam exhibere videantur.* Mar. Paulus Ven. Itiner. Lib. 1. c. 49.

(2) See Aftley's Collection of Travels. 4^o. Lond. 1747. Vol. 4. p. 624.

(3) Aftley's Collection. Vol. 4. p. 639.

thers :

thers: but there can be no doubt, but he meant the same temple and idol; the woman being superadded to the account. The before mentioned embassadours, in their road through Little Bukharia, took notice of the city Tarkan, or Turfan, (1) “Where is a great temple, with “a huge Idol in it, which the inhabitants, who are idolaters, say is the image of SHAKMONNI.” This description of the temples, and images, together with the likeness of the names, prove that both were dedicated to one, and the same, god. MONNI, or MONI, is an adscititious term, that we can make nothing of: but FU seems to mean the same as FO, the great Indian idol; who, as we observed before, was called *Sbe Kia*, or *Sba Ka*; from whence *Shack*, *Sba*, or *Sa*, as it might be differently pronounced by different people.

Kiackiack in the kingdom of Pegu.

Let us return from the north to the southern country of India towards the ocean. Captain Hamilton, whose diligence and curiosity, in observing every thing remarkable in his travels, our traders would do well to imitate, (2) says, “That in the kingdom of Pegu, “there are two large temples near Syrian, so like one “another in structure, that they seem to be built by one “model. One stands about six miles to the southward, “called *Kiackiack*, or *The Gods of Gods*, temple. In it “is an image twenty yards long, lying in a sleeping posture, and by their tradition has lain in that posture “6000 years. His doors and windows are always open,

(1) Aftley's Collection. Vol. 4. p. 622.

(2) New Account of the East Indies. Vol. 2. c. 37. p. 57.

“and

“and every one has the liberty to see him; and when “he awakes, this world is to be annihilated.” This is certainly the same idol with those of Tarkan and Cam- pion; their bulk and attitude prove as much. And the name *Kiack*, as we said before, may possibly be the same as *Iach*; and that the same with *Sbak*. The repetition of the syllables in *Kiackiack* brings to my mind the old- est name of Bacchus, or (1) *Βακχέβαχχος*; together with the repeated (2) vociferations in his mysteries; by which perhaps they meant to invoke him as the supreme deity, or God of Gods. As to the time of his sleeping, it is indeed a longer term than the ancients allowed to Bac- chus; for he is said to have slept only (3) three years: but stories of this kind lose nothing, and rather gain, by time and telling. I think however, that the fable of a god’s sleeping at all, was probably derived from India; and that, in the opinion of the natives, their idol was of the greatest antiquity. And had they reckoned only 4000 years, instead of 6000, it might be thought a chronological argument in favour of Bacchus.

(1) *Sed nomen Βακχέβαχχος, ut alia item quamplurima, alibi quam apud Or- pheum non legas. Imitatus est eleganter in novanda ea dictione vetustissimam Bacchi appellationem Βακχέβαχχος, quam heroici metri lex non admittebat; ita Liberum patrem in ipsis Orgiis & mysteriis vocant. H. Casaubon. De Poesi Satyr. Græcorum. ΒΑΚΧΕΒΑΧΧΟΣ. Ο Διόνυσος ὡς πῶς ἐκαλεῖτο ἐν ταῖς Θυσίαις. He- fychius.*

(2) *Ίαυχ' ὦ Ίαυχε*
Ίαυχ' ὦ Ίαυχε. Aristophan. Ranæ. v. 318, 319.

(3) **Ὅς παρὰ Περσεφόνης ἐρεῖται δέμοισιν ἰαύων*
Κοιμῶσι ΤΡΙΑΕΤΗΡΑ χρόνον Βακχίῳ ἀγνόν. Orph. Hymn. in Bacchum.

Jagrenat, or Jagarnath.

I cannot take my leave of India, without taking notice of another deity, and one of very great antiquity ; for he is reported to have come into that country three or four thousand years ago. He is called Jagrenat, or (1) Jagarnath, from the place, where he has a magnificent temple built to him, on the Coromandel coast near the Ganges. This temple, or Pagod, is of a very singular structure, tho' few travellers have thought it worth their notice. Monsieur (2) Tavernier, by his account, seems to have been admitted into it ; and says, it is the most considerable idolatrous temple in all India ; that it is filled with a multitude of statues, and monstrous images ; and has particularly one chief idol placed on an altar, who is called *Resora* ; but he gives no description of the building. Our countryman Captain Hamilton, who could not gain admittance, tho' he offered money, has obliged us with a draught of the outward form of the temple, and a short account of the chief idol within. " The Temple, (3) says he, is built in the shape of " a Canary Pipe set on end, about 40 or 50 yards high ; " about the middle of it is an image of an Ox cut in " one entire stone, bigger than a live one. He looks to- " wards the South East, and his hinder parts are fixed in " the wall. The fabric is crowned with a top about the " same diameter that it is in the middle, and the temple

(1) Vid. Kircher China Illust. Par. 3. p. 160.

(2) See His Travels in India. Book 3. c. 9.

(3) New Account of the East Indies. Cap. 31. pag. 387. Where the reader may see a rude draught of the temple exhibited on a copper plate.

“ being

“being exactly round, makes no contemptible figure in
 “architecture.” Whether the form of the temple, which
 is not unlike the (1) Congius of Vespasian at Rome, was
 to represent that of a vessel used for preserving wine, I
 shall not judge: nor whether the Ox was designed for a
 symbol of agriculture: both were inventions of Bacchus.
 The rites performed to the idol by his devotees agree
 with those of the ancient Bacchanals. For the same au-
 thor (2) says. “I staid there one day and two nights,
 “and my lodgings were in a house very near the Pagod.
 “The nights were spent in beating on Tabors and brass
 “Cymbals, with songs of praises on Jagarnat; who is
 “only a stone god, not carved into any figure, but an
 “irregular pyramidal black stone about 4 or 500^{lb} weight,
 “with two rich diamonds placed near the top to repre-
 “sent eyes; and a nose and mouth painted with vermi-
 “lion.” This information he received from one of his
 servants a gentow, sent to the temple for that purpose;
 and it agrees with the account of Tavernier; only the lat-
 ter says it was of black sandal wood. One may suspect,
 that this was the same deity, which the Arabians wor-
 shipped under the form of a (3) Square Stone; and by
 which some have thought that they meant their god Bac-
 chus. As Jagarnat seems to me to be one of the oldest
 idols of India, and his temple perhaps the most ancient
 heathen structure now subsisting: our mercantile gentle-
 men I hope will excuse me, if I wish that amidst their

(1) See Mr Greaves Of the Roman Denarius. 1647. Pag. 88.

(2) New Account &c. Cap. 31. p. 387.

(3) Αεθίοι σέβουσι μὲν, ἑπιπνα δὲ οὐκ οἶδα· τὸ δὲ ἀγαλμα ὁ οἶδεν Αἰθίοξ ἢν Τετράγωνον.
 Max. Tyr. Diff. 38.

weightier concerns of gain and commerce, they would so far favour the cause of learning, as to procure a few informations concerning this deity. I dont mean from the traditions of the vulgar, but from the books of the Bramins; to which I suppose they may now have an easy access, since we have gained so good a footing in that part of India.

*Why Hercules is joined
with Bacchus.*

I join the history of Hercules to that of Bacchus, because both seem to be exotic heroes; and

neither of them was of the first class of gods in Greece; tho' otherwise of the greatest eminence. Other nations, besides the Greeks, asserted their right to Hercules, as well as Bacchus. He was worshiped by the Phenicians at Tyre; tho' how the Tyrians came to the knowledge of him cannot now be discovered. Nor can the Egyptians give a better account how they came by him. The Libyans are said to have had some knowledge of him, and perhaps had as good a right to him, as any of the former, and no better. All related fables of him without time, or order; and the most we can gather from them is, that, from whence soever he came, he was a person of unparallel'd strength and courage. His first actions seem to have been performed in India; and all the light we can expect in his case, must come from the history of Alexander. (1) Strabo, following Eratosthenes, thought these exploits of Bacchus and Hercules were fictions of the Macedonians, to do honour to their king:

(1) Πάντες μὲν γὰρ οἱ περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸ θαυμαστὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀληθῶς διαβέβηκεν μαλλόν.
Strabo. Lib. 15. pag. 693.

but

but surely there must have been some grounds for the report of their expeditions into India; for no reason can be assigned, why these two gods, rather than any other, should be pitched upon to flatter Alexander. (1) Megasthenes, who lived nearer to the time of Alexander, and was upon the spot, had the best opportunity of enquiring into the truth of the reports; and he always acknowledged them to be true history.

Of the time of Hercules.

The time of Hercules is as much unknown, as that of Bacchus. Considered as a Greek, he was one of the youngest of the gods; being the reputed son of Alcmena, wife of Amphitryon king of Thebes. Here we must have recourse to a new æra, viz. The Destruction of Troy; which may be placed in round numbers 1200 years before Christ. The actions ascribed to the Grecian Hercules, as his sacking Troy in the reign of Laomedon, and his expedition with the Argonauts, can scarce give him so much as fifty years before that epoch. And yet (2) Herodotus says, "That from Hercules son of Alcmena to his own time were 900 years." This will make him an hundred years older, and place him by our reckoning 1350 years before Christ. Be this as it will, it is certain that there must have been another Hercules, much older than this Theban. (3) Arrian says, "Her-

(1) Καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ Ἡρακλῆος δὲ καὶ Διονύσου Μεγαθένης μὲν μετ' ὀλίγον πρὸς ἡγήται· τὴ δ' ἄλλων αἰωνίων, ὃν ὄσι καὶ Εὐραποδίνης, ἅπαντα καὶ μωδῶδη, καὶ ἀπὸ καὶ τὰ ὄσι τοῖς Ἑλλήσσι. Strab. L. 15. p. 687.

(2) Ἡρακλῆϊ ὃ τῷ Ἀλκμήνης καὶ Εἰνακόσῃ ἔστα ἐς ἐμὴν. Herod. Lib. 2. c. 145.

(3) Ἔστι γὰρ ἐν Τύρῳ ἱερὸν Ἡρακλῆος παλαιότατον ἔμνημον ἀνδρωπῆτιν ἀλαστέριον, ἐστὶ δὲ Ἀργεῖο Ἡρακλῆος, τῷ τ' Ἀλκμήνης· πολλὰς γὰρ γενεὰς ἀπέτερον πᾶσι ἐν Τύρῳ Ἡρακλῆος. Arrian. Exp. Alexandri. Lib. 2. p. 43. Ed. Steph.

“cules was worshiped at Tyre, many ages before the son
 “of Alcmena,” which we have no reason to question :
 but the account of the Tyrians themselves is altogether
 incredible. (1) They affirmed that the temple of Hercu-
 “les was as old as their city, which was built 2300
 “years before the time of Herodotus ;” such was the va-
 nity of the Tyrians ! In Egypt the priests informed Hero-
 dotus, that (2) “Hercules was admitted into the number of
 “the Twelve Gods 17,000 years before the reign of
 “Amasis.” These, reduced to luni-solar years, may make
 about 1417, and with the reign of Amasis 1987. “The
 “Egyptians, says (3) Diodorus, affirmed that Hercules
 “son of Alcmena, was born 10,000 years after the older
 “Hercules ;” these, by the same reduction, amount to
 about 833, and with the time, which I have allowed
 him, or 1250 before Christ, will make 2083. I lay no
 great stress upon the Egyptian chronology, nor indeed
 upon the Greek, before the Trojan æra : but these are
 the only helps we have, and we must be content with
 them. All I think that we can conclude from hence is,
 that the Egyptians received Hercules, as a deity, about
 2000 years, or more, before the Christian æra ; which,
 as we observed, was about the reign of Osiris. And tho’
 I affirm not, that he, or Bacchus, lived so late as the
 age of Osiris ; yet I think this was the time when both

(1) Εφασιν γὰρ, ἅμα Τύρω οικουμένη καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῷ θεῷ ἱδρυμένην εἶναι ἢ ἕτερα ἀφ’ οὗ
 Τύρον οἰκέσσι Τεικώσια καὶ Διογλία. Herodot. Lib. 2. c. 44.

(2) Αλλά τις ἀρχαῖος ἐστὶ θεὸς Αἰγυπτίοισι Ηρακλῆος· ὡς ἢ αὐτὸ λέγουσι, ἕτερα ὄντι Ἐπικρι-
 γλία καὶ Μυεῖα ἐς Ἀμασιν βασιλεύσαντα, ἐπεὶ τε ἐκ τῶν Οκτὼ θεῶν οἱ Δωδέκα ἐγένοντο, τῶν
 Ηρακλῆα ἕνα νομίζουσι. Idem. c. 43.

(3) Τὸν δ’ ἐξ Ἀλκμήνης γενόμενον, ὕστερον πλείονα ἔτεσιν ἢ Μυεῖσι, Ἀλκαῖον ἐκ γενετῆς κα-
 λόμενον, ὕστερον Ηρακλῆα μετωνομασθῆναι. Diodor. Lib. 1. pag. 14.

were

were admitted into the number of the gods of Egypt. Osiris with the counsel of Thoth, gave the Egyptians laws, both sacred and civil. By Thoth, the ancients always understood Mercury; or a person of the same character; a man of letters, skilled in the arts of modelling a government. From this time, and no higher, whatever they pretended afterwards, the Egyptians kept a sort of reckoning of times: and it is evident to me, that all their history must be later than the age of Jupiter and the Titans.

*Hercules and Bacchus
not cotemporaries.*

Some modern (1) authors, who take Bacchus for Moses, Hercules for Joshua, and India for the land of Canaan, alledge that these two gods were cotemporaries, and confederates in the invasion of India; but I can see no foundation for such an opinion: especially if we believe the report of the (2) Indians themselves, that “Bacchus was fifteen generations older than Hercules.” We must, it is true, look for the first Hercules, as well as Bacchus, in India; and tho’ the expeditions of both are mentioned together by authors, when they speak of India; yet they dont mean that they were performed at the same time, but rather the contrary.

(1) *Ratum igitur fixumque maneat, antiquos olim Bacchi & Herculis, Mosen & Josuam, Indorum vero nomine, Arabes & Cananicos intellexisse.* Dickenfon Delphi Phœniciz. p. 40. Vide etiam Voff. de Idol. Lib. 1. c. 27. *Hercules ille Ægyptius: qui Posservino teste, ad annos circiter mille ducentos ante Alexandrum, quod Josue temporibus apte convenit, Baccho commilitonem se dedit, & una cum illo ad Nysam montem comparuit.* Delph. Phœnic. p. 37.

(2) Πρεσβύτερον τε Διόνυσον Ηρακλέους Δείμα ἔργῳ Πένθῃ γενέσθαι Ἰνδοὶ λέγουσι. Arrian. Indic. p. 175.

*Hercules not so great
a god as Bacchus.*

Bacchus has likewise the advantage in point of character, as well as of antiquity: for we may observe that strength and valour are the chief attributes of Hercules; but beneficence is more peculiarly that of Bacchus, which makes him superiour to the other. Alexander in his speech to his army, calls “(1) Bacchus a “god of higher rank than Hercules:” and though this speech was probably made for him by the historian, yet we may believe that he speaks the sentiments of Alexander; who assumed the character of Bacchus, rather than that of Hercules. Besides Hercules was thought, to have entered only the (2) western borders of India, whilst Bacchus is said to have reigned over the whole country. Therefore we may safely conclude, that Hercules’s conquests were not performed at the same time, nor were in any degree comparable to those of Bacchus. The reason of this might be the different state of things, after Bacchus came into India. He had no more to do, than to overrun a wide country, thinly inhabited, and to subdue a rude, and unconnected, people: but the regulations, made by him afterwards, rendered the enterprize of Hercules much more difficult.

(1) Οὗ μὲν δὴ ἕδρ' Διονύσου, ἀλεξέτερε τότε θεῶ ἢ καὶ Ἡρακλέα, ἐλίγοι πόνοι. Arrian. Exp. Alex. Lib. 5. p. 120.

(2) Περὶ ἧ Ἡρακλέος αἰ μὲν δὴ τ' ἀναγῆα μόνον μέγχει ἦ ἑσπερίαν περὶ τῶν ἰσπερῶν, αἰ ἧ ἐφ' ἐκείναι. Strabo. Lib. 15. p. 687.

*Hercules worshiped
in India.*

Arrian (1) says, “There were many reports of Alexander’s expedition into India, and of Bacchus before him, invading and conquering the Indians; but not much said of Hercules.” However he must have performed something very considerable, and worthy of notice, to make himself remembered so long in that country. The Indians believed him to be a native of India; and as such he was worshiped by the (2) Suraseni-ans. He is (3) said to have had many sons, and only one daughter called Pandæa, to whom he bequeathed a large territory in India, denominated from her Pandæa; together with elephants, and a great army of horse and foot. This was probably a tradition of the Pandæans; though we are not bound to believe, that they descended from Hercules; nor that Hercules had such a daughter. The (4) Sibæ, an Indian nation, were reported to be the descendants of those, who assisted Hercules at the

(1) Αλλὰ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἴδ' στρατεύσασθαι ἐπὶ Ἰνδοῦ μῦθον· καὶ περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, Διογένησι περὶ πολλὰς λέγεται κατέχει, ὡς καὶ τότε στρατεύσασθαι ἐς Ἰνδοῦ, καὶ καταστρέφειν αὐτὸν Ἰνδοῦ, Ἡρακλέους δὲ πάλαι ἐ πολλὰς. Arrian. Hist. Ind.

(2) Ἡρακλῆα δὲ ὄντα ἐς Ἰνδοῦ ἀφικέσθαι λέγεται κατέχει, περὶ αὐτοῦ Ἰνδοῖσι μυθεῖα λέγεται· τῶν δὲ Ἡρακλῆα μάλιστα περὶ Σουρασηνῶν γεγραμμένον Ἰνδοῖσι ἔθηκε. Idem.

(3) Καὶ τέτρω [Herculi] ἄρσιναις ἢ παῖδας πολλὰς χεῖρα γενέσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῆ, Σουρασηνῶν δὲ μνησθέντων ἔνομα δὲ εἶναι τῇ παιδί Πανδαίῳ· καὶ τῶν χρόνων ἵνα τὴ ἐξέτετο, καὶ ἵστανος ἐπέσειψεν αὐτῇ ἄρχων Ἡρακλέος, Πανδαίῳ, τὴ παιδος ἐπωνομασθαι. κλ. Arrian. Indic. p. 175. *Ab iis gens Pandæ, sola Indorum regnata feminis. Unam Herculi sexus ejus genitam ferunt, ob idque gratiorem præcipuo regno donatam.* Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 6. c. 20.

(4) Προῖον ἐπὶ τὰς Ἰνδοῦ Σίβας· τῶν δὲ φασὶν ἀπογόνους εἶναι τῶν μετ' Ἡρακλέους ἐπὶ τῶ Ἀργεῖον πέτρα στρατεύσαντων. Diodor. Lib. 17. pag. 613.

attack

attack of the rock (1) Aornus, which he thrice attempted, but could not force, tho' Alexander took it afterwards at once: some Indians likewise affirmed, that the (2) older Hercules was clad in the same manner as the Theban; I suppose equipt with club, lionskin, bow, and arrows. This last might be a fiction of the Greeks, to support the story of their Theban god; and the attack at Aornus, another to flatter their king: but still there must have been a general belief, that Hercules had something to do in those parts, otherwise such fictions could not be swallowed.

The Egyptian Hercules. Herodotus (3) says, "The Egyptians had three orders of deities. The first consisted of Eight Gods, of which number was Pan the oldest of all. The Second consisted of Twelve, of which number was Hercules. The Third, of those who were born of the Twelve, of which number was Bacchus." This is but a lame, and unsatisfactory, account of their gods; and looks as if they meant to make the whole a mystery, as they did almost every thing else. If these differed in dignity according to the order of time, Bacchus seems to be degraded; for by other Egyptian accounts, he was both

(5) Αόρνου δέ πενα πέτραν, ἥς τὰς ρίζας ὁ Ἰνδὸς ὑπερρέει πλησίον τῆς πηγῆς, Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ μίαν περὶ τοὺς σιμυλιώνεις, ἔφασαν τὸν Ἡρακλέα πρὸς μὲν προσβαλεῖν τῇ πέτρᾳ ταύτῃ, πρὸς δ' ἀπεκρυσθῆναι. Strabo. Lib. 15. pag. 688.

(2) Τὴν αὐτὴν ἢ ἕταρ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἦν πενα ἐφόρει, Μεγαθένης λέγει, ὅτι ὁμοίω τῷ Θεαίῳ Ἡρακλεῖ, ὅς αὐτῷ Ἰνδοὶ ἀπηγόρευον. Arrian. Indic. p. 174.

(3) Παρ' Αἰγυπτίους ἢ Πάν μ' ἀρχαίωτατος, καὶ τῶν Ὀκτώ Πρώτων λεγομένων θεῶν εἶναι; Ἡρακλῆς ἢ, τῆ Δευτέρου, τῆ Δωδέκα λεγομένων Διόνυσος ἢ τῆ Τρίτου, οἱ ἐκ τῆ Δωδέκα θεῶν ἐγένοντο. Herodot. Lib. 2. c. 145.

contemporary, and superiour, to (1) Pan; who is said to have fought under Osiris. To find out who these first (2) Eight Gods were, is above my capacity; unless I may be permitted to call them the *Pudam*, *Kobaler*, or *Indian Shepheards*, before mentioned; of whom Pan might be one, Silenus another, the Fauns and Satyrs making up the number Eight: for these were gods of the fields and woods, and all said to be compa-

(1) Παραλαβὴν [Osiridem] δ' ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶαν καὶ τῷ Πάνω, ἀναφερόντως ὑπὸ τῷ Αἰγυπτίαν πριμώρφον. Diodor. Lib. i. p. 11.

(2) The learned professor Jablonski endeavoured to gain some light in this matter from an inscription quoted by *Theon*, in his treatise *De Musica*. *Extat eam in rem, locus observatione nostra non indignus apud Theonem de Musica. Cap. 49.* Ἐν τῷ Αἰγυπτιακῷ, ἡλίου, φασὶν Ἐὐάνδρω, εὐέσιοντα γραφῶν βασιλέως Κρήνης, καὶ βασιλείως Ρέας.

ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΑΤΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΟΣΙΡΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ ΛΘΑΝΑΤΟΙΣ
ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΡΑΝΩ ΗΛΙΩ ΚΑΙ ΣΕΛΗΝΗ ΚΑΙ ΓΗ ΚΑΙ ΝΥΚΤΙ
ΚΑΙ ΕΜΗΡΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΤΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΟΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΣΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΕΡΩΤΙ
ΜΝΗΜΕΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΡΕΤΗΣ ΒΙΟΥ ΣΥΝΤΑΞΕΩΣ

He is not so sanguine as to pronounce it genuine, or so old as it pretends to be, i. e. Of the times of Osiris, Saturn, and Rhea; but thinks it was formed upon the most ancient theology of the Egyptians, because the Eight primary Gods are here mentioned. *Id tamea ex prisca & genuina antiquorum Ægyptiorum Theologia omnino petitum est, quod in hac inscriptione Ocho memorentur Primarii Ægyptiorum Dii.* Pantheum Ægypt. Vol. 1. p. 18. It is true that Eight gods are here mentioned, *Spirit, Heaven, Sun, Moon, Earth, Night, Day, and Love, the father of all things that are, or shall be.* But then I ask, Which of these is Pan? For Herodotus by Pan, Hercules, Bacchus, seems to mean real personages, and not these ideal Divinities. The learned Abbe Banier, *Mythol.* Book 2. c. 3. thought he had found them in Diodorus, ὦν ἐνίως καὶ βασιλεῖς γερονταὶ καὶ τῷ Αἰγυπτίον, μετερουμμενομόρων δ' αὐτῶν, πνας τῷ ἑμωνόμους ὑπάρχειν τοῖς ἑρανοῖς, πνας δ' ἰδίαν ἐρχικέντας, ἀρροσηγοείας

Ἡλιον, Κρήνον, Ρέαν, Δία, Ηραν, Ηφαιστον, Εστίαν, Ερμῆν. Diod. Lib. i. p. 8.
Solem, Saturnum, Rheam, Jovem, Junonem, Vulcanum, Vestam, Mercurium.

But here the same difficulty occurs, as before; Pan being omitted in this list.

nions of Bacchus. I am as much at a loss about the Second order, and believe it was feigned by the priests, that they might not seem ignorant of any thing. Every one has heard of the Twelve Great Gods of the Greeks, and I suppose the Egyptians might learn the same from Herodotus; but we know that Hercules was not one of that number. And therefore I think these Twelve Gods must remain as much a mystery, as the other: and as to those who came from the Twelve, they might be numberless, for any thing we know to the contrary.

Hercules probably a Scythian. It appears clearly to me, that all the exploits of the true Hercules were performed in India: and that the Indians had no other reason for making him a native of their country, than that he was worshiped there; for this was a piece of respect commonly paid to all gods and heroes, tho' they came from ever so far countries. Arrian, a very judicious historian, (1) says that "Hercules who conquered India, was in his opinion, neither a Theban, nor Egyptian, nor Tyrian; but some great king, whose dominions lay not far from India." And this confirms me in my opinion, that he was neither more, nor less, than a Scythian. To pass over the other northern feats ascribed to him by the Greeks: as his journey to the Hyperboreans; his releasing Prometheus on mount Caucasus; and his wars with the Amazons; the oldest fable, I believe, in which he is concerned, is

(1) Εἰ δὲ τῶν πρὸς ταῦτα, ἀλλοῦ ἀν' ἔτος Ἡρακλῆος εἴη, ἐχ' ὁ Θηβαῖος, ἢ ὁ Τυβείος ἔτερος, ἢ ὁ Αἰγυπτίος, ἢ πῶς καὶ χεῖρ' ἰσχυρῶς οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰνδῶν γῆς ἀκισμένῳ μέγας βασιλεὺς.
Arrian. Hist. Ind. p. 172. Ed. Steph.

that

that of the female monster mentioned by (1) Herodotus ; who predicted, that she should have three sons at a birth by Hercules ; the youngest of which, called Scythes, gave name to the whole country. Time has not yet worn out all remains of this fable among the eastern Scythians ; for we find it revived with some little variation, in the (2) story of Alancoua ; who conceived by an unknown power, and foretold that she should be delivered of three sons at a birth ; one of which proved to be *Buzengir the Just*, ancestor of Gengizchan.

India the primitive source of Idolatry.

In the history of these two deities, we discover the most ancient traces of idolatry, and in a country very remote from Syria or Egypt, commonly reputed the two great nurseries of it. By idolatry I mean only that species of it, which consisted in paying divine honours to dead persons. When, or where, this depravation of religion began, is uncertain : but, I think, it could not commence before the flood ; for as bad as the world then was, no tokens of it appear in scripture. It is commonly thought to have succeeded the worship of the sun, moon, stars, rivers, mountains, &c. and yet it may be questioned whether these were not at first worshiped, from being thought the mansions of deceased heroes. The dispute about the antiquity of Hero Worship, as far as it can be made out from the Greek historians, seems to lye chiefly between the Assyrians and Egyptians ; that

(1) Herodotus. Lib. IV. c. 9, 10.

(2) See Hist. of Gengizchan. c. 1. Abulghazi's Hist. of Turks and Tartars. Par. 2. c. 15.

is, whether Belus, or Osiris, was the more ancient deity of the two. For tho' Uranus and Saturn, considered as men, might live before either of them; yet the right of Belus, or Jupiter, if I may so call him, seems to be determined by clearer marks of time, than that of Osiris, or any other. When his divinity was once established; it was in a manner necessary, and certainly not difficult, to bring his descent from other gods, and the descent of other gods from him. This absurd impiety overflowed both the eastern and western world, many ages before the coming of our Saviour; and in a nation, whose records go beyond all others, is certainly not above seventeen hundred years standing; I mean, when the worship of (1) Fo was brought into China from India. The (2) Indians had always the name of a most religious people among the Chinese; and the ancient Greeks had the same opinion of the Egyptians; upon account of their numberless deities, and religious rites; which, for want of a competent knowledge of other countries, they concluded were the proper growth of Egypt. But they all seem to me to be derived at first from another source: nor am I unsupported by the ancients in this conjecture. For if we may believe (3) Plutarch, "Phylarchus held that

(1) *Ante inventam cum idolo FOE ex India superstitionem, nullum vanorum deorum simulacrum, statuam nullam in Sinis extitisse.* Couplet Proœm. in *Scient. Scinicom.* p. 78.

(2) *The Chinese have no sciences, and their religion, and most of their laws, are derived from the Indians; nay they are of opinion, that the Indians taught them the worship of idols, and consider them as a very religious nation.* Mr. Renaudot's *Account of India and China by Two Mohammedan Travellers in the Ninth century.* Lond. 1733. p. 36.

(3) Ουδὲ Φυλάρχου μὴ καταφρονεῖν, γράφοντες ὅτι πρῶτον εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἤγαγε Νῶα βεῖς, ὧν μὲν ἄλλοις ὄνομα, τῶν δὲ Ὀσίρις. De Idide & Osiride.

“Bacchus first brought into Egypt the gods Apis and Osiris from India.” Since the discoveries of modern travellers, we meet with descriptions of the (1) Indian temples; some of which are built after the manner of the Egyptian architecture, with galleries, and flat roofs, supported by colonnades. And as to the worship performed there; I believe there is scarce any superstition of the ancient Egyptians, but what may be matched, and is still kept up in India. Such are the monstrous images of their deities; the worship of the Cow, or Ox; the veneration paid to other brute animals, as dogs, cats, Sphinxes or monkeys, birds, and fishes; customs still prevalent among the idolaters, in some, one or other, parts of India. Therefore, with submission to better judgments, I take India to be the primitive seat of idolatry; and Bacchus to be the first Hero God mentioned in history.

*The primitive state
of Nature, and
Nations.*

As we have supposed our two heroes to live in times of the most obscure antiquity: it may in some measure serve to illustrate their history, if we take a short survey of the state of nature, and nations, in the primitive ages. Here it will be necessary to go back to that ever memorable epoch of the Deluge; a fact, of which all nations preserved the remembrance. It is not to be expected, that at this distance all nations should agree in the time, or particular circumstances, of it; it is sufficient, that they retained the ge-

(1) See Mr Thevenot of the Pagods of Elora. Travels. Par. 3. c. 44. Tavernier's Travels. Book 1. c. 18. *Lettres Edifiantes &c.* translated by Mr Lockman. Vol. 1. p. 456, 457.

neral tradition. The Chaldeans, Egyptians, and Phenicians, preserved it, as we learn from their historians, Berofus, Hieronymus, and Mnafeas, quoted by (1) Josephus: and the Chinese, by the accounts of modern (3) travellers, were acquainted with it. The deluges of the Greeks attest the same; and the tradition seems to have come to them from the north: Ogyges was an aboriginal, and Deucalion a Scythian. The Bramines of Persia and India had it recorded in their (3) books: "That about 21,000 years ago the sea overwhelmed and drowned the whole earth, except one great hill, far to the northward, called Bindd," I will not pretend to reconcile this account to any chronology; but only mention it to shew, that in the opinion of those sages the human species was preserved in the north, and from

(1) Vid. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. c. 3.

(2) Vid. Martini Hist. Sinic. Lib. 1. pag. 3, 26.

(3) "I shall here give you out of one of their [Bramins] own books, what they tell us of a great flood that formerly happened. They say that about 21,000 years ago the sea overwhelmed, and drowned the whole earth, except one great hill, far to the northward, called Bindd. And that there fled thither only one woman, and seven men; the names of whom were Dehoolah, Sunnak, Sunnaud, Trilleck, Sannotah, Cuppy-loshaw, Surafchah, and Burroopung: these understanding out of their books that such a flood would come, and was then actually coming, prepared against the same, and repaired thither; to which place also went two of all sorts of creatures, Herbs, Trees, Grasses, and every thing that had life, to the number of 1,800,000 living souls. This flood, say they, lasted 120 years, 5 months and 5 days: after which time all those creatures, that were thus preserved, descended down again, and replenished the earth: but as for the seven men, and one woman, only one of them came down with her, and lived at the foot of the mountain; the other six turned *Fuchees*, or holy men, and spent there the remainder of their days." Mr John Marshall's Letter to Dr Cogan from the East Indies. Philof. Transact. for Jan. 1700. N^o. 268.

thence the earth was re-peopled. Here I beg leave to recall to the readers mind the opinion of (1) Salmafius, a person of as great learning and judgment, as any the last age produced. “There is no nation, says he, either of Europe or Asia, but what came originally from the north; from hence most parts of Europe and Asia were planted with inhabitants. That vast region of Scythia situated to the north, and extending far to the east and west, brought forth all those people, with their languages, that overflowed Europe and Asia. And by discharging it’s superfluities towards the south, produced the different nations of both those countries.”

Nations without discipline naturally degenerate into barbarity.

History, reason, and experience, agree, that when families grew too numerous for one country, they must remove and settle in others; where they lived for some time without intermixing with each other, without laws, under no government, but what was lodged in the chiefs of each particular family. The swarms then that issued from this general hive, being thus left to themselves, whatever they were at first, naturally degenerated into a state of barbarity; and continued so for ages; till some one person of greater sense and strength reduced the separate clans into one community, made laws for the government of the

(1) *Nulla Europæ fere gens, nec Asiæ, quin a Septentrione promanaverit. Inde propagines profectæ populorum quibus Europæ Asiæque pleræque partes consistæ fuerunt. Scythia igitur, quæ ad septentrionem, omnes ferme gentes excoiuit cum suis linguis, quæ Europam & Asiam inundarunt. Ut autem vastissima illa Scytharum regio fuit, & late porrecta ad orientem & occidentem, versus meridiem eruellendo varias hinc in Europam, inde in Asiam, produxit gentes. Salmafius De Hellenistica. pag. 366.*

whole, and as it were compelled them to be civilized : and this was the (1) office of the first great heroes of antiquity.

Instances of their Reformation, in the Chinese, and Russians.

We may form an idea of this alteration in the face of nature from the different manners of two neighbour nations, the wandering Tartars and the Chinese. The former observe little, or no decency in the common actions of life, in eating or drinking ; live by rapine ; depend for their subsistence on their cattle, and the spontaneous fruits of the earth : whilst the Chinese, as if instructed by the gods, cultivate the land, promote every liberal and mechanical art, and live in the utmost politeness. This blessing they have enjoyed for some thousands of years, and their annals eternize the memory of their benefactors ; though we dont find that they ever paid divine honours to them, as was done in other countries. And without going so far as China ; what a change has been wrought in the manners of the Russians, within the memory of persons now living ; by the efforts of one man, and he too a native of the country, but improved by the experience he gained in countries more civilized than his own ! From these examples we may conclude, that the first heroes of antiquity were endued with more than ordinary natural talents, and those too refined by educa-

(1) *Romulus, & Liber pater, & cum Castore Pollux,
Post ingentia facta, deorum in templa recepti,
Dum terras hominumque colunt genus, aspera bella
Componunt, agros assignant, oppida condunt.*

Horat. Lib. 2. Epist. 1. v. 5.

tion ;

tion; that they were actuated by a spirit and genius superior to that of the people whom they conquered and civilized; and may be presumed to come from a country, where arts and sciences were cultivated.

The beginning, and progress of science.

The learned of the last and present age, deceived by the Greeks themselves, in tracing science to its original spring, seem to me to have taken a way more round about, for want of attention to the sentiments of Salmasius; who had pointed out one much nearer. The sacred history, which indeed ought to be our guide in doubtful cases, has prejudiced them in favour of Egypt, and the Holy land, and the countries lying eastward from thence; where science certainly flourished in ancient times, and to an eminent degree. But if it was propagated according to the course of nature, we must turn our thoughts to the north; where the path perhaps is not so beaten as the other, and may be overgrown with thorns and bryars, but when cleared, will be found the nearer road to the fountain head. The Scythians for many ages have been reckoned a barbarous people, but it cannot be affirmed that they were such from the beginning. The spirit of the northern nations has chiefly exerted itself in arms; but even here a strength of genius was required to conduct them. The (1) Scythians in ancient times thrice gained the empire of Asia: their defeats of Cyrus and Darius are lasting tokens of their military skill: our western world has sufficiently

(1) *Imperium Asiæ ter quæsiwere Scythæ, ipsi perpetuo ab alieno imperio intacti, aut invicti mansere.* Justin. Hist. Lib. 2.

felt the force of it under Woden, Attila, Theodoric, Genferic, and others; whose successes cannot be ascribed to undisciplined numbers, and brutal courage only. To say that they fell upon effeminate, luxurious, and enervated people, is a plausible way of accounting for their conquests; but this reason will not hold good in the case of Gengizchan and Tamerlane in the east; for they destroyed mighty empires founded on arms and military discipline; and overpowered as able generals, as perhaps any age ever produced. Their science in war is therefore indisputable; nor do I think that in ancient times they were deficient in the arts of peace.

*Religion the chief mark
of a civilized people.*

The first inhabitants of Greece are said to be barbarians, that is, as I take it, colonies from the Scythian hive: these lived the lives of the wandering Tartars, till they came under the dominion of the gods. The gods by all accounts first (1) reformed them from a savage life; taught them to till the land, and to build cities; then justice is said to have flourished, laws were ordained, property secured, and violence punished. The Pelasgians, who seem to be only later colonies of Scythians, either came with the gods, or soon after them, and overran the whole country of Greece; and this was another means of civilizing them. Then they received their religion, or Hero worship: for the first known gods, and oracles, of Greece, were the gods and oracles

(1) *Primus ab æthereo venit Saturnus Olympo,
Arma Jovis fugiens, & regnis exul adeptis,
Is genus indocile, ac dispersum montibus altis
Composuit, legesque dedit.* Georgic. 1. v. 125.

of the Pelasgians. Religion is the principal mark of a civilized people; and therefore the Greeks could not be said to be thoroughly reclaimed from barbarity, till they received the Cabiric mysteries, or worship of the Twelve Great Gods.

The next Learning, and Philosophy. Another mark of a civilized people is learning and philosophy; this I think can be traced no higher in profane history, than the time of Zoroastres, who was contemporary with Ninus founder of the Assyrian empire. What remains of the history of Zoroastres, shews that he was an adept in science. He is said to be the first, (2) "Who found out magic arts, studied the origin of the world, and observed the motions of the stars." Whether he is to be called Zoroastres according to Tro- gus, or Oxyartes according to Diodorus, and Ctesias, is not material; he is certainly the same person, who was conquered and slain by Ninus; if ever there was such a (1) king as Ninus. Persons too much bigoted to an hypothesis of their own, may dispute the truth of this part of history, but I can see no reason to question it. Because it does not run back to an unreasonable length of time; and has this advantage over other histories of so great antiquity, that here we are not concerned with the heathen mythology; have nothing to do with the gods of Greece or Egypt; but only with a king of Bactria, con-

(1) *Postremum illi [Nino] bellum cum Zoroastre Bactrianorum rege fuit, qui primus dicitur artes magicas invenisse, & mundi principia, syderumque motus diligentissime spectasse. Hoc occiso, decessit & ipse. Justin. Hist. Lib. 1.*

(2) Sir Isaac Newton seems to doubt of the very being of Ninus. See His Chronology.

quered by a king of Affyria. The time of Zoroaftres may be computed by the fall of the Affyrian empire under Sardanapalus, which is faid to have lafted 1300 years, and ended about 700, or according to fome 800, years before Chrift: and this I think is as high as the records of Egypt can reach.

Cabiric rites in Afia.

Of all the countries of Europe the ifland Samothrace bears the earlieft tokens of the Pelafgians, by being the feat of the Cabiric worship; and yet the rites feem to have been eftablifhed before in Afia. Not far from Calchedon was a fortified place, or caftle, from time immemorial called *Ιερόν*, or *the Temple*, which in procefs of time became the temple of (1) *Jupiter Urius*, propitious to navigators: but feems originally to have been dedicated to the fervice of the Twelve Gods. This temple, fome affirmed, was built by Jafon at the time of the Argonautic expedition, but (2) Polybius only fays, “That upon his return from Colchis, he there firft facrificed to the Twelve Gods:” which intimates that the temple was at leaft more ancient than that expedition. In Pontus was the (3) caftle and town of Cabira, the imperial feat of Mithridates, afterwards improved and adorned by Pompey; this feems to have been a place dedicated to

(1) Vid. Edm. Chiffhull *Antiq. Afatic.* Lond. 1728. p. 59, & Addenda.

(2) Από τῆς Πύλης τὸ καλόμενον Ἱερόν· ἐφ’ ἧς τόπος φασι χεῖρ ἔκ Κόλχων ἀνακομιδῶν, ἰάσυνα θυσαυ ἀεφῶτον τοῖς Δώδεκα Θεοῖς. Polyb. *Hift. Lib. 4.* p. 307. Ed. Casaub.

(3) Πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ παρωρεῖα τῆ Παρυάδρου Καλείεα ἱδρυται σαδίοις ἑκατόν κὶ πενήκοντα πρ, νοποπτεῖα αὐτῆς ὄσιν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς Καλείροις τὰ βασιλεία Μιθριδατῆ κατεσκευάσθαι. — Τὰ δὲ Καλείεα Πομπηῖος σκευάσαινθαι εἰς πόλιν, κὶ καλέσαινθαι Διόπολιν, ἐκείνῳ περσοκατεσκευάσθαι, κὶ Σίβασην μετανόμεσαι, βασιλείῳ τε τῇ πόλει χρῆται. Strabo. *Lib. 12.* p. 556, 557. Vid. etiam Plutarch. in Lucullo.

the Cabiri, in the same manner as the other. Amongst the opinions, mentioned by Strabo, concerning the Corybantes, or armed priests of the Cabiric mysteries; “(1) Some said, they were a body of men appointed by “the Titans to attend upon Rhea.” This notion was plainly borrowed from the fable of their nursing Jupiter in Crete: but what follows seems to have more probability in it, “That some said they came from Bactriana, others “from Colchis:” and both opinions might be true, if this was the road by which they came into Thrace. Herodotus has preserved, what I esteem a curiosity, viz. a Rent Roll of the tributes annually paid to Darius Hyftaspis from the several nations of his empire: amongst others we find the (2) *Orthocorybantians*: who by their neighbours mentioned in the same lot of assessment, seem to belong either to Media, or Bactriana; or perhaps were situated between both.

Bactria the ancient seat of Arts and Sciences.

If then I might be permitted to choose a country for the seat of arts in the most primitive times after the flood, it should be Bactria; which is properly a part of southern Scythia: because I think no country can produce more certain evidence of it's ancient politeness. From hence, as it seems to me, science was pro-

(1) Οἱ δ' ἐπὶ Τιτάνων Ρέα δεδωκυία προσέθηκες τῶν Κορυβάντων ἐκ τῆ Βακτριανῆς ἀφ' ἡδύνης οἱ δ' ἐκ Κόλχων φασιν. Strabo. Lib. 10. p. 472.

(2) Ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐκβατάνων, ἢ τῆς λοιπῆς Μηθικῆς, ἢ Παρματιῶν, ἢ ΟΡΘΟΚΟΡΥΒΑΝΤΙΩΝ, Πεντήκοντα καὶ Τετρακόντα τάλαντα. Νέμους Δέκατ' ἕτ' ἕτ'. Herodot. Lib. 3. c. 94. The *Parycani* here mentioned, seem to be the same with the *Pariani* of Pomponius Mela. *Interiora terrarum multe varietate gentes habitant Gandari, Pariani, & Bactri, Sugdiani, Hermetotrophi, Comaræ, Cemani, Aparni, Dabæ, super Scythas, Scytharumque deserta.* Pomp. Mela. Lib. 1. c. 2.

pagated to Persia, Assyria, India, and even to China itself. (1) Strabo says, that “Bactria adjoining to Aria, “abounded in every thing, but oyl.” The natural fruitfulness of the soil therefore invited mankind to settle in it; till it was overcharged with inhabitants. The populousness of this country, one argument of it’s politeness, may be judged, from what is reported of it near two thousand years ago: that it had then (2) a thousand cities under the jurisdiction of the Greeks, after they had destroyed the Persian empire. Bactria I take to be what is now called Bucharia, the greater and less, stretching almost from the Caspian sea eastward, to the confines of China, (3) “Bokharia, Bukharia, Bogaria, Bokaria, or “Boharia, as it may be variously written, is the name “given at present to the country, or tract of land, between Karasm, and the great sandy desert bordering “on China. It signifies the country of the *Bukbars*, “which (4) Abulghazi Khan informs us is a Mongol “word, implying a *Learned Man*: Because, adds he, all “those who have a mind to be instructed in the languages and sciences, go into Bukharia. Hence it appears, that this name has been imposed by the Mon-

(1) Πάμορον ἢ εἶναι καὶ Βακτριανὴν, πλὴν ἐλαίου, πλεονὸν τῇ Λείᾳ Ὠκεανῶν. Strabo. Lib. 2. p. 73.

(2) *Quaerquam plus gloriae sit, inter Assyria & Medica, Persicaque memorata olim regna, & opulentissimum illud Mille Urbium Bactrianum imperium emergere potuisse.* Justin. Hist. Lib. 41. *Eodem tempore etiam Theodotus, Mille Urbium Bactrianorum praefectus, defecit; regemque se appellari iussit.* Id. Ibid. Eucratides one of the successors of Theodotus had likewise a thousand cities under his jurisdiction. *Ἐυκρατίδων γὰρ πόλεις χίλιαι ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῦ ἔχεν.* Strabo. Lib. 15. p. 686.

(3) See Astley’s Collection of Voyages. Vol. 4. p. 514.

(4) History of the Turks and Tartars. Lond. pag. 108.

“ gols,

“gols, who conquered this country in the time of Jenghis Khan. The same author mentions the Bukhars elsewhere, but in those places the term seems to be restrained to the inhabitants of the city of Bokhara.” I readily agree with this learned writer, and his author Abulghazi, that the word (1) *Bukhar*, is the northern name for a *Learned Man*; but cannot allow the inference he draws, if I understand him right, viz. That the name Bucharìa was imposed by the Mongols, at or after the time of Jenghis Khan; for the contrary appears clear to me; since a man must first go into Bucharìa before he could be called a Bukhar. Bucharìa is therefore not the new, but old name of the country, and if I am not deceived, means no more than Bactria: and that as mount *Caf* was the *Caucasus*, or *Cavcasus*, of the ancients; their *Maracanda* is now *Samarcand*; *Sogdiana* *Al Sogd*; *Chorasnia* *Karasm*, or *Charisme*; so *Bocharia* is only the later name for Bactria, or Boctria; and the city of *Bochara* seems to be the ancient Bactra, the capital of the country. The schools of Bochara and Samarcand still keep up the ancient character of learning; and the soil of Great Bucharìa still answers to the ancient fruitfulness of Bactria. “It must be confessed, [says an (2) author.

(1) What the Mongols called *Boghar*, or *Bukhar*, a Saxon would write *Bog þeþ*, or *Boc þeþ*, i. e. *Vir Librorum*, a *Man of Books*, or *Learning*. *Bog* is the old northern word for a *Book*, meaning the Wood of the *Beech tree*, in Saxon *Boc træþ*, or *Book tree*, on which their characters were anciently engraved. Of the same import are the Greek *βιβλος*, and the Latin *Liber*, both signifying the materials on which writing was performed.

(2) The French Editors [Bentink] Notes on Abulghazi Khan's History of the Turks and Tartars. pag. 455.

“who

“ who seems to be well informed about it] nature has
“ denied nothing to this fine country to make living in
“ it agreeable. The mountains abound with the richest
“ mines; the valleys are of an astonishing fertility in all
“ sorts of fruits and pulse; the fields are covered with
“ grass the height of a man; the rivers swarm with ex-
“ cellent fish; and wood which is so scarce all over the
“ rest of Grand Tatar, is found here in great plenty in
“ several parts: in short it is the best cultivated and in-
“ habited of all the Grand Tatar.” These desirable
regions, so adapted to the conveniences of life, and not
improbably the seats of our first ancestors after the flood;
by a sad fatality lay obscured during the revolutions of
those kingdoms and empires, that make the subject of
Greek and Roman history; and were scarce known to
the Europeans, till the Arabians carried their conquests
into Tartary. The ancient accounts of the inhabitants,
and their country, are lost in the shipwreck of time; and
nothing remains of them at present, but a few ill con-
trived fables, affording neither pleasure nor profit to the
reader. Were we only born for ourselves, as too many
are apt to think, we need not be affected with the vic-
issitude of things, nor trouble ourselves with uneasy re-
flexions about them: but those who have at heart the
advancement of knowledge, and the improvement of
posterity, cannot but regret with me the loss of so con-
siderable, and interesting, a period in the history of the
world. But thus providence has ordained, and we must
acquiesce.

I have

*The Sum of what
has been said.*

I have gone through, at least in part, what I at first proposed; which was to rescue fabulous history out of the hands of the poets, by reducing it to a sort of system with the help of chronology. As my intention cannot be bad, whatever the execution may be; I hope it will meet with that indulgence, which ought to be given to a first attempt of this kind. I have not courted the reader's favour, or approbation; because I think it unnecessary, where an authour has truth on his side; and where he has not, it is only bespeaking the reader's sanction to an error. I have offered no violence to the chronology of profane history, nor to the more authentic testimony of the sacred records. I have had regard to the grand æra of the deluge; and to the dispersion, and propagation, of mankind. I have, it is true, taken the liberty of dissenting from other authors, both ancient and modern; but I hope with that decency, and respect, that is due to their several characters. If I have brought the first colonies of people from the northern parts of the world, I am not singular in my opinion; tho' the stream of writers may possibly be against me, and the matter itself cannot be cleared up from the sacred history; which all along points to the line of Sem, the posterity of Abraham, and the promised land. This has manifestly given those authors a byass to Chaldæa, Syria, Arabia, Judæa, and Egypt; which are necessarily mentioned oftner, and more particularly, than Scythia and the north eastern countries; tho' these certainly had inhabitants, as well as the others, but not so distinctly enumerated by Moses.

The Conclusion Ancient learning, I am but too sensible, is not suited to the general humour of the age, but only to a few particular persons; and yet no sooner does a work of this nature make its appearance, than every reader claims his right of sitting in judgment upon it. And for one who reads for the sake of amusement, or instruction, there are ten who read with no other view, than to find faults in it: tho' perhaps scarce one in ten is capable of entering into the merits of the argument. All such have my free consent, to find what faults they can in the present treatise; only craving so much justice at their hands, as to believe, that, to the best of my abilities, I have used my utmost endeavour to find out the truth.

F. W. R. L.

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